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A Grammar of Tshangla

By

Erik E. Andvik



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On the cover: A Tshanglapa *abi* and *meme* check out passersby from the doorway of their home in Kangpara. Photo by the author.

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To Elin, Maria, and Simon

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LIST OF MORPHEME GLOSSES

1s	1st person singular pronoun
2s	2nd person singular pronoun
3	3rd person pronoun (unmarked for number)
1p	1st person plural pronoun
2p	2nd person plural pronoun
3p	3rd person plural pronoun
ABL	Ablative case particle (<i>-gai</i>)
ADH	Adhortative mood suffix (<i>-khe</i>)
AGT	Agentive/instrumental case particle (<i>-gi</i>)
COP	Copula (<i>ca, la, na</i>) (<i>-chi/-ji</i> in past tense negative)
DEM	Demonstrative (<i>uthu, otha, unyu, onya</i>)
DIR	Directional marker (<i>-ta</i>)
DUAL	Dual pronoun marker
EMPH	Emphatic particle (<i>-rang</i>)
FOC	Contrastive focus particle (<i>bu</i>) ‘also, even, even though’
IMP	Imperative mood suffix (<i>-sho/-co/-i</i>)
INF	Infinitive participial suffix (<i>-le</i>)
ITJ	Interjection (<i>oi, wai, etc.</i>)
LOC	Locative/dative/genitive case particle (<i>-ga</i>)
NEG	Negative prefix (<i>ma-</i>)
NF	Non-final verbal suffix (<i>-nyi, -than, -deke</i>)
NOM	Nominaliser participial suffix (<i>-wa</i>)
OPT	Optative mood suffix (<i>-chen</i>)
PL	Plural particle (<i>-ba</i>)
PRT	Particle
PTC	Other participial suffix (<i>-la/-lu</i>)
QUES	Question particle (<i>mo, ya</i>)
REL	Relativiser suffix (<i>-khan, -sa</i>)
RFLX	Reflexive particle/emphatic (<i>-ten</i>)
SE	Stem extender (verb roots ending in V)
SUB	Subjunctive mood suffix (<i>-du/-tu</i>)
TOP	Contrastive topic marker (<i>khepa, cho ~ sho</i>)

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE RESEARCH

The research upon which this book is based, was carried out over a period of eight years, from 1991 until 1999. Work was done in Bhutanese communities in several different locations, including eastern Bhutan, Darjeeling and Kalimpong in West Bengal, India, the border regions just to the south of Bhutan in West Bengal and Assam, and even in Kathmandu, Nepal, where there is a community of several scores of Tshangla speakers.

This grammatical description is based on a text corpus of several hundred pages of written texts, transcribed from tape recordings of oral discourse. The texts are of various genres—narrative, hortatory and descriptive—as well as spontaneously produced conversation between two or more speakers. Elicitation has been used to fill in gaps in the text corpus, and to test for paradigmatic oppositions which reveal syntactic and morphological structure. Finally, participation by the author in everyday situations and in interaction with Tshangla-speaking friends in conversations on various topics has been and continues to be key in understanding the language and the culture which shapes it.

Grammars of lesser-known languages typically attempt to represent the speech of a narrowly defined community, often one village out of scores or hundreds of villages whose inhabitants are considered speakers of the language. The reasons for this are obvious: A language is a continuum of speech varieties with variations from place to place. In the case of unwritten languages spoken by clusters of communities separated by rugged mountains and steep canyons, as are the Tshangla-speaking communities (and most language groups of the Himalayas), these differences can be very great. In order to present a coherent description, one must restrict the subject of the description.

With the present study, due to restrictions on the presence of outsiders in the language homeland, it has not been possible for the author to live for any extended time in a Tshangla-speaking village. Working with Tshangla-speaking communities outside the language homeland, one encounters a variety of speakers from various places. For this reason, the present description may not be said to strictly represent the speech of only one particular village.

The disadvantages of such an eclectic approach will be felt most strongly in reference to those linguistic phenomena which tend to vary most from place to place: primarily the phonological system and lexical semantics. In Chapter 2 on phonology, notes have been included regarding alternative pronunciations. Word meanings and collocations are observed to vary considerably from place to place. Although lexical meaning is not in focus in this paper, regional differences in word choice are sure to be evident in the example sentences. However, the syntactic constructions which are the focus of this paper, while not without variation, would typically be more consistent from dialect to dialect.

In any case, the attempt has been made in this book to represent, as much as possible, the speech variety spoken in the Trashigang district (Dzongkhak), with its district seat Trashigang town, the commercial and cultural centre of the Tshangla-speaking area. It is this regional variety which might be considered in some sense a 'standard' Tshangla dialect. That such a claim is possible for an unwritten language (cf. section 1.3.1 below) is due to the fact that a surprising amount of pre-standardisation has already taken place. However loyal they may be to their own particular variety, (speakers from different regions can often be heard to claim that 'their' dialect is the 'original' Tshangla language) virtually all Tshangla speakers recognise the prestige of the Trashigang variety. When faced with the question of which spoken variety would be most suitable for a written standard, speakers frequently answer that it would be the Trashigang dialect. As a result, speakers are able to identify differences in dialects which they themselves would consider to be 'non-standard'. It seems that a certain idea of 'correct' speech exists even among illiterate people and in the absence of any prescriptive influences of language instruction in schools.

A handful of unpublished papers have been written about Tshangla grammar by various health and development professionals who have used the language in their work (Holmberg n.d.; Melbostad n.d.; Sture 1988) or by missionaries residing in the areas bordering Bhutan (Hofrenning n.d.). A useful glossary containing several hundred words was produced by the Swiss Development organisation Helvetas (Egli-Roduner n.d.). Another 1000-word glossary containing 1000 basic words from two Bhutanese varieties of Tshangla has been produced by Hoshi (1987). A brief overview of the language has been published by the present author (Andvik 2003) as well as papers on specific grammatical topics (Andvik 1993; 2004).

The present study is the first extensive grammatical description of the Tshangla language. The description is comprehensive, yet not conclusive; it will hopefully point the way to topics requiring more in-depth investigation, especially in the area of discourse pragmatics.

1.2 ORGANISATION OF THE DESCRIPTION

Being based as it is on the analysis of a large text corpus, this grammar has the advantage of being inductive rather than deductive, i.e. rather than approaching the language with a template of the constructions which must be described and seeking to find them, the attempt has been to allow the nature of the language itself to determine the shape of the description. The result is that the prominence of a given feature or construction in the description directly reflects the prominence of that feature or construction in the language itself. One good example of this is the fact that an entire chapter is devoted to the postposition/subordinators *anyi* and *daknyi*, derived from the non-final form of the verbs *ale* 'to do', and *dakpe* 'to say', which, although they are merely two rather obscure construction-types from a typological perspective, are extremely prominent in natural discourse, often occurring with greater frequency than finite clauses in discourse.

The inductive approach has shaped not only the prominence given to a particular topic, but the organisation of the topics as well. Topics have been arranged sometimes according to their form, sometimes according to their function, according to which best captures the essence of the language system.

So, for example, adverbial clauses, described in Chapter 13, are built upon two different verb forms, the concatenated (non-final) and nominalised (participial), but are unified by their common function. On the other hand, the discussion in Chapter 15 of concatenation with the non-final *-nyi* describes the use of one particular form, but covers distinct constructions with a range of functions, ranging from clause chains and adverbial clauses to more tightly joined serial verb constructions, and even to grammaticalised auxiliaries derived from erstwhile serial verbs. The grouping according to form in Chapter 15 makes sense because the function varies in a systematic and noteworthy way according to the degree of semantic and syntactic union between clauses.

A few topics are organised, with a redundancy that is intentional, according to form in one section and function in another. For example, the nominalised (participial) verb forms are first grouped according to their form in Chapter 3. There an attempt is made to pinpoint the semantic contribution of the particular participle to each of the constructions in which it occurs, the goal in mind being some kind of general characterisation of the semantics of the particle itself. However, many of the constructions described in later chapters throughout the paper, (where they are grouped according to function) are built upon one or more of these participial forms. In this

case it was most helpful to organise the description alternately according to both form and function.

1.3 INTRODUCTION TO THE TSHANGLA LANGUAGE

1.3.1 *Bhutan*

The Tshangla language is spoken predominantly in eastern Bhutan, where it is also known in the national language of Bhutan (*Dzongkha*) as *Shar-chop-kha*, the language of the *Sharchops*, or *Sharchokpa*, i.e. ‘the people living in the East.’ Native speakers of Tshangla are the largest ethnic group among Bhutan’s *Drukpa*, the indigenous, linguistically Tibeto-Burman population. The Nepali-speaking and racially Indo-Aryan population was the only larger language group, up until the recent exodus of 100,000 or more of the so-called *Lhotshampas*, or ‘Southern Border People’. The number of Tshangla speakers in Bhutan is at least 140,000, but according to other reports there may be as many as 250,000. Tshangla is also used as a *lingua franca* among all of the language groups inhabiting eastern Bhutan. Most Bhutanese have at least some rudimentary knowledge of Tshangla (van Driem 1998: 27–29).

Tshangla is the majority language of the five eastern districts (Dzongkhak) of Bhutan: Trashigang, Pema Gatshel, Samdrup Jongkhar, Mongar and Trashi’yangtse, with minority populations in the districts of Zh’ängang and Lhüntse.

As noted above, the variety spoken in the town of Trashigang, administrative seat of Trashigang district (Dzongkhak), and the largest town of the Tshangla-speaking area in Bhutan, is considered by most speakers to be the prestige dialect, although dialect differences between the various other Tshangla-speaking communities in Bhutan are not so large as to cause difficulties in communication. Where other varieties are known to differ from the Trashigang dialect in regards to certain forms of constructions, this study will focus on the Trashigang dialect to the exclusion of the others. However, information about other dialects will be included as relevant, in a footnote, if not in the text itself.

Tshangla is an unwritten language, by which it is meant that the language is not, in any country, standardised by government fiat, taught in the schools, recognised as an official language, or even given status as a minority language. The majority of the Tshangla speaking people, as well as other *Drukpa* Bhutanese, are adherents of one of the Tibetan schools of Mahayana Buddhism, most commonly either the *Drukpa Kâjüp* or ‘Nyingmapa sects. Many Tshangla speakers, especially of the older generation,

have received a monastery education and become literate in the classical, religious Tibetan language known as Chöke [WT Chos-skad]. The Tshangla lexicon has been greatly impacted by extensive borrowing of vocabulary from Chöke, especially of religious terminology.

1.3.2 *Western Arunachal Pradesh*

Tshangla is also spoken just across the border from eastern Bhutan in Arunachal Pradesh, in and around Dirang in the West Kameng district (cf. Chowdhury 1973: 42ff). The language of this area has been referred to by Das Gupta (1968; 1977) as Central Monpa, who also reports that the Monpas used to be called *Sher-chok-pa*, and that their numbers were frequently added to by migrations from eastern Bhutan as well as from across the Himalayas. According to Das Gupta, Central Monpa is spoken by about six thousand people.

1.3.3 *Padma-bkod*

Tshangla of Bhutan is virtually identical to the Cāngluò language of south-eastern Tibet, described by Zhāng Jīchuān (1986), earlier presented by Sūn et al. (1980) as the Mòtuō Monpa (cf. also Sūn 1991; Sūn 1997). However, the language described by Zhāng and Sūn is spoken in a cluster of communities geographically separated from Bhutan by several hundred miles, namely the region formerly known as Padma-bkod, located near the point where the Tsangpo River (Siang) crosses the McMahon Line. A comparison of Bhutanese Tshangla vocabulary with the word list given in Sūn et al. indicates that there are very few differences in the speech of the two communities. This was also confirmed by the author's own data taken from speakers of the Padma-bkod dialect now living in Kathmandu, Darjeeling, and Assam. Speakers from Bhutan as well as speakers from Padma-bkod who have had contact with each other, report that they easily understand the speech of the other group.

The geographical separation of the two communities is apparently due to recent migration from Bhutan, as indicated by Aris in his Notes on the Mon-Yul Corridor:

It is known that the southern end of two of Tibet's most sacred sanctuaries...Tsa-ri and Padma-bkod...are inhabited mainly by groups who were encouraged by the legendary reputation of these 'hidden lands' (sbas-yul) to flee there in the 19th century to escape from oppressive taxation in the area of eastern Bhutan and elsewhere (Aris 1980: 9).

Hoshi notes that a 'language very close to the Sharchok language is also said to be spoken by about 5000 people living in the Metok and Nyintrhi

Districts of Tibet's Lhasa City. These people are said to call themselves Monpa' (Hoshi 1987: 1). The origin of these communities is said to be due to migration to the city some two hundred years ago.

1.3.4 *Genetic classification*

Tshangla is a member of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. Of the most well-known classifications, Shafer (1955; 1966) placed Tshangla in his Bodish Section of the Bodic Division of Sino-Tibetan. Benedict (1972) placed it on the Bodic side of the Tibetan-Kanauri (Bodish-Himalayish) branch of Tibeto-Burman. Both schemes agree in their placement of Tshangla close to but just outside of the nucleus of Tibetan languages sometimes referred to as the 'Tibetan dialects', such as Lhasa, Amdo, Kham (of Tibet, not of Nepal), Sherpa, Lhoke, Sikkimese, and Dzongkha of Bhutan (cf. also DeLancey 1987a; Hale 1982; Matisoff 1986; Thurgood 1985, van Driem 2003).

Central Monpa, the designation used for Tshangla by Das Gupta (1968), (cf. section 1.3.2 above), is one of four varieties to which he gives the Monpa label, encompassing twenty one thousand speakers in all. The others are Northern Monpa, spoken in the Tawang area, Southern Monpa, spoken south of Dirang in the Kalaktang area, and Lishpa, spoken in two villages Lish and Chug. Yet another group given the name Monpa is the Tshona (Cuona) Monpa, centred around the town of mTsho-sna (Cuona) in southeastern Tibet, just north of eastern Bhutan. This language was first described by Sün et al. (1980) and later by Nishida (1988).

The Monpa label is unfortunate, in that it separates languages which *should* be grouped together, while joining under a common name languages which should *not* be grouped together (cf. also van Driem 2001). Thus Bhutanese Tshangla (Sharchopkha), Cāngluò Monpa (Sün et al.) and Das Gupta's Central Monpa are closely related and apparently mutually intelligible varieties of a single language, while Northern Monpa and Cuona Monpa are distinct from these, and should be grouped with Bumthang of Central Bhutan (cf. Aris 1979: 121–2; also Mazaudon 1992). The former are unclassified under the Bodish Section, while the latter fall under Proto East Bodish in Shafer's classification (cf. Figure 1 below.)

- Bodic Division
 - Bodish Section
 - Tsangla Branch (Tshangla = Sharchopkha), Central Monpa, Motuo/Cangluo Monpa
 - Bodish Branch
 - West Bodish
 - Old Bodish
 - East Bodish (Bumthang, Northern Monpa, Cuona Monpa)
 - Rgyarong Branch
 - Gurung Branch

Figure 1. Tshangla in Shafer's classification of the Bodic division (1955; 1966)

PHONOLOGY

This chapter will describe the phonology of the language, beginning with segmental phonology, (the consonants and vowels), proceeding on to the syllable structure and possible sequences of consonants and vowels, and then on to word structure and stress patterns. Finally a brief observation is made about a possibly emerging lexical tone contrast.

2.1 CONSONANTS

The word-initial prevocalic position is the least restrictive of all environments in that the full inventory of Tshangla phonemes may occur there. Word-initial consonant phonemes are shown in Table 1 below. Phonemes considered marginal (for reasons described in section 2.1.3 below) are given in parentheses.

Table 1 shows all consonant phonemes. Orthographic representations used throughout this book are given in brackets. Asterisked phonemes occur syllable-finally as well. Items in parentheses are not native but occur in the large number of lexemes borrowed from Dzongkha or Chöke (cf. section 1.3.1).

Table 1. Consonant chart

	lab.	alv.	retr.	pal.	vel.	glott.
vl. stop	p*	t*	t̪ {tr}		k*	
+ asp.	p ^h {ph}	t ^h {th}	t̪ ^h {thr}		k ^h {kh}	
vd. stop	b	d	d̪ {dr}		g	
vl. aff.		ts		tɕ {c}		
+asp.		ts ^h {tsh}		tɕ ^h {ch}		
vd. aff.		(dz)		dʒ {j}		
vl. fric.		s*		ɕ {sh}		
vd. fric.		z		(ʒ) {zh}		
nas.	m*	n*		ɲ {ny}	ŋ*	{ng}
lat.		l*				
lat. fric.		(ɬ) {lh}				
flap		r*				
approx.	w			y		h

The following section lists each contrastive consonant phoneme with a description of its phonetic characteristics.

Labials.

/p/: voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop

/p^h/: voiceless aspirated bilabial stop. (Intervocally this sound is pronounced as the bilabial fricative [ɸ] (cf. section 2.1.1 below). Thus /p^hile/ ‘to do, cause’ → [p^hile], but /yip^he/ ‘to sleep’ → [yiɸe].¹)

/b/: voiced bilabial stop

Alveolars.

/t/: voiceless unaspirated apico-dental stop

/t^h/: voiceless aspirated apico-dental stop

/d/: voiced apico-dental stop

Retroflex.

/ɽ/: voiceless unaspirated apico-postalveolar (retroflex) stop

/ɽ^h/: voiceless aspirated apico-postalveolar (retroflex) stop

/ɖ/: voiced apico-postalveolar (retroflex) stop

Velars.

/k/: voiceless unaspirated dorso-velar stop. (Word-finally this is pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ] by speakers from Trashigang, [brak~braʔ] ‘cliff’ although other dialects preserve it as a velar stop.²)

/k^h/: voiceless aspirated dorso-velar stop. (Pronounced as the fricative [x] intervocally cf. section 2.1.1 below.)

/g/: voiced dorso-velar stop

Affricates.

/ts/: voiceless unaspirated apico-dental affricate

/ts^h/: voiceless aspirated apico-dental affricate

/tɕ/: voiceless unaspirated lamino-postalveolar affricate

/tɕ^h/: voiceless aspirated lamino-postalveolar affricate

/dz/: voiced apico-dental affricate

/dʒ/: voiced lamino-postalveolar affricate

While this is true in all dialects, in certain other dialects (e.g. Pema Gatsel) this obtains word-initially as well. For these dialects /p^hile/ → [ɸile].

² This rule is very prevalent in Dzongkha and Tibetan, and therefore not surprisingly forms loaned from these languages are especially subject to this pronunciation.

Fricatives.

- /s/: voiceless apico-dental fricative
- /ç/: voiceless lamino-postalveolar fricative
- /z/: voiced apico-dental fricative
- /ʒ/: voiced lamino-postalveolar fricative

Nasals.

- /m/: bilabial nasal stop
- /n/: apico-dental nasal stop
- /ɲ/: lamino-palatal nasal stop
- /ŋ/: dorso-velar nasal stop

Laterals.

- /l/: voiced apico-alveolar lateral
- /ɬ/: voiceless apico-alveolar lateral

Flap.

- /r/: apico-alveolar flap [r]. (This sound is often voiceless syllable-finally.)

Approximants.

- /w/: voiced labio-velar approximant
- /y/: voiced palatal approximant
- /h/: voiceless glottal approximant

2.1.1 *Lenition*

The aspirated stops (/p^h/, and /k^h/) are realised as fricatives ([ϕ] and [x] or [h]) whenever they occur intervocalically. Coronals are exempted, however, /dot^haŋ/ ‘immediately next to or in front of’ → [dot^haŋ] /[*doθaŋ; /p^hit^haŋ/ ‘method, way of doing’ (from /p^hi/ ‘do’ + the nominaliser /-t^haŋ/) → [p^hit^haŋ] / [*p^hiθaŋ]. In this regard, as well as with respect to degemination, as will be seen in section 4.3 below, labials and velars pattern together and distinctly from coronals.

This alternation applies at morpheme boundaries:

- /yip^ha/ ‘slept’-> [yiϕe] (/yip/ ‘sleep’ + nominaliser /-pa/)
- /zak^han/ ‘one who eats’ -> [zaxan] or [zahan] (from /za/ ‘to eat’+relativiser /-k^han/).

And it occurs in monomorphemic contexts as well:

- /tçok^ha p^hile/ ‘to heal’ [tçoxa]
- /tç^hup^hu/ ‘beer’ [tç^huϕu]
- /sop^hu/ ‘wound, sore’ [soϕu]
- /ts^hep^hu/ ‘sharp’ [ts^heϕu]

/ʒungap^ha/ 'eldest brother' [ʒungəʔa]
 /tɕ^hap^ha/ 'plenty' [tɕ^haʔa].

However, it does not usually apply at the boundary between elements in a compound:

/tɕ^huk^ha/ 'kingfisher' from /tɕ^hu/ 'flock' + k^ha 'bird' [tɕ^huk^ha/*tɕ^huxa]
 /kup^huŋ/ 'corpse' from the honorific prefix /ku/ plus /p^huŋ/ 'corpse' [kup^huŋ/
 *kuʔuŋ]

2.1.2 *Contrasts and minimal pairs*

/p/ & /p^h/, /b/ & /m/: /pakpa/ 'skin, hide', /p^hakpa/ 'pig', /bakpa/ 'he hoed',
 /makpa/ 'bridegroom'; /pak/ 'to aim, poise', /p^hak/ 'to sweep', /bak/ 'to hoe';
 /pek/ 'to smear', /p^hek/ 'to open', /bek/ 'to get tired', /mek/ 'to cut with a
 sickle'

/p/ & /ph/: /p^hen/ 'to benefit', /pen/ 'to press'; /pur/ 'to fill up', /p^hur/ 'to fly'
 /p/ & /b/: /poŋ/ 'crowd', /boŋ/ 'wheat'; /para/ 'dove', /bara/ 'paddy'; /paŋ/ 'to
 abandon', /baŋ/ 'to carry'; /par/ 'picture', /bar/ 'brightening'

/t/ & /t^h/: /ta/ 'sign, symbol', /t^ha/ 'here'; /ta/ 'to tell' /t^ha/ 'to keep'; /toŋpu/
 'empty', /t^hoŋpu/ 'wooden ploughshare'

/t/ & /d/: /ton/ 'winter', /don/ 'demon'; /ti/ 'to open', /di/ 'to go'; /tukpu/
 'agony', /dukpu/ 'poor';

/t/ & /t̥/: /ta/ 'to keep under one's custody', /t̥a/ 'to distribute'; /tok/ 'to chop',
 /t̥ok/ 'to disturb'; /ting/ 'deep', /t̥ing/ 'to stretch'

/t^h/ & /t̥^h/: /t^ha/ 'here', /t̥^ha/ 'to meet, to encounter'; /t^hik/ 'to tie', /t̥^hik/ 'just
 right'; /t^hang/ 'to lie', /t̥^hang/ 'straight'

/ts/ & /ts^h/: /tsam/ 'to plan', /ts^ham/ 'hair'; /tsok/ 'dirty', /ts^hok/ 'meal'; /tso/
 'importance' /ts^ho/ 'lake'

/ts/ & /tɕ/: /tsak/ 'to filter, strain', /tɕak/ 'to come (hon.)', /tsaŋpu/ 'only',
 /tɕaŋpu/ 'smart',

/tɕ/ & /tɕ^h/: /tɕa/ 'copula (to be)', /tɕ^ha/ 'pair', /tɕen/ 'eye', /tɕ^hen/ 'to plant'

/tɕ/ & /dɕ/: /tɕang/ 'to play', /dɕang/ 'I' (1 pers. sing.), /tɕam/ 'to be about to',
 /dɕam/ 'to recover, get well', /tɕik/ 'to be the same, equal', /dɕik/ 'to shout'

/ts^h/ & /tɕ^h/: /ts^hen/ 'name', /tɕ^hen/ 'to plant'

/ts/, /ts^h/, /tɕ/ & /tɕ^h/: /tsak/ 'to filter, strain', /ts^haŋ/ 'to complete, finish';
 /tɕak/ 'to come', /tɕ^hak/ 'to establish'; /tsaŋpu/ 'only', /ts^haŋpu/ 'complete';

/tɕaŋpu/ 'smart', /tɕ^haŋpu/ 'cold'; /tse/ 'date', /ts^he/ 'life'; /tɕe/ 'swim', /tɕ^he/
 'religion'; /tsalu/ 'red', /ts^halu/ 'hot', /ts^hala 'heated'; /tɕala/ 'object', /tɕ^hala/
 'deed'

/s/ & /ɕ/: /sa/ 'ground', /ɕa/ 'meat'; /sor/ 'to change, switch', /ɕor/ 'to lose'; /se/
 'fruit', /ɕe/ 'glass'; /se/ 'to know', /ɕe/ 'to kill'

/s/ & /z/: /saŋ/ 'to dry out', /zaŋ/ 'to clean, shine'; /sakpu/ 'clear', /zakpu/
 'excessive'; /sa/ 'ground', /za/ 'son'

/z/ & /ʒ/ & /y/: /ʒe/ 'to eat (hon.)' /ye/ 'to wear'; /zawa/ 'he ate', /ʒawa/ 'crip-
 pled'; /yawa/ 'mixed'

/ɕ/ & /ʒ/: /ɕe/ 'glass', /ʒe/ 'to eat (hon.)'

/n/ & /ɲ/: /na/ 'ear', /ɲa/ 'there'; /nan/ '2nd person singular', /ɲan/ 'to listen';
 /noŋ/ 'day', /ɲoŋ/ 'to receive'

/ɲ/ & /ŋ/: /ɲa/ 'there', /ŋa/ 'fish', 'five'; /ɲewa/ 'he kneaded it', /ŋewa/ 'hell'; /ɲam/ 'fat'; /ŋam/ 'sun'; /ɲan/ 'to listen', /ŋan/ 'tantric curse'

2.1.3 Marginal (non-native) consonants

marginal /ʈ/ contrasted with /l/: /lo/ 'language, speech', /ʈo/ 'south'; /lak/ 'to boil', /ʈak/ 'to read'; /lam/ 'road, path', /ʈam/ 'shoe' (hon.); /la/ 'copula (to be)', /ʈa/ 'god'. This contrast does not exist natively in Tshangla, and many speakers pronounce both sounds as [l].

marginal /dz/ appears to be found only in loans from Dzongkha or Chöke. For some speakers it contrasts with /dz̥/, cf. /dzɔŋ/ 'fortress', /dzɔŋ/ 'go', however /dz/ is often nativised as /z/.

marginal /ʒ/ also appears to be found in the Trashigang dialect only in Dzongkha/Chöke loans, although some dialects have /ʒ/ for /y/, hence Trashigang /yintsəŋ/ 'mud, swamp' → Wamrong /ʒintsəŋ/

2.2 VOWELS

There are five monophthong vowels in Tshangla, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2. Vowel chart

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

The phonetic characteristics of Tshangla vowels are as follows:

- i: high, front, unrounded
- u: high, back, rounded
- e: mid, front, unrounded
- o: mid, back, rounded
- a: low, central

2.2.1 Contrasts and minimal pairs

/i/ & /u/: /bi/ 'give', /bu/ 'carry'; /bi/ 'foot', /bu/ 'insect', /yi/ 'blood', /yu/ 'liquor'; /zi/ 'younger sister of a male sibling', /zu/ 'thorn'; /gi/ 'a small spice plant' (Nepali *timbur*), /gu/ 'nine'; /gir/ 'turn', /gur/ 'tent'; /dzik/ 'shout', /dzuk/ 'run'; /kitpa/ 'peace, /kutpa/ 'thread'; /lik/ 'sprout', /luk/ 'pour'; /mi/ 'to think', /mu/ 'to blow'

/i/ & /e/: /dinpa/ 'seventh', /denpa/ 'truth'; /dipa/ 'animal herder', /depa/ 'faith, religion'; /gi/ 'a small spice plant' (Nepali *timbur*), /ge/ 'cue, line'; /lik/ 'sprout' /lek/ 'like'; /mik/ 'to aim', /mek/ 'to harvest'; /minpa/ 'ripe', /menpa/ 'healer'; /ripa/ 'water carrier', /repa/ 'worn out'; /si/ 'oil', /se/ 'fruit'; /si/ 'choose', /se/ 'know'

/u/ & /o/: /du/ 'poison', /do/ 'cord'; /duŋ/ 'village', /doŋ/ 'down'; /dur/ 'boil', /dor/ 'pierce'; /dus/ 'collect', /dos/ 'suspect'; /gopa/ 'first', /gupa/ 'ninth'; /ko/ 'door', /ku/ 'idol'; /luk/ 'to pour', /lok/ 'to return'; /luŋ/ 'stone', /loŋ/ 'penis'; /yuj/ 'brother', /yoŋ/ 'shadow'

/e/ & /a/: /-pa/ 'nominaliser suffix', /-pe/ 'infinitive suffix'; /ye/ 'to wear', /ya/ 'to mix'; /ge/ 'to give', /ga/ 'high'; /gen/ 'to show', /gan/ 'to flee'; /le/ 'intestine', /la/ 'to be (mirative copula); /lek/ 'to like', /lak/ 'to boil'; /lem/ 'eating utensil', /lam/ 'road, path'; /lepo/ 'idiot', /lapo/ 'rooster'; /per/ 'iron', /par/ 'picture'; /se/ 'fruit', /sa/ 'ground'; /sem/ 'mind', /sam/ 'three'

/a/ & /o/: /bok/ 'to get fat', /bak/ 'to hoe'; /baŋ/ 'power', /boŋ/ 'wheat'; /boŋ/ 'to distribute', /baŋ/ 'to carry'; /bara/ 'paddy', /bora/ 'gunny sack'; /dak/ 'to say', /dok/ 'to accept'; /dala/ 'sifting tray', /dolo/ 'equivalent'; /dan/ '3rd person pronoun', /don/ 'demon'; /daŋ/ 'and', /doŋ/ 'down'; /gaŋ/ 'handle', /goŋ/ 'price'; /ka/ 'order', /ko/ 'door'

All vowels: /li/ 'seed'; /lu/ 'underworld being'; /le/ 'intestine'; /lo/ 'language, speech'; /la/ 'mountain pass'; /gi/ 'a small spice plant' (Nepali *timbur*), /gu/ 'nine', /ge/ 'to give', /go/ 'start', /ga/ 'high'

2.2.2 Fronted vowels

In native Tshangla vocabulary, front rounded vowels, such as /ö/ or /ü/ do not occur. However, through extensive borrowing from Dzongkha or Chöke, many words containing these sounds have become a part of the language. When non-native forms are borrowed, typically their pronunciation is nativised over time. Thus certain Tshangla words with the front unrounded /e/ are nativised pronunciations of the Dzongkha/Chöke forms containing the front rounded /ö/. Examples of this are as follows (followed by the Written Tibetan³ (WT), modern spoken Central Tibetan (MT), and Romanised Dzongkha (RD) forms):⁴

/dent^ha/ 'meaning, purpose' (WT *don-dag*, CT [thöntaa], RD *d'öntha*)
 /bulen/ 'debt' (WT *bulon*, CT [phulöön], RD *b'ulön*)
 /senam/ 'alms, fortune' (WT *bsod-snyoms*, CT [sööñom], RD *sö'nyom*)
 /pe/ 'incense' (WT *spos*, CT [pöö], RD *pö*)
 /be/ 'Tibet' (WT *bod* [bö], RD *b'ö*)

Certain other Tshangla words with the front unrounded /i/ are nativised pronunciations of the Dzongkha/Chöke forms containing the front-rounded /ü/. Examples of this are:

³ Written Tibetan (WT) reflects the language of the Classical Period, starting in the first half of the seventh century, when the Tibetan alphabet was first developed and applied to the translation of sacred texts from Sanskrit (Jäschke 1881:iv) (cf. also Beyer 1992; Miller 1970; 1982).

⁴ WT and CT forms are taken from Goldstein and Narkyid 1984, RD are from George van Driem, personal communication.

/dits^he/ ‘time’ (WT *dus-tshod*, CT [thüütsöö], RD *d’ütshö*)

/yi/ ‘land, country’ (WT *yul*, CT [yüü/yül], RD *ü*)

There are other words which correspond to a form containing a front rounded vowel in modern spoken Tibetan (Goldstein 1973; Goldstein and Narkyid 1984), but whose pronunciation in Tshangla with a back rounded vowel reflects an older Written Tibetan form. These items are most likely not loaned words, but rather a part of Tshangla native vocabulary and simply cognate with Tibetan. In this case we see that Tshangla is more conservative in its historical development than modern Tibetan, having retained the original vowel and final consonant, where modern Tibetan has lost the final consonant and the vowel has become fronted. In these cases, WT spelling, at least of the syllable coda, more closely resembles Tshangla pronunciation than it does modern Tibetan. Examples of this are: Tshangla /pon/ ‘king, ruler’, (WT *dpon* [pöön]), Tshangla /dut/ ‘demon’, (WT *bdud*, [tüü]), /putpa/ ‘leech’, (WT *pad-pa* [pæpa]).

2.3 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE AND CLUSTERS

Tshangla syllable structure is described by the formula: (X)V(Y), where X is either a simple consonant or a /Cr/ consonant cluster (with the exception of /pçi/, described below), and Y represents either a consonant or a vowel.

2.3.1 Consonant clusters

The maximum allowable consonant cluster is a series of two consonants. Tshangla has retained, as its only consonant cluster, the initial /Cr/ (preserved in WT) for labial initials (cf. /brantɔŋ/ ‘chest’). The WT velar-initial /Cr/ clusters are pronounced with a retroflex coronal in Trashigang but retained in some dialects (cf. for example /krame/ ‘to distribute’; Trashigang: /tame/). The six possible consonant clusters in some dialects are /pr/, /p^hr/, /br/, /kr/, /k^hr/, /gr/. Examples are:

/prospe/ ‘to plow’, /prame/ ‘to distribute’

/p^hrospe/ ‘to vomit’, /p^hraŋga/ ‘underneath’

/bra/ ‘other’, /braŋ/ ‘place’, /brebe/ ‘to separate’, /bro/ ‘taste’

/krokpe/ ‘to mix up’, /kremtala/ ‘lean, thin’, /krekpe/ ‘to scratch’

/k^hrap^he/ ‘to meet’, /k^hreme/ ‘to burn by coming in contact with a hot object’

/grale/ ‘to like, to enjoy’, /greh^he/ ‘to crush, to crack’

These are not simply Dzongkha or Tibetan borrowings, however, but rather appear to be native Tshangla lexemes, as many of these forms do

not exist in Tibetan or Dzongkha. It appears that some Tshangla dialects have undergone coronal cluster simplification (as have the modern Tibetan languages), while others have not.

In addition to these /Cr/ clusters, an additional /p/+/ɕ/ cluster does occur, as in /pɕi/ 'four'. However, it has a very limited distribution, occurring only in this item and the onomatopoeic /pɕi p^hule/ 'to pass gas'.

2.3.2 *Vowel sequences*

The second vowel in a VV sequence must be either /i/ or /u/. Possible monomorphemic VV sequences are /ai/ (/p^hai/ 'house'), and /au/ (/tau/ 'pot'). Other combinations occur only in derived contexts or a small number of borrowed lexemes. /oi/, /ui/ and /ai/ occur in derived contexts created by the addition of the imperative suffix to a vowel-final verb root. These are nonetheless pronounced monosyllabically. Below is a listing of all logically possible vowel sequences and their occurrence or non-occurrence in Tshangla:

ii	no
ei	no
ai	yes
oi	derived contexts, e.g. /tɕ ^h o-i/ 'stay-IMP'
ui	derived contexts, e.g. /bu-i/ 'take-IMP'
iu	rare, loanwords only, tends to be pronounced disyllabically, /liwu/ 'difference'
eu	rare, loanwords only, tends to be pronounced disyllabically, /lewu/, 'chapter (in a play)' /sewu/ 'prayer'
au	yes
ou	no
uu	no

Excluding derived and rare marginal sequences found only in loanwords, we are left with only two sequences: /ai/ and /au/. The following discussion will support the analysis of the diphthongs as sequences of two vowels.

First, it is clear that the diphthongs do not occupy the slot of a single vowel. If that were the case, we would expect them to occur in both open as well as closed syllables, as do the 5 monophthong vowels. The diphthongs do not, however, occur in closed syllables, i.e. no /CauC/ or /CaiC/ syllables are attested. This strongly suggests that the diphthongs occupy two segmental slots phonologically.

We are then left with the problem of whether the second segment in the diphthong is to be analysed phonologically as a vowel or a consonant, i.e. whether the sequence is VV (/au, ai/) or VC (/aw/, /ay/). This is a slightly more interesting problem, with arguments going both ways.

In support of a CVC analysis, the following arguments could be offered. First, such an analysis would obviate the CVV syllable type entirely, thus simplifying the phonological description. Secondly, since both /w/ and /y/ occur syllable-initially, to analyse them as consonants syllable-finally as well would increase the symmetry of the consonant system. Both of these arguments seem to enhance the economy of the description.

Economy of an analysis, however, viewed in isolation from the nature of the system itself, is no guarantee of the naturalness of that analysis. When the nature of the Tshangla consonant system is taken into account, a CVV analysis is, in fact, a better fit than a CVC analysis.

First, if the second segments were functioning as consonants, their syllable-final distribution would be more limited than any of the other consonants: only after /a/, (or after /o/ and /u/ in derived environments). All of the other consonants which can occur syllable-finally, do so without restrictions on the vowel they must follow. This is not a problem if the second segments are analysed as vowels: Distributional restrictions on a second vowel in a vowel sequence based on the quality of the first vowel are, of course, phonologically more natural than restrictions on a consonantal coda based on the quality of the preceding vowel.

Secondly, although analysing the second segments as syllable-final /w/ and /y/ would not increase the overall phoneme inventory, one must also consider the set of syllable-final consonants which it would create. As seen from Table 1 above, the set of consonants which may occur in syllable-final position is extremely limited in comparison to the syllable-initial set. Only the voiceless stops /p,t,k/, fricative /s/, and nasals /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ may occur. Note that the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is excluded; in fact, none of the palatal consonants occur syllable-finally. Furthermore, no liquids (/l/ or /r/) occur syllable-finally, nor do fricatives and affricates, other than /s/. Seen in this light then, to add palatal and labio-velar consonants /y/ and /w/ to the syllable-final set would be somewhat unnatural. Thus the CVC analysis, while perhaps economical, has the disadvantage that it would create a less than natural set of syllable-final consonants.

Limited syllable-final consonant inventories and simple codas are a typical characteristic of Tibeto-Burman and many other Asian languages. The scripts in which these languages are written often reflects this. Presumably the script has been, to some degree at least, shaped by the characteristics of the languages for which it was developed. The Tibetan script, for example, is better suited to represent syllable-initial clusters than syllable-final ones. The vowel is also represented as inherent in the initial consonant. In the Tibetan script, the /ai/ and /au/ diphthongs are represented by means of a vocalic character, with the quality of the particular vowel represented by a

diacritic. The Tibetan script (and any presumed psychological reality which it might imply) thus further supports the CVV analysis.

2.4 WORD STRUCTURE AND STRESS

The vast majority of non-derived (monomorphemic) Tshangla lexemes are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. On disyllabic lexemes, the stress pattern is predictable: Without exception stress occurs on the first syllable. The following are examples of non-derived disyllabic lexemes with stress on the initial syllable:⁵

abi	'grandmother'
ajang	'maternal uncle'
ama	'mother'
apa	'father'
bengra	'axe'
bamnang	'old (female)'
bedeng	'wealthy'
binang	'night'
dasur	'a little bit'
dokang	'stick'
dolom	'wooden bowl'
dozo	'fast'
gotham	'egg'
gumzing	'knee'
guntsung	'buckwheat'
incha	'salt'
jaling	'reed pipe'
khamung	'clothing'
khachi	'knife'
lawang	'lamp'
mizum	'bee'
notsang	'thing'
nowang	'mouth'
phatsa	'sack'
shampi	'tail'
sharang	'head'
thinglom	'heart'
thinong	'today'
totshang	'friend (male)'
usin	'younger sister'

⁵ From here onward in this chapter, lexemes are shown in the Romanised orthography (shown in brackets in Table 1, section 2.1 above).

2.4.1 *Stress on inflected words*

All inflectional affixes are unstressed, and the addition of any inflectional affixes does not change the placement of the stress; the word stress occurs on the first syllable of the root (indicated by boldface type):

ngar 'laugh'
ngar-ba ('laugh-NOM') 'laughed'
ngar-khan-gi ('laugh-REL-AGT') 'the one who laughed'
ngar-ba-kap-nyi ('laugh-NOM-with-NF') 'while laughing'
ngar-khan-ba-ki-bu ('laugh-REL-PL-AGT-FOC') 'even those who laugh'

The same is true of affixes attached to a disyllabic root:

ama 'mother'
ama-ba 'mothers'
ama-kap-nyi 'with mother'
ama-kap-nyi-bu 'even with mother'
ama-ba-kap-nyi-bu 'even with the mothers'

An inflectional prefix does not receive stress nor change the placement of stress:

pha-n ('bring-SE') 'bringing'
ma-**pha**-i ('NEG-bring-IMP') 'Do not bring!'
ma-**pha**-n-ci ('NEG-bring-SE-COP') 'did not bring'
ma-**pha**-wa-ca ('NEG-bring-NOM-COP') 'has not brought'
ma-**pha**-la-n-cho-la-kap-nyi ('NEG-bring-PTC-do-stay-PTC-with-NF') 'with-out bringing'

2.4.2 *Stress on derived words*

Derivational affixes are also unstressed and leave the stress pattern unchanged:

rong 'load'
rong-pa 'porter' (i.e. 'one who carries a load')
thrang 'straight (adj.)'
thrang-ken 'straight (adv.)'
sak 'to accumulate'
sak-ken 'up to this much'

2.4.3 *Stress on compounds*

Stress on lexical compounds is generally determined by the stress pattern on the individual lexemes making up the compound. Compounds composed of a monosyllabic followed by a disyllabic lexeme usually receive equal stress on first and second syllable, even if the meaning of the individual lexemes in the compound are opaque or no longer productive:

bar-thoka	'the middle floor/level' (cf. <i>bar</i> 'middle', <i>thoka</i> 'upstairs')
brang-phaktsam	'broom' (cf. <i>brang</i> 'place', <i>phak</i> 'sweep')
dang-sangkan	'completely'
bu-chilu	'snake' (cf. <i>bu</i> 'insect, worm, crawling creature' and <i>chilu</i> 'great')
khang-jilu	'ant'

Compounds composed of a disyllabic followed by a monosyllabic lexeme are stressed on first and third syllable, again even if the individual lexemes in the compound are no longer productive:

doma-pan	'beetle nut'
lanyi-ngam	'moon'
kewa-nong	('bear-NOM day') 'birthday'
kewa-brang	('bear-NOM place') 'birthplace'

Disyllabic compounds conform to the word-initial stress pattern otherwise found on monomorphemic lexemes:

thrang-lam	'shortcut' (cf. <i>thrang</i> 'straight', <i>lam</i> 'path')
chu-kha	'sparrow' (cf. <i>chu</i> 'flock', <i>kha</i> 'bird')

2.4.4 Stress on multi-syllabic lexemes

While most morphemes in Tshangla are monosyllabic or disyllabic, there are a few morphemes with more than two syllables. For these lexemes, the syllable structure may determine stress placement, with stress attracted to a closed (VC or CVC) syllable, although more research is needed on this.

Trisyllabic forms with an open (CV) second syllable take initial stress:

dazere	'little bit'
tukuli	'round'
anyimo	'nun'
baktulup	'face down'
rugenang	'snake'
dajiki	'small'
tremtala	'thin'
zambuling	'world'
khateling	'naked'
mizuma	'bee'
mukhulum	'hat'
phungkapang	'cave, den'
tekathom	'sharp twig on a tree trunk'
titara	'dove'

In other trisyllabic lexemes the initial disyllable is repeated for a stylistic effect. These forms also take initial stress:

pelele	‘quiet, calm (river)’
berere	‘tingling (taste)’
phonono	‘floating’

Another group of trisyllabic lexemes with an open initial syllable followed by a closed (VC or CVC) second syllable receive stress on the second syllable:

meaktsa	‘wife’
pheaktsa	‘husband’
balingmi	‘white’
morenmo	‘widow’
lasokpa	‘etc.’
galakpa	‘backwards’

Non-derived tetrasyllabic lexemes are rare, and may have originated as a sequence of monosyllabic or disyllabic morphemes. If they are no longer morphologically segmentable, they conform to the initial syllable stress pattern:

hampatala	‘suddenly’
tramashikpa	‘naughty’

2.5 TONE

Bhutanese Tshangla does not seem to have contrastive lexical tone. For Central Monpa, Das Gupta (1977) claims a 2-way lexical tone contrast. Although he does not mark tone, he lists the following minimal pairs, (which are homophonous in Bhutanese Tshangla):

sha (<i>rising</i>)	‘meat’
sha (<i>level</i>)	‘tooth’
khu (<i>rising</i>)	‘dog’
khu (<i>level</i>)	‘rice’

Although Sun (1980) does not show tone for Motuo Monpa, the author’s data from Padma-bkod speakers confirm precisely the same tone contrasts as those listed above for Central Monpa.

While lexical tone does not play any significant role in the Bhutanese dialects of Tshangla, there is evidence of tonogenesis in progress. In the Padma-bkod dialect, the voicing contrast in initial consonants of the Bhutanese dialects has apparently been displaced by a two-way tone contrast, with formerly voiced initials now voiceless with low tone, and high tone on originally voiceless initials. A high/low tone contrast is evident on some sonorant initials even in some Bhutanese dialects.

LEXICON AND WORD CLASSES

Tshangla morphemes can be usefully categorised as either lexical or grammatical. Lexical morphemes will be defined here as those which are not phonologically bound to any other morpheme, may take stress, and may be uttered in isolation (for example as a one word reply to an information question). The unbound lexemes often occupy the role of the head of a phrase, in which case they determine the syntactic role of the phrase.

Grammatical morphemes, by contrast, will be defined as phonologically bound to an adjacent item, unable to take stress or be uttered in isolation, and expressing primarily a relational or grammatical meaning.

By means of various morphological and syntactic criteria, four major lexical classes can be distinguished: the larger open classes of nouns and verbs, as well as the smaller closed lexical classes of adjectives and adverbs. In addition to these four classes and fewer yet in number, are the postpositions, a class which consists entirely of grammaticalised items, most apparently developed from nouns, but a few from verbs. Finally, the smallest class of items which can still be considered lexical morphemes are the pronouns.

This chapter will describe only the lexical classes. Grammatical morphemes will be discussed together with the particular grammatical construction in which they have a part.

Of all the lexical classes, only verbs show affixation (as distinct from cliticisation). Thus, in the case of verbs, both morphological as well as syntactic criteria can be used to distinguish the class from all others. The other classes may, however, be distinguished by syntactic criteria, i.e. by the type of phrase in which they occur, and the position in turn of that phrase in the structure of the clause. Nouns do not undergo affixation, but included in their syntactic description are a number of clitic particles, so called because while phonologically bound to an adjacent item, their position is defined not in relation to that adjacent word, but to the phrase as a whole.

3.1 NOUNS

Tshangla nouns are those lexical items which, occurring alone and uninflected (i.e. in their bare root form without any affixation), may make reference to an entity or participant in discourse, and occur as a syntactic

argument of a verb (Schachter 1985: 7). The syntactic argument is a typically referential element which bears a grammatical relation (such as subject or object) to the verb (Payne 1997: 170). Nouns are distinguished from verbs by the fact that a verb must first be nominalised by means of the addition of one of the ‘participial’ suffixes *-wa*, *-la*, *-lu*, or *-le* (cf. section 3.2.1.2) in order to make reference and occur as a syntactic argument. Nouns are distinct from other noun phrase constituents (cf. Chapter 5) in that only nouns may occur as head of the noun phrase. A head is the element which determines the syntactic function of the entire phrase (Payne 1997: 31) and governs, i.e. requires or licenses, the possibility of occurrence of the other elements in the phrase (Nichols 1986: 57). These other elements (dependent, or non-head) may occur in a noun phrase in the absence of a nominal head only in a discourse context where the identity of the referent has already been established in the prior context (cf. section 5.1), or is established by being shared with a conjoined noun phrase. Adjectives (to be described in section 3.3), as well as other smaller closed classes of items such as demonstratives and quantifiers, are examples of elements of the noun phrase which may instantiate the noun phrase in the absence of a noun when the referent of the noun phrase has been established previously. For examples of this, cf. section 5.1.

Nouns in Tshangla do not undergo affixation. The noun phrase in which they occur, however, may take one of the post-nominal clitic particles such as the pluraliser *-ba*, and case markers (cf. section 5.3 below).

3.2 VERBS

3.2.1 *Verb morphology*

Syntactically, in Tshangla, every finite clause must have a predicate, which must contain a verb or a copula. Predicate nominal or adjectival clauses, which do not contain a verbal predicate, must contain a copula *ca* or *gila*.

Morphologically, Tshangla verbs are distinguished by a set of affixes only applicable to verbs. These will be the topic of the remainder of this section. Verb affixes may be divided into three basic types, 1) prefixes, of which there is only one, namely the negative prefix *ma-*, 2) participial suffixes, of which there are four, and 3) all other verbal suffixes, which includes various particles and grammaticalised morphemes, some used in non-final contexts, and some in non-declarative sentence moods.

3.2.1.1 *Prefix ma-*

Only a verb may take the negative prefix *ma-*. This is a useful test to determine the status of adjectives which are derived from or related to verbs, such as *lekpu* 'good' vs. *lekpa* 'to be good.' Only verbs may take the negative prefix: *malekpa* 'to be not good', **malekpu*. Because the nominalised verb is used to form a relative clause, which like the adjective occurs in post-nominal position in the noun phrase, there is no syntactical distinction between the adjective and nominalised verb.

songo lekpu (adj.) 'good person'
 songo lekpa (v.) 'good person' (lit. 'person who is good')
 songo *malekpu (adj.)
 songo malekpa (v.) 'bad person' (lit. 'person who is not good')

For non-derived adjectives, such as *katang* 'large', no negative form is possible **makatang*. The negative must be expressed as a proposition using the existential and descriptive copula:

katang mala/manca 'it is not large'.

To express the equivalent within the noun phrase, a negative relativised form of the copula is used:

songo katang 'large person'
 songo katang makhan 'person who is not large'

3.2.1.2 *Participial suffixes*

All verbs, and only verbs, may be inflected with one of the participial suffixes shown in Table 3. These appear to be diachronically developed either from or by analogy with the WT nominaliser. All of the suffixes in this set share a common CV structure, a common initial consonant within each of the four root classes, and a common vowel for each participial type. Table 3 lists the suffixes in this subset:

Table 3. Non-finite verb suffixes

Verb class (verb root ends in:)	nominaliser	cotemporal	stative	infinitive
V	-wa	-la	-lu	-le
liquid (l,r)	-ba	-ba	-bu	-be
nasal	-ma	-ma	-mu	-me
obstruent	-pa	-pa	-pu	-pe

The similar forms are best accounted for by the hypothesis of a common diachronic origin in the WT nominaliser suffix, itself a set of allomorphs (*-wa*, *-ba*, *-pa*). The phonological derivation of the /l/-initial form is less obvious, however its place within the system shown in Table 3 would strongly suggest such an origin for this form as well.

The leftmost column in Table 3 shows the verb root class. Each class takes a different set of the non-final suffixes. The root classes are named according to the final consonant of the root. So, for example, the V class, i.e. verb roots ending in a vowel, takes the set of suffixes shown in the top row of the table, i.e. *-wa*, *-la*, *-lu*, and *-le*.

Likewise, as Table 3 also indicates, the suffixes themselves are four morphemes, represented by the four vertical columns, each with four allomorphs depending upon the verb root to which it is attached. So, for example, the 'nominaliser' suffix is realised as *-wa*¹ on V-final verb roots, by *-ba* on liquid-final roots, *-ma* on nasal-final roots, and *-pa* elsewhere. The verb root classes and morphophonemic processes associated with them will be discussed at length in section 4.2 below.

The participial suffixes are so called because verbs, when inflected with them, exhibit some of the distributional behaviors of nominals, although not all. In this way, they are distinct from the other verbal suffixes. Nominalisation and its antithesis, finiteness, are scalar properties (Givón 1990: 503; Payne 1997: 34–38). It will be shown in section 15.1 that other non-finite verbal suffixes like *-nyi*, although reduced in terms of finiteness and lacking verbal inflections for tense, aspect, evidentiality etc., are much further toward the finite end of the continuum than the participials. The four participles, in turn, differ from each other in terms of how many of the possible noun-like behaviors they show. It will be fairly clear from the discussion below that the participle in *-wa* exhibits more noun-like distributional properties than the other three participles.

The participial suffixes are unique from the other verb suffixes to be described below in another way. While the latter have but one distinct sense and are mainly used in one grammatical construction or close derivations of that construction, each of the non-finite suffixes of Table 3 are used in a wide range of seemingly unrelated grammatical constructions with very divergent functions. The grammatical constructions themselves will be the subject of later chapters of this paper. Thus, a single suffix, being used in several unrelated constructions, may appear in several chapters throughout the paper. However, it will be helpful to describe them briefly here as well, grouped according to the particular affix used, in order to show

¹ *-ka* in some dialects

which constructions use a particular affix. The question that will arise is the following: Why should a particular suffix occur in precisely the set of grammatical constructions in which it is attested? Is there any functional label that we can give to each of these suffix forms, which will account for all of its variant uses/senses? Are we in some cases witnessing an arbitrary homophony of unrelated forms? As will become apparent, attributing any sort of logical unity to the set of diverse functional uses or senses of a given suffix form is an interesting problem.

An important observation to be made from Table 3 is that only for the V class of verb roots are all of the suffixes distinguished. For the other three classes, the *-wa* and the *-la* forms are homophonous. In order to show the contrast, then, at least one example sentence will be drawn from the V class of verb roots. These verb suffixes will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3.2.1.2.1 *Nominaliser -wa*

It is a relatively straightforward choice to call the *-wa* class of affixes nominalisers. Although the *-wa* suffix marks the finite past perfective in a finite clause in the affirmative, the negative past perfective uses a distinct suffix. Most of the other uses attested to the *-wa* suffix are typical nominalised constructions, such as subject, object, noun complement, relative clause, complement clause, and other embedded complements (nominalised clauses shown in brackets):

a. *Subject nominal.*

- (1) [Chije di-**wa**] thur-gi ma-drik-pe ca.
 outside go-NOM one-AGT NEG-enough-INF COP
 'Going abroad alone is not going to be enough.'
- (2) [Chije ma-di-**wa**] thur-gi...
 outside NEG-go-NOM one-AGT
 'Not going abroad alone...'

b. *Object nominal.*

- (3) Di-nyi [lela che shat-**pa-ga**] nyat-nyi, lok-nyi...
 go-NF there religion preach-NOM-LOC listen-NF return-NF
 'I would listen to the preaching of the religion, then return home...'

c. *Noun complement clause.*

- (4) [Nan shi-le khe-**wa**] khung cho uthu gila.
 2s die-INF must-NOM reason TOP DEM COP
 'This is the reason you must die.'
- (5) [shi-le ma-khe-**wa**] khung...
 die-INF NEG-must-NOM reason
 '...the reason you don't have to die...'

d. *Relative clause.*

(6) Ro-ki [hang yek-**pa**] thur na-wa.
 3-AGT what speak-NOM one comply-NOM
 'She complied with whatever she was told.'

(7) [hang ma-yek-**pa**] thur...
 what NEG-speak-NOM one
 'whatever she wasn't told' / 'whatever they didn't tell her...'

The occurrence of *thur* (lit. 'one') here functioning as an indefinite marker in the noun phrase, clearly establishes the nominalised nature of the verb.

e. *Complement clause.*

(8) Ro-ki [waktsa rokha di-**wa**] thong-ma.
 3-AGT child fall go-NOM see-NOM.
 'He saw the child fall down.' / 'He saw that the child had fallen down.'

(9) Ro-ki [waktsa rokha ma-di-**wa**] thong-ma.
 3-AGT child fall NEG-go-NOM see-NOM.
 'He saw that the child hadn't fallen down.'

f. *Embedded purpose construction.* The *-wa* participial also occurs (both in affirmative as well as negative) in a rather complex and interesting construction where a nominalised clause is embedded under *anyi*, a grammaticalised non-final form of the verb *ale* 'to do' (cf. section 16.2.9). This is used to encode a backgrounded proposition as an attendant circumstance to the matrix proposition. This is almost exclusively used when the backgrounded proposition is negative and contrasts to expectations created by the positive matrix proposition, as in the English expression *without* followed by a clause containing the present participle.

(10) Ro [bra ibi-gi-rang ma-se-**wa**] a-nyi meaktsa
 3 other who-AGT-EMPH NEG-know-NOM do-NF woman
 tsangkən a-nyi thup tha-wa.
 quiet do-NF throw leave-NOM
 'He left the woman without anyone else knowing.'

Here the clause embedded under *anyi* cannot be finite: As noted earlier, and as we shall see below, the finite negative simple past tense takes the negative copular suffix *-chi* (cf. section 10.2 below) rather than the nominaliser *-wa*. This supports a nominalised analysis for the construction.

g. *Polarity question particle.* The following two constructions consist of a negative statement followed by a question particle, the polarity particle and the information question particle respectively. As in the *anyi*-embedded construction above, the fact that the negative form here uses *-wa* rather

than the finite negative marker *-chi* (cf. section 10.2) shows that it is not the simple past tense, and suggests a non-finite analysis instead:

- (11) [Nan-bu kawa cat-nyi ma-sing-**ma** mo?
 2s-FOC hardship bear-NF NEG-give.birth-NOM QUES.
 'Weren't you also born through suffering?'

h. *Information question particle*

- (12) [Nan o-ga thrung-**ma** ya?
 2s where-LOC bear-NOM QUES
 'Where were you born?'
- (13) [Nan hang a-nyi ro ma-tsik-**pa** ya?
 2s what do-NF anger NEG-rise-NOM QUES
 'Why aren't you angry?'

i. *Equative copula gila*. A stylistic variant of the simple past perfective consists formally of a nominalised verb followed by the equative copular particle *gila*.

- (14) Ro Trashigang-ga di-**wa** gila.
 3 Trashigang-LOC go-NOM COP
 'He went to Trashigang.'
- (15) ma-di-**wa** gila...
 NEG-go-NOM COP
 '...didn't go...'

The meaning of this utterance is not distinguishable from the simple past perfective (cf. Chapter 10). There does not seem to be a significant pragmatic effect, other than perhaps a stylistic or register difference. This construction formally resembles an embedding of the entire clause under the equative copula, along the lines of 'It is the case that he went to Trashigang.' or 'His going to Trashigang happened.' Here again, the nominalised participle in *-wa* is used in the negative variant, instead of the finite negative marker *-chi*.

j. *Past and present perfect*. The present perfect and past perfect are coded periphrastically, by means of a nominalised verb followed by the existential copula and the verb *chole* 'to stay' respectively. The verb *chole* functions as a past time equivalent of the existential copula (cf. section 8.3.3). Notice that in the past perfect, the verb *chole* itself is inflected with the nominaliser suffix to code the simple past tense (below).

- (16) Ro Trashigang-ga di-**wa** ca.
 3 Trashigang-LOC go-NOM COP
 'He has gone to Trashigang.'

- (17) Ro Trashigang-ga ma-di-**wa** ca.
 3 Trashigang-LOC NEG-go-NOM COP
 'He has not gone to Trashigang.'
- (18) Ro Trashigang-ga di-**wa** cho-wa.
 3 Trashigang-LOC go-NOM stay-NOM
 'He had gone to Trashigang.'
- (19) Ro Trashigang-ga ma-di-**wa** cho-wa.
 3 Trashigang-LOC NEG-go-NOM stay-NOM
 'He had not gone to Trashigang.'

k. *Simple past affirmative.* In all of the uses of the nominaliser *-wa* described so far, the participial in *-wa* precedes some other constituent which carries the finite inflection; the *-wa* participial itself is non-finite. Only in the simple past affirmative construction, to be described here, does the participial in *-wa* itself carry the finite inflection for tense and aspect.

- (20) Ro Trashigang-ga di-**wa**.
 3 Trashigang-LOC go-NOM
 'He went to Trashigang.'

The contrast between the finite (simple past) and non-finite constructions (the others described above) does not show up in the affirmative. It does, however, show up in the negative: While the *-wa* participial is used both in affirmative and negative in all of the other constructions, in the finite negative simple past construction, the *-wa* participial does not appear, but instead there is a distinct copula *-chi*, (cf. section 10.2):

- (21) Ro Trashigang-ga ma-di-n-**chi**.
 3 Trashigang-LOC NEG-go-SE-COP
 'He didn't go to Trashigang.'

This is likely to be a result of the diachronic loss of the equative copula *gila*, such that the nominalised verb was left standing alone and reinterpreted as the finite predicate (cf. Watters 1998: 711ff). Further support for this hypothesis comes from dialects in which the unique past tense marker *-chi* is used in both affirmative as well as negative. These dialects appear to be more innovative dialects in regards to certain sound changes. This suggests that the use of the nominaliser alone for simple past perfective is a relic of an earlier nominalised construction, and which is in the process of being replaced by the unique past tense marker *-chi*.

3.2.1.2.2 *Infinitive -le*

The 'infinitive' suffix *-le* marks the verb in future- or prospective-oriented contexts.

a. *Complement clause.* It was noted above that some complement clauses take a verb in *-wa*. Verbs marked with *-le* also occur in certain complement clauses. Complements in both *-wa* and *-le* are used for modal and causative constructions (cf. Chapter 14.)

(22) Jang das dung khon kor-**be** di-le.
1s bit village around go.around-INF go-INF
'I am going to go strolling around the village for a while.'

(23) Onye jelpo thamce-rang nyinang+²khu-**le** bi-wa giwala.
DEM king all-EMPH embarrassed-INF give-NOM COP
'And it caused the king to become completely embarrassed.'

b. *Postpositional complement clause -le.* Verbs in *-le* are used in other types of complements as well, such as the complement of a postposition:

(24) Nyi makmi-ba-ki ro tsung-**me** korgai tuncha a-wa-la.
PRT soldier-PL-AGT 3 seize-INF about discuss do-NOM-COP
'So the soldiers discussed seizing him.'

c. *Simple future tense.* The most frequently occurring usage of the *-le*-marked verb is in the future perfective affirmative tense, the most common way of expressing future time in a matrix clause. In this construction, the infinitive marker functions as the future tense suffix (cf. section 10.1.).

(25) Om gantha thur jang to za-**le**.
now hour one 1s food eat-INF
'In one hour I will eat.'

(26) Waktsa lai lekpu a-nyi-la phama shong sho-**le**.
child work good do-NF-PRT parents breath emit-INF
'If a child works well, its parents will be satisfied.'

3.2.1.2.3 *Cotemporal participle -la*

Like the nominaliser *-wa*, the verb suffix *-la* also occurs in both non-finite and finite clauses. Non-finite occurrences are in adverbial clauses, the *anyi* construction, and the *-la* plus *-gai* adverbial clause. In finite clauses, the suffix occurs in the future negative.

a. *Adverbial clause.* A certain type of adverbial clause, to be discussed in section 13.2.1, takes a participial verb in *-la*. The participle may occur alone, or be followed by another particle, such as *kapnyi*, *cho*, or *thur*. Each of

² The '+' symbol is used to link together two lexemes functioning together in one 'compound verb'.

these particles contributes some nuance of meaning.³ However in all cases, the event represented by the *-la* clause is interpreted as occurring concurrent with the event of the matrix clause. For this reason, the *-la* participle will be called the ‘cotemporal participle.’

- (27) Nyi pau-gi rumro a-la, drak-pe re-be mo ma-r-ba
 PRT pau-AGT puja do-PTC heal-INF can-INF QUES NEG-able-PTC
 mo yek-pe re-be.
 QUES speak-INF can-INF
 ‘And the ‘pau’, while doing the ‘rumro’ ceremony, can tell whether they will get well or not.’

- (28) Nyi di-la-kap-nyi lam-ga meaktsa-gi amshing thur
 PRT go-PTC-with-NF path-LOC woman-AGT mango.tree one
 thong-ma.
 see-NOM
 ‘Then while they were walking along the path, the woman saw a mango tree.’

b. *Subordinator anyi*. The *-la* suffix also marks verbs in clauses embedded under the verb *a-* ‘do’ in its non-final form *anyi*. In this construction the embedded clause represents an event or state which may be called an ‘attendant circumstance’ of the matrix clause event (König 1995: 65), along the lines of English clauses embedded under a preposition *with*, or *without*, as in ‘He died without leaving a will.’ or ‘I can’t study with music playing.’ In Tshangla *anyi* has become grammaticalised to a marker of embedding, analogous to the preposition in English. The form *anyi* is often phonologically reduced to *-an* or *-n*. This construction is most common in the negative. It differs structurally and functionally from an adverbial clause in that it shows a greater degree of embedding and backgrounding. (cf. section 16.2.9 for discussion.)

- (29) Nai she-n pha-i dak-pa, ma-she-la-n pha-wa-la.
 2p kill-SE bring-IMP say-NOM NEG-kill-PTC-do bring-NOM-COP
 ‘I told you to kill it and bring it, and you brought it without killing it!’
- (30) Nyi rokto-ba-ki to dang ri hang-rang ma-ga-la-n,
 PRT 3p-PL-AGT food and water what-EMPH NEG-give-PTC-do
 phai nangka binang sum tha-wa.
 house inside night three leave-NOM
 ‘Then they kept me inside the house for three days, without giving me any food or water.’

³ The clause ending in *kapnyi* (‘while’) is an adverbial clause. However, this construction may also be analysed as a fossilised structure consisting of a participial clause in *-la* embedded under a grammaticalised erstwhile non-final verb form *kapnyi*. (cf. section 15.8).

This construction is often further embedded under the verb *chole* ‘to stay’. In this case, both the embedded verb as well as the verb *chole* take the *-la* suffix. Such embedding under *chole* often functions as a marker of progressive time, i.e. ‘to keep on X-ing’;⁴ however in expressions of anterior time (i.e. ‘before...’) the construction with *chole* and without it are equivalent in meaning.

- (31) Ro ma-shi-**la-n** cho-**la-kap** khenja dang khamung da-ha
 3 NEG-die-PTC-do stay-PTC-with shirt and clothes 3-LOC
 dentha-i tshok-pa-ba...
 purpose-ABL sew-NOM-PL
 ‘...the shirts and clothing which she had sewn for them before she died...’

c. *Ablative -gai*. An alternative means of expressing anterior time is with the verb in *-la* followed by the ablative clitic *-gai*: In combination with the *-la* suffix, the ablative clitic is usually phonologically reduced to *-ai* or *-i*:

- (32) Ngen ma-phi-**la-i** goma, ro waktsa lak-pa-la.
 marriage NEG-do-PTC-ABL before 3 child conceive-NOM-COP
 ‘Before they were married, she got pregnant.’

In a striking example of multiple embeddings, this construction may be first embedded under the reduced form *-n* of the non-final verb *anyi* (cf. section 16.2.10 below) and then further embedded under the verb *chole* ‘to stay’:

- (33) Jang ma-ke-**la-n** cho-**la-gai** goma, ja-ga ama mongshi
 1s NEG-bear-PTC-do stay-PTC-ABL before 1s-LOC mother dream
 thong-ma.
 see-NOM
 ‘Before I was born, my mother had a dream.’

d. *Future negative*. The *-la* suffix is also used to mark the non-past perfective negative in a finite clause. Usually this is given a future time interpretation, as in (34), but it may encode present perfective negative meaning as well, as in examples (35) and (36) (cf. section 10.2 below):

- (34) Jang ma-di-**la**.
 1s NEG-go-PTC
 ‘I will not go.’

- (35) Ro dang a-ching nyiktsing ma-dra-**la**.
 3 and 1p-DUAL two NEG-be.same-PTC
 ‘He and we two are not the same.’

⁴ It will be argued below that this is a serial-predicate (core juncture) construction.

- (36) Nan tha cho-le ma-khe-**la**.
 2s here stay-INF NEG-must-PTC
 ‘You don’t need to stay here.’

3.2.1.2.4 *Stative participle -lu*

The ‘stative’ suffix *-lu* occurs on the verb in certain periphrastic constructions. In addition to these verbal contexts, there is a class of adjectives which end in *-lu*, some of which have corresponding verb forms from which they appear to be derived, and others for which no corresponding verb is extant (cf. sections 3.3.2–3.3.3). This suggests that the *-lu* adjectives are lexicalised forms of erstwhile verbs inflected with some sort of stative participial suffix, hence the designation of this suffix as ‘stative’.

a. *Present negative*. The very common present imperfective negative is coded periphrastically by means of a verb in *-lu* followed by the negatively inflected existential copula *mala* or *manca*.⁵ (The full description of the finite tense-aspect forms is found in Chapter 10.)

- (37) Tho dus budang phai-ga-bu go-n tha-**lu** mala.
 harvest collect grain house-LOC-FOC put-SE leave-PTC NEG.COP
 ‘They are not gathering the harvest and putting the grain into grain-houses.’
- (38) Semcen dak-khan sem mi-**lu** manca.
 animal say-REL mind think-PTC NEG.COP
 ‘Animals do not know how to reason.’

b. *Hedge construction*. Another usage of verbs in *-lu* is in a unique hedging construction, wherein the illocutionary force of the utterance is either strengthened or weakened by a reduplication of the verb root in combination with the *-lu* suffix. The finite verb is preceded by a copy of the same verb but marked with *-lu* plus a hedge particle (cf. 17.1):

- (39) Nan she-**lu**-rang she-le!
 2s kill-PTC-EMPH kill-INF
 ‘I’m really going to kill you!’

3.2.1.3 *Other verb suffixes*

In addition to the participial suffixes (i.e. those historically related to the WT nominaliser) there are several additional suffixes which only occur on verbs. These are distinct from the participial suffixes, in that they have a variety of phonological forms. They are functionally distinct as well.

⁵ *Mala* is the mirative form, *manca* the non-mirative, corresponding to *la* and *ca* in the affirmative (cf. section 10.3).

Whereas, as we have seen above, the non-finite suffixes each have two or more distinct senses in which they may be used in entirely distinct grammatical constructions, the other verbal suffixes are each used in either a single grammatical construction, or in multiple constructions which are clearly related to each other. For example, the non-final suffix *-nyi* is used to concatenate multiple predicates. As will be described in Chapter 15 below, this concatenation may involve two clauses complete with their subjects, the ‘serial clause’ or ‘clause-chaining’ construction. Or it may involve two predicates, with distinct objects but no distinct subjects, what will be called below the ‘serial-predicate’ construction. Finally, it may involve concatenation of two verbs, the ‘serial-verb’ construction, in which only the verbs and none of their associated nominal arguments are concatenated. While in one sense these are three different constructions, they are clearly related, and not distinct grammatical constructions in the same way in which the variant uses of for example *-la* are distinct (i.e. under *-kapnyi*, the ‘*-anyi* construction’, and in the future perfective negative).

The non-final clause suffixes *-nyi*, *-than*, and *-deke* may only occur on a verb root. These will be discussed at length in Chapters 13 and 15 below. The non-declarative mood suffixes *-khe*, *-col-shol-i*, *-chen*, and *-tul-du* may only occur on a verb root. These are discussed in Chapter 9. Each of these suffixes will be described in detail in the relevant chapters throughout the rest of the grammar.

3.2.2 Compound verbs

A large number of Tshangla verbs are ‘compound verbs’ consisting of an inflectable verb preceded by some other uninflectable lexical item. In many cases the pre-verbal element does not occur independently, and its meaning is obscure (cf. example (23) above). In some cases both preverbal and verbal elements are obscure and do not occur as independent lexemes. In any case, the meaning of the combination of verb and pre-verbal element is often idiomatic, i.e. something other than the sum of its semantic parts. In this way, the two elements function together as a single lexeme.

3.2.2.1 Idiomatic compounds

An example of a compound verb is *ha gole* ‘to understand’. The preverbal lexical item *ha* ‘heart’ is obscure for many speakers, and only occurs in combination with *gole* ‘to put’. The verbal element *gole*, however, occurs frequently without *ha*, as a distinct lexical verb meaning ‘to put’:

- (40) Rokte-ba a-ha chas lekpu a-nyi ha go-wa.
 3p-PL 1p-LOC speech good do-NF heart put-NOM
 ‘They understood well our talk.’

Grammatically as well as phonologically, however, they are independent words, and show positional flexibility in relation to each other. The negative prefix *ma-* is attached to the verbal element, and the so-called versatile particles, such as the emphatic *rang* (section 17.1 below), are attached to the preverbal element:

- (41) Ro-ki ha-rang ma-go-n-chi!
 3-AGT heart-EMPH NEG-put-SE-COP
 ‘He didn’t understand at all!’

The preverbal and verbal elements may also be separated by an adverbial, as in (42):

- (42) Ro-ki ha namesame go-wa.
 3-AGT heart very put-NOM
 ‘He really understood.’

3.2.2.2 *Non-idiomatic compounds*

A subset of the compound verbs consist of a commonly occurring nominal as preverbal element, and a semantically general verb such as *ale* ‘to do’ or *phile* ‘to do, to make’. Examples are *lai ale* (‘work-do’) ‘to work’; *chas ale* (‘speech-do’) ‘to talk, to converse’; *kholong phile* (‘fight-do’) ‘to fight’; *soda phile* (‘lie-do’) ‘to lie’. In these constructions, the meaning is not idiomatic, but predictable from the meaning of the parts. In addition to this, the preverbal nominal may be treated as a nominal object, subject to modification by determiners and quantifiers. Example (43) contains the compound verb *totpu zhule* ‘to praise’. The nominal *totpu* ‘praise’ occurs only in tandem with a general verb like *phile* ‘to do’ or *zhule* ‘to offer’:

- (43) Ai-ba-ki ro-ka totpu thur-rang zhu-le ma-r-ba mo?
 1p-PL-AGT 3-LOC praise one-EMPH offer-INF NEG-can-PTC QUES
 ‘Can we not give him a single praise?’

This can make it difficult to determine with certainty whether a construction is a compound verb or merely a verb with its nominal object. However, the two elements still seem to function as a single lexeme. Syntactic evidence will be presented below to support the claim that even these preverbal nominal elements are distinct from ordinary nominal objects.

3.2.2.3 *Semantic role of preverbal element in compound verb*

The preverbal element may fill various semantic roles in relation to the verb, including instrument, patient, and locative:

Instrument

biting phile ('foot-do') 'to kick'
 kha shole ('mouth-release') 'to confess'
 kha dokpe ('mouth-receive') 'to confess'

The preverbal element may take agentive/instrumental case marking:

lung-gi phile ('stone-AGT do') 'to stone'
 bi-gi zophe ('foot-AGT crush') 'to stomp on'
 gadang-gi dalen ale ('hand-AGT gesture do') 'to gesture'
 don-gi nyospe ('demon-AGT be.crazy') 'to be demon-possessed'
 ri-gi phak bule ('river-AGT sweep take') 'to drown'

Patient

biting tengpe ('leg-stretch') 'to die'
 sem shorbe ('mind-lose') 'to grieve'
 yong khele ('shadow-fall') 'to fear'
 gum yele ('face-wear') 'to know, recognise'

Locative

ha gole ('heart-put') 'to understand'

In some of the compounds, the dative/locative case marker may occur on the preverbal element:

sem-ka thale ('mind-LOC leave') 'to remember'
 yit-ka ale ('memory-do') 'to remember'
 yit-ka mile ('memory-think') 'to forget'
 na-ga thale ('ear-LOC leave') 'to hear'

Note that the locative marker here is not optional; it is required on some of the compounds, disallowed in others (**yit thale*, **ha-ga gole*). In the case of *na-ga thale* 'to hear', some dialects have dropped the locative marker, so that only *na thale* occurs. Note also that when the locative marker occurs, other than after a vowel, its initial velar consonant is devoiced. It will be suggested below that this is due to a closer semantic and phonological union between the nominal element and case marker, concomitant to grammaticalisation (cf. section 3.5.1 below, also 4.1).

One of the compounds appears to have lexicalised an ablative case marker as part of the construction. The verb 'to fall' with an obscure preverbal element *ro* may be *rokha dile* or *rokhai dile*:

- (44) Namdru ro-khai di-le cam-pa.
 airplane fall-ABL go-INF be.about.to-NOM
 'The airplane was about to crash.'

3.2.2.4 *Compound verbs vs. serial verbs*

The compound verbs are similar to a serial verb construction, which consists of an uninteruptable sequence of two verbs, the first of which is inflected as a non-final verb (cf. section 15.6). A compound verb may occur in a serial verb construction. *Gum yele* ('face-wear') is a compound verb meaning 'to recognise, to know a person'; *yen bile* ('wear-give') is a serial verb construction meaning 'to teach'. The two may be combined as *gum yen bile* ('face-wear-give'), meaning 'to introduce'.

3.2.2.5 *Morphosyntactic characteristics of compound verbs*

As we saw above, many N+V constructions do not show any of the signs of grammaticalisation, and carry case marking on the nominal, yet they still have an idiomatic meaning. This presents the problem of distinguishing between a compound verb structure and an ordinary verb with its nominal argument in cases where the nominal element may take case marking and be otherwise treated like a noun phrase (quantifier, determiner etc.). Putting the question another way; is there anything in such cases other than the semantics (i.e. idiomatic meaning) to suggest that what we have is a compound verb and not merely a verb plus an argument?

The distinction may be a non-discrete continuum rather than a discrete categorical one. The alternation between full case marking, a devoiced case marker (with closer semantic union) and lack of a case marker entirely in the most semantically idiomatic forms suggests a grammaticalisation cline from independent lexemes towards more closely joined compound verb structures.

DeLancey, in describing a similar compound verb (or 'complex predicate' construction in Tibetan notes that while lexical elements of the compounds are treated as nominals (subject to modification by determiners and quantifiers, separable from the verb), they are not treated as transitive; the subject does not get ergative case marking (DeLancey 1982: 25; 1990). While case marking in Tshangla is not strictly conditioned by the presence or absence of an object (cf. section 7.1), there are certain case marking characteristics which suggest that the nominal element in a compound verb construction is more closely joined to the verb than an ordinary argument would be.

A preverbal element with the semantic role of patient may occur together in the clause with an absolutive (\emptyset -marked) patient argument (cf. Chapter 7). Assuming that a clause does not have two patient arguments, this suggests that the preverbal nominal is actually part of the compound verb construction. Consider the following examples:

- (45) Ji-gi onya songo naikap gir-be re-be.
1s-AGT DEM person idea turn-INF can-INF
'I can change that person's mind.'
- (46) Ro-ka-bu chowang thur serap nang-ma-la.
3-LOC-FOC sword one prize give-NOM-COP
'He also was awarded a sword.' (lit. 'was "prize-given" a sword', '... was given a sword as a prize')
- (47) Meme-gi zala tetha mangpu-gi tetha phi-wa.
grandfather-AGT monkey blow many-AGT blow do-NOM
'The old man hit the monkey with many blows.'
- (48) Ja-ga za-ga ming Drawa Drakpa dak-nyi ming tak-pe.
1s-LOC son-LOC name Drawa Drakpa say-NF name join-INF
'I will name my son Drawa Draka.' (lit. 'I will "name-join" my son the name Drawa Drakpa.')
- (49) Nyi onya nong cho jinlap nang-ma-la.
PRT DEM day TOP blessing give-NOM-COP
'And that day was blessed'. (lit. 'And that day was given blessing.')

In example (47), the nominal *tetha* 'blow' occurs once as an instrument argument, and is repeated as the preverbal element. This shows that the preverbal *tetha* is not the instrument argument of the clause. It cannot be a direct object either, as that role is also already filled, in this case by *zala* 'monkey'

In example (49), if *jinlap* were the direct object, then *nong* 'day' would be an indirect object, and as such we would expect it to be marked with the locative marker. However, because *jinlap* is part of the complex predicate and not an argument of the verb, *nong* may be the direct object.

Behavior under relativisation (cf. Chapter 11) shows even more clearly that the preverbal element is not a direct object. When a clause is relativised on its object, the object is extracted from its normal position in the clause, leaving a 'gap', and raised to the position of the head nominal, i.e. immediately after the relative clause, as seen by comparing the simple clause in example (50) with its corresponding relative clause in (51):

- (50) A-ching-gi khu she-wa.
1p-DUAL-AGT dog kill-NOM
'We two killed a dog.'
- (51) [a-ching-gi ___ she-khan] **khu**
[1p-DUAL-AGT ___ kill-REL] dog
'the dog we two killed'

In a 'headless' relative clause (cf. Chapter 11) the head nominal is omitted, and its referent left unknown or implicit elsewhere in the context:

- (52) [a-ching-gi ___ she-khan] ___]
 [1p-DUAL-AGT ___ kill-REL] ___]
 'what we two killed'

The object of a compound predicate may also be relativised, in which case the preverbal element of the compound remains adjacent to the verb. Compare the simple clause in (53) with its corresponding relative clause in (54):

- (53) A-ching-gi chas a-wa.
 1p-DUAL-AGT talk do-NOM
 'We two talked.'
- (54) [a-ching-gi ___ chas a-khan] ___]
 [1p-DUAL-AGT ___ talk do-REL] ___]
 'what we two talked about'

In the relative clause containing a compound verb in (54), the preverbal element *chas* 'talk' remains in its preverbal position, showing that it is not the object of the verb. It will remain in that position when the compound verb is transitive, as in examples (55) and (56):

- (55) [a-ching-gi ___ sem mi-khan] ___]
 [1p-DUAL-AGT ___ mind think-REL] ___]
 'what we two thought'
- (56) [a-ching-gi ___ lo di-khan] ___]
 [1p-DUAL-AGT ___ language go-REL] ___]
 'what we two believed'

If an object nominal is made explicit, again the preverbal element remains in its preverbal position:

- (57) [a-ching-gi ___ jurje phi-khan] pecha]
 [1p-DUAL-AGT ___ translate do-REL] book]
 'the book we two translated'

An ordinary object, by contrast, cannot occur in the preverbal position under relativisation:

- (58) *a-ching-gi khu she-khan
 1p-DUAL-AGT dog kill-REL

For the relative clause to be well formed, *khu* 'dog' must be moved out of the relative clause and into the head nominal position:

- (59) [a-ching-gi ___ she-khan] **khu**]
 [1p-DUAL-AGT ___ kill-REL] dog]
 'the dog we two killed'

This is of course because *khu* is the object upon which the relative clause pivots (cf. Chapter 11). No such requirement exists for a preverbal element in a compound verb, because it is not the object of the verb.

3.3 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are non-head constituents of a noun phrase which modify its nominal head. They may only occur in a noun phrase in the absence of a noun when the noun phrase referent has been established by prior context (cf. section 5.1). Adjectives may also occur in predicate position of a copular clause (cf. Chapter 8.) Adjectives are distinguished from verbs by the fact that adjectives may not be inflected with the participial suffixes (cf. section 3.2.1.2). While certain adjectives do have a form which resembles the participle in *-lu*, it will be shown below that these adjectives as well are distinguished from verbs by their inability to take other verbal inflections.

The position and function of adjectival modifiers will be discussed in detail in section 5.2.1. In terms of their morphological form, most adjectives bear a synchronic and diachronic relationship to verbs. According to their morphological behavior in comparison to verbs, the adjectives may be divided into three sub-groups. The first group is a small class of what may be called 'true adjectives'. These bear no formal relationship of any kind to verbs and, as a result, no diachronic relationship can be assumed. The second group contains adjectives which, although formally distinguishable, are clearly diachronically derived from verbs. For each member of this set, a related verb is still extant. Finally, the last group contains adjectives which resemble verbs morphologically, but for which there is no extant verb. Based on the pattern established by the first group, we might assume these also to be diachronically derived from verbs.

3.3.1 *Non-derived adjectives*

Non-derived, or 'true' adjectives, are those which bear no formal resemblance to verbs. This group includes some of the basic modifying concepts such as terms of color, size etc. There are very few true adjectives. A few items are:

balingmi	'white'
jangkha	'green'
katang	'large'

3.3.2 *Adjectives with verbal homophones*

A second group contains adjectives which appear to be diachronically derived from verbs. These forms end in *-lu*, *-pu*, *-bu*, or *-mu*, which are homophonous with the various allomorphs of the stative-*lu* participial suffix described above. A partial list is as follows⁶:

denmu	'true' (also denma)
dolu	'equal'
ganmu	'old (female)'
gorbu	'late' (gorbe 'to last, take time')
kalu	'difficult'
khurbu	'cold'
kitpu	'comfortable, at peace'
korbu	'curved' (korbe 'to roam')
lekpu	'good' (cf. lekpe 'to like')
ringmu	'long, far' (cf. ringme 'extend')
sangmu	'dry' (also sangma)
singmu	'new' (singme 'to bear, raise')
tshalu	'hot' (tshale 'to heat up')
zirbu	'fragmented, shattered'

Many of these adjectives have the same meaning as a stative verb with the same form, such as *demnu* 'true', *denme* 'to be true'. Some, however, show a noticeable difference in meaning between adjective and verb: for example, *ringmu* 'long, tall, far' vs. *ringme* 'to reach out, extend', *lekpu* 'good' vs. *lekpe* 'to like', *korbu* 'curved' vs. *korbe* 'to roam, go around', *singmu* 'new' vs. *singme* 'to bear, to raise (offspring)'.

For each of these adjectives, there is in fact a homophonous verb form which occurs in constructions requiring the *-lu* suffix (e.g. the finite negative present imperfective construction). However, these adjectives are distinguishable from the homophonous verbs by the fact that while a verb may be inflected with the other verbal suffixes (infinitive *-le*, also: *-pe/-be/-me*, nominalised *-wa*, also: *-pa/-ba/-ma*) etc., the adjective takes the *-lu* form exclusively.

Before a negative present copula, where a verb requires the *-lu* suffix, the verb and adjective forms are homophonous. Such a construction is ambiguous between a present negative imperfective (verbal) and a predicate adjectival construction. As illustrated with *lekpu*, below, in the present negative imperfective in example (60) *lekpu* is the verb 'to like', while in

⁶ Some items may have a related verb which is partially obscure. *Chilu* 'great', for example has no verb *chile*, however there does exist a compound verb *yit chile* 'to be amazed' cf. *yit chiwa* 'was amazed', etc.

the formally identical adjectival predicate construction in (61), *lekpu* is the adjective 'good':

- (60) Uthu songo lek-pu mala.
 DEM person like-PTC NEG.COP
 'This person is not liked.' (or: This person I/he/they etc. do/does not like.)
- (61) Uthu songo lekpu mala.
 DEM person good NEG.COP
 'This person is not good.'

3.3.3 *Adjectives that formally resemble verbs*

A third group of adjectives resemble verbs in terms of their phonological shape, yet they do not have an extant corresponding homophonous verb. These items do not occur in any other form but *-lu* (*-pu*, *-bu*, *-mu*). Although, according to the pattern established by pairs like *lekpu/lekpu*, we might suspect that they are diachronically derived from verbs which are no longer extant.

Below is a partial list of *-lu* adjectives for which there is no corresponding verb:

balu	'thin'
camu	'bad'
changlu	'black'
dolu	'equal'
khalu	'bitter'
perbu	'cold'
sebu	'wise, smart'
serbu	'yellow'
thumu	'short'
tsalu	'red'
yalu	'easy'
yenglu	'green'
zemu	'small'

The two derived groups of adjectives can be distinguished from each other, as well as from the verbs, by placing them in frames which require one or the other but will not take both. So in the examples below, the left column is a finite verbal inflection, in this case the past perfective mirative, a strictly verbal context, while the right column is a predicate adjective construction, which requires an adjective:

<u>Verbal context</u>	<u>Adjectival context</u>
past perfective mirative	predicate adjective
V-NOM-COP	Adj + COP (affirmative)

Lekpe ('to like' with forms *lekpu*, *lekpa* etc.) is a verb, while invariant *lekpu* 'good' is an adjective:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (62) Otha songo lek-pa-la
DEM person like-NOM-COP
'That person is liked.' ('...he likes' etc.) | (63) Otha songo lekpu la.
DEM person good COP
'That person is good.' |
|--|--|

Zemu (**zeme*) 'yellow'; is an adjective with no corresponding verb:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (64) *Otha songo zema la.
DEM person small COP | (65) Otha songo zemu la.
DEM person small COP
'That person is small.' |
|---|---|

Dile 'to go'; is a verb:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (66) Otha songo di-wa-la.
DEM person go-NOM-COP
'That person has gone.' | (67) *Otha songo di-lu la.
DEM person go-PTC COP |
|---|---|

From these examples we can distinguish a verb, here *dile* 'to go' which may only occur in the left column, from an adjective, here *zemu* 'small', which may only occur in the right column, and both from a derivationally related pair like *lekpu* / *lekpe*, with the adjective in the right column and the verb in the left.

A second diagnostic for distinguishing verbs from adjectives, is to place them in a single construction which allows both word classes, but requires a different form for each, such as modifier to the nominal head of a noun phrase. This is a prototypical adjective position. A verb may occur in same slot, but only if it is first nominalised with *-wa*: So example (69) shows that *tshalu* 'hot' is not merely a form of the verb *tshale* 'to heat', but has its own status as an adjective, in contrast to *lukpu*, which is only one of the inflections of the verb *lukpe* 'to pour'.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (68) Jang ri *lukpu / luk-pa tshas-pe. (verb)
1s water pour-NOM need-INF
'I need some poured water.' | (69) Jang ri tshalu / tsha-wa tshas-pe. (adjective)
1s water hot / heat-NOM need-INF
'I need some hot/heated water.' |
|--|--|

3.4 ADVERBS

Tshangla adverbs are a small closed class of uninflectable lexical items which are distinct in syntactic and semantic function from the other word classes. As in many languages, adverbs in Tshangla are a mixed bag, with

position and semantic functions that vary according to their various subtypes.

3.4.1 *Locative adverbials*

3.4.1.1 *Locative adverbials that modify the proposition*

Locative adverbials usually occur immediately after the clausal subject, (if the subject is explicit) and before any other nominal arguments. The locative adverbs characterise the location of the proposition according to whether the event indicated is close or distant to the speaker, as well as whether it is higher or lower than the speaker:

tha	'here'
lela	'over there'
thola	'up there'
yola	'down there'

Locative adverbials may occur with any verb, to modify the proposition as a whole. Used in this manner, they may occur immediately after the subject, as in (70) and (71), or immediately before, (cf. (72) below):

- (70) Na-shi ro **lela** je-be re-be.
 2p-AGT 3 over.there meet-INF can-INF
 'You will be able to meet him over there.'

- (71) Jang **thola** to hang-rang ma-ga-la-n, ri thur-rang
 1s yonder food what-EMPH NEG-give-PRT-do water one-EMPH
 ma-ga-la-n...
 NEG-give-PRT-do
 'And up there they didn't give me any food or water at all...'

In this usage an adverbial may take an optional locative case marker:

- (72) Nyi **lela-ga**, wa-ga khi pros-nyi phi-n-ca giwala.
 PRT over.there-LOC cow-LOC dung plow-NF do-SE-COP COP
 'With the pig's snout he is plowing through the cow dung over there.'

3.4.1.2 *Predicate locatives*

Locative adverbials may also encode the locative predicate of intransitive verbs of motion or location, such as 'go', 'come', 'arrive', 'stay', 'be at', etc. In this usage, they fill the same syntactic role of, and occur in the position of, a locative nominal argument:

- (73) Nying thur-ga nan **lela** shek-pe.
 year one-LOC 2s over.there arrive-INF
 'You will arrive there within one year.'

