

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

A Grammar of Dongwang Tibetan

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

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To Ken and Isabelle—who make having more free time meaningful—now we have time for a long hike!

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ABSTRACT

A Grammar of Dongwang Tibetan

by

Ellen Lynn Bartee

This dissertation is a description of Dongwang Tibetan. It is based on personal biographies, narratives and procedural texts, as well as on elicited material.

Dongwang is a Southern Khams Tibetan dialect spoken in Shangri-la County, Diqing Prefecture, Yunnan. There are about 6,000 speakers of Dongwang who live in fifty-seven villages that are scattered on the steep hillsides along both sides of the Dongwang River.

After an introductory chapter, a synchronic and diachronic description of the phonology is given. The synchronic section examines the segments, syllable canon and tone of Dongwang. The diachronic section focuses on comparing older forms of Tibetan, as reflected in Written Tibetan, with Dongwang speech in order to highlight the historical origins and development of Dongwang forms.

Word classes including nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are described in Chapters Three through Six. Special attention is given to how new nouns are inducted into Dongwang and the various morphological processes required to do

so. The semantic and pragmatic categories that typify verbs are described in Chapter Four with special attention given to categories of control, transitivity and intention. Two types of adjectives are described in Chapter Six as well as the semantic categories that adjectives depict.

Constituent order and nominal morphology is discussed in Chapter Eight, in which the morphosyntactic organization of core arguments is described along with other casemarking clitics. Chapters Nine and Ten describe the verb phrase, focusing on pre-verbal and post-verbal elements and issues of grammaticization which typify the secondary verbs in Dongwang. Intention, evidentiality, and validationality are some of the issues contained in the discussion of final auxiliaries.

Chapter Eleven describes simple clause types in Dongwang and Chapter Twelve discusses combinations of clauses such as relative clauses, complement clauses and clause chains.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	most agent-like argument in transitive clause
ABS	absolutive
ADVERS	adversative
AN	animate
APPROX	approximate
CC	complement of copular clause
CH	Chinese borrowing
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CS	S of copular clause
DAT	dative
DCT	deictic
DET	determiner
DUB	dubitive
DUR	durative
EGO	egodeictic
ERG	ergative
EVI	evidential
EX	existential
EXP	experiential perfect
FUT	future
HON	honorific
HS	hearsay evidential
IMM	imminent aspect
IMP	imperative
INAN	inanimate
INDF	indefinite
INF	inferential evidential
IPFV	imperfective
IR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MAL	malefactive
MOD	modal
MUT	mutual
NEG	negative
NZR	nominalizer
OBJ	objective

OBL	oblique argument
OTHR	other
P	most patient-like argument in transitive clause
PERM	permissive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POL	politeness marker
POSD	possessed argument of possessive clause
POSR	possessor argument of possessive clause
PROSP	prospective aspect
PST	past
PTCL	particle
Q	question word or particle
QTV	quotative
REAL	realis
S	single argument in intransitive clause
SG	singular
SELF	self auxiliary
SPEC	specific
TOP	topic
VAL	validation
VBZR	verbalizer
VIS	visual evidential
WT	Written Tibetan
◇	indicates WT examples written in Wylie transcription
=	clitic
-	affix

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This dissertation describes a little-known dialect of Tibetan called Dongwang, spoken on the Southeastern periphery of historical Tibet. The goals of this dissertation are to describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of Dongwang, drawing on both naturally-occurring and elicited data.

1.1. Culture

For many, the name 'Tibet' conjures a high, dry plateau ringed by mountains, dotted by monasteries and populated by roaming monks, mendicants, and yak herders. The 'Tibetan language' has often been equated with the dialects spoken in and around one of the great centers such as Lhasa, Dege, or Amdo. By contrast, Dongwang is a non-standard dialect spoken by farmers who live in a deep mountain valley far from any well-known center of Tibetan population.

1.1.1. Livelihood

The Tibetans who live in Dongwang primarily cultivate corn, barley, and wheat. Irrigation channels, carved into steep hillsides, bring water from distant mountain streams to the villages. Most villages have pear, apple, walnut, peach, orange and apricot trees which dot the otherwise bone-dry hillsides. In addition, some households grow small patches of vegetables behind their houses. The main cash crops are various types of mushrooms and 'caterpillar fungus'. The most valuable

type of mushroom is the matsutake mushroom, known locally as $s\tilde{u}^{13}$ <?>¹. The matsutake, which is found on elite menus throughout the world, grows on the hillsides during the rainy summer months. 'Caterpillar fungi', or $mb\theta^{353}$ <'bu>, as they are known locally², are moth caterpillars that are parasitized by a fungus while they are in the ground waiting to pupate during the winter. A tiny spore stalk that the fungus makes is barely visible above the ground. Villagers camp high in the mountains to crawl on their bellies all day scanning the ground for the tiny ¼" shoot. Caterpillar fungus, usually collected in late May or early June before mushrooms, is reputed to have medicinal value that is appreciated throughout the world.

1.1.2. Religion

Like many other areas of Tibet, Dongwang people are Buddhists who belong to the Nyingmapa ('Red Hat') and Gelugpa ('Yellow Hat') sects. Many of the Gelugpa followers follow Shugten, a sect of Gelugpa that has been officially censored by the

¹ Throughout this dissertation, I will use angle brackets <> as a convention to indicate a romanized transcription of Written Tibetan based on the widely-used Wylie transcription. 'Wylie', as it is known, was developed by Terrell Wylie and published in 1959 when he was head of the Tibet program at the University of Washington in Seattle, Washington. If a particular etymology is unknown or uncertain, a question mark in angled brackets <?> will indicate that. If the etymology of part of a word is unknown, a question mark will occur in place of whichever syllable is unknown. Thus, <drel?> 'mule' indicates a low-possibility etymology and <?.sprel> 'monkey' indicates that the Written Tibetan etymology of the first syllable is unknown.

² The full name in Written Tibetan is <dbyar.rtswa.dgun.'bu> or 'summer grass, winter worm'.

Dalai Lama. Although monks know to which sect they belong, many lay people do not.³

There are a few observations to be made as to the everyday expressions of Buddhism among the villagers. In the morning, typically the oldest man of the house will light incense and recite prayers in a corner of the top floor especially reserved for such a purpose. When a woman makes a batch of butter, she will dab one thumbprint of butter on a small altar above the wood stove, one on the stovetop, and one on the beam overhead. Once a year, households that can afford it invite monks to live in their house for three or four days chanting scriptures, blowing horns, and beating drums for the express purpose of warding off bad luck or misfortune, as well as potentially bringing wealth and good luck. During such ceremonies, the household is responsible for the monk's daily wage as well as for their provision of food and housing. Generally, monks are invited around the time of the new year, but can also be invited for a wedding, funeral, or any other big ceremony.

1.1.3. Food

As with Tibetans elsewhere, roasted barley, butter tea and meat are the staple food and drink for Dongwang people. Villagers grow barley in their fields and make

³ This fact was made clear when some funds arrived from India in 2004 to build a Stupa, or Buddhist tower, in Pongding, the village where I collected my data. Those who previously were un-informed regarding which sect they belonged to became more interested as the stupa became a reality. Emotions ran high and the village was divided into Gelugpa and Nyingmapa camps. The stupa was dynamited several times, some monks were jailed, and former friends and relatives turned against each other. Eventually, the government was needed to resolve the issue.

butter every day or so.⁴ Those who can afford to buy and transport it, also eat rice. Wheat, grown locally as well, is made into noodles, flatbread, or steamed bread. Lower-elevation villagers tend to eat more buckwheat than those higher up. Villagers down near the river (about 9,000 feet) raise pigs and those higher up raise yaks. After an animal has been butchered, the pork and beef is rubbed in salt and hung up to cure. Rice, blood and roasted barley is stuffed into intestines to make sausage.

When working in the fields, most villagers eat four meals a day. Each meal will include butter tea. The first and third meals usually include roasted barley and maybe homemade sausage, while the second and fourth more substantial meals include noodles, potatoes, meat, rice or roasted barley. Vegetables are not common. Fruit occasionally is eaten, but is mainly sold in rGyalthang or traded for a staple food.

Each household makes a homemade liquor called $t\phi^{h\tilde{o}^{53}}$ <chang>, a strong grain alcohol made from barley. $t\phi^{h\tilde{o}^{53}}$ is reserved for visitors or during holidays or celebrations such as the New Year or a wedding. During these times, it is usually only men who drink the homemade alcohol. Sometimes yak meat is cooked in $t\phi^{h\tilde{o}^{53}}$ and guests are served a bowl of hot $t\phi^{h\tilde{o}^{53}}$ soup. At other times, rice and egg are added to the hot $t\phi^{h\tilde{o}^{53}}$ with a little bit of sugar added.

⁴ During the summer, when cows have more milk, they make butter every day. In the winter, butter is usually made every three or four days.

1.1.4. Clothing

Traditional clothing for women is a shin-length wool skirt worn over long pants with a blouse and hand-woven colorful vest. Traditional clothing for men is a vest worn over an extra-long sleeved shirt tucked into a coat often worn tied around the waist. Today most people under forty or fifty years old wear Western-style clothing. Many women wear a short-brimmed Mao hat or baseball hat to ward off the intense sun. Men, even older men, tend to wear a Western-style suit and coat. Very occasionally older men wear a Chupa belted around their waist.



PLATE 1: WOMAN HARVESTING BARLEY IN PONGDING, DONGWANG

1.1.5. Architecture

Dongwang houses are usually three- or four-story houses with flat roofs. Huge timbers serve as the frame for the thick rammed-earth walls. The bottom floor serves as both the entryway and as a barn. Cooking, eating and entertaining happens on the second floor, most of which is one room big enough to throw a wedding, funeral, or prayer festival for the whole village. Sometimes a special room reserved for idols and scriptures is located on the second floor and sometimes on the third floor. Here, monks can perform various rituals or special guests can be seated. Steep stairs lead up to the third-floor, which has sleeping rooms and grain storage rooms. The rooftops provide a rare flat place to dry various wheat, barley and apricots, as well as a place to thresh and bag wheat and barley.



PLATE 2: A VIEW OF PONGDING HOUSES FROM A ROOFTOP

1.1.6. Kinship and marriage

There are no surnames in Dongwang, but there are house names. That is, after a house is built, family members will go to a monk or lama and ask for a name. Occasionally, a house will be named after the oldest man or woman in the house, but if that person dies, then the house name must be changed. House names form the lowest-level organization within the village. When villagers move to a town, the tradition generally does not follow.

Generally, the oldest child will stay at home to take care of the family home and will bring the spouse into the parents' home. Other children will marry or work outside of the family home. Marriages are usually monogamous, but polygamy also exists in about 5% of the marriages. The most common polygamous marriage is polyandry, in which a woman has two husbands, but occasionally a man will have two wives. There are never more than two spouses and they are always brothers or sisters. Villagers can marry within a village as long as the spouses are not closely related. Relatives removed further than four generations are allowed to marry. All marriages in villages are arranged by the parents, unless the man or woman has already found work and lives independently outside of the village. In such cases, young people may meet their own future spouse.

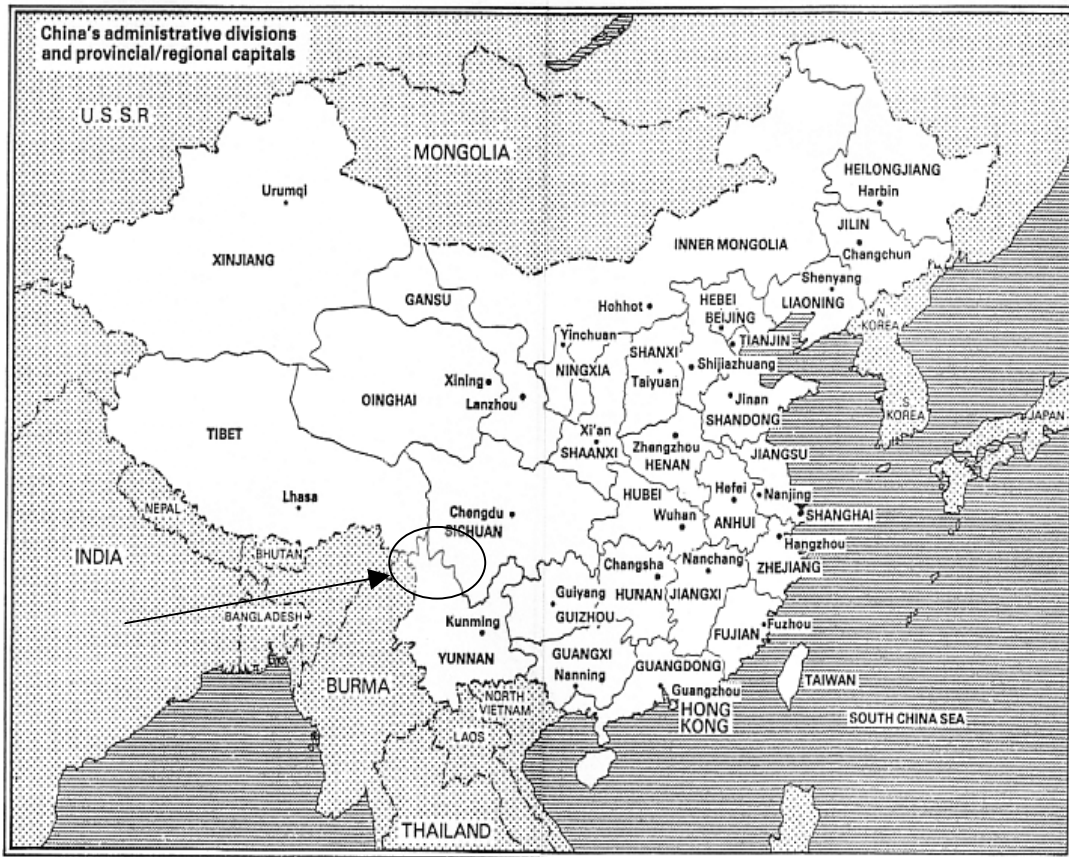
The wedding ceremony lasts two or three days. One ceremony takes place at the home of the parents of the son or daughter getting married. When the new bride or groom leaves their home, the parents do not accompany them, and it is usually a

mournful leave-taking. Traditionally, the new bride or groom arrives at his or her new house on horseback where they are met by the new in-laws and villagers. Once at the new house, they are seated in the main room. Guests generally stay up all night the first night, eating, drinking, talking and dancing. The host family is responsible for feeding everyone.

Children will often receive a name at birth, which may be changed later when the child is presented to the monastery for naming.

1.2. *Geographical location*

Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (<bde.chen bod.rigs rang.skyong khul.yul>, 迪庆藏族自治州) is situated in the northwest corner of Yunnan Province in the southwest of The People's Republic of China.



MAP 1: LOCATION OF DIQING TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE WITHIN THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA

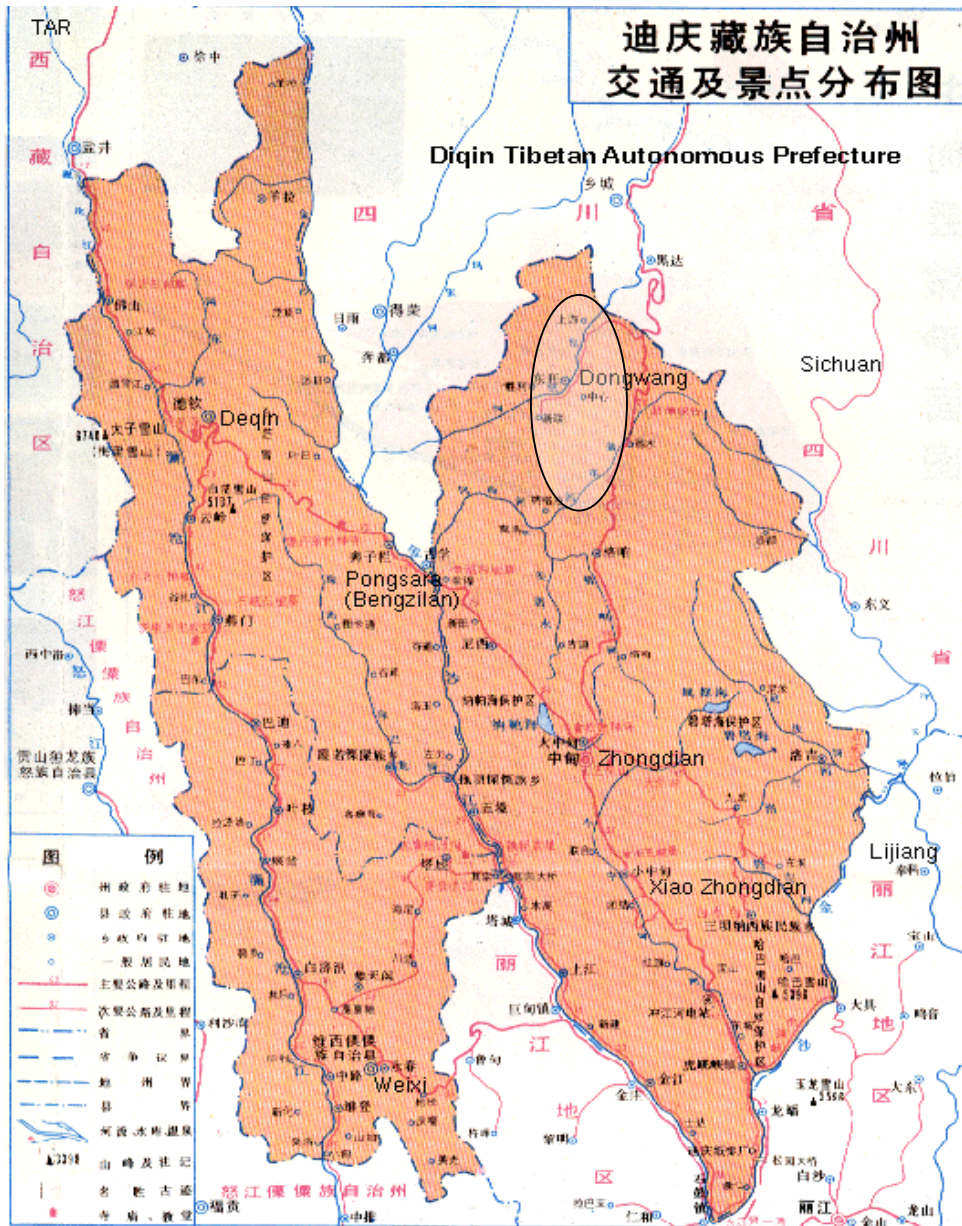
Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is comprised of three counties:

Dechen (<bde.chen>, 德钦县), Weixi Lisu Autonomous County (<'ba.lung>, 维西傣族自治县), and Xianggelila (<sems.gyi.nyi.zla>⁵ 香格里拉县). Almost all of the inhabitants of Dechen County (closest to the border of the Tibetan Autonomous

⁵ Xianggelila was formerly known as $ze^{11}t\ddot{o}^{53}$ (<rGyalthang>), a name that most local Tibetans still use, or as *zhongdian* (中甸), the Chinese transliteration of <rGyalthang>. After 6 years of national competition, Zhongdian County won their campaign to be designated the true location of 'Shangri-la' and a year later (May 2002) the old Zhongdian officially became *Xianggelila*. The Chinese name 香格里拉 (*Xianggelila*) is a transliteration of the mythical Tibetan kingdom *Shambala*. From this, it appears that *Xianggelila* has been re-transliterated into Tibetan <sems.gyi.nyi.zla.ba> ('the heart's sun and moon'). For a fascinating account of the naming of Xianggelila County see Ben Hillman (2003) 'Paradise Under Construction: Minorities, Myths and Modernity in Northwest Yunnan'.

Region) are Tibetans, while the Lisu people are the majority population in Weixi County. Dongwang is spoken in Shangri-la County, which lies on the 'frontier' of Tibet. It is bordered by Tibetan counties to the north, east, and west⁶, Yulong Naxi Autonomous County (玉龙纳西族自治县) to the south and Weixi County (维西县) to the southwest.

⁶ These are: Yunnan's Diqing County (<bde.chen>德钦) to the west and Sichuan's Derong (<bde.rong>, 得荣), Xiangcheng (<phyag.phreng>, 乡成), and Daocheng (<'da.pa> 稻成) counties in dKandze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (<dkar.mdzes>) to the north and east.



MAP 2: DEQIN (DECHEN), WEIXI, AND ZHONGDIAN (SHANGRI-LA) COUNTIES

Map 2 shows the three counties of Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

Dongwang is located in the north of Shangri-la County (formerly Zhongdian).

Dongwang is spoken by approximately 6,500 speakers who live in 58 villages⁷ scattered along the steep sides of the Dongwang River near the Sichuan Provincial border. Some villages are as small as a few households, while Pongding, the largest village in Dongwang, has nearly 50 households.



MAP 3: SATELLITE VIEW OF THE DONGWANG RIVER VALLEY

Map 3 shows an aerial view of the valley cut by the Dongwang River. Pongding village is located about half-way down the valley. The white outline

⁷ The 1990 Census, published in 2003, records a population of 6,440 for Dongwang.

indicates the boundary between Yunnan and Sichuan provinces. The Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) lies to the northwest of this photo.

1.3. Historical notes

The known history of Northwest Yunnan is fragmentary and tangled, and the history surrounding Dongwang is even less known. The area now known as Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, located along the historical southern tea trading route, was the site of many political contests. The tea trade began during the Tang dynasty (618-907) and the 'Tea and Horse Caravan Road' which supported the tea trade, stretched from India and Tibet to SW China, via Lijiang and Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Yang 2004).

In the 1300s, Imperial China used the Naxi kingdom in Lijiang, headed by the famed Mu Family, to obtain control of the area. The Mu Family continued to rule through the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), occupied rGyalthang for a time, and advanced through NW Yunnan to Tibet (Wang 1995: 55). When the threat of the Mu Family to Tibet grew, the Tibetan government sent troops as far south and east as Markam (located in The Tibetan Autonomous Region), Batang, and Lithang (both located in present-day Sichuan Province). Throughout the time of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the Naxi ruled through a hereditary system of chieftans. After the Qing Dynasty gained control of the area, Eastern Kham was divided: Bathang and Lithang were annexed to Sichuan, and Dechen and rGyalthang were annexed to Yunnan (Carrasco 1972: 141).

Due to the decaying power of the empire in the early 1900s, Chinese control over Tibetan areas had weakened considerably. Many of the Tibetan areas were ruled locally by chieftans and openly defied Chinese authority (Coales 1919: 230). After a Chinese official was killed on his way to Lhasa, General Chao Erh-feng was sent to help rein in the Kham areas. Van Spengen (2002) details General Chao's ruthless attacks on several monasteries and regions of Kham. This, combined with renegade soldiers, Tibetan warlords, and Naxi factions, helped to contribute to the making of NW Yunnan into a notorious robber haunt by the beginning of the 20th century.

It was during this time that 'the dreaded Tongwa' (Dongwang) terrorized neighboring populations, raided Naxi territory, and at one point even controlled rGyalthang (van Spengen 2002:16-19). Frequently banding together with Tibetans from Chatreng (Xiangcheng), Dongwang people acquired a notorious reputation. This is colorfully described in Peter Goullart's book *Forgotten Kingdom*:

To the west of these mountains there are two vast territories known as Hsiangchen and Tongwa. They are peopled with two Tibetan tribes whose members are professional robbers and cut-throats. So wild, untamable and treacherous are they that not even other Tibetans dare to venture into these areas.... I am prepared to admit that the Tibetan brigands of some other tribes may be 'gentlemen' to some degree but, from what I heard from reliable Tibetan and Nakhi friends, the Tongwa and Hsiangchen cannot be idealized by any stretch of imagination. They are so avaricious and unprincipled that even the bonds of friendship mean nothing to them, and there have been cases when a man has killed a bosom friend for the sake of a couple of rupees in his belt. Everybody in Tongwa and Hsiangchen robs, steals and kills: lamas and trapas, merchants and serfs, men and women: even children learn the trade at a tender age. It is not a question of whether this Tongwa or that Hsiangchen is a robber, but whether the man is a Tongwa or Hsiangchen.
(Goullart 1957: 101ff).

Today, the Dongwang people have left behind this aspect of their history, but pejorative characterizations sometimes still persist⁸.

1.4. Linguistic classification

Dongwang is a sub-dialect of Khams Tibetan in the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Tibeto-Burman was first suggested in the 1850s when cognates between Written Burmese (dating back to the 12th century) and Written Tibetan (dating back to the 7th century) were found (Matisoff 1991: 472). A 'key component' of Sino-Tibetan (Matisoff 1991: 472), Tibeto-Burman is a huge group with somewhere between 200 to 300 languages (La Polla 2006: 393) spoken by roughly 56 million speakers. The exact number of languages and speakers is still unknown. As DeLancey (1987: 797ff) points out, 'we cannot say for certain how many Tibeto-Burman languages there are or even whether there may not still be a few—possibly in western Nepal, very probably in northern Burma and southeastern Tibet--that are yet to be discovered'.

Attempts to sub-classify Tibeto-Burman have been made by various linguists, most notably Shafer (1966-67), Sun (1999), Matisoff (1991, 2003), van Driem (1997), DeLancey (1987) and Bradley (2002). Although there is much diversity among the different classification schemes, most have one major cluster of languages

⁸ As an example, a student at the teacher's training school in rGyalthang who had been fondly called 东旺土贼 or 'Dongwang thief' by her friends burst into tears when a teacher at the school jokingly told the class that all Dongwang people were 土贼 or 'thieves'. After seeing her tears, the student's friends agreed to no longer use that particular nickname.

that includes Tibetan.⁹ This is sometimes called Tibetan/Kinnauri (Benedict 1972), Bodic (Shafer 1974, van Driem 1993) or Bodish (DeLancey 1987), Western (Bradley 2002) or Himalayish (Matisoff 1991, 2003). Tibetan is one of nine Tibeto-Burman languages with over one million speakers (Matisoff 2003: 3).

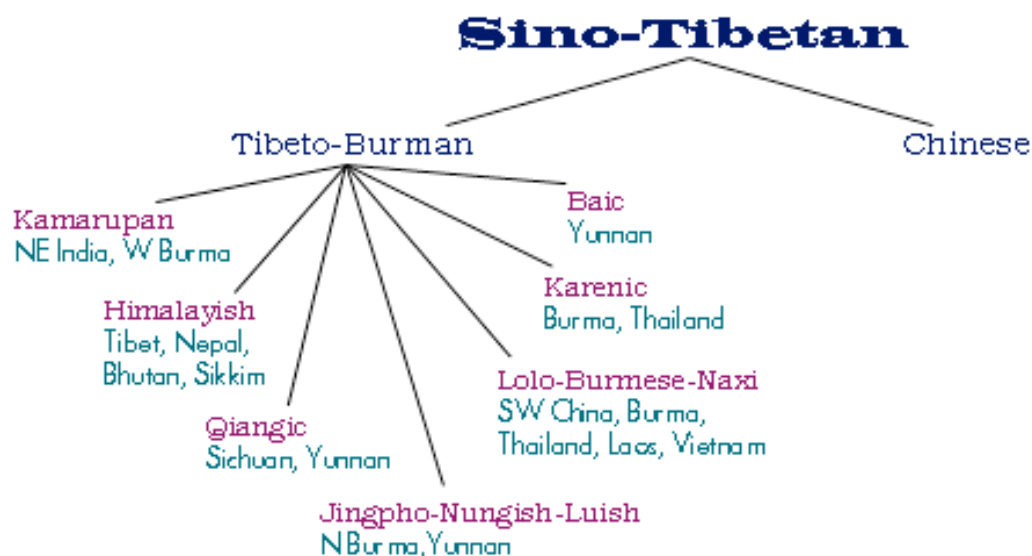


Figure 1: STEDT *STAMMBAUM* (MATISOFF 2003)

Many researchers (Gesang Gyurme 1964, Tournadre 1994, Bradley 2002, Gesang and Gesang 2002) divide Tibetan dialects spoken within China into three broad groups which include Central (<dbus.gtsang.skad>, 卫藏), Amdo

⁹ David Watters (2002: 14) says that 'All the major classifications of Tibeto-Burman languages in the Himalayan region agree, for the most part, on two major clusters of languages — 1) a Tibetan or Bodish unit that, in addition to Tibetan itself, includes Tamang-Gurung-Thakhali (TGT), and 2) an East Himalayish or Kiranti unit that takes in the so-called “Rai-Limbu” languages. Everything else gets lumped rather differently.'

(<a.mdo.skad>, 安多) and Khams (<khams.skad> 康). Another view divides Tibetan dialects spoken in China into five dialect groups (Qu and Jin 1981, Zhang 1993, both cited in T.-S. Sun 2001): Central, Khams, Southern, Western, and Amdo.

The various approaches can be accounted for by the fact that different researchers used different criteria to divide or combine dialects. One set of criteria are those based on various typological parameters. For example, Qu and Jin 1981 (cited in T.-S. Sun 2001: 794ff) propose the presence of voiced obstruent onsets and the presence or absence of tone as criteria for dialect classification. T.S.- Sun has suggested that such criteria are 'only an exercise in typological, rather than genetic, classification'. He particularly challenges the 'motley 'Khams dialect' group (2001: 796) as a related group of dialects and suggests that dialect groupings should be determined by rigorously applying the methodology from 'mainstream historical linguistics'.

Clearly dialects not necessarily genetically related can be typologically similar or dissimilar depending upon the path of historical development. Even when it is clear that inclusion in a particular dialect group is based on typological criteria, very often dialects are lumped together simply due to geographical proximity. Thus, the dialects spoken in the Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture are often referred to as 'Southern Khams' (Gesang Jumian 2002) or 'the Dechen group' Zhang Jichuan (1993).¹⁰ As more detailed descriptions of minor Tibetan dialects become available,

¹⁰ Zhang Jichuan appears to have designated this 'the Dechen group' based on the administrative prefectural name.

the methodological rigor proposed by Sun will be possible. A study entailing such a broad examination of dialects is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the comprehensive description of Dongwang will contribute towards a fuller understanding of the classification of Khams dialects.

1.5. The name 'Dongwang'

Most older mentions of Dongwang in the literature transcribe the name as 'Tongwa', but the contemporary pronunciation is generally $t\tilde{o}^{55}w\tilde{a}^{53}$ or $t\tilde{o}^{55}w\tilde{a}^{53}r\tilde{u}^{11}$. Dongwang people that I questioned are unsure whether this is a Tibetan or Chinese name, but it is likely Tibetan, from either <gter.ma rong> or <gtor.ma rung>. The Chinese transliteration is very similar in pronunciation (东旺 *dongwang*). Some people from neighboring $z\tilde{a}^{13}t\tilde{o}^{53}$ <rGyalthang> refer to the area as $te^{55}m\tilde{o}^{55}r\tilde{u}$ <gter.ma rong>¹¹, but most seem to use $t\tilde{o}^{55}w\tilde{a}^{55}$.

1.6. Villages and populations

The fifty-eight villages in Dongwang are organized into five 'administrative villages': Shangyou, Yuejin, Zhongxin, Shengli and Xinlian. The last census reported 998 households with a total population of 6,440. Most of the research for this dissertation was collected in Pongding Village, the largest village in Dongwang.

¹¹ $r\tilde{u}$ <rong> refers to a deep gorge, or valley with a river in the middle.

1.7. Published Research

1.1.7. Written Tibetan

The beginnings of Tibetan linguistic studies (see §2.2) date back to the 7th century when the popular Tibetan king Songtsan Gangpo is traditionally thought to have sent a scholar named Thonmi Sambhota to India to develop a script for Tibetan. Thonmi Sambhota is credited with devising a script and writing a two-volume grammatical description of Tibetan. While actual historical accounts that would document this version of the origin of Tibetan script are non-existent, it is known that, at least by the middle of the 8th century, Written Tibetan was inscribed on 'huge monolithic pillars to record their victories and correspondence among the military outposts of their empire' (Beyer 1992: 29). There is a massive body of literature which addresses the historical, political, religious and linguistic context of Written Tibetan.

Written Tibetan (WT), 'consonantally the most archaic attested T[ibeto-]B[urman] language' (Matisoff 2003), is included in this description for comparative purposes. The second part of Chapter Two is devoted to examining historical sound changes in Dongwang using WT as the basis for comparison.

1.1.8. Spoken Tibetan

In addition to interest in WT, there have also been numerous studies conducted on spoken varieties of Tibetan, particularly since 1980.

1.7.1.1. Central Tibetan

Of the spoken varieties found within China, Central Tibetan has received the most attention, in particular Lhasa Tibetan (e.g., Hari 1980; DeLancey 1981, 1982, 1985, etc.; Hu (1986), Tournadre (1990, 1991, 1995, 2001), Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2003, Garrett 2001, Agha 1993, Denwood 1999). There has also been work done on other Central Tibetan dialects such as Shigatse (Haller 2000) and Kyirong (or Lende) (Bielmeier 1982, Huber 2000).

1.7.1.2. Amdo Tibetan

When compared to available research on Central Tibetan, there is much less available for Amdo Tibetan. Hua Kan has published several minor descriptions of Amdo (1983 and 2002), along with a Tibetan-Chinese dictionary of spoken Amdo (*Bod.rgya shan.sbyar a.mdo'i kha.skad tshig.mdzod*) with Klu 'bum.rgyal in 1993. T.-S. Sun (1986, 1993) and Makley, et al. (1999) have provided good descriptions of various subdialects of Amdo. Felix Haller (2000) has written an article comparing Shigatse (Central) with Temchen Tibetan (Amdo).

1.7.1.3. Khams Tibetan

The literature which describes Khams Tibetan has largely focused on Eastern Khams, the varieties spoken mostly in Western Sichuan, or the neighboring region of the Tibetan Autonomous Region. For example, Dege (Häsler 1999) and Bathang (Gesang Jumian 1985, Haller 1999).

There is a small body of literature regarding Southern Khams dialects. Kris Hongladarom's publications provide a great deal of information on Khams dialects and Southern Khams in particular. Her Southern Khams research (1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002) has focused on the rGyalthang dialect, culminating in her reference grammar of the rGyalthang (中甸) dialect (forthcoming).

Wang Xiaosong (1996) has written a brief introduction to the rGyalthang phonological system. In their *Overview of Tibetan Dialects*, Gesang Gyurme and Gesang Yangjing (2002) make brief reference to individual lexical items from bDechen (德钦), spoken in Dechen County.

T.-S. Sun, along with his colleague You-Jing Lin, have been conducting research on varieties spoken in linguistically complex areas of Northern Sichuan, identifying several varieties of Tibetan that do not seem to fit into Central, Amdo or Khams dialect groups: e.g., Zhonggu Tibetan (T.-S Sun 2003), Khalong Tibetan (T.-S. Sun 2002b), and Thewo Tibetan (Lin 2002).

To the best of my knowledge, apart from two papers I have written (Bartee 2005, 2006), no other linguistic description of Dongwang exists.

1.8. Typology

Dongwang Tibetan exhibits SV/OV word order and lies mid-way on the scales of fusion and synthesis (Comrie 1989). While Dongwang generally is an agglutinative, postpositional, and suffixing language, some subsystems exhibit fusional morphology. The most complicated element is the verb phrase (Chapters Nine and Ten), which contain elements that exhibit a high degree of fusion.

The morphosyntactic organization of S, A, and P (§7.2) in Dongwang can be characterised as ergative/absolutive. That is, most A arguments are marked with the ergative casemarker =*ji*, or one of its allomorphs, and most S/P arguments are unmarked. Other cases include instrumental, dative, genitive, locative, ablative and associative.

Numerals, quantifiers, classifiers, demonstratives, and adjectives follow the head noun within the noun phrase. Genitives, relative clauses and some adjectives precede their nominal heads. Further, some noun phrases can have both an initial and final demonstrative pronoun (§8.1.1.1).

Relative clauses (§8.1.1.3 and §12.2) are often nominalized clauses that can optionally contain a genitive marker. In Dongwang, relative clauses can precede the head noun, be internally-headed or be headless.

In comparative constructions, the standard of comparison follows the subject which is being compared. The marker of comparison follows the standard. The quality of comparison is last: subject, standard, marker, quality.

1.9. *Data and speakers*

The research for this study was carried out over a period of three and a half years (from January, 2002 to July 2003 and from 2005 to the present). Research was primarily conducted in Pongding village in Dongwang, as well as with Dongwang speakers in the county town of Shangri-la. The data for this study is drawn primarily from a text collected from speakers who live in Pongding village. The corpus from Pongding includes sixteen interlinearised texts (personal narratives, third-person narratives and procedural texts), more than seventeen hundred elicited sentences, and a fifteen hundred-word wordlist. In addition, there are two conversational texts, one involving three speakers and one involving two speakers. At times I also use data from narrative and conversational texts collected in Shengli, a village located at the southwest end of the Dongwang valley. Although Shengli texts are occasionally included, this dissertation only attempts to describe the particular dialect spoken in the village of Pongding. Further research would pursue many topics including dialect variation within Dongwang. Whenever possible, examples are drawn from naturally-occurring data, supplemented with elicited examples when necessary.

Chapter 2 Phonology

This chapter describes the phonological system of Dongwang based mostly on two male and two female speakers from the village of Pongding. I will not attempt to describe phonological variation of speakers from other villages. The chapter is divided into synchronic and diachronic phonological descriptions. The synchronic section begins with a description of the segments, syllable canon, and then tone and stress. The diachronic section focuses on comparing older forms of Tibetan as reflected in Written Tibetan with Dongwang speech in order to highlight the historical origins and development of Dongwang forms.

2.1 Synchronic Phonology

2.1.1 Consonants

Dongwang has a rich phonemic inventory, including tones. Such complexity is similar to reports about other Khams Tibetan dialects (e.g., Häsler 1999; Hongladarom 1996; T.-S. Sun 2001; Wang 1996). The following section lists the phonemic inventory and illustrates each with examples arranged in minimal pairs.

		BILABIAL	ALV	RETRO	PAL	VELAR	GLOT
<u>OBSTRUENTS</u>							
Stop	+ASP	p ^h	t ^h			k ^h	ʔ
	-ASP	p	t			k	
	+NAS	b	d			g	
		mb	nd			ŋg	
Fricative	+ASP		s ^h	ʃ ^h	(ç ^h)		h
	-ASP		s	z	ʃ	ç	ʒ
Lateral Fricative			ɬ				
Affricate	+ASP		ts ^h	tʃ ^h	tç ^h		
	-ASP		ts	dʒ	tç	dʒ	
	+NAS		ndz	ndʒ	ndʒ		
<u>SONORANTS</u>							
Nasal	+ASP	m̥	ɲ̥		ɲ̥	(ŋ̥)	
	-ASP	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
Tap/flap			r				
			r ^h				
Approx		w	l				
Glide	+ASP				fij		
	-ASP				j		

TABLE (1): DONGWANG CONSONANT INVENTORY

Table 1 lists all the consonant phonemes in Dongwang. The segments in parenthesis are tentative phonemes in that I only have one or two minimal pairs in my database. A description and example of each phoneme is given below. When known, a WT etymology (indicated by < >) accompanies the Dongwang examples.

2.1.1.1 Stops

Stops exhibit a four-way contrast in voicing, aspiration, and pre-nasalization. Some voiced stops have very slight or no voicing in absolute initial position, but are always voiced intervocally.

2.1.1.1.1 Bilabial Stops

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop. /p^h/ is a voiceless bilabial aspirated stop. /b/ is a voiced bilabial stop. /mb/ is a prenasalized voiced bilabial stop.

/pa ¹³ /	<ba>	'cow'
/p ^h a ⁵³ /	<phag>	'pig'
/ba ³⁵³ /	<lba>	'goiter'
/mba ^{ʔ353} /	<'ba'>	'to carry on one's back'

The stop portion of a prenasalized segment is frequently pronounced as a nasal with a very slight stopped portion or as a nasal with no stopped portion at all.¹

Intervocally, bilabial stops are occasionally pronounced as fricatives, as in the words /ⁿdzo¹¹ba⁵³/ ~ [ⁿdzo¹¹βa⁵³] 'fast', a¹¹bæ^{ʔ53} ~ a¹¹βæ^{ʔ53} 'bad' and t^hə⁵⁵pa⁵³ ~ t^hə⁵⁵φa⁵³ 'forehead'.²

2.1.1.1.2 Alveolar Stops

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop. /t^h/ is a voiceless alveolar aspirated stop. /d/ is a voiced alveolar stop. /nd/ is a prenasalized voiced alveolar stop.

/tu ⁵³ /	<gtub>	'to chop'
/t ^h ũ ³⁵³ /	<mthong>	'to see'
/dũ ³⁵³ /	<gdong>	'face'

¹ Because of this it may be more accurately described as a post-stopped nasal.

² While I do have examples for both voiceless and voiced bilabial stops, it is more frequent that voiced bilabial stops become fricatives in my data.

/ⁿdæ³⁵³/ <don> 'to study, to read'

The voiceless alveolar stops are pronounced fairly fronted and at times are nearly dentals. There is very little evidence, however, of a dental/alveolar contrast.³

2.1.1.1.3 Velar Stops

/k/ is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop. */k^h/* is a voiceless aspirated velar stop.

/g/ is a voiced velar stop. */ⁿg/* is a prenasalized voiced velar stop.

<i>/ku⁵⁵/</i>	<rko>	'to dig'
<i>/k^həo⁵³/</i>	<khab>	'needle'
<i>/gu¹¹guæ⁵³/</i>	<sgor.sgor?>	'round'
<i>/ⁿgu³⁵³/</i>	<mgo>	'head'

2.1.1.1.4 Glottal Stop

The glottal stop occurs word finally. It does not occur intervocalically. It can occur prevocally in word-initial position, but is in free variation with a smooth onset in that position.

<i>/tʂa⁵³/</i>	<skra>	'hair'	<i>/tʂaʔ⁵³/</i>	<skrag>	'to fear'
<i>/ru¹³/</i>	<ro>	'corpse'	<i>/ruʔ¹³/</i>	<rogs>	'friend'
<i>/si⁵³/</i>	<bye>	'to separate'	<i>/si:ʔ⁵³/</i>	<?>	'to send off'

³ There are two words, 'cave' and 'eye', which seem to support a dental/alveolar contrast: *ni⁵³* <?> 'cave' and *ni⁵³* <myig> 'eye'. Because of the potential semantic link between the two words, I had thought 'cave' was an extension from 'eye', but while hiking with a friend, she insisted they were different. Because this is the only potential contrastive set I have, I have not posited a dental series.

2.1.1.2 Nasals

All nasals exhibit a two-way contrast: voiceless and voiced. Voiceless nasals are not at all rare in Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 2003: 37) and have been reported in other Tibetan dialects including Khams (e.g., Hongladarom 1996 for rGyalthang; Häsler 1994 for sDe.dGe; Gesang Jigmei 1985 for Batang).

The voiceless nasals in Dongwang can be best described as slightly aspirated and slightly voiced. That is, the onset is slightly voiced and the aspiration contributes breathiness to the following vowel. Voiceless nasal onsets tend to lower the beginning of the syllable tone as well as the ending, thus creating rising falling tones in monosyllabic words.

2.1.1.2.1 Bilabial Nasals

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal. /m̥/ is a voiceless bilabial nasal.

/mi: ¹³ ro ¹¹ /	< mun? ⁴ >	'dusk'
/mæ ¹³ /	< mar >	'butter'
/m̥i ¹³ wõ ⁵³ /	<smug.pa>	'fog'
/m̥æ ³⁵³ /	<sman>	'medicine' ⁵

2.1.1.2.2 Alveolar Nasals

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal. /n̥/ is a voiceless alveolar nasal.

⁴ The question mark on the first syllable of this word indicates that the WT etymology is not known. The question mark on the second syllable indicates that the WT is likely, but not certain.

⁵ The fact that the vowel in this syllable is not nasalized is not an oversight. Nasalization has disappeared in some syllables, but I cannot establish a pattern.

/nã ⁵³ /	<gnam>	'sky'
/ɲa ³⁵³ /	<snabs>	'mucous'
/nə ⁵⁵ kuæ ⁵³ /	<rna.kor>	'earrings'
/ɲə ³⁵ⁿ gu ¹¹ /	<sna.'go? >	'in front of'

2.1.1.2.3 Palatal Nasals

/ɲ/ is a voiced palatal nasal. /ɲ̥/ is a voiceless palatal nasal.

/ɲã ⁵³ /	<?>	'to slice'
/ɲa ³⁵³ /	<bsnyag>	'to pursue'
/ɲi: ¹³ /	<nyal>	'to sleep'
/ɲi ³⁵³ /	<snying>	'heart'

2.1.1.2.4 Velar Nasals

/ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal. /ŋ̥/ is a voiceless velar nasal. As indicated in Table 1 above, the phonemic status of the voiceless velar nasal is tentative as its occurrence is very rare and there are only a few examples of phonemic contrast.

/ŋa ¹³ /	<ngar>, <nga.ya>	'1SG, DAT'
/ŋə ¹³ / ~ [ŋə ¹³]	<ngu>	'to cry'
/nə ⁵⁵ wō ⁵³ /	<mna'.ma>	'bride'
/ŋə ⁵⁵ wō ⁵³ /	<rnga.ma>	'tail'
/ŋə ⁵⁵ mo ⁵³ /	<snga.mo>	'long ago'

2.1.1.3 Tap/flaps

The pronunciation of the tap varies from speaker to speaker. Of the speakers used in this study, female speakers tend to pronounce it with a very slight tap so that sometimes it is realized as an approximant. Male speakers, particularly in careful

speech, tend to trill it and insert an initial schwa onset. This seems to be due to speaker variation and is not phonologically significant. More research is needed to determine if this is a consistent gender-related generalization.

/ri¹³/ <ras> 'cloth' */rə¹³/* <ri> 'mountain'

2.1.1.4 Fricatives

Dongwang has a large inventory of fricatives, which is not unusual for Khams Tibetan dialects. Häslér (1999: 17ff) lists eleven for Dege and Hongladarom (1996: 71) lists eight for rGyalthag.⁶

The alveolar fricative exhibits a three-way contrast in aspiration (*/s^h/* and */s/*) and voice (*/s/* and */z/*). These are in contrast with a voiced lateral fricative */ʒ/*. */ʒ/* and */s^h/* only occur as word-initial onsets.

<i>/sa¹³/</i>	<bya>	'chicken'
<i>/sa⁵³/</i>	<?>	'to move' (tr)
<i>/s^ha⁵³/</i>	<sa>	'dirt, earth'
<i>/se⁵³/</i>	<bsad>	'to kill'
<i>/s^heʔ³⁵³/</i>	<sad>	'to wake s.o.' (tr)
<i>/sə¹¹wa⁵⁵/</i>	<byi.ba?>	'mouse'
<i>/s^hə¹¹wa⁵⁵/</i>	<zor.ba>	'sickle'
<i>/za³⁵³/</i>	<gyo.ga?>	'husband'
<i>/zaʔ³⁵³/</i>	<g.yag>	'yak'
<i>/ʒə³⁵³/</i>	<slabs>	'to teach'
<i>/ʒo³⁵³/</i>	<brla?>	'thigh'

⁶ In the rGyalthag-speaking village (*bə⁵⁵lɿ⁵⁵*, 布伦) where I am currently living, there is a voiced velar fricative in addition to those listed in Hongladarom 1996.

For some speakers /s/ and /z/ are in free variation with [ʃ] and [ʒ] as in the words /sə⁵⁵se⁵³/~ [ʃə⁵⁵ʃe⁵³] 'yellow' and /zæ³⁵³/~ [ʒæ³⁵³] 'to hang' (e.g. a picture). Such partial free variation seems to occur only when followed by lax vowels. The absence of a phonemic voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ is rare in Tibetan dialects. All the publications describing Tibetan dialects of which I am aware include the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ which has developed from the Written Tibetan consonant cluster <lh>. However, in Dongwang, <lh> has become /fj/ as described in section 2.1.1.5 below.

The retroflex fricative exhibits a three-way contrast in aspiration (/ʂ/ and /ʂ^h/) and voice (/ʂ/ and /z/).

/sə ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵ /	<shwa.mo>	'hat'	/sə ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵ /	<byi.ba?>	'mouse'
/ʂə ⁵³ /	<shi>	'to die'	/zə ³⁵³ /	<bzhi>	'four'
/ʂa ⁵³ /	<bshas?>	'to butcher'	/ʂ ^h a ⁵³ /	<sha>	'meat'
/a ¹¹ zi ⁵⁵ /	<?>	'sister'	/zi ¹³ /	<yig>	'letter'

The palatal fricatives contrast in voice (/ç/ and /z/). I have one minimal pair in which the voiceless palatal fricatives contrast in aspiration (/ç/ and /ç^h/). Until further confirmation, I am treating ç^h as a tentative phoneme.

/çə ⁵³ /	<khyed>	'2s ABS'
/zə ³⁵³ /	<brgyad>	'eight'

/t͡sa⁵³/ <kyag> 'to lift up'

/t͡s^ha⁵³/ <khyag> 'cold'

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs in pre- and post-vocalic positions, but only pre-vocalic [h] is phonemic (see §2.1.3 below).

/hũ⁵⁵hũ¹¹/ <sngon.po> 'blue'

/z̥i¹¹ha⁵⁵/ <?> 'pasture'

2.1.1.5 Affricates

Affricates match fricatives as to place of articulation (there are alveolar affricates, retroflex affricates and alveo-palatal affricates). Like the stops, they exhibit a four-way contrast in voice (/ts/ and /dz/, /t͡s/ and /d͡z/, /t͡ɕ/ and /d͡z/), aspiration (/ts^h/ and /t͡s^h/, /t͡ɕ^h/ and /t͡ɕ^h/), and pre-nasalization (/dz/ and /ⁿdz/, /d͡z/ and /ⁿd͡z/, /d͡z̥/ and /ⁿd͡z̥/).

/t͡sa ⁵³ /	<rtsa>	'vein'	/t͡s̥a ⁵³ /	<skra>	'hair'
/t͡s ^h a ⁵³ /	<tshwa>	'salt'	/t͡s ^h a ⁵³ /	<khra>	'falcon'
/t͡si ⁵³ /	<'tshol>	'to look for'	/t͡s̥i ⁵³ /	<sprin>	'cloud'
/t͡s ^h i ⁵³ /	<tshigs>	'joint'	/t͡s ^h i ⁵³ /	<'khrid>	'to lead'
/d͡z̥i ¹³ je ¹¹ /	<rdzun byed>	'to lie'	/d͡zi ³⁵³ /	<?>	'hardworking'
/ ⁿ d͡z̥i ³⁵³ /	<'bras>	'rice'	/ ⁿ d͡za ¹³ /	<'dra>	'to look like'
/t͡ɕa ⁵³ /	<lcags>	'iron' ⁷	/t͡ɕ ^h a ⁴² /	<mchos?>	'to eat'

⁷ The vowel on this is extremely creaky. Sometimes the WT final codas <g> and <gs> have resulted in a final glottal and sometimes glottal constriction.

/dze³⁵³/ <rjed> 'to forget'⁸ */ⁿdʒə³⁵³/* <'ju.ba> 'to grasp'

2.1.1.6 Approximants

There are four approximants in Dongwang: w, l, j, and *h*j. The palatal glide /j/ and the lateral approximant /l/ have contrastive aspirated phonemes /*h*j/ and /*l̥*/. /w/ and [^hw] are in free variation.

<i>/wũ¹³/</i>	<'ong>	'to come'	<i>/wõ¹³/</i>	<'o.ma>	'milk'
<i>/jõ⁵³/</i>	<glang>	'bull'	<i>/h̥jõ³⁵³/</i>	<lung?>	'valley (floor)'
<i>/jã¹³/</i>	<lam>	'path, road'	<i>/h̥jã³⁵³/</i>	<lham>	'shoes'
<i>/lõ⁵³/</i>	<rlung>	'wind'	<i>/l̥õ³⁵³/</i>	<brla>	'thigh'

The aspirated palatal glide and the lateral fricative contribute breathiness to the syllable in which they occur. [j], [*h*j], and [l] all occur in the absolute initial position or in second syllable onset position, while examples of /*l̥*/ in my database are restricted to word-initial onsets.

There are two features which characterize the voiced aspirated glide: onset aspiration and delay of full oral release. The co-articulation of the glottal fricative [*h*] and the palatal glide [j] are usually accompanied with breathiness that extends

⁸ There is speaker variation on this word in isolation. Female speakers pronounce it with a devoiced onset, while male speakers tend to pronounce it with a voiced onset, but both with a low-rising tone.

throughout the syllable. Female speakers I worked with tend to have a lot more breathiness than do male speakers. Spectrogram readings of the contrastive set $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ 'bull' and $h\tilde{j}\tilde{o}^{353}$ 'valley' are shown in the figure below.⁹ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ 'bull' appears on the left with a male speaker on the top and female speaker on the bottom. $h\tilde{j}\tilde{o}^{353}$ 'valley' appears on the right with a male speaker on the top and female speaker on the bottom.

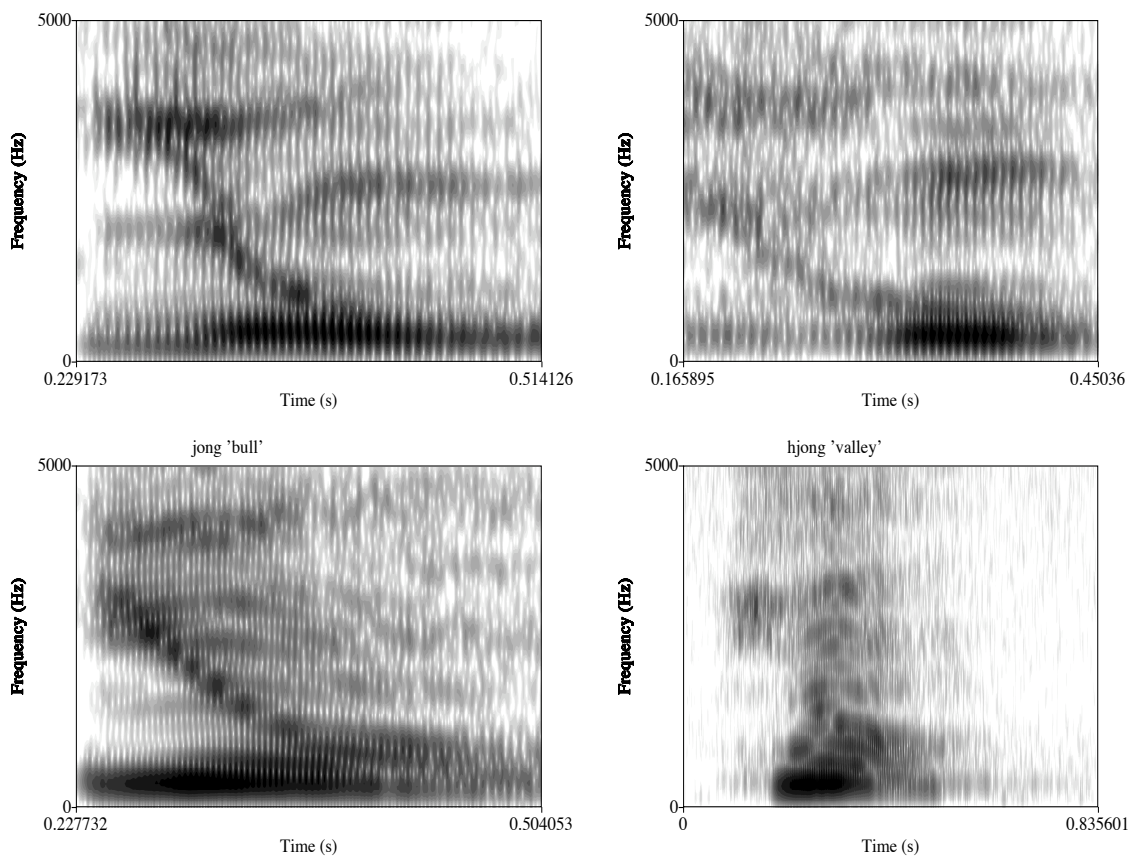


Figure 2: SPECTROGRAMS OF 'BULL' AND 'VALLEY' UTTERED BY A MALE AND A FEMALE SPEAKER.

⁹ I have not used IPA transcription in the figures due to technical problems.

In Figure 2 above, both of the spectrograms show clear formants, but onset aspiration of those on the right-hand side are reflected in the less well-defined formants, particularly in the example uttered by the female speaker.

A second contrastive feature is that the aspirated glide is held much longer than the unaspirated glide. Although it is difficult to determine discrete transition points between a glide and a vowel onset, the oscillograms below show quite distinctive onsets.

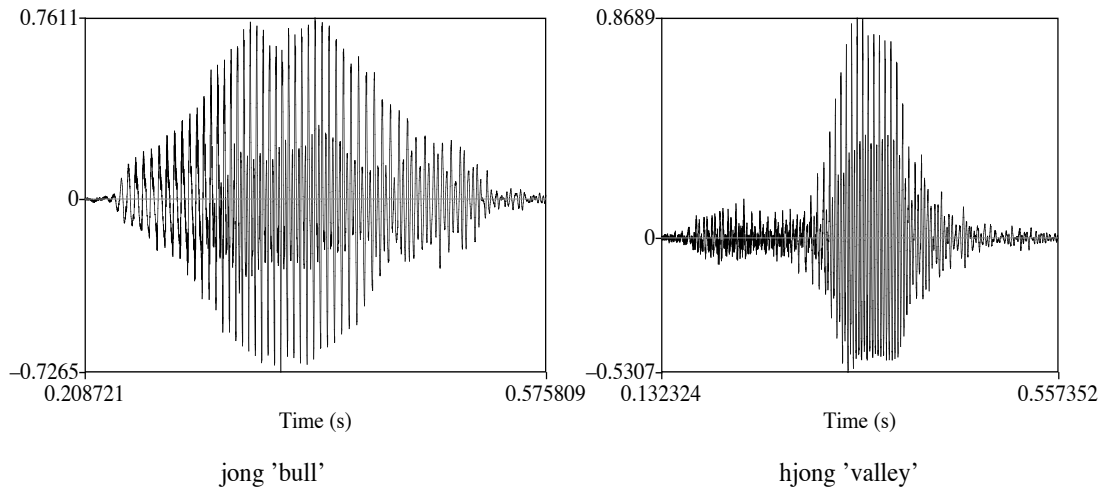


Figure 3: OSCILLOGRAMS OF 'BULL' AND 'VALLEY' UTTERED BY A MALE SPEAKER.

Figure 3 contains two words; $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ 'bull' (on left) and $h\tilde{j}\tilde{o}^{353}$ 'valley' (on right) uttered by the same male speaker. The difference between the two is not exactly VOT as there is some voicing throughout the aspirated-glide onset. Rather the glottal friction of the voiced aspirated glide delays the full onset of the vowel.

2.1.2 Vowels

2.1.2.1 Monophthongs

There are 10 monophthongs in Dongwang Tibetan, some of which exhibit contrasts in nasalization and length.

i ʏ		ɯ u
e		o
	ə	
æ		
	a	ɑ

TABLE (2): DONGWANG VOWEL CHART

The phonemic status of each vowel is illustrated with minimal pairs below.

/i/	zi ³⁵³	<gzig>	'leopard'	ji ¹³	<lud>	'manure'
/ʏ/	sʏ ¹³	<bya'i>	'bird' ¹⁰	jʏ ¹³	<lo>	'year'
/e/	ze ³⁵³	<brgyad>	'eight'	ze ¹¹	<yod>	'EXIST, +AN'
/æ/	zæ ³⁵³	<'phyar>	'to hang'	sæ ⁵³	<gser>	'gold'
/a/	za ³⁵³	<g.yag>	'yak (male)'	sa ⁵³	<tsha?>	'hot'
/ə/	zə ¹³	<yar>	'up, upwards'	sə ⁵⁵	<su>	'who' (QST)
/u/	zu ³⁵³	<bzo>	'to do' (VBLZR)	ju ⁵³	<glog>	'lightening'
/ɯ/	ⁿ dzɯ ³⁵³	<'dzul>	'to poke into, to enter'	ju ¹³	<glo>	'to cough'
/o/	zo ¹³	<?>	'to shake'	jo ⁵³	<glug>	'to pour'
/ɑ/	za ³⁵³	<?>	'husband'	ŋɑ ¹³	<nga>	'1SG, ABS'

¹⁰ This word is also pronounced with a high level tone: sʏ⁵⁵

In many cases, /æ/ and [ɛ] are in free variation as are /o/ and [ɔ]. While /ə/ occurs in fully-stressed syllables, many vowels in unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words are reduced to schwa as well.

2.1.2.1.1 Nasalization contrasts

Six vowels exhibit a nasalization contrast.

/i/, /ĩ/	<i>siʔ⁵³</i>	<gsal>	'beam of light'	<i>sĩʔ⁵³</i>	<spyin>	'glue'
/a/, /ã/	<i>hja³⁵³</i>	<lha>	'god'	<i>hĩã³⁵³</i>	<lham>	'shoes'
/o/, /õ/	<i>jo⁵³</i>	<glug>	'tent'	<i>jõ⁵³</i>	<glang>	'bull'
/u/, /ũ/	<i>du³⁵³</i>	<rdo>	'rock'	<i>dũ³⁵³</i>	<gdong>	'face'
/æ/, /ã̃/	<i>ts^hæ⁵³</i>	<tshor>	'to hear'	<i>tsã̃⁵³</i>	<tshem>	'to sew'
/a/, /ã/	<i>sa⁵³</i>	<ʔ>	'hot'	<i>s^hã⁵³</i>	<bsam>	'to think' ¹¹

When a nasalized vowel occurs in an unstressed syllable in disyllabic words, the nasalization is frequently dropped.

<i>ʂ^hɿ⁵⁵</i>	<shing>	'wood'	<i>ʂ^hɿ⁵⁵tʂaɿ^{ʔ53}</i>	'wooden windowpane'
------------------------------------	---------	--------	--	---------------------

2.1.2.1.2 Length contrasts

Short vowels can occur in low or high-toned monosyllables, but long vowels only occur in low-toned monosyllables. In disyllabic words, long vowels never occur in the second syllable. Examples I have of minimal contrastive sets:

¹¹ Some speakers pronounce this with very little, or no, onset aspiration.

<i>pi</i> ⁵⁵	<pad>	'calf'	<i>pi</i> ¹³	<bal>	'wool'
<i>wa</i> ¹³	<wa>	'fox'	<i>wa</i> ¹³	<?>	'boat'
<i>k^ha</i> ⁵³	<kha>	'mouth'	<i>k^ha</i> ¹³	<kha.ba>	'snow'
<i>ʂ^hu</i> ⁵⁵	<zho>	'yoghurt'	<i>ʂu</i> ⁵⁵	<shog.bu>	'paper'
<i>p^hə</i> ⁵³	<phar>	'that direction'	<i>p^hə</i> ¹³	<phag.'u>	'piglet'
<i>tʂu</i> ⁵³	<sgril>	'to roll, tr'	<i>tʂu</i> ¹³	<gral.ma>?	'rafters'
<i>ku</i> ⁵⁵	<rko>	'to dig'	<i>ku</i> ¹³	<bgur~gog>	'to crawl'
<i>ki</i> ⁵⁵ <i>paɪ</i> ⁵³	<ske.lpags>	'neck'	<i>ke</i> ⁵⁵ <i>pa</i> ⁵³	<sked.pa>	'waist'

I have found only a few words in my database that contain nasal vowels that contrast for length.

<i>ʂ^hɪ</i> ⁵⁵	<shing>	'firewood'	<i>ʂ^hɪ</i> ¹³	<zhing>	'firewood'
<i>tʂō</i> ¹³	<brang>	'chest'	<i>tʂō</i> ¹³	<grang>	'cold'

2.1.2.2 Diphthongs

There are six diphthongs in Dongwang. /ui/, /ua/, /ue/, /uæ/, /əo/, and /ao/.

/ui/	<i>k^hui</i> ⁵³	<khos>	'3SAG'	<i>gui</i> ³⁵³	<dgos>	'to want', 'MOD'
/ue/	<i>gue</i> ³⁵³	<rgod>	'vulture'	<i>kui</i> ¹³	<gos>	'clothes'
/ua/	<i>k^hua</i> ⁵³	<khor>	'3SDAT'	<i>guã</i> ³⁵³	<sgo.nga>	'egg'
/uæ/	<i>kuæ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ri</i> ¹¹	<?>	'relative'	<i>k^huæ</i> ⁵³	<khor>	'to circle'
/əo/	<i>ʂəo</i> ³⁵³	<slabs>	'to teach'	<i>ⁿdzəo</i> ³⁵³	<'gyel?>	'to slip', 'to fall'
/ao/	<i>hao</i> ⁵³ <i>ku</i> ¹¹	<ha.gu>	'to know'	<i>çao</i> ¹¹ <i>t^hã</i> ⁵⁵	<CH>	'school'

The four diphthongs *ui*, *ue*, *ua*, and *uæ* have arisen from a very restricted context that is discussed with in detail in §2.2.2 under *diphthongization*. With few exceptions, the diphthong *ao* only occurs in Chinese borrowings. The origin of *əo* is due to an older Tibetan bilabial coda <ab>. For example, <khab> *k^həo⁵³* 'needle' and <gab> *k^həo¹³* 'to hide, intr'. However this is not necessarily pervasive. For some speakers, /əo/ is in free variation with [ɤ] or [ə]. One male speaker consistently pronounces /əo/ as a diphthong, but his brother and a female speaker tend to pronounce it as the mid, back unrounded vowel [ɤ], particularly when following a velar. The one exception is in the word *ʒəo³⁵³* <slobs> 'to teach', which all speakers pronounce with a diphthong.

Finally, the diphthong *əo* is reduced to *ə* in first-syllable position of a polysyllabic word. The one exception I have is in the compound word derived from *ʒəo³⁵³* <slobs> 'to teach' and *k^hə⁵³* <khang> 'house': *ʒo¹¹k^hə⁵³* 'school'. However, this word is rarely used in my text. The preferred words for 'school' are either borrowed from Mandarin (ʑo¹¹t^hã⁵⁵) or a nominalized construction such as *zi¹³lo¹¹sa⁵³* (lit: 'book.study.place').

2.1.3 Syllable Canon

The Dongwang syllable canon is simple and can be summarized as (C)V (V) (C). All consonants except the glottal stop occur in absolute-initial positions, but in my database, the aspirated fricatives s^h , ζ^h , and ς^h do not occur in second-syllable onset position. Nearly every vowel can occur after every consonant in absolute initial position, but in V(C) syllables, only the vowels æ̃ , a , ə , o occur.

The glottal stop [ʔ], glottal approximant [h], and voiceless velar fricative [x] all occur in coda position, but only the glottal stop is phonemic. The glottal stop does not occur as a coda in non-final syllables. In careful speech, the glottal approximant [h] frequently occurs following a high back vowel and the velar fricative [x] frequently occurs following a high front vowel.

VV sequences can either be identical vowel sequences or non-identical vowel sequences (diphthongs). In native words, the first vowel of VV non-identical sequences must be either /u/ or /ə/. The sequence /ao/ only occurs in Chinese borrowings. I have found only one instance of a consonantless syllable canon in the word ə^{13} 'uncle'.

Theoretically, the glottal coda should be able to follow all of the diphthongs, but there are only a few examples in which it does so, e.g., ${}^n\text{guæ}^{253}$ 'to be drunk' and gue^{353} 'vulture'.

Diachronically, nasalized vowels are reflexes of WT syllables with a nasal coda or from syllable coalescence in which the second WT syllable begins with a nasal consonant. Although nasal codas were dropped, nasalization moved to the preceding vowel.

Synchronically, there is a process of nasal consonant epenthesis in polysyllabic words, in which the epenthetic consonant assimilates to the point of articulation of the following syllable onset. In disyllabic words, syllable boundaries can move to form $CVC_{[+nas]} CV$ syllable sequences. There are two sources for this resyllabification: nasalized vowels assimilate to the onset consonant of the following syllable, and the nasalized portion of pre-nasalized onset consonants become codas of the preceding syllable. This process can be written as:

$$(C)V0 \rightarrow (C)VC [+nas, \text{alpha point}] / V[+nas] \text{ ___ } C [\text{alpha place}]$$

This means that when a nasal vowel precedes a consonant, a nasal consonant is created which assimilates to the following consonant. *E.g.*, $h\tilde{j}\tilde{o}^{353}$ 'valley floor' and $h\tilde{j}\tilde{o}^{11}ba^{55}$ [$h\tilde{j}\tilde{o}m^{11}ba^{55}$] 'valley'.

An example of resyllabification, in which the nasal segment of a prenasalized onset becomes the coda of the preceding syllable, is $t\epsilon^h\tilde{\partial}^{55n}d\tilde{z}a\tilde{r}^{253}$ 'drop of water', which becomes [$t\epsilon^h\tilde{\partial}n^{55}d\tilde{z}a\tilde{r}^{253}$].

In careful speech a voiceless bilabial nasal sometimes follows a high back vowel as a final consonant in monosyllables, but it is not phonemic. The following examples illustrate the syllable canon.

CV	<i>ku</i> ⁵⁵ [<i>kuh</i> ⁵³]	<rko>	'to dig'
	<i>ɲi</i> ³⁵³ [<i>ɲix</i> ⁴⁴]	<snying>	'heart'
	<i>tõ</i> ¹³ [<i>tõm</i> ¹³]	<dom>	'bear'
	<i>kõ</i> ⁵³	<bskams>	'to be thirsty'
CVC	<i>za</i> ^{ʔ353}	<g.yag>	'yak'
	<i>ɸjo</i> ^{ʔ353}	<lug>	'sheep'

2.1.4 Suprasegmentals

2.1.4.1 Tone

Simplification of the Tibetan syllable has occurred in all Tibetan dialects. Such simplification processes have not been without historical repercussions. The Central Tibetan dialects of Lhasa and Shigatse have the most advanced tonal systems which include register as a result of onset simplification and contour as a result of coda simplification (T.-S. Sun 1995, Denwood 1999). Western Tibetan dialects such as Balti and Ladakhi, as well as Amdo spoken in Northern Tibet (T.-S. Sun 2003: 37) still retain many of the initial consonant clusters and codas and do not have phonemic tone. The disparate grouping of Khams dialects have been reported to be fully tonal with both register and contour tones (e.g., Gesang 1985; 2002 for Bathang; Hongladarom 1996 for rGyalthang; Huang Bufan 1995 for Dege (as cited in Häsler 1999: 258), partially tonal with only some syllables bearing register tone (Häsler 1999), and 'embryonically tonal' (T.-S. Sun 2003: 47 for Baima).

The description of tone in Tibetan dialects has not been without difficulty. Regarding Lhasa Tibetan, easily the most researched variety of Tibetan, Denwood

(1999: 301ff) notes that researchers have analyzed Lhasa Tibetan as having zero tones (Kyellin 1977; Civera 1977), two tones (Sprigg 1954, Duanmu 1992; Kenstowicz 1997: 378-80), three tones (Bell 1905; Poucha 1978), four tones (Richter 1964; Meredith 1990), five tones (Hu et al. 1972), six tones (Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957; Dawson 1980), and even seven tones (Hari 1977, 1979). Additionally, there is little consensus as to whether these tones should be best described as registers, contours, or a combination of the two.

In the following section, I address phonemic tones in Dongwang, their phonetic correlates, and the historical development path of tonogenesis. I first discuss tone in monosyllabic words, and then in disyllabic words.

2.1.4.1.1 *Tone in monosyllabic words*

There are three phonemic tones in Dongwang: low (¹³), mid (³⁵³), and high (⁵³). These are transcribed with the tone numbers 13, 353, and 53. Phonetically, low tones tend to have a rising contour, mid-toned syllables tend to have a rising-falling contour, and high tones tend to have a falling contour. Evidence for these three tones can be seen in the following near-minimal sets.

<i>sæ̃</i> ¹³	'food'	<i>s^hæ̃</i> ³⁵³	'fart'	<i>sæ̃</i> ⁵³	'to feed'
<i>dũ</i> ¹³	'irrigation ditch'	<i>dũ</i> ³⁵³	'face'	<i>tu</i> ⁵³	'to chop'

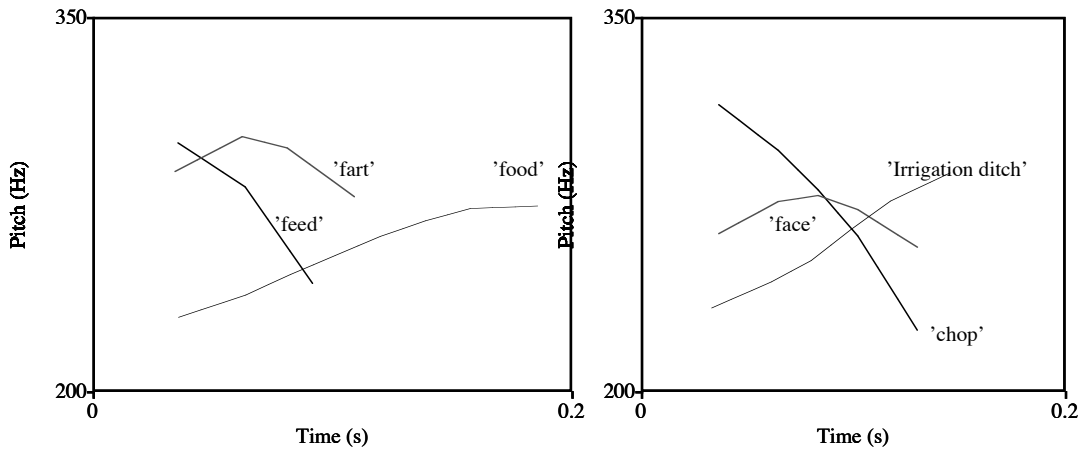


Figure 4: MINIMAL SETS ILLUSTRATING THREE TONE CATEGORIES IN DONGWANG

Figure 4 illustrates low (¹³), mid (³⁵³), and high (⁵³) tone melodies in Dongwang. The first set contains $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ 'food', $s^h\tilde{a}^{353}$ 'fart', and $s\tilde{a}^{53}$ 'to feed'. The second set contains $d\tilde{u}^{13}$ 'irrigation ditch', $d\tilde{u}^{353}$ 'face', and tu^{53} 'to chop'. Words with other onsets such as nasals or affricates show similar pitch characteristics to those illustrated in Figure 4.

These three tones can be further illustrated by the words $t\check{s}a^{53}$ 'hair', $t\check{s}a^{353}$ 'enemy', and $t\check{s}a^{13}$ 'to cut' shown in a frame sentence below:

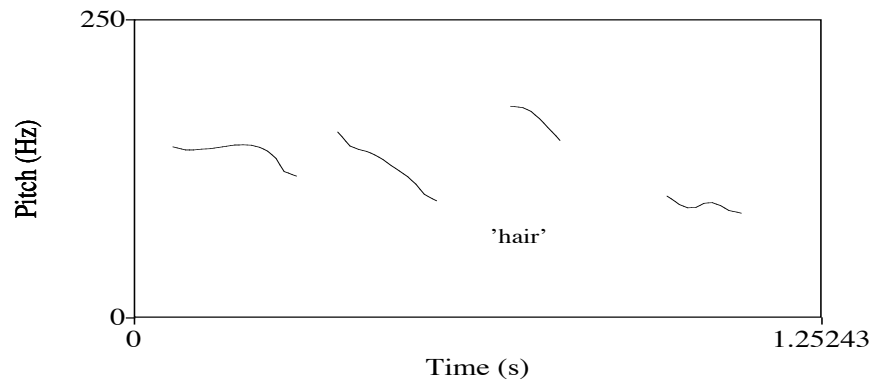


Figure 5: $t\zeta a^{53}$ 'HAIR' IN A FRAME SENTENCE UTTERED BY A MALE SPEAKER

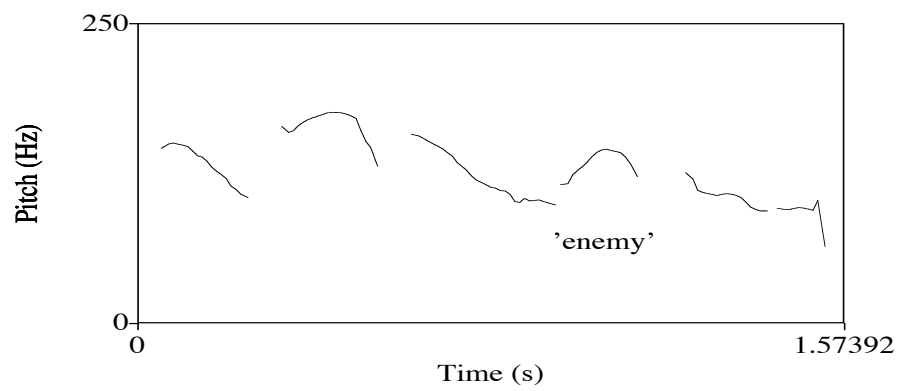


Figure 6: $t\zeta a^{353}$ 'ENEMY' IN A FRAME SENTENCE UTTERED BY A MALE SPEAKER¹²

¹² $t\zeta a^{353}$, 'enemy', is sometimes pronounced with a voiced onset [$d\zeta a^{353}$].

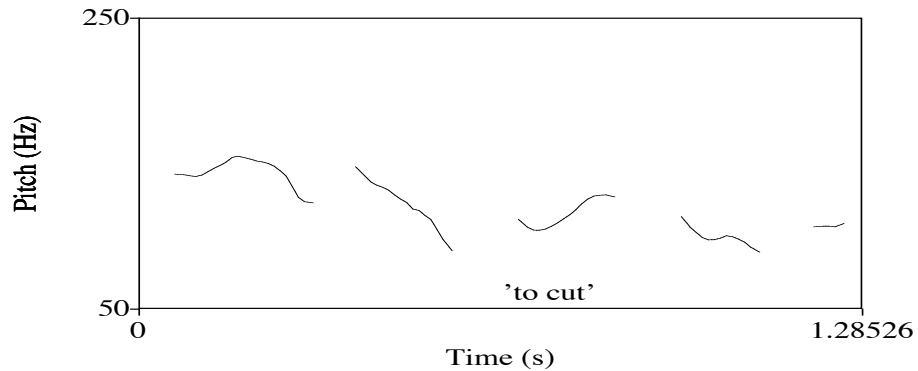


Figure 7: $t\zeta a^{13}$ 'TO CUT' IN A FRAME SENTENCE UTTERED BY A MALE SPEAKER

The three pitch traces above show three words in the frame sentence $t\tilde{o}^{55}w\tilde{a}^{53}ke^{53}$ $___s\tilde{o}^{55}gu\ dz\tilde{i}?$ '(One/you) should say (hair, enemy, to cut) in Dongwang speech'.

The pitch traces of words in one tone category can overlap with the pitch traces of words from another tone category so that a particular tone category is not always absolutely discrete. This is especially true of the mid tone (353) category, in that mid-toned syllables sometimes overlap with low tones (13) and sometimes overlap with high tones (53). This is due in part to the influence of various onset consonants (e.g., an aspirated voiceless stop tends to have a lower f_0 at the point of oral release than an unaspirated voiceless stop).

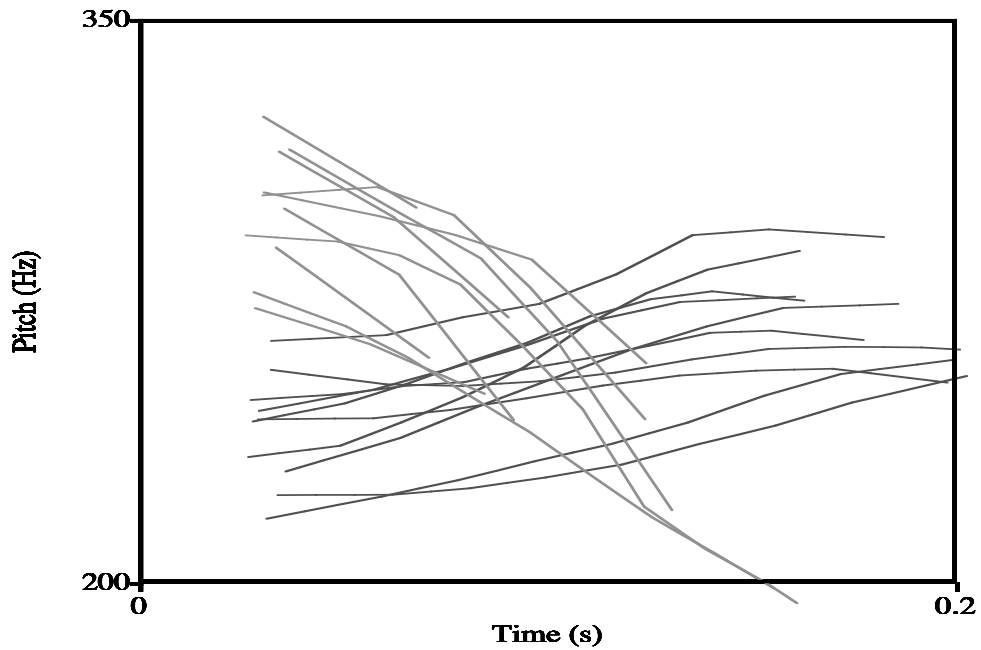


Figure 8: PITCH TRACES OF 20 WORDS ILLUSTRATING HIGH (⁵³) AND LOW (¹³) TONES

Figure 8 shows two distinct tone categories. High (⁵³) tones are indicated by a slightly-lighter line than low (¹³) tones. All of the examples in this set have very clear contours, regardless of syllable length. When ten monosyllabic mid-toned (³⁵³) words are added, the categories seem less discrete.

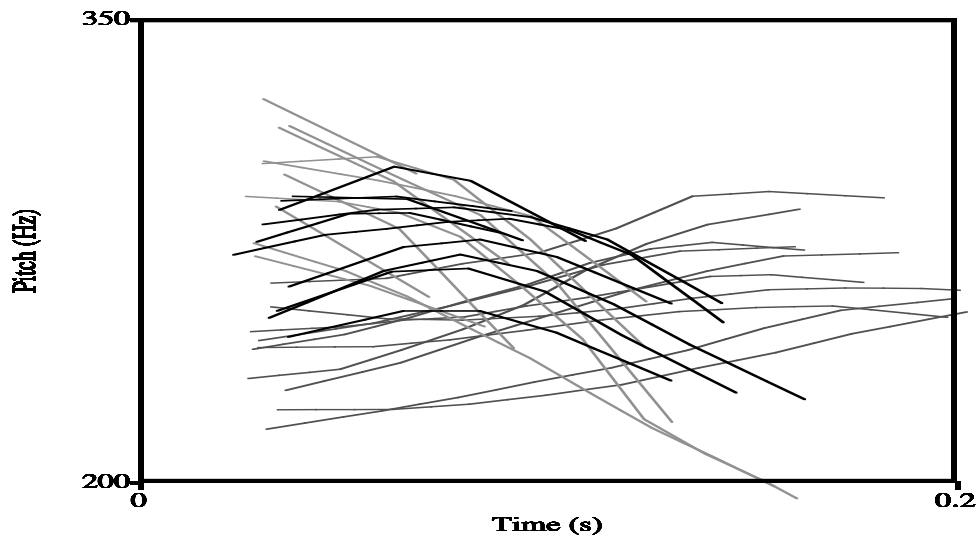


Figure 9: PITCH TRACES OF 30 WORDS ILLUSTRATING HIGH (⁵³), LOW (¹³) AND MID (³⁵³) TONES

In Figure 9, the darkest lines represent the addition of mid (³⁵³) tones. Although the contours are clear, the overlapping of tone categories is also clear.

Since the main perceptual correlate of tone is the fundamental frequency, I performed acoustic analysis which measured left, mid and right points of the f_0 in 158 words uttered by a male and a female speaker. Table 2 below gives the resultant average f_0 for each tone category.

Tone	Tokens	F ₀			Gender
		Left	Mid	Right	
High (⁵³)	52	296	292	234	Female
		175	169	150	Male
Mid (³⁵³)	55	263	286	253	Female
		151	155	148	Male
Low (¹³)	51	244	267	266	Female
		127	135	147	Male

TABLE (3): AVERAGE *f*₀ MEASUREMENTS FOR 158 WORDS

The *f*₀ averages show in Table (3) above show three distinct tone groups. It is interesting that for the male and female speaker on whose speech I conducted acoustic measurements, the female *f*₀ shows a much more dramatic rise-fall than the male speaker. The female speaker shows an average fall of nearly 60 hz. on the high tones, while the male speaker has an average fall of 25 hz. On the mid-tone category, the pitch rises to more than 20 hz for the female speaker, but less than 10 hz for the male speaker. Finally, the pitch on the low tones rises roughly 20 hz for both the male and female speaker. Of course, it is impossible to consider this more than ideolectal difference without conducting a more in-depth investigation involving many more speakers.

Regarding patterns of tone-segment interaction in Dongwang, a few general observations can be made. First, low-toned monosyllables with plosive onsets tend to

be voiceless while mid-tone monosyllables with plosive onsets tend to be voiced. Contours alone do not contribute meaning contrast, but syllables with long vowels tend to rise or fall more dramatically than syllables with short vowels.

Second, initial plosive consonants in high-toned monosyllables are all voiceless. Almost all the high-toned syllables fall, but the nature of the fall is partially dependent on the onset. Syllables with voiceless unaspirated onsets (e.g., *kuu*⁵³ 'to send') fall the most dramatically, while syllables with an aspirated onset (e.g., *k^ha*⁵³ 'mouth') tend to have a lower *f0* and a delayed fall (e.g., [*k^ha*⁴⁵⁴] 'mouth'). Syllables with short vowels tend to exhibit hardly any fall whatsoever.

Almost all of the mid-toned syllables with aspirated or voiced onsets show rising-falling contour, otherwise the mid tone is fairly level in comparison to high and low tones.

In addition to conducting *f0* measurements, I also tested speaker's perception of tone. I did this, keeping in mind Ladefoged's warning:

'When working on tone languages, don't expect too much help from native speakers. Some of them may be able to tell whether or not the pitch of the voice rises or falls during a given word, but many cannot. As far as they are concerned, two words differing in tone just sound different...' (Ladefoged 2004:81).

As far as accurately identifying any one tone, this advice proved to be true.

While speakers were for the most part able to identify tone differences when

presented with minimal sets¹³ of words, they had consistent difficulty identifying the tone category. Additionally, while speakers had almost no problems differentiating between low /¹³/ and high /⁵³/ tones, they inconsistently differentiated mid /³⁵³/ tone in contrast to the other tones.

2.1.4.1.2 Tonogenesis

Because of the generally high-registered syllables in the atonal varieties of Amdo, Jackson Sun (2003: 37) has commented that the history of tone in Tibetan languages 'can be characterised by the genesis of the low register, which has steadily invaded the former territory of the high register'.

WT provides a fairly clear basis from which to approach tonogenesis in Dongwang. There are three series of WT plosives: voiceless and unaspirated <p, t, k>, voiceless and aspirated <ph, th, kh>, and voiced <b, d, g>. As the voicing contrast between the voiceless and voiced onsets was lost in Dongwang, low register undertook the contrastive burden for the previously-voiced series, but only for simplex voiced onsets. The previously-voiceless (both aspirated and unaspirated) plosives remained high-toned while the newly-devoiced plosives became voiceless, unaspirated, and low-toned. Thus the only distinction between the former voicing distinction (<p, t, k> and <b, d, g>) is now a register distinction in Dongwang. The

¹³ I arranged minimal sets of words, or very close minimal sets, into wave files of two and three words. Sometimes the words were the same tone and sometimes different. I then played the words for speakers and asked them if they were the same or different. Due to constraints of time, only a few words were tested on multiple speakers. Most were tested only on one female speaker.

aspirated voiceless plosives have a lower *f0* onset than do the unaspirated voiceless plosives, but still are high-toned.

The association of voiced prevocalic obstruents with low tone and voiceless prevocalic obstruents with high tone has long been attested in many languages and, as Hombert (1978: 78) points out, is probably one of the most well-documented types of tonogenesis. Once again, WT is a helpful and fairly transparent window through which to view this process in most cases¹⁴.

Low			Mid			High		
<i>ku</i> ¹³	<Gug>	'to crawl'	<i>gu</i> ³⁵³	<bGo>	'to divide'	<i>ku</i> ⁵⁴	<rKo>	'to dig'
<i>pə</i> ²³	<Bu>	'boy'	<i>bu</i> ³⁵³	<sBos>	'bloated'	<i>pə</i> ⁵³	<sPu>	'body hair'
<i>tæ:</i> ¹³	<De.Nas>	'then'	<i>dæ</i> ³⁵³	<bDar>	'to wipe'	<i>tæ:</i> ⁵³	<rTen>	'to depend on'

TABLE (4): CORRELATION OF LOW (¹³), MID (³⁵³), AND HIGH (⁵³) TONES WITH WT ONSETS¹⁵

The words on the left (low tone) in Table (4) all begin with a WT single voiced plosive onset <g, b, d>. In Dongwang, these have become devoiced and low-toned. The words on the right (high tone) all begin with a WT voiceless, unaspirated onset with or without a preinitial consonant <k, p, t>. These are voiceless,

¹⁴ In the following examples, I have capitalized the root letter in each syllable for the sake of clarity.

¹⁵ In spite of table 4 above, and the previous discussion, it is important to state that complex WT onsets do not always mean mid tone, and simplex WT onsets do not always mean low tone. Some syllables are not always that well-behaved. For example <byi'u> *sY*¹³ ~ *sY*⁵⁵ 'small bird', <zhing> *ʂ*^{hT}:¹³ ~ *ʂ*^{hT}:⁵⁵ 'field', and <dbye> *si*⁵³ ~ *si*³³ 'to separate' (from a person) .

unaspirated, and high-toned. The words in the middle (mid tone) begin with a WT voiced consonant cluster <bg, sb, bd>. This situation is analogous to the rDza.rdo dialect as described by T.-S Sun (2003: 38). Instead of high and low register, there is high, low, and mid register, but with some important distinctions.

While rDza.rdo reflexes of 'simplex OT¹⁶ voiced obstruents became devoiced, breathy, and low-registered' (T.-S. Sun 2003: 38), Dongwang reflexes of the same became devoiced and low-registered, but not necessarily breathy. In Dongwang, breathiness is frequently associated with the mid-tone reflexes of complex WT voiced clusters. Additionally, nasal onsets with preinitial consonants became mid-toned, rather than high-toned as happened in rDza.rdo. Finally, while the mid tone seems to be perceptually the most difficult for speakers to identify, it is also tonogenetically the least stable. Complex WT voiced obstruents are not always clear mid tones. For example, some speakers pronounce <lba> 'goiter' as a low rising tone, while others pronounce it as a short mid level tone. As to why the WT complex voiced onsets have not fully devoiced, there are several possibilities. Consonant clusters such as <sb>, <bd>, and <bg> were likely fully articulated at some point. Many Amdo dialects have retained complex consonant onset articulation. It is possible that voicing loss in these clusters took longer than voicing loss in simplex segments. This may be due in part to the likelihood that in older varieties of Tibetan, the complex voiced onsets represented more complex morphological structure than what is seen today. As

¹⁶ OT=Old Tibetan. Sun seems to use OT interchangeably with WT. While I use WT as representative of various periods of Tibetan, OT generally refers to a more archaic period of Tibetan (7th-9th c.), earlier than Classical Tibetan.

Matisoff (2003: 153ff) points out, the cyclic changes in syllable structure from a disyllable to a complex monosyllable, or sequisyllable, and then to a simple monosyllable has long been attested in Tibeto-Burman.

2.1.4.1.3 *Tones in polysyllabic words*

There is very little available literature that describes tone in polysyllabic words in Tibetan languages. In this section, I describe some of the data, but an exhaustive examination of tone in polysyllabic words will not be attempted.

First, an important phonetic characteristic of tone in polysyllabic words should be noted. In Dongwang, there exists a strong dispreference for identical adjacent tone combinations. I am not aware of this restriction in other descriptions of tone for other Tibetan dialects. That is, a high-level tone followed by a high-falling tone is acceptable, but not two high level tones. Or a low tone followed by a high tone is acceptable, but not two adjacent low tones. For example, speakers reject *[tsã⁵⁵ba⁵⁵]*, but accept *[tsã⁵⁵ba⁵³]* <rtsam.pa> 'barley flour'. In this particular instance, speakers say that it is not a matter of intelligibility, but of authentic native pronunciation. Speakers report that two adjacent high level tones in this word sound like speech from the rGyalthang dialect spoken nearby.¹⁷

The following sections contain a brief description of the characteristics of tone sandhi and stress in Dongwang. Much more research is needed and a full treatment of tone sandhi and stress in Dongwang will have to be pursued at a later date.

¹⁷ In the rGyalthang dialect <tsam.pa> is pronounced *tsã⁵⁵pa⁵⁵*.

2.1.4.1.4 Tone sandhi

In disyllabic words, there is a general tendency for phonetic tone leveling in first-syllable position. Low-rising melodies become low, high-falling become high, and mid rising-falling melodies can either rise or fall or, in some cases, retain their rise and fall.

Low-rising tones become Low-level tones

$t\zeta a^{13}$	'tea'	$[t\zeta a^{11}tj^{55}]$	'butter tea pot'
$t\zeta a^{13}$	'tea'	$[t\zeta a^{11}n\ddot{u}^{55}]$	'churn'
sY^{13}	'bird'	$[sY^{11}ts^h\ddot{o}^{55}]$	'bird's nest' ¹⁸

High-falling tones become high-level tones

$ts^h a^{53}$	'salt'	$[ts^h a^{55}g\ddot{a}^{53}]$	'saltbox'
$p^h a^{53}$	'pig'	$[p^h a^{55}\zeta a^{53}]$	'pork'
$\zeta^h a^{53}$	'meat'	$[\zeta a^{55}k\ddot{a}^{53}]$	'lean meat'

Mid rising-falling tones tend to retain their rise, but lose their fall in first-syllable position and retain their fall but lose their rise in second-syllable position.¹⁹

$n\ddot{u}^{353}$	'oil'	$n\ddot{a}^{55}na^{53}$	'black'	$[n\ddot{u}^{35}na\uparrow^{53}]$	'cooking oil'
$ts^h a^{53}$	'salt'	$g\ddot{a}^{353}$	'box'	$[ts^h a^{55}g\ddot{a}^{53}]$	'saltbox'
$fj\ddot{a}^{353}$	'shoes'	?	?	$[fj\ddot{a}^{55}dzu^{55}]$	'shoelaces' ²⁰
$p\ddot{o}^{53}$	'meadow'	za^{353}	'yak'	$[p\ddot{o}^{55}za^{53}]$	'rabbit'

¹⁸ This is also a euphemism for 'whorehouse'.

¹⁹ I have a few counter-examples where it seems the contour is fully retained fji^{353} 'work' and $fji^{353}n\ddot{g}u^{11}$ 'to do work'.

²⁰ There are two words for 'shoelaces'. This is the word for the new style of shoelace rather than the one that laces up the calf.

2.1.4.1.5 Stress

Stress is not phonemic in Dongwang, but a few generalizations can be made regarding stressed syllables. A stressed syllable in Dongwang is the most prominent syllable acoustically in the word. Prominence correlates with three parameters: pitch, duration, and amplitude. In my data, the syllable with the highest pitch attracts stress. If two syllables in a word are high-pitched, but one is high-falling, the syllable with high-falling pitch will be stressed. Stressed syllables also correlate with amplitude and/or duration. The few disyllabic words with no discernable stress placement tend to be words without a relatively longer, louder, or high-pitched syllable.

Word	Gloss	Stress		V Length		Amplitude	
		Syl 1	Syl 2	Syl 1	Syl 2	Syl 1	Syl 2
<i>fjã¹³ dzu⁵³</i>	'shoelace' ²¹		x	.118	.155	79 db	81 db
<i>sə¹¹ mo:⁵⁵</i>	'hen'		x	.049	.155	74 db	72 db
<i>ʃi⁵³ p^h æ⁵³</i>	'wooden cup'		x	.073	.151	74 db	80 db
<i>sə¹¹ pə⁵⁵</i>	'rooster'		x	.062	.084	82 db	89 db
<i>a¹¹ ni⁵⁵</i>	'aunt'		x	.048	.095	52 db	60 db
<i>a⁵⁵ ni¹¹</i>	'grandfather'	x		.057	.060	63 db	60 db
<i>ma:⁵⁵ nə¹¹</i>	'soldier'	x		.106	.049	69 db	66 db

TABLE (5): STRESS PATTERNS IN DISYLLABIC WORDS CORRELATED WITH LENGTH AND AMPLITUDE

²¹ This is the word for the modern kind of shoelace. The traditional shoelaces (*fjã¹¹ dzu⁵³*) have shoelaces which lace up the leg.

Table (5) contains words with syllables varying in length and amplitude. Stressed syllables correlate with those higher in pitch and which are *either* longer or louder than non-stressed syllables. This is also true of trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words.

Non-verbal Compounds	Gloss	Verbal compounds	Gloss
<i>pi</i> ¹³ <i>tə</i> ³³ <i>ki</i> ¹¹	'sweater'	<i>tɕ</i> ^h <i>ə</i> ¹¹ <i>wɑ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>pu</i> ¹¹	'to rain'
<i>sō</i> ¹³ <i>kə</i> ³³ <i>le</i> ¹¹	'butterfly'	<i>h</i> ¹¹ <i>ni</i> ¹¹ <i>tʂa</i> ⁵³ <i>k</i> ^h <i>ui</i> ¹¹	'to be angry'
<i>n̩</i> ⁵³ <i>wɔ</i> ³³ <i>rɔ</i> ¹¹	'nostril'	<i>ts</i> ^h <i>ə</i> ¹¹ <i>mō</i> ⁵⁵ <i>hū</i> ³³	'to stir-fry'
<i>na</i> ⁵³ <i>ŋa</i> ³³ <i>mo</i> ¹¹	'long ago'	<i>na</i> ¹¹ <i>ts</i> ^h <i>a</i> ⁵³ <i>p</i> ^h <i>u</i> ¹¹	'to be struck ill'
<i>tu</i> ¹³ <i>di</i> ³³ <i>mə</i> ¹¹	'convenient'	<i>dzə</i> ¹¹ <i>dō</i> ⁵⁵ <i>dzo</i> ¹¹	'to poke'
<i>tʂu</i> ³⁵ <i>pə</i> ³³ <i>ra</i> ¹¹	'spider'	<i>kɪ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>bɑ</i> ⁵³ <i>pu</i> ¹¹	'to walk'

TABLE (6): STRESS PATTERNS IN TRISYLLABIC VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL COMPOUNDS.

In Table (6) above, the syllable with the high tone attracts stress.

Quadrisyllabic words in Dongwang also exhibit the same stress patterns.

<i>ʂi</i> ¹¹ <i>tɑ</i> ⁵³ <i>gui</i> ³³ <i>li</i> ¹¹	'woodpecker'
<i>ts</i> ^h <i>a</i> ¹¹ <i>ts</i> ^h <i>a</i> ⁵³ <i>gui</i> ³³ <i>li</i> ¹¹	'grasshopper'
<i>tɕ</i> ^h <i>ə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>pæ</i> ⁵³ <i>tɔ</i> ³³ <i>sa</i> ²¹	'camera'

In disyllabic words, non-stressed syllables trigger vowel reduction. See the following examples:

<i>sɑ</i> ¹³	'chicken'	<i>sə</i> ¹¹ <i>mɔ</i> ⁵⁵	'hen'
<i>ts</i> ^h <i>ɑ</i> ⁵³	'salt'	<i>ts</i> ^h <i>ə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>gã</i> ⁵³	'saltbox' ²²
<i>ɲu</i> ¹³	'day'	<i>ɲə</i> ¹¹ <i>wō</i> ⁵⁵	'day'

²² Some speakers pronounce 'saltbox' as *ts*^h*ai*⁵⁵*gã*⁵³.

2.2 Diachronic Phonology

Although the precise origin and date of the Tibetan script is uncertain, due to similarities shared with Indian scripts such as 'the shape of some letters and its syllabic²³ approach to phonemic representation' (Chamberlain 2004:45), many have suggested that it was based on a Brahminical script. Popular accounts attribute the development of the Tibetan script to Thonmi Sambhota sometime in the 7th century A.D. Others have suggested possible models from 'India, Nepal, Kashmir, Afghanistan, or Khotan and other places in East Turkestan, at dates between the 5th and 10th centuries' (Denwood 1999:15). Beyer (1994: 41) and Denwood (1999: 15) suggest that the development was apparently more motivated by administrative rather than religious purposes. One of the first known written references is that of the annals discovered at Tun-huang which describe events from 650 through 747, after the death of King Srong.bTsan sGam.po (Beyer 1994: 41). Whatever the story, it is good, as Denwood suggests, to pay attention to what A. Róna-Tas (1985) suggests, namely that the 'development of the Tibetan writing system could well have been a long drawn out process with contributions from more than one Indian language area and script' (Denwood 1999: 15).

The basic Tibetan alphabet includes 30 consonants, each with an inherent 'a' vowel sound and four vowel diacritics. Three vowel symbols are superscripted over the root letter and one is subscripted under the root letter. In the 1950s, Turrell Wylie

²³ Technically, the Tibetan and Indian writing systems could be called 'alpha-syllabic' rather than syllabic systems. Although syllables represented by a single graph do have an inherent 'a', vowel diacritics and modification to the root letter are isographic.

romanized the Tibetan alphabet. His system of romanization, or some variation thereof, has become a standard for many academics conducting research on Tibetan. The following table illustrates the Tibetan alphabet in the order traditionally given along with a Wylie transcription of each letter.

ཀ	ka [k]	ཁ	kha [k ^h]	ག	ga [g]	ང	nga [ŋ]
ཅ	ca [tɕ]	ཅ	cha [tɕ ^h]	ཇ	ja [dʒ]	ཉ	nya [ɲ]
ཏ	ta [t]	ཏ	tha [t ^h]	ད	da [d]	ན	na [n]
པ	pa [p]	པ	pha [p ^h]	བ	ba [b]	མ	ma [m]
ཅ	tsa [ts]	ཅ	tsha [ts ^h]	ཇ	dza [dz]	ཉ	wa [w]
ཉ	zha [ʒ]	ཟ	za [z~ʒ]	འ	'a [a~h~N~w]	ཡ	ya [j]
ར	ra [r]	འ	la [l]	ཤ	sha [ɕ~ʃ]	ས	sa [s]
ཧ	ha [h]	ཨ	a [a]				

TABLE (7): WT CONSONANTAL LETTERS WITH WYLIE AND IPA TRANSCRIPTION

The first five rows of columns one and two are associated with voicing and aspiration distinctions. The letters in the top five rows of columns one, two and three are organized according to voicing, aspiration and articulation distinctions. The first five letters in column one are voiceless and unaspirated. The first five letters in column two are voiceless and aspirated. The five letters in column three are voiced, and the first four rows in column four are nasals. Note that the first four rows move successively, top to bottom, from velar articulation at the rear of the mouth, through

palatal and alveolar articulations at the center of the mouth, to bilabial articulation at the front of the mouth.

