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 ($Cl_1aC_2. Cl_1oC_2$) 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

Prescriptive grammar
ཤི་ཚར་བོ་ལས་ [ietsarbolɛ] >  རྡོ་བོ [ietsuble]
བྱས་འདུག་ [pʼjasoːbodːə] >  རྡོ་ལྡླབ [pʼjasmɔːtə]
ཤི་ཚུབ་ལས་ [ɕítsʰar bol] >  རྡོ་ [tʰoːtə]
བྱས་སོང་བོ་དང་ [pʼjasomdãː] >  རྡོ་ [tʰoːteka]
བྱས་སོངམ་དང་ [pʼjasomdãː] >  རྡོ་ [tʰoːteka]
ཐོས་ཅེ་ཀ [tʰoːtɕɛka] >  རྡོ་ [tʰoːtɕɛka]
བྱས་བཞིན་ [pʼjaʑɛndukɛ] >  རྡོ་ [pʼjaʑɛndukɛ]
བྱས་བཞིན་གེ [pʼjaʑyŋgɛ] (Tashiding)

དེབ་འདི་ལོ་འཛམ་བུ་གིང་གི་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ལོ་སྐད་ལབ་མཁན་ལོ་པོ་ཙའི་སྐད་འདི་ལེབ་ཕྱུབ་ཀུ་ཡོད་སེ་ཧ་གོ་བཅུག་ཀོའི་དོན་ལོ་ཅིག་ཀུ་མན་བ་འབྲས་ལོངས་ན་ལོ་སྐད་ཡར་རྒྱུས་བཏང་བའི་དོན་ལོ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཆེ་དྲགས་འཐོན་བཅུགས་སེ་ལབ་སི་ངའི་རི་ཆི་ཡོད།

(jualan)
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDEO</td>
<td>ideophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>imminent future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Introduction

This is a grammar of Denjongke, also known as Lhoke, Sikkim(ese) Bhutia and simply Sikkimese, a Tibetic language spoken in the Indian state of Sikkim. This introductory chapter first provides background information on the language (Denjongke) and the people who speak it (Denjongpos1), see §1.1. Subsequently, methodology and data are described in §1.2.

1.1 The language and the people

This section introduces the language and the people who speak it. Topics covered are the language names (§1.1.1), number of speakers (§1.1.2), genetic affiliation (§1.1.3), previous research (§1.1.4), origins of the people (§1.1.5), the history of written Denjongke (§1.1.6), religion of Denjongpos (§1.1.7), the honorific system and social relations (§1.1.8), language contact and multilinguality (§1.1.9) and language endangerment (§1.1.10). The last section provides an overview of some central linguistic features 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. The ISO 639-3 code for the language is 'sip', while the glottocode (see glottolog.org) is 'sikk1242'. The name Denjongke /dɛndʒɔŋkɛ/ (འབྲས་ལྔོངས་སྐད་.brass-ljongs-skad ‘the language of Sikkim’) is chosen as the main title because it is probably the least problematic. The word dendzɔ̀, 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, ke, 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-njong Ké or vernacular of Sikkim.” In the revised edition of the grammar (Sandberg 1895), the language name is modified to the phonetically more representative “Dé-njong 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/Lhopens are a minority in numbers, the original rationale for language name choice is no longer valid.

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1 This word also occurs as Denjongpa. Some of my consultants commented that Denjongpa is the Tibetan and Denjongpo the Denjongke pronunciation. Henceforth, the spelling Denjongpo is used.
2 See also Mullard (2011: 21, 37), who addresses the difficulty of choosing an appropriate term for referring to the people who speak the language.
3 An alternative romanized spelling for the language is “Drenjongke/Dränjongkä”, which makes explicit the historical retroflexifying consonant r in the written form ཁོན་བོད་པ་bras-ljongs-skad. The simpler spelling “Denjongke” is used here for two reasons. First, the simpler form for the initial is already used by many speakers of the language in Sikkim. Second, the actual pronunciation of the postalveolar apical initial /ɖ/, which contrasts with a dental initial /d/, is reasonably close to /d/ in English, the language in which that the Denjongpos are likely to write when using the Romanized language name.
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 Lhopos started to spread to Sikkim and Ha through Chumbi valley (Balikci 2008: 68-70). The Tibetic variety spoken in Sikkim is indeed to a great degree intelligible with the Tibetic varieties of the Chumbi and Ha. 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 (འོ་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 ʨ’uˈmboː keʔ (གྱུང་བའི 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 əː vs əː so that only əː 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 (WD9 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 ā and ò). The second difference is the pronunciation of WT glide y as separate from the bilabial plosive (e.g. pjià) whereas Central Tibetan exemplifies a merged pronunciation (e.g. tɕià). 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. ɪ́a ‘hair’ (Central Tibetan, r causes retroflexivization).

9 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 སྣོ་བུ་ ’brug-yul ‘Bhutan’. Due to the association of the term Lhoke with Dzongkha, it was recommended by Khenpo Lha Tshering (2016), the principal of Higher Institute of Nyingmapa Studies in Gangtok, that the term Denjongke be used rather than Lhoke. Cognates of the term Lhoke are also used for other Tibetic languages: “Lhoket”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 brutia/bhotia).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 uniting all Tibetan-related peoples and languages under the common name “Bhoti” to gain more influence within India. Some Denjongke speakers want to make a distinction between “Bhutia”, which refers to Denjongke speakers and their languages, and “Bhotiya”, which refers to Tibetan-related peoples of the southern Himalayas more generally,14 but as far as I understand, this distinction has not received overall acceptance, especially within other linguistically related groups.15

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.

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 [lokɛʔ].
12 The Census of India 2011 reports that there are 229,954 speakers of “Bhotia” in India and lists speakers in all the Indian states except Jharkhand, Odisha and Telangana. States with more than a thousand “Bhotia” speakers are Jammu and Kashmir (107451), Arunachal Pradesh (62458), Sikkim (41889), Uttarkand (9287), West Bengal (4293) and Himachal Pradesh (2012). Because Sherpas and Tibetans are listed separately, it may be presumed that the number of “Bhotia” speakers in Sikkim (41889) refers to Denjongke speakers. The number assigned to West Bengal (4293) may refer to Denjongke speakers living in and around Darjeeling and Kalimpong.
13 This Nepali word most likely derives from Written Tibetan བོད bod.
14 This view is expressed in the Wikipedia article on “Bhutia” (13 Feb 2018)
15 When I explained, in Nepali, to one lady that I was carrying out research on the “Bhutia” language, she retorted, “Which Bhutia? There are many Bhutias.” It turned out that the lady was a Sherpa, a member of a smaller “Bhutia” group, who may be wary of others “hijacking” their identity term.
In addition to the four terms mentioned above, the highlanders of Lachung call their own language \( \text{jàːke?} \) (WD \( \text{ཡར་སྐད་} \)) ‘up(per) language’ and the Denjongke varieties spoken in lower altitudes \( \text{màːkɛʔ} \) (WD \( \text{མར་སྐད་} \)) ‘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”\(^\text{16}\) 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 ([\text{d̪ɛndʒoŋkɛʔ}])</td>
<td>‘language of Sikkim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lhoke ([\text{l̥okɛʔ}])</td>
<td>‘south(ern) language’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhutia ([bʰʊtia/bʰoʊtia])</td>
<td>‘person or language related to Tibet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkimese</td>
<td>‘language of Sikkim’</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 (‘southerner’)</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>

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

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 Dandżongka of the South Bodish unit in Shafer’s work. The terms “Lhoskad (Lhoke)” and “Sikkim” under Central Tibetan remain somewhat mysterious. The term “Dandżongka” 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 “Ḍānjong-kā” provides some distilled phonological, etymological and grammatical information derived from Sandberg’s description. A new contribution to Sandberg’s (1895) collection of isolated sentences is a coherent text, the Prodigal Son story (obtained from David Macdonald), which is given in Tibetan script, transliterated Roman script and a glossed phonological Roman script.

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

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

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

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

The most famous story of origin describes the descent of twelve prestigious Tibeto-Sikkimese tribes. A detailed account of their migration narrative is given in Mullard (2011: 36). 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་གསོ་ ཁེ་ བུམ་ས། gyad-’bum-gsags [k’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, who invoked the mountain god Kangchendzönga and territorial deities of Sikkim to bestow a blessing. Having returned to Chumbi valley, Gye Bumsa’s wife gave birth to three sons, who are said to be the forefathers of the twelve major Denjongpo/Lhopo tribes of Sikkim. (see Balikci 2008: 65-74 and references there).

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

Denjongpos have historically had a close relationship with the Lepchas. This relationship is said to originate from Gye Bumsa’s time. After receiving a male heir, Gye Bumsa returned grateful to Sikkim and made an alliance with the Lepcha bongthing Thekongtek. In the accompanying ritual the territorial deities of Sikkim, the most formidable of these the mountain Kangchendzönga, were invoked as witnesses of the covenant. This alliance is still annually commemorated in the Pang Lhabsol ritual (ཐང་ལབསོལ ‘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 nham-rgyal) who reigned 1642-1670 (Mullard 2011: 5). In Denjongke and Tibetan, this agreement is known as གཞི་ རེ་ ལེ་ མོ་ ཀྲོ་ ཆུ་ གྲོ་ ཏོར་ ‘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 ཀྲུང་ རོ་ སྐྱེ་ ཆུ་ རུ་ བཤེི་ 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 Tsichudarpo (the then Text Book Officer, Government of Sikkim) published the first Denjongke novel called richhi རེ་ཆེ་ ‘hope’, and several authors have produced, among other things, poetry, proverbs and plays. At present, there are some 30 authors who have produced Denjongke literature (Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo, personal communication). A daily Denjongke radio programme has been broadcast since the 1960s, first from Kurseong (West Bengal) and later from Gangtok All India Radio station. Dictionaries have been produced by

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

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 འབྲས་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་ཡོད་ལྔོངས་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 ཡི་དབུས་ཡུལ་ (WD sbas-yul) ‘hidden land’, one of the sacred valleys which the 8th century Indian tantric Buddhist master Padmasambhava, also known as Guru Rimpoche, is said to have specifically blessed as gateway places where physical and spiritual world overlap. 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 cènke? ཉན་མོ ‘language of the simple’ or pʰr(ld)ke? གཞི་རྔོ ‘common speech’ and the honorific words known as cè:so དངོས་ ‘honorable’. 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) ཆོད་ ག་ འགྱུ?
   teʰo? k’a: gju?
   2SG.L where go
   ‘Where are you going?’

(1.2) རན་རྒྱས་ བྔོན་བྔོ་ བྔོ་ (བྔོ་)
   lɛŋgɛ? 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

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24 https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status (consulted 13 Feb 2018)
description: “The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.” This may be the situation with most Denjongke speakers.

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

Table 1.3. UNESCO’s Language Vitality and Endangerment framework

<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 र्ला-स्क्येल b’ya-skyel /p’jake:/ ‘chicken-bringing’25) was released. Currently, the Bhutia Literary Association (BLA) is preparing a website which contains cultural and linguistic information about the Denjongpos and Denjongke.

An important factor hampering revitalization is that most speakers cannot read the Denjongke script (i.e. Classical Tibetan script with small modifications) well or at all, and learning to read it is a formidable task, because Denjongke (along with Tibetan) has a deep orthography where pronunciation is not easily recoverable from the written form (deep orthographies contrast with shallow, or phonologically-based, orthographies). For instance, ८०० ’eight’ is written न्यु ब्र्ग्याड brgyad and ॐ ’authority’ is written न्युङ 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 section 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, humiliific 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 in 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>gi'ble</td>
<td>cy'le (same as in Dzongkha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td>mintoʔ</td>
<td>mè:toʔ (Central Tibetan pronunciation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tradition’</td>
<td>luksøː</td>
<td>lòksoː/lòːsoː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘coral’</td>
<td>p'jurū</td>
<td>teuru (Central Tibetan pronunciation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other morpheme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>=tsu</td>
<td>=tsö (Central Tibetan pronunciation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-verbal negation particle</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>is not used</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 jaːkɛʔ yar sär dka’ ‘language of the highlands’, which is the description of some Lachenpas and Lachungpas of their own language, but maːkɛʔ sär sär dka’ ‘language of the lowlands’, a word used by some highlanders of those living at lower altitudes and in more southern locations.27

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26 Consultant KUN told me that because of the variation in pronouncing the conditional form, the standardizers of the writing system decided to write the conditional, similarly to Classical Tibetan, as /na/ (ṅ 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

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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\textsuperscript{29}). 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 my absence
4) Audio-recorded conversation of several people recorded by me
5) Audio-recorded elicitation, language learning and conversation sessions with me 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\textsuperscript{30}.

I was fortunate to work with many consultants. Almost all the consultant signed an informed consent form, see Appendix 3. With some consultants, an informed consent paper was not available at the time. In these cases, I believe no harm is done to their person, because the consultants’ names are not identified and data received from them is not archived. Although most consultants indicated that they may be identified by their name 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 the Table 1.2. Table 1.2 does not present all my data but only those recordings from which example sentences were taken. In Table 1.2, audio-recordings are referred to as simply recordings, whereas video-recording is separately mentioned.

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; recorded exposition (monologue) on the correspondence of English and Denjongke verbal forms (in a formal setting)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| DB   | m. 60+      | Tashiding| 1) Life story (4:15)  
2) Trip story; story of a one-day tour in West Sikkim taken the previous day (14:43 min) |
| GB   | m. 40+      | Tashiding| unrecorded elicitation |
| JD   | m. 15       | Tashiding| 1) Life story (00:47) |

\textsuperscript{29} https://kitwiki.csc.fi/twiki/bin/view/FinCLARIN/KielipankkiFrontpage
\textsuperscript{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>1) BLA 7, formal address given 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) Ralang skull story |
| PED  | f. 30+ | Tashiding | 1) Life story (16:21) |
| PT   | m. 30+ | Tashiding | 1) 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 | 1) Plains story; personal story of living in the plains of India (6:57) |
| UU   | m. 40+ | Tashiding | 1) Deer story; folkstory of a deer, given fully in the appendix |
| 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) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</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>
</tbody>
</table>
| KL      | m. 40+ | Barapathing | 1) BLA 12, discussion with some younger speakers, mostly monologue (15:12)  
2) Discussion with DR, a free discussion between two people  
3) BB discussion; a group discussion of several people in Barapathing  
4) Phone call (within a longer elicitation recording) |
| KT      | m. 60+ | Bermeok | 1) Animal story; folkstory on how a marten killed an elephant, tiger and a bear (23:20)  
2) Discussion with TB, a free discussion between two people (several recordings of discussion)  
3) intro to an ode; recording of an ode with an introduction (3:06)  
4) Recorded phone call (5:49) |
| YR      | m. 40+ | Kewsing | 1) canteen video; pedagogical exposition prompted by questions  
2) Boys’ and girls’ clothing; an exposition prompted by a question (3:26) |
| CY      | m. 70+ | Pemayantse | 1) structured interview conducted by KN (1:20:17)  
2) monologue before interview (12:58) |
| SGD     | m. 50+ | Barphung | 1) Monologue exposition of wedding customs (28:19)  
2) Cave story; story of Sikkimese caves (5:21) |
| AB      | m.? | Martam | -Kitchen discussion, see KN |
| KN      | m. 20+ | Martam | 1) kitchen discussion, a discussion by KN’s family, recorded by KN  
2) Phone call (field notes 5, 100)  
3) Photo discussion; consultant’s recorded responses to photos  
4) Phone call 2 (1:15)  
5) Phone call 3 (field notes) |
| KNA     | m. 70+ | Martam | -Kitchen discussion, see KN |
| KNM     | f. 60+ | Martam | -Kitchen discussion, see KN |
| KNU     | m.? | Martam | -Kitchen discussion, see KN |
| LT      | m. 30+ | Martam | -Kitchen discussion, see KN |
| DR      | m. 70+ | Phodong | 1) Discussion with KL, a free discussion between two people (33:45) |
| KUN     | m. 30+ | Lachung | Recorded elicitation session (1:43:18) |
| LA      | f. 60+ | Lachung | 1) Intro to Lachung; a monologue which introduces life in |
the northern village of Lachung (5:07)
2) Birth in Lachung; an exposition on customs relating to birth of a baby (2:12)
3) Funerals; monologue on funeral customs in Lachung (4:15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Code</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>m. 40+</td>
<td>Lingdum</td>
<td>1) Intro video; a videoed introduction to a house (1:02) 2) Living room video; a videoed introduction to a room in a house (00:55) 3) Outside video; introducing 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; introducing 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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>m. 50+</td>
<td>Lingdum</td>
<td>Proverb explanation; recording of a proverb with explanation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>f. 30+</td>
<td>Lingdok</td>
<td>Interview on farming conducted by the present author (36:11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLT</td>
<td>m. 50+</td>
<td>near Tashiding</td>
<td>Bumchu video; an exposition of the origin of the Bumchu festival in Tashiding produced by Namgyal Institute of Tibetology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL</td>
<td>m. 40+</td>
<td>Lachen</td>
<td>Several recorded interviews with the author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>m. 20+</td>
<td>Gyalshing</td>
<td>Discussion with TB (16:21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td>m. 30+</td>
<td>Rinchenpong</td>
<td>Unrecorded elicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD</td>
<td>m. 50+</td>
<td>Phodong</td>
<td>BLA 9; formal talk given at a meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>m. ?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>About food; post in a Whatsapp group (2:25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>m. 70+</td>
<td>Tathongchen</td>
<td>BLA 6, formal address in a meeting</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.
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 རིམ་སྙོམ་ /námtō/ ‘superstition’, 42 pages, see Tsichudarpo (1997).

Work by Karma Lobsang Bhutia (ཀརྨ་བྔོ་བཟང་ bho-Ti-ya):
6) A collection of folk-stories and moral teachings རྣ་གསུང་ དང་ གཏམ་བཤད rna-gsung dang /násuŋ t’a: tamɛʔ/ ‘folkstories and instruction’ (English name: Sikkimese Bhutia oral stories and moral dialects) compiled by the author, 153 pages, see Bhutia (2013).

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 སྦར་ཕུང་ལིང་དམ་འགྔོ་ལིས་ '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 བད་མ་རིག་འཛིན་སྟག་ཅུང་དར་པྔོ་ pad-ma rig-'dzin stag-cung-dar-po):


A “compilation” by Tshering Thendup Bhutia ཆེ་རིང་གུན་གྲུབ་ལྔོ་ཡིག་པྔོ་ and Thupten Palzang Bhutia ཐུབ་བསྟན་དཔལ་བཟང་ལྔོ་ཡིག་: 

9) A discussion on language situation in the world '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་ལྔོ་ཡིག་ bkra-shis 'bras-ljongs-po), Pema Rinzing Takchungdarpo (WD བད་མ་རིག་འཛིན་stag-cung-dar-po) and Bhaichung Tsichudarpo (WD བྷའི་ཅུང་tshes-bcu-dar-po):

13) Annual magazine of the newspaper ཆེས་བུ་འབྲས་ལྔོ་ལྔོ་ལྔོ་ ད་ལྟའི་ '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 within Denjongke speech are written in Roman script even within the Denjongke script, as shown in (1.3).

(1.3) ད་རུང་ ང་ཅའི་ཀི་ university ཕྱེད་མི་ལོག་ཁྱབ་ཀྱི་ བད་ །
\[t'arûŋ \, \mathit{ðatei=gi} \, \mathit{juniva:i} \, \mathit{lep} \, \mathit{ma-tsʰu-kʰen} \, \mathit{be:}\]
still 1PL.GEN=GEN university(Eng.) arrive NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE
\[\mathit{ɲá}.\]
TAG.ASR
‘(It) hasn’t yet been able to reach our university (level), I tell you.’ (DR discussion with KL)

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

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33 Generally, English words are considered instances of code-mixing, although the most frequently used English words (while talking Denjongke) may approach the status of loan words.
word, see (1.4), where the Nepali word *puni* ‘also’ is adapted to Denjongke pronunciation as *pun* (i). Morphemes addressed in the discussion are typically given in bold, see *pun* in (1.4).

(1.4) ཨ་ཙི་ རྔོགས་རམ་ བྱ༹ས་ཤད་ལྔོ་ཀི། (Nep.) *pun* then it is=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) *juniversity* 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) སྡིག་ འདུག་ཀེ་ དྱེ་ ཁྱེད་ཀ།
   sā-tsʰa du-ke pʰeka.
   eat-CMPL SEN-IN half
   ‘(It) has eaten half (I saw).’ (PL interview)

(1.6) བ་ འདི་ ཁྱེད་ཀེ་ བྱེ་ བྱེད་ཀེ་ དེ་ གྱེ་ རབ་པྱེ་ ཨིན།
   tʰep=di kʰ:teʰ: ma-jā-ge lāp-o ti.
   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* च्छ lag (36 as *c* in ग) 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 ढ and ण respectively. Another reason was the need to introduce spellings for frequently heard foreign loan words such as proper names which have such consonantal sequences that appear the WT but have since developed into retroflexes in the inherited lexicon of Denjongke. For instance /kr/, as in Khrishna, and /pr/, as in Pradhan, are now written as क and प respectively because क and प 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

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34 Similar to English code-mixing, the most frequently used Nepali words may have attained the status of a loan word. In the case of *puni*, 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 जङ्ग.

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

36 Also known as स्न्हल च्छ lag sgra-rtags tsha-lag.
in that some words are spelled in various ways by different authors, and sometimes by the same author, e.g. ལེགམ་, ལེམ་ and ལེགས་ for lɛ̀m ‘good’.

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 ཡང་=jãː ‘too, even’, རང་=rãː (anaphoric emphatic), ཡོ་=to (contrastive emphatic) and clause-final clitics སོ (attention marker), སོ (honorific), ཡོ =se/si (quotative), རོ =lo (reportative) are written together with the word they follow, e.g. ཡོ ཡང་=jãː ‘I too’. An exception is the demonstrative-emphatic clitic དི་=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, མི་ཁིམ་ཟང་=sãː ‘until home/house’, མི་ཁིམ་ཧོ་=kʰim sàːt ‘until home/house’, མི་ཁིམ་=kʰim tsakʰa ‘at home/house’. Similar to Tsichudarpo, double case marking, or case stacking, is written together, e.g. locative following a genitive བི་ན་=kʰa=i=na ‘in the mouth’ (occurs also as simply locative བི་ kʰa=na). Serialized verbs are written separately, e.g. བུ་མ་=bak ʰon-di (also ba: ʰon-di) ‘is doing (lit. carry come-ΝF)’. Interrogative copulas གོ་=pa and གོ་=jam, in analogy to copulas and copular auxiliaries are written separately, whereas interrogative suffixes གོ/ང་-ka/ga and གོ/ང་-kam/gam are written together with the previous word.

Following the common practice of Denjongke authors, the final auxiliary copulas are here written separately from the preceding part of the verb complex, e.g. བུ་མ་-bo be? ‘did (hon.)’, བུ་མ་-bo be? ‘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

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37 According to an emerging standard, the correct spelling at present is ལེགས་ which retains the etymological connection to the related form ལེགས་ ‘(be) good’.
dropped in some constructions, e.g. kjap-to(=i:/be?) ‘is doing’, kjap-o(=i:/be?) ‘did’, and they occur independently as copulas. Moreover, other elements such as emphatics =то and =ра may intervene between the nominalized verb form and the final auxiliary, giving some justification for writing the auxiliaries separately, see (1.7).

(1.7) a) གཞུང་གི་ གཡྔོག་ རྐྱབས་མཁན་ཏྔོ་ སྦད།

\[ zuŋ=gi \quad fjöd \quad kjap-kʰɛn=to \quad be? \]

government=GEN work do-NMLZ=CEMPH EQU.NE

‘(I) am a government employee.’ (KT e)

b) ལན་རྒྱས་ཙུ་ཀིས་ མཁེན་བའི་ བདག་ཀུ་ སྦད་

\[ lɛŋgɛ=:tsu=gi \quad kʰɛm-bo: \quad daku \quad be? \]

PRN.HON=PL=AGT know.HON-2INF GEN owner EQU.NE

kʰɛŋ-kʰem-bo-ra \quad be?.

know.HON-RDP-AEMPHEQU.NE

‘You are owner’s of knowledge, you know well.’ (CY interview)

c) ཉིན་ཤད་ཏྔོ་ ཉིན་ཉ་ ཉ་ཀུ་ རིག་བཟང་ གསུང་བྔོ་ འདི།

\[ ì̃ː=ɕɛ=to \quad ì̃ː \quad ñá \quad áku \quad rigzãː \]

EQU-INF=CEMPHEQU.PER TAG.ASR father’s,younger.brother PN

súm-bo=di.

say.HON-2INF=DEMPH

‘It is indeed as Uncle Rigzang says.’ (sbar-phung 88)

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

1.2.7.3 Syllable merging

In spoken language, the nominalized verb VERB-po may be abbreviated to VERB-b (with verbs ending in glottal stop or p and followed by the equative 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 ཁ་ and representing the consonant value (either -b or -m) in the previous syllable (changing ཁ་ into བ་ because ཁ་ does not occur syllable-finally), e.g. གནང་ཐར་སྦད་ \( ñã̃ːm \)-bɛʔ ‘did (hon.).’ 38 Although I have not seen the abbreviated forms of verbs nominalized by -po/bo in written Denjongke, the same orthographic principle is used in words such as tsim ཞེནམ་ (rtsedn) ‘game’ (Richhi 37) and p’usim ལུ་སིངམ་ (p’usingm) ‘younger sister’ (Richhi 142) to show the historical origin of the word.

1.2.7.4 Phonological writing

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

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38 The auxiliary in གནང་ཐར་ ‘sé-bé’ is written without a word-break because the last consonant of the nominalized verb (p) and the first consonant of the auxiliary (b) merge into an indivisible /bb/ [b].
Denjongke is to give those readers who know Tibetan characters but not the phonetic alphabet better access to spoken pronunciations. An example of an innovative spelling is given in (1.8), where (a) illustrates a written clause from the novel Richhi along with a reading-style pronunciation of written Denjongke in Roman based script. Example (1.8b), on the other hand, presents a corresponding colloquial pronunciation along with the innovative phonemic Denjongke spelling.

(1.8) a) ཨིན་ཀྱིམ་ཏི་ཏྱུག་ ལྔོག་ཚར་བྔོ་ ཨིན་ནམ

\[ kʰiṁ=na \ lòk-tsʰaː-bo \ in-nam? \]

house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER-ATTQ

‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (Richhi 24)

b) ཨིན་ཀྱིམ་ཏི་ཏྱུག་ ལྔོག་ཚོའུ་ ཨིན་ནམ

\[ kʰiṁ=na \ lòk-tsʰo-u \ ɲ̃ám? \]

house=LOC return-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER-ATTQ

‘I wonder whether (he) has returned home.’ (KN e)

The spelling innovations in (1.8b) are ཐུ་ instead of ཐུ་ to represent colloquial pronunciation -tsʰou and ཐུ་ instead of ཐུ་ to represent the colloquial pronunciation ɲ̃ám.

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 lombs ‘minister’ is here written as བྔོན་པུ་ blon-pu rather than as བྔོན་པོ blon-po. 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 ḡei=gi [we GEN=GEN] is represented as འྦྱེི་ྦྱེི་ ngā-ca’i-ki, although in written language the simple genitival expression འྦྱི ngā-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 ས, which occurs on bilabial and velar stops and bilabial nasals in written Denjongke but not in Tibetan, is represented by an inverted apostrophe ’, e.g. ལྷུ m’yong ‘finish’, བྱུང་ k’rak’rok ‘sound of

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39 However, if the word occurs in a written source, I follow the original spelling.
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. མོག་ [mjoː] ‘finish’ vs. *myong* [ɲoː] ‘endure’; མོང་ [mjoː] ‘sound of a dysfunctional body’ vs. *bkra-shis* [ʈaːci] ‘prosperity’.

Table 1.6. The Wylie system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>བ</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>བ</th>
<th>ḍha</th>
<th>བ</th>
<th>ga</th>
<th>བ</th>
<th>nga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>cha</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>tha</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>pha</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>tsha</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>dza</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>zha</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>za</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>’a</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>sha</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>བ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.2.9 Organization of the grammar

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

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

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

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40 *Tsha-lag* also occurs with  CU resulting in *sh’a*.  

29
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.

Throughout this grammar the near-open unrounded central vowel is for typographical reasons written as /a/ when reference is made to the phoneme. The phonetic symbol [ɐ] is only used in the phonetic descriptions in this chapter, i.e. /ápo/ [ʔépo] ཤབོ་ ‘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>Bilbial</th>
<th>Dento-alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alv.</th>
<th>Alv.-pal.</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d̥</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;breathy&quot;</td>
<td>pʽ</td>
<td>tʼ</td>
<td>tʼ</td>
<td>kʼ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tʃʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;breathy&quot;</td>
<td>tsʼ</td>
<td>tʃʼ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>h</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voiceless</td>
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<td>Rhotic</td>
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<td>Voiceless</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All consonants, except the glottal /ʔ/, occur word-initially. 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. 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. 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. /tʰu/ 'six', /tʰuɾ/ [tʰuɾ] '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 [pʰ] 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/ [kʰɛ̃dʰi] mkhal-ril ‘kidney’, /pʼõːbu/ [pʼɔːβu] 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 [ⁿgɔkɔ] is voiced throughout, but the second word, written here as [gkɔkɔ], has a period of weak voicing (shown by the wave form and pitch) followed by a voiceless release. Watters (2002: 4) reports similar “prevoiced” stops in Sherpa (Solu Khumbu) and other Tibetan languages.
Plosives and affricates are now presented according to the place of articulation beginning from bilabial and moving backwards in the articulatory tract. Description of phonemes and allophones is followed by minimal/analogous sets, which illustrate that the sounds in question differentiate meaning. Plosives and affricates do not usually occur as geminates. The exceptions are mentioned in the discussion below.

**Bilabial plosives**


[p'] voiceless unreleased bilabial plosive; utterance-finally: /hap/ [hɛp'] ˈbark (v.’), /ip/ [ɪp'] ˈhide (intr.’)

/pʰ/  [pʰ] voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /pʰjak/ [pʰjæk.linspace]~[pʰjæʔɕ] ˈsweep’, /kʰimpʰjæʔɕ?/ [kʰimpʰjæʔɕ?] ˈbroom’

/ϕ/ voiceless bilabial fricative; inter-vocally with some speakers: /dupʰuʔ?/ [dũpʰuʔ?] ˈ (RB)~[dũkʰpʰuʔ?] ˈcave’

/b/ voiced bilabial plosive; word-initially, word-medially following nasal, and also inter-vocally in variation with [β]: /bu/ [bʊ] ‘middle’,/ ámbiʔ?/ [ʔәmbiʔ?] ˈmango’, /p’ôːbu/ [p’oːbʊ]~[p’oːbʊ] ˈdonkey’

/β/ voiced bilabial fricative; inter-vocally preceding vowels other than /a/, in variation with /b/: /p’ôːbu/ [p’oːbʊ]~[p’oːbʊ] ˈdonkey’, /rỳbe/ [rỳbe] ˈtortoise’

/w/ voiced labio-velar approximant; inter-vocally preceding /a/: /t’àba/ [t’àwa] ˈquestion’, /nàba/ [nàwe] ˈhell’ 44 ; the nominalizer /-po~bo/ is intervocally variously realized as [-bo~βo~wo].


/pu/ ˈskin hair’ /pjak/ ˈpeel’ /pa:/ ˈkindle’  

/pʰu/ ˈblow’ /p’jak/ ˈsweep’ /pʰa:/ ˈexpand’

/bu/ ˈmiddle’ /bjak/ ˈsweep’ /ba/ ˈhide’

/p’u/ ˈboy’ /p’jaʔ?/ ˈrock’ /p’a:/ ˈinterval’

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 be? (po be?) merges into -bbe?, e.g. jò-po be? (WD ɰ̃’pɔ yod-po sbad) > jəbbəe? (WD ɰ̃’pə  yodb-sbad).

44 Although [w] can be shown to be an allophone of /b/, the transcription in example clauses follows a more phonetic writing t’wa ‘question’ and niwa ‘hell’ because the phonetic writing was deemed to better result in correct pronunciation.
Dento-alveolar plosives and affricates
The dento-alveolar plosives and affricates are pronounced with the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth and the alveolar ridge (unlike /s/, /z/, /r/ /r̥/, which are alveolar).


[θ]  voiceless dental fricative; word-medially, with some speakers: /tʰaːʔ/ [tʰʔ] ད་ ‘now’, /tʰom/ [tʰʔ] དོམ་ ‘bear’

/d/  [d]  voiced dento-alveolar laminal plosive; word-initially and word-medially: /da/ [dʰ] མདའ་ ‘arrow’, /gaduŋ/ [g̪d̪ʊŋ] ས་རྡུང་ ‘mortar’


/ta/  [t]  ‘look’  /tek/ [tʰ] ‘place up, keep’

/tʰa/  [tʱ]  ‘end’  /tʰak/ [tʰʔ] ‘grind’

/da/  [dʰ]  ‘arrow’  /dek/ [dʰ] ‘place inside’

/t’a/  [t]  ‘now’  /tʼek/ [tʼ] ‘chase away’


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

/tsa/  [t̪]  ‘vein’

/tsʰa/  [tʰ]  ‘salt’

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

/tsʼa/  [tʼ]  ‘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.

\[ /t^h/\] voiceless aspirated postalveolar alveolar plosive; word-initially and medially: /tʰom/ [tʰɔm] ཤེ་ ‘town’, /sáːtʰa/ [sáːtʰa] ཤེ་ ‘map’


\[ /r/\] voiced alveolar flap; intervocalically in /teuŋ/ [teuŋ] ཤེ་ ‘to be similar’.

\[ /t’/\] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated postalveolar alveolar plosive followed by breathy voice; word-initially: /t’uʔ/ [t’uʔ] ཤེ་ ‘six’, /t’oːpa/ [t’oːpa] ཤེ་ ‘morning’

\[ /tʰap/\] ཤེ་ ‘act’

\[ /dak/\] ཤེ་ ‘join’

\[ /t’aːk/\] ཤེ་ ‘get well’

**Alveolo-palatal affricates**


\[ /tsʰ/\] voiceless unaspirated alveolo-palatal affricate; word-initially and medially: /tsʰaʔ/ [tsʰaʔ] ཤེ་ ‘hand (h.’), /tsʰetʃu/ [tsʰetʃu] ཤེ་ ‘hot spring’


\[ /tɛ’/\] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated alveolo-palatal affricate followed by breathy voice; word-initially /tɛ’ʔa/ [tɛ’ʔa] ཤེ་ ‘tea’, /tɛ’um/ [tɛ’um] ཤེ་ ‘lady, madam’

\[ /z/\] voiced alveolo-palatal fricative; inter-vocally: /sóːtsaʔ/ [sóːtsaʔ] ཤེ་ ‘tea (hon.)’

\[ /tɛk/\] ཤེ་ ‘break (tr.)’

\[ /tɛkʰaːk/\] ཤེ་ ‘break (int.)’

\[ /dzaʔ/\] ཤེ་ ‘tongue (h.)’

\[ /tɛ’ako/\] ཤེ་ ‘thief, robber’

**Velar stops**

The sequence [velar stop] + /j/ does not occur preceding front vowels /i/, /e/, /э/ /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].


[kʰ]~[ʔ] utterance/finaly: /zik/ [zik]~[zik] ཤེ་ ‘leopard’
[c] voiceless unaspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and medially following /j/ and

/kʰ/ [kʰ] voiceless aspirated velar plosive; word-initially and medially following /kʰa/ [kʰa] ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ‘mouth’, /ōkʰa/ [ʔōkʰa] ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ‘there’

[cʰ] voiceless aspirated palatal plosive; word-initially and medially following /j/ and

/g/ [g] voiced velar plosive; word-initially, word-medially in other contexts than inter-


[j] voiced palatal plosive; word-initially and medially following /j/ and /iː/; /gjuk/

[y] voiced velar fricative; word-medially inter-vocally: /rjɡoː/ [ʃjɡoː] ས ས ‘rabbit’,
/ʃu̞ɡeː/ [ʃu̞ɡeː] ས ས ས ‘foreign’

/k’/ [k’] voiceless lightly but inconsistently aspirated velar plosive followed by breathy
voice; word-initially: /k’aːn/ [k’ən] ས ས ‘what’, /k’oːlaʔ/ [k’əlaʔ] ས ས ས ‘clothes’

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

/keː/ ས ས ‘bring’ /ka/ ས ས ས ‘order’ /kom/ ས ས ས ‘thirst’

/k’eː/ ས ས ‘tax’ /kʰa/ ས ས ས ‘mouth’ /kʰom/ ས ས ས ‘dry (intr.)’

/geː/ ས ས ‘cross’ /ga/ ས ས ‘gaz’. /gom/ ས ས ས ‘door’

/k’eː/ ས ས ‘separate’ /k’aː/ ས ས ‘what, where’ /k’om/ ས ས ‘gain experience’

The velar stop does not typically occur as a geminate although my data has two exceptions,
štukky (CY)/štukke (PT) ‘fixed, not moving’ and teštukke? ‘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-glottal vowel endings and final /k/ [k’]–[ʔ]. 47

/k’ʔ/ [k’ʔ] ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ‘difference’

/kʰk’/ [kʰk’]–[kʰʔ] ས ས ས ‘freeze’

/kʰ/ [kʰ] ས ས ས ‘profit’

/tsʰʔ/ [tsʰʔ] ས ས ས ས ས ས ས ‘offering’ /kʰaʔ/[kʰuʔ] ས ས ‘liquid, soup’

/tsʰ/ [tsʰ] ས ས ས ‘lake’ /kʰa/ [kʰu] ས ‘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 teštukke?.

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 [ɦ].48 Because the initial glottal only occurs in the high register, it is here considered a phonetic feature of initial vowels, e.g. /ám/ [ʔəm] ‘mother’.49

/ám/ [ʔəm] əm ‘mother’
/ḥáp/ [həp̚] əp̚ ‘to bark’
/ȃːm/ [ɦəːm] əm ‘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.50 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/ [dzɛʔ]~[dzɛʔ]~[dzɛ] ɛɐ̤̃̀ ‘element’
/dzeʔ/ [dzɛʔ]~[dzɛʔ]~[dzɛ] ɛɐ̤̃̀ ‘leprosy’
/ziʔ, (dziʔ)/ [ziʔ]~[ziʔ]~[zi:] ɛɨ̃̀ ‘leopard’

Within back vowels, the presence of a glottal stop, similarly to vowel length, raises vowel quality, e.g. /lò/ [lɔ] ‘year’ vs. /lóʔ/ [lɔʔ] ɔ̃ ‘light’ (vrt. /ko:/ [kɔ] ɔ ‘dig’ vs. /ko:/ [kɔ:] ɔ ‘throw’) and /lù/ [lʊ] ʊ ‘song’ vs. /lùʔ/ [lʊʔ] ʊ ‘sheep’ (vrt. /ku:/ [kʊ] ʊ ‘body’ vs. /ku:/ [kʊ:] ʊ ‘liddle 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/ ɤ ‘to crawl’ both as [gɔk] (F1 550 Hz) and as [gɔʔ] (F1 400 Hz).

A phonetic glottal stop often occurs accompanying an utterance-final nasalized vowel, e.g. /sány/ [sɐŋ] ɐ̃ ‘incense’. At least in the speech of consultant TB, the glottal distinction between /ˈt̪āʔ/ ɐ̤̃ ‘tiger’ and /ə/ ‘horse’ ɐ̤̃ is neutralized when a case marker is added, i.e. /t̪āʔ=lo/ [t̪ɐ̤̃=lɔ] ɐ̤̃ ‘to the tiger’ and /t̪ə/ [t̪ɐ̤̃=lə] ɐ̤̃ ‘to the horse’ become indistinguishable.

2.2.1.2 Fricatives and central approximants

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

48 In WT/WD, [ʔ], [h] and [ɦ] correspond to ə, ʊ and ɛ 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 Causemann (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’ușim] སུསམ་ ‘younger sister’
/z/ [z] voiced alveolar grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /zo/ [zɔ]

‘make’, /kúzuʔ/ [kúzuʔ] གུ་ཐུ ‘body (hon)’
/e/ [ɛ] voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially: /ɛo/ [ɛɔ]

/z/ [z] voiceless alveolo-palatal grooved fricative; word-initially and word-medially:
/j/ voiced palatal approximant; at least word-initially, in fast speech of some
speakers: /zak/ [jakt] ཤུན་ ‘put’
/h/ [h] voiceless laryngeal fricative; word-initially: /hap/ [hæp] སྣབ་ ‘bark’, /hup/ [hʌp]

‘mouthful’
[påhip] ཤུན་ ‘container for millet beer’
/jou/ [jøː] ཤ ‘up’
/jøːʔ/~/jìʔ/ [jøːʔ]–[jìʔ]–[ɦìʔ] ཤ ‘exist’

/s/ vs. /z/ vs. /e/ vs. /ɨ/
/zo/ [zɔ] ‘make’ /za:/ [zɔː] ས ‘day, planet’
/ɛo/ [ɛɔ] ‘dice, gambling’ /cå/ [tɔ] ‘meat’
/zo/ [zɔ] ‘milk (v.)’ /ðaː/ [θɔː] ས ས ‘rainbow’

/s/ vs. /z/ /e/ vs. /ɨ/
/sìk/ [sík] ས ‘shiver’ /cë/ [tʃɔ] ‘know’
/zìk/ [tʃik] ‘leopard’ /æ:ʃo/ [æːʃɔ] ‘have, eat (hon.)’

/j/ vs. /h/
/jåʔ/ [jåʔ] ཤ ‘yak meat’
/håː/ [hæː] ‘quality of bad(ly cooked) rice’

/j/ vs. /h/ vs. /ɬ/ vs. /ɾ/ vs. /z/ vs. /dʒ/ /dʒ/ /dʒ/ /dʒ/ /dʒ/
/jàː/ [jìː] ཤ ‘again’
/hàː/ [hæː] ‘squander’
/əː/ [ɦiː] ‘lie’
In the word-initial position, /h/ contrasts phonetically with high register prevocalic [ʔ] and the low-register pre-vocalic [ɦ] (see contrastive set under glottal stop).

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

### 2.2.1.3 Nasals

Denjongke has eight nasals, the voiced /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and the voiceless or preaspirated /ŋ/ /ŋ/ /ŋ/ /ŋ/. The voiceless set is more precisely defined as voiced preceded by voicelessness, [ŋm] [ŋn] [ŋŋ] and [ŋŋ]. 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 /ŋ/, 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/ [sôn]–[sô] ʃəŋ ‘seed’, /təŋ/ [tân]–[tâ] ʃəŋ ‘send’

In continuous speech, nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant, e.g. /in-bo/ [im-bo] ʃəŋ ‘EQU-2INF’.

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


/ŋ/ [ŋ] voiceless dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop: /ŋa(ɡuʔ)/ [ŋa(ɡuʔ)] ʃəŋ ‘nose’,

/ŋ/ [ŋ] voiceless dento-alveolar (laminal) nasal stop: /ŋa(ɡuʔ)/ [ŋa(ɡuʔ)] ʃəŋ ‘nose ridge’

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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 [ŋɛ:cam].
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 /ŋ̥ɔmpu/~/ŋ̥ømpu/ ‘blue-green’. While some people pronounce the word with a velar nasal [ŋ̥ɔ́mpu], others use the alveolo-palatal [ɲ̥ømpu].
(2.2) làm-me? ‘below the road (lit. road-below)’ 
jièn=na ‘at the wedding (lit. wedding=LOC)’
kʰəŋ-ga/kʰəŋ-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 ལས་ gsal ‘clarify’ may be pronounced as [səl] when reading but is pronounced as [səː] 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 [ɾ].

[ɭ] voiced alveolar central approximant; word-medially preceding /l/: /korlɛ/ [kɔrɭɛ] མྲོ་ ‘about’
/r̥/ [ɾ̥] voiceless alveolar fricative, flap or trill, depending on the speaker; word-initially and possible word-medially (I have only one example): /ɾɛ/ [ɾɛ] སྣར་ ‘tear’, /bakɾaʔ/ [bɐkɾaʔ] བཀོར་ ‘spider’

/l/ vs. /l̥/
/là/ དེ་ ‘pass’
/lɔ/ ལྕ ‘year’
/l̥ok/ [l̥ɔk] ‘return’
/là/ ལྔོ་ ‘life force’
/lɔ/ ལོ་ ‘mind’
/l̥ok/ [l̥ɔk] ‘cause to return’
/lə/ ལག ‘deity’
/lɔ/ ལོ་ ‘south’
/l̥ok/ [l̥ɔk] ‘lift’

60 Utterance-medially, as in the intervocalic position in the sentence odusilo _ lap goe beʔ ‘It is to be called _’, /ra/ and /ɾu/ are likely realized with a flap [ɾ].
/lùk/ དུན་‘drop (intr.); sheep’
/lúk/ དུན་‘pour’
/luk/ དུན་‘take apart’

/r/ vs. /r̥/
/r̥ɛː/ [ɾ̥ɛ̃́ː] རལ་‘be torn’
/rɛː/ [kʰap] བཀ་‘needle’
/rʼɛː/ [kʼar] གར་‘what?’
/rɛː/ [ka] མ་‘who?’

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 ‘ 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 (Solu Khumbu), Dolpo Tibetan and Mugom Tibetan as “voiceless sometimes with slight aspiration and followed usually by breathy voice”, contrasting with “voiceless without aspiration” and “voiceless with heavy aspiration (followed by modal voice)”. Watters (2003) suggests that the consonants with slight aspiration have the feature [+spread], referring to the spread glottis causing the slight but inconsistent aspiration and often breathy vowel quality on the following vowel.

The difference in aspiration between /kʰ/, /k/ and /k/ in Denjongke is shown in Figure 2.3, where the duration of aspiration is 0,8 seconds (/kʰap/ བཀ་‘needle’), 0,6 (/kʼar/ གར་‘what?’) seconds and 0,2 seconds (/ka/ མ་‘who?’) respectively.

![Figure 2.3. Initial consonant duration in /kʰap/ ‘needle’, /kʼar/ ‘what?’ and /ka / ‘who?’](image)

Similar difference in aspiration for the bilabial set /pʰ/, /pʼ/, /p/ in /pʰuː/ འཕུར་‘fly’, /pʼu/ བུ་‘boy’ and /puː/ བས་‘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/ > ག, /pʼ/ > བ, /tʼ/ > བྲ, /sʼ/ > དྲ, /ʔʼ/ > ཤ, /ʔ/ > ཤ, /pʼ/ > བ, /tsʼ/ > ཤ.

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.

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62 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/ [kʼɛʔ] ‘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/ [kʼɛʔ] 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/ [kʼɛʔ] ‘line, order’, one instance had more aspiration than the other two, overlapping with /kʰɛː/ [kʰɛʔ] ‘tax’ in duration of aspiration.

Figure 2.6 presents the wave forms of the affricate minimal pair /tsa/ /tsʼa/ ‘grass’ vs. /tsʼa/ /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”.63 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.64

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

2.3 Vowels

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

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

Table 2.2. Denjongke vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th></th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th></th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>yː</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>oː</td>
<td>oː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aː</td>
<td></td>
<td></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 ι and ι 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 ι and ɛ are realized as high register /s/ and /s/ respectively (high pitch, modal voice), and WT ι and ɛ as low register /s/ and /s/ 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. dzeʔ སྐེ་ 'leprosy'), i.e. there is no contrast between [eː] and [eʔ]. As the glottal stop in [eʔ] is in sentential context often elided and causes vowel lengthening instead, [eː] and [eʔ] are phonologically interrelated and thus the short variant is not here represented as a separate phoneme.
Short and long vowels for /y/ and /ø/ are not given separately, because length is not as clearly contrastive in these two vowels as in the other vowels, see §2.3.2 on vowel length.

Figure 2.7. Vowel plot from consultant TB (Ralang)

The most conspicuous features of the vowel plot in Figure 2.7 are 1) the proximity of /i/ and /e:/, 2) the proximity of /u/ and /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 /o/ 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] suggests that /o/ [o] and /ø:/ [ø:] should be considered, analogously to /ok/ [ɔk]–[øʔ], phonologically related so that /o:/ [o:] is the lengthened variant of /o/ [o]. 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 /o:/ are marked as intrinsically long vowels, which have short allophones in specific contexts. With all the vowels /e:/, /y:/ and /o:/ such a context is a following glottal stop (for the interrelationship of length and final glottal, see §2.3.2). Moreover, /y:/ and /o:/ are realized as short allophones when they precede the nasal /n/. However, if the nasal is word-final, the pronunciation varies between [yn]–[yː] and [on]–[oː], e.g. /dyn/ [dỳn]–[dỳː] ‘seven’, /lòpøn/ [lòpøː] or /łòpøː/ phonologically related so that /oː/ [oː] is the lengthened variant of /o/ [o]. Lengthening, however, is accompanied by a considerable change in vowel height.

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 þkłu) ‘cause to move’ and kʊ: (WT þkł) ‘boil (intr.)’. Final n has resulted in vowel fronting followed by a nasal stop or nasalization, e.g. pyn/pyː: (WT þkłu) ‘brother’ and lòpøn/lòpøː: (WT þkłu) ‘teacher’. Final d has resulted in vowel fronting and a final glottal stop, e.g. by? (WT þkłu) ‘fertilizer’ and jʊʔ (WT þkłu ‘teaching’). 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. /bỳʔ/–[bỳː]–[bỳː] ‘fertilizer’ and /jʊʔ/–[jʊʔ]–[jʊʔ] ‘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. lʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘remain’ and tʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘load’, tʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘teaching’), but there are some words in which, similarly to Central Tibetan, the vowel is fronted (e.g. bỳʔ/ly: [WT þkłu] ‘body’ and the Tibetan-influenced alternative spelling of tʊʔ, tʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘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.

67. 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 þkłu) ‘cause to move’ and kʊ: (WT þkł) ‘boil (intr.)’. Final n has resulted in vowel fronting followed by a nasal stop or nasalization, e.g. pyn/pyː: (WT þkłu) ‘brother’ and lòpøn/lòpøː: (WT þkłu) ‘teacher’. Final d has resulted in vowel fronting and a final glottal stop, e.g. by? (WT þkłu) ‘fertilizer’ and jʊʔ (WT þkłu ‘teaching’). 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. /bỳʔ/–[bỳː]–[bỳː] ‘fertilizer’ and /jʊʔ/–[jʊʔ]–[jʊʔ] ‘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. lʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘remain’ and tʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘load’, tʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘teaching’), but there are some words in which, similarly to Central Tibetan, the vowel is fronted (e.g. bỳʔ/ly: [WT þkłu] ‘body’ and the Tibetan-influenced alternative spelling of tʊʔ, tʊʔ [WT þkłu] ‘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.


[æː] (~[yː]) long fronted near-open front unrounded vowel; following palatal or alveolo-palatal consonants: /nɛːɛn/ [nɛːɛn] ꡷ ‘yoke’, /tɛʰaːɛʔ/ [tɛʰɛːɛʔ] ꡷ ‘work (hon.)’; however, nasalization seems to counteract the fronting, /ázɛː/ [ɛːzɛː] ꡷ ‘maternal uncle’


/uː/ [uː] long close back rounded vowel; in other contexts than when followed by a palatal or alveolo-palatal consonant: /kuː/ [kʊː] ꡷ ‘ladder for pouring rice flour dough’, /pʰu:/ [pʰʊː] ꡷ ‘fly’


/y/ [yː] long close front rounded vowel; in other contexts than the ones specified below: /kyː/ [kɪː] ꡷ ‘drive’, /pʰyː/ [pʰɪː] ꡷ ‘offer’


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68 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. /tu’ymi/ ‘lamp for offering’ (from tu’o yi ‘offering’ and mi ‘fire’, the vowel quality o assimilates into y in the compound).
/ø/ [ɔː] long close-mid front rounded vowel; in other contexts than the ones specified below: /køː/ [kɔː] ཕོཉི ‘boil (tr.)’, /ɾøːm/ [ɾɔːm] རོ་མ རོལམ ‘cymbal’


Denjongke unrounded front vowels proved complicated to analyze, a problem also faced in many other Tibetic languages.69 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 /ɛ/).

The back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/ are realized as closer when long ([uː] [oː]), and more open when short ([ʊ] [ɔ]). A final glottal heightens vowel value similarly to length, e.g. /lø/~[lʊ] ‘mind’  vs. /lʊ/ [lʊ] ‘light’, /gok/ [ɡʊk]–[ɡʊʔ] ཕོག་ ‘craw’ (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/ མཇི ‘dog’ /kiː/ རོ་ ‘wrap’
/kʰɛ/ ཕེ ‘profit’ /keː/ རོ་ ‘bring’
/kʰa/ མཁ མ ‘mouth’ /kaː/ རོ་ (?) ‘split’
/kʰo/ མཁ ‘need’ /koː/ རོ་ ‘throw’
/kʰu/ མཁ མ ‘he’ /kuː/ རོ་ ‘laddle for pouring rice flour dough’
/kʰøː/ མཁ མ ‘boil (intr.)’ /køː/ རོ་ ‘boil (tr.)’
/kʰyː/ (/=kʰui/) ཕོག ‘his’ /kyː/ རོ་ ‘drive’

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

/siː/ བསིལ ‘cool’ /giː/ བགྲིལ ‘go around’ /siːp/ རོ་ ‘dew’
/sɛː/ བསེ བགྲེ ‘gold’ /geː/ བགྲེ ‘fall’ /sɛːm/ བསམ ‘bamboo slat wall’
/sɛː/ བསེ བགྲེ ‘clear’ /geː/ བགྲེ ‘win’ /sɛːm/ བསམ ‘daughter (hon.)’

69 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 /ɛ/ and /ɛː/ is actually “more often one of timbre [=quality] than of length.” Furthermore, Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 35) describes /ɛ/ and /ā/ (same as /ɛ/) as separate phonemes, but then comments on /ɛ/ that when “followed by a consonant (closed syllable), it is pronounced like /ā/.”
Especially in varieties of Denjongke spoken in East and North Sikkim, /a/ followed by the velar nasal /ŋ/ is pronounced as [ø]~[ɔ], hence /təŋ/ ‘send’ is typically pronounced [tʰøŋ]~[tʰɔŋ] in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but [tʰøŋ]~[tʰɔŋ] in East and North Sikkim. Therefore, in eastern and northern varieties of Denjongke and opposition between /a/ and /o/ seems to neutralize before /ŋ/.


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

/e:/


/a/


/u/


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. In the following minimal pairs, showing length contrast for each of the vowels, it is seen that the lengthened /i:/, /u:/ and /o:/ are higher in quality than the short counterparts /i/, /u/ and /o/. The situation with the unrounded front vowels /e/ and /ɛ/, as described below, is more complicated.

/i/

/si/ > [sɪ̃ː] ‘trouble, envy’ /ki/ > [kʰɪ̃ː] ‘be born’

/i:/

/kʰɛʈʔaʔ/ > [kʰɛ̃ːʈʰaʔ] ‘cheap’ /gep/ > [ɡɔ̃ːp] ‘bag’

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

/eː/

/kʰɛʈʔaʔ/ > [kʰɛ̃ːʈʰaʔ] ‘cheap’ /gep/ > [ɡɔ̃ːp] ‘bag’


/uː/ > [uː] > [zʊ] ‘melt’ /zuː(ʔ)/ > [zʊ] ‘to sit (hon.)’

70 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].

71 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.

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

73 Vowel length in this word was somewhat inconsistent between different speakers.

74 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. /sɔn/ [sɔːn]–[sɔː] ‘seed’. Syllable-finally (but word- medioinally) /n/ assimilates to the following plosive and the vowel is realized as short, e.g. /pɔn-pu/ [pɔmpu] ་ཅེས་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.

/ɕø̃ːm/ ཞོལ་མ་ ‘cockroach’ /tʃyːp/ དྲིལབ་ ‘small bell’

The glottal stop affects length. Utterance-finally the sequence /Vʔ/ is usually realized with various vowel lengths that end in a glottal stop. In sentence-m edial context, however, /Nʔ/ is usually realised as [Vː] without the glottal (similarly Hässler 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/ གཟིག་ ‘leopard’ have various degrees of length, but in continuous speech they are most of the time realized with a long vowel without the glottal.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/, /ɛʔ/, /eʔ/. This is shown in Table 2.3, which shows the F1 values of /iʔ/, /ɛʔ/, /iː[k]/ [iʔ]–[ik] 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.

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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 Michailovsky (1988: 123), on the other hand, point out that the WT rhymes -d, -g -s, which in Denjongke are often realized as a glottal stop, are in Dzongkha realized as length (and level pitch).
Table 2.3. Three-way contrast of /ɛʔ/ vs. /eʔ/ vs. /iʔ/ [iʔ]–[iʔ] 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. /dzɛʔ/</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/, PT /zik/ TB /dziʔ/</td>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>gzig</td>
<td>gzig</td>
<td>330-345</td>
<td>260-350</td>
<td>380</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. /ziː/</td>
<td>to split 77</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>300-330</td>
<td>260-310</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 > /cɛʔ/, /ɛ-ɛʔ?/ ‘comb-INF’
WT brjed > /dzɛʔ?, /dzɛ-ɛʔ?/ ‘forget-INF’
WT bshal > /cɛʔ/, /ɛ-ɛʔ?/ ‘rinse-INF’
WT mjal > /dzɛʔ?, /dzɛ-ɛʔ?/ ‘meet-INF’

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

WT btag > /taʔ?, /tα-ɛʔ?/ ‘append-INF’
WT lta > /tαʔ?, /tα-ɛʔ?/ ‘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 /tαːɛʔʔ/ [t̪ɐ́ːɕɛʔʔ] ‘to append’ and /tαɛʔʔ/ [t̪ɛʔʔ] ≠ ‘to watch’ a consultant from Tashiding, without priming, thought that both words were instances of /tαɛʔʔ/ [t̪ɛʔʔ] ‘to watch’. Only after being reminded of the meaning ‘to append’, the consultant identified the difference between the words and then made in his own pronunciation of the two words a length distinction similar to the one he had heard on the recording.

2.3.3 Diphthongs
Diphthong is here defined as a combination of two vowel sounds within one syllable. The two vowel sounds within a diphthong are further considered to consist of two vowel phonemes. The most frequent second vowel of a diphthong is /u/, e.g. /jɛu/ (WD ཤ་བྔོ་ dbye-bo) ‘differentiation’.78 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 /oi/ [óʔi]-[óʔi] ཊི ’hey!’ and /ai/ ཊི’ older sister’, /maicam/-/mɛcəm/ མི མ་ ’

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77 NB commented: “We don’t yet have a written form for this word.”
78 Final /u/ in a diphthong is traditionally typically written as ཤ 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 ཤ ’u.”
ཤརམ་‘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/ /têu/ རོ་‘dust’, /p’jêu/ རོ་‘hurry’, /jêu/ རོ་‘differentiation’, /kjeu/ རོ་‘rice measuring vessel’


/ai/ /ài/ རོ་‘older sister’, /maicam/~/mêcam/ བོ་སྨར ‘bachelorette’

/oi/ /òi/ [òi]~[ǿi] རོ་‘hey!’

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

/eu/ vs. /ou/ /iu/ vs. /eu/

mêu བོ་‘mole (in skin)’ tiiu རོ་‘navel’
mòu དོ་‘down’ têu རོ་‘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/ རོ་‘neck’s’, /pe-i/ རོ་‘example’s’

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

/oi/ /sô-i/ རོ་‘tooth’s’, /go-i/ རོ་‘head’s’

/uir/ /mù-i/ རོ་‘her’, /kʰu-i/ རོ་‘his’

The diphthong /ei/ also occurs in the interjections adzei རོ་ (surprise) and kei རོ་ (honorific address), and /ai/ occurs in the interjection aijo: རོ་ (discomfort), underlining the phonologically distinct character of interjections.

2.3.4 Nasalization
Distinguishing between nasalization and nasal stops is challenging in Denjongke. All monophtong vowels except /ɛː/ 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]~[ɒː]. The distinction is, however, held in West Sikkim, for instance in Tashiding.

79 The off-glide 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. śīŋ ʰi ‘tree’, sɛ̀ŋ gsn ‘hear (hon.)’. Such contrast, however, does not occur with the back vowels, because historically a final /n/ has caused vowel fronting /a/ > /ɛ/, /o/ > /ɛə/, /u/ > /y/, e.g. WT ʰaŋ > Denjongke ɡɛn ‘responsibility’. 81 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. tʰuŋ ṿuṅ ‘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 ḏaŋ ‘long ago’, nāŋtsʰi ṽaṅs tʃe ‘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 /ɾ/, pronounced [ɾ], which occurs rarely and not in all Denjongke varieties 83. The glide /j/ may follow the velar stops /k/, /kʰ/, /ɡ/ and /kʼ/, the bilabial stops /p/, /pʰ/, /b/ and /pʼ/, and the bilabial nasal /m/. All vowels may fill the

81 An important exception to the fronting rule is kʼan ɲɛ ‘what’, which is not pronounced kʼɛn 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/ [sɛ:] ‘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 /t/ in some speech varieties</td>
<td>All vowels /p/, /k/, /ʔ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/ and marginally /l/</td>
<td>All consonants except /ʔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Open syllables
CGVV /kʃu/ गृ ‘rice measuring vessel’ (KN), /p’ʃu/ गृ ‘hurry’
CVV /ʃu/ घ ‘up’, /kʰau/ ~ /k’ou/ घ ‘snow’, /tʃu/ घ ‘dust’
CV /ʃo/ घ ‘mountain pass’, /sʰo/ घ ‘tooth’, /kʰu:/ घ ‘bread’
V /ʃi/ घ ‘country’, /ˈʃi/ [ʃi:] घ (?) ‘eagle’
VV /ʃi/ घ ‘older sister’, /ˈʃi/ ~ /ˈʃi/ घ ‘hey!’

Closed syllables
CGVC /giap/ ग्प ‘back’, /mjo/ ग्प ‘finish’, /pʃek/ [pʃek] ग्प ‘cut (grass)’ (RB),
CVC /k’ur/ ग्ल ‘tent’, /sak/ ग्ल ‘accumulate’, /t’oːm/ ग्ल ‘trousers’
VC /ip/ ग्र ‘hide’, /‘ám/ ग्र ‘mother’, /‘ám/ ग्र ‘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/ ठ ‘offering’, /mi/ ठ ‘fire’ > /tʰyːmi/ [tʰyːmi] ठ ‘lamp for offering’

84 Final -n and -ŋ are often realized as nasalization and vowel lengthening.
85 A more typical pronunciation is pʃek.
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 /ɔ/ > /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) /mù=i/ [mùi]~[mỳi]~[myː]  བོད་‘her’
    b) /oi/ [öi]~[ʊi]  བོད་‘hey!’
    c) /maicam/~/maɛːcam/  བོད་ཤརམ་‘bachelorette, young woman’

(2.5) /gjompo/ [gjɔmpo]~-[gjømpo]~-[gømpo]  དགྔོ་ཤར་‘monastery’

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

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

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

(2.6) ཁ་ས།
    qa  beʔ  >  qɛː/ṛːv:
similar  EQU.NE
‘be similar’

(2.7) ཁ་ས།
    ódi  >  ói
‘that’

(2.8) ཁ་ས།
    dodi  >  doi
‘right this (one)’

(2.9) ཁ་ས།
    t’arɛŋ  >  t’ɛɛŋ
‘today’
(2.10) 

\[
ka-ki \quad \text{lāp-o} \quad > \quad kai \text{ lāpo}
\]

who=AGT  say-2INF

‘Who said (so)?.’ (Tashiding 5 p. 75)

2.5.3 Consonant lenition

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full form</th>
<th>Abbr. form</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰoː-po ː</td>
<td>[tʰoːm ː]</td>
<td>(PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nã̃ː-bo be?</td>
<td>[nẽːm be?]</td>
<td>(CY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōm-bo be?</td>
<td>[õm be?]</td>
<td>(NB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sṍː-bo be?</td>
<td>[sóm be?]</td>
<td>(DB)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2.11) 

\[
\text{nâː-bo-}\text{dā:} \quad > \quad \text{nâː-}\text{m-}\text{dā:}
\]

do.HON-2INF-CONJ

‘when doing’ (CY)

(2.12) 

\[
\text{nâː-}\text{nãː-}\text{bo} \quad > \quad \text{nâː-}\text{na-m}
\]

do.HON-do.HON-2INF

‘done’ (CY)

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

(2.13) 

\[
\text{ŋà dzøː-}\text{tsʰa:} \quad > \quad \text{ŋà dzøː-sa}
\]

1SG  make.mistake-CMPL

‘I (have) made a mistake.’ (JD minimal pair recording)

(2.14) 

\[
\text{sâː-}\text{tsʰa:} \quad > \quad \text{sâː-sa}
\]

eat-CMPL

‘I have eaten’

(2.15) 

\[
\text{tsʰalum} \quad > \quad \text{sálum}
\]

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

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>
<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/, /tˢ/, /ts/ , /tsʰa/ , /m̥/ /n̥/ /ɲ̥/ /ŋ̥/ , /l̥/, /r̥/, /h/</td>
<td>-After initials /b/, /pʼ/, /d/, /tʼ/, /g/, /kʼ/, /ts/, /tsʼ/, /m̥/ /d̥/ /n̥/ /l̥/ /r̥/</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/, /m̥/, /n̥/, /pʼ/, /ŋʼ/, /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

---

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 dissyllabic words.

2.6.1 Monosyllables

After initial tonal analysis with several speakers, I conducted a more systematic analysis of 84 monosyllabic nouns with KN from Upper Martam (East Sikkim). The words were first pronounced in isolation and then in a carrier sentence ódilo _ làp goːɕɛbɛʔ ‘This has to be said...’. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrastive pitch within sonorant initials (/má/ རྨ་ ‘wound’ vs. /mà/ མ་ ‘mother’), plosive initials in open syllable (/ka/ ལཀའ་ ‘order’ vs. /kʼa/ ལཀ ‘what, where’) and closed syllable (/kom/ ལསྐོམ་ ‘thirst’ vs. /gom/ ལསྐོམ་ ‘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 /kʼa/ ‘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 རྔ་ rnga) ‘five’ and /ŋá/ (WT རྔ་ rnga) ‘drum’. A consultant from Tashiding (RB), however, pronounced a pitch difference in /ŋá/ ‘five’ (high level) and /ŋá/ ‘drum’ (high falling). This is illustrated in Figure 2.11, presenting isolated pronunciations of /ŋá/ ‘five’, /ŋà/ ‘I’ and /ŋâ/ ‘drum’. More research is needed in order to determine whether Figure 2.11 shows list intonation, whether other triplets give evidence for a three way pitch contrast and whether the three-way contrast occurs in all vowels.

For the same speaker from Tashiding (RB), the words /ta/ घ ‘horse’ and /taʔ/ घ ‘tiger’ were segmentally contrastive when the words were pronounced in isolation, [ṭa] ‘horse’, [ṭaʔ] ‘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).
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 ཨ་ དེ་ དྷེ་ (ཨ་ འདེབས་ ཞིན་) ‘I’m looking at _’.

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 /zí:/ རིག་པ བོ ‘look’ and /zìː:/ རིག་ ‘split’. Both words are pronounced in an honorific imperative construction སེ་ ཆེན་- པ་ འ མོ ་ ས དོ ་ ཙ ་ ཨ་: resulting in meanings ‘Please look at the tree’ and ‘Please split the tree’ respectively.
Figure 2.14. Pitch contrast with voiced stop initials /ziː/ ‘look’ and /ziː/ ‘split’

Figure 2.14 shows that /ziː/ ‘look’ is pronounced with high basically level pitch whereas /ziː/ ‘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 /ziː/ ‘look’ and a voiced [β] with /ziː/ ‘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/ [kʰaʔ]–[kʰeʔ] ཟག་ ‘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. /lő/ [l̪ɔ] ‘mind’, /lőʔ/ [l̪o] (isolation) [l̪o] (context) ༥ལོ་ ‘electricity’.

In comparative recordings with KN (Martam), a high register word with a glottal ending (e.g. /ŋ̥aʔ/ ༩བྲག་ ‘incantation’) had a short vowel followed by a glottal stop when pronounced in isolation. In context, however, the words were pronounced with a falling pitch and a long vowel with the glottal elided. Thus, in sentential context, the difference between words with glottal ending and non-glottal ending was length, the glottal stop being pronounced as additional length.

Low register glottal ending, however, was pronounced even in context, as can be seen in Figure 2.15. The frame sentence is ódilo _ làp goxe be? (ཨློ་འདི་ལྔོ་ དེ་ གུན་བར་ 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 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 /pø̂mpu/ [pǿ̂mpʊ] བྔོན་པྔོ ‘leader’ and /pʼø̂mpu/ [pʼǿ̃mpʊ] བྔོན་པྔོ ‘Bön practitioner’. The words are first pronounced two times in isolation and then in the same carrier sentence as in Figure 2.16 (location of [pǿ̂mpʊ]/[pʼǿ̃mpʊ] in the sentence is marked by the dotted line).

---

89 Strictly speaking, the word “register” should be used for those words in which the 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 [pampaign] is much greater than the same difference in [pömpu]. The second syllables are roughly on the same pitch level. The main factor in disambiguating /pömpu/ and /pampaign/ 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 (/namentɕoʔ/ སྣམ་མཆོག་‘ear’ and /mantɕʰu/ མམ་ཆུ་‘lower lip’.

When pronounced in isolation, the low-tone word /mamentɕʰu/ 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. /namentɕoʔ/, 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 tenkʰa སྣེན་(ན) is contrasted in identical context with the low tone postposition n hogya རེ་ས་.

(2.19) a) དེ་ཁིམ་ཐེག་ནི།
   di kʰim tenkʰa 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, 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

\[91\] 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 agitative 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 བཏང་ ‘strike, do’, p’jaŋ བཟྔོ་ ‘sweep’, ɕɛʔ ‘comb’, p’jaŋ བཏང་ ‘do, zo བཟྔོ་ ‘make’, p’uŋ བྱོ་ ‘blow’, te: ཤེ་ ‘come (hum.)’, ts’o: ཤེ་ ‘feel’, p’hy: ཤེ་ ‘offer, lɛn ཤེ་ ‘take’, bom ཤེ་ ‘grow’, mjö: ཤེ་ ‘finish, lõ: ཤེ་ ‘stand, lâ: ཤེ་ ‘be enough’, tâ: ཤེ་ ‘send’, na: ཤེ་ ‘give (hon.)’, t’o: ཤེ་ ‘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 -po/-bo</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>kjap-o, p’jaŋ-o, ɕɛʔ-po (ɕɛʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>short vowel</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>p’ja-u, zo-u, p’u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long vowel</td>
<td>-bo/βo/wo</td>
<td>te:a:-bo, ts’o:-bo, p’hy:-bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-n, -m</td>
<td>-bo</td>
<td>lêm:bo, bom-bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-po</td>
<td>mjö:-po, lõ:-po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-bo</td>
<td>tâ:-bo, nâ:-bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past/perfective -tee/ze</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-tee</td>
<td>kjap-tee, p’jaŋ-tee, ɕɛʔ-tee (ɕɛʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>p’ja-ze, zo-ze, lɛn-ze, bom-ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-tee</td>
<td>t’o:-tee, lõ:-tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ze</td>
<td>tâ:-ze, nâ:-ze,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive -teːː/ţeːː/ţin</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-teːː</td>
<td>kjap-teː, p’jaŋ-teː, ɕɛʔ-teː (ɕɛʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>-ţeː/ţin</td>
<td>p’ja-ţeː, zo-ţeː, lɛn-ţeː, bom-ţeː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-teːː</td>
<td>t’o:-teː, lõ:-teː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ţeː</td>
<td>tâ:-ţeː, nâ:-ţeː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective -to/do</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>kjap-to, p’jaŋ-to, ɕɛʔ-to (ɕɛʔ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>-do</td>
<td>p’ja-do, zo-do, lɛn-do, bom-do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>mjö:-to, lâ:-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-do</td>
<td>tâ:-do, nâ:-do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ལེས་ ‘append’ > taː-po and ɕɛʔ ‘push’ > ɕɛʔ-t. 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, -te, –teː, -to)</th>
<th>Voiced (-bo, -Ze, -Zeː, -do)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰoː སྙེད་ ‘see’</td>
<td>tʰuŋ སུག ‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâː རེད་ ‘be enough’</td>
<td>tsöː སྐྱེད་ ‘sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lôː དུ་ ‘stand (up)’</td>
<td>sûŋ སྐས ‘say (hon.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mjôː གོ་ ‘finish’</td>
<td>l’aː སུག ‘carry (hon.)’</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 རྐྱབས་ ‘strike’ > kjap-o, pʰjak གསུང་ ‘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. t’ak རེ་ ‘get well’ > t’ako, taʔ ལེན་ ‘adorn’ > ta po. When preceded by a root ending in a short (non-nasalized) vowel, the suffix becomes -u, e.g. p’ja རེ་ ‘do’ > p’jau, zo རེ་ ‘make’ > zo-u. In the case of final /o/, the vowel may also be just lengthened, e.g. zo རེ་ ‘make’ > zo:. 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: སྐེ་ ‘come (hum.)’ > tea:bo [te’ā:bo], tsʰo: སྐྱེད་ ‘feel’ > tsʰo:bo [tsʰo:bo]. When preceded by the nasals /m/ and /n/, the suffix occurs as -bo, e.g. bom རེ་ ‘becoming’, lên རེ་ > lêm-bo ‘taking’. Similarly to other suffixes, final /ŋ/ may obtain either voiceless or voiced suffix, e.g. mjô:po གོ་ ‘finished, finishing’ vs. tâ:bo གོ་ ‘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 རྐྱབས་ ‘strike, do’ and pʰjak གསུང་ ‘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 -pateene</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? གོབ་ ‘need’ > miŋ-go? གོབ་ ‘need not’, sà ག ེ ‘eat’ > man-za ག ེ ‘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 ག ེ ‘give’</td>
<td>mam-bin, mim-bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'e: ག ེ ‘have time to’</td>
<td>man-de:, min-de:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'dö: ག ེ ‘die (hon.)’</td>
<td>man-dö:, min-dö:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'o ག ‘understand’</td>
<td>man-ŋo, min-ŋo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sà ག ‘eat’</td>
<td>man-za, min-za</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak ག ‘carry’</td>
<td>mam-bak, mim-bak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dö: ག ‘sit’</td>
<td>man-dö:, min-dö:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go: ག ‘need’</td>
<td>man-ŋo, min-ŋo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zim ག ‘sleep (hon.)’</td>
<td>man-zim, min-zim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zak ག ‘put’</td>
<td>man-zak, min-zak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzę: ག ‘meet (hon.)’</td>
<td>man-dzę:, min-dzę:</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 genetivized nominalizer

The genetivized infinitivizer -bo: [wo:] is by some speakers, and especially in fast speech, reduced to [i], see (2.20-21).

(2.20)  a) ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག ེ ག Bolton

\[cù=\text{wo}: \quad \text{gà}=\text{di}\]

say=2INF GEN \quad \text{time=DEMPH}

‘when saying’ (KLT)
2.8.4 Agentive case

With the personal pronouns ŋà ‘I’, kʰu ‘he’ and mú ‘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 ‘I.AGT’. With ŋà and mú, the tone changes from low to high along with vowel lengthening, ŋáː ‘I.AGT’, múː ‘she.AGT’. Figure 2.19 illustrates the tonal difference between ŋà and ŋáː. The clause with ŋà, which is actually infelicitous, was produced just for comparison. Vowel length is not clearly visible in Figure 2.19, because the pitch traces also record prenasalization in /ŋ/. Manual measurements of vowel lengths in ŋà and ŋáː yielded 0,12 seconds and 0,22 seconds respectively, showing a clear difference in length. The agentivization of mú ‘she’ functions analogously to ŋà.

Figure 2.19. ŋà vs. ŋáː in context (consultant KN)

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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. ŋáː=gi, kʰuː=gi, múː=gi.
2.9 Phonemic script

The phonetic/phonemic symbols are from the IPA except for /g/ representing IPA /g/ and /a/ representing IPA /æ/. When italicized in example sentences, /a/ becomes /æ/. 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. ṭā: ɕɛʔ ‘send’, ṭʰā: ɕɛʔ ‘see’) while with other vowels the same historical velar tends to be retained in pronunciation (i.e. ɕiŋ ƞς ‘tree’, sēŋ ƞς ‘raise’, thuŋ æς ‘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 /ː/ occurs in various forms: im-bo (with infinitivizer -po/bo), in-do (with imperfective marker -to/do) and iŋ-kʰɛ: (with nominalizer -kʰɛ:). A nasal which assimilates to a following retroflex is written as n (as in in-то) rather than ƞ, 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 临港-kʰɛ:m beʔ is written as such although its pronunciation is typically [临港-kʰɛ:m 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’), ɛɛ-ɛɛʔ ‘tell-INF’ ɛɛʔ (‘tell’). Moreover, the glottal in the infinitive marker -ɛɛʔ(ʔ) is not written when an auxiliary follows. Although the auxiliary is written separately it is phonologically part of the same utterance with -ɛɛʔ(ʔ) and hardly ever divided from the infinitive by a pause.

The phonemic transcription below attempts to follow spoken pronunciation, not reading or spelling style pronunciation (for discussion on the differences see Sprigg 1991), e.g. the progressive marker ས་ར 蚌lin is transcribed in literary examples, following spoken pronunciation, as teː/zɛ: despite zɪn 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. [ɡɡa]) or prenasalization (i.e. [ŋɡga]). 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. sâːṭe ‘until, straight on’ [consultant KT]), and a monosyllabic cliticised form, which typically cannot occur independently as an answer to a question (e.g. =sâː ‘unt’il’). A fact suggesting that sâːṭe ‘until’ is a word and =sâː ‘until’ a clitic is that the word sâːṭe, 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, sâːṭe (WD རིན་ཆེན་ sâːṭe) is separated in writing from the previous word by a space whereas the clitic =sâː (WD རིན་ཆེན་ sâːṭe) is attached to the previous word. Grammatically, however, both sâːṭe ‘until, straight on’ and =sâː ‘until’ function essentially identically in phrases such as tʰorãː sâːṭe/tʰorãː =sâː: ‘until tomorrow’, suggesting that the phonologically reduced form =sâː:

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 sâːte. Another form which occurs both as a monosyllabic clitic and a disyllabic word is the relator noun =tsa/tسا/kʰa ‘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 ལྭ་ཁ (‘summer’, nièkgʰa རྭ་ཁ ‘danger’). Nouns differ from verbs and adjectives by their ability to be possessed and modified by numerals and adjectives. Moreover, unlike verbs, nouns allow the plural marker =tsu, case clitics, demonstratives and various emphatic clitics to be attached to the base form. Some of these morphemes may also be attached to the verb, but only after some additional verbal morphology such as the nominalizer in (3.1). In (3.1) the plural marker attaches to noun base but (3.2) illustrates that additional verbal morphology (here nominalizer -kʰɛn-) has to be added to the verb before attaching the plural marker.

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

(3.2) དེ་ཟང་ན་འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ན་འྔོང་མཁན་_tsu=lo
tʼizãː nà: dɛndzô:=-na ëŋ-kʰɛn=tsu=lo ódi còku jèbhe=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).
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’.  

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

Table 3.1. Ordinary and honorific nouns with no formal resemblance

<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>eːː</td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tee</td>
<td>dza?</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋagu?</td>
<td>éː</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaː, kãːpo</td>
<td>eːp</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miːdɔ?</td>
<td>tʃèn</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námtəo?</td>
<td>jin(ʃeʔoʔ)</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só</td>
<td>tsʰem</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ləko</td>
<td>teʔa?</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʔu</td>
<td>teʔap</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰim</td>
<td>zimkʰaː</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
<td>càptega?</td>
<td>shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toːpa?</td>
<td>sóː tym</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>ápø</td>
<td>jàːp</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áma</td>
<td>jʊm</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ù</td>
<td>sɛʔ</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'um</td>
<td>sɛːm</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 *gaŋŋa* ‘crab’. Oriya (*kaŋkara* ‘crab’) and Tirahi (*kangara* ‘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:dzā? ‘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>ཡོན་་བ་ ‘foot (hon.)’</td>
<td>ཡོན་་བ་ ལགྲམ་</td>
<td>ལགྲམ་</td>
<td>shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་ ‘body (hon.)’</td>
<td>ཨུ་ནུ ‘kuzu’?</td>
<td>ཨུ་ནུ ‘zu’?</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཤི་ ‘hand (hon.)’</td>
<td>ཤི་ ‘te’ani’</td>
<td>ཤི་ ‘ny’</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བུ་ ‘language (hon.)’</td>
<td>བུ་ ‘kɛːdʑaʔ’</td>
<td>བུ་</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་ ‘mind (hon.)’</td>
<td>ར་ ‘tʰug’</td>
<td>ར་ ‘gy’</td>
<td>responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་ ‘face (hon.)’</td>
<td>ར་ ‘tʰu’</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>འོ་ ‘offer (hon.)’</td>
<td>འོ་ ‘sà:j’a’</td>
<td>འོ་</td>
<td>tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་ ‘eat, have (hon.)’</td>
<td>ར་ ‘ze:tʰum’</td>
<td>ར་</td>
<td>spoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་ ‘say (hon.)’</td>
<td>ར་ ‘sìŋk’</td>
<td>ར་</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>བོད་དབྱིན་ ‘pynte’?</td>
<td>བོད་དབྱིན་ ‘kute’?</td>
<td>sibling, relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ཨ་ ‘ára’</td>
<td>ཨ་ ‘ze’ra’?</td>
<td>alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>པ་ ‘pa(h)ip’</td>
<td>པ་ ‘sà:(h)ip’</td>
<td>beer container (of bamboo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ ‘ákar’</td>
<td>བོད་ ‘ze:kar’</td>
<td>chilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>འོ་ ‘dosa’</td>
<td>འོ་ ‘zu:sa’</td>
<td>residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ར་ ‘zu:nê’</td>
<td>ར་ ‘kuñê’</td>
<td>image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>བོད་ ‘mikê’</td>
<td>བོད་ ‘te:nee’</td>
<td>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 རུ་སོན་ becomes me- in mèłam ‘prayer’ and -mo- in thumöː ‘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 keʔ ‘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 ( p^\mathrm{hy} : ) ‘offer (hon.)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-( \text{ee} ? ) ‘to x’</td>
<td>( p^\mathrm{hy} : -\text{ee} ? ) ‘to offer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-( \text{ni} ) ‘to x’</td>
<td>( p^\mathrm{hy} : -\text{ni} ) ‘to offer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-( \text{po/bo} ) ‘(the act of) x-ing’</td>
<td>( p^\mathrm{hy} : -\text{bo} ) ‘(the act of) offering’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalizer</th>
<th>Example with ( p^\mathrm{hy} : ) ‘offer (hon.)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-( \text{k}\text{h} ) ( \text{e} ) ( \text{e} ) : ‘the one x-ing’</td>
<td>( p^\mathrm{hy} : -\text{k}\text{h} \text{e} ) : ‘the one offering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-( \text{sa} ) ‘the place of x-ing’</td>
<td>( p^\mathrm{hy} : -\text{sa} ) ‘place of offering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-( \text{t} ) ( \text{a} ) ‘the way of x-ing’</td>
<td>( p^\mathrm{hy} : -\text{t} \text{a} ) ‘way of offering’</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 -\( \text{ee} ? \), -\( \text{ni} \) and -\( \text{po/bo} \) are verbal nouns which refer to the action denoted by the verb, whereas the markers -\( \text{k}\text{h} \) \( \text{e} \) \( \text{e} \), -\( \text{sa} \) and -\( \text{t} \) \( \text{a} \) : 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 (\( -\text{ee} ? \), -\( \text{ni} \) and -\( \text{po/bo} \)) and other nominalizers (\( -\text{k}\text{h} \) \( \text{e} \) \( \text{e} \), -\( \text{sa} \) and -\( \text{t} \) \( \text{a} \) :), 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 -\( \text{sa} \) and -\( \text{t} \) \( \text{a} \) : is that the former participate in tense, aspect and evidentiality-marking auxiliary constructions (e.g. \( p^\mathrm{hy} : -\text{ee} ? \) [offer-\( \text{INF} \) \( \text{EQU} \) \( \text{NE} \)] ‘will offer, offers’) whereas the latter do not. Furthermore, infinitives are the forms used in complement clauses (see §14), which is the basic function of infinitives/masdars cross-linguistically (Shagal 2017: 5).

All the markers in Table 3.5 can nominalize a clause. To accommodate uses as clausal nominalizers, I refer to -\( \text{k}\text{h} \) \( \text{e} \) \( \text{e} \), -\( \text{sa} \) and -\( \text{t} \) \( \text{a} \) : as nominalizers rather than as “nominal suffixes”. The general term nominalizer subsumes also infinitives, which are here considered a special
class of nominalized forms (i.e. those nominalized forms which nominalize action itself). The three infinitive forms are discussed under verbal suffixes in §3.3.6. The next section describes the nominalizers -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 མ་ 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>
<tr>
<td>Glossing</td>
<td>not glossed</td>
<td>II infinitive, collective, ordinal, associative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\[ tsəpo/tṣepo \text{ ‘debate (noun)’ from WT གྲེ་ rtsod ‘debate (verb)’ } \]

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

\[ səmpo \text{ ‘bridge’ from WT བོོ səm ‘line, continuity’ } \]
\[ lùmpo \text{ ‘locality, place’ from WT ལུང་ lung ‘valley, land’ } \]

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

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).

(3.5) ཨུ་རྒྱན་ ���ཆེར་ བོ་ཏ་རིང་བོ་ ད་རིང་ གྷི་ན་ བྱ་༢་ སྔོང་? hotel opening ལྡུ་བོ
PN PN-ASSOC today over.there hotel(Eng.) opening(Eng.) do-PUR
sō?:
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:

- qenpo ‘Sikkim-dweller; person of Sikkimese Bhutia ethnicity’ from qen: (bras-ljongs ‘Sikkim’)
- gjagar-bo ‘Indian’ from gjagar ‘India’ (WD rgya-gar)
- pʰiŋpo/ ‘foreigner’ from pʰiŋ ‘out(side)’ (WD phyi-gling)
- teʰiŋpo103 ‘outsider, non-Buddhist’ from teʰiŋ ‘out(side)’ (WD phyi-gling)

Occasionally, the more typically Central Tibetan ending -pa/ba is heard instead of -po/bo, e.g. laṭuŋba/lauṭuŋbo ‘person from Lachung’, pʰiŋbo/pʰiŋba ‘foreigner’.

Some more lexicalized forms may also be characterized as associative:

- japo ‘fisherman’ from WT nya ‘fish’
- eino ‘farmer’ from WT zhing ‘field’
- ne:po ‘patient’ from WT nad ‘illness’
- najo ‘insider, Buddhist’ from WT nang ‘inside(s)’
- teʰipo ‘outsider, non-Buddhist’ from WT phyi ‘outside’

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 -kʰː (§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 -kʰː 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 teʰi and pʰi derive from two different reflexes of WT phyi ‘out(side)’, the first corresponding to the typical Central Tibetan pronunciation and the latter (pʰi) to the typical Sikkimese reflex of phyi. Yet another alternative pronunciation for the word is teʰiriŋ-po. The meaning foreigner may also be expressed by the word teʰige:-po (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 རྔོལ་མྔོ rol-mo > røːm ‘cymbal’ (WD=Written Denjongke).

Table 3.7. Some masculine-feminine noun pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>WD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʽu</td>
<td>འབུ pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>འུ lha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geːp, geːpo, geːpu</td>
<td>རྨལ་ rgyalb, rgyal-po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʽjapu</td>
<td>བྱ་ཕྲོ་ bʼya-pho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jóku</td>
<td>རྩ཭ི གྱོག མུ། gyog-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopøn</td>
<td>དཔོདོན ‘go-dpon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lópøn</td>
<td>བྲོད་པོདོན slo-dpon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʽapøn</td>
<td>དཀོར་པོདོན ‘khrab-dpon</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 geːm(u)) or adding \(-mo/mu\) to the masculine stem (as with lamu), it is the form \(-pøn\) (WT བྲོད་པོདོན 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 སྤེ་མ་ mcher-pa > D tɕʰiːp ‘spleen’, WT སྤེ་མ་ sras-mo > D sɛːm ‘daughter (hon.)’. Second, WT -pa, which is retained in Lhasa Tibetan, usually results in \(-po\) in Denjongke, e.g. WT གཟིགས་ dgon-pa > D གཟིགས་ gompo ‘monastery’. Third, in Denjongke /p/ in the nominalizer is elided when preceded by a velar stop, WT གཟིགས་ lag-pa > D གཟིགས་ 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.)’ > dzeːkʰa རྣམ་ ‘meeting’. However, -kʰa does not seem synchronically as productive a marker as \(-po\), \(-m(u)\), \(-kʰɛ:\), \(-sa\) and \(-tː\).

3.2.4.3 Nominalizer \(-kʰɛ:\)
The nominalizer \(-kʰɛ:\) can be added to any verb which allows an actor. The combination refers to the person who does the action:
The form -kʰɛ̃ː derives from Classical Tibetan སྐན་ mḵan ‘skilled in’ (Beyer 1992: 120). In Classical Tibetan, -mḵan may attach to nouns (e.g. lam ‘road’, lam-mḵan ‘guide’), but in Denjongke it is postposed to verbs. Although in derivational nominalization, which is a lexical/morphological process, the nominalizer -kʰɛ̃ː expresses the meaning ‘the one who does action x’, in clausal nominalization -kʰɛ̃ː may express the meaning ‘the one which is x-ed’. The use of -kʰɛ̃ː in clausal nominalization is described in §13.2.1 (relative clauses).

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

zak-sa བྱེ་ས་ ‘place to put something, storage’
do-sa སྒྲ་ ‘place to stay, dwelling’
zu-sa བུ་ས་ ‘place to stay, dwelling (hon.)’
dzim-sa གཟིམས་ ‘place to sleep, bedroom (hon.)’
ki-sa མས་ ‘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:

pʰa-sa བཟྱ་ ‘level place, plain’ (lit. plain-place) (Richhi 60)

3.2.4.5 Nominalizer -tā:
The nominalizer -tā, deriving from WT རེ་ stang ‘manner, mode’, turns verbs into nouns with the meaning ‘the manner of x-ing’.

nɛː-tā: ཞེས་ ‘situation, condition (lit. dwell-manner)’
kʰa-lap-tā: བལ་ ‘manner of speaking (lit. mouth-speak-manner)’
pʰa-tā: གྲགས་ ‘manner of doing (lit. do-manner)’
tʰaː-tā: བཟླ་ ‘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.

\[(3.6) \text{lùk-so:} \quad \text{‘tradition (lit. tradition-custom)’} \]

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

\[(3.7) p^\text{a-ma}, p^\text{a-am} \quad \text{‘parents (lit. father-mother)’} \]

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

\[(3.8) \quad \]

\(\begin{align*}
a) & \text{mìk-te}'u & \text{‘tear (lit. eye-water)’} \\
b) & \text{te}'u-mi? & \text{‘spring (lit. water-eye)’} \\
c) & \text{hja-nc}? & \text{‘illness of the rainy season (lit. summer-illness or rice-illness)’} \\
d) & \text{adzo-ta}? & \text{‘tiger (lit. grandfather-tiger)’} \\
e) & \text{álù-kiu} & \text{‘potato (lit. alu-root [alu is potato in Nepali])’} \\
\end{align*}\]

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

\[(3.9) \quad \]

\(\begin{align*}
a) & \text{ám-}'tɕuŋ & \text{‘mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife (lit. mother-be.small)’} \\
b) & \text{ám-}'bom & \text{‘mother’s elder sister, father’s elder brother’s wife (lit. mother-be.big)’} \\
c) & \text{kʰim-pʰja} & \text{‘broom (lit. house-sweep)’} \\
\end{align*}\]

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

\[(3.10) \text{tʰuŋ-}'tɕuŋ & \text{‘drinking water (lit. drink-water)’} \]

### 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-tsâ:m ‘dirty’ (cf. tsâ:po ‘clean’) derived from the verb tsâ: ‘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 ñ̂), neutral negated equative mème (cf. positive be?), personal negated existential mé? (cf. positive jë?) and sensorial negated existential mindè? (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 ᱯ_without ‘do (verb)’ and p’ja ᱯ ‘bird (noun)’, ī̄ ‘look (verb)’ and ī ‘horse (noun)’, ga ᱯ ‘laugh; like’ (verb) and ga ᱯ ‘saddle’/ga ᱯ ‘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 lō ‘mind’ and te? ‘entrust’, see §4.2.2) or a serial verb construction (e.g. bak ő: ‘bring’ consisting of bak ‘carry’ and ő: ‘come’, see §4.2.3). Complex morphology is revealed by the position of the negative prefix, which occurs between the elements, e.g. lō mi-te? ‘does not trust’, bak mi-ő: ‘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 sō: \(^{105}\), and ő: ‘come’ with the imperative form cō?. These two suppletive/irregular forms also occur in serialized constructions such as bak gju ‘take’ > bak sō: ‘take!; took’ and bak ő: ‘bring’ > bak cō? ‘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 static and dynamic. Static verbs express time-stable qualities (e.g. ga ᱯ ‘love, like’), adjective-like property concepts (e.g. rii̯ ᱯ ‘be long’) and being (e.g. equative ñ̂: ᱯ and existential jō? ᱯ), whereas dynamic verbs describe events (kjo̯ ‘strike [of a snake]’) and processes (gju ᱯ ‘walk, go’). Static 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 static verbs

---

\(^{104}\) 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. sō:-bo be? [go.PFV-NMLZ EQU]> sōm be? ‘(someone) went’.

\(^{105}\) In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the invariable verb jā: ‘go’ is often used instead of gju and sō:.
may describe situations that hold in the present, as in (3.12-14). (Note that in (3.14) jèbbe? is a reduced pronunciation of jù-po be? [EX-2INF EQU.NE].)

(3.11) te nātea? tacidin lò(k) òm-bo ŋ.:  
so 1PL TPN return come-2INF EQU.PER  
‘So we came back to Tashiding.’ (DB day trip)

(3.12) kʰu nā=lo ga-u ŋ.:  
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=lo ɲy: kep jèbbe?.  
Bill Gates=DAT money much EX.NE  
‘Bill Gates has a lot of money.’ (YR e)

Stative and eventive verbs also differ in their tendency to occur with certain verbal suffixes. For instance, I did not find naturally occurring examples of stative verbs occurring with the perfect marker -tʃaː. 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 nā=lo ga-tʃaː.  
3SGF 1SG=DAT like-CMPL  
‘She has liked me (=accepted my proposal).’ (KT e)

b) lôptʃʷèː=di ĕː-tʃaː.  
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) nā teʰoː=lo ga.  
1SG 2SG.L=DAT like  
‘I like you.’ (KN e)
3.3.3 Controllable and non-controllable verbs

Similarly to other Tibetan languages, and also to 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. teʔaʔ 'break [intr.]') and the other verb describes an equivalent controlled (or volitional) action as caused by someone (teʔaʔ 'break [tr.]'). In other Tibetan 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, Hässler 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. dzyː ‘enter (controlled)’ and tsʰyʔ ‘enter, end up (non-controlled)’ are both intransitive\(^\text{106}\), and tsuk ‘insert (controlled)’ and sʊk ‘insert (non-controlled)’ both occur in transitive clauses. Example (5.7) illustrates the transitive use of non-controlled sʊk ‘insert, pierce’.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{na} & \text{ ra} = \text{lo} & \text{ma} \text{-tʰo} \text{-pa} & \text{dzø} \text{-diki} & \text{sʊk-o} & \text{be}?.
\end{align*}\]

1SG 2SG.M=DAT NEG-see-CIRC err-NF insert-2INF EQU.NE

‘I pricked you (with a needle) accidently, not seeing.’ (KN e)

Table 3.8 lists 45 such pairs in Denjongke. The disability to occur in the imperative may be used as a test for non-controllable verbs (Hässler 1999: 134).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-controlled</th>
<th>Controlled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baː ‘catch fire, burn’</td>
<td>paː ‘set on fire, burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰik ‘burn (intr.)’</td>
<td>sёk ‘burn (tr.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nè ‘sleep’</td>
<td>nё ‘put to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʔak ‘be(come) broken’</td>
<td>teʔak ‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰap ‘come down, descend’</td>
<td>pʰap ‘take down, cause to come down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram ‘be destroyed’</td>
<td>ram ‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eik ‘be destroyed’</td>
<td>eik ‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰyʔ ‘enter (non-vol.), end up’</td>
<td>dzy: ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰom ‘become dry’</td>
<td>kam ‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’â: ‘be filled’</td>
<td>kâ: ‘fill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu ‘melt (intr.)’</td>
<td>zu ‘melt (tr.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{106}\) if intransitivity is defined as the lack of a patient-like argument.

83
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 īː ‘I looked’ is identical with the non-volitional tʰõː ‘see’ in tʰõː-bo īː ‘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 zeː and humilific eːù have a wide range of meanings corresponding to several more specific ordinary level verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Humilific</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sà ཟ་</td>
<td>zeː རེ</td>
<td>eːù རུ</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰuŋ མུ</td>
<td>zeː རེ</td>
<td>eːù རུ</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèn ནེ</td>
<td>zeː རེ</td>
<td>eːù རུ</td>
<td>‘eat, accept’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làp བཔ</td>
<td>sùŋ ལུ</td>
<td>eːù རུ</td>
<td>‘receive, accept’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’in བི</td>
<td>nãː ལུ</td>
<td>pʰyː རུ</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː དེ</td>
<td>t’eː podr</td>
<td>tea རུ</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 ལུ ‘grant, give (hon.)’, e.g. kjap ཀ་བྱོ་ > kjap-o nãː ལུ ‘please do, strike’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p’ja རྱ</td>
<td>nãː ལུ</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gju ཀྱ</td>
<td>t’eː podr</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’in བི</td>
<td>nãː ལུ</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sà ཟ་</td>
<td>zeː རེ</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰuŋ མུ</td>
<td>zeː རེ</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta ཙ</td>
<td>ziː རུ</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòː སོ</td>
<td>zãː ལུ</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eeː རི</td>
<td>kʰe’</td>
<td>རུ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèn ས ཙ</td>
<td>sèn རུ</td>
<td>‘listen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nù ས</td>
<td>eːù ལུ</td>
<td>‘weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak བོ</td>
<td>n ám</td>
<td>ལུ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki ཀ</td>
<td>(ku) tʰuŋ</td>
<td>ལུ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèː རོ</td>
<td>zin</td>
<td>ལུ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ná ཟ་</td>
<td>núŋ</td>
<td>ལུ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei ས</td>
<td>t’öː</td>
<td>ལུ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’jùː གུ</td>
<td>sì</td>
<td>ལུ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga ག ཙ</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ལུ</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 \( te^b\sigma^2 \) ‘eat, drink (hyper-honorific)’, which may be used, for instance, in the presence of high lamas and royalty.

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

\[
(3.18) \quad \text{ཟ་ན་ ་ཟ་ པོ་ མན་ ཟ་ན་ པག་}
\]
\[
\text{sà-ne sà, man-za-ne \( pa? \)}
\]
\[
eat-COND eat \ NEG-eat-COND eat.AO.HUM
\]
\[
‘If you are about to eat, eat. If you are not about to eat, eat it anyway (because I am in position to tell you so).’ (Richhi 65)
\]

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 \( ci^c \) even four) ordinary level verb. For instance, the ordinary verb \( sà \) has the meaning ‘eat’, whereas the honorific form \( ze: \) has the meaning range ‘eat, drink, receive, acquire’\(^{108} \). In the same vein, the honorific verb \( te^b\sigma^2 \) means both ‘come’ and ‘go’, whereas the ordinary register has separate words \( ða: \) ‘come’ and \( gju \) ‘go’. Similarly, the honorific \( zi: \) means both ‘look’ and ‘see’, when the ordinary register has two separate verbs \( ta \) ‘look’ and \( t\sigma: \) ‘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 \( lâp \) (3.19), humilific \( ci^c \) (3.20) and honorific \( sùŋ \) (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).

\[
(3.19) \quad \text{དེབ་ འདི་ གོང་ཆེན་མ་བྱེ་སུང་གེ}
\]
\[
t‘ep=di k‘õ:tê: ma-jâ-ge lâp-o ë.
\]
\[
book=DEMPh expensive \ NEG-do-HOR say:2INF \ EQU.PER
\]
\[
‘I said (to him): ‘Let’s not make the book expensive.’’ (KL BLA 12)
\]

\(^{108}\) Nepali, in which most Denjongke speakers have at least some competence, functions analogically. When requesting someone to eat, using the word \( linu \) ‘take’ is considered more polite than \( khanu \) ‘eat’, e.g. \( linuhos \) ‘Please have (some).’ vs \( khamuhos \) ‘Please eat’.

86
(3.20) \text{tsʰik\ tɕiː-ɲiː=tɕiʔ\ tsot\ lɛmpɔː\ kum\ dŋa\ t’a\ ñatea\?}

word one-two=INDF chief minister.GEN in.the.presence now 1PL
teaː=-diki eː= ē.
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) \text{kʰõːódi =jãː súŋ-ʑɛ jòu.}

3SG.HON that=too say.HON-PST up.there
‘He (the Chief Minister) also said (like) that up there.’ (NAB BLA 7)

3.3.5 Reduplication

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

(3.22) \text{di\ döm=na\ t’i-ʈi-u\ jèbбе?}

this box=LOC write-RDP-2INF EX.NE
‘There is (something) written in this box...’ (TB e)

(3.23) \text{bjaːn ږompu\ dinŋ-diŋ-po\ t’oː-po\ bɛʔ.}

fly green hover-RDP-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE
‘(He) saw green flies hovering (and hovering over the corpse). (KT animal story)

Reduplication by itself may function as a nominalized construction, as shown by (3.24), where a postposition is postposed to a reduplicated verb stem, and by (3.25), where the reduplicated verb marks a complement clause functioning as an argument of the verb \text{ɲɛ̀} ‘listen’.

(3.24) \text{go=le\ mjøː-mjøː\ sàːle}

beginning=ABL finish-RDP until
‘from the beginning until the end’ (TB e)

(3.25) \text{kʰu=gi\ puni\ roː=di\ láp-láp\ ɲɛ̀-diki}

3SGM=AGT also friend speak-RDP listen-NF
‘He also listened to what the friend said (and)….’ (TB bull story)

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

3.3.6 Verbal affixes

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

\hspace{100pt} 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-ce be? [do-INF EQU.NE] ‘does, will do’. Some suffixes, such as -ce? and -teč:/zê: 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 be? and du? only occur with the polar question suffix.

111 However, the emphatic clitic =rã: 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 -teč:/zê: 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 constructions\footnote{\textsuperscript{113}}</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V_ EQU.</td>
<td>-e(ʔ)</td>
<td>infinitive I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-po</td>
<td>infinitive II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>infinitive III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kʰɛː</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_ (EQU).</td>
<td>-tsʰaː</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-to/do</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kʰɛ̃ː</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_ EX.</td>
<td>-teː/ːɛː/ːin\footnote{\textsuperscript{114}}</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_ EX/EQU.</td>
<td>-rap</td>
<td>imminent future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exclusively nonfinal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V_...</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ti/di</td>
<td>nonfinal converb</td>
<td>§15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa/ba\footnote{\textsuperscript{115}}</td>
<td>circumstantial/purposive converb</td>
<td>§15.5.1, §15.8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(patce)nɛ</td>
<td>conditional converb</td>
<td>§15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-raŋ</td>
<td>concessive converb</td>
<td>§15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sãː; sonzãː</td>
<td>terminative converb</td>
<td>§15.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sɔndãː/sumdãː</td>
<td>simultaneous converb</td>
<td>§15.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kap</td>
<td>simultaneous converb</td>
<td>§15.3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dỳː</td>
<td>simultaneous converb</td>
<td>§15.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rɛŋkʰa</td>
<td>simultaneous converb</td>
<td>§15.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\footnote{\textsuperscript{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/ːɛː adverbial clauses of manner, see §15.8.3.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{114}} The form zin is the reading-style pronunciation used by literate speakers, teː and ːɛː are spoken variants. In Martam (East Sikkim) teː is used instead of teː/ːɛː.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{115}} This form has developed some finite-looking uses, see §15.8.1.
The difference between the two main infinitive markers -eeʔ and -po/bo may be described in terms of spatiotemporal boundedness. Whereas verbal action marked by -po/bo can be characterized as spatiotemporally bounded, -eeʔ marks unbounded action. Because the infinitive marked by -eeʔ 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 -eeʔ is reflected in the fact that when followed by an auxiliary copula the construction with -eeʔ results in a future meaning (e.g. ť-eeʔ tː [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 (đom-bo tː [come-2INF EQU.PER] ‘came’). The form V-eeʔ 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 -eeʔ, 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 -eeʔ (WD sɛʔ shad) is unknown. The infinitive marker -eeʔ is used in the finite nonpast construction (§8.2.5) and several nonfinite 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 -eeʔ also occurs in short questions such as k’an p’ja-eeʔ? [what do-INF] ‘what to do?’, k’ana gin-eeʔ? [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 -eeʔ and -po/bo are illustrated in (3.26), which exemplify the present habitual and periphrastic past constructions respectively. The first infinitive -eeʔ is glossed as simply INF, the second infinitive -po/bo as 2INF and the third infinitive -ni as 3INF.

(3.26) a) ཕོ་མ་ ཁྲི་ཁབ་ གྲོ་མ་ ཤེ་བཾ །

'oði=lo biko lāp-ee beʔ.
that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE
‘It’s called “biko”.’ (PL interview)

b) ཕོ་མ་ ཁྲི་ཁབ་ གྲོ་མ་ ཤེ་བཾ །

'ôdem=di ñá: t’p-o-boo tː.
like.that=DEMPH I hear-INF2 EQU.PER.
‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)

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

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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 རི་ po, ཕོ་ gvi, ཤི་ rgw, རི་ rtis and ཤི་‘dod in Lhasa Tibetan.
Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet\(^{117}\), whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. Sandberg (1895: 40) gives \(tʰuŋ-\text{nǐ}~\) as an alternative for \(tʰuŋ-\text{ɕɛ}~\): ‘(I) shall drink’. In my data, which is from Sikkim, \(-\text{nǐ}~\) does not occur as a regular alternative to \(-\text{ɕɛ}(ʔ)~\) but it does occur in quite a few fixed expressions, sometimes overlapping with \(-\text{ɕɛ}(ʔ)~\). For an example of a specific construction where \(-\text{nǐ}~\) is used, consider (3.27).

\[(3.27)\] a) \( \text{ཇ་འཐུང་ཉེ་བྱ་ས་བྔོ་འིན།} \)


tea drink-\text{INF} do-\text{INF} 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 \(-\text{nǐ}~\), refer to §8.2.8.

3.3.6.2 Nominalizer \(-kʰɛː~\):

The nominalizer \(-kʰɛː~\) is related to Classical Tibetan \(\text{མཁན་}~\) \(\text{mkkan}\), 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 er 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 \(-\text{er}~\) in \(\text{sow} > \text{sow-er}~\)), see §3.2.4.3. However, \(-kʰɛː~\) also occurs as part of the present habitual auxiliary construction:

\[(3.28)\]

\(\text{ལྷ་མ་པ་ཅན་ནེ་དགོན་པ་ན། བཞུགས་མཁན་སྦད།} \)

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 \(-tʰa(ː)~\):

The completive form \(-tʰa(ː)~\) (written \(\text{ཙིར་}~\) \(\text{tshar}\) derives from the Classical Tibetan verb \(\text{ཙིར་}~\) \(\text{tshar}~\) ‘complete’ and denotes a completed action. Cognates of \(-tʰa:~\) 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).

\[(3.29)\]

\(\text{པ་ཇོ་པ་\text{-}tʰa:}~\)

1SG work do-CMPL

‘I finished the work (or ‘working’).’ (KN e)

The completive \(-tʰa(ː)~\) still retains some regular verbal qualities such as the ability to be nominalized with \(-\text{po/bo}~\) (resulting in the form \(tʰa\text{ou}~\) 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).

\(^{117}\) 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 བོ/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།
pʽum tʽatʰo bo teʔøkiʔ ləp-to beʔ.
girl small.one PN say-IPFV EQU,NE
‘(My) youngest girl is called Choki.’ (DB life story)

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

3.3.6.5 Progressive 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 བཞིན་ bzhin may mark present participle and བཞིན་དུ་ bzhin-du gerund. The reading-style pronunciation of the form in Denjongke is ʑin, a form which also occurs in the spoken language of literate speakers. The forms -tɕɛ̃ː/ʑɛ̃ː are allomorphs, whereas -tɕou is the variant used in the village of Martam (and possibly also in other villages). The progressive suffix is used in conjunction with existential copulas in periphrastic finite progressive constructions, as shown in (3.31).

(3.31) ཁྔོང་ ད་ལྟྔོ་ དེབ་ སྔོ
kʰõː tʼato tʼep dok-zin duʔ.
3SG.HON now book read-PROG EX.SEN
‘He is reading now (I see).’ (KN e)

Phonetically, tɕɛː/ʑɛː 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) ཞུ་ རུ་ རབ་ སྦད/ཡྔོད/འདུག།
kʰu ɡju-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 -tce/ze
The past marker -tce/ze (written ཆེ/ཞེ ce/zhe) likely derives from WT ལྷ byas ‘do’. Sandberg (1895: 42) reports the forms “zhe and che” as past forms of the verb ‘do’:

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

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

(3.34)
་མེད་མཚོ་ལའདི་རང་མི་ཚུགས་བྱེ།

3.3.6.8 Probabilitative -to
The probabilitative -to derives from Classical Tibetan ཤེ ‘gro ‘go’, reflexes of which are used as a marker similar to Denjongke probabilitative in many Tibetic languages, for instance Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 236), Lhom (Vesalainen 2016: 203) and Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 188). Written forms of the probabilitative that I have seen used in written Denjongke are གྲོ gro, གོ pro (Richhi) and གྲོ 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)
དེ་ཅིག་ལ་འདི་སངས་པོ་ལ་ཞི་།

3.3.6.9 Imperative suffixes -teʰi, -da and -na
The friendly imperative forms -teʰ (WD དེ chi, although the phonetically less accurate form ཏི cig from Central Tibetan is used by many authors) and -da (WD ད། da) and the suggestive -na (WD དོ na) attach to the verb root. The two first ones have cognates WT བོ shig (phon. -ei) and WT ཞེ dang (phon. -ta) in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003:

118 The form གྲོ kro is preferable to གྲོ gro, because the latter would word-medially typically result in voiced pronunciation. The form གྲོ kro is also preferable to གོ pro, because the former retains the velar place of articulation suggested by the etymon ཤེ ‘gro.'
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

\[ suːp \text{ zeː-po náː-teʰi. } \]

soup(Eng.) have-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN

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

b) སྦ་བཞེས་པྔོ་ གནང་ཆི།

\[ ṇà=lo teʰu eːyːtey? náː-da. \]

1SG=DAT water a.bit give.HON-IMP.FRN

‘Please give me a bit water.’ (rnam-rtog 26)

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

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

\[ \text{Figure 3.1. Wave forms from nonsensical p’ja-tei and imperative p’ja-teʰi ‘do!’ (KUN)} \]

As seen in Figure 3.1, the prevocalic affrication is more prominent in p’ja-teʰi than in p’ja-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 ཞ་ 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་འགྱུན་ན་

\[ målaʔ łokti giu-na \]

quick again go-SUG

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

For a more detailed description of imperatives, see §11.3.2.
3.3.6.10 Hortative -ke/ge

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

\[(3.38) \text{ŋətɛa? } k'ɛ a: tsʰu? \text{ ran}=gi \text{ ke}=lo \text{ järge?}\]
1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development
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).

\[(3.39)\]
\[\text{a)  \text{di } \text{læm}=di \text{ siliguri } \text{lep-ka?}}\]
this road=DEMPH TPN arrive-PQ
‘Does this road reach Siliguri?’ (KN e)

\[\text{b)  \text{di } \text{læm}=di \text{ siliguri } \text{lep-kam?}}\]
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 -lo(ʔ) can attach to (monosyllabic) stative verbs. It is the reflex of Written Tibetan ལོས los, for which Jäschke (1881: 554) gives the meaning ‘in truth, indeed’ and provides the following example: mgon-skyabs rang-los yin ‘He is indeed the helper.’ In Standard Tibetan -lo(ʔ) (WD ལོ los) forms a how-question attached to monosyllabic adjectives/verbs (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 230), but in Denjongke the form denotes an exclamative rhetorical question, see (3.40).

\[(3.40) \text{k'atem k'e:da.}^{119} \text{ lè:-loʔ.}}\]
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 verb -ti/di**

The nonfinal verb -ti/di (written སྟི/སྦི sti/sdi) is cognate with the form སྟེ/ཏེ/དེ ste/te/de (pronounced -di) in Dzongkha (van Driem 1998: 296) and bears functional similarity to Lhasa Tibetan subordination marker -nt (ནང་nas) (Denwood 1999: 221). In the most basic sense the nonfinal verb 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) གླེ་བཤེས་་ལ་འེ་ཚེ་ལྡོ་པ་ལྔོང་སྟི་ཁ་ལག་འཁྱོ།

te di: nênil t’o:pa lɔ-ti120 kʰa-laʔ kʰju.

then this.GEN before morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash

‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

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). 121 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 གས་པ་/ས་པ་ 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) བྲུ། ཉེས་ལུམ་འགེལ་བྲུ། ཆོས་མེད་འཇུག་ཏུ་ཁྱག་ནས།
mú: karma=lo jigí man-di-wa dou zi ċak-to.
3SGF.AGT PN=DAT letter NEG-write-CIRC month four exceed-IPFV

‘It’s now (being) more than four months since she wrote a letter to Karma.’ (lit. ‘Her not writing a letter to Karma is now exceeding four months’) (Richhi 161)

(3.43) ཉི་ཐེ་ སྨི་པོ་ བྷའི་ལགས་ལྟ་བར་བཅར་བྔོ་ནི།

ŋáte? ni:-po bhaila ta-wa tea:-bo ɨ.
1PL two-COL.PN watch-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER

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

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

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 tʰuŋ-di ‘drinking’, sṍː-di ‘going’, ön-di ‘coming’, riŋ-di ‘becoming long’, but mjoŋ-ti/mjõː-ti ‘finishing’, tʰōː-di ‘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 -(patɕɛ)nɛ/(batec)ne

The conditional converb in Denjongke is formed by adding -(patɕɛ)nɛ or the allophone -(batec)ne (written བར་ཅེ་ནེ/འབར་ཅེ་ནེ par-ce-ne/bar-ce-ne) to the verb root or the completive marker -tsʰaː). The optional part -patɕɛ probably derives historically from a combination of -pa/ba and WT བེད་ byed ‘do’. Both the shorter form -nɛ and the longer form -(patɕɛ)nɛ occur both in the written and spoken language. The form -nɛ is the southern and western pronunciation (e.g. Tashiding, Ralang), whereas is in the north (e.g. Lachen, Lachung) and east (e.g. Martam, Barapathing) the form becomes -(patɕɛ)nɔ. In some localities -nu is used instead of -nɛ/no. The form -nɛ is the southern and western pronunciation (e.g. Tashiding, Ralang), whereas is in the north (e.g. Lachen, Lachung) and east (e.g. Martam, Barapathing) the form becomes -(patɕɛ)nɔ. 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-øtɕɛnɛ ‘do-COND’), which looks like a genitivized form of -pa or -po. The conditional converb -(patɕɛ)nɛ/(batec)ne may be accompanied by the non-mandatory clause-initial kʼɛ:siʔ ‘if’. For an example of the conditional, consider (3.44).

(3.44) འཁྲ་ ལེག་ ལགས་ ལྭིའི་ལླགས་ཐེ་

ηάτεʔ? ｎाː ｍì ｋे: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) དེ་ཐུན་ སྐུལ་ རྲུང་

tʰutsʰøʔ ｔｅukteiʔ dup-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 ཟང་ zang). The first part of -sonzãː is probably historically the secondary verb WT song sɛː ‘go’ (the sibilant in =sãː becomes voiced after sɔː). 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.

122 The form used in the novel Richhi is ་ 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 ཤུང་ tsang ‘because’, which may be reflected in the causal uses of the terminative construction.
In my data, only the short form -sāː (WD སྐང་ zang) occurs in writing, whereas the spoken language uses both forms -sāː and -sonzāː.

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

The forms sondãː/-somdãː/-sumdãː 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 sōː. 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 སྔོང་དང་ song-dang for -sondãː, སོང་མ་དང་ songm-dang for both -som-dãː and sum-dãː, and མཚུབ་དང་ tsub-dang for -tsubdaː. These forms code action that at least partly temporally overlaps with the action denoted by the following verb, see (3.47).