- (74) Nan **thola** di-nyi, lok di-nyi, tshong phi-le mo?
 2s up.there go-NF return go-NF business do-INF QUES
 ‘When you go back up there, are you going to go into business?’
- (75) Nyi onye tshinge jang **tha** pecha lam-pe u-pha.
 PRT DEM later 1s here book study-INF come-NOM
 ‘Later I came here in order to study.’

This predicate locative is also optionally case marked:

- (76) Gila jang **tha-ga** u-pha.
 COP 1s here-LOC come-NOM
 ‘Yes, I have come here.’
- (77) Nan dang na-ga waktsa khepu **tha-gai** gan jong-sho!
 2 and 2s-LOC child TOP here-ABL flee go-IMP
 ‘You and your child flee from here!’
- (78) Ngolok-pa-kap cho, **thola-gai** zambuling-ta thup ge-ma-la.
 revolt-PTC-with TOP up.there-ABL world-to throw lose-NOM-COP
 ‘When he revolted, he was thrown down to earth.’

3.4.1.3 Locative adverbials with a coreferential argument

Locative adverbials frequently occur in close juncture with a coreferential locative argument.⁷ In this construction, rather than functioning at the clause level, the adverbial seems to be structurally joined to the nominal in a compound noun phrase:

- (79) Ja-ga thinglom ta **lela** **shing dogorba** **angka** lus-pa.
 1s-LOC heart PRT over.there tree hole in leave-NOM
 ‘I left my heart over there in the hold in the tree.’
- (80) Wadipa-gi wa-ga khi phak-nyi, **lela** **tsikpa repka**
 shepherd-AGT cow-LOC dung sweep-NF over.there wall near
 kang-ma.
 do-NOM
 ‘The shepherds swept up the dung and put it over by the wall.’

⁷ The lexemes *dong* ‘down’ and *ga* ‘up, high’ are used as predicate adverbials (often with the directional marker *-ta(n)(nyi)*), and as adverbials with a coreferential argument, however they are not used to describe the location of the entire proposition.

Nyi dong sa-ga got-than tamku lok-nyi dung-ma.
 PRT down ground-LOC look-NF tobacco return-NF pluck-NOM
 ‘So looking down at the ground, he picked the tobacco back up.’

- (81) **Thola Thimpu-ga** Sharchokpa mangpurang ca.
 up.there Thimpu-LOC Sharchokpa many-EMPH COP
 'Up there in Thimpu there are many Sharchokpas.'
- (82) Nyi zala **thola shing thungka** di-n-than...
 PRT monkey up.there tree upon go-SE-NF
 'And the monkey went up there into the tree.'
- (83) Za nyiktsing **tha a-ha dukha** u-nyi cho-n-than...
 boy two here 1p-LOC village come-NF stay-SE-NF
 'Two boys came and lived in our village...'
- (84) Ser-ga tshedum thur **yola ri nang-ka** yut-pa.
 gold-LOC ring one down.there water in-LOC fall-NOM
 'A gold ring fell down there into the water.'
- (85) Nyi za-gi shingrong thur **nangka rok-nyi, apa thola**
 PRT son-AGT basket one in load-NF father up.there
pangthang thur nangka nung tha-wa-la.
 field one in carry leave-NOM-COP
 'So the son loaded his father into a basket and carried him up there to a field and left him.'
- The coreferential nominal argument is not necessarily locative. The locative adverbial is frequently configured with other arguments, such as subject in (86), direct object in (87) and (88), predicate nominal in (89):
- (86) Nyi **rokte-ga thola phaipa songo-te** u-nyi...
 PRT 3p-LOC up.there family.member person-PRT come-NF
 'And some other people of his household came...'
- (87) Rokte golapu zum **ri-n-than, dung za-na, lela bu-ba.**
 3p rooster seven become-SE-NF pluck eat-COP yonder insect-PL
 'Then they formed into seven cocks and began to eat them, the insects there.'
- (88) **Thola phatsa do,** phicurba-gi ngam, nyi phut u-pha.
 up.there bag string rat-AGT chew PRT fall come-NOM
 'The string of the bag up there, rats gnawed on it and it fell down.'
- (89) Uthu-sho **a-ha thola thukpa** prusken manggi.
 DEM-FOC 1p-LOC yonder gruel similar NEG.COP
 'This is not like our gruel up yonder (i.e. at home).'

3.4.2 *Temporal adverbials*

A partial list of temporal adverbials is shown below:

oma	'now'
goma	'before, earlier'
tshinge	'later, afterwards'
dangpo	'long ago, originally'
inying	'yesterday'
khining	'day before yesterday'
thinung	'today'
namnying	'tomorrow'
yimrong	'day after tomorrow'

Temporal adverbials usually occur clause initially, before the subject and after sentence-initial particles, as in (90), however they often occur immediately after the subject as well, as in (91):

- (90) Nyi **goma** jang lai ma-lek-pa a-wa.
 PRT before 1s work NEG-good-NOM do-NOM
 'Earlier I did bad deeds.'

- (91) Jang **goma** druk nangka lai phi-wa.
 1s before Bhutan in work do-NOM
 'Earlier I worked in Bhutan.'

Temporal adverbials may also occur within a complex noun phrase, as was seen for locative adverbials:

- (92) Nyi **goma-ga** luksu dang tu-n-nyi a-le khe-le.
 PRT before-LOC tradition and accord-SE-NF do-INF must-INF
 'We must act according to our earlier traditions.'
- (93) Otha **goma-ga** mewaktsa, sho-n gem-khan, omchang lok-nyi
 DEM before-LOC wife issue-SE lose-REL again return-NF
 ro-ka tsuenmo a-n-than...
 3-LOC queen(Dz.) do-NF-NF
 'The previous wife, who had been cast out, was again made his queen...'

When the adverbial encodes a point in time as the starting point for the action of the verb, the ablative case may be used:

- (94) Jang **oma-gai** lai singmu go+tsuk-pa ca.
 1s now-ABL work new begin-NOM COP
 'I have begun a new job from now.'
- (95) **Thinong-gai**, sinpo-ga to jang gila.
 today-ABL demon-LOC food 1s COP
 'From today I will be the food of demons.'

3.4.3 Pragmatic usage of temporal and locative adverbials

The temporal and locative adverbials which refer to the deictic centre, i.e. *om* 'now', and *tha* 'here' are members of a small set of lexical items which, in addition to their ordinary semantic function, may be used with a purely pragmatic function. This will be discussed in section 18.2.

3.4.4 Degree adverbials

Degree adverbials like *namesame* 'very', *das/dasur/dazere* 'some, a few, a little bit', *tiktang/tiktang thur* 'a little bit'⁸ show considerable positional flexibility, although they most often occur immediately before the verb:

- (96) Ro-ki jelpo-ga sha **namesame** dur-nyi, jut ri-ga di-wa
 3-AGT king-LOC meat very boil-NF flavor water-LOC go-NOM
 a-nyi...
 do-NF
 'He really boiled the meat, so all the flavor came out into the sauce.'
- (97) Botpaba cho, rokte thurthur-gi **dazere** rup-nyi lai phi-le
 Tibetan TOP 3p eachother-AGT bit help-NF work do-INF
 re-la.
 can-COP
 'The Tibetans, helping each other a little, are able to work.'
- (98) Na-ga tam **tiktang** omchang dri-khe.
 2s-LOC story bit further write-ADH
 'Let's write a bit more of your story.'
- (99) Anyimo-gi ko **tiktang** phek-nyi, sho-n got-pa-la.
 nun-AGT door bit open-NF issue-SE look-NOM-COP
 'And the nun opened the door a little bit, and looked out.'

The degree adverbials such as *das/dasur/dazere*, and *tiktang (thur)*, which diminish the degree of the predicate, are often used as pragmatic hedges (cf. also Chapter 17) to mitigate the force of the utterance:

⁸ Adding the indefinite marker *thur* 'one' to the adverbial *tiktang* allows the adverbial to be used as a quantifier phrase, which may modify a noun phrase:

Ro-ki ri tshalu tiktang thur lasthan...
 3-AGT water hot bit one pour-NF
 'Pouring on a bit of hot water ...'

- (100) Ai-ten Sharchokpa cho **tiktang thur** songo sem zemu
 1p-RFLX Sharchokpas TOP bit one person mind small
 dang sem **das** ma-lek-pa a-wa-gi, mala
 and mind bit NEG-good-NOM do-NOM-AGT NEG.COP
 me? **tiktang thur**, namesame ga-ta-nyi shu tak-pe
 PRT bit one very up-to-NF strength gain-INF
 re-bu mala.
 can-PTC NEG.COP

‘Because we Sharchokpas are sort of small minded and bad-thinking people, don’t you think? ... somewhat... , we are unable to really get the strength to lift ourselves up.’

3.4.5 Manner adverbials

The manner adverbial *dozo* ‘quickly’ usually occurs immediately preceding the verb:

- (101) Songo-ba pau-ga phai-ga dozo ma-di-la.
 person-pl pau-LOC house-LOC quickly NEG-go-PTC
 ‘People will not go quickly to the house of the *pau*.’

It may also occur clause initially, and are more likely to do so when the emphatic particle *rang* is added:

- (102) Dozo-rang ri-gi sa thamcen-rang buk-pa-la.
 quickly-EMPH water-AGT land all-EMPH cover-NOM-COP
 ‘Quickly the water covered all of the land.’

Most manner expressions are created out of an adjective followed by the non-final form of the verb *ale* ‘to do’, as described in section 16.2.7 below.

3.4.6 Sentence adverbials

There are a number of sentence adverbials, i.e. expressions which introduce an entire clause or sentence and indicate its place in the flow of the discourse. The sentence adverbials usually come at the beginning of the sentence or clause. Most of them are set phrases made up of other particles and words. Some sentence adverbs are:

- omchang ‘Furthermore, once again, also’
 nyi-sha (PRT-PRT) ‘and then...’
 shama thur-gai (‘much’-‘one’-‘ABLATIVE’), ‘After a while...’
 onya-gai (DEM-ABLATIVE) ‘After that...’

The following examples illustrate the use of sentence adverbials in context:

- (103) Meme kong-ma-kap-nyi cho, **shama thur-gai** zala-ba
 grandfather beat-PTC-with-NF TOP while one-ABL monkey-PL
 ko tshing-gai sho-n u-pha.
 door behind-ABL issue-NF come-NOM
 ‘And while grandfather was hitting them, **after a while** the monkeys came
 out from behind the door.’
- (104) Di-la-kap-nyi yola zakhang thur thra-pha, nya-ga
 go-PTC-with-NF down.there food.shop one meet-NOM there-LOC
 changpu za-nyi onya-gai **omchang** lam dang-nyi...
 breakfast eat-NF DEM-ABL again road go-NF
 ‘Going along, we came upon a food shop down there, and there we ate
 breakfast and after that **again** we went down the road.’

In addition to this list are several sentence adverbials made up of the demonstrative *onya* plus various forms of the verb *ale* ‘to do’ (cf. section 5.2.3.1, also 17.7.1.7).

3.4.7 Grammaticalised adverbials

A small subset of adverbials appear to be on their way to grammaticalising from a noun or verb stem with a locative case marker. The locative marker is devoiced, which, it will be suggested (section 4.1), is concomitant with a grammaticalisation and fusing of the nominal with the case marker. These are morphologically identical to the grammaticalised postpositions discussed in section 3.5.1 below. However, the items to be described here have adverbial function. As an example, the nominal *lam* ‘way, path, road’ with the locative case marker shows signs of semantic bleaching, where the expression no longer means literally ‘on the path’, but, as it also may in English ‘in the process of going...’:

- (105) Tshongpa sam Be-ka tshong sho-le di-wa giwala.
 merchant three Tibet-LOC business issue-INF go-NOM COP
 Otha di-la-kap lap-ka shisha got-kan thur
 DEM go-PTC-with way-LOC sheep look-REL one
 ru-ma-la.
 meet-NOM-COP
 ‘Three merchants went to do business in Tibet. On the way they met a
 shepherd.’
- (106) Nyi jangbu lap-ka gelken+barche hang-rang
 PRT 1s-FOC way-LOC trouble what-EMPH
 ma-jung-ma-n, tha Nepal gelkhap-ga shek-pa
 NEG-develop-PTC-do here Nepal country-LOC arrive-NOM
 ‘And I too, without any trouble on the way, arrived here in Nepal.’

The grammaticalised adverbials include locative, temporal, and manner adverbials:

Locative:

lapka ‘on the way’ (lam ‘path, way, road’)
 ngapka ‘in the sky’ (ngam ‘sky’)
 dukha ‘at home’ (dung ‘village’)

Temporal:

wutka ‘in the morning’ (wule ‘to rise’, non-final form *wun*)
 onya nongka ‘on that day’ (onya ‘DEM’ nong ‘day’)⁹

Manner:

depka ‘together’ (dempe ‘to unite, join’, non-final form *dep*)

3.4.8 *The anyi adverbial construction*

Additional adverbial expressions may be created by a particular construction involving the embedding of an adjective or nominalised clause under the non-final form of the verb *ale* ‘to do’. This construction will be described in detail in section 16.2.9.

3.5 POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions are a distinct closed class of lexical items which occur postposed to a noun phrase or nominalised clause, and together with that noun phrase form a postpositional phrase. The postpositional phrase occupies the syntactic role of an oblique, i.e. a constituent which is not a core argument of the verb (cf. section 6.2.1). Postpositional phrases typically encode spatial or temporal adverbial modifications of the clause.

3.5.1 *Postpositions from noun plus locative marker*

Most Tshangla postpositions appear to have developed from erstwhile combinations of noun plus locative case marker *-ga*, which have been grammaticalised into a single lexical item. For some of the postpositions, the original noun is still extant. For others the original noun has become obscure. Devoicing of the initial velar consonant of the locative case marker has accompanied grammaticalisation.

⁹ While *nongka* here actually patterns as a postposition with the demonstrative *onya* as its complement, the entire expression functions as a temporal adverbial.

Most postpositions express spatial relationships, a few temporal (*gangka*, *nongka*). These concrete spatial and temporal meanings are frequently extended to logical relationships (cf. *drangka* ‘involved in’, literally: ‘in the circle of’). A partial list of nominal-derived postpositions is given here:

dika ‘at the time of’ (di ‘time’)
 thoka ‘upstairs’ (thola ‘up there’)
 brangka ‘at’ (brang ‘place’)
 pongka ‘among’ (pong ‘crowd’)
 thungka ‘atop’
 barka ‘between’
 zurka ‘on the edge’ (zor ‘ridge’)
 gupka ‘in front of’ (gum ‘face’)
 japka ‘after, behind’ (jap ‘occurrence’(?))
 phrangga ‘below’
 phiska ‘out of, outside’
 raga ‘below, at the base of’ (ra ‘trunk of a tree’)
 khatka ‘on the surface’
 reka ‘near’
 nepka ‘on, at the edge’ (nep ‘edge’)
 gangka ‘at the time’ (gang ‘time’)
 nongka ‘on the day of, during the day’ (nong ‘day’)
 drangka ‘within, involved in’ (drang ‘circle’)

3.5.2 *Postpositions from verb*

Another subset of postpositions is in the process of developing from the non-final form of certain verbs. These are discussed in detail in section 15.8.1.

3.5.3 *Postpositions from the stative participle*

There are two postpositions which show some evidence of being derived from a participial form of the verb. These items end in a form resembling the stative verbal *-lu* suffix. The forms are *dabu* ‘like’, and *sakpu* ‘until, up to’.

(107) Ro-ki jang-ga tshongpa **dabu** mi-wa.
 3-AGT 1s-LOC merchant as think-NOM
 ‘They thought of me as a merchant.’

(108) Oma **sakpu** phewaktsa-gi waktsa sing-ma a-nyi na-ga-bu
 now until man-AGT child bear-NOM do-NF ear-LOC-FOC
 ma-tha-n-shi.
 NEG-leave-NF-COP
 ‘Until now I have never heard of a man giving birth!’

- (109) Ro optur sakpu zok-pa giwala.
 3 this.much until grow-NOM COP
 ‘He had grown up this much.’ (i.e. ‘up to here’)

Dabu has an alternative form *dawa* in some dialects, which resembles a nominalised verb:

- (110) Apa dang ama ma-shi-wa cho-nyi-bu mapa jang-ta
 father and mother NEG-die-NOM stay-NF-FOC actually 1s-PRT
 singza waktsa **dawa** cho-wa.
 orphan child like stay-NOM
 ‘Although I had a mother and father, I was like an orphan.’

This data leads one to speculate on the existence of a now lost verb *dabe*, which would mean something like ‘to be like, resemble’.

Sakpu has an allomorph *saken*:

- (111) Chutshe gu-gai chutshe songthur **saken** ja-ga sungjapa a-le
 hour nine-ABL hour eleven until 1s-LOC duty do-INF
 kor cho-wa.
 turn stay-NOM
 ‘From nine o’clock until eleven o’clock was my turn to do duty.’

There is an extant lexical verb *sakpe* ‘to gather, accumulate’. The semantic relationship between this and the adverbial meaning ‘this much’ is obvious:

- (112) Zambuling-ga ju sak-pe ma-khe-la.
 world-LOC treasure accumulate-INF NEG-must-PTC
 ‘We don’t need to accumulate treasures on earth.’

3.6 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3.6.1 Overview of the pronouns

The personal pronouns are shown below in Table 4. The agentive pronouns are grammaticalised from the personal pronoun plus the agent case marker.¹⁰ Likewise, the possessive and locative/dative pronouns are grammaticalised mergings of the personal pronoun plus locative marker. There is also a dual form of the pronouns, transparently based on the lexeme *nyiktsing* ‘two’.

¹⁰ Occasionally the 1st person singular agentive pronoun *ji-gi* (1s-AGT) is reduced to *ji*, and the locative to *ja*. They may also be pronounced in their ‘full’ form, *jinggi* and *jangga*, as shown in table 4.

Table 4. Personal pronouns

	Unmarked	Agentive	Locative (possessive, dative)	Ablative
1s	jang	jigi (ji, jinggi)	jaga (ja, jangga)	jagai (janggalai)
2s	nan	nangi	naga	nagai
3s	ro	roki	roka	rokai
1/2d	aching	achiki	achika	achikai
2d	naching	nachiki	nachika	nachikai
3d	roktshing	roktshiki	roktshika	roktshikai
1p	ai	ashi	aha	ahai
2p	nai	nashi	naha	nahai
3p	rokte	rokteki	rokteka	roktekai

3.6.2 Rokteba

The third person plural forms are often followed by a plural clitic, which precedes any case marking (cf. section 5.3), giving the forms: *rokteba*, *roktebaki*, *roktebaka*, *roktebakai*. Note as well that the third person singular forms are often used with plural meaning.

3.6.3 Dan

The two alternative 3rd person pronouns, *ro* and *dan* and their variants marked for case and number, are used to keep distinct two third person referents in close proximity in the discourse. In these contexts, *ro* (which is also the default 3rd person pronoun) is used for the more topical referent, and *dan* for the less topical of the two. Example (113) is taken from a story in which the younger brother turns into a horse. His older brother, not knowing this, goes to sell the horse. But the people who buy the horse know that it is really the younger brother:

- (113) Nyi-shu **ro-ki** onya lan khai pha-le dak-pa-kap-nyi,
 PRT-PRT 3-AGT DEM bridle TOP bring-INF say-PTC-with-NF
 nyi kurta-gai-ta lan-ga mangpu bi-na-dang. Bi-n
 PRT horse-ABL-PRT bridle-LOC much give-COP-PRT give-SE
 tha-la **dan** boning gila dak se-wa-la.
 leave-PTC 3 younger.brother COP say know-NOM-COP
 ‘Then he (the older brother) told them to take the bridle (too). And they give him more for the rope than (they had) for the horse. Paying, they knew that he (the horse/younger brother) was the younger brother.’

In example (114), a man and his wife have never seen a mirror. One day the man sees one, and not recognising his own reflection, thinks that he is

looking at his uncle. He brings the mirror home and puts it in his house. The next day his wife is looking in the mirror and the husband walks by. The husband, seeing his wife's reflection together with his own in the mirror, wonders what she is doing there with his uncle:

- (114) Nyi **ro** **ro**-ten-ga zuk melong-ga thong-ma-kap-nyi, **ro**-ki
 PRT 3 3-RFLX-LOC face mirror-LOC see-PTC-with-NF 3-AGT
ro-ka zuk gila a-nyi ma-se-wa a-denge **dan**
 3-LOC face COP do-NF NEG-know-NOM do-NF 3
 otha mewaktsa kap-nyi hang thur a-n-cha giwala
 DEM wife with-NF what one do-SE-COP COP
 a-nyi mi-nyi...
 do-NF think-NF
 'And he (the husband), seeing his (the husband's) own face in the mirror, not knowing that it was his (the husband's) face, wondering what he (the uncle) was doing with his (the husband's) wife.'

Dan is often used to encode a secondary third person referent even when the primary referent is encoded by a full noun phrase. Example (115) is from a story about a foolish mother hen who kicks the rooster out of the nest. All her chicks are then carried off one by one by an eagle, until finally one day the eagle carries away the mother hen herself. As they are carried away one by one, the baby chicks are the primary topic, referred to by *ro*. The shift of reference to the mother hen is then signaled by the use of *dan*:

- (115) Unyu dabu a-nyi daza thamche-rang wunba-gi dung
 DEM like do-NF chick all-EMPH eagle-AGT pluck
 bu-wa-la. Ju-ka dak-pa goga lamo dantenbu
 take-NOM-COP end-LOC say-NOM chicken hen 3-RFLX-FOC
 wunba-gi dung bu-wa-la.
 eagle-AGT pluck take-NOM-COP
 'So in that manner, all the chicks were snatched away by the eagle. Finally even the mother hen herself (*dan*) was snatched away by the eagle.'

3.7 HONORIFICS

Tshangla has a simple honorific system, involving only lexical choice and no grammatical morphemes or constructions. Honorific speech consists of replacing a noun or verb with an honorific alternative. Honorific lexemes are available only for a handful of the most commonly occurring lexemes. Ordinary lexemes for which there is no honorific alternative are intermingled with the honorific lexemes. The honorific lexemes are apparently all borrowed from Classical Tibetan or Dzongkha.

In some cases the meaning of the ordinary term and of the honorific term which is regarded as its equivalent are not identical. This can result in some overlap between multiple equivalents for a single term. For example the honorific term *zhule* 'to tell, to offer' does double duty as an equivalent for the ordinary verbs *yekpe* 'to speak' and *jime* 'to ask'. Likewise, *jonme* 'to go, to come' is the honorific equivalent of both *dile* 'to go' and *uphe* 'to come'.

3.7.1 *Honorific nouns*

Honorific nouns are available for nominals which are most likely to be used to refer to an addressee who is a social superior¹¹. These are usually common body parts or personal characteristics (face, hands, name, etc.), but may also be other objects such as 'gift' (given to a superior addressee.) A partial list is given in Table 5:

Table 5. Honorific nouns

ordinary lexeme	honorific	gloss
ama	yum	'mother'
apa	yap	'father'
bi	zhap	'foot'
bidar	zhaphlam	'shoe'
gadang	cha	'hand, arm'
gum	zhe	'face, mouth'
kan	sungke	'voice'
lo	gunglo	'age'
luspu	zu	'body'
ming	cen	'eye'
ming	tshen	'name'
ro	kuphung	'corpse'
sem	thuktop	'mind'
sera	chanje	'gift' (given to superior)
to	tsho	'food, meal'
yi	kuthra	'blood'
za	se	'son'
zamin	semo	'daughter'

¹¹ Cf. DeLancey (1998) on the social and cultural basis for categorisation of honorific nouns in Tibetan.

3.7.2 *Honorific verbs*

Honorific verbs are available for activities which are most likely to be used in reference to a social superior, i.e. where a social superior is represented by one of the arguments in the clause. While the honorific nouns are used in reference to the superior addressee, there are two types of honorific verbs, those for which the socially superior person is the patient or recipient, and those for which the socially superior person is the agent or actor. Thus it is always a socially superior referent that requires the use of an honorific. The choice of honorific verb, however, is determined by the semantic role of the superior. For example, when giving a gift to a social superior, the speaker will use the verb *drangme* 'to offer' and the noun *chanje* 'gift' to describe his own action. If the social superior is giving a gift to a lower person, that action is described by the lower person or some other person using the verb *nangme* 'to bequeath' and the noun *sera* 'gift'. The socially superior person will not use honorific forms.

A partial list of some of the most common honorific verbs is given in Table 6 and Table 7. Table 6 lists honorific verbs whose patient or recipient is socially superior to the speaker. Table 7 lists honorific verbs whose agent or actor is socially superior.

Table 6. Honorific verbs—honorific patient/recipient

ordinary lexeme	honorific
bile 'to give'	drangme 'to give, (hon. 'to offer')
rik bule 'to guide, accompany'	zhule 'to receive, to welcome (a person)'
shele 'to kill'	trongme 'to kill'
trokpe 'to bother'	wa jebe 'to bother'
yekpe 'to speak'	zhule 'to speak, to tell'

Table 7. Honorific verbs—honorific agent/actor

ordinary lexeme	honorific
ale 'to do'	zepe 'to do'
	an nangme (do-NF + give) 'to do something for'
bile 'to give'	nangme 'to give'
chole 'to stay'	zhukpe 'to stay, to sit'
dile 'to go, uphe 'to come'	jonme 'to come, to go'
dokpe 'to accept, nyongpe 'to receive'	zhele 'to accept, to receive'
gotpe 'to look'	zikpe 'to look, to see'
gum yele 'to know (a person)'	khenme 'to know (a person)'
kele 'to bear, to be born'	ku thrungme 'to be born'

Table 7 (*cont.*)

ordinary lexeme	honorific
luspu zikpe 'to bathe oneself'	kuthri nangme 'to bathe oneself'
marbe 'to be ill'	ku nyungpe 'to be ill'
rinang sophe 'to be thirsty'	zhe kampe 'to be thirsty'
ro tsikpe 'to be angry'	gom threbe 'to be angry'
rume 'to meet'	jebe 'to meet, to visit'
shile 'to die'	shakpe 'to die'
yekpe 'to speak'	sungme 'to speak'
yiphe 'to sleep, to lie down'	zime 'to sleep, to lie down'

There is what might be called an 'honorific continuum' in Tshangla. Not all speakers control all of the honorific forms. Most speakers will know a few basic verbs such as 'stay', 'come', 'go', 'eat'. Since all Tshangla honorifics apparently come from Dzongkha or Tibetan, a Tshangla speaker with more knowledge of those languages is able to speak more respectfully by adding more Dzongkha or Tibetan forms. The result of this situation is that it is not easy to determine with any precision which honorific words 'belong' to the Tshangla lexicon, and which are completely foreign.

MORPHOPHONEMICS

Certain allomorphic alternations occur in Tshangla which, although they involve an alternation between distinct contrastive phonemes, are non-suppletive and phonologically conditioned. These morphophonemic alternations occur in derived contexts, specifically in the interaction between nominal and verbal stems and their affixes. These alternations and the phonological and morphological contexts which condition them will be the subject of this chapter.¹

4.1 CASE MARKER DEVOICING

The initial voiced velar stop in a postposed case particle such as /-ga/ 'LOCATIVE' or /-gi/ 'AGENTIVE' is occasionally devoiced after sonorant consonants. This is observable in rapid speech of some speakers. In addition to this, the final nasal stop frequently becomes a homorganic oral stop.

tʃaŋan 'joker' + *-gi* 'AGENTIVE' → *tʃaŋanki* ~ *tʃaŋatki*
tʰamtʃen 'all' + *-gi* 'AGENTIVE' → *tʰamtʃengi* ~ *tʰamtʃetki*

This second alternation (nasal oralisation) entails the former (velar devoicing), i.e. the nasal stop oralises only when the case particle is voiceless. In other words, velar devoicing may occur without a further nasal oralisation (*tʃaŋanki*) or with nasal oralisation (*tʃaŋatki*) but nasal oralisation will not occur without velar devoicing (**tʃaŋatgi*). This suggests that nasal oralisation is based upon (i.e. 'derived from') an 'underlying' representation upon which velar devoicing has already operated.

Devoicing of the initial velar stop of the case particle is exceptionless in certain postpositions and adverbials which are historically derived from a noun or verb + case particle:

naŋka 'in' (Written Tibetan *naŋ* 'inside')

In addition to these non-alternating postpositions optional velar devoicing is regularly observed, although not exceptionless, in noun + case particle

For the sake of clarity in the discussion of phonological conditioning factors in this chapter, the orthography used in this chapter alone will revert to the phonemic (IPA) symbols shown without brackets in table 1, section 2.1.

compounds which seem to be grammaticalising into monomorphemic postpositions like *naŋka* (cf. section 3.5.1 above):

- poŋ* v. 'to gather', 'a crowd' + *ga* → *poŋka* 'among'
tʰuŋ v. 'to collide, crush' + *ga* → *tʰuŋka* 'above, upon'²
braŋ n. 'place' (*yipʰe* 'sleep' + *braŋ* 'place') *braŋka* 'at' (cf. *yipʰebraŋga* 'in bed')

Below are some examples of optional voicing alternations, listed according to the type and place of articulation of the root-final segment. With this set, both voiced and devoiced alternants occur:

a. *Devoicing after labial nasals.*

- tɕam* n. 'middle' + *ga* → *tɕamka* ~ *tɕapka* 'in the middle of, between' (cf. *tɕame* v. 'to get along with')
lam n. 'road, path' + *ga*; *lamka* ~ *lapka* 'on the way'
ŋam n. 'sky' + *ga*; *ŋamka* ~ *ŋapka* 'in the sky'
sem n. 'mind'; *semka* ~ *sepka* 'of the mind'

b. *Devoicing after coronal nasals.*

- wun* v. 'to rise'; *wunka* ~ *wutka* 'in the early morning'

c. *Devoicing after velar nasals.*

- maŋ* 'many' (cf. *maŋpu* adj. 'many' + *gi* 'AGT' → *maŋki* 'the public'; *maŋka* 'in public')
ɕaŋ 'circle'; *ɕaŋka* 'involved in' cf. *riɕaŋga* 'in the riverbed', *mane ɕaŋme* 'to recite the rosary', *noŋ ɕaŋrang* ['day' + *ɕaŋ* + EMPHATIC = 'daily']
gaŋ 'time' *gaŋka* 'at the time of'; cf. *gaŋ* 'hole', *gaŋga* 'in the hole'
noŋ 'day' *noŋka* 'on the day of'

The velar nasal is not observed to oralise. Note that this would result in a homorganic cluster /kk/, which seems to be prohibited by a general phonotactic constraint in Tshangla.

- poŋ* v. 'to gather', 'a crowd' + *ga* → *poŋka* 'among' (**pokka*)

d. *Devoicing after /r/*. In addition to nasal-final roots, roots ending in /r/ and vowels also show the alternation in voicing of the following velar stop. These are of course exempt from the oralisation rule, which affects only nasal-final roots.

- zur* 'corner, edge'; v. 'to yield, give way' + *ga* → *zurka* 'on the edge'
barka 'between' (source unknown *bar* ?)

² With at least one derived postposition, the compound appears to have grammaticalised with a voiced initial on the case marker; a devoiced alternant is not observed, although it is not certain that the diachronic source for this postposition is a nominal ending in a velar nasal: *pʰraŋga*; *pʰraga*; *pʰrakʰa*; but: **pʰraŋka* 'below'.

e. *Devoicing after a vowel.* With the examples given so far, there does not seem to be any purely phonetic motivation for the alternation in voicing. We wouldn't expect /g/ to become voiceless after a sonorant. When the devoicing takes place in the environment following a vowel, as in the following examples, the phonetic motivation is completely obscure.

di 'time' *dika* 'at the time' (cf. *dits^he* 'hour')
t^hola 'up there' *t^hoka* (**t^hoga*) 'upstairs' (cf. *t^hok* 'grain harvest', *t^hoga* 'of the grain harvest')
reka 'near' vs. *rega* 'of.one' e.g. *binan^h rega* 'nightly', *binan^h reka* 'close to night-time'

Certain other clitic particles, when combined with a velar-initial case particle, condition a devoicing in the initial velar consonant of the case particle. This accounts for the /g/~/k/ alternation in the initial velar consonant of the case particle on these forms. Thus the personal pronoun *ro* '3rd person' has the agentive form *roki* 'by him', locative *roka* 'to him/her', and ablative *rokai* 'from him/her' (cf. section 3.6 above). The plural clitic *-ba* conditions this alternation as well. The plural agentive form of *sojo* 'person' is *sojobaki* 'by the people'; the plural locative *sojobaka* 'to the people', and ablative *sojobakai* 'from the people'.

The above data presents a problem. Devoicing is exactly the opposite of what we would expect in a completely voiced environment.³ The motivation for these alternations does not seem to be expressible in terms of assimilation of features between adjacent segments.

4.2 VERBAL MORPHOPHONEMICS

Having presented, in Chapter 3 above, the various phonological forms of the participial suffixes which may be attached to the verb root, the groundwork has been laid for understanding certain morphophonemic alternations which affect these verb forms.

4.2.1 *Verb classes*

Tshangla verb roots may be divided into four classes, according to the phonological form of the root, as follows:

³ Insertion of an epenthetic oral consonant is known to be motivated articulatorily by the transition from a nasal stop to a voiceless oral segment: the velum is closed and voicing stopped slightly before the point of articulation of the nasal is released, producing an oral stop at the point of articulation of the nasal (cf. English *something* → *some-p-thing*, *prince/prints*, *dreamt*, *length*) (cf. Lass 1984:44). This cannot be the case in these data, however, as the segment which follows the nasal is voiced.

1. obstruent-final roots, e.g. *yek* 'speak'
2. nasal-final roots, e.g. *laŋ* 'sit'
3. liquid-final roots, e.g. *ɕor* 'lose'
4. vowel-final roots, e.g. *p^ha* 'bring'

The final consonant or vowel of the root conditions an alternation in the form of the participial suffixes. For most verbs, the suffix conditioning is phonetically transparent and predictable:

Table 8. Verb classes

form of root	nominalised	infinitive	imperative	subjunctive
obstruent-final	<i>yekpa</i>	<i>yekpe</i>	<i>yektɕo</i>	<i>yektu</i>
nasal-final	<i>laŋma</i>	<i>laŋme</i>	<i>laŋɕo</i>	<i>laŋdu</i>
liquid-final	<i>ɕorba</i>	<i>ɕorbe</i>	<i>ɕorɕo</i>	<i>ɕordu</i>
vowel-final	<i>p^hawa</i>	<i>p^hale</i>	<i>p^hayo/p^hai</i>	<i>p^hadu</i>
form of root	stem extender	copula tɕa	copula la	non-final
obstruent-final	<i>yek</i>	<i>yektɕa</i>	<i>yekla</i>	<i>yekɲi</i>
nasal-final	<i>laŋ</i>	<i>laŋtɕa</i>	<i>laŋla/laŋna</i>	<i>laŋɲi</i>
liquid-final	<i>ɕor</i>	<i>ɕortɕa</i>	<i>ɕorla</i>	<i>ɕorɲi</i>
vowel-final	<i>p^han</i>	<i>p^hantɕa</i>	<i>p^hana</i>	<i>p^haɲi</i>

Table 8 lists the major morphophonemic alternations in suffix forms for the four classes. The alternations fall into five basic types, as follows:

1) The nominalised participle forms are all marked by a suffix beginning with a bilabial consonant. The initial consonant of the suffix alternates with respect to voicing and manner of articulation, (*-pa*, *-ma*, *-ba*, *-wa*, etc.). The initial consonant of the infinitive suffix is identical to the nominalised suffix except in the case of vowel-final roots, where it takes *-le*. The other participle suffixes, *-lu* and *-la* (cf. section 3.2.1.2 above), have the same initial consonant as the infinitive. Only in these four participial forms (*-wa*, *-le*, *-lu*, *-la* in the vowel-final) are all four verb classes distinguished; one or more of the distinctions are lost due to homophony in each of the other inflections.

2) The alternation in the imperative suffix separates the obstruent-final roots and the vowel-final roots from the nasal and liquid-final roots which it treats alike.

3) The subjunctive, as well as the non-final suffix *-dekel-teke* (cf. section 13.1.3) which behaves similarly but is not represented in Table 8, separates the obstruent-final roots from the other three classes.

4) The stem extender */-n/* is a non-meaningful element attached to a vowel-final verb root before certain affixes and clitics such as the copula *tɕa* and the non-final marker *-t^han*. The stem extender is also attached when

the verb stem occurs in isolation as a non-final verb (cf. section 8.1). The stem extender only appears on the ordinary vowel-final verb roots, and not the so-called exceptional vowel-final verb roots (cf. section 4.2.3.3 below).

5) Finally, an alternation is seen in the form of the copular particle *la* used in the present imperfective (cf. Chapter 10), which alternates with *na*. Obstruent-final as well as liquid-final roots take exclusively *la*, vowel-final roots take exclusively *na*, and nasal-final roots take both *la* and *na* in free variation.

4.2.2 Stem extender /-n/

The stem extender /n/ is attached to the verb root before certain suffixes, or when the verb stem occurs unmarked in a non-final clause. It appears only on vowel-final verb roots, as shown in Table 9:

Table 9. Stem extenders

takes stem extender			no stem extender		
concatenating		non-concatenating	concatenating		non-concatenating
	-ṭɕa ‘copula’	-ṭʰan ‘sequential’	-ṭɕʰen ‘optative’	-deke ‘result’	nominaliser suffix -wa adhortative suffix -kʰe
<i>di</i> ‘go’	<i>dinṭɕa</i> ‘is going’	<i>dinṭʰan</i> ‘after going...’	<i>dinṭɕʰen</i> ‘let him go’	<i>dideke</i> ‘because of going’	<i>diwa</i> ‘gone’ <i>dikʰe</i> ‘let’s go!’
<i>got</i> ‘look’	<i>gotṭɕa</i> ‘is looking’	<i>gotṭʰan</i> ‘after looking’	<i>gotṭɕʰen</i> ‘let him look’	<i>gotdeke</i> ‘because of looking’	<i>gotpa</i> ‘looked’ <i>gotkʰe</i> ‘let’s look!’

As for the diachronic origin of the stem extender, the fact that it occurs only with certain suffixes would suggest that it is associated with the suffix. Comparative facts would support this analysis: All of the Tibetan dialects have morphemes with an initial preconsonantal nasal which surfaces as a nasal only when the morpheme is suffixed or the second element of a compound following a vowel-final stem (DeLancey, personal communication).

An alternative analysis would relate the /n/ stem extender to the extant concatenation (non-final) marker *-ni* (-nyi) (cf. Chapter 15). The following facts would favour this analysis.

First, although the stem extender only occurs before certain morphemes, it does not *always* occur before those morphemes. It never occurs, for example, in a participial context, i.e. after the participial suffix *-wa* or *-le*,

even when immediately followed by a morpheme which requires the stem extender in other contexts. So, for example, in the perfect and progressive constructions (cf. Chapter 10) *di-wa-tɕa* ‘has gone’ and *di-le-tɕa* ‘is about to go’, the copula *tɕa* does *not* take the stem extender, as it does in the concatenated context before the same copula: *di-n-tɕa* ‘is going’.

Secondly, some types of construction seem to require the stem extender regardless of what the following morpheme is. In a concatenated (non-final) construction, used in clause chaining and closer concatenations such as sequences of serial predicates and serial verbs (cf. Chapter 15), the stem extender is required on vowel-final verb roots with any following morpheme. In a serial verb construction the following morpheme will be a final verb, which either completes the unified predicate or is grammaticalised to encode a derivational or inflectional category. Regardless of which verb this is, however, the stem extender will be present, as in the following examples (cf. also sections 15.6 and 15.7):

- di-n got-pe* (go-SE look-INF) ‘to go find out’
la-n bi-le (take-SE give-INF) ‘to take (something) on behalf of someone’
 (benefactive)
ru-n bu-le (seize-SE take-INF) ‘to seize away’
sem ɕi-n di-le (mind die-SE go-INF) ‘to be completely discouraged’
bu-n dʒon-me (take-SE go-INF) ‘to carry off’
za-n t^ha-le (eat-SE leave-INF) ‘to eat up’
ye-n ge-me (erase-SE lose-INF) ‘to complete erase’
u-n tɕ^ho-le (come-SE stay-INF) ‘to keep on coming,’ ‘to be coming’ (imperfective)

In clause chain and adverbial clause constructions, which are also concatenated (cf. Chapter 15), the non-final and final verbs may be separated by a pause or by other arguments of the final clause. Even in this context, with the non-final verb occurring unmarked at the end of the non-final clause, the stem extender is present. In this context, the stem-extended form (example 1 below) is synonymous with the concatenating form in *-ni* (example 2):

- (1) Ro **p^hai-ga** **di-n,** to **tɕot-pe** **go+tsuk-pa.**
 3 house-LOC go-SE food make-INF begin-NOM
 ‘Going home, he began to prepare food.’
- (2) Ro **p^hai-ga** **di-ni,** to **tɕot-pe** **go+tsuk-pa.**
 3 house-LOC go-NF food make-INF begin-NOM
 ‘Going home, he began to prepare food.’

Note that the concatenating (non-final) marker *-t^han* used in clause chains and adverbial clauses (cf. section 13.1.2), is itself transparently derived from the verb root *t^ha* ‘leave’, plus the stem extender. The full verb occurs

generalised on many different verbs as a derivational marker indicating completeness of action, as in (3):

- (3) Zala-gi t^hamtɕ^hen dʒek-ji za-n t^ha-wa-la.
 monkey-AGT all dig-NF eat-SE leave-NOM-COP
 ‘The monkeys had dug it all up and eaten it.’

When this semantically bleached *t^ha* is marked with the non-final marker-*ji*, it is synonymous with the non-final suffix *-t^han*:

- (4) Apa ama k^hai t^hiŋlom-ga nats^ha ɲok t^ha-ji goma
 father mother TOP heart-LOC disease receive leave-NF first
 apa ɕi-wa.
 father die-NOM
 ‘After father and mother got heart disease, first father died.’

The verb *tɕ^ho* ‘stay’ may form a non-final construction together with another verb, as in example (5). In this construction, the final verb *stay* signals the continuance of the event of state encoded by the non-final verb. When phonologically reduced, as in example (6), *tɕ^ho* functions as an aspectual marker; the construction occupies the past imperfective slot of the verbal paradigm:

- (5) ɲi ro miŋ ot^hen got-ji tɕ^ho-wa-la.
 PRT 3 eye this.manner look-NF stay-NOM-COP
 ‘And he continued looking like this.’
- (6) ɲi ro miŋ ot^hen got-tɕ^ho-wa-la.
 PRT 3 eye this.manner look-stay-NOM-COP
 ‘And he was looking like this.’

By this analysis then, the stem extender is not diachronically linked with the following morpheme, but with the concatenating context itself. Admittedly, as seen in table 9, the stem extender does not always appear in what are now concatenating contexts (it does not occur on the non-final marker *-deke*), and conversely it *does* appear in contexts which are not now concatenating (the optative marker *-tɕ^hen*). However, it may be that the stem extender had its diachronic origin in what were concatenating constructions, (i.e. which took a verb marked with *-ji*), but which are no longer. Conversely, concatenating markers which do not take the stem extender may have their origins in an erstwhile non-concatenating construction.

A non-concatenating origin is easily seen for *-deke*, a concatenating marker which does not take the stem extender. While concatenating markers like *-t^han* ‘leave’ and *-c^ho* ‘stay’ originated in a serialising construction (cf. section 15.7), *-deke* originated as the nominal *den* ‘meaning, reason’ plus the ablative case marker *-gai* (cf. section 13.1.3). Although it has now

been grammaticalised to a concatenating marker, it did not originate as such, in contrast to the other concatenating markers which did have their origins in concatenating constructions. Conversely, a concatenating historical source might be presumed for the non-concatenating marker *-tɕ^hen*.

4.2.3 Exceptional verb roots

There are two classes of verb roots which do not pattern according to the generalisations presented in Table 8. First, certain nasal-final and /r/-final verb roots pattern together with the obstruent-final roots with respect to which suffix they take. Secondly, certain verb roots ending in /e/ or /i/ pattern together with the ordinary /r/-final roots. These two exceptional root types will be discussed in turn.

4.2.3.1 Exceptional nasal- and liquid-final verbs: suffix alternation

The exceptional nasal-final and liquid-final verb roots behave with respect to the suffix alternation as if they ended in an obstruent, as shown in Table 10 below for exceptional *laŋ* 'mount' and *sor* 'exchange', contrasted below with the regular *laŋ* 'sit' and *ɕor* 'lose':

Table 10. Exceptional nasal-final and liquid-final verbs

form of root	nominalised	infinitive	imperative	subjunctive
obstruent-final	<i>yekpa</i>	<i>yekpe</i> 'to speak'	<i>yektɕo</i>	<i>yektu</i>
nasal-final	<i>laŋma</i>	<i>laŋme</i> 'to sit'	<i>laŋɕo</i>	<i>laŋdu</i>
excep. nas-final	<i>laŋpa</i>	<i>laŋpe</i> 'to mount'	<i>laŋɕo</i>	<i>laŋtu</i>
liquid-final	<i>ɕorba</i>	<i>ɕorbe</i> 'to lose'	<i>ɕorɕo</i>	<i>ɕordu</i>
excep. liquid-final	<i>sorpa</i>	<i>sorpe</i> 'to exchange'	<i>sortɕo</i>	<i>sortu</i>
form of root	stem extender	copula tɕa	copula la	non-final
obstruent-final	<i>yek</i>	<i>yektɕa</i>	<i>yekla</i>	<i>yekni</i>
nasal-final	<i>laŋ</i>	<i>laŋtɕa</i>	<i>laŋla/laŋna</i>	<i>laŋni</i>
excep. nas-final	<i>lak</i>	<i>laŋtɕa</i>	<i>lakla</i>	<i>lakni</i>
liquid-final	<i>ɕor</i>	<i>ɕortɕa</i>	<i>ɕorla</i>	<i>ɕorŋi</i>
excep. liquid-final	<i>sor?</i>	<i>sortɕa</i>	<i>sorla</i>	<i>sorŋi</i>

As Table 10 shows, the exceptional nasal and liquid-final verb roots pattern together with the obstruents with respect to the alternations represented by the nominaliser, infinitive, imperative, and subjunctive suffixes.

The exceptional nasal-final roots also pattern with the obstruents with regard to the alternation between copular *-la* and *-na*. While ordinary nasal-final roots may take either *-la* or *-na*, the obstruent-like exceptional nasals take only *-la*.

4.2.3.2 *Exceptional nasal- and liquid-final verbs: root alternation*

Another alternation seen in the lower part of Table 10 above, is that with the exceptional nasal-final and /r/-final roots, in certain contexts, there is an alternation in the final consonant of the verb root itself. So, for example, in the stem-extended form, /ŋ/ is replaced with /k/ for the verb *laŋ* 'mount'⁴, giving the stem-extended form *lak* and *lakni* in the non-final inflection. Other non-final verb markers not shown in Table 10 are also built on the stem-extended root, such as the non-final marker *-t^han*. This paradigm contrasts with that of the identical root form *laŋ*, 'sit', which has *laŋ* and *laŋni* respectively for the stem-extended and non-final forms.

With the exceptional /r/-final root, /r/ is glottalised (/rʔ/) in the stem-extended contexts.

Note that this alternation creates a displaced contrast, where otherwise homophonous roots contrast only in certain of their suffixes, or when undergoing root-final oralisation, thus *lam* 'learn' and *lam* 'search' are homophonous roots, and indistinguishable when inflected with for example the present continuous marker *tɕa*: *lamtɕa* 'is learning'; *lamtɕa* 'is searching'. However their contrast is seen whenever there is root or suffix alternation: *lampa* 'learned'; *lama* 'searched', *lapla* 'is learning'; *lamla/lamna* 'is searching'.

There is some evidence that the phonological behavior of these forms is due to the presence of an underlying consonant in the root. There are many correspondences between the irregular sonorant-final verb roots in Tshangla and WT past verb stems ending in the post-suffix /s/ (cf. *ganpe* 'to become old', WT *rgans*; *dʒaŋpe* 'to stretch', WT *brkyangs*; *laŋpe* 'to be sufficient', WT *longs*; *nampe* 'to smell', WT *bsnams*). The Tshangla sonorant-final verb roots which take the suffixes which match their form (/ma/, or /ba/, /-ɕo/ and /-du/) may be reflexes of past verb roots which lacked this /s/, (cf. *t^hoŋme* 'to see', WT *mthong*, *k^henme* 'to know', WT *mkhen*; *p^hame* 'to be defeated': WT *p^ham*; *prame* 'to distribute, to spread': WT *bkram*). An initial hypothesis is then that the unexpected suffixes were conditioned diachronically by the earlier presence of a now lost voiceless obstruent /s/.

The verb root alternation does not occur with the suffixes which themselves have alternating forms, i.e. there will either be an alternation in the root or in the suffix, but no form shows alternation both places. Thus, the verbal suffixes can be categorised in three groups, according to Table 11, namely those with a consonant alternation and those without, the latter

⁴ The alternation between nasal and voiceless stop sometimes results in the nasalisation of the preceding vowel: *lam* 'learn'; (cf. *lampa*), *lapia*~*lāpia* or may alternatively be realised as a glottalised nasal stop (m→mʔ, n→nʔ, ŋ→ŋʔ), although this seems to be restricted to the labial and velar nasals, while the coronal /n/ is always oralised (n→t).

group being in turn divisible into those which are attached to the bare root, and those which are attached to the /n/ stem extender.

Table 11. Classification of verb suffixes according to root consonant alternation and stem extender

	non-alternating suffix		alternating suffix
	on n-stem	on bare root	always bare root
	-la MIRATIVE COPULA	-k ^h an RELATIVISER	NOMINALISER
obstruent-final <i>got</i> 'look'	<i>gotla</i> 'is looking'	<i>gotk^han</i> 'one who looks'	<i>gotpa</i> 'looked'
nasal-final <i>lam</i> 'search'	<i>lamla/lamna</i> 'is searching'	<i>lamk^han</i> 'one who searches'	<i>lama</i> ⁵ 'searched'
nasal-final <i>gen</i> 'listen'	<i>genla</i> ⁶ 'is showing'	<i>genk^han</i> 'one who shows'	<i>genma</i> 'showed'
nasal-final <i>jaŋ</i> 'practice'	<i>jaŋla/jaŋna</i> 'is practicing'	<i>jaŋk^han</i> 'one who practices'	<i>jaŋma</i> 'practiced'
r-final <i>ɕor</i> 'lose'	<i>ɕorla</i> 'is losing'	<i>ɕork^han</i> 'one who loses'	<i>ɕorba</i> 'lost'
irregular nasal-final <i>lam</i> 'learn'	<i>lapla</i> 'is learning'	<i>lapk^han</i> 'one who learns'	<i>lampa</i> 'learned'
irregular nasal-final <i>jan</i> 'listen'	<i>natla</i> 'is listening'	<i>natk^han</i> 'one who listens'	<i>janpa</i> 'listened'
irregular nasal-final <i>jaŋ</i> 'pull'	<i>jakla</i> 'is pulling'	<i>jak^han</i> ⁷ 'one who pulls'	<i>jaŋpa</i> 'pulled'
irregular /r/-final <i>sor</i> 'exchange'	<i>sor?la</i> 'is exchanging'	<i>sor?k^han</i> 'one who exchanges'	<i>sorpa</i> 'exchanged'

4.2.3.3 Exceptional vowel-final verbs: suffix alternation

The exceptional verb roots ending in /e/ and /i/ behave with respect to suffix alternation as if they ended in a liquid, as shown for exceptional *ke* 'send' and *ɕi* 'write', as contrasted with the regular vowel-final *ke* 'give birth' and *di* 'go':

⁵ *lama* is underlyingly *lam-ma*. I will argue below that the surface form is a result of degemination.

⁶ The expected optional *gen-na*, which would be reduced by degemination to *gena* is not allowed. This will be discussed below.

⁷ *jak-k^han* before degemination.

Table 12. Exceptional vowel-final verbs

form of root	nominalised	infinitive	imperative	subjunctive
vowel-final	<i>kewa</i> <i>diwa</i>	<i>kele</i> 'to give birth' <i>dile</i> 'to go'	<i>keyo</i> / <i>ke</i> <i>diyo</i> / <i>di</i>	<i>kedu</i> <i>didu</i>
excep. e-final	<i>keba</i>	<i>kebe</i> 'to send'	<i>keço</i>	<i>kedu</i>
excep. i-final	<i>qiba</i>	<i>qibe</i> 'to write'	<i>qiço</i>	<i>qidu</i>
liquid-final	<i>çorba</i>	<i>çorbe</i> 'to lose'	<i>çorço</i>	<i>çordu</i>
form of root	stem extender	copula <i>tça</i>	copula <i>la</i>	non-final
vowel-final	<i>ken</i> <i>din</i>	<i>kentça</i> <i>dintça</i>	<i>kena</i> <i>dina</i>	<i>keji</i> <i>kiji</i>
excep. e-final	<i>ke</i>	<i>ketça</i>	<i>kela</i>	<i>keji</i>
excep. i-final	<i>qi</i>	<i>qitça</i>	<i>qila</i>	<i>qiji</i>
liquid-final	<i>çor</i>	<i>çortça</i>	<i>çorla</i>	<i>çorji</i>

The exceptional vowel-final verb roots have either /e/ or /i/ as their final vowel, as in *ke* 'send' and *qi* 'write' in Table 12. These roots do not, however, pattern together with the vowel-final roots, but with /r/-final roots such as *çor* 'lose'. With respect to the form of the suffix, like the /r/-final roots they take the /b/-initial nominalised and infinitive suffixes. With respect to the copular *-la* form, they take *-la* and not *-na* which ordinary vowel-final roots take. Finally, in stem-extender contexts, rather than taking the stem extender as do ordinary vowels, these exception roots do not take the /n/ stem extender, but have a final vowel in stem-extender contexts, such as the non-final verb inflection.

The term liquid-final has been used throughout this description to refer only to the verb roots ending in /r/. The reason for this will now become apparent. There is some evidence to suggest that these verb roots ending in /i/ and /e/ which pattern with /r/-final roots are derived historically from a form ending in a lateral consonant /l/. Certain verb roots pronounced /e/ in Trashigang retain an /oi/ or /ai/ vowel sequence in the more conservative Pema Gatshel dialect. There is historical evidence that verbs of this class are reflexes of an earlier /l/-final syllable. For example, *kai* 'send', and *koi* 'appoint' in the Pema Gatshel dialect (cf. WT *bskyal* 'to deliver, to send' vs. WT *bkol* 'to bind one to service'), have become homophonous *ke* in the Trashigang dialect. Thus words like Trashigang *ke* (Pema Gatshel *kai*) 'send' appear to be reflexes of historically closed syllables in final /l/.

There are no native noun roots ending in /l/, although syllable-final /r/ is common. WT syllable-final /l/ corresponds often to an open syllable with /e/ or /i/ in Tshangla, e.g. *dze-po* 'king' WT rGyal-po. Furthermore, we have apparent historical relationships between nouns ending in /e/ or /i/ or the

offglides /ai/, /oi/ and WT l-final forms, (cf. Tsh. *ce* 'swimming' ~ WT *rkyal* 'swimming', Tsh. *dzai* 'wager' ~ WT '*jal* 'to pay, repay', Tsh. *k^hai* 'unit of twenty' ~ WT *khal* 'unit of twenty', Tsh. *ge-gai* 'cue, line' ~ WT *gral* 'line, row, series').⁸

4.2.4 Summary of patterns

To summarise the data on the characteristics of the verbal suffixes, 3 parameters for verb formation have been presented in the preceding discussion. Each parameter has a two-place value:

1. +/- stem extender
2. +/- alternation in suffix
3. +/- alternation in root

Combining the three parameters then would give us 8 logical possibilities for verb forms. However not all of these possibilities are realised. Note the following restrictions:

- 1) A form may not undergo both suffix alternation and root alternation, (although it may undergo neither).
- 2) Only suffixes which attach to the bare root may undergo suffix alternation (i.e. suffixes attached to the stem extender never undergo alternation). Note that not all suffixes which attach to the bare root will undergo alternation.

Table 13 summarises the 5 types of verb formation which actually occur:⁹

Table 13. Verb suffix parameters

suffixes	stem extender (in V-final roots)	suffix alternation	root alternation
-k ^h e	-	-	-
-k ^h an	-	-	+
-wa, -le, -ɕo, -tu, -teke	-	+	-
-tɕa	+	-	-
-t ^h an, -ɕ ^h en, -la	+	-	+

⁸ It may be that all /ai/ diphthongs are historically /al/. It seems the diphthong is more likely to be preserved in nouns than in verbs. And some dialects have developed /e/ for /ai/ in nouns as well, cf. Wamrong *p^he* 'house' ~ Trashigang *p^hai*.

⁹ The chart shows that every logical possibility of suffix occurs except for those eliminated by points 1 and 2 above. Point 1 above eliminates any combination with a plus in both the second and third columns (+++ and -++), while point 2 eliminates any combination with a plus in both first and second columns (+++, +-+). With both points eliminating one of the combinations (+++), the two points together eliminate 3 combinations, thereby reducing the 8 logical possibilities to the 5 which are actually observed.

4.3 DEGEMINATION

Geminate segments, both consonants and vowels, do not occur in monomorphemic contexts. In derived contexts where two segments of the same manner and place of articulation might be juxtaposed, they are prevented, with the exceptions to be noted below, from being realised as geminates. Degemination takes place in one of two possible ways. The first, 'simple degemination', reduces two identical segments to one. The second, 'spirantised degemination', derives a single aspirated stop from a sequence of two unaspirated stops. This latter type of degemination is more restricted than the first in its application, applying only in a certain set of morphophonemic contexts, and only to syllable-final stops.

Simple degemination reduces sequences of labial, coronal, and velar stops, and labial and velar nasals. Only coronal stops do not undergo degemination.

4.3.1 *Labial degemination*

Geminate labial consonants which would be created by voice and manner assimilation of the labial-initial nominaliser (-*wa*) to labial-final verb roots, are realised as a single labial consonant.

4.3.1.1 *Degemination of labial nasals*

With root-final nasals, assimilation by the initial consonant of the nominaliser suffix which would result in geminate /mm/, is realised as /m/, as shown in Table 14:

Table 14. Degemination of /mm/

root	underlying form	expected after assimilation	degemination (surface form)	present imperfective
<i>gem</i> 'discard'	<i>gem-wa</i>	* <i>gemma</i>	<i>gema</i>	<i>gemtça</i>
<i>lam</i> 'search'	<i>lam-wa</i>	* <i>lamma</i>	<i>lama</i>	<i>lamtça</i>
<i>gum</i> 'hide'	<i>gum-wa</i>	* <i>gunma</i>	<i>guma</i>	<i>gumtça</i>
<i>dzim</i> 'ask'	<i>dzim-wa</i>	* <i>dzimma</i>	<i>dzima</i>	<i>dzimtça</i>
<i>lom</i> 'wrap'	<i>lom-wa</i>	* <i>lomma</i>	<i>loma</i>	<i>lomtça</i>

4.3.1.2 *Degemination of oral labial stops*

If the root ends in an oral labial stop, assimilation by the initial consonant of the nominaliser suffix would create geminate /pp/, which is realised as /p/, as shown in Table 15:

Table 15. Oral stop degemination

root	underlying form	expected after assimilation	degemination (surface form)	present imperfective
<i>tɛp</i> 'hand over'	<i>tɛp-wa</i>	* <i>tɛppa</i>	<i>tɛpa</i>	<i>tɛptɕa</i>
<i>tsap</i> 'slice'	<i>tsap-wa</i>	* <i>tsappa</i>	<i>tsapa</i>	<i>tsaptɕa</i>
<i>tʰiɸe</i> 'become angry'	<i>tʰiɸ-wa</i>	* <i>tʰiɸpa</i>	<i>tʰiɸa</i>	<i>tʰiɸtɕa</i>

While simple degemination is common in verb roots ending in nasals, for /p/-final roots spirantised degemination, (with surface form *-pʰa*) is much more common. Only a small number of /p/-final roots undergo simple degemination, and many of these have alternate forms in /pʰ/.

4.3.2 Coronal degemination

4.3.2.1 No degemination in coronal stops

Degemination does not apply to sequences of coronal stops /tt/. Verb roots ending in /t/, such as *got* 'look', when suffixed with /t/-initial affixes *got-tu* 'subjunctive', *got-teke* 'non-final:causal', and *got-tʰan* 'non-final:sequential' are not reduced, as shown in Table 16:

Table 16. Coronal stop geminates (non-reduced)

	<i>-tu</i> 'subjunctive'	<i>-teke</i> 'non-final: sequential'	<i>-tʰan</i> 'non-final: causal'
<i>tɕot</i> 'make'	<i>tɕottu</i> 'might make'	<i>tɕotteke</i> 'because (s/he) made'	<i>tɕotʰan</i> 'after making'
	* <i>tɕotu</i>	* <i>tɕoteke</i>	* <i>tɕoʰan</i>
<i>got</i> 'look'	<i>gottu</i> 'might look'	<i>gotteke</i> 'because (s/he) looked'	<i>gotʰan</i> 'after looking'
	* <i>gotu</i>	* <i>goteke</i>	* <i>goʰan</i>

4.3.2.2 Degemination in coronal/palatal nasals

Recall that coronal and palatal nasals do not contrast in syllable-final position. Unsurprisingly then, when a root ending in /n/ is suffixed with the non-final marker /ni/, the coronal plus palatal nasal sequence /nɲ/ counts as a geminate and the syllable-final /n/ is deleted, as shown in Table 17:

Table 17. Reduction of coronal and palatal nasal sequences

root	non-final (underlying form)	degemination (surface form)	present imperfective
<i>gen</i> 'show'	<i>gen-ŋi</i>	<i>geŋi</i>	<i>gentɕa</i>
<i>gan</i> 'flee'	<i>gan-ŋi</i>	<i>gaŋi</i>	<i>gantɕa</i>
<i>tɕ^hin</i> 'have time for'	<i>tɕ^hin-ŋi</i>	<i>tɕ^hiŋi</i>	<i>tɕ^hintɕa</i>
<i>k^hon</i> 'chase'	<i>k^hon-ŋi</i>	<i>k^hoŋi</i>	<i>k^hontɕa</i>
<i>tun</i> 'discuss'	<i>tun-ŋi</i>	<i>tuŋi</i>	<i>tuntɕa</i>

4.3.2.3 The /n~l/ alternation

There is an interesting distributional limitation involving degemination on n-final roots and the *-la* / *-na* alternation described in the previous section. Recall that when the mirative present tense suffix *-la* is attached to verb roots ending in a nasal, there is a free variation in the resulting form between *-na* and *-la*:

lam 'search'; *lamla* / *lamna* 'is searching'
laŋ 'sit'; *laŋla* / *laŋna* 'is sitting'

With the coronal nasal /n/, however, this alternation is not possible; only the *-la* form is allowed:

gan 'flee'; *ganla* / **ganna* 'is fleeing'

Given that degemination is a phonotactic constraint in Tshangla, i.e. other than at word boundaries no geminates may be realised in surface forms, if the form *ganna* were allowed, it would be reduced to *gana*. However this form does not occur either. Note that if it did, it would be homophonous with the present mirative *gana* 'is giving' (*gana*, pres. non-mirative *gantɕa*, infinitive *gale*, nominalised *gawa*, from the root *ga*). The restriction on degemination from applying to the n-final stem thus avoids this potential homophony.

4.3.3 Velar degemination

The contrast between coronal and palatal nasals is neutralised syllable-finally and they are treated as geminates. Aspiration is another contrast which is neutralised syllable-finally. Thus a sequence of syllable-final /k/ plus an aspirated syllable-initial /k^h/ is treated as a geminate as well. When /k^h-initial suffixes are attached to verb roots ending in a velar, the surface form undergoes degemination, 'deleting' the syllable-final segment (cf. Table 18):

Table 18. Velar degemination

root	relativiser - <i>k^han</i> (underlying form)	degemination (surface form)	present imperfective
<i>bak</i> 'hoe'	<i>bak-k^han</i>	<i>bak^han</i>	<i>baktɕa</i>
<i>p^hek</i> 'open'	<i>p^hek-k^han</i>	<i>p^hek^han</i>	<i>phektɕa</i>
<i>t^hik</i> 'tie'	<i>t^hik-k^han</i>	<i>t^hik^han</i>	<i>t^hiktɕa</i>
<i>gok</i> 'burn'	<i>gok-k^han</i>	<i>gok^han</i>	<i>goktɕa</i>
<i>luk</i> 'pour'	<i>luk-k^han</i>	<i>luk^han</i>	<i>luktɕa</i>
	adhortative - <i>k^he</i> (underlying form)	degemination (surface form)	present imperfective
<i>p^hak</i> 'sweep'	<i>p^hak-k^he</i>	<i>p^hak^he</i>	<i>phaktɕa</i>
<i>brek</i> 'push'	<i>brek-k^he</i>	<i>brek^he</i>	<i>brektɕa</i>
<i>zik</i> 'wash'	<i>zik-k^he</i>	<i>zik^he</i>	<i>ziktɕa</i>
<i>sok</i> 'spread'	<i>sok-k^he</i>	<i>sok^he</i>	<i>soktɕa</i>
<i>tsuk</i> 'put'	<i>tsuk-k^he</i>	<i>tsuk^he</i>	<i>tsuktɕa</i>

4.3.4 No degemination in compounds

While degemination occurs at boundaries between root and affix, it does not occur at boundaries between words in compounds:

bakbakgari/**bakbagari* 'motorcycle'; (*bakbak* [onomatopoeic] + *gari* 'vehicle')
sikk^hang/**sik^hang* 'ribbon' *˘sik* 'rib' + *k^haŋ* 'bone')
yoŋŋamsisi/**yoŋamsisi* 'dangerous'; (*yoŋ* 'shadow' + *ŋam* 'devour' + *-sisi* [derivational suffix])
soŋŋa/**soŋa* 'fifteen' (*soŋ* 'ten' + *ŋa* 'five')

4.3.5 No degemination in serial predicates

Degemination also does not occur between verbs in so-called 'serial verb' constructions (cf. section 15.6). These are sequences of two or more verbs marked with non-final clause inflection. Although they show syntactic independence, they are somewhat like compounds or even combinations of stem plus affix, in that the final verb in these constructions is in the process of semantic bleaching and grammaticalisation to a marker of a derivational or inflectional category (cf. section 15.7 below).

zop 'crash' + *bi* 'give/benefactive' → *zopbi* 'crash into' / **zopi*
ŋat 'err' + *di* 'go' → *ŋatdi* 'err' / **ŋati*
yek 'speak' + *got* 'see' → *yekgot* 'to try speaking' / **yekot*
brek 'push' + *kunti* 'send' → *brekkunti* 'to push away' / **brekunti*
yen 'teach' + *naŋ* 'give/benefactive (hon.)' → *yennaŋ* 'teach (for)' / **yenarŋ*.

4.3.6 *No vowel degemination: negative ma-antçi*

The geminate vowels created by the negative prefix *ma-* with the verb *ale* 'to do' do not reduce:

maantçi 'did not do (it)' (*ma-an-tçi* 'NEG + do + PAST.COPULA')

The prefix vowel and root-initial vowel are pronounced as two separate syllables.

However, when a verb participle ending in *-a* is followed by *an*, the non-final form of the verb *ale* 'to do', (cf. section 16.2.9), the geminate vowels are reduced:

- (7) **ma-yek-pa** **a-n**
 NEG-speak-PTC do-SE
 '...without speaking'
- (8) **ma-yek-pa-n**
 NEG-speak-PTC-do
 '...without speaking'

4.3.7 *Lenition and degemination*

Lenition (cf. section 2.1.1 above) applies only to original aspirates and not to those aspirates which were underlyingly semi-geminate. While the true geminates are reduced at the phonological level, the semi-geminates retain their phonological status as a cluster of two distinct consonants, and are reduced only at the higher level of rapid speech. Thus *a-k^han* 'that which is done' may be pronounced [axan] or [ahan], but *dak-k^han* 'that which is said' may only be pronounced [daxan] and not [*dahan]. Consider the following minimal pairs:

ka(le) 'to bore' + *k^han* → [k^hak^han/ka^han] 'that which bores'
kak 'to hinder' + *k^han* → [k^hak^han/*ka^han] 'obstacle'
brebe 'to separate' + *k^han* → [br^hek^han/bre^han] 'separated one'
brekpe 'to push' + *k^han* → [br^hek^han/*bre^han] 'that which is pushed'

4.3.8 *Spirantised degemination CC→C^h*

The discussion so far has pertained to 'simple degemination'. In addition to this there is a distinct degemination rule 'spirantised degemination' involving only velar and labial stops but not coronal or nasal consonants whereby an underlying sequence of identical segments is reduced to the corresponding single aspirated segment (i.e. pp→p^h, kk→k^h).

4.3.8.1 *Spirantised degeminated labials*

When the nominaliser *-wa* is added to labial-final verb roots, and after the suffix assimilates to *-pa*, the resulting geminate /pp/ in some forms is reduced to /p^h/. The vast majority of verb roots in /-p/ undergo this spirantised degemination, while simple degemination is observed in only a few, and many of those have alternate forms in /p^h/, (cf. Table 19).

Table 19. Labial spirantised degemination

	present imperfective	nominalised (underlying)	simple degemination (not occurring)	spirantised degemination (surface form)
<i>lap</i> 'whip'	<i>laptɕa</i>	* <i>lap-pa</i>	* <i>lapa</i>	<i>lap^ha</i>
<i>gep</i> 'cry'	<i>geptɕa</i>	* <i>gep-pa</i>	* <i>gepa</i>	<i>gep^ha</i>
<i>yip</i> 'sleep'	<i>yiptɕa</i>	* <i>yip-pa</i>	* <i>yipa</i>	<i>yip^ha</i>
<i>zop</i> 'crush'	<i>zoptɕa</i>	* <i>zop-pa</i>	* <i>zopa</i>	<i>zop^ha</i>
<i>t^hup</i> 'throw'	<i>t^huptɕa</i>	* <i>t^hup-pa</i>	* <i>t^hupa</i>	<i>t^hup^ha</i>

4.3.8.2 *Lenition with spirantised degemination*

Labials which have undergone this spirantised degemination also undergo lenition (cf. section 2.1.1 above), by which aspirated stops are pronounced as fricatives intervocalically. (/lap^ha/ → [la ϕ a] etc.)

4.3.8.3 *Spirantised degeminated velars*

The claim has been made that velar stop geminates are reduced by simple degemination. In the only contexts where this is observed, namely verb roots ending in /k/ followed by a morpheme with initial /k^h/, because the degemination deletes the unaspirated /k/ and leaves the aspirated member of the sequence in place, there is no clear contrast between simple and spirantised degemination. Both result in a single aspirated consonant.

However, there is another morphophonemic context in which a sequence of two unaspirated velar stops may be said to arise 'underlyingly'. This is in certain nouns ending in a velar nasal and followed by a voiced velar-initial case marker /-gi/ or /-ga/ (agentive/instrumental and locative/genitive respectively.) In some of these forms an alternation of the following type is observed:

- duŋga/duk^ha* 'at home' (= *duŋ* 'village' + *ga* LOCATIVE)
p^hranga/p^hrakha 'beneath' (= *p^hraŋ* 'beneath' + *ga* LOCATIVE)
miŋ-gai/mik^he 'by sight' (= *miŋ* 'eye' + *gai* ABLATIVE)
tshij-gai/tshik^he 'later' (= *tshij* 'back' + *gai* ABLATIVE)

The likelihood of this alternation existing for a given form seems to correlate to its frequency of use as a combination, leading one to suspect that grammaticalisation and partial loss of the morpheme boundary may be a contributing factor to the degemination. While all speakers seem to accept the un-degeminated (**ŋg**) alternant, different dialects vary as to which of the /k^h/ forms they use. Most varieties seem to accept /duk^ha/ ‘at home’.¹⁰

This small set of data is suspiciously reminiscent of the alternation described in section 4.1 above, where the initial velar consonant of the case marker is devoiced and the preceding nasal becomes a homorganic voiceless stop. For the forms in question here, we might hypothesise a similar development, with the additional final step of degeminating of the /kk/ cluster to /k^h/ (cf. Table 20):

Table 20. Velar spirantised degemination

underlying form	devoicing	oralisation	spirantised degemination
duŋ-ga	duŋ-ka	duk-ka	duk ^h a

One fact in favour of this analysis is that forms either preserve the velar nasal and devoice the following velar stop (/braŋka/ ‘at the place of’, /thuŋka/ ‘above, on top of’), or they alternate between two forms, the one which preserves the underlying nasal and voiced velar (/p^hraŋga/ ‘beneath’) and the other which shows spirantised degemination (/p^hrak^ha/). No form, however, seems to exist in all three variants. This suggests that the two groups of forms have undergone disparate developments.

¹⁰ In the Wamrong dialect even the personal pronouns show a devoicing and spirantisation from /g/ to /k^h/ without any underlying geminate. This may mean that the /k^h/ alternate results not from degemination at all, but from deletion first of the velar nasal followed by aspiration of the velar stop in grammaticalised forms:

ai-gi ~ aik^he (1p AGT)
 nai-gi ~ nek^he (2p AGT)
 rok^hte-gi ~ rok^htek^he (3p AGT)

NOUN PHRASE

5.1 OVERVIEW OF THE NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase is a phrase which is headed by a nominal constituent (cf. section 3.1). The noun phrase normally consists minimally of a single head noun, and may optionally include one or more of the other constituents which are shown in Figure 2 (below). The head noun itself may be elided when its referent is understood from the context (cf. section 3.1). Except for the post-nominal clitic particles such as contrastive topic marker *khepa*, the case markers, the pluraliser *-ba*, and other noun phrase particles (cf. below) one or more of the other noun phrase constituents may instantiate the noun phrase in the absence of a noun, but only if the reference of the noun phrase has been established by prior discourse context, or is established by conjunction with another noun phrase:

- (1) a. Dangpo [waktsa lekpu thur] dang [camu thur] chowa,
 long.ago child good one and bad one stay-NOM
- b. nyi nong thur [lekpu khepa-gi]...
 PRT day one good TOP-AGT
 'Once upon a time there was a good child and a bad one. One day the good one...

In example (1a), the first noun phrase, *waktsa lekpu thur* 'a good child' makes an initial reference, after which the second mention of the same referent in (1b) may be made by means of a noun phrase containing only the adjective, topicaliser and case marker *lekpu khepagi* 'the good one'. The initial reference to the other participant in the story, the bad child, is also made without a head noun in (1a), because this noun phrase is conjoined to the first noun phrase by the conjunction *dang* 'and'.

Likewise in example (2) below, after initial introduction of three animals, a second reference is made to one of them merely by means of the quantifier *thur* 'one':

- (2) Yu khepa semcen sam-ga nyoktang dom-nyi cot-ca gila.
 liquor TOP animal three-LOC brain combine make-COP COP
 Thur cho maja-ga nyoktang, thur cho khaila-ga nyoktang,
 one TOP peacock-LOC brain one TOP tiger-LOC brain
 thur cho phakpa-ga nyoktang.
 one TOP pig-LOC brain
 'Liquor is made from the brains of three animals. One is the peacock's brain,
 one is the tiger's brain, and one is the pig's brain.'

An overview of the ordering of constituents in the noun phrase is given in Figure 2:

Pre-nominal (including noun):

Possessor—Demonstrative—Relative clause—Adjective—Noun

Post-nominal (also showing the noun):

Noun—(Adjective)—(Relative clause)—Quantifier/Plural—
 Indefinite—Topic—'All'—Case-marker—Particle

Figure 2. Elements in the noun phrase

The parentheses around post-nominal adjectives and relative clauses indicate that these are secondary orderings (cf. the sections on adjectives and relative clauses below). In the following section, first pre-nominal and then post-nominal elements will be described, in each group starting with those which occur closest to the noun and proceeding outward.

5.2 PRE-NOMINAL CONSTITUENTS OF THE NOUN PHRASE

5.2.1 *Adjectives*

Adjectives may come either before or after the noun. Pre-nominal adjectives have a restrictive function, serving to identify or specify the referent of the head noun. Post-nominal adjectives usually have a non-restrictive function, merely providing further descriptive information about the nominal referent. (We shall see below that restrictiveness is also relevant to head—relative clause ordering.) I will argue below that the pre-nominal position is the unmarked position, and that the opposite ordering is a result of 'raising' to an adjunct position. The adjective—noun ordering is also the ordering which would be expected typologically for an SOV language (Greenberg 1966; Hawkins 1983; but cf. also Dryer 1988).

- (3) dukpu waktsa khepa
 poor child TOP
 'the poor child'
- (4) waktsa dukpu khepa
 child poor TOP
 'the child, who is poor'

The child in example (3), with a pre-nominal adjective is identified as the poor one, while the child in example (4) is further described as poor. Certain adjective–noun combinations which are used exclusively to describe rather than identify, always occur in the noun-adjective order, and are unacceptable in the reverse order:

- (5) Ro sem lekpu la.
 3 mind good COP
 'He has a good mind.' (i.e. is a kind person.)
- (6) *Ro lekpu sem la.

As noted above, in the absence of a noun head, an adjective may alone instantiate the noun phrase, as shown in example (7), where the adjective *zemu* 'small' occurs together with only the agentive case clitic *-gi* and focus particle *sho*:

- (7) Zemu-gi sho hang-rang ma-yek-nyi brumsha taphthur
 small-AGT FOC what-EMPH NEG-speak-NF pumpkin with
 di-wa-la.
 go-NOM-COP
 'The small one, without saying anything, went with the pumpkin.'

5.2.2 Relative clauses

Like adjectives, relative clauses occur both before and after the noun phrase head, the pre-nominal position being the unmarked restrictive (8) and the marked post-nominal position non-restrictive and descriptive (9):

- (8) Onya [phai cot-khan] **songo** ja-ga charo gila.
 DEM house make-REL person I-LOC friend COP
 'That person [building a house] is my friend.'
- (9) Nyi unyu za-nyi chu-ma thur-ga-rang, goma ro nyiktsing-ga
 PRT DEM eat-NF finish-NOM one-LOC-EMPH before 3 two-LOC
sem [buk tha-khan khai] chok-pa-la.
 mind cover leave-REL TOP open-NOM-COP
 'And as soon as they finished eating, their **minds**, [which had been closed before], became open.'

In a context like that in example (10) below, identification or specification would be unnatural; one has only one father. Hence the unacceptability of a pre-posed relative clause in (11):

- (10) ro-ka **apa** [zhingkham-ga zhu-khan]
 3-LOC father heaven-LOC live-REL
 'his father, who lives in heaven'
- (11) *ro-ka zhingkham-ga zhuk-khan apa
 3-LOC heaven-LOC stay-REL father

In the absence of a head noun, the relative clause may instantiate the noun phrase. This is the 'headless' relative clause (cf. Chapter 11):

- (12) [Ngang se-khan] ngang jang-ca.
 song know-REL song sing-COP
 'Those who know the songs are singing.'
- (13) [Goma lhak-khan] lok lhak-co.
 before read-REL return read-IMP
 'Read again what you read before.'

For an extensive discussion of relative clauses see Chapter 11.

5.2.3 *Determiners*

Determiners always precede the noun. There are two types of determiners, the demonstrative determiners and the contrastive determiners.

5.2.3.1 *Demonstratives*

There are four demonstratives, as shown in Table 21:

Table 21. Demonstratives

	<i>Non-locative</i>	<i>Locative</i>
<i>Proximate</i>	uthu 'this'	otha 'this/here'
<i>Distal</i>	unyu 'that'	onya 'that/there'

5.2.3.1.1 *Analysis of the forms of the demonstratives*

The forms of the demonstratives themselves are morphologically transparent; the high back vowel /u/ is common to the so-called 'non-locative' set; the mid-high back vowel /o/ to the 'locative' set. This /o/ is of course also found as the locative morpheme in the interrogative particle *o-ga* 'where-LOC' (cf. section 9.2.2g below). The second element of the locative demonstratives are identifiable as the adverbial locative items *tha* 'here' and *nya*

'there'.¹ By analogy with these, the non-locative pair as well are analysable as *u-thu* and *u-nyu*. Assuming, as seems likely, that the alternate /u/ vowel in the second element of the locative pair is due to vowel harmony, we can isolate the non-locative/locative contrast to the /u/ vs. /o/ contrast in the initial syllable.

5.2.3.1.2 *Semantics of the demonstratives*

Pinning down the semantic difference between the non-locative and locative pairs of forms is more difficult. A syntactic distinction is made in the literature between demonstrative pronouns or adjectives 'this' and 'that', and demonstrative adverbs 'here' and 'there' (Levinson 1983: 79–80; Lyons 1977: 646). However this distinction does not seem applicable to the two types of Tshangla demonstratives as their syntactic function is identical. The difference here is not syntactic, but rather semantic.

The function of all four demonstratives is to identify a referent, either deictically, i.e. in relation to speaker and hearer in the specific speech situation, or anaphorically, in terms of the preceding discourse. However, there is a subtle semantic distinction between the non-locative and locative demonstratives.

A demonstrative in the locative set (*otha* 'here' or *onya* 'there') implies that the hearer is able to identify the referent by means of its location. The location is specified as either proximate 'here' or distal 'there'; based on this the identity of the referent may be inferred from its location.

The locative component of the /o/-forms is obvious in some contexts. When the demonstrative stands alone, not modifying a noun phrase, it functions identically to a locative adverb:

In the expression *nya-ta tha-ta* 'here and there', as in the example below, *-ta* is the directional morpheme, (cf. Chapter 15).

Songo-ba	che	lam-nyi,	nya-tan	tha-tan	dangme,	nyibu
person-PL	religion	search-NF	there-DIR	here-DIR	walk-INF	PRT

lam	ma-thong-ma.
path	NEG-see-PRT

'People in search of the faith will go here and there, but they will not find the way.'

- (14) Nyi omchang-rang songo-gi che-ma za-ma khatka, kha
 PRT again-EMPH person-AGT clear-NOM slash-NOM upon bird
 ama-gi **otha** shonang phe-na. Phai cet-kai dak-nyi
 mother-AGT DEM happiness do-COP house make-ADH say-NF
 yek-pa-la. Kha apa-gi otha-bu songo-gi che-ma
 speak-NOM-COP bird father-AGT DEM-FOC person-AGT clear-NOM
 za-ma-la.
 slash-NOM

'And again, upon (a place) where people clear and slash, the mother bird said, "I am happy **here**. Let's make our house." The father bird said, "**Here** too, people clear and slash."

- (15) Nyi borang nang-ka shek-pa-kap-nyi Aku Tenpa-gi
 PRT forest in-LOC arrive-PRT-with-NF Aku Tenpa-AGT
 pon-ga-tan zhu-wa-la, sha athola la a-nyi. Nyi
 king-LOC-to speak-NOM-COP meat there COP do-NF PRT
 pon juk-nyi thola shek-pa-kap-nyi **otha-gai** dong
 king run-NF there arrive-PRT-with-NF DEM-ABL down
 sho-nyi jong-ma a-nyi zhu-nyi...
 emit-NF go-NOM do-NF speak-NF

'When they arrived in the forest, Aku Tenpa said to the king, "There is some game up there!" But when the king ran up there, (Aku Tenpa) would say, "It has gone down from **here**."

- (16) Nyi **onya** cho-la ngamsu khe-le go+tsuk-pa.
 PRT DEM stay-PRT rain fall-INF begin-NOM
 'And while they were staying **there**, it began to rain.'

As a determiner, (i.e. as a modifier in a noun phrase), the locative demonstratives, like the non-locative pair, serve to identify the referent, and to indicate distance from the speaker. However, the identification is made by means of the listeners awareness of the location of the referent:

- (17) Nyi ro nyiktsing-gi na-ga tha-wa-la, phai tong thur-ga
 PRT 3 two-AGT ear-LOC leave-NOM-COP house empty one-LOC
 don ca a-nyi. Nyi nong thur, ro nyiktsing thur-gi thur-ga
 demon COP do-NF PRT day one 3 two one-AGT one-LOC
 tuncha a-nyi yek-pa-la, a-ching nyiktsing **onya** phai-ga
 discuss do-NF speak-NOM-COP 1p-DUAL two DEM house-LOC
 di-nyi don la mo mala mo got-ke a-nyi.
 go-NF demon COP QUES NEG.COP QUES look-ADH do-NF
 'They had heard that there was a demon in an empty house. One day they decided, "Let's us two go to **that** house and see if there is a demon."

- (18) **Otha** phai-ga don ca dang gila mo?
 DEM house-LOC demon COP PRT COP QUES
 ‘(The two of them knocked on the door. An old man opened up to them.)
 They asked, “Is there a demon in **this** house?”’
- (19) Hang ya **otha** sho dak, kha-n got-pa giwala.
 what QUES DEM TOP say shake-SE look-NOM COP
 ‘(Looking at the arrow, examining it) “What is **this**?” he said, shaking it to see.’
- (20) **Onya**-gi thong-ma-te u-phe na, jim got-co, dak-nyi
 DEM-AGT see-NOM-PRT come-INF PRT ask look-IMP say-NF
 yek-pa.
 speak-NOM
 ‘(The king said, “There is a person in the pasture, right?) **That** person must have seen it. Go ask!”’

The demonstratives of the non-locative set (*uthu* and *unyu*), by contrast, imply that the hearer is able to identify its referent by some other means than its location. In concrete (i.e. non-discourse) usages of the non-locative pair, this is often through pointing or gesturing. For the distal non-locative *unyu* ‘that’, used with a concrete/spatial meaning, pointing or gesturing is necessary. For the proximate non-locative *uthu* ‘this’, the listener may infer that the referent is immediately present and highly salient in the speech situation, such as being held in the hand or being located upon the person of a speech act participant:

- (21) **Uthu** bozong onyen che-le manggi.
 DEM cassava that.manner plant-INF NEG.COP
 ‘This cassava you don’t plant like **that**!’
- (22) Nyi za-n got-pa Oi, phakpale-ta zhimpu la. **Uthu** hang
 PRT eat-SE look-PRT Oh sausage-PRT delicious COP DEM what
 ya? **Uthu** hangten cot-ca?
 QUES DEM how make-COP
 ‘Then tasting it, he said, “Oh, this sausage is delicious! What is **this**? How do you make **this**?”’

The proximate locational *otha* ‘this/here’ by allowing for a referent merely located nearby to the speech act participants, may actually be less proximate than *uthu*. In a speech act referring for example to a house, *uthu* would indicate the house in which the speech act participants are located, while *otha* would indicate the house next door, i.e. the closest one to the speech act participants *other* than the one they are presently located in:

- (23) Ja-ga charo **uthu** phai-ga ca.
 1s-LOC friend DEM house-LOC COP
 ‘My friend is in **this** house.’ (the house we’re in now.)

- (24) Jaga charo **otha** phai-ga ca.
 1s-LOC friend DEM house-LOC COP
 'My friend is in **this** house here.' (nextdoor)

In support of this 'most proximate' status of *uthu* is the interesting fact that, while all four of the demonstratives may be used in a so-called 'textual deictic' (Lyons 1977) or 'discourse deictic' (Levinson 1983) sense, with anaphoric reference (cf. below), *uthu* seems to be the only one ever used cataphorically, i.e. to refer to a referent which has not yet been identified, but which is to be identified in the coming discourse context. As Lyons has noted (1977: 668–9), the use of demonstratives is textual deixis is connected with their use in spatial deixis. With pronominal reference, anaphoric reference is possible over a much greater distance than cataphoric reference. This is not surprising given the constraints on human memory: Anaphora requires the listener to reactivate in memory a referent which has been mentioned earlier, a task that is apparently possible after quite some time, while cataphora requires the listener to hold an empty place in their mental representation for an entity which has no specified content, a task which one might expect to be sustainable over a much shorter period of time. We would expect the same to be true with discourse-referent uses of demonstratives, and this is indeed what we find with the Tshangla demonstratives; the cataphoric reference is always an extremely short distance, no more than the distance of a clause or two. Consider these examples:

- (25) **Uthu** ngang a-shi jang-pe, a-shi ngang se-wa, Angkhoi
 DEM song 1p-AGT sing-INF 1p-AGT sonG know-NOM
 angkhoi ngang jang di-wa-la.
 song sing go-NOM-COP
 'We will sing **this** song; we know the song, "Angkhoi angkhoi" they went singing.'
- (26) Otha phrakhai chethrim kha chilu-rang **uthu** gila, Nan
 DEM beneath law portion great-EMPH DEM COP 2s
 nan-ten haptur lekpu a-n-ca gila mo, bra
 2s-RFLX how good do-SE-COP COP QUES other
 songo-ba-bu omtur lekpu a-i.
 person-PL-FOC again good do-IMP
 'The greatest law after this one is **this**: 'How ever good you would be done yourselves, do this good to others.'
- (27) Nyi depa a-khan-ba-ka thung-ka ta **uthu** dabu thur
 PRT faith do-REL-PL-LOC upon-LOC sign DEM manner one
 jung-me, bra lo singma mangpu thur a-le.
 come-INF other language new many one do-INF
 'And upon those who believe signs like **this** will come: They will speak in different new languages.'

Table 22. Discourse connectors using *onya* 'there/that'

onya a-deke do-NF	this being the case, given this situation, for this reason
onya a-nyi-bu do-NF-FOC	even so..., although this is so, however
onya barka between	meanwhile, in the meantime
onya das-gai bit-ABL	shortly thereafter, after that
onya di-ka time-LOC	at that time]
onya gang-ka day-LOC	
onya den-gai purpose-ABL	for that reason
onya threke-rang immediately-EMPH	immediately thereafter, right away
onya-gai (onyai) -ABL	from then on, thereafter
onyai ga-tan up-to	
onyai laktang / lakpa exceed	beyond that, more than that

There is also evidence from discourse deictic usage to suggest that of the two distal forms, the locative *onya* 'that/there' and the non-locative *unyu* 'there', the locative *onya* is the 'most distal'. *Onya* is by far the most frequent of the four demonstratives to occur with long-distance anaphora. Table 22 lists several discourse connectors using *onya* plus some other expression, which function to link the current utterance with some set of propositions in the previous context.

Both the locative and direct demonstratives can be used with demonstrative as well as discourse-deictic function. The following examples show each of the four determiners used with a concrete/spatial meaning:

- (28) **Uthu** bozong onyen che-le manggi.
DEM kassave that.manner plant-INF NEG.COP
'**This** cassava you don't plant that way!'
- (29) Ji-gi bra songo kap kholong a-nyi-bu, bra songo-gi
1s-AGT other person with fight do-NF-FOC other person-AGT
ro-ka nganpa cho-sa di-nyi, **unyu** songo-ga ngan
3-LOC *nganpa* stay-REL go-NF DEM person-LOC curse
phi yek-nyi-la, ro-ki ngan phi-le re-be.
do speak-NF-PRT 3-AGT curse do-INF can-INF
'If I am fighting with another person, that person can go to the *nganpa*'s place, and say, "Put a curse on **that** person," and he can put a curse on them.'

- (30) Nan **otha** shing kap-nyi rotsik-pe khung hang ca ya?
 2s DEM tree with-NF anger-INF reason what COP QUES
 'What is the reason for you to be angry with **this** tree?'
- (31) A-ha Sharchokpa dukha, **onya** Tshangla-ba-ki-sha se-le
 1p-LOC Sharchop village DEM Tshangla-PL-AGT-PRT know-INF
 gila.
 COP
 'Only in our Sharchop villages, only **those** Tshangla people know it.'