The letter ࠨ (sometimes known as the *a-chung* or 'little a') is represented by 'a' in Table (7). Although it has been the subject of considerable discussion, 'the consensus is that in Old Tibetan the letter v^{24} represented a voiced fricative (either [f] or [ɣ] before vowels and the glide -w- and prenasalization before consonants' (Hill 2005: 107). In Dongwang, 'a has become the glide *w* before vowels and homorganic nasalization before voiced consonants.

In Written Tibetan, the shortest syllable consists of one element, e.g., <kha> 'mouth'. The longest syllable combines up to seven elements, e.g., <bsgrogs> 'to sew up, PST'. Certain letters can function as prefixes (<g, d, b, m, 'a>), superscripts (or 'head letters') (<r, l, s>), subscripts (or 'subjoined letters') (<y, r, l, w>), and a first suffix (<g, ng, d, n, b, m, ', r, l, s>) or second suffix (<g, ng, b, m>)²⁵. In addition the *a.chung*, can occur as a suffix with a second, or sometimes, third vowel. All of these combinations are subject to combinatory constraints.

The following section examines Dongwang reflexes of WT forms. The first section is arranged according to WT onsets and the second section according to WT rhymes. Each subsection is arranged according to the WT points of articulation. I give

²⁴ Hill (2005) follows the Chinese convention of using *v* to represent the *a-chung*.

²⁵ The terms 'prefix' and 'suffix' do not have their normal morphological meaning here, but refer purely to the shape of the syllable.

examples of possible WT onsets and rhymes along with the Dongwang reflex of each. Although there are a few WT consonant clusters for which I have no examples, most possibilities are represented.

2.2.1 Onsets

2.2.1.1 Obstruents

2.2.1.2 Plosives

The diachronic development of plosives in onset position can be characterized by the following generalizations:

- Almost all WT simplex and complex voiceless onsets have remained voiceless
- Almost all WT simplex and complex voiceless onsets are associated with high-toned syllables
- Almost all WT simplex voiced onsets are devoiced
- Almost all devoiced WT simplex onsets are associated with low-toned syllables
- Almost all WT complex voiced onsets have retained voicing
- Almost all WT complex voiced onsets are associated with mid-toned syllables

The following section lists examples of each of these diachronic developments organized according to the WT points of articulation. Exceptions will be noted.

2.2.1.2.1 bilabials

The voiceless bilabial <p> remains voiceless²⁶, regardless of clustering.

²⁶ The word for 'father' *ba*²³⁵³ seems to be from <p'a> in which case the post-initial *a.chung* causes the initial to be voiced.

<p>, <dp>, <lp>, <sp>	-> <i>p</i>	<pus.mo>	<i>pi:⁵⁵mə¹¹</i>	'knee'
		<dpa'.bo>	<i>pə⁵⁵wu¹¹</i>	'hero'
		<lpags.pa>	<i>pa⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	'peel, skin'
		<spang.g.yag>	<i>pō⁵⁵za⁵³</i>	'rabbit'

The aspirated voiceless bilabial stop <ph> remains aspirated and unvoiced.

When <ph> occurs with a pre-root consonant, the tone is lowered.

<ph>, <'ph>	-> <i>p^h</i>	<phag>	<i>p^ha⁵³</i>	'pig'
		<phag'u>	<i>p^hə:¹³</i>	'piglet'
		<'phag>	<i>p^haɿ³⁵³</i>	'to hop'
		<'phul>	<i>p^hu³⁵³</i>	'to push'

Simplex voiced bilabials are devoiced and low-toned.

	-> <i>p</i>	<ba>	<i>pa¹³</i>	'cow'
		<bal>	<i>pi:¹³</i>	'wool'

When the root letter occurs in a consonant cluster, it is not devoiced. In monosyllables, the tone is not completely lowered.

<db>, <lb>, <rb>, <sb>	-> <i>b</i>	<dbugs>	<i>bu³⁵³</i>	'breath'
		<dbus.ma>	<i>be¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	'center', 'middle'
		<lba>	<i>ba³⁵³</i>	'goiter' ²⁷
		<rba>	<i>ba³⁵³</i>	'roiling water'
		<sbal.pa>	<i>bi¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>	'frog' ²⁸

When the first letter of the cluster is *a-chung* <'>, it becomes a prenasalized voiced bilabial.

<'b>	-> mb	<'bu>	<i>mbə³⁵³</i>	'worm'
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²⁷ This word is sometimes pronounced with a voiced onset, but a low-rising tone.

²⁸ An alternative pronunciation, at least for one speaker, is *bī¹¹gua⁵³*.

<'ba'>		<i>mbaʔ³⁵³</i>	'to carry on one's back'
<'bag'>		<i>mba³⁵³</i>	'mask'

Bilabial stops with the subscript <y> (*ya.ta*) developed into Dongwang palatal fricatives that usually retain their aspiration distinctions. The pattern of devoicing developed along the same lines as the plosives; simplex onsets are devoiced while complex onsets retain their voicing.

<py>		<i>no examples</i>		
<dpy>, <spy>	-> <i>s</i>	<dpyid.ka>	<i>si⁵⁵k^ha⁵³</i>	'spring'
		<spyang.ki>	<i>sō⁵⁵kə¹¹</i>	'wolf'
<phy> ²⁹	-> <i>s^h</i>	<phyags.moʔ>	<i>s^ha¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	'broom'
		<phyen>	<i>s^hæ³⁵³</i>	'fart'
<'phy>	-> <i>z</i>	<'phyar>	<i>zæ³⁵³</i>	'to hang'
<'by>, <'by>	-> <i>s</i>	<bya>	<i>sa¹³</i>	'chicken'
		<byang.phyogs>	<i>sō¹¹çu⁵³</i>	'north'
		<'bye>	<i>si⁴⁴³</i>	'to open'
<by> (one example)	-> <i>j</i>	<byed>	<i>jɛ³⁵³</i>	'to do'.
<dby>, <sby>	-> <i>z</i>	<dbyar.ka>	<i>zæ¹³k^ha⁵³</i>	'summer'
		<dbyug.pa>	<i>zə⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	'stick'
		<sbyong>	<i>zō³⁵³</i>	'to study'

Bilabial stops with the subscript <r> (*ra.ta*) developed into Dongwang retroflex affricates.

²⁹ An exception to the onset <phy> becoming an aspirated sibilant is <phyed.ka> *se¹¹k^ha⁵³* 'half'.

<pr>, <dpr>		<i>no examples</i>		
<spr>	-> $t_{\text{ɕ}}$	<sprin> <sprang.ʔ>	$t_{\text{ɕ}}\tilde{i}^{53}$ $t_{\text{ɕ}}\tilde{o}^{55}\tilde{h}j\tilde{o}^{53}$	'cloud' 'to beg', 'beggar'
\				
<phr>, <'phr>	-> $t_{\text{ɕ}}^h$	<'phreng.ba> ³⁰ <'phrog> <dge.phrug>	$t_{\text{ɕ}}^h\tilde{\partial}^{11}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ $t_{\text{ɕ}}^hu^{53}$ $gi^{11}t_{\text{ɕ}}^ho^{53}$	'rosary' 'to rob' 'student' ³¹
 	-> $t_{\text{ɕ}}$	<brang> <bri>	$t_{\text{ɕ}}\tilde{o}^{13}$ $t_{\text{ɕ}}\tilde{\partial}^{13}$	'chest' 'to write'
<dbr> ³²		<i>no examples</i>		
<sbr>	-> $dz_{\text{ɕ}}$	<sbrul> <sbrang.dkar>	$dz_{\text{ɕ}}u^{353}$ $dz_{\text{ɕ}}\tilde{o}^{13}k\tilde{\text{æ}}^{53}$	'snake' 'sugar (white)'
<'br>	-> $^ndz_{\text{ɕ}}$	<'bri> <'brug>	$^ndz_{\text{ɕ}}i^{353}$ $^ndz_{\text{ɕ}}o^{353}$	'female yak' 'thunder'

When the second syllable formatives <pa>, <po>, and <bu> occur as the non-initial syllables, the shape is conditioned by the coda of the first syllable. This can be stated in the following ways:

³⁰ This is also spelled as <phreng>, so it may not be representative of a <'ph> onset. The other words in this data set could have the same alternative spelling.

³¹ This is not used very often as a general word for student. Rather, it is a specialized use within the monastery for a novice monk. The more general term is either $zi^{13}t_{\text{ɕ}}\tilde{\partial}o^{53}$ <yig.slob>, a nominalized form $zi^{13}nd_{\text{ɕ}}\tilde{\text{æ}}^{55}n\tilde{\partial}$ <yig.?.myi>, or (most frequently) borrowed from Chinese ($\text{ɕo}^{11}st^{55}$).

³² <dbr> is a very rare onset cluster in WT. One remote possibility is the word is <dbre.be> $z_{\text{ɕ}}y^{35}$ 'baby goat', but this does not fit the expected sound changes.

Second syllable <pa> becomes *pa* when the preceding syllable has an

obstruent coronal coda, and *wa* elsewhere:

2nd syllable <pa>	-> <i>pa</i> ³³ <thod.pa>	<i>t^hə⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	'forehead'
	<rus.pa>	<i>rə¹¹pa⁵⁵</i>	'bone'
	-> <i>wa</i> ³⁴ <char.pa>	<i>tɕ^hə¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>	'rain'
	<gsar.pa>	<i>se:⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	'new'

The second syllable <pa> becomes *ba* following syllables with a nasal coda.

2nd syllable <pa>	-> <i>ba</i> <rlong.pa>	<i>lɛ⁵⁵ba⁵³</i>	'wet'
	<bum.pa>	<i>pũ¹¹ba⁵⁵</i>	'vase'

The second syllables <po> and <bu> become *mə* when following syllables

with nasal codas:

2nd syllables <po>, <bu>	-> <i>m</i> <skam.po>	<i>kə⁵⁵mə¹¹</i>	'dry'
	<ring.po>	<i>rĩ¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>	'long'
	<gdzam.bu.gling>	<i>za¹¹mə⁵⁵ĩ¹¹</i>	'earth', 'world'
	<kham.bu>	<i>k^ha¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>	'peach'

The second syllable <ba> becomes *ja* following open syllables with high

front vowels or closed syllables with high front vowels and sonorant codas. Second

syllable <ba> becomes *wa* elsewhere.

³³ [ɸ] is an allophone of [p] intervocalically for some speakers.

³⁴ A possible exception to this is <p> -> *r* as in <phor.pa> *p^hə¹¹rə⁵⁵* 'porcelain bowl'

2nd syllable <ba>	-> <i>ja</i>	<lte.ba>	<i>ti⁵⁵ja⁵³</i>	'bellybutton'
		<ser.ba>	<i>si¹¹ja⁵⁵</i>	'hail'
	-> <i>wa</i>	<du.ba>	<i>tə¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>	'smoke'
		<tho.ba>	<i>t^hu⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	'hammer'

In some instances, the second syllables <bu> and <ba> can be lost entirely, leading to compensatory lengthening of the first syllable and a low tone overall.

2nd syllable <bu>, <ba>	-> <i>∅</i>	<shog.bu>	<i>ʃu:³⁵</i>	'paper'
		<kha.ba>	<i>k^ha:²⁴</i>	'snow'

One possible explanation for this type of syllable change is that a sort of vowel harmony is triggering the syllable coalescence. However, I do not have enough examples to be convinced.

2.2.1.2.2 Coronals

Historical patterns seen on bilabials can also be observed on the alveolars, retroflexes, and palatals. That is, simplex onsets are devoiced, while complex onsets retain voicing and show tendencies towards a lowered tone. Coronal stops with the subscript <r> have become retroflexed affricates, the *a.chung* <'> causes prenasalization or heavy voicing in voiced stops and affricates, and certain segments remain unchanged.

<brt>, <blt>	<i>no examples</i>			
<t>, <gt>, <lt>, <rt>, <st>	-> <i>t</i>	<ta>	<i>ta⁵³</i>	'letter <t>'
		<gtub>	<i>tu⁵³</i>	'to chop'
		<lta>	<i>ta⁵³</i>	'to look at'
		<rta>	<i>ta⁵³</i>	'horse'

	<ste>		<i>te</i> ⁵³	'to give'
<bt>	<i>no examples</i>			
<th>, <'th>, <math>	-> <i>t</i> ^h	<thod.pa>	<i>t^hə⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	'forehead'
		<mathong>	<i>t^hũ³⁵³</i>	'to see'
		<'thung>	<i>t^hõ³⁵³</i>	'to drink'
<d>	-> <i>t</i>	<dom>	<i>tõ¹³</i>	'bear'
		<dug>	<i>toʔ¹³</i>	'poison'
<gd>, <rd>, <bd>, <sd>	-> <i>d</i>	<gdong>	<i>dũ³⁵³</i>	'face'
		<rdo>	<i>du³⁵³</i>	'stone'
		<bdun>	<i>dĩ³⁵³</i>	'seven'
		<bdar>	<i>dæ³⁵³</i>	'to wipe'
		<sdug>	<i>do³⁵³</i>	'suffering'
		<sdod>	<i>de³⁵³</i>	'to stay' ³⁵
<d>, <md>	-> <i>ⁿd</i>	<'dab.?'>	<i>ⁿdə¹¹pəo⁵³</i>	'leaf', 'feather'
		<'dug>	<i>ⁿdo³⁵³</i>	'to sit'
		<mda'>	<i>ⁿda³⁵³</i>	'arrow'
<ld>	-> <i>d</i>	<ldags>	<i>da¹³</i>	'to lick'
<brd>, <bsd>	<i>no examples</i>			

WT voiced alveolar stops that have an <r> subscript (*ra.ta*) have become retroflex affricates. The WT simplex onsets are devoiced and the onsets with preinitials are voiced.

<dr>	-> <i>tʂ</i>	<drag>	<i>tʂa¹³</i>	'to recover'
		<dran>	<i>tʂæ̃¹³</i>	'to think', 'to miss'

³⁵ This is sometimes pronounced with a lower tone and a voiceless onset.

<'dr>	-> ⁿ dz<'dra>	ⁿ dza ¹³	'to look like'
	<ga.'dra>	ka ¹¹ⁿ dza ⁵⁵	'how'

There are a few syllables, exemplified below, with a WT voiced alveolar stop and an <r> subscript which have not undergone devoicing and/or developed into low tones.

Voicing retention	-> dz<dri>	dzø ³⁵³	'smell'
High tone retention	-> tʂ<drug>	tʂo ⁵³	'six'

2.2.1.2.3 Velars

<k>, <dk>, <rk>, <lk>, <sk>	-> k	<ka.ba>	ka ⁵³	'pillar'
		<dka'.po>	ka ⁵³	'difficult'
		<rko>	ku ⁵⁵	'to dig'
		<lkugs.pa>	ko ⁵⁵ pa ⁵³	'foolish'
		<bod.skad>	pe ¹¹ ki ⁵³	'Tibetan language'

<kh>, <mkh>	-> k ^h	<kha>	k ^h a ⁵³	'mouth'
		<mkhan.po>	k ^h æ ³⁵ mə ¹¹	'abbot'

<khw>, <'kh> *no examples*

<g>	-> k	<ga.le>	ka ¹¹ le ⁵⁵	'slowly'
		<ga.'dra>	ka ¹¹ⁿ dza ⁵⁵	'what kind'

<dg>, <rg>, <sg>	-> g	<dgon.pa>	gã ¹¹ ba ⁵³	'monastery'
		<dgu>	gø ³⁵³	'nine'
		<rgun>	gĩ ³⁵³	'grape'
		<rgod>	gue ³⁵³	'vulture'
		<sga>	ga ³⁵³	'saddle'
		<sgang>	gõ ³⁵³	'on', 'above'

<mg>, <'g>	-> ⁿ g	<mgo>	ⁿ gu ³⁵³	'head'
		<'gul>	ⁿ gu ³⁵³	'to do'

<bg>, <brg>, <bsg> *no examples*

As with the bilabials, WT velars that have the subscript <y> have developed into palatal fricatives retaining their voice and aspiration distinctions. Those with the subscript <r> have developed into retroflex affricates.

<ky>	-> ɕ	<kyag>	ɕaɻ ⁵³	'to lift'
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<dky>, <bky>, <rky> *no examples*

<sky>	-> s	<skye.sa>	si ⁵⁵ sa ⁵³	'birthplace'
		<skyugs>	soɻ ⁵³	'to vomit'

<brky>, <bsky> *no examples*

<khy>	-> ɕ	<khyi>	ɕə ⁵³	'dog'
-------	------	--------	------------------	-------

<mkhy> *no examples*

<gy> ³⁶	-> ɕ	<gyang>	ɕõ ¹³	'wall'
		<gyon>	ɕæ̃ ¹³	'to wear'

<rgy>, <mgy>, <'gy>	-> dz̥	<rgya.mtsho>	dz̥ã ¹¹ ts ^h u ⁵⁵	'ocean'
		<sgo rgyag>	gu ⁵⁵ dzaɻ ¹¹	'to close a door'
		<rgyal.po>	dz̥æ ¹¹ bu ⁵⁵	'king'
		<mgyogs.po>	dzo ¹¹ pa ⁵³	'fast'

³⁶ The exceptions to this are in the numerals 81-89. One female speaker (53 years old) pronounces the onset for the morpheme that designates the eighties (see §7.1.1.1), <gya> in WT, as ʒ and one male speaker (40 years old) pronounces it as tɕ. Thus 'eighty-eight' <gya.brgyad> is zɛ¹¹z̥æ³⁵³ in the female's speech and tɕə¹¹z̥æ³⁵³ in the male's speech.

		<'gyel.ba>	<i>dʒəo</i> ³⁵³	'to fall' ³⁷
<rgy>, <brgy> ³⁸	-> ʒ	<rgyags.pa>	<i>ʒa</i> ¹¹ <i>pa</i> ⁵³	'fat'
		<rgyu.ma>	<i>ʒə</i> ¹¹ <i>wõ</i> ⁵³	'intestines'
		<brgyad>	<i>ʒe</i> ³⁵³	'eight'
		<brgya>	<i>ʒa</i> ³⁵³	'one hundred'
<dgy>	-> ɕ	<dgyid.ʔ>	<i>ɕə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ke</i> ⁵³	'center'
<bgy>, <sgy>, <bsgy>	<i>no examples</i>			
<kr>	<i>no examples</i>			
<dkr>, <skr>	-> tʂ	<dkrogsʔ>	<i>tʂo</i> ⁵³	'to churn' (milk)
		<skra>	<i>tʂa</i> ⁵³	'hair'
<bkr>, <bskr>	<i>no examples</i>			
<khr>	-> tʂ ^h	<khra>	<i>tʂ^ha</i> ⁵³	'bird of prey'
<'khr>, <mkhr>	<i>no examples</i>			
<gr>, <grw>	-> tʂ	<grod.pa>	<i>tʂə</i> ¹¹ <i>pa</i> ⁵⁵	'lower stomach'
		<gro>	<i>tʂu</i> ³⁵	'wheat'
		<grwa.ba>	<i>tʂa</i> ¹¹ <i>wa</i> ⁵⁵	'monk'
<'gr>	-> ⁿ <i>dz</i>	<'gro>	ⁿ <i>dzu</i> ³⁵³	'to go'
		<'gram.tshos>	ⁿ <i>dzã</i> ¹¹ <i>tʂa</i> ⁵³	'cheek'
<dgr>	-> <i>dz</i>	<dgra>	<i>dza</i> ¹¹ ~ <i>tʂa</i> ³⁵	'enemy'
<bgr>, <bsgr>, <mgr>	<i>no examples</i>			

³⁷ This is the only example I have of the <'gy> onset.

³⁸ I have one entry, a verbalizer (*dzo*⁵³), which might possibly be from WT <brgyad>, but it does not undergo the same sound change.

2.2.1.3 Fricatives

<s>	-> <i>s^h</i>	<sa>	<i>s^ha⁵³</i>	'dirt', 'earth'
		<sad>	<i>s^he⁵³</i>	'to wake, tr'
	-> <i>s</i>	<sol.ba>	<i>si¹ja⁵⁵</i>	'coals'

All of the <s> onsets with pre-radicals or subscripts are unaspirated.

<sr>, <bs>, <gs>	-> <i>s</i>	<sring.mo>	<i>sĩ⁵⁵wu¹¹</i>	'younger sister'
		<bsam.pa>	<i>sə⁵⁵mba⁵³</i>	'mind'
		<gser>	<i>sæ⁵³</i>	'gold'

The simple onset <z> has become devoiced, while those with pre-radicals retain voicing.³⁹

<z>	-> <i>s</i>	<zangs>	<i>sĩ¹³</i>	'copper'
	~ -> <i>s^h</i>	<zor.ba>	<i>s^ho¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>	'sickle' ⁴⁰
<bz>, <gz>	-> <i>z</i>	<bzo>	<i>zu³³~lu³⁵³</i>	'to make', 'to fix'
		<gzigs>	<i>zi³⁵³</i>	'leopard'

The radical <sh>, with or without pre-radicals, is represented by voiceless retroflex fricatives in Dongwang. A few of these are aspirated. The voiced alveolar fricative <zh> also has become a voiceless retroflex fricative, and the <zh> onset with pre-radicals retains voicing.

³⁹ One apparent exception to this: <bza'> *sæ³⁵* 'food'.

⁴⁰ Some speakers do not aspirate this.

<sh>	-> ʃ	<shig>	ʃi^{53}	'bedbug'
		<shi>	ʃə^{53}	'to die'
	-> ʃ^h	<sha>	$\text{ʃ}^h\text{a}^{53}$	'meat'
<zh>, <zhw>	-> ʃ	<zhim.po>	$\text{ʃə}^{11}\text{mə}^{55}$	'tasty'
		<zhwa.mo>	$\text{ʃo}^{11}\text{wa}^{55}$	'hat'
<bzh>	-> ʒ	<bzhi>	ʒə^{353}	'four'

2.2.1.4 Affricates

<c>, <gc>, <lc>, <bc>	-> tʃ	<cog.rtse>	$\text{tʃo}^{11}\text{tsə}^{55}$	'desk'
		<gcig>	tʃi^{53}	'one'
		<lcags>	tʃa^{53}	'iron'
		<bcu>	tʃə^{53}	'ten'
<ch>, <mch>	-> tʃ^h	<chu>	$\text{tʃ}^h\text{ə}^{53}$	'water'
		<mchu.lpags>	$\text{tʃ}^h\text{ə}^{55}\text{pa}^{53}$	'lips'
<j>	-> tʃ	<ja>	tʃa^{13}	'tea'
<lj>, <rj>	-> dʒ	<ljang.khu>	$\text{dʒə}^{11}\text{k}^h\text{ə}^{55}$	'green'
		<rjed>	$\text{tʃe}^{13}\sim\text{dʒe}^{353}$	'to forget'
<ts>, <mts>, <gts>, <rts>	-> ts	<tsa.khug>	$\text{tsə}^{11}\text{k}^h\text{o}^{53}$	'small bag w/string'
		<mtsang>	tsũ^{53}	'onion'
		<gtsang.ma>	$\text{tsō}^{55}\text{wō}^{53}$	'clean'
		<rtsam.pa>	$\text{tsā}^{55}\text{ba}^{53}$	'barley flour'

<tsh>, <mtsh>, <tsw>	-> <i>ts^h</i> <tshor>	<i>ts^hæ⁵³</i>	'to hear'
	<mtsho>	<i>ts^hu⁵³</i>	'lake'
	<tswa>	<i>ts^ha⁵³</i>	'salt'
	-> <i>ts</i> <tshong>	<i>tsũ⁵³</i>	'to sell'
<'tsh>, <'mtsh>	-> <i>ts</i> <'mtshol>	<i>tsi⁵³</i>	'to look for'
	<'tshem>	<i>tsǣ⁵³</i>	'to sew'
<dz>	<i>no examples</i>		
<mdz>, <'dz>	-> <i>ⁿdz</i> <mdzub.mo>	<i>ⁿdzui³⁵</i>	'finger'
	<mdzums>	<i>ⁿdzũ³⁵³</i>	'to gather'
	<'dzul>	<i>ⁿdzui³⁵³</i>	'to poke into'

2.2.1.5 Sonorants

Older varieties of Tibetan, as reflected in Written Tibetan, had seven sonorants including four nasals <m>, <n>, <ng>, and <ny>, two liquids <r>, <l>, and two glides <y> and <w>. Of these, the liquids and glides have undergone the most unusual changes. The nasals have developed into separate sets of voiced and voiceless nasals.

2.2.1.5.1 Nasals

All but the bilabial nasal retain their point of articulation in Dongwang. <m> becomes /n/ or /ɲ/ before a high front vowel and /m/ in all other contexts.

<ng>, <rng>, <lng>, <mng>	-> <i>ŋ</i>	<nga>	<i>ŋa</i> ¹³	'1sABS'
		<rnga>	<i>ŋa</i> ⁵³	'drum'
		<lnga>	<i>ŋa</i> ⁵³	'five'
		<mngag>	<i>ŋa</i> ⁵³	'to send'
<sng>	-> <i>ŋ</i>	<snga.ma>	<i>ŋə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>mo</i> ⁵³	'long ago'
	-> <i>h</i>	<sngon.po>	<i>hũ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>hũ</i> ¹¹	'blue'
<ny>, <gny>, <mny>, <rny>	-> <i>ɲ</i>	<nya>	<i>ɲa</i> ¹³	'fish'
		<gnyis>	<i>ɲu</i> ⁵³	'two'
		<mnyam>	<i>ɲã</i> ⁵³	'together'
		<rnying.pa>	<i>ɲĩ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ba</i> ⁵³	'old (things)'

When the WT root-initial letter is <s>, the Dongwang reflex usually is a slightly aspirated and slightly voiced onset. The syllable tends to have breathiness throughout, but the degree of breathiness varies among speakers.

<sny>	-> <i>ɲ</i>	<snying>	<i>ɲi</i> ³⁵³	'heart'
<n>, <gn>, <mn>, <rn>	-> <i>n</i>	<na>	<i>na</i> ¹³	'to be ill'
		<gnam>	<i>nã</i> ⁵³	'sky'
		<mna'.ma>	<i>nə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>wõ</i> ⁵³	'bride'
		<rna.ba>	<i>nẽ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ji</i> ¹¹	'ear'
<sn>	-> <i>ɲ̥</i>	<snu>	<i>ɲ̥u</i> ³⁵³	'to sniff'
		<sna>	<i>ɲ̥a</i> ³⁵³	'nose'
		<snum>	<i>ɲ̥u</i> ³⁵³	'oil'
<m>, <dm>, <rm>	-> <i>m</i>	<ma.le>	<i>me</i> ¹¹ <i>li</i> ⁵⁵	'chin'
		<dmag.mi>	<i>ma</i> ⁵⁵ <i>nə</i> ¹¹	'soldier'
		<rma>	<i>ma</i> ⁵³	'sore', 'wound'

<my> ⁴¹	-> <i>ɲ</i>	<myi>	<i>ɲə</i> ¹³	'person', 'man' ⁴²
		<mying>	<i>ɲə</i> ¹¹ <i>wō</i> ⁵⁵	'name' ⁴³
		<mye>	<i>ni</i> ¹³ [<i>~ɲi</i> ¹³]	'fire'
<sm>	-> <i>ṃ</i>	<sman>	<i>ṃæ</i> ³⁵³	'medicine'
		<smug.pa>	<i>ṃi</i> ¹¹ <i>wō</i> ⁵³	'fog', 'mist'
		<smon.lam>	<i>ṃi</i> ⁵⁵ <i>lā</i> ⁵³	'to pray' ⁴⁴
	-> <i>ɲ</i>	<smin.po>	<i>ɲu</i> ³⁵³	'ripe'
<smy>	-> <i>ɲ</i>	<smyo>	<i>ɲu</i> ¹³	'crazy'
		<smyon.pa>	<i>ɲū</i> ⁵⁵ <i>mba</i> ⁵³	'crazy person'

2.2.1.5.2 Liquids

Of the two liquids <r> and <l>, only <l> has undergone significant changes in Dongwang Tibetan. The liquid <r> is sometimes pronounced as a soft tap and other times as a strong trill. It appears that these differences in pronunciation are partially due to differences between male (trill) and female (tap) speakers.

<ri>, <rw>	-> <i>ɾ</i>	<ri>	<i>ɾə</i> ¹³	'mountain'
		<rus.pa>	<i>ɾə</i> ¹¹ <i>ba</i> ⁵⁵	'bone'
		<rwa.ca>	<i>ɾə</i> ¹¹ <i>wa</i> ⁵⁵	'horn'

⁴¹ There are alternate spelling possibilities for the onsets of these entries: <m> or <my>. Given the bilabial -> palatal development it is most likely <my>. According to Nicolas Tournadre (personal communication), the <my> spelling is from Old Tibetan, which is older than Classical Tibetan.

⁴² An exception to positing <myi> as the etymology for 'man' is in the word *mi*¹¹*mu*⁵³ <mi.dmangs?> 'people', 'the masses'. This likely came into use in the last sixty years as part of communist terminology.

⁴³ Also pronounced *ɲō*¹³. I am uncertain how the two-syllable form developed.

⁴⁴ This is sometimes also pronounced with more voicing and less aspiration than *ṃ* suggests.

<bya.rog> sə¹¹ru⁵³ 'raven'

The WT root letter <l> -> [j] sound change is unusual for Tibetan dialects. It has been reported in a few other dialects and is found in some Southern Khams dialects. This change is not universal, but occurs in a somewhat restricted environment. The following section examines the conditions for this development.

With few exceptions, the following WT forms have a palatal glide onset:

<l>⁴⁵, <gl>⁴⁶, and <lh>⁴⁷.

<l>, <gl>	-> j	<lang>	jō ¹³	'to stand'
		<lag.pa>	ja ¹³ wa ⁵⁵	'hand', 'arm'
		<glang>	jō ³⁵³	'bull'
		<glog>	ju ⁵³	'lightening'

When the simple onset <l> occurs in syllables with a mid tone, it is pronounced *h̥j*, thus merging with <lh>:

<l>, <lh>	-> <i>h̥j</i>	<lud>	h̥ji ³⁵³	'manure'
		<las>	h̥ji ³⁵³	'work'
		<lham>	h̥jã ³⁵³	'shoes'
		<lha>	h̥ja ³⁵³	'god'

⁴⁵ The exception is <lus.po> -> lə¹¹pə⁵⁵ 'body'.

⁴⁶ A possible exception to this is <glang.chen> -> lō⁵⁵tə^{h̥}ã⁵³ 'elephant'. However, some speakers say jō⁵⁵tə^{h̥}ã⁵³.

⁴⁷ The exception is <lho.phyogs> -> lɣ¹³ɕu⁵³ 'south'.

With few exceptions, the following WT forms have not undergone the <l> -> [j] sound change.

<rl>, <zl>, <kl>, <bl>	-> l	<rlon.pa>	<i>lɛ̃ː⁵⁵ba⁵³</i>	'wet'
		<zla.dkar?>	<i>lə⁵⁵gæ⁵³</i>	'moon' ⁴⁸
		<klad.pa>	<i>leː⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	'brain'
		<bla.ma>	<i>la⁵⁵mo⁵³</i>	'living Buddha'

Finally, of the words in my database that arise from WT <sl> or <brl> onsets, some have become the voiced lateral fricative [ʒ] while others have become the voiced aspirated palatal approximant [ɦj].

<sl>, <brl>	-> ʒ <slabs>	<i>ʒə³⁵³</i>	'to teach'
	<brla>	<i>ʒo³⁵³</i>	'thigh'
	-> ɦj <slong>	<i>ɦjõ³⁵³</i>	'to want, to beg'

In two syllable words, the second syllable onset <l> does not undergo the same change as described above. For example, <ma.le> *me¹¹li⁵⁵* 'chin'; <le.legs> *tɛə⁵⁵li⁵³* 'tongue', <las.sla.po> *li¹³la⁵⁵* 'easy', <yig.slob> *zi¹¹lə⁵³* 'student' and <rmi.lam> *mi⁵⁵lã⁵³* 'prayer'. However, compounds or phrases have undergone the syllable-initial changes. For example, <ko.ba lham> *kua⁵⁵ɦjã⁵³* 'leather shoes', <yar lang> *zə¹³jõ¹³* 'to stand up', 'to rise', or <rkang.lam> *kõ⁵⁵jã⁵³* 'footpath'. This suggests

⁴⁸ The word <zla.ba> pronounced *n^{da}¹¹wa⁵⁵*, which refers to 'moon' in many Tibetan dialects, is used only in reference to 'month' in Dongwang.

that historical changes have taken place at word-initial boundaries rather than syllable-initial boundaries.

2.2.1.5.3 Glides (*w* and *y*)

There are very few words with the WT bilabial approximant <w> onsets. The few WT words with this onset are usually borrowings or transliterations from other languages. The one example in my database, <wa> 'fox', is pronounced as a bilabial approximant.

Bilabial approximant

<w>	-> w	<wa>	<i>wa</i> ¹³	'fox'
-----	------	------	-------------------------	-------

Most occurrences of WT <y> including its one cluster <g.y>⁴⁹ are realized as *z* in Dongwang speech⁵⁰.

<y>, <g.y>	-> z	<yar>	<i>zə</i> ¹³	'up', 'upwards'
		<yig>	<i>zi</i> ¹³	'book', 'letter'
		<g.yag>	<i>za</i> ³⁵³	'yak'
		<g.yar>	<i>zæ</i> ³⁵³	'to borrow', 'to lend'

Velar approximants

<'> (<i>a.chung</i>)	-> w	<'ong>	<i>wũ</i> ¹³	'to come' ⁵¹
------------------------	------	--------	-------------------------	-------------------------

⁴⁹ The period between the letters in the transliteration of this word reflects the root letter <y> with a <g> prefix as distinct from the root letter <g> with the <y> suffix (written gy).

⁵⁰ There are two possible exceptions to this in my database. I am not sure whether or not I have the correct WT source word for 'weed' *hũ*⁵⁵ ~ *hũ*⁵⁵*təo*⁵³ <?yur.ma?>. Secondly, a clear exception is <yag.po> *ja*¹³ 'good'. There is another more frequent word for 'good' <?> *a*¹¹*ŋō*⁵⁵. It is possible that *ja*¹³ came into Dongwang after the <y> -> /z/ sound change.

		<'o.ma>	wõ: ¹³	'milk'
		<'od>	we ¹¹	'light', 'bright'
	-> Ø	<'ug.pa	u ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵	'owl'
<h>	-> h	<ha.go>	hao ⁵³ ku ¹¹	'to understand'
<hr>	-> r ^h	<hral>?	r ^h a ¹³	'to tear, tr'

2.2.2 Rhymes

WT rhymes have undergone many changes in Dongwang. In the following section, I first examine open syllables in monosyllabic words, closed syllables in monosyllabic words and rhymes in polysyllabic words.

In Dongwang, similar to other Khams dialects, the WT high front and high back vowels <i> and <u> have lowered and centralised to a schwa⁵². Conversely, <e> and <o> have raised to *i* and *u* respectively. <a> has become the low back vowel *a*.

The following diagram illustrates this vowel shift:

⁵¹ Several female speakers also pronounce this ^hwu¹³.

⁵² Häsler (1999: 52) notes that in Dege Khams <i> and <u> are lowered to ə and ʌ respectively, but in Dongwang, both vowels merge into the schwa.

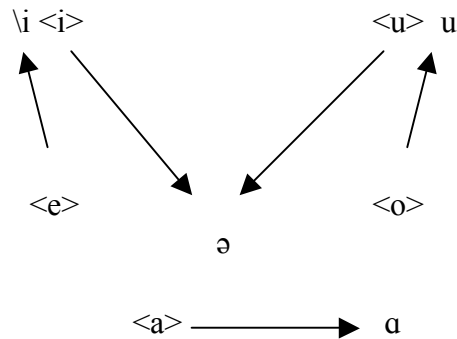


Figure 10: DONGWANG VOWEL SHIFT OF WT OPEN SYLLABLES

There are very few exceptions to the pattern illustrated in Figure 10 above. The examples below illustrate each of these changes.

<i>	->	ə	<khyi> $\text{k}^h\text{ə}^{53}$ 'dog', <ri> $\text{r}\text{ə}^{13}$ 'mountain', <khri> $\text{t}\text{ɕ}^h\text{ə}^{53}$ 'bed'
<u>	->	ə	<chu> $\text{t}\text{ɕ}^h\text{ə}^{53}$ 'water', <su> $\text{s}^h\text{ə}^{53}$ 'who', <dgu> $\text{g}\text{ə}^{353}$ 'nine' ⁵³
<e>	->	i	<me> ni^{13} 'fire', <dbye> si^{53} 'to separate'
<o>	->	u	<mgo> $^n\text{g}\text{u}^{55}$, <so> su^{53} 'tooth', <rdo> du^{353} 'stone' ⁵⁴
<a>	->	a	<nga> ηa^{13} '1sABS', <lnga> ηa^{53} 'five', <lha> $\text{h}\eta\text{a}^{353}$ 'god' ⁵⁵

When certain codas follow the vowel in the rhyme, the changes become more complex. Since vowels tend to be less stable over time, the following section represents changes which should be considered generalizations. Known exceptions are noted.

Codas which have been dropped over time leave behind traces such as vowel nasalization and/or length. Sometimes, nasal codas are totally lost and only re-emerge when followed by the nominalizer <pa>.

⁵³ There is one exception to this in my database: <slu> -> $\text{ɕ}\text{u}^{353}$ 'to deceive'.

⁵⁴ There are two exceptions to this in my database: <lo> -> jY^{13} 'year', 'age'; <glo> ju^{13} 'cough'.

⁵⁵ There is one apparent exception to this in the word <brla> $\text{ɕ}\text{o}^{353}$ 'thigh'.

*m̥æ*³⁵³ <sman> 'medicine' *m̥ã*³⁵*ba*⁵³ <sman.pa> 'doctor'
*ɲu*³⁵³ <smyon> 'crazy' *ɲũ*³⁵*ba*⁵³ <smyon.pa> 'crazy person'⁵⁶

Vowels followed by coronal consonants can be fronted and unrounded⁵⁷ or backed and unrounded.

	<-d>	<-l>	<-n>	<-r>	<-s>
<a>	i ~ e	i ⁵⁸	ã~æ	æ	i ~ e
<i>	i	ɯ	ĩ ⁵⁹	ɯ ⁶⁰	ɯ ⁶¹
<u>	i	ɯ	ĩ~i	əo~ɯ	i
<e>	e	i	ã	e~æ	i
<o>	e	i	ẽ	æ	ɯ

TABLE (8): DEVELOPMENT OF VOWELS FROM WT SYLLABLES WITH CORONAL CODAS

Non-high vowels followed by non-nasal bilabial codas or <bs> have developed into diphthongs, while those with nasal bilabial codas <m> or <ms> tend to retain their point of articulation but acquire nasalization.

⁵⁶ Some speakers do not pronounce the nasal onset in this word with any aspiration. Further, it is very light aspiration when speakers do pronounce it.

⁵⁷ The unique situation arising from <oC> rhymes in syllables with non-nasal velar onsets is discussed on page 79 and following.

⁵⁸ One apparent exception is found in the word *tʂu*¹³ <gral.ma> 'rafter'.

⁵⁹ An exception to this is found in the word *ɲu*⁵³ <smin.po> 'ripened'.

⁶⁰ I only have one example of this in my database.

⁶¹ I only have one example of a monosyllabic word with this rhyme in the numeral 'two' <gnyis> *ɲu*⁵³.

	<-b>	<-bs>	<-m>	<-ms>
<a>	əo ~ ə	əo ~ ə	ã	õ ⁶²
<i>	i	--	(ə) ⁶³	--
<u>	u ~ u	u ~ u	õ; u	--
<e>	əo	əo	æ ⁶⁴	ã
<o>	--	--	õ	õ

TABLE (9): DEVELOPMENT OF VOWELS FROM WT SYLLABLES WITH BILABIAL CODAS

Vowels followed by a velar coda <g>, <gs>, <ng> or <ngs> tend to retain their point of articulation. Usually velar nasals contribute nasalization to the peak vowel and non-nasal velars become a glottal coda. However, this is not a completely regular pattern.

	<-g>	<-gs>	<-ng>, <-ngs>
<a>	a (ʔ)	a (ʔ)	o, õ
<i>	i (ʔ)	i (ʔ)	i, ï
<u>	o, u (ʔ)	o, u (ʔ)	o, õ
<e>	e (ʔ)	--	--
<o>	u (ʔ)	u (ʔ)	ũ ⁶⁵

TABLE (10): DEVELOPMENT OF VOWELS FROM WT SYLLABLES WITH VELAR CODAS

⁶² I have only one example in my database: <bskams> kõ⁵³'thirsty'.

⁶³ I only have one example of this in the disyllabic word for 'tasty': <zhim.po> ʂə¹¹mə⁵⁵.

⁶⁴ I only have one example of this in the word ts^hæ⁵³ <'tshem> 'to sew'.

⁶⁵ The one exception in my database is found in the word zõ³⁵³ <sbyong> 'to study'.

Table (11) gives a general summary of the development of WT rhymes in Dongwang discussed so far. Only codas from monosyllabic WT words that have clear etymologies are included.

WT non-nasal rhyme	DW rhyme	WT nasal rhyme	DW rhyme
<e>, <ad>, <as>, <al>, <ig>, <igs>, <ud>, , <el>, <es>, <us>, <ibs>, <id>, <ing>	<i>i</i>	<in>, <ing>, <un>	<i>ĩ</i>
<i'u>, <e'u>, <a'u>, <o> ⁶⁶	<i>ɣ</i>	--	
<o>, <ug>, <ugs>	<i>u</i>	<ong>, <oms>	<i>ũ</i>
<ad>, <ed>, <er>, <od>, <ar>, <as> ⁶⁷	<i>e</i>	<on>	<i>ẽ</i>
<ug>, <ugs>, <a> ⁶⁸	<i>o</i>	<ams>, <ang>, <ong>, <um>, <ung>	<i>õ</i>
<ag>, <ags>, <a'> ⁶⁹ , <ar> ⁷⁰	<i>a</i>	<am>, <abs>	<i>ã</i>
<ar>, <or>, <ad>, <an>, <er> ⁷¹	<i>æ</i>	<a'>, <an>, , <ems>, <en>, <on>	<i>æ̃</i>
<i>, <u>, (<o>, <a'u>, <ar>)	<i>ə</i>	--	
<il>, <ir>, <is>, <os> <ub(s)>, , <ur>, <o> ⁷²	<i>u</i>	<in>	<i>ũ</i>
<a>	<i>a</i>	<a>	<i>ã</i>

TABLE (11): SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF WT RHYMES IN DONGWANG

⁶⁶ Only found in the word <lo> *jɣ*¹³ 'year'.

⁶⁷ Only found in the word <ngas, nga'i> *ŋe*¹³ '1SERG, 1SGEN'.

⁶⁸ Only found in the word <brla> *ʃo*³⁵³ 'thigh'.

⁶⁹ Only found in the word <'ba'> *mba*³⁵³ 'to carry on one's back'.

⁷⁰ Only found in the words <yar> *zə*¹³ 'up' and <phar> *pʰə*⁵⁵ 'thither'.

⁷¹ Only found in the word <gser> *sæ*⁵³ 'gold'.

⁷² Only found in the word <glo> *ju*¹³ 'cough'.

A few of the forms in Table (11) might appear to be out of place. Other than individual occurrences that I have mentioned in footnotes below, there are a few underlined WT forms that should be addressed. First, the development of the nasal rhyme is not always stable. Sometimes a nasal disappears altogether (as in the word <snying> *ŋi*¹³ 'heart'), while other times it appears only when morphemes come together (as in the words <sman> *mæ*¹³ 'medicine' and <sman.pa> *mæ*¹³*ba*⁵⁵ 'doctor'). I have not found any patterns for these words. Conversely, some rhymes that were not nasalized historically are now nasalized in Dongwang as in <snabs> *ṅã*³⁵³ 'snot'. The only examples I have of this type follow a nasal onset.

The two rhymes <ug> and <ugs> have developed into *u* and *o* in Dongwang. In my database, there are more words that have modern *o* reflexes⁷³, but there are not enough words overall to determine any patterns which might have influenced the split.

2.2.2.1 Diphthongization

An important exception to the preceding discussion is the development of diphthongs in Dongwang from certain WT rhymes.

The presence of front-rounded vowels in many Tibetan dialects can be traced historically to a rhyme containing a back-rounded vowel and a coronal coda which results in coronal assimilation of the peak vowel (see Brush 1997 for more discussion

⁷³ Four words are pronounced with *u* rhymes and ten words are pronounced with *o* rhymes.

of this in Lhasa Tibetan). Thus the vowel preceding the coronal is fronted, but retains other features such as rounding and nasalization. So, for example, in Lhasa Tibetan, the modern reflex of WT rhymes with <u>, <o>, and <a> followed by C_[+cor] are /y/, /ø/, and /ɛ/ respectively⁷⁴. In Dongwang however, this is not the case. While WT codas affect the rhymes, they do so in different ways. The modern reflex of syllables with a WT velar onset, mid back rounded vowel <o>, and non-nasal coronal coda (<s>, <l>, <r>, or <d>), is one of the diphthongs, *ui*, *ua*, *uæ*, or *ue*. Consider the following examples:

WT	Dongwang	Gloss
khos	<i>k^hui</i> ⁵³	'3SERG'
'khyol	<i>k^hui</i> ⁵³	'to boil, intr'
khor	<i>k^hua</i> ⁵³	'3SDAT'
'khor	<i>k^huæ</i> ⁵³	'to circle'
rgod	<i>gue</i> ^{ʔ353}	'vulture'

TABLE (12): DEVELOPMENT OF DONGWANG RHYMES IN WT SYLLABLES WITH NON-NASAL VELAR ONSETS AND CORONAL CODAS FOLLOWING <O>

In Table 12 above, the WT vowel <o> becomes *ui*, *ua*, *uæ*, or *ue* depending on the coda consonant. WT rhymes <os> and have become *ui* when following a

⁷⁴ If the coronal coda is a nasal, the preceding vowel is also nasalized.

velar stop. WT rhyme <or> has become *ua* or *uæ*⁷⁵. The WT rhyme <od> has become *ue*.

It is clear that it is not the rounded vowel that has prompted diphthongization, because not all WT syllables that have rhymes with rounded vowels undergo the same change. The WT vowel must be <o> followed by a non-nasal coronal coda. If these conditions are not met, the syllable does not undergo the same change:

WT	Dongwang	Gloss
skur	<i>ku</i> ⁵³	'to send'
kho	<i>k^hə</i> ⁵³	'3s'
khyur	<i>ki</i> ⁵³	'to swallow'
kun	<i>kĩ</i> ⁵³ , = <i>kĩ</i>	'all', '=PL'
gon	<i>kẽ</i> ⁵³	'to wear'
kon	<i>kĩ</i> ⁵³	'all'

TABLE (13): DEVELOPMENT OF WT SYLLABLES WITH NON-NASAL VELAR ONSETS AND CORONAL CODA NOT FOLLOWING <O>

Similarly, it is only in syllables with velar onsets that a rhyme with a mid, back-rounded vowel and coronal coda has resulted in diphthongization of the rhyme. Rhymes in syllables with a non-velar onset such as or <'> are fronted, but not rounded. For example, <bod> *pe*¹³ 'Tibet' and <'od> *we*¹³ 'natural light'.

Syllable coalescence is also a frequent cause of diphthongization, vowel lengthening, or vowel nasalization in Dongwang. Common 'nominal suffixes' in WT

⁷⁵ It appears that the rhyme <or> becomes *ua* after a voiceless aspirated velar plosive, but *uæ* after a voiceless, unaspirated velar plosive.

are -ma, -mo, -ba, -bo, -pa and -po. In Dongwang Tibetan these sometimes undergo onset weakening (e.g. <ba> -> *wa*), disappear, or coalesce. Some examples of coalescence are:

<bu.mo>	->	<i>põː</i> ¹³	'girl'
<kha.ba>	->	<i>k^haː</i> ¹³	'snow'
<sgo.nga>	->	<i>guã</i> ³⁵³	'egg' ⁷⁶
<ko.ba.stan>	->	<i>kua</i> ⁵⁵ <i>tã</i> ⁵³	'leather cushion'

2.2.2.2 Resyllabification

There are some instances of resyllabification of the WT syllable boundaries in contemporary Dongwang. This can be formulated as CVN.CV->CV.NV:

<mgron.po>	<i>ⁿdzø</i> ⁵⁵ <i>mə</i> ¹¹	'guest'
<dang.po>	<i>to</i> ¹¹ <i>mə</i> ⁵⁵	'first'
<mkhan.po>	<i>k^hæ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>mə</i> ¹¹	'abbot'
<kham.bu>	<i>k^ha</i> ¹¹ <i>mə</i> ⁵⁵	'peach'

These seem to be limited to first syllables with nasal codas as there are other words such as <bdag.po> *da*¹¹*pə*⁵⁵'owner', <ljid.po> *dzi*¹¹*pa*⁵³'heavy'⁷⁷ and <rgyal.po> *dzæ*¹¹*bu*⁵³'king'.

⁷⁶ The onset for the word 'egg' is sometimes voiced and variously pronounced [*kuã*³⁴], [*guã*³⁴], or [*quã*⁴⁴]. In intervocalic position there is always some voicing, but not as heavy as a fully-voiced onset.

⁷⁷ The onset for the word 'heavy' is sometimes voiced and sometimes devoiced with a prevoiced segment. The various suffixal pronunciations in certain words suggest either etymologies different from <po> or different paths of development.

Chapter 3 Nouns and Pronouns

This chapter begins a discussion of lexical classes, starting with nouns and pronouns. Chapter Four will deal with verbs and verbal categories. Chapter Five will discuss adjectives, Chapter Six will discuss adverbs and Chapter Seven will discuss minor lexical classes. Semantic content, syntactic distribution and derivational processes will be the main criteria used to determine lexical classes. In this and subsequent chapters dealing with the lexical classes, I discuss each class of words, present diagnostic justification for membership in each, and describe various features and characteristics of each class.

The distinction between lexical classes is not always clear in Dongwang, as in many other languages. Semantic criteria alone, as Schachter (1985: 3) points out, often 'fail to provide an adequate basis for parts-of-speech classification'.¹ Lexical classes can be identified by both 'similarity of syntactic function and similarity of meaning' (Dixon 2004: 3).

Before continuing, a few comments as to what qualifies for 'wordhood' in Dongwang are in order. A satisfactory definition for 'word' has long eluded linguists. As Aikhenvald (2005: 5) says, some definitions are 'horrifying in their complexity'

¹ Schachter points out (1985: 7) that this does not mean that a certain word class will not have certain semantic characteristics (as, for example, the fact that nouns tend to identify persons, places, or things), but that semantic features are not the basis for assigning class membership.

while other definitions are 'simple and appealing'. Li and Thompson (1981: 13) state that a word 'should be a unit in the spoken language characterized by syntactic and semantic independence and integrity'. Payne's (2006: 20) working definition for 'word' is 'the smallest structural unit that can occur between pauses'.² Matthews (1991: 208ff) suggests that a universal definition of word is probably not possible and that 'language-specific criteria must be established'. But he adds that words 'tend to be a unit of phonology as well as grammar' (p. 209). Aikhenvald (2005) concurs with this idea by treating 'grammatical word' and 'phonological word' separately in order to 'examine the relationship between the two units' (2005: 9). There is a cluster of features which helps to identify a word in Dongwang.

Prosodic features such as pauses and stress are helpful diagnostics for determining word boundaries. Speakers' ability to say phrases or clauses slowly, inserting pauses between smaller units, indicates a recognition of word boundaries. Written Tibetan does not use word divisions, but does use syllable divisions. However, since none of the speakers used in this study are literate in Tibetan, it is not possible that the written language is interfering with speaker's perceptions. Further, all words have one stressed syllable.

Phonological features such as vowel nasalization can also serve as criteria for determining word boundaries. Certain phonological processes, such as the

² But Payne (2006: 20) cautions that 'empirical studies are inconclusive as to whether this definition really corresponds to any universal linguistic category'.

development of a nasalized vowel into a consonant, which then assimilates to the following syllable's point of articulation, appear to occur only within word boundaries.

Aikhenvald (2005: 19) suggests three characteristics of a grammatical word: a) grammatical words always occur together (i.e., not scattered throughout the clause); b) grammatical words occur in a fixed order; and c) grammatical words have a conventionalized coherence and meaning. Semantic independence can be a good indicator of the status of words. Concrete nouns such as 'desk', 'sun', 'house', etc., are the easiest in this respect. However, nominalized forms constructed from a stem plus a nominalizer, and some compounded forms are less clear. Thus, considering a combination of phonological and grammatical factors such as those already mentioned helps to determine the status of a word in Dongwang.

3.1 Lexical Nouns

A noun can function as the head in a noun phrase that may make reference to 'an entity or a participant in discourse' (Andvik 1999: 32), may bear a syntactic relationship to a verb (Payne 1997: 170) and can be pluralized.³ Verbs must be

³ Plural markers are discussed in §3.2.1.2 and §8.1.2.5.

nominalized or be part of a complement clause construction⁴ in order to function as an argument in a clause.

The following section looks at various types of lexical nouns, including compounds and nominalized constructions. After discussing lexical nouns, I will consider pronouns. Casemarking will be discussed together with the Noun Phrase in Chapter Eight.

3.1.1 General characteristics of nouns

3.1.1.1 Number of syllables

Most nouns are one- or two-syllable words. Three- and four-syllable nouns generally designate insects, bugs, or small animals.

<i>tʂu⁵⁵pə³³raʔ¹¹</i>	'spider'
<i>sõ:¹³kə³³le¹¹</i>	'butterfly'
<i>ts^ha¹¹sa⁵³ku³³le¹¹</i>	'grasshopper'
<i>ʂi⁵⁵da⁵³gu³³li¹¹</i>	'woodpecker'

Other words which have more than two syllables are those derived either from compounding or from nominalized constructions, both which are discussed in §3.1.2.2.2 and §3.1.2.2.3 below.

⁴ In Dongwang, complement clauses are not formed with a complementizer or special verb form. Complement clauses are discussed in Chapter Twelve.

3.1.1.2 Proper nouns

3.1.1.2.1 Personal names

As in many Tibetan areas, new-born babies are usually taken to a Living Buddha for naming within three days of birth. Most personal names in Dongwang are similar to names throughout Tibetan areas even though the pronunciation can be quite different. They usually have four syllables, but are often reduced to two or three syllables. Most frequently, the first and fourth syllables of a name are combined for two-syllable names, but sometimes the first two syllables are used, or the first, third and fourth. When the number of syllables is reduced, some sound changes are introduced, but there does not seem to be any regular pattern.⁵ Each of the name reduction patterns is illustrated below:

<u>ji¹¹ci⁵⁵</u> dza ³³ mo ¹¹	-->	ji ¹¹ ci ⁵⁵
tʂa ⁵⁵ ci ⁵³ pẽ ⁵⁵ ts ^h u ⁵³	-->	tʂə ¹¹ pã ⁵⁵
lo ¹¹ sã ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h u ⁵⁵ ts ^h o ⁵³	-->	lõ ¹³ tɕ ^h u ⁵⁵ ts ^h o ⁵³

If within one month to a year of a child's life, he or she falls ill, the child can be returned to the Living Buddha for a new name. This action is based on the belief

⁵ One interesting phonological process appears to be what Nicolas Tournadre (personal communication) has called 'metathetic nasalization'. Metathetic nasalization is a process in which the nasalization in one syllable switches to another syllable. For example, lo¹¹sã⁵⁵ tɕ^hu⁵⁵ts^hu⁵³ --> lõ¹³tɕ^hu⁵⁵ts^hu⁵³. The nasalization from the second syllable switched to the first syllable.

that if a demon is bringing ill health to the child, a child with a different name will not be recognized by the demon.

Occasionally, parents name their children themselves, or children may have nicknames that will remain their adult name. For example, a friend is named $p\theta^{11}pi^{55}$, which is from $pa^{13}=ji\ pi^{55}$ 'a cow's calf'. He was so-named because he liked to drink cow's milk when he was a child. Another friend is named $p^ha^{53}m\tilde{u}^{11}$, which is from $p^ha^{53}=ji\ p\tilde{o}^{13}$ 'a pig's girl'. She was so-named because she liked to play with pigs when she was a little girl.

3.1.1.2.2 *Place names*

Most place names either seem to be non-analyzable or borrowed from Chinese. For example, the village where I collected data is called *Pongding*. Those I questioned said it was of Chinese origin (彭丁) and did not know the Tibetan name. A village across the river from Pongding is called $p^h\theta^{11}ru^{55}$, a Tibetan name, but one whose meaning is unknown to those speakers I asked.

3.1.1.3 *Honorifics*

Khams dialects do not generally have honorific systems as elaborate as those described in Central Tibetan dialects. Häsler (1999) describes honorifics in Dege Khams (Eastern Khams), but does not state how pervasive they are except to say that

honorific pronouns are less prominent than in dialects like Lhasa (p. 109). The near lack of honorific nouns in Dongwang is worth mentioning here.

Häsler does include more honorific nouns for Dege than are found in Dongwang, suggesting that honorifics in Dege are more pervasive than in Dongwang. Part of this might be due to the cultural, religious, and literary center that has surrounded Dege's history (Häsler 1999:2, 3). Since Dongwang speakers are primarily farmers, the social stratum that often prompts the development of honorifics has been missing. When honorifics are used in Dongwang, except in very limited contexts, distance or anger rather than respect or honor, is expressed.⁶

As far as I know, there are no honorific nouns that stand by themselves. One verb, *s^ha⁵³p^hu¹¹* 'to prostrate', is derived from the honorific noun for 'hand' <phyag> and the verb *p^hu⁵³* (perhaps from <'phul> 'to push'). Chapter Four will include a short discussion on honorific verbs.

3.1.2 Induction of new nouns into Dongwang

New nouns are introduced into Dongwang through borrowing, vowel raising, compounding, and nominalization.

⁶ Tashi Tsering, personal communication.

3.1.2.1 Borrowing

Most non-native words in Dongwang are borrowed from the local Mandarin Chinese dialect spoken in and around Shangri-la County. This variety of Mandarin is similar to that spoken throughout Yunnan, and is actually considered an archaic dialect of Mandarin.⁷ For example, the Mandarin spoken in Shangri-la County has retained velar stops rather than innovating alveo-palatal affricates as in standard Mandarin. So the local pronunciation of the word for 'to go' (去) is $k^{h_ɣ^{53}}$ rather than $tʃ^{h_ɣ^{53}}$ as would be expressed in standard Mandarin. Similarly, the local pronunciation for 'street' (街) is gai^{13} rather than the standard Mandarin pronunciation jie^{55} .

Tones in the 'Dongwang' variety of Chinese are also dramatically different from standard Mandarin. For example, 袜子 'socks' is pronounced $wa^{53}tsə$ in standard Mandarin, but $wa^{11}tsə^{55}$ in my texts. 老师 'teacher' is pronounced $lao^{21}ʃi^{55}$ in standard Mandarin, but $lo^{55}sə^{11}$ in my texts. An adequate treatment of the phonological processes involved when the local variety of Chinese is borrowed into Dongwang is too complicated to pursue at this point. This dissertation will use a phonetic orthography when Chinese borrowings occur and the gloss for each borrowed lexical item will be followed by the capital letters 'CH' to further clarify its status.

⁷ Wang Xiaosong, personal communication.

Borrowings include nouns, verbs, numbers, denominations of money and weekdays. Borrowed nouns generally express new technology or innovations. Thus for example:

<i>wa</i> ¹¹ <i>tsə</i> ⁵⁵	'socksCH'	<i>tʃi</i> ⁵⁵ <i>tʰue</i> ⁵³	'hammerCH'
<i>lo</i> ⁵⁵ <i>sə</i> ¹¹	'teacherCH'	<i>jā</i> ¹¹ <i>jɿ</i> ⁵⁵	'potatoCH'

One of my texts, *My Life*, has the most frequent lexical borrowing. This text is a personal biography text which centers around the narrator's school years and her training as a village doctor. She also includes commentary about the changes in China she has observed over the years. Her text is sprinkled with borrowings from Mandarin for words such as 'hygiene', 'teacher', 'school', 'injections', and 'developed'. Another text, *Wormgrass*, involves three men discussing the caterpillar fungus market and how they fared the previous year. The Mandarin borrowings in *Wormgrass* are mostly denominations of money.

3.1.2.2 Morphological processes

Vowel raising, compounding, and nominalization are three morphological processes by which new nouns are formed in Dongwang.

3.1.2.2.1 Vowel raising

Some nominal diminutives are derived through vowel raising. Matisoff (2003: 485) suggests that 'it is something of a sound-symbolic universal for high front vowels to be associated with smallness'. In Dongwang, vowels in diminutives are not

necessarily front vowels, but do tend to be high vowels. All the examples I have in my database are of animals.

ɕə^{53}	'dog'	ɕu^{13}	'puppy'
pa^{13}	'cow'	pi^{55}	'calf'
p^ha^{53}	'pig'	$\text{p}^h\text{ə}^{13}$	'piglet'
sa^{13}	'chicken'	sY^{13}	'chick', 'small bird'

3.1.2.2.2 Compounds

There are three types of compounds that yield new nouns: noun + noun; noun + adjective; and noun + verb. In locational compounds, the location precedes the located.

3.1.2.2.2.1 Noun + noun compounds

There are two types of noun + noun compounds in Dongwang: pre-modifying and locational. In pre-modifying compounds the first noun modifies the second noun.

pi^{13} 'wool'	+ $\text{tə}^{11}\text{ki}^{55}$ 'coat', 'shirt'	= $\text{pi}^{13}\text{tə}^{33}\text{ki}^{11}$ 'sweater'
fja^{353} 'god'	+ pæ^{53} 'likeness'	= $\text{fja}^{35}\text{pæ}^{53}$ 'tanka' ⁸
tca^{53} 'iron'	+ sa^{13} 'chicken'	= $\text{tca}^{55}\text{za}^{53}$ 'airplane'
ma^{53} 'army'	+ pə^{13} 'person'	= $\text{ma}^{55}\text{nə}^{11}$ 'soldier'
sY^{13} 'small bird'	+ $\text{tʂ}^h\text{u}^{53}$ 'baby'	= $\text{sY}^{11}\text{tʂu}^{55}$ 'bird baby'

⁸ A 'Tanka' is a Tibetan Buddhist religious painting that depicts a god or story on which Buddhist practitioners meditate.

Locational compounds are those in which the first element serves as a location for the second element. These are a subtype of pre-modifying compounds in that they are all composed of two nouns, the first of which modifies the second.

ni^{53} 'eye'	+ $pə^{55}$ 'fur'	= $ni^{55}pə^{11}$ 'eyelash'
$p\tilde{o}^{53}$ 'grassland'	+ za^{353} 'yak'	= $p\tilde{o}^{55}za^{53}$ 'rabbit'
ni^{53} 'eye'	+ $t\epsilon^h\partial^{55}$ 'water'	= $ni^{55}t\epsilon^h\partial^{11}$ 'tear'
$t\epsilon^h\partial^{55}$ 'ʔ'	+ pa^{53} 'skin' ⁹	= $t\epsilon^h\partial^{55}pa^{53}$ 'lip'

3.1.2.2.2.2 Noun + Adjective compounds

In noun + adjective compounds, the adjective modifies the preceding noun.

$j\tilde{o}^{53}$ 'bull'	+ $t\epsilon^h\partial^{11}wu^{55}$ 'big'	= $j\tilde{o}^{55}t\epsilon^h\tilde{\alpha}^{53}$ 'elephant' ¹⁰
jY^{13} 'year'	+ $t\epsilon^h\partial^{11}t\epsilon^h\tilde{o}^{55}$ 'small'	= $jY^{11}t\epsilon^h\tilde{o}^{55}$ 'young'
ni^{53} 'eye'	+ $k\partial^{55}k\alpha^{53}$ 'white'	= $ni^{55}k\alpha^{53}$ 'blind'
$\$a^{53}$ 'meat'	+ $m\partial^{55}m\alpha^{53}$ 'red'	= $\$a^{55}m\alpha^{53}$ 'lean meat'
$\$a^{53}$ 'meat'	+ $k\partial^{55}k\alpha^{53}$ 'white'	= $\$a^{11}k\alpha^{53}$ 'fat meat'

⁹ The uncertain meaning of the first syllable makes this a dubious locational compound.

¹⁰ One speaker pronounces 'elephant' as $l\tilde{o}^{55}t\epsilon^h\tilde{\alpha}^{53}$ but pronounces the word for 'bull' as $j\tilde{o}^{53}$. The lack of the expected l->j sound change in 'elephant' suggests that either this word came into Dongwang before the l->j sound change, or it came into Dongwang via another dialect. Since there are no elephants in Dongwang, but there are elephants in Buddhist mythology, both explanations could be possible.

3.1.2.2.3 Noun + verb compounds

In Dongwang, noun + verb compounds are formed from a noun + verb root combination. Only a few verb roots inflect for tense or aspect in Dongwang, none of which (to my knowledge) are used to form compounds, so the particular form of the verb employed in these compounds is invariant.

<i>hjä</i> ³⁵³ 'shoe'	+ <i>dzu</i> ⁵³	'to tie'	= <i>hjä</i> ³⁵ <i>dzu</i> ⁵⁵	'shoelace' ¹¹
<i>ki</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ta</i> ⁵³ 'neck'	+ <i>sō</i> ⁵³	'to protect'	= <i>ki</i> ⁵⁵ <i>sō</i> ⁵³	'amulet'
<i>dzæ:</i> ¹³ 'flour'	+ <i>pu</i> ⁵³	'to steam'	= <i>dzæ:</i> ¹³ <i>pu</i> ⁵³	'steamed bread'
<i>s^ha</i> ⁵³ 'earth'	+ <i>ⁿgu</i> ³⁵³	'to shake'	= <i>sə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ⁿgu</i> ⁵³	'earthquake'
<i>tɕ^ha</i> ⁵³ 'to eat'	+ <i>t^hō</i> ³⁵³	'to drink'	= <i>tɕ^hə</i> ¹¹ <i>t^hō</i> ⁵⁵	'food and drink'
<i>ni</i> ⁵³ 'eye'	+ <i>hjö</i> ³⁵³	'to beg' ¹²	= <i>ni</i> ⁵⁵ <i>jō</i> ⁵³	'blind person'
<i>ⁿgu</i> ³⁵³ 'head'	+ <i>t^hi</i> ⁵³	'to lead'	= <i>ⁿgu</i> ³⁵ <i>t^hi</i> ⁵³	'leader'

3.1.2.2.3 Nominalization

Nominalization has been observed to be a pervasive feature of Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman languages. Matisoff's 1972 description of patterns in Lahu in which one morpheme is used to 'mark genitive NPs, relative clauses, and nominalized verbs and clauses' (DeLancey 1986a: 1) has long been noted in Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman languages as well. In fact, the distinction between a nominalized noun and a

¹¹ This is the word for the new type of shoelace, rather than the old type that laced up the calf.

¹² Das gives a secondary form for 'blind' <long> which could be a possible etymology for the second syllable. Thus the etymology for 'blind person' could be 'eye' + 'blind', rather than 'eye' + 'beg'. It is difficult to determine which one is more likely since the Dongwang second-syllable form is not aspirated, and second syllables tend not to de-aspirate.

relative clause is not clear-cut. Nominalized nouns are those that have one primary stress per word and can function as any other noun. Nominalizers used to construct relative clauses will be discussed in Chapter Twelve.

There are eight nominalizers in Dongwang that perform a range of functions. The following section discusses each nominalizer and its function relative to noun formation.

3.1.2.2.3.1 <pa> -ba and <ma> -mo

The nominalizer <pa> is realized as [-ba] following syllables with nasal vowels and [-pa] or [-wa] elsewhere. <pa> is the most well-known nominalizer in Tibetan. Noonan (<http://www.uwm.edu/~noonan>: 6) says that 'except for rGyalrong, all branches and sub-branches of Bodic provide evidence for a nominalizing suffix *pa which can be traced back with this function to Proto-Bodic'. In Dongwang, -ba <pa> along with -mo <ma> (~[-mə]), are marginally productive and only occur in a small handful of words such as those illustrated below.

	WT	DW	Gloss	WT	DW	Gloss
<pa>	<smyo>	<i>ɲu</i> ³⁵³	'to be crazy'	<smyon.pa>	<i>ɲũ</i> ³⁵ <i>ba</i> ⁵³	'crazy person'
	<sman>	<i>mæ</i> ³⁵³	'medicine'	<sman.pa>	<i>mæ̃</i> ³⁵ <i>ba</i> ⁵⁵	'doctor'
<ma>	<rku>	<i>kə</i> ⁵³	'to steal'	<rku.ma>	<i>ki</i> ⁵⁵ <i>mo</i> ⁵³	'thief'
	<'phyag>	<i>s^haɽ</i> ³⁵³	'to sweep'	<'phyag.ma>	<i>s^ha^lmo</i> ⁵⁵	'broom'

3.1.2.2.3.2 <po> -mə, -pə, -bu; <ba> -wa, -ja; and <mo> -mə, -wa,

coalescence

<po>: Following WT words that have first-syllable nasal codas, the nasal is dropped and the suffix <po> is realized as [-mə]. Elsewhere /-po/ becomes [-pə].

I have one instance in which it is realized as [-bu] in the word for 'king': <rgyal.po> dʒæ¹¹bu⁵⁵.

<ba> usually contributes length on the first syllable when syllables coalesce. Otherwise, <ba> becomes -ja when following front vowels and -wa when following non-front vowels. Examples: <kha.ba> k^ha:¹³ 'snow', <ser.ba> si¹¹ja⁵⁵ 'hail', and <du.ba> tə¹¹wa⁵⁵ 'smoke'.

<mo>: The nominalizer <mo> frequently contributes length and/or nasalization when it coalesces with the preceding syllable. The modern reflex becomes /-mə/ in a handful of words and at least one word is [-wə]. Examples are <ba.mo> pã:¹³ 'frost', <pus.mo> pi⁵⁵mə¹¹ 'knee' and <zhwa.mo> ʂo¹¹wa⁵⁵ 'hat'.

Many of the disyllabic nouns derived from these three nominalizers are non-analyzable. That is, although they occur in words with a nominalizing suffix, the non-derived form is unknown. This is so for tsã⁵⁵ba⁵³ <rtsam.pa> 'ground barley flour', ti⁵⁵ja⁵³ <lto.ba> 'bellybutton' and ɲə¹¹wō⁵³ <nyi.ma> 'sun'.

Thus for Dongwang, it is important to note that the 'nominalizing' suffixes for most of the words in my database are not productive. That is, new nouns are not constructed using these particular nominalizers. Further, although some derivations are transparent historically, they are not transparent synchronically. Some words, such as those given below, do not have a non-derived form in Dongwang.

	WT	DW	Gloss	WT	DW	Gloss
<po>	<bdag>	---	'self'	<bdag.po>	<i>da¹¹pə⁵⁵</i>	'owner'
<ba>	<zor>	---	'sickle'	<zor.ba>	<i>s^{hə}11wa⁵⁵</i>	'sickle'
<mo>	---	---	---	<sen.mo>	<i>se¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>	'fingernail'

The WT male and female formatives <-po> and <-mo> are fairly rare, but worth mentioning here. DeLancey (1993: 15), quoting Francke, says that 'there is good evidence from earlier stages of the language to suggest that these were once a productive construction, being used widely to mark gender on nouns (Francke 1929:111) and to derive nominalizations meaning 'N which is/does V, V one'. The domain in which they are most productive in Dongwang is in the designation for male and female animals. For example:

<i>sa¹³</i>	<bya>	'chicken'	<i>sə¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	<bya.mo>	'hen'
			<i>sə¹¹pə⁵⁵</i>	<bya.po>	'rooster'

In many instances, while the WT gender distinctions have been retained, the morphological expression is less transparent in Dongwang due to syllable coalescence.

$pə^{13}$	<bu>	'boy'	$p\tilde{o}:^{13}$	<bu.mo>	'girl'
$^ndzu^{353}$	<mdzo>	'male yak/cow'	$^ndz\tilde{o}:^{13}$	<mdzo.mo>	'female yak/cow'

3.1.2.2.3.3 <sa> -sa, <myi> -nə and <?> -mi

The three nominalizers -sa, -nə, and -mi are productive for word formation as well as for relative clause formation. -sa and -mi, are both place nominalizers, but with important differences. The function of -sa extends beyond a place nominalizer to an instrumental nominalizer as well. -mi serves a limited function in perfective and specific nominalizations, but only in relative clause constructions. The nominalizing function of -mi, -nə, and -sa within relative clauses will be discussed in Chapter Eleven.

3.1.2.2.3.4 Place/instrumental nominalizer <sa> -sa

Examples of the nominalizer -sa in my database derive nouns from verbs.

While many of the verb stems are compound or verbalized constructions, the use of -sa is not limited to such.

-sa	sǎ ¹³ zu ³⁵³	'to cook food'	sǎ ¹³ zu ²² sa ¹¹	'kitchen', ~'cooking utensil'
	tɕ ^h ə ⁵⁵ pæ ⁵³ təo ⁵³	'to take a photo'	tɕ ^h ə ⁵⁵ pæ ⁵³ təo ³³ sa ¹¹	'camera'
	ɲa ¹³ k ^h o ¹³	'to catch fish'	ɲa ¹³ k ^h o ³³ sa ¹¹	'fishnet', ~'fishing tool'
	fji ³⁵³ ŋgu ¹¹	'to work'	fji ³⁵ ŋgu ³³ sa ¹¹	'tool'
	ʂ ^h ɪ ⁵⁵ mǎ ⁵³	'to plough'	mǎ ⁵³ jɛ ¹³ sa ¹¹ ~ ʂ ^h ɪ ³³ mǎ ⁵³ sa	'plough'

Many words constructed from -sa have more than one meaning. That is, they can designate a place, such as sǎ¹³ zu²² sa¹¹ 'kitchen', or an instrument such as sǎ¹³ zu²² sa¹¹ 'cooking utensil'. Some of these do not have any other name, but some do. So the instruments are general names when there are no other names. In the example of cooking utensil, there are other names so you can be specific by saying sǎ¹³ lu¹³ sa ji ti¹¹ kǎ⁵³ 'cooking food pot'

3.1.2.2.3.5 Agent nominalizer -nə <myi>

The nominalizer -nə is an agent nominalizer. This nominalizer has transparently arisen from the WT word <myi> 'man' or 'person'.

nə	sǎ ¹³ zu ³⁵³	'to cook food'	sǎ ¹³ zu ²² nə ¹¹	'cook'
	tɕ ^h ə ⁵⁵ pæ ⁵³ təo ⁵³	'to take a photo'	tɕ ^h ə ⁵⁵ pæ ⁵³ təo ³³ nə ¹¹	'photographer'
	ɲa ¹³ k ^h o ⁵³	'to catch fish'	ɲa ¹³ k ^h o ²² nə ¹¹	'fisherman'
	ʂɪ ⁵⁵ mǎ ⁵³	'to plough a field'	ʂɪ ⁵⁵ mǎ ⁵³ nə ¹¹	'ploughman'

3.1.2.2.3.6 Kinship prefix a-

Some kinship terms share a common syllable that is derived from an old Proto-Tibeto-Burman prefix *a- or *ʔa- which Matisoff (2003: 104) says 'appears throughout TB with kinship terms'. Häslér (1999:88) describes this same prefix for Dege Khams as a nominal prefix 'which can be understood as a prefix expressing respect for the elder'. In Dongwang, the fact that this prefix is not used for either 'mother' and 'father', yet is used for 'child' suggests that this is a prefix indicating kinship without the specification of respect.

<i>a¹¹ka⁵³</i>	'child'	<i>a¹¹jɣ⁵⁵</i>	'older brother'
<i>a¹¹zi⁵⁵</i>	'older sister'	<i>a⁵⁵ni¹¹</i>	'grandfather'
<i>a⁵⁵mo⁵³</i>	'grandmother'	<i>a¹¹ni⁵⁵</i>	'paternal aunt'
<i>ə:¹³</i>	'uncle'	<i>a⁵⁵mbə¹¹</i>	'uncle' ¹³

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

Pronouns can function as the single element in a noun phrase, and sometimes are accompanied by a numeral as well. Like nouns and noun phrases, they can take casemarking. Unlike nouns, pronouns are inflected for case and then can have a

¹³ This word is used in at least two contexts. The first is when a woman is married to two brothers (such was the case of the household I stayed in). Children refer to the older brother as 'father', but the younger brother as 'uncle'. Then second is a term of address which refers to a male who is older than the speaker.

redundant casemarking clitic in addition to the casemarked pronoun. Nouns, or noun phrases, only take a casemarking clitic.

There are singular and plural pronouns in Dongwang that distinguish inclusive and exclusive in first person. Dual and trial forms can be constructed by adding the numerals *ɲu*⁵³ 'two' and *sõ*⁵³ 'three'. Each form can be inflected for number and case. Gender is not marked.

3.2.1.1 Singular personal pronouns

The singular pronominal paradigm is given in Table (14):

	1	2	3
ABS	ɲa ¹³	ɕe ⁵⁵	k ^h ə ⁵⁵
ERG, GEN, INSTR	ɲe ¹³ (~ = ji)	ɕi ⁵⁵ (~ = ji)	k ^h ui ⁵⁵ (~ = ji)
DAT, BEN, REC	ɲa ¹³ (~ = jæ)	ɕa ⁵⁵ (= jæ)	k ^h ua ⁵³ (~ = jæ)
OBJ ¹⁴	ɲe ¹³ = gõ	ɕi ⁵⁵ = gõ	k ^h ui ⁵⁵ = gõ
COMIT	ɲe ¹³ = rõ	ɕi ⁵⁵ = rõ	k ^h ui ⁵⁵ = rõ
ABL	ɲe ¹³ = tsə	ɕi ⁵⁵ = tsə	k ^h ui ⁵⁵ = tsə

TABLE 14: PRONOMINAL PARADIGM OF SINGULAR FORMS¹⁵

¹⁴ An alternate form of the Objective casemarker is =wõ. The use of one over the other appears to be idiolectal.

¹⁵ The casemarking clitics which attach to nouns are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight. The symbol ~ indicates an additional optional casemarking clitic can accompany the inflected pronoun.

The pronouns in Table (14) have arisen from the fusion of a pronoun and a casemarking clitic. The ERG/GEN/INSTR and DAT/BEN/REC forms can either occur as the inflected stem alone, or can be double casemarked. The OBJ, COMIT, and ABL forms are constructed from a genitive pronoun plus the relevant casemarking morpheme. The addition of a second casemarking clitic on the ERG/GEN/INSTR and DAT/BEN/REC forms is optional.

GetMar036

- (1) $\underline{\eta e}^{13}$ $rə$ $\underline{\eta a}^{13}$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ tsi me $sə^{55}$ ji
 1SERG TOP 1SABS go PROSP COP.NEG.SELF say COP.SELF
 'I already said 'I am not going'.'

GetMar034

- (2) $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $\underline{\eta a}^{13}$ $=j\tilde{a}e$ $na^{55}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ gui $dzi?$ $sə$
 then 1SDAT =DAT bride go NEED OTHR say
 'Then (people) said/were saying to me '(you) should go be a bride'.'

3.2.1.2 Plural personal pronouns

Dongwang distinguishes inclusive/exclusive dual, trial, and two plural forms. Inclusive pronouns are constructed from unique stems, apparently unrelated to the exclusive forms. Dual and trial pronouns are derived transparently from the numeral ηu^{53} 'two' or $s\tilde{o}^{53}$ 'three' suffix. The plural suffix is optional for dual and trial pronouns, but occurs after the enumerator when it is used. The plural pronominal paradigm is summarized in Table 15:

		ABS	ERG, GEN	DAT/BEN/REC
1 INCL	DU	ə ¹¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵ ɲu	ə ¹¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵ ɲu =ji	ə ¹¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵ ɲu =jæ
	PL	ə ¹¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵ (=kĩ)	ə ¹¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵ (=kĩ) =ji	ə ¹¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵ (=kĩ) =jæ
1 EXCL	DU	wo ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ ɲu	wo ⁵⁵ⁿ dzi ⁵³ ɲu =ji	wo ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ ɲu =jæ
	PL	wo ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ (=kĩ)	wo ⁵⁵ⁿ dzi ⁵³ (=kĩ) (=ji)	wo ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ (=kĩ) (=jæ)
2	DU	ɕi ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ ɲu	ɕi ⁵⁵ⁿ dzi ⁵³ ɲu (=ji)	ɕi ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ ɲu (-jæ)
	PL	ɕi ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ (=kĩ)	ɕi ⁵⁵ⁿ dzi ⁵³	ɕi ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ (=kĩ) (=jæ)
3	DU	k ^h uə ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ ɲu	k ^h ə ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ ɲu =ji	k ^h ə ⁵³ⁿ dza ⁵³ ɲu (=jæ)
	PL	k ^h uə ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵³ =kĩ	k ^h ə ⁵⁵ⁿ dzi ⁵³ ɲu =ji	k ^h ə ⁵³ⁿ dza ⁵³

TABLE 15: PRONOMINAL PARADIGM OF PLURAL FORMS¹⁶

3.2.1.2.1 Overview of plural personal pronouns

There are four plural morphemes: *-ⁿdza⁵³*, *-ja⁵³*, *=kĩ* and *=ts^hæ⁵³*. The first two are only used with pronouns and the latter two are general pluralizers that can pluralize nouns or occur with plural pronouns. *-ja⁵³* and *-ⁿdza⁵³* are alternate forms in which *-ja⁵³* includes a 'familial' plural reference. That is, *ja⁵³* can be used for family and non-family members, but *-ⁿdza⁵³* cannot be used for family members. However, while this may be generally true, some speakers suggest the forms are freely variable, and other speakers actually seem to reverse the forms. Clearly, there is a need for more research on their distribution and function.

¹⁶ =kĩ is the plural clitic. There are no attested forms of plural pronouns with ablative case in my data, although I would assume they can occur.

3.2.1.2.2 *Background of plural personal pronouns*

The historical development of the plural pronouns is more complicated than for the singular pronouns.

The relationship of the second- and third-person plural exclusive forms with the second- and third-person singular forms are clear. But the first-person exclusive forms are not so clear. One possibility for the first syllable person-indexing morpheme is WT <'o> which Jäsche suggests was pronounced as /wo/, at least in Central Tibetan. Stephen Beyer (1992: 214) also has an interesting note on what he calls 'the archaic determiner' *o~u* in which both the pluralized forms *o-cag ~ u-cag ~ a-cag~u-bu-cag~yu-cag*, as well as *o-skol~u-skol* 'persisting from the earliest Central Asian manuscripts well into the nineteenth century', mean 'we'. Although interesting, exact etymologies are somewhat speculative at this point.

The likeliest origin for the second syllable of the exclusive general plural form is <nam> as in Dege Khams (Häsler 1999: 107). Although the disappearance of the nasal coda is inexplicable, there are other words which have for some reason dropped all trace of a nasal coda.

3.2.2 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns¹⁷ are formed by reduplication. They can be inflected for case just like any personal pronouns.

- YDFree
- (3) ηe^{13} $\eta a^{13}\eta a^{11}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$
 1SERG 1REFL hit
'I hit myself'
- YDFree
- (4) ηa^{13} $\eta a^{13}\eta a^{11}$ ka^{13} ji
 1S 1REFL laugh COP.SELF
'I laughed at myself' ~ 'I myself laughed'

Reflexive pronouns often function as emphatic relatives to express that a particular action was performed by one person alone.

- GetMar089
- (5) $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $\eta a^{13}\eta a^{11}$ la $si^{55}p\tilde{a}^{11}$ re $s\tilde{o}$
 then 1S:REFL also happy COP.OTHR EGO
'I myself am also happy'.
- LeavingHome007
- (6) $\eta a^{13}\eta a^{11}$ $^nd\tilde{a}^{353}$ ma $^ndzu^{13}$
 1S:REFL read NEG go
'I myself am not going to study'

¹⁷ Non-reflexive pronouns can also express notions that are semantically reflexive.

Elicited: Reflexive PN, first person, agentive

- (7) ηe^{13} $\eta e^{13}\eta e^{11}$ ${}^n g u^{353}$
1SERG 1SERGREFL VBZR.do
'I will do it myself'

There is a general reflexive pronoun, $r\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ ($\sim r\tilde{o}$), that is not person specific.

The referent is determined by the context.

GetDivA040

- (8) $r\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ $p i^{13}$ ${}^n d z u$
REFL walk go
'(He) himself left'.

In (8), $r\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ refers to the narrator's husband who left her and her children. In the

example below, $r\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ refers to the narrator:

MyLife265

- (9) $\tilde{a} e^{13}$ $n \partial$ $r\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ $l a$ $g a^{55}g \tilde{a} e^{53}$ $r e$ $w \tilde{u}$
now PTCL REFL also old COP.OTHR come
'Now, (I) myself am also getting old'.

The third-person reflexive pronoun can be used for inanimates:

Butter&Cheese033, 034

- (10) $t \epsilon^h u^{13}$ $p^h \partial$ $j o^{53}$ $t \epsilon^h u^{13}$ $k^h \partial^{55} k^h \partial^{11}$ $p^h \partial$ $j o^{53}$
sourwater thither pour sourwater 3REFL thither pour
'Pour out the sourwater. Pour out the sourwater by itself.'

In the example above, the speaker's emphasis that only the sourwater and nothing else should be poured out is conveyed by the addition of the emphatic reflexive $k^h\partial^{55}k^h\partial^{11}$ in the second clause.

Chapter 4 Verbs and verbal categories

Verbs in Dongwang are almost always regular and invariant. Tense and aspect¹ as well as categories of intention, control, and transitivity are almost solely reflected in the number of arguments and the type of auxiliary included in the clause. In the following sections, the semantic-pragmatic categories of verbs in Dongwang are introduced. Grammatical and morphosyntactic repercussions of verbs will be touched on in this chapter, but discussed in more detail in the appropriate sections dealing with the Noun Phrase (Chapter Eight), the Verb Phrase (Chapter Nine) and Final Auxiliary Verbs (Chapter Ten).

In this Chapter, I first discuss the semantic and pragmatic categories surrounding the verb in, apparently, all dialects of Tibetan. These include categories such as transitivity, intentionality, and control. Since these categories exhibit complicated interaction with the verb complex and arguments, they are discussed at various points throughout this dissertation. Here, I hope to present the features specifically relevant to the verb and the copula. I also include a brief discussion of honorific verbs.

In this chapter, I also discuss equative copulas, existential copulas, and lexical verbs. Verbal prefixes and suffixes are discussed in Chapter Nine and final auxiliaries

¹ There are a handful of verbs that show alternations based on tense or aspect distinctions. These are discussed in more details in §5.2.1.2.

in Chapter Ten. The various finite clause constructions which each of these participate in is discussed in Chapter Eleven.

4.1 *Semantic and pragmatic categories*

Many researchers have discussed categories such as transitivity, volition, and intention in Tibetan (e.g., Goldstein 1977; DeLancey 1985, 1986, 1990; Gesang Jumian 1981, 1992; Tournadre 1996, 2001; Bailey and Walker 2004; Häsler 1999; Zeisler 2004). Because there is usually not a one-to-one form and function relationship between these categories and a verb, these semantic-pragmatic categories have proven to be somewhat elusive. Various attempts have been made to analyze and describe the interactions between these categories and other categories coded in the verb phrase such as evidentiality, certainty, and aspect. For example, Tournadre (2003: 141-147); Denwood (1999: 134-169); Häsler (1999: 133-145); and Garrett (2001) all contribute interesting and enlightening reading on the subject. Two common points of agreement between researchers are that speakers can manipulate categories for their communicative goals and that categories are pluri-functional. These two ideas will be thematic throughout this chapter and subsequent chapters.

Like verbs in other Tibetan dialects, Dongwang verbs can be classified by two parameters: transitivity (transitive/intransitive) and control (+/- control).² While

² In her dissertation, Häsler (1999: 135, fn 144) cites Franke (1883) as one of the first researchers to note the four groups of verbs arising from the control and transitivity oppositions. He designated the four groups active-transitive, neutral-transitive, active-intransitive, and neutral-intransitive.

transitivity has to do with the number of arguments a verb can take, control has to do with the controllability of the verb. The ramifications of the covert category of control are reflected in which auxiliaries can co-occur with a control versus a non-control verb. That is, whether or not a particular verb is a control verb becomes clear when the combinatory possibilities of that verb with certain intentional auxiliaries are known.

4.1.1 Transitivity

In Dongwang, there are a handful of verbs that indicate transitivity by morphophonemic alternation. Transitivity, in most cases, can be determined by the number of arguments with which a verb may co-occur and certain grammatical constraints which surround a verb.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) present a scalar notion of transitivity and suggest that transitivity should be broken down into distinct factors to help explain cross-linguistic variation. In their approach, transitivity is not necessarily a feature of the verb, but of the clause (ie. the verb with its arguments). A prototypically highly-transitive clause in Hopper and Thompson's terms would be a perfective clause in which there is a volitional agent acting on a highly-individuated and highly-affected patient. In Dongwang, speakers can clearly alter the 'degree of transitivity' in discourse by manipulating selection of categories such as auxiliaries, casemarking and aspect. These complex interactions will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Nine and Ten when elements of the verb phrase and the clause are discussed.

In this section three aspects of transitivity in Dongwang are discussed. First, verbs are discussed from a traditional notion of transitivity which revolves around the number of core arguments that may accompany a verb in a clause. An intransitive verb is a verb with only one core argument and a transitive verb is a verb with two or more core arguments. Second, morphophonemic alternations of transitive/intransitive verb pairs are discussed. Finally, this section discusses the grammatical consequences of transitivity in other aspects of the grammar.

4.1.1.1 Core arguments

Payne (1997: 70) uses the metaphor of a stage play to describe transitivity. He likens the arguments in a predicate to participants who are present 'on stage' at a given time. A certain number of participants must be on stage for a given event to take place in a way that makes sense. The number of arguments a verb may take is closely related to Payne's idea (1997: 70) of a participant being 'on stage'. The number of core arguments is the maximum number of non-oblique arguments that *may* accompany a given verb in a clause. Defining the number of core arguments that a verb may take simply by counting overt arguments present in any given clause of real discourse is problematic. In naturally-occurring data speakers frequently omit an A or S argument, or a P argument, or both. If an argument is known, whether because it has already been introduced in the previous discourse or because of shared knowledge with the speech act participants, it can be freely omitted. Additionally, if an argument is unimportant or redundant within a particular discourse it can also be omitted.

Zero anaphora is by no means limited to Dongwang Tibetan. It has been observed in many other languages (e.g., Li and Thompson 1979 for Chinese and Fox 1987 for English) and in other Tibetan dialects. As Denwood (2001: 190) wryly points out: ‘At the level of the clause, Tibetan regularly takes ellipsis to its extreme limit; or, as it sometimes seems to a foreigner, even beyond it. The clause arguments subject, object and/or adjunct are regularly omitted without being represented by any phoric or pronoun-like element, whenever the speaker or writer feels they are recoverable from the preceding text or exchange or from grammatical concord.’

The following clauses are taken from the story *GoodSam*. In the story, the hero comes upon a man who has been beaten up and takes care of him. The omitted arguments are underlined in the free translation following each clause.

GoodSam020-028

- (1) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $j\partial^{13}$ $w\epsilon^{11}z\tilde{a}^{55}$ $t\epsilon i$ $w\partial^{55}t\tilde{i}^{53}$ $s^{h}t^{353}$ $r\tilde{a}\tilde{\epsilon}^{55}$
 then person other INDF there arrive REN
 'Then when another person arrived there,'
- (2) $k^{h}\partial^{55}$ = $w\tilde{o}$ $t^{h}\tilde{u}^{353}$ $r\tilde{a}\tilde{\epsilon}^{55}$ $k^{h}\partial^{55}$ $l\tilde{a}^{55}m\tilde{o}^{53}t\epsilon^{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{\epsilon}^{13}$ $s^{h}\tilde{a}^{53}$
 3S =OBJ see REN 3S pity THINK
 'when he saw him, he pitied him.'
- (3) $k^{h}\partial^{55}$ = $w\tilde{o}$ = $j\tilde{a}\epsilon$ $n\tilde{u}^{353}$ $r\tilde{o}^{13}$ $a^{55}r\tilde{a}^{53}$ = $k\tilde{i}$
 3SABS =OBJ =LOC oil and liquor =PL
- $k^{h}u\tilde{i}^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ $r\tilde{a}$ $-s\tilde{a}$
 3SGEN beat RA -NZR
 'On the places where he had been beaten, oil and liquor'

- (4) $p^h\partial$ jo^{53} te^{53}
 thither pour GIVE
 'He poured.'
- (5) $z\partial^{33}$ mm $z\partial^{33}$ $d\tilde{a}^{353}$ te^{53}
 up pause up wrap GIVE
 'he wrapped him up'
- (6) $z\partial^{33}$ $d\tilde{a}^{353}$ $-te^{53}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 up wrap -GIVE REN
 'After he wrapped him up',³
- (7) $k^h\partial^{55}$ $z\partial-$ $^ndz\partial^{53}$ ni
 3SABS up grab NI
 'he grabbed him and'
- (8) $r\tilde{o}^{33}r\tilde{o}^{11}$ $=ji$ ta^{53} $p^h\partial-$ ϵa^{53} $t\epsilon o^{53}$
 REFL =GEN horse thither ride CAUS
 'he had him ride his own horse'.
- (9) $k^h\partial^{55}$ $p^h\partial$ uh $s\tilde{a}^{13}k^h\tilde{o}^{55}$ $t\epsilon i$ $=n\partial$ $t\tilde{s}^hi^{53}$
 3SABS thither pause inn INDF =LOC lead
 'He led him to an inn'.

In the preceding section of text, none of the transitive verbs ($t^h\tilde{u}^{353}$ 'see',

$la^{55}mo^{53}t\epsilon^h\tilde{a}^{13}$ 'pity', jo^{53} 'pour', $d\tilde{a}^{353}$ 'wrap', $^ndz\partial^{53}$ 'grab', ϵa^{53} 'ride', and $t\tilde{s}^hi^{53}$ 'lead')

have an overt A argument and only four have an overt P argument. Yet it is clear

³ Two medial verbs, $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ and ni , are discussed in §12.1. For the sake of convenience, I have glossed them as REN and NI.

from the text *who* is doing what to *whom*. There are no clues from finite auxiliary forms ('grammatical concord' as Denwood (2001: 190) says) as even the final verb is simply a bare verb stem. Rather, knowledge of which participants are 'on stage' rests entirely on the discourse context.

Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a particular verb should be considered an ambi-transitive verb or whether a particular verb should be considered a transitive verb whose arguments are omitted. In the story *Rabbit*, for example, the verb *h̄jō*³⁵³ 'beg' sometimes has a P argument (the noun *mæ*¹³ 'butter' or an indefinite pronoun) and sometimes not.

RabbitB005
 (10) *dzu*¹³ *t̄ci* =*tsə* =*jæ* *p^həp^həp^hə*
 shepherd INDF =ABL =LOC FILLER

*ɲu*¹³*a*¹¹*t̄i*⁵⁵*t̄so*¹¹*mo*⁵⁵ *mæ*¹³ *h̄jō*³⁵³ *ni*
 every.day butter beg NI
 '(The rabbit) begged butter from a shepherd every day',

In (10) the rabbit, the main character in the story, is easily recoverable from the text. The P argument *mæ*¹³ 'butter' is overt in this clause but *h̄jō*³⁵³ is repeated many times without an S/A or P argument or any finite auxiliary marking (e.g., '(*the rabbit*) begged butter from the shepherd every day, begged butter, begged today and begged tomorrow and begged the next day, did like that.'). In one sense, the shepherd only had butter to give, so the P argument is also easily recoverable from the context. But sometimes arguments are omitted because they are unimportant to the discourse goals

of the speaker. In this text, what bothered the shepherd was the rabbit's incessant begging, and the P argument really is irrelevant. Rather than analyze *fi̇jõ³⁵³* as two different verbs (one transitive and one intransitive), it is best to consider *fi̇jõ³⁵³* a verb that has 'indeterminate' transitivity.

4.1.1.2 Verb pairs

In many varieties of Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman languages, there are pairs of verbs in which one member is more 'causative', or 'transitive', than the other member of the pair which are 'distinguished semantically, syntactically, and derivationally' (Beyer 1992: 163) from one another. Old Tibetan had around two hundred or so of these verb pairs (Beyer 1992: 163), but most contemporary dialects usually have fewer than twenty (Tournadre 2003: 352).

A derivational distinction between these verb pairs has been found in many Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g., Matisoff 1976 for Lahu, Strahm and Maibaum 1999 for Jirel, Tournadre 2003 for Lhasa and Standard Spoken Tibetan, and Häsler (1999) for Dege Khams). Linguists have used different terminology to discuss these verb pairs. Matisoff (1976) calls the derived form 'causative' and later (2003: 89, 117),⁴

⁴ Matisoff (2003: 89) cites Wolfenden (1929) as one of the first to mention these verb pairs.

distinguishes them as 'inner-directed states or actions' and 'outer-directed action'⁵, which is similar to Tournadre and Dorje's (2003: 352ff) designation as 'resultative' and 'causative' forms. Strahm and Maibaum (1999) prefer to use the terms 'less transitive' and 'more transitive'.

Part of the reason for the different terminology is the close interaction with other semantic and pragmatic categories. Häslar (1999: 135) links pairs found in Dege Khams to controllability. Tournadre and Dorje (2003: 352ff) note that the 'causative verb, both transitive and volitional, is derived from a basic verb which is usually both intransitive and non-volitional.' Hu, et al, (2001: 250ff) estimate that about 80% of the non-causative forms are also intransitive and non-volitional.⁶

These verb pairs are akin to what (Givón 2001: 74) calls 'morpho-lexical causatives' in that historically there is a derivational morpheme but over time the derivational process has become 'less regular and more lexically-governed'. There is also a 'morpho-analytic' causative (discussed in §9.2.1) that can co-occur with or without these 'morpho-lexical' causatives.

The transitive derivation in many languages can often be traced to an old morphological causative prefix *s- in Proto-Tibeto-Burman. The derivation is often

⁵ 'Inner-directed states or actions' (indicated by the PTB *m- prefix) are "middle voice" notions like stativity, intransitivity, durativity, reflexivity'. 'Outer-directed action' express transitivity and causativity (Matisoff 2003: 117).

⁶ The Chinese terminology usually used is 使动, 不使动 (causative, non-causative), 及物, 不及物 (transitive, intransitive) and 自动, 不自动 (voluntary, involuntary).

transparent in WT orthography and found in many transitive members of the verb pairs.

The *s- prefix, associated with the derivation of the transitive form from the intransitive form, has different morphophonemic consequences cross-dialectally. Matisoff (2003: 89) calls this 'the most interesting' and 'arguably the most ancient' morphological alternation. In Lhasa Tibetan, unaspirated obstruents and high-toned nasals are associated with the transitive forms and aspirated obstruents or low-toned nasals are associated with the intransitive forms. In Jirel (Strahm and Maibaum 1999: 6), the pattern is much more complicated, showing four alternating patterns along which the verbs are contrasted: voicing, aspiration, vowel shift, and tone shift. While morphological patterns vary, some sort of variation seems to exist in all varieties of Tibetan.

So far, only thirteen verb pairs have been found in Dongwang, but there are likely others. The distinction between members of the pairs can be semantically and syntactically characterized as one of transitivity in which the transitive member of most pairs correlates with a higher tone than the intransitive member. Segmentally, if there is an aspiration distinction between the pairs, the intransitive form tends to be unaspirated and the transitive form tends to be aspirated. Additionally, if there is a voicing distinction, the intransitive member is voiced and the transitive member is voiceless.

INTRANSITIVE	GLOSS	TRANSITIVE	GLOSS
<i>ɲi</i> ¹³ <nyal>	'to go to sleep', intr	<i>ɲi</i> ³⁵³ <snyol>	'to put to sleep'
<i>mbæ</i> ³⁵³ <'bar>	'to burn', intr	<i>pæ</i> ⁵³ <spar>	'to burn', tr
<i>ⁿdzu</i> ³⁵³ <'khril>	'to roll', intr	<i>tʂu</i> ⁵³ <sgril>	'to make roll'
<i>ri</i> ³⁵³ <ral>	'to tear', intr	<i>tʂi</i> ⁵³ <dbral>	'to tear', tr.
<i>si</i> ³⁵³	'to separate from' ⁷	<i>si</i> ^{ρ53}	'to send off'
<i>lu</i> ¹³ <log>	'to tip over', intr	<i>lu</i> ⁵³ <bslog>	'to tip over', tr
<i>pi</i> ¹³	'to bleed', intr	<i>p^hi</i> ⁵³	'to bleed', tr
<i>k^hui</i> ⁵³ <'khol>	'to boil'	<i>kui</i> ⁵³ <skol>	'to make boil'
<i>tɕ^he</i> ¹³ <chad>	'to stop'	<i>tɕe</i> ⁵³ <bcad>	'to turn off'
<i>li</i> ¹³ <lus>	'to fall', intr	<i>ʂi</i> ³⁵³	'to remove' ⁸
<i>jō</i> ¹³ <lang>	'to rise', 'to get up', intr	<i>hijō</i> ³⁵³ <slang>	'to raise'
<i>jō</i> ¹³ <lang>	'to rise', 'to get up', intr	<i>jō</i> ⁵³	'to pick up'
<i>kuæ</i> ⁵³	'to turn around', intr	<i>k^huæ</i> ⁵³	'to turn around', tr

TABLE (16): TRANSITIVE/INTRANSITIVE VERB PAIRS IN DONGWANG

Table (16) gives examples of the verb pairs found in Dongwang. Most of the intransitive forms on the left are low-toned, while the transitive forms on the right are high-toned. The exception to this is the last example, *kuæ*⁵³ and *k^huæ*⁵³ 'to turn around' (intr, tr).

Examples containing intransitive/transitive verb pairs follow.

⁷ e.g., 'from a person'.

⁸ 'To take off' as in 'to remove one's coat'.

Elicited837: intransitive

- (11) $wə^{53}$ $dɪ^{13}$ $mbə-$ $^n du^{353}$ $tɕi$ $^n dzu^{353}$ $sõ$
hey here down stone INDF roll EGO
'Hey, a stone rolled down the mountain'

Elicited838: transitive

- (12) $ŋe^{13}$ na^{53} $mbə-$ $^n du^{353}$ $tɕi$ $tʂu^{53}$ $-ŋa$ ji
1SERG here down stone one roll -NGA SELF
'I rolled a stone down from here'

Examples (11) and (12) both contain verbs meaning 'to roll'. The verb in example (11) is an intransitive verb and the verb in example (12) is a transitive verb. There is no agent in (11), but an overt agent in (12).