(3.47) ནིམ་མ་ སོང་མ་དང་ ཨྔོ་འདེ་ ལུགས་སྔོལ་ ཡོག་ འཐུས་སྟི་ འདེགས་སྐབས་...
nim eá:-sumdãː ódê: ei-kʰen 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, -dỳ: and -reŋkʰa
The simultaneity markers -kap (written སཁབས skabs), -dỳ: (written སུས dus) and -reŋkʰa¹²⁴ (written རུན-ཀʰ རུན-ོ 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) དེ་ཐུས་སྟི་ བཞིན་ ཤེས་ ལུགས་སྔོལ།
lāŋkʰor=na nè:po tʰu-ti dek-kap...
car=LOC patient pick-NF set.inside=SIM
‘When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car...’ (Richhi 172)

¹²⁴ Some speakers pronounce the final vowel long -reŋkʰaː.
(3.49) འབྲེ་འདོད་ནི་འཇོག་...  
   go tʼaŋpo nā: ən-dûː...  
   start first here some-SIM  
   ‘When (I) at first came here...’ (KT life story)

(3.50) གུང་སོབ་གྲྭ་ནང་ཤ་ཆོས་བྱ་སྒྲ་རིན་ཁ  
   1SG school inside stydying do-SIM  
   ‘When I studied at school...’ (KT life story)

All these suffixes express the meaning ‘when, while’. A more detailed functional treatment of these forms is found in §15.3.4-6.

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. mèː(< *ma-ː), mèn-a (< *mèn-na, the interrogative -na does not occur with other verbs). Denjongke copulas are not totally devoid of referential meaning (i.e. other meaning than mere linking function), because they encode evidential distinctions. Simple copulas are summarized in Table 3.12, which does not include interrogative forms of jøː/mèː and and duʔ/minduʔ which are formed regularly by the polar quation suffix -ka/ga.

Table 3.12. Simple copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Sensorial</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Apparentive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>decl.</td>
<td>interr.</td>
<td>decl.</td>
<td>interr.</td>
<td>decl.</td>
<td>interr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQ</td>
<td>āː/méː</td>
<td>āː/méː</td>
<td>beʔ/méː</td>
<td>bo/méː</td>
<td>qéː/reː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>་ཡིན་/སྒྲ</td>
<td>་ཡིན་/སྒྲ</td>
<td>་ཡིན་/སྒྲ</td>
<td>་ཡིན་/སྒྲ</td>
<td>་ཡིན་/སྒྲ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>jøː/mèː</td>
<td>jøː/mèː</td>
<td>duʔ/minduʔ</td>
<td>duʔ/minduʔ</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td>jøː/mèː</td>
<td>jøː/mèː</td>
<td>(also =peʔ ᠵྲ)</td>
<td>(also =peʔ ᠵྲ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pos./neg.)</td>
<td>jøː/mèː</td>
<td>jøː/mèː</td>
<td>(jébbéʔ/mèbbéʔ)</td>
<td>(jébbéʔ/mèbbéʔ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></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 āː and the existentials duʔ and jøː have clear Classical Tibetan etymons ་ཡིན, འདུག་ ‘dug and འདུག་ yod respectively, the origin of

125 This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form mèn-bo used in such expression as mèn-bo beʔ ‘is/was not’.
126 This is an innovative WD form.
evidently neutral equative \textit{be}?\textsuperscript{127} is unclear. Semantically \textit{be}? is somewhat similar to Lhasa Tibetan \textit{red}. Morphologically it resembles the Shigatse evidently neutral copula \textit{piē} (Haller 2000: 186), the Lhomi copula \textit{bet}\textsuperscript{128} (neg. \textit{mem-pet}, Vesalainen 2016) and the last syllable of the Kyirong Tibetan (Lende) copula \textit{jimbe'}, which codes recently acquired generally valid facts (Huber 2000: 157). Moreover, [\textit{be}?] is found instead of [\textit{re}?] /\textit{red}/ in some Tsang Tibetan varieties (Tournadre & Jiatso 2001: 82). According to Bielmeier (2000: 121), the Shigatse \textit{piē} and Lhomi \textit{bet} derive from Written Tibetan \textit{byed} ‘make’. The same may be true of Denjongke \textit{be}?.

The interrogative copula \textit{nā} very likely derives from a historical interrogated personal copula *\textit{in-na}, which has productive cognates at least in Dzongkha \textit{in-na} (van Driem 1998: 367), Shigatse Tibetan \textit{jì-na} (Haller 2000: 75) and Standard Tibetan \textit{jin-na} (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 223). The historical affirmative interrogative *\textit{in-na} has through frequent use been synchronically reduced to \textit{nā}, while its negative, still productive counterpart \textit{mēn-(na)} leaves the copular origin more transparent (\textit{mēn} is the negation of personal equative \textit{t}). It is not at all clear whether \textit{nā} retains high pitch/register which would be expected on the basis of the source form \textit{in-na \textit{ñā}}. 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 \textit{ðe/:/rē}, which I have not seen used in Denjongke writing, is a reduction of the fuller form \textit{qa \textit{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.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Marker type & Polarity & Direct polar questions & Att. polar and content questions \\
\hline
\textbf{Personal} & Affirm. & \textit{nā, ĩŋ-ga} & \textit{nām in-gam} \\
& Neg. & \textit{mēn-a, īŋ-ga} & \textit{mēn-am, mēn-gam} \\
\textbf{equative} & Affirm. & \textit{bo, be-ka} & \textit{be-kam} \\
& Neg. & \textit{mēmbō, mēmbe-ka} & \textit{mēmbe-kam (?)}\textsuperscript{129} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Direct and attenuated questions with copulas}
\end{table}

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

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

\textsuperscript{127} I have heard some older speakers in Barapathing, East Sikkim, use the form \textit{mē} instead of \textit{be}?. Similar ambivalence is seen in Grierson (1909: 121), who lists “\textit{bā, pā} and \textit{mā}” as copula options (in addition to “\textit{in or yin}”). The story of the prodigal son accompanying Grierson’s description (gotten through David MacDonald) has the written form \textit{smad} and the pronunciation given as “\textit{mā}” (Grierson 1909: 123, 125).

\textsuperscript{128} Lhomi allows for word-final plosive /t/ to be realized. In Denjongke, the dental plosive is reflected in writing \textit{ṣhad}, but the spoken realization of the final plosive is a glottal stop or a lengthened vowel.

\textsuperscript{129} I do not currently have examples of this negated form but its existence can be hypothesized on the basis of the positive form \textit{be-kam}. 

be alright, suit’, which forms གྲིས་ཀ་ ‘grigs-ke /dike/ ‘it’s alright’.

Other constructions where the intensifier possibly occurs are the progressive construction -teunje/zunge (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 -ke/ge, see §11.4.

3.4 Adjectives

This section discusses the defining criteria of adjectives (§3.4.1) and then describes adjective forming suffixes (§3.4.1) 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 and 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, săɾ(tu) ‘new’ < WT gsar-po.

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

(3.51) teʰ-ťa? བོད་ལྕགས་ ‘beautiful’ (from teʰ: ಸྤ ‘be beautiful’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Citation Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teʰ-ťa?</td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
<td>teʰ: tta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzam-tom</td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
<td>dzam: tom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰːo-ł-teʰta?</td>
<td>‘quick to anger’</td>
<td>kʰːo: to teʰta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gja-teʰta?</td>
<td>‘vast’</td>
<td>gja: teʰta?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. dum dum ‘short’, teʰuṭeʰuŋ ‘small’). Furthermore, gradient adjectives may be distinguished from nouns (and verbs) by the ability to take the superlative suffix -eo?, e.g. zaŋpo ‘good’ > zāː:eoʔ ‘best’, kʰːeːteʰtaʔ ‘important’ > kʰːeːteʰi- eoʔ ‘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)’ > riŋku, riŋtaʔ ‘long’. Some of the adjectives

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130 This form may be influenced by the frequent Hindi expression tʰik he: ‘it’s alright’.
derived from verbs also take the verbal negator prefix in adjectival negation, e.g. \textit{te\textbar{}a} > ‘be beautiful’ \textit{te\textbar{}a\textbar{}ta} ‘beautiful’ > \textit{ma\textbar{}te\textbar{}am} ‘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.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(3.52)} a) \textit{བདེན་པུ་བཞི་མཱ?} \\
\quad \textit{k\’adi dzampa be?} \\
\quad which easy \text EQU NE \text{.} \\
\quad ‘Which (one) is easier?’ (KT e)

\item b) \textit{བདེན་པུ་བཞི་མཱ?} \\
\quad \textit{k\’adi dzam\textbar{}gam?} \\
\quad which be\text\text{-}easy\text\text{-}ATTQ \\
\quad ‘Which (one) is easier, I wonder?’ (KT e)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(3.53)} a) \textit{འེ་བེར་མཐོང་བཞི་འོ་ཁྲེད་བཞི་ེན་ོན་ན} \\
\quad \textit{te lep no\textbar{}ne=di den\textbar{}ta? dem=tei? du-ke.} \\
\quad then very\text\text{-}much think\text\text{-}COND=DEPMH true such\text\text{-}INDF EX\text\text{.}SEN\text\text{-}IN \\
\quad ‘If (I) think hard about it, (it) looks like it\text’s true.’ (CY interview)

\item b) \textit{འེ་བེར་མཐོང་བཞི་འོ་ཁྲེད་བཞི་ེན་ོན་ན} \\
\quad \textit{di t\’a de\textbar{}gam min\textbar{}de\textbar{}gam?} \\
\quad this now be\text\text{-}true\text\text{-}ATTQ NEG\text\text{-}be\text\text{-}true\text\text{-}ATTQ \\
\quad ‘Now is that true or not true?’ (DR discussion with KL)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(3.54)} a) \textit{འི་ནུ་པོ་འདོད་ཅིག་མངོན་ཤོ་སྙིང་མཐོང་} \\
\quad \textit{di nuku=di di=ke ri\textbar{}ku be?} \\
\quad this pen=DEMPH this=ABL long \text EQU NE \\
\quad ‘This pen is longer than this.’ (TB e)

\item b) \textit{སྤིོ་ ཡེ་ཡེ་ལེ་ི་} \\
\quad \textit{te\textbar{}adu\textbar{}u=di \textbar{}tsi ri\textbar{}ng bo be?} \\
\quad tea\text\text{-}churn=DEMPH a\text\text{-}bit be\text\text{-}too\text\text{-}INF \text EQU NE \\
\quad The tea churn is a bit (too) long. (PT e)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(3.55)} a) \textit{ཀྱོང་ཆུང་ཆུང་གཅིག་ནང་མཱ་ཀི་} \\
\quad \textit{k\’j\o: te\textbar{}u\textbar{}te\textbar{}u=tei? na\textbar{}nca=lo \textbar{}ka bom.} \\
\quad village small=INDF inside=DAT 1SG be\text\text{-}born become\text\text{-}big \\
\quad ‘I was born and grew up in a small village.’ (KT life story)

\item b) \textit{ཉ་ུཤ་ཁུ་ོ་} \\
\quad \textit{ny\textbar{}a zu: te\textbar{}u\textbar{}c=di kjap\textbar{}ti...} \\
\quad 1SG body be\text\text{-}small=INF=DEMPH do\text\text{-}NF \\
\quad ‘because my body was small...’ (CY interview)
\end{itemize}

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 (\textit{mampu} > \textit{mam\textbar{}ma} ‘(be) many’, \textit{ri\textbar{}ku} > \textit{ri\textbar{}y} ‘(be) long’).
The short forms may also occur in contexts where a longer form would usually be expected, see (3.57) employing cèm ‘stupid’, although the longer form cèmpo is used elsewhere in the same story in identical position.

(3.57) འཁོར་བདེན་པ་
i’om cèm=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) ཕྲ་ོ་འབུར་
teš’a:p bom-tsʰa.: 
Rain grow-CMPL
‘Rain has increased.’ (oh, Tashiding)

(3.59) ཕྲ་ོ་མས་སྦྱོང་
teš’a: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 -tʰaʔ, 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. jenṭaʔ ‘pleasant to hear’ from ṭeŋ ‘ear [hon.]’). For examples, consider (3.60):
Glosses

The suffix -\textit{p(o),} which has been historically used in noun formation is also a historical adjectivizer. All the basic colour terms and some frequent adjectives have been derived by -\textit{po,} as shown in (3.61). While \textit{bompu} 'big' and \textit{riju} 'long' derive from stative verbs, I have not seen short forms of the colour terms such as \textit{ma} 'equal' used as verbs. The short colour terms, however, occur in compounds such as \textit{t’o-na} 'load-black' (time of economic oppression of peasants in Sikkimese history).

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{bom-pu} & \textit{bompu} \\
\textit{riju} & \textit{riku} \\
\textit{cim-pu} & \textit{cimpu} \\
\textit{k’ak-u} & \textit{k’aku} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{big} & (from \textit{bom} \text{\textit{pu}} 'be big') \\
\textit{long} & (from \textit{ri} \text{\textit{ju}} 'be long') \\
\textit{delicious} & (from \textit{cim} \text{\textit{pu}} 'be delicious') \\
\textit{bitter} & (from \textit{k’ak} \text{\textit{u}} 'be bitter')
\end{tabular}

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 \textit{bom} can be generally used for writing the adjectivizing suffix -\textit{ta.}

Sandberg (1895: 32-33) lists \textit{teempo} and \textit{te} as 'great' and \textit{bompo} as 'thick (also 'loud'). Walsh (1905: 4) glosses \textit{bompu} as 'big'.
All the words in (3.61) deriving from verbs, can also be adjectivized by -ʈaʔ. A difference between the present description of Denjongke and that of Sandberg (1895) is that the adjectives in Sandberg’s description systematically take the ending -po (and -mo is some cases), whereas -ʈaʔ is not mentioned at all as an adjective suffix, e.g. Sandberg’s (1895: 71) tsʰapo ‘hot’ (here tsʰaʈaʔ) and Sandberg’s (1895: 69) kʰakpo ‘difficult’ (here k’aktaʔ).

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.

The derivational suffixes -tɕʰiʈaʔ (meaning ‘great, big’, written more traditionally ཞེ་དྲགས་ che-drags and more phonologically རྡོ་དྲགས་ chi-drags), -tɕʰe (meaning ‘great, big’) and -tɕʰuŋ (meaning ‘small’) turn nouns into adjectives:

The reduplicated suffix -tɕʰiteʔi (deriving from WT རྡོ་ che ‘great, big’) forms adjectives from stative verbs:
Specific intensifying suffixes not occurring with other adjectives may be used with the frequent adjectives riŋku and bompu. The suffix -kʰjam (WD ཁམ་ khyam) is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) and -pam/kam (WD བམ་/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 བོམ་ཁམ་ ‘big’ (bigger than bom-pu བོམ་པུ་)  
riŋ-kʰjam རིང་ཁམ་ ‘long’ (longer than riŋ-ku རིང་ཀུ་)  
b) Martam  
bompam བོམ་པམ་ ‘big’ (bigger than bom-pu བོམ་པུ་)  
riŋkam རིང་ཀམ་ ‘long’ (longer than riŋ-ku རིང་ཀུ་)  

The derivative suffix -teen-te: (WT/WD འན་ 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)  
k’e-teen-te: མགནས་ ‘important’ (from k’e མགནས་ ‘importance’)  
p’uзи-teen-te: ཞུགས་ ‘child-having’ (from p’uзи ཞུགས་ ‘children’)  
rik(o)-teen-te: རིག་ ‘intelligent’ (from riko རིག་ ‘intellect’)  

(3.67)  
sim-teen-te: སེམས་ ‘animal’ (from sɛm སེམས་ ‘mind’)  

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

(3.68)  
dzam-tom རྒྱུ་ ‘easy’ (from dzam རྒྱུ་ ‘be easy, soft’)  
tsʰa-tom བླ་ ‘hot’ (from tsʰa བླ་ ‘be hot’)  
nör-wa, nör-wo ཞེར་, ཞེར་ ‘mistaken, false’ (from nör ཞེར་ ‘err’)  
dzøː-wa དོན་ ‘mistaken, false’ (from dzøː དོན་ ‘err’)
Adjectives may also be formed by adding a reduplicated suffix to a stative verb. Consultant KN commented that the reduplicated derivative suffixes add intensity to the adjective beyond what is implied by a non-reduplicated suffix, e.g. dzamtô:to ‘easy’ is even easier than the alternatives dzampu or dzamta? ‘easy’.

(3.69) dzam-tô:to  སྤིན་འོག་ ‘easy’ (from dzam སྤིན་ ‘be easy’)  
si:-tô:  སྤིན་ ‘refreshingly cold’ (from si: སྤིན་ ‘feel cool’)  
kʰo:-si:si:  སྤིན་ ‘chilly’ (from kʰo: སྤིན་ ‘be cold’)  
nak-susu?  སྤིན་ ‘dark’ (from nak སྤིན་ ‘black’)  
pe:-tokto?  སྤིན་ ‘charming’ (origin unknown)  
tsʰa:-tokto?  སྤིན་ ‘hot’ (from tsʰa སྤིན་ ‘heat, hot’)  
t’o-tiptip134 སྤིན་ ‘warm’ (from t’o? སྤིན་ ‘heat (v.)’)  
kʰo:-takta?  སྤིན་ ‘cold’ (from kʰo: སྤིན་ ‘be cold’)  
dum-bebe?  སྤིན་ ‘short’ (from dum སྤིན་ ‘be short’)  

(3.70) མི་ འདི་ འདུམ་བད་བད་ འདུག།  
mí=di dumbebe? du?. human=DEMPH short EX SEN  
‘The man is short.’ (KN e)

Colour words excel in reduplicated suffixes that are rare in other words, see §.17.4. 
Other adjectival endings, which are of unknown origin, are -nam, -su?, -pʰem/pʰym and -ka, see (3.72).

(3.72) gja:-nam  སྤིན་ ‘fat’ (gja: སྤིན་ ‘be fat’)  
nak-su?  སྤིན་ ‘dark’ (nák སྤིན་ ‘black’)  
tuk-pʰem/tuk-pʰym  སྤིན་ ‘thick’ (tuk སྤིན་ ‘be thick’)  
pjam-ka  སྤིན་ ‘poor’ (WT སྤིན་ sprang ‘poor’)  

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

(3.73) zan-po/zâ:-po སྤིན་ ‘good’  
cim-pu སྤིན་, cim-ta? སྤིན་ ‘delicious’

133 also སྤིན་ ‘be easy’  
134 also t’o:tiptip
Reduplication is a frequent strategy for forming adjectives from stative verbs (e.g. *dumdum* ‘short’ from *dum* ‘be short’). These forms also occur as non-reduplicated adjectives with a suffix (e.g. *dumʈaʔ* ‘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>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dum-dum</em></td>
<td>‘short (vertical)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tʰuŋ-tʰuŋ</em></td>
<td>‘short (horizontal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teʰuŋ-teʰuŋ</em></td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nop-nop</em></td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sáp-sap</em></td>
<td>‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sọp-sọp</em></td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jâ-ʃâ:</em></td>
<td>‘light (opp. of heavy)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rip-rìp</em></td>
<td>‘dim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dop-dop</em></td>
<td>‘slow (of animate being)’</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 སླུལ་/སླུས་ or བྱུང་/བྱུང་), which replaces the last syllable of the adjective, lessens the quality or quantity expressed by the adjective.

(3.75)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bom-pu</em></td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; <em>bom-sy:</em></td>
<td>‘quite big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teʰuŋ-teʰuŋ</em></td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; <em>teʰuŋ-sy:</em></td>
<td>‘quite small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>njop-njop</em></td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; <em>njop-sy:</em></td>
<td>‘quite soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tʰo-tʰa?</em></td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; <em>tʰo-sy:</em></td>
<td>‘quite high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-ta?</em></td>
<td>‘low’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; <em>ma-sy:</em></td>
<td>‘quite low’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuk-pʰem</em></td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; <em>tuk-sy:</em></td>
<td>‘quite thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kʰoːtoteʰi-ta?</em></td>
<td>‘quick to anger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; <em>kʰoːtoteʰi-sy:</em></td>
<td>‘quite quick to anger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phonological realization of the diminuative in (3.75) comes from consultant KN. An alternative pronunciation -*sy:* is suggested by the word *tshap-cheshus* /tʃap-tʃe-sus/ ‘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 *tshap-cheshus* /tʃap-tʃe-sus/. However, the form -*sy:* 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 སུ་-shus-shus or སྤུ་-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) འདི་་DENMPH appearance DBURL similar-DIM EQU.PERM HON ‘Their appearance is quite similar.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(3.77) ལྟོ་མེ་གཙི་བཤོམ་ཤུལ་གཅིག་a bit big-DIM INDEF ‘a rather big lamsika-torma (=dough effigy as offering)’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

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

(3.78) བྱ་ཐོག་འདི་བྱ་ཐོག་བྱ་ལྷ་ཐོག་ལེན་ཐོག་ལེན་ཡེ་འཕྲེལ།tʰo-paROOT before in.the.morning rise-NF mouth-hand wash ‘Before that I rise up and wash my face and hands.’ (KT discussion with TB)

3.5 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 tʰo-pa ‘(in the) morning’ and pʰiru? ‘(in the) evening’ are interpreted as adverbs, because their citation forms occur as adverbials without case marking.

(3.79) མིན་ལྟ་ཐོག་པའི་བྱ་ཐོག་ལེན་ཐོག་ལེན་ཡེ་འཕྲེལ།then 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) མིན་ལྟ་ཐོག་པའི་བྱ་ཐོག་ལེན་ཐོག་ལེན་ཡེ་འཕྲེལ།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) གཉིས་རུ་ཀི་ ཞལ་ལག་
\( pʰiru=ki \) \( eːệnh \)
evening.GEN meal.HON
‘evening’s meal’ (Richhi 62)

(3.82) གཉིས་རུ་ཀི་ ཆུ་
\( òna=gi \) \( teʰu \)
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) གཉིས་རུ་ཀི་ ཞལ་ལག་
\( tʰoːpa=le \) \( sâm \) \( kʰen \) \( bēʔ \).
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. \( tʰoːpa \) ‘(in the) morning’ > \( tʰoːpa=lo \) ‘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 \( māla \) ‘quick(ly)’. For similar uses of \( nɛ̃ːmu \) ‘real(ly)’, consider the adverbial in (3.85) and adjective in (3.86).

(3.84) a) གཉིས་རུ་ཀི་
\( māla? \) \( gjuʔ \).
quickly go
‘Go quickly!’ (KN e)

b) གཉིས་རུ་ཀི་སྨན་པྔོ་ ཕྱོགས་ལྔོ་
\( kʰu=i=gi \) \( baik=di \) \( lēpti māla? \) \( jøʔ \).
3SG=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very fast EX.PER
‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

(3.85) གཉིས་རུ་ཀི་སྨན་པྔོ་ ཕྱོགས་ལྔོ་
\( nɛ̃ːmu=rāː \) \( mɛmpo \) \( tendziː \) \( teʰuteʰoʔ \) \( pīː=lo \) \( jɛp. \)
really=DEMPH doctor Tenzing clock.time two=DAT arrive
‘Doctor Tenzing really arrives at two o’clock.’ (Richhi 31)

(3.86) གཉིས་རུ་ཀི་ སྨན་པྔོ་ ཕྱོགས་ལྔོ་
\( lɐɲgː=ki \) \( sum-bo \) \( nāː=kʰɛː \) \( nɛ̃ːmu \) \( bēʔ \).
PRN.HON=AGT say.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ true/real EQU-NE
‘What you said is true.’ (TB e)
Morphological cues for adverbhood are discussed in the next section on adverb derivation (§3.5.2). For ideophones, a special category of adjectives and adverbs, refer to §17.1. For the use of adverbs in clausal context, see §5.6.3.

3.5.2 Adverb derivation and types of adverbs

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

3.5.2.1 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are typically formed by the adverbializer -pʽja(ti), which attaches to adjectives, see (3.87). The adverbializer -pʽja(ti) derives from the nonfinal converb form of the verb p'ja ‘do’, p'ja-ti, where the converbal ending may be dropped. Similar use of the verb ‘do’ as an adverbializer is reported for Lhasa Tibetan བས་byas /tɕɛː/ (Denwood 1999: 186) and Dzongkha འབད་’bad /be~bä/ (van Driem 1998: 317). Both the short form p'ja and the long form p'ja-ti are in use, as seen in (3.87) and (3.88). The short from -p'ja is written as a suffix, whereas the converbal form p'ja-ti is written separately, reflecting its less grammaticalized status.

(3.87) Adjective | Adverb
--- | ---
k'alyʔ | k'aly-p'ja, k'aly-p'ja-ti ‘slowly’
lɛm | lɛm-p'ja, lɛm-p'ja-ti ‘well’
dzamteʰiteʰi | dzamteʰiteʰi-p'ja, dzamteʰiteʰi-p'ja-ti ‘softly’

(3.88) ངེ་བོ་ལ་ ར་ལ། ལ་འཇམ་ཆེ་ཆེ་ བྱ་ས།
de-p'ja k'alyʔ k'alyʔ p'ja-ti dzamteʰiteʰi-p'ja 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. k'alyʔ k'alyʔ ‘slowly’, which is an alternative to k'aly-p'ja, although reduplication can also co-occur with the adverbializer -p'ja(-ti), see (3.88). Reduplication is considered an ideophonic feature, see §17.1.

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

Table 3.14. Adverbs of manner related to sleeping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʼo:ke</td>
<td>‘(sleeping) on one’s back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰabup</td>
<td>‘(sleeping) on one’s tummy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sùːt</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>námtei(lo)</td>
<td>‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰalami</td>
<td>‘clearly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatokʰa, hatolo</td>
<td>‘suddenly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The adverb *ɲámtei(lo)* ‘together’, is closely related to the postposition *ɲámpu/ɲámteiʔ* ‘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 *-pʽja(ti)* is in forming manner adverbs.

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

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

Some other locative adverbs are listed in Table 3.16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.16. Some locative adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tʰaːɲ</em> ཐག་ɲེ་ ‘close, near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tʰaːriŋ</em> ཐག་རིང་ ‘far away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>làmtaʔ</em> ལམ་ཏག་ ‘above the road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>làmmɛʔ</em> ལམ་སྨད་ ‘below the road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jàː</em>135, <em>jàte</em> བར, བེ་ ‘up(wards)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>òʔ, òte</em> ཡོག་ ‘down(wards)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to forms in Table 3.16, pro-adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *nàː* ན ‘here’, *tsʰa:kʰa* སྦེ་ ‘on this side, nearer’) and some postpositions (e.g. *näŋca* ང་ ‘inside’, *paŋkʰa* གང་ ‘outside’, *pʰiloʔ* དེ་ ‘outside’, *buːna* སྦུ་ ‘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 gju-kʰː*[up down go-NMLZ] ‘those who go up and down’ (Richhi 158) and *jàː* also with *lóː* ‘rise’, e.g. *jàː lóː* དེ་ ‘rise up, stand up’.
Table 3.17. Noun-like temporal adverbs referring to times of day

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun-like temporal adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ērū, ērū</td>
<td>'(in the) morning, tomorrow morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰoːpa</td>
<td>‘(in the) morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nima</td>
<td>‘(in) day-time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninguy</td>
<td>‘(at) noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimtiʔ</td>
<td>‘(at) mid-day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰiːtsʰam</td>
<td>‘(at) dusk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phibʔ</td>
<td>‘(in the) evening, night (after dark)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nûpʰiʔ</td>
<td>‘(at) midnight’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 3.18. Days and years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guːnup</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guːninj</td>
<td>‘3rd year before this one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeːnup</td>
<td>three days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeːninj¹³⁶</td>
<td>‘the year before last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kʰanup</td>
<td>the day before yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žeːsid</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žeːsniʔ¹³⁷</td>
<td>‘last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tʰariŋ</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tʰuteʔ</td>
<td>‘this year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tʰorɔː</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sàːpø</td>
<td>‘next year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nàːnįtʃ</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeːtsi</td>
<td>in 3 days from now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeːpøʔ</td>
<td>‘2nd year after this one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guːtsi</td>
<td>in 4 days from now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guːpøʔ</td>
<td>‘3rd year after this one’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.19. Other temporal adverbs

| Kʰatsɔː     | ‘some days/time ago’       |
| Tʰitsi      | ‘recently’                  |
| Tʰasɔː      | ‘this morning’              |
| Lâmsɔː      | ‘suddenly’                  |
| Tʰato       | ‘now’                       |
| Tʰaruŋ       | ‘again, yet, still’         |
| Teːra       | ‘again’                     |

In addition to the above-mentioned temporal adverbs, the postpositions giabla, nèle/hale/hem ‘after(wards)’ and nèle/hale/hem ‘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):

¹³⁶ Also zоːninj
¹³⁷ Also nandįn phalŋ
Table 3.20. Indefinite temporal adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n script</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p’ap’ana</td>
<td>སར་བར་(ན་)</td>
<td>‘sometimes, now and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapkap(ø)</td>
<td>སྐབས་སྐབས་(ན་)</td>
<td>‘sometimes, now and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rega(…rega)</td>
<td>སྤེ་ཤེ་(…)ཤེ་ཤེ</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(ø)* 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>n script</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lêp(ø)</td>
<td>ཀེསི(ི)</td>
<td>‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke:po139</td>
<td>ཀེས་པ་, ཀེས་པོ</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màŋpu, màŋpo140</td>
<td>མང་པུ་, མང་པོ</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰɛɲdɛ:</td>
<td>སྐྱེད་ཞེན</td>
<td>‘considerably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màŋsho?</td>
<td>མང་ཤེན</td>
<td>‘to great degree, more (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niŋsho?</td>
<td>སྤེན་ཤེན</td>
<td>‘little, less (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’y:ey:</td>
<td>སྤེན་ཤེན</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’y:tey:</td>
<td>སྤེན་ཤེན</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e’y:ry:</td>
<td>སྤེན་ཤེན</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átsi(m)</td>
<td>སྤེན་(ི)</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átem</td>
<td>སྤེན་ཤེན (?)</td>
<td>‘a bit’ (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niŋnuŋ</td>
<td>སྤེན་ཤེན</td>
<td>‘little, few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tee:/de:</td>
<td>སྤེ/ཤེ</td>
<td>‘at all’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa:/lêc</td>
<td>སྤེ/ཤེ</td>
<td>‘at all’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

138 This form is often pronounced with markedly high intonation.
139 *ke:po* 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 *màŋpu/màŋpo* is in meaning and versatility similar to *ke:po*, but according to some speakers *ke:po* is “real” Denjongke and *màŋpo* a loan from Tibetan. The use of the form *màŋtʃa/màŋtʃa* at least partly overlaps the use of *màŋpu/màŋpo*. Because *màŋtʃa*, however, is formed with the adjectival ending -ʃa, it is analyzed as a quantifying adjective. By the same logic, *ɲiŋtʃa*, which at least partly overlaps in function with *niŋnuŋ*, is also analyzed as a quantifying adjective.
Table 3.22. Adjective and adverb-modifying adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lēpt(t)i</td>
<td>ले प्ति ‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemissiki</td>
<td>पेम्सिकी ‘extraordinarily’ (in Martam: pesimpo/ pemasibo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ā:mentse?</td>
<td>दक्मेंट्सें ‘limitless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átsi(m)</td>
<td>अत्सी(म) ‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.23. Numeral-modifying adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halam</td>
<td>हालम ‘about, approximately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’y:mencé</td>
<td>ट्युङ्मेन्च ‘about, approximately; almost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:tei?</td>
<td>देंटें ‘about, this much’ (lit. ‘like.this-one’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post-numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laksʰøʔ</td>
<td>लक्सʰे ‘over, more than’ (lit. more.than-limit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotreʔ</td>
<td>कोङ्टे ‘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/tekku (टेकु) ‘only’.

Table 3.24. Epistemic adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nê:mu(ra)</td>
<td>नेमुरा ‘really’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mènteene/mènteeno</td>
<td>मेंतेने/मेंटेनो ‘perhaps, maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mènne/mènmi141</td>
<td>मेन्ने/मेन्मि ‘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 तेकु 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) कार (नेप.) रोड=Gen ओऽतेकु जो?।
| gari | làm=gi | ोऽतेकु | jò? |
| car(Nep.) | road=GEN | below-direction | EX.PER |
‘It’s downwards of the car-road.’ (KT discussion with TB)

141 The form mènmi is from consultant KN (Martam).
The approximative meaning (glossed APPR) is illustrated in (3.91) and (3.92).

(3.91) \( pʰiːtsʰam \)  \( ṭɕa \)  \( ikʰa \)  \( 'at about dusk, around dusk' \)
\( kʽana \)  \( ṭɕa \)  \( ikʰa \)  \( 'approximately where, whereabouts' \)
\( tʽãːpu \)  \( ṭɕa \)  \( ikʰa \)  \( 'once long ago' (lit. long.ago-\( tɕa \)) \)
\( tʽatar \)  \( ṭɕa \)  \( ikʰa \)  \( 'at around this time, ~nowabouts' (lit. now-\( tɕa \)) \)

(3.92) \( óde-\text{teika}=rə \)  \( t'a \)  \( zak-o \)  \( nənɡ-\text{ge} \)
like.\text{that-APPR}=\text{AEMP} \text{H} \text{W} \text{now} \text{set-2INF} \text{do.\text{HORT}}
'Let's leave (telling the story) just about like that.' (DB life story)

In addition to the markers above, the quantifying nominalizer -\( tsʰɛʔ \) may attach to verbs to express 'as much as is \text{x-ed}', see §13.2.4.

3.6 Minor word classes

The minor word classes are personal pronouns (§3.6.1), reflexive pronouns (§3.6.2), reciprocal pronouns (§3.6.3), indefinite pronouns (§3.6.4), demonstratives (§3.6.5), question words (§3.6.6), numerals (§3.6.7), postpositions (§3.6.8), connectives (§3.6.9), interjections (§3.6.10) and discourse particles (§3.6.11).

3.6.1 Personal pronouns

Denjongke personal pronouns are summarized in Table 3.25. The 2PL form \( teʰʔ=tsu \) 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>( ɲə = )</td>
<td>( ɲə\text{tea} = )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>( teʰʔ )  ( ʃl )</td>
<td>( (teʰʔ=:tsu ʃl) )  ( k'\text{utea} )  ( ʃl )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>low-level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mid-level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>honorific</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ordinary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>( kʰu )  ( ʃl )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>( mɨ/\text{mə} )  ( ʃl )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>honorific</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Notes on use</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=rā:/=ra</td>
<td>attaches to personal pronouns</td>
<td>‘-self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā:mē:/rā:mē:</td>
<td>used independently</td>
<td>‘oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā:rā: so:so:</td>
<td>distributive use, typically co-occurs with a noun, personal pronoun or indefinite pronoun</td>
<td>‘each oneself’</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 =rā:/=ra has also grammaticalized into an anaphoric emphatic clitic, see §16.1.1. The uses of the reflexive pronouns are illustrated in §6.2.

3.6.3 Reciprocal pronouns

The three reciprocal pronominals occurring in my data are listed in Table 3.27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tei:=ki, tei: (=lo)</td>
<td>‘one to another’ (lit. ‘one to one’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tei:=ki zen(=lo)</td>
<td>‘one to another’ (used in Richhi instead of the first form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰentsʰyː 144</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 pʰentsʰyː 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 kʰãːpu ‘one full measure of’ may follow tʰamtɕɛʔ, kʰɛːlɛ and tɕʰaːlɛ ‘all’ to emphasize the meaning

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

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

144 The demonstrative expression pʰaː tsʰuː ‘thither hither’ may be used in a similar sense.
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 རེན་‘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>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>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>tsʰa(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 tsʰaŋki rather than dzanaki.
### 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>dodi ‘this right here’</td>
<td>dodik’a, dona ‘right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>di ‘this’</td>
<td>dik’a ‘here’ (cf. nà: ‘here’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó-</td>
<td>ódi ‘that’</td>
<td>óna, ók’a ‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nà:</td>
<td>nà=di ‘the one here’</td>
<td>nàkʰa(=lo) ‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰou, pʰi-</td>
<td>pʰou=di, pʰidi ‘that over there’</td>
<td>pʰou=na, pʰouk’a, pʰok’a, pʰina, pʰik’a ‘over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jòu, ji-</td>
<td>jòdi, jìdi ‘that up there’</td>
<td>jina, jìk’a ‘up (there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòu, mi-</td>
<td>mòdi, mìdi ‘that down there’</td>
<td>mòu=na, mòuk’a=lo, mòu=lo, mìna ‘down (there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰa(ː)</td>
<td>pʰaː=di ‘the one thither/further’</td>
<td>pʰaːkʰa ‘on the other side, further’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰu(ː)</td>
<td>tsʰuː=di ‘the one hither/closer’</td>
<td>tsʰuːkʰa ‘on this side, nearer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zen</td>
<td>zen=di ‘the other’</td>
<td>zenkʰa(=lo) ‘in another place’</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- 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>dobem</th>
<th>de:, dem, dep</th>
<th>óde:, ódem, ódep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dodem</td>
<td>doki, doki, dobem</td>
<td>proximal, cataphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:, dem, dep</td>
<td>de:, dem, dep</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’adzoʔ ‘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 postnumeral 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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’an, k’ar</td>
<td>གན་, གར་                  what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adi</td>
<td>ག་འདི་                      which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ana, k’ak’a</td>
<td>ག་ན་, ག་ཁ (ར)     where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ག་                             who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nám</td>
<td>གན་                          when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ambja</td>
<td>གན་འཕྲོོན་                    why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adzø?, k’atsʰø?</td>
<td>ག་ཚོད་                  how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’atem</td>
<td>ག་ཁོོོ་                     what kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ate</td>
<td>ག་ཆོོོ་                      how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’a.</td>
<td>ག་                 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) རྟོག་ཁམ་ རྟོག་ཁམ་ རྟོག་ཁམ་ རྟོག་ཁམ་
[ʈʰaʔŋa] [ŋà [ˈuː:=teiʔ] gju ˈː.]
thousand five six=INDF go FUT.UNC
‘Some five to six thousand (rupees) will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

(3.94) སྤེན་ སྤེན་ སྤེན་ སྤེན་ སྤེན་
ŋà [eːʔ súm] do:-run ɖike.
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 གན་ ‘one’, t’aŋpo བོད་པའི་ ‘first’), are formed from cardinal numbers by adding the nominalizer -po, e.g. súm རྟོག་ ‘three’ > súm-po རྟོག་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 lêkor རློང་. The numbers from one to twenty (decimal system) are given in Table 3.33.

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 ག་ལས་ ‘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-
'21', ɲíː tsa-
'22'.

In counting (as in 19, 20, 21) twenty-one is expressed as tsa-tei? ར་གཅིག་, but when referring to one number in a sentence, for instance when telling one’s age, a more complex form is typically used.148 The complex form combines the two morphemes for tens, e.g. níeu tsa-tei?
'21', níeu tsa-
'22'.

---

148 Consultant RL from Lachen counted ní: tsa-tei? ‘21’, ní: tsa-
‘22’.

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### Table 3.35. Decimal system numbers 21-100

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Table 3.35. Decimal system numbers 21-100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-tei?</td>
<td>31 zipteu cê-tei?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-ńi</td>
<td>41 zipteu cê-ńi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-sum</td>
<td>42 zipteu cê-sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-zí</td>
<td>43 zipteu cê-zí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-ńa</td>
<td>44 zipteu cê-ńá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-'u?</td>
<td>45 zipteu cê-'u?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-dyn</td>
<td>46 zipteu cê-dyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-ge?</td>
<td>47 zipteu cê-ge?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>jnieu tsa-gu</td>
<td>48 zipteu cê-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>súmteu</td>
<td>49 zipteu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>súmteu só-tei?</td>
<td>50 súmteu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>súmteu só-ńi</td>
<td>51 súmteu só-ńi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>súmteu só-sum</td>
<td>52 súmteu só-sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>súmteu só-zí</td>
<td>53 súmteu só-zí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>súmteu só-ńa</td>
<td>54 súmteu só-ńa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>súmteu só-'u?</td>
<td>55 súmteu só-'u?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>súmteu só-dyn</td>
<td>56 súmteu só-dyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>súmteu só-ge?</td>
<td>57 súmteu só-ge?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>súmteu só-gu</td>
<td>58 súmteu só-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>zipteu</td>
<td>59 súmteu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.36. Decimal system numbers 61-100

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Table 3.36. Decimal system numbers 61-100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-tei?</td>
<td>81 geteu k'ja-tei?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-ńi</td>
<td>82 geteu k'ja-ńi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-sum</td>
<td>83 geteu k'ja-sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-zí</td>
<td>84 geteu k'ja-zí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-ńa</td>
<td>85 geteu k'ja-ńa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-'u?</td>
<td>86 geteu k'ja-'u?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-dyn</td>
<td>87 geteu k'ja-dyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-ge?</td>
<td>88 geteu k'ja-ge?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>t'ukteu re-gu</td>
<td>89 geteu k'ja-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>dynteu</td>
<td>90 gupteu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-tei?</td>
<td>91 gupteu k'o-tei?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-ńi</td>
<td>92 gupteu k'o-ńi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-sum</td>
<td>93 gupteu k'o-sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-zí</td>
<td>94 gupteu k'o-zí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-ńa</td>
<td>95 gupteu k'o-ńa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-'u?</td>
<td>96 gupteu k'o-'u?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-dyn</td>
<td>97 gupteu k'o-dyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-ge?</td>
<td>98 gupteu k'o-ge?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>dynteu t'on-gu</td>
<td>99 gupteu k'o-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>geteu</td>
<td>100 teik gia, gia tei?, gia(t'amba)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of numbers from one hundred onwards are given in Table 3.37, which introduces the words tö(tu) [tsu] ‘thousand’, t'î [t‘i] ‘ten thousand’, bum [bum] ‘hundred thousand’ and sâja [s‘a] ‘million’.
Table 3.37. Examples of numbers from 100 onwards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>teik gia, gia tei?, gia(t’amba)</td>
<td>100, one hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>gja t’à: geteu</td>
<td>180, one hundred eighty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>ni: gia, gia ni:</td>
<td>200, two hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>teik tò:, tò.t’a? tei?</td>
<td>1000, one thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2955</td>
<td>ni: tò: gubgia nàpteu nágu</td>
<td>2955, two thousand fifty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>teik t’i, t’i tei?, tò.t’a? teu(t’amba)</td>
<td>10,000, ten thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>bum tei?</td>
<td>100,000, one hundred thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>bum tei? t’à: tò:ta? kʰe: süm149</td>
<td>160,000, one hundred sixty thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>sája tei?</td>
<td>1,000,000, one million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 teč:ya ‘fifteen hundred’). The form teik tò: གཅིག་བརྒྱ་, where the number of thousands comes before the word thousand, is used in referring to years, for instance 1974 teiktò: gubgia dynteu t’onzi གཉིས་བརྒྱ་ བདུན་བཅུ་ ང་དགུ་. The reverse order tò:ta? tei? བརྒྱ་ གཅིག་ is used for discussing prices, e.g. tò:ta? teopge? སྟྔོང་ཕྲག་ བཅུ ‘eighteen hundred, 1800’. The numeral suffix -t’a? གཅིག་ signals completion of a set or an abstract notion represented by a set of numbers, e.g. tò:ta? teč:ya ‘thousand’, dynt’a? ཆི་མ་འབུམ་གཅིག་ ‘week’, teu’t’a? གཅིག་ ‘full ten, decade’.

For other numerals, consider Table 3.38.

Table 3.38. Other numeral-related vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tò: k’ã:pu</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰi?</td>
<td>‘half’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’a</td>
<td>‘pair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ã:(pu)</td>
<td>‘(one) full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do/t’o</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vigesimal system illustrated in Table 3.39 is build around the number twenty, for which the word kʰe: སྦྱར་ ‘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’à: is used in conjoining the complex numerals.

---

149 For kʰe:, refer to the vigesimal system explained below.
Table 3.39. Examples of the vigesimal number system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>kʰɛ: teiʔ</td>
<td>score-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>kʰɛ: teiʔ (tˈâː) teiʔ</td>
<td>score-one (and) one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>kʰɛ: teiʔ (tˈâː) ná</td>
<td>score-one (and) five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>kʰɛ: teiʔ (tˈâː) teu(tʰamba)</td>
<td>score-one (and) ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>kʰɛ: teiʔ teu tˈâː gu</td>
<td>score-one ten and nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>kʰɛ: ní:</td>
<td>score-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>kʰɛ: ní: (tˈâː) teiʔ</td>
<td>score-two (and) one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>kʰɛ: ní: tˈâː tɕu(ŋu)</td>
<td>score-two and fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>kʰɛ: ní: teu tˈâː gu</td>
<td>score-two ten and nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>kʰɛ: súm</td>
<td>score-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>kʰɛ: zi</td>
<td>score-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>teik gja, gia teiʔ, gia(tʰamba)</td>
<td>(one) hundred</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have not carried out a detailed study on the division of labour of the decimal and vigesimal systems, but I here offer some initial observations. In my data, the vigesimal system is used at least when talking about prices of items (3.95), age of people (3.96) and number of people (3.97).

(3.95) ང་སྟྔོང་ཕྲག་ཁལ་གཅིག་བྱིན་ཤད་ཨིན། ngā tō.tˈâː? kʰɛ: teiʔ pˈin-ɛː. 1SG thousand score one give-NPST.PER
‘I will give twenty thousand (rupees).’ (TB bulls story)

(3.96) ཀདེ་ལྡན་ལྡན་ཁལ་སྟི་བཞི། ádzo ge:po ló kʰɛ: zi-tˈsʰo? grandfather old.man year score four-about
‘old grandfather of some eighty years’ (Richhi 78)

(3.97) a) ངོ་ཕྲག་མངོན་པོ་ཁལ་སྟི་བཞི་། kʰɛ: gãː dom-ti kʰɛ: zi tˈâː ngā beʔ. family gather-NF score four and five EQU.NE
‘There are altogether 85 families.’ (Richhi 48)

b) ངོ་ཕྲག་རྒྱུས་སྡུག་པར་འདེར་ཁུ་གོང་། གསོལ་གཉེན། ཁག་ཐམས་ཅད། ngābɡja jiec tsaː-geʔ de:teiʔ lori=ki lópɛ: five.hundred twenty twenty-eight thus.much Lhopo.people=GEN teacher jʊʔ. 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)
"In 1978" (KT life story)

'Now it’s about twenty-seven years since I established the tie of matrimony (I tell).'

(KT life story)

'Now it’s about twenty-seven years since I established the tie of matrimony (I tell).'

(KT life story)

In addition to the \( \text{ɲɛ}_r = \text{gu} \text{ɲɛ}_r \) and all meanings ‘twenty’, a fourth numeral \( \text{nìr} \) 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. \( \text{nìr}=\text{gu} \text{ɲɛ}_r \) ‘the twenty ninth day of the month’.

The word \( \text{tsʰe}_2 = \text{di} \text{mi}-\) is used for referring to the dates of the month up to the twentieth day, \( \text{tsʰe}_2 \text{ɲ́} \) ‘day twenty’. After that, the specific numeral \( \text{nìr} \) ‘twenties (of a month)’ is used for referring to days 21-29, i.e. \( \text{nìr} \text{ɡu} \) ‘the twenty ninth of the month’. The thirtieth day of the month is \( \text{nám} \text{ɡɑ}_2 \), which literally means ‘black moon’.

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

The suffix -tʰamba can be added not only to round tens and hundreds, as described for Standard Tibetan by Tournadre & Dorje (2003), but also to small non-round numbers, see (3.102). The suffix -tʰamba has little other meaning than highlighting the presence of a numeral, hence the gloss NUM (numeral). It is particularly common with number ten, see (3.103).
(3.102) te nè:=gi nà: p’apuzi sùm-t’amba jö?.
then 1SG.GEN=GEN here children three-NUM EX.PER
‘Then I have three children here.’ (KT life story)

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

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

(3.104) ñàtæa? jì:-po bhaila ta-wa tea:-bo 끼.
1PL two-COL PN look-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQUI.PER
‘The two of us came to see Bhaila.’ (Richhi 11)

(3.105) ódì tiru? ñá-po=dì
that rupee five-COL=DEMPH
‘those five rupees’ (RS pupil joke)

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

(3.106) *nè: p’um tæi-ga jö?.
*ñè: p’um ñùn-ga jö?.
ñè: p’um sùm-ga jö?.
ñè: p’um zì-ga jö?.
*ñè: p’um gu-ga jö?.
*ñè: p’um t’eu-ga jö?.
1SG.GEN girl NUM-COL EX.PER
‘I have two daughters.’
‘I have three daughters.’
‘I have four daughters.’
‘I have nine daughters.’ (KN e)

The suffix -tsʰøʔ ཚོད་ ‘about, some, measure of’ (from WT ཚོད་ tshod ‘measure’, which is in meaning very similar to WT ཚར་ 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) “the 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 ཞར་) ‘according to’, -zin (WT/WD རིན་) ‘likeness, similar to’, and the locative markers -k’a (locative suffix), =lo (dative-locative case), =le (ablative case) and =na (locative case). Although the postpositions in Table 3.41 are analyzed into their constitutive parts, the combinations have through frequent use grammaticalized towards lexicalization.

Table 3.40 Nominal roots used in postpositions listed in Table 3.41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāŋ</td>
<td>‘inside(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’on</td>
<td>‘meaning, purpose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’ap</td>
<td>‘replacement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsa</td>
<td>‘root, base’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’oʔ</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>dZe:</td>
<td>‘trace, trail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyn</td>
<td>‘front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’a:</td>
<td>‘(space in) between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’en</td>
<td>‘earlier (time)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tεŋ</td>
<td>‘top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òʔ</td>
<td>‘low(er) place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu(:)</td>
<td>‘middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boloʔ</td>
<td>‘close’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


153 In Dzongkha, the cognate is written སྦྱོན་ལོགས་.
<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’ãː) nâmtei?, (t’ãː) nâmpu</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāːte = sāː</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèmba</td>
<td>‘except’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèntā</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’o:=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>yɔ:=lo/hɔ:=lo, yɔ:te/hɔː:te</td>
<td>‘toward, in the direction of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔ:=lo/hɔː=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>dzu:=lo</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kum)dyn-k’a, (kum)dỳ:=lo, kumdỳ</td>
<td>‘in front of, in the presence of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’a:=na</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nën=lo, nën=le, nōma, hen=le, hema</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten-k’a, ten=lo</td>
<td>‘above, on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=gu, gu=lo</td>
<td>‘above, on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ:=lo, ɔ:=le</td>
<td>‘below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:=na, bu=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’ilö?</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāk’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,

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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 ལུག་ used here suggests an origin with ལུག་ ‘head’ and a vowel change from o to u. A cognate form རུ་ gu is used in Dzongkha as a “contact locative” (Watters 2018: 200).
157 Experimental spelling reflecting the hypothesized origin ལུ་ ‘head’ (WD ལུ་ mgo).
nàŋzin, t’onzin(gi), nàmtci?, nàmpu, 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་བཤེད་ཀུན་ཡན།
   lò tei:=ki gjable
   year one=GEN after
   ‘One year later…’ (SGD wedding customs)

b) ལོ་ བཤེད་ཀུན་ཡན།
   nim 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་བཤེད་ཀུན་ཡན།
   roː=tsu nàmpu
   friend=PL with
   ‘with friends’ (TB phone call)

The remainder of this section provides a more detailed description on the characteristics of relator nouns. The latter part of the discussion points out the morpho-phonological factor which conditions whether the complement noun of a relator noun (RN) is genitive marked or not. Rarely, and exclusively in the spoken language, RNs occur in relational context in their bare monosyllabic root form:

(3.109) བོད་བཤེད་ཀུན་ཡན།
   nim sim gjap...
   day three back
   ‘After three days…’ (TB funeral customs)

(3.110) བོད་བཤེད་ཀུན་ཡན།
   l’a ó(d)i tep...
   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).
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. *ɕáːlo(=ki) tɛŋkʰa*[bamboo.slit.wall(=GEN) on] ‘on the bamboo wall’. A third more postpositional than nominal feature of RNs is the ability to occur with a derivational suffix which does not occur with other nouns. For instance, the RN *nàŋ* ‘inside’ occurs in colloquial language with the formative -ɕa158 (*nàŋɕa* ‘inside’), which does not occur with other nouns and whose origin is unclear (written language prefers the more typical nominal ending =lo, as in *nàŋ=lo* ‘inside’). A fourth feature of RNs is that their independent uses in non-relational contexts are rare. For instance, *tɛŋnlɛ* ‘(in) earlier (times)’, *gjablɛ* ‘afterwards’, *nàŋɕa* ‘inside’.

RNs also have noun like features. Locative RNs inflect for the dative-locative, ablative and genitive case, e.g. *nàŋca/nàŋ=lo* ‘inside’ also occurs in the ablative form *nàŋ=le* ‘from inside’ and genitive *nàŋ=gi* ‘of the inside’. Another noun-like feature is the ability to have genitive-marked nominal modifiers/complements, e.g. *cá:lo(=ki) tɛŋkʰa*[bamboo.slit.wall(=GEN) on] ‘on the bamboo wall’. RNs also have adverbial characteristics. The locative adverbial suffix -kʰa is used in some RNs in variation with the dative-locative case marker =lo, e.g. *tɛŋkʰa, tɛŋ=lo* ‘on, above’, *dyŋkʰa, dyn=lo* ‘in front of’. Most of the RNs also have independent uses as adverbs, e.g. *ɲɛ̃́nlɛ* ‘(in) earlier (times)’, *gjablɛ* ‘afterwards’, *nàŋca* ‘inside’.

A study of the most frequent RNs in the novel Richhi, *tɛŋ ‘above’* (including forms *tɛŋkʰa, tɛŋ=lo, tɛŋ=gi*, altogether 81 instances) and *nàŋ ‘inside’* (including *nàŋca, nàŋ=lo, nàŋ=le, nàŋ=gi*, altogether 74 instances) yields the following result concerning genitive marking:

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158 Written ङ 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) བོད་ སྟེང་

\[ \text{nè}: \quad \text{teŋ}=\text{lo} \]

1SG GEN  top=DAT

‘on me’ (Richhi 63)

(3.115) ཏོན་ སྟེང་

\[ \text{ktɕi}=\text{tu}=\text{i} \quad \text{nàŋ}=\text{lo} \]

3PL=PL GEN  inside=DAT

‘from among them’ (Richhi 45)

(3.116) དབྱེན་ སྟེང་

\[ \text{lòdba}: \quad \text{nàŋ}=\text{gi} \quad \text{gi} \text{tɕi} \]

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) སྣྱོར་ སྟེང་

\[ \text{ɕáːlo} \quad \text{teŋ}=\text{lo} \]

bamboo wall  top=DAT

‘on the bamboo wall’ (Richhi 98)

(3.118) སྡོང་ སྟེང་

\[ \text{tsʰokor} \quad \text{nàŋ}=\text{lo} \]

pond  inside=DAT

‘in the pond’ (Richhi 32)

(3.119) སྡོང་ སྟེང་

\[ \text{mü}=\text{i} \quad \text{kʰim} \quad \text{nàŋ}=\text{gi} \quad \text{lògiu} \]

3SGF GEN  house  inside=GEN  story

‘news from her home’ (Richhi 95)

Two exceptions were found in which the long genitive form was used: \[ kʰɛp=ki \text{ tenkʰa} \] ‘on the cover’, \[ ɕáːlo=ki \text{ teŋ}=\text{lo} \] ‘on the bamboo wall’. In two cases, the short genitive form was omitted, \[ kɛt=lo \] ‘on the neck’, \[ bu: \text{nàŋ}=\text{gi} \] ‘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 nājea, nājlo, nājle and nāŋ=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 lòdba ‘school’, which can occur in short genitive, occurs in my corpus both as non-marked (lòdba nājea) and as genitive (lòdba: nājea).

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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, kãːpo and kaːm. With the first one, the (short) genitive is formed by vowel modification, kãːpøː, whereas the latter uses the longer form =ki/gi. The word which allows short genitive marking is genitive marked (3.120), but the other word, which would occur with the longer genitive, remains non-marked (3.121).

(3.120) བྱི་ཅུང་རང་པའི་ནང་ཤ་
   pʼitɕuŋ  kãːpo: nāgea
   bird  foot.GEN inside
   ‘in the bird’s foot’ (PD bet story)

(3.121) བྱི་ཅུང་གི་རངམ་སྟེང་ཁ
   pʼitɕuŋ=gi kaːm tenkʰa
   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) རི་ ཁུ་ རུ་བྱེ་གཅིག་སྟེང་ཁ་ལྔོ་དཔྱང་སི་ཀི་
   tʼa  kʰu  rubi=teiʔ  tenkʰa=lo  pjãː-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 (kãːpo:) is genitive marked whereas the nominal modifier of kãːpo ‘foot’, pʼitɕuŋ ‘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-tsʰɛʔ ‘moreover, not only’, which occurs both as a looser connector of finite clauses and an additive adverbial clause marker (see §12 and §15.9.1 respectively). The second exception is kʼamjasene ‘because’, which is functionally similar to formally-subordinated causal adverbial clauses and is therefore described along with the functionally similar clauses in §15.4.

### 3.6.10 Interjections

Interjections are words that comprise an utterance in themselves. They are often phonologically distinct (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 57) and usually express the speaker’s spontaneous emotions and reactions to something they have experienced or heard. Interjections usually occur at the beginning of a clause and are often followed by a pause. Phonologically distinctive characteristics of interjections are emphatically long vowels, the use of diphthongs /ɛi/ and /ai/, which do not otherwise occur in word roots (but do occur in the genitive forms, e.g. kei ‘of neck’, sái ‘of ground’) and the otherwise non-occurring final consonant /pʰ/ [f] in úf (discomfort). Table 3.43 lists some Denjongke interjections. The order of items follows loosely the order of positive-neutral-negative. The interjections of surprise are neutral in that they may involve either positive or negative emotions.

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Table 3.42. Clause/sentence 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>î̃ːruŋ</td>
<td>‘but, however’, lit. ‘although it is (so)’</td>
<td>ཨིན་རུང་ ‘but, however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>înajãː</td>
<td>‘but, however’, lit. ‘even it is (so)’</td>
<td>ཨིན་ན་ཡང་ ‘but, however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îndãːjãː</td>
<td>‘but, however’ lit. ‘it is (so) and yet’</td>
<td>ཨིན་དང་ཡང་ ‘it is (so) and yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>î̃ːjãː</td>
<td>‘but, however’, lit. ‘it is (so) yet’</td>
<td>ཨིན་ཡང་ ‘it is (so) yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʑɛ</td>
<td>‘otherwise’</td>
<td>གཞན་ནེ་ ‘otherwise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʑɛ̃ːm</td>
<td>‘otherwise’, lit. ‘if there is nothing else’</td>
<td>གཞན་མན་ནེ་ ‘otherwise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jãː</td>
<td>‘and, (then) again’</td>
<td>དཡང་ ‘and, (then) again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jãːne</td>
<td>‘or’</td>
<td>དབུན་ ‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jãːmene</td>
<td>‘or in other case, otherwise’, lit. ‘and if it is not (so)’</td>
<td>དབུན་མན་ནེ་ ‘or in other case, otherwise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-tsʰɛʔ</td>
<td>‘not only (but also); moreover; in addition ’, lit. not-stop(ping)</td>
<td>མི་ཚད་ ‘not only (but also)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʼambjasene</td>
<td>‘because, this is for the reason that’, lit. ‘if told why’</td>
<td>གན་བས་ ‘because, this is for the reason that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dile</td>
<td>‘then’ (lit. ‘this=ABL’, probably already lexicalized)</td>
<td>དིལ་ ‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʼene</td>
<td>‘then, in that case’ (often collocates with te ‘well, then’, as in te tʼene ‘well then…’)</td>
<td>དེ་ ‘then, in that case’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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160 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 word of speaking sê (which may be pronounced sɨ) can be replaced by lap ‘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. kʼamjaseno (eastern and northern pronunciation), 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>āme:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ། སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>‘wow’ expressing enthrallment, rapture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâso</td>
<td>སཏ་ལེ་ཟོ།</td>
<td>‘okay’ approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ákʰa:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ། སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>surprise, amazement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádzi:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>‘oh, hey’ used getting someone’s attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é', jà:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ། སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d:</td>
<td>སཏ།</td>
<td>1) informal address to get someone’s attention 2) response to being called (addressed to social/age inferior), like ‘what?’ (honorific la:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>1) polite response to being called 2) expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kei</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>‘O (address)’ honorific address (e.g. lama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰa</td>
<td>སཏ།</td>
<td>‘ alas’ disappointment (e.g. after a bad shot in a game of carrom or <em>kerembo</em>), loan from Nepali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰe:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ།</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>སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>expression of pain or discomfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádzi:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áijo:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ།   སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>pain or fear of pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óho:</td>
<td>སཏ་མེ།</td>
<td>sadness, response to bad news (KT) (neutral) surprise at information (KUN)</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 སཏ་ཟ་ da) and *te* (WD སཏ་ 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) སཏ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ་ཟ

\[
te \ t'a \ te \ t'a \ lâte\nu=la \ te \ t'a \ li=di
\]

so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=DEMPH

‘So now in Lachung apples...’ (LA intro to Lachung)

As seen in (3.123), *t’a* and *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

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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 \(^{162}\) (§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.\(^{163}\) Within the noun phrase, case clitics attach to the last word, which may be a noun, adjective, demonstrative, numeral or a quantifier. Some cases also occur attached to adverbs and a few verbal suffixes (see example [3.4] above). Cases may be divided into grammatical cases (G in Table 3.44) and spatial cases (S in Table 3.44). Grammatical cases express syntactic relations (agent, patient, recipient, possessor in possessive constructions), whereas spatial cases express location and, by extension, time. The dative-locative case inhabits both categories, as suggested by its name and shown in Table 3.44.

Table 3.44. Case clitics

<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/pitch(^{164})</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>WT gys/kyis/kis/gis/s</td>
<td>§9.1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>=ki/gi/i</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>WT kyi/gyi/kigyi/i</td>
<td>§3.6.1.2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative-locative</td>
<td>=lo</td>
<td>G and S</td>
<td>WT las</td>
<td>§9.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>=le</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>WT na</td>
<td>§9.5.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>=na</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>WT nang (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Classical Tibetan \(\text{dzi}\) dang, which functions both as a coordinative (‘and’) and a comitative marker (‘with’) (Beyer 1992: 241, 271; Tournadre 2010: 113), has the reflex \(t\text{’a}\)\(^{165}\) (WD \(\text{dzi}\)) in Denjongke. Denjongke \(t\text{’a}\): is most frequently used as a coordinating conjunction, but it also occurs as an optional element together with \(\text{nampu}\) ‘with’ and \(\text{dau}\) ‘(be) similar’, e.g. \(\text{na}\ (t\text{’a})\) \(\text{nampu}\ ‘with me’, \(\text{ka}\ (t\text{’a})\) \(\text{jamtei}\) ‘with whom’, \(\text{lamu}\ (t\text{’a})\) \(\text{dau}\) ‘like a goddess’. The novel Richhi also has an interesting non-coordinating example of \(t\text{’a}\), which resembles the Classical Tibetan ‘associative’ function, see (3.124).\(^{166}\)

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\(^{162}\) The word “case” derives from Latin \textit{casus} ‘fall(ing)’, a loan from Greek \textit{ptōsis} ‘fall(ing)’ (Haspelmath 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 \(\text{q\text{’a}}\) (vs. \(\text{q\text{’e}}\)) and \(\text{mi}\) (vs. \(\text{mi}\)).

\(^{165}\) In sentential context typically pronounced \(\text{d\text{’a}}\).

\(^{166}\) The term associative is in this thesis used differently. It refers to the use of suffix -\textit{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) cause of verbal action. Its use is partly syntactically and partly semantico-pragmatically governed. With nominals ending in a vowel, the agentive case may, alternatively, be marked by lengthening of the vowel and by high tone, e.g. ŋà ‘I’, ŋà=gi ‘I=AGT’, ŋà: ‘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. to: you’ > to:ki [you=GEN]).

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

The locative case marker =na is almost homophonous with the locative demonstrative nà: ‘here’. Its basic function is to mark location within a three dimensional space, whereas the basic function of =lo is to locate an object two-dimensionally. The locative case marks nominal locative adverbials (e.g. kʰim=na ‘in(side) the house’, see §5.6.1.2). Unlike the dative-locative marker, =na may be attached to the short genitive form of a noun, a feature well understandable if =na derives from the relator noun nāg ‘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 ʂ, which prompts a response from the reader to distinguish the form from the nominative. Another way to pronounce the final -s ʂ is to produce, in harmony with Tibetan spelling rules, a fronted vowel, e.g. WT ʂu = /lu:/ ‘remain’.
The ablative marker =lɛ encodes movement from a spatial source (e.g. from the house) or temporal source (e.g. from yesterday). Similarly to =lo, with which it sometimes overlaps, =lɛ occurs in both nominal (§5.6.1.3) and verbal adverbial uses (see §15.3.1.1). The ablative is also used for comparison, see §5.6.1.3.2 and §15.11.

3.7.1.2 Postpositions or cases: =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) གི་ན་བསྐུར་གཉའ་ཟང་སེབ་པོ་མེད། pʰina baːɲa=sā: l̥ɛp-o mè.
over.there TPN=until arrive-2INF NEG.EX.PER
‘I haven’t been able to arrive over there in Bermeok.’ (KT, discussion with TB)

(3.126) གཏམ་ཨྔོ་འདི་ག་ཚོད་ཟང་བདེན་དྲགས་ཡྔོད་ཀམ་ལགས། tam òdi kʼadzø=sā: dɛn jøː=kam=la?
speech that how=until true EX.PER=ATTQ=HON
‘I wonder to what degree that claim is true?’ (CY interview)

(3.127) ཉ་ད་རུང་དབང་མྔོ་ལྔོག་མ་འྔོང་ཟང་སྔོད་ཤད་ཨིན་1 SG still PN return NEG-come=TERM stay-INF EQUI.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.

(3.128) ཤ་སྐྱེ་ད་ལྟབ་ཟང་སྟེ་ང་ན་སྔོབ་གྲྭ་ནང་ཤ་ལྔོ་རང་གཡོག་རྐྱབས་བཞིན་ཡྔོད། tʼato sã̃̀ːt ɛŋà nàː láp t aŋ ɕ a=lo=rãː jó kjap-ʑɛ̃ː jø̀ ʔ.
now until 1SG here school inside=DAT=AEMP Hudson 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 sā:te, =sā: is here considered a cliticized form of the postposition sā:te. There is, however, some fluidity in this criteria, because the locative case marker =na also has a rather synonymic corresponding postposition nāŋca/nāŋlo, and thus =na could be argued, in analogy with =sā: and sā:te, to be a cliticized postposition nāŋca/nāŋlo. 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 nāŋca) and =sā=sā: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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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’, dyŋkʰa ‘in front of’, tsakʰa ‘at (the root of)’. Example (3.129) illustrates the use of tsa without -kʰa (a) and with it (b).

(3.129) a) དབྲེ་བཅུ་ ཉོ་ ལོ སྟེགས་འབྔོར་ རརར་ འདི་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་ཡོད།
   tobdʑor=tsaː=dí gja ɲā jɔʔ.
PȚ=at=DEMPH hundred five EX.PER
   ‘There were five hundred (rupees) with Topjor.’ (UTR, plains story)

b) school ཕ་ཁ་ར་ ཉོ་ན
   iskul tsakʰa=ra önə?
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 vowel169.

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. ɲā ‘I’, pê: [1SG GEN] ‘my’, pêː=giatan [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. súmpoː=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) གྲིན་ལས་ཀི་ཁིམ་ན་ལས་ད་ལྟ་ཟང་ཀ་ཡང་མ་སེབས་ཤད་འདིས་tʽato171
   tʰinleː=ki kʰim=na=le tʼato171=sā: ka=jā: 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)

(3.131) བཱཿ ཁིམ་ན་ལྔོ།
   pʼu=i kʰim=na=lo
   boy=GEN house=LOC=DAT
   ‘In(side) the boy’s house.’ (SGD wedding customs)

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

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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 tʼato corresponds to ཡི da-lta ‘now’ used in Richhi. The form used in Richhi may be influenced by Written Tibetan.
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) ལོབ་དོན་= na=lo
school.GEN=LOC=DAT
‘in the school’ (Richhi 31)

An alternative interpretation would be to treat na=lo and na=le as reduced postpositions meaning ‘within’ and ‘from within’ respectively, co-existing with the postpositions nāŋca/nāŋlo/nāŋle ‘(from) inside’. However, the fact that the postpositional forms nāŋca and nāŋlo 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

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=rā:/=ra</td>
<td>ར་/ར་</td>
<td>anaphoric emphatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=to</td>
<td>དེ་</td>
<td>contrastive emphatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=di</td>
<td>ཆ་</td>
<td>demonstrative-emphatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ni/ne</td>
<td>རེ་</td>
<td>topicalizer-emphatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The anaphoric emphatic =rā: derives from Classical Tibetan ṛa: 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 §16.1.2.172 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.

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

Table 3.46. Clausal clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=lo</td>
<td>reportative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=s(ɛ)</td>
<td>quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=la</td>
<td>honorific (also attaches to nouns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ɛo</td>
<td>attention marker (extended use with nouns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki</td>
<td>non-commitment marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms =lo, =s(ɛ) and =la have recognisable cognates in other Tibetic languages. For instance, the reportative =lo (WT རྔོ་ 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 བེ་ zer and honorific WT ལགས་ lags are also widely attested in Tibetic languages. The honorific =la is listed in Table 3.46 because it also occurs as a clausal clitic but it is more fully introduced below in §3.7.4.3.

To my knowledge, anything resembling in form and function the attention marker =ɛo has not been reported in Tibetic languages. However, at least three Bhutanese, Eastern Bodish languages have a probable cognate of =ɛo. 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 =ɛo. Second, Hyslop and Tshering (2010) have also found a similarly functioning “sentence final particle” ço in Dakpa (a.k.a. Tawang Monpa). Third, Andvik’s (2010: 441) grammar of Tshangla describes a “marked topic particle” sho, which covers some of the same semantic field as Denjongke =ɛo. Nathan W. Hill (personal communication) suspects that =ɛo is derived from Classical Tibetan ཨོག་ 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, =ɛo 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 =møʔ (§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 (-tsʰo) as Denjongke plural markers, giving nyi-lam cha ‘dreams’ and gya-mi ts’o ‘Chinese’ as respective examples. The fact that -tsʰo is the Central Tibetan plural marker suggests that the language variety recorded by Sandberg may be a northern variety with some Central Tibetan features. The example Sandberg gives of -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 =te? does not occur in any other words than the personal pronouns =nate? ‘we’ and =kute? ‘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) sāng=ki =sūn-sum-bo tei:=tei? be?.
Buddha=GEN say.HON-RDP-2INF one=INDEF 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 =tə o:
By attaching one of the honorific clitics =la(ː) (WD ཟ་ནགས་ lags) or =tə o: 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’ (bha is the Nepali word for ‘younger brother’). In uses with nouns, the vowel tends to be long =la:, whereas in clausal uses, it tends to be short =la. As exemplified by (3.135), =la: may be used when addressing people (a) or when referring to them in their absence (b).

(3.135) a) གུང་རྒྱལ་ མཐུ་སྟོབས་ རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ སྨྲུ་ སྨུག་ གོ་ མཆོག་ excludePN kj?anup =natei...
madam=HON the.day.before.yesterday 1PL.GEN ‘Madam, the day before yesterday our…’ (Richhi 8)

b) གུང་རྒྱལ་ མཐུ་སྟོབས་ རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ སྨྲུ་ སྨུག་ གོ་ མཆོག་ excludePN kj?anup =natei...
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 =tə o: (WD སྨྲུ་ mchog) can be translated as ‘most excellent, honorable’ and is used of people of considerable social status. The morpheme tə o: 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) གུང་རྒྱལ་ མཐུ་སྟོབས་ རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ སྨྲུ་ སྨུག་ གོ་ མཆོག་ excludePN kj?anup =natei...
king PN PN-most.excellent
‘most excellent king (chogyal) Thutop Namgyal’ (CY interview)
b) སྟེང་ཁར་ སྐུ་པར་ སྦྔོམ་པྔོ་་་་ཀརྨའི་ ཡབ་ ཞིང་བཤགས་ མཆྔོག་གི།

\(\text{tekh}'a \ k\text{upar} \ b\text{ompu} \ k\text{armo: jà:p} \ e\text{iŋca:=teh'o:=ki}\)

above portrait big PN_GEN father.HON late-most.excellent=GEN

‘Above (there is) a big portrait of Karma’s honorable late father.’ (Richhi 33)

3.7.4.4 Urgetive clitic =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་ mod, an emphatic verb of being ‘to be indeed’. Sandberg (1895: 57) reports mòː as an independent verb, but in my data such uses are not found.

(3.137) ཤེ་ རེ་ རཟེ་ ལོང་ཤིན།
\(\text{être: te ou: nà:=moʔ.}\)

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 ʈ'oːpa ‘(in the) morning’, which have both nominal and adverbial characteristics, were on distributional grounds analyzed as temporal adverbs. Numerals were seen to follow both decimal and vigesimal systems. It was shown that postpositions divide into more noun-like postpositions, which were called relator nouns, and less noun-like postpositions, i.e. relator nouns were treated as a subclass of postpositions.

The last major section introduced 21 clitics (all monosyllabic), which were divided into five case clitics, two cliticized postpositions, four emphatic clitics, five clausal clitics and five other clitics (plural, indefinite, 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 noun phrases (§4.1), the verb complex (§4.2), adjective and adverb phrases (§4.3) and numeral phrases (§4.4).

4.1 Noun phrase

This section first provides an introduction to the structure of the noun phrase (§4.1.1) and then describes prenominal (§4.1.2) and postnominal modifiers (§4.1.3). The section after that describes the ordering of clitics at the end of the noun phrase (§4.1.4). This is followed by sections on the plural marker (§4.1.5), (in)definiteness (§4.1.6), coordination (§4.1.7) and reduplication (§4.1.8).

4.1.1 Introduction to noun phrase

The noun phrase may consist of 1) a noun head with its preceding and/or following modifiers (4.1), 2) a proform (pronoun, demonstrative or question word) (4.2), or 3) a nominalized clause (4.3). 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) རྨ་ན་ བུམ་ གཉིས་ བུག་ རྐྱབས་ རྐྱབས་པོ་ ལོ།

hindu- i p‘um nén kjap-kjap-o=lo
Hindu=GEN girl wedding do-RDP-2INF =DAT
‘to a girl of Hindus’ who has been married…’ / ‘to a married Hindu girl…’ (sbar-phung 88)

b) མཛད་ དུ་ མགྲོན་ བཏླ།

ódi p‘um niː deːtei?
that girl two that.much
‘those (as much as) two girls’ (SGD wedding customs)

Pro-form

(4.2) a) 3SGM be.late-2INF EQU.NE

[3SGM be.late-2INF EQU. NE]
‘[He] was late.’ (RS pupil joke)

b) མཛད་ དུ་ མགྲོན་ བཏླ།

[ódi=lo=di] [k’an] làp-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) འགྲུབ་ཟེ་བུ་ཐོབ་ཆེན་པོ་མ་ཐུབ་དི་བཞིན་བུ
[ngs sha lemg legsa kor tsʰu-po] ʰon 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་ཁེ སབ་སྦད་རྨ་ཉྔོ་ལགས།
[tsʰam−lo zu−kʰɛː] ke:p beʔ ʰpo=laː.
retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many EQU.NE grandmother=HON
‘[Those who sit in (mediation) retreat] are many, grandmother.’ (SM kitchen discussion)

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

Figure 4.1. Structure of the noun phrase

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & (DEM) \\
& (GEN.ATTR) (=DEMPH) \\
& (RC \text{ with } -kʰɛː) \\
& \text{ (JUXTAPOSITION) } \\
\} \\
\{ & \text{(ADJ) (NUM) (QUA) (DEM) (=PL) (=CASE) (=EMPH) (=DEMPH/INDF) (=TOP) (=jã)\textsuperscript{174} ) } \\
& \text{(RC) } \\
\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{GEN.ATTR}) = \\
\{ & (NP=GEN) \\
& (ADV=GEN) \\
& (PP=GEN) \\
& (RC \text{ with } -po \text{ or } -sa) \\
& \text{ (NCC) } \\
\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

(4.4) གནས་སྐྔོར་ལེགམ་བྱས་སྟི་ང་ཅག་སྐྔོར་ཞུགས་པྔོ་འཐྔོན་བཅུག།
[tsʰam=lo zu−kʰɛː] ke:p beʔ ʰpo=laː.
retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many EQU.NE grandmother=HON
‘[Those who sit in (mediation) retreat] are many, grandmother.’ (SM kitchen discussion)

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 \(tʰamteʔ\) ‘all’ in (4.4) may co-occur with numerals, although the combination is not very frequent.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ódi kʰim sà:p sum tʰamteʔ=di} \\
\text{that house new three all=DEMPH} \\
\text{‘all those three new houses’ (KN e)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\textsuperscript{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 
\[-kʰɛ̃ː\] (§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་བཟང་ན་འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ན་འྔོང་མཁན་ཙུ་ལྔོ་ཨྔོ་འདི་ཤྔོག་ཀུ་ཡྔོདབ་སྦད་ལགས།
    tʽizãː nàː ñɛndʒ=na ōŋ-kʰen=tsu=lo [ódi cóku] jêbbe=la.
    but here Sikkim=LOC come-NMLZ=PL=DAT that paper EX,NE=HON
    ‘But those who came to Sikkim had [that document].’ (CY interview)

b) ཁིམ་འདི་རྔོ་སྟེང་ཁའ་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, teʰʔ? [nàː ōni=lo] jàː=tsaː=sàː keː pʼin lo.
    PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG,Q
    ‘Karma, you take [the child here] all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

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

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

(4.7) a) ཨྔོ་འདི་སང་གི་བྔོན་པྔོ་འདི་ཙུ་
    [ódi gan=gi] lômepu di=tsu
    that time=GEN minister this=PL
    ‘ministers of that time’ (CY interview)

b) ཨྔོ་འདི་ལགས་ཤྔོག་གི་ཁིམ་འདི་
    ódi tea:coː=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) ཆ་འི་ན་

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nê:] \ ápo} \\
\text{1SG.GEN father} \\
\text{‘my father’ (DB life story)}
\end{array}
\]

b) ཆ་འི་ཀི་མི་རིགས་

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[[nâtci=gi] qendzoŋ=gi] míri?} \\
\text{1PL.GEN=Sikkim=GEN people} \\
\text{‘people of our Sikkim’ (NAB BLA 7)}
\end{array}
\]

c) ཈ི་མི་

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nâtci=gi=di] lògju?} \\
\text{1PL.GEN=GEN=DEMPH story} \\
\text{‘this story of ours’ (YR canteen video)}
\end{array}
\]

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) ཆ་འི་

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[óna=gi] teʰu} \\
\text{there=GEN water} \\
\text{‘the water (of) there’ (UTR plains story)}
\end{array}
\]

b) ཆ་འི་

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[tʽariŋ=gi] tsʰoːduː=di} \\
\text{today=GEN meeting=DEMPH} \\
\text{‘in today’s meeting’ (RD BLA 9)}
\end{array}
\]

c) མི་

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[nêno=gi] lóbdʒa} \\
\text{before=GEN school} \\
\text{‘the school before’ / ‘the school of days gone’ (Richhi 44)}
\end{array}
\]

d) མི་

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{[ôː=gi]} \ mi \\
\text{under=GEN human} \\
\text{‘people (who live) down’ (LA birth in Lachung)}
\end{array}
\]
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 རྒྱ་ཁྱིམ་ ’house’).

(4.10) bolokʰa བོལོ- མཆོད་ ’next to’ > kʰim bolo=gi རྒྱ་ཁྱིམ་ ’bo-’
teqʰa/teŋ=lo བོལོ- ’above’ > kʰim teŋ=gi རྒྱ་ཁྱིམ་
ð.ło/ð.le བོལོ- ’under’ > kʰim ð.=gi རྒྱ་ཁྱིམ་
nàŋca/nàŋlo བོལོ- ’inside’ > kʰim nàŋ=gi རྒྱ་ཁྱིམ་

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- ’bo-lo’ མཆོད་ ’bo-log’ བོལོ- ’bo-log’ བོལོ- ’bo-log’

[denzö: nàŋ=gi] tamgyː=tsu
Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL
’legends within Sikkim’ (SGD cave story)

b) བོལོ- ’bo-lo’

[karma:] bolo=gi] kupkja
PN GEN next.to=GEN seat
’the seat next to Karma’ (Richhi 125)

c) བོལོ- ’bo-lo’ མཆོད་ ’bo-log’ བོལོ- ’bo-log’ བོལོ- ’bo-log’

[[p’otsö:] go=f] teŋ=gi] mā
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) བོལོ- ’bo-lo’ མཆོད་ ’bo-log’ བོལོ- ’bo-log’ བོལོ- ’bo-log’

[guru rimpute’e t’à:pu ts’am zu:-zu-bo:] nê:
guru Rimpoch long.ago solitary.meditation sit.HON-RDP-2INF.GEN site
’a site [where Guru Rimpoch used to meditate]’ (SGD cave story)

175 Both th written forms བོལོ- ’bo-lo and བོལོ- ’bo-log occur in Richhi.
Noun complement clause

(4.13) མག་ཀྲོ་ལྔོ་སུམ་ཀྱུགས་ལྔོ་
\[\text{mako lò sim kjap-o} \] \text{lògiu?}
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 \(pʼit\) ‘bird’, modifying the noun \(ka:m/ka:po\) ‘foot’, occurs with genitive marking but in b) without.

(4.14) a) བྱི་ད་ཅུང་གི་རངམ་སྟེང་ཁ
\[\text{pʼit=gi ka:m tɛŋkʰa} \]
bird=GEN foot on
‘in the bird’s foot’ (PAD bet story)

b) བྱི་ད་ཅུང་རང་པའི་ནང་ཤ་
\[\text{pʼit=ka:pøː nàŋ} \]
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 \(-kʰɛ\):
Noun-modifying relative clauses with the nominalizer \(-kʰɛ\), which do not require (nor allow) genitive marking, are described in §13.2.1. For an introductory example, consider (4.15).

(4.15) བྱི་ད་ཅུང་སྟླི་བསྟན་དཔོན་པའི་ནང་ཤ་
\[\text{tɛ=ki pa=lo pjöː jà-kʰɛ} \]
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.
Table 4.1. Some titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kueap</td>
<td>ེུར་བསམ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>team,lateam</td>
<td>ེུས།, ེུས།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lópøn</td>
<td>ོགས་པའི་ཚེད་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lópøm</td>
<td>ོགས་པའི་ཚེད་དཀར་པོ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʔ:po:</td>
<td>ཆོས་པའི་ཆོས།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰempo</td>
<td>དབྱེ་བོ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.16) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྦེར་བཞི།
ómdze? sâmduŋ
second.lama PN
‘omdze Samdup’ (LT kitchen discussion)

(4.17) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྦེར་བཞི།
taŋ lópøn
PN teacher
‘teacher Tashi’ (oh, Martam)

(4.18) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྦེར་བཞི།
áku bhaiteŋ
father’s.younger.brother PN
‘Uncle Bhaicung’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(4.19) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྦེར་བཞི།
ádzo mën’ekonsalä:
grandfather PN
‘grandfather Mon Thekongsalang’ (CY interview)

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

(4.20) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྦེར་བཞི།
jàːp 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) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྦེར་བཞི།
gàːto? t’om
TPN town
‘Gangtok town’ / ‘the town of Gangtok’ (YR canteen video)

---

176 This word is probably a phonologically reduced version of WT རབའ་ya-rabs ‘nobleman’, which has become homophonous with with jáːp ‘father (hon.)’ (WD རབ yab).
An appositional construction may also consists of a noun phrase and a personal pronoun (4.23) or two personal pronouns (4.24):

(4.23) གང་ཐོ་ གཞི་ གང་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྡེབ་ བཞི་ བསྟན་ འབྲིས་ བཞི་ དེ་ རྒྱུད་

*adzo kʰöː=tsu=tei? tsa=le ódepti sén-sém-po jö?.* 
grandfather 3PL=PL=INDF by=ABL like.that hear.HON-RPD EX.PER
‘(They) have heard like that from them grandfathers.’ (CY interview)

(4.24) ལྷན་ ལྷ་ རྒྱུས་ དེ་ ྩ་ ལྷན་ ལྷ་ རྒྱུས་ དེ་ རྒྱུད་

gempo di=tsu=gi tsonk=:jä: lёнɡэ? kʰen be?.
elder this=PL=AGT Limbu=too 3PL PRN,HON know.HON EQU. NE
‘…these elders, they also knew the Limbu language.’ (CY interview)

In some instances, appositions lexicalize. For instance, the form *adzo* *t*a? *t*ig’er* (TB) deriving from *adzo* *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. *mik-teʰu* ‘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) ོ་ཐུ་ ལླ་ རྗུ་ ཤིང་ རྗུ་ ཚུལ་ རྗུ་ ལླ་ རྗུ་ ལླ་ རྗུ་

*pʰarɛɡöː* *ádzö*
TPN grandfather
‘Paramga grandfather’ / ‘Grandfather from/of Paramga’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

b) རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་ རྗུ་

*čina?* *doliŋ ɐpʰi*
late TPN father’s.sister
‘the late aunt of Doling’ (sbar-phung v)

177 A motivation for this grammaticalization may be that *ta?* is almost homophonous with *ta* ‘horse’.

178 The Denjongke script here probably reflects the Classical Tibetan spelling, the Denjongke spelling met elsewhere being ཞིང་བཤགས་ *zhing-bshags*, see (4.8) above. The phonological script reflects the Denjongke spelling and pronunciation.
c) ལྷོན་འགའ་ལྷག/འཇིག་སླེད་གྱུད།

\[\text{dentam } \text{jāːp/jāːp bompu} \]
TPN father/nobleman big
‘the great father/nobleman of Dentam’ (CY interview)

d) སྦྱར་གྱུལ་/སྦྱར་གྱུལ་ཞུབ་སྦྱོམ་པུ།

\[\text{nāte}=\text{gi } \text{dendzo: ge:pu} \]
1PL.GEN=GEN Sikkim king
‘our king of Sikkim’ (CY interview)

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

(4.26) a) སྐྱིོན་གཞི།

\[\text{te'iliŋ ke} \text{i} \text{?'9} \]
foreign language
‘English language’ (DR discussion with KL)

b) སྐྱིོན་གཞི།

\[\text{tʰaː-riŋ sāne?} \]
‘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) ནང་སྐྱིོན་གཞི།

\[\text{pʰogja=}=\text{mi=tɕiʔ} \]
husband human=INDF
‘a male person’ (nga’i ’gan 8)

b) སྐྱིོན་

\[\text{mi gapu} \]
human elder
‘an elder man’ (KN kitchen discussion)

b) ནང་སྐྱིོན་རྒ་པྱུ།

\[\text{mi pʰogja gapu} \]
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, \(\text{インド kei?} \) (WD སྐྱིོན་ཇི་སྐད་ dbyin-ji skad).
4.1.3.1 Adjectival modifiers
A noun-modifying adjective phrase typically occurs postposed to the head noun.

(4.28) འགོ་ བུ། བུ་ཉེ་ གུང་ ལོང་ གུ།
        gãː teʰuŋtɕʰuŋ
hill small 'a small hill' (TB e)

(4.29) བོད་ སྦྱོར་ གུང་ ལོང་།
        néŋ bompu
wedding big 'big wedding’ (DB life story)

The adjective itself may be preceded by a modifier:

(4.30) བོད་ སྦྱོར་ གུང་ ལོང་།
        ári [lēp bompu]
paddy.field very.much big 'a very big paddy field’ (TB bull story)

(4.31) བོད་ སྦྱོར་ གུང་ ལོང་།
        tʰuri? [k'ãːmentse? kʰɛtɕ]a]
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) བོད་ སྦྱོར་ གུང་ ལོང་།
        òdi teʰuŋtɕʰuŋ kʰi zi-tʰamba
that small dog four-NUM ‘those four small dogs’ (TB e)

b) བོད་ སྦྱོར་ གུང་ ལོང་།
        kʰi teʰuŋtɕʰuŋ zi-tʰamba di=tsu
dog small four-NUM this=PL ‘those/these four small dogs’ (PR e)

4.1.3.2 Numeral modifiers
Numerals and quantifying pronouns can function as quantitative modifiers of nouns. Typically these two modifier types are exclusive of each other (4.33), but some quantifiers such as tʰamtec? ‘all’ can occur with numerals (4.34).

(4.33) a) བོད་ སྦྱོར་ གུང་ ལོང་།
        pʰum súm
girl three ‘three girls’ (KN e)
b) ཁུ་ནས།
   \[p\text{'um } k\text{e:p(o)}\]
girl many
‘many girls’ (KN e)

(4.34) གུ་ན་ཤེས་སུ་སེམས་སུ་སོགས་པའི་
   \[\text{o\text{'di } k\text{eim } s\text{a:p } s\text{úm } t\text{amtee}=di}\]
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) ཁུ་ན་ཤེས་སུ་སེམས་སུ་སོགས་པའི་
   \[\text{a\text{dzo } ge:po } [\text{lò } k\text{e: z\text{-ts}öʔ}]\]
grandfather old.man year score four-about
‘old grandfather of some eighty years’ (Richhi 78)

(4.36) གུ་ན་ཤེས་སེམས་སུ་སོགས་པའི་
   \[\text{nâ } [\text{e\text{di } s\text{úm}] } \text{d\text{-ran} } \text{dike}\]
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) གུ་ན་ཤེས་སེམས་སུ་སོགས་པའི་
   \[\text{o\text{'di } s\text{úm-t\text{amba } t\text{e}p } \text{bompu}\]
that three-NUM book big
‘those three big books’ (TB e)

b) གུ་ན་ཤེས་སེམས་སུ་སོགས་པའི་
   \[\text{t\text{e}p } \text{bompu } s\text{úm-t\text{amba } o\text{'di}\]
book big three-num that
‘those three big books’ (KUN e)

c) གུ་ན་ཤེས་སེམས་སུ་སོགས་པའི་
   \[\text{o\text{'di } t\text{e}p } \text{bompu } s\text{úm-t\text{amba}=di}\]
that book big three-num=DEMPH
‘those three big books’ (KUN e)

4.1.3.3 Quantifying modifiers
Quantifying modifiers include quantifying pronouns (a subclass of indefinite pronouns, see §3.6.4 and §6.3.1), versatile quantifying adverbs *ke:po* ‘much, a lot’, *mänpo* ‘much, a lot’ and *nungnuŋ* ‘little, few’ (see §3.5.2.4) and the specific numeral *kʰä.pu* ‘one full (vessel)’ (and the variant *kʼo: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 Yet another ordering suggested by one consultant was *súm-t’amba o’di t’e p bompu*. 

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Table 4.2. Quantifying pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰamt</td>
<td>‘all, totally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰeːle</td>
<td>‘all, totally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰa:(le)</td>
<td>‘all, totally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzanji</td>
<td>‘all’ (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>‘each (one)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māntcei61</td>
<td>‘most’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰaceʔ</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làriʔ</td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làla...(làla)</td>
<td>‘some...(others)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riːɲi</td>
<td>‘a few (of people)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaːkuteiʔ</td>
<td>‘a few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teiːɲi</td>
<td>‘a few’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4.38) ན་ བསམ་ བར་ འབག་ ཤྔོག་ལྔོ། 
i’a [mi tʰamt] halede:. 
now human all be.surprised ‘Now all the people were amazed.’ (SGD cave story)

(4.39) འདི་ ཚོས་ ལས་ ཤྲེ་ ལེ་ སྤང་ཁ ལྷག་ལེ། 
i’a [ra kʰeːle] paŋkʰa dzaː=lo tʰːtsʰaː. 
now goat all out graze=DAT send-CMPL ‘Now all the goats have been sent out for grazing.’ (PD goat shed video)

(4.40) ཐའི་ མར་ བཏམ་ ནི་ ཡོད། 
ŋatei màrtam=gi [mi teʰaː:le] lêm jò?. 
1PL.GEN TPN=GEN human all good EX.PER ‘All people of our Martam are good.’ (KN e)

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

(4.41) འདི་ ཚོས་ ལས་ ཤྲེ་ ལེ་ སྤང་ཁ ལྷག་ལེ། 
this all carry come=REP ‘Bring this all, it was said.’ (KUN e)

(4.42) འདི་ ཚོས་ ལས་ ཤྲེ་ ལེ་ སྤང་ཁ ལྷག་ལེ། 
[mí rere=gi] kitap ŋáːɲ ː vô-u ː. 
human eack=GEN book(Nep.) 1SG.AGT buy-2INF EQUI.PER ‘I bought each person’s book.’ (KL discussion with DR)

61 This form uses the superlative suffix -coʔ 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) [màŋt cute po t’o po t’ä:] eérpo=gi k’om-bo: lûksö: t:. 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) [mí kʰa ɕɛ] tɕi=ki kɛʔ ódep p’ja-ti kjap-ce=di human some=INDF=AGT language like.that do-NF speak-INF=DEMPH kjap-tcou-ke?. speak-PROG-APH ‘Some people indeed speak the language like that.’ (KN field notes)

b) [ŋàt ɕ aʔ l̥ ɛ ŋg ɛː=tsu=gi t’ytsʰ ø kʰa ɕɛʔ] lɛ̀ n tãː-ruŋ 1PL PRN.HON=PL=GEN time some take VBLZ-CONC ‘Even if we take some of your time…’ (BLA Namdol)

(4.45) mi làri? human some ‘some people’ (CY interview)

(4.46) p’umyː=gi [néntsʰ= gi làla=gi=dî] girl.GEN=GEN relative some=AGT=DEMPH ‘Some(one) of the girl’s relatives (says):’ (SGD wedding customs)

(4.47) ána182 tei:niː=tei?, tiru? ka:kutei? currency.unit a.few=INDF rupee a.few ‘a few paisa, a few rupees’ (PD story)

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

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

(4.48) dzamlîŋ=gi 끼 ke:po=tei=na world=GEN place many=INDF=LOC ‘in many places in the world’ (’dzam-glîng skad-yig 62)

(4.49) ȓa t’atei? [tam ke:po] t’om-bo be?. now recently speech many happen-2INF EQU.NE ‘Just now, there was a lot of speaking.’ (KL BLA 12)

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) *ke:po* could be analyzed two ways, either as modifier of *tām* (‘[many words] happened’) or as a complement of the verb *tʰon* ‘happen, become’ (‘[words] became [many]’).

(4.50)

\[ pʰliŋbo: tʰyːsʰoʔ nɑːke=lo [tʃʰuk mɑːpo=tɕiʔ] ˈquk=lo sʰː-bo \]

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)

\[ ɲàtɕaʔ [mì ɲùŋŋyŋ] ˈjː-ruŋ ɲàteʔa? pʼja tsʰuʔ. \]

1PL human few EQU-CONC 1PL do be.able.to

‘Although we are few people, we can do (it).’ (KN e)

The specific numeral and *kʼãːpu/kʼõːpu* ‘one full measure of’ derives from WT *gang* ‘full’. While *kʼãːpu/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 *kʼãːpu/kʼõːpu* occurs as an emphatic modifier of the words meaning ‘all’, i.e. *tʰamtɕɛʔ* (*kʼãːpu*), *kʰɛːl* (*kʼãːpu*), *teːɬe* (*kʼãːpu*) ‘entirely all’, in the sole example *kʼoːm* modifies an ordinary noun. The head word of *kʼãːpu* may either occur independently as a quantitative pronoun (the second instance in [4.52]) or as a noun-modifier (4.53).

(4.52)

\[ [nɛntsː kʼoːm], ūte, Ɂi, ɒdzo, pʰamiŋ, \]

relatives full elder.brother elder.sister grandfather father’s.relative

\[ kʼan-ruŋ jɔː-ɬate [kʰɛːl kʼoːpu=ɡɪ] ˈtaː-ɕɛ beʔ. \]

what-CONC EX-COND do-CONC entirely full=AGT append-INF EQU.NE

‘All relatives, elder brother, elder sister, grandfather, father’s side’s relatives whatever (relative) is there, they all offer (a ceremonial scarf).’ (LA intro to Lachung)

(4.53)

\[ [lɛngɛʔ tʰamtec kʼɑːpu=lo] kuzuzɑːbo. \]

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)

\[ tsʰiktec dɑːdi=na \]

poem that=LOC

‘…in that poem…’ (KL BLA 12)
Other postnominal demonstrative modifiers are \( pʰou=di/pʰidi \) ‘that over there’ \( jou=di/jidi \) ‘that up there’ and \( məudi/midi \) ‘that down there’. For one example, consider (4.58).

(4.58) \( cəŋ \ pʰidi=lo \) aru
tree that.over.there=DAT peach
‘that tree over there (has) peache(s)’ (PD surroundings video)

4.1.3.5 Post-head relative clauses as modifiers
Noun phrases can have a modifying post-head relative clause. Example (4.59) illustrates such a use.

(4.59) \( námu \ ōdi [kˈjanika (kjap) ma-tsʰu-po=di] \)
camel that counting (do) NEG-be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH
‘those camels, which could not be counted’ (PAD bet story)

A fuller treatment of post-head relative clauses can be found in §13.2.1.2 and §13.2.2.2.

4.1.4 Noun phrase-final clitics
Clitics attach to the noun phrase after the word-level modifiers. The order of the clitics is (=PL) (=CASE) (=AEMP/CEMPH) (=DEMPH) (=TOP) (=jā: ‘even, too, yet’). Examples (4.60-67) provide evidence for this ordering. Typically only one of the clitics =AEMP/CEMPH, =DEMPH, or =TOP occurs in a noun phrase, but some combinations are possible, see (4.64-65). For the complexity of analysing =DEMPH in relation to the proximal demonstrative di, see §16.1.3. The plural clitic =tsu is treated separately in §4.1.5.

NOUN=PL=CASE=jā:
(4.60) \( nùm=tsu=lo=jā: \)
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)
The clitic =jã: ‘even, too, yet’ is frequently postposed to =DEMPH, see (4.66).
In addition to the emphatic clitics, the attention marker = eo, which is a clausal clitic, can also attach to a noun phrase to mark a topic-switching question, see (4.68). Even in its phrasal use, = eo retains its clausal feature of being followed by a pause. For more on = eo, see §16.2.2.

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) do= tsu
stone= PL
‘stones’

(4.70) do bompu= tsu
stone big= PL
‘big stones’

(4.71) 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) p’otso sum
child three
‘three children’
In a list of items, a final plural marker has the meaning ‘and so on; and such things; etcetera’ (cf. WT la-sog-pa ‘et cetera’), see (4.75).

‘There are a lot of books in his house.’ (YR e)

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

‘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.

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:

‘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 =tei? follows the quantifier ke:po ‘many, a lot’ (4.79), the numeral tei? (4.80), other numbers (4.81) and the plural marker (4.82).

(4.79) dzamliŋ=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) sáng:=ki sīn-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)

(4.81) tōːtʰa? nā tʰuː=tei?=gju ɔː.
thousand five six=INDF go FUT.UNC
‘Some five-six thousand will go (to buy it).’ (PD altar room video)

(4.82) ádzo kʰōː=tsu=tei?=tsa=le odepti sēn-sēn-po ʃjɔʔ.
grandfather 3PL=PL=INDF by=ABL like.that hear.HON-RPD EX.PER
‘(they) have heard like that from them grandfathers’ (CY interview)

The indefiniteness marker may be followed by case marking, as in (4.79) and the first instance of =tei? in (4.83). In the second instance in (4.83), =tei? obtains the meaning ‘some’.

(4.83) Bengali hī hāmaṇa ɡuṇiṁ ɡoṇiṁ ɡoṇiṁ hī hāmaṇa hī hāmaṇa
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 ʃː, the indefiniteness marker may occur either attached to the interrogative word (4.84) or the concessive suffix (4.85).

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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) findAll BRAD 1 LED 3 S
kʰim=na ápo ám kʰjoː.m qi̍k-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 jãːn ‘or’ for presenting options:

(4.87) findAll BRAD 1 LED 3 S
tʼe:doː; ōŋmu tʽãː: karma
PN PN and PN
‘Choden, Wangmo and Karma’ (Richhi 2)

(4.88) findAll BRAD 1 LED 3 S
ŋà=lo, ràː=lo jãːne kʰõː=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) findAll BRAD 1 LED 3 S
óm jãːne ràŋ=gi lỳː=ki eːo
milk or own=GEN body=GEN curd
‘milk, or (her) own body’s curd’ (SGD wedding customs)

(4.90) findAll BRAD 1 LED 3 S
buddis jãːne nāŋ-poː: tʼeːoː=ki nāŋcaː=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) འོ་ འོ་ ལྷར་ རེ་ lò lò tsʰaː rɛ
year year turn one
‘once every year’ (KN c)

(4.92) བོད་ བོད་ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ 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 = Equitative auxiliary (ĩ̹ː, bɛʔ) or existential auxiliary (jøʔ, 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) =ɛo, =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] (=CFC)
   [-TAM (AUX)]
   [-NMLZ AUX]
   [-INF AUX]
In Figure 4.2, the elements in brackets are optional and items without brackets obligatory. Thus the only obligatory element is the primary verb. The four sequences of items within the curly brackets present options, i.e. a verb root may be followed by \((=)\text{AUX}\)\(^{184}\), -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 Denjogke are \(p\text{'ja} 'do', kjap 'do/strike', t\text{ā} 'send, do', tap '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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(p\text{'etea} )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} ' )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} ' )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} ' )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} ' )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} ' )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} ' )</th>
<th>(p\text{'ja} ' )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{p'eto} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
<td>(\text{p'ja} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'use' (lit. do)</td>
<td>'work' (lit. work)</td>
<td>'lie' (lit. lie do/strike)</td>
<td>'govern' (lit. owner do/strike)</td>
<td>'think' (lit. thought send)</td>
<td>'develop, progress' (lit. progress send)</td>
<td>'pray' (lit. prayer sow)</td>
<td>'bite' (lit. tooth strike).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3. Some phrasal verbs formed with the verbalizers \(p\text{'ja}, kjap, t\text{ā}: \) and tap

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 \((=)\text{AUX}\) refer to the fact that the auxiliary may occur as cliticized or as a separate word (e.g. equative copula =\(p\text{e}?\) vs. \(b\text{e}?\))
Table 4.4. Some other phrasal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sém ga</td>
<td>rejoice (lit. mind rejoice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’jø po 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>ñò cé</td>
<td>‘know (a person)’ (lit. face know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèː po 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 lèp ‘very (much)’ may occur preceding the compound (4.94a) or within it (4.94b).

(4.93)    a) sém tap
         tooth strike
         ‘Bite!’

b) sém ma-tap
         tooth NEG-strike
         ‘Don’t bite!’

(4.94)    a) járg ɛ tãː
         ‘develop (tr.)’

b) járg ɛ lèp
         ‘develop (intr.)’

Typically only one of the verbalizers may occur in a certain compound, but some constructions allow the use of two different verbalizers with no noticeable difference in meaning.

(4.95)    a) jò? p’ja/kjap  ‘work’
    b) járge t‘a/p’ja  ‘develop (tr.)’
    c) cรก k’jap/p’ja  ‘exert force’

Some bivalent compounds may be reduced to monovalent ones by using the verb t’on ‘become’:

(4.96)    a) járge t‘a:  ‘develop (tr.)’
    b) járge t’on  ‘develop (intr.)’
The verbalizer *p’ja* is commonly used in borrowing verbal expressions from other languages such as English.\(^\text{185}\) 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\(^\text{186}\), occur adjacent to each other without any intervening morphology, see (4.98-101).

(4.98) *བྱེ་ རྐུམ་ རྐྱབས་ ཟ་སྟི་*  
\(p’ja\)  \(kum\)  \(kjap\)  \(sà\)  
\(’Stealing and eating a hen…‘ \(\text{KTL animal story}\)

(4.99) *ཁུའི་ཀི་ སྟ་རེ་ འདི་ བྱི༹ག་ ཐར་སི་ཀི་ ཆུ་ ནང་ཤ་ ལྷུམ་བྔོ་ལྔོ།*  
\(kʰu=i=ği\)  \(ta:ri=di\)  \(p’ik\)  \(tʰaː-diki\)  \(teʰu\)  \(nàŋca\)  
\(3\text{SGM}=\text{GEN}=\text{GEN}\)  \(\text{axe}=\text{DEMPH}\)  \(\text{get.off}=\text{BE.RELEASED-NF}\)  \(\text{water}=\text{INSIDE}\)  
\(\text{fall-2INF}=\text{REP}\)  
\(’His axe, slipping out (of his hand).‘ \(\text{JDF axe story}\)

(4.100) *འམ་གཅིག་ འཐུ་ འབག་ ལྔང་ སྔོང་ ࠆདུག་ཀེ།*  
\(àːm=\text{tei}\)\(^{287}\)  \(tʰaː\)  \(bák lóː\)  \(sóː\)  \(du-ke\).  
\(\text{jackal}=\text{INDF}\)  \(\text{pick}\)  \(\text{carry}\)  \(\text{rise}\)  \(\text{go}\)  \(\text{EX.SEN-IN}\)  
\(’A jackal took it and went away, (I see).‘ \(\text{PL interview}\)

(4.101) *ཨྔོ་འདེ་ར་ ཐར་ འབག་ ཡ་ འགྱུ་ སྦད།*  
\(ód=ra\)  \(tʰaː\)  \(ba?\)  \(jáː\)  \(gju\)  \(be\)?.  
\(\text{like.that}=\text{DEMPH}\)  \(\text{be.released}\)  \(\text{carry}\)  \(\text{go}\)  \(\text{go}\)  \(\text{EX.EQU.NE}\)  
\(’Like that (they) keep on going free.’ \(\text{CY interview}\)

When asked how (4.101) would be negated, consultant KN offered the form in (4.102), which retains only one (the most central) verb from the affirmative construction. The number of verbs in a negated serial verb construction in my data is never more than two.

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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).

\(^{287}\) 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.

In negation, the negator occurs in between the verbs, e.g. lòk miː ‘does not return’, bak maː ‘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) ཐབས་འབག་ཆོས་མྱེང་།
rãːdõː tʰu-ː ti bak òm-ː bo beʔ.
basket pick-NF carry come-2INF EQU.NE
‘(He) took and brought the box.’ (Class 8 textbook 14)

Consultant KN (Martam, East Sikkim) comments that in Tashiding (West Sikkim) jàː giu (lit. go go) is used for ‘go away’ instead of lòː giu.
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 ȣ) essentially consists of both carrying (bak) and coming (ȣ). A special case are synonymic sequences such as tʽɛk 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.
b) ལོག་དེ་བོ་བུང་ན་ོ་ནུ་ི།

óna pʰaː ta tsʰuː ta pʼja-zeː.
there thither look hither look do-PST
‘There (she) looked here and there.’ (UTR plains story)

(4.108) a) ད་ལྟྔོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྔོང་སོབ་གྲྭ་འགྱུ་དྔོ།

tʼato tʰamteʔ kʰoː lóptə 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་མིང་སི་

ralãː=na gju kjap bak-tiki òn-di…
TPN=LOC go strike carry-NF come-NF
‘keeping on walking and coming to Rala’ (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></td>
<td>doː</td>
<td>‘sit, stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zak</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lôː</td>
<td>‘have time to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB_EX</td>
<td>bôː</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sàː</td>
<td>‘put’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB_ti*</td>
<td>bak</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB_ô*</td>
<td>sîʔ</td>
<td>‘be possible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB_mí*</td>
<td>lèʔ</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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constr.</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mîːŋ</td>
<td>mîːŋ</td>
<td>‘finish; experience’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰu?</td>
<td>tsʰu?</td>
<td>‘be able’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eːe</td>
<td>eːe</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nûm</td>
<td>nûm</td>
<td>‘dare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰoʔ</td>
<td>kʰoʔ</td>
<td>‘have the strength to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goʔ?</td>
<td>goʔ?</td>
<td>‘need to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʔoʔ</td>
<td>teʔoʔ</td>
<td>‘be alright’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tup</td>
<td>tup</td>
<td>‘deem fitting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tṣuk</td>
<td>tṣuk</td>
<td>‘cause’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gju</td>
<td>gju</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʾin</td>
<td>pʾin</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʾop</td>
<td>rʾop</td>
<td>‘find, receive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâː</td>
<td>tâː</td>
<td>‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāː</td>
<td>nāː</td>
<td>‘grant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown by Table 4.6, all tense-aspect markers, with the exception of bak and mjôː’, which inflect like an ordinary verb, are unlike ordinary verbs, either being sentence-final markers (tsʰaː, doː) or being followed by an existential auxiliary (doː, zak, lôː). Modality markers occur either in specific constructions (lôː, sîʔ) or behave like ordinary verbs (e.g. tsʰuʔ?, eːe, goʔ?, 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. sàː-ti mjôː: [eat-NF finish] ‘finish eating’, go-ti pʾin [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 mjòŋ ‘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 pʾ in ‘give’, zak ‘put’ and mjôː ‘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 *sðː*)

In addition to the uses where *gju* གྱུཾ ‘go’ (past *sðː* སྔོང་) 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 *sðː* occurs with TAM-marking whereas in (4.110) TAM-marking is dropped.

(4.109) ཉིན་གཅིག་ ཁྔོང་ཙུའི་ ནྔོ་འབྲྔོག་ལས་ བ་ པད་སྔོམ་ འདི་ འབྱ༹ང་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ སྦད།


(4.110) སྔོང་ འདུག

Whereas in my data the secondary verb *sðː* is associated with literal going or somewhat metaphorical going, disappearing, Sandberg (1895: 42) reports *sðː* 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* ལྷེ ‘has done’, *shi* ལྷེ ‘died’, *t’ong* ལྷེ ‘has seen’ and (4.111) (Denjongke script, glossing and emphasis mine, Roman script from Sandberg).

(4.111) Sandberg (1895: 42)

Although example (4.110) above resembles in form Sandberg’s *zhe* ལྷེ ‘has done’, the forms differ semantically in that (4.110) involves actual going out of sight whereas Sandberg’s *zhe* ལྷེ ‘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’oː* ལྷེ ‘die (hon.)’ and *ei* ལྲེ ‘die’, which can be conceived as expressing a type of going or disappearing.

(4.112) སྤོན་ལྷེ་སོག་ལྷེ་ཀུན་ ལྷེ་ སྤོན་ལྷེ་ སྤོན་ལྷེ་ སྤོན་ལྷེ་

The more frequent form of the word is *t’i*. The pronunciation *p’i* recorded by Sandberg is here written as འཇཱ་, because the form reflects the change of the WT glide *r* into *y*.
The borderline status of $e$$i$ $s$$ó$ is seen in the fact that upon asking about the felicity of the Sandbergian form $e$$i$ $s$$ó$-$z$$é$ [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) $g$$j$$u$-

$e$$i$ $s$$ó$-$z$$é$.
die go-PST
'(He) died./(He) went and died.' (PT e)

b) $g$$j$$u$-

$e$$i$ $s$$ó$-$z$$é$.
die go-PST
'(He) went (there) to die.' (KN e)

The verb $g$$j$$u$ (past $s$$ó$) often forms a SVC with a preceding $l$$ò$: ‘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)

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)

'Father, it’s year by year that (they) go on becoming what’s it (=wrinkled).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

Some western varieties of Denjongke use $j$$á$ $g$$j$$u$ instead of $l$$ò$: $g$$j$$u$ for ‘go away’. Both of the components $j$$á$: and $g$$j$$u$ mean ‘go’ and can be used independently. The serialization $j$$á$: $g$$j$$u$ may be used similarly to $l$$ò$: $g$$j$$u$ as a secondary verbal construction expressing movement towards a state:
4.2.3.2 Benefactive secondary verb *pʼin* ‘give’

Although *pʼin* 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).

(4.119) *karma lò-ti gom pʰi: pʼin.*

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 pʼin-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) *ŋàt a=ki kʰoŋ=gi ke? kjap pʼin-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 njate=lo aːcyː= tʼa sâm=tsu ba? ò: pʼin-do be?.*

then elder.sister=AGT=AEMPH pain do-NF 1PL=DAT a.bit now food=PL 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 *pʼin* 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:

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195 This form is surprising because here nominalizer ལོ་-kʰen attaches to a noun instead of a verb. The author may have intended to write སེལ་མཁན་*jiʔ ke?-kʰen* ‘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 *p’in* 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) a) \[\text{tsøpo} \quad \text{p’ja-če}=\text{di}=\text{p’ja} \quad \text{te ně:kor} \quad \text{kjap} \quad \text{tʰop} \quad \text{bɛʔ}.\]

‘Because of (participating) the debate (he) got (the opportunity) to do sightseeing.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

b) \[\text{ro}=\text{tsu} \quad \text{t’ә:} \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{námtei} \quad \text{pʰɛʔ} \quad \text{tʰop-øː} \quad \text{ga-tsʰo}: \]

‘the gladness of getting a chance to meet friends and Karma’ (Richhi 67)

(4.125) a) \[\text{pɛʔ} \quad \text{ázi} \quad \text{tɛʔo?} \quad \text{dok} \quad \text{ma-tʰop}.\]

‘My sister didn’t get (a chance) to study.’ (PED life story)

b) \[\text{tizãː} \quad \text{tɛʔo}=\text{ki} \quad \text{pɛʔ} \quad \text{mìnto}=\text{di} \quad \text{dzìp} \quad \text{mi-tʰop}=s, \quad \text{dzìp} \quad \text{mi-tschütz}=s. \]

‘(But [s]he) said, you will not get to suck (the nectar from) my flower, (you) cannot suck.’ (RS bee story)

The use of the secondary verb *tʰop* is close in meaning to abilitative *tsʰuʔ* ‘be able to’. Thus, *tʰop* could be alternatively be said to express “availability” as a modal category (for modal markers, see §8.5)

4.2.3.4 Secondary verb *tãː ‘send’*

The secondary verb *tãː ‘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).

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\(^{196}\) “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) ཆོས་སིད་པ ལྟའི་ལན་བཏང་ལྔ།
    teʰokiʔ, paː=la=gi lɛ̀ nʈ iʈ aː lo.
Pn father=HON=GEN answer write send TAG.Q
    ‘Choki, write and send an answer to the father, ok.’ (Richhi 138)

b) ཨྔོ་འདི་རྒྱབ་ལས་གི་ལྔོ་ཁིམ་ན་ལས་བཏྔོན་བཏང་ལྔ།
    ódi gjapl ɛŋà=lo kʰim=na=lɛ̀ tøn tãː-bo ʃi.
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) བྲ རྒྱས་ཙུ་ཀི་དུས་ཚོད་ཁ་ཤས་ལྔོ།
    n̥aːtɕ aʔ l̥ ɛŋɡ ɛː=tsu=g ɪtʽytsʰø ʔ kʰaɕɛʔ lɛ̃̀ nʈ tãː-ruŋ 1.
1PL PRN.HON=PL=GEN time some take SEND-CONC
    ‘Even if we take some of your time…’ (NAB BLA 7)

b) ཀྲི་བཤི་ཞིབ་གཅིག་པོ་ཏང་བྔོ།
    go. ʃi ɬɛʔ tʽytsʰø=ki tøn tãː ɲì̃́ː
this all time=AGT show send 1PL=DAT day one
    ‘All this time will tell us one day.’ (nga’i ‘gan 20)

c) དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ད་ཀིས་བཏྔོན་བཏང་ལྔོ་ཉིན་གཅིག་་་་་་་།
    c̪o s̪ɛ-pa s̪oː l̥ap tãː=m be?.
meat kill-PUR go.PFV say send-2INF EQU.NE
    ‘(He) went to kill meat, (she) said.’ (KT animal story)

d) སྲུད་་་ཐར་པ་སྔོང་ལབ་བཏང་ལྔ།
    keːdɑ tʰuŋtʰuŋ pʼja tãː-ee ʃi.
sound small do send-INF EQU.PER
    ‘(It) sends out a small sound.’ (Richhi 4)

e) བྲེས་ཐུན་དྲོག་པོ་ཏང་བྔོ།
    ónale teːon-di ɲeː miŋ ton-di tʼi-u nàː-ne
then come.HON-NF 1SG.GEN name show-NF ask-2INF do.HON-COND
lāmsāː l̥ap ɲin tãː.
    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 tãː is also used as an additional marker in imperatives, see (4.128).

(4.128) སྐད་ས་ ཆུང་ཆུང་བྱ༹ས་བཏང་ཤད་ལྔ།
    ótʃoː tʼaː benda tʼaː tãː.
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] (-TAM) (AUX) (-NMLZ) AUX (-INF) AUX (=CFC)

Negation is more complicated than Figure 4.3 suggests, because in addition to using a negator prefix, negation can also be accomplished by a negated auxiliary copula, see (4.139) below.

Negated serialized verbs cannot have more than two verbs in sequence, with the negator in between, see (4.130). The minimal verb complex consisting only of the primary verb, is presented in (4.129), exemplifying a steady-state present construction (see §8.2.1).