5.2.3.1.3 Discourse referential use of demonstratives

In the following examples, each of the four deictic demonstratives are used with a discourse-deictic sense. We have seen examples above of *uthu* used with cataphoric discourse reference. In example (32), the proximate demonstrative *uthu* is used with anaphoric reference to the preceding discourse context:

- (32) Nyi **uthu** kauko thamcen na tha-nyi jelpo-ga zemu
 PRT DEM talk all ear leave-NF king-LOC small
 nyiktsing sem namesame shor-ba-la dang.
 two mind very lose-NOM-COP PRT
 'When the king's two small ones (children) heard this talk, they were very jealous.'

The next example shows the distal demonstrative *unyu* used with anaphoric reference:

- (33) Nyi pau-ba-ki songo shi-deke shinang a-n-ca me. Nyi
 PRT *pau*-PL-AGT person die-NF *shinang* do-SE-COP PRT PRT
unyu shinang tshecu phi-la-kap-nyi, pau khepu
 DEM *shinang* worship do-PRT-with-NF *pau* TOP
 nyos-pe namesame.
 be.crazy-INF very
 'And the *pau* (tantric practitioner) does a *shinang* (ritual for the dead). While **that** *shinang* is being done, the *pau* becomes really crazy.'

Here the proximate locative *otha* is used with anaphoric discourse reference:

- (34) Nyi **otha** goma-ga mewaktsa sho-n gem-khan nyi omchang
 PRT DEM before-LOC wife exit-SE lose-REL PRT again
 lok-nyi ro-ka tsuenmo a-n-than.
 return-NF 3-LOC queen do-SE-NF
 'And **this** former wife whom he had put away, she again became the queen.'

The next example shows the distal locative *onya* with anaphoric reference:

- (35) Nyi **onya** den-gai, ro-ka sem-gi lai ma-a-la.
 PRT DEM meaning-ABL 3-LOC mind-AGT work NEG-do-PRT
 (After a half an hour the pau becomes very crazy so that the people must catch him.) And because of **that**, his mind will not work.

5.2.3.1.4 Adverbial forms of demonstratives

Each of the demonstratives has a corresponding adverbial form consisting of the demonstrative plus a morpheme *-en*, which refers to the manner in which or possibly also the means by which an event or action takes place or is performed. The adverbial/manner forms are semantically equivalent to the demonstrative plus *dabu* ‘manner’:

uthu ‘this’ → *uthen* ‘in this manner, like this, by this means’ = *uthu dabu*
unyu ‘that’ → *unyen* ‘in that manner, like that, by this means’ = *unyu dabu*
otha ‘this/here’ → *othern* ‘in this manner, like this, by this means’ = *otha dabu*
onya ‘that/there’ → *onyen* ‘in that manner, like that, by that means’ = *onya dabu*

Again the form built on the distal locative demonstrative *onyen* ‘like that’ is the most frequent in discourse. *Othen* and *onyen* occur occasionally, and *uthen* is rare. These forms may be parsed by analogy with the content question word *hang* ‘what’ and its corresponding adverbial form *hangten* ‘in what manner, how, by what means, why’, (to be discussed in Chapter 9). The adverbial/manner forms are each illustrated below:

- (36) Uthen a-nyi lang-sho!
 DEM do-NF sit-IMP
 ‘Sit like this!’ (Speaker is demonstrating how to sit.)
- (37) Ma-lek-pa manggi nyi; a-ha pon-gi-bu unyen
 NEG-good-NOM NEG.COP PRT 1p-LOC king-AGT-FOC DEM
 nang-ma ta.
 give-NOM PRT
 (People should wear the national dress.) ‘It is not bad; even our king has commanded it.’
- (38) Nowang nangka othen anyi go-n-than kha-i.
 mouth in-LOC DEM do-NF put-SE-NF shake-IMP
 ‘Put it in your mouth like this and shake it.’
- (39) Uthu bozong onyen che-le manggi.
 DEM kassave DEM plant-INF NEG.COP
 ‘This cassava you don’t plant like that!’

5.2.3.1.5 *Demonstrative pronouns*

In addition to their modifying role within the noun phrase, each of the four demonstratives may instantiate the noun phrase alone or together with only post-nominal clitic particles. This is possible with demonstrative as well as discourse-deictic functions. In example (40), *uthu* is used with discourse reference, while in (41), *uthu* is used in a demonstrative sense. When the demonstrative determiner instantiates the noun phrase in the absence of a head noun, it functions as a demonstrative pronoun (as in example (41)).

- (40) Pecha lam-nyi-la **uthu**-ba thamcen ha go-le.
 book study-NF-PRT DEM-PL all heart put-INF
 ‘If we study, we will understand all **this**.’
- (41) Jang **uthu** tapthur di-wa-gai kukhaila kap di-wa drik-pe.
 1s DEM with go-NOM-ABL tiger with go-NOM fit-INF
 ‘It would be more fitting to go with the tiger than to go with **this one**.’ (i.e. ‘I’d rather go with the tiger than with **this** (man).’)
- (42) Jang tha **otha**-ba-ki tsung-la; otha-ba-ki jang
 1s here DEM-PL-AGT seize-COP DEM-PL-AGT 1s
 she-le-la na-shi jang sokjap thur a-nyi kadrin
 kill-INF-COP 2p-AGT 1s save one do-NF mercy
 cang-sho!
 give-IMP
 ‘I am going to be caught by **these ones**; I am going to be killed by these ones; have mercy on me and save me.’
- (43) Nyi tshinge katang ri-nyi-la, tok ge-me khe-le.
 PRT later large become-NF-PRT cut lose-INF must-INF
Unyu-bu kasken gila dak dungtsho ja-ga yek-pa.
 DEM-FOC difficult COP say doctor 1s-LOC speak-NOM
 ‘‘Later when (the tumor) has become large, we will have to cut it out. **This** too is difficult,’’ the doctor told me.’
- (44) Waktsa-ba-bu ngen phi-wa-la, nyi **onya**-ba-ka-bu
 child-PL-FOC marriage do-NOM-COP PRT DEM-PL-LOC-FOC
 waktsa sing-ma-la.
 child raise-NOM-COP
 ‘The children got married, and **these** in turn raised children.’

5.2.3.2 *Contrastive determiners*

The contrastive determiners are *bra* ‘other, different’, and *omthur* ‘another, additional’. The function of both of these is to contrast the noun phrase referent(s) to some other referent(s). The contrastive determiners occupy the same position in the noun phrase as the demonstrative determiners: after any genitive modifier and prior to the noun phrase head:

- (45) Nyi ro-ka bonying she-detke, ro-ka **bra**
 PRT 3-LOC younger.brother kill-NF 3-LOC other
 zhungzi-ba-kai tha ringsa kun-ti-nyi, thrim
 brother-PL-ABL here far send-NF punishment
 ke-ba-la.
 give-NOM-COP
 ‘After he killed his brother, he was sent far away from his **other** brothers
 and punished.’
- (46) Ji-gi ja-ga **omthur** gadang ma-sho-wa-ca.
 1s-AGT 1s-LOC other hand NEG-emit-NOM-COP
 ‘I haven’t put out my **other** hand.’

The contrastive determiners *bra* and *omthur* may also occur alone and instantiate the noun phrase:

- (47) Ro-ki **bra-gi** notpa cho-nyi drak-pe ma-r-ba.
 3-AGT other-AGT infirmity stay-NF heal-INF NEG-can-PRT
 ‘If (they) have been made sick by **another**, he can’t heal them.’
- (48) Botpa-ba thamce-rang bedeng ca, **bra-ga** got-nyi-bu.
 Tibetan-PL all-EMPH rich COP other-LOC look-NF-FOC
 ‘And the Tibetans are all wealthy, even compared to **the others**.’
- (49) Ji-gi uthu korgai **omthur** na-ga tha-wa-ca.
 1s-AGT DEM about another ear-LOC leave-NOM-COP
 ‘I have heard something else about this.’

5.2.4 *Personal/possessive constituents of the noun phrase*

A locative/genitive-marked pronoun or noun phrase (cf. also section 7.3 below) precedes the noun phrase head, as in the following example:

- (50) ja-ga charo
 1s-LOC friend
 ‘my friend’

5.3 POST-NOMINAL CONSTITUENTS OF THE NOUN PHRASE

5.3.1 *Quantifier and plural clitic*

After any post-posed adjective or relative clause (cf. section 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above) a quantifier is the first constituent to follow the noun phrase head. Quantifiers are numerals, other quantifying expressions such as *tshebang* ‘some’, *mangpu* ‘many’, *nyungpu* ‘few’, and the plural particle *-ba*, which is cliticised to the preceding word:

- (51) ngam zum
 day seven
 'seven days'
- (52) pecha chilu-ba
 book great-PL
 'the large books'

Number is not an obligatorily marked category in Tshangla; The plural marker is optional, and has more semantic content than simply 'more than one'. The plural particle *-ba* usually, although not always, collocates with a human referent, and entails definiteness, i.e. that the referent is identifiable in the discourse context. Being definite, it is therefore incompatible with *thur* even when the latter is an indefinite article and carries no singular meaning (cf. 73–76 below). Plural *-ba* occurs only rarely with *khepa* (below), perhaps because both of these imply a definite referent and would therefore be redundant.

A quantifier may instantiate the noun phrase in the absence of a noun head:

- (53) A-shi tshebang-ga korgai lam-khe.
 1p-ABT some-LOC about learn-ADH
 'Let's learn about some of them.'

The numeral *thur* 'one', when stressed and occurring with a definite referent, functions as an adverbial meaning 'alone', or 'only' *Thur* in this usage is often combined with the particle *sha/sho* 'only':

- (54) Jang thur-sha ma-na-n-chi.
 1s one-PRT NEG-comply-SE-COP
 'I alone did not agree.'

Thur + *sha* may also mark a nominalised clause, with the meaning 'only':

- (55) Ro yi-pha thur-sha gila!
 3 sleep-NOM one-PRT COP
 'He is only asleep!'

5.3.2 Contrastive topic marker *khepa*

Following the head and any quantifier is the contrastive topic marker *khepa*:²

² Other regional pronunciations are *khepu*, *khaipu*, *khai*, and *khen*. In some varieties, the topic marker occurs twice in succession, with a shortened form for the second instance, e.g. *khaipu khai*, or *khepu khai*, as below:

- (56) Pecha chilu khepu ja-ga gila.
 book great TOP 1s-LOC COP
 'The big book is mine.'
- (57) Ro ngam binang khenyiktsing khepa nyung-nyi a-nyi zhuk-pa.
 3 day night forty TOP fast-NF do-NF stay-NOM
 'For forty days and nights he fasted.'

Khepa is a marked-topic device, which marks topics that have relatively low predictability or referential accessibility, due to a referential competition with another referent in the context (Givón 1990: 741). When there is more than one potential topic present in the preceding discourse context, *khepa* selects one of these (Dik 1981: 62) and elevates it to topical status.³ The 'topicality of a referent' is understood here as its importance to the discourse, as measurable in terms of referential accessibility (anaphoric topicality) and thematic importance (cataphoric topicality) (Givón 1990: 569, 740ff, 900ff). While the data presented here are impressionistic, a text study measuring the values of these two parameters of topicality should be done to validate and further refine the hypothesis. Such a study might measure the anaphoric topicality of a referent by counting the distance backwards from its occurrence to its most recent prior mention in the discourse context. Cataphoric topicality may be measured by counting the number of times the referent is mentioned in a certain span of subsequent clauses.

5.3.2.1 *Khepa and anaphoric topicality*

Khepa is anaphorically topical, referring backwards to a referent in the preceding context. The 'referential distance', or span of discourse over which it may reach, is usually no more than one clause, but it may be as much as a few paragraphs. Example (58) is typical, where the noun phrase *tsi* 'maths' marked with *khepa* occurs in the clause immediately following the most recent mention of the noun phrase referent.

Onya zasu zum khepu khai hangte a-wa ya dak-nyi-la...
 DEM brother seven TOP TOP what do-NOM QUES say-NF-PRT
 'What happened to those seven brothers is this...'

Some dialects use the noun *riksu* 'type, sort, species' with a similar function to *khepa*:

Unyu sa riksu pura jang bang-pe gila.
 DEM land TOP completely 1s claim-INF COP
 'That land, I own it all.'

³ The use here of the terms *topic* and *focus* is distinct from that of Dik (1981:42) for whom topic is the entity 'about' which the predication is made, while focus belongs to the predicate, as the focus of the assertion (similar to a theme-rheme distinction).

- (58) Binang-ga tsi lampe khe-n-cho-wa, hang dak-nyi-la
 night-LOC maths learn-INF must-SE-stay-NOM what say-NF-PRT
 tsi khepa goma namesame lampa mawa-gi
 maths TOP before very learn-NOM NEG.COP-AGT
 unyu-rang kudur mangpu phi-le khe-n-cho-wa.
 DEM-EMPH effort much do-INF must-SE-stay-NOM
 'I was having to study mathematics at night, because maths (*khepa*)
 I hadn't studied much before, for this reason I was having to put in a lot
 of effort.'

In example (59), the speaker describes his unhappiness, then in the following clause refers back to that unhappy state, marking this second reference with *khepa*.

- (59) Jang ga-tan ga-tan zok, nying songnyiktsing di-la-kap, sem
 1s up-to up-to grow year twelve go-PRT-with mind
 cur-nyi, shonang ma-phe-wa a-n cho-wa. Han
 be.sour-NF happiness NEG-do-NOM do-SE stay-NOM what
 a-nyi-bu sem cur-khan khepa ye di-le ma-r-ba
 do-NF-FOC mind be.sour-REL TOP erase go-INF NEG-can-PRT
 namesame pratasata a-n cho-wa.
 very restless do-SE stay-NOM
 'When I grew up and became twelve years old, my heart became sad and I
 was constantly unhappy. No matter what I did, the sadness (*khepa*) in my
 heart would not go away, and I was always restless.'

Khepa seems to be only anaphorically topical, and not highly cataphorically topical: A referent marked with *khepa* is not necessarily mentioned again immediately after the present clause.

- (60) Chuti tshak-nyi lok shek-pa ming cat-pe-ga
 leave complete-NF return arrive-NOM name cut-INF-LOC
 zhutshe tsuk-pa. Ja-ga zhutshe khepa ga-tan
 application put-NOM 1s-LOC application TOP up-to
 zhen-nyi, jang thar-be-ga ka de-ba.
 serve-NF 1s release-INF-LOC order pass-NOM
 Un-dabu a-n Kalimpong shek-pa. Nyi pecha
 DEM-manner do-SE Kalimpong arrive-NOM PRT book
 lam-pe go+tsuk-pa.
 study-INF begin-NOM
 'Finishing my leave of absence, I returned and submitted my application
 for discharge. My application (*khepa*) being served, I received the order
 for discharge. In that manner, I arrived in Kalimpong, and began to
 study.'

5.3.2.2 *Khepa and contrastive focus*

As a *contrastive* topic marker, *khepa* focuses on one potential topic, contrasting it to and elevating it above other potential topics with which it stands in competition (Dik 1981: 45). In example (61), the topic switches back and forth between two referents, Buddha and Jesus. The example shows how *khepa* is used each time the topic switches from one to the other:

- (61) Buddha dang Yishu-gi sung-khan barka khepar mangpu
 Buddha and Jesus-AGT speak-REL between difference many
 hang-rang manca. Dak-pa-kap-nyi Yishu dang Buddha-ga
 what-EMPH NEG.COP say-PRT-with-NF Jesus and Buddha-LOC
 barka khepar namesame chilu ca. Buddha khepa
 between difference very great COP Buddha TOP
 jang dang nan dabu thur gila. Ro khepa a-ha-ba
 1s and 2s like one COP 3 TOP 1p-LOC-PL
 dabu a-nyi sing-ma gila. Dak-pa-kap-nyi Yishu khepa
 like do-NF raise-NOM COP say-PRT-with-NF Jesus TOP
 Kenco-ga thuk-gi a-nyi thrung-ma gila. Nyi Buddha
 God-LOC spirit-AGT do-NF bear-NOM COP PRT Buddha
 khepa denpa lam-khan gila, dak-pa-kap-nyi Yishu khepa
 TOP truth seek-REL COP say-PRT-with-NF Jesus TOP
 denpa ye-n bi-khan gila.
 truth teach-NF give-REL COP

'There are not many differences at all between what Buddha and Jesus said. However, the difference between Jesus and Buddha (themselves) is very great. Buddha (*khepa*) was like you and me. He (*khepa*) grew up like you and me. However, Jesus (*khepa*) was born by God's Spirit. Now Buddha (*khepa*) was a seeker of the truth. However, Jesus (*khepa*) came to teach the truth.

In example (62), first the three sons are introduced. Each of them are potential topics, as well as father of the sons, and the woman who asked the father to send one of them to come and help her. When the eldest son then comes into the room, he is marked with *khepa* to indicate his elevation to the status of topic, over and above and in contrast to the other participants:

- (62) Za ata chilu khepa ja apa nyungpa ca giwala dak,
 son elder.brother great TOP 1 father sick COP COP say
 e-ga ja thur, en-ga yu thur pha-n u-pha-la.
 right-LOC tea one left-LOC liquor one bring-SE come-NOM-COP
 ‘(The woman said, “Uncle, of your three sons, give one son to me.” “I don’t
 know who would agree to go. I will ask my three sons.” Thinking, “Among
 my three sons, I don’t know who would agree to go,” the father became wor-
 ried. He did not make the morning offering. He did not make the evening
 offering. Three nights passed and he didn’t make the offerings.) Then his
 oldest son (*khepa*), thinking his father was sick, came in (to him) bringing
 tea in his right hand and liquor in his left.’

In example (63), ‘the fruit of all the trees’ is first introduced. Then *khepa* is used to select as topic the fruit of *one particular* tree.

- (63) Kenco-gi onya dumre nang-kai lik-khan shing-ga se
 God-AGT DEM garden in-ABL sprout-REL tree-LOC fruit
 thamcen-rang za-i dak sung-ma-la. Dak-pa-kap-nyi
 all-EMPH eat-IMP say speak-NOM-COP say-PRT-with-NF
 shing thur-ga se khepa ma-za-i na dak-nyi
 tree one-LOC fruit TOP NEG-eat-IMP PRT say-NF
 sung-ma-la. Nyi unyu se khepa za-nyi-la na-ching
 speak-NOM-COP PRT DEM fruit TOP eat-NF-PRT 2-DUAL
 nyiktsing shi-le khe-le na dak-nyi Kenco-gi
 two die-INF must-INF PRT say-NF God-AGT
 sung-ma-la.
 speak-NOM-COP
 ‘God said to eat any of the fruit of all the trees growing in that garden.
 However, the fruit of one of those trees (*khepa*) he said not to eat. And if
 they ate that fruit (*khepa*) they would have to die, he said.’

5.3.2.3 *Khepa with implied referent*

The potential topic need not be explicitly mentioned in the previous context; it may merely be implied by the previous context, as seen in the following examples. In the free translation for each example, the referent marked by *khepa* is in boldface type.

- (64) Nyi-la Tawang-ga Jami-gi chetha phi-le go+tsuk-pa
 PRT-TOP Tawang-LOC Chinese-AGT war do-INF begin-NOM
 dak-nyi lungthri-ga then shek-pa. Thamcen-rang metpa
 say-NF radio-LOC message arrive-NOM all-EMPH ruin
 phi-nyi dong-tan gan odo dak-nyi yola Lokra-gai
 do-NF down-to flee come say-NF down Lokra-ABL
 then shek-pa. Lanyi khung-ga jas dang notsang
 message arrive-NOM month six-LOC ration and article
 khepa petrol si luk-nyi mi-ga gok ge-ma.
 TOP petrol oil pour-NF fire-LOC burn lose-NOM
 'A message came on the radio from Tawang saying that the Chinese had started the war. Then a message came from Lokra saying that we should destroy everything and flee down (out of the mountain). **The rations and equipment for six months** (*khepa*) we poured gasoline on and burnt.'

In example (64), the referent marked with *khepa* is 'the rations and equipment for six months'. This is not explicitly mentioned in the previous context, but is clearly implied by the mention of 'everything'.

- (65) Perna oma a-shi karmi phi-n-ca. Nyi karmi
 example now 1p-AGT lamp do-SE-COP PRT lamp
 phi-ba-ga si khepu dukpu songo-ga bi-nyi
 offer-NOM-LOC oil TOP poor person-LOC give-NF
 a-nyi-la dukpu songo namesame phenpa ca.
 do-NF-PRT poor person very benefit COP
 'For example, we are burning the butter lamp. And **the oil with which we burn the butter lamp** (*khepa*) if we were to give to poor people, the poor people would have much benefit.'

In example (65), the oil with which the butter lamp is burned is marked as a contrastive topic with *khepa*. Although the oil is not mentioned in the previous context, it is implied by the earlier mention of the butter lamp which is fuelled by that oil.

- (66) Chutshe phedang songthur di-la-kap, hawgari thur namesame
 hour half eleven go-PRT-with truck one very
 juk u-pha kakthap loka-tan. Hawgari dang-me lam
 run come-NOM barricade side-to truck walk-INF path
 khepa changlu ma-luk-pa a-deke, hawgari juk-pa
 TOP black NEG-pour-NOM do-NF truck run-NOM
 namesame yong khe-wa kan na-ga tha-n cho-wa.
 very shadow strike-NOM sound ear-LOC leave-SE stay-NOM
 'At ten-thirty, a truck came very fast toward the barricade. Because **the road which the truck was travelling on** (*khepa*) was not paved, a frightful sound was heard from the truck running.'

In example (66), the road itself, marked with *khepa*, is implied by the reference to the truck in the previous context.

5.3.2.4 *Khepa with nominal arguments*

Contrastive topicalisation is usually restricted to nominal arguments of the clause (Givón 1990: 705). This is the case with *khepa*, and indeed is one characteristic which differentiates it from another marked topic device *cho*, to be discussed in Chapter 17, which may mark nominal referents as well as complements, adverbial clauses and other constituents.

5.3.2.5 *Khepa and optional fronting of object*

Noun phrases marked with *khepa* appear to retain their role inside the core of the clause, in contrast to other types of marked topic devices, for example left dislocation, which often dislocates the affected noun phrase to a position outside of the intonation contour of the clause, and neutralises the case marking of the dislocated noun phrase (Givón 1990: 759). Tshangla noun phrase objects marked with *khepa* are frequently fronted, but not always. Examples (67) and (68) are typical instances of the object argument being fronted when marked with *khepa*:

- (67) Rokte-ba-ki songo dukpu-gai tiru dus bu-n-ca. Nyi
 3p-PL-AGT person poor-ABL money collect take-SE-COP PRT
 onya tiru khepa rokte-ba-ki shi-la-kap-nyi bang bu-le
 DEM money TOP 3p-PL-AGT die-PRT-with-NF carry take-INF
 ma-r-ba.
 NEG-can-PRT
 'They take money from the poor. And that money (*khepa*) they won't be able to take with them when they die.'
- (68) Unyu waktsa khepa ji shele khele dang.
 DEM child TOP 1s kill-INF must-INF PRT
 'That child I must kill.'

However the object marked with *khepa* is not necessarily fronted, as seen in examples (69) and (70):

- (69) Nyi mewaktsa-gi-bu onya se khepa phut-nyi za-wa-la.
 PRT woman-AGT-FOC DEM fruit TOP pick-NF eat-NOM-COP
 'And the woman too picked the fruit (*khepa*) and ate it.'
- (70) Lopen-gi ja-ga sem khepa dazin a-n nang-la.
 teacher-AGT 1s-LOC mind TOP care do-SE give-COP
 'The teacher takes care of my mind (*khepa*).'

Noun phrases marked with *khepa* also tend to retain their case marking. In example (71) the noun phrase with *khepa* is marked as agent:

- (71) A-ching ser-ta hangte bong-me nyi cangpu khepa-gi
 1p-DUAL gold-PRT how divide-INF PRT smart TOP-AGT
 yek-pa giwala.
 speak-NOM COP
 ‘The smart one said, “How shall the two of us divide up the gold?”’

Another characteristic of contrastive topicalisation is that it often reduces the degree of syntactic subjecthood displayed by the clausal subject (Givón 1990: 755). As we will see in Chapter 7 on case-marking, *khepa* does seem to reduce the likelihood of a subject argument taking the agentive case in situations where this would otherwise be expected.

A topic marker, because it encodes an accessible referent, may be either generic or definite, but never referential-indefinite (Givón 1990: 752). This accounts for the fact that the contrastive topicaliser *khepa* does not co-occur with the indefinite marker *thur* (cf. below).

5.3.3 Indefinite marker *thur*

The numeral *thur* ‘one’ is grammaticalised in some contexts to an indefinite marker:

- (72) Jang bra lai thur a-le khe-le-la.
 1s other work one do-INF must-INF-COP
 ‘I must do (i.e. get) some other job.’

As an indefinite marker, *thur* is no longer a quantifier like the other numerals; it now follows the quantifiers, as seen in example (74) below. Furthermore, having been bleached semantically, it may be predicated of a plural noun phrase subject, as in example (73), or configured together in a noun phrase with plural quantifier, such as *mangpu* ‘many’ in example (74):

- (73) Nyi nai-ba-ta namesame soso madrawa thur gila.
 PRT 2p-PL-PRT very different diverse one COP
 ‘But you (pl.) are very different (from them).’
- (74) Jang songo mangpu thur-gi-rang kha+tang-nyi...
 1s person many one-AGT-EMPH criticise-NF
 ‘I am criticised by many people.’

A content question word together with the indefinite marker *thur* is the common way of forming a non-referential relative clause, (‘whatever...’, ‘whoever...’) These are more extensively described in section 11.3.3 and 11.3.4.

- (75) Ji-gi pura hang tshat-pa thur nan-ga bi-wa.
 1s-AGT completely what need-NOM one 2s-LOC give-NOM
 'Whatever (you) needed I gave you.'

The focus marker *khepa* also implies a definite referent, and therefore does not occur with the indefinite marker *thur*, but only with the stressed *thur* functioning as a numeral quantifier 'one' as in the following example:

- (76) Dak-pa-kap-nyi songo thur khepa soso cho-wa.
 say-PRT-with-NF person one FOC different stay-NOM
 'However, one person was different.'

As noted above, the particle *-ba* encodes definiteness in addition to its plural function, and therefore is also incompatible with both the indefinite *thur* as well as the numeral quantifier 'one'.

5.3.4 *The universal quantifier thamcen*

The word *thamcen* 'all' comes after the optional plural particle *-ba*:

- (77) Ridrang nap khon cho-khan songo-ba thamcen-rang u-pha.
 riverbed edge along stay-REL person-PL all-EMPH come-NOM
 'All the people who lived along the river came.'

Thamcen also occurs before the case marker, and any post-case marker particles such as *rang* (below):

- (78) Onya songo-ba thamcen-gi rang rang-sa lam bong
 DEM person-PL all-AGT self self-PRT path divide
 jong-ma-la.
 go-NOM-COP
 'Those people all each went their own way.'

Alternatively, *thamcen* may occur postposed to the noun phrase, in what looks like an appositional structure:

- (79) Zamin-gi thamcen se-la-kap-nyi, ama shi-le.
 daughter-AGT all know-PRT-with-NF mother die-INF
 'When the daughter knows everything, her mother will die.'

5.3.5 *Case markers*

The case particles follow the head, quantifiers, and topicaliser. They are cliticised to the immediately preceding constituent.

- (80) Jang nangpa cho khepu-ga ten-nyi...
 1s Buddhist faith TOP-LOC adhere-NF
 'I adhered to the Buddhist faith...'

The clitic characteristics of the case markers are illustrated by example (81) below, where a complex conjoined noun phrase is marked by a single case particle. Here the locative marker *-ka* is phonologically attached to *semcenba* ‘animals’, but marks the entire conjoined noun phrase patient as the dative object of the verb *phangpe* ‘love’ (cf. Chapter 7 for an extensive discussion of case marking):

- (81) Throm-ga cho-khan songo-ba dang semcen-ba-ka phang-pe
 town-LOC stay-REL people-PL and animal-PL-LOC love-INF
 ma-khe-la mo?
 NEG-must-PRT QUES
 ‘Don’t I have to love the people and animals of the town?’

5.3.6 Post case marker particles

A diverse class of particles following the case marker encode information about the pragmatic status of the noun phrase. Examples are the contrastive focus marker *bu*, an emphatic marker *rang*, and topic markers *cho* ~ *sho*, and *la*:

- (82) Tshebang-gi waktsa-ba-ka-bu Ngalong-ga chas-rang phi-na.
 some-AGT child-PL-LOC-FOC Ngalong-LOC speech-EMPH do-COP
 ‘Some even speak the Ngalong language to their children.’

In addition to their occurrence in the noun phrase, these particles as well as others, occur on various other types of constituents. They also appear to have grammaticalised from several different sources. The entire class of particles in all of their usages will be discussed in Chapter 17. The discussion here is limited to their occurrence in the noun phrase.

The particles occur after the focus marker *khepa*, as illustrated by example (83) below:

- (83) Waktsa zemu khepa cho namsu ma-tak-pa u-phe.
 child small TOP TOP sense NEG-gain-NOM come-INF
 ‘Small children will not have good sense.’

Khepa occurs before the case marker, while this group of particles occurs after the case marker, as illustrated by comparing examples (84) and (85) below:

- (84) Songo zemu khepa-gi drowan a-wa.
 person small TOP-AGT theft do-NOM
 ‘That small person committed the theft.’
- (85) Songo zemu-gi cho drowan a-wa.
 person small-AGT TOP theft do-NOM
 ‘That small person committed the theft.’

With *thamcen* 'all', *rang* follows *thamcen* while *bu* may precede it, following any plural marker:⁴

- (86) Nyi bra songo-ba-bu thamcen-rang shi-wa-la.
 PRT other person-PL-FOC all-EMPH die-NOM-COP
 'And even the other people all died.'

5.4 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns may not occur together with any of the pre-head elements. However they do commonly occur followed by one or more of the post-head elements, such as quantifier and *khepa*, in example (87), *thamcen* in example (88), or *bra* in example (89).

- (87) Ro nyiktsing khepa phai ge-me khe-wa.
 3 two FOC house lose-INF must-NOM
 'The two of them had to abandon their house.'
- (88) Ai thamcen ma-lek-pa lai a-n-ca.
 1p all NEG-good-NOM deed do-SE-COP
 'We all do bad deeds.'
- (89) Nyi rokte bra cho jong tha-wa.
 PRT 3p other TOP go leave-NOM
 'And the others left.'

Since pronouns typically stand in for an entire noun phrase, if this were assumed to be the case for Tshangla, this, together with the tendency of post-head elements to be unrestrictive, would support an analysis of all of the post-head elements as occurring in some kind of appositional structure with the preceding noun phrase and postposed to it, rather than as elements embedded within it. The question of the internal structure of the noun phrase will be taken up in section 5.9 below.

5.5 REFLEXIVE NOUN PHRASE

The reflexive pronouns are transparently segmentable into the ordinary personal pronoun plus the reflexive suffix *-ten*. The suffix may be affixed to a pronoun; but not to a lexical noun phrase.

⁴ It will be seen in Chapter 17 that *bu* always precedes *rang* in constructions where they both occur.

5.5.1 *Function of the reflexive noun phrase: agent-patient coreference*

The basic function of the reflexive is to encode an object referent which is coreferential with an agent subject, i.e. when an agent is acting upon itself:

- (90) Ro-ki ro-ten-ga thung-ka na za-wa.⁵
 3-AGT 3-RFL-LOC upon-LOC oath eat-NOM
 'He took an oath upon himself.'
- (91) Ro-ki songo shi-wa-gai-bu wu-le re-ba-kap-nyi ro
 3-AGT person die-NOM-ABL-FOC rise-INF can-PTC-with-NF 3
 ro-ten cho sokjap a-le ma-r-be cho-wa mo?
 3-RFLX TOP save do-INF NEG-can-INF stay-NOM QUES
 'When he can raise people from the dead, wouldn't he be able to raise himself?'

5.5.2 *Emphatic usage of the reflexive pronoun*

A more frequent function of the reflexive pronoun, however, is to indicate emphasis. Emphatic function is a common feature of reflexives in many languages (T. Payne 1997: 203). The emphasis is a type of contrastive focus; a first person reflexive, for example, might be glossed as, 'me myself, and not someone else.' In the following examples, the reflexive pronoun is optional; a non-emphatic reference could be made to 'my people' or 'myself' by omitting the reflexive pronoun:

- (92) Jang-ten-ga songo-ba-kai-bu ja-ga noksam ma-lek-pa
 1s-RFLX-LOC person-PL-ABL-FOC 1s-LOC mind NEG-good-NOM
 mi-khan ca.
 think-REL COP
 'Even from among my own people there are some who think ill of me.'
- (93) Jang-ten la Thimpu u-phe sem-rang manji!
 1s-RFLX TOP Thimpu come-INF mind-EMPH NEG.COP
 'I myself have never planned to come to Thimpu!'

⁵ Some speakers repeat the agent subject encoded as an unmarked pronoun (here *ro*), before encoding it a third time by means of the reflexive pronoun *roten*, as in the following example:

Uthu songogi ro roten chilu cos-la.
 DEM person-AGT 3 3-RFLX great make-COP
 'This person, he makes himself to be great.'

The emphatic reflexive pronoun may modify an entire noun phrase. The fact that neither pronoun nor the noun phrase takes a locative/genitive marker suggests that the relationship between them is appositional:

- (94) Nyi ama ro-ten ngam tabu-rang kora phi-n-ca giwala.
 PRT mother 3-RFLX day always-EMPH round do-SE-COP COP
 ‘And mother herself every day did circumambulations.’

Somewhat rarely, the reflexive marker may also be attached to the indefinite marker *thur* instead of the pronoun *ro*:

- (95) Nyi abi thur-ten sem mi-nyi, to hangten bu-le
 PRT grandmother one-RFLX mind think-NF food how take-INF
 dak-nyi.
 say-NF
 ‘And grandmother thought to herself, “How will I bring the food?”’

In addition to the personal pronouns, the reflexive marker may also be suffixed to the impersonal third person pronoun *rang* ‘one, oneself’:

- (96) Songo-ba thamcen-gi, rang-ten-ga mingtam sho-le-sha
 person-PL all-AGT one-RFLX-LOC fame emit-INF-PRT
 got-nyi cho-wa.
 look-NF stay-NOM
 ‘All the people were only looking each to enhance their own fame.’

This pronoun *rang* is distinct from although probably historically related to the emphatic particle *rang*, which in turn may be attached to the emphatic reflexive pronoun in *-ten* (cf. section 17.4):

- (97) Unyu-ba-ki nai zhingksam-ga bu-le ma-r-ba;
 DEM-PL-AGT 2p heaven-LOC take-INF NEG-can-INF
 dai-ten-rang thola zhingksam-ga di-le ma-r-ba
 3p-RFLX-EMPH yonder heaven-LOC go-INF NEG-can-INF
 cho-wa-ca.
 stay-NOM-COP
 ‘These things certainly cannot take you to heaven; they themselves are not able to go to heaven.’

There is evidence that the suffix *-ten* is historically derived from a verb *tenme* ‘to rely on’. This evidence is discussed in section 15.8.1.4.

5.5.3 *The pronoun rokte*

While *roten* is an analysable reflexive form, a distinct phonological form *rokte* also occurs, which is also semantically and syntactically distinct from *roten*. For reasons of their obvious similarities, the hypothesis may be made that the two forms are diachronically related, and that a semantic and

phonological divergence has taken place, with the two forms/senses existing simultaneously but filling distinct functional slots in the grammar.⁶

5.5.3.1 *Rokte as a 3rd person pronoun*

Rokte is frequently used with definite 3rd person reference. In this sense, it functions like a personal pronoun ‘they’:

- (98) Got-co le nyera-ba o-ga shek-pa-la, rokte
 look-IMP PRT Nepali-PL where-LOC arrive-NOM-COP 3p
 thamchen o-ga-rang pram chu-ma.
 all where-LOC-EMPH spread finish-NOM
 ‘Look at where the Nepalis have arrived? They all have spread everywhere.’

When a third person referent is to be specifically marked as plural by means of the *-ba* particle (cf. above), *-ba* is always attached to *rokte*, rather than to *ro* alone:

- (99) Dekor cho hang-gi cos-ca ya a-nyi rokte-ba-ki
Dekor FOC what-AGT make-COP QUES do-NF 3p-PL-AGT
 lung nyiktsing-gi khuk-nyi dolo a-nyi cos-ca gila.
 stone two-AGT carve-NF equal do-NF make-COP COP
 ‘If one asks how *dekor* are made, they carve two stones to make them equal.’

5.5.3.2 *Rokte as a definite pronoun: ‘the others’*

Rokte as a pronoun may signify an emphasis on third person reference as opposed and contrasted to the speech act participants. As such it might be glossed as ‘another, the other(s)’.

- (100) Ai Tshangla-ba rokte gup-ga lekpu a-nyi cho-le
 1p Tshangla-PL other front-LOC good do-NF show-NF
 khe-le.
 stay-INF must-INF
 ‘We Tshanglapas must live showing (ourselves to be) good in front of others.’
- (101) Rokte nying gorba-ga nan lanyi ma-gor-sho.
 other year last-LOC 2s month NEG-last-IMP
 ‘For what others take a year (to do), don’t you take even a month.’

⁶ Something like *supposed to* vs. *s’posta* in English, the former being the past participle of the verb ‘to suppose’, i.e. ‘The king was supposed by many people to have succumbed long ago.’ the latter a modal auxiliary, i.e. ‘The king was supposed to arrive at noon.’

5.5.3.3 *Rokte as an indefinite pronoun 'someone'*

While the pronouns, including the third person *ro* and reflexive *roten* must encode an identified referent, *rokte* may signify an unidentified or even non-referential participant, i.e. 'someone':

- (102) Nyi bra-ta tramashekpa a-n jang rokete tshing-loka
 PRT other-PRT naughty do-SE 1s other behind-side
 benc-ga thik-nyi tha-n-cho-wa.
 bench-LOC tie-NF leave-SE-stay-NOM
 'And another naughty thing I used to do was to tie someone to the bench
 from behind, and leave them.'
- (103) Nyi rokete sewu ta-phe ren-pa-kap-nyi jang phiska
 PRT other prayer put-INF ready-PRT-with-NF 1s outside
 sho-n di-n-than...
 emit-NF go-NF-NF
 'When prayer was about to be made, I went out.'
- (104) Ja-ga ajang sho rokete-gi ngan phi-nyi nying khung
 1s-LOC uncle FOC other-AGT curse do-NF year six
 di-wa cho-wa.
 go-NOM stay-NOM
 'For six years someone had a curse on my uncle.'

5.5.3.4 *Rokte plus a noun phrase: demonstrative 'those'*

Rokte as a third person marker also frequently occurs in a modifying relationship to a coreferent noun phrase, functioning like a determiner or demonstrative, 'those'. Even in this context, however, there is often still an element of the contrastive emphasis detectable, emphasising the 'otherness' of a third person in contrast to a speech act participant:

- (105) Nyi rokete gelong-ba-ki dekor cang-me-ga namesame shonang
 PRT 3p monk-PL-AGT play-INF-LOC very happiness
 phe-n-ca.
 feel-SE-COP
 'Those monks really enjoy playing *dekor*.'
- (106) Nyi sanjepa-ga che-ga, om rokete chije
 PRT Buddha-LOC religion-LOC now 3p foreign
 songo-ba-ki haphthur depa a-n-ca!
 person-PL-AGT how.much faith do-SE-COP
 'And so many of these foreigners are converting to the Buddhist faith!'

- (107) Nan thur-ga yor-kai rokte golapu zum she-n
 2s one-LOC about-ABL 3p rooster seven kill-SE
 tha-wa.
 leave-NOM
 'For you alone those seven roosters were killed.'

5.5.3.5 Rokte plus a noun phrase: 'another'

With the meaning 'other', *rokte* may be configured together with another noun phrase in an appositive relationship. Modifying and specifying here, as it does, the meaning of the noun phrase, *rokte* in this construction looks very similar to a determiner like *bra* or *omchang*, which occurs within the noun phrase:

- (108) Jang rokte phai-ga za-n-ca.
 1s other house-LOC eat-SE-COP
 'I eat in **another** house (rather than in my own).'
- (109) Hang cang-nyi-bu rokte cang-thang-ga soso ca.
 what play-NF-FOC other play-means-LOC different COP
 'Whatever we play, there are **other** different ways to play.'
- (110) Ai Sharchokpaba mangpu rokte chas a-n-ca.
 1p Sharchokpa-PL manu other talk do-SE-COP
 'Many of us Sharchops are speaking a **different** language.'
- (111) Rokte jelkhap nang-ka cho-deke, dorma khenja ye-le
 other kingdom in-LOC stay-NF pant shirt wear-INF
 khe-le.
 must-INF
 'Because they live in a **different** country, they must wear pants and shirt.'

5.6 GENITIVE NOUN PHRASE

A noun phrase core may also contain a locative/genitive-marked noun phrase, which shows more positional flexibility than the other core constituents. The genitive noun phrase may occur before the determiner, as in the following examples:

- (112) ro-ka [uthu pecha]
 3-LOC DEM book
 'this book of his'
- (113) Ro-ka [bra waktsa-ba-]bu ngen phi-wa-la.
 3-LOC other child-PL-FOC marriage do-NOM-COP
 'His other children also got married.'

- (114) na-ga [omtur pecha]
 2s-LOC other book
 'your other book'

Alternatively, the genitive noun phrase may come after the determiner, as in the following examples.

- (115) Bra [shing-ga se]-ga-ba-ta thamcen-rang za-le chok-pe.
 other tree-LOC fruit-LOC-PL-PRT all-EMPH eat-INF allow-INF
 'You are allowed to eat of the other fruits of the tree.'
- (116) Bra [chije-ga songo]-gi ai dukpa la dak-nyi mi-na.
 other abroad-LOC person-AGT 1p poor COP say-NF think-COP
 'Other people from abroad (outside countries) think we are poor.'

The structure exemplified in (115) and (116), with the genitive noun phrase after the determiner and closer to the head noun, seems to be preferred when the semantic relationship between the genitive noun phrase and the head is close or idiomatic, i.e. *shing-ga se* 'tree fruit', *chije-ga songo* 'foreigners', while the structure in (112) through (114) is preferred otherwise.⁷

5.7 UNMARKED DEPENDENCY

Two nominal elements which are closely related semantically and which tend to co-occur frequently, may occur together in the noun phrase with neither being marked with the locative/genitive marker. One nominal may seem to be modifying the other semantically. However, it may be impossible to say conclusively which nominal is the syntactic head of the noun phrase, as both are capable of instantiating the noun phrase in the absence of the other, even when the reference of the noun phrase has not been established by prior discourse context (cf. section 5.1).

- (117) Nyi **zala** **apa** goma u-n got-pa.
 PRT monkey father before come-SE look-NOM
 'So the father monkey came to look first.'

⁷ The alternative hierarchical structures might be expected to correspond to distinct semantic scope properties. When the genitive noun phrase is preposed to the determiner, as in example (122), it would have scope over the entire noun phrase core. In this case, the genitive *ro-ka* 'his' would have scope over *bra waktasaba* 'other children'. In example (124), by contrast, the genitive noun phrase is inside of the scope of the determiner. In this case, the genitive noun phrase *shing-ga* 'of the tree' has scope only over *se* 'fruit', while the contrastive determiner *bra* 'other' has scope over the entire noun phrase *shing-ga se* 'the fruit of the tree'. The semantic distinction between these two structures, however, is a subtle one.

- (118) Nyi **shule** **phewaktsa**-gi ro-ka mewaktsa amse
 PRT jackal husband-AGT 3-LOC wife mango
 bi-wa-la.
 give-NOM-COP
 ‘And the jackal husband gave his wife a mango.’
- (119) Songo-gi **shing se** thre-ba-kap, se lekpu
 person-AGT tree fruit husk-PRT-with-NF fruit good
 zutsong-gai thre-bu man-ca.
 thornbush-ABL husk-PRT NEG.COP
 ‘When a person is husking a fruit (=shing se), he does not get good fruit from a thorn bush.’
- (120) **Memsi tsar** lekpa-n ma-cat-nyi-la mom-gai memsi sher
 mustard oil good-SE NEG-boil-NF-PRT curry-ABL mustard odor
 na-me.
 smell-NOM
 ‘If you don’t bring the mustard oil to a boil, the curry will smell like mustard oil.’

Some noun phrases contain two nominals, neither one marked with a locative/genitive marker, but where one of the nominals signifies a quantity or measurement pertaining to the other, much like classifiers in other languages. In this construction, the nominal signifying the measurement may either precede the other noun, as in (121), or follow it, as in (122):

- (121) Jang [**gurbu thur**] **nu** tshas-pe.
 1s cup one milk need-INF
 ‘I need one glass of milk.’
- (122) Ja-ga **capal** [**tse thur**] ge-ma.
 1s-LOC shoe one.of.pair one lose-NOM
 ‘I lost one of my shoes.’

5.8 APPPOSITION

The entire noun phrase including post-nominal particles may occur in a larger unembedded, appositional structure, with redundant case marking on each of the independent noun phrases. Example (123) below is an extreme example of this, with four distinct noun phrases, the first a 1st person plural pronoun *ai* ‘we’, and the others each taking their own agentive case marking:

- (123) Thinong namning [ai] [ro-ka loma-ba]-ki [za
 today tomorrow 1p 3-LOC disciple-PL-AGT son
 zamin-ba]-ki [thamcen]-gi-rang ro-ka totpu zhu-le
 daughter-PL-AGT all-AGT-EMPH 3-LOC praise tell-INF
 khe-le.
 must-INF
 'Nowadays **we his disciples, sons and daughters, all**, must praise him'

The universal quantifier *thamcen* 'all' is frequently postposed to the entire noun phrase including post-nominal particles in such a structure. In (123) above, for example, the quantifier *thamcen* 'all' occurs as head of its own noun phrase in what appears to be an appositive relationship to the other coreferent noun phrases. This results in a considerable potential for flexibility and complexity in noun phrase structure.

In the next two examples, the demonstrative *onya* (with its own plural particle) follows a coreferent noun phrase as a sort of resumptive pronoun, referring back to the coreferent noun phrase. This is common with subjects that are longer or more unwieldy than usual, such as in example (124) which has two conjoined noun phrases each containing a complement clause, or in example (125) with a complement question clause as subject:

- (124) [Phai-ga cho-le den-gai semcen dang borang
 house-LOC stay-INF purpose-ABL animal and forest
 nang-ka cho-le den-gai semcen] [onya-ba] ket-nyi
 in-LOC stay-INF purpose-ABL animal DEM-PL create-NF
 nang-ma-la.
 give-NOM-COP
 'Animals to stay in the house, and animals to stay in the forest, these he created.'
- (125) [Jang tha hangten u-pha mo] [onya] korgai ji-gi
 1s here how come-NOM QUES DEM about 1s-AGT
 zhu-le.
 tell-INF
 'How I came here, about this I will tell.'

5.9 HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE

To conclude this chapter, some observations will be made about internal hierarchical relations within the noun phrase. Some languages, the so-called 'nonconfigurational' varieties (Hale 1980; Hale 1982; Jelinek 1984) are claimed to have very little or no hierarchical structure. Non-configurationality, while usually claimed for a language as a whole, based on dis-

cussions of the structure of the clause or VP, may also apply to individual phrasal constituents such as the noun phrase (Payne 1993). Non-configurational phrases tend to be characterised by discontinuous constituents, and a lack of ordering constraints on elements in the phrase. These features are used to argue for a relatively 'flat' hierarchical structure or no internal structure at all to the phrase in question.

The noun phrase in Tshangla does not show non-configurational characteristics: There is no evidence of discontinuity of the noun phrase, and as I have already claimed above, there are regular ordering constraints on ordering of the noun phrase elements. When noun phrase constituent order does vary, there seems to be regular semantic consequences of the different ordering. These behaviours are consistent with a hierarchical noun phrase structure. While a complete analysis of the structure of the noun phrase is beyond the scope of this study, some evidence will be presented in this section for a hierarchical noun phrase structure.

First of all, there is evidence for hierarchical structuring of the head noun with its pre-nominal constituents. As noted above, the noun head may be elided only if referenced earlier in the discourse. This is also true, however, of the noun together with an adjectival modifier; these two elements of the noun phrase can be elided as a unit, as shown in example (126):

- (126) Dukpu waktsa nyiktsing cho-wa, phai-ga cho-khan ____
 poor child two stay-NOM house-LOC stay-REL ____
 thur dang ung-ga lai a-khan ____ thur.
 thur and field-LOC work do-REL ____ one
 'There were two poor children, one who stayed home, and another who worked in the fields'

It may be argued that the elided element in (126), (represented by ____), is the noun plus adjectival modifier *dukpu waktsa* 'poor child' which was presented earlier in the sentence. Based on an 'omissibility' test for constituency (Radford 1981: 68–70), this suggests that the noun head together with its adjectival modifier form a constituent at the core of the noun phrase, 'inside' of the next constituent out from the head, which is the relative clause.

A second test, the ability to be coordinated together (Radford 1981: 68–70), also suggests that the noun plus adjective form a constant between the head noun and the relative clause:

- (127) Lam-ga thrap-khan [dukpu waktsa] dang [bedeng waktsa]
 path-LOC meet-REL poor child and rich child
 'the poor child and the rich child whom we met on the path'

The fact that the noun plus adjective *dukpu waktsa* and *bedeng waktsa* ‘rich child’ may be coordinated with the conjunction *dang* ‘and’ suggests that they are constituents. Note that the relative clause *lamga thrapkhan* ‘whom we met on the path’ has semantic scope over the entire coordinate structure, including both the poor child and the rich child.

Likewise, the omissibility test suggests that the relative clause, adjective, and head noun may form a constituent which may be modified structurally by another pre-nominal element further from the head noun, such as the genitive phrase. Cf. example (128):

- (128) Ja-ga ung-ga lai a-khan semcen shi-n
 1s-LOC field-LOC work do-REL animal die-SE
 chu-ma-la, mapa ro-ka ——— khepu ma-shi-n-chi.
 finish-NOM-COP but 3-LOC ——— TOP NEG-die-SE-COP
 ‘All of my [animals that work in the fields] were killed off, but his _____
 were not killed.’

In example (128), the constituents of the noun phrase following the genitive pronoun *roka* ‘his’ are elided together. This suggests that these elements ‘inside’ of the genitive are a structural unit.

Proceeding in this fashion ‘outward’ from the head noun, we can show using tests of omissibility and coordination that each successive pre-nominal element forms a constituent together with the pre-nominal elements and noun head to its right. We might then hypothesise a right-branching hierarchical structure to the pre-nominal noun phrase including the head, as shown in Figure 3. Henceforth this noun phrase constituent containing the noun head and pre-nominal elements will be called the ‘core’ of the noun phrase:

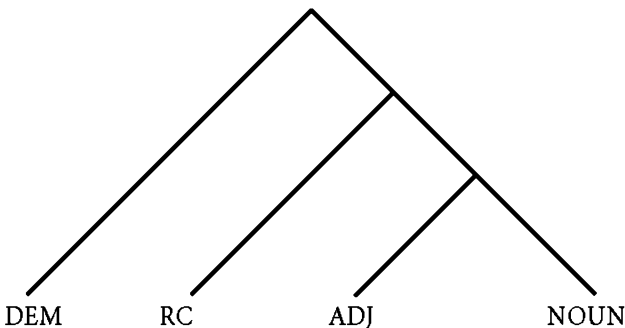


Figure 3. Internal structure of the noun phrase ‘core’

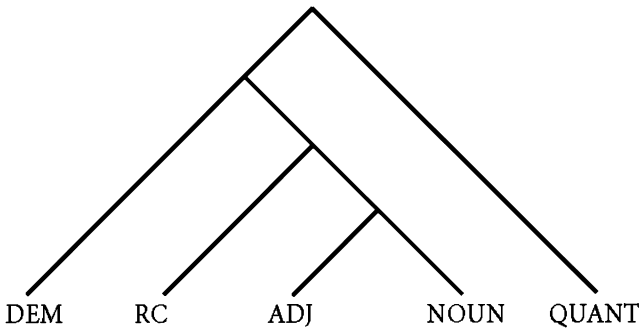


Figure 4. Noun phrase with quantifier

Turning to the post-nominal elements of the noun phrase, we see a pattern quite different from the core elements. Recall that there is only one post-nominal element which does not cliticise to the constituent to its left. This is the quantifier (excluding the plural particle, which is a clitic). There is evidence that this post-nominal quantifier is a sister, i.e. occurs at the same structural level in the hierarchy as the entire noun phrase core.

A constituency test which supports this analysis is the ability of a proform to substitute for a constituent. (Radford 1981: 68–70). In Tshangla, personal pronouns such as third person *ro* seem to be able to substitute for the noun phrase core, excluding the quantifier, as in example (129):

- (129) *Ro nyiktsing khepa taptur di-wa.*
 3 two TOP together go-NOM
 ‘The two of them left together.’

That the pronoun *ro* is substituting for the entire noun phrase core, and not merely substituting for the noun head, may be seen from the fact that the pronoun may not occur together with any of the other pre-nominal (core) elements:

- (130) **zemu ro*
 small 3
 *he the small one
- (131) **phai-ga cho-khan ro*
 house-LOC stay-REL 3
 *he who stayed home

The unity of a right-branching noun phrase core, excluding the post-nominal quantifier, suggests a larger left-branching structure including both the core and the quantifier, as shown in Figure 4.

Recall from above that adjectives and relative clauses, in addition to their unmarked pre-nominal position, may also occur in post-nominal position.

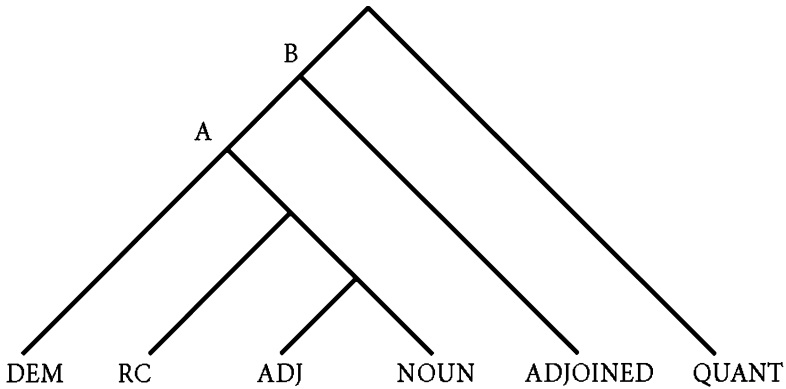


Figure 5. Noun phrase with post-posed modifier and quantifier

I suggested above that the pre-nominal position was the unmarked order, and the post-nominal order marked, for semantic reasons; the pre-nominal position is the one used when the modifier has a restrictive function, while the post-nominal position is most often used when the modifier has a non-restrictive function (cf. examples 4 and 9 above). This markedness of the post-nominal position is now reflected in the hierarchical structure proposed: A post-posed adjective or relative clause can be seen to have ‘moved’ from its position in the pre-nominal phrase and adjoined to a position outside of and to the right of the pre-nominal phrase, and just before the quantifier:

(132) onya phai-ga cho-khan waktsa zemu nyiktsing khepa
 DEM house-LOC stay-REL child small two TOP
 ‘those two small children staying in the house’

(133) onya zemu waktsa phai-ga cho-khan nyiktsing khepa
 DEM small child house-LOC stay-REL two TOP
 ‘those two small children staying in the house’

The expansion of the noun phrase to include post-posing of a modifier is shown in Figure 5.

The expanded core, including the post-posed (adjoined) modifier is also substitutable by the pronoun *ro*, suggesting that the expanded noun phrase core (B), not including the quantifier, but including the right-posed modifier, is a the same type of constituent as the noun phrase core (A).

An adjoined analysis of the post-nominal modifier captures the nature of its structural position as a more loosely bound ‘adjunct’ element, as opposed to a more closely bound modifier in the unmarked pre-head position within the noun phrase core. This correlates well with the semantically looser interpretation of the postnominal modifier. However, while the

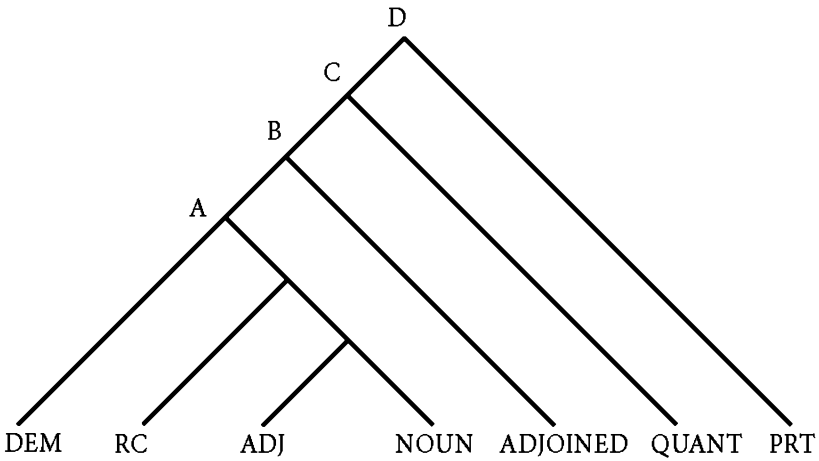


Figure 6. Entire noun phrase with post-nominal clitic particles

post-nominal position is usually used for non-restrictive modifiers, there seem to be exceptions to this, where a restrictive modifier is postposed. This may be due to ‘weighting’ considerations. There also seems to be a general tendency to avoid structures where both relative clause and adjective precede the noun head, in favour of an alternative structure where one occurs before and the other occurs after the noun. A more in-depth analysis of this, while beyond the scope of this grammar, is a topic worthy of further research.

The post-nominal clitic particles, occurring in a fixed order after the quantifier, we might presume to occur, like with the quantifier, in the left-branching structure. Such a syntactic configuration would be in keeping with their semantic scope behavior: Each of the particles encodes a semantic or pragmatic operator with scope over the entire noun phrase.

The phrasal constituent which includes the clitic particles is distinct from the phrase which includes the noun phrase core and the quantifier, in the following way: While the core constituents and the quantifier (under node C) are governed (required or licensed) by the particular noun head, the clitic particles (such as case marker, focus, etc. under node D) are governed by constituents external to the noun phrase, and at a higher level, usually the clause. For example, a verb which requires a locative or instrumental argument requires a noun phrase with a locative (*-ga*) or agentive (*-gi*) clitic particle.

THE CLAUSE, SYNTACTIC ROLES AND TRANSITIVITY

In this chapter, Tshangla basic clauses will be described, along with their argument structure, syntactic roles, and transitivity. This discussion will in turn be foundational for the account of case marking to be given in Chapter 7.

6.1 ARGUMENT SUPPRESSION VS. ZERO ANAPHORA

In order to understand the transitivity of Tshangla clauses, some discussion is necessary of the inherent transitivity (Payne 1985) of Tshangla verbs.

Tshangla belongs to a class of languages sometimes known as ‘pro-drop’ languages, in which previously mentioned participants in discourse are referred to by means of zero anaphora, or ‘zero pronouns’.¹ Both subject and object arguments may be left implicit (represented by means of \emptyset) when the identity of the referent is recoverable from the discourse context. Consider the following examples:

- (1) Zala-gi hang a-n-ca ya dak-pa sho bozong
 monkey-AGT what do-SE-COP QUES say-NOM FOC cassava
 che-n-ca dak-pa-la
 plant-SE-COP say-NOM-COP
 ‘When the monkey asked what they were doing, (they) said they were planting cassava.’
- (2) Nyi bozong zong-nyi, la-ga chom-nyi, sa nangka
 PRT kassave boil-NF leaf-LOC wrap-NF earth in
 che-wa-la.
 plant- NOM-COP
 ‘So (they) boiled the cassava, wrapped (it) in a leaf, and planted (it) in the ground.’

Examples (1) and (2) are taken from a story about an old man and women who were tricked by some monkeys while planting cassava. In example (1), the subject of the second clause with *dakpa* ‘said’ is omitted but clearly recoverable from the context. It refers to the highly topical participants of

Huang’s ‘cool’ languages seem to refer to the same notion (Huang 1984), namely that participants, if they are assumed to be identifiable contextually, are not mentioned.

the story, the old man and woman. In example (2), the object/patient of the verbs *chome* 'wrap' and *chele* 'plant' is omitted. Here as well, the missing argument is recoverable from the context. It is clear that it refers to the *cassava* the old man and woman were planting. In both cases, the omitted arguments are recoverable because they are highly topical and therefore implicit in the discourse context. This omission of a recoverable argument is zero anaphora. Arguments of both transitive as well as intransitive clauses may undergo zero anaphora.

However, to complicate matters, multi-valent verbs in Tshangla may also undergo 'object suppression' (Andersen 1987: 285ff), where an argument is not mentioned even though it is *not* recoverable from the context.² In this case, the valence of the verb has been reduced in that particular usage.

There is an important distinction between an argument which has been suppressed and one which is represented by zero anaphora. As Thomas Payne points out, the conditions under which these two operations occur are exact opposites. An argument may be suppressed when its identity is unimportant, i.e. 'has not been established and need not be established in order for the speaker to achieve his/her communicative goal.' An object is referenced by zero anaphora for precisely the opposite reason, namely 'when the identity of the referent is so well and recently established that confusion with some other entity is impossible.' (Payne 1997: 170). Payne suggests that object omission (suppression) is a valence adjusting operation, whereas zero pronominalisation is not.

Tshangla verbs may therefore be defined as intransitive if they only allow for a single core argument. Transitive verbs, by contrast, may be defined as verbs which *may* take two core arguments. A verb which may occur either with one or two core arguments will by this definition be a transitive verb.

Given a clause containing a transitive verb, then, the transitivity of the clause will depend on whether or not one of the core arguments of the verb has been suppressed. Suppression of the argument results in a decrease in the valence of the clause.

Example (3) shows the verb *yiphe* 'to sleep' with a single semantic patient argument. As evidenced by the unacceptability of example (4),

² Anderson claims, in contrast to the present analysis, that under suppression, the referent is always recoverable from elsewhere in the discourse. However, his examples (e.g. 36, p. 299) do not seem to bear this out, and his definition corresponds to my own usage of the term here. He claims that 'actor and undergoer suppression are functionally related to the passive and antipassive respectively' (p. 298) which would only be true if they could be used where the identify of the suppressed referent was unspecified, unimportant, or unknown.

this verb may not take a second core argument (agent), and therefore is intransitive.

- (3) Jang yi-pha.
 1s sleep-NOM
 'I slept.'
- (4) *Ro-ki jang yi-pha.
 3-AGT 1s sleep-NOM

The verb *brakpe* 'to scold' may take both an agent and a patient, as seen from example (5). It is therefore a transitive verb. *Brakpe* may, however, undergo argument suppression, and occur in an intransitive clause with only a patient argument, as in example (6), or an intransitive clause with only an agent argument, as in example (7):

- (5) Gopen-gi jang brak-pa.
 chief-AGT 1s scold-NOM
 'The chief scolded me.'
- (6) Jang brak-pa.
 1s scold-NOM
 'I got scolded.'
- (7) Gopen-gi namesame brak-ca.
 chief-AGT very scold-COP
 'The chief really scolds (people) a lot.'

Although there is no special morphological marking on the verb, the clause in example (6) is a 'functional passive' (Givón 1984: 164). The agent argument is suppressed, not because it is highly topical, but for the exact opposite reason, namely because it is unknown or unimportant (Keenan 1985a; Langacker and Munro 1975). Likewise, the clause in example (7), having undergone object suppression, is functionally equivalent to an 'antipassive' construction (Givón 1984: 108, 161ff). In both examples (6) and (7), the suppression of an argument has resulted in a decrease in the semantic valence of the verb; both clauses are now intransitive.

While it seems that all transitive verbs are like *brakpe* in that both agent and patient arguments may be suppressed, not all verbs are alike in terms of which arguments are most *likely* to be suppressed. This is determined by pragmatic factors relating to how the particular verb is likely to be used in discourse. Suppressed arguments are usually unimportant to the discourse, or so highly stereotyped and predictable given the nature of the verb that they do not need to be mentioned (Givón 1984: 109; 1990: 568).

For example, a transitive verb like *zale* 'to eat' may occur either in a transitive clause with agent and patient, as in example (8), or in an intransi-

tive clause with overt agent and suppressed patient, as in (9), a functional ‘antipassive’ (Givón 1990: 624–5). In the intransitive example, what was eaten is unspecified and not necessarily recoverable from the context. This is probably because there frequently are situations when what is important to the discourse is the fact that the agent has eaten, while it is unimportant exactly what was eaten. In any case, it is highly predictable that what was eaten was some kind of food.

(8) Jang to za-wa.
1s rice/food eat-NOM
‘I ate food/rice.’

(9) Jang za-wa.
1s eat-NOM
‘I ate./ I have eaten.’

Note that the object noun phrase of the verb ‘to eat’, while predictable in the general sense that it is likely to be some sort of food, is not recoverable in the sense of identifying a specific referent from the discourse context.

The verb *thongme* ‘to see’ is a transitive verb in Tshangla, as seen in example (10) below. It requires a sentient being as agent/experiencer. *Thongme*, as all verbs of perception, usually requires the agentive marking on its subject (cf. section 7.1.1.2a):

(10) Songo-gi drowan thong-ma.
man-AGT thief see-NOM
‘The man saw the thief.’

The verb *thongme* may also occur intransitively, however, with a suppressed agent/experiencer. The clause in example (11) below occurred in a story about a thief who was attempting to sneak undiscovered into a house. What is important to the story is the fact that he was seen (i.e. discovered) in the process of his burglary. It was not important precisely who discovered him:

(11) Drowan thong-ma.
thief see-NOM
‘The thief was seen.’

The verb *yekpa* ‘to speak’ is another verb which is clearly transitive, normally taking an agent-marked subject (cf. section 7.1.1.2c) as well as a patient. *Yekpa* may also be used intransitively, however, with reference to ‘naming’, as in example (12):

(12) Onya mewaktsa-ga ming cho Sonam a-nyi yek-pe.
DEM woman-LOC name TOP Sonam do-NF speak-INF
‘That woman’s name is called Sonam.’

Other transitive verbs when used intransitively express meanings which in English would be specified by different lexemes. We might say that there are two senses to the Tshangla verb, one for transitive usages, the other for intransitive.

One example is the verb *lekpe*, meaning ‘to like’ in a transitive clause (13). In an intransitive clause, with a suppressed agent, this verb takes on the meaning ‘to be good’ (14):

(13) Jang otha songo-ga ma-lek-pa.
 1s DEM man-LOC NEG-like-NOM
 ‘I don’t like that person.’

(14) Otha songo ma-lek-pa.
 DEM man NEG-like-NOM
 ‘That person is not good.’

The verb *thongme* ‘to see’ has both a transitive sense meaning ‘to see’, as in (15), and an intransitive sense meaning ‘to seem, to appear, to look’, as in (16) and (17):³

(15) Ji-gi tha-gai ro-ka phai thong-ca.
 1s-AGT here-ABL 3-LOC house see-COP
 I see his house from here.

(16) Na-ga choesham namesame lekpu thong-la.
 2s-LOC altar very good see-COP
 Your altar looks very good.

(17) Ngam khepa shar-loka thong-la.
 sun TOP east-side see-COP
 The sun rises (appears) in the east.

6.2 SYNTACTIC ROLES

6.2.1 *Oblique vs. core arguments*

Arguments of the clause may be subdivided into two types, oblique and core arguments. The distinction between zero anaphora and true object suppression is relevant here as well. Oblique arguments are traditionally understood to be participants which are not required by the valence of the verb, while core arguments are those which are required. Since in lan-

³ Note that ‘to look’ in this sense corresponds to the English middle voice, which is similarly formed through agent suppression without special morphological marking. However, while such an unmarked agent suppression is possible in English only for certain verbs, it is possible for any transitive verb in Tshangla.

guages like Tshangla, any argument may be omitted under conditions of discourse recoverability, the core/oblique distinction can only be formally maintained if zero anaphora counts as the presence of an argument.⁴

An oblique argument will thus be defined as an argument which can be omitted even when not recoverable from the discourse context. A core argument (non-oblique) by contrast, will be defined as any argument which can be omitted only if its reference is recoverable from the discourse context, i.e. under zero anaphora. It will be seen below that oblique objects can encode various semantics roles, such as location, time, beneficiary and agent/instrument.

6.2.2 *Subject*

Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, the pragmatically unmarked constituent order in Tshangla is SOV, i.e. the subject argument in a basic clause usually precedes the object. The pragmatically marked exceptions to this will be dealt with in Chapter 18.

Anderson (1976) has shown that while a subject argument in ergative languages may not be identifiable through morphological marking, it may in many languages be distinguished with certainty by syntactic means.⁵ That is, many languages are 'surface ergative', i.e. ergative morphologically, but syntactically nominative (cf. also Cooreman et al. 1984). This is true for Tshangla: The role of subject in a transitive clause is *not* identified by any morphological means such as the agentive case marker. Nor is the subject identical to any semantic argument: Either the agent or the patient in a transitive clause may be subject. While Tshangla lacks many of the morphosyntactic alternations such as passivisation and raising, which are typically sensitive to a subject argument, the control of a coreferent subject in multi-clause constructions such as conjoined clauses and complement clauses does establish the validity of a syntactically defined subject, independent of semantic role.

There are two types of multi-clause constructions in Tshangla in which the subject of one clause controls or constrains the reference of the subject of a following clause. These are 1) concatenated clauses (i.e. clause chains

⁴ Dixon (1979) follows this reasoning when he defines a transitive sentence as having two obligatory noun phrases, saying that 'certain NPs are termed 'obligatory' not because they must necessarily occur in the surface structure of every sentence involving a certain verb, but because the speaker and hearer must have some understanding of them if the sentence is to form a conceptual whole' (p. 105).

⁵ This is not to imply that there is a universal notion of 'subject' which will apply to all languages (Keenan 1976). A 'subject' must be defined in terms of its syntactic properties for the language in question (Foley and Van Valin 1977).

and adverbial clause constructions), and 2) complement clauses containing participles in *-le* or *-wa*. In both of these constructions, the noun phrase which controls the subject of a subsequent clause is definable by syntactic rather than semantic or morphological criteria. This noun phrase will be defined as the syntactic subject.

6.2.2.1 *Subject control of zero anaphora in concatenation*

In concatenated clauses (cf. Chapter 15) such as clause chains and adverbial clause constructions, one or more non-final clauses are followed by a final clause which carries the tense and aspect marking for the entire chain (cf. section 8.1). In this construction, the subject is often stated explicitly only once in an initial non-final clause, and thereafter omitted, provided that it is coreferential with the subjects of the following clauses.

In example (18), a bi-valent non-final clause is followed by a monovalent final clause. When the single argument of the intransitive final clause is omitted, it will be interpreted as coreferential with the first noun phrase of the non-final clause, the agentive-marked *gopen* ‘chief’. It will not be interpreted as coreferential with the second argument, the patient *jang* ‘1s’:

- (18) Gopen-gi jang brak-nyi, Ø phiska di-wa.
 chief-AGT 1s scold-NF Ø outside go-NOM
 ‘The chief scolded me and went outside.’
 * ‘The chief scolded me and I went outside.’

In example (19) below, however, with the absolutely marked patient noun phrase *jang* ‘1s’ in sentence-initial position, and the agent in second position, the omitted subject of the final clause will be interpreted as coreferent with the patient, rather than with the agent argument:

- (19) Jang gopen-gi brak-nyi, Ø phiska di-wa.
 1s chief-AGT scold-NF Ø outside go-NOM
 ‘I was scolded by the chief and went outside.’
 * ‘I was scolded by the chief and he went outside.’

It was the initial nominal argument of the non-final clause in both (18) and (19), regardless of whether that argument was agent or patient, which controlled the reference of the omitted (zero-anaphoric) subject of the final clause. This controlling argument may thus be defined as subject, based on syntactic, rather than semantic grounds.

If the left-most argument is subject, then in (19) the agent-marked argument must be an oblique, i.e. a non-core argument. And as we would expect of the ‘demoted’ agent in a typical passive construction, the agentively marked oblique may be omitted, leaving only the absolutely marked argument. This is, of course, the ‘functional passive’ construction discussed in section 6.1 above:

- (20) Jang brak-pa.
 1s scold-NOM
 'I got scolded.'

Note that while the subject argument happened to be the initial argument of the clause in examples (18) and (19) above, this is not part of the definition of subject. While the subject will tend to occur in initial position in unmarked contexts, under certain pragmatic conditions, the subject may be postposed to a clause-final position (cf. Chapter 18). Even in pragmatically unmarked contexts, an oblique argument may occur in clause-initial position. In section 7.1.2 we will see that a non-subject oblique argument may occur both clause initially, and with the agentive marker *-gi*.

In natural discourse, intransitive clauses containing transitive verbs with patient subjects, where the agent is also present as an oblique, are commonly used when the agent is inanimate, as illustrated in examples (21) through (23).

- (21) Dai-ba jinlab-gi phung-nyi, Ø temken ri-n...
 3p-PL blessing-AGT swell-NF Ø full become-SE
 'They were filled with blessing and became full.'
- (22) Ja-ga yokpa natsha-gi ngam-nyi Ø dreki ma-r-ba
 1s-LOC servant disease-AGT eat-NF Ø bear NEG-able-NOM
 Ø yip-sa thang-ma ca.
 Ø sleep-REL lie-NOM COP
 '...my servant, being afflicted by disease, unable to stand it, is lying in bed.'
- (23) Brong mi-gi zhum-pa-kap-nyi cum-pe.
 rubber fire-AGT immerse-PTC-with-NF shrivel-INF
 'When rubber is immersed in fire, it will shrivel up.'

This corresponds to the commonly noted universal tendency for languages to encode the instigator of an event as subject unless the instigator is outranked in animacy or 'topic worthiness' by another referent. This scalar notion of topic worthiness has been referred to as an 'empathy principle' (Kuno 1976) or 'topic hierarchy' (Givón 1984).

However, patient subject intransitive clauses with animate oblique agents do occur as well, as seen in examples (24) and (25):

- (24) Khandroma Lhendrup-gi ma-thong-ma Ø ye
 goddess Lhendrup-AGT NEG-see-NOM Ø disappear
 di-wa-la
 go-NOM-COP
 'The goddess, without being seen by Lhendrup, disappeared.'

- (25) Dekor cho rokte-ba-ki lung nyiktsing-gi khuk-nyi,
 dekor TOP 3-PL-AGT stone two-AGT carve-NF
 Ø dolu a-nyi u-phe.
 Ø equal do-NF come-INF
 ‘Dekor stones, people having carved them out of two rocks, will be equal
 (in size).’

6.2.2.2 Subject control of equi deletion in complement clauses

Another test for subjecthood involves so-called “equi deletion” or “equi NP deletion”, where an argument of a complement clause may be omitted only under coreference with an argument of the matrix clause. This may be demonstrated for a verb like *sele* ‘to know’, which takes a participial complement clause.⁶ Used in an equi-subject construction, the subject of *sele* controls the subject of the complement clause, and the meaning is roughly ‘to know to P’ or ‘to know enough to P’. In a non-equi-subject construction, the subject of *sele* does not control the subject of the complement clause, which may be independently specified. The meaning is roughly ‘to know that X did P’. When the complement clause is transitive, the subject of the matrix clause may control (i.e. be coreferent with) either the subject or the object of the complement clause. If the complement subject is controlled, it may be encoded with Ø-anaphora, as in (26). However, if the object is controlled, it must be encoded by a pronoun as in (27):

- (26) Dorji-gi [Ø Sonam phang-pa] se-le.
 Dorji-AGT Ø Sonam love-NOM know-NOM
 ‘Dorji knows Ø to love Sonam.’ (i.e. Dorji knows enough to love Sonam.)
- (27) Dorjigi [Sonam ro phangpa] sele.
 Dorji knows Sonam to love him.
 ‘Dorji knows that Sonam loves him.’

Thus the control of zero anaphora in conjoined clauses, and of equi deletion in complement clauses establishes syntactic justification for a subject argument in Tshangla.

⁶ Complement clauses in Tshangla are described in Chapter 14 below. Some of these complement-taking verbs allow only complements which share their subject with the matrix clause (*rebe* ‘to be able to’, *khele* ‘to be required to’, *campe* ‘to be about to’). Others require their complement to take a different subject (*bile* ‘to cause X to’, *thongme* ‘to see X doing...’) A few of them, however, like *sele* ‘to know’, allow both equi- and non-equi-subject complements.)

6.3 TRANSITIVITY

Transitive verbs were defined, in section 6.1 above, as those verbs which allow two core arguments, as opposed to intransitive verbs, which allow only one. It was seen in examples like (21) through (23) above, however, that the subject of a transitive verb is not necessarily the agentive-marked nominal: An often inanimate oblique agent or cause may take the agentive marking while a usually animate patient argument is the subject. In examples (24) and (25) above, we saw that even an agentive-marked nominal with a human referent having causal power is not necessarily the subject.

In the discussion on agentive case marking to follow, we will see that even intransitive verbs may allow an additional agent/cause argument, marked with the agentive *-gi*. In terms of word order and surface morphology, transitives and intransitives may appear to be equivalent. In terms of their syntactic structure, however, the two are distinct.

The distinction depends on the difference between core and oblique arguments, and the possibility of the agent/causer being encoded as a core argument, i.e. as subject of the clause. Recall that with a transitive verb, the agent/cause may occur as a syntactic oblique, leaving an intransitive 'passive-like' clause with patient as subject. In an intransitive clause, this is the *only* syntactic arrangement available. While the agent of a transitive clause may occur as subject, the causer in an intransitive clause may not. Even if preposed to the left of the clause, the causer argument will remain an oblique causer and not become subject. Thus there is a principled syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Tshangla. Transitive verbs are those which allow their cause/agent argument to take the subject position, while intransitives are those for which the cause/agent argument must remain an oblique. The distinction, while not always obvious from surface facts, shows up under syntactic operations, and is probably implicit and understood in connected discourse, although some utterances may be ambiguous.

CASE MARKING

This chapter will describe the various functions of the three case markers, or case postpositions, the agentive/instrumental *-gi*, the locative/dative *-ga* and the ablative *-gai*. Each of the case markers is used both as a nominal postposition as well as a clausal subordinator, a common feature of Bodic case postpositions (cf. Genetti 1986a, 1991). In their function as nominal postpositions, they may mark both core and oblique functions.

7.1 AGENTIVE/INSTRUMENTAL *-GI*

Transitivity is a scalar property, determined by a complex of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features, any or all of which may influence the overall transitivity of a clause. (Hopper and Thompson 1980; cf. also DeLancey 1987, Givón 1985). The following discussion will show that, for Tshangla clauses, the presence of the agentive case marker *-gi* is determined by a combination of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors instantiated within the individual clause as well as the larger discourse context, no single one of which is sufficient on its own to motivate agentive marking.

7.1.1 *Core functions of -gi*7.1.1.1 *Ergative/absolute*

In regards to case marking on core clausal arguments, Tshangla might be characterised as an ergative language with an ‘active/stative’ split. In what might be called prototypical transitive clauses, the agentive case marker *-gi* usually marks the agent in a bi-valent clause, while subjects of intransitive and patients of transitive clauses are zero-marked.¹ This is the ergative/absolute pattern:

- (1) Apa yi-pha.
 Father sleep-NOM
 ‘Father slept.’

¹ The term ‘zero-marked’ is used here to denote an empty reflex of an obligatory grammatical category, as distinct from an ‘unmarked category’. In the former, the lack of an overt grammatical marker contrasts with the presence of some other marker or markers in representing the category, while in the latter the category itself is not specified.

- (2) Apa-gi ung bak-pa.
 father-AGT field plough-NOM
 'Father ploughed the field.'
- (3) Gopen-gi apa she-wa.
 chief-AGT father kill-NOM
 'The chief killed father.'

This pattern usually holds true in prototypical transitive clauses with a human agent subject and a highly affected patient object, and prototypical intransitive clauses with an affected patient subject. However, as we will see below, there are a number of exceptions to this generalisation.

7.1.1.2 *Agentive marking on subjects of perception/cognition/utterance verbs*

In addition to prototypical transitive clauses such as illustrated in examples (2) and (3) above, there are certain other types of predicates which appear almost exceptionlessly with an agentively marked subject. These are the so-called PCU 'perception, cognition or utterance' verbs, verbs conventionally termed *verba sentiendi et dicendi* in traditional grammars. Rather than taking a direct object, these verbs take as their complement a sentential or clausal complement expressing a proposition of perception, cognition or utterance. About verbs which take a non-agent subject in the agentive case, DeLancey remarks that the choice of an agentive case marking reflects not agentivity, but a natural starting point for the flow of attention (1981a: 634).

a. *Perception verbs.* Verbs of perception include those expressing both active or volitional perception, such as *gotpe* 'look' and *nyanpe* 'listen', as well as passive or non-volitional expression, such as *thongme* 'see', *na thale* 'hear'. The former could be said to have an agent subject, the latter an experiencer subject. Both are marked with the agentive marker *-gi*. Verbs of perception typically may take either a propositional complement or a nominal object. Examples are given in (4) and (5):

- (4) Ro-ki gari giti-rang ma-thong-ma giwala.
 3-AGT car when-EMPH NEG-see-NOM COP
 'He had never seen a car.'
- (5) Throm-ga songo-ba-ki nyangen a-wa kan thur na
 town-LOC person-PL-AGT mourn do-NOM voice one ear
 tha-wa-la.
 leave-NOM-COP
 'The people of the town heard a voice mourning.'

b. *Cognition verbs.* Many verbs of cognition allow for a propositional complement referring to the content of a mental process. Examples of such verbs in Tshangla are *gum yele* ‘recognise’, *lo dile* ‘believe’, *dothang catpe* ‘estimate’, *ha gole* ‘understand’, *kha tunme* ‘agree’, *naikap shole* ‘get an idea’, *photse ale* ‘estimate’, *sele* ‘know’, *sem mile* ‘think’, *tha catpe* ‘decide’, *tsile* ‘reckon, consider’, *yitka ale* ‘remember’, *yitka mile* ‘forget’. However, there is another set of cognition verbs which may be used intransitively, i.e. they require neither a nominal object nor a propositional complement. These are *che ale* ‘have faith, believe’, *naikap shole* ‘get an idea’, *nale* ‘comply, agree’, *khadrin cangme* ‘forgive’. Both of these types of cognition verbs consistently take a subject marked with agentive *-gi*.

(6) Shecang Doma-gi mi gum ye-wa giwala.
 Shecang Doma-AGT arrow face wear-NOM COP
 ‘Shecang Doma recognised the arrow.’

(7) Nan-gi-bu ha go-le me?
 2-AGT-FOC heart put-INF PRT
 ‘You also understand, right?’

(8) Ji-gi ma-se-la. Jang shi-n nyok-nyi-sha ji-gi
 1s-AGT NEG-know-PRT 1s die-SE receive-NF-PRT 1 s
 AGT
 se-le.
 know-INF
 ‘I don’t know. Only if I had died would I know.’

(9) Na-shi hang sem mi-le ya?
 2p-AGT what mind think-INF QUES
 ‘What are you thinking?’

c. *Utterance verbs.* Verbs of speech or *verba dicendi* such as *yekpe* ‘speak’, *jime* ‘ask’, *len ale* ‘answer’, *yen bile* ‘teach’, *melam taphe* ‘pray’, *tepa phile* ‘pray, entreat’, *menang ale* ‘criticise’, *na zale* ‘take an oath’, take as complement a proposition which represents a quotation, either direct or indirect (cf. Chapter 16). The quotation is usually set off from the matrix clause by means of the verb *dakpe* (usually in its non-final form *daknyi/dak*) or *ale* ‘do’ (usually in its non-final form *anyi/an*, as in example (10):

(10) Nyi nga-ba-ki jang bu-i jang bu-i yek-pa-la.
 PRT fish-PL-AGT 1s take-IMP 1s take-IMP speak-NOM-COP
 ‘And the fish said, “Take me! Take me!”’

Occasionally the quotative marker is left implicit, although more frequently the quotative marker occurs with no matrix verb at all, when the event is understood to be one of thinking or speaking. This is especially common in the vivid repartee found in many Tshangla narratives. In this case, the subject is still usually agentive-marked:

- (11) Yongba-gi jang-bu juma lam-pe di-le dak-nyi, yola
 fool-AGT 1-FOC magician learn-INF go-INF say-NF down
 di-wa.
 go-NOM.
 'The fool, saying, "I too will go to learn to be a magician," went down there.'

7.1.1.3 *Split intransitive/fluid-S*

A case marking pattern found in many ergative languages is the 'split intransitive' or 'active/stative' system. In these systems, case marking on intransitive clauses, rather than reflecting the absence of an object, reflects the semantic relationship of the nominal to the predicate. So the single argument of an intransitive verb may be marked as agent or patient depending on the semantic role which it plays in relation to the predicate. In some of these languages, the verb itself determines whether it will take a patient or agentive subject. In others, the so-called 'fluid-S' systems, a single verb may take either an agent or patient subject depending on the degree of agent-like properties such as volition or control which the subject exercises over the predicate (Anderson and Wade 1988, Bashir 1986, DeLancey 1984c, 1985b, 1990). An illustration of the contrast is given in the following Lhasa Tibetan examples given in Chang and Chang (1980):

- (12) Na-s lha+sa-r p'yin-pa-yin
 I-AGT Lhasa-to went-PERF/VOL
 'I went to Lhasa.'
- (13) Na lha+sa-r p'yin-pa-red
 I Lhasa-to went-PERF/INVOL
 'I went to Lhasa.'

Example (13) with the absolutive-marked subject would be appropriate in a context where the subject was for example taken to Lhasa as a child.

Tshangla case marking can be called a fluid-S system, in that subjects of a given intransitive verb do not always take the same case marker. However, as we will see below, the semantics of the alternation are more complex than for Lhasa Tibetan.

7.1.1.4 *Optionality of agentive marking*

Languages fairly closely related to Tshangla have been described as having optional ergative/agentive case marking in certain contexts. In Lhasa Tibetan, for example, according to DeLancey (1990), subjects of transitive clauses require ergative marking in the perfective aspect, and are optionally ergative in other tense-aspect categories. Subjects of intransitive clauses are

optionally ergative if acting volitionally in perfective clauses, and absolutive otherwise (p. 308). In Newari, ergative case marking is obligatory on transitive clause subjects in perfective aspect, and optional in imperfective clauses.

While these descriptions go some distance in predicting when ergative marking will appear, the choice of marking in the optional contexts remains unaccounted for, the problem having only been displaced to the realm of ‘speaker’s choice’, i.e. pragmatics. Tshangla agent marking appears to be ‘optional’ in both transitive and intransitive clauses, whatever the tense or aspect, and is not predictable either on the basis of expected factors like definiteness, referentiality, individuation of the object, volitional control of the subject, etc. I will attempt in the following section to present evidence for semantic and pragmatic factors which motivate the speaker’s choice. However, the nature of pragmatic factors is that they are not grammatical choices, i.e. they are optional. The speaker remains free to construe an event as he or she wishes. The reasons for the choice, though presumably constrained and motivated, are nevertheless complex.

7.1.1.5 *Tense and aspect*

Tense and aspect marking has a partial effect on agentive case marking, all other factors being equal. Thus example (14) with the agentive marker, but not (15) with the zero-marked absolutive may occur in the perfective:

(14) Ji-gi shing cat-pa.
 1s-AGT tree cut-NOM
 ‘I cut the tree.’

(15) *Jang shing cat-pa.
 1s tree cut-NOM

However, in the imperfective, both the agentive and absolutive-marked subjects are acceptable:

(16) Ji-gi shing cat-ca.
 1s-AGT tree cut-COP
 ‘I am cutting the tree.’

(17) Jang shing cat-ca.
 1s tree cut-COP
 ‘I am cutting the tree.’

The data in example (18) provide an interesting contrastive example of the effect of an aspectual distinction. Here the predicate *dangme manawa* ‘refused to run’ occurs twice with reference to its subject, the car:

- (18) Lok dong di-la kap ja-ga gari lekpa-n dang-me
 return down go-NOM with 1s-LOC car good-SE run-INF
 ma-na-wa an cho-wa. Gonglam shek-pa-ta
 NEG-comply-NOM do stay-NOM steep.road arrive-NOM-DIR
 laktang undawa an cho-wa. Nyi jang-ten sem nang-ka
 even.more that.way do stay-NOM PRT 1s-RFLX mind in-LOC
 melam tap-nyi onyen-rang yola shek-pa. Yola
 prayer put-NF that.way-EMPH up.there arrive-NOM up.there
 sheg-pa thur gari-gi tiktang thur-bu dang-me
 arrive-NOM one car-AGT little.bit one-FOC run-NOM
 ma-nan-ji.
 NEG-comply-COP
 'When I was going back down, my car (zero-marked) was refusing to run well. When I came to a steep climb, it was doing it even more. So praying in my heart, I arrived at the top. As soon as I arrived at the top, the car (AGT-marked) wouldn't run even one little bit.'

When the car first began giving trouble, the verb is in the imperfective aspect, and the subject is not agentively marked. When the car finally stops running altogether, with the verb in a perfective aspect, the subject is marked with the agentive *-gi*.

7.1.1.6 *Focus and topic*

There is evidence that pragmatic considerations such as topicality and focus are also partially determinant of agentive case marking. A construction where the actor is in focus and the patient is topical is more likely to receive agentive marking than when the actor is topical and the patient is focused. For example, the agentive marker will occur on the utterance in (19) in response to the question, 'Who will cut this tree?', but not the zero-marked absolutive (20). However, in response to the question, 'What did you do yesterday?' both the agentive (21) and the zero-marked absolutive subjects (22) are acceptable:

'Who will cut this tree?'

- (19) Ji-gi cat-pe.
 1s-AGT cut-INF
 'I will cut (it).' (focused actor, topical patient)
- (20) *Jang cat-pe.
 1s cut-INF
 'What work will you do?'
- (21) Ji-gi otha shing cat-pe.
 1s-AGT DEM tree cut-INF
 'I will cut that tree.' (focused predicate, topical actor)

- (22) Jang otha shing cat-pe.
 1s DEM tree cut-INF
 idem.

It is observed that certain morphological markings on actors, for example the reflexive, tend not to co-occur with agentive marking, even in contexts where this would be expected (cf. Rosen 1984: 51 on the relationship between reflexives and reduced transitivity in the ‘unaccusative’):

- (23) Nan-ten ko phek-nyi odo.
 2s-RFLX door open-NF come.IMP
 ‘You open the door yourself and come in.’
- (24) A-shi hang se-le? Nan-ten se-du.
 1p-AGT what know-INF 2s-RFLX know-SUB
 ‘What do we know? You yourself must know.’

This is further supported by the fact that the contrastive topic marker *khepa* does not occur together with agentive marking on a noun phrase. A contrastive example is shown in (25) below, where the compound verb *tshajang bangme* ‘worry’ occurs twice within a distance of two sentences, the first time with the agentive marker, the second time with a contrasting topical referent marked with *khepa*, and no agentive marker:

- (25) Depa ma-a-khan-gi-sho un-dabu tshajang bang-me.
 religion NEG-do-REL-AGT-TOP DEM-like worry carry-INF
 Kenco-gi nai hangten tshat-pe mo thamcen khen-ca.
 God-AGT 2p how need-INF QUES all know-COP
 Nyi nai khepa Kenco-ga hangten cha zhu-le dang
 PRT 2p TOP God-LOC how service give-INF and
 dikpa mawa a-n cho-le mo unyu-sho tshajang
 sin NEG.COP do-SE stay-INF QUES DEM-TOP worry
 bang-sho.
 carry-IMP
 ‘The unbelievers (AGT) worry like this. God knows all about what you need. So you (TOP-ABS), how to serve god and live without sin, this is what you must worry about.’