Elicited247: intransitive

- (13) $tɕa^{13}$ $k^{h}ui^{53}$ $sõ^{13}$
tea boil EGO
'The tea is boiled'

Elicited248: transitive

- (14) $ŋe^{13}$ $ɲə^{13}$ $=ji$ $tɕa^{13}$ kui^{53} $-tʂ^{hi}$ $sõ^{13}$
1SGEN man =ERG tea boil LEAD EGO
'My husband boiled tea for me'

Examples (13) and (14) both contain a verb meaning 'to boil'. In example (13) the noun $tɕa^{13}$ 'tea' is the S argument of the intransitive verb $k^{h}ui^{53}$ 'to boil'. There is no A argument corresponding to an agent. In example (14) $tɕa^{13}$ is the P argument of the transitive verb kui^{53} 'to boil' and there is an overt A argument.

The same distinction between intransitive and transitive verb forms holds for the verbs $t\phi^{h_e13}$ 'to stop, intr', $t\phi^{53}$ 'to stop, tr' and $mb\ae^{353}$ 'to burn, intr', $p\ae^{53}$ 'to burn, tr' in the following examples:

- Elicited1006: intransitive
 (15) $t\phi^{h_e13}wa^{55}$ $n\text{gui}^{13}n\text{gui}^{13}$ $t\phi^{h_e13}$ t^hi
 rain just.now stop VIS.PFV
 'It has just stopped raining'

- HeartAttack034: transitive
 (16) $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ ηa^{13} =jæ $k^ha^{11}dz\tilde{a}^{55}$ $n\tilde{a}^{11}gu^{55}$ =jæ
 then 1SDAT =DAT Khadrang in.front.of =LOC

$t\phi^{h_e55}$ $t\phi^{53}$ -nə $n\text{dzu}^{13}$ s
 water cut.off -NZR go QTV
 'Then (she) told me to go cut off the water in front of Khadrang'

- YDFree
 (17) n_i^{13} $mb\ae^{353}$ -de $n\tilde{o}$
 fire burn CONT VIS.IPFV
 'A fire is burning'

- YDFree
 (18) n_i^{13} $p\ae^{53}$ -de $n\tilde{o}$
 fire burn CONT VIS.IPFV
 'S/he is burning a fire'

It is interesting to note that both members of the transitive/intransitive verb pairs can also co-occur with the causative auxiliary $-t\phi o^{53}$ so that there is potentially a

four-way morphophonemic alternation between transitive and causative forms. $-t\zeta o$ ⁵³ will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

4.1.2 Control

Bailey and Walker (2004: xxxiii) note that various researchers have used the terms 'volitional/non-volitional', 'voluntary/involuntary'⁹, 'intentional/unintentional', or 'controllable/non-controllable' to refer to roughly the same thing. In this dissertation, I will use the terms 'control' and 'non-control'. Control can be defined as a person's ability to exert effort that can potentially, or actually, determine the outcome of an event. Control verbs are verbs over which a first-person agentive argument can exert control. It is the co-occurrence with auxiliaries expressing intention that reveals the category of control. Thus the notion of 'first-person argument' is important as only a first-person can vouch for his or her intention to control an action. It is the co-occurrence with auxiliaries expressing intention that reveals the category of control.

Non-control verbs are verbs over which a first-person agentive argument cannot exert control. Both control and non-control verbs can be transitive or intransitive.

⁹ The terms 'voluntary/involuntary' come from the terms which Chinese linguists generally use: 自主/不自主 *zi4zhu3/bu4zi4zhu3*).

	CONTROL	GLOSS	NON-CONTROL	GLOSS
+TRANSITIVE	<i>tɑ</i> ⁵³	'to look at'	<i>t^hũ</i> ³⁵³	'to see'
	<i>ɲǣ</i> ¹³	'to listen to'	<i>ts^hæ</i> ⁵³	'to hear'
-TRANSITIVE	<i>p^ha</i> ⁵³	'to jump'	<i>li</i> ¹³	'to fall'
	<i>ɲi</i> ¹³	'to go to sleep'	<i>ni</i> ⁵³ <i>dzu</i> ¹¹	'to fall asleep'

TABLE (17): TRANSITIVE AND CONTROL CATEGORIES IN DONGWANG

The verbs in Table (17) are arranged in pairs of control and non-control verbs. As will be mentioned, not all verbs are members of a control/non-control verb set.

As control is a covert category that has grammatical repercussions, it is necessary to briefly introduce a few auxiliaries in this section. A full treatment of the auxiliaries will be dealt with in Chapters Nine and Ten. One dimension coded by auxiliaries is that of intention. Intention is different from control in that control verbs can be intentionally performed, but non-control verbs can only be unintentionally performed. Furthermore, one can only vouch for one's own intentions. So, *ɲi* (perfective) and *dzĩ* (imperfective) are intentional auxiliaries in clauses with first-person agentive arguments. The auxiliary *sõ*, on the other hand, is an unintentional (perfective) auxiliary that primarily indicates action or result directed towards the speaker. This is the 'ego-deictic' auxiliary. In transitive and intransitive clauses, *sõ* indicates that the action or result is somehow directed towards the speaker. In clauses

with first-person S or A arguments and non-control verbs, either an ego-deictic auxiliary or an OTHER¹⁰ auxiliary must be used.

In the examples below, the two verbs *ta*⁵³ 'to look at' and *t^hũ*³⁵³ 'to see' illustrate the grammatical constraints of control and non-control verbs.

- Hardship092: control verb *ta*⁵³ 'to look at'
- (19) *k^ha*⁵⁵*ba*⁵³ *ka*¹¹*dzi*⁵³ *ŋõ* *ta*⁵³ *ji*
 rim how.much VIS.IPFV look SELF.PST
 '(I) looked at how big the rim was'

- Elicited190: control verb *ta*⁵³ 'to look at'
- (20) *ŋe*¹³ *k^hə*⁵⁵ =*gõ* *ta*⁵³ -*de* *dzi*^ĩ
 1SERG 3S =OBJ look CONT SELF
 'I am looking at him/her'

In examples (19) and (20), the co-occurrence of the SELF auxiliaries *ji* or *dzi*^ĩ with the control verb *ta*⁵³ 'to look at' indicates that the speaker has looked or is looking intentionally at someone or something. Non-control verbs cannot co-occur with the auxiliaries *ji* and *dzi*^ĩ. In the following examples, the egodeictic auxiliary *sõ* is used.

- Elicited612: non-control verb *t^hũ*³⁵³ 'to see'
- (21) *ŋe*¹³ *zi*¹³ *k^hə*⁵⁵*ji*⁵³ *ɕũ*⁵⁵ =*nə* *t^hũ*³⁵³ *sõ*
 1SGEN book 3PLGEN house =LOC see EGO
 '(I) saw my book at their house'

¹⁰ 'SELF' and 'OTHER' copulas, existentials and auxiliaries are discussed in §4.2 and in §10.1.

- Elicited801: non-control verb $t^{h\tilde{u}^{353}}$ 'to see'
- (22) ηe^{13} ζi^{55} ηa^{53} $k^h a^{11} l a^{53}$ $t\zeta i$ $t^{h\tilde{u}^{353}}$ $s\tilde{o}^{13}$
 1SERG 2PL all INDF see EGO
 'I saw all of you'

Non-control verbs can occur with other OTHER auxiliary forms, but both of these examples would be ungrammatical with either of the SELF auxiliaries *ji* or *dzĩ*.

Not all verbs belong to pairs of verbs that have control oppositions. Some control verbs, like ${}^n dzu^{13}$ 'to go', do not have a non-control correlate. Other non-control verbs like so^{53} 'to vomit' do not have a control correlate.

There are some verbs that are neutral with respect to control.¹¹ That is, although semantically they may appear to be non-controllable, syntactically they are not subject to the same restrictions that non-control verbs or control verbs are subject to.

- Elicited473
- (23) ηa^{13} $dzi^{11} b a^{55}$ je^{13} $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS sneeze VBZR EGO
 'I sneezed (accidentally)'

- Elicited475
- (24) ηa^{13} $dzi^{11} b a^{55}$ je^{13} ji
 1SABS sneeze VBZR COP.SELF.PST
 'I sneezed (on purpose)'

¹¹ Hargreaves (n.d.: 4) calls such verbs 'fluid verbs'.

Such verbs seem to be relatively few in number.

4.1.3 Intention

Intentionality is reflected in the speaker's choice of auxiliary. Even though intention is a feature coded mainly in the auxiliaries, it is mentioned here relative to its overlap with the category of control. It is treated in more detail in Chapter Nine. Only control verbs, and a few 'fluid' verbs can be intentionally performed.

Elicited298

- (25) ηa^{13} $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ $z\tilde{i}$
1SABS come COP.SELF
'I will come'

- (26) * ηa^{13} ϑ^{53} $z\tilde{i}^{11}$
1SABS die COP.SELF
*'I will die'

Both of the verbs in the clauses above are intransitive, but $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ 'come' is a control verb and ϑ^{53} 'die' is a non-control verb. This opposition is reflected in the grammaticality of the co-occurrence of each verb with an intentional auxiliary. If a speaker wants to express intentionality regarding a non-control verb, then the non-control verb must be modified in some way. For example, when my friend Yishi Droma is playing with her son Dawa Tsering, and he 'shoots' her, she pretends to die. There are several ways to express 'I am dying' or 'I am dead' in such a context. For example:

- Elicited1397
 (27) ηa^{13} $\text{ʂ}\partial^{53}$ mbe^{353} je^{13}
 1SABS die act VBZR
'I am acting dead'

- Elicited1398
 (28) ηa^{13} $\text{ʂ}\partial^{53}$ $r\tilde{a}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS die IMM EGO
'I am about to die'

In (27) the speaker uses a verbalizing strategy which could be literally translated '*I did a die*' and in (28), she uses an aspect marker to indicate 'on the verge of' and the ergo-deictic auxiliary *sō*. Similarly, the verb '*to come*' has grammaticized to indicate a fact regarding the future:

- Elicited779
 (29) ηa^{13} $\text{ʂ}\partial^{53}$ $w\tilde{u}$
 1S die COME
'I will die'

These possibilities will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine along with the other auxiliaries.

4.1.4 Honorifics

As mentioned in the previous chapter (§3.1.1.3), Khams dialects do not generally have honorific systems as elaborate as those described for some other Tibetan dialects. Of the few words I have found with honorific counterparts, most are verbs. Apparently these are used only for religious personages when functioning in a

religious role. That is, honorifics do not index a monk or lama per se, but the role he acquires when performing religious ritual. They are not employed for older people, parents, or the like.

Non-Honorific				Honorific	
<i>tɕ^ha</i> ¹³	'to eat'	<i>t^hõ</i> ⁵⁵	'to drink'	<i>sY</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ru</i> ⁵³	'to drink, to eat' H
<i>ⁿdzu</i> ¹³	'to go'	<i>wõ</i> ³³	'to come'	<i>sã</i> ¹³ <i>ru</i> ⁵³	'to come, to go' H
<i>ⁿdo</i> ¹³	'to sit'			<i>ro</i> ¹³ <i>ru</i> ⁵³	'to sit' H
<i>sɛ</i> ⁵³	'to tell'	<i>sə</i> ⁵⁵	'to say'	<i>nã</i> ⁵³	'to say, to tell' H

4.2 Copulas

In this dissertation the terms SELF and OTHER are used to refer to copulas, existentials and auxiliaries that participate in a system which has sometimes been referred to as a 'conjunct/disjunct' (c/d). SELF forms occur in utterances 'whenever the actor/subject is the epistemic source for the action to which the utterance refers' (Hargreaves 2005: 6) and in questions with second-person actors. OTHER forms can occur in all other contexts.

4.2.1 A note regarding the terms '*conjunct/disjunct*'

In Tibetan studies, there has been some discussion, controversy, and terminological confusion surrounding the terms 'conjunct/disjunct'. Since the Tibetan system is not like the Newar system from which the terms have arisen, different terms

have been proposed. However, there has yet to emerge a unified consensus of terminology.

Before Austin Hale (1980) described the c/d system in Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal, little was known about this type of system. Since then, there has been much research describing c/d systems in Newari (Genetti 1986, 1994; Hargreaves (2005) and other Tibeto-Burman languages (Akha (Thurgood 1986), Sankhong (Matisoff 1993), and Dzongka (van Driem 1998)). A previous understanding that c/d systems were limited to a small cluster of Himalayan languages was dismissed with the description of c/d-like systems in such far-flung places as Latin America (Awa Pit (Curnow 2002)), and Papua New Guinea (Karo/Rawa (Toland, Norma R. & Donald F. Toland 1991)).

The term 'conjunct' refers to the canonical situation in which a particular form is used in first-person declarative clauses, in second-person interrogative clauses, or in reported speech in which the agentive participant in the complement clause is co-referential with the agentive participant in the matrix clause. The term 'disjunct' refers to a particular form that occurs in all other clauses.

Hargreaves¹² outlines the necessary conditions in which the conjunct forms appear in Kathmandu Newari:

¹² Hargreave's definition was intended to apply to Kathmandu Newari and so was not intended as a characterization of similar systems in other languages.

- 1) the clause is finite, and
- 2) the event being described is interpreted as involving an intentional action by the actor and
- 3) The speech act is either
 - a) declarative/first person, or,
 - b) interrogative/second person, or,
 - c) reported speech when the matrix clause subject and complement clause subject are coreferential
(Hargreaves 2005: 5,6)

The system is found in Dongwang is similar and is found in many other Tibetan dialects. It is distinct from that described by Hargreaves in that it is extended to include copulas and existential verbs that express copular, existential, and possessive relationships as well. In Hargreaves definition, as pointed out by Curnow¹³, the definition for conjunct forms apply mostly to control verbs and intentional actions.

DeLancey (1992) retains use of the terms 'conjunct' and 'disjunct', but in DeLancey (2001) divides the auxiliaries into 'direct' and 'indirect' forms. What he calls 'indirect' forms correlate to what some label 'disjunct', and the 'direct' forms to 'conjunct'. T.-S. Sun (1993) prefers to use a term based on the Chinese terms 自称 'self' and 他称 'other'. Hongladarom (1996) follows Sun in calling these forms 'self' and 'other' and identifies the crucial parameters of 'self' as +/-control and the crucial parameters of 'other' as +/- new. Similar to SELF and OTHER, Tournadre (2001) uses the terms 'egophoric' and 'non-egophoric'. Non-egophorics can be subdivided into

¹³ Personal communication.

sensorial, inferential, and assertive forms so that the relevant opposition is 'egophoricity as opposed to other sources of information' (Tournadre 2001: 78). Häsler (1999) glosses all the copulas and existentials as well as the auxiliaries derived from copulas and existentials as 'be'. The other forms she glosses as AUX. She treats all of the auxiliary forms as belonging to a system of empathy in which certain forms (SELF) are higher on the empathy hierarchy than other forms (OTHER). Garrett (2001) uses the term 'ego' for SELF forms. Following DeLancey, he uses 'indirect' for OTHER and 'direct' for what some might call 'evidential'.

The controversy surrounding these terms can be attributed to a number of causes. These forms not only have multiple functions, but also can combine with other forms to create new functions, and can be skewed by speakers for discourse/pragmatic reasons. The issue of glossing conventions turns out to be a small problem in comparison to these larger substantive issues. So while the system can serve cross-referencing-like functions, it is not *exactly* a cross-referencing system. Similarly, while the system can serve evidential-like functions, it is not *exactly* an evidential system. Additionally, while it can mark new and old information, more or less control, more or less empathy, more or less distance in time and space, etc., it does not *exactly* or *only* mark any one of these.

Additionally, researchers have observed similar systems in various Tibetan dialects as well as in related and unrelated languages. While there are shared similarities among languages and dialects, there is also variation of the system across language varieties so that one single term is unlikely to characterize every language in

which this is found. While SELF forms often occur in utterances in which the speaker is the actor, they do not always do so. SELF forms can also occur in utterances in which the speaker is not the actor, but has personal knowledge of, or intention and/or ability to control an action described in the utterance. OTHER forms can occur in clauses in which the speaker is the actor, given the right situation.

Those who have suggested new terminology have done so in an effort to capture the complexity and the subtlety of the system in Tibetan. Each of the alternative terms mentioned above are in many ways more satisfying and transparent than the opaque terms 'conjunct' and 'disjunct'. Although there is no agreed-upon set of terms among Tibetan researchers that adequately satisfies the specific needs of Tibetan descriptions, many are moving towards terms such as SELF and OTHER. Even though there are certain characteristics that resemble characteristics of systems found in other parts of the world, the system found in Tibetan is unique enough to warrant more precise terminology.

In this dissertation, the terms SELF and OTHER (SELF/OTHR) will be used to refer to a system in which SELF forms occur in declarative clauses in which the speaker expresses personal knowledge of, and/or close temporal proximity, and/or intention, and/or ability to control an action. SELF forms can also occur in interrogative clauses with second-person subjects. OTHER forms occur in other contexts.

I find it useful to treat SELF/OTHR forms separate from evidential forms, ego-deictic forms and judgmental forms. Evidential forms are those whose primary

function is to express source of knowledge. Judgmental forms are those whose primary function is to express the speaker's degree of certainty regarding the utterance. These various 'classes' of copulas/auxiliaries are by no means discrete as they have multiple functions and can interact with control verbs, casemarking, and discourse context to function in new ways. Chapter Nine further discusses this system, particularly in the extended function of copulas and existentials to auxiliaries.

4.2.2 Equative copulas

There are two equative copulas in Dongwang, *zī* <yin> and *re* <red>, which function in equational and attributive constructions, and with extended functions as auxiliaries.

	Affirmative	Interrogative	Negative
SELF	<i>zī</i>	$\tilde{a}^{53} \sim a^{53} zī$	<i>me</i>
OTHER	<i>re</i>	<i>a re</i>	<i>ma- re</i>

TABLE (18): SELF AND OTHER COPULA FORMS IN DONGWANG

The top cells in Table (18) indicate the affirmative, interrogative, and negative forms of the SELF copula. *zī* <yin> and *me* <min> (\sim <ma.yin>) tend to occur in clauses with first-person S arguments while *re* <red> and *ma- re* <ma.red> tend to occur in clauses with second- and third-person S arguments.

- Elicited110
 (30) ηa^{13} $m\grave{a}\tilde{a}^{13}ba^{55}$ $z\tilde{i}$
 1S doctor COP.SELF
 'I am a doctor'

- Elicited103
 (31) $k^h\partial^{55}$ $m\grave{a}\tilde{a}^{13}ba^{55}$ re
 3S doctor COP.OTHR
 'S/he is a doctor'

This pattern appears very much like a cross-referencing system, but as has been briefly discussed in the previous section, there are many reasons to refrain from labeling it such. For example, the following example occurs in the story *Hardship*:

- Hardship039
 (32) $^nd\partial^{11}p^h\grave{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$ ∂^{13} $r\tilde{o}$ $t\partial^{55}$ $=k\tilde{i}$ $=ji$ sa^{53} $-mi^{53}$ $z\tilde{i}$
 nDaphae uncle and that =PL =GEN burn -NZR COP.SELF
 'It was Uncle nDepae and those guys' burnplace'

In (32), the conjunct form $z\tilde{i}$ occurs with the third-person argument $sa^{53} -mi^{53}$

'burnplace'. In this context, the narrator has personal knowledge of the fact expressed and chooses to express that fact by using the conjunct form.

- GetMar030
 (33) mm $k^hao^{55}d\partial^{11}\tilde{c}\tilde{a}^{53}$ $ma-$ re
 PAUSE pass.examCH NEG COP.OTHR
 'Um, (I) didn't pass'.

In example (33), although the (unexpressed) S argument is first person, the OTHER form is used. In this case, the verb 'to pass an examination' is a non-controllable verb so the speaker cannot use a SELF form.

4.2.3 Existential copulas

The four existentials¹⁴ in Dongwang serve to construct existential, locational and possessive clauses as well as functioning as auxiliaries.

		Affirmative	Interrogative	Negative
SELF	-AN	ze	a ⁵³ - ze	ɲe ¹³ ~ ^h ɲe
	+AN	ⁿ do	a ⁵³ - ⁿ do	ma- ⁿ do
OTHER	-AN	ze ¹¹ dʒiʔ	ze ¹¹ dʒiʔ a ⁵³ re (rõ)	ze ¹¹ dʒiʔ ma- re
	+AN	ⁿ do ¹¹ dʒiʔ	ⁿ do ¹¹ dʒiʔ a ⁵³ re (rõ)	ⁿ do ¹¹ dʒiʔ ma- re

TABLE (19): SELF AND OTHER EXISTENTIAL FORMS IN DONGWANG

The Dongwang existential forms shown in Table (19) have four forms due to an animacy split. For this reason, they are more complex than those reported for other Tibetan dialects. In single argument clauses, a clause with an animate argument will occur with the ⁿdo forms (ⁿdo, ⁿdo¹¹dʒiʔ, a⁵³- ⁿdo, etc.) and a clause with an inanimate argument will occur with the ze forms (ze¹³, ze¹¹dʒiʔ, a⁵³- ze, etc.). In clauses expressing possession, the animacy of the possessed argument conditions speakers' choice of ze versus ⁿdo, while the possessor argument conditions speakers'

¹⁴ The four existentials are derived from two base forms: ze and ⁿdo.

choice regarding SELF/OTHER considerations. Thus there are two different indices for each existential.

- SELF-Interrogative, 2nd person POSR, +An POSD, *a*⁵³- *n*do
- (34) *ɕa*⁵³ *a*¹¹*ka*⁵³ *a*⁵³- *n*do
 2SDAT child QST EX.AN.SELF
 'Do you have a child?'

- SELF-Declarative, 1st person POSR, +An POSD, *n*do
- (35) *ŋa*¹³ *a*¹¹*ka*⁵³ *tɕi*⁵³ *n*do
 1SDAT child one EX.AN.SELF
 'I have one child'

- SELF-Interrogative, 2nd person POSR, -An POSD, *a*⁵³-*ze*
- (36) *ɕa*⁵³ *zi*¹³ *a*⁵³- *ze*
 2SDAT book QST EX.INAN.SELF
 'Do you have a book?'

- SELF-Declarative, 1st person POSR, -An POSD, *ze*
- (37) *ŋa*¹³ *zi*¹³ *tɕi*⁵³ *ze*
 1SDAT book one EX.INAN.SELF
 'I have a/one book'

The examples above illustrate the animate/inanimate distinction in the SELF existentials. The examples below show that this pattern also occurs in the OTHER forms:

- OTHER-Interrogative, 3rd person POSR, +An POSD
- (38) *k*^h*ui*⁵⁵*dza*⁵³ *ɕə*⁵³ *n*do¹¹*dzi*? *a*⁵³- *re* *rõ*
 3PLDAT dog EX.AN.OTHR QST.OTHR
 'Do they have a/any dog/s?'

- (39) OTHER-Affirmative, 3rd person POSR, +An POSD
k^hui⁵⁵dza⁵³ ɕə⁵³ ⁿdo¹¹dzi?
 3PLDAT dog EX.AN.OTHR
 'They have dogs'

- (40) OTHER-Interrogative, 3rd person POSR, -An POSD
k^hui⁵⁵dza⁵³ zi¹³ ze¹¹dzi? a⁵³-re rō
 3PLDAT book EX.INAN.OTHR QST.OTHR
 'Do they have a/any book/s?'

- (41) OTHER-Affirmative, 3rd person POSR, +An POSD
k^hui⁵⁵dza⁵³ zi¹³ ze¹¹dzi?
 3PLDAT book EX.INAN.OTHR
 'They have books'

This same pattern regarding animacy holds for basic existential clauses. The use of an animate or inanimate form depends upon the animacy of the S argument.

- (42) OTHER-Declarative, 3rd person +An (Prod058b)
k^hə⁵⁵ⁿdzi⁵³ =ji pə¹³ tɕ^hə¹¹wu⁵⁵ rə ʃi⁵⁵ =nə ⁿdo¹¹dzi?
 3PLGEN =GEN son elder TOP field =LOC EX.AN.OTHR
 '...their elder son was in the field'

- (43) OTHER-Declarative, 3rd person, -An
tō⁵⁵wā⁵³ rō¹³ ze¹¹dō⁵³ pe⁵⁵la⁵³ rə¹³ sō⁵³ ze¹¹dzi?
 Dongwang and rGyalthang between mtn three EX.INAN.OTHR
 'There are three mountains between Dongwang and rGyalthang'

The existential SELF/OTHR forms can be skewed in much the same way as the copula SELF/OTHR forms, but the animacy distinction is maintained. Further, SELF forms for both copula and existential are usually the default forms in dependent clauses. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Twelve.

4.3 Lexical verbs

Lexical verbs can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive.

Elicited: Intransitive clause

- (44) ηa^{13} $sə^{55}kə^{11}$ $tɕ^hə^{55}tse^{53}$ $tɕə^{55}$ $gō$ ji^{13} ji
 1S evening o'clock ten on sleep COP.SELF.PST
'I slept at ten o'clock in the evening'

Elicited: Transitive clause

- (45) ηe^{13} $k^hə^{55}$ = $gō$ ta^{53} -*de* $dʒi$
 1SERG 3S =OBJ look CONT SELF
'I am looking at her/him'

Elicited

- (46) k^hui^{55} $dʒæ^{11}bu^{55}$ = $tsə$ = $jæ$ $jã^{11}bəo^{55}$ $ɲu^{53}$ te^{53} t^hi
 3SERG king =ALL =DAT gift two give EVL.PFV
'S/he gave two presents to the king'

More than 2/3 of lexical verbs in my database are monosyllabic. This includes the most frequently used verbs such as $wĩ^{13}$ 'come', $^ndzu^{13}$ 'go', te^{53} 'give', na^{13} 'be sick', mba^{33} 'carry on one's back', ta^{53} 'to look at', ji^{13} 'to sleep', and $tʂa^{53}$ 'to fear'.

Most polysyllabic verbs are disyllabic or trisyllabic. These can be either compound verbs or phrasal verbs.

4.3.1 Compound verbs

Compound verbs are usually disyllabic. Trisyllabic compounds are rare. The constituent meaning of compounds are usually transparent, but occasionally only one element is known.

*ni*⁵³ 'eye' + *dzu*³⁵³ '?' --> *ni*⁵⁵*dzu*¹¹ 'to fall asleep'
*ʂi*⁵⁵ 'bedbug' + ⁿ*dze*³⁵³ 'to scratch' --> *ʂi*⁵⁵ⁿ*dze*¹¹ 'to scratch'
s^h*a*⁵³ 'hand' H¹⁵ + *p*^h*w*⁵³ 'to bow' --> *s*^h*a*⁵⁵*p*^h*w*¹¹ 'to prostrate'
*kuæ*⁵³ 'to circle' + *ro*⁵³ '?' --> *kuæ*⁵³*ro*⁵³ 'to circumambulate'

4.3.2 Phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs are constructed from nouns, verbs, or adjectives and a 'verbalizing' component. These are a type of compound verb, but phrasal verbs have specific semantic and syntactic characteristics. The 'verbalizer' is a semantically empty verb that draws semantic content from the word it verbalizes. Phrasal verbs are also syntactically distinct in that adverbs, quantifiers and numerals can come between the noun and the verb component.

The rationale for considering these constructions verbs (rather than, say, an object-verb phrase) is three-fold: non-compositionality of meaning, speaker's

¹⁵ My consultant knew that this word has some meaning related to 'hand', but does not equate it with an honorific as used in Lhasa.

perception, and prosodic unity. The notion of 'verbalization' was first put forth by Goldstein (1975) in his discussion of Lhasa Tibetan. Lhasa Tibetan seems to have the most pervasive verbalized constructions (Beyer 1999: 109, fn 10), most of which do not have alternate non-verbalized verbs. Verbalization also occurs in Dongwang, but not to the same extent that it does in Lhasa.

$\text{ʂe}^{55}\text{wa}^{53}$	'dirty' + NMLZ	+ $\text{d}\tilde{\text{o}}^{13}$ 'hit'	= $\text{ʂe}^{55}\text{wa}^{53}\text{d}\tilde{\text{o}}^{13}$ 'to defecate'
$\text{ɲi}^{13}\text{t}\text{ʂ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{53}$	'heart' + ?	+ kui^{53} 'boil'	= $\text{ɲi}^{13}\text{t}\text{ʂ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{53}\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ui}^{11}$ 'to be angry'
su^{55}	'tooth'	+ $\text{t}\text{ə}\text{o}^{53}$ 'to plant'	= $\text{s}\text{ə}^{55}\text{t}\text{ə}\text{o}^{11}$ 'to bite'
$\text{d}\tilde{\text{z}}\tilde{\text{i}}^{13}$	'a lie'	+ je^{13} 'to do'	= $\text{d}\tilde{\text{z}}\tilde{\text{i}}^{13}\text{j}\text{e}^{11}$ 'to lie'
$\text{k}\text{ə}^{53}$	'to steal'	+ je^{13} 'to do'	= $\text{k}\text{ə}^{53}\text{j}\text{e}^{11}$ 'to steal'

Verbalized constructions have non-verblike characteristics as well. For example, adverbs, numbers, and quantifiers can occur between the nominalized component and the verbalizer. For example:

- Elicited1572
- (47) $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{11}\text{t}\text{ʂ}^{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{o}}^{55}$ $\text{l}\tilde{\text{o}}^{53}$ $\text{t}\text{ɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{11}\text{w}\text{u}^{55}$ $\text{a}^{55}\text{b}\text{æ}^{53}$ $\text{t}\text{ɕ}\text{i}$ je^{13} $\text{d}\tilde{\text{z}}\tilde{\text{i}}?$
yesterday wind big INTENS INDF VBZR OTHR
'Yesterday was extremely windy'

It is not easy to determine when these constructions are fully lexicalized and when they are still emerging as full lexical verbs. Generally, speakers' inability to define the component parts of a verbalized construction is a good clue. Prosodically, verbalized constructions fall under one intonation contour and speakers do not pause after the nominal component.

Borrowings from Chinese are frequently words used for technological items that previously had not existed. The Chinese language has a construction similar in some ways to the verbalized constructions in Dongwang which Li and Thompson (1981: 367ff) call co-verbs. For example:

da3 'to hit' *dian4hua4* 'telephone' =*da3dian4hua4* 'to telephone'
da3 'to hit' *ding1ze* 'nail' =*da3ding1ze* 'to nail'

When these constructions are borrowed into Dongwang, usually only the nominal component is borrowed from Chinese and a Dongwang verbalizer is used. In such cases, the verbalizer is switched from pre-nominal to post-nominal position:

dian4hua4CH 'telephone' + *dō¹³* 'to hit' = *dian4hua4 dō¹³* 'to telephone'
ding1zeCH 'nail' + *dō¹³* 'to hit' = *ding4ze dō¹³* 'to nail'

In the examples above, the verbalizer follows the nominal component as would be expected for an SOV language. This is the reverse order of the Chinese forms.

Sometimes Chinese verbs are borrowed and then are 're-verbalized' using a Tibetan form.

'Re-verbalization' of a Chinese verb:

Chinese verb		Dongwang re-verbalization	
<i>li2hun1</i>	'to divorceCH'	<i>li¹¹k^hui⁵⁵ je¹³</i>	'to divorce'
<i>zhao4xiang4</i>	'to photographCH'	<i>tʂo¹¹çã⁵⁵ je¹³</i>	'to x-ray'
<i>zhao4xiang4</i>	'to photographCH'	<i>tʂo¹¹çã⁵⁵ tʂo⁵³</i>	'to photograph'
<i>jian4cha2</i>	'to examineCH'	<i>tçã⁵⁵tç^ha¹¹ je¹³</i>	'to examine'

Sometimes a whole Chinese verbal compound forms is retained, but the syntactic order is switched:

qing3 (yi1 wei4) shi1fu3 -> *si⁵⁵fu¹¹ tɕ^h1¹¹* 'to hire a master craftsman'

In the Mandarin example on the left, the verb *qing3* 'to ask', 'to request' precedes the number, classifier, and noun *yi1 wei4 shi1fu3*. When Dongwang speakers use it however, the number and classifiers are dropped and the N-V order is switched to *shifu qing* as indicated on the right.

Finally, the N-V order of some borrowed Chinese compounds are switched, and then re-verbalized with a Dongwang verbalizer:

Chinese compound verb *zuo shoushu* (do operation) used in the following clause:

Accident095
 (48) *ɕw⁵³ʂu⁵³ tso¹¹ tɔ¹¹kĩ⁵⁵ je¹³ -ŋa rã⁵⁵*
 operationCH doCH that.PL VBZR.DO NGA REN
 'When operating and that stuff,'

In (48), the syntactic order of the Chinese compound verb is first changed from *zuo4 shou3shu4* 'do operation' to *shoushu zuo* 'operation do'. Then it is treated as a nominal as reflected in the addition of the demonstrative plural pronoun *tɔ¹¹kĩ⁵⁵*. Then the verbalizer *je¹³* is added to the whole noun phrase.

Verbs and some of the main verbal categories have been discussed in this chapter. Chapter Nine will discuss the verb phrase, Chapter Ten will discuss final auxiliary verbs and Chapter Eleven the structure of basic clauses employing copulas and lexical verbs as the predicate.

Chapter 5 Adjectives

In Dongwang, there are two classes of words that code property concepts. Using the parameters of Dixon (2004), the first ('adjectives') can be described as non-verb-like and noun-like, and the second ('descriptive verbs') as verb-like and non-noun-like. Adjectives are distinct from nouns in that they can modify other nouns and exhibit some negation strategies that nouns do not. Descriptive verbs are also distinct from other verbs in that they participate in comparative constructions. Descriptive verbs are distinct from adjectives in that they exhibit many verbal characteristics that adjectives do not have.

This chapter discusses morphological characteristics of adjectives in §5.1, syntactic properties of adjectives and descriptive verbs in §5.2, and semantic characteristics of adjectives and descriptive verbs in §5.3. Comparatives, superlatives, and excessives are discussed in §5.4.

5.1 *Morphological characteristics of adjectives*

There is no single derivational morphology that distinguishes adjectives from other word classes in Dongwang. Most adjectives are disyllabic¹, although there are a few tri- and quadri-syllabic adjectival compounds. With few exceptions, descriptive

¹ In a count of 112 adjectives in my lexical database, 93 were disyllabic and 18 were monosyllabic.

verbs are monosyllabic.² Adjectives can be subdivided into four groups that share morphological characteristics: nominalized adjectives, reduplicated adjectives, compounded adjectives, and plain adjectives.

In my texts, adjectives are not very common. In non-elicited clauses, twenty-one adjectives account for sixty-two occurrences that are found in the data. Part of the reason for these low numbers is due to the relatively small corpus (fifteen hundred and sixty-five non-elicited clauses), but the infrequent use of adjectives suggests that speakers simply do not use adjectives that much. Therefore, this chapter leans heavily on elicited data.

In spite of the relatively infrequent occurrence of adjectives in natural text, a few observations may be helpful. Many of the adjectives that occur in natural text are 'basic adjectives' expressing 'good' (*a¹¹ɲō⁵⁵* and *ja¹³*), 'old' (*ga⁵⁵gã⁵³*), 'young' (*ɲ¹¹tɕ^hō⁵⁵*, *tɕ^hō⁵⁵*) and colors (*mə⁵⁵mæ⁵³* 'red' and *kə⁵⁵kæ⁵³* 'white'). In addition, certain adjectives are repeated in stories like *Rabbit* and *MyLife* (*gue¹³ça⁵³* 'cunning' and *do¹¹re⁵³* 'miserable').

² Exceptions in my database are *k^hi⁵⁵ɲæ⁵³* 'dangerous', *dza¹¹ⁿdza⁵⁵* 'same' and *gue³⁵ça⁵³* 'clever'.

Occasionally attributive adjectives are used for identificational purposes as in *Prodigal*. The two sons are described as the older son ($pə^{13} tɕ^hə^{11} wu^{55}$ 'boy' + 'big') and the younger son ($pə^{13} tɕ^hə^{11} tɕ^hə̃^{55}$ 'boy' + 'little').

5.1.1 Nominalized adjectives

Some adjectives, roughly one quarter of those in my database, have arisen from verbs³ and retain old nominalizing suffixes such as <pa>, <po>, <mo> or <ma>. The situation is thus unlike that in Lhasa Tibetan in which nearly all adjectives are constructed from <po>, but more similar to Dege Khams in which most adjectives are constructed from <pa>, <po>, <ma>, or <mo> (Häsler 1999: 82ff; sKal.bZang.'Gyur.Med 2000: 127ff).

$ʒə^{13} pa^{53}$	<rgyags.pa>	'fat'	$tɕ^hə^{11} wu^{55}$	<chen.po>	'big'
$l̥ə^{55} ba^{53}$	<rlon.pa>	'wet'	$kə^{55} mə^{11}$	<skam.po>	'dry'
$ʃi^{55} ba^{53}$	<rnying.pa>	'old'	$ri^{11n} dæ^{55} \sim r̃i^{11} mə^{55}$	<ring.po>	'long'
$se:^{55} wa^{53}$	<gsar.pa>	'new'	$ma^{11} mə^{55}$	<mang.po>	'many'
$tso^{55} wə̃^{53}$	<gtsang.ma>	'clean'	$dzi:^{55} mə^{11}$	<mdzes.ma>	'pretty'

Some of these adjectives have synchronic descriptive verb correlates. For example, the verb $kā^{53}$ 'to dry' and the adjective $kə^{55} mə^{11}$ 'dry', or the verb $ʒa^{13}$ 'to be fat' and the adjective $ʒə^{13} pa^{53}$ 'fat'. Many adjectives, however, seem to have arisen

³ As far as I know, speakers are unable to make a connection between verbs and adjectives.

from verbs, but do not have synchronic verb forms. For example, *di⁵⁵mə¹¹* 'peaceful, smooth', *ɲe:⁵⁵mə¹¹* 'sweet', and *dʒi:⁵⁵pa⁵³* 'heavy'.

5.1.2 Reduplicated adjectives

Reduplicated adjectives include basic color terms, dimension, or intensified adjectives. Both color terms and dimension involve reduplication of the stem. The vowel of the first syllable is *usually* an unstressed schwa.

COLOR TERMS

<i>hũ⁵⁵hũ¹¹</i>	'blue'	<i>kə⁵⁵kæ⁵³</i>	'white'
<i>nə⁵⁵na⁵³</i>	'black'	<i>mə⁵⁵mæ⁵³</i>	'red'
<i>sə⁵⁵sæ⁵³</i>	'yellow'		

A notable exception to reduplication of basic color terms is the word for 'green' <|jang.khu> *dʒō¹¹k^{hə}⁵⁵*.

DIMENSION

<i>tɕ^{hə}¹¹tɕ^{hə}⁵⁵</i>	'small'	<i>t^{hə}¹¹t^{hə}⁵⁵</i>	'short (length)'
<i>zə¹¹zō⁵⁵</i>	'lightweight'	<i>t^{hə}⁵⁵t^{hə}⁵³</i>	'near', 'close'

INTENSIFIED FORMS

Many disyllabic adjectives can be reduplicated when the speaker wants to express some intensive quality. This type of reduplication always involves reduplication of the whole word.

<i>ma</i> ¹¹ <i>mə</i> ⁵⁵	'many'	<i>ma</i> ¹¹ <i>mə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ma</i> ¹¹ <i>mə</i> ⁵⁵	'abundant'
<i>nə</i> ¹¹ <i>na</i> ⁵³	'black'	<i>nə</i> ¹¹ <i>na</i> ⁵³ <i>nə</i> ¹¹ <i>na</i> ⁵³	'really black'
<i>ba</i> ¹¹ⁿ <i>dzã</i> ⁵⁵	'big'	<i>ba</i> ¹¹ⁿ <i>dzã</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ba</i> ¹¹ⁿ <i>dzã</i> ⁵⁵	'huge'

Reduplication expresses intensity in other parts of the grammar as well. For example reflexive pronouns (§3.2.2), interrogative pronouns (§7.2.2) and directional verb prefixes (§9.1.1.2).

5.1.3 Compounds

Some polysyllabic adjectives are constructed from compounds such as *jɣ*¹¹*tɕ*^h*õ*⁵⁵ 'young' (year + small), and *rə*¹¹*ba*⁵⁵ *si*⁵⁵ *pə*¹¹ 'smart' (bone + peaceful).

Adjective + Adjective combinations are rare and are restricted to modified color terms such as the following.

<i>hũ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>hũ</i> ¹¹ 'blue'	+ <i>kə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kæ</i> ⁵³ 'white'	= <i>hũ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kæ</i> ⁵³ 'light blue'
<i>dzõ</i> ¹¹ <i>k</i> ^h <i>ə</i> ⁵⁵ 'green'	+ <i>kə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kæ</i> ⁵³ 'white'	= <i>dzõ</i> ¹¹ <i>kæ</i> ⁵³ 'light green'
<i>dzõ</i> ¹¹ <i>k</i> ^h <i>ə</i> ⁵⁵ 'green'	+ <i>nə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>na</i> ⁵³ 'black'	= <i>dzõ</i> ¹¹ <i>na</i> ⁵³ 'dark green'

5.1.4 'Plain' Adjectives

The final group of adjectives includes those that do not have verbal correlates and do not seem to have any derivational relationship with verbs.

<i>ba</i> ¹¹ⁿ <i>dzã</i> ⁵⁵ [<i>~ ba</i> ¹¹ <i>ŋa</i> ⁵³]	'big'	<i>ba</i> ¹¹ <i>lã</i> ⁵³	'big'
<i>a</i> ¹¹ <i>ŋõ</i> ⁵⁵	'good'	<i>a</i> ⁵⁵ <i>bæ</i> ⁵³	'bad'
<i>t</i> ^h <i>ã</i> ⁵³	'bad' ⁴	<i>tsə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ka</i> ⁵³	'small'
<i>ŋə</i> ¹³ <i>le</i> ⁵³	'soft'	<i>sə</i> ¹¹ <i>kũ</i> ⁵³	'hard'

5.2 Syntactic Properties of adjectives and descriptive verbs

Adjectives can function as nominal modifiers in a noun phrase and as copula complements (CC) in predicates. Descriptive verbs function as copula complements, but cannot modify a head noun unless they are first nominalized. Unlike adjectives, descriptive verbs can occur with verbal morphology such as directional suffixes, TAM marking, and auxiliary forms reserved for verbs. Nouns can function as CC, but do not function as attributives and do not occur in comparative constructions. Finally, like nouns, but unlike verbs⁵, adjectives can be verbalized. Most descriptive verbs can participate in relative clauses, but adjectives must first be verbalized.

⁴ The adjective *t*^h*ã*⁵³ is one of the few monosyllabic adjectives in Dongwang. Some speakers say that it has been borrowed from the nearby rGyalhang dialect.

⁵ With the exception of verbs borrowed from Mandarin. See §4.3.2.

5.2.1 Nominal modifiers

When adjectives modify a head noun in a noun phrase, they *usually*⁶ follow the noun.

- (1). ⁿdə³⁵³ zi¹³ zə¹¹zō⁵⁵ =kĩ kō¹¹da⁵³ re
 this book light =PL expensive COP.OTHR
 'These light books are expensive'
- (2). ⁿdə³⁵³ zi¹³ kō¹¹da⁵³ =kĩ zə¹¹zō⁵⁵ re
 this book expensive =PL light COP.OTHR
 'These expensive books are light'

Descriptive verbs cannot modify nouns unless they are first nominalized. The distinction between adjectives and descriptive verbs can be illustrated by the adjective *a¹¹nō⁵⁵* 'good', and the descriptive verb *ja¹³* 'good'. Speakers find it difficult to

⁶ In some Tibetan dialects, there are two possible adjective positions, pre- and post-nominal. When the adjective precedes the noun, there must be some intervening morphology. In Lhasa Tibetan, this is the genitive casemarker:

<me.tog dkar.po>	<i>flower white</i>	'white flower'
<dkar.po'i me.tog>	<i>white.GEN flower</i>	'white flower'

In Dongwang, speakers rarely accept Adj-N order in elicited data and there are only a few rare occurrences in natural discourse.

MyLife041

<i>tã¹³</i>	<i>ŋa¹³</i>	<i>rə</i>	<i>p^{hə}p^{hə}p^{hə}p^{hə}</i>	<i>jY¹¹tɕ^{hə}ō⁵⁵</i>	<i>a¹¹ka⁵³</i>	<i>re¹¹</i>	<i>ɕi</i>
then	1SABS	TOP	FILLER	young	child	COP.OTHR	MAL

'Then as for me, uh, I was (just) a young child'

The example above illustrates Adj-N word order. Apparently, if the adjective followed the head noun, the speaker would be referring not to herself, but to her child (or some other child) as the genitive on the first-person pronoun is optional when expressing kin relations.

Speakers accept a few other Adj-N word order combinations, but not all. As far as I know, no studies exist as to why speakers may choose one form over another.

identify any meaning difference between the two words, as the distinction lies not in semantic, but in distributional characteristics. The adjective $a^{11}j\tilde{o}^{55}$ can function as a CC (§5.1.2) and as a modifier of a head noun, but the verb ja^{13} can only function as a CC.

GetMar087

- (3). $a^{11}ka^{53}$ = $k\tilde{i}$ $a^{11}j\tilde{o}^{55}$ ndo
 child =PL good EX.AN.SELF
 '(My) children are good'

MyLife056

- (4). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ ja^{13} $p^h\tilde{a}p^h\tilde{a}p^h\tilde{a}$ $lo^{55}s\tilde{o}^{11}$ $a^{11}j\tilde{o}^{55}$ $t\tilde{c}i$ ndo
 then 1SDAT filler teacher good INDF EX.AN.SELF
 'Then I had a good teacher'

In (3) the adjective $a^{11}j\tilde{o}^{55}$ occurs as a copula complement of the existential ndo and in (4) as a modifier of $lo^{55}s\tilde{o}^{11}$ 'teacher'. In order for the descriptive verb ja^{13} to function as an attributive, it must first be nominalized.

Prod047

- (5). $t\tilde{o}^{55}$ kue^{13} ja^{13} $-wa$ $t\tilde{o}$ k^hua^{53} = $j\tilde{a}$
 that clothes good -NMZ SPEC 3SDAT =DAT

$\tilde{s}\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t\tilde{c}o^{53}$ re s
 wear CAUS COP.OTHR QTV
 'Put those good clothes on him' (he) said'

Many adjectives can function as a whole noun phrase when the range of possible referents the adjective can refer to is limited, or when the referent has been established in discourse or speech context.

- GetMarried005
 (6). $pa^{55}w\tilde{o}^{53} =k\bar{i}$ $r\bar{o}$ $\zeta\tilde{u}^{55} =n\partial$ $ga^{55}g\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53} =k\bar{i} =ji$
 parents =PL and home =LOC old =PL =ERG
 '(My) parents and the old (people) at home'...

The inclusion of $n\partial^{13}$ 'person' in a noun phrase such as $n\partial^{13} ga^{55}g\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$ 'old people' is redundant since the adjective $ga^{55}g\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$ 'old' can only refer to 'old people'⁷. Because the range of possible head nouns that most adjectives can modify is much greater than $ga^{55}g\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$ 'old', most adjectives do not function as a whole noun phrase.

Sometimes an adjective will function as the single element in a noun phrase when the referent can be deduced by the surrounding discourse. In the context of the following example, the speaker is giving reasons why she left home at an early age. After her father left home and her younger brother went away to study, she felt that there was no 'good (family member)' at home to care for her.

- LeavingHome
 (7). $\zeta\tilde{u}^{55} =n\partial$ $mb\partial^{33}$ $a^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ $ma-$ ndo $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{55}$
 home =LOC down good NEG EX.AN.SELF REN
 'When there was no good (person) at home' (=no one to help her find work)...

⁷ There is another adjective that expresses 'old, inanimate'.

Here, the context limits the range of possible references that the adjective $a^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ 'good' can modify. Further, the use of the animate existential $^n do$ helps to limit her reference to animates.

5.2.2 Copula complements

In addition to functioning as noun modifiers, adjectives can also function as copula complements (CC).

(8). ηa^{13} $\text{ɕ}\tilde{a}^{13}k\tilde{a}^{55}/z\tilde{a}^{13}p a^{53}$ $z\tilde{i}/re$
 1SABS thin/fat COP.SELF/OTHR
'I am thin/fat'

(9). ηe^{13} kue^{13} $\text{ɕ}e^{55}wa^{53}/k\tilde{o}^{55}m\tilde{o}^{11}$ $z\tilde{i}/re$
 1SGEN clothes wet COP.SELF/OTHR
'My clothes are wet/dry'

Nouns can also occur in CC position. The clauses above are exactly like declarative clauses with a nominal copula complement.

Copula complement slots are commonly filled by nouns or plain adjectives.

(10). ηa^{13} $m\tilde{a}^{11}ba^{55}$ $z\tilde{i}$
 1SABS doctor COP.SELF
'I am a doctor'

(11). $k^h\tilde{o}^{55}$ $m\tilde{a}^{11}ba^{55}$ re
 3SABS doctor COP.OTHR
'S/he is a doctor'

Descriptive verbs rarely occur as copula complements but tend to pattern according to non-control verbs in declarative clauses.

(12). ηa^{13} $z a^{53}$ $s\tilde{o}/*z\tilde{i}$
 1SABS fat EGO/*COP.SELF
 'I am fat' (~ have become fat)

(13). ηa^{13} tu^{53} $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS hungry EGO
 'I am hungry'

Adjectives can occur as a complement of $re^{11}d\zeta i^{55}$ or of $t\zeta^h a^{13}$, both of which mean 'to become'.

KillPig024
 (14). tsu^{53} $p^h\partial^{55}$ $k\partial^{55}k\partial^{53}$ $re^{11}d\zeta i?$
 lard thither white COP.OTHR
 '...the lard will become white'

$t\zeta^h a^{13}$ has a specific meaning of something that rises to the surface, for example, when chaff rises to the surface when cleaning rice.

Hardship118
 (15). du^{353} = ji $ti^{55}pa^{53}$ $p^h\partial-$ $s\partial^{55}s\partial^{53}$ $t\zeta^h a^{13}$ $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ $d\zeta i?$
 rock =GEN top thither yellow become come OTHR
 'The top of the rock will turn yellow'

In the example above, the speaker is narrating his experience learning to fire limestone. When limestone is heated up, the impurities come to the surface and the surface becomes yellow.

5.2.3 Verbal morphology

Unlike adjectives, descriptive verbs can be marked with verbal morphology in the same way as any other intransitive predicate. This includes the ability to take aspectual marking, directional verbs, causative suffixes, change-of-state suffixes, and to co-occur with auxiliary verbs. Adjectives must first be modified in some way in order to participate in such verbal marking.

5.2.3.1 Adjectives and aspectual and directional marking

Descriptive verbs can be marked with aspectual and directional morphemes just like other verbs, but adjectives cannot. Thus the following clauses that occur with descriptive verbs cannot be expressed with adjectives.

Butter&Cheese026: Descriptive verb $ts^h a^{13}$ 'hot'

- (16). $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $z\partial-$ $ts^h a^{13}$ $t^h \tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
then up hot PFV REN
'Then when (the milk) has been heated up',

Elicited1318: Descriptive verb $z a^{13}$ 'fat'

- (17). φe^{55} $z a^{13}$ de $n\tilde{o}$
2SABS fat CONT VIS.IPFV
'You are fat' (e.g., in the state of being fat)

Examples (16) and (17) show that descriptive verbs can occur with the perfective morpheme $t^h \tilde{a}$ and the continuative morpheme de , but the adjective forms $ts^h a^{11} w a^{55}$ 'hot' and $z a^{11} p a^{53}$ cannot.

The directional secondary verbs (V2 §9.2.1.2) *wũ* 'COME' and *ⁿdzu* 'GO' can occur directly after a descriptive verb, but not directly after an adjective. In order for a secondary verb to follow an adjective, it must be preceded by a copula.

MyLife265: Adjective, copula, directional V2

- (18). *æ*¹³ *nə* *rõ*¹¹*rõ*⁵⁵ *la* *ga*¹³*gæ*⁵³ *re* *wũ*
 now NA REFL also old COP.OTHR COME
 'Now, (I) myself am getting old'

Elicited903: Descriptive verb, directional V2

- (19). *tY*¹¹*jY*⁵⁵ *ja*¹³ *wũ*
 this year good COME
 'Good is going to come this year' ~ 'This year is going to be good'

5.2.3.2 Adjectives and causative constructions

When descriptive verbs occur as predicates, they can be directly followed by the causative verb *tɕo*⁵³.

MyLife104

- (20). *dzo*¹¹*zə*⁵⁵ *tə*¹¹ *rə* *ja*¹³ *tsi* *t^hu*⁵³ *tɕo*⁵³
 desk that TOP up little high CAUS
 'The desks, (they) made a little higher'

Elicited

- (21). *ɕi*⁵⁵ *k^hə*⁵⁵ *ga*¹³ *tɕo*⁵³ *-sa* *a*⁵³ *jæ*⁵³
 2SERG 3SABS happy CAUS -NMZ QST MOD
 'Can you make her/him laugh?'

Adjectives cannot be followed directly by the causative verb.

- (22). zə- rĩ¹³ tɕo⁵³ (23). *zə ri¹¹mə⁵⁵ tɕo⁵³
 up long CAUS *up long CAUS
 'make (something) long/er'

When an adjective co-occurs with the causative, it functions as the complement of the copula *re*, which is then followed by the causative.

- Elicited
 (24). ɕi⁵⁵ ŋe¹³ kue¹³ kã¹¹tsõ⁵⁵ tsu⁵⁵pa⁵³ re
 2SERG 1SGEN clothes clean dirty COP.OTHR
 tɕo⁵³ t^hã ñõ
 CAUS PFV VIS.EVI
 'You made my clean clothes dirty'

5.2.3.3 Adjectives and change-of-state suffix *-ra*

A descriptive verb can be followed directly with the change-of-state suffix *-ra*

(§9.2.1.2.1), just like other verbs.

- Butter&Cheese013: Descriptive verb kã⁵³ 'dry'
 (25). tã⁵⁵ t^hi⁵³ p^hə⁵⁵ kã⁵³ -ra
 then cheese thither dry -RA
 'Then dry out the cheese'

- RabbitA041: Descriptive verb tɕ^hõ¹³ 'small', 'short'
 (26). lə¹¹pə⁵⁵ p^hə tɕ^hõ¹³ -ra rã⁵⁵
 body thither small -RA REN
 'When (the rabbit's) body became short'...

Clauses with an adjective complement must first be followed by a copula and then followed by the suffix *-ra*.

Prod013: Adjective *do¹¹re⁵³* 'miserable'

- (27). *tæ⁵⁵ do¹¹re⁵³ re -ra dzi?*
 then miserable COP.OTHR -RA OTHR
 'Then (he) became miserable'

Elicited330: Adjective *pe⁵⁵ɲæ⁵³* 'broken'

- (28). *ŋa¹³ tō⁵⁵wā⁵³ =nə wæ¹¹ri⁵⁵ ⁿdzu¹³ rǎ⁵⁵*
 1SABS Dongwang =LOC time go REN

tɕ^hə⁵⁵zə¹¹ pe⁵⁵ɲæ⁵³ wæ¹¹ri⁵⁵ re -ra dzi?
 car broken time COP.OTHR -RA OTHR
 'Every time I go to Dongwang, the car breaks down'

RabbitA040: Adjective *ri¹¹mə⁵⁵* 'long'

- (29). *nē⁵⁵ji¹¹ rə zə³³ ri¹¹mə⁵⁵ re -ra*
 ears TOP up long COP.OTHR -RA
 '(His) ears became long'

The following table summarizes some of the syntactic distinctions between 'plain adjectives' and 'descriptive verbs' discussed so far.

FEATURE	PLAIN ADJECTIVES	DESCRIPTIVE VERBS
Nominal modifier	Yes	No
Copula Complement	Yes	Rare
Directional prefix	No	Yes
Aspect marking	No	Yes
Directional V2	No	Yes
Causative	No	Yes
Change-of-state suffix <i>-ra</i>	No	Yes

TABLE 20: DISTRIBUTIONAL FEATURES OF PLAIN ADJECTIVES AND DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

5.2.3.4 Adjectives and auxiliary verbs

Descriptive verbs can be followed by many of the same auxiliary verbs that can follow other verbs. Adjectives, on the other hand, are restricted, as shown in the table below.

		Adjectives	Descriptive Verbs
SELF copula	<i>zĩ</i>	√	--
OTHER copula	<i>re</i>	√	[√]
SELF auxiliary	<i>dzĩ</i>	--	--
OTHER auxiliary	<i>dziʔ</i>	--	√
egodeictic auxiliary	<i>sõ</i>	--	√
OTHR copula, egodeictic	<i>re sõ</i>	√	--
visual evidential, IPFV	<i>nõ</i>	√	√
visual evidential, PFV	<i>t^{hi}</i>	--	√
existential, +an, SELF	<i>ⁿdo</i>	[√]	√
existential, -an, SELF	<i>ze</i>	?	?
existential, +an, OTHER	<i>ⁿdo¹¹dziʔ</i>	√ ?	--?
existential, -an, OTHER	<i>ze¹¹dzi</i>	√	√
zero	<i>0</i>	√	√

TABLE 21: DISTRIBUTION OF PLAIN ADJECTIVES AND DESCRIPTIVE VERBS WITH FINAL AUXILIARIES

There are a few comments to make regarding the forms in Table (21) above. First, while there is some overlap of forms (e.g., *nõ*, *ze¹¹dzi*, and *zero*), it is clear that adjectives and descriptive verbs form two distinct distributional classes. The absence

of descriptive verbs co-occurring with the first person SELF form *dzĩ* or the perfective SELF auxiliary *ji* is not surprising since descriptive verbs tend to pattern similar to non-controllable verbs (§4.1.3), as in the following examples:

- Elicited783
 (30). ηa^{13} $k^h\partial^{55}$ $t_s^he^{13}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS 3SABS encounter EGO
 'I ran into (=encountered) him/her'

- Elicited469
 (31). ηa^{13} $\eta u^{55}\epsilon i^{11}$ ge^{53} $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS sweat VBZR EGO
 'I sweated'

- Elicited1316
 (32). ηa^{13} za^{13} $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS fat EGO
 'I am fat'

In (32) the descriptive verb *za*¹³ 'fat' patterns just as the non-control verbs 'to encounter' and 'to sweat' in examples (30) and (31). But adjectives are not grammatical in this same construction.

- (33). * ηa^{13} $za^{11}pa^{55}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 *1SABS fat EGO
 *'I am fat'

Instead, adjectives first are followed by the copula, and then the clause can be followed by the ego-deictic auxiliary *sõ*.

- Collecting
 (34). *si*⁵⁵*pə*¹¹ *re* *sõ* *s^hã* *-nə* *zi*¹¹*rə*⁵⁵
 happy COP.OTHR EGO THINK -NZR ADVERS
 '(I) thought I would be happy but,'

Adjectives most frequently co-occur with OTHER and SELF copulas, but Table (21) shows that they can also occur as complements of evidential and existential forms. The occurrence of adjectives as complements of existential copulas is rare in my data. The co-occurrence of adjectives with the imperfective visual evidential *ŋõ* but not with the perfective form *t^hi* is a semantic constraint.

5.2.3.5 Adjectives and clause combining

A look at clause combining also reveals a distinction between descriptive verbs and adjectives. A descriptive verb can be followed by the medial verbs *ni* or *ræ*⁵⁵, but an adjective cannot unless it is followed by a copula.

Nouns which occur as the object complement of the verb *tʂa*⁵³ 'to fear', 'to be afraid of' are marked with the allative casemarker = *tʂa* as in the following example.

- Elicited
 (35). *ŋa*¹³ *çə*⁵³ = *tʂa* *tʂa*⁵³
 1SABS dog/s =ALL fear
 'I am afraid of dogs'

When verbs occur as the object complement of the verb *tʃa*⁵³, the connective =*tu* is used⁸.

- Elicited
 (36). *ŋa*¹³ *tu*⁵³ [*wũ*¹³] =*tu* *tʃa*⁵³ *ʃi*
 1SABS hungry COME =TU fear KNOW
'I am afraid of being hungry'

Descriptive verbs can occur as a complement of the verb *tʃa*⁵³, and like other verbs, can be followed by a serial verb, or a copula and serial verb.

- Elicited
 (37). *ŋa*¹³ *ʒa*⁵³ [*wũ*¹³] =*tu* *tʃa*⁵³ *ʃi*
 1SABS fat come =TU fear MOD
'I am afraid of becoming fat'

Adjectives must first be followed by the copula *re*:

- (38). *ŋa*¹³ *a*⁵⁵*bæ*⁵³ *re* =*tu* *tʃa*⁵³ *ʃi*
 1SABS bad COP.OTHR =TU fear MOD
'I am afraid of becoming bad' (=a bad person)

5.2.4 Negation strategies

Adjectives and descriptive verbs exhibit negation strategies different from each other. In this section, negation patterns of descriptive verbs and adjectives are compared.

⁸ This is likely the WT allative/locative casemarker <tu>.

5.2.4.1 Clauses with first-person S arguments

Adjectives and descriptive verbs can be negated with the negative prefix *ma-* and the OTHER copula *re*.

- Elicited
 (39). ηa^{13} $z a^{11} p a^{53} / z a^{13}$ *ma-* *re*
 1SABS fat NEG COP.OTHR
 'I am not fat'

- Elicited
 (40). ηa^{13} $s i^{55} p \partial^{11} / s i^{53}$ *ma-* *re*
 1SABS comfortable NEG COP.OTHR
 'I am not comfortable'

- Elicited
 (41). ηa^{13} $g a^{55} g \tilde{a}^{53}$ *ma-* *re*
 1SABS old NEG COP.OTHR
 'I am not old'

Unlike adjectives, descriptive verbs in clauses with first-person S arguments are negated with the negative prefix *ma-* and the irrealis ego auxiliary *zõ*.

- Elicited
 (42). ηa^{13} $s i^{53}$ *ma-* *zõ* * ηa^{13} $s i^{55} p \partial^{11}$ *ma-* *zõ*
 1SABS comfortable NEG EGO.IR
 'I am not comfortable' (or 'I did not/have not become comfortable')

- Elicited
 (43). ηa^{13} $z a^{13}$ *ma-* *zõ* * ηa^{13} $z a^{11} p a^{53}$ *ma-* *zõ*
 1SABS fat NEG EGO.IR
 'I am not fat' (or 'I did not become fat')

Non-control verbs in clauses with first-person S arguments can also be negated in the same way.

Elicited

- (44). ηa^{13} $t\epsilon i^{53}$ la $t^h\tilde{u}^{353}$ $ma-$ $z\tilde{o}$
 1SERG one even see NEG EGO.IR
'I did not even see one'

Elicited

- (45). ηa^{13} $t\epsilon\partial o^{53}$ $ma-$ $z\tilde{o}$
 1SABS fall NEG EGO.IR
'I did not fall'

Adjectives can be negated with *ma- zō* only when the adjective or noun is followed by the OTHER copula *re*.

- (46). ηa^{13} $si^{55}p\partial^{11}$ re $ma-$ $z\tilde{o}$
 1SABS comfortable COP.OTHR NEG EGO.IR
'I am not comfortable'

- (47). ηa^{13} $z\partial^{11}pa^{53}$ re $ma-$ $z\tilde{o}$
 1SABS fat COP.OTHR NEG EGO.IR
'I am not fat'

Adjectives, like nouns, can be negated with the negative SELF copula.

- (48). ηa^{13} $a^{11}j\tilde{o}^{55}$ me (49). $*\eta a^{13}$ ja^{13} me^{13}
 1SABS good NEG.COP.SELF
'I am not good'

- (50). ηa^{13} pe^{13} me
 1SABS Tibetan NEG.COP.SELF
'I am not Tibetan'

The negative prefix *ma-* can occur before descriptive verbs, but not adjectives,

as in the following clauses.

- (51). ηa^{13} *ma-* sa^{53} $\eta\tilde{o}$
 1SABS NEG hot EVI
'I am not hot'

- (52). ηa^{13} *ma-* $\zeta^h a^{53}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 1SABS NEG cold EVI
'I am not cold'

Finally, future descriptive verb clauses with first-person S arguments can be negated with the future negative particle $p\tilde{a}^{53}$:

- (53). ηa^{13} $z a^{13}$ ($w\tilde{u}^{13}$) $p\tilde{a}^{53}$
 1SABS fat (come) NEG.FUT
'I am not/will not become fat'

5.2.4.2 Adjectives and clauses with non-first-person S arguments

Both adjectives and descriptive verbs can be negated with the negative prefix *ma-* as in the following examples.

- (54). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $z\ae^{11}pa^{53}/za^{13}$ *ma-* $\eta\tilde{o}$
 3SABS fat NEG EVI
'S/he is not fat/has not become fat'

- (55). dzi^{353} *ma-* $g\tilde{o}^{33}$
 well NEG full
'The well was not full'

Like clauses with first-person S arguments, adjectives can occur with the negative copula OTHER form *ma-re*. Unlike clauses with first-person S arguments, descriptive verbs cannot.

- (56). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $z\partial^{11}pa^{53}$ *ma-re* (57) $*k^h\partial^{55}$ za^{13} *ma-re*
 3SABS fat NEG COP.OTHR
 'S/he is not fat'

5.2.5 Adverbial functions of adjectives

The most common adjectives which also function as adverbs are $t\epsilon^h\partial^{11}wu^{55}/t\epsilon^h\partial^{53}$ 'big', 'very', $a^{11}p\tilde{o}^{55}$ 'good', 'well', $a^{55}b\partial^{53}$ 'bad', 'really', and $ts\partial^{55}ka^{53}$ or $ts\partial^{55}gu^{53}$ 'little', 'slightly'. As adverbs, they are frequently followed by the indefinite marker $t\epsilon i$ 'one' (§6.1 and §7.1.1.2).

Accident022

- (58). $k^h\tilde{I}^{55}ba^{53}$ = $g\tilde{o}$ $ts\partial^{55}gu^{53}$ $t^h\partial^{53}$ $we^{55}no^{11}$
 leg =OBJ little hit INF
 '(They) said (her) leg was hit a bit'.

Elicited139

- (59). ηa^{13} $a^{55}b\partial^{53}$ $t\epsilon i$ tu^{53} $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS bad INDF hungry EGO
 'I am really hungry'.

5.3 Semantic Categories

The distribution of adjectives in this section is arranged following the semantic types given in Dixon 2004. Some adjectives do not have verbal corrolaries

and some descriptive verbs also do not. Each of these will be discussed in the sections that follow.

5.3.1 Dimension

Most of the basic dimensions can be expressed by an adjective or by a descriptive verb.

ADJECTIVES

t^hə¹¹t^hõ⁵⁵ 'short length'
ĩĩ¹¹ⁿdæ⁵⁵ ~ ĩĩ¹¹mə⁵⁵ 'long length'
tɕ^hə¹¹tɕ^hõ⁵⁵ 'short' (height), 'small'
ts^hə⁵⁵ka⁵³ 'small'
ts^hə⁵⁵gu⁵³ 'small'
mə¹¹mo⁵³ 'short'
t^hu⁵⁵mə 'tall'
tɕ^hə¹¹wu⁵⁵ 'big'
t^ho⁵⁵wu¹¹ 'thick' (inanimate)
sə⁵⁵so⁵³ 'thin' (inanimate)
ba¹¹ⁿdzã⁵⁵ (~ba¹¹ŋã⁵³) 'big'
ba¹¹ĩẽ⁵³ 'big'
ʂã¹¹kã⁵⁵ 'thin'
zæ¹¹pa⁵³ 'fat' (animate¹⁰)

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

t^hõ⁵³
ĩĩ¹³ 'long'
tɕ^hõ¹³ 'short', 'small'

mo⁵³ 'short'
t^hu⁵³
tɕ^hi⁵³

ʂã¹³ 'thin'⁹
za¹³ 'fat'

⁹ This is the same word used for 'to lose' as in *ɕe⁵⁵ka¹¹tsi⁵³ʂã¹³sõ* 'how much (money) did you lose?'

zõ¹¹mə⁵⁵ 'wide'

zõ¹³ 'wide'

tu¹¹dʒue⁵⁵ 'narrow'

5.3.2 Age

ADJECTIVES (Simple adjectives)

jY¹¹tɕ^hõ⁵⁵ 'young' (+AN)

tɕ^hə¹¹tɕ^hõ⁵⁵ 'young' (+AN)

se:⁵⁵wa⁵³~ se:⁵⁵pa⁵³ 'new' (-AN)

ga:⁵⁵gæ⁵³ 'old' (+AN)

nĩ⁵⁵ba⁵³ 'old' (-AN)

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

tɕ^hõ⁵⁵ 'young'

gi¹³ 'old'¹¹

5.3.3 Value

ADJECTIVES

a¹¹nõ⁵⁵ 'good' both

ja¹¹pə⁵⁵ 'good'

næ¹¹mə⁵⁵

di¹¹mə⁵⁵ 'peaceful', 'pleasant', 'healthy'

s^ho¹³mə⁵⁵ 'peaceful'

a⁵⁵bæ⁵³ 'bad'

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

ja¹³ 'good'

nɛ¹³ 'good'

¹⁰ One exception that I know of is when it is used to modify 'meat as in *s^ha⁵³ zæ¹¹pa⁵³ re* 'the meat is fat'.

¹¹ The classification of *gi¹³* 'old' as a descriptive verb is tentative as it does not seem to pattern like the other descriptive verbs.

t^hæ⁵³ 'bad'¹²
p^he¹¹ⁿdə⁵⁵ 'useful', 'beneficial'
gō¹¹da⁵⁵ 'expensive'
gō¹¹lo⁵³ 'cheap'
dza¹¹mə⁵⁵ 'suitable' *dza~tsa*
dæ¹¹ba⁵⁵ 'real'
ʃu¹¹mo⁵⁵ 'fake'
k^hi⁵⁵ɲæ⁵³ 'dangerous'

5.3.4 Color

Only four basic colors 'red', 'yellow', 'black', and 'white', have verbal corrolaries.

<i>mə⁵⁵mæ⁵³</i> 'red'	<i>mæ⁵³</i> 'red'
<i>sə⁵⁵sæ⁵³</i> 'yellow'	<i>sæ⁵³</i> 'yellow'
<i>nə⁵⁵na⁵³</i> 'black'	<i>na⁵³</i> 'black'
<i>kə⁵⁵kæ⁵³</i> 'white'	<i>kæ⁵³</i> 'white'
<i>dzō¹¹k^hə⁵⁵</i> 'green'	
<i>hũ⁵⁵hũ¹¹</i> 'blue'	
<i>dzō¹¹na⁵³</i> 'dark green'	
<i>dzō¹¹gæ⁵⁵</i> 'light green'	
<i>hũ⁵⁵na⁵³</i> 'dark blue'	
<i>hũ⁵⁵gæ⁵³</i> 'light blue'	

¹² This may be borrowed from rGyalthang. Speakers say that some people in Dongwang use it to mean a more intense 'bad' such as 'evil'. It is interesting that in rGyalthang *t^hæ⁵³* can be used for inanimates (as in 'The potatoes are bad; don't eat them'), but in Dongwang it seems to be reserved for people.

5.3.5 Physical property

ADJECTIVES

ts^ha¹¹wa⁵⁵ 'hot' (to touch)

lẽ⁵⁵ba⁵³ 'wet'

ʃe⁵⁵wa⁵³ 'wet'

kə⁵³mə¹¹ 'dry'

gu⁵⁵guæ⁵³ 'round'

tsõ⁵⁵wõ⁵³ 'clean'

kã¹¹tsõ⁵⁵ 'clean'

ts^hu⁵⁵pa⁵³ 'dirty'

ⁿdʒã⁵³tĩ⁵³ 'quiet'

da⁵⁵mə¹¹ 'beautiful', 'cute'

dzi:⁵⁵mə¹¹ 'beautiful', 'handsome'

do⁵⁵ŋã⁵³ 'ugly'

ti⁵⁵na⁵³ 'deep'

zə¹¹zõ⁵⁵ 'light' (weight)

dʒi¹¹pa⁵³ 'heavy'

ɲə¹³le⁵³ 'soft'

sə¹¹ku⁵³ 'hard'

çə¹¹ko⁵³ 'crooked'

t^hi⁵⁵gɣ⁵³ 'straight'

tõ⁵⁵ba⁵³ 'empty'

pe⁵⁵ɲe⁵³ 'broken'

na⁵⁵mu⁵³ 'sharp'

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

sa⁵³ 'hot' (weather, animates)

ts^ha¹¹ 'hot'

tʃu¹³ 'warm' (weather)

ç^ha⁵³ 'cold' (animate)

tʃõ¹³ 'cold' (weather)

kã⁵³ 'dry'

tũ⁵³

dʒa¹¹ⁿdʒa⁵⁵ 'same'

ru¹³ 'rotten'

ɲu³⁵³ 'ripe'

ŋe:⁵⁵mə¹¹ 'sweet'
sə⁵⁵ɡua⁵³ 'sour'
kə⁵⁵tə⁵³ 'bitter'
kæ¹³mə⁵⁵ 'spicy', 'salty' (compare the two)
ʂə¹¹mə⁵⁵ 'tasty'

5.3.6 Human propensity

ADJECTIVES

do¹¹re⁵⁵ 'miserable'

ko⁵⁵pa⁵³ 'foolish'

tʂ^hã¹¹ba⁵⁵ 'strong'

ɡu¹¹rə⁵⁵si⁵⁵pə¹¹ 'smart'

ⁿdʒæ⁵⁵k^huæ⁵³ 'foolish'

pu⁵⁵re⁵³ 'impoverished'

ɲã¹¹ba⁵⁵ 'fierce'

si⁵⁵pə¹¹ 'comfortable', 'happy'

tʂa⁵⁵mə⁵³ 'to be close'

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

ɲu⁵⁵ 'crazy'

pu⁵³ 'upset stomach'

ɲã¹³ 'fierce'

ɡue³⁵çə⁵³ 'clever', 'cunning'

zə³³çə⁵³ 'efficient', 'smart'

ⁿdzĩ³⁵³ 'weird'

tʂ^hi⁵⁵, tʂ^hi⁵³çə¹¹ 'shy', 'embarrassed'

si⁵³ 'comfortable', 'happy'

ɡa¹³ 'happy', 'to laugh'

ⁿdzu⁵³ 'to be close'

k^ha⁵⁵mi⁵³ 'diligent'

5.3.7 Difficulty

ADJECTIVES

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

*je*¹¹*ka*⁵⁵ 'difficult'¹³

*je*¹¹*la*⁵⁵ 'easy'

*ka*⁵³ 'difficult'

*dz̃i*³³~*t̃ʂi*³⁵³ 'hardworking'

'difficult'

*la*⁵⁵ 'easy'

5.3.8 Quantification

ADJECTIVES

*ñga*¹¹*rə*⁵⁵ 'some, few'

*k^ha*¹¹*la*⁵³ 'all'

*t̃ʂa*¹¹*dz̃ō*⁵⁵ 'few'

DESCRIPTIVE VERBS

5.4 Comparatives, superlatives, and excessives

Both adjectives and descriptive verbs can function in comparative, superlative, and excessive constructions. When polysyllabic adjectives function within a comparative, superlative, or excessive construction, the second syllable is usually dropped.

5.4.1 Comparatives

A comparative construction involves a standard of comparison¹⁴, a marker of comparison, and a particular quality. The marker of comparison in Dongwang, =*ji*, is

¹³ Both *je*¹¹*ka*⁵⁵ 'difficult' and *je*¹¹*la*⁵⁵ 'easy' seem to have arisen from the verb 'do' (*je*¹³) followed by the appropriate adjectives.

a clitic that attaches to the standard of comparison¹⁵. The order of the topic of comparison and the standard of comparison is flexible, but generally the topic of comparison precedes the standard of comparison. The topic of comparison is frequently omitted if the referent has already been activated in the discourse.

There are two comparative constructions. In the first, the adjective occurs in an abbreviated form reserved for comparative constructions. This abbreviated form is frequently identical to the descriptive verb form. This pattern is illustrated with examples below:

Elicited1359: Comparative construction using *ga*⁵⁵*gæ*⁵³ 'old'

- (60). *ji*¹¹*çi*⁵⁵ *la*⁵⁵*ts*^h*u*⁵³ =*ji* *gi*¹³ *ŋõ*
 Yishi Lhatsu than older VIS.IPFV
 [TOPIC] [STANDARD] -CMKR ADJ.C
 'Yishi is older than Lhatsu'

- (61). *k*^h*ə*⁵⁵ *k*^h*ui*⁵⁵ =*ji* *gu*¹¹*rə*⁵⁵*si*⁵³ *ŋõ*
 3SABS 3SGEN than smarter VIS.IPFV
 [TOPIC] [STANDARD] -CMKR ADJ.C
 'S/he is smarter than him/her'.

- (62). ⁿ*də*³⁵³ *zi*¹³ *tə*⁵⁵ *zi*¹³ *tç*^h*i*⁵³ *ŋõ*
 this book that book big VIS.IPFV
 'This book is bigger than that book'

¹⁴ By standard of comparison, I mean the topic that something is compared to.

¹⁵ One possible etymology for *-ji* is WT genitive marker <yi> since it is formally identical. Another possibility is that it has come from the WT ablative <las>.

Frequently, $t\phi^{h_i53}$ 'big' is used in a non-specific sense in which the specific semantics are derived from the context.

- Comparative construction using $t\phi^{h\partial^{11}wu^{55}}$ 'big' for $t^hu^{55}m\partial^{11}$ 'tall'
- (63). ϕi^{55} $b\tilde{i}^{11}gi^{55}$ ηe^{13} =ji $t\phi^{h_i53}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 2SGEN stature 1SGEN than bigger VIS.IPFV
 [TOPIC] [STANDARD] -CMKR ADJ.C
 'You are taller than me'

In (62) $t\phi^{h_i53}$ 'big' does not specifically express height, but the idea of 'tall' is derived when it is used together with the noun $b\tilde{i}^{11}gi^{55}$ 'stature'. The descriptive verb t^hu^{53} 'tall', 'high' could be used, but my consultant said it does not sound as good.

The second type of comparative construction occurs with a descriptive verb or adjective followed by $t\phi^{h_i53}$ 'big'. These descriptive verbs and adjectives cannot occur by themselves.

- Elicited
- (64). $\phi i^{55}ji^{53}$ $\phi\partial^{53}$ $w\partial^{55}ji^{53}$ $\phi\partial^{53}$ =ji $na\tilde{e}^{13}$ $t\phi^{h_i53}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 2PLGEN dog 1PLGEN dog than fierce big EVL.IPFV
 'Your dog is more aggressive than our dog'

- Elicited
- (65). $\phi i^{55}ji^{53}$ $\phi\partial^{53}$ $w\partial^{55}ji^{53}$ $\phi\partial^{53}$ =ji
 2PLGEN dog 1PLGEN dog than
- $na\tilde{e}^{13}ba^{55}$ re $t\phi^{h_i53}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 fierce COP.OTHR big VIS.IPFV
 'Your dog is more aggressive than our dog'

Some constructions which use comparative forms involve the same subject but at a different point in time. These constructions are composed of a directional word, genitive casemarker, directional word and the comparative form of the adjective:

DIR + GEN + DIR + ADJ.COMP + (V2) + FINVERB

Elicited547

- (66). $pə^{11}w\tilde{o}^{55}$ $ts^hə^{55}$ = ji $ts^hə^{55}$ $tʂu^{13}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 sun hither =GEN hither warm EGO
'It is getting hotter and hotter'

Elicited556

- (67). $mi^{11}mu^{53}$ = ji $ts^ho^{55}wa^{53}$ $p^hə-$ ji $p^hə-$ do^{53} $n\tilde{o}$
 people =GEN life hither GEN hither miserable VIS.IPFV
'People's lives are getting more and more miserable'

5.4.2 Superlatives, intensives and Excessives

In Lhasa Tibetan and in Dege Tibetan (Häsler 1999: 118ff) the superlative form of adjectives are formed when a second syllable <shod> follows the adjective root. In Dongwang, there is no morpheme that forms superlatives. Rather, intensive constructions are used to express superlatives and intensives. Adverbs such as $\eta a^{55}t\tilde{a}^{53}$ 'really', 'very' can precede the adjective to express 'very (big, small, etc.) or adjectives can be reduplicated.

Adjectival excessive constructions can be formed with a monosyllabic adjective root followed by the malefactive suffix *-ɕi*.

- Elicited
(68). ⁿdə³⁵³ tə¹³ rĩ¹³ ɕi ni
this rope long MAL AUX
'This rope is too long'

Adjectival excessive constructions are distinct from verbal excessive constructions. Verbal excessive constructions are formed with the adverb *mu*¹³'too'.

- Elicited
(69). ^ka¹¹ tsõ⁵⁵ ŋe¹³ t^hõ⁵³ mu¹³ ra¹³ sõ
yesterday 1SERG drink too RA EGO
'Yesterday I drank too much'

Chapter 6 Adverbs

This chapter discusses adverbs, words or phrases that modify the meaning of the predicate or clause in some way and can be expressed by single words, phrases, or clauses. In this chapter I discuss several sub-classes of adverbs such as manner, time, speaker attitude, intensity, direction and location. Adverbial clauses and adverbs that function as subordinators in complex clause constructions are discussed in Chapter Eleven.

Schachter (1985: 20) points out that 'the label *adverb* is often applied to several different sets of words in a language, sets that do not necessarily have as much in common with one another, either notionally or grammatically,' as do other classes of words. Some adverbs are like nouns in that they can function as the head of a noun phrase or as the single argument of a predicate. These are the most moveable set of adverbs and include words such as *a¹¹rĩ⁵⁵* 'today' and *a¹¹zɑ⁵⁵* 'next year'. A few adjectives can function as adverbs (§5.1.1), for example, *a¹¹bæʔ⁵³* 'bad' ~ used as an intensive adverb and *a¹¹nõ⁵⁵* 'good' used as a manner adverb meaning 'well'. Some adverbial question words such as *ka¹³* 'where', 'to where'; *ka¹¹ⁿdza⁵⁵* 'what kind', 'how' will be discussed in §7.2. Other adverbs do not clearly fit into any lexical class other than adverb.

6.1 Morphology of adverbs

There is no single set of morphological characteristics that typify the class of adverbs as a whole, but most adverbs are polysyllabic. Directional verbal prefixes are treated in Chapter Nine under the discussion of the verb phrase. In my data, there are only five non-prefixing monosyllabic adverbs: *tæ*¹³ 'then', *æ*¹³ 'now', *zō*¹³ 'again', *ɲã*⁵³ 'together' and *dzu*⁵³ 'actually'. The first three are the most frequent of all adverbs in my database. There are also some adverbs which have one or two-syllable alternate forms. For example, *ɦjĩ*³⁵³ ~ *ɦjĩ*³⁵*su*⁵³ 'in front', *zəo*³⁵³ ~ *zə*¹¹*su*⁵³ 'outside', 'later on', *suu*⁵³ ~ *suu*⁵⁵*ĩĩ*⁵³ 'later', 'finally' and *gō*³⁵³ 'back', *gō*¹¹*p^ha*⁵³ 'behind'.

Although most polysyllabic adverbs are disyllabic, tri- and quadri-syllabic adverbs are not uncommon. As in other Tibetan dialects, there are quadri-syllabic temporal and expressive adverbs based on a partially reduplicated structure. For example, *ts^hə*¹¹*ts^he*⁵⁵*mə*¹¹*ts^he*⁵³ 'suddenly', *çi*¹¹*ki*⁵⁵*çi*¹¹*ka*⁵³ 'shattered', *mə*¹¹*ni*⁵⁵*mə*¹¹*ɲu*⁵³ 'blurrily' and *ts^hə*¹¹*ts^hu*⁵⁵*pə*¹¹*pi*⁵³ 'harriedly'.

The meaning of some adverbs is intensified when the whole or part of the word is reduplicated:

<i>a</i> ¹¹ <i>rao</i> ⁵⁵	'just'	<i>a</i> ¹¹ <i>rao</i> ⁵⁵ <i>a</i> ¹¹ <i>rao</i> ⁵⁵	'just now'
<i>ⁿgui</i> ¹¹ <i>la</i> ⁵⁵	'just now'	<i>ⁿgui</i> ³³ <i>ⁿgui</i> ¹¹	'just, just now'
<i>ka</i> ¹¹ <i>le</i> ⁵⁵	'slowly'	<i>ka</i> ¹¹ <i>le</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ka</i> ¹¹ <i>le</i> ⁵⁵	'very slowly'

$a^{11}rĩ^{55}$ 'today' $a^{11}rĩ^{55}a^{11}rĩ^{55}$ 'certainly today'

When temporal or locational adverbs are reduplicated, the meaning is intensified to a relative degree. For example, $hĩĩ^{35}su^{53}$ 'in front', 'before', versus $hĩĩ^{35}su^{53}jĩ^{55}su^{53}$ 'way in front', 'long before'. When specific time words such as $a^{11}rĩ^{55}$ 'today' are reduplicated, the meaning is intensified to a more certain or urgent degree:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----------|--------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| | Elicited1461 | | Elicited1462 | | |
| (1) | $a^{11}rĩ^{55}$ | $ʒu^{53}$ | (2) | $a^{11}rĩ^{55}a^{11}rĩ^{55}$ | $ʒu^{53}$ |
| | today | come.IMP | | today.today | come.IMP |
| | 'Come today' | | | 'Come <u>today</u> ' | |

The indefinite marker *tɕi* (§7.1.1.2) frequently optionally follows adverbs, for example, $tsə^{11}gu^{53} \sim tsə^{11}gu^{53}tɕi$ 'a little'¹, $ŋa^{55}tã^{53} \sim ŋa^{55}ta^{53}tɕi$ 'really'. I have not been able to identify any systematic meaning difference. Speakers say there is no meaning difference as well.

6.2 Syntax of adverbs

Adverbs almost always occur in pre-verbal position. The only exceptions are time adverbs that occasionally occur at the end of a finite clause as an afterthought. Manner adverbs, intensive adverbs, and some locational adverbs are non-moveable

¹ There are other forms such as $tsə^{11}ka^{53}$ and $tsə^{11}gu^{53}$ that can be used interchangeably with no meaning difference.

adverbs. Other adverbs are moveable, but the preferred position is before or after the first core argument (if there is one in the clause).

Elicited631

- (3) ηe^{13} $a^{11}r\tilde{i}^{55}$ $cheziCH$ lu^{13} gui
 1SERG today car repair NEED
'I need to fix the car today'

Elicited255

- (4) $a^{11}z\grave{a}^{55}$ ηe^{13} $k^{h_1}ba^{55}$ $t\check{c}i$ $g\grave{a}o^{53}$ $z\check{i}$
 next.year 1SERG house INDF build COP.SELF
'Next year I will build a house'

As can be seen in the sentences above, the time adverbs can be moved to sentence-initial position or to the position after the first core argument. Although speakers are unable to consciously discern any meaning difference that different positions contribute, it is likely that a comprehensive discourse study would reveal some interesting motivations.

All manner adverbs occur in pre-verbal position after core arguments and are ungrammatical in any other position.

GoodSam32

- (5) $\check{c}i^{55}$ = ji $k^{h_2}\check{a}^{55}$ = $w\tilde{o}$ $a^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ ta^{53} ru
 2SERG =ERG 3S =OBJ good watch POL
'Please look after him well'.

* $\check{c}i^{55} = ji$ $a^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ $k^{h_2}\check{a}^{55} = w\tilde{o}$ ta^{53} ru * $a^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ $\check{c}i^{55} = ji$ $k^{h_2}\check{a}^{55} = w\tilde{o}$ ta^{53} ru

Elicited900

- (6) $k^h\partial^{55}$ $ka^{11}le^{55}$ $ka^{11}le^{55}$ $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ de $\eta\tilde{o}$
3S slowly slowly come CONT EVI.VIS
'S/he is coming very slowly'.

* $ka^{11}le^{55}$ $ka^{11}le^{55}$ $k^h\partial^{55}$ $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ de $\eta\tilde{o}$

If there is a directional prefix in the verb phrase, then the locational adverb will precede the directional prefix.

HeartAttack011

- (7) ηa^{13} $r\partial$ $z\partial o^{53}$ $z\partial-$ $w\tilde{u}^{13}$
1S TOP behind up- come
'I was coming up behind'

* $z\partial o^{53}$ ηa^{13} $z\partial-$ $w\tilde{u}^{13}$

Many adverbs can be modified by the suffix *-dzi* to indicate approximate times such as:

GetMar064

- (8) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $n^da^{11}wa^{55}$ tei^{53} $-dzi$ $p^h\partial-$ $s\tilde{a}^{55}ba^{55}d\tilde{o}^{353}$
then month one -APPROX thither- think

se^{13} $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ $r\partial$

say REN TOP

'Then when (I) said (I) will think for one month or so.'

Butter&Cheese011

- (9) $s\tilde{o}^{53}$ $z\tilde{a}^{353}$ $-dzi$ $t\tilde{s}o^{53}$ $t^h\tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}$
three hundred -APPROX churn PFV REN

'When finishing churning (the milk) about three hundred times.'

The rest of this chapter will present and exemplify each type of adverb.

6.3 Types of adverbs

6.3.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs express notions of time such as absolute time (*ⁿda¹¹wa⁵⁵* *sõ⁵⁵ba⁵³* 'March'), relative time (*ⁿgui¹¹la⁵⁵* 'just now' and *hi⁵⁵mo⁵³* 'before'), continuous time (*ta⁵⁵pa¹¹* 'always', *hji⁵⁵su⁵³ni* 'for a long time'), durative time (*a¹¹wũ⁵⁵* 'still'), and iterative time (*ɲu¹³tɕ^hi¹¹tɕ^hi* 'everyday').

6.3.1.1 Absolute time

Absolute time adverbs specify time irrespective of the moment of speech. These include notions like '3 o'clock', '1982' and 'March'. Absolute time adverbs which make reference to specific years or days of the week are often borrowed from Chinese. Months, which are expressed by ordinal numbers (discussed in §7.1.1.3) in Dongwang, tend to be native words.

Hardship002

- (10) *basɣ* *ɲæ̃* *tə⁵⁵* *jɣ¹³* =*jæ* *lingguansuo* *ⁿgu³⁵³* *ni*
1984CH yearCH that year =DAT limestone.quarryCH build NI
'In 1984, that year, (they were) building a limestone quarry,'

LostaLeg102

- (11) $s\tilde{o}^{55}ba^{53}$ =ji $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $ts^{h\tilde{a}}^{53}$ -dzi $s\tilde{o}^{55}ba^{53}$ =ji
 third =GEN that time APPROX third =GEN

$t\tilde{c}y^{55}z\tilde{a}^{11}$ a^{53} $z\tilde{i}$ $t\tilde{c}\tilde{a}$ $dzi?$
 fourteen QST COP.SELF think OTHR

'Around the time of March, ... seems like (I seem to recall) it was the fourteenth of March'.

In (11), the narrator is having a little difficulty recalling the exact date when his wife had her leg amputated. In the previous sentence he had said that it was 'exactly April', but in (11), he recalls that it was earlier than April. In this example, the absolute time $s\tilde{o}^{55}ba^{53}$ 'third', meaning 'the third month'², is used together with the approximate marker.

6.3.1.2 Relative Time

Relative time adverbs are tied to the time of speech or to a particular time within the discourse. Relative time adverbs can be specific or general. Examples of specific relative time adverbs found in my database are given below:

$k^{h\tilde{a}}^{55}b\tilde{a}^{53}$	'the day before yesterday'
$k^{h\tilde{a}}^{11}t\tilde{s}\tilde{o}^{55}$	'yesterday'
$a^{11}f\tilde{i}^{55}$	'today'
$s\tilde{a}^{11}j\tilde{i}^{55} \sim s^{h\tilde{a}}^{11}j\tilde{i}^{55}$	'tomorrow'

² Months of the year can also be preceded by ${}^n da^{11} wa^{55}$ 'month' as in ${}^n da^{11} wa^{55} s\tilde{o}^{55} ba^{53}$ 'March' (literally, 'month third'), but speakers often omit ${}^n da^{11} wa^{55}$.

na ⁵⁵ ji ¹¹	'the day after tomorrow'
zu ¹¹ ji ⁵⁵	'two days after tomorrow'
na ¹¹ ji ⁵⁵	'last year'
tu ¹¹ ji ⁵⁵	'this year'
a ⁵⁵ za ⁵³	'next year'
ʂo ¹¹ pa ⁵⁵	'morning'
sə ⁵⁵ gə ¹¹	'evening'
nə ¹¹ ngu ⁵⁵	'daytime'

When time adverbs that refer to days are further narrowed (e.g., *yesterday afternoon*, *tomorrow evening*), the more narrow time (e.g., *morning*, *noon*, *night*) follows the day, and many day terms have a special form. When a special form is used, the more narrow time is optional:

sə ⁵⁵ gə ¹¹ 'evening'	k ^h a ¹¹ nō ⁵⁵ (sə ⁵⁵ gə ¹¹)	'day before yesterday evening'
	n ^o do ¹¹ sū (sə ⁵⁵ gə ¹¹)	'last evening'
	a ¹¹ nō ⁵⁵ (sə ⁵⁵ gə ¹¹)	'this evening'
	sə ¹¹ nō ⁵⁵ (sə ⁵⁵ gə ¹¹)	'tomorrow evening'

ʂo¹¹pa⁵⁵ 'morning' and sə⁵⁵gə¹¹ 'evening' are frequently used to express the time of day. The word də¹¹sī⁵⁵ (~ də¹¹sī⁵⁵ gəo⁵³) can be understood both as 'lunch' or 'noon'. Examples with specific relative time adverbs follow:

MyLife315

- (12) æ^{13} $\text{tu}^{11}\text{jY}^{55}$ jY^{13} $\text{wu}^{55}\text{cə}^{11}$ suei^{11} re wũ $\text{dzi}^?$
now this year year fiftyCH yearCH COP.SELF COME OTHR
'Now, this year (I) have become fifty years old'.

Elicited1520

- (13) ŋa^{13} $\text{n}^{\text{do}^{11}\text{sũ}^{55}}$ $\text{a}^{55}\text{ræ}^{53}$ nguæ^{53} sõ
1S last.night liquor VBZR.circle EGO
'I got drunk last night'.

General time adverbs are tied to the moment of speech or to a particular time within a discourse. General time adverbs found in my database are listed below:

$\text{su}^{55}\text{rĩ}^{53} \sim \text{su}^{53}$	'finally'
$\text{sə}^{11}\text{ŋu}^{53}$ (ŋu^{53})	'the next day'
$\text{hji}^{353} \sim \text{hji}^{55}\text{su}^{53}$	'in front, before'
$\text{a}^{11}\text{rao}^{55}$	'just now'
$\text{tə}^{55}\text{rə}^{11}$	'then'
$\text{n}^{\text{gui}^{11}\text{la}^{55}}$	'just now'
$\text{a}^{11}\text{zu}^{55}$	'just now'
$\text{sa}^{11}\text{ji}^{55}\text{na}^{11}\text{ji}^{55}$	'later on'
$\text{a}^{55}\text{tsā}^{53}$	'recently'
$\text{a}^{11}\text{rĩ}^{55} \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{11}\text{tsõ}^{55}$	'these days', 'recently'
$\text{sə}^{55}\text{sə}^{11}$	'early'
$\text{ŋə}^{35}\text{ji}^{11}$	'late'
$\text{dõ}^{11}\text{mə}^{55}$	'in the beginning'

hi ⁵⁵ mo ⁵³ (ra)	'at first'
hi ⁵⁵ mo ⁵³ ts ^h ã ⁵³	'at the beginning'
tə ¹¹ rã ⁵⁵	'then', 'long ago'
ŋa ⁵⁵ mo ⁵³	'long ago', 'once upon a time'
na ⁵³ ŋa ⁵⁵ mo ⁵³	'long, long ago', 'once upon a time'
ã	'now'
*tã ¹³	*'then', 'and then'

MyLife303

- (14) a¹¹rao⁵⁵ di¹³ la kəo⁵⁵ dzo⁵³ ru¹³ se¹³ de dzi?
 just.now here even shot VBZR.strike POL say CONT OTHR
 'Just now, (there was someone) here (who) said, 'please give me a shot'.

The sentence in (14) is taken from a personal biography as told by a fifty-six year old village health worker. Most of the story revolves around her training as a health worker. Just prior to her describing her experience at giving shots, someone outside her window shouted at her to please give them a shot. It is this time frame she is referring to when she uses the adverb a¹¹ra⁵⁵'just now'.

The adverb su⁵⁵rĩ⁵³'finally', 'at last', indicates an event that happened after a period of time waiting or expectation.

GetMar058

- (15) tã¹³ su⁵⁵rĩ⁵³ ba³⁵³ p^hə- sə⁵³ t^hã rã⁵⁵
 then finally father thither- die PFV REN
 'Then when father finally died,'

(15) is from a story in which the narrator relates her experience when her parents arranged her unwanted marriage. After a long struggle with her parents, her father tells her on his deathbed that he wants her to accept the arrangement. After he finally died, her mother told her that she had to do what her father had wished.

KillPig090

(16) *sa*^{11ji⁵⁵}*na*^{11ji⁵⁵} *ə*^{11k^hu⁵⁵} =*ts*^h*æ̃*⁵³ =*ji*
 today.tomorrow 1PLEXCL =PL =ERG

*pa*¹³ *rõ* *tə*^{11kĩ⁵⁵} =*jæ* *pi*⁵⁵ *sõ*¹³ *ræ̃*⁵⁵
 cow and thatPL =DAT calf birthe REN

'Later on when calves are born to cows and such,'

The adverb *sa*^{11ji⁵⁵}*na*^{11ji⁵⁵} in (16) is a compound that literally means 'tomorrow, the next day', but it is used to make a general reference to an imprecise time in the future. In the context of this example, it is a general reference to the springtime when calves are usually born. This is similar to the compound adverb *a*^{11rĩ⁵⁵}*k*^h*a*^{11tsõ⁵⁵} 'recently' or 'these days', literally means 'today, yesterday'.

6.3.1.3 Continuous time

Continuous time adverbs express events or actions that persist over a space of time. There are not many continuous time adverbs in my database:

da ⁵⁵ ba ^o 11	'always'
mbe ⁵⁵ ji ¹¹	'constantly'
zō ¹³	'still'
tɕ ^h ə ¹¹ t ^h ǣ ⁵⁵ guo ¹¹ t ^h ǣ ⁵³	'incessantly'

Elicited509

- (17) k^hui⁵⁵ da⁵⁵ba^o11 ŋe¹³ kue¹³ zæ³⁵³ wũ¹³ de dzi?
- 3SERG always 1SGEN clothes borrow come CONT OTHR
- 'She always comes to borrow my clothes'

GetMar011

- (18) wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ tshǎ⁵³ zi¹¹rə⁵⁵ zō¹³ ŋa¹³ rə zi¹³ ga¹³ de ʂi
- that time ADVERS still 1S TOP book like CONT KNOW
- 'But at that time, I still liked books'

In (18), the narrator's love for books and studying continues even though she is to quit studying in order to return home to get married.

GetMar032

- (19) nɔ¹³ =k^hɿ =ji tɕ^hə¹¹t^hǣ⁵⁵guō¹¹t^hǣ⁵³
- person =PL =ERG incessantly

na⁵⁵wō⁵³ ndzu¹³ gui dzi? se¹³ ni

bride go MOD OTHR say NI

'People kept on saying that (I) should go be a bride',

Example (19) comes from the same text as (18) in which the narrator's relatives kept on trying to convince her to accept the arrangement. The adverb tɕ^hə¹¹t^hǣ⁵⁵guō¹¹t^hǣ⁵³ in (19) expresses the incessant pressuring she felt from her neighbors and family to accept the arrangement.

6.3.1.4 Durative time

Durative time adverbs indicate the length of time over which an event takes place. Typically, durative time adverbs are phrases.

Hardship043

- (20) *ɲu--* *ɲi¹¹wõ⁵³* *ɲu⁵³* *du³⁵³* *zə-* *p^hi¹³*
 FALSE.START day two rock up pick
 '(We) picked up rocks for two days'.

HeartAttack162

- (21) *tɕ^hu⁵⁵ts^he⁵³* *se⁵³* *tɕi* *n^gu¹³zõ⁵³* *p^hə-* *k^huæ⁵³* *ra*
 hour half INDF unconscious thither- VBZR.circle RA
 '(I) was unconscious for a half hour'.

YDFree

- (22) *mbə³⁵³* *ɲə¹¹wa⁵⁵* *zə³⁵³* *ɲa⁵³* *tɕi* *tsi⁵³* *de* *ji*
 worm⁴ day four five INDF look.for CONT CONC

tɕi⁵³ *la* *jã¹³* *ma-* *zõ*
 one even find NEG- EGO.IR

'(I) looked for caterpillar fungus for four or five days, but I didn't even find one'.

⁴ This is the general word used for 'worm', but often (as in this context) it refers to the caterpillar fungus.

6.3.1.5 Iterative time

Iterative time refers to events that are repeated, usually on a regular basis.

Iterative time adverbs are almost formed from some portion of the quantifier *ri¹¹ri⁵⁵*

(discussed in §7.1.2).

<i>ɲu¹³ tʃi¹¹tʃi¹¹</i>	'every day'
<i>ɲu¹³ri⁵⁵</i>	'every day'
<i>ɲu¹³ a¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʃa¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	'every day'
<i>jY¹³ tʃi⁵⁵tʃi¹¹ tʃo¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	'every year'

RabbitB005

- (23) *dzəu¹³ tʃi* = *tsə* = *jæ* *p^həp^həp^həp^hə*
 shepherd INDF =ABL =LOC FILLER

ɲu¹³ a¹¹ri⁵⁵ tʃo¹¹mo⁵⁵ mæ¹³ fjiō³⁵³ ni
 day today every butter beg NI
 '(The rabbit) begged butter from a shepherd every day.'

Example (23) is drawn from a story in which a rabbit keeps trying to get more than its share of yak butter from a shepherd.

YDFree

- (24) *jY¹³tʃi⁵⁵tʃi¹¹tʃo¹¹mo⁵⁵ ɲe¹³* = *tsa* *a¹¹sə⁵⁵* *si⁵³ wū¹³*
 year.each.every 1SGEN =ALL new.year.greeting send come
 'Every year (s/he) comes to give me a New Year Greeting'.