(4.129) ཉ་ ཆེ། V1 ԡ: སྐད་ འདི་ལྔོ་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ བཏང་ དགྔོས་པད། 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH=DAT progress send be.needed=EQU.NE
‘Our language needs to be developed.’ (KL BLA 12)
(4.133)  ང་བྱེད་ ཡི་ ཕྱབ་ ཀྱུང་ མྱོང་ ཆི།  
V1 V2-TAM  
ηá: jö?=di p’ja mjö:-tsʰa:.  
1SG.AGT work=DEMPH do finish-CMPL  
‘I finished doing the work.’ (KN e)  

(4.134) བྱེད་ ཡི་ ཕྱབ་ ཀྱུང་ ཕྱག རི རྫོ བྱུང་ མོང་ ཆི།  
V1 V2-TAM=CFC  
lópøn kʰɛ̃ː ø̃ː-ʈo=la.  
teacher know.HON come-PROB=HON  
‘(You) perhaps know (that) teacher.’ (KT discussion with TB)  

(4.135) གྲིང་ ཤེས་ སྐྱོན་ སྐྱོན་ སྡེ.  
V1-TAM AUX  
āː dem=tei? kjap-to iykʰɛn be?.  
lie like=INDF do-IPFV EQU-NMLZ EQU.NE  
‘he tells as a lie (like this):’ (PAD bet story)  

(4.136) དྲེ་ ཚུ་ སྐྱོན་ སྐྱོག དྲེ་ སྡེ.  
V1 V2-INF=CFC/AUX197  
toʔo? kan bjö: làp-ʨi ta-u=lo.  
2SG.L what disappear say-NF ask look-2INF=REP  
‘What of yours disappeared he said (so the story goes).’ (JDF axe story)  

(4.137) བྲེ་ ཚུ་ སྐྱོན་ སྡེ.  
V1-RDP-INF AUX  
rodzou ten-tem-bo du-ke.  
horns show-RDP-2INF EX.SEN-IN  
‘(Its) horns are out showing (as I see in the picture).’ (KN e)  

(4.138) གྲིང་ སྐྱོན་ སྐྱོག རྐྱབས་ རྗེ་ མེ.  
N NEG-V1-INF AUX  
ŋàtei ke:=di järgeʔ mi-tʰon-ce be?.  
1PL.GEN language=DEMPH development NEG-happen-INF EQU.NE  
‘Our language will not develop.’ (KL BLA 12)  

(4.139) ཉེ་ ཚུ་ སྐྱོན་ སྡེ.  
V1-INF AUX  
te mù loke kjap-ceʔ mèʔ.  
so 3SGF Lhoke speak-INF NEG.EX.PER  
‘But she couldn’t speak Lhoke.’ (SN kitchen discussion)  

Example (4.140) is challenging for the current analysis. The verb complex includes the element 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/ba: ‘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 tʰa: ‘be released, escape’ and that complex construction becomes the primary verb for the secondary verbal construction jà: giu, which further gives translocative nuance to the whole expression.

(4.140) གྲོགས་ཐར་གནོད་བྱ་བར་སྤྱོད།

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>AUX</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>őde=ra</td>
<td>tʰa:</td>
<td>baʔ</td>
<td>jà:</td>
<td>giu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

like.that=AEMPHE 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.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lɛ̀p(ti)</td>
<td>བེད་ཤེས།</td>
<td>‘very much’</td>
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<tr>
<td>pemissiki</td>
<td>ཕུམ་བོན་དེ།</td>
<td>‘extraordinarily’ (Martam: pesimipo/pemisipo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kʽãːmɛsɛʔ</td>
<td>ཧུང་ལེགས་ཅང་</td>
<td>‘limitlessly, extremely’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>átsi(m)</td>
<td>བོནས་</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
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</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 pʼja(-ti).

(4.141) ཀུན་བསྡིད་ཅ་བྲེས་པའི་/ཐེང་ལེགས་ཐུགས་/འཇིག་སློབ་/རིབ་/དེས་

pemissiki/kʼã:mɛsɛʔ/átsi lɛm(-pʼja)
extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit good(-ADVZR)
‘extraordinarily/extremely/a.bit good/well.’ (KN e)

The use of the modifiers is more frequent in adjective attribute clauses, where the adjective occurs independently (4.142), than it is when the adjective modifies a noun (4.143).

Independent uses

(4.142) a) ཀུན་ལེགས་ཤེངས་བཅུག།

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ári</td>
<td>lɛp</td>
<td>bompu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paddy.field</td>
<td>very.much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EX.SEN-IN</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘The paddy field is very big (I see).’ (TB bull story)
b) He and I are in the very best of terms.’ (KN e)

(4.143) a) very different words’ (DR discussion with KL)

b) extremely learned way of thinking’ (CY introduction)

c) ‘a rather big lamsika-torma’ (KN apo, discussion in kitchen)
d) དཀའ་ལས་ ཨ་ཙི་ ���དྲགས
kale? átsi tsʰaʔa?
difficulty a.bit hot
‘rather difficult’ (TB discussion with KT)

Note that the modifier lép(ti) ‘very much’ can modify the superlative form, indicating that the superlative does not necessarily refer to the last instance of a quality before the end of the scale.

(4.144) འུ་ན་ ལེབ་སྟི་ འཆམ་ཤྔོས་ ཨིན།
kʰu tʽãː ŋà lɛ̀ p(ti) tɕʰo=ʔa
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 definiteness198, as shown by the co-occurrence of the superlative with an indefinite marker:

(4.145) ལེབ་སྟི་ འཆམ་ཤྔོས་ ཨིན་ལགས།
ŋàtɕi p’a 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).

(4.146) ཉུ་བ་ཤེས་ བྱ་ ཤེས་ ལེབ་སྟི་ འཆམ་ཤྔོས་ ཨིན།
teezip p’ja-ce=di lép kale? tsʰaʔa? beʔ?
research do-INF=DEMPH very.much difficulty hot EQU.NE
‘Doing research is very difficult.’ (YR canteen video)

(4.147) ཨ་ཙི་ འགྔོ་ལིས་ འདྲ་མིན་འདྲ་ ཡྔོད་མཁན་ ཨིན་ལགས།
t’a y:tsö y:tsö=na átsi=tei? ḍoḷy? ʰɑ̆mɪn̥tʰa jò:-kʰen 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) ལེབ་སྟི་ འཆམ་ཤྔོས་ ཨིན་ལགས།
ŋâtei materials tʰa-wateene=di lép ŋâteʔa? ɲûtʔa?
1PL.GEN materials(Eng.) look-COND=DEMPH very.much 1PL few ʰiː=la.
EQU.PER=HON
‘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) སྐེ་བཙོ་ན་བཙོ་དབྱུང་གི་གཞི་བཤད་ལ་

\[ kʽā:m\text{ents}e? raŋ=gi=to \quad dzikta? \quad be? \quad lâp=lo. \]

extremely 2SG.M=GEN=CEMPH excellent EQU.NE say=REP

‘(Story of) yours is extremely great, he said (so the story goes).’ (PAD bet story)

c) སྐེ་བཙོ་ན་བཙོ་དབྱུང་གི་གཞི་བཤད་ལ་

\[ kʽā:m\text{ents}e? \quad ɲàt\text{e}a? \quad sēm \quad ɡa\text{t}a? \quad te\text{ waged}. \]

extremely 1PL mind joyful become-PST

‘We became extremely joyful.’ (CY interview)

In (4.148c), the modifier of ɡa\text{t}a? ‘joyful’ precedes both the experiencer (ɲàt\text{e}a?) and the nominal element of the phrasal adverb (sēm).

More frequently than as an adjective modifier lēp occurs as an independent verb-modifying adverb:

(4.149) a) མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་སྔོམ་པུ་

\[ tʰa:\quad lēp\quad riŋ-\text{ze}. \]

distance very.much be.long-PST

‘The distance became very long.’ (KN e)

b) མི་ཚུགས་པའི་སྔོམ་པུ་

\[ ődi\quad gāː=di \quad te\quad lēp\quad nēpo\quad kɛː-\text{ei}: \]

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 lēp 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 lēp as a verb-modifier also explains why other elements may occur between lēp 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 -kʰː (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) མི་ཚུགས་མཁན་སྔོམ་པུ་

\[ [bak\quad mi-tsʰu-kʰː:]\quad \text{bompu}^{199} \]

carry NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ big

‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

b) མི་ཚུགས་པའི་སྔོམ་པུ་

\[ [bak\quad mi-tsʰu-poː:]\quad \text{bompu} \]

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) བོད་ི་རུས་པའི་སྟོང་པ་

\[ \text{[bak mi-tʰu-po]} \] bompu

carry NEG-be.able.to-2INF big

‘(so) big (it) cannot be carried’ (KN e)

4.151 བོད་ཡིག་ེ་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་

\[ kʰim=diː nàŋ=lo... nàksusu? [mi=tsu ka nám ŋøʔ? house=DEM PH. GEN inside=DAT dark human=PL who EQU. ATTQ recognition p’ja mi-tʰu-po jà-po beʔ. 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་ེ་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་

\[ p’eːla=jãː [nim t’ãː dau tˢʰeː-tˢʰeː-po dem] lêm t’ãː appearance=also sun and moon shine-RDP-2INF like.it good and beautiful teāːtaʔ.

‘(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 lêm རིག་ལེམ་ ‘intelligent (intellect good)’

rikos’taʔ? རིག་ཚ་དྲགས་ ‘intelligent (intellect hot)’

sém t’ãːpu སེམ་དྲང་པོ་ ‘honest (mind straight)’

tiŋ riŋku དྲིང་ཀུ་ ‘deep (depth long)’

pu sòpsop སོ་སྔོབ་ ‘fluffy with hair (hair fluffy)’

ʔum riːriː སོ་སྔོབ་ ‘smooth (of skin) (oil round)’

4.154 རིག་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་

\[ tʰøʔ [rikɔ lêm] duʔ. 2SG.L intellect good EX.SEN

‘You are [intelligent], I see.’ (UT e)

4.155 རིག་བོད་ཡིག་བེ་བོད་ཡིག་

\[ tˢʰø [tiŋ riŋku] \]

lake depth long

‘[deep] lake’ (KN e)

182
Ad hoc adjectivals can be formed from nouns by adding to a noun a nominalized existential:

\[
mí sɛ̃́m-ɛ̃́mèː-po/mèː-kʰɛ̃ː [\text{man illness NEG.EX-NMLZ}] \quad \text{‘man with no illness, healthy man’}
\]

Formally these property concept expressions are post-head relative clauses, see §13.2.2.2.

4.3.4 Reduplication
Reduplication of the full adjective in an adjective phrase denotes intensification of the quality:

\[
t’ãːpyː=ki \quad \text{‘several’}
\]

‘These [old, old] monastery buildings of long ago’ (DB trip story)

4.3.5 Adverb phrase
Adjectives and adverbs are partly overlapping categories and adverbs are often derived from adjectives. Therefore it is no surprise that the same quantifying modifiers which are used in adjective phrases (see 4.2) can also be used with adverbs to form complex adverb phrases.

4.4 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’y:mene</th>
<th>t’yuːmɛnɛ</th>
<th>‘about, approximately; almost’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halam</td>
<td>halaːm</td>
<td>‘about, approximately’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numeral-modifying quantifiers t’y:mene ‘about; almost’ and halam ‘about’ are both preposed to their head word. The quantifier t’y:mene, analogously to Nepali dz’andei, covers both the meanings ‘about’ (4.161a-b) and ‘almost’ (4.161.c). Note the reduced form t’y:min in (4.161b). A nominal may intervene between the numeral and its modifier (4.161a).

(4.161) a) ་ནང་ཀ་ལས་ སང་ཏྔོག་ ཟག་སྟེ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ kilometre གསུམ་བཅུ་ འྔོང་ བཀྲུང་།
raŋka=le  gãːtoʔ  sâːte t’y:mene kilomito sûnteu òː-to.
TPN=ABL TPN until about kilometer(Eng) thirty come-PROB
‘It’s probably about thirty kilometres from Ranka to Gangtok.’ (KN e)

b) བྱེ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ བཅུ་ལྔ་ བཅུ་དྲུག་ འདེ་ཅིག་ ལང་ཏྔོ་
p’ja t’y:min teŋa teuːdup doːtɛiʔ lôː-to t’a sâːtiki.
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’y:mene pʰok-o beʔ.
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 -tsʰoʔ (see Table 4.9):

(4.162) ཆུས་ིན་ཐུབ་ དུས་མན་ནེ་ དེ་ཅིག་ བཀྲུང་།
dikʰa l̥ pʰok-o t’y:mene daʊ geː-tsʰoʔ lâː-to ágja.
here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother
‘It’s now about some eight months since I came here.’ (Richhi 12)

The post-numeral modifiers are listed in Table 4.9 and illustrated in the same order below the table. The approximative suffix -tsʰoʔ is described here because it is functionally similar to the word-level numeral modifiers.

Table 4.9. Post-numeral modifiers

| dêːteiʔ | dêːtei | ‘about’ (lit. ‘like.that-one’) |
| laktṣʰoʔ | laktṣʰo | ‘over, more than’ |
| mantsʰoʔ | mantsʰo | ‘over, more than’ |
| korteiʔ | kortei | ‘around, about’ (literally ‘neighborhood-one’) |
| teiku, teuku | (ʈeikʰu) | ‘only’ |
| mëmbø (+NEG.VERB) | mëmbø | ‘no more than, only’ |
| -tsʰoʔ | ṭsʰo | ‘about, some, amount of’ |
The modifier laksʰø (4.164a) derives from the verb lak ‘be more than’, which can be used also independently (4.164b).

(4.164) a) lóbdqa ódːiː=na jáʔ kjap-ti lò sūm laksʰø sóː-ːtsʰaː::
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) pʰiːtsʰamkʰøː tˢʰh utsʰø ʈʰ uk lak-ːtsʰaː::
at.dusk. GEN clock.time six be.more.than-CMPL
‘It’s more than six o’clock at dusk.’ (Richhi 92)

(4.165) lò tɕiː(=le) màŋtsʰø?
year one(=ABL) more
‘more than one year’ (KN e)

(4.166) a) teu korteʔ?
ten about
‘about ten’ (KN e)

b) gjia korteʔ?
hundred about
‘about a hundred’ (KN e)

c) *teuktɕeʔ? korteʔ?
eleven about

(4.167) pʻu ná tʼuʔ teiku
boy five six only
‘only five, six boys’ (PL interview)

The monosyllabic approximative suffix -tsʰø ‘about, some, as much as’, may attach to numerals.
The marker mèmbu (nominalized negated existential copula) is followed by a negated verb. When postposed to numerals, the construction has the meaning 'no more than, only':

4.169

The formative mèmbu also functions as a marker of negated additive adverbial clauses, see §15.9.4.

The specific numeral k’ãːpu/k’õːpu ‘one full measure of’ occurs as a numeral modifier in the idiom tõː k’ãːpu sṅg’ gān pu ‘all’ (lit. thousand-one.full.measure), illustrated in (4.170).

4.170

For the indefinite numeral k’adzøʔ t’-rūy ṭāl sṅg’ ‘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 tæiʔ ‘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) མ་ རྒྱུག་བཞིན་ འདུག་ཀེ།

\text{kh}\text{u gjuk}-tɕɛn\text{ du-ke}.

3SGM run-PROG EX SEN.

‘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 (=lo) ‘to Gangtok’.

(5.2) འབྲུག་འདི་ རྒྱབ་ལས་ ང་ སང་ཏྔོག་(ལྔོ་) འྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨི

\text{ódi gjapl ŋà gā.to?(=lo) òm-bo 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་ གརྭ་(ལྔོ་) བསད་པྔོ་ སྦད།

\text{gjaltsʰɛn(=g)}\text{ karma(=lo) sê-po be?}.

PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) kill-2INF EQU NE.

‘Gyaltschen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

---

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 màŋ ‘privilege’ T.

(5.4) བཞུང་གིས་ལ་ལ་ལྔོ་མང་(Nep.)བྱིན་དྔོ་སྦད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{government}= & \text{AGT} & \text{some}= & \text{DAT} & \text{privilege(Nep.)}= & \text{give-IPFV} & \text{EQU.NE} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The government is giving privileges to some.’ (RBM discussion on the roof)

The dominant word order in declarative clauses is SV in intransitive clauses and APV in transitive clauses. For a note on right-dislocation, in which arguments may occur after the verb, refer to §16.6. Ditransitive clauses have the order ATRV or ARTV, depending on whether T or R is more focal and thus comes first (see §5.3.3). Other arguments than the above-mentioned S, A, P, R and T are peripheral. Typically of clausal PV order, Denjongke genitives precede the noun they modify and postpositions are used rather than prepositions (conforming to Greenberg’s [1966] correlations).

In nominative-accusative (NA) languages, S and A are aligned in having the same form contrasting with O. Ergative-absolutive (EA) languages, on the other hand, align S and O, which contrast in form with A. Denjongke is clearly neither a NA language nor a EA language, because all of the three arguments S, A and P evince split patterns with two ways of marking depending on the context. In intransitive clauses, S argument is usually zero marked, but sometimes the same intransitive verb (which though has to be a controllable verb) may occur either as zero or agentive marked, depending on the context. In transitive clauses, A argument may be agentive or zero marked with the same verb, depending on the context. Lastly, P argument marking is also split between zero-marking and dative-locative marking. Factors that have been identified as conditioning this differential marking are animacy, specificity/identifiability and affectedness of the P argument, which are all exemplified in the discussion below. Because Denjongke does not have a clear EA alignment but allows considerable pragmatic conditioning of argument marking, I use the terms agentive rather than ergative for the A argument.\(^{202}\) 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>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></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, Namuzi, Hani, Naxi, Achang, Nusu and Deng languages. Examples of paradigmatic languages are “Chepang, Newari, Kham, Sunwar, and most Tibetan dialects” (LaPolla 1995: 216). Even if it were true that most Tibetic languages have relatively stable paradigmatic ergative systems, Denjongke seems not to be one of them. As will be shown below, Denjongke evinces too much pragmatic conditioning and too little syntactic control, such as obligatory ergative or absolutive marking, for the system to be meaningfully called EA.

Coupe (2017), on the other hand, argues that instead of a syntactically oriented NA and EA patterns for argument marking, many Tibeto-Burman languages evince a pragmatically oriented agentive vs. anti-agentive pattern, a system which Coupe considers is a precursor to NA and EA patterns. Coupe (2017) further notes that the agentive vs. anti-agentive pattern has previously been falsely considered a type of EA system (similarly LaPolla 1995: 214) and lists the following Tibeto-Burman languages as evidence for the prevalence of pragmatic rather than syntactic patterning of clausal arguments: Qiang (LaPolla 2003), Darma (Willis 2011), Meithei (Chelliah 1997, 2009), Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007, 2011), Kurtöp (Hyslop 2010), Yongning Na (Lidz 2011), Singpho (Morey 2012), Sumi (Teo 2012), (Lhasa) Tibetan (Tournadre 1991). Partly inspired by Coupe (2017), the analysis here adopts the term agentive rather than ergative for overt marking of argument A. Although Denjongke is probably one of those Tibeto-Burman languages which in Coupe’s (2017) analysis are in a transitional stage from pragmatic core argument marking to purely syntactic alignment, Denjongke has not yet arrived in the destination.

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

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) ལྷ་རྩོག་ བདུན་ ཟླ།
\[
\text{gā:to? giu-do be?}.
\]
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) རོ་པོ་ བཏང་ སྟོན་ སྟོན།
\[
\text{ölü giaple nè:}=\text{gi} nè? \text{ t'ak-o t:}.
\]
that after 1SG.GEN=GEN disease get.healed-2INF EQU.PER
‘After that my disease got healed.’ (TB life story)

(5.7) དིང་ སྟོགས་ སྟོན་ སྟོན་ སྟོན།
\[
\text{tei-lo teiktö: gubgja gupteu k'oŋá lò}=\text{i nàŋca}
\]
outside-year one.thousand nine.hundred ninety ninety.five year=GEN inside
yà gā:to? e:qa nàŋca sò:-bo t:..
1SG TPN Buddhist.institute inside go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER
‘In 1995 (of Gregorian calender), I went to the Higher Institute of Nyingmapa Studies in Gangtok.’ (RB life story)

In (5.7), the directional/destination is marked as an overtly peripheral argument with the postposition nàŋca ‘inside’. However, destination and location may also be unmarked, as shown in (5.8) and (5.9) respectively (the latter is a copula clause). In both cases, also the dative-locative =lo can optionally be used. When the destination argument is unmarked, disambiguation of the clause is based on word order and semantics of the argument lexemes.
(5.8) འབྲི་བོད་ལ་བོད་ལོག་(ཐེ་) སྐྱེབ་ཞིག་

\[ \text{ódi} \text{ gi\text{able} gá gá:to? (=lo) òm-bo ÿ}. \]

that after 1SG TPN(=DAT) come-2INF EQU.PER

‘After that I came to Gangtok.’ (TB life story, KN e)

(5.9) བྲོག་ལོག་(ལོག་) འདོད།

\[ kʰu \text{ gá:to? (=lo) jô?}. \]

3SGM TPN(=DAT) EX.PER

‘He is in Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Argument S is often elided if the context makes it obvious, as exemplified in the following S-less pair of an intransitive subordinate and main clause:

(5.10) འབྲི་བོད་ལ་བོད་ལོག་(ཐེ་) སྐྱེབ་ཞིག་

\[ \text{ódi} \text{ p'ja-somdá: ódi āmba? tokʰ}: \text{ daku=di dyŋkʰa} \]

that do-SIM that guava pluck.NMLZ owner=DEMPH in.front.of

\[ \text{lep-ti ónale sô:-bo beʔ?} \]

arrive-NF then go.PFV-2INF EQUI.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) འབྲི་བོད་ལ་བོད་ལོག་(ཐེ་) སྐྱེབ་ཞིག་

\[ ãi, āgja \text{ te 'on-ze}. \text{ lók te'ó=:lo} \]

elder.sister elder.brother come.HON-PFV return come.HON=REP

\[ āgja=gi. \]

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)  
\[\text{a) } gjalts’en=\text{gi} \quad \text{karma}=\text{lo} \quad \text{șe-po} \quad \text{be‘}.\]
\[\text{PN=AGT} \quad \text{PN=DAT} \quad \text{kill-2INF} \quad \text{EQU.NE} \]
‘Gyaltshen killed Karma.’ (KN e)

\[\text{b) } gjalts’en \quad \text{karma}=\text{lo} \quad \text{șe-po} \quad \text{be‘}.\]

\[\text{c) } gjalts’en=\text{gi} \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{șe-po} \quad \text{be‘}.\]

\[\text{d) } gjalts’en \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{șe-po} \quad (\text{be‘}).\]

(5.13)  
\[\text{a) } gjalts’en=\text{gi} \quad \text{karma}=\text{lo} \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{du‘}.\]
\[\text{PN=AGT} \quad \text{PN=DAT} \quad \text{beat-PROG} \quad \text{EX.SEN} \]
‘Gyaltshen is hitting Karma.’ (KN e)

\[\text{b) } gjalts’en \quad \text{karma}=\text{lo} \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{du‘}.\]

\[\text{c) } gjalts’en=\text{ki} \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{du‘}.\]

\[\text{d) } gjalts’en \quad \text{karma} \quad \text{tip-teen} \quad \text{du‘}.\]

It is my impression that some speakers who have received formal education in Denjongke writing rules are prone to implement the writing rules, which are to some degree affected by Classical Tibetan, to their grammaticality judgments of spoken language in a prescriptive rather than a descriptive way. Consequently, some of the above forms, especially (5.11d) and (5.12d), may be considered “ungrammatical” (i.e. against the rules of writing) by some speakers. A similar observation was made by Sandberg (1895: 25) about the use of the agentive case:

Where both subject and object occur in any sentence, the subject is put in the agentive case, except where the verb of the sentence is part of the verb “to be”. Rule though this is, it is generally not observed by the uneducated; and therefore we shall not keep to it in our conversational examples to be given hereafter, the nominative being usually heard as in English.”

Sandberg’s word “usually” with reference to the nominative (=zero-marking) leaves open the option that even “the uneducated” occasionally use agentive, suggesting that the use of the agentive was pragmatically conditioned even in Sandberg’s data. Finding natural examples of all the combinations of A and P argument marking would require an extensive corpus which is not available at the moment. This chapter offers some preliminary remarks.

If arguments are marked by pronouns or common nouns, rules for assigning the A argument are somewhat stricter than with proper nouns. In perfective past, as in (5.14a), agentive marking is usually mandatory, although see the natural example (5.17) below where
a past tense verb with a highly affected P has a zero-marked A argument.\textsuperscript{204} In the future tense, as shown in (5.14b), agentive marking is also preferred. The A argument in imperfective clauses is typically zero marked, whereas agentive marking is reserved mainly for contrastive agency (5.14c). The P argument is either zero marked or dative-locative marked. Semantic/pragmatic differences between the two markings of P are discussed in §5.3.2

(5.14) a) མདང་ ངས་ ཁུ་(ལྔོ་) ལོ་རི་ ཨིན།
\(dāː \quad ŋāː \quad kʰu(=lo) \quad tip-o \quad ñ.\)
yesterday LAGT 3SGM(DAT) beat-INF EQU.PER
‘I beat him yesterday.’ (KN e)

The use of agentive in the answer in (5.16) is probably pragmatically motivated. The speaker’s sister has suspected that the speaker did not eat dinner the previous night. The speaker responses by (5.16), emphasizing his agency in eating the previous night. The fact that the speaker is actually lying may also trigger an increased claim of agency. The lack of agentive marking in the question in (5.16), on the other hand, may be affected by negation and decreased assertiveness marked by the apparentive construction ending in -da ‘be similar’.

In contrast to the agentive marking in the answer in (5.16), example (5.17) has a zero-marked A argument in an otherwise analogous clause, suggesting that the use of the ergative in the answer in (5.16) is indeed pragmatically conditioned.

(5.17)  ཚག་ སྩབ་ འབྲེག་ སྒོ་ རིག་ མོང་

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 topocalized 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 Tibetan languages (e.g. Häsl 99: 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 ɕík ‘destroy’ fall within the second group. Further research is needed to fully unravel the intricacies of agentive marking.

Table 5.2. Marking of A argument in the past tense of some verbs (consultant KN)

<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:</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dck</td>
<td>‘put inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzip</td>
<td>‘suck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hako</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕé:</td>
<td>‘(come to) know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕé:</td>
<td>‘rinse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzé:</td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕù</td>
<td>‘peel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bak</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɓ̀</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be’?:</td>
<td>‘weed (out)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕé?:</td>
<td>‘comb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕik</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daː</td>
<td>‘sharpen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʑìː</td>
<td>‘look, see (hon.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzéː/ pʰɛ’</td>
<td>‘meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɕù</td>
<td></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) 

möby=ki pʰo? tʰop-ee jɔː:-ka?
wife=AGT salary receive-INF EX.PER
‘Does the wife receive salary?’ (BP BB discussion)

(5.23) 

tɛ kʰõː eː:-ruŋ ma-eː:-ruŋ kʰoː 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) 

kʰoː=lo=jɑː, ḍ:endzɔŋ=gi ḍ:teʰa=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) 

ŋá:/ŋà=lo/*ŋà dɑː, tʰep tei? tʰop-o ŋ. 
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 ŋá: could replace ŋà=lo in 5.26).

(5.26) 

ŋá=lo tʰep=di gā:to:=lo tʰop-o ŋ. 
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) 
\[ŋáː/ŋà=lo/*ŋà\]  
1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/1SG water be.needed  
‘I need hot water.’ (KN e)

However, with the negative mingoʔ ‘be not needed’ all three forms, dative-locative, agentive and zero-marking were deemed acceptable.

(5.28) 
\[ŋáː/ŋà=lo/ŋà\]  
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) 
\[moʈr\]  
pea like-PQ  
‘Do you like peas?’ (PED e)

(5.30) 
\[ŋà=lo\]  
1SG=DAT very.much like-2INF EQU.PER  
‘I like (them) very much.’ (PED e)

(5.31) 
\[ŋà\]  
1SG NEG-like  
‘I don’t like (them).’ (PED e)

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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 accusative 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>གྱལྟནྱན་(གྱིས་) མཁྱོན་(ལོ་) བསྟེུན་ (༡)</th>
<th>gjaltsʰen(=gi) karma(=lo) sé-po beʔ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PN=AGT</td>
<td>PN=DAT</td>
<td>kill-2INF EQU.NE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Gyaltshen killed Karma.’ (KN e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>གྱལྟནྱན་, མཁྱོན་ བསྟེུན་ (༡)</th>
<th>gjaltsʰen, pʰako=di=lo séʔ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>pig=DEMPH=DAT kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Gyaltshen, kill the pig.’ (KTL e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5.34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>གྱལྟནྱན་, མཁྱོན་</th>
<th>gjaltsʰen, pʰako séʔ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>pig kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Gyaltshen, do pig-killing.’ (KTL e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>རྒྱལྟནྱན་(ཞིན་) བསྟྱེད་ (༡)</th>
<th>kʰu(=gi) do tʰoː-po tʰ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SGM=AGT</td>
<td>stone see-2INF EQU.PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘He saw a stone.’ (KN e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consultant KN reported that whereas (5.35) would be a fairly neutral statement, the use of the dative-locative in (5.36) implies that the speaker saw a stone and not the other things that were available for seeing. Consultant KUN, on the other hand, considered the dative form with an inanimate object in (5.36) infelicitous. He suggested replacing $do=lo$ [stone=$DAT$] with $kʰõː=lo$ [3SG.HON=DAT]. Based on comments from these two consultants, it may be initially summarized that P marking is conditioned by specificity/identifiability and animacy.

The role of animacy in differential P marking is confirmed by data from the novel Richhi, where specific human referents as P arguments of the verb $tʰõː$ ‘see’ are always marked with dative-locative. 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 pronominal $ka$-$jā$: ‘nobody, not anyone’, no dative-locative marking is needed, because the referent is unidentifiable.

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200 Consultant KN, however, commented that $=lo$ could be omitted in (5.36) and (5.37).

211 According to KN $=lo$ could not be added in (5.38).
While all human P arguments of the verb tʰõː ‘see’ in the novel Richhi are marked as dative-locative, non-human (or inanimate) P referents of tʰõː ‘see’ are zero marked:

(5.40) བལྡྱུར་ནི་མངོན་ཁྲིམས་པ་སྦད།


patient.GEN name and age see have.time.to NEG.EX.PER-2INF
kʰu tʰetsom sâ-ee ṭ.:  
3SGM doubt eat-INF EX

‘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 =lō):

(5.41) བལྡྱུར་ནི་མངོན་ཁྲིམས་པ་སྦད།

kʰu=gi mí=téi? sé-p o bê?:  
3SGM=AGT (hu)man=INDF kill-2INF EQU.NE

‘He killed a (hu)man.’ (KTL e)

Affectedness of the P argument also appears to be a factor in dative-locative vs. zero-marking: P arguments which are totally affected and change a state are zero marked whereas less affected P arguments may be locative marked. Dative-locative marking with a totally affected P argument in (5.42b) was considered infelicitous by consultant TB.

(5.42) a) བལྡྱུར་ནི་computer ནག་ཆེ་ཀྲུངས་སྦད།

kʰu=gi njê: kompjutor teak-o bê?:  
3SGM=AGT 1SG.GEN computer(Eng.) break-2INF EQU.NE

‘He broke my computer.’ (TB e)

b) *བལྡྱུར་ནི་computer ནག་ཆེ་ཀྲུངས་སྦད།

*kJʰu=gi njê: kompjutor=lō teak-o bê?:  
3SGM=AGT 1SG.GEN computer=DAT(Eng.) break-2INF EQU.NE

Affectedness, however, appears to interact with humanness vs. non-humanness of the actor, as suggested by (5.43) and (5.44) which are again from consultant TB. If the direction of the action was from an animal to a human, both dative-locative and zero-marking were accepted for marking the P argument, see (5.43). With a human A argument and animal P argument, on the other hand, dative-locative-marked P argument was not considered felicitous, see (5.44).

(5.43) a) བལྡྱུར་ནི་computer ལཏོགས་ཉིད་ཀྲུངས་སྦད།

lân=gi mí sê-b-bê?:  
bull=AGT human kill-2INF-EQU.NE

‘A/the bull killed a man.’ (TB e)

---

212 However, consultant KN accepted using a dative-locative P argument instead of non-marking in (5.39).
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 *ka:gjur* a P argument. In (5.45), the bare verb *tãː* occurs with the zero-marked argument óɲ=diː=tsu ‘the children’, suggesting that in (5.46) *ka:gjur* is the P argument and the dative-locative *kʰu=lo=di* a peripheral argument.

(5.45)  
khon=gi óɲ di=tsu dordziliŋ tãː=bo ná=:m be?:  
3PL=AGT child this=PL TPN send-2INF do.HON-2INF EQU.NE  
‘They sent the children to Darjeeling.’ (CY interview)

(5.46)  
te lopon=di=gi kʰu=lo=di átsi=tei? ka:gjur tãː=bo  
then teacher=DEMPH=AGT 3SGM=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=INDF instruction send-2INF  
beː=lo, ódi gjammo=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 *ka:gjur* in *ka:gjur tãː* ‘scold’ should be considered a P argument or part of the predicate.

(5.47)  
nê:po: nê:tãː: ts¹apteeyː: jòːce=diː: karma=gi  
patient GEN condition serious EX.PER=DEMPH.AGT PN =AGT  
nê:po=di=lo dilli tãː=ce p jaːzê: jò?:  
patient=DEMPH=DAT TPN send-INF do-PROG EX.PER  
‘Because patient’s condition is serious, Karma is preparing to send the patient to Delhi.’ (Richhi 169)
Evidence for considering the P-like element in the verb complex a part of the verb and not the actual P argument comes from (5.48), where the P argument of the complex verb järge tā: ‘develop (lit. send progress)’ is zero marked.

(5.48)  


dep  p’ja-ti  jùtøi  yø=di  jürgeʔ  tā:-ce=di  jì
t like.that  our  place=DEMPH  progress  send-INF=DEMPH 1SG

camp=sam=di  tā:-do  beʔ.
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)  


jùtøi  ke=di=lo  jürgeʔ  tā:  go=peʔ.
1PL GEN  language=DEMPH  DAT  progress  send  be needed=EQU.NE
‘Our language needs to be developed.’ (KL BLA 12)

In conclusion, P marking is sensitive to animacy, identifiability/specificity and affectedness of the referent. The first two factors may be connected in that human referents are probably more likely to be identifiable than non-human referents.

5.3.3 **Ditransitive clauses (T and R argument)**

Ditransitive clauses have three arguments A(gent), T(heme) and R(ecipient)/S(ource) (Haspelmath 2005). Haspelmath (2005: 2) introduces three types of alignment in ditransitive (or ditransitive) clause: 1) indirective alignment where T argument of the ditransitive clause aligns with the P argument of the monotransitive clause, leaving R separately marked, 2) neutral alignment where P, T and R are all marked the same way, and 3) secundative alignment where P and R are aligned in opposition to T. As suggested by the discussion at the beginning of the chapter, Denjongke does not fit nicely in any of the three patterns because the marking of P is split between zero-marking, which is also used for argument T, and dative-locative marking, which is also used for argument R.

The order of arguments is ATRV, as in (5.50) or ARTV, as in (5.51), because either T or R may occur after A in the more focal position (see Givon 2001: 270). Occasionally, a topical R or T may also occur before A, see (5.57) further below. In (5.50), the R argument of the main clause, Choki, is already topical information whereas the T argument, letter, is new information and hence focal.

(5.50)  


PN  outside=DAT  come.out-NF  come-2INF.GEN  time=DAT  child

tei=ki  jìgi=teiʔ  mù=lo  p’in-zë:
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.
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) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zun}=\text{gi} & \quad \text{lāla}=\text{lo} \quad \text{mā} & \quad \text{p’im}=\text{do} & \quad \text{be?} \\
\text{government}=\text{AGT} & \quad \text{some}=\text{DAT} & \quad \text{privilege(Nep.)}=\text{give-IPFV} & \quad \text{EQU.NE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The government is giving privileges to some.’ (RBM discussion on the roof)

(5.53) 
\[
\begin{align*}
te \quad \text{āzi}=\text{ki}=\text{ra} & \quad \text{duk} \quad \text{p’ja-ti} & \quad \text{ŋāte}=\text{lo} \quad \text{ŋyːyː} & \quad \text{t’a} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{elder.sister}=\text{AGT}=\text{AEMPH} & \quad \text{pain}=\text{do-NF} & \quad \text{1PL}=\text{DAT} & \quad \text{a.little} & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{sām}=\text{tsu} & \quad \text{ba}? & \quad \text{ō}: & \quad \text{p’im}=\text{do} & \quad \text{be?} \\
\text{food.HON}=\text{PL} & \quad \text{carry} & \quad \text{come} & \quad \text{give-IPFV} & \quad \text{EQU.NE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘It was the elder sister who, toiling, used to bring a little food for us.’ (PED life story)

The agentive (which resembles an instrumental in that the argument is inanimate) in (5.52) is probably motivated by the inanimacy of the argument because of which its causal relation to the other arguments needs to be stressed. In (5.53), on the other hand, the elder sister’s agency is underlined, as also suggested by the emphatic marker =ra.

Examples (5.54) and (5.55) illustrate zero-marked argument A. In (5.55), argument R is elided because it is recoverable from the context.

(5.54)  
\[
\begin{align*}
k’u & \quad k’i=\text{lo} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{p’im}=\text{zen} & \quad \text{du}? \\
\text{3SGM} & \quad \text{dog}=\text{DAT} & \quad \text{cooked.rice} & \quad \text{give-PROG} & \quad \text{EX.SEN}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He’s giving the dog rice.’ (TB e)
In (5.56), the R argument is zero marked, similarly to directives and locatives (see §5.1).

(5.56)  te màːdze. te p’otso: kʰa te p’in.
then butter.four.tea then child.GEN mouth then give
‘Then the butter is given to the child’s mouth.’ (LA birth in Lachung)

The reason why the dative-locative marking can be elided in (5.56) is probably that the R argument is a location/destination rather than a person who can possess the item in an abstract sense. Argument A is here suppressed (not recoverable from the context), the clause becoming a “functional passive” (see §5.5.1).

Example (5.57) illustrates the use of the postposition =tsa: ‘at, by’ used in place of the dative-locative as a marker of the R argument. The T argument is the topic established by the previous context so it occurs here even before A argument.

(5.57)  te ódi gāː eoku ódi p’aiːr sər=ki kʰôː:=tsa: baʔ come-NF
then that time paper that PR(Eng.) sir(Eng.)=AGT 3SG.HON=at carry
‘Then at that time PR Sir brought that paper to her and…’ (DR discussion with KL)

In elicitation, consultant KN provided past and future forms of p’in ‘give’ with an agentive A argument (5.58a-b) and the imperfective with a zero-marked A (5.58c).

(5.58)  a)  dâː nəː kʰu=lo t’ep=t’eiʔ p’im-bo ɪ:
yesterday LAGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-INF EQU.PER
‘Yesterday I gave him a book.’ (KN e)

b)  t’orāː nəː kʰu=lo t’ep=t’eiʔ p’in=aw ɪ:
tomorrow LAGT 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-INF EQU.PER
‘Tomorrow I’ll give him a book.’ (KN e)

c)  t’ato nə kʰu=lo t’ep=t’eiʔ p’in-do ɪ:
now 1SG 3SGM=DAT book=INDF give-IPFV EQU.PER
‘Now I’m giving him a book.’ (KN e)

213 Consultant KT would write this word as རེ་ and pronounce it as t’o:m, 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 t’om ‘butter-dough’.
For T arguments marked by complement clauses, see §14.1.1.

5.4 Clauses with verbs of being and becoming

Copulas are used for expressing equation (§5.4.1), existence, location (§5.4.2), possession (§5.4.3) and attribution (§5.4.4). Two further verbs, tʰon ཤོན་‘come out, happen, become, turn out’ and ʨuŋ བྱུང་‘become, happen, turn out’, express the related concept of ‘becoming’, (§5.4.5). While this section describes the types of arguments taken by copulas, the evidential semantics of copulas are discussed in more detail in §7. Denjongke copulas are also the subject of Yliniemi (2017).

5.4.1 Equative clause

In a prototypical equative clause two 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 ī̃ː and bɛʔ either equate two arguments (5.59) or identify/classify the first argument as a member of a category (5.60). Dryer (2007: 233) calls similar comparative categories "referential" and "non-referential" respectively, whereas Pustet (2003: 29) calls them "identificational" and "ascriptive" respectively.

(5.59) a) ཇོ་ལམ་ལབ་མཁན་རི་རང་སྦད། nilam làp-kʰɛ̃: nilam=rā: bɛʔ. dream say-NMLZ dream=AEMPH EQU.NE ‘A dream is (just) a dream.’ (Richhi 116)

b) མོ་ཉིད་མ་པོས་ཤི. mò by ĩ̃ː. 3SGF 1SG.GEN wife EQU.PER ‘She is my wife.’ (KN e)

(5.60) a) ལུང་ཐོན་མི། kʰõː ámdzi bɛʔ. 3SG.HON doctor EQU.NE ‘He is a doctor’

b) སེམ་པ་དང་ཤི. teiː=ki zen=lo pʰɛmpo p’ja-ɛ? gewo; jɔ? ɪ. 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 གཉིད་ལམ་gnid-lam, which reflects the pronunciation better.
In spoken language, the equative copula is sometimes elided, hence the (round) brackets in the translation of (5.62).

In our Sikkim there are four great caves. One great cave (is) eastern Bephuk.’ (SGD cave story)
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)  རྒན་པོ་ས་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཡྔོད།

khimp=na gempo ka=jãː mèʔ.

house=LOC elder.male who=even NEG.EX.PER

‘At home there aren’t any males.’ (Richhi 22)

b)  རྒན་པོ་ས་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཡྔོད།

khimp=na mi jøː=ka?

house=LOC human EX.PER-PQ

‘Is there anyone (lit. human) at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)

(5.67)  

a)  ངོ་ཁྲི་ སྨན་ཁང་ན་ ཡྔོད།

teʰoki? k’uŋsin=na kʰim=na jøː?

Choki holiday=LOC house=LOC EX.PER

‘Choki is at home during the holiday.’ (Richih 157)

b)  གུ་ བྲང་ སྨན་ཁང་ན།

t’aṭo bhaila mëŋkʰaː=na jøː=ka?

now PN hospital=LOC EX.PER-PQ

‘Is Bhaila now in hospital?’ (Richhi 24)

The locative argument may also occur in the antitopical right dislocated position.

(5.68)  

paː=laː=di=jãː du? kʰim=na.

father=HON=DEMPH=too EX.SEN house=LOC

‘The father too is at home.’ (Richhi 153)

With frequently used toponyms elision of locative marking is quite frequent:

(5.69)  

k’u  gäːto? jøː?

3SGM TPN EX.PER

‘He is (in) Gangtok.’ (KN e)

Similar to equative copulas, existential copula may be elided in spoken language.
(5.70) མི་ཤི་ཤུ་ཐྲོ་?
\[ \text{āca lamo k’ana?} \]
PN PN where
‘Where (is) Asha Lhamo?’ (SGD cave story)

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 īː is telling one’s place of origin (5.71b).

(5.71) a) ལོ་མུ་ ག་ན།
\[ \text{ēː, őna beʔ.} \]
oh there EQU. NE
‘Oh, it is there!’ (SM kitchen discussion)

b) ལོ་མུ་ ག་ན།
\[ \text{pēː pʰayː, sînɛ=lo īː.} \]
1SG.GEN fatherland Sinye=DAT EQU. PER
‘My native place is (in) Sinye.’ (DB life story)

5.4.3 Predicative possession
In predicative possession, the possessor, which accompanies an existential copula, is expressed either by a locational (5.72) or a genitive-marked argument (5.73) (for these and other types of predicate possession, see Stassen 2009). The locational argument is marked either by dative-locative (5.72a) or the cliticized postposition =tsaː ‘at, beside’ (5.72b). Using the postposition =tsaː implies that the possessed item is with the speaker at the time of speaking.

(5.72) a) བོད་པོ་ཐོ་ གནོན་ ཤིང་ སྒོ་ གཅིག་ སྨུ།
\[ \text{t’a njà=lo teʰa:ka=teiʔ jàː-kʰen beʔ.} \]
now 1SG=DAT item=INDF EX-NMLZ EQU. NE
‘Now, (let’s imagine) I have a certain item.’ (YR canteen video)

b) ལོ་མུ་ ག་ན།
\[ \text{di pēː=tsaː: jôʔ.} \]
this 1SG=at EX.PER
‘I have it (with me),’/’I have it on me.’ (KN e)

(5.73) a) ལོ་མུ་ ག་ན།
\[ \text{ónale pēː áteu jôʔ.} \]
then 1SG.GEN elder.brother EX.PER
‘Then I have an elder brother.’ (PED life story)

b) ལོ་མུ་ ག་ན།
\[ \text{kʰu=i p’otso sîm duʔ.} \]
3SGM=GEN child three EX.SEN
‘He has three children (I see/saw).’ (KN e)
c) གརྨ་ཀི་སང་ཏྔོག་ལྔོ་དེབ་གཉིས་དང་རྔོ་རེ་གིང་ལྔོ་དེབ་གསུམ་ཡོད།

karma=gi gãːtoː=lo tʼep niː tʼāː dordzišː=lo tʼep süm jōʔ.
PN=GEN TPN=dat book two and TPN=DAT book three EX.PER

‘Karma has two books in Gangtok and three books in Darjeeling.’ (KN e)

Although genitive-marked constructions have traditionally been termed “genitive possessives” (e.g. Heine 1997), Stassen (2009: 107) proposes the term “adnominal possessive”. The reason is that Stassen (2009) analyzes the adnominal possessive construction as having only one nominal constituent, where the genitive-marked possessor is a modifier of the following possessee argument (in English analogy, “[my house] exists” instead of “[my] [house] exists”). Stassen (2009: 113-115), however, acknowledges that if there is evidence against the status of the possessor and possessee as forming one argument (for instance, the possessor and possessee can be separated by another constituent), the genitive-marked possessive may in fact be a “variant of the Locational Possessive” (Stassen 2009: 113). Example (5.73c) indeed provides such evidence. The locative argument gãːtoː=lo ‘in Gangtok’ follows the genitive-marked argument and so separates the purported modifier/adnominal (karma=gi) from its head (tʼep). 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 =tsaː), it can occur as the second argument in constructions where the possessee is topicalized and hence occurs first, see (5.74a) and (5.74b). The genitive-marked possessor, however, cannot occur second in a possessive construction, see (5.74c).

(5.74) a) ཨྔོ་འདི་ཅ་ལག་འདི་ཁྔོང་ལྔོ་ཡོད/འདུག།

ódi teala=di kʰôː=lo jōʔ/duʔ.
that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=DAT EX.PER/EX.SEN
‘He has that thing.’/’That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

b) ཨྔོ་འདི་ཅ་ལག་‘ཁྔོང་རར་’འདུག།

ódi teala=di kʰôː=tsaː jōʔ/duʔ.
that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=with EX.PER/EX.SEN
‘That thing is with him.’ (KUN e)

c) *ཨྔོ་འདི་ཅ་ལག་འདི་ཁྔོང་གི་ཡོད/འདུག།

*ódi teala=di kʰon=gi jōʔ/duʔ.
that thing=DEMPH 3SG.HON=GEN EX.PER/EX.SEN
‘That thing is his.’ (KUN, KN e)

The possessive construction can, perhaps surprisingly, also occur with an agentive argument. A simple possessive construction has the possessor argument marked as dative-
locative (5.75), but when a P-like argument such as lenge:=lo in (5.76) or teʰ=lo (5.77) is added, the possessor argument switches to agentive.219

(5.75)  སྣ་ བོན་ སྣྱོར།
གྲ་ བོན་ སྣྱོར་ སྣྱོར་ སྣྱོར།
ŋà=lo  riteʰi jò?.
1SG=DAT  hope EX.PER
‘I have hope.’ (KN e)

(5.76)  ལྷ/་ མགོན་ རི་ཆི་ ཡོད།
ŋáː/ŋáː =g i tɕʰiʃøː=lo jò.
1SG/1SG=AGT  PRN.HON=DAT hope EX.PER
‘I have hope in you.’ (KN e)

(5.77)  ལྷ/་ མགོན་ རི་ཆི་ ཡོད་ ཉ།
ŋáː/ŋáː =g i tɕʰøː=lo lótɛːjøːɲá.
1SG=AGT/1SG=AGT 2SG.L=DAT trust EX.PER  TAG.ASR
‘I have trust in you, eh.’ (KN e)

5.4.4 Predicate adjectives
Both the existentials (personal jò?, neutral jèbbe?, sensorial du?) and the equatives (personal Ĭ, neutral be?) 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)  རྒྱལ་ ཕྱིད་ བེ་ སྐྱིད་ རྫིགས་ འཕྲོ་
kʰu=i=g i baik=di lɛ̀ p mâla? jò?.
3SGM=GEN=GEN bike(Eng.)=DEMPH very.much fast EX.PER
‘His (motor)bike is very fast.’ (NB e)

b)  བེ་ སྐྱིད་ རྫིགས་ འཕྲོ།
onale hindi=di lɛ̀ dzikta? jèbbe?.
then Hindi=DEMPH very.excellent EX.NE
‘Then, (their) Hindi is most excellent.’ (DR discussion with KL)

c)  རྒྱལ་ ཕྱིད་ བེ་ སྐྱིད་ རྫིགས་ འཕྲོ།
lôŤpar=ki ŋinpo lépti lêm du?.
X-ray=GEN essence very.good EX.SEN
‘The results of the X-ray look very good.’ (Richhi 29)

(5.79) a)  རྒྱལ་ བེ་ སྐྱིད་ རྫིགས་ འཕྲོ།
ôdi húko goː=po kʰe:teʰiː ŋː.
that understand need.to-2INF important EQU.PER
‘It is important to understand that.’ (Richhi 7)

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219 ŋà: and ŋà=gi are two alternative ways to mark 1SG agentive.
b) མི་ཐོག ནམ་་མཐམས་ཅན་གི་གཅིག་གོ་


‘My child is the best of all, a good one.’ (RBM story of my son)

c) མི་ཐོག་ཐོ་ེ་ལ་

‘That is very good.’

d) མི་ཐོག་ཐོ་ེ་ལ་

‘The condition of this world is really amazing.’ (Ricchi 136)

As already shown in §3.4.1, property concepts can be expressed, in addition to an adjective accompanied by a copula, also by property concept verbs which inflect like other verbs. The availability of these two options places Denjongke among languages which use “mixed” encoding type for property concepts (Stassen 2013a). For comparative constructions, see §5.6.1.3.2 below.

5.4.5 Clauses of becoming and happening

The verbs \( tʰøn \) (also \( tʰen \) ཐོན་ ‘come out, happen, become, turn out’ and \( tɕʼuŋ \) བྱུང་ ‘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) ག་ ཐོན་ སྦད

\( \text{kʽar tʰøm-bo beʔ?} \)

‘What happened?’ (TB bull story)

b) མ་ བྱུང་རུང་

\( \text{ό ma-teʼuŋ-ruy} \)

‘although that did not happen…’ (BLA 6)

c) མི་ཐོག་ཐོ་ེ་ལ་

\( \text{sɛm-lo dzu-na: teʼuŋ-ruy} \)

‘despite sensations of fear arising in the mind…’ (Rna-gsung 3)

This is an experimental phonetic spelling of the word. The form usually seen in writing is \( \text{jamtsʰ\text{eŋta}} \), pronounced \( \text{jamtsʰ\text{eŋta}} \).
d) ད་ལྟ་ སྔོབ་གྲྭའི་ གུང་སེང་ཡང་ ཐྔོན་རབ་ ཡྔོད།
t’ato lóbṣo:  k’uṣṣi=jā:  t’on-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 t’on in (5.81) and (5.82) are marked with square brackets.

(5.81) བུད་པོའི་ སྐད་ལགས་ འདི་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ ནང་ཤ་ལྔོ་ རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ སྐད་ལགས་ ཐྔོན་ དགྔོས་ཤད་ འདི་ཀིས་
[ nepali=gi ke:dza=di] gjagar=gi nānca=lo [gjagar=gi
Nepali=GEN language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT India=GEN
ke:dza?] t’on  goː-ɛɛ=di=gi...
language.HON become be.needed=INF=DEMPH=AGT
‘Because the language of the Nepalis was to become within India a(n official)
language of India...’ (CY interview)

(5.82) a) མ་བས་ བཏེ་ བྔོ་ ཐྔོན་བྔོ་ སྦད།
[muː] [t’ap  mɛː-po] t’om-bo  be?.
3SGF.AGT means NEG.EX-2INF become-2INF EQU.NE
‘She became one without means (to do something).’ (Rna-gsung 6)

b) བཞིིན་ ལོག་ རི་ དེ་ ལེགས་ བྔོ་ ལེམ་ བྱུང་ཞེ།
k’wi 3SGF.AGT means NEG.EX-2INF become-2INF EQU.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 t’on and te’uŋ with predicate adjectives, consider the following examples (note that
[5.85] has a phrasal adjective with a nominal element):

(5.83) བོད་ སྨིན་ ཆུ་ སེམས་ དགའ་ དྲགས་ བྱུང་ཞེ།
lòtʰo=tsu lêm t’on-ɛɛ  be?,  di  lyː=ki.
crop=PL good become-INF EQU.NE this fertilizer=AGT
‘The crops will turn out good, with the help of this fertilizer.’ (PD cow shed video)

(5.84) དེ་ ཆུ་ སྨིན་ ཆུ་ སེམས་ དགའ་ དྲགས་
te ődi lêpo lêm te’uŋ-ɛɛ.
so that very good become-PST
‘So that turned out very good.’ (RD BLA )

(5.85) འོ་ སེམས་ དགའ་ དྲགས་ བྱུང་ཞེ།
ŋàt 1PL mind joyful become-PST
‘We became happy.’ (KN, CY interview)

With an ablative adverbial, the verb t’on can also have the more concrete meaning ‘exit,
go/come out’:

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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\(^{221}\), 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.

(5.87) 
\[ \text{mēŋkʰâː}=le \ nèː\text{po}=lo \ gompo \ tǎː\text{-do}. \]
\[ \text{hospital}=\text{ABL} \ \text{patient}=\text{DAT} \ \text{leave.of.absence} \ \text{send-IPFV} \]
\‘The patient is being discharged from the hospital.’ (Richhi 172)

In (5.88), the complement clause preceding the verb functions as the P argument, whereas A is again dropped. Here the A argument is unidentifiable and therefore (5.88) exemplifies a functional passive construction.

(5.88) 
\[ \text{sà}=lo \ kʰ\text{up} \ \text{lum-ruŋ} \ tʰoː. \]
\[ \text{ground}=\text{DAT} \ \text{needle} \ \text{drop-CONC} \ \text{hear} \]
\‘Even the drop of a needle would be heard.’ (Richhi 6)

In example (5.89), the A argument of the verb tʰõː ‘see’ is suppressed and the P argument of the equivalent transitive clause occurs zero marked (in a monotransitive clause a dative-locative would likely occur with this type of a referent, see 5.3.2), suggesting that the verb has truly become intransitive in this clause (hence the intransitive translation ‘be visible’).\(^{222}\)

\(^{221}\) Argument suppression is to be distinguished from zero anaphora, see the introduction to this chapter.

\(^{222}\) 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) pimp ¡juk-o be?.
P[N PN(N) PN 2INF run run-2INF EQU.EQ NE.PEAK N(R) run run-2INF EQU.EQ NE.PEAK]

‘Pempa ran.’ (KN e)

(5.91) karma(=gi) pimp(=lo) juk teuk-o be?.
P[N PN(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN(N) PN 2INF run cause-2INF EQU.EQ NE.PEAK]

‘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) gjaltsʰen(=gi) pimp(=lo) tip-o be?.
P[N(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) 2INF hit-2INF EQU.EQ NE.PEAK]

‘Gyaltshen hit Pempa.’ (KN e)

(5.93) karma(=gi) gjaltsʰen=lo pimp teuk-o be?.
P[N(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) 2INF hit cause-2INF EQU.EQ NE.PEAK]

‘Karma made Gyaltshen hit Pempa.’ (KN e)

(5.94) karma(=gi) gjaltsʰen pimp=lo tip teuk-o be?.
P[N(=AGT) PN(=DAT) PN(=DAT) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) PN(N) 2INF hit cause-2INF EQU.EQ NE.PEAK]

‘Karma made Pema hit Gyaltshen.’ (KN e)

The A argument of the original bivalent clause of (5.92) is in the causative clause (5.93) marked as dative-locative, whereas the optionally dative-locative-marked P argument of (5.92) occurs in (5.93) as obligatorily zero marked. Example (5.94) shows that word order does not play a role in deciding who hit whom; the argument marked with dative-locative is the actor. Despite (5.93) and (5.94) were accepted in elicitation, I suspect that in actual language use such formulations are almost non-existent. Clauses such as (5.95), which elide the original P argument, are probably more common.
5.6 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) ཆུ་ཟང་ཏྔོག་ཡོད།
    kʰu gãːtoʔjøːʔ.
    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) ཆུ་ ཆནས་ འོས་ གོང་ དབུས་ ཚུ་ དབུས་
    kʰu ʰaːs ʰaːs ʰaːs ʰaːs ʰaːs.
    ‘(He) went to forest to look for food.’ (KT animal story)

An exception to this rule is the adverb(ial) t’alamgi བལ་མ་ ‘clearly’, which seems to have an agentive/genitive ending.

The dative-locative case is both a grammatical and a locative case, see §3.7.1.1.

Here the word to ‘cooked rice’ obtains an extended meaning ‘food’. The clause refers to a tiger, a carnivorous predator.

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223 An exception to this rule is the adverb(ial) t’alamgi བལ་མ་ ‘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 t’ytsʰø? ‘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 \textit{t'oa(lo)} ‘in the morning’, \textit{t'ariŋ(lo)} ‘today’ and \textit{pʰiːtsʰam(lo)} (see §6.3.3).

The dative-locative functions as an additional (non-obligatory) locative-marker in some relator noun constructions:

\textbf{(5.103) \textit{t'a k'u ruβi?=tei? teŋk'a=lo pjʰː-tiki}}

\begin{itemize}
    \item now 3SG climber=INDF on=DAT hang-NF
    \item ‘Now, hanging on a climber plant…’ (KT animal story)
\end{itemize}

\textbf{(5.104) \textit{ŋatei miwǎː teʰgel teʰimpu=lo p'eyː ge:pu=gi təndəː õdi}}

\begin{itemize}
    \item 1PL sovereign king great.one=DAT Nepal king=GEN ceremony that
    \item inside=DAT invitation do.HON-2INF EQU.NE
    \item ‘...our ruler, His Sovereign Majesty the King, was invited in that ceremony by the king of Nepal.’ (CY interview)
\end{itemize}

Furthermore, \textit{=lo}, along with the ablative \textit{=le} (e.g. \textit{gjable} ‘after’), occurs in relator nouns such as \textit{gjablo} ‘after’, \textit{dʑɛːlo} ‘after’, \textit{dynlo} ‘before’, \textit{tɛŋlo} ‘above, on’, etc. (see §3.6.6). The dative-locative may also attach to circumstantial clause marking progressive \textit{tɛː/zəː/zin} (§15.7.3) and purposive \textit{-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 \textit{=na}, see (5.105). In spoken data, the construction occurs especially with the frequently used word \textit{kʰim} ‘house’, see (5.105a)

\textbf{(5.105) a) \textit{ŋa ɛ'yːcyː minto? [kʰim=na=lo] tsuk-to t'ato.}}

\begin{itemize}
    \item 1SG a.bit flower house=LOC=DAT plant-IPFV now
    \item ‘I’m planting a bit flowers at home now.’ (PED life story)
\end{itemize}

\textbf{(5.105) b) \textit{[kʰim=na=lo=jàː] mi=tsu pàmtəi? õdem=sàː kʰa-lap}}

\begin{itemize}
    \item house=LOC=DAT=even human=PL with that.much=until mouth-speak mé?,
    \item NEG.EX.PER
    \item ‘Even at home, there is not that much talking with people.’ (Richhi 164-165)
\end{itemize}

Other examples of \textit{=na=lo} in Richhi are given in (5.106).
(5.106)  

a) རྒྱུ་ཐོས་དེབ་ན་ལྔོ་  

\[
pint'o = i \quad t'ep = na = lo  
\]

day-list.GEN book=LOC=DAT  

‘in the calendar’ (Richhi 7)  

b) བུམ་ཐོས་དེབ་ན་ལྔོ་  

\[
löbo = na = lo  
\]

school=LOC=DAT  

‘inside the school’ (Richhi 31)  

c) གཞི་ཐོས་དེབ་ན་ལྔོ་  

\[
ámøː = sém = na = lo  
\]

mother.GEN mind=LOC=DAT  

‘in the mother’s mind’ (Richhi 83)  

5.6.1.2 Locative =na  

The locative =na typically marks spatial (5.107-108) or temporal adverbials (5.109). Analogously to the dative-locative, the semantics of =na cover both inessive type of stative locatives (5.107) and illative type of goal-oriented directionals (5.108).  

(5.107)  

a) ད་ལྟ་བྷའི་ལགས་སྨན་ཁང་ན་ཡོད་ཀ  

\[
t'ato bhaila mëyk'â = na jò - ka?  
\]

now PN hospital=LOC EX.PER-PQ  

‘Is Bhaila now in the hospital?’ (Richhi 24)  

b) བུམ་གཅིག་ཐོས་དེབ་ན་སྐོམ།  

\[
missão tsiʔ do : tei? ním = na kam.  
\]

day one that.much sun=LOC dry  

‘(they) are dried in the sun about one day’ (PL interview)  

(5.108)  

\[
ं་ t'om = na gji-do i.  
\]

ISG town=LOC go-IPFV EQU.PER  

‘I’m going to town/market.’ (KN e)  

(5.109)  

a) ད་ལྟ་བྷའི་ལགས་སྨན་ཁང་ན་ཡོད་ཀ  

\[
t'izâ: [ödi káp = na] k'a = le kjap - ce? mêm - bo t'ice = ki lûksø:  
\]

but that time=LOC mouth=ABL do-INF except write-INF=GEN tradition mèbbe?  

NEG.EX.NE  

‘But [at that time], in addition to spoken language, there was no tradition of writing.’ (KL BLA 12)  

b) བུམ་གཅིག་ཐོས་དེབ་ན་ལྔོ་  

\[
ödi t'ytsʰo = na...  
\]

that time=LOC  

‘At that time...’ (PED life story)
5.6.1.3 Ablative =le

The ablative =le marks spatio-temporal adverbials (§5.6.1.3.1) and also the standard of comparison in comparative constructions (§5.6.1.3.2). Because the standard of comparison in comparative constructions is, similarly to locative adverbials, a peripheral NP, comparison is here treated under adverbial modification.

5.6.1.3.1 Spatio-temporal uses

The ablative =le expresses a locative or temporal starting point. With locatives, =le typically expresses direction from a source (5.110), but especially with relator nouns, it is also used for expressing stative location (5.111). The ablative with relator nouns is not separated from the root with the clitic marker = (i.e. giabl=le instead of giab=le), because the case ending has essentially merged into one word with the relator noun.

(5.110) kʰu tʰo:pa kʰim=le tʰom-bo: gaː....
3SGM morning house=ABL exit-2INF.GEN time
‘In the morning when he was getting out of the house...’ (RS driver joke)

Examples in (5.112) illustrate the use of =le as a temporal starting point.

(5.112) a) ó(di) p’ja-ti kʰu [t’utei=le] bjaːm tsuk-tsen du?:
that do-$$^{\text{NF}}$$ 3SGM this.year=ABL beginning plant-PROG EX.SEN
‘Therefore he is beginning from this year (onwards).’ (TB discussion with KT)

b) 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) p’inle=:ki kʰim=na=le t’ato=sā: ka-jā: ma-jepec?=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) tsʰo nāŋka=le lökti=ra t’ari=tēi? te tʰu òm-bo=lo.
lake inside=ABL again=AEMPHE axe=INDF so pick come-2INF=REP
‘So again (he) came [from within the lake] having picked up an axe.’ (JDF axe story)
5.6.1.3.2 Comparative uses

In comparative constructions, the standard of comparison is marked by the ablative case (=lɛ), while the quality compared is expressed by an adjective (5.115), a stative verb (5.116) or an adverb (5.117). In Stassen’s (2013b) classification, this type of comparative construction is termed “locational” and, further, “from-comparative”. Denjongke has no separate comparative adjectival form. The standard of comparison may be presented, depending on topicalization, either before the comparee (5.115) or after the comparee (5.116). The quantifier lako ‘more (than), (in) excess’ may be used in addition to the ablative, see (5.117).

(5.115) di=lɛ ódi bompu du?.
this=ABL that big EX.SEN
‘That is bigger than this.’ (TB e)

(5.116) di ɲúku=di di=lɛ riŋ be?.
this pencil=DEMPH this=ABL be.long EQU.NE
‘This pencil is longer than this.’ (TB e)

(5.117) di=lɛ lako gjatekita-p’ja súŋ tʰop-o-dā:
this=ABL more great-ADVZR observe receive-2INF-CONJ
‘when we get to hold (the celebration) in a more grandiose way than this…’ (Richhi 87)

In addition to being a noun, the standard of comparison may be a a subordinate clause, see §15.11.

5.6.2 Postposition phrases as adverbials

Postpositions are listed in Table 5.3. The first four rows list items which do not typically occur with a genitive complement (i.e. nāntar, nàngzin, t’onzin(gi), nāmtci?, nāmpu, sāːte, =sāː). Other rows list postpositions whose complement noun may or may not be genitive marked (i.e. relator nouns). With locative postpositions, the ablative =lɛ may substitute final =lo, especially if source is emphasized (e.g. őːle ‘from below’, təŋle ‘from below’) but ablative is in spoken language frequently used also for non-directional stative location. Those ablative forms which are particularly frequently used for stative location are separately given in Table 5.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāŋtar, nāŋzin</td>
<td>‘according to, similar to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’onzin(gi)</td>
<td>‘according to, in accordance with, in view of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t’åː) námtei?, (t’åː) námpu</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáːte, =sáː</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèmbó⁳²⁶</td>
<td>‘except’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèntä</td>
<td>‘except’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’aplo, ts’ama(lo)</td>
<td>‘instead of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsak’a, tsa:lo, =tsa:</td>
<td>‘at, by, with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’õnlo, t’õnle, t’õndalo, t’õndale</td>
<td>‘for (the purpose of)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’õ:le</td>
<td>‘through, via, on the basis of, by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(=le) gij:ti</td>
<td>‘through, via, by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go:le</td>
<td>‘from, through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korlo, korle</td>
<td>‘about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋo:lo/hõːlo, ŋo:te/hõːte</td>
<td>‘toward, in the direction of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋo:le/hõːle</td>
<td>‘from the direction_SIDE_of, through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giablo, giable</td>
<td>‘behind, after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzê:lo⁴²⁷</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kum)dyõk’a, (kum)dõ:lo, kumdõ:</td>
<td>‘in front of, in the presence of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’ama</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jënlö, jënlle, jûma, henle, hema</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tešt’a, teño</td>
<td>‘above, on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=gu, gulo</td>
<td>‘above, on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>õ:lo, õ:le</td>
<td>‘below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu:na, bu:lo</td>
<td>‘in the middle of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolö(-k’a), bololo</td>
<td>‘next to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nõnca(lo), nãglo, nãyna</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philo?</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>põk’a</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the uses of postposition headed phrases as adverbials in the same order as they occur in the table. The example sentences illustrate simple uses with noun phrases. Examples (a) below have the complement noun in citation form, whereas examples (b) have a genitive-marked noun complement, if such forms are used. Some examples have (c), which illustrates an alternative form of the postposition. Most postpositions which are relator nouns are also used as independent adverb(ial)s, see the next section §5.6.3.

³²⁶ Occurs in a negated or interrogated clause.
³²⁷ This word from Tibetan is mainly used by literate people with monastic training.
(5.118) a) 

[\text{\textit{t\textacuten\text{"a}}: \textit{do\textquotesingle{}lo\textquotesingle{y}}} \textit{n\text{"a}y\text{"a}t\text{"a}}] \textit{ts\text{"u}h\textquotesingle{}ne} \ \eta=lo \ k\text{"i}k \ s\text{"o}.  

rule and custom according to be.able.to-COND 1SG=DAT lead go.PFV

‘If you are able (to do it) [according to (our) rule(s) and custom(s)], take (me as your wife).’ (song lyrics)

b) 

[\textit{\text{"o}di=g} \textit{n\text{"a}y\text{"a}t\text{"a}}] \textit{\text{"h}\text{"o}t\text{"e}a? \ j\text{"o}? \ \text{"p}\text{"a\textquotesingle{} da: \ ji\text{"u}-ke}.} 

that=GEN according 1PL work do take go-HORT

‘Let us take and do the work according to that.’ (KN e)

(5.119) 

\textit{t\text{"a}to \ s\text{"a}n=g} \textit{ji \ \text{"n}"o\text{"a}m=tsu te\text{"a}zi \ t\text{"a}: \ rite=tsu [n\text{"i}l\text{"a}m] \ \text{mi\textquotesingle{}t\text{"o}n-ga?}} 

now until=GEN 1SG GEN.thought=PL plan and hope=PL dream \textit{n\text{"a}n\text{"i}zin} 

similar.to NEG-become-PQ

‘Are not my thoughts, plans and hopes that (I) have had so far becoming [like dreams].’ (Richhi 147)

(5.120) a) 

[\textit{\text{"o}ra\text{"u}=tsu \ \text{"n}"a\text{"m}pu]} \textit{\text{"l}em-p\text{"a}j \ do: \ in-(n)am}. 

friend=PL with good-ADVZR stay EQU.PER-ATTQ

‘Live well with your friends, eh.’ (TB phone call)

b) 

[\text{\text{"k\text{"o}}: \ \text{"n}"a \ t\text{"a}: \ \text{"n}"a\text{"m}t\text{"e}i=r\text{"a}:} \textit{\text{"l}ob\text{"a}=na \ te\text{"a}l\text{"e}? \ \text{"n}"a\text{"d}o}. 

3SG.HON 1SG and with=AEMP school=LOC work.HON do.HON \text{"i}\text{"=}=\text{"s}"o \ 

EQU.PER=AT

‘She works with me at the school, you know.’ (Richhi 12)

(5.121) a) 

[\textit{\text{"t\text{"a}to \ s\text{"a}t\text{"e}=to}] \textit{\text{"l}em=ra \ j\text{"o}?}. 

now until=AEMP good=AEMP EX.PER

‘[Until now], (I) am well.’ (PED life story)

b) 

[\text{\text{"t\text{"y}n \ \text{"u}k\text{"o}=s\text{"a}:} \textit{\text{"l}ob\text{"a} \ ts\text{"u}o\text{"a}}}]. 

session sixth=until school gather

‘The school is on [until the sixth session].’ (Richhi 10)
The postposition *mèmbɔ* ‘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་ན་སྔོབ་དཔྔོན་ལགས་ཀིས་མན་བྔོ་གཞན་མྔོ་ཉེས་པའི་ངས་པ་ཐོང་**

like that do.HON-2INF do.HON-NMLZ here teacher=HON=AGT except other

*I have not seen many, [except the teacher] here (=you), doing like that.’ (KL discussion with DR)

b) **ཨ་པའི་ཆུབ་ལོ་ཆོས་རང་མན་བྔོ་གཞན་ཀ་ཡོད་**

father.GEN in place 2SG.L=REFL except other who EX.PER

‘Who is there [in place of (your) father] except yourself?’ (Richhi 84)

The only example of *mèntā* ‘except’ (literally ‘NEG-send’) occurs in an interrogative:

(5.124) **རང་མན་བཏང་གཞོན་མྔོ་ཙུ་ཀིས་ཡང་ཐོབ་པོ་་**

you except other=PL=AGT too receive-2INF EQU.PER

‘Except you, did others also receive (it)?’ (KN e)

(5.125) a) **ཡར་བ་མ་ིན་ར་ལས་གནང་ཐེག་**

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་ཆུབ་ལོ་ཆོས་རང་མན་བྔོ་གཞན་ཀ་ཡོད་**

father.GEN in place 2SG.L=REFL except other who EX.PER

‘Who is there [in place of (your) father] except yourself?’ (Richhi 84)

The repetition of *ŋāː* [I.AGT] here is unnecessary from the perspective of written and polished spoken language.

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228 The repetition of *ŋāː* [I.AGT] here is unnecessary from the perspective of written and polished spoken language.
(5.126) a) ‘Karma, you take the child here all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

b) ‘So, [for us and for (our) parents] there wasn’t a school.’ (CY interview)

c) ‘...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)

(5.127) a) ‘If I tell that [by my research and by my present experience]...’ (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)

b) ‘Inmost thoughts are [through letter(s)] clearly and unambiguously being understood.’ (Richhi 152)

(5.128) a) ‘...because she has gotten a chance to pour into Karma’s ear [through writing] the words that have been accumulated and stored in her own inmost being.’ (Richhi 148)

b) ‘As (she) looks at the letter’s address, (it) is written Gangtok via Bombay, Sombare via Gangtok...’ (Richhi 162)
(5.129) བུད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སིད་ དང་བོད་པའི་ འགྱུར་ལས་ ཐུགས་རེ་ཆེ་ སྤྱེ་ཤད་ རྒྱུ་ལས་ ཝིན་ལགས།

‘I thank (you) [from the bottom of (my/our) heart].’ (CY interview)

(5.130) a) ད་ལྟ་ ཁྔོང་རང་ གཉིས་པོ་ གཅིག་ཀུ་ ཁ་སང་གི་ སྔོབ་གྲྭའི་ དུས་སྟྔོན་ སྐྔོར་ལྔོ་ ལྔོ་རྒྱུས་ བཤད་བཞིན་ལྔོ་

‘Now only the two of them telling stories [about yesterday’s school celebration]’ (Richhi 99)

b) ད་རིང་ ང་ དཀར་ཟས་ འགྱུར་ལས་ ཐུགས་རེ་ཆེ་ སྤྱེ་ཤད་ རྒྱུ་ལས་ ཝིན་ལགས།

‘Today I will say a few words [about the food called karze and about the food called marze].’ (DL about food)

(5.131) a) བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ བོན་ཐ་ བོལ་གྲེས་ འདུག།

‘I went to Gangtok through (=from the direction of) the upper road.’ (KN e)

b) ཁིམ་ ལྔོས་སྟེ་ འགྱུར་ལས་ ཝིན་ལགས།

‘(I’m) walking towards the house.’ (TB e)

c) ལྷ་ བོན་ཐ་ བོལ་གྲེས་ འདུག།

‘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) ད་ གྱི་ལྷ་སིད་ དང་བོད་པའི་ འགྱུར་ལས་ ཐུགས་རེ་ཆེ་ སྤྱེ་ཤད་ རྒྱུ་ལས་ ཝིན་ལགས།

‘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) ལྷེ་ ལས་ རྒྱལ་སྔོའི་ མདུན་ལྔོ་ བྔོན་བྔོ་ ལེགས་སྔོ" དང་ རྒྱབ་ལྔོ་ "ཐུགས་ཆེ" ལབ་སྟི་ རས་ དཀར་པྔོའི་ སྟེང་ཁར་ ཡིག་འབྲུ་ མཐིང་ཁ་

låde [ge:go=di dynlo] te’ombolekso t’ā: gjablo] t’udzite=k lap-ti
some gate=GEN in.front.of welcome and behind thank.you say-NF
re: ka:po: ji:qu t’iŋk’a kjap-ti t’i-ti pjaj-k:è:
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) གྲུ་ གཉིས་ རེས་ལྔོ་ འདི་ རྣལ་འབྔོར་ ཨ་ཤ་ ལ་མྔོ་ འདི་ ལྔོག་སྟི་ བྱེགས་ཀུག་ན་

[lo tei:=ki gjablo] te nín kjap-ce=ki ṅatei=gi
so day one=GEN after marriage do-INF=GEN 1PL.GEN=GEN
t’yts’o:=tei? jò?.
time=INDF PER
‘[One year later] then we have a time for having the wedding.’ (SGD wedding customs)

(5.134) ཉིམ་ གཉིས་ རེས་ལྔོ་ འདི་ རྣལ་འབྔོར་ ཨ་ཤ་ ལ་མྔོ་ འདི་ ལྔོག་སྟི་ བྱེགས་ཀུག་ན་

day two after=DEMPH yogini PN PN=DEMPH return-NF cave=LOC
 impoverishedユーザ
appear-PST=REP
‘[After two days] yogini Asha Lhamo appeared back in the cave, it is said.’ (SGD Sikkim caves)

(5.135) a) སྐབུ་ རྒན་པྔོ་ཙུ་ སྐུ་མདུན་ལས་ ང་ཀིས་ ཨྔོ་འདེབ་སྟི་ ཐྦོས་པྔོ་ ཨིན།

[òmo: ts’o=di dyjka=lo] óna ṅatei paciŋ=gi p’uy
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) ང་ སྐྱེ་ མདུན་ལྔོ་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ བྲུག་ རེ་ འདི་ སྐུ་མདུན་ལས་ ང་ཀིས་ ཨྨ་ འདེབ་སྟི་ ཐྦོས་པྔོ།

[tenziŋ=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)

b) ཟོ་ སྐྱེ་ མདུན་ལྔོ་ རེ་ འདི་ སྐུ་མདུན་ལས་ ང་ཀིས་ ཨྨ་ འདེབ་སྟི་ ཐྦོས་པྔོ།

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) བོད་སྤིན་ེི་ཤིང་ནོར་བོ་མཁའི

\[ gurum \text{ rimput} \text{c}e \ kumdy \text{e} \]  
\teach:-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) འཕྲུལ་དང་ ངེས་པའི་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ སྐབས་མདུན་ 

[màrtam \tʰə\gãː\ʔ \pʰaː\na] rumte\-jo\?.

TPN \text{and} TPN \text{between} TPN EX.PER

‘[Between Martam and Gangtok] there is Rumtek.’ (KN e)

b) གི་ལྷི་ མ་སྤེལ་ དང་ གུ་ལྷི་ཐོག་པའི་ རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ 

[átan\=gi \te\øki\ʔ \tʰə\kum\dỹː \tɕ\aː\-\di]  
always\=GEN PN \text{and} now.GEN PN\=GEN between \text{sky} \text{and}

\sə\=i \kʰ\ɛ\pʰaː\na \text{par}.

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) ཐིག་ཏུ་ཐུ་འོང་ ང་ ཁྱོ་ དུྱུ་མོ་ 

\tʰə\ɲɛ̃̀\nlɛ\ŋə\[di=l\ɛ\lɔ\ʈ\'u\ʔ\dɛ\ːtɕ\i\ʔ\ɲɛ̃̀\nlɛ\=tɕ\i\ʔ\]  
now before 1SG this\=ABL year six \text{that.much before}=INDEF

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) རིན་ཆེན་པོ་ སེང་ ནམ་ 

[nim ke pʰo\]\=\ɲɛ́\ː\ʈʰ\iː\tɛ\ŋlo\]  
day\=many.GEN before elder.brother\=DAT count entrust-NF

mjõː\=tsʰaː\.

complete-CMPL

‘[Many days ago], I have completed entrusting (my body and mind) to the brother 
(you).’ (Richhi 147)

c) དེ་ལྷཱ་ོ་ དཔོ་ 

\ŋa\te\ʔa\[\ʃi \hema\]...  
1PL that before

‘[Before that] we...’ (DR discussion with KL)

(5.138) a) བོད་སྤིན་ེི་ཤིང་བོ་མཁའི

\pʰu\ə=\di \[\te\u\tʰə\kʰ\a\]\=\ŋɛ\=\do\=\du-ke\.

girl\=DEMPH water above sleep stay EX.SEN-IN

‘The girl is floating (lit. lying) [on the water].’ (TB e)

b) དཔོན་ བོད་སྤིན་ེི་ཤིང་བོ་མཁའི

kʰö\=\pi\=\tʰə\a\ \tʰə\do\=\ŋɛ\=\tʰ\i\\tʰə\kʰ\=\do\=\jo\?.

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 *tenkʰa/tenlo*. Note in (5.139c) that the cliticized form =*gu* may also attach to the relator noun *ten* ‘up’.

(5.139)  

a) གུལ། བཞག།  
[teib⁶³⁰ gu³⁰] zaʔ.  
table upon put  
‘Put (it) [on the table].’ (KN e)

b) བཞག་པོ་ (?) ཀོ་  
kʰu [nː=gu] zukteʔ jöː-bo beʔ.  
3SGM I SG. GEN=on finger.pointing arouse-2INF EQU.NE  
‘He put blame [on me].’ (KN e)

c) གུལ། བཞག།  
[palaŋ²³¹ tengu]  
bed on  
‘on the bed’ (KN e)

(5.140)  

a) གུལ། བཞག། བཞག་པོ་ (?) ཀོ་  
ŋà=lo kʰim mòu jëbbeʔ òdi gàː. [gari lâm 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 གུལ། བཞག།  
[tʰikadar=tsu tʽytsʰø] gàː=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) བཞག་པོ་  
human many in.the.middle I SG=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 *tənte*.

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 *ɲɛːʔ* (WD ཉལ་ཁི་ nyal-khri).

²³² I am not sure whether this non-genitive form is a mistake or intentional.
b) ཆོང་ཅྱུས་འཁྱོན་+l|kʰɔː=tsu=i buːna] karma+jà: ɖampê: bak-ti 3PL=PL=GEN in.the.middle PN=too in.hand Tibetan.guitar carry-NF lû:jà: tâː-zêː ʃòː. melody send-PROG EX.PER

‘[Among them] Karma too, carrying a Tibetan guitar, is singing a song.’ (Richhi 120)

c) ག་ལུས་འཁྱོན་+|l̥aŋkor kʽalyː kʽalyː pˈja-ʒɛ̃ː 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) རུ་ོབ་བླ་པ་+|mínan=gi buː nānca [mitsʰo nānca, buː nānca]... 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) སེ་ཀ་+|gɛːka boloʔ ɲɛ̀ ʈʰi.

window beside bed

‘(There is) a bed beside a window.’ (nga’i ’gan 1)

b) འབྲས་ལྔོངས་+|ɖɛ ndʑõː nàŋ=lo áku l̥opo=tsu ɲuŋmûn=tsu mèː-kʰ’en be=co=la.

Sikkim inside=DAT uncle Lhopo=PL few=PL EX-NMLZ EQU.NE=AT=HON

‘[Within Sikkim], Lhopos are not few.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(5.143) a) འབྲས་ལྔོངས་+|dendzoː nānca=lo ʔku l̥opo=tsu ɲuŋmûn=tsu mèː-kʰ’en be=co=la.

Sikkim inside=DAT uncle Lhopo=PL few=PL EX-NMLZ EQU.NE=AT=HON

‘[Within Sikkim], Lhopos are not few.’ (KT discussion with TB)

b) འབྲས་ལྔོངས་+|jóloː ɲ̥uŋlo] lû=i keːda ɲenteʰi ɖampêː=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) ག་ལུས་+|önan=gi gjompö 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) \( kʰu \ kʰim(=gi) \ pʰiloʔ \ lō: \ do: \ du? \).
3SGM house(=GEN) outside stand stay EX.SEN
‘He is standing outside the house.’ (KN e)

(5.145) \( kʰu \ kʰim(=gi) \ paŋkʰa \ lō: \ do: \ du? \).
3SGM house(=GEN) outside stand stay EX.SEN
‘He is standing outside the house.’ (KN e)

5.6.3 Adverbs as adverbials
This section exemplifies how adverbs are used for expressing manner (§5.6.3.1), location (§5.6.3.2), time (§5.6.3.3), quantification (§5.6.3.4) and other meanings (§5.6.3.5).

5.6.3.1 Adverbs of manner
Adverbs of manner, which were introduced and listed in §3.5.2.1, are exemplified in (5.146-149).

(5.146) a) \( tʽato \ kʰõː \ ɲ \ ĩ̃́ː -po \ jámteilo \ to \ sà-zē: \ jò? \).
now 3PL two-COL together food eat-PROG EX.PER
‘Now the two of them are eating food together.’ (Richhi 20)

b) \( mí: \ dyŋkʰa \ jámteiʔ \ gju \ tʼop-o-dãː\ldots\)
human.GEN in.front.of together go receive-INF-CONJ
‘When getting (a chance) to go together in front of people...’ (NAB BLA 7)

(5.147) \( ódi \ tʰimjiː=tsu \ nànca \ zi-batsene \ tʰalamgi \ zi-ɛ\).
that law.document=PL inside look.HON-COND clearly see.HON-INF
‘If (one) looks inside those legal documents, (it) will be clearly seen there’ (CY interview)

(5.148) \( kʰu \ hatokʰa \ lā:bute=gi \ kjadō: \ nànca=le \ nànca \ dzy:-diki \)
3SGM suddenly elephant=GEN anus inside=ABL inside enter-NF
‘Suddenly he entered inside from within the elephant’s anus.’ (KT animal story)

Three adverbs are used for manners of sleeping:
As suggested by examples (5.146-149), adverbs of manner generally tend to occur close to the final verb, see (5.146b), (5.147) and (5.149). Temporal adverbs, on the other hand occur more frequently in clause-initial position or otherwise well before the verb. The manner adverb hatokʰa ‘suddenly’, which has a temporal nuance, is in (5.148) positioned quite far-away from the verb.

### 5.6.3.2 Locative adverbs
Locative adverbs typically occur in preverbal position (5.150) but may also be fronted if topical (5.151-152).

(5.150)  

\[
\text{p'ja-ca dakdok=lo säk'a ko: za: du?}.
\]

chicken-meat IDEO.NN ground throw set EX.SEN

‘Chicken meat has been thrown on the ground in small pieces, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

(5.151)  

\[
\text{t'ar>iŋ=lo t'uwa t'ô-po=le mû=i sêm lêp ga-ti...}
\]

far.away=DAT smoke see-2INF=ABL 3SGF=GEN mind very.much rejoice-NF

‘Seeing smoke far away, she became very joyful (and)…’ (rna-gsung 4)

(5.152)  

\[
\text{tarku=le ja: dzek-tsʰo-u=le làmm=ôna kʰim ôna}\phantom{233}
\]

TPN=ABL up climb-CMPL-2INF=ABL below.road there house there

EX.PER

‘Having come up from Tarku, there is a house there, there below the road.’ (KT discussion with TB)

Most postpositions which are relator nouns (for definition, see §3.6.8) can be independently used as locative adverbials, see (5.153), which shows that postpositions used as locative adverbs typically occur just before the verb.

(5.153)  

\[
\text{mû=i sêm lêp ga-ti màla? màla? ô:=lo p'ap.}
\]

3SGF=GEN mind very.much rejoice-NF fast fast down=DAT descend

‘Rejoicing in her mind very much, (she) came down very quickly.’ (rna-gsung 4)

b)  

\[
\text{jâteun t'â: sânge? gíablo do:-ti...}
\]

PN and PN at.the.back sit-NF

‘Lhachung and Sange, sitting in the back and... ’ (Richhi 51)

---

233 In written language and polished spoken language, the repetition of ôna 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) .Attribute: At night

\[
pʰi ru tʰam tʰam qa sà t mjõ.\]

at.night all food eat-NF finish

‘At night everyone has finished eating.’ (Richhi 4)

(5.155)  Aspect: today

\[
mù tʰarij dzum-mè:me jò, átà tʰa man-dou.\]

3SGF today smile-IDEO EX.PER always and NEG-similar

‘She is smily today, unlike usually.’ (Richhi 148)

(5.156)  Attribute: this year

\[
ŋà tʰuti tʰa ma-lep, nàpî di tʰa ni; nànîq\]

1SG this.year now NEG-arrive last.year=DEMPH turn two last.year

mèbbe, zo niq qa.

NEG.EX.NE two.years.ago AP

‘This year I didn’t go (there), last year two times, it wasn’t last year, it’s two years ago, I think.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The different placing of the temporal adverbials in (5.157) and (5.158) is conditioned by topicality.
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)

‘He fell and hit his head quite badly yesterday, they say.’ (Richhi 6)

In (5.158), the topic (kʰu ‘he’) that has arisen from the previous context is fronted and the time adverbial dāː occurs within the comment/focus part which provides new information about the topic. In (5.157), on the other hand, the topic established by the previous context is p’usim ‘younger sister’ and the the proposition (5.157) draws attention to what happened the previous day in relation to the younger sister.

The postpositions njénlọ/njénlọ ‘before’ and gjablo/gjabl ‘behind; after’ are also used as temporal adverbs, see (5.159). Whereas njénlọ/njénlọ is temporal, gjablo/gjabl can also mark location, see (5.153b) above.

Temporal adverbs t’aruy ŋaːɗe ‘again, yet, still’ and te:ra ŋeː ‘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>lép(t)</td>
<td>‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kep, kepo</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mànpu, mampo</td>
<td>‘much, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse'dé</td>
<td>‘considerably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mants'ö?</td>
<td>‘to great degree, more (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niûngs'ö?</td>
<td>‘little, less (than)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éy'cy</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éy'tey</td>
<td>‘a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éry</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>niûngjuŋ</td>
<td>‘little, few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse:dze</td>
<td>‘at all’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsâ()lê</td>
<td>‘at all, never’ (+negation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekki</td>
<td>‘at all, anyhow’ (+negation) (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.3.5 Verb-modifying adjectives

Adjectives, which are summarized in Table 5.5 (see also §3.5.3.5), modify the subject or the whole clause. Each of the forms are exemplified after the table.

Table 5.5. Verb-modifying adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nge</td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gê</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>‘nice’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê</td>
<td>‘nice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6.3.6 Verb-modifying other modifiers

Other modifiers, which are summarized in Table 5.6 (see also §3.5.3.6), modify the verb or the whole clause. Each of the forms are exemplified after the table.

Table 5.6. Verb-modifying other modifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lép(t)</td>
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<td>bekki</td>
<td>‘at all, anyhow’ (+negation) (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

234 Also pronounced niûngs'ö?
The quantitative adverb **mâŋtsʰo?** ‘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) **mâŋtsʰo?** eːmoː=gi nàtsʰa tʰon-eː? iː odi gãː.

`there was a great deal of measles at that time.' (PED life story)

b) kʰõː ɲàmpu ka deː-po màŋtsø?

`...who stays with him/her most/more.' (YR boys’ and girls’ clothing)

c) tʽãːpu=g i tʽytsʰøː =lɛ tʽinsãː mítsʰo=gi jø̀-po long.ago=GEN time=ABL nowadays crowd(s) great.degree EX-2INF be?.

‘Nowadays there are more people than in the earlier times.’ (KUN e)
(5.171) kintsöː ɕýry
corn a.bit
‘a little bit of corn’ (PL interview)

(5.172) kale? átsi tsʰata?
difficulty a.bit hot
‘a bit difficulty’ (TB discussion with KT)

(5.173) tʼato ñàt ɕaʔ átsaʔ tʰaʔ.
now 1PL a.bit hurry EX.PER
‘Now we are in a bit of a hurry’ (DB day trip)

(5.174) ñàt ɕaʔ ódi gãː sà-ɕɛʔ lɛ́p nuŋnuŋ tʰop-ɛː.
1PL that time eat-INF very little receive-NPST.PER
‘At that time we got very little to eat.’ (PED life story)

Three adverbs tee: ɕ, isa:le ɕñaː and bekki ɕñaː occur with a negated verb and emphasize
the fact that the action denoted by the verb was not done ‘at all’.

(5.175) lã̃ː tʰu=pʼi tee: man-za-wa do: du-ke.
bull other=DEMPH fodder at.all NEG-eat-CIRC stay EX.SEN-IN
‘The other bull stayed without eating any fodder.’ (TB bull story)

(5.176) te di ñatea? tsəːle=ra tʰon mi-siʔ?
then this 1PL at.all=DEMPH happen NEG-be.possible
‘It is definitely not possible for us to make it happen.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(5.177) ñatea? ódi tsʰoː ta-wo tʰ-me. bekki ma-ɲe?.
that search look-2INF EQU.PER-?? at.all NEG-find
‘I searched it (but) did not find it anyhow.’ (KUN e)

The initial syllable of teʰa:le ɕñaː ‘all’ also occurs in a verb-looking construction,
see (5.178). The verb-looking teʰa: is tentatively glossed as ‘be all’

---

235 This clause from Lachung has two peculiarities. The first is the verbal ending -me, which does not occur in
my data elsewhere (hence the gloss ??) and which was reported by KUN to convey that the sentence is not complete.
The form resembles Dzongkha “exophoric copula” imme (Watters 2018: 338, 442). The second peculiarity is the word ɲeʔ ‘find’ (WT ñṛṇed ‘gain, find’) instead of which tʰop ‘find’ is used elsewhere in
my data.
The construction (dàː) teʰaː:-ti can co-occur with additional quantification:

(5.179) ཨོན་ (དང་) ཆ སྲི་ tʽep (tʽāː) teʰaː:-ti tʰamtee?
book (and) be.all-NF all
‘all the books entirely’ (KN e)

5.6.3.5 Other adverbs

Other adverbs include the epistemic adverbs nè:mu(ra) མནེ་མུ་(ר) ‘really’ (5.180), mènteno/mènteno no tʰorɑː tʰɛnɛʔ ‘perhaps, maybe’ (5.181) and mènn/mènni236 མེ་ ‘perhaps, maybe’ (5.182).

(5.180) རུ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་ འོག་ སྔར་ ནེས་ སྐྱེི་ གནང་ག
l̥ ɛŋgɛʔ nɛ̃ːmura tʰorâː te’em-bo nāŋ-ga?
PRN.HON really tomorrow come.HON-2INF do.HON-PQ
‘Are you really coming tomorrow?’ (TB e)

(5.181) རུ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་ འོག་ སྔར་ དགུ་ དགུ་ སྐྱེི་ གནང་ག
k’uṭeʔa? mènteno tʰorâː jima k’uṭeʔa? endzini=r=jā: tʰon
2PL perhaps tomorrow day 2PL engineer(Eng.)=too become ő:-to.
FUT.UNC-PROB
‘You will perhaps in the coming days become engineers too.’ (KL BLA 12)

(5.182) རུ་མ་ཐམས་ཅད་ འོག་ སྔར་ དགུ་ དགུ་ སྐྱེི་ གནང་ག
mènni tʰorâː ȵā mərtam giu ő:-to.
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 =rāː to form the epistemic adverb t’onlorāː ‘really, truly’, see (5.183):

(5.183) ཟོན་ལོ། རེ། བདེ། དགུ་ དགུ་ སྐྱེི་ གནང་ག
t’onlo=rāː nātei l’eːnámko jō:-patee ne...
real=AENPH 1PL.GEN fate EX-COND
‘Really, if it is our fate...’ (Richhi 113)

The restrictive adverb teiku/teku (ནོ་ཁུ་) ‘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 mènni 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[hem] 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ŋà ɕ ʔ</td>
<td>ŋàteʔ ɕ ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p low-level</td>
<td>teʔa ʐ ʔ</td>
<td>(teʔa:tsu ʐ ʔ) k‘uteʔ ʐ ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-level</td>
<td>ŋa: ʑ ʔ</td>
<td>ŋa:tsu ʑ ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>l̥ ɛ ŋg ɛʔ l̥ ɛ ŋg ɛʔ</td>
<td>l̥ ɛ ŋg ɛʔ l̥ ɛ ŋg ɛʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p ordinary</td>
<td>kʰu ʔ</td>
<td>kʰo: ɕ ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>mū/mø ʔ</td>
<td>kʰo: ɕ ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>kʰo: ɕ ʔ</td>
<td>kʰo: l̥ ɛ ŋg ɛʔ ɕ ʔ l̥ ɛ ŋg ɛʔ</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 ŋàteʔ, refer to (6.2) and (6.3) respectively.

(6.1) ཡིད་པ’ja ི་ ཀེས་པྔོ་ འཛོམ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ།

‘Therefore I could not study.’ (PED life story)

(6.2) རང་ཁ་ནུབ་ལྔོ་ བོད་ བསྐོར་སྔོད་པའི་སང་…

‘If we (incl.) gather here as many people…’ (NT BLA 6)

(6.3) ལྷ་ རྐྱབས་རྒྱུ་ བསྐོར་ རྐྱབས་ སང་…

‘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 *teʰo?* is used with close friends, social inferiors and those one despises. The mid-level *råː*, 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).²³⁷ 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.²³⁸

The three levels of address in second person singular are illustrated in (6.4–6). Note that in examples (6.5) and (6.6), taken from a Denjongke vocabulary cum phrase book (the data there conforms to spoken data), *lengeʔ* ‘you (hon./honorific pronoun)’ occurs with the honorific noun *tsʰen* ‘name (hon.)’ whereas *råː* ‘you’ is accompanied by the ordinary noun *mìŋ* ‘name’.

(6.4) མིན་ འར་ བོ?  
*teʰo? mìŋ kʽar/kʽan bo?*  
2SG.L. name what EQU.NE.Q  
‘What’s your name?’

(6.5) རང་གི་ འར་ བོ?  
*raŋ=gi mìŋ kʽan bo?*  
2SG.M=GEN name what EQU.NE.Q  
‘What is your name?’ (JWD book p. 115)

(6.6) བོ སྲིད་ རྣམ་ བཟང་ དྲགས་ ཡོད་པ་ སྐད་  
*lengeʔ=ki tsʰen=lo kʽan cii-bo nāː-do=la?*  
PRN.HON=GEN name.HON=DAT what.say.HUM-2INF do.HON-IPFV=HON  
‘What is your name?’ (JWD book p. 115)

Ordinary level second person plural is *kʼutea?*, as in (6.7). The honorific pronoun *lengeʔ* is the default choice in formal situations, see (6.8). The mid-level *råː* can also be pluralized, although this use is rare in my data. Note that (6.9) combines the use of *råː=tsu* and *lengeʔ=tsu*. The use of *lengeʔ=tsu* in (6.9) seems to be a general reference to a group of individuals.

(6.7) བོ སྲིད་ རྣམ་ བཟང་ དྲགས་ ཡོད་པ་ སྐད་  
*kʼutea=lo sampo zâːta? jâ-patee(me)…*  
2PL=DAT intention good EX-COND  
‘If you have good intentions…’ (SGD wedding customs)

---

²³⁷ People from the villages of Lachen and Lachung in North Sikkim are reported to have a more direct way of speaking called *kʼari? kʼatu?* ‘direct speech’ which is famous for the lack of honorifics. Lachenpas and Lachungpas may address even strangers by *teʰo?*, 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.
(6.8) སྐད་ འདེབ་ རྔོམ་སི་ཀི་ ད་ལྟྔོ་ སྔོབ་དཔྔོན་ ལན་རྒྱས་ཀི་ ཕག་ལས་ ག་ཚོད་ བཞེས་ ཡྔོད་མཁན་ སྦད།

ndi ke:=di dep tson-diki t’ato lópon
1PL.GEN language=DEMPH like.that compose-NF now teacher

lenge:=gi te’a:le? k’adzo? ze: jà:-k’en be?,
PRN.HON=AGT work.HON how.much eat/obtain.HON EX-NMLZ EQU.NE

in-ga:la.
EQU.PER-PQ=HON
‘Making compositions in our language like that, you teachers have done so much work, haven’t you.’ (RD BLA 9)

(6.9) ཁུ་ འདི་ ད་ མི་ རྫིགས་དྲགས་ སྦད།

k’ut k’u=di t’a mí dzik’ta? be?,
3SGM=DEMPH now person excellent EQU.NE
‘He is a great guy.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(6.10) གུ་ཅག་ ལན་རྒྱས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ གྔོང་པུ་ མཁེན་བའི་ བདག་ཀུ་ སྦད།

k’ut k’u=di t’a mí dzik’ta? be?,
3SGM=DEMPH now person excellent EQU.NE
‘He is a great guy.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The plurality of lenge? can be made explicit by adding the plural marker =tsu, lenge:=tsu ‘you (pl.)’:

(6.11) གུ་ཅག་ ལན་རྒྱས་ ཐུགས་བསམ་ མངའ་ དགྔོས་པྔོ་ གལ་ཆེ།

áku rã̃́ː=tsu dem lenge:=tsu=gi t’u:sam yá:
paternal.uncle 2SG.M=PL like.that PRN.HON=PL=AGT thought.HON have.HON
be.needed-2INF important
‘Uncle, it is important that individuals like you have (this) thought.’ (sbar-phung ling-dam ‘gro-lis 92)

The ordinary level k’utea? may be combined with lenge? into the honorific second person plural k’utea? lenge?:

(6.12) ཆུ་ འདི་ ད་ མི་ རྫིགས་དྲགས་ སྦད།

k’utea? lenge? t’untee? k’â:pu k’em-bo: daku be?,
you PRN.HON all entire know.HON-2INF:GEN owner EQU.NE
‘All of you are possessors of (this) knowledge.’(NT BLA7)

The third person singular ordinary pronouns are k’u for males and mú/mò for females:
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) དང་པུ་ ཨིན་ནྔོ་ བེ་ བྔོ་ནྔོ་ཙ་ན་ རྒྱ་གར་ལས་ བྔོད་ལྔོ་ བྔོན་བའི་ སང་ ཁྔོང་ཏྔོ་ རླུང་ སྒྲུབ་སྟི་ བྔོན་བྔོ་ལྔོ།
long.ago EQU-COND PN India=ABL Tibet=DAT come.HON-2INF time
kʰõː =to དྲིན་དུད་ཤེས་མཁན་སྦད་ལགས།
3SG.HON=CEMPH air achieve-NF come.HON-2INF=REP
‘If it’s the ancient times (we consider), when Berocana came from India to Tibet, he came through air, it is said.’ (KL BB discussion)

(6.15) ད་ལྟྔོ་ ང་ཅག་ ཁྔོང་ལྔོ་ ག་ལྟེབ་
‘Now we somehow look after them (parents).’ (PED life story)

(6.16) kʰõː =tsu=lo nepali kjap-ɛʔ dakampu be?
3PL=PL=DAT Nepali speak-INF easy EQU.NE
‘It is easier (lit. easy) for them to speak Nepali.’ (RL interview)

In addition to the plural marker =tsu, another way to make plurality of kʰõː explicit is to add a modifier to the pronoun, e.g. kʰõː tʰamtɕɛʔ ‘they all’, kʰõː kʰɛːlɛ ‘they all’, kʰõː ɲím(pu) ‘the two of them’, kʰõː súmpo ‘the three of them’.

As noted above, the pronoun l̥ɛŋɡɛʔ may have either second person singular or plural meaning. In addition, l̥ɛŋɡɛʔ is used in honorific references to the third person plural, following a noun or a pronoun with third person referent:

(6.17) དང་ཀིས་ ཞུ་ཞུ་བྔོ་ བཀའ་མྔོལ་ འདི་ ཁྔོང་ ལན་རྒྱས་ལྔོ་ ད་ ཐུགས་ཕན་ གསྔོལ་བ་ཅེ་ནེ་
‘If what I have to say offers some benefit to them…’ (CY interview)

(6.18) ང་ཅའི་ བམ་ ལན་རྒྱས་ཙུ་ ལྔོག་སྟི་ དབིན་ཇི་ མི་ཤེས་མཁན་སྦད་ལགས།
‘Our lamas again do not know English.’ (YR canteen video)

In addition to independent uses, personal pronouns may be used as appositional modifiers of nouns, see §4.1.2.4.1.

### 6.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

It was shown above that 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)  kʼeːteʔa=di  ray=gi  ke=:di  go  pêne eé:
important=DEMPH  own=GEN  language=DEMPH  beginning  first  know
be.needed=NMLZ  EQU.NE
‘The important (thing is) that one has to know one’s own language at first.’ (KL BLA 12)

(6.20)  yà:  tʼep  di=gi  dzó =di  yà=ray=gi  tʰaktee:-po  ŋ.
I.AGT  book  this=GEN  price=DEMPH  1SG=REFL  AGT  decide-2INF  EQU.PER
‘I decided the price for that book by myself.’ (KL BLA 12)

(6.21)  òdì  mimà:  kʰòː=rãː:  ma-eː:-b-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)  tʼa  teʔ=ray=gi=rãː:  lêm  pʼja-ti  sámlo  t’à:
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 rãːm=gi=rãː=lo  pʼja-ti  sámlo  t’à:
oneself=GEN  student  EQU.NE=QUO
‘(He) is his own student.’ (AB kitchen discussion)

(6.24)  rōːmen=gi  lō(p)tuɔ?  beː=s.
oneself=GEN  student  EQU.NE=QUO
‘(He) is his own student.’ (AB kitchen discussion)

1PL  all  1PL  oneself=DAT  loving  do-NPST.PER
‘All of us, we love ourselves.’ (KN e)

---

239 Also goː (WD གོ) and rin/rĩː (WD རིན་) are used for referring to ‘price’. All speakers do not recognize the word dzö.
Another reflexive form, which may be characterized as distributive because it encompasses all members in a group, is \( \text{rā:raː :soso} \) ‘each one themselves’:

\[
\text{ŋàt} \text{ɕ} \text{a} \text{ʔ}} \text{r}^\text{āː} \text{r}^\text{āː} \text{so}^\text{so}^\text{so} \ (6.26) \quad \text{‘Are we to blame each one ourselves?’ (KN, CY interview)}
\]

The reflexive \( =\text{rā:} =\text{ra} \) 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{teiː=ki} \text{teiː(=}lo) )</td>
<td>‘one to another’ (lit. ‘one to one’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{teiː=ki} \text{zen(=}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 \( \text{teiː=ki teiː(=}lo) \) \[one=AGT one(=DAT)] ‘one to another, (to) each other’ (lit. ‘one to one’), see (6.27)

\[
\text{kʰõː} \text{ɲim-po} \text{ t’a } \text{ôdi} \text{ njimtsʰe te} \text{ t’a}, \text{ŋàtei} \text{ im-batsene} \text{ t’a} \quad \text{3PL two-COL now that date then now 1PL GEN EQU-COND now} \\
\text{teiː=ki tei?} \text{ zatsʰā.} \text{ tʰem-bo} \text{ be?} \text{ t’a.} \quad \text{one=AGT one married.couple become-2INF EQU.NE now} \\
‘The two of them, on that day, when it comes to us (=our tradition), become each other’s spouses.’ (SGD wedding customs)
\]

The second one, \( \text{teiki zen=}lo \) \[one=AGT other=DAT] ‘one (to) another’, which occurs in the novel Richhi instead of the first construction. The form \( \text{teiki zen=}lo \) is more analogous to English and Nepali constructions, but I have not come across it elsewhere.

\[
\text{teiː=ki zen=}lo \text{ pʰembo} \text{ p’ja-ee? giw} \text{ jö? } \text{i.} \quad \text{one=AGT other=DAT help do-INF merit.GEN word EQU.PER} \\
‘Helping one another is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)
\]

The third reciprocal pronoun is \( \text{pʰentsyː} \) \[one=AGT other=DAT] ‘(to) each other’, which in (6.29) is preceded by the functionally analogous use of the demonstratives \( \text{pʰate tsʰute} \) \[one=AGT other=DAT] ‘thither hither’.

\(^{240}\) The novel Richhi is the only source where I have come across the construction \( \text{teiː=ki zen=}lo \) instead of \( \text{teiː=ki teiː(=}lo) \). 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 \( \text{teiː=ki zen=}lo \), i.e. Nepali \( \text{ek arkaa-lai} \) \[one other=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>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰamtɕɛʔ</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛːle (k’ā:pu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teʰa:le (k’ā:pu)</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzanji</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’oːm</td>
<td>‘all, everyone’ (Lachung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mànteʰiːcoʔ</td>
<td>‘most’ (includes the adjectival superlative ending -coʔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mànteʰiːtaʔ</td>
<td>‘most’ (includes the adjectival ending -taʔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’aːceʔ</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>kaːkuteiʔ</td>
<td>‘a few, some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teiːni</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 tʰamtɕɛʔ and kʰɛːle, 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 dzanji and k’oːm are from Lachung.

The independent uses of indefinite pronouns, except for teʰa:le, k’oːm and mànṭeʰiːtaʔ (of which I have only noun-modifying examples), are below illustrated in the same order that they occur in Table 6.3.

(6.30) tʰamtɕɛʔ=ki odem=tei?  noːsam tɔːː-botce  sê-na
     all=AGT  like.that=INDF  thought  send-COND  say-COND
     ‘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’anji rather than dzanji.
(6.31) language=DEMPH significance everyone entirely though send-NF  
‘…everyone thinking about the significance of (our) language…’ (KL BLA 12)

Note that in (6.32) màŋtʰiɕo is followed by an appositional, explanatory noun. As a modifier màŋtʰiɕo would typically follow the noun.

(6.32) most=DEMPH Sikkim inside=GEN legend=PL=DEMPH  
‘Most of (them), legends within Sikkim…’ (SGD wedding customs)

(6.33) like.that=INDF=even some=AGT say.HUM-PROG.AP=HON  
‘Some (people) were even saying like that.’ (CY interview)

(6.34) at that time, only some, because they were doing recitation at monasteries, seemed to be a bit exempted (from labour duty) by the thikadar-rulers.’ (CY interview)

(6.35) You and I have to, by any means, tell a story each.’ (PAD bet story)

(6.36) If (you) pluck five-six, a few (oranges), it will suffice.’ (KN e)

(6.37) Bhaila opens the (box of) biscuits and taking a few says to the mother:’ (Richhi 26)
(6.38)  The side a.few INF word that use do-2INF

TPN side a.few a.few=INDF AGT 1SG

I have heard a few people around Tashiding use that word.’ (KN e)

(6.39)  TPN side a.few a.few=INDF AGT 1SG

Some call it (=rice kernel) [rɛ], others call it [bja].’ (PL interview)

(6.40)  TPN side a.few a.few=INDF AGT 1SG

The price of that food was hundred hundred each, a hundred rupees per one (portion of)

food each=DAT rupee hundred each EQU.

‘The price of that food was hundred hundred each, a hundred rupees per one (portion of)

food each=DAT rupee hundred each EQU.

A phonologically reduced form of the question k’an ínam (reading-style pronunciation)/k’an núm (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 núm > k’ajem > k’aem > k’em.

(6.41)  a)  TPN side a.few a.few=INDF AGT 1SG

Murai, (“puffed rice” in Nepali) we call that, whatever, /bajoʔ/.’ (PL interview)

b)  TPN side a.few a.few=INDF AGT 1SG

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 ĭ̃ː-ruŋ ‘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 sàJo རྡོ་ཁྲིལ་.
‘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>Concessive Equative</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʽan ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽan (=tɕiʔtʰɛm)</td>
<td>‘whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽar(=jãː) ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽar(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽadi ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽadi</td>
<td>‘whichever, whoever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>‘ whoever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nâm(lo) ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>nâm(lo)</td>
<td>‘whenever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽana ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽana</td>
<td>‘wherever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽatem ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽatem</td>
<td>‘what ever kind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽatɛ(m) ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽatɛ(m)</td>
<td>‘what ever kind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽatɛ(pʽjati) ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽatɛ(pʽjati)</td>
<td>‘however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽambja ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽambja</td>
<td>‘for whatever reason (“whyever”)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽadzø ĩ̃́ːruŋ</td>
<td>kʽadzø</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>Concessive Equative</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʽan(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽan(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anything (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽamo(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽamo(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anything (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽadi(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽadi(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘any(one) (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka(=jãː)</td>
<td>ka(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anyone (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nâm(lo)(=jãː)</td>
<td>nâm(lo)(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘ever (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽana(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽana(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anywhere (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽatem(m/p)(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽatem(m/p)</td>
<td>‘any kind (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽate pʽjati=jãː</td>
<td>kʽate pʽjati=jãː</td>
<td>‘anyhow (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽan pʽjati=jãː</td>
<td>kʽan pʽjati=jãː</td>
<td>‘for any reason (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽadzø(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽadzø(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘any number of (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽan pʽjati(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽan pʽjati(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘any number of (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽare(=jãː)</td>
<td>kʽare(=jãː)</td>
<td>‘anything (+neg)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As suggested by Table 6.4 and Table 6.5, the concessive form ĩ̃́ːruŋ 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 kʽare also participates in the affirmative construction kʽare ĩ̃́ːruŋ ‘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) kʽan ĩ̃́ːruŋ=tɕiʔtʰɛm-bateene
what EQU-COND=INDF happen-COND
‘whatever (might) happen(s)’ (PED life story)

243 This form also occurs as kʽang-rung, with pronunciation [kʽaruŋ].
244 The shorter form kʽambja=jãː was deemed infelicitous by consultant KN. The clitic =jãː 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:

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)

245 WD for this word is adopted from Dokhangba (2001). Other WD forms I have been suggested are མི་ཅི་ mi-ci, མི་ཙུས་ mi-tsus and མི་ཙུ་ mi-tsu. The form from Dokhangba (2001) is chosen for use here because it corresponds most clearly with the spoken output mýtsyʔ.

246 k’an=ja: could also be used here instead of k’an=jãː (KUN).

247 The mere question word in conjunction with a negated verb here expresses the meaning ‘anywhere’. However, as suggested by consultant KUN’s desire to correct this clause by adding the clitic =jãː; the fuller form k’an=ja: is probably more frequent.
(6.49) ཞེས་་ཁྱད་པའི་ཐའ་ཅིག་ི་ོ་ི
i’izā: k’adj=jā: k’anđe: làp mi-tsʰu?
but which.one=even anything say NEG-be.able.to
‘But anyone was not able to say anything.’ (Richhi 53)

(6.50) རོ་སོང་བ་བ་དེ་དང་རུལ་བཙོ།
sìntē: k’anđeː=jā: ma-sé go?248
animal any=even NEG-kill be.needed
‘One mustn’t kill any animal.’ (YR canteen video)

(6.51) a) ཞེས་་ཁྱད་པའི་ཐའ་ཅིག་ི་ོ་ི
dem k’okap nātea? nām-jā: mi-tʰo(p)=pe.
such opportunity IPL when-even NEG-receive=EQU.NE
“We will never get such an opportunity.’ (KN e)

b) རོ་སོང་བ་དེ་དང་རུལ་བཙོ།
nātea? p’am=sa p’otso=lo mālep tā: kjoṭa? nām=lo=jā:
1PL parent=PL child=DAT bad and crooked when=DAT=even
nō:sa:m mi-tā:. thought NEG-send
‘We parent do not ever plan bad and crooked (things) for (their) children.’ (Richhi 154)

(6.52) རོ་སོང་བ་དེ་དང་རུལ་བཙོ།
mi k’atem=jā: nim teiː=na siliguri ʃep mi-tsʰu?.
human what.kind=even day one=LOC TPN arrive NEG-be.able.to
‘Any kind of man cannot arrive in Siliguri (by walking) in one day.’ (KN e)

(6.53) རོ་སོང་བ་དེ་དང་རུལ་བཙོ།
ņēː=tsaː: tʂ’alum k’adz=jā: mè?.
1SG.GEN=at orange how.many=even NEG.EX.PER
‘I do not not have any number of oranges.’ (KN e)

(6.54) རོ་སོང་བ་དེ་དང་རུལ་བཙོ།
di k’an p’ja-ti=jā: p’ja mi-tsʰu?.
this what do-NF=even do NEG-be.able.to
‘It cannot be done for any reason.’ (KN e)

The general interrogative k’a: ‘what, where, why’ is used as a component of the following expressions which appear to have lexicalized:

(6.55) k’a:-jo? ‘whatever (there is)’ (lit. what-EX.PER)
k’a:-tʰop ‘wherever’ (lit. where-find)
k’a-sa-k’a=lo ‘wherever’ (lit. what-ground-where=DAT)

248 k’an=jā: and k’an ˈɾun could here replace k’anđeː=jā: (KUN).
These three words are illustrated below. Note that in the written Denjongke sources these expressions are written as one word.

(6.56) བཙོག་ཀྔོ་ ག་ཡྔོད་ ཆུ་ གཡུར་ཙུའི་ན་ རླུགས
tsoko  kʼa:-joʔ  teʰh-juːː=tsu=na  lúk-o=le
carbage what-EX.PER water-canal=PL=LOC pour-2INF=ABL
‘when whatever garbage is poured into water canals...’ (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.57) ་བག་ཁིམ་ ག་ཐྔོབ་ བཟྔོ།
kjak-kʰim  kʼa:-tʰop  zo.
faeces-house what-find make
‘Toilets are built wherever (without consideration).’ (Class 8 textbook 23)

(6.58) ག་ས་ག་ལྔོ་ འགྱུ་རུང་ར་
kʼasakʼalo  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>ná:</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰou, pʰi-</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jōu, ji-</td>
<td>‘up (there)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōu, 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><em>dodi</em> ‘this right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em>-</td>
<td>proximal</td>
<td><em>di</em> ‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ó</em>-</td>
<td>distal</td>
<td><em>ódi</em> ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nà:</em></td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td><em>nà=di</em> ‘the one here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pʰou, pʰi</em>-</td>
<td>‘over there’</td>
<td><em>pʰou=di, pʰidi</em> ‘that over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jòu, jì</em>-</td>
<td>‘up (there)’</td>
<td><em>jòdi, jìdi</em> ‘that up there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mòu, mì</em>-</td>
<td>‘down (there)’</td>
<td><em>mòdi, mìdi</em> ‘that down there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pʰa(ː)</em></td>
<td>‘further, on the other side’</td>
<td><em>pʰaː=di</em> ‘the one thither/further’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsʰu(ː)</em></td>
<td>‘closer, on this side’</td>
<td><em>tsʰuː=di</em> ‘that closer/hither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zen</em></td>
<td>‘other’</td>
<td><em>zen=di</em> ‘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) ཚིག་མ་ དེ་ཟང་ན་འབྲས་ལོངས་ན་འོང་མཁན་ཙུ་ལོ་ཨྔོ་འདི་སྦད་ལགས།

*‘But those who came to Sikkim had that document.’ (CY interview)*

(6.60) མོ་གཤེགས་ ཡོད་སེ།

*tsʰiktɕɛʔ ódi=na*  
poem that=LOC  
‘…in that poem…’ (KL BLA 12)

(6.61) ཡོདི་ ཡོད་ དེ་ཟང་  རྫོང་  དཔོ་  ལོང སུ་  འབྲས་ བོད་ བོད་

*ódi k’e:teʰitaʔ be*.  
that important EQU.NE  
‘That is important.’ (KL BLA 12)
Some of the above-mentioned deictic forms are exemplified in (6.62-6.71).