One might object that the lack of agentive case marking on the focused subject with *khepa* here could be due to the *khepa*-focused constituent being extracted from the clausal core. However, it has been observed that noun phrases undergoing contrastive focus usually retain their role in the clause, although focus may reduce the degree of syntactic subjecthood displayed by the clausal subject (Givón 1990: 755). This is what has been shown for *khepa* in section 5.3.2 above.

7.1.1.7 *Volition, control, expectation*

a. [+volition, +control]: phrospe ‘vomit’. In a split-S or fluid-S case marking system, predicates representing involuntary actions would not be expected to take agentive marking on their subject. A good example of such an involuntary verb in Tshangla is *phrospe* ‘vomit’, which normally encodes a quite involuntary bodily function. This verb, as expected, takes a zero-marked, i.e. absolutive, subject, as shown in example (26) (cf. DeLancey 1984c):

- (26) Nyi unyu chesung-gi not-dengai-la songo thamcen yi
 PRT DEM spirit-AGT harm-NF-PRT person all blood
 phros-nyi shile.
 vomit-NF die-INF
 ‘And if this spirit makes them sick, everyone will vomit blood and die.’

However, the same verb appears in one rare instance in the agentive case in (27). In this example, the spirit of a dead person (*shinang*) is possessing a person’s body and vomiting volitionally:

- (27) Shi-wa songo-gi bra songo-ga not-nyi-la, unyu
 die-NOM person-AGT other person-LOC make.sick-NF-PRT this
 shinang. Shinang tshebang-gi ngang ju-nyi bu-le.
 shinang Shinang some-AGT throat twist-NF take-NOM
 Shinang tshebang-gi cho shong sur-pe. Shinang tshebang-gi
 shinang some-AGT TOP breath plug-NOM shinang some-AGT
 phros-pe.
 vomit-NOM
 ‘If a dead person causes another person to become sick, this is a “shinang”
 Some shinangs strangle. Some shinangs plug the breath. Some shinangs vomit.’

b. [-volition, -control]: *negative events*. Occasionally an involuntary predicate, which does not normally take the agentive subject, receives agentive marking on its subject when it is phrased negatively, such as ‘not to sleep’, ‘not to be impressed’. In this context the subject acts in a way which is surprising or contrary to the expectation of the speaker. The predicate may be volition, as in (28), where the subject is wilfully avoiding sleep:

- (28) Nyi phai-ga yonda-gi, binang chutshe haptur-ga phai
 PRT house-LOC owner-AGT night hour how.much-LOC house
 droban a-le u-n-ca dak se-nyi-la, ro-ki onya
 thief do-INF come-SE-COP say know-NF-PRT 3-AGT DEM
 binang-ga ma-yi-pha, phai khung cho-le, nyi
 night-LOC NEG-sleep-PTC house guard stay-INF PRT
 droban-gi phai phok droban a-n bu-le ma-re-ba.
 thief-AGT house open thief do-SE take-INF NEG-can-PTC
 ‘And if the owner of the house knows what time the thief is coming, on that
 night he will not sleep; he will guard the house; and the thief will not be able
 to break into the house.’

However, the predicate may also be involuntary. In examples (29) and (30) below, the subject is not acting with volition, but his actions are contrary to expectations of what is normal. In example (30), the free translation gives an extended context. The portion marked with boldface type represents the glossed Tshangla text:

- (29) Apa nan shuk caka, nan-gi mar-be hang-rang
 father 2s power COP 2s-AGT be.sick-INF what-EMPH
 manca.
 NEG.COP
 ‘Father, you are powerful; you are never going to get sick.’
- (30) Nyi songo-ba-ki yit ma-chi-n-ca giwala
 PRT person-PL-AGT amazement NEG-great-NF-COP COP
 (‘And the woman was always doing circumambulations around the stupa.
 And the people were asking her, “Why are you doing circumambulations?”
 And when they asked her this, the woman would answer, “We must do much
 circumambulations. If we do many circumambulations, then immediately
 when we die we will go to heaven.”) **But the people were not impressed.**
 (“Where is this salvation? Today and tomorrow, no matter how much we
 do it, we will not be saved,” the people said, who were not impressed. “Well,
 well, never mind then, (the woman said), If you won’t do it then don’t do
 it.”’)

Regarding example (29), *marbe* ‘become ill’ represents a situation which is arguably non-volitional and beyond the control of the subject. However, because it is normal for people to become ill on occasion, for someone to never become ill is contrary to expectation. Regarding example (30), the compound verb *yit chile* ‘be impressed, amazed’ represents an involuntary mental state, and as such does not normally take an agentive subject. However, in the context here, because people would normally be impressed by a person of great religious devotion, the utterance represents a situation contrary to expectation.

c. [-volition, -control]: *contra-expectation chole* 'stay'. Other text examples in the affirmative confirm the hypothesis that actions which do not require volition or control may be marked as agentive when they are contrary to the expectations of the listener. The verb *chole* 'stay' occurs both with agentive and absolutive subjects. Absolutive subjects occur with reference to the concepts of 'existing' (31), 'living' (32) or 'staying in a place' (33). This most common usage of the verb 'stay' would seem to furnish the unmarked context:

- (31) Dangpo jelpo thur dang cangan thur cho-wa giwala.
 ancient king one and joker one stay-NOM COP
 'Once upon a time there was a king and a joker.'
- (32) Jang nying mangpu Kalingpong-ga cho-wa-ca.
 1s year many Kalimpong-LOC stay-NOM-COP
 'I have been living in Kalimpong for many years.'
- (33) Ai du-kha cho-nyi-la, a-ha khamung-rang ye-le
 1p village-LOC stay-NF-PTC 1p-LOC clothes-EMPH wear-INF
 khe-le.
 must-INF
 'If we stay in our village, we must to wear our (national) dress.'

The verb *chole* takes an agentively marked subject with reference to purposefully 'remaining', i.e. when the volition involved in the act of staying is emphasised or prominent, i.e. such as in (34) and (35) below. Note that the absolutely marked subjects in (31) through (33) above clearly may also involve volition. However, what sets (34) and (35) off from the absolutive subject examples is that the place in which the subject is staying is not where he would be expected to stay:

- (34) Nyi tshebang-gi tshamkhang nangka nying sam cho-le.
 PRT some-AGT prayer.house in-LOC year three stay-INF
 'And some stay in the prayer house for three years.'
- (35) Yoseph-gi Herod ma-shi-le saken Egip-ga cho-wa-la.
 Joseph-AGT Herod NEG-die-INF until Egypt stay-NOM-COP
 'Joseph stayed in Egypt until Herod had died.'

In example (34), the referent is staying in a small meditation house for the express purpose of religious activity. In example (35), the subject Joseph was staying in Egypt when his actual home was in Israel. In both cases the act of staying is counter to the normal expectations. The verb *chole* may run counter to expectations even when it means 'exist' or 'live', as seen in example (36) taken from an oral re-telling of the story from the Old Testament. In this example, there is no question of the subject exercising control

or volition in order to determine how long they should live. It is clear here that the determining factor motivating the agentive case is the counter-expectational nature of the event:

- (36) Enokh-gi nying 365 sha cho-wa giwala... Onya gang-ka
 Enoch-AGT year 365 FOC stay-NOM COP DEM time-LOC
 songo-ba namesame shuk chilu chowa, nyi namesame
 person-PL very strength great stay-NOM PRT very
 tshe ring cho-wa. Enokh-ga za Methuselah dak-khan-gi
 life long stay-NOM Enoch-LOC son Methuselah say-REL-AGT
 nying 969 cho-wa gila.
 year 969 stay-NOM COP
 'Enoch lived for 365 years... At that time people were very strong, and lived long lives. Enoch's son called Methuselah lived for 969 years.'

Here the referents Enoch and Methuselah are represented as having lived a long time, three hundred and sixty-five and nine-hundred and sixty-nine years, respectively, which is certainly contrary to what would normally be expected by the hearer.

d. [+volition, -control]: *nyongpe* 'receive'. Although the semantic features of control and volition normally operate together, the two are separate factors, as argued by DeLancey (1985c: 56), and they can be teased apart in the semantics of certain verbs (Mithun 1991: 517). One such verb in Tshangla is *nyongpe* 'receive, accept, get'. This verb is some distance from the transitive prototype. Tshangla *nyongpe* is syntactically transitive, allowing for the presence of a direct object. Semantically, the verb *nyongpe* entails volition, but not necessarily control, on the part of its subject. The patient is relatively unaffected by the action. In Tshangla, as we might expect, this verb shows an alternation between agentive and non-agentive marking on its subject, each occurring with about equal frequency in discourse. By comparing text occurrences, some generalisations can be deduced about the significance of the particular case marking.

The pattern shown by this verb is for the subject to receive agentive marking in contexts where the envisaged goal is actively pursued, i.e. where the receipt or promotion is earned, desired, expected, or intended, and zero marking in contexts where the envisaged result is not earned, desired, expected, etc. The verb *nyongpe* may take an agentive subject in those contexts where the subject is portrayed as actively receiving or accepting something, i.e. 'get, procure', as opposed to merely being given something. In such examples the agent exercises both control and volition:

- (37) Mar-nyi nyi tsipa thur-gi mo+tap+got-pa-kap-nyi, ya,
 sick-NF PRT astrologer one-AGT read.signs-PTC-with-NF PRT
 Trunyin dak-khan, zala-ga thinglom thur nyok-nyi-la nyi
 Trunyin say-REL monkey-LOC heart one receive-NF-PRT PRT
 a-ha jepo drak-pe Nyi jepo-gi songo rokte
 3-LOC king heal-NOM PRT king-AGT people 3p
 thamce-rang zom-than, nyi ibi-gi nyong-pe trunyin
 all-EMPH gather-NF PRT who-AGT receive-NOM trunyin
 dak-pa-kap-nyi... Nyi sho ji-gi nyong-pe dak-nyi
 say-PTC-with-NF PRT PRT 1s-AGT receive-NOM say-NF
 taktakpa-gi dak-pa-la. Ya, nyi la nai pha-i dak-nyi
 frog-AGT say-NOM-COP PRT PRT PRT 2P bring-IMP say-NF
 jepo-gi, onya sung kunti-la-kap-nyi.
 king-AGT that say(hon.) send-PTC-with-NF
 ‘When (the king) got sick, the astrologer read the heavens and said, “If (he) receives what is called a ‘trunyin’, a monkey’s heart, our king will be healed.” So the king called all the people together, and said, “Who will receive (AGT) a trunyin?” And the frog said, “I will receive (AGT) one.” So the king said, “Bring it then!” and saying this he sent him.’
- (38) Ro-ki yek-khan lekpa-n nyat zom-khan songoba-ki che
 3-AGT speak-REL good-SE listen gather-REL person-AGT religion
 nyong-pa-la.
 receive-NOM-COP
 ‘When they listened to what he said, the people who were gathered accepted (AGT) the religion.’

In example (37), to receive could be glossed as ‘get, procure’. In this context, the verb *nyongpe* clearly involves both control and volition. In examples such as (38), the gloss ‘procure’ is less appropriate. A better gloss is ‘accepted’. The activity in question refers to receiving of a new teaching or religion. This requires arguably less initiative than to procure, the thing being received having already been presented to the recipient. Both senses of ‘receive’, however, ‘accept’ and ‘procure’, include the elements of volition and control.

As DeLancey (1985c: 56) points out, control and volition are not necessarily the same, but they are difficult to separate in a single proposition. With the verb *nyongpe*, it appears possible to tease them apart. In certain contexts in which the subject of *nyongpe* is marked as agent, the situation involves volition on the part of the subject, but, we might argue, was not under their control. These are contexts in which the receiving involves some kind of a reward for earlier behaviour. The receiving of the thing was passive acceptance, however, the recipient has somehow worked toward or hoped for the particular reward. If not actually completely without control,

it is clear that the actor's control over the events is reduced. There is a reasonable expectation of results, but no certainty.

- (39) Da-shi songo-ba-kai tepa nyong-pe.
 3-AGT person-PL-ABL praise receive-INF
 '(For their good deeds) they will receive praise from people.'
- (40) Nan-gi lai lekpu a-nyi-la, nan-gi lok-nyi tha
 2s-AGT work good do-NF-PRT 2s-AGT return-NF here
 zambuling-ga mile+rimpoche-ga milu nyong-pe.
 world-LOC human-LOC life receive-INF
 'If you do good works, you will be reborn (lit. receive life) as a human being.'
- (41) A-shi zambuling thamcen nyong-pe re-nyi-bu, rang-ten-ga
 1p-AGT world all receive-INF can-NF-FOC self-RFLX-LOC
 sem khepa dazin mawa a-nyi-la a-ha namshi khepa
 heart TOP care NEG.COP do-NF-PRT 1p-LOC soul TOP
 ngewa-ga go-INF
 hell-LOC di-le
 'Even if we get the whole world, if we don't take care of our heart, our soul will go to hell.'
- (42) Jelpo bangze thur ro-ki dukpu waktsa-gi nyong-pa nyi,
 king treasure one 3-AGT poor child-AGT receive-NOM PRT
 khamung sari, hang-rang ye-nyi nyong-pa giwala la.
 clothes sari what-EMPH wear-NF receive-NOM COP PRT
 '(When he found the lost pearl), the poor child received the king's treasure—robes, saris, everything—he got to wear it.'

The contexts in which the subject of *nyongpe* tends *not* to be marked as agent, are those in which the subject receives something unearned or unintended, as these next examples show. Received in this manner are things like diseases, punishments, inheritances, etc.:

- (43) Ama shi-n chum-deke omchang ata-ga unyu
 mother die-SE finish-NF another elder.brother-LOC DEM
 pruskin natsha-rang nyong-pa
 similar disease-EMPH receive-NOM
 'After mother died, the older brother also got the very same disease.'
- (44) Ibi-gi depa ma-ke-ca gila mo, onya songo-ba
 who-AGT faith NEG-put-COP COP QUES that person-PL
 thrim nyong-pe gila
 punishment receive-NOM COP
 'Whoever does not practice the religion, those people will be punished.'

- (45) Ro cho ro-ka apa shi-dengai jepo nyong-pa-la.
 3 TOP 3-LOC father die-NF king receive-NOM-COP
 'When his father died, he received the (office of) king.'
- (46) Ai-ba za-le ja-me thamcen-rang onya ngon dang shing
 1p-PL eat-INF drink-INF all-EMPH DEM grass and tree
 zemu, chilu-ba-kai jung-ca gila. Nyi a-ha-ba
 small great-PL-ABL evolve-COP COP PRT 3p-LOC-PL
 za-le ja-me thamcen-rang ngon dang shing-ga-ba-kai
 eat-NOM drink-NOM all-EMPH grass and tree-LOC-PL-ABL
 nyok-ca gila.
 receive-COP COP
 'Everything that we eat and drink comes from the grass and trees great and small. So we receive everything that we eat and drink from the grass and trees.'

Catching a disease (43) or being punished (44) are not normally things one hopes for or works toward. In example (45), a statement is merely being made about the new king having inherited the throne from his father. There is no implication that the successor hastened or wished for his father's death in any way. Finally, the whole point of example (46) is that we passively receive what we need to live from what nature provides. Our own control is being de-emphasised here. The point is that we are the lucky recipients of a benevolent habitat.

In example (47), below, the subject receives something completely by accident and without making any volitional choice to either earn or receive it. The context is a story in which four kings are vying for the right to marry a princess. The matter of which king gets the girl is to be decided in the following manner: Each of the kings has a cup of liquor. The princess and her handmaids take off their rings, which are then dropped at random into the kings' drinking cups. The one who gets the princess's ring gets the princess. There is an old man hiding behind the door. He also happens to have a cup of liquor, and it is into his cup that the princess's ring falls, upon discovering which, the kings react as follows:

- (47) Nan nyong-pe mo dak, ser-ga tshedum la jepo-ba-ki
 2S receive QUES say gold-LOC ring TOP king-PL-AGT
 ru-wa giwala.
 grab-NOM COP
 'Saying "Should you get it, the gold ring?" the kings snatched it away.'

It is clear from the context that the old man did nothing to actively receive the ring, nor did he hope for or work toward it, indeed it came as a complete surprise to him. The same semantic factors seem to influence the subject case marking when *nyongpe* occurs as the final verb in verb serialisation (cf.

section 15.6), with meaning ‘get to, have the opportunity to...’. Example (48) is uttered by a monk who has been asked a question about the afterlife. He says he is unable to answer, as he has never seen the afterlife:

- (48) Jang shi-n ma-nyong-chi. Ji-gi ma-se-la. Jang shi-n
 1s die-SE NEG-receive-COP 1s-AGT NEG-know-PRT 1s die-SE
 nyong-nyi-sha ji-gi se-le.
 receive-NF-PRT 1s-AGT know-INF
 ‘I’ve never had the experience of dying; I don’t know. If I’d had the experience of dying, then I’d know.’

The event described by the complement of *nyongpe*, namely ‘dying’, is clearly neither volitional nor under the control of the subject. In another context, shown in example (49), *nyongpe* with a complement takes an agentively marked subject. Here the same construction is used not in the sense of ‘I haven’t *had* the opportunity,’ but in the meaning ‘I haven’t *availed myself* of the opportunity.’

- (49) Mo thur-rang jing-gi got nyong-pa manca, jang
 divination one-EMPH 1s-AGT look receive-NOM NEG.COP 1s
 onya ten chum-detke.
 DEM believe finish-NF
 ‘After finishing believing in that (i.e. changing my beliefs), I haven’t done a single divination.’

These examples are significant because they reveal that case marking may be influenced by the semantics of the complement verb, i.e. a verb of which the case-marked nominal is not an argument. We will see in the next section several examples of case marking motivated by semantic factors outside of the immediate clause in which it occurs.

7.1.1.8 *Consequence or effect on the world*

Examples are found in a corpus of Tshangla texts of agentively marked referents occurring with a verb which does not usually take an agent subject, but may do so in contexts where the action of the subject referent has consequences for another referent.

- a. *Dangme* ‘walk’. In a large corpus of texts, the verb *dangme* ‘walk’, is never found with an agentively marked subject. Where the subject is explicit, it is always absolutive and thus zero-marked. One exception to this, however, is shown below. In this example, the subject of *dangme* performs an action with some consequence or effect on another entity, either explicit or implied, in the discourse. This example also illustrates nicely the contrast between *dangme* with an agent subject and *dangme* with an absolutely marked subject.

- (50) **Jang** goma zemu a-nyi cho-la-kap, apa kap-nyi du-ha
 1s before small do-NF stay-PTC-with father with-NF village-LOC
 namesame **dang-me** khen cho-wa. Du-ha thur sha
 very walk-NOM must stay-NOM village-LOC one only
 manggi-wa, tha ring-sa lam kalu nangka-bu
 NEG.COP-NOM distance long-REL path difficult in-FOC
 di-le khen cho-wa. **Apa-gi** gum gum **dang-nyi**,
 go-NOM must stay-NOM father-AGT ahead ahead walk-NF
 jang tshing-ga lus cho-wa. Hangyadaknyi jang waktsa
 1s after-LOC leave stay-NOM because 1s child
 zemu a-wa-gi apa kap-nyi khon chin-me
 small do-NOM-AGT father with-NF follow reach-NOM
 re-bu man-ji. Nyi apa dang ja bar-ka shama
 can-NOM NEG-COP PRT father and 1s between-LOC many
 kilometer nyiktse-re sam sam phang khepar a-nyi, borang
 kilometer two-per three three about difference do-NF forest
 hang dawa chilu gi-nyi-bu la ...**jang** khepa yong
 what manner great be-NF-FOC PRT 1s TOP shadow
 ma-khe-wa a-nyi waktsa zemu thur-ten a-n **dang**
 NEG-fall-NOM do-NF child small one-RFLX do-SE walk
 cho-wa. Nyi **jang** tshinge tshinge chapten a-nyi
 stay-NOM PRT 1s behing behing slow do-NF
 dang-me khe-n-cho-wa.
 walk-INF must-SE-stay-NOM

'Before, when I was small, at home, I had to walk a lot with my father. Not only at home, but I also had to walk long distances on difficult paths. Father (AGT-marked) walking ahead, I was left behind. Because I was a small child, I couldn't keep up with my father. And between father and me there would be much, about two or three kilometers, and no matter how great the forest was... I (\emptyset -marked) would be walking, unafraid, as a small child... And I (\emptyset -marked) would have to walk slowly behind.'

In example (50), both father and son are performing the same activity of walking, both doing it volitionally and under their own power. The father, however, by his act of walking, is compelling the son also to walk. Note also that the effect brought about by the father's act of walking is not encoded in the same clause as the father appears, but in subsequent clause in the paragraph.

b. *Gum gum dile* 'go ahead of', *nongme* 'stop'. Two other verbs, the subject case marking of which is demonstrably affected by the presence of absence of some 'consequence upon the world' are *dile* 'go' and *norbe* 'stop'. In the following example, taken from a translation of the narrative in the Gospel of Matthew, the magi from the east follow the star to where the Christ child is staying:

- (51) Nyi rokte-ba-ki goma thong-khan karmamindu omchang-rang
 PRT 3p-PL-AGT before see-REL star again-EMPH
 thong-ma-la. Onya **karmamindu-gi** rokte-ba-ka gum gum
 see-NOM-COP DEM star-AGT 3p-PL-LOC ahead ahead
 di-wa-la, nyi **karmamindu-gi** onya waktsa-ga phai-ga
 go-NOM-COP PRT star-AGT DEM child-LOC house-LOC
 dothang-ga nong-ma-la.
 direct-LOC stop-NOM-COP
 ‘Then they again saw the star which they had seen before. That star (AGT-
 marked) went ahead of them, and the star (AGT-marked) stopped directly
 over the house of the child.’

In example (51), *karmamindu* ‘star’ occurs in two clauses, the first with the verb *gum gum dile* ‘go ahead of’ and the second *nongme* ‘stop, linger’. Neither of these verbs normally takes an agentively marked subject. In both of these clauses, however, *karmamindu*, is marked with the agentive case. The star in this context, when it goes and also when it stops, is influencing the course of events, acting with consequence upon the magi as they attempt to locate the child.

c. *Khi wule* ‘defaecate’. Another instance of agentive case-marking conditioned by the event having some additional effect upon the world can be shown in the following examples containing the verb *khi wule* ‘defaecate’, an intransitive verb which is unmarked for agentivity when nothing further is being implied in addition to the event itself:

- (52) Lela ri nya-loka songo thur khi+wu-n
 over.there river there-side person one defaecate-SE
 cho-wa-la.
 stay-NOM-COP
 ‘Over there a person was defaecating.’

The context for example (53) below involves a king who has diarrhoea but must go to his sister’s wedding. He decides to bring a gourd to hold his excrement, but when the gourd becomes full he has nowhere to empty it. Use of the agentive marker on the subject in this context supports the hypothesis that the agentive case indicates that the event has some further consequence. Here that consequence is evident in the subsequent discourse. The king defaecates into the gourd which then becomes full and must be emptied.

- (53) Nyi nyen phila nyi jelpo-gi khi+wu-n-than, rugum
 PRT marry do PRT king-AGT defaecate-SE-NF gourd
 phung-ma.
 fill-NOM
 ‘So while the wedding was going on, the king defaecated, and filled the
 gourd.’

7.1.1.9 *Directed activity*

Another set of examples suggests that mere outward projection or direction of the activity toward another participant may motivate agent marking on the subject, regardless of whether the activity has any *actual* consequences for that participant. This seems to be independent of the degree of inherent agentivity of the verb itself. Both unergative and unaccusative verbs may take an agentive subject if the activity is projected toward another participant in the discourse.

a. *Ngarbe* ‘laugh, smile at’. Subjects of the verb *ngarbe* ‘smile, laugh’ may take agentive marking in contexts where the laughter is perceived as directed toward another person, viz. in the sense of ‘laugh at, mock’. The subject often takes absolutive marking in contexts where the laughter is not so directed. The notion of laughing *at* someone is expressed with the addition of the benefactive/malefactive marker *bi*, which is a grammaticalised form of the verb *bile* ‘give’. (The grammaticalised usages of *bile* and several other verbs will be discussed in section 15.7 below.)

- (54) Waktsa shi-wa manggi. Ro yi-pha thur-sha gila! a-nyi.
 child die-NOM NEG.COP 3 sleep-NOM one-only COP do-NF
 Unyu dabu na-ga tha-la-kap-nyi rokte-ba-ki ngar-nyi
 this manner ear-LOC leave-PTC-with-NF 3-PL-AGT laugh-NF
 bi-wa-la.
 give-NOM-COP
 ‘“The child is not dead. She’s only sleeping!” (he said.) When they heard this they laughed (at him.)’

- (55) Waktsa ke-n chu-ma thur, songo thamce-rang shonang
 child bear-SE finish-NOM one person all-EMPH happy
 phe-nyi, ngar-nyi, gatshor a-n-ca.
 feel-NF laugh-NF fun do-SE-COP
 ‘Once the child is born, everyone is happy, laughs, and enjoys themselves’

In example (54), with the agentively marked subject, the laughter is projected or directed toward another participant, while in example (55), by contrast, with a zero-marked subject, the laughter is not so directed.

b. *Thoptang tshela* ‘spit’. In Tshangla culture, spitting (*thoptang tshela*) is sometimes a gesture of contempt. In example (56) below, the old woman is asked a question and spits three times before replying to the boy, as a signal of her disdain for his question. The act of spitting is directed toward another person, and the subject is marked with the agentive case:

- (56) Nyi abi bamnang-gi thoptang shep sam
 PRT grandmother old-AGT spit time three
 ya-pha-la. Rokte pon-ga se u-nyi-bu patong
 scatter-NOM-COP 3p king-LOC son come-NF-FOC forehead
 ma-gen-shi, nan dawa songo-te nowang ma-chok-pa
 NEG-show-COP 2s like person-PRT mouth NEG-open-PRT
 dak-nyi yek-pa-la.
 say-NF speak-NOM-COP

'When he got on the path, an old woman asked him, "Where are you going?" The poor boy said, "I'm going to see if the nun at Narang monastery will open her mouth (talk to me)." The old woman spit three times, "Even when the prince came she wouldn't show her forehead (i.e. make an appearance). She won't open her mouth to a person like you.'"

c. *Sewu tape 'pray'*. The verb *sewu tape 'pray'* may refer to the activity of prayer, without it being directed toward a specific referent. In this context, the verb is more likely to take a zero-marked subject:

- (57) Nyi shepa phi-n chum-deke, rokte sewu ta-phe
 PRT preach do-SE finish-NF 3p prayer make-INF
 ren-pa-kap-nyi jang phiska sho-n di-n-than...
 prepare-PTC-with-NF 1s out emit-NF go-SE-NF
 'And when the preaching was finished, and the others were about to pray, I went outside...'

Sewu tape may also be directed towards another referent, i.e. in the sense of 'entreat', which is usually encoded in the locative/dative case. In this case, an agentively marked subject is more likely:

- (58) Songo-ba-ki ro-ka sewu ta-pha-la.
 person-PL-AGT 3-LOC prayer make-NOM-COP
 'The people entreated him.'

d. *Verbs with experiencer objects*. Predicates like *ngarbe 'laugh'* and *thoptang tshela 'spit'* may or may not be projected toward another referent. Many verbs, however, encode predicates which are always directed toward a human experiencer. These regularly take a locative/dative marking on the referent toward which the activity is directed, and an agentive marking on their subject. Examples are *tem ale 'cheat'*, *wang nangme 'bless'*, *con takpe 'criticise'*, *zunpa takpe 'accuse'*, *gongyang nangme 'forgive'* and *ngolok ale 'rebel against'*:

- (59) Tsongpen-gi a-ha tem a-wa.
 merchant-AGT 1p-LOC cheat do-NOM
 'The merchant cheated us.'

- (60) Lama-gi miser-ga wang nang-me.
lama-AGT people-LOC blessing give-INF
'The monk will bless the people.'
- (61) Na-shi bra-ga con tak-pe mang-pha.
2p-AGT other-LOC fault accumulate-INF NEG.come-PTC
'You shouldn't criticise others.'
- (62) Ro-ki lopen-ba-ka zunpa tak-pa-la
3-AGT teacher-PL-LOC fault accumulate-NOM-COP
'What did he accuse the teachers of?'
- (63) Ji-gi ja-ga sungjap-ga thik shor-ba, nyi gopen-gi
1s-AGT 1s-LOC duty-LOC right lose-NOM PRT chief-AGT
jang-ga gongyang nang-ma.
1s-LOC forgiveness give-NOM
'I was negligent on my watch, but the officer forgave me.'
- (64) Ro-ki ro-ka apa-ga ngolok a-na.
3-AGT 3-LOC father-LOC rebellion do-COP
'He is rebelling against his father.'

7.1.1.10 *Directed mental state*

The event or activity which is projected outward need not be an overt activity. A mental state may also be projected outward, toward a participant or toward a subsequent event, i.e. toward a goal:

a. Shonang phele 'be happy with'. A verb like *shonang phele* 'be happy' is an involuntary state, not under the control of the subject. As such we would not expect the subject to be marked agentive, and in fact such a subject normally occurs without agentive marking as in the following examples:

- (65) Nan ja-ga reka zhuk-pa-gi, jang shonang phe-na.
2s 1s-LOC near stay-NOM-AGT 1s happy feel-COP
'Because you are near me, I am happy.'
- (66) Ro kap-nyi chas phi-nyi jang-ta shonang phe-wa.
3 with-NF talk do-NF 1s-PRT happy feel-NOM
'Talking with him I feel happy.'

However, even the stative verb *shonang phele* 'be happy' may take a subject with agentive marking in contexts where the mental state, is directed toward a particular entity or result, i.e. 'be pleased with', or, 'be happy to do X':

- (67) Nyi omchang-rang songo-gi che-ma za-ma khat-ka,
 PRT again-EMPH person-AGT clear-NOM slash-NOM upon-LOC
 kha ama-gi otha shonang phe-na. Phai cet-khe
 bird mother-AGT there happy feel-COP house make-ADH
 dak-nyi yek-pa-la.
 say-NF speak-NOM-COP
 ‘And again at a place where people slash and clear the brush, the mother
 bird was pleased (with it) there. “Let’s build our house,” she said.’
- (68) Nyi khaila onyen shi-deke, semcen thamce-ki ribong-ga
 PRT tiger DEM die-NF animal all-AGT rabbit-LOC
 namesame shonang phe-nyi...
 very happiness feel-NF
 (The rabbit had just killed the tiger by outsmarting it.) ‘And after the tiger
 died, all of the animals were very pleased (with the rabbit).’

Just two clauses further on in the text, the same verb *shonang phele* is used with animals as subject, to report that they lived happily every after. Here the activity is not projected, and the subject is back in the absolutive case:

- (69) Semcen-ba thamcen shonang phe-nyi cho-wa giwala.
 animal-PL all happy feel-NF stay-NOM COP
 (And from then on, they regarded the rabbit as the wisest of all the animals.
 From then on all the animals no longer were eaten by the tiger.) ‘And all
 the animals were living happily.’

In example (67), the predicate ‘be happy, be pleased’ is directed outward from the subject *toward a place*—i.e. the mother bird was not just happy, but *pleased with* the particular site for locating her nest. In example (68), all the animals were pleased with the rabbit. In example (70) below, the subject is again not just happy, but happy *to do it*. Here the emotional state is directed toward a subsequent activity:

- (70) Nyi lam-ga di-la-kap-nyi, brumsha-ga meaktsa-gi
 PRT path-LOC go-PTC-with-NF pumpkin-LOC woman-ABT
 amshing thur thong-nyi brumsha-ga yek-pa-la dang,
 mango.tree one see-NF pumpkin-LOC speak-NOM-COP PRT
 min-pa-ga am thur phut-nyi jang-ga phan ge-rang.
 ripen-NOM-LOC fruit one pluck-NF 1s-LOC bring give-EMPH
 Nyi brumsha-gi shonang phe-nyi, amshing-ga gong-nyi
 PRT pumpkin-AGT happy feel-NF mango.tree.LOC climb-NF
 am phut-pe.
 mango pick-INF
 ‘So while they were on their way, the pumpkin’s wife seeing a mango tree
 said to the pumpkin, “Pick a ripe mango and give it to me.” Then the pump-
 kin, happy (to do so), climbing the mango tree, was going to pick a fruit.’

b. *Lekpe* 'like'. In contrast to *shonang phele* 'be happy', which may or may not be directed towards another referent or situation, a verb like *lekpe* 'like, be pleased with' is always so directed. We've seen that this verb may occur with suppressed agent in an intransitive usage (cf. section 6.1 above), viz. in the sense of 'be good, likeable'. Significantly, however, whenever the verb has both a subject and an object, the subject is agentively marked:

- (71) Nyi lai a-khan songo-gi jelpo mewaktsa-ga ma-lek-ca
 PRT work do-REL person-AGT king wife-LOC NEG-like-COP
 giwala.
 COP

'And the worker didn't like the king's wife.'

- (72) Otha cho ja-ga za gila. Ji-gi ro lek-ca.
 DEM TOP 1s-LOC son COP 1s-AGT 3 like-COP
 'This is my son. I am pleased with him.'

7.1.1.11 *Creation or transformation* (rile 'become')

A striking contrast in meaning between agentively marked and unmarked subjects occurs with the verb *rile* 'become'. With an agentively marked subject, *rile* takes on the meaning 'be transformed, turn into'. With no agentive marking the meaning becomes 'undergo a change of state or attributes'. In the sense of 'transformation', the referent is completely changed into something else, and ceases to be the thing it was before, something equivalent to the meaning 'be transformed, turn into'. In English, this sense of 'become' would typically take a nominal predicate, as in 'the prince became/was transformed into a frog'. In the latter sense of 'change in attribute', the referent does not cease to be what it once was. The referent merely undergoes a change of state or attributes. In English, this sense of 'become' would normally take an adjectival complement, as in, 'My father became angry.'

In a large text corpus, every instance of the verb with an agentively marked subject was found to refer to an act of transformation:

- (73) Ri nap-ka shek-pa-kap-nyi, ro-ki nga thur lekpa-n
 river edge-LOC arrive-PTC-with-NF 3-AGT fish one good-SE
 thong jong-ma, ro-ki nga ri-n jong tha-wa-la,
 see go-NOM 3-AGT fish become-SE go leave-NOM-COP
 kurta-gi tri-nyi jong tha-wa.
 horse-AGT transform-NF go leave-NOM
 'When he came near the river, he saw a fish in the water, then he changed into a fish; the horse was transformed.'

- (74) Nyi unyu shugu-gi bu-ga ri-le giwala.
 PRT DEM paper-AGT worm-LOC become-INF COP
 'And this paper turns into a worm.'

- (75) Onya namkha barka-sho cangshing balingmi a-n mukpa-gi
 DEM sky between-TOP cross white do-SE cloud-AGT
 ri-wa thong-ma.
 become-NOM see-NOM
 'There in the middle of the sky (I) saw a white cross formed by a cloud.'

The same pattern is observed for the nearly synonymous *trile* 'turn into, be transformed'.

- (76) Dut-gi buchila-ga tri-wa.
 demon-AGT snake-LOC turn.into-NOM
 'The demon turned into a snake.'

Note that *trile* is only synonymous with this sense of *rile* and not the other. The verb *trile* completely lacks the 'change in attribute' sense which is one of the possible meanings of *rile* 'become'. Accordingly, *trile* always takes an agentively marked subject.

The agentively marked occurrences of *rile* contrast sharply with those where the subject is not agentively marked. The latter have the sense of 'undergo a change in attributes':

- (77) Ro-ka pholang das chilu ri-wa cho-wa giwala.
 3-LOC stomach bit great become-NOM stay-NOM COP
 'Her stomach had gotten a bit bigger.'

- (78) Nyi ro bedeng ri-wa, norbu nyong-teke.
 PRT 3 rich become-NOM gem receive-NF
 'Then she became rich, having received gems.'

- (79) Ngamchi dus chum-deke la, ngamchi-bu garpu thur-re
 tomorrow collect finish-NF PRT tomorrow-FOC guard one-per
 thur-re mawa ri-n-ca giwala. Shama thur-gai la
 one-per NEG.COP become-SE-COP COP much one-ABL PRT
 dus chum-nyi, lanyi nyiktsing ma-di-la cam-ka,
 collect finish-NF month two NEG-go-PTC about-LOC
 songo khai phedang sam sho ri-wa.
 person twenty half three only become-NOM
 'The day after he collected them, the guards began to disappear one by one. After a while, before two months had gone by, they had become only fifty.'

- (80) Za thur laipa ri-wa-la.
 son one farmer become-NOM-COP
 'One son became a farmer.'

- (81) Unyu zamin khepa gopen-ga mewaktsa ri-wa-la.
 DEM girl TOP chief-LOC wife become-NOM-COP
 'This girl became the chief's wife.'

In examples (77) and (78), the change in attributes is encoded by *rile* with an adjectival complement, 'become bigger', 'become rich'. In example (79), the verb *rile*, first with *mawa* 'nothing' and subsequently with a numeral, encodes a change in the attribute of quantity. In examples (80) and (81), the verb *rile* takes a nominal complement, i.e. 'become a farmer', 'become the chief's wife.' Note that even in this latter construction, the subject is only undergoing a change in attributes and not being transformed into something else. The son took on the attributes of a farmer in addition to those he possessed before, etc.

Note that each of the 'transformation' usages of *rile* can be paraphrased in English by means of a source to goal vector: '*from/out of* the paper was formed a worm', '*from/out of* the man was formed a bird'. Example (75) is interesting in that it involves a metaphorical description: The cloud is said to 'turn into' a cross. Note that while the cloud did not cease to be a cloud when it took the shape of a cross, in the metaphorical usage the cloud ceases to be regarded as a cloud and becomes regarded as a cross. Thus it would be appropriate to say 'a cross was formed *from/out of* clouds'. By contrast, it would be impossible to paraphrase the 'change of attribute' usages in this way: '*from/out of* her stomach became bigger', '*from/out of* the son became a farmer'.²

Clearly the contrast in meaning between these two senses of *rile* does not involve volition or control. To undergo a change in state or attributes and to be completely transformed into something new both might be construed as either volitional or involuntary depending on the context. The relevant factor here seems to be the source to goal vector: To be 'transformed' is a change which is directed both away from the earlier state and toward a new state, while the taking on of new attributes is directed back toward the referent. The former entity is both the subject and the patient of the change.

7.1.2 *Oblique functions of -gi*

In addition to the core usages described thus far, the Tshangla agentive marker *-gi* has a number of distinct non-core usages. The Tshangla agentive marker *-gi* may mark instruments, predicate nominals, oblique causal entities and adverbial clauses. These functions will be the topic of the present section.

² It might be said that 'The hard work made a farmer out of him', but this exception proves the rule. Such a statement emphasises precisely that: More than merely taking on a new occupation he was *transformed* into something new by the hard work.

7.1.2.1 *Instrument*

The Tshangla agentive marker *-gi* has a secondary instrumental function, which appears when two or more nominals marked in *-gi* are present in the clause. One, the agent, is typically a human or animate actor. The other, the instrument, is some inanimate object which the agent uses in order to carry out the action:

- (82) Ro-ki ming-gi thong tha-wa giwala, onya muding
 3-AGT eye-AGT see leave-NOM COP DEM pearl

thupha brang-ka.
 throw-NOM place-LOC

'He had seen with his eyes the place where the pearl had been thrown.'

- (83) Songo-ba-ki lung-gi drom ga-du dak, dai-ba yong
 person-PL-AGT stone-AGT hit give-SUB say 3p-PL shadow

khe-wa-la
 fall-NOM-COP

'They were afraid that the people would stone them with stones.'

This homophony of agentive/ergative and instrumental case is known in languages as diverse as Australian, Northeast Caucasian and Papuan (Dixon 1994: 57). DeLancey notes the 'extremely common syncretism of ergative or passive agent case with instrumental' and suggests that 'the case-form does not refer to agentivity (on which supposition its use for non-agentive instruments is anomalous), but rather to activity in the initial phase of the event, which notion is equally applicable to agents and instruments' (1981a: 634).

Most analyses of languages which show morphological syncretism between ergative and instrumental case implicitly acknowledge the unity of the category (DeLancey 1982b). Andersen (1987) refers to the same category in Classical Tibetan as 'Instrumental (Ergative) case'. In examples like (82) and (83) above, where both agent and instrument are present, the two functions are distinguishable on semantic grounds. The agent may be said to be the initiating causer, while the instrument is a secondary cause.

In clauses with only one agentively marked argument, however, the distinction between agent and instrument is impossible to make on the basis of semantics. We cannot conclude that just because a referent is inanimate that such a referent is therefore necessarily being used by an animate agent and should be called instrumental. In example (84) below, the agentively marked nominal could be interpreted as an instrument of some implied volitional agent:

- (84) Rumro-gi ma-drak-pa men-gi drak-pe.
 ceremony-AGT NEG-heal-NOM medicine-AGT heal-NOM

'If the ceremony does not heal (me), the medicine will.'

Both of the examples below come from the same narrative, and refer to the Noahic flood account in the book of Genesis. Notice that in (85) the water can be regarded as an instrument of the primary agent, who would be God. However, to claim that the water should be an instrument in (86) as well, other than the fact that the utterance describes the same event, would lack any justification in terms of the clause itself.

(85) Thinong-gai ga-ta ji-gi ri-gi tenpa+ma-lu-pha na
 today-ALB up-DIR 1s-AGT water-AGT destroy-NEG-Ø-NOM PRT
 From today onwards, I won't ever destroy the world by water again.

(86) Phu pura ri-gi buk-nyi nyi songo
 mountain completely water-AGT cover-NF PRT person
 pura ri-gi she-wa-la.
 completely water-AGT kill-NOM-COP
 'The mountains were completely covered with water, and the people were all killed by the water.'

Examples (87) and (88) below are both taken from the same story, in which a single referent, the goat's tail, occurs first in (87) as an oblique cause or instrument. The subject is *aching* 'we.two', as evinced by the fact that this actor is coreferential with the Ø-anaphoric subject of the final verb 'eat'. In example (88), the same goat's tail occurs as the agentive subject:

(87) A-ching la lai a-le-ga phanca ma-la, raba
 1p-DUAL TOP work do-INF-LOC ability NEG-COP goat
 shampi-gi kor a-nyi za-n-ca.
 tail-AGT manage do-NF eat-SE-COP
 'As for us, we aren't able to work, but by means of a goat's tail we are managing to eat.'

(88) Raba shampi-gi to hang-rang za-le pha-n-ca giwala.
 goat tail-AGT food what-EMPH eat-INF bring-SE-COP COP
 'The goat's tail brings food and everything (they need).'

Tshangla discourse contains numerous examples of an inanimate referent or even an abstract nominal concept being presented as the sole cause of the event, and not as a secondary instrument. In the following examples, there is no other referent in the context, explicit or implicit, which it would be natural to interpret as being the agent:

(89) Songo nang-ke phis-ka sho-khan-gi cho ro
 person inside-ABL out-LOC exude-REL-AGT TOP 3
 ma-tsang-ma cot-ca gila.
 NEG-pure-NOM make-COP COP
 'That which comes out of a person makes them unclean.'

- (90) Na-ha tshajang-**gi** na-ha tshe ringmu cot-pe
 2p-LOC worry-AGT 2p-LOC life long make-INF
 ma-r-ba.
 NEG-able-PTC
 ‘Your worries are not able to help make your life long.’
- (91) Phom-*gi* buk-pa la chilu ngap-ka nok cho-wa.
 snow-AGT cover-NOM mountain great sky-LOC touch stay-NOM
 ‘Mountains covered by snow were touching the sky.’
- (92) Nyi Khaling-ga ming sho phakpale-**gi** chin-ma giwala;
 PRT Khaling-LOC name TOP sausage-AGT reach-NOM COP
 hang-ya dak-nyi-la phakpale khalu cho-wa-gi.
 what-QUES say-NF-PRT pork.sausage bitter stay-NOM-AGT
 ‘So Khaling got its name from **pork sausage**, because the sausage was bitter
 (*khalu*).’
- (93) Rang-ga tshe ngama lai-**gi** khur-pa ju gila.
 self-LOC life previous deed-AGT bind-NOM matter COP
 ‘One’s life is determined by **previous deeds**.’

7.1.2.2 Adverbial clauses

In another frequent usage of the agentive/instrumental case marker, the past verb stem plus agentive marker encodes a past event or situation as the *cause* of the event or situation of the final verb, similar to English ‘because of...’. This is similar to the function of the non-final *-deke* above. Consider the following examples.

- (94) Dzongkha chas mangpu a-le khe-wa-gi, thamce-rang
 Dzongkha talk much do-INF must-NOM-AGT all-EMPH
 Tshangla-bu yitka+min jong-ma-la.
 Tshangla-FOC forget go-NOM-COP
 ‘Because we have to speak a lot of Dzongkha, we forget all of our Tshangla.’
- (95) Zangazingi a-wa-gi, zhung-gi kak tha-wa-la.
 unrest do-NOM-AGT government-AGT ban leave-NOM-COP
 ‘Because of the unrest, the government imposed restrictions.’
- (96) Onyen a-wa-gi, ro shu tak-pe re-bu ma-la.
 that do-NOM-AGT 3 strength gain-INF can-PTC NEG-COP
 ‘Because of that, they aren’t able to improve themselves.’
- (97) Ja-ga phama das dukpu a-wa-gi, tiru ke-bu
 1s-LOC parents bit poor do-NOM-AGT money send-PTC
 manca.
 NEG.COP
 ‘Because my parents are rather poor, they don’t send money.’

- (98) Nyi namesame zingpa-gi magpon-gi denta hang-gi
 PRT great be.confused-AGT officer-AGT meaning what-AGT
 gila mo ha go-le ma-r-ba
 COP QUES heart put-NOM NEG-able-NOM
 ‘And because of the great confusion, the officer couldn’t understand the meaning.’

7.1.2.3 *Functional passives*

Several examples were given in Chapter 6 of functional passive clauses with a zero-marked patient subject and an oblique agent marked with *-gi*:

- (99) Jang gopen-gi brak-pa.
 1s chief-ACT scold-NOM
 ‘I was scolded by the chief.’

While examples like (99) are common, perhaps the most frequent usage of this construction is in contexts where an animate and usually human participant is acted upon by a non-human or inanimate participant, as exemplified in (100) below. This is, of course, one of the functional motivations for passive structures in many languages (Givón 1990: 567–568). In fact these clauses are often most naturally translatable into English as passive clauses:

- (100) Apa ri-gi phak bu-wa.
 father water-AGT sweep take-NOM
 ‘Father was swept away by the river.’

That the left-most argument of examples such as (99) and (100) is the subject can be demonstrated by control of zero anaphora, as was shown in section 6.2.2:

- (101) Jang gopen-gi brak-nyi, phiska di-wa.
 1s chief-ACT scold-NF outside go-NOM
 ‘I was scolded by the chief and went outside.’
 *‘I was scolded by the chief and he went outside.’
- (102) Apa ri-gi phak bu-nyi shi-wa.
 father river-AGT sweep take-NF die-NOM
 ‘Father was drowned in a river.’ (lit: ‘was swept away by the river and died.’)
 *‘Father was swept away by the river and it (the river) died.’

If the left-most argument is the subject, then, as noted in section 6.1, the agentively marked argument must be an oblique, i.e. a non-core argument, and therefore omissible, leaving only the absolutely marked argument, as seen in Chapter 6. Compare example (103) with (99) above:

- (103) Jang brak-pa.
1s scold-NOM
'I got scolded.'

7.1.2.4 Causal oblique in intransitive clauses

The agent or causer in the above transitive examples might be regarded as somehow 'demoted' from subject, i.e. as being at some underlying level of analysis a subject argument. However, the agentive marker may also occur on an oblique nominal in an *intransitive* clause. Here the agent or causer has no claim to the subject position at any level of analysis, as that position belongs only to the patient argument (cf. Langacker and Munro 1975). In the following examples, the verb is clearly intransitive, but an inanimate causer is represented by an oblique nominal in the agentive case:

- (104) Ro don-gi nyos-pa.
3 demon-AGT crazy-NOM
'He became crazy because of the demon.'
- (105) Songo mangpu natsha-gi mar-ba cho-wa-la
person many disease-AGT sick-NOM stay-NOM-COP
'Many people because ill with (because of) diseases.'
- (106) Phai ridi-gi metpa di-wa.
house wind-AGT ruin go-NOM
'Because of the wind, the house was ruined.'
- (107) Tam yek-nyi-la ji-gi tsik ga-dong tsuk di-du.
story speak-NF-PT 1s-AGT word up-down put go-SUB
'If I tell the story, I may mix up the words.'
(lit. '...by me the words may go up-down.')
- (108) Songo thamce-rang rang-ga dentha-gi dukpu
person all-EMPH self-LOC reason-AGT poor
ri-wa.
become-NOM
'Everyone became poor because of their own reason.'
- (109) Oma Kenco-ga kading-gi jang otha zambuling-ga cho-le
now God-LOC mercy-AGT 1S that world-LOC stay-NOM
rawang u-pha ca.
chance come-NOM COP
'Through God's grace, I have the chance to live in this world.'

The verbs in examples (104) through (109) are either states, e.g. *nyospe* 'be crazy', *marbe* 'be sick', or intransitive processes, e.g. *metpa dile* 'fall to ruin', *rile* 'become'.

7.1.2.5 *Causal oblique in transitive clauses*

An agentively marked oblique causal constituent may also occur in a transitive clause in addition to a subject and object.

- (110) Roktsing ser-gai nyong-tu dak-pa rewa-gi kholong
 they.two gold-ABL receive-SUB say-NOM hope-AGT fight
 phi-wa giwala.
 do-NOM CO
 ‘The two of them...about the gold, because of the hope that they might receive it...fought.’
- (111) Lai a-wa-ga ma-tshat-pa, Tsawa-ga jinlab-gi
 work do-NOM-LOC NEG-need-NOM Lord-LOC grace-AGT
 gosa yarseng-bu nyong-pa.
 position promotion-FOC receive-NOM
 ‘Not only did I get a job, but by the grace of the Lord I even got a promotion.’
- (112) Pholang natsa-gi ro to za-le ma-r-ba
 stomach disease-AGT 3 food eat-INF NEG-can-PTC
 a-n-cho-wa.
 do-SE-stay-NOM
 ‘Because of the stomach disease she was unable to eat.’

The verbs *kholong phile* ‘fight’ *nyongpe* ‘receive’, *zale* ‘eat’ may take an agent subject. However, in these examples, it is not the agent that has the agentive marking, but another causal constituent. The semantic agent is present in the clause but zero-marked.

That the oblique causer is not the subject in these examples can be shown by applying the equi deletion test referred to in Chapter 6. The nominal which controls the \emptyset -anaphoric subject of for example a following clause in the same chain would be the subject:

- (113) Pholang natsa-gi ro to za-le ma-r-ba a-n
 stomach disease-AGT 3 food eat-NOM NEG-able-PTC do-SE
 cho-nyi, jukpa dak-pa \emptyset di-wa.
 stay-NF end say-PTC \emptyset go-NOM
 ‘Because of the stomach disease she was unable to eat and in the end she left.’

In example (113), it must be the woman who eventually left and not the stomach disease. In intransitive clauses as well, the oblique, agentively marked causer may be preposed to the subject, as in example (114) below. The causer will, however, remain an oblique argument, and not become the subject, as the equi deletion test shows. Thus in (115), it is *jelpo* ‘king’ and not *sha* ‘meat’ that controls the \emptyset -anaphoric subject of the final clause:

- (114) Sha-gi jelpo khi thri-ba
 meat-AGT king faeces spread-NOM
 ‘Because of the meat, the king got diarrhoea.’
- (115) Sha-gi jelpo khi thri-nyi, phis-ka di-le
 meat-AGT king faeces spread-NF, outside-LOC go-INF
 khe-wa.
 must-NOM
 ‘Because of the meat, the king got diarrhoea and had to go outside.’

7.1.2.6 *Subject of a predicate nominal*

Agent marking occurs, albeit rarely, on the subject of a predicate nominal copular clause (cf. sections 8.3 and 8.4 below). One copular clause with absolutive subject involves *sem* ‘mind’ and means ‘be interested in’. When followed by a complement clause, e.g. ‘be interesting in doing something’, the subject may take the absolutive case:

- (116) Ro Thimpu-ga di-nyi namesame sem ca.
 3 Thimpu-LOC go-NF very mind COP
 ‘He is very interested in going to Thimpu.’

When followed by a noun phrase, ‘be interested in something’, the subject is more likely to take the agentive:

- (117) Ro-ki ja-ga lai namesame sem ca.
 3-AGT 1s-LOC work very mind COP
 ‘He is very interested in my work.’

In one text example, the predicate complement is the word *thap* meaning ‘a recourse or means to an end’. The expression *thap ca* takes a subject marked as agent:

- (118) Nyi thap ji-gi ca a-nyi. Lela lela kha thur, chilu
 PRT recourse 1s-AGT COP do-NF there there bird one great
 thur, nyi, ca a-nyi, onya-ga nyi bu-le-la nyi,
 one PRT COP do-NF there-LOC PRT take-NOM-COP PRT
 hala gi-nyi-bu nai-ba ma-shi-la-n kitpu u-phe
 when COP-NF-FOC 2p-PL NEG-die-PTC-do comfort come-INF
 a-n yek-pa giwala.
 do-SE speak-NOM COP
 ‘(Some fish in a river just heard that it was going to dry up)...and the fish in the river thought, “We will surely die. What recourse do we have?” they said. (The crane said to them:) “I have a recourse! Over there is a bird, a big one, and that one will take you (out of the riverbed), and you will always live comfortably and not die,” he said.’

In this example, ‘having a recourse, or means to an end’ means having a solution for the dilemma faced by the fish in the river. The crane had a plan which would enable him, so he said, to save them before their river dried up. To have recourse is clearly an agent-like property.³

7.1.2.7 *Predicate within a predicate nominal*

In example (119), agentive marking occurs on the predicate nominal noun phrase in an equative predicate nominal construction with the copula *gila*:

- (119) Uthu khepa jang-ten-ga sem-gi manggi-wa.
 this TOP 1s-RLFX-LOC mind-AGT NEG.COP-NOM
 ‘This was of not something of my own thinking.’

7.2 LOCATIVE/DATIVE -GA

Like the agentive/instrumental, the locative marker *-ga* occurs on both core and oblique arguments, with a broad range of functions, including locative, dative, adverbial and complement clauses. Each of these will be described in this section.

7.2.1 *Core functions of -ga*

7.2.1.1 *Recipient or goal of a trivalent verb*

The most common core argument usage of the locative case is to mark the recipient or goal of a trivalent verb such as *bile* ‘give’, *genme* ‘show’, *yekpe* ‘speak’:

³ The following rare text example shows the agentive marker on a patient subject in an agentless transitive clause:

Shing thur-ga se-gi cho za-le ja-me gan-ca giwala.
 tree one-LOC fruit-AGT TOP eat-INF drink-INF give-COP COP
 ‘The fruit of one tree was given to eat and drink.’

Another rare occurrence found in text data suggests that agentive marking may occur on a noun phrase which is not an argument of the clause at all. Consider for example the following example:

Depa ma-a-khan songo-gi dabu ma-ai.
 religion NEG-do-REL person-AGT like NEG-do
 Don’t do like people who don’t practice the religion.

In this example, the agentively marked *songo* ‘person’ is not an argument of the verb, but rather an argument of the postposition *dabu* ‘as, like’. See Chapter 12 for a description of this phrase type.

- (120) Waktsa-ba-ka tiru bi-nyi-la ge-me.
 child-PL-LOC money give-NF-PRT lose-INF
 'If you give money to a child, they will lose it.'
- (121) O-ga ca mo na ja-ga-tan gen-sho!
 where-LOC COP QUES PRT 1-LOC-to show-IMP
 'Show me where it is!'
- (122) Nan kap-nyi hangte a-wa onya-gai korgai ja-ga
 2s with-NF what do-NOM DEM-ABL about 1s-LOC
 yek-co.
 speak-IMP
 'Tell me about something that happened to you.'

The benefactive/malefactive construction with a grammaticalised benefactive marker *bile* also takes a locative/dative recipient:

- (123) Na-ga khamung-bu ro-ka phek bi.
 2s-LOC robe-FOC 3-LOC open give.IMP
 'Take off your robe for him as well.'
- (124) Meaktsa kap kha bre-nyi-la ro-ka yikthi cot-nyi
 woman with part separate-NF-PRT 3-LOC letter prepare-NF
 bi.
 give.IMP
 'If you want to divorce your wife, prepare a letter for her.'

7.2.1.2 Indirect object of a bi-valent verb

Patient objects of bi-valent verbs are normally encoded with the zero-marked absolutive case, as *zala* in (125):

- (125) Meme-gi zala namesame kong-ma-la.
 grandfather-AGT monkey very beat-NOM-COP
 'The old man really hit the monkey.'

However, an experiencer or goal patient of a bi-valent verb will often take the locative case:

- (126) Ibi jang-ga ri nang-ka brek kunti-wa?
 who 1s-LOC river in-LOC push send-NOM
 'Who pushed me into the river?'
- (127) Kuci, ji-gi nan-ga trok-pa na.
 excuse 1s-AGT 2s-LOC bother-NOM PRT
 'Excuse me, I have bothered you.'
- (128) Ro-ki ja-ga brang-pa.
 3-AGT 1s-LOC scold-NOM
 'He scolded me.'

- (129) Waktsa phama-ga re-le khe-le.
 child parent-LOC depend-INF must-INF
 'A child must depend upon her parents.'

7.2.1.3 *Factive*

The locative case may also be used to mark a nominal which comes into being as a result of the action of verbs like *rile* 'become', *trile* 'be transformed into' etc.:

- (130) Dut-gi buchila-ga tri-wa.
 devil-AGT snake-LOC be.transformed-NOM
 'The devil was transformed into a snake.'
- (131) Kha thur thong-ma, nyi kha-ga ri-n jong-ma-la,
 bird one see-NOM PRT bird-LOC become-SE go-NOM-COP
 ro-ki.
 3-AGT
 'Seeing a bird, he became a bird.'

7.2.1.4 *Dative (locative) subject*

Locative case marking occurs on the subject of a possessive predicate nominal (cf. section 8.3 below.)⁴

- (132) Jelpo-ga waktsa sam cho-wa.
 king-LOC child three stay-NOM
 'The king had three children.'
- (133) Ja-ga gari manca.
 1s-LOC car NEG.COP
 'I don't have a car.'

7.2.1.5 *Core locative*

The locative case is used to mark locative arguments, both core as well as oblique locatives. The location may be static or dynamic.

⁴ In those dialects which have optional *-gu* in dative contexts, locative case marking also occurs in this dative subject construction:

Nyi rolong cho, mangpu-rang dasur Botpa-ba-ku ca-dang.
 PRT zombie TOP many-EMPH bit Tibetan-PL-LOC COP-PRT
 'Now "rolongs", mostly the Tibetan's have those.'

a. *Static location.*

- (134) Jang tsikpa-ga tse-pe.
1s wall-LOC lean-INF
'I'll lean on (against) the wall.'
- (135) Ja-ga apa Trashigang-ga cak-pa.
1s-LOC father Trashigang-LOC establish-NOM
'My father settled in Trashigang.'
- (136) Shing khuk-pa-kap-nyi tekpa-ga shek-pa.
wood carve-PRT-with-NF knot-LOC arrive-NOM
'While carving wood, he arrived at a knot.'

b. *Dynamic location.*

- (137) Ja-ga khamung ri-ga bang-nyi, lekpu a-n zik-co
1s-LOC clothes river-LOC carry-NF good do-SE wash-IMP
na!
PRT
'Carry my clothes to the river and wash them well!'
- (138) Ji-gi pecha drithri-ga tan-ma.
1s-AGT book table-LOC stand-NOM
'I stood the book on the table.'

7.2.2 *Oblique functions of -ga*7.2.2.1 *Outer or oblique locative*

Oblique or 'outer' locatives, i.e. locative arguments not part of the core arguments of the clause, are also marked with *-ga*. In contrast to 'inner' or core locatives, oblique or 'outer' locatives modify the clause as a whole and establish the locative setting for the entire proposition:

- (139) Thimpu-ga phom khe-na.
Thimpu-LOC snow fall-COP
'It's snowing in Thimpu.'
- (140) Ro-ki li sa lekpu-ga ya-phe.
3-AGT seed ground good-LOC sow-INF
'He will sow the seed on good ground.'
- (141) Jang lam-ga dang-nyi di-n cho-wa.
1s path-LOC walk-NF go-SE stay-NOM
'I was walking on the path.'

7.2.2.2 *Other oblique uses*

In addition to the above usages, locative/dative marking occurs with a number of other diverse functions, all of which may be seen as metaphori-

cal extensions of the basic locative usage (DeLancey 1991a, Diehl 1975). Some of these will be described in this section:

a. *Temporal use of -ga*. The locative marker may mark a referent used in a temporal adverbial function, such as the expression ‘during the night’ (142) or ‘each day’ (143):

(142) Binang-ga songo ibi gila mo tsa chot-pe
 night-LOC person who COP QUES root distinguish-INF
 ma-r-si.
 NEG-able-COP
 ‘In (during) the night, we couldn’t distinguish who the person was.’

(143) Domgai ngam-re-ga chutse pshi pshi lai a-le.
 together day-per-LOC hour four four work do-INF
 ‘All together we will work for four hours per day.’

b. *Benefactive/malefactive*. Benefactive/malefactive nominals may also take the locative case. In the following example, the nominal *apa* ‘father’ is in a malefactive relationship to the verb:

(144) Ro-ki ro-ka apa-ga ngolok a-na.
 3-AGT 3-LOC father-LOC rebel do-COP
 ‘He is rebelling against his father.’

Various other oblique adverbial usages of the locative marker are illustrated below. Each of them involves some logical relationship of the adverbial constituent to the clause.

c. *Adverbial ‘for’, ‘in order to’*. In example (145), the locative-marked adverbial encodes a purpose or intended goal of the proposition:

(145) Khuru dak-khan cho... tshebang-gi lai mala-kap-nyi
 khuru say-REL TOP some-AGT work NEG.COP-with-NF
 cang-ca, tiru-ga, tshebang-gi phakpa-ga, tshebang-gi
 play-COP money-LOC some-AGT pig-LOC some-AGT
 yu-ga, nyi unyu dabu namesame cang-ca.
 liquor-LOC PRT DEM manner very play-COP
 ‘“Khuru” ... some play while they’re not working, for money, some for a pig, some for liquor, and they play a lot.’

d. *Adverbial ‘according to’, ‘because of’* In example (146), the locatively marked adverbial is the cause or source of the proposition, in the meaning ‘according to’, ‘by’ or ‘on the basis of’:

(146) Jelpo ka-ga nan she-le khe-le la me.
 king command-LOC 2s kill-INF must-INF COP PRT
 ‘By the king’s orders, I must kill you.’

7.2.2.3 Locative marker on infinitive and nominalised clauses

In addition to the above uses, the locative case also occurs on many types of infinitive and nominalised clauses in *-le* and *-ga* respectively. Such occurrences include adverbial clauses, relative clauses and complement clauses. Each of these will be described in subsequent chapters. The locative marker never occurs on clauses with stative or cotemporal participles in *-lu* and *-la*.

7.3 GENITIVE -GA

The ending *-ga* also functions as a genitive marker, coding a noun phrase as dependent on the head noun in a superordinate noun phrase. It is not completely clear whether the locative and genitive functions should be analysed as distinct homophones or as related senses of a polysemous morpheme. While no conclusive solution to this problem will be proposed here, the evidence for calling them homophones rather than two senses of a single morpheme would be that they appear to have a distinct history: There is evidence in some dialects for a distinction between genitive *-ga* and locative/dative *-gu*, the latter still extant on a restricted set of fossilised expressions such as *na-gu thale* ('ear-LOC leave') 'hear', *kha-gu dokpe*, ('portion-LOC accept') 'confess'. The obsolete locative occasionally also shows up as an alternant in free variation with *-ga* in locative contexts such as (147), but not genitive, i.e. noun phrase internal, contexts.

- (147) Ro tha-gu manca.
 3 here-LOC NEG.COP
 'He is not here.'

However, these facts do not entirely preclude an analysis where two senses of a single morpheme have or are in the process of diverging into distinct forms.⁵ The locative/genitive marker occurs in noun phrase internal configurations where it modifies another noun phrase, as in the following examples:

- (148) Ja-ga dung unyu phu jap-ga ca.
 1s-LOC village DEM hill behind-LOC COP
 'My village is behind that hill.'
- (149) Chutse gu-gai ja-ga sungjapa a-le kor cho-wa.
 hour nine-ABL 1s-LOC duty do-INF turn stay-NOM
 'From nine o'clock it was my turn to do guard duty.'

⁵ Reflecting the uncertainty over this question, the locative and genitive functions of *-ga* are both glossed as LOC.

- (150) Ja-ga chas kap-nyi nan kha+thun-ma mo?
 1s-LOC talk with-NF 2s agree-NOM QUES
 'Do you agree with my words?'
- (151) Na-ga mi gap-thang⁶ lekpu mala.
 2s-LOC bow shoot-NZE good NEG.COP
 'Your shooting is not good.'
- (152) Uthu phai-ga yonda ibi gila?
 DEM house-LOC owner who COP
 'Who is the owner of this house?'
- (153) Tsik-ga dro-thang khe-wa-la.
 word-LOC order-NZE fall-NOM-COP
 'The order of the words is correct.'
- (154) Ser-ga kong-bu thur mi-ga shup tha-wa.
 gold-LOC lamp-FOC one fire-LOC immerse leave-NOM
 'Even a golden butter lamp was dipped in the fire.'

7.3.1 Possession and kinship

Possession and kinship are two of the most common usages of *-ga* within a noun phrase:

- (155) Ja-ga phai onya doptang gila.
 1s-LOC house DEM straight COP
 'My house is right over there.'
- (156) Nan ibi-ga wa got-ca ya?
 2s who-LOC cow look-COP QUES
 'Whose cows are you tending?'
- (157) Na-ga waktsa nyiktsing sheri cik-la.
 2s-LOC child two alike resemble-COP
 'Your two children look alike.'
- (158) Ja-ga meaktsa waktsa lak-pa ca.
 1s-LOC woman child accumulate-NOM COP
 'My wife is pregnant.'
- (159) Ja-ga apa shi-wa.
 1s-LOC father die-NOM
 'My father died.'

⁶ The derivational nominaliser suffix *-thang* may be attached to any verb root to derive a noun referring to the action of the verb, viz. 'the doing of X'. Note that this morpheme is distinct from the grammatical nominalising participial suffixes such as *-wa*, *-le* etc., which function as inflectional markers and do not derivationally yield a noun, but allow a verb to be used in certain nominalised clausal contexts, such as relative clauses, complements, etc.

The locative/genitive marker occasionally marks an adjectival modifier as well:

- (160) Otha goma-ga mewaktsa, sho-n gem-khan, nyi
 DEM before-LOC wife exude-SE lose-REL PRT
 omchang lok-nyi ro-ka tsuenmo a-n-than...
 again return-NF 3-LOC queen do-SE-NF
 'His former wife, whom he had put away, again became his queen...'

7.3.2 Comparison to express the difference between two alternatives

When comparing two referents with the word *khepar* 'difference', the two nominals are construed together in a noun phrase and the entire phrase marked with the genitive case. No adposition is necessary, although *barka* 'between' is optional:

- (161) 'G-school' dang 'Grahams Homes'-ga khepar hang ca
 G-school and Grahams Homes'-LOC difference what COP
 ya?
 QUES
 'What is the difference of (between) the G-school and Grahams Homes?'
- (162) Ro-ki unyu nyiktsing-ga khepar pak-nyi nang-ma.
 3-AGT DEM two-LOC difference distinguish-NF give-NOM
 'He explained the differences of (between) the two of them.'

7.3.3 Genitive or locative in predicate

The case marker *-ga* in the following example is ambiguous between a genitive and locative reading. If genitive, the phrase marked by the suffix *-ga* would be analogous to an adjectival predicate, with the genitively marked 'border' as the predicate, as indicated by gloss 1. If locative, then 'border' would be a locative predicate:

- (163) Burma dang Thailand santsham-rang-ga gila.
 Burma and Thailand border-EMPH-LOC COP
 1) 'Burma and Thailand are of a border.' (i.e. 'border each other', 'are bordering states')
 2) 'Burma and Thailand are on the border. (i.e. 'on a shared border.')

7.4 ABLATIVE -GAI

The ablative case marker *-gai* sets itself apart from the other case markers in that it does not occur either within the noun phrase or on core arguments of the clause. Its function in marking oblique constituents, however,

is perhaps more diverse than either the locative or agentive case marker. The ablative case marks both nominal as well as clausal constituents, in relationships ranging from the concrete physical sense of source ('away from') to temporal reference point ('since', 'after'), as well as more abstract metaphorical extensions of these relationships, e.g. the logical source 'because' and other logical notions such as comparison ('rather', 'instead' and 'more than, to a greater degree than'). In addition to the notion of source, the ablative case may also signify the notion of 'pathway', either in a spatial sense or in temporal and logical extensions of the spatial sense.

7.4.1 *Locative source*

Arguably the most concrete notion encoded by the ablative case marker—and the one from which the others most likely are conceptually derived—is the notion of locative source (DeLancey 1991a, Diehl 1975). The ablative marker encodes the idea of direction away from, as in the following examples. Because the ablative case here represents motion away from a concrete entity, it is natural that this usage is restricted to marking nominal constituents.

- (164) Zala gatpu thur ko tshing-gai ma-thar-ba giwala.
 monkey old one door back-ABL NEG-release-NOM COP
 'One old monkey wasn't let out from behind the door.'
- (165) Rokte-ba-ki ca-ga do-gi cheng-nyi ga-gai
 3p-PL-AGT stretcher-LOC rope-AGT tie-NF above-ABL
 dong-ta ring-ma-la.
 down-to reach-NOM-COP
 'Tying a rope onto the stretcher, they let it down from above.'
- (166) Ro-ki ye-khan nyan-pe-ga songo-ba throm-gai
 3-AGT speak-REL listen-INF-LOC person-PL town-ABL
 zo-ma-la.
 gather-NOM-COP
 'The people gathered from the town to listen to him speak.'
- (167) Nyi a-ha lo cho tshang-pa lha-gai dong
 PRT 1p-LOC language TOP complete-NOM god-ABL down
 jut-pa-ga lo gila.
 pass-NOM-LOC language COP
 'So our language is a language that is handed down to us from the perfect gods.'

7.4.2 *Locative pathway*

In addition to the concept of a locative source, the ablative may encode the notion of a ‘pathway’ along which the action or event of the proposition runs:

- (168) Ri nang-ka cho-khan nga, ngap-kai phen-khan kha nyi
 water in-LOC stay-REL fish sky-ABL fly-REL bird PRT
 zambuling-ga cho-khan semcen thamcen-rang nan-gi wang-ca.
 world-LOC stay-REL animal all-EMPH 2s-AGT rule-COP
 ‘You rule over all of the fish living in the rivers, the birds that fly through
 the sky, and the animals that live in the world.’
- (169) A-ching nyiktsing ung nang-kai leng jong-khe.
 1p-DUAL two field in-ABL move go-ADH
 ‘Let’s us two take a walk in (through) the fields.’

In the following example, the notion of pathway signifies the direction ‘around’:

- (170) Taktakpa-gi nga za-khan semcen-ga ngangdiring-gai tsik-nyi
 frog-AGT fish eat-REL animal-LOC throat-ABL pinch-NF
 she-wa giwala.
 kill-NOM COP
 ‘The frog killed the fish-eating animal by pinching around its neck.’ (i.e.
 strangled it to death.)
- (171) Jelpo yola yintsang nang-ka toka shampi-gai tsung-nyi,
 king over.there marsh in-LOC bull tail-ABL seize-NF
 ga teng-pa.
 up pull-NOM
 ‘The king (ran) over to the marsh and seized the bull by the tail, and pulled
 up.’
- (172) Nan-gi jang lam o-gai di-le-ga ye-n ga-le
 2s-AGT 1s path where-ABL go-INF-LOC teach-SE give-INF
 mo?
 QUES
 ‘Can you tell me by which path I should go?’

7.4.3 *Temporal source or origin*

A closely related extension of the locative source concept is that of the temporal reference point or anchor, away from which the proposition is described as moving. This is the concept of ‘since’ or ‘after’, as in the following examples. The ablative constituent is an adverbial time expression ‘nine o’clock’ in example (173), a nominalised clause in example (174):

- (173) Chutse gu-gai ja-ga sungjapa a-le kor cho-wa.
 hour nine-ABL 1s-LOC duty do-INF turn stay-NOM
 'From nine o'clock it was my turn to be on duty.'
- (174) Un-dabu thrise a-wa-gai ga-tan... cha+zhu-le
 DEM-manner washing do-NOM-ABL up-toward serve-INF
 go+tsuk-pa.
 begin-NOM
 'After being ritually washed like that, (I) began to serve.'

7.4.4 Future reference point

The ablative-marked temporal reference may also be a point in the future, in which case the proposition is indicated to be occurring at a point in time before the reference point. This usage will be discussed in the section on participial adverbial clauses (13.2.1.10). This construction requires the *-la* participial suffix on the embedded verb:

- (175) Jang ma-ke-la-n cho-la-gai goma, ja-ga ama
 1s NEG-bear-PTC-do stay-PTC-ABL before 1s-LOC mother
 mongshi thong-ma.
 dream see-NOM
 'Before I was born, my mother had a dream.' (literally: 'Before from when I was staying doing (being) not born...my mother had a dream.')

7.4.5 Temporal pathway

The notion of 'pathway' encoded by the ablative may also be metaphorically extended to a temporal sense, where the ablative marked constituent encodes an event or time period during which the main proposition takes place. The ablative-marked constituent is a nominal in example (176) and a nominalised clause in example (177):

- (176) Yigi lanyi-re-gai jap pshi pshi nga nga shek-ca.
 letter month-per-ABL time four four five five arrive-COP
 'Letters arrive four or five times a month.'
- (177) Nyi Kalingpong cho-wa-gai oma Amerikan charo thur
 PRT Kalimpong stay-NOM-ABL now American friend one
 rum-nyi...
 meet-NF
 'And while living in Kalimpong, I met an American friend...'

7.4.6 Metaphorical source and pathway senses

The source and pathway concepts may be further extended from the physical sense to encode concepts relating to a logical or metaphorical source or pathway.

7.4.6.1 *Logical source*

a. *Previous state.* The logical source may be an entity or state out of which a transformation to another state takes place. In examples (178) through (180) below, the source is represented by an ablatively marked nominal constituent, which undergoes a change in state. In examples (181) through (183), with the ablative marker on a nominalised clause, the state itself is encoded as the source or original state, which is then changed to another state:

- (178) Brumsha-gai namesame phorap songo zang
 pumkin-ABL very handsome person shine
 cho-wa-la.
 stay-NOM-COP
 'The pumpkin turned into a very handsome person.'
- (179) Ro otha lung-ba-kai-bu songo cot-pe re-be;
 3 DEM stone-PL-ABL-FOC people make-INF can-INF
 nai ma-tshat-pa.
 2p NEG-need-NOM
 'He could make people out of those stones; he doesn't need you.'
- (180) Songo zala-gai jung-ma gila.
 person monkey-ABL evolve-NOM COP
 'People are evolved from monkeys.'
- (181) Nyisho rokte pincha-ba ma-cha-ma bonying pshi
 then 3p sibling-PL NEG-get.along-PRT brother four
 cho-wa-gai, thur ga-n, Galing-ga shek-pa.
 stay-NOM-ABL one flee-NF Galing-LOC arrive-NOM
 'Then out of four brothers who did not get along, one fled, and arrived in Galing.'
- (182) Nyi ton-ga cho-le brang-ka zhuk-pa-gai, ber-ga
 PRT winter-LOC stay-INF place-LOC stay-NOM-ABL summer-LOC
 cho-le brang-ka tanyi... jon-ca giwala.
 stay-INF place-LOC to go-COP COP
 'And from staying in their winter place, they would go to their summer place.'
- (183) Songo shi-wa-gai wu-nyi...
 person die-NOM-ABL rise-NF
 'People are rising from the dead...'

b. *Cause or reason.* The logical source may be represented as the origin of some product, without itself being affected or changed.

- (184) Shing-gai se-wa se lekpu thong-me manggi-wa,
 tree-ABL produce-NOM fruit good see-INF NEG.COP-NOM
 zushing tsangpu-rang thong-ma-la.
 thorn.tree only-EMPH see-NOM-COP
 'One doesn't see good fruit produced by trees, but only thornbushes.'

This category illustrates a conceptual similarity between agentive and ablative. Note how in the text example (185), what are essentially similar referents 'good trees' in the one and 'bad trees' in the other, the notion of 'source of fruit' is encoded once by the agentive case marker and later by the ablative marker:

- (185) Shing lekpu-gi se ma-lek-pa ma-se-la, nyi
 tree good-AGT fruit NEG-be.good-NOM NEG-produce-COP PRT
 shing ma-lek-pa-gai se lekpu-bu se-lu
 tree NEG-good-NOM-ABL fruit good-FOC produce-PTC
 manca.
 NEG.COP
 'Good trees don't produce bad fruit, nor from bad trees is good fruit produced.'

As the free translation of example (185) brings out, in the first clause, *shing lekpu* 'the good tree' is the subject, while in the second clause the ablatively marked 'out of bad trees' is oblique, leaving the patient *se lekpu* 'good fruit' as the subject. The following examples are clearly causal. The causal entity is represented by a nominal constituent in examples (186) and (187) and a pronominal demonstrative in example (188). A causal proposition is represented by a nominalised clause in examples (189) and (190):

- (186) Dikpa-gai-ten shi-le khe-n-ca.
 sin-ABL-RFLX die-INF must-SE-COP
 'Because of your sin you must die.'
- (187) Onya shingse za-wa-ga dentha-gai, onya ga-tan sho
 DEM fruit eat-NOM-LOC reason-ABL DEM up-to TOP
 ai-ten songo-gi dikpa a-le go+tsuk-pa-la.
 1p-RFLX person-AGT sin do-INF begin-NOM-COP
 'Because they ate the fruit, from then on we people began to sin.' (lit. 'from the reason that they ate the fruit...')
- (188) Nyi jang onye-gai-rang kholong phi-n cho-wa.
 PRT 1s DEM-ABL-EMPH fight do-SE stay-NOM
 'So for that reason, I was fighting.'

- (189) Ai songo dang buchula dra a-le khung-bu goma
 1p person and snake enemy do-INF reason-FOC before
 buchula-gi trok-pa-kap-nyi nyan-pa-gai gila.
 snake-AGT bother-PTC-while-NF listen-NOM-ABL COP
 ‘The reason why we people and snakes are enemies, is that when the snake
 tempted (us), we listened (to him.)’
- (190) Rokte-ba onya zamin-ba-kap cho-le la-ma-gai-ten dong
 3p-PL DEM girl-PL-with stay-INF want-NOM-ABL-RFLX down
 zambuling-ga u-pha gila.
 world-LOC come-NOM COP
 ‘Because they wanted to live with those girls, they came down to the
 world.’

7.4.6.2 Logical pathway

a. *Means to an end.* As the concept of locative source is metaphorically extended to encompass ‘logical source’ relationships such as cause or reason, so the concept of locative pathway is extended into what might be thought of as a ‘logical pathway’. Here the ablative represents a means to an end. Just as there are similarities between the ablatively and agentively marked sources, so here the ablatively marked usage in the sense of a ‘means’ is similar to the instrumental use of the agentive case marker. In examples (191) through (194), the means is encoded in a nominal, while in examples (195) and (196) the means is propositional and is represented by an entire nominalised clause:

- (191) Ro lobdra-ga bus-gai di-n-ca.
 3 school-LOC bus-ABL go-SE-COP
 ‘He goes to school by bus.’
- (192) Dikpa dak-pe den-gai gewa lai a-i!
 sin cleanse-INF purpose-ABL charity deed do-IMP
 ‘In order to have your sins cleansed, do deeds of charity!’
- (193) Namdru-gai dang-me yong ngam-na.
 airplane-ABL walk-INF shadow eat-NOM
 ‘(I) am afraid to travel (lit. ‘walk’) by airplane.’
- (194) Nai-ten nowang-gai yek-la...
 2p-RFLX mouth-ABL speak-COP
 ‘You yourselves say it with your mouths....’
- (195) Pau-gi-bu ngan-pa-gai tiru mangpu la-le.
 pau-AGT-FOC curse-NOM-ABL money much take-INF
 ‘The *pau* makes a lot of money by doing curses.’

- (196) Pau-gi songo ming sa-pa cho-nyi-bu ming
 pau-AGT person name insert-NOM stay-NF-FOC name
 sa-pa-gai ming sho-le re-be.
 insert-PRT-ABL name emit-INF can-INF
 'If someone has put your name under' (i.e. cast a spell on you) the *pau*,
 by putting your name under (i.e. 'by doing his own spell') is able to find
 out the name (of the person who cast the spell on you.)'

b. '*In terms of*' Another metaphorical extension of the ablative pathway concept is the use of the ablative case to mark an entity as a reference point along which a proposition is measured, i.e. 'in terms of', 'in reference to', as in the following examples:

- (197) Namesame choe-gai khepu thur ca.
 very religion-ABL wise one COP
 '(She is) one who is very wise in terms of religion.'
- (198) Yongba nang-kai, yongba ngoma sho na-ching giwala.
 fool in-ABL fool genuine TOP 2-DUAL COP
 'In terms of fools, the real fools are the two of you.'

7.4.6.3 Comparative

Another way in which the ablative constituent encodes a logical reference point, is in the comparative use of the ablative case, as in 'x is y-er than z'. This is the common way of forming comparative judgements between two entities, as in examples (199) and (200), or between two propositions, i.e. 'rather do x than do y', or 'instead of doing x, doing y', as in examples (201) through (203):

a. Comparison between entities.

- (199) Ro jang-gai lekpu gila.
 3 1s-ABL good COP
 'He is better than me.'
- (200) Sanje ku thamche-gai chilu gila.
 Buddha idol all-ABL great COP
 'Buddha is greater than all the idols.'

b. Comparison between propositions in the sense of 'rather than, instead'.

- (201) Jang uthu taphthur di-wa-gai kukhaila kap di-wa drik-pe.
 1s DEM with go-NOM-ABL tiger with go-NOM fit-INF
 'It is more fitting that I go with a tiger than with this one.'

- (202) Bi nyiktsing dang gadang nyiktsing tha-n ngewa
 foot two and hand two keep-SE hell
 di-wa-gai, bi gadang zhawa a-n zhingksam
 go-NOM-ABL foot hand crippled do-SE heaven
 di-wa drak-pe.
 go-NOM be.better.INF
 '(If your hand or foot causes you to sin, cut it off.) It is better to go to
 heaven a cripple, than keeping two feet and two hands, to go to hell.'
- (203) Di-wa-ga tiru dukpu songo-ba-ka bi-nyi-la namesame
 go-NOM-LOC money poor person-PL-LOC give-NF-PRT very
 phenpa ca, unyu dabu a-wa-gai-tu.
 benefit COP DEM manner do-NOM-ABL-PRT
 'The money that goes (to the shaman), if we give it to the poor people,
 this has much benefit, instead of doing like this (giving it to the shaman
 do perform a curse.)'

SENTENCE, CLAUSE AND PREDICATE

8.1 CLAUSE TYPES

The term ‘clause’ will be used to signify a single verbal predicate plus nominal arguments. A predicate normally contains a single verb, but may, in the case of verb serialisation (cf. section 15.6), contain a complex predicate composed of multiple verbs.

Tshangla clauses may be initially divided into two types: finite and non-finite. Finite clauses are either specified for tense, aspect and mirativity, or for one of the non-declarative sentence moods. The term ‘sentence’ will be used to signify a minimal unit of discourse which may express a complete proposition without dependence on surrounding context. A sentence contains only one finite clause, potentially preceded by one or more non-finite clauses.

Figure 7 gives an overview of Tshangla clauses types:

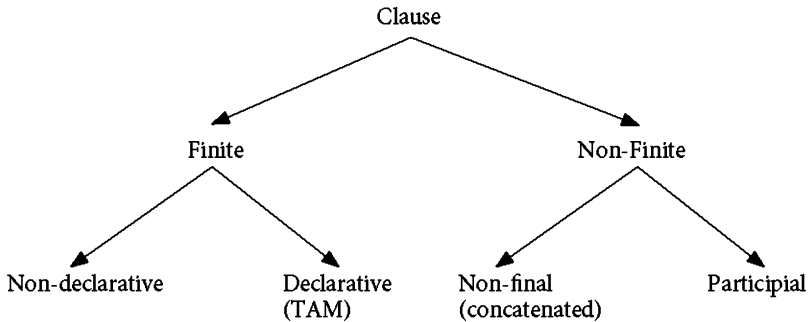


Figure 7. Overview of clause types

Non-declarative clauses function as the final clause in non-declarative sentence moods. The sentence moods will be the topic of Chapter 9. The interrogative sentence type is not shown in Figure 7 because it is not coded at the clause level but rather at the sentence level. As will be seen in section 9.3, both declarative and non-declarative sentences may be further marked with the interrogative. For this reason the interrogative is more precisely designated as a ‘sentence type’, reserving the term sentence mood for the non-declarative moods. Tense, aspect and mirativity inflections in the finite declarative clause will be the topic of Chapter 10.

Non-finite clauses may in turn be divided into two basic types, as shown in Figure 7, i.e. non-final and participial. Non-final clauses are used in clause chains, where the dependent clause represents an event on the main line of the discourse, or adverbial clauses, in which the dependent clause encodes a backgrounded event (cf. Chapter 13). The non-final verb may be completely unmarked, occurring as verb root alone (plus stem extender if the non-final verb is a V-class verb, cf. section 4.2.1). Alternatively, the non-final verb may be marked with a non-final marker. Most of the non-final markers indicate some rhetorical relationship between non-final and final clauses, such as temporal sequence, cotemporal, cause-effect, etc. (Mann and Thompson 1986; Mathiessen and Thompson 1988). The non-final marker *-nyi* is unspecified for any rhetorical relationship. In addition to a finite clause, a sentence may thus contain one or more optional non-final clauses.

The non-final inflection is also used to mark dependent clauses which are distinct from adverbial and chained non-final clauses in that they show a greater degree of semantic and syntactic union with the final clause. The first of these, what will be called a 'serial predicate', is a reduced non-final clause which necessarily shares subject and peripheral arguments with the final clause, but may be independently specified for object arguments. An even greater degree of union is shown by the so-called 'serial verb' construction, where a rump non-final clause, i.e. a verb, necessarily shares all nominal arguments with the final verb. Non-final inflection and the continuum of semantic and syntactic union will be the topic of Chapter 15.

The participial clauses, including the nominalised (*-wa*), infinitive (*-le*), stative (*-lu*) and cotemporal (*-la*) participle forms (presented in section 3.2.1.2) show less verbal and more noun-like properties than the non-final clauses, allowing the participial clause to be used in complements, relative clauses and other embedded contexts. Participial clauses will be revisited in the course of the discussion on various constructions in which they occur, such as relative clauses (Chapter 11), other embedded clauses (Chapter 12), adverbial clauses (Chapter 13) and complementation (Chapter 14).

8.2 PREDICATE TYPES

A further distinction, independent from clause types and cross-coding with them, is what will be called 'predicate types'. There are three predicate types: two predicate nominal or 'copular predicate types' (so called because they couple predicate nominals or adjectives to a noun phrase subject), and one 'verbal predicate type' which predicates a state, event or activity on the part

of a subject noun phrase. With the exception of some participial and non-declarative clauses (see Table 23), each of the predicate types may occur in each clause type. The designation 'predicate type' is used here in order to distinguish predicates from both sentence types and clause types, which are also sometimes used to refer to the predicate nominal construction.

The first predicate type is built on the existential copula *ca* (mirative *la*), the second on the equative copula *gila* (mirative *giwala*), and the third on an inflected verb or combination of verbs and copulas. Table 23 shows the cross-coding of predicate types with the various clause types:

Table 23. Predicate types and clause types

		<i>copular</i>		<i>verbal</i>
		existential	equative	
<i>Finite</i>	Declarative (pres) (past) (fut.)	<i>ca</i> (copula)	<i>gila</i> (copula)	(cf. verb
		chole 'to stay'	giwa chowa	paradigm in
		uphe 'to come'		Chapter 10)
	Adhortative	cho-khe '1p.pl'	N/A	V-khe '1p.pl'
	Imperative	cho-i '2p.'	N/A	V-i '2p.'
	Optative	cho-n-chen '3p.'	N/A	V-n-cen '3p.'
	Subjunctive 1 Subjunctive 2	cho-du	gi-du	V-du V-sa
<i>Non-finite</i>	Non-final	cho-nyi-(PRT)	gi-nyi-(PRT)	V-nyi-(PRT)
		cho-deke	gi-deke	V-deke
		cho-n-than	gi-n-than	V-n-than
	Participial	cho-wa	gi-wa	V-wa
		cho-la		V-la
		cho-lu		V-lu
		cho-le		V-le

Not shown in the table are the relative clause verb forms in *-khan*, *cho-khan*, *gi-khan* and *V-khan* which will be taken up in Chapter 11 on relative clauses. Several things may be noted from Table 23. While the declarative clauses with existential copular and verbal predicate types may be marked for past, present or future time, the equative copular predicate type is only marked for present or past time. The existential copular predicate types are limited to this three-way distinction, whilst the verbal predicate types are inflected for the entire tense, aspect and mirativity paradigm (Chapter 10). The equative predicate type is further restricted in that it does not occur in adhortative, imperative or optative sentence moods. All three predicate types, the verbal as well as the two copular, are used to form the various types of non-finite clauses, although the distinction between various participial forms is neutralised to *giwa* in the equative predicate type. The

remainder of this chapter and the next will further elaborate on the clause and predicate types summarised in Table 23.

8.3 COPULAR PREDICATE WITH *CA* OR *LA*

Copular predicates with *ca* may express a variety of functional domains, including description, possession, location and existence. The mirative equivalent of the copula *ca* is *la* (cf. section 10.3).

a. *Description.*

- (1) Uthu phai lekpu la.
 DEM house fine COP
 'This house is nice.'

b. *Possession.* The subject noun phrase takes the locative case (cf. section 7.2):

- (2) Apa-ga tiru drongta sam ca.
 father-LOC money thousand three COP
 'Father has three thousand 'ngütram.'
- (3) Ro-ka patang singmu ca.
 3-LOC knife new COP
 'He has a new knife.'

Because the locative and genitive markers are homophonous (cf. section 7.3), the distinction between possession and description is ambiguous. Sentence (1) may also mean 'he has a nice house', and utterance (3) may mean 'his knife is new.'

c. *Location.*

- (4) Ja-ga dung unyu phu jap-ga ca.
 1s-LOC village DEM mountain behind-LOC COP
 'My village is behind that mountain.'

d. *Existence.*

- (5) Ai dop-nyi zatsang zum ca.
 3p merge-NF sibling seven COP
 'Taken together, there are seven of us siblings.'
- (6) A-ha du-kha khai-nga gongpa ca.
 1p-LOC village-LOC twenty-five household COP
 In our village, there are one hundred households.