The sentence in (24) came from a conversation with a friend who was explaining what is done during the Tibetan New Year. One important component of Tibetan New Year is when younger people go to older people to pay their respects. They take

gifts (usually food and drink) and bow down as a sign of respect to any older person with whom they have a meaningful relationship. This is known as *a¹¹sə⁵⁵* in Dongwang.

Some iterative concepts can only be expressed as part of a construction such as that in the example below:

- Hardship108
- (25) *tæ¹³ ɲə¹³ ɲgu ri¹¹ri⁵⁵ tɕ^hə⁵⁵ts^hu⁵³ sa¹¹sũ⁵⁵ sa¹¹sũ⁵⁵ ri¹¹ri⁵⁵*
 then person CLF each hour three⁵ three each
- wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ ɲi¹³ pæ⁵³ je¹³*
 that fire burn VBZR.do
- 'Then each person kept the fire burning in three hour shifts'*

The adverbial phrase *tɕ^hə⁵⁵ts^hu⁵³ sa¹¹sũ⁵⁵ sa¹¹sũ⁵⁵ ri¹¹ri⁵⁵* 'every three hours' in (25) functions together with the noun phrase *ɲə¹³ ɲgu ri¹¹ri⁵⁵* 'each person'.

A different type of iterative expression is one that expresses the number of times an action is performed. There are two adverbs used to express the equivalent of 'times' in English. Both occur together with reduplication in some other part of the clause. The adverb *sa¹¹t^hə⁵³* occurs in a clause that contains a reduplicated verb and is followed by a numeral:

⁵ The word for the number 'three' is the monosyllabic form *sũ⁵³*. I am not sure what the first syllable *sa¹¹* means here, but it only occurs in this construction.

MyLife231

(26) $m\grave{a}e^{353}$ ci^{55} $sa^{11}t^h\grave{a}o^{53}$ $s\tilde{o}^{53}$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$
medicine 2SERG times three take COND take

$sa^{11}t^h\grave{a}o^{53}$ $z\grave{a}^{353}$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$
times four take COND take

wu^{53} $f\tilde{o}^{53}$ $t\text{c}^h\tilde{a}e^{11}$ $z\tilde{i}$ $p\text{ə}^{55}$ $z\tilde{i}$
fiveCH pennyCH moneyCH COP.SELF HIST COP.SELF

'Medicine, (whether) you take it three times a day, or four times a day, it was (only) five pennies'

The narrator in (26) is stressing how cheap medicine was in the days when she was a village health worker.

The adverb $w\grave{a}e$ also expresses the notion of repeating an activity, but not necessarily on a regular basis:

Elicited742

(27) ηa^{13} $pe^{11}t\text{c}\tilde{i}^{55}$ $w\grave{a}e$ nu^{53} $^ndzu^{13}$ no
1S BeijingCH times two go EXP
'I have been to Beijing two times'

When co-occurring with another iterative adverb, the number following the adverb $w\grave{a}e$ is reduplicated to convey the notion that the event was repeated in whatever time frame the iterative adverb expresses:

Youth003

(28) $nu^{11}ri^{55}$ $w\grave{a}e^{13}$ $ze^{11}.ze^{55}$ $t^h\text{ə}^{55}$ gui $p\text{ə}$ $z\tilde{i}$
every.day time eight.eight pick NEED HIST COP.SELF
'Every day (we) had to pick eight times.'

The narrator in example (28) is telling about his first job when he had to climb the mountain to collect brush eight times every day. The number of times the narrator climbed the mountain each day to pick up brush is reduplicated to match the iterative form in *ɲu¹¹ri⁵⁵* 'every day'.

6.3.2 Manner adverbs

Manner is frequently expressed by adverbial manner clauses (§11.1), but single-word manner adverbs are found as well. Manner adverbs always precede the verb after any core arguments in a clause (if there is one).

<i>a¹¹ɲõ⁵⁵</i>	'well'	<i>ⁿdzo¹¹ba⁵⁵</i>	'quickly'
<i>ka¹¹le⁵⁵</i>	'slowly'	<i>k^ha⁵⁵ji¹¹</i>	'together'
<i>ɲã⁵³</i>	'together'	<i>da¹¹ni⁵⁵ni</i>	'immediately'
<i>wə⁵⁵ts^he⁵³</i>	'like that'	<i>wə⁵⁵n^{ts}o⁵³</i>	'like this'

Elicited947

- (29) *sa¹¹ji⁵⁵ ə¹¹k^hu⁵⁵ =kĩ k^ha⁵⁵ji¹¹ ⁿdzu¹³*
 tomorrow 1EX =PL together go
 'Tomorrow let's go together'

GoodSam032

- (30) *ɕi⁵⁵ =ji k^hə⁵⁵ =wõ a¹¹ɲõ⁵⁵ ta⁵³ ru*
 2SERG =ERG 3S =OBJ good watch POL
 'Please look after him well'.

YDFree

- (31) *ɕi⁵⁵ ⁿdzo¹¹ba⁵⁵ tɕ^ha⁵³ re *ⁿdzo¹¹ba⁵⁵ ɕi⁵⁵ tɕ^ha⁵³ re*
 2SERG fast eat COP.OTHR
 'Eat quickly'

The sentence above was spoken when a mother was trying to get her child to quickly finish eating his food.

Most examples of quadrisyllabic expressive adverbs in my data are manner adverbs that usually follow a partially reduplicated pattern. The list below include those found in my database:

<i>ts^hə¹¹ts^hu⁵³pə¹¹pi⁵³</i>	'hurriedly'	<i>çi¹¹ki⁵⁵çə¹¹ka⁵³</i>	'all messed up'
<i>ts^hə⁵⁵ts^he⁵³mə¹¹ts^he⁵³</i>	'suddenly'	<i>mba¹³nə¹¹ji mba¹³</i>	'on the back'
<i>t^ha¹³nə¹¹ji t^hã¹³</i>	'stretcher-like'	<i>ma¹¹ni⁵⁵ma¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'blurrily'
<i>ni⁵⁵ni⁵⁵ɲə¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'into pieces'	<i>wu¹¹ri⁵⁵wa¹¹ra⁵</i>	'blurrily'

HeartAttack209

- (32) *ts^hə¹¹ts^he⁵³ma¹¹ts^he⁵³* *ni¹³* *p^ha⁵³* *zə-* *ɲe¹³* *re* *ra*
suddenly heart beat up SELF.NEG.EX COP.OTHR RA
'(I) suddenly didn't have a heartbeat' (lit: '(I) suddenly became without a heartbeat')

Accident067

- (33) *k^hui⁵⁵* *la* *n^də* *rə¹¹ba⁵⁵* *ni⁵⁵ni⁵⁵ɲə¹¹ɲu⁵³* *tsə⁵⁵ka⁵³*
3SERG also this bone shattered a.little

tɕ^hY⁵⁵ *çi* *t^hã⁵⁵* *ɲõ*
pulled.apart MAL PFV EVI
'*He (the doctor) also (said) the bone was torn a bit into pieces*'

Example (33) comes from the text *Accident* in which a husband is telling about the time his wife was hit by a car. At this point in the narrative, the husband and others have taken the woman to the township hospital where they are discussing whether the

doctor is able to perform the operation or not. Clearly, her leg is too mangled for the local doctor and they eventually take her to a large city where her leg is amputated.

6.3.3 Intensive adverbs and adverbs of degree

Intensive adverbs increase the intensity of the meaning of a verb. They always occur before the verb and usually after the first argument. Some intensive adverbs are:

<i>ŋa⁵⁵tã⁵³</i>	'very'
<i>a⁵⁵bæ⁵³</i>	'really'
<i>ha⁵⁵dzõ⁵³</i>	'extremely'
<i>tsə⁵⁵ku⁵³</i>	'a little' ⁶
<i>ka⁵⁵mi⁵³</i>	'very'
<i>ɣə⁵³</i>	'hard'
<i>nə¹¹mi⁵⁵</i>	'too'

Many intensive adverbs can co-occur with or without the indefinite marker *təi*.

GetDivB011

- (34) *ŋa¹³ ha⁵⁵dzõ⁵³ do¹¹re⁵⁵ zĩ pə⁵⁵ zĩ¹¹*
 1SABS extremely miserable COP.SELF HIST COP.SELF
 'I was extremely miserable'

⁶ There are three adverbs that all seem to mean 'a little': *tsə⁵⁵ku⁵³*, *tsə⁵⁵ka⁵³*, and *tsə⁵⁵ku⁵³*.

MyLife080

- (35) *lo*⁵⁵*sə*¹¹ *ha*⁵⁵*dzõ*⁵³ *tɕi* *dã*³⁵³ *la* *dã*³⁵³ *ʃi*
teacher really INDF like PTCL like KNOW
'(I) really really⁷ liked the teacher'

The adverb *a*⁵⁵*bæ*⁵³, which also functions as an adjective meaning 'bad', is a frequently-used intensifier that does not necessarily have a negative connotation.

Elicited139

- (36) *ŋa*¹³ *wə*⁵⁵*na*⁵³ *zi*¹¹*gi*⁵⁵ *a*⁵⁵*bæ*⁵³ *dã*³⁵³ *ʃi*
1SABS this book bad.INT like KNOW
'I really like this book'

When intensive adverbs occur with other adverbs, they occur in the slot closest to the verb root.⁸

HeartAttack

- (37) *ŋe*¹³ *dzu*⁵³ *wə*⁵⁵*ts*^h*e*⁵³ *ʔəo*³⁵³ *dõ*⁵³ *a*⁵³ *ɕi* *pã*
1SERG actually like.that hard hit QST MAL NEG.FUT
'I didn't think (he) would hit (me) so hard like that'.

When *tsə*¹¹*ku*⁵³ functions to express the degree of a verbal notion, it means 'a little bit'.

⁷ Since the reduplicated construction of the verb also expresses intensification, I glossed this as 'really, really'.

⁸ This does not include, of course, the directional prefixes.

Accident

- (38) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $r\theta$ \tilde{a}^{13} $r\theta$ $ts\theta^{11}ku^{53}$ $t\check{c}i$ $t\check{s}a^{13}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$ $ze^{11}r\theta^{55}$
 then TOP now TOP a.little INDF recover VIS.IPFV ADVERS
 'Then, now, (she) has recovered a little bit but.'

In (38), the narrator's wife has had her leg amputated, but will never walk. Such sentences as (38) and (33) above, highlight the downplaying or understatement function of $ts\theta^{55}ku^{53}$. In (33), the narrator uses understatement by saying his wife's leg was *a little* torn up, but in reality her leg was torn up so badly that it had to be amputated.

6.3.4 Restrictive adverbs

Restrictive adverbs usually occur in constructions with a negated verb which together express concepts 'only', 'not at all', 'never', and 'just'.

MyLife55

- (39) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $p^h\theta$ $tsa^{55}wa^{53}ji$ $zi^{11}gi^{55}$ ju^{13} $ma-$ ξi^{53} $\eta\tilde{o}$
 then FILLER completely book grasp NEG- MOD EVI
 'Then (I), uh, did not grasp studies at all'.

Prod076

- (40) ηe^{13} $tsa^{55}wa^{53}ji$ $\check{c}i^{55}$ $=g\tilde{o}$ $a^{55}b\check{x}e^{53}$ je^{13} $ma-$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 1SERG completely 2SGEN =OBJ bad do NEG- EXP
 'I have never wronged you'

The construction $t\check{c}i^{53} la$ NEG- V means 'not at all' as in the following examples:

GoodSam017

- (41) $k^h\partial^{55}$ =wõ $t\check{c}i^{53}$ la $ma-$ ta^{53} ni
3S =OBJ one even NEG look NI
'Looking at him not at all,

HeartAttack216

- (42) bu^{353} $t\check{c}i^{53}$ la $ma-$ $\eta\tilde{o}$ $s\partial$
breath one even NEG- EVI HS
'(They) say (I) didn't have any breath whatsoever'.

The modal negative *wu-* can also negate this construction:

Hardship013

- (43) $t\check{c}i^{53}$ la sa^{53} $wu-$ ξi wa
one even burn NEG- KNOW MUT
'(We) didn't know how to burn (limestone) at all'.

The adverb $mb\partial^{11}t\check{s}i^{53}$ can express 'until', 'only' and 'unless'. $mb\partial^{11}t\check{s}i^{53}$ is also

used as a locational postposition to mean 'up to' as in the following example:

Elicited

- (44) $a^{11}k^h u^{55}$ ηw^{53} $jo^{55} d\check{a}\tilde{e}^{53} t\check{c}Y^{11}$ = $n\partial$ $mb\partial^{11}t\check{s}i^{53}$ $p^h\partial o^{353}$ $^n dzu^{13}$ $w\check{u}$
1INCL two post.officeCH =LOC up.to race go COME
'Let's the two of us race to the post office'

When it is used to mean 'until' it follows a time reference.

Elicited

- (45) $k^h a^{11} t\check{s}^h \tilde{o}^{55}$ $w\partial^{55n} dza^{53}$ = $k\check{i}$ $t\check{c}^h \partial^{55} t\check{s}^h \partial^{53}$ $s\tilde{o}^{53}$ = $g\tilde{o}$ $mb\partial^{11}t\check{s}i^{53}$
yesterday 1PL =PL o'clock three =OBJ until

hji^{353} gw^{53} ji
work VBZR COP.SELF

'Yesterday we worked until three o'clock'

mbə¹¹tsi⁵³ means 'only' when it co-occurs with the negative.

MyLife042

- (46) *jY¹³ dī⁵³ mbə¹¹tsi⁵³ ma- re*
 year seven only NEG COP.OTHR
'I was only seven years old.'

Elicited

- (47) *ŋe¹³ a⁵⁵ni¹¹ tci mbə¹¹tsi⁵⁵ t^hũ³⁵³ ma- zõ*
 1SERG grandfather INDF only see NEG EGO.IR
'I only saw an old man'

There are two instances in my database in which the negative does not occur

in the same clause as *mbə¹¹tsi⁵³*.

HeartAttack041/042

- (48) *tɕ^hə⁵³ mbə- fɨjY³⁵³ ŋa mbə¹¹tsi⁵³*
 water down trench NGA only

t^sa⁵⁵wa⁵³ji ja¹³ =gõ¹¹ =jæ t^ho⁵³ ræ⁵⁵ ɲe
 absolutely board =OBJ =DAT touch IMM COP.NEG.SELF
'(I) only trenched the water, (I) absolutely did not touch the board'

6.3.5 Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs express the speaker's attitude regarding the statement he or she is making. They express the speaker's degree of certainty or intensity about an event. I have not found many epistemic adverbs in my data. This may be due in

part to the fact that evidential, judgmental, aspectual, and other categories are expressed in the auxiliary complex. In my data, I have found six epistemic adverbs:

a ¹¹ re ⁵⁵ ma ¹¹ re ¹¹	'certainly'
dzu ⁵³	'actually'
a ¹¹ dæ ⁵⁵	'truly'
p ^h u ⁵⁵ ʂæ ⁵³ ni	'accidentally'
gõ ⁵⁵ tso ⁵³ ni	'on purpose'
t ^h a ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h e ⁵³ ni	'decidedly', 'certainly'

Elicited296

- (49) ŋa¹³ a¹¹re⁵⁵ma¹¹re¹¹ wũ¹³ zĩ
 1S certainly come COP.SELF
 'I will certainly come'

The morphologically complex adverb *a¹¹re⁵⁵ma¹¹re¹¹* in (49) has arisen from the juxtaposition of the interrogative and negative copulas: QST.COP.NEG.COP. The adverb *a¹¹re⁵⁵ma¹¹re¹¹* is also frequently used as a filler when a speaker is searching for words.

HeartAttack120

- (50) ŋe¹³ dzu⁵³ wə⁵⁵ts^he⁵³ ʂəo³⁵³ dõ³⁵³ a⁵³ ɕi pæ̃
 1SERG actually that.way hard.INT hit QST MAL NEG.FUT
 'Actually, I didn't think that he could hit me so hard like that'.

6.3.6 Locational adverbs

Locational adverbs indicate where the event or action is taking place. Locative pronouns will be discussed in Chapter Seven. *hji*³⁵³ 'in front' and *zəo*³⁵³ 'behind' used as locational adverbs can occur before the directional prefix (if there is one).

Locative noun phrases (*in the house, on the mountain*) are expressed by postpositional phrases.

HeartAttack013/014

- (51) *ŋa*¹³ *rə* *zəo*³⁵³ *zə-* *wũ*¹³ *ni*¹¹*ts*^h*õ*⁵⁵*ra* *hji*³⁵³ *p*^h*ə-* *n**dzu*¹³
 1s TOP behind up- come Nitsongri in.front thither- go
 'As for me, I was coming up behind; Nitsongri was going in front'

GetDiv015

- (52) *a*¹¹*ka*⁵³ =*kĩ* *rə* *a*¹¹*mbə*⁵⁵ =*kĩ* *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *ʂə*³⁵³ *mbə-* *tʂ*^h*i*
 child =PL TOP uncle =PL there below down lead
 'As for the children, Uncle and (his family) took (them) down below (to Kunming)'.

Examples (51) and (52) both occur with a locational adverb and a direction prefix.

The locational adverb precedes the directional prefix.

Lamas'sLouse011

(53) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{u}^{55}tso^{53}$ $d\partial^{11}p\tilde{a}^{55}$ $la^{11}mo^{53}$ =*ji* $t\tilde{i}^{13}$ $t^h\partial^{11}pa^{55}$...
then wuntso when lama =GEN there forehead

$t^h\partial^{11}pa^{55}$ $\text{ɕ}\partial^{55}ke^{53}$ $\text{ʃ}\tilde{i}^{353}$ $n^h\text{dza}^{353}$ $n^h\text{do}^{11}d\text{zi}^{55}$ se^{53}
forehead middle louse crawl EX.AN.OTHR QTV

'Then when they were doing the wuntso⁹, there was a louse crawling there on the middle of the lama's forehead.'

The text surrounding (53) is a short story told by a monk about a brainless and dirty lama who wants to be honored by a monk. The use of *tḷi*¹³ 'there' in this clause serves a pointing function. In the story, the monk is sitting before the lama and can see the louse.

6.3.7 Directionals

There is a small handful of directionals which serve to indicate direction (e.g., *ts^hə*- 'back', *p^hə*- 'forth', *zə*- 'up', and *mbə*- 'down'). These are verbal prefixes which serve adverbial and other functions and are discussed in §9.1.2.

6.4 Adverbs in discourse

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide an adequate treatment of adverbs in discourse. The aim here is to discuss some of the most frequent adverbs relative to discourse. All adverbs discussed here serve to 'bracket units of talk'

⁹ *Wuntso* is a religious ceremony involving chanting and reciting scripture.

(Shiffrin 1987: 31) either as elements which introduce the text or as discourse markers which indicate a new thematic unit.

6.4.1 Openers

The adverbs $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ 'then', $hi^{55}mo^{53}r\tilde{o}$ 'at first', $h\tilde{ji}^{55}su^{53}$ 'first' can all be used as an opener in the introductory clause of a text, but $\eta a^{55}mo^{53}$ 'long ago', $na^{53}\eta a^{55}mo^{53}$ 'long, long ago' and $t\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{a}^{55}$ 'long ago' only function in the initial slot of a narrative text. $\eta a^{55}mo^{53}$ 'long ago' and $na^{53}\eta a^{55}mo^{53}$ 'long, long ago' only occur in traditional stories as a formal opening sentence. $t\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{a}^{55}$ 'long ago' occurs as an opener in traditional stories as well as in personal-experience narratives.

Rabbit&Crane001

- (54) $\underline{na^{53}\eta a^{55}mo^{53}}$ $a^{55}ni^{11}$ $t\tilde{c}i$ $r\tilde{o}$ $a^{55}mo^{53}$ $t\tilde{c}i$ ηu^{53} = ji $p\tilde{o}^{53}$
 long.ago g'pa INDF and g'ma INDF two =ERG grassland

ku^{55} ze ${}^ndo^{11}d\tilde{z}i$ se
 dig EX.INAN.SELF EX.AN.OTHR HS

'Long ago there was an old man and an old woman who were digging in the grassland'

Lamas'sLice001

- (55) $\underline{t\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{a}^{55}}$ $la^{55}mo^{53}$ $t\tilde{c}i$ $r\tilde{o}$ $t\tilde{s}a^{11}wa^{55}$ $t\tilde{c}i$ $t\tilde{s}\tilde{o}^{13}$ $t\tilde{c}^hu^{53}$
 long.ago Lama INDF and monk INDF village surrounding

$g\tilde{o}^{55}r\tilde{i}^{53}$ je^{13}
 scripture VBZR

'Long ago, there was a Lama and a monk who were chanting scriptures in the surrounding villages.'

6.4.2 Bracketing

6.4.2.1 *ɲu¹³ tɕi⁵³* 'one day'

The adverbial phrase *ɲu¹³ tɕi⁵³* 'one day' signals a major discontinuity of events. In the events leading to the following example, the narrator and his friends have been trying to fire limestone, but because they did not know what they were doing, they ruined it all.

Hardship064

- (56) *tæ¹³ ɲu¹³ tɕi ɲa¹³ mbə- pi¹³ wũ¹³ ji*
then day one 1s down- arrive come COP.SELF
'Then one day I came down'.

At the point at which (56) occurs in the text, the narrator has come down from the mountain to look for someone who can help them learn how to fire limestone. In the subsequent narrative, he finds someone who helps them and they eventually are successful.

6.4.2.2 *sə¹¹ɲu⁵³* 'the next day'

The adverb *sə¹¹ɲu⁵³* indicates time relative to the discourse time and is similar to English 'the next day' or Chinese 第二天 (*di2 er2 tian1* 'the second day').

GoodSam029

- (57) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $s\tilde{e}^{11}n\tilde{u}^{53}$ $s^{h_i}353$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
then the.next.day arrive REN
'Then when (they) arrived (at the hotel) the next day,

In the clause previous to example (57), the hero leads a beaten-up man to a hotel to be taken care of. Although the text does not specifically say it, the mention of 'the next day' implies that it took them all night to reach the hotel.

6.4.2.3 $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ 'then'

Two adverbs, $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ 'then' and \tilde{a}^{13} 'now', function to bracket units of talk

(Schiffirin 1987: 31). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ has likely arisen from the WT word <de.nas> which Beyer

(1990: 386) calls an 'anaphoric' or 'back-referring discourse connective'. In

Dongwang, $t\tilde{a}^{13}$, glossed as 'then' in this dissertation, is the most frequent discourse marker, occurring in nearly twenty percent of clauses in texts. It serves to link units of speech sequentially, but is not syntactically dependent on any clause-level unit. It occurs in sentence-initial position and frequently is followed by a pause.

The main function of $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ is to bracket the main events of a text. One of the easiest texts to see the sequencing function of $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ is in the simple procedural text

How to make butter and cheese. In this text, $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ occurs in eighteen of the thirty-six

clauses. The first eight clauses¹⁰ are illustrative of the use of $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ throughout the text:

Butter&Cheese001

- (58) $w\tilde{o}^{55}$ $dʒoʔ^{53}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
milk churn REN

Butter&Cheese002

- (59) hi^{55} mo^{53} ra^{11} $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $ts^h\partial-$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ k^hu $w\tilde{u}^{13}$
first churn hither bring.out KHU COME
'When churning milk, first get out a churn.'

Butter&Cheese003

- (60) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^h\partial-$ ʃi^{53}
then churn thither rinse
Then rinse out the churn.'

Butter&Cheese004

- (61) $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^h\partial-$ ʃi^{53} $t^h\tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
churn thither rinse PFV REN
'When finished rinsing the churn,'

Butter&Cheese005

- (62) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ = $n\partial$ $w\tilde{o}^{13}$ jo^{53} ra ze = $n\partial$ $r\partial$
then pot =LOC milk pour RA EX.INAN.SELF -NZR TOP

Butter&Cheese006

- (63) $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ = $n\partial$ $z\partial-$ jo^{53}
churn =LOC up pour
Then pour the milk that has been poured into the pan up into the churn'.

¹⁰ The whole text can be found in Appendix II.

Butter&Cheese007

- (64) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ = $n\partial$ $z\partial$ - jo^{53} $t^h\tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
then churn =LOC up pour PFV REN
'Then after (the milk) has been poured into the churn,'

Butter&Cheese008

- (65) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $su^{55}r\partial^{11}$ $mb\partial$ - $t\zeta o^{53}$
then paddle down VBZR.strike
'Then paddle (the milk)'.

In this section of text, $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ occurs four times:

First take out a churn. Then rinse the churn. (002/003)

When finished rinsing the churn, then pour the milk into the churn. (004/005-6)

Then when it has been poured into the churn, (005-6/007)

then paddle (the milk). (007/008)

The first, second and fourth clauses beginning with $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ are clearly sequential to the preceding clause. $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ can occur at the beginning of finite (003) or non-finite (007) clauses.

But the use of $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ extends beyond bracketing events in a text as can be seen by the fact that $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ occurs twice in the third and fourth clauses even though there is only one action. This overuse of $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ appears to mark intonation units as well as being a method of propelling the text forward. It merits further investigation.

Chapter 7 Minor Word Classes

This chapter presents minor word classes in Dongwang not discussed elsewhere in the grammar. The use of 'minor' is meant to include words that comprise generally closed, small classes. The classes discussed in this chapter are numerals, quantifiers, classifiers, non-personal pronouns, coordination markers, particles and clitics, interjections, expletives, and filler words.

7.1 Numerals, quantifiers, and classifiers

7.1.1 Numbers

7.1.1.1 Cardinal numbers

Like other Tibetan dialects, Dongwang numerals are based on a decimal system. Numbers one through ten are unique. Eleven through nineteen are based on ten + one through nine. Numerals one through twenty are given below.

<i>tɕi</i> ⁵³	'one'	<i>tɕo</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ji</i> ¹¹	'eleven'
<i>ɲu</i> ⁵³	'two'	<i>tɕo</i> ⁵⁵ <i>nə</i> ¹¹	'twelve'
<i>sō</i> ⁵³	'three'	<i>tɕo:</i> ⁵⁵ <i>sō</i> ⁵³	'thirteen'
<i>zə</i> ³⁵³	'four'	<i>tɕy:</i> ⁵⁵ <i>zə</i> ¹¹	'fourteen'
<i>ŋa</i> ⁵³	'five'	<i>tɕē</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ŋa</i> ⁵³	'fifteen'
<i>tʂo</i> ⁵³	'six'	<i>tɕə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>dʒo</i> ⁵³	'sixteen'
<i>dī</i> ⁵³³	'seven'	<i>tɕə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>dī</i> ⁵³	'seventeen'
<i>zə</i> ³⁵³	'eight'	<i>tɕo</i> ⁵⁵ <i>zə</i> ⁵³	'eighteen'
<i>gə</i> ³⁵³	'nine'	<i>tɕy</i> ⁵⁵ <i>gə</i> ¹¹	'nineteen'
<i>tɕə</i> ⁵³	'ten'	<i>ɲə</i> ¹¹ <i>tɕə</i> ⁵³	'twenty'

When counting¹, numerals twenty through ninety-nine are derived from the multiple of ten (20, 30, etc.) plus a specific morpheme for each set followed by numerals one through nine. The morpheme is derived from the particular decade it represents. Thus the morpheme for the seventies is derived from the number seven, the morpheme for the eighties is derived from the number eight, and so on. The one exception is the morpheme for the twenties which is not related to the number two.

It is rare that the full four-syllable numeral is used. Usually only the decimal morpheme and specific number that follows it are necessary. Both forms are illustrated below:

¹ Since Chinese numerals are so frequently used, it would be fair to add the caveat 'when Chinese numerals are not used'.

<i>tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	~	<i>ɲə¹¹ɕə⁵⁵ tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'twenty-two'
<i>sə¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	~	<i>sõ⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵ sə¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'thirty-two'
<i>ɕe¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	~	<i>zɕ⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵ ɕe¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	'forty-two'
<i>ɲə¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	~	<i>ɲə⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵ ɲə¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'fifty-two'
<i>ri¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	~	<i>tʂo⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵ri¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'sixty-two' ²
<i>dǎ¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	~	<i>dĩ⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵dǎ¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'sixty-two'
<i>zæ¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	~	<i>zɛ¹¹tɕə⁵⁵zæ¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'eighty-two'
<i>gu¹¹ɲu⁵⁵</i>	~	<i>kə⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵gu¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	'ninety-two'

When numbers are uttered for purposes other than counting, the unique morphemes that represent each decade are replaced with the morpheme *tsa:⁵⁵* that is used for twenty-one through twenty-nine in other contexts. In this case, the whole four-syllable numeral must be used. These are illustrated below:

<i>ɲə¹¹ɕə⁵⁵ tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'twenty-two'
<i>sõ⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵ tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'thirty-two'
<i>zɕ⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵ tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'forty-two'
<i>ɲə⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵ tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'fifty-two'
<i>tʂo⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'sixty-two'
<i>dĩ⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'sixty-two'
<i>zɛ¹¹tɕə⁵⁵tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'eighty-two'
<i>kə⁵⁵tɕə⁵⁵tsa:⁵⁵ɲu⁵³</i>	'ninety-two'

² Some speakers use *ɕe¹¹ɲu⁵⁵*.

7.1.1.2 Grammaticized function of the number 'one'

As in many other languages, the number 'one' in Dongwang has grammaticized to function as a marker of indefiniteness. When it functions as a marker of indefiniteness, it is not stressed and does not carry tone.

tɕi can indicate indefiniteness for singular and plural referents:

HeartAttack151

- (1) *k^hui⁵⁵ a¹¹wũ⁵⁵ du¹¹ba⁵⁵ tɕi jō⁵³ k^hə*
 3SERG again boulder INDF pick.up KHU
 'He again picked up a boulder.'

Elicited836

- (2) *wō⁵⁵dza⁵³ =kĩ pingguoCH ma¹¹mə⁵⁵ tɕi tu⁵³ ji*
 1PL =PL apple many INDF pick COP.SELF
 'We picked a lot of apples'.

A common use of the indefinite marker is to introduce participants in narratives.

GoodSam001

- (3) *pə¹³ tɕi zə¹¹dō⁵³ =ts^hə hũ¹³*
 man INDF rGyalthang =ABL come
 'A man came from Zhongdian'.

The indefinite marker can also be used to mean 'some' or 'a little' when it is used with non-count nouns:

MyLife035

- (4) *tsã⁵⁵ba⁵³ tɕi tɕ^ha⁵³ ze*
tsampa INDF eat EX.INAN.SELF
'(We) ate some tsampa'.

The indefinite marker can also occur after 'all'.

Elicited80c

- (5) *ɕi⁵⁵ji⁵³ k^ha¹¹la⁵³ tɕi ŋa¹³ t^hũ³⁵³ a⁵³ t^hi*
2PL all INDF 1S see QST VISU.PFT
'You all saw me'.

Finally, the indefinite marker occasionally follows numbers:

Elicited

- (6) *mbə³⁵³ ɲə¹¹wa⁵⁵ zə³⁵ ŋa⁵³ tɕi tsi⁵³ de ji*
cat.fungus day four five INDF search CONT CONC

tɕi⁵³ la jã¹³ ma- zõ
one even find NEG- EGO.IR

'(I) looked for caterpillar fungus for some four or five days, but (I) didn't even find one'

In all the sentences given above, speakers say the indefinite marker is optional and are unable to discern any difference in meaning between its presence or absence in a clause. However, it is never omitted in certain contexts such as (3) when introducing a participant into a text. When it is omitted in a clause such as (1), it would be ambiguous whether the speaker is referring to *a boulder* or *boulders*. In other clauses, such as (5) and (6), the occurrence or non-occurrence of *tɕi* probably determines very

subtle meaning differences, but more examination of the distribution of *tɕi* in texts is needed to know more.

The approximate suffix *-dzi* and the indefinite marker *tɕi* can also follow numerals to indicate rough estimations. In this type of noun phrase, the indefinite marker seems to function as a phrase boundary marker.

Hardship059

- (7) $\text{ʂ}^{\text{h}^55} \text{t}^{\text{h}^55} \text{la} \text{p}^{\text{h}^55} \text{əp}^{\text{h}^55} \text{əp}^{\text{h}^55} \text{ə} \text{chezeCH} \text{zə}^{\text{353}} \text{ŋa}^{\text{53}} \text{-dzi} \text{tɕi} \text{ze}^{\text{11}} \text{dzi}^{\text{?55}}$
 wood LA FILLER car four five about INDF EX.INAN.OTHR
 'We had, um, about four or five carloads (=tractorloads) of wood'

Example (7) indicates that *tɕi* has fully grammaticized into an indefinite marker as it has entirely lost its original meaning of 'one'.

7.1.1.3 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived when the formative *-pa* is suffixed to the cardinal number. 'First' has a unique form:

$\text{to}^{\text{11}} \text{mə}^{\text{55}}$	'first'	$\text{nũ}^{\text{55}} \text{ba}^{\text{53}}$	'second'	$\text{sō}^{\text{55}} \text{ba}^{\text{53}}$	'third'
$\text{zə}^{\text{11}} \text{pa}^{\text{53}}$	'fourth'	$\text{ŋa}^{\text{55}} \text{pa}^{\text{53}}$	'fifth'	$\text{tʂo}^{\text{55}} \text{pa}^{\text{53}}$	'sixth'

7.1.1.4 Special count words

When counting weights or bulk measurement, the numbers 'one' and 'two' have special numbers.

*tɕi*⁵⁵ *kõ*¹¹ 'one *jin*'³

jinCH one

*tɕi*⁵⁵ *tu*¹¹ 'two *jin*'

jinCH two

7.1.1.5 Fractions

There are only a few fractions in Dongwang:

*se*⁵⁵*k^ha*⁵³ 'one half'

*zø*¹¹ *nã*⁵⁵ *tɕi* 'one quarter'
four piece INDF

'One half' is commonly used but 'one quarter' is infrequently used. Speakers do not seem to know any other fractions.

7.1.2 Quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers 'make reference to sets of items and the relative number of items in that set relevant to the predication' (Watters 2003: 176). Non-numeral quantifiers in Dongwang include words such as *k^ha*¹¹*la*⁵³ 'all', *ngø*¹¹*rø*⁵⁵ 'some', *we*¹¹*za*⁵⁵ 'other', 'another', *ri*¹¹*ri*⁵⁵ 'each' and *ma*¹¹*mø*⁵⁵ 'many'. The

³ Previously, a *jin* used to be the equivalent of 1.3 pounds or 625 grams. However, in recent years a *jin* has come to be the equivalent of exactly ½ kilo.

approximate suffix *-dzi* is used with measurements to indicate approximation such as 'about' or 'more or less'. Apart from *-dzi* all of these forms can stand alone or as a nominal modifier within a noun phrase. Quantifiers usually follow the noun they modify.

Elicited335

- (8) ηa^{13} $t\tilde{o}^{55}$ $w\tilde{a}^{53}$ *ma-* $n d z u^{13}$ $j i^{55}$ $s u^{53}$ =*jæ*
 1S Dongwang NEG- go before =LOC

$j a^{11}$ $m b \partial^{55}$ $n g a^{11}$ $r \partial^{55}$ $n u^{13}$ $k^h \partial$ *gui*
 present some buy KHU NEED

'Before I go to Dongwang, (I) need to buy some presents'.

Only the quantifier $w e^{11}$ $z a^{55}$ 'other', 'another' can either proceed or follow the noun it modifies. There is no apparent meaning difference.

Elicited680a

- (9) ηa^{13} $w e^{11}$ $z a^{55}$ $k^h i^{11}$ $m b a^{55}$ *tçi* *ze*
 1S another house INDF EX.INAN.SELF
 'I have another house'.

Elicited680b

- (10) ηa $k^h i^{11}$ $m b a^{55}$ $w e^{11}$ $z a^{55}$ *tçi* *ze*
 1S house another INDF EX.INAN.SELF
 'I have another house'.

Quantifiers can stand alone as the single element in a noun phrase and can co-occur with casemarking morphemes like any other noun.

KillPig014/015

- (11) ⁿga¹¹rə⁵⁵ =ji rə tɕa⁵⁵ki⁵³ =ji la ka¹³ dzi?
some =ERG TOP wire =INSTR also garotte OTHR

ⁿga¹¹rə⁵⁵ =ji t^hə¹³ =ji la ka¹³ dzi?
some =ERG rope =INSTR also garotte OTHR

'Some use wire to garotte (the pig). Some use rope to garotte (the pig).'

The quantifier *ri¹¹ri⁵⁵* (§6.3.1.5) occurs as part of a special distributive

construction. In ditransitive clauses that have multiple recipients, *ri¹¹ri⁵⁵* follows the recipient while a single syllable *ri¹³* follows the direct object:

Elicited688

- (12) ^kh^{ui}⁵⁵ ɲə¹³ ri¹¹ri⁵⁵ =jæ sã¹³ ri⁵⁵ te⁵³ t^hi
3SERG person each =DAT food each give VIS.PFV
'S/he gave food to each person'

The noun phrase *ɲə¹³ ri¹¹ri⁵⁵=jæ* 'to each person' in (12) is the recipient of the verb *te⁵³* 'to give'.

In other clauses containing the verb *te⁵³* 'to give' and a single recipient, but

multiple instances of giving, the quantifier *ri¹¹ri⁵⁵* follows the item given:

Hardship018

- (13) ^{ɲu}ri⁵⁵ tɕ^hə⁵⁵ ^{ɲə}¹¹ɕə⁵⁵ ri¹¹ri⁵⁵ te⁵³ sə⁵⁵ ji
everyday dollar twenty each give say COP.SELF
'(We) said (we) would give (him) twenty dollars a day'.

In (13), the adverb *ɲu¹¹ri⁵⁵* 'every day', functions together with the noun phrase *ɲə¹¹ɕə⁵⁵ ri¹¹ri⁵⁵* 'each day'.

In noun phrases, the quantifier *ri¹¹ri⁵⁵* occurs after the noun. In verbalized constructions (§4.3.2) it occurs in between the nominal and verbal components.

- MyLife228
- (14) *k^həo⁵³ ri¹¹ri⁵⁵ dzo⁵³ rə̃⁵⁵*
 shot each VBLZ REN
- wu^{CH} ping^{CH} tɕə̃¹³ z̃i pə̃⁵⁵ z̃i*
 five fen money^{CH} COP.SELF HIST COP.SELF
 'When each injection is given, it is five fen' (*wu ping qian is from Chinese*)

7.1.3 Measures and Classifiers

In Dongwang, there are no classifiers that impose categorization as 'special operators that are used in some or all noun phrases to directly express the class of a noun' (Payne 1997: 155). There are some words, used in certain contexts, which 'categorize the noun with which they co-occur and are independent of any other element in a noun phrase or in a clause.' (Aikhenvald 2006: 465). Most of these words in Dongwang can be called measure words. They occur after the noun they modify and before any quantifier or numerals which might be included in the noun phrase. Examples of measures are 'a pair of', 'a blob/dollop of', and 'a day's ration of'.

Elicited

- (15) $\underline{h\tilde{a}^{353}}$ $\underline{t\epsilon^h a^{53}}$ $\underline{t\epsilon i}$
shoe/s pair INDF
'a pair of shoes'

RabbitB011

- (16) $\underline{m\tilde{a}^{13}}$ $\underline{ts^h \tilde{a}^{55}}$ $\underline{t\epsilon i}$ $k^h \tilde{a} o^{53}$ ni $r\tilde{a}$
butter blob INDF carry NI TOP
'(the shepherd) carrying a blob of butter.'

HeartAttack022

- (17) $\underline{t\epsilon^h \tilde{a}^{53}}$ $\underline{n\tilde{g}ui^{53}}$ $\underline{t\epsilon i}$ $w\tilde{a}^{55} t\tilde{a}^{11}$ = $n\tilde{a}$
water ration INDF there =LOC

$mb\tilde{a}$ - $n\tilde{d}zu^{13}$ $n\tilde{d}o$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ $r\tilde{a}$
down- go EX.AN.SELF REN TOP
'When a day's ration of water was running down there',

The phrase $t\epsilon^h \tilde{a}^{53} n\tilde{g}ui^{53} t\epsilon i$ in example (17) refers to a system of irrigation that is tightly regimented in the village. One small canal flows into the village and is controlled by a complicated system that involves the raising and lowering of boards that open and close certain ditches. Each household is allowed water on certain days to water their fields. Thus, $t\epsilon^h \tilde{a}^{53} n\tilde{g}ui^{53} t\epsilon i$, means 'a day's ration of water'.

There are two classifiers used for humans that seem to function similarly as to those examples given above. The first, $n\tilde{g}u$, has likely arisen from the word $n\tilde{g}u^{353}$ 'head'.

Hardship076

- (18) $\underline{pə}^{13}$ $\underline{n}gu$ $=tsəə$ $p^hə-$ $tʂō^{11}ta^{53}$ $sā^{53}$ $sō$
 person CLF =ABL thither- embarrassed think EGO.REAL
 'I thought I would be embarrassed before everyone'

When there is a quantifier in the noun phrase, the classifier precedes the quantifier as in the following example:

Hardship108

- (19) $tā^{13}$ $\underline{pə}^{13}$ $\underline{n}gu$ $\underline{ri}^{11}ri^{55}$ $tʂ^hə^{55}ts^hə^{53}$ $sa^{11}sū^{53}$ $sa^{11}sū^{53}$ $ri^{11}ri^{55}$
 then person CLF each o'clock ?.three ?.three each

$wə^{55}tə^{11}$ \underline{ni}^{13} $pæ^{53}$ je^{13}
 there fire burn VBZR.do

'Then each person (=each one of us) fired (the limestone) for three hours each'.

For reasons unknown to me, n gu can co-occur with the plural morpheme

$=ts^hə^{53}$ but not with the plural morpheme $=kī$.

Elicited

- (20) $\underline{pə}^{13}$ $\underline{n}gu$ $=ts^hə^{53}$ \underline{ndzu}^{13} tsi re
 person CLF =PL go PROSP COP.OTHR
 'The whole household is going'.

* $\underline{pə}^{13} n$ gu $=kī \underline{ndzu}^{13} tsi re$

Without the classifier, either or both plural markers can co-occur with either noun.

The second word that functions as a classifier for humans is *ⁿga*⁵³, etymology unknown.

HeartAttack129

- (21) *wə*⁵⁵*na*⁵³ *ɲu*⁵³ *ⁿga*⁵³ *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *də*¹¹*dō*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *kʰə* *ni*
 1PL DU CLF there fistfight VBZR.do KHU NI
 'The two of us fistfought and,'

Elicited

- (22) *kʰə*⁵⁵*na*⁵³ *ɲu*⁵³ *ⁿga*⁵³
 3PL two CLF
 '*Both of them*'

Elicited

- (23) *kʰə*⁵⁵*na*⁵³ *sũ*⁵³ *ⁿga*⁵³
 3PL three CLF
 '*All three of them*'

7.2 Non-personal pronouns

In Chapter Five, personal pronouns were discussed together with nouns because they can function as the single element in a noun phrase and can be casemarked. This is true of many non-personal pronouns as well, but non-personal pronouns exhibit additional features that are not characteristic of nouns. Each of these will be discussed in the relevant sections below.

7.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives function as pronouns, or to point to referents, locations, time, and manner in my database.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	LOCATION	TIME	MANNER
PROXIMATE	<i>n</i> də ³⁵³ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ⁿ də ¹¹	<i>n</i> də ¹¹ kĩ ⁵⁵ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ⁿ də ¹¹ kĩ	<i>na</i> ⁵³ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>na</i> ⁵³		<i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ⁿ dzo ⁵³ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ⁿ dze ⁵³
DISTAL 1	<i>tə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ tə ¹¹	<i>tə</i> ¹¹ kĩ ⁵⁵ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ tə ¹¹ kĩ	<i>ti</i> : ¹³ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ti</i> ¹¹	<i>tə</i> ¹¹ ræ̃ ⁵⁵	<i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ tso ⁵³ <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ tse
DISTAL 2	<i>tə</i> ⁵⁵ rə ¹¹		<i>tə</i> ¹¹ p ^h a ⁵³		

TABLE 22: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS IN DONGWANG

As shown in Table 22, the demonstrative pronouns can be marked for plurality, but the related location, time, and manner forms are not. Speakers say that the two proximate and distal demonstrative pronouns in Table 22 are in free variation. The difference between 'distal 1' and 'distal 2' forms is one of degree of distance. Thus, *tə*⁵⁵ can be understood as 'that', *tə*⁵⁵rə¹¹ as 'that there', *ti*:¹³ as 'there' and *tə*¹¹p^ha⁵³ as 'over there'. Other forms that express further distance are the more complex forms *tə*¹¹p^ha⁵³ *ji* *tə*¹¹ p^ha⁵³ 'way over there' and *s*^ha⁵³ *tə*¹¹p^ha⁵³ 'furthest over there'. Unlike

other Tibetan dialects, only horizontal proximate and distal forms are found in my database.⁴

Demonstratives can occur attributively in a noun phrase or independently as the single element of a noun phrase. Within a noun phrase, demonstratives occur before the head noun (s§8.1.1.1).⁵ When they occur independently, demonstratives can be casemarked like any other noun.

Demonstrative pronouns can be pluralized with the clitic =*kĩ*, but not with the plural marker =*ts^hã⁵³*. When demonstratives occur in noun phrases, the demonstrative precedes the noun and the plural marker follows the noun.

- (24) *tə⁵⁵ a⁵⁵ka⁵³ =kĩ* *ⁿdə³⁵³ çə⁵³ =kĩ*
 that child =PL this dog =PL
 'Those children' 'These dogs'

When demonstratives occur independently, they can be casemarked as any other noun.

Hardship048

- (25) *wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ =ji* *tsə⁵⁵ka⁵³ tçi* *je¹³ ʂi⁵³* *pə⁵⁵ zĩ*
 that.one =ERG a.little INDF do know.how HIST COP.SELF
 'That one knew how to do it a little bit'

⁴ Many Tibetan dialects also have vertical forms constructed from the locationals <mar> 'down' and <yar> 'up', but I have not encountered these in Dongwang.

⁵ As described in §8.1.2.2 the distal demonstrative *tə⁵⁵* has also come to function as a marker of specificity which occurs after the noun.

Distal demonstratives tend to make anaphoric reference to previous discourse while proximate demonstratives tend to make cataphoric reference to upcoming discourse.

GetMar056

- (26) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{o}^{55}t\tilde{o}^{11}$ $s^h\tilde{a}^{53}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 then that think REN
 'Then thinking about that',

In (26) the distal demonstrative pronoun $w\tilde{o}^{55}t\tilde{o}^{11}$ 'that' refers to what the narrator's father had just told her.

In example (27), the proximal demonstrative $^nd\tilde{o}^{353}$ in the second clause refers to the event stated in the third clause.

KillPig56-58

- (27) $z\tilde{o}^{11}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ $ts^h\tilde{o}-$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ ni $r\tilde{o}$
 intestines hither take.out NI TOP

$^nd\tilde{o}^{353}$ je^{13}
 this do

$z\tilde{o}^{11}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $p^h\tilde{o}-$ $z\tilde{o}^{11}t\tilde{s}i^{53}$ je^{13}
 intestines TOP thither divide do
 'After taking out the intestines, do this: divide the intestines'

In addition to indicating physical proximity, the proximal demonstrative pronoun $^nd\tilde{o}^{353}$ 'this' can be associated with exophoric reference.

Accident²⁵⁸

(28) *tã¹³ na⁵³ nⁿdə³⁵³ rə¹³si⁵⁵ rō k^ha¹¹la⁵³ tsə⁵⁵ka⁵³*
then here this bone CONN all a.little

je¹³ ɕi nō

VBZR MAL VIS.IPFV

'Then here this bone and all was all a little bad'

In (28), the speaker is relating the injuries his wife incurred after an accident. As he says *na⁵³ nⁿdə³⁵³ rə¹¹si⁵⁵ rō k^ha¹¹la⁵³* 'here this bone and all', he motions to his own leg. His motion links the location on his leg to that of his wife's leg in the text.

7.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns of Dongwang are given below:

<i>sə⁵⁵</i>	<su>	'who'
<i>ka¹¹nə⁵⁵ ~ ka¹¹ⁿdə⁵⁵</i>	<ga.'di>	'what', 'which', 'how'
<i>ka¹³</i>	<gar?>	'where', 'to where'
<i>ka¹³tsə¹¹</i>	<gar.tsa?>	'from where'
<i>na¹³</i>	<nam?>	'when'
<i>ka¹¹ⁿdzi⁵⁵</i>	<ga.'dra>	'what kind', 'how'
<i>ka¹³dzi⁵⁵</i>	<ga.tshod?>	'how many', 'how much'
<i>ka¹¹ⁿdə⁵⁵t^ho¹¹kæ¹¹</i>	<ga.'di.?.?>	'why, for what reason'
<i>ka¹¹nə⁵⁵si¹¹ne¹¹</i>	<ga.'di.zer.nas>	'why'

The majority of the forms above are built on a first syllable <ga> a common question word prefix found in all Tibetan dialects. The word for 'to where' has likely arisen from the interrogative morpheme plus an old locative suffix *-r*. The word for 'from where' has likely arisen from the interrogative morpheme plus the ablative *tsə~tsəo*. One WT word for 'when' is <nam> which is the likely etymology for the Dongwang form, but somewhere along the line, the nasal coda was dropped. The etymology for 'how many' or 'how much' is likely <ga.tshod>, but it is unclear why the second syllable onset is voiced.

Interrogative pronouns usually occur right before the verb.

Heartattack103/104

- (29) ηe^{13} $ka^{11}nə^{55}$ je^{13} $s\tilde{o}$ ζi^{55} na^{13} $t^h\tilde{u}^{353}$
 1SERG what VBZR.do EGO 2SERG when see
 'What did I do? When did you see (me do something)?'

Elicited

- (30) $sə^{55}$ =*ji* ζe^{55} $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ *dzi?*
 who =ERG 2S hit OTHR
 'Who hit you?'

Hardship091

- (31) $k^h a^{55}ba^{53}$ $ka^{11}dzi^{53}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$ ta^{53} *ji*
 rim how.much EVI.VIS look COP.SELF
 '(I) looked to see how big the rim was'.

Interrogative pronouns can be reduplicated when the speaker is asking for a reply that involves more than one person or thing:

Elicited012

- (32) ɕi^{55} $\text{ka}^{11}\text{nə}^{55}$ je^{13} dʒi
2SERG what VBZR.DO SELF
'What did you do?'

Elicited1463

- (33) ɕi^{55} $\text{ka}^{11}\text{nə}^{55}$ $\text{ka}^{11}\text{nə}^{55}$ je^{13} dʒi
2SERG what what VBZR SELF
'What all did you do?'

Elicited

- (34) $\text{ɕi}^{55}\text{ɲi}^{53}$ ɕũ^{55} jə^{13} sə^{55} sə^{55} $\text{n}^{\text{do}}^{11}\text{dʒi}?$
2PLGEN house person who who EX.AN.OTHR
'Who all is in your family?'

There are no true indefinite pronouns, but interrogative pronouns are used in conditional clause constructions to convey indefinite meanings. Consider the following elicited examples:

Elicited754: Indefinite construction with sə^{55} 'who'

- (35) sə^{55} ʒi^{13} rõ $\text{n}^{\text{dzu}}^{13}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{hu}}^{53}$ dʒi^{13}
who COP.SELF COND go PERM OTHR
'Anyone can go'

Elicited879: Indefinite construction using ka^{13} 'where'

- (36) ka^{13} $\text{n}^{\text{dzu}}^{13}$ rõ^{11} sichuan jə^{13} re^{11}
where go COND Sichuan people COP.OTHR
'Wherever one goes, there are Sichuan people'

7.3 Vocatives

Vocatives are words that can be used in direct address clauses and can convey social position and/or speaker attitude. Examples in my data are adjectives (*tsə⁵⁵ka⁵³* 'little one') or nouns (*ba³⁵³* 'father', *ma¹³* 'mother'). There is no suffix that would indicate either a change in word class or the speaker's polite or rude attitude, but there is always a pause after the vocative:

Prod003

- (37) *ba³⁵³* ... *ŋa¹³* *t^hu⁵³* *-nə* =*ji* *tæ¹¹t^ha⁵³*
 father 1SDAT divide -NMZ =GEN goods

ŋa¹³ *ts^hə* *te⁵³* *ru* *s*
 1SDAT hither give POL HS

'Father, please give my portion of the goods.'

GetMar049

- (38) *tsə⁵⁵ka⁵³* ... *çi⁵⁵ŋi⁵³* *a⁵⁵mo⁵³* *ŋu⁵³* =*ji*
 little.one 2PL grandmother two =ERG

çe⁵⁵ *wə⁵⁵tə¹¹* *a⁵⁵mo⁵³* *ŋu⁵³* =*ji* *lu¹³* *ra* *-nə* *re*
 2S that grandmother two =ERG do RA -NMZ COP.OTHR

'Little one, your two grandmothers, your those two grandmothers are the ones who did it.'

7.4 Postpositions

In addition to locational casemarking clitics, there are postpositional locational words that express more specific temporal or spatial location of referents.

The list below is a complete list of the postpositions that are found in my database.

<i>ti⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	'on top of', 'over'	<i>ʂə³⁵³~ʂo¹¹ra⁵⁵</i>	'below'
<i>ɕə⁵⁵ke⁵³</i>	'center'	<i>pe¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	'middle', 'during'
<i>na¹¹ni⁵⁵</i>	'inside'	<i>gõ³⁵³</i>	'on top of', 'above'
<i>ⁿgu³⁵³</i>	'over'	<i>tsi⁵⁵ru⁵³</i>	'tip', 'summit'
<i>zəo³⁵³</i>	'behind'	<i>zæ¹¹su⁵³</i>	'outside'
<i>pe¹¹la⁵³</i>	'between'	<i>ⁿdzã³⁵³</i>	'beside'
<i>nə⁵⁵n^{gu}¹¹</i>	'in front of'	<i>tsa⁵⁵</i>	'beside'
<i>fji⁵⁵su⁵³</i>	'in front', 'first'	<i>ka¹³ka¹¹</i>	'everywhere'
<i>p^ho¹¹la</i>	'opposite side'	<i>mbə¹¹ts^hi⁵⁵</i>	'until'
<i>di¹¹mba⁵⁵</i>	'near to'	<i>ba⁵³</i>	'beginning'
<i>p^hə¹¹tɕe⁵³</i>	'after'	<i>mbə¹¹ts^hi⁵⁵</i>	'until'

Some of these words are derived from body parts. For example, *ⁿgu³⁵³* 'over'

(from 'head') and *ke⁵⁵pa⁵³* 'middle' (from neck).

Elicited594

- (39) *tɕa⁵⁵za⁵³* *wə⁵⁵ji⁵³* *k^hi¹¹mba⁵⁵* *n^{gu}³⁵³* *p^hə* *dī¹³* *sõ*
 airplane 1PLGEN house head DIR fly EGO
 'An airplane flew over our house'

Elicited301

- (40) $t\tilde{o}^{55}w\tilde{a}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $z\tilde{a}^{11}t\tilde{o}^{53}$ $pe^{11}la^{53}$ $r\tilde{a}^{13}$ $s\tilde{o}^{53}$ $ze^{11}dzi?$
Dongwang and rGyalthang between mtn three EX.INAN.OTHR
'There are three mountains between Dongwang and rGyalthang'

When pronouns precede postpositional words, they are obligatorily marked with the genitive casemarker so that the postpositions appear to be functioning as the head of the noun phrase.

HeartAttack086

- (41) ηe^{13} tsa^{53} $s\tilde{i}^{33}$ $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
1SGEN beside arrive come REN
'When (he) arrived beside me',

Elicited336

- (42) ηa^{13} $t\tilde{c}i$ ηe^{13} $z\tilde{a}o^{53}$ $z\tilde{a}$ - ηa^{53} $k^h\tilde{a}$ $s\tilde{o}$
person INDF 1SGEN behind up chase KHU EGO
'A person is following behind me'.

In (41) and (42), the location words tsa^{53} 'beside' and $z\tilde{a}o^{53}$ 'behind' are the syntactic head of the first-person possessive pronoun ηe^{13} .

7.5 Nominal coordination markers

Noun phrases can be conjoined through simple juxtaposition or through a coordination marker.

GetMar084

- (43) $a^{55}ni^{11}$ $a^{55}mo^{53}$ ηu^{53} = ji $tsa^{55}dz\tilde{a}^{53}$ je^{13}
grandfather grandmother DU =ERG respect VBZR
'Grandfather and grandmother both respected (me)'

The coordinator *rō* 'and' can join two or more noun phrases.

Elicited646

- (44) *ŋe*¹³ *pingguo*CH *rō* *ji*¹¹*sy*⁵⁵ *ŋu*¹³ *ji*
 1SERG apples and pears buy COP.SELF
 'I bought apples and pears.'

When more than two noun phrases are conjoined with *rō*, it occurs after the

first noun phrase:

Elicited644

- (45) *ŋe*¹³ *te*¹¹*ga*⁵⁵ *rō* *ji*¹¹*sy*⁵⁵ *p*^{hɿ}*guo* *ŋu*¹³ *n**dzu*¹³ *zī*
 1SERG walnuts and pears applesCH buy go COP.SELF
 'I am going to buy walnuts, apples and pears.'

It is often the case that the speaker does not include reference to him or herself

in conjoined noun phrases:

Hardship009

- (46) *dæ*⁵⁵*zæ*⁵³ *tɕ*^{hũ}*pi*⁵³ *rō* *dzu*¹¹*pi*⁵⁵ *wō*⁵⁵*dza*⁵³ *sō*⁵³ =*ji*
 Danzen Chumpi and Drupi 1PL three =ERG

k^{hə}*l**rə*⁵⁵*tsəo*⁵³ =*jæ* *shihui*CH *sa*⁵³
 Kharatso =DAT limestone burn

'(Me), Danzen Chumpi, and Drupi, the three of us, went to Kharatso to fire limestone'.

The sentence in (46) is an example of the common inclusory use of pronouns in

which the person-number of the pronoun (here first-person pronoun followed by the

numeral 'three') indicates that 'a certain individual (here, the speaker) is included even though the overt noun phrase contains no explicit reference to that individual'.⁶

The word $d\tilde{o}^{13}$ can connect two noun phrases to mean 'or' as in the following example:

- MyLife200
 (47) jY^{13} $t\text{c}\text{ə}^{11}dzu^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{13}$ $t\text{c}\text{ə}^{11}d\tilde{i}^{55}$ $d\text{z}\text{i}?$
 year sixteen or seventeen OTHR
 '(I) was sixteen or seventeen years old'.

Two juxtaposed noun phrases can also express an approximation that can be translated 'or':

- GetDivB012
 (48) $n\text{ə}^{55}$ jY^{13} $t\text{c}\text{ə}^{55}$ $t\text{c}\text{o}^{55}j\text{i}^{11}$ $t\text{s}\text{i}^{11}r\text{ə}^{55}$
 this year ten eleven ADVERS

 $j\text{ə}^{13}$ = $j\text{i}$ $f\text{ji}^{353}$ $l\text{a}$ ηe^{13} $r\text{a}^{13}$
 man =GEN work also 1SERG VBZR
 'Now ten or eleven years ago, even man's work I did',

The notion 'or' as in 'Do you want ice cream or candy?' is often expressed as a clause-level notion by the juxtaposition of two clauses. This is addressed in Chapter Twelve.

⁶ Bernard Comrie, personal communication.

7.6 Expletives, fillers, interjections and particles

In this section I discuss a group of words and particles that are hard to fit anywhere else.

7.6.1 Expletives and emphatic words

p^{he}53, when uttered as a short syllable with a high-falling tone and a strong release of the plosive, communicates a strong dislike or disgust towards someone or something. When it is uttered, the speaker will often turn his or her head sideways and make a spitting motion. *p^{he}13* when uttered in a long syllable with a rising or level tone, implies that the speaker is commiserating with someone else in their misery.

Another common expletive is *kui⁵⁵tɕ^ho⁵³* or *kui⁵⁵tɕ^ho⁵³ sũ⁵³* <dkon.mchog> ~ <dkon.mchog gsum>. To a trained Buddhist, <dkon.mchog> means 'anything very excellent or best of its kind' and <dkon.mchog gsum> refers to the Buddhist triad⁷ (Das 1902: 53). As an expletive, it is used as an exclamation similar to 'God!', or 'Oh God!'

The word *ka¹³ka¹³* is used for emphatic purposes and roughly means the equivalent of the phrase 'oh man', or 'man oh man', in English.

⁷ The Buddhist triad is: The Buddha, the Dharma, and the clergy.

FirstBaby002

ηe^{13} $^n d\emptyset$ $p\emptyset$ $ge^{11}z\tilde{o}^{55}$ $ts^h\ae^{11}r\tilde{i}^{55}$ $^n do$ $r\tilde{\ae}^{55}$ $ka^{13}ka^{11}$
1SERG this boy Gesang Tsering birth SUB man!

$xianCH$ $yiyuanCH$ $na^{11}ni^{55}$ $zhuCH$ $yuanCH$ je^{13} ji
County Hospital inside stay hospital VBZR.do COP.SELF

'When I gave birth to this boy, Gesang Tsering, oh man, I stayed at the County Hospital'.

7.6.2 Fillers

The most common filler is the one, two, three, or four syllable expression $p^h\emptyset$

~ $p\emptyset$ which seems to function most frequently when the speaker is searching for a word or trying to recall the details of an event.

KillaPig023

(49) $t\check{s}\emptyset^{55}$ $z\tilde{\ae}^{13}$ gui $t\check{s}a^{55}wa^{53}$ $r\emptyset$ $p^h\emptyset p^h\emptyset p^h\emptyset$ tsu^{53} ... tsu^{53}
knife stab NEED reason TOP FILLER fat ... fat

$p^h\emptyset$ $k\emptyset^{55}k\ae^{53}$ $re^{11}d\check{z}i?$
FILLER white COP.OTHR

'The reason (we) stab the pig, um, the fat, the fat, um, becomes white'.

Another word, actually the adverb $a^{11}re^{55}ma^{11}re$ 'certainly', is also used as a filler. In my data, this occurs at the beginning of a sentence (as opposed to its adverbial position immediately before the verb):

GetMar023
 (50) $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $a^{55}re^{53}ma^{11}re^{53}$... \tilde{a} ... ma^{13} =*ji* *la* $hi^{55}mo^{53}ra$
 then FILLER PAUSE mother =ERG also at.first

$w\partial^{55}ts^h o^{53}$ se^{13} $we^{55}no$
 this.way say INF

'Then, um, uh, they said that (my) mother also said this:...'

7.6.3 Interjections

There are many single word interjections that convey specific meanings.

Those found in my database are given in the list below.

wei	'Hey', to catch someone's attention
jo^{53}	'OK', in answer to a request
$\tilde{o}^{535} \sim \tilde{o} j\ae$	'yes', 'that's right', listener is agreeing with what the speaker says
a^{53}	'what?', listener did not hear correctly and is asking for a repeat
mm^{13}	'no', in answer to a question to indicate the speaker does not want whatever is offered him/her
$j\ae^{53}$	'Here, take it'

7.6.4 Sentence-final interractional particles

Throughout this dissertation I have glossed certain sentence-final particles as MUT for 'mutual'. Although these often have the form of questions, they are not questions that seek information. Rather, they indicate that the speaker is seeking

affirmation and feedback from the addressee. Often the only feedback garnered is a grunt, a nod, or a monosyllabic \tilde{o} 'yes, that's right'.

Catfungus002

- (51) $da^{55}ra^{11}ngu^{11}$ =*ji* $mb\partial^{353}$ *la* $ma^{11}m\partial^{55}$ $ze^{11}d\zeta i?$
 Darangu =GEN cat.fungus also many EX.INAN.OTHR
 'There were a lot of caterpillar fungus from Darangu' (a place in Sichuan)

Catfungus003

- (52) $w\partial^{55}t\partial^{11}$ =*g\tilde{o}* \tilde{a}^{53}
 that =OBJ QST
 'Up there, right?'

In (51) and (52), the speaker is beginning to tell a story about his experience buying and selling caterpillar fungus. His use of the question particle is not to solicit information (as he is the one who is telling the story), but to solicit agreement regarding the amount of caterpillar fungus. Accordingly, one of the participants in the conversation responds with \tilde{o} 'that's right'.

Usually sentence-final particles consist of a question morpheme and some (unknown) morpheme such as the two most frequent forms $a^{55}na^{53}$ 'right?' and $a^{55}mba^{53}$ 'OK?'

GetMar057

- (53) e^{55} *ma-* ${}^n d\zeta u^{13}$ $p^h\partial-$ ${}^n d\zeta u^{13}$ $a^{55}mba^{53}$ *s*
 2S NEG go thither go MUT QTV
 'You must go, OK? (father) said'.

MyLife316

(54) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ ηe^{13} $pe^{55}ts\theta^{11}$ $t\theta$ \tilde{a}^{13} dzu^{13} $r\tilde{a}$ $dzi?$ $a^{55}na^{53}$
then 1SGEN lifeCH SPEC now finish IMM OTHR MUT

'Now my life is almost finished, right?'

Chapter 8 The Noun Phrase

This chapter discusses the structure and function of the noun phrase.

Discussion surrounding the structure of the noun phrase will mainly examine constituent order of the elements described in previous chapters when they combine to form noun phrases. Discussion surrounding the function of the noun phrase will examine casemarking as well as the syntactic and semantic relationships noun phrases can hold with the verb. Factors that condition a speaker's choice of noun phrase will be discussed in Chapter Eleven.

8.1 Structure of the noun phrase

Within a noun phrase there are both pre-nominal and post-nominal constituents. This section is divided into two sections: constituents which occur in pre-nominal position and constituents which occur in post-nominal position. Of course, many noun phrases are composed of both pre-nominal and post-nominal elements. Additionally, noun phrases can be composed simply of a noun or pronoun.

8.1.1 Pre-nominal constituents

Pre-nominal constituents include demonstratives, genitives, and relative clauses¹.

¹ As mentioned in Chapter Five, adjectives can also occur in pre-nominal position, though the most frequent order by far is N-Adj.

8.1.1.1 Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns (discussed in §7.2.1) can occur pre-nominally or post-nominally as attributives in a noun phrase, or can stand alone as demonstrative pronouns. Demonstratives occurring in post-nominal position are discussed below in §8.1.2.2. Pre-nominal demonstratives serve to identify or locate a referent² deictically or in discourse. *ⁿdə³⁵³* 'this' and *tə⁵⁵* 'that' indicate something that is within viewing distance of the speaker or addressee. The distance is relative.

- (1). *ⁿdə³⁵³ ɕə⁵³* (2). *tə⁵⁵ zi¹³*
 this dog that book
 '*This dog*' '*That book*'
- (3). *ŋe¹³ wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ zi¹¹qi⁵⁵ ta⁵³ de dʒĩ*
 1SERG that book look.at PROG SELF
- ɕi⁵⁵ k^həo⁵³ ma- ⁿdʒu*
 2SERG carry NEG GO
 '*I am reading that book. Don't take it away*'.

Noun phrases without a demonstrative can be definite or indefinite.

Elicited

- (4). *k^hui⁵⁵ ʂa⁵³ kã⁵³ de dʒi?*
 3SERG meat dry CONT OTHR
 '*He is drying some/the meat*'

² A referent can be an animate or inanimate individual or group. It can also be quoted speech, an event, or a whole section of text.

- Elicited
- (5). ηe^{13} zi^{13} $t\epsilon o^{55}ts\epsilon^{11}$ $g\tilde{o}^{353}$ $ze^{11}dzi?$
 1SGEN book desk on EX.INAN.OTHR
 'My book is on the/a table'

In (4) and (5) the definiteness or indefiniteness is dependent on the context. If the addressee was already aware that there was some fresh meat in the house, then 'meat' in (4) would be definite. In (5), if there were many tables in the room, then 'table' would be considered indefinite, but if there were only one table then it would be considered definite.

In addition to deictic functions, pre-nominal demonstratives also indicate that the noun phrase is understood as definite.³

- Elicited
- (6). ηe^{13} $w\epsilon^{55}t\epsilon^{11}$ $t\zeta i^{11}wa^{55}$ $ts^h\epsilon^{53}$ $r\tilde{\epsilon}^{55}$ $\eta\epsilon^{13}$ $\zeta\epsilon^{53}$ ζi ni
 1SERG that news hear REN cry EMIT MAL NI
 'When I heard the news I burst out crying'

The use of the distal demonstrative in the noun phrase in (6) indicates that the speaker assumes the addressee knows *which news* caused him to burst into tears.

The function of the demonstrative occurring in post-nominal position as a marker of specificity is discussed in §8.1.2.2 below.

³ Recall from §7.1.1.2 that *t\zeta i* 'one' can be used as an indefinite marker.

8.1.1.2 Possessors

When genitive constructions express possessor/possessed relationships, the possessor precedes the possessed argument.

HeartAttack001

- (7). *hi*⁵⁵ *mo*⁵³ *ra* *rə* *ma*¹³ *ge*¹¹ *zō*⁵⁵ *=ji* *tɕ*^{hə} *ə*⁵³ *re*
beginning TOP mother Gezang =GEN water COP.OTHR
'In the beginning it was Mother Gezang's water'

When genitive constructions relate a modifier to a head noun, the modifier precedes the modified argument.

GetDivB012, 013

- (8). *pə*¹³ *=ji* *ɦji*³⁵³ *la* *ŋe*¹³ *ra*¹³
man =GEN work also 1SERG do

*bə*⁵⁵ *na*⁵³ *=ji* *ɦji*³⁵³ *la* *ŋe*¹³ *ra*¹³
woman =GEN work also 1SERG do
'...Man's work, I even did. Woman's work, I even did.'

In the example above, the genitive construction specifies a certain type of work, namely 'woman's work' and 'man's work'⁴.

The genitive can also be used to express a compositional relationship as in the following.

Elicited 1036

- (9). *ŋe*¹³ *ʂ*^{tr} *ɪ*⁵⁵ *=ji* *kā*¹³ *tɕi* *zu*¹³ *ji*
1SERG wood =gen trunk INDF make COP.SELF.PST
'I made a a trunk from wood' (a wooden trunk)

⁴ The unusual OAV word order is sometimes used when two analogous constituents are being contrasted.

In (9) the genitive construction provides descriptive information about the head 'trunk', but does not indicate 'possession' in any real sense.⁵

When a possessor and a demonstrative occur in the same noun phrase, the possessor precedes the demonstrative:

- Elicited
- (10). ηe^{13} $k^h a^{11} t s \tilde{o}^{55}$ ηe^{13} $w \partial^{55 n} d \partial^{11}$ $k u e^{13}$ $d a^{55} m \partial^{11}$ ηu^{13} $d \tilde{z} i$
 1SERG yesterday 1SGEN this clothes pretty buy SELF
'I bought (these) my pretty clothes yesterday'

Although pronouns are always inflected for genitive case, the genitive marker on proper nouns is optional.

- Elicited
- (11). $d z \partial^{11} m o^{55}$ $p \partial^{13}$ ~ $d z \partial^{11} m o^{55}$ =*ji* $p \partial^{13}$
 Droma son Droma =GEN son
'Droma's son'

- (12). $k^h u i^{55}$ $p \partial^{13}$ * $k^h \partial$ $p \partial^{13}$
 3SGEN son *3SABS son
'His/her son'

The genitive tends to be dropped in fast speech when following proper nouns that end in a front vowel.

⁵ This is similar to the 'associative' function of the so-called genitive marker 的 (*de*) in Mandarin. Li and Thompson (1980) choose the term 'associative phrase' (113ff) to describe two noun phrases, the first of which, together with the marker 的 (*de*), is 'associated' or 'connected' in some way to the second noun phrase. They consider the possessive, or genitive, to be a special case of an associative phrase.

- Wormgrass006
- (13). $pə^{11}ki^{55}$ [=ji] $pə^{13}$ =ji $dʒæ̃^{13}$ $ŋe^{13}$ nu^{13} k^hu $dʒi$
 Baki [=GEN] son =GEN possession 1SERG buy KHU SELF
'Beki's son's possession (caterpillar fungus), I bought'.

There is no alienable or inalienable distinction in Dongwang.

8.1.1.3 Relative clauses

DeLancey (1993) argues that in Lhasa Tibetan the distinction between nominalization and relativization is blurred so that the structure is formally like the genitive construction. Other languages are described in a similar manner (see for example, Li and Thompson (1981: 597ff) for Mandarin Chinese; La Polla and Huang (1996: 225ff) for Qiang). This is similar to the relative clause construction in Dongwang. The structure of relative clauses is discussed in detail in Chapter Twelve. In the following section, only the order of relative clauses and the head noun is discussed. Relative clauses can be headed or headless. Headed relative clauses can be pre-headed or internally-headed.

In the following examples, the relative clause is bracketed and the head of the noun phrase is double-underlined.

- GetMar062
 (14). ζe^{55} $rə$ uh $[k^hə^{55}$ $pa^{11}wō^{53}$ $k^hə^{53}$ $ɲǎ^{13}$ $-nə]$ $=ji$
 2SABS TOP pause 3SABS parents mouth listen NMZR =GEN

$pũ^{13}$ $tɕi$ je^{13} a^{53} gua^{53} s
 girl INDF VBZR.DO QST MOD QTV
 'As for you, you act like a girl [who obeys her parents]' (my mother said).'

- GetDivA
 (15). $tǎ^{13}$ $ɲe^{13}$ $ɲə^{13}$... $[bə^{11}sə^{55}$ $tʂ^h_i^{53}$ $-nə]$ $ɲə^{13}$ $=ji$ $rə$
 then 1SGEN man ... spouse lead NMZR man =ERG TOP

$ɲa^{13}$ $p^hə-$ $pə^{53}$ ra
 1SABS thither reject RA
 'Then my man... the man [(my parents) brought to be a husband] rejected me.'

- Elicited511
 (16). $[ɕi^{55}$ $ɲa^{13}$ te^{53} $-nə]$ $=ji$ $tə^{11}ki^{55}$ $hũ^{55}hũ^{11}$ $wə^{55}tə^{11}$
 2SERG 1SABS give NMZR =GEN coat blue that
 'The blue coat [you gave to me]'

In the pre-headed relative clauses above, the head nouns $pō^{13}$ 'girl' (14) and $tə^{11}ki^{55}$ 'coat' (16) are preceded by a nominalized clause with a genitive casemarker. The head noun $ɲə^{13}$ 'man, husband' (15) is preceded by a nominalized clause, but does not have a genitive casemarker.⁶ Thus sometimes the construction is similar to the genitive construction described in §8.1.1.2 and sometimes similar to the possessor/possessee construction in which the genitive case is optional on proper nouns (§8.1.1.2).

Internally-headed relative clauses also occur in Dongwang as the following example shows.

⁶ As far as I know, the presence or absence of the genitive does not contribute any meaning difference, but more research is needed to determine that for sure.

- Elicited
- (17). $k^{h}ui^{53}$ kue^{13} $s\tilde{a}^{33}$ $-k^{h}\partial$ de $-n\partial$ $=k\tilde{i}$
 3SERG clothes wear -KHU CONT -NMZR =PL

ηe^{13} $dz\tilde{a}^{13}$ re
 1SGEN belonging COP.OTHR
 'The clothes she is wearing are mine'

In (17) the nominal head of the noun phrase is kue^{13} 'clothes' and occurs in the middle of the relative clause. This is an internally-headed relative clause.

- Butter&Cheese006
- (18). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $[s\tilde{a}^{13} =na \underline{w\tilde{o}}^{13} jo^{53} -ra ze^{13} -n\partial] r\partial$
 then tub =LOC milk pour -RA EX.INAN -NMZR TOP

$n\tilde{u}^{13} =n\partial z\partial- jo^{53}$
 churn =LOC up pour
 'Then pour the milk [that has been poured into the tub] up into the churn.'

In the example above, the speaker is giving instructions for making butter. In the previous clause, the speaker had instructed the hearer to pour the milk into a copper tub.

8.1.2 Post-nominal constituents

8.1.2.1 Numerals, quantifiers and classifiers

Numerals, quantifiers, and classifiers always follow the head noun in a noun phrase.

8.1.2.1.1 Numerals and quantifiers

Adverbs and quantifiers can both have quantitative meaning. The difference between the two word classes can be determined by the position in which they occur. Adverbs (Chapter Six) occur outside the noun phrase before the verb.

- Elicited674
- (19). ηa^{13} $t\dot{s}h\dot{a}^{53}$ ηa^{53} $l\dot{a}^{55}l\dot{e}^{53}$ $z\dot{e}$
 1SDAT dollar five only EX.IN.SELF
'I only have five dollars'

In (19), it is difficult to determine whether $l\dot{a}^{55}l\dot{e}^{53}$ belongs to the noun phrase or to the verb phrase. But in the following example, $l\dot{a}^{55}l\dot{e}^{53}$ 'only' precedes the marker of specificity:⁷

- Elicited674
- (20). $k^h u a^{53}$ $z\dot{e}^{13}$ $-n\dot{a}$ $t\dot{s}h a^{53}$ ηa^{53} $l\dot{a}^{55}l\dot{e}^{53}$ $t\dot{a}$ $k^h u a^{53}$ $t\dot{e}^{53}$ $t^h i$
 3SDAT IN.EX -NZR dollar five only SPEC 3SDAT give VIS.PFV
'He gave him the only five dollars he had.'

The fact that $l\dot{a}^{55}l\dot{e}^{53}$ precedes the specific marker is good evidence that here it is a quantifier functioning within the noun phrase.

When quantifiers follow a noun, the casemarking clitic follows the quantifier as the last element in the noun phrase:

- YDFree012
- (21). ηa^{13} $t\dot{c}i^{53}$ $l\dot{a}^{55}l\dot{e}^{53}$ $=j\dot{i}$ $k^h \dot{a}^{55}$ $d\dot{o}^{353}$ $d\dot{z}i?$
 person one only =ERG 3S hit OTHR
'Only one person hit him'

⁷ The marker of specificity is discussed in §8.1.2.4 below.

Elicited841

- (22). ηe^{13} $kə^{55}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ $ma^{11}m\tilde{ə}^{55}$ = $g\tilde{o}$ ta^{53} de $d\tilde{z}\tilde{i}$
1SERG star many =OBJ look.at CONT SELF
'I am looking at many stars'.

In (22), the quantifier $ma^{11}m\tilde{ə}^{55}$ 'many' which is followed by the objective casemarker = $g\tilde{o}$.

While noun phrases with the indefinite marker $t\check{c}i$ are indefinite, the converse is not necessarily true. Frequently, a noun phrase can be definite or indefinite depending on the context.

ButterCheese002

- (23). $hi^{55}mo^{53}$ $r\check{a}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $ts^h\check{a}-$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ $k^h\check{a}$
first TOP churn hither take.out KHU
'First, get out a churn'.

ButterCheese003

- (24). $t\check{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $ts^h\check{a}-$ $\check{s}i^{53}$
then churn hither rinse
'Then rinse out the churn'.

The bare noun $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ 'churn' occurs in (23) and in (24). The first occurrence is indefinite, but in the second clause the speaker makes definite reference to the churn that the addressee was instructed to take out in the first clause.

8.1.2.1.2 Classifiers

There are only a few morphemes that can be called classifiers (or 'measures' §7.1.3) in Dongwang. Two of them *ngu* and *nga*⁵⁵ are used for humans only. The first, *ngu*, occurs in post-nominal position preceding any numerals or quantifiers in the noun phrase.

Elicited825

- (25). *ɕe*⁵⁵ *ɲə*¹³ *ngu* *tɕi*⁵³ *a*⁵³
 2SABS person CLF one QST
 'Are you alone?'

- (26). *ɲə*¹³ *ngu* *tɕi*⁵³ *lə*⁵⁵*le*⁵³ *ɛji* *kʰə*⁵⁵ *dõ*³⁵³ *dʒi*?
 person CLF one only =ERG 3SABS hit OTHR
 'Only one person hit him/her'

There is another word which also seems to function like a classifier for humans as well, but which occurs after the numeral.

GetDivA011

- (27). *a*¹¹*ka*⁵³ *sũ*⁵³ *nga* *zə*¹¹*dõ*⁵³ *ndzu*¹³
 child three CLF rGyalthang go
 'All three children went to rGyalthang.'

HeartAttack130

- (28). *wə*⁵⁵*na*⁵³ *ɲu*⁵³ *nga* *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *də*¹¹*dõ*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *kʰə*⁵⁵ *ni*
 1PL two CLF there fistfight VBZR.DO KHU NI
 'The two of us were fistfighting.'

The difference between these two classifiers seems to be the difference between treating referents individually (*ngu*) and treating referents as a group (*nga*). In (27), the narrator refers to her three children as a group as in 'all three children'. In

(28), the narrator refers to herself and the man she is fighting with as 'the two of us' or 'both of us'.

8.1.2.2 Post-nominal demonstratives

In §8.1.1.1, I said that demonstratives appear in pre-nominal position in noun phrases. Demonstratives can also occur after the head noun.

- Elicited500
 (29). tə⁵⁵ ndzo¹¹gu⁵³ (tə) =kĩ ηe¹³ dzǣ¹³ re
 that mastiff (that) =PL 1SGEN possession COP.OTHR
'Those mastiffs over there are mine.'

In (29) the noun phrase appears to have two demonstratives. The post-nominal demonstrative serves to function as a marker of specificity. In many contexts it appears to be optional. While demonstratives in pre-nominal position bear tone, demonstrative pronouns in post-nominal positions are unstressed and atonal.

Noun phrases can have the pre-nominal demonstrative alone, the post-nominal demonstrative alone, or both. Post-nominal demonstratives are used when speakers are making specific reference to a referent.

- Accident083, 084
 (30). zhaoxiang p^{hə}- tʂo⁵³ t^{hǣ} rǣ⁵⁵ rə
 photo thither VBZR.DO PFV REN TOP

mq⁵³ tə =kĩ zə- ts^{hǣ} t^{hǣ} rǣ⁵⁵ rə
 wound that =PL up sew PFV REN TOP
'when (the doctor) finished x-raying, finished sewing up (her) wounds and stuff.'

Example (30) above occurs in the text *Accident* in which the narrator refers to his wife's injuries after she was hit by a car. A full study of the discourse use of demonstratives would help to determine further functions.

8.1.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives have been discussed at length in Chapter Six. In this section, only the position of adjectives within the noun phrase is discussed. Adjectival modifiers follow the head noun.

- Prod006
 (31). $pə^{13}$ $tɕ^hə^{11}$ $tɕ^h\tilde{o}^{55}$ = ji
 son small =ERG
 'The younger son...'

- Elicited518
 (32). ηe^{13} $k^{h\tilde{r}}^{11}ba^{55}$ $tɕ^hə^{11}wu^{55}$ $tɕi$ ju^{13} gui t^hi
 1SERG house big INDF buy NEED EVI
 'I want to buy a big house.'

- Elicited669
 (33). k^{hui}^{55} $zi^{55}wa^{53}$ $\tilde{r}i^{11}mə^{55}$ $tɕi$ = ji $ɕə^{53}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ re
 3SERG stick long INDF =INSTR dog hit COP.OTHR
 'S/he hit the dog with a long stick'

It is interesting that while such noun phrases with modifiers are easy to elicit, they are rare in natural discourse. Speakers prefer to use predicate adjective constructions or relative clause constructions to attribute various qualities to referents.

8.1.2.4 Nominal Modifiers

Nominal modifiers are rare in my data. When they do occur they occur in pre-head position.

- Elicited293
(34). ɕe^{55} $\text{tõ}^{55}\text{wã}^{53}$ ɲə^{13} ã^{53} ro
2SABS Dongwang person QST POL
'Are you a Dongwang-er?' (=person from Dongwang)

Appositive constructions in my data are rare, but they do occur.

- Hardship009
(35). $\text{tæ}^{55}\text{zæ}^{h}\text{tɕ}^{h}\text{ũ}^{55}\text{pi}^{53}$ rõ^{13} $\text{dzɯ}^{11}\text{pi}^{55}$ $\text{wo}^{55n}\text{dza}^{53}$ sõ^{53}
Danzen Chumpi CONN Drupi 1PL three
'(Me,) Danzen Chumpi and Drupi, the three of us'

In (35) the two noun phrases *'(me) Danzen Chumpi and Drupi'* and *'the three of us'* are next to one another in an appositive relationship.

8.1.2.5 Plural marking

There are two plural markers in Dongwang: $=kĩ$ ($\sim =k^{h}\tilde{r}^{53}$) and $=ts^{h}\tilde{æ}^{53}$.

Both are clitics which can occur alone or together. Although there is overlap of meaning between the two plural markers, $=ts^{h}\tilde{æ}^{53}$ is much more restricted and much less frequent than $=kĩ$. The fact that both are clitics can be seen by the position they occupy and by phonological characteristics.

When the plural marker =*kĩ* occurs alone, it is one of the last elements of a noun phrase, preceding case and topic markers. In careful speech it is pronounced with an aspirated voiceless velar onset (*k^hĩ*) by some speakers, but in normal speech it is deaspirated and unstressed.

- Elicited
- (36). *k^hui⁵⁵ kue¹³ sã¹³ k^hə de -nə =kĩ*
 3SERG clothes wear KHU CONT -NZR =PL
- ŋe¹³ dzã¹³ re*
 1SGEN belong COP.OTHR
'The clothes s/he is wearing are mine'

Example (36) illustrates the clitic nature of the plural marker =*kĩ* which phonologically attaches to the rightmost edge of the noun phrase after the relative clause.

- Prod022
- (37). *ŋu⁵⁵ rõ a⁵⁵ra⁵³ =kĩ*
 oil CONN liquor =PL
'oil and liquor'

- GetMar088
- (38). *zi¹³ rõ tə⁵⁵ =kĩ*
 book CONN that =PL
'books and those (things)'

(37) and (38) occur with a single clitic which serves as the pluralizer for the conjoined noun phrases. The plural marker is optional in noun phrases containing a single noun (e.g., *a¹¹ka⁵³* 'child/children') or in conjoined noun phrases such as (37)

and (38) above. But the plural marker is obligatory when a post-nominal demonstrative co-occurs in noun phrases that do not have numerals or quantifiers.

The second pluralizer, =*ts^hæ̃⁵³*, occurs much less frequently in my data and only with human arguments. It usually references a small group of people, and often occurs together with the pluralizer =*kĩ*.

8.1.3 Conjoined noun phrases

Noun phrases are conjoined by the conjunction *rõ* which joins two noun phrases or which follows the first noun in a list of noun phrases.

- GoodSam022
 (39). *k^hə⁵⁵* =*wõ* =*jæ* *ŋu⁵⁵* *rõ* *a⁵⁵ra⁵³* =*kĩ*
 3SABS =OBJ =DAT oil CONN liquor =PL

dõ³⁵³ -*ra¹³* -*sa* *p^hə-* *jo⁵³* *te⁵³*
 hit -RA -NZR thither pour GIVE

'(He) poured oil and liquor on the places where he had been beaten'.

- Elicited644
 (40). *ŋa¹³* *te¹¹ga⁵⁵* *rõ* *ji¹¹sy⁵⁵* *k^ha¹¹mə⁵⁵* *ɲu¹³* *ⁿdzu¹³* *zĩ*
 1SABS walnut CONN pear peach buy go COP.SELF
 'I am going to buy walnuts, pears, and peaches'.

When speakers are included with another referent, it is common that the non-speaker referent(s) will be overt, but the speaker will not be.

- Hardship009
 (41). $t\tilde{a}^{55}z\tilde{a} t\epsilon^{h\tilde{u}}^{55}pi^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $dz\underset{\cdot}{u}^{11}pi^{55}$ $wo^{55n}dza^{53}$ $s\tilde{o}^{53}$
 Danzen Chumpi CONN Drupi 1PL three
 '(Me,) Danzen Chumpi and Drupi, the three of us'

8.2 Casemarking

There are seven casemarking clitics in Dongwang. As clitics, they attach to the right-most edge of a noun phrase, followed only by the topic marker $r\tilde{a}$. The noun phrase can be a single noun, a noun phrase, or a nominalized clause. In the following example, the ergative clitic $=ji$ attaches to the rightmost edge of the second noun phrase:

- Elicited
 (42). $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ η^{13} ηu^{53} $r\tilde{o}$ $p\tilde{a}^{55}na^{53}$ $s\tilde{o}^{53}$ $=ji$
 that man two CONN woman three =ERG

 $a^{55}ka^{53}$ $=k\tilde{i}$ $=ji$ $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ $p^{h\tilde{a}}$ $ki^{55}mo^{53}$ je^{13} $t\tilde{s}^{hi}$ t^{hi}
 child =PL =GEN food thither- thief VBZR LEAD VIS.PFV
Those two men and three women stole the kid's food'

- Elicited
 (43). $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $a^{55}ka^{53}$ $=k\tilde{i}$ $=ji$ $\underset{\cdot}{\epsilon}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ pa^{13} $=ji$ $r\tilde{a}^{11}ba^{55}$ $=g\tilde{o}$
 that child =PL =ERG dog CONN cow =GEN bone =OBJ

 ${}^n dze^{353}$ de $\eta\tilde{o}$
 chew CONT VIS.IPFV
 'Those children are chewing on dog and cow bones.'

In (42) and (43), the casemarking clitic only occurs once after the second noun phrase. My main consultant says that a casemarking clitic can sometimes occur after

the first noun phrase in a conjoined noun phrase, but such constructions do not occur in naturally-occurring data and she is only able to them with difficulty. Further evidence for their status as bound morphemes can be found in the fact that they do not have their own primary stress and are low-toned.⁸

Each casemarker serves multiple functions. Pluri-functionality is not unusual, as case syncretism has long been recognized in a variety of languages (Blansitt 1988; Croft 1991; Genetti 1991; Blake 1994). In fact, Blake claims that a small case system that serves a broad variety of categories is fundamental to an understanding of the evolution of case systems (Blake 2001: 172). In Dongwang, casemarkers mark the relationship that a noun or noun phrase holds with another noun or verb. In the following section, casemarkers and their historical development are first discussed, then casemarking and the syntactic-semantic arrangement of arguments is discussed.

8.2.1 Casemarkers

Table 23 summarizes the casemarkers in Dongwang along with their WT counterparts.

⁸ Because clitics do not have their own stress, they are low-toned in natural speech.

DW	Case Role	WT
=ji	Ergative	gis, kyis, gyis, 'is, <u>vis</u>
	Instrumental	
	Genitive	gi, kyi, gyi, 'i, <u>vi</u>
0	Absolutive	0
=jæ	Dative	<u>la</u> , su, ru, tu, du, <u>na</u> , r
=nəŋ	Locative	
=tsa	Allative, human	la, su, ru, tu, du, na, r
=gõ	Objective	la
=tsəo	Ablative	nas, las
=rõ	Comitative	dang

TABLE 23: CASEMARKERS IN DONGWANG WITH WT COUNTERPARTS

In the left column of Table 23, the Dongwang case forms are listed, followed by the case roles in the middle column and the WT etymologies in the right column. The multiple forms in WT are allomorphs that are conditioned by the spelling of the WT word to which they attach.

The bolded and underlined forms in the WT column in Table 23 indicate the forms from which Dongwang casemarkers have arisen. The first form in Table 23 is =*ji*, which corresponds to the three well-defined functions of ergative, instrumental, and genitive.⁹ In WT, the ergative and instrumental have the same form, but the genitive is distinct. The dative and locative in WT have one form (with various allomorphs). The dative =*jæ* and locative =*nəŋ* in Dongwang have unique forms but have arisen from WT <la> and <na> respectively. Absolutive arguments are unmarked in both WT and Dongwang.

⁹ For practical reasons, I gloss each of these according to their function.

The final four shaded rows in Table 23 indicate that while similar casemarking functions exist in both WT and Dongwang, the forms do not match. While etymologies of these forms can be found, they are not related to the forms used in WT to code similar categories.

As described in §3.2, pronouns inflect for case and can sometimes also be followed by a casemarking clitic. In nouns, vowels in open syllables do not undergo any change with the addition of a casemarker. Rather, the full casemarker is added to the open syllable, as in $m\tilde{a}^{35}ba^{53}$ 'doctor', $m\tilde{a}^{35}ba^{53}=ji$ 'doctor =ERG'; $t\check{s}a^{11}wa^{55}$ 'monk', $t\check{s}a^{11}wa^{55}=ji$ 'monk =ERG'.

Following consonants, the ergative-instrumental-genitive marker is pronounced $=ji$. When the final syllable of a noun ends in an open syllable which contains the high front vowel /i/, the ergative-instrumental-genitive marker (pronounced $/=ji/$) is rarely fully articulated in fast speech. This is also true when $=ji$ attaches to the plural clitic $=k\check{i}$. In slow speech, the vowel (/i/) is lengthened or the whole clitic ($=ji$) is pronounced.

8.2.2 Casemarking relations

8.2.2.1 Core grammatical relations

In order to discuss core relations in Dongwang, it is useful to review the pre-theoretical 'semantico-syntactico roles' (Payne 1997: 183) of S, A and P (Dixon 1972, Comrie 1978). S, A, and P can be defined in the following way:

S: The only argument in an intransitive clause

A: The most agent-like argument in a transitive clause

P: The most patient-like argument in a transitive clause

Languages in which S and P pattern together in opposition to A are known as ergative or ergative/absolutive languages. In a prototypical ergative/absolutive system, A arguments (ergative) are marked and S/P arguments (absolutive) are unmarked. However, as Blake (2001: 136) notes, 'simple across-the-board ergative or accusative systems are a distinct minority'. The following section discusses characteristics of the ergative/absolutive system found in Dongwang.

8.2.2.1.1 Ergative =*ji* and Absolutive =*0*

In Dongwang, most S and P arguments are unmarked and A arguments are generally marked with the ergative casemarker =*ji*.

- Elicited233
(44). S
k^hə⁵⁵ pə¹¹na⁵³ re
3SABS woman COP.OTHR
'She is a woman'

Elicited336

S

- (45). $\underline{ɲə}^{13}$ $\underline{tɕi}$ ηe^{13} $zə^{13}$ $\underline{ɲa}^{53}$ $k^hə$ $sɔ̃$
person INDF 1SGEN behind follow KHU EGO
'A person is following (~followed) behind me'

HeartAttack152

A

P

- (46). $\underline{k^hɯi}^{55}$ $a^{11}wũ^{55}$ $\underline{tu}^{11}ba^{55}$ $\underline{tɕi}$ $jɔ̃^{53}$ $k^hə$ ni
3SERG again boulder INDF pick.up KHU NI
'He again picked up a boulder,'

Collecting003

P

- (47). $rə^{13}$ $=nə$ $=jə$ $\underline{mbə}^{353}$ $t^hə^{55}$ n^dzu^{13}
mountain =LOC =DAT cat.fungus pick.up go
'(I) went to the mountain to pick caterpillar fungus'.

Accident082

A

- (48). $\underline{mǣ}^{13}ba^{53}$ $=ji$ $jiancha$ $p^hə-$ je^{13}
doctor =ERG examineCH thither VBZR
'The doctor examined (her)'

As can be seen from the examples above, single arguments of intransitive verbs (S) and patient-like arguments of intransitive verbs (P) are unmarked. The most agentive arguments in clauses with transitive verbs (A) are marked with the ergative casemarker $=ji$ (or a pronoun in the ergative case). These examples illustrate a clear morphological ergative system. But Dongwang also shows alternations that deviate from a prototypical ergative pattern.

Most published descriptions of Tibetan dialects (DeLancey 1990, Tournadre 1995, Denwood 1999, Häsler 1999) describe a more complex ergative system in

which A arguments are sometimes unmarked and S/P arguments are sometimes marked. Analyses that account for 'non-prototypical' patterns have been attributed to motivations such as aspect, volitionality, control, and discourse-pragmatic categories.

Consider Lhasa Tibetan, one of the most-described dialects of Tibetan, as an example. Linguists (e.g., DeLancey 1990, Tournadre 1995, Denwood 1996) have suggested various motivations for the occurrence of the ergative such as an aspectual split, the volition of the agent, contrastive focus, emphasis and animacy. DeLancey (1990: 306) describes a split in Lhasa Tibetan in which 'ergative marking is obligatory in perfective clauses, and optional in other tense/aspect categories' in clauses with transitive verbs. Ergative marking is optional in perfective clauses with intransitive verbs. Further, 'ergative does not occur with non-volitional intransitives'. Tournadre (1995: 263) suggests that the presence of the ergative marker in sentences such as <khos lo nyi.shu btson.khang nang.la bsdad pa red>¹⁰ *He stayed a long time in jail* is motivated by 'contrastive emphasis'. He further claims (1995: 266ff) that the ergative casemarker 'is prototypically derived from an ablative casemarker' and suggests an 'underlying 'supercase' of SOURCE...subdivided into two cases indicating the 'cause' and the 'spatio-temporal source' (1995: 268).

¹⁰ The gloss for this sentence is: 3SERG year twenty jail inside stay PST OTHR. Tournadre does not say that this sentence comes from a corpus, but that it *could be* used contrastively in this way.

Slightly different motivations have been suggested for ergative marking in Khams Tibetan¹¹ dialects. Hongladarom (1998) claims that the main function of the ergative marker in the rGyalthang dialect is to emphasize the agent. Aspect has very little influence, and volitionality has no influence on the occurrence of the ergative. Most As occur in the absolutive case in discourse and A's are in the absolutive case if P's are marked by the dative marker *go*.

Häsler (1999: 97) proposes that in Dege Khams, 'the ergative is used to mark the agent or the experiencer¹² of a controllable verb'. However, an A argument is not obligatorily marked with the ergative, but often occurs in the absolutive and is not conditioned by aspect or the controllability of a verb as in other dialects. Unable to find clear rules as to the occurrence of the ergative, she concludes 'Maybe ergative marking in the Dege dialect is used, like in some other dialects, to emphasize the agent.'

In Dongwang, an A argument in a clause with a transitive and controllable verb is usually, but not always, marked by ergative case. While control verbs interact somewhat with casemarking, it is difficult to determine when they do so. A

¹¹ The Amdo dialects also mark grammatical relations according to the ergative/absolutive system, but unfortunately I do not have any descriptions of ergative marking in any of the Amdo dialects.

¹² The notion of marking an 'experiencer/patient' with the ergative seems a bit strange to me. The one sentence she provides, <khos ra bor.le nyug 'dug.sri 'gi> (3SERG goat lose-CJ search V2:DUR-PROG be) *He searched for the goat he had lost*, has only one third-person ergative pronoun. It is unclear to me whether the pronoun is the argument associated with 'lost' or with 'searched'. However, it seems the pronoun must be an argument of 'lost' in order for her point to be illustrated.

arguments of some non-control verbs such as *dã*³⁵³ 'to like', or *tɕã*¹³ 'to miss'¹³ can be casemarked with either the ergative or dative casemarker.

- Elicited
 (49). *ŋa*¹³/*ŋe*¹³ *çũ*⁵⁵ *tɕã*¹³ *ŋõ*
 1SDAT/1SERG home miss EVI
'I miss home'

Other A arguments of some non-control verbs usually occur with ergative marking, but occasionally also occur with an absolutive A argument. As an example, consider *t^{hũ}*³⁵³ 'to see'. In the four texts I conducted counts on, *t^{hũ}*³⁵³ occurs seven times with an overt A argument, four occur with ergative marking and three occur with absolutive marking.

- HeartAttack104
 (50). *çi*⁵⁵ *na*¹³ *t^{hũ}*³⁵³
 2SERG when see
'When did you see (me do it)?'

- MyLife274
 (51). *ni*⁵³ *ma-* *t^{hũ}*³⁵³
 eye NEG- see
'(I/My) eyes can't see'

- HeartAttack123
 (52). *ɲə*¹³ =*kĩ* =*ts^{hã}*⁵³ *la* *t^{hũ}*³⁵³ *dzi?*
 person =PL =PL also see OTHR
'People also saw (us fighting)'

¹³ It appears that the ergative is not optional with the same word when it means 'to remember'.

In elicited data the ergative consistently occurs with all instances of singular A arguments in clauses with the verb 'to see'. This pattern is shown in (50). Two different motivations can account for the lack of ergative marking in (51) and (52). In (51), *t^hũ³⁵³* conveys an intransitive notion of 'to see' as the speaker is not referring to seeing anything in particular, but the state of her eyes. In some senses, then, 'to see' can be considered an ambi-transitive verb and (51) reveals its intransitive use.

Example (52) cannot be analyzed in this manner and seems to have a very different motivation, which may be found in the plural marker =*kĩ*. Because the ergative marker is very difficult to distinguish when it occurs after the plural marker, there is a tendency to drop it altogether. As mentioned in §9.2.1, when asked to speak slowly, speakers are able to recover the ergative marker. The tendency to drop it, however, appears to be causing the ergative marker to disappear when A arguments are plural. Even though (52) has a second plural marker (= *ts^hæ̃⁵³*), it is possible that this tendency is extending to all plural A arguments.

Finally, ergative marking tends not to occur when arguments are supplied as an afterthought.

- Hardship011
 (53). *tsa⁵⁵wa⁵³ sa⁵³ ma- ši ... wə⁵⁵ⁿdza⁵³ sō̃⁵³ rə*
 completely fire NEG- KMOW ... 1PL three TOP
'didn't know how to fire at all... the three of us'.

In the same way that some A arguments occur without the ergative marker, so also some ergative-marked S arguments in intransitive clauses do occur in my database.

Accident031

S

- (54). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{o}^{55}$ na^{53} nu^{53} = ji $t\tilde{a}^{13}$.. ti^{13} $s^{l\tilde{r}353}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ $r\partial$
 then 1PL two =ERG then there arrive REN TOP
'Then when the two of us, then, arrived there',

In the text from which (54) is drawn, the narrator has heard that his wife has been in an accident. He and a friend are going to the place where the accident happened.

Usually, the verb $s^{l\tilde{r}353}$ 'arrive' occurs with an unmarked S argument, but in this case the argument is marked. One explanation for this is that that the speaker's arrival to where his wife is laying is an emotionally salient part of the text it is 'conceivable that he used considerable force, energy, or volition to get there'.¹⁴

In the following example, although the narrator has an injured leg, she is planning to go irrigate the fields, but her friend tells her:

HeartAttack035

S

- (55). ϵi^{55} $r\partial$ $^{n}dz\tilde{a}^{11}$ ba^{53} = $n\partial$ mbu^{13} de a^{53} gua
 2SERG TOP mud =LOC spash CONT QST NEED.IR
'As for you, should (you) go stomping around in mud?'

¹⁴ Sandra Thompson, personal communication.

In this example, the verb *mbu*¹³ 'to splash around in'¹⁵ is an intransitive verb, yet the second-person pronoun is ergative. The speaker appears to use the question construction rhetorically as well as the ergative to reinforce her point that her friend should not go.

Case is only marked once at the end of a whole noun phrase. When nouns and pronouns occur together in single noun phrases, the pronoun occurs in absolutive case even if the noun phrase is ergative.