(6.62) 

\[ \text{dodi=di} \quad \text{potso=tsu ne:sa.} \]

dodi=di  potso=tsu ne:sa.
this.right=DEMPH child=PL sleep-place
‘This right here (is) the children’s sleeping place.’ (PD altar room video)

(6.63) 

\[ \text{te p'ou=le k} \text{iap dik'a=le} \quad \text{lên} \quad \text{p' in go:-k'b'}. \]

so over.there=ABL do here=ABL reply give be.necessary-NMLZ
‘So (the boy) sings from over there (and) from here (the girl) has to reply.’ (RS intro to duetto)

(6.64) 

\[ \text{r'-re} \quad \text{òk'a=le}, \quad \text{tei? dik'a=le gjom-da} \]

one-one there=ABL one here=ABL gather-CONJ
‘When gathering one from there and one from here’ (KT e)

Example (6.65) illustrates the locative demonstrative nà(kʰalo) ‘here’. Example (a) has bare nà:, whereas in (b) and (c) the form is complemented by two additional locative elements to form nàkʰalo. Example (c) is interesting in that the deictic form nàkʰalo allows a possessor as a genitive modifier, a construction that in English requires a noun such as *place* instead of the deictic *here* (*‘in the old lady’s here’ > ‘old lady’s place’).*

(6.65) a) 

\[ \text{nà: bak eò: nà} \]

here carry come TAG.ASR
‘Bring (it) here, eh.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

b) 

\[ \text{nàkʰa=lo k'ambja òm-bo?} \]

here=DAT why come-2INF
‘Why did you come here? ’(rna-gsung 6)

c) 

\[ \text{ŋà t’ariŋ ána}^{249} = \text{gi nàkʰa=lo=rã: do:-ni}. \]

1SG today old.lady=GEN here=DAT=DEMPH stay-3INF
‘Today I will indeed stay in the grandmother’s (=your) place.’ (rna-gsung 7)

In addition to taking a modifier, nà: itself can function as a modifier meaning ‘the one here’, as shown in (6.66):

(6.66) 

\[ \text{karma, teʰo? [nà: óni=lo] jà:=tsa:=sã: ke: p’in lo.} \]

PN 2SG.L here small.child=DAT up=by=until bring give TAG.Q
‘Karma, you take this child here all the way up, okay.’ (Richhi 40)

---

249 In kinship terms, 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) \[ \text{ཕྔོ་འདི་} \quad \text{ɕíŋ} \quad \text{pʰidi} \quad \text{áru} \]
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) \[ \text{jì} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{ɛ} \quad \text{m} \quad \text{símt} \quad \text{ɕɛ̃}ː=t \quad \text{ɕi} \quad \text{ʔ} \quad \text{du-k} \quad \text{ɛ} \quad \text{ʔ} \quad \text{du}=ɕ. \]
up.there like.that animal=INDF EX.SEN=IN

‘Up there, there is some type of an animal.’ (UU Deer story)

(6.69) \[ \text{ན་ནིང་} \quad \text{གཞྔོ་ནིང་} \quad \text{ཏེ} \quad \text{བྔོའི} \quad \text{ན་} \quad \text{གྲོ་} \quad \text{ང་} \quad \text{སུང་} \quad \text{ཤྔོ} \mid \text{mò} \quad \text{ː} \quad \text{mou}=lo \quad \text{g} \quad \text{jompo} \quad \text{tʽãː} \quad \text{lḁ} \quad \text{lh} \quad \text{ã} \quad \text{ː} \quad \text{só} \quad \text{ʔ} \quad \text{k} \quad \text{ɛ} \quad \text{ː} \quad \text{po} \quad \text{du}=ɕ. \]
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)

(6.70) \[ \text{kisa} \quad \text{tɕi-kʰa}=lo, \text{ɲɛ̀ sa} \quad \text{ʑɛŋkʰa}=lo. \]
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>Proadverb</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( d_{dem} )</td>
<td>like this right here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( d_{de, dem, dep} )</td>
<td>proximal, cataphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( õd_{de, õdem, õdep} )</td>
<td>distal, anaphoric, ‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘such’</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 *di* in (6.74).

(6.74) མེ་བོ་ཙོ་ཁས་བོ་དེ་ཤར་ཤོས་ཤར་མི་བོ་ཤོས་ཉི།

kʰøː di=ǰàː: säng-ze. dzendzö: nānje a lopo miri=tṣu=lo
3SG.HON this=even say:HON-PST Sikkim within Lhopo people=PL=DAT
jòː= kʰøː: kalte a keː=di t'amteː=le dźik-coʔ beʔ.
EX.PER-NMLZ culture(Eng.) language=DEPMH all=ABL excellent-SUP EQU.NE
‘He also said like this: The language and culture that the Lhopo people have is the most excellent in Sikkim.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Denjongke has further two demonstrative roots, *tsʰu(ː)* ‘closer to the speaker, towards the speaker, hither’ and *pʰa(:)* ‘(further) away from the speaker, thither’, which express both location and direction. They are often combined as *pʰaːtsʰuː* or *pʰatɛtsʰutɛ* ‘hither and thither, here and there’, see (6.29) above. The demonstratives *tsʰu(ː)* and *pʰa(:)* do not have separate forms which refer to objects/persons. Genitival modifying constructions are used instead, e.g. *tsʰuː=le=gi jüku* [closer.to.the.speaker=ABL=GEN pen] ‘the pen that is closer (to me/us)’.

6.5 Summary remarks

This chapter discussed deixis and indirect reference in Denjongke. It was shown that second person pronouns exhibit a three-way distinction in politeness (ordinary vs. mid-level vs. honorific), while third person pronouns have a two-way distinction (ordinary vs. honorific). The difference between masculine and feminine ordinary 3rd person singular forms is neutralized in the honorific register. A typologically interesting pronominal feature was seen to be the fact that Denjongke, unlike many Tibetic languages, does not make a clusivity (exclusive vs. inclusive) distinction in first person plural pronouns.

The section on indefinite reference showed that Denjongke uses question words to express affirmative concepts such as ‘whatever’ and ‘whoever’ and negated concepts such as ‘nothing/not anything’, no one/not anyone’. In the first case (affirmative), the question word is accompanied by a concessive form of the equative copula. In the second case (negated), the question word is accompanied by the clitic *=ǰàː* ‘even’ and a negated verb.

This chapter also introduced an array of demonstratives which refer to objects, places, directions, amounts, manners and qualities. An interesting feature was shown to be the existence of two proximal forms, the emphatically deictic *dodi* ‘this right here’ and the less emphatically deictic *di* ‘this’.
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 differing responses from linguists. Lapolla and Tournadre (2014: 241) broaden the definition of evidentiality in order to subsume the Lhasa Tibetan category egophoric within the redefined definition of evidentiality. DeLancey (2018), on the other hand, specifically states that “[t]he Tibetic Egophoric category is not part of the evidential system”. Gawne (2013: 152) prefers the term “modality” to “evidentiality” as a cover term for copula distinctions in Yolmo in order to accommodate ego copulas within the same general descriptive category with other copulas. All of the above-mentioned scholars seem to agree that the definition of evidentiality as being simply concerned with information source is not applicable to the category ego(phoric)/personal in Tibetic languages.

Because the copulas function as a system and therefore receive part of their meaning in relation to other copulas, I find it useful to refer to all the copula categories with the same general term. For this pragmatic reason, I here adopt Lapolla and Tournadre’s (2014: 240) definition of evidentiality as “the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy”. This definition subsumes within evidentiality the category ego(phoric)/personal.

### 7.2 Simple copulas

Simple copulas consist of the basic copula forms, see Table 7.1, and two additional forms, which have copular uses. The two additional forms are the verb ḏē: ‘come’, which has

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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 ì 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 (iŋ-ga, mēŋ-ga, be-ka, mēmbe-ka, jō-ka, me:-ka, du-ka, mindu-ka, òè-ka, see §10.1.3.2).

Table 7.1. Basic copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Sensorial</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Apparentive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>decl.</td>
<td>interr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQ</td>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>ì/mè</td>
<td>nā/mêna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(indu?)</td>
<td>(indu?)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EX</td>
<td>jō?/mè?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(jō?/mè?)</td>
<td>(jō?/mè?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(pos./neg.)</td>
<td>du?/mindu?</td>
<td>(jēb?/mèb?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(jēb?/mèb?)</td>
<td></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 (ì/mè: and be?/mēmbe?) have separate interrogative forms. The existential copulas, on the other hand, are interrogated by the regular polar question marker -ka/ga, e.g. duka/minduka.

The six basic declarative copulas are 1) the personal equative ì: ìm (neg. mè: mp), 2) the personal existential jō? ìnd (neg. mè? mð), 3) the sensorial existential du? ìnd (neg. mindu? ìnd), which can also be used, perhaps surprisingly, for past equation/identification, 4) the evidentially neutral be? mp (neg. mēmbe? mÞ), which is basically equative but also has some existential type of uses, 5) the apparentative òè/re:, which is a merger of qa be? ‘be like’, and 6) neutral existential jēb? le, which is given in brackets, because it is an abbreviation of the complex copula jēpo be?, which is introduced later in §7.2.2.1. Whereas the copulas du? 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 ì and jō? can form many of the same constructions as the ordinary verbs (e.g. present habitual iŋ-k?en be?, jō–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 ì and jō? express the speaker’s personal knowledge. The knowledge is considered personal either because the speaker already possesses it (in contrast to recently acquired knowledge marked by sensorial copulas) or because the referent of the proposition is present at the time of speaking (in contrast to neutral copulas, which are used for spatiotemporal backgrounding). Moreover, in nominalized expressions ending in ì, “personalness” may be realized as the speaker’s emotional involvement (see §7.3.2.2). In addition, ì is associated with performing a

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251 This form is homophonic and homographic (in WD) with the nominalized form mēm-bo used in such expression as mēm-bo be? ‘is/was not’. Some writers prefer to write the affirmed form ìh ‘bo instead of ìh bo.

252 This is an innovative WD form deriving from the full disyllabic ñì bh.
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.253 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 ʔiː and jòʔ, which are based on the speaker’s already existing knowledge, the basically existential copula duʔ refers to a specific event where the knowledge was sensorially acquired (similarly Gawne’s [2013: 164] perceptual for Yolmo). When used for present occurrences, duʔ has overtones of newness (contra oldness implied by jòʔ). When used as an auxiliary, duʔ has overtones of momentariness (contra continuation implied by jòʔ). The term “sensorial”, earlier used by Tournadre & Jiatso (2001: 78), was chosen as a category name, because it is the shortest way to refer to sensory experiences. Alternative terms are “sensory evidential” (Hill 2012: 389), “testimonial” (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 110) and “perceptual” (Gawne 2013: 163).

The neutral, basically equative copula beʔ, on the other hand, does not refer to a sensory experience as duʔ, and lacks the cognitive assimilation and spatiotemporal proximity implied by ʔiː/jòʔ.254 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.255 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 Denjongke system where neutrality is defined as absence of sensorialness and personalness.

In the following subsections, the copulas marking the three basic evidential distinctions, personal (§7.2.1), sensorial (§7.2.2) and neutral (§7.2.3) are discussed separately. The section on neutral copulas provides summarizing, comparative examples. This is followed by a brief description of the apparentive equative (§7.2.4). The reportative =lo and the verb ʔo: ‘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 ː as the final copula of nominalized constructions. The first two senses are expressed by both personal copulas ː and ʔ. There is, however, a difference in that ː seems to primarily convey spatiotemporal proximity, whereas ʔ expresses more clearly both old knowledge and spatiotemporal proximity. The reason for this difference between ː and ʔ seems to be that the semantics of the personal copulas are affected by the other copulas they evidentially contrast with.

Because ʔ in its ELPA-functions contrasts with both the sensorial ʔ and the neutral nominalized copula construction ʔ-po beʔ/jēbbe, 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 ʔ, 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 ʔ-po beʔ/jēbbe, which is used for spatiotemporal backgrounding (“there and then”, similarly to mere beʔ).

The equative personal copula ː, in contrast, lacks a contrastive sensorial equative (the marginal combinatory sensorial equative ʔ, see §7.3.1, does not contrast with ː in most contexts) and therefore the semantics of ː, 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 ː also making reference to the speaker’s already existing knowledge. In addition to the above three senses, ː is associated with a type of speech act of identification, as is shown in §7.2.3.

7.2.1.1 Personal equative ː
In equation, the personal ː contrasts frequently with the neutral beʔ (§7.2.3) and marginally with the sensorial ʔ (§7.2.2). In attributive sentences, ː contrasts with the neutral beʔ, the personal ʔ (§7.2.1.2), the sensorial ʔ and the neutral jēbbeʔ (from ʔ-po beʔ) (§7.3.2.1).

In equative sentences such as (7.1) and (7.2), it is usually not obvious that ː 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) kʰon=gi min tsheri ː.
3SG.HON=GEN name Tshering EQU ‘His name is Tshering.’

(7.2) kʰon=gi min tsheri beʔ.
3SG.HON=GEN name Tshering EQU ‘He is (a) fat (one).’

In attributive sentences such as (7.3) and (7.4), however, the difference of ː and beʔ with reference to integration of knowledge becomes clearer.

(7.3) kʰu gja:nam ː.
3SGM fat EQU.PER ‘He is (a) fat (one).’

(7.4) kʰu gja:nam 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.

The semantic difference between personal ĭː̃ and neutral bɛʔ is also seen when the copula is followed by the (clausal) attention marker =ɕo, which may mark a proposition as attention-worthy either to the speaker or to the addressee (see §16.2.2). When used with the personal copula ĭː, which marks integrated knowledge, =ɕo marks the information in the proposition as attention-worthy to the addressee, not to the speaker. For an example, see (7.5).

(7.5) ང་ཁོང་གི་བུ་ཨིན་ཤྔོ།
ŋà kʰoŋ=gi p’u ĭː=ɕo.
1PL 3SG.HON=GEN son EQU.PER =AT
‘I’m actually his son (which you don’t seem to know).’ (PT e)

In (7.5), Person A and B are talking about a certain man. The man who is the topic of the discussion is actually A’s father. In the course of the conversation, A has reason to believe that B is not aware of this fact. To counter this false assumption, A uses the attention marker to communicate to the addressee that he (the speaker) knows that what he is saying is probably unexpected and newsworthy, and hence attention-worthy, to the addressee.

With bɛʔ, on the other hand, =ɕo may mark the proposition attention-worthy either to the speaker (7.6) or to the addressee (7.7).

(7.6) འོ་ཆོས་འབད་ཐོམ་སྦད་ཤྔོ།
jáː, óni=laː=tsu bɛ=ɕo.
Oh child=HON=PL EQU.NE =AT
‘Oh, it’s the children.’ (Richhi 25)

(7.7) ལབ་མཁན་དགོན་དག་འདི་ཚད་ཤྔོ།
láp-kʰәː t’onda=di ódi bɛ=ɕo.
say=NMLZ meaning=DEMPH that EQU.NE =AT
‘The meaning of the (afore)said is this.’ (JDF axe story)

The proposition in (7.6) is accompanied by an exclamation to underline the noteworthy character of the information about the comers’ identity to the speaker. In (7.7), in contrast, the 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 ĭː=ɕo attention-worthiness is addressee-oriented but with bɛ=ɕo either speaker or addressee-oriented suggests that ĭː is a marker of old, already existing knowledge, whereas bɛʔ is neutral with respect to when and how the information was acquired.

The copula ĭː (as also bɛʔ) co-occurs with any of the first, second or third person pronouns, see (7.8), showing that the “personal” semantics of ĭː have not been grammaticalized into a syntactic requirement for the first person to appear with ĭː 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 ĭː and bɛʔ is discussed in §7.2.3.

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256 The difference in choosing bɛʔ rather than duʔ is addressed in §7.2.3.
(7.8) 

\[ \text{He is a doctor. / You are a doctor. / I am a doctor.} \]

Prototypically equative copulas describe situations that exist in the present, but in appropriate contexts, they may refer to past events. This is exemplified in (7.9) where the adverbial བོད་ལེགས་'earlier' enforces a past interpretation of the sentence with ་:

(7.9) 

\[ \text{Earlier I was a man who didn’t understand anything.} \]

When used with an adjectival argument, as in (7.10) and (7.11), the use of the equative copula ་: implies that the adjective expresses a defining or identifying characteristic of the nominal it is linked with.

(7.10) 

\[ \text{It is important to understand that.} \]

(7.11) 

\[ \text{My child is the most excellent one (lit. excellent from all), a good one.' (RBM story of my son)} \]

The negative form of ་: is usually མེ {{$\ddot{e}$}}:, but in the constructions given in (7.12) and (7.13), ་: occurs with the negator prefix མ་-.

(7.12) 

\[ \text{not being red, a bit blue-green} \]

(7.13) 

\[ \text{not being red, a bit blue-green} \]

More examples of ་: are found in §7.2.3, where ་: is contrasted with བོད་ and the other copulas. The use of ་: as the final copula of nominalized constructions is addressed in §7.3.2.2.
7.2.1.2 Personal existential \( jò\)

Similar to \( ī \), the personal existential copula \( jò \)\(^{257} \) 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?/jëbebè?). 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?/jëbebè? and \( jò\:-kën be? \), which are discussed in §7.3.2.1.

The type of knowledge coded by \( jò \) is illustrated by (§4).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(7.14)} & \quad kʰu=\text{GEN} \quad \text{bike(Eng.)}=\text{DEMPH} \quad \text{very fast EX.PER} \\
& \quad =i=\text{GEN} \quad \text{baik}=\text{di} \quad \text{lepti mäla} \quad jò. \\
& \quad =3\text{SGM} \quad \text{West Sikkim}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{doctor}=\text{PN} \quad \text{PN EXPER} \\
& \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{motorbike is very fast.} \quad \text{(NB e)}
\end{align*}
\]

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).\(^{258} \) 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 Tsichudarpo’s novel Ricchi, shows how the author of a novel may use personal forms by virtue of having personal knowledge because he has created the characters and the storyline.\(^{259} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(7.15)} & \quad nùp \quad \text{West Sikkim}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{TPN hospital}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{doctor PN EXPER} \\
& \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{Sombare}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{mënkù}=\text{na} \quad \text{mëmpo karma} \quad jò. \\
& \quad =\text{GEN} \quad \text{motorbike-def very fast EXPER} \\
& \quad =\text{he GEN} \quad \text{motorbike}\text{-DEF} \quad \text{very fast EXPER} \\
& \quad =\text{West Sikkim’s Sombare hospital that doctor Karma is.’ (Richhi 161)}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\(^{257} \)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.

\(^{258} \)kʰa: \quad \text{pa}\hat{\text{pq}}\text{-de} \quad \text{tsız\text{-më:} jo\hat{\text{bå} jò.} \\
\quad =\text{he GEN} \quad \text{motorbike-def very fast EXPER} \\
\quad =\text{His motorbike is very fast.’ (Kyirong, Huber 2002: 138 )}
\]

\(^{259} \)The novel Ricchi also quite systematically uses the personal auxiliary construction \text{VERB-po ī} rather than the neutral \text{VERB-po be?} for third person referents’ past actions within the author’s omniscient narration. Using the cognate form \text{VERB-pa-\text{-}\text{yn}} 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 *du?*) or that Bill Gates is present at the time of speaking (contra neutral *jèbbe?*).

The copula *jò?* is not a typical choice for a simple, second person attributive sentence, perhaps because it would seem arrogant to claim ingrained personal knowledge about another person’s qualities to their face, see (7.17).

According to van Driem (1998: 136), second person attributive sentences with the Dzongkha copula *jò?* (cognate of Denjongke *jò?*) are not allowed. Instead, *du?:* (cognate of Denjongke *du?*) has to be used. Van Driem (1998: 136) states that in attributive sentences “knowledge about the second person referent is by definition objective” (and hence not personal). In Denjongke, however, the second person version of (7.17) is acceptable at least in the special case when the speaker tries to convince the addressee who is reluctant to believe the proposition. In these cases, the copula *jò?* may be followed by the attention marker *=s* 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 is close to me metaphorically [i.e. a friend] or close to me literally [i.e. present now].’ (KT e)

(7.17) He is fat. / I am fat. / ?You are fat.”

(7.18) You are a fat one./ (I see) you are fat./ You are fat.
b) རྐྱུན།

jø̀ʔ.

EX.PER

‘Yes, there is.’

(7.20) a) རྒྱུན་ལྔོ་/ཆ་རྔོགས་ཀི་/ཆ་རྔོགས་ལྔོ་

\text{te} \text{'ero} = \text{ki/te} \text{'ero} = \text{lo}

\text{p'} \text{otso}    \text{k'adzo?}    \text{jø̀-po?}

friend=GEN/friend=DAT    child    how.many    EX.PER-2INF

‘How many children does the friend (=you) have?’

b) གཞི་

\text{jø̀}  \text{ضة} \text{ capitalists}

\text{ɲè}  \text{=}  \text{gi/ɲà=lo}

\text{p’um}    \text{súm}    \text{jø̀?}

1SG.GEN(=GEN)/1SG=DAT    daughter    three    EX.PER

‘I have three daughters.’

In (7.19a) and (7.20a), the use of the personal copula jø̀ʔ suggests that the speaker deems the addressee as someone who has personal knowledge of the questioned fact. It would be an interesting line of research to find out what copula is used in the answer if the copula in the question does not correctly reflect the addressee’s knowledge state. De Villiers et al (2009: 44) observed that “Tibetan children are not led by the evidential posed in a question, but base their answers on their own judgment of the scenario.”

More examples of jø̀ʔ are provided in next sections §7.2.2 and §7.2.3, where its use is contrasted with duʔ and beʔ respectively.

7.2.2 Sensorial copula duʔ

The discussion here is divided into existential uses of duʔ (§7.2.2.1), which form the great majority of cases, and past equative uses (§7.2.2.2). The last sections describes the intensifier suffix -kɛ, which may attach to duʔ (§7.2.2.3).

7.2.2.1 Existential uses of duʔ

The use of the sensorial existential duʔ indicates that the proposition is evidentially based on a specific, most often recent or current event that the speaker has sensorially (not necessarily visually) attested. Information expressed through the personal evidentials is also first acquired sensorially, but later with time and/or repeated exposure the knowledge becomes so assimilated that no reference to a specific event needs to be made (similarly Gawne [2013: 203] on Yolmo). Whereas jø̀ʔ 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 Tibetic languages have been reported, among others, by Bielmeier (2000: 104), Denwood (1999: 123), Hongladarom (2007: 29) and Huber (2002: 139). It should be noted, however, that “newness” does not necessarily entail “unexpectedness/surprise” (Zeisler 2000: 40). Hill (2012) argues for the basic meaning of duʔ in Standard Tibetan being sensorial rather than mirative. Although the use of duʔ in Denjongke often implies recently acquired knowledge, Denjongke has a separate attention marker =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 jøʔ, is especially seen when the two copulas are used as auxiliaries. In auxiliary uses with the progressive zɛː, both kʰu jøʔ p’ja-zen duʔ ‘He was working’ and kʰu jøʔ p’ja-zɛː jøʔ ‘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 jøʔ, 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 addressess’s state of knowledge.

(7.21) ངརམ་འདུག་ཀ?

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 jøʔ 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) ཛྣྲ་ནྲ་འདུག་ཀ?

te³ʔ nòː bjå-bo=lo. du-ka?
2SG.L cow disappear-2INF=REP EX.SEN-PQ
‘Your cow is said to have disappeared. Is it (here).fromJson(265)’

b) འདུག་ཀེ༌༉

du-ke=ɛo.
EX.SEN-IN=AT
‘Why, it is indeed.’ (TB e)

In (7.22), the first speaker has found a cow that he brings to the second speaker. When making an estimate of the addressee’s state of knowledge, speaker A in (7.22) would perhaps be expected to use the personal copula, because the addressee is supposed to have personal, integrated knowledge about his cows. The focus here, however, seems to fall on the specific sensory experience of identifying the cow, not on the existing knowledge state. The attention marker =ɛo in B’s answer expresses the speaker’s surprise, indicated by the old-fashioned exclamation ‘why’ in the translation.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 *duʔ* and *jø̀ʔ* 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) ་藏? ་ཐབ་ཀ?
   *tsʰa tʰop-ka?*  
   salt find-PQ  
   ‘Is there (any) salt?’

(7.24) མེ?.
   NEG.EX.PER  
   ‘No, there isn’t.’

(7.25) མི་དུ་?.
   NEG.EX.SEN  
   ‘No, there isn’t.’

To a customer’s question (7.23) the shopkeeper may answer (7.24) if he knows from before that there is no salt (*mèʔ* is the negative of *jø̀ʔ*), or (7.25), if he is not sure from the outset but finds out whether there is salt by looking around (*minduʔ* is the negative of *duʔ*).

In the above examples, *duʔ* 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 *duʔ* in which the sensory experience happened in more distant past.

(7.26) རང་གཉིས་པོ་ཞིང་ཐོབ་ཏེ་ཞིང་འཚལ་པའི་སང་མོ་
   *kʰõːɲíː-po mù=i kʰim=na lɛp-øː gàː mù*  
   3PL two-COL 3SG=GEN house=LOC reach-2INF.GEN time 3SGF  
   ‘When the two of them reached the house, she wasn’t

   མི་དུ་?.
   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 *minduʔ* 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 *duʔ*, and a rare instance of *duʔ* being used of the first person (see for instance Denwood [1999: 123] for similar examples from Lhasa Tibetan).

(7.27) ཕྱང་སོག་བོད་ཀུན་གཞི་རྩེེ་ཐོབ་ཏེ་ཕུལ་མང་རོག་
   *dàː pàː pilam=tei? tʰõː-tex. pilam=na pà*  
   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 ĭ: and jò?, but here the speaker has observed himself in a dream. When waking up from a dream, the dreamer gets an outsider’s perspective into their own life. Therefore, the sensorial evidential du? can be used when talking about oneself. The copula is here followed by the attention marker =e0, which indicates that the information was, and perhaps still is at the moment of speaking, surprising to the speaker.

In (7.28), the speaker is helping another person sit inside a car. The choice of du? as copula indicates either that the speaker does not expect his addressees to have definite knowledge about the whereabouts of the pillow or that he is speaking to himself.

slowly slowly enter here back press EXCLAM pillow where EX.SEN
‘Come in slowly, slowly. Lean (your) back here. Hey, where is the pillow?’

In (7.29), a doctor is examining a patient’s X-ray pictures and comments on them:

(7.29) ló?par=ki niñpo lëpti lëm du?.
X-ray=GEN essence very.much good EX.SEN
‘The results of the X-ray look very good.’ (Richhi 29)

In (7.29) the doctor who looks at the X-ray pictures uses du? probably either because the addressee(s) cannot see what he sees or cannot interpret what they see as he can. The sensorial du? is mainly used when the addressee does not share the same sensorial experience as the speaker. If the speaker and the addressee both see the same thing beʔ is more likely used.

Although information coded by du? is most often visual, it can also mark knowledge as deriving from the other senses, hearing (7.30), tasting (7.31), smelling (7.32) or touching (7.33).

(7.30) paŋk:a: ály? du?.
outside cat EX.SEN
‘There’s a cat outside (as I heard it meowing).’

(7.31) di sà:tym címpu 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.

Although the speaker of (7.34) probably has known the information for a long time, he cannot use the personal *jó?* 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 *jó-po be/jebbe?* or *jó:-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.
‘When I was a student, Bhandari was our Chief Minister, you know.’ (KN e)

According to consultant YR, using the sensorial du? in (7.36) implies that the same chief minister is no longer in power, whereas using the personal jø? (jø-po/jø̃-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:

‘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).

‘But earlier your name was Phuntso!’ (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)?’.
7.2.2.3 *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 -kẽ̃́/-gẽ́ 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) kʰu gjaː-ta? duʔ.  
3SGM fat EX.SEN  
‘He is fat.’

(7.41) kʰu gjaː-ta? du-ke.  
3SGM fat EX.SEN-IN  
‘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 jø̀ʔ and duʔ not only in adjectival predication but also in quantified existentials and quantified locatives. The neutral beʔ is evidentially non-committed unlike the sensorial duʔ and the personal copulas jø̀ʔ and Ŭ. 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 Ŭ vs. beʔ. Two things, however, can be said. First, Ŭ 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 Ŭ and beʔ.

(7.42) a) leŋeʔ ka boʔ?  
PRN.HON what EQU.QUE  
‘Who are you?’
In the above examples, ɨː is used in the answer to the question concerning identity (7.42), and beʔ is used when the question relates to doing (7.43). This implies that ɨː is more concerned with the act of identifying itself, as if performing a type of speech act of identifying, whereas beʔ 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 ɲà ámdzi beʔ as an answer to the question in (7.42).

The possibility of choosing between ɨː and beʔ 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 ɨː vs. beʔ with two other consultants, they volunteered comparative sentence pairs (7.44-45) and (7.46-47) respectively (mēː and mēmbeʔ are the negations of ɨː and beʔ respectively).

(7.44) བོད་ལྷག་སྨན།
ɲâteʔ? lôpʰuʔ ɨː
1PL student EQU.PER
‘We are students.’ (NB e)

(7.45) བོད་ལྷག་སྨན། སྟོང་ལྭ་དྲོ། གཉིས།
1PL student EQU.NE 1PL such do NEG-be.good
‘We are students. We mustn’t do like that.’ (NB e)

(7.46) བོད་ལྷག་སྨན།
ɲa lôpʰuʔ mēː.
1SG student NEG.EQU.PER
‘I am not a student.’ (YR e)

(7.47) a) བོད་ལྷག་སྨན།
teʔo? di dök-teʰ(i).
2SG.L this read-IMP.FRN
‘You, read this!’
Again, in both (7.44) and (7.46) ḡ: is used for simple identification of people, whereas the use of beʔ in both (7.45) and (7.47) it is the implications of identification that are in focus. Example (7.45) is concerned with responsibilities of students (they should behave in a certain way) and in (7.47) the central question is abilities of a student (they can read English). Whereas ḡ: 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) ḡ: joda kjap-kʰen=to beʔ. t’ato nā: jɔ?,
government=GEN work-DO-NMLZ=CEMPH EQU.NE now here EX.PER
tʰorā: k’a: gju.
tomorrow where go
‘I’m a government employee. Now I’m here, tomorrow (who knows) where (I) go.’
(Richhi 95)

In (7.48), the speaker, rather than telling the addressee new information about his identity (in that case ḡ: 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 ḡ: and beʔ is that ḡ: 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 ḡ: and beʔ is the presence or absence of the referent in the clause. Consultant PT (Tashiding, West Sikkim) preferred the identifying, equative copula ḡ: 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) ḡ: gja:nam ḡ:
kʰu 3SGM fat EQU.PER
‘He’s (a) fat (one).’ (referent present)

b) ḡ: gja:nam beʔ.
kʰu 3SGM fat EQU.NE
‘He is fat.’ (referent absent)

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261 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”.

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Consultant YR, when given the task of describing the difference between the sentences \( kʰː \) ámdʒi\( \ddot{\text{i}} : \) and \( kʰː \) ámdʒi\( bɛʔ \) ‘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 \( tʰa \ tʰi \ ɲɛ : \ pàpà \ rɛː \) ‘Now, this is my father’. As the copula \( jiː \) (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 Häslер’s (1999: 151) description of Derge Tibetan \( jin \) 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 Denjongke speakers make estimates about their addressee’s state of knowledge. In questions relating to identity, however, copula choice may also be conditioned by whether the questioner wants to present themselves as someone who already knows or at least has a hypothesis of the answer (\( ɪ\ddot{\text{i}} : \)), or as someone who does not know the answer (\( bɛʔ \)). For an example, consider (7.52).\(^{262}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
(7.50) & \quad a) \quad \text{ཁྔོང་ིགྱེག བོ་} \quad 3\text{SG.HON} \quad \text{foreigner} \quad \text{EQU.PER} \\
& \quad kʰː \quad \text{te}\dot{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{e}}: \text{bo} \quad \text{ɪ}: \\
& \quad \text{‘He’s a foreigner.’ (referent present)} \\

& b) \quad \text{ཁྔོང་ིགྱེག} \quad 3\text{SG.HON} \quad \text{foreigner} \quad \text{EQU.NE} \\
& \quad kʰː \quad \text{te}\dot{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{g}}\ddot{\text{e}}: \quad \text{be?} \\
& \quad \text{‘He’s a foreigner.’ (referent in photo)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(7.51) & \quad a) \quad \text{འདི་ཁྔོང་གི་ཁིམ} \quad 3\text{SG.HON} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{EQU.PER} \\
& \quad di \quad \text{kʰoŋ=gi} \quad kʰim \quad \text{ɪ}: \\
& \quad \text{‘This is his house.’ (owner present)} \\

& b) \quad \text{འདི་ཁྔོང་གི་ཁིམ} \quad 3\text{SG.HON} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{EQU.NE} \\
& \quad di \quad \text{kʰoŋ=gi} \quad kʰim \quad \text{be?} \\
& \quad \text{‘This is his house.’ (owner absent)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(7.52) & \quad a) \quad \text{ཉེ་ཞེས་དག་} \quad 2\text{SG.L} \quad \text{student} \quad \text{EQU.NE-Q} \\
& \quad \text{te}^\dagger \dot{\text{o}}? \quad \text{lọpt}^\dagger \dot{\text{u}}? \quad \text{be-ka}? \\
& \quad \text{‘Are you a student?’} \\

& b) \quad \text{ཉེ་ཞེས་དག་} \quad 2\text{SG.L} \quad \text{student} \quad \text{EQU.PER-Q} \\
& \quad \text{te}^\dagger \dot{\text{o}}? \quad \text{lọpt}^\dagger \dot{\text{u}}? \quad \text{ɪɣ-γa}? \\
& \quad \text{‘You are a student, aren’t you?’}
\end{align*}
\]

In swiftly transitory attributive situations, as shown in (7.53), \( j\ddot{o}\?) 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 \( d\ddot{u}\) and \( bɛʔ\).

\(^{262}\) There are also other ways to form questions which are not treated here.
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, beʔ is used in expressions where the minutes have gone past the hour (7.54), whereas duʔ is used when minutes have not yet reached the full hour (7.55).

The last two examples (7.56) and (7.57) summarize the evidential differences between the basic declarative copulas by contrasting beʔ with other copulas in locative and attributive use respectively.

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 beʔ, can be said by someone who has never seen the field before to an accompanying friend who also sees the field. In this case, the sensory evidential duʔ is not needed, because the knowledge is mutual (they both see the field). Furthermore, (7.56c) could also be said in a situation where the speaker has knowledge about the field from before (old knowledge) but wants to, for some reason, distance himself from the epistemically more committed copula joʔ, 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 \( \text{be} ^{\Delta} \) in contrast with the other copulas is illustrated with the adjective \( \text{gjanam} \) ‘fat’ in (7.57) below.

(7.57) a) \( \text{khub} \text{gjanam} \text{ĩ́ː} \) ‘He is a fat one (as I know).’

b) \( \text{khub} \text{gjanam} \text{jø̀} \) ‘He is fat (as I know).’

c) \( \text{khub} \text{gjanam} \text{du} \) ‘He is fat (as I just saw).’

d) \( \text{khub} \text{gjanam} \text{bɛʔ} \) ‘He is fat (as I generally assert).’

The first sentence with \( \text{jø̀} \) (7.57a) identifies the referent as a member in the class of “fat ones”. The copula \( \text{du} \) in (7.57c) is used when (or shortly after) meeting the described person for the first time (or after a long time). Whereas \( \text{du} \) codes knowledge acquired by momentary recent observation, the use of \( \text{jø̀} \) in (7.57b) suggests that the statement is based on the speaker’s already existing knowledge. The copula \( \text{be} ^{\Delta} \) in (7.57d), on the other hand, is neutral in these respects, implying neither the personalness of \( \text{jø̀} \) nor the immediacy and sensorialness of \( \text{du} \). With \( \text{be} ^{\Delta} \), 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 \( \text{ɖɛː}/\text{rɛː} \): The appentive equative \( \text{ɖɛː}/\text{rɛː} \) merges the apparentive marker \( \text{ɖa} \) ‘(be) similar’ and the neutral equative \( \text{bɛʔ} \) to express the meaning ‘(it) seems to be’. Some informants were not aware that \( \text{ɖɛː}/\text{rɛː} \) originates with \( \text{ɖa bɛʔ} \) ‘be like’.

(7.58) \( \text{ɛ̃́ː, tʼutie} \text{waranasi mên-do} \text{ɖɛː} \text{no} \text{TPN NEG.EQU-IPFV AP.EQU NE} \text{TAG.ASR} \text{oh this.year} \text{NEG.EQU} \text{AP.EQU NE} \text{TAG.ASR} \) ‘Oh, it does not seem to be in Varanasi this year, eh.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(7.59) \( \text{όdi kʼan mo? ódi tourist} \) \( \text{ɖɛː}=\text{co} \) \text{AP.EQU NE} \text{TAG.ASR} \text{that what foreign=DEMPH AP.EQU NE AT} \) ‘What’s that? Apparently it’s foreign (I find).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

For auxiliary uses of the appentive copula, see §8.5.2.

7.2.5 Other forms used as copulas In addition to the exclusively copular words describes above, the verb \( \text{ɒ} \) ‘come’ and the reportative marker \( \text{=lo} \) may function as copulas.

7.2.5.1 The verb \( \text{ɒ} \) ‘come’ as existential The verb \( \text{ɒ} \) ‘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.

---

263 The speaker seems to use the loan word “tourist” as an adjective. The Denjongke word for “tourist” is \( \text{d} \text{y} \text{korwo} \).
(7.60) སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱི་ རེ་ ཀྱུ་རུ་ ཡོད།

=di te ne; eii-e e ma-ho

that then 1SG.GEN say-INF NEG-come

‘I cannot say that (lit. I do not have that to say).’ (PAD Tashiding story)

(7.61) ཕྱོང་ དོན་ དོན་ མི་ འྔོང་ ལུགས།

t’ato t’a dzamnyina mi-d-o-to, dainosos.

now now world NEG-come-PROB dinosaurs(Eng.)

‘Nowadays there probably are no dinosaurs in the world.’ (KN e)

(7.62) Q: ཥྱོད་ཀ་ ཞུར།

ts’o du-ka/jo:-ka?

salt EX.SEN-Q/EX.PER.-Q

‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

(7.63) a) A1: སྤེན་པོ།

ts’o ma-ho:

salt NEG-come

‘There isn’t (any) salt.’ (KN e)

b) A2: སྤེན་པོ།

ts’o d-o-to.

salt come-PROB

‘There maybe is salt.’ (KN e)

As seen in (7.60) and (7.61), both the perfective negator ma- and the imperfective negator mi-
may negate the existential use of d:. When d: is negated by ma- in its ordinary verbal uses, the
result is phonetically /ma-d:/ > [mõ:]. In the existential use, on the other hand, the
pronunciation is [mahi:], probably to underline the difference to the regular verbal use. With
the negator mi- no laryngeal occurs between the negator and the verb d: /mi-d:/ > [mi:]. The
pronunciation difference between [maho:] and [mi:] is reflected in WD here as སྤྱོད་ ma-
hong and མི། ཤོང་ mi-ong.

I have come across one example of an interrogative existential d:, which in (7.64) occurs
alongside the proper existential (personal) copula form jö:?

(7.64) a) སྤེན་པོ།

ts’o jö:-kam?

salt EX.PER-ATTQ

‘Is there salt, I wonder.’ (KN e)

b) སྤེན་པོ།

ts’o jö:-gam?

salt come-ATTQ

‘Is there salt, I wonder?’ (KN e)

In addition to the typical copula uses, maho: 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 \( j\vartheta \) and \( du\vartheta \), \( õ \vartheta \) appears to be evidentially neutral, although more research is needed to establish that fact.

(7.65) Q: \( kʰu \ j\vartheta \ p’ja-zen \ du-ka? \)
\[ 3SGM \ \text{work do-PROG.EX.SEN-PQ} \]
‘Is he working?’

(7.66) a) A1: \( kʰu \ j\vartheta \ p’ja-u \ mè\).
\[ 3SGM \ \text{work do-2INF NEG.EX.PER} \]
‘He’s not working (I know).’

b) A2: \( kʰu \ j\vartheta \ p’ja-u \ \text{mindu?}. \)
\[ 3SGM \ \text{work do-2INF NEG.EX.SEN} \]
‘He’s not working (I see).’

c) A2: \( kʰu \ j\vartheta \ p’ja-u \ ma-hō:. \)
\[ 3SGM \ \text{work do-2INF NEG-come} \]
‘He’s not working.’

In addition to the uses as an ordinary verb and a copula, \( õ \vartheta \) also occurs as an uncertain future auxiliary, see §8.2.6.

### 7.2.5.2 Reportative =lo as equative substitute

The reportative marker =lo\(^{264}\) 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) \( kʰu \ ámdzi=lo. \)
\[ 3SGM \ \text{doctor=REP} \]
‘He’s reportedly a doctor. / He’s a doctor, I hear.’ (YR e)

(7.68) \( óna \ tsʰa \ j\vartheta:=lo/du:=lo.\)
\[ \text{there salt EX.PER=REP/EX.SEN=REP} \]
‘There’s reportedly salt in there.’

(7.69) \( *óna \ tsʰa=lo \)
\[ \text{there salt= REP} \]

\(^{264}\) 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 j\(\vartheta \)lo and du:lo 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 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) kʰu ɡãːtoː=lo duʔ.
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN
‘He’s in Gangtok (I saw him).’

b) kʰu ɡãːtoː=lo duː=lo.
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.SEN=REP
‘He’s reported to be in Gangtok (they told they saw him).’

(7.71) a) kʰu ɡãːtoː=lo jòʔ.
 3SGM TPN=DAT EX.PER
‘He’s in Gangtok (I know it well).’

b) kʰu ɡãːtoː=lo jòː=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 ì, 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 གཉིས་ཐོས་ 'immä, often marks the speaker’s agreement with what the addressee has just said. In the same vein, Dzongkha གཉིས་ཐོས་ '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) ཅུན་ལྡན་ཐོས་ནས་མིའི་ནང་རང་མོང་བོ؟

agua=jaː maːmiː=na=râː mêmbo?

big.brother=also army.GEN=LOC=AEMP NEG.EQU NE Q

‘Isn’t the brother also in the army?’

b) དམག་མིའི་ནང་ཨིན་སྦད།

maːmiː=na imbe?.

army.GEN=LO EQU.EMPH

‘(Yes,) he is indeed in the army.’ (Richhi 56)

(7.73) གཉིས་ཐོས་! ང་རྒྱ་ཡང་མིའི་ནང་རང་མོང་བོ་

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 mêm-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).266

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) གཉིས་ཐོས་ ང་རྒྱ་ཡང་མིའི་ནང་རང་མོང་བོ་

gyteca? pî: nân=le kʰeː-ko=di râː imbe?.

1PL two inside=ABL skillful-SUP=DEMPH 2SG.M EQU.EMPH

‘You surely are the most skillful of us two.’ (Class 7 textbook 59)

Example (7.75) contrasts the emphatic equative *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.267

(7.75)  

a) མི་འདོད་པ་pencil གཉིས་ཐོས་ "

di te=ko:=ki pensil imbe-ka?

this 2SG.L=GEN pencil(Eng.) EQU.EMPH-PQ

‘Is this indeed your pencil?’ (TB e)

---

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) བོད་ཀི་pencil ལོག་? \\
\text{di } \text{te}^{\text{b}':\text{ki}} \text{pensil} \quad \text{be-ka?} \\
\text{this} \text{2SG.L=} \text{GEN} \text{pencil(Eng.)} \quad \text{EQU.NE-PQ} \\
‘Is this your pencil?’ (TB e)

Now consider (7.76–78), which exemplify the sensorial equative \textit{indu}?.

(7.76) བོད་ཀི་འདི་ལོག་? \textit{indu}?. \\
\text{ný’}dûp \text{kʰ:} \text{ta}= \textit{indu}.EQU.SEN \\
\text{Neydup skillful} \quad \text{EQU.SEN} \\
‘Neydup is skillful (I have experienced).’ (PT e)

(7.77) བོད་ཀི་འདི་ལོག་? \textit{indu}?. \\
\text{pē:} \text{ro}=\text{di}=\text{jāː} \text{loke} \text{kjap-kʰː} \text{=} \textit{indu}=\text{eo.} \\
\text{1SG.GEN} \text{friend=} \text{DEMPH=too Lhoke} \text{strike-NMLZ} \quad \text{EQU.SEN=} \text{AT} \\
‘Why, my friend (=you) too is a Lhoke speaker, I see.’ (YR e)

(7.78) བོད་ཀི་འདི་ལོག་? \textit{indu}?. \\
\text{pawan} \text{tsamliŋ=di} \text{nātei} \text{lōmpu} \text{tsou} \text{teiku} \text{mēm-ba}.^{268} \\
\text{Pawan Chamling=} \text{DEMPH} \quad \text{1SG.GEN} \text{minister} \text{main only} \quad \text{NEG.EQU-CIRC} \\
‘Pawan Chamling is not only our Prime Minister, \\
but he is also a skilled literary figure.’ (KT e)

The copula \textit{indu}? combines some of the meanings of both copulas \textit{i}: and \textit{du}?. Whereas \textit{i}: marks the equative function, \textit{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 skillful writer and implies that he has had the sensorial experience of reading Mr. PC’s writings.\textsuperscript{269} The difference between \textit{indu}? and the equative use of \textit{du}? (see §7.2.2.2) is that \textit{indu}? is used for present identification (based on past sensorial experience) and \textit{du}? for past identification.

Apart from \textit{imbe}? and \textit{indu}?, no other combinations of basic copulas (e.g. *\textit{bedu}?, *\textit{dube}?, *\textit{be}:?) were acceptable to my consultants.

7.3.2 Nominalized copula constructions
The dichotomy between \textit{i}: and \textit{be}? within equative copulas, and \textit{jö}? and \textit{du}? within existential copulas, is neutralized in nominalized copula forms so that only \textit{i}: and \textit{jö}? may be nominalized by the markers -\textit{ce}? (I infinitive) -\textit{po}/\textit{bo} (II infinitive), and -\textit{kʰː} (nominalizer) (reasons for distinguishing “infinitive” and “nominalizer” are given in §3.2.3).\textsuperscript{270} Therefore, the morpheme glosses of nominalized copulas below do not have information on

\textsuperscript{268} Consultant PTB (Tashiding) would use here instead of \textit{mēm-bo} a more complex construction involving an adverbializing nonfinal converb, \textit{ma-im-bo} p’jati [\textit{NEG-EQU-NMLZ do-NF}].

\textsuperscript{269} My consultant’s attempt to translate \textit{indu}? in (7.78) into Nepali was \textit{हो रहेछ} ho rahecha.

\textsuperscript{270} Garrett (2001: 105) considers these type of contexts, where only ego evidentials (the equivalents of \textit{i} and \textit{jö}?) 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 \textit{འདུག་} ‘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. *beʔ* in the construction *im-bo beʔ* and ŭ: in the construction jō:-po ŭ:. The nominalized part of the construction only marks the equative vs. existential dichotomy, e.g. *im-bo in im-bo beʔ* marks the construction as equative and jō:-po in jō:-po ŭ: marks the construction as existential.

The nominalized equative expressions are *im-bo beʔ*? (neg. mèm-bo beʔ?), *im-bo ŭ:* (neg. mèm-bo ŭ:), ŭ-k'en beʔ? (neg. mèn-k'en beʔ?), ŭ-k'ē: ŭ (?). The existential expressions are jō:-po beʔ? (neg. mè:-po beʔ?), jō:-po ŭ: (neg. mè:-po ŭ:), jō:-k'en beʔ? (neg. mè:-k'en beʔ?), jō:-k'é: ŭ: (neg. mè:-k'é: ŭ:), jō:-ee beʔ? (neg. mè:-ee beʔ? [?]) and jō:-ee ŭ: (neg. mè:-ee ŭ [?]). 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. Evid./epist.</th>
<th>Nominalised construction</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral or assertive</td>
<td><em>im-bo beʔ</em>?</td>
<td>mèm-bo ŭ: (?)</td>
<td>mèm-bo ŭ: (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŭ-k'en beʔ?</td>
<td>mèn-k'en ŭ:</td>
<td>mèn-k'en ŭ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŭ:-ee ŭ:</td>
<td>mè:-ee ŭ: (?)</td>
<td>mè:-ee ŭ: (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exist. Personal</td>
<td>jō:-po ŭ:</td>
<td>mè:-po ŭ:</td>
<td>mè:-po ŭ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jō:-k'é: ŭ:</td>
<td>mè:-k'é: ŭ:</td>
<td>mè:-k'é: ŭ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jō:-ee ŭ:</td>
<td>mè:-ee ŭ: (?)</td>
<td>mè:-ee ŭ: (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jō:-k'en beʔ?</td>
<td>mè:-k'en beʔ? mè:-k'en ŭ:</td>
<td>mè:-k'en beʔ? mè:-k'en ŭ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jō:-ee beʔ?</td>
<td>mè:-ee beʔ? (?) mè:-ee ŭ: (?)</td>
<td>mè:-ee beʔ? (?) mè:-ee ŭ: (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most frequently, the nominalized constructions end in the neutral copula *beʔ*. Constructions ending in the neutral copula *beʔ* are used by Denjongke speakers to dissociate themselves from the evidential values of ŭ: jōʔ and duʔ. I first give examples of neutral constructions ending in *beʔ* (§7.3.2.1) and after that personal constructions ending in ŭ: (§7.3.2.2). More frequent forms with -po/po and -k'ē: are given first and the less frequent forms with -ee ŭ: last.

### 7.3.2.1 Evidentially neutral constructions (ending in *beʔ*)

Nominalized copula constructions ending in *beʔ* 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 beʔ*, in-k'en beʔ and ŭ:-ee beʔ. 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 beʔ* conveys assertive force of coming to a certain conclusion. The speaker realizes in her mind that her father’s advice had, after all (or indeed), been correct. Assertive force is further added by the adverbial *né:mu=rãː*; ‘surely, really, certainly’.
For, the negated form, consider (7.80).

(7.80) མི་ཚོགས་ཀེས་པོ་ལྔོ་ལྟདམ་སྟྔོན་སི་མི་ཙུའི་འདྔོད་ཡིད་

that important NEG.EQU-2INF EQU.NE

‘That is not important.’ (KL BLA 12)

In (7.81), *iŋ-k’ên bê?* occurs as part of an even more complex assertive copula expression *i*:

*iŋ-k’ên bê?* (“it is indeed the case”). Similar to *im-bo bê?* in (7.79), *iŋ-k’ên bê?* in (7.81) signifies extra assertive force of coming to a conclusion. In (7.81), the omniscient narrator has taken the perspective of the novel’s characters that are admiringly looking at a young couple leading a ceremony.

(7.81) མི་ཙུའི་འདྔོད་ཡིད་

‘(They were) able to capture people’s deepest desires while acting in front of a great crowd. Indeed, all the arrangement so far had been (successfully) fulfilled under their leadership.’ (Richhi 82)

The negation of *iŋ-k’ên bê?* is *mêŋ-k’ên bê?:*

(7.82) མི་ཙུའི་འདྔོད་ཡིད་

‘It is not (i.e. it does not happen) just like that.’ (DR discussion with KL)
In line with the above description of íŋ-kʰɛn be? and im-bo be? as somewhat assertive in meaning, consultant YR commented that the constructions íŋ-kʰɛn 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 íŋ-kʰɛn be? are compatible with past events/states. In (7.83-84), im-bo be? and íŋ-kʰɛn be? appear to be used quite interchangeably.

(7.83)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰu nɛ̃́ nl ɛŋ bɛʔ } & \text{ EQU-2INF EQU.NE} \\
\text{before friend } & \text{ (KT e)}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.84)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰu ɲɛ̃́ nl ɛŋ bɛʔ } & \text{ EQU-2INF EQU.NE} \\
\text{before friend } & \text{ (PT e)}
\end{align*}
\]

Formally í̃ː-ɕɛbɛʔ, 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)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paksam mìnto=di lɛ̀ ʦ̀ː ʈaʔ ʦtí=gì tsi goː-p } & \\
\text{balsam flower=DEMPH very.much clean 1PL=AGT reckon be.needed-2INF } & \\
\text{gjumtsʰen ódi í̃ː ee be?. } & \\
\text{reason that EQU.PER-INF EQU.NE} & \\
\text{‘That may be the reason why we have to consider balsam flower very clean.’ (RS bee story)}
\end{align*}
\]

Yeshe Rinzing Bhutia’s Bhutia language learning course book reports that the form í̃ː-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 í̃ː-ee be? in (7.85) should rather be translated as “maybe is” than as simply “is”. The form í̃ː-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 jò-po be?, jòː-kʰen be? and jòː-ee be?. First consider the semantically similar forms jò-po be? and jòː-kʰen be? illustrated in (7.86) and (7.87) respectively. (7.86a) and (7.87a) are taken from two folk-stories where the speaker does not want to give the impression, by using the lone copula jòʔ, that he was personally involved in the events of the story, or by using the the sensorial duʔ, that the event was recently sensorially attested by someone. Therefore, the neutral nominalized copula construction is chosen. Negated examples are given in (7.86b-c) and (7.87b).

(7.86)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰʒòː=tsyː nòː duʔ=na simtɛn p’a làn rà t’âː lû } & \text{ EQU.NE} \\
\text{3PL=PL.GEN cattle=LOC animal cow bull goat and sheep } & \\
\text{‘In their cattle, they had a lot of animals such as cows, bulls, goats and}
\end{align*}
\]
The construction jô:-po be?, which allows the existential meaning to be taken from jô? and the evidential meaning taken from be?, is so common that in spoken language this evidentially neutral existential form (vs. existentials jô? and du? which are evidentially loaded) has merged into jô:-ko?jê:be? (neg. mê:be?). The Standard/Lhasa Tibetan (close to) pragmatic equivalent to jô:-ko?jê:be? is jô:re:, which is etymologically a nominalized construction as suggested by one of the alternative written forms yod.pa.red (Denwood 1999: 119, Hill 2010). In Denwood’s (1999: 122) analysis of Lhasa Tibetan, jô:re: “implies no such first hand knowledge [as jô: and du:], though it does not specifically rule it out.” The same can be said of jô:-po be? (or jô:-ko?jê:be?) in Denjongke. The neutral evidential value of the construction is derived from the last copula be?.

In addition to being used for past events jô:-po be? and jô:-ko?en be? are also used for present events. In these cases, using the simple copula jô? is not desirable, because the information in the sentence is presented as uncontested, general knowledge. The following three examples exemplify the present uses of jô:-po be? (7.88), jô:-ko?en be? (7.89) and jê:be? (7.90), the colloquial equivalent of jô:-po be?.

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271 In Lhasa Tibetan, however, there is a current distinction between the historically nominalized form jô:re: and the synchronically nominalized construction jô-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-pa:-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 jëbb? 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 jëbb?.

Examples (7.91) and (7.92) illustrate the difference between jò? and jëbb?.

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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 jebbə? is similar to the difference between ìː and ñə in (7.49-51). Example (7.92), on the other hand, is a general statement where the connection to a specific sensory event (contra duʔ, which refers to a specific instance of finding out) and personal knowledge (contra jòʔ) are backgrounded by using the neutral jebbə?.

The existential construction jøː-ɕɛb əʔ, occurring nine times, is more frequent in my data than the equative construction ìː-ɕɛb əʔ. The construction jøː-ɕɛb əʔ resembles in meaning the more frequent present habitual construction jøː-kʰ ɛn bəʔ. Both constructions allow the speaker to express generally holding facts, as in (7.93).

Based on the decreased certainty implied by the equative nonpast construction ìː-ee bəʔ (see [7.85]), future research should remain open to the option that in some contexts jøː-ee bəʔ 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 ìː)

The following two subsections discuss personal constructions ending in the personal copula ìː, 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 ìː 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 \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \textit{iː}, \textit{im}-\textit{bo} \textit{iː} and \textit{t}-.\textit{ee} \textit{iː}.

First consider the use of \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \textit{iː} in (7.94).

(7.94) \begin{align*}
  kʰ u & \quad nɛː \quad jëntsʰː \quad \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \quad \textit{i}ː \quad \textit{i}ː \textit{ru}ŋ \quad kʰ u & \quad nɛ = lɔ \quad 3 \text{SGM} \quad 1 \text{SG.GEN} \quad \text{relative} \quad \text{EQU-NMLZ} \quad \text{EQU.PER} \quad \text{still} \quad 3 \text{SGM} \quad 1 \text{SG.DAT} \\
  \text{‘He is (supposed to be) my relative. Still, he doesn’t look} & \quad \text{after me.’ (KT e)}
\end{align*}

In (7.94), by using the nominalized construction \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \textit{iː} rather than just \textit{i}ː, 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 \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \textit{iː} seems to add some force to the proposition (“he is supposed to be”) compared to the lone \textit{i}ː, which just identifies the referent as a relative. The speaker also shows his personal emotional involvement (he is disappointed) by using the personal \textit{i}ː rather than the neutral \textit{be}?. In (7.94), the latter clause, which uses the neutral copula \textit{be}? 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 \textit{iː} appears to bear resemblance to its cognate in Dropha 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) \begin{align*}
  kʰ u & \quad jënlɛ \quad nɛː \quad t'oku \quad \textit{im}-\textit{bo} \quad \textit{i}ː. \\
  3 \text{SGM} \quad \text{before} \quad 1 \text{SG.GEN} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{EQU-2INF} \quad \text{EQU.PER} \\
  \text{‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)}
\end{align*}

(7.96) \begin{align*}
  kʰ u & \quad jënlɛ \quad nɛː \quad t'oku \quad \textit{im}-\textit{bo} \quad \textit{be}?. \\
  3 \text{SGM} \quad \text{before} \quad 1 \text{SG.GEN} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{EQU-2INF} \quad \text{EQU.NE} \\
  \text{‘He was my friend before.’ (KT e)}
\end{align*}

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 \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \textit{iː} and \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \textit{be}? could also be used in (7.95) and (7.96) instead of \textit{im}-\textit{bo} \textit{iː} and \textit{im}-\textit{bo} \textit{be}? 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 \textit{i}ː 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 \textit{im}-\textit{bo} \textit{iː} or \textit{in}-\textit{kʰː} \textit{iː} 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 íː (according to some consultants also íŋ-kʰː eː íː could be used here), implying emotional involvement (here confusion), calls for an explanation that is given in the following sentence.

In the speech of PT from Tashiding (West Sikkim), both íː and ím-bo íː can be used in the present meaning, as shown in (7.100) and (7.101).

When inquired about the difference between (7.100) and (7.101), PT answered that the latter clause (with ím-bo íː) was “more calm”, “more polite”, “nicer” and “making the listener
feel good”. Another consultant (YR), on the other hand, claimed that only (7.100) and not (7.101) could be used when the father is present.

As pointed above, existential copulas have a clear motivation for forming nominalized evidentially neutral constructions, because both of the existentials ɲo and du are by themselves evidentially loaded. Among the equative copulas ɨ: and be?, however, it is more challenging to describe the exact difference between the sentences in (7.100).

(7.102) a) ɲe: ɲo=di ámdzi ɨ:.
b) ɲe: ɲo=di ámdzi be?.
c) ɲe: ɲo=di ámdzi im-bo be?.
d) ɲe: ɲo=di ámdzi iŋ-kʰ en be?.
e) ɲe: ɲo=di ámdzi im-bo ɨ:.
f) ɲe: ɲo=di ámdzi iŋ-kʰ: ɨ:.

Some things, however, can be said. All the forms in (7.102) can be used for both past and present events/states, although with ɨ:, and perhaps also with be?, a past interpretation usually requires a past adverbial. The difference between the personal forms ending in ɨ: (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 ɨ: (which is backrounded by be?) in contexts where the lone ɨ: 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 verbs275).

Nominalized personal equatives can also be formed by the infinitive marker -eʔ. The only two examples in my data are presented in (7.103a) and (7.103b), which are both emphatic or assertive in meaning (hence the gloss indeed). Note that in (7.103b) the contrastive emphatic =to occurs between the nominalizer and the final auxiliary.

(7.103) a) mỳs[t]yʔ ɬàm in-ne ɨ:-eʔ ɨ:.
    other ɬa[m]a EQU-COND EQU-INF EQU.PER
    ‘If the other (one) is a lama, (he) is (or: will be) indeed a lama.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

275 For eventive/dynamic verbs, the nominalizer/infinitivizer -po/bo has in effect become a past tense marker, e.g. sà-bo ɨ: > sà-u ɨ: ‘ate’, but for stative verbs the nominalized form can be used in the present meaning, e.g. ga-bo ɨ: > ga-u ɨ: ‘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 \( \text{jø̀-po} \) and the personal evidential value by final \( ũ. \) For an example on \( \text{jø̀-po} ũ. \), consider (7.104).

(7.104)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{nà ónå \text{jø̀-po}:} & \quad \text{t'ytsʰo}=lo \quad \text{kʰu}=jā: & \quad \text{jø̀-po} \\
  \text{1SG there EX-2INF.GEN time=DAT 3SGM=too EX-2INF} \\
  \text{ũ}.
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{ũ.} \) EQU.PER

‘At the time I was there, he was (there) too.’ (YR e)

In (7.104) the speaker uses the nominalized constructions \( \text{jø̀-po} \) rather than the mere copula \( \text{jø̀ʔ} \) because \( \text{jø̀ʔ} \) 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 \( ũ. \) rather than the neutral \( \text{bɛʔ} \) is chosen as the final auxiliary because the speaker was personally present at the referred time.

(7.105) is another example of a personal existential construction. Here \( \text{jø̀:kʰɛ̃}=\text{ũ.} \) could be used in place of \( \text{jø̀-po} \text{ũ.} \).

(7.105)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{ũ. tep}=\text{di}=\text{to} & \quad \text{pē}=\text{tsa}: & \quad \text{jø̀-po} \quad \text{ũ.} \text{.}^{276} \\
  \text{o book}=\text{DEMPH}=\text{CEMPH 1SG.GEN-at EX-2INF EQU.PER=AT} \\
  \text{ũ.} \text{.} \quad \text{ũ.} \text{.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘O, I would have had the book (all along), you know.’ (KN e)

In (7.105), person A has been trying to get hold of a certain book by asking from his various friends. After finally managing to obtain the book, he meets person B who has not heard about A’s need for the book. After A tells B about his search and finding the book, B answers (7.105). The nominalized \( \text{jø̀-po} \) is used instead of mere \( \text{jø̀ʔ} \) because the speaker makes reference to a past point of time. He had the book when his friend was looking for it. Using mere \( \text{jø̀ʔ} \) (or \( \text{jø̀:}=\text{ũ.} \)) 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 \( ũ. \) 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 \( \text{jø̀:e=e} \) \( ũ. \) in my data, consider (7.106). In (7.106a), the glide /j/ in the existential is reduced to /h/.

---

276 As already shown in (7.5), with the personal copula \( ũ. \) the attention-worthiness marked by \( =\text{ũ.} \) is addressee-oriented.
(7.106)  

a) Beer

biar $\textit{he:-eiy}=\textit{eo}$.

beer $\textit{EX-NPST.PER}=\textit{AT}$

‘There’s beer (inside), you know.’ (oh, Tashiding)

b) ng tʰorãː tɕʰutsʰøʔ guː=lo tʰom=na jo:-ce ɨː.

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), jo:-ce ɨː can refer to both currently holding (7.106a) and future states (7.106b). The latter use distinguishes jo:-ce ɨː from jo:-kʰɛː ɨː (see §7.3.2.2), which can refer to present but not future states. Although the exact semantics of jo:-ce ɨː 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 ɨː-ce ɨː, emphatic/assertive compared to mere jo? That is, whereas mere jo? 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 ཡིན་yin, similarly to Denjongke ɨː) 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 ɨː, which marks old information and spatiotemporal proximity, and bɛʔ, which marks evidential neutrality and spatiotemporal distance. Although the Denjongke sensorial equative indu? (see §7.3.1) bears some functional similarity to Dzongkha ‘immä, the Denjongke marker is too marginal to be considered to correspond to the frequently used ‘immä.

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་ ‘immä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>སྒྲ་ jö</td>
<td>སྒྲ་ du:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

277 Some speakers pronounce [ɦ] for initial /j/. Rounded vowels also tend to get unrounded, especially with younger speakers. As a result of these two changes, /jɔʰ/ may be pronounced as /heʔ-/heʔ/. The form -ɕiː is a reduction of -ɕɛ ɨː.

278 I came across the first instance of indu? after several years of Denjongke studies. The form does not occur even once in my digitized data, which includes, among other things, the whole novel Richhi.
The difference in the nature of contrast between equatives appears to cause a slight semantic difference in the reflexes of WT ཡིན yin between Dzongkha and Denjongke. Dzongkha 'ing essentially marks assimilated/old knowledge because it is contrasted with 'immä marking the newly acquired knowledge. The meaning of Denjongke īː 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 lɒpø̃ː īː.  
3SG.HON teacher EQU.PER

‘He is a teacher.’

The difference between Standard Tibetan (7.107) and Denjongke (7.108) is that in Denjongke the personal copula 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 of Lhasa Tibetan provides example (7.109) with the following comment “the person denoted by ˈkoŋ 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)

ˈkoŋ ləb téléchargement 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 jøʔ) as denoting “a state with which the speaker (or the listerner 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\textsuperscript{279}, 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.\textsuperscript{280}

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 genealact 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 genealact 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 ིིན་ yin behaves more semantically than its Lhasa/Standard Tibetan counterpart, is Lamjung Yolmo. Gawne (2013: 192) comments that Yolmo “ego copulas do not relate to the subject of the sentence, or the relationship of the speaker to the subject, but instead express the speaker’s knowledge.” Gawne (2017: 79), furthermore notes on the Classical Tibetan used in the biography of Milarepa by Gtsang smyon (1452-1507) (described by Oisel 2013: 81) that “yin was used in contexts that capture the personal knowledge of the speaker” and that “the distribution of the egophoric at this time was more like what we find in modern varieties such as Kyirong and Yolmo”. In other words, Yolmo and Kyirong (and Denjongke) preserve an earlier, semantically oriented use of the WT ིིན་ 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\textsuperscript{281} 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 བོད་, owing to the contrast with the spatiotemporally backgrounding equative སེ་, appears to focus more on the spatiotemporal closeness of the referent (i.e. the person introduced is present) than on the speaker’s already existing knowledge. Some other Tibetic languages, which do not share the 1\textsuperscript{st} person

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{280} Other factors influencing the issue are the age of the consultants, dialectal differences and the researchers ways of describing.

\textsuperscript{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 Ladakhi/Nurla (Bielmeier 2000).

In summary, ego(phoric)/personal copulas in Tibetic languages appear to occur on a grammaticalization scale from more semantically oriented marking to more syntactic restriction by the first person. The most grammaticalized end seems to be occupied by Standard Tibetan, which has developed a syntactic requirement for the presence of the first person in association with the egophorics (corresponding to “personal” here) (Tournadre 2008: 296). Exceptions are only allowed if the referent is closely related to the speaker, see (7.107). Shigatse and Themchen Tibetan (Haller 2000: 187), on the other hand, appear not to have a syntactic restriction but have instead a semantic restriction: the speaker has to be involved in the event. Denjongke (together with Yolmo, see Gawne 2013: 191-193) represents a yet less grammaticalized stage. The use of ȳ 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

Speaker’s knowledge ———> Speaker’s involvement ———> Required first person syntax

Note that the three concepts in Figure 7.1 are present in Tournadre’s (2017: 110) latest exposition of the category egophoric as he applies it to Tibetic languages (emphasis mine):

The use of an ‘egophoric’ auxiliary expresses the speaker’s personal knowledge. The speaker is often directly implied involved in the event that is being described (see Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 93), “Egophoric auxiliaries are used with first person occurring overtly, covertly [...] regardless of its function in a given clause (subject, object, indirect object, locative complement)” (Tournadre 2008: 296).

While Tournadre’s (2017: 110) definition describes the synchronic situation of those Tibetic languages which have arrived at the rightmost end of Figure 7.1282, 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.

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 *i:/jôʔ*), 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/ʑɛ (past marker) and -po for -po-bo-u (nominalizer). The auxiliary copulas referred to in Table 8.1 are ī̃ː/bɛʔ (EQU) and jø̀ʔ/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 (stative verb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completive</td>
<td>VERB -tsʰa:</td>
<td>completed action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary verb ‘finish’</td>
<td>VERB mjóː: (inflects like an ordinary verb)</td>
<td>having completed/finished or experienced the action marked by the primary verb</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 jø̀ʔ</td>
<td>continuity of the results of an action (dynamic verbs), continuity of state (stative verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sensorial past/present</td>
<td>VERB duʔ</td>
<td>sensorially attested (action or its results) present or past action/state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary resultative verb</td>
<td>VERB za: EX</td>
<td>emphasizes the lasting effect of a past action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB zak-o EQU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative past</td>
<td>VERB-po VERB-kjāː: EQU</td>
<td>iteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB-po(=le) 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 ī̃ː or bɛʔ,
depending on how the speaker presents the situation evidentially (see §9). As shown in Table 8.1, the meaning of the periphrastic past construction is dependent on the nature of the verb. With a stative verb (e.g. ga ‘love’, jò? ‘exist’) the construction may refer either to present or past states. Therefore the nominalizer/infinitivizer -po/bo is always glossed as an infinitive (2INF) and not as a past marker.

The suffix -tee/ze, on the other hand, is evidentially non-committed and does not need any additional morphology for finishing a sentence. For an example on -tee/ze, consider (8.1) and (8.2):

(8.1) ngà dãː tʰõː-tee óna.
1SG yesterday see-PST there
‘I saw (it) there yesterday.’ (DB trip story)

(8.2) pʰaː te’om-bo: gàː=lo gagdzø kjap-tee=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 -tee imposes an eventive reading on the usually stative verb cē: ‘know’.

(8.3) jim sim nā́cə [lengː=ki k’adzo? cē-tee, leke? k’adzo?]
day three within PRN.HON=GEN how.much know-PST Lhoke how.much cē-tee?
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 nàː t’oː- po ɪ.
like.that=DEMPH I hear-2INF EQU.PER.
‘I heard (a thing) like that.’ (KN e)

(8.5) pʰaː te’om-bo: gàː=lo gagdzø mànpu=tei? òdepti
over.there come.HON-2INF.GEN time=DAT obstacle many=INDF like.that kjap-o be?.
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 -tee and -po be? in (8.2) and (8.5) respectively, except the fact that -tee remains evidentially neutral by definition and that the periphrastic construction -po be? is evidentially neutral by choice, i.e. because the neutral copula be? is chosen instead of the personal copula ɪ, 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)ལགས་སྔོ,ད་ལྟ་ཞི་གྱུ་བྔོ་ནིན།
lasc, t'ato ya gju-wo284 í:.
okay now 1SG go-2INF EQU.PER
‘Okay, I’m going now (lit. I went).’ (rnam-rtog 29)

Furthermore, it can also be used for irrealis reference in the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

(8.7)མ་འྔངས་པའི་ན་ སྐད་ འདི་ ཡར་རྒྱས་ མ་ཐྔོན་ན་ འདི་ ཁྔོང་ཙུ་ གཞི་ བཙུག་ཀྔོ་ གནང་མཁན་ འདི་ སྣང་མེད་ ཐྔོན་བྔོ་ སྦད།
màoŋpø=na ke=di järge? ma-tʰon-na=di kʰõː=tsu
future.GEN=LOC language=DEMPH proress NEG-happen-COND=DEMPH 3PL=PL
zi tsuk-o nā:-kʰɛː=di nāːmɛʔ 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)གུ་རུ་ རིན་པྔོ་ཆེ་ཀིས་ ཨྔོ་འདེབ་ བཀའ་ གནང་གནངམ་ ཨིན།
guru rimput=gi ódep ka nā:-nā:-m í:.
Guru Rimpoe=AGT like.that order do.HON-RDP-2INF EQU.PER
‘Guru Rimpoe has said so.’ (CY interview)

(8.9)ངའི་ ནུམ་ སུ་ལི་(Nep.) བོད་ སྐད་ མི་ཞེས་ ཀྱིས།
nèː nim saili285=di jén kjap-kjap-o
1SG.GEN sister.of.a.woman third.daughter=DEMPH wedding do-RDP-2INF í:.
EQU.PER
‘My younger sister (who is the third daughter of my parents) is married.’ (PED life story)

Reduplication is more characteristic of the perfect construction VERB-RDP-2INF EX, which is introduced in §8.1.3. It is difficult to say what the exact semantic difference is between periphrastic (reduplicated) past ka nā:-nā:-m í: and perfect ka nā:-nā:-m jû 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 gaē ‘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 nim 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་ ਉེན་ kjap-ti misa:=to sô:-bo: sô:-bo í.: wedding do-NF new.person=CEMPH went-2INF.GEN went-2INF.EQU.PER t’izãː:...

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-lap[-o beʔ]), by the prefix mi- (mi-lap[-o beʔ]) or by negating the final copula (lap-o membeʔ). The prefix ma- is the most frequent, neutral way of negating a past action, see (8.11).

(8.11) a) ཨ་ཞང་གི་ བྔོའུ་ 286 མི་སར་ཏྔོ་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན་ ཆེན་པོ་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ མི་སར་ཏྔོ་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན་ ཆེན་པོ་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ མི་སར་ཏྔོ་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན་ ཆེན་པོ་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ མི་སར་ཏྔོ་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨིན་ ཆེན་པོ་ རྐྱབས་སྟི་ མི་སར་ཏྔོ་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ ཨི

maternal.uncle=GEN speech=DEMPH 3SGF.AGT NEG-hear ‘She didn’t hear the uncle’s words.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

b) ལོ་ཁ་ བྔོ་ སྦད། lóptagju ma-tʰop-o beʔ.

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) ཡོད་ ཧོ་ ན་ བེས ངེ་ སྨྲ སྤ་ ེ་ དེ་ ད་ དངུལ་ ལབ་མཁན་ ལེགམ་ མི་ཐྔོན་བྔོ་ སྦད། ódi gà: t’a dik’a ny: lap-kʰ: lêm mi-tʰem-bo beʔ.

that time now here money say-NMLZ good NEG-come.out-2INF.EQU.NE ‘Now at that time there was not much money around.’ (PED life story)

(8.13) མི་ནུབ་པྔོ་ སྦད། mi-nùp-o beʔ.

NEG-sink-2INF.EQU.NE ‘(She) does/did not sink (under water).’ (TB video comment)

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 mêː, mêː ‘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 བྔོ་ ‘mind; conversation, speech, talk, word’.

300
(8.14) afirmative:
(8.15) the context allows, by bare verb roots

Another context for emphatic negation is contrast with an adjacent affirmative clause, as shown in (8.16) and (8.17), where the negated clause occurs first, followed by the affirmative clause.

(8.16) Sir, the father too gave writing-exercise. The father too gave writing-exercise.

(8.17) It wasn’t only I myself who wrote the exercise. The father too gave writing-help.’

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 Lhoppo 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).
In addition to past, the bare verb root may also mark imperative (see §11.3) and steady state present (see §8.2.1).

8.1.2 Completive

The completive form -tsʰa(ː) derives from the Classical Tibetan verb བསྟོར 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/ʑɛ. 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) དམང་ཐེག་བཅོམ་ཤེས་ཚོད་སེབས་ཚར།

\[
\text{dā:} \quad \eta: \quad t\text{'p}=tei? \quad qok-tsʰaː. \\
\text{yesterday} \quad \text{LAGT} \quad \text{book=INDF} \quad \text{read-CMPL}
\]

‘Yesterday I finished reading a book.’ (NB e)

b) དམང་ཐེག་བཅོམ་ཤེས་ཚོད་སེབས་ཚར།

\[
\text{dā:} \quad \eta: \quad t\text{'p}=tei? \quad qok-teɛ. \\
\text{yesterday} \quad \text{LAGT} \quad \text{book=INDF} \quad \text{read-PST}
\]

‘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) སོག་ལེགས་ཀྱི་མི་ཕུལ་མི་སྔགས་མཆུ་

\[
\text{ŋatei} \quad \text{jā:p} \quad t\text{'o}:ti \quad \text{lō} \quad ni-tsʰo? \quad ĭp-tsʰaː. \\
\text{1PL GEN father.HON} \quad \text{die.HON-NF} \quad \text{year two-about reach-CMPL}
\]

‘Some two years have passed since our father passed away.’ (Richhi 35)
(8.23) a) ད་ལྟེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཐིག་ རི་ སེབས་ཚོའུ་ སྦད།
\[ t'ato \ t'a \ drai\v \ tsʰa: \ \textit{become-CMPL \ EQU.NE} \]
‘Now he’s become a driver.’ (KN e)

b) ད་ལྟེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཐིག་ རི་ སེབས་ཚོའུ་ སྦད།
\[ t'ato \ t'amtee? \ gari \ \textit{reach-CMPL-2INF \ EQU.NE} \]
‘Now everything has arrived by car.’ (RBM discussion on the roof)

c) ད་ལྟེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཐིག་ རི་ སེབས་ཚོའུ་ སྦད།
\[ kʰim=na \ \textit{house=LOC \ return-CMPL-2INF \ EQU.ATTQ} \]
‘Has he returned home, I wonder?’ (Richhi 24)

d) ད་ལྟེ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཐིག་ རི་ སེབས་ཚོའུ་ སྦད།
\[ te \ \textit{CMPL} \ t'a \ \textit{EQU.NE} \ di=tsu \ t'o? \ \textit{CMPL} \ \textit{NF} \]
then that.time now camel these=PL load carry-NF
\[ gjiu-wa=gI, \ \textit{CMPL} \ gjiu-ce=ki \ \textit{EQU.NE} \ t'ytsʰo? \ \textit{CMPL} \ \textit{NF} \]
going-2INF GEN GEN go-INF GEN time arrive-CMPL-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘Now then at that time, the time had come for these camels to come carrying loads.’ (PD bet story)

In (8.26), the compleitive occurs with the past suffix \textit{-ze}. The form \textit{-tsʰou} is tentatively glossed as a secondary verb ‘finish’ without nominalization, because adding the past marker \textit{-tse/ze} to a nominalized form would be the only such example in my data.

287 The equivalent word in Denjongke given by consultant YR is རྣམ་མཁའ་ སེམས་རབ་ \textit{num-k\'or kyː-kʰ}: [oil-wheel drive-NMLZ].

288 The original utterance has the verb ending \textit{t\'on-tsʰa-ke}=co [become-CMPL-IN=AT] but the consultant also re-uttered the clause with \textit{t\'on-tsʰa be?}.

289 This pronunciation represents typical spoken language. Reading-style pronunciation would be \textit{lôk-tsʰa-bo}.
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).

"(They) already went." (KT e)

For evidential distinctions of the various constructions with -tsʰa/, consider §9.1.3.

### 8.1.3 Secondary verb mjǿː ‘finish, experience’

The verb mjǿː मं; ‘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 मं myong ‘experience’. It is likely that after having developed the meaning ‘finish, complete’ mjǿː has pushed the earlier verb tsʰaː with a similar meaning ‘complete, finish’ from ordinary verbhood towards becoming a grammatical completive marker. The secondary verb mjǿː ‘finish’ differs from the completive morpheme tsʰaː in that in addition to the serialized construction mjǿː can occur in a nonfinal converbal construction (with little difference in meaning) whereas tsʰaː cannot, e.g. sà-ti mjǿː ‘finished eating’, *sà-ti tsʰaː.

The use of mjǿː referring to finished action is illustrated by (8.28) and (8.29).

(8.28) ཡེ་ཚད་ ཕེ་མྱིང་ སྦད།

\[ tʰamt \, ɕɛʔ, \, mjǿː \, bɛʔ. \]

all do finish.EQU.NE

'(We) finished doing all.' (DB life story)

(8.29) བྱ་གན་ སྐུ་ཡོད་ མྱིང།

\[ óna \, kujø̃ː \, ze: \, mjǿː. \]

there education have.HON finish

'(He) finished taking education there.' (CY interview)

Examples (8.30) and (8.31) illustrate the use referring to experience, which in my impression are more frequent in negated clauses such as (8.31).

(8.30) ཞབས་ ཡེ་ཚད་ རྐྱ་ \n
\[ mìnto \, tʰamteeq? \, ɕa:-ea-p \, tʰamteeq? \, kʰa=gi \, dzip \, mjǿː. \]

flower all blossom-RDP-2INF all 3SGM=AGT suck experience

'All flowers, all the blossoming ones he had experienced sucking (the nectar out of).’ (RS bee story)
At the present time, I have not heard (people) who sing odes like that.’ (KT intro to an ode)

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.

‘At that time when my father got rich, very rich doing work in the fields, your father took (in loan) seventy rupees from my father, (he) said, so the story goes.’ (PD betting story)

‘Then after that I have been staying here in Europe, Poland and taught a small tulku (reincarnated Buddhist teacher).’ (RB life story)
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-ɕyː: NEG.EX (8.38-39).

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.
tentatively glossed as ‘trace’, which fits the clausal meaning. In the novel Richhi, both the forms མཐུལ་ and མཐུས་ occur in writing.

(8.38) མཐུལ་ ར་ཏོད ཟངས་ basketball
gà t’ato sā:té basketbol tsi:-e<y>: mé?.
1SG now until basketball(Eng.) play-trace NEG.EX.PER
‘I haven’t played basketball so far (in my life).’ (KN e)

(8.39) མཐུལ་ ར་ཏོད 292 མཐུས་ ར་ཏོད ཟངས་ basketball
jigiː=na=lo293 sēːta? p’ja-ti k’anːeː: t’i-e<y>: mindu?.
letter.GEN=LOC=DAT clear do-NF anything write-trace NEG.EX.SEN
‘Nothing (about the things the reader hopes to find) is written clearly within the letter.’ (Richhi 164)

The construction VERB-e<y>: NEG.EX is further illustrated in the question-answer-pair (8.40):

(8.40) a) མཐུལ་ ར་ཏོད ཟངས་ basketball
  t’ato bhaila k’at e jò??
now PN how EX.PER
‘How is Bhaila now?’

b) མཐུལ་ ར་ཏོད 292 ཟངས་ basketball
  t’aruŋ ləm-p ja t’ak-e<y>: mé?.
yet good-ADVZR be.cured-trace NEG.EX.PER
‘He hasn’t recovered well yet.’ (Richhi 26)

The positive construction VERB-e<y>: 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) མཐུལ་ ར་ཏོད ཟངས་ basketball
  rā: nām=lo=jāː: siliguri lep-tee-ga?
2SG.M when=DAT=even TPN arrive-PST-PQ
‘Did you ever go to Siliguri?’ (NAB e)

b) མཐུལ་ ར་ཏོད 293 ཟངས་ basketball
  gā lep-e<y>: jò?.
1SG arrive-trace EX.PER
‘(Yes) I have gone (there).’ (NAB e)

291 According to consultant YR, this word could be written མཐུལ་.
292 There is most likely a spelling-mistake here, the right spelling being མཐུས་.
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.
8.1.5 Resultative

In harmony with its copular function, jò? following a verb root marks the present continuity of a state. With dynamic verbs, see (8.43-45), this implies that the state is a result of an action, hence the name resultative for this construction. Resultative forms are in meaning very close to the perfect construction described above. Examples (8.43) and (8.44) include both affirmed forms (a) and negated forms (b).

(8.43) a) མི་ཙུའི་ཇི་ལྟར།
myŏs=ki nā: za: jò?

‘Others have placed (them) here.’ (RS language situation)

b) མི་ཙུའི་ཇི་ལྟར།
myŏs=ki nā: zak(-zak-o) mè?

‘Others have not placed (them) here.’ (KN e)

(8.44) a) དེ་ལྡན།
ŋā lep jò?

1SG arrive EX.PER
‘I have arrived.’ (KN e)

b) དེ་ལྡན། / དེ་མ་ལྡན།
ŋā lep mè?
ŋā ma-lep.

1SG arrive EX.PER 1SG NEG-arrive
‘I haven’t arrived.’ ‘I did not arrive.’ (KN e)

Note that jò? may occur in a complex construction, as exemplified by jò:ee be? in the irrealis/future in (8.45).

(8.45) ལོག་GEN འཇིག་MANNER དེ་ལྡན།
ódi: kâte men-ne ŋā:=gi nörthy:=to p’ja

that. GEN speaking. manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPHE do jò:ee be?.

EX-INF EQU.NE
‘If he does not have speaking manners, I will have made a mistake.’ (Nga’i ’gan 13)

294 Consultant KN (Martam) suspected that there might be a mistake here because in his language variety -syː would be used here instead of -cyː as a diminutive ‘a bit serious’.

295 Some spell this word མི་ཙུའི་ instead of མི་ཙུའི་.
With stative verbs, the meaning focuses on continuity:

\[(8.46)\]  

\[mìnto \ sérpo, \ márpo, \ karpo^296\  dêndzô: \ nāŋlo \ cā: \ jô?.\]

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. \(cā: \ mè\).

When used in the resultative construction, the verb \(dø\) ‘sit’ is ambiguous as to dynamic (‘have taken a seat’) or stative reading (‘are sitting’) but nevertheless marks the continuing state of sitting:

\[(8.47)\]  

\[kʰõː \ ñíː-\text{tea} \ tʼato \ nèː;Pie:\  təŋlo \ dø: \ jô?.\]

The two of them are now sitting on the bed. (Richhi 18)

### 8.1.6 Sensorial resultative/past

The construction VERB \(du\?,\) which is rather infrequent in my data, expresses sensorial resultative and sensorial past meanings. As shown in §7.2.2 and §9.1.2, sensoriality refers to the fact the speaker bases a proposition on a sensorial experience, typically visual. The difference to a similar construction with \(jø̀\) is that whereas \(jø̀\) implies that the resulted state continues at the time of speech, \(du\?) only makes reference to an event where knowledge was gained and remains uncommitted as to whether the state is still ongoing. A construction with \(du\?) only implies that the state-of-affairs held at the time of observing. In examples (8.48-52), where the time of observing coincides with the time of speaking, the construction is resultative, i.e. marking a state achieved by the verbal action.

\[(8.48)\]  

\[tʼariŋ \ míla\? \ zi \ dzom \ du\?.\]

Today person four gather EX.SEN

‘Four people have/are gathered today, I see.’ (PTB e)

According to consultant KN, (8.48) cannot be negated by just replacing the affirmed existential with a negated one. Negation strategy is adopted from the perfect construction (see §8.1.3):

\[(8.49)\]  

\[a) \ tʼariŋ \ míla\? \ zi \ dzom-\text{bo} \ mìndu?\]

Today person four gather-INF NEG.EX.SEN

‘The four people haven’t gathered today, I see.’ (KN e)

The copula may, however, be negated in a construction with \((pʰa)gɛ\) ‘except’, see (8.50). The meaning corresponds to English more than accompanied by a negated verb or the English only followed by an affirmative verb.

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296 The colour words in this song occur in disyllabic Tibetan-style forms instead of the typical monosyllabic Denjongke form (šéːp, 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) བོད་རིང་མི་ལག་བཞི་(ཕ་)གེ་འཛོམས་བྔོ་མིན་འདུག།  
tariŋ mí la ʔ ʑi (pʰa)g ɛ dzom mìnduʔ.  
Today person four except gather NEG.EX.SEN  
‘Today there aren’t (any) more than four people gathered, I see.’/‘Today only four people have gathered, I see.’ (KN e)

(b) བོད་རིང་མི་ལག་(ཁོ་)བཞི་(ཕ་)གེ་འཛོམས་བྔོ་མིན་འདུག།  
tariŋ mí la ʔ ʑi (pʰa)g ɛ dzom mìnduʔ.  
Today person four except gather NEG.EX.SEN  
‘There is no rainbow touching the lake.’ (KN e)

Note that in the negated version (8.51b) the secondary verb sō: is elided and the main verb may occur with the nominalizer or without.

The knowledge on which the statement with the construction VERB duʔ is based can be gained either through direct observation of the verbal event, as in (8.48-51) above297, or through observing the results of past action, as in (8.52).

(8.52)  

དཔོན་ནི་འབྲི་བཤད་དང་ཞི་བེད་ཀྱི་ཐུབ་བཟོན་ཐཇབས་སོདཔའི་སང་མ་གཅིག་འཐུ་འབག་ལྔོང་སོང་འདུག་ཀེ།  
dãː kʰaːnuː=lo ŋàt ɕaʔ pʰou jó.  
yesterday the.day.before.yesterday=DAT 1PL over.there work kjap deː-peː gāː : à:m=teiʔ tʰu bak lɔː sō: du-ke.  
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 duʔ for reporting both direct evidence of seeing an action and indirect evidence of seeing the results of an action. In both cases, something is sensorially perceived, and thus both instances can be marked with the sensorial duʔ. For the close

297 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 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) kʰoŋ=gi mélam de: tap-o náː du-ke.
3SG.HON=AGT prayer like.this sow-2INF do.HON EX.SEN-IN
‘He prayed this kind of prayer.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

According to consultant KN, (8.53) can be negated by replacing the affirmative existential with a negated one:

(8.54) kʰoŋ=gi mélam de: tap-o náː mindu-ke.
3SG.HON=AGT prayer such sow-2INF do.HON NEG.EX.SEN-IN
‘He did not pray such a prayer.’ (KN e)

The auxiliary 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) lâmsâː goʔ on-diki cóktei=ki kʰu=lo jáː bak sóː:
immediately vulture come-NF wing=AGT 3SGM=DAT up carry go.PFV
EX.SEN
‘Immediately a vulture came and carried (or: comes and carries) him up in his wings.’ (RB butcher story)

As suggested by uses in (8.51), (8.52) and (8.55), the construction VERB duʔ is particularly common with (the suppletive) verb sǒː: ‘went’.

8.1.7 Resultative secondary verb zak
The secondary verb zak/zaʔ (often za:) ‘set, place, put’ (WDབཞག), 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). 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) gom phé zaʔ.
door open put
‘Leave/keep the door open.’ (PT e)

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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’. 

311
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).

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) nátei kʰim-teː: ná: za: jɔ?:
1PL.GEN house-great give.HON put EX.PER
‘(He) has given (us) our Khimchen-building.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(8.59) paŋkʰaːlɛ kʼiː300 kjap zak-o be?:
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) tei=:di tāː zak-o ʔ, 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) kʰon=gi nà=lo teːka:ódi tāː man-zak-o be?:
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 teːoːlɔː.ty súm zo za:-za: jɔ?:
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) mɛmpaː súŋ-di za: jɔ?:
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་ཀུན་གཉིས་པྔོའི་སྐྔོར་ལྔོ་ཏོ་མ་ཀིས་དྲི་བྔོ་གནང་བྔོ་གནང་ཀང་ནིན།
p’usim=laː nj:poː korlo áma=gi ṅà=lo t ’iwa
younger.sister=HON two-ORD.GEN about mother=AGT 1SG=DAT question
náː-bo nú=kJäː ʰː.
give.HON-2INF give.HON-again EQU.PER
‘The mother has been keeping on asking me about the second sister.’ (Richhi 27)

(8.65) མེན་རེག་ཀྔོ་ལས་ཀྲུང་པོ་ཁུག་པྔོ་ཁུག་ཀང་ནིན།
mɛ̃́n rek-o=lɛ nj:k’uː-po kʰuː=kjäː ʰː.
medicine contact-2INF=ABL sleep-2INF sleep-again EQU.PER
‘After the medicine took effect, (he) has slept and slept.’ (rnam-rtog 32)

(8.66) ངུ་བྔོ་ོ་ཀུང་བྱེ་ན་ཆུ་ཐིག་ཡང་མ་འཐུང་།
ŋù-bo njː=kjäː=p’ja kʰa=i=na tʰutʰik=jäː ma-tʰun.
weep-2INF weep-again=ADVZR mouth=GEN=LOC water.drop=even NEG-drink
‘Weeping and weeping, she did not drink even a drop of water.’ (Richhi 160)

In (8.67), the iterativity concerns several different undergoers, i.e. several different people have died.

(8.67) མི་ཐི་བྔོ་ོ་ཀུང་ནིན།
mí ci-u ci-kjäː ʰː.
human die die-again EQU.NE
‘People died and died.’ (KN e)

8.1.8.2 Iterative with -teim
The second construction with which iterativity and intensity may be marked is VERB-po(=lɛ) VERB-teim EQU. The formative -teim is of unknown origin and is in (8.68-69) preliminarily glossed simply as a nominalizer.

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).

301 A possible origin is the progressive form -zen/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 p’ja.

(8.69) མུ་ཉག་རྐྱབས་པྔོ་རྐྱབས་ཅིམ་བྱེས་བྔོ་སྲད།
mù ŋa kjap-o kjap-teim p’ja-u be?.
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 sṭː ‘we went’. One of Sandberg’s (1895: 42) examples of the past indefinite is “He has written a letter: Kho yige chi p’i song du’, corresponding to kʰu jìgi tɕiʔ p’i 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-tsʰa: ‘has died’ and periphrastic past ei-u ñ̃ː/bɛʔ. The form ei sõː-ze (presumably corresponding to Sandberg’s shi song zhe) was reported by consultant KN to have a purposive meaning equivalent to ei-wa sõː-ze ‘went to die’. The form ei sõː: duʔ, on the other hand, was reported by consultant TB to be a curse-like wish, probably something in the effect ‘let him die’. For past tense of p’ja ‘do’, Sandberg (1895: 49) lists “Zhe song”, a form which seems to combine the Central Tibetan tɕɛ ‘do’ with the secondary verb sṭː ‘went’. In my data, p’ja employs the same past forms as other verbs, e.g. the perfective past p’ja-ze, periphrastic past form p’ja-u ñ̃ː/bɛʔ, and the completive p’ja-tsʰa:. It is noteworthy that Sandberg does not record the completive form -tsʰa: at all, suggesting that this form may be a later development.

8.2 Present habitual and future forms
There are four forms with which to express general facts holding in the present and three forms to express future, see Table 8.2.
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-kʰɛː 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-ɕɛ EQU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncertain future</td>
<td>VERB Ȝː</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imminent future</td>
<td>VERB-rap EQU/EX</td>
<td>be about to</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) _ng às _kham
ηά: ɕɛː
1SG.AGT know
‘I know (it).’

(8.71) ɛ’ex-ɕak exam
ηά teʰo:=lo ga.
1SG 2SG.L=DAT like
‘I like you.’ (KN e)

(8.72) ngal-kö, koč-kö, koč-kö dzuŋ_ka:x
nòː-kja? kjako=di=lo dzuga láp. cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say ‘Cow-dung, dung is called /dzuga/.’ (PL interview)

(8.73) a) ngal-kö, koč-kö, koč-kö dzuŋ_ka:x
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) ལ།
sà.
eat
‘Yes, he does.’ (lit. ‘eats’) (PT e)

The steady state present is negated by the prefix mi-, see (8.74).

(8.74) འདི་ལོ་བལ་ཤད
mi-lâp.
this=DAT uproot-INF NEG-say
‘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) གངས་མཐོང་པད།
kʽãːtʰõː=pɛʔ.
snow-mountain see=EQU.
‘The mountain is visible.’ (TB e)

(8.76) པོ་བྱ་སྦད།
jó bɛʔ.
work do
‘He does not work.’ (KN e)

8.2.2 Simple present
The verb root may be followed by the evidentially neutral equative beʔ (or the cliticized variant =pɛʔ) to form a construction which is mainly used for present habitual meanings (8.77-79) but which, with an appropriate adverbial, may also express future events (8.80-81).

(8.77) གངས་མཐོང་པད།
kʽãː tʰõː=pɛʔ.
snow-mountain see=EQU.
‘The mountain is visible.’ (TB e)

(8.78) a) ཕུ་བྱ་སྦད།
kʰu jó? pʼja be-ka?
3SGM work do EQU.NE-PQ
‘Does he work?’ (KN e)

b) ཕུ་མིན་བྱ་སྦད།
kʰu jó? mim-bja beʔ.
3SGM work NEG-do EQU.NE
‘He does not work.’ (KN e)

(8.79) སིང་ལེགས་བོད་བོས་
like that release carry go go EQU.
‘(They) go free just like that.’ (CY interview)
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)  
\[\begin{align*}  
\text{a)} & \quad \text{བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་གྲགས་ཤེ་ཟླ་སྦད།} \\
& \quad \text{Tenzing=} \text{AGT pig} \text{-meat} \text{eat} \text{EQU.NE} \\
& \quad \text{‘Tenzing eats pork.’ (PT e)} \\
\text{b)} & \quad \text{བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ཐག་ཤེ་ཟླ་} \\
& \quad \text{Tenzing=} \text{AGT pig} \text{-meat} \text{eat} \\
& \quad \text{‘Tenzing eats pork.’ (PT e)} 
\end{align*}\]

The simple present construction is negated by the prefix \textit{mi-}.

(8.83)  
\[\begin{align*}  
\text{ཁམྱོན་སི་སྦྱོར་ལི་དི་ཟླ་ལོ་} \\
& \quad \text{because this year ISG TPN=DAT come NEG-receive=EQU.NE} \\
& \quad \text{‘Because this year I have no chance to come to Bombay.’} (\text{Richhi 147}) 
\end{align*}\]

(8.84)  
\[\begin{align*}  
\text{ཏ་ལེགས་མི་ཁྲུང་} \\
& \quad \text{today=GEN decision=DEMPH now happen NEG-be.able.to EQU.NE} \\
& \quad \text{‘Today’s decision cannot be made now.’} (\text{BB BB discussion}) 
\end{align*}\]

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)  
\[\begin{align*}  
\text{a)} & \quad \text{འདྲི་ལོ་=di སྦྱོར་} \\
& \quad \text{that=DAT=DEMPH so that what.is.it NEG-say-NMLZ EQU.NE} \\
& \quad \text{‘It’s not called that, whatever.’} (\text{PL interview}) 
\end{align*}\]
b) ལམ་ རིག་པོ་ གྲོ་ཐང་ འཛིན་གཞག་ ལམ་

lám eû-watcne giompa=na zu:-kʰen be?.
lama say.HUM-COND monastery=LOC live.HON-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘If (we) talk about lamas, (they) live at monastery.’ (YR interview)

c) སྱོད་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ ལམ་ ད་སྡོད་ ལམ་

kʰ-eːteʰ'a=di raŋ=gi ke=di go jénle eː.
important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know
go:-kʰen be?.
be.neded-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘The important thing is that one has to know one’s own language at first.’ (KL BLA 12)

The habitual present form lends itself to historical present uses, as shown in (8.86).

(8.86) ཞེས་ ལོ་ རིག་པོ་ ཆོས་ ཡི་ ལོ་ རིག་པོ་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ ལམ་DAL
tʽizãː g ɛːpu=lo ódi ʃaː ʒaː mèː=di gokʰ ɛn b ɛʔ.
but king=DAT that time authority what=even NEG.EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘But at that time the king didn’t have any power.’ (CY interview)

The construction làp-kʰː ː/laːp-kʰen be? can be negated either with the perfective negator ma- or the imperfective mi-. The instances in my data suggest that ma- is used for referring to events which have a natural ending point and which are viewed as a whole, see (8.87). The negator mi-, in contrast, is used for events/states which are ongoing or prospective, see (8.88).

(8.87) a) མི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ བཅའ་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ ཡི་་ཞི་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་

nätei=gi literarigi tʰaruŋ nätei junivsiti
1PL.GEN=GEN literature(Eng.) so.far 1PL.GEN university(Eng.)
lep ma-tsʰu-kʰen be: nā.304
reach NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE TAG.ASR
‘Our literature hasn’t so far been able to reach university-level, eh.’
(DR discussion with KL)

b) རིག་པོ་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་

námkʰ=aː=le pʰap-ti m(a)-öŋ-kʰen be?.
sky=ABL descend-NF NEG-come-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘(They) do not come descending from the sky.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(8.88) a) ལོ་ རིག་པོ་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་ འཇོ་མིང་ སྐྱེ་་ཞི་

kʰː ñenge? òdi mi-kʰen-kʰen be?.
3PL PRN.HON that NEG-know.HON-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘They did not know that.’ (CY interview)

304 According to consultant YR, the Denjongke words for literature and and university are bstan-beos and gtsug-lag slob-khang respectively.
b) བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱིས་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཐ་ལྟེབ་བཤད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་དཔོན་དུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྤྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་

\[ \text{odi}=\text{lo}=\text{di} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{odi} \quad \text{k’ajem} \quad \text{mi-lāp-k’en} \quad \text{be}?. \]

that=DAT=DEMPH so that what.is.it NEG-say-NMLZ EQU.NE

\[ \text{odi}=\text{lo} \quad \text{biko} \quad \text{lāp-ce} \quad \text{be}?. \]

that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE

‘It’s not called that, whatever. It is called ‘biko’.’ (PL interview)

c) བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱིས་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཐ་ལྟེབ་བཤད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་དཔོན་དུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྤྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་

\[ \text{odi} \quad \text{gā}: \quad \text{t’a} \quad \text{p’iliŋ} \quad \text{zuŋ}=\text{di} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{dzambuliŋ nāyea} \]

that time now foreign government=DEMPH south continent inside

\[ \text{c’ukte}: \quad \text{be}?. \quad \text{p’jasonzā}: \quad \text{ge:pu}=\text{lo}=\text{jā}: \quad \text{ge:pu} \quad \text{sūŋ} \]

powerful EQU.NE therefore king=DAT=even king say.HON

\[ \text{mi-ts’u-k’en} \quad \text{be}?. \]

NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE

‘At that time the foreign (=British) government was strong outside Sikkim. Therefore the king couldn’t even be called a king.’ (CY interview)

A counter example to this basic pattern is (8.89), where the perfective negator \text{ma}- is used for an action that generally holds in the present.

(8.89) བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱིས་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཐ་ལྟེབ་བཤད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་དཔོན་དུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྤྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་

\[ \text{t’ariŋ} \quad \text{t’}-\text{no} \quad \text{t’orā}=\text{di} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ŋatei}=\text{gt} \quad \text{odi} \quad \text{kupur}=\text{di} \]

today die-COND tomorrow=DEMPH so 1PL.GEN=GEN that body=DEMPH

\[ \text{ma-tøŋ-k’en} \quad \text{be}?. \]

NEG-take.out EQU.NE

‘If (someone) dies today, tomorrow that body of ours is not taken out.’ (LA funerals)

Example (8.89), however, was spoken by a lady from Lachung, an area in North Sikkim which is dialectically somewhat different from more southern and western varieties. One consultant commented that the negator \text{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) བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱིས་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཐ་ལྟེབ་བཤད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་དཔོན་དུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྤྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་

\[ \text{ku}=\text{lo} \quad \text{ga-u} \quad \text{ɪ}. \]

3SGM 1SG=DAT like-2INF EQU.PER

‘He likes me.’ (KT e)

(8.91) བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱིས་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཐ་ལྟེབ་བཤད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་དཔོན་དུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྤྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་

\[ \text{di} \quad \text{t’ako}=\text{di} \quad \text{ātsi} \quad \text{rim-bo} \quad \text{be}?. \]

this rope=DEMPH a.bit be.long-2INF EQU.NE

‘This rope is a bit (too) long.’ (KN e)
(8.92) Bill Gates =DAT money much EX.NE
‘Bill Gates has a lot of money.’ (YR e)

(8.93) a) recently 2SG.L=GEN nose=DAT hang EX-NMLZ crab=DEMPH crab=GEN
pʼotso im-bo beʔ.
child EQU-2INF EQU.NE
‘The crab that was recently hanging from your nose is/was a baby crab.’ (rna-gsung 33)
b) 1SG.GEN father=DEMPH doctor EQU-2INF EQU.NE
‘My father is/was a doctor.’ (KN e)

However, consultant KN commented that a clause like (8.93b) would, taken out of any further context, suggest for him that the referent has passed away, thus making the past interpretation the default case.

8.2.5 Nonpast
The construction VERB-ɛɛ EQU can refer both to habitually true present facts and future events, hence the name nonpast (glossed NPST). The personal form -ɛɛ ŋː is often abbreviated to -ɛɛ/ɛŋ (see 8.101). Present habitual uses, which resemble in meaning the present habitual form VERB-kʰɛ̃ː EQU, are illustrated in (8.94-96).

(8.94) that=DAT stick say-INF EQU.NE
‘It’s called “biko.”’ (PL interview)

(8.95) 1SG.TPN=LOC live-INF EQU.PER
‘I live in Tashiding.’ (JD life story)

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 doː-to ŋː: (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).

\[ (8.97) \quad \text{དཔག་བསམ་ འདི་ ནམ་ ཤར་ འྔོང་གམ་ ལབ་སྟི་ འགྱིམ་ སྔོད་ཤད་ལྔོ།} \]
so balsam(flower)=DEMPH when blossom come-ATTQ say-NF stare \[ \text{do:-ce}=lo. \]
‘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:

\[ (8.98) \quad \text{ང་ ཨྔོ་འདེམ་ ཁད་པར་ཆེམ་པུ་ འདི་ མེད་ ���ུ་ཤད་ ਺ིན།} \]
then tomorrow 1SG here hide \[ \text{say.HUM-INF EQU.PER} \]
‘I am not that special, I submit.’ (CY interview)

For future uses, consider (8.99-101).

\[ (8.99) \quad \text{ཨེ་ དེ་ནེ་ ཐྔོ་རངས་ ང་ ན་ སྦ་ སྔོད་ཤད་ ਺ིན་} \]
then tomorrow 1SG here \[ \text{sit-INF EQU.PER} \]
‘O, in that case tomorrow I’ll sit hiding here.’ (KT animal story)

\[ (8.100) \quad \text{ཨྔོ་ན་ རྐྱབས་ཤད་ ਺ིན་ ལྔོ།} \]
there strike-NPST.PER okay \[ \text{okay} \]
‘I’ll throw (the ball) there, okay?’ (oh, Tashiding)

Similar to the present habitual construction VERB-kʰ: EQU, the nonpast construction may be used for historical present, see (8.102), where the speaker tells about his childhood.

\[ (8.101) \quad \text{ཨྔོ་ན་ རྐྱབས་ཤད་ ਺ིན་} \]
there strike-NPST.PER okay \[ \text{okay} \]

\[ 306 \text{ The typical Denjongke pronunciation is lo (the pronunciation here follows Nepali from which the morpheme is borrowed).} \]
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) te team kʰa=gi làp-ti teiku=di min-dík=la.
then haphazardly mouth=AGT say-NF only=DEMPH NEG-be.alright=HON
‘It will be not (or: it is not) alright to just do it haphazardly orally.’ (CY interview)

(8.104) sêmme? ma-nâː-tsʰa=no ṅàtei keː=di jârge?
mind.pain NEG-do.HON-CMPL-COND 1PL.GEN language=DEMPH development mi=tʰøn=ɕɛ bɛʔ.
NEG-happen-INF EQU.NE
‘If we do not have pangs of conscience, our language will not develop.’ (KL BLA 12)

(8.105) a) deː=ʁaː: in-(n)=to ṅàte=tsu raŋ=gi p’aːna
like.that=AEMP.MH EQU-COND=CEMPH 1PL=PL self=GEN in.between
teiː=ki zên=lo lóː=ʁaː: teːː-ɛ mëmbɛ?
in-(n)am
one=AG other=DAT mind=AEMP.MH entrust-INF NEG.EQU.NE EQU.PER-ATTQ
ʈʽoku=tsu.
friend=PL
‘In that case, there is no trust among us between each other, is there, friends.’ (mthun-sgril 4)

b) ṭaː=di ṅà=lo=di... k’arṣa... tiru? gia-t‘amba=di
now=DEMP 1SG=DAT=DEMP what.to.say rupee hundred-NUM=DEMP
pʼin-ɛ mëmbɛ?
give-INF NEG.EQU.NE
‘Now he won’t give me...what to say...a hundred rupees.’ (PD bet story)

307 These type of double genitives, which are frequent in spoken language, do not occur in written Denjongke, where mere ṭāːpyː is used instead.
The three negating constructions are summarized in (8.106).

(8.106) a) བདེ་ སི་ ཞེས་ མིན་ཤད་ (Nep.) བོད་ འབྲུག་

\[ kʰu \ tʰorä: \text{badzar} \ miŋ-gju. \]

3SGM tomorrow market NEG-go

‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN e)

b) བདེ་ སི་ ཞེས་ མིན་ཤད་ (Nep.) བོད་ འབྲུག་

\[ kʰu \ tʰorä: \text{badzar} \ miŋ-gju-ee \ beʔ. \]

3SGM tomorrow market NEG-GO-INF EQU.NE

‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN e)

c) བདེ་ སི་ ཞེས་ མིན་ཤད་ (Nep.) བོད་ འབྲུག་

\[ kʰu \ tʰorä: \text{badzar} \ gju-ee \ mɛmbɛʔ. \]

3SGM tomorrow market go-INF NEG.EQU.NE

‘He will not go to the market tomorrow.’ (KN)

Consultant KN commented that the forms \( gju \- \text{ee mɛmbɛʔ} \) (negating the final copula) and \( miŋ-gju \- \text{ee beʔ} \) in (8.106) (using negator \( mi- \) but adding the infinitive followed by positive copula) implied less certainty than the mere \( miŋ-gju \). Future research is needed to fully understand the semantic differences between the different negated future forms.

8.2.6 Uncertain future VERB ő:
In the uncertain future construction, the main verb is followed by the secondary verb ő: ‘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) བདེ་ སི་ ཞེས་ མིན་ཤད་ (Nep.) བོད་ འབྲུག་

\[ maŋ-gju? \- \text{qi:} \- ő\. \]

NEG-run fall FUT.UNC

‘Don’t run. (You)’ll fall.’ (NB e)

(8.108) བདེ་ སི་ ཞེས་ མིན་ཤད་ (Nep.) བོད་ འབྲུག་

\[ mɛn \ kʼan \ kʼan \ pʼi\-no: \text{go-po} \ tʰorä: \text{t’i} \ p’i\-n \ ő\. \]

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) བདེ་ སི་ ཞེས་ མིན་ཤད་ (Nep.) བོད་ འབྲུག་

\[ gjamtsʰø:\- \text{tebu} \ kʰom \ siʔ \- ő\. \]

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 -to to form the construction verb ð-to, see §8.5.1.

### 8.2.7 Imminent future

The imminent future suffix -rap is appended to the verb root. It codes something that, in the speaker’s opinion, is going to happen in the imminent future (glossed IMF). This form may be followed by either an equative or an existential copula, as shown in (8.111-113), or even by the verb tʰon རེ་ ‘come/go out, happen, become’, see (8.114).

(8.111) ་བ་འགྱུར་འབོད་/སྦད/ཡོད་/འདུག།
kʰu gju-rap ː/beʔ/jøʔ/duʔ.
3SGM go-IMF EQU.PER/EQU.NE/EX.PER/EX.SEN
‘He’s about to go.’ (KN e)

(8.112) ༥ཧི་རུ་ཀི་ ཆུ་ཚོ་
pʰir u=k i tʰ ĕʔ utsʰøʔ g ɛʔ duŋ-rap b ɛʔ.
night=GEN clock.time eight hit-IMF EQU.NE
‘It’s about to strike eight o’clock at night.’ (Richhi 108)

(8.113) མི་ལན་དང་དར་བཏགས་ཀི་དུས་
ɕɛ̀ːl ɛ̃ː tʽãː tʽaː=ki tʼytsʰøʔ l̥ ɛ p-rap jø̃ʔ.
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) ཕ་ཏྔེ་བསྟི་བྱེལ་
ŋà=to lĕpti tɕʰ-o:-rap tʰom-bo beʔ.
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 doʔ ‘sit, live’, as in (8.115b).

(8.115) a) ཕ་ཏྔེ་ནི་དགུ་མེད་པ་སྣེ་བ་མཐའ་
tɕʰ-uṭsʰoʔ zi duŋ-rap=lo piʔ sè:-ti
clock.time four hit-IMF=DAT sleep kill-NF
‘(He) wakes up when it’s about to strike four (and)...’ (Richhi 124)

b) ཕ་ཏྔེ་
ci-rap do:-po kap nāyea=lo
die-IMF stay-2INF.GEN time inside=DAT
‘At the moment when he was about to die...’ (KT animal story)

The imminence of the action may be stressed by reduplication:
8.2.8 Tense, aspect and modality with the infinitive -ni

Sandberg (1895: 40) reports two infinitive forms -she (-e?) and -nyi (-ni) for Denjongke and comments that the former is used in Denjongke spoken in Sikkim and the Tibetan variety spoken in the Tsang region of Tibet\(^{308}\), whereas the latter is used in Denjongke spoken in the Darjeeling district. In my data, the infinitive -ni is used in a variety of idiomatic constructions some of which also occur with the infinitive -e? (\(^{1}\)). Because the uses of -ni seem more idiomatic than constructions with the more productive infinitive -e?, all the uses are described here under separate headings.

The uses of -ni in my data are associated with such concepts as future, irrealis mood and uncertainty and are divided into following categories: uncertain future, inability, unrealized planned activity, future-oriented question, request/suggestion and future conditional. Common to all these categories is that the actions denoted by the verbs are not known to have happened as the speaker is talking (hence the description “irrealis”).

8.2.8.1 Uncertain future

Using -ni in future constructions such as (8.118) implies more uncertainty than the use of the regular nonpast construction VERB-e? EQU.

\[(8.118)\] ང་ འཐུན་ འཐུང་ ཡྔོད། 1SG drink-IMF drink-IMF EX.PER ‘I’m just about to drink.’ (DB e)

Imminent future construction does not occur negated in my natural data. When asking about the possibility of negation, consultant KN was at first reluctant to provide a negated example but then volunteered the following example (the translation is preliminary):

\[(8.117)\] ཆུ་ཚོད་ བརྒྱད་ བརྡུང་ ཡྔོད། clock.time eight hit-IMF NEG.EX.SEN ‘It is not (even) close to eight o’clock.’ (KN e)

**Consultant UTR commented that the construction in (8.118) is not much used in Tashiding and involves uncertainty (hence ‘may’ in gloss).**

Example (8.119) shows that -ni cannot function as a replacement of the infinitive -e? (\(^{1}\)) in the nonpast construction gju-e? ñi: ‘will go’ (b).

\[(8.119)\] འོད་ འི་ འི་ ལྟ། 1SG there tomorrow go-3INF ‘I may go there tomorrow.’ (UTR e)

**Consultant UTR commented that the construction in (8.118) is not much used in Tashiding and involves uncertainty (hence ‘may’ in gloss).**

Example (8.119) shows that -ni cannot function as a replacement of the infinitive -e? (\(^{1}\)) in the nonpast construction gju-e? ñi: ‘will go’ (b).

\[(8.119)\] *ད་ འི་ འི་ ལྟ། 1SG there tomorrow go-3INF EQU.PER

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\(^{308}\) Sandberg (1895: 12) reports Sikkimese Bhutias (=Denjongpos/Lhopos) to have originally come from the Tsang region in Tibet.

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The infinitive -ɲi may also express uncertain future, or resemblance, in conjunction with the demonstrative proadverb dem ‘like (it)’ (the infinitive -eeʔ also occurs in this construction).

(8.120) ལྷ་ན་འདི་མཐོང

p’in-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) དེ་འདི་བདེན་གམ་མིན་བདེན་གམ་འདི་ད་ོ་གཟུགས།
te di den-gam min-den-gam di t’a ya cù-ɲi
then this be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ this now 1SG say.HEM-3INF mè?
NEG.EX.PER
‘Now whether this story is true or not, I cannot tell.’ (RS bee story)

(8.122) ཡཐོ་འདི་མཐོངས།
yà=lo di cù-ɲi mè?
1SG=DAT this say.HEM-3INF NEG.EX.PER
‘It’s not mine to tell (=I do not know).’ (PD interview)

8.2.8.3 Unrealized planned activity

Followed by the verb p’ja ‘do’, the infinitive -ɲi forms a construction which expresses what the speaker attempts/attempted to do or is/was hoping to do but has not been able to realize thus far.

(8.123) བོད་མིང་རྒྱལ་་བཀོད་ཟུགས།
te’a t’oŋ-ɲi p’ja-u ɨː
tea drink-3INF do-2INF EQU.PER
‘I was about to drink tea./I attempted to drink tea/I would like to drink tea.’ (TB e)

(8.124) ལྷ་འདི་མཐོངས།
yà jò? p’ja-ɲi p’ja-u ɨː
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) ལྷ་འདི་མཐོངས་དེ་བཀོད་པའི་ཟུགས་ཀྱི་(Nep.) དེ་མཐོང་བཀོད་ཟུགས།
yà p’ou simkʰarka tea:-ɲi nóː:-wa te kʰoi dze:
1SG over.there TPN come.HEM-3INF think-CIRC so where(Nep.) at.all
min-de: hou.
NEG-have.time EXCLAM
‘When I’ve been thinking to come to Simkharka, but how, I do not have time at all, eh.’ (KT discussion)
8.2.8.4 Future-oriented questions
Another mode of presentation where the verbal action has not taken place are future-oriented questions.