As is common with existential constructions in many languages, in Tshangla the locational, possessive and existential uses of the copula *ca* are for-

mally as well as functionally indistinguishable. Thus example (6) could equally well be interpreted as a locational ‘one hundred households are located in our village’ or a possessive ‘our village has one hundred households’. The existential construction may be viewed as a single sentence type which expresses all of these closely related nuances of function.

8.3.1 *Negative existential copula*

The negative present existential copula is *mala* in the mirative (cf. section 10.3.1), *manca* in the non-mirative and *manchi* in the past:

- (7) Jang-gi to bu-nyi-la phai-ga cho-khan ibi-rang ma-la.
 1s-AGT food take-NF-PRT house-LOC stay-REL who-EMPH NEG-COP
 ‘If I take the food, there will be no one at home.’
- (8) Ji-gi ma-got-nyi-la ibi-rang got-khan manca.
 1s-AGT NEG-look-NF-PRT who-EMPH look-REL NEG.COP
 ‘If I don’t look after (them), there will be no one who looks after (them).’
- (9) Ro-ka tiru manchi.
 3-LOC money NEG.COP
 ‘He didn’t have money.’

The functional equivalent of the negative existential copula *manca* in contexts requiring a nominalised verb is *mawa*. *Mawa* occurs in relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses where the participle in *-wa* is required. *Mawa* may also take the place of *manca* in a the periphrastic simple past perfective when the equative copula *gila* is the final element (cf. section 10.4), as in (10):

- (10) Uthu cho ai-ba-ka lungten mawa gila. Lungten ro-ka-rang
 DEM TOP 1p-PL-LOC power NEG.COP COP power 3-LOC-EMPH
 ca gila.
 COP COP
 ‘This is not our power, the power is his.’

Likewise, the nominalised copular *mawa* functions as the participle upon which the mirative past perfective form *mawala* may be built (cf. section 10.3.3), as in example (11):

- (11) Om meme la mawa-la!
 now grandfather PRT NEG.COP-COP
 ‘Grandfather is gone!’

Note that whereas the nominalised participle may occur alone as the simple past perfective (e.g. *diwa* ‘went’, cf. section 10.3.3), the form *mawa* does not occur alone in a finite inflection but only in a non-finite context

or embedded in a larger construction. The finite equivalent to *mawa* in the simple past perfective non-mirative is *manchi* ‘was not’.

8.3.2 Copular vs. verbal predicate with *ca*

When the nominal slot in the copular predicate is occupied by a nominalised verb, the distinction between a copular predicate and a perfect verbal predicate with the copula *ca* (cf. section 10.1h) is neutralised.

- (12) Ja-ga khamung-ga gang dor-ba ca.
 1s-LOC clothes-LOC hole pierce-NOM COP
 ‘I have a hole in my clothes.’ (lit. ‘A hole has been pierced in my clothes.’)
- (13) Jang lai phi-nyi namesame yeng-pa ca.
 1s work do-NF very distract-NOM COP
 ‘I am very busy with work.’ (lit. ‘I have become very distracted with work.’)

In sentences like (12) and (13), most naturally translated into English by means of a copular expression, Tshangla makes no syntactic distinction between a copular and a verbal predicate.

8.3.3 Chole as copula

As seen from Table 23, the existential copula *ca* is only found in final clauses in declarative sentences when encoding present time. In any other syntactic environment where a predicate adjective or nominal is required, the copula *ca* is replaced by a form of the verb *chole* ‘to stay’. The verb *chole* functions as the copula in past time in example (14), in a non-final clause in sentence (15), in a nominalised adverbial clause in sentence (16), in an imperative sentence in example (17) and in an subjunctive sentence in example (18).

a. Past time.

- (14) Goma ro temtala cho-wa, oma nyam tak-pa-la.
 before 3 thin stay-NOM now fat accumulate-NOM-COP
 ‘He used to be thin, now he has got fat.’

b. Non-final.

- (15) Tiru thurpa cho-nyi-bu ja-ga ge!
 money coin stay-NF-FOC 1s-LOC give
 ‘Even if you only have one coin, give it to me!’

c. Nominalised adverbial clause.

- (16) Phakpale khalu cho-wa-gi Khaling dak-nyi chin-ma giwala.
 sausage bitter stay-NOM-AGT Khaling say-NF reach-NOM COP
 ‘Because the sausage was sour, (the town) got the name “Khaling”.’

d. *Imperative.*

- (17) Ngotsu a-n ma-cho-i!
 timid do-SE NEG-stay-IMP
 'Don't be timid!'

e. *Subjunctive.*

- (18) Nai lekpa-n-rang cho-du dak-pa-ga rewa chilu ca.
 2p good-SE-EMPH stay-SUB say-NOM-LOC hope great COP
 'I hope very much that you are well.'

8.3.4 *Future copula uphe*

Nominal and adjectival predicate clauses encoding a future existence, location, possession or description use the auxiliary *uphe*, specifically the future or infinitival inflection of the verb *uphe* 'to come'.

a. *Existence.*

- (19) Nyi-bu za-le lang-pa u-na.
 PRT-FOC eat-INF suffice-NOM come-COP
 'Then there will be enough to eat.' (lit. 'enough to eat will exist.')

b. *Possession.*

- (20) Nan ram ma-jor-pa sakpu tson-gai sho-le rawang
 2s debt NEG-pay-NOM until prison-LOC exit-INF chance
 mang-pha.
 NEG.come-PTC
 'Until you pay your debt, you won't have a chance to get out of prison.'

c. *Description.*

- (21) Om zambuling khepa kalu u-phe.
 now world TOP difficult come-INF
 'Now for the world it is going to be difficult.'
- (22) Ai-ten lekpu lai a-nyi-la, thamchen lekpu u-phe.
 1p-RFLX good work do-NF-PRT all good come-INF
 'If we work well, everything will be all right.'

This usage of *uphe* shows a semantic bleaching of the lexical content of the word, which will be shown in section 10.1 to coincide with the use of the item as an auxiliary in final verb tense-aspect inflections.

8.4 COPULAR PREDICATE WITH *GILA*8.4.1 *Equative: identity and set membership*

The equative copula *gila*¹ is used to encode equative relationships, such as identity between subject and predicate, or set membership, i.e. that the subject is a member of the class referred to by the predicate:

a. *Identity.*

- (23) Ja-ga dung Wamrong gila.
 1s-LOC village Wamrong COP
 'My village is Wamrong.'
- (24) Sonam sho Peden-ga ata gila.
 Sonam TOP Peden-LOC elder.brother COP
 'Sonam is Peden's older brother.'

b. *Set membership.*

- (25) Jang dukpu zamin gila.
 1s poor girl COP
 'I am a poor girl.'
- (26) Nan yongba gila.
 2s fool COP
 'You are a fool.'

8.4.2 *Emphatic*

The form *gila* may also be used in what are typically copular contexts usually involving *ca* to encode description, possession, location, etc., usually in order to add another emphasis:

a. *Description.*

- (27) To namesame lekpu gila!
 food very good COP
 'The food is very good!'
- (28) Uthu chas yalu gila.
 DEM talk easy COP
 'This matter is easy.'

¹ The form *gila* has a somewhat rare lexical, non-copular sense 'to be true':

Ja-ga meme-ga chas yek-khan gi-wa cho-wa.
 1s-LOC grandfather-LOC talk speak-REL be.true-NOM stay-NOM
 'What my grandfather said was true.'

b. *Possession.*

- (29) Gyelkhap tabu-rang na-ga gila.
kingdom always-EMPH 2s-LOC COP
'The kingdom is always yours.'

c. *Location.*

- (30) Ja-ga phai onya doptang gila.
1s-LOC house DEM point COP
'My house is right over there.'

d. *Existence.*

- (31) Chesung-ba-ki cho, lekpu-bu gila ma-lekpa-bu gila,
chesung-PL-AGT TOP good-FOC COP NEG-good-FOC COP
nyiktsing-rang gila.
two-EMPH COP
'Chesungs (protector spirits)... there are good ones and bad ones, there are both kinds.'

8.4.3 *Ca vs. gila*

In certain contexts a secondary distinction emerges between *ca* and *gila*, namely that *ca* encodes a temporary condition, location or characteristic, whilst the form *gila* encodes a more permanent state. Contrastive pairs like the following illustrate this distinction.

a. *Temporary description.*

- (32) Ro lekpu ca mo?
3 good COP QUES
'Is he fine?' (i.e. 'Is he feeling well?')

b. *Permanent description.*

- (33) Ro lekpu gila mo?
3 good COP QUES
'Is he good?' (i.e. 'Is he a good person?')

c. *Temporary location.*

- (34) Ja-ga gari Thimpu-ga ca.
1s-LOC car Thimpu-LOC COP
'My car is in Thimpu.'

d. *Permanent location.*

- (35) Ja-ga dung Druk-ga gila.
1s-LOC village Bhutan-LOC COP
'My village is in Bhutan.'

8.4.4 *Other inflections of gila*

Again, as seen from Table 23, the copula *gila* has no equivalent form for past time. *Giwala* is the mirative form of *gila* (cf. section 10.3.6). However, an equative clause may be set in the past time by means of the construction *giwa chowa* or the mirative alternant *giwa chowala*, which is a nominalised form of *gila* followed by the past inflected verb *chole* ‘to stay’. The latter form is formally identical to the past perfect perfective (past-in-the-past) inflection found on other lexical verbs (cf. section 10.1g).

- (36) Ro-sho ja-ga meaktsa-ga ama-ga aku zemu gi-wa
 3-TOP 1s-LOC wife-LOC mother-LOC uncle small COP-NOM
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 ‘He was my wife’s mother’s youngest uncle.’

- (37) Ro goma lungtenpa-gi sung-khan khepa gi-wa
 3 before prophet-AGT speak-REL TOP COP-NOM
 cho-wa-la.
 stay-NOM-COP
 ‘He was the one the prophet told about long ago.’

The form *gila* is also inflected to fit in several different sentence and clause types. The form *gila* may occur in a non-final adverbial clause, e.g. (38)–(40), a nominalised adverbial clause, e.g. (41), and in a subjunctive sentence, e.g. (42).²

a. *Non-final adverbial clause.*

- (38) Jang tsonpa-rang gi-nyi-bu, jang-sho tsonpa-ba-ka gopen
 1s prisoner-EMPH COP-NF-FOC 1s-TOP prisoner-PL-LOC chief
 a-nyi tha-wa.
 do-NF leave-NOM
 ‘Even though I was a prisoner, I was made captain of the prisoners.’
- (39) Un-dabu-te gi-nyi-la jang kes+ke-be-la.
 DEM-like-PRT COP-NF-PRT 1s be.problem-INF-COP
 ‘If that’s how it is, I am going to have problems.’
- (40) Nyi den-ma-rang gi-deke gopa jelpo hangten trok-pa
 PRT true-NOM-EMPH COP-NF before king how bother-NOM
 gila mo se-wa giwala.
 COP QUES know-NOM COP
 ‘(At last the king took a good look, and it was true.) And because it was true, the king now knew the harm that had been done to him.’

² These inflected forms of *gila* will be better understood after reading the section describing each of these inflections for lexical verbs.

b. *Nominalised adverbial clause.*

- (41) Oma cuti gi-wa-gi ro-ka brang-ka lam-pe.
 now vacation COP-NOM-AGT 3-LOC place-LOC study-INF
 'Because she's on vacation, we will study at her place.'

c. *Subjunctive sentence.*

- (42) Ibi gi-du ya, dak.
 who COP-SUB QUES say
 '“Who could it be?” he thought.'

The form *gila* may be nominalised as *giwa* and used in constructions requiring a nominalised verb. In example (43), the nominalised form *giwa* occurs as the complement of the postposition *dabu*. In examples (44) and (45), the nominalised form *giwa* occurs in a participial adverbial clause (cf. section 13.2.3).

- (43) Nyi mastong le, nyi gi-du la manggi-du la,
 PRT don't.know PRT PRT COP-SUB COP NEG.COP-SUB COP
 nyi noksam mi-n got-pa-kap-nyi **gi-wa** **dabu**
 PRT mind think-SE look-PTC-with-NF COP-NOM like
 thur-bu la ko.
 one-FOC COP PRT
 'I don't know if it is the case or not, but when I think about it, it seems to be the case.'
- (44) Onya rumal cho nan-ga-tan wak-pa **manggi-wa**,
 DEM handkerchief TOP 2s-LOC-to wave-NOM NEG.COP-NOM
 onya phai-ga lai a-khan yokpa-gi tabu-rang
 DEM house-LOC work do-REL servant-AGT always-EMPH
 she phak-la!
 glass brush-COP
 'That handkerchief, it is not being waved at you, rather a household servant is always wiping the glass with it!'
- (45) Nan-gi ja-ga ka-dang tu-n-nyi lai a-le
 2s-AGT 1s-LOC command-PRT accord-SE-NF work do-INF
manggi-wa, mewaktsa-ga chas nyan-pa.
 NEG.COP-NOM wife-LOC talk listen-NOM
 'Not acting in accordance with my commands, you listened to the talk of your wife.'

As with other nominalised verbs, the nominalised form *giwa* may take the locative case marker, as in the nominalised relative clause in example (46).

- (46) **Manggi-wa-ga** chas dus-nyi namesame ma-lek-pa
 NEG.COP-NOM-LOC talk collect-NF very NEG-be.good-NOM
 a-nyi jang cho namesame kawa cat-pe khe-le.
 do-NF 1s TOP very hardship suffer-INF must-INF
 'Collecting talk which is false, undergoing very evil things, I will suffer greatly.' (i.e. 'I will suffer false accusations and much evil.')

For the form *gila* the non-declarative forms **gikhe*, **gichen* and **gisho*/**gi-i* remain unattested.

8.5 VERBAL PREDICATES

Contrasting with the two types of copular predicates is the verbal predicate. The verbal predicate contains a finite lexical verb inflected for tense, aspect and mirativity. Each of these grammatical categories is obligatory in a declarative final clause. The final verb inflection is formally realised either by a verb root with infinitive, by a nominaliser suffix and an optional copula or by a verb root plus the copula *ca* alone. The complete final verb paradigm is complex and includes many periphrastic verb plus auxiliary combinations, each of which encodes a different tense, aspect or mirativity combination. Because the complete final verb paradigm is described in detail in Chapter 10, only enough information will be given here to contrast the verbal sentence to the copular sentence types. Consider the following examples:

- (47) Gedun Trashigang-ga di-wa.
 Gedun Trashigang-LOC go-NOM
 'Gedun went to Trashigang.'
- (48) Penjur to cot-pe gila
 Penjur food prepare-INF COP
 'Penjur will prepare food.'
- (49) Dorji mi gap-ca.
 Dorji arrow shoot-COP.
 'Dorji is shooting the arrow.'
- (50) Pelden ung bak-pa ca.
 Pelden field plough-NOMCOP
 'Pelden has ploughed the field.'
- (51) Sonam dukpu ca.
 Sonam poor COP
 'Sonam is poor.'

- (52) Nyima Druk-ga songo gila.
 Nyima Bhutan-LOC person COP
 'Nyima is a Bhutanese person.'

Of the entire set of examples, only (51) and (52), which contain no verb, are copular clauses, containing existential *ca* and equative *gila* respectively. Example (47) is obviously a verbal clause, as the sentence contains no copulas. The verb comprises the entire predicate. Examples (48) through (50), however, are verbal clauses even though they contain copulas. The copulas are merely auxiliaries to the main verb and function as components of the tense, aspect and mirativity system. Example (48) is a simple (i.e. non-perfect) future perfective inflection. The equative copula comes in addition to the tense, aspect and mirativity inflection and does not change the tense, aspect and mirativity values. In example (49), the existential copula is added to the verb stem to create the simple present imperfective. Finally, in example (50), the existential copula is added onto the nominalised verb in *-pa (-wa)* to form the past perfect perfective.

8.6 PREDICATE TYPES IN NON-FINAL CLAUSES

Each of the predicate types described in this section, whether verbal, existential *ca* or equative *gila*, may also occur as a non-final clause syntactically. Non-final clauses are described and exemplified at length in section 13.1 and Chapter 15. Non-final clauses do not contrast for sentence type. Non-final clauses derive their sentence type from the sentence as a whole as marked on the final clause. We have already seen in sections 8.3 and 8.4 that the copular clauses may also occur non-finally. It was noted that in this case the form *ca* is substituted by the verb *chole* 'to stay', while the form *gila* inflects for many of the categories for which lexical verbs inflect. Copular clauses occurring non-finally are therefore formally the same as verbal non-final clauses. This means that when occurring non-finally, the distinction between copular and verbal clause types is neutralised, at least formally. Only in final clauses do the three predicate types remain formally distinct.

SENTENCE TYPES AND SENTENCE MOODS

The term 'sentence' was defined in Chapter 8 as a minimal unit of discourse which may express a complete proposition without dependence on surrounding context. A sentence in Tshangla contains only one finite clause, potentially preceded by one or more non-finite clauses. The sentence types are grammatical means of encoding the intended speech act of the sentence (cf. Searle 1969, 1975).

Of all independent sentences in Tshangla, the most frequent is the declarative sentence type. The declarative sentence contains a finite clause whose verb is marked with the ordinary finite tense, aspect and mirativity markers as described in Chapter 8, namely the copulas *ca* or *gila*, the infinitive suffix *-le* (*-be*, *-me*, *-pe*) or the nominaliser suffix *-wa* (*-ba*, *-ma*, *-pa*). The declarative verb paradigm will be described in detail in Chapter 10. The declarative sentence type is most commonly used to make an assertion, i.e. to claim that the particular state of affairs described by the utterance is the case or is not the case.

Non-declarative sentences, by contrast, contain a finite clause whose verb is inflected with one of five sentence-mood suffixes, viz. adhortative (*-khe*) imperative (*-sho* ~ *-co*) optative (*-chen*) and two distinct subjunctive moods (*-sa* and *-du* ~ *-tu*). The sentence moods code various propositional modalities, such as wish, supposition, etc.

Both the declarative and non-declarative sentence types may be further marked as interrogative by the addition of one of two sentence-final interrogative particles. The interrogative sentence signals that the speech act is a question, i.e. a request for information. By using the interrogative, the speaker either presents a proposition and asks the listener to confirm whether or not this is in fact the case, viz. a polarity question, or presents an incomplete proposition and asks the listener to fill in the missing information, viz. a content question.

In this chapter, first the various sentence moods will be described, and then the interrogative sentence type. Finally, a brief discussion will be presented of the interaction between interrogative and the sentence moods, where evidence will be shown to suggest that the interrogative and declarative sentence types represent distinct speech acts, while the sentence moods do not represent distinct speech acts, but rather modify the proposition at the propositional-semantic level.

9.1 THE NON-DECLARATIVE SENTENCE MOODS

The non-declarative sentence moods require a unique non-declarative verbal suffix attached directly to the stem.

9.1.1 *Adhortative -khe*

The adhortative *-khe*¹ is found only in the first person plural. Furthermore the suffix carries inclusive meaning, i.e. includes both the speaker and listeners. A sentence marked with *-khe* counts as an invitation for the listener to join the speaker in the activity indicated, as in English 'let us...' or 'we ought to...'²

- (1) A-ching ja-ga ajang-ga brangka di-n-than chas a-khe.
 1p-DUAL 1s-LOC uncle-LOC place-LOC go-SE-NF talk do-ADH
 'Let's the two of us go to my uncle's place and talk.'
- (2) A-ha-ba thamcen dom-nyi Druk-ka den-ge melam
 1p-LOC-PL all join-NF Bhutan-LOC reason-ABL prayer
 tap-khe.
 pray-ADH
 'Let us all together pray on behalf of Bhutan.'

9.1.2 *Imperative -sho ~ -co*

The imperative is marked with the suffix *-sho* (*-i ~ -yo, -co*). (The allomorphic alternation in the imperative suffix is conditioned by the final vowel or consonant of the root, cf. section 4.2.1). A sentence marked with this suffix counts as a command, i.e. an injunction by the speaker upon the listeners to perform the activity indicated, as in English 'do X,' or 'you must...'

- (3) Das nong-sho!
 bit wait-IMP
 'Wait a second!'

Also *-kai* or *-ke* in some dialects

² The ending *-khi ~ -khe* is used as the infinitive (like *-pe, -le, -me, -be*) in some dialects, though apparently only on some verbs:

Gomchen dukpin denta hang-rang mawa phur-khi ma-r-ba na!
 gomchen shabby meaning what-EMPH NEG.COP fly-INF NEG-can-NOM PRT
 'He's a useless gomchen, he cannot fly!' (cf. phur-be)

Dangpo songo thur senyom phun-khi di-wa-la.
 ancient person one alms beg-INF go-NOM-COP
 Long ago, a person went to beg alms. (cf. phun-me)

- (4) Onya lan khai ma-tshong-sho, onya khai lok-nyi pha-i;
 that rope TOP NEG-sell-IMP that TOP return-NF bring-IMP
 kurta cho tshong-sho.
 horse TOP sell-IMP
 'Don't sell the rope; bring it back, but sell the horse.'
- (5) Abi, to sho tore-ga phi-nyi jang-ga dokang-ga
 grandmother food TOP cloth-LOC do-NF 1s-LOC stick-LOC
 thik-co.
 tie-IMP
 'Grandmother, make a cloth bundle with the food and tie it to a stick for me.'
- (6) Nan-ga namza-bu ja-ga nang-sho; ja-ga khamung
 2s-LOC clothing(hon.)-FOC 1s-LOC give(hon.)-IMP 1s-LOC clothing
 nan yen bu-i.
 2s wear take-IMP
 'Give me your clothes too, and you take and wear my clothes.'

The imperative is not restricted to the second person. Example (7) shows the use of the imperative with the third person. Here the meaning is 's/he should' or 'must', a meaning very similar to the optative *-chen*.

- (7) Na-ha pong-ka kawa+cat-khan cha mo? Onya
 2p-LOC among-LOC suffer.hardship-REL COP QUES That
 songo-gi melam+tap-co
 person-AGT pray-IMP
 'Is anyone among you suffering hardship? That person should pray.'

9.1.3 Optative *-chen*

The optative sentence mood, marked by the suffix *-chen*, expresses an injunction by the speaker upon a third party, as in English 'may he...', 'let him...' or 'he should...'. The subject of the verb in *-chen* may be optionally marked with the locative case, as in example (10).

- (8) Phrengma cho-n-chen dak yek-pa-la, ajang-gi.
 beads stay-SE-OPT say say-NOM-COP uncle-AGT
 'Let the beads stay where they are, uncle said.'
- (9) Ro di-le dang, di-n-chen.
 3 go-INF PRT go-SE-OPT
 'If he wants to go, let him go.'
- (10) Songo mar-khan-ga man za-n-chen
 person sick-REL-LOC medicine eat-SE-OPT
 'The patient should take his medicine.'

9.1.4 *Subjunctive gisa*

The subjunctive copula *gisa* expresses doubt or uncertainty, along the lines of English ‘may be’, ‘is probably’ etc.

- (11) Topda-gi khe-wa gisa.
 gun-AGT strike-NOM COP
 ‘(It looks like) he may have been shot.’

Gisa may occur in an equative predicate. *Gisa* then functions as an equative copula linking the subject noun phrase with a predicate noun phrase, indicating that the identity or set membership relationship is uncertain but probable.

- (12) Abi dang meme-gi denpa-rang gisa dak-nyi
 grandfather and grandmother-AGT true-EMPH COP say-NF
 noksam mi-nyi
 mind think-NF
 ‘Grandfather and grandmother thought (what the monkey had said) might be true.’

- (13) Wai, gilubu gisa nyi a-nyi, shep thur te-nyi got-pe na.
 ITJ true COP PRT do-NF time one believe-NF look-INF PRT
 ‘Wow, it may be true! I’ll try believing in it once!’

Gisa may also occur as a grammatical auxiliary in a verbal predicate. Because lexical verbs themselves cannot be marked in this way, adding the copula *gisa* is the only way to mark sentences containing verbal predicates for this category. As we have seen, the copula *gila* itself does not add any meaning. The meaning contributed by *gisa*, then, is limited to the modal component of the expression.

- (14) Onya ten-ma-kap lekpu u-phe gisa.
 that believe-PTC-with good come-INF COP
 ‘It might be good if you believed it.’
- (15) Nyi meme-gi lam got-pa-la ibi-gi yek-ca
 PRT grandfather-AGT search look-NOM-COP who-AGT speak-COP
 gisa dak-nyi, sem mi-nyi.
 COP say-NF mind think-NF
 ‘Then grandfather looked around to see who could be speaking.’

Gisa, like *gidu* or verbs marked with *-du ~ -tu*, is used in complement clauses of verbs of thinking or perception that do not imply the truth of their complement.

- (16) Damzer khepa di-n-ca gisa dak got-pe gosa cho-wa
 she.monster TOP go-SE-COP COP say look-INF watch stay-NOM
 ca giwala, gocung-gai.
 COP COP window-ABL
 'The she-monster was watching from the window to see if they had left.'
- (17) Jang hang gisa dak das ngang-pa.
 1s what COP sag bit wonder-NOM
 'I was wondering what that could be.'

Gisa na gisa is an expression meaning something like 'well all right then...'. This expression is used in contexts where the speaker is somewhat uncertain about a particular course of action but decides to go ahead with it anyway. In one popular folk tale, the old man and woman have just been told by the monkey that they should plant the cassava by first boiling it and wrapping it in a leaf. The monkey has designs on the cassava and plans to dig it up later. The old man and woman, when told about this, answer somewhat doubtfully with *Gisa na gisa*... 'Well, alright then...'

Gisa is frequently used in questions to indicate uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

- (18) Ro o-ga di-le gisa?
 3 where-LOC go-INF COP
 'Where do you suppose he is going?'

The fact that the *-sa* suffix on *gisa* is formally identical to the relativising suffix *-sa* (cf. section 11.2), combined with the irregular distribution of the former, i.e. not occurring in a verbal or existential copular predicate but only in the equative predicate, suggest that perhaps the two forms are diachronically related.

9.1.5 *Subjunctive -du ~ -tu*

The subjunctive sentence mood with *-du* or *-tu* presents a proposition as possible, doubtful or only potentially true. By using a subjunctive sentence, a speaker hedges his commitment to the truth of a proposition, along the lines of English 'perhaps', 'I wonder', 'I suppose', 'it might be the case that...'. The subjunctive sentence is sometimes appropriately translated as a question in English. By expressing his doubt, the speaker invites confirmation from the listener.

The subjunctive is marked with the suffix *-du ~ -tu* on the main verb of the final clause. Subjunctive sentences are not marked for tense, aspect or mirativity. The subjunctive marking always occurs on the final verb or auxiliary in the sentence. In example (19), the subjunctive marking occurs

on the equative copula *gila*. In example (20), both the complement clause verb *tenpa lup* ‘destroy’ as well as main clause verb *yong khe* ‘know’ are marked as subjunctive.

- (19) Nyi ai-ten Sharchokpa-ba mangpu ca gi-du la, thola
 PRT 1p-RFLX Sharchokpa-PL many COP COP-SUB PRT up.there
 Thimpu nangka.
 Thimpu inside
 ‘There are many of us Sharchokpas, I suppose, up there in Thimpu?’
- (20) Songo-ba-ki omchang-rang ri tenpa+lup-tu a-nyi yong
 person-PL-AGT again-EMPH water destroy-SUB do-NF fear
 khe-du dak...
 suffer-SUB say
 ‘He thought that perhaps the people would fear that he might again destroy the world by water.’

9.1.5.1 Subjunctive mood and predicate types

Recall Table 23 in section 8.2. Like the declarative, the subjunctive sentence mood cross-codes with the three possible predicate types. In addition to verbal predicates, the subjunctive sentence mood may occur on copular *chole* (21) and copular *gila* (22).

- (21) Ai ridrang-ga melam tap-sa brang thur cho-du me dak,
 1p riverbed-LOC prayer pray-REL place one stay-SUB PRT say
 lam search
 di-wa. go-NOM
 ‘Thinking perhaps there was a place of prayer by the river, we went to look.’
- (22) Den-ma-rang manggi-du a-n mi-la-kap-nyi...
 be.true-NOM-EMPH NEG.COP-SUB do-SE think-PTC-with-NF
 ‘Thinking it probably wasn’t true...’

When a verbal predicate contains a copula functioning as an auxiliary verb, subjunctive is marked on the copula. In example (23), the auxiliary form *gidu*, of the equative copula *gila*, is used.

- (23) Ji-gi kor phi-la-kap-nyi nan ma-se-wa gi-du?
 1s-AGT trick play-PTC-with-NF 2s NEG-know-NOM COP-SUB
 ‘Perhaps you didn’t know I was playing a trick on you?’

Likewise, when a verbal predicate contains the copula *ca* functioning as an auxiliary, it is the copula *ca* that gets the subjunctive marking.

- (24) Da-shi mi-wa, ro-ki chekhang nangka rik bu-n cho-du
 3-AGT think-NOM 3-AGT temple in guide take-SE stay-SUB
 dak.
 say
 'They thought that perhaps he had brought him into the temple.'

9.1.5.2 Functions of subjunctive -du ~ -tu

Subjunctive sentences in *-du ~ -tu* are used to express suggestions. Subjunctive sentences also occur in complements of cognition verbs and in negative adverbial clauses of purpose. Each of these usages will be described here.

9.1.5.2.1 Suggestion through use of the future plus *gidu*

Subjunctive sentences are a common way of making a polite suggestion.

- (25) Om toka sha tsong-me gi-du?
 now bull meat sell-INF COP-SUB
 '(Our bull is dead; what should we do?) Maybe we could sell the meat?'
- (26) Ser-gai jang-ga thur, nan-ga thur, jang-ga thur a-n bong-me
 gold-ABL 1s-LOC one 2s-LOC one 1s-LOC one do-SE divide-INF
 gi-du?
 COP-SUB
 (discussing how the gold should be divided) 'Maybe we could divide the gold one to me, one to you, one to me, and so on?'

9.1.5.2.2 Complement of cognition verb

Subjunctive sentences are often used in the complements of cognition verbs such as 'to think', 'to fear', 'to hope', the complement clause of which expresses a proposition which is uncertain.³

- (27) Nai-ba-ki jikor phi-nyi lai ma-lekpa a-na, ditshe
 2p-PL-AGT trick do-NF deed NEG-good do-COP time
 jur-du me dak-nyi noksam mi-nyi
 change-SUB PRT say-NF mind think-NF
 'You are betraying me and doing evil, thinking that the situation might change.'
- (28) Jang chutshe got-nyi, hala chutshe songthur di-du me dak
 1s hour look-NF when hour eleven go-SUB PRT say
 mi-n sungjapa-ga cho-wa.
 think-NF duty-LOC stay-NOM
 'I was on duty, looking at the clock, thinking, "Is it eleven yet?"'

³ Cf. Givón's 'non-implicative' verbs, which 'do not imply the truth of their complement' (Givón 1984: 118).

- (29) Nyi jang-ten-bu gopen-gi khen-du dak-nyi yong khe-nyi
 PRT 1s-RFLX-FOC boss-AGT know-SUB say-NF fear strike-NF
 tsangken a-n cho-n cho-wa.
 quiet do-SE stay-SE stay-NOM
 'Fearing that the boss would find out, I was keeping quiet.'
- (30) Ser nyong-tu dak-pa rewa-gi rok-tsing thur thur-gi
 gold receive-SUB say-NOM hope-AGT 3-DUAL one one-AGT
 kholong phi-wa.
 fight do-NOM
 'Each hoping that he would get the gold, they fought with one another.'

9.1.5.2.3 *Adverbial clause 'lest, otherwise'*

Subjunctive sentences are frequently used in negative adverbial clauses of purpose, equivalent to the function of English 'lest', meaning 'so that not...'. These purpose clauses themselves are in turn embedded, either explicitly or implicitly, in a complement of a verb of thinking. The structure is literally equivalent to 'thinking that otherwise X'

- (31) Songo shi-le a-nyi ro-ki mi-nyi-la, ro ma-di-la;
 person die-INF do-NF 3-AGT think-NF-PRT 3 NEG-go-PRT
 ro-ka ming dong di-du dak-nyi
 3-LOC name down go-SUB say-NF
 'If the "pau" (a type of shaman) thinks that the patient will die anyway, he will not bother going to their house, lest his reputation should suffer.' (lit. 'thinking that his name might go down')
- (32) Nau khepu gang thur-rang ma-tha-i na a-nyi
 boat TOP hole one-EMPH NEG-leave-IMP PRT do-NF
 sung-ma-la, hang ya dak-nyi-la ri nangka
 say-NOM-COP what QUES say-NF-PRT water in
 zhu-du a-nyi.
 leak-SUB do-NF
 "Don't make a single hole in the boat," he said, "lest water should leak in."
 (lit. 'because he was thinking that water might leak in')
- (33) Ro kap dolo ri-du a-nyi ma-za-i yek-pa-la.
 3 with equal become-SUB do-NF NEG-eat-IMP speak-NOM-COP
 'He told us not to eat it lest we become equal to him.' (lit. 'thinking we might become equal to him')
- (34) Norbu bu-du dak norbu jepo dang jemo ma-yi-pha
 gem take-SUB say gem king and queen NEG-sleep-PTC
 nowang-ga go-n tha-n-ca giwala.
 mouth-LOC put-SE leave-SE-COP COP
 'So that no one should steal the gem, the king and queen were holding it in their mouth without sleeping.' (lit. 'thinking that someone might take the gem...')

9.2 THE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE TYPE

The interrogative sentence type contains a finite final clause⁴ fully inflected for tense, aspect and mirativity. The interrogative sentence functions as a request for information or confirmation of the speaker's understanding of a state of affairs. There are two types of interrogative sentence in Tshangla as in most languages, viz. the polarity question and the content question.

9.2.1 Polarity question particle *mo*

The polarity or yes/no question presents a proposition and asks the listener whether or not the proposition holds true. Polarity questions are encoded in Tshangla by means of the sentence-final question particle *mo*. Other than the particle, the syntax of the interrogative sentence type is identical to a corresponding declarative sentence.

a. *Interrogative.*

- (35) Unyu wa daza brang-ma mo?
 DEM cow young bear-NOM QUES
 'Has this cow born a calf?'

b. *Declarative.*

- (36) Unyu wa daza brang-ma.
 DEM cow young bear-NOM
 'This cow has born a calf.'

The polarity question particle *mo* is also used to present a choice between two alternatives, i.e. 'is X the case or Y' This construction takes the form predicate₁ plus *mo* plus predicate₂, the question particle occurring only after the first predicate.

- (37) Dra-gai u-n-ca mo, ngen-gai u-n-ca?
 enemy-ABL come-SE-COP QUES friend-ABL come-SE-COP
 'Do you come from an enemy or from a friend?'

The second clause is sometimes followed by the information question particle *ya*, as in the following example:

⁴ As noted in section 3.2.1.2.1g, there is one apparent exception to the generalisation that the interrogative *mo* occurs after a fully finite final clause, namely in the case of a complement containing a negative proposition encoded by a nominalised participle in *-wa* (cf. section 12.1). For a fully finite negative proposition we would expect the negative copula *-chi* instead. In this one construction, then, the sentence marked by the interrogative *mo* appears to be less than fully finite.

- (38) Ser-ga rengan tang-pe mo, shing-ga rengan tang-pe
 gold-LOC ladder bridge-INF QUES wood-LOC ladder bridge-INF
 ya?
 QUES
 'Should I put up a silver ladder or a wooden ladder?'

Alternatively, one or both of the *mo* particles are frequently omitted.

- (39) Nan thinong ri zhe-le mo khring zhe-le?
 2s today water eat(hon.)-INF QUES dry.meat eat(hon.)-INF
 'Do you want to eat the sauce or the dry meat today?'

The proposition under the scope of a polarity question may be negative as well as affirmative. As in other languages, the illocutionary effect is rhetorical, i.e. the polarity question requests confirmation of a proposition already held to be true by the speaker.

- (40) Nan goma jelpo-ga mewaktsa manggi mo?
 2s before king-LOC women NEG.COP QUES
 'Didn't you use to be the king's wife?'
- (41) Ji-gi throm cho-khan songo-ba-ka phang-pe ma-khe-la
 1s-AGT town stay-REL person-PL-LOC love-INF NEG-must-PRT
 mo?
 QUES
 'Ought I not to love the people of the town?'

9.2.2 Content question particle *ya*

The other question type in Tshangla is the content or information question. This question type supplies a proposition which is missing one piece of information and asks the listener to supply the missing piece. In Tshangla content questions, a different sentence-final particle *ya* is used, and the missing piece of information is substituted by a question word.⁵ The question particle *ya* is frequently omitted. The Tshangla content question words are:

hang	what
ibi	who
ibiga	whose
o ~ oga ~ ogai	where
hala	when
giti	when
hangten ~ hangte	how
hanyi	why

⁵ This question type is sometimes called the 'wh-question' because in English most such question words begin with the letters *wh*.

The use of each question word will be illustrated below, along with an equivalent statement for comparison. As a comparison of (42) and (43) below illustrates, in the unmarked interrogative construction, the question word occurs in the same place in the syntax as the word for which the question word is substituting.

a. *Hang* 'what'.

(42) Lopen-gi hang yek-pa ya?
 teacher-AGT what speak-NOM QUES
 'What did the teacher say?'

(43) Lopen-gi ai-ba namnying lok ru-me a-n yek-pa.
 teacher-AGT 3-PL tomorrow return meet-INF do-SE speak-NOM
 'The teacher said, "We'll meet again tomorrow!"'

b. *Hangten* ~ *hangte* 'how'. *Hangten* and *hangte* 'how' substitute for a predicate rather than a noun phrase, roughly equivalent to 'doing what', 'by what means, by what action' or 'how'

(44) Nan-gi to hangten bu-le?
 2s-AGT food how take-INF
 'How will you take the food (to him)?'

(45) Buchila phatsa nangka hangten nu-pha ya?
 snake sack in how enter-NOM QUES
 'How did the snake get into the sack?'

Hangten ~ *hangte* is also used to inquire about the characteristics of an entity, as in the similar sense of English 'how' i.e. 'what is X like?'

(46) Nyi natpa hangten ca mo, hang gila mo, thamcen
 PRT disease how COP QUES what COP QUES all
 pau-gi yek-pe.
 pau-AGT speak-INF
 'What the disease is like, what it is, everything, the "pau" will tell.'

(47) Nyila ro nyiktsing hangte ca gila mo, tsatileng
 PRT 3 two how COP COP QUES naked
 cho-wa-ga thamcen-rang se-wa-la.
 stay-NOM-LOC all-EMPH know-NOM-COP
 'So then the two of them knew everything: how they were, and that they were naked.'

There is some evidence of a difference in meaning between *hangten* and *hangte*. *Hangte* may substitute for speech or action complements of verbs like *ale* 'to do', *phile* 'to do, make', and *yekpe* 'to say', whereas *hangte* would be translated by English 'what'.

- (48) Namesame nang+dok-nyi, hangte a-le ya? Ja ata oma
 very desparate-NF how do-INF QUES 1 father now
 chu-ma a-nyi...
 finish-NOM do-INF
 'He was desparate, saying, "What shall I do now? My father is dead."'
- (49) Nangpa cho-ga hangte a-n-ca ya?
 buddhism religion-LOC how do-SE-COP QUES
 'What do you do in Buddhism?'
- (50) Onya zasu zum khepu khe cho hangte a-wa ya?
 DEM young seven TOP TOP TOP how do-NOM QUES
 'What happened to the seven children?'
- (51) Hangte a-nyi-bu thap mawa.
 how do-NF-FOC recourse NEG.COP
 'Whatever I do will be to no avail.'
- (52) Songo-ba-ki hangte yek-pa ca ya?
 people-PL-AGT how speak-NOM COP QUES
 'What have the people said?'
- (53) Nyi khandroma-gi hangte sung-ma mo unyu dabu lai
 PRT goddess-AGT how say-NOM QUES DEM manner deed
 a-wa-la.
 do-NOM-COP
 'And he did as the goddess told him to do.'

A question with merely *hangte* and no verb implies this kind of action predicate 'do'.

- (54) Nan hangte ya?
 2s how QUES
 'What are you doing?'

Hangten is rarer in this context, although it does occur:

- (55) Nyi natsha nyok-nyi hangten a-wa ya?
 PRT disease receive-NF how do-NOM QUES
 'What did he do after he got the disease?'
- (56) Therebare shi-le gi-la. Thap hangten ca ya?
 certainly die-INF COP recourse how COP QUES
 'We will certainly die. What is our recourse?'

When the fuller *hangten* is used with a verb such as *phile* 'to do', it is more frequently the manner of the complement that is in focus, rather than the entire complement of the verb. In the following example, the complement of the verb is *chetha* 'war'. What the listener is being asked to provide is the means or manner in which the war is to be carried out.

- (57) Hor-ga chetha hangten phile ya?
 Hor-LOC war how do-INF QUES
 'How shall we make war in Hor?'

Hangten in some contexts may mean 'why', comparable to the English expressions 'how is it?' or 'how did it come about?', which question not the manner or means, but the cause or circumstances leading up to the action encoded by the predicate.

- (58) Ana, na khamung lok-thur balingmi, lok-thur changlu
 elder.sister 2s clothing side-one white side-one black
 hangten ya?
 how QUES
 (The woman is weaving a cloth half white and half black.) 'Elder sister, why is your cloth half white and half black?'

There is evidence that *hangten* is a reduced form of a compound *hang tenyi*, from the non-final form of the verb *tenme* 'to adhere to, depend on'. While most commonly reduced to *-ten* or *-te*, the full form *tenyi* does occur in this expression, as in (59).

- (59) Nan goma ro hang te-nyi gum ye-wa ya?
 2s before 3 what depend-NF face wear-NOM QUES
 'How did you know him before (now)?'

Hangten also occurs compounded with *anyi*, the non-final form of the verb *ale* 'to do', which functions as a quotative marker for complements of speech, thought, purpose and manner (section 16.2 below). *Hangte anyi*, *hangten anyi* and *hangte an* all occur with meaning identical to *hangten* ~ *hangte*.

- (60) Nyi khuru cho hangte a-nyi rokte-ba-ki cang-ca ya?
 PRT khuru TOP how do-NF 3p-PL-AGT play-COP QUES
 'And how do they play "khuru"?'
 (61) To hangten anyi bule gisa?
 food how do-NF take-INF COP
 'How do you suppose I am going to take the food (to him)?'
 (62) Nan gelkhap-gai hangte an gan u-pha?
 2s country-ABL how do-NF flee come-NOM
 'How did you flee the country?'

c. *Hangdawa* ~ *hangdabu* 'how, in what manner' *Hang* 'what' plus *dawa* ~ *dabu* 'manner' is used to inquire after the manner of an event. While the meaning of *hangdawa* ~ *hangdabu* overlaps somewhat with *hangten* ~ *hangte* 'how', in that both expressions may refer to manner, only

hangten ~ *hangte* 'how' may refer to means, while *hangdawa* ~ *hangdabu* 'in what manner' is restricted to manner contexts.

- (63) *Zamling-ga gyelkap soso nangka hangdawa ca?*
 world-LOC country different in how COP
 'What is it like in other countries of the world?'
- (64) *lai zemu hangdawa phi-nyi-bu, rokte nyinang+khu-le mawa*
 deed small how do-NF-FOC 3 be.ashamed-INF NEG.COP
a-nyi...
 do-NF
 '...so that however small their work is, they won't need to be ashamed.'

d. *Hanyi* ~ *hale* 'why'. *Hanyi* is apparently a contraction of *hang anyi*, the question word *hang* 'what', plus the non-final form of the verb *ale* 'to do', literally 'doing what...'. The full form occurs interchangeably with the contraction.

- (65) *Hanyi gep-ca ya?*
 why cry-COP QUES
 'Why are you crying?'
- (66) *Hang a-nyi nan-gi ja-ga tiru drowan a-wa ya?*
 what do-NF 2s-AGT 1s-LOC money thief do-NOM QUES
 'Why did you steal my money?'

Another form *hale* 'why' may be a contraction of *hang* 'what' plus the infinitive of the verb *ale* 'to do'.

- (67) *Nan ana+morenmo-ga phodang hale za-wa ya?*
 2s widow-LOC grain why eat-NOM QUES
 'Why did you eat up the widow's grain?'

e. *Haptur* 'how much?'. The question word *haptur* 'how much' requests information about quantity or degree. The word itself appears to contain the indefinite marker *thur*, a reduced form of the numeral 'one' (cf. section 5.3.3 above).

- (68) *Uthu khamung gong haptur la?*
 DEM clothing price how.much COP
 'How much is the price of this piece of clothing?'
- (69) *Chas haptur phi-nyi-bu chu-mu mala.*
 talk how.much do-NF-FOC finish-PTC NEG.COP
 'Now matter how much we talk about it, we won't finish.'

f. *Ibi* 'who'. The question word *ibi* 'who' is inflected with case marking according to the expected case of the noun phrase, whether absolutive

ibi ‘who’, agentive *ibigi* ‘who, by whom’, locative/genitive *ibiga* ‘to whom, whose’ or ablative *ibigai* ‘from whom’.⁶

- (70) Dorji-gi ibi kap-nyi ngen phi-wa ya?
Dorji-AGT who with-NF marriage do-NOM QUES
‘Whom did Dorji marry?’
- (71) Nan ibi-gi a-ha thrimpon a-le ke-ba ya?
2s who-AGT 1p-LOC judge do-INF appoint-NOM QUES
‘By whom were you appointed to be our judge?’
- (72) Nan ibi-ga wa got-ca ya?
2s who-LOC cow look-COP QUES
‘Whose cows are you tending?’
- (73) Waktsa ibi-ga re-le khe-le ya?
child who-LOC depend-INF must-INF QUES
‘Upon whom must the child depend?’
- (74) Nan ibi-gai tiru chi-le ya?
2s who-ABL money borrow-INF QUES
‘From whom will you borrow money?’

g. *O-* ‘where’. The interrogative *o-* ‘where’ is usually inflected for either the locative or ablative case, i.e. *oga* ‘where, to where’ and *ogai* ‘from where’ respectively. The interrogative *o-* ‘where’ may also occur without a case marker with static locative meaning, as in (78).

- (75) Na-ga apa o-ga cak-pa ya?
2s-LOC father where-LOC settle-NOM QUES
‘Where did your father settle?’
- (76) O-ga jon-ca ya?
where-LOC go(hon.)-COP QUES
‘Where are you going?’
- (77) Nan o-gai u-pha ya?
2s where-ABL come-NOM QUES
‘Where have you come from?’

⁶ A possible etymology for *ibi* is the first person plural pronoun *ai* ‘we’ plus a contrastive focus particle *-bu* (cf. Chapter 17 for a full description). In some conservative dialects, a form *aibu* does occur with the meaning ‘who’.

Songo aibu-rang gi-nyi-la taka mang-pha thamcet-ki-rang
person who-EMPH COP-NF-PRT matter NEG.come-PRT all-AGT-EMPH

bora khamung ye-nyi cho-wa-la.
burlap clothes wear-NF stay-NOM-COP

‘No matter who they were, the people were all wearing burlap clothing.’

- (78) Jepo thrung-khan o ca ya?
king be.born-REL where COP QUES
'Where is the king who was (just) born?'

h. *Giti* and *hala* 'when'. Both *giti* and *hala* occur unmarked for case to indicate reference to a point in time.

- (79) Nan chas a-le-ga giti chin-me ya?
2s talk do-INF-LOC when reach-NOM QUES
'When will you have time to talk?'

- (80) Ama hala shek-pa ya?
mother when arrive-NOM QUES
'When did mother arrive?'

Giti and *hala* may be marked with the ablative case to indicate temporal distance from a point in time.

- (81) Giti-gai Bangthrar cho-wa ya?
when-ABL *Bangthrar* stay-NOM QUES
'How long have they lived in Bangthrar?' (lit. 'Since when...')

9.3 INTERACTION BETWEEN SENTENCE TYPE AND SENTENCE MOOD

It was noted at the beginning of the chapter that the interrogative may be combined with both declarative as well as the non-declarative sentence moods. This observation is not remarkable when we note that the interrogative in many languages is formally unrelated to the other modal categories. Palmer observes of the interrogative category in general that 'semantically it seems to belong to discourse rather than modality' (1986: 31). A distinction is sometimes made within modality theory, between mood and sentence type, where mood refers to a particular type of verb inflection which usually modifies the proposition at the level of propositional semantics, while sentence type refers to syntactic coding of distinct speech acts such as commands, questions etc. (Lyons 1977: 747ff.), i.e. coding at the pragmatic level. This distinction is useful in Tshangla as well, to account for the distinction between the interrogative and the other sentence modalities. For this reason the interrogative has been referred to as a sentence type, and the other non-declaratives as sentence moods. Note that this criterion groups the imperative (*-sho* ~ *-co*) together with the sentence moods, rather than with the interrogative, despite the fact that in many languages the imperative is regarded similarly to the interrogative as coding a distinct speech act i.e. a command, rather than merely a

modification of the modality of the proposition. The organisation of the Tshangla description of sentence types, however, is motivated by the formal coding properties.

In the following section, evidence will be given which suggests that the interrogative sentence type modifies the utterance at a higher level of modality than do the sentence moods. This corresponds to the more external formal marking of the interrogative, i.e. the sentence-final particle, versus the more internal marking of the sentence moods, i.e. the verbal suffix. In Tshangla, there is evidence that while the interrogative and declarative sentence types represent distinct speech acts, the sentence moods do not represent distinct speech acts, but rather modify the proposition at the propositional-semantic level. Evidence from the relationship of the interrogative to the imperative mood will be discussed first, then the relationship of the interrogative to the subjunctive. Finally, some supporting evidence will be presented from the interaction between the imperative mood and indirect quotations.

9.3.1 *Interrogative scope over imperative*

A Tshangla sentence may be marked for both imperative sentence mood and interrogative sentence type. In this case, the interrogative counts as an information request on the part of the speaker. The imperative, however, counts as an obligation not on the part of the listener, but on the part of the implied subject of the sentence.

(82) Ibi thar-sho ya?
 who release-IMP QUES
 'Who should I release?'

(83) Nyi zamin-gi ama-ga ji-ma-la hang ge dak yek-co
 PRT girl-AGT mother-LOC ask-NOM-COP what give say speak-IMP
 mo.
 QUES
 'And the girl asked her mother, what should I tell him to give me?'

(84) Nyi songo khepa ngam-sho mo ma-ngam-sho dak-nyi
 PRT person TOP eat-IMP QUES NEG-eat-IMP say-NF
 ji-ma-la.
 ask-NOM-COP
 'So he asked "Should I eat this person or not?"'

In both of example (83) and (84), the implied first person subject of the sentence is the one being placed under obligation by the imperative, rather than the addressee of the speech act, as one would normally expect from

an imperative.⁷ From these examples it may be argued that while the interrogative sentence type has scope over the entire speech act, the imperative sentence mood has scope only over the proposition.

9.3.2 *Interrogative scope over subjunctive -tu*

Above we saw that the sentence moods are a distinct type of modality from the interrogative sentence type or speech act, and that different sentence moods may co-occur with each other. The interrogative sentence type and subjunctive sentence mood may co-occur as well, both in indirect and direct questions.

- (85) Oma hang-te a-la sang-tu ya nyi?
 now what-PRT do-PTC heal-SUB QUES PRT
 'What must I do to get well?' (lit. 'While doing what might I get well?')
- (86) Nyi onye natsha khepu khe nyi ai-ten ma-shi-le-ga
 PRT DEM disease TOP TOP PRT 3p-RFLX NEG-die-INF-LOC
 tham cho hang-te thur u-du ya?
 recourse TOP what-PRT one come-SUB QUES
 'And regarding that disease, what recourse is there to keep us from dying?'
- (87) Mastong ubu-gi na-du mo.
 unknown who-AGT agree-SUB QUES
 'I don't know who might agree.'
- (88) Nyi gum cho-n onya songo giti yip-tu mo got
 PRT hide stay-SE DEM person when sleep-SUB QUES look
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 'He was hiding and watching to see when she would go to sleep.'
- (89) Otha-i ma-tshat-pa thur cho-du me mo?
 DEM-ABL NEG-need-NOM one stay-SUB PRT QUES
 'Isn't there one more thing besides this?'
- (90) Ibi-ga dre gi-du ya? Ling Gesar Jepo-ga gi-du?
 who-LOC mule COP-SUB QUES *Ling Gesar* king-LOC COP-SUB
 'Whose do you suppose these mules are? Perhaps they're King Ling Gesar's?'

⁷ This phenomenon is similar to sentences like English 'Release whom?' or 'Tell him to give me whom?'. However the English constructions may only be used when eliciting the interlocutor to repeat a command just given. In the Tshangla examples, there are no such restrictions.

Here as well, the interrogative sentence type has semantic scope over the entire speech act, including over the subjunctive mood itself.

9.3.3 *Interrogative scope over subjunctive gisa*

Gisa is used only with content questions, not with polarity questions.

- (91) To hangten a-nyi bu-le gisa?
 food how do-NF take-INF COP
 'How am I going to take the food?'
- (92) Hanyi onya-ga lekpu ma-Ø-pha a-n yek-ca gisa?
 why that-LOC good NEG-come-PTC do-SE speak-COP COP
 'Why are they saying that it isn't good?'

9.3.4 *Imperative mood in indirect quotes*

In this section, additional evidence will be presented that the sentence moods operate at the level of the proposition, i.e. at the semantic level, rather than at the level of the speech act, i.e. the pragmatic level. This evidence comes from the interaction between the imperative sentence mood and indirect quotes.

9.3.4.1 *Indirect quotes with the imperative*

The imperative mood may modify a quotation complement. Even when the quote complement is indirect, the imperative will reflect the original deictic situation of the complement proposition.

- (93) Ro-ki da-ha zhu-wa-la, uthu wangtshe ro-ka-bu nang-sho.
 3-AGT 3-LOC say-NOM-COP DEM power 3-LOC-FOC give-IMP
 'He asked them to give this power to him as well.'
- (94) Sharang kuskin a-i, ji-gi shik-co dak-nyi-la.
 head shake do-IMP 1s-AGT explain-IMP say-NF-PRT
 'Shake your head if you want me to tell.'
- (95) Apa-gi ja-ga gen-ma ca, songo khepa ji-gi tsangmu
 Father-AGT 1s-LOC show-NOM COP person TOP 1s-AGT clean
 dang tsokpa dak ma-yek-co.
 and unclean say NEG-speak-IMP
 'Father has shown me that I mustn't call anyone clean or unclean.'

That these examples are indirect quotations can be seen from the fact that the person and agentive case marking of the subject of the quoted clause reflects the matrix speech situation rather than the embedded speech situation. Because the complement is indirect, it represents not an independent speech act but a semantic proposition. The imperative operator in the complement is therefore modifying not a speech act but a proposition.

9.3.4.2 *Indirect quotes with optative -chen*

The adhortative and optative appear to function similarly to the imperative. The most common occurrence of optative *-chen* is in indirect quotations with the quotative marker *an* ~ *anyi* or *dak* ~ *daknyi*. In this construction, the *-chen* clause expresses the purpose or intent of the action encoded by the matrix clause.

- (96) Na-shi gewa dru-pha-kap ji-gi se-n-chen dak-nyi
 2s-AGT charity fulfill-PTC-with 1s-AGT know-SE-OPT say-NF
 ma-phi.

NEG-do.IMP

‘Don’t do your good deeds in order that I might notice.’

- (97) Lhangpoche ro-ka brangka mang-chen dak-nyi ro-ka
 elephant 3-LOC place NEG.come-OPT say-NF 3-LOC

pecha shu a-nyi lhak-cho-wa.

book strong do-NF read-stay-NOM

‘So that the elephant wouldn’t come to where he was, he was reading his book out loud.’

What we see from examples (96) and (97) is that, like the imperative *-co*, the optative suffix *-chen* also reflects the original deictic situation of the embedded proposition rather than the matrix sentence. That these examples are not merely direct quotes can be seen by the fact that the deictic devices in the complement reflect the deictic situation of the matrix clause. So in (96) the first person singular *jigi* reflects the speaker of the matrix clause rather than the speaker of the complement proposition. In example (97), the adverbial phrase *roka brangka* ‘his place’ or ‘to where he was’ contains a third person reference, reflecting the speech act of the matrix clause rather than the complement. The verb in *-chen*, however, reflects the deictic situation of the complement proposition rather than that of the matrix.

9.3.4.3 *Indirect quotes with adhortative -khe*

The adhortative *-khe* clause, like optative *-chen*, may occur in a complement of intention. In example (98), the *-khe* clause is an indirect quote, as evidenced by the fact that the the third person *ro-ka* ‘their’ is coreferential with the matrix *da-shi* ‘they’

- (98) Da-shi tha+cat-pa-la ro-ka losar gang-ka ma-tsung-khe.
 3-AGT decide-NOM-COP 3-LOC festival day-LOC NEG-seize-ADH
 ‘They decided not to arrest him on their festival day.’

Again, in example (98), the adhortative suffix on *tsungme* ‘seize’ reflects the deictic situation of the original embedded proposition rather than that of the matrix clause.

In summary, both the interaction of the sentence moods with the interrogative and the interaction of the various sentence moods with indirect quotation complements suggest that the sentence moods are operative at the semantic level and modify only the proposition.⁸ The interrogative sentence type seems to function at a higher pragmatic level, modifying the speech act itself.

⁸ The resemblance here to the conjunct vs. disjunct system in the verbal inflections of some Tibeto-Burman languages is intriguing; cf Hale (1980). In conjunct vs. disjunct marking, there is an alignment between first person assertions, e.g. 'I go there', and second person questions, e.g. 'did you go there?'. With the sentence moods described here, there is alignment between first person questions, e.g. 'whom shall I release?', and second person commands, e.g. 'release him!'. In both cases, the alignment could be seen, according to Hale's original idea behind the nomenclature, as motivated by coreference, viz. conjunct, between arguments of the clause and an implicit abstract performative proposition in which the clause is notionally embedded. However, the phenomena described here does not appear to have anything to do with the mirativity distinction from which Delancey postulates that the conjunct vs. disjunct system originated (DeLancey 1992a). Rather, the similarity seems to be due to a general association between grammatical categories: Delancey suggests that 'the crystallisation of a conjunct/disjunct pattern represents the grammaticalisation of a pragmatic association between mirativity and person'. It seems that that the pattern described here for Tshangla sentence mood reflects a pragmatic association between sentence mood and person.

FINITE CLAUSES: TENSE, ASPECT AND MIRATIVITY

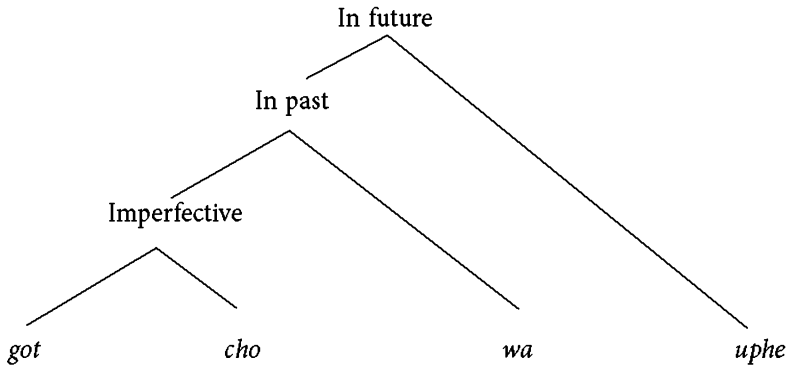
10.1 AFFIRMATIVE VERB PARADIGM

All declarative sentences contain a final verb obligatorily inflected for the categories of tense, aspect and mirativity. The categories are morphologically represented by a periphrastic combination of verbal suffixes, copulas and grammaticalised verbs. The chart in Table 24 shows the entire tense and aspect paradigm for the non-mirative, affirmative final verb.

Table 24. The non-mirative affirmative verb paradigm

	past	present	future
perfective	<i>di-wa</i> 'went'		<i>di-le</i> 'will go'
imperfect	<i>di-n-cho-wa</i> 'was going'	<i>di-n-ca</i> 'is going'	<i>di-n-cho-le</i> 'will be going'
perfect perfective	<i>di-wa cho-wa</i> 'had gone'	<i>di-wa-ca</i> 'has gone'	<i>di-wa uphe</i> 'will have gone' epistemic 'may have gone' deontic 'may go' counterfactual 'might go / would have gone'
perfect imperfective	<i>di-n-cho-wa cho-wa</i> 'had been going'	<i>di-n-cho-wa-ca</i> 'has been going'	<i>di-n-cho-wa u-phe</i> 'will have been going' counterfactual 'might go / would have been going'
prospective	<i>di-le cho-wa</i> 'was going to go' counterfactual 'might go / would have gone' (* <i>di-n-cho-le cho-wa</i>)	<i>di-le-ca</i> 'is going to go' (* <i>di-n-cho-le ca</i>)	<i>di-le u-phe</i> 'will be about to go' epistemic 'may go' (* <i>di-n-cho-le u-phe</i>)

At one level, the Tshangla final clause may be analysed as a nominalised verb in an embedded structure, as shown in Figure 8. Note the compositionality of the verbal constituents (cf. Comrie 1985: 76). The outermost element represents the relation of a temporal reference point to the present moment, while the inner layer relates the reference point to the situation or event of the verb. The order of the morphological elements in the verbal phrase is iconic in that it reflects the temporal structure of the situation and reference points. Also as we would expect, the category of aspect is encoded in the innermost layer, reflecting the greatest relevance to the verbal notion (cf. Bybee 1985):



[look]

[am looking]

[was looking]

[will have been looking]

Figure 8. Compositionality in the verbal constituent

All but the simple perfective constructions contain either a copula or a verb-derived grammatical auxiliary as the outermost element. In past time, the auxiliary is the verb *chole* 'to stay' or a past negative copula *manchi*. In present time, the outermost auxiliary is the present copula *ca* or its negative form *manca*. In all future perfect forms, the outermost auxiliary is the grammaticalised verb *uphe* 'to come'. The simple perfective forms, which contain an inflected verb as final element, are exceptions. However, the uninflected equative copula *gila* may follow any of the forms on the chart

as a stylistic variation but with only a subtle semantic consequence. (The copula *gila* is not shown in the chart, but see section 10.4.) This gives, for example, *di-le gila* 'it is the case that... will go' as an alternative for the simple future perfective *di-le* 'will go' or *di-wa gila* 'it is the case that... went' for simple past perfective *di-wa*.¹ Note also that the grammaticalised *uphe* 'to come' may also express modal notions such as counterfactual, e.g. future perfect perfective, and permission or obligation, e.g. future prospective perfective.

With regard to the innermost element, i.e. the verb root itself, each inflectional construction contains a verb marked with a non-finite suffix. The perfective constructions are built on an infinitive in *-le* or a nominalised verb in *-wa*, whilst the imperfective are all built upon the non-final verb.

The perfective clause is formally analogous to a complement clause structure (cf. Chapter 14 below). The perfective clause consists of a verb ending in the infinitival suffix *-le* or nominaliser suffix *-wa* followed by a copula. Likewise, the imperfective clause is formally analogous to a serial verb construction (cf. section 15.6). An imperfective clause consists of a verb with a form of the non-final suffix *-nyi*, followed in the present tense by the existential copula *ca* and in the past by the grammaticalised verb *chole* 'to stay'. Note that there are no forms corresponding to a simple present perfective. The perfective vs. imperfective contrast is neutralised in the present tense. Occasionally the simple future perfective *di-le* occurs with present tense meaning. The opposition between this form and *di-wa* in the past perfective suggests a more basic past vs. non-past system in the verbal suffixes.

The following examples will give some sense of the temporal and aspectual notions coded by the various inflections. Of the entire paradigm, the non-perfect forms occur with the highest frequency, viz. the plain perfective and imperfective.

a. *Past perfective*. The past perfective is formed by the verb root plus the nominaliser suffix *-wa* ~ *-pa* ~ *-ba* ~ *-ma* and denotes an event or state in the past.

- (1) Thinung betpe-ga gari nyiktsing rokhai **khe-wa**.
 today morning-LOC car two crash fall-NOM
 'This morning two cars crashed.'

¹ The one exception to this is the future perfective, *ma-di-la*, which when followed by *gila* becomes *ma-di-le gila*.

b. *Future perfective*. The future perfective is formed by the verb root plus infinitive suffix. This tense denotes a future event or state.

- (2) Namnying jang Trashigang-ga **di-le**.
 tomorrow 1s Trashigang-LOC go-INF
 'Tomorrow I shall go to Trashigang.'

c. *Present perfective*. There are no present perfective forms, affirmative or negative, as represented by the empty boxes in Figures 24 and 25 above. The affixal nature of the perfective forms in contrast to the periphrastic characteristics of the imperfective construction as well as the relatively greater degree of fusion of the perfective markers to the verb root in verb class 3 suggest that the imperfective forms may be an innovation to what was once just a binary past vs. non-past contrast, whereby the newer present imperfective form with the copula *ca* took over the present time portion of a former non-past form in the suffix *-le*. In addition to this formal evidence, there is also semantic evidence of an older two-way contrast. In situations where a perfective interpretation is natural, speakers will frequently use the non-past perfective *-le* form to refer to events in present time unless an imperfective interpretation is clearly intended. Utterances such as (3) and (4) are often used with present time meaning.

- (3) Dangpo tam **se-le** mo?
 ancient story know-INF QUES
 'Do you know any old stories?'
- (4) Ro Tshewang **gum+ye-le**.
 3 Tshewang know-INF
 'S/he knows Tshewang.'

Verbs that take complements and express deontic modal meanings such as *khele* 'must' or *rebe* 'can' almost always occur in the non-past perfective and not in the imperfective (cf. Chapter 14).

- (5) Jang ri-ga kan na tha-le **re-be**.
 1s river-LOC sound ear leave-INF can-INF
 'I can hear the sound of the river.'
- (6) Jang ja-ga ama ji-me **khe-le**.
 1s 1s-LOC mother ask-INF must-INF
 'I must ask my mother.'

This evidence suggests that the non-past perfective affix still retains remnants of an earlier present time function, which is in the process of being transferred to the present imperfective form.

d. *Past imperfective*. The past imperfective is formed by the verb root plus past auxiliary *chowa*, the past time form of the verb *chole* 'to stay'. The past imperfective may encode either continuous or habitual meaning.

- (7) Phai nang-ka shek-pa-kap-nyi, meme ko tshing-ga
house in-LOC arrive-PTC-with-NF old.man door behind-LOC

lang-cho-wa.

sit-stay-NOM

'When they arrived at the house, the old man was sitting behind the door.'

- (8) Rokte-ba-ki ai phung+yang-me **ga-n-cho-wa.**
3p-PL-AGT 1p fight-INF give-SE-stay-NOM
'They were trying to get us to fight.'

- (9) Makmi thur pecha thur **lhak-cho-wa.**
soldier one book one read-stay-NOM
'A soldier was reading a book.'

- (10) Goma uthu man za-la-kap-nyi **jam-cho-wa,** oma
before this medicine eat-PTC-with-NF heal-stay-NOM now
jam-pu mala
heal-PTC NEG.COP
'This medicine was helping (used to help), but now it doesn't.'

- (11) Ro songo mar-khan-ba-ka **got-cho-wa.**
3 person sick-REL-PL-LOC look-stay-NOM
'He used to see sick people.'

- (12) Songo mar-khan-ba-ki ro-ka-ta-nyi tang pha-nyi
person sick-REL-PL-AGT 3-LOC-to-NF gift bring-NF
u-n-cho-wa.
come-SE-stay-NOM
'Patients used to bring him gifts.'

e. *Present imperfective*. The present imperfective is composed of verb root plus the present time copula *ca*. Note that there is no perfective vs. imperfective aspectual contrast. The aspectual distinction is neutralised for the present time forms. The present imperfective form is, strictly speaking, merely a general present time form. This tense is called imperfective here by analogy to the past and future forms. The present imperfective form may be used with both continuous or habitual meaning.

- (13) Sonam ngang **jang-ca.**²
 Sonam song pull-COP
 'Sonam is singing.'
- (14) O-ga-rang di-nyi-bu Sonam ngang **jang-ca.**
 where-LOC-EMPH go-NF-FOC Sonam song pull-COP
 'Wherever he goes Sonam sings.'

f. *Future imperfective.* The future imperfective is formed by a verb inflected with the stem extender followed by the future, i.e. infinitive, form of the auxiliary verb *chole* 'to stay'. The stem extender, derived from the non-final marker (cf. section 4.2.2), is *-n* on vowel-final roots and \emptyset on other roots. The future imperfective presents a future event as progressive or habitual.

- (15) Nan namnying chutse gu-ga shek-nyi-la, jang
 2s tomorrow hour nine-LOC arrive-NF-PRT 1s
za-n-cho-le.
 eat-SE-stay-INF
 'If you come at 9 o'clock tomorrow, I will be eating.'
- (16) Jang goma di-nyi, shong **la-n-cho-le.** Nan capten odo.
 1s before go-NF breath take-SE-stay-INF 2s slowly come.IMP
 'Having gone before you, I will be resting. You come slowly (take your time).'
- (17) Rokte lam khon **di-n-cho-le.** Ai tshing tshing u-phe.
 3p path follow go-SE-stay-INF 1p behind behind come-INF
 'They will already be going on the way. We will come later.'
- (18) Zambuling o-ga-rang otha mewaktsa hang a-wa mo
 world where-LOC-EMPH DEM woman what do-NOM QUES
 songo-ba-ki **yek-cho-le.**
 person-PL-AGT speak-stay-INF
 'All over the world, people will be telling about what this woman did.'

² *ca*, *la*, and many other verbal inflections in Tshangla, as well as nominal markers for case and number, are clitics. Although phonologically they behave like affixes (they belong to the stress pattern of the preceding word) grammatically they function at the phrase-level. To reflect the grammatical status in transcription would require that we write the perfective forms with an affix: *got-pe*, 'see, will see', *got-pa*, 'saw', but the present continuous forms as two separate words: *got ca*, *got la* (but *din + la* → *di na?*). This is somewhat unnatural, given the fact that the present imperfective occupies a place within a 3-way system together with and in contrast to the perfective forms. For simplicity, the phonological solution is chosen here. In the interlinear representation, clitics will be represented as joined to the preceding word by a hyphen.

g. *Past perfect perfective*. The past perfect perfective, formed by a past time verb plus the form *chowa*, denotes an action occurring prior to some point in the past, i.e. what Comrie refers to as the ‘past-in-the-past’ (1976a: 52, 1985: 64).

- (19) Ja-ga charo shek-pa-kap-nyi, jang **di-wa cho-wa.**
 1s-LOC friend arrive-PTC-with-NF 1s go-NOM stay-NOM
 ‘When my friend arrived, I had left.’
- (20) Jang das tshong phi-le dak-nyi **mi-wa cho-wa,** mapa
 1s bit business do-INF say-NF think-NOM stay-NOM but
 lakher ma-ga-wa...
 license NEG-give-PTC
 ‘A while back I had thought of going into business, but I didn’t get a trade licence...’
- (21) Inying+khining hapta jang thungma **khe-wa cho-wa,**
 day.before.yesterday week 1s cold strike-NOM stay-NOM
 oma jam-pa.
 now heal-NOM
 ‘Last week I had (had caught) a cold, now I’m better.’
- (22) A-ha brang-ka re-ka gur zemu thur **puk-pa**
 1p-LOC camp-LOC near-LOC tent small one pitch-NOM
cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 ‘Near our camp, a small tent had been pitched.’

h. *Present perfect perfective*. The present perfect perfective, formed by a past time verb plus the copula *ca*, denotes a past situation or event having continuing relevance to the present moment (cf. Comrie 1976a: 52).

- (23) Meme, ji-gi na-ga to **pha-wa-ca.**
 Grandfather 1s-AGT 2s-LOC food bring-NOM-COP
 ‘Grandfather, I’ve brought your food.’
- (24) Na-ga meaktsa Tshangla chas lam-pe **go+tsuk-pa-ca** mo?
 2s-LOC wife Tshangla speech learn-INF begin-NOM-COP QUES
 ‘Has your wife started studying the Tshangla language yet?’
- (25) Ji-gi lai singmu **go+tsuk-pa-ca.**
 1s-AGT work new begin-NOM-COP
 ‘I have started a new job.’
- (26) Nan-gi Tshangla-ga pecha **thong-ma-ca** mo?
 2s-AGT Tshangla-LOC book see-NOM-COP QUES
 ‘Have you (ever) seen a Tshangla book?’

i. *Future perfect perfective*. The future perfect perfective, formed by a past time verb plus the future form of the verb *uphe* 'to come', presents a situation as located in the past in relation to a future reference point, i.e. what Comrie refers to as the 'past-in-the-future' (1985: 69).

- (27) Ja-ga charo cutse gu-ga shek-nyi-la, jang za-n
1s-LOC friend hour nine-LOC arrive-NF-PRT 1s eat-SE

chu-ma u-phe.

finish-NOM come-INF

'If my friend comes at 9 o'clock, I will have finished eating.'

- (28) Ja-ga charo shek-pa-kap-nyi, jang di-wa u-phe.
1s-LOC friend arrive-PTC-with-NF 1s go-NOM come-INF
'When my friend arrives, I will have left.'

- (29) Nyi khuru cho hangte a-nyi rokto-ba-ki cang-ca ya
PRT khuru TOP how do-NF 3p-PL-AGT play-COP QUES
dak-nyi-la, khuru-ga thung-ka dro nyiktsing drik-pa
say-NF-PRT khuru-LOC upon-LOC feather two fit-NOM
u-phe, nyi thungci-ga cangzer dam-pa u-phe.
come-INF PRT bottom-LOC nail close-NOM come-INF
'How they play the *khuru* is that two feathers will have been fitted on the top of the *khuru*, and one long nail will have been fastened at the bottom of the *khuru*.'

This inflection is occasionally used with an epistemic meaning, i.e. 'may have', 'must have', 'would have', as in examples (30) to (32).

- (30) Ro tsonkhang-ga di-wa. Hang-ya-a-nyi-la ro-ki lai
3 jail-LOC go-NOM what-QUES-do-NF-PRT 3-AGT work
ma-lek-pa a-wa u-phe.
NEG-good-NOM do-NOM come-INF
'He went to jail. So he must have done something wrong.'

- (31) Songo shi-wa-gi yigi ma-ke-ba. Ma-shi-khan-gi yigi
person die-NOM-AGT letter NEG-send-PTC NEG-die-REL-AGT letter
ke-ba u-phe.
send-NOM come-INF
'A dead man does not send a message. Only a living man would have sent a message.'

- (32) Onye-gi thong-ma-te u-phe na. Jim got-co.
DEM-AGT see-NOM-PRT come-INF PRT ask look-IMP
'That person may have seen it. Go ask!'

The future perfect perfective may also encode deontic modality, i.e. the granting of permission to the subject referent for a future action, as in sentence (33).

- (33) Nan lai a-la-kap-nyi, shong la-wa u-phe.
 2s work do-PTC-with-NF breath take-NOM come-INF
 'While you're working, you may take a rest.'

The future perfect perfective may also take on a counterfactual reading, i.e. 'would have, might have...but didn't'.

- (34) Ji-gi ma-jak-than di-nyi-la, mi-gi nan-ga
 1s-AGT NEG-pull-NF go-NF-PRT arrow-AGT 2s-LOC
 sharang-ga-rang **khe-wa** **u-phe.**
 head-LOC-EMPH strike-NOM come-INF
 'If I hadn't pulled (you), the arrow would have hit you right in the head.'

- (35) Jang ma-ten-ma gi-nyi-la, dikpa a-dang
 1s NEG-adhere-PTC COP-NF-PRT sin do-PRT
 zak-pa-gi shi-nyi, sa-bu ri-n **chu-ma**
 exceed-NOM-AGT die-NF earh-FOC become-SE finish-NOM

u-phe.

come-INF

'If I had not believed, having sinned greatly, I would have died and turned to soil.'

It will be seen below that this function is similar to the past prospective perfective. Thus the form *khewa uphe* 'will /would/ may have struck' sometimes has nearly the same reading as *khele chowa* 'was about to strike'.

j. *Past perfect imperfective.* The past perfect imperfective consists of the past imperfective, i.e. verb with stem extender plus *chowa*, followed again by *chowa*. This construction encodes a "past-imperfective-in-the-past," which locates a situation or event prior to a past reference point while viewing the situation or event in the imperfective aspect.

- (36) Meme langpoce u-pha-kap, jang topda bang, ko
 grandfather elephant come-PTC-with 1s gun carry door
 re-ka **thing-cho-wa** **cho-wa.**
 near-LOC stand-stay-NOM stay-NOM
 'When the elephant came, I had been carrying my gun, standing near the door.'

- (37) Ja-ga charo shek-pa-kap-nyi, jang **za-n-cho-wa**
 1s-LOC friend arrive-PTC-with-NF 1s eat-SE-stay-NOM

cho-wa.

stay-NOM

'When my friend arrived, I had been eating.'

- (38) Jang oma ga-ta u-pha, draiver **lang-cho-wa** **cho-wa.**
 1s now up-DIR come-PTC driver sit-stay-NOM stay-NOM
 'When I came up, the driver had been sitting there.'

k. *Present perfect imperfective*. The present perfect imperfective consists of the past imperfective, i.e. the verb with stem extender plus *chowa*, followed by the present existential copula *ca*. It implies present relevance of a past situation or event, while viewing the event in the imperfective aspect.

- (39) Gantra nyiktsing-phang di-wa. Meme ko tshing-ga
 hour two-about go-NOM grandfather door behind-LOC
lang-cho-wa-ca.
 sit-stay-NOM-COP
 'Two hours have gone, and grandfather has been sitting behind the door.'
- (40) Jang zemu-gai-rang lopdra-ga **di-n-cho-wa-ca**,³ nyi
 1s small-ABL-EMPH school-LOC go-SE-stay-NOM-COP PRT
 oma-bu jang lopdra-ga di-n-ca.
 now-FOC 1s school-LOC go-SE-COP
 'I have been going to school since I was small, and even now I am going to school.'

l. *Future perfect imperfective*. The future perfect imperfective consists of the past imperfective form, i.e. the verb with stem extender plus *chowa*, followed by the future form of *uphe* 'to come'. It encodes a past-imperfective-in-the-future, which locates a situation or event in the past in relation to a future reference point, while viewing the situation or event in the imperfective aspect.

- (41) Ja-ga charo cutse gu-ga shek-nyi-la, jang **za-n-cho-wa**
 1s-LOC friend hour nine-LOC arrive-NF-PRT 1s eat-SE-stay-NOM
u-phe.
 come-INF
 'If my friend arrives at nine o'clock, I will have been eating.'

This form may also receive a counterfactual reading, i.e. 'would have been', 'might have been', as shown in examples (42) and (43).

³ This grammaticalised serial verb construction with *chole* as auxiliary is distinct from the serial predicate construction (cf. section 15.4) with lexical verb *chole*, meaning 'to live/stay', as in the following examples:

- Jang phai cot-nyi, lela di-n(yi) cho-wa-ca.
 1s house make-NF there go-NF stay-NOM-COP
 'Having built a house, I have gone there to live.'
- Ro Druk-ga di-n(yi) cho-wa-ca.
 3 Bhutan-LOC go-NF stay-NOM-COP
 'He went to Bhutan and stayed.' (i.e. 'went there to live.')

- (42) Ji-gi kholong ma-phi-la dak-nyi tha cat-pa, uthu lekpu
 1s-LOC fight NEG-make-PRT say-NF here cut-NOM this good
 manggi dak-nyi mi-wa, mapa a-nyi jang kholong-rang
 NEG.COP say-NF think-NOM but do-NF 1s fight-EMPH
phi-n-cho-wa u-phe.
 make-SE-stay-NOM come-INF
 'I decided not to fight, because I realised it wasn't good. Otherwise I would
 have been fighting all the time.'
- (43) Ro-ki rum-pa ma-a-nyi, jang songo lekpu ri-le
 3-AGT help-NOM NEG-do-NF 1s person good become-INF
 ma-r-ba **a-n-cho-wa u-phe.**
 NEG-can-PTC do-SE-stay-NOM come-INF
 'If she had not helped me, I would not have been able to become a good
 person.'

m. *Past prospective.* The prospective inflection is the mirror image of the perfect. Where the perfect represents events as occurring prior to some reference point, the prospective represents events as occurring subsequent to a reference point. Unlike the perfect, however, which shows a distinction between perfective and imperfective aspects, in the prospective the perfective vs. imperfective aspectual distinction is neutralised. Thus there are only three simple prospective inflections, one each for past, present and future.

The past prospective consists of a future (i.e. infinitive) verb followed by the past auxiliary *chowa*. It encodes the 'future-in-the-past', locating an event or situation in the future in relation to a past reference point.

- (44) Jang Druk-ga **di-le cho-wa,** nyi jang tiru mawa
 1s Bhutan-LOC go-INF stay-NOM PRT 1s money NEG.COP
 den-gai di-le ma-r-si.
 reason-ABL go-INF NEG-can-COP
 'I was going to go to Bhutan, but I couldn't because I didn't have the
 money.'
- (45) Mi-gi ro patong-ga-rang **khe-le cho-wa.**
 arrow-AGT 3 forehead-LOC-EMPH strike-INF stay-NOM.
 Ashi-gi sharang jak-pa.
 princess-AGT head pull-NOM
 'The arrow was about to hit him on the forehead. The princess pulled his
 head away.'

Like the future perfect perfective and imperfective, the past prospective may also encode a counterfactual proposition, viz. 'would have', 'might have'.

- (46) To ma-za-wa cho-nyi-la, oma **binang+khu-le cho-wa.**
 food NEG-eat-NOM stay-NF-PRT now hunger-INF stay-NOM
 'If you hadn't eaten, you would have been hungry now.'

- (47) Kenco-gi jinlap nang-ma ma-a-nyi-la, jang
 God-AGT grace give-NOM NEG-do-NF-PRT 1s
 kawa+cat-pe **khe-le cho-wa.**
 endure.hardship-INF must-INF stay-INF
 'If God hadn't given grace, I would have had to endure hardship.'
- (48) Nan ma wa gi-nyi-la, ai **kesa+ke-be cho-NOM.**
 2s NEG.COP be-NF-PRT 1p have.trouble-INF stay-INF
 'If it weren't for you, we would have been in a lot of trouble.'

As noted earlier, there is no perfective vs. imperfective aspectual distinction for the prospective. The expected imperfective form **di-n cho-le cho-wa* does not exist.

n. *Present prospective.* The present prospective consists of the future (infinitive) verb followed by the existential copula *ca*. It may be viewed as the inverse of the present perfect. Whereas the present perfect relates a past event to the present moment, the prospective links a future event to the present moment. The future occurrence of an event is encoded as a present state, resulting in the portrayal of the future event as certain, imminent or immediate.

- (49) A-shi sem-ga **tha-le-ca.**
 1p-AGT mind-LOC leave-INF-COP
 'We are going to remember.'
- (50) Uthu to ngam nyiktsing **lang-pe-ca.**
 this food day two suffice-INF-COP
 'This food is going to be enough for two days.'
- (51) Lai thup tha-le ma-a-nyi-la lekpu **di-le-ca.**
 work throw leave-INF NEG-do-NF-PRT good go-INF-COP
 'If we don't abandon the work it is going to go well.'

o. *Future prospective.* The future prospective consists of the future (infinitive) verb followed by the future form of the auxiliary verb *uphe* 'to come'.

- (52) Namesame **kawa+cat-pe u-phe,** nyi zambuling unyu-dabu
 very endure.hardship-INF come-INF PRT world DEM-as
 kalu oma saken ma-thong-ma uphe.
 hardship now until NEG-see-NOM come-INF
 '(On that day, you) will **be about to suffer** greatly, such suffering as the world will not have seen until then (lit. 'until now').'

The strictly temporal use of the future prospective is somewhat rare in discourse. The construction occurs somewhat more frequently with epistemic modal meaning.

- (53) Ro Druk-ka **di-le** **u-phe.**
 3 Bhutan-LOC go-INF come-INF
 'He may go to Bhutan.' (i.e. 'It is possible that he will go to Bhutan.')

10.2 NEGATIVE VERB PARADIGM

Negation is marked by means of the prefix *ma-*,⁴ but the interaction of the negator with elements of the verbal phrase is complex, occurring sometimes phrase-initially on the verb, sometimes as a prefix on the auxiliary, as shown in Table 25.

Table 25. The non-mirative negative verb paradigm

	past	present	future
perfective	<i>ma-di-n-chi</i> 'did not go'		<i>ma-di-la</i> 'will not go'
imperfect	<i>di-lu ma-n-chi</i> 'was not going'	<i>di-lu ma-n-ca</i> 'is not going'	<i>di-n ma-cho-la</i> 'will not be going' alternatively <i>ma-di-la-n cho-le</i>
perfect perfective	<i>ma-di-wa cho-wa</i> 'had not gone'	<i>ma-di-wa-ca</i> 'has not gone'	<i>ma-di-wa u-phe</i> 'will not have gone' counterfactual 'would / might not have gone'
perfect imperfective	<i>di-wa ma-n-chi</i> 'had not been going'	<i>di-wa ma-n-ca</i> 'has not been going'	<i>di-wa ma-ng-pha</i> deontic 'have not been allowed to' alternatively <i>ma-di-la-n cho-wa uphe</i> 'will not have been going'
prospective	<i>ma-di-le cho-wa</i> 'was not going to go' counterfactual 'would/might not have gone' (* <i>di-le ma-n-chi</i>)	<i>ma-di-le-ca</i> 'is not going to go' alternatively <i>di-le ma-n-ca</i> 'is not going to go'	<i>ma-di-le u-phe</i> epistemic 'may not go' <i>di-le ma-ng-pha</i> deontic 'should not go'

⁴ The negative prefix *ma-* is cognate in many languages throughout Tibeto-Burman, including Classical Tibetan *ma/mi* (Beyer 1992).

The negative inflections each involve some combination of the verbs and auxiliaries otherwise found in the affirmative forms. The negative inflections are not, however, entirely predictable from their affirmative counterparts. There are two participial suffixes, *-la* and *-lu*, which are present in certain negative forms but not found in the affirmative forms. The suffix *-lu* occurs in the clause-final verbal phrase only in the simple imperfective negative past and present forms, where negation is encoded as a prefix on the auxiliary. The auxiliary *chi* likewise occurs only in negative inflections.⁵ The place of the negative morpheme *ma-* also varies, sometimes occurring on the verb root, sometimes on the auxiliary. The pattern here is somewhat predictable: In general, the prefix *ma-* occurs on the verb root in constructions coding perfective aspect, but on the auxiliary in forms coding imperfective aspect. This rule holds true for the simple and perfect forms. For the prospective forms, however, where the aspectual distinction is neutralised, while the position of the prefix may vary, this rule has no significance in terms of an aspectual distinction.

When a compound verb (cf. section 3.2.2) consisting of a pre-verbal element plus a verb root is negated, the negative prefix occurs either on the verb root or the auxiliary, but never on the pre-verbal element. So, for example, the past perfective negative form of the compound verb *ha gole* ‘to understand’, literally ‘heart-put’, is as shown in example (54).

- (54) Ji-gi ro-ka chas ha **ma-go-n-chi.**
 1s-AGT 3-LOC talk heart NEG-put-SE-COP
 ‘I didn’t understand what he said.’

a. *Past perfective negative.* The past perfective negative inflection consists of a verb with a stem extender, if applicable, preceded by the negative prefix and followed by the unique past negative auxiliary *chi*.

- (55) Ja-ga notsang **ma-shek-chi.**
 1s-LOC article NEG-arrive-COP
 ‘My things have not arrived.’
- (56) Ro ser **ma-nyong-chi.**
 3 gold NEG-receive-COP
 ‘He didn’t get the gold.’

⁵ In some Bhutanese dialects, as well as Padma-bKod and Central Monpa, the past auxiliary *chi* occurs in affirmative constructions as well:

Jang oma shek-chi.
 1s now arrive-COP
 ‘I arrived just now.’

- (57) Jang hang-rang **ma-a-n-chi!**
 1s what-EMPH NEG-do-SE-COP
 'I didn't do anything at all!'

b. *Future perfective negative.* The future perfective negative is formed by the verb with the negative prefix and the participial suffix *-la*.

- (58) Ji-gi nan-kap kholong **ma-phi-la.**
 1s-AGT 2s-with fight NEG-do-PRT
 'I will not fight with you.'

- (59) Yu gurbu nga-phang khung-phang jam-deke la, ser gila
 liquor cup five-about six-about drink-NF PRT gold COP
 mo khi gila mo gum **ma-ye-la.**
 QUES dung COP QUES face NEG-recognise-PTC
 'After drinking five or six cups of liquor, he won't recognise whether it is gold or dung.'

c. *Past imperfective negative.* The past imperfective negative is formed by a verb root with the participial suffix *-lu*, followed by the negative auxiliary *chi* with the negative prefix on the auxiliary.

- (60) Jepo-ga ka **tsi-lu manchi.**
 king-LOC command regard-PTC NEG.COP
 'The king's commands were not being kept.'

- (61) Jang zemu a-n cho-la-kap-nyi phai-ga **cho-lu manchi.**
 1s small do-SE stay-PTC-with-NF house-LOC stay-PTC NEG.COP
 'When I was small, I never used to stay at home.'

- (62) Tamku jang gom-ai-rang **ha-phu manchi.**
 tobacco 1s before-ABL-EMPH smoke-PTC NEG.COP
 'I didn't ever use to smoke tobacco.'

- (63) Gari **thar-bu manchi.**
 car release-PTC NEG.COP
 'No cars were being allowed (to drive through).'

- (64) Ngeri namnying jang sewu ta-phe thup **tha-lu manchi.**
 evening morning 1s prayer put-INF throw leave-PTC NEG.COP
 'Evening and morning, I was not neglecting to pray.'

d. *Present imperfective negative.* The present imperfective negative inflection is formed by a verb root with the participial suffix *-lu*, followed by the copula, with the negative marking on the copula. As we saw with the present affirmative above, although the construction corresponds to an imperfective formally, there is no contrasting present perfective form. Hence the perfective vs. imperfective meaning contrast is neutralised. The construction may thus serve to code either present perfective or present imperfective meaning.

- (65) Ro-ki waktsa-ba-ga namesame **brak-pu manca.**
 3-AGT child-PL-LOC very scold-PTC NEG.COP
 'She doesn't scold the children much.'
- (66) Songo-gi shing se thre-ba-kap, se lekpu zutsong-gai
 person-AGT tree fruit husk-PTC-with fruit good thornbush-ABL
thre-bu manca.
 husk-PTC NEG.COP
 'When people are picking fruit, they don't get good fruit from a thorn bush.'
- (67) Ibi-gi-rang gi-nyi-bu sati thok-than gurbu-gi buk-nyi
 who-AGT-EMPH COP-NF-FOC lamp light-NF cup-AGT cover-NF
tha-lu manca.
 leave-PTC NEG.COP
 'No one lights a lamp and covers it with a cup.'
- (68) Sem-ki mi-khan-ta ibi-gi-rang **thong-mu-bu manca.**
 mind-AGT think-REL-PRT who-AGT-EMPH see-PTC-FOC NEG.COP
 'What one thinks with his mind, no one sees.'

e. *Future imperfective negative.* The future imperfective negative form consists of a verb root with stem extender, if applicable, followed by the *-la*-participle of the verb *chole* 'to stay', with a negative prefix on *chole*.