	A			=	ji	P			
(56).	<i>k^hə⁵⁵</i>	<i>tɕi⁵³</i>	<i>lə⁵⁵le⁵³</i>			<i>k^hə⁵⁵</i>	<i>dõ³⁵³</i>	<i>dzi?</i>	
	3SABS	one	only	=	ERG	3SABS	hit	OTHR	
	'Only s/he hit him/her'								

In (56) the third-person pronoun is absolutive and the noun phrase has an ergative casemarker. This is the expected pattern of the clitic marker. If the third-person pronoun were ergative it would be considered ungrammatical.¹⁶

8.2.2.1.2 Objective =gõ

In a prototypical ergative system, S/P pattern together in opposition to A. I have said that most A arguments are marked by the ergative casemarker =*ji* and most S/P arguments are unmarked. The previous section briefly discussed alternating

¹⁵ This verb seems to be used only to characterize walking in mud, or something mud-like.

¹⁶ In some ways this looks like an appositive construction which could be translated *He, the only one, hit him* but it does not mean that and since only one element is casemarked, it clearly is not an appositive.

patterns of the ergative marker on the A and S arguments based on syntactic relations and discourse considerations. The following section discusses alternate marking on the P arguments that are governed by lexical semantics of the verb and discourse-pragmatic considerations.

Explanations put forth to explain similar patterns observed in other languages include Primary/Secondary Objects (Dryer 1986), disambiguation of semantic role (LaPolla 1992), Anti-Dative Shift (Noonan 1991), and topic worthiness (Moravcsik 1978; Thompson 1990; Tournadre 1995). However, none of these satisfactorily explain the patterns seen in Dongwang. Relying heavily on earlier work by Fillmore (1970; 1975; 1982), Scott DeLancey (2001) argues that the distribution of case-marking on 'objects' in Lhasa Tibetan¹⁷ can only be understood in light of the semantics of the predicate rather than any discourse/pragmatic factors or features of the arguments. This can be illustrated with the Dongwang verbs *həo*⁵³ 'to bite' that always occurs with *gō̃*-marked P arguments, and *se*⁵³ 'to kill', which always occurs with unmarked absolutive P arguments.

Elicited
 (57). *ɕə*⁵³ =*ji* *ŋɛ*¹³ =*gō̃* *həo*⁵³ *sō̃*
 dog =ERG 1SGEN =OBJ bite EGO
 'The dog bit me'

¹⁷ In Lhasa, a very similar pattern occurs, but one in which the P arguments are marked by the dative casemarker.

- Elicited004
 (58). *k^hui⁵⁵* *tõ¹³* *se⁵³* *dzi?*
 3SERG bear kill OTHR
 'He killed a bear'

Examples (57) and (58) illustrate verbs which lexically require the presence or absence of =*gõ* on the accompanying P arguments. 'Minimal sets' of verbs like this support DeLancey's argument for a similar arrangement in Lhasa Tibetan based on two classes of verbs: change-of-state verbs ('break') and surface-contact verbs ('hit').¹⁸ DeLancey's analysis works nicely for many Dongwang verbs. Unmarked P arguments co-occur with the following verbs denoting change-of-state or location:

se⁵³ 'kill', *ʂa⁵³* 'butcher', *ka¹³* 'garrotte', *sa⁵³* 'to burn', *tɕ^ha⁵³* 'to eat', *t^hõ³⁵³* 'to drink', *bi¹³* 'to blow up', *na⁵³* 'to slice', *lu¹³* 'to make', 'to repair', *tsã⁵³* 'to sew up', *kui⁵³* 'to boil', *tʂ^hə⁵⁵* 'to wash', *tsũ⁵³* 'to sell', *tʂ^hi⁵³* 'to lead', *jo⁵³* 'to throw away', *zæɽ³⁵³* 'to hang'

Additionally, many non-control verbs trigger absolutive marking. These include *ts^hæ⁵³* 'to hear', *jã¹³* 'to find', *ʂã¹³* 'to lose', *du¹³* 'to smell', *dze³⁵³* 'to forget', *tʂã¹³* 'to miss'.

Object-marked P arguments are required with the following verbs:

¹⁸ DeLancey's argument is based on Fillmore (1970) who observed that in English there are two classes of verbs which have distinct syntactic behaviors motivated by underlying semantic patterns which lexicalize a particular construal of an event rather than the event itself.

s^hu⁵⁵dəo⁵³ 'to bite', *həo⁵³* 'to bite', *dzəo⁵³* 'to pat', *ⁿdze³⁵³/ʃi⁵⁵ⁿdze⁵³* 'to scratch', *tʃə⁵⁵zæ¹¹* 'to stab', *nu³⁵³* 'to sniff', *ʃe⁵⁵ri⁵³je¹¹* 'to accuse', *dæ³⁵³/dæ⁵⁵ʒō³⁵³* 'to believe', *p^həo³⁵³* 'to bump'

It is interesting to note that the semantics of almost all the verbs in the list above involves surface contact. The exceptions are *ʃe⁵⁵ri⁵³je* 'to accuse' and *dæ³⁵³/dæ⁵⁵ʒō³⁵³* 'to believe' which may evoke a metaphorical sense of contact.

Hongladarom (1998) has observed a similar pattern in several Tibetan dialects, including the Southern Khams dialect of rGyalthang Tibetan. She describes the 'object' marker *go*, as a 'primary object marking' based on Dryer (1986). A primary object marker indicates both a 'direct object in a monotransitive clause and an indirect object in a ditransitive clause'. She analyses *go* as a dative marker that also marks recipients and suggests that 'the function of the dative *go* has been extended from marking a human patient who finds him or herself in a situation against his or her own will, to marking a patient—either animate or inanimate—when fully affected, and to marking a patient in the case that the speaker wants to emphasize who or what it is.' (p. 16).

In Dongwang, =*gō* is distinct from the dative (=jæ) and locative (=nə) markers. There is a nice semantic fit between the etymology of *gō* and its function as a partial object casemarker. It appears to have arisen from WT <sgang> 'on top', a postposition frequently used in Dongwang. In fact, speakers are able to relate the two forms to

each other, which suggests more recent grammaticization than for the other casemarkers.

However the forms are separate not only semantically, but also phonologically. As an example, there is speaker variation between =gõ and =wõ, when =gõ functions as a casemarker. Used as a locative postposition, speakers reject the phonologically weaker form wõ, but when functioning as a casemarking morpheme, the weaker form is accepted. This erosion and polysemy is evidence that =gõ has grammaticized from a locational postposition to a casemarker.

The distribution of =gõ on P arguments is slightly different in Dongwang than in other Tibetan dialects. As DeLancey argues, many of the verbs lexically specify the occurrence of =gõ, but some verbs allow alternate marking on P arguments.

Consider the following two examples:

- Elicited849
- (59). a¹¹lY⁵⁵ =ji wõ¹³ p^hə- da¹³ -ra t^hi
 cat =ERG milk thither- lick -RA VIS.PFV
'The cat licked up the milk'

- Elicited850
- (60). a¹¹lY⁵⁵ =ji k^hui⁵⁵ k^hɿ⁵⁵ba⁵³ =gõ da¹³ de ɳõ
 cat =ERG 3SGEN foot =OBJ lick CONT VIS.IPFV
'The cat is licking its paw'.

Alternating patterns such as those in (59) and (60) highlight the fact that the optional marking of =gõ can indicate the total affectedness (change-of-state) of the P argument

(as in (59)) versus the partial affectedness (surface-contact) of the P argument (as in (60)).

A complication preventing a clear-cut pattern is that in certain contexts, there is speaker variation. For example, speakers were asked to watch two video clips, one in which a person successfully cuts a wire in two, and one in which a person attempts to cut a wire but is not successful. The first clip always elicited a clause with an absolutive P argument, but the second clip elicited variation. Further, speakers considered the occurrence of =*gõ* in describing the first clip ungrammatical, but allowed variation in describing the second clip.

A final set of examples that illustrate the change-of-state versus surface-contact construal possibilities involve the verb *ta*⁵³ 'to look at'. When video clips of a person *watching TV* and *reading a book* were shown, speakers did not use =*gõ*. But when viewing video clips of a person *examining the outside of a TV* and *looking at the cover of a book*, speakers consistently used =*gõ*. This pattern suggests that when a verb and object combine to convey the meaning of an event (e.g., *look + book = 'to read'*), =*gõ* cannot be used. But the addition of =*gõ* distinguishes the verb from the object.

In summary, there are several points to be made regarding the occurrence of the 'partial object' marker =*gõ*. Some transitive verbs require accompanying P arguments to be casemarked by =*gõ* while others prohibit such marking. The

lexically-specified criteria is that of surfact-contact versus change-of-state verbs. Some verbs not lexically require or prohibit casemarking on the P argument, but allow alternating casemarking. The occurrence of =gō on the P arguments of such verbs is determined in part by the nature of the object (e.g., 'milk' versus 'paw' as in (59) and (60)), in part by construal of the event (e.g., *reading a book* versus *looking at a book*), in part by pragmatics (e.g., successfully or unsuccessfully cutting a wire), and in part by speaker variation. There is also evidence that the occurrence of =gō can be manipulated depending upon the speaker's discourse goals, but more research is needed to give precise examples.

8.2.2.2 Non-core grammatical relations

8.2.2.2.1 Instrumental =ji

The instrumental casemarker has arisen from <yis>, one of five allomorphs of the genitive case in WT. In Dongwang, it is homophonous with the ergative and genitive casemarkers. It attaches to a noun or noun phrase and designates the instrument with which an action is carried out.

KillaPig015

- (61). ⁿgə¹¹rə⁵⁵ =ji Instr t^hə:¹³ =ji la ka¹³ dzi?
 some =ERG rope =INSTR also garrotte OTHR
 'Some also garrotte (the pig) with a rope'

Elicited668

- Instr
- (62). $k^{h}ui^{55}$ $zi^{55}wa^{53}$ $\tilde{r}i^{11}m\grave{o}^{55}$ $t\grave{e}i$ $=ji$ $\zeta\grave{o}^{53}$ $d\tilde{o}^{33}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 3SERG stick long INDF =INSTR dog hit VIS.IPFV
'S/he beat the dog with a long stick'

8.2.2.2.2 Genitive =ji

The genitive attaches to the possessor argument which precedes the possessed argument to indicate a possessive relationship between two nominal arguments.

Elicited451

- N GEN N
- (63). $k^{h}ua^{53}$ $a^{11}\tilde{r}i^{55}$ $=ji$ $ba\acute{o}^{55}dz\grave{o}^{11}$ ze $w\tilde{u}$
 3SDAT today =GEN newspaperCH EX.IN.SELF COME
'It seems s/he has today's newspaper'.

Elicited556

- N GEN N
- (64). $mi^{11}mu^{53}$ $=ji$ $ts^{h}o^{55}wa^{53}$ $p^{h}\grave{a}^{55}.ji.p^{h}\grave{a}^{55}$ do^{53} $\eta\tilde{o}$
 people =GEN life more.and.more miserable VIS.IPFV
'People's lives are becoming more and more miserable'

Body parts as well as kinship terms occur optionally with the genitive.

Elicited708

- (65). $k^{h}ui^{55}$ $j\tilde{a}^{11}gu^{55}$ $g\tilde{o}$ $t\grave{s}^{h}a^{53}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 3SGEN hand on blood VIS.IPFV
'S/he has blood on his/her hands'.

HeartAttack120

- (66). ζi^{55} ηa^{13} $n dz\tilde{a}^{11}ba^{53}$ $=g\tilde{o}$ $dz\grave{o}^{53}$ ze ni
 2SERG 1SABS cheek =OBJ hit EX.INAN.SELF NI
'You hit my cheek'

The 'possessor' of body parts and kin are frequently omitted if they have been established in the previous discourse.

HeartAttack141

(67). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $ts^h\partial^{55}$ ts^he^{53} ma^{11} ts^he^{53} \underline{ni}^{13} p^ha^{53} $z\partial-$ je^{13}
 then suddenly heart beat up NEG.COP.SELF

re ra wei $a^{53}na^{53}$
 COP.OTHR -RA EVI.HS MUT

'Then (my) heart had suddenly stopped beating, (I was told), right?'

In (67) the speaker omits the first-person pronoun as it is clear from the events leading up to this whose heart had stopped.

In another example, the referent is not the speaker, but the speaker's wife. Since he is telling a story about her accident, it is not necessary to use a third-person pronoun.

Accident022

(68). $k^h\tilde{r}^{55}ba^{53}$ = $g\tilde{o}$ $ts\partial^{55}$ gur^{53} t^ho^{53} $we^{55}no$
 leg =OBJ a.little strike INF

'(the car) struck (her) leg a little (they said).'

It would not be ungrammatical if the speaker had chosen to use a genitive construction (*her leg*) in (68) above, but when a participant has been established, speakers rarely choose to do so.¹⁹

¹⁹ The text *Accident* is an extreme example of the lack of overt mentions of referents. Before beginning his story, the speaker said that he wanted to tell the story about his wife's accident so those listening knew in advance what the story was about. Once he began to tell it, however, he never uses a noun or pronoun to mention his wife overtly.

8.2.2.2.3 Dative =jæ

The dative casemarker codes recipients, benefactives, experiencers and possessors.

In (71) the dative casemarker indicates a semantic recipient.

GoodSam031

- (69). $p^hə də$ $k^h u i^{55} \eta i^{53}$ $d a^{55} t s a o^{53}$ $=jæ$ $t e^{53}$ $t^h æ$ $r æ^{55}$
 FILLER 3PLGEN manager =DAT give PFV REN
 'When (he) had given (money) to the house manager,

As mentioned in §3.2.1, inflected pronouns can also be redundantly marked with a casemarker.

Prod077

- (70). $ç i^{55}$ ηa^{13} $=jæ$ $j u^{13}$ $t ç i$ $z ə^{11} m i^{55}$ $t e^{53}$ $m a-$ $\eta ð$
 2SERG 1SDAT =DAT ram INDF even give NEG EXP
 'You have never even given me a ram'

In (70), the dative marker =jæ which indicates a semantic recipient optionally occurs with the first-person dative pronoun.

In (71) the dative-inflected pronoun indicates a semantic benefactive.

Elicited359

- (71). $ç i^{55}$ ηa^{13} $z i^{11} k i^{55}$ $t ç i$ ηu^{13} $t e^{53}$ $r u$
 2SERG 1SDAT book INDF buy GIVE POL
 'Please buy a book for me'

The dative occurs on a noun or noun phrase to indicate a predicative possessor which together with an existential verb means the equivalent of 'to have' in English as in (72) and (73).

Prod001

- (72). $\underline{pə}^{13}$ $tɕi$ $\underline{=jæ}$ $pə^{13}$ $ɲw^{53}$ ${}^n do^{11} dʒi?$
person INDF =DAT son two EX.AN.OTHR
'A man had two sons'

GetDivA168

- (73). $\underline{ɲa}^{13}$ $a^{11} ka^{55}$ $sõ^{53}$ $({}^n do)^{20}$
1SDAT child three EX.AN.SELF
'I have three children'

Addressees of speech act verbs are indicated by the dative =jæ.

GetMar051

- (74). $tã^{13}$ $\underline{ɲa}^{13}$ $\underline{=jæ}$ $na^{55} wõ^{53}$ ${}^n dʒu^{13}$ gui^{13} $dʒi?^{11}$ se^{11}
then 1SDAT =DAT bride go MOD.NEED OTHR say
'Then people said to me, '(You) should go be a bride'

=jæ can also indicate a general temporal location, but not a specific time

reference (e.g., 'morning', but not '3 o'clock').

MyLife034

- (75). $so^{11} ba^{55}$ $\underline{=jæ}$ $jõ^{13}$ $rã^{55}$
morning =DAT rise REN
'When (we) got up in the morning'

Sometimes the meaning of the dative is extended to include allative meaning of 'motion toward' a location.

²⁰ The narrator omits the existential in the text from which this sentence comes. I include it here in parentheses to avoid confusion.

- Hardship009
 (76). $wə^{55}dza^{53}$ $sō^{53}$ =*ji* $k^h a^{11}ra^{55}ts^h o^{53}$ =*jæ*
 1PL three =ERG Kharatso =DAT

$çə^{55}hue^{53}$ sa^{53} $^n dzu^{13}$
 limestoneCH fire go
 'The three of us went to Kharatso to fire limestone.'

8.2.2.2.4 Allative = *tsa*

The allative =*tsa* is used in a very restricted context to refer to animate locations only. Due to human activity (go to see *people*) most animate locations are humans, but a few non-human animate locations are also marked.

- Accident040
 (77). $a^{11}mbə^{55}$ $ts^h ə^{55}tʂ^{hɿ}^{11}$ =*tsa* $^n dzu^{13}$ *ni*
 uncle Tsitring =ALL go NI
 '(we) went to Uncle Tsitring',

- Accident057
 (78). $tæ^{13}$ $zə^{13}$ =*tsa* $tʂ^{hɿ}^{53}$ *ze* $rə$
 then Chinese =ALL lead EX.INAN.SELF TOP

$zō^{13}$ $p^h ə-$ $lɿ^{55}$ $ŋa$ $rō$
 again thither amputate NGA COND
 'If having taken her to a Chinese (doctor), they amputate (her leg)',

It might be possible that the function of =*tsa* extends to locative meanings as well, but I have no examples.

8.2.2.2.5 Locative =nə

The locative =nə marks locatives and allatives and expresses such notions as 'in', 'to', or 'into'.

Prod058

- (79). $k^h\partial^{55n}d\zeta i^{53}$ =ji $p\partial^{13}$ $t\phi^h\partial^{11}wu^{55}$ $r\partial$ $\underline{\tilde{s}i^{353}}$ =nə $^ndo^{11}d\zeta i?$
 3PLFAM =GEN boy elder TOP field =LOC EX.AN.OTHR
'Their older son was in the field'

Elicited832

- (80). $t\partial^{55}$ $\underline{\underline{s}a^{53}}$ =nə $mb\partial^{353}$ de^{13} $n\partial$ $p^h\partial-$ $t\phi^h\partial^{55}$ re
 that MEAT =LOC worm sit EVI.VIS.IMPF thither wash COP.OTHR
'That meat has worms in it. Wash it.'

=nə is used with non-directional predicates in (79) and (80).

When directional verbs are used, =nə contributes an allative sense.

RabbitA034

- (81). $s^h\partial^{53}$ =nə $^ndzu^{53}$ $^ndzu^{13}$
 earth =LOC dive go
'(The rabbit) dove into the ground'

GoodSam324

- (82). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $p^h\partial$ uh $\underline{\underline{s\tilde{a}^{13}k^h\partial^{55}}}$ $t\phi i$ =nə $t\phi^h i^{53}$
 3SABS thither uh inn INDF =LOC lead
'(He) led him to an inn'

The locative can also be used metaphorically to refer to a certain station in life:

GetDivA031

- (83). $g\tilde{a}^{55}bu^{53} =n\emptyset s^{h\tau}353$
cadreCH =LOC arrive
'(My son) became a cadre' (lit: arrived at cadre)

8.2.2.2.6 Ablative =tsəo

The ablative indicates the place from which movement emanates. There is some evidence that this casemarker has not fully developed into an ablative in that its functions are restricted to spatial dimensions and have not been extended to temporal or other domains. There is no indication that =tsəo is used in temporal clauses.²¹

Elicited132

- (84). $\eta a^{13} p^{h\tilde{o}}55d\tilde{i}^{53} =tsəo w\tilde{u}^{13} d\tilde{z}\tilde{i}$
1SABS Pongding =ABL come SELF
'I am from Pongding'

Elicited584

- (85). $na^{53} =tsəo d\tilde{o}55w\tilde{a}^{53} =n\emptyset =j\text{æ} g\tilde{o}^{11}t^{h\tilde{o}}53 {}^ndzu^{13} r\tilde{o}$
here =ABL Dongwang =LOC =LOC foot go COND

$\mu\emptyset^{11}w\tilde{o}^{53} k^{h\text{a}^{11}}tse^{53} t^{hu}353 ze$
day how.many require EX.INAN.SELF

'How many days does it take to walk from here to Dongwang?'

The ablative is also used with a few emotive verbs to indicate the source of emotion.

²¹ In Central Tibetan and in Dege (Hasler), the ablative is used in contexts such as 'from two o'clock ...' but the ablative does not function in this way in Dongwang.

- Hardship076
 (86). $\eta\partial^{13}$ ${}^n\text{gu}^{55}$ = $ts^h\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$ = $ts\partial o$ $p^h\partial-$ $t\tilde{s}\tilde{o}^{11}ta^{53}$
 person CLF = PL = ABL thither shame
 '(I) will be ashamed before everyone'

- Elicited701
 (87). ηa^{13} $\text{c}\partial^{53}$ = $ts\partial o$ $t\tilde{s}a^{53}$
 1S dog =ABL afraid
 'I am afraid of dogs'

8.2.2.2.7 Comitative = $r\tilde{o}$

The marker $r\tilde{o}$ serves as a nominal conjunction meaning 'and' (§7.1.3) as well as a conditional clause marker (Chapter Twelve). When it functions as a comitative, it attaches to the accompanied argument. If both arguments are overt, the accompanied argument follows the accompanier.

- Elicited193
 (88). ηa^{13} $\underline{j\tilde{i}^{11}c\tilde{i}^{55}}$ = $r\tilde{o}$ $z\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ ${}^n\text{do}$
 1SABS Yishi =COM play EX.AN.SELF
 'I am playing with Yishi'

When $r\tilde{o}$ functions as a connective, it occurs between the two nominals.

- Hardship009
 (89). $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $\underline{t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{55}z\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{22}}$ $\underline{t\tilde{c}^h\tilde{u}^{55}p\tilde{i}^{53}}$ = $r\tilde{o}$ $\underline{w\partial^{55n}dza^{53}}$ $\underline{s\tilde{o}^{53}}$ $z\partial-$ ${}^n\text{dzu}^{13}$
 then Danzen Chumpi =COM 1PL three up go
 'Then Danzen Chumpi and the three of us went up.'

Sometimes the line between a conjunction and the associative casemarker is not so clear.

Accident013

- (90). *ma* *ʎa⁵⁵ts^hu* =*rõ* *k^ha¹¹la⁵³* *ti¹³* *zə-* *wũ¹³* *ni*
 mother Lhatsu =COM all there up come NI
 '(She) was coming with mother Lhatsu and all of them'

In (90) the omitted referent, the speaker's wife, is the one coming along the road with a group of people.

8.2.2.3 Case-stacking

Sometimes more than one casemarker can occur in a noun phrase. In my database, the locative marker =*jæ* can follow the locative marker =*nə*, the ablative marker =*tsə*, the allative marker =*tsa*, or the objective marker =*gõ*. Speakers are unable to point to any difference in meaning between the simple postposition and the same postposition followed by =*jæ*.

MyLife203

- (91). *nongcun* =*nə* =*jæ* *weisen* *je¹³* *dzo⁵³* *dzi?*
 village =LOC =LOC hygieneCH VBZR ? OTHR
 '(I) did hygiene in the village'

GetMar005

- (92). *za¹¹ge⁵⁵* =*tsa* =*jæ* *na⁵⁵wõ⁵³* *ŋa⁵³*
 Zhage =ALL =LOC bride send
 '...send (me) to Zhage's house...'

GetDivB021

- (93). $wə^{55}tse^{53}$ $tɕi^{55}tɕi^{53}$ $=g\tilde{o}$ $=jæ$ $ʂe^{55}ri^{53}$ je^{13}
like.that each.other =OBJ =LOC blame VBZR

$wə^{55}tse^{53}$ je^{13} $-pə^{55}$ je
like.that VBZR -HIST NEG

'blaming each other like that, like that (we) didn't do'.

Elicited983

- (94). $k^h ui^{55}$ $ŋe^{13}$ $=tsə$ $=jæ$ $zi^{11}gi^{55}$ $tɕi$ $zæ^{353}$ $-k^hə$ t^hi
3SERG 1SGEN =ABL =LOC book INDF borrow -KHU VIS.PFV

'S/he borrowed a book from me'

Chapter 9 The Verb Phrase

In this chapter the verb phrase is described with particular attention paid to the verb phrase of finite clauses. Final auxiliary verbs will be discussed in Chapter Ten, various types of clauses in Chapter Eleven and clause combining will be described in Chapter Twelve.

The most expanded possible verb complex for any clause would include a directional prefix, verb stem, causative, directional, aspectual, modal, question particle, final auxiliary verb, and/or evidential and/or validational particle. Negation can occur in several places, most commonly before the main verb, before a modal or aspectual secondary verb, before the final auxiliary, or as a suppletive auxiliary form. Non-content question particles usually occur before the final auxiliary verb or, in the case of attributives, before the predicate. The verb complex, in its most expanded expression, is schematicized below. Parentheses indicate the non-obligatory elements:

(DIR-) (NEG-) VERB (CAUS) (DIR) (MOD) (ASP) (QST) (FNL AUX) (EVI/VAL)

In natural discourse, of course, it is extremely rare that all, or even most, of these elements would be present. The minimal possible verb complex includes only the verb. In the above schematic, all classes except the verb class are closed classes.

The following discussion is organized according to the pre-verbal elements and the post-verbal elements. Pre-verbal elements include directional and negative prefixes. Post-verbal elements include everything else.

9.1 Pre-verbal elements

9.1.1 Directionals

Directional prefixes in Dongwang include *zə-* <yar> 'up', *mbə-* <'bab?', mar?> 'down', *ts^hə-* <tshur> 'hither', and *p^hə-* <phar> 'thither'. The reference point can be the speaker, the speaker's location, or a participant in the text, usually the S or A argument or a location relative to the S or A argument.

While speakers readily identify the 'meaning' of these prefixes as directional, they have a wider range of functions than indicating deictic orientation. Such functions include contributing aspectual meaning to the verb, denoting negative or positive connotation, or indicating the presence or absence of control.

9.1.1.1 *zə-* <yar> 'up' and *mbə-* <mar?> 'down'

The prefixes *zə-* and *mbə-* (often ~[mə] in fast speech) indicate upward or downward motion. They are also associated with increase or decrease in size, quality, or duration, imply a positive or negative outcome, and contribute aspectual meaning as discussed below.

- Hardship042
(1). *du*³³ *zə-* *p^hi*⁵³
rock up pick.up
'(we) picked up rocks'

Butter&cheese013

- (2). $t\zeta^h\partial^{55}$ $t\zeta i$ $mb\partial-$ $ku\ae^{53}$ ra
water INDF down circle RA
'pour down some water in a circle (along the sides of the churn)'

In the example above, the speaker is giving instructions for making butter and cheese.

The motion involved is one in which the water is poured down along the sides of the churn in a circular motion.

Hardship065

- (3). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ ju^{13} $t\zeta i$ ηa^{13} $mb\partial-$ pi^{13} $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ ji
then day INDF 1SABS down return come COP.SELF.PST
'Then one day (I) returned back down'

The sentence in (3) is drawn from a text in which the speaker has been working up on the mountain and came down to re-stock his supplies. In this clause, $mb\partial-$ is clearly contributing vertical orientation.

Sometimes a directional can occur with the indefinite marker $t\zeta i$ to give a telic sense to the clause.

RabbitB046

- (4). $z\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t\zeta i$ $t^h\tilde{a}^{13}$ ηa $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ $r\partial$
up INDF pull SEND REN TOP
'When (the shepherd) pulled up (on the rabbit's ears)',

The example above is taken from a folktale in which a shepherd is chasing a rabbit. In this clause, the shepherd grabs the rabbit by the ears to prevent it from running into its hole again. The meaning of the verb here is not *pulling* in a durative sense, but something like *yanked up on*.

The concept of upward or downward motion does not always imply absolute vertical motion. When speakers talk about coming/going to Dongwang, or coming/going to rGyalthang, Dongwang is usually 'up' and rGyalthang is usually 'down'. This seems counter-intuitive, as Dongwang is lower in elevation than rGyalthang. One possible explanation is that the orientation is relative to the Dongwang river which runs nearby Pongding village. But to get to rGyalthang one would have to begin walking upstream from Pongding.

Another possibility is that 'going up' is more associated with home than 'going down'. When one is invited to a home, for example, the invitation is framed as 'please come up'. Speakers occasionally shift their orientation. For example, in the story *Getting Married*, the narrator is relating the time when she was attending school in rGyalthang. When she was in the sixth grade, her parents wanted her to go home to get married. She did not want to get married, but in the end it was decided that if she failed her examination for Middle School she must go home. Because of the stress, she did fail and returned home at the beginning of December.

- GetMar031
 (5). ⁿda¹¹wa⁵⁵ dzo⁵⁵nə¹¹ ba⁵³ mbə- wĩ¹³ rǎ⁵⁵ rə
 month twelve beginning down come REN TOP
'When (I) came down at the beginning of December'

At this point, the narrator is still angry and does not want to get married. It is clear that she is presenting herself as a student living in rGyalthang, so home is 'down' rather than 'up'.

zə- and *mbə-* can also occur in clauses which expresses a greater or lesser size, duration, or quality.

RabbitB047

- (6). *nẽ⁵⁵ji¹¹* *nə* *zə-* *ri¹¹mə⁵⁵* *re* *ra*
 ear NA up long COP.OTHR RA
 '(the rabbit's) ears became long'

RabbitA068

- (7). *tã¹³* *lə¹¹pə⁵⁵* *mbə-* *tɕ^hõ¹³* *ⁿdzu*
 then body down short GO
 'Then (the rabbit's) body got short'

The clauses above are taken from the folktale *Rabbit* which explains how the rabbit came to have long ears and a short body.

A similar function can be expressed in a construction [DIR-GEN-DIR + ADJ] which expresses progressive aspect.

Elicited559

- (8). *ɕe⁵⁵* *mbə-ji-mbə* *sã¹³* *ⁿdzu¹³* *t^hã* *ṅõ*
 2SABS down-GEN-down thin go PFV VIS.IPFV
 'You are getting thinner and thinner'

Elicited557

- (9). *ɕe⁵⁵* *zə-ji-zə* *za¹³* *wũ¹³* *t^hã⁵⁵* *ṅõ*
 2SABS up-GEN-up fat COME PFV VIS.IPFV
 'You are getting fatter and fatter'

As a general rule, *mbə-* co-occurs with 'go' and *zə-* co-occurs with 'come'.

mbə- and *zə-* are sometimes used together in a construction to mean 'back and forth' or 'up and down'. These can be real motion or metaphorical motion.

Wormgrass020

- (10). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $z\partial-$ je^{13} $mb\partial-$ je^{13} ji
then up VBZR.DO down VBZR.DO COP.SELF.PST
'Then (we) bargained'

(10) is an example of metaphorical motion, as the price goes 'up and down' when bargaining.

Another function of the non-directional use of $z\partial-$ is to denote the agentive argument's desired or intended outcome. This is closely linked with perfective aspect.

Butter&Cheese026

- (11). $z\partial$ $ts^h a^{13}$ $t^h \tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
up heat PFV REN
'when it is heated up',

KillPig088

- (12). \tilde{a}^{13} $r\partial$ $p^h a^{11} so^{53}$ $z\partial-$ $ts\tilde{a}^{53}$ $-n\partial$ $r\partial$
now TOP pig.feet up sew NZR TOP
'Now the pig's feet that were sewn up'

Prod073

- (13). $k^h \partial^{55}$ $z\partial-$ si^{13} de $\eta\tilde{o}$ s
3SABS up comfort PROG VIS.IPF' HS
'(he) comforted (his son)'

9.1.1.2 $ts^hə-$ <tshur> 'hither' and $p^hə-$ <phar > 'thither'

$ts^hə-$ and $p^hə-$ indicate direction towards (cislativ) or away from (translativ) the deictic referent. $ts^hə-$ can lend a positive connotation to the clause and $p^hə-$ can denote lack of control as well as the completion of an event.

HeartAttack071

- (14). $tə^{55}$ = $nə$ $ts^hə-$ $p^həo^{53}$ $wĩ^{13}$ ni
 that =LOC hither run come NI
'He came running over from there',

GetDivB025

- (15). $tǣ^{13}$ $çũ^{55}$ $nə^{11}$ mba^{55} $-kĩ$ $ts^hə-$ mbe^{53} $wə^{55}$ tse^{53} je^{13} ni
 then home relatives -PL hither call MAN VBZR.DO NI
'Then (we) called the relatives over, doing like that',

In (15) the narrator is the deictic reference point as she relates how the subject (an unexpressed third-person argument) begins to chase after her. Example (15) is taken from a personal experience narrative in which the narrator is describing her divorce. After her husband decided to leave her, they called the relatives over to their house to discuss the conditions of their divorce. In this example, $ts^hə-$ indicates motion towards the house she and her husband shared at that time.

GetDiva021

- (16). $tǣ^{13}$ a^{11} ba^{55} $rə$ $zĩ^{13}$ wo^{55} ja^{53} $p^hə-$ $pæ^{13}$ ra
 then father TOP again 1PL.FAM thither reject RA
'Then (the children's) father rejected us (mother and children)'

In (16), the narrator is the wife who was rejected. She construes the father who rejected her and her children as the deictic center.

- Accident087
 (17). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $r\emptyset$ $p^h\emptyset-$ ni^{13} ${}^ndzu^{13}$
 then TOP thither sleep go
 'Then (we) went away to sleep'

The example above occurs in the text *Accident* in which a woman was hit by a car. At this point in the story the woman's husband and his friends have taken her on the two days' journey to a hospital. They now leave her bedside in the hospital to go to sleep.

- Prod006
 (18). $p\emptyset^{13}$ $t\zeta\emptyset^{11}t\zeta^h\tilde{u}^{55}$ $=ji$ k^hua^{53} ze
 son younger =ERG 3SDAT EX.INAN.SELF

 $n\emptyset$ $=ji$ $se^{55}pa^{53}$ $k^ha^{55}la^{53}$ $ts^h\emptyset-$ ro^{53} $t^h\tilde{a}^{55}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 NMZR =GEN thing all hither gather PFV REN
 'The younger son gathered (to himself) all the things he had',

- KillPig062
 (19). $\zeta\emptyset^{11}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ $ts^h\emptyset-$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ $-n\emptyset$ $r\emptyset$
 intestines hither take.out -NZR TOP
 'as for the intestines which were taken out,'

The clause in (19) is taken from a procedural text on how to kill and dress a pig. Here, the pulling out motion is indicated by the directional prefix $ts^h\emptyset-$.

Similar to $mb\emptyset-$ and $z\emptyset-$, $p^h\emptyset-$ and $ts^h\emptyset-$ can also express an increase or decrease in size or quality. All examples functioning in this way in my database are found in reduplicated constructions illustrated in examples (20) and (21) below:

Elicited558

- (20). ce^{55} $\text{ts}^h\text{ə}-\text{ji}-\text{ts}^h\text{ə}$ za^{53} wũ $\text{t}^h\text{æ}$ $\text{ŋ}\tilde{\text{o}}$
2SABS hither-GEN-hither fat.COMP COME PFV VIS.IPFV
'You are getting fatter and fatter'

Elicited547

- (21). $\text{ni}^{11}\text{w}\tilde{\text{o}}^{55}$ $\text{ts}^h\text{ə}-\text{ji}-\text{ts}^h\text{ə}$ dzu^{13} $\text{s}\tilde{\text{o}}$
sun thither-GEN-thither warm EGO
'The sun is getting warmer and warmer'

$p^h\text{ə}-$ sometimes indicates a reversal of direction as in the following example.

HeartAttack086

- (22). ŋe^{13} k^ha^{53} $\text{p}^h\text{ə}-$ kuæ^{53} ji
1SERG mouth thither turn COP.SELF.PST
'I turned around' (to face him)

In (22), the speaker is running away from a man. When the man calls her, she turns around to listen. Rather than facing forward, her orientation is now facing backwards.

Sometimes, the reason for the presence of $p^h\text{ə}-$ or $\text{ts}^h\text{ə}-$ is not always clear. In the following clauses, these directionals seem to be contributing a perfective sense:

$\text{ts}^h\text{ə}-$ relating more to future events and $p^h\text{ə}-$ relating more to past events.

Killpig063

- (23). tsur^{53} = $\text{k}\tilde{\text{i}}$ $\text{ts}^h\text{ə}-$ tu^{53} ra gui $\text{dzi}?$
fat =PL hither chop RA NEED OTHR
'The fat needs to be chopped off'

Accident082

- (24). $\text{m}\tilde{\text{æ}}^{13}\text{ba}^{55}$ = ji jiancha $\text{p}^h\text{ə}-$ je
doctor =ERG examineCH thither VBZR.DO
'The doctor examined her'

- Hardship056
 (25). $ni^{11}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ nu^{53} $\xi^{h}i^{53}$ $p^h\partial-$ $t^h\partial^{55}$
 day two wood hither collect
 '(we) collected wood for two days'

9.1.2 Negation

Negation is expressed through the use of two unstressed negative prefixes: *ma-* and *wu-* and through the use of the future negative particle $p\tilde{a}^{53}$. Negation can also be expressed through the suppletive forms of the copula and existential and through the use of periphrastic constructions which follow the main verb. Negation strategies employed in Dongwang are dependent upon several factors: the type of predicate (copula, existential, or lexical), the controllability of the event, the scope of the utterance over which negation has effect, and the subject of the clause. Further, speakers have several negation strategies at their disposal depending on their communicative goals. Each of these will be discussed below.

9.1.2.1 Negation of copular and existential verbs

The forms of the negated copula and existential verbs depend on the person of the argument. The SELF¹ copular and inanimate existential negative forms are constructed using a suppletive auxiliary. The SELF animate existential negative form

¹ See §4.2 for a detailed discussion of the terms 'SELF' and 'OTHER'.

is constructed with the prefix *ma-* and the animate existential. The OTHER copula and existential negative forms are periphrastic constructions derived from the negative prefix *ma-*.

	SELF		OTHER	
	Aff	Neg	Aff	Neg
Copula	zĩ	me	re	ma- re
Exist, -AN	ze	je [~je]	ze ¹¹ dzi?	ze ¹¹ dzi? ma- re
Exist, +AN	ⁿ do	ma- ⁿ do	ⁿ do ¹¹ dzi?	ⁿ do ¹¹ dzi? ma- re

Table 24: COPULA/EXISTENTIAL AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE PARADIGM²

The negative forms of the SELF copula and inanimate existential verbs are the suppletive forms *me* and *je* respectively. The negative of the SELF animate existential is constructed from the negative prefix and the animate existential: *ma-ⁿdo*.

Elicited1203: Negative copula, SELF

- (26). *ŋa*¹³ *pe*¹³ *me*
 1SABS Tibetan COP.SELF.NEG
'I am not Tibetan'

Elicited523: Negative existential, inanimate, SELF

- (27). *wo*⁵⁵*ŋa*⁵³ *ŋu*⁵³ =*jæ* *ŋu*⁵³ *ma*¹¹*mə*⁵⁵ *je*
 1PL.DAT DU =DAT money much EX.IN.SELF.NEG
'The two of us don't have a lot of money'

² It might seem strange to have an inanimate SELF form in this table, but recall that in possessor clauses the SELF/OTHER form is determined by the possessor and the animate versus inanimate form is determined by the possessee. Thus the clause *I have a pen* would occur with the inanimate SELF existential *ze*.

- Elicited1190: Negative existential, animate, SELF
- (28). ηa^{13} $a^{55}ka^{53}$ ma- do
 1SDAT child NEG EX.AN.SELF
'I don't have a/any child/ren'

The OTHER copula and existential clauses are negated with the prefix *ma-*,

which always precedes the OTHER copula.

- Elicited: Negative copula, OTHER
- (29). ζe^{55} pe^{13} ma- *re*
 2SABS Tibetan NEG COP.OTHR
'You are not Tibetan'

- Elicited1105: Negative existential, inanimate, OTHER
- (30). $k^h ua^{53}$ $zi^{11}gi^{55}$ $ze^{11}dzi?$ ma- *re*
 3SDAT book EX.IN.OTHR NEG COP.OTHR
'He doesn't have a/any book/s'

- Elicited1193: Negative, existential, animate, OTHER
- (31). $k^h ua^{53}$ $a^{55}ka^{53}$ $no^{11}dzi?$ ma- *re*
 3SDAT child EX.AN.OTHR NEG COP.OTHR
'S/he does not have a/any child/ren'

Due to issues surrounding evidentiality and validationality, clauses with non-first-persons subjects are more complicated. In naturally-occurring discourse, speakers frequently use evidential or validational forms which qualify the statement being made. These are discussed in more detail in §10.4 and §10.5.

9.1.2.2 Negation of other verbs

9.1.2.2.1 *ma-*

Basic declarative clauses with control verbs and first-person S or A arguments allow two negation strategies: a suppletive auxiliary that follows the verb and any TAM marking or the negative prefix *ma-*. The negative prefix *ma-* has several possible positions: it can immediately precede the verb, immediately precede the modal secondary verb, immediately precede aspect marking, or immediately precede a final copula or auxiliary.

The negative prefix *ma-* precedes the verb:

- Elicited
(32). ηa^{13} *ma-* ${}^n d z u^{13}$ *ji*
1sABS NEG go COP.SELF.PST
'I didn't go'

- GoodSam011
(33). $t \dot{c} i^{53}$ *la* *ma-* $k a^{55}$ *ni*
one even NEG- concern NI
'showing (him) no concern whatsoever'

- Elicited
(34). ηa^{13} *ma-* ${}^n d z u^{13}$
1sABS NEG go
'I am not going'

In (32), (33), and (34) the negative prefix precedes the verbs. SELF clauses with control verbs can also be negated by a suppletive copula (*me*) or existential (*ne*).

- Elicited
 (35). ηa^{13} ${}^n dzu^{13}$ me
 1SABS go COP.SELF.NEG
 'I didn't go'

- Elicited
 (36). ηa^{13} ${}^n dzu^{13}$ *tsi* me
 1SABS go PROSP COP.SELF.NEG
 'I am not going' (now or in the future)

Most speakers say that there is no difference in meaning between (35) and (36), but some speakers suggest that (36) is more emphatic.³

Basic declarative OTHER clauses with control verbs, leaving aside clauses with evidentials or validationals for the time being, allow several negation strategies. The negative prefix *ma-* precedes the final OTHER auxiliary, the negative prefix *ma-* precedes the main verb, or a negative verb phrase can follow an entire clause.

- Elicited253
 (37). k^{hui55} ts^{he55} ju^{13} tsi^{55} ma- *re*
 3SERG vegetables buy PROSP NEG COP.OTHR
 'S/he is not going to buy vegetables'

- Elicited252
 (38). k^{hui55} ts^{he55} ju^{13} ma- t^{hi53}
 3SERG vegetables buy NEG go.PFV
 'S/he has not gone to buy vegetables'

³ The use of 'emphatic' in Chinese (强调) is as vague as it is in English.

- Prod071
 (39). ɕũ^{55} = $nə$ $zə-$ la ${}^n\text{dzu}^{13}$ $ma-$ re
 house =LOC up even go NEG COP.OTHR
'He did not even go up to the house'

The negative prefix *ma-* can be positioned differently according to its scope.

In the following example, the negative prefix precedes the secondary verbs that express modal categories such as 'to want to', 'to dare to', and 'to be able to'.

- MyLife05
 (40). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $p^hə$ $t\text{sa}^{55}\text{wa}^{53}\text{ji}$ $z\text{i}^{11}\text{g}\text{i}^{55}$ ju^{13} $ma-$ ʃi $\text{ŋ}\tilde{o}$
 then FILLER completely book grasp NEG- KNOW VIS.IPFV
'Then, uh, I did not grasp studies at all'

- Elicited
 (41). ŋa^{13} ${}^n\text{dzu}^{13}$ $ma-$ $s\tilde{a}$ $\text{ŋ}\tilde{o}$
 1SABS go NEG- THINK VIS.IPFV
'I didn't want to go'

- Elicited156
 (42). ŋe^{13} $t\text{ɕ}^h\text{a}^{53}$ $ma-$ $t^h\tilde{a}$
 1SERG eat NEG PFV
'I haven't finished eating'

A negative construction can also follow an entire clause. This is the only strategy to negate the OTHER existential forms:

- Elicited
 (43). $k^h\text{ua}^{53}$ $a^{55}\text{ka}^{53}$ ${}^n\text{do}^{11}\text{d}\text{zi}?$
 3SDAT child EX.AN.OTHR
'S/he has children'

- Elicited
 (44). $k^h ua^{53}$ $a^{55} ka^{53}$ $^n do^{11} dzi?$ $ma-$ re
 3SDAT child EX.AN.OTHR NEG- COP.OTHR
 'S/he does not have children'

- Elicited
 (45). $k^h ə^{55}$ $tɕ^h e^{53}$ $ʂi$ $dzi?$
 3S tired MOD OTHR
 'S/he is tired'

- Elicited
 (46). $k^h ə^{55}$ $tɕ^h e^{53}$ $ʂi$ $dzi?$ $ma-$ re
 3S tired MOD OTHR NEG- COP.OTHR
 'S/he is not tired'

9.1.2.2.2 $p\tilde{a}^{53}$

The particle $p\tilde{a}^{53}$, tentatively glossed NEG.FUT 'negative future'⁴, negates the potential conclusion of an event or state, or an event about which the speaker is expressing some degree of doubt. It always occurs as the last element in a sentence. When addressing second persons, $p\tilde{a}^{53}$ means that an event relevant to the addressee will not happen.

- GetMar024/25
 (47). $k^h a^{55} \tilde{c}\tilde{a}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $rə$ $\epsilon i^{55} j\tilde{u}i^{53}$ = $tsə$ re $p\tilde{a}^{53}$
 pass.examCH COND TOP 2PLGEN =LOC OTHR.COP NEG.FUT
 'If (she) passes the exam, (she) will not be of your house'

⁴ I realize the label 'negative future' is not totally satisfactory. I considered the term 'negative irrealis', but since irrealis includes negation, that was unsatisfactory for different reasons.

In (47), narrator's mother tells the potential groom's household that her daughter will not marry if she passes her exams.

- Prod034
 (48). $a^{11}\tilde{r}\tilde{i}^{55}$ $p^h\partial^{55}t\check{e}e^{53}$ ηa^{13} $\check{c}i^{55}$ $p\partial^{33}$ je^{13} $t\check{s}\tilde{o}^{13}$ $p\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$
 today after 1SABS 2SGEN son VBZR.DO consider NEG.FUT
'After today, do not consider me your son'

This example, from the text *Prodigal*, is spoken by a son who is apologizing to his father for wronging him in the past. He feels he has wronged his father so greatly that he should no longer be treated as his father's son.

$p\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$ can also be used as a polite refusal to do something. For example, if a person is asked to go visit someone whom she does not know, she may feel uncomfortable going. In such an instance, she could say:

- Elicited
 (49). ηa^{13} ${}^n dzu^{13}$ gui $p\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$
 1SABS GO NEED NEG.FUT
'I don't need/want to go'

In the example above, the speaker has not definitely said whether she will or will not go, but she is leaning towards not going. Finally, $p\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$ can convey the likelihood that an event will not take place. In clauses with third-person subjects, the speaker is expressing his or her doubt regarding the event:

- Elicited
 (50). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$
 3S come NEG.FUT
'S/he won't come'

In clauses with first-person subjects and non-control verbs, the speaker expresses his or her doubt regarding a future event:

- Elicited
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (51). | <i>ŋa</i> ¹³ | <i>za</i> ¹³ | <i>wũ</i> ¹³ | <i>pã</i> ⁵³ | (52). | <i>ŋa</i> ¹³ | <i>dzuw</i> ⁵³ | <i>pã</i> ⁵³ |
| | 1S | fat | COME | NEG.FUT | | 1S | fall | NEG.FUT |
| | <i>'I won't get fat'</i> | | | | | <i>'I won't fall'</i> | | |

9.1.2.2.3 *wu-*

The prefix *wu-* occurs before the dubitative markers (§10.6) *ça* and *za*. The difference between the two seems to be based on a realis/irrealis distinction. *wu- ça* expresses a high degree of certainty regarding potentially-negative events and *wu- za* expresses certainty regarding actual negative contexts.

Because the future is unknowable, there are several ways that speakers can express their certainty or lack of certainty regarding the likelihood of an event becoming reality. Speakers use *wu- ça* to express a future event that they think will probably not happen. For example:

- Prod26
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| (53). | <i>ŋa</i> ¹³ | <i>wə</i> ⁵⁵ | <i>na</i> ⁵³ | <i>tu</i> ⁵³ | <i>ʂə</i> ⁵⁵ | <i>sã</i> ⁵³ | <i>dzi?</i> | <i>wu-</i> | <i>ça</i> |
| | 1S | here | hunger | die | think | OTHR | NEG- | DUB | |
| | <i>'I won't die of hunger here'</i> | | | | | | | | |

The narrator in (53) is thinking to himself that he will go back to his father's house and eat as one of his servants. If he goes, he will not die of hunger.

- RabbitA27
 (54). ɕe^{55} *me* $rə$ $t^həo$ *wu-* *za*
 2S COP.NEG.SELF TOP MOD NEG- DUB
'It is not possible that it is not you' (= 'it is you')

In (54) the shepherd is expressing a strong certainty that the rabbit has already come for his share of butter.

- HeartAttack173
 (55). je^{13} $ʃəo^{353}$ *wu-* *za*
 do hard NEG- DUB
'I could not do anything' (did not have the power to do anything)

The clause in (55) is spoken by the narrator's husband in response to her being beaten. He says that because he and the man who beat her are (cousin) brothers, there really is nothing he could have done, or can do, to defend her.

wu- also occurs before a few modals in my database:

- RabbitB043
 (56). ɕe^{55} æ^{13} $tʂ^hi^{53}$ *wu-* *gua*
 2SABS now shy NEG NEED.IR
'You don't need to be shy'

I am uncertain whether the speaker in (56) could have used the negative prefix *ma-* (*ma-gui*) rather than the negative prefix *wu-*. It appears that *wu-gua* is used as a politeness strategy in direct address clauses, but I do not have enough data to be sure. More work needs to be done on this interesting negative prefix.

9.1.2.3 Negation in discourse

There is evidence in discourse that speakers use different negation strategies for different communicative purposes. This can be seen in texts with adjacent clauses in which the speaker uses two different negation strategies to express different attitudes about the same event.

Hardship011

- (57). *tæ*¹³ *shihui* *rə* *tsa*⁵⁵*wa*⁵³ =*ji*
 then limestoneCH TOP completely =GEN

*sa*⁵³ *ʃi* *ma-* *re* ... *wo*⁵⁵ⁿ*dza*⁵³ *sō*⁵³ *nə*
 burn MOD.KNOW NEG COP.OTHR ... 1PL three PTCL
 'Then regarding limestone, (we) completely did not know how to burn it... we three.'

Hardship012

- (58). *tçi*⁵³ *la* *sa*⁵³ *wu* *ʃi* *wa*
 INDF even burn NEG KNOW MUT
 '(We) did not even know anything'

In (57) and (58) above, the speaker is describing his first amateur attempts to fire limestone. He is stressing that he and his friends knew absolutely nothing about the process of burning limestone. In the first clause he says *sa*⁵³ *ʃi ma-re*, but in the adjacent clause he says *sa*⁵³ *wu- ʃi wa*. The speakers I questioned regarding these two clauses said there is no meaning difference *except* the second clause may be more emphatic. However, it is difficult to know whether this assertion is simply based on the effect of repetition rather than anything specific to a negation strategy.

Hardship022/023
 (59). $nə^{13}$ $wũ^{13}$ $wũ^{13}$ $wũ^{13}$ $dʒi$ $ma-$ re
 person come come come OTHR NEG COP.OTHR

$ma-$ $wũ^{13}$ $nõ$
 NEG come VIS.IPFV

'The guy didn't c-c-come. (He) (really) didn't come.'

(59) is similar to the previous example in that two different negation strategies are repeated in adjacent clauses. In the first clause the auxiliary is negated and in the second clause the verb is negated for the apparent purpose of emphasis.

9.2 *Post-verbal elements*

The post-verbal complex in Dongwang is a cluster of non-obligatory elements that contribute information such as person, intention, direction, aspect, modality, validationality and evidentiality to the lexical verb. The following section is divided according to final and non-final elements. Final elements are organized according to SELF/OTHER, egophoric, evidential, and validational categories. In Tibetan studies, the final elements are often referred to as 'auxiliary verbs' (DeLancey 1986, T.-S. Sun 1993⁵ Hongladarom 1996, Tournadre 2001). Final auxiliary verbs are discussed in the next chapter.

The non-final elements mainly contribute meaning such as aspect and modality, direction, and causation to the meaning of the main verb and/or clause.

⁵ T.-S. Sun also refers to the evidential markers as 'enclitics'. This will be discussed in more detail in §10.5.

DeLancey (1991: 6) has referred to these as 'quasi-auxiliary' verbs. Following Häsler (1996), I will use the term 'secondary verb' (V2) to refer to any non-final auxiliary verb which follows the main verb. Most of these V2s are 'versatile verbs' (Matisoff 1973) that is, they are full verbs as well as 'minor' verbs that also contribute grammatical functionality.

Many V2s in Dongwang have arisen from serial verb constructions that are 'asymmetrical' serial constructions (Aikhenvald 1999) in that 'the second verb in a serial verb construction is 'always in some sense a further development, result or goal' (Lord 1974⁶) of the first verb in the construction' (Foley and Olson 1985: 19).

DeLancey (1991: 1) outlines the grammaticization process from full verb to auxiliary verb as one 'in which an initial biclausal structure with two verbs, each contributing its own lexical sense to the overall meaning of the sentence, ends up as a uniclausal verb + auxiliary construction, in which one of the verbs has undergone semantic "bleaching" and entered a new syntactic category'.

9.2.1 Secondary verbs

9.2.1.1 Valence

Secondary verbs in this group affect the valence of the verb in some way. The causative $t\phi o^{53}$ <bcug> 'to cause', the permissive $t\phi^{h}u^{53}$ <chog> 'to allow' and the benefactive te^{53} <ster> 'to give' clearly affect the valence of the verb in that they

⁶ As quoted in Foley and Olson 1985.

can add an argument to the clause. The other three secondary verbs are not so clear-cut in that they do not always add an argument. The secondary verb *ŋa* (from <mngag> 'to send') serves multiple functions including denoting a mirative-like category, a causative, and heightening transitivity. The secondary verb *ra* (from <rag> 'to obtain') changes a stative clause to an eventive clause. The secondary verb *k^hə~k^hu* (from <'khur> 'to carry') remains somewhat of a mystery to me. The secondary verb *ru*¹³ implies an offer or real extension of help. Each of these is illustrated with examples in the following section.

9.2.1.1.1 *təo*⁵³ 'cause'

When the secondary verb *təo*⁵³ follows the verb stem, the subsequent construction can be interpreted as a causative or as a permissive. The causative is the one serial verb construction where the verbs can have different overt subjects.

KillPig030

- (60). *ʂə*⁵³ *təo*⁵³ *rə̃*⁵⁵ *rə*
 die CAUS REN TOP
 'when (someone) caused (the pig) to die,'

GoodSam026

- (61). *rō*¹³*rō*¹¹ =*ji* *tə*⁵³ *p^hə-* *ɕə*⁵³ *təo*⁵³
 REFL =GEN horse thither ride CAUS
 '(He had him) ride his own horse'

The verb ʂə^{53} 'to die' in (60) is intransitive and takes one argument, the animal or person who dies. With the causative marker the clause is transitive and includes two (unexpressed) arguments: the person who causes the pig to die and the pig which dies. Similarly the verb ca^{53} 'to ride' in (61) is transitive and can be accompanied by two arguments, the rider and the thing ridden. With the addition of the causative, there are three arguments.

The syntax of causatives can be better illustrated with elicited sentences which have all possible arguments present in the clause.

Elicited569

- (62). $\text{lo}^{55}\text{sə}^{11}$ = ji $\text{wə}^{55}\text{na}^{53}$ = kī = jæ $\text{dzo}^{11}\text{sa}^{53}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{55}$ $\text{t}\text{ɕo}^{53}$ sō
 teacherCH =ERG 1PL =PL =DAT garbage pick.up CAUS EGO
'Teacher made us pick up the garbage'

The transitive verb $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{55}$ 'to pick up' normally takes two arguments: someone picking up something and something being picked up. In (62) there are three arguments: the additional causer is in ergative case, the causee, those picking up the garbage ($\text{wə}^{55}\text{na}^{53} = \text{kī}$ 'we') is demoted to dative case ($\text{wə}^{55}\text{na}^{53} = \text{kī} = \text{jæ}$ 'us').

Elicited563

- (63). $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{55}\text{n}\text{dza}^{53}$ = kī ŋa^{13} wū^{13} ma- $\text{t}\text{ɕo}^{53}$ $\text{dzi}?$ ma- re
 3PL =PL 1SABS come NEG CAUS OTHR NEG COP.OTHR
'They won't let me come'

The causer argument ($k^h\partial^{55n}d\zeta a^{53} = k\bar{i}$ 'they') in (63) is not in ergative case, but the fact that the one who is not going has been demoted from an S argument to a P argument is reflected in the choice of the final OTHER auxiliary verb.

In naturally-occurring discourse, clauses with all expressed arguments are rare. In the following example, the causer is unexpressed but the causee is expressed in dative case.

- MyLife148
 (64). $p\bar{o}^{13}$ $=k\bar{i}$ $=j\bar{\alpha}$ $r\partial$ $s^h a^{53}$ $p^h\partial-$ mba^{353} $t\zeta o^{53}$
 girl =PL =DAT TOP dirt hither carry.on.back CAUS
 '(They) made the girls carry dirt on their backs' (in baskets)

- Elicited
 (65). ηe^{13} $k^h\partial^{55}$ $\eta\partial^{13}$ $t\zeta o^{53}$ ji
 1SERG 3SABS cry CAUS COP.SELF.PST
 'I made him cry'

The verb $\eta\partial^{13}$ 'to cry' is an intransitive verb that can occur with one argument. The addition of the causative $t\zeta o^{53}$ in (65) increases the potential arguments in the clause to two. Note that the syntax of (65) is the same as a transitive clause containing a control verb.

9.2.1.1.2 $t\zeta^h u^{53}$ 'permit'

Sometimes the semantic distinction between causative and permissive constructions is not clearly delineated. A clause with the causative V2 can be interpreted as a causative or as a permissive. Syntactically, however, constructions

with $t\phi^{53}$ can have more than one argument, whereas constructions with the permissive secondary verb $t\phi^{hu53}$ can only have one argument which is good evidence that it is uniclausal. In addition, the permittee of a clause with the permissive secondary verb $t\phi^{hu53}$ is casemarked with the ergative in transitive constructions, but the causee in a causative construction is casemarked with the dative casemarker.⁷ As with causatives, permissive constructions usually are constructed with non-SELF auxiliaries in clauses with first-person S or A arguments.

Elicited1361

- (66). k^{hui55} $w\phi^{55}t\phi^{11}$ $\tilde{s}i^{11}p^{h\tilde{u}}55$ $t\phi e^{53}$ $t\phi^{hu53}$ $d\phi i?$
 3SERG that tree cut PERM OTHR
'He can cut down the tree' (he is allowed to cut down the tree)

Example (66) could be spoken if the speaker had seen a man wearing forestry clothes cutting down a tree. Even though there were laws against cutting down trees, the speaker assumes that the man (considering his clothes) had the authority to cut down the tree. In the example above, the ergative-marked argument is the one who is cutting the tree. Compare this with the following causative construction.

Elicited1362

- (67). k^{hui55} $w\phi^{55}t\phi^{11}$ $\tilde{s}i^{11}p^{h\tilde{u}}55$ $t\phi e^{53}$ $t\phi\phi^{53}$ $d\phi i?$
 3SERG that tree cut CAUS OTHR
'He made (someone else) cut down the tree'

⁷ This is further evidence for the uniclausal status of causative clauses.

In (67), the ergative-marked argument is not the one who is cutting down the tree, but is the one who is causing someone else to cut down the tree. The permissive can also be used to express 'can' in the sense of having time to do something. For example:

Elicited318

- (68). ɕe^{55} $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ a^{53} $t\text{ɕ}^h u^{53}$
 2SABS come QST PERM
 'Can you come?' (e.g., do you have time to come?)

Elicited339

- (69). ηa^{13} ${}^n dzu^{13}$ $t\text{ɕ}^h u^{53}$ $d\text{z}i?$ $ma-$ re
 1ABS go PERM OTHR NEG COP.OTHR
 'I can't go' ~ 'I am not allowed to go'

9.2.1.1.3 te^{53} 'give'

te^{53} <ster> is a ditransitive verb meaning 'to give'. As a secondary verb, te contributes the notion of benefactive, a pattern that is found in many languages.⁸

Elicited354

- (70). $k^h ui^{55}$ $k^h ua^{53}$ $=j\text{æ}$ $t\text{ɕ} a^{13}$ $p^h \text{ɔ}^{55} r\text{ɔ}$ $g\tilde{o}$ \underline{jo}^{53} \underline{te} $t^h i$
 3SERG 3SDAT =DAT tea cup full pour GIVE VIS.PFV
 'S/he poured a cup of tea for him'

⁸ While this is a common strategy in many languages, it is not common in Tibetan dialects that have been described. To the best of my knowledge, in many Tibetan dialects some form of the locative/allative/dative casemarker <la> marks beneficiaries without the additional secondary verb 'to give'.

It is possible to interpret the concatenation of the verbs *jo*⁵³ 'to pour' and *te* 'to give' in (70) above as two clauses (*he poured tea and then gave it to him*). However, the lack of any connecting morphology (Chapter Twelve) combined with the semantic sense of one unified event justifies analyzing this as a main verb and a secondary verb which express one event.

GoodSam022, 023

- (71). *k^hə*⁵⁵ = *wō* = *jæ* *nu*³⁵³ *rō* *a*⁵⁵*ra*⁵³ = *kī*
 3SABS =OBJ =DAT oil and liquor =PL
*k^hui*⁵⁵ *do*³⁵³ *ra* *-sa* *p^hə-* *jo*⁵³ *te*
 3SGEN beat RA -NMZ thither- pour GIVE

- (72). ... *zə-* *dā*³⁵³ *te*
 ... up wrap GIVE
 'He poured oil and liquor on all the places where he had been beaten and wrapped (him) up.'

It is difficult to construe (71) or (72) as representing two separate events. One reason in (71) is syntactic. If the third-person dative pronoun is the beneficiary of *te*, then one would expect it to occur closer to the verb *te*⁵³. Additionally, it is not possible to include two overt A arguments in (71) without some additional morphology. Semantically, it is difficult to conceive how one can *pour* and then *give* oil to someone. The evidence for a uniclausal analysis is even stronger in (72) as there is no object of transference involved (*wrapped (and) gave what?*). *te* clearly has grammaticized as a secondary verb denoting benefactive.

9.2.1.1.4 *ŋa* 'release', 'send'

When functioning as a full verb *ŋa*⁵³ <mngag?> means 'to send' or 'to release'.

- MyLife193
- (73). *ã*¹³ *ŋe*¹³ *di*⁵³*di*¹¹ *nə* *rə* ... *zhongyi* *xuexiao*
 now 1SGEN ynger.broCH PTCL TOP (RC) ZhongyiCH elementaryCH
- zi*¹³ *n**dæ*³⁵³ *ŋa*⁵³ *dzi?*
 book read SEND OTHR
- 'Now (someone) sent my brother, (the one living in Beijing), to study at Zhongyi Elementary School'*

The verb *ŋa*⁵³ 'to send' often occurs as a main verb in clauses which express *sending someone/something to a place or for a purpose*. The clause in (73) illustrates the function of *ŋa*⁵³ as a main verb.

As a secondary verb, *ŋa* has several functions, the most basic of which are to construct a causative clause and to express a mirative category. It also frequently occurs with verbs which express bodily functions.

When *ŋa* co-occurs with di-transitive verbs, it increases the valency of the clause by one argument.

- Elicited
- (74). *k*^h*ui*⁵⁵ *k*^h*ua*⁵³ *zi*¹¹*gi*⁵⁵ *te*⁵³ *ŋa* *dzi?*
 3SERG 3SDAT book give SEND OTHR
- 'She had him give (someone) a book'*

The addition of *ŋa* in (74) means that the clause now has four arguments (including one which is unexpressed). The third-person ergative pronoun *k^hui⁵³* is the causer, the third-person dative pronoun is the A argument of the ditransitive verb *te⁵³* 'to give', and the book is what is given. There is another unexpressed argument as the whole clause means that the recipient was someone else other than the arguments expressed in (74).

Elicited
 (75). *k^hui⁵⁵ ŋa¹³ ⁿdzu¹³ tsi me sə⁵⁵ dʒi?*
 3SERG 1SABS go PROSP COP.SELF.NEG say OTHR
 'S/he said, 'I am not going''

Elicited
 (76). *k^hui⁵⁵ k^hua⁵³ ŋa¹³ ⁿdzu¹³ tsi me sə⁵⁵ ŋa dʒi?*
 3SERG 3SDAT 1SABS go PROSP COP.SELF.NEG say NGA OTHR
 'S/he had him tell (someone) 'I am not going''

The verb *sə⁵⁵* 'to say' in (75) is a ditransitive verb which includes the one who is speaking (A argument *k^hui⁵⁵*), the one is is spoken to (unexpressed) and the actual speech (complement clause). In (76) the verb 'to say' is followed by *ŋa* and the additional causer argument is *k^hui⁵⁵*, while the speaker is demoted to dative case *k^hua⁵³*.

In some intransitive clauses, *ŋa* can heighten the transitivity as expected of a causative marker (Payne 1997: 240ff). Sometimes an additional argument appears in the clause and sometimes not.

Elicited768

- (77). *lõ⁵³ [=ji] gu³³ si⁵³ ŋa t^{hi}*
 wind [=ERG] door separate SEND VIS.PFV
'The wind opened the door'

KillPig027

- (78). *tɕ^ha⁵³ p^hə p^hi⁵³ ŋa rǣ rə*
 blood thither bleed SEND REN TOP
'(after stabbing the pig) and making the blood come out,'

Sometimes the occurrence of *ŋa* can lend a mirative connotation to the clause.

That is, the presence of *ŋa* can occur when the speaker considers an event surprising or unexpected. As an example, the verb *pæ⁵³* 'discard' or 'reject' has certain pragmatic constraints depending on the type of P argument. Without *ŋa* it can co-occur with any object and be grammatical (albeit perhaps illogical in some instances). When the verb *pæ⁵³* is followed by *ŋa*, however, it seems that only items which one does not expect to discard or reject can function as objects.

Elicited

- (79). *k^hui⁵⁵ dzo¹¹sa⁵³/k^hə⁵⁵ pæ⁵³ dzi?*
 3SERG garbage/3SABS discard OTHR
'He threw away the garbage/He rejected him'

- (80). **k^hui⁵⁵ dzo¹¹sa⁵³/k^hə⁵⁵ pæ⁵³ ɲa dzi?*
 3SERG garbage/3SABS discard SEND OTHR
**'He threw out the garbage/rejected him'*

In example (79), arguments such as 'garbage' or 'him' are expected arguments to co-occur with the verb *pæ⁵³* 'to throw out' or 'to reject' and cannot co-occur in clauses with the secondary verb *ɲa* as shown in (80).

However, throwing away something new is not expected and can occur as a P argument with the secondary verb *ɲa* as in (81).

- Elicited1369
 (81). *k^hui⁵⁵ n^də³⁵³ se⁵⁵pa⁵³ pæ⁵³ ɲa dzi?*
 3SERG this new.thing discard SEND OTHR
'He threw away this new thing'

Similarly, when someone eats something that is expected, such as rice or meat, the verb 'to eat' cannot be followed by *ɲa*. However, if someone were to express eating something unexpected, *e.g.*, a bone or a bug, then *ɲa* can optionally follow the verb.

This function as 'mirative' can be extended for pragmatic purposes such as contrastive focus.

WormGrass 076
 (82). *a*⁵⁵*ni*¹¹ =*ji* *dakoda* *shi* *er* *k^huai*
 grandfather =ERG hugeCH tenCH twoCH dollarCH

p^hə- *tsũ*⁵³ *ŋa* *dzi*[?] *a*⁵⁵*mba*⁵³
 thither sell SEND OTHR MUT
 'Grandfather sold (a caterpillar fungus) for 12 Chinese dollars, right?'

The sentence in (82) represents the sixth time the narrator uses the verb *tsũ*⁵³ 'sell' in the surrounding text, but the first time it co-occurs with *ŋa*. The typical price for the biggest caterpillar fungus in the year they were discussing was about eight Chinese dollars. So the speaker was extolling grandfather's ability to get the best price.

Certain unintentional events, particularly bodily functions, nearly always occur with *ŋa* regardless of the volitionality of the actor.

Elicited472
 (83). *ŋa*¹³ *ju*¹³ *ŋa* *sõ*
 1SABS cough SEND EGO.REAL
 'I coughed'

Elicited473
 (84). *k^hə*⁵⁵ *dzi*¹¹*ba*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *ŋa* *t^hi*
 3SABS sneeze VBZR.DO SEND VIS.PFV
 'S/he sneezed'

Elicited475
*ŋa*¹³ *dzi*¹¹*ba*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *ŋa* *ji*
 1SABS sneeze VBZR.DO SEND COP.SELF.PST
 'I sneezed on purpose'

Closely related to these verbs regarding bodily functions, *ŋa* also can co-occur with verbs which express an event which the subject did not intentionally perform as in (85) or could not have intentionally predicted as in (86).

Elicited1265
 (85). *mã¹¹ba⁵⁵* =*ji* *ŋe¹³* =*gõ* *k^həo⁵³* *dzo⁵³* *rã⁵⁵*
 doctor =ERG 1SGEN =OBJ shot VBZR REN

ŋe¹³ *wa⁵³* *ŋa* *t^hã⁵⁵* *ŋõ*
 1SERG cry.out NGA PFV VIS.IPFV
 'when the doctor gave me a shot, I cried out'

Elicited1338
 (86). *ŋe¹³* *ã¹³* *ⁿdə³⁵³* *du³⁵³* *zə-* *ɕa⁵³* *ŋa* *ji*
 1SERG now this rock up lift SEND COP.SELF
 'I lifted this rock'⁹

My tentative analysis from the foregoing data is that, when *ŋa* occurs with intransitive or non-control verbs, it indicates that they are eventive and visible.

9.2.1.1.5 *ra* 'obtain'

The full verb *ra¹³* <rag> is a non-control verb meaning 'to obtain'.

⁹ It is ungrammatical to use the future SELF form *zĩ* to express 'I will lift this rock' since the speaker cannot be certain that he is able to lift the rock.

Elicited374: *ra*¹³ as full verb 'obtain'

- (87). *ɕi*⁵⁵ *mbə*³⁵³ *tɕi*⁵³ *gõ* =*jæ* *ŋu*⁵³
2ERG bug pound full =DAT money

*ka*¹¹*tɕi*⁵⁵ *ra*¹³ *sõ*
how.much obtain EGO
'How much did you get for a pound of caterpillar fungus?'

When functioning as a secondary verb, *ra* serves to change a state into an event. As an example, the adjective *rĩ*¹¹*mə*⁵⁵ 'long' can also function as a predicate adjective.

Elicited735

- (88). *nɔ*³³ *t^həw*¹³ *rĩ*¹¹*mə*⁵⁵ *re*
this rope long COP.OTHR
'this rope is long'

When the secondary verb *ra* is added to an attributive clause, the clause becomes eventive.

RabbitA042

- (89). *lə*¹¹*pə*⁵⁵ *p^hə* *tɕ^hõ*¹³ *ra* *rã*⁵⁵ -*nə* *rə*
body thither short RA REN -NZR TOP
'... the one whose body was just shortened.'

When *ra* follows the attributive clause as in (89) above, it becomes eventive. This same process can be seen in the following clause.

WormGrass 106

- (90). $wə^{55}tə^{11}$ $dakoda$ = $gō$ $ə^{11}k^h u^{55}$ $ɲu^{53}$ $na^{11}mbi^{55}$
 that hugeCH =OBJ 1EXCL two much

$çã^{55}tã$ je^{13} ra $sō$
 be.cheatedCH VBZR RA EGO

'The two of us were really taken in (by that guy) in (the selling of) the big caterpillar fungus'

Example (90) is taken from a conversation among three men who are discussing the caterpillar fungus market. The verb in this example is interesting. One component is an intransitive verb from Mandarin *shang1 dang4* 'to be cheated' and one component is the Dongwang verbalizer *je*¹³ 'to do'.

ra can also function over a whole clause, as the following examples show.

Prod012

- (91). $k^h ua^{53}$ $tçi^{53}$ la $ɲe^{13}$ = ji re ra $dzi?$
 3SDAT one even EX.SELF.NEG =GEN COP.OTHR RA OTHR
'He became penniless' (literally 'he became without one (thing)'

In (91), the stative clause *'He was penniless'* becomes an eventive clause *'He became penniless'* with the addition of *ra*.

HeartAttack163

- (92). $tã^{13}$ di^{13} $ts^h ə^{55}ts^h e^{53}ma^{11}ts^h e^{53}$ ni^{13} $p^h a^{53}$
 then there? suddenly heart beat

$zə-$ $ɲe^{13}$ re ra we^{55} $a^{55}na^{53}$
 up EX.NEG COP.OTHR RA HS MUT

'Then they say (my) heart suddenly stopped beating there, right'

In (92), the stative clause without *ra* would mean *'My heart wasn't beating'*. As an event, it is *'My heart became not beating'*. A similar example occurs a little later in the same text when the narrator passes out. Rather than *be* passed out, *ra* expresses the event of *becoming* unconscious.

- HeartAttack211
 (93). *tɕ^hu⁵⁵ts^he⁵³ se⁵³ tɕi n^gu¹¹zõ⁵⁵ p^hə k^huæ⁵³ ra*
 hour half INDF head.mind? thither VBZR.spin RA
'(I) became unconscious for a half hour'

9.2.1.2 Politeness marker *ru* 'to help'

The politeness marker *ru* has arisen from the verb *ru*¹³ <rogs> 'to help'. When used as a verb it is followed by the verbalizer *je*¹³ (<byed> 'to do') or *zu*¹³ (<bzo> 'to make'). As a secondary verb denotes politeness in direct address clauses.

- Elicited
 (94). *k^hə⁵⁵ ts^hə- mbe³⁵³ ru*
 3S hither call POL
'Please call him/her over'

9.2.1.3 Directionals

When certain verbs of motion function as auxiliaries, their structure is distinct from complex clauses in syntactic structure and semantic content. In secondary verb

constructions, no subordinating or connecting morphology, adverbials, or pauses can intervene between the two verbs without resulting in a meaning difference.

9.2.1.3.1 ⁿdzu 'go'

The secondary verb ⁿdzu <'gro> 'go' can mean that the action is directed away from the speaker or referent, express past tense, or convey a negative sense, loss of control or an unwanted condition or state.

RabbitB0141

- (95). ^sh^a⁵³ =nə ⁿdzu⁵³ ⁿdzu
 ground =LOC dive GO
 '(the rabbit) dove into the ground'

When the verb 'to go' is used as a secondary verb, it generally conveys a negative sense, loss of control, or an unwanted state.

GetMar047

- (96). tã¹³ ba³⁵³ p^hə- sə⁵³ ⁿdzu rã⁵⁵
 then father thither die GO REN
 'So when father died,'

MyLife290

- (97). ã¹³ ga⁵⁵gã⁵³ re ⁿdzu ni
 now old COP.OTHR GO NI
 'Now (I) have become old,'

KillaPig079

- (98). p^ha⁵⁵sã⁵³ p^hə- se:¹³ ⁿdzu rã tã¹³
 pork thither finish GO IMM then
 'when the pork is about to be finished', (=when the pork is almost eaten up')

Elicited553

- (99). ra^{13} $t\phi i$ $n\tilde{o}^{13}$ ${}^n dzu$ $t^h \tilde{\alpha}$ $n\tilde{o}$
 goat INDF few.COMP go PFV VIS.IPFV
 '(There is) one less goat' (= 'I am missing a goat')

9.2.1.3.2 $w\tilde{u}$ 'come'

The secondary verb $w\tilde{u}$ <'ong> 'come' occurs much more frequently than the secondary verb ${}^n dzu$ 'go'; its functions include direction towards the speaker or referent and notion of future.

Direction towards the referent can be literal or metaphorical.

HeartAttack135/136

- (100). $p\partial^{13}$ $=k\tilde{i}$ $=ts^h \tilde{\alpha}^{55}$ la $t^h \tilde{u}^{353}$ $dzi?$
 people =PL =PL also see OTHR

$mb\partial-$ $p^h \partial o^{53}$ $w\tilde{u}$
 down run COME

'People saw (us fighting). (They) came running down'

MyLife195

- (101). $t\tilde{\alpha}^{13}$ $r\partial$ $jiating$ $kunnan$ pi^{13} a^{53} - $w\tilde{u}$
 then TOP householdCH difficultyCH appear QST COME
 'Then, difficulties had come to our house'

$w\tilde{u}$ has acquired other grammatical meanings in addition to marking proximal motion. In the same way that ${}^n dzu$ conveys 'past' notions, $w\tilde{u}$ conveys 'future' notions.

These are usually non-controllable events that the speaker estimates are likely to happen.

Elicited779

- (102). ηa^{13} $\varsigma \partial^{53}$ $w\tilde{u}$
 1SABS die COME
'I will die'

KillPig093

- (103). pa^{13} =jæ pi^{55} $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{u}$
 cows =DAT calf birthe COME
'Calves will be born to cows'

Elicited775

- (104). $k^{h}ui^{55}na^{53}$ -kĩ $\partial^{55}k^{h}u^{53}$ =ji $ke^{55}t\epsilon^{h}a^{53}$ ςe^{13} ke^{53} $ts^{h}\alpha^{53}$ $w\tilde{u}$
 3PLABS -PL 1PL.EX =GEN speech talk sound hear COME
'They will hear us talking'

Elicited925

- (105). $a^{11}i\tilde{r}i^{55}$ =jæ $a^{11}k^{h}u^{55}$ =kĩ $t\epsilon^{h}\partial^{55}ts^{h}\partial o^{53}$ $s\tilde{u}^{53}$ =gõ
 today =DAT 1EXCL =PL o'clock three =OBJ

 $mb\partial^{11}ts^{h}i^{55}$ ji^{353} ngu^{53} $w\tilde{u}$
 until work do COME
'Let's work until 3 o'clock today'

In many cases, the notion of 'future' also blends into a validational notion expressing a speaker's near certainty of an event. This function is discussed in §10.5.

Both verbs *ⁿdzu* 'go' and *wũ* 'come' can be used in constructions that express an increasing degree of some quality (described in § 3.2.4.1). Generally, the

collocation of *zə-* 'up' with *wũ* 'come' suggests a positive connotation while the collocation of *mbə-* 'down' with *ⁿdzu* 'go' suggests a negative connotation.

Elicited559

- (106). *ɕe*⁵⁵ *mbə-* *ji* *mbə-* *sã*¹³ *ⁿdzu* *t^hã* *ŋõ*
 2SABS down PTCL down thin go PFV VIS.IPFV
'You are getting thinner and thinner'

Elicited557

- (107). *ɕe*⁵⁵ *zə-* *ji* *zə-* *za*⁵³ *wũ*¹³ *t^hã* *ŋõ*
 2SABS up PTCL up fat come PFV VIS.IPFV
'You are becoming fatter and fatter'

The positive connotation of 'becoming fat' as opposed to the negative connotation of 'growing thin' is rooted in an underlying cultural notion that fat people are wealthy and do not go hungry. Although this is changing on one level as women in the city try to squeeze into tight jeans, it is still very active in the village areas.

9.2.1.4 Modals

Many secondary verbs have a clear etymological relationship to full verbs still in use. It is not surprising then, that the status of secondary verbs will sometimes be indeterminate. Most secondary modal verbs began as complement-taking predicates in a serial verb construction and later developed extended grammatical functions. The table below lists the secondary verbs and their functions as modals, the WT etymology and the abbreviation used in this dissertation.

V2	MODAL FUNCTION	WT	ABBREVIATION
<i>ʂi</i>	cognitive ability	<shes> 'to know (how) to'	KNOW
<i>gui</i>	deontic	<dgos> 'to want/need to'	NEED
<i>ɕa⁵³</i>	physical ability	<?> 'to be able to'	ABLE
<i>pu</i>		<phod> 'to dare to'	DARE
<i>jæ¹³</i>	suitable time	<long> 'time to'	TIME
<i>ʂæ</i>	loss of control	<shor> 'to emit'	EMIT
<i>ɕi</i>	malefactive	<?>	MAL
<i>t^həo</i>	ability	<thub> 'to be able to'	ABLE
<i>sā⁵³</i>	emotion	<bsam> 'to think'	THINK

Table 25: SECONDARY MODAL VERBS IN DONGWANG

Each of the forms in Table 25 are discussed in the following section.

9.2.1.4.1 *ʂi⁵³* 'know how to', 'able'

When the full verb *ʂi⁵³* occurs in a transitive clause it is as a complement-taking predicate which means 'to know how to'.

- Elicited269
- (108) *k^hui⁵⁵* *ta⁵³* *ɕa⁵³* *ʂi⁵³* *dzi?* *ma-* *re*
3SERG horse ride know.how OTHR NEG COP.OTHR
'S/he doesn't know how to ride a horse'

- MyLife217
- (109). *ⁿgu³⁵³* *mæ³³* *te⁵³* *ʂi⁵³*
head medicine give know.how
'I know how to prescribe medicine'

(108) and (109) are examples of *ʂi⁵³* in its use as a full verb.

As a modal verb, one function of *ʂi* is to accompany an internal state.

MyLife080

- (110). $lo^{55} sə^{11}$ $a^{11} dz̄ō^{53}$ $tçi$ $dã^{353}$ la $dã^{353}$ $ʃi$
teacher really INDF like also like KNOW
'(I) really liked (my) teacher'

In (110), *ʃi* accompanies the verb 'to like' which expresses an internal state of liking.

Similarly, the following example accompanies the emotional state of 'to fear'.

Elicited851

- (111). $ŋa^{13}$ tu^{53} = du $tʃa^{53}$ $ʃi$
1SDAT hungry =DU afraid KNOW
'I am afraid of being hungry'

9.2.1.4.2 *gui* 'ought to', 'need to'

As a full verb *gui*³⁵³ means 'to want'.

- (112). $ŋa^{13}$ $guã^{353}$ *gui*³⁵³ ni $ŋa^{13}$ sa^{13} ju^{13} ji
1SDAT egg want NI 1S chicken buy COP.SELF.PST
'I wanted eggs so I bought a chicken' (wanting eggs, I bought a chicken)

The secondary verb *gui* (~ *gu*) has a range of deontic meanings.

GetMar033

- (113). $na^{55} wō^{53}$ $ndzu^{13}$ *gui* $dzi?$
bride go NEED OTHR
'(You) should go be a bride'

Example (113) occurs when the narrator returns to her home village after failing her middle school exams and her friends and family are advising her to accept the offer of marriage her parents have arranged.

HeartAttack

- (114). *k^hui⁵⁵ na⁵³si⁵³ gui je¹³ se*
 3SERG swear NEED EX.NEG say
'he said 'I don't need to swear',

MyLife276

- (115). *ɲə¹³ ku =ts^hæ⁵³ =ji k^həo⁵³ tçi dzo⁵³ gui rã⁵⁵*
 person CLF =PL =ERG shot INDF VBZR NEED REN
'when people need a shot'

In (114) the narrator is arguing over who stole the water and wants her opponent to swear that he did not do it. He responds that he does not need to swear. The clause in (115) is similar, but rather than an obligation there is a physical need.

9.2.1.4.3 *ɕa⁵³* 'able to', 'can'

While *ɕi* usually expresses cognitive ability or a mental state, *ɕa⁵³* usually expresses physical ability to perform an action. These are very close to the Chinese modals 会 (*hui4* 'know how to') and 能 (*neng2* 'able to').

Hardship063

- (116). *shihui zə- ts^hY⁵³ ɕa⁵³ dzi? ma- re*
 limestoneCH up cook ABLE OTHR NEG- COP.OTHR
'(we) could not cook the limestone'

Elicited1337

- (117). ηe^{13} ${}^n d\theta^{33}$ du^{353} ζa^{53} $ma-$ $\underline{\zeta a}^{53}$
1SERG this rock lift NEG ABLE
'I can't lift this rock'

MyLife215

- (118) $m\grave{a}e^{13}$ te^{53} $\underline{\zeta a}^{53}$ ji
medicine give ABLE COP.SELF.PST
'I could give medicine'

9.2.1.4.4 pu^{53} 'dare to'

The secondary verb pu^{53} means 'to dare to'. There are only negative occurrences in my database.

Elicited1390

- (119). ηa^{13} ${}^n dzu^{13}$ $ma-$ \underline{pu}^{53}
1SABS go NEG DARE
'I don't dare go'

Elicited1391

- (120). $k^h\theta^{55}$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ \underline{pu}^{53} $dzi?$ $ma-$ re
3SABS go DARE OTHR NEG COP.OTHR
'He doesn't dare go'

9.2.1.4.5 *jã¹³* 'have time to'

The secondary verb *jã¹³* expresses the ability of an S or A argument to perform an action relative to his or her available resources. 'Resources' generally refers to time, but can also include money or some other extenuating circumstance.

- Elicited1394
- (121) *ŋa¹³ ⁿdzu¹³ tsi ma- jã*
 1SABS go PROSP NEG TIME
'I wasn't able to go'

Example (121) is not explicit as to the reason for not being able to go, but refers to a lack of time or resources.

- Youth007
- (122) *ŋe¹³ su¹¹dza⁵⁵ la tɕ^ha⁵³ tsi ma- jã*
 1SERG breakfast even eat IMPF NEG TIME
'I wasn't able to eat breakfast' (=did not have time to)

Example (122) is taken from a text in which the speaker is relating his experiences gathering brush as a child. They were so busy that they had to rise before dawn and did not have time to eat breakfast.

As with the causative and permissive constructions, in clauses with first-person S or A arguments, final auxiliaries are OTHER forms, not SELF forms. This is not surprising as the pattern is like that in clauses with non-control verbs.

Elicited946

(123). *sa*^{11ji}⁵⁵ *ŋa*¹³ *tʂi*^{11wa}⁵⁵ *tʂi*⁵³ *ze*
tomorrow 1SDAT business INDF EX.INAN.SELF

ɕi^{55ji}⁵³ = *tʂa* *n*^{dzu}¹³ *tʂi* *jæ̃*¹³ *dzi?* *ma-* *re*
2PL =DAT go PROSP TIME OTHR NEG COP.OTHR

'Tomorrow I have something to do (so) I can't go to your house.'

In the example above, the unexpressed S argument of the second clause is first-person, but the secondary verb forms are not SELF, but OTHER. This is in line with the expectations of SELF/OTHER patterns in that *jæ̃* suggests the subject, due to factors beyond her control, is unable to go to the addressee's house.

9.2.1.4.6 *ʂæ*⁵³ 'to let escape', 'to emit'

The secondary verb *ʂæ*⁵³ indicates that the speaker is unable to control whatever event is described in the proposition.

Elicited

(124). *ŋe*¹³ *ɕə*⁵³ *dō*³⁵³ *ʂæ*⁵³ *tʰi*
1SERG dog hit EMIT EVI

'I hit the dog'

Elicited

(125). *ɕe*⁵⁵ *n*^{dzu}³⁵³ *n*^{dzu} *ræ̃*⁵⁵ *ŋa*¹³ *ga*¹³ *ʂæ*⁵³ *ʂi* *ŋõ*
2S fall GO REN 1S laugh EMIT KNOW VIS.IPFV

'When you fell down, I burst out laughing'

One possible context for the example in (124) would be if the speaker had become so angry that she was out of control and hit the dog. The sentence in (125) is similar in that the speaker is unable to control his laughter.

9.2.1.4.7 *malefactive* $\zeta i \sim \zeta \text{æ}$

The malefactive ζi denotes an event or state that has negative connotations or ramification for the subject.

HeartAttack146, 147
 (126). $ge^{11}z\tilde{o}^{53}$ $dza^{11}ba^{55}$ *me* $r\tilde{o}$
 Gezong Drapa COP.SELF.NEG COND
 'If Gezang Drapa was not there',

$wu^{11}di^{55}$ se^{53} ζi $r\tilde{\text{æ}}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 there kill MAL INGR EGO
 '(he) nearly had killed me there' (=he would have killed me)

The narrator of (126) is relating the moment after she had been beaten and laying on the ground. As she is laying on the ground, her attacker is picking up a boulder to hit her with. The text does not say that Gezong Drapa prevented her attacker from hitting her with the boulder, but (126) implies that is what would have happened if Gezong Drapa had not prevented it in some way.

GetMar019
 (127) $k^h\text{ə}^{55}ja^{53}$ $=k\tilde{i}$ $w\text{ə}^{55}ts^h\text{o}^{53}$ je^{13} ζi $r\tilde{\text{æ}}^{55}$
 3PL.FAM =PL like.that VBZ.DO MAL REN
 'when they did like that'.

In (127) above, the narrator uses the malefactive *ɕi* to express that what 'they' did had a negative consequence for her. The pressure from her family and friends to get married adversely affected her to the extent that she eventually failed her exams. The malefactive can be used with stative verbs as well as eventive verbs.

Elicited

- (128). ⁿdə³⁵³ t^həu:¹³ rĩ¹³ ɕi ɲō
 this rope long MAL EVI
'This rope is too long'

The form *ɕæ* seems to be a variant of *ɕi* used only in irrealis or future contexts.

Elicited1053

- (129). dzo¹¹ba⁵⁵ zə- jō¹³ re ɕe⁵⁵ səo⁵³ re ɕæ
 quick up rise COP.OTHR 2SABS late COP.OTHR MAL
'Hurry and get up. (You) are going to be late'

Elicited776

- (130). k^hui⁵⁵ɲa⁵³ =kĩ ə¹¹k^hu⁵⁵ ɲũ⁵³ =ji ke⁵⁵tɕ^ha⁵³ ʂe⁵⁵ke⁵³
 3PL =PL 1EXCL DU =ERG speech talk.sound

ts^hæ⁵³ ɕæ
 hear MAL

'They will hear our talk' (we don't want them to)

9.2.1.4.8 t^hu 'able to'

I have a few examples of t^hu in elicited data from a few speakers, but I suspect that this is only due to influence from exposure to other dialects. Until further research is done, these examples should be considered tentative.

- Elicited1225
 (131). ηe¹³ je¹³ t^hu
 1SERG do ABLE
 'I can do it'

Since the modal ɕa⁵³ (§9.2.5.3.3) expresses the same semantic range that t^hu seems to, I suspect that t^hu is a result of influence from other dialects but more work will have to be done to confirm this.

9.2.1.4.9 s^hã⁵³ 'to think'

As a full verb, s^hã⁵³ is a non-control verb which means 'to think'.

- Elicited
 (132). ηe¹³ k^həo⁵³ tɕo⁵³ rõ dzo¹¹ba⁵⁵ tsa¹³ a wũ s^hã⁵³ sõ
 1SERG shot VBZR COND quickly recover QST COME think EGO
 'I thought if I get a shot I would recover quickly'

As a secondary verb, s^hã⁵³ can also indicate that the subject wants to, or intends to perform an action.

Elicited

- (133). $k^{h}ui^{55}$ la $t\tilde{o}^{55}w\tilde{a}^{53}$ ke^{53} $z\tilde{o}^{13}$ gui $s^{h\tilde{a}}$
3SERG also Dongwang speech study NEED THINK
'He also wants to study Dongwang'

An even more general function of $s^{h\tilde{a}}$ is when it functions to indicate an internal emotion.

GoodSam021

- (134). $k^{h}\varnothing^{55}$ $la^{55}mo^{53}t\check{c}\tilde{a}^{13}$ $s^{h\tilde{a}}$
3S compassion THINK
'He felt compassion (for him)'

9.2.1.5 Aspect

Aspect in Dongwang is distributed throughout the clause in directional prefixes and verbs (§9.1.1 and §9.2.5.2), final auxiliary verbs (Chapter Ten) and in secondary verbs which *primarily* code aspect. In Chapter Ten I will discuss final auxiliary verbs which code a variety of categories, one of which is tense/aspect distinctions.

Recall from §4.1.4 that there are very few verbs which express any sort of tense or aspect in the stem. In this section, I discuss secondary verbs which have the primary function of coding aspect. These are given in the table below.

V2	ASPECT	WT	ABBREVIATION
tsi	prospective	<rtsis> 'to count'	PROSP
ts ^h a	durative	<?>	DUR
de	continuative	<bsdad> 'to stay'	CONT
rǎě	imminent	<ran> 'time to'	IMM
t ^h ǎě	perfective	<thon> 'to emerge'	PFV
pə	narrative past	<pa> 'man'	HIST

Table 26: SECONDARY ASPECTUAL VERBS IN DONGWANG

The aspect markers in Table 26 are all verbal suffixes in a verb phrase, following any causative, directional, or secondary modal verbs that might be present. Each of these are discussed in the section below.

9.2.1.5.1 Prospective *tsi*

Clauses with prospective aspect in Dongwang denote actions that the subject is expressing a strong intention to perform. Because of the link with intention, most of the examples in my database are future events.

Elicited

- (135). *k^hə⁵⁵ sa¹¹ji⁵⁵ wũ¹³ tsi re*
 3S tomorrow come PROSP COP.OTHR
'She is coming tomorrow'

Elicited

- (136). *ŋe¹³ k^hə⁵⁵ k^hũ⁵⁵mĩ n^hdzu¹³ tsi re ts^hæ⁵³ sũ*
 1SERG 3S KunmingCH go PROSP COP.OTHR hear EGO
'I heard he was going to Kunming'

In affirmative clauses with first-person S or A arguments, the prospective aspect marker *tsi* rarely occurs with the final SELF auxiliary *zĩ*. This might be because

zĩ already implies that the first-person speaker is intending to perform an action.

When it does occur with *zĩ*, the two often merge into one morpheme *tsĩ*.

HeartAttack148

- (137). *dza*¹¹*ba*⁵⁵ =*ji* *ci*⁵⁵ *sə*⁵⁵ =*gõ* *dzəo*⁵³ *tsĩ* *sə*
 Drapa =ERG 2SERG who =OBJ hit COP.SELF.PROSP say
 'Drapa said 'Who are you going to hit?'

In negated clauses with first-person S or A arguments and all clauses with third-person subjects, the prospective marker is separate from the final auxiliary.

GetMar036

- (138). *tã*¹³ *ŋe*¹³ *rə* *ŋa*¹³ *n**dzu*¹³ *tsi* *me*¹³ *sĩ*¹³
 then 1SERG TOP 1SABS go PROSP COP.SELF.NEG say.PFV
 'Then I said, 'I am not going to go''

Elicited587

- (139) *k^hə*⁵⁵ *zə*¹¹*dõ*⁵³ *n**dzu*¹³ *tsi* *re*
 3SABS rGyalthang go PROS COP.OTHR
 'S/he is going to rGyalthang'

9.2.1.5.2 Continuative *de*

The continuative *de* expresses an action that is ongoing at the time of utterance or at the time referenced in the discourse.

GetMar011

- (140). *tã*¹³ *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *ts^hã*⁵³ *zi*¹¹*rə*⁵⁵ *zõ*¹³ *ŋa*¹³ *rə*
 then that time ADVERS again 1SABS TOP

zi^{13} ga^{13} de ʃi
 book like CONT KNOW
'Then but at that time, I still liked studying'

KillPig016

(141). $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $t\tilde{o}^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $w\tilde{o}^{55n}d\tilde{z}i^{53}$ $t\tilde{c}a^{53}$ = ki
 then that.morning RI 1PLFAM wire =INSTR

ka^{13} de $a^{55}na^{53}$
 garrotte CONT MUT
'So that morning we were using a wire to strangle (the pig) right?'

RabbitA005

(142). $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $ri^{11}g\tilde{o}^{55}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $p\tilde{u}^{53}$ = $n\tilde{o}$ de^{353} de $d\tilde{z}i?$
 PTCL rabbit TOP grassland =LOC live CONT OTHR
'The rabbit was living on the grassland'

9.2.1.5.3 Imminent $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}$

The imminent¹⁰ marker $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ indicates an event that the speaker anticipates is on the verge of starting. The reference point can be the time of utterance or a relative reference point in the text.

Elicited1003

(143). $t\tilde{c}^h\tilde{o}^{11}w\tilde{a}^{55}$ $p\tilde{u}^{13}$ $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ t^hi
 rain fall IMM VIS.PFV
'It's about to rain'

¹⁰Denwood (1999: 163) uses the term 'imminent' to refer to the marker <grabs> in Lhasa Tibetan which serves a similar function.

Elicited1002

- (144). $k^h ui^{55}$ $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t\zeta^h a^{53}$ $r\tilde{a}$ t^hi
3SERG food eat IMM VIS.PFV
'S/he is about to eat'

The condition in which (143) would be uttered would be if the sky was dark with clouds, or even if a few sprinkles had already started to fall. (144) would be said if the speaker sees a person sitting down at a table or setting the table.

$r\tilde{a}^{55}$ also frequently functions as a converb (discussed in Chapter Twelve).

These two functions are distributionally distinct in that when $r\tilde{a}$ functions aspectually, it occurs before any final auxiliary markers and is atonal. When it functions as a converb, only the topic marker can follow it and it is a high-toned particle.

9.2.1.5.4 Durative ts^ha

The durative expresses an action that the referent of an S or A argument 'keeps on' doing. This is similar to the continuative in that it indicates an action ongoing at the time of utterance or at the time referenced in the discourse. But all the uses of ts^ha in my database indicate that there is a force involved that may be better translated as 'persist'.

HeartAttack136

- (145). $t\zeta\tilde{o}^{13} ta^{55}$ = $n\emptyset$ $mb\emptyset$ $r\emptyset$ $pi^{55} m\emptyset^{11}$ te^{13} ts^ha
chest =LOC down TOP knee lean DUR
'He kept on leaning on my chest with his knees'

HeartAttack193

- (146). ηe^{13} $p^{h\partial-}$ gu^{13} ts^{h_a} ji $dzu--$
1SERG thither endure DUR COP.SELF.PST actually--
'I just keep enduring actually--'

In (145) the speaker is unable to breathe, but her attacker continues to lean on her chest with his knees. The clause in (146) is uttered by the narrator after her husband suggests that it is really her fault that their neighbor beat her up. The narrator is determined to endure even though her husband misunderstands who she is.

Elicited

- (147). $k^{h_{ui}55}$ ηa^{13} $t_e^{h\partial}55k^{h_{ui}53}$ jo^{53} $ma-$ te^{53} bi ji
3SERG 1SDAT water.boiled pour NEG GIVE CONC

ηe^{13} ti^{13} se^{13} ts^{h_a} ji
1SERG there lift.up DUR COP.SELF.PST

'Because he didn't pour tea for me, I was left there holding up my cup'

9.2.1.5.5 Perfective $t^{h\tilde{a}}$

The secondary verb $t^{h\tilde{a}}$ conveys aspect that is complete at the reference time.

Perfective aspect denotes 'a complete situation with beginning, middle, and end'

(Comrie 1976: 18) that can be viewed as a whole. It can indicate events completed in the past or non-past.

Elicited

- (148). ηe^{13} $\zeta\tilde{a}^{55}b\tilde{a}^{55}$ je^{13} $t^{h\tilde{a}}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
1SERG workCH VBZR PFV REN

*ji*¹¹*çi*⁵⁵ = *tsə* *ta*⁵³ *ⁿdzu*¹³ *zĩ*
 Yishi =ALL look go COP.SELF
 'After I finish work I am going to see Yishi'

Elicited

(149). *ŋe*¹³ *çã*⁵⁵*bã*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *t^hã* *rã*⁵⁵
 1SERG workCH VBZR PFV REN

*ji*¹¹*çi*⁵⁵ = *tsə* *ta*⁵³ *ⁿdzu*¹³ *ji*
 Yishi =ALL look go COP.SELF.PST
 'After I finished work I went to see Yishi'

It is common that the perfective aspect marker occurs in sequential and resumptive clauses.

Hardship030/031

(150). *k^hə*¹¹*rə*⁵⁵*tsə*⁵³ *ⁿdzu*¹³ *t^hã* *rã*⁵⁵
 Kharatso go PFV REN

*de*³⁵³ -*sa* *p^hə*- *zu*¹³ ... *ŋu*¹³ *tçi*⁵³ = *jæ*
 stay -NZR thither rentCH ... day one =DAT
 'After going to Kharatso, (I) rented a place to stay... for one day'

Elicited

(151). *tã*¹³ *mbə*³⁵³ *ro*⁵³ *t^hã* *rã*⁵⁵ *çi*⁵⁵ *ka*¹¹*n**de*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *zĩ*
 then cat.fungus collect PFV REN 2SERG what VBZR COP.SELF
 'After you finish collecting caterpillar fungus, what are you going to do?'

Both sentences in (150) and (151) describe sequential events. The sentence in (150) is set in the past and the sentence in (151) is set in the future.

GetMar058

(152). *tã*¹³ *su*⁵⁵*ĩ*⁵³ *ba*³⁵³ *sə*⁵³ *t^hã* *rã*⁵⁵ *rə*
 then finally father die PFV REN TOP
 'then finally when father died',

Example (152) occurs after a time when the narrator's dying father was telling her his last words. When the narrator's father dies, her mother begins telling her that she must get married.

The use of the perfective secondary verb in resumptive clauses can be clearly seen in procedural texts in which one instruction follows the completion of a previous instruction.

Butter&cheese004-007

(153). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^h\tilde{\partial}$ - ʃi^{53}
 then churn hither rinse

$n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^h\tilde{\partial}$ - ʃi^{53} $\underline{t^h\tilde{a}}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 churn hither rinse PFV REN

$t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $s\tilde{o}^{13}$ na^{13} $w\tilde{o}^{13}$ jo^{53} ra ze $-n\tilde{\partial}$ $r\tilde{\partial}$
 then big.pot inside milk pour RA EX.INAN.SELF -NZR TOP

$n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $=n\tilde{\partial}$ $z\tilde{\partial}$ - jo^{53}
 churn =LOC up pour

'Then rinse out the churn. After rinsing out the churn, then take the milk that has been poured into the big pot and pour it into the churn.'

The narrator makes extensive use of this function in the text *Butter & Cheese*¹¹ in which nearly every step of instructions follows a resumptive clause.

Sometimes the perfective can occur in irrealis clauses as in the following example.

¹¹ *Butter & Cheese* is included in Appendix B.

HeartAttack074

- (154). *ma*¹³ *ge*¹¹*zõ*⁵⁵ =*ji* *kõ*¹¹*p^ha*⁵³ *sĩ*⁵³ *ndzu* *a* *t^hæ*
mother Gyelsang =GEN behind arrive go QST PFV
'will I make it behind Mother Gyelsang?'