(8.126) ཉེ་སྐད་ཅེས་ཐེག་པ་ཐོང་བར་ཤེན་གི་ཕན་ཡོན་ཞེས་འཆ།

\[ t'a \text{ de:}=râ:\text{ k'im}=na \text{ zak-ti} \text{ teiku} \text{ k'an} \text{ dik-} ni \text{ jö-po?} \]

now like.that=AEMPH house=LOC set-NF only what be.alright-3INF EX-2INF

‘How could it be alright to leave (the patient) at home like that?’ (mam-rtog 18)

(8.127) ད་ཅིང་ལོང་ཐོག་བཏགས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལས་གི་འདྲ་བྔོ་སྲོན་ཞིན་ཡོད།

\[ t'a \text{ ts'o}: \text{ te'ôn} \text{ go:-ee} \text{ mên-nam?} \]

now elder.sister’s.husband\footnote{309} go.HON be.needed-3INF NEG.EQU.PER-ATTQ zen ka \text{ gju-} ni\text{=}sé.

other who go-3INF=QUO

‘Now, doesn’t the brother-in-law need to go? Who else (but him) is to go, I ask?’ (mam-rtog 30)

In example (8.128), the question functions as complement of \textit{q}la\textit{u} ‘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) མ་རྒྱུ་ཤད་ཀ ཤེ་ཕག་པོར་ཐོག་པའི་དྲ་བྔོ་སྲོན་ཞིན་ཡོད།

\[ k arma \text{ t'arij} \text{ k'an} \text{ p'ja-} ni \text{ k'an} \text{ mam-} bj a-} ni \text{ q} la u \text{ t'ôn-zê:} \]

PN today what do-3INF what NEG-do-3INF like become-PROG jö?.

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 -\textit{ni} (a) and -\textit{ee}? (b) overlap syntactically.

(8.129) a) ལུགས་ཐེས་؟

\[ gju-} ni\text{-}ga? \]

go-3INF-PQ

‘Are you going?’ (UTR e)

b) ལུགས་ (from: \textit{གུ་ཐེས་})

\[ gju-}\text{-}ca? \text{ (from: gju-}\text{-ee-}ga?) \]

go-INF.PQ go-INF-PQ

‘Are you going?’ (UTR e)

8.2.8.5 Request and suggestion
Another context for -\textit{ni} are urgent requests (8.130) and suggestions (8.131). The request construction with the urgentive -\textit{mo}?, according to consultant KN, is used in Tashiding (West Sikkim) but not, for instance, in Martam (East Sikkim).

\footnote{309} This kinship term also has other meanings, see §17.2.1.
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:

Example (8.131) presents a clear point of difference with infinitive -ɛʔ. Using -ɛʔ 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.

Example (8.133) presents a clear point of difference with infinitive -ɛʔ. Using -ɛʔ instead of -ɲi in (8.133) would result in a typical and frequent future construction meaning ‘(s)he will go to Bombay’.

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.
8.2.8.7 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) 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{te } kʰu=lo & \text{ nim } teʰameʔ \text{ ōde}=ra & \text{ ka } òm-bo & kʰo: \text{ boto} \\
\text{so } 3\text{SGM}=\text{DAT} & \text{ day } \text{ every } \text{ like.that}=\text{AEMP} & \text{ who come-2INF } & \text{ 3PL beating} \\
\text{rek-}ti & \text{ nim } & \text{ teʰameʔ}=lo & \text{ tei}=ki & ᵁ: \text{ duŋ-ɲi } \text{ duŋ } do:-po: & \text{ kap} \\
\text{feel-NF} & \text{ day } & \text{ every}=\text{DAT} & \text{ one}=\text{AGT} & \text{ come hit-3INF} & \text{ hit stay-2INF.GEN time} \\
\text{nâte}=lo & & & & & \text{ inside}=\text{DAT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{làkkʰel } & \text{ lêm } \text{ ja:ɲi } \text{ te } ôte & kʰik \text{ gju}=do \text{ beʔ}, & \text{ teʰige}=lo. \\
\text{handicraft} & \text{ good } & \text{ EX-3INF} & \text{ so down lead } \text{ go-IPFV} & \text{ EQU.NE} & \text{ foreign}=\text{DAT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Because (their) handicrafts are good, (they) are taken down abroad.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

8.3 Imperfective, progressive and continuous forms

Denjongke has several partly overlapping ways of expressing the idea that action denoted by the verb is ongoing at the time of speech or, in the case of the imperfective, was ongoing at a past time, see Table 8.3. The terms progressive and continuous are very similar in meaning. The difference of progressive and continuous categories here, however, is based on the properties described for these categories in Denjongke, not on the semantics of the English terms. Different names for similar semantically similar construction are needed in order to refer to the constructions unambiguously.

Table 8.3. Imperfective, progressive and continuous constructions

<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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>present habitual or ongoing action/state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>immediate future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>VERB do: EX</td>
<td>past, present, or future ongoing action/state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VERB do: (+normal inflection)</td>
<td>(with atelic verbs, e.g. ‘stand’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>past, present or future resultative (with telic verbs, e.g. ‘arrive’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>VERB-teɕ/ɂ: EX</td>
<td>past or present ongoing action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alterphoric</td>
<td>VERB-teouŋe/zungie (Tashiding)</td>
<td>perceived ongoing action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>VERB-teouŋe/zungie (Martam)</td>
<td>perceived ongoing action</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) ཐམས་ཅད་ ག་རི་ མེད་མཁན། ཐམས་ཅད་ རངམ་ བཙུག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་དྔོ་ སྦད།
all car(Nep.) NEG.EX-NMLZ all foot plant-NF go-IPFV EQU.NE

‘All were without car, everybody used to go by foot.’ (RBM discussion on roof)

(8.138) དྔོན་མ་ དུས་ཚོད་ སང་ལྔོ་... འདི་ཙུ་ཀི་ ཁལ་ མང་ཚོད་ བཏབ་ཏྔོ་ སྦད་ལགས།

before landlord(Eng.) era time=DAT this=PL=AGT tax a.lot
tap-to be=la.
sow-IPFV EQU.NE=HON

‘Before in the time of the landlords… they used to pay a lot of taxes.’ (CY interview)

In (8.139), the imperfective is used, perhaps surprisingly, for a past telic action (telling a lie). With this strategy of vivid storytelling, the speaker tells the story as if it were happening at the moment of speaking.

(8.139) བྔོ་མི་གཏད་ སྟྔོན་ མ་བཅུག་ཤད་ཀི་ དྔོན་དག་ལས་ ࠡདེ བྱ༹ས་སྟི་ཀི་ འང་ འདེམ་ གཅིག་ རྐྱབས་ཏྔོ་ ཨིན་མཁན་ ་ སྦད།
mind-NEG-entrust show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN purpose=ABL like.this
p‘ja-tiki â: dem=tei? kjap-to iŋ-k'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 tells as a lie (like this):’ (PD story)

The rare nominalized copula construction iŋ-k'en be? in (8.139) appears to underline the nonhabitual (hence the identifying iŋ-k'en be? instead of the spatiotemporally backlogging be?) and past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backlogging nominalized iŋ-k'en be? rather than mere personal iʔ).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) དྔོས་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ག་རི་ འབག་ འྔོང་དྔོ་ སྦད། མི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ རངམ་ བཙུག་སྟི་ འགྱུ་ མན་དགྔོས་ཏྔོ་ སྦད།
load all car carry come-IPFV EQU.NE people all foot

‘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 backlogging, 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) teʔ? k’a: gju=do=s?
2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO
‘Where are you going (he said)?’ (KT animal story)

(8.143) t’ato teʰutsʰø? tei:=to duy-do.
now clock-time one=CEMP hit-IPFV
‘It’s one o’clock now (lit. it’s striking one o’clock now).’ (Richhi 124)

For an immediate future use of -to/do, consider (8.144).

(8.144) kantʰi teʔ? gju-zː p’ja, ɲà ̀ on-do.
younger.sister 2SG.L go-PROG do 1SG come-IPFV
‘You go on, sister, I’m coming.’ (Richhi 53)

The affirmative imperfective form has two corresponding negated forms. In past habitual use the construction is negated by prefixing the negator prefix ma- to the verb, see (8.140) above. In the present ongoing use, the negation strategy is borrowed from the non-reduplicated perfect construction (8.145b). In Tashiding (West Sikkim), it is also possible to use a third negated form, the imperfective followed by a negated existential (8.145c).

(8.145) a) kʰu jόʔ p’ja-do beʔ.
3SGM work do-IPFV EQU.NE
‘He is working.’ (KN e)

b) kʰu jόʔ p’ja-u mēbbeʔ.
3SGM work do-2INF NEG.EX.NE
‘He is not working.’ (KN e)

c) Tashiding, West Sikkim
kʰu jόʔ p’ja-do mēbbeʔ.
3SGM work do-IPFV NEG.EX.NE
‘He is not working.’ (KN e)

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 nå 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་ nir

*te³o? indzi ke? kjap-to nå?*

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་ nir

*te³o? indzi ke? mi-kjap-to nå?*

2SG.L English language NEG-strike-IPFV EQU.PER.Q

‘Don’t you speak English?’ (NAB e)

b) ཆོས་དབིན་ཇི་སྐད་མི་རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ nir

*te³o? 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་མི་རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ nir

*te³o? 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་མི་རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ nir

*te³o? indzi ke? mi-kjap-o nå?*

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 jô?, sensorial dü? 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 with an existential auxiliary are first described in (8.148-161). Uses with typical verb inflection are exemplified in (8.162-163).

With atelic expressions, which have no natural end-point, the continuous construction marks actions and states which are ongoing. In (8.148) and (8.149), the action/state is ongoing at the time of speech, whereas in (8.150) the action was ongoing at a(n imagination) past time.

(8.148) མོང་སྐྱོན་ཤིང་བསྡུ།

*kʰu zim do: dü?*

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 *doː*, the ordinary verb meaning ‘sit, stay’, in (8.150) occurs following the honorific *zuː* ‘sit, stay (hon.)’ shows that the use of *doː* is grammatical rather than lexical. Lexically, one honorific form collocates with other honorific forms and thus the use of the honorific *zuː* 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).

‘For instance, our language has reached college level.’ (NAB BLA 7)
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 jø'-ee ò:, see (8.155), contrasting with analogous past (8.156) and present expressions (8.157).

(8.155) ŋà tʰorãː tˢʰu-ʔ tʰøn døː jø̀ː-ɕɛĩ́ː.
1SG tomorrow clock.time nine=DAT town=LOC go stay EX-INF EQU.PER ‘Tomorrow one o’clock I will have gone to town.’ (BT grammar exposition)

(8.156) ŋà dãː tˢʰu-ʔ gjuː=lo tʰom=lo gjuː doː jò?.
1SG yesterday clock.time nine=DAT town=LOC go stay EX.PER ‘Nine o’clock yesterday I had gone to town.’ (BT grammar exposition)

(8.157) ŋà t’ato gjuː doː jò.
1SG now go stay EQU.PER ‘I keep on walking now.’ (TB e)

The continuous construction has most probably developed through the also existing converbal construction VERB-NF doː EX by eliding the converbial marker -ti/di, see (8.158) and (8.159).

(8.158) t’a kʰɛːɡãː tˢuk-ti t’a dep doː jò?, ɲàteca? nà:.
now family plant-NF now like.that stay EX.PER 1PL here ‘Now here we live like that, having established families.’ (DB life story)

(8.159) ó láː tsuko=di ʔi t’amteʔ sà-ti ˡɛp
that bull other=DEMPH fodder all eat-NF very.much dà:-ti doː du?.
be.satisfied-NF stay EX.SEN ‘The other bull ate all the fodder and stayed very satisfied.’ (TB bull story)

At least some verbs may occur in both a converbal (8.160) and continuous constructions (8.161).

314 It is not possible to form a future construction of the other existential copula, sensorial du?.
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”.  

(8.160) *lāla døsa ma-t'op-(p)a lô- ti do: jór.*  
some.AGT sitting-place NEG-find-CIRC stand-NF stay EQU.PER  
‘Some, not finding a place to sit, are standing.’ (Richhi 75)  

(8.161) *làm kʰa lõ̃ː døː duʔ.*  
on.the.road stand stay EX SEN  
‘(They) are standing on the road.’ (TB e)  

The converbal construction in (8.160) places emphasis on the manner of staying, i.e. standing, which is contrasted with the possibility of sitting, whereas the continuous construction in (8.161) is a simple statement about what the speaker sees people doing.  
In addition to the auxiliary construction where doʔ is followed by an existential, doʔ may be inflected like a typical verb. In some of the uses, the verb doʔ has a more grammatical sense where it underlines continuity of the action, see (8.162). In other uses, the secondary verb doʔ is used in a more concrete way with the meaning ‘sit, stay’, see (8.163).  

(8.162) a) *p'um=di te'kalteol-p'ja gju de=bɛʔ.*  
girl=DEMPH IEO.NN-ADVZR go stay-2INF=EQU.NE  
‘The girl keeps on going (around) acting like a deranged person.’ (KN e)  

b) *mi=di p'harpʰjor-p'ja gju do:-po beʔ.*  
human=DEMPH IEO.NN-ADVZR go stay-2INF EQU.NE  
‘That person keeps on going (around) not wearing clothes properly.’ (KN e)  

c) *t'a nà=to te'nteuŋ=le nà: ōte ōn-di jàk-ti315 doː.*  
now 1SG=CEMPH small=ABL here down come-NF set-NF stay de=bɛʔ.  
sit-2INF=EQU.NE  
‘Now, I have come and settled down here from an early age.’ (LA intro to Lachung)  

(8.163) a) *gjuŋ p'uk-tiki ba do:-ce ū.*  
basket pierce-NF hide stay-INF EQU.PER  
‘Piercing the basket I will stay hiding (there).’ (KTL animal story)  

b) *dile p'at te gjap ton doʔ.*  
them over.there back show stay  
‘Then stay over there your back turned.’ (KTL animal story)  

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”.  

335
Note that in (8.162c) the concrete use of doː is followed by a grammatical use.

8.3.3 Progressive VERB-teːː/ʑeː/zin EX and VERB-teʊŋgɛ/ʑuŋgɛ
The progressive constructions VERB-teːː/ʑeː/zin EX and VERB-teʊŋgɛ/ʑuŋgɛ (in Martam: VERB-teòʊːkɛ) mark the verbal action as ongoing at a specified time determined by the existential copula (in VERB-teːː/ʑeː/zin EX) and the context. The form -teːː/ʑeː: occurs in writing as WD/WT bzhin. The reading-style pronunciation is zin, a form which also occurs in the spoken language of literate speakers. The historic origin of the form teʊŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ is more difficult to determine because I have not come across it in written Denjongke.317

The semantics of the progressive teːː/ʑeː/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-teːː/ʑeː/zin EX
The construction ending in the existential jəʔ? implies that the the speaker is personally well-acquainted with the situation and that the action is ongoing at a specific reference time, which typically is the time of speaking. In (8.164), the author of the novel Richhi uses the structure with jəʔ? as type of historical present.

(8.164) deː=ʁaː=ʁaː=ʁaː=ʁaː monstery meet-NMLZ person each-each two-two
do-PROG come-PROG EX.PER
‘Like that people visiting the monastery are coming each two by two.’ (Richhi 2)

The first instance of -ʑeː: in (8.164), p'jaʑeː:, illustrates an adverbial use without a following auxiliary. In this respect, -teːː/ʑeː/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 ləp ‘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 -teʊŋgɛ/zuŋgɛ is only used in oral, not written language.
(8.165) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ད་ལྟྔོ་་གན་བྱས་བཞིན་བྔོ་ འདུག།
bjô-bo ː ìː  lāp-teen  du?.
disappear-2INF  EQU.PER  say-PROG  EX.SEN
'(He) disappeared, (they) are saying.’ (TB phone call)

The aspect marker -tɕɛ̃/ʑɛ̃/ʑ in is the only verbal suffix which may be supplemented by the infinitive marker -po/bo. The nominalized construction may be used in identical contexts with the non-nominalized construction, as shown by the two possible answers (8.167a) and (8.167b) to the question (8.166).

(8.166) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ད་ལྟྔོ་་གན་བྱས་བཞིན་བྔོ་ འདུག?
ɡjaltsʰɛn  tʼato kʼan pʼja-zen du?.
Gyalsthen  now  what  do-PROG  EX.SEN
'What is Gyalsthen doing now?’ (KN e)

(8.167) a) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ད་ལྟྔོ་་གན་བྱས་བཞིན་བྔོ་ འདུག།
kʰõː tʼato tʼep  ɗok-zim-bo318  du?.
3SG.HON  now  book  read-PROG-2INF  EX.SEN
‘He is now reading a book (I see).’ (KN e)

b) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ད་ལྟྔོ་་གན་བྱས་བཞིན་བྔོ་ འདུག།
kʰõː tʼato tʼep  ɗok-zin  du?.
3sg.HON  now  book  read  EX.
‘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) གྱི་མཚན་ད་ལྟྔོ་་གན་བྱས་བཞིན་བྔོ་ འདུག?
ŋàtɕa=di kʰimteːɛ  di=na teʰilo niːtːo  teiː=le  tsʰokpo
1PL=DEMPH  house-greatthis=LOC  year 2000  one=ABL  meeting
tsʰoː-zim-bo  j̥ː=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 in) meaning, as in (8.169).

(8.169) རྒྱལ་མཚན་ད་ལྟྔོ་་གན་བྱས་བཞིན་བྔོ་ འདུག?
dà:  lenge?  nà=lo  kol  kjap-øː  gāː  nà  tʰom=lo
yesterday  PRN.HON  1SG=DAT  call(Eng.)  do-2INF.GEN  time  I  marker=DAT
ɡju-zim-bo  ìː.
go-PROG-2INF  EQU.PER
‘When you phoned me yesterday, I was going to town.’ (KN e)

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) **sit-PROG do-2INF do.HON**

‘Please sit (and wait here)’ (lit. ‘Please do sitting’).

(8.171) **fruit pluck-PROG do-SIM**

‘when (he was) plucking fruit...’ (RB pear story)

(8.172) **invitation letter write-PROG do-INF EQU.PER**

‘I will be writing an invitation letter.’ (Richhi 42)

The use of the progressive in (8.170) underlines the durative nature of the action. A simple request *zu:-po nā:* [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-renkʰa:* ‘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 etymology of the progressive marker *-teː:/zəː*, WT ब्झिन, 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’onzin(=gi)* ‘in accordance with’ (*t’on* ‘purpose’) and *pakozin(=gi)* ‘similarly, in accordance with’ (the origin of the form *pako* is unknown to me at present).

(8.173) **offer-2INF in.accordance now 1PL like.that unoccupied**

‘In accordance with the purpose of giving that (responsibility to us), it is not good if we just stay unoccupied.’ (CY interview)

(8.174) **1PL.GEN Lhopo this=PL=AGT old.man this=PL=AGT**

‘Similarly to that our Lhopos, the elderly ones, also knew Limbu (language).’ (CY interview)
For more on the postpositions *t’onzin* (=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:

\[(8.175)\]  
\[\text{PRN.HON} \quad \text{yesterday} \quad \text{TPN} = \text{LOC} \quad \text{go.around-PROG} \quad \text{EQU.} \text{NE-2INF} \]

‘Were you roaming in Gangtok yesterday?’ (PL e)

### 8.3.3.2 Alterphoric progressive VERB-*teunge/zyunge*

The progressive construction VERB-*teunge/zyunge* (also *-teunge/zunige*, in Martam *teouge*) does not occur in written Denjongk. This construction is probably an abbreviation of the fuller form VERB-*teen duke*, which also occurs in writing. Because in my data VERB-*teunge/zyunge* 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 *-teunge/zunige* 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).

\[(8.176)\]  
\[\text{dawa \ nāmage:} = \text{gi ke?} \quad \text{t’on-zyunge} \quad \text{jou.} \]

‘Dawa Namgyal’s voice is calling out from up (there).’ (PT kitchen discussion)

\[(8.177)\]  
\[\text{mi=} = \text{di} \quad \text{dik’a simtɛ:} = \text{di=} = \text{lo} \quad \text{tsʰute} \quad \text{tʰok-teouge.} \]

‘The man is frightening the animal here.’ (KN photo discussion)

\[(8.178)\]  
\[\text{di=} = \text{tsu} \quad \text{te:ra lik-ro:} \quad \text{p’ja-tiki kʰo:} = \text{lo} \quad \text{rō:ram} \quad \text{p’ja-zunige.} \]

‘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 -ti/di).

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\(^{319}\) Attaching *-po* to the neutral equative *be’* 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 *dun-* with *t’on-* in *t’on-zen du-ke*, underlining the fact that the former is probably a reduction of the latter.

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8.4 Tense, aspect and modality with the construction VERB-INF EX

The construction VERB-INF EX resembles an existential clause (8.182) or a locative/possessive clause (8.183) where a verbal action in infinitive occurs in place of a located/possessed noun.

(8.182) "There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria." (Richhi 107)

(8.183) "He has work to do./ He is about to work." (KN e)

As a sign of grammaticalization, the genitive or locative marking of the possessor/location in (8.183) has become optional.

The construction is negated by replacing an affirmative copula by a negated one. For negated declaratives, consider (8.184) and for negated interrogatives, see (8.185).

(8.184) a) "I’ll not work tomorrow’/’I have no work to do tomorrow.’ (KN e)
The construction VERB-INF EX can obtain various shades of meaning. Whereas (8.183) above marks prospective action in the future, (8.186) and (8.187) below express abstract possession of a tradition (in the past) and something to say (in the present/future), respectively.

(8.186) བོད་ལྕགས་ཐོབ་ཤད་ཡོད་ཀ

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) ཡི་ར་ གྱུ་ཅག་ ང་ཅག་ལྔོ་གན་ཞུ་ཤད་ཡོད

now you 1PL=DAT what request-INF EX.PER 'Now what do you have to request from us?' (NAB BLA 7)

In example (8.188), the meaning is present habitual.

(8.188) ཤིང་གོ་ རྒྱལ་སྤྱོ་དེ་ བྲིས་ཤུགས་ཡོད

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).

\[\text{The difference between (8.185a) and (8.185b) lies in what the speaker expects the addressee’s level of knowledge to be. If the addressee is supposed to have personal knowledge, mè-ka is used. On the other hand, if the speaker expects that the addressee needs to check what the case is, minduka would be used. For further information on evidentiality in questions, see §7.2.1.2 and §7.2.2.1.}\]
8.189) The animal, even though it cannot talk, can think (I see). (RB butcher story)

8.190) The grandfathers are able to tell excellent proverbs. (KN field notes)

8.191) But she couldn’t speak Lhoke. (SN kitchen discussion)

8.192) I cannot go to his place (because of our bad relationship), Lit. ‘I have no going to his place.’ (KUN e)

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. 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-õː: [maː].
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>-ṭo</td>
<td>‘maybe, probably’</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(−po) Ḟa (EQU)</td>
<td>‘seem’</td>
<td>complex constr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raːgiu, Ṭeːgiu</td>
<td>‘seem’</td>
<td>complex constr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligational/deontic</td>
<td>go’</td>
<td>‘need to, must’</td>
<td>secondary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permission</td>
<td>objective</td>
<td>‘be allowed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subjective</td>
<td>‘deem fit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>‘be time to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mi-)leʔ</td>
<td>‘be good to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability</td>
<td>general</td>
<td>‘be able to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>physical</td>
<td>‘have strength to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>‘have time to’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>síʔ</td>
<td>‘be possible’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tentativity</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretension</td>
<td>-dzin Ṭaːp</td>
<td>‘pretend to’</td>
<td>complex constr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.5.1 Probabilitative -ṭo

The probabilitative -ṭo attaches directly to the verb root (8.194) or the completive marker -tsʰaː (8.195) and is not followed by any tense, aspect or evidentiality markers. The certainty implied by -ṭo varies between ‘maybe’ and ‘probably’.

(8.194) ṭo rolmo eu-watcenn kʰen-ṭo.

‘If (I) say [rolmo] (you) probably know (what it is).’/ ‘(You) probably know (what is a) [rolmo].’ (YR canteen video)

(8.195) tʰaːriŋ=lɛ tɕʰ=tɕɛ̀ kom-tsʰuːː-ṭo.

‘Since (you) have come from far away, (you) are perhaps thirsty.’ (rnam-rtog 5)

The probabilitative is negated by the prefix mi-.

(8.196) te láala kʰen-rʊŋ di tʰuː=lo mi-zaːː-ṭo.

‘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.
'Now you probably won’t be able to cross the lake.' (KT animal story)

The probabilitative co-occurs with personal copulas, see (8.198) and (8.199), but not with neutral (8.200) or sensorial copulas (8.201).

(8.198) *tsʰom be-to.
mortar  EQU.PER-PROB
‘It’s maybe a mortar.’ (TB e)

(8.199) lóbdo:  jó?  k’e:teː=:to  mèː-to.
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’ex’mene=ra  qeːd  lak  deːtei?  sōː-bo  in-to.  kʰim
about=AEMPHE 1,5(Nep.)  lakh(Nep.)  that.much  go.PFV-2INF  EQU-PROB  house
repar-2INF.GEN  time
‘Maybe about some 1,5 lakh (rupees) went when repairing the house.’ (KT discussion with TB)

The verb õː ‘come’ functions as an existential, which often co-occurs with the probabilitative marker:

(8.203) tsʰa  õː-to.
salt  come-PROB
‘There’s probably salt.’ (KN e)

The form õː-to may be postposed as an auxiliary to verb roots instead of mere -to (compare with 8.194):
In the novel Ricchi, -to is six times out of total seven followed by the morpheme ni (spelled both ་ ni and ངེ 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.

‘You perhaps haven’t so far been to Bombay, have you?’ (Richhi 101)

(8.207) ཆེར་ གསང་ སེ་ི།
kʰod=to  གཞི། qa=s.
3PL=CEMPH gang(Eng.) AP=QUO
‘They seem (like belonging to) one group.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Uses of qa postposed to a combination of verb and verbal suffix are more frequent than independent copular type of uses. The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of qa with past action marked by the second infinitive -po/bo/u (8.208-212), future action marked by the first infinitive -ceʔ (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 beʔ, however, merges into an apparentive equative copula dɛɾ/ɾɛ; 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) \(kh\,\text{dãː} \,\text{òm-bo} \,\text{qa bo?}\)
\(3\text{SGM yesterday come-2INF AP EQU.NE}\)
‘It seems he came yesterday.’ (KUN e)

b) \(kh\,\text{dãː} \,\text{ma-òm-bo} \,\text{qa bo?}\)
\(3\text{SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF AP EQU.NE}\)
‘It seems he didn’t come yesterday.’ (KUN e)

(8.209) \(ñám=\text{di} \,\text{dãː} \,\text{kʰaːnup} \,\text{lo} \,\text{te’om-bo}\)
\(\text{daughter-in-law=}\,\text{DEMPH yesterday the.day.before.yesterday return come-2INF AP}\)
\(\text{qa.}\)

‘Apparently the daughter-in-law returned yesterday or the day before yesterday.’ (SN kitchen discussion)

(8.210) \(ðʼariŋ \,\text{ŋàt} \,\text{ɕi} \,\text{mí-tsʰɛ} \,\text{diː} \,\text{dzÆ:kʰa} \,\text{t’amo} \,\text{im-bo} \,\text{qa}\)
\(\text{today 1PL.GEN human-life this.GEN meeting last EQU-NMLZ AP}\)
\(\text{íŋ-ga?}\)
\(\text{EQU.PER-PQ}\)
‘It seems like today is our last meeting in this human life, doesn’t it?’ (Richhi 173)

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.
Future with -ee-infinitive
With -ee-infinitive, the apperative construction refers to apparent future action.

Ongoing with imperfective
In conjunction with progressive marker the apperative construction, unsurprisingly, refers to apparent ongoing action. It is noteworthy that the equative copula ꞌ (neg. ꞌmé̄) may occur in the progressive apperative construction occurs (8.217) and (8.218).
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, ɖa 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 ᵉ, see (8.213) and (8.215).

In fast spoken language, ɖa be? is often abbreviated to ɖɛː/rɛː. Some of my consultants were not aware that ɖɛː/rɛː is related to ɖa be?.

What’s that? Apparently it’s foreign (I find).’ (KNU kitchen discussion)

In both (8.221) and (8.222), ɖa is accompanied by the attention marker =eo which marks attention-worthy, often new information (see §16.2.2 and Yliniemi 2016a). The co-occurrence is quite natural, because both markers are used in the context of finding out something new. For the independent uses of ɖɛː/reː as an apparetive copula, refer to §7.2.4.

When -ɖa is negated by the negator-prefix mi-, the meaning of the form is ‘be different’:

Still (his) language is very different, you know.’ (PTB apa kitchen)

But (it) was different from how (things were in) in earlier times.’ (DB day trip)
Because the negation of ḷa (be?), min-ṇa (be?), has the meaning ‘be different’, ḷa 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) ḷu γdãː ɛʔ ḷa be?
\[ kʰu \ dāː \ ḷoṃ- \ ḷa \ be? \]
3SGM yesterday come-2INF AP EQU.NE
‘He seems to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

(8.226) ḷu γdãː ɛʔ (γdãː ɛʔ)
\[ kʰu \ dāː \ m- \ ō̄:-b= \ ḷe? \]
3SGM yesterday NEG-come-2INF=AP.EQU.NE
‘He seems not to have come yesterday.’ (KN e)

In addition to the apparentive uses, ḷa is used as the base of the adjectives ḷaːu/ ḷaːou ‘similar, like’ (neg. man-ṇa/man-ṇou ‘dissimilar, unlike’), see (8.227), and ḷa : man-ṇaːu/ ḷa : man-ṇa ‘different kinds of’, see (8.228).

(8.227) pʽum=di nõrbu ɖou ũ=s.
girl=DEMPH gem like EQU.PER=QUO
‘The girl is like a gem (it is said).’ (SGD wedding customs)

(8.228) tamgy? ḷaːmːiŋda keːpo jõ:-kʰɛn 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 ḷaːgju and tʰɛːgju
There are further two constructions that resemble in meaning the probabilitative and apparentive forms, ḷaːgju/ ḷaːkju (may also be pronounced raːgju/raːkju) and tʰɛːgju, which occur in the same positions as the apparentive ḷa (be?). The form ḷaːgju/ ḷaːkju, which may include the apparentive ḷa, is used at least in Ralang and Tashiding in West Sikkim whereas tʰɛːgju is used in Martam, East Sikkim. The two forms are here, inspired by the use in (8.229), tentatively glossed as ‘approximative’ (APPR). However, the meaning is in many instances indistinguishable from the probabilitative and 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 tʰɛːgju, but because tʰɛːgju seems the Martam equivalent of raːgju, 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’s 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 ɾ:/beʔ,
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) རེ་ མེད་པ་ བུ་ དེ་ ཅོ་
ке-то дем п'я тело?
seize-PROG like that do be.allowed
‘it’s like (they) should be caught’ (CY interview)

(8.236) རི་ བཞི་ ཚོད།
rå ko: mi-тэо?
pick throw NEG-be.allowed
‘It’s not right to throw (it) away (like that).’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(8.237) རྐྱང་ རྐྱུང་ ལོང་ ངོ།
ŋàt=ki=di кум kjap mi-тэо=с.
‘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) ན་ རོ་ བྲོན་ སྤེལ་ བྲོན་ སྤེལ་ ཅོག།
rà: пё: тсо: т’ем-бо нà:нэ т’ем-бо нá:
2SG.L 1SG.GEN=at come.HON-2INF do.hon-COND come-2INF do.HON
të o ñ.: be.allowed EQU.PER
‘If you come to my place, you can (=are allowed) come.’ (KT phone call)

Whereas тэо ‘be allowed’ makes reference to some objective norm against which an action is evaluated, the secondary verb туп ‘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) རོ་ དོན་
tup-ka?
dee.m.fitting-PQ
‘Is (it) fitting/Alright?’ (NAB, oh)

(8.241) དུ་ བོ་ རེ་ བོ་ དེ་ ཅོ།
tëas: т’упо нámge:=гі сён ма-туп-о.
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:

(8.243) བམ་ཆོས་སྤྱི་རྐྱབས་ཟང་ནེ་ photo bring=NPST.PER say=2INF=REP=
lama PN do=until=TOP photo at.all become
*ma-tup-o=lo=s.*
NEG-be.fitting=2INF=REP=QUO
‘When a picture was being taken of Lama Chopel, it did not deem fit to work out at all, it is said.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

The permissive *tup* is also used in contexts analogous with *teʰoʔ*, as shown by comparison of (8.244) with (8.237) above. Based on other uses, it may be surmised that *tup* in (8.244) leans towards expediency and *teʰoʔ* in (8.237) towards moral obligation. The generally valid statement in (8.244) is negated by *mi-* and the past statement in (8.243) by *ma-*.

(8.244) གཞལ་གཞི་ཐོན་་ཟིན་་ཐིས་

*tʽato kʰõː l̥ɛ prɛn.*
now 3SG.HON arrive be.time.to
‘Now it’s time for him to come.’ (KUN e)

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 perihastic past *VERB ren-bo beʔ* and completive *VERB ren-tsʰa*: do not occur. A nominalized form, however, occurs in the idiom given in (8.247).

(8.245) ད་ལྟོག་ཁྱོང་སེབས་རིན།
tʽato kʰɔː lɛp ren.
now 3SG.HON arrive be.time.to
‘Now it’s time for him to come.’ (KUN e)

(8.246) དམ་པོ་ ren-to. mala ta-teʰi.
milk boil be.time.to-IPFV quick look-IMP.FRNM
‘It’s time for milk to boil. Look at (it) quickly.’ (KUN e)
(8.247) **འགྱུ་རན་ནས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཏོགས་ཚིག་**
gju ren do: ren-po=le t'a dem k'an p'ja-u ʔ?
go be.time.to stay be.time.to-2INF=ABL now such what do-2INF EQU.PER

‘Just as everything was going smoothly, why did (you) do like that?’ (KUN e)

Note that in (8.246) the person has not seen the milk boil but evaluates that sufficient time has passed for the action to take or have taken place.

Sandberg (1895: 74) reports a similar use of ren. His imperfective marker, however, has a voiced initial (-do) in contrast to -to in my data.

(8.248) Sandberg (1895: 74) (WD, transcription and glossing mine)

ཞ་རོ
sà ren-do
eat be.time.to-IPFV

‘It’s time to eat’

8.5.6 **Moral and practical evaluative (mi-)-le? ‘be (not) good’**
The secondary verb (mi-)-le?, which typically occurs negated, expresses the speaker’s evaluation about the goodness or practicality of a course of action.

(8.249) ཤང་བོར་ི་ལྒོ།
ódi p'ja mi-le?.

that do NEG-be.good

‘It is not good to do that.’ (KN, CY interview)

(8.250) ཤང་བོར་ི་ལྒོ།
sàm=di teʰo:=ki sà mi-le?.

food=DEMPH 2SG.L=AGT eat NEG-be.good

‘It is not good for you to eat the food.’ (Rna-gsung 9)

(8.251) ཤང་བོར་ི་ལྒོ།
teʰo: ågia, ze:-po ná-mo? já:ne ᥆e=tei làka=le

oh.no elder.bother eat.HON-2INF do.HON-URG or 1PL.GEN hand=ABL

ze: mi-le:-po?
est.HON NEG-be.good-2INF

‘Oh no, brother, please eat, by all means. Or is it not good to eat from our hands?’ (Richhi 20)

In many situation, mi-le? is functionally very close to negated permissives mi-teʰo? ‘be not allowed’ and mi-tup ‘deem not fitting’.

8.5.7 **General abilititaves tsʰu? ‘be able to’ and eː ‘know’**
The secondary verbs tsʰu? ‘be able to’ (WT རུགས tshugs) and eː ‘know’ (WT སེས shes) express the speaker’s evaluation about the proposition’s actor’s ability to do something. The form tsʰu? is described first, then eː. The abilitative tsʰu? may occur as the sentence-final morpheme or be followed by other verbal suffixes. The negated forms are present/future mi-tsʰu? (EQU) and past ma-tsʰu? (EQU). The affirmative past form is tsʰu-po EQU. In (8.252) and (8.253) tsʰu? occurs as sentence-final morpheme.
Both the affirmative (8.254-255) and negated forms (8.256) can also be followed by an equative copula.

The following examples illustrate the nonpast, past and present habitual uses of \( ts'\u{u}u \) respectively:

\( \text{8.257} \)
\footnotesize{k'ana gju ts'\u{u}:-ce? ápa?}
\( \text{where go be.able.to-INF father} \)
\( \text{‘Where will (we) be able to go, father?’ (AB kitchen discussion)} \)

\( \text{8.258} \)
\footnotesize{yà=lo keri=kì lópà: jò? t'op ts'\u{u}-po ŋ.}
\( \text{1SG=DAT language=GEN teacher work receive be.able.to-2INF EQU.PER} \)
\( \text{‘I was able to get a job as a language teacher.’ (KT life story)} \)

\footnotesize{330 Here the contrastive emphatic is pronounced in the Nepali way as ta and not as typical Denjongke to. The written Denjongke, however, has ŋ to. The same happens, with the same speaker, in (8.255).}
8.259  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dendson}= & \text{gi} \quad \text{nè}= & \text{di} \quad \text{po} \quad \text{kor} \\
\text{Sikkim}= & \text{GEN} \quad \text{sanctified.site}= & \text{DEMPH} \quad \text{EMPH(Nep.)} \quad \text{go.round} \\
\text{mi-tsʰu-kʰen} = & \text{be?} \\
\text{NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ} & \text{EQU.NE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) is not able to visit even the sanctified sites of Sikkim.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

In addition to uses as primary verb, \textit{éː} ‘know’ can be used as a secondary verb marking ability:

8.260  
\[
\begin{align*}
kʰõː & \text{ʈ}’i \quad \text{ma-éː}-\text{ruŋ} \quad \text{ke}= & \text{di} \quad \text{kjap éː}-\text{to}= & \text{la}, \quad \text{ódi} \quad \text{gā:} \\
3\text{PL} \quad \text{write NEG-know-CONC language}= & \text{DEMPH} \quad \text{strike know-IPFV=HON} \quad \text{at that time} \\
‘Although they could not write, (they) could speak the language, at that time.’ (RL interview)
\end{align*}
\]

8.261  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dok} & \text{céː}-\text{ka?} \\
\text{read} & \text{know-PQ}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Can you read?’ (UT e)

8.262  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lā:} & \text{mó} \quad \text{céː}-\text{kam?} \\
\text{bull} & \text{plough know-ATTQ}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Can he plough with a bull, I wonder?’ (SGD wedding customs)

Abilitative modality may also be expressed by the construction \text{VERB-éː EX}, see §8.4.

8.5.8  
\textbf{Mental abilitative \textit{nùm} ‘dare, have courage to’}

The secondary verb \textit{nùm} ‘dare, have courage’, which may be characterized as one type of mental ability (alongside, for instance, intellectual ability), typically, and perhaps exclusively, occurs as a negated declarative (8.263) or an interrogative (8.264). I do not have affirmative declarative examples.

8.263  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋà} & \text{gju} \quad \text{mi-nùm}. \\
1\text{SG} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{NEG-dare}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I don’t dare to go.’ (KTL e)

8.264  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{biu}= & \text{di} \quad \text{né?} \quad \text{nùm}-\text{ka?} \\
\text{snake}= & \text{DEMPH} \quad \text{kill dare-PQ}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Do you dare to kill the snake?’ (KTL e)

\[\textit{po} \text{ here represents the Nepali emphatic }\textit{po}.\]
8.5.9 Physical abilitative kʰøʔ ‘to have the strength to’
The secondary verb kʰøʔ (WD ཆུའི་ཁྲོད་ khyod) expresses a special case of abilitative, ‘to have the strength to’. This verb collocates especially with the verb bak ‘carry’:

(8.265) ལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁྲོད་ཀྱིས་གླུ་ཁྲོད་ཀྱིས་ལ་བྱེད་ལ་ཁྲོད་ཀྱིས་འབུང་གུ་བི་བོད།?

kʰu tsʰ=di=na diko ma-nun dem-p’ja 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) སོ་རེ སུ་གུ་གུ་མེད།
sǿː sʰa sʰu lõː mè.
have.HON have.HUM have.time.to NEG.EX.PER.
‘(We) do not have time to have tea.’ (DB trip story)

(8.267) ད་ལྟེ་རང་ལུག་ར་་འགྱུ་གུ་མེད། བ་མ་

t’ato tʰatʰu=tsaː gju lõː mè. kʰim=na jøʔ.
now 1SG elder.brother=at go have.time.to NEG.EX.PER house=LOC work jøʔ.
EX.PER.
‘I have now no time to come to the brother’s (=your) place. I have work at home.’
(YR e)

(8.268) ད་ སོ་རེ སུ་གུ་གུ་མེད།

ŋà jøʔ mè. gju lõː jøʔ.
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) ད་ གུ་ སོ་རེ སུ་གུ་གུ་མེད།

ŋà t’atʰi=le őː-ni p’ja=sə k’amə őː 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 \( \text{lôː} \) ‘have time’ is not used as primary verb is probably that Denjongke has another verb \( \text{tʼeː} \) ‘have time to’, which can be used independently:

\[
\text{(8.271) \text{min-deː}=lo.} \\
\text{NEG-have.time=REP} \\
\text{‘(He) does not have time, (they) heard (him say).’ (KNA kitchen discussion)}
\]

### 8.5.11 Deontic modal goʔ ‘be needed, must’

The affirmative form of the deontic modal secondary verb goʔ ‘be needed, must’ indicates that something, in the speaker’s opinion, needs to be done (in affirmative), see (8.272).

\[
\text{(8.272) \text{tɕʰøː=ki \ tʼeː \ tʼi \ goʔ.} } \\
\text{2SG.L=AGT book \ write be.needed} \\
\text{‘You have to write a book/books.’ (YR canteen video)}
\]

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).

\[
\text{(8.273) \text{ómzdz ɛʔ sám ɖ up \ doː \ miŋ-gōː=ɛo.} } \\
\text{second.lama \ PN \ sit \ NEG-be.needed=AT} \\
\text{‘Omze Samdrup does not need to participate (in the ceremony), you know.’ (LT kitchen discussion)}
\]

\[
\text{(8.274) \text{ŋāːt \ sōk mā-sé goʔ.} } \\
\text{1PL=AGT \ life \ NEG-kill be.needed} \\
\text{‘We mustn’t take life.’ (YR canteen video)}
\]

The form can also be used as an independent primary verb (i.e. without a preceding verb) with the meaning ‘need to have’ (the various forms of the S argument in these clauses are commented in §5.3.1):

\[
\text{(8.275) ñā \ /ɛː /*ɛ \ dū \ goʔ.} \\
\text{1SG.AGT/1SG=DAT/*1SG \ water \ be.needed} \\
\text{‘I need water.’ (KN e)}
\]
'I don’t need hot water.' (KT e)

Typically $goʔ$ is postposed to the verb root, but in some instances it is appended to an infinitival form of the verb:

'Again water has to be offered in the fireplace.' (SGD wedding customs)

In addition to the nonpast form exemplified in (8.279), $goʔ$ may occur in the periphrastic past (8.280) and present habitual construction (8.281):

'From among those who took responsibilities in the play, I didn’t even have to mention you, teachers.' (Richhi 70)

Now work needs to be done.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Denjongke does not have an exact equivalent of the English verb ‘want’. Resembling semantics, however, may be expressed through a combination of the deontic modal and the verb $no$ ‘think’:
Although she wanted to talk with Karma...
(lit. ‘thought she must talk’) (Richhi 126)

(I) wanted to go.
(lit. ‘I though I must go.’) (TB e)

Actually, it will be possible for the tradition to become equal (for the rich and the poor).
(sbar-phung 91)

No, it is not at all possible that that happens.’ (Richhi 116)

Consultant KN commented that siʔ does not occur in past constructions, while example (8.285) shows that siʔ does occur in the nonpast construction:

It is definitely not possible for us to make it happen.’ (NAB BLA 7)

The negated examples below suggest a frequent collocation of negated siʔ with tʰon ‘happen, become’ and tsale ‘at all’:

‘It is definitely not possible for us to make it happen.’ (NAB BLA 7)

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) གན་ལེགས་ལྟ་བོ་གི་དྲི་ལྟ་བོ་

*teʰo? kan bjö: láp-ti ʰi’ 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) རོ་བོ་ོ་མ་ལོ།

*ápo áma=lo átsi=tei? ʰi’ ta-ge.*

father mother a.bit=INDF 1PL ask look-HORT

‘Let’s see and ask father and mother.’ (SGD wedding customs)

(8.290) རོ་བོ་ན་ོ་མ་ལོ།

*te’ a zo p’in ta-ge=s jè: móby=lo.*

tea make give look-HORT=QUO 1SG.WIFE=DAT

‘Let’s look and make tea for my wife.’ (KT e)

(8.291) རོ་བོ་ོ་མ་ལོ།

*ge’po=di=lo lòkt=ɾa’ kʰa-lap ta-ge-teʰi.*

king=DEMPH=DAT again=DEMPH mouth-speak ask look-HORT-IMP.FRNF

‘Let’s again try and speak (in incantation) to this (spirit) king.’ (rnam-rtog 8)

(8.292) རོ་བོ་ོ་མ་ལོ།

*méŋkʰa=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 ziː: ‘look, see (hon.)’ can also be used in similar function to ta.

(8.293) རོ་བོ་ོ་མ་ལོ།

*ʰi’ ziː-po ná-teʰi.*

ask look.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRNF

‘Try and ask (him/her).’ (KN e)

8.5.14 Pretensive -dzin ʰap

The pretensive is formed by postposing to the verb -dzin ʰap, consisting of WT ɾdʒun ‘lie’ and the verbalizer ʰap of uncertain etymological origin (possibly WT ʰab ‘fight, quarrel’).

(8.294) རོ་བོ་ོ་མ་ལོ།

*kʰu jö? p’ja-dzin ʰap-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-ce=ki* [go-INF=GEN] could be replaced by *gju-bo:* [go-2INF.GEN].
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):

\[
(8.296) \text{t'}izáː nëːtāː=diː p'ja-ti múː } \eta\dot{=}\text{lō } \eta\dot{=}\text{ee:-ruŋ}
\]

but situation=DEMPH.AGT do-NF 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT face know-CON

\[
[\eta\dot{=}\text{ma- ee:-poː}] \text{ dzin tʰap-o } \ddot{q}a.
\]

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, and in dependent clauses evidential contrasts in auxiliaries are neutralized so that only the personal copulas ĵ and jøʔ and sensorial duʔ and) occur. The concessive construction in (9.1) exemplifies an evidentially neutral, dependent construction. In (9.1), ĵ cannot be replaced by beʔ.

(9.1) te lejgeː=tsu kːaː zuː=kʰɛː ĵː-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 ĵ, beʔ, jøʔ and duʔ retain their basic meaning when used as auxiliaries. The use of the personal equative ĵ and personal existential jøʔ 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 momentariness.

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 ĵ: and beʔ as auxiliaries

The equatives ĵ: and beʔ occur in past (VERB-po EQU)335, present habitual (VERB-kʰɛː EQU), imperfective (VERB-do (EQU), future (VERB-če 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’.

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 k’ambjasen (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 jøʔ 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.
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 <em>tD</em></td>
<td>kjap-o <em>tD</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present habitual</td>
<td>VERB-k vide EQU</td>
<td>kjap-k vide <em>tD</em></td>
<td>kjap-k vide <em>tD</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>VERB-do (EQU)</td>
<td>kjap-to <em>tD</em></td>
<td>kjap-to <em>tD</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonpast</td>
<td>VERB-ee EQU</td>
<td>kjap-ee <em>tD</em></td>
<td>kjap-ee <em>tD</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. prog.</td>
<td>VERB-zim-bo EQU</td>
<td>kjap-zim-bo <em>tD</em></td>
<td>kjap-zim-bo <em>tD</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidential meaning of the personal auxiliary _tD_ is essentially the same as the meaning of the copula _tD_. By using the auxiliary _tD_, the speaker claims familiarity with the reported situation. Similarly to the copular use of ɓeʔ, the auxiliary use of ɓeʔ 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 ɓeʔ with 1st person actor\(^{336}\) 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 _tD_, 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 ็ด_ is often, as in (9.6), reduced to -ɕ ็ด_ in spoken language.

(9.2) _depth ԬMultiplicity ѹ tbody buyk_  |_| _depth
   t’ep=dii k’o:teh: ma-ja-ge ลำ่อ _tD_.
   book=DEMPL 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)  Parsing  lucre  tbody ô tbody  |_|  Parsing
   1SG t’atto kalimponj do-k vide _tD_.
   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 (\text{VERB-kʰə; ũ}) functions similarly to the equative copula ũ 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. \text{VERB-kʰən 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.

In (9.8), a boy delivers a letter and reports to the addressee from whom the letter is. Similarly to (9.6), the personal knowledge implied by the use of the personal auxiliary in (9.8) probably derives from the speaker’s personal experience and involvement in the process.

---

(9.4) 
\text{de: eui-zin=le} \quad \text{né: tsʰik dum dodi na:}
\text{like.that say.HUM-PROG=ABL 1SG.GEN word short this.right.here here}
\text{zak-to ũ=s.}
\text{put-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO}
\text{‘Having said that, I hereby end these few words of mine.’ (KTL life story)}

(9.5) 
\text{k’amjasine kʰu=lo ŋá: sé-ei.}
\text{because 3SGM=DAT 1SG.AGT kill-NPST.PER}
\text{‘Because I will kill him.’ (KTL animal story)}

(9.6) 
\text{t’atei? k’utea? láp-o ũ=co ůn-ga.}
\text{a.bit.earlier 2PL say-2INF EQU.PER=AT EQU.PER-PQ}
\text{‘You (pl.) just said (so), didn’t you.’ (KL BLA 12)}

Example (9.7) shows that the omniscient narrator of a novel is entitled to use the personal form in third person narration.

(9.7) 
\text{ŋù-wo: ģjumtsʰe: kʰu=gi teiku hako-wo ũ:}
\text{weep-2INF.GEN reason 3SGM=AGT only know-2INF EQU.PER}
\text{‘Only he knew the reason of (her) weeping.’ (Richhi 170)}

In (9.8), a boy delivers a letter and reports to the addressee from whom the letter is. Similarly to (9.6), the personal knowledge implied by the use of the personal auxiliary in (9.8) probably derives from the speaker’s personal experience and involvement in the process.

(9.8) 
\text{âgia karma=gi ū:-bo ũ:}
\text{elder.brother PN=AGT send-2INF EQU.PER}
\text{‘Brother Karma sent (this).’ (Richhi 8)}
Examples (9.6-8) show that Denjongke personal forms have wider distribution than the
cognate intentional egophoric pa-yin in Standard Tibetan. The Standard Tibetan form can
only be used with a 1st person subject (Tournadre 2008: 296).337

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) lópø̃ːɕɛ̃́ːɖa=lo, ɕɛ̃́ːɖa nāŋca lópøn
teacher Buddhist.institute=DAT Buddhist.institute inside teacher
nāŋ-kiːː iː=co.
do.HON-NMLZ EQU.PER.=AT
‘The teacher has a teacher’s tenure at the Shedra-institute, within Shedra-institute.’ (KL
phone call)

The speaker of (9.10) quotes the words he heard the previous day from the guard of a
sacred lake, who gave the speaker instruction on why not to feed the fish with puffed rice.
The use of the personal auxiliary reflects the guard’s familiarity with anything concerning the
lake.

(9.10) tsʰoɲàmtʊ iː=s.
lake weaken-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO
‘The lake is getting weaker, (he) said’ (DB day trip)

In (9.11), the doctor who has just examined an unconscious patient has the authority to
claim such familiarity with the situation as to use the personal nonpast form:

patient slow slow do-NF consciousness catch-INF EQU.PER
‘The patient will slowly, slowly regain consciousness.’ (Richhi 14)

Similarly to (9.7) above, the omniscient narrator of (9.12) uses a personal construction,
because he is familiar with the characters he has written in the story. I did not find personal
forms in the narrative parts of folkstories, which are (typically) not of the storyteller’s own
design.

(9.12) tam diː korlo karma=gi lépti nóːsam tåː-ɛɛ iː.
talk this.GEN about PN=AGT very.much though send-INF EQU.PER
‘Karma thinks a lot about that thing.’ (Richhi 36)

337 A second difference is that, unlike for Standard Tibetan VERB-pa-yin, the action does not have to be
intentional in Denjongke for the construction VERB-po iː to be used.
9.1.1.3 Neutral forms with non-1st person actor

Clauses with non-1st person actors are typically marked with neutral forms, because speakers are less likely to feel familiar with other people’s actions. The past, present habitual, progressive and nonpast constructions are presented in (9.13-16) respectively.

(9.13) ངའི་ ྨ་ཅུ་ ཆྔོས་ ਆ་ཙི་ ་སྔོག་ ཐྔོབ་པྔོ་ སྦད།
ñèː  åtsu  te'o?  átsi  qok  t'op-o  beʔ.
1SG.GEN elder.brother lesson a.bit read receive-2INF EQU.NE
‘My elder brother got (an opportunity) to study a bit.’ (PED life story)

(9.14) ད་ གཡྔོག་ བྱ༹ས་ དགྔོས་མཁན་ སྦད།
tʽa  jôʔ  p'ja  goː-ken  beʔ.
now work do be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘Now work needs to be done.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(9.15) ད་རིང་ ཚོགས་དྔོ་ སྦད།
tʽariŋ  tsʰoː  b ɛʔ.
today gather-IPFV EQU.NE
‘(The ceremony) is taking place today.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

(9.16) མདང་ ང་ཅའི་ བྷའི་ལགས་ཀི་ མགྔོ་ བཏྔོག་སྟི་ འགིལ་ སྔོད་ ཡྔོད་སྐབས་ བུ་སིང་ལགས་ མེད་པར་ཅེ་ན་ ཁྔོ་ ཨྔོ་ན་རང་ ཤི་ཤད་ སྦད།
dãː  ŋàt  sʰi  bhaila=ki  go  tok-ti  di:  do:  jôː-kap
yesterday 1PL.GEN PN=GEN head hit-NF fall sit EX-SIM
p’usim=laː  mèː  -pateene  k'u  òna=râː  ei-ce  beʔ.
younger.sister=HON NEG.EX-COND 3SG 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 beʔ 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 beʔ (see §7.2.3), the use of the auxiliary beʔ backgrounds the event itself and focuses the addressee’s attention on the consequences of the event.

(9.17)  སེ རིག་པར་ སྦད།
ṅâ  qiː-bo  beʔ.
1SG fall-2INF EQU.NE
‘I fell.’ (KN e)
Spatiotemporal backgrounding may also be used about distant events that happened to oneself, as in (9.18), where the speaker is telling the birth order of her siblings. Lack of control may also be a factor in using the evidentially neutral auxiliary.

(9.18) ངག་ན་ལས་ཐེ་བྔོ་སྦད།
then 1SG be.born-2INF EQU.NE
‘Then I was born.’ (PED life story)

Denwood (1999: 143) comments that the “other-centred” (contra “self-centred) Lhasa Tibetan past construction VERB-pa-red, which is somewhat equivalent to the Denjongke construction used in (9.17) and (9.18), “is said to be possible with a first-person subject and is certainly found in writing…, but I have not heard it in spontaneous speech.” This suggests that Denjongke and written language in Lhasa may embody more “archaic” grammar than spoken Lhasa Tibetan.

The following two examples illustrate the use of neutral evidentiality in imagined, irrealis situations. The speaker of (9.19) asked in a telephone conversation, jokingly, the addressee to put a hefty sum of money on his account. After having been pried as to what he would do with the money, the speaker spontaneously answered:

(9.19) ང་འགྱུ་དྔོ་སྦད་, ཐག་རིང་སྐྔོར་འབག་སྟི་
then 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) འཇོད་ེན་ི་ཞིན་ལྡན་འཐོས་
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་ོི་ནི་(Nep.)ཤི་ཤད་སྦད།
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 时间节点: 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 =jãː.
9.1.1.5 Evidentiality with complex equative auxiliaries

Occasionally, the final auxiliary is a complex nominalized or infinitival copula. The nominalized copula construction in-\(k\text{ }\text{en} \text{ }be?) in (9.22) underlines the nonhabitual (hence in-\(k\text{ }\text{en} \text{ }be?) instead of mere \(\text{be}?) and past meaning (hence spatiotemporally backgounding nominalized in-\(k\text{ }\text{en} \text{ }be?) rather than mere personal \(i?) of the clause.

(9.22) \(\text{lo} \text{ }\text{mi-te} \text{ }\text{ton} \text{ }\text{ma-teuk-ee-ki} \text{ }\text{t’onda-le} \text{ }\text{de;}\)

mind NEG-entrust show NEG-CAUS-INF=GEN purpose=ABL like.this

\(p’\text{ja-tiki} \text{ }\text{â’} \text{ }\text{dem=tai?} \text{ }\text{kjap-to} \text{ }\text{iy-k\text{ }\text{en} \text{ }be?).\)
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 im-bo ì?: makes the past interpretation of verbal action more explicit than if the auxiliary were mere ì?, although the temporal interpretation of the verb form is also revealed by the adverb jë‘nle ‘earlier’. By choosing a personal copula (im-bo ì?) instead of a neutral one (im-bo be?) the speaker underlines his own involvement in seeing the flowers himself.

(9.23) \(\text{niema} \text{ }\text{nà=:to} \text{ }\text{ci=\text{y\text{ }minto?} \text{ }\text{te=\text{a=ta=tai?} \text{ }\text{t’ond-o} \text{ }\text{im-bo}}\)

earlier here=CEMPH tree flower beautiful=INDF come.out-IPFV EQU-2INF ì?:

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 ì-=ee be?.

(9.24) \(\text{di=tso=gi=di} \text{ }\text{k’=lo} \text{ }\text{sè-=ee=ki} \text{ }\text{te’y} \text{ }\text{tå’-bo}\)

this=PL=AGT=CEMPH 3PL 1SG=DAT kill-INF =GEN means send-2INF ì-=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 be? and ì?: would typically mark an event which happened prior to the time of speaking, the use of the complex copula ì-=ee be? rather than be? or ì?: shows that the action is ongoing at the time of speaking.

9.1.2 Existential auxiliaries jò? and du?

The existentials jò? and du? are used as auxiliaries in the constructions given in Table 9.2. The table also includes the non-copula form -ke/ge, which was earlier shown to occur as an intensifier attached to sensorial du? (see §7.2.2.3).
The use of personal auxiliary jô? implies the speaker’s personal acquaintance/familiarity with the proposition. It also stresses the present relevance of a past action or suggests that the action is still ongoing at a reference time, which is usually the time of speaking. By using du?, in contrast, the speaker bases her proposition on sensory evidence. The interpretation of what the speaker has seen depends on the nature of the event (as coded by tense and aspect markers). If the action is presented as ongoing with progressive or continuous forms, the sensory evidence implied by du? most likely refers to seeing the action itself. If the action has been completed earlier, as suggested by the completive and perfect forms, the sensory evidence implied by du? refers to some result of the action rather than the action itself.\(^{341}\)

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-tsʰake, VERB-tsʰouke, VERB-teenge/zenge\(^{340}\)) 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-tsʰake, VERB-tsʰouke and VERB-teenge/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).

\(^{339}\) This form was reported as marginal by consultant KN.

\(^{340}\) This form is probably an abbreviation from VERB-teen dake.

\(^{341}\) See Hill (2017) for an illuminating study on how sensorial/experiential forms may have inferential semantics.
(9.25) ང་ཅའི་ ཨ་ཇྔོ། འདི་ཙུ་ཀི་ གྔོང་མའི་ཀི་ ཨ་ཇྔོ་ གྔོང་ཇྔོ་ཙུ་ རར་ལས་ ཨྔོ་འདེབ་སྟི་ གསན་གསན་བྔོ་ ཡྔོད།

‘I have heard like that from our parents, elders, grandfathers and forefathers.’
(CY interview)

(9.26) 1SG arrive EX.PER
‘I have arrived.’ (KN e)

(9.27) 1SG tomorrow clock.time none=DAT town=LOC go stay EX-INF EQU.PER
‘Until now, I am doing government service in Wok.’ (KT life story)

A complex auxiliary with jòː-ce ñ is used in (9.28) to refer to the future.

(9.28) 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 ñ, 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) 1AGT here set EX.PER
‘Others have placed (them) here.’ (RS interview)

(9.30) 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) 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:

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.

9.1.2.3 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.

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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.
The sensory progressive form is frequently used with verbs of saying. In (9.38), where the speaker explains why he thinks the absent referent is in the toilet, the reference to a specific sensory event is clear. In examples (9.39) and (9.40), on the other hand, *du*? do not seem to refer to a specific sensory experience but generally to what people can be heard to say.

(9.38) *t’ateile súpo nà-u i: láp-teen du?.*
recently stomach fall.ill-2INF EQU.PER say-PROG EX SEN
‘He is saying his stomach has become ill lately.’ (Richhi 98)

(9.39) *di=lo t’a boul láp-teen du? t’a.*
this=DAT now bowl[Eng.] say-PROG EX SEN now
‘Now this is called [boul]’ (PL interview)

story mouth clear do-NF like(that say.HON set EX SEN
‘It has been so said in clear words.’ (KLT Bumchu video)

The sensoriality marked by *du*? may refer to indirect evidence (inference) rather than direct evidence. Example (9.41) is a comment by a farmer, who has lost a hen the previous night. Half of the eaten hen has been found in the forest. The likely culprit is a jackal. The sensory experience implied by *du*? is not that of the action itself depicted by the verb but of a result of that action (half of a ripped hen in the forest). Example (9.41) shows that the sensorial marker can with a past telic action express inferential semantics, i.e. the sensorial implies seeing the results of an action, not the action itself.

(9.41) *sà-ts’a: du-ke p’e;ka.*
eat-CMPL SEN-IN half
‘(It) has eaten half (I saw).’ (PL interview)

As with the copula *du*?, the sensoriality implied by the auxiliary *du*? does not have to be visual but may be gained through other senses, as shown illustrated by (9.42), which is based on gustatory evidence.
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) 
khram khag na seb po'i lag sdro ba tin si shus shus kha la. 
kʰu mɛ̃ŋkʰãː=na fep-øː gâ: bhaila t'embo sin-di 3SGM hospital=LOC arrive-2INF.GEN time PN consciousness awaken-NF 
vâ:vy: kʰa-lâp tsʰu-po t'øn do: du?. a.bit mouth-speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN 
‘When he arrived at the hospital, Bhaila had regained consciousness and was able to talk a bit.’ (Richhi 23)

The neutral existential auxiliaries jøpo be/jøbhe and jø:-kʰen be? are used when the speaker wants to background sensoriality and personality (or familiarity), i.e. put full emphasis on the content of the proposition without revealing how he received the information.

(9.44) 
ô de dom=na t'i-ji-u jøbhe. 
di box=LOC write-RDP-2INF.EX.NE 
‘(Something) is written in this box…’ (TB e)
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)  
\[
\text{tʼa ne: loke=di kʼadzo? kʼodaŋpo ŋá: kjap du??}
\]
\[
\text{now my Lhoke=DEMPH how.much understandable 1SG.AGT strike EX.SEN}
\]
\[
\text{‘Now how understandable Lhoke did I speak?’ (PAD bet story)}
\]

(9.50)  
\[
\text{tʼa ágja, raŋ=gi=ra tʼu:sam ze:-po ŋá:}
\]
\[
\text{now elder.brother 2SG.M=AEMPHT have.HON-2INF do.HON}
\]
\[
\text{kʼadzo=sā: gato-ti do: du?. ŋá:=gi kʼadzo? sā:te}
\]
\[
\text{1SG how.much=until rejoice-NF live EX.SEN 1SG=AGT how.much until}
\]
\[
\text{ágja=lo riteʰi tap-ti do: du?.}
\]
\[
\text{elder.brother=DAT hope sow-NF stay EX.SEN}
\]
\[
\text{‘Now brother, you think for yourself how happy I am, how I’ve put my hope in the}
\]
\[
\text{brother (=you).’ (Richhi 146)}
\]

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)  
\[
\text{nilam=di=na ŋá futbol tsi-zen du?.}
\]
\[
\text{dream=DEMPH=LOC 1SG football(Eng.) play-PROG EX.SEN}
\]
\[
\text{‘In the dream I was playing football.’ (KT e)}
\]

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

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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”.
(9.52) ཨྔོ་འདིའི་ཁ་ལྟས་མན་ན་ང་ཀིས་གཅག་ཀྔོ་སྦད།

that.GEN speaking.manner NEG.EQU-COND 1SG=AGT mistake=CEMPH do jò-po be?.
EX-INF EQU.NE
‘If he does not have speaking manners, I will have made a mistake.’ (Nga’i ‘gan 13)

Example (9.53) shows that the speaker may create distance to an action which happened a
long time ago by using the neutral copula, see (9.53a). In (9.53b), on the other hand, the the
breaking of the cup has taken place just a while ago.

(9.53)  a) གོག་རེ་སྟེང་གི་དཀར་ཡོལ་པོ་ནད་ཀིས་གཅག་ཀྔོ་སྦད།
tɕoktsitŋ=gi kajøː=di nʒáː=gítɕak − o bɛʔ.
table top=GEN cup=DEMPH 1SG=AGT break-2INF EQU.NE
‘It was I who broke the cup that was on the table (long time ago).’ (KT e)

b) གོག་རེ་སྟེན་གི་དཀར་ཡོལ་པོ་ནད་ཀིས་གཅག་ཀྔོ་ནུ.
tɕoktsitŋ=gi kajøː=di nʒáː=gítɕak − iː.
table top=GEN cup=DEMPH 1SG=AGT break-2INF EQU.NE
‘It was I who broke the cup that was on the table (just now).’ (KT e)

9.1.2.5 Evidentiality with complex existential auxiliaries

In my data, only one construction with an existential auxiliary, the existential/possessive-like
construction VERB-INF EX (see §8.4), occurs with a complex copula. In the construction VERB
INF EX, the final existential auxiliary can occur in the complex evidentially neutral forms jò-po
be?, see (9.54) and jò:-kʰen be?, see (9.55). The first construction conveys a past meaning and
the second one a present habitual meaning.

(9.54) ལ་ཇྔོ་ཙུ་ཀིས་ཁ་གཏམ་ལེབ་རྫིགས་དྲགས་ལབ་ཤད་ཡྔོད་མཁན་སྦད།

nɛ̃́ːmʊ=rãː tɛndː lɛː=neː tʰàː tagziː takte= ta-ce
really=AEMPHEmoen good-evil and criteria.of.study investigation look-INF
jò-po be?.
EX.2INF EQU.NE
‘There truly was a looking of karmic omens and investigation of criteria.’ (Richhi
107)

(9.55) ང་ཇྔོ་ཙུ་ཀིས་ཁ་གཏམ་ལེབ་རྫིགས་དྲགས་ལབ་ཤད་ཡྔོད་མཁན་སྦད།

ádzọ=tsu=gī kʰatam lɛ̃p dzikṭaː lʰap-ce? jò:-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 (⟨ː/ke⟩), existential copula ⟨u⟩ or the morpheme -ke. Moreover, -tsʰa forms constructions both without nominalization and with -po/bo/u and -kʰː. The evidentiality of the constructions ending in an equative auxiliary copula depends on the copula, as outlined above in this chapter (⟨ː personal and ke 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 ⟨du⟩ 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) ṃ ngā ŋon-tsʰaː.
 1SG come-CMPL
  ‘I’ve arrived.’  (KN e)

(9.57) kʰu ŋon-tsʰaː.
 3SGM come-CMPL
  ‘He’s arrived.’  (KN e)

(9.58) ṃ ngā ŋon-tsʰake.
 1SG come-CMPL.APH
  ‘I’ve arrived.’  (KN e)

(9.59) ṃ ngā ŋon-tsʰa du(-ke).
 1SG come-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN)
  ‘I’ve arrived.’  (KN e)
The difference between -\textipa{tsʰa} and -\textipa{tsʰa du(ke)} is that -\textipa{tsʰa du(ke)}, as in (9.62), makes reference to a specific sensory event, whereas -\textipa{tsʰa} does not, see (9.63). Example (9.62) are words of a doctor, after checking a patient’s pulse.

(9.62) \textipa{tʰa lɛm tʰon-tsʰa duʔ.} ‘Now (the patient) has turned out well.’ (Richhi 29)

(9.63) \textipa{ŋətei jəp ʔɔ:-tī ɭ postpone tsʰə.} ‘Now about two years have passed since our father passed away.’ (Richhi 35)

The completive marker occurs both as non-nominalized -\textipa{tsʰa} and nominalized -\textipa{tsʰou}. I am not aware of a semantic difference between these two forms. The nominalized form is illustrated in (9.64).

(9.64) Facebook\textsuperscript{344} \textipa{fɪsbyːk=na ɔ:-tsʰouke=lo.} ‘(It)’s been posted in Facebook, I heard’ (LT kitchen discussion)

The completive may be supplemented by either -\textipa{du(ke)} as in (9.65) or -\textipa{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) \textipa{am-lə, ətsːo: go ɭep tok-tsʰa duʔ.} ‘Mum, the child’s head has been sevly hit.’ (Richhi 3)

(9.66) \textipa{leŋeʔ kʰadô=di ɭep cən-tsʰake=ɛgo.} ‘Your face has become very slim.’ (KN e)

\textsuperscript{344} According to consultant YR, the WD equivalent is \textipa{gdong-deb} [face-book].
Commenting on the difference between \(du(-ke)\) and \(-ke\), 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)  
\(a\) \(\text{kʰu}\ \text{on-}tsʰa\ \text{du(-ke).}\)  
3SGM come-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN)  
‘He’s come (I saw him).’

\(b\) \(\text{kʰu}\ \text{on-tsʰake.}\)  
3SGM come-CMPL.APHT  
‘He’s come (I didn’t necessarily see him).’

KT’s observation is supported by the examples above in that the proposition with \(du\), (9.65), is based on a visual experience, while in examples with \(-ke\) (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 \(tsʰa-ke\) 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)  
\(a\) \(\text{pʰou lep-tsʰo-u}\ \text{já?}\)  
over.there reach-CMPL-2INF EQU.PER.Q  
‘Has he arrived over there?’ (KN phone call 3)

\(b\) \(\text{pʰou lep-tsʰake.}\)  
over.there reach-CMPL.APHT  
‘He’s arrived over there.’ (KN conversation)

The form \(\text{VERB-tsʰa-ke}\) may have originated as an abbreviated version of \(\text{VERB-tsʰa du-ke}\). This is suggested by the fact that, in contrast to \(-tsʰa\ du(ke)\), I have not come accross \(-tsʰa-ke\) in written Denjongke. I hypothesize that while the abbreviated form \(-tsʰa-ke\) originally retained the sensory meaning from the full form \(-tsʰa\ duke\) (and hence even synchronously \(-tsʰa-ke\) does not occur with 1st person actors), the lack of \(du?\) in the construction is currently being reinterpreted as innecessity of sensoriality (hence 9.69b). Because \(-tsʰa-ke\) 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”,
a term that suggests not much else than that the category is disassociated with the first person. Further research is needed to clarify the semantics of -duke vs. -ke.

A distinction similar to that between completive -du(ke) and -ke can possibly be posited between the progressive forms -teen du(ke) and teen-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 \(=\text{lo}\)

The use of \(=\text{lo}\) 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 \(=\text{lo}\) (§9.2.1.3).

9.2.1.1 Declarative use

Examples (9.70-72) illustrate the typical declarative uses of the reportative.

(9.70) \(\text{བོད་དེ་མོ་ཤེན་ཉིད}

\(\text{āpo tʽā̃} \text{-tšʰa}=\text{lo.}

father die,HON-PRF=REP

‘(His) father has died, he says.’ (BP BB discussion)

(9.71) \(\text{དོན་ལས་ཐོགས་བོད་སད་}

\(\text{dā}=\text{le tšʰo} \text{-b(o) be}=\text{lo. feisbuk}=\text{na}

yesterday=ABL gather-2INF EQU.NE=REP facebook=LOC

\(\text{ō} \text{-tšʰouk}=\text{lo.}

come-CMPL.2INF.AP=REP

‘(The meeting) started yesterday, I hear. It’s come on Facebook, I hear.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

(9.72) \(\text{དོན་ལས་ཐོགས་བོད་སད་}

\(\text{tʽā̃pu lā̃bu=tɕiʔ dēp làm nānca gju-do}=\text{lo.}

Long_aggtouch=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) ཪེ. ཨ་ཚུགས་ཅེས་ཏུ་བོད་པའི་བཟང་དེ་ཤེས་བསྡུན། ཨ་ཚུགས་རིག་འེ་བྲེང་བརྲབས་ལྔོ།

\[\text{eh, 1SG GEN hand only=REP 1SG GEN foot EX.PER=AT say} \]

‘(I thought) I had only hands, (but) I have also feet, I realize.’ (KT animal story)

In the story, the marten’s hands have one by one been stuck onto a wall smeared with glue-like sap from a tree. Then the marten realizes that his earlier thought that he could only use his hands to get off the glue was false; he can also use his feet. The interesting feature about the use of ＝lo here is that the speaker is not reporting someone else’s proposition but rather reporting his own earlier thoughts that he is now questioning.

9.2.1.2 Interrogative use

In some works on related languages, interrogative uses of the cognates of the reportative ＝lo are not commented on (van Driem 1998), reported not to exist (Vesalainen 2016: 189) or limited to a narrow context with a question word (Huber 2002: 108, Gawne 2015). In Denjongke, on the other hand, the reportative is used in interrogatives (without question word), see (9.74).

(9.74) ཚེ་འེ་=lo?

come.HON-FUT.Q=REP

‘Shall we go, I was asked.’/ ‘Will you go, I was asked.’ (oh, Tashiding)

The speaker of (9.74), taking cover from rain, has just heard a friend offer a car ride. He conveys the invitation to his friends in another room by shouting.

9.2.1.3 Imperative use

In addition to declaratives and interrogatives, the reportative is used in imperatives, a feature which is rarely exemplified in Tibetic languages (exception: Gawne 2015) and which places Denjongke within a typological minority. Aikhenvald (2004: 250) states that “[a]n overwhelming majority of languages with evidentials do not use them at all in imperative clauses.” Example (9.75), illustrating the imperative use, was spoken to me by my host TB, who had just visited the kitchen and was conveying an invitation from his wife.

(9.75) དོ་ཞེས་པ་བུ་=lo.

food eat.HON-SUP come.HON-2INF grant=REP

‘Please come to eat, (she) says.’ (TB, oh)

The reportative ＝lo in Denjongke is pronounced as unstressed with a low pitch. However, Denjongke also has a segmentally identical tag question lo, a loan of the frequent Nepali tag la. The tag question, which is pronounced with rising intonation, is often used in syntactic contexts identical with the reportative, as in (9.76).
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.

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 someone 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.
Whereas DL’s original recording and TB’s repetition of it have a low intonation pattern typical of the reportative =lo, KL produces a rise in intonation typical of the tag question, albeit in an attenuated way, probably because on the original recording there is no rise at all. My hypothesis, based on the facts mentioned above, is that Denjongke reportative has developed an extended use marking indirectness/politeness. This extended use appears to be limited to certain conversational contexts (KT specifically mentioned handing over items to other people) and possibly to certain dialectal areas. However, because of bilinguality of most Denjongke speakers in Nepali and the ubiquity of the Nepali tag question la, even those uses of =lo which are extensions of the reportative marker, and hence a language-internal development, are currently being reinterpreted as cases of the borrowed tag question lo.

In conclusion, the Denjongke reportative =lo can be used in declarative, interrogative and imperative moods. I drew attention to two rare uses that, to my knowledge, have not been reported in related languages. One is the declarative use in which the speaker reports their own earlier proposition/thought rather than someone else’s proposition. In the second extended function, =lo in (honorific) imperatives/requests is used as an indirectness/politeness marker. The request is presented as if it originated with someone else to attenuate its force. This indirect use appears to be currently reinterpreted as the tag question lo borrowed from Nepali.

9.2.2 Quotative =s(ɛ)
The quotative marker is an enclitic that is appended to the end of a clause. Its basic meaning is to indicate that someone is being quoted. The quotation may come from a person other than the speaker, or the speaker may quote something that they themselves said earlier. Typically, =sɛ functions as a complementizer for verbs of saying and writing, as shown in (9.78) and (9.79).

(9.78) ་ཡིན་ལ་དེ་ཁོངས་ཤེས་ལ་ཡི་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱས་ཀྱི་གི་ང་ཚུལ་།
lópʰu=di=gi ɲuː-ʑin=le=ra ma-ʈʰop=s láp-o=lo.
pupil=DEMPH=AGT weep-PROG=ABL=AEMPH NEG-find=QUO say-2INF=REP
‘Weeping, the pupil says “I didn’t find (it)”, (so the story goes).’ (RS pupil joke)

(9.79) དོ་ཁོ་པོ་་ང་ལྕེི་དང་ཐ་ཁོ་དང་ལྕེི་གྱི་ང་ཚུལ་ལོ་
p’usim=laː, t’arin=le ɲā=lo ágja=s súm-bo
younger.sister=HON today=ABL 1SG=DAT elder.brother=QUO say.HON-2INF
nā: lo.
do,HON TAG,Q
‘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) \begin{align*}
&
\text{‘Choki, write a letter to the father, okay, saying that the elder brother is not coming with us this year.’ (Richhi 138)}
\end{align*}

Often, however, the verb làp ‘say’ or its converbal form làpti functions as an additional complementizer.\(^\text{346}\) In these cases \( =s(e) \) is little more than a “closing quotation mark” (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 214 for the cognate in Standard Tibetan).

(9.81) \begin{align*}
&
\text{‘The girl is like a gem (it is said).’ (SGD wedding customs)}
\end{align*}

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) \begin{align*}
&
\text{‘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)}
\end{align*}

In some uses of \( =s(e) \), 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) \begin{align*}
&
\text{‘(But they) just were here.’ (KT e)}
\end{align*}

\(^{346}\) làp-ti also functions as a complementizer by itself without \( =se \), see §14.2.2.1.
Similarly to (9.83), the quotative is used in (9.84) in a situation where the speaker’s earlier assumption is challenged: a pencil is no longer in a place where the speaker expected it to be.

(9.84) ཨྔོ་ན་ ཡྔོད་ སེ། ག་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ སྙམ?
\( \text{öná jó:=} \text{s(e). k’a: } \text{só-bo } \text{nam?} \)
there \text{EX.PER=QUO} \text{ where } \text{go.PFV-2INF} \text{ 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 \( =\text{s(e)} \) as a forceful restatement of his/her case with a peremptory tone and possibly showing irritation:

(9.85) a) ཨྔོ་ན་ (ཐོ་)
\( \text{jó:=se } \) \( (\text{jó}) \).
\text{EX.PER=QUO} \text{ (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) ིུ་ བཞེས་ལྔོ་ སེ།
\( \text{t’a min-ze:=lo=s.} \)
\text{now} \text{ NEG-have.HON=REP=QUO}
‘He’s not having (drinks) now, I heard him say.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

(9.87) ཨྔོ་ན་ ཡྔོད་ སེ། ག་ སྔོང་བྔོ་ སྙམ?
\( \text{te } \text{k’ön=gi=di } \) \( \text{man-gju=rô: } \) \( \text{gju=lo=si=la.} \)
\text{so} \text{ 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH} \text{ NEG-go=DEMPH} \text{ go=REP=QUO=HON}
‘He says (cf. \( =\text{se} \)) he heard (cf. \( =\text{lo} \)) he has no way of not going.’ (AB kitchen discussion; all instances of ‘he’ in the translation have the same referent)

Whereas \( =\text{lo} \) 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), \( =\text{lo} \) is translated as ‘I heard’ and \( =\text{s(e)} \) as ‘him say’. The semantic nuances of \( =\text{se} \) and its relationship to the reportative \( =\text{lo} \) deserve further study.

9.3 Summary remarks

This chapter described evidentiality marked by copula auxiliaries and two clitics (reportative and quotative). The focus was on describing the less typical combinations of evidential value and person marking, i.e. personal forms with non-1\( ^{st} \) person actor (context where sensorial and neutral forms are more frequent), and sensorial/neutral forms with the first person actor (context where personal forms are more frequent). It was shown that, similar to copulas, Denjongke personal forms occur more freely with non-1\( ^{st} \) person actors than “egohopric” forms in Standard Tibetan (Tournadre & Dorje 2003).

Inquiry into evidentiality in various completive constructions marked by \(-\text{tsʰaː}\) 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Imp</th>
<th>Perf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mi-</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>imperfective (present, future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma-</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfective (past, imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copulas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mèn</em></td>
<td>(affirm. <em>èn</em>)</td>
<td>personal equative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mèmb</em></td>
<td>(affirm. <em>be? èn</em>)</td>
<td>neutral equative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mèd</em></td>
<td>(affirm. <em>jò? èn</em>)</td>
<td>personal existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mind</em></td>
<td>(affirm. <em>du? àn</em>)</td>
<td>sensorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mèmbo</em></td>
<td>(affirm. <em>bo àn</em>)</td>
<td>interrogated equative neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mèna</em></td>
<td>(affirm. <em>na àn</em>)</td>
<td>interrogated equative personal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the perfective negator *ma-* the verb has either past or imperative meaning, e.g. *man-do? èn* ‘did not, do not sit’. With the imperfective negator *mi-* the meaning is present habitual or future oriented, e.g. *min-do? èn* ‘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).

\[(10.1)\]  
\[\text{a) } \text{nòː} - \text{kjaʔ, } kjako=\text{di}=\text{lo} \quad \text{dzuga} \quad \text{låp.} \]

\[\text{cattle-excrement excrement=DEMPH=DAT cow-dung say} \]

\[\text{‘Cow-dung, dung is called } /\text{dzuga}/.\] (PL interview)  

\[\text{b) } \text{di}=\text{lo} \quad \text{be}):-\text{eeʔ} \quad \text{mi}-\text{låp.} \]

\[\text{this=DAT uproot-INF NEG-say} \]

\[\text{‘That is not called } [\text{be}:\text{eeʔ}].\] (PL interview)  

\[\text{(10.2) } \quad \text{tʽato} \quad \text{ŋàt} \quad \text{ɕa} \quad \text{ʔ} \quad \text{kʽar} \quad \text{ɛ} \quad \text{ɕ} \quad \text{ù} \quad \text{-wa} \quad \text{tɕaː} \quad \text{-bo} \quad \text{ĩ́ː} \quad \text{.} \]

\[\text{now 1PL anything ask-PUR come.HUM-2INF NEG.EQU.NE just.like.that} \]

\[\text{ŋàt} \quad \text{ɕa} \quad \text{ʔ} \quad \text{tʽariŋ} \quad \text{nà} \quad \text{sər=tsaː} \quad \text{dʑɛː} \quad \text{-wa} \quad \text{tɕaː} \quad \text{-bo} \quad \text{ĩ́ː} \quad \text{.} \]

\[\text{1PL today here sir=by meet.HON-PUR come.HUM-2INF EQU.PER} \]

\[\text{‘Now we didn’t come to ask for anything. We just came here today to meet (you) Sir.’ (NAB BLA 7)} \]

In serial verbs, the negator occurs before the last verb\(^{347}\), as shown by the affirmative and negated pair in (10.3).

\[\text{(10.3) a) } \text{tʽu} \quad \text{koː}-\text{bo} \quad \text{ĩ́ː} \quad \text{.} \]

\[\text{pick throw.away-2INF EQU.PER} \]

\[\text{‘(He) picked and threw (it) away’. (KN e)} \]

\[\text{b) } \text{tʽu} \quad \text{ma}-\text{ko} \quad \text{.} \]

\[\text{pick NEG-throw.away} \]

\[\text{‘Do not pick and throw (it) away.’ (KN e)} \]

The correspondence of affirmed and negated constructions in standard negation is summarized in Table 10.2, where EQU = í/beʔ, NEG.EQU = mè:/mèmbɛ, EX = jòʔ/duʔ and NEG.EX = mè/mèduʔ (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.
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-láp-to [EQU]), and non-symmetric negation, which is formally borrowed from non-reduplicated perfect construction and which occurs in the present continuous use (láp-o NEG.EX).

2) In the progressive-type of constructions (imperfective, progressive, continuous), there is mismatch of form and function in that negated form (láp-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 (láp-o 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-láp(o EQU) corresponds to three affirmed forms, the periphrastic past (-po EQU), past (-tɕɛʔ) and the completive (-tsʰaː).

4) The periphrastic past and nonpast constructions both have one affirmed form corresponding to two negated forms, a neutral negation accomplished through a negator prefix and an emphatic negation accomplished through negating the final auxiliary copula.

---

### 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>láp</td>
<td>'is called, says'</td>
<td>mi-láp</td>
<td>'is not called'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simp. prs</td>
<td>láp beʔ</td>
<td>'says'</td>
<td>mi-láp beʔ</td>
<td>'does not say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>láp-to (EQU)</td>
<td>'used to say, is saying'</td>
<td>ma-láp-to (EQU)</td>
<td>'used not to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>láp doː EX</td>
<td>'is saying'</td>
<td>láp-o NEG.EX</td>
<td>'is not saying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>láp-tecn EX</td>
<td>'is saying'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periphr. PST</td>
<td>láp-o EQU</td>
<td>'said'</td>
<td>láp-o NEG.EQU</td>
<td>'did not say (emphatic)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>láp-tee</td>
<td>'said'</td>
<td>mà-láp(-o EQU)</td>
<td>'did not say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>láp-tšaː</td>
<td>'has said'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>láp-láp-o EX</td>
<td></td>
<td>láp-láp-o NEG.EX</td>
<td>'has not said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>láp jòʔ</td>
<td>'has said'</td>
<td>láp mèʔ</td>
<td>'has not said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN.PST/</td>
<td>láp duʔ</td>
<td>'said'</td>
<td>láp mindu</td>
<td>'did not say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN.RES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>láp-o mindu</td>
<td>'did not say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>láp-ɕɛ EQU</td>
<td>'will say'</td>
<td>láp-ɕɛ NEG.EQU</td>
<td>'will not say (emphatic)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT.UNC</td>
<td>láp ōː</td>
<td>'will say'</td>
<td>mi-láp(-ɕɛ EQU)</td>
<td>'will not say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.like</td>
<td>láp-ɕɛ EX</td>
<td>'has/had...to say'</td>
<td>láp-ɕɛ NEG.EX</td>
<td>'has/had not (anything) to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB. PRS</td>
<td>láp-kʰɕ: EQU</td>
<td>'said, says'</td>
<td>ma-láp-kʰɕ: EQU</td>
<td>'didn’t say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-láp-kʰɕ: EQU</td>
<td>'doesn’t say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mi-láp-o EQU</td>
<td>'does not say, used not to say'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

348 In Tashiding, West-Sikkim, the construction lāpto mèʔ is also used.
349 Nep. paani par-dai cha. [water fall-PROG EX.NPST.3SG] 'It’s raining.', paani par-e-ko chaina [water fall-PFV-NMLZ NEG.EX.NPST.3SG] 'It’s not raining./It has not rained.'
5) The uncertain future (VERB 信赖) form is negated by the same construction (mi-lap[-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 (-ey', etymologically probably ཡི་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 làp'te and its negated form ma-lap-o be? is asymmetric, because the negated form is formed/borrowed from the affirmative periphrastic past form làp-o be?. As seen in Table 10.3 constructional symmetry and relational symmetry may have opposite values. For instance, the negated construction ma-láp-o be? is constructionally symmetric because it is formed from the affirmative form làp-o be? by simple adding a negator morpheme. However, ma-láp-o be? 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. m̀a-lap-o i: is symmetric negation of làp-o i; while the shorter form m̀a-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 bee?</td>
<td>mi-lap bee?</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(^{350})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>làp da: EX</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>làp-teen EX</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></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-tëc</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>làp-tse'a:</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>(làp-)làp-o</td>
<td>(làp-)làp-o</td>
<td>NEG.EX</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>làp jòː?</td>
<td>làp mèː?</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN.PST/SEN.RES</td>
<td>làp du?</td>
<td>làp mindu</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>làp-ë EQU</td>
<td>làpë EQU</td>
<td>NEG.EQU</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT,UNC</td>
<td>làp õː:</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss. like</td>
<td>làp-ë EQU</td>
<td>làp-ë EQU</td>
<td>NEG.EX</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB. PRS</td>
<td>làp-këː: EQU</td>
<td>ma-làp-këː: EQU</td>
<td>mi-làp-këː: EQU</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).\(^351\) The combinatorial copulas, emphatic imbeʔ and sensorial equative induʔ (see §7.3.1), do not have distinct negated forms. The form mëmbëʔ negates both the neutral equative beʔ and the emphatic imbeʔ. No negated form for induʔ 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).
(10.4) a) kʰu mi teāta? teiku ma-im-ba riktecn=jā: ɨ. 
3SGM human beautiful only NEG-EQU.PER-CIRC intelligent=also EQU.PER ‘He is not only a handsome person but also intelligent.’ (referent present) (PT e)

b) āna=di mi ma-im-ba qemo dziksu runpo=tei?
old.lady=DEMPH human NEG-EQU.PER-CIRC demoness PN PN=INDF ɨ.
EQU.PER ‘The old lady, not being a human, is one demoness Dziksu Rungpo.’ (ma-gsung 10)

The negated forms of nominalized copulas are given in Table 10.4. The nominalizers are "-po/bo (2. infinitive), -kʰě: (nominalizer) and -ee? (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 ɨ: (neg. měː) or jøː (neg. měː). The final, evidentiality marking copula is either personal ɨ: or neutral be?. 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 mèː-bo ɨ, the felicity of which he doubted.

Table 10.4. Nominalized copulas

<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>Personal</td>
<td></td>
<td>im-bo ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-bo ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-bo ɨ: (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in-kʰě: ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-kʰě: ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-kʰě: ɨ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ũː-ee ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-ee ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-ee ɨ: (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral or assertive</td>
<td></td>
<td>im-bo be?</td>
<td>mèː-bo be?</td>
<td>mèː-bo be?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in-kʰěn be?</td>
<td>mèː-kʰěn be?</td>
<td>mèː-kʰěn be?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ũː-ee be?</td>
<td>mèː-ee be?</td>
<td>mèː-ee be? (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exist.</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>jøː-po ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-po ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-po ɨ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jøː-kʰě: ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-kʰě: ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-kʰě: ɨ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td>jøː-pee ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-pee ɨ:</td>
<td>mèː-pee ɨ: (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jøː-po be?</td>
<td>mèː-po be?</td>
<td>mèː-po be?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jøː-pee be?</td>
<td>mèː-pee be?</td>
<td>mèː-pee be? (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. ũː-ee mèːbe instead of mèː-ee be?, and jøː-po mèːbe instead of mèː-po be?). For examples on analogous negated constructions with other verbs, see §8.1.1 (past construction) and §8.2.5 (nonpast construction). Consultant KUN commented that the affirmative forms in Table 10.4 could be
negated by negating the final copula, i.e. ɨː-ɨː > ɨː-ɐ. The only form that he was not certain about was the form ɨː-ɨː mɛː, 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>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>HORT</th>
<th>OPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>láp(teʰi)</td>
<td>láp-ke</td>
<td>láp-teuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>‘say!’</td>
<td>‘let me/us say’</td>
<td>‘let (her) say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negated</td>
<td>ma-láp(teʰi)</td>
<td>ma-láp-ke</td>
<td>láp ma-teuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>‘do not say’</td>
<td>‘let us/me not say’</td>
<td>‘let (her) not say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constr. symm.</td>
<td>symmetric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation. symm.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></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 mɛ̀mb, mɛ̀na, mɛ̀ŋ-ga and the affirmative interrogative íŋ-ga are in effect like tag questions, whereas questions negated by other means are normal non-tag questions.

Table 10.6. Negation of interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>state</td>
<td>kjap-ka</td>
<td>‘does he do’</td>
<td>mi-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 mɛ̀mb-ka</td>
<td>‘does he not do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>kjap-to-ka</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>mi-kjap-ka (mi-kjap-to-kam)</td>
<td>‘does he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-to ŋa</td>
<td>‘is he doing’</td>
<td>ma-kjap ŋa (ma-kjap-to ŋa/bo)</td>
<td>‘is he not doing’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-to mɛ̀na</td>
<td>‘he is doing, isn’t he’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-to mɛ̀na</td>
<td>‘he is not doing, is he’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-to íŋ-ga</td>
<td>‘he is doing, isn’t he’</td>
<td>kjap-to mɛ̀ŋ-ga,</td>
<td>‘he is doing, isn’t 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></th>
<th>'is he doing'</th>
<th>'whether he is not doing or...'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kjap-to bo</td>
<td>kjap-to mèmboko</td>
<td>'he is doing, isn’t he’</td>
<td>ma-kjap-to bo (alternative question)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-to mèmboko</td>
<td>'he is not doing, is he’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap-to boe-ka</td>
<td>kjap-to mèmboko-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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-ka</td>
<td>'is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o nà/bo</td>
<td>'is he not doing, did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROG</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kjap-teen jò:-ka/du-ka</td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-ka/mindu-ka</td>
<td>'is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap-teen jò:-po</td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-po/mindu-ka</td>
<td>'is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap-teen du-ko</td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-po/mindu-ka</td>
<td>'is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONT</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kjap do: jò:-ka/du-ka</td>
<td>kjap-o mè:-ka/mindu-ka</td>
<td>'is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap do:-p mè:-ka</td>
<td>kjap do:-p minduka</td>
<td>'is he not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap do:-p mè:-ga</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mè:-ga</td>
<td>'he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap do:-p mè:-ga</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mè:-ga</td>
<td>'he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>per. PST</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kjap-o nà</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o nà</td>
<td>'did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap nà</td>
<td>'did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mèna</td>
<td>'he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mèng-ga</td>
<td>'he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjap-o bo</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o bo</td>
<td>'did he not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-o mèmboko</td>
<td>'he did, didn’t he’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-o mèmboko</td>
<td>'he did not do, did he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| PST    |                |                                |        |        |
|--------|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------|        |
| kjap-tee nà/*bo | ma-kjap-o     | 'did he not do’                 | S      | S      |
|         | kjap-tee mèna | 'he did, didn’t he’             | AS     | S      |

353 Essential for this form and the corresponding negation is raised pitch.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>SK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>(kjap-)kjap-o jò:-ka, (kjap-)kjap o du-ka</td>
<td>‘has said’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>kjap jò:-ka</td>
<td>‘has said’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEN.PST</td>
<td>kjap du-ka</td>
<td>‘did do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>kjap-ee ná (kjap-ee)</td>
<td>‘will do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>mi-kjap ná</td>
<td>‘will not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-kjap-ka</td>
<td>‘will not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-ee mé:-ka</td>
<td>‘he will do, won’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-ee mé:-po</td>
<td>‘he will do, won’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-kjap-ka</td>
<td>‘will not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-ee mé:-mo</td>
<td>‘he will do, won’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT.UNC</td>
<td>kjap ôn-ga</td>
<td>‘will do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.like</td>
<td>kjap-ee jò:-ka</td>
<td>‘has he to do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-ee mé:-ka</td>
<td>‘he has not to do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-ee mé:-po</td>
<td>‘he has not to do’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-kjap-ka</td>
<td>‘will not do’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-ee mé:-mo</td>
<td>‘he will do, won’t he’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB. PRS</td>
<td>kjap-kè:ná</td>
<td>‘is he the one doing’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-kjap-kè:ná</td>
<td>‘is he (the one) not doing’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-kjap-kè:ná</td>
<td>‘is he (the one) not doing’</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kjap-kè:mèna</td>
<td>‘he is (the one) not doing’</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

354 This may also be a statement.
355 The addition of -m makes form an attenuated question. The attenuation in the negated question is functionally similar to uncertainty implied by ô: 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 ma- ‘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 suffix</td>
<td>īŋ-ga</td>
<td>‘is (it)’ (tag)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R neg. cop.</td>
<td>īŋ-gam</td>
<td>‘I wonder whether (it) is’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N suffix</td>
<td>bɛ-ka</td>
<td>‘is it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E neg. cop.</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>‘is (it I wonder)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 10.8. Negation of interrogated existential copulas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Per</th>
<th>‘is (there)’</th>
<th>mɛ(-)ka</th>
<th>‘is (there) not’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sen</td>
<td>‘is (there)’</td>
<td>mɛndu-ka</td>
<td>‘is (there) not’</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 (mēna, mēnam, mēmbo). The attenuated forms occur only in the personal copulas ī: 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 10.9. Negation of nonfinite forms

<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>kjap-ne</td>
<td>ma-kjap-ne</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-run</td>
<td>concession</td>
<td>kjap-run</td>
<td>ma-kjap-run</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tì</td>
<td>nonfinal</td>
<td>kjap-tì</td>
<td>ma-kjap-tì</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa(r)</td>
<td>circumstance</td>
<td>kjap-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-podà:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-o-dà:</td>
<td>ma-kjap-o-dà:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsubdà:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-tsubdà:</td>
<td></td>
<td>AS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sondà:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-sondà:</td>
<td>ma-kjap-sondà:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sodà:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-sodà:</td>
<td>ma-kjap-sodà:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kap</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-kap</td>
<td>ma-kjap kap</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dy:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-dy:</td>
<td>ma-kjapdy:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-reŋk'a</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-reŋk'a</td>
<td>ma-kjap-reŋk'a</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gà:</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-gà:</td>
<td>ma-kjap gà:</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’a:pu</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td>kjap-p’a:pu</td>
<td>ma-kjap p’a:pu</td>
<td>AS</td>
<td>AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa:</td>
<td>terminative</td>
<td>kjap-sonzà:</td>
<td>ma-kjap-sonzà:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonzà:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ee-di:</td>
<td>causal</td>
<td>kjap-ee=di:</td>
<td>ma-kjap-ee=di:</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown by Table 10.10, negation in nonfinite clauses is constructively mostly symmetric, showing asymmetry in only two constructions (simultaneous gà: and p’a:pu). Two constructions (nonfinal and simultaneous -tsubdà:) show paradigmatic asymmetry in deriving the negated form from another construction. Simultaneous constructions with gà: 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 gà: ‘time’ differs from the functionally equivalent affirmative construction by dropping the nominalizer -po and the simultaneous construction formed by p’a:pu ‘in between’ differs from its functionally equivalent affirmative form by eliding reduplication.

10.2 Non-clausal negation

10.2.1 Negative replies

While Denjongke has no word corresponding to English no, one word negative replies are possible with the negated copulas. Negated existentials mìnduʔ and mèʔ 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 -na, a loan from Classical Tibetan.
(10.5) Q: ོི་ཐུབ་ཀ རོ་མེད།
    tsʰa tʰop-ka?
salt find-PQ
    ‘Is there salt?’ (KN e)

A: མིན་འདུག/མེད།
    mìn dду/ʔ mèʔ.
    NEG.EX.SEN/ NEG.EX.PER
    ‘There is not.’ (KN e)

The negated equative mèʔ is used in the meaning ‘it is not as you are saying’ for contending with what the speaker’s interlocutor has said. Typically, however, the form is not used totally independently but is followed by a further negated verb form.

(10.6) མན་ད་རིང་བཞེས་པྔོ་མེད་ལྔོ།
    mɛ̃ː, tʽariŋ zeː-p(o) mɛː=lo.
    NEG.EQU.PER today eat.HON-2INF NEG.EX.PER=REP
    ‘No, (he) is not eating today, I hear.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

An affirmative and a negated question differ with respect to whether they allow a one word negated answer. In an affirmative question (10.7a), a negative reply with a mere negated copula was deemed infelicitous (10.7c). A negated verb is needed in addition (10.7b).

(10.7) a) Q: མདང་ཚེ་རིང་ལྔོ་འཕྱར་ད་པྔོ་ཡོད།?
    dãː tsʰɛ riŋ=lo pʰɛ--po yá?
yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF EQU.PER.Q
    ‘Did you meet Tshering yesterday?’ (KN e)

b) A1: མིན་མ་ཕྱེད།
    mɛ̃ː, ma-ɲeʔ.
    NEG.EQU.PER NEG-meet
    ‘No, (I) didn’t meet.’ (KN e)

c) A2: *མིན།
    *mɛː.
    NEG.EQU.PER
    ‘No.’ (KN e)

In a negated question, on the other hand, a reply with a mere negative existential copula was deemed felicitous:

(10.8) Q: མདང་ཅེ་རིང་ལྔོ་འཕྱར་མེད་ལྔོ།?
    dãː tsʰɛ riŋ=lo pʰɛ--po mɛɲ-ga?
yesterday PN=DAT meet-2INF NEG.EX.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 \( =\text{j\text{å}} \) ‘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, \( k\'\text{an\text{č}:} \) and \( k\'\text{ar}^{357} \) ‘(not) anything’, do not function as interrogatives at all but only occur in negated statements, see (10.10) and (10.13).

(10.9)  
\[
\text{ge:pu}=lo \ \text{ódi} \ \text{gā:} \ \text{ó:te\'a} \ \text{k\'a:}=\text{j\text{å}}:\ \text{mè:-k\text{èn}} \ \text{be?}.  
\]
\(\text{king}=\text{LOC} \) that \( \text{time} \) \( \text{power} \) \( \text{what}=\text{EX-NMLZ} \) \( \text{EQU.NE} \)
‘At that time the king didn’t have any power.’ (CY interview)

(10.10)  
\[
\text{t\'iz\text{ã:}} \ \text{k\'\text{adi:}}=\text{j\text{å}}:\ \text{k\'an\text{č}:} \ \text{l\text{āp} } \text{mi-t\text{s\text{u}}?}.  
\]
but which\(\text{one.AGT}=\text{even} \) \( \text{anything} \) \( \text{say} \) \( \text{NEG-be.able.to} \)
‘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, \( \text{ma-\text{nu\text{g}}} \) ‘not a few, many’ (10.14).

(10.11)  
\[
\text{ájo:} \ \text{p\text{èn}-k\text{èh}:} \ \text{mi}=\text{d\text{í}} \ \text{c\text{y:tey?} } \text{m\text{ò}:}=\text{\text{èo}}.  
\]
\(\text{EXCLAM} \) \( \text{listen.NMLZ} \) \( \text{human}=\text{DEMPH} \) \( \text{a.little} \) \( \text{NEG-come}=\text{AT} \)
‘O my goodness, it wasn’t a few people who came to listen.’ (KT discussion with TB)

(10.12)  
\[
\text{ámm\text{ama},} \ \text{c\text{y:tey?} } \text{mè?}.  
\]
\(\text{EXCLAM(Nep.)} \) \( \text{a.little} \) \( \text{NEG.EQU.PER} \)
‘O my goodness, it’s not a few (stray dogs that we have here).’ (PL interview)

(10.13)  
\[
\text{t\text{è\text{h}:}}=\text{ki} \ \text{mam-bj\text{a}-u} \ \text{k\'ar\text{e}} \ \text{mè?}.  
\]
\(\text{2SG.L}=\text{AGT} \) \( \text{NEG-do-2INF} \) \( \text{anything} \) \( \text{NEG.EQU.PER} \)
‘There is not anything you haven’t done.’ (’dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 45)

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357 \( k\'\text{ar} \) may be a shortened form of \( k\'\text{an\text{č}:} \). The retroflex /q/ alternates with /t/ also elsewhere.
‘Now I, having given so much money…’ (TB bull story)

10.2.3 Negation of adjectives

Adjectives are negated either through a negator prefix attached to the adjective, see Table 10.10, or through a nominalized negative copula following the property concept word, see Table 10.11.

### Table 10.10. Adjectives negated by a prefix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lèm</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mà-lèm, mà-lep(^{358})</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teð:tað(TB),</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-teom (TB)</td>
<td>ugly, not beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teð:tað(KT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-te:po (KT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsâ:tað</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mà-tsâ:m</td>
<td>dirty, unclean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðâu</td>
<td>similar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-ðâu</td>
<td>dissimilar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèmopo</td>
<td>true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-dèmopo</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       |
| ðũ kũñarù | ðũ kũñarù\^| |
| te õu t são-po | te õu mì-t så-po |
| happen be.able.to-2INF | happen NEG-be.able.to-2INF |
| ‘possible’ | ‘impossible’ |

When an adjective is negated through a nominalized negative existential copula (\( mèːkʰɛː\) or \( mèː-po\)), the adjectival suffix (e.g. -\( ðað\), -te\( kʰɛː\)), 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>nota?</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</td>
<td>blunt, not sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sём-eûk-te( kʰɛː):</td>
<td>courageous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sём-eûk mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</td>
<td>coward, not courageous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuk-te( kʰɛː):</td>
<td>strong (lit. strength big)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuk mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</td>
<td>weak, not strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top-te( kʰɛː):</td>
<td>true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top mèːkʰɛː/mèːpo</td>
<td>true</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{358}\) There is no other, non-derived form meaning ‘bad’.
The adjectival meanings ‘different’ and ‘different kinds’ are expressed through negation by constructions listed in Table 10.12.

Table 10.12. Adjectives meaning ‘different (kinds of)’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sentence Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>min-qa</td>
<td>[NEG-be.similar]</td>
<td>‘different’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-teik-o</td>
<td>[NEG-one-NMLZ]</td>
<td>‘different, not one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa man-qa</td>
<td>[be.similar NEG-be.similar]</td>
<td>‘different kinds of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa min-qa</td>
<td>[be.similar NEG-be.similar]</td>
<td>‘different kinds of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-qa gun-qa</td>
<td>[NEG-be.similar nine-be.similar]</td>
<td>‘different kinds of’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10.16) t’iza: t’à:pu dem min-qa be?.
‘But it was different from long ago.’ (DB trip story)

(10.17) mi=di ma-teik-o làp-ti...
‘saying these people (are) different…’ (LA intro to Lachung)

(10.18) t’a ÿ:tsö ÿ:tsö=na átis=tei? ìq? ñaminña jò:-k’en be?.
‘Now, in different villages, the traditions are a bit different.’ (SGD wedding customs)

For an example of the negated idiom man-qa gun-qa, refer to §10.3.3 below.

10.2.4 Privatives

Privative (or abessive) meanings (cf. English without N, N-less, un-N) are expressed through negated existential copulas, see (10.19). This strategy is identical with negating certain adjectives, see Table 10.11 above.

(10.19) ñà=rà: teuku dey þ:kor bak-ti ri-luŋ me:-po kjam
1SG=AEMPH only like this tour carry-NF hill.valley EX-2INF roam
‘Like this I’m travelling alone, without a place (to stay) in the hills or valleys, roaming around.’ (PAD bet story)

Clausal privatives (cf. ‘without doing’) are expressed through negated circumstantial converb or through the construction NEG-VERB-po p’ja(tii), see §15.8.1.

10.3 Other aspects of negation

This section provides a note on negation in complex clauses (§10.3.1) and describes two idiomatic constructions involving negation, the negated restrictive -ma (§10.3.2) and the variety marking idiom NEG-VERB gu-VERB (§10.3.3).
10.3.1 A note on negation in complex clauses

The negated connector \( mi-\text{ts}'ɛʔ \) (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 \( mɛ̀n \) ‘and, again’ and a negated verb in both clauses, see §12.3.

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 *pʰa:ge* or *ma:ge* and retain the same meaning.

(10.20)\[ \text{māko}=di \quad k'ana \quad jê-po, \quad kole=s, \quad māko \quad mɛn(ɛ) \]
nee=DEMPH where Ex-2Inf where=Quo nām: and perhaps

‘Where is the groom? Where? Lest the groom be blind.’ (SGD wedding customs)

(10.21)\[ \text{tʼu} \quad \text{man-z'a-teene} \quad mɛn \quad te'ø \quad mi-ei. \]
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, mɛn is followed by a negated verb.
In the novel Richhi and the audio-play nram-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: ཚེོ་ ངའི་ཅྱ༹་ཏྔོ་བདུན་མ་ མིན་འདུག་། ཨ་རྒྱ་ཀི་ཤྰྔོ་ گ་ཆྱ༹ྔོད་འདུག؟

Oh. no 1SGGEN=at=CEMPH seven-(no.)more. than NEG.EX.SEN

alogy=gi=eo k’adzo? du??
eder.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: ཆ་ ངའི་ཅྱ༹་ལྔོ་ཡང་  བདུན་མ་ མིན་འདུག་  རྱ༹ྔོགས་རབ་ སྦད།

1SG GEN=at=DAT=even seven-(no.)more. than NEG.EX.SEN
‘I too haven’t (any) more than seven.’

(10.25) A: ཚེོ་ ངའི་ཅྱ༹་ལྔོགས་ཀམ་  ཨ་རྒྱ།

mɛ̀mbo accom nied verb: 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)

(10.25) A: ཚེོ་ ངའི་ཅྱ༹་ལྔོགས་ཀམ་  ཨ་རྒྱ།

mɛ̀mbo accom nied verb: 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) ཙེ་ ལེགས།  ལེགས་ ཆོས་ལེགས་ ལེགས་ འགྱུར་ སྙེད་ ལེགས།

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 the 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-\(g\)-\(a\), be-\(k\)\(-a\)), 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 -\(k\)-\(a/g\)\(-a\) as the other verbs.

Table 11.1. Interrogative morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Polarity</th>
<th>Direct questions</th>
<th>Polar questions</th>
<th>Attenuated polar and content questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Vs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-(k)-(g)(-a)</td>
<td>-(k)-(g)(-a)</td>
<td>-(k)-(g)(-a)(-k)-(g)(-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>(n)(-a)</td>
<td>(n)(-a)</td>
<td>(n)(-a)(-k)-(g)(-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>(m)(-a)</td>
<td>(m)(-a)</td>
<td>(m)(-a)</td>
<td>(m)(-a)(-k)-(g)(-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral equative</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>(b)(-a)</td>
<td>(b)(-a)</td>
<td>(b)(-a)(-k)-(g)(-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>(m)(-m)(-b)</td>
<td>(m)(-m)(-b)</td>
<td>(m)(-m)(-b)(-k)-(g)(-a)</td>
<td></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 \(n\)\(-a\), although it does not represent high register implied by the initial of the source form (\(n\)\(-a\)). Note that the form suggested to me for writing the attenuated form \(n\)\(-m\)\(-a\)\(-g\)\(-a\) has a superscript which implies high register.

\(^{361}\) The form \(n\)\(-m\)\(-a\) most likely derives from the interrogated personal copula \(i\)\(-n\)\(-m\)\(-a\) (in WD both \(i\)\(-n\)\(-m\)\(-a\) and \(i\)\(-n\)\(-m\)\(-a\) are used), which is still productive in both polar and content questions.

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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 á, which is used in village of Lachung (North Sikkim), is not included in the table but is separately described in §11.1.1.5.

The interrogative equative copulas are personal já (neg. mën-a), its attenuated counterpart pám (neg. mënam) and evidentially neutral bo (neg. mêmbo). While the interrogative copula já 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>
<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>iñ-ga</td>
<td>iñ-gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral equative</td>
<td>Neg.</td>
<td>mën-ga</td>
<td>mën-gam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per. ex.</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>jò.-ka</td>
<td>jò.-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. ex.</td>
<td>Affirm.</td>
<td>du-ka</td>
<td>du-kam(^{365})</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 equivate copulas have two types of interrogated forms, the separate interrogative copulas já (neg. mëna), pám (neg. mënam) and bo, and the regularly formed corresponding iñ-ga (neg. mën-ga), iñ-gam (mën-gam), be-ka (neg. mêmbe-ka), and be-kam (neg. mêmbe-kam). The existential copulas have only the regular interrogated forms with -ka/ga and -kam/gam.

Sandberg (1895: 47) reports -na as an interrogative morpheme and gives the example Chhő 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 só-bo pám? [where went-PST EQU.PER,Q] ‘Where did (he) go, I wonder?’ into Nepali as kahā ga-yo holā [where go-PST.3SG COP.PROB.3SG] ‘Where might he have gone?’ using the Nepali dubitative copula holā to correspond to Denjongke 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 be-kam.\(^^{365}\)

\(^{365}\) 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)

चོད་མ་གཅིག་མཐྔོང་ཅེ་ན? (11.1)
tʰøʔ àːm=ɕiʔ tʰõː-ɕɛ-na?
‘Did you see the silver fox.’

In my data, however, -na does not occur as a question marker outside the copula forms in-na(m) > nä(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 (h)o: (§11.1.6). For the affirmed and negated polar questions in various tense and aspect constructions, refer to Table 10.5 in §10.1.3.1.

11.1.1 Polar questions

Polar questions in Denjongke may be formed by rising intonation accompanied by -po-infinitive (§11.1.1.1). More frequently, however, polar questions are formed by the polar interrogative suffix -ka/ga or the polar interrogative copula nä (often phonetically reduced to jā) 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 jām) and the interrogative copula/auxiliary bo (neg. mēmb). The polar uses of these markers are discussed in §11.1.1.2 (-ka/ga and jā), §11.1.1.3 (-kam/gam and jām) and §11.1.1.4 (bo). The last section under polar questions (§11.1.1.5) describes a further interrogative marker ā, 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) ལྷ་པྔོ་རར་ཡོད་པྔོ? (11.2)
gapo=tsaː jè-po?
elder.man=at EQU.PER-2INF
‘Does sir (=you) have (that)?’. (DR discussion with KL)
Figure 11.2. Intonation in polar question (11.3)

Sandberg (1895: 73) reports the polar question chhō 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). For comparison, see example (11.5) where the nominalizer reduces to -o (hence duk-o).

(11.4) Sandberg (1895: 73) (WD, phonological transcription and glossing mine)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tɕʰøʔ</th>
<th>tsʰoŋ-kʰɛ̃ː lam du-bo?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG.L sell-NMLZ shoe</td>
<td>EX.SEN-2INF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Have you any boots to sell?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11.5) Sandberg’s (1895: 33) reports nak-po ‘black’ whereas my data has nāku ‘black’.

(11.6) Because the nominalizer does not in my data attach to the sensorial du? in other contexts than questions, 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 njā

The polar question markers -ka/ga and njā differ from each other in that njā, 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 nak-po ‘black’ whereas my data has nāku ‘black’.

368 In other contexts with nominalization, the evidential distinction between personal existential jøʔ and sensorial du? is neutralized so that only jøʔ occurs as nominalized with -po/bo (jø-po).
However, when copulas function as auxiliaries, they are often elided in interrogatives. This results in \( \text{\textipa{ɲá}} \) and \(-\text{\textipa{ka/ga}}\) occurring in syntactically analogous environments, as shown in (11.9) and (11.10) respectively. Example (11.10b) shows that with the imperfective -\text{\textipa{to/do}} the auxiliary is optional even in the declarative form, hence \text{\textipa{beʔ}} in brackets.

Based on the distribution of -\text{\textipa{ka/ga}} and \( \text{\textipa{ɲá}} \) with copulas (\( \text{\textipa{ɲá}} \) replaces equative copulas and -\text{\textipa{ka/ga}} is appended to both equatives and existentials), it can be said that in (11.9) the copula is replaced by \( \text{\textipa{ɲá}} \), whereas in (11.10a) the copula is elided. The syntactically overlapping and non-overlapping contexts of -\text{\textipa{ka/ga}} and \( \text{\textipa{ɲá}} \) are described in more detail later in this section.

Both -\text{\textipa{ka}} (11.11) and \( \text{\textipa{ɲá}} \) (11.12) may be postposed to a verb root:
(11.11)  
\begin{itemize}
\item a) མག་ ིབ་ཀ?  
  \text{ŋáː làp-ka?}  
  I.AGT say-PQ  
  ‘Shall I tell?’ (KN e)
\item b) ཀྲི་ ཚུག་ ིབ་ཀ?  
  \text{ái, rãː mi-tsʰiŋ-ka?}  
  elder.sister 2SG.M NEG-get.angry-PQ  
  ‘Sister, won’t you get angry?’ (Richhi 41)
\end{itemize}

(11.12) རུག་ རྐྱབས་ ི?  
\text{sùk 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) མོ་བུད་ཀིས་ ཕྔོགས་ ཐྔོབ་ཤད་ ཡོད་ཀ?  
\text{mòbyː=ki pʰo? tʼop-ɕɛ 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) གོ་ རུང་བོ་? བྲོ་ཀོན་ རི་བོ?  
\text{ló te:-tce-ga? jį-tei pʼja-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 -tce as in Figure 11.4, illustrating that while the pitch on declarative -ze is
lower than the previous word p’ja ‘do’, the pitch on the interrogative -ze is higher than on p’ja.

(11.15) གཉིས་ཚདེ་ཉེས་བ་ཅིག་གི་ཐོན་པོ་

`te ཉག་ཐོས་`ódeː=tei` dzuk-dy: p’ja-ze.`

then 1PL like.that=INDEF ending do-PST

‘So at that point we ended.’ (NAB BLA 7)

Figure 11.5. Intonation in declarative (11.15), cf. Figure 11.3

Intonation in polar questions with the interrogative copula ná is exemplified in Figures 11.6 and 11.7, which give the pitch traces from (11.16) and (11.17) respectively. In Figure 11.5, the decrease in the pitch trace at the end of syllable tsʰoː is caused by background noise. The pitch in both clauses has a slight rise on the penultimate syllable, thus resembling interrogative intonation with -ka/ga.

(11.16) ཆུ་ མིག ལ་ མི་?

`t’ato tʃʰoː:-to ná?

now gather-IPFV EQU.PQ

‘Are (they) gathering now.’ (KN kitchen discussion)

Figure 11.6. Intonation in polar question (11.16) with ná

(11.17) ཀེ རེ (Eng.) ཚུ་ མི་?