- (69) Ji-gi **cang ma-cho-la.** Ja-ga namesame lai ca.
 1s-AGT play NEG-stay-PTC 1s-LOC very work COP
 'I will not be playing. I have too much work.'
- (70) Jang shong **la-n ma-cho-la.** Dozo di-le khe-le ca.
 1s breath take-SE NEG-stay-PTC fast go-INF must-INF COP
 'I will not be resting. I am going to have to hurry.'

f. *Alternate future imperfective negative: Embedded under -an.* A meaning roughly equivalent to that of the future imperfective negative is expressed by means of an alternative construction, involving embedding under the non-final form *anyi* of the verb *ale* 'to do'. In this construction, *anyi* is phonologically reduced to *-an* or *-n*. A further description will be provided in Chapter 16.

- (71) Ji-gi **ma-cang-ma-n cho-le,** lopen-gi pecha
 1s-AGT NEG-play-PTC-do stay-INF teacher-AGT book
 ye-la-kap-nyi.
 teach-PTC-with-NF
 'I will not be playing while the teacher is teaching.'

g. *Past perfect perfective negative.* The past perfect perfective negative construction is formed by the nominalised verb followed by the nominalised form of the auxiliary *chole* 'to stay', with the negative prefix on the verb root.

(72) Yola phai ra-ga di-n got-pa-kap-nyi ko **ma-phék-pa**
 down house base-LOC go-SE look-PTC-with-NF door NEG-open-PTC
cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 'When I went to the bottom of the house to look, the door had not been opened.'

(73) Oma sakpu jang ro gum **ma-ye-wa** **cho-wa.** Nyi oma
 now until 1s 3 face NEG-recognise stay-NOM PRT now
 ji-gi gum ye-wa.
 1s-AGT face recognise-NOM
 'Until just now, I had not recognised him. But now I recognise him.'

(74) Ja-ga charo shek-pa-kap-nyi, jang **ma-za-wa** **cho-wa.**
 1s-LOC friend arrive-PTC-with-NF 1s NEG-eat-NOM stay-NOM
 'When my friend arrived, I had not eaten.'

h. *Present perfect perfective negative.* The present perfect perfective negative consists of the nominalised verb root with negative prefix, followed by the existential copula *ca*.

(75) Betpe ro-ki to lekpa-n **ma-za-wa-ca,** omchang-rang
 morning 3-AGT food good-SE NEG-eat-NOM-COP again-EMPH
 oma-bu to bi-le khe-le.
 now-FOC food give-INF must-INF
 'This morning (at breakfast) he didn't eaten well, so we'll have to give him some food again now.'

(76) Ji-gi ja-ga omthur gadang **ma-sho-wa-ca.** Omthur gadang
 1s-AGT 1s-LOC other hand NEG-exit-NOM-COP other hand
 sho-nyi-la, nan tha-rang nong tha-le, ji-gi.
 exit-NF-PRT 2s here-EMPH stop leave-INF 1s-AGT
 'I haven't (yet) put out my other hand. If I do, I'll make you stop here forever.'

(77) Oma got-nyi-la, Sharchokpa-ba-bu thur-rang ga
 now look-NF-PTC Sharchop-PL-FOC one-EMPH up
ma-sho-wa-ca.
 NEG-exit-NOM-COP
 'If you look at the Sharchokpas, no one has reached the top.'

- (78) Ro nyiktsing-gi melong hala-rang **ma-thong-ma-ca.**
 3 two-AGT mirror when-EMPH NEG-see-PTC-COP
 'The two of them had never seen a mirror.'
- (79) Nyi nong nyiktsing sam-phang got-pe di-la-kap-nyi incha
 PRT day two three-about look-INF go-PTC-with-NF salt
ma-lik-pa-ca.
 NEG-sprout-PTC-COP
 'And after two or three days, when they went to look, the salt had not sprouted.'
- (80) A-ching lai **ma-chu-ma-ca.**
 1p-DUAL work NEG-finish-PTC-COP
 'We have not finished our work.'

i. *Future perfect perfective negative.* The future perfect perfective negative contains the nominalised verb with negative prefix, followed by the infinitive form of the auxiliary *uphe* 'to come'.

- (81) Ibi gi-nyi-bu soso a-n yek bi-nyi-la,
 who COP-NF-FOC different do-SE speak give-NF-PRT
 harkong-gi phung-ma nyi hang-rang **ma-se-wa**
 arrogance-AGT fill-NOM PRT what-EMPH NEG-know-NOM
u-phe.
 come-INF
 'Whoever teaches something different (from what we say) will have been filled with arrogance, and **will not have come to know** anything.'
- (82) Namesame kawa cat-pe u-phe, nyi zambuling
 very hardship endure-INF come-INF PRT world
 unyu-dabu kalu oma saken **ma-thong-ma u-phe.**
 DEM-as hardship now until NEG-see-NOM come-INF
 '(On that day, you) will be about to suffer greatly, such suffering as the world **will not have seen** until then (lit. 'until now').'

The future perfect perfective negative may also express a counterfactual meaning, as in the following examples.

- (83) Ngap-kai rek-nyi-ta **ma-di-wa u-phe,** nan-gi sodu
 sky-ABL near-NF-PRT NEG-go-NOM come-INF 2s-AGT lie
 phi-na!
 do-COP
 'If you had gone near to the sun, it would not have worked (lit. 'gone')
 You're lying!'

- (84) Nyi ji-gi a-han ha+chat-pa lai khepa-ba otha-ga songo
 PRT 1s-AGT do-REL surprise-NOM work TOP-PL DEM-LOC person
 pong-ka a-wa gi-nyi-la, dikpa a-le
 among-LOC do-NOM COP-NF-PRT sin do-INF
 pang-pa-gi onya throm khepa metpa
 abandon-NOM-AGT DEM town TOP destroy
ma-phi-wa u-phe.
 NEG-do-NOM come-INF
 ‘Those amazing works I did, if I had done them among those people, repenting from the doing of sin, that town would not have been destroyed.’

j. *Past perfect imperfective negative.* The past perfect imperfective negative is formed by the verb root with nominaliser suffix, followed by the negative auxiliary *chi*, with the negative prefix on the auxiliary.

- (85) Onya gang-ka chetshok nang-ka cho-khan-ba-ki jang
 DEM time-LOC court in-LOC stay-REL-PL-AGT 1s
 ngo+**pak-pa**-bu **manchi.** Da-shi bra songo-ba-kai
 identify-NOM-FOC NEG.COP 3p-AGT other person-PL-ABL
 na+tha-n-sho se-wa cho-wa.
 hear-SE-FOC know-NOM stay-NOM
 ‘At that time the people in the courts **had not been identifying** me. They had come to know me only by hearing.’
- (86) Rap-thur na-shi Kenco-ga nyingce khepa **se-wa manchi**
 time-one 2p-AGT God-LOC mercy TOP know-NOM NEG.COP
 nyi om na-shi ro-ka nyingce khepa nyong-pa-ca.
 PRT now 2p-AGT 3-LOC mercy TOP receive-NOM-COP
 ‘At one time you **had not been knowing** the mercy of God, but now you have received his mercy.’

k. *Present perfect imperfective negative.* The present perfect imperfective negative construction consists of the verb root plus nominaliser suffix, followed by the copula *ca*, with the negative suffix on the copula.

- (87) Hapta thur-phang ro-ki to lekpa-n **za-wa manca.**⁶
 week one-about 3-AGT food good-SE eat-NOM NEG.COP
 ‘For about a week, he hasn’t been eating well.’

⁶ This utterance has the same aspectual meaning as the following, which utilises embedding under *anyi* (cf. Chapter 16)

To lekpa-n ma-za-la-n, haptang thur-phang di-wa.
 food good-SE NEG-eat-PTC-SE week one-about go-NOM
 ‘About a week has gone without him eating.’ (i.e. He hasn’t eaten for a week.)

- (88) Ji-gi man-rang **za-wa** **manca.**
 1s-AGT medicine-EMPH eat-NOM NEG.COP
 'I haven't been taking any medicines at all.'
- (89) Ji-gi otha chethrim-gai ge-ba lai thur-rang **a-wa**
 1s-AGT DEM law-ABL cross-NOM work one-EMPH do-NOM
manca.
 NEG.COP
 'I haven't been doing any deeds contrary to the law.'
- (90) Chesung-ga-bu namesame lam-pa-ca. Ming sapa korgai
 prot.spirit-LOC-FOC very learn-NOM-COP name curse about
lam-pa **manca.**
 learn-NOM NEG.COP
 'We have learnt a lot about the protector spirits. We haven't been learning about the name curses.'

l. *Future perfect imperfective negative.* Following the pattern established by the other negative perfect imperfective forms, i.e. past *diwa manchi* and present *diwa manca*, the expected future perfect imperfective negative form would be *diwa mangpha*, i.e. the verb root plus nominaliser suffix followed by the auxiliary verb *uphe* 'to come' with the negative marking on the auxiliary. This form is acceptable, though apparently rare in discourse. No strictly temporal usages of this form occur in the database, although a form in *-wa mangpha* does occur with deontic modal meaning, as a negative counterpart to the meaning of the future perfect imperfective affirmative.

- (91) Ji-gi lai go+tsuk-ten thur-gai shong **la-wa**
 1s-AGT work begin-NF one-ABL breath take-NOM
mang-pha.
 NEG.come-PTC
 'Since I started working, I ought not (have not been allowed to) take a rest.'

m. *Alternate future perfect imperfective negative: Embedded under an.* More commonly the future perfect imperfective negative meaning is encoded by an alternative construction, which involves embedding under the reduced non-final form of the verb *ale* 'to do' (cf. Chapter 16).

- (92) Nan chutse gu-ga ja-ga phai-ga u-nyi-la, jang
 2s hour nine-LOC 1s-LOC house-LOC come-NF-PRT 1s
ma-za-la-n **cho-wa** **u-phe.**
 NEG-eat-PTC-do stay-NOM come-INF
 'If you come to my house at nine o'clock, I will not have been eating.'

This construction may also encode counterfactual meaning:

- (93) Nyi kawa cat-nyi-bu jang khepa songo lekpu ri-le
 PRT hardship endure-NF-FOC 1s TOP person good become-INF
ma-r-ba-n cho-wa u-phe.
 NEG-can-PTC-do stay-NOM come-INF
 'Even if I had tried hard, I would not have been able to be a good person.'

n. *Past prospective negative.* As noted earlier, the prospective construction, unlike the other tense and aspect inflections, makes no distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. The past prospective perfective negative is formed by the infinitive form of the verb followed by the nominalised form of the auxiliary *chole* 'to stay', with the negative prefix on the verb root.

- (94) Jang Druk-ga **ma-di-le cho-wa.** Thap-rang mawa.
 1s Bhutan-LOC NEG-go-INF stay-NOM recourse-EMPH NEG.COP
 Di-le khe-wa.
 go-INF must-NOM
 'I was not going to go to Bhutan. Yet I had no alternative. I had to go.'

This inflection may also express a counterfactual proposition, as in the following:

- (95) Jang Nepal-ga ma-Ø-pha-n di-nyi-la ji-gi lai
 1s Nepal-LOC NEG-come-PTC-do go-NF-PTC 1s-AGT work
 phi-le **ma-r-be cho-wa.**
 do-INF NEG-can-INF stay-NOM
 'If I had not gone to Nepal, I wouldn't have been able to do the work.'

The observation was made above that the position of the negative prefix corresponded to the perfective vs. imperfective aspectual distinction, specifically that perfectives took the negative prefix on the verb root, whilst imperfectives took the negative prefix on the auxiliary. As stated previously, there is no aspectual distinction for the prospective. If there were a past prospective imperfective, the form which would be expected, purely by analogy with other forms, would be **dile mangchi*. This form does not occur. However, interestingly, such an analogically expected 'imperfective' form does occur for both the present prospective and future prospective, namely *dile manca* and *dile mangpha* respectively. However, as we shall see, the position of the negative in these two inflections does not represent an aspectual contrast.

o. *Present prospective negative.* The present prospective negative is formed from the infinitive verb stem followed by the existential copula *ca*, with the negative prefix on the verb stem.

- (96) Uthu to ngam nyiktsing **ma-lang-pe-ca.**
 DEM food day two NEG-suffice-INF-COP
 'This food is not going to be enough for two days.'
- (97) Uthu waktsa pecha **ma-lam-pe-ca.**
 DEM child book NEG-study-INF-COP
 'This child is not going to study.'
- (98) Chije di-wa thur-gi **ma-drik-pe-ca.**
 foreign go-NOM one-AGT NEG-enough-INF-COP
 'Just travelling abroad is not going to be enough.'
- (99) Ro-ki ji-gi di yek-sa-ga **ma-di-le-ca.**
 3-AGT 1s-AGT go speak-REL-LOC NEG-go-INF-COP
 'He is not going to go where I tell him'.

The alternative placement of the negative prefix, namely on the copula *ca*, also occurs, with apparently no discernible difference in meaning. The alternative placement of the negative prefix does not effect any difference in the aspect of the construction.

- (100) Songo-ba shi-deke namshi lok ga **wu-le manca.**
 person-PL die-NF soul return up rise-INF NEG.COP
 'After people die, the soul is not going to rise again.'
- (101) A-ha ju cala cho, shi-la-kap-la bang **bu-le**
 1p-LOC treasure article TOP die-PTC-with-PRT carry take-INF
manca.
 NEG.COP
 'Our wealth, when we die, we are not going to take with us.'
- (102) Zhingkhām-ga tha-n nang-ma-ca. Onya ye **di-le**
 heaven-LOC leave-SE give-NOM-COP DEM erase go-INF
manca.
 NEG.COP
 'Heaven is given to you. It is not going to disappear.'

p. *Future prospective negative.* The future prospective negative is formed by the infinitive verb stem followed by the auxiliary *uphe*, with the negative prefix on the verb stem. The future prospective negative is used primarily in an epistemic modal sense.

- (103) Kangil cho-detke, uthu waktsa-gi lobdra-ga **ma-di-le**
 problem stay-NF DEM child-AGT school-LOC NEG-go-INF
u-phe.
 come-INF
 'Because of the problem, this child may not go to school.' (i.e. 'It may happen that the child does not go to school').
- The alternative placement of the negative prefix, namely on the auxiliary *uphe* instead of on the verb stem, also occurs, and in fact does so frequently. The effect of this alternative is again not related to any aspectual distinction. This construction is, however, used exclusively with a deontic modal interpretation, i.e. 'ought not, should not'.
- (104) Un-dawa chas **sho-le-rang** **mang-pha.**
 DEM-like talk exit-INF-EMPH NEG.come-PTC
 'We should not utter such talk.'
- (105) Binang-ga nya-ta theng-ta **di-le** **mang-pha.** Songo
 night-LOC there-to here-to go-INF NEG.come-PTC person
 ma-lek-pa khra-pe gi-du.
 NEG-good-NOM meet-INF COP-SUB
 'We should not go here and there during the night. We might meet bad people.'
- (106) A-ha nangpa cho-ga depa a-khan-ba-ki semcen
 1p-LOC Buddhist religion-LOC faith do-REL-PL-AGT animal
she-le **mang-pha.**
 NEG.come-PTC kill-INF
 'People who adhere to our Buddhist religion should not kill animals.'
- (107) Ai-ten dikpa **a-le** **mang-pha.**
 1p-RFLX sin do-INF NEG.come-PTC
 'We should not sin.'
- (108) Dai-ba-ki songo-ba-kai tiru dus **bu-le** **mang-pha.**
 3-PL-AGT person-PL-ABL money collect take-INF NEG.come-PTC
 'They should not take money from the people.'

10.3 MIRATIVITY

The Tshangla final-clause verbal phrase also encodes 'mirativity', an evidential-like distinction which marks an utterance as conveying information which is new or surprising to the speaker, or somehow unassimilated into his knowledge structure (Slobin & Aksu 1982, DeLancey 1986a, 1989, 1982a, 1997, 2001. See Goldstein 1973: 20–22 for what is perhaps the earliest description of mirativity in the Tibetological literature.) Mirativity in

Tshangla is encoded by means of a two-way contrast in both the existential copula and the equative copula. The mirative distinction is marked on copular clauses as well as on the copular auxiliaries in the final-clause verbal phrase. In the verbal phrase, however, mirative meaning is only marked on the simple perfective and imperfective forms. In perfect or prospective forms, the alternation in the copula marks ordinary evidentiality rather than mirativity. The one exception to this is the simple past perfective, where mirativity is marked by the addition of the mirative copula to the simple past form of the verb. As the simple past verb form, eg. *di-wa*, does not contain a copula, the mirative copula *la*, rather than contrasting with the non-mirative copula *ca*, contrasts with the absence of a copula. As a result, what would be the mirative form *di-wa-la* of the present perfect perfective *di-wa-ca* actually marks a mirative form of the simple past perfective *di-wa*.

10.3.1 *Mirative in the existential copula*

The mirative alternant of the existential copula *ca* is *la*.

(109) Tha Druk-ga philingpa mangpu-rang ca.
 here Bhutan-LOC foreigners many-EMPH COP
 ‘There are many foreigners here in Bhutan.’

(110) Tha Druk-ga philingpa mangpu-rang la.
 here Bhutan-LOC foreigners many-EMPH COP
 ‘There are evidently many foreigners here in Bhutan.’

The utterance in example (109) would be spoken by a resident of Bhutan. In making the statement, he is making recourse to ‘vested’ knowledge, i.e. knowledge which he had prior to the speech situation. The utterance in example (110) would be spoken by a stranger who has just arrived in the country. The force of his utterance is an observation. The speaker is presenting the proposition as information currently or immediately manifest to him.

10.3.2 *Mirative in the present*

In the present imperfective, which is composed of the verb root with stem extender plus the existential copula, the mirative distinction is marked by the alternation between the copulas *ca* and *la* as imperfective markers.

(111) Ama khamung zik-ca.
 mother clothes wash-COP
 ‘Mother is washing the clothes.’

- (112) Ama khamung zik-la.
 mother clothes wash-COP
 'Mother is evidently washing the clothes.'

The non-mirative utterance in (111) would be spoken by a person with prior knowledge of the proposition. The mirative utterance in (112) would be spoken by someone who had just learnt the matter, for example by walking around the corner and observing mother in the process.

10.3.3 *Mirative in the past perfective*

Whereas the copula *ca* in the present imperfective contrasts with its mirative counterpart *la*, in the past perfective the mirative copula *la* is added to the nominalised or infinitive verb stem and contrasts with the absence of *la*. Thus, although based on the form we would expect a verb ending in *-wa-la* to be the mirative of the present *perfect* verb in *-wa-ca*, such a form is, in fact, the mirative form of the simple past verb in *-wa*. There is no mirative contrast available for the present perfect.

- (113) Dorji Trashigang-ga di-wa.
 Dorji Trashigang-LOC go-NOM
 'Dorji went to Trashigang.'
- (114) Dorji Trashigang-ga di-wa-la.
 Dorji Trashigang-LOC go-NOM-COP
 'Apparently Dorji went to Trashigang.'

A hypothetical situation will serve to explain examples (113) and (114) above. A boy returns home to his family after a long absence. His friend is with him. Asking his parents where his brother Dorji is, they would reply with (113). The boy might then turn to his friend and report, this time using (114) to repeat what the Dorji's parents have told him. The parents base their utterance on prior information. They have known for some time that their son was gone. The brother, however, makes his utterance upon the basis of information newly manifest to him at the time of his utterance.

10.3.4 *Mirative as evidentiality*

While the mirative marking on past-time utterances such as (114) above *may* encode new information, the mirative may also simply encode evidentiality, viz. a type of epistemic modality which modifies the degree of commitment by the speaker to the utterance by specifically hedging the source of the information (cf. Palmer 1986: 51). Past-time events in narrative texts, for example, are usually marked with the mirative suffix. This is true even

in the telling of familiar folk stories, where a ‘new knowledge’ reading of these utterances would be highly unlikely. It seems then that there are both mirative and evidential readings of the mirative marker.

- (115) Hang a-n-ca ya, zala-gi ji-ma-la.
 what do-SE-COP QUES monkey-AGT ask-NOM-COP
 ‘“What are you doing?” the monkey asked.’
- (116) Bozong zong-nyi, laga-gi chom-nyi che-wa-la.
 cassava boil-NF leaf-AGT wrap-NF plant-NOM-COP
 ‘Boiling the cassava and wrapping it in a leaf, they planted it.’

The close relationship between mirativity and evidentiality is characteristic of such categories in other languages as well, cf. DeLancey (1992a), Slobin and Aksu (1982).⁷

10.3.5 *Mirative with other tense-aspect forms*

It was noted above that the mirative contrast is not available for the present perfect, e.g. *di-wa-ca*, the mirative form *di-wa-la* having been co-opted for a mirative simple past. Mirative marking does occur, however, on certain other members of the inflectional paradigm. In addition to the present imperfective and the past perfective tenses, as discussed above, mirative marking occurs on the future perfective, the past perfect perfective and the past perfect imperfective. In these tenses, however, the mirative marker has an ordinary evidential function.

10.3.5.1 *Mirative with future perfective*

As in the past perfective, so also in the future perfective the presence of the mirative marker contrasts with its absence. Thus the verb in *-le-la* is the mirative equivalent of the future perfective verb in *-le*, and not of the future perfect perfective verb in *-le-ca*.

⁷ The same pattern can be observed in an expression like ‘I guess’ in English, which has both mirative as well as evidential readings. Consider the following pair of examples:

Past event:

A. Why did John leave the party in such a hurry?

B. I **guess** he spilled orange juice all over his pants.

Present event:

My bike is making an awful rattling noise. Listen...

Hmmm... I **guess** it stopped.

In the past time, speaker B uses the expression ‘I guess’ with evidential meaning, to report information which he has received by hearsay and not witnessed directly. In the present time, however, the speaker is reporting information experienced first-hand, but which is new to him at the moment of utterance.

- (117) Khaila gantra nyiktsing yi-phe.
 tiger hour two sleep-INF
 'The tiger will sleep for two hours.'
- (118) Khaila gantra nyiktsing yi-phe-la.
 tiger hour two sleep-INF-COP
 '(It looks like) the tiger will sleep for a couple hours.'

When encoding a future event, the mirative is most plausibly interpreted as an evidential hedge. In example (118), with the mirative, the speaker sounds less certain of the proposition than in the corresponding non-mirative sentence in (117).

10.3.5.2 *Mirative with past imperfective*

The following example contains a past imperfective mirative:

- (119) Ro shing shaba-gi buk-nyi gum cho-wa-la.
 3 tree leaf-PL-AGT cover-NF hide stay-NOM-COP
 'Covering themselves with leaves, they were hiding.'

10.3.5.3 *Mirative with past perfect perfective*

- (120) Ro nyiktsing ngen phi-le dak-nyi chas chu-ma
 3 two marriage do-INF say-NF talk finish-NOM
 cho-wa-la.
 stay-NOM-COP
 'They two had finished the discussions of marriage.'

Aside from the present imperfective, the mirative marker does not occur with any present tense forms. i.e. any form ending with the existential copula *ca*. Other than the future perfective, the mirative marker does not occur on any future tense forms, i.e. any form ending in *uphe*. Finally, the mirative does not occur with the prospective.

10.3.6 *Mirative in the equative copula*

The mirative alternant of the equative copula *gila* is *giwala*:

- (121) Sonam lopen lekpu gila.
 Sonam teacher good EMPH
 'Sonam is a good teacher.'
- (122) Sonam lopen lekpu giwala.
 Sonam teacher good COP
 'Sonam is evidently a good teacher.'

Utterance (121) is spoken by someone who knows the teacher from previous experience. In contrast, utterance (122) is spoken by someone who has just recently met the teacher, which would represent a mirative reading, or who has heard about him from another person, which would represent an evidential reading. Mirativity may also be marked on the equative copula when the equative occurs as an auxiliary within a verbal tense and aspect construction.

10.3.7 *Mirativity and the first person*

The evidential inflections show certain distributional restrictions with the category of person. These restrictions are not grammatical but semantic collocation restrictions which arise from the function of the evidential category. In the present tense, the mirative *la* does not normally collocate with a first person subject, although the combination is possible in certain contexts.

(123) Ja-ga demezu ca.
 1s-LOC key COP
 'I have the keys'

(124) Ja-ga demezu la!
 1s-LOC key COP
 'Oh, I guess I have the keys!'

Utterance (123) would be the unmarked statement. Utterance (124) could be spoken by someone who had unexpectedly just discovered the keys in his pocket.

The mirative is also unusual with a first person subject in the past tense. Consider the following examples.

(125) Inying jang pecha lam-pa.
 yesterday 1s book read-NOM
 'Yesterday I read a book.'

(126) !Inying jang pecha lam-pa-la.
 yesterday 1s book read-NOM-COP
 'Yesterday I apparently read a book.'

Sentence (126) is semantically strange because the speaker is stating a proposition about his own past action, which would normally be assimilated knowledge. However, an unusual situation can be contrived in which (126) is appropriate, for example, if the speaker awakens from a drunken stupor with a hazy memory of the previous day's events and sees a book lying nearby. In that case, the speaker is presenting unassimilated knowledge, dependent upon evidence manifest to him at the time of utterance.

Below are some examples taken from spontaneously generated oral texts of past-time mirative predicates with first person subjects.

- (127) Pe a-nyi-la jang na-ga za giwala, ji nan-kap
 example do-NF-PRT 1s 2s-LOC son COP 1s.AGT 2s-with
 kholong phi-wa.
 fight do-NOM
 'For example, suppose I was your son, and I fought with you.'

- (128) Uthu ma-drik-pa! Nan nyiktsing nyok-la nyi jang
 DEM NEG-fit-PTC 2s two receive-COP PRT 1s
 thur-sha nyok-la.
 one-FOC receive-COP
 (Talking of a hypothetical suggestion) 'That is not fair! You would get two and I would only get one!'

- (129) Shisha di-ga di-le ma-r-be-la, jang mar-la.
 shepherd tend-LOC go-INF NEG-can-INF-COP 1s be.sick-COP
 'I cannot go to shepherd the sheep, because I am sick.'

In the following example, the mirative copula *giwala* has a first person subject. However, the mirative is in a complement clause and so reflects the uncertainty of the second person matrix subject.

- (130) Ja-ga bi gadang thop-nyi got-co le, nyi-sha
 1s-LOC foot hand touch-NF look-IMP PRT PRT-FOC
 nai-ba-ki jang ibi giwala mo, se-le re-be.
 2p-PL-AGT 1s who COP QUES know-INF can-INF
 'Try touching my hands and feet, and then you will know who I am.'

In example (131), the epistemic mirative occurs on a verb with a first person subject in an irrealis complement of the verb 'to know', again reflecting uncertainty on the part of the matrix subject.

- (131) Chas a-n-than ja-ga oga ngat-pa-la mo onya
 talk do-SE-NF 1s-LOC where err-NOM-COP QUES DEM
 se-le ji-gi.
 know-INF 1s-AGT
 'When we've talked to them then I will find out where I have erred.'

10.3.8 *Mirativity and future time*

While in the past tense the mirative does not normally occur with a first person subject, with events in the future the opposite is true. The mirative may be expected and even required in some contexts. In the following examples, the mirative is judged more appropriate than a non-mirative inflection.

- (132) Tha Nepal-ga u-nyi, jang lai phi-le re-be-la.
 here Nepal-LOC come-NF 1s work do-INF can-INF-COP
 ‘Now that I am here in Nepal, I will be able to work.’
- (133) Jang namesame pholong tok-nyi shi-le-la.
 1s very stomach chop-NF die-INF-COP
 ‘I am so hungry that I am going to die.’
- (134) Nyi-sho jang namesame yong khe-nyi, om mewaksa-gi
 PRT-FOC 1s very shadow strike-NF now wife-AGT
 un-dabu yek-than di-nyi-la jang namesame
 DEM-like speak-NF go-NF-PRT 1s very
 nginang+khu-le-la.
 be.ashamed-INF-COP
 ‘Then I was very afraid. If my wife really tells, I would be very ashamed.’
- (135) Jang di-le khe-le-la!
 1s go-INF must-INF-COP
 ‘I must leave.’

Speakers judge the utterance in example (136) to be unacceptable without the mirative form.

- (136) Jang charo ru-me khe-le-la / *khe-le.
 1s friend meet-INF must-INF-COP
 ‘I must meet my friend.’

10.4 GILA

The equative copula *gila* may follow all temporal and aspectual inflectional markers. While there does not seem to be any major semantic difference between an inflection with *gila* ~ *giwala* and without, future research may pinpoint the subtlety of the semantic distinction and its pragmatic function. The category of mirativity is always marked on the final or outermost auxiliary in the final verb construction. Thus, in a verb inflection with the equative copula, mirativity is coded on the copula itself, by means of its mirative variant *giwala*. Some examples of final verb constructions with *gila* ~ *giwala* are shown below.

a. Past perfective.

- (137) Jang onya binang-ga gan u-pha gila.
 1s DEM night-LOC flee come-NOM COP
 ‘That night I fled and came here.’
- (138) Goma pon thur dang cangapa thur cho-wa giwala.
 before ruler one and jokier one stay-NOM COP
 ‘Once upon a time there was a king and a joker.’

b. *Future perfective.*

- (139) Ai lama je-be gila na!
 1p lama meet-INF COP PRT
 'We will meet the lama!'

c. *Past imperfective.*

- (140) Nyi songo-ba-ki jim-cho-wa giwala, nan choeten hang
 PRT person-PL-AGT ask-stay-NOM COP 2s cairn what
 a-nyi kora phi-n-ca a-nyi.
 do-NF round do-SE-COP do-NF
 'And the people were asking her, "Why are you doing circumambulations?"'
- (141) Wa nga-me a-nyi, khaila thur u-nyi cho-wa giwala.
 cow eat-INF do-NF tiger one come-NF stay-NOM COP
 'A tiger was coming to eat the cows.'⁸

d. *Present imperfective.*

- (142) Waktsa zemu cho-le gang-ka ama-ga nu jam-nyi
 child small stay-INF time-LOC mother-LOC milk drink-NF
 zok-ca gila.
 grow-COP COP
 'When a child is small, it grows by drinking its mother's milk.'
- (143) Unyu gang-ka zambuling-ga lo thur-sha ca giwala.
 DEM time-LOC world-LOC language one-only COP COP
 'At that time, there was only one language in the world.'

e. *Past perfect perfective.*

- (144) Shi-khan waktsa khepa lokor thur-sha di-wa
 die-REL child TOP 12.year.cycle one-only go-NOM
 cho-wa giwala.
 stay-NOM COP
 'The dead child had turned 12 years old.'

f. *Present perfect perfective.*

- (145) Sa sangmu sho-wa ca giwala.
 land dry manifest-NOM COP COP
 'The land has turned out to be dry.'

⁸ Note that the full form of the non-final suffix is possible in these constructions, as opposed to the simple present imperfective *dinca* vs. **dinyi ca*.

- (146) Ro ju cala ge-ma ca gila.
 3 treasure article lose-NOM COP COP
 'He has lost his treasures.'

g. *Present perfect imperfective.*

- (147) Taktakpa lela phungkapang-ga di-n, khung cho-wa ca
 frog there cave-LOC go-SE wait stay-NOM COP
 giwala.
 COP
 'And the frog, going to the cave, had been waiting.'

h. *Present prospective.*

- (148) Di khepa un-dabu ma-lek-pa dang kalu u-phe
 time TOP DEM-like NEG-be.good-NOM and difficult come-INF
 ca gila.
 COP COP
 'Such an evil and difficult time is coming.'

i. *Negative inflections with gila.* The negative tense and aspect constructions with *gila* are based on the affirmative forms, with the negative prefix simply added to the verb root, viz. past perfective *ma-di-wa gila*, future perfective *ma-di-le gila* and past perfect perfective *di-wa cho-wa gila* ~ *giwala*.

- (149) Rimro unyu dabu ma-phi-le giwala me, nai-ba-ki.
 rimro DEM like NEG-do-INF COP PRT 2p-PL-AGT
 'I guess you are not going to do rimros and such things.'
- (150) Ro-ki gari giti-rang ma-thong-ma giwala.
 3-AGT car when-EMPH NEG-see-NOM COP
 'He had never seen a car.'
- (151) Nyi songo-ba-ki yit ma-chi-n-ca giwala.
 PRT person-PL-AGT impress NEG-be.great-SE-COP COP
 'And the people were not impressed.'

j. *Negative equative copula manggi.* Negation of *gila* itself rather than negation of the verb root is used to place contrastive focus on the negation, e.g. past perfective *diwa manggi*, future perfective *dile manggi*, present imperfective *dinca manggi*, etc. Functionally this type of negation is similar to a cleft construction in English, as reflected in the free translations below.

- (152) Chas sho, na-gi nyan-pe me mo? Ming-gi nyan-pe
 talk TOP ear-AGT listen-INF PRT QUES eye-AGT listen-INF
 manggi me?
 NEG.COP PRT
 (We don't need the lamp to tell stories). 'Speech, it's with our ears that we listen to it, right!? It's not with our eyes that we listen, right?'

- (153) Bozong khepa onyen che-le manggi!
 potato TOP DEM plant-INF NEG.COP
 'Potatoes you don't plant like that!' (You must boil them first.)
- (154) Onya rumsal cho nan-ga-tan wak-pa manggi-wa,
 DEM handkerchief TOP 2s-LOC-to wave-NOM NEG.COP-NOM
 onya phai-ga lai a-khan yokpa-gi tabu-rang
 DEM house-LOC work do-REL servant-AGT always-EMPH
 she phak-la!
 glass brush-COP
 'It's not at you that the handkerchief is being waved, a household servant
 is always wiping the glass!'
- (155) Unyu sher cho ro-ki nap-ca manggi a-shi
 DEM aroma TOP 3-AGT smell-COP NEG.COP 1p-AGT
 nap-ca gila.
 smell-COP COP
 'That aroma, it's not *he* who smells it, it is *we* who smell it.'

RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses are clauses which modify a noun or noun phrase, where the nominal that is modified is coreferent with an argument in the modifying clause. Tshangla relative clauses may be restrictive, meaning that they restrict the reference of the nominal to the subset of referents about which the relative clause is true, or they may be non-restrictive, functioning to further describe the referent specified by the relative clause (cf. sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2).

Tshangla relative clauses are externally headed, meaning that the head noun, or so-called pivot, occurs outside of the relative clause. The relative clause may be either preposed or postposed to the head noun. Tshangla relativisation uses the ‘gapping’ strategy of case recovery, by which the place of the head noun within the relative clause is left empty (Keenan 1985b:153–4). Relative clauses may also be ‘headless’, i.e. the head noun may be omitted from explicit mention and its referent inferred from the context.

Relative clauses are encoded by means of a relativising suffix affixed to the verb of the relative clause. There are four relativising suffixes, or relativisers, each of which will be discussed and illustrated separately below. For each of these four types of relative clauses, the different syntactic positions which may be relativised will be illustrated.

11.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN *-KHAN*

The most frequently occurring relativiser is the suffix *-khan*.¹ This form is probably a historical reflex of the Classical Tibetan *mKhan*, originally ‘teacher’, which developed a restricted relativising function on human agents, meaning ‘a person who’. In Tshangla relative clauses, *-khan* is not restricted in this way, but may relativise human, animate or inanimate referents in a variety of clause positions.

-khan alternates in free variation with unaspirated *-kan*. There is a tendency in Tshangla for aspiration to be lost on the onsets of unstressed syllables.

11.1.1 *Headed relative clause in -khan*

Of headed relative clauses in *-khan*, both postnominal and prenominal are common. In the examples to follow, the relative clause will be bracketed and the head shown in boldface type in the text, and the relative clause shown in italics in the free translation.

a. *Postnominal.*

- (1) Nyi **ming** [barka cho-khan] minang di-lu mala.
 PRT eye between stay-REL sleep go-PRT NEG.COP
 'The eye *which is in the middle* is not sleeping (shut).'
- (2) **Tshangla chas** [goma yitka mi-khan] thamche-rang oma
 Tshangla talk before memory think-REL all-EMPH now
 yitka a-nyi...
 memory do-NF
 'The Tshangla language, *which I had earlier forgotten*, now I am remembering.'

b. *Prenominal.*

- (3) [Onya di-khan] **Botpa** gatpu sho na ngen gila mo,
 DEM go-REL Tibetan old TOP 2s husband COP QUES
 ama?
 mother
 'Woman, is that old Tibetan *walking there* your husband?'
- (4) [Yu gurbu thur dang nyiktsing jam-khan] **songo** khepa
 liquor cup one and two drink-REL person TOP
 namesame shonang phe-nyi...
 very happy feel-NF
 'A person *who has drunk a cup or two of liquor* becomes very happy...'

11.1.1.1 *Intransitive subject*

In the following examples, the intransitive subject is relativised.

- (5) [A-ha Druk jekhap nangka cho-khan] **songo**
 1p-LOC Bhutan country in stay-REL person
 thamcet-ki-rang mi cang-me-ga shonang phe-n-ca gila.
 all-AGT-EMPH bow play-INF-LOC happy feel-SE-COP COP
 'All the people *who live in Bhutan* are happy to play archery.'
- (6) Ro-ki [shar-gai thing-ta u-khan] **songo-ba** ra-n-than
 3-AGT east-ABL here-DIR come-REL person-PL call-SE-NF
 'He called the people *who had come here from the East*.'

11.1.1.2 *Transitive subject*

The next group of examples shows *-khan* relative clauses built on the transitive subject.

- (7) [Waktsa ke-khan] **ama** haptur kawa+cat-ca.
 child bear-REL mother how suffer-COP
 'How a mother *who gives birth* suffers!'
- (8) [Nga za-khan] **kha** nga ma-nyong-pa-n gep cho-wa.
 fish eat-REL bird fish NEG-receive-PRT-do cry stay-NOM
 'The *fish-eating* bird, not getting any fish, was crying.'

11.1.1.3 *Transitive object*

Relative clauses in *-khan* may also be constructed on the object of a transitive clause.

- (9) [Ro-ki gadang-gi tsung-khan] **songo** thamcen-rang rolong
 3-AGT hand-AGT seize-REL person all-EMPH rolong
 ri-le.
 become-INF
 'All the people *that he seizes with his hands* become rolong (zombies).'
- (10) Jelpo-ga [ung tha-khan] **toka** thur cho-wa-la.
 king-LOC field leave-REL bull one stay-NOM-COP
 'The king had a bull *that had been left in the field*.'

11.1.1.4 *Oblique*

Although less frequently than core arguments, oblique nominals may also be the head of a *-khan* relative clause. In example (11), the head nominal is a dative, a role which would be coded by the locative case marker in the equivalent independent finite clause shown in (12).

- (11) [A-shi melam tap-khan] **Kenco** thur sha Kenco gila.
 1p-AGT prayer pray-REL God one only God COP
 'Only the God *to whom we pray* is God.'
- (12) A-shi Kenco-ga melam tap-ca.
 1p-AGT God-LOC prayer pray-COP
 'We pray to God.'

In example (13), the head nominal expresses a 'location from' relationship to the clausal predicate. In a matrix clause, this relationship would be coded with the ablative case, as in (14).

- (13) Jang namesame jamtsho ting-ga shek-pa, [lok-nyi
 1s very sea deep-LOC arrive-NOM return-NF
 lok-pe ma-r-khan] sa-ga.
 return-INF NEG-able-REL land-LOC
 'I arrived deep in the sea, at a place (land) *from which I would not be able to return again.*'
- (14) Jang otha sa-gai lok-nyi lok-pe ma-r-ba.
 1s DEM land-ABL return-NF return-INF NEG-able-PTC
 'I am not able to return again from that land.'

Note that no special strategy exists for coding the relationship of the head noun to the predicate where gapping is inadequate to make this explicit. Thus example (13) might also be interpreted as 'a place to which I would not be able to return'. However the context makes it clear that the first gloss given is the correct interpretation.

11.1.1.5 *Argument of a complement clause*

An argument may be extracted out of a complement clause and relativised.

- (15) [Ro-ki ma-za-i dak-nyi sung-khan] **shing-ga se**
 3-AGT NEG-eat-IMP say-NF say(hon.)-REL tree-LOC fruit
 khepa phut-nyi za-wa-la
 TOP pick-NF eat-NOM-COP
 'They picked and ate the fruit *that he had told them not to eat.*'
- (16) Rokte-ba-ki [apa-gi na+za-khan] **sa** nyong-pe.
 3p-PL-AGT father-AGT promise-REL land receive-INF
 'They will receive the land *that father promised (to give) them.*'

11.1.2 *Headless relative clause in -khan*

Headless relative clauses are equally common or perhaps even more common than headed relative clauses in Tshangla. The headless relative clause lacks an overt head nominal and is interpretable as 'those who...' or 'that which...'. The case marker or other particles of the noun phrase then follow directly after the relative clause and are cliticised to the relativised verb in *-khan*.

- (17) Nyi [bra nau nangka cho-khan]-ba sokjap a-wa-la.
 PRT other boat in stay-REL-PL save do-NOM-COP
 'And the others *who were in the boat* were saved.'
- (18) [Dzongkha se-khan]-gi pecha lap-nyi ha go-le.
 Dzongkha know-REL-AGT book study-NF mind put-INF
 'Those *who know Dzongkha*, when they study, will understand.'

- (19) Jang [sungjapa sor-khan]-ga tsi tre-nyi...
 1s duty exchange-REL-LOC account turn.over-NF
 'I gave my report to the one *who was to take my watch*.'
- (20) [Nangpa cho-ga depa a-khan]-ba-ki semcen she-le
 Buddhist religion-LOC faith do-REL-PL-AGT animal kill-NF
 ma-Ø-pha.
 NEG-come-PTC
 'Those *who practice the Buddhist religion* must not kill animals.'

11.1.2.1 *Relative clause as a lexical item*

Certain common concepts are so frequently referred to by means of headless relative clauses that the construction has acquired the semantic specificity of a compound lexical item. The following are a few of the most common examples.

- (21) shisha got-khan
 sheep look-REL
 'shepherd'
- (22) lai a-khan
 work do-REL
 'worker'
- (23) ri shap-khan
 water rise-REL
 'wave'
- (24) ma-zes-kan
 NEG-approve-REL
 'critic'

11.1.2.2 *Gapping*

Given the tendency toward zero anaphora in Tshangla clauses (cf. section 6.1), combined with the gapping strategy and lack of a head noun, the headless relative clauses are even more dependent on context for their interpretation than are headed relative clauses. It is probably for this reason that with headless relative clauses in *-khan* only core arguments are relativised, a restriction not found with headed relative clauses. Consider the following examples.

- (25) Unyu [ten-khan] khepu, dut giwala.
 DEM adhere-REL TOP devil COP
 'The one *whom (we) were following* was the devil.'

- (26) [Ro-ka ten-khan]-ba o-ga-rang ca.
 3-LOC adhere-REL-PL where-LOC-EMPH COP
 'Those *who follow him* are everywhere.'

In example (25), the free translation gives the meaning of the utterance in the discourse context from which the example was taken. This reading is derived from relativisation on the object of the verb *ten* 'worship, adhere, follow'. An equally possible reading, derived from relativisation on the subject of *ten*, would be 'the one who was following.' In example (26), by contrast, the discourse-motivated interpretation is derived from relativisation on the subject. The alternative reading, which would be derived from object relativisation, i.e. 'those whom he follows', is blocked by the presence of the locative argument *roka* '3p', which, because of its locative marking, is unlikely to be interpreted as the transitive subject.

Intransitive subjects, transitive subjects and transitive objects may be relativised with *-khan*, as seen in the following examples.

11.1.2.3 Intransitive subject

- (27) [Phai-ga cho-khan] ibi-rang mala
 house-LOC stay-REL who-EMPH NEG.COP
 'There is no one *staying at home*.'
- (28) [Shi-khan ro] dus-chen
 die-REL corpse collect-OPT
 'Let them collect the corpses.' (lit. 'the bodies *who have died*.)'

11.1.2.4 Transitive subject

- (29) [Ngang se-khan] ngang jang-ca.
 song know-REL song sing-COP
 'Those *who know the songs* are singing.'
- (30) Pau-gi [gu tshap-khan] thur tshas-pe.
 Pau-AGT drum beat-REL one need-INF
 'The "pau" needs someone *to beat the drum*.'

11.1.2.5 Transitive object

- (31) Ji-gi [nan-ga na+za-khan] khepa nan-ga phi-be.
 1s-AGT 2s-LOC make.oath-REL TOP 2s-LOC offer-INF
 'I will give you *what I promised*.'
- (32) [Ata-gi sung-khan] khepu den-me.
 elder.brother-AGT say(hon.)-REL TOP be.true-INF
 'What brother says is true.'

- (33) Legpa-n tha-i [nan-gi nyong-khan], lekpa-n tsung-sho
 good-SE keep-IMP 2s-AGT receive-REL good-SE seize-IMP
 [nan-gi se-khan.]
 2s-AGT know-REL
 'Keep well *what you have received*, hold fast to *what you have come to know!*'

11.1.3 Relativised copular clauses

Clauses with copular predicates (cf. section 8.3 and 8.4) may be relativised with *-khan*. The main clause descriptive copula *ca* is replaced by the verb *chole* 'to stay', which then takes the relativiser suffix. Examples are given here for both headed and headless copular relative clauses.

a. Headed.

- (34) **Za thamcen-rang**, [nying nyiktsing-gai dong cho-khan] she na!
 son all-EMPH year two-ABL down stay-REL kill PRT
 'Kill all the sons *who are younger than two years old!*'
- (35) **Waktsa-ba** [zemu cho-khan] ja-ga chas lekpu a-nyi
 child-PL small stay-REL 1s-LOC talk good do-NF
 sem-ga mi-nyi got-co.
 mind-LOC think-NF look-IMP
 'All the *small* children must try to think carefully about my words!'
- (36) [Zhung-ga woka cho-khan] **lekhung** thamcen zhezom
 center-LOC beneath stay-REL department all meeting
 chilu thur phi-wa.
 great one do-NOM
 'All the departments *under the central government* had a big meeting.'

b. Headless.

- (37) [Ma-lek-pa cho-khan]-ba mi-ga gok-pe.
 NEG-good-NOM stay-REL-PL fire-LOC burn-INF
 'The *bad* ones will be burnt in the fire.'

The equative copula *gila* takes the relativiser suffix on its root *gi-*.

- (38) [Ngoma manggi-khan] depa a-nyi unyu dabu
 genuine NEG.COP-REL faith do-NF DEM manner
 ma-a-i!
 NEG-do-IMP
 'Worshipping *that which is not genuine*, this you must not do!'

11.1.4 Nominaliser signifying 'reason'

The relativiser *-khan* shows some signs of extension in function from strictly a relativiser toward a more generalised nominalising marker. A verb in

-khan may function as a complement of the noun *dentha*, suggesting that for these examples, perhaps the *-khan* clause should be analysed as a noun complement clause, rather than a relative clause.

- (39) Jang gor-khan dentha khepa unyu gila.
 1s be.late-REL reason TOP DEM COP
 'This is the reason I was late.'

This usage of *-khan* is similar in meaning to the more common *-wa*-nominalised complement of *dentha* (cf. 'noun complements' in section 12.2), as seen in the following example.

- (40) Songo thamce-rang dukpu ri-wa dentha sho, hang
 person all-EMPH poor become-NOM reason TOP what
 dak-nyi-la
 say-NF-PRT
 'What is the reason why all the people have become poor...?'

That *dentha* represents a causal force is brought out by sentences like (41), in which *dentha* occurs as an oblique argument with agentive case marking.

- (41) Rang-ga dentha-gi dukpu ri-wa-la.
 self-LOC cause-AGT poor become-NOM-COP
 Each has become poor by his own cause (i.e. for his own reason).

Frequently in relative clauses, though the noun *dentha* does not appear in the construction, the idea of a 'reason' seems to be strongly implied. This gives a formal appearance of *-khan* being used as a general nominaliser, referring to the state or action of the verb. However, the *-khan* clause is still understood to refer to the reason or cause of the event or state, rather than simply the event or state itself, as the following examples will illustrate.

- (42) Goma-gai-rang ai dukpu u-khan zhung-rang uthu yu
 first-ABL-EMPH 1p poor come-REL main-EMPH DEM liquor
 dang onya-ba-ka gila. Yu dang onya den-me
 and DEM-PL-LOC COP alcohol and DEM depend-INF
 mang-pha.
 NEG.come-PTC
 'From the beginning the main reason we have come to be poor is liquor and such. We shouldn't become dependant on liquor and such.'
- (43) Onya-i sho Kurtotpa chas phi-khan onyen giwala me.
 DEM-ABL PRT Kurtotpa talk do-REL DEM COP PRT
 '(They are also descendant from that tribe.) That is why they speak the language of Kurtotpa.'

- (44) Sonam giwala dak-khan khai, onya sonam cho-khan khai,
 fortune COP say-REL TOP DEM fortune stay-REL TOP
 tsham budang khai zu-ka rek-pa-ga, nyishu bedeng
 hair piece TOP body-LOC fall-NOM-LOC PRT rich
 onya cho-khan khai onyu gila.
 DEM stay-REL TOP DEM COP
 'The (reason why) they are lucky, the (reason why) they have luck, the piece
 of hair, having fallen on them, this is the (reason why) they are rich.'
- (45) Nyi dukpu cho-khan-ba cho, nyi tsham budang mapairang
 PRT poor stay-REL-PL TOP PRT hair piece never
 ma-rek-pa-ga, onya gila.
 NEG-fall-NOM-LOC DEM COP
 'And the (reason why) some are poor, it is because the (magic) hair never
 falls (on them).'

In the following examples, the clause in *-khan* precedes the expression *hang ya daknyila* (cf. section 13.1.4) an expression meaning 'because' or a rhetorical 'why?' which is answered by the speaker himself. Again, this shows that the *-khan* clause signifies the cause or reason for the state or event.

- (46) Ata-gi sung-khan khepu den-me.
 elder.brother-AGT speak(hon.)-REL TOP be.true-INF
 Den-khan hang ya dak-nyi-la...
 be.true-REL what QUES say-NF-PRT
 'What elder brother says is true. The reason why it is true...' (Thereafter
 follows the explanation of that reason.)
- (47) Jang tha u-khan hang ya dak-nyi-la nan Tshangla lo
 1s here come-REL what QUES say-NF-PRT 2s language
 ye-n bi-le u-pha.
 wear-SE give-INF come-NOM
 '(If one asks) why I have come here, (it is) to teach you the Tshangla
 language.' (i.e. 'The reason why I have come here is to teach you the Tshangla
 language.')

11.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN *-sa*

A second way of forming relative clauses in Tshangla is by means of the locative relativiser suffix *-sa*. The suffix *-sa* is used when the pivot is a place. The construction may be glossed as 'the place where...' This suffix is obviously related to a distinct nominal lexeme *sa* 'earth, ground'.

Relative clauses in *-sa* are most often headless, although they may also be headed, in which case the nominal further specifies the place where the activity or event of the clause takes place. The most common verb to

occur in the *-sa* relative clause is probably *chole*, which, as we have seen, may function either as the lexeme meaning ‘to stay’ or as the existential copula.

11.2.1 Headed relative clause in *-sa*

- (48) Meme lhangpoche [ai cho-sa] **brangsa** reka reka
 grandfather elephant 1p stay-REL place near near
 u-pha.
 come-NOM
 ‘The elephant was getting closer and closer to the place *where we were staying*.’
- (49) Nyi lok-nyi [jang cho-sa] **phai-ga** shek-pa.
 PRT return-NF 1s stay-REL house-LOC arrive-NOM
 ‘Returning, we arrived at the house *where I was staying*.’

In the case of *-sa* relative clauses, as well as relative clauses formed by *-wa*, and *-le*, to be described below, the relative clause itself may take an optional locative case marker, as seen in example (50). Only relative clauses in *-sa*, *-wa* and *-le* take the optional locative marker, while relative clauses in *-khan* do not.² Note that this case marking occurring on the relative clause is distinct from the case marking which may occur on the overall noun phrase.

- (50) Om hala-rang nan dang [nan zhuk-sa]-ga **phai** khepu
 now when-EMPH 2s and 2s stay-REL-LOC house TOP
 thong-me ma-r-ba.
 see-INF NEG-can-PTC
 ‘Now I will never be able to see you or the house *where you live*.’

11.2.2 Headless relative clause in *-sa*

- (51) [Nan-gi yek-sa] cho-le gi-du.
 2s-AGT speak-REL stay-INF COP-SUB
 ‘I suppose we will live *wherever you say*.’

² The case marker on the relative clause itself should not be confused with the case marker sometimes found on the verb inflected with *-khan* in the case of headless relative clauses. This latter case marker actually marks the entire noun phrase as an argument of the matrix clause. It is cliticized to the verb in *-khan* in headless relative clauses only because there is no intervening nominal head. The relative clause case marker is always the locative case marker in its genitive usage. The case marking on the noun phrase, by contrast, is determined by the role of that noun phrase in the matrix clause.

- (52) [Ro thrung-sa] thamce zo-me odo!
 3 be.born-REL all gather-INF come.IMP
 'We must all gather (at the place) *where he was born!*'
- (53) Nyi jang [sinmo cho-sa] di-le.
 PRT 1s giantess stay-REL go-INF
 'I will go to *where the giantess is.*'

11.2.3 Headless relative clause in -sa with postposition *brangka*

The most common nominal to be modified by the -sa relative clause is, not surprisingly, the word meaning 'place', *brang* or *brangka*. Because *brangka* may also be analysed as a postposition 'at, with', (cf. section 3.5.1), there are two possible analyses of this relative clause construction.

- (54) [Songo-ba-ka thrisor phi-sa] **brangka** shek-pa-la.
 person-PL-LOC ritual.bath do-REL at/place arrive-NOM-COP
 'They arrived (at the place) *where the people were having the cleansing bath.*'
- (55) Nan-gi [jang shi-sa] **brangka** thup ge-ma.
 2s-AGT 1s die-REL at/place throw lose-NOM
 'You left me (at a place) *where I would die.*'

In one analysis, *brangka* is a postposition 'at', grammaticalised and reduced from the nominal *brang* plus the locative case marker -ga. If *brangka* is a postposition, the relative clause must be headless, that is, embedded in a noun phrase with no nominal head. The noun phrase is in turn a constituent of the postpositional phrase headed by *brangka*.

In the alternative analysis, *brangka* is still the nominal *brang* 'place' marked with the locative case marker -ka. By this account, *brang* fills the role of the pivot of the relative clause and head of the noun phrase.

11.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN -WA

Relative clauses may also be formed with the nominalising participial suffix -wa. As we saw for -sa relative clauses, relative clauses with -wa, both headed as well as headless, also take an optional locative case marker. Note that it is the genitive sense of the case marker rather than the locative or dative sense that occurs on the relative clause (cf. the discussion in section 7.3). As evidence for this, even in dialects which have preserved the older dative marker -gu, the relative clause is marked with -ga.

- Songo** [shi-wa-ga] mi-gu gok-pe.
 person die-NOM-LOC fire-LOC burn-INF
 'The dead person is burnt in the fire.'

Like relative clauses in *-khan* and *-sa*, *-wa* relative clauses may be either headed or headless, pre-nominal or post-nominal, and formed on subject, object and occasionally oblique arguments. Restrictions on relativised arguments in headless relative clauses in *-wa* will be discussed in the following section.

11.3.1 Headed relative clause in *-wa*

11.3.1.1 Intransitive subject

Relative clauses in *-wa* may have as pivot the intransitive clausal subject. The relative clause may be marked with the locative case marker, as in (56), or the case marker may be omitted, as in (57).

- (56) Songo-ba-ki songo shi-denge, yong dak-khan cho
 person-PL-AGT person die-NF yong say-REL TOP
 [shi-wa-ga] **songo** dabu cot-pe.
 die-NOM-LOC person like prepare-INF
 'When a person dies, people prepare a 'yong' (to look) like the person *who has died*.'
- (57) [Nangka shek-pa] **songo**-ba shadar phi-nyi ca giwala.
 inside arrive-NOM person-PL shout do-NF COP COP
 'The people *who had arrived inside* were shouting.'

11.3.1.2 Transitive subject

The following examples show relativisation on the agent subject of a transitive clause, with the locative case marker in (58), without the marker in (59).

- (58) [Nan-ga sok cat-pa-ga] **dre** khepu tabunabu-rang
 2s-LOC soul cut-NOM-LOC demon TOP ever-EMPH
 nan-ga ma-shi-le tshe gang-ka onya-rang cho-le giwala.
 2s-LOC NEG-die-INF life time-LOC DEM-EMPH stay-INF COP
 'The demon *which is frightening you* will continue like that all your life until you die.'
- (59) Ro khepa [cha+zhu-n lai a-wa] **songo** thur gila.
 3 TOP serve-SE work do-NOM person one COP
 'He is a person *who does works of service*.'

11.3.1.3 Transitive object

The object argument may be relativised, as in the following examples, utterance (60) with the case marker, example (61) without. In example (62), the plural marker clitic is attached to the nominalised verb itself, as the head in this example precedes the relative clause.

- (60) A-ha Druk gelkhap nangka [chi gyelkhap-gai
 1p-LOC Bhutan country in foreign country-ABL
 pha-wa-ga] **li dang mi** la.
 bring-NOM-LOC bow and arrow COP
 'Nowadays there are bows and arrows in Bhutan that have been brought in
 from foreign countries.'
- (61) [Ama mawa apa-gi ke-wa] **za** sam cho-wa.
 mother NEG.COP father-AGT bear-NOM son three stay-NOM
 'There were three sons who were born to a father without a mother.'
- (62) Nyi da-shi Nyima ma-shi-la-n cho-la-kap **khenja**
 PRT 3p-AGT Nyima NEG-die-PTC-do stay-PTC-with shirt
dang khamung [da-ha dentha-i tshok-pa]-ba, Dawa-ga
 and clothes 3p-LOC reason-ABL sew-NOM-PL Dawa-LOC
 gen-ma-la.
 show-NOM-COP
 'They showed Dawa the shirts and clothing that Nyima had made for them
 before she died.'

11.3.1.4 Note on *awa* 'made X'

An object relative clause may be composed of the verb *ale* 'to do' with a predicate adjective or nominal. This construction carries a similar semantic function to the use of the adjective as nominal modifier. So, for example, 'a coin that had been made round' may be said in place of 'a round coin', or 'clothes that had been made white' in place of 'white clothes'.³

- (63) **Waktsa** [cho thur a-wa] cho-wa giwala.
 child fist-size one do-NOM stay-NOM COP
 'There was a small child (made) the size of a fist.'
- (64) Dur nangka nu-pha-kap-nyi **songo yam nang thur** [khamung
 tomb in enter-PRT-with-NF person young one clothes
 balingmin a-wa] thong-ma.
 white do-NOM see-NOM
 'Entering into the tomb, they saw a young person with white clothes.' (i.e.
 'clothes made white')

³ Cf. section 14.4 below for a discussion of the ambiguity between relative clause and complement clause structure in these *awa* constructions.

- (65) A-ching nikt-sing-ga **ser** [tukuli a-wa] sam nyok-nyi-la
 1p-DUAL two-LOC gold round do-NOM three receive-NF-PRT
 hangten bong-me ya?
 how divide-INF QUES
 'If we receive two gold pieces (i.e. pieces of gold made round) how shall we share them?'
- (66) Yung zemu dang **ata** [yongba thapse a-wa]
 brother small and elder.brother fool almost do-NOM
 thur cho-wa.
 one stay-NOM
 'There was a little brother and his elder brother, who were almost fools.'
- (67) Songo thur-gi **khasha** [jampu a-wa] thur pha-n-than...
 person one-AGT cloth soft do-NOM one bring-SE-NF
 'Someone brought a soft cloth.'
- (68) Namnying dawa u-pha **tsezem** [changlu a-wa] thur
 tomorrow like come-NOM basket black do-NOM one
 bi-wa giwala.
 give-NOM COP
 'The next day he was given a black basket.'

11.3.1.5 *Other arguments*

Although the core arguments subject and object are the ones most frequently relativised, other oblique arguments may be relativised. The following examples taken from spontaneous discourse will illustrate relativisation on instrument, possessor and locative arguments.

a. *Instrument*. In the sentence below, the relative clause is built around the complex predicate *karmi phibe* 'to make an offering with the butter lamp' (lit. *karmi* 'butter lamp' plus *phibe* 'to offer'). The noun which serves as the pivot of the relative clause construction, shared by the clause as well as the superordinate noun phrase, is *si* 'oil', which is not a core argument of *karmi phibe*. The relationship of *si* to the verb, as indicated by the gloss, would be an oblique one such as instrument or some kind of possessed nominal.

- (69) Nyi [karmi phi-ba-ga] **si** khepu dukpu songo-ga
 PRT butter.lamp offer-NOM-LOC oil TOP poor person-LOC
 bi-nyi-la namesame phenpa ca.
 give-NF-PRT very profit COP
 'If we gave to poor people the oil which is used in offering the butter lamp, it helps them very much.'

In the next example, the nominal *ta* ‘sign’ is not a core argument of the intransitive verb *ha chatpa* ‘to be amazed’.

- (70) Unyu-ba-ki [ha chat-pa] **ta** ge-n, phijur
 DEM-PL-AGT heart amaze-NOM sign show-NF trick
 ge-nyi, songo-ba-ka depa a-le bi-le.
 show-NF person-PL-LOC faith do-INF give-INF
 ‘These ones show amazing signs, tricking the people to make them believe.’

If the relative clause in (70) were written out as an independent clause, it would read as in (71) below. The nominal *ta* ‘sign’ would be in a separate clause.

- (71) Ro-ka ta thong-ma-kap-nyi, songo-ba ha chat-pa.
 3-LOC sign see-PTC-with-NF person-PL heart amaze-NOM
 ‘Seeing their signs, the people were amazed.’

In the next example as well, the relative clause is formed on the instrument nominal. In this example, the relative clause has been postposed (cf. section 18.1), separating it from its semantic nominal head *lan* ‘rope’.

- (72) Nai tshong-ma-kap-nyi **lan** khai lok-nyi pha-i, [otha
 2p sell-PTC-with-NF rope TOP return-NF bring-IMP DEM
 kurta ching-ma-ga.]
 horse tie-NOM-LOC
 ‘When you sell (the horse), bring back the rope, the one *with which we tied the horse*.’

b. *Possessor*. In the next example, again taken from spontaneous discourse, the possessor of a core clausal argument is relativised.

- (73) **Shisha** chilu [pu sa-gai phak-pa] thur la.
 sheep great fur earth-ABL sweep-NOM one COP
 ‘There is a big sheep *whose wool is sweeping the ground*.’

c. *Locative*. Locative arguments are relativised in examples (74) and (75).

- (74) Got-co, [rokte-ba-ki ro-ka phungpu tha-wa]-ga **brang**
 look-IMP 3p-PL-AGT 3-LOC corpse leave-NOM-LOC place
 uthu gila.
 DEM COP
 ‘Look, here is the place *where they left his body*.’

- (75) Otha bok-pe **lem** sho [pu lik-pa]-ga
 DEM stir-INF spoon TOP fur sprout-NOM-LOC
 mang-pha!
 NEG.come-PTC
 ‘You won’t find (lit. ‘there won’t exist’) a stirring spoon *on which hair grows!*’

11.3.2 *Headless relative clause in -wa*

Headless relative clauses with *-wa* relativise on intransitive subjects, transitive objects or oblique arguments. Headless relative clauses do not relativise on agent arguments or on intransitive subjects.⁴ Like the headed variety, the headless relative clause may take an optional locative marker.

11.3.2.1 *Object of transitive*

The following examples show relativisation on the object of a transitive clause.

- (76) Nan [ji-gi yek-pa] ma-na-nyi-la, asham shar
 2s 1s-AGT speak-NOM NEG-comply-NF-PRT corn weed
 phut-pe kunti-le.
 pick-INF send-INF
 'If you do not agree with *what I say*, you will be sent out to weed the corn in the field.'
- (77) Lok-nyi, phai-ga u-nyi [ro-ki lekpu a-nyi
 return-NF house-LOC come-NF 3-AGT good do-NF
 nang-ma]-ga yitka mi-nyi...
 give(hon.)-NOM-LOC memory think-NF
 'Returning, coming home, I would forget *what he had kindly given me*.'
- (78) [Rokte lanyi-re-ga zok-pa,] ro binang-re-ga
 3p month-per-LOC grow-NOM 3 night-per-LOC
 zok-pa-la.
 grow-NOM-COP
 'What the others grow in a month, he grew in one night.' ('grow' in the sense of increasing in height.)

11.3.2.2 *Oblique*

Oblique headless relative clauses in *-wa* may relativise the locative or the beneficiary argument.

⁴ An example like the following might be analysed as a relative clause. The verb *langpe* 'to suffice' is an intransitive verb with a patient subject. However an alternative and more likely analysis would be to regard *lang-pa* as a nominalised clause in subject position (cf. section 12.4).

Lang-pa thur cho-nyi-la drik-pe.
 suffice-NOM one stay-NF-PRT suit-INF
 'If we have **enough**, that will be suitable.'

a. *Locative*. A clause in *-wa* may be relativised on an implied locative argument, meaning ‘the place where’.

- (79) Ro tsateling khateling di-nyi, [bong tshap cho-wa]-ga...
 3 naked naked go-NF wheat thresh stay-NOM-LOC
 ‘He came naked to *the wheat threshing place*...’
- (80) Nyi [songo ri+lam jang-pa] thur-ga, phai cet-kai
 PRT person channel dig-NOM one-LOC house build-ADH
 dak-nyi kha ama-gi yek-pa-la.
 say-NF bird mother-AGT speak-NOM-COP
 ‘At *the place where people had dug a channel*, the mother bird said, “Let’s build our nest.”’
- (81) Onyen [phin cho-wa]-ga, ro-ki thola di-n-than,
 DEM do-NF stay-NOM-LOC 3-AGT yonder go-SE-NF
 jur-nyi got-pa.
 transform-NF look-NOM
 ‘After that, he went up there, *to the place where they were doing it*, and tried to do the magic.’
- (82) Goma-rang [encha sho-wa]-ga sho, shisha-gi thong-ma
 first-EMPH salt issue-NOM-LOC TOP sheep-AGT see-NOM
 cho-wa giwala me.
 stay-NOM COP PRT
 ‘In the beginning, *the place where salt was found* had been first seen by sheep.’

b. *Beneficiary*. The beneficiary may also be relativised, as shown in the following example.⁵

- (83) Sonam cho-khan khai, [onya tsham budang khai
 fortune stay-REL TOP DEM hair piece TOP
 zu-ka rek-pa-ga,] nyishu bedeng cho-khan khai
 face/body(hon.)-LOC fall-NOM-LOC PRT rich stay-REL TOP
 unyu gila. Nyi dukpu cho-khan-ba cho, tsham budang
 DEM COP PRT poor stay-REL-PL TOP hair piece
 mapairang ma-rek-pa-ga, onya gila.
 not.at.all NEG-fall-NOM-LOC DEM COP
 ‘Those who have luck, *upon whom the piece of hair has fallen*, then become rich for this reason. And the poor, upon whom the hair never falls, this is (the reason).’

⁵ Although note that this example is ambiguous between a non-restrictive relative clause and an “attendant circumstance” adverbial-clause, ‘...the piece of hair having fallen on them’ (cf. section 13.2).

11.3.2.3 *Restrictions on -wa relative clauses*

The headless *-wa* relative clauses show one restriction not seen for the *-khan* relative clause. A headless *-wa* relative clause may not be formed on an agent argument. Thus for example, while sentence (84) with *-khan* is acceptable, example (85) with *-wa* is not an acceptable utterance.

(84) [Lai a-khan]-gi gor-nyi u-pha.
work do-REL-AGT be.late-NF come-NOM
'The worker/one who worked was late.'

(85) *Lai a-wa-gi gor-nyi u-pha.
work do-NOM-AGT be.late-NF come-NOM
'The worker/one who worked was late.'

For this reason, relative clauses with *-wa* do not normally appear with the postnominal particles typically associated with human referents, such as the plural clitic *-ba* or the agentive case marker *-gi* (cf. section 5.3).

11.3.3 *Non-referential headless relative clause*

A common function of the headless relative clause in *-wa* is the 'whatever', 'whoever' type of relative clause. Here the relative clause encodes an indefinite, non-referential participant or object, whose identity is contingent on other information in the clause, as in 'Whoever removes the sword will be king'.

The 'whatever' relative clause is formed with one of the information question words as the relative pronoun pivot, and usually but not always the indefinite marker *thur* 'one' to close the noun phrase. The following are non-referential headless relative clauses with *hang* 'whatever' (86–88), *hangten* 'however' (89), *haptur* 'however much' (90) and *oga* 'wherever' (91).

(86) Ro-ki hang yek-pa thur na-wa.
3-AGT what speak-NOM one comply-NOM
'She obeyed whatever she was told.'

(87) Thrimsung gakpa-gi hang a-i dak-pa thur nyan-pe
police chief-AGT what do-IMP say-NOM one listen-INF
khe-le.
must-INF
'One must obey whatever the chief of police says to do.'

(88) Ji-gi pura hang tshat-pa thur nan-ga bi-wa.
1s-AGT completely what need-NOM one 2s-LOC give-NOM
'Whatever you need I will give you.'

- (89) Songo-ba rangrangsa hangten dang-me la-ma thur
 person-PL oneself how walk-INF want-NOM one
 dang-me.
 walk-INF
 'People walk however they want to.'
- (90) Lai haptur jok-pe re-ba thur a-i!
 work how.much be.quick-INF can-NOM one do-IMP
 'Work as quickly as you can!'
- (91) Ji-gi yongbu-ga tri-nyi, o-ga nas-pa thur
 1s-AGT fly-LOC transform-NF where-LOC land-NOM one
 dung-sho na.
 pick-IMP PRT
 'I will turn into a fly, and wherever I land pick up that one.'

11.3.4 *Non-referential relative clause with explicit head*

The question word constituent may be expanded to a phrase by including a nominal, adjectival or adverbial modifier in addition to the question word, i.e. 'whatever *work*...', 'however much *money*...', 'however *fast*...'. In this construction, the explicit nominal head and the question word co-occur, with the modifier sometimes occurring before the question word, as in example (92), and sometimes after, as in example (93). The following examples contain the question words *hang* 'whatever' (92), *hangten* 'however' (93), *haptur* 'however much' (94) and *ibi* 'whoever' (95).

- (92) Lai hang a-le la-ma thur a-n-rang bu-n
 work what do-INF want-NOM one do-SE-EMPH take-SE
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 'Whatever work I felt like doing I took.'
- (93) Hangten jokpu a-le re-ba thur a-le.
 how fast do-INF can-NOM one do-INF
 'I will do it however fast I can.'
- (94) Nyi tiru haptur nyong-pa thur, kurta tshong-sho na!
 PRT money how.much receive-NOM one horse sell-IMP PRT
 'Sell the horse for however much money you can get.'
- (95) Songo ibi thong-ma thur kholong phi-le.
 person who see-NOM one fight do-INF
 'He will fight with whatever person he sees.'

11.3.5 Copular relative clause in *-wa*

Clauses containing copular predicates, i.e. predicate nominal and predicate adjectival clauses, may be relativised in *-wa*. The grammaticalised auxiliary verb *chole* ‘to stay’ substitutes for the existential copula *ca*.

- (96) Ro-ten-ga [goma ata dang ama apa-ba-ka
 3-RFLX-LOC before elder.brother and mother father-PL-LOC
 cho-wa-ga] **natsha** khepu ro-ka nyong-pa.
 stay-NOM-LOC disease TOP 3-LOC receive-NOM
 ‘He himself got the disease *that his older brother, father and mother had had before him.*’
- (97) [Jagar-ga cho-wa] **songo** thong-mu mala. Mapa Be-gai
 India-LOC stay-NOM person see-PTC NEG.COP but Tibet-ABL
 dong u-pha songo la.
 down come-NOM person COP
 ‘(We) don’t see people of India, but there are people *who have come down from Tibet.*’

Even the use of *chole* ‘to stay’ as an auxiliary in a periphrastic imperfective construction may be relativised. In the following example *chole* functions as an imperfective marker on the matrix verb *bang* ‘claim’.

- (98) Goma-ga songo bedeng cho-khan-ba Wangchiling-gai zhichap
 first-LOC person rich stay-REL-PL Wangchiling-ABL tribute
 dak-nyi, **cala** [bang cho-wa] thur phak bu-n-ca
 say-NF article claim stay-NOM one sweep take-SE-COP
 giwala.
 COP
 ‘Long ago, all rich people were required by Wangchiling to pay a tribute of everything *they owned* (lit. ‘*which they were owning*’).’

Negative copular clauses are relativised with the negative nominalised copula *mawa*.

- (99) Goma [ama mawa apa-gi ke-wa] **za** sam
 before mother NEG.COP father-AGT bear-NOM son three
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 ‘Once there were three sons *who had no mother*, and who had been born of their father.’
- (100) Nyi **shisha** khepa [ngenkha mawa] sa-ga thup+tha-le.
 PRT sheep TOP danger NEG.COP ground-LOC abandon-INF
 ‘Then he will leave the other 99 sheep in a place *where there is no danger.*’

The negative copula may take the locative case marker.

- (101) [Shing dang ri hang-rang mawa-ga] sa-ga
 tree and water what-EMPH NEG.COP-LOC land-LOC
 di-wa-la.
 go-NOM-COP
 'He went to a land *where there were no trees or water at all.*'

11.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN *-le*

The final type of relative clause is formed with the infinitive participial suffix *-le* ~ *-pe* ~ *-me* ~ *-be*. Relative clauses in *-le* are similar to those formed with *-wa*. Relative clauses in *-le* may take an optional locative case marker, and they may be either preposed or postposed to the nominal head. However relative clauses in *-le* differ from *-wa* relative clauses in two significant ways: First, relative clauses in *-le* almost always have a nominal head, occurring headless only with a highly predictable nominal referent. Secondly, while core arguments subject and object may be relativised with *-le*, the most common arguments to be relativised are obliques. This situation is the opposite from that of *-wa* as relativiser, where the most common arguments to be relativised were core arguments.

- (102) Jang [pecha lam-pe-ga] ditshe nyong-pa.
 1s book study-INF-LOC time receive-NOM
 'I got time *to study.*'

The relationship of the head noun 'time' to the relative clause 'to study' in example (102) is not actor, patient or recipient, but the oblique temporal location, i.e. the time at which one may study. The actor and patient are not specified. This might be glossed as 'V for X-ing' as in 'a time for studying'.

These two characteristics of the *-le* relative clause, namely the necessity of a nominal head and possibility of relativising an oblique nominal, can be shown to be related, and grounded in the fact that the semantic link, i.e. the mutual collocation constraints, between the head noun and the relative clause is the weakest for *-le* relative clauses. This allows for greater freedom as to which argument is relativised, but with the result that the clausal role of that nominal argument is less easily predictable. To omit the head results in greater ambiguity and apparently unacceptable communication loss.

A relative clause in *-le* may be either restrictive or non-restrictive. Compare examples (103) and (104).

- (103) Na-shi [u-phe] **ditsh** korgai hang-rang se-lu
 2p-AGT come-INF time about what-EMPH know-PTC
 manca.
 NEG.COP
 ‘You don’t know anything about the times *that are coming*.’

- (104) Phai-ga **za** jang thur cho-wa, [lai a-le-ga]
 house-LOC son 1s one stay-NOM work do-INF-LOC
 ‘I was the only one and the only son in the house, *to do the work*.’

The contrast between restrictive and non-restrictive can be seen by applying the following semantic test: Can the relative clause be the answer to the question, ‘Which X?’ The restricted relative clause in example (103) would be an appropriate answer to the question, ‘Which times?’ (answer: ‘The times that are coming’). The non-restricted relative clause in example (104), by contrast, would not be an appropriate answer to the question, ‘Which son?’ (answer: *‘The one to help with the work’).

11.4.1 *Headed relative clause in -le*

The following examples show headed relative clauses in *-le*, relativising on intransitive subject, transitive subject and object arguments.

11.4.1.1 *Intransitive subject*

- (105) Nyi onyai sho [Be-ka di-le-ga] **lam** phék-pa
 PRT DEM-ABL TOP Tibet-LOC go-INF-LOC road open-NOM
 giwala.
 COP
 ‘Only from that time on was the road to Tibet (lit. ‘road *going to Tibet*’) opened.’

- (106) [Lok-pe-ga] **bangnang** mala.
 return-INF-LOC change NEG.COP
 (I) don’t have any change *to give back* (to you). (lit. ‘change *to come back* to you’)

11.4.1.2 *Transitive subject*

- (107) Dangpo apa thur, [shing khuk-pe-ga] **zogo** khepa
 ancient father one wood carve-INF-LOC carpenter TOP
 thur cho-wa-la.
 one stay-NOM-COP
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a man, a carpenter *who carves wood*.’

11.4.1.3 *Object*

- (108) Lam dang-ma-kap bu-khan phatsa-bu
 way walk-PTC-with take-REL sack-FOC
khenja, [du-phe] **bidar** cha thep-bu ma-bu-i.
 shirt put.on-INF shoe pair extra-FOC NEG-take-IMP
 ‘While you’re walking on the road, don’t even take a carrying bag, a shirt
 for changing, or even an extra pair of shoes to put on.’
- (109) [Thinong lhak-pe-ga] **rim pang** khepa songo thur thur
 today read-INF-LOC passage TOP person one one
 a-n tram bi.
 do-SE distribute give.
 ‘Distribute to each person the passage to be read today.’
- (110) Shing mangpu thur-gi-rang ai-ba-ka [za-le-ga] **to**
 tree many one-AGT-EMPH 1p-PL-LOC eat-INF-LOC food
 ga-n-ca.
 give-SE-COP
 ‘Many trees give us food to eat.’

11.4.1.4 *Relativised oblique*

The remaining examples show clauses relativised on oblique instrument and locative arguments.

a. *Instrument.*

- (111) Lam dang-ma-kap [tes-pe] **dokang** ma-bu-i.
 way walk-PTC-with support-INF stick NEG-take-IMP
 ‘While walking on the path, don’t take a stick with which to support
 (yourself).’
- (112) Thola [bok-pe] **kho** lak-pa ca.
 yonder mix-INF pot boil-NOM COP
 ‘My mixing pot over there has come to a boil.’
- (113) [Pholang sing-me] **lai** ta haptur-rang la.
 stomach nurture-INF work PRT how.much-EMPH COP
 ‘There is plenty of work to feed one’s stomach!’
- (114) Onya [dru-ga di-le-ga] **ngelong** bi-nyi, dru nangka
 DEM ship-LOC go-INF-LOC price give-NF ship in
 nup-nyi...
 enter-NF
 ‘He gave (them) the price to go on a ship, and got in the ship...’

b. *Locative.*

- (115) Onya barka ja-ga tiru mawa, [chole] **phai**
 DEM between 1s-LOC money NEG.COP stay-INF house
 mawa kawa cat-pa.
 NEG.COP hardship face-NOM
 'In the meantime, having no money and no house *to stay in*, I faced a
 hardship.'
- (116) Jang [shong la-n cho-le] **brang** manca
 1s breath take-SE stay-INF place NEG.COP
 'I don't have any place *to rest*.'
- (117) [Kenco-ga totpu zhu-le-ga] **nong** gila.
 God-LOC praise offer-INF-LOC day COP
 'This is the day *to praise God*.'
- (118) [Dong-gai to ring-me-ga] **gang** thur cot-pa,
 down-AGL food reach-INF-LOC hole one make-NOM
 [to bi-le-ga.]
 food give-INF-LOC
 'They made a hole *for handing the food down, for giving the food*.'

Here again we have the problem seen above with *-khan* relative clauses, namely how to analyse the items which are in the process of grammaticalisation from noun plus case marker to postpositions. The postposition *gangka* 'time' in example (119) is diachronically derived from a nominal *gang* 'time' plus the locative case marker.

- (119) Goma jang a-ha nangpa cho-ga cho-le gangka...
 before 1s 1p-LOC Buddhist religion-LOC stay-INF when
 'Before, during the time when I was staying in our Buddhist faith...'

The relative clause in (119) would be a headed relative clause if we regard *gang* as a nominal. If *gangka* is a postposition meaning 'while, during', the relative clause is headless and the oblique object 'time' is only implied.

11.4.2 *Headless relative clause in -le*

A *-le* relative clause may occur as formally headless only when the referent of the relativised nominal is highly predictable due to the nature of the particular verb. This seems to occur only with a small number of verbs. For example, the object of a verb like *zale* 'eat' or *yele* 'wear', when left implicit, will naturally be understood to be food or clothing respectively, as in the following examples.

- (120) Nyi jang namesame pholong tok-nyí shi-le la a-nyí,
 PRT 1s very stomach constrict-NF die-INF COP do-NF
 binatang khu-na a-nyí. Nyi [za-le] hang-rang nyong-pu
 hunger open-COP do-NF PRT eat-INF what-EMPH receive-PTC
 mala a-nyí.
 NEG.COP do-NF
 '(He said,) "My stomach is hurting so that I am about to die! I am so
 hungry. I am not getting *anything to eat!*"'
- (121) Goma songo sem mi-le se-wa manchi, [ye-le
 first person mind think-INF know-NOM NEG.COP wear-INF
 yok-pe-ga,] [za-le ja-me-ga.]
 cover-INF-LOC eat-INF drink-INF-LOC
 'Those first people didn't know any worry about *what to wear* or *what to
 eat and drink.*'
- (122) Zemu zemu-ba cho-nyí, tha nangka pecha lam-pa-kap-nyí,
 small small-PL stay-NF here in book study-PTC-with-NF
 [za-le ja-me-ga] totsang dabu bi-le na-shi.
 eat-INF drink-INF-LOC friend as give-INF 2p-AGT
 'When the little ones stay here and are studying, as a friend, you will give
 them *something to eat and drink.*'

11.5 RELATIVISED FORMS OF *DAKPE* 'TO SAY'

One particular verb merits a separate section in a chapter on relative clauses because of its distinct function when relativised. The verb is *dakpe* 'to say'. In the non-final inflection, *dakpe* has become grammaticalised to a quotative marker (cf. section 16.1.2). The verb is also frequently relativised and may take any one of the relativiser suffixes *-khan*, *-wa*, *-le* and *-sa*. The relative clause with *dakpe* may contain an explicit agent argument, who is the one doing the calling. In example (123), the agent is *nashi* 'you'.

- (123) [Na-shi pon dak-khan] khepa ji-gi she-le
 2p-AGT king say-REL TOP 1s-AGT kill-INF
 bi-le khe-le mo?
 give-INF must-INF QUES
 'This one whom you call the king, must I have him killed?'

However, much more commonly, *dakpe* relative clauses have no overt subject. In this case *dakkhan* would be translated literally as 'that which is called ___', or 'the one who is called ___'. For example, a common function of *dakkhan* is to mark a nominal as a proper noun. When used in this way, the name itself is the complement of *dakkhan*, while a descriptive phrase indicating the identity of the referent may occur as the pivot.

- (124) Nyi sho yola lu-ga jepo Basirudara dak-khan mar-ba
 PRT PRT yonder lu-LOC king Basirudara say-REL sick-NOM
 giwala.
 COP
 ‘Now the king of the ‘lu’ (mythical underworld beings), called *Basirudara*,
 was sick.’
- (125) Lam dang-nyi yola Ping dak-khan ridrang reka
 way walk-NF yonder Ping say-REL riverbed near
 zhunglam-ga shek-pa
 main.road-LOC arrive-NOM
 ‘Walking along, we came to the main road near the river called *Ping*.’

11.5.1 *Nominalised (-wa): dakpa*

Dakpe may also be relativised by the *-wa* and *-le* participial suffixes. An idiomatic construction involving a nominalised relative clause in *dakpa* (*-ga*) is *dakpa (-ga) tam* ‘the story that is told’.⁶

- (126) Nyi dan taktakpa zuk thamce khap-gi chung-ma, oma
 PRT 3 frog skin all needle-AGT pierce-NOM now
 zuk boraboro cho-khan onya gila dak-nyi, dak-pa **tam**
 skin bumpy stay-REL DEM COP say-NF say-NOM story
 giwala.
 COP
 ‘So they poked all the skin of the frog, and that is the (reason) why the skin
 is bumpy now, saying this, is the story *that is told*.’

11.5.2 *Infinitival (-le): dakpe*

The infinitival form *dakpe* may also form a relative clause.

- (127) Nyila rokte zum-gi sum, onya nga ngam-khan sum
 PRT 3p seven-AGT *sum* DEM fish eat-REL *sum*
 dak-pe, onya sum zum ri-nyi, khon pha-wa dang.
 say-INF DEM *sum* seven become-NF chase bring-NOM PRT
 ‘Then the seven of them changed into a ‘sum’—*one of those fish-eating*
 ‘*sum*’—and chased after (him).’

⁶ Compare the relative clause *dakpaga tam* ‘the story which is told’ construction with *dakpaga tsi* ‘the meaning of saying...’, which is a noun complement construction (section 12.2).

11.5.3 *Locative (-sa): daksa*

A *-sa* relative clause may be formed on *dakpe* as well, to indicate ‘a place which is called’.

- (128) Sa Dukthi dak-sa songo thamce-rang du phi-wa
 land Dukthi say-REL person all-EMPH poison do-NOM
 ri-wa.
 become-NOM
 ‘The people of the land called Dukthi became (known as) a people who mix poison.’
- (129) Goma *Europe* dak-sa gyelkhap-ga, *Europe* dak-sa-ga
 before Europe say-REL country-LOC Europe say-REL-LOC
 songo throughthra throughthra she-wa gila.
 person thousand thousand kill-NOM COP
 ‘Long ago, in the kingdom called *Europe*, thousands of the people of the kingdom called Europe were killed.’

11.5.4 *The pragmatic function of dakpe relative clauses*

Pragmatically, *dakkhan* functions as a ‘hedge’, calling attention to the speaker’s application of the designator to the referent concept. Rather than placing focus on the referent alone, the *dakkhan* hedge signals that the designating term itself is also in focus. The functional value of *dakkhan* is reminiscent of the familiar colloquial English expression, ‘one of those...’ or ‘what you call...’ as in ‘What we need is one of those reversible screwdrivers’ or ‘He’s what you call a rogue agent’. In Tshangla, however, *dakkhan* is used more often and seems to carry less significance than these constructions in English. When used with proper names such as in examples (124) and (125), *dakkhan* relative clauses have a head noun. When used to hedge a descriptive term, as in (130) through (134), the *dakkhan* relative clause is typically headless.

- (130) Nyi pau dak-khan khepu cho a-ha nangpa cho-ga
 PRT pau say-REL TOP TOP 1p-LOC Buddhist religion-LOC
 namesame chilu tsi-n-ca.
 very great regard-SE-COP
 ‘Now, *what is called the “pau”* is regarded very highly in our Buddhist religion.’ (A *pau* is one of a number of tantric practitioners.)

- (131) Mewakta lok pha-le-ga nyekap thur phi-le, hangte
 woman return bring-INF-LOC plan one do-INF how
 phi-le ya dak-pa, shingzo, shingzo dak-khan cho,
 do-INF QUES say-NOM carpenter carpenter say-REL TOP
 otha-ga gang-ka tshas-pe gila.
 DEM-LOC time-LOC need-INF COP
 'We will make a plan to bring the woman back. How shall we do it? A
 carpenter—one of those carpenters—that's what we need this time.'
- (132) Khuru dak-khan cho songo-ba-ki hangla-rang cang-ca
 Khuru say-REL TOP person-PL-AGT when-EMPH play-COP
 ya dak-nyi-la tshebe-gi Losar-ga cang-ca.
 QUES say-NF-PRT some-AGT Losar-LOC play-COP
 'The (game) called "Khuru"—when do people play it? They play it during
 Losar.'
- (133) Ama-ga khokpa nangka Bazarguru dang Mane dak-khan,
 mother-LOC womb inside Bazarguru and Mane say-REL
 ibi-gi-rang yen bi-le ma-khe-la.
 who-AGT-EMPH wear give-INF NEG-must-PTC
 'In the mother's womb we learn what we call the "Bazarguru" and
 "Mane"...no one needs to teach them to us.'
- (134) Lasso la a-nyi, ro-ki mi she-wa giwala, lawang
 OK PRT do-NF 3-AGT light kill-NOM COP lamp
 dak-khan shen-than...
 say-REL kill-NF
 "Alright then," he said, and he put out the light, put out the (*thing called*
a lamp...'

The word *lawang* 'lamp' in example (134) is somewhat archaic. The speaker first uses a more general term *mi* 'light', then repeats the clause using *lawang*, marked with *dakkhan* to indicate that he is aware that the term is unfamiliar. By calling attention in this way to the use of the designator, the speaker may be signalling that it may be something less than completely familiar, natural or otherwise easily 'processable' by the listener. The *dakkhan* construction is especially prevalent with nominals which refer to difficult or foreign concepts, especially when the nominal itself is a borrowed word.

- (135) Om English-ga yek-nyi-la, hang-dang, 'leadership' dak-khan,
 now English-LOC speak-NF-PRT what-PRT say-REL
 unyu cho-lu-rang manca.
 DEM stay-PTC-EMPH NEG.COP
 'Now, if we were to say it in English, what is it? (*what is called*) "leadership"—
 this is what we don't have at all.'

- (136) ‘Lopja’ dak-khan khen namesame lekpu gila.
 knowledge say-REL TOP very good COP
 ‘*Knowledge* is very good.’
- (137) Nyi nya-gai ‘songtau’ dak-nyi, gari tsalu a-wa
 PRT there-ABL say-NF vehicle red do-NOM
 minibus-gai zemu a-wa songo songnyiktsing phang
 minibus-ABL small do-NOM person twelve approximately
 bang-khan-ga nangka nup-nyi, ‘clinic’ dak-khan menkhang
 carry-REL-LOC inside enter-NF say-REL hospital
 zemu-ga shek-pa.
 small-LOC arrive-NOM
 ‘Then from there we got on a *songtau*—a red truck, smaller than a minibus, that carries twelve people—and arrived at the *clinic*—a small hospital.’
- (138) Nya to khepa ‘patsiyiw’ dak-khan za-wa.
 there food TOP say-REL eat-NOM
 ‘There we ate some food, *something called “patsiyiw”*’

In example (135) *dakkhan* hedges the use of the English word ‘leadership’. In (136), *lopja* ‘knowledge’ is borrowed from Dzongkha. In examples (137) and (138), the borrowed words *patsiyiw*, a noodle dish, and *songtau*, a type of vehicle, are from Thai, transcribed here according to the speaker’s own pronunciation. The speaker is relating details of his recent trip to Thailand. Note that in (137) the non-final form *daknyi* is used to hedge the foreign word where *dakkhan* would also have been appropriate. The two forms are interchangeable in this context, although *dakkhan* is more common.

OTHER EMBEDDED CLAUSES

This chapter deals with several constructions in which a clause is structurally embedded within another clause. Two of these, the noun complement and the postpositional complement, function syntactically as modifiers of nominals and postpositions respectively. The other two, the embedded question complement and the nominalised complement, function as arguments of the verb. Unlike the verb complement clauses to be described in Chapter 14, however, the matrix and embedded clause have no necessarily shared argument.

12.1 EMBEDDED QUESTION COMPLEMENT WITH *MO*

The construction to be described here involves a verbal complement which consists of a finite clause containing a content question word followed by the polarity question particle *mo*. In contrast to other complement clauses (Chapter 14), the *mo*-complement does not necessarily share any argument with the matrix clause verb and occurs only with certain verbs of speech, perception or cognition, such as ‘speak’, ‘tell’, ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘know’, ‘find out’, ‘wonder’ etc. The complement clause expresses a presupposed proposition, containing an argument or other expression which is left unspecified and replaced with the question word. The following are examples of the embedded question complement construction, containing the question words *hang* ‘what’, *hangten* ‘how’, *hangdawa* ‘in what manner’, *haptur* ‘how much’, *hang anyi* ‘why’, *hala* ‘when’, *oga* ‘where’ and *ibi* ‘who’.

a. *Hang*.