In the example above, the narrator is running away from a man who is trying to beat her up. As she is running, she wonders if she can get behind Mother Gyelsang before the man catches up to her.

9.2.1.5.6 Historical past *pə*

The marker *pə*⁵⁵ expresses past tense in narrative texts. All the occurrences that I have in my texts are followed by the SELF auxiliary *zĩ*. I have glossed HIST for 'historical past'.

Hardship107

- (155). ... *ts^hæ*⁵³ *ri*¹¹*ri*⁵⁵ *ŋi*¹³ *pæ*⁵³ *gui* *pə*⁵⁵ *zĩ*
... night every fire burn NEED HIST COP.SELF
'Then every night (we) had to keep burning the fire'

Youth014

- (156). *zæ*¹³ *tɕ^hu*⁵³ *pə*⁵⁵ *zĩ*
play PERM HIST COP.SELF
'(they) let us play'

MyLife060

- (157). *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ =*ji* *di*¹¹*di*⁵⁵ *pe*¹³ *kue*¹³ *lə*⁵⁵*le*⁵³
that.one =ERG ? Tibetan clothes only

*ʂæ*¹³ *ts^ha* *pə*⁵⁵ *zĩ*
wear DUR HIST COP.SELF

'That one always only wore Tibetan clothes'

At first glance it might appear that $pə^{55}$ functions as a general past time marker as it does in other Tibetan dialects (from <pa>), but my main consultant says that one uses this marker only when telling a story. This supports my own intuitions and the data.

Chapter 10 Final Auxiliary Verbs

This chapter describes final auxiliary verbs in Dongwang which can express distinctions that mark categories such as tense/aspect, control, intention, source of information and degree of certainty regarding the statement being made. Final auxiliaries can be grouped into five grammatical systems: SELF/OTHER, egophoric, experiential, evidential, and validational. It is important to stress that while each of these may have a primary grammatical function, they also likely have secondary functions, and/or they can combine with other categories to function in new ways. This is particularly germane to issues surrounding aspect, evidentiality and validationality.

Before continuing, it will be helpful to briefly discuss issues surrounding evidentiality and validationality. The term 'evidentiality' was probably first used by Boas¹ as early as 1911 when he described a particular phenomena in Kwakiutl, a language spoken in North America. T.-S. Sun (1993: 945) credits Ramon Jacobson (1957) for using the phenomenon 'evidential' in an 'important treatise on Russian verbal categories'.

Since the mid-1980s, there has been growing interest in evidentiality (beginning with Chafe and Nichols 1986), but much confusion still surrounds the

¹ From Aikhenvald 2004: 12, 13, in which Boas says speakers of Kwakiutl would express the sentence *The man is sick* depending on whether the speaker saw the sick man, heard about him, or dreamed about him.

notion, particularly how it should be defined, how it is expressed cross-linguistically, and how it interacts with other linguistic categories. Some have used the term 'evidentiality' to refer to a very specific grammatical phenomenon (e.g, Floyd 1993 for Quechua) while others have used the term to refer to a semantic category that can be expressed lexically, periphrastically, or grammatically (e.g., Chafe 1986 for English). Clearly, all languages have ways to express evidential categories, but not all languages have grammatical evidentiality.

Aikhenvald's cross-linguistic study of evidentiality carefully distinguishes evidentiality from validationality. She reserves the former term for categories that denote the speaker's *source of information*² and the latter for categories which denote the speaker's *attitude* or *degree of certainty* regarding the proposition. Further, she distinguishes between grammatical evidentials, evidential strategies, and evidential extensions. It is particularly useful to adopt these distinctions for Dongwang in order to understand what resources speakers have at their disposal.

In this study, the term *validationals* is reserved for particles which indicate the speaker's degree of certainty or the particular attitude he or she has regarding the statement. The term *evidentials* is reserved for grammatical particles that indicate the speaker's source of information (i.e., hearsay, visual, inferential, etc.), or how the speaker came to know what he or she is saying.

² Others have also defined evidentials in this narrow sense, including Weber 1986 (cited in Payne 1997) and Payne (1997: 348, 9).

Equally important, in many (or perhaps all) Tibetan dialects, speakers can use non-evidential categories to achieve evidential-like meanings. Thus, certain forms (e.g., *zī* <yin> and *ze* <yod>) in the SELF/OTHER system have frequently been referred to in other dialects as evidential. This study prefers to consider the SELF/OTHER system to be separate from grammatical evidentials, but to be one which speakers can manipulate to achieve evidential-like meanings. Evidential-like categories are those that indicate the speaker's intimate knowledge, without explicitly stating the *source of information* (Aikhenvald 2004).

Sections 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3 discuss auxiliaries which are organized according to distributional patterns such as SELF/OTHER, EGO (egophoric) and EXP (experiential) forms. These auxiliaries have arisen from copula and existential verbs or lexical verbs. They can contribute notions such as person, evidentiality, tense/aspect, control and intention to the clause. While these are not *primarily* tense or aspect markers they do have tense and aspect distinctions as shown in the table below.

FORM	TENSE/ASPECT	WT	ABBREVIATION
zĩ [tʃi] re	future	< yin > < rtsi red >	COP.SELF PROSP COP.OTHR
ji	past	<yin>?	COP.SELF.PST
dzĩ dzĩʔ	non-future	< rgyu.yin > < rgyu.red? >	SELF OTHR
ⁿ do ⁿ do ¹¹ dzĩʔ	present	<'dug> <'dug rgyu.red?>	EX.AN.SELF EX.AN.OTHR
ze ze ¹¹ dzĩʔ	perfect	<yod> <yod rgyu.red?>	EX.INAN.SELF EX.INAN.OTHR
sõ, zõ	experiential perfective	<byung>, <'byung>	EGO/EGO.IR
ɲõ ɲæ ¹¹ dzĩʔ	experiential perfect	<myong>, <myong.rgyu.red?>	EXP EXP.OTHR

Table 27: TENSE/ASPECT DISTINCTIONS OF FINAL AUXILIARIES

Before moving on to describe each of these forms in the following sections, a few observations regarding the OTHER auxiliary *re* (from the copula <red> §4.2.2) should be made. First the fact that *re* by itself does not express 'future', suggests that it is neutral with respect to aspect. Also this supports the notion that 'future' is closely linked to intention which only a first-person can vouch for. This is described below in §10.1.1.1. Further, the absence of *re* in row three suggests an asymmetrical system. This is due to the fact that for past events, speakers tend to use evidential or validational forms to indicate their source of knowledge or degree of certainty regarding an event they themselves were not involved in. These issues will be discussed in the appropriate sections below.

10.1 *SELF/OTHER auxiliaries*

In Chapter Four the conditions for SELF forms were described: SELF forms occur in declarative clauses in which the speaker expresses personal knowledge of, and/or close temporal proximity to, and/or intention to carry out, and/or ability to control an action; SELF forms also occur in interrogative clauses with second-person subjects. OTHER forms occur in other contexts.

The copula and existentials described in Chapter Four can also function as auxiliary verbs. These, in addition to two other auxiliaries which only function as auxiliaries, pattern similarly to the distributional expectations of the SELF/OTHER system described in §4.2 and are given in the first five rows of Table 26.

The first thing to mention is that while SELF auxiliaries tend to co-occur with control verbs, OTHER auxiliaries tend to also express evidential-like knowledge. The reason can be partially attributed to what Garrett (2001: 16) calls 'privileged access'. The future and past intentional SELF auxiliaries *zī* and *ji* can be used when a speaker is intending to perform or has performed a controllable act. One might expect parallel forms for OTHER auxiliaries. However, in clauses with non-first-person S or A arguments, the speaker must express *either* how she has come to know what she is stating, or how much certainty she has regarding her statement. The following section discusses each of the SELF and OTHER auxiliaries listed in Table 27.

10.1.1 Auxiliaries from copulas

10.1.1.1 SELF forms *zĩ* and *ji*

zĩ has arisen from the old WT copula <yin> 'to be'. In declarative clauses, the use of the auxiliary *zĩ* relates specifically to a first-person speaker's intention to perform an action, thus the issue of the controllability of an action is relevant and *zĩ* (and *ji*) usually co-occur in clauses with control verbs. Because *zĩ* functions to code events that the speaker is intending to perform, all the uses of *zĩ* are in clauses which express future events.

- Elicited
(1). ηe^{13} $k^h\partial^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ $zĩ$
1SERG 3s hit COP.SELF
'I am going to hit him/her'

The clause 'I am going to hit him/her' in (1) describes an event that the speaker is intending to perform sometime subsequent to the moment of speech. An adverb can also be used to further specify the time reference.

- Elicited254
(2). $a^{11}z\grave{a}^{55}$ ηe^{13} $t\zeta^h\partial^{55}p^hu^{53}sa^{11}$ $t\zeta i^{53}$ gu^{53} $zĩ$
next.year 1SERG bathroom INDF build COP.SELF
'Next year I am going to build a bathroom'

Since the auxiliary *zĩ* conveys an action to be performed by an intentional first-person argument, overt reference to the first-person argument is not needed.

- Prod031
 (3). *wo*⁵⁵*ji*⁵³ *ba*³⁵³ *ndzu*¹³ *zĩ*
 1PLGEN father go COP.SELF
 'I will go to my father'

In the story from which (3) is taken, the son is far away from his father and considering returning to his father's house to live. The sentence in (3) does not have an overt S argument, but the person and intention of the S argument is indicated by the SELF auxiliary.

Sometimes, the addition of an adverb can contribute habitual meaning to the clause.

- Elicited
 (4). *ŋe*¹³ *a*⁵⁵*ka*⁵³ *ŋu*¹³*tʂi*¹¹*tʂi*¹¹ *youeryuan* =*nə* *si*¹³ *ndzu*¹³ *zĩ*
 1SERG child every day preschoolCH =LCO send go COP.SELF
 'I send (my) child to preschool every day'

ji occurs in clauses that express events that a speaker has already performed. It occurs in both negative and affirmative clauses with control verbs. The etymology of *ji* is not clear to me. One possibility is that it has arisen from <yin>, but underwent an aspectual split sometime during or before the <y> -> [z] sound change occurred in Dongwang. The loss of the nasal can be observed in other words, most frequently in sentence-final forms (e.g., <snang> *ŋõ* ~ *ŋo* 'visual evidential').

- Elicited
- (5). ηe^{13} $k^h \partial^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ ji
 1SERG 3s hit COP.SELF.PST
 'I hit him'
- GetMar079
- (6). $^n d\partial^{353}$ ta^{53} la $ma-$ je^{13} ji
 this look even NEG VBZR.DO COP.SELF.PST
 'I did not even look at that (books and stuff)'
- Hardship069
- (7). $mb\partial-$ pi^{13} $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ ji
 down walk³ come COP.SELF.PST
 '(I) returned down'

Neither $z\tilde{i}$ or ji can co-occur in clauses with certain non-control verbs, such as

$t^h \tilde{u}^{353}$ 'to see' or $ts^h \partial^{53}$ 'to hear'.

- (8). $*\eta e^{13}$ $k^h \partial^{55}$ $t^h \tilde{u}^{353}/ts^h \partial^{53}$ $ji/z\tilde{i}$
 *1SERG 3S see/hear COP.SELF
 *'I saw him'

However, there are some fluid verbs which can pattern as either non-control verbs or as control verbs. Thus in certain contexts, verbs such as $dzi^{11}ba^{55}je^{13}$ 'to

³ I think this verb is from WT <bul> 'appear'. Together with directional verbs it conveys the notion of 'to return'.

sneeze' and *ju*¹³'to cough' can be expressed with either an intentional auxiliary

(*ji/zī/dzī*) or with the ego-deictic 'happened to me' auxiliary *sō*.⁴

Elicited

- (9). *ŋa*¹³ *wæ* *ma*¹¹*mə*⁵⁵ *ju*¹³ *ji*
 1s time many cough COP.SELF.PST
'I coughed many times'

Elicited

- (10). *ŋa*¹³ *wæ* *ma*¹¹*mə*⁵⁵ *ju*¹³ *sō*
 1s time many cough EGO
'I coughed many times'

The difference between the two clauses in (9) and (10) does not appear to be a simple one. My consultant explained (9) as something one might say in answer to the doctor's question *Are you coughing?* or *Do you cough?* A possible context for (10) is if when talking to a friend the speaker tells her *I coughed a lot last night*. One possible interpretation is that *ji* in (9) expresses something that is generally true, while *sō* in (10) expresses something that happened once.

The verb *s^hæ³⁵³dō¹¹* also appears to be neutral with respect to control.

Elicited

- (11). *ŋa*¹³ *s^hæ³⁵³* *dō¹¹* *zī* *ɕe*⁵⁵ *p^hə⁵⁵tsi¹¹* *je*¹³ *ru*
 1S fart STRIKE COP.SELF 2S there.little VBZR POL
'I am going to fart, you (had better) move away a bit'

⁴ Other non-SELF auxiliaries and some evidential auxiliaries are possible as well.

To express an event in which one unintentionally farted, a different verbalizer ɣæ^{53} 'to emit' is used.

- Elicited
 (12). $\text{s}^{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{æ}}^{353}$ ɣæ^{53} ra $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$
 fart EMIT RA VIS.PFV
 'I farted (accidentally)'

One way to express an unintentional act using a controllable verb is to use the visual perfective evidential $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$. Consider the following set of sentences.

- Elicited
 (13). ηe^{13} $\text{pe}^{55}\text{tsə}^{11}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ə-}$ $\text{t}\text{ɕu}^{53}$ ra ji
 1SERG cupCH thither break RA COP.SELF.PST
 'I broke a/the cup' (on purpose)

- Elicited
 (14). ηe^{13} $\text{pe}^{55}\text{tsə}^{11}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ə-}$ $\text{t}\text{ɕu}^{53}$ ra $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$
 1SERG cupCH thither break RA VIS.PFV
 'I broke a/the cup' (accidentally)

The sentence in (13) indicates that the speaker intentionally broke a cup⁵, so we can say that the occurrence of ji in (13) correlates with person, tense and intention. The

⁵ The post-verbal marker ra seems to function to highlight the state of the cup whereas a different post-verbal marker, ηa , highlights the agentivity of the A argument. However, more research needs to be done on these forms.

use of the perfective visual evidential *t^{hi}* in (14) expresses that the speaker unintentionally broke a cup.⁶

10.1.1.2 OTHER form *re*

The occurrence of *re* as an auxiliary to express events that have occurred prior to the moment of speech does not occur in non-elicited data. This is due to issues surrounding evidentials and validationals. Speakers usually do not make statements without expressing how they have come to know what they are stating (evidentials) or the degree to which they are certain of what they are stating (validationals).

When *re* occurs in elicited data as an auxiliary in clauses with lexical verbs, it is neutral with respect to tense or aspect.

- Elicited
 (15). *a⁵⁵ni¹¹ ɕũ⁵⁵ s^ha⁵³ de re*
 grandfather house sweep CONT COP.OTHR
 'Grandfather is sweeping/sweeps the house'

- Elicited
 (16). *k^hui⁵⁵ juu¹³ ri⁵⁵ ɕũ⁵⁵ wæ¹³ ri⁵⁵ s^ha⁵³ re*
 3SERG day every house time every sweep COP.OTHR
 'S/he sweeps the house every day'

The sentence in (15) would only be said when the speaker can vouch for the fact that grandfather *is sweeping* or *does sweep* the floor. While it is possible to elicit clauses

⁶ An added complication arises from the homophony of the ergative and genitive casemarked first-person pronoun which leads to three possible interpretations of the sentence in (14): *I broke the cup (accidentally)*, *S/he broke my cup (and I saw it)*, or *My cup got broken*. All three of these sentences are possible translations of (14).

with a lexical verb such as (15) and (16), they do not occur in natural data as speakers tend to indicate their knowledge using an evidential (§10.5). Similarly, 'future' is derived when the prospective aspect marker co-occurs with *re*.

- Elicited
- (17). $k^{hə^{55}}$ $sa^{11}ji^{55}$ $wũ^{13}$ tsi re
 3S tomorrow come PROSP COP.OTHR
 'S/he will come tomorrow'

This use of *re* also does not occur in non-elicited data likely because speakers cannot 'see' another's intention or know the future for certain. Future events with non-first-person S or A arguments can be expressed with varying degrees of certainty (§10.5).

The auxiliary *re* occurs in imperative clauses.

- Prod050
- (18). $tə^{55}$ $jũ^{53}$ $zæ^{11}ba^{53}$ $tɕi$ $p^{hə-}$ $ʂa^{53}$ $ŋa^{53}$ re s
 that sheep fat INDF thither butcher NGA COP.OTHR QTV
 '(He said) 'butcher the fat sheep!'

re is often used in questions (*a-re*), or negative clauses (*ma-re*) when the scope extends over a whole, usually finite, clause.

- Hardship011
- (19). $tæ^{13}$ $shihui$ $rə$ $tʂa^{55}wa^{53}$ $=ji$ sa^{53}
 then limestoneCH TOP completely =GEN? burn
- $ʂi^{13}$ $ma-$ re
 MOD NEG COP.OTHR
 'Then as for limestone, (we) didn't know how to fire it at all'

Elicited1169

- (20). ηw^{53} $k^h u a^{53}$ du^{53} $dzi?$ $a-$ re
money 3SDAT divide OTHR QST COP.OTHR
'Did you divide the money with him?'

10.1.2 Auxiliaries from existentials

As described in Chapter Four, existentials in Dongwang are not only aligned along the expectations of the SELF/OTHER system, but also along a system of animacy. Possessive clauses can be seen as an extension of existential clauses in which the possessor argument is dative casemarked. The possessor argument conditions the choice of SELF or OTHER form, while the possessed argument conditions the choice of animate or inanimate form. Thus, both the clauses *I have a book* and *I have a child* contain a SELF auxiliary as to the first-person speaker, but unique forms dependent upon the animacy of the possessed argument.

Elicited

- (21). ηa^{13} zi^{13} $ma^{11} m \emptyset^{55}$ ze
1SDAT book many EX.INAN.SELF
'I have many books'

Elicited

- (22). ηa^{13} $a^{55} k a^{53}$ $ma^{11} m \emptyset^{55}$ $^n do$
1SDAT child many EX.AN.SELF
'I have many children'

Similarly OTHER existentials can occur with one of two forms depending upon the animacy of the possessed argument: $ze^{11} dzi?$ (inanimate possession) and

ⁿdo¹¹dzi? (animate possession). The distinction between animates and inanimates is generally based on sentient life.

10.1.2.1 The perfect ze/ze¹¹dzi?

When the inanimate existentials ze <yod> and ze¹¹dzi? <yod.rgyis?> function as auxiliaries, they express 'perfect' aspect which 'relates a state to a preceding situation' (Comrie 1976: 52). In clauses with SELF forms, it appears that the verb suffix RA (§9.2.5.1.6) is obligatory.

- Elicited
- (23). ηe¹³ k^hə⁵⁵ dō̃³⁵³ ra ze
 1SERG 1S hit RA EX.INAN.SELF
- ǣ¹³ wə⁵⁵ja⁵³ juw⁵³ pō̃:¹³ru¹¹ re
 now 1PL two girlfriends COP.OTHR
- tʂi⁵³ re tçi ȳō̃,
 embarrassing COP.OTHR INDF VIS.IPFV
 'I had hit her. Now we are friends. It's (still) a little embarrassing.'

In (23) that the speaker hit her friend has current relevance as seen by the subsequent clauses. That is, the speaker recalls the time when she hit her friend and it still causes her embarrassment. If only the first clause in (23) were uttered, the implication would still be that it has present relevance but the details would not be specified.

GetMar015

- (24). ηe^{13} ${}^n dzu^{13}$ tsi me $sə^{55}$ ra ze
1SERG go PROSP COP.SELF.NEG say RA EX.INAN.SELF
'I (already) have said that I am not going to go.'

The speaker utters (24) in an attempt to get her family and friends to stop pestering her about getting married. The use of the perfect in this clause indicates that her stated refusal to go still stands.⁷

The inanimate OTHER existential can also contribute perfect aspect, but the animate form overlaps with evidential categories discussed in §10.4.2.2. Compare the following two examples:

- Elicited
(25). $se^{55}nā^{53}$ $=ji$ $ʂ^{hɿ}353$ $ʂa^{53}$ ra $ze^{11}dʒi?$
Sonam =ERG wood split RA EX.INAN.OTHR
'Sonam has split the wood' (and it is still there)'

In addition to marking a non-first person A argument, the use of $ze^{11}dʒi?$ also indicates perfect aspect. So in (25) the wood that Sonam has split is still there. My consultant said this would be said if someone thought that the split wood had all been used up.

⁷ Although there is no adverb (e.g., *already*), my consultant preferred to translate (24) with the Chinese adverb 已经 *yi3jing1* 'already'.

10.1.2.2 The present ⁿdo/^mdo¹¹dzi?

When the animate existentials function as auxiliaries, they contribute present tense to the clause, but are used only in contexts in which the addressee cannot see the speaker or the referent. The OTHER form has evidential-like functions (§10.4.1.2) in that the speaker is basing his or her utterance on an event that he or she has seen and assumes is still going on.

In the SELF form, the most common context in which clauses with first-person S arguments occur is when talking on the phone.⁸

Elicited

- (26). *ŋe na⁵³ tsi⁵³ ⁿdo*
1SERG here look.for EX.AN.SELF
'I am looking for (a book) here.'

Example (26) would occur if someone had asked the speaker to look for a certain book. While he was looking, someone telephoned to see if he had found the book. If the same exchange took place face-to-face however, the speaker would reply with the sentence in (27).

- (27). *ŋe na⁵³ tsi⁵³ de dži*
1SERG here look.for CONT SELF
'I am looking for (a book) here'

⁸ The only other context I am aware of for clauses with first-person is if the speaker is within hearing distance, but not in viewing distance (as in another room).

In narratives, *no* sometimes indicates that the action the narrator is performing is happening at the time referred to within the text. This can be considered an example of present *relative* tense.

- GetMar001/002
- (28). ηa^{13} $ts^{h_2} \partial^{55} dz\tilde{\partial}^{55}$ $bi^{55} j\alpha^{53}$ je^{13} $ma-$ $t^h \tilde{\alpha}$ ni
 1S middle.schoolCH graduateCH VBZR NEG PFV CON
- zi^{13} $nd\alpha^{353}$ no
 book read EX.AN.SELF
- 'I was not yet graduated from middle school, (I) was studying.'*

A literal translation of the second clause (28) could be *I am studying* as the time of the second clause is located relative to the time indicated in the first clause.

The animate OTHER existential form *no*¹¹*dzi?* co-occurs in clauses with a non-first person S or A argument, but also indicates that the speaker has witnessed the event and assumes that it is still occurring at the moment of speech.

- Elicited
- (29). $k^h ui^{55}$ $\int^{h_1} I^{353}$ $\int a^{53}$ ra $no^{11} dzi?$
 3SERG wood split RA EX.INAN.OTHR
- 'He is splitting wood' (speaker has seen him, but is not there now)*

Example (29) could uttered if someone had asked the speaker where Sonam was. The speaker could respond that Sonam is chopping wood, meaning they just saw him doing so and assume he is still chopping wood.

10.1.3 Auxiliaries *dzĩ* and *dzi?*

Unlike the SELF/OTHER auxiliaries that have arisen from copula and existential verbs, *dzĩ* and *dzi?* only occur as final auxiliaries and are not found in other systems of the grammar. It is likely that the SELF auxiliary *dzĩ* has arisen from WT <rgyu.yin>, but the related OTHER form *dzi?* remains a mystery. One possibility is that it has arisen from WT <rgyu.red> but that seems unlikely given the contemporary form.

10.1.3.1 The auxiliary *dzĩ*

In affirmative clauses, *dzĩ* only occurs with intentional first-person arguments in non-future contexts.

Elicited

- (30). ɕi^{55} ka^{11n} de^{55} je^{13} de dzĩ
2SERG what do CONT SELF
'What are you doing?'

Elicited

- (31). ŋe^{13} ne^{13} ŋa^{53} de dzĩ
1SERG barley cut CONT SELF
'I am cutting barley' (with a sickle)

Elicited

- (32). ɕi^{55} a^{11} ŋõ^{55} ɕo^{11} pa^{55} ka^{11n} de^{55} je^{13} de dzĩ
2SERG this morning what do CONT SELF
'What did you do this morning?'

- Elicited
- (33). ηe^{13} $a^{11} \eta \tilde{o}^{55}$ $\zeta o^{11} p a^{55}$ $te^{11} k a^{55}$ $r \tilde{o}$
 1SERG this morning walnut CONN
- $s \tilde{a}^{55n} dz \tilde{a}^{11}$ $d \tilde{o}^{353}$ de $d \tilde{z} \tilde{i}$
 hemp strike CONT SELF
 'I smashed walnuts and hemp (in the pestle) this morning'

In the absence of the continuative marker, $d \tilde{z} \tilde{i}$ expresses past tense.

- Elicited008
- (34). ηe^{13} $k^h \tilde{a}^{55}$ $d \tilde{o}^{353}$ $d \tilde{z} \tilde{i}$
 1SERG 3SABS hit SELF
 'I hit him'

The sentence in (34) cannot be understood as *I am hitting him*.

As with $\tilde{z} \tilde{i}$ and ji , the auxiliary $d \tilde{z} \tilde{i}$ does not occur in clauses with non-controllable verbs.

- Elicited
- (35). $*\eta e^{13}$ $k^h \tilde{a}^{55}$ $t^h \tilde{u}^{353}$ $d \tilde{z} \tilde{i}$
 *1SERG 3S see SELF
 *'I saw him/her'.

When appropriate adverbs are included in the sentence, $d \tilde{z} \tilde{i}$ can have a habitual reading.

- Elicited348
- (36). ηe^{13} $\eta u^{13} t \tilde{s} i^{33} t \tilde{s} i^{11}$ $s \tilde{a} \tilde{e}^{13}$ zu^{13} de $d \tilde{z} \tilde{i}$
 1SERG every.day food cook CONT SELF
 'I cook every day'

10.1.3.2 The auxiliary *dzi?*

When *dzi?* occurs in clauses with non-first person arguments, it indicates a high degree of certainty that is based on some kind of direct evidence. Since, however, *dzi?* is unmarked as to the source of knowledge, it is not evidential by the criteria stated at the beginning of this section.

- HeartAttack135
 (37). $ɲə^{13}$ = $kĩ$ = $ts^hæ^{53}$ *la* $t^hũ^{353}$ *dzi?*
 man =PL =PL also see OTHR
 'People also saw us'

In (37) the speaker is relating a time when she was fighting with her neighbor. She is able to assert a strong statement as she was present. Note also that the use of the OTHER form in (37), which occurs with a non-control verb, does not have the same constraint as to intentionality that the SELF forms do. This is because intention is not a relevant category for non-first persons as one cannot know the intention of someone else.

Like *dzi*, *dzi?* has a present or past continuous reading when combined with the continuative marker *de*.

- RabbitA005
 (38). $tæ^{13}$ $rə^{11}gõ^{55}$ *rə* $pũ^{53}$ = $nə$ de^{13} *de* *dzi?*
 then rabbit TOP grassland =LOC live CONT OTHR
 'The rabbit was living on the grassland'.

dzi? sometimes occurs in clauses to express an event or condition that is always true.

- KillPig045
 (39). *na*¹¹*tɕ*^h*ɣ*⁵⁵ *lɣ*⁵⁵*mo*⁵³ *p*^h*ə*- *jõ*⁵³ *gui* *dzi?*
 innards all thither take.out NEED OTHR
 '(You) need to remove all the innards'

The A argument in (39) is understood to be anyone who is butchering a pig and the event is understood to be true whenever a pig is butchered in the proper way.

10.2 The egodeictic *sõ/zõ*

As will be discussed in §11.6.4, in Dongwang there is a realis/irrealis distinction indicated by a voicing contrast for a few verbs and auxiliaries. One of these, the realis/irrealis auxiliary pair *sõ/zõ* occurs in perfective clauses with first-person arguments in which the speaker is a semantic patient. The voiced irrealis form *zõ* is used in negative and interrogative clauses. In this dissertation, these are referred to as *egodeictic* because in clauses with this auxiliary the speaker is a semantic patient.

There are two conditions in which the egodeictic auxiliary can occur. In clauses with non-control verbs in which the speaker is the S or A argument and in clauses with control verbs in which the speaker is the P argument. Thus one way to characterize the *sõ/zõ* pair is as a *it-happened-to-me* auxiliary.

- MyLife083
 (40). *ju*¹³ *ma-* *zõ*
 grasp NEG EGO.IR
 '(I) didn't/couldn't grasp (studies)'

- Elicited413
 (41). *ŋe*¹³ *a¹¹ra*⁵⁵ *a¹¹ra*⁵⁵ *ʃi*⁵³ *sõ*
 1SERG just just understand EGO.REAL
 'I just now understand'

The clauses in (40) and (41) contain the non-control verbs *ju*¹³ 'to understand' and *ʃi*⁵³ 'to know'.

In clauses with control verbs and non-first-person A arguments, the action is directed towards the speaker.

- GetMar040
 (42). *tã*¹³ *hi*⁵⁵*mo*⁵³ *tsã*⁵³ *rə* *dʒu*⁵³ *sə*⁵⁵ *ma-* *zõ*
 then first time TOP actually say NEG EGO.IR
 'At first, no one even said anything (to me).'

Even though there are no overt arguments in (42), the fact that a non-first person has directed speech toward the speaker is made clear by the use of the irrealis egodeictic auxiliary *zõ*.

- Elicited
 (43). *ŋe*¹³ *ŋə*¹³ =*ji* *tɕa*¹³ *kui*⁵³ *tʂ^hi* *sõ*
 1SGEN man =ERG tea boil LEAD EGO
 'My husband boiled tea for me'

Accident146

- (44). ηa^{13} la $ts^h\partial^{55}$ ts^he^{53} ma^{11} ts^he^{53} k^hui^{55} no^{13} =ji
1S also suddenly 3SERG person =ERG

ηa^{13} $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ ci $s\tilde{o}$ $s\tilde{a}$
1S hit MAL EGO think
'I suddenly thought, 'he, that guy', hit me'.

10.3 The experiential perfect no , $no^{11}dzi$?

The experiential perfect no (<myong> 'to taste') conveys an event that the subject has experienced sometime prior to the time of utterance.

Elicited742

- (45). ηa^{13} *beijing* $w\ae^{13}$ no^{53} $^ndzu^{13}$ no
1SABS BeijingCH times two go EXP
'I have been to Beijing two times'

Elicited288

- (46). ηe^{13} tsa^{55} mba^{53} $t\text{c}^ha^{53}$ no
1SERG barley.flour eat EXP
'I have eaten barley.'

Prod076

- (47). ηe^{13} tsa^{55} wa^{53} ni ci^{55} =gō a^{11} $b\ae^{53}$ je^{13} *ma-* no
1SERG completely 2SGEN =OBJ bad VBZR NEG EXP
'I have never done anything wrong to you'

⁹ There is some confusion as to whether this should be glossed as an appositive 'he, that guy' or as a genitive 'his guy'. The person helping me to gloss the text is convinced it is the first interpretation and one of my main co-workers is convinced it is the second interpretation. I am choosing the first gloss.

In clauses with non-first person S or A arguments, the experiential auxiliary is *ɲæ¹¹dzi?*.

Elicited

- (48). *k^{hə}55 tɕ^{hə}11tɕ^{hũ}55 guw zi¹³ n^{dæ}353 ɲæ¹¹dzi?⁵⁵ ma- re*
 3SERG small when book read EXP.OTHR NEG COP.OTHR
'When he was small, he never went to school'

The difference between the experiential perfect and the non-past form can be seen in the following two examples:

Elicited

- (49). *k^{hə}55 ni⁵⁵pa¹¹ =jæ n^{dzu}13 dzi?*
 3S Nepal =DAT go OTHR
'S/he went to Nepal' (and is still gone)

Elicited

- (50). *k^{hə}55 ni⁵⁵pa¹¹ =jæ n^{dzu}13 ɲæ¹¹dzi?*
 3S NepalCH =DAT go EXP.OTHER
'S/he has been to Nepal (and has returned)'

10.4 Evidentials

As stated above in §10.1, the term 'evidentials' in this study is narrowly defined as grammatical categories that encode the speaker's *source of information*. Evidentials in Dongwang can be subdivided into direct and indirect knowledge sources. Direct evidentials can be subdivided into visual (*ɲõ, t^{hi}, n^{do}11dzi?*) and reported categories (*sə⁵⁵tɕa⁵³*). Indirect evidentials can be subdivided into inferential

(*we⁵⁵no¹¹*) and hearsay (*tʂa⁵³, s*). There is some overlap between the categories. Each of these are discussed below.

10.4.1 *Direct evidentials*

Direct evidentials express the speaker's direct source of knowledge whether visual or quotative. There are two visual evidentials which are split along aspectual lines: the imperfective visual evidential *ŋõ* (~ *ŋo* ~ *no*) and the perfective visual evidential *t^{hi}*. The quotative evidential *sə⁵⁵tʂa* generally indicates that the speaker actually heard, but there is some overlap with the hearsay evidential.

10.4.1.1 Imperfective visual evidential *ŋõ*

The imperfective direct visual evidential *ŋõ* has likely arisen from WT <snang> 'to feel' or 'to sense'. It is used when the time of speech and the time of event are identical. The onset aspiration and vowel nasalization frequently disappear, a process common in sentence-final position.

Elicited096

- (51). *k^{hə}55 tʂ^{he}55tʂi⁵³ ʰdzɑ¹³ ŋõ*
 3SABS tired look.like VIS.IPFV
'She looks tired' (speaker is looking at her)

Elicited470

- (52). *ʕe⁵⁵ ŋu⁵⁵ʕi¹¹ gæ⁵³ de ŋõ*
 2SABS sweat VBZR CONT VIS.IPFV
'You are sweating' (speaker sees)

Elicited482

- (53). $k^h\text{ə}^{55}$ na^{13} de $\underset{\circ}{n\tilde{o}}$
3SABS sick CONT VIS.IPFV
'He is sick' (speaker has seen him or is looking at him)

$\underset{\circ}{n\tilde{o}}$ sometimes occurs in clauses with non-control verbs and first-person S or

A arguments.

Heartattack216-19

- (54). $g\text{ə}^{55}w\tilde{o}^{53}$ $dze^{55}\eta a^{53}$ me^{13} $r\tilde{o}^{13}$
minute fifteen NEG.COP.SELF COND

$s\text{ə}^{53}$ $r\tilde{æ}$ $\underset{\circ}{n\tilde{o}}$
die INGRESS VIS.IPFV

bu^{353} $t\text{ɕi}^{53}$ la $ma-$ $\underset{\circ}{n\tilde{o}}$ $s\text{ə}$
breath one even NEG VIS.IPFV HS

'If (we) had been fifteen minutes (later when we arrived at the hospital), I would have died. They say that (I) didn't have any breath whatsoever.'

In the portion of text expressed by (54), the speaker is relating events that had happened to her while she was unconscious. This is not like the mirative use of an evidential, as the hearsay in the third clause in (54) indicates that these events were related to her by others. Thus it is their visual knowledge that is being coded.

10.4.1.2 Imperfective visual evidential ${}^n\text{do}^{11}d\text{zi}?$

As discussed in §10.1.2.2, the OTHER animate existential ${}^n\text{do}^{11}d\text{zi}?$ is used if a speaker knows of an ongoing event through visual knowledge, but is not observing the event at the time of utterance. Compare the following two sentences:

Elicited

- (55). $k^h\text{ui}^{55}$ $\text{ʃ}^{\text{hT}353}$ ʃa^{53} $\text{ŋ}\tilde{\text{o}}$
3SERG wood split VIS.IPFV

'He is splitting wood' (speaker currently sees him doing so)

Elicited

- (56). $k^h\text{ui}^{55}$ $\text{ʃ}^{\text{hT}353}$ ʃa^{53} $\text{ndo}^{11}\text{dzi}?$
3SERG wood split EX.AN.OTHR

'He is splitting wood' (speaker has seen him and assumes he still is doing so)

(55) can only be uttered if the speaker is currently observing the event. (56) can only be uttered if the speaker has observed the event, but is not longer doing so. The assumption is that the event is going on at the time of utterance.

10.4.1.3 Perfective visual evidential t^{hi}

The perfective evidential t^{hi} has likely arisen from WT <thad>, 'went'. t^{hi} still functions as a full verb as in the following example.

Elicited1309

- (57). $k^h\text{e}^{55}$ $\text{to}^{55}\text{w}\tilde{\text{a}}^{53}$ $\underline{t^{\text{hi}}}$
3SABS Dongwang go.PFV

'He went to Dongwang'

t^{hi} also co-occurs with the imperfective stem of the verb 'go'. In this function, it is no longer contributing lexical content, but evidential and aspectual values to the clause.

Elicited087

- (58). $k^h\text{ə}^{55}$ la $r\text{ə}^{13}$ = $n\text{ə}$ $^ndzu^{13}$ $\underline{t^hi}$
3SABS also mtn =LOC go VIS.PFV
'She also went up the mountain' (speaker saw her leave)

As an evidential, t^hi expresses visual evidence of a completed event that the speaker has witnessed. t^hi usually indicates that the speaker saw the whole event.

Elicited1017

- (59). $ɲ\text{ə}^{13}$ $t\text{ɕi}^{53}$ = ji k^hua^{53} = $j\text{æ}$ $ɲa^{13}$ $t\text{ɕi}$ te^{53} $\underline{t^hi}$
person INDF =ERG 3SDAT =DAT fish INDF give VIS.PFV
'A person gave him a fish' (speaker saw the exchange)

Elicited1022

- (60). $ji^{11}\text{ɕi}^{55}$ = ji $w\text{ə}^{55}t\text{ə}^{11}$ $ɲa^{13}$ $t^h\tilde{u}^{53}$ $\underline{t^hi}$
Yishi =ERG that fish see VIS.PFV
'Yishi saw the fish' (speaker saw her see it)

t^hi can also function in perfective clauses with first-person S or A arguments when the event is either not intentional or non-controllable.

Elicited173

- (61). $ɲe^{13}$ $\text{ɕ}\text{ə}^{53}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ $\text{ʂ}\text{æ}^{53}$ $\underline{t^hi}$
1SERG dog hit EMIT VIS.PFV
'I (unintentionally) hit the dog'

Elicited240

- (62). $ɲe^{13}$ $pe^{55}z\text{ə}^{11}$ $p^h\text{ə}-$ $t\text{ʂu}^{53}$ ra $\underline{t^hi}$
1SERG cup tither break RA VIS.PFV
'I broke the cup (accidentally)'

t^hi usually does not occur in clauses with first-person intentional A arguments.

10.4.1.4 The quotative evidential $sə^{55}tʂa \sim sə \sim s$

The quotative evidential $sə^{55}tʂa$ <zer.grag?> indicates that the source of information has been directly heard from someone. As such, there can be an overt argument for the source of information.

- Elicited
 (63). $k^h ui^{55}$ to^{13} $tʂi$ se^{53} ji $sə^{55}tʂa^{53}$
 3SERG bear INDF kill COP.SELF QTV
'He_j killed a bear (he_j said).'

Regardless of the presence or absence of an overt NP 'sayer' argument, co-referentiality can be determined by the expected SELF/OTHER patterns. That is, when the one who reported the event and the S or A argument of the clause are co-referential, SELF forms are used. The difference between the grammatical evidential and a full verb is that unlike the full verb, the evidential forms are not marked for tense or aspect.

- Elicited380: $sə^{55}tʂa^{53}$
 (64). ba^{353} $=ji$ $ŋa^{13}$ $=jæ$ $pa^{55}wõ^{53}$ je^{13} $ɕu$ $sə^{55}tʂa^{53}$
 father =ERG 1SDAT =DAT bride VBZR.DO come.IMP QTV
'Father told me to come home to get married'

The use of the SELF form in (63) and the imperative in (64) indicates co-referentiality of arguments in the main and dependent clauses.

In non-perfective or non-imperative embedded clauses, co-referentiality between arguments is less explicit.

Elicited

- (65). $k^{h}ui^{55}$ to^{13} $t\phi i$ se^{53} $s\phi^{55}t\zeta a^{53}$
3SERG bear INDF kill QTV
'He killed/will kill a bear (they say)'.

The use of $s\phi^{55}t\zeta a^{53}$ in (65) is not directly attributed to the one who killed or is planning to kill a bear. The time of the event is ambiguous, but it is probably preceding the event.

10.4.2 Indirect evidentials

There are three indirect evidentials: the hearsay evidentials $t\zeta a$ and s , and the inferential evidential $we^{55}no$.

10.4.2.1 The hearsay $t\zeta a$

The hearsay evidential $t\zeta a$ is used to code an auditory source of information for which there is no specific referent. In this sense, it differs from the quotative evidential which can indicate the person from whom the information came.

Elicited

- (66). $k^{h}ui^{55}$ $t\phi^{13}$ se^{53} $t\zeta a$
3SERG bear kill HS
'He killed a bear (I heard, it is said)'.

10.4.2.2 The hearsay *sə* ~ *s*

The evidential *sə* is often phonologically reduced to *s* and is typically reserved for use in narratives or longer stretches of speech. As in many other Tibetan dialects, the hearsay evidential has arisen from WT <zer> 'to speak'.

- HeartAttack206
 (67). *bu*¹³ *tçi*⁵³ *la* *ma-* *ṅõ* *sə*
 breath one LA NEG VIS.IPFV HS
 'I didn't have any breath (they say, I am told)'

Example (67) occurs in the text *Heart Attack* after the narrator had collapsed from a heart attack and was unconscious. Obviously, since she was unconscious she could not have witnessed her breathless state.

- GetMar055
 (68). *tṣũ*¹³ *tçi*⁵³ =*nə* =*jæ* *s*
 village one =LOC =DAT HS
 '(father said) (you two) are of one village'

(68) occurs in the text *Getting Married* when the father is telling the daughter all the reasons why she should get married. The daughter who is narrating this story is clearly reporting her father's words to her before he died.

The most-reduced form *s* is frequently used in texts not to report speech from a specific referent, but to clue the hearer in to the fact that the text is not something the narrator has personally experienced.

In clauses with second-person addressees, the particle *me* usually occurs to modify the speaker's assertion. This seems likely to be a deference or softening strategy as it is unusual to make direct accusations.

- Elicited185
 (69). ɕi^{55} ɕə^{53} dõ^{33} t^{hi} $\text{sə}^{55}\text{tʂa}^{53}$ *me*
 2SERG dog hit VIS.PFV HS MUT
 '(Someone said) you hit the dog'

10.4.2.3 Inferential evidential *we*⁵⁵*no*¹¹

The hearsay evidential indicates that the speaker infers an event occurred, usually through visual information.

- Elicited
 (70). $\text{se}^{55}\text{nã}^{53}$ =*ji* to^{13} tɕi se^{53} $\text{we}^{55}\text{no}^{11}$
 Sonam ERG bear INDF kill INF
 'Sonam killed a bear (the speaker sees a bear carcass in the courtyard of their home and infers that Sonam must have killed it)'

- Elicited1221
 (71). jə^{13} tɕi =*ji* $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ua}^{53}$ =*jæ* jə^{13} tɕi te^{53} $\text{we}^{55}\text{no}^{11}$
 person INDF =ERG 3SDAT =DAT 1SABS INDF give INF
 'A person gave her a fish (the speaker sees that she has a fish and infers that someone gave it to her)'

- Elicited1222
 (72). $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{55}$ $\text{n}^{\text{d}}\text{zɯ}^{13}$ $\text{n}^{\text{d}}\text{zɯ}^{13}$ $\text{we}^{55}\text{no}^{11}$
 3SABS fall go INF
 'He fell down (the speaker sees him crying and infers the reason for his crying is that he fell down)'

In one text, *we⁵⁵no¹¹* functions like the hearsay particle *s* to indicate a secondary information source.

RedFlowers001
 (73). *tə¹¹ræ⁵⁵ ɲə¹³ tçi =jæ ɲi¹¹mba⁵⁵ ɲə¹¹wō⁵⁵ we⁵⁵no*
 that.time person INDF =DAT Nyima name HS
 'Long ago, there was a person named Nyima'

(73) was uttered when the text *Red Flowers* was first told to the speaker and then the speaker was asked to re-tell it.

10.5 *Validationals*

The term 'validational' refers to a range of epistemic modes that indicate the degree of certainty the speaker has regarding an utterance. It is closely related to evidentiality, but not identical. Palmer (1986) and Denwood (1999) use the term 'judgment' or 'judgmental' modality to describe the same phenomenon described in this section. Denwood applies this to all the modalities which express any sort of hedge regarding the speaker's assertion. Tournadre (2003: 175) calls these 'Auxiliaries of probability' that express 'different degrees of certainty or probability'.

In Dongwang, there is a wide range of validationals that speakers use. At this point, I cannot provide an exhaustive list, nor can I arrange them with confidence on a clear cline of certainty/doubt. In the following section, a few validationals are introduced.

The validational *dzã⁵³* indicates that the speaker has a vague recollection regarding the statement s/he is making. By itself, it refers to a recollection the speaker has regarding his or her own action or event.

Wormgrass011
 (74). *gõ⁵⁵tçĩ* *ji* *gõ⁵⁵tçĩ* *tç^hi* *zĩ¹³* *dzã⁵³*
 kiloCH oneCH kiloCH sevenCH COP.SELF VAL
 'Was it one kilo seven?'

ar *gõ⁵⁵tçĩ* *tç^hi* *zĩ¹³* *dzã⁵³*
 twoCH kiloCH sevenCH COP.SELF VAL
 'Was it two kilos seven?'

When used with *wu-çã*,¹⁰ it refers to the speaker's vague recollection regarding a non-first person argument.

Elicited
 (75). *k^hua⁵⁵* *a¹¹ka⁵³* *n^o* *dzã⁵³* *wu-çã*
 3SDAT child EX.AN.SELF VAL VAL
 'S/he has child/ren (I seem to recall)'

DCWormGrass 087
 (76). *zã¹³* *ka¹¹dzi⁵⁵* *zã¹³* *tçĩ⁵³* *pi¹³* *wũ¹³* *wu-* *çã*
 Chinese where Chinese one appear come NEG VAL
 'There was a Chinese guy from where, (I) don't know where he came from'

The final validational *wu-çã* seems to be used when the speaker is ambivalent towards or unable to confirm an upcoming event.

¹⁰ Recall from §9.1.2.2.3 that *wu-çã* expresses a high degree of certainty regarding potentially-negative events.

Elicited

- (77). $k^h\partial^{55}$ a $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ ma- $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ wu- ζ a
3S QST come NEG- come VAL
'Will s/he come or not? (speaker does not know)'

The full verb $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ 'to come' expresses relative certainty regarding the statement being made.

Elicited451

- (78). k^hua^{53} $a^{11}\tilde{r}\tilde{i}^{55}$ =ji baozhi ze $w\tilde{u}$
3SDAT today =GEN newspaperCH EX.INAN.SELF COME
'S/he has today's newspaper' (speaker thinks it is likely)

Chapter 11 Clause Types

In Chapters Nine and Ten the verb phrase of finite clauses was discussed. This chapter describes the structure of simple finite clauses in Dongwang. Typically, finite clauses contain one verb¹ and its argument/s with either finite morphology or final intonation characteristics². Three types of clauses are constructed from an equative copula, an existential verb, or a lexical verb (intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive). Some finite clauses, which omit finite auxiliaries, are also discussed. Finally, interrogative constructions of all clause types are discussed.

11.1 Sentence structure

Dongwang is a verb-final language with a very strong APV order of arguments. In a count of eight hundred and six clauses from non-elicited texts, seventy-six clauses, or 20% of transitive clauses have two overt arguments. The dominant word order in transitive clauses with two overt arguments is APV (87%). There are two hundred and ten transitive clauses with one overt argument (or 55% of all transitive clauses). In transitive clauses with one overt argument 85% have P arguments (PV) and 15% have A arguments (AV).

¹ For purposes of clause syntax, the verbs comprising a serial verb construction constitute a single verb.

² Since many finite sentences show no finite morphology whatsoever, final intonation provides critical clues as to the finality of any given clause.

Clause Type	# of Clauses	# w/overt Arg	Args
Intransitive	390 (49%)	1 arg 201	SV (51.5%)
		0 arg 189	V (49%)
Transitive	380 (48%)	2 Overt Args: 76 (20%)	APV 66 (87%) ³
			PAV 10 (13%)
		1 Overt Arg: 210 (55%)	AV 32 (15%) ⁴
			PV 178 (85%)
Zero Args 94	V (25%) ⁵		
Ditransitive	20 ⁶ (3%)	2 arg	PV 7 (35%)
			IO V 5 (25%)
		3 arg	APV 4 (20%)
		Zero	V 2 (10%)
		Other 2	AP/AIOV ⁷ (10%)
Total	790	790	

TABLE 28: CLAUSE TYPES CORRELATED WITH # OF OVERT ARGUMENTS

Table 28 shows that about half of the clauses counted are intransitive and of these, about half have an overt argument. Of the transitive clauses, only 20% have two overt arguments and of these 87% have APV constituent order. When the less frequent

³ Percentage of constituent order in transitive clauses with two overt arguments.

⁴ Percentage of transitive clauses with one overt argument.

⁵ Percentage of transitive clauses with no overt argument.

⁶ In addition to this count, there were 59 ditransitive clauses containing the verb *se*⁵⁵ ~ *sə*⁵⁵ 'to say'. All such clauses have a non-prototypical P argument, namely, quoted speech.

⁷ There is one example of a transitive clause with an omitted verb (AP) and one example of a ditransitive clause with all arguments except the P argument present (AIOV).

order occurs (PAV) the examples found in my database indicate that it is due to the P argument being topicalized.⁸

- GetDivB011/012
- (1). ... $\eta\partial^{13}$ =*ji* ji^{353} *la* ηe^{13} ra^{13}
 ... man =GEN work also 1SERG do
- $p\partial^{11}na^{53}$ =*ji* ji^{353} *la* ηe^{13} ra^{13}
 woman =GEN work also 1SERG do
- '...men's work I also did, women's work I also did'.

In (1), the speaker is narrating the difficulties she faced after her husband left her. She draws attention to fact that she did both men's and women's work by fronting the P noun phrases.

- Accident029
- (2). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ ηe^{13} =*tsə* =*jæ* ∂ $\eta\partial^{13}$ =*kĩ* =*ji*
 then 1GEN =ALL =DAT uh person =PL =ERG
- $d\tilde{a}^{55}hua^{53}$ do^{11} ηa *ni*
 telephoneCH VBZR SEND NI
 'Then to me, uh, people telephoned',

In (2) the speaker is relating how he came to know that his wife had been in an accident. The speaker does not indicate that it was anyone in particular that notified him, but that someone had telephoned him.

⁸ There is one case in which a false start contributes to the disrupted order. Since this also exhibits disrupted prosody as the speaker reorganizes her thoughts, it should not really be considered an example of disrupted word order.

The only time a noun phrase occurs after a verb is when the speaker has an afterthought. These are distinctive in that the clause has a final intonation contour followed by a slight pause before adding the afterthought.

Hardship011: argument transposition—afterthought

- (3). *te*⁵⁵ *shihui* *rə* *tʂa*⁵⁵*wa*⁵³*ʂi* *sa*⁵³ *ʂi* *ma* *re...*
 then limestoneCH TOP completely fire MOD.KNOW NEG COP.OTHR

*wə*⁵⁵ⁿ*dʒa*⁵³ *sũ*⁵³ *nə*
 1PL three NA

'Then didn't know how to burn limestone whatsoever... we three'

Argument omission is very common when arguments are deemed unnecessary or when the speaker assumes the listener knows who the referent is (see §4.1.1 for an extended example of argument omission). S arguments were omitted in 49% of the 390 intransitive clauses given in Table 28.⁹ A arguments were omitted in 71% of the transitive clauses. P arguments were much more frequent and were omitted in only 33% of the total number of transitive clauses. Out of all transitive clauses, both A and P were omitted in 25% of the clauses, and both A and P arguments were overt in 20% of the clauses. The following examples exemplify argument omission.

RabbitA006: S argument omission

- (4). *tæ*¹³ *pũ*⁵⁵ *=nə* *də*¹³ *də* *ræ*⁵⁵ *rə*
 then grassland =LOC dwell CONT CONN TOP
'then when (the rabbit) lived on the grassland'...

⁹ I included copular and one-argument existential clauses in the count of intransitives.

- GoodSam017: A argument omission
 (5). $k^h\partial^{55}$ = $w\tilde{o}$ $t\zeta i^{53}$ *la* *ma-* ta^{53} *ni*
 3SABS =OBJ one even NEG look NI
 '(He) didn't even look at him',

- GetMar027: A and P argument omission
 (6). $t\zeta^hi^{53}$ *ru*
 lead POL
 '(you) please take (her)'

As already described in Chapter Nine, most elements of the verb phrase follow the verb.

11.2 Copula clauses

As discussed in §4.2.2, Dongwang has two copulas (*zĩ* and *re*) and four existentials (*ze*, *ze¹¹dzi?* and *ⁿdo*, *ⁿdo¹¹dzi?*). The copulas forms are common for most Tibetan dialects, but the existentials are complicated by an animacy split reflected in an additional two forms. In the following section, clauses formed from copulas are discussed.

11.2.1 Equative copula clauses

A clause with an equative copula maximally includes a predicate, one core argument and any accompanying peripheral arguments. Clauses with equative copular predicates usually are equative or descriptive clauses. A copula complement can be a nominal (predicate nominal clause) or an adjective (predicate adjective clause).

NP _S	CC _{noml}	COP	'X is Y'
NP _S	CC _{adj}	COP	'X was/is being/is becoming Y'

Elicited230/234: Equative clause

- (7). ηa^{13} $pə^{11}na^{53}/lo^{55}sə^{11}$ $zĩ$
 1SABS woman/teacher COP.SELF
'I am a woman/teacher'

Any noun phrase can stand in the S argument slot. In the following example, the S argument is a full noun phrase that includes a head noun and a relative clause.

Elicited649

- (8). di^{13} $k^{h}ĩ^{11}ba^{55}$ guu^{53} $tə^{11}$ $-nə$ $=ji$ $nə^{13}$ $tə$ $rə$
 there house build that -NZR =GEN man that TOP

$wə^{55}ji^{53}$ ba^{33} re
 1PLGEN father COP.OTHR

'That man building the house over there is my father'

Sometimes, when the S argument is omitted, only the CC remains:

Hardship039

- (9). $n də^{11}p^{h}ə^{53}$ $ə^{13}$ $rõ$ $tə^{11}$ $=kĩ$ $=ji$ sa^{53} $-mi^{53}$ $zĩ$
 nDaphae uncle SELF that =PL =GEN burn -NZR COP.SELF
'(It) was the place where Uncle nDaphae and them burned (limestone)'

Just as any noun phrase can stand as the S argument, similarly any noun phrase can function as the copula complement. In the following clause, the underlined NP which contains a relative clause is the CC:

Elicited374

- (10). $wə^{55}tə^{11}$ $ɲə^{13}$ $rə$
 that man TOP

$ɲe^{13}$ $ɕa^{53}$ $wũ^{11}si^{53}$ $tʂ^{h:53}$ $tɕo^{53}$ $-nə$ $ɲə^{13}$ re
 1SERG 2SDAT introduce lead CAUS -NZR man COP.OTHR
 'That man is the man I want to introduce you to'

11.2.2 Attributive copula clauses

Attributive clauses are clauses in which the CC is an adjective (see §5.2.1):

GetDivA38: attributive clause

- (11). $tẽ^{55}$ $ɲa^{13}$ la $si^{55}pə^{11}$ re
 then 1SABS also happy COP.OTHR
 'Then I also am happy'

There is no tense/aspect distinction in attributive and equative clauses with a simple copula predicate.

Elicited1474

- (12). $ɦjĩ^{55}ɲa^{53}$ $k^hə^{55}$ $do^{55}ɲæ^{53}$ re $ǣ^{13}$ $da^{55}mə^{11}$ re
 previous 3SABS ugly COP.OTHR now pretty COP.OTHR
 'She was ugly before, (but) now is pretty'.

The changing of an attribute or state can be expressed by complex constructions consisting of the OTHER copula *re* and an OTHER auxiliary, secondary verb, or evidential.

Elicited

- (13). *tsuŋ⁵³ kə⁵⁵kæ⁵³ re*
lard white COP.OTHR
'(The) lard is white'

KillPig024

- (14). *tsuŋ⁵³ p^hə- kə⁵⁵kæ⁵³ re dzi?*
lard thither- white COP.OTHR OTHR
'The lard becomes white'

Elicited

- (15). *tɕ^hu⁵⁵ts^he⁵³ sũ⁵³ re*
o'clock three COP.OTHR
'It is 3 o'clock'

Accident086

- (16). *tɕ^hu⁵⁵ts^he⁵³ sũ⁵³ re t^hi*
o'clock three COP.OTHR VIS.PFV
'It had become 3 o'clock'

The secondary verbs 'come' and 'go' (§9.2.5.2) sometimes combine with copulas to express change-of-state.

Elicited1476

- (17). *fjĩ⁵⁵ŋa⁵³ k^hə⁵⁵ do⁵⁵ŋæ⁵³ re*
previous 3SABS ugly COP.OTHR
- (18). *æ¹³ da⁵⁵mə¹¹ re wũ t^hæ ñõ*
NOW pretty COP.OTHR COME PFV VIS.IPFV
'She was ugly before, (but) now has become pretty'.

The use of the secondary verb 'come' in (18) is similar to the use of *become* in English. Together with the visual evidential it suggests the speaker is witnessing a change based on previous sighting.

- MyLife290
 (19). \tilde{a}^{13} ga^{55} $\tilde{g}\tilde{a}^{53}$ *re* ${}^n dzu$ *ni*
 now old COP.OTHR GO NI
 'Now, I have become old.'

Example (19) occurs near the end of a personal biography. The speaker moves from her past to her present.

Sometimes equative copulas are used in locational clauses, but only to refer to locations that are stable and unlikely to change:

- Elicited1483
 (20). $t\tilde{o}^{55}$ $w\tilde{a}^{53}$ *sichuan* *tʂa* *re* $z\tilde{o}^{11}$ $r\tilde{i}^{55}$ *re*
 Dongwang SichuanCH side COP.OTHR far COP.OTHR
 'Dongwang is next to Sichuan. It is far away'.

11.3 Existential clauses

The four existential verbs in Dongwang serve to construct existential, locational and possessive clauses. Existential and locational clauses include an existential predicate, one core argument, and peripheral arguments (usually locations). Possessive clauses include an existential verb, maximally two core arguments (the possessor and the possessed arguments), and any accompanying peripheral arguments.

11.3.1 *Background*

There are two existential forms which serve as a base for the four existential verbs in Dongwang. The first has arisen from the verb *no*¹³ <'dug> 'to sit' (and sometimes 'to stay'¹⁰) and co-occurs with animate S arguments. The second *ze*¹³ <yod> 'to exist' can be extended to locational or to possessives, and co-occurs with inanimate S arguments. In two-argument clauses, the *no* forms occur in clauses with animate possessed arguments and *ze* forms occur in clauses with inanimate possessed arguments.

11.3.2 *Existential clauses*

Existential clauses in Dongwang are constructed with a single unmarked S argument and an existential verb. Locational clauses can be seen as an extension of existentials in that they share the same templatic structure but may additionally contain a locative NP or adverb. Possessive clauses are constructed with a dative-marked possessor (POSR) and an unmarked possessed argument (POSD). These can be schematicized as:

Existential:	NP _S		Exist	'X exists'
Locational:	NP _S	(LOC)	Exist	'X exists in/at/on Y'
Possessive:	NP _{POSR-DAT}	NP _{POSD}	Exist	'Y has X'

¹⁰ Another verb, *de*¹³, is used more frequently for 'to stay', but not for 'to sit'.

Existential clauses minimally involve one (optional) core argument:

Elicited1496

- (21). *ha*⁵³ⁿ*dzi*¹¹ *n*^{do}*dzi*?
demon EX.AN.OTHR
'Demon/s exist ~ there is/are demon/s'.

While it seems unusual to simply state that someone or something exists, characters are often introduced into narrative texts by using this type of existential clause construction:

RabbitA007: Existential clause

- (22). *dzu*¹³ *t*_{ci} *n*^{do}*dzi*? *s*
shepherd INDF EX.AN.OTHR HS
'There was a shepherd'.

Locational clauses are constructed from the same template as existential clauses with the addition of a location:

Elicited1461: Locational

- (23). *a*⁵⁵*ka*⁵³ *ç*_ũ⁵⁵ =*n*_ə *n*^{do}*dzi*?
child house =LOC EX.AN.OTHR
'(The) child is in the house'

The inanimate form functions in the same way:

Elicited1460: Locational

- (24). *ŋ*_e¹³ *p*_e⁵⁵*ts*_ə¹¹ =*n*_ə *t*_ç^h*ə*⁵⁵ *z*_e¹¹*dzi*?
1SGEN cupCH =LOC water EX.INAN.OTHR
'There is water in my cup'

KillPig060: Existence

- (25). $tə^{55}$ $gō^{13}$ = $jæ$ $tsurʔ^{53}$ $ze^{11}dziʔ$
that top =LOC lard EX.INAN.SELF
'(There) is lard on top of that (on top of the intestines)'

The notion of existence is closely related to the notion of possession in Dongwang, but rather than a locational oblique argument, the possessor argument is indicated by the dative case.

Elicited136 Elicited1198

- (26). ηa^{13} $a^{55}ka^{53}$ no (27) ηa^{13} zi^{13} ze
1SDAT child EX.AN.SELF 1SDAT book EX.INAN.SELF
'I have (a) child/children' 'I have (a) book/s'

The use of the existential can contribute a sense that the speaker's knowledge is old knowledge. This is usually 'old knowledge' relative to the speaker's assessment of the time depth of the hearer's knowledge. For example, it is locally known that apples from Pongding village are delicious. If, as an outsider, I did not know this and Pongding friends were telling me that they were indeed good to eat, they would use the existential form.

Elicited

- (28). $\text{ʃə}^{11}mə^{55}$ $ze^{11}dziʔ$
tasty EX.INAN.OTHR
'(Pongding apples) are tasty'

A speaker's old knowledge can be contrasted with that which is understood at utterance time.

- Elicited
 (29). $\text{ʂə}^{11}\text{mə}^{55}$ *re*
 tasty COP.OTHR
'It is tasty'

Example (28) expresses something that the speaker has known for a long time, in this case, that Pongding apples are tasty. Example (29) expresses something that the speaker knows at the time of utterance, specifically that the food is tasty at the time of eating.

11.4 Clauses with lexical verbs

Clauses with lexical verbs (§4.2.4) can have one (S), two (A, P) or three (A, P, IO) core arguments depending on the valence of the verb, plus any peripheral arguments the speaker wants to include.

11.4.1 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses maximally involve a verb and one core argument (S) and any locational or manner oblique arguments that might be included. The core argument can be omitted.

Recall from §4.1 that control verbs are verbs over which a person has the ability to exert effort that can potentially, or actually, determine the outcome of an event. Whether a clause has a control or non-control verb has ramifications for the shape of the argument/s and the selection of auxiliary. Usually non-control verbs

cannot co-occur with intentional auxiliaries. Control verbs can occur with either intentional or non-intentional auxiliaries.

The following section discusses intransitive clauses with non-control verbs or 'patient-type' intransitives and those with control verbs or 'agent-type' intransitives¹¹.

11.4.1.1 Patient-type intransitives

A patient-type intransitive clause is a clause with a non-control verb and a core argument that is semantically patient-like (S_p). There are several syntactic and morphosyntactic tests which distinguish patient-type intransitive clauses from other types of intransitive clauses. In the following section, I discuss three features of patient-type intransitives in clauses with first-person core arguments¹²:

- S argument must be in absolutive case
- clauses cannot contain future intentional auxiliary *tsĩ* or past intentional auxiliary *ji*.
- cannot form imperatives

¹¹ The notion of patient-type, agent-type, and meteorological intransitive verbs comes from Watters (2003): 219ff in his description of the Kham language spoken in Nepal.

¹² It is crucial to state these features within the context of affirmative SELF clauses due to issues surrounding evidentiality, control, and intention.

In patient-type intransitive clauses with first-person arguments, the S argument is absolutive. The egodeictic auxiliary *sõ* can be used in all patient-type clauses and the OTHER auxiliary form can be used in some patient-type clauses:¹³

- Elicited139
 (30). ηa^{13} $a^{55}bæ\eta^{53}$ $t\epsilon i$ tu^{53} $sõ$
 1SABS bad.INTENS INDF hungry EGO
'I am really hungry'

- Elicited098
 (31). ηa^{13} $t\epsilon^h e^{53}$ $sõ$
 1SABS tired EGO
'I am tired'

The S arguments in (30) and (31) are both absolutive pronouns and co-occur with the egodeictic auxiliary *sõ*.

OTHER auxiliary forms can also be used in clauses with first-person S arguments when the speaker is not in control of the action specified in the clause:

- Elicited783 Elicited095
 (32). ηa^{13} $dz\epsilon o^{353}$ ηa^{53} $sõ$ (33). ηa^{13} $dz\epsilon o^{353}$ ηa^{53} $dzi?$
 1SABS fall NGA EGO 1SABS fall NGA OTHR
'I fell down' *'I fell down'*

In some intransitive first-person clauses with verbs that are non-control and which express physical sensation or bodily function, the intentional perfective or

¹³ Verbs that express physical sensation (e.g., 'hungry' and 'tired') cannot occur with the OTHER auxiliary.

prospective auxiliary SELF forms *ji* and *zĩ* are considered ungrammatical. The

following is a list of such verbs:

*tu*⁵³ 'to be hungry', *tɕ^he*⁵³ 'to be tired' (physically), *kõ*⁵³ 'to be thirsty', *ɕ^ha*⁵³ 'to be cold', *sa*⁵³ 'to be hot', *ʒa*⁵³ 'to be fat', *na*¹³ 'to be sick', *tʂa*¹³ 'to recover', *ka*⁵³ 'to be tired' (mentally), *ŋw⁵⁵ɕi¹¹kæ*⁵³ 'to sweat', *ʂi⁵⁵tɕ^ha*⁵³ 'to itch', *ʂə*⁵³ 'to die'¹⁴, *ʂĩ*³³ 'to arrive', *ni⁵⁵tʂu¹¹* 'to fall asleep', *s^hã⁵³p^hã¹¹* 'to regret'

11.4.1.2 Agent-type intransitive clauses

An agent-type intransitive clause is a clause with a control verb and a core argument that is semantically agent-like. The inverse of the same three features used in §9.4.1.1 above can be used here for first-person clauses:

- S argument can be in absolutive *or* ergative case
- clause can contain the future intentional auxiliary *zĩ* or the past intentional auxiliary *ji*.
- clause cannot contain the egodeictic auxiliary *sõ*
- can form imperatives

Elicited105

(34). *ŋa*¹³ *rə*¹³ = *nə* *ⁿdzu*¹³ *ji*
 1SABS mountain =LOC go COP.SELF
 'I went up the mountain'

(35). **ŋa*¹³ *ⁿdzu*¹³ *sõ*
 *1SABS go EGO

¹⁴ There are obvious semantic reasons why *ʂə*⁵³ cannot co-occur with the egodeictic auxiliary *sõ*.

Elicited105

- (36). ηa^{13} $rə^{13}$ = $nə$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ $zĩ$
1SABS mountain =LOC go COP.SELF
'I am going up the mountain'

- (37). $*\eta a^{13}$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ a wa
*1SABS go QST MUT

In the examples above, the verb 'to go' can be used with the past tense intentional auxiliary *ji* or the future intentional auxiliary *zĩ*.

Imperatives cannot be formed with non-control verbs. With control verbs, imperative clauses can be formed with a second-person S argument and either the OTHER copula, the imperative verb form of $wĩ^{13}$ 'to come', or the V2 imperative ϵu (§9.2.1).

Elicited880

- (38). ϵe^{55} ji^{13} re
2SABS sleep COP.OTHR
'Go to sleep'

Elicited210

- (39). ϵe^{55} $wə^{55}$ ji^{53} = $tsə$ $zə-$ ϵu^{53}
2SABS 1PLGEN =ALL up come.IMP
'Come to my house'

A list of control intransitive verbs is given below:

ⁿ*dzu*¹³ 'to go', *wũ*¹³ 'to come', *p^hu*³⁵³ 'to run', *p^ha*³⁵³ 'to hop', *p^hu*⁵³ 'to jump down', *tɕi*⁵³*ŋa* 'to exert', *jõ*¹³ 'to get up', *gu*⁵³ 'to endure', *kĩ*⁵⁵*ba*⁵³*pu*¹¹, 'to walk', *zi*¹¹*ni*⁵⁵*je*¹¹ 'to lie down on one's side', ⁿ*do*³⁵³ 'to sit', *ɕe*⁵⁵*wa*⁵³*dõ*¹¹ 'to defecate', *tɕi*⁵⁵*dõ*¹¹ 'to urinate', *tsə*⁵⁵*dzu*⁵³*dzəo*¹¹ to count, *zæ*¹³ 'to play', *tɕu*⁵⁵*tɕ*^h*ã*⁵³ 'to sing', *kə*¹³ 'to hide'

There are some verbs that are neutral with respect to control (§4.1.2 and §9.2.1.1.1). That is, some verbs can occur in both clause types and the parameter of control is determined not by the verb, but by clause-level morphology. Compare the following examples:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Elicited984</p> <p>(40). <i>ŋa</i>¹³ <i>tɕi</i>¹¹<i>pa</i>⁵⁵<i>je</i>¹¹ <i>sõ</i></p> <p>1SABS sneeze EGO</p> <p><i>'I sneezed'</i></p> | <p>Elicited1538</p> <p>(41). <i>ŋe</i>¹³ <i>tɕi</i>¹¹<i>pa</i>⁵⁵<i>je</i>¹¹ <i>ji</i></p> <p>1SERG sneeze COP.SELF.PFV</p> <p><i>'I sneezed'</i></p> |
|--|--|

Example (40) describes an unintentional sneeze and (41) an intentional sneeze that the speaker did on purpose, either due to failure to control the sneeze or due to really trying to sneeze. Similarly, examples (32) and (33) above illustrated the verb *dzəo*³⁵³ 'to fall' in patient-type intransitive clauses, but *dzəo*³⁵³ can also occur in agent-type intransitive clauses as in the following:

- Elicited1561
- (42). *ŋe*¹³ *kõ*⁵⁵*tso*⁵³ *p^hə* *dzəo*³⁵³ *-ŋa* *ji*
- 1SERG intentionally thither fall -NGA COP.SELF.PFV
- 'I fell down on purpose'*

The clause in (42) could be said if someone had pretended to fall as a joke. Other verbs in my database that occur in both clause types include *s^hæ*⁵⁵*dõ*¹¹ 'to fart', *ju*¹³

'to cough', and $\eta\partial^{13}$ 'to cry'. The interaction between a particular verb and the accompanying morphology to express categories of intention or agentivity is quite complex. At this point, much more research on naturally-occurring data is needed to adequately treat the subject.

11.4.1.3 Weather verbs

Clauses that express meteorological events have a single argument, but are different from other intransitive verbs with a single argument. In clauses with meteorological verbs, the single argument, together with the verb, comprise the predicate.

- Elicited1216
 (43). $t\zeta^h\partial^{11}wa^{55}$ pu^{13} $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ t^hi
 rain fall IMM EVI.PFV
'It is about to rain'

This is very similar to a single argument intransitive clause such as the following:

- Elicited
 (44). $t\zeta a^{11}za^{53}$ pu^{13} $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ t^hi
 airplane fall IMM EVI.PFV
'The plane is about to land'

The difference between the two is very subtle, but can be seen in the ungrammaticality of weather verbs with a directional prefix:

- Elicited
- (45). $t\zeta a^{11}za^{53}$ $mb\partial-$ pu^{13} $r\tilde{a}$ t^hi
 airplane down- fall IMM EVI.PFV
'The plane is about to land'

- Elicited
- (46). $*t\zeta^ha^{11}wa^{55}$ $mb\partial-$ pu^{13} $r\tilde{a}$ t^hi
 *rain down- fall IMM EVI.PFV

Other clauses that express the weather are similarly constructed:

- Elicited848
- (47). $l\tilde{o}^{53}$ je^{13} $s\tilde{o}$
 wind VBZR.DO EGO
'The wind is blowing'¹⁵

- Youth005
- (48). na^{53} $ma-$ si^{53} $=j\tilde{a}$
 sky NEG open =DAT
'Before dawn',

11.4.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have two core arguments (A, P) and are distinct from intransitive clauses only in the number and type of arguments they can have. There are various factors that condition the speaker's choice of auxiliary and casemarking in

¹⁵ The egodeictic auxiliary is used here not to express lack of control, but to reflect the fact that the speaker is experiencing it in some way. There are several auxiliary possibilities that have evidential or experiential parameters.

a transitive clause. Only control verbs can co-occur in clauses with an intentional auxiliary. Ergative marking on an A argument usually means that the action was initiated by the A argument in some way. Auxiliaries, as well as arguments, are frequently left unexpressed.

11.4.2.1 Transitive clauses with control verbs

Control verbs were discussed in §4.1.3 and §9.2.1.1.1. Recall that auxiliaries provide two diagnostic tests for determining control verbs: 1) they can co-occur in clauses with first-person A arguments and the auxiliary *zĩ* and 2) they cannot occur in clauses with first-person A arguments and the auxiliary *sõ*. Agent-type transitive clauses are those in which clauses with first-person A arguments can be marked by the ergative and can co-occur with the prospective intentional auxiliary *zĩ*.

Agent-type transitive clauses contain clauses that qualify them as being highly transitive along the lines of Hopper and Thompson (1980).

Elicited838

- (49). ηe^{13} $k\tilde{o}^{55}tso^{53}$ ni $pe^{55}ts\partial^{11}$ $p^h\partial$ $t\text{ʂ}u^{53}$ ji
 1SERG intentionally cupCH thither break COP.SELF.PFV
'I broke the/a cup on purpose'

Elicited838

- (50). ηe^{13} $k^h\text{ui}^{55}$ $pe^{55}ts\partial^{11}$ $p^h\partial$ $t\text{ʂ}u^{53}$ ji
 1SERG 3SGEN cupCH thither break COP.SELF.PFV
'I broke his cup (on purpose)'

The elicited clauses in (49) and (50) contain a control verb, volitional first-person agent, affected patient and completed action. The addition of the intentional adverb in (49) makes overt reference to intention, but it is not necessary as is seen in (50).

Other transitive clauses with control verbs allow the same argument configuration, but do not require it. For example, if a speaker accidentally breaks a cup, he may say:

- Elicited
 (51). ηe^{13} k^{hui55} $pe^{55}tsə^{11}$ $p^{hə-}$ $t\zeta u^{53}$ ra t^hi
 1SERG 3SGEN cupCH thither break RA EVI.PFV
 'I broke his cup (accidentally)'

The clause in (51) indicates that the speaker is the cause, but not an intentional cause.

The perfective evidential t^hi places the speaker in the role of observer.

But the perfective SELF form can co-occur in some clauses that do not have control or ambi-control verbs. Some verbs of cognition and emotion can co-occur with the perfective SELF form in first-person clauses, but not with the prospective SELF form.

- Elicited
 (52). ηe^{13} k^{hui55} $=g\tilde{o}$ $t\tilde{a}^{55}\zeta\tilde{o}^{53}$ ji
 1SERG 3SGEN =obj believe COP.SELF.PST
 'I believe/d him'

- Elicited
 (53). $*\eta e^{13}$ k^{hui55} $=g\tilde{o}$ $t\tilde{a}^{55}\zeta\tilde{o}^{53}$ $z\tilde{i}$
 1SERG 3SGEN =obj believe COP.SELF
 '*I will believe him'

Only a fully controllable verb such as *tʂu*⁵³ can co-occur with the prospective marker.

In non-first-person transitive clauses, the issue of control is not relevant as speakers do not attribute parameters of intention to non-first-persons, but there are a few relevant sentence types with non-first-person A arguments that can be mentioned here. First, transitive clauses in which the speaker is the benefactee, recipient, or patient are marked with the final egodeictic auxiliary *sõ*. If the speaker is represented by an overt argument, it is in dative case.

Elicited

- (54). *ŋe*¹³ *ŋə*¹³ *tʂa*¹³ *kui*⁵³ *tʂhi* *sõ*
 1SGEN man tea boil LEAD EGO
 'My man boiled tea (for me)'

Elicited

- (55). *khui*⁵⁵ *ŋe*¹³ *jã*¹¹*gu*⁵⁵ *dzəo*⁵³ *de* *sõ*
 3SGEN 1SGEN hand hit CONT EGO
 'S/he hit my hand'

Elicited

- (56). *ŋe*¹³ *a*¹¹*zi*⁵⁵ *ŋa*¹³ *tʂao*¹¹*ʕã*⁵⁵*tʂi* *tʂi* *te*⁵³ *sõ*
 1SGEN old.sister 1SDAT cameraCH INDF give EGO
 'My older sister gave me a camera'

The final auxiliary *dzi?* is generally used in clauses with non-first-person A or S arguments to express a definite statement. This is the most common form used for

the event line of third-person narrative clauses.¹⁶ This can be seen in the structure of the short folk story *The Rabbit and The Crane*.

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------------|
| 1 | A long time ago there <u>was</u> an old man and an old woman | <i>"do¹¹dzi? se</i> |
| 2 | Then there <u>was</u> a rabbit and a crane | <i>"do¹¹dzi? se</i> |
| 3 | Then the crane <u>said</u> to the rabbit: 'do you want me to make you laugh so hard you will split your lip?' | <i>dzi? se</i> |
| 4 | Then 'OK' (the rabbit) <u>said</u> | <i>dzi? se</i> |
| 5 | When the crane <u>perched</u> on the grandpa's head, the grandma took a shovel and hit grandpa's head and killed him | <i>dzi?</i> |
| 6 | The rabbit laughed (so hard) and <u>split</u> his lip | <i>dzi?</i> |
| 7 | Then again (the crane) <u>said</u> to the rabbit 'Should I make you cry (so hard that) your face becomes swollen?' | <i>dzi? se</i> |
| 8 | The rabbit <u>said</u> 'do it, do it' | <i>dzi? se</i> |
| 9 | (The crane) <u>said</u> 'run over to the road beside that thing called a trap | <i>dzi? se</i> |
| 10 | Saying 'OK', (the rabbit) <u>ran</u> to the road thing called a trap | <i>dzi? se</i> |
| 11 | A dog chased (the rabbit) and after the rabbit cried hard (his) face <u>swelled up</u> | <i>dzi? se</i> |

There are eleven finite clauses in the text above, each of which is marked by a final auxiliary. Other than the existential verbs which introduce the participants, all the finite clauses end in the OTHER auxiliary *dzi?*, followed by the hearsay particle *se*.

While such neat clause boundaries are absent in more spontaneous text, use of *dzi?* in narrative texts is clear in *The Rabbit and The Crane*.

¹⁶ If there is a final auxiliary in the clause, of course. As will be discussed in §10.5, zero auxiliary clauses are also quite common.

11.4.2.2 Transitive clauses with non-control verbs

Transitive clauses can also be formed using non-control verbs. In first-person clauses, there are certain restrictions that apply depending upon the non-control verb contained in the clause. In some clauses with non-control verbs, the A argument can be in ergative case¹⁷ and the egodeictic auxiliary *sõ* can be used.

- Elicited801
 (57). ηe^{13} $\zeta i^{55} \eta a^{53}$ $k^h a^{11} l a^{53}$ $t \zeta i$ $t^h \tilde{u}^{353}$ $s \tilde{o}$
 1SERG 2PL all INDF see EGO
'I saw all of you'

- Elicited533
 (58). $^n d o^{11} s \tilde{u}^{55}$ $s \tilde{a}^{55} g \tilde{a}^{11}$ ηe^{13} $\zeta \tilde{a}^{53}$ $^n g a^{11} r \tilde{a}^{55}$ $t \zeta i$
 last.night 1SERG dog some INDF

 $s u^{13}$ $k e^{53}$ $t s^h \tilde{a} \tilde{x}^{53}$ $s \tilde{o}$
 bark sound hear EGO
'Last night I heard some dogs barking'

Both clauses (57) and (58) contain A arguments in ergative case and the egodeictic auxiliary *sõ*. In such clauses we can say that the ergative indicates that the speaker is instigator of the action, while the egodeictic auxiliary indicates that the speaker's action is unintentional.

¹⁷ Some verbs occur in clauses with optional ergative marking.

I have found less than ten verbs that participate in this type of clause: *t^{hũ}353* 'to see', *ts^{hæ}53* 'to hear', *tʂæ̃13* 'to remember', *ɲa⁵³nũ11* 'to dream', *dʒe³⁵³* 'to forget', *ʂi⁵³* 'to understand', 'to know how to', *dæ̃13ʒõ³⁵³* 'to believe', and *s^{hã}53* 'to think'.

The second type of transitive clause with non-control verbs are those in which the first-person A argument is not agentive, but goal-like. First-person A arguments in these clauses can be in dative case and can co-occur in clauses with the egodeictic auxiliary *sõ*.

Elicited412

- (59). *ɲe¹³ zi¹¹ki⁵⁵ ɲa¹³ ts^{hə}- jæ̃¹³ sõ*
 1SGEN book 1SDAT hither find EGO
'I found my book'

The act of *finding* in (59) may or may not have been preceded by the speaker's intentional *searching* for her book. The verb *tsi⁵³* 'to search for' designates a controllable act, one that can be intentionally performed. But the outcome of searching, whether or not an object is found, is beyond one's control. Thus the non-control verb *jæ̃¹³* is used with a dative-casemarked argument to express that the object searched for ended up in one's possession.

Elicited

- (60). *ɲa¹³ ʒe⁵⁵ dã³⁵³ sõ*
 1SERG 2S like EGO
'I like you'

The verb *dā*³⁵³ 'to like' is also a non-control verb. The emotion of *liking* is represented in Dongwang as being in a location, namely with the one who experiences the emotion.

11.4.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses have three core arguments (A, P, IO) and a control verb. Usually, A arguments are ergative, P arguments are absolutive, and IO arguments are dative casemarked. As with other types of clauses, it is rare that all arguments are overtly expressed. The following sentence illustrates all three of these arguments:

- HeartAttack088/089
- (61). *a*¹¹*wũ*⁵⁵ *ŋe*¹³ *dza*¹¹*za*⁵³ *k*^{hə}⁵⁵ -*nə* *rə*
 again 1SERG hoe carry -NMZR TOP
- ma*¹³ *ge*¹¹*zã*⁵³ =*jæ* *p*^{hə} *te*⁵³ *ŋa*
 mother Gezang =DAT thither give NGA
- 'The hoe I was carrying, (I) gave to Mother Gezang.'*

In ditransitive clauses constructed from a verb of saying (e.g., *sə*¹³ 'to say'), the quoted speech complement patterns like a P argument and the addressee patterns like an IO argument.

- GetMar036
- (62). *tã*⁵⁵ *ŋe*¹³ *rə* [*ŋa*¹³ *n**dzu*¹³ *tsi* *mæ*] *sĩ*¹³
 then 1SERG TOP 1SABS go IMPV NEG.COP.SELF say.PFV
- 'Then I said, 'I am not going.'*

In (62), the bracketed clause is an object complement. Complement clauses will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. In ditransitive clauses with an overt addressee, the A argument is in ergative case, the complement is unmarked (absolutive), and the addressee is in dative case.

11.5 Zero-auxiliary clauses

In my text database, auxiliaries are frequently omitted. This is interesting given the range of meanings contained in the auxiliaries. A full examination of the role of auxiliaries in discourse is yet to be undertaken, but a few observations can be made regarding their occurrence or non-occurrence.

In first-person elicited clauses, speakers show a strong dispreference for expressing an overt A argument and a final auxiliary.

- Elicited115
 (63). ηe^{13} $t\tilde{o}^{55}$ $w\tilde{a}^{53}$ ke^{53} $z\tilde{o}$
 1SERG Dongwang speech study
'I am studying/will study/studied Dongwang speech'

- Elicited157
 (64). ηe^{13} $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t\epsilon^h a^{53}$ $t^h \tilde{a}$
 1SERG food eat PFV
'I have finished eating'

Clauses such as (63) and (64) above frequently occur without auxiliaries because the context of such clauses determines why such clauses would be uttered. For example, someone might ask:

Elicited155

- (65). (ɕi⁵⁵) sã¹³ tɕ^ha⁵³ a⁵³ t^hã
2SERG food eat QST PFV
'Have (you) finished eating?'

In second-person questions, the second-person pronoun is optional because the second-person referent is made clear by the immediate context. Additionally, the final auxiliary *ji* in (65) is omitted because the time and person reference is clear. The addressee commonly answers:

Elicited155

- (66). (ɕi⁵⁵) sã¹³ tɕ^ha⁵³ a⁵³ t^hã
2SERG food eat QST PFV
'Have (you) finished eating?'

Elicited157

- (67). (ŋe¹³) sã¹³ tɕ^ha⁵³ t^hã
1SERG food eat PFV
'(I) have finished eating'

Sometimes, third-person references result in real ambiguity if taken out of the immediate context:

MyLife064

- (68). tã¹³ p^həp^həp^hə ha⁵⁵dzõ⁵³ dã³⁵³ ʃi
then FILLER extremely like MOD
'Then, oh, (the teacher/I) really liked (me/the teacher)'

Clause (68) occurs in a personal biography in which the narrator is talking about the teachers she had as a child. Several speakers were asked to listen to the clause in isolation and then asked who the referents were. None were able to determine

whether the text meant *Someone liked me* or *I liked someone*. Then the same speakers were asked to listen to the surrounding context and still were unable to say with certainty whether the narrator intended to say *The teacher liked me* or *I liked the teacher*, but guessed that it was the former. This is indeed the meaning the narrator intended.

GetMar008

- (69). $pə^{11}si^{55} =ji pa^{55}wō^{53} k^h a^{55} j ã^{11}$
 children =ERG parents obey
 'Children obey their parents'

In (69) above, the A argument is ergative, but there is no auxiliary. A 'complete' sentence could have been uttered with the final auxiliary *dzi?*. In the context of (69), the narrator is explaining why she has to obey her parents, namely that in their culture, children obey their parents.

If the clause below were removed from context, the listener would be uncertain who was being respected.

GetMar084

- (70). $a^{55}ni^{11} a^{55}mo^{53} ju^{53} =ji tsa^{55} dz ã^{53} je^{13}$
 g'pa g'ma two =ERG respect VBZR.DO
 'Grandpa and grandma respected me'

The clause in (70) is preceded by the dependent clause *When (I) arrived at Zhage's house,* so it is clear that the speaker is the object of respect.

Several extreme examples of texts with very few auxiliaries can be found. In the text *Getting Divorced*, there is a total of forty-four dependent and independent

clauses. Six dependent clauses occur with dependent morphology and four independent clauses occur with the OTHER copula *re* to express stative clauses. Thirty-four independent clauses occur with no auxiliary.

GetDivA16-22

(71). $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $ɲ\partial^{13}$ $p\partial^{11}s\partial^{55}$ $t\zeta^{hi53}$ $-n\partial$ $ɲ\partial^{13}$ $=ji$ $r\partial$
 then man husband lead -NMZR man =ERG TOP

ηa^{13} $p^{h\partial}$ $p\tilde{a}^{53}$ $-ra$
 1SABS thither discard -RA

(72). $li^{11}k^{hi55}$ je
 divorceCH VBZR.DO

(73). $p^{h\partial}$ $p\tilde{a}^{53}$ $-ra$
 thither discard -RA

(74). $p^{h\partial}$ si^{55}
 thither separate

(75). $p^{h\partial}$ $r\tilde{o}^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ si^{55}
 thither REFLEX separate

'Then the man that (my parents) had brought to be (my husband) rejected me. (We) divorced. (He) rejected (me). (We) separated. (We) ourselves separated.'

In (71) the narrator establishes who the participants are and the subsequent text relates the details. Since there is no finite marking, intonation also plays an important role to provide cues for clause breaks. Lack of finite marking suggests the importance of the functional load of intonation and the speaker's reliance on establishing context.

11.6 Interrogative clauses

In the following section, I discuss three types of interrogative clauses: those constructed from an interrogative pronoun, those constructed from an interrogative particle, and those constructed by juxtaposing two clauses.

11.6.1 Interrogative clauses with interrogative pronouns

Clauses constructed from an interrogative pronoun can be considered information clauses in that the answer the speaker is seeking is open-ended. In copular or existential interrogative clauses, the interrogative pronoun (§3.2.6) occurs before the copula or existential verb:

- HeartAttack 095
(76). $t\epsilon^{h\partial^{53}}$ $ts\tilde{o}^{53}$ $-n\partial$ $s\partial^{55}$ $z\tilde{i}$ s
water block -NMZR who COP.SELF QTV
'Who is the one who blocked the water? (she) said'.

- Elicited1481
(77). $meiguoCH$ ka^{13} re
America where COP.OTHR
'Where is America?'

- Elicited135
(78). ϵa^{55} $a^{55}ka^{53}$ $ka^{11}zi^{55}$ $n\partial o$
2SDAT child/ren how.many EX.AN.SELF
'How many children do you have?'

- Prod063
(79). $\epsilon\tilde{u}^{55}$ $=n\partial$ $ka^{11n\partial^{55}}$ $t\check{s}i^{55}wa^{53}$ $ze^{11}d\check{z}i^{?55}$ s
house =LOC what event EX.INAN.OTHR HS
'What is going on in the house?'

In interrogative clauses with a lexical verb, the interrogative pronoun occurs before the verb:

- HeartAttack103/104
 (80). *ka¹¹ⁿde⁵⁵ je¹³ sɔ̃¹¹ ɕi⁵⁵ na:¹³ t^hũ³⁵³*
 what do EGO 2SERG when see
 'What did (I) do? When did you see (it)?'

- Elicited069
 (81). *k^hə⁵⁵ tsə na:¹³ zə- wũ¹³ tsi re*
 3SABS hither when up come IMPFV COP.OTHR
 'When will s/he come back?'

11.6.2 Interrogative clauses with question particles

Polar questions are questions in which the answer the speaker is seeking will either be affirmative or negative. They are constructed from the question particle *a⁵³* which can occur before the final copula or existential, before the lexical verb, or before the modal (and after the verb).

- Elicited232: Question particle before copula
 (82). *k^hə⁵⁵ pə¹¹na⁵³ a⁵³- re*
 3SABS woman QST COP.OTHR
 'Is s/he a woman?'

- Elicited232: Question particle before existential
 (83). *ɕa⁵⁵ ʂo¹¹wa⁵⁵ a⁵³- ze*
 2SDAT hat QST EX.INAN.SELF
 'Do you have a hat?'

- Elicited1492
 (84). ɕe^{55} $\text{tõ}^{55}\text{wã}^{53}$ ɲə^{13} ã^{53} [$\sim\text{a}^{53}$ zĩ]
 2SABS Dongwang person QST [\sim QST COP.SELF]
 'Are you a Dongwanger?'

The formation of polar question clauses with lexical verbs is complex.

Different strategies are employed dependent upon the controllability of the verb in the clause, the person of the S or A argument of the clause, and the tense/aspect of the clause.

11.6.3 Polar question clauses with control lexical verbs

In clauses with second-person S or A arguments, the question particle a^{53} has merged with the intentional auxiliary forms zĩ (prospective) or dzĩ (imperfective).

The resultant forms zã^{53} and dzã^{53} follow the verb. Speakers seem unable to parse these question forms, suggesting they have fully merged into one question marker.

- Elicited
 (85). ɕi^{55} $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{55}$ dõ^{353} zã^{53}
 2SERG 3SABS hit QST.PROSP
 'Are you going to hit him?'

- Elicited941
 (86). $\text{wə}^{55}\text{n}^{\text{h}}\text{dza}^{53}$ = kĩ sã^{13} $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{53}$ $^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ zĩ
 1PL =PL food eat go COP.SELF

 ɕe^{55} $^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ zã^{53} rõ
 2S go QST.PROSP COND
 'We are going to eat? Are you going?'

The use of the conditional marker in question constructions such as (86) serves a politeness function.

- Elicited
 (87). ϵi^{55} $k^h\epsilon^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ $dz\tilde{a}^{53}$
 2SERG 3SABS hit QST.IPFV
 'Did you hit him?'

- Elicited
 (88). ϵi^{55} $k^h\epsilon^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ de $dz\tilde{a}^{53}$
 2SERG 3SABS hit CONT QST.IPFV
 'Are you hitting him?' (e.g., while talking on the phone)

Due to issues surrounding 'privileged access' (§9.2.1.2) and evidentiality, clauses with non-second-person A arguments are less regular. Due to the semantic and pragmatic constraints in Dongwang, English clauses such as *Is he going to hit him?* are likely to be expressed as *Did he say he was going to hit him?* or *Does it look like he is going to hit him?* in Dongwang. Speakers are likely to defer to the knowledge of the addressee when asking about events which have already taken place. In non-future clauses with third-person A arguments the question particle occurs after the verb:

- Elicited
 (89). k^hui^{55} $k^h\epsilon^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ a^{53} t^hi
 3SERG 3SABS hit QST VIS.PFV
 'Did he hit him?' (=did you see him hit him?)

- Elicited
 (90). k^hui^{55} $k^h\epsilon^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ de a^{53} re
 3SERG 3SABS hit CONT QST COP.OTHR
 'Is he hitting him?'

If there is any TAM marking in non-future clauses with second-person A arguments and control verbs, the question particle usually follows the verb, but precedes tense, aspect, or modality marking.

Elicited318

- (91). ɕi^{55} $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{13}$ a^{53} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{æ}}$
 2SERG eat QST PFV
'Have you finished eating?'

If there is any TAM marking in non-future clauses with third-person A arguments and control verbs, the question particle precedes the copula and follows the verb and other finite marking:

Elicited

- (92). $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ui}^{55}$ $\text{s}\tilde{\text{æ}}^{13}$ $\text{tɕ}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{13}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{æ}}^{55}$ $\text{d}\tilde{\text{z}}\text{i}?$ a^{53} re $\text{r}\tilde{\text{o}}$
 3SERG food eat PFV OTHR QST COP.OTHR COND
'Has s/he finished eating?'

When there is more than one secondary verb that expresses TAM categories in non-future clauses, the question particle usually occurs before the final secondary verb or the final auxiliary if there is one. Compare the following three clauses:

Elicited

- (93). $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{55}/\text{ɕe}^{55}$ $^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ a^{53} $\text{r}\tilde{\text{æ}}$
 3SABS/2SABS go QST IMM
'Is he/are you ready to go?'

Elicited

- (94). $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ə}^{55}/\text{ɕe}^{55}$ $^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ $\text{r}\tilde{\text{æ}}$ a^{53} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$
 3SABS/2SABS go IMM QST PFV
'Is he/are you already ready to go?'

- Elicited
- (95). ɕi^{55} $^n\text{gw}^{53}$ $t^h\text{æ}$ $r\text{æ}$ a^{53} t^hi
 2SERG do PFV IMM QST PFV
'Are you already almost finished?'

11.6.4 Polar question clauses with non-control lexical verbs

The construction of interrogative SELF clauses containing non-control verbs are different than for those containing control verbs. In non-future clauses the question particle precedes the irrealis egodeictic form $z\tilde{o}$.

- Elicited
- (96). ɕi^{55} k^ha^{11} $t\text{s}\tilde{o}^{55}$ $w\text{ə}^{55n}$ $d\text{ə}^{11}$ $t\text{ʂi}^{11}$ $w\text{a}^{55}$ $t\text{s}^h\text{æ}^{53}$ a^{53} $z\tilde{o}$
 2SERG yesterday this news hear QST EGO.IR
'Did you hear the news yesterday?'

- Elicited
- (97). æ^{13} ɕe^{55} $t\text{ʂa}^{13}$ a^{53} $z\tilde{o}$
 now 2SABS recover QST EGO.IR
'Are you recovered now?'

An affirmative answer to the questions stated in (96) and (97) would contain the realis egodeictic form $s\tilde{o}$.

- Elicited
- (98). $t\text{s}^h\text{æ}^{53}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 hear EGO
'(I) heard'

- Elicited
 (99). *tʂa*¹³ *sõ*
 recover EGO
 '(I) am recovered'

A negative answer to the questions stated in (98) and (99) would contain the irrealis egodeictic form *zõ*.

- Elicited
 (100). *ŋe*¹³ *ts^hæ*⁵³ *ma-* *zõ*
 1SERG hear NEG EGO.IR
 'I didn't hear'

- Elicited
 (101). *æ*¹³ *tʂa*¹³ *ma-* *zõ*
 now recover NEG EGO.IR
 'I am not recovered'

This split between realis and irrealis auxiliary forms also co-occurs in clauses with verbs of physical sensation such as *tu*⁵³ 'hungry', *sa*⁵³ 'hot', and *tɕ^he*⁵³ 'tired'.¹⁸

As with control verbs, clauses with third-person S arguments and non-control verbs must defer to the information of the addressee. Thus the parameter of control is neutralized:

¹⁸ To the best of my knowledge, this realis/irrealis split is unusual for Tibetan dialects and may turn out to be a characteristic of Southern Khams dialects. In the nearby rGyalthang dialect, the split does not appear on the auxiliaries, but only on a few select verb forms, e.g., *zũ*¹³ 'tasty, irrealis' and *ʂũ*¹³ 'tasty, realis'. There are also a few verbs in Dongwang, *s^hã*⁵³ and *zã*⁵³ 'to think' that seem to reflect the same realis/irrealis marking. More research is needed to determine how far spread this is both within and without Dongwang.

Elicited

- (102). \tilde{a}^{13} $k^h\tilde{a}^{55}$ $t\check{s}a^{13}$ de a^{53} $\underline{n}\tilde{o}$
now 3SABS recover CONT QST EVI
'Is s/he recovered now?' (have you seen him or her?)

11.6.5 Polar question clause juxtaposition

Either/or questions are constructed by juxtaposing two polar question clauses.

The conditional clause subordinator $r\tilde{o}$ is placed after the first clause:

Elicited1485

- (103). $k^h\tilde{a}^{55}$ pe^{13} re a^{53} $r\tilde{o}$ $\check{z}a^{13}$ a^{53} re
3SABS Tibetan COP.OTHR QST COND Chinese QST COP.OTHR
'Is he Tibetan or Chinese?'

Elicited

- (104). $\check{c}e^{55}$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ $\check{z}\tilde{a}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $ma-$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ $\check{z}\tilde{a}^{53}$
2S go QST.PROSP COND NEG go QST.PROSP
'Are you going or not?'

11.6.6 When questions are not questions

Using a question construction to elicit some sort of information is the most common use of interrogative clause constructions. But sometimes the question construction is used to express near certainty, politeness, or a future state or event. As discussed in §9.2.1.4, validationals are often constructed from the question particle

*a*⁵³. Apart from validationals, there are two main types of morphemes formed from the question particle that speakers use. The first type is found in pragmatic structures that I have called 'mutual interaction'. The second type is used to construct the hortative.

11.6.6.1 Mutual interaction

The final interrogative forms *a*⁵⁵*mba*⁵³ and *a*⁵⁵*na*⁵³ are frequently used when the speaker knows the answer, but either defers to the listener or wishes to draw the listener into the dialogue:

MyLife031

- (105). *wə*⁵⁵*ŋa*⁵³ =*kĩ* *la* *do*¹¹*re*⁵⁵ *a*⁵⁵*mba*⁵³
 1PL =PL also miserable MUT
'We were miserable, you know?'

MyLife316

- (106). *tã*¹³ *ŋe*¹³ *pe*⁵⁵*tsə* *tə* *ã*¹³ *dzu*¹³ *rã* *dzi?* *a*⁵⁵*na*⁵³
 then 1SGEN lifeCH SPEC now exhaust INGRESS OTHR MUT
'Now my life is about to be finished, huh?'

In (105) and (106) above, the speaker is not asking for information, but rather drawing the listener into the discourse by eliciting a response from the listener regarding the statement being made.

When a speaker addresses the listener, these forms are often used to defer to the listener's knowledge or to soften an accusation:

HeartAttack122-124

(107). ɕe^{55} jə^{13} amba
2SABS man MUT

ɕi^{55} ŋa^{13} ${}^n\text{dza}^{11}\text{mba}^{55}$ =gō dʒəo^{53} ze ni
2SERG 1SABS cheek =OBJ hit EX.INAN.SELF NI
'You're a man, right? You hit my cheek,'

In (107), the speaker is not asking the addressee whether he is a man or not. Rather, she is saying 'You are a man and (yet) hit my cheek'. The clear undertone is calling his manhood into question since men do not hit women.

When a speaker is seeking confirmation or is stating something she is fairly certain of, she will also use $\text{a}^{55}\text{mba}^{53}$ if addressing a second-person:

Elicited1493

(108). ɕe^{55} $\text{lo}^{55}\text{sə}^{11}$ $\text{a}^{55}\text{mba}^{53}$
2SABS teacher MUT
'You are a teacher, right?'

Speakers can also put a question particle following the copula for the same pragmatic purposes:

Elicited1493

(109). ɕe^{55} $\text{lo}^{55}\text{sə}^{11}$ re $\tilde{\text{a}}^{53}$
2SABS teacher COP.OTHR QST
'You are a teacher, right?'

11.6.6.2 The hortative construction

The hortative construction is constructed from the question particle and the vague verb *je*¹³ 'to do'.

- Elicited
(110). $\vartheta^{55}k^h u^{11}$ nu^{53} $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t\epsilon^h a^{13}$ $ndzu^{13}$ a^{53} je^{13}
|EXCL two food eat go QST DO
'Let's us two go eat'

The only hortative construction I have in my database or that I have heard in conversation co-occurs with the verb 'to go'.

Chapter 12 Clause Combining

In the last chapter, I discussed the construction of simple clauses in which I said a simple clause consists of one main verb and whatever secondary verbs, final auxiliaries, arguments and adjuncts may co-occur with it. In this chapter, I discuss complex clause constructions in which one or more dependent clauses combines with an independent clause to form a complex clause. A dependent clause is a non-finite clause that relies on a finite clause for the full expression of tense, aspect, person and/or evidential/validational categories. The term *embedded* will be used to characterize clauses, either dependent or independent, that function as a constituent of another clause. Clause combinations discussed in this chapter include adverbial clauses, clause chains, relative clauses and complement clauses.

12.1 Non-final clauses

In this section, I discuss two types of clauses that participate in multi-clausal constructions: adverbial clauses and chained clauses. The difference between the two is not always easy to ascertain and there can be considerable overlap between the two. Adverbial clauses are dependent clauses with morphology that explicitly indicates the type of relationship between the dependent and the independent clause. Chained clauses, or *medial-verb* clauses, are dependent clauses that also participate in a multi-clause construction, but unlike adverbial clauses, the type of inter-clausal relationship is left implicit.