`tʃʰo? fon tạ:-bo ná?

2SG.1 phone(Eng.) send-2INF EQU.PQ

‘Did you call?’ (KN e)

Figure 11.7. Intonation in polar question (11.17) with ná
The interrogative suffix -ka/ga does not have a negated form, but the interrogative copula ná has the specific negated form mèn-a, which functions very similarly to the regularly formed 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) sùm sùm kjap goː-ɛɛ beʔ. mèː; zi zi
three three do be.needed-INF EQUI.NE NEG.EQUI.PER four four
mèn-a?
NEG.EQUI.PER-Q
‘Three of each needs to be made. No, isn’t (it) four each.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(11.19) a) rāː kʰːʈa sāk-to mèn-a lāp-o=lo.
2SG.L anger accumulate-IPFV NEG.EQUI.PER-Q say-2INF=REP
‘Aren’t you getting angry, he said (so the story goes).’ (PD bet story)

b) tʽa niː-ɛɛ mèn-a? l’oː pa l’ole gju goː-ɛɛ
well now sleep-INF NEG.EQUI.PER-PQ morning early go be.needed-INF
mèmbo?
NEG.EQUI.NEQ
‘Well, now shan’t we go to sleep. Don’t we need to go early in the morning?’
(Richhi 67)

c) tʼa ɲàtca? niː-po gompo eːɛɛ mèn-a.
now 1PL two-COL leave ask-INF NEG.EQUI.PER-PQ
‘Aren’t the two of us taking a leave.’ (Richhi 28)

(11.20) a) kʰu ámdzi mèn-ga?
kʰu 3SGM doctor NEG.EQUI.PER-PQ
‘Isn’t he a doctor (assuming he is)?’ (KN e)

b) dāː tsʰerɛŋ pʰː-po mèn-ga?
yesterday PN meet-2INF NEG.EQUI.PER-PQ
‘You met Tshering yesterday, didn’t you?’ (KN e)

In addition to interrogative uses, ná also occurs as a frequently used tag in declarative and imperative clauses. This tag, which has likely developed from a tag question that has lost its interrogative force, adds assertive force to a statement or a request/command. Declarative instances of ná are postposed to the equative and existential copulas (11.21b), whereas interrogative ná can only replace an equative copula (11.21a). The clause given as A2 (11.21c) is infelicitous as an answer (i.e. a declarative clause), because this construction with
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: ོན་ན་གཏི་མ་བཤད་ལ་? [lenge? jó? kjap-to ɲá?
PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

b) A1: ཊ་གཏི་མ་བཤད་ལ་
ɲá jó? kjap-to ŋá.
1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER TAG.ASR
‘I am indeed working.’ (KN e)

c) A2: *ɲ་གཏི་མ་བཤད་ལ་?
*ɲá jó? kjap-to ɲá?
1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q

Although -ka/ga 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) ཊ་ན་ལྔོ་?
ɲá gju-ga?
1SG go-PQ
‘Shall I go?’

b) མི་ལབ་དེ་
di làm=di siliguri lep-ka?
this road=DEMPH TPN reach-PQ
‘Does this road lead to Siliguri?’ (KN e)

Negated verb stems in polar questions with -ka/ga are future-oriented (or general facts) when negated by the imperfective negator mi-, see (11.23), and past-oriented when negated by the perfective negator ma-, see (11.24).

(11.23)༔་ཿར་བཤད་ལ་?
te=ki rabden=lo mi-lāp-ka?
2SG.L=AGT PN=DAT NEG-say-PQ
‘Aren’t you telling (it) to Rabden?’ (KN e)

370 Another consultant preferred the perfective form of the suppletive verb here, ɲá sŏ:-ga ཊ་ན་ལྔོ་?
The interrogative copula ɲá may sometimes attach directly to the verb root, as shown in (11.25). In these cases, the corresponding declarative also has a copula, see (11.25b). Consultant KN commented that -ka/ga instead of ɲá would not be acceptable in (11.25a), although -ka/ga was acceptable in (11.22) above. The difference may be caused by lexical semantics of the verbs.

(11.25) a) ཡུ་ སྤོད་ ۇ? sùk kjap ɲá?
pain do EQU.PER.Q
‘Does it hurt?’ (KN e)

b) ཡུ་ སྤོད་པད། sùk kjap=(p)e?
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) ཡ་ སྤོད་ ۇ? ɲá ná: do: teʰo: ɲá?
1SG here sit be.allowed EQU.PER.Q
‘Can I sit here?’ (GB e)

(11.27) ཡ་ སྤོད་ སྤོད་ ۇ? ɲá ná: 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) ཡུ་ སྤོད་ སྤོད་ སྤོད་ སྤོད་ ེ་ ۇ? teʰo? dordziliŋ miŋ-gju ɲá?
2SG.L TPN NEG-go EQU.PER.Q
‘Are you not going to Darjeeling?’ (KN e)
(11.29) འདི་ལམ་འདི་སི་ལི་གུ་རི་མི་སེབས་ཡོད་མསঃ?

di làm=di siliguri mi-ʃep ɲá?
this road=DEMPH TPN NEG-arrive EQU.PER.Q

Doesn’t this road lead to Siliguri? (KN e)

**Imperfective**
Both -ka/ga and ɲá occur postposed to the imperfective marker -to/do.

(11.30) dzâ:dar lêm t’on-do-ga?
training good happen-IPFV-PQ
‘Is the training turning out good.’ (Richhi 69)

(11.31) Q: t’ato tsʰo:-to ɲá?
now gather-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
‘Are (they) gathering now?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

A: t’asło ꕒ t小吃
tsʰo:-to be?,
gather-IPFV EQU.NE
‘(Yes they) are gathering.’ (LT kitchen discussion)

Example (11.32) below provides a further comparative example, showing that there may be semantic differences in the choice between ɲá and -ka/ga, although this is the only contrastive example I have to show as evidence.

(11.32) a) རང་རེ་པྔོ་ལི་ football371 རང་རེ་པྔོ་ལི་

lenge? futbol tsi:-bo ná:-do ɲá?
PRN.HON football(Eng.) play-2INF DO.HON-IPFV EQU.PER.Q
‘Are you playing football (right now)?’ (TB e)

b) རང་རེ་པྔོ་ལི་ football རང་རེ་པྔོ་ལི་

lenge? futbol tsi:-bo ná:-do-ga?
PRN.HON football(Eng.) play-2INF do.HON-IPFV=PQ
‘Do you (habitually) play football?’ (TB e)

**Past**
Both -ka/ga and ɲá occur with the past marker -tʃɛ in my data, although there are several examples of -ka/ga, two of which are given in (11.33-34), but only one elicited example of ɲá in this construction (11.35). In colloquial language, VERB-tʃɛ-ka often merges into VERB-tʃa, see (11.34).

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371 The Denjongke term for ‘football’ given by consultant YR is རང་རེ་པྔོ་ལི་ kà:tsipoli.
(11.33) ቦ ເትእ ກຽ່ ແມ່ ລະເມີ ຕຸໃນ ແລະ ເອະ ເວ ເມີ ແລະ ມຽມ ?

i’a raŋ=gi njè: qìŋ=di=lo lóte:-te=ga, jîte’qi p’ja-ze=ga?  
now you=AGT 1SG.GEN story=DEMPH=DAT trust=PST-PQ faith do-PST-PQ

‘Now, did you believe this story of mine, did you trust it?’ (PAD bet story)

(11.34) ຂຶ້ນ້ອງໃຫ້ ເທີ່ ກຽ່ ໃນ ກຽ່ ແລະ ມຽມ ?

i’atei=ki mi:tiŋ=na zu:-tea? 
recent=GEN meeting(Eng.)=LOC sit.HON-PST.PQ

‘Did you sit in the recent meeting?’ (oh, Barapathing)

(11.35) ປະເທດ ໃນ ?

lâp-te=na? 
say-PST EQU.PER.Q

‘Did you/(s)he/they say (it)? (KN e)

One of the reasons why the use of nâ in (11.35) may be marginal is that the past marker -te= in the declarative cannot take a copular auxiliary, unlike the imperfective -to/do (i/be?) and the periphrastic past -po i/be?. Consequently, it is not clear whether nâ 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 (nâ replaces copula) and declarative uses (nâ occurs after copula).

Nonpast

Both -ka/ga and nâ may interrogate the periphrastic nonpast form VERB-ee i/be?, which marks both habitual present facts and future actions, see (11.36-38). Similarly to the past construction -te=ka, which is abbreviated to -tea, the future -ee-ka is often reduced to -ea in spoken language, see (11.37).

(11.36) ກຽ່ ລະເມີ ຕຸໃນ ກຽ່ ແລະ ມຽມ ?

mòbyː=ki p’o? t’op-ee-ka?372  
wife=AGT salary receive-INF-PQ

‘Does the wife receive salary?’ (BP BB discussion)

(11.37) ກຽ່ ຜ່າ ກຽ່ ແລະ ມຽມ ?373  

tsim te:ra tsi:-ea? 

game again play-INF.PQ

‘Shall we play a game again?’ (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.38) ກຽ່ ຜ່າ ກຽ່ ແລະ ມຽມ ?

k’u jò? p’ja-ee nâ?  
3SGM work do-INF EQU.PER.Q

‘Will he work?’ (TB e)

372 One consultant wanted to correct this question into mòbyː=ki p’o? t’op-ee jò:-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 nā in identical environments. What follows describes the distinctive uses of the two markers, beginning with copular questions. The fact that the interrogative equative copula nā simply replaces the corresponding declarative copula was already illustrated in (11.6) above. Being an equative, nā is not used for interrogating the existentials copulas jōʔ 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, in-ga and be-ka, which roughly correspond to the equative interrogative copula nā. The form in-ga, however, has developed uses that set it semantically apart from nā. The interrogative in-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 in-ga as a non-tag question the speaker is predisposed to believe that the questioned claim is true.

(11.39) དཔར་ནུས་བཟོད་ལ་བ་ཤེས་པ་?
jārge? goː-ee beʔ, in-ga?
development be.needed-INF EQU.NE EQU.PER-PQ
‘Development is needed, isn’t it?’ (KL BLA 12)

(11.40) དེ་ཉིད་ག་བཞི་?
é, in-ga=la.
oh EQU.PER-PQ=HON
‘Oh, is it so?’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

(11.41) ཆོས་ཐོབ་ཕྲུག་ཤེས་པ་?
tɕʰøʔ lōpʰuʔ in-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) ཆོས་ཐོབ་ཕྲུག་ཤེས་པ་?
tɕʰøʔ lōpʰuʔ be-ka?
2SG.L student EQU.NE-PQ
‘Are you a student?’ (YR e)

The semantic difference of in-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 in-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 jōʔ:ka and du-ka as will be pointed out a few paragraphs below.

Example (11.43), where nā 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 ֨é: (focusing on the identification),
whereas in (11.42) the anticipated answer has the neutral equative *be*? (focusing on the consequences of identification). For the difference of ʔ and *be*?, refer to §7.2.3.

(11.43) *de mchod gsum ?*?
  
  tebo? lòpšu? ná?
  
  2SG.L student EQU.PQ
  ‘Are you a student?’ (YR e)

The interrogative *be-*ka is also used as a tag question (but not as often as *in*-ga), as shown in (11.44).

(11.44) *de mchod rden thut bdun de mchod rden thut bdun kha mchod rden thut bdun, kha mchod rden thut bdun, kha mchod rden thut bdun?*  
  
  t’iza: kʰø=:di ran-ke? nâtei løke=di kʰon=gi
  
  but 3PL=DEMPH own-language IPL.GEN Lhoke=DEMPH 3PL=AGT
  mi-kʰem-bo be=la, mi-kʰen-kʰen
  NEG-know.HON-2INF EQU.NE=HON NEG-know.HON.
  *be?, be-*ka=la? EQU.NE EQU.NE-PQ=HON
  ‘But they don’t know our own language Lhoke, don’t know, isn’t it (so)?’
  (YR canteen video)

It also occurs with nominalized copulas in ordinary (non-tag) questions:

(11.45) *de mchod gsum ?*?
  
  dzonγu=lo lèndzi nò-kʰè: jèbbe-*ka?*
  
  TPN=DAT cardamum buy-NMLZ EX-NE-PQ
  ‘Are there cardamum-buyers in Dzongu?’ (KT e)

The interrogator *be-*ka also occurs as an auxiliary. Consequently, although -ka/ga cannot directly attach to nominalized verbs like the interrogative copula *ná* 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 *ná* being more frequent (11.47).

(11.46) *de mchod gsum ?*?
  
  kʰu ðm-bo be-*ka?  
  
  3SGM come-2INF EQU.NE-PQ
  ‘Did he come?’ / ‘He came, eh. (KN e)

(11.47) *de mchod gsum ?*?
  
  kʰu ðm-bo ná?  
  
  3SGM come-2INF EQU.PER.Q
  ‘Did he come?’ (KN e)
Only -ka/ga (and not pa\textsuperscript{374}) occurs as an interrogator with existential copulas jòʔ and duʔ, forming jòʔ-ka and duʔ-ka, as exemplified in (11.48) and (11.49). The choice of copula between jòʔ and duʔ in existential questions depends on whether the speaker thinks the addressee has personal information of the questioned fact or not. When addressee’s personal information is presupposed and hence anticipated in the answer, the copula in the question is jòʔ, otherwise duʔ.

(11.48) སེམས་ད་མོ? 
te’a jà-ka? 
tea EX.PER-PQ 
‘Is there tea?’ (oh, Barapathing)

(11.49) བའོ་ ར་ འགྱུ་ཤད་ དགྔོན་པྔོ་ བཞུགས་སྔོ་ འདུག་ཀ་ལགས 
pʰou=ra gju-ee? gjompo zuːso 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) སུས་ བཤད་ 
kʰu nám òn-do-ga? 
SGM 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/tʰ, which is negated in differing ways by pa and -ka/ga, as already shown in (11.46-47) above, and the perfect -tsʰə(), 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) སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སེང་ཚང་དེ། 
siliguri lep-tsʰa: pa? 
TPN arrive-CMPL EQU.PER.Q 
‘Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?’ (KT phone call 3)

(11.52) སི་ལི་གུ་རི་ སེང་ཚང་དེ། 
siliguri lep-tsʰake pa? 
TPN arrive-CMPL.APH EQU.PER.Q 
‘Have (you) arrived in Siliguri?’ (KT e)

\textsuperscript{374} Declarative pa may, however, be postposed existentials to form jò: na and du: na.
Finally, I have one elicited example where ɲá co-occurs with the nominalized existential duk-o, which could, with rising intonation, form a question by itself without ɲá, see (11.54). It may be that here ɲá is used as an assertive tag rather than as a question marker (see §16.3.1 for uses of ɲá as an assertive tag).

In conclusion, ɲá is a polar equative interrogative copula which historically originated as an interrogated copula in-na and synchronically forms a question by replacing the corresponding declarative copula (which may function as an auxiliary). The polar question suffix -ka/ga, on the other hand, is a non-copular question marker which attaches to copulas but still has an overlapping distribution with ɲá when occurring with verb roots, the imperfective -to/do, periphrastic future -ee ì/be? and marginally past form -tee.

11.1.1.3 Simple polar questions with the attenuated markers -kam/gam and ɲám

The attenuated interrogative markers -kam/gam and ɲám mainly occur in alternative questions but occasionally also in simple polar questions, as illustrated for -kam/gam in (11.55) and (11.56). The only verbal suffix that -kam/gam attaches to in my data is the imperfective -to/do.

The use of ɲám in a polar question I illustrated in (11.57).
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) nám, t'ai te'on go:-ee mën-am? zen ka
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)?’ (rn=rtog 30)

(11.59) t'a nám, p'embo: boŋʰiŋbo=lo teiku ödem saːte lôːtːe:-ee
now daughter-in-law Bon.priest Lepcha.priest=DAT only such until trust-INF
mam-bja-ne t'ak-ce mën-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 bonthings?’ (rn=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 rn=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 láko di: teŋlo kjap-ce mën-am in-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?’ (rn=rtog 27)

11.1.1.4 Polar questions with the interrogative copula bo
The third affirmative interrogative copula, apart from ná (neg. mé-na) and nám (neg. mé-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) t'a tsʰo: te'on go:-ee nā:-do bo?
now son.in.law go.HON be.needed-INF NEG.HON-IPFV EQU.NE.Q
‘Do you come (here) every year?’ (Bumchu-video)

375 WD བན་བྔོན་ ban-bon refers to ‘Buddhist and Bon priests’ while WD བོང་-ཞིིགོ(-bo) ‘bong-thing(-bo)’ denotes a ‘male ritual specialist of the Lepchas’ (Balikci 2008: 378)
b) རྒྱུ་ ལྷག་པ་མོ བྔོ?
   *sùk kjap-o bo?*
   pain do-2INF EQU.NE.Q
   ‘Did it hurt?’ (NB e)

The negated form *mèmbo* is in effect similar to English negative tag question following an affirmed clause, i.e. the speaker suspects that the affirmative is the case.

(11.62) a) རྒྱུ་ ལྷག་པ་མོ བྔོ?
   *kʰõː ōː døː jøː-p mèmbo, p’otso=tsu?*
   3PL come stay EX.PER-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q child=PL
   ‘Aren’t they coming, the children?’/ ‘They are coming, aren’t they, the children?’
   (LT kitchen discussion)

b) རྒྱུ་ ལྷག་པ་མོ བྔོ?
   *t’oːpa t’ole gju goː-ee mèmbo?*
   morning early go be.needed-INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q
   ‘(We) have to leave early in the morning, don’t we.’ (TB phone call 2)

While the negated equative *mèn-ga* is used alongside the more frequent specific negated equative *mèna* (at least by one of my consultants), I do not currently have examples of evidentially neutral *mèmbe-ka*, which would be a form analogous to personal *mèn-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) གྲེད་ཐེམ་རྒྱུ་ ལྷག་པ་མོ བྔོ?
   *ódem=to á ʃi?*
   like.that=CEMP PQ EQU.PER
   ‘Is (it) like that?’ (KUN e)

(11.64) ཁྲུ་ དེ་ ལྷག་པ་མོ བྔོ?
   *k’u ōdè: á làp?*
   3SGM like.that PQ say
   ‘Does he say like that?’ (KUN e)

Yukawa (2017: 191, 194) reports that a similar interrogative marker *a* (WD *ʃ*) in Lhasa Tibetan may precede *yòó* (cognate with *jò?*) and *yin* (cognate with *ʃi?) 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 *i*-) is found in the Tibetan variety spoken in Brag-g.yab (Schwieger [1989: 50]).

11.1.1.6 Summary on polar questions
In conclusion, polar questions can be formed by four interrogative morphemes (excluding *á*, which is specific to Lachung) and also by mere intonation. These five options are illustrated in (11.65). Three of the interrogative morphemes, *nà, pàm* 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) བུ་ ལོག་ གེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ ཨ?  
kʰuɲɛ̃̃ŋkjap-oɲá?  
3SGMweddingdo-2INF  EQU.PER.Q  
‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)  

b) བུ་ ལོག་ གེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ བྔོ?  
kʰuɲɛ̃̃ŋkjap-o bo?  
3SGMweddingdo-2INF  EQU.NE.Q  
‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)  

c) བུ་ ལོག་ གེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ ཚའ?  
kʰuɲɛ̃̃ŋkjap-o be-ka?  
3SGMweddingdo-2INF  EQU.NE-PQ  
‘Did he get married?’ (KN e)  

d) བུ་ ལོག་ གེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་ ཚའ?  
kʰuɲɛ̃̃ŋkjap-o be?  
3SGMweddingdo-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 (ïː for ɲá and be? for bo) has to be left open for further research.  

11.1.2 Question words and content questions  
Content questions are expressed by placing a question word in the clause. Therefore content questions may be formed without other interrogative markers than the question word, as illustrated by the declarative copula in the interrogative clause (11.66a), or with additional interrogative markers such as ɲám in (11.66b) and bo in (11.66c).

(11.66)  
a) འདི་ གན་ ཚའ?  
di k’an be??  
this what  EQU.NE  
‘What is this?’ (KN e)  

b) འདི་ གན་ ཚའ?  
di k’an ɲám  
this what  EQU.ATTQ  
‘I wonder what this is?’ (KN e)
c) གན་བོ?  
di k’an bo?  
this what EQU.NE.Q  
‘What is this?’ (KN e)

The discussion on content questions is divided into question words (§11.1.2.1), content questions without final question markers (§11.1.2.2), content questions with -kam/gam and nám (§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>nám</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’am-p’ja376</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’adzó?, k’atsʰó?</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) k’an náː:hō?  
k’an nã̃ː do?  
what do.HON-IPFV  
‘What (are you) doing?’ (TB e)

(11.68) kʰu k’adi bo?  
3SGM which EQU.NE.Q  
‘Which one is he?’ (TB e)

(11.69) yːː=di k’ana nám?  
place=DEMPH where EQU.ATTQ  
‘Where is that place?’ (AB kitchen discussion)

(11.70) p’otsaː=gi i’a āp ám=lo ma-ta-ne ka ta-e?  
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].
(11.71) ཐིན་ལས་ཨོ་དི་ངོ་བོ་མ་སེམས་དཔེར་ཤིང་། ཚིག་ལོག་ནི་རང་།

`bdi nam bo=la?` `lo ji: hale?`

that when EQU.NE.Q=HON year two before

‘When was that? Two years ago?’ (RS [in]auspicious days)

(11.72) ཁུན་ལྟ་འདེབ་བྲེས་འདི་དེར་ཡི་ནི།

`kʼambja dep pʰi:-ti õm-bo?`

why like.that be.late-NF come-2INF

‘Why did you come late like that?’ (RS pupil joke)

(11.73) དར་ཟང་ནིིམ་ནོ་མཚོད་སྔོད་ཤད།

`tʽaruŋ ni=mù=kʽadzpʰiː-ʔ tɕɛʔ?`

still day how.many stay-INF

‘Still how many days will (you) stay (here)?’ (oh, Tashiding)

The answer to `kʼat` ‘what kind’ tends to be an adjective, whereas the answer to `kʼat` ‘how’ tends to be an adverb. The adverbial nature of `kʼat` ‘how’ is revealed by the indefinite form `kʼat` `pʼjati` `tɿuŋ` ‘however’, which in opposition to `kʼat` `tɿuŋ` ‘whatever kind’, includes the adverbializing converb `pʼjati` (see §6.3.2).

(11.74) ཞེས་པ་ཇེས་ཐེས་པ་སྒྲུབ་ཐེ་ནས་པར་ནི་མོངས་པའི་ཤེས་པ། དགུང་བོ་མ་སེམས་

`tʽizːaː mʉ=rʉː=to lɛm-pʼja ma-ɛː-po. zen=lo kʼat` `lap`

but 3SG=REFL=CEMPH good-ADVZR NEG-know-2INF other=DAT how teach

`pʼin tsʰuː-ɛː?`

give be.able.to-INF

‘But she herself does not know (it) well. How to be able to teach other(s)?’ (Richhi 65)

(11.75) a) དང་པོ་ལྟ་བུའི་ལགས་བཅུག་ཏང་།

`nɛːpo=lo ɛː=la? kʼatem ze: teuk-to?`

patient=DAT food.HON what.kind.of eat cause-IPFV

‘What kind of food is the patient being fed?’ (nam-rtog 23)

b) རྒྱན་མཁྱེན་བོད་པ།

`kʼatem zim-bo nəː-bo?`

what.kind.of sleep.HON-2INF do.HON-2INF

‘How did you sleep?’ (TB e)

The uses of `kʼatem` ‘what kind’ and `kʼate` ‘how’ overlap when asking how people are doing:

(11.76) a) ལུགས་ཉིད་འགོད་མི་ོག་ལྟ་བོ་མ་སེམས་

`tʼato bhaila kʼatem jəː=la?`

now PN what.kind.of EX.PER=HON

‘How is Bhaila now?’ (Richhi 10)
b) “ད་ལྟ་བྷའི་ལགས་ག་ལྟེ་ཡོད?”

\[ \text{t’ato bhaila k’ate jô?} \]

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) \[ \text{ཆེན་ག མི་ནོན་} \]

\[ \text{te’o? k’a: gju-do=s.} \]

2SG.L where go-IPFV=QUO

‘Where are you going (he said)?’ (KT animal story)

(11.78) \[ \text{མེད་ན་ཐུབ་} \]

\[ \text{dep te’a:p kjap-ne gari k’a: k’ju?} \]

like.that rain strike-COND car why/what wash

‘If it’s raining like that why wash a car?’ (oh, Lachen)

11.1.2.2 Content questions without final question markers

As shown above, the question markers \( pám, -kam/gam \) 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 \( jô? \) and \( du? \), content questions usually have the copula nominalized with \(-po\):

(11.79) \[ \text{ག་ན་} \]

\[ \text{k’ana jê-po?} \]

where EX.PER-2INF

‘Where is (he)? (SG wedding customs)

(11.80) \[ \text{ཚད་པྔོ་} \]

\[ \text{tsʰepo k’atem duk-o?} \]

sweat how EX.SEN-2INF

‘How hot is it?’ (TB phone call)

Bare copulas are also sometimes used:

(11.81) \[ \text{མི་ནོན་} \]

\[ \text{jakit ne:tsʰy: k’an jô??} \]

PN news what EQU.PER

‘What news are there, Lhaki?’ (Richhi 69)

(11.82) \[ \text{མི་ནོན་} \]

\[ \text{ágja=gi=co k’adzo? du??} \]

elder.brother=GEN=AT how.many EX.SEN

‘And how many does the big brother (=you) have?’ (Richhi 99)
Some Denjongke-speaking communities also allow -po to be appended to the neutral equative be?:

(11.83) དེབ་ འདི་ཀི་ འཛོ་ ག་ཚོད་ སྦད་པྔོ?
\( t'\text{cp}=d\text{i}=g\)  \(d\text{zo}:\)  \(k'\text{adzø}\)  \(\text{be-po}\)?
book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU.NE-2INF
‘What is the price of this book?’ (KT e)

Other communities prefer an assimilated nominalized form, be-go (note that the preferred word for ‘price’ also changes):

(11.84) དེབ་ འདི་ཀི་ གྔོང་ ག་ཚོད་ སྦད་གྔོ?
\( t'\text{cp}=d\text{i}=g\)  \(g\text{o}:\)  \(k'\text{adzø}\)  \(\text{be-go}\)?
book=DEMPH=GEN price how.many EQU.NE-2INF
‘What is the price of this book?’ (PT e)

Yet other communities, however, prefer the use of the interrogative copula bo in contexts such as (11.83-84), i.e. the forms 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 jö-po and du-ko. It is also possible that through constant association with interrogation, the nominalizer/infinitivizer attaching to copulas in questions has been or is being reinterpreted as a question marker.

The following three examples further illustrate content questions which lack a final question marker, see completive (11.85), past (11.86) and periphrastic past\(^{377}\) (11.87):

(11.85) ཁུ་ ཁུ་ཐུ་  འདི་ག་ཚོད་  ལང་ཚར?
\( n\text{a}:\)  \(t\text{e'}\text{on-diki}\)  \(j\text{im}\)  \(k'\text{adzø}\)  \(l\text{à-tsʰa:}\)?
here come.HON-NF day how.many come.up.to-PRF
‘How many days is it since you came here?’ (oh, Tashiding)

(11.86) ཀུུ་ ཁུ་ཐུ་?
\(t\text{e'}\text{o}\)  \(k'\text{adzø}\)  \(d\text{ok-tce}\)?
studies how.many read-PST
‘How much did (s)he study?’ (BP BB discussion)

(11.87) ཁུ་ ཁུ་ཐུ་  འདི་  འཛོ་  བན་ཉི་?
\(t\text{e'}\text{löpo}n\)  \(n\text{ámPu}=d\text{i}\)  \(k'\text{ana}\)  \(d\text{ze-po}\)?
so teacher with=DEMPH where meet.HON-2INF
‘Where then did he meet the teacher (=you)?’ (BB discussion)

Figure 11.8 produces the pitch trace from (11.87), showing that no clause-final rise in intonation is needed because of the presence of a wh-word that marks the clause as a question.

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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) ངས་ཀར་བྱས་བཞིན་གྔོ?  
ŋáː kʽar pʽja-zun-go?  
I.AGT what do-PROG-Q  
‘What I am doing?’ (KN e)

I suspect that (11.88) is a spoken abbreviated version of the fuller form (11.89).

(11.89) ངས་ཀར་བྱས་བཞིན་དུན་གྔོ?  
ŋáː kʽar pʽja-zen duk-o?  
I.AGT what do-PROG EX.SEN-2INF  
‘What I am doing?’ (KN e)

Note that the auxiliary used with first person actor in (11.89) is a sensorial, because the speaker anticipates the addressee to answer using the sensorial auxiliary.

11.1.2.3 Content questions with -kam/gam and pám  
In addition to polar alternative interrogatives (and marginally simply polar interrogatives), the attenuated markers -kam/gam and pám occur in content questions. Example (11.90) gives an example of a content interrogative with pám in a complement clause:

(11.90) ལེགས་ཐོན་མི་ཤེས་པ་ད་རུང་མ་སེབས་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཆོག་སྐེན་  
tʽizãː mû=i jìgl tʽaruŋ=sā ma-lep-o: gjumtsʰ: kʽan  
but 3SG=GEN letter.answer still=until NEG-arrive-2INF GEN reason what  
pám nöː-ːzê: pā=i tsʰo=na sāː-di sēm=na tam  
EQU.ATTQ think-PROG fish=GEN lake=LOC go.IPFV-NF mind=LOC saying  
ke:po ʨ’en-ee Ŧ:  
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 pám:
(11.91) ག་ཆོད་བར་བོན་དགོས་ཤད་ནམ་?
   k’adzø p’a: te’on go:-ee nám?
   how.many interval come.HON be.needed-INF EQU.ATTQ
   ‘What time shall I come, I wonder?’ (Richhi 57)

(11.92) ཨོ་འདི་ག་ལྟེབ་བྱིས་སྟུ་བཞག་དགོས་ཤད་སྙམ་ཡར་པུ་ཀི་མ་ནི་ལྔོ?
   ódi k’atep p’ja-ti za? go:-ee nám jà:pu=gi
   that how do-NF set be.needed-INF EQU.ATTQ nobleman=GEN
ts’o:na: nàjea=lo?
   feeling inside=DAT
   ‘How should it be preserved in Sir’s opinion, I wonder?’ (KN, CY interview)

Example (11.93) exemplifies the use of -kam/gam in a content question with a question word:

(11.93) ཨོ་འདི་ཁ་ཚོད་ཟང་བདེན་དྲགས་ཡོད་ཀམ་ལགས?
   tam ódi k’adzø=sà: dènṭa? jà:-kam=la?
   saying that how.much=until true EX.PER-ATTQ=HON
   ‘To what degree is that word true, I wonder?’ (KN, CY interview)

Figure 11.9 below presents the intonation contour in content question (11.94) with the attenuated copular interrogative nám. The stress is on the wh-word, which has a raised pitch. No rise in pitch is observable at the end of the clause.

(11.94) དེ་འདི་ཁ་བྱེབ་སེ་ནེ་དེ་དི་མ་ནི་སོ།
   k’amp’jati kjap-o nám=la?
   why do-2INF EQU.ATTQ=HON
   ‘Why did (they) do that?’ (KN, CY interview).

Figure 11.9. Intonation in content question (11.94) with nám

11.1.2.4 Content questions with bo
The evidentially neutral interrogative equative bo alternates with its declarative counterpart 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) དེ་འདི་ཁ་མ་བེ་མ་ དེ་འདི་ཁ་མ་མི་ནི་མེ་
   te di k’an bo sê-ne te jè:di cà ḳ=s.
   so this what EQU.NE.Q say-COND then 1SG,GEN=DEMPH meat EQU.PER=QUO
   ‘So when it comes to what this is, it is my meat.’ (KT animal story)
‘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)

Who is he? (KN e)

(11.98)

‘So with whom will (she) stay in Ranipool?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

In interrogative periphrastic future constructions (I infinitive followed by an equative copula), bo may be elided, as seen in (11.99), where the latter of two almost identical clauses has no copula.

(11.99)

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 pá), occurs in locative uses:

(11.100)

‘…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, pám 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 pá does not occur in alternative questions in my data.
11.1.3.1 Alternative questions with -kam/gam and ŋá

Example (11.101) illustrates the use of an attenuated question markers ŋá 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་ ਒ིན་ནམ?

Thrinley=DAT ask look-HOR house=DAT return-CMPL-2INF ŋá?

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 ŋá 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 ŋá in a typical alternative question, where the same interrogating morpheme occurs in both clauses.

(11.102) དུད་ཅེན་ སྙམ་ ཡུ་་ 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 ŋá seems to imply more politeness. In complement clauses, on the other hand, -kam/gam and ŋá appear to completely displace -ka/ga and ŋá as question markers. Polar questions with the attenuated question markers are usually presented as alternative questions of the type ‘is it or is it not’ and ‘did he or did he not’, see (11.103) for an independent use and (11.104) for uses in a complement clause. The glosses in (11.104) do not include ‘I wonder’ because the distinction between -ka/ga vs. -kam/gam does not occur in complement clauses.

(11.103) a) འདི་ད་བདེན་གམ་མིན་བདེན་གམ?

di t’a be.true-ATTQ NEG-be.true-ATTQ

‘Now is that true or not true, I wonder?’ (DR discussion with KL)

b) རྔོད་པྔོ་ འདི་མྱིཐོ་ཚར་བྔོ་སྙམ་མ་མྱིཐོབ་སྙམ?

tsopo=di mjö-ts’o-u ŋá ma-mjö:-p ŋá?

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 njam 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).

As seen in the example above, the interrogative copula njam 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) འིག་བུ་བོད་ལམ་བཙལ་པོས་ལ་, རུལུམ་མེད་པའི་?”

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) ཤེ་ཉི་ན་མངོན་པར?

di kʰi bo ály? bo?
this dog EQU.NE.Q cat EQU.NE.Q
‘Is it a dog or a cat?’ (KN e)

(11.108) ད་རེ་ཤ་ནུ་ན་བོད་ཀ་མེད

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 nàː ‘here’ and in the second part on the syllable lôː from lôː sôː-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) བོ་མོ་པོ་མ་པ་ག་པ་?

twɔʔ 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) ཡིན་ཞིབ་ཐོས་ཅིང་ོངས་སོ།?

t’arıŋ kʰimdaʔ jɔː-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) ཤེ་ཉི་ཉི་བོད་ལམ་བཙལ་པོས་ལ་?

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) ང་ལྔོད་ མ་འཐུང་ལྔོད་ ལྟ་ཆི།

\[tʰuŋ-lo ma-tʰuŋ-lo \ ta-teʰ.\]

drink-Q NEG-drink-Q look-IMP.FRN

‘Look whether (the cow) drank it or not.’ (TB e)

(11.113) བེ་ནེ་ འཇིབ་ལྔོད་ མན་འཇིབ་ལྔོད་ ལྟ་གེ་ སེ་ལབ་པྔོ་ལྔ།

\[tʰɛɲ-ɛdʑip-lo man-ɛdʑip-lo \ ta-ɛ=ra \ jɛբbe=ɛo, \ iy-ga=la?\]

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. \(la-ː\): [HON-EQU.PER] ‘yes it is so’). The tag questions are the interrogated copulas \(iŋ-ga\) and \(bɛ-ka\), and the Nepali loan \(lo\). Examples (11.114) and (11.115) exemplify \(iŋ-ga\):

(11.114) ད་ལྟོའོ་ ད་ རང་ མཉམ་ཅིག་ར་ ཡྔོདབ་སྦད་ཤྔོ་ ཨིན་ག་ལགས

\[tʰato \ tʰa \ rãː \ ɲɛnte=i ra \ jɛբbe=ɛo, \ iy-ga=la?\]

now now 2SG.L with=AEMPH EX.NE=AT EQU.PER-PQ=HON

‘Now she’s with you, isn’t she?’ (BB BB discussion)

(11.115) དེབ་ འདི་ ལུགས་ ནུས་ ཆུ་ དུ་ ལོ།

\[tʰɛp=di \ mɛː=kʰen \ be?, \ iy-ga?\]

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 \(be-ka\) 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 ǐŋ-ga from (11.115).

Figure 11.11. Intonation with tag question ǐŋ-ga in (11.115)

Another tag question, lo, is a loan of the frequent Nepali tag question la. Using lo in requests or orders is polite because the speaker requests for the addressee’s compliance rather than takes it for granted.

‘I’m going now, okay?’ (oh, Martam)

‘sitting do-2INF do.HON TAG.Q
‘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].
Questions with the reportative =lo

Interrogatives may be marked by the reportative lo, which can replace equative copulas (see §7.2.5.2). Examples (11.121) and (11.122), which were used during a phone call, exemplify a polar interrogative and a content interrogative respectively. While the exact context for the utterances is unclear, (11.121) appears to ascertain that the wedding mentioned in the phone call (hence the reportative) was indeed the addressee’s own wedding. The use of =lo in (11.122) is more difficult to decipher. The use of the reportative perhaps indicates that the date of the gathering mentioned in the clause is announced by someone else than the addressee, ultimately presumably by an astrologer who determines an auspicious date.

(11.121) རང་གི་ གཉེན་ལྔོ?
raŋ=giɲɛ̃́n=lo?
you=GENwedding=REP
‘(Are you saying/Did you say) it’s your wedding?’ (KN oh, phone call)

(11.122) མཚོག་ཤད་ འདི་ ནམ་ལས་ལྔོ?
tsʰoː-ɕɛnáŋ-gɛloː=la
gather-INF=DEMPHwhen=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 exclamatory 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 exclamativitiy. This exclamativitiy is reflected also in the interrogative, hence the gloss as exclamative question (EXCLAM.Q). Because clauses with (h)ó: here are treated as basically interrogative but having exclamative nuance, they are discussed here under interrogation (§11.1) rather than under exclamation (§11.2).

(11.123) ཙམ་པྔོ་ བརྡུང་མཁན་ འདི་ ཨྔོ
flour beat-NMLZ=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q
‘Is (it) the one who beat the flour.’ (PT e)

(11.124) A: དུ་ཅིག་ direct དུ་ཅིག་ བཏང་མཁན་ འདི་ ཨྔོ་རྐྱབ་ཆོ་ལྡེ་ བཟུང་པོ་
this.year direct TPN=DAT=DEMPH be.similar EQU.NE
déde: ལག-ཞེན།
like.that say-PROG.APH
‘This year it looks like it’s going to be directly in Dorjiden.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)

B: ཡོད་པྔོ་ འདི་ ཨྔོ
debate=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q
‘You mean the debate?’ (KN kitchen discussion)

(11.125) a) ཆུག་ཐུམ་ རྩེ།
really=AEMPH TAG.EXCLAM
‘Really, is it?’ (Richhi 99)

b) ཆུག་ཐུམ་ སྐོར་ཐུམ་ ཀག་ཐུམ་ སྔགས་ཐུམ་ སྔགས་ཐུམ། གུག་ཐུམ་ སྔགས་ཐུམ་ སྔགས་ཐུམ།
patient such serious-exclam hospital=LOC lead-NF get.well-INF
jàː=se ӧː?
EX.PER=QUO EXCLAM.Q
‘Is it so that taken to the hospital in such a serious condition the patient is to get well?’ (nám-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/cimt̪a? ‘tasty’), lὲʔ ‘be good’ (cf. lɛm ‘good’), dzik ‘be excellent’ (cf. dziḵt̪a? ‘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) གན་མོའི་ཞིམ་ལོས་བྔོ, ཨྔོ་ཡེ་! སྦའ།
k’amo: 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)  ཤི་འབྲི་ཤིམ་འི་ཤིམ་ལོས།
k’atem k’c:da: lɛ:-loʔ!
what.kind cleaning be.good-EXCLAM
‘How well tidied up!’ (Richhi 45)

(11.128) གཟི་དི་ཤིམ་ལོས་ལྔོ།
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 ődem ‘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) དྷན་ཆུང་ཤིམ་ལོས་ཀི་ཞིམ་ལོས་ཀི་ཞིམ་ལོས།
ga:-loʔ ődem: 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) ཇ་ འདི་ ཞིམ་པུ་ སྦད་ཀ།
tea=DEMPH delicious EQU.NE-PQ
‘Isn’t this tea good!’ / ‘How good this tea is!’ (KT e)

(11.131) Company ཉ་ལྔོ་ phone ཉ་ལྔོ་ སྦད་ཀ།?
kompani ɲà=lo fon tãː-do be-ka
company 1SG=DAT phone(Eng) send-IPFV EQU.NE-PQ
a) ‘Does the company keep on phoning me?’ (question)
b) ‘How the company keeps on phoning me!’ (exclamation) (KN e)

11.2.3 Interjections

An illustrative list of Denjongke interjections, which occurred in §3.6.10, is reproduced in Table 11.3. Some of the interjections are exemplified below the table.

### Table 11.3. Some interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áme:</td>
<td>རྒྱུ་</td>
<td>‘wow’ expressing enthrallment, rapture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāso</td>
<td>ལགས་ོ་</td>
<td>‘okay’ approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ák(ʰ)a:</td>
<td>རྡ་</td>
<td>surprise, amazement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ádzei</td>
<td>རྡ་ེུ</td>
<td>surprise, amazement, quite similar to ákʰa:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óje:</td>
<td>ིོ་</td>
<td>‘oh, hey’ used for getting someone’s attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó:</td>
<td>རོ་</td>
<td>expresses engagement or surprise when listening, keeps the conversation going</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 澌: | རོ་ | 1. informal address to get someone’s attention  
2. response to being called (addressed to social/age inferior), like ‘what?’ (honorific la:) |
| là: | རྡོ་ | ‘yes’  
‘excuse me?’  
1. polite response to being called  
2. expressing that the speaker did not hear or understand what was said  
3.79 |
| kei | གི་ | ‘O (address)’ honorific address (e.g. lama) |
| têk’a | རེ་ | ‘alas’ disappointment (e.g. bad shot in a game of kerembo) |
| têk’e: | རེ་ | ‘oh no’ disapproval, discomfort (e.g. when someone does not answer phone), the response to being tickled (TB 5, 151) |
| úf | རེ་ | expression of pain or discomfort |
| ádzi: | རེ་ | 1) (unpleasant) surprise, 2) fear |
| áijo: | རེ་ | pain of fear of pain |
| óho: | རེ་ | expressing sadness, response to bad news |

379 Likely to be frequently heard by a language learner.
(11.132) ཉེ་ཐེག་རོང་པོར་
āme: ལེ-ལོ:=lo!
wow be.good-EXCLAM=REP
‘Wow, how good it is.’ (KT e)

(11.133) ལྷས་ཉེ་གུན་གནང་།
lāso, t’ene te’om-bo nā:
‘Alright then go.HON-2INF do.HON
‘Alright, in that case please go.’ (Richhi 17)

(11.134) a) དེ་ནེ་པོན་བོན་
k’amo: ɕim-lo? bo, óje, p’ja-ea!
what.GEN be.tasty-EXCLAM EQU.NE.Q oh chicken-meat
‘How tasty it is, oh, chicken-meat. (Richhi 89)

b) དེ་ནེ་བོན་
óje: k’im=na mí jò:-ka?
hey house=LOC human EX.PER-PQ
‘Hey, is anyone at home?’ (rna-gsung 5)

(11.135) ཡེ་ལོང་ན་ཨ ་ལྷ།
é: óna be?. yà t’ato t’o:-po ì:
o there EQU.NE 1SG now hear-2INF EQU.PER
‘O, it’s there. I heard it (only) now.’ (PT kitchen discussion)

(11.136) ཀྲེན་མདེ།
t’inle, ã: t’inle!
PN hey PN
‘Thrinley, hey Thrinley!’ (Richhi 24)

(11.137) a) གུ།!
karma!
PN
‘Karma!’

b) བོ་མུ་ག་བོར་
là.: k’an süm-bo?
yes what say.HON-2INF
‘Yes, what did you say?’ (Richhi 15)

(11.138) a) འཐེ་ཐོབ་མ་མོ་མོ
ádzì: k’im=na=to man-gju-ke!
oh.no house=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HORT
‘Oh no, let’s not go to (his) home.’ (reaction to suggestion) (Richhi 24)
b) མན་ལགས།

\[
adziː, mɛː, ám=laː!\]

‘Oh no, no mother.’ (Richhi 34)

(11.139)

\[
tɛʰa!\]

darn

‘Darn! (after an unsuccessful strike in a game of kerembot)’ (oh, Tashiding)

(11.140)

\[
uf, kʼamoː tsʰepo tsʰik-loʔ bo!\]

‘Phew, how scorching the heat is!’ (ngaʼi ’gan 15)

(11.141)

\[
ődetsʰika bhaila=ki kʰyŋke? ája: ájaː!\]

‘At that time, Bhaila’s sound of moaning (goes) ouch, ouch. (Richhi 14)

(11.142)

\[
ājoː yə, kʰap=di mi-kjap ájoː!\]

‘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 -tʰi, -da and -na (§11.3.2). Urgentive nuance to imperatives can be provided by =moʔ (§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)

\[
lāso ágja, zim-pa tɛʰː.\]

‘Alright elder.brother sleep.HON-PUR go.HON

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)

\[
kʰa tsum doʔ. ma-lap no.\]

‘Be silent. Don’t speak, I tell you.’ (KNA kitchen discussion)
Imperative with the periphrastic honorific verbal form \textit{VERB-po nā}: is illustrated in (11.145) and (11.146). The negative prefix attaches to the honorific verb \textit{nā}: ‘do (hon.), grant’.

(11.145) \begin{verbatim} ddba kɐ̧nøm ɐnøn \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} t’a(r)uŋ súm-bo nā:. \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} again say.HON-2INF do.HON \end{verbatim} ‘Please say it again.’ (TB e)

(11.146) \begin{verbatim} kækøn kɐmøn \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} te’em-bo ma-nā:. \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} come/go-2INF NEG-do.HON \end{verbatim} ‘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) \begin{verbatim} kækøn kɐmøn te lópta=tsu nánja pel-bo nā:. \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} so school=PL within spread-2INF do.HON \end{verbatim} ‘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 \textit{tãː} (ordinary) and the root appended with \textit{nãː} or \textit{ɲá} (honorific). The secondary verb (or verbalizer) \textit{tãː} ‘send’ also sometimes accompanies the verb root in imperative in my data:

(11.148) \begin{verbatim} k’uteq’ k’ajem p’ja tāː. őtsō: dāː benda t’aː tāː. \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} 2PL what.is.that do send onion and tomato slice send \end{verbatim} ‘You, do what’s that, slice onions and tomatoes.’ (PT kitchen)

Sandberg’s (1895: 42) more polite form, where the verb \textit{nãː} ‘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) \begin{verbatim} kækøn kɐmøn \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} vō: jō-ne nā=lo súŋ nā:. \end{verbatim} \begin{verbatim} see EX-COND 1SG=DAT say.HON do.HON \end{verbatim} ‘If you see, please tell me.’ (rna-gsung 6)

### 11.3.2 Imperative suffixes -te⁴i, -da, -na

While the bare verb root can function as an imperative, the imperative mood may also be marked unambiguously by the suffixes -te⁴i, -da and -na. Using -te⁴i 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’s polite instruction to a nurse:

(11.150) ནད་པྔོའི་ སྨན་ཡིག་ཅྱུ༹༹་ ཐམས་ཅད་ འདི་ཁར་ བསྣམ་ བྔོན་བྔོ་ གནང་ཆེ།

nɛ̀ːpøː mɛ̃́njiː=tsu tʰamteʔ dikʰa nám te’om-bo

patient.GEN prescription=PL all here carry.HON come.HON-2INF nāː-teʰi.

do.HON-IMP.FRNN ‘Please bring all the patients prescriptions here.’ (Richhi 169)

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།

kantɕʰi kʽalyʔ kʽalyʔ ma-jā-teʰi

youngest.daughter k’aly? k’aly? ma-jā-teʰi

‘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་ལགས བུ་སིང་རང་ ཅིག་ཀུས་ བསྔོན་བྔོ་ གནང་མཁན་ གསུང་གླུ་ ད་རིང་ལྔོ་ ཆྱ༹ར་ གཅིག་ བསྔོན་བྔོ་ གནང་ན།

pʽusimla, dāː pʼusim=rāː teiku:
younger.sister=HON yesterday younger.sister=AEMP only.AGT
gom-bo nāː-kʰɛː súŋlu t’arîŋ=lo tsʰaː tɛiʔ

sing.HON-2INF 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 giu (giu-na ‘go, what about going’), where as -teʰi and -da: attach to the suppletive perfective form sṭː of the same verb (e.g. sṭː-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 nàː of the honorific nominalized construction. The use of the honorific construction results in all the forms in (11.155) being basically polite. Simpler, and less honorific forms for a bare verb imperative would be ɕóʔ ‘come! (direct)’ and teʼon ‘please come! (hon.)’.

(11.155) 

a) མ་བྔོན་བྔོ་ ནགནང་། 
nàː teʼem-bo nàː.  
here come.HON-2INF do.HON  
‘Please come here.’ (polite)

b) མ་བྔོན་བྔོ་ ནགནང་། 
nàː teʼem-bo nàː-teʰi.  
here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN  
‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)

c) མ་བྔོན་བྔོ་ ནགནང་། 
nàː teʼem-bo nàː-da.  
here come.HON-2INF do.HON-IMP.FRN  
‘Please come here.’ (polite, friendly)

d) མ་བྔོན་བྔོ་ ནགནང་། 
nàː teʼem-bo nàː-na.  
here come.HON-2INF do.HON-SUG  
‘If you would please come here.’ (polite, suggestive)

Imperatives may be supplemented with the exclamative tags ḫá and inam380, which add nuance to the command. Whereas ḫá 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 ḫá, 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.

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380 The form inam is segmentable as in-(n)am [EQU.PER-ATTQ], whereas the form ḫá has merged into a unit from the historical segments in-(n)á [EQU.PER-PQ].
(11.156) ་བཟོ་བོད་གྱི་

sèm-bo ná: pā.
league.HON do.HON TAG.ASR
‘Please listen (to me), will you.’ (PB discussion with TB)

(11.157) ཡི་བོ ཁ་བོ

át'si dzokai p'ja in-(n)am! t'ek za: in-(n)am!
a.bit saving(Nep.) do EQU.PER-ATTQ store set EQU.PER-ATTQ
‘Save a bit (money), I tell you! Set (it) aside, I tell you!’ (TB phone call)

The pitch trace from (11.157) is presented in Figure 11.15, showing the rising pitch on inam.

Figure 11.15. Rising intonation with inam in imperative (11.157)

á- tsi dzokai p'ja i- nam t'ek za inam

In some language varieties, the forms ino (Bermeok) and no (Martam) as used for pā/ina:

(11.158) ཉོ་(??)སྐུ་སྐུ་སྐུ་སྐུ་

gjat'a di=tsu súp ino.
hatch this=PL close TAG.ASR
‘Close the hatches, will you.’ (KT animal story)

(11.159) ཁ་གྱ་ཁན་ཁན་ཁན་ཁན་

kʰa tsum do?. ma-làp 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'í 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 -ŋi (11.165-166). The use with optative -teu? 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) ཞེས་ཐུ་བཞིར་བྱ་
‘Oh then ask (him), by all means.’ (KT animal story)

(11.161) ༼བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་བཀྲ་མོ་བཞི་སྒྲུགས།༽
‘Ask him here, by all means, whether he knows (the story I am about to tell).’ (JDF discussion on the roof)

(11.162) ལོག་བཅོམ་ཐོས་ཁོང་།
‘Go ahead and take chilli.’ (PTM kitchen discussion)

Of the imperative forms, =mo? may attach at least to the suggestive imperative -na:

(11.163) འབྲེས་བཅོམ་ཐོས་ཁོང་།
‘Please eat!’ (PT e)

In (11.164), a line from a contemporary Denjongke song, the urgency marker is appended to hortative -ge:

(11.164) སྤྱོད་བསྐྱེ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྟན་པོ་བྱུངས་གེ་མྔོད།
‘Let us all, by all means, memorize this teaching.’ (song lyrics)

Consultant KN also reported that =mo? 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) བདུན་ཐོས་ཁོང་།
‘Eat, by all means.’ (KN e)

(11.166) དབྱུང་ཐོས་ཁོང་།
‘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) ང་བག་ཀེ།

ŋà bak-ɛ.
1SG carry-HORT
‘Let me carry (it).’ (GB oh)

(11.168) ང་ཅག་ག་ཚུགས་རང་གི་སྐད་ལྔོ་ཡར་རྒྱས་བཏང་gue

ŋàtɕaʔ kʼa: tsuʔ ræ=gi keː=lo jàrge?
1PL what be.able.to own=GEN language=DAT development tan-gɛ=s.
send-HORT=QUO
‘Let’s do what we can to develop our own language.’ (KT life story)

The friendly imperative suffix es may be appended to the hortative, as exemplified by -tɕʰi in (11.169).

(11.169) རྒྱལ་པོ་དི་ལྔོ་ལྔོག་ཅན་རང་ཁ་ལབ་ལྟ་གེ་ཆེ།

gɛːpo=di=lo lòktɕɛ=raː kʰa-lap ta-gɛ-teʰi.
king=DEMPH=DAT again=AEMPH mouth-speak look-HORT-IMP.FRN
‘Let’s try and speak again to this (spirit) king.’ (rnām-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) མན་ལ་སིད་ད་ལྟ་ཇ་མ་འཐུང་gue

mɛ̃ː lakiʔ tʼato te’ a ma-tʰuŋ-gɛ.
NEG.EQU.PER PN now tea NEG-drink-HORT
‘No Lhaki, let’s not drink tea now.’ (Richhi 17)

The hortative construction is negated by the perfective negator prefix ma-, see (11.171) and (11.172).

(11.171) ག་མུ་བཷ་བ་མ་བེ་ཁྲི།

mɛ: lakiʔ t’ato te’ a ma-tʰuŋ-gɛ.
NEG.EQU.PER PN now tea NEG-drink-HORT
‘No Lhaki, let’s not drink tea now.’ (Richhi 17)

(11.172) དེབ་འདི་གང་ཆེན་མ་བྱུས་ཀེ་

tʼɛp=di kʼoːteː ma-jâ-gɛ³⁸¹ làp-o ʔ.
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 pʼja ‘do’ is usually reduced to jà when a negator is prefixed.
11.5 Optative with tɕuʔ

Optative mood expresses hopes about desirable future. The optative is formed by the causative secondary verb tɕuʔ ‘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 =mo to mark urgency (see §11.3.3).

(11.173) ཞེས་ཐོད་འདེམ་གཡོག་ཞིང་ནས་གོང་རིམ་ནི།
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) བདེ་ནེ་ཨྔོ་འདེམ་གཡོག་ཞིང་ནས་གོང་རིམ་ནི།
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) བདེ་ནེ་ཨྔོ་འདེམ་གཡོག་ཞིང་ནས་གོང་རིམ་ནི།
‘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 tɕuʔ/tɕuk can be distinguished by the presence/absence of tense/aspect/modality/evidentiality (TAME) marking: the optative is not followed by TAME markers whereas the causative is. In causative (11.176), however, the periphrastic past construction is elided because it is retrievable from the context (dzy: tɕuk-o be? > dzy: tɕuʔ). Thus, in the absence of tense and aspect marking, the context is the arbiter between optative and causative reading of tɕuʔ.

(11.176) བདེ་ནེ་ཨྔོ་འདེམ་གཡོག་ཞིང་ནས་གོང་རིམ་ནི།
‘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 urgentness. The hortative marker occurs both with singular (‘let me do’) and plural first person (‘let us do’). Lastly, it was shown that optative clauses are formed by postposing the causative secondary verb stem to the primary verb.
12 Connecting finite clauses

The discussion on clause combining is divided into four chapters. Connections between finite clauses are described in this chapter. The following three chapters address constituent-modifying clauses (§13), 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།
    tʽariŋ gju-ti tʰorãː kʰim=na døʔ.384
    today go-NF tomorrow house=LOC stay
    ‘Go today and stay home tomorrow.’ (Richhi 59)

Although the Denjongke and its English translation in (12.1) are semantically equivalent, they differ structurally in two important respects. First, English uses verb forms of the same type, whereas Denjongke uses two different verb forms, nonfinal converbal form marked with

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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 sō: to imperfective gju in the nonfinal clause.
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’à: ‘and’, nominalized clauses can:

(12.2) ཟམ་ས་མ་ཐོབ་པོ་དང་འཐུང་མ་ཐོབ་པའི་ལྔོར་སྣེས་མང་པོ།
[སུམ་ཝ་མ་ཐོབ་པོ]  t’ [ཞེ་ཝ་མ་ཐོབ་པོ]  lògju?  màŋpu
duʔ.
EX.SEN
‘There are a lot of stories [that (people) haven’t found food to eat] and [haven’t found (anything) to drink].’ (Class 9-10 grammar, 134)

There are other connectors than t’à: ‘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

| t'izâ:  | 'but'                  |
| t'ruy:  | 'but, however', lit. ‘although it is (so)’ [EQU-CONC] |
| inajâ:  | 'but, however', lit. ‘even if it is (so)’ [EQU-COND-even] |
| indâ:jâ: | 'but, however’ lit. ‘it is (so) and yet’ [EQU-and-even] |
| ì:jâ:   | 'but, however’, lit. ‘it is (so) yet’ [EQU-even] |
| zenne/zene/zone | ‘otherwise’ lit. [other-COND] or [other-TOP] |
| zêːmene | ‘otherwise’, lit. ‘if there is nothing else’ [other-NEG.EQU-COND] |
| jâːne   | ‘and, (then) again’ |
| jâːmene | ‘or’ |
| mi-tsê?  | ‘not only (but also); moreover; in addition ’, lit. ‘not-stop(ping)’ |
| k'ambjasene | ‘because, this is for the reason that’, lit. ‘if told why’ |
| dile    | ‘then (temporal sequence)’ (lit. ‘this=ABL’, but because of frequent use should probably be considered a lexeme) |
| t'ene   | ‘then, in that case (logical consequence)’ (often collocates with te ‘well, then’, as in te t'ene ‘well then…’) |
| ódì=le=to | ‘rather’ (lit. that=ABL=CEMP) |

The examples below illustrate the use of the connectors from Table 12.1 in the same order they occur in the table. The two forms which are most often used as contrastive connectors are t'izâ: ‘but’ and t'ruy ‘but, however’. The contrastive connector t'izâ: is of unknown etymological origin. In written Denjongke, t'izâ: 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)  // PN lie.down-2INF GEN lie.down-2INF EQU PER but sleep=AEMP  
mi-k'ut.  
NEG-sleep  
‘Choki keeps lying down but does not fall asleep.’ (Richhi 58)

(12.4)  // multitude gather-PST but leader 3SGM=REFL NEG come  
mánpu  t'amte? dzom-ze  t'izâː godze  k'u=râː  man-dzon.  
‘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 k'amja, k'ambla or k'amja, depending on the level of phonological reduction. The last pronunciation k'amja suggests a succession of words rather than a single word, because p' typically only occurs word-initially. The verb of speaking sé (also sì) can be replaced by làp ‘say’ or ciw ‘say (hum.)’, e.g. k'amjalaipne, k'amjaune. The last syllable, which is a conditional marker, may also take the forms -no and -na, the latter of which is probably affected by Tibetan spelling, e.g. k'amjaseno (eastern and northern pronunciation), k'amjasen (literary pronunciation).
independent clauses, and therefore this argument for the presence of coordination is not fully persuasive. Of all the connectors, ːt’izː is the most amenable to coordinating interpretation (which is also suggested by the omission of ɽ in Denjongke writing). Prosodic phenomena in the clause, however, deserve further study.

The contrastive connector ːt’ruŋ (or ː-ruŋ) ‘but, however’ is the concessive form of the equative ːt’, 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) kʰuɲɛ̃ːntsʰɛ̃ː ːt’ː-ruŋ kʰuŋa=lo
care NEG-do EQU-NE
‘He is (supposed to be) my relative. However/but, he doesn’t look after me.’ (KT e)

(12.6) Ðamtʃɛʔkʰõːt’atʃōjó t’ː-ruŋ t’ːtʃōjó:
all 3PL now work now NEG.EX.PER EQU-CONC now 3PL education
‘All of them are jobless now. However/but, they are now taking education.’ (KT life story)

Three additional, more complex forms inajãː, indãːjãː, ːjãː are used for contrastive cohesion. These forms begin with the equative copula ːt’ and end in the clitic =jãː ‘too, even, yet, still’. The difference is what, or whether anything, occurs in between. In inajãː, the copula occurs with the literary conditional form in-(n)a (which also occurs in Central Tibetan), see (12.7) and (12.8). In indãːjãː, the intervening element is the conjunctive t’ː ‘and’, conveying the meaning ‘it is so and yet’, see (12.9). The last form ːjãː has no intervening element, conveying the equivalent of English ‘it is so yet’, see (12.10).

(12.7) Ðeŋɛ̃ːɲɛ̃ː ːt’ː-jãː ːjãː ːʃaʔ放眼 ːt’ː-mɛŋɛ̃ːɲɛ̃ː ːt’ː-gãː=di ːt’ː-gãː=di
‘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 *tʼizãː* and *inajãː*, co-occur.

(12.8)  
\[
\text{te òdi } p\text{ja-ti } nātei ke? \text{ sê:tey? òdepti } nāmte\text{a}? \\
\text{so that do-NF 1PL.GEN language a.bit like.that decline}
\]

\[
sō:-\text{bo } î:. \text{ tʼizãː: inajãː: t\text{ato lọpt}=di } nāyea \text{ go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER but however now school=DEMPH inside}
\]

\[
\text{jò:-ce? kjap-tiki } òde\text{p } ke:\text{po}=\text{to lāk } bak \text{ da: ma-sō:.}
\]

\[
\text{EX-INF do-NF like.that much=DEMPH be.ruined carry chase NEG-go.PFV}
\]

‘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)  
\[
\text{lōn}=\text{to } \text{k\text{a}=nd}: \text{ mè?: } \text{indā:jā: } \text{dik\text{a }nāte}\text{a? } \text{lēm}=\text{rā:}
\]

\[
\text{message=DEMPH any NEG.EX.PER however here 1PL good=AEMPH}
\]

\[
\text{du}=\text{se } \text{lāp } nā:.
\]

\[
\text{EX.SEN=QUO say do.HON}
\]

‘(I) do not have any message. But tell (them) we are alright here.’ (nga\’i ‘gan 15)

(12.10)  
\[
\text{t\text{a}=twa: } \text{nāte}\text{a? } \text{p\text{ents}=ý: } \text{pʰa: } \text{dze: } \text{tsʰ}=u: \text{ dze:}
\]

\[
\text{nowadays 1PL mutual thither meet.HON hither meet.HON}
\]

\[
\text{mē:-pe: } \text{cē: } \text{tsʰ}=\text{o ma-tsʰ}=u?:. \text{ i\text{jā: } në:}
\]

\[
\text{NEG.EX-2INF.AGT face recover NEG-be.able.to however 1SG.GEN}
\]

\[
\text{ro\text{m laki...}
\]

female.friend PN

‘These days, because we have not met each other here and there (I) could not recognize (him). However, my friend Lhaki…’ (Richhi 46)

Still other contrastive connectors are built around the word *zen* `other`. These forms are *zenne/zene/zone* (12.11-12), *ze:men* (12.13), *zə:mene* (12.14). The ending -*ne* in *zenne* and *zene/zone*, which probably represents a reduced pronunciation of *zenne*, may be etymologically a conditional form\(^{386}\) or possibly the topicalizer =*ne*. The other two forms supplement *zen* with the negated equative *mēː*, which may occur alone, as in *ze:men* (12.13) or in the conditional form, as in *zə:mene* (12.14).

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\(^{386}\) As the conditional marker attaches only to verbs, *zen-ne* may represent a reduction of the more complex *zə:-mi-nej* [other-NEG.EQU.PER-COND].
(12.11) tsap'o p'ja-ə=di=p'ja te nê:kor kja'p t'op pe?. zanne

debate do-INF =DEMPH=ADVZR so sightseeing do receive EQU,NE otherwise
mi-t'op=k'en be no.
NEG-find-NMLZ EQU,NE TAG.ASR

'Because of (participating) the debate (he) gets to do sightseeing. Otherwise it is not
available, eh. (KNA kitchen discussion)

(12.12) t'ap mê-ne te'ku sà-eiŋ=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) mût=ri godze kjokju ōdi: p'ja-ti mi zen=tsu:
3SGF=AMEPH.GEN leader crooked that.GEN do-NF human other=PL.AGT

t'o:sa mût=râ:n nê:po mèmbo zê:men=to
see-NMLZ.SPAT 3SGF=AMEPH guilty see-2INF except otherwise=CEMPHE
mût=lo kōn mê=co.
3SGF=DAT blame NEG.EX.PER=AT

'She has become the culprit in the eyes of other people for no other reason than this
crooked leader of hers. Otherwise, she is not to be blamed for anything, you know.
(nga'i ‘gan 4)

(12.14) k'e:si? tam=di k'an̩jo: sên tsu'-po te'un-ne
if word=DEMPH dakini.AGT listen.HON be.able.to-2INF become-COND
k'an̩jo: sâ:ta' di: p'im-bo nê:di kjôp-ne kjôp
dakini.AGT copper-rope send give-2INF do.HON-NF protect-COND protect

tsu ō:. zê:mene demo mût=i k'a=le
be.able.to FUT.UNC otherwise she.demon 3SGF=GEN mouth=ABL
l'a-kê: tea.so? qûp-o=tsu=le mi-ô:
be.released-NMLZ iron-life fulfil-2INF=PL=ABL NEG-FUT.UNC

'If this word will become audible to the dakini and the dakini, sending a rope of
copper, protects (you), (you) will be protected. Otherwise, no one except those of
iron-body will escape from the mouth of the she-demon.’ (rna-gsung 12)

The following three connectors build on the word jãː ‘again, and‘, an independent form
related to the clitic =jãː ‘too, even, yet, still’. The connector jãː 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) jãː ge:pyː=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)
The connector jãː 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 jãːne expresses meanings corresponding to English nor (which marks additional negated information), see (12.17).

(12.16) teʰ: agıa zeː-po nāː=mo?. jãːne nātei làka=le

‘Oh no, elder, bother eat. HON-2INF do.HON=URG or 1PL.GEN hand=ABL

eat.HON NEG-be.good-2INF

‘Oh no, brother, please eat, by all means. Or is it not good to eat from our hands?’ (Richhi 20)

(12.17) nāte=le sātʰa? rim-bo=le nōme? lōgju? tʰoː-ee?

1PL=TOP distance be.long-2INF=ABL thoughtless story hear-INF

mindu?. jãːne pʰaː tsʰuː mǐː jãːm

NEG.EX.SEN or thither hither human.GEN.travel=too NEG.EX.PER

‘We do not hear thoughtless stories from far away. Nor are there people traveling here and there.’ (rnam-rtog 4)

(12.18) zaŋpo jø̀ːn ē=di mi ē-tsub=le làlò mi lǐm sōnam

1PL die-COND human die-CMPL.2INF=ABL some human good merit

good EX-COND=DEM_PH human=DAT human-body receive or.in.other.case

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) kaːm teʰak-teʰak-o jó-patsene jãːmene cēmpo=rā:

foot be.broken-RDP-2INF EX-COND or.in.other.case stupid=AEMP_H

jó-patsene nātei p’um k’at’e p’in-ee=s?

EX-COND 1PL.GEN girl how give-INF =QUO

‘If (his) feet are broken or he is mentally handicapped, how (would we) give our daughter (in marriage to him)?’ (SGD wedding customs)

The negated form of the verb tsʰeʔ jãː ‘stop, break off, discontinue’, mi-tsʰeʔ, 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.
di mën-ne t’iṣzan=gi p’um pën kjap-kjap-o=tsu:
this NEG.EX-COND nowadays=GEN girl marriage do-RDP-2INF=PL.AGT

apron cover NEG-deem.fit moreover apron=DEMPH body=GEN

clothing=INDF EQU-2INF.GEN above most Tibetan and Sherpa=AGT

k’om-boː: lāksoː īː
wear-2INF.GEN tradition EQU.PER
‘Otherwise, married girls nowadays do not want to wear pangden-apron. Moreover, in addition to pangden-apron being a clothing for the body, most Tibetans and Sherpas have a tradition of wearing (it).’ (sbar-phung 93)

The connector mitsʰɛʔ may also occur sentence-initially following a demonstrative:

(12.21) ཀན་མི་སྐལ་ འདི་ལས་ འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ བཤད་གྲྭ་ ཐར་ཕིན་པྔོ་
‘In addition to this, in my life…’ (KT life story)

A possible origin of mitsʰɛʔ as a nonfinal form mi-tsʰɛ-ти(ki) is suggested by (12.22), which is the only recorded instance of a negated nonfinal converb in my data (the negated form is usually borrowed from the circumstantial construction ma-V-pa). A possible reason why negation is possible with a nonfinal form here is that through frequent use the form has lost the connotation of negatedness in the mind of the speakers and has instead developed semantics akin to ‘in addition, adding to what was said’.

(12.22) སྦས་ཡུལ་ འབྲས་མ་ལྔོངས་ཀི་ སྐྔོར་གཞི་ན་ མི་ཚད་སྟི་ཀི་ ང་ ཆུང་ཆུང་ སང་
‘Still continuing about the topic of the hidden land Sikkim, when I was a child…’ (CY interview)

For the causality marking connector k’ambjasene (and its variants), refer to §15.4.1. The connector di[e ‘then’ connects finite clauses. It expresses temporal sequence:

(12.23) ཡུལ་བུས་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་ འབྲས་ོག་
‘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)

(12.24) སེ་དེ་ནེ་ མཇུག་ སུང་ འབུང་ ཐེན་ སྔོད།
*t’ene te*? ná: bu*ŋtʰ*: do?.
then 2SG.L here while stay
‘In that case, stay a while here.’ (KT animal story)

(12.25) a) སེ་དེ་ནེ་ རོལ་ ད་ མཇུག་ སུང་ འབུང་ ཐེན་ སྔོད།
*ŋa* ná: do: ce ñ.
oh then tomorrow 1SG here hide sit-INF EQU.PER
‘O, in that case I’ll sit hiding here tomorrow.’ (KT animal story)

b) ལོ་ སེ་དེ་ནེ་ ཚུ་ མ་ གི་ འབུང་ ཐེན་ སྔོད།
läsö *t’ene te*’om-bo ná:
alright then go.HON-2INF do.HON
‘Alright, in that case please (feel free to) go.’ (Richhi 17)

(12.26) a) སེ་དེ་ནེ་ རོལ་ ད་ མཇུག་ སུང་ འབུང་ ཐེན་ སྔོད།
*te t’ene p’otso*: pʰam=tsu=lo t’ariŋ=rá: teʰdi pʰyː-ge,
so then child.GEN parent=PL=DAT today=AEMPf letter.HON offer-HORT
*in-ya*?
EQU.PER-PQ
‘So then let’s today offer a letter to the children’s parent, shan’t we.’ (Richhi 20)

b) སེ་དེ་ནེ་ རོལ་ ད་ མཇུག་ སུང་ འབུང་ ཐེན་ སྔོད།
*t’ene te*? teʰo:=ki ta:ri=di di ja?
then so 2SG.L=GEN axe=DEMPH this EQU.PER.Q
‘So then is this your axe?’ (JDF axe story)

Occasionally, *t’ene* may precede the verb:

(12.27) སེ་དེ་ནེ་ རོལ་ ད་ མཇུག་ སུང་ འབུང་ ཐེན་ སྔོད།
*t’ene ta*-ge.
now again=AEMPf 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'en*e introduces a new item in a lengthy list.

(12.29) International level जर्मन जाने के से एक भी दिलीचम है? दो श्रमण जर्मन जाने एक भी दिलीचम है? *mi-t’su=ts’ep* तो जर्मन जाने के है?

national(Eng.) national(Eng.) inside how so expose(Eng.) do go:-ee bo, *my-ga?* *t’en*e skɔlɔr=ts’up k’atept p’ja
be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q EQU.PER-PQ then scholarly(Eng.)=PL how
come(Eng.) do be.needed-INF EQU.NE.Q

‘(We have to think) how to expose our language to the international level, isn’t it? Then, how to welcome (international) scholars?’ (DR discussion with KL)

The last monosyndetic connector is *ődi=le=to* (that=ABL=CEMPH) ‘rather’, see (12.30) and (12.31).

(12.30) *t’si* *k’atju ne=ka* *k’atjam* *k’atjam* जा बूढ़ श्रमणहृदय जानेके अपेक्षा एक जर्मन जाने अपेक्षा एक *mi-t’su=ts’ep* तो जर्मन जानेके अपेक्षा एक?

*ődi=le=to*
like.that=CEMPH certain communicate NEG-be.able.to that=ABL=CEMPH
elder.brother=GEN address 1SG=DAT give.HON

‘Communication like that is really not possible. Rather, give me the brother’s (=your) address.’ (Richhi 102)

(12.31) *te*ʔ? *t’a* *t’sa* feeling जा बूढ़ श्रमणहृदय जानेके अपेक्षा एक जर्मन जानेके अपेक्षा एक जर्मन जानेके अपेक्षा एक?

*ődi=le=to*

2SG.I now lake=DEMPH cross NEG-be.able.to-PROB that=ABL=CEMPH my
giap’ka teʔ? e’n-diki ců?.
in.back 2SG.I ride-NF come

‘Now, you probably cannot (by yourself) cross the lake. Rather, you come and ride on my back.’ (KT animal story)

12.3 Bisyndetic connectors

Bisyndetic constructions are formed by using the same conjunction twice, once at the beginning of the first clause and another time at the beginning of the second clause. Table 12.2 lists bisyndetic connectors.
### Table 12.2. Bisyndetic clause connectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>=jā:...=jā:</th>
<th>=jā: NEG.VERB...=jā: NEG.VERB</th>
<th>=jā:...=jā: ne³⁸⁷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘both…and’ (lit. even…even)</td>
<td>‘neither…nor’</td>
<td>‘either…or’ (lit. or…or)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preposing jā: ‘too’ to two clauses results in the meaning ‘both…and’, see (12.32).

(12.32) ']=jā:= jā:
   jā: kʰu=rā: sà-u be?
   jā: mi=lo sà teuk-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 ‘ɖiŋ’ mediocre’:

(12.33)]=jā:= mè.
   tʰana=jā: mè.
   supreme=NEG.EX.PER last=even NEG.EX.PER
   ‘(It) is neither first-class nor last (in quality).’ (KN e)

Clause-initial use of jā:ne ‘or’ in adjoining clauses expresses two options in a way similar to English ‘either…or’, see (12.34).

(12.34)]=jā:ne jik-len
   man-di-u-p’ja mū=rā: dikʰa òn-do
or letter-answer NEG-write-2INF-ADVZR 3SGF=REFL here come-IPFV
pām,
   jā:ne mū: yā=lo gokor=to tā:-bo
EQU.PER.ATTQ or 3SGF.AGT 1SG=DAT deception=CEMPH send-2INF
mèŋ-gam?
NEG.EQU.PER.ATTQ
‘I wonder whether she is coming here herself without answering (my) letter or whether she is perhaps not deceiving me.’ (Richhi 149)

### 12.4 Summary remarks

This chapter described clausal connectors and how finite clauses are connected through them. It was shown that some clausal connectors may facilitate coordination-like linking (particularly t’izā: ‘but, however’) whereas others are looser cohesion-adding connectors (e.g. t’enè ‘then, in that case’, which typically implies that the speaker has just changed). Denjongke was shown to have both monosyndetic and bisyndetic connectors.

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³⁸⁷ The monosyndetic form jā:ne عطاء ‘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 -ɕɛ(ʔ) and -po/bo and the nominalizers -kʰɛː and -sa.

Table 13.1. Constituent-modifying clauses

<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></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-po/bo + GEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-sa + GEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun complement clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td>-po/bo + GEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ɕɛ + GEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postposition-modifying clauses</td>
<td>Postposition complement clauses</td>
<td>-po/bo + GEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ɕɛ + 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) བོད་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དབུགས་པའི་དེབ་
[\text{tʰamte}=\text{ki} \quad \text{nö}: \quad \text{tsʰu-po}.] \quad \text{t}ʼ\text{ep}
all=AGT \quad buy \quad be.able.to-2INF.GEN \quad \text{book}
‘book [that everybody can buy]’ (KN e)

Clausal complement clause
(13.2) བོད་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་དབུགས་པའི་དེབ་
\text{t}ʼ\text{ep}=\text{di} \quad \text{[tʰamte}=\text{ki} \quad \text{nö}: \quad \text{tsʰu-po}=\text{di}] \quad \text{p}ʼ\text{ja-ge.}
book=DEMPH \quad all=AGT \quad buy \quad be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH \quad do-HORT
‘Let’s make the book [(such) that everybody can buy it].’ (KL BLA 12 )
Noun complement clause

(13.3) དེབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་ ཉྔོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ རི་ཆི།
    \[ \text{book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN hope} \]
    ‘hope [that everybody can buy the book].’ (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with -po + genitive

(13.4) དེབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་ ཉྔོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ དྔོན་ལྔོ།
    \[ \text{book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-2INF.GEN for.the.purpose.of} \]
    ‘For the purpose [that everybody can buy the book]’ (KN e)

Postposition complement clause with -ce + genitive

(13.5) དེབ་ འདི་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་ ཉྔོ་ ཚུགས་པའི་ དྔོན་ལྔོ།
    \[ \text{book=DEMPH all=AGT buy be.able.to-INF=GEN for.the.purpose.of} \]
    ‘For the purpose [that everybody can buy the book]’ (KN e)

In many languages, verb forms which modify nouns are termed participles. In Tibeto-Burman languages, however, participles and nominalizers tend to merge together, i.e. the same form may be used for both noun modification and argument nominalization (e.g. Chantyal nominalizer -wa in Noonan [1997: 375-377]). If the decision between an analysis as participle or nominalizer is made based on the primary function, which is the main criteria used by many typologists (Shagal 2016: 31-32), it may be argued that the markers -po/bo and -sa are nominalizers388, 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.389 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 Lhasa Tibetan). In summary, all the markers used in constituent modification are here analysed as nominalizers, although when used in nominal modification they may be functionally termed participles (forms with -kʰɛ̃) or participial constructions (genitivized forms with -po, -sa and -ce?).

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).390 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

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 -pø:, whereas clausal complement clause marking -po is not genetivized. 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 coreferential) construction, because the two clauses can be argued to instantiate coordination rather than embedding (Dixon 2010b: 356). In Denjongke correlative clauses, interrogative pronouns are used in place of separate relative pronouns. As pointed out by Genetti (1992: 408), who found a similar (typically) Indo-Aryan relativizing strategy in Dolakha Newar, this latter strategy “is probably due to contact influence”. Nominalized relative clauses are the topic of this section, while correlative clauses are described in §13.3.

Nominalized RCs in Denjongke are mainly externally headed or headless but one example of internally-headed clauses was also found. Relativization is achieved mainly through the second infinitive -po/bo and the nominalizer -kʰɛ̃ː, and more rarely through the spatial nominalizer -sa and the quantitative nominalizer -tsʰɛʔ (“as much as is x-ed”). RCs usually precede the head noun but may occasionally also follow it. Pre-head RCs formed with -po/bo and -sa are marked as noun modifiers through genetivization. Post-head RCs are generally not genitivized and thus function syntactically as appositions. RCs with -kʰɛ̃ː are not genitivized even in pre-head position.

Table 13.2 summarizes the various forms that pre-head RCs take with -po/bo, -kʰɛ̃ː and -sa. The empty cells represent forms that do not occur in my data (but could, perhaps, be possible).

As seen in Table 13.2, -kʰɛ̃ː, -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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**Table 13.2. Temporal and aspectual values in pre-head RCs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-kʰɛ̃ː</th>
<th>-po</th>
<th>-sa</th>
<th>Temporal/aspectual function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERB-kʰɛ̃ː</td>
<td>VERB-pøː</td>
<td>VERB-søː</td>
<td>neutral (although unlikely future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB jõː-kʰɛ̃ː</td>
<td>VERB jõ-pøː</td>
<td>VERB-søː</td>
<td>resultative (dynamic verbs), progressive (stative verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-RDP-pøː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iternativity, habitualness (past or present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERR(-tí) zaː jõ-pøː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>resultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-zin p’ja-kʰɛ̃ː</td>
<td>VERB-zin-pøː</td>
<td>VERB-zin jõ-pøː</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-zin døː jõ-pøː (+time word)</td>
<td>VERB-zin-døː jõ-pøː (+time word)</td>
<td>VERB-zin døː jõ-pøː (+time word)</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-INF méː-pøː</td>
<td>VERB-INF-méː-pøː</td>
<td>VERB-INF-méː-pøː</td>
<td>future (‘which will not be x-ed’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 jō?. The infinitivizer -po/bo occurs in the greatest number of constructions, e.g. progressive VERB-zin (do:) jō-po:, perfect VERB-RDP-po:, and resultatives VERB jō-po: (expressing, however, progressivity with stative verbs such as do: ‘sit, stay’) and VERB za:jō-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 ódi (13.7-8) or ódem=tei? ‘one like that’ (13.9). 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 láp-kʰː: does double duty as a complementizer to the clause on its left and as a nominalized modifier to the head pronoun on its right.

(13.6) kṣaṇu akṣau  Hands long-hours sas cakṣau rājanakṣau

[saŋ-kʰː:] lengeː=tsu=lo taceideː=:s,
listen.HON-NMLZ PRN.HON=PL=DAT greeting=QUO
‘Greetings to you, [who listen] (I say).’ (KT animal story)

(13.7) kṣaṇaṁ rājanakṣau  Hands long-hours sas cakṣau rājanakṣau

niṁs’lo? láp-kʰː:] ódi teʾog>eː=gi nā:-nā:-bo minduk=co=la.
less say-NMLZ that king=AGT do-RDP-2INF NEG.EX.SEN=AT=HON
‘The king did not do that (thing) [which is to say more (was to be given) to the Nepali and less to the Lhopes and Lepchas].’ (CY interview)

(13.8) kṣaṇaṁ rājanakṣau  Hands long-hours sas cakṣau rājanakṣau

[hale tʾō-kʰː=en=tsu] ódi di=tsu tʾamtec? tʾappu before die.HON-NMLZ=PL that this=PL all long.ago
eː=m nā:-ti tʾō:-m beʔ.
measles fall.ill-NF die.HON-2INF EQU.NE
‘Those [who died earlier] all died long ago falling ill with measles.’ (PED life story)

(13.9) kṣaṇaṁ rājanakṣau  Hands long-hours sas cakṣau rājanakṣau

[nin teʾemè? màlep=ro màlep teuko nā:-di do:-kʰː:]
day ceaseless bad=AEWP bad only do.HON-NF stay-NMLZ
ódem=tei=jaː jōʔ,
like.that=INDF=100 EX.PER
‘There are also those of such kind [who live committing only bad (deeds) upon bad (deeds) every day].’ (SS Proverb explanation)

The following sections present a separate treatment for RC formed by kʰː: -po/bo, and -sa respectively.

13.2.1 Relativization by -kʰː:
The nominalizer -kʰː: 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 -kʰː: is the most usual nominalizer when the

---

393 The demonstrative adjective/adverbal ódem ‘like that, such’ is here nominalized with a strategy similar to English strategy for the expression ‘one like that’, i.e. employing the word for ‘one’, tei?, which also functions as an indefinite marker.
head noun is coreferential with the actor/agent in the RC. However, as shown below, 
-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)=jãː: ‘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).

(13.10) ṇtɕʰo:ki n̥a=lo pjōː jà=-kʰɛː:] kāŋkara=di kāŋkara=gi p otso
2SG.L=GEN nose=DAT hang EX-NMLZ crab=DEMPH crab=GEN child im-bo be?.
EQU-2INF EQU.NE
‘The crab [that was hanging from your nose] was a baby crab.’ (rna-gsung 33)

(13.11) lā tɕʰu lānɕa lām kʰɛn=di]
[\*][tɕʰu nānca [lum-kʰɛn=di] ta ri=di
water inside fall-NMLZ=DEMPH axe=DEMPH
‘the axe [that fell into the water]’ (JDF roof discussion)

Note that in (13.11) the demonstrative-emphatic =di occurs two times, both after the RC and
after the head noun.

Example (13.12) illustrates a specific construction with the verb p’ja ‘do’, enabling explicit
progressive marking:

(13.12) wātɕʰin p’ja-kʰɛː:] p otso=di=lō
weep-PROG do-NMLZ child=DEMPH=DAT
‘to the child, [who was weeping]’ (RS pupil joke)

Head noun as RC patient
The head noun may also be a patient argument in the RC.

(13.13) p’umteɕʰu=na lū-kʰɛː:] tɕʰu
Bumchu.festival=LOC pour-NMLZ water
‘Water [that is poured at Bumchu-festival]’ (KLT Bhumchu video)

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 $e\dot{o}=i$) occurs closer to the head noun than the RC, which modifies the same head noun.

(13.14) $\text{ཀརྨ་ལྔོ་སེལ་ཤད་བྱ་མཁན་ཞྔོའི་སི་ལ}$.  

\[
\text{PN=DAT bring-INF do-NMLZ curd=GEN glass}
\]

‘the glass of curd [that is (being) brought to Karma]’ (Richhi 106)

A frequent context in which an RC with -$kʰɛ̃ː$ is used for a patient argument is with verbs of saying ($ləp$ ‘say’, $sʊŋ$ ‘say [hon.]’, $sɛ̃$ ‘say, be called’), referring to what items are ‘called’:

(13.15) $\text{རི་ཆི་ལབ་མཁན་དེབ་ལན་རྒྱས་རར་ཡོད་པོ།}$.  

\[
\text{hope say-NMLZ book PRN.HON=at EX-2INF}
\]

‘Do you have (the) book [(that is) called Richhi]?’ (KN e)

**Head noun as RC locative**

In (13.16), the head noun is a locative argument in the RC (board on which something is written). The RC, on the other hand, modifies the patient role in the main clause.

(13.16) $\text{ཁྔོང་གིས་ཡི་གེ་བྲི་མཁན་པང་ལེབ་གཅིག་གནང་སི་}.  

\[
\text{kʰoŋ=gi [jìgi }tʰi-kʰɛ̃ː]\text{ pãːlɛp=tɕiʔnã̃ː-di...}
\]

3SG.HON=AGT letter write-NMLZ board=INDF request.HON-NF

‘He requested for a board [on which to write letters] and…’ (KT e)

**13.2.1.2 Post-head RCs**

RCs marked by -$kʰɛ̃ː$ may also occur after the head noun. In the three examples (13.17-19) below, the head nouns take an actor role in the RC. Based on these three examples, therefore, it may be hypothesized that post-head RCs with -$kʰɛ̃ː$ only allow the relativization of the highest ranking member of the relativization accessibility hierarchy, the subject (Keenan & Comrie 1972). Note that the adjectival modifiers in (13.17) and (13.18) occur closer to the head than the RC.

(13.17) $\text{ཨྔོ་ལམ་ཆུང་ཆུང་འགྱུ་མཁན་ｙོད་ཤྔོ།}$.  

\[
\text{there road small go-NMLZ EX.PER=AT}
\]

‘There’s a small road [that goes there], you know.’ (TB discussion with KT)

(13.18) $\text{མི་གཞན་འགྔོ་ལིས་ཤེས་མཁན་ཅིག་བར་མི་བཟྔོས་སྟི་}.  

\[
\text{man another custom know-NMLZ=INDF mediator make-NF}
\]

‘Another man [who knows the (wedding) customs] is made a mediator and….’ (sbar-phung)
13.2.1.3 Headless RCs

The clause nominalized with -kʰɛː typically describes an animate, usually human, referent (‘the one who does x’). Because the animate referent is presumed, -kʰɛː naturally forms headless relative clauses which “themselves refer to the noun that they modify” (Payne 1997: 433). Typically the implied head noun is the actor in the RC (13.20-23), but other semantic roles are also possible, as shown by examples of patient (13.24-25) and oblique (13.26).

Implied head noun as RC actor

(13.20) མཚམས་ལྔོ་ བཞུགས་མཁན་ཀེསབ་སད་ལེགས།
[tsʰam=lo zuː-kʰɛː] keːp beʔ āno=laː.
retreat=DAT sit.HON-NMLZ many.EQU NE grandmother=HON
‘Those who sit in (meditation) retreat] are many, grandmother.’ (PTB SM kitchen)

(13.21) དེ་ཟང་ན་འབྲས་ལྔོངས་ན་འྔོང་མཁན་ཙུ་ལྔོ་ན་འདི་ཤྔོག་ཀུ་འདི་སྦད་ལེགས།
tʽizãː [nàː dɛ̃dɔː=na ōŋ-kʰɛːn=tsu=lo] ōdi395 ʋóku 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) དབྱཱི་བསྐྱོད་ལྔོ་སྐུ་མདུན་ལྔོ་བཞུགས་མཁན་གྱིས་ལེམ་གནང་སི་གཟིགས་དགྔོས་ཉ།
[nèːpø kumdỹː=lo zuː-kʰɛːŋ=gr] lim nàː-di zi:
patient.GEN in.front.of=DAT stay.HON-NMLZ=AGT good do.HON-NF look goː nà.
be.nEEDED TAG.ASR
‘[The one who stays with the patient] needs to look after him well, eh.’
(mam-rtog 28-29)

(13.23) མེད་པ་ཅན་དང་སྡུག་ཕྔོག་སྟི་སྔོད་མཁན་ཅྱུ༹༹འི་ཞབས་ཕི་ཞུ་ན་ཕན་ཡོན་ཐྔོབ་ཤད་ཨིན།
[mèːptɕɛ̃ t˒ā duʔ pʰok-ti doː-kʰɛːn=tsu=i] cæptei eɪː-ne
one.who.has.not and suffering fall-NF sit-NMLZ=PL=GEN service do.HON-COND
pʰɛːjʊː tʰɔp-ɛɛ ɪː.
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) [tʰapøn làp-kʰɛː=teiʔ] jòbbeʔ.
performer say-NMLZ=INDF EX.NE
‘There’s [someone who is called [tʰapøː]].’ (SGD wedding customs)

(13.25) [ádʒo=laː=gí ʃa kʰɛ̃ːn=dì] yá: ʃe:lɛn-ɛe
grandfather=HON=AGT word give.HON-NMLZ=DEMPH S AGT accept-INF
EQU.PER
‘I accept [what the grandfather (=you) is saying].’ (Richhi 49)

Implied head noun as RC oblique
(13.26) [tʰinle=ki dàː lògiuʔ ee-kʰɛ̃ːn=dì] bɛ-kaʔ?
Thrinley=AGT yesterday story tell-NMLZ=DEMPH EQU.NE-PQ
‘Is (she) [the one about whom Thrinley told the story yesterday]?’ (Richhi 27)

The argument roles taken by the clauses with -kʰɛː in the main clauses above are equative copula subject (13.20), dative-locative-marked possessor in a possessive/locative sentence with existential copula (13.21), A ctor argument (13.22), genitive modifier of a P(atient) argument (13.23), the only argument of an existential copula (13.24), unmarked P(atient) argument (13.25), copula complement (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 sɛ̃kʰɛː: express the meaning “the one which is called”. These forms derive from the productive verbs làp ‘say’ and súŋ ‘say (hon.)’, whereas sɛ̃ in my data is used only in the nominalized construction sɛ̃-kʰɛː: and as the quotative =s(e)~s(i).

(13.27) [tʽuʔ làp-kʰɛː:] nàmlo man-za goʔ.
poison say-NMLZ ever NEG-eat be.needed
‘One should never eat [(the thing) called poison].’ (KN e)

(13.28) [màlaʔ mɛŋkʰàː=na kʰik teʔon súŋ-kʰɛː:] nà: pʽusim
quickly hospital=LOC lead go-HON say.HON-NMLZ here younger.sister
be=co.
EQU.NE=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)=jâ: ‘whoever’ (see §8.1.5), as shown in (13.30).

\[(mí=ka:ki=jà: nà: ōη-kʰɛ́̃ː) kʰu=lo=jà.\]

human who=AGT=even here come=NMLZ 3SGM=DAT=even beat TAG.ASR

‘[Whosoever person comes here] even beat him, eh.’ (KT animal story)

13.2.2 Relativization by -po/bo
The II infinitive marker -po/bo can form both pre-head and post-head RCs. Pre-head clauses are typically marked as noun modifiers by genitivization, although with reduplicated roots genetivization seems optional, see (13.32) and (13.35) below. Post-head clauses are generally not genetivized but their end is marked by the demonstrative-emphatic =di or the plural marker =tsu. Similarly to Lhasa Tibetan, -po/bo is generally used when the “head noun is coreferential with a non-actor NP in the RC” (DeLancey 1999: 234). The actor role is typically marked by the nominalizer -kʰɛ́:, 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 -kʰɛ́:, the nominalizer -po/bo may also suffix to RC verbs where the modified noun is in the actor role. In (13.31), the head noun \(mí=tei?\) is coreferent with the actor of the intransitive verb ‘come’ in the RC. The RC modifies the copula complement of the main clause.

\[
\text{long.ago my grandfather forefather time=ABL 1SG Buddhist(Eng.) or}
\text{nà:po: teː:ki nāŋca=lo ōm-bo:] mí=tei? ūː.}
\]

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 =jà: 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 =jà: 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.

**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.

**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.

---

398 The plural form =tso in the northern village of Lachung resembles the Central Tibetan plural form =tsʰo.
470

(13.37) guru Rinpoche long.ago meditation sit.HON-RDP-2-INF.GEN site (it’s) a site [where Guru Rinpoche 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 EX-2-INF.GEN human=DEMPH today place another=DAT ‘The man [that was in one place the other day] (is) in another place today.’ (Richhi 136)

13.2.2.2 Post-head RCs

RCs that occur after the head noun are less frequent in my data than those preceding the head. Unlike pre-head RCs, post-head RCs with -po/bo do not require genitive marking. Instead, they are typically marked by a final demonstrative-emphatic =di, see (13.42). Case marking of the noun phrase occurs after the post-head RC, see (13.40) and (13.41). Note that the reduplicated verb kjap-kjap-ø in (13.41) occurs in the genitive not to mark relativization but to make the form amenable to agentive marking.

(13.40) example=LOC Hindu=GEN girl wedding do-RDP-2INF=DAT mangalsutra ta:-ee? jò:-ne mangalsutra.necklace(Nep.) append-INF EX-COND ‘For instance, if there is (the tradition of) tying the mangalsutra-necklace on a Hindu girl [who has been married]…’ (sbar-phung ling-dam ‘gro-lis 88)

(13.41) earthquake strike-RDP-2INF.GEN=AGT a.bit=INDF foundation destroy EX.SEN-IN ‘There before some time ago an earthquake, [which struck], destroyed the foundation a bit (I saw).’ (DB day trip)
Post-head RCs seem more appositive in nature than pre-head RCs and can convey meanings similar to English unrestricted RCs. In (13.42), the post-head relative clause presents information that the speaker already knows. There are no other camels to be contrasted with than the ones mentioned in the RC. Therefore, the post-head RC here is more descriptive of the content of the head noun than it is restrictive of its reference, hence the English translation with a comma. The head noun is the patient argument in the main clause. The RC occurs after the demonstrative modifier ödi.

(13.42) *nāmu ödi [k’janék’a (kjap) ma-ts’u-po=di] p’i-teuŋ=gi camel that counting (do) NEG-be.able.to-2INF =DEMPH bird=GEN

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 nàŋ=gi tam=tsu [ɲiːza? this.AGT do=TERM 1SG.GEN innards.GEN inside=GEN word=PL day.and.night

t’àː dau ke’po=sãː sák-ti za: jò-po=di] t’arin

and month many=until accumulate-NF set EX-2INF=DEMPH today

jigi diː=na eé-to ţ.: letter this.GEN=LOC tell-IPFV EQU.PER

‘Therefore I’m telling (you) today (my) inmost words, [which have been stored accumulating day and night for many months].’ (Richhi 143)

Example (13.44) illustrates a complex post-head RC with two clauses:

(13.44) *te’u [k’o-ti ɾɛŋ-ɾɛŋ-kɔ]399 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’ubdè:

(13.45) *bhaila=gi lóʔpar [kjap-kjap-ɔ:] t’ubdèː k’atem jò:-kam?
PN=GEN X-ray do-RDP-2INF.GEN result how EX.PER-ATTQ

‘What is the result of the X-ray [that was made] of Bhaila (I wonder)?’ (Richhi 29)

399 Consultant KUN commented that in his language variety ɾɛŋ-ɾɛŋ-kɔ would require the patient argument t’o? ‘heat’, which expresses what is being cooled, [k’o-ti t’o? ɾɛŋ-ɾɛŋ-kɔ].
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: lópar*), Bhaila would easily be interpreted as the actor who takes the X-ray, with the genitive =*ki* taken, when the text is read aloud, as the homophonous agentive marker.

Lastly, (13.46) illustrates a post-head RC without a final =*di*, ending in the construction *tˀːা: qau* ‘(be) similar, resemble’. Note that another, pre-head locative RC, modifying the noun *nːeː* ‘site’, is embedded within the RC which modifies *p’jaː* ‘feather’.

(13.46) FolderPath/fileName  
*karmːoː sːem p’jaː*  [líaŋ=gi bak-o  dem  [teː=saː:]  ]  
PN.GEN mind feather  air=AGT carry-2INF like  alight-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN site  
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 -*kʰɛ̃ː*, which can both be used when the head noun has a locative function in the RC, are used in place of written constructions with -*sa*.

(13.47) FolderPath/fileName  
[kʰu  ōː-ːsoː:]  [lám-kʰa-tsika  miː...  nːamteʰ=uy=teː?  nːampu|  
3SGM come-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN road-at-about human humble=INDF with  
pʰɛ-po  be=la.  
meet-2INF  EQU.REF=HON  
‘On the road [that he came], he met a poor a man.’ (PAD bet story)

The personal pronoun kʰu in (13.47) could be taken either as belonging to the RC (as suggested by the square brackets) or to the main clause, in which case the relative clause would consist of merely the nominalized verb.

Most of the following examples in this section illustrate uses of -*sa* found in written sources. The head noun is always in locative function in the RC. The examples are headlined based on the role of the head noun in the main clause (MC).
Head noun as MC patient

In (13.48), the head noun zo:m ‘tub’ functions as the patient of the main clause verb ton ‘show’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tsʰoːdзеʔ} & \quad \text{pʰyː- söː} \quad \text{zo:m ton-zè:} \\
\text{feast.substances} & \quad \text{offer-NMLZ.SPAT GEN tub show-PROG} \\
\text{‘showing the tub [where feast substances can be offered]’ (Richhi 1)}
\end{align*}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mì=tsu tʰamtɕɛʔ} & \quad \text{ŋù-kɛʔ oː} \quad \text{pʽum=øːnɛ̀ːpɔʑak-søː} \quad \text{kʰimmik=na...} \\
\text{human=PL all each.oneself.GEN sit-NMLZ.SPAT GEN place seek-NF} \\
\text{do: jòʔ. sit EX.PER} \\
\text{‘All people are sitting, each having sought their own place [where to sit].’ (Richhi 75)}
\end{align*}
\]

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’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu giuk-zè:} & \quad \text{ŋù-keʔ oː-søː} \quad \text{teʰoː=lo lep-kap} \\
\text{3SGF run-PROG cry-sound come-NMLZ.SPAT GEN direction=DAT arrive-SIM} \\
\text{‘When she arrives running to the direction [from which the sound of crying comes]...’ (Richhi 2)}
\end{align*}
\]

For some reason, in (13.52), the RC is not genetivized. The form làpsa also occurs as a headless RC, see §13.2.3.2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{teʰeteʰbo láp-sa} & \quad \text{ŋù: nàŋea be:=lo.} \\
\text{TPN say-NMLZ place inside EQU.NE=REP} \\
\text{‘It’s in a place [(that is) called Chehebo], it was said.’ (PD Tashiding story)}
\end{align*}
\]
(13.53) \( \text{he.AGT slowly do-NF 3SGM=REFL sleep-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN bedroom=GEN door pʰiː-} \)
\( \text{open-NF} \)
‘Slowly he opens the door of the \text{bedroom} \) [where he himself had been sleeping (or sleeps)] and...’ (Richhi 22)

In (13.54), the head noun \text{cá:lo} ‘bamboo wall’ is a genitivized modifier of the postposition \text{teylo} ‘on’.

(13.54) \( \text{karma=gi [do:gar t'ap-so:] cá:lo=ki təŋ=lo... t'i-ti} \)
\( \text{PN=AGT play act-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN bamboo.wall=GEN top=DAT write-NF} \)
‘Karma writes... on the \text{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 \text{-sa} may function as the only argument in an existential clause (although the existential copula is elided in the below example).

(13.55) \( \text{gokʰøː sùː teiː=lo [nà só-so:] tsʰokor} \)
\( \text{doorway.GEN side one=DAT fish keep.alive-NMLZ.SPAT.GEN pond} \)
‘on one side of the doorway, \( \text{(there is) a pond \) [where fish are kept]’}’ (Richhi 32)

I have no examples of post-head RCs with \text{-sa}.

**13.2.3.2 Headless RCs**
Because of its nominal origin (\text{sá} ‘ground’) the nominalizer \text{-sa} can be used as a headless relative clause, which itself refers to the noun it modifies (definition from Payne 1997: 328). Therefore, when \text{-sa} is used in a headless RC, the English translations below express the implied head noun by the word \text{place}. Many headless uses of \text{-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 \text{zak-sa} ‘place to put something, storage’, \text{do-sa} ‘place to stay, dwelling’, \text{zu:-sa} ‘place to stay, dwelling (hon.)’, \text{dzim-sa} ‘place to sleep, bedroom (hon.)’, \text{ki-sa} ‘place of birth’. For examples of headless RC with \text{-sa}, consider (13.56-58).

(13.56) \( \text{p'um=teiʔ p'ja-ti p'iruʔ [ka tʰop-sa]} \)
\( \text{girl=INDF do-NF at.night who find-NMLZ.SPAT go-INF NEG-be.good} \)
‘Being a girl, it is not good to go at night [to the place of anyone one finds].’ (Richhi 119)
‘If one lives far away [in a place where there is no roaming of either people or dogs]...’ (nga’i ‘gan 5)

‘I came to [the place (that is) called Wok] and...’ (KT life story)

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 x-ed’ or ‘the (full) extent of x-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).

The RC formed with -tsʰɛʔ may be followed by additional quantifying modifiers, the most typical of which, based on examples (13.60) and (13.61), is ḷə pu tʰam-tseʔ ‘totally all’.

13.3 Correlative clauses

Correlative clauses consist of two clauses with a common argument marked in the first clause by a question word and in the second clause by a coreferential resumptive demonstrative. The interrogative pronoun occurs in a truly question-like construction, but the presence of the resumptive demonstrative in the following clause distinguishes correlative clauses from indirect question clauses. The term correlative (or co-relative) refers to the clauses being “essentially coordinated, rather than one being embedded within the other” (Dixon 2010b: 356). The first clause in each of the examples (13.62-65) could occur as an independent
question. The question word in the following examples is given in bold and the presumptive
pronoun is underlined.

(13.62) ལ་སྔོན་མ་གར་ཡོད་པྔོ་འདེ་ར་བཞག་དགྔོས།
[t’a jema k’ar jø̀-po] [ôde=ra zak go?]
now earlier what EX-2INF like.that=AEMP set be.necessary
‘Whatever was before, has to be preserved like that.’ (CY interview)

(13.63) ཤི་ɲɛ̃́ ma k’ar jø̀-po=
[t’a tʽiŋz ãː]
that time what EX-2INF=
‘However many are made, that’s not enough.’ (DR discussion with KL)

(13.64) དེ་ནེ་བྔོ་ཅྔོྱ༹འི་ཕམ་ཅྱུ༹༹་ཀ་ཀ་ལྔོ་གདན་ཞུ་དགྔོས་པྔོ་འདི་ཅྱུ༹༹འི་མཆྱ༹ན་ཐྔོ་ཅིག་ལྔོ།
[t’en p’otsøː p’am=tsu ka-ka’lo dencu go:-po]
then child,GEN parent=PL who-RDP=DAT invite be.necessary-2INF
ôdi=tsu=i ts’en-t’o=teiʔ zo lo.
that=PL=GEN name,HON-list=INDF make TAG,O
‘Then make a name-list of all those parents of the children who need to be invited,
okay.’ (Richhi 42)

(13.65) བཟྔོ་ལྔོ།
[ôdi gə: k’an jø̀-po=[di] t’a t’iŋzã: minduʔ.]
that time what EX-2INF=DEMPH now nowadays NEG.EX.SEN
‘What was (there) at that time, is not (there) nowadays.’ (CY interview)

As suggested by the brackets, the demonstrative-emphatic =di in (13.65) behaves somewhat differently from the other demonstratives in that it belongs phonologically to the first clause but syntactically to the latter clause, where it functions as the resumptive demonstrative. If =di is dropped, (13.65) becomes formally an interrogative clause that functions as a clausal complement. Those clauses where the resumptive demonstrative is 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 -ɛʔ 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 \( t'\text{im} \) ‘law’ in (13.66) is not an argument in the complement clause \( l\text{âte}a=j\text{à}: \ p'\text{inee? mè}:-\text{po}: \) ‘(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.

\( \text{(13.66)} \)
\[
\text{\[l\text{âte}a=j\text{à}: \ p'\text{inee? mè}:-\text{po}: \]} \quad t'\text{im} \quad \text{\text{öd}em=tei? zo-\text{tiki} \quad \text{öd}em \text{ki}\text{du}?}
\]
\text{wages=too give-INF EX-2INF.GEN law such=INDF make-NF such suffering}
\text{\( du: \ t\text{à}:-\text{bo} \ \text{i}:. \)}
\text{misery send-2INF EQU.PER}
\text{‘(They) even made such a \text{rule} [that even wages are not to be given] and (thus) caused such pain and suffering.’ (KN, CY interview)}

\( \text{(13.67)} \)
\[
k'\text{u} \quad [t\text{\text{ö}m-bo:]. \quad \text{\text{t}e}':? \quad p'ja-zin \quad j\text{o}-\text{po} \quad \text{be}?.
\]
\text{3SGM exit-2INF.GEN means do-PROG EX-2INF EQU.NE}
\text{‘He was searching a \text{way} [of getting out].’ (KT animal story)}

\( \text{(13.68)} \)
\[
l\text{âla} = \text{lo} \quad [\text{n\text{á}ko \ l\text{ò} \ s\text{ú}m \ kjap-}:.] \quad \text{l\text{ò}gju} \quad \text{j\text{o}:-\text{po} \quad \text{be}?.
\]
\text{some=DAT \text{son-in-law} year three do-2INF.GEN \text{story EX-2INF EQU.NE}}
\text{‘Some have a \text{story} [that the \text{son-in-law} does three years (of work service with in-laws)].’ (SGD wedding customs)}

\( \text{(13.69)} \)
\[
y'\text{à} \quad [\text{\text{di}: \ ts\text{\text{a}=le} \ \text{tiru}? \quad k\text{\text{à}=dotei}? \quad \text{nà \ l\text{èm-bo}:}.] \quad t'\text{ap} \quad p'ja\text{-ee}
\]
\text{1SG this.GEN at=ABL \text{rupee} some \text{1SG take-2INF.GEN means do-INF \( \text{i}:=s. \)}
\text{EQU.PER=QUO}
\text{‘I’ll find a \text{means} [to take from this one a few rupees], he said.’ (PAD bet story)}

\( \text{(13.70)} \)
\[
[k'\text{hi} \quad \text{\text{t}u \ \text{\text{t}u}=\text{lo} \ \text{hap-}:}.] \quad \text{t\text{è}:? \quad ke?}
\]
\text{dog \text{woof} \text{woof}=DAT bark-2INF.GEN sound}
\text{‘the \text{sound} [of a dog barking woof woof]’ (Richhi 1)}
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)  ’Then at the time [(that she) looked (at it)], she was amazed.’ (PAD Tashiding story)

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 lep lōː mēː-po karma tsa=le Ȝ ţ ŭ-po:) within the complement clause.

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 mēne ‘not perhaps’, a grammaticalized conditional form of a negated equative. By using mēne, the content of the hope is expressed with an air of negation, i.e. ‘a hope that Karma comes’ becomes in form more like ‘a hope that Karma would not perhaps come’.
13.4.2 Nominalization with -ce?
Noun complement clauses may also be formed by genitive-marked -ce-infinitive clauses, although these type of clauses are less frequent than those nominalized by -po/bo.

(13.80)  lĕnge?  [kʼan pʼja-u  nā:-ce=ki]  ga:tsʼo:  jè-po?
PRN.HON  what do-2INF  do.HON-INF=GEN  liking  EX-2INF
‘What would you like to do?’ Lit. ‘You have enjoyment [of doing what]?’ (TB e)

(13.81)  [rā:=lo  mēm-bo  tʼa  zen=lo  pĕn  mi-kjap-ce=ki]  tʼamtea
2SG.M=DAT  except  now  another=DAT  marriage  NEG-do-INF=GEN  promise
‘promise [to now not to marry anyone else except you]’ (Richhi 143)

(13.82)  kʼon=gi  nāte=lo  lĕm-pʼja  [ro:ram  pʼy:-ce=ki]  kalop  kalop
3SG.HON=AGT  IPL=DAT  good-ADVZR  help  offer-INF=GEN  advice  advice
give.HON-PST
‘He gave us well advice (and) advice [which helped].’ (or ‘[helpful] advice’, or ‘advice [in order to help]) (NAB BLA 7)

(13.83)  måte=kʼe:=gi  jō:=di  [sām tso,  təho.p=tsu=lo  eʻaptei  eĭ-ce=ki]
cook=GEN  work=DEMPH  food  prepare  monk=PL=DAT  service  do.HUM-INF=GEN
‘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 -kʼe:, 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.
Postpositions may take three types of complement clauses. The first is:

-aspectual choices for these types of clauses are the same as those given for RCs in Table 13.2. Table 13.3 lists some postpositions that can take a nominalized and genitivized clause as a complement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nênlê, pênlô</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giabô, giablo</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nângô, nânglo, nângca</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ônlo, t’ônle, t’ondale, t’ondalo</td>
<td>‘for the purpose of’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kor, korle, korlo</td>
<td>‘about’</td>
<td></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) [dendza:=lo man-dzom-bo.] pênle=di
Sikkim=DAT NEG-come.HON-2INF.GEN before=DEMPH
‘before [coming to Sikkim]...’ (KLT Bhumchu video)

(13.89) [námteo? t'o:-ts'a:-wo:] giable
ear hear-CMPL/finish-2INF after
‘after [having heard with ears]...’ (KL BLA 12)

(13.90) [k'jo? kjap-ti do:-do-po:] nân=le ts'edê:
that AGT chatting do-NF sit-RDP-2INF.GEN inside=ABL considerable
be.late-CMPL
‘Thus, as [(they) sit (and sit) chatting] it becomes quite late.’ (lit. ‘within sitting’) (Richhi 110)

(13.91) a) [t'amte=ki rite'i kâ:-bo.] t'ônlo
all=GEN hope fill-2INF.GEN for.purpose.of
‘In order [to fulfil the hope of all]...’ (Richhi 75-76)

b) [tam t'amta? ni:, t'amta? ni:=tei? nà k'utea lengo?
however=still word tight two tight two=INDF 1SG 2PL PRN.HON
ts'okpo sà:py:=gi kumdy:=lo man-zak-o:] t'ôn=lo
association new.GEN=GEN in.front.of=DAT NEG-set-2INF.GEN purpose=DAT
ma-ts'a-po dem=tei? ts'o:-ze.
NEG-be.able.to-2INF such=INDF feel-PST
‘Yet, however, I felt like someone who is not able to [withhold (myself) from
presenting a few concise words in the presence of you, the new association.]’ (lit.
‘Yet, however, I felt like someone who is not able for the purpose of [not
presenting a few concise words in the presence of you, the new association.]’) (NT BLA 7)

(13.92) a) [nà: ts'a-po.]
kor
I AGT be.able.to-2INF.GEN about
‘about [what I am able (to do)]’ (Richhi 36)

---

400 The fact that ts'a(ː) is nominalized shows that Denjongke grammar treats ts'a(ː) in this construction like a secondary verb meaning ‘finish’ rather than as a fully grammaticalized completive marker.
As shown by the progressive form in (13.92b), the nominalized verbal construction may be complex.

13.5.2 Bare *-ee*-infinitive
The postposition complement clause may also be a non-nominalized infinitive clause marked by *-ee*:

(13.93) ་བོད་ལྟེག་ གྲང་སྟེ་ ཁྲོང་གི་ འཛམ་གིང་ ནང་ཤ་ལྔོ་ རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་ འཁྔོར་གཡོག་གི་ སྔོབམ་ཙུ་ཀི་ ནང་བཞིན་ ཡོད་པའི་ སྐྔོར་ལྔོ་ ཐམས་ཅད་ཀིས་

འདི་ལས་ འཁབ་དཔྔོན་ དང་ འཁབ་དཔྔོནམ་ ཀ་ཀ་ལྔོ་ གསེས་ དགྔོས་

‘All are probably hearing about [(the fact) that his servants, disciples are doing miracles in the world].’ (KT life story)
'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 *-kʰɛː*. 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 *-kʰɛː*, *-po/bo*, and *-sa* were seen to occur in headed RCs and two of them, *-kʰɛː* and *-sa*, also in headless RCs. The nominalizer *-kʰɛː* 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

| 1) II infinitive marker -po/bo (§14.1.1) |
| 2) I infinitive marker -ɕɛʔ (§14.1.2) |
| 3) progressive marker -tɕɛ̃/ʑɛ̃/ʑin (§14.1.3) |
| 4) postposition kor ‘about’ heading a postposition complement clause (§14.1.4) |

Headless relative clauses marked by -kʰɛ̃: and -sa resemble complement clauses, but because headless clauses with -kʰɛ̃: and -sa imply a referent that is modified (person who does with -kʰɛ̃:, and place where something is done with -sa), they are categorized as relative clauses, see §13. The infinitives in Table 14.1 may occur with or without demonstrative-emphatic =di. Infinitival complement clauses typically occur as copula subjects. The four types of complement clause are described in the following subsections in the same order they occur in Table 14.1.

14.1.1 Complement clauses with -po-infinitive

In my data, complement clauses marked by -po-infinitive occur as the copula subject or the copula complement of change-of-state verbs and copulas, or as the P argument of other types of verbs listed in Table 14.2 (where “collocate” means “in my data typically co-occurs”). The verbs listed in Table 14.2 do not include the honorific equivalents of certain verbs (ziː རྒྱུད ‘see [hon.]’, sɛn རྗེ ‘hear [hon.]’, dzɛː རོག་‘meet [hon]’). Although I do not have examples of the honorific verbs, it is safe to assume that that they behave analogously to the ordinary verbs.
Table 14.2. Verb types receiving a complement clause with -po/bo

| a) Being: | ɪ̃́ː ཨིན་, ɛʔ སད་ (equative), jɔ̀ ཡྔོད་, duʔ འདུག་ (existential); collocate with all types of verbs; structurally receive a complement clause, but functionally the combination marks tense/aspect/modality |
| b) Change of state: | tʰon ཐྔོན་ ‘come out, become, happen’, te’uŋ བྱུང་ ‘become’, zo ཁུ ‘make (into)’, ɪ̃́ː ཨིན་ ‘be (equ.)’ jø̀ ཡྔོད་ ‘be (ex.)’; collocate with go:po [be.needed-2INF] and tsʰu-po [be.able.to-2INF] |
| c) Perception: | tʰõː མཐྔོང་ ‘see’, tʰoː ཐྔོས་ ‘hear’; collocate with all types of verbs |
| d) Mental activity: | hako ར་གྔོ་ ‘know, understand’, ʈ ’ɛnsin དྲན་ཟིན་ ‘remember’, nóː འམྺ ‘think’; hako and t’ensin collocate with all types of verbs, nóː collocates with goːpo བྔོ་ [be.needed-2INF] |
| e) Meeting: | pʰ ɛʔ མེད། ‘meet’, tʰuk ཐུག་ ‘touch, meet, face’; pʰ ɛʔ collocates with jø̀ ཡྔོད་ ‘be (ex.)’, tʰuk collocates with go:po བྔོ་ [be.needed-2INF] |
| f) Speaking and writing: | t’i ར ‘write’, cɛʔ འདྨ ‘tell’; collocate with go:po [be.needed-2INF] |

As seen in the list above, the verb goʔ ‘be needed’ occurs frequently as the verb which is heading the complement clause. The complement clauses with the various types of verbs are now exemplified in the same order they occur in the list above.