- (1) Na-shi hang hang-rang tshat-pe mo, ma-yek-pa
 2p-AGT what what-EMPH need-*INF* QUES NEG-speak-PTC
 goma-i-rang khen-ca.
 before-ABL-EMPH know-COP
 ‘He knows exactly what you need before you even say it.’
- (2) Unyu chas khepa hang-ga korgai gila mo lok yek-co.
 DEM talk TOP what-LOC about COP QUES return speak-IMP
 ‘Repeat back what this talk is about.’

- (3) Za chilu apa-gi hang a-n-ca mo thamcen
 son great father-AGT what do-SE-COP QUES all
 se-le.
 know-INF
 'The oldest son knows everything that the father is doing.'

b. *Hangte ~ hangten.*

- (4) Dukthipaba hangten la mo got-pe khe-le-la.
 Dukthipa-PL how COP QUES look-INF must-INF-COP
 'We need to examine how the people of Dukthi live.'
- (5) Ro hangten she-le mo tuncha a-wa-la.
 3 how kill-INF QUES discuss do-NOM-COP
 'They discussed how they could kill him.'
- (6) Ji-gi zambuling hangte ke-pa mo zhu-n chu-ma.
 1s-AGT world how create-NOM QUES tell-NF finish-NOM
 'I have finished telling you how the world was created.'

c. *Hangdawa ~ hangdabu.*

- (7) Ai-ten das nya-tan tha-tan kor-nyi, got-nyi, nyi zamling-ga
 1p-RFLX bit there-to here-to travel-NF look-NF PRT world-LOC
 jekhap soso nangka hangdawa ca mo, unyu-ba thamcen
 kingdom different in how COP QUES DEM-PL all
 ha go-le.
 heart put-INF
 'By travelling a little, and looking, we will understand all (about) what different countries are like.'

d. *Haptur.*

- (8) Mastong unyu, uthu haptur lekpu u-du mo.
 don't.know DEM DEM how.much good come-SUB QUES
 'I don't know about this, how much this (situation) will improve.'

e. *Hanyi ~ hang anyi.*

- (9) Na-ga gotham hang a-nyi za-wa mo ji-me
 2s-LOC egg what do-NF eat-NOM QUES ask-INF
 den-gai, onya rugenang odo dak-co na.
 purpose-ABL DEM snake come.IMP say-IMP PRT
 'For the purpose of finding out why he ate your eggs, call the snake to come.'

f. *Hala ~ giti.*

- (10) Nyi gum cho-n onya songo giti yip-tu mo
 PRT hide stay-NF DEM person when sleep-SUB QUES
 got-cho-wa.
 look-stay-NOM
 'He was hiding himself and watching for when that person would go to sleep.'
- (11) Jepo-gi onya karma khepa dangpa hala shar-ba thong-ma
 king-AGT DEM star TOP first when appear-NOM see-NOM
 mo ji-ma-la.
 QUES ask-NOM-COP
 'The king asked them when they first saw the star appear.'

g. *Oga.*

- (12) Chas a-n-than o-ga ngat-pa-la mo se-le,
 talk do-SE-NF where-LOC err-NOM-COP QUES know-INF
 ji-gi.
 1s-AGT
 'After talking to them I will know where I have made mistakes.'

h. *Ibi.*

- (13) Onya songo-ba-ki ro ibi gila mo se-n-ca
 DEM person-PL-AGT 3 who COP QUES know-SE-COP
 giwala.
 COP
 'Those people know who he is.'
- (14) Ibi-gi zak-la mo got-pe gila.
 who-AGT win-COP QUES look-INF COP
 '(We) will see who wins.'
- (15) Ai-ba ibi-gi kalu tat-ca gila mo yek-co!
 1p-PL who-AGT difficult make-COP COP QUES speak-IMP
 'Tell us who is making us suffer.'

Notice one formal peculiarity of the embedded question complement construction: In section 9.2, we saw that content questions are encoded by the sentence-final question particle *ya*, while polarity questions, i.e. 'yes or no' questions, take the sentence-final particle *mo*. In the embedded question complement under discussion here, although the embedded question involves missing information and the same set of question words, it is not the expected information question particle *ya* which is used, but rather the polarity question particle *mo*.

Superficially, the embedded question complement seems very similar to the non-referential relative clause with relative pronoun plus *thur* 'one' (cf. section 11.3.3) as examples (16) and (17) will show.

(16) Ibi u-pha mo got-co!
 who come-NOM QUES look-IMP
 'See (find out) who comes.'

(17) Ibi u-pha thur got-co!
 who come-NOM one look-IMP
 'Look at whoever comes.'

However, the two constructions differ structurally and semantically in the following way. In example (16), the verb takes a clausal complement encoding a proposition, while in (17) the verb takes a headless relative clause referring to an entity. The difference in gloss for *ibi* 'who' as well as the reading of the verb *got* 'look' reflects this semantic difference. As a consequence of this functional difference, the embedded question complement only occurs with verbs which may take a proposition as their complement, while the relative clause with wh-word + *thur* may be the object of any transitive verb.

12.1.1 *Non-embedded clause with mo*

The question clause with *mo* is occasionally set apart from the matrix verb by a comma pause and a resumptive phrase consisting of a demonstrative and a postposition, such as *onya korgai* 'about that'. In this construction, the *mo* clause, though subordinate, is no longer a complement, since the matrix verb now has its own nominal object. The subordinate clause, however, encodes a proposition which is again referenced in the subsequent main clause by a resumptive demonstrative like *onya* or *unyu*.

(18) A-ha zambuling hangte ke-pa gila mo, onya korgai
 1p-LOC world how create-NOM COP QUES DEM about
 nai-ba-ka dasur zhu-le.
 2p-PL-LOC bit tell-INF
 'How our world was created, I will tell you a little bit about that.'

(19) Da-shi hang a-n len phijur yek-pa mo, unyu dentha
 3-AGT what do-SE answer err speak-NOM QUES DEM reason
 dri-sho.
 write-IMP
 'Why they answered incorrectly, write down the reason for that.'

Since this construction involves a subordinate clause rather than a complement clause, the matrix verb is not restricted to verbs of perception, cog-

nition or utterance as with the complement construction, but may be any transitive verb. The subordinate clause with *mo* may also refer to a nominal argument which is then again referenced in the following matrix clause. In this case, the function of the construction is similar to the relative clause to which contrastive comparison was made in examples (16) and (17). The structure of this construction, however, is a non-embedded or paratactic structure, also called a 'co-relative' (Keenan 1985b: 163–166).

- (20) Ro-ki lama-gi hangte sung-ma mo unyu dabu lai
 3-AGT lama-AGT how speak-COP QUES DEM like work
 a-wa-la.
 do-NOM-COP
 'As the lama had said, he acted in that manner.' (i.e. 'He did what the lama said.')
- (21) Nan nan-ten haptur lekpu a-n-ca gila mo, bra
 2s 2s-RFLX how.much good do-SE-COP COP QUES other
 songo-ba-bu omtur lekpu a-i.
 person-PL-FOC again good do-IMP
 'As much good as you do to yourselves, do also to other people.'
- (22) Waktsa-ga ro oga thang-nyi tha-wa ca gila mo,
 child-LOC corpse where lay-NF leave-NOM COP COP QUES
 onya-ga rik-nyi bu-wa-la.
 DEM-LOC guide-NF take-NOM-COP
 'Where the child's corpse was laid, they took him there.'
- (23) Jang ibi ngan phi-wa-la mo lok ngan phi!
 1s who curse do-NOM-COP QUES return curse do.IMP
 'Whoever put a curse on me, put a curse on them as well!'
- (24) Ai hangten u-pha mo unyu dabu jong-me gila.
 1p how come-NOM QUES DEM like go-INF COP
 'As we came, like that we will also go.' (i.e. 'When we die we can't take anything with us.')

In this resumptive construction, the question particle *ya* may occasionally occur instead of *mo*. Recall that *ya* was the ordinary question particle for content questions. With the particle *ya*, then, the subordinate clause is indistinguishable from a fully finite clause, which could stand alone as an independent utterance, as reflected in the free translation of example (25).

- (25) Jang tha hang a-nyi upha ya, onya korgai nai-ba-ka
 1s here what do-NF come-NOM QUES DEM about 2p-PL-LOC
 dasur zhu-le.
 bit tell-INF
 'Why did I come here? I will tell you a little about that.'

12.1.2 *Alternative complement ‘whether-or’*

A subtype of the embedded *mo* complement construction is the ‘alternative’ or ‘whether-or’ complement. Like the embedded question complement with question word plus *mo*, the ‘whether-or’ construction occurs only as a complement to verbs of speech, perception or cognition. With the ‘whether-or’ construction, however, the complement expresses a choice between two alternatives. This construction takes the form predicate₁ + *mo* + predicate₂ + *mo*, i.e. a predicate followed by the question particle *mo*, then the second predicate plus a second particle *mo*.¹

- (26) Rokte-ba-ki ji-gi lekpu yek-pa mo, cama yek-pa
 3p-PL-AGT 1s-AGT good speak-NOM QUES bad speak-NOM
 mo, tsa+ma-chot-pa.
 QUES NEG-distinguish-NOM
 ‘They are unable to distinguish whether (I) am speaking good or evil.’

The predicate may be also expressed by a predicate adjective, as in the following examples.

- (27) Un-dabu lungtenpa khepa ngoma mo zunma mo na-shi
 DEM-like prophecy TOP true QUES false QUES 3p-AGT
 gum+ye-le rebe.
 recognise-INF can-INF
 ‘You will be able to recognise whether this prophecy is true or false.’
- (28) Yu gurbu pshi-phang nga-phang jam-deke-la, songo chilu
 liquor cup four-about five-about drink-NF-PRT person great
 gila mo zemu gila mo gum+ye-lu manca.
 COP QUES small COP QUES recognise-PTC NEG.COP
 ‘After drinking four or five cups of liquor, (he) doesn’t recognise whether a person is great or small.’

12.1.3 *Polar alternative complement ‘whether-or-not’*

Another variant of the ‘whether-or’ complement might be called a ‘polar alternative’ or ‘whether-or-not’ construction. Here the second predicate, rather than being an alternative to the first predicate, is the negated form of the first.

Some varieties of Tshangla require the content question particle *ya* for the second predicate, as in *lekpu yekpa mo, camu yekpa ya*. ‘whether I was speaking good or evil’.

- (29) Nyi otha pau-gi cho songo shi-le mo ma-shi-la
 PRT DEM pau-AGT TOP person die-INF QUES NEG-die-PTC
 mo, nyi drak-pe re-be mo ma-r-ba mo
 QUES PRT heal-INF can-INF QUES NEG-can-NOM QUES
 yek-pe re-be.
 speak-INF can-INF
 ‘The *pau* can tell whether the person is going to die or not, and whether he
 can heal him or not.’
- (30) Uthu songo khepa, ngam-sho² mo ma-ngam-sho dak-nyi
 DEM person TOP eat-IMP QUES NEG-eat-IMP say-NF
 ji-ma-la.
 ask-NOM-COP
 ‘‘This person, should I eat him or not?’’ he asked.’

Both the equative and existential copulas occur frequently as predicates in this ‘whether-or-not’ construction. Consider example (31) with the equative *gila* and example (32) with the existential *ca*.

- (31) Nya gila mo manggi-wa-la mo, lungten zik
 there COP QUES NEG.COP-NOM-COP QUES prophecy look
 zhuk-pa-la.
 stay-NOM-COP
 ‘He was meditating to find out whether this was the right place or not.’
- (32) Ja-ga chas das lekpu a-nyi sem-ga mi-nyi got-co,
 1s-LOC talk bit good do-NF mind-LOC think-NF look-IMP
 thriken la mo mala mo.
 right COP QUES NEG.COP QUES
 ‘Think well about my words, about whether or not they are right.’

12.1.4 Combined question and polar alternative complement

Some speakers occasionally combine the polar alternative (*mo+mo*) complement with a question-word+*mo* construction. It is not clear how widely accepted this mixed construction may be. A literal translation of this construction into English is not entirely felicitous, as can be seen from the free translations. The construction seems to be perfectly acceptable to at least some Tshangla speakers.

² On this use of the imperative in a clause embedded within an interrogative, see section 9.3.

- (33) Mastong uthu haptur lekpu u-thu mo mang-thu
 don't.know DEM how.much good come-SUB QUES NEG.come-SUB
 mo?
 QUES
 'I don't know about how much this will improve or not.'
- (34) Gopa jelpo hangten trok-pa gila mo manggi la
 before king how bother-NOM COP QUES NEG.COP PRT
 mo jelpo-gi se-wa giwala.
 QUES king-AGT know-NOM COP
 'Then the king knew all about how he earlier had been disturbed or not.'

12.1.5 *Phonological reduction of mo*

The question particle *mo* is often phonologically reduced to the single labial nasal consonant following the verb, as in example (35). Occasionally one of both of the *mo* particles will be omitted entirely, as in example (36).

- (35) Nyi juk-gai giwala manggi-wa-la-m lekpu a-n
 PRT last-ABL COP NEG.COP-NOM-COP-QUES good do-SE
 got-pa-kap-nyi, den-ma-rang giwala.
 look-PTC-with-NF be.true-NOM-EMPH COP
 'And at last, when he looked carefully to find out whether or not it was true,
 (he found that) it was true.'
- (36) Notsang lekpu giwala manggi mo, jus+se-le khe-le.
 article good COP NEG.COP QUES determine-INF must-INF
 'You have to find out whether the thing is good or not.'

12.1.6 *The interjection hang mo?*

Built on this juxtaposition of information question word and polarity question particle, is the interjective expression *hang mo*, used as a pragmatic device to indicate that the speaker is interrupting himself in order to reconsider or correct an utterance in progress. In the following example from recorded conversation, the speaker is lamenting the fact that the Shar-chokpa language is heard on the radio for only a few minutes a day. After saying *tiktare* 'little bit', he interjects the *hang mo* expression as he searches for a word that he considers more fitting or proper to the utterance, eventually rephrasing the sentence with *dipa* 'brief'

- (37) Nyi Sharchokpa tiktare tiktare — hang mo — dipa dipa
 PRT Sharchokpa little.bit little.bit what QUES brief brief
 a-nyi sho la me?
 do-NF only COP PRT
 (Talking about how much Sharchop language can be heard on the radio.)
 'And Sharchhopka only (comes for) a little bit—what is it (called), only
 "brief", right?'

The particle *mo* may also be used to present a noun phrase as a topic for a subsequent utterance. The noun phrase is presented in isolation followed by the particle.

- (38) Nyi nyera mo — hang yek-pe me?
 PRT Indian QUES what say-INF PRT
 'And the Indian—what will he say, huh?'

12.2 NOUN COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Clauses with a verb in *-le* or *-wa* may also comprise a noun complement, an embedded clause which specifies and completes the meaning of a noun. Some examples of complement-taking nouns are *khung* 'reason', *mikpa* 'plan', *nekap* 'idea', *denthā* 'meaning, purpose', *tshang* 'news', *tshenta* 'sign', *ngenkha* 'risk, danger' and *ditshen* 'time/occasion'. Noun complements may take an optional locative marker *-ga* in addition to the infinitive or nominaliser suffix.

12.2.1 Noun complements in *-le*

Some examples of noun complements in the infinitive *-le* are shown here.

- (39) Nyi buchula pholang-gi shuk-nyi dang-me khung-bu
 PRT snake stomach-AGT slide-NF walk-INF reason-FOC
 unyu gila.
 DEM COP
 'And this is also the reason why the snake walks by, slithering on its stomach.'
- (40) Ro nowang ma-chok-pe-ga dentha chilu ca.
 3 mouth NEG-open-INF-LOC reason great COP
 'She has a big reason to not open her mouth.'
- (41) Mewaktsa lok pha-le-ga nyekap thur phi-le.
 wife return bring-INF-LOC idea one do-INF
 '(I) will make a plan to bring back a wife.'
- (42) Jang thar-be-ga ka de-ba.
 1s release-INF-LOC command pass-NOM
 'The order releasing me passed.'
- (43) Brak-ga ma-di, shi-le ngenkha ca na!
 cliff-LOC NEG-go.IMP die-INF risk COP PRT
 'Don't go on the cliff, there is a danger of dying!'

- (44) A-ha-bu un-dabu gatshor a-le-ga ditshe shek-pe
 1p-LOC-FOC DEM-manner celebrate do-INF-LOC time arrive-INF
 ca.
 COP
 ‘To us also, a time for celebrating is about to arrive.’
- (45) Nyi nangpa cho-ga shi-le-ga shep nyiktsing giwala.
 PRT Buddhist faith-LOC die-INF-LOC occurrence two COP
 ‘In Buddhism there are two times to die. (i.e. we must die two times.)’
- (46) Ai-ten ma-shi-le-ga tham cho hangte thur u-du
 1p-RFLX NEG-die-INF-LOC recourse TOP what one come-SUB
 ya?
 QUES
 ‘What means do we have of not dying?’

12.2.2 Noun complements in -wa

- (47) Nyi dan shi-wa-ga tshang khepa songo thamcen-gi
 PRT 3 die-NOM-LOC news TOP person all-AGT
 na+tha-wa.
 hear-NOM
 ‘And the news that he had died was heard by all the people.’
- (48) Jepo thrung-ma-ga taktshen thong-ma.
 king bear-NOM-LOC sign see-NOM
 ‘They saw the sign that the king had been born.’
- (49) Unyu sung-me dentha cho, za-le ja-me-ga ju,
 DEM speak-INF meaning TOP eat-INF drink-INF-LOC thing
 hang-rang gi-nyi-bu, za-le rung-pe dak-pa-ga
 what-EMPH COP-NF-FOC eat-INF allow-INF say-NOM-LOC
 tsi gila.
 meaning COP
 ‘The reason to say this, is the meaning that things to eat and drink, whatever they are, we are allowed to eat them.’

Example (49) contains two noun complement constructions with a redundant meaning. The first, in the marked topic with *cho*, is *sungme dentha* ‘the reason for saying’, with *dentha* ‘reason’ as the complement-taking noun. The second participial clause, *zale jamega ju* ‘things to eat and drink’ is not a noun complement construction but a relative clause with *ju* ‘things’ as its head. The second noun complement clause is *dakpaga tsi* ‘the meaning of saying this’, with *tsi* ‘meaning’ as the complement-taking noun. This final construction with *dakpaga tsi*, or *dakpaga tsatsi* in some dialects, is a common formulation for talking about meanings of words or expressions.

The complement-taking noun *dentha* is evidently a loan from Dzongkha *d'öntha* 'meaning, goal, purpose'. In Tshangla as well, 'meaning' is one of its possible senses.

- (50) Nyi a-ha Nangpa Che-ga cho Sangge Shacathukpa
 PRT 1p-LOC Buddhist religion-LOC TOP Buddha Shacathukpa
 a-nyi ra-n-ca. Shacathukpa-ga dentha cho ro khepa
 do-NF call-SE-COP Shacathukpa-LOC meaning TOP 3 TOP
 goma zhungzi nyiktsing ngen phi-wa-ga miju gila.
 before sibling two marriage do-NOM-LOC descendent COP
 'And in our Buddhist faith, Buddha is called "Shacathukpa" The meaning of
 "Shacathukpa" is that long ago he was the descendent of two siblings who
 were married.'

Dentha is also used with the sense of 'purpose', referring to some future event.

- (51) Tiru nyong-pe dentha-gai a-nyi mo got-ca gila.
 money receive-INF purpose-ABL do-NF sign look-COP COP
 'They read the astrological signs in order to receive (for the purpose of
 receiving) money.'
- (52) Rokte-ba-bu tiru nyong-pe dentha-gai mo got-ca
 3p-PL-FOC money receive-INF reason-ABL divination look-COP
 gila.
 COP
 'They are doing divination in order to get money.'

The most common sense of *dentha* is 'reason' in the sense of a temporally prior causal event.

- (53) Jang-ga nowang ma-chok-pe-ga dentha hang ya?
 1s-LOC mouth NEG-open-INF-LOC reason what QUES
 'What is the reason why (she) won't open her mouth (speak) to me?'
- (54) Rokte-ba-ki thrim khe-wa-ga dentha dri-nyi
 3p-PL-AGT punishment fall-NOM-LOC reason write-NF
 tha-wa-la.
 leave-NOM-COP
 'They wrote down the reason for his punishment.'

12.3 CLAUSAL OBJECT OF A POSTPOSITION

Nominalised clauses in *-le* or *-wa* may also occur as the object of a postposition. Examples of postpositions which take a nominalised clausal object are *korgai* 'about' (55), *dawa ~ dabu* 'as, in the manner that' (56), and *saken ~*

sakpu ‘until, as long as’ (57). In contrast to other participial complements, the complement of a postposition never takes a locative case marker.

- (55) *Nyi songo dakthur zom-nyi ro tsung-me korgai tuncha*
 PRT person some meet-NF 3 seize-INF about discuss
a-wa-la.
 do-NOM-COP
 ‘And some people met together to discuss seizing him.’
- (56) *Waktsa zem-ai ga-ta-rang namesame un-dabu kor-nyi*
 child small-ABL up-DIR-EMPH very DEM-manner roam-NF
di-le khe-wa-gi, nyi oma-bu haptu-rang
 go-INF must-NOM-AGT PRT now-FOC how.much-EMPH
dang-me khe-wa, namesame kawa chilu cat-pa
 walk-INF must-NOM very hardship great suffer-NOM
dawa thong-mu man-ji.
 like see-PRT NEG-COP
 ‘Because when I was small I had to walk so much, even now no matter how much I have to walk, I do not see walking as suffering a great hardship.’
- (57) *Ta ma-ke-ba saken, na-shi tharpa ma-nyong-pa.*
 sign NEG-make-NOM until 2p-AGT salvation NEG-receive-NOM
 ‘You will not receive salvation until you make the sign.’ (lit. ‘as long as you have not made the sign.’)

12.4 NOMINALISED COMPLEMENT

Occasionally and with only a few matrix verbs, a nominalised clause may fill the entire argument slot of the matrix clause verb. This is a distinct type of construction from the complement clause to be described in Chapter 14, which always shares one of its arguments with the matrix clause. Examples are shown below of nominalised clauses as subject and as object. Both the *-wa* and *-le* participles are used.

a. *Subject.*

- (58) *Chiye di-wa thur-gi ma-drik-pe ca.*
 foreign go-NOM one-AGT NEG-fit-INF COP
 ‘Going abroad is not going to be enough.’
- (59) *Otha nowang-gi yek-pa ma-drik-pa.*
 DEM mouth-AGT speak-NOM NEG-fit-NOM
 ‘Saying it with the mouth is not good enough.’
- (60) *Lai onyen phi-wa drak-pe la.*
 work this.way do-NOM better-INF COP
 ‘To do the work this way will be better.’

- (61) Cho-ga sor-pe thur-gi ma-drik-pa. Rang-ga sem khen
 faith-LOC change-INF one-AGT NEG-fit-NOM self-LOC mind TOP
 sor-pe khe-le na.
 change-INF must-INF PRT
 'To change religions is not enough. One must change one's mind.'

b. *Object.*

- (62) [Lai a-wa]-ga ma-tshat-pa, gosa yarseng-bu
 work do-NOM-LOC NEG-need-NOM position promotion-FOC
 nyong-pa.
 receive-NOM
 'Not only did I get a job (lit. a doing of work) but I even got a promotion.'
- (63) Di-nyi lela [che shat-pa]-ga nyat-nyi, lok-nyi
 go-NF there religion preach-NOM-LOC listen-NF return-NF
 phai-ga u-nyi, lekpu a-nyi nang-ma-ga
 house-LOC come-NF good do-NF give(hon.)-NOM-LOC
 yit-ka mi-nyi...
 memory-LOC think-NF
 'Going to listen to the teaching of religion, returning home, I forgot the good things that were given (i.e. taught).'

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Non-embedded clauses which may not stand alone but are in some way grammatically dependent upon another clause are traditionally called 'adverbial clauses' or 'adverbial subordinate clauses'.¹ Adverbial clauses are distinct from relative clauses, complement clauses and other embedded clauses which function grammatically as arguments of a clause or phrase. Adverbial clauses, while dependent, are not embedded as arguments. In terms of semantic function, adverbial clauses are primarily characterised by their function as modifiers of a matrix clause (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 172).

Adverbial clauses in Tshangla can be divided into two types, non-final and participial, according to the form of the subordinating marker on the dependent clause verb. Non-final adverbial clauses contain a verb marked with one of the non-final markers. Participial adverbial clauses contain a verb marked with one of three participial suffixes. Both types of adverbial clause function as adverbial modifiers of the main clause.

The non-final adverbial clause markers are listed below with a gloss indicating the rhetorical relationship (Mann & Thompson 1986) between adverbial and main clause.

-than	sequence ('after') ²
-deke	result ('because') ³
-nyi la	conditional ('if')
-nyi sha	exclusive conditional ('only if')
-nyi bu	concessive ('even though')

Haiman and Thompson (1984) reject the term 'subordination' as at best a negative term which lumps together all types of deviation from the main clause norm (cf. also Longacre 1985, Mathiessen and Thompson 1988, Schiffrin 1987).

² *-than* is undoubtedly derived from the non-final (stem-extended) form *than* of the lexical verb *thale* 'to leave'.

³ *-deke* would appear to be derived from the lexical noun *den* 'meaning' plus the ablative case clitic *-gai*. Also attested are the forms *-dengai*, *-denge*, *-detke*.

Participial adverbial clauses contain a verb marked with one of the participial suffixes, occasionally followed by a case-marking clitic. The suffix plus case clitic combinations are listed below along with the types of adverbial clause in which they occur.

-la	concurrent ('while')
-la-gai	temporal anteriority ('until', 'before')
-le-ga	purpose, goal ('in order to')
-wa-ga	attendant circumstance
-wa-gi	cause ('because')
-wa-gai	temporal posteriority ('after'), comparison ('rather than'), cause ('because')

The various adverbial clauses are distinguished from each other not only by a difference in morphological marking, but also by the type of syntactic structure in which they may occur, as will be described below.

13.1 NON-FINAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

13.1.1 *Introduction: final vs. non-final clauses*

Before describing the non-final adverbial clauses, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the morphosyntax of the non-final clause itself. The various clause types described in Chapters 8 through 10, i.e. predicate nominal or predicate adjectival constructions, non-declarative sentences and verbal finite clauses, all have in common that they are fully finite, meaning that they may stand alone as complete utterances in discourse. The matrix or main verb in a finite clause, which is usually the final verb, must be inflected for the categories of tense, aspect and mirativity.

Contrasting with these fully inflected final clauses are the non-final clauses. The non-final clauses are unspecified for tense, aspect and mirativity. They take their tense and mirativity values from the fully inflected final clause, as illustrated by the following examples.

- (1) Cangan-gi toka yintsang nang-ka bu-n-than, shampi cat-than,
 joker-AGT bull mud in-LOC take-SE-NF tail cut-NF
 yintsang nang-ka shum tha-wa-la.
 mud in-LOC sink leave-NOM-COP
 'After taking the bull to the mud, and cutting off its tail, the joker sank it in the mud.'
- (2) Das kor-than yip-ca.
 bit stroll-NF sleep-COP
 'After walking around for a while, I go to bed.'

- (3) Nan zala she-n-than ji-gi thinglom nga-me.
 2s monkey kill-SE-NF 1s-AGT heart chew-INF
 ‘After you kill the monkey, I will eat its heart.’
- (4) Uthu songo-gi ro ro-ten chilu cos-nyi, Kenco sem-ka
 DEM person-AGT 3 3-RFLX great make-NF God mind-LOC
 khe-wa-ga chas yek-la.
 strike-NOM-LOC talk speak-COP
 ‘Evidently, this person is making himself great, speaking talk which is insulting to God.’

Examples (1) through (3) all contain a non-final clause marked by *-than*, the subordinating marker indicating temporal sequence. In example (1), with a past tense final verb, the non-final clause is interpreted as occurring in the past. In example (2), with a present tense final verb, the non-final clause is interpreted as occurring in the present, and in example (3), with future time final verb, the non-final clause is given future interpretation.

Likewise, the mirativity value of the non-final clause is dependent on the mirativity of the final clause. In example (4), the mirative marking of the final verb also applies to the non-final clause. The speaker is impugning the actions of the subject referent, which are encoded in the final clause, as well as his motives, which are encoded in the non-final clause. Both aspects of the speaker’s observation are offered with the mirative hedge, saying in effect, ‘From the evidence I am just now receiving, such is the case.’

Non-final clauses are used in adverbial clauses, as well as in clause chains (cf. below and in Chapter 15) and in the more closely joined concatenated clauses which in this volume are called ‘serial predicates’ and ‘serial verbs’ (also to be described in Chapter 15). The following section will describe the non-final adverbial clauses.

13.1.2 *Sequence: -than ‘after’*

The first non-final adverbial clause to be described is formed by the sequential non-final marker *-than*, already illustrated in the examples (1) through (3) above. The subordinating marker *-than* is used almost exclusively for adverbial subordination, and signals that the non-final clause is temporally prior to the final clause.

- (5) A-ha brang-ka di-n-than, ji-gi phakpale cot-pe.
 1p-LOC place-LOC go-SE-NF 1s-AGT sausage prepare-INF
 ‘When I get back home, I will fix some sausage.’

13.1.3 *Result: -deke 'because'*

The second marker, the 'resultative' *-deke*, also used almost exclusively for adverbial subordination, signals that the event of the non-final clause is the reason for or cause of the event encoded by the final clause. The suffix *-deke* is pronounced in some dialects as *-detke*, and seems to be a reduced form of *denge ~ dengai*, which would be the nominal *den* 'meaning' followed by the ablative marker *-gai*.

- (6) Jelpo galak jong-deke, ro-ka namza thamcerang sa-gi lom
king back go-NF 3-LOC clothes all soil-AGT cover
chu-ma.
finish-NOM
'Falling over backwards, the king got his clothes covered with dirt.'
- (7) Yu jam-deke lai namesame dazen mawa a-nyi
liquor drink-NF work very care NEG.COP do-NF
thup tha-na.
throw leave-COP
'Because they drink liquor, they carelessly abandon their work.'
- (8) Lakher ma-ga-deke, jang tshong phi-le ma-r-si.
license NEG-give-NF 1s business do-INF NEG-can-COP
'Because I wasn't granted a licence, I couldn't do business.'

13.1.4 *Conditional: -nyi-la 'if'*

A group of markers involve the non-final suffix *-nyi* optionally followed by some other particle. Note that the *-nyi* form alone is also used to encode the concatenated 'serial predicate' and 'serial verb' constructions to be described in Chapter 15. The combination of *-nyi* and particle is used exclusively for clause concatenation, and never for predicate or verb concatenation.

The non-final marker *-nyi* plus the particle *-la* encodes the conditional 'if' relationship between adverbial and matrix clause, as in examples (9) through (11).

- (9) Pecha lamp-nyi-la, uthu-ba thamcen ha go-le.
book learn-NF-PRT DEM-PL all heart put-INF
'If we study, we will understand all those things.'
- (10) Nan-gi gadang thur ge-nyi-la, gari nong-me.
2s-AGT hand one show-NF-PRT car stop-INF
'If you put out your hand, the car will stop.'
- (11) Unyu se za-nyi-la shi-le.
DEM fruit eat-NF-PRT die-INF
'If you eat that fruit, you will die.'

The conditional adverbial clause is frequently used in what might be called a ‘performative conditional’ sense, rather than a logical conditional sense. The speaker is placing a condition upon some aspect of the illocutionary force of the matrix utterance, rather than upon the semantic proposition, rather like the English example ‘I’ll be in the other room if anybody asks.’ Here the speaker is not saying that the matrix clause ‘I’ll be in the other room’ is only true in the case that ‘somebody asks’. The idea, rather, may be paraphrased as, ‘If anybody asks *you will find this information relevant*: I’m in the other room.’ In Tshangla, this kind of conditional adverbial clause is commonly used to introduce an utterance, as in example (12).

- (12) Mapa omchang-rang ji-gi onya lama-ba-ka korgai ji-gi
 PRT further-EMPH 1s-AGT DEM lama-PL-LOC about 1s-AGT
 dasur zhu-nyi-la, a-ha nangpa chopa lama-ba-ki cho
 bit tell-NF-PRT 1p-LOC Buddhist religion lama-PL-AGT TOP
 hangte a-n-ca ya dak-nyi-la, rokte-ba-ki dukpu
 how do-SE-COP QUES say-NF-PRT 3p-PL-AGT poor
 songo-ba-ka wang bi-le u-n-ca.
 person-PL-LOC power give-INF come-SE-COP
 ‘Furthermore, if I were to tell you a little bit about the lamas, if (one) were to ask what our Buddhist lamas do, they come to give a blessing to the poor people.’

A common sentence adverbial is composed of the content question word *hang* ‘what’ with a content question particle *ya*, (cf. section 9.2.2 above) followed by a conditional non-final adverbial form of the verb *dakpe* ‘to say’. Sometimes the verb *ale* ‘to do’ is used instead of *dakpe*, with identical meaning. The expression may be parsed as a quoted utterance *hang ya* ‘what’ embedded under the quotative marker *daknyi*. With the conditional marker on *daknyi*, the entire expression becomes literally, ‘If (one) were to ask, ‘What?...’ The expression functions as a logical connector between some preceding utterance and an explanation which is to follow, much like ‘because’ in English, or like the rhetorical question ‘Why? Because...’ where both ‘why’ and ‘because’ are spoken by the same speaker.

- (13) Ro thuk+dok-pa-la hang ya dak-nyi-la onya songo-ba
 3 pity-NOM-COP what QUES say-NF-PRT DEM person-PL
 got-khan mawa-la dak-nyi.
 look-REL NEG.COM-COP say-NF
 ‘He had pity on them because they had no one to look after them.’

- (14) Jepo namesame nyinang+khu-wa-la. hang-ya-dak-nyi-la
king very embarrassed-NOM-COP what-QUES-say-NF-PRT
ro-ka namza thamce-rang khi-gi lom chu-ma giwala.
3-LOC clothes all-EMPH dung-AGT cover finish-NOM COP
'The king was very embarrassed because his clothes were completely covered with mud.'
- (15) Ra-ga ma-di. Hang ya a-nyi-la chetpa
near-LOC NEG-go.IMP what QUES do-NF-PRT contaminate
a-du.
do-SUB
'Don't go near because you might contaminate (them).'

The expression is not only used at the beginning of a sentence. In the next set of examples we find the expression set apart syntactically as a distinct clause with an overt subject, namely the demonstrative *unyu* 'this' in utterance (16), and the relative clause *den-khan* 'the reason why it is true' in example (17). As reflected by the free translation, the expression functions here as a rhetorical question, asked and answered by the speaker in the same utterance.

- (16) Ai thamcen-rang mar-be tsha-le khe-wa giwala.
1p all-EMPH be.sick-INF get.fever-INF must-NOM COP
Unyu cho hang ya dak-nyi-la nyi ai-ten oma
DEM TOP what QUES say-NF-PRT PRT 1p-RFLX now
sha dang pungpu cho-wa songo gila.
flesh and body stay-NOM person COP
'We all have to get sick. Why is this? It is because we are all made of flesh and blood (lit. we are all people who have flesh and bodies).'
- (17) Ata-gi sung-khan khepu de-me. Den-khan
elder.brother-AGT speak(hon.)-REL TOP be.true-INF be.true-REL
hang ya dak-nyi-la...
what QUES say-NF-PRT
'What elder brother says is true. If one asks "Why is it true?" ' (Thereafter follows the explanation of that reason.)

13.1.5 *Exclusive conditional: -nyi sha 'only if'*

Non-final *-nyi* plus the particle *sha* encodes an exclusive conditional relationship, 'only if'

- (18) Jang shi-n nyok-nyi-sha ji-gi se-le.
1s die-SE receive-NF-PRT 1s-AGT know-INF
'Only if I had died would I know.'

- (19) Melam ringmu cho-nyi-sha lha-gi ngen+seng-pe.
 prayer long stay-NF-PRT god-AGT listen-INF
 'Only if their prayer is long will the gods hear.'

13.1.6 *Concessive: -nyi bu 'even though, even if'*

Non-final *-nyi* plus *bu* (cf. also section 17.5.3 below) encodes a conditional concessive relationship, which may be the actual 'even though' or the hypothetical 'even if'

- (20) Jelpo got-nyi-bu cangan-gi ming-rang ma-thong-ma cos
 king see-NF-FOC joker-AGT eye-EMPH NEG-see-NOM make
 cos-pa.
 make-NOM
 'Even though the king was looking at him, the joker pretended not to see.'
- (21) Shama di-nyi-bu, jang dangsanken yitka u-phe.
 long.time go-NF-FOC 1s clearly memory come-INF
 'Even if a long time passes, I will still remember clearly.'

This construction has a pragmatic usage as well. In example (22) below, the particle *bu* modifies an implicit expectation created by the proposition rather than the proposition itself. The sense is, 'Even though I might be comforted by the fact that you will take care of me, I am still grieving because my husband is dead.'

- (22) Ja-ga na-shi got-nyi-bu ja-ga meme shi-wa.
 1s-LOC 2p-AGT see-NF-FOC 1s-LOC grandfather die-NOM
 'Even if you take care of me, still, my husband (lit. grandfather, old man) is dead.'

13.1.7 *Unspecified: -nyi*

The unspecified non-final marker *-nyi*, when not followed by another particle, does not specify the rhetorical relationship of the non-final adverbial clause to the final clause. However, the construction may acquire from the context any of the relational interpretations possible with the other subordinating markers, such as result (23), conditional (24) and cotemporal (25) and (26) (Mann and Thompson 1986).

a. *Result.*

- (23) Ri jam-nyi, jelpo-gi khi+thri-ba giwala.
 water drink-NF king-AGT have.diarrhoea-NOM COP
 'Drinking the sauce, the king got diarrhoea.'

b. *Conditional.*

- (24) Nan phatsa nang-ka nup-nyi, jang bu-le re-be.
 2s sack in-LOC enter-NF 1s bring-INF can-INF
 'If you get into the sack I will be able to carry you.'

c. *Cotemporal.*

- (25) Shing thung-ga gong-nyi jong tha-wa-la.
 tree upon-LOC climb-NF go leave-NOM-COP
 'Climbing up tree, he ran away.'
- (26) Gopen nyiktsing, kan jik-nyi, a-ha loka-tan gan u-pha.
 officer two voice shout-NF 1p-LOC side-to flee come-NOM
 'Two officers, shouting, fled in our direction.'

d. *Sequence or clause chain.* The most common function of the unspecified *-nyi*, however, is to indicate events in sequence. This is the 'clause chain' usage (cf. Haiman and Munro 1983, Haiman and Thompson 1988). While adverbial clauses are typically associated with backgrounded events in discourse, the clause chain codes mainline events, i.e. events which advance the narrative along a timeline (cf. Marchese 1988, Myhill and Hibiya 1988, Payne 1992, Payne 1991). The difference between a clause chain and an adverbial clause construction is thus a functional one and not a structural one. This distinction will be more fully explored in section 15.3.1.

- (27) Nyi gisa na gisa dak-nyi, bozong zong-nyi,
 PRT maybe PRT maybe say-NF cassava boil-NF
 khoptang khop-nyi, laga-gi chom-nyi, nyi sa nang-ka
 skin peel-NF leaf-AGT wrap-NF PRT ground in-LOC
 che-nyi, onya wang thur tsuk-nyi tha-wa.
 plant-NF thus hole one put-NF leave-NOM.
 'Thinking, "Well, maybe," and boiling the cassava, peeling it, wrapping it with a leaf, and planting it in the ground, putting it in a hole they left it.'

e. *Clause chains with specified subordinators.* Clause chains are not restricted to the unspecified *-nyi*, however. The adverbial subordinators described above, although most commonly encoding a backgrounded event, may encode mainline events as well, as the following short paragraph suggests. The subordinator-marked verbs are in boldface type.

- (28) Dangpo songo thur senyom phun-me di-wa-la. Nyi
 long-ago person one alms beg-INF go-NOM-COP PRT
 senyom khala khaw khai thur nyok-nyi, bang-nyi, phai-ga
 alms grain bowl score one receive-NF carry-NF house-LOC
shek-pa -**kap-nyi**, ro-ten yi-pha doptang-ga jan
 arrive-PTC- with-NF 3-RFLX lie-NOM stick-LOC hang
 tha-wa-la. Nye yip-**than** ga-tan got-nyi, oma nekap
 leave-NOM-COP PRT lie-NF up-DIR look-NF now plan
 sho-le khe-le-la dak-nyi **noksam** **mi-n**
 come-INF must-INF-COP say-NF mind think-SE
got-pa-kap-nyi, oma yu zong-me, yu-gi mewaksa thur
 look-PTC-with-NF now liquor boil-INF liquor-AGT wife one
 phun pha-le. Nyisha ngen phi-le. **Ngen** **phi-deke** za
 beg bring-INF then marriage do-INF marriage do-NF son
 thur sing-me. Za-ga ming hang ra-le ya dak-nyi,
 one bear-INF Son-LOC name what call-INF QUES say-NF
 sem mi-n cho-la-kap-nyi, lanyingam zerere sho-wa-la.
 mind think-SE stay-PTC-with-NF moon bright issue-NOM-COP
 Nyisha ja za-ga ming Drawa Drakpa dak-nyi **ming** tak
 then 1s son-LOC name Drawa Drakpa say-NF name attach
chu-ma-kap-nyi, thola phatsa do phicur-ba-gi ngam, nyi **phut**
 finish-PTC-with-SE up sack string rat-PL-AGT chew PRT fall
u-pha, ngangdering thungka khe-n, shi-n tha-wa-la.
 come-PTC neck upon fall-SE die-SE leave-NOM-COP
 ‘Long ago one person went to beg for alms. And receiving twenty bowls of
 rice as alms, carrying them, arriving at his house, while lying down he hung
 them from a stick. And after lying down, looking up, while trying to think,
 “Now I must think of a plan. Now I will distill some liquor, and with the
 liquor I will ask for a wife. Then I will get married. Being married, I will get
 a son,” and while thinking, “What should I call the son’s name?”, the moon
 came out bright. So, (thinking) “I will call my sons’s name ‘Drawa Drakpa’”,
 while finishing giving him that name, up above rats chewing the string of the
 sack, while falling, landing on (his) neck, he died.’

13.2 PARTICIPIAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

The second type of adverbial clause found in Tshangla is the participial adverbial clause. Participial adverbial clauses contain a verb inflected with one of the nominaliser or ‘participle’ suffixes (cf. section 3.2.1.2) as subordinating marker.

13.2.1 *Cotemporal: -la*

Adverbial clauses containing the *-la* participle⁴ express cotemporality or simultaneity between adverbial clause and final clause, i.e. the 'while' relationship.⁵

- (29) Thamce-rang melam+tap-nyi cho-**la**, ji-gi jang-ten-ga bi
 all-EMPH pray-NF stay-PTC 1s-AGT 1s-RFLX-LOC foot
 brumu khepa thamcen yitpa thong-ma.
 finger TOP all rotten see-NOM
 'While everyone was praying I saw that my own toes were badly infected.'
- (30) Nyi nyen phi-**la** nyi jelpo-gi khi wu-n-than...
 PRT marry do-PTC PRT king-AGT faeces expel-SE-NF
 'While the wedding was going on, the king defaecated...'

Recall that the contrast between the *-la* and *-wa* forms is visible in only one out of the four verb classes, namely verbs with vowel-final roots (cf. section 4.2.1). In the other classes, the distinction between the two is not evident from the morphology, being neutralised to *-ba*, *-ma* or *-pa*. However, the semantics of the clause will usually make clear which of the two homophonous morphemes is meant. So, for example, in the second occurrence of *singma* in example (31), the context, i.e. simultaneity of the adverbial and main clause events, makes it clear that this *-ma* is in fact the allomorph of the *-la* participial suffix. In this case, the parallelism between the form in question and what is unambiguously the *-la* form in *-ma-kap-nyi* in the preceding context confirms this. It will be seen in the next section that only *-la* takes the following *kapnyi*.

⁴ *-la* here stands for its allomorphs *-pa*, *-ma*, *-ba* as well, as determined by the phonological environment (described in section 4.2 on morphophonemics). The set of allomorphs is phonologically identical to the negative future suffixes (cf. *ma-di-la* 'he will not go'), although one cannot say for certain that this is the same morpheme. The *-la* member of the set is used for these examples to show that it contrasts with the nominaliser suffix *-wa*, the distinction in the initial consonant having been obscured by homophony in each of the others (*-pa*, *-ma*, *-ba*).

⁵ A functional equivalent to the complement of a verb of perception, cognition or utterance is to encode the 'complement' as an adverbial clause with the *-la* participle:

Lai ha+chhat-pa a-**la** thong-**ma**-kap, songo-ba yi+chhi-wa-la.
 work surprise-NOM do-PTC see-PTC-with person-PL amaze-NOM-PTC
 'Watching them do the surprising deeds, the people were amazed.' (lit. 'Watching while they did the surprising deeds...')

Jang ro-kap chho-**la** shonang phe-na.
 1s 3-with stay-PTC happiness feel-COP
 'I am happy to stay with them.' (lit. 'I am happy while staying with them.')

- (31) Jang sing-**ma**-kap-nyi, kawa cat-pa mo? Nan-te-ka
 1s raise-PTC-with-NF hardship suffer-NOM QUES 2s-RFLX-LOC
 apa sho nan sing-**ma** kawa ma-cat-ci mo?
 father TOP 2s raise-PTC hardship NEG-suffer-COP QUES
 ‘When you were raising me, did you suffer? Didn’t your own father have
 hardship while raising you?’

13.2.1.1 *V-la with kapnyi*

The *-la* participle is frequently followed by one of a number of other particles. The most common is *-kapnyi*, as illustrated in example (31) above, as well as in the following examples.

- (32) Jang pecha lam-**pa**-kap-nyi, ro u-pha.
 1s book read-PTC-with-NF 3 come-NOM
 ‘While I was reading a book, he came.’
- (33) Trashigang-ga shek-**pa**-kap-nyi to za-le.
 Trashigang-LOC arrive-PTC-with-NF food eat-INF
 ‘When we arrive in Trashigang, we’ll eat.’
- (34) Nyi di-**la**-kap-nyi lam-ga meakta-gi am+shing thur
 then go-PTC-with-NF path-LOC woman-AGT mango.tree one
 thong-ma.
 see-NOM
 ‘Then while they were walking along the path, the woman saw a mango tree.’

The subordinating particle *kapnyi* is obviously related to the postposition⁶ of the same form, which occurs after a noun phrase and signifies the relationship ‘with’ or ‘together with’ (cf. section 15.8.1.6 below).

- (35) Jang kap-nyi chas a-le nan-gi chin-me mo?
 1s with-NF talk do-INF 2s-AGT reach-INF QUES
 ‘Do you have time to talk with me?’

In place of *-kapnyi*, the bare stem-extended *kap* may also occur. This seems to be more prevalent in certain dialects.

- (36) Jang tsonkang nangka cho-**la**-kap na-shi charo a-n
 1s prison in stay-PTC-with 2p-AGT friend do-SE
 ga-wa.
 gave-NOM
 ‘When I was in prison, you treated me like a friend.’ (lit. ‘...you gave to me friend-doing.’)

⁶ It will be argued in section 15.8.1.6 below that the construction with *-kapnyi* is a grammaticalised serial predicate concatenation in terms of its structure.

13.2.1.4 V-la + thur

The indefinite particle *thur*, from the lexeme ‘one’, may also be used to heighten the sense of immediacy, i.e. ‘as soon as’.

- (40) Nyi tsonpa-ba-ki binang ri-**la** thur gan
 PRT prisoner-PL-AGT night become-PTC one flee
 di-wa-la.
 go-NOM-COP
 ‘As soon as it was night, the prisoners fled.’
- (41) Semcen reka shek-**pa** thur khaila-gi tsung ngam-ca giwala.
 animal near arrive-PTC PRT tiger-AGT seize chew-COP COP
 ‘As soon as the beast gets close to the tiger, he eats it up.’

Occasionally the nominaliser participle in *-wa* is used with *thur*.

- (42) Nyi dru-gai phiska sho-**wa** thur-ga-rang ro-ki songo
 PRT boat-ABL out issue-NOM one-LOC-EMPH 3-AGT person
 chu thur thong-ma.
 flock one see-NOM
 ‘And as soon as he got out of the boat he saw a flock of people.’

13.2.1.5 V-la + threkerang

The adverbial *threkerang* ‘immediately’ may also follow *-la*, giving the adverbial clause the meaning ‘immediately after’, ‘as soon as’.

- (43) Nyi onya-i za-le a-n yek-**pa** threkerang taktakpa-gi
 PRT DEM-ABL eat-INF do-SE speak-PTC immediately frog-AGT
 nga za-khan semcen-ga ngangdiring-gai tsik-nyi she-wa
 meat eat-REL animal-LOC throat-ABL pinch-NF kill-NOM
 giwala.
 COP
 ‘And as soon as he had said (he was going) to eat (him), the frog strangled him to death.’

13.2.1.6 V-la + gangkai

An adverbial clause in *-la* followed by *gang* ‘time’ plus an ablative case marker *-gai* encodes an event as cotemporal with the matrix clause, similarly to *kapnyi* ‘while’.

- (44) Na tshamkhang phi-**la** gang-kai-rang jang nan kap ca.
 2s prayer.house do-PRT time-ABL-EMPH 1s 2s with COP
 ‘I was with you while you were building your prayer house.’

13.2.1.7 V-*la* + *saken*

The cotemporality encoded by the *-la* participle may be only a partial temporal overlap. An affirmative adverbial clause in *-la* followed by *saken* or *sakpu* ‘up to’ is the common way of expressing the concept ‘as long as’.

- (45) Onya-i tshinge ai nya cho-**la** saken meme
 then-ABL later 1p there stay-PTC until grandfather
 lhangpoche lok a-ha cho-sa mang-ci.
 elephant return 1p-LOC stay-REL NEG.come-COP
 ‘Thereafter, for as long as we stayed there, the elephant did not return to our camp.’

With a negative verb, the concept ‘until’ is expressed.

- (46) Nyi ro ma-trong-**ma** saken tha dikpu a-khan lai
 PRT 3 NEG-kill-PTC until here sin do-REL work
 dak-pe-ga jon-ma.
 cleanse-INF-LOC come-NOM
 ‘Until he was killed, he worked to purify those here who had done evil.’

13.2.1.8 V-*la* + (a)n

A clause in *-la* may be embedded under the non-final form (a)n of the verb *ale* ‘to do’. The *-la-(a)n* construction is distinct in structure and function from the *-la* constructions heretofore described. It will be suggested in Chapter 16 that the *-la-(a)n* construction is, in terms of syntactic form, actually a case of ‘serial predicate’ juncture (cf. Chapter 15) rather than an adverbial clause. In terms of function, the proposition encoded represents what will be called an ‘attendant circumstance’ to the matrix proposition. It will be shown that the attendant circumstance proposition has a greater degree of functional subordination to the main clause than does an ordinary adverbial clause. A further distinctive of the attendant circumstance clause is that the construction most often encodes negative events. The attendant circumstance construction will be described and exemplified in Chapter 16.

13.2.1.9 ma-V-*la* + (a)n cho-*la*-(kap)

An even more complex construction than the previous is formed when the V-*la* + (a)n clause is in turn followed by the verb *chole* ‘to stay’. In a kind of recursive embedding, the verb *chole* then takes the *-la* participle suffix and functions as the main verb in the adverbial clause. The participle *cho-la* then may be further followed by one of the other particles shown in the examples above, such as for example *kap*.

The *ma-V-la* + (a)n *cho-la(kap)* construction may express temporal simultaneity, i.e. the ‘while’ relation. This construction is used as the negative equivalent to the non-embedded cotermporal *V-la(kap)* construction described above.

- (47) Yigi ‘type’ phi-le-bu lam-pa, bra lai **mala-n**
 letter type do-INF-FOC learn-PTC other work NEG.COP-SE
cho-la, nyi waktsa nyiktsing-bu ri-le cam-pa.
 stay-PTC PRT child two-FOC become-INF about.to-NOM
 ‘After that, while I was learning to type, and not having any other work, we were about to have two children.’
- (48) Tshingai songo ibi-rang ro-kap **mala-n** **cho-la-kap**
 later person who-EMPH 3-with NEG.COP-SE stay-PTC-with
 ro tsung-ma-la.
 3 seize-NOM-COP
 ‘Later, when no other people were with him, they seized him.’

As was seen above, subordinating a negative proposition is a common way of expressing temporal anteriority, i.e. the ‘before’ or ‘until’ relation. This type of relation is also frequently coded with a clause embedded under *chole*.

- (49) Ata chilu-gi meaktsa thur kap ngen phi-n, nyi
 elder.brother big-AGT wife one with marry do-SE PRT
 waktsa **mala-n** **cho-la-kap,** ata khepa
 child NEG.COP-SE stay-PTC-with elder.brother TOP
 shi-wa-la.
 die-NOM-COP
 ‘The oldest brother married a women, and while they didn’t have any children (before they had children) the brother died.’
- (50) Nyi **ma-shi-la-n** **cho-la-kap** Chadar-gi khamung mangpu
 PRT NEG-die-PTC-do stay-PTC-with Chadar-AGT clothes many
 tshok-pa cho-wa.
 sew-NOM stay-NOM
 ‘Before she died, Chadar had sewn a lot of clothes.’

13.2.1.10 *V-la* + (a)n-*cho-la-gai goma* ‘before’

The ‘before’ idea is expressed with a negative adverbial clause in *-la* plus the subordinator *anyi* ~ *-an* ~ *-n* derived from the verb *ale* ‘to do’ (cf. section 16.2.10 below), followed by the ablative case particle *-gai* and the adverbial *goma* ‘before’. Literally this expression says, ‘Before, while X was not obtaining’.

- (51) Jang ma-ke-la-(a)-n cho-la-gai goma, ama mongshi
 1s NEG-be.born-PTC-do-SE stay-PTC-ABL before mother dream
 thong-ma.
 see-NOM
 'Before I was born, my mother had a dream.'
- (52) Nan ma-shek-pa a-n cho-la-gai goma, jang Sonam
 2s NEG-arrive-PTC do-SE stay-PTC-ABL before 1s Sonam
 kap-nyi chas a-wa.
 with-NF talk do-NOM
 'Before you came I talked to Sonam.' (literally: 'Prior to your being in the
 state of having not arrived, I talked to Sonam.')
- (53) Jang nyen ma-phi-la-(a)-n cho-la-gai goma, jang
 1s marriage NEG-do-PTC-do-SE stay-PTC-ABL before 1s
 America-ga di-le a-n mi-n-ca.
 America-LOC go-INF do-SE think-SE-COP
 'Before I get married, I want to travel to America.'

13.2.1.11 V-lai ~ -le goma 'before'

The participle suffix and ablative marker are occasionally merged into a single syllable pronounced *-lai* or *-le*.

- (54) Na-shi tong-**pa-i** nyong-pa tong-**pa-i** bi.
 2p-AGT be.empty-PTC-ABL receive-PTC be.empty-PTC-ABL give
 'Having received freely, give freely.'

Example (55) would then be a phonologically reduced version of the *-la* participle plus the ablative marker construction which was seen in example (51) above.

- (55) Ro ngen ma-phi-**le** goma, Pema waktsa
 3 marriage NEG-do-PTC.ABL before Pema child
 lak-pa-la.
 conceive-NOM-COP
 'Before they were married, Pema became pregnant.'

13.2.2 *Infinitive: -le*

Adverbial clauses may also be built on the infinitive participle in *-le*. The participle may take an optional locative case marker *-ga*. Adverbial clauses in *-le* encode events or states as a purpose or intended goal of the matrix clause event. In contrast to the *-la* participial clause and non-final clauses described above, the participial clauses in *-le* and *-wa*, to be described below, are used only with adverbial function and not as clause chains.

- (56) Choga phi-**le**-ga, tormu katang cos-pa.
 ritual do-INF-LOC tormu big make-NOM
 'In order to do the ritual, he built a large *tormu*.'
- (57) Ling Gesar jepo-ga chetha phi-**le**-ga songo rik-nyi
 region king-LOC war do-INF-LOC man guide-NF
 jamtsho reka di-le khe-le.
 sea near go-INF must-INF
 'To war against the king of the land of Gesar, we must have someone guide us and go near to the sea.'

Adverbial clauses in *-le* may be optionally marked with the locative case particle *-ga*. This is true for complement clauses as well, as will be seen in Chapter 14. Generally, adverbial clauses *tend* to have the case marker, while complement clauses *tend not* to have the case marker. Speakers report the intuition that the case marker is actually the 'proper' or 'original' way to say the utterance in question. This statement suggests a conception of the case marker being 'left off' in certain contexts. It appears that the likelihood of the case marker being left off increases as the semantic relationship between clauses grows closer.

Adverbial clauses with the infinitive participle *-le* are morphologically indistinguishable from complement clauses formed with the same participle. The two can be distinguished however, by means of syntactic and semantic criteria. In the following discussion, three criteria will be discussed: 1) the presence or lack of shared arguments between matrix and subordinate clause, 2) the degree of positional flexibility, and 3) the strength of the semantic relationship between matrix and subordinate clauses.

13.2.2.1 *Shared arguments*

With the adverbial construction in *-le*, as opposed to the complement construction using the same form, there is no necessary sharing of any arguments between matrix and adverbial verb.

- (58) Zambuling-ga songo thamcet-ka phan thok-pe-ga lho
 world-LOC person all-LOC benefit admit-INF-LOC south
 nyedrupcen la-le tha-!
 nyedrupcen take-INF leave-IMP
 'In order that all the people of the world will benefit, bring (to me) the Nyedrupchen of the south.'
- (59) A-ha-ba cho-le-ga zambuling-bu ket nang-ma-la.
 1p-LOC-PL stay-INF-LOC world-FOC create give-NOM-COP
 '(He) also created the world for us to live in.'

In example (58), the matrix and adverbial clauses do not share any arguments. In utterance (59), the argument shared by matrix and adverbial clause is not a core argument of the complement. The nominal *zambuling* 'world' has the syntactic role of object of the matrix verb *ketpe* 'create', but functions as a locative predicate of an intransitive complement verb *chole* 'stay'

13.2.2.2 Positional flexibility

The *-le* adverbial clause shows more positional flexibility than a complement clause. While the complement clause normally occupies a position after the subject and prior to the verb, adverbial clauses are frequently preposed to the entire matrix clause with its arguments, as in the following examples.

- (60) Nyi onya barka ro nyiktsing-ga trok-pe-ga, dre thur
 PRT DEM between 3 two-LOC disturb-INF-LOC demon one
 u-nyi...
 come-NF
 'And in their midst, in order to disturb them, came a demon.'

- (61) Tshakha jang-me-ga, phu dang jathang tsantsham-ga
 shooting practice-INF-LOC mountain and plain border-LOC
 di-wa.
 go-NOM
 'In order to practice shooting, (we) went to the border between the mountain and the plains.'

In example (60) the adverbial clause comes before the matrix subject *dre* 'demon'. In utterance (61), although the subject is not overt in the matrix clause, it can be seen that the adverbial clause comes before the entire matrix clause by the fact that the adverbial clause comes before peripheral arguments which belong exclusively to the matrix verb, namely the location phrase *phu dang jathang tshantsham-ga* 'the border between the mountains and the plains'.

The adverbial clause may also be postposed to the matrix clause.

- (62) Onya borang-ga meme langpoche-bu u-n-cho-wa,
 DEM borest-LOC grandfather elephant-FOC come-SE-stay-NOM
 shi tsi nga-me-ga.
 bamboo grass eat-INF-LOC
 'In that forest the elephants would come to eat bamboo and grass.'

- (63) Binang sam-ga lokpa giwala, ata nyung-pa
 night three-LOC return-NOM COP elder.brother be.ill-NOM
 mo got-pe-ga.
 QUES look-INF-LOC
 'After three nights he returned in order to see if his brother was sick.'

13.2.2.3 *Semantic relationship between matrix and subordinate clause*

The semantic relationship between the matrix verb and *-le* adverbial clause verb is unlike that between a matrix verb and complement clause verb. With a complement clause, the meaning of the matrix verb is completed by the complement. In an adverbial construction, the matrix verb is semantically complete independently of the adverbial clause. Consider, for example, the verb *cotpe* 'make, prepare' as a matrix verb. With a complement, *cotpe* means 'to cause to be, cause to come to pass'. That which is to be or come to pass is the action or event of the complement verb, as in example (64).

- (64) A-shi otha zhawa songo drak-pa cot-pa.
 1p-AGT DEM crippled person heal-NOM make-NOM
 'We made that crippled person healed.'

By contrast, when the matrix verb *cotpe* occurs with an adverbial clause, the act of 'making' does not involve the adverbial clause, but rather some other object.

- (65) Lam-ga hawgari kak-pe-ga, kakthap thur-bu cot-pa
 way-LOC truck block-INF-LOC barrier one-FOC make-NOM
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 'On the road, in order to stop trucks, a roadblock had been made.'
- (66) Om phakpa thur hum bi-le-ga cot-ca giwala.
 now pig one oil give-INF-LOC make-COP COP
 'A pig is being prepared in order to give oil.'

Similarly, the matrix verb *bile/gale* 'to give' takes on causative meaning with a complement clause in example (67), but refers to the giving of some other object when construed with an adverbial clause in example (68).

- (67) Ro-ki jepo zi-me bi-wa.
 3-AGT king sleep-INF give-NOM
 'He had the king go to sleep.'
- (68) Nyamthar lhak-pe-ga, kitap-bu jang-ga ga-nyi...
 scripture read-INF-LOC book-FOC 1s-LOC give-NF
 'In order (for me) to read the scriptures, he also gave me a book.'

Even when complement clauses are marked with the locative *-ga*, which is most common on adverbial clauses, a ‘complementive’ semantic relationship may be seen, as in examples (69) and (70).

- (69) Jang yiktshang-ga lai a-le-ga namesame trok cho-wa.
 1s office-LOC work do-INF-LOC very bother stay-NOM
 ‘(Because of family problems,) I was disturbed in my work.’
- (70) Rang-ten-bu lai a-le-ga sem shi-n di-na.
 self-RFLX-FOC work do-INF-LOC mind die-SE go-COP
 ‘(When I give someone a suggestion but they don’t follow it, then I) myself become discouraged from working.’

The complement verb *lai ale* ‘to work’ in the above examples complements the matrix verbs, ‘bothered’ in (69) and ‘discouraged’ in 70, with the resultant meaning ‘disturbed in working’ and ‘discouraged from working’. If these were adverbial constructions, the meaning would have been ‘become bothered in order to work’ and ‘became discouraged in order that I might work’. With the complement construction, the closer relationship between matrix and complement verbs results in the event ‘work’ being negated by the implicit negative in the matrix verbs ‘bother’ or ‘discourage’, whereas this does not happen with the more loosely joined clauses in the subordinating construction.

13.2.3 *Nominalised: -wa*

In addition to the cotemporal participle in *-la* and infinitive participle in *-le*, an adverbial clause may be built on the nominalised participle in *-wa*. The clause may be further marked with the locative case particle *-ga*, the agentive *-gi* or the ablative *-gai*. The following sections will describe various uses of the nominalised participial adverbial clause.

13.2.3.1 *Attendant circumstance: -wa(-ga)*

An adverbial clause formed with the nominaliser *-wa* plus an optional locative/genitive case particle *-ga* indicates an ‘attendant circumstance’ (König 1995: 65). The attendant circumstance is backgrounded in relation to the main clause event. The adverbial clause in *-wa* can be very close in function to a non-restricted relative clause in *-wa*.⁷

⁷ This is true for non-restricted English relative clauses such as, ‘The pilot, who had lost his bearings, crashed into a mountain’, which has a very similar meaning to a participial adverbial clause like ‘The pilot, having lost his bearings, crashed into a mountain’.

- (71) Apa-gi tiru khaise ke-**ba**-ga, khaiyen
 father-AGT money four.hundred send-NOM-LOC three.hundred.sixty
 barka songo-gi ja-ga gadang-ga bi-wa cho-wa.
 between person-AGT 1s-LOC hand-LOC give-NOM stay-NOM
 'Four hundred ngultrum having been sent by my father, three hundred sixty
 was delivered into my hands by the middleman.'
- (72) Nyi om wa lin bu-la-kap-nyi, onya ro-ka muding
 PRT now cow release take-PTC-with-NF DEM 3-LOC pearl
 phut khe-**wa**-ga nyi, wa khi onya ro-ka muding
 break fall-NOM-LOC PRT cow feces DEM 3-LOC pearl
 buk-pa giwala.
 cover-NOM COP
 'So as the cows were being brought out, the pearl, having fallen off, was
 covered by the dung.'
- (73) Nyi onya nyoktang za-la-kap-nyi, raba nowang dabu la
 PRT DEM brain eat-PTC-with-NF goat mouth as COP
 dang, nyoktang za-**wa**-ga.
 PRT brain eat-NOM-LOC
 'When he was eating the brains, the head, its brains having been eaten,
 looked like the mouth of a goat.'

Note that the function of this construction is very similar to that of the attendant circumstance clause embedded under the non-final 'to do' verb *anyi* (cf. section 16.2.9.4 below). Like the *anyi* construction, the *-wa(-ga)* construction is often used with a negative adverbial clause to point out that an event which was expected to take place, in fact did not.

- (74) Na-ching niktsing-ga ser sho nyong-pu-rang
 2-DUAL two-LOC gold TOP receive-PTC-EMPH
 ma-nyong-**pa**-ga, ngang dam dam-pa phi-n kholong
 NEG-receive-NOM-LOC throat close close-NOM do-SE fight
 phi-**wa**, yongba ngoma sho na-ching giwala.
 do-NOM fool genuine TOP 2-DUAL COP
 'The two of you, not having got any gold, fighting by strangling each other;
 both of you are genuine fools.'
- (75) Nyi rokto-ba ro-ka phai-ga shek-pa-kap-nyi, songo-ba
 PRT 3p-PL 3-LOC house-LOC arrive-PTC-with-NF person-PL
 hang-rang a-le ma-se-**wa**, namesame sem shok-nyi
 what-EMPH do-INF NEG-know-NOM very mind burn-NF
 gep-nyi cho-wa.
 cry-NF stay-NOM
 'So when they arrived at the house, the people, not knowing anything to do,
 were really crying in pain.'

- (76) Nyi ro-ki hang-rang ha ma-go-wa, bra kap-nyi
 PRT 3-AGT what-EMPH heart NEG-put-NOM other with-NF
 tramashikpa a-wa-la a-nyi noksam mi-wa.
 immoral do-NOM-COP do-NF mind think-NOM
 'And he, not understanding a thing, thought she had been unfaithful with
 another (man).'

Often the negative proposition in the adverbial clause is explicitly contrasted to a positive proposition explicit in the matrix clause, something like 'not doing X, he was instead doing Y'

- (77) Nyi dru phi-khan songo-ba dru nang-ka ma-cho-wa, gan
 PRT boat do-REL person-PL boat in-LOC NEG-stay-NOM flee
 di-nyi-la, ai-ba dru nang-kai thar-be rewa-ga lam
 go-NF-PRT 1p-PL boat in-ABL release-INF hope-LOC way
 manca.
 NEG.COP
 'And if the people who run the ship don't stay on board, but flee, we certainly don't have any hope of rescue.'
- (78) Nyi omtur di-wa-ga, tiru dukpu songo-ba-ka
 PRT other go-NOM-LOC money poor person-PL-LOC
 bi-nyi-la, namesame phenpa ca.
 give-NF-PRT very benefit COP
 '(Rather than spending money on temples) going a different (way), if we
 give the money to the poor, there would be much benefit.'

The construction may take on a conditional meaning 'If/since X is not the case, then Y will be the case'.

- (79) Tiru ma-bi-wa-ga, rokete-ba-ki mo-rang ma-got-pa.
 money NEG-give-NOM-LOC 3P-PL-AGT sign-EMPH NEG-look-PRT
 'Without (us) giving them money, they will not read the signs'. (i.e. 'If we
 don't give money...')

In the following example, the nominalised adverbial in *-wa* is used to report an entire series of actions or events occurring simultaneously to the event of the main clause. Here the use of the construction resembles the use of the non-final adverbial clause in *-nyi*, except that the events will not be given the clause chain interpretation, i.e. construed as mainline events in a sequence, but will remain as backgrounded events or states.

- (80) Dre khepu jang-ga khatke pet-nyi, shong shok-nyi
 demon TOP 1s-LOC upon press-NF breath breathe-NF
 shok-pe ma-ga-wa, lem-nyi le-me ma-ga-wa,
 breathe-INF NEG-give-NOM move-NF move-INF NEG-give-NOM
 ming ti-nyi ti-le ma-ga-wa, nyi chas yek-pe
 eye open-NF open-INF NEG-give-NOM PRT talk speak-INF
 a-nyi chas yek-pe ma-ga-wa, jang namesame
 do-NF talk speak-INF NEG-give-NOM 1s very
 tuk-nyi cho-wa.
 suffer-NF stay-NOM
 ‘With the demon pressing on me, not letting me breathe, not letting me
 move, not letting me open my eyes, and not letting me speak, I was really
 suffering.’

13.2.3.2 *Nominalised adverbial clause with mawa*

This negative attendant circumstance construction occurs frequently with the negative existential copula *mawa* as the predicate of the adverbial clause. Recall that *mawa* is the nominalised form, and may only occur in dependent non-finite contexts, as opposed to *manca* or the mirative alternant *mala*, both of which may occur as the predicate of a finite clause.

- (81) Ze-ba dentha chilu mawa, tsonpa jepo chilu
 err-NOM meaning great NEG.COP prisoner king great
 kindu-ga kunti-la-kap, ngat di-le-la.
 audience-LOC send-PTC-with err go-INF-COP
 ‘There being no great evidence of wrongdoing, by sending the prisoner to
 an audience with the great king, we are making a mistake.’
- (82) Onyai tshinge sho lai bra o-rang mawa,
 DEM.ABL later TOP work other where-EMPH NEG.COP
 Trashigang-ga di-wa.
 Trashigang-LOC go-NOM
 ‘After that, being unable to get a job anywhere, I went to Trashigang.’
- (83) Toka ibi-rang ngo-khan mawa, lok pha-wa-la.
 bull who-EMPH buy-REL NEG.COP return bring-NOM-COP
 ‘No one having bought the bull, he brought it back.’
- (84) Jelpo khi wu-le brang mawa, nang dok-nyi...
 king feces expel-INF place NEG.COP distress suffer-NF
 ‘The king, not having anywhere to go to the bathroom, was suffering...’

A common expression is *ngam binang mawa* ‘without day or night’, example (85), which is used to describe a person’s devotion to a task, as if to say, ‘without regard to day or night’.

- (85) Ngam binang mawa, lai a-nyi...
 day night NEG.COP work do-NF...
 'There being no day or night, they worked...' (i.e. 'They worked day and night.')

The adverbial clause with *mawa*, as other *-wa* participial adverbial clauses, is optionally marked with the locative case marker *-ga*.

- (86) Nyi tshebang denta mawa-ga thrim phi-nyi, nyi
 PRT some reason NEG.COP-LOC punishment do-NF PRT
 onye thar-ba-kap gan u-khan-te gi-du.
 then release-PRT-with flee come-REL-PRT COP-SUB
 'And some of them may have been punished for no reason (lit. there being no reason), so that when they were released they fled and came here.'

The negative equative copula *manggi* may also occur as predicate of a *-wa* participial adverbial clause, in the nominalised form *manggiwa*.

- (87) Patsiyu sho ai-ten a-nyi-la a-ha thola thukpa
 Patsiyu TOP 1p-RFLX do-NF-PRT 1p-LOC yonder gruel
 prusken manggi-wa, onya-ga thukpa khepa pelektang
 similar NEG.COP-NOM DEM-LOC gruel TOP flat
 a-wa, balu a-nyi drep-nyi cot-pa-ga, kayu-ga
 do-NOM thin do-NF press-NF prepare-NOM-LOC bowl-LOC
 kangnyi, shing dumpang nyiktsing-gi dung za-le khe-wa.
 fill-NF wood stick two-AGT pick.up eat-INF must-NOM
 'Patsiyu, if we were to tell it, not being similar to our gruel, being a gruel that is made flat, pressed thin, is poured into a bowl and must be eaten with two wooden sticks.'

13.2.3.3 Cause: *-wa-gi*

Complement clauses formed with the past verb stem plus agentive case marker *-gi* encode a past event or situation as the *agent* or *cause* of the event or situation of the final verb, similar to English 'because of'. This is similar to the function of *-deke* above, but differs slightly in that the event encoded by *-deke* is represented as having been completed in time prior to the event of the final verb. This is not necessarily the case with the *-wa-gi* adverbial clause.

- (88) Phakpa le khalu cho-wa-gi, Khaling dak-nyi chin-ma
 pork intestine sour stay-NOM-AGT Khaling say-NF reach-NOM
 giwala.
 COP
 'Because the sausage (lit. pork intestine) was sour (= *khalu*), (the town) was called Khaling.'

- (89) Dzongkha chas mangpu a-le khe-wa-gi, thamce-rang
 Dzongkha speech much do-INF must-NOM-AGT all-EMPH
 Tshangla-bu yitka mi-n jong-ma-la.
 Tshangla-PRT memory think-SE go-PTC-COP
 'Because we have to speak a lot of Dzongkha, we forget all of our
 Tshangla.'

A demonstrative or a full noun phrase followed by the verb *ale* 'to do' inflected with *-wa* plus *-gi* is a frequent way of encoding anaphoric reference to a causal idea in the previous context.

- (90) Ja-ga phama das dukpu a-wa-gi, tiru ke-bu
 1s-LOC parents bit poor do-NOM-AGT money send-PTC
 manca.
 NEG.COP
 'Because my parents are rather poor, they don't send money.'
- (91) Zangazingi a-wa-gi, zhung-gi kak tha-wa-la.
 unrest do-NOM-AGT government-AGT ban leave-NOM-COP
 'Because of the unrest, the government imposed restrictions.'

13.2.3.4 *Temporal or logical source: -wa-gai*

The nominalised participle in *-wa* plus ablative case particle *-gai* is used in adverbial clauses to encode various temporal and logical relationships with the matrix clause.

a. *Comparison.* Perhaps the most common usage of the ablative adverbial construction is to encode comparison between events of the adverbial clause and main clause, whether real or hypothetical, in the sense of 'rather X than Y'

- (92) Jang uthu tapthur di-wa-gai khukhaila-kap di-wa drik-pe.
 1s DEM with go-NOM-ABL tiger-with go-NOM fit-INF
 'I would rather go with the tiger than with that one.'
- (93) Goma yek-pa-gai mangpu lai a-wa.
 before say-NOM-ABL much work do-NOM
 'We worked more than we said we would.'

b. *Temporal relationship.* An adverbial clause in *-wa* plus *-gai* may also encode a relation of temporal succession, i.e. 'since', 'after' or 'from that time on'.

- (94) Nyi ton-ga cho-le brang-ka zhuk-pa-gai, ber-ga
 PRT winter-LOC stay-INF place-LOC stay-NOM-ABL summer-LOC
 cho-le brang-ka ta-nyi... jon-ca giwala.
 stay-INF place-LOC go.to-NF go-COP COP
 'And after staying in their winter staying place, they would go to their
 summer staying place...'
- (95) Un-dabu thrise a-wa-gai ga-tan, cha+zhu-le go+tsuk-pa.
 DEM-like cleanse do-NOM-ABL up-to serve-INF begin-NOM
 'From the time I was cleansed onwards, I began to serve.'

c. *Cause-effect.* The ablative adverbial may attribute causal properties to the adverbial clause.

- (96) Nyi ai songo dang buchila dra a-le khung-bu
 PRT 1p person and snake enemy do-INF reason-FOC
 goma buchula-gi tok-pa-kap-nyi nyan-pa-gai gila.
 before snake-AGT hinder-PRT-with-NF listen-NOM-ABL COP
 'And the reason why people and snakes are enemies is because before,
 when the snake bothered (them), they heeded.'
- (97) Dikpa jung-ma-gai-ten shi-le khe-n-ca na.
 sin go-NOM-ABL-RFLX die-INF must-SE-COP PRT
 'Because of going into sin, (they) must die.'

d. *Reason.* The adverbial clause in *-wa-gai* may indicate a reason in support of the matrix clause event.

- (98) Rokte-ba onya zamin-ba-kap cho-le la-ma-gai-ten
 3p-PL DEM girl-PL-with stay-INF want-NOM-ABL-RFLX
 dong zambuling-ga u-pha gila.
 down world-LOC come-NOM COP
 'Because they wanted to live with those girls, they came down to the
 world.'

e. *Termination of a state.* The ablative adverbial clause may mark the termination of a state, as in these examples.

- (99) Onya threke-rang a-nyi khurchangpu mar-ba-gai
 DEM immediately-EMPH do-NF fever be.ill-NOM-ABL
 drak, thing...
 heal, stand...
 'And immediately she was healed from being sick with a fever, stood
 up...'
- (100) Ro shak-pa-gai lok-nyi zheng-pa gila.
 3 die-NOM-ABL return-NF rise-NOM COP
 'He has risen again from having died.'

f. *Contracted form*: -wai. The nominaliser *-wa* and ablative case particle *-gai* are occasionally merged to form a contraction *-wai*.

- (101) Nyi apa kap-nyi tabu-rang dang-ma-kap-nyi waktsa
 PRT father with-NF always-EMPH walk-PTC-with-NF child
 zemu a-wa-i, giti-rang khon ma-chin-ma...
 small do-NOM-ABL when-EMPH follow NEG-reach-PTC...
 'And always while walking with my father, because I was a small child, I
 could never catch up to him...'

COMPLEMENTATION

Complement clauses are dependent clauses which function as the argument of a predicate (Noonan 1985: 42). Semantically, the complement clause completes the meaning of the matrix verb. Some complement-taking verbs will take either an object or a propositional complement. Others take only a propositional complement.

Tshangla complement clauses, like the participial adverbial clauses described in Chapter 13, contain a participial verb, with either the infinitive suffix *-le* or the nominaliser suffix *-wa*. The complement clause may take an optional locative/genitive case marker *-ga*. A complement clause in Tshangla always shares at least one of its arguments with the matrix clause. This sets the complement-clause construction apart syntactically from other types of subordinate clauses such as adverbial clauses. This type of complement clause has elsewhere in the literature occasionally been called a 'partially embedded' or a 'merged clause' structure (e.g. Longacre 1983). Such a complement clause distinguishes itself from the fully embedded type of complement clause in which no arguments are shared, such as the so-called 'that-complement' in English. Examples (1) and (2) show two somewhat different complement clauses in Tshangla:

- (1) Jang waktsa rokha di-wa thong-ma.
 1s child fall go-NOM see-NOM
 'I saw the child fall down.'
- (2) Semcen ro ngame cam-pa-la.
 animal 3 chew-INF be.about.to-NOM-COP
 'The animal was about to eat him.'

In example (1), *thongma* 'saw' is the complement-taking verb. *Waktsa rokha diwa* 'the child fall down' comprises the complement. The argument shared by complement and matrix clauses is *waktsa* 'child', which is subject of the complement and object of the matrix clause. In example (2), the complement-taking verb is *campala* 'was about to', and the complement is *ngame* 'to eat'. The argument shared by complement and matrix clauses is *semchen* 'animal'. Semantic and syntactic differences between these two as well as other complement clause constructions will be accounted for in the following sections.

14.1 SEMANTIC PARAMETERS OF COMPLEMENT-TAKING VERBS

In languages like English, a distinction is made between two types of complement clause constructions, the equi-subject, and non-equi-subject (Noonan 1985: 65). In the equi-subject construction, the matrix subject and complement subject are coreferential, and the complement subject may be deleted. This is known as 'equi-NP subject deletion' or simply, 'equi-deletion'. Example (3) is of this first type. In the other type, the non-equi subject, the matrix subject is not coreferential with the complement subject. In this case, for languages like English, the complement subject may not be deleted. Example (4) is of this second type.

- (3) I tried \emptyset to come.
 (4) I made him come.

This syntactic distinction in complement clause constructions corresponds to a semantic distinction between modal expressions such as 'want to...', 'try to...', 'be about to...', 'be able to...', 'ought to...' etc. on one hand, which are equi-subject, and causative constructions such as 'caused X to...', 'made X...', 'allowed X to...' etc. which are non-equi-subject.

In Tshangla, the same sort of distinction is useful. However, the distinction cannot be made on the basis of coreferentiality of the subjects. As discussed in section 6.1 above, agents of transitive verbs are frequently omitted or 'suppressed', allowing the patient argument to stand alone as the only argument of the verb. In Tshangla, there is no special passive morphosyntax to distinguish this 'functional passive' from an ordinary active clause.

- (5) Ji-gi ro she-wa.
 1s-AGT 3 kill-NOM
 'I killed him.'
- (6) Ro she-wa.
 3 kill-NOM
 'He was killed.' / 'Someone killed him.'

The result of this is that constructions comparable to the English examples (3) and (4) above may be formally indistinguishable from each other. Consider the Tshangla modal and causative constructions in examples (7) and (8):

- (7) Jang u-phe la-ma.
 1s come-INF want-NOM
 'I wanted to come.'

- (8) Ro u-phe bi-wa.
 3 come-INF give-NOM
 'He was made to come.' / 'Someone made him come.'

While superficially similar, in terms of their syntactic structure examples (7) and (8) are quite dissimilar. The dissimilarity may be accounted for in terms of the configuration of the roles of the nominal arguments in the transitivity of the clause. These roles, termed semantico-syntactic roles, originally useful for the description of case-marking systems, are: the subject (S) and sole argument of an intransitive clause, the agent (A) or most agent-like argument of a transitive clause,¹ and the patient (P), object or least agent-like argument of a transitive clause (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1979). In example (7), the agent of the matrix clause is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. In (8), only the patient of the matrix verb *bile* 'give' appears in the clause, and it is this argument which is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause.

Similarly, examples (9) and (10) appear to have identical structure on the surface, but the semantico-syntactic roles are configured differently.

- (9) Ro-ki jang she-le la-ma.
 3-AGT 1s kill-INF want-NOM
 'He wanted to kill me.'
- (10) Ro-ki jang yi-phe bi-wa.
 3-AGT 1s sleep-INF give-NOM
 'He made me sleep.'

In (9), it is the matrix agent *roki* '3-AGT' which is shared, while in (10), the matrix patient *jang* '1s' is the shared argument. Note that the English examples may be described in the same semantico-syntactic terms. In (3), the matrix agent is the shared argument. In (4), it is the matrix patient which is shared.

There are three parameters along which Tshangla complement clause constructions may be organised. Each of these parameters has a different degree of semantic significance to the construction. The parameters in order of their significance are as follows:

1. Matrix clause syntactic role of shared argument (S/A or P).
2. Complement clause syntactic role of shared argument (S/A or P).
3. Complement clause participle form: infinitive *-le* or nominaliser *-wa*.

Recall that transitive verbs are defined above as verbs which can take two arguments, regardless of whether those arguments are actually present in the clause.

The greatest semantic significance belongs to parameter number 1, i.e. whether the matrix clause role of the shared argument is subject/agent or patient. This parameter distinguishes between what are commonly referred to in languages like English as the equi-NP and non-equi-NP subject complement constructions. Most Tshangla complement-taking verbs appear in only one or the other type of construction. There are, however, a few verbs which appear in both. The result is two very different senses of meaning for the same verb. The verb *cotpe* ‘to make, to do’, for example, has two distinct senses, one occurring in complement clause constructions with shared matrix agent/subject, and another in constructions with shared matrix patient. Example (11) below is an example of the former. This sense of *cotpe* can be translated ‘to pretend’ or ‘to affect as if’. Example (12) is of the latter type, i.e. the causative sense of *cotpe* ‘to make, to cause’.

- (11) Meme-gi abi-ga nan ge-pha cot-co na
 grandfather-AGT grandmother-LOC 2s cry-NOM make-IMP PRT
 dak-pa.
 say-NOM
 ‘The old man said to the old woman, “Pretend to cry!”’
- (12) Ro-ki songo-ba shonang phe-wa cot-nyi nang-me ca.
 3-AGT person-PL happiness feel-NOM make-NF give-INF COP
 ‘He will make the people happy.’

As noted above, the second and third parameters are less significant than the first in terms of their semantic effect on the construction. The second parameter, the complement clause syntactic role of the shared argument, creates a semantic distinction in the complement clause equivalent to the distinction between an active and a passive complement clause in English. This determines whether the shared referent is the subject or agent of the action or instead the referent is the patient of the action, i.e. whether the interpretation is ‘to do V’ or ‘to be V-ed’. Again the complement-taking verb *cotpe* ‘to make’ will serve to illustrate.

- (13) Kenco-gi ngam khepa songo lekpu dang ma-lek-pa
 God-AGT sun TOP person good and NEG-be.good-NOM
 nyiktsing-ga-rang shar-be cot nang-ma ca.
 two-LOC-EMPH shine-INF make give-NOM COP
 ‘God has caused the sun to shine on both good and evil people.’
- (14) Nyi a-shi otha zhawa songo drak-pa cot-pa.
 PRT 1p-AGT DEM cripple person heal-NOM make-NOM
 ‘So we caused that person to be healed.’

Examples (13) and (14) share the same value in terms of parameter 1. Both involve the causative sense of *cotpe*, wherein the matrix patient is

the shared argument. The examples differ, however, along parameter 2. In example (13), the matrix patient is coreferential with the complement subject/agent, while in example (14) the matrix patient is coreferential with the complement patient.

The third parameter is the participial form of the complement clause verb. There are two possibilities, viz. the infinitive *-le* and nominaliser *-wa*. The semantic distinction between the one or the other of these two participial forms in the complement involves a difference in the inherent aspectual nature of the event being described. The infinitive participle in *-le* encodes an irrealis, future or prospective event, while the nominaliser in *-wa* encodes a realis, past or completed event. This difference may correspond to the contrast in English between the present infinitive 'to X' and the periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *have* and the past participle, 'to have X-ed'. Again, to use *cotpe* to illustrate, examples (13) above and (15) below both show shared matrix patient with complement subject/agent. They differ only in terms of the nature of the complement participle, i.e. infinitive (*-le*) in (13) and nominalised (*-wa*) in (15).

- (15) Jang lo ga-tan seng-nyi nying songyen di-wa cot, makmi
 1s year up-to raise-NF year eighteen go-NOM make army
 nang-ka nu-pha.
 in-LOC enter-NOM
 '(I was only seventeen years old.) Raising my age, making it having gone to
 eighteen, I entered the army.'

The aspectual quality encoded by the infinitive *sharbe* 'shine' in (13) is continuous and future. The nominalised complement participle *diwa* 'gone', as in 'my age has gone to/become...' encodes a more perfective and completed event.

As stated above, some verbs may be restricted to one type of complement construction, or they may occur in more than one type of construction. The following section will be organised according to parameter 1. Thus the first to be described in section 14.2 are complement-taking verbs which only allow for a shared matrix subject/agent. Next to be described, in section 14.3 are complement-taking verbs which only allow for a shared matrix patient. Finally, in section 14.4, complement-taking verbs will be described which have two senses, one which allows for sharing of the matrix subject/agent, and the other for sharing of the matrix patient. Within each of these main sections there will be various subgroupings based on semantic characteristics. Here the semantic effects of parameters 2 and 3, namely the complement clause role of the shared argument and the form of the participle, will be evident.

14.2 COMPLEMENT-TAKING VERBS THAT SHARE MATRIX SUBJECT/AGENT

The most common type of complement-taking verb is one which allows sharing of the matrix subject/agent with the subject/agent of the complement clause. Various semantic relationships between matrix and complement propositions are encoded.

14.2.1 *Event borders parameters*

Some complement-taking verbs define temporal borders or aspectual characteristics of the complement clause event. These are verbs such as *rile* 'to come to pass', *go tsukpe* 'to begin to', *renpe* 'get ready to', *campe* 'be about to', *norbe* 'stop', *thup thale* 'to leave off doing' and *chole* 'to keep on doing'. Note that the final clause tense-aspect markers *ca*, *gila* and *chole* (cf. Chapter 10) are grammaticalised forms which have their origin in this type of complement construction.

- (16) Dorji chas a-le go tsuk-pa.²
 Dorji talk do-INF beginning insert-NOM
 'Dorji began to talk.'

² 1 Note the similarities to English. *go tsukpe* 'start' may take either a *-le* complement or a serial construction in *-nyi*.

Dorji	chas	a-le	go+tsuk-pa.
Dorji	talk	do-INF	begin-NOM
'Dorji began to talk.'			

Dorji	chas	a-nyi	go+tsuk-pa.
Dorji	talk	do-NF	begin-NOM
'Dorji began talking.'			

Note that the English glosses likewise take both the infinitival, e.g. 'to talk', and participial, e.g. 'talking', complement.

The verb *chume* 'finish', however, may not take a *-le* complement but instead requires a serialised construction in *-nyi*:

*Dorji	chas	a-le	chu-ma.
Dorji	talk	do-INF	finish-NOM
Dorji	chas	a-nyi	chu-ma.
Dorji	talk	do-NF	finish-NOM
'Dorji finished talking.'			

This exactly parallels the English word 'finish':

*He finished to speak.
 He finished speaking.

Note below that *norbe* 'stop' does not show the same restriction as *chume* 'finish'.

- (17) Nyi onya songo-ba ngar-be nor-ba-la.
 PRT DEM person-PL laugh-INF stop-NOM-COP
 ‘And the people stopped laughing.’
- (18) Ro nyiktsing ngen phi-le cam-pa cho-wa.
 3 two marriage do-INF be.about.to-NOM stay-NOM
 ‘The two of them were about to marry.’
- (19) ...rokte sewu ta-phe ren-pa-kap-nyi...
 3p prayer do-INF be.about.to-PRT-with-NF
 ‘...while they were getting ready to pray...’
- (20) Ro-ki nowang ma-chok-pe-rang cho-wa-la.
 3-AGT mouth NEG-open-INF-EMPH stay-NOM-COP
 ‘She continued to not open her mouth.’
- (21) Jang yu ja-me-ga thup tha-wa.
 1s liquor drink-INF-LOC thow leave-NOM
 ‘I left off drinking liquor.’ (*thup thale* = ‘abandon’)

The infinitive participle is the most common form of the complement verb in the shared subject/agent construction. However, depending on the semantics of the complement-taking verb, the complement verb may also take the nominalised participle, encoding the event of the complement verb as realis or completed. With the complement-taking verb *rile* ‘to become’, both the infinitive and nominalised participle may be used, the infinitive (22) encoding a future or irrealis event, the nominalised (23) encoding a past or realis event.

- (22) Ro waktsa lak-nyi, waktsa ke-le ri-wa-la.
 3 child conceive-NF child bear-INF become-NOM-COP
 ‘Conceiving a child, she became about to bear a child.’
- (23) Nyi tsa drek lap-nyi yigi dri-be dang chas
 PRT nerve bear learn-NF letter write-INF and talk
 yek-pe-bu re-ba ri-wa.
 speak-INF-FOC can-NOM become-NOM
 ‘When I studied hard, I became able to write and even speak.’

The same is possible with the verb *chole* ‘stay’ Example (24) with the nominalised complement verb contrasts with example (20) above with the infinitive complement.