I have not found any syntactic evidence in Dongwang to suggest that adverbial clauses are distinct from chained clauses. Both sets of clauses have reduced verb morphology and some sort of dependent-marking morpheme. Both occur prior to a final clause. The difference appears to be a functional difference based on the type of dependent-marking morpheme that co-occurs with each clause.

Each of these will be discussed below, but first I would like to mention some important SELF/OTHER distinctions relevant to dependent clauses.

12.1.1 *Neutralization of SELF/OTHER auxiliary forms*

SELF/OTHER distinctions are usually neutralized in existential and equative dependent clauses. In a dependent clause with an existential auxiliary, only the SELF form occurs. Compare the following two sentences.

Elicited

- (1). $k^{h}ua^{53}$ ηw^{53} $ma^{11}m\emptyset^{55}$ $ze^{11}dzi?$
 3SDAT money much EX.INAN.OTHR
'S/he has a lot of money'

Elicited

- (2). $k^{h}ua^{53}$ ηw^{53} $ma^{11}m\emptyset^{55}$ ze $r\tilde{a}e^{55}$
 3SDAT money much EX.INAN.SELF REN

ηa^{13} tsi^{53} $w\tilde{u}^{13}$ $dzi?$
 1S look.for come OTHR

'When s/he has a lot of money, (s/he) comes looking for me'

In (2) the SELF form occurs in a non-first person clause and the OTHER form is considered ungrammatical. This is true of both animate and inanimate existential constructions in dependent clauses.

In dependent copular clauses, the situation is a bit more complicated. Although the SELF forms are more frequent in dependent clauses in my data, both SELF and OTHER forms are allowed. Under normal conditions, the following clauses would be considered ungrammatical.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|----------|------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|----------|
| (3). | *k ^{hə} 55 | m̄ã ¹³ ba ⁵⁵ | zĩ | (4). | *ŋa ¹³ | m̄ã ¹³ ba ⁵⁵ | re |
| | 3S | doctor | COP.SELF | | 1S | doctor | COP.OTHR |
| | * <i>He is a doctor</i> ' | | | | * <i>I am a doctor</i> ' | | |

In some dependent clauses, however, both *zĩ* and *re* can occur with no apparent meaning difference.

Elicited

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|------------------|------------|------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|
| (5). | k ^{hə} 55 | pe ¹³ | re/zĩ | rã ⁵⁵ | a ¹¹ la ⁵⁵ | a ¹¹ ŋõ ⁵⁵ | t ^{hə} ã ³⁵³ | ŋõ |
| | 3S | Tibetan | SELF/OTHER | REN | folk.song | well | VBZR | VIS.IPFV |
| | <i>'Because he is Tibetan, (he) can sing a (Tibetan) folk song well'</i> | | | | | | | |

Elicited

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------|------------------|
| (6). | ŋa ¹³ | põ ¹³ | zĩ/re | rã ⁵⁵ | du ³⁵³ | mba ³⁵³ | gui | pã ⁵³ |
| | 1S | girl | SELF/OTHER | REN | rock | carry.on.back | NEED | FUT.NEG |
| | <i>'Because I am a girl, (I) shouldn't carry rocks on my back'</i> | | | | | | | |

My consultant says that the sentences containing either SELF or OTHER forms in (5) and (6) mean the same thing (although a careful discourse study might prove differently). However, it turns out that SELF vs. OTHER forms in some clauses do have

different implications. Preliminary research suggests that the use of SELF or OTHER copulas in dependent clauses do not change the meaning if the clause expresses inalienable attributes (e.g., *Tibetan, girl*). However, the use of *zĩ* versus *re* in dependent clauses that express alienable attributes can affect the meaning.

- Elicited
- (7). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $m\grave{o}\tilde{a}^{13}ba^{55}$ *zĩ* *r\tilde{a}^{55}* k^hua^{53} $k^h\partial o$ $d\cancel{z}\partial o^{353}$ $t\check{c}^hu^{53}$
 3S doctor SELF REN 3SDAT injection VBZR PERM
'Because s/he is a doctor, I will let him/her (give me) a shot'

- Elicited
- (8). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $m\grave{o}\tilde{a}^{13}ba^{55}$ *re* *r\tilde{a}^{55}* k^hua^{53} $k^h\partial o$ $d\cancel{z}\partial o^{353}$ $t\check{c}^hu^{53}$
 3S doctor OTHR REN 3SDAT injection VBZR PERM
'When s/he is (becomes) a doctor, I will let him/her (give me) a shot'

The difference between (7) and (8) might be one of tense/aspect/mode. In (7) the dependent clause (*'Because s/he is a doctor'*) is an actual fact, but in (8) (*'When s/he is (becomes) a doctor'*) the dependent clause is a potential fact. At this point, my data is insufficient to do more than posit a very tentative analysis, as more research is needed on this aspect of the SELF/OTHER system.

12.1.2 Adverbial clauses

Chapter Six discussed adverbs, a class of words that modify a verb in some way. An adverbial clause, then, can be described as a clause that 'modifies a verb phrase or sentence' (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 172). Most adverbial clauses in Dongwang are dependent clauses that always occur before the independent clause

they modify.¹ They bear a morpheme that explicitly indicates the type of relationship the adverbial clause holds with the final clause. Only the topic marker *rə* can (optionally) follow an adverbial clause. Adverbial clauses can be characterized prosodically as having a unified intonation contour, possibly ending with a continuing intonation and possibly followed by a noticeable pause.

The table below lists the types of adverbial clause types found in Dongwang and the morpheme which signals each type.

Type	Form	Relation to final clause
Time	<i>pe⁵⁵la</i>	simultaneous time
	<i>pe⁵⁵mo</i>	simultaneous time, same subject
	<i>pæ⁵³</i>	subsequent, overlapping time
	<i>ⁿdza¹¹k^hə⁵⁵dæ⁵³</i>	immediately sequential time
	<i>jæ</i>	posterior time anterior time (<i>ma- V jæ</i>)
Conditional	<i>rō</i>	conditional
Manner	<i>ni</i>	manner
Purpose	<i>t^ha⁵⁵ke⁵³</i>	purpose
	<i>o</i>	
Concessive	<i>la, bi, ze¹¹rə⁵⁵</i>	concessive
Restrictive	<i>mbə¹¹ts^hi⁵⁵</i>	restrictive

TABLE 29: ADVERBIAL CLAUSE MARKERS IN DONGWANG

In the following section, I have used a gloss for each adverbial clause marker that indicates its semantic content. The gloss does not reflect an exact translation.

¹ Sometimes this order can be disrupted, but in my database, this is always due to the speaker producing an afterthought.

12.1.2.1 Time adverbial clauses

12.1.2.1.1 Concurrent time

Three ways to express concurrent time are found in my data: a non-final clause with one of the morphemes *pe¹¹la⁵⁵* or *pe¹¹mo⁵⁵*, or a relative clause construction. Each of these is discussed below.

The non-final marker *pe¹¹la⁵⁵* has arisen from WT <bar.la> 'between'. It can be used as a postposition to specify location between two coordinated noun phrases.

Elicited301

- (9). *tõ⁵⁵wã⁵³ rõ zæ¹¹dõ⁵³ pe¹¹la⁵⁵ rə¹³ sũ⁵³ ṅõ*
 Dongwang and rGyalthang between mtn three EVI.IPFV
 'There are three mountains between Dongwang and rGyalthang'

pe¹¹la⁵⁵ clauses are imperfective and indicate that the event or state in the independent clause occurs internal to the time of the event or state in the dependent clause. That is, *pe¹¹la⁵⁵* clauses situate the independent clause at a time concurrent with the dependent clause. Imperfectivity is either indicated with the continuative secondary verb *de* or with the SELF existential animate auxiliary *n^odo*.

Elicited299

- (10). *ṅa¹³ zæ¹¹dõ⁵³ de¹³ de pe¹¹la⁵⁵ na¹³ sõ*
 ISABS rGyalthang stay CONT when sick EGO
 'While I was living in rGyalthang I got sick'.

GetMar044/045

(11). *jY*¹³ *tɕi*⁵³ *hi*⁵⁵*mo*⁵³ *rə* *ba*³⁵³ *p^hə-* *ʂə*⁵³ *n^hdzu*¹³ ...
year one prior TOP father thither die GO

*zi*¹³ *n^hdæ*¹³ *n^hdo* *pe*¹¹*la*⁵⁵ *rə*
book read EX.AN.SELF when TOP

'A year prior (to that), father died. when (I) was studying'.

The sentence in (11) illustrates how an adverbial clause can occur after an independent clause as an afterthought.

Another adverbial clause marker, *pe*¹¹*mo*⁵⁵ 'middle' is, at first glance, in free variation with *pe*¹¹*la*⁵⁵. In certain contexts, speakers say there is no meaning difference. In my text data, *pe*¹¹*la*⁵⁵ is used five times by two speakers² and *pe*¹¹*mo*⁵⁵ is used three times by a different speaker in one text.

HeartAttack008/009

(12). *lɑ*⁵⁵*jō*⁵³ =*ji* *tɕ^hə*⁵³ *kæ̃*⁵³ *de* *pe*¹¹*mo*⁵⁵
Lhayong =ERG water little CONT while

*ja*¹³ *zə-* *dæ̃*⁵³ *ra*
board up switch RA

'Lhayong, when the water was low, switched out the board'³

² One speaker uses it four times in one text.

³ The irrigation system is composed of one canal that villagers built which travels 13 km through the mountains and is divided into smaller irrigation ditches upon its arrival in Pongding. Each of the smaller irrigation ditches is controlled by a board that slides vertically into a ditch. In order to 'switch out' a board, one ditch is closed off and another is opened up.

In (12) the marker *pe⁵⁵la⁵³* can be exchanged for *pe¹¹mo⁵⁵* with no change in meaning. However, a subtle difference does emerge when the dependent clause and the independent clause are the same 'subjects'. In clauses with the same subjects, *pe¹¹mo⁵⁵* is not allowed.

- Elicited
- (13). *la⁵⁵jō⁵³* =*ji* *dianshi* *ta⁵³* *de* *pe¹¹mo⁵⁵*
 Lhayong =ERG TeleCH watch CONT while
- a¹¹ka⁵³* =*ji* *ⁿdzī³⁵³* *k^ha¹¹la⁵⁵* *p^hə-* *tɕ^ha⁵³* *ra* *t^hæ̃* *ŋō*
 child =ERG rice all thither eat RA PFV EVI
'While Lhayong was watching TV, the child ate up all the rice'

In (13), the A arguments of the non-final and final clauses are different. If the meaning of the clauses were *While Lhayong watched TV, she (=Lhayong) ate up all the rice*, *pe¹¹mo⁵⁵* would be ungrammatical.

Relative clauses can also be used to relate two events which occur at the same time. Relative clauses are discussed in §11.2, but here I will briefly illustrate this function of relative clauses.

- Elicited322
- (14). *ŋa¹³* *zi¹¹gi⁵⁵* *ⁿdæ³⁵³* *de* *sə⁵⁵ts^hi¹¹* =*nə*
 I S book read CONT time =LOC
- ŋa⁵⁵tā⁵³* *do¹¹re⁵³* *re*
 extremely suffer COP.OTHR
'During the time I was studying, (things) were miserable.'

In example (14), the head noun $sə^{55}ts^{h_i}11$ 'time' bears the locative casemarker, but not all such relative clauses require a casemarker.

KillPig098

- (15). pi^{55} $sā^{13}$ $tə^{55}$ $ɲu^{13}$ $tə$ $p^{h_a}11so^{53}$ $p^{h_ə}$ $təo^{53}$ ni
 calf born that day SPEC pigfeet thither stew NI
 'On the day calves are born, stew the pigfeet.'

12.1.2.1.2 Simultaneous overlap

Closely related to $pe^{55}la^{53}$ and $pe^{11}mo^{55}$ the adverbial clause marker $pæ^{53}$

expresses simultaneous overlap between two events. All the examples in my database occur with the continuative marker *de*.

Elicited328

- (16). $ŋe^{13}$ fji^{33} $ŋgu^{53}$ $də$ $pæ^{53}$ $k^{h_u}i^{55}$ $ŋa^{13}$ mbe^{53} $sõ$
 1SERG work VBZR.DO CONT during 3SERG 1SABS call EGO
 'When I was working, he called me'

Youth001/002

- (17). $də^{11}rã^{55}$ $ɕe^{13}$ je^{13} $də$ $pæ^{53}$
 long.ago commune VBZR CONT during
 $wə^{55}ɲa^{53}$ $=kĩ$ $tə^{55}$ $gõ$ $tʂa^{11}rəo^{53}$ $=jæ$ pi^{13} $t^{h_ə}55$ ni
 1PL =PL that on.top Trarao =DAT brush pick NI
 'Long ago, during the communes, we went to up there, on Trarao to pick brush'

12.1.2.1.3 Immediate sequential time

The adverbial clause marker ⁿdza¹¹k^{hə}⁵⁵tã⁵³ indicates that the event in the following clause occurs immediately after the event in the non-final clause.

- GetMar074/075
- (18). tã¹³ wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ p^{hə}⁵⁵dəo⁵³ rə mbə- wũ¹³ ⁿdza¹¹k^{hə}⁵⁵tã⁵³
 then that afterwards TOP down- come as.soon.as
- na⁵⁵wõ⁵³ ŋa⁵³ ra rã⁵⁵ rə
 bride send RA REN TOP
- 'Then as soon as (I) returned, (they) sent (me) to be a bride,'

Example (18) occurs in the text *Getting Married*. After the speaker returns home after failing her exams she is immediately sent to her new house.

- Elicited
- (19). ŋe¹³ sə⁵⁵ ⁿdza¹¹k^{hə}⁵⁵tã⁵³ k^{hui}⁵⁵ ŋa¹³ dõ³⁵³ sõ
 1SERG say as.soon.as 3SERG 1SABS hit EGO
- 'As soon as I spoke, s/he hit me'

All the examples of immediately sequential clauses signal that the second event occurs upon the completion of the first event.

12.1.2.1.4 Posterior time

Adverbial clauses constructed with the morpheme *jæ* indicate that the activity of a second event only begins after the completion of the first.⁴ The resultant

⁴ It is quite likely that this is the same morpheme as the dative casemarking clitic which has arisen from WT <la>.

meaning is that the independent clause happened *only after* the dependent clause.

This is closely related to ⁿdza¹¹k^hə⁵⁵dæ̃⁵³, which was just discussed, but without the dimension of immediacy.

- Hardship142/143
 (20). wə⁵⁵ⁿdza⁵³ =kĩ ɕə⁵⁵hue⁵³ ɕu⁵⁵fu¹¹ sō⁵⁵tɕə¹¹ p^hə- sa⁵³ jæ
 1PL =PL limestoneCH tractorCH thirty thither burn jae

linguansuo *mbə-* *tɕ^hi⁵³* *re* *ji*
 forestry.unitCH down- lead COP.OTHR COP.SELF

'...after we fired 30 tractor(loads) of limestone, (we) hauled it down to the forestry unit'

jæ sometimes entails an explicitly causal meaning as in the following clause.

- Rabbit&Crane14-16
 (21). pō⁵⁵za⁵³ ga¹³ ni gə¹¹ga⁵⁵ jæ
 rabbit laugh NI laugh.laugh jae

k^ha⁵² *ɕu⁵⁵* *ra* *dzi?*
 mouth split RA OTHR

'The rabbit laughed and laughed (so hard that) (his) mouth split'

Example (21) is drawn from a short folk story in which a crane makes a rabbit laugh so hard that the rabbit's lip splits. The clear implication is that it is the rabbit's laughing that caused his lip to split.

12.1.2.1.5 Anterior time

Adverbial clauses that express anterior time are constructed when the adverbial clause marker *jæ* occurs after a negated verb. Thompson and Longacre

(1985: 182) mention that in many languages 'before clauses' are treated in this way. This is the only adverbial clause and independent clause combination that does not follow the time of the real-world sequence of events.

Elicited334

(22). ŋa¹³ tõ⁵⁵wã⁵³ ma- ndzu¹³ jæ ŋe¹³ a¹¹zi⁵⁵
 1SABS Dongwang NEG go jae 1SGEN older.sister

ŋa¹³ tcao¹¹ẽã⁵³tei¹¹ tei te⁵³ sõ¹³
 1SDAT cameraCH INDF give EGO

'Before I went to Dongwang, my older sister gave me a camera'

In (22), the event in the dependent clause happened *before* the event expressed in the independent clause.

Prod060/61

(23). ẽũ⁵⁵ =nə ma- s^hɿ³⁵³ tsi jæ
 home =LOC NEG arrive PROS jae

tʂu¹¹tẽ^hã⁵⁵ ke⁵³ ga¹³ ke⁵³ ts^hæ⁵³ ŋõ s
 song sound laugh sound hear EVL.IPFV RPT

'When he had not yet arrived home, (he) heard the sound of singing and laughing'

The aspect and verb of the dependent clause remain the same, even when the aspect and referents change in the following dependent clause. Compare the following three clauses:

Elicited1073

(24). sã¹³ ma- tẽ^hɑ⁵³ jæ ŋe¹³ jã¹¹gu⁵⁵ tʂə⁵³ zĩ¹³
 food NEG eat jae 1SERG hand wash COP.SELF

'Before eating, I (will/usually) wash my hands'

Elicited1073

- (25). sæ¹³ ma- tɕ^ha⁵³ jæ ŋe¹³ jã¹¹gu⁵⁵ tʂə⁵³ gui
food NEG eat jae 1SERG hand wash NEED
'Before eating, I want to wash my hands'

Elicited1073

- (26). sæ¹³ ma- tɕ^ha⁵³ jæ jã¹¹gu⁵⁵ p^hə tʂə⁵³ ru
food NEG eat jae hand thither wash POL
'Before eating, please wash (your) hands'

In (24) through (26), the tense and aspect of the dependent clauses are taken from the final independent clauses.

12.1.2.2 Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional clauses are constructed from a clause with a bare verb stem followed by the conditional adverbial clause marker *rõ*. In addition to signaling conditional clauses, the most frequent functions of *rõ* include nominal coordination (§7.5) and functioning as a politeness strategy in questions (§10.6.3). *rõ* is also used to co-ordinate two independent clauses which combine to form either/or questions.

MyLife216/217

- (27). ɕe⁵⁵ n^ogu³⁵³ na¹³ rõ
2SABS head sick COND

n^ogu³⁵³ mæ³⁵³ te⁵³ ʂi a⁵⁵na⁵³
head medicine give KNOW MUT

'If you have a headache, (I) know how to give headache medicine, right?'

- Elicited
 (28). $t\epsilon^{h\partial^{11}}wa^{55}$ bu^{13} $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 rain fall REN

$\underline{\epsilon e^{55}}$ $\underline{z\tilde{a}^{11}su^{53}}$ $\underline{^ndzu^{13}}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $t\epsilon^{h\partial^{55}}su^{53}$ na^{13} awa
 2S outside go COND cold sick VAL
 'When it rains, if you go outside you will catch a cold?'

The conditional clause in (27) is a hypothetical conditional and in (28) a predictive conditional. Note that in (28) neither of the non-final clauses by themselves modify the final clause. Rather the condition includes the first non-final clause *when it rains*.

Independent clauses that follow counterfactual clauses have the same form as independent clauses expressing intention or reality. That is, they do not exhibit any irrealis or subjunctive moods.

- Elicited
 (29). ηa^{13} $=j\tilde{a}$ ηu^{53} $ma^{11}m\partial^{55}$ ze $r\tilde{o}$
 1SDAT =DAT money much EX.INAN.SELF COND

ηa^{13} $mei^{53}guo^{11}$ $^ndzu^{13}$ $z\tilde{i}$
 1S AmericaCH go COP.SELF
 'If I have/had a lot of money, I will/would go to America'

- HeartAttack153/154
 (30). $ge^{11}z\tilde{o}^{53}$ $dza^{11}ba^{55}$ me $r\tilde{o}$
 Gesang Drapa COP.NEG.SELF COND

$wu^{11}di^{55}$ se^{53} ϵi $r\tilde{a}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 there kill MAL INGRESS EGO
 'If not for Gesang Drapa, (he) almost killed (me) there'

My consultant says that meaning of the independent clause in (30) is *I would have died*, but the form of the independent clause in (30) is exactly the same as it would be

if it appeared by itself to mean *I almost died*. That is, there is no indication that it is following a conditional clause.

Conditional clauses constructed from an interrogative word and the conditional *rõ* can express something that is always true.

Elicited⁸⁷⁷

- (31). ne¹³ na:¹³ a⁵⁵ræ⁵³ t^hõ³³ rõ na:¹³ n^gu³⁵³ na¹³ nõ
 1SERG when liquor drink COND when head sick EVI.IPFV
 'Whenever I drink liquor, (I) have a headache'

The distinction between (28) and (31) can be seen in the verbal morphology of the independent clauses. The independent clause in (28) is subject to certain restrictions that surround a future assertion when it follows a predictive conditional. When an independent clause and a conditional clause express reality, it is not subject to the same restrictions. That is, the conditional clause is expressed relative to a broader proven truth. In the case of (31) above, the proven truth is that *drinking liquor gives me a headache*.

rõ is also used in the coordination of two finite clauses to express either/or questions.

Elicited

- (32). k^hə⁵⁵ pə¹³ a⁵³ re rõ põ:¹³ a⁵³ re
 3S boy QST COP.OTHR CONN girl QST COP.OTHR
 'Is s/he a boy or girl?'

Coordinated clauses are not adverbial and are not relevant here.

12.1.2.3 Manner adverbial clauses

Manner adverbial clauses are constructed from a medial clause and the clause chain marker *ni*. Manner clauses will be discussed in §12.1.3.

12.1.2.4 Purpose adverbial clauses

When a speaker wishes to make a purpose explicit, she can use the adverbial clause marker *t^ha⁵⁵ke⁵³* 'in order to'.

Elicited1087

- (33). *ŋe¹³ p^hə⁵⁵ca⁵³ =tsə ta⁵³ gui t^ha⁵⁵ke⁵³ ŋa¹³ tə¹¹sa⁵³ s^{tr}353*
 IGEN friend =DAT look MOD in.order.to 1SABS Lhasa arrived
'In order to see my friend, I went to Lhasa'.

Most purpose clauses that co-occur with verbs of direction do not have any dependent-marking morphology.

Elicited

- (34). *ŋe¹³ ɲə¹³ tɕi tsi⁵³ wũ¹³ dʒĩ*
 1SERG person INDF look.for come SELF
'I came to look for a person'

Elicited

- (35). *k^hui⁵⁵ ts^he⁵⁵ ju¹³ tsi re*
 3SERG vegetablesCH buy PROSP COP.OTHR
'S/he went to buy vegetables'.

The examples in (34) and (35) are similar to one type of complement clause, described in §12.3.2.3, that are simply bare verbs juxtaposed to one another.

12.1.2.5 Concessive clauses

Concessive clause combinations are different from other adverbial clauses in that both the adverbial and the independent clause have finite marking. In this respect, concessive clause combinations can be analyzed as coordinated clauses.

There are three adverbial clause markers which signal concessivity: *ji~ji la*, *bi⁵⁵ji* and *ze¹¹rə⁵⁵*. Only *ze¹¹rə⁵⁵* occurs in natural data.

Elicited

- (36). *k^{hə}55 ta⁵³ rə̃⁵⁵ do⁵⁵ŋæ⁵³ re ze¹¹rə⁵⁵*
 3S look REN ugly COP.OTHR although

sã⁵³ a¹¹ŋõ⁵⁵ re
 mind good COP.OTHR

'When (you) look at him, although he is ugly, (his) heart is good'

Elicited

- (37). *k^{hə}11tsõ⁵⁵ a⁵⁵tʂu⁵³ tɕi =gõ ni¹¹ⁿda⁵³ p^{hə}u⁵³ t^{hi} zɪ¹¹rə⁵⁵*
 yesterday monkey INDF =OBJ gun VBZR EVI.PFV although

ʂə⁵³ ma- t^{hi}
 die NEG- EVI.PFV

'Although (I) shot a monkey yesterday, (it) didn't die'

The origin of *ze¹¹rə⁵⁵* is mysterious. Stephen Beyer (1990: 286,7) mentions an 'adversative conjunction particle' <yang> which shows up in contemporary dialects as either <yang> or <kyi>. Häslér (1999 :254,5) gives several examples of concessive clauses constructed from <yin.na.'ang> and adversative clauses constructed from <te>. Neither of these resemble *ze¹¹rə⁵⁵*.

There are two other morphemes used in the construction of concessive clauses: *ji la* and *bi⁵⁵ji*. As to the former, my consultant was unable to determine whether this is one word or two. The relevance is that if it is two forms, the first clause could be analyzed as a finite clause containing the copula SELF form *ji*. I have glossed it as one word, but this is only a tentative analysis.

Elicited951

(38). ŋe¹³ k^hua⁵³ tɕ^hə⁵⁵ zɑ¹³ te⁵³ se¹³ de ji la
 1SERG 3SDAT dollar 100 give say CONT even.though

k^hui⁵⁵ ŋɑ¹³ ma- tsõ⁵³ ŋõ

3SERG 1SDAT NEG- SELL EVI.IPFV

'Even though I said I would give him \$100, he wouldn't sell it to me'

One rationale for analyzing *ji la* as one morpheme attached to a dependent clause is that I was unable to elicit a non-first person clause with *ji la*. Rather in concessive clauses with non-first person S or A arguments, the form *bi⁵⁵ji* shows up.

Elicited

(39). ma¹¹zə⁵⁵ k^hui⁵⁵ tɕ^hə⁵⁵zə¹¹ dõ³⁵³ ma- ɕi bi⁵⁵ji
 because? 3SERG car VBZR NEG- KNOW even.though

k^hui⁵⁵ tɕ^hə⁵⁵zə¹¹ dõ³⁵³ k^hə t^hi

3SERG car VBZR KHU EVI.PFT

'Even though he doesn't know how to drive, he drove away.'

12.1.2.6 Restrictive clauses

The last type of adverbial clause discussed here is the restrictive clause, indicated by the adverbial clause marker *mbə¹¹tsi⁵⁵* 'only'.

- MyLife160/161
 (40). *se¹³ki⁵⁵ ju¹³ rō -nə mbə¹¹tsi⁵⁵*
 half.day understand COND -NZR only

wu ju¹³
 NEG understand

'(We students) did not understand anything other than what (we) understood in a half day'

In the surrounding text of (43), the narrator is describing her school days when she was little. During that time, the government required students to do manual labor for half a day and to study for half a day. The English translation *other than* is a bit unsatisfactory, but the use of 'only' is awkward.

- HeartAttack41/42
 (41). *tə^{hə}53 mbə- fɿjɿ³⁵³ ŋa mbə¹¹tsi⁵³*
 water down trench NGA only

tə⁵⁵wa⁵³ji ja¹³ =gō¹¹ =jæ t^ho⁵³ rǎ⁵⁵ jɛ¹³
 absolutely board =OBJ =DAT touch IMM EX.NEG.SELF

'(I) only made a trench (for the water to go out), (I) absolutely did not touch the board'

12.1.3 *Chained clauses*

I have described the function of adverbial clauses, most of which are dependent clauses that modify a verb or clause. In this section, I will discuss chained clause constructions. Chained clauses (or *medial clauses*) are not syntactically distinct from adverbial clauses and, as already mentioned in §12.1 there can be considerable overlap between the two. However, adverbial clause markers indicate explicit interclausal relationships, while medial verbs leave much open to interpretation, dependent upon verbal semantics and knowledge of the world.

Clause chains are multi-clausal constructions characterized by 'sequences of medial clauses completed by a final clause' (Payne 1997: 423). Tibetan languages have been categorized as clause-chaining languages (DeLancey 1991, T.-S. Sun 1993), however there have been very few detailed studies of clause combining in Tibetan, and what does exist can be confusing. For example, Genetti (2005: 60, 61) points out that while DeLancey describes the use of the Lhasa Tibetan form *-byas* as a 'medial (or "non-final") verb in a clause-chaining construction', Bisang (1995) calls the same form a 'converb'. Interestingly, Denwood (1999: 220, 221) calls *-byas* 'a serial verb with positive polarity to mean "-ing", "having", "after", "and then"'.

I will use the term *medial verb* to characterize verbs occurring in a verbal complex with one of two morphemes used to create medial clauses, *rã⁵⁵* and *ni*. The two morphemes used for the construction of clause chains, *rã⁵⁵* and *ni*, occur

frequently in my texts. Out of 1561 non-elicited clauses, $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ occurs 254 times and *ni* occurs 189 times. The functions of $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ include marking subsequent, simultaneous and causal relations as well as occurring in clauses which are recapitulating events. The functions of *ni* include marking manner clauses and indicating sequential relationships between clauses which often entails causal relationships as well.

Elicited899

- (42). $k^h\partial^{55}$ ts^hu^{53} $k^h\partial$ *ni* p^hu^{353} t^hi
 3S squirm KHU NI run EVI.PFV
 'S/he ran hurriedly away'

Elicited884

- (43). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $ri^{11}ni^{55}$ je^{13} *ni* $d\tilde{a}^{13}\partial^{55}$ ta^{53} *de* $\eta\tilde{o}$
 3SABS laying.on.side VBZR.DO NI teleCH watch CONT EVI.IPFV
 'S/he is laying on her side watching TV'

Elicited

- (44). $k^h\partial^{55}$ $a^{55}ra^{53}$ $n^gu\tilde{a}e^{353}$ *ni*
 3S liquor drunk NI

 $ts^h\partial^{55}zo^{53}$ $z\tilde{i}$ $p^h\partial^{55}zo^{53}$ *ni*
 hither.? COP.SELF thither.? NI

$\partial\tilde{u}^{55}$ = $n\partial$ $s^h\tilde{i}^{353}$ t^hi
 home =LOC arrive VIS.PFV

'He got drunk and staggered home' (lit: he got drunk and staggeringly arrived home)

The clauses in example (44) highlight some of the difficulties encountered when attempting to separate the functions of clauses marked with the medial verb *ni*. The first clause in (44) signals sequential events with respect to the other clauses (*got*

drunk and staggered home), but the second clause in (44) clearly functions as an adverbial clause and is not sequential in any sense.

HeartAttack69-73

(45). $\underline{l\tilde{o}^{11}t\epsilon^{h_u}{}^{53}}$ $\underline{t\epsilon^{h_\partial}{}^{53}}$ $\underline{t\epsilon\epsilon^{53}}$ \underline{ru} $\underline{s\partial^{55}}$ $\underline{^ndz\alpha^{13}k^ha^{11}d\tilde{a}\tilde{\epsilon}^{53}}$
 Longchu water cut.off POL say as.soon.as

(46). $\underline{k^h\partial^{55}}$ = $\underline{ts\partial o}$ $\underline{t\epsilon^{h_\partial}{}^{53}}$ $\underline{d\tilde{u}^{13}}$ $\underline{^ndz\alpha^{13}}$ $\underline{r\tilde{a}\tilde{\epsilon}^{55}}$
 3S =ABL water short go REN

(47). $\underline{t\partial^{55}}$ = $\underline{n\partial}$ $\underline{ts^h\partial-}$ $\underline{p^h\partial o^{53}}$ $\underline{w\tilde{u}^{13}}$ \underline{ni}
 that =LOC thither run come NI

(48). $\underline{\eta a^{13}}$ $\underline{\mu a^{53}}$ $\underline{t\tilde{s}^hi}$ $\underline{w\tilde{u}^{13}}$
 1S chase LEAD come

'As soon as (she) said, 'Longchu, please cut off the water', the water stopped running by him and (he) came running over there, chasing me'.

The example above illustrates a typical chain of clauses. The relationship between clauses (45) and (46) is immediate sequential (*as soon as*); The relationship between (46) and (47) is subsequent time (*when*) and the relationship between (47) and (48) is adverbial modification (*came running*).

When there are no accompanying aspect markers, $r\tilde{a}\tilde{\epsilon}^{55}$ clauses code a vaguely subsequent relationship between the clauses.

Elicited1265

- (49). m̥æ¹¹ba⁵⁵ =ji ŋe¹³ =gõ k^həo⁵³ dzo⁵³ ræ⁵⁵
doctor =ERG 1SGEN =OBJ shot VBZR.STRIKE REN

ŋe¹³ wa⁵³ -ŋa t^hi
1SERG cry.out -NGA VIS.PFV

'When/after the doctor gave me a shot, I cried out'

The example in (49) is unclear whether the speaker cried out *during* or *after the doctor had finished* administering the shot.

When speakers want to indicate events that happened after another event was completed, the perfective marker occurs in the non-final clause.

Elicited

- (50). ŋa¹³ ⁿdə¹¹gũ⁵⁵ tɕ^ha¹³ t^hæ̃ ræ̃⁵⁵ na¹³ sõ
1SABS dinner eat PFV REN sick EGO

'After eating dinner, I got sick'

The dependent clause in (50) cannot mean *While eating dinner*.

Similarly, when speakers want to indicate that one event overlapped with another event, extra marking such as the continuative aspect marker can occur in the non-final clause.

Elicited

- (51). l̥a⁵⁵jõ⁵³ =ji d^hæ̃⁵³çə¹¹ ta⁵³ de ræ̃⁵⁵
Lhayong =ERG teleCH watch CONT REN

a¹¹ka⁵³ =ji ⁿdzĩ³⁵³ k^ha¹¹la⁵⁵ p^hə- tɕ^ha⁵³ ra t^hæ̃ ŋõ
child =ERG rice all thither eat RA PFV VIS.IPFV

'While/when Lhayong was watching TV, the child ate up all the rice'

The meaning of $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ is frequently indeterminate and it is difficult to decide whether the meaning of $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ is subsequent, causal, or simultaneous temporal relations, suggesting that a precise distinction is unimportant to interlocuters.

Elicited1071

(52). $a^{11}r\tilde{i}^{55}$ fji^{353} ngw^{53} tsa $ma^{11}m\tilde{o}^{55}$ je^{13} $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 today work do ? much EX.INAN.NEG.SELF REN

ηa^{13} $s^ho^{11}m\tilde{o}^{55}$ re $s\tilde{o}$
 1SABS peaceful COP.OTHR EGO

'(Because) I did not have so much work today, I am peaceful'

GetDivA44,45

(53). $a^{11}ka^{53}$ $a^{11}j\tilde{n}\tilde{o}^{55}$ je^{13} ru $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 child good do POL REN

$t\tilde{a}^{13}$ ma^{13} la $si^{55}p\tilde{o}$
 then mother also happy

'When children do good, then mother is also happy.'

It appears that the specific semantics of $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ in the clauses above are irrelevant. That is, the speaker in (53) does not seem to make a distinction between *when*, *after*, or *because*, as all of these can indicate a connection between the children doing good and the mother being happy. Similarly, the use of $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ in the following clause is indeterminate as to whether it is a temporal or causal relationship that is being signaled.

GetDivB008

(54). *fji*⁵⁵*su*⁵³ *wə̃*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *rə* *a*⁵⁵*ka*⁵³ *=kĩ* *zə-* *ma-* *tə*¹³ *rə̃*⁵⁵ *rə*
at.first then TOP child =PL up NEG grasp REN TOP

*do*¹¹*re*⁵⁵ *la*
miserable PTCL

'At first then, when/because the children did not understand, (things/life/I) was miserable'.

*rə̃*⁵⁵ is very frequently used in recapitulative clauses. This is the function that

Longacre and Thompson (1985: 209) refer to as 'tail-head linkage' in which

'something mentioned in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph is referred to by means of back-reference in an adverbial clause in the following paragraph'.

GetMar012-14

(55). *zi*¹³ *zō*¹³ *n**do*
book study EX.AN.SELF

*tə̃*¹³ *zi*¹³ *zō*¹³ *n**do* *rə̃*⁵⁵
then book study EX.AN.SELF REN

k^h*ə*⁵⁵*ŋa*⁵³ *-kĩ* *ŋa*¹³ *wə*⁵⁵*tso*⁵³ *tʂə*⁵⁵*tʂa*¹¹
3PL -PL 1SDAT like.this ask

'...*(I)* was studying. Then when *(I)* was studying, they asked me about this matter'.

Recapitulative clauses are frequently found in procedural texts such as the following:

ButterCheese004/005

- (56). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^h\partial-$ $\$i^{53}$
then churn thither rinse

$n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^h\partial-$ $\$i^{53}$ $t^h\tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
churn thither rinse PFV REN

'Then rinse out the churn. When the churn has been rinsed out...'

Example (56) occurs in a procedural text in which the speaker explains how to make butter and cheese. It contains thirty-three clauses, fifteen of which are finite clauses.

Of the remaining eighteen clauses, $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ occurs twelve times in a recapitulative function.

The second-most-frequent morpheme that constructs medial verbs is *ni*.

Example (57) provides a simple illustration of a clause chain.

Elicited

- (57). $k^h\tilde{u}i^{55}$ ηa^{13} $t^h\tilde{u}^{353}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
3SERG 1S see REN

$z\partial-$ $j\tilde{o}^{13}$ $w\tilde{u}$ ni ηe^{13} = $g\tilde{o}$ $t\$\tilde{o}^{11}t\partial o$ $s\tilde{o}$
up rise come NF 1SGEN =OBJ hug EGO

'when he saw me, (he) got up and hugged me'

The second clause with the medial marker *ni* is clearly not modifying either the preceding or following clause, but signaling a sequential relationship between the second and third clause. Note that the first clause with $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ provides a context for both the second and third clauses.

Similarly, the clauses in (58) indicate that the main event (in the independent clause) occurs subsequent to the first clause.

Elicited691

- (58). ne¹³ t^ha⁵⁵tce⁵³ ni n^gur⁵³ zĩ
1SERG decide NI do COP.SELF

'I have decided to do it' (I decided and/having decided I (will) do it')

Sometimes the distinction between *rã*⁵⁵ and *ni* is indeterminate as can be seen

in the following sequence of clauses.

GoodSam024

- (59). zə- dã³⁵³ te⁵³ rã⁵⁵
up wrap GIVE REN

- (60). k^hə⁵⁵ zə- n^dzə⁵³ ni
3S up grab NI

- (61). rõ¹¹rõ⁵⁵ =ji ta⁵³ p^hə- ɕa⁵³ tɕo⁵³
REFL =GEN horse thither ride CAUS

'(He) wrapped him up, grabbed him, and had him ride his own horse'

The three events expressed by the three clauses *wrapped* (59), *grabbed* (60), and *cause to ride* (61) clearly happen sequentially, yet *rã*⁵⁵ marks the first clause and *ni* marks the second clause. One possible interpretation is that *rã*⁵⁵ clauses are more imperfective than *ni* clauses. Thus the state of *being wrapped* continued while the event of *grabbing* did not. But this is not completely satisfactory.

Negative clauses with medial verbs are syntactically the same as other dependent clauses, but of course, the meaning is different.

GoodSam015

- (62). k^hə⁵⁵ t^hũ⁵⁵ rǎ⁵⁵
3SABS SEE REN
'When (he) saw him,

GoodSam016

- (63). a¹¹wũ⁵⁵ la tɕi⁵³ la ma- k^hao⁵⁵ ni
again also one also NEG- pity NI
again (like the others), not pitying (him) at all,

GoodSam017

- (64). k^hə⁵⁵ =wǔ tɕi⁵³ la ma- ta⁵³ ni
3SABS =OBJ one even NEG look NI
not looking at him at all,

GoodSam018

- (65). wə⁵⁵tso⁵³ pi¹³ ⁿdzu¹³
that.way walk go
(he) walked away'.

(62) to (65) are taken from the story *Prodigal*. A man has been beaten up and is lying beside the road in terrible condition. In this series of clauses, it is difficult to say that the medial clauses are to indicate a series of events or to move the narrative forward in any way, as these clauses contain non-events. Rather, the medial clauses denote background events rather than foreground events.

Sometimes the distinction between a sequential relationship and a causal relationship between two clauses is indeterminate.

ElicitedB353

- (66). ŋe¹³ tɕ^hitɕ^ho k^həo⁵⁵ tso⁵³ ni p^ha⁵³ tɕo⁵³ ji
1SERG balloonCH needle poke NI pop CAUS SELF.PFV
I needle-poked the balloon and made it pop'

A causal relationship can be made explicit with the addition of the optional non-final clauses introducer *ma¹¹zə⁵⁵* 'because'.

Elicited447

- (67). *ma¹¹zə⁵⁵* *wə⁵⁵tə¹¹* *a¹¹ka⁵³* *n¹¹dzo¹¹ba⁵⁵* *p^hu³⁵³* *ni*
 because that child fast run NI

dzəo⁵³ -ŋa t^{hi}

fall -NGA VIS.PFV

'Because that child was running fast, (s/he) fell down'

Elicited830

- (68). *ma¹¹zə⁵⁵* *ce⁵⁵* *n¹¹dzu³⁵³* *n¹¹dzu¹³* *ni*
 because 2SABS fall go NI

tæ¹³ ŋa¹³ ga¹³ səe si n̄õ

then 1S laugh EMIT KNOW VIS.IPFV

'Because you fell down, I burst out laughing'

12.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause that modifies a noun or noun phrase (Keenan 1985, T. Payne 1997) and that supplies 'either anaphoric or cataphoric clues for referent identification' (Givón 2001: 175).

Mazaudon (1977), in her description of relative clauses in Central Tibetan dialects, pointed out that Tibetan employs nominalization as a relativization strategy. In fact, the boundary between nominalization and relativization is not always so clear: DeLancey (1993) points out that 'relativization is simply one function of

nominalization'. Descriptions of relativization in Tibetan are available for Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992), Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1999), Shigatse Tibetan (Kim 1989), Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2003), and Dege Khams Tibetan (Häsler 1999).

12.2.1 *Typological characteristics*

Relative clauses in Dongwang can be headed or headless. All headed relative clauses are either head-final or internally-headed. Relative clauses are often nominalized clauses, occasionally with a genitive marker, but not always so. That is, relative clauses can be constructed from a nominalized clause with a genitive marker, without a genitive marker, or a clause without even a nominalizer.

- Elicited
- (69). [çi⁵⁵ ŋa¹³ te⁵³ -nə] =ji tə¹¹ki⁵⁵ hũ⁵⁵hũ¹¹ wə⁵⁵tə¹¹
 2SERG 1SDAT give -nZR =GEN coat blue SPEC
'The blue coat that [you gave to me]'

The nominalized clause in (69) modifies the head noun *tə¹¹ki⁵⁵* 'coat'. This relationship is overtly specified with the genitive casemarker =*ji*. Note that other noun phrase elements follow the head noun in the order expected.

Internally-headed relative clauses never co-occur with the genitive. In head-final clauses, the optional genitive marker is omitted more than it is present.

- Elicited
- (70). $wə^{55}tə^{11}$ [$da^{53}bao^{11}$ $ŋe^{13}$ = $g\tilde{o}$ $hə^{53}$ de $-nə$]
 that always 1SGEN =OBJ bite CONT -NZR
- (= ji) $çə^{53}$ re
 (=GEN) dog COP.OTHR
 'That is the dog that [always bites me]'

Speakers report that there is no meaning difference between the presence or absence of the genitive.

Some relative clauses are constructed without nominalizers. Relative clauses in which the head noun is a time word, and relative clauses in which the head noun is $tə^{55}wa^{53}$ 'reason' are the only two relative clause types that are formed without a nominalizer.⁵

- GetDivB020
- (71). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ [$wə^{55}ŋa^{53}$ = $k\tilde{i}$ $li^{11}k^{h}ui^{55}$ je^{13}] $sə^{55}ts^{h}i^{11}$ $n\tilde{a}^{11}la^{55}$
 then 1PL =PL divorceCH VBZR time inside
 'Then during the time [we divorced]'

- KillaPig
- (72). \tilde{o} [$t\tilde{ç}ə^{55}$ $z\tilde{a}^{13}$ gui] $tə^{55}wa^{53}$ $rə$
 oh knife stab MOD reason TOP
 'Oh, the reason [(one) should stab (the pig)]',

Dongwang utilizes the gapping strategy in the construction of head-final relative clauses. That is, the argument of the relative clause that is co-referential with the head noun is missing in the relative clause.

⁵ I have one instance of a relative clause with a genitive but without a nominalizer: $ŋe^{13}$ [$tç^{h}ə^{55}$ $t\tilde{s}^{h}i^{53}$] = ji $b\tilde{u}^{11}ba^{55}$ $ŋ\tilde{a}^{13}$ $dzi?$ a re s 'Don't I have the power [to take water]?'

Elicited

- (73). [0 ζe^{55} tsi^{53} $w\ddot{u}^{13}$ -nə] $\eta\theta^{13}$ $s\ddot{o}$
0 2S look.for come -nZR person COME.PFV
'The person who [0 came looking for you] has come'

Elicited

- (74). $w\theta^{55}t\theta$ $\zeta\theta^{53}$ [ηe^{13} 0 $du^{13}r\theta^{55}$ $t\zeta\theta^{53}$ -nə] $\zeta\theta^{55}$ re
that dog 1SERG 0 kick VBZR -NZR dog COP.OTHR
'The dog is the dog [I kicked 0]'

The position which a coreferential noun phrase would occupy if it were present in the relative clauses in (73) and (74) corresponds to a gap (indicated by 0). In (73), the gap corresponds to *person*, which is the A argument in the embedded clause and the S argument in the matrix clause. In (74) the gap corresponds to *dog*, which is the P argument in the embedded clause and the predicate nominal of the matrix clause.

There are three nominalizers that are productive in the formation of relative clauses: -*sa* <sa> which nominalizes locations and instruments, -*mi*⁵³ (~*mi*¹³*nə*)⁶ which nominalizes defined locations in perfective clauses, and -*nə* <myi> for everything else.

⁶ The WT etymology of *mi*⁵³ is unknown.

12.2.2 Relative clauses with the nominalizer *-sa*

Recall from §3.1.1.2.4 *-sa* is both a locational and instrument nominalizer.

These functions also occur in the construction of relative clauses. The most common use of *-sa* is to relativize locations.

GoodSam022

- (75). $\underset{\cdot}{n}u^{353}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $a^{55}ra^{53}$ = $k\tilde{i}$
oil and liquor =PL

$[k^{h}ui^{55}$ $d\tilde{o}^{353}$ ra $-sa]$ $p^{h}\partial-$ jo^{53} te^{53}
3SGEN beat RA -NZR thither pour GIVE
'(He) poured oil and liquor on the places where [he had been beaten].'

Elicited

- (76). $w\partial^{55}na^{53}$ $r\partial$ $[t\check{\epsilon}^{h}\partial^{55}ts\partial^{11}$ = ji $\check{\epsilon}\partial^{53}$ = $g\tilde{o}$ $t\check{\epsilon}\partial o^{53}$ ra $-sa^{55}]$ re
this.here TOP carCH =INSTR dog =OBJ strike RA -NZR COP.OTHR
'This here is where [the car hit the dog]'

The nominalizer *-sa* is also used to relativize instruments.

Elicited

- (77). $t\partial^{55}r\partial^{11}$ $[\check{\epsilon}\partial^{55}$ $t\check{\epsilon}\partial o^{53}$ $-sa]$ $t\check{\epsilon}^{h}\partial^{55}ts\partial^{11}$ re
that.there dog strike -NZR car COP.OTHR
'That is the car with which (someone) [hit the dog].'

Elicited

- (78). $t\check{\epsilon}^{h}\partial^{55}$ $t^{h}\tilde{o}^{353}$ $-sa$ = ji $bei^{55}ts\partial^{11}$ re
water drink -NZR =GEN cupCH COP.OTHR
'(It) is a cup with which [to drink water]' (= 'a water-drinking cup')

The examples in (77) and (78) are examples of instrument nominalization. I have one example of a less concrete instrumental relative clause.

Miscarriage
 (79). $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $w\partial^{55}$ ja^{53} $k^h\tilde{u}i^{55}$ $m\tilde{i}^{11}$ $^n do$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 then 1PL KunmingCH EX.AN.SELF REN

$t\check{c}u^{53}$ $t\partial^{55}$ je^{13} ni [$^n dzu^{13}$ $^n dzu^{13}$ -sa] $ma-$ $j\tilde{a}^{13}$
 actually that do NI go go -NZR NEG- find

'Then when we were in Kunming, doing that, (we) actually didn't find (a solution) [to go]' (= 'we didn't find a way to go')

Example (79) is taken from a text in which a woman begins to have serious complications during her pregnancy and eventually loses the baby. When she is in Dongwang she telephones the narrator who is in Kunming. Because the narrator is in Kunming, she cannot help her friend very much.

12.2.3 *Relative clauses with the nominalizer -mi⁵³*

The nominalizer *-mi⁵³* ($\sim mi^{13}n\partial^{11}$) is also a place nominalizer, but one that only nominalizes specific and well-defined locations in perfective events.

Elicited3319: Nominalizer *-mi⁵³*
 (80). $w\partial^{55}$ $t\partial^{11}$ $ma-$ $t\check{c}^h a^{13}$ [wu^{11} Y^{55} =ji $t\check{c}^h a^{13}$ -mi⁵³] re
 that NEG eat cat =ERG eat -NZR COP.OTHR
'Don't eat that. That is where [the cat ate]'. \sim 'That is what [the cat had been eating]'.

The nominalized verb $t\phi^h a^{13} -mi^{53}$ does not refer to a place where the cat was eating (e.g., *in the kitchen*, or *in the bowl*), but to some remnant of what the cat had been eating on. Given the appropriate context, it can also mean 'the place where (someone) ate' as well.

While the nominalizer *-sa* can also be used in perfective contexts, *-mi* appears to be restricted to relative clauses that co-occur with matrix clauses that carry a perfective sense. Consider the following examples.

Elicited

- (81). $k^h a^{11} ts\tilde{o}^{55}$ ηa^{13} $z\tilde{a}^{13}$ *-sa* $da^{55} m\emptyset^{11}$ *re*
 yesterday 1SABS play -NMZR pretty COP.OTHR
 '[The place where I played yesterday] is beautiful'

- (82). * $k^h a^{11} ts\tilde{o}^{55}$ ηa^{13} $z\tilde{a}^{13}$ $-mi^{13} (\sim mi^{13} n\emptyset^{11})$ $da^{55} m\emptyset^{11}$ *re*

While the nominalizer *-sa* can be used in (81), $-mi^{53}$ is ungrammatical in (82).

However, the following relative clause with $-mi^{53}$ is acceptable.

Elicited

- (83). [$k^h a^{11} ts\tilde{o}^{55}$ ηa^{13} $z\tilde{a}^{13}$ $-mi^{13} n\emptyset^{11}$]
 yesterday 1s play -NZR

$mi^{13} ru^{53}$ $ma^{11} m\emptyset^{55}$ $t\phi i$ tsu^{53} *-ra* *ji*
 flower many INDF plant -RA COP.SELF.PFV
 '(I) planted many flowers where [I played yesterday]'

In Example (83) the planting of flowers occurs in a specific, defined location. One could substitute *-sa* in (83), but the meaning would change slightly. My consultant suggested the same clause with *-sa* be translated as *the place we played/were playing*. This supports the idea of *-mi* (*nə*) occurring in clauses with more perfective meaning. A few more examples will help illustrate the differences between *-sa* and *-mi*⁵³.

- Elicited
 (84). [k^ha¹¹ts^hõ⁵⁵ n^{do}353 -sa] n^{do}353 n^{dzu}13 wũ
 yesterday sit -n^{zr} sit go COME
 'Let's go sit in the place where [we sat yesterday]'

The sentence in (84) could be uttered regardless of whether the speaker was inside or outside the restaurant. In an identical context, *-mi* would be ungrammatical. The same sentence, substituting *-mi* for *-sa*, would have a slightly different meaning.

- Elicited
 (85). [k^ha¹¹ts^hõ⁵⁵ n^{do}353 -mi⁵³] n^{do}353 n^{dzu}13 wũ
 yesterday sit -n^{zr} sit go COME
 'Let's go sit in the place where [we sat yesterday]'

On the surface, (84) and (85) look identical, but the implicatures are different. Unlike the sentence in (84), (85) would only be spoken if the speaker and addressee were inside the restaurant trying to decide where to sit. Seeing the seats where they had previously sat, they pick the same seats that they sat in before.

12.2.4 Relative clauses with the nominalizer *-nə*

The nominalizer *-nə* is by far the most frequent and flexible nominalizer in Dongwang. In word formation (§3.1.1.2.4), it is an agent nominalizer, but in relative clauses it is used to relativize agents, patients, benefactives, and occasionally even locations. In the following section I give examples of the various types of relativizing functions that *-nə* has.

Agent (S argument) relativization:

ElicitedB368

(86). *[piqiu tɕəo⁵³ -nə] nə¹³ k^ha¹¹la⁵³*
 basketballCH play NMZR man all

bɿ¹¹gi⁵⁵ t^ho⁵⁵mə¹¹ re
 stature tall COP.OTHR
 'All the men [playing basketball] are tall'

The relative clause in Example (86) is a head-final relative clause. The relative clause itself *piqiu tɕəo⁵³* 'play basketball' is first nominalized by *-nə* and then precedes the head noun *nə¹³* 'man' which is followed by the quantifier *k^ha¹¹la⁵³*. The relative clause functions to modify 'man' in a restrictive sense, e.g., 'all men who are playing basketball'.

Agent (A argument) relativization:

Elicited

- (87). $wə^{55}tə \quad \varphiə^{53} \quad [ŋe^{13} \quad =gō \quad hə^{53} \quad ɲō^{13} \quad -nə] \quad re$
 that dog 1SGEN =OBJ bite EXP -NZR COP.OTHR
'That is the dog [that bit me]'

In (87) *the dog* is the A argument in the relative clause and the predicate nominal in the matrix clause.

Patient relativization

Elicited:

- (88). $[tə^{11}p^h a^{53} \quad ɕæ^{353} \quad -ra \quad -nə] \quad tə^{11}ki^{55} \quad mə^{55}mæ^{53} \quad tə^{11}$
 over.there hang -RA -NZR coat red SPEC

$ŋe^{13} \quad zə̃^{13} \quad zī$
 1SGEN possession COP.SELF

'The red coat [(that someone) hung over there] is mine'

GetDivA016

- (89). $tə̃^{13} \quad ŋe^{13} \quad ɲə^{13} \quad pə^{11}sə^{55} \quad tɕ^hi^{53} \quad -nə \quad ɲə^{13} \quad =ji \quad rə$
 then 1SERG man spouse lead -NZR man =GEN TOP

$ŋa^{13} \quad p^h ə- \quad pæ^{53} \quad ra$
 1S thither discard RA

'Then my man, the man [led/picked to be (my) spouse] rejected me'

In (88) *coat* is the P argument in the relative clause and the S argument of the matrix clause. In (89) *my man* or *spouse* is the P argument in the relative clause and the A argument in the matrix clause.

-nə is also used to relativize oblique arguments like locations and recipients.

All the examples I have of -nə occurring in locative nominalizations occur with the head noun *sa⁵⁵tɕ^ha⁵³* 'place'.

Elicited

- (90). *wə⁵⁵na⁵³ rə tɕ^hə⁵⁵tsə¹¹ =ji ɕə⁵³ =gõ*
 this.here TOP carCH =INSTR/ERG dog =OBJ

tɕə⁵³ ra -nə =ji sa⁵⁵tɕ^ha⁵³ re
 strike RA -NZR =GEN place COP.OTHR

'This here is the place where [the car struck the dog]'

Elicited

- (91). [*ŋe¹³ zi¹³ te⁵³ -nə*] *ŋe¹³ a¹¹jY⁵⁵ re*
 1SERG book give -nZR 1SGEN older.brother COP.OTHR

'The guy [I gave a book to] is my older brother'

The recoverability of arguments in relative clauses is often dependent on the presence of other arguments in the clause and the listener's ability to, by process of elimination, determine the referent. For example, in (91) the co-referential argument is gapped, but the presence of an agent and an object make it possible to determine that *my older brother* is the recipient. The dative casemarking on the argument in (92) indicates that the gapped argument is the recipient in the relative clause.

Elicited

- (92). [*ŋa¹³ zi¹³ te⁵³ -nə*] *ŋe¹³ a¹¹jY⁵⁵ re*
 1SDAT book give -nZR 1SGEN older.brother COP.OTHR

'The guy [who gave a book to me] is my older brother'

Up to this point, I have illustrated examples of head-final and headless relative clauses using the nominalizer *-nə*. Internally-headed relative clauses also occur in Dongwang, as the following example shows.

- Elicited510
 (93). $[k^{h}ui^{53}$ kui^{13} $s\tilde{a}^{13}$ $k^{h}\partial$ de $-nə$ $=k\tilde{i}]$
 3SERG clothes wear KHU CONT -NZR =PL

 ηe^{13} $z\tilde{a}^{13}$ re
 1SGEN belonging COP.OTHR
 '[The clothes she is wearing] are mine'

In Example (93) the nominal head of the noun phrase *kui¹³* 'clothes' occurs in the middle of the relative clause. This is an internally-headed relative clause.

- Butter&Cheese006
 (94). $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $[s\tilde{a}^{13}$ $=nə$ $w\tilde{o}^{13}$ jo^{53} $-ra$ ze^{13} $-nə]$ $r\partial$
 then tub =LOC milk pour -RA EX.INAN -NZR TOP

 $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $=nə$ $z\partial$ jo^{53}
 churn =LOC up pour
 'Then pour [the milk that has been poured into the tub] up into the churn'

Example (94) is also an example of an internally-headed relative clause. All the examples I have of internally-headed relative clauses are patient relativization in which the patient is inanimate.

12.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are verbs or clauses that function as an argument of another verb. In Dongwang, there are finite and non-finite complement clauses. Each

of these is arranged below according from the most loosely-integrated to the most tightly-integrated clausal relations. This allows us to consider the 'complexity continuum', proposed by Givón (2001: 40ff) and others, which claims that 'the closer the structural integration between complement and main verb, the closer the conceptual integration is likely to be' (Payne 1997: 424). At the end of this chapter, I will more closely examine this claim in light of the Dongwang data.

12.3.1 *Finite complement clauses*

The least-integrated clauses are simply juxtaposed finite clauses which share semantic dependence. These are not considered complement clauses in the sense that one clause functions as an argument of another. Dongwang speakers seem to be very content to juxtapose clauses next to each other. The juxtaposition leaves addressees to infer the type of relationship the two clauses hold with one another.

Elicited

- (95). *k^ha⁵⁵la⁵³ hao⁵⁵ku¹¹ dzi?*
 all know OTHR

[k^hui⁵⁵ ŋe¹³ a¹¹lɿ⁵⁵ ki⁵⁵mo⁵³ je¹³ tʂi dzi?]
 3SERG 1SGEN cat thief VBZR LEAD OTHR
 'Everyone knows. S/he stole my cat'

Elicited

- (96). *[k^hui⁵⁵ ŋe¹³ a¹¹lɿ⁵⁵ ki⁵⁵mo⁵³ je¹³ pã⁵³]*
 3SERG 1SGEN cat steal VBZR NEG

ŋe¹³ k^hui⁵⁵ =gõ tã⁵⁵ʂõ⁵³
 1SERG 3SGEN =OBJ believe
 'He did not steal my cat. I believe him'

Both examples in (96) and (97) consist of two finite clauses with a slight pause in between. There is nothing in the morphology of these clauses to suggest anything other than semantic relatedness.

The same verbs that can participate in clause juxtaposition can also be embedded within the matrix clause. These are complement clauses.

- Elicited
 (97). $\eta\theta^{13}$ $k^h a^{55} l a^{53}$ = $j i$
 person all =ERG

 $[k^h u i^{55} \eta e^{13} a^{11} l y^{55} k i^{55} m o^{53} j e^{13} t\check{s} i d\check{z} i?] \quad h a o^{55} k u^{11} d\check{z} i?$
 3SERG 1SGEN cat thief VBZR LEAD OTHR know OTHR
'Everyone knows [s/he stole my cat]'

- Elicited
 (98). ηe^{13} $[k^h u i^{55} \eta e^{13} a^{11} l y^{55} k i^{55} m o^{53} j e^{13} p\check{a}^{53}]$
 1SERG 3SERG 1SGEN cat steal VBZR NEG

 $k^h u i^{55} = g\check{o} \quad t\check{a}\check{e}^{55} \check{z} o^{53}$
 3SGEN =OBJ believe
'I believe [he did not steal my cat]'

The fact that (98) and (99) are surrounded by constituents from the matrix clause clearly shows that these are embedded complement clauses.

Four complement-taking verbs that allow embedding of finite clauses have been found. These are $h a o^{53} k u^{11}$ 'to know', $t\check{a}\check{e}^{55} \check{z} o^{53}$ 'to believe', $t\check{c} e^{13}$ 'to forget' and $s\check{a}^{55}$ 'to say'.

- Elicited
 (99). [k^hə⁵⁵ k^hui⁵⁵mĩ¹¹ ⁿdzu¹³ dʒi?] ts^hæ⁵³ sō
 3S KunmingCH go COP.OTHR hear EGO
 '(I) heard [s/he went to Kunming]'

- Elicited
 (100). k^hui⁵⁵ [k^he¹¹tʂ^hu dzu¹³tʂ^hã⁵³ ʂi dʒi?]
 3SERG Khetru dance KNOW OTHR

p^hə- tʂe¹³ tʂo dʒi?
 thither forget CAUS OTHR

'He forgot Khetru knew/knows how to dance'.

The most common fully-finite embedded complement clauses are those which code direct and indirect speech⁷. Regarding the status of quotative speech in Newar, Genetti (2005: 52) argues that 'syntactic and prosodic cohesiveness' provide evidence that quoted material are object complements. In Dongwang, the verb sə⁵⁵'to say' is a ditransitive verb. The speaker in the matrix clause is an ergative argument and the addressee is a dative argument. The speech complement is unmarked, as would be expected of an absolutive argument. Complements of quotation can be one or more complete sentences embedded in a matrix clause.

- GetMar034-36
 (101). tã¹³ ŋa¹³ =jæ [na⁵⁵wõ⁵³ ⁿdzu¹³ gui dʒi?] se
 then 1SDAT =DAT wife go NEED OTHR say
 'Then (people) said to me'[(You) should go be a bride]'

⁷ There is no formal distinction between direct and indirect speech in Dongwang. This is not unusual as it is the case in other Tibetan dialects that 'There is no structural (or syntactic) difference between the two types of speech' (Tournadre and Dorje 2003:424).

- (102). *tæ*¹³ *ŋe*¹³ *rə* [*ŋa*¹³ *n*¹³*dzu*¹³ *tsi* *me*¹³] *sə*⁵⁵ *ji*
 then 1SERG TOP 1SABS go PROSP NEG.SELF say COP.SELF
'Then I said, 'I am not going to go'

(101) and (102) occur adjacent to each other in the text *Getting Married*. People told the narrator that she should go be a bride and she responds that she is not going to go. Both complement clauses contain TAM marking as well as finite auxiliaries and both function as object complements of the verb 'to say'.

Often in longer quotations, the speaker is coded as an ergative argument in the beginning of the section, but the verb 'to say' is reduced to *s*, the same form as the quotative evidential marker (§9.2.1.4.1.4). Further, this marker usually does not occur after the end of every clause, finite or non-finite, but seems to appear after a long portion of quoted speech.

GetMar48-50

- (103). *ba*⁵⁵³ =*ji* *la* [*tsə*⁵⁵*ga*⁵³ *çi*⁵⁵*ŋi*⁵³ *a*⁵⁵*mo*⁵³ *ŋu*⁵³ =*ji*
 father =ERG also little 2PLGEN g'mother two =ERG

- (104). *çe*⁵⁵ *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *a*⁵⁵*mo*⁵³ *ŋu*⁵³ =*ji* *lu*¹³ *ra* -*nə* *re*]
 2SABS that g'mother two =ERG do RA -NZR COP.OTHR
'Father (said), 'Little one, your two grandmothers, those two grandmothers, are the ones who have arranged it'

- (105). [*ma*- *n*¹³*dzu*¹³ *p*^{hə}- *n*¹³*dzu*¹³ *re*] *s*
 NEG- go thither- go COP.OTHR QTV
'You must go' (lit: you cannot not go)

The quote above consists of two finite clauses, but only the final finite clause is bounded by the quotative particle *s*. This raises the question of whether or not clauses like those in (103) - (105) are complement clauses or not. On the one hand, the

phonological reduction of *sə* 'to say' to *s* suggests that the verb has already undergone reanalysis to the quotative particle. However, the presence of the ergative argument, presumably of the verb 'to say', in (103) is problematic. To speakers, there is not a sharp line between the verb and the particle, as both serve the same function. Syntactically, there is indeterminacy.

12.3.2 *Non-finite complement clauses*

12.3.2.1 *Nominalized complement clauses*

Two nominalizers, *-sa* and *-nə*, are used to construct object (*-sa*) and subject (*-nə*) complements. Two verbs of perception, *t^hũ³⁵³* 'to see' and *tə⁵³* 'to look', 'to watch' may take nominalized object complements in my data.

Elicited

(106). *ŋe¹³ [k^hə⁵⁵ dzəo⁵³ -ŋa -sa] t^hũ³⁵³ sũ*
 1SERG 3SABS fall -NGA -NZR see EGO
'I saw [him/her fall down]'

(107). *k^hui⁵⁵ [k^hui⁵⁵ tɕa¹³ tsa⁵⁵ -sa] tə⁵³ de ɲũ*
 3SERG 3SERG tea churn -NZR watch CONT VIS.PFV
'He is watching [him/her] make tea'

In (106) and (107), the complement clause is embedded between the matrix A argument and the verb. The arguments of the complement clauses are case-marked for their relationship to the complement clauses. The absolutive pronoun in the

complement clause in (106) co-occurs with the intransitive verb *dzəo*⁵³ 'to fall down'.

The ergative pronoun in the complement clause in (107) co-occurs with the transitive verb *tsa*⁵⁵ 'to churn'.⁸

The only subject complements found in my database are those formed with the general nominalizer *-nə* and are S arguments of copulas.

HeartAttack164

- (108). [*n*gu¹¹zō⁵³ sə⁵⁵ -nə] zī pǎ⁵³
faint say -NZR COP.SELF NEG
'It cannot be called fainting' (calling fainting is not)

Elicited

- (109). [*ma*- ju¹³ -nə] mǔ¹³ nǒ
NEG understand -NZR much VIS.PFV
'There is much (I) don't understand'

12.3.2.2 *du, ru*

There are two complementizing particles that are lexically-specified and have been found to co-occur with *tʂa*⁵³ 'to fear' and *s^hǎ*⁵³ 'to think', 'to wish'. The first one, *du*, only occurs with the verb *tʂa*⁵³ 'to fear'.

⁸ Butter tea is made in a narrow cylinder. After the hot water, tea and butter are poured into the cylinder, a stick with a wheel-shaped head is used to mix the tea together. The verb *tsa*⁵⁵ describes the plunging motion when making butter tea.

Elicited

- (110). [ŋa¹³ zæ¹³ wũ] du tʂa⁵³ ʂi
1S fat COME DU fear KNOW
'I am afraid [(of) becoming fat]'

Elicited

- (111). [k^hui⁵⁵ tɕ^hə⁵⁵zə dõ³⁵³ gui] du tʂa⁵³ ʂi dʒi?
3SERG carCH VBZR NEED DU fear KNOW OTHR
'He is afraid [(of) having to drive a car]'

Note that the complement clause in (110) does not have a modal verb, but the complement clause in (111) does. This reflects a difference between a stative verb and an active verb in the complement clause. Note also that the complement clause arguments are casemarked for the verb of the complement clause in (110) and (111). Speakers do not feel comfortable expressing the subject argument of both the matrix and embedded clause, likely because the arguments of clauses with tʂa⁵³ are co-referential.

A second complementizing particle *ru* only occurs with the complement-taking verb s^hã⁵³ 'to think'. When s^hã⁵³ co-occurs with *ru*, it means 'to wish' or 'to wonder'.

Elicited

- (112). [ŋa¹³ gõ⁵⁵tso⁵³ a jã¹³] ru s^hã⁵³ ʂi ni
1SDAT workCH QST find RU think MOD NI
'I wonder [will I find work?]' (I wonder if I will find work)

Elicited

- (113). [ŋa¹³ a¹¹ŋõ⁵⁵ re] ru s^hã⁵³ ŋõ
1S good COP.OTHR RU think VIS.IPFV
'(I) think [I can be good]' (=become good)

12.3.2.3 Zero marking

In some types of complement structures, the verb is non-finite and there is no clause morphology that intervenes between verbs. These include *gu* (~*gui*) 'to want', *ga*¹³ 'to like', *dã*³⁵³ 'to like', *tɕo*⁵³ 'to cause', *ŋa*⁵³ 'to send', and *ʂi* 'to know how to'.

Elicited

- (114). *k^{hui}55 [sã¹³ lu¹³] [p^{hə}11rə⁵⁵ tʂ^{hə}55] gui dʒi?*
 3SERG food cook dish clean NEED OTHR
 '(She wants to [cook food (and) clean dishes])'

- (115). *[k^{hui}55 kui¹³ da¹¹mə⁵⁵ ʂã¹³] ga¹³ dʒi?*
 3SERG clothes pretty wear like OTHR
 '(S/he likes [to wear pretty clothes])'

Elicited

- (116). *[ŋe¹³ k^{hui}55 kui¹³ da¹¹mə⁵⁵ ʂã¹³] ga¹³*
 1SERG 3SGEN clothes pretty wear like
 '(I) like [to wear her pretty clothes]'

The pronouns in (115) and (116) are likely arguments of the complement clause verb, as the verb *ga*¹³ 'to laugh', 'to be happy' does not normally take an ergative

casemarker. The verb, *dã*³⁵³ 'to like', can also take an object complement clause to mean almost the same thing.⁹

Elicited

- (117). [*ŋe*¹³ *kui*¹³ *ʂe*⁵⁵*wa*⁵³ *ʂã*¹³] *ma-* *ga/dã*
 1SERG clothes wet wear NEG- like/like
 '(I) don't like [to wear wet clothes]'

When the A argument of a complement clause is the causee of the matrix clause, it occurs in the dative case. This is in line with Givón's observation (2001: 41) regarding the 'syntactic prototype of manipulation verbs' in that the manipulee of the main verb is both the subject of the complement clause and the direct object or indirect object of the main clause. In Dongwang, the dative casemarking indicates that the manipulee is an indirect object of the main clause.

Elicited

- (118). *k^hui*⁵⁵ [*k^hua*⁵³ *tɕa*¹³ *tʂa*⁵⁵] *tɕo*⁵³ *dʒi?*
 3SERG [3SDAT tea churn] CAUS OTHR
 'S/he made [her make butter tea]'

Elicited

- (119). *ɕi*⁵⁵ [*ɕi*⁵⁵ *ŋə*¹³ =*jæ* *da*¹¹*wa*⁵⁵ *tɕe*⁵³] *tɕo*⁵³ *gui* *dʒi?*
 2SERG 2SGEN man =DAT smoke cut CAUS NEED OTHR
 'You should make [your man quit smoking]'

⁹ There are at least two differences between these verbs which are not directly relevant to complement clauses. The meaning of the verb *ga*¹³ includes 'to be happy' and 'to laugh'. It means 'to like' only in complement clauses and cannot be used for people.

Prop016

- (120). $wə^{55}tə^{11}$ $nə^{13}$ =*ji* [$k^h ua^{53}$ $ʂɿ^{55}$ *na* *mbə* =*jæ* $p^h a^{53}$ $ts^h u^{55}$]
that man =ERG 3SDAT field inside down =LOC pig herd

$ŋa^{53}$ *dzi?*
send OTHR

'That man sent him to herd pigs down in the field'

It is difficult to draw a clear line between these types of complement constructions and the secondary verb constructions described in Chapter Nine. In fact, it is evident that this type of structure in Dongwang has followed a well-known path of grammaticalization in which a complement-taking verb travels from full verb to secondary verb to auxiliary to a morpheme. The matrix verb of a complement construction may begin as a full verb, but as times goes on, it takes on a more grammatical function and loses lexical meaning. Sometimes both meanings are still active in the language, as is the case for many of the complement-taking verbs in Dongwang. Consider the following two clauses which illustrate this using the complement-taking verb $ʂi^{53}$ 'know', 'know how to':

MyLife221

- (121). [$tɕ^h ə^{55} su^{53}$ $mə^{33}$ *te^{53}*] $ʂi^{53}$
cold medicine give know.how.to
'(I) know how to [give cold medicine]'

Elicited

- (122). $ŋa^{13}$ $wə^{55n} də^{11}$ $zi^{11} ki^{55}$ $a^{55} bə^{53}$ $dā^{353}$ $ʂi$
1SDAT this book INT like KNOW
'I really like this book'

In (121) the complement-taking verb *ʃi*⁵³ 'to know how' is the main verb and co-occurs with the object complement *to give cold medicine*. In (122), the main verb is *dā*³⁵³ and *ʃi* is functioning as a modal verb.

The table below summarizes the complement-taking verbs and their syntax.

Complement type	complement-taking verb	Syntax of complement
Speech, Cognition, Perception	<i>sə</i> ⁵⁵ 'to say', <i>hao</i> ⁵³ <i>ku</i> ¹¹ 'to know', <i>tæ</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ʒo</i> ⁵³ 'to believe', <i>s^hā</i> ⁵³ 'to think', <i>ts^hæ</i> ⁵³ 'to hear'	finite clause embedded in matrix clause object complements
Perception	<i>ta</i> ⁵³ 'to look', 'to watch' <i>t^hũ</i> ³⁵³ 'to see'	non-finite clause some aspect marking nominalization w/ <i>-sa</i> object complements
Copula	<i>zī</i> 'self copula'	non-finite clauses nominalization w/ <i>-nə</i> subject complements
Emotion, Cognition	<i>tʂa</i> ⁵³ 'to fear', <i>sā</i> ⁵³ 'to wish' ('to think')	non-finite clauses complementizing particle <i>du</i> and <i>ru</i> object complements
Manipulation, Cognition	<i>gui</i> 'to want', 'to need'; <i>ga</i> ¹³ 'to like'; <i>dā</i> ³⁵³ 'to like'; <i>tʂo</i> ⁵³ 'to cause'; <i>ŋa</i> ⁵³ 'to send'; <i>sā</i> ⁵³ 'to think'; <i>ʃi</i> ⁵³ 'to know how to'; <i>tʂe</i> ¹³ 'to forget'	non-finite clause bare verb stem no complement marking 'object' complements

TABLE 30: COMPLEMENT-TAKING VERBS IN DONGWANG

I began this discussion on complement clauses with the observation that complement clauses can be arranged according to Givón's notion of syntactic integration. Givón's claim is that 'the stronger is the semantic bond between the two events, the more extensive will be the syntactic integration of the two clauses into a single though complex clause' (2001: 40). This claim does not apply only to

complementation, but according to Givón has one of its 'most conspicuous expressions' in complementation (2001: 40). The question is, does the *syntactic integration* correlate with the *semantic bond* as Givón claims.

In Chapter Ten, I said that most secondary verbs (e.g., modal verbs *ʃi* 'know', *gui* 'want', *t^hu* 'able') have arisen from full verbs that have grammaticized to function as secondary verbs indicating categories such as modality and manipulation. In Givón's scale, these are the least independent clausal relations.

+/- Finite	Finite complement clauses	Non-finite complement clauses		
Strategy	zero (embedded)	Nzr -sa O compl Nzr -nə S compl	<i>du, ru</i>	zero
Compl-taking verb	<i>sə⁵⁵</i> 'say' <i>hao⁵³ku¹¹</i> 'know' <i>tã⁵⁵ʃo⁵³</i> 'believe' <i>s^hã⁵³</i> 'think' <i>ts^hæ⁵³</i> 'hear'	<i>ta⁵³</i> 'look/watch' <i>t^hũ³⁵³</i> 'see' <i>ɲæ¹³</i> 'listen' ¹⁰ <i>zĩ</i> SELF copula	<i>tʃa⁵³</i> 'fear', <i>s^hã⁵³</i> 'think' ('hope')	<i>tço⁵³</i> 'cause' <i>tɛ^hu⁵³</i> 'permit' <i>gui</i> 'want/need' <i>ga¹³</i> 'like' <i>dã³⁵³</i> 'like' <i>ɲa⁵³</i> 'send' <i>sã⁵³</i> 'think' <i>ʃi⁵³</i> 'know how' <i>tçe¹³</i> 'forget'

TABLE 31: SCALE OF COMPLEMENT-TAKING VERBS IN DONGWANG

The verbs in Table 31 are arranged from left to right, from least integrated to most integrated. While finite complement clauses, in the left column, do not have any

¹⁰ I have elicited clauses in which the complement clause of *ɲæ¹³* 'to listen' is nominalized, but I have been unable to double-check it.

complementizing morphology, they are fully-finite clauses embedded within the matrix clause. The most integrated clauses are manipulation and cognition verbs, many of which have grammaticized to function in a single clause. In the middle two columns, a few verbs require a nominalized complement or a complement with *du* or *ru*. There is no evidence that they are productive.

It is somewhat tenuous to claim that Table 30 shows us a 'scale' of syntactic/semantic integration. Most of the verbs require finite or non-finite clauses which have zero-complementizing morphology.¹¹ Clearly, nominalization is not a productive strategy for complementization. *du* and *ru* appear to be frozen constructions and are extremely restricted to one verb each. It is also difficult to determine a 'complementation strategy' based on just a handful of verbs. In spite of the lack of strong support for robust complementation structures, it is possible that a bigger database and more research may yield a fuller pattern.

¹¹ Hongladarom (forthcoming) cites sKal.bZang 'Gyur.med and sKal.bZang 'dByang.can (1964) who say that lack of a purposive marker is one of the salient features of Khams Tibetan.

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APPENDIX A: DONGWANG TEXTS

This appendix contains four texts: a personal narrative, a procedural text, and two folk stories. The first two of these texts, *Getting married* and *How to make butter and cheese*, were told in Pongding village by CD, a young mother of two who was in her early thirties at the time of the recording. The third text, *How rabbit got a short body and long ears*, was told in rGyalthang by DC, a man who was in his mid-thirties at the time of the recording. DC was also born and raised in Pongding. The fourth text, *Rabbit and crane*, was told in rGyalthang by a monk who was in his thirties at the time of the recording. The monk was born in Pongding, but grew up in several monasteries in Shangri-la County. Currently, he is living in the Dongwang house at Songtsangling Monastery just outside of rGyalthang town.

The first three texts were transcribed phonemically and glossed with the help of the speakers themselves. The last text was transcribed and glossed with the help of a Pongding friend living in rGyalthang. Each morpheme is glossed and each clause is followed by a free translation. I was present for the recording of the first three texts, but not for the fourth.

Getting Married

The following text is a personal biography regarding the speaker's arranged marriage. In the story, the speaker was in middle school when her parents told her that they had arranged a marriage for her and that she must accept it and come home. On his deathbed, her father had expressed his wish that she be married, but the narrator convinced her mother to let her study if she could pass the entrance examinations for High School. However, due to the stress she was experiencing, she failed her exams and returned home to get married to two brothers. At the time of the recording, sixteen years after her marriage, the narrator expressed her happiness with her husbands, her in-laws and her children.

- (1) ηa^{13} $r\emptyset$... ji^{55} $t\zeta o^{53}$ $t\zeta o^{53}$ lu^{11} $na\tilde{e}^{13}$ $b-$
 1S TOP PAUSE oneCH nineCH nineCH sixCH yearCH b-

$bi^{55}nae^{53}$ je^{13} $ma-$ $t^h\tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ ni
 graduateCH VBZR NEG PFV NI

- (2) zi^{13} $^nd\ae^{353}$ ndo
 book read EX.AN.SELF
'I, in 1996¹, not yet graduated from middle school, was studying'

- (3) zi^{13} $ji-$ ηe^{13} ... $dz\tilde{o}^{55}di\tilde{e}^{53}$ ji^{55} $dz\tilde{o}^{55}$ $=n\emptyset$
 book ji- 1SERG ... Zhongdian oneCH middleCH =LOC

zi^{13} $^nd\ae^{353}$ ndo
 book read EX.AN.SELF

'books-- I--, was studying at Zhongdian Number One Middle School'.

- (4) $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ ηa^{13} $w\emptyset^{55}t\emptyset^{11}$ zi^{13} $^nd\ae^{353}$ ndo $pe^{55}la^{53}$ $r\emptyset$
 then 1S that book read EX.AN.SELF when TOP
'Then when I was studying',

¹ As she later pointed out, the narrator meant to say 1986.

- (5) $p^h a^{55} w\tilde{o}^{53} = k\tilde{i}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $\check{c}\tilde{u}^{55} = n\emptyset$ $ga^{55} g\tilde{a}^{53} = k\tilde{i} = ji$
 parents =PL CONN house =LOC old =PL =ERG

$z\check{a}e^{11} ge^{55} = tsa = j\check{a}$ $na^{55} w\tilde{o}^{53}$ ηa^{53} $\check{c}e^{53}$ je^{13} ra $t^h \check{a}\tilde{e}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
 Zhage =ALL =DAT bride send tell VBZR RA PFV VIS.IPFV
 '(my) parents and the old people of (my) house had arranged to send me to be
 a bride at Zhage's house'

- (6) $t\check{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $w\check{\theta}^{55} t\check{\theta}^{11}$ $r\check{\theta}$ $w\tilde{o}^{55} \eta a^{53} = k\tilde{i} = tsa$ $r\check{\theta}$
 then that TOP 1PL =PL =ALL TOP

$z\check{\theta}- na^{53} \eta a^{55} mo^{53} p^h \check{\theta}^{55} d\check{\theta}^{11} ni$
 up long.ago after NI
 'Then as for that, from a long time ago,

- (7) $w\check{\theta}^{55} t\check{\theta}^{11}$ $p^h a^{55} w\tilde{o}^{53} = ji$ $\eta a^{55} m\check{a}e^{53} = k\tilde{i} = ji$
 that parents =ERG force =PL INSTR

$p^h a^{55} w\tilde{o}^{53} = ji$ $ga^{13} -n\emptyset$ $w\check{\theta}^{55} t\check{\theta}^{11}$ lu^{13}
 parents =ERG like -NZR that make
 'Parents used force to make that love (=arrange marriage)'

- (8) $p\check{\theta}^{11} s\tilde{i}^{55} = ji$ $p^h a^{55} w\tilde{o}^{53}$ $k^h a^{53}$ $\eta \check{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$
 children =ERG parents mouth listen
 'Children obey their parents'.

- (9) $w\check{\theta}^{55} ts^h e^{53}$ $je^{13} -n\emptyset$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ gui $\eta\tilde{o}$
 like.that do NZR go NEED VIS.IPFV
 '(we children) must do like that'

- (10) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{o}^{55}t\tilde{o}^{11}$ $ts^{h\tilde{a}53}$ $zi^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ $z\tilde{o}^{13}$ ηa^{13} $r\tilde{o}$
then that time ADVERS still IS TOP
- (11) zi^{13} ga^{13} de ξi
book like CONT KNOW
'Then but at that time, I still liked books'
- (12) zi^{13} $z\tilde{o}^{353}$ $^n do$
book study EX.AN.SELF
'I was/am studying'
- (13) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ zi^{13} $z\tilde{o}^{353}$ $^n do$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
then book study EX.AN.SELF REN
'Then when I was studying'
- (14) $k^{h\tilde{o}55}ja^{53}$ $=k\tilde{i}$ ηa^{13} $w\tilde{o}^{55}tso^{53}$ $t\tilde{s}\tilde{o}^{55}t\tilde{s}a^{11}$...
3PLDAT =PL 1SDAT like.this question ...
'they questioned me like this/regarding this'
- (15) $zi^{11}r\tilde{o}^{55}$ ηe^{13} $^n dzu^{13}$ tsi me $s\tilde{o}^{55}$ ra ze
ADVERS 1SERG go PROSP COP.NEG.SELF say RA EX.INAN.SELF
'But I had already said, I will not go'
- (16) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ zi^{13} $z\tilde{o}^{353}$ $^n do$ $pe^{55}la^{53}$
then book study EX.AN.SELF when
'Then when (I) was studying'
- (17) $j\tilde{i}^{13}\zeta\tilde{a}^{11}$ la $ts\tilde{o}^{55}ka^{53}$ $\eta\tilde{o}$
influenceCH also a.little VIS.IPFV
(I) was influenced a bit'
- (18) $k^{h\tilde{o}55}ja^{53}$ $=k\tilde{i}$ $w\tilde{o}^{55}ts^{h\tilde{o}53}$ je^{13} ζi $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
3PL =PL like.that VBZR MAL REN
'when they did like this'

- (19) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $p^h\partial$ $t\partial^{55}$ je^{13} $^ndzu^{13}$
 then FILLER this VBZR go
'Then, up, (I) did that.'
- (20) zi^{13} $^nda\tilde{e}^{353}$ ndo
 book read EX.AN.SELF
'(I) was/am studying'.
- (21) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $a^{55}re^{53}ma^{11}re^{55}$ ma^{13} $=ji$ la
 then PAUSE mother ERG LA

 $hi^{55}mo^{53}ra$ $w\partial^{55}ts^ho^{53}$ se^{13} $we^{55}no^{11}$
 at.first like.this say INF
'Then, um, mother at first had (apparently) said this'
- (22) $k^ha^{55}\tilde{c}\tilde{a}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $r\partial$
 pass.examCH COND TOP
'If (she) passes',
- (23) $\tilde{c}i^{55}ji^{53}$ $=tsa$ re $p\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{53}$
 2PLGEN =ALL COP.OTHR NEG.FUT
'she will not be of your house'.
- (24) $k^ha^{55}m\partial^{11}\tilde{c}\tilde{a}^{53}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $r\partial$
 not.pass.examCH COND TOP
'If (she) doesn't pass',
- (25) $t\check{s}^hi^{53}$ ru sa^{13} $a^{55}gua$ s
 lead POL say.FUT NEED.IR HS
'(we) need to ask (you) to take (her)'
- (26) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $suw^{55}\tilde{r}\tilde{i}^{53}$ $p^h\partial$ $a^{11}re^{55}ma^{11}re^{55}$ zi^{13} $^nda\tilde{e}^{353}$ ni
 then finally PAUSE FILLER book study NI
'Then finally, um, studying,'

- (27) *mbə- k^ha⁵³çə¹¹ je¹³ t^hæ̃ ræ̃⁵⁵*
 down examineCH VBZR PFV REN
'after taking the examination'
- (28) *k^ha⁵³də¹¹çã⁵³ ma- re*
 pass.examinationCH NEG COP.OTHR
'(I) did not pass'
- (29) *tæ̃¹³ rə mbə- ⁿda¹¹wa⁵⁵ tçə⁵⁵nə¹¹ ba⁵³ mbə- wũ¹³ ræ̃⁵⁵ rə*
 then TOP down month twelve beginning down come REN TOP
'Then when (I) came down in the beginning of December',
- (30) *ɲə¹³ =kĩ =ji*
 person =PL =ERG
- (31) *tç^hə⁵⁵tæ̃⁵³guo¹¹t^hæ̃⁵³ na⁵⁵wõ⁵³ ⁿdzu¹³ gui dzi? se¹³ ni çe⁵³*
 incessantly bride go NEED OTHR say NI tell
'People kept on telling me that (I) should go be a bride'.
- (32) *tæ̃¹³ ɲa¹³ =jæ na⁵⁵wõ⁵³ ⁿdzu¹³ gui dzi? se*
 then 1SDAT =DAT bride go NEED OTHR QTV
'(People) said to me '(You) should go be a bride'.
- (33) *tæ̃¹³ ɲe¹³ rə ɲa¹³ ⁿdzu¹³ tsi me sə⁵⁵ ji*
 then 1SERG TOP 1S go PROSP COP.NEG.SELF say COP.SELF.PST
'Then I said, 'I am not going'.
- (34) *tæ̃¹³ ⁿdzu¹³ tsi me sə⁵⁵ ræ̃⁵⁵ rə*
 then go PROSP COP.NEG.SELF say REN TOP
'then when (I) said 'I am not going',
- (35) *tæ̃¹³ hi⁵⁵mo⁵³ tsã⁵³ rə dzu⁵³ sə⁵⁵ ma- zõ*
 then at.first time TOP actually say NEG EGO.IR
'at first (no one) actually said anything (to me)'.

(36) *tæ*¹³ *n*da¹¹wa⁵⁵ *tçi*⁵³ *dzi* *p*^hə *sə*⁵⁵mba⁵³ *dõ*³⁵³
 then month one APPROX thither mind VBZR

(37) *se*¹³ *ræ*⁵⁵ *rə*
 say REN TOP
'Then when (I) said (I) will think for about a month',

(38) *ma*¹³ =*ji* *la*
 mother =ERG LA

(39) *wə*⁵⁵tə¹¹ =*ji* *hi*⁵⁵mo⁵³ *rə* ə *jY*¹³ *tçi*⁵³ *hi*⁵⁵mo⁵³ *rə*
 that =GEN before TOP PAUSE year one before TOP

*ba*³⁵³ *p*^hə- *ʂə*⁵³ *n*dzu
 father thither die GO

'Mother-- before that, uh, a year before father died'.

(40) *zi*¹³ *n*dæ³⁵³ *n*do *pe*⁵⁵la⁵³ *rə*
 book study EX.AN.SELF during TOP
'when (I) was studying',

(41) *ts*^hu⁵⁵a⁵³ *n*dæ³⁵³ *n*do *pe*⁵⁵la⁵³ *rə*
 grade.twoCH study EX.AN.SELF during TOP
'when (I) was reading second grade (of middle school)'

(42) *tæ*¹³ *ba*³⁵³ *p*^hə- *ʂə*⁵³ *n*dzu¹³ *ræ*⁵⁵
 then father thither die GO REN
'Then when father was dying',

(43) *ba*³⁵³ =*ji* *la*
 father =ERG LA

*tsə*⁵⁵ka⁵³ *çi*⁵⁵dzi⁵³ *a*⁵⁵mo⁵³ *juw*⁵³ =*ji*
 little 2PLGEN grandmother two =ERG

ɕe^{55} $\text{wə}^{55}\text{tə}^{11}$ $\text{a}^{55}\text{mo}^{53}$ ɲu^{53} = ji lu^{13} ra - nə re
 2S that grandmother two =ERG make RA -NZR COP.OTHR
'Father (said), 'Little one, your (pl) two old grandmothers, it was your (sg) two old grandmothers are the ones who did it.'

(44) ma- ${}^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ə-}$ ${}^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ re s
 NEG go thither go COP.OTHR QTV
'(You) must go'.

(45) ba^{353} = ji la $\text{wə}^{55}\text{tə}^{11}$ gō^{353} $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ə-}$ tā^{53} rā^{55}
 father =ERG LA that on thither depend REN
'Father (said) 'depending on that',

(46) $\text{si}^{55}\text{pə}^{11}$ re dʒā^{13} re $\text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{53}$ ni
 happy COP.OTHR possess COP.OTHR think NI
'thinking that (you) would be happy',

(47) ɕe^{55} ŋa^{53} $\text{dʒi}?$ ji s
 2S send OTHR COP.SELF.PST QTV
(I) sent you'.

(48) tʂū^{13} tɕi^{53} = nə = jə s
 village one =LOC =DAT QTV
'(we/you) are of one village'.

(49) tā^{13} $\text{wə}^{55}\text{tə}^{11}$ $\text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{ā}^{53}$ rā^{55}
 then that think REN
'Then thinking about that',

(50) ɕe^{55} ma- ${}^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ə-}$ ${}^{\text{n}}\text{dzu}^{13}$ $\text{a}^{55}\text{mba}^{53}$ s
 2S NEG go thither go MUT QTV
'(father) said 'you must go. OK?''

(51) *tã¹³ suw⁵⁵ĩ⁵³ ba³⁵³ sɔ̃⁵³ t^hã rã⁵⁵*
 then finally father die PFV REN
'Then when father finally died',

(52) *ma¹³ =ji la*
 mother =ERG LA

wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ rə ba³⁵³ =ji k^hə⁵⁵ji⁵³ ra¹³ ra -nə =ji za¹³ re
 that TOP father =ERG will put RA NZR =GEN style COP.OTHR
'Mother (said) 'that is the way (your) father put (his) last will'.

(53) *ɕe⁵⁵ rə k^hə⁵⁵ p^ha⁵⁵wə̃⁵³ k^ha⁵³ ɲã¹³ -nə =ji*
 2S TOP 3S parents mouth listen -NZR =GEN

põ:¹³ tɕi je¹³ a⁵⁵gua⁵³ s
 daughter INDF VBZR NEED.MUT QTV

'You should act like a girl who obeys her parents'.

(54) *tã¹³ suw⁵⁵ĩ⁵³ re rã⁵⁵*
 then finally COP.OTHR REN
'Then in the end'

(55) *p^ha⁵⁵wə̃⁵³ k^ha⁵³ ɲã¹³ a⁵⁵gua⁵³ s s^hã⁵³*
 parents mouth listen NEED.MUT QTV think
'thinking (what mother said) '(You) should obey (your) parents'.

(56) *tã¹³ suw⁵³ -dzi rə*
 then some.time APPROX TOP
'then after some time',

n^{da}¹¹wa⁵⁵ tɕi⁵³ -dzi sə⁵⁵mba⁵³ dõ³⁵³ t^hã rã⁵⁵
 month one APPROX mind VBZR PFV REN
'thinking for about a month',

- (57) *tæ*¹³ *n*^{dz}*u*¹³
 then go
 'Then 'go'.
- (58) *tə*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *ji*
 that VBZR COP.SELF.PST
 'Do it'.
- (59) *n*^{dz}*u*¹³ *æ* *sə*⁵⁵ *ji*
 go MUT say COP.SELF.PST
 '(I) said '(I) will) go''.
- (60) *zə*¹¹*mo*⁵⁵ *ŋa*¹³ *rə* *p*^h*əp*^h*əp*^h*ə* *zi*¹³ *rõ* *tə*¹¹*kĩ*⁵⁵
 otherwise 1S TOP FILLER book CONN those

*a*⁵⁵*bæ*⁵³ *zõ*³⁵³ *gui* *s*^h*ã*⁵³ *de* *ç**i*
 bad study NEED THINK CONT MAL
 'Otherwise I will really want to study books and stuff'.
- (61) *tæ*¹³ *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *p*^h*ə*⁵⁵*tə*⁵³ *rə* *mbə-* *wũ*¹³ *n*^{dz}*a*¹³*k*^h*ə*⁵⁵*dæ*⁵³
 then that after TOP down come as.soon.as
 'Then after that, as soon as (I) came down',
- (62) *na*⁵⁵*wõ*⁵³ *ŋa*⁵³ *ra* *rã*⁵⁵ *rə*
 bride send RA REN TOP
 'when (they) sent (me) to be a bride',
- (63) *zi*¹³ *rõ* *tə*¹¹*kĩ*⁵⁵ *tçi*⁵³ *la* *zõ*³⁵³ *gui* *ma-* *s*^h*ã*⁵³ *ni*
 book CONN those one also study NEED NEG think NI
 'not thinking at all about wanting to study books and stuff',
- (64) *ni*¹³*ts*^h*a*⁵³*k*^h*ui*¹¹ *ni*
 angry NI
 'being angry',

- (65) $tə^{55}$ $tə^{53}$ la $ma-$ je^{13} ji
 that look even NEG do COP.SELF.PST
 '(I) didn't even look at that'.
- (66) $tɕi^{53}$ la $ma-$ je^{13} ni
 one even NEG do NI
 '(I) didn't do it at all'.
- (67) $tæ^{13}$ zi^{13} $tə^{11}kĩ^{55}$ la $p^hə-$ $tɕe^{13}$ ndzɯ
 then book those even thither forget GO
 'Then (I) even forgot the books and stuff'.
- (68) $p^hə-$ $tɕe^{13}$ ndzɯ
 thither forget GO
 '(I) forgot (books and stuff)'.
- (69) $tæ^{13}$ $zō^{13}$ $ts^hə$ $zæ^{11}gæ^{53}$ = tsa $sĩ^{53}$ $p^hə^{55}təo^{53}la$ $ə$
 then again hither Zhage =ALL arrive after uh
 'Then after arriving at Zhage's house'.
- (70) $a^{55}ni^{11}$ $a^{55}mo^{53}$ $ɲw^{53}$ = ji $tsa^{55}dzæ^{53}$ je^{13}
 grandfather grandmother two =ERG respect VBZR
 'Grandfather and grandmother respect/ed (me)'.
- (71) $ə$ $ɲə^{13}$ $ɲw^{53}$ = ji $k^hə^{55}ɲa^{53}$ za^{13} $ɲw^{53}$ = ji
 uh man two =ERG 3PL husband two =ERG

 $tsa^{55}dzæ^{53}$ je^{13}
 respect VBZR
 'Uh, the two men, those two husbands respect/ed (me)'.
- (72) $k^ha^{11}la^{53}$ = ji $ɲa^{13}$ $tsa^{55}dzæ^{53}$ je^{13}
 all =ERG 1S respect VBZR
 'Everyone respects/ed me'.

- (73) $a^{11}ka^{53}$ = $k\bar{i}$ $a^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ ndo
 child =PL good EX.AN.SELF
 '(My) children are good'.
- (74) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t\tilde{a}^{55}$ $p^h\tilde{a}^{55}t\tilde{a}o^{53}$ = $j\tilde{a}$ $a^{11}n\tilde{o}^{55}$ $t\tilde{c}i$ $n\tilde{o}$
 then that after =DAT good INDF VIS.IPFV
 'Then after that, (things) were/are good'.
- (75) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $\eta a^{11}\eta a^{55}$ la $si^{55}p\tilde{a}^{11}$ re $s\tilde{o}$
 then 1REFL also happy COP.OTHR EGO
 'Then I myself am also happy'
- (76) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{a}^{55}t\tilde{a}^{11}$ $^ndzu^{13}$ ji la
 then that go COP.SELF.PST LA
 'Then that is what I did'.
- (77) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{a}^{55}t\tilde{a}^{11}$ $\tilde{z}\bar{i}$ $we^{55}no^{11}$ $s^h\tilde{a}^{53}$ $s\tilde{o}$
 then that COP.SELF INF think EGO
 'Then that is the way I recall it being'.

How to make butter and cheese

The following is a short procedural text that the narrator told in her kitchen while she was making butter and cheese.

- (1) $w\tilde{o}^{13}$ $t\zeta o^{53}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 milk churn REN
'When churning milk,'
- (2) $hi^{55}mo^{53}r\partial$ $t\partial$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $ts^{h\partial-}$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$ k^hu
 first uh churn hither take.out KHU
'first take out a churn'.
- (3) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^{h\partial-}$ ζi^{53}
 then churn thither rinse
'Then rinse the churn'.
- (4) $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $p^{h\partial-}$ ζi^{53} $t^{h\tilde{a}}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 churn thither rinse PFV REN
'Then when the churn has been rinsed out'.
- (5) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $s\tilde{o}^{13}$ na^{11} $w\tilde{o}^{13}$ jo^{53} ra ze $-n\partial$ $r\partial$
 then copper.tub inside milk pour RA EX.INAN.SELF -NZR TOP
'Then the milk that has been poured into the big copper tub'
- (6) $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $=n\partial$ $z\partial-$ jo^{53}
 churn =LOC up pour
'pour up into the churn'.
- $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $n\tilde{u}^{13}$ $=n\partial$ $z\partial-$ jo^{53} $t^{h\tilde{a}}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 then churn =LOC up pour PFV REN
'Then when (the milk) has been poured up into the churn'.

- (7) *tæ*¹³ *su*⁵⁵*rə*¹¹ *mbə-* *tʃo*⁵³
then churn.stick down insert
'Then insert the churning stick.'
- (8) *tæ*¹³ *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *p^hə*⁵⁵*təo*⁵³ *p^hə-* *tʃo*⁵³ *ni*
then that after thither churn NI
'Then after that, churning.'
- (9) *ə* *sō*⁵⁵*ʒa*⁵³ *-dzi* *tʃo*⁵³ *t^hæ* *ræ*⁵⁵
uh three.hundred -APPROX churn PFV REN
'after plunging about three hundred times',
- (10) *zō*¹³ *wō*¹³ *ni*¹³ *tçi* *su*⁵³
still milk rest INDF rest
'let the milk rest for a while'.
- (11) *aaa* *tç^hə*⁵⁵ *tçi* *mbə-* *kuæ*⁵³ *ra*
uh water INDF down circle RA
'Circle some water (around the inside edges of the churn) down'.
- (12) *tæ*¹³ *zō*¹³ *wə*⁵⁵*tə*¹¹ *p^hə*⁵⁵*təo*⁵³ *p^hə-* *tʃo*⁵³ *p^hə-* *tʃo*⁵³ *ni*
then again that after thither churn thither churn NI
'Then again after that, churn and churn (=churn a lot)'
- (13) *mmm* *tə*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *ræ* *mbə*¹¹*ts^hi*⁵⁵
um that do IMM until
'Until doing that',
- (14) *ŋə*⁵⁵*ʒa*⁵³ *tʃo*⁵⁵*ʒa*⁵³ *mbə*¹¹*ts^hi*⁵⁵ *p^hə-* *tʃo*⁵³ *t^hæ* *ræ*⁵⁵
five.hundred six.hundred until thither churn PFV REN
'after churning for about five or six hundred times (up to five or six hundred)'

- (15) *tæ*¹³ *mæ*¹³ *sõ*¹³ *dzi*?
 then butter curdle OTHR
 'Then the butter is curdled²'
- (16) *tæ*¹³ *mæ*¹³ *sõ*¹³ *ræ*⁵⁵
 then butter curdle REN
 'Then when the butter is curdled',
- (17) *də* ... *zõ*¹³ *jæ*¹¹*wa*⁵⁵ *p^hə-* *tʂ^hə*⁵⁵ *ləo*⁵³ *re*
 DE ... again hand thither wash ? COP.OTHR
 'Again wash (your) hands'.
- (18) *tæ*¹³ *mæ*¹³ *ts^hə-* ... *ts^hə-* *jõ*⁵³
 then butter hither ... hither remove
 'Then take out the butter'.
- (19) *mæ*¹³ *ts^hə-* *jõ*⁵³ *t^hæ* *ræ*⁵⁵
 butter hither remove PFV REN
 'After the butter has been taken out',
- (20) *tæ*¹³ *rə* *p^hə* *də* ... *da:*¹³ *p^hə-* *jo*⁵³
 then TOP FILLER FILLER ... buttermilk thither pour
 'Then pour out the buttermilk'.
- (21) *tæ*¹³ *zõ*¹³ *da:*¹³ *p^hə-* *jo*⁵³ *t^hæ* *ræ*⁵⁵
 then again buttermilk thither pour PFV REN
 'Then after the buttermilk has been poured out'
- (22) *zõ*¹³ *da:*¹³ *rə* *də* *t^hə*¹¹*ga*⁵⁵ *ti*⁵⁵*pa*⁵³ *zə-* *ts^ha*¹³
 again buttermilk TOP PAUSE fireplace on.top up heat
 'Again the buttermilk, uh, heat (it) up on the fireplace'.