Verbs of being

(14.1)  a) ན་ ར་ འགིལ་བྔོ། ཨིན/སྦད།

| yà | ɟi:-bo | ɪ̃̃/beʔ. |
| 1SG | fall-2INF | EQU.PER/EQU.NE |

‘I fell.’ (KN e)

b) ད་རིང་ ཟང་སྟེ་ ང་ཅག་ ག་རེ་ ཞུ་བ་ བཅར་བྔོ། མེད།

| tʽariŋ | sàːte | nāːtɛːrd k’are | eù-wa | tea:-bo | mèʔ. |
| today | until | 1PL | anything | ask-PUR | come,HUM-2INF | NEG.EX.PER |

‘Until today we haven’t come to ask for anything.’ (KN e)

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 goʔ without the nominalizer, e.g. p’ja goʔ nó [do be.needed think] ‘think that one has to do’.
402 Covers concrete (pʰʔ?) and metaphorical (tʰuk) meeting.
(14.2) a) a bit mouth speak be.able.to-2INF become stay EX.SEN
‘He has become [able to talk a bit].’ (Richhi 23)

b) however 3SGM anger=DEMPH suppress-NF stay be.needed-2INF
become-2INF EQU.NE
‘However, he became [obliged to keep his anger suppressed].’ (Class 7 textbook 61)

c) but this=LOC thought.HON have.HON-RDP-2INF like.it become
NEG-be.able.to
‘But it could not turn out [as (good as he had) thought].’ (CY interview)

d) so then reform how do-NF PL.GEN marriage do-RDP-2INF girl=PL=AGT
‘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) ‘If this speech will become [such that the fairy can hear it…]’ (rna-gsung 12)

Verbs of perception
(14.3) a) sugar.cane peel-PROG eat-PROG EX-2INF see-2INF EQU.NE
‘(He) saw [him] [peeling and eating sugarcane].’ (KTL animal story)

b) 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) གང་ཉིད་ཀི་བོད་ལྔ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞབས་་ཁོ་བོ་ཐོབ་པའི་ཤོས་པོ་

\[\text{nàt \ pʰamo kude: } \text{di=} \text{tsu=} \text{gi ódep ka nâ:-bo} \text{ tʰo:-po} \]

1PL.GEN parents elder this=PL=AGT like that order do.HON-2INF hear-2INF

\text{EQU.PER}

‘I heard [these parents and elders of ours say like that].’ (CY interview)

**Verbs of mental activity**

(14.4)  

a) ཀྲ་སྙིང་ཁྱོན་བཞིན་དུ་དུ་

\[\text{äm lôk [e-p-o] hako-ti} \]

mother return arrive-2INF know-NF

‘finding out [that the mother has returned]’ (Richhi 32)

b) མྱིག་ཆོས་སིད་མཐའ་ཅིག་གྱོས་རྐྱབས་རྐྱབས་པོ་

\[\text{tʰoː} \text{ki: pʰam} \text{kû=di} \text{tʰø}=\text{kù} \text{tʰam} \text{tì} \]

PN with chatting do-RDP-2INF all remember

‘(He) remembers [all the discussions with Choki]’ (Richhi 116)

c) ཆོས་ཀི་བོད་ལྔ་མཇི་ཤེས་སྐུ་བགེས་ཕྲད་བེད་

\[\text{tʰoː} \text{ki: pʰam} \text{kû=di} \text{tʰø}=\text{kù} \text{tʰam} \text{tì} \]

PN with chatting do-RDP-2INF all remember

‘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) ཀྲ་སྙིང་ཁྱོན་བཞིན་དུ་དུ་

\[\text{odí tsʰoka [kantei t=t: ladzi? tsʰonkʰà=le teini } \text{nò: bak-ti} \]

that time PN and PN market=ABL sugar(Nep.) buy carry-NF

\[\text{lôk-tì: } \text{jø-po} \text{ pʰe?} \]

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 \[\text{kantei t=t: ladzi? tsʰonkʰà=le teini } \text{nò: bak-ti} \text{lôk-tì: } \text{jø-po} \text{ pʰe?} \]. 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 \text{pʰe?} ‘meet’ is typically, although not exclusively, marked with the dative-locative =lo or postposition \text{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).
‘In the midst of keeping on hoping, he is faced with [having to be disappointed].’ (Richhi 116)

Verbs of writing and speaking (14.6)  

(14.6) a) [mën k’an k’an pò: go:-po] t’orà: t’ì p’in ò.:  
medicine what what buy be.needed-2INF tomorrow write give FUT.UNC  
‘Tomorrow (I) will write for you [what medicines need to be bought].’ (Richhi 29)

b) [mí t’à:pu lèp t’à:pu go:-po] làp-kʰi: t’onda? òdi  
human honest very.much honest be.needed-2INF say-NMLZ reason that be=co.  
EQU.NE=AT  
‘The reason for saying [the person has to be honest, very honest] is that.’ (SGD wedding customs)

Clauses marked by -po-infinitive are also used as arguments in copular clauses of quantification (14.7), attribution (14.8) and existence (14.9). As suggested by the examples below, the nominalized verb is typically goʔ ‘be needed’.

(14.7) [kʰu=lo go:-po=rà:] ódi-tsʰo? ì.:  
3SGM=DAT be.needed-2INF =AEMPH that-as.much.as EQU.PER  
‘[What he needs] is that much.’ (Richhi 102)

plan send be.needed-2INF =DEMPH important EQU.PER-2INF 1PL=AGT  
hako be?.  
understand EQU.NE  
‘We understand [that it is important [that (we) have to do planning].’ (sbar-phung 92-93)

(14.9) [k’a=lo ta-ti dzu: go:-po t’à: ñò tsʰa go:-po]  
who=DAT look-NF fear be.needed-2INF and face be.hot be.needed-2INF mè?.  
NEG.EX.PER  
‘There isn’t [necessity to look at someone and feel afraid or ashamed].’ (Richhi 129)
Finally, nominalized goʔ ‘be needed’ collocates with kʼɛ:tɕʰi in a construction which may be characterized either as verbless attribution or a verbal use of the adjective kʼɛ:tɕʰi ‘important’:

(14.10) tʰuriʔ nāː goː-ːpo kʼɛ.tɕʰi.

‘Applying insight] is important.’ (sbar-phung 90)

14.1.2 Complement clauses with -ɛɛ-infinite
A complement clause may also be formed by an infinitive marked by -ɛɛʔ. An infinitive marked by -ɛɛʔ, which typically refers to an action in a more abstract way than -po/bo, occurs at least as the copula subject (14.11) and as a patient of the verb pʼja ‘do’ (14.12).


‘(It) is very bad [that the mother tongue disappears].’ (YR canteen video)

b) tɕiː=ki zen=lo pʰɛmpo pʼja-ɛɛʔ] gewoː jöʔ i.

‘[Helping one another] is a meritorious act.’ (Richhi 5)

(14.12) a) pʰate tsʰute pʼin-ɛɛʔ] pʼja-ge.

‘Let us do [giving mutually (to each other)].’ (PD bet story)

b) diː tʼon=lo nāː [ʈʰimkʰãː nāŋ=lo gju goː-ɛɛʔ] pʼja-do i.

‘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 -tɕʰ/ʑɛː/zin
The progressive form of the verb can act as a complement of sensory verbs.


‘It is visible (to me) [that there are people chatting over there].’ (KN e)

14.1.4 Postposition clause with kor ‘about’ as a clausal complement
The postposition kor ‘about’ together with its complement clause may functions as a clausal complement:
14.2 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) འྤ་རྒྱལ་ ཤར་ སྐུ་ དྲུ་ རྣམ་ བྱེ་ ཤུ་ རྣམ་ བྱེ་ རྣམ་ བྱེ་ རྣམ་ བྱེ

\[ t\text{'a}t\text{o} ñaːte kʰoː=gi \text{dzam}liŋ nāc=lo dzuq=ul kʰoːjoː=ki \]

now until 3SG.HON=AGT world inside=DAT miracles servant=AGT

lō:m=t’su=gi nāːzin jò-po: korlo \[ t’amte=ki sén-zin \]

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) ཡབ་ དགོས་ ཚྦེ་ སྐུ་ ཤུ་ རྣམ་ བྱེ

\[ lú=t’siʔ t’i goʔ] nóː-ti \]

song=INDF write be.needed think-NF

‘Thinking [(that I) have to write a song]...’ (nga’i ’gan 11)

(14.17) ཞུ་ དགོས་ ཚོས་ ལག་ རྔོས།

\[ k’alyː-p’ja zaʔ] ma-eéː-po? \]

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) འྦ་ ཤུ་ རྣམ་ བྱེ

\[ òm-bo ná] ma-tbôː. \]

come-2INF EQU.PER.PQ NEG-see

‘I did not see [whether he came].’ (DB’ wife, oh)
(14.19) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཏེ་ལེབ་ མནྔོ་ནེ་
[den-gam min-den-gam] te lêp nö:-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) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཏེ་ལེབ་ མནྔོ་ནེ་
[mí: sEMPL=kàn k’an jò?] 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) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཏེ་ལེབ་ མནྔོ་ནེ་
[tʰinle k’an sô:-bo] ka=gi hako?
Thrinley where go.PFV-2INF who=AGT know
‘Who knows [where Thrinley has gone]?’ (Richhi 6)

(14.22) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཏེ་ལེབ་ མནྔོ་ནེ་
innerds GEN DAT what EX-2INF bind-NF set NEG-be.good=REP
‘It’s not good to bind and store [what is inside], it’s said.’ (Richhi 143)

Note that (14.20-22) resemble correlative clauses in that they, like correlative clauses, have a question word in the first clause (see §13.3). The difference, however, is that the complement clauses are not followed by a resumptive demonstrative in the main clause.

Both the declarative and interrogative examples of complement clauses without a complementizer are rather short, suggesting that complement clauses without a complementizer may on average be shorter than those with a complementizer. The presence of a complementizer naturally aids in processing the clause and thus could allow longer complements.

14.2.2 Finite complement clauses with complementizer
The main complementizers are =sɛ and làp(ti), which both derive from verbs of saying (see §14.2.2.1). The more marginal complementizer ki is loan from Nepali (see §14.2.2.2).

14.2.2.1 Complementizers =sɛ and làp(ti)
The complementizers =sɛ/s(i) and làp(ti)\(^{404}\) can occur independently or as a combination =sɛ làp(ti). Finite complement clauses with a complementizer occur especially with verbs of speaking, writing, thinking and knowing.

(14.23) བདེན་གམ་ མིན་བདེན་གམ་ ཏེ་ལེབ་ མནྔོ་ནེ་
[lòk-ti te’on-do ʰ=] ma-sùm-ba
return-NF come.HON-IPFV EQU.PER=QUO NEG-say.HON-CIRC
te ʰom-bo be?.
go.HON-2INF EQU.PER
‘(He) left without saying [that he is coming back].’ (Richhi 98)

\(^{404}\) The nonfinal converbal form làp-ti 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 ĩ̃́ː) 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.

'(He) asked her [whether (she) had warmed water], so the story goes.' (RS driver joke)
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.\(^{405}\) Therefore what follows in the next clause is not in the same way required by the syntax as with embedded complement clauses in (14.27-29). It is noteworthy that this construction occurs several times in the novel Richhi, suggesting some degree of acceptability/standardization of ending a sentence with a complementizer if a coreferential filler-word occurs in the main clause. Now consider (14.30), where the coreferential filler-word is represented by *it* in the English translation. The word in the main clause that replaces the moved complement clause is underlined.

In (14.30), the main clause *mù=lo k’ande: làp-ee 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).

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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 are 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 ritei ‘hope’. The first involves a finite clause with the complementizer làp-ti whereas the second uses a non-finite strategy, genitivized -po-infinitive.

\textit{come=QUO say-NF} ‘Choki hopes every day [that a letter would come from Karma].’ (Richhi 138)

(14.34) \textit{t’a nà=ni [agi̲a rà: námtei? p’e? t’op-ô:] ritei
\textit{now 1SG=TOP elder.brother 2SG.M with meet receive-2INF.GEN hope mè?.
\textit{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 Complementizer \textit{ki} (loan from Nepali)
The Nepali complementizer \textit{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) tsʰerig=gi làp-o be? \textit{[ki kʰu: nàmlo ò: mi-kjap].
P\textit{N=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) \textit{[nè: p’um=di=lo só tsʰu=pe? mi-tsʰu?]} ódi k’on=gi
\textit{my girl=DEMPH=DAT care be.able.to=eQU.NE NEG-be.able.to that 3PL=AGT ta-ce=ki t’onk=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) \textit{go t’approx nâtea=ki [teits’o? làp-k’en=di k’an bo]
\textit{beginning at.first 1PL=AGT community say=NMLZ=DEMPH what equ.NE.Q ódi hako go:po k’e:te:k ’i.
\textit{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 -eeʔ, the progressive marker -teʔ/ʔeʔ/ʔin and postposition korlo ‘about’. It was shown that finite complement clauses can be formed with or without a complementizer. Constructions without the complementizer occur both in the declarative and the interrogative. Complement clauses with a complementizer seem longer on average than those without the complementizer, suggesting that the presence of the complementizer aids processing and enables longer clauses. Denjongke was seen to have two main complementizers, which can be used independently or together, and a third form borrowed from Nepali. The last section introduced complement clauses with a resumptive pronoun, which differ from correlative clauses in that the resumptive demonstrative is coreferent with the whole complement clause, not one word in the complement clause (as in correlative clauses).
15 Adverbial clauses

This chapter discusses adverbial clauses. The other types of subordinate clauses are treated in §13 (constituent complement clauses, including relative clauses) and §14 (clausal complement clauses). Adverbial clauses modify the verb complex or the entire clause (Thompson et al 2007: 238). The treatment begins with an introduction in which the various constructions used in adverbial clauses are categorized according to form into four types (form-to-function ordering) (§15.1). In the actual discussion after that, the various constructions are described under functionally motivated headings (function-to-form ordering). The functional headings are the following: nonfinal clauses (§15.2), temporal clauses (§15.3), causal clauses (§15.4), purposive clauses (§15.5), conditional clauses (§15.6), concessive clauses (§15.7), circumstance and manner clauses (§15.8), additive clauses (§15.9), substitutive clauses (§15.10), comparative clauses (§15.11) and various uses of the terminative converb (§15.12).

15.1 Introduction to forms

The types of formal marking used in adverbial clauses are converb, postposition with accompanying modifying clause, noun with accompanying modifying clause and other types of marking respectively, see Tables 15.1-4. Note that the form kap (WD 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>-tú/di</th>
<th>nonfinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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>-søndãː, -sømdãː</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>-renkã</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sãː, -sonzãː</td>
<td>terminative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.2. Postpositions heading adverbial clauses

| nānjea, nānjo | ‘inside’, circumstantial   |
| t'onlo      | ‘for the purpose of’, purposive |
| giable      | ‘after’, anterior          |
| jënlé       | ‘before’, posterior        |
| nānjar, nānzin | ‘according to’, comparative manner |
| t'onzin(gi) | ‘in accordance with, in view of’, comparative manner |
| p'a:pu     | ‘in between’, simultaneous |

Table 15.3. Nouns heading adverbial clauses

| ken | ‘cause, condition’, causal |
| gâ: | ‘time’, simultaneous |
| kap | ‘time’, simultaneous |
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 -podā:, -sontā:/sōmā:, -tsubdā:, -kap, -dy: and -reŋka respectively, and the terminative converb marked by -sonzā, 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). 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 other constructions used in adverbial clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>=ki`/gi (agentive)</th>
<th>-ki/</th>
<th>causal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=le (ablative)</td>
<td>-la`</td>
<td>anterior (temporal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po-dā.406</td>
<td>-do<code>/d</code></td>
<td>2INF-CONI, simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’amjasen</td>
<td>-tson/son</td>
<td>connector ‘because’, causal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mits’e?</td>
<td>-se`</td>
<td>connector ‘in addition’ (lit. ‘not stopping’), additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēmo</td>
<td>-mo`</td>
<td>connector ‘except (+negation in the following main clause)’, negated additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōː mēːpo</td>
<td>-lo/le`</td>
<td>‘no sooner…than’, ‘as soon as’, immediate anteriority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po tsamgi</td>
<td>-do`</td>
<td>‘as soon as’, immediate anteriority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làpti</td>
<td>-dp/ta`</td>
<td>nonfinal converb of làp ‘say’, purpose and causality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛː/ʔɛː/ziʔ</td>
<td>-di/zi`</td>
<td>progressive marker, circumstance/manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.4. Other constructions used in adverbial clauses

405 This form, along with -sontā:, -sōmā: and -tsubdā: often occurs in a reduced pronunciation without nasalization on the final vowel, -podā(), -sondā(), -sōmdā() and -tsubdā(). 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 རྔོི) ‘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) བོད་ཡིག་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཡིག་དངོས་པོས་ཟེར་བོད་ཡིག

*te di: pienle 'o:pa lô-ti kʰa-la? kʲju.

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-infinitive (see §14.1.1). All the cosubordinate/subordinate clauses are marked with square brackets.

(15.2) བོད་ཡིག་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཡིག་དངོས་པོས་ཟེར་བོད་ཡིག

pʼotso tâ:ta=tei? do-pʰuŋ teŋ=lo lüm-di go=le kʰja?

child middle.size=INDF stone-pile top=DAT fall-NF head=ABL blood

tʰon-ze: jà-po tʰô:-ti ámpʰi nàŋ=le tora

come.out-PROG EX-2INF see-NF breast.pocket inside=ABL handkerchief


pick-NF handkerchief=AGT blood wipe give-PROG lap.LOC take-NF stay

jó-po: 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 Dolakha Newar). The context, which to a high degree consists of verb choice, determines the interpretation. While example (15.3) is ambiguous between anterior/consecutive (“having sat down”) and simultaneous reading (“sitting”), in the examples in (15.4-6) the simultaneous

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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 tʰuŋ-di ‘drinking’, sô:-di ‘going’, ön-di ‘coming’, riŋdi ‘becoming long’, but mĵo:-ti/mjô:-ti ‘finishing’, tʰô:-ti ‘rushing’ (see also §2.8.1).

409 For a defence for allowing converbs to mark clause-chaining (contra Haspelmath 1995), see Genetti (2005).
reading is preferable. The nonfinal converbs in (15.4-6) modify/specify the general verbs gju ‘go’ and ta ‘look’ by specifying manners of going and looking.

(15.3) laki? tʰa:sa giaʔi:  ten=lo do:-ti te’a tʰur-zen du?.
PN flat.place chair GEN top=DAT sit=NF tea drink=PROG EX SEN
‘Sitting on a chair in a flat place Lhaki drinks tea.’/‘Having sat down on a chair in a flat place, Lhaki is drinking tea.’ (Richhi 60)

(15.4) pʰaːtsʰuː mìk gir-di ta-sà:
thither-hither eye stare=NF look=TERM
‘When/as (she) looks intently here and there....’ (Richhi 98)410

(15.5) yà=lo=to tʰo:-ruŋ ma-tʰo:-po dem zu:-di gju:
1SG=DAT=CEMPI see=CONC NEG-see-2INF 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) mɛ̃kʰãː=na kʰik-ti gju-ne
hospital=LOC lead=NF go=COND
‘If (he) is taken to the hospital...’ (rnam-rtog 7)

b) te ődetsika t’a námo di=tsu t’o? bak-ti gju-wa:=gi,
then that.time now camel these=PL load carry=NF go=2INF GEN=GEN
gju-ce=ki t’ytsʰo? lep-ta-kʰen 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 converb, rather than joining two clauses, functionally forms a complex predicate with the main verb. These types of constructions, in which the latter verb is typically a verb of motion, have given rise to serial verb constructions by dropping the converbal marker. The clauses in (15.6) exemplify such forms where the converbal ending could be dropped, kʰik-ti gju > kʰik gju ‘bring (a human or a large animal)’, bak-ti gju > bak gju ‘take away (a thing)’. For more details on serial verbs, see §4.2.3.

When the converb marked by -ti/di is used, the actor of the converbal clause and the main clause are usually the same. Indeed, by using the nonfinal converb, the speaker typically indicates that the following verb has the same actor as the converbal clause. In contexts where the actor switches, one of the simultaneous constructions is typically used (see §15.3.3).

410 The construction ta=sà: 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 Dzongka (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) འདི་ཁར་ སེབས་སྟི་ སྟི་ལམ་ ཟླ་བྔོ་ བརྒྱད་ཚོད་ ལང་ཏྔོ་ ཨ་རྒྱ།

ódi-p’ja kʰu k’jö:=na lá: tsʰo: bak tsʰo: bak só:-di
that-ADVZR 3SGM village=LOC bull search carry search carry go.PFV-NF
k’jö: tei:=na lá: teʰa teiʔ tʰop-ti lá:=di dzo:=di
village one=LOC bull pair one find-NF bull=DEMPH price=DEMPH
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) ᐃིཀ་ ལེ་གོ དུང་ སྟི་ རྱུ་ སྨོན་ ན་ ནུ་ མུ་ ་

díka lcʰ-ti halam dau ge-ːtsʰoʔ lá:-to ágja.
here arrive-NF about month eight-some reach-IPFV elder.brother
‘It’s about some eight months since I arrived here, brother.’ (Richhi 12)

In spoken language, -ti/di is often accompanied by the marker -ki/gi, which looks like a genitive or an agentive, see (15.9). This form almost never occurs in written language, although the novel Richhi has one instance written ḥ -ki (བཤད་སྟི བཤད་-ki) [ceti] ‘saying’), suggesting that the author considers the marker a genitive (བཤད་ -ki) rather than an agentive (བཤད་-ki).

(15.9) ཐིབ་ བཤད་ སྟི་ རྱུ་ སྨོན་ ན་ ནུ་ མུ་ ་
kʰu=gi ódi lá:=di=lo tóːʔa? kʰ: teiʔ ni: p’in-diki kʰu
3SGM=AGT that bull=DEMPH=DAT thousand score one two give-NF 3SGM
lá:=di nöː-ı tʰiʔ 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) སྤྱ་ འོ་ བཤད་ སྟི་ རྱུ་ སྨོན་ ན་ ནུ་ མུ་ ་
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{-pa).

(15.11) a) sehjam, te{o? minto? tse: man-zak-o p'ja-ti dzip-k'ê: i.
bumble.beet 2SG.I 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) kə'asterya b'at'isga sb'isga ti'isga dê'isga kə'asterya b'at'isga sb'isga

(15.12) raŋ=gi ke:=di tẹta? jö-ti raŋ-gi ke? kjap-ce
self=GEN language=DEMPH loveable EX-NF self=GEN language strike-INF
be?.
EQU.NE
‘(One’s) own language being lovable, (he) speaks (his) own language.’ (YR canteen video)

(15.13) t’a di=le in-di p’ja-run t’a:r'omoni:=lo dzambuliŋ
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)

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411 I have one recorded exception, see mi-ts'ê-tiki in example (12.22). Moreover, consultant KN commented that he has heard some people use forms mi-kjap{-ti(ki) or ma-kjap{-ti(ki) but he considers them incorrect forms.

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 gjablɛ ‘after’ or dʑɛː(lo) ‘after’ (§15.3.1.2). In addition, two construction (VERB-lo: mɛ:-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.

(15.14) ཐམ་ གྔོངས་པྔོ་ལས་ ང་ཅག་ ཁིམ་ན་ སྔོད་ཤད་ བཏང་ཆྱར། དེ་དེས་འདུན་

‘After mum died, we stopped living in (our) house.’ (Richhi 133)

(15.15) ཡང་ཐོ་མ་ ཡོང་ཐུམ་ རྐྱབས་ཚར་ལས་ སྟག་ འདི་ བྱར་ལས་ འོ། །

‘As a result of (him) having given a kick from above, the tiger fell off the cliff and died.’ (KT animal story)

(15.16) ཅང་ གི་ མིའི་ ལུས་ ལེན་སི་ འྔོང་ཚར་བྔོ་ལས་ གཅིག་གིས་ གཞན་ལྔོ་ བྲན་བྔོའི་

‘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=lɛ, -tsub=lɛ, -tsʰɔː=lɛ and -soː=lɛ. The last two are phonologically
conditioned variants given by the same speaker. The form -tsub=ле was said by a consultant to be a reduced form of tsʰa-u=ле (< tsʰa-wo=ле). For examples, consider (15.17-19). The form -tsub=ле 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) གཏར་ཀུ་ལས་ཀུན་ལྔོ་ནེ་ཁྲིམ་པོ་ན་( KT discussion with TB)

The forms -tsʰoːle, see (15.20), and -soːle, 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. tsʰa--soː=le ‘after completing’, tea-:soː=le ‘after coming’), whereas the fuller form -tsʰoːle occurred otherwise (e.g. mjɔː-:tsʰoː=le ‘after finishing’, ɖi-: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) གཏར་ཀུ་ལས་ཀུན་ལྔོ་ནེ་ཁྲིམ་པོ་ན་( SGD wedding customs)

⁴¹³ Consultant RS has -soːle also with initial aspirated lateral /l/, e.g. lɛp-soː=le (RS) vs. lɛp-tsʰoː=le ‘after arriving’ (SGD).
15.3.1.2 Anteriority with the postpositions *gjablo* ‘after’ and *dʑɛː(lo)* ‘after’

Anterior constructions are also formed by attaching the postposition *gjablo*/*gjablo* ‘after’ or *dʑɛː(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 *mjõː* ‘finish’. Note that in (15.23) the nominalizer attaches to the completive marker -*tsʰaː*.

(15.22)

*References: Sikkim Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim* in *lesson* read *finish* -2 INF. after *library* shrine inside *word* do-PROG-2INF-ADVZR live-2INF EQUIPER

‘Then, [after finishing studies at the the (Buddhist) institute,] I lived working at a Buddhist library in Gangtok.’ (RB life story)

(15.23)

*References: Sikkim Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim* in *lesson* tell *finish* -2 INF. after *library* shrine inside *word* do-PROG-2INF-ADVZR live-2INF EQUIPER

‘[After finishing prayer,] the two of them accumulate monastery circumambulations.’ (Richhi 2)

(15.24)

*References: Sikkim Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim* in *lesson* tell-NF *finish* go. PFV. NMLZ (?) after

‘[After finishing (his) teaching]…’ or ‘He finished teaching. Afterwards…’ (TB boat story)

Note that the verb in (15.24) is not genitivized. The formative -*sum*, which typically occurs in the simultaneous construction -*sumdāː* (see §15.3.3.2) is here used as the sole verbal marker. Consultant KN commented that *gjablo* here is probably rather a clause initial adverb (see the second translation option) than an anteriority marking relator noun.

The postposition *dʑɛː*(lo) ‘after’ is used by some speakers alongside *gjablo*. According to some speakers *dʑɛː*(lo) is more Central Tibetan than Denjongke.

(15.25)

*References: Sikkim Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim* in *considerable* time go. PFV-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 lõː mèːpo, consisting of the modal secondary verb lõː ‘have time 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 ཤམ་ 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.
15.3.2 Posterior clauses with postposition *ɲenle* ‘before’

Posterior constructions with the postposition *ɲenle* (also *ɲenlo* and *henle*) ‘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 *ɲenle* 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*).

(15.31) [dzâːdar go tsuk-ə: *ɲenlo*] laki=ki ro:=tsu=lo
‘Before beginning the training,’ Lhaki (says) to the friends:’ (Richhi 64)

(15.32) [t’izâː lû *nêm-bo: *ɲenlo*] teʰː=lo tam=tei? lâp-a
‘[But before listening to (your) song], I have come to tell you a message, Gyaltshen.’
(nga’i ‘gan 24)

(15.33) [muː jigi eik-ti dôk-ə: *ɲenlo*] tʰopʰː teŋk’a tsʰa:
‘[Before she opens and reads the letter], (she) touches (her) forehead three times (with the letter).’
(Richhi 141)

When the event in the main clause has already taken place, the posterior clause is negated, see (15.34) and (15.35). The negated verb may occur non-nominalized (15.34) or nominalized (15.35-36).

(15.34) [pol *ɲen* ma-kjap *ɲenle*] nèː ám=di t’ôː-tsʰaː.
‘[Before Paul married], my mother died.’ (DB life story)
(15.35) ꦍི་ བ་ཀིས་ མན་གོངས་པོའི་ སྔོན་ལོ་ གསུང་བོ་ གནང་སི

\[ \text{1SG.GEN father=AGT NEG-die.HON-2INF.GEN before say.HON-2INF} \]

\[ \text{nā-} \text{di} \text{za: } \text{jā} \text{.PER} \]

‘My father said (so) [before he died].’ (Richhi 116)

(15.36) འབྲས་ལོངས་ལྔོ་ མན་བོན་བའི་ སྔོན་ལས་ འདི་

\[ \text{[dɛ̃ndzo=lo } \text{man-dzom-bo: } \text{ʃ́nle=di]} \]

Sikkim=DAT NEG-come.HON-2INF.GEN before=DEMPH

‘[before coming to Sikkim]…’ (KLT Bumchu story)

As an alternative to -po-infinitive, the complement of the postposition may be a genetivized -ce-infinitive:

(15.37) འདི་ཁ་ར་ འྔོང་ཤད་ཀི་ རན་ལས་

\[ \text{[dikʰa-ra } \text{ʃ́ce=ki} \text{ henle]} \]

here=DEMPH come-INF=GEN before

‘[Before coming here]…’ (PTA kitchen discussion)

15.3.3 Simultaneous constructions
Denjongke has several constructions which imply at least partial temporal overlap between the verbs in the subordinate clause and the main clause (these are comparable to English when-clauses). The various constructions are listed in Table 15.5 and described in the following subsections.

Table 15.5. Simultaneous dependent verbal constructions

<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 tʻā: ‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-sondā:</td>
<td>sō-:bo [go.PFV-2INF] + tʻā: ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-somdā:</td>
<td>sō-:bo [go.PFV-2INF] + tʻā: ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-sumdā:</td>
<td>sō-:bo [go.PFV-2INF] + tʻā: ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-tsudā: (CY)</td>
<td>tsʰo-u [CMPL-2INF] + tʻā: ‘and’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-po: gā:</td>
<td>WT (e)šā: sgang ‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-kap</td>
<td>WT šā: skabs ‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-dyː</td>
<td>WT ō: dus ‘time, season’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-ren-kʰa</td>
<td>WT ō: ran ‘be time to’ + spatial suffix kʰa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-lō: mē:po</td>
<td>secondary verb WT ō: long ‘have time to’ + NEG.EX-2INF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-RDP pʼa:pu</td>
<td>WD šō: bar-po ‘in between, while (negated ‘while not’)’ (from WT šō: 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) ṭyat [rawa: t'om=gi átsi=tei? mòu òte te'em-bo-dā:] barfuŋ

now TPN town=GEN a.bit=INDF down down go.ION-2INF-CONJ TPN liŋdam láp-kʰː; óna k’jo:=tei? jà.-kʰen 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/dì, on the other hand, signify actor continuity.

(15.39) ʈʰik te’uṭsʰo? teu:n] [sɛ-p-o-dā:] lòk gjaṭe’n=tsu ke:po te:ta?

exactly clock.time twelve arrive-2INF-CONJ again Indian=PL many stick
ba? òn-di [lòk t’om=di=lo t’ɛŋkí tìp-tìp-o-dā:] t’om
carry come-NF again bear=DEMPH=DAT suddenly hit-RDP-2INF-CONJ bear
mòu=le dzu:ti [ke? có:-bo-dā:] mí t’amte’? 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) ãḍī=tsu t’amte’? tsa=le t’ā: ṯate’n tsa=le dom-bo-dā:] tiru?

this=PL all by=ABL and 1PL.GEN by=ABL combine-2INF-CONJ rupee
ṭò:ṭa? teu-t’amba t’on 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].

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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.’
(15.41) ཁུ་ མ་འྔོང་བྔོ་དང་ ང་ གཡྔོག་ འདི་ བྱ༹ས་ མྱ༹ྔོང་ཚར།
[kʰu m-ð.:b-dãː:] ɲà jòː=di p’ja mjôː-tsʰaː.
3SGM NEG-come-2INF-CONJ 1SG work=DEMPH do finish-CMPL
‘I finished the work [before he came]. ’ (KN e)

(15.42) ལེགས་གིས་ མ་ཚུགསདང་ ང་ གཡྔོག་ འདི་ བྱ༹ས་ མྱ༹ྔོང་ཚར།
[kʰe:ɡa=ɡi ma-tsʰuː-tsʰu-p-dãː:] strength=AGT NEG-be.able.to-RDP-2INF-CONJ
‘[when I wasn’t able to do (those things) with (my) strength]’ (CY interview)

Note that the negated simultaneous construction in (15.41) becomes, in effect, a temporal
‘before’-clause. Negated simultaneous constructions are used in many languages, which do
not have a morpheme meaning ‘before’, to express ‘before’-clauses (Thompson et al 2007: 248).

In addition to the grammaticalized temporal use, -po t’ãː also occurs in the non-temporal
conjunctive meaning:

(15.43) མ་སྔོང་དང་ འར་ འུར་གྱི་ ས།
k’joʔ kʃap-o t’ãː arùr=ɡi ɡa
chatting do-2INF and hurly-burly=GEN sound
‘the sound of chatting and hurly-burly’ (mam-tog 24)

15.3.3.2 Simultaneous converb markers -sɔndãː/-sɔmdãː/-sɔmdãː/-tsubdãː:
The use of the converbal markers -sɔndãː/-sɔmdãː/-sɔmdãː/-tsubdãː, which I have only come
across in spoken language, suggests that the converbal action is at least partly simultaneous
with the action marked by the verb in the following clause. For hypotheses of the origin of
these forms, which do not occur as such in written Denjongke, see §3.3.6.18. The four forms
are illustrated in (15.44-47). The construction is negated by the prefix ma(n)-, see (15.45).

(15.44) དྱིན་ དེའི་བྲིས་རྗེ་སེམས་དང་ དེ་ བྱང་ དེ་ ཡུལ་འདི་
[roː=di ɲu-ʑɛːː=le jàː-sɔndãː] te kʰu...
friend=DEMPH weep-PROG=ABL go-SIM so 3SGM
‘[When (his) friend goes away weeping], he... ’ (RS pupil joke)

This simultaneous construction may, depending on the context, also express reason:

(15.45) ལྱུང་ གསུམས་སེམས་དང་ དེ་ བློ་སོགས་ སྤྱི་
[lənɡ man-ɡik-sɔmdãː] t’a ɲa nàː-tiki lù-b=beʔ.
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) རྩུང་ བསྙན་ཚངས་ གི་ རྗེ་རྗེ་གཅིག
[nim c:a:-sɔmdãː] ódeː ɛi-k’en beʔ.
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 ödi p’ja-ti ‘because of that’ (lit. ‘that doing’).

(15.47) t’a ödepti [k’jap-da: lēp tā:-tsubdā:]417 te ödi p’ja-ti njatei 

now like that spreading much send-SIM so that do-NF 1PL.GEN ke? c’y:tey? ödepti nāmtε’a? sō:-bo ã. 

language a bit like that decline go.PFV-2INF EQU.PER

‘Now, [when (the Nepali language) was much promoted], for that reason our language went a bit into a decline.’ (CY interview)

The fact that -tsubdā: is in (15.47) followed by a causal construction suggest that although a causative interpretation is at times possible, the basic meaning of -tsubdā: and the related forms -sondā:/somdā:/-sumdā: is simultaneous.

15.3.3.3 Simultaneity with gā: ‘time’

The next four simultaneous constructions use an explicit word referring to time. The word gā:=(lo):418 ‘time’ is postposed to genitivized -po-infinitive to mark simultaneity, a typical noun complement construction (see §13.4). Phonetically gā: is frequently reduced to [ŋaː].

(15.48) karma [te’o:=ki p’um dem t’op-o: gā:] jēn ma-kjap-ne 

PN 2SG.1=AGT girl such receive-2INF.GEN time wedding NEG-do-COND 

k’o:po ki ã. 

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: gā: 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) [ōnaše ödi t’orā=:tai? daku=dī sō:-bo: gā:] ã. 

then that tomorrow=INDF owner=DEMPH go.PFV-2INF.GEN time that 

lā: tsubko=dī p’in t’amentei? sā:-ti lēp ã:-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 tā:-tsʰar-bo t’a: (cf. VERB-tsʰar-bo=le > VERB-tsʰub=le) or have the abilitative secondary verb tsʰu ‘be able to’, tā: tsʰu-po-dā:> tā: tsʰub-dā:. In the latter case, example (15.47) would be an instance of simultaneous construction -po-dā:, see §15.3.3.1. Strictly speaking, also -tsubdā: and -sondā:/somdā:/-sumdā: are here analyzed as phonologically reduced -po-dā: constructions of old secondary verbs tsʰar ‘finish’ and sō: ‘go.pFV’.

418 This word may also be directly postposed to demonstratives, nouns and adjectives, e.g. ödi gā:=(lo) ‘that time’, p’jab: gā: ‘when being child’, te’uṃte’uŋ gā: ‘when being small’.
The expression may be supplemented by the dative-locative (15.50) or ablative marker (15.51):

(15.50) *paː te’om-boː gaː=lo gakdza kjap-te=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) *kʰoːɲíː- potɕ ‘a t’un-di ma-mjː; gaː=le* kante=hi

3PL two-COL tea drink-NF NEG-finish time=ABL youngest.daughter(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)

Example (15.51) above illustrates a negated form, which occurs without nominalization and genitivization. The nominalizer many also be dropped if the verb root is reduplicated:

(15.52) *dordziliŋ sǒː-sōː gaː=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 སྲོད་ 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 gaː, which collocates with the dative-locative =lo, *kap* frequently collocates with the postposition *naŋca* ‘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) *te’om-boː kap naŋca=lo*

come.HON-2INF.GEN time inside=DAT

‘[When coming]...’ (KT phone call)
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.

When he was thinking how to get out, he, having found out that a tiger had come, was scheming to get out.

When the patient is being picked up and placed inside the car], doctor Karma...

The construction is negated by ma-.
earlier.today rain NEG-strike(-2INF.GEN) time 2SG.M where EX.PER-2INF
‘Where were you [earlier today when it was not raining]?’ (KN e)

15.3.3.5 Simultaneous converb -dy:
The simultaneous converb marker -dy: (derives from བླ་ tfʼat 'time, period') is attached directly to the verb root. This use is less frequent in my data than the other simultaneous constructions.

earlier.today rain NEG-strike(-2INF.GEN) time 2SG.M where EX.PER-2INF
‘Where were you [earlier today when it was not raining]?’ (KN e)

In the novel Richhi, -dy: occurs only once, in a poem:

The converb -dy: occurs once in my data in a type of double simultaneity marking construction with kapso, which also occurs in (15.63) above as the variant kapsu.

Negation is accomplished by the prefix ma- and genetivization is optional.

‘When I reached fifteen years (of age), I stayed at Gangtok Shedra studying.’ (RB life story)
15.3.3.6 Simultaneous converb -reŋkʰa

The third construction based on the WT for ‘time’ (WT རན་ ‘[it is] time’) is the converb formed with the suffix -reŋkʰa, which combines the secondary verb ren ‘be time to’ with the locational/temporal derivative suffix -kʰa (which some speakers reduce to -ka). For uses of ren as a secondary verb, see §8.5.5.

(15.65) ཤ་རང་འཐོ<Transformed from: '514']_
[âː-.reŋkʰa] ge:p ön-do dem őː come-SIM king come-PROG like come
‘[When coming], it comes like a king is coming.’ (UT riddle)

(15.66) ཤ་རང་འཐོ(Transformed from: '15.3.3.6')_
[te lòk-reŋkʰa=dì] làmkʰa=l te k’andé: t’op-ee mè:-pa-ki
then return-SIM=DEMPH road=ABL then any find-INF NEG.EX-CIRC=AGT
kʰu=gi bja:m gjom-diki...
3SGM=AGT fly gather-NF
‘[Then when returning], as there wasn’t anything to be found on the road, he collected flies (and)...’ (KT)

The construction VERB-reŋkʰa is negated by the negator prefix ma-, ma-VERB-reŋkʰa.

(15.67) ཤ་རང་འཐོ(Transformed from: '15.68')_
[kʰu kʰu-ri-gi nàː nawa419 nàŋɕa eiŋtoʔ tok-tečː nàː]
3SGM 3SGM=AEMPH.GEN=GEN here thought inside fruit pick-PROG
p’ja-reŋkʰa [ôte ma-t’ò-.reŋkʰa].
do-SIM down NEG-see-SIM
‘[When he was picking fruit into his basket here] (and) [when he did not see down]...’ (RB pear story)

In the novel Richhi, the construction VERB-reŋkʰa occurs only once, see (15.68). In addition, རན་ ren [ren] is once in Richhi used without the suffix -kʰa, see (15.69).

(15.68) ཤ་རང་འཐོ(Transformed from: '15.3.3.6')_
t’ëː [âdzo ei-reŋkʰa] t’a k’amoː mài gjà:-ee??
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) ཤ་རང་འཐོ(Transformed from: '15.3.3.6')_
t’a ei-ren=to.
now die-time=IMPFV
‘Now it’s (my) time to die.’ (Richhi 79)

15.3.3.7 Simultaneity with p’a:pu ‘in between’

The formative420 p’a:pu is used in two constructions to express about the same idea in an affirmed (‘while, as long as’) and a negated way (‘while not, as long as not’). In the affirmed construction, the verb root is reduplicated:

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419 According to consultant KN, this word is a loan from Tibetan.
(15.70) \[do\text{-}do\text{-}p'a\text{-}pu\] nâtea? t'vantee? t'yndi do\text{-}ke in-am
stay-RDP between 1PL all agree-NF stay-HORT EQU.PER-ATTQ
t'oku=tsu.
friend=PL
‘[While being alive,] let us live agreeably, eh, friends.’ (mthun-sgril 5)

In the negated construction, the non-reduplicated verb root is preceded by the negator prefix ma-. In its original context, example (15.71) directly follows (15.70), adding a negated perspective (‘while we are not dead’) to the affirmed perspective (‘while we are alive’).

(15.71) [ma-ci p'a:pu] t'vantee? t'yndi tei:=ki zen=lo ro:ramda: p'ja-ti
NEG-die between all agree-NF one=AGT other=DAT help do-NF
p'embo: jó:=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 =sā: ‘until’, which may also express reason, is not discussed here but in §15.12. The constructions described here are the following:

1) finite clause marked by the connector k’amjasene ‘because’ (§15.4.1)
2) clause employing the noun gjumtsê: ‘reason, cause’ (WD rgyu-mtshan) (§15.4.2)
3) construction based on the word ken ‘cause, condition’ (WD 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 k’amjasene ‘because’

The connector k’amjasene ‘because’ has a clausal origin as k’amja sê-ne [why say-COND] ‘if said why’. Three facts suggest that the speakers are still aware of the clausal origin of k’amjasene. First, the speakers may change the verb of saying used in the connector (k’amjasene/k’amjalane/k’amjacone, using sê/si ‘say’, làp ‘say’ and eût ‘say.HUM’ respectively), Second, Denjongke authors may write the form both separately as k’amjasene and separately k’amja sene. Third, k’amjasine may be interrupted by other elements:

420 I am hesitant to call p’a:pu a postposition because it does not occur with nouns in my data.
421 Nepali has analogous kinabhane ‘because’, which consists of kina ‘why’ and bhan-e ‘say-PFV’
(15.72) ло пʰам ди  kʼамжа  пʰам бо  си-не
mind be.defeated-NF why be.defeated-2INF say-COND
'(Our) mind being downcast, if (we) talk about why (our) mind is downcast...' (RS language situation)

Typically kʼamjasene is used as a word-like connector/conjunction meaning 'because', see (15.73-75). Causal clauses with kʼamjasene are finite

(15.73) тे лོ་པོན=དི gi  kʰu=lo=di  átsi=tei?  kaʼgjur  tá-bo
then teacher=DEMPH 3SGM=DAT=DEMPH a.bit=indf instruction send-2INF
be=lo,  òði  giammo=di=lo  [kʼamjasene  nyː  tʰuː]
EQU.ΝΕ=REP that latter=DEMPH=DAT because money pick.2INF
be=co.]
EQU.ΝΕ=AT
'Then the teacher instructed him a bit, you know, the latter one, [because (he) had taken the money].’ (RS pupil joke)

(15.74) มུ་ tʼutei?  átsi  lêm  tʰon-зе  [kʼamjasene  kʰon=gi gi=lo
this.year a.bit good become-PST because 3SG.HON=AGT 1SG=DAT
só-ra  náː-bo  íŋ=gi=la.]
gift give.HON-2INF EQU.PER=NC=HON
'This year was a bit good, [because he gave me a gift].’ (KT discussion with TB)

(15.75) ཉ་ཡང་ རྒྱུན་པྔོ་ ཨིན་ བལ་པྔོ་ལྔོ།  གན་བྱ༹ས་ སི་བེ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ཁུ་ ས་ ມེ་ ཞེས་ བཀའ་ བཏང་བྔོ་ སྦད་ལྔོ་
ŋà=jãː  pʰiː- po  ı̞ː  làp-o=lo.  [kʼamjasene  ápo:
3SGF this.year TPN=DAT arrive NEG-be.able.to=REP because father.GEN
ka  tʼonzin  màisur=lo  giu  go?]
order according TPN=DAT go be.needed
'She cannot come to Bombay this year, we hear, because (she) has to, according to the father’s word, go to Mysore.’ (Richhi 150)

Longer form of the conditional (see §15.6) may also be used:

(15.76) ཨ་འགྲུག་ ངེ་བུ་ལྔོ་ ཁྲ་པོ་ རྒྱུན་པྔོ་ ཨིན་ ཡིང་ ལྔོ་ ཉུང་ ེབ་ གུན་བྱ༹ས་སི་ནེ
ŋà=jâː  pʰiː-po  ıː  láp-o=lo.  [kʼamja  si- betsene  kʰu
1SG=too be.late-2INF EQU.PER say-2INF =REP why say-COND 3SGM
paisa=di  òði  tiru?  nam-po=di  lüm-run...]
money(Nep.)=DEMPH that rupee five-COL=DEMPH fall-CONC
'I too am late, (he) says, [because although his five rupees fell...]’ (RS pupil joke)

In addition to occurring independently as a causal marker, kʼamjasene may co-occur with the causal construction VERB-INF=DEMPH.AGT, which also occurs as the sole reason marker (see §15.4.6):
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) [odi ma-nêː-po: gjumtsʰɛ̃ː=di] [mi kʰae=ki=jâː that NEG-abide-2INF GEN reason=DEMPH human some=AGT=too
ge-pyː t’ysʰo? gê=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) [mèː-poː=ki gjumtsʰɛ̃ː=di] [nêːma dem=teiʔ 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 Tashidding)

The second clause, which defines the reason, may also be introduced with k’amjasene ‘because’ (note that =di is not obligatory here).

(15.80) [mèː-po: gjumtsʰɛ̃ː:] [k’amjasine p’umoː jêntsʰɛ̃ː=tsu=lo NEG.EX-2INF GEN reason because girl.GEN relative=PL=DAT
dît go:-po: t’ondaʔ nî: jô-po beʔ]. present.HON arrange be.needed-2INF GEN purpose two EX-2INF EQU.INE
‘[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 *ɕɛ*? ‘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*: *sün-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.

(15.82) *kʰi b’laːkʰaː tʰi’iːkʰaː tʰaːkʰaːn di* [te *gjumtsʰ*: *ódí p’ja-sondáː*=*di]* ...
so reason that do-SIM=DEMPH
‘[So for that reason]...’ Lit. ‘[Because of the doing of that reason]...’ (PAD Tashiding story)

### 15.4.3 Causality with *ken* ‘cause, condition’

Another way to express reason/causation through a dependent clause is to append the word *ken* ‘cause, condition’ (WT र्क्योङः *ryken*), followed by agentive/instrumental or ablative marking to the nominalized and genitivized form of the verb. Agentive marking is exemplified in (15.83) and ablative marking in (15.84).

(15.83) a) *diː n̥aŋ⁴²² kʰim=na jøː-pó:  *key=*gi* hato? sāːte nā:* [yaː=gi *ti ma-tsʰu-po: *key=*gi* hato? sāːte nā:*]
1SG=AGT write NEG-be.able.to-2INF GEN cause=AGT suddenly until here recording (Eng.) inside=DAT word NEG-fit-2INF EQU-COND
‘If there are, suddenly, unfit words on this recording [because I was not able to write (the story down)]...’ (KT animal story)

b) *diː kʰim=na jøː-pó: *key=*gi*... [t’izá: kʰimám=di teuku kʰim=na jøː-pó: *key=*gi*...]
but host mother=DEMPH only house=LOC EX-2INF GEN cause=AGT
‘[But because only the mistress of the house was at home]...’ (KT animal story)

(15.84) *diː n̥aŋ⁴²² miri? k’jáːne? nêː-pó: *ken=*le*... [diː n̥aŋ⁴²² miri? k’jáːne? nêː-pó: *ken=*le*...]
this GEN inside people countless reside-2INF GEN cause=ABL
‘[Because countless people reside(d) in it (=Sikkim)]...’ (da-lto’i ’bras-ljongs 1)

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⁴²² In spoken language, the case marker =*na* (WD न) or a disyllabic postposition *nāŋca/nāŋlo* (सःन्/सःन्न्) is typically used instead of this written short postpositional form नः nang.
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) 

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[tɛʔ nántsʰi lók-to=lo làp-ti]} & \text{pʰe-pa òm-bo} \\
\text{2SG.L the.day.after.tomorrow return-IPFV=REP say-NF meet-PUR come-2INF} \\
\text{EQU.PER} \\
\end{array}\]

‘(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=lɛ* is reinterpreted to express reason, see (15.86), where the full completive form *-tsʰaː* is reduced to *-sa*.

(15.86) 

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[mí tˈa:pu in-sa=lɛ]} & \text{te tʰamtɕɛʔ eɕ-po=lo.} \\
\text{human honest EQU-CMPL=ABL then all tell-2INF=REP} \\
\text{‘[Because he was an honest man], he then told everything.’ (JDF axe story)} \\
\end{array}\]

(15.87) 

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[liŋma kʰøːsiːsiː=diː kˈjãː-bo=lɛ]} & \text{kʰu-AGT be.cold-2INF=ABL} \\
\text{wind chilly=DEMPH be.cold-2INF=ABL} \\
\text{‘[Because the chilly wind made them feel cold]…’ (Richhi 118)} \\
\end{array}\]

(15.88) 

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{[kʰon=gi tˈytsʰoʔ tˈaruŋ ma-lep-o=lɛ]} & \text{3SG.HON=GEN time yet NEG-arrive-2INF=ABL} \\
\text{‘[Because his time had not yet come]…’ (KT e)} \\
\end{array}\]

### 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 intrument of the verbal action. In clausal use, it is the verbal action, or the whole clause, that is seen as the causer of another verbal action. In the first construction, the agentive-marked demonstrative-emphatic *=di* (WD ǎnš ‘dis) attaches to *-eɛ*-infinitive form of the verb.
Second, agentive marking is more central in written language than in spoken.

There are two potential reasons. First, vowel length, such as the one that is suggested by the reading pronunciation of written སྟེ་ '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).423

(15.94) नेपाली भाषा *के द्वारा* गिजागर भाषा लगाने र ग्राम भाषा लगाने के रूप में किया गया है.

\[
\text{Nepali=GEN language.HON=DEMPH India=GEN inside=DAT India=GEN ke:da? t\text{o}n go.-ce=di=gi}...
\]

IPL.GEN=AEMP. GEN language strike-INF=DEMPH=AGT

‘[Because the language of the Nepalis was to become within India a(n official) language of India... ]’ (CY interview)

Example (15.96) illustrates a rarer agentive form of which I have only one example

(15.96) *देखि र चार जी देखि*.

\[
\text{denri-wa-teen=gi}...
\]

believe-CIRC-PROG/ADJZR=AGT

‘[because (they) spoke our language]’...’ (RL interview)

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 \(p'jati(ki)\) ‘doing’

In spoken causal clauses, it is more usual to use the nonfinal converb \(p'ja-ti(ki)\) ‘doing’ than it is to use the agentive (see §15.4.6). The converb typically occurs following -ee-infinitive accompanied by =di, see (15.97), but occasionally directly following the infinitive, see (15.98).

(15.97) *के द्वारा* छेड़णे अधिक या छेड़ने अधिक नहीं माना किया गया है.

\[
\text{ts}^\text{hi}k=di \text{ lęp lęm jö.-ce=di p'ja-tiki}...
\]

word=DEMPH very.much good EX-INF=DEMPH do-NF

‘Because the words are very good... ’ (RS song intro)

(15.98) *के द्वारा* छेड़णे अधिक या छेड़ने अधिक नहीं माना किया गया है.

\[
\text{zu=i nęyea=lo jö-ce? p'ja-tiki}...
\]

bow=GEN inside=DAT EX-INF do-NF

‘[because (it) is inside the bow]’...’ (RS bee story)

The nonfinal form \(p'ja-ti(ki)\) and its reduced form \(p'ja\) also attach to nouns (15.99) and pronouns (15.100):

423 Another phonologically more explicit construction is the one with converb \(p'jati(ki)\), see §15.4.7.
(15.99) དེ་ཟང་གནད་སྟངས་འདིས་བྱས་སྟི།
\[tʼizãː nɛ̃́ːtãː=diː \text{(condition=DEMPH.AGT do-NF)}
\]‘[Because of the condition (of hers)]...’ (Richhi 171)

(15.100) ལོ་གོང་བོ་
a) ódi pʼja
b) ódi pʼja-ti
c) ódi pʼja-tiki
that do-NF
‘Because of that...’

15.4.8 Causal uses of the circumstantial-purposive converb
In certain contexts, such as (15.101) and (15.102), the circumstantial converb can be interpreted as expressing reason/causality:

(15.101) མོ་བུད་འདི་ལེགམ་མ་བྱས་བ་ི་བྔོ་སྦད།
\[mòb̀y=di \text{ lɛ̀m ma-jà-wa]} eί-u be?.
\]‘[(His) wife not doing well (in caring for him)], he died’/‘He died [because (his) wife did not do well (in caring for him)].’ (KN e)

(15.102) ང་ནུ་པའི་
\[ŋà gjuk jàː-jà-wa] lèp kʼjop toː-tsʰaː.
\]‘[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-ti ‘saying’. Purpose and reason are naturally related concepts, as supported by the fact that the converb làp-ti is used for expressing both.

15.5.1 Purpose with circumstantial-purposive converb -pa/ba
The uses of the converb -pa/ba can be roughly divided into affirmed purposive uses and negated circumstantial uses. A similar connection between manner (similar to circumstantial) and purposive converbs is noted by Vanhove (2016: 330), who comments that in Beja (Cushitic) “the Manner converb of action verbs may encode a purposive interclausal relation if the following verb is a verb of motion.” The purposive uses of -pa/ba occur with verbs of motion (15.103), and some other verbs illustrated by go? be ‘needed’ (15.1104) and 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.
‘The two of us came [to see Bhaila].’ (Richhi 11)

‘(He) did not need more than seven nights [in order to achieve (mastery of) the hail-mantra]. (mi-la ras-po 4)

‘It will be possible to get help [in order to develop (our) own place].’ (mthun-sgril 18)

In spoken language, the converbal marker may be dropped if context allows. According to consultant KN, all the forms (15.106) are possible for a purposive construction.

Another example of a mere verb root as purposive is (15.107).

Similarly, Sandberg (1895: 66) gives the example clause Ngá chhö tá ong che ‘I have come to see you’, where the mere verb root is used purposively. The clause is given in edited form in (15.108).

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 làptì 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’ondâ/t’ondale/t’ondalo) ‘for the purpose of, in order to; because’, deriving from the noun t’on(daʔ) ‘meaning, sense; purpose; reason’. The complement clause may either be a genitivized -po-infinitive-clause (15.109) or a clause with -ce-infinitive, either with genitive marking (15.110) or without further marking (15.111).

(15.109) བཞིག་ཡོད་ བྱེ་བར་ གྲོགས་པའི་ ཁྱུག་ སྦྱོན་ བོའི་ ཆོས་ སྐྱེལ་ ལུ།

[t’amte=ki rite/i kâ=-wo: t’onlo] lô? ei-ce ï.
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) ཕེས་པའི་ བཞིག་ སྦྱོན་ བོ་ ཁྱུག་ སྦྱོན་ བོའི་ ཆོས་ སྐྱེལ་ ལུ།

[só:za te’apts:e=tsu [t’à-ce=ki t’ondaʔ] dzo-u.
tea.HON hot.water.HON=PL carry.HON-INF GEN for.purpose.of make-2INF
‘(It) was made [to carry tea, hot water and such things].’ (PD outside video)

(15.111) བཞིག་ཡོད་ བྱེ་བར་ གྲོགས་པའི་ ཁྱུག་ སྦྱོན་ བོའི་ ཆོས་ སྐྱེལ་ ལུ།

[kʰu [paksam eʒ=gi mïnto? dzï-ceʔ t’ondal] sá
3SGM balsam.tree=GEN flower suck-INF for.purpose.of ground
ôː=le tsʰà: zo-tiki gu: do:=-ce=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) དེ་ བཞིག་ཡོད་ བྱེ་བར་ གྲོགས་པའི་ ཁྱུག་ སྦྱོན་ བོའི་ ཆོས་ སྐྱེལ་ ལུ།

ápö=di=jà: gompo lë̱n-di kʰim=na=rà: jòʔ [p’umɔ:
father=DEMPH=too leave take-NF house=LOC=DEMPH EX PER girl=GEN
jë̱n kjap-o: t’onlo].
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 ápö ‘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 བཞིག་ 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) བོད་ ལྷ་ ཥི་ རྒྱུང་ ཉུན་ ལྜྷུང་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ ཞེས་།

*di t’a [kʰi ályː=tsu nājea dzyː-ːiː: lāp-ti] t’ā.pyː*

this now dog cat=PL inside enter-NPST.PER say-NF long.ago.GEN

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) བོད་ ལྷ་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ ཞེས་།

*ódi=dì [kintsõː lɛ̀ m tʰøn-ɕɛ ĩ̃́ː 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) བོད་ ལྷ་ ཥི་ རྒྱུང་ ཉུན་ ལྜྷུང་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ ཞེས།

*[nèː-gi bədzeipaː tiː=na k’u ː tːu? lāp-ti] nà*

my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come cause say-NF 1SG

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) བོད་ ལྷ་ ཥི་ རྒྱུང་ ཉུན་ ལྜྷུང་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ ཞེས་།

*[nèː-gi bədzeipaː tiː=na k’u ː ma-tcu? lāp-ti] nà*

my=GEN birthday.party(Eng)=LOC 3SGM come NEG-cause say-NF 1SG

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) བོད་ ལྷ་ རྒྱུ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ སྐྲེལ་ ཞེས།

*nà nɔrbyː=tsaː giu-ɡɛ lāp-ti sɔː-bo ː tːi.*

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‘:siʔ ‘if’.426 I am not aware of any meaning difference between the shorter form -ne and the longer form -pate-ne. The relator noun tenvle ‘(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 -tsʰaː(.). 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 TAME427-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) རིག་བོད་ལྡན་དེ་ལ་ཐོབ་ནོར་རྗེས་བསྟེན།
[ca kʰam teʔ pʰin-ne] tam tsʰik teʔ láp õː.
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.’ (rnag-sung 8)

b) བོད་ལྡན་དེ་ལ་ཐོབ་ནོར་རྗེས་བསྟེན།
[kʰ:siʔ mù=i tsa=le kʰateːː tʰop-ne] teʰoː=ki=jáː
if 3SGF=GEN at=ABL address receive-COND 2SG.L=AGT=too
mù=lo teʰoː=ki kʰateːː pʰin.
3SGF=DAT 2SG.L=GEN address give
‘[If (you) get an address from her], you also give her your address.’ (Richhi 95)

(15.117) དི་ཡོང་ཁབ་སེང་ཆུ་བ། བོད་ལྡན་བཟོ་ལོ་བཟོ། ཞེས་ལར། དེ་ནུས་བུ།
[ka kʰam tsi=na tʰep-ne] tsi=na=kʰam
elder.bother holiday time=LOC address receive-COND 2SG.L=AGT
nóː=tʰaː tʰaː tʰoː=ki jàː
if 1PL=AGT this=LOC address give-COND 2SG.L=GEN address give
‘[If in this we made mistake(s)], we apologize.’ (NAB BLA 7)

The conditional only attaches to the personal copulas ʔ and jòʔ and not to neutral beʔ and sensorial duʔ, e.g. *be-(pate)ne, *duk-(atee)ne. Thus evidential distinctions are neutralized with the conditional.

The optional k‘:siʔ ‘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) དི་ཡོང་ཁབ་སེང་ཆུ་བ། བོད་ལྡན་དེ་ལ་ཐོབ་ནོར་རྗེས་བསྟེན།
[ka kʰam tsi=na kʰ:siʔ bombai=lo tʰem-bate-ne] tsi=na=kʰam
elder.bother holiday time=LOC if TPN=DAT come-COND
par=tsu nà=ràː bak lep õː.
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‘:siʔ functions quite analogously to the optional Nepali jedi ‘if’.
427 Tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality
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) 
\[tʽizãː kʽan pʽja-ɛʔ \ [mi=lo tʽysʰo=ki=rãː \ partsiː \ but what do-INF \ human=DAT \ time=AGT\ AEMPH \ obstacle \ tap-tsʰa\-wateene] \]
SOW-CMPL-COND
‘But what to do, [if times throw an obstacle at a person]?’ (Richhi 59)

(15.120) 
\[tʽa \ ō te gutor \ hā sō: \ gju=to \ lâp-zin \ [te now that so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so mā-pen-tsʰa-ne] \ kʽan pʽja-ɛʔ\? \]
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?’ (AB kitchen discussion)

The conditional construction is negated by \(ma\)-, which may reduce to \(m\)- with vowel intial roots:

(15.121) 
\[baʔ \ m(a)-o-ne \} \ mîtsy=lo \ ma-lâp. \]
carry NEG-come-COND other=DAT NEG-say
‘[If it is not brought], don’t tell (it) to others.’ (KNA kitchen)

b) 
\[tʽa \ loke \ ma-kʰem-bateene\]
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 \(sɛ̃/si\ ‘say’\) follows:

(15.122) 
\[nâːteʰːũ\} \ nimtsʰi \ [tʽa máko lô \ ni: \ mi-kjap \ si-ne] \ ŋâːtca? \]
engagement date now groom year two NEG-do say-COND 1PL
\[máko:=gi \ ke? \ tʽi \ go:=eɛ \ be?\].\]
groom.GEN=GEN gain ask be.needed-INF EQU.NE
‘On the day of the engagement, [now if the groom says (he) is not going to work for two years (in the bride’s home)], we have to ask for the groom’s gift.’ (SGD wedding customs)

In the following two clauses the completive conditional form \(bom-tsʰa-ne\ ‘if (one) grows’\) is used for prospective future.

\footnote{428 The translation ‘either with me or alone’ derives from the apposed forms \(sō\) and \(gju\). The first, \(sō\), 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 complettive 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 complettive anterior construction tsʰa=ɛ, which is restricted to past and habitual uses, and the complettive 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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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’.
(15.127) then very.much think=COND=DEPMH true such=INDF EX.SEN-IN ‘[If (I) think hard about it], (it) looks like it’s true.’ (CY interview)

(15.128) ‘[If (we) talk about what the Buddha is saying]...’ (YR canteen video)

While (15.128) exemplifies a frequent use where the conditional form of a verb of speaking introduces a new topic for discussion, (15.129) provides a metacomment on the discourse.

(15.129) ‘[If (we) speak the truth], there is (the custom) that the son in law has to be brought and shown on the date of the Khachang-ceremony (of marrying).’ (SGD wedding customs)

In fast speech, the full conditional form -pateene may be reduced to -patee (15.130) or even -pa, represented by the allophonic varient -a in (15.131).

(15.130) ‘Now, having gone to the astrologer, [if the astrological calculations (of the prospective bride and groom) are fitting], bethrotal can be arranged. [If the astrological calculations do not fit]...’ (SGD wedding customs)

In (15.131), context helps the addressee interpret the abbreviated form man-dik-a as a conditional rather than the homophonous circumstantial-purposive converbal form. First, man-dik-a forms a logical pair with the full conditional form dik-atsene in the previous clause. Second, the short form is accompanied by k’esi? ‘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 =eo 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)

The relator noun teyle ‘(from) upon’ is once in my data used in a conditional sense:

‘[If (you) eat the medicine well], perhaps you will not die.’ (KN e)

15.7 Concessive clauses

The concessive converb marker -ruŋ is suffixed to the verb root and functions similarly to the English concessive ‘although’ and “concessive conditional” “even if” (Thompson et al 2007: 261). Unlike the conditional -(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-ruy [what do-conc] ‘whatever (he) do(es)’, ka t’-ruy [who equ-conc] ‘whoever (she/he is)’, see §6.3.2.

The concessive verb is negated by the prefix ma-. A construction which juxtaposes the affirmative and negated concessive uses functions similarly to English expression ‘whether...or not’:

(15.137) te [kʰõː eː-ruy] [ma-eːruy] kʰõː pỳː topp-o beʔ. 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-kʰɛːsiʔ t’òʔ=sa=gi ñàtei leːrim diː=na nòrtyː k’an if now=until=gen 1pl.gen program this.gen=loc mistake what t’òʔ=ruy] 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 -ruy 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.
The copula concessive form ɨ'-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 nāŋca/nāŋlo ‘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)’, nāŋtar(gi) ‘according to’, nāŋzin ‘according to, similar to’ and t’onzìn(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) 千瓦 ཁུ་ཐེག་ བཤད་ གཤེར་ སྐྱེལ་ བཞུགས།
kʰan tʰon-ee? [dikʰa zu:-pa]?
what happen-INF here stay.HON-CIRC
‘What (undesirable) will happen [by staying here]?’ (Richhi 38)

(15.142) བདེ་ ཁྱིམ་ དི་ སྐྱེལ་ ཕོ་ དེ་ སྤེན་-པ་
nya=gi [kʰu=i miŋ=di dzɛ:-dzɛ:-pa] de:-po be?.
1SG=AGT 3SGM=GEN name=DEMPH forget-RDP-CIRC stay-2INF EQU.NE
‘I keep on forgetting his name.’ lit. ‘I sit/stay [forgetting his name].’ (PT e)
The negated circumstantial use of -pa/ba, which also functions as the negation of the nonfinal converb -ti/di, is illustrated in (15.143). Note that (15.143d) has a clause chain where the negated verb occurs with -pa/ba and the affirmed one with -ti/di.

(15.143) a) སོག་ འདི་ ང་ཅག་གིས་ མ་གཅྔོ ད་པ་ ཏེ་ ཁྔོང་ལྔོ་ ཚེ་ ཐར ལེད་བྱེད་སྣང་མ་སྔོང་པ་ ང་ཅའི་ ཚིག་ འདི་ སྙན་དྲགས་ སྙན་དྲགས་ བྱེད་མི་ཙུ་ལྔོ།

\[
\text{sóː=di \ nâtea=ki \ ma-tec:-pa} \te \ kʰðː=lo \ tsʰ=tʰaː.
\]
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) ད་ འབུང་ འཐེན་ཅིག་ མ་པྱེ༹ད་པར་ བཞུགས་ཉ་

\[
tʰa\text{buntʰ}ɛ̃ː \text{tsʰiʔ} [\text{ma-pʰ-\text{pa}}]\]
now moment one NEG-budge-CIRC sit.HON TAG.ASR
‘Now sit a while [without budging], will you.’ (rnam-rtog 28)

c) གེ་ དབུ་ བོད་ མོག་ མ་པྱེ༹ད་པར་ བཞུགས་ཉ་

\[
tʰa\text{ŋàt}ɕ\text{a=ki=di} [\text{tsʰik=di} lɛ̀ \text{p} \text{d} \text{ʑuː} \text{ɲ} \text{á}].
\]
so 1PL=AGT DEMPH word=DEMPH very frightening NEG-do-CIRC anger ma-ló:-pa] nâtei tsʰik=di nenta? nenta?-p’ja eū-ce?
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) ཆེ་ ཇུ་ ལཱ་ ཡེ་ ཆེ་ དབུ་ བོད་ མོག་ ལ་བ་ བྱེད་མི་ཙུ་ལྔོ།

\[
tʰizãː \text{tam=di=tsu} \ tʰato=sãː [\text{nèː kʰa=l} \text{ɛ} \text{ma-lúk-a}].
\]
but word=DEMPH=PL now=until 1SG.GEN mouth=ABL NEG-come.out-CIRC sèm=na=rà: ry:-di lù:-po ìː.
mind=LOC=AEMP rot-NF remain-2INF EQU.PER
‘But [without getting out of (my) mouth] these words have until now remained rotting in my mind.’ (Richhi 143)

As already pointed out in §15.2, an alternative to the simple negation (15.144) is the periphrastic construction (15.145).

(15.144) གེ་ ཇུ་ ལཱ་ ཡེ་ ཆེ་ དབུ་ བོད་ མོག་ ལ་བ་ བྱེད་མི་ཙུ་ལྔོ།

\[
\text{màː=lo \ te}ʰ\text{u} \text{ma-lúk-a}.
\]
butter=DAT water NEG-pour-CIRC
‘[without pouring water into the butter]’ (KN e)

(15.145) གེ་ ཇུ་ ལཱ་ ཡེ་ ཆེ་ དབུ་ བོད་ མོག་ ལ་བ་ བྱེད་མི་ཙུ་ལྔོ།

\[
\text{màː=lo \ te}ʰ\text{u} \text{ma-lúk-o} \ p’ja-ti].
\]
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=sâ: 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) \[mînkʰor gju-wa\] t’aruŋ teuṭʰsʰo? sūm-tsʰo? du?.
train go-PUR yet clock.time three-about EX.SEN
‘There’s still some three hours [before the train goes] (I see).’/ ‘[In order for the train to go], there’s still three hours’ (Richhi 125)

The negated -pa/ba may express how much time has passed since something happened, see (15.147). This form also functions as the negated functional equivalent of the affirmative nonfinal construction (VERB-ti), see (15.8) above.

(15.147) [mú: karma=lo jìgi man-dì-wa] dou zi lak-to
3SGF.AGT PN=DAT letter NEG-write-CIRC month four exceed-IPFV
‘It’s today (being) more than four months [since she wrote a letter to Karma].’ (Richhi 161)

In clock-times, -pa/ba expresses how many minutes are left before the full hour, see (15.148), whereas the nonfinal form -ti/di, faithful to its tendency to mark anteriority, expresses how many minutes have gone since the last full hour, see (15.149).

(15.148) [teuṭʰsʰo? zi dum-ba] karmo tce=lo lóbdʒa t’o:.
clock.time four strike-PUR minute ten=DAT school finish
‘The chool finishes at ten to four o’clock.’ Lit. ‘The school finishes at ten minutes [to strike four o’clock].’ (Richhi 43)

(15.149) [teuṭʰsʰo? gu duŋ-di] karma tce:ya jep-tsʰake.
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 ŋ 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) \[azā: kantea bjò:-bo=lo=s\]
maternal.uncle youngest.male(Nep.) disappear-2INF=REP=QUO
im-pa, t’o:-teə?.
EQU-CIRC hear-PST.PQ
‘Uncle is said to have disappeared, did you hear?’ (translation tentative) (TB phone call)
b)  As a snake arrived (to live) as a neighbour, although the crow couple wished that perhaps help. [In case not], I wonder whether this medicine will help.’ (mam-rtog 31)

(15.151)  a)  [myths? nå: lópon=gi=gi tcʰipdo=na jö:-pa]...
other(s) here teacher=GEN=GEN car.HON=LOC EX-CIRC
‘[The others being in the car of the teacher here]…’ (KL BB discussion)

b)  [låː kjap-kʰ=b. mèː:-pa] nåː låː kjap-o be?.
field do-NMLZ NEG.EX-CIRC I.AGT field do-2INF EQU.NE
‘[As there was no plougher], I ploughed (the fields).’ (DB life story)

In a 12th class text book called བྲས་ལྷོང་གསུང་གཏམ 'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam the circumstantial converb is used somewhat differently from the description given above and attested by my oral and written data elsewhere. Whereas data from elsewhere has a rough distinction between negated circumstantial uses and affirmed purposive uses (with motion verbs), 'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam has plenty of affirmative circumstantial uses and a different strategy for purposive uses. Instead of the converbal form, the purposive uses in 'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam drop the converb marker -pa/ba and attach the dative-locative =lo directly to the verb root, e.g. སྲེར་ བྲ་ do-lo tɕʰo [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)  བྲས་ལྷོང་གསུང་གཏམ 'bras-ljongs gsung-gtam oːla? zaːmi niː=gi [kʰimtsʰ biu=tiː] [lep-a] kipu
crow household two=AGT neighbor snake=INDF arrive-CIRC enjoyment
man-daun-run pʰa-tap kʰan=jàː ma-tʰop-o be?.
NEG-become-CONC do-means what=even NEG-find-2INF EQU.NE
‘As a snake arrived (to live) as a neighbour, although the crow couple was not happy (they) could not find means to interfere anyhow.’ (Dras-Ljongs gsung-gtam 13)

In addition to dependent uses listed above, -pa/ba sometimes occurs as the final verb form, see (15.153-158). The glosses are tentative (and hence accompanied by a question mark), because the semantics of these constructions need further study. In the context of (15.153), six people are going to be divided into three pairs for working. One of the six says to the one who is responsible for dividing the pairs:
(15.153) ოོ་དེ ས་ ཆ་རིད་ པོ་སྱི་ ན་ སུང་གེ།

Pihar and 1SG together work do-CIRC
‘Gyaltsen and I (are to) work together.’ (?) (KN e)

(15.154) དེ་ ཡོད་ སེམ་ ཆོས་ ཐེ་ སོ་ སྐྱེལ་ པར་ དེ་ རྒྱལ་ གོང་ མེད་ བྱོགས་

ŋà=ni ádzo tʰariŋ k’adzo? p’aː=lo te’oŋ-gam 1SG=TOP grandfather today how.much interval=DAT come.HON-ATTQ nòː-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) སི་ ལོ་ སོ་ བ་ རྐྱབས་ བཟྱོས་ དོ་ སྐྱེལ་ པར་ འབྲས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པ།

ŋà dik’a kalimpoŋ jòː-pa.
1SG here TPN EX-CIRC
‘I’m here in Kalimpong.’ (?) (TB phone call)

(15.156) བ་ སི་ ལོ་ སོ་ བ་ རྐྱབས་ བཟྱོས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པ།

ŋà phou simkʰarka tʰaː-ni nóː-wa te k’oi 1SG over.there TPN come.HUM-INDF 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) ཁྱི་ རྒྱང་ ས་ སི་ ལོ་ སོ་ བ་ རྐྱབས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པ།

ágja ágja ŋà qendzôː=le lôk-ti lep elder.brother elder.brother 1SG Sikkim=ABL return-NF arrive lôː: mèː-po jìgi guː: guː-pa.
have.time.to EX-2INF letter wait wait-CIRC
‘Brother, brother, as soon as (or: since) I arrived back from Sikkim, I have been waiting and waiting a letter.’ (?) (Richhi 146)

(15.158) དེ་ ཕོ་ རྐྱབས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པ།

ŋà jìgjìː=teiʔ? zo zák jòː-pa.
1SG sentence=INDF make put EX-CIRC
‘I have made one sentence (in writing)’431 (?) (KN e)

Consultant KN commented that the form jòː-pa, as used in (15.159b), cannot be found in books, suggesting that clause-final -pa is mainly an oral construction.

(15.159) a) དེ་ ཕོ་ རྐྱབས་ བཞག་ ཡོད་པ།

lêng? t’atö kalimpoŋ-na jò-po?
PRRHON now TPN=LOC EX.PER-2INF
‘Are you now in 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 CEMPH].
b)  "I'm now indeed in Kalimpong." (?) (KN e)

The finite-looking uses of -pa need more investigation.

15.8.2 Circumstantial construction with postposition nåŋca/nåŋlo ‘inside’

The postposition nåŋca/nåŋlo/nåŋle 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) [dem ke:po nó:-no:-wo: nåŋlo] kʰu jiʔ ci̊ntaʔ kʰuʔ.

like.that many think-RDP-2INF.GEN inside 3SGM sleep sweet sleep

‘[As he is thinking many thoughts like that,] he falls into a sweet sleep.’ (Richhi 114)

(15.161) [de:=rā: p’jaː-ʑɛ̃ː k’joʔ kjap-kjap-o: nåŋlo] pʰiru=gi

like.that=AEMPHT do-PROG chatting do-do-2INF.GEN inside evening=GEN
tʰũtsʰəʔ geʔ duy-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 -teː/zɛː/zɛ̃

The progressive marker -teː/zɛː/zɛ̃, 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):


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) Thrinley yes say-PROG=DAT 3PL=PL=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 \( \text{giu} \) ‘go’), providing a manner or attendant circumstance of literal going\(^{434} \), as in (15.165), or metaphorical going, that is, changing, as in (15.166).

\[ (15.165) \]
\[
\text{mёнкъа}: \text{na} \; \text{lep-ti} \quad [\text{bhaila} \; \text{kъа}]: \text{jё}: \text{katam} \quad \text{tsъо}-: \text{zё}:]
\]
\[ \text{hospital}=\text{LOC} \; \text{arrive-NF} \; \text{PN} \; \text{where} \; \text{EX.PER-ATTQ} \; \text{search-PROG} \]
\[ \text{go.PFV-when} \]
\[ ‘(They) arrive at the hospital and as (they) go [searching where Bhaila is]…’ \]
\[ \text{Richhi 10} \]

\[ (15.166) \]
\[
[\text{átsi} \; \text{bom-зё}:] \quad \text{giu-}: \text{dё}: \quad \text{a.bit} \; \text{grow-PROG} \; \text{go.2INF-CONJ} \]
\[ ‘As (they) go on [growing a bit]…’ \]
\[ \text{SM kitchen discussion} \]

Repetition of the progressive emphasizes duration, as shown by (15.164) above and (15.167) below.

\[ (15.167) \]
\[
[kъо? \; \text{kap-зё}: \; \text{kap-зё}:] \quad \text{giu-}: \text{wо}: \; \text{kap-:} \text{time} \]
\[ ‘As (they) go on chatting and chatting…’ \]
\[ \text{Richhi 130} \]

The circumstantial/manner use of the progressive is negated by the prefix \text{ma}-.

\[ (15.168) \]
\[
\text{kъуце}=\text{di} \; \text{kъамжя} \; [\text{ke}? \; \text{ma-}: \text{te}:] \; \text{teуке} \; kъам \; \text{kap}-\text{to} \; \text{2PL-DEMPH} \; \text{why} \; \text{language} \; \text{NEG-know-PROG} \; \text{Nepali} \; \text{why} \; \text{strike-IPFV} \]
\[ ‘Why do you, [not knowing the language], why speak Nepali?’ \]
\[ \text{CY interview} \]

15.8.4 **Circumstantial clauses with kъа=lo**

Circumstantial clauses can also be formed using the the dative-locative form of the word \text{kъа} ‘mouth’, preceded by genitivized -po-infinitive. The meaning is close to both simultaneous and causal clauses, as suggested by the gloss ‘as/when/since’.

\[ 433 \] Here the written form բཅད་ (suggesting pronunciation as \text{tsъэ}?), which is considered “correct”, does not correspond to the actual pronunciation \text{tsъэ}.

\[ 434 \] For a similar use of the nonfinal -tъ/а:, consider examples (15.3-6) above.

\[ 435 \] բས་ 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 \( kəa=lo \) is limited to collocating with the negated existential \( mē? \), which occurs in both (15.169) and (15.170).

The dative-locative form \( kəa=lo \) also marks additive meaning (§15.9.3), and the suffix -\( kəa \) 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 \( nājtar(gi) \) ‘according to’, \( nājzin ‘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 -\( po \)-infinitive (without genetivization), see (15.171) and (15.172), but the imperfective form also occurs in this position, see (15.173).

15.169

\[ \text{gədərə kər əqənəmər əqənə məmə fi-nədə tənə?} \]

\[ nā-rə=\text{isə}: \quad mē:-\text{po}: \quad kəa=lo \quad nā rə:=lo \quad k’əte \]

1SG-AEMP.M,GEN=with NE.G,2INF,M,GEN mouth=DAT I 2SG.M=DAT how p’in-ce bo?

give-INF EQU,NE,Q

‘As/when/since I do not have myself, how could I give to you?’ (KN e)

15.170

\[ \text{gənə jernjə nā-kənəmər gənə kərə fi-nədə tənə} \]

\[ nā=lo \quad gjənər \quad k’əre mē:-\text{po}: \quad kəa=lo \quad nūjentsʰə: \]

1SG=DAT riches any NE.G,2INF,M,GEN mouth=DAT relatives pə:

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 \( p’ja(ti) \):
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 tsʰoːdyː=nàŋtargi=di] nàte? tʰamtee=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) [lámaː súm-bo nàŋzin]...
lama.AGT say.HON-2INF according.to
‘[According to what the lama had said]…’ (mi-la ras-po 6)

(15.177) [lɛŋɡ=:ki p’oː-po nàŋtar] tʰariŋ nàː tʰaː-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’ønzin(gi)
A clause headed by the postposition t’ønzin(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 tsʰoːdyː=na kamo tʰamtee? nàː t’ønzin]...today=GEN meeting.GEN=LOC discussion decision do.HON in.accordance.with tʰamtee=ki rā:rā:sóːs: tʰuːgen ēː: zeː:
all=AGT each.oneself.GEN responsibility.HON mouth.HON eat.HON nàː:-be: tʰudzite? eː-eː 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)
So now, [in view of having been offered that (responsibility)], now if we stay (just) like that idle, it is not right.’ (NAB BLA 7)

‘Then the daughter did (lit. stayed/sat/abided) according to what the mother had ordered.’ ('dres-ljongs gsung-gtam, class 12, 39)

‘It’s shameful to go to a man’s house [without anything to say or give].’

(Ricchi 24)

15.8.6 Genitivized -po-infinite
A genitivized -po-infinite may, although infrequently, form an adverbial clause of circumstance/manner:

A postpositional phrase headed by t'onzin may be supplemented by the adverbializer -p'ja(ti), which forms adverbials of manner (see §3.5.2.1):

A genitivized -po-infinite may, although infrequently, form an adverbial clause of circumstance/manner:

Affirmative additive clauses can be formed by postposing to a -po-infinite form one of the forms mitsʰɛʔ ‘in addition, not stopping’ (§15.9.1), tenlo ‘on, above’ (§15.9.2) or kʰa=lo which literally means ‘at the mouth’ (§15.9.3). The first one is the most frequent, while I am aware of only one instance of each of the latter two. In addition to the three affirmative
constructions, negated additive clauses may be formed by mɛ̀mbo, which is followed by a negated or an interrogated clause (§15.9.4).

15.9.1 Additive with mitsʰē?
Additive clauses can be formed by postposing mitsʰē? ‘in addition, not stopping’ to the bare -po-ininfinitive form of the verb. The additive clause precedes the main clause:

(15.184) di dau tsyndy: mam-bja-ne [t’on=jā: min-dup-o mitsʰē?] this like effort NEG-do-COND purpose=too NEG-f fulfil-2INF NEG-stop
duŋŋal bompu mjõ̀ːɕɛ ìː 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-tsʰē? 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) ána ge:m=di [lĕp'ti lò ge:-ti udu:ta? old.lady=DEMPH very.much year become.old-INF out.of.breath
t’on jó-po t’ato=rā: e’rap dem jó-po: tɛŋlo] become EX-2INF now=DEMPH die-IMF like.it EX-2INF.GEN upon
ya=di riŋku… mouth=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) nga: t’arin=to [lè:de: k’ā: sà-wo: kʰa=lo] biar LAGT today=CEMPH plate full eat-2INF.GEN mouth=DAT beer(Eng)
botr do t’uŋ-bo ìː. bottle two drink-2INF EQU.PER
‘Today, [in addition to eating a full plate], I drank two bottles of beer.’ (KN e)

15.9.4 Negated additive with mɛ̀mbo
The form mɛ̀mbo, which is a somewhat grammaticalized form of the negated interrogative equative mɛ̀m-bo [NEG.EQU.NE.Q], can form an additive construction, if followed by a negated or (rhetorical) interrogated main clause. When followed by a negated declarative clause, as in (15.187), mɛ̀mbo forms a type of negated additive, telling that the verbal action of the main clause did/does/will not happen in addition to the action in the subordinate first clause.
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 \( \text{mëmb} \).

\[ (15.188) \]
\[
\text{But at that time, [in addition to spoken language], there was no tradition of writing.} \quad (\text{KL BLA 12})
\]

15.10 Substitutive clauses with \( \text{tsʰaplo} \)

Substitutive clauses are formed with the help of the relator noun \( \text{tsʰaplo/tsʰamalo} \) ‘in place of’, which is appended to a genetivized infinitive form:

\[ (15.189) \]
\[
\text{‘Let’s give this money to her [instead of giving (it) to him].’ (KN e)}
\]

15.11 Comparative clauses with \( \text{=lec} \ (\text{lako}=\text{EMPH}) \)

Comparative clauses can be formed by attaching the ablative \( \text{=lec} \), optionally followed by \text{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 \( \text{=di} \) respectively. The word \text{lako} may be followed by an emphatic, see \( \text{=to} \) in (15.190b) and \( \text{=di} \) in (15.191).
For uses of the comparative construction =le (lako) with nouns, see §5.6.1.3.2.

15.12 Various functions of the terminative converbs -sāː and -sonzāː

The terminative verb has two markers, -sāː and -sonzāː, which both probably derive form the postposition =sāː (te) ‘until’. The longer form -sonzāː is most probably a historical combination of the secondary verb sāː (WD sōː ‘song’) and the postposition =sāː. 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 =sāː: with nominals, (i.e. clearly expresses the semantics of ‘until’) is illustrated as negated in (15.192) and affirmed in (15.193).

(15.192) มหา ติ้รูง ม่วงม่วง แช่ minimise  SMP ทำ =sāːː

ŋà t’aruŋ [óŋmu ̀lok ma-ò:-sāːː] do-ce ṭː.
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 Wangmu has not come.]’ (Ricchi 28)

(15.193) มหา ติ้รูง ม่วงม่วง แช่ม ติ้รูง =sāːː

training finish-RDP-TERM tea tsampa responsibility PN=DAT
‘[Until the training is finished], Choki (has) the responsibility for tea and snacks.’ (Richchi 52)

In (15.192), the speaker is waiting for something that has not yet happened. Therefore the verb with =sāː 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, =sāː expresses simultaneity:
(15.194) གི་ོན་ོར་ དེ་ོན་ིན་པ་ 1SG there.go.PFV-TERM 3SGM there NEG.EX.SEN ‘[When I went there], he was not there.’ (KL e)

(15.195) ཤིང་ ལྷ་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྔོ་ མཐྔོང་ཟང་ ཁུ་ ཨྔོ་ན་ རི་ 1SG PN=DAT see TERM 3SGM escape go-2INF EQU.PER ‘[Yesterday when/as I saw Gjaltshen], (he) escaped.’ (TB e)

(15.196) བད་ དེ་ ཆེ་ རྡུ་ ཚུ་ འདུག། 1SG food eat-INF very.much difficult ‘[When (we) arrived in Pelling], it (was) very difficult for us (to find a place) to eat.’ (DB trip story)

(15.197) བད་ དེ་ ཆེ་ རྡུ་ ཚུ་ འདུག། te [ŋàtɕa=lo go.2INF see NF] then 1PL culture(Eng.) program(Eng.) take.out-HORT say=TERM 3SGM NEG.EX.SEN ‘Then [when we say let’s hold a cultural program], we do not have a stage.’ (NAB BLA 7)

(15.198) བད་ དེ་ ཆེ་ རྡུ་ ཚུ་ འདུག། 1SG PN=CEMPMohouse direction=DAT go.2INF see-NF ‘[When/as (she) looks intently here and there], (she) sees Norbu going along the road toward (his) home, and....’ (Richhi 98)

The terminative may be followed by the conditional marker:

(15.199) དེ་ ནཱ་ སྒོ་ འདུག། 1SG look-TERM-COND place=DEMPH beautiful EX.SEN ‘[If I look (at it)] this place is beautiful.’(KN e)

A verbal construction with =sā: can also express reason:

436 The construction ta=sā: is analogous to Nepali her-e-samma [look-PFV-until] ‘when looking, as far as one can see’.

437 The speaker KN himself volunteered a translation into Nepali with the simultaneous construction her-da-k'eri.
(15.200) \[\text{PN}\text{= AGT \ NEG-eat-TERM \ PN}\text{= AGT=too \ NEG-EAT} \]

‘[Because Karma does not eat], Choki does not eat either.’ (Richhi 20)

With verbs of speaking, the meaning may approximate ‘according to, as far as (someone) says’:

(15.202) \[\text{PN}\text{= AGT book=DEMPH \ read-INF} \begin{align*} \text{begin} & \quad \text{insert-TERM} \\ \text{PN} & \quad \text{TPN} \end{align*} \text{come-INF=REP} \]

‘[As far as he says], he is coming to Gangtok, I heard.’/ ‘[According to what he says], he’s coming to Gangtok, I heard.’ (KN e)

In some contexts, the meaning may be concessive, as illustrated by (15.203), where the speaker offers an excuse for being late.

(15.203) \[\text{PN}\text{= AGT come-ABL} \begin{align*} \text{come-INF} & \quad \text{do-TERM} \\ \text{PN} & \quad \text{marriage=GEN} \text{come have.time.to} \\ \text{PN} & \quad \text{apron} \end{align*} \text{have.REF} \]

‘[Although I tried to come sooner], from where would I have the time to come?’

(mam-rtog 1)

The longer form of the terminative is -sonzã-. Its use in examples (15.204) and (15.205) is akin to the English expression as far as (or ‘according to’), which is clearly semantically related to the semantic content of the postposition sãː(tɛ̃̃) until. Example (15.204) occurs in the book sbar-phung ling-dam 'sgro-lis, where the form is written sön-gang tsang, suggesting an origin in WT sãː song tsang ‘because’, although the clause does not express reason.

(15.204) \[\text{PN}\text{= AGT come-ABL} \begin{align*} \text{say-TERM} & \quad \text{marriage=GEN} \\ \text{what.REF} & \quad \text{apron} \end{align*} \text{have.REF} \]

‘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)
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 jãːk ‘more, (in) excess’.
Both the short form -sā: 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 -sā:, see (15.212). The negation of in-sonzāː is mē:-sonzāː.

(15.211) བཅས་པའི་ཚིག་སེམས་པའི་ག་པར་འཚེ་བའི་འདི་འིན་སྔོང་ཟང་(or: འིན་སྔོང་ཙང་) [ཤོ: in-sonzāːː]...
\[ that.AGT EQU-TERM \]
‘[Because of that]...’ (CY interview)

(15.212) བཅས་པའི་ཚིག་སེམས་པའི་ག་པར་འཚེ་བའི་འདི་འིན་ཟང་(or: འིན་ཙང་) [ཤོ: in-zāː]...
\[ this.AGT EQU-TERM \]
‘[Because of this]... ’ (Richhi 60)

In written language, the demonstrative in (15.212) is marked as an agentive/instrumental. I suspect that in spoken language, the contrast with the non-marked and agentive-marked demonstrative is non-existent, especially because the difference is only in vowel length, a feature which is contrastive but does not bear much functional load. For the time being, however, even the spoken form in (15.211) is here marked as agentive.

15.13 Summary remarks
This lengthy chapter described the variety of constructions used in forming adverbial clauses, which were organized under eleven main functional headings: nonfinal, temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, concessive, circumstantial, additive, substitutive, comparative and terminative. The constructions used in forming adverbial clauses were seen to include ten converbs, seven postpositional clauses, three noun-headed clauses and ten other constructions. Some of the markers, such as the terminative converb, were shown to occur in a variety of uses and thus to be highly context sensitive, whereas other markers, such as the concessive and conditional markers, were seen to have specialized uses. The circumstantial-purposive marker showed an interesting polarity-related division: affirmative uses tend to be purposive and negated uses circumstantial, although in one literary source these forms were seen to function differently. Simultaneity (expressed with seven constructions) and causality (expressed with eight constructions) were seen to be the functions which showed the greatest constructional variety, both leaving room for further research.
16 Discourse phenomena

This chapter addresses discourse and context related markers and phenomena, which typically make reference beyond the clause. For instance, the contrastive clitic =to suggests that a contrast is being made with another proposition/clause in discourse and the honorific =la suggests that the speaker has made an evaluation of their own social status in relation to the addressee in the non-linguistic context. The bulk of the discussion will focus on phrase-level emphatic clitics (§16.1), clause-final clitics (§16.2.), assertive and exclamative tags (§16.3) and discourse particles (§16.4). Briefer treatment is given to recapitulation (§16.5), right-dislocation (§16.6) and intonation in discourse (§16.7).

16.1 Emphatic clitics

Denjongke has four emphatic clitics, which in various ways invite the addressee to pay attention to a certain constituent in the clause. Being aware of Payne’s (1997: 345) claim that “focus” and “emphatic” “are probably the most overused and misused terms in linguistics”, I aim to, at least, specify the distinguishing characteristics of the emphatics.

Table 16.1. Emphatic clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=rãː=/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>

As examplified in (16.1), emphatic clitics in a noun phrase occur after case-marking.

(16.1) ༣ འཛོན་བོད་ཀྱི་༢༢༢༢ དུག་པ་ལ་མི་རྱེན་ནི་འཇིག་ཤིན་ལས་འདུག།

language.HON three like.that that time=ABL=AEMPH EX.PER say.HON=PROG du?

EX.SEN

‘From just that time there were thus three languages, (they) say.’ (CY interview)

In the following sections, the emphatic clitics are discussed in the same order they occur in Table 16.1.

16.1.1 Anaphoric emphatic =rã:

The emphatic clitic =rã: (or =ra\(^{438}\)) can add general emphasis to almost any clausal element. The marker =rã: also has similar anaphoric potential as its etymon zê: 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’, ódem=ra ‘indeed like that’. Example (16.2) shows a use of the emphatic, where the referent to which the emphatic is attached has already been mentioned. A group of people are discussing where a certain ceremony is going to be held. One person has suggested Varanasi but person B has objected. Then, person A in (16.2) suggests the right location, Dorjeden, to which B concurs and marks the location, now the new topic of discussion, with the emphatic =ra.

(16.2) A: བོད་སྒོ་དེ་རེ་གདན་ལྔོ།
tʼutei? dordzidē:=lo.
this.year TPN=DAT
‘This year (it’s going to be) in Dorjeden.’

B: བོད་སྒོ་གཤིར་དེ་རེ་གདན་ལྔོ་ར་འདྲད (=འདྲ་སྦད)།
tʼutei? dairekt dordzidē:=lo=ra ᐸ.?
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 óde=ra ‘just like that’ makes anaphoric reference to the previous clause in the same sentence:

(16.3) སྨན་མ་གར་ཡོད་པྔོ་བྔོ་འདེ་ར་བཞག་དགྔོས།
tʼa njema kʼar jø po óde:=ra za: go?.
now earlier what EQU-2INF like.that=AEMPH set be.needed
‘What was before, needs to be preserved just as it is/was.’ (CY interview)

As shown in §6, the form ñr: rang is also used as a second person singular pronoun and a reflexive marker. Example (16.4) shows that the emphatic =rãː 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) ན་ལྟི་བུ་སྟ་ཏྔོ་ལེམ་རང་གིས་རང་ཐག་བཅད་མི་ཆུ་མ་།
ŋáː kʼan p’ja go ŋà–raŋ=gi=rãː tʰakɕɛʔ.
I.AGT what 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 =rãː 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, =rãː attaches to an adjective (16.5), postposition (16.6) and a question word (16.7).

(16.5) ཏག བུ་སྟ་ཏྔོ་ལེམ་རང་ཇོར།
t’ato sãːte=to lêm=ra jøʔ.
now until=CEMPH good=AEMPH EX.PER
‘We are well until now.’ (PED life story)
(16.6) དེ་ནེ་ ཨྔོ་ཉེ་ཙུ་ཡང་ཁྔོ་མཉམ་ཅིག་རང་བྔོན།
then children=PL=too 3SGM with=AEMPH go.HON
‘Then (you) children also go with him.’ (Richhi 15)

(16.7) level བར་ནར་ཨིན་རུང
level k’ar=ra i.-rug
level(Eng.) what=AEMPH EQU-CONC
‘whatever level (it is)’ (KL BLA 12)

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.

(16.8) འཇིག་གཞན་གྱུ་དང་ཡིན་ལོག་གི་བུད།
odzi sum=ra giu-ei, l? n? ji? sum làp-tiki
that three=AEMPH go-NPST.PER body words mind three say-NF
‘those three go (within that), (those) called body, words (and) mind.’ (YR canteen video)

(16.9) འཇིག་གཞན་གྱུ་དང་ཡིན་ལོག་གི་བུད།
lök lem malep làp-kʰé: tei:=ra i.
again good bad say-NMLZ one=AEMPH EQU.PER
‘Again, good and bad are the same.’ (PED life story)

(16.10) རྩེ་ འཇིག་གཞན་གྱུ་དང་ཡིན་ལོག་གི་བུད།
te odi einpo=di=já: atsi nórit’ha?=tei=ra
so that field.labourer=DEMPH=also a.bit clever=INDF=AEMPH
jô=-kʰen be?.
EX-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘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-infinitive marking a clausal complement (16.11), to the first part of the phrasal verb ha-ko ‘know’ (16.12), to -po-infinitive in the periphrastic past construction (16.13) and directly to the verb root (16.14-15).

(16.11) དེ་བུད་འཇིག་གཞན་གྱུ་གི་
nê: làp-ee=rãː di i.
my say-INF=AEMPH this EQU.PER
‘What I have to say is this:’ (Nga’i ’gan 10)
‘(They) did not even know that it was already eight o’clock.’ (Richhi 14)

‘You are possessors of (this) knowledge, you indeed know.’ (NAB BLA 7)

‘This axe is indeed the one, he said.’ (JDF axe story)

‘Patient who has such a weak body is placed here idle without anything done.’ (rnam-rtog 6)

Finally, \(=\text{id}=\) 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.

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 \([\text{VERBAL}_\text{STEM}=\text{DISCOURSE}_\text{CLITIC}_\text{FINAL}_\text{VERB}]\)
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 \textit{ma}-. 

\begin{itemize}
\item[(16.19)] \begin{enumerate}
\item a) \textit{ma-bak}=râ: \textit{bak} be?.
\end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item A: \textit{ea}nu=to \textit{t’a} tsopo kjap-a \textit{gju} go.-ee be?.
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item B: \textit{ku} la=la. \textit{te} \textit{k’oŋ}=gi=di \textit{maŋ-gju}=râ: \textit{gju}=lo=si=la.
\end{itemize}

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 \textit{mi}-.

\begin{itemize}
\item[(16.20)] \begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{di} \textit{t’o}=râ: \textit{mi-t’o}=bo be?.
\end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item this \textit{see}=AEMP\textit{HON=see-2INF EQU.NE}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item ‘There’s absolutely no seeing this (unclear photocopy).’ (RL oh)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item[(16.21)] \begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{odi} \textit{nänga} \textit{t’oŋ-ra} \textit{mi-t’oŋ}=râ: be=s.
\end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item that \textit{within} \textit{happen-AEMP\textit{HON=hap}pen-NMLZ \textit{EQU.NE=QUO}}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item ‘Within that, there is no way of that happening.’ (CY interview)
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{441} \textit{t’o}: is a dialectal variant of \textit{râ}. 

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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) 
látɕʰː látɕʰŋ námca=lo teʰuk si-kʰː jò:-ra mèbbɛ?.
TPN TPN inside=DAT Nepali say-NMLZ EX-AEMPHER EX.NE
‘There is absolutely no Nepalis in Lachen and Lachung.’ (CY interview)

(16.24) a) jòː=-râː mèː(-kʰɛn be?).
EX=AEMPHER NEG.EX(-NMLZ EQU.NE)
‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)

b) mèː=-râ mèː(-kʰɛn be?).
NEG.EX=AEMPHER NEG.EX(-NMLZ EQU.NE)
‘there absolutely is not’ (TB e)

16.1.2 Contrastive emphatic =to
The contrastive emphatic =to differs from the general and potentially anaphoric emphatic =râː 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) tʽatʰ oːtʰo=sàːte=to lêm=ra jò?.
now until=CEMPHER good=AEMPHER EX.PER
‘(We) are well until now (but I do not know about the future).’ (PED life story)

In (16.26), speaker A presents an assumption (in the form of a question) which contrasts with what speaker B knows: lama Kaching cannot be the proctor because he is abroad.

(16.26) A: tɕʰimbo=di lám katsʰŋ lāp mô ka=tei? lám
proctor=DEMPHER lama PN say EQU.NE.Q who=INDF lama
mô=tei?.
EQU.NE.Q=INDF
‘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)  

gem te ma-\textipa{pʰ}e?\textipa{, gap=}\textipa{dzikta?} be?=\textipa{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)

The use of the contrastive emphatic may also convey disapproval, as in (16.29):

(16.29)  

dem sà.të=\textipa{to} ma-sûŋ=mô?.  
like.that until=CEMPH NEG-say.HON=URG  
‘Do not by all means go that far in speaking.’ (Richhi 20)

Now consider (16.30), which has two instances of =\textipa{to}.

(16.30)  

\begin{verbatim}
ádzi:, kʰim=na=\textipa{to} man-gju-ge. làp-ɛʔ? zak-ɛʔ?  
oh.no home=LOC=CEMPH NEG-go-HOR say-INF put-INF  
mè:po: mi: kʰim=na gju-ɛʔ? ñò tsʰa-wa:.  
NEG.EX-2INF.GEN person.GEN home=LOC go-INF face be.hot-CIRC  
‘Darn! Let’s not go to (his) home. It is embarrassing to go to a man’s home without anything to say or give.’
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{443} The words \textipa{gem} and \textipa{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 \(=\), 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
kʰõː &= tsu=ne \text{ dzei di ma-kjap-ne}=to \text{ } \etaâtei \text{ } lôme=p=di \\
3 PL &= PL = TOP \text{ oh.no this NEG-do-COND=CEMPH} \text{ 1 PL GEN minister=DEM PH} \\
gomf¬=e=\text{? bɛ?} \\
\text{get.angry-INF EQU NE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ôdi } \text{ } ñ=\text{e}=\text{to } \text{ im(-bo } \text{ õ}) \text{ } \text{ t’izâ:...} \\
\text{that EQU-INF=CEMPH EQU(-2 INF EQU PER) but...} \\
\text{‘That might indeed be the case but...’} \text{ (PT e)}
\end{align*}
\]

Finally, \(=to\) occurs in an negated emphatic copy verb construction \(\text{VERB}=to \text{ NEG-VERB} \) (for copy verbs, see Ozerov & Daudey 2017):

\[
\begin{align*}
kʰõː &= tsu \text{ } gjà=:to \text{ } \text{ min-gjà=:wa} \\
3 PL &= PL \text{ fill.up=CEMPH NEG.fill.up-CIRC} \\
\text{‘They do not at all fill up (mutterings of prayer)’} \text{ (TB discussion with PB)}
\end{align*}
\]

16.1.3 Demonstrative-emphatic \(=di\)

In addition to the demonstrative uses discussed in §6.4, the proximal \(di \text{ ‘this’} \) has been grammaticalized into demonstrative-emphatic\(^\text{444} \) \(=d\), which does not have referential function

\(^\text{444}\) 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) ཈ི་ ཡི་ ཅུ་ ལུ་ གཞི་ འཇི་ དེས་ ལོག་ ཁ།
ódi  
that man=DEMPH=GEN possessions=DEMPH anything NEG.EX-NMLZ be?
EQU.NE
‘That man didn’t have any possessions.’ (JDF axe story)

(16.35) གུ་ ལུ་ ཡི་ དེ་ བྱུང་ མོང་ སྙིང་ ལོག་ ཁ།
di  
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) ཤི་ ལུ་ གཞི་ ལུ་ བུ་ སྤོན།
kʰu=di ámdzi ɨ.
3SGM=DEMPH doctor EQU.PER
‘He is a doctor.’ (YR e)

b) ཤི་ གཞི་ ལུ་ བུ་ སྤོན།
kʰu ámdzi ɨ.
3SGM doctor EQU.PER
‘He is a doctor.’ (YR e)

Sandberg (1895: 21) notes that “[o]rdinarily di follows its noun; but where any singling out of the noun is desired we have one di placed before and another di after the word.” Similarly, Zeisler (2011: 278) observes that in the Kenhat dialect of Ladakhi the “definiteness marker” -de co-occurs with prenominal demonstratives and can even be postposed directly to to the proximal /i/ ḥdi ‘this’ and distal /a/ ḥa ‘that’ to form /ire/ ḥdi-de and /arɛ/ ḥa-de respectively. A similar use of the “definite article” -de occurs in Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002: 70).

Although the semantic range of =di in Denjongke subsumes functions which in other languages have been characterized as “definiteness”, its uses go beyond definiteness. Such categories as proper nouns, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are by definition definite, as suggested by the fact that the English definite article does not co-occur with them. The Denjongke =di, however, may be postposed to all the three above-mentioned categories and also to others. Similar extended, non-referential, emphatic use of the demonstrative se ‘it’ occurs in Finnic languages (Grünthal 2015: 277, Kittilä & Yurayong (forthcoming). Grünthal (2015: 280), for instance, describes the non-referential use of se in Veps (Finnic) as an “unspecific focus particle”. Moreover, in Classical Greek (e.g.

445 Example (16.37) illustrates the use of the demonstrative-emphatic with a
proper noun and a demonstrative pronoun, and example (16.38) exemplifies a use with a personal pronoun.

(16.37) ཆེན་བོད་ལྔོངས་འདི་ལྔོ་འདེམ་ཞིང་ན། འདི་ལྔོ་འདེམ་ཞིང་ན་ཐུབ་། ལྔོངས་འདི་ལྔོ་འདེམ་ཞིང་ན་ཐུབ་།

dendzo=di  ld dzambuli=n a y k‘ad i t‘a min d a,
Sikkim=DEMPH south continent=LOC region which and unlike
di=di lépti né: tsa:teimpo i=.=s.
this=DEMPH very.much place invaluable EQU.PER=QUO
‘Sikkim (is) different from any region in the rest of the world, this is very precious place.’ (CY Interview)

(16.38) ང་འདི་ལྔོ་འདེམ་ཞིང་ན་ན་སྟི་འྔོང་བྔོ།

t‘izâ: ã=di òdem sâ:te kpeparte:=di mè= ci=ce
but 1SG=DEMPH like.that until special=DEMPH NEG.EX. say.HUM-INF
ì:
EQU.PER
‘But I’m not that special, I submit.’ (CY Interview)

Examples (16.39-41) further illustrate that =di may attach to postnominal demonstrative modifiers òdi, di and dodi respectively.

(16.39) ང་འདི་ལྔོ་འདེམ་ཞིང་ན་ན་སྟི་འྔོང་བྔོ།

t‘a t‘om òdi=di lép=ra to=:ti òna lep-ti
now bear that=DEMPH very.much=AEMPH be.hungry-NF there arrive-NF
òm-bo.
come-2INF
‘Now that bear arrived there very hungry.’ (KT animal story)

(16.40) ང་འདི་ལྔོ་འདེམ་ཞིང་ན་ན་སྟི་འྔོང་བྔོ།

t‘ep di=di
book this=DEMPH
‘this book (holding the book in hand)’ (SGD wedding customs)

(16.41) ང་འདི་ལྔོ་འདེམ་ཞིང་ན་ན་སྟི་འྔོང་བྔོ།

dodi=di potso=tasu nî=:sa.
this.right.here=DEMPH child=PL sleep-place
‘This right here (is) the children’s sleeping place.’ (PD altar room video)

A demonstrative-based marker di=di may occur either before the plural marker (16.42) or after it (16.43).

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”.

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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).\(^{446}\)

446 Somewhat analogously, the Finnish plural demonstrative \( ne \) ‘they’ has grammaticalized into a plural emphatic which may attach to the homophonous demonstrative, \( ne=ne \) ‘they-DEMPH’ (personal knowledge).
(16.46) ᇴྦྦྦྦ འདི་
kʰô:=-tsu=di...
3PL=PL=DEMPH
‘They...’ (UTR plains story)

(16.47) བྦྦྦྦ འདི་
kʰô: di=tsu...
3PL this=PL
‘They...’ (CY interview)

(16.48) བྦྦྦྦ འདི་
ó(d)i di=tsu...
that this=PL
‘They...’ (PED life story)

The demonstrative-emphatic can intervene between a noun and its genitive modifier, as shown in (16.49), where =di seems to bring emphasis on the possessor.

(16.49) བྦྦྦྦ འདི་
ŋàtei=gi=di lògju?
1PL.GEN=GEN=DEMPH story
‘our story’ (YR canteen video)

It also attaches to postpositions:

(16.50) བྦྦྦྦ འདི་
ŋà jümϕu=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) བྦྦྦྦ འདི་
kʼɛːtʰia=di ran=gj ke=:di go pêne lê:e:
important=DEMPH own=GEN language=DEMPH beginning first know
go=kʰen be?.
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) བྦྦྦྦ འདི་
ran-ke=:di pʼeteʔ? pʼja-ee=di ɲòtʰaː.
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) སྔོབ་གྲྭའི་ཀི་མདུན་ཁར་སེབས་ཚོའྔོ་ལས་=di
lྡོག་=gt ་lep-so:=le=di
school.GEN=GEN in.front.of arrive-CMPL.2INF=ABL=DEMPH
‘After arriving in front of the school…’ (RS pupil joke)

(16.54) ིན་ལྡེ་ཞྱིོད་ཨུ་ཕྲོག་སྒིས་=di
teʰu-la=tei? teʰon-diki=di “te teʰo? k’an bjog;
water-god=INDF come.HON-NF=DEMPH so 2SG.L what disappear
k’an bjog:” làp-tiki ŭi ta-u=lo.
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 teʰon-di would be used in place of teʰon-di=ki=di.

Moreover, =di can be added to -po-infinitive forms:

(16.55) ཐཱཀོ་ཡི་འདི་འཕྲོ་གྲོགས་ཤྱིོད་ཨུ་ཕྲོག་སྒིས་=di
ŋatca=lo=di nা঴wa p’im-bo=di=lo ɲint’akpo:
1PL=DAT=DEMPH permission give-2INF=DEMPH=DAT bottom.of.heart.GEN
go:le tʰudzi=te eⁱ-eʰ=la.
through thank.you say.HUM-NPST.PER=HON
‘I thank you from the bottom of (my/our) heart for giving us the the permission.’
(CY interview)

The emphatic =di makes nominalized verbal constructions more conducive to nominal operations such as case-marking. In (16.55), for instance, adding the dative-locative case-marker directly to the nominalized form (p’im-bo=lo) would result in a form that sounds like a typical past reportative construction often heard in stories (=lo is both a dative-locative and a reportative marker). An intervening =di thus functions as a disambiguator. Especially in written language, the agentive form of =di attached to -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) 难道您想: 您没有父亲看来最后您将不能再见了?
\[ te'ø=lo \ apø=ne \ mè?. \ apø: \ tsʰa=lo \ te'ø=râ: \ mèmbo \]
2SG.L=DAT father=TOP NEG.EX.PER father. GEN instead 2SG.L=REFL except
zen ka jo?:
other who EX.PER
“You don’t have a father. Who is there in place of your father except yourself?” (Richhi 83)

(16.57) 你，你的父亲呢？既然你的父母已经去世你可否告诉我，你是否悲伤？
\[ karma \ te'ø? \ k'ana \ sô:-bo? \ gju-do \ i: \ ma-lâp-a. \ ñâ=ne \]
Karma 2SG.L where go.PFV-PST go-IPFV EQUI.PER NEG-say-CIRC 1PL=TOP
\[ lépti \ sêmdu? \ do: \ jo?. \ very.much \ worry \ stay \ EX.PER \]
“Karma, where did you go, without saying you were going? As for us, we were very worried.” (Richhi 110)

In (16.56) the word \( \text{ápo ‘father’} \) is topicalized by \( =\text{ne} \) and occurs as the topic of the next sentence. In (16.57), the use of \( =\text{ne} \) 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 \( =\text{ne} \) 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) 你，你的父亲呢？既然你的父母已经去世你可否告诉我，你是否悲伤？
\[ karma, \ te'ø? \ ñâ=lo \ lêm-ba \ màla? \ ëö?. \ t'a \ ñâ=ne \]
Karma 2SG.L 1SG=DAT take-PUR quick come.IMP now 1SG=TOP
\[ pe=na \ sê=nap \ tsʰon-\text{tsʰa}. \ pe-t'a? \ tëc=kë: \ t'a \ te'ø? \ mèmbo \]
trap=LOC enter-IMF become-CMLTRAP rope break-NMLZ now 2SG.L=except
\[ zen \ ka=gì=jâ: \ mi-tsʰu?. \ karma, \ zen \ ka=gì=jâ: \]
other who=AGT=even NEG-be.able.to Karma other who=AGT=even 
\[ mi-tsʰu?. \ t'a \ ñâ: \ k'an \ p'ja-\text{ee}?\, ëö=tsa: \ tʰaplam \ zen=ne \]
NEG-be.able.to now 1AGT what do-INF 1SG. GEN=at means other=TOP
\[ kandr=\text{:jâ}:\, \me?: \ k'ë:sì?: \ ëöktsʰip \ jʊ=-ne=to \ nám=le \ pʰu=-di \]
any=even NEG.EX.PER if wing EX.PE-COND=CEMPH sky=ABL.FLY-NF

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འྔོང་ཆྔོག་ ਲིན། ཨྔོ་འདི་ནེ་ ང་ལྔོ་ ऴྔོག་ཆི༔བ་ མེད།

come be.allowed EQU.PER that=TOP 1SG=DAT wing NEG.EX.PER

‘Karma, come quickly to take me. I [=ne] have become one about to be entrapped. There is now no one except you who can break the trap-rope. Now what should I do? I have no other means [=ne]. If I had wings, I could come flying through the sky. But there it is [=ne] (lit. that=ne): I do not have wings.’ (Richhi 155)

The first use =ne (ɲà=ne) in (16.58), topicalizes the speaker’s own situation. The second use (tʰaplám zen=ne) introduces a new topic, i.e. ways of escaping the present situation. The third use (ōdi=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, 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 but in the translation.

(16.60)

‘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)
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) གཞུང་གླུ་ལབ་པ་ཅེ་ནེ་ད་ནེ་པ་ལི་སྐད་ལས་ནེ་ལྔོག་གིཏ་(Nep.)
zunlu lâp-otene t’a nepali ke:le=ne loggit
folksong say-COND now Nepali language=ABL=TOP folksong(Nep.)
‘If talking of folksong(s), as for Nepali language, (it’s called) [loggit].’ (RS on songs)

(16.64) ཀྱོ་ཇ་དྲང་མཁན་ནེ་བྔོང་བུ་ཡྔོད།
k’jo t’â=k’ê=ne p’ô:bu jô?.
wheat carry-NMLZ=TOP donkey EX.PER
‘As for carriers of wheat, there were donkeys.’ (PD bet story)

16.2 Clause-final clitics

Clause-final clitics are listed in Table 16.2.

Table 16.2. Clausal clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>=lo</th>
<th>reportative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=se/si/s</td>
<td>quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=la</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=eo</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), "eo" (§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) འདི་མཉེ་ལྔོག་ཀྔོ་ལྔོ་ལགས།
dogom=di p’ok-o=lo=la.
stone=DEMPH hit-2INF=REP=HON
‘…the stone hit, so the story goes.’ (UU deer story)

b) བྲྲ་ོ་ལྔོ་ི་མ་ལི་
te’a:-po ò=s=la.
descend-2INF EQU.PER=QUO=HON
‘…descended, so the story goes.’ (PAD 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 beʔ. Speaker vs. addressee-orientation is contextually determined.

(16.67) jáː, óŋi=laː=tsu  be=eo.
   o child=HON=PL EQU.NE=AT
   ‘O, it’s the children.’ (Richhi 25)
In (16.67), the speaker expresses the newsworthiness of the information for herself (as also suggested by the use of the interjection jàː). In (16.68), on the other hand, the speaker is carrying out a pedagogical monologue and wants, by using =ɛo, to directs his addressees’ attention to the significance of the story he has just told.

A frequent context for using =ɛo is when the speakers provide information that they think is contrary to what the addressees believe:

(16.69) A: དྲུ་ཕུང་བོག་བཅུ་པའི་ཀི།

A: དི་ཕུང་ཕུང་པོ་སེན་ སྲིད་ཤོན།

B: མོ་བུ་ཕུང་བོག་མོ་པའི་ཀི་མིར་ཤོན།

‘It’s not the tenth month, you know. It’s the twelfth.’ (AB kitchen discussion)

Although many uses of =ɛo resemble clauses which in other languages have been termed “mirative”, example (16.70) shows that uses of =ɛo are not determined in terms of newness to “overall knowledge structure” (DeLancey’s [1997: 33] description of mirativity) but in terms of attention-worthiness of the proposition.

(16.70) དེ་ཐེག་འབྲེལ་ཐེག་དུ་? དེ་ནང་དེ་ཡི་ག་ལེག

‘Do I have only hands? I have also feet, I see, (he) said.’ (KT animal story)

In (16.70), the information that he has feet is definitely not new to the speaker’s “overall knowledge structure”. Rather, this old piece of information is particularly useful, and thus attention-worthy, in the situation the speaker is in (hence ‘I see’ in the translation). The speaker, a marten, is stuck in glue and has tried to get out of the trouble by using his feet. When his feet are stuck in glue, he comes up, with sad consequences, with a new realization of further limbs. Counter-arguments for subsuming the uses of =ɛo under “mirativity” are presented in Yliniemi (2016).

Verbless uses of =ɛo are topic-switching questions that direct the addressee’s attention to a new item. The topic-switching question may be translated ‘(and/but) what about…?’. When occurring within the clause, as in (16.71), the attention marker is followed by a pause (in harmony with its use as a clause-final clitic).