² This seems to be the same word as that used for 'to be born' as in *pa*¹³ = *jæ pi*⁵⁵ *sõ*¹³ *dzi*?
 'cows birth calves'.

- (23) $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $z\partial-$ $ts^h a^{13}$ $t^h \tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{55}$
 then up heat PFV REN
'Then when (the buttermilk) has been heated up',
- (24) $d\partial$ $t^h i^{53}$ $ts^h a^{13}$ re
 FILLER cheese heat COP.OTHR
'Heat up the cheese'.
- (25) $t^h i^{53}$ re $t^h \tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{55}$
 cheese COP.OTHR PFV REN
'When it has become cheese',
- (26) $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $p^h \partial-$ $t\tilde{s}\tilde{o}^{13}$ $t\tilde{c}^h u^{53}$
 then thither cool PERM
'then let (the cheese) cool'.
- (27) $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $n\text{gui}^{11} l a^{55}$ $t\partial$ $\text{su}^{11} t s^h a^{55}$ $r\tilde{o}$ $t\tilde{c}^h u^{11} z i^{55}$ $j u^{53}$ $=n\partial$
 then just.now FILLER funnel.basket CONN cheesecloth two =LOC

 $j\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $t^h i^{53}$ $z\partial-$ $t s a$
 together cheese up put.pack
'Then just now, uh, pack the cheese in a funnel wicker basket with cheese cloth in it'.
- (28) $t\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{13}$ $t^h i^{53}$ $z\partial-$ $t s a^{53}$ $t^h \tilde{a}\tilde{e}$ $r\tilde{a}\tilde{e}^{55}$
 then cheese up put.pack PFV REN
'Then after the cheese has been packed in',
- (29) $^n d\partial^{353}$ $p^h \partial-$ $j o^{53}$
 this thither pour
'pour out this'...
- (30) $t\tilde{c}^h u^{13}$ $p^h \partial-$ $j o^{53}$
 sour.water thither pour
'pour out the sour water'.

- (31) $t\zeta^h u^{13}$ $k^h \partial^{55} k^h \partial^{11}$ $p^h \partial^-$ jo^{53}
sour.water 3REFL thither pour
'Pour out the sour water by itself.'
- (32) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t^h i^{53}$ $ts^h \partial^-$ $j\tilde{o}^{53}$
then cheese hither remove
'Then take out the cheese.'
- (33) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t^h i^{53}$ $p^h \partial^-$ $k\tilde{a}^{53}$ ra
then cheese thither dry RA
'Then dry the cheese.'
- (34) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\partial^{55} t\partial^{11}$ re
then that COP.OTHR
'Then that's it.'

How rabbit came to have a short body and long ears

The following is a traditional story told by DC. As this story opens, the rabbit, known locally as the 'yak of the grasslands', was very cunning, but shy. When he tries to get more than his share of butter from a shepherd, the shepherd grabs his ears and makes them long and shortens his body at the same time.

- (1) $t\tilde{a}^{11}r\tilde{a}^{55}$ =ji $\eta a^{55}t\tilde{a}^{53}$ rə $p\tilde{o}^{53}$ =nə =ji $z\tilde{a}^{353}$
 that.time =GEN story TOP grassland =LOC =GEN yak

se^{13} $d\tilde{z}i?$... $p\tilde{o}^{55}z\tilde{a}^{53}$
 call OTHR ... rabbit

'An ancient story called 'the yak of the grassland'...'grassland yak' (= 'rabbit').

- (2) $p\tilde{o}^{55}z\tilde{a}^{53}$ rə $p\tilde{o}^{53}$ =nə $d\tilde{e}^{353}$ $d\tilde{e}$ -nə $\eta\tilde{o}$
 grassyak TOP grassland =LOC dwell CONT -NZR VIS.IPFV

'The rabbit lived on the grassland'

- (3) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $k^h\tilde{a}^{55}$ rə $p^h\tilde{a}p^h\tilde{a}p^h\tilde{a}$ $\eta a^{55}t\tilde{a}^{53}$ $g\tilde{u}e^{13}\tilde{c}\tilde{a}^{53}$ re
 then 3S TOP FILLER extremely clever COP.OTHR

'Then he was extremely clever'

- (4) $g\tilde{u}e^{13}\tilde{c}\tilde{a}^{53}$ $\tilde{z}i$ $t^h\tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 clever COP.SELF PFV REN

'When (he) had been clever',

- (5) dzu^{13} $t\tilde{c}i$ =tsa =jæ $p^h\tilde{a}p^h\tilde{a}p^h\tilde{a}$
 shepherd INDF =ALL =DAT FILLER

ηu^{13} $a^{11}r\tilde{i}^{55}$ $t\tilde{s}o^{11}m\tilde{o}^{55}$ $m\tilde{a}^{13}$ $f\tilde{i}j\tilde{o}^{353}$ ni
 day today every butter beg NI
'(he) begged a shepherd for butter every day',

- (6) *mæ*¹³ *ɦjõ*³⁵³
butter beg
- (7) *a*¹¹*ĩ*⁵⁵ *la* *ɦjõ*³⁵³ *wũ*¹³
today also beg come
'came begging today'
- (8) *s^ha*¹¹*ji*⁵⁵ *la* *ɦjõ*³⁵³ *wũ*¹³
tomorrow also beg come
'also came begging tomorrow'
- (9) *na*¹¹*ji*⁵⁵ *la* *ɦjõ*³⁵³ *wũ*¹³
day.after.tomorrow also beg come
'also came begging the day after tomorrow'
- (10) *wə*⁵⁵*ts^he*⁵³ *je*¹³ *de* *dzi*? *zĩ* *a*⁵³ *re*
like.that DO CONT OTHR COP.SELF QST COP.OTHR
'(he) did (begged) in that way'.
- (11) *ǣ*¹³ *dzu*¹³ *tə*⁵⁵ =*ji* *rə* *ɲu*¹³ *tçi* *re* *rǣ*⁵⁵ *rə*
now shepherd that =ERG TOP day INDF COP.OTHR REN TOP
- (12) *mæ*¹³ *ts^hǣ*⁵³ *tçi* *k^hə*³⁵³ *ni* *rə*
butter blob INDF carry NI TOP
- (13) *t^hə*¹¹*pɑ*⁵³ *gõ*³⁵³ *t^hǣ*¹³ *ɲõ*
forehead on smear VIS.IPFV
'Now one day the shepherd came carrying a blob of butter (and) smeared it on (the rabbit's) forehead'.
- (14) *t^hə*¹¹*pɑ*⁵³ *gõ*³⁵³ *t^hǣ*¹³ *ɲa* *rǣ*⁵⁵
forehead on smear SEND REN
- (15) *ɕe*⁵⁵ *k^ha*¹¹*ts^hõ*⁵⁵ *ɦjõ*³⁵³ *sõ* *me* *a*⁵³ *re*
2S yesterday beg come.PFV COP.NEG.SELF QST COP.OTHR
'When (the shepherd) finished smearing it on (the rabbit's) forehead, (he asked) 'didn't you come to beg yesterday?'

- (16) *tæ*¹³ *zõ*¹³ *ɲu*¹³ *tçi* *ɸjõ*³⁵³ *wũ*¹³ *dzi?* *zĩ* *a*⁵³ *t^{hi}* *wa*
 then again day INDF beg come OTHR COP.SELF QST VIS.PFV MUT
'then again (you) come to beg, huh?'
- (17) *k^ha*¹¹*ts^hõ*⁵⁵ *ka*¹¹*n^dõ*⁵⁵ *ɸjõ*³⁵³
 yesterday what beg
- (18) *zõ*¹³ *ts^hõ* *ɲu*¹³ *tçi* *zõ* *ts^hõ-* *wũ*¹³ *ni*
 again hither day INDF up hither come NI
'what are you doing coming yesterday and then again coming today?'
- (19) *sə*¹¹*ɲu*⁵⁵ *dzæ*¹³
 next.day possess?
- (20) *ts^hõ-* *wũ*¹³ *ræ*⁵⁵
 hither come REN
- (21) *ɕe*⁵⁵ *k^ha*¹¹*ts^hõ*⁵⁵ *ɸjõ*³⁵³ *sõ* *me* *a*⁵³ *re*
 2S yesterday beg come.PFV COP.NEG.SELF QST COP.OTHR
*se*¹³ *dzi?*
 say OTHR
'the next day, when (he) came (the shepherd) said 'didn't you come to beg yesterday?'
- (22) *tæ*¹³ *ɲa*¹³ *me* *se*¹³ *dzi?* ... *põ*⁵⁵*za*⁵³ =*ji* *rə*
 then 1S COP.NEG.SELF say OTHR ... rabbit =ERG TOP
'Then 'Not I' said the rabbit.'
- (23) *we*¹¹*za*⁵⁵ *tçi* *wũ*¹³ *de* *dzi?* *a*⁵⁵*mba*⁵³
 another INDF come CONT OTHR MUT
'Another came, right?'
- (24) *tæ*¹³ *ma-* *re*
 then NEG COP.OTHR
'Then, 'No way'.'

- (25) ηe^{13} $k^h a^{11} t s^h \tilde{o}^{55}$ ζi^{55} = $g\tilde{o}$ $m\tilde{a}^{13}$ $t s^h \tilde{a}^{53}$
 1SERG yesterday 2SGEN =OBJ butter blob
- (26) $t^h \tilde{a}^{13}$ ηa $-n\tilde{a}$ $t\tilde{a}$ $r\tilde{a}$ $w\tilde{a}^{55} t i^{13}$ $a^{55} n\tilde{a}^{53}$
 smear SEND NZR SPEC TOP that.there MUT
'Isn't that there the butter I smeared on you yesterday?'
- (27) ζe^{55} $m e$ $r\tilde{a}$ $t^h \tilde{a} o$ $w u-$ $z a$ $s e^{13}$ $r \tilde{a} \tilde{e}^{55}$ $r \tilde{a}$
 2S COP.NEG.SELF TOP POSS NEG VAL say REN TOP
'when (the shepherd) said, 'It is not possible that it is not you'',
- (28) $t \tilde{a} \tilde{e}^{13}$ $p \tilde{o}^{55} z a^{53}$ $r \tilde{a}$ $p \tilde{o}^{53}$ = $n \tilde{a}$ = $j i$ $z a^{353}$ $\tilde{z} i$ $r \tilde{a} \tilde{e}^{55}$
 then rabbit TOP grassland =LOC =GEN yak COP.SELF REN
'Then when the rabbit was the yak of the grasslands',
- (29) $b \tilde{a}^{11 n} d z \tilde{a}^{53}$ $a^{55} m b a^{53}$ o
 huge MUT PTCL
'(he) was huge, man'.
- (30) $t \zeta^h \tilde{a}^{11} w u^{55}$ $r e$
 big COP.OTHR
'(he) was big'.
- (31) $t \zeta^h i^{55} \zeta \tilde{a}^{11}$ $\tilde{z} i$ a^{55} $t^h i$
 shy COP.SELF QST VIS.PFV
'(he) was shy'.
- (32) $\tilde{a} \tilde{e}^{13}$ $t \zeta^h i^{55} \zeta \tilde{a}^{11}$ $n i$
 now shy NI
'Now (the rabbit) was shy and',
- (33) $p^h w^{353}$ $n d z u^{13}$ $n i$ $r \tilde{a}$ \tilde{a}
 run go NI TOP uh
'ran away and'

- (34) $s^h a^{53}$ = $nə$ $^n dzu^{53}$ $^n dzu^{13}$
 ground =LOC dive go
'went diving into the ground'.
- (35) ϵe^{55} \tilde{a}^{13} $t\check{s}^h i^{53}$ $wu-$ gua
 2S now shy NEG- NEED.IR
'You don't need to be shy now'.
- (36) $^n dzu^{53}$ $ma-$ de se^{13} ni $rə$
 dive NEG CONT say NI TOP
'(The shepherd) said, 'don't continue to dive (into the ground)'.
- (37) $zə-$ $t\check{c}i$ $t^h \tilde{a}^{13}$ ηa $r\tilde{a}^{55}$ $rə$
 up INDF pull SEND REN TOP
'pulled up on (the rabbit's) ear',
- (38) $n\tilde{e}^{55} j\check{i}^{11}$ = $nə$ $zə-$ $ri^{11} m\tilde{a}^{55}$ re ra
 ear =LOC up long COP.OTHR RA
'(The rabbit's) ears became long',
- (39) $l\tilde{a}^{11} p\tilde{a}^{55}$ $p^h \tilde{a}-$ $t\check{c}^h \tilde{o}^{13}$ re ra ni $rə$
 body thither short COP.OTHR RA NI TOP
'(his) body became short',
- (40) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $w\tilde{a}^{55} t\tilde{a}^{11}$ $p^h \tilde{a}^{55} t\tilde{a}o^{53}$ $rə$ $k^h \tilde{a}^{55}$ $p^h \tilde{a}-$ $biancheng--$
 then that after TOP 3S thither changeCH--
'Then after that, he changed³--
- (41) $w\tilde{a}^{55} t\tilde{a}^{11}$ $p^h \tilde{a} p^h \tilde{a}$ dzu^{53} ni se^{13} $a^{55} gua^{53}$
 that FILLER change NI say MUT
'(I/one) should say 'that one changed' right?',

³ Here the narrator uses a Chinese word meaning 'to change', catches himself and explains what the Dongwang word (in the next clause) should be.

- (42) *bian se¹³ rã⁵⁵*
changeCH say REN
'When saying bian ('change'),'
- (43) *ⁿdzu⁵³ ni se¹³ gui a⁵⁵na⁵³*
change CON say NEED MUT
'should say ⁿdzu⁵³ ('change') right?'
- (44) *tõ⁵⁵wã⁵³ rə ⁿdzu⁵³ se¹³*
Dongwang TOP change say
'Dongwang (speech) says ⁿdzu⁵³ ('change').'
- (45) *ⁿdzu⁵³ k^hə ni rə*
change KHU NI TOP
'(the rabbit) changed',
- (46) *tã¹³ p^hə rə ri¹¹gõ⁵⁵ wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ re dzi? a⁵⁵na⁵³*
then FILLER TOP rabbit that COP.OTHR OTHR MUT
'Then (he) became a rabbit, right'.
- tã¹³ wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ ri¹¹gõ⁵⁵ tã¹³ põ⁵³ =nə ma- dzi?*
then that rabbit then grassland =LOC NEG- OTHR
- (47) *dẽ³⁵³ tsi ɲæ¹³ mbə- sõ¹³ni⁵⁵*
dwell PROSP EX.INAN.NEG.SELF down- at.last
'Then the rabbit, then was not on the grassland, (he) did not live (on the grassland) in the end.'
- (48) *wə⁵⁵nə¹¹ mbə- ts^he⁵³ ... ts^he⁵⁵dzu⁵³ su tsa⁵⁵wa⁵³*
there down tho--- ... thorns in reason
'That's the reason (he) (lived) in the thorns'
- k^hə⁵⁵ wə⁵⁵tə¹¹ zĩ dzi? zĩ a t^hi*
3S that COP.SELF OTHR COP.SELF QST VIS.PFV
'That is the story'.

The rabbit and the crane

Like the previous folk story, the following story is also a folk story about a rabbit and a crane. In this story, the crane gets the rabbit to laugh so hard and cry so hard that his lip splits and his face swells. This story is told by a monk who has probably heard it many times and appears to have almost memorized it.

- (1) *na*⁵³ *ŋa*⁵⁵ *mo*⁵³ *a*⁵⁵ *ni*¹¹ *tɕi* *rõ* *a*⁵⁵ *mo*⁵³ *tɕi* *ɲu*⁵³ =*ji*
 long.ago grandfather INDF CONN grandmother INDF two ERG

*põ*⁵³ *ku*⁵⁵ *ze* *n*^{do}¹¹ *dzi* *se*
 grassland dig EX.INAN.SELF EX.AN.OTHR HS

'Long ago there was an old man and an old woman who were living digging in the grassland.'

- (2) *tæ*¹³ *põ*⁵⁵ *za*⁵³ *tɕi* *rõ* *tʂ*^{hə}¹¹ *tʂ*^{hõ}⁵⁵ *n*^{do}¹¹ *dzi*⁵⁵ *se*
 then rabbit INDF CONN crane EX.AN.OTHR HS

'Then there was a rabbit and a crane.'

- (3) *tæ*¹³ *tʂ*^{hə}¹¹ *tʂ*^{hõ}⁵⁵ =*ji* *põ*⁵⁵ *za*⁵³ =*jæ* *ŋe*¹³ *ɕe*⁵⁵
 then crane =ERG rabbit =DAT 1SERG 2S

*gə*¹¹ *ga*⁵⁵ -*nə*
 laugh.laugh -NZR

- (4) *k*^{hə}⁵³ *ɕu*⁵⁵ *tɕo*⁵³ *a*⁵⁵ *je*¹³ *sə*⁵⁵ *dzi?* *se*
 mouth split CAUS QST DO say OTHR HS

'Then the crane said to the rabbit 'Let's make you laugh so hard that your lip splits'

- (5) *tæ*¹³ *je*¹³ *jo* *se*⁵⁵ *dzi?* *se*
 then do OK say OTHR HS

'Then (the rabbit) said 'Alright! do it.'

- (6) $a^{55}ni^{11}$ $tə$ =*ji* $a^{11}mo^{55}$ $tə$ =*ji*
 grandfather SPEC =ERG grandmother SPEC =ERG
- $p\tilde{o}^{53}$ ku^{55} *ji se*
 grassland dig ? HS
'The grandfather and grandmother were digging in the grassland'
- (7) $a^{55}ni^{11}$ $tə$ =*ji* ${}^n gu^{353}$ =*jæ*
 grandfather SPEC =ERG head =DAT
- $t\check{s}^h\partial^{11}t\check{s}^h\tilde{o}^{55}$ $di:^{13}$ $\check{s}a^{55}$ ${}^n dzu^{13}$ $r\tilde{a}^{55}$
 crane there perch go REN
'when the crane went over there and perched on the grandfather's head',
- (8) $a^{11}mo^{53}$ $tə$ =*ji* $t\check{c}a^{11}za^{55}$ =*ji* $a^{55}ni^{11}$ $t\partial o^{353}$ *ni*
 grandmother SPEC =ERG shovel =INSTR grandfather strike NI
'grandmother struck grandfather with a shovel',
- (9) se^{53} *ra d\check{z}i?*
 kill RA OTHR
'and killed (him)'
- (10) $p\tilde{o}^{55}za^{53}$ ga^{13} *ni*
 rabbit laugh NI
'The rabbit laughed and'
- (11) $g\partial^{11}ga^{55}$ =*jæ*
 laugh.laugh =DAT
- (12) k^ha^{53} ϵu^{55} *ra d\check{z}i?*
 mouth split RA OTHR
'(his) laughing split a lip'.
- (13) $t\tilde{a}^{13}$ $z\tilde{o}^{13}$ $p\tilde{o}^{55}za^{53}$ =*jæ* ηe^{13} ϵe^{55} *rə*
 then again rabbit =DAT 1SERG 2S TOP

ŋə¹¹ŋə⁵⁵ -nə
cry.cry -NZR

- (14) dũ³⁵³ ta⁵⁵ tɕo⁵³ a⁵⁵ je¹³ sə⁵⁵ dʒi? se
face swell CAUS QST do say OTHR HS

'Then again (the crane said) to the rabbit, 'Let's make you cry so hard that your face swells up!'

- (15) pō⁵⁵za⁵³ =ji je¹³ je¹³ sə⁵⁵ dʒi se
rabbit =ERG do do say OTHR HS

'The rabbit said 'Do it, do it!'

- (16) a¹¹ra⁵⁵ji tsĩ⁵⁵ko¹³rã⁵⁵ se -nə
just now trap say -NZR

ɕe⁵⁵ di.¹³ jã¹³ =nə p^hu⁵⁵ sō se⁵⁵ dʒi? se
2S there road =LOC run go.IMP call OTHR HS

'You run over there on the road that is called a trap' (the crane) said!'

- (17) jo¹³ sə⁵⁵ ni
OK say NI

'(The rabbit) said 'OK!'

- (18) tsĩ⁵⁵ko¹³rã⁵⁵ se -nə jã¹³ p^hu³⁵³ n^hdzu¹³ dʒi? se
trap call -NZR road run go OTHR HS

'(he) ran to the road that is called the trap'

- (19) ɕə⁵³ tɕi ɲã⁵³ kə ni
dog INDF chase KHU NI

'A dog chased (him)'

- (20) pō⁵⁵za⁵³ rə ŋə¹¹ŋə⁵⁵ =jæ
rabbit TOP cry.cry =DAT

'rabbit cried so hard'

- (21) *dũ*³⁵³ *ta*⁵⁵ *ra* *dzi?* *se*
face swell RA OTHR say
'(his) face swelled'.

ENGLISH-DONGWANG-WRITTEN TIBETAN LEXICON

The following section contains a word list of eleven hundred words. Each English entry is followed by a Written Tibetan entry and a phonemic IPA transcription of the Dongwang word.

Written Tibetan entries are indicated by angled brackets (< >) as has been done throughout this dissertation. If no known WT etymology is known, a question mark in angled brackets indicates this (<?>). If a WT entry is posited, but there is a high degree of doubt, a question mark will follow the WT entry (e.g., <kha.thog?>). Finally, when one syllable is known, but the other is unknown or is doubtful a question mark in the relevant place indicates the unknown or doubtful syllable (<kha.?>, <kha.thog?>).

Regarding the Dongwang entries, a tilde (~) between forms indicates that two Dongwang forms are in free variation with each other. A comma between forms indicates alternate forms.

a little <?> *tsə⁵⁵gu⁵³*
 a little, little <?> *tsə⁵⁵ka⁵³*
 abbot <mkhan.po> *k^hæ¹³mə¹¹*
 after <phar.rjes> *p^hə⁵⁵tɕe⁵³*
 again <?> *a¹¹wũ⁵⁵*
 again, still <?> *zō¹³*
 age <lo> *jɣ¹³*
 airplane <lcags.bya> *tɕa⁵⁵za⁵³*
 all <ga.lag>, <?> *k^ha¹¹la⁵³, lɣ⁵⁵mo⁵³*
 amulet <ske.srung> *ki⁵⁵sō⁵³*
 animal (wild) <ri.dwags> *rə¹¹da⁷53*
 ankle <tshigs.pa> *ts^hi¹¹pa⁵⁵*
 another, other <?> *we¹¹za⁵⁵*
 arak bottle cork <?> *k^hə⁵⁵tsō⁵³*
 arak pot <?> *da¹¹mbi⁵⁵ ~ da¹¹mi⁵⁵*
 arak, hard liquor <a.rag> *a⁵⁵ra⁷53*
 arrow <mda'> *ⁿda³⁵³ ~ na³⁵³*
 as soon as <?> *ⁿdza¹¹k^hə⁵⁵dæ⁵³*
 ash <thal.dkar> *t^hi¹¹kæ⁵⁵*
 at first <?> *hi⁵⁵ko⁵³*
 at first, in the beginning <?>
 hi⁵⁵mo⁵³ra¹¹
 aunt (father's sister) <a.ne> *a¹¹ni⁵⁵*
 aunt, (mother's sister) <ma.rgan>
 ma¹¹gæ⁵⁵
 axe <sta.ri> *ta⁵⁵rə¹¹*
 baby mountain goat <re'u> *zɣ¹³*
 baby mule <?> *tɕu⁵⁵tɕ^hu⁵³*
 back and forth <tshur phar> *ts^hə⁵⁵*
 p^hə¹¹
 back of neck <ske.?'> *ki⁵⁵ta⁵³*
 bad <?> *t^hæ⁵³*

bad, intensifier <?> *a⁵⁵bæ⁷55*
 bag (big, for grain) <?> *t^ha¹¹dæ⁵⁵*
 bald <mgo.?'> *ⁿgu¹¹lɣ⁵⁵*
 barley <nas> *ne¹³*
 barley beer <chang> *tɕ^hō⁵³*
 barley flour <rtsam.pa> *tsã⁵⁵ba⁵³*
 barley, w/out hull <?> *kə⁵⁵rə¹¹*
 basket (for drying noodles) <?>
 ʒə¹¹wæ⁵³
 basket shovel (to haul dirt, potatoes)
 <?> *pə¹¹ru⁵³*
 bathroom 1 <gya.khang> *ɕa⁵⁵k^hō⁵³*
 bathroom 2 <chu.?'sa>
 tɕ^hə⁵⁵p^hu⁵³sa¹¹
 beans <srang.ma> *si⁵⁵mō⁵³*
 bear <dom> *tōm¹³*
 beard <ag.tshom> *a¹¹tsū⁵⁵*
 beautiful, cute, pretty <?> *da⁵⁵mə¹¹*
 because <?> *ma¹¹zə⁵⁵*
 bed, bench <khri> *tɕ^hə⁵⁵*
 bee <sbrang.ches?'> *dzō¹¹tsə⁵⁵*
 beggar <sprang.slong> *tɕō⁵⁵hijō⁵³*
 beginning (of the month) <?> *ba⁵³*
 behind <rgyab>, <rgyab.phar?'>
 zəo³⁵³, zæ¹¹p^ha⁵³
 belly <grod.pa> *tɕə¹¹pa⁵⁵*
 bellybutton <lte.ba> *ti⁵⁵ja⁵³*
 below <?> *ʒo¹¹ra⁵⁵, ʒə³⁵³*
 bench, bed <?.khri> *gu¹¹tɕ^hə⁵⁵*
 beside <'gram> *ⁿdzã³⁵³*
 beside <?> *tsa⁵³*
 between <bar.la> *pə¹¹la⁵⁵*
 bicep <?> *po:⁵⁵ni¹¹*

big 1 <chen.po> <i>tɕʰə¹¹wu⁵⁵</i>	bridge <zam.pa> <i>za¹¹mba⁵⁵,</i> <i>nza¹¹mba⁵⁵</i>
big 2 <?> <i>ba¹¹læ⁵³</i>	broken <?> <i>pe¹¹ɲæ⁵³</i>
big flat basket <?> <i>tʰə¹¹lɿ⁵⁵</i>	broom <phyags.ma> <i>sʰa¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>
big stature <? chen.po> <i>bɿ¹¹gi⁵⁵</i> <i>tɕʰə¹¹wu⁵⁵</i>	brother (brother's younger) <nu.bo> <i>ɲũ:¹³</i>
big, huge <?> <i>bə¹¹ⁿdzã⁵³</i>	brother (sister's younger) <?> <i>ɲæ¹¹mbə⁵⁵</i>
bird egg <bya'u sgo.nga> <i>sɿ¹¹guã⁵⁵</i>	brush, slag <?> <i>pi¹³</i>
birthplace <skye?.sa> <i>si⁵⁵sa⁵³</i>	bubble <lbu>, <dbu> <i>bu³⁵³</i>
bitter <kha.tig?> <i>kʰə⁵⁵to⁵³</i>	building (house, rarely) <khang.pa> <i>kʰɿ¹¹ba⁵⁵</i>
black <nag.po> <i>nə¹¹na⁵³</i>	bull <glang> <i>jō⁵³</i>
blind person <myig.long> <i>ɲi⁵⁵jō¹¹</i>	bull skin <glang.pags> <i>jō⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>
blood <khrag> <i>tɕʰa[?]53</i>	bullet <mdel>, <mde'u> <i>nɿ¹³</i>
blue <sngon.po> <i>hũ⁵⁵hũ¹¹</i>	burn pot for table <hu.phor> <i>hu¹³pʰæ⁵³</i>
blurrily <?> <i>mə¹¹ni⁵⁵mə¹¹ɲu⁵³</i>	busily, harriedly <?> <i>tsʰə¹¹tsʰu⁵³bə¹¹bi⁵³</i>
irrigation ditch gate <?> <i>ja¹³</i>	business person, trader <tshong.pa> <i>tsʰō⁵⁵bæ⁵³, tsʰō⁵⁵ba⁵³</i>
boat 1 <gru> <i>ɕə¹³</i>	butter <mar> <i>mæ¹³</i>
boat 2 <?> <i>wa:¹³</i>	butter tea pot1 <?> <i>ti⁵⁵du⁵³</i>
body <lus.po> <i>lə¹¹pə⁵⁵</i>	butterfly <phye.ma.leb> <i>sō:¹³kə³³le³¹</i>
body (e.g. arm) hair <spu> <i>pə⁵⁵</i>	buttermilk <?> <i>ta:¹³</i>
boiled water <chu.'khol> <i>tɕʰə⁵⁵kʰui⁵³</i>	buttocks <tshos?.ra?> <i>tsʰo¹¹ra⁵⁵</i>
bone <rus.ba> <i>rə¹¹pa⁵⁵</i>	calf <pad> <i>pi⁵⁵</i>
book, letter <yig>, <yig.ge> <i>zi¹³,</i> <i>zi¹¹gi⁵⁵</i>	camera <?.par?.sa> <i>tɕʰə⁵⁵pæ⁵³to³³sa¹¹</i>
border <ri.mtha'?'> <i>rə¹¹ta⁵³</i>	carpenter <bzo?> <i>zu¹³ ~ lu</i>
bovine <phyugs.pa> <i>so⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	carpet for sitting <sa.gdan> <i>sa¹¹dæ⁵⁵</i>
bow <mda'.gzhu> <i>də⁵⁵zə¹¹</i>	cat 1 <?> <i>a¹¹lɿ⁵⁵</i>
box, trunk <sgam> <i>gã³⁵³</i>	cat 2 <?> <i>wu⁵⁵lɿ¹¹</i>
bracelet <lag.kor> <i>ja¹¹kuæ⁵⁵</i>	caterpillar fungus <dbyar.rtswa dgun.'bu> <i>mbə³⁵³</i>
brain <klad.pa> <i>le⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	
branch <shing.lag?> <i>ɕʰɿ⁵⁵fja⁵³</i>	
breast (male or female) <snod?> <i>mi?⁵³</i>	
breath <dbug> <i>bu³⁵³</i>	

cat skin <?.pags> <i>wu⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	colt <rte'u> <i>ty⁵⁵</i>
cautious, take care ? <i>nã⁵⁵di¹¹ [je]</i>	comb <?> <i>sõ¹³</i>
cave 2 <brag.?'> <i>tʂa¹¹ro⁵⁵</i>	come, imperative <zhog> <i>ʂu⁵³</i>
cheap <gung.?'> <i>gõ¹¹lo⁵⁵</i>	complicated <?> <i>ji¹¹ga⁵⁵</i>
cheeks <'gram.tshos?'> <i>ⁿdzã¹¹tsa⁵³</i>	considerate <rnam?.gzhigs?'> <i>na⁵⁵çi⁵³</i>
cheese <thud> <i>t^hi⁵³</i>	convenient <stabs? bde.po> <i>tu¹³di³³mã¹¹</i>
chest <brang> <i>tʂõ¹³</i>	cooking oil 1 <snum> <i>pu³⁵³</i>
chick <bya'u> <i>sy⁵⁵</i>	cooking oil 2 <snum.nag> <i>pu⁵⁵na⁵³</i>
chicken <bya> <i>sa¹³</i>	copper <zangs> <i>sõ¹³</i>
chicken coop, nest <bya.tshang> <i>sa¹¹ts^hõ⁵⁵</i>	coral, jewels <byu?.ru?'> <i>sã¹¹rã⁵⁵</i>
chicken egg <bya.sgo.nga> <i>sã¹¹guã⁵⁵</i>	corn CH <i>bao⁵³gu¹¹</i>
child <?> <i>a¹¹ka⁵³</i>	corpse <ro> <i>ru¹³</i>
chili pepper <?> <i>ʒa¹¹gu¹ʔ⁵³</i>	courtyard <?> <i>k^hõ¹¹tsã⁵³</i>
chin <mas.li> <i>me¹¹li⁵⁵</i>	cow <ba> <i>pa¹³</i>
Chinese language, spoken <rgya.skad> <i>ʒæ¹¹ki⁵³</i>	crazy <smyon> <i>pu³⁵³, ju¹³</i>
Chinese nationality <rgya> <i>ʒa¹³</i>	crazy person <smyon.pa> <i>ju¹³ba⁵³ ~</i> <i>ju¹³ba⁵³</i>
chipmunk <?> <i>t^ho¹¹Y⁵⁵</i>	crooked <gya.kyog> <i>çã¹¹ko⁵³</i>
churn (big one for making butter) <rnom> <i>nũ¹³</i>	crow, raven <bya.rog> <i>sã¹¹ru¹ʔ⁵³</i>
churn (for tea) <ja.rnom> <i>tçã¹¹nũ⁵⁵</i>	cupboard <?> <i>tçu¹¹ta⁵⁵</i>
circle <sgor.sgor> <i>gu⁵⁵guæ⁵³</i>	cymbal <?> <i>bã¹¹tç^hY⁵³</i>
clean <gtsang.ma> <i>tsõ⁵⁵wõ⁵³</i>	dangerous <?.nyen?'> <i>k^hi⁵⁵ɲæ⁵³</i>
cliff <brag.ri> <i>tʂa¹³, tʂa¹¹rã⁵⁵</i>	dark (sky) <nag.gtib?'> <i>na¹¹di⁵⁵</i>
cloth shoes <ras.lham> <i>ri:¹¹hã⁵⁵</i>	dark green <ljang.nag> <i>dzõ⁵⁵na⁵³</i>
cloth, cotton <ras> <i>ri:¹³</i>	darkness <nag.ma>? <i>na¹³wo⁵³</i>
clothes <gos> <i>kue¹³</i>	daughter, girl <bu.mo> <i>pu¹¹mã⁵⁵,</i> <i>põ:¹³</i>
cloud <sprin> <i>tʂi⁵³</i>	day <nyi.ma> <i>ju¹³, nã¹¹wõ⁵⁵</i>
coals <sol.ba> <i>si¹¹ja⁵⁵</i>	day and night <nyi.tshan> <i>ju¹¹ts^hæ⁵⁵</i>
cold, cool (liquid) <grang> <i>tʂõ:¹³</i>	daytime <nyi.khung?'> <i>ɲã¹¹gũ⁵⁵</i>
color <mdog> <i>ⁿdu³⁵³</i>	
color <tshos.?'> <i>ts^hY⁵⁵k^ha⁵³</i>	

defect, fault <snyad.pa?> <i>næʔ³⁵³</i>	earthquake <sa.'gul> <i>s^{hə}55n^{gu} 53</i>
demon <lha?.'dre> <i>ha⁵⁵ⁿtʃi¹¹</i>	east <shar.phyogs> <i>ɕai¹³ɕu^{ʔ53}</i>
difficult, hard <dka'> <i>ka^{ʔ53}</i>	easy <las.sla.po> <i>li¹³la⁵⁵~je¹¹la⁵⁵</i>
dinner <?> <i>n^{də}11gũ⁵⁵</i>	egg <sgo.nga> <i>guã³⁵³~kuã³⁵³</i>
dipper (for water) <ze.?'> <i>se¹³t^{hũ}53</i>	elbow <gru/dre.?'> <i>tʃə¹¹t^{so}53</i>
dirt, earth, ground <sa> <i>s^{hə}a⁵³</i>	elephant <glang.chen> <i>lõ⁵⁵t^çh^æ53</i>
dirty <?'> <i>tu⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	eleven <bcu.gcig> <i>t^ço⁵⁵ji¹¹</i>
ditch, water ditch <chu.rka> <i>ka⁵³,</i> <i>t^çh^ə11ka⁵⁵</i>	empty <stong.pa> <i>tõ⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>
doctor <sman.pa> <i>m^əã¹³ba⁵⁵</i>	enemy <dgra> <i>t^ça³⁵³</i>
dog <khyi> <i>ɕə⁵⁵</i>	evening <?'> <i>sə⁵⁵gə¹¹</i>
dog skin <khyi.pags> <i>ɕə⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>	every day <nyi.?'> <i>n^u13 tʃi³³tʃi¹¹</i>
domestic animals <byol.song?> <i>s^Y11t^{so}55</i>	everywhere <ga.ga> <i>ka¹³ka¹¹</i>
Dongwang <rter.ma?.rong?> <i>tõ⁵⁵wã⁵⁵~tõ⁵⁵wã⁵³</i>	exactly <?'> <i>tʃ^{hə}a⁵³sə¹¹</i>
door <sgo> <i>gu³⁵³</i>	exciting <myi.?'> <i>n^ə13t^{so}h^u53</i>
down, downwards <'babs> <i>mbə³⁵³</i>	expensive <gung.?'> <i>kõ⁵⁵da⁵³</i>
drop (of water) <chu.'dzag> <i>t^çh^ə55n^{dza}53</i>	expert <mkhen?.pa> <i>k^hi¹¹pa⁵⁵</i>
drum <rnga> <i>ŋa⁵³</i>	eye <myig>, <dmyig> <i>ni⁵³</i>
dry <skam.po> <i>kə⁵⁵mə¹¹</i>	eyeball <myig.ril?>, <mig.zlum?> <i>ni⁵⁵lu⁵³</i>
duck <chu.byā> <i>t^çh^ə55za⁵³</i>	eyebrow <yar.spu> <i>zə⁵⁵pə¹¹</i>
dusk <mun?.rub?> <i>m^əã¹³~mi¹³ro¹¹</i>	eyelash <mig.spu> <i>ni⁵⁵pə¹¹</i>
dust <thal.ba> <i>t^hi¹¹ja⁵⁵</i>	face <gdong> <i>dũ³⁵³</i>
each <re re> <i>ri¹¹ri⁵⁵</i>	fake <?'> <i>tʃu¹¹mo⁵³</i>
eagle, vulture <glag?> <i>hja^{ʔ353}</i>	fall, autumn ston.ka <i>tẽ⁵⁵k^{hə}a⁵³</i>
ear <rna.ba> <i>nẽ⁵⁵ji¹¹~nə⁵⁵ji¹¹</i>	far <?.ring> <i>zõ¹³ri</i>
early <snga.?'> <i>ŋə⁵⁵ji¹¹</i>	farmer <zhing na 'gul myi>, <zhing.pa> <i>ʃi⁵⁵=nə⁵⁵n^{gu}55-nə, ʃi¹¹ba⁵⁵</i>
earrings (pearl, hoops) <rna.kor> <i>nə⁵⁵kuə⁵³</i>	farming <sa.shing> <i>s^{hə}a⁵³ʃi¹¹</i>
earth, world <gdzam.bu.gling> <i>dza¹¹mə⁵⁵li⁵³</i>	fart <'phyen?/phyen> <i>s^{hə}ã³⁵³</i>
	fast, soon <mgyogs.po> <i>n^{dzo}11pa⁵³</i>
	fat <rgyags.pa> <i>zæ¹³pa⁵³</i>
	fat meat <sha.dkar> <i>ʃə⁵⁵kæ⁵³</i>

father <p'a?> *ba*³⁵³
 faucet handle <?> *k^hə¹¹ts^hō⁵⁵*
 feces <skyag.pa> *ʂə⁵⁵wa⁵³*
 fedora <?> *jā¹¹ra⁵⁵*
 few <nyung> *nō¹³*
 few, some <?> *n^gə¹¹rə⁵⁵*
 field <sa.??> *sa⁵⁵zī⁵³*
 field <zhing.??> *ʂ^hi³⁵³, ʂ^hi¹¹no⁵⁵*
 fierce, ferocious <ngar.po>
 ŋe¹¹mba⁵⁵
 fifteen <bco.lnga> *təē⁵⁵ŋa⁵³*
 fifth <lnga.pa> *ŋə¹¹pa⁵³*
 finally, at last <?> *suu⁵⁵i⁵³*
 finger (forefinger), toe <mdzub>
 ⁿdzuu¹³
 finger (middle finger) <dgyil.mdzub>
 ɕuu⁵⁵nⁿdzuu⁵³
 finger (pinkie) <mdzub.??>
 ⁿdzuu⁵⁵ka⁵³
 finger (ring finger) <sen.lag>?
 sə⁵⁵la⁵³
 finger, forefinger <mdzub> *ⁿdzuu¹³*
 fingernail <sen.mo> *se¹¹mə⁵⁵*
 fire <me> *ni¹³ ~ ni¹³*
 fire place <?> *t^hə⁵⁵ka⁵³*
 first, beginning <dang.po> *tō¹¹mə⁵⁵*
 fish <nya> *ja¹³ ~ nə¹¹wa⁵⁵*
 fish egg <nya.sgo.nga> *nə¹¹guā⁵⁵*
 fishing net <nya ? sa> *ja¹³ k^ho³³sa¹¹*
 flame <me.rlabs> *ni¹³təo⁵³*
 flat bread <?> *pə⁵⁵sa⁵³*
 flea <'ji.ba> *təə⁵⁵wa⁵³*
 flour <?> *dzəē¹³*
 flower <me.tog> *mi¹¹ru⁵³*

fly <sbrang> *dzū¹³*
 fog <smug?.ma> *mi¹³wō⁵³*
 food <bza'> *səē¹³*
 food and drink <cha.'thung>
 tɕ^hə¹¹t^hō⁵⁵
 footpath <rkang.lam> *kō⁵⁵jā⁵³*
 forehead <thod.pa> *t^hə⁵⁵pa⁵³*
 forest? <?> *t^ho¹¹rə⁵⁵*
 fourth <bzhi.pa> *zə¹¹pa⁵⁵*
 fox <wa> *wa¹³*
 fragrant, tasty <zhim.po> *ʂə¹¹mə⁵⁵*
 freckle <?> *mi¹¹jā⁵³*
 friend, good <?> *p^hə⁵⁵ʂa⁵³*
 friend, helper <rogs> *ru¹³, ru¹³*
 frog <sbal.pa> *bi¹¹wa⁵⁵ ~ bī¹¹gua⁵³*
 frost <ba.mo> *pā¹³*
 frugal, stingy <?> *si¹¹mə⁵⁵*
 fruit <shing?.tog> *sue⁵⁵t^hu⁵³*
 funnel-shaped yoghurt basket <zho.??>
 ʂu¹¹tsha⁵⁵
 garbage <?> *dzo¹¹sa⁵⁵*
 garlic <sgog.pa> *ku¹¹wa⁵⁵ ~*
 gu¹¹wa⁵⁵
 gift, present <lag.??> *ja¹¹mbə⁵⁵*
 glass <shel> *ʂi⁵³*
 glasses <dmyig.shel> *ni⁵⁵ʂi⁵³*
 glue (wood) <spyin> *sī⁵³*
 god <lha> *fja³⁵³*
 goiter <lba> *ba³⁵³*
 gold <gser> *səē⁵³*
 good <yag>, <yag.po> *ja¹³,*
 jə¹¹wa⁵⁵, jə¹¹pə
 good, well <?> *a¹¹nō⁵⁵*

grain, that which is ground <?> wə ⁵⁵ ta ⁵³	hard, intense <?> kə ³⁵³
grand daughter, niece <tsha.mo> ts ^h ā ¹³	hardworking <'grus>? tʃi ³⁵³ , ⁿ dzɿ ³⁵³
grandchild, grandson, nephew <tsha.bo> ts ^h u ¹³	harvest <sog.pa> su ⁵⁵ wa ⁵³
grandfather <a.myes> a ⁵⁵ ni ¹¹	hat <zhwa.mo> ʃo ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵
grandmother <a.mo?> a ⁵⁵ mō ⁵³	head <mgo> ⁿ gu ³⁵³
grandmother <a.mo> a ⁵⁵ mo ⁵³	heavy <ljid.po> dʒi ⁵⁵ pa ⁵³ , tʃi ⁵⁵ pa ⁵³
grape <rgun> gi ³⁵³	hemp <so.dza?> sə ⁵⁵ⁿ dzə ¹¹
grass <rtswa> tsu ⁵⁵ wa ⁵³ ~ tsə ⁵⁵ wa ⁵³	hen <bya.mo> sə ¹¹ mo ⁵⁵
grasshopper <rtswa.rtswa.?.?> ts ^h a ¹¹ ts ^h a ⁵³ gui ³³ li ¹¹	here <'o.?'> wə ⁵⁵ na ⁵³ , na ⁵³
grassland <spang> pō ⁵³	hero <dpa'.bo> pə ⁵⁵ wu ¹¹
green <ljang.khu> dzō ¹¹ k ^h ə ⁵⁵	hill <ri chung.chung> rə ⁵⁵ tʃe ³³ tʃh ^ũ ¹¹
groom, husband <?> bə ¹¹ sə ⁵⁵	hole <?.dong> s ^h a ¹¹ dō ⁵⁵ , wa ¹¹ dō ⁵⁵
guest <mgron.po> ⁿ dzə ⁵⁵ mə ¹¹	home, floor <khyim?> ɕũ ⁵⁵
gun <me.mda'> ni ¹¹ⁿ da ⁵⁵	honey <?.sbrang> tʃa ¹¹ dzō ⁵⁵
gun bullet <me.mda' mde'u> ni ¹¹ⁿ da ⁵⁵ⁿ dɿ ¹¹	horn <rwa> rə ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵
hail <ser.ba> si ¹¹ ja ⁵⁵	horse <rta> ta ⁵³
hair <skra> tʃa ⁵³	hot (spicy), salty <?> kə ¹¹ mə ⁵⁵
hair (body) <gzugs?.spu> sɿ ¹¹ pə ⁵⁵	hot (weather, food), to be hot <tsha>? sa ⁵³
half <phyed.ka> se ⁵⁵ k ^h a ⁵³	how <ga.'dra> ka ¹¹ⁿ dzə ⁵⁵
hammer <tho.ba> t ^h u ⁵⁵ wa ⁵³	how many <ga.tshod> k ^h a ¹¹ ts ^h e ⁵³
hand and arm <lag.?'> ja ¹¹ də ⁵⁵	hunter <?>, <rngon.pa> tʃæ ¹³ ba ⁵⁵ , ⁿ guæ ¹³ mba ⁵³
hand, arm <lag.pa> ja ¹¹ⁿ gu ⁵⁵ , jæ ¹¹ wa ⁵⁵	husband <?.zla?/bza'> te ¹¹ za ⁵⁵ , za ¹³
handsome, beautiful <mdzes.ma> dzi: ⁵⁵ mə ¹¹	ice (frozen water) <chab.brom> tʃə ^h ə ¹¹ dzũ ⁵⁵
happy, comfortable <skyid.po> si ⁵³ , si ⁵⁵ pə ¹¹	immediate <?> tsə ⁵⁵ ts ^h e ⁵³ ma ¹¹ ts ^h e ⁵³
hard (not soft) <sra.'khyur?> sə ¹¹ kũ ⁵³	in a little while, then, soon de.nas? tæ: ¹³
	in front of <?.mgo> ɳə ⁵⁵ⁿ gu ¹¹
	in front, before <?> hji ⁵⁵ su ⁵³
	in order to <thog.?'> t ^h a ⁵⁵ ke ⁵³
	incense (small) <spos> pu ⁵³

inheritance/possessions <?> <i>dæ⁵⁵t^ha⁵³</i>	leader, government/army <mgo.dpon> <i>ⁿgu¹¹pæ⁵³</i>
ink <snag> <i>na³⁵³</i>	leader, official <dbu.ma>, <dpon.po> <i>pe:⁵⁵mə¹¹</i>
innards <nang.??> <i>na¹¹tɕ^hY⁵⁵</i>	leaf/ feather, wing <'dab.??> <i>ⁿdə¹¹pəo⁵³</i>
inside <nang.ni??> <i>na¹¹ni⁵⁵</i>	lean meat <sha.nag> <i>ʂə⁵⁵na⁵³</i>
intentionally <rkang.bdzugs> <i>kō⁵⁵tso⁵³</i>	leather <ko.ba> <i>ku⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>
intestines <rgyu.ma> <i>ʒə¹¹wō⁵³</i>	leather cushion <ko.ba.sdan> <i>kua⁵⁵dæ⁵³</i>
iron <lcags> <i>tɕa⁵³</i>	leather shoes <ko.ba.lham> <i>kua⁵⁵hja⁵³</i>
irrigation ditch <?> <i>dū¹³</i>	leather waist purse <sked.??> <i>ke:⁵⁵tʂu¹¹</i>
jail <btson.khang> <i>tsæ̃⁵⁵k^hō⁵³</i>	leech <?> <i>sa⁵⁵jə¹¹</i>
joint <tshigs> <i>ts^hi⁵⁵</i>	lefthand <?> <i>ze¹¹jā⁵³</i>
jungle <?> <i>mbi¹³zu⁵³</i>	leg, foot <rkang.pa> <i>kī⁵⁵ba⁵⁵</i>
just just now <?> <i>ⁿgui⁵⁵ⁿgui¹¹</i>	leopard <gzig> <i>zi³⁵³</i>
just now <?> <i>a¹¹ʒu⁵⁵</i>	leopard skin/fur <gzig.lpags> <i>zi⁵⁵pa^{ʔ53}</i>
king <rgyal.po> <i>dʒæ¹¹bu⁵⁵</i>	life <srog> <i>su^{ʔ53}</i>
kitchen, cooking utensil <bza'.bzo.sa> <i>sæ̃¹³lu¹³sa¹¹</i>	lifetime, life <myi.tshe> <i>ni⁵⁵ts^he⁵³,</i> <i>ts^hi⁵³</i>
kitten <?.phrug> <i>wu⁵⁵tʂ^hu⁵³ ~</i> <i>lY⁵⁵tʂ^hu⁵³</i>	light (beam, spot of light) <gsal> <i>si⁵³</i>
knee <pus.mo> <i>pi⁵⁵mə¹¹</i>	light (bright) <gsal.ma> <i>si:⁵⁵mə¹¹</i>
knife <gri> <i>tʂə¹³</i>	light (natural) <'od> <i>we³⁵³</i>
lake <mtsho> <i>ts^hu⁵⁵</i>	light (not heavy) <yang.yang> <i>zə¹¹zō⁵⁵</i>
lama <bla.ma> <i>lə⁵⁵mo⁵³</i>	light blue <sngon.dkar> <i>hū⁵⁵kæ⁵³</i>
lamb <lug.gu> <i>ju¹³</i>	light green <ljang.dkar> <i>dʒō¹¹kæ⁵⁵</i>
lame <rkang.rdum>, <?> <i>kō⁵⁵dō⁵³,</i> <i>kō⁵⁵tɕ^ha⁵³</i>	lightning <glog> <i>ju⁵³</i>
lard <?> <i>tsu⁵³</i>	like that (manner) <'o.??> <i>wə⁵⁵tso⁵³</i>
last will <?> <i>k^hə⁵⁵ji⁵³</i>	like this (manner) <'u.??> <i>wə⁵⁵ⁿdzo⁵³</i>
last year <na.lo> <i>nə¹¹ɿ⁵⁵</i>	lips <mchu.pags> <i>tɕ^hu¹¹pa^{ʔ53}</i>
late <phyi.phyi>? <i>sə⁵⁵sə¹¹</i>	
lazy <?> <i>jæ¹¹wæ⁵⁵</i>	
lead <zha?> <i>ra¹³</i>	

liver <mchin.pa> <i>tɕ^hə⁵⁵mba⁵³</i>	money purse <dn̄gul.ʔ> <i>ɲu⁵⁵tɕu¹¹</i>
lock <ʔ> <i>sa¹¹dzi⁵⁵</i>	monk <grwa.ba> <i>tɕa¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>
long <ring.po> ~ <ring.ʔ> <i>ri¹¹ⁿdæ⁵⁵~ rĩ¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>	monkey <aʔ.spre'u> <i>a¹¹tɕu⁵⁵ ~a¹¹tɕy⁵⁵</i>
long ago <snga.ma> <i>ɲa⁵⁵mo⁵³</i>	month <zla.ba> <i>ⁿda¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>
long long ago <gna'.snga.ma> <i>nã⁵³ɲa³³mo⁵³</i>	moon <zla.dkar> <i>lə⁵⁵gæ⁵³</i>
loom <thags> <i>t^ha⁵³</i>	morning <zhog.pa> <i>ʂo¹¹pa⁵⁵</i>
louse <shig> <i>ʂi⁵⁵</i>	mortar (for spices, garlic) <ʔ.gtun> <i>s^han¹³tĩ⁵³</i>
louse eggs <ʔ> <i>sə⁵⁵ts^ha^ʔ⁵³</i>	mosquito <ʔ> <i>t^hj¹¹si⁵⁵</i>
lover <dga'.rogs> <i>gə¹¹ru^ʔ⁵³</i>	mother <ma> <i>ma¹³</i>
lower back, back <sgangʔ> <i>gõ³⁵³</i>	mountain <ri> <i>rə¹³</i>
lower leg, calf <ʔ.nyil> <i>sə¹¹ɲi⁵⁵</i>	mountain goat <ra> <i>ra¹³</i>
lungs <glo.ba> <i>ju⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	mountain pass <la> <i>ja¹³</i>
manager, boss <bdag.ʔ> <i>da⁵⁵tsao⁵³</i>	mountain peak <ri.mgo> <i>rə¹¹ⁿgu⁵⁵</i>
manure <lud> <i>ɦji³⁵³ ~ ji¹³</i>	mouse <byi.ba> <i>sə¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>
many <mang.po> <i>ma¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>	mouth <kha> <i>k^ha⁵³</i>
mask <'bag> <i>mba³⁵³</i>	mud <'dam.bag> <i>ɲə¹¹mba^ʔ⁵³</i>
matchmaker <gnyen.dpangʔ> <i>ɲæ⁵⁵mbæ⁵³</i>	mud <saʔ.bag> <i>s^ha¹¹mba⁵³</i>
meadow <rtswa.thang> <i>tsə⁵⁵t^hõ⁵³</i>	Mule <drelʔ> <i>tɕu⁵³</i>
meat, flesh <sha> <i>ʂ^ha⁵³</i>	mute, fool <lkugs.pa> <i>ko⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>
medicine <sman> <i>m̄æ³⁵³</i>	nail (wooden peg nail) <shing.gzer> <i>ʂĩ⁵⁵zæ^ʔ⁵³</i>
middle <dkiyl.ʔ> <i>ɕə⁵⁵ke⁵³</i>	name <ming> ~ <mying> <i>ɲə¹¹wõ⁵⁵ ~ ɲõ¹³</i>
middle, during, when <dbus.ma> <i>pe¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	near <thag.thungʔ> <i>t^ha⁵⁵t^hõ⁵³</i>
milk <'o.ma> <i>wõ¹³</i>	near <ʔ> <i>di¹¹mba⁵⁵</i>
mind <bsam.pa> <i>sə⁵⁵mba⁵³</i>	neck <ske.pa> <i>ki⁵⁵pa⁵³</i>
mind <bsam> <i>s^hã⁵³</i>	needle <khab> <i>k^hə⁵³ ~ k^həo⁵³</i>
mistake <nor> <i>næ¹³</i>	negative prefix <ma> <i>ma-</i>
monastery 1 <grwa.khang> <i>tɕa¹¹k^hõ⁵⁵</i>	neighbor <ʔ.rogsʔ> <i>tɕõ¹¹ru⁵³</i>
monastery 2 <dgon.pa> <i>gə¹¹mba⁵³</i>	nest bye'u.tshang <i>sɻ¹¹ts^hõ⁵⁵</i>
	new <gsar.pa> <i>se⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>

next year <?> <i>a¹¹zə⁵³</i>	paper money <shog.??> <i>ʃ^hu¹¹tʂə⁵⁵</i>
night (one night, two nights, etc.) <zhang> <i>ʧa^ʔ13</i>	parents <pha.ma> <i>p^ha⁵⁵wō⁵³</i>
nine <dgu> <i>gə³⁵³</i>	pasture, grazeland <?> <i>ʃi¹¹ha⁵⁵</i>
nobleman, landlord <?.rigs> <i>tʂe:¹¹ri⁵³</i>	path, road <lam> <i>jā¹³</i>
noodles CH <i>mæ¹³</i>	peaceful, pleasant <bsam.po??> <i>s^ho¹³mə⁵⁵</i>
noon, lunch <?> <i>dæ¹¹si⁵⁵</i>	peaceful, smooth <bde.po> <i>di⁵⁵mə¹¹</i>
north <byang.phyogs> <i>sō¹¹ʧu^ʔ53</i>	peach <kham.bu> <i>k^ha¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>
nose <sna> <i>ŋa³⁵³</i>	pear <li.??> <i>ji¹¹sy⁵⁵</i>
nostril <sna.wor> <i>ŋa⁵³wo³³ro¹¹</i>	peel, skin <pags.pa> <i>pa⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>
novice monk <dge.phrug> <i>gi¹³tʂ^ho⁵³</i>	penis <bu.rlig>? <i>bə¹¹li⁵⁵</i>
now <da.la??> <i>æ¹³</i>	person, man, husband <myi> <i>ɲə¹³</i>
oesophogus <pho?.yu> <i>bə¹¹zə⁵⁵</i>	pestle (for spices, garlic) <gtun.??> <i>tʃ⁵⁵ty¹¹</i>
old (of people) <dkar?.rgan> <i>ga⁵⁵gæ⁵³</i>	photograph <chas?.par> <i>tə^hə⁵⁵pæ⁵³</i>
old (of things) <rnying.pa> <i>ni⁵⁵ba⁵³</i>	picture <par> <i>pæ⁵³</i>
older brother <a.??> <i>a¹¹ji⁵⁵</i>	pig <phag> <i>p^ha⁵³</i>
older sister <a.??> <i>a¹¹zi⁵⁵</i>	pig's feet <phag.??> <i>p^ha¹¹so⁵³</i>
on, above <sgang> <i>gō³⁵³</i>	piglet <phag.'u> <i>p^hə:¹³</i>
onion <btsong> <i>tsū⁵³</i>	pillar <ka.ba> <i>ka⁵³</i>
only <?> <i>k^ha⁵⁵ji¹¹</i>	pillow <snas.??> <i>ɲi¹³, ɲi¹³p^hũ⁵³</i>
opposite <phar.la> <i>p^ho¹¹la</i>	pimple <?> <i>ba¹³</i>
otherwise <?> <i>zə⁵⁵mo⁵³, zə¹¹mo⁵⁵</i>	pitch wood <?> <i>dz_ɹæ:¹³, dz_ɹæ:¹³</i>
outside <?> <i>zæ¹¹su⁵³</i>	place <sa.cha> <i>sa⁵⁵tə^ha⁵³</i>
over and over; incessantly <?> <i>tə^ha¹¹t^hæ⁵⁵guo¹¹t^hæ⁵⁵</i>	plain tea <ja.dkar> <i>tə^ha¹³kæ⁵³</i>
overcast, cloudy <gnam.smug??> <i>na⁵³mu¹¹</i>	plant <shing.??> <i>ʃi¹¹dzũ⁵³</i>
owl <'ug.pa> <i>wu¹¹wa⁵⁵ ~ u¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>	platform over fire for cheese <?> <i>t^hi¹³ts^ha^ʔ53</i>
owner <bdag.po> <i>da¹¹pə⁵⁵</i>	plough <gshol> <i>ʃi⁵³</i>
palm <?> <i>pā⁵³</i>	plunger <?> <i>su⁵⁵rə¹¹</i>
pans for scales <'jal.phor> <i>tɕi¹¹p^hæ⁵⁵</i>	plunger (for tea and cheese) <?> <i>su⁵⁵rə¹¹</i>
pants <snam.ma??> <i>na¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>	pluralizer <kun> = <i>k^hĩ ~ kĩ</i>
paper <shog.bu> <i>ʃu:⁵⁵ ~ ʃu:³⁵</i>	pneumonia <glog.nad??> <i>jy¹¹næ⁵³</i>

poison <dug> <i>toʔ¹³, do¹³</i>	red (brown) sugar <?> <i>pə¹¹rã⁵⁵</i>
polygamy <?> <i>ʃi⁵⁵moʔ⁵³</i>	reincarnation <sprul?> <i>tʃhũ⁵³</i>
poor (person, land) <dbul.po>? <i>pu¹³wu¹¹</i>	relative <?> <i>kuæ⁵⁵ri¹¹</i>
popped rice snacks <?> <i>zu⁵⁵</i>	remainder, abundant <lhag.ma> <i>fja¹³wõ⁵³</i>
porcelain bowl, cup <phor.pa?> <i>p^hə¹¹rə⁵⁵</i>	request, beg <?> <i>tʃa⁵⁵tʃa¹¹</i>
pork <phag.sha> <i>p^ha⁵⁵ʃa⁵³</i>	reservoir, pond <rdzing> <i>dzi⁵⁵</i>
pot (big one for heating water) <?> <i>di¹¹kæ⁵³</i>	restaurant <bza'.khang> <i>sã¹³k^hõ⁵⁵</i>
potato CH <i>jã¹¹jY⁵⁵</i>	ribs <rtsib.ma> <i>tsi⁵⁵mo⁵³</i>
power, strength, force <?.shed> <i>p^hə⁵⁵ʃe⁵³</i>	rice <'bras> <i>ⁿdzi³⁵³ ~ ⁿdzi³⁵³</i>
prayer beads <phreng.ba> <i>tʃhə⁵⁵wõ⁵³</i>	ridge <ri.sgang> <i>rə¹¹gõ⁵⁵</i>
prayer flag <lag.'debs?, dar?> <i>lə⁵⁵dæ⁵³</i>	righthand <?> <i>tʃõ¹¹jã⁵³</i>
previous, before <sngon>? <i>fi³⁵³, fi⁵⁵ŋa⁵³</i>	ring (gold) <mdzub.?'> <i>ⁿdzə¹¹tʃhY⁵⁵</i>
puppy 2 <khyi.sprug> <i>ɕə⁵⁵tʃhW⁵⁵</i>	ripened; cooked <smin.po> <i>ju³⁵³ ~ ju³⁵³</i>
purse <?> <i>dzY¹³</i>	river <?.chu> <i>ʃuei⁵⁵tə^hə¹¹</i>
question <?> <i>dzə⁵⁵</i>	roasted meat <sha tsha?> <i>ʃh^aə⁵³ sa⁵³</i>
quiet <?> <i>na⁵³tɪ⁵³ ~ ⁿdza⁵³di⁵³</i>	rock, stone <rdo> <i>du⁵⁵ ~ du³⁵³</i>
rabbit 1 <spang.g.yag> <i>põ⁵⁵za⁵³</i>	roof <khang.steng>? <i>k^ho¹¹ti⁵⁵</i>
rabbit 2 <ri.bong> <i>ri¹¹gõ⁵⁵</i>	rooster <bya.bu> <i>sə¹¹pə⁵⁵</i>
rafters <gral.ma>? <i>tʃur¹³</i>	root <rtsa.?'> <i>tsə⁵⁵ræ^ʔ53</i>
rain <char.pa> <i>tə^hə¹¹wa⁵⁵</i>	rope <thag.pa> <i>t^hə¹³</i>
rainbow <'ja'> <i>zɑ³⁵³, ʒa¹³</i>	round <sgor.sgor> <i>gu¹¹guæ⁵³</i>
raindrop <char.thig> <i>tə^he¹¹t^hi⁵⁵</i>	round 2 <?> <i>ⁿdzə¹¹mə⁵⁵</i>
rapids, waves, roiling water <rba> <i>ba³⁵³</i>	rust <g.ya> <i>za³⁵³</i>
real <?> <i>dæ¹¹mba⁵³</i>	saddle, saddle blanket <sga> <i>ga³⁵³</i>
reason <rtsa.ba> <i>tʃa⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	salt <tshwa> <i>tʃh^aə⁵³</i>
recently <?.sang> <i>a¹¹ts^hã⁵⁵</i>	saltbox <tshwa.sgam> <i>ts^hə⁵⁵gã⁵³, ts^hai⁵⁵gã⁵³</i>
red <dmar.po> <i>mə⁵⁵mæ⁵³</i>	sand <bye.ma> <i>sə¹¹wõ⁵⁵</i>
	scales <'jal?> <i>tɕi⁵⁵</i>
	scar <rma.?'> <i>mə⁵⁵mi⁵³</i>
	school 1 <slabs.khang> <i>ʃo¹¹k^hõ⁵⁵</i>

school 2 <yig.slobs.sa> *zi¹³lo³³sa¹¹*
 scrap wood for burning <?> *dū¹¹ba⁵⁵*
 scriptures <grwa.yig> *tʂə¹¹zi⁵⁵*
 sea, ocean <rgya.mtsho> *tɕã¹¹ts^hu⁵⁵,*
 dzã¹¹ts^hu⁵⁵
 second <gnyis.pa> *nũ⁵⁵pa⁵³*
 seed <son> *sã¹³*
 servant <g.yog.po> *zu¹¹ku⁵⁵,*
 (jə⁵⁵wa⁵³)
 shade <grib.ngos?> *tʂĩ¹¹gəo⁵³*
 shadow <?> *ã¹¹ga⁵⁵*
 shallow (water) <?> *ro⁵³*
 sharp (knife) <rno.po>? *na⁵⁵ma¹¹*
 shattered <?> *ɕi¹¹ki⁵⁵ɕi¹¹ka⁵³*
 shattered, smashed <?>
 ni⁵⁵ni⁵⁵nə¹¹nɯ⁵³
 sheep <lug> *ɦjoɽ³⁵³*
 sheep skin <lug.pags> *ɦjo¹³pa⁵³*
 sheep wool (fur) <lug.spu> *ɦjo¹¹pə⁵⁵*
 ~ *ɦjo⁵⁵pə¹¹*
 sheep wool blanket <spu.??> *pə¹¹tso⁵³*
 shepherd, herdsman <rdzi.ba> *dzu¹³*
 shirt (button), coat <?> *tə¹¹ki⁵⁵*
 shoelace (old style) <lham.sgrog>
 ɦjã¹³tʂu⁵³
 shoes <lham> *ɦjã³⁵³*
 shop <tshong.khang> *ts^hõ¹³k^hõ⁵⁵*
 short (height) <chung.chung>
 tɕ^hə¹¹tɕ^hõ⁵⁵
 short (length) <thung.thung>
 t^hə¹¹t^hõ⁵⁵
 short height (stature) <?
 chung.chung> *bĩ¹¹gi⁵⁵*
 tɕ^hə¹¹tɕ^hõ⁵⁵

short, low <dma'.po> *mə⁵⁵mo⁵³*
 shoulder, upper arm <lag.pa?>
 ja¹¹ba⁵⁵
 shovel <?> *tɕa¹¹za⁵³*
 sick person, patient <nad.pa>
 ne¹¹pa⁵⁵
 sickle <zor.ba> *s^hə¹¹wa⁵⁵*
 silver drinking cup <dngul.g.yol>
 ɲu⁵⁵zu⁵³
 silver knife <dngul.gri> *ɲu⁵⁵tʂə¹¹*
 silver, money <dngul> *ɲu⁵⁵ ~ ɲu⁵³*
 skinny, thin <sha.skam> *ʂã¹³kã⁵⁵*
 sky <gnam> *nã⁵³ ~ naɽ⁵³*
 sliver, or small piece of wood
 <shing.??> *ʂĩ¹¹tsõ⁵⁵*
 slow <ga.le> *ka¹¹le⁵⁵*
 small <chung.chung> *tɕ^hə¹¹tɕ^hõ⁵⁵*
 small bag with string <tsa.khug>
 tsə¹¹k^ho⁵³
 smart, clever <?> *ku¹¹rə⁵⁵si⁵⁵pə¹¹*
 smoke <du.ba> *tə¹¹wa⁵⁵*
 snail <?> *sə⁵⁵mə¹¹dõ³³dʒɽ¹¹*
 snake <sbrul> *dzu³⁵³*
 snot, mucous <snabs> *ɲã³⁵³*
 snow <kha.ba> *k^ha¹³*
 socks CH *wa¹¹tsə⁵⁵*
 soft <snyi.??> *nə¹³le⁵³ ~ nɶ¹³le⁵³*
 soil <sa> *s^ha⁵³*
 soldier <dmag.mi> *ma⁵⁵nə¹¹*
 sole (of foot) <rkang.??> *kõ⁵⁵zõ⁵³*
 son, boy <bu> *pə¹³ ~ pə³³*
 song <bro> *tʂu¹³*
 sound, language <skad> *ki⁵⁵*
 soup <khu.ba> *k^ho¹¹wa⁵⁵*

sour <?.skyur> *sə⁵⁵kua⁵³*
sour water (left over when making
yoghurt) <?> *tɕ^hur¹³*
south <lho.phyogs> *lɣ⁵⁵ɕur⁵³*
spark <me.tshag> *ŋi¹³ts^haɽ⁵³*
sparrow hawk, bird of prey <khra>
ts^ha⁵³
spider <?> *tʂu⁵⁵pə³³ra¹¹*
spit <mchil.ma> *tɕ^hæ¹¹wã⁵⁵*
spring <dpyid.ka> *si⁵⁵ka⁵³*
stairs, ladder <skas> *kɿ⁵³*
star <skar.ma> *kə⁵⁵wō⁵³*
steam <rlangs.pa> *lō⁵⁵pa⁵³*
steamed bread <?.dbugs?>
tɕæ¹¹puɽ⁵⁵, dzæ¹³bu⁵³
steamer <dbugs.??> *pu⁵⁵ra⁵³*
stew <?> *wu¹¹k^ha⁵⁵*
stick <?> *zi⁵⁵wa⁵³*
story (of a building) <thog?> *tu⁵³*
straight (road) <thad.ka>? *t^hi⁵⁵gə⁵³*
street <?> *dzũ³⁵³*
suddenly, immediately <?>
dō¹¹ni⁵⁵ni¹¹
suddenly <?> *ts^hə⁵⁵ts^he⁵³ma¹¹ts^he⁵³*
suffering, bitterness <sdug> *doɽ³⁵³,*
do¹¹re⁵³
sugar <sbrang.dkar> *dzō¹³kæ⁵³*
suitable, appropriate <'tsham.po>?
dza¹³, dzə¹¹mo⁵³
summer <dbyar.ka> *zæ¹³k^ha⁵³*
sun <nyi.ma> *ɲə¹¹wō⁵⁵*
sunray <nyi.'od> *ɲə¹¹we⁵³*
sunrise <nyi.ma shar> *ɲə¹¹wō⁵⁵ʂæ⁵³*

sunset <nyi.ma 'dug?> *ɲə¹¹wō⁵⁵*
n^{do}¹¹
sweater <bal.?.?> *pi¹³tə³³ki¹¹*
sweet <mngar.mo> *ɲe⁵⁵mə¹¹*
tail <rnga.ma> *ɲə⁵⁵wō⁵³*
tall height <? mtho.po> *bɿ¹¹gi⁵⁵*
t^hə⁵⁵mə¹¹
tall, high <mtho.po> *t^hu⁵⁵mə¹¹, t^hu⁵³*
tanka <lha.bar> *fja¹³pæ⁵³*
tardy <phyi?.ba?> *sə⁵³*
tea <ja> *tɕa¹³*
teacher (school teacher) CH *lo⁵⁵sə¹¹*
teacher (Tibetan or religious teaching)
<dge.rgan> *gi⁵⁵gæ⁵³*
teapot on stove CH *tɕ^ha¹¹hu⁵³*
tears <myig.chu> *ni⁵⁵tɕ^hə¹¹*
temple (of the head) <?> *sa¹¹ⁿgu⁵⁵*
ten <bcu> *tɕə⁵⁵*
tent <?> *jo⁵³*
thank-you <?> *wə⁵⁵tʂaɽ¹¹*
that <'o.de> *tə⁵⁵ ~ wə⁵⁵tə¹¹*
that there <de.re?> *tə⁵⁵rə¹¹*
that time, then <de.ran> *tə¹¹ræ⁵⁵*
the day after tomorrow <gnang.nyin>
nan⁵⁵ji⁵³
the day after tomorrow evening <?>
na⁵⁵nō⁵³ sə⁵⁵gə¹¹
the day before yesterday evening <?>
k^ha¹¹nō⁵³ sə⁵⁵gə¹¹
then <de.nas> *tæ¹³*
the next day <gsang.nyi.ma>
sə¹¹ɲu⁵³
the year before last <?> *zɣ¹³nə³³ɣ¹¹*

there (over there) <de.phar?> <i>tə⁵⁵p^ha⁵³</i>	to act lazy <?> <i>je¹¹wæ⁵⁵təo⁵³</i>
these <'di kyin>/<di kun> <i>nə¹¹kĩ⁵⁵ ~</i> <i>nə¹¹kĩ⁵⁵</i>	to argue <kha.?.?> <i>k^hə⁵⁵bũ⁵³ʒa¹¹</i>
these past few days <kha.tshong kha.??> <i>k^ha¹¹ts^hō⁵⁵k^ha¹¹mbæ⁵³</i>	to arrive <'byor>? <i>s^hĩ³⁵³</i>
thief <rkun.ma> <i>ki⁵⁵mo⁵³</i>	to ask <'dri> <i>tʂə³⁵³</i>
thin (book) <srab.srab>? <i>sə⁵⁵sə⁵³</i>	to bark <zug> <i>sə¹³ ~ səo¹³</i>
things <gsar.pa>? <i>sə⁵⁵wa⁵³</i>	to bark <?> <i>wa⁵³</i>
third <gsum.pa> <i>sō⁵⁵bə⁵³</i>	to be angry <snying.khra.'khol> <i>ni¹¹tʂa⁵³k^hui¹¹</i>
this <'u.'di> <i>nə⁵⁵ ~ nə³⁵³, wə⁵⁵nə¹¹</i>	to be angry <snying.??> <i>ni¹¹k^ha⁵³</i>
this evening <?> <i>a¹¹nō⁵⁵sə⁵⁵gə¹¹</i>	to be bent, to bow <dgur> <i>gu:¹³</i>
this morning <?.? zhog.pa> <i>a¹¹nō⁵⁵</i> <i>ʂo¹¹pa⁵⁵</i>	to be blind <mig.dkar> <i>ni⁵⁵kæ⁵³</i>
this year <'di?.lo> <i>du¹¹jɣ⁵⁵ ~</i> <i>tu¹¹jɣ⁵⁵</i>	to be deaf <'on.rju/kyol> <i>wē¹¹tɕɣ⁵⁵</i>
thither <phar> <i>p^hə-</i>	to be drunk <'khor.ba/skor?> <i>n¹¹guæ³⁵³</i> <i>~ a⁵⁵ra⁵³n¹¹guæ¹¹</i>
thorn <tsher.ma> <i>ts^he¹¹wā⁵⁵</i>	to be embarrassed <?> <i>tʂ^hi⁵³</i>
thorns, thistles <?> <i>ts^he⁵⁵dzu⁵³</i>	to be fat <rgyags> <i>ʒa¹³</i>
thread <skud.pa> <i>ki¹¹pa⁵⁵</i>	to be full (a glass) <gang> <i>kō:¹³</i>
throat <'ol?.?> <i>ji⁵⁵zə¹¹</i>	to be full (stomach) <'grang> <i>n¹¹dzō³⁵³</i>
thumb, big toe <mthe.chen> <i>t^hə¹¹tɕ^hæ⁵⁵</i>	to be hungry <ltogs> <i>tu⁵³</i>
thunder <'brug> <i>dzo³⁵³</i>	to be incorrect <nor> <i>næ¹³</i>
tibet <bod.yul> <i>pe¹¹zu⁵⁵</i>	to be relaxed <lhod?> <i>ja¹³sō</i>
Tibetan (people) <bod> <i>pe¹³</i>	to be sick <na> <i>na¹³</i>
tibetan dog, mastiff <?> <i>dzo¹¹gu⁵⁵</i>	to be standing, to stand, to get up <lang> <i>jō¹³</i>
tibetan knife <bod.gri> <i>pe¹¹dzə⁵⁵</i>	to be strong <sbrang?.po?> <i>tʂã¹¹pa⁵⁵</i>
Tibetan Language <bod.skad> <i>pe¹¹ki⁵³</i>	to be struck ill <nad.'phog> <i>ne¹³p^hu¹¹, na¹¹ts^ha⁵⁵p^hu¹¹</i>
Tibetan pendant <?> <i>gə¹³</i>	to be struck ill <na.tsha.'phog> <i>na¹¹ts^ha⁵⁵p^hu¹¹</i>
Tibetan writing <bod.yig> <i>pe¹¹zi⁵⁵</i>	to be thirsty <bskams> <i>kō⁵³</i>
tiger <stag> <i>ta⁵³</i>	to be tired (physically) <?> <i>tɕ^he⁵³</i>

- to beat (a drum) <rnga rdung> *ŋa*⁵³
*dō*¹¹
- to beat, to hit <bdang>, <rdung>
*dō*³⁵³
- to become <chags> *tɕʰa*⁵³
- to beg <slong>, <slang> *fjō*³⁵³
- to believe, to trust <sten.ʔ> *tæ*⁵⁵*tōl*⁵³,
*dæ*³⁵³
- to bite (by animals) <ʔ> *hə*⁵³
- to bite, to chew <so btab> *su*⁵⁵*təo*⁵³
- to bleed, intr <ʔ> *pi*¹³
- to bleed, tr <phud> *pʰi*⁵³
- to blow (e.g. sth off a table) <phu
btab> *pʰu*⁵⁵*təo*⁵³
- to blow (wind) <rlung.byed> *lō*⁵³*je*¹¹
- to blow (wind) <rlung.'bud> *lō*⁵³*bi*³⁵
- to blow a bubble <dbugs.ʔ> *bu*¹³
*bæ*¹¹
- to boil water <chu.'khol.ʔ>
*tɕʰə*¹¹*kui*⁵⁵*tso*⁵³
- to boil, intr <'khol> *kʰui*⁵³
- to boil, tr <skol> *kui*⁵³
- to borrow/lend <g.yar> *zæ*^{ʔ353}
- to bow down, to kowtow
<mgo.gus/dgur> *ᵑgu*¹³*gu*¹¹
- to break in half, to chop <gtugs> *tu*⁵³
- to break, intr <ʔ> *tʂu*¹³
- to break, tr <gcog>? *tʂu*⁵³
- to breathe, take a breath <dbugs.ʔ>
*bu*¹³*tsʰō*¹¹
- to bump (into) <ʔ> *pʰəo*³⁵³
- to burn (paper, limestone, wood)
<sreg>? *sa*⁵³
- to burn a fire <me spor> *ni*¹³*pæ*⁵³
- to burn incense (small) <spos.ʔ>
*pu*⁵³*dā*¹¹
- to burn, intr <'bor> *mbæ*³⁵³
- to burn, tr <spor> *pæ*⁵³
- to bury <sba> *ba*³⁵³
- to butcher <bsha'> *ʂa*⁵³
- to buy <nyo> *ju*¹³
- to call out, to call for <'bod> *mbe*³⁵³
- to care for <ʔ> *kao*⁵³
- to carry <'khur>, <'khyer> *kʰə*⁵⁵,
*kʰəo*³⁵³
- to carry on one's back <'ba'>
mba^{ʔ353}
- to catch <'ju> *ᵑdzə* ~ *ᵑə*
- to chant, to read scriptures <ʔ>
*a*¹¹*tɕʰe*⁵³*ᵑdæ*¹¹
- to chant w/ horns and drums <ʔ>
*gə*⁵⁵*tī*⁵³*je*¹¹
- to chew <so.ldad> *sə*⁵⁵*dəo*⁵³
- to chew, to bite <bgrad> / <'grad>
*ᵑdze*³⁵³
- to chop (into chunks) <gtugs> *tu*⁵³
- to chop (tree) <ʔ> *tʰə*⁵³
- to churn milk <'o.ma dkgros> (*wō*:¹³)
*tʂo*⁵³
- to circle <khor> *kʰuæ*⁵³
- to circle (unintentional) <skor ba>
*gə*⁵⁵*ᵑguæ*⁵³
- to close (e.g. door) <rgyag> *dʒa*^{ʔ353}
- to close (mouth, eye) <'dzum> *tšō*⁵³
- to close a door <sgo rgyag> *gu*⁵⁵
dʒa^{ʔ11}
- to collapse <brdibs>, <rdibs> *ti*¹³

- to comb hair <skra shad/shas> *tʂa*⁵³
*ʂi*¹¹
- to comb hair <mgo shad> *ngu*¹³ *ʂi*⁵³
- to come <'ong> *wũ*¹³, *hũ*¹³
- to comprehend, to grasp <?> *ju*³⁵
- to consider, to ponder <?> *ɲə*¹³ *tsʰe*⁵³
*je*¹¹
- to cook food <zas?.bzo> *sæ*¹³ *zu*¹¹
- to cough <glo> *ju*³⁵
- to count <rtsis ? rgyab>
*tsə*⁵⁵ *dzu*⁵³ *dzə*¹¹
- to crawl <bgur~gog> *ku*¹³
- to cross (a body of water) <?>
*dzur*³⁵³
- to cross a river <chu gcod/bcad>
*tʂʰə*⁵⁵ *tʂe*⁵³, *tʂə*⁵⁵ *tu*⁵³
- to cry <ngu> *ɲə*¹³ ~ *ɲə*¹³
- to cut (with scissors) <tra> *tʂa*¹³
- to cut (with sickle) <rnga.ba> *ɲa*⁵³
- to dance <bro.'cham> *tʂu*⁵⁵ *tʂʰə*⁵³
- to deceive, to trick <slu?> *ʂuh*³⁵³
- to decide to <thag.chad.nas>
*tʰa*⁵⁵ *tʂe*⁵³ *ni*¹¹
- to defecate <skyag.pa gtong>
*ʂə*⁵⁵ *wa*⁵³ *də*¹¹
- to descend <'bab?> *pu*¹³
- to die <shi> *ʂə*⁵³
- to dig <rko> *ku*⁵⁵
- to dig <?> (CH: wal) *wæ*⁵³
- to dig by hand <yag.pa'i byed>
*jæ*¹¹ *pe*⁵³ *je*¹³
- to do (an action), to cook <bzo> *zu*¹³
~ *lu*¹³
- to do prostrations <phya(g).'phul?>
*sʰa*⁵³ *pʰu*¹¹
- to do, to build <'gul> *ngu*³⁵³
- to do, verbalizer <byed> *je*¹³
- to dream <rmi.lam>? *na*⁵³ *nu*¹¹,
*mi*¹³ *lã*⁵³ *nu*¹¹
- to drink <'thung> *tʰo*³⁵³
- to drive, to herd (animals) <'da>
*nda*³⁵³
- to dry, tr <skam> *kã*⁵³
- to eat <'cha> *tʂʰa*⁵³
- to emit, to burst out <shor> *ʂæ*⁵³
- to encounter, to meet <'phrad> *tʂʰe*⁵³
- to endure <?> *gu*³⁵³
- to escape <'bros> *ndzue*³⁵³
- to expel <?> *ɲã*³⁵³
- to explode <?> *pʰa*⁵³
- to faint <mgo.?.'khor> *ngu*¹¹ *zə*⁵³
*kʰuæ*⁵³
- to fall asleep, to nod off <gnyid.?'>
*ni*⁵⁵ *dzu*¹¹
- to fall down <?> *ndzur*³⁵³
- to fall, slip <'gyel?> *ndzə*³⁵³
- to fall down (from above) <lus> *li*¹³
- to fart <'phyen.btang> *sʰæ*³⁵³ *tə*¹¹
- to fear <skrag> *tʂa*⁵³
- to feed (food to a child) <bza'?'>
*sã*⁵³
- to feed liquid (a child, animals) <?>
*ji*⁵³
- to feel cold <khyag> *ʂʰa*⁵³
- to fetch water <chu.?'> *tʂʰə*⁵⁵ *tʂə*⁵³

- to fight (with fists) <btong.btong byed> *də¹¹dō⁵⁵je¹³*
- to find <rnyed> *jǎ¹³*
- to follow after, to pursue
<snyags>/<bsnyag> *ɲǎ³⁵³*
- to forget <rjed> *tɕe¹³, ~tɕe³⁵³*
- to freeze <?> *tʂ^{hi}⁵⁵*
- to frost <ba.mo ?> *pǎ.¹³kæ⁵³*
- to garrotte, strangle <?> *ka¹³*
- to gather, collect <tshur.rub?>
ts^{hə}⁵⁵ro⁵³
- to gather, intr <dzom> *ⁿdzū³⁵³*
- to get, to obtain <rag> *ra¹³*
- to give <ster> *te⁵³*
- to give birth (humans) <‘dug?’>
ⁿdo³⁵³
- to glue; to seal <lhan> *fiǰǎ³⁵³*
- to go <‘gro> *ⁿdzu¹³*
- to go (H) <?> *sǎ¹³, s^hǎ¹³*
- to go, pfv <thad> *t^{hi}⁵³*
- to grab <‘jus> *ⁿdzə⁵³*
- to grasp <‘dzin?’> *ⁿdzə³⁵³*
- to hail <ser.ba rgyad/bab> *si¹¹ja⁵⁵*
tɕəo¹¹, si¹¹ja⁵⁵pəw¹¹
- to hammer <CH. btab> *tī⁵⁵tsə¹¹təo¹¹*
- to hang (a picture) <gzar> *ʒǎ³⁵³ ~*
zǎ³⁵³
- to hear <tshor> *ts^hǎ⁵³*
- to help <rogs (byed)> *ru^ɔ¹³ ~ ru¹³je¹³*
- to herd <phyugs>/<khyu> *ts^hu⁵⁵*
- to hide (oneself) <gab> *kə.¹³*
- to hide (something) <skung> *kō⁵³*
- to Hop, jump <‘phag> *p^haɪ³⁵³*
- to hug <?.btab?> *dzū¹³təo⁵³*
- to inflate (e.g., a balloon) <‘bud>
bi³⁵³
- to itch <shig.?’> *ʃī⁵⁵tɕ^ha¹¹*
- to kick <?> *du¹¹ru⁵⁵dzo¹¹*
- to kill <bsad> *se⁵³*
- to kiss <‘od.byed> *wo⁵³je¹¹*
- to knit a sweater <?> *tə¹¹ki⁵⁵hǎ¹¹*
- to know (a fact) <ha.go> *hao⁵³ku¹¹*
- to know how to <shes> *ʃi⁵³*
- to laugh, to like, happy <dga’> *ka.¹³*
- to lead <‘khrid> *tʂ^{hi}⁵³*
- to leak <chu.thigs> *tɕ^{hə}⁵⁵t^{hi}¹¹*
- to lick <(b)ldags> *da¹³*
- to lie <rdzun.ma.byed> *dzi¹³je¹¹*
- to lie down (on side) <ril.nyal byed>
ri¹³ni⁵⁵je¹³
- to lift <kyag> *ɕaɪ⁵³*
- to light (a candle, a cigarette) <gso?’>
su⁵³
- to like (s.o.) <?> *dǎ³⁵³*
- to listen <nyan> *ɲǎ¹³*
- to look at, to watch <lta> *ta⁵³*
- to look for <btsal? ‘tshol?’> *tsi⁵³*
- to look like <‘dra> *ⁿdzə¹³*
- to loom <thag.?’> *t^ha⁵³da¹¹*
- to lose <shor?’> *ɕǎ¹³*
- to lose (as at a game) <?shor.la?’>
ʃǎ¹³ra¹¹
- to marry <bag.ma byed> *pa¹¹wō⁵⁵*
je¹¹
- to melt <zhu.ba> *ɕur.¹³*
- to move, tr <skya> *sa⁵³*

- to nurse (a baby) <?> *mi*⁵³ *ji*⁵³
- to obey <kha.nyan> *k^ha*⁵⁵ *na*¹¹
- to open (mouth) <gdang> *dō*³⁵³
- to open a (door, eye) <phye> *si*⁵³
- to perch <?> *sa*⁵³
- to pet, to carress <?> *s^ha*³⁵³
- to photograph <chu.par.btab>
*t^hə*⁵⁵ *pæ*⁵³ *təo*¹¹
- to pick (by head) <btogs> *tu*⁵³
- to pick up <slang> *jō*⁵³
- to pick up <'thu> *t^hə*⁵⁵
- to pinch (a face) <sen.gcus.rdebs?>
*sæ*¹³ *dzə*⁵⁵ *tu*⁵³
- to pity <bla.ma.chen?> *la*⁵⁵ *mo*⁵³ *tæ*¹³
- to plant a seed <son.btab> *sæ*¹³ *təo*¹¹
- to plant, to bite, <btab> *təo*⁵³
- to play <rtse.mo?> *zæ*¹³
- to point <mdzub btsugs> *ⁿdzu*¹³
*tso*⁵³
- to pour (liquid) <glug> *jo*⁵³
- to pray <smon.lam.gtab?> *mi*⁵⁵ *lā*⁵³
*təo*⁵³
- to press <gnon?> *ne*⁵³
- to protect (a soccer goal, a country)
<srung> *sō*⁵³
- to push <'phul> *p^hu*³⁵³
- to put <rag?>, <bzhag?> *ra*¹³
- to put into <'dzul> *ⁿdzu*³⁵³
- to put to sleep <bsnyal> *ni*³⁵³
- to rain <char.pa 'bab> *t^hə*¹¹ *wa*⁵⁵
*pəu*¹¹
- to raise, to get up <slang> *fi**jō*³⁵³
- to recover <drag> *t^sa*¹³
- to recover <gso?> *sy*³⁵³
- to reject, throw away <?> *pæ*¹³
- to remember <?> *da*⁵⁵ *tso*⁵³ *je*¹¹
- to remove (clothes), to peel <?> *ki*³⁵³
- to remove (clothes, peelings) <?>
*ki*³⁵³
- to remove (sth from a container)
<blang> *jō*⁵³
- to repair <bzo> *zu*¹³ ~ *lu*¹³
- to rescue, to save <srog.blu.??>
*su*⁵³ *ka*³³ *dzi*⁵³
- to respect <?> *t^sa*⁵⁵ *dzæ*⁵³ *je*¹³
- to return <yar 'ong> *zə*¹³ *wū*¹¹
- to ride (a horse) <?> *ca*⁵³
- to rinse, to comb <bshal> *si*⁵³
- to rob, to seize by force <'phrog>
*t^sh^u*⁵³, *t^sh^u*⁵⁵ *t^sh^u*⁵³ *je*¹³
- to roll medicine balls <?> *ⁿdzə*¹¹ *mə*⁵⁵
*t^su*⁵³
- to roll, Intr <'khril> *ⁿdzu*³⁵³, *ⁿt^su*³⁵³
- to roll, tr <sgril> *t^su*⁵³
- to rot, rotten <ru> *ru*¹³
- to run, to flee <?> *p^hu*³⁵³
- to say <zer> *sə*⁵⁵, *sə*¹³
- to scratch <shig 'brad> *si*⁵⁵ *dze*⁵³
- to scratch <'brad> *ⁿdze*³⁵³
- to see <mthong> *t^hu*³⁵³
- to sell <'tshong> *tsū*⁵³
- to send <mngag> *na*⁵³
- to send (something to someone)
<skur> *ku*⁵³
- to send off <?> *si*⁵³, *si*⁵⁵ *wū*¹¹
- to separate (w/a person) <byed?>
*si*³⁵³

- to serve <g.yo> *zu*⁵³
- to sew <'tshem> *tsæ*⁵³
- to shake, to move, intr <'gul> *n^ogur*³⁵³
- to shiver <'dar> *n^odæ*³⁵³
- to sin <sdig.pa byed> *ti*¹¹*pa*⁵³ *je*¹¹
- to sink <'bab 'dug> *mbə*⁵⁵*n^odo*¹¹
- to sit <'dug> *n^odo*³⁵³
- to sleep <nyal> *ni*:¹³
- to slice <'?> *ja*⁵³
- to slip <'dred> *n^odze*³⁵³
- to smear, to wipe 1 <bdar> *dæ*³⁵³
- to smell <dro> *dzu*¹³
- to smell, sniff <snom?> *n^our*³⁵³
- to sneeze <sbrid.pa.?'/byed>
*dzi*¹¹*ba*⁵⁵ *dzo*¹¹, *dzi*¹¹*ba*⁵⁵ *je*¹¹
- to snow <kha.ba 'bab> *k^ha*¹³ *bəu*¹³
- to sort, to remove (e.g., rotten apples)
<'?> *ku*²³⁵³
- to spit <mchil.ma por> *t^hæ*¹¹*wā*⁵⁵
*pæ*¹¹
- to spit on someone <mchil.ma btab>
*t^hæ*¹¹*wā*⁵⁵ *təo*⁵³
- to split (wood) <gshogs?> *ca*⁵³
- to squeeze (an orange) <btsir> *t^hur*⁵³
- to squirm <'tshub> *ts^hu*⁵³
- to squish (with foot) <rtsi.ba> *t^hur*⁵³,
*du*¹¹*dzi*⁵⁵ *je*¹³
- to stab <gri.'dzing?> *t^hə*⁵⁵ *zæ*¹¹
- to stay, to live <sdod> *de*³⁵³
- to steal <rku.ba> *kə*⁵³
- to steal 1 <rku.ba byed> *kə*⁵³ *je*¹¹,
*ku*⁵³ *je*¹¹
- to steal 2 <rkun.ma byed> *ki*⁵⁵*mo*⁵³
*je*¹¹
- to steam rice <'bras dbugs?>
*n^odzi*¹³ *bu*¹¹
- to step <spo> *pu*⁵⁵
- to stir (e.g., soup) <rnyog> *ju*⁵³
- to stir fry vegetables <tshod.ma.
rnyod?> *ts^hə*¹¹*mō*⁵⁵ *hū*³³
- to stop, intr <chad> *t^he*¹³
- to study <yig sbyong> *zi*⁵⁵*zō*¹¹
- to study <sbyong> *zō*³⁵³
- to study/read <'don> *n^odæ*³⁵³
- to swallow <khyur?> *ki*⁵⁵
- to swear <mna'.skyel> *na*⁵³*si*¹¹
- to sweat <rngul.?'?> *ju*⁵⁵*ci*¹¹*kæ*⁵³
- to sweep <'phyag> *s^ha*³⁵³
- to swim <chu.rkyal rgyab?> *t^hə*⁵⁵*ci*⁵³
*dzəo*¹¹
- to talk <skad.cha shad> *ke*⁵⁵*t^ha*⁵³
*se*⁵³
- to teach <slob> *ʒəo*³⁵³
- to tear, intr <ral> *ri*³⁵³
- to tear, intr <hral?> *r^ha*²³⁵³
- to tear, tr <dbral> *t^hi*⁵³
- to tell a story <snga.?' bshad>
*ŋa*⁵⁵*tā*⁵³ *ce*¹¹
- to think <bsam> *s^hā*⁵³ ~ *sā*⁵³
- to think, consider <bsam.pa btang>
*sə*⁵⁵*mba*⁵⁵ *tō*¹¹
- to think, to miss, to remember <dran>
*t^hæ*¹³
- to throw 2, to discard <brgyag>
*dzəo*³⁵³
- to thunder <'brug byed> *n^odzo*⁵³ *je*¹³

to tie up <sdom>? *dã³⁵³*
 to touch <thug> *t^ho⁵³*
 to trench <?> *fjY³⁵³*
 to turn (e.g., a prayer wheel) <'khor>
 k^huæ⁵³
 to turn off <bcad> *tɕe⁵³*
 to turn off (light, computer) <?> *ti⁵³*
 to turn, intr <kor.ba> *kuæ⁵³*
 to understand <ha.go> *hao⁵³ku¹¹*
 to undress <?> *li²³⁵³*
 to urinate <gcin gtong> *tɕi⁵³tõ¹¹*
 to use up, to finish, be finished <?>
 dzu¹³
 to vomit <skyugs> *so²⁵³*
 to wait <sgug> *go³⁵³*
 to wake (someone), tr <sad> *s^he²³⁵³*
 to walk <'bud?> *pi¹³*
 to walk <rkang.pa 'bud/spo> *kĩ⁵⁵ba⁵³*
 pu¹¹
 to want <dgos> *gui³⁵³*
 to war <dmag 'dzing> *ma⁵³ndzi¹¹*
 to wash <'khri> *tɕ^hə⁵⁵*
 to wear (coat, shirt, pants) <gyon>
 ɕæ¹³
 to wear (gloves, hat, glasses) <gon>
 kæ⁵³
 to wind (something up), to twist
 <'jug> *tɕu⁵³*
 to wipe (table, eyes) <sub>? *s^ha⁵³*
 to wrap around 1 <sgril> *tɕu⁵³*
 to write 'bri/? *tɕə¹³*
 today <?.ring> *a¹¹rĩ⁵⁵*
 together <mnyam> *ɲã⁵³*

together with <?> *k^ha⁵⁵ji¹¹*
 tomorrow <sang.nyin> *s^han¹¹ji⁵⁵*
 tongs (for the fire) <lcags.rkam>
 tɕa¹¹kã⁵⁵
 tongue <ice.legs> *tɕə⁵⁵li⁵³*
 tooth <so> *su⁵⁵ ~ s^hu⁵⁵*
 top, summit <rtse.??> *tsi⁵⁵ru¹¹*
 tree <shing.phung> *ɕ^hi¹¹p^hũ⁵⁵*
 tree stump, log? <shing.sdum/sdong>
 ɕĩ⁵⁵dũ⁵³
 true, truly <bden.pa>? *da¹¹mbi⁵⁵*
 tsampa pot (wood)/box <rtsam.pa
 sgam> *tsa¹¹ma⁵³gã³⁵³*
 turquoise <g.yu> *zə¹³*
 twelve <bcu.gnyis> *tɕo⁵⁵nə¹¹*
 two days after tomorrow <?> *zu¹³ji⁵³*
 ugly <mdog.nyes?> *do⁵⁵ɲæ⁵³*
 umbrella <char.gdugs?> *tɕ^he¹¹dəo⁵³*
 unburnt wood, partially burnt wood
 <me.??> *ni¹¹tɕ^hə⁵⁵*
 uncle <a.khu> *a¹¹kə⁵⁵, a⁵⁵mbə⁵⁵, ə¹³*
 upper leg, thigh <brla> *ɕo²³⁵³*
 upset stomach <?> *pu³⁵³, bu³⁵³*
 upwards, up <yar> *zə¹³*
 urine <gcin> *tɕĩ⁵³*
 useful <phen.??> *p^hæ¹³nə¹¹*
 usually, often <?> *da⁵⁵ba¹¹*
 valley <lung.pa> *fijõ¹¹ba⁵⁵*
 valley floor <lung> *fijõ³⁵³*
 vase <?>, <bum.pa> *ɕi¹¹mi⁵⁵,*
 pũ¹¹mba⁵⁵
 vegetables <tshad.ma> *ts^hə¹¹mo⁵⁵*
 vein <rtsa> *tsa⁵³*
 vein 2 <rtsa.??> *tsə⁵⁵zu⁵³*

very slow <?> *puɹ¹³re⁵³*
 very small, tiny <?> *tsə¹¹gu⁵⁵*
 village mate <grong.pa> *tʂō¹¹ba⁵⁵*
 village <grong> *tʂū¹³, tʂō¹³*
 village, place <yul> *zu¹³*
 vulture <rgod> *gue³⁵³*
 waist <sked.pa> *ke⁵⁵pa⁵³*
 wall <gyang> *çō¹³, çō¹³*
 walnut <star.kha> *te¹¹ka⁵⁵*
 warm <dro> *tʂu¹³*
 water <chu> *te^hə⁵⁵*
 water from cave, spring <mig.chu>
ni⁵⁵tç^hə¹¹
 water pots (big), copper <?> *sō¹³*
 weather <gnam.gshis?> *na⁵⁵zu⁵³*
 wedding <bag.ma> *pa¹¹wō⁵⁵*
 weeds <?> *hū⁵⁵tçō⁵³ ~ hū⁵⁵*
 weights <?> *tç³³tu⁵⁵*
 west <nub.phyogs> *no¹³çu^lʔ⁵³*
 wet <rlon.pa> *lē⁵⁵ba⁵³*
 what <ga.re>, <gang> *ka¹¹ⁿdə⁵⁵*
 wheat <gro> *tʂu⁵⁵, tʂu¹³*
 wheel <?> *bə⁵⁵dzu¹¹, bə⁵⁵lu¹¹*
 when <na> *na¹³*
 when, during <?> *də¹¹bə⁵³*
 where <gar> *ka¹³*
 white <dkar.po> *kə⁵⁵kə⁵³*
 who <su> *sə⁵⁵ ~ s^hə⁵⁵*
 whole, complete <?> *lu⁵⁵li⁵³ tçⁱ*
 why <ga.ʔ> *ka¹¹ⁿdə⁵³*
 why (for what purpose) <?>
ka¹¹ⁿdə⁵⁵ t^ho³³kə¹¹
 wife, bride <mna'.ma> *nə⁵⁵wō⁵³*

wind <rlung> *lō⁵³*
 window <sge.khung?> *gi¹¹jō⁵⁵,
gi¹¹zō⁵⁵*
 winter <dgun.ka> *kī¹³k^ha⁵³*
 wolf <spyang.ki> *sō⁵⁵kə¹¹*
 woman, wife <bud.nag>? *pə¹¹na⁵³*
 wood, firewood <shing> *ʂ^hɿ⁵⁵ ~
ʂ^hɿ³⁵³*
 wooden cup <shing.phor.ba>
ʂ^hɿ⁵⁵p^hæ⁵³ ~ ʂ^hɿ⁵⁵p^hə³³rə¹¹
 wooden storage bowl <?> *gu¹¹pa⁵⁵*
 wooden window frame <shing.ʔ>
ʂ^hɿ⁵⁵tʂa⁵³
 woodpecker <?> *ʂɿ⁵⁵ta⁵³gui³³li¹¹*
 wool <bal> *pi¹³*
 work <las> *fji³⁵³*
 worker <las 'gul na> *fji¹³ⁿgu⁵³ -nə*
 worm, wormgrass <'bu.srin> *mbə³⁵³
~ bə¹¹sɿ⁵³*
 wound <rma.kha> *mə⁵⁵k^ha⁵³*
 wound, scar <rma> *ma⁵³*
 yak (male) <g.yag> *za³⁵³*
 yak/cow crossbreed, female
 <mdzo.mo> *dzō¹³*
 year <lo> *jɿ¹³*
 year after next <?> *a¹¹za⁵³ s^hō³³p^he¹¹*
 yellow <ser.po> *sə⁵⁵sə⁵³*
 yesterday <kha.rtsang> *k^hə¹¹tsō⁵⁵*
 yesterday evening <?> *n^{do}¹¹sū⁵⁵
sə⁵⁵gə¹¹*
 yoghurt <zho> *ʂ^hu¹³ [ʂ^hu³⁵]*
 young (of people) <lo.chung>
jɿ¹¹tç^hō⁵⁵
 younger sister <sring.mo> *sɿ⁵⁵wō¹¹*

Zhongdian/Rgyalthang <rgyal.thang>
zæ¹¹dõ⁵³