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).
A noun phrase with \(=\text{co}\) 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) \(\text{nàng mếmpo}: \text{dzà:dar} \ p'ja-do \text{i}: \text{te} \ p'usim=\text{tsu}=\text{co}?\)

\(1\text{SG}\) 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) \(\text{ŋàtæa}? \ \text{dendzonpa}=\text{di} \ \text{i}=\text{co}=\text{la} . \ \text{dendzonpa}=\text{di} \ \text{tuŋtuŋ}\)

\(1\text{PL}\) Denjongpa=DEMPH EQU.PER=AT=HON Denjongpa=DEMPH short

\(p'ja-ti \ \text{nàmlo} \ \text{mi-làp}.\)

do-NF ever NEG-say

‘We, on the other hand, are Denjongpas. The Denjongpas never say (their name) in short.’ (oh, Tashiding)

It is typologically interesting that \(=\text{co}\) 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 \(=\text{ki/gi}\)
The final marker \(=\text{ki/gi}\) is a loan from Nepali, where \(\text{ki}\) is used as a question particle, conjunction ‘or’ and also as a very frequent clause-final marker. I have not yet fully understood the meaning of this marker in Nepali or, by extension, in Denjongke. Preliminarily, I name it, in harmony to its other uses in Nepali, a non-commitment marker (glossed NC).

(16.75) \(\text{ŋà: láp-ce}=\text{ki} \ \text{t'ontsê}=\text{di}=\text{ra} \ \text{ódì be}=\text{ki}.\)

\(1\text{AGT} \text{say-INF} \text{GEN subject}=\text{DEMPH}=\text{DEMPH} \text{that} \ \text{EQU.NE}=\text{NC}\)

‘The subject of my talking is just that.’ (KL BLA 12)
(16.76) अति रोमान पुन (Nepali)

átśi ro:ram pun p’ja-ee=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) नौटा तारिक (Nepali)

ŋàt aʔ tərık ṭeopdː=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 ki, also a loan from Nepali, functions as an occasional complementizer, see §14.2.2.2.

16.3 Assertive and exclamative tags

The assertive tag ɲá and exclamative tag (h)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 ɲá and (h)oː, see §11.1.1.2 and §11.1.6 respectively. The tag ɲá adds assertive nuance (§16.3.1) and (h)oː exclamative nuance to the proposition (§16.3.2).

16.3.1 Assertive tag ɲá

The form ɲá was in §11.1 shown to be an interrogated form of the personal copula ī. This form has, however, also grammaticalized into a non-interrogatory assertive tag which may attach even to copulas. The tag ɲá (along with its dialectal variants ino and no) occurs in declarative and imperative clauses. The phonological status of ɲá (both the copulas and tag) is open for more detailed research. For now, I have retained high pitch marking on the vowel to preserve connection to the source form in-na ཉིན་. 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 ɲá in a question (a) and the exclamative ɲá in the answer to the same question (b):

(16.78) a) कुना काम गर्नुहोस् क्यो ो?

leŋge? jō? kjap-to ɲá?

PRN.HON work do-IPFV EQU.PER.Q ‘Are you working?’ (KN e)

b) कुना काम गर्नुहोस् क्यो

ɲà jō? kjap-to ī: ɲá.

1SG work do-IPFV EQU.PER.TAG.ASR ‘I am indeed working.’ (KN e)

For two further examples of ɲá and ino appended to copulas, consider (16.79) and (16.80) respectively (the assertive force is suggested in the translation by I tell you).
(16.79) པོ་ཏྷོ་ ཆིག་མ་ དུས་ དུས་ ཕྱེད།
p’otso dzikta ɪ: ɲá.
child excellent EQU.PER TAG.ASR
‘(The) child is excellent, I tell you. (SN kitchen discussion)

(16.80) ལྷ་ འདུག་ ཨི་ ངོ་ ིུ་ ཕྱ་ འདི་ མི་ དུ་ ཐིགས་དྲགས་ སྦད།
mi lêm du: ino. kʰu=di ɪ’a 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) ད་ མྱ༹་ འདུག་ ཨི་ ངོ་ ིུ་ ིི་ སིའི་ ཀུན་ བརྡ་ ལྗོང་ བདག་ སྲུང་ ཚུ་ འདི་ ཀིས་ ཧི་ རྗེས་ པོ་ ལྷོབ་ དུས་ ཡིན་ བཤད།
ódi p’arvog: ápo ei-kʰen=di=gi=ra ádzø
that TPN father die-NMLZ-DEMPH=AGT=DEMPH grandfather
lópø̃ː=lo e’e-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.

(16.82) ད་ མྱ༹་ འདུག་ ཨི་ ངོ་ ིུ་ ིི་ སིའི་ གཏམ་ ལྗོང་ བདག་ མེད་ དུ་ འདི་ མི་ རྗེས་ པོ་ ལྷོབ་ དུས་ ཡིན་ བཤད།
t’a mjõː-mjõː-po: tam=gi lógju? da:me? ma-eʔ?.
now finish-RDP-GEN word=GEN story void NEG-tell
’t’ak-t’ak-o: má kjo:ne sù: lòt=e=rà: kjap-e=ɛ ɪ:,
heal-RDP.2INF.EN wound repeat-COND pain again=DEMPH strike-INF EQU.PER
’t’a lógju? ma-eʔ? ɲá t’o=te-ɕam 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) ད་ མྱ༹་ འདུག་ ཨི་ ངོ་ ིུ་ ིི་ སིའི་ དེ་ རྗེས་ བཤད།
t’iːa: ɛː lëpti 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) ཁྲིན་ཐོང་ ཕྱིན་ ཏོ་ རྣམ་ བྱ་ དགྱུར་ རྩེ་ ཏོ་ རིང་ ལྣྩ་ སབ་ དགྱུ་་སྐད་ སྐབས་ དགྱུས་པད།

tʰorãː tʰa? lke? lap goː=pe?.
tomorrow IPL Lhoke learn be.needed=EQU.NE
‘Tomorrow we have to learn Lhoke.’ (YR e)

(16.85) ཁྲིན་ཐོང་ དྱུ་ཉི་ རྣམ་ ལྣ་ བྱ་ རིང་ ལྣ་ སྐད་ སབ་ དགྱུས་པད།

tʰorãː lŋa tʰa?óna ranka lób=na gju go: júa.
tomorrow PRN.HON there TPN school=LOC go be.needed TAG.ASR
‘Tomorrow you need to go there to Ranka school.’ (YR e)

A further example of the addressee’s obligation is provided by (16.86).

(16.86) ཁྲིན་ཐོང་ དྱུ་ཉི་ རྣམ་ ཝུ་ རྣམ་ ལྣ་ སྐད་ སབ་ དགྱུ་་སྐད་ སྐབས་ དགྱུས་པད།

ɲèː dûŋ=dilo jìː ma-te=ne ray=gi yà=lo
1SG.GEN story=DEMPH=DAT ‘believe NEG-believe-COND you=AGT’ 1SG=DAT
iruk gja-tʰamba p‘in go: júa.
upee hundred=NUM give be.needed TAG.ASR
‘If you do not believe this story of mine, you have to pay me, I tell you, a hundred rupees.’ (PD bet story)

Declarative júa 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 júa is particularly high, and the clause triggered a response from the interlocutor, who said lai ‘yes’ (comes from WD ཀླུང་ཞིང་ lags-in).

(16.87) ཁྲིན་ཐོང་ དྱུ་ཉི་ རྣམ་ ཝུ་ རྣམ་ ཝུ་ སྐད་ སབ་ དགྱུ་་སྐད་ སབས་ དགྱུས་པད།

ɲèː=gi t’a ápo ám eːu-do be: júa.
1SG.GEN now father mother say.HUM-IPFV EQU.NE TAG.ASR
‘My father and mother used to say (like that), I tell you.’ (CY interview)

Figure 16.1. Rising intonation on júa 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 ɲá in (16.88)

However, pitch is not always raised with declarative ɲá. Figures 16.3 and 16.4, providing the pitch trace from (16.89) and (16.90) respectively illustrate a falling pitch pattern on ɲá. Further research is needed in order to determine whether raised pitch is more likely to evoke a response from the addressee than low pitch.

‘That child is excellent, I tell you.’ (KL phone call)

Figure 16.3. Falling intonation on ɲá in (16.89)

‘I don’t know, I tell you.’ (PTW kitchen discussion)

Figure 16.4. Falling intonation on ɲá 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).

\[(16.91)\]  
\[\text{ཁུ་ན་བོ་གནང་བ།} \]
\[\text{གཞན་བོ་} \]  
\[\text{nāː ɲā.} \]
\[\text{listen.HON-2INF give.HON TAG.ASR} \]
\[\text{‘Please listen, eh.’ (PB discussion with TB)} \]

Figure 16.5. Slightly raised intonation with ɲā in (16.91)

\[\text{\textbullet \textbullet \textbullet} \]

16.3.2 Exclamative tag (h)o:

Another commonly used tag is hoː/óː, 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)oː is used in a declarative and in (16.93) in an imperative clause.

\[(16.92)\]
\[\text{ཁུ་ན་པའི་གསོལ་འདེབས་སོར་ཟང་མཐའ་གཡེས་རྔོ་རེ་སོར་བོ།} \]
\[\text{karmapøː sǿd ɛ p kjoː-} \]  
\[\text{st} \]  
\[\text{ɕʰ a} \]  
\[\text{tʰaj ɛ ṭord ʑ i kjoː-} \]  
\[\text{bo} \]
\[\text{Karmapa.GEN prayer recite-TERM all Thaye.Dorje recite-2INF} \]
\[\text{lāp-o}=lo hoː \]
\[\text{say-2INF=REP TAG.EXCLAM} \]
\[\text{‘When reciting Karmapa’s prayer, he is said to have read all Thaye Dorje(‘s text), eh.’ (KNM kitchen discussion)} \]

\[(16.93)\]
\[\text{ཏ་མ་ལབ་ཧོ།} \]
\[\text{t’ə ma-lap hoː} \]
\[\text{now NEG-say TAG.EXCLAM} \]
\[\text{‘Now don’t speak, eh. (KNM kitchen discussion)} \]

Example (16.94) provides a corresponding use from Nepali (Hutt & Subedi [1999: 249], Romanization mine):

\[(16.94)\]
\[\text{hijo maile tapāi aspatāl jā-na lāg-e-ko dekh-e-ko} \]
\[\text{yesterday I.AGT you.HON hospital go.INF begin-PFV-NMLZ see-PFV-NMLZ} \]
\[\text{thiē, ho.} \]
\[\text{COP.PST.1SG COP.EQ.NPST.3SG} \]
\[\text{‘I saw you going to the hospital, eh.’} \]

In (16.95) the motivation for using (h)óː was reported to be irritation of not being, at first, heard by the addressee.
(16.95) **bangalor gju-do be? ó:**

TPN go-IPFV EQU.NE TAG.EXCLAM

‘(She) is going to Bangalore, eh.’ (PT phone call, within kitchen discussion)

Another context is emphasizing disagreement:

(16.96) **mèmbèd ó:**

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(ra kjap-të) ó:**

3PL Nepali=AEMPH speak-PST TAG.EXCLAM

‘It was Nepali they spoke, eh.’ (CY interview)

Figure 16.6. Intonation with the tag *(h)oː:

\[\text{\ldots}
\]

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 nèn kjap-tiki t’ato lò teu-t’amba là:ts’á:**

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 làte’un=la te t’a li=di**

so now so now TPN=DAT so now apple=DEMPH

‘So now in Lachung apples…’ (LA intro to Lachung)
The particle *t’a* can occur clause-initially (16.100), medially (16.101) and finally (16.102). In spoken language, the particle may also occur more than once in a clause, see (16.102).

(16.100)  
ཐོ་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱས།  
*t’a* *mi* *tʰamtec*? *halede*:  
now human all be.surprised  
‘Now (=as a result) all the people were amazed.’ (SGD cave story)

(16.101)  
chos ’*t’a*  t’sʰo=di  ge:  mi-tsʰuː-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)  
ནེ་ཆ་བེད་མེད་གནས་བཞག་པ་  
*t’a*  ódi  njımtʰi  púɲɛntsʰː:  máko=di  *tʰamtec*=lo ŋò  ton  
now that date relative son-in-law=DEMPH all=DAT face show  
be?  *t’a*.448  
be.needed-INF  EQU.NE now  
‘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*449, *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)  
ཏེ་ནེ་ཐོག་་ཅོ་ཁ་ཤེ་  
*te*  ódi  tenkʰa=lo  kʰoː=ra  lómpu  sé:-di  ko?.  
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)  
ནེ་ཆ་བེད་མེད་འདོད་  
ódi  t’sʰeː=di  *te*  jòu  cáptʰː:  be=co  *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* ódi njımtʰi máko=di púɲɛntsʰː: *tʰamtec*=lo ŋò  ton goː ce 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)

16.5 Recapitulation

Recapitulation (see Genetti 2005: 49) refers to a technique in story-telling, where the speaker repeats what was said in the previous (finite) clause. The repeated form is typically presented in the nonfinal converbal construction. The following examples come from a story of a trip the speaker had made on the previous day. The recapitulated parts are given in bold.

(16.106)

‘(They) did a bit shopping. Having done shopping, (they) bought shoes to a child. (They) bought shoes.’ (DB trip story)

16.6 Right-dislocation

Typically Denjongke clauses end in a verb but occasionally clausal arguments occur postposed to the verb. In spontaneous spoken language right-dislocation is a frequently used way for speakers to correct themselves and add information that helps the addressee to disambiguate the clause. The right-dislocated element may be a core argument, as in (16.108) or a peripheral argument, as in (16.109). The dislocated element may but is not always preceded by a pause. The dislocated elements are given in bold.

(16.108)

‘I live there at the monastery in a place called Tshukal.’ (JD life story)
Right-dislocation finds even written expression in the novel Richhi. Example (16.110) presents three consecutive instances.

(16.110) a) བཤི་ཤི བཤི་བཤི་ཤི་བཤི་ བཤི་བཤི་བཤི་ བཤི་བཤི་བཤི།

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’on-że: jà? 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) བཤི་ཤི བཤི་ཤི བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི

di pim súm-po k’ate to-ee bo? lò súm=le
This day three-COL how contain-INF EQU.NE.Q year three=ABL
*laks’tö? ts’o.o-że: 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) བཤི་ཤི བཤི་ཤི བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི།

te’oki? mè:-ruŋ dzā:dar=to p’ja-że: pim ts’ame’ k’òː=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) བཤི་ཤི བཤི་ཤི བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི་ བཤི།

t’ãːpu-tëi k’jöː=tei=na mì=tei? jò:-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 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) ཨྔོ་འདི་ མི་ འདི་ཀི་ ཨ་རི་ སྦྔོམ་པུ་ གཅིག་ ཡྔོད་མཁན་ སྦད།
ódi mi=di=gi ári bompu=tei? jøːːkʰɛn beʔ.
that human=AEMP=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)

ó -di mi=di =gi á-ri bom -pu =tei? jøːːkʰɛn beʔ.

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 =ɛo, which does not seem to have reported cognates in other Tibetic languages, was shown to resemble the category mirative but also to be distinct from it. It was also shown that the tags па and (h)o:, which are also used for interrogation, have developed non-interrogative uses: па can bring assertive and (h)o: exclamative nuance to a declarative proposition. The uses of the non-commitment marker ki borrowed from Nepali remain a fertile ground for future research (in both Nepali and Denjongke).
17 Notes on lexicon

This chapter describes vocabulary from five semantic domains which show particularly rich variety, such as ideophones (§17.1), or are otherwise crosslinguistically or culturally interesting, such as kinship terms (§17.2), names (§17.3), colours (§17.4) and language used with small children (§17.5).

17.1 Ideophones

In this section, I first introduce the concept of ideophones (§17.1.1). This is followed by description of various types of ideophones. Semantically ideophones are grouped into nonnormative ideophones (§17.1.2) and those ideophones for which normativity is not an issue (§17.1.3-5). Those ideophones for which normativity is not an issue are morphologically divided into reduplicating (§17.1.3) and near reduplicating words. The near reduplicating words are further divided into those which change a vowel quality (§17.1.4) and those which change the initial consonant (§17.1.5). A somewhat distinct group are onomatopoeic ideophones (§17.1.6). There are also ideophonic, reduplicated suffixes, which can vividify adjectives (§17.1.6).

17.1.1 Introduction

Ideophones (or ideophonic adjectives and adverbs) in Denjongke are words which behave syntactically as adjectives and/or adverbs but are morphologically, phonologically and semantically distinct from other adjectives and adverbs. The morphologically distinct characteristics are reduplication, near reduplication and rhyming. The phonological distinctness consists of consonantal phenomena not attested in non-ideophones. Semantically, ideophones are more vivid representations of sensory experiences than non-ideophonic descriptions. Onomatopoeia is considered here to fall within the description "vivid", and thus onomatopoeic words are considered a subclass of ideophones (see §17.1.6). Other ideophones, however, are not as clearly connected with onomatopoeia, i.e. mimicking sounds.

The term ideophone was first introduced from within Bantu linguistics by Doke (1935: 118), who defined an ideophone as “a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualitative or adverb in respect to manner, color, smell, action, state, or intensity.” A more recent definition is provided by Dīngemanse (2011:25): “Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery”. Dīngemanse adds to Doke’s definition the idea of “markedness” of ideophones. This means that ideophones stand out from the rest of the language by their phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Ideophones are theoretically interesting because they fall under sound symbolism, a concept that challenges one of the basic tenets of structuralist linguistics, the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (Nuckolls 1999: 226). In Denjongke, 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 དྲུམ་དྲུམ་ ‘opening and closing or being on and off intermittantly’, or near-reduplication by vowel change, as in barbur སྒྲ་བུར་ ‘with bulges’, or near reduplication by initial consonant change (rhyming), as in k’atepmatep མ་ཀརྱོག་ ‘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 kraprok བར་ཁྲེག་ ‘sound of a dysfunctional body’ and /pt/ in

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. ʈʰalctʰol ʈʰaʈʰol, gargor ʈʰaʈʰol (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 dum eldre is a more vivid representation of ‘short’ than the non-reduplicated counterpart dumṭa? ṭagṛkṛṭa.

Many or most ideophones can be used both adjectivally and adverbially, as shown by (17.1), where (a) is adjectival and (b) adverbial. In the examples below, the ideophones expressing nonnormative qualities and behaviour are glossed simply as IDEO.NN and approximately translated in the free translation.

(17.1) a) མི་འདི་ ཚབ་ཆོག་ སྦད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mī}= & \text{di} & \text{teʔapteʔop} & \text{beʔ}. \\
\text{human}= & \text{DEMPH} & \text{IDEO.NN} & \text{EQU.NE}
\end{align*}
\]

‘That man is reprehensible.’ (KN e)

b) སམ་འདི་ ཚབ་ཆོག་ ལམ་ཟ།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sām}= & \text{di} & \text{teʔapteʔop} & \text{man-za}. \\
\text{food}= & \text{DEMPH} & \text{IDEO.NN} & \text{NEG-eat}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 sābzap སབྲེལ་ ‘careful(ly)’ is in (a) used alone adverbially and in (b) with the adverbi alizer p’jati བྱེས་སྟི་, which turn adjectives into adverbs.

(17.2) a) སབྲེལ།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sābzap} & \text{ doʔ}. \\
\text{careful sit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Remain careful(ly).’ (KN e)

b) སབྲེལ་ བྱེས་སྟི།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sābzap p’ja-ti} & \text{ doʔ}. \\
\text{careful do-NF sit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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) མི་ཅྱུ༹༹་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཁུ་སིམ་སིམ་ ཡྔོད།

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mī}= & \text{tsu} & \text{t’amtcʔ} & \text{kʰusimsim jø̀ʔ}. \\
\text{human}= & \text{PL} & \text{all} & \text{silent(ly)} & \text{EX.PER}
\end{align*}
\]

‘All the people are silent(ly).’ (Richhi 84)
b) བ་ལྟ་འཛིན་གྱལ་ན་ཁུ་ཟིམ་ཟིམ་ཡོད།

‘Now there is silence in the classroom.’ (Richhi 6)

(17.4) a) བ་ལྟ་tsʰedé: jiðmpo sôle raripp tʰon-tsʰa:

‘It has become considerably dim with evening dusk.’ (Richhi 40)

b) བ་ལྟ་དུསྨིང་ནུསྨིང་ཚིག

‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)

In (17.3b), kʰusimsim ཕུསིམ་སིམི is used like an abstract noun ‘silence’ as a copula subject in a locative clause, and in (17.4b), on the other hand, raripp རིབ་ིབ་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) ཚེ་ཇོམ་ཡོམ་, གས་ནམ་ནམ་, སེམ་ན་ན།

‘Above, full to the brim. Between, movement. Below, limit(?)(?)’ (JDG fieldnotes)

The riddle in (17.5) describes water/river. The first ideophone refers to water which fills the river, the second ideophone describes the movement of the fish in the water, and the last ideophone refers to the sand at the bottom of the river.

17.1.2 Ideophones expressing nonnormativity

The phonological sequence C1aC2.C1oC2 453 (where C is a consonant and the numbers indicate that the same consonant is repeated in the second syllable) is in Denjongke associated with a quality or state of affairs that deviates from some type of norm. For instance, the word rakrok རི་ཁྲེན 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 kʼabzì kʼobzì ཀི་བཛི་ ཀི་ིབོ་ (Barapathing) and kʼabzì kʼodunj/hapzì hodunj ཀི་བཛི་ གེདོན་ (Martam). The order of presentation is phonetic, beginning with bilabial initials and moving backwards through alveolars, palatals and velars to laryngeal fricative.

453 With reduplicated disyllabic words such as kʼabzì kʼobzì, C1aC2.C1oC2
Table 17.1. Ideophones expressing nonnormativity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideophone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pappop</strong></td>
<td>'having mixed big and small inappropriately'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pjarpjor</strong></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><strong>praprop</strong></td>
<td>‘in only slight resemblance of how something should be done, badly done’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p’jarp’jor, te’arte’or, dzardzor</strong></td>
<td>‘clothes not appropriately worn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>babbop</strong></td>
<td>‘with bulges of fat (of a fat person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bjarbjor</strong></td>
<td>‘inappropriately prepared (of food)’ (e.g. mixing items not to be mixed or cooking unhygienically)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mjåkmjok</strong></td>
<td>‘tasteless (of tea or millet-beer)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ťamt’om</strong></td>
<td>‘not being able to function properly (of people)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dakdok</strong></td>
<td>‘occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ts’apts’op</strong></td>
<td>‘placed in an unorganized way’ (e.g. pictures on the wall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ts’arts’or</strong></td>
<td>‘unknown sound (in the forest)’ (KL 5, 230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sàrsor</strong></td>
<td>‘unpleasant, unclear sound (also human voice can have this quality during a cold)’ (KL, KN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>làklok</strong></td>
<td>‘non-essential enough to be able to be given away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>làplop</strong></td>
<td>‘lukewarm (not hot, not cold)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>raŋroŋ</strong></td>
<td>‘here and there (of big stones/rocks in the soil)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rakrok, raprop</strong></td>
<td>‘with bulges, not smooth (of a road, floor plank, of a stone-wall in which some stones are loose), also raja ruja p’ja 5'ya 5'ya 4'ya ‘make uneven with bulges’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>te’alte’ol</strong></td>
<td>‘doing this and that without completing anything, of foolish behavior (“like a mad person” [KN])’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>te’apte’op</strong></td>
<td>‘in a careless and inconsiderate way (e.g. eating, of a person)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>càpecop</strong></td>
<td>‘softness of leaves and hay in the forest’ (KT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nàrjor</strong></td>
<td>‘speak around the real subject’ (also used of dog’s sound) (KL 5, 230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jàrjor</strong></td>
<td>‘uncontrolled walk of a drunk person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kjakkjok</strong></td>
<td>‘bulgy (of a tree)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>krakrok</strong></td>
<td>‘onomatopoeic for sounds coming from a wrecked body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’apk’op</strong></td>
<td>‘with bulges (of a hilly horizon, figure of land)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’hakk’hok, giagjok (KN)</strong></td>
<td>‘abnormal (of walking of a drunk or sick person)’ (KN e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’hapk’hop</strong></td>
<td>‘walking here and there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>k’hark’hop (KL)</strong></td>
<td>‘weak (of walking style or sick animal)’ (KL 5, 230) (e.g. the walk of a drunken man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gapgop, gaptagopta? gaptagopta?</strong></td>
<td>‘out of usual shape (of a tree trunk with bulges, of something drawn or written inappropriately)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gargor</strong></td>
<td>‘mistaken forms in writing, bad hand-writing’ (KL 5, 454)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Consultant KN uses sàpsop instead of càpecop 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)  
\begin{align*}
\text{lām}=\text{di} & \quad \text{rakrok} \quad \text{be}?
\text{ལམ་འདི་འདེབས་བུ་} & \quad \text{‘The road is rough.’} \\
\text{eŋ}=\text{di} & \quad \text{gapgop} \quad \text{be}?
\text{ཤིང་འདི་འདེབས་བུ་} & \quad \text{‘The tree is bulgy.’} \\
\text{mi}=\text{di} & \quad \text{babbop} \quad \text{be}?
\text{མི་འདི་འདེབས་བུ་} & \quad \text{‘The man is bulgy.’} \\
\text{ri}=\text{di} & \quad \text{kʼapkʼop} \quad \text{be}?
\text{རི་འདི་བུམ་ུ་} & \quad \text{‘The mountain-range is curvy.’}^{455} \\
\end{align*}

\(N=\text{DEMPH} \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{EQU.NE}\)

(17.7)  
\begin{align*}
\text{do} & \quad \text{pappop} \quad \text{man-za.} \\
\text{stone} & \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{NEG-place} \\
\text{‘Do not place the stones in a disorderly manner.’} & \quad \text{(DB e)}
\end{align*}

(17.8)  
\begin{enumerate}
\item \(\text{b}e′\text{ŋi}=\text{di} \quad \text{kjako} \quad \text{pjarpjor} \quad \text{tā-zen} \quad \text{du}?.\)\\
bab\text{y}=\text{DEMPH} \quad \text{faeces} \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{send-PROG} \quad \text{EX.SEN} \\
\text{‘The child has an explosive diarrhoea.’} & \quad \text{(KT e)}
\item \(\text{te}′\text{hu} \quad \text{pjarpjor} \quad \text{ma-jā.} \\
\text{water} & \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{NEG-do} \\
\text{‘Do not make disturbing sound with water.’} & \quad \text{(KN e)}
\end{enumerate}

(17.9)  
\begin{align*}
\text{di} & \quad \text{eŋ}=\text{di}=\text{na} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{praprop} \quad \text{ke:p} \quad \text{du}?. \\
\text{this field}=\text{DEMPH}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{stone} \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{a.lot} \quad \text{EX.SEN} \\
\text{‘This field is loaded with (small) stones.’} & \quad \text{(KT e)}
\end{align*}

(17.10)  
\begin{align*}
\text{p}′\text{um}=\text{di}=\text{gi} & \quad \text{k′ola} \quad \text{pjarpjor/te′arte′or/dzardzor} \quad \text{k′on.} \\
g\text{irl}=\text{DEMPH}=\text{AGT} \quad \text{clothes} \quad \text{IDEO.NN} \quad \text{wear} \\
\text{‘That girl does not wear clothes properly (e.g. buttons attached in wrong places).’} & \quad \text{(KN e)}
\end{align*}

\(^{455}\) 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 kʼapkʼop originates as a nonnormative description of something else and is then extended to hills.
(17.11) p’um=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) te’a=di mjäkmjok be?.
millet.beer=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
‘This tea is tasteless.’ (KN e)

(17.13) a) t’amt’om t’on-ts’a:.
IDEO.NN become-CPML
‘(He) has become unable to work.’ (KT e)

b) lēp t’amt’om gju-di
very.much IDEO.NN walk-NF
‘walking very difficulty’ (KN e)

(17.14) di rimo t’sâpts’op du?.
this picture IDEO.NN EX.SEN
‘These pictures are placed haphazardly.’ (KN e)

(17.15) yà ts’arts’or t’o:-bo ŭ.: 1SG IDEO.NN hear-2INF EQU.PER
‘I heard an unrecognizable sound (and was afraid).’ (KL e)

(17.16) t’ant’in sârsor p’ja-bo: da
clang-clang IDEO.NN do-2INF.GEN sound
‘the sound of noise-making, clang clang.’ (Richhi 30)

(17.17) k’utei=tsa: jó? làklok jà:-ne yà=lo lòn tà:. 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) t’u=di làplop be?.
water=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.PER
‘The water is lukewarm.’ (KT e)

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456 According to consultant KUN t’art’or used in place of ts’âpts’op 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) སྣེ་ ཟྷར་ རྗོད་ སྡེལ་
\[do \ \text{rayroŋ} \ \text{du}-\text{ke}.\]
stone IDEO.NN EX.SEN-IN
‘There are (big) stones here and there (and everywhere).’ (KN e)

(17.20) a) རྣ་ རྗོད་ སྡེལ་ འདུག་ཀེ།
\[kʰim \ \text{raprop} \ \text{ke}-p \ \text{du}-\text{ke}.\]
house IDEO.NN a.lot EX.SEN-IN
‘There are a lot of (inappropriately) small houses, I see/saw.’ (KN e)

b) རྣ་ རྗོད་ སྡེལ་ གཟུ་ ཤིང་ མིན།
\[ŋáː \ \text{raprop} \ \text{pʽja} \ \text{ʈ} \ \text{ɕʰ} \ \text{ol}-\text{pʽja} \ \text{gju} \ \text{d}=\text{b} \ \text{ɛʔ}.\]
I.AGT IDEO.NN-ADVZR write-2INF EX.SEN
‘I wrote it haphazardly.’ (KN e)

(17.21) ཕྱུ་ རྗོད་ སྡེལ་ རྔོབ་ མི་ དམ་ ཤིང་ ཤིང་ ཐེ་ དམ་ ཤིང་ ཤིང་ རྔོབ་ སྡེལ།
pʽum=di \ \text{təlæ⁵⁰⁰plop} \ \text{ja} \ \text{gju} \ \text{d}=\text{b}=\text{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) གླུ་ རྗོད་ སྡེལ་
\[mí=di \ \text{tə⁵⁰⁰plop} \ \text{be}?.\]
human=DEMPH IDEO-NN EQU.NE
‘That man is reprehensible.’ (KN e)

b) ཕྱུ་ རྗོད་ སྡེལ་ རྔོབ་ མིན།
sám=di \ \text{tə⁵⁰⁰plop} \ \text{man}-\text{za}.
food=DEMPH IDEO-NN NEG-eat
‘Do not eat food inconsiderately.’ (KN e)

(17.23) ཕྱུ་ རྗོད་ སྡེལ་ རྔོབ་ ལྔོན་ རྔོབ་ ་ སྒོ་ སྣེལ།
biu=di \ \text{ȵaːʦeː} \ \text{cāpeop}=\text{na}^{459} \ \text{nè} : \ \text{d}=\text{o} : \ \text{du}?.
snake=DEMPH forest IDEO.NN=LOC lie stay EX.SEN
‘The snake is lying in the undergrowth of the forest.’ (KT e)

(17.24) རྣ་ རྐྱོན་ རྔོན་ རྗོང་ རྔོ་ སྤེལ།
\[\text{pəŋpər} \ \text{kʽan} \ \text{ləp-o}?.\]
IDEO.NN what say-2INF
‘What did you say in unclear mutter?’ (KL e)

(17.25) སྣེ་ རྗོད་ རྗོད་ ལྔོན་ རྔོ་ བྲུ་
\[mí=di \ \text{tə⁵⁰⁰lʒ} : \ \text{p//=ŋdi} \ \text{jərjor}=\text{lo} \ \text{gju-zouk}.\]
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 giu døː po bɛʔ āɡj u sɡoːd po bɛʔ or giu doː jə-po bɛʔ āɡj u sɡoːd po bɛʔ.
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) ཨི་ ཁག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
ciy=di kjakkjok be?.
tree=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
‘The tree is bulgy (and not straight).’ (KN e)

(17.27) རུ་ ཁོག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
zui? tʰamtee? krakrok tʰon-diki…
body all IDEO.NN become-NF
‘All (my) body has become wrecked…’ (KN e)

(17.28) a) ཨི་ ཁག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
lam=di kjakkjok be?.
road=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
‘The road is curvy.’ (KT e)

b) རུ་ ཁོག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
raːzipo lam=lo kjakkjok=lo gju-zen du?.
drunkard road=DAT IDEO.NN=DAT go-IMPF EX.SEN
‘A drunkard is walking here and there on the road.’ (KUN e)

(17.29) ཨི་ ཁག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
mì=di kjapkjop-p’ja gju-zen du?.
human=DEMPH IDEO.NN-AVDZR go-PROG EX.SEN
‘The man is walking feebly (like a sick person).’ (KT e)

(17.30) a) ཨི་ ཁག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
nòː=di kjarkjor be?.
cow=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
‘The cow is weak/sick’. (KT e)

b) ཨི་ ཁག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
ádzi tʰarin səːteːo: zɛː-p dɛʔ.
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) ཨི་ ཁག་ཀྔོག་ སྦད།
jigi gapgop=lo k’an t’i-u?
letter IDEO.NN=DAT what write-2INF
‘What did you write in such shapeless strokes?’ (KN e)
(17.32)  ལའི་ སྦོས་ པོམ་ ལཇུག་ འཕྲུལ་ ཤུན་ འཕྲུལ།
t'wo? k'abzik'obzi\(^{460}\) kjap-ti k'ana gju-do?
2SG.L IDEO.NN do-NF where go-IPFV
‘Where are you going in such a hurry?’ (KL e)

(17.33)  a)  བོག་ རྐྱབས་ ཡི་ སྨོན་ སྤུ་ ོལ།
gom harhor=lo pʰi:-ti ḡo: tā:-ze.
door IDEO.NN=DAT open-NF inside come send-PST
‘(He) opened the door and came in uninvited.’ (KN e)

b)  ོྷ ཁྲུ་ དཔུར་ རུབ་ སྨོན་ ཤུན་ མིན་ འདུག།
kʰu pʰiː harhor=pʰja hup-t’en du?:
3SGM gruel IDEO.NN-ADVZR slurp-PROG EX SEN
‘He is slurping his gruel inconsiderately fast.’ (KN e)

The ideophone dakdok ‘occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes’ is exceptional in that it is not inherently negatively evaluated. In (17.34), (a) and (b) seem to have a negative context, but (c) and (d) present positive or neutral evaluations.

(17.34)  a)  ནི་ ཨི་ ཏ་ མོག་ ནོ་ སྐུ་ འཛིན་ ཕྱོན་ བྱེད།
mǐ=di kʰa=le kʰjaktsʰi? dakdok tʰon-tsʰaː.
human=DEMPH mouth=ABL blood.in.spit IDEO.NN become.COMPL
‘Blood-clots in spit have come out of that man’s mouth.’ (KN e)

c)  སྨོན་ མོག་ རྒ་ རྒྱུད་ ལུག་ དགུལ་ འདུག།
pʰja-ca dakdok=lo sakʰa koː zaː 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)

d)  དུག་ སྔོན་ བྱེད་ སྔོན་ རྒ་ རྒྱུད་ ཕྱེད།
k’aŋːoː doma dakdok=lo taː doː du?:
cucumber fruit IDEO.NN=DAT attach stay EX SEN
‘Cucumbers are growing abundantly.’

d)  མི་ ཨི་ སྤུ་ སྦོན་ རྒ་ རྒྱུད་ ཤུན་ འདུག།
ōni dakdok keːp(o) du?:
child IDEO.NN a.lot EX SEN
‘There are a lot of children (of various sizes), I see/saw.’ (KN e)

17.1.3 Fully reduplicated ideophones
This section describes fully reduplicated ideophenes (e.g. tsʰaptsʰap tshab tshab ‘restless, hurried’), which are neutral with respect to normativity. Other ideophones which are neutral with respect to normativity are near-reduplicated words with a change in vowel (e.g. barbur abar abur ‘bulgy’, see §17.1.4), near-reduplicated words with a change in initial consonant (e.g. k’atcematp k’atcematp ‘one way or another, at any cost’, see §17.1.5) and onomatopoeic words, which are considered a subclass of ideophones (e.g. kukurikãː kukurikãː ‘cock-a-doodle-

\(^{460}\) Consultant KL gave the Nepali equivalent laḍḍai pârdai.
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 l̥aplap p’ja ‘flicker (v.)’ (see also pja l̥aplap in Table 17.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰuntsʰum</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>teʰopteʰop</td>
<td>‘right texture for chewing (of meat and some vegetables)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giopgiop</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’ tsʰaptsʰap p’ja ‘be hurried, restless’ (TB e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lelep</td>
<td>‘of scanty meat of a lean animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nöpprop</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>riprip</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) takjô: sàbzap p’ja=ee=ki lótʰa?
looking after carefully do=INF=GEN decision
‘decision to look after carefully’ (Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam, for class 12, 13)

(17.36) kʰu=i á:buʔ? t’ôː=di=jâː tsʰuntsʰum jô-po beʔ.
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) giopgiop ô.-ee iː.
hastily come-INF EQU.PER
‘(I)’ll come hastily.’ (DB e)

(17.38) lôt=di l̥aplap beʔ.
light=DEMPH flickering EQU.NE
‘The light is flickering.’ (KN e)

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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) | t’ato nê:po çyry ’tempo syn-di mi-ŋo riprip=lo |
|———|———|———|———|———|
| now patient a.bit memory awaken-NF human-face dim=DAT |
| yò cê:-po:sâ: t’on do: jò? |
| face know-2INF=until become stay EX.PER |
| ‘Now the patient has regained consciousness and has come to dimly recognize human faces.’ (Richhi 168) |

(17.40) | go k’ukk’uk p’ja-zê: |
|———|———|———|———|———|
| head up.and.down do-PROG |
| ‘nooding (his) head’ (mthun-sgril 17) |

(17.41) | kʰu pete=kás=di têp t’akt’ak zuŋ du-ke. |
| 3SGM book=DEMPH very.much clearly read.from.memory EX.SEN-IN |
| ‘He reads the scripture very clearly from memory.’ (KN e) |

Fully reduplicated ideophones also occur in phrasal constructions with a preceding monosyllabic element which may be either a noun or a verb, see Table 17.3. Some of the prefixed elements such as pja (meaning unclear) in pja-laplap ‘eating greedily’ seem tightly connected to the ideophonic suffix, whereas other elements, such as re:po ‘hair’ in re:po siŋziŋ ‘entangled hair’ form a looser ideophonic syntagm which may be intervened by other words, see (17.46).

Table 17.3. Complex ideophones

| jê:-laplap | ‘seeing unclearly as if alternately disappearing and appearing’ (KN), combining jê: ‘disappear’ with laplap ‘flicker (n.), show unsteady light’ (of a light bulb and fire) |
| jê:-daplap (KT, KN) | |
| pja-laplap (KN) | ‘eating greedily, impatient behavior in front of food consisting of stretching hands here and there to taste various dishes (typical of children)’ (latter written form from Dras-ljongs gsung-gtam 45) |
| p’ja(?)-lelep | |
| pu-sópsop | ‘fluffy with hair (of skin), also associated with leanness’, pu ‘skin hair’ (D拉斯-ljongs gsung-gtam 40) |
| ŋum-ri:ri: | ‘smooth (of skin), also associated with fatness’, ŋum ‘oil’ (D拉斯-ljongs gsung-gtam 40) |
| ŋum-tâ:tâ: (KNA) | |
| kʰo:-si:si: | ‘chilly, cold’, kʰo: ‘chill’ |
| hampo cê:cê: | ‘loads of mold’, hampo ‘mold’ |
| re:po siŋziŋ | ‘tangled hair’, re:po ‘hair’ |
| go dzokdzok | ‘bowing, nodding, bending (of human, of trees in wind)’, go ‘head’ |

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-repeated ideophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>raprip</th>
<th>‘dim, dimness’ rapripna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barbur</td>
<td>‘knotty, buckled, with bulges, uneven when it should be even’ (KN, KL 5, 230), collocates at least with lúk ‘cast (of metal), pour’, barbur lúk-tsʰa-ke ‘it has been cast bulgy (not even)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damdum</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>làblep</td>
<td>‘in small pieces (of wood)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grafrīk</td>
<td>‘uneven (of unpleasant texture of meat in the mouth, of the tactile feeling of non-smooth, rough stone surface)’ (KT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaklek</td>
<td>‘mud-like, too wet texture of boiled rice or dough’ (may also refer to a thick texture of paint) (YR, KN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rùrìk</td>
<td>‘(small) stones (the size of goat poo) here and there’ (cf. do raŋroŋ ‘big stones here and there’)</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāmsum</td>
<td>‘disorganized, unfolded (of clothes)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’akte’ik</td>
<td>‘having sucked in water (e.g. marshy land)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mārmur</td>
<td>‘indistinctive muttering of words’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰamtsʰum</td>
<td>‘distressed mental state, mental state after hearing or experiencing something unpleasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰaptsʰup</td>
<td>‘nervous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰamtsʰum, tʰam</td>
<td>‘of a drowsy person’s eyes’</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) ་ནི་ ལོང་ཤེས་པས་ཀྱི་ བོད་ཀྱི་བོད་ | དམ་ཅག་ རྩོ་རུ་ སེབས་པོ་ རྩོ་ཉིན།  
\[ \eta \text{gatea} \ \text{raprip}=\text{na} \ \text{lep-o} \ \text{r}: \]
1PL dim(ness)=LOC arrive-2INF EQU.PER  
‘We arrived at dusk.’ (KT e)

(17.49) འཕྲ་བྱུར་ སོགས་ོན་ནོ་ རྱ་ |  
\[ \text{barbur} \ \text{lúk-luk-o} \ \text{mēmb-o} ? \]
dented pour-RDP-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q  
‘Hasn’t (this vessel) been dented?’ (KL e)

(17.50) a) གྲོས་དང་འབྲུ་ གྲུ་རུ་ དབུ་ |  
\[ \text{eg} \ \text{damdum} \ \text{tok-ti} \ \text{za}? \]
tree short cut-NF put  
‘Leave the tree cut in small pieces’ (KN e)

b) རུང་ཤེ་ དེ་འབྲུ་ ཤུལ་ |  
\[ \text{capen} \ \text{damdum} \ \text{p’ja-ee}? \]
ritual short do-INF  
‘make a short (religious) ritual’ (KN phone call)

590
(17.51) འཇིག་ཐོས་ཐུབ་ ཚིག་ཐོས་ ནང་ངོ་ བཞིན་བདག་ རིག་པ་ རླིལ་བརྟེན་

`kʰaː-la=di  lalek  sónzam  ko:-di  ze:  tɛu?.
food.HON=DEMPH  wet.and.soft  rice.HON  boil-NF  eat.HON  cause
‘Boil the rice and serve (lit. cause to be eaten) the food wet and soft.’ (mam-rtog 25)

(17.52) རྣལ་ལག་འདི་ ལག་ལེག་ གསྨན་འཇམ་ བཀྔོལ་སི་ བཞེས་བཅུག།།

do  do=di  rakruk  be?.
stone  stone=DEMPH  lots.of.small.items  EQU.NE
‘The (small) stones right here are numerous.’ (KN e)

(17.53) དེ་དཔེར་ སྤྱད་ རྗེས་ འན་ རྒྱ་ རྗུ་ ལྟེད་

kʰ∅.-ri:  p a::na  màrmur=lo  k’jo?  kjap-zê:... 3PL-REFL GEN  in.between=LOC  muttering=DAT  chatting  do-PROG
‘chatting among themselves in indistinct mutter…’ (mthun-sgril 9)

(17.54) དུག་པ་ ལེས་ བན་ནས་ བཟོ་

t’aːriŋ  nà  lèp  tsʰamtsʰum  tʰon-di
today  1SG  very.much  afflicted  become-NF
‘Today I’m very distressed.’ (KL e)

In the following examples, the ideophone strongly collocates with a noun which makes the
meaning of the ideophone more explicit.

(17.55) བོད་ལྷན། ལག་ལེག་ བན་དཔེར།
k’ola?  sámsum  man-za?.
clothes  disorganized  NEG-put
‘Do not leave the clothes disorganized (not folded)’ (KN e)

(17.56) རྣལ་ ཏོག་ ཕྲུག་ རྙིང་ རྩི་ བུད་

sátʰa  tcʰu  tcʰagdzik  jö-so:  tʰa.pi=tei=lo
land  water  having.sucked.in.water  EX-NMLZ.SPAT GEN  near=INDF=DAT
‘In the neighbourhood of a piece of marshy land’ (rna-sung 30)

(17.57) དེ་དཔེར་
sém  tsʰaptsʰup
mind  nervous
‘in a nervous state of mind’ (KT e)

(17.58) རྣལ་ ཏོག་ བུག་ ནང་ ཚིག་ རྙིང་ བོད།
éin  ódem  lâblep  gjom  ba?  eó?.
tree  like.that  small.pieces  gather  carry  come
‘Collect and bring such small pieces of wood.’ (KN e)

(17.59) རྣལ་ ཡི་ཤེས་ ་སོགས་ ལྷོའི་ ནང་ དམན་

t’aːriŋ  nà  mi:do?  tʰamtsʰumsi?  kjap-ti
today  1SG  eye  drowsy  do-NF
‘Today my eyes are drowsy...’ (KN e)
The partly reduplicated ideophonic construction k’jotip k’jorum / k’jorum k’jotip, whose etymology and literal meaning are unknown to me, is an intensified quantifier approximating the meaning ‘so many/much, crammed with’.

(17.60) a) ད་རིང་ ཨྔོ་ན་ མི་ གྱོ་ཏིབ་ གྱོ་རུང་ འྔོང་ཚར་ཀེ།
t’ariŋ óna mi k’jotip k’jorum õː-tsʰake. 
today there human very.many very.many come-CMPL.APH
‘Today so many people came there.’ (KUN e, imitating speech of Tashiding)

b) ད་རིང་ ཟེར་བྔོ་ གྱོ་རུམ་ གྱོ་ཏིབ་ བཏང་ཚར།
t’ariŋ sɛ̀ u k’jorum k’jotip tãː-tsʰaː.
today hail very.much very.much send-CMPL
‘Today it hailed heavily.’ (KUN e, imitating speech of Tashiding)

17.1.5 Rhyming ideophones
In rhyming ideophones reduplication is accompanied by a change in the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable while the rest of the syllable is fully reduplicated. The change of consonant in the second syllable results in an independently meaningless syllable. For instance, the word k’atep ག་ལྟེ ‘how’ functions as base for the ideophone k’atepmatep ག་ལྟེབ་མ་, which has a rhyming but independently nonsensical second part -matep.

Table 17.5. Rhyming ideophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k’atepmatep</th>
<th>ག་ལྟེབ་མ་</th>
<th>‘(able to do) one way or another’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inteimintei?</td>
<td>གཉིན་གཉིས་ན་གཉིས་</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) དེ་དེ་ ཡོན་ཏན་ དེ་ བར་ཆེད་ དེ་ རྒྱུས་ ཚད་མཁན་ སྤྲད།
di:A GT do-NF 1SG=DEMPH IDEO.NN in.whatever.way EQU.PER-CONC
nà: l-Bold =su=lo sùŋ=di pʰyː-do ŋ.: here PRN.HON=PL=DAT story=DEMPH offer-IPFV EQU.PER
‘Therefore I here offer to you this story, although it is a spontaneous approximation (of the real thing)’ (KT animal story)

(17.62) དུས་ཀྱི་ དེ་ འབྲི་ མོ་ དེ་ ནུ་ དེ་ གཉིས་ཀྱི་

(17.63) དུས་ཀྱི་ དེ་ འབྲི་ མོ་ དེ་ ནུ་ དེ་ གཉིས་ཀྱི་

but 1SG TPN necessarily now go be.needed-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘but, now, I necessarily have to go to Gangtok’ (RS [in]auspicious days)
17.1.6 Onomatopoeic ideophones

Onomatopoeic ideophones differ from other ideophones in that they more clearly mimic real sounds and are often appositional. Like with other ideophones, reduplication is typical of onomatopoeic words. Whereas other ideophones are syntactically adjectives or adverbs, onomatopoeic words often fall outside the basic clause structure. For instance, in (17.64-70) the onomatopoeic words given in bold are appositional elaborations of the underlined nouns. Note that example (17.68) evokes not necessarily only the sound but also the feeling of the wind.

(17.64) འཛནི་ཝང་ཞུན་ཝང་ཤུལ་ མི་ མི་ཇིི་

\[\text{nàːtseː} \quad \text{pʰítew}=\text{tsu}=\text{i} \quad \text{keʔ} \quad \text{tearap-teirip}\]

forest small.bird=PL=GEN sound tweet-tweet

‘sound of the forest birds tweet tweet’ (Richhi 1)

(17.65) མི་ཤུ་མི་ཤུ་ འབྲོས་ཤུ་ འབྲོས་ཤུ་ འབྲོས་ཤུ་

\[\text{tʰaːriŋ} \quad \text{sán}=\text{ɛ} \quad \text{tʰuŋ} \quad \text{pʰuː-} \text{ʒin} \quad \text{j̩=pøː} \quad \text{k̩ɛʔ} \quad \text{tɕarap-} \text{tɕirip}\]

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) བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་

\[\text{p’japu} \quad \text{bøː-} \text{pøː} \quad \text{keʔ} \quad \text{kukrikəː:}\]

cockerel call-2INF sound cuck.a.doodle.doo

‘the sound of a rooster calling: cuck-o-doodle-do’ (Richhi 1)

(17.67) བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་

\[\text{tʰiŋ} \quad \text{tʰiŋ} \quad \text{duŋ-poː} \quad \text{keʔ} \quad \text{clang-2INF=GEN sound}\]

‘the sound of clanging clang clang’ (Richhi 1)

(17.68) བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་

\[\text{lúŋma} \quad \text{tír} \quad \text{tír} \quad \text{tír} \quad \text{kjap-o-} \text{dāː}\]

wind whoosh whoosh whoosh do-2INF-CONJ

‘When the wind goes whoosh whoosh whoosh…’ (KT animal story)

(17.69) བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་

\[\text{kʰi} \quad \text{àu} \quad \text{àu}=\text{lo} \quad \text{hap-oː} \quad \text{keʔ} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{woof}=\text{DAT bark-2INF=GEN sound}\]

‘the sound of a dog barking woof woof’ (Richhi 1)

(17.70) བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་ བྲོག་འབྲོག་

\[\text{k’u} \quad \text{lósaʔ} \quad \text{k’ekkeki}(=\text{lo}) \quad \text{kjap bak-ti gju doː j̩oʔ.} \quad \text{3SGM cough cough.cough(=DAT) do carry-NF go stay EX.PER}\]

‘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’əŋt’iŋ elaborates on the nonnormative ideophone sàrsor, which is used like a nominal.
For an example of onomatopoeia in quoted speech, consider (17.72).

(17.72) ཏེ་ མྔོ་ འདི་ ཧེ་ཧེ་ ལབ་སྟི་ཀི་ ཧི་ཧི་ ལབ་སྟི་ དགའ་བྔོ་ལྔོ།
         te mò=di hehe làp-tiki hihi làp-ti ga-u=lo.
         so 3SGF=DEMPH haha say-NF hehe say-NF laugh-2INF=REP
         ‘So she laughed saying haha, saying hehe, so the story goes.’ (RS driver joke)

In (17.73), the onomatopoeic expressions are used like adjectivals in a verbless clause.

(17.73) ཇོམ་ཅད་ ཆེག་ཆེག་ ཟྔོར་ཟྔོར་ ཆེག་ཆེག་ ཟྔོར་ཟྔོར་ རང་ཙང
         tʰamtɕɛʔ tsʰɛktsʰɛk sòrsor tsʰɛktsʰɛk sòrsor
         all scratch.of.a match sound.of.fire scratch.of.a match sound.of.fire
         tsãːtsãː.
         purely
         ‘(They) all (are) purely fire and brimstone, fire and brimstone.’ (mthun-sgril 14-15)

17.1.7 Ideophonic suffixes

Ideophonic, reduplicating suffixes are used for making adjectives, especially colour terms more vivid. The basic colours may be followed by the ideophonic suffixes -tiŋtiŋ (WD བིང་བིང་ or དིང་དིང་), -siːsiː (WD སི་སི་, བསིལ་བསིལ་?) and -riːriː (WD རི་རི་, རིལ་རིལ་?). For instance, the ordinary colour word maːpu/དམར་པུ་ 'red' may be formed into máːtiŋtiŋ (དམར་ཏིང་ཏིང་), máːsiːsiː (དམར་སི་སི་), máːriːriː (དམར་རི་རི་) and máːtõːtõ (དམར་ཏྔོང་ཏྔོང་) ‘(bright) red’ to bring intensity and vividness to description.

(17.74) ཆོས་སིད་ ངྔོ་ སྦྱོན་ལྔོ་ མེ་ དང་ ཉི་མའི་ དྨོད་འདིས་ གདྨོང་ དམར་ སྨིན་ལྔོ་ སྨྱིང་ སྦྱི་ བྱེད་པའི་ གཏམ་ འདིས་ ལེབ་སྟི་ རང་
         tɕʰøkiʔ nò tsʰa-ti p̥ɛni=m mi tʰà: pimə: tʰoː=diː dò:
         PN face be.hot-NF before fire and sun.GEN heat=DEMPH.AGT face
         má:-riː: tʃylo taːto pʃaː=ɛ tam=diː:
         red-IDEO above now chicken.meat=GEN word=DEMPH.AGT
         lépti=ra má:-riː: tʰon.
         very.much=AEMPH red-IDEO become
         ‘Being ashamed, Choki’s face which was earlier made red by the heat of the fire and
         the sun gets now very red because of the word about chicken.meat.’ (Richhi 90)

Reduplicated ideophonic suffixes, which are frequently used with colour terms, are also used in some other contexts. Example (17.75) illustrates three ideophonic suffixes, which are used with the noun dzum བོད་ ‘smile’. One of them is -riː: རི་, the other two, -mɛːmɛ (or -mermer) རི་རི་ and -ekeek རི་རི་. I have not come across other words than dzum which use the latter two suffixes.
(17.75) a) dzum-ri:ri: འཛུམ་རི་རི་ ‘smilingly’
    b) dzum-me:me: འཛུམ་མེར་མེར་ ‘smiling secretly’
    c) dzum-sekke: འཛུམ་ཤེག་ཤེག་ ‘smiling very widely’

For -mê:me: in clausal content, consider (17.76).

(17.76) གྭ་ ཁ་རིང་ འཇྱུ༹༹མ་ མེར་མེར་ཡྔོད་ ਆ་ཏང་ དང་ མན་འདྲ་བྔོ།
mù tʽariŋ dzum-mê:me: jò?, átã: tʽà: man-dou
3SGF today smile-IDEO EX.PER always and NEG-similar
‘She is smily today, unlike usually.’ (Richhi 148)

Another stem with which the suffix -ri:ri: occurs in my data is sí: བསིལ་ ‘be cool’, from
which the adjective sí:ʈaʔ བསིལ་དྲགས་ ‘cool (positive evaluation)’ is derived. The form sí:-ri:ri: in
(17.77) makes the description vivid, perhaps evoking memories of feeling the cool mid-day
wind.

(17.77) ཨ་ རུ་ བསིལ་ སྐྱེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་
lúŋ sí:-ri:ri: kjap-o-dà:
wind cool-IDEO strike-2INF–CONJ
‘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 རྐྱ་ ‘feel loneliness’ > hãːtõːtõː ‘feeling of loneliness’
    b) dʑam རྐྱམ་ ‘be easy’ > dʑamtõːtõː ‘easy, easily’ (cf. dʑamʈaʔ)
    c) ñ̥ɛ རྐྱུ ‘be sweet to hear) > ñ̥ɛntõːtõː ‘soft(ly) (of speaking)’ (cf. ñ̥ɛntaʔ)

For clausal uses consider the following:

(17.79) ཀྲིན་ ཅོ་མོ་ ཞི་ རི་ སྐྱེན་ རྐྱབས་པྔོ་
ro:=leiʔ ma-pʰ-e-pa de:=raʔ: hãː-tõːtõː: p’ja-tiki
friend=INDF NEG-meet-CIRC like.this=DEMPH feel.loneliness-IDEO do–NF
‘…without meeting a friend, feeling lonely like this…’ (PAD bet story)

(17.80) (ؑ) རོ་ དྲེ་ ར་ རྐྱུ ཨ།
dzam-tõːtõː: làp.
easy-IDEO speak
‘Speak easily.’ (KN e)

(17.81) (ؑ) རོ་ དྲེ་ ར་ རྐྱུ ཨ།
ñ̥ɛntõːtõː: làp.
easy-IDEO speak
‘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>Relative</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Term (transcription)</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>ádzo དོན་</td>
<td>आर्धः</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>ápno དཔོན་</td>
<td>आर्धः</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great-grandfather</td>
<td>te’odzo སྦོད་</td>
<td>तेस्दो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great-grandmother</td>
<td>nòno སྦོག</td>
<td>नेस्दो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forefather</td>
<td>p’adzo སྦྦོ</td>
<td>पेस्दो</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paternal grandparent’s elder brother</td>
<td>ádzo bompu आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
<td>आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
<td>ápno bompu आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal grandparent’s elder brother</td>
<td>ádzo bompu आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
<td>आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
<td>ána bompu आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paternal grandparent’s younger brother</td>
<td>ádzo te’unte’uŋ आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
<td>आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
<td>ápno te’unte’uŋ आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal grandparent’s younger brother</td>
<td>ádzo te’unte’uŋ आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
<td>आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
<td>ána te’unte’uŋ आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparent’s elder sister</td>
<td>ápno bompu आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
<td>आर्धः भोम्पु</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparent’s younger sister</td>
<td>ápno te’unte’uŋ आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
<td>आर्धः तेस्तूङ</td>
<td></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 ápno and ána respectively.

Whereas matrilineal and patrilineal terms are identical in the ego’s grandparents’ generation, ego’s parent’s siblings have different matrilineal and patrilineal terms, see Table 17.7 and 17.8. On the mother’s side, an age distinction (elder or younger) occurs with sisters but not with brothers. On the father’s side, on the other hand, an age distinction is made between brothers but not sisters.
Table 17.7. Matrilineal parents’ generation

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ám མེ་, áma མེ་, jüm 與 (hon.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother’s brother</td>
<td>ázã: བོད་</td>
<td>wife: áni བོད་, བོད་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother’s elder sister</td>
<td>ámbo བོད་</td>
<td>husband: ába bombu བོད་ བོད་, ápo bompu བོད་ བོད་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother’s younger sister</td>
<td>ámtɕuŋ བོད་</td>
<td>husband: áku བོད་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17.8. Patrilineal parents’ generation

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>ápo བོད་, jàːp བོད་ (hon.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s elder brother</td>
<td>ápo bompu བོད་ བོད་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s younger brother</td>
<td>áku བོད་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s sister</td>
<td>áni བོད་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a kinship term does not express birth order, e.g. áni ‘father’s sister’, it may be supplemented by the attributes *gempo* ‘old one’, *te’un’go/te’umbo/te’unt’eŋ ‘small one’, *p’amo* ‘middle-one’ and the Nepali terms *maili* (fem.) / *maila* (masc.) ‘second in birth’, *saili* (fem.) / *saila* (masc.) ‘third in birth’, *kaili* (fem.) / *kaila* (masc.) ‘fourth in birth’. For instance, father’s eldest sister may be called áni gempo, father’s youngest sister áni te’unt’eŋ 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.

Table 17.9. Ego’s own generation

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elder brother, elder male cousin</td>
<td>áteu ༽, ágia ༽</td>
<td>wife: màtei? ཁོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother, younger male cousin</td>
<td>pynlo ༽ ༽</td>
<td>wife: nám ༽ ༽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder sister, elder female cousin</td>
<td>ázi བོད་, ái བོད་, བོད་</td>
<td>husband: tsʰoː ཁོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister of a man, younger female cousin of a man</td>
<td>p’usim བོད་ ༽ ༽</td>
<td>husband: álo ཁོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister of a woman, younger cousin of a woman</td>
<td>nüm ཁོན་</td>
<td>husband: álo ཁོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother’s brother’s daughter</td>
<td>áni ཁོན་</td>
<td>husband: tsʰoː ཁོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>p’ogja? ཁོན་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>möby? ཁོན་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal uncle’s son</td>
<td>áteu ཁོན་, ágia ཁོན་</td>
<td>wife: màtei? ཁོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ázã: te’unt’eŋ and ázã: te’uŋ</td>
<td>áni ཁོན་</td>
<td>eà:te’uŋ ཁོན་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guardian brother</td>
<td>p’ami ཁོན་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table 17.9, maternal uncle’s son has, in addition to the typical ཁོན་ áteu, ཁོན་ ágia ‘elder brother’ and ཁོན་ pynlo ‘younger brother’ the alternative terms ཁོན་ ཁོན་ ཁོན་ | | ázã: te’un’te’ŋ and ázã: te’uŋ, which literally mean ‘small (maternal) uncle’. In the same

\[465\] Consultant KT (Bermeok) accepts áku, which is the term for mother’s younger sister’s husband, as an alternative term for tsʰoː both for father’s sister’s husband. Consultant TB (Ralang), however, accepts only tsʰoː here.
vein, consultant KT (Bermeok) noted that in some communities maternal uncle’s daughter may be called མ་ཅིག māɕiʔ. Often circumlocutions are used in referring to husband and wife. Husband may be called མི་མོ་ ངོ་ kʰim ápo ‘father of the house’ and wife མི་མོ་ ཆེ kʰim ám ‘mother of the house’ or bhjaru? ‘friend (hon.).’ The term ṃp’ami refers to a girl’s brother who functions as her guardian until she is married.

Classical Tibetan makes several distinctions in kinship terminology based on the gender of the ego, resulting in such forms as phubo ‘older brother of a man’, nubo ‘younger brother of a man’, phumo ‘older sister of a woman’ and numo ‘younger sister of a woman’ (Beyer 1992: 158). In Denjongke these distinctions based on ego’s gender are reduced to one pair: nım ‘younger sister of a woman’ and p’usim ‘younger sister of a man’. Consequently, a man can address a woman younger than himself by saying

\[ (17.82) \quad \text{p’usim}=\text{laː}=\text{ki} \quad \text{nım}=\text{tsu}… \]

\[ \text{younger.sister.of.a.man}=\text{HON}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{younger.sister.of.a.woman}=\text{PL} \]

‘Sister’s (=your) little sisters…’ (Richhi 37)

Relatives (typically) younger than the ego are given in Table 17.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>p’u ṭu, séʔ ṭu (hon.)</td>
<td>wife: nám ལག་མཁའི མུ་ (hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>p’um ṭu, sêʔ madvert (hon.)</td>
<td>husband: màko ལྷ་ མཇོ་ (hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>p’otso དེཿི་, òɲི། དེཿི་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandson, cousin’s son, nephew</td>
<td>tsʰapʰjuʔ ṭuŋjung</td>
<td>wife: nám ལག་མཁའི མུ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>granddaughter</td>
<td>tsʰam⁴⁶⁶ 466</td>
<td>husband: màko ལྷ་ མཇོ་ (hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niece, cousin’s daughter</td>
<td>tsʰam⁴⁶⁷ 467</td>
<td>husband: màko ལྷ་ མཇོ་, álo དཔལ་ (hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male descendant</td>
<td>jápʰjuʔ⁴⁶⁷ 467</td>
<td>wife: nám ལག་མཁའི མུ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female descendant</td>
<td>jàm མྱར</td>
<td>husband: màko ལྷ་ མཇོ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parents call their children either by name or by endearing terms such as bhaitɕuŋ (combining the Nepali word for younger brother bhāi and the Denjongke word tsʰuŋ ‘small’), sêmla: (honorific word for daughter followed by the honorific marker =laː), p’ọtsuŋ ‘small child’ and bahinila: (Nepali for ‘younger sister’ followed by the honorific marker). The word bhaitɕuŋ has become a personal name of several Denjongpo men, who presumably are youngest sons in their families.

Consanguineal kinship terms are also used to refer to and address strangers, see Table 17.11. A few more general terms are also included in the list.

⁴⁶⁶ Consultant KT (from Bermeok) commented that in his speech variety tsʰapʰjuʔ is used both for grandson and granddaughter and that tsʰam , the word here given for ‘granddaughter’, only has the meaning ‘niece’.

⁴⁶⁷ The terms jápʰjuʔ and jàm come from consultant TB (Ralang). Consultant KT (Bermeok), on the other hand, used the term tsʰapʰjuʔ 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>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young child (appr. 0-6 years, male or female)</td>
<td>óní རཞིི།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (0-15 years, male or female)</td>
<td>p’jaby: འབྲུགས་།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child, underaged (appr. 0-18 years, male or female)</td>
<td>p’otso རུན་།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female younger than oneself (said by man)</td>
<td>pʼusim བུ་མཛད།/བུ་མཛད།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female younger than oneself (said by woman)</td>
<td>nūm ཀུ་།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male younger than oneself</td>
<td>pynlo ཀུ་ཉ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female slightly older than oneself</td>
<td>ãzi ཀྲི་།, གྲི། ཀྲི།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male slightly older than oneself</td>
<td>áteu ཀྲུ།, ཀྲུ། ང་མ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female approximately one’s mother’s age</td>
<td>ánì ཀྲི།, ámtuŋ ང་མ།, ámla: ང་མའམ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male approximately one’s father’s age</td>
<td>áku ང་མ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female approximately one’s grandmother’s age</td>
<td>ápo ཀྲི།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male approximately one’s grandfather’s age</td>
<td>ádzo ང་མ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nun</td>
<td>ánila: ང་མའམ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monk</td>
<td>lám(a)la: པམ་འམ།, jàpla: ང་མའམ།</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term ང་མའམ། jàpla: (jaːp ‘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 ónì རཞིི། and p’jaby: འབྲུགས་། 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>Relationship</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Husband</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father-in-law</td>
<td>ápo k’joːp ང་མའམ།</td>
<td>tsʰoː སྦྱོམ་པུ་ ང་མའམ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-in-law</td>
<td>ám gjum ང་མའམ།</td>
<td>pynlo ཀུ་ཉ། ང་མ།, áteu ཀྲུ། ང་མ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather-in-law</td>
<td>ádzo k’joːp ང་མའམ།</td>
<td>woman: ázi (gjum) ཀྲི། (གུ་མ།)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother-in-law</td>
<td>ápo gjum ང་མའམ།</td>
<td>woman: nūm ཀུ་།, nám ང་མ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife’s older sister</td>
<td>ãzi gjum ཀྲི། ང་མ།</td>
<td>husband: tsʰoː སྦྱོམ་པུ་ ང་མའམ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife’s younger sister</td>
<td>pim ཁིམ་</td>
<td>husband: pynlo ཀུ་ཉ། ང་མ།, áteu ཀྲུ། ང་མ།</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife’s older brother</td>
<td>áteu k’joːp ང་མའམ།</td>
<td>wife: ázi (gjum) ཀྲི། (གུ་མ།)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife’s younger brother</td>
<td>kipu གི་པུ།, གུ་མ།</td>
<td>wife: nūm ཀུ་།, nám ང་མ།</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table 17.12, the terms k’joːp ‘male in-law’ and gjum ‘female in-law’ are used in forming affinal relational terms from consanguineal ones. There are, however, two notable exceptions, pim ‘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’joːp for male and gjum for female relatives, e.g. ང་མའམ། ང་མའམ། ང་མའམ། ába bompu k’joːp ‘wife’s mother’s elder sister’s husband, wife’s father’s elder brother’. However, there are a few exceptions. The word tsʰoː: cannot be supplemented by k’joːp (*tsʰoː: k’joːp), 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. \( pʰurba \) \( tsʰerिय \), \( jɪm(a) \) \( tsʰerिय \), \( dawa \) \( námg \), \( karma \) \( kən\), \( pasəŋ \) \( ɭa\), \( sónam \) \( ɭəm \). The first name is often, for instance in \( pʰurba \) \( tsʰerिय \) and \( jɪm(a) \) \( tsʰerिय \), 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( za: ) ( dəu )</td>
<td>༠ ལྷབ། གཟའ་ &quot;Monday&quot; (Moon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( za: ) ( mınıməɾ )</td>
<td>༡ བྱུང་ བྱུང་ འབྲིང་ རྨ་ &quot;Tuesday&quot; (Mars)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( za: ) ( ɭa )</td>
<td>༢ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;Wednesday&quot; (Mercury)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( za: ) ( pʰurbo )</td>
<td>༣ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;Thursday&quot; (Jupiter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( za: ) ( pə̄səŋ )</td>
<td>༤ རྨ་ རྨ་ &quot;Friday&quot; (Venus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( za: ) ( ɲ¬ɪm(a) )</td>
<td>༥ ཉིམ་/ཉི་མ་ &quot;Sunday&quot; (Sun)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>( pə̄l)</td>
<td>༡ བྱུང་ བྱུང་ འབྲིང་ རྨ་ &quot;moon&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( dʒdul )</td>
<td>༢ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;Tara, saviouress&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( tobdzor )</td>
<td>༣ ལྷ་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;life empowerment&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( dʒikdal )</td>
<td>༤ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;delight in dharma&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( lòbzəŋ )</td>
<td>༥ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;good luck&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( də̄rdzə̄l )</td>
<td>༦ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;good mind&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( tə̄bdzor )</td>
<td>༧ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;king of sceptre&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ŋ)</td>
<td>༨ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;king of strength&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ŋ)</td>
<td>༩ ཡུག་ ལྷ་ རྨ་ &quot;all-victorious&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

468 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”, མིག་ལྡོང་པས་ཐོབ་ལྡོང་པས། Denjongpa/Denjongpo (also written as Denzongpa), the generic word བུ་ཞི། Bhutia, which is an exonym used for all Tibetan-related groups in the Southern Himalayas, or a clan name such as བུ་ཞི་ཐར་པོ་ Takhunghdarpo or བུ་ཞི་ཐར་པོ་ 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 17.15. Basic colour terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máːp(u)</td>
<td>བདམར་, བདམར་པོ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>séːp(u)</td>
<td>སྦར་, སྦར་པོ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaːp(u)</td>
<td>བཀར་, བཀར་པོ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náku</td>
<td>བཀག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꦩompu/ŋ̥ompu</td>
<td>སྔོན་, སྔོན་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 སྔོན་པོ, ꦩompu/ŋ̥ompu. For instance, in common parlance སྔོན་པོ, ꦩompu/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 ཐིོན་, ཐིོན་ཀ་, and མིང་, མིང་ཀ་ respectively, but these terms, especially མིང་ཀ་, 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, ཕོང་ do? དཀར་ ཕོང་, táːndo and སྔོན་ kjaʔ, see Table 17.16.

Table 17.16. Some compound colour terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>námdoʔ</td>
<td>སྤུས་རྒྱུན་མོ་, སྤུས་རྒྱུན་མོ་, སྤུས་རྒྱུན་ བཀག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰodoʔ</td>
<td>སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་ བཀག་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolom kjaʔ</td>
<td>སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʽotʰeː kjaʔ</td>
<td>སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰalum kjaʔ</td>
<td>སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་རྒྱུན་, སྤུས་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genitive constructions may also be used: nāmkʰeː do? སྤུས་རྒྱུན་མཁའི་ བཀག་ ‘colour of the sky’ (KN e), dolom kjaʔ སྤུས་རྒྱུན་བཀག་ ‘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) synonymous. KN reported the following suffixes as being used with clear specimens of basic colours: -tõːtõː ཐོང་, -tãːtãː ཐང་, -tʽiŋtʽiŋ དིང་, -riːriː རི་, -siːsiː སི་, -huːhuː 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 *kaːp(u) dkar po* white can be replaced by *kja dkar* ‘(pale) colour’. e.g. *kjatiŋtiŋ* dkar di dang ‘clean white’.

Table 17.17. Colours terms with ideophonic suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sêːtõːtõː, sêːtãːtãː, sêːtiŋtiŋ, sêːriːriː, sêːsiːsiː, sêːhuːhuː</td>
<td>bright yellow, very yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náːtõːtõː, náːtãːtãː, náːtiŋtiŋ, náːriːriː, náːsiːsiː, náːhuːhuː</td>
<td>totally black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màːtõːtõː, màːtãːtãː, màːtiŋtiŋ, màːriːriː, màːsiːsiː, màːhuːhuː</td>
<td>bright red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjatõːtõː, kjatãːtãː, kjatiŋtiŋ, kjariːriː, kjasiːsiː</td>
<td>clean white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yotõːtõː, yotãːtãː, yotiŋtiŋ, yoriːriː, yosiːsiː, yohuːhuː</td>
<td>bright blue/green</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) ད་རིང་ ཉིམ་ འདི་ གན་བྱུས་ ནག་ཧུ་ཧུ་ སྦད་ཤྔོ?  
*t’ariŋ njim=di k’amja nàːhuːhuː: be=eo?*  
‘Why is the sky (lit. day/sun) pitch-black today?’

(17.84) ད་རིང་ ཉིམ་ འདི་ གན་བྱུས་ ནག་ཧུ་ཧུ་ སྦད་ཤྔོ?  
*k’amja t’ariŋ tʰøː:=ki doː=di nàːhuːhuː: be=eo?*  
‘Why is your face today black (of anger)?’

The term *nàːkʰokʰoʔ* dkar khyo which was reported by KN to be synonymic with *nàːhuːhuː* dkar chu.

In addition to the terms in Table 17.17, clear specimens of colours may be emphasized by the use of *tʽaŋgi dang gi* and *tʽiŋgi diàng gi*, which appear to be genitivized forms of two of the forms from Table 17.13, e.g. *máːtʽaŋgi dmar dang gi* ‘clear red’. For a clausal example, consider (17.85).

(17.85) རྣམ་ རྣམ་ བཤུགས་ གཅིག་ དེའི་ སྐྱོང་ སྐྱོང་  
*k’ou kjap-ti yː t’amte=ʔ kja? t’iŋki tʰon-tsʰake.*  
snow strike-NF place all colour bright become-CMPL.APHE  
‘Having snowed, all the surroundings became clean-white.’ (KN e)

Of the ideophonic suffixes listed above, at least -tiŋtiŋ dkar chu and -tôː tô: dkar chu: can also be used with other adjectives than colours, e.g. *dzamtìŋtiŋ, dzamtoː tô:* ‘very easy’.

17.4.2 Pale colours

The forms -tô or -sa tòksy: are used for referring to pale colour terms. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the suffix -tô is added to the colour term, see Table 17.18.

Table 17.18. Pale colours with -tô (Tashiding)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kjalôp</td>
<td>ग्नाझोङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màːlôp</td>
<td>ग्नाझरङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêːlôp</td>
<td>ग्नाझरङ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yolôp</td>
<td>ग्नाझोङ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Martam (consultant KN), the colour term is followed by a more complex construction -ṣa lôksy: ས་ ལོག་སུལ་, see Table 17.19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máːsa lôksyː</td>
<td>ས་ ལོག་སུལ་</td>
<td>pale red, pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêːsa lôksyː</td>
<td>སེར་ ལོག་སུལ་</td>
<td>pale yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pôsa lôksyː</td>
<td>སང་ ལོག་སུལ་</td>
<td>pale blue/green</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Martam mere lôksy: can be added to complex colour terms which end in the word kjaʔ ‘(pale) colour’, e.g. dolom=gi kja lôksy: ‘pale/light purple/violet’ (lit. eggplant’s colour lôksy:). The construction COLOUR [lapping] may also be used for referring to pale colours, quite similarly to construction COLOUR-ṣa lôksy:, e.g. máː [lapping] dêk kja lôksy: ‘pale/light red’, sêː [lapping] dêk kja lôksy: ‘pale/light yellow’. Moreover, kjalemlen རྩེ་མེ་ལེན་ refers to pale/light grey.

### 17.4.3 Dark colours

In Martam (consultant KN) dark colours are referred to with the construction -naʔ lôksyː འག་ ལོག་སུལ་, which suggests that black nāʔ འག་ is mixed to the colour in question, see Table 17.20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máːnaʔ lôksyː</td>
<td>འག་ ལོག་སུལ་</td>
<td>dark red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêːnaʔ lôksyː</td>
<td>སྟེར་ ལོག་སུལ་</td>
<td>dark yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pônaʔ lôksyː</td>
<td>སྟེང་ ལོག་སུལ་</td>
<td>dark blue/green</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alternative longer construction to máːnaʔ lôksyː is máː teŋkʰa nāksa lôksyː སྟེང་ དཀར་ འག་ ལོག་སུལ་ (lit. ‘above red black’-ṣa lôksy:).

### 17.4.4 Other colour terms

Mixed colours can be expressed with the formative -ʈʰa ‘variegated (colour)’. In Tashiding (consultant DB), the expression kaːp tashiʔ གཏོག་ ཅེ་ཤིག་ refers to basically white but mixed with other colours. In Martam (consultant KN), on the other hand, kaːʈʰa tashiʔ or kaːʈʰʈʰa tshiʔ refer to white colour occurring on a background of other colour(s). For instance, the expression kaːp teŋkʰaŋtʰa tshiʔ སྟེང་ དཀར་ བསྟེང་ བཀྲ་ སྟེར་ ལོག་སུལ་ ‘on white blue/green mixed’ can be used for referring to blue ink on a white paper.

Finally, Table 17.21 presents some additional colour terms from Tashiding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāːmuʔ</td>
<td>འག་</td>
<td>dark (but not black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máːmuʔ</td>
<td>འབུམ་</td>
<td>brown (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjazâː</td>
<td>རྩེ་མེ་ལེན་</td>
<td>bright-coloured, clear colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjamiʔ</td>
<td>རྩེ་མེ་ལེན་</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 tâː རང་ ‘send’, lûk ལུག་ ‘pour’, pˈja ནག་
‘do’, kjap རྐྱབས ‘strike’, sà ཞེས ‘eat’ and ze: རྐྱབས ‘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.g., åːtãː, màmam, buŋbuŋ, tea:tea, bulubulu). The words referring to animals òmba ‘cow (child talk)’, lèːle:la ‘goat (child talk)’ and te’idzi ‘pig (child talk)’ are the same as the words addressed to these animals when prompting them to move.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Child talk</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>èːp tãː</td>
<td>eː−eːyèy tãː; iː tãː; eːyl tãː</td>
<td>urinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjako tãː</td>
<td>èː tãː; åːlãː tãː</td>
<td>defecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sà, eːla? ze:</td>
<td>màmam ze:</td>
<td>eat food, rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’a ze:</td>
<td>èː ze:</td>
<td>have tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèː, zim</td>
<td>nèːneː p’ja, zimzim p’ja</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qìː</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’uee kjap</td>
<td>bulubulu p’ja</td>
<td>wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ákar</td>
<td>ákaː</td>
<td>chilly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paija:</td>
<td></td>
<td>spank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰen tãː</td>
<td>puk tãː</td>
<td>fart (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰaː</td>
<td>átsʰaː; átãː; hɛːhyː:</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ika</td>
<td>haka, teiːte, 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. òm ‘milk’)</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>lèːla, lèːle:</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰako</td>
<td>te’idzi</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óm</td>
<td>bubu (KN)</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èːpa (KN)</td>
<td></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 tsʰaː ‘hot’ to átãː. The word for cow, òmba, likely derives from òm bak ‘carry milk’, thus coding empathy in that the word is linked with the child’s existing experience of drinking milk. The word buŋbuŋ presents onomatopoeically and emphathetically what will happen to a child if (s)he falls.

Some of the words from Table 17.22 are illustrated in (17.86-94). In the glosses, CHT refers to “child talk”.

(17.86) ཀྲན་གྲོས་བཞི།
óni eː tãː.
child wee send
‘Child, go wee-wee.’ (PTB 5, 39)

(17.87) ཀྲན་ཐེ། རྒྱ་པ
óni èː p’ja.
child poo do
‘Child, go poo-poo.’ (PTB 5, 39)
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:* to a child who is just learning to walk.

Lastly, (17.95) records an expression which an adult may say to a child who has done something wrong and should show remorse.
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 $k\ jo:p$ ‘male in-law’ and $gjum$ ‘female in-law’. Two exceptions were the terms for ego’s wife’s younger sister ($\text{ɲ̥im}$) 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་བྱེ་ ལྟ་ པུ་ ཆུ་ མ་འཐུང་།
mí 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་ ལྟ་ གཡོག་ བྱེ་ ལྟ་ ཆུ་ མ་འཐུང་།
mí gɛ=lo tam, lã: ge:=lo cá.
human (be.)old=DAT word bull (be.)old=DAT meat
‘Old (hu)man has sayings, old bull has meat.’ (KN)

(3) མི་ ལྟ་ གཡོག་ བྱེ་ ལྟ་ ཆུ་ མ་འཐུང་།
mí tɕa-sà wøː gɑː tɕɛl̥apl̥ap, ra-ɕiʔu mi-tɕiʔ.
goat-meat eat-2INF.GEN time tongue lick.lick goat-price look-2INF.GEN time
eyes wide.open
‘When eating goat-meat, tongue goes lick-lick. When looking at the goat-price the eyes go wide open (in surprise).’ (KN)

(4) མི་ ལྟ་ གཡོག་ བྱེ་ ལྟ་ ཆུ་ མ་འཐུང་།
mí nőriʔ mi-teʔiʔ, p’ja pu-riʔ mi-teʔiʔ.
human thought-kind NEG-one bird feather-kind NEG-one
‘People’s ways of thinking are various. Bird’s feathers are various.’ (SS)

(5) མི་ ལྟ་ གཡོག་ བྱེ་ ལྟ་ ཆུ་ མ་འཐུང་།
mí 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) རྟེ་ལྷག་ན་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ།

ཟིང་ ���་ག་ཅན་ལྔོ་ འཛེག་ འཇྔོ་སྟི། མི་ ག་བ་ཅན་ལྔོ་ ལབ་ འཇྔོ་སྟི།

‘It is easy to climb to a tree with many branches. It is easy to speak to a man of understanding.’ (UT)

(7) འབྲེལ་ འཛོལ་ན་ འཇྔོ་སྟི། མི་ ག་བ་ཅན་ལྔོ་ ལབ་ འཇྔོ་སྟི།

‘If one errs in road, there is returning. If one errs in speech, there is no returning.’ (UT)

(8) རྟེ་ལྷག་ན་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ།

‘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) རྟེ་ལྷག་ན་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ།

‘When eating countryside rice for rice, no curry is needed. When walking on a level road, no (walking) stick is needed.’ (UT)

(10) རྟེ་ལྷག་ན་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ།

‘To kill fleas, no axe is needed. To kill flea-eggs, no hammer is needed.’ (UT)

(11) རྟེ་ལྷག་ན་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ་ མ་མ་ཐ།

‘If there is speaking manner, mouth’s caution. If there is walking manner, feet’s caution.’ (UT)
(12) t'ako in-ne p' in go? nô. eempo in-ne ky: nobleman EQU-COND give be.needed think fool EQU-COND cause.to.move go? nô. be.needed think ‘If (someone) is a nobleman, think that (you) have to give (him). If (someone) is a fool, think that (you) have to use (him).’ (UT)

(13) e:m=lo kʰik-ɕ ma-læp. pjaŋka=lo p' in-ei: ma-læp. foolish.woman=DAT lead-NPAST.PER NEG-say poor=DAT give-NPAST.PER NEG-say ‘Don’t say to a foolish woman “I will take (you as my wife)’, don’t say to the poor “I will give”.’

(14) sòu kʰa sà, duŋ-bo rà duŋ food deer eat beat-2INF goat beat ‘Deer ate the food, goat bore the beating.’ (UT)

(15) eempo k'jo-ne tei? ke: pâ:. t'ako k'jo-ne ni: ke: fool get.angry-COND one portion forsake nobleman get.angry two portion t'op. find ‘If a fool gets angry, do not give (even) one gift. If a nobleman gets angry, (he) shall receive two gifts.’ (UT)

(16) pʰjuku ki-u mi-tsʰu?. pjaŋka e-i-u mi-tsʰu?. rich be.born-2INF NEG-be.able.to poor die-2INF NEG-be.able.to ‘The rich are not able to be born. The poor are not able to die (properly).’ (UT)

(17) ñì=lo teɛ:ŋa áma k'ôn ma-ri. p'ø=lo teɛ:ŋa ápa tam female=DAT fifteen mother wear NEG-hope male=DAT fifteen father word ma-ri. NEG-hope ‘A girl of fifteen (years), do not count on mummy clothing (you). A boy of fifteen (years), do not count on father’s advice (but make your own decisions).’ (UT)

(18) gjømpø: k'î dogom kjap-ne lámo: t'u:=lo p'ok-ee monastery.GEN dog stone strike-COND lama.GEN mind.HON=DAT hit-INF be? EQU.NE ‘If you stone the monastery’s dog, it will hit the lama’s mind.’ (UT)
(19) རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ནེ་ཆ་ལུགས་
râːḍôː dup-ne teʔaly? nên-ruŋ kेpar mè?
own.goal fulfil-COND style be.bad-CONC difference NEG.EX.PER
‘If one’s own goal is achieved, it does not matter even though the means is bad.’ / ‘The end justifies the means.’ (KL)

(20) གྱུ་མ་མྱུར་བུའི་མི་གྱུ་ཐེམ་པ་ལ་སོམ། །
sà ma-mjôː-poː: mî sà, ṱe=tiʔ pʰjoka sâm
eat NEG-experience-NMLZ.GEN human eat snot=INDF taste food
gju ma-mjôː-poː: mî gju, tʰempta là sâm
walk NEG-experience-NMLZ.GEN human walk threshold pass think
‘An inexperienced eater eats and thinks a taste of snot is food. An inexperienced walker walks and thinks a threshold is a mountain pass.’

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470 This WD form given by consultant KL may correspond to dictionary form མི་ལུགས་ ‘style, fashion, custom’.
Riddles

(1) གོ་མི་ཤེས་ལོ་བཤར་པོ་ན།, ལང་དབུགས་ ཕྱིག་ལས་ གོས་ལག་ མེད་མཁན་

*outside=ABL clothes NEG.EX-NMLZ inside=ABL heart NEG.EX.PER*

‘Outside no clothes, inside no heart.’

answer: དོ་

do

‘stone’ (JDG)

(2) དབུགས་ མེད། རང་(པྔོ་) མེད། འཛམ་གིང་ སྐྔོར་སི་ ལྔོན་ སེལ་མཁན།

*outside=ABL clothes NEG.EX NEG.EX-NMLZ inside=ABL heart NEG.EX.PER*

‘(It) has no breath and no feet (but) going around the world (it) brings messages.’

answer: བེད།

jig
t

‘letter’ (JDG)

(3) ཕྱིག་ལས་ ལྔོང་སྟི་ དུང་ཏྔོག་ ནང་ཤ་ ལག་ཀྔོ། གན་ སྦད

*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: ཀྱིན་ ཚུང་ ཚུང་

tøːgū
di

‘putting on a shirt’

‘sleeve’

(4) བྱ་པོ་ཞིག་ རོག་ གཅེག་ གཅིག། བྱ་པོ་ཞིག་ ནིང་ དེ་གཞི་ རེ་ རེ་ རེ

*human=DEMPH person three belt one this what EQU NE*

‘Three people, one belt. What is it?’

Answer: འཕྲོན་ དབྱུང་པོ་

di

‘extracting liquor’

‘making liquor’ (JDG)

Explanation (KN): The liquor-maker binds three vessels with one belt, which prevents the liquor from breaking the vessels.
(5) རྒྱ་ལས་བྔོད་ཟང་སྟེ

\[ gja=le \quad p'\text{bo} \quad sà:\text{te} \quad \text{k'ada} \quad ta: \quad \text{tà:-bo} \]

India=ABL Tibet until scarf append send-2INF

‘It extends a khada-scarf from India to Tibet.’

answer: དི་

té=u

‘water’ (JDG)

(6) ཁ་དར་བཏགས་བཏང་བྔོ།

\[ t'\text{o}ko \quad \text{rìŋkʰjam}, \quad \text{ɕè:go} \quad \text{ɕimpu} \]

rope long food tasty

‘Long rope, tasty food.’

answer: ཤ་ལ་

ɲà sè-ɕe?

fish kill-INF

‘to fish’ (JDG)

(7) དབུས་ཀྱི་ཕྲོ་མོས་བཞི་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཁུ་

\[ mà:kʰu \quad \text{pʰo:po} \quad k'\text{à}=\text{gi} \quad \text{dzamliŋ} \quad \text{k'jap-o}. \]

liquid.butter bowl full=AGT world spread.far-2INF

‘A full bowl of liquid butter extends over the world’.

answer: རོ་

ɲìm

sun

‘sun’ (JDG)

(8) རྒྱ་ལས་བྔོད་ཟང་སྟེ

\[ k'\text{adzo}? \quad \text{sò-u}, \quad \text{ódzo}? \quad \text{kjako} \quad \text{tà:-kʰê}. \]

how.much eat-2INF that.much faeces send-NMLZ

‘As much as it eats, it deficates.’ (JDG)

answer: རབ་ར་

rà:tʰa?

mill

‘mill’ (JDG)

(9) རྒྱ་ལས་བྔོད་ཟང་སྟེ

\[ t'\text{a}?: \quad \text{pʰiː}=\text{t}\text{e}i? \quad \text{tëŋkʰa} \quad \text{p'\text{u}cuŋ} \quad \text{t'\text{u}=ki \text{lú} \quad \text{kjap-o}} \]

stick horizontal=INDF on small.bird six=AGT song do-2INF

answer: དི་ཤི་

\[ gja=\text{liŋ} \quad p'\text{u} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{limbu} \quad p'\text{u} \]

gyaling.trumpet blow flute blow

‘blowing the gyaling-trumpet’ ‘blowing the flute’
(10) འམ་ སིམོ, བུམ་ མཁའ་འགྔོ་, དགུ་ སྤྲུལ།?

am símo, p’um k’andu, k’an du??

mother cannibal.demoness daughter dakini what EX.SEN

‘The mother a demon, the daughter an angel, what is it?’

answer: རེང་།

tsʰɛːlum

tshelum-plant

‘tshelum plant’ (a plant with thorns but sweet fruit)

(11) སོ་ འགྱུ་ རན་ ཁར་, འདེམ་ རྒྱུགས། སོད་ རན་ ཁར་ མ་ སོད། འྔོང་ རན་ ཁར་ ལྭ་ འྔོང་། འདི་ གན་ བྔོ?

gju-renk’a ta dem gjuk. do-renk’a kynteː dem do?. ō-renk’a ge:p

go-SIM horse like run sit-SIM thief like sit come-SIM king

ōŋ-do dem ōː. di k’an bo?

come-PROG like come this what EQU.NE.Q

‘When going, it runs like a horse. When sitting, it sits like a thief. When coming (back), it comes like a king. What is it?’

answer: བཀྲ་ལུམ།

kjako tāː-ec?

faeces send-INF

‘defecating’ (UT)

(12) མཐོ་ དོ་ དུ་གུ་ སྟེང་ ཁར་ གདུང་ སྨོན་, དཔེ་ སྟ་ དུ་ དཔེ་ བྲོ་? དེ་ གན་ བྔོ?

kompo: minda lün=gi dze? sæ=lo kjap-renk’a

leather.GEN gun air=GEN bullet ground=DAT strike-SIM

ŋagu teŋk’a p’ok. di k’an bo?

nose on hit this what EQU.NE.Q

‘When the gunpowder of a leather gun is shot toward the ground, it hits the nose. What is it?’

answer: གཞེན།

pʰen

fart

‘fart’ (UT)
Folkstory

Folkstories 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) རྡེ་ལོ་ བཞིན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ ་།

mi=lo ɕɛ̀ ntʰõː ma-sáː=s.
human=DAT contempt NEG-gather=QUO
‘Do not heap contempt on people, it is said.’

(2) རྡེ་ལོ་ བཞིན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ཁ་ཤ་ར་ འདེམ་ ཐྔོན་ཤད་ ཨིན་ སེ།

mílo ɕɛ̀ ntʰõː sák-ɛ ɛts ɛnɛ kʰa=ra (d ɛm) tʰøn-ɕɛ
human=DAT contempt gather-COND deer=DEMPH like become-INF
‘If (you) heap contempt on people, you will end up like the deer.’

(3) རྡེ་ལོ་ བཞིན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ཁ་ཤ་ར་ འདེམ་ ཐྔོན་ཤད་ ཨིན་ སེ།

kʰa=di kʰu=i=gi ɕɛ̃ː=s. ɹɛms=di ɹɛms=bo Ɋj̥:=lo.
deer=DEMPH 3SGM=GEN=GEN like.that nose like.that shrink-RDP-2INF EX.PER=REP
‘The deer, its nose is shrunken like that, it is said.’

(4) རྡེ་ལོ་ བཞིན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ཁ་ཤ་ འདི་ ཁུའི་ཀི་ འདེམ་ སྣ་གུ་ འདེབ་ སུམ་སུམ་བྔོ་ ཡྔོད་ལྔོ།

ōdi k’an süm-bo sɪ-betsene t’anpu Ɋːbu=tiʔ Ɋp=lâm
that what shrink-2INF say-COND long.ago elephant=INDF like.it road nānca giu-do=lo, Ɋp’jaʔ nānca=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) རྡེ་ལོ་ བཞིན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ཁ་ཤ་ འདི་ འྔོང་དྔོ་ལྔོ།

gju-wøː: Ɋɡː=di Ɋaːbu=di=gi Ɋɡjakʰa Ɋjou Ɋp’jaː=di=le
go-2INF.GEN time=DEMPH elephant=DEMPH=GEN in.back up cliff=DEMPH=ABL
Ɋtɛ dogom=teiʔ Ɋq: Ɋbəʔ Ɋn-ɗi Ɋt’aglo dogom=di
down stone=INDF fall carry come-NF EXCLAM stone=DEMPH
pʰok-o=lo=la.
hit-2INF=REP=HON
‘When going, a stone came down falling from the cliff and slam the stone hit the elephant’s back (so the story goes).’

(6) རྡེ་ལོ་ བཞིན་མཐོང་ བསགས་ཀ་ཅེ་ནེ་ ཁ་ཤ་ འདི་ འྔོང་དྔོ་ལྔོ།

dogom=di pʰok-sa=le=di gɪable gɪable=di kʰa=di Ɋn-ɗo=lo.
stone=DEMPH hit-CMPL=ABL after after=DEMPH deer=DEMPH come-IPFV=REP
‘Stone having hit, afterwards, afterwards a deer is coming (so the story goes).’
(7) te k'aea=di=lo là:bu=di dep ta za: làp-o=lo.
so deer=DEMPH=DAT elephant=DEMPH like.this look put say-2INF=REP
'So the elephant looked at the deer and said like this:'

(8) ói rā=:to, di k'a: bo in-a471?
Oh 2SG.M=CEMPH this what EQU.NE.Q EQU.PER-Q
'Hey, you...what is this?'

(9) p'ja=:le òte nā=lo do di: tà:-di nē: gjapkʰa do=tei?
ciff=ABL down 1SG=DAT stone fall send-NF 1SG.GEN in.back stone=INDF
pʰok-tsʰa=to=lo.
hit-CMPL-CEMPH=REP
'A stone was sent down falling from the cliff and it hit my back (so the story goes).'

(10) k'aea=di=lo làp-o=lo là:bu=gi=la.
dereer=DEMPH=DAT say-2INF=REP elephant=AGT=HON
'The elephant said (this) to the deer.'

(11) te rā=:to k'aea, nā:tsē: nāŋea, p'ja? di=tsu=i nāŋea
so 2SG.M=CEMPH deer:tsē: nāŋea, p'ja? di=tsu=i nāŋea
very.much run be.able.to
'So you (are) a deer, (you) are very well able to run in the forest and in these cliffs.'

(12) rā: jōu gjuk sō:-di ta sō:-tei.
2SG.M up run go.PFV-NF look go.PFV-IMP.FRN
'You go up running to look.'

(13) k'atem=tei? du-ke di nā=lo do lok di:-kʰen=di
how=INDF EX.SEN-IN this 1SG=DAT stone remove fall-NMLZ=DEMPH
làp-kʰe?472
say-NMLZ
'What kind is the one who displaced and made the stone fall on me?'

471 This form is typically pronounced na.
472 The last syllable is unclear on recording. The nominalizer -kʰe was an educated guess by a consultant.
(14) དེ་ཟང་ རྔོག་ འགིལ་མཁན་ འདི་ བྱི༹་དུད གཅིག་ འདུག་ལྔོ་ལགས་ porcupine.

‘But the one who displaced the stone and made it fall is (I see) a porcupine (so the story goes).’

(15) བོད་ འཇིག་ དེབ་ སེམས་ཅན་ ཡེ་ ཤིག་ འདུག་ཀེ།

‘So he, the deer, says (so the story goes):’

(16) མིན་ ཡེ་དེ་ ཕེས་ དེི་ གཅིག་ འདུག་ཀེ།

‘There is such an animal up there.’

(17) ཆུ་ སེི་ འདི་ བཏང་ རྔོག་ མོས་ འདེ འོི་ རྒྱབ་ ཁཀར་ སེ།

‘It is one with body covered with thorns like this.’

(18) བོད་ རྒྱ་ རྡོག་ མོས་ འདེ གཅིག་ འདུག་ཀེ།

‘That one like that dug a hole and (as a result) a stone fell and came and, how, hit my back (so the story goes) ’

(19) བོད་ འཛིན་ འཇིག་ དེང་ འཇིག་ རྡོག་ འདེ གཅིག་ འདུག་ཀེ།

‘The elephants said (so the story goes):’

(20) བོད་ རྒྱ་ རྡོག་ འཇིག་ རྡོག་ འདེ གཅིག་ འདུག་ཀེ།

‘Call him here in front of me, (he) said’

(21) བོད་ རྒྱ་ རྡོག་ འཇིག་ རྡོག་ འདེ གཅིག་ འདུག་ཀེ།

‘Why did he send the stone?’

473 This should be རྭ(་) ‘your’ as the speaker is the deer.
(22) ཡི་ སྟོན་པ་ ཅེས་པ་

*te lâ:bu=di làp-o=lo.*

so elephant=DEMPH say-2INF=REP

‘So the elephant said (so the story goes):’

(23) ཤར་ ལྟེ་ རང་ ཡ་ བྱུག་ གྲབ་ མི་ཚུགས།

*râ: jâte p'ja=nâne dzek-ti jôu k'u=i=tsa: gju go?*

2SG.M up cliff inside climb-NF up 3SGM=GEN=at go be.needed

jôkʰ=di=ki sàp-3 SG 1SG up=CEMPH go NEG be.able.to

‘You have to climb up the cliff and go to him, because the one up (there) is saying “come”.’

(24) བྱུག་ བུ་ འདི་ ང་ ཡ་ བྱུག་ གྲབ་ མི་ཚུགས།

*lâ:bu=di nà jâte=to gju mi-tsʰu?*

elephant=DEMPH 1SG up=CEMPH go NEG be.able.to

‘Elephant (said): I am not able to go up.’

(25) རང་ ཡ་ བྱུག་ གྲབ་ མི་ཚུགས།

*nà k'u=i d'ya=g'a gju mi-tsʰu?*

1SG 3SGM=GEN in.front.of go NEG be.able.to

‘I am not able to go in front of him.’

(26) རང་ ཡ་ བྱུག་ གྲབ་ མི་ཚུགས།

*k'u=lo=di ót? ót e=ô:s làp-sa=le=di te*

3SGM=DAT=DEMPH down down come.IMP=QUO say-CMPL=ABL=DEMPH so
deer=DEMPH=AGT

‘When he had said “Come down, down”, so the deer (said):’

(27) མེ་ རང་ ཡ་ བྱུག་ གྲབ་ མི་ཚུགས།

*tsêi râ:=to dem zu? bomteu, râ: dem zu? bômteu, k'u*

EXCLAM 2SG.M=CEMPH such body size 2SG.M such body size 3SGM
dem p'ima=tei? dy'k'a gju mi-tsʰu-k'ë:=jâ: làp-ti

such small=INDF in.front.of go NEG be.able.to-NMLZ=even say-NF

insol p'ja-u=lo=la, cênt'ô: sàk-o=lo.

insol(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 his...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).

Choden=AGT tea.HON make-NF all=DAT carry=PROG=bowl
Choden makes tea, brings it to everyone and puts snacks in a basket in their

now=gen snacks table on middle=LOC put now 3PL=PL with midst on the table.

Now as they sit together

enjoying tea and snacks they are really like members

As (they) are talking, Karma says

Lhaki: "She works together with me at the school.

(He) lives in Darjeeling. (She) came here about eight months ago, brother."

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.
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"མདང་ང་ཅའི་བྷའི་ལགས་ཀི་མགྔོ་བཏྔོག་སྟི་འགིལ་སྔོད་ཡོད་སྐབས་

*Yesterday when Bhaila fell and hit his head, if it wasn't for the sister, he would have died on the spot.*

"ཁུ་སིང་ལགས་མེད་པར་ཅེ་ན་ཁྔོང་ཨྔོ་ན་རང་སྦད།

*Yesterday the sister didn't die.*

"tʰudʑ iɕʰ Ė=ʃãː ñàːtɕùka=tsu=ʃj ɛ uʔ tʰãːhã̃ːpøːɕ úk=na=ʃusim=laː=lo

*In the heat of the hurry and shock we didn't even manage to thank the sister.*

"pʽjɛ uʔ tˢʰaptsʰup=na õdɛm ta lòː=ɾà:

*Did the mother know her?* Mother: "No, I didn't recognise her. Yesterday in the midst of hurry and action I didn't even have time for as much as a look. Aha, the child..."
སྔོབ་གྲྭ་འདིའི་ན་རང་ཕག་ལས་གནང་དྔོ་?

Choki’s reply to Mother:

Yes I do. I work at the school.

It is now some eight months since I arrived here.

With whom and where do you live here?” the mother asks.

“I am staying in the teachers’ quarters. And I have two little sisters

with me too.”

Mother: “Where do you live in Darjeeling?

In Darjeeling by the Ghoom monastery. Father and

mother both live. HON EX.PER mother are both alive.”

Notes:

(löbd⁶ diː=na=râː [school this.GEN=LOC=AEMP]. 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 ཞེས་་་ མཐུ་ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་
t’ari eânù nà: jò-po bo ô? lô: sô:-bo?
these.days PN here EX-2INF EQU.NE.Q down rise go.PFV-2INF
‘Is Shanu these days here or has he gone away down (from the mountains).’

(9) B ཞེས་་་ མཐུ་ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་
eânù mòu bo.? waranasi k’atek’ô:e=le î:.
PN down EQU.NE TPN teaching=ABL EQU.PER
‘Shanu is down. (He) is at (Buddhist) teaching in Varanasi.’

(10) T ཞེས་་་ མཐུ་ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་
k’ô: òn do: jà:-p mêmbo, p’otso=tsu.
3PL come stay EX-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q child=PL
‘They have come too, haven’t they, the children?’

(11) B ཞེས་་་ མཐུ་ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་
k’ô: te=di... k’ânlo... tso? kjap go=:pê=êo.
3PL so=DEMPH what.is.it debate do be.needed=EQU.NE=AT
‘They have to participate, what’s that, a debate, you know.’

(12) T ཞེས་་་ མཐུ་ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་
mê:, p’â:e=le gjaltse=tsu jà:-p mêmbo?
NEG.EQU.PER over.there=ABL PN=PL EX-2INF NEG.EQU.NE.Q
‘No, from over there Gyaltshen and his associates are there, aren’t they?’

(13) B ཞེས་་་ མཐུ་ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་
ê: gjaltse=jâ?
oh PN EX.PER
Oh, Gyaltshen is there.

(14) T ཞེས་་་ མཐུ་ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་ ཞེས་་་་
te gutor ts’okpa ô: teêo be=êo, k’â:s=to.
so gutor-offering meeting come be.alright EQU.NE=AT in.fact(Nep.)=CEMPH
‘He is allowed to come to the gutor-offering meeting, in fact.’
(15) B བོད་ཀྱི་་ཐ་དཔའི་བོད་ཐེག་ཆེན་དེ་ཡོད།

tʽitsi nàː fâteʰaː=lo sôː-sâː-ni
a.few.days.ago here worship=DAT go PFV-TERM-TOP
ŋôtsʰo-u=lo=ki.
be.ashamed=2INF=REP=NC
'A few days ago when (I told him) go to the worship ceremony, he said he was ashamed.'

(16) ཏ་ན་ལ་མཆོད་ལྔོ་སོང་ཟང་ནི་གོ་ཚོ་ལྔོ་ཀི།

 NDP=2SG go=REP=NC
now 1SG DISTAL so gutor-offering 1SG go.PFV go=CEMPH say-PROG so mâ-nten-tsʰa-ne k’an p’ja-ee?!
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?' 476

(17) F ཐོག་བརྩེ་དོན་གྲགས་འགྲོ་བསྟོད།

e’anu=to t’u t’sopo kjap-a gju=ee be?.
PEN=CEMPH now debate do-PUR go be.needed EQU.NE
'Now Shanu has to go to participate in the debate.'

(18) B རུ་ཕྲུག་པོའི་ཞེས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་གྱིི་ཀུར་ཐལ་འབྲུག་མཁྱེན་པ་བོད།

kʰu là=iː=la. te k’on=gi=di maj-gju=rôː
3SGM HON=EQU.PER=HON so 3SG.HON=AGT=DEMPH NEG-go=AEMPH
gju=lo=si=la.
go=REP=QUO=HON
'He, yes. He says (cf. =se) he heard (cf. =lo) he has no way of not going.'

(19) F མི་ཚོགས་་ཚོགས་སྦད།

tsopo p’ja-ee=di p’ja te nêːkor kjap t’op be?.
debate do-INF=DEMPH do so sightseeing do find EQU.NE
'Because of debating, (he) gets to do sightseeing.'

(20) བོད་ཀྱི་་ཐ་དཔའི་བོད་ཐེག་ཆེན་དེ་ཡོད།

zenne mi=t’op-kʰen be no.
otherwise NEG-find-NMLZ EQU.NE TAG.ASR
'Otherwise (it) is not available, I tell you.’

(21) B བོད་ཀྱི་་ཐ་དཔའི་བོད་ཐེག་ཆེན་དེ་ཡོད།

la=be?
HON=EQU.NE
'Yes, it is (so).'

476 For clarification of meaning, see the footnote under example (15.120).
(22) F བན་སྒྲོན་མོ་ལུང་བརྟེན་པའི།
zen=to dordzidé waranasi=tsu...
other=CEMPH TPN TPN=PL
‘Otherwise Dorjeden and Varanasi…’

(23) B ལྷོའི་བནས་གཞན་ལྷོའི་མ་ཡིན་བྱེད་གྱུར་བ་ཤེས་མོ་རིག་པ་ལ་?
ŋātei k'artsa=gi ápa gju-zin lâp-ne k'ana gju
1PL GEN expenses(Nep.)=AGT father go-PROG say-COND where go
tsʰuː-ee? ápa.
be.able.to-INF father
‘Because of the expenses for us, father, even if (one) says he’s going, where could
(one) go, father.’

(24) F ལོངས་ཤའི་ོག་སྐྱོས་པར་ཤེས་མོ་པོ་མཛད།
ʊndʒ=gi nèː=di=po kor mi-tsʰu-kʰen be?.
TPN=GEN site=DEMPH=even(Nep.) make.tour NEG-be.able.to-NMLZ EQU.NE
‘Even Sikkim’s sights (we) are not able to tour.’

(25) ན་ོ་ཤིལ་བེ་བོའི་ཤེས་མོ་བོ་མོ་ནུ་མོ་རྟེན་པའི།
t'a òdi: eik p'ja-ti nèːkor kjap, kʰːlc.
now that. AGT power do-NF sightseeing do all
‘Now because of that (i.e. the debate) (he gets to) do sightseeing to great extent,
everything.’

(26) B བོད་སྡེ།
la=be?
HON=EQU.NE
‘Yes, it is (so).’

(27) phone ཕྲོ་བོ་ལ་འབུ།
pʰon kjap-tee lâp-tee.
phone(Eng) do-PST say-PST
‘(Somebody) told (me) that (he) phoned.’ (i.e. Shanu, who is the son of B, had
phoned to a member of B’s household)

(28) རྡོ་འདི་རྡོ་རློའི་ནུས་མཚོད་ནི།
tsâpo=di mjôː-tsʰou nâm ma-mjôː-p nâm?
debate=DEMPH finish-CMPL.2INF EQU.ATTQ NEG-finish-2INF EQU.ATTQ
‘I wonder whether the debate has ended or not.’ (i.e. having heard some of the
contents of the phone call, the speaker still did not know whether the debate had
ended)

(29) F གུ་
jà:
aha
‘Aha.’
(30) K བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ།

péné kʰoː=to waranasi gju-ee be?
before 3SG=CEMPH TPN go-INF EQU.NE
‘Before (going to Dorjeden) he goes to Varanasi.’

(31) B བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ། བོད་ དོན་ མ་ བོད་ དོན་ རྒྱལ།

waranasi ì: tsopo. móu kjap-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 བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ། བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ། གཉིས་ བོད་ དོན་ རོྒྱལ།

éː, tʼutei? waranasi mën-do ᐆ: 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 བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ།

tʼutei? dordzidêː=lo.
this.year TPN=DAT
‘This year in Dorjeden.’

(34) K བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ། བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ། གཉིས་ བོད་ དོན་ རོྒྱལ།

this.year direct(Eng.) TPN=DAT=AEMPH EQU.AP like.that say-PROG.APH
‘This year (it) seems to be directly in Dorjeden. So (they) are saying.’

(35) F བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ།

tsapo=dì ó debate=DEMPH EXCLAM.Q
‘The debate?’

(36) T བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ།

la-ː=la HON-EQU=HON
‘Yes.’

(37) F བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ།

éː, in-ga.
oh EQU.PER-PQ
‘Oh, is (it) really (so)?’

(38) B བསྟན་ལྡེ་ སྤེན་པོ་ སྤྱན་ཁྱོང་ བྲོན་པོག་ རྒྱལ།

tʼutei? waranasi làp qa.
this.year TPN say AP
‘This year it’s in Varanasi (they) seem to say.’
(39) མཉི་་དོན་ནས་ནུས་ཐོག་པོ་བོད་དང་ཤུས་བཅོས་སོ།

*ɲɛ̃́nlɛ̃* =di nəm nəm=tei=le pʰate ̃ò:
earlier=DEMPH when EQU.ATTQ=INDF=ABL over.there empowerment
jɔ:=lo=se.
EX.PER=REP=QUO
‘I wonder what (they) said earlier, when the empowerment ceremony is in there.’

(40) F ཌུ་ཌི་

*ò*: *ò*:
yes yes
‘Yes, yes.’

(41) B ཆོང་་འོད་འཕྲོད་ལག་

*dò*: kʰu dikʰa fon kjap-tec lāp-tec.
yesterday 3SGM here phone do-PST say-PST
‘(Somebody) told (me) that he phoned here yesterday.’
Appendix 2: Differences between spoken and written language

Differences between spoken and written language were discussed throughout the grammar. Table 1 below provides a summary of the differences and refers to sections in the grammar where the differences are more fully illustrated and discussed. The headings in Table 1 describe the ways in which spoken language differs from written language. Spoken language is associated with phonological reduction and modification, morphosyntactic reduction (and possibly accompanying phonological reduction), semantic reduction (one example), morphosyntactic expansion, morphosyntactic flexibility, frequency of discourse-related constructions, and influence from Nepali and English (as opposed to influence from Literary Tibetan in written language).

Table 1. How spoken language differs from written language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological reduction and modification</th>
<th>Page</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 ũ).</td>
<td>§1.2.7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written progressive marker bzhin, which is pronounced /zin/ in spelling-style pronunciation, becomes /zɛː:/~/tɛː:/ in typical spoken language (but /tɛː:/ 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 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 jø̀-po beʔ (neg. mèː-po beʔ) is in spoken language reduced to jø̀bbɛʔ /jɛ̀bbɛʔ (neg. mɛ̀bbɛʔ).</td>
<td>§7.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The nominalized completive form 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 -soː=le.</td>
<td>§15.3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written bo, when following short vowels, reduces to -u in pronunciation (e.g. la-bo &gt; dau/dou ‘month’, la-bo in &gt; ta-u ũ‘I looked’).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Morphosyntactic reduction (possibly also phonological reduction) | |  
| The often used written form of the interrogative copula in-nam, suggesting a bimorphemic interpretation, merges in spoken language to monosyllabic/monomorphemic nam. | §3.3.7 |
| Relator nouns, which are in spoken language always followed by a case-marker, are occasionally in spoken language used without a case-marker, e.g. ten=lo > ten ‘on, above’. | §3.6.8 |

In spoken language, genitive-marking may be dropped from noun modifiers. | §4.1.2.2 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In equative and locational clauses in spoken language, the copula may be elided.</th>
<th>§5.4.1 and §5.4.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case-marking in directionals seems more frequently dropped in spoken language than in written language.</td>
<td>§5.6.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The frequent spoken filler-question /k’aːm/<del>/k’aːm/</del>/k’aːm/~/k’aːm/ is an abbreviation of the written ཡགན་ཨིན་ནམ་ gan in-nam.</td>
<td>§6.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The apparentive construction qa be?, which corresponds to written བོག་བོ་ ’dra sbad and occurs as such in slower speech, is often in faster speech reduced to qe:/re:.</td>
<td>§8.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The non-past construction -eeː (WD འདྲ་སྦད་ shad in) often reduces to -eiː/ein, which does not have a strictly corresponding written form.</td>
<td>§9.1.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>§11.1.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spoken language purpose-marking converbal marker -pa/ba (WD འོ་/ཉ(ེ) bo t’ãː) may be dropped.</td>
<td>§15.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The simultaneous converbal endings -sondãː/-sompãː/-sumpãː/-tsubda: used in spoken language probably derive from the longer construction sò:-bo t’à: [go.PFV-2INF and].</td>
<td>§15.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Semantic reduction</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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).</td>
<td>§5.6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Morphosyntactic expansion</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>§15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whereas in written language causality may be expressed through agentive marking by the grapheme -w -s, which suggests a lengthened vowel in spelling-style pronunciation, spoken language uses additional morphosyntax for the same purpose, i.e. the emphatic =di and the nonfinal converb p’jati(ki).</td>
<td>§15.4.6, §15.4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double/marking of genitive is frequent in spoken language and almost non-existent in written language.</td>
<td>§3.7.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both the terminative endings -sãː and -sonzãː occur in spoken language but only the short -sãː in written language.</td>
<td>§3.3.6.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Morphosyntactic flexibility</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spoken language, the head noun of a noun phrase may occur between the adjective modifier and adjective.</td>
<td>§4.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>§5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The morphologically dependent distal demonstrative form o- ‘that’ is occasionally in spoken language used independently</td>
<td>§6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Frequency of discourse-related morphemes and phenomena</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlike in written language, the use of the demonstrative-emphatic =di is prevalent in spoken language, sometimes occurring several times in one clause.</td>
<td>§16.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse particles t’a and te are more frequent in spoken than in written</td>
<td>§16.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
language because they are used as fillers when the speaker does not know what
to say.

In spontaneous spoken language right-dislocation is a frequently used way for
speakers to correct themselves and add information that helps the addressee to
disambiguate the clause.

Influence of Nepali and English rather than Tibetan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code-mixing with Nepali/English and Nepali/English loan words are more frequent in spoken than in written language.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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 2. Vowel plot measurements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowel word</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>Long vowel word</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>2175</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>2337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰi</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>2309</td>
<td>ki:</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>2565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʰi</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>2419</td>
<td>sʰ:</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>2327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰi</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>2292</td>
<td>dzi:</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>2423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>2299</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>2413</td>
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<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>ge:</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>2441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gep</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>2119</td>
<td>ge:p</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>2529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dːe</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>2147</td>
<td>dːe</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>2297</td>
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<tr>
<td>ʰemːo</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>sʰ</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>2218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>2104</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>2371</td>
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<tr>
<td>aː</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>1640</td>
<td>aː</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>1626</td>
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<tr>
<td>tʰaːtɕ</td>
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<td>tʰaː</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>1576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>746</td>
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<td>kʰaː</td>
<td>686</td>
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<td>yː</td>
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<td>yː</td>
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<td>1498</td>
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<tr>
<td>ʰəpːo</td>
<td>711</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>ʰəpː</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>1401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>1587</td>
<td>Average:</td>
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<td>1434</td>
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<tr>
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<td>644</td>
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<td>oː</td>
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<td>1136</td>
<td>tʃho</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>892</td>
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<td>doː</td>
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<td>uː</td>
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<td>960</td>
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<td>894</td>
<td>kʰuː</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>377</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>chuː</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>1044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>Average:</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>2319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yː</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>yː</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>2319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰoːlːoː</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>2326</td>
<td>ʰoːlːoː</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>2165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰoːlːoː</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>2165</td>
<td>ʰoːlːoː</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>2303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Phonetic</td>
<td>Average</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cockroach</td>
<td>ɕoːm</td>
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<tr>
<td>soot</td>
<td>ɕoːna</td>
<td>401</td>
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<td>raven</td>
<td>ɑːlɑʔ</td>
<td>373</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tea (hon.)</td>
<td>ɕoːza</td>
<td>343</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>391</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2025</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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.

_____________________________

_____________________________

_____________________________

_____________________________

_____________________________
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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