- (24) Songo-ba zambuling-ga jekhaph mangpu-gai zo-ma
 person-PL world-LOC kingdom many-ABL gather-NOM
 cho-wa cho-wa-la.
 stay-NOM stay-NOM-COP
 ‘People from many countries of the world had stayed gathered.’

As described in Chapter 10, the complement-taking verb *chole* ‘stay’, has in some contexts become grammaticalised to an inflectional marker. However, the lexical verb *chole* may still occur in a non-grammaticalised complement construction. In some usages, the structure makes it clear that *chole* is a lexical verb rather than an inflectional marker. In example (24) above, for example, we can see by the structure that *chole* is not an auxiliary because the verb is followed by another auxiliary, in this case the imperfective marker *chole*. There can only be one occurrence of *chole* as final tense-aspect marker in a sentence. In example (25) below, *chole* must be a lexical verb because it is inflected with the focus marker *bu* and occurs as head of an adverbial clause, and in (26) the lexical verb *chole* is itself the head of a complement clause, which in turn is embedded under the verb *rebe*.

- (25) Apa dang ama ma-shi-wa cho-nyi-bu jang singza
 father and mother NEG-die-NOM stay-NF-FOC 1s orphan
 waktsa dawa cho-wa.
 child as stay-NOM
 ‘Though my parents were still alive, I was like an orphan.’
- (26) A-shi ma-yek-pa cho-le ma-r-ba.
 1p-AGT NEG-speak-NOM stay-INF NEG-can-PRT
 ‘We cannot keep from speaking.’

14.2.2 Deontic modal

Some complement-taking verbs encode deontic modal modifications of the complement clause event. These define constraints on the subject, such as obligation, permission or ability. These complements seem to only occur with infinitive complement verbs, perhaps because they present the complement proposition as irrealis or prospective with respect to the temporal reference point encoded by the matrix clause. Verbs of this type are *khele* ‘to have to’, *rebe* ‘to be able to’, *nyongpe* ‘to receive’, hence ‘to have the opportunity to’, *rungpe* ‘to be entitled, have the right to’, *tangme* ‘to have time to’, *gokap chole* ‘to have incentive to’.

- (27) Asham dang khu ya-nyi-la, si-le khe-le la.
 corn and rice mix-NF-PRT separate-INF must-INF COP
 ‘If the corn and the rice are mixed, you must separate them.’
- (28) Onya-gi ja-ga latshap a-le re-be
 DEM-AGT 1s-LOC successor do-INF can-INF
 ‘That one can be my successor.’
- (29) Da-shi ro je-be nyong-pa-la.
 3-AGT 3 meet-INF receive-NOM-COP
 ‘They got to meet him.’

- (30) Nan up-he-ga rung-pe.
 2s come-INF-LOC be.permitted-INF
 'You are entitled to come.'
- (31) Nu la-me di-le-ga ma-tang-shi.
 milk search-INF go-INF-LOC NEG-have.time-COP
 'I didn't have time to go look for milk.'
- (32) Namning nan lam-pe-ga chin-me mo?
 tomorrow 2s learn-INF-LOC have.time-INF QUES
 'Will you have time to study tomorrow?'

14.2.3 Precursor event

Many complement-taking verbs express an event which may be seen as a necessary precursor to the complement clause event. The precursor event makes possible or is directed toward a goal proposition which is encoded by the complement clause. With precursor event complement-taking verbs, the complement verb is almost always in the infinitival form.

14.2.3.1 Cognitive precursor event

Precursor events often involve a cognitive activity preceding and directed toward a goal which is coded by the complement clause. Many verbs fall in this category, such as *lampe* 'learn to', *lame* 'want to', *tha catpe* 'decide to', *mikpa phile* 'plan to', *tuncha ale* 'discuss doing', *shonang phile* 'like to', *rewa ketpe*, *rewa chole* 'hope to', *noksam chole/mile* 'think to', *sem chole* 'to be interested in', etc.

- (33) Lai rang-ten hang a-le la-ma thur a-n-rang
 work self-RFLX what do-INF want-NOM one do-SE-EMPH
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 'Whatever deed one wanted to do, one was doing it.'
- (34) Zemu-gai-rang che a-le-ga lam-pa giwala.
 small-ABL-EMPH religion do-INF-LOC learn-NOM COP
 'From (the time) I was small, I learned to practise the religion.'
- (35) Ai-ba gan di-le tuncha a-n, binang-ga a-ching gan
 1p-PL flee go-INF discuss do-SE night-LOC 1p-DUAL flee
 di-wa.
 go-NOM
 'Having discussed fleeing, at night the two of us fled.'
- (36) Jepo-gi otha waktsa she-le mikpu phi-na.
 king-AGT DEM child kill-INF plan do-COP
 'The king is planning to kill the child.'

- (37) Jang otha pecha jurwa phi-le-ga tha+cat-pa.
 1s DEM book translation do-INF-LOC decide-NOM
 'I decided to translate the book.'
- (38) Na-ha senam-ta phi-be-ga noksam namesame ca.
 2p-LOC alms-PRT offer-INF-LOC mind very COP
 'We have a great intention to offer alms to you.'

While in the above examples the matrix subject/agent is coreferential with subject/agent in the complement, it is also possible for the matrix subject/agent to be coreferential with the patient in the complement. Thus while example (39) shows the more common configuration, with matrix subject/agent coreferential to complement subject/agent, in example (40) the matrix subject is a non-subject argument, i.e. the patient or perhaps goal of the complement clause.

- (39) Ata nan ru-me-ga namesame rewa chilu la.
 elder.brother 2s meet-INF-LOC very hope great COP
 'Elder brother really hopes to meet you.'
- (40) Nai-ba jinlap nang-me rewa tak-nyi cho-n-ca gila.
 2p-PL mercy give-INF hope claim-NF stay-SE-COP COP
 'You are continuing to hope to be given mercy.'

14.2.3.2 *Change in location*

Another type of precursor event is encoded by verbs referring to a change in location leading to an event. Most common of this type are the verbs *dile* 'to go', and *uphe* 'to come'.

- (41) Ja meaktsa sho sung nyan-pe-ga di-n-cho-wa.
 1s wife TOP talk listen-INF-LOC go-SE-stay-NOM
 'My wife had already been going to listen to the talk.'
- (42) Ro-ki anyimo-gi nowang chok-la mo got-pe
 3-AGT nun-AGT mouth open-COP QUES look-INF
 di-wa-la.
 go-NOM-COP
 'He went to see if the nun would open her mouth.'
- (43) Gopen-ba otha chas-ga korgai ru-me di-le
 chief-PL DEM talk-LOC about meet-INF go-INF
 khe-le-la.
 must-INF-COP
 'We must go meet the chiefs about this matter.'
- (44) Ro chas a-le u-pha.
 3 talk do-INF come-NOM
 'He came to talk.'

- (45) Jang khepa kathrim dru-phe u-pha. gila.
 1s TOP law fulfill-INF come-NOM COP
 'I have come to fulfill the law.'

There is one exception to the generalisation noted above that precursor event complement-taking verbs always take an infinitive complement. The verb *uphe* 'come' may occur with a *-wa* complement when the construction does not signal a change of location but rather a change of state, i.e. a coming to pass of a state of affairs. This usage of *uphe* has been grammaticalised to an auxiliary and was already discussed in Chapter 10.

- (46) Goma sung-khan khepa tshang-pa-rang u-phe
 before say-REL TOP fulfill-NOM-EMPH come-INF
 'What was said long ago will come to be fulfilled.'

Example (47) shows this usage of *uphe* in the negative.

- (47) Na-shi hang-rang gi-nyi-bu a-le ma-r-ba
 2p-AGT what-EMPH COP-NF-FOC do-INF NEG-can-NOM
 mang-pha.
 NEG.come-PTC
 'There is nothing you cannot do.' (lit. 'There will not turn out to be anything that you could not do.')

14.2.4 *Hindering event*

Other complement-taking verbs encode events or activities which hinder or prevent the event of the complement clause from taking place. Among these are verbs such as *yong khele* 'to be afraid to', *kalu uphe* 'to have trouble doing' *phitpe* 'to be too late to do something' and *sem shile* 'to be discouraged from doing something'.

- (48) Nyi ro lela di-le-ga yong+khe-wa-la.
 PRT 3 there go-INF-LOC fear-NOM-COP
 'He was afraid to go there.' (*yong khele* = shadow+befall 'to be afraid')
- (49) Ro-ki yek-khan chas khepa nyan-pe cho-n a-nyi
 3-AGT speak-REL talk TOP listen-INF stay-NF do-NF
 mi-wa-la, dak-pa-kap-nyi rok-te-ba sem mi-le-ga
 think-NOM-COP say-PTC-with-NF 3p-PL mind think-INF-LOC
 namesame phit-pa-la.
 very be.late-NOM-COP
 'They thought they should have listened to what he said, but they *delayed to think* (it).' (i.e. 'they realised it too late.')
- (50) Nyi loma khepa lopen dabu ri-le kalu u-phe.
 PRT disciple TOP teacher as become-INF difficult come-INF
 'And it will be difficult for a disciple to become like his teacher.'

- (51) Jang lai a-le-ga sem shi-n di-na.
 1s work do-INF-LOC mind die-SE go-COP
 'I was discouraged from working.'

14.2.5 Matrix subject/agent = complement patient

When the matrix subject/agent is the coreferential argument, the coreference is usually with the complement subject/agent. However, if the complement is transitive, the matrix subject/agent may be coreferential with a non-subject/agent argument in the complement clause. In the following examples, the subject/agent is coreferential with the complement patient. These constructions would typically be translated by means of a passive complement in English.

- (52) Semcen thamcen khaila-ga nga-me di-le.
 animal all tiger-LOC eat-INF go-INF
 'The animals go to the tiger to be eaten.'
- (53) She-le-ga yong khe-n, nya-gai gan-ma-la.
 kill-INF-LOC shadow strike-SE there-ABL flee-NOM-COP
 'Fearing to be killed, they fled from there.'
- (54) Oma-bu thragom cho-wa-ga thong-me ca.
 now-FOC thragom stay-NOM-LOC see-INF COP
 'Even now, the place of *thragom* (pool of blood) is to be seen.'

In example (55), the matrix subject/agent is coreferential with a dative or goal argument in the complement:

- (55) Nai-ba jinlab nang-me rewa tak-nyi cho-n-ca.
 2p-PL mercy give-INF hope secure-NF stay-SE-COP
 'You continue to hope to be given mercy.'

14.3 COMPLEMENT-TAKING VERBS THAT SHARE MATRIX PATIENT

The second major group of complement-taking verbs are those which share their patient argument with the complement clause. The two most prominent sub-types of these are verbs of perception or cognition and causative verbs.

14.3.1 Perception

In complement clause constructions involving a complement-taking verb of perception or cognition, the matrix agent is the perceiver and that which is perceived is an action or activity of the matrix patient, which is in turn the subject or agent of the complement clause. The construction is analo-

gous to English perception complements with a subject in the objective case, e.g. ‘...hear him talk’, ‘...see her go’. The propositions encoded by matrix and complement clauses are not separable in terms of time, as they would be with a ‘that’ complement, e.g. ‘...see that he came’, ‘see that he will come’, ‘see that he is coming’, etc. Because the complement subject is also an argument of the matrix clause, there is a closer bond with the merged or shared argument construction than with a ‘that’ complementiser construction.

Complements of perception or cognition contain the nominalised verb in *-wa*.

- (56) Kan thur jik-pa na+tha-wa.
 voice one shout-NOM hear-NOM
 ‘I heard a voice shout.’ (*na thale* = ear+leave ‘to hear’)
- (57) Ridrang-ga got-pa, ri chilu ri-wa thong-ma.
 river-LOC look-PRT river great become-NOM see-NOM
 ‘Looking at the riverbed, I saw that the river had become great.’

14.3.2 *Causative and directive*

Causative complement-taking verbs, in contrast to verbs of perception and cognition, usually take an infinitival complement. The verb *bile* ‘to give’ or its honorific equivalent *nangme* is by far the most frequent causative complement-taking verb. However, several other complement-taking verbs may have a causative function, including *yen bile* ‘to teach’, *kuntile* ‘to send’, and less commonly others as well, such as *tshaspe* ‘to need’, *luspe* ‘to leave in a condition’ and *chakpe* ‘to establish’.

- (58) Shingsi dasur yu-le bi-nyi...
 oil bit melt-INF give-NF
 ‘He had them melt some oil for him...’
- (59) Jelpo zi-me bi-nyi...
 king lie-INF give-NF
 ‘He had the king lie down...’
- (60) Onya dukpu za-ga thri phi-le-ga ye-n bi-n...
 DEM poor son-LOC machine do-INF-LOC teach-SE give-SE
 ‘They taught the poor boy how to run the machine.’
- (61) Nan ji-gi yek-pa ma-na-nyi-la, asham shar
 2s 1s-AGT speak-NOM NEG-comply-NF-PRT corn weed
 phut-pe kunti-le.
 pick-INF send-INF
 ‘If you do not agree with what I say, you will be sent out to weed the corn in the field.’

- (62) Jang-gi nan-ga thep nyong-pe-ga tshas-pe.
 1s-AGT 2s-LOC notebook receive-INF-LOC need-INF
 'I want you to find my notebook.'

Other causative complement-taking verbs, such as *ale* 'to do', *cotpe* 'to make' and *chakpe* 'to establish', take a *-wa* complement. With these there is a slightly different nuance to the causative nature of the construction. Causatives like *bile* 'to give' with an infinitive complement tend to involve some volition or agency on the part of the causee as well as the causer. Causatives with nominalised complements, however, seem to attribute the causal force entirely to the matrix subject or causer, leaving the causee with little or no volition or causal agency. Consider the following examples with nominalised complements.

- (63) Un-dabu gi-n-than a-nyi-bu jang namesame sem
 DEM-as COP-SE-NF do-NF-FOC 1s very mind
 shonang ma-phe-wa-ta a-lu m-a-n-ji.
 happiness NEG-make-NOM-to do-PRT NEG-do-SE-COP
 'Even though this was the case, it was not making me very unhappy.'
- (64) Onya lhakhang nang-ka gadang sang-ma a-wa cho-khan
 DEM temple in-LOC hand dry-NOM do-NOM stay-REL
 songo thur ca giwala.
 person one COP COP
 'In that temple was a person who had a hand that had been made to be shriveled.'
- (65) Ro depa a-khan gila dak da-shi unyu den-ma-rang
 3 faith do-REL COP say 3p-AGT DEM be.true-NOM-EMPH
 ma-chak-pa-la.
 NEG-establish-NOM-COP
 'They have certainly not established it to be true that he is a believer.'
- (66) Waktsa tshebang lam-pe ma-r-ba lus-pa-ca.
 child some study-INF NEG-can-NOM leave-NOM-COP
 'Some children are left not being able to study.'

14.3.3 *Matrix patient = complement patient*

Complement clauses with a matrix patient coreferential to complement patient are less common, but also occur. These would often be translated with a passive complement clause in English.

- (67) Pon dak-khan khepa ji-gi she-le bi-le khe-le mo?
 king say-REL TOP 1s-AGT kill-INF give-INF must-INF QUES
 'This so-called king, must I have him killed?'

- (68) Da-shi kutshap-ba-ki lam-pe yek bi-khan
 3p-AGT representative-PL-AGT learn-INF speak give-REL
 nyan-pe u-n...
 listen-INF come-SE
 'They came to listen to what the ambassadors taught them to learn.'
- (69) Da-ching tsonkang dampu nang-ka tsuk-pe kunti-wa-la.
 3-DUAL jail closed in-LOC put-INF send-NOM-COP
 'They sent him to be locked in jail.'
- (70) Nyi semcen-ba-ki juka dak-pa ribong nga-me
 PRT animal-PL-AGT point say-NOM rabbit eat-INF
 kunti-wa-la.
 send-NOM-COP
 'At the end, the animals sent a rabbit to be eaten (by the tiger).'

14.4 VERBS THAT ALLOW BOTH MATRIX ARGUMENTS TO BE SHARED

The third and final main type of complement-taking verb are those which allow for sharing of both their subject/agent and their patient argument with the complement clause. These verbs may be seen as polysemous, i.e. having two or more senses, each of which occurs in a different syntactic configuration. As will be shown here, in most cases the semantics of the complement-taking verb in one configuration differs markedly from the semantics of the same verb in the other syntactic configuration.

When the patient is shared, the senses of these verbs generally fall into the two categories discussed in the previous section, i.e. perception or cognition vs. causative. When the subject/agent is the shared argument, however, the senses may vary more widely. Each of these verbs will be discussed in turn here.

14.4.1 Sele 'to know'

The verb *sele* 'to know' is a polysemous complement-taking verb. When the matrix patient is the shared argument (cf. section 14.3), the referent of the matrix patient is involved in an activity encoded by the complement clause, while both the activity and the referent comprise that which is 'known' by the matrix subject/agent.

- (71) Jang u-pha se-wa-la!
 1s come-NOM know-NOM-COP
 'Someone knows I came!' (lit. 'I am known to have come.')

In example (71), the matrix patient is coreferential with the complement clause agent/subject. In example (72) below, the matrix patient is coreferential with the complement patient:

- (72) Nyi yigi lhak-nyi, lekpu dri-ba se-la-kap-nyi, rokte-ba
 PRT letter read-NF good write-NOM know-PRT-with-NF 3p-PL
 shonang phe-wa-la.
 happiness feel-NOM-COP
 ‘And reading the letter, when they knew it to be well-written, they were happy.’

The other sense of the verb *sele* occurs in constructions where matrix agent/subject is the shared argument, and the complement is in the infinitive. *Sele* in this configuration means something like ‘to know how to’ or ‘to know enough to’. In this sense, the complement clause encodes a cognitive precursor event (cf. section 14.2.3.1 above) to the event of the main clause.

- (73) Ai mi-le se-wa songo tshat-pe ca.
 1p think-INF know-NOM person need-INF COP
 ‘We need people who know how to think.’
- (74) Rokte-ba lekpu dang ma-lek-pa pak-pe
 3p-PL good and NEG-be.good-NOM distinguish-INF
 se-wa-la.
 know-NOM-COP
 ‘They know how to distinguish between good and evil.’
- (75) Uthu lama-ba-ki nowang-gi cho yek-pe se-n-ca,
 DEM lama-PL-AGT mouth-AGT TOP speak-INF know-SE-COP
 rang-ten cho, lai ro-ka nowang dang tun-nyi a-lu
 self-RFLX TOP deed 3-LOC mouth and accord.NF do-PRT
 man-ca.
 NEG.COP
 ‘These lamas know how to speak with their mouths, but themselves, their own deeds, they don’t do according to what they say.’
- (76) Songo-ba hang-rang a-le ma-se-wa, namesame sem
 person-PL what-EMPH do-INF NEG-know-NOM very mind
 shok-nyi gep-nyi cho-wa.
 burn-NF weep-NF stay-NOM
 ‘The people didn’t know to do anything; really grieving they kept on weeping.’ (*sem shokpe* = grieve) (i.e. ‘The people didn’t know what to do; they just kept weeping with grief.’)

Example (77) below appears at first glance to be an exception. Here the complement-taking verb *sele* takes a nominalised complement, which we expect for the shared matrix subject/agent construction. Contrary to expect-

tation, however, the semantics of the construction are similar to examples (71) and (72) above, where matrix patient was the shared argument.

- (77) Nyila ro nyiktsing tsateling cho-wa-ga se-wa-la.
 PRT 3 two naked stay-NOM-LOC know-NOM-COP
 ‘Then the two of them knew themselves to be naked.’ (i.e. ‘...knew that they were naked.’)

The anomaly can be resolved, however, by observing that while the complement subject/agent is coreferential with the matrix subject/agent, the argument is also coreferential with the matrix patient. This is, of course, because the matrix clause itself is reflexive, i.e. the subject/agent is coreferential with the patient in the same clause.

In example (78), another sentence with a similar syntactic configuration, the optional reflexive pronoun *roten* is included, making the reflexive argument structure explicit.

- (78) Nyi Dorji-gi ro-ten phu-ga shek-pa-sho
 PRT Dorji-AGT 3-RFLX mountain-LOC arrive-NOM-TOP
 se-wa-la.
 know-NOM-COP
 ‘Then Dorji knew himself to have arrived on the mountain.’ (i.e. ‘...realised that he had arrived.’)

14.4.2 Nale ‘to allow, comply, agree’

The verb *nale* ‘to allow, comply, agree’ also has two senses. When the matrix agent/subject is coreferential with an argument in the complement, *nale* means ‘to agree to do X’, the complement takes an infinitive verb. In examples (79) through (82), the matrix agent/subject is coreferential with the complement agent/subject. In example (83), the matrix agent/subject is coreferential with the complement patient.

- (79) Nyi anyimo-gi phis-ka sho-le ma-na-wa-la.
 PRT nun-AGT out-LOC emerge-INF NEG-comply-NOM-COP
 ‘But the nun did not agree (i.e. refused) to come out.’
- (80) Dal zong-ma-kap thu-le ma-na-wa binang zum
 lentils boil-PTC-with be.done-INF NEG-agree-NOM night seven
 phang cho-n cho-wa.
 about stay-SE stay-NOM
 ‘While boiling the lentils, for seven days they would be not agreeing (i.e. refusing) to get done.’ (thule = ‘to be done, fully cooked’)

- (81) Lok dong di-la-kap ja-ga gari lek-pa-n dang-me
 return down go-PTC-with 1s-LOC car good-PTC-SE run-INF
 ma-na-wa a-n cho-wa.
 NEG-agree-NOM do-SE stay-NOM
 'While travelling back down, my car was not agreeing to run well.'
- (82) Phai ra-ga senam phun-nyi cho-la-kap-nyi, ko
 house base-LOC alms beg-NF stay-PTC-with-NF door
 phek-pe-rang ma-na-n-ji dang.
 open-INF-EMPH NEG-comply-SE-COP PRT
 'When they were near the house begging for alms, (they) did not agree (i.e. refused) to open the door.'
- (83) Nyi mi wus-pe ma-na-wa giwala.
 PRT arrow uproot-INF NEG-agree-NOM COP
 The arrow did not agree to be pulled out of the throne. (i.e. '...refused to be pulled out')

When the matrix patient is the shared argument, *nale* means 'to allow someone to do X'. These complements occur both with an infinitive, e.g. (84), and a nominalised verb, e.g. (85).

- (84) (Nai) apa-ga juk hala-rang got-pe ma-na-la.
 2p father-LOC point when-EMPH look-INF NEG-agree-PRT
 'You are never allowed to put father to the test.' (*juk gotpe* = 'to put to the test')
- (85) Ro-ki cho songo shi-wa-gai-bu wu-wa na-na.
 3-AGT TOP person die-NOM-ABL-FOC rise-NOM agree-COP
 'He even allows people to rise from being dead.'

14.4.3 Cotpe 'to make, to pretend'

As noted above, the complement-taking verb *cotpe* 'make, prepare' also occurs in constructions with both shared matrix subject/agent and shared matrix patient. Of any verb, *cotpe* shows perhaps the greatest semantic divergence between the two structurally conditioned senses. With shared subject/agent, *cotpe* means 'to pretend, to act as if'. The literal meaning might be understood as 'to make (oneself)'. In this construction, the verb *cotpe* takes a nominalised complement, cf. also example (13) above.

- (86) Na-shi ma-se-wa cot-la.
 2p-AGT NEG-know-NOM make-COP
 'You are pretending not to know.'

- (87) Toka yi-gi ro-ka khamung sari-ga sok-than, pon-ga
 bull blood-AGT 3-LOC clothes sari-LOC smear-NF king-LOC
 phodrang sa-ga di-nyi, zik-pa cot-nyi
 palace ground-LOC go-NF wash-NOM make-NF
 tha-wa-la.
 leave-NOM-COP
 'Smearing the bull's blood on his clothing, going to the ground by the king's
 palace, he pretended to wash (it).'

In the other sense, with shared matrix patient, the verb *cotpe* functions as a causative, meaning 'to cause someone to do something.' Like the causative verb *bile* (above), the verb *cotpe* in this construction may take either an infinitive or a nominalised complement, depending on the nature of the complement proposition. The infinitive is used for events that are future, prospective or irrealis, as in (88) and (89), and the nominative for events that are past, perfect or realis, as in (90) and (91), although the distinction is sometimes subtle, cf. example (87) above.

- (88) Kenco-gi ngam khepa songo lekpu dang ma-lek-pa
 God-AGT sun TOP person good and NEG-be.good-NOM
 nyiktsing-ga-rang shar-be cot nang-ma ca. Ro-ki ngamsu
 two-LOC-EMPH shine-INF make give-NOM COP 3-AGT rain
 khepa-bu che a-han dang dikpa a-han nyiktsing-ga-rang
 TOP-FOC religion do-REL and sin do-REL two-LOC-EMPH
 yut-pe cot nang-ma ca.
 fall-INF make give-NOM COP
 'God has caused the sun to shine on both good and evil people. He has
 caused the rain to fall on those who practise religion and those who sin.'
- (89) Nyi ro-ki nowang-gai leng shong mu-nyi, ro shong
 PRT 3-AGT mouth-ABL away breath blow-NF 3 breath
 shok-pe cot-pa-la.
 breathe-INF make-NOM-COP
 'And blowing his breath from his mouth, he made her breathe.'
- (90) Om songo nga-me-rang ma-r-ba ji cot-pe.
 now person eat-INF-EMPH NEG-can-NOM 1s.AGT make-INF
 'Now I will make (it) unable to eat people.'
- (91) Songo nang-kai phis-ka sho-khan-gi cho, ro
 person in-ABL out-LOC emerge-REL-AGT TOP 3
 ma-tsang-ma cot-ca gila.
 NEG-clean-PRT make-COP COP
 'That which comes out of a person from within makes him unclean.'

14.5 COMPLEMENT CLAUSE VS. ADVERBIAL CLAUSE

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, complement clauses show surface similarity to those adverbial clauses which are formed with a participial verb form. The complement clause is built on the same participial verb forms, and, like adverbial clauses, may take the locative case marker. Complement clauses are, however, semantically and syntactically distinct from participial adverbial clauses. With regards to semantics, the complement clause completes or specifies the meaning of the verb in the same way that a required object does. This was not true for adverbial clauses. The adverbial clause modifies the proposition of the matrix clause, specifying for example its time of occurrence or logical conditions under which the proposition may occur. However, the meaning of the matrix clause is independently specified and not dependent on the adverbial clause.

In addition to these semantic distinctions, there are syntactic differences between complement and participial adverbial clause constructions. These have to do with argument sharing, positional flexibility, and case marking.

14.5.1 *Argument sharing*

It was noted in Chapter 13 that Tshangla adverbial clauses do not necessarily share any arguments with their matrix clause, though arguments may be shared due to zero anaphora. It has been shown in this chapter that a complement clause must share at least one noun phrase argument with the matrix clause.

14.5.2 *Positional flexibility*

Adverbial clauses were also shown to be regularly preposed or postposed to the matrix clause. Complement clauses lack this positional flexibility, occurring, except for in highly marked pragmatic constructions, in direct object position in the clause, i.e. after the matrix subject and before the verb. So for example, the adverbial clause in example (92) may be preposed to the matrix clause, as in sentence (93). For the complement clause in (94), preposing is impossible, hence the unacceptability of (95):³

³ Postposing is a pragmatic alternation which seems to be even more restrictive than preposing. Postposing of a complement clause does not appear to be possible even in a marked pragmatic context, though other more 'deeply' embedded constituents may be postposed (cf. section 18.1). Constraints on what types of constituents may be postposed is a topic for further research.

- (92) Lai singmu la-me-ga, ro bra throm-ga di-wa-la.
 work new search-INF-LOC 3 other town-LOC go-NOM-COP
 'In order to search for new work, he went to another town.'
- (93) Ro bra throm-ga di-wa-la, lai singmu la-me-ga.
 3 other town-LOC go-NOM-COP work new search-INF-LOC
 'He went to another town in order to search for new work.'
- (94) Ro lai singmu ale la-ma-la.
 3 work new do-INF search-NOM-COP
 'He wanted to do some new work.'
- (95) *Lai singmu a-le ro la-ma-la.
 work new do-INF 3 search-NOM-COP

14.5.3 Case marking

While the locative case marker does, as mentioned above, occur optionally on the verb of both complement and adverbial clauses, the case marker is decidedly less likely to be found on complement clause verbs. This must then be seen as a pragmatic or emergent constraint rather than as a fully grammatical requirement. Furthermore, the case marking is extremely rare, though not impossible, in the case of the modal matrix verbs such as *khele* 'must' or *rebe* 'can', which are arguably closest to grammaticalisation as modal auxiliaries but which are nevertheless syntactically indistinguishable from other complement-taking verbs of the matrix subject/agent sharing type, cf. section 14.2 above.

14.5.4 Problematic cases

For verbs like 'know', 'see' and 'want', it may be obvious that the meaning of the verb itself is further specified or completed by a complement clause. There are, however, other complement-taking verbs for which this semantic relationship is less obvious, but which nevertheless show characteristics, both semantic and syntactic, of complement-taking verbs. Two such examples are the verbs *shonang phele* 'to be happy' and *sem shile* 'to be discouraged'. We can see from examples (96) and (97) that the matrix verb meaning is not independent of the meaning of the complement, but is in fact limited by the complement.

- (96) A-ha Druk gelkhap nang-ka cho-khan songo
 1p-LOC Bhutan kingdom in-LOC stay-REL person
 thamcet-ki-rang mi cang-me-ga shonang phe-n-ca gila.
 all-AGT-EMPH arrow play-INF-LOC happiness feel-SE-COP COP
 'All Bhutanese people are happy to play archery.'

- (97) Rang-ten-bu lai a-le-ga sem shi-n di-na me.
 Self-RFLX-FOC work do-INF-LOC mind die-SE go-COP PRT
 '(I) myself even become discouraged from working.'

In example (96), the happiness signified by the matrix verb *shonang phele* 'to be happy' is not simply a general happiness, but rather a specific pleasure taken in the activity expressed by the complement verb *mi cangme* 'play archery'. Hence the complement can be seen as completing the meaning of the matrix verb. An adverbial clause interpretation of example (96), in which the propositions retain their semantic independence, would be distinct from the complement clause reading, something along the lines of 'they are happy so that they can play archery'. Note that an adverbial clause reading of 'they are happy because they can play archery' would require the nominalised form of the participle with the agentive case marker *cangma-gi*.

Example (97) makes this semantic dependence even more apparent. The meaning of the matrix verb *sem shile* 'mind die' (lit. 'be discouraged') causes the complement proposition *lai ale* 'to work' to be interpreted as not actually realised at all. An adverbial clause interpretation of example (97) would be quite different from this, i.e. 'in order to work, I become discouraged' or 'I become discouraged and work'. Examples (96) and (97) thus illustrate the semantic dependence between complement clauses and their matrix clause which is not found in adverbial subordination.

As seen above, even verbs like *dile* 'to go' and *uphe* 'to come' may function as complement-taking verbs in Tshangla.

- (98) Thinung ja-ga mongshi nang-ka a-ching nyiktcing
 today 1s-LOC dream in-LOC 1p-DUAL two
 kor-be-ga di-n-cho-wa.
 go.around-INF-LOC go-SE-stay-NOM
 'Today in my dream we two were going for a walk.' (lit. 'were going to walk').

In example (98), the semantic union between complement and matrix predicates is easily seen. The action encoded by the verb *dile* 'to do' is limited to the specific action of 'going on a walk'. The complement clause reading here is distinct from an adverbial clause reading, which would be 'went in order to walk' or 'went and walked'. In Tshangla, motion verbs like 'go' and 'come' as well as state/location verbs like *chole* 'stay' are frequently configured as complement-taking verbs.

The complement clause construction in (98) is admittedly somewhat less than prototypical. Note also the case marking on the complement. Recall that while case marking is optional on complements, such case marking

tends to occur less frequently with a complement than with an adverbial clause. Also recall that the most complement-like constructions, namely the modal auxiliaries like *khele* 'must' and *rebe* 'can', never allow for case marking. These facts all suggest a continuum of degrees of binding between adverbial participial and complement clause constructions.⁴ Case marking is possible for all but the extreme end of the continuum, e.g. modal complement-taking verbs like 'must' and 'can', but more likely to occur the more adverbial-like the construction becomes, i.e. less 'merged'. Positional flexibility may also reflect this continuum, though further study is needed.

14.6 COMPLEMENT CLAUSE VS. RELATIVE CLAUSE

One characteristic of complement clauses, especially when the complement verb is the nominalised participle in *-wa*, is that an ambiguity may arise between a relative clause and complement clause structure. Consider the following example.

- (99) Tsisha-ba ridi-gi wak-pa got-pe.
 blade.of.grass-PL wind-AGT drive-NOM look-INF
 '(You) will see blades of grass driven by the wind.'

In example (99), the clause containing the verb *wakpe* 'to drive' may be a post-nominal relative clause, in which case the interpretation is 'You will see blades of grass which are (or which have been) driven by the wind.' Alternatively, the embedded clause may be a complement with its subject *tsishaba* 'leaves' also serving as an object argument of the matrix clause, in which case the reading is something like 'You will watch blades of grass get driven by the wind'. With this reading, the complement of the verb is the entire clause and therefore semantically what is being seen or watched is the entire proposition. Note that the past participle in English, such as 'driven' in the free translation of example (99), is ambiguous between relative and complement clause in precisely the same way.

⁴ In English as well, the distinction between complement and adverbial clause can be vague for certain verbs, especially verbs coding change of location. An utterance like 'He went to find out' seems more complement-like than 'He went there (in order) to find out', which is clearly an adverbial adjunct. In the imperative 'Go find out!', the infinitive marker 'to' is dropped and the hence the binding even more apparent. In the complement construction, the complement clause itself 'to find out' takes the place of the locative argument of the matrix verb, while in the adverbial construction the locative adverb 'there' already occupies this argument slot.

Ambiguities may also arise with an embedded infinitive participle in *-le*. In example (100), the compound verb *sem chole* ‘to have a mind to’, i.e. ‘to be interested in’, may be interpreted as a complement-taking predicate with the complement ‘to love and help poor people’. The complement verbs are the infinitive participles *phangpe* ‘to love’ and *rumpe* ‘to help’. Alternatively, *sem* ‘mind’ may be analysed as a nominal and head of a relative clause in *-le*, giving a relativised oblique comparable to the examples seen in section 11.4.1.4 above, ‘...a pot to mix’, ‘...work to feed one’s stomach’, etc.

- (100) Jang songo dukpu-ga phang-pe dang rum-pe-ga sem
 1s person poor-LOC love-INF and help-INF-LOC mind
 khepa cho-wa.
 TOP stay-NOM
 ‘I had a mind to love and help poor people.’

This potential ambiguity between relative clause and complement clause structures is especially apparent in the case of dependent clauses with the nominalised form *awa* of the verb *ale* ‘to do’. Recall from section 11.3.1.4 above, the object relative clauses formed with *awa*. Here we will see some cases in which the semantics may motivate a structural analysis of the construction as a complement clause. In the following examples, what is of interest is the complement clause with *awa* and the following matrix verb.

- (101) Phom nang-ka jang thur a-wa thur zek-nyi lus-pa.
 snow in-LOC 1s one do-NOM one sink-NF leave-NOM
 ‘I was left alone having sunk in the snow.’ (lit: ‘...was left made one...’)
 (RC *‘I who was alone, was left in the snow.’)
- (102) Goma nyi pon thur dang cangapa thur cho-wa giwala.
 before PRT king one and joker one stay-NOM COP
 Nyi ro nyiktsing a-wa thur cho-nyi, tam thur zhu-wa
 PRT 3 two do-NOM one stay-NF tale one tell-NOM
 giwala, changapa-gi.
 COP joker-AGT
 ‘Long ago, there was a king and a joker. And when they were staying just the two of them, the joker told a story.’ (lit: ‘And when they were staying made two...’)
 (RC: *‘And when they who were made two were staying...’)

In example (101), the combined serial verb construction *zeknyi luspa* ‘left alone’ serves as the matrix verb, which takes the preceding proposition containing the verb *awa* as its complement. *Jang* ‘I’ is both the subject of the complement clause as well as the object of the matrix verb. In exam-

ple (102), our interest is in the adverbial clause of the second sentence *ro nyiktsing awa thur chonyi* ‘when they were just the two of them’. Here the matrix verb is *chonyi* ‘staying’ and the complement verb *awa*, with *ro nyiktsing* ‘the two of them’ as the shared argument. In these examples, the only likely semantic interpretation is one which requires the complement clause structure.

In a sentence like (103), however, the semantics do not resolve the ambiguity. This utterance could be analysed structurally as either a relative clause or a complement clause construction with only a slight difference in meaning:

- (103) Brak sharang thungka, brumsha katang uptur a-wa thur
 cliff head upon pumpkin big such do-NOM one
 se-wa la.
 produce-NOM COP
 RC: ‘On top of the cliff pumpkins made *this* big are growing!’ (lit: ‘... pumpkins *done this big* are being produced.’)
 COMP: ‘On top of the cliff there are pumkins growing to be *this* big.’ (lit: ‘...there are pumpkins *being produced done this big*.’)

In the relative clause structure, the relative clause *katang uptur awa thur* ‘made this big’ modifies the nominal *brumsha* ‘pumpkin’, and the entire relative clause plus head together serve as the object noun phrase of the matrix verb *sewa* ‘produced’. In the complement-clause structure, *brumsha* ‘pumpkin’ is the patient argument of the matrix verb, but at the same time the patient argument of the complement clause verb *awa* ‘made’.

Figures 9 and 10 below show the two alternative structures of example (103).

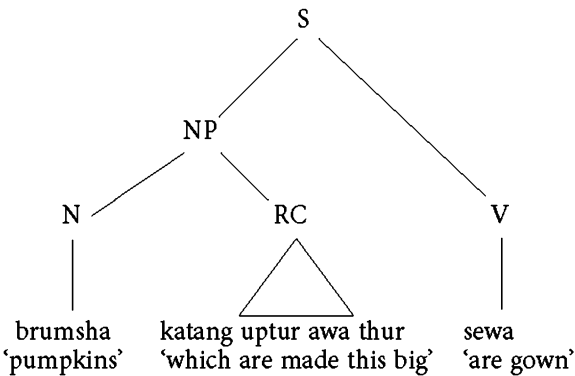


Figure 9. Relative clause structure with *awa*

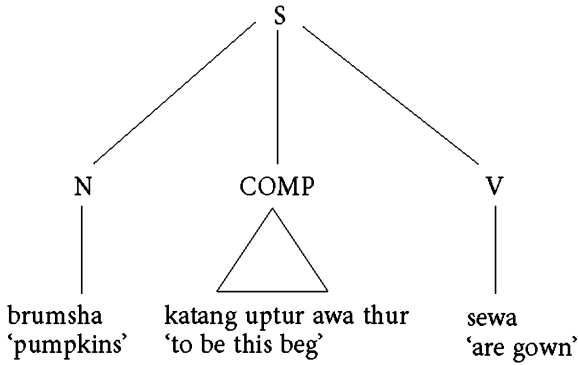


Figure 10. Complement clause structure with *awa*

14.7 EMBEDDING

Tshangla complement clauses were defined in section 14.1 as sharing at least one of their arguments with the matrix clause. This analysis is based on the semantic and pragmatic grounds of coreference. Tshangla complements were called 'partially embedded' according to a 'merged clause' analysis (Longacre 1983) wherein a complement argument belongs to the matrix verb as well. Morphosyntactic proof, however, indicating whether a nominal is structurally an argument of the matrix or the complement verb or both is not available. Many of the syntactic structures typically used to argue for full embedding, such as passivisation, cleft constructions and other manipulations are not available in Tshangla. Morphological case marking is also of limited usefulness as an indicator of syntactic structure, given that case marking is often conditioned by non-syntactic, i.e. semantic and pragmatic factors, as seen in Chapter 7.

Consider example (104). The subject of the complement clause, being coreferential with the matrix subject *meme* 'grandfather', has been deleted by equi-NP deletion. The absolutive marking on the matrix subject corresponds to the intransitive matrix verb *dile* 'to go' and not with the transitive complement verb *bakpe* 'to plow'. This suggests that the transitive complement is fully embedded.

- (104) Nong thur meme sho ung bak-pe di-wa cho-wa.
 day one grandfather TOP field plow-INF go-NOM stay-NOM
 'One day, grandfather went to plow the field.'

However, in many other examples where the complement subject is deleted, the matrix subject case marking nonetheless appears to link the matrix subject with the complement verb, suggesting that the overt nominal is an argument of both matrix and complement verb, and hence that the

complement is not fully embedded. For example, the subject of the matrix complement-taking verb, when coreferential with the complement subject, regularly takes an agentive marker when the complement is an agentive activity, as seen in the following sentences.

- (105) Nan-gi se-le khe-le.
 2s-AGT know-INF must-INF
 'You must know (it).'
- (106) Hang lai lekpu ji-gi a-le khe-le ya
 what work good 1s-AGT do-INF must-INF QUES
 'What good work must I do?'
- (107) Songo-ba-ki ro tsung-me khe-le.
 person-PL-AGT 3 seize-INF must-INF
 'The people must catch him.'
- (108) Onya waktsa chilu ri-nyi-la ji-gi she-le
 DEM child large become-NF-PRT 1s-AGT kill-INF
 ma-r-ba.
 NEG-able-PRT
 'If this child is allowed to become an adult, I will not be able to kill him.'

One might suppose that this was due to the grammaticalisation of modal complement-taking verbs like *khele* and *rebe* into mere auxiliaries, in which case the complement verb would be reanalysed as matrix verb. However other complement-taking verbs show the same case-marking behaviour:

- (109) Ji-gi unyu dabu ma-a-i a-nyi yek-pe
 1s-AGT DEM manner NEG-do-IMP do-NF speak-INF
 rung-pe.
 permit-INF
 'I am permitted to tell them not to do that.'

Example (96) above, repeated here, also has an agentive subject which would seem to go with the agentive complement verb rather than a non-agentive matrix verb:

- (96) A-ha Druk gelkhap nang-ka cho-khan songo
 1p-LOC Bhutan kingdom in-LOC stay-REL person
 thamcet-ki-rang mi cang-me-ga shonang phe-n-ca gila.
 all-AGT-EMPH arrow play-INF-LOC happiness feel-SE-COP COP
 'All Bhutanese people are happy to play archery.'

In instances where the complement nominal is not deleted, i.e. verbs sharing matrix patient as described in section 14.3, case marking on the complement subject may also suggest a non-embedded analysis. Some subjects of a transitive complement occur in the agentive case, as would be expected

with a fully-embedded complement. In example (110), *songoba* ‘people’ is the subject of the transitive complement verb *yitka ale* ‘remember’. In example (111), the third person dual pronoun *daching* is the subject of the complement verb *ale* ‘do’. Both of these complement subjects are marked with the agentive case.

- (110) Bra songo-ba-ki nan yitka a-le bi-le gila
 other person-PL-AGT 2s memory do-INF give-INF COP
 dak-nyi-la, songo thur-gai tiru chi-nyi ram cot-co.
 say-NF-PRT person one-ABL money borrow-NF debt make-IMP
 ‘If you say you want to make other people remember you, borrow money from someone!’
- (111) Songo thamcen-gi se-na, da-ching-gi namesame yi
 person all-AGT know-COP 3-DUAL-AGT very blood
 chat-pa lai a-wa-ga.
 stop-NOM work do-NOM-LOC
 ‘All the people know it, that they did very amazing deeds.’ (*yi chatpe* = ‘to amaze’)

However, a transitive complement subject also occurs occasionally in the unmarked absolutive case. In example (112), the third person plural subject *ro* of the complement verb *thongme* ‘see’ is in the unmarked absolutive case. Likewise, in sentence (113), the second person dual subject of *tsungme* ‘seize’ is absolutive. Note that both of these verbs are among those which most consistently take the agentive case marking on their subjects.

- (112) Songo-ba-ki ro dru cot-pa thong-ma-kap-nyi, songo
 person-PL-AGT 3 boat make-NOM see-PTC-with-NF person
 thamcet-ki ngar-nyi mem cor bi-wa-la
 all-AGT laugh-NF mock pay give-NOM-COP
 ‘When the people saw him making a boat, they all laughed and mocked him.’
- (113) Ji-gi na-ching songo tsung-me-ga ye-n bi-le.
 1s-AGT 2-DUAL person seize-INF-LOC teach-SE give-INF
 ‘I will teach you to catch people.’

In causative constructions, a transitive complement subject is often marked with the locative case.

- (114) Da-shi chethrim-gai yek-nyi, songo-ba-ka a-le bi-na.
 3p-AGT law-ABL speak-NF person-PL-LOC do-INF give-COP
 ‘Speaking from the law, they make the people do (it).’
- (115) Meme-gi abi-ga ko dam-pe bi-wa-la.
 grandfather-AGT grandmother-LOC door close-INF give-NOM-COP
 ‘Grandfather had grandmother close the door.’

- (116) Onya dukpu za-ga thri phi-le-ga yen bi-n...
 DEM poor son-LOC machine do-INF-LOC teach give-SE
 'They taught the poor boy to work the machine...'
- (117) Jang-ga yigi lam-pe-ga yen ge!
 1s-LOC letter read-INF-LOC teach give.IMP
 'Teach me to read!'
- (118) Jang-gi nan-ga thep nyong-pe-ga tshas-pe.
 1s-AGT 2s-LOC notebook get-INF-LOC want-INF
 'I want you to find my notebook.'

The presence of either locative or absolutive case marking on these transitive complement subjects suggests that they are arguments of the matrix verb. We would expect an agentive case marking if they were only arguments of the transitive complement clause.⁵

Interestingly, some speakers apply a double case-marking strategy in precisely this kind of construction, marking the complement subject with both a locative and an agentive case particle:

- (119) Nyi ro-ki dut-ka-ba-ki hang-rang yek-pe
 PRT 3-AGT demon-LOC-PL-AGT what-EMPH speak-INF
 ma-bi-wa-la.
 NEG-give-NOM-COP
 'He would not allow the demons to say anything.'
- (120) Otha zambuling-ga lik-khan ngon dang shing-ga-ba-ki
 DEM world-LOC sprout-REL grass and tree-LOC-PL-AGT
 zambuling namesame shonang phe-tok-tok cos-pa-la.
 world very happiness feel-PRT-PRT make-NOM-COP
 '(He) caused the grass and trees growing in the world to make the world happy.'

This double case marking is not found in any other construction. This further supports the hypothesis that the nominal is an argument of both verbs.

⁵ Comrie (1976b) proposed a case hierarchy of Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Other Oblique. He argues that in the paradigm case, the causee receives the case marking normally given to the noun phrase occupying the highest position on this hierarchy available in the clause. Because the causer will always be treated as the subject of the clause, subject marking is not available for the causee. When the caused verb is intransitive the causee is treated as a direct object. *When it is transitive, the causee is marked as an indirect object*, and finally when it is ditransitive, the causee receives some other oblique marking.

14.8 DOUBLE-SHARED ARGUMENTS

So far in this chapter, the discussion has revolved around a single argument that may be shared by the matrix and complement clause. In some instances, however, the complement and matrix clause may share more than one argument. Consider the following examples.

(121) Zala-gi chusen-ga amse za-le bi-n-ca.
 monkey-AGT chusen-LOC mango eat-INF give-SE-COP
 'The monkey gave the *chusen* mangos to eat.'

(122) Semcen khaila-ga nga-me di-wa-la.
 animal tiger-LOC eat-INF go-NOM-COP
 'The animals went to the tiger to be eaten.'

In example (121), the nominal *chusen* is simultaneously the beneficiary of the matrix verb *bile* 'to give' and the agent of the complement verb *zale* 'to eat'. Furthermore, *amse* 'mango' has the role of patient to both verbs. In example (122), *semcen* 'animal' is both the subject of the matrix verb *dile* 'to go' and the patient of the complement verb *ngame* 'to eat', while *khaila* 'tiger' is the locative/goal argument of *dile* 'to go' but also the agent of *ngame* 'to eat'.

14.9 COMPLEX COMPLEMENTATION

Complement clauses can be embedded within each other, creating constructions of greater complexity. In example (123) below, the phrase shown in boldface contains two complement constructions. First is *dangme reba* 'able to walk', where the omitted matrix subject is coreferential with the complement subject. Superimposed outside of this is *reba cotpe* 'to make someone able', where the matrix patient is coreferential to the complement subject.

(123) Ji-gi otha dang-me ma-r-khan songo khepa drak-nyi
 1s-AGT DEM walk-INF NEG-can-REL person TOP heal-INF
dang-me re-ba cot-pe.
 walk-INF can-NOM make-INF
 'I will heal that person who can't walk, and *make him be able to walk.*'

14.10 ASPECT MARKING ON COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Aspectual distinctions may be marked on the complement clause independently of the matrix clause. The imperfective aspect is coded by means of the grammaticalised verb *chole* 'to stay', as in the following examples.

- (124) Songo yam nang thur lanyong loka lang-nyi cho-wa thong-ma.
 person young one right side sit-NF stay-NOM see-NOM
 '(They) saw a young man sitting on the right side.'
- (125) Nyi waktsa-ba-ki ro-ka ama lopen kap-nyi chas a-n
 PRT child-PL-AGT 3-LOC mother teacher with-NF talk do-SE
 cho-wa-ga thong-ma-la.
 stay-NOM-LOC see-NOM-COP
 'And the children saw their mother talking with the teacher.'
- (126) Chutse se-ga u-nyi-la drak-pe, hang-ya-a-nyi-la
 hour ten-LOC come-NF-PRT be.better-INF what-QUES-do-NF-PRT
 jang to za-n-cho-wa ma-khra-pa.
 1s food eat-SE-stay-NOM NEG-meet-PRT
 'It'd be better if you come at 10 o'clock, then you won't meet me eating.'

CONCATENATION: THE NON-FINAL CONSTRUCTION

15.1 NON-FINAL VS. PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Two types of non-finite clauses have been described, the non-final and the participial. In this section some differences between these two clause types will be pointed out. The first type, the non-final clause, is a clause marked with one of the adverbial subordinators *-than*, *-deke*, *-kapnyi*, *-nyila*, *-nyibu*, *-nyisho*, *-nyi*, and *-n ~ Ø*.¹

The second type of non-finite clause involves a dependent clause marked with the participial suffix, either the infinitive *-le* or the nominaliser *-wa*. Included in this type are both adverbial and complement clauses as well as other embedded clause constructions.

For each of these two types of non-finite subordinate clause, a general statement can be made about the multi-clausal constructions which contain them. For each, varying degrees of syntactic and semantic 'binding' (Givón 1980; 1990: 516–9) are evidenced between the matrix and dependent clause. The nature and effect of this binding, however, is quite different for the two types.

In the constructions containing a participial clause in *-le* or *-wa*, a greater merging, or binding, between the two clauses correlates with a greater nominalisation of the dependent verb. A complement clause is for example more like an argument of the matrix verb than is a participial adverbial clause. At the same time, however, the ability of the embedded clause to represent a distinct event semantically is not diminished. Rather the event is merely construed as a referential entity for the purpose of discourse. To use an analogy, we might picture this merging as a subduction of one rock stratum under another along a geological faultline. As the two strata are compressed together they are both preserved relatively intact by the one sliding underneath the other.

The binding which is created by the concatenating marker *-nyi* is quite different. As the two clauses merge, the non-final clause is *not* reconstrued

Recall from section 4.2 that the stem-extended verb alone, in the case of vowel-final roots, or the bare verb root, in the case of all other verbs including the exceptional vowel-final verb roots in *-e* and *-i*, may also function as a non-final verb with unspecified rhetorical relationship to the main clause, similarly to the non-final verb in *-nyi*.

as a referential entity nor does the clause lose its verbal nature. The non-final clause does, however, lose its ability to represent a distinct event. The clause becomes *adverbial*, i.e. a modifier of the verbal event. We might picture this as a merging of two rock plates where there is no vertical subduction, and as a result the two plates are compressed together, one or both of them being crushed or distorted as a result.

15.2 DEGREES OF CLAUSE MERGING WITH *-nyi*

Chapter 13 described the non-final clauses. These were marked with adverbial subordinators *-than*, *-deke*, *-kapnyi*, *-nyila*, *-nyibu*, *-nyisho*, *-nyi*, and *-n* ~ \emptyset . In this chapter, the claim will be made that one of these markers, the marker *-nyi*, does more than mark adverbial clauses. Recall that *-nyi* was described as the unspecified non-final marker.² *-Nyi* is the most semantically general of the set, by which it is meant that, as opposed to the others, *-nyi* gives no indication of the precise semantic relationship between the dependent and final clause (cf. section 13.1.7). It will now be shown that *-nyi* is also the most syntactically general, in that this marker can occur in a variety of concatenating constructions.

Adverbial clauses, as shown above, although dependent, contain nevertheless a complete clause with distinct nominal and peripheral arguments. It will be argued here that clauses in *-nyi* may merge with the matrix clause, and in so doing, be 'reduced' to something less than a complete clause. While clauses in *-nyi* retain their verbal nature as they merge, they may lose some of their distinctness as encoders of a separate event (DeLancey 1991b). This is a gradient phenomenon. Sequences of clauses in *-nyi* vary along a scale. At one end of the scale are clauses which represent completely distinct events. In keeping with current usage, these concatenated clauses will be called clause chains. At the other end are sequences of verbs which encode semantic components of a single event. Such verb chains will be referred to here as 'serial verbs'. In addition to these two extreme endpoints, a middle or intermediate stage can be identified where clauses in *-nyi* denote distinct events, but where these events are presented as inextricably linked to each other in such a way as to be viewed as a single composite event.

² The verb in *-nyi* is in many respects similar to the so-called "converb" which appears in the Indo-European literature, especially Russian, having been adopted from Altaic (Haspelmath 1985). See Bisang (1995) for a comparison of converbs and verb serialisation. See Noonan (1997) for reference to converbs in a Tibeto-Burman language.

The following examples illustrate the continuum.

- (1) Dorji tiru chum-nyi u-pha.
Dorji money finish-NF come-NOM
'Dorji used up the money and came.'
- (2) Ji-gi tsi got-nyi thong-ma
1s-AGT divination look-NF see-NOM
'I saw it by divination.'
- (3) Kha thur phai nangka phur-nyi u-pha.
bird one house inside fly-NF come-NOM
'A bird flew into the house.'

Although the surface syntactic structures of each are similar, there is a subtle difference in the semantics of examples (1) through (3). Example (1) is easily seen as describing two events. Example (3) seems equally clear to be only one event. Example (2), however, is more problematic. On the one hand, the utterance seems to describe two events. However there is no doubt that those events are closely related and interdependent in a way in which the events of example (1) are not.

The question to be addressed in this chapter is whether or not a unified analysis of these three multi-clause constructions is possible. The argument will be made that the three represent three distinct points on a continuum ranging from the least bonded in example (1), to the most closely bonded in example (3), with example (2) being a midway point between the two.

Example (1) is a clause chain. In this construction, two entirely complete clauses including all nominal and peripheral arguments are linked together in a rhetorical relationship (Mann and Thompson 1986), in this case a relationship of events in sequence. While in example (1), the subject of the second clause is elided under coreferentiality with the first clause, it will be claimed below that the subject is present at a deeper level, represented by zero anaphora.

Example (2) contrasts with example (1), in that the union here is at the level of verb phrase or predicate, by which is meant the verb plus its object arguments, but not including its subject. In other words, for this type, in contrast to example (1), it will be claimed that there is only one subject which is shared by both verbs. This construction will be called a 'serial predicate' construction.³

³ Solnit (1997) uses the term "serial predicate", to refer to concatenations of that constituent which contains a verb together with its objects, in order to distinguish this from the serial verb construction, where the concatenated constituent includes the verb alone. Foley and van Valin (cf. also Foley and Olson 1985; 1984; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997),

Example (3) shows the tightest bond, being a union of verbs without any independent arguments at all. This is the familiar ‘serial verb’ construction (Bruce 1988; Bynon 1985; Givón 1991; Lehmann 1988), also called ‘verb concatenation’ (Wheatley 1985).⁴

Notice in the above examples that the verbs are adjacent in all three. The surface absence of a second subject or object does not distinguish the underlying structures of these examples. This is because of the tendency in SOV languages toward zero anaphora, where shared arguments are often omitted. It will be claimed below that there is an underlying structural difference which is often not apparent on the surface. The hypothesis to be argued for in this section is that the underlying structures for (1) through (3) are as shown in Figure 11.

A letter in parenthesis means that the nominal is present underlyingly, but may be represented by zero anaphora if the nominal is coreferent with an argument of the previous verb. Clauses linked in a clause chain are described by formula (1). These clauses always have an independent subject, even if that subject happens to be shared and therefore elided. Predicates linked in the manner of formula (2) have object slots underlyingly, but no independent subject slot. There is only one subject slot. Each verb has its own object slot however, which again may be elided if shared. Finally, verbs linked in the type of structure represented by formula (3) have no independent underlying slots for any arguments.

1.	S	(O)	V	(S)	(O)	V
2.	S	(O)	V		(O)	V
3.	S	(O)	V			V

Figure 11. Underlying structure of concatenated constructions

use the term “core juncture” for a type of union intermediate between clause juncture and nuclear juncture, called serial verbs. However, core juncture differs from the analysis here in that a core includes the verb plus all noun phrases which are semantically subcategorised by the verb, including subject as well as object, while the structure posited in this analysis includes object arguments but not subject.

⁴ Occasionally the term ‘serial verb’ is used to refer to any sequence of juxtaposed verbs, whether they include their arguments or are even complete clauses (cf. Li and Thompson 1973; Li and Thompson 1974; Matisoff 1969). I find useful and am therefore following Solnit’s (1997) distinction between ‘serial predicates’ and ‘serial verbs’, of which only the former include object arguments. For serial verbs Foley and van Valin use the term ‘nuclear juncture’.

Each of these three degrees of merging correlates with specific semantic and syntactic properties. In the following section, these properties will be used as tests to tease apart the three types in a principled way.

15.3 CLAUSE CHAINING

In the following three sections, each of the three constructions will be described, first clause chains, second serial predicates, and finally serial verbs. For each construction, first a brief functional description will be given, followed by several examples to give the flavor of the construction. Following the descriptions of all three constructions, specific syntactic and semantic tests will be applied to distinguish them from each other.

The brief description and examples will suffice to give a feel for the functional distinctions between the three constructions. The semantic and syntactic tests will establish their objective validity as distinct constructions.

15.3.1 *Functional description of clause chaining*

In Chapter 13, *-nyi* was included in a set of non-final verb markers which may mark adverbial clauses. It was noted that adverbial clauses, while not embedded, are grammatically dependent upon the matrix clause and function as modifiers of that clause. Tshangla adverbial clauses meet this description. The adverbial clauses are clearly dependent upon the final clause, and serve to modify the final clause meaning.

However, the same set of markers used in adverbial subordination is also used in so-called clause-chaining constructions. These clause chains do not correspond well with a traditional definition of subordination. Although the non-final clauses in a clause chain are indeed grammatically dependent upon the final clause, the non-final clause does not always serve as a modifier of the final clause. In many occurrences, the non-final clause represents an event in a sequence.

Another characteristic of subordinate or adverbial clauses in many languages is that such clauses are usually associated with backgrounded information in discourse. The Tshangla adverbial clause structures discussed in Chapter 13 encode a proposition restricting or modifying the proposition of the final clause and thus fit well under this functional definition. Clause chains, however, are problematic in that the subordinate clauses do not usually encode background information.⁵ This can be seen in the following

⁵ Myhill and Hibiya (1988), for example, demonstrated that events encoded by non-final clauses in two non-Indo-European clause-chaining languages, Japanese and Suddo, fell somewhere between foreground and background.

short story. Clause-chaining verbs are shown in boldface type in the text as well as the free translation.

- (4) Dangpo songo thur senyom phun-me di-wa-la. Nyi
 long ago person one alms beg-INF go-NOM-COP PRT
 senyom khala khaw khai thur **nyok-nyi**, **bang-nyi**, phai-ga
 alms grain bowl score one receive-NF carry-NF house-LOC
shek-pa-kap-nyi, ro-ten yi-pha doptang-ga jan
 arrive-PRT-with-NF 3-RFLX lie-NOM point-LOC hang
 tha-wa-la. Nyi **yip-than** ga-tan **got-nyi**, oma nekap sho-le
 leave-NOM-COP PRT lie-NF up-to look-NF now plan come-INF
 khe-le-la dak-nyi noksam mi-n **got-pa-kap-nyi**, oma
 must-INF-COP say-NF mind think-SE look-PRT-with-NF now
 yu zong-me. Yu-gi mewaktsa thur phun pha-le.
 liquor boil-INF liquor-AGT wife one beg bring-INF
 Nyesha ngen phi-le. Ngen **phi-dekai** za thur sing-me.
 then marriage do-INF marriage do-NF son one bear-INF
 Za-ga ming hang ra-le ya dak-nyi, sem **mi-n**
 Son-LOC name what call-INF QU say-NF mind think-SE
cho-la-kap-nyi, lanyingam zerere sho-wa-la. Nyesha ja
 stay-PTC-with-NF moon bright come-NOM-COP So 1s
 za-ga ming Drawa Drakpa dak-nyi ming tak
 son-LOC name Drawa Drakpa say-NF name attach
chu-ma-kap-nyi, thola phatsa do phicur-ba-gi **ngam**, nyi
 finish-PTC-with-NF up sack string rat-PL-AGT chew PRT
 phut **u-pha**, ngangdering thung-ka **khe-n**, shi-n
 fall come-PRT neck upon-LOC fall-NF die-SE

tha-wa-la.
 leave-NOM-COP

Long ago one person went to beg for alms. And **receiving** twenty bowls of rice as alms, **carrying** them, when **arriving** at his house, he hung them directly above the place where he slept. Then after **lying** down, **looking** up, when **thinking**, "Now I must think of a plan. Now I will distill some liquor, and with the liquor I will ask for a wife. Then I will get married. **Marrying**, I will get a son," and while **thinking**, "What should I call the son's name?," the moon came out bright. So, (thinking) "I will call my sons's name 'Drawa Drakpa'," while **finishing** giving him that name, up above rats **chewing** the string of the sack, and while (the sack) **falling**, **landing** on (his) neck, he died.

Other than in the embedded quotations of thought, there are only four final verbs in this story: *diwala* 'went', *jan thawala* 'hung', *showala* 'appeared', and *shin thawala* 'died'.⁶ Of the 10 non-final verbs in the story, 5 are

⁶ It will be claimed below that the verb sequences like *jan-thawala* 'hang-leave' and *shin-thawala* 'die-leave' here are serial verbs, functioning as a single predicate.

marked with *-nyi* or its allomorph the stem extender, sometimes realized as \emptyset as in *ngam* 'chew'. The other 5 non-final verbs, however, are marked with other subordinating markers such as *-kapnyi* 'while', *-than* 'after', or *-dekai* 'because'.⁷ Of all of these non-final verbs, only one is arguably a backgrounded event, namely *nyen phidekai* 'after getting married' which is an anaphoric reference to an event of the previous clause. All nine other non-final verbs encode events on the main line of the story.

The question is whether non-final clauses in clause-chaining languages should even be considered subordinate at all.⁸ In terms of syntactic structure, the Tshangla clause chains are more like coordinate clauses, which are linked together but not grammatically dependent (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997).⁹ As Givon points out, the notion of dependence itself is problematic.

... no clause is *totally* independent of its immediate clausal context... in connected, coherent discourse. Consequently, the strands of discourse coherence always entail *some* grammatical concomitants, which one could rightly interpret then as syntactic dependency. (Givón 1990: 826)

Most of the Tshangla non-final markers described in Chapter 13 have as their primary function to mark a clause as a modifier of the final clause. However, each may also be used in clause-chaining structures, where the non-final clause encodes an event on the main event line of the discourse. As for the semantically unspecified non-final marker *-nyi*, the reverse is true. While the primary function of the other non-final markers is to code functionally adverbial clauses, *-nyi* seems to have clause chaining as the primary function and adverbial backgrounding only as a minor function. The discussion from here on will be restricted to the non-final verb in *-nyi*,

⁷ Six other non-final markings occur on the initial element in the verb combinations *jan-tha* 'hand-leave', *min-got* 'trying to think', *phun-pha* 'request-bring', *tak-chum* 'attach-finish', *phut-u* 'fall-come' and *shin-tha* 'die-leave'. The non-final verbs are here part of a serial verb construction (cf. section 15.6) and therefore not included in this analysis. Non-final *daknyi* 'say' is also not included as it serves as a quotative marker and will not be analysed as a clause-chain. This will be dealt with below.

⁸ Longacre (1985) called the distinction between subordination and coordination irrelevant for chaining languages, arguing that speakers of many languages do not have a choice between the two as they do in languages like English, where for example temporally simultaneous events may be encoded either by the subordinating conjunction *while* or the coordinating conjunction *and*.

⁹ Van Valin and LaPolla are writing here about so-called switch-reference clause-chaining constructions, which they claim are fully inflected for the same grammatical categories as the final clause and therefore dependent not in terms of structure, but in terms of semantic operators. In many languages, including Tshangla, the non-final clause in a clause chaining construction is less than fully specified for the grammatical categories of the main clause.

the use of the *-nyi* form in clause chaining, and then the use of *-nyi* in constructions showing varying degrees of union with the final clause.

15.3.2 *Examples of clause chaining*

Clause chains in *-nyi* may represent simultaneous events, as in examples (5) through (6), events in sequence, as in (7), or events in a cause-effect relationship, in example (8).

- (5) Meme zala khon bu-nyi shing thung-ga shek-pa.
 grandfather monkey follow take-NF tree upon-LOC arrive-NOM
 'Chasing the monkey, the old man reached the top of the tree.'
- (6) Gopen nyiktsing, kan jik-nyi, a-ha-loka-tan gan u-pha.
 officer two voice shout-NF 1p-LOC-side-to flee come-NOM
 'Two officers, shouting, fled in our direction.'
- (7) Nyi gisa na gisa dak-nyi, bozong zong-nyi,
 PRT maybe PRT maybe say-NF cassava boil-NF
 khoptang khop-nyi, laga-gi chom-nyi, nyi sa nang-ka
 skin peel-NF leaf-AGT wrap-NF PRT ground in-LOC
 che-nyi, onya wang thur tsuk-nyi tha-wa
 plant-NF thus hole one put-NF leave-NOM.
 'Thinking, "Well, maybe," and boiling the cassava, peeling it, wrapping it with a leaf, and planting it in the ground, putting it in a hole they left it.'
- (8) Ri jam-nyi, jelpo-gi khi+thri-ba giwala.
 water drink-NF king-AGT diarrhea-NOM COP
 'Drinking the sauce, the king got diarrhea.'

Although clauses in a chain often have the same subject, this is not necessarily the case, as example (9) shows.

- (9) (Jang) Amerikan charo thur rum-nyi, ro-ka Tshangla chas
 1s American friend one meet-NF 3-LOC Tshangla speech
 yen ge dak-nyi, ji-gi Tshangla chas yen
 teach give.IMP say-NF 1s-AGT Tshangla speech teach
 bi-n-ca.
 give-SE-COP
 'Meeting an American friend, he asking me to teach him Tshangla, now I am teaching Tshangla.'

In example (10) the subject switches several times, and finally there is a time shift, all within the same clause chain.

- (10) Jelpo-gi toka shampi-gai tsung-nyi jelpo-gi ga
 king-AGT bull tail-ABS seize-NF king-AGT up
 teng-pa-kap-nyi, cangan-gi dong teng-nyi, jelpo-gi ga
 pull-PTC-with-NF joker-AGT down pull-NF king-AGT up
 teng-pa, cangan-gi dong teng-than shama thur-gai cangan-gi
 pull-PTC joker-AGT down pull-NF much one-ABS joker-AGT
 thar kunti-la-kap jelpo ga galakpat jong-ma-la.
 release send-PTC-with king up overend go-NOM-COP.
 'The king seizing the bull by the tail, he pulling up, the joker pulling down,
 the king pulling up, the joker pulling down, after a while the joker letting go
 of the tail the king fell head over heels backwards.'

Rather than being grammatically conditioned by such criteria as continuation of participants or setting, clause chaining seems to be a pragmatic feature subject to manipulation by the speaker in order to create the desired rhetorical affect. Here one effect is to add vividness to the back and forth struggle between the two participants. Pull and counter-pull are blurred together as elements in the overall meta-event of the struggle itself.

15.4 SERIAL PREDICATES

15.4.1 *Functional description of serial predicates*

What will be called here the 'serial predicate' construction might be thought of as a composite event.¹⁰ While two distinct events can be identified, these events are inextricably linked together, as facets or 'sub-events' of some 'macro-event'. This involves more than just the typical event relationships evidenced by conjoined events in a clause chain, such as cause-effect, reason-result, events-in-sequence etc. While such relationships may indeed obtain between sub-events which make up a larger supra-event, the crucial distinguishing mark of this construction as opposed to the multi-event clause chain is that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts, i.e. the composite event takes on a meaning which is not always entirely predictable or parsable in terms of the sub-events of which it is comprised.

Most of the following examples are recorded verbatim from spontaneously generated oral discourse. It is interesting to note that in many of them, the supra-event is glossed in English by means of a preposition like 'by', 'of', or 'in' with a clausal complement, as in 'in doing X he did Y.' The

¹⁰ The term 'event' is used here to refer to a cognitive notion, rather than an entity of objective existence in the external world. Precisely how such a cognitive notion of event should be defined, is outside the scope of this dissertation (but cf. Johnson-Llaird 1983; Slobin 1987; Verbrugge 1985; Warren and Shaw 1985).

preposition in English seems to serve a similar function of merging sub-events into a larger composite event.

15.4.2 *Examples of serial predicates*

A large number of examples will be given here, to give the reader a feel for the construction. The semantic relationship between the two events may vary. So examples (11) and (12) are events in sequence, while (13) through (18) are simultaneous events. The relationship between events in (19) through (26) may be viewed as cause-effect or reason-result, while (27) and (28) bring together an intention or goal with the means by which that intention or goal may be accomplished. As stated previously, however, the individual propositions and semantic relationships between them are not sufficient to account for the semantics of the entire sentence. The individual propositions must be understood in combination, with a composite meaning which is idiomatic and distinct from the meanings of the parts that compose them.

a. *Sequential.*

(11) Phom nangka jang zek-nyi lus-pa.
 snow in 1s sink-NF leave-NOM
 'I was left sunk in the snow.'

(12) Jang gotham zong-nyi za-wa.
 1s egg boil-NF eat-NOM
 'I ate the eggs boiled.'

b. *Simultaneous.*

(13) Mar-khan-ba-ki khi pha-nyi u-pha.
 be.ill-REL-PL-AGT stool bring-NF come-NOM
 'The patients came bringing a stool sample.'

(14) Ro khangnengneng a-nyi phai-ga shek-pa.
 3 shiver do-NF house-LOC arrive-NOM
 'He arrived at the house shivering.'

(15) Ji-gi tsi got-nyi thong-ma gila.
 1s-AGT divination look-NF see-NOM COP
 'I saw it by divination.'

(16) Throm-ga songo-ba kha nyiktsing ri-n phre
 town-LOC person-PL portion two become-SE separate
 di-wa-la.
 go-NOM-COP
 'The people of the town became separated into two factions.'

- (17) Nan zemu-ga kawa cat-nyi sing-nyi, omchang jang
 2s small-LOC hardship suffer-NF raise-NF other 1s
 gan-pa-kap-nyi pangthang nangka nung-me dang?
 be.old-PTC-with-NF field in deliever-INF PRT
 'I raised you in suffering, and now when I am old you are going to put me
 out in the field?'
- (18) Ai thamcen rup-nyi jang-pe.
 1p all help-NF pull-INF
 'We will all help pull.'

c. *Cause-effect, reason-result.*

- (19) Nganpa-ba-ki ngan phi-nyi za-n-ca.
 nganpa-PL-AGT hex do-NF eat-SE-COP
 'The *nganpas* live off of doing hexes.'
- (20) Taktakpa-gi nga za-khan semcen-ga ngangdiring-gai tsik-nyi
 frog-AGT fish eat-REL animal-LOC throat-ABL pinch-NF
 she-wa.
 kill-NOM
 'The frog strangled the crane (lit. fish-eating animal) to death.'
- (21) Ro-ka apa japa ke-nyi shi-wa.
 3-LOC father grief do-NF die-NOM
 'His father died of grief.'
- (22) Dorji ri-gi phak bu-nyi shi-wa.
 river-AGT sweep take-NF die-NOM
 'Dorji died by drowning.'
- (23) Ro natsha khe-nyi shi-wa.
 3 disease strike-NF die-NOM
 'He died of a disease.'
- (24) Ro gopen-gi du bi-nyi mar-ba.
 3 chief-AGT poison give-NF be.sick-NOM
 'He was sickened by being poisoned by the chief.'
- (25) Ro melam tap-nyi drak-pa.
 3 prayer make-NF heal-NOM
 'He was healed by prayer.'
- (26) Ro ko biti dom-nyi phot-pa.
 3 door foot kick-NF break-NOM
 'He kicked the door in.'

d. *Intention, goal-means.*

- (27) Ro ro-ten jap a-nyi chas zhu-wa-la.
 3 3-RFLX save do-NF talk offer-NOM-COP
 'He spoke in his own defense (i.e. in order to save himself).'

- (28) Ro pura ro dawa cos-nyi lai a-wa.
 3 completely 3 like prepare-NF work do-NOM
 'He worked making it as big as himself.'

In the above examples, the semantic merging of the two events is apparent. The meaning of the whole construction is different than the sum of the meaning of the parts. That is, the two events construed as a combined event look quite different from the two events construed merely as simultaneous events, events in sequence, or even cause and effect. Yet we will see later that this semantic merging is actually a pragmatic device and subject to manipulation according to the intent of the speaker. It should be thought of as a construal of the events, rather than a necessary aspect of the events denoted themselves (Lehmann 1988). In other words, a speaker may choose for some reason to take two events which otherwise would be a quite ordinary clause chain, say two events which commonly occur in sequence or as cause and effect, and construe them as two aspects of a single event, i.e. in a serial predicate construction. In this case, the difference in meaning of the two events construed as clause chain vs. the same events construed as serial predicate may be less obvious. However, as we shall see below, there are semantic tests for distinguishing the underlying distinct semantic and syntactic structures in these cases of surface ambiguity.

In the following sections, various diagnostics will be applied, in an effort to try to tease apart the serial predicates from clause chains. These diagnostics are of two types, syntactic and semantic. The syntactic tests will be applied first.

15.4.3 *Syntactic properties of serial predicates*

15.4.3.1 *Restatement as final clauses*

The first syntactic test involves restatement of the construction as two independent clauses with final-clause marking. When a clause chain is restated in this way, the state of affairs represented by the two clauses is quite equivalent to that represented by the clause chain, as evidenced by examples (29) and (30).

- (29) Dorje tiru chum-nyi u-pha.
 Dorje money finish-NF come-NOM
 'Dorje used up the money and came.'
- (30) Dorje tiru chu-ma. Nyi ro u-pha.
 Dorje money finish-NOM PRT 3 come-NOM
 'Dorji used up the money. Then he came.'

With serial predicates, restating the two events as independent final clauses may result in a significant change of meaning.

- (31) Ji-gi tsi got-pa. Nyi ji-gi thong-ma gila.
 1s-AGT divination look-NF PRT 1s-AGT see-NOM COP
 'I did divination. And I saw it.' (Cf. example (15) above.)
- (32) Nganpa-ba-ki ngan phi-n-ca. Nyi ro za-n-ca.
 nganpa-PL-AGT hex do-SE-COP PRT 3 eat-SE-COP
 'The *nganpas* do hexes. And they eat.' (Cf. example (19) above.)
- (33) Ro ro-ten jap a-wa. Nyi ro chas zhu-wa-la.
 3 3-RFLX save do-NF PRT 3 talk offer-NOM-COP
 'He saved himself. And he spoke.' (Cf. example (27) above.)

15.4.3.2 *Comma pause*

Two clause chains can be separated into two final clauses, or separated by a 'comma pause' (cf. Mithun 1988) and/or a pick-up particle at the beginning of the second clause with little change in the meaning, as in example (34).

- (34) Dorje tiru chum-nyi, nyi u-pa.
 Dorje money finish-NF PRT come-NOM
 'Dorje used up the money, and then he came.'

With serial predicates, this kind of break changes the meaning in a noticeable way. Compare each of the examples below with their serial predicate construction above.

- (35) Ji-gi tsi got-nyi, nyi thong-ma gila.
 1s-AGT divination look-NF PRT see-NOM COP
 'I did divination, and then saw it.'
 'I was doing divination, and saw it.'
 (cf. example (15) above)
- (36) Nganpa-ba-ki ngan phi-nyi, nyi za-n-ca.
 nganpa-PL-AGT hex do-NF PRT eat-SE-COP
 'The *nganpas* do hexes, and then eat.'
 'The *nganpas* are doing hexes, and eating.'
 (cf. example (19) above)
- (37) Ro ro-ten jap a-nyi, nyi chas zhu-wa-la.
 3 3-RFLX save do-NF PRT talk offer-NOM-COP
 'He was saving himself, and then spoke.'
 'He saved himself, and spoke.'
 (cf. example (27) above)

15.4.3.3 *Non-shared subject*

We saw above that clause chains may have non-coreferential subjects. With serial predicates, by contrast, the subject must be coreferential and shared. Adding an overt subject to the second predicate forces a clause-chain reading. As seen from the starred free translations, with this clause-chain reading, the ‘composite’ reading of the event is no longer possible.

- (38) Ji-gi tsi got-nyi ro-ki thong-ma gila.
 1s-AGT divination look-NF 1s-AGT see-NOM COP
 ‘I did divination. And he saw it.’
 *‘He saw it by my doing divination.’
 cf. example (15) above
- (39) Nganpa-ba-ki ngan phi-nyi nan za-n-ca.
 nganpa-PL-AGT hex do-NF 2s eat-SE-COP
 ‘The nganpas do hexes. And you eat.’
 *‘You eat by the nganpas doing hexes.’
 cf. example (19) above
- (40) Dorji ro-ten jap a-nyi Dawa chas zhu-wa-la.
 Dorji 3-RFLX save do-NF Dawa talk offer-NOM-COP
 ‘Dorji saved himself, and Dawa spoke.’
 *‘Dawa saved himself by Dorji speaking’
 cf. example (27) above

15.4.3.4 *Non-shared peripherals*

While clause chains may each have their own peripheral arguments, such as time or locative adverbials, serial predicates must share all such peripheral arguments. Inserting separate peripheral arguments into serial predicates forces them into a clause-chain structure, and the composite event reading is not available.

- (41) Ji-gi inying tsi got-nyi thinong thong-ma gila.
 1s-AGT yesterday divination look-NF today see-NOM COP
 ‘I divination yesterday, and saw it today.’
 *‘I saw it today by doing divination yesterday.’
 cf. example (15) above
- (42) Ro throm-ga ngan phi-nyi du-kha za-n-ca.
 3 town-LOC hex do-NF village-LOC eat-SE-COP
 ‘Having done hexes in town, he then eats in the village.’
 *‘He lives in the village off of doing hexes in town.’
 cf. example (19) above

- (43) Tshewang goma ro-ten jap a-nyi tshinge chas zhu-wa.
 Tshewang before 3-RFLX save do-NF later talk tell-NOM
 ‘Tshewang having saved himself before, spoke later.’
 *‘Tshewang spoke later in his earlier defense.’ (!)
 cf. example (27) above

15.4.3.5 Conjoined relativisation

The next diagnostic involves relative clause formation. As described in Chapter 11, relative clauses in Tshangla are formed by extraction of the nominal argument to the matrix clause, and marking of the relative clause verb with a relativising suffix such as *-khan*. As discussed above, when multiple clauses in a clause chain share an argument, that argument is commonly elided from all but one of the clauses. If a relative clause is formed on that shared argument, however, each of the verbs in the clause chain must have its own relativising suffix, as shown in example (44). Example (45), with one non-final verb and only the final verb relativised, is unacceptable.¹¹

- (44) Kenco-gi sung-khan dang lungten-pa-gi dri-khan khepa
 God-AGT say-REL and prophet-NOM-AGT write-REL TOP
 den-pa-rang den-ma-la.
 true-NOM-EMPH come.true-NOM-COP
 ‘What God said and the prophet wrote surely came true.’
- (45) *Kenco-gi sung-nyi lungten-pa-gi dri-khan khepa
 God-AGT say-NF prophet-NOM-AGT write-REL TOP
 denpa-rang den-ma-la.
 true-EMPH come.true-NOM-COP

One of the peculiarities of the serial predicate construction under discussion here, however, is that the entire multi-predicate construction may be relativised together under a single relativising suffix. The relativising suffix occurs on the final verb, and the scope of relativisation spreads to cover both verbs in the serial predicate construction. When the two verbs are jointly relativised in this way, only the composite-event reading is possible. A clause-chain reading is not.

While clause-chain relativisation under a single relativiser is not possible, another possible reading of this structure is as an adverbial clause embedded inside a relative clause. This occurs rarely in discourse, and usually with a specified non-final marker (here *kapnyi*):

Kenco gom.thre-pa-kap-nyi gan jong-khan
 God be.angry-PTC-with-NF flee go-REL
 ... those who flee when God is angry

- (46) tsi got-nyi thong-khan
 divination look-NF see-REL
 ‘... the one who saw it by divination...’
 ‘... that which was seen by divination...’
 *‘... the one who did divination and then saw it...’
- (47) ngan phi-nyi za-khan
 hex do-NF eat-COP
 ‘... the one who lives off of doing hexes...’
 ‘... the one who does hexes and eats...’
- (48) ro-ten jap a-nyi chas zhu-khan
 3-RFLX save do-NF talk tell-REL
 ‘... the one who spoke in his own defense...’
 *‘... the one who saved himself and spoke...’

Serial predicate joint relativisation occurs frequently in natural discourse. The following are some additional examples.

- (49) natsha khe-nyi mar-khan songo-ba
 disease catch-NF be.sick-REL person-PL
 ‘... the people who are sick with diseases...’
- (50) chekhang barka cat phi-nyi zhun tha-khan khasha thetpu
 temple between division do-NF hang leave-REL cloth thick
 ‘... the thick cloth left hanging dividing the temple...’
- (51) thur-sha sho-nyi-la, thamcen rup-nyi jang-khan thur-sha la
 one-PRT reach-NF-PRT all help-NF pull-REL one-PRT COP
 ‘If only one makes it (to the top) there is only one to help pull up every-one.’
- (52) bra songo korgai ma-lek-pa yek-nyi trok-khan
 other people about NEG-good-NOM speak-NF bother-REL
 ‘... those who bother other people by speaking ill of them...’

Corroborative evidence for this association between semantic union and relativisation is found in Kham, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. According to Watters, when the final verb of a clause chain is relativised, other parts of the chain can also be relativised ‘if they are perceived by the speaker as an integral part of the event.’ The two clauses are linked together ‘into a single perceptual event.’ (Watters 1995: 38; cf. also Watters 1999).

- (53) ma-səi:-də zə do-ke-o
 NEG-know-LNK EMP do-EVT-3SA
 ‘He did it in ignorance. (lit. He did it not-knowing.)’
- (54) ma-səi:-də-kao o-do-wo bəhri
 NEG-know-LNK-REL 3SA-do-REL all
 ‘all that he did in ignorance...’

15.4.3.6 *Coordination in complement clause*

Multiple predicates may also be conjoined in a single complement clause, but again only if the predicates are joined in a serial predicate construction.

- (55) Zemu-gai-rang dikpa das pang-nyi che a-le-ga
 small-ABL-EMPH sin bit leave-NF religion do-INF-LOC
 lam-pa giwala.
 learn-NOM COP
 'From the time I was small, I learned to not commit sin and practice the religion.'
- (56) Jang dikpa pang-nyi ro che a-le-ga lam-pa giwala.
 1s sin leave-NF 3 religion do-INF-LOC learn-NOM COP
 'When I left sin, he learned to practice the religion.'
 *'I learned to not commit sin and he to practice the religion.'

In (55), when the non-final verb *pang* 'leave' is in a serial predicate construction together with the final verb of the complement *ale* 'to do', then both verbs may be subsumed under the single complement-taking verb *lampe* 'to learn'. However, in (56), when the change of subjects disallows a serial predicate structure, the complement is interpreted to include only the verb closest to the matrix verb.

15.4.4 *Semantic scope properties of serial predicates*

In addition to syntactic diagnostics, there are semantic tests which can be used to make a distinction between serial predicates and clause chains.

As described in Chapter 13, non-final clauses are unspecified for any grammatical categories, and receive their tense and evidentiality values from the fully inflected final clause. In addition to tense and evidentiality, which are obligatorily marked on the final verb, there are other categories which are not obligatorily marked, but which may be marked, again only on the final verb. The categories in question are illocutionary force, non-declarative mood, deontic modality, and negation. These categories may be used as diagnostics to tease apart the clause chain from the serial predicate constructions. Specifically, the claim will be made that the scope of these semantic categories¹² spreads to include the non-final clause only in the case of a serial predicate construction, and not in the case of the clause-chain construction.¹³

¹² 'operators' in Foley and Van Valin's terms (1984).

¹³ The diagnostics utilising the scope of semantic operators are drawn from Foley & Olson (1985), Foley & Van Valin (1984), and Van Valin & LaPolla (1997). The analysis

15.4.4.1 *Expressions of deontic modality*

The first diagnostic involves the scope of deontic modal expressions like *khele* ‘must’, *rebe* ‘can’. In a serial predicate construction, the semantic scope of the expression spreads back to the non-final predicate, as in the following examples.

(57) Tshewang ro-ten jap a-nyi chas zhu-le khe-le.
 Tshewang 3-RFLX save do-NF talk tell-INF must-INF
 ‘Tshewang must speak in his own defense.’

(58) Ro ngan phi-nyi za-le re-be.
 3 hex do-NF eat-INF can-INF
 ‘He can do hexes for a living.’

In a clause chain, by contract, the the scope of the deontic modal does not spread to the first clause, but modifies only the final clause.

(59) Jelpo-gi ga teng-nyi cangan-gi dong teng-pe khe-le.
 king-AGT up pull-NF joker-AGT down pull-INF must-INF
 ‘The king pulls up and then the joker must pull down.’
 *‘The king must pull up and the joker down.’

15.4.4.2 *Non-declarative mood*

The scope of a non-declarative mood marker (adhortative, imperative, or optative) also spreads backward to the non-final predicate in a serial predicate construction.

(60) Nan-ten jap a-nyi chas zhu-!
 2s-RFLX save do-NF talk tell-IMP
 ‘Speak in your own defense!’

(61) Ngan phi-nyi za-khe!
 hex do-NF eat-ADH
 ‘Let’s live off of doing hexes!’

Again in a clause chain the the scope of the modal operator does not spread backward, but remains limited to the final clause. Note also that the sequence of clauses no longer receives the clause chain reading, but rather the non-final clause is now forced into an adverbial reading.

presented here differs, however, in several respects from theirs. As operators with scope over the clause chain they list illocutionary force, evidentials, tense, and epistemic modality. As core operators they give internal negation, and deontic modality, and as nuclear operators directionals and aspect (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997 p. 47).

- (62) Jelpo-gi ga teng-nyi nan-gi dong teng-chen!
 king-AGT up pull-NF 2s-AGT down pull-OPT
 'When the king pulls up you pull down!'
 *'May the king pull up and you down!'

15.4.4.3 Interrogative

The scope of an interrogative marker spreads backwards to the non-final predicate in a serial predicate construction.

- (63) Tshewang ro-ten jap a-nyi chas zhu-wa mo?
 Tshewang 3-RFLX save do-NF talk tell-NOM QUES
 'Did Tshewang speak in his own defense?'
- (64) Ro ngan phi-nyi za-n-ca mo?
 3 hex do-NF eat-SE-COP QUES
 'Does he do hexes to live? (... live by doing hexes?)'

Also with content questions the scope of the interrogative expression spreads backwards. The following is an example of this for a content question with *hangten* 'how'.

- (65) Jepo-ga jap a-nyi chetha hangten phi-le ya?
 king-LOC help do-NF war how do-INF QUES
 'How shall we make war to help the king?'

In a clause chain, by contract, the interpretation becomes adverbial, and the scope of the interrogative does not spread to the first clause.

- (66) Jelpo-gi ga teng-nyi cangan-gi dong teng-pa mo?
 king-AGT up pull-NF joker-AGT down pull-NOM QUES
 'When the king pulled up did the joker pull down?'
 *'Did the king pull up and the joker down?'

15.4.4.4 Negative

The scope of a negative marker on the final clause also spreads backward to the non-final predicate in a serial predicate construction.

- (67) Tshewang ro-ten jap a-nyi chas ma-zhu-wa-la.
 Tshewang 3-RFLX save do-NF talk NEG-tell-NOM-COP
 'Tshewang did not say anything in his own defense. (Though he may have spoken.)'
- (68) Ro ngan phi-nyi ma-za-n-ca gila.
 3 hex do-NF NEG-eat-SE-COP COP
 'He does not live by doing hexes.' (He lives by doing something else.)

In a clause chain the scope of the negative does not spread to the non-final clause.

- (69) Jelpo-gi ga teng-nyi cangan-gi dong ma-teng-pa-la.
 king-AGT up pull-NF joker-AGT down NEG-pull-NOM-COP
 'When the king pulled up the joker did not pull down.'
 'The king pulled up and the joker did not pull down.'
 *'The king did not pull up nor the joker down.'

15.4.5 *Parallels in Newari*

Evidence for a construction with similar characteristics to the Tshangla serial predicate construction is found in Newari, another Tibeto-Burman language. According to Genetti (1986b), Newari has two participial suffixes used to mark non-final verbs in a sequence of two or more verbs. The first, the so-called 'long participle' *-aa* is used when the two verbs encode distinct events. For example, the verbs 'fly' plus 'come' in sequence, where 'fly' is marked with the long participial suffix, would give the meaning 'flew, then came'. The verb 'wash' plus 'stay' would render 'washed, then stayed', and the verb 'bought' then 'give' would be understood as 'bought, then gave', etc.

The 'short participle' *-a*, on the other hand, is used, according to Genetti, when the two verbs encode only a single event. In this case, the verb 'fly' plus 'come' in sequence, where 'fly' this time is marked with the short participial suffix, would give the meaning 'flew this way'. 'Wash' with the short suffix plus 'stay' would mean 'kept washing', and 'buy' plus 'give' would mean 'bought for...'. The short participles thus serve to mark verbal grammatical categories such as aspect, directionals and benefactives.

So far, Genetti's description of Newari corresponds exactly to the two opposite points on the continuum in Tshangla, namely clause chain and serial verb. What is more significant here, therefore, is an additional construction which she describes. Formally this construction consists of a non-final verb marked with the short form of the participial suffix, namely *-a*. However, rather than encoding a single event, as would be expected of the short participle, according to the intuitions of Genetti's informant, the construction encodes two distinct events. Thus this construction seems to fall somewhere in between the short and long participles. Only the final verbs 'come' and 'go' occur in this construction. An example would be the sequence of 'eat' plus 'go', the meaning of which would be 'come having eaten'.

The uniqueness of this additional construction is apparent in several facts. For the first, Genetti notes that this construction was only accepted by one of her two informants (cf. Table 26 below). Other facts relate to the spreading of the scope of a chain-final negative marker from the final to the non-final clause. Normally, the scope of the negative may spread leftwards in the case of the short participle construction, i.e. when there is only

one event. When the long participial form is used, i.e. when there are two events, negative scope may spread only under certain circumstances.

Table 26. Newari negative spreading

S1	S2
I. -a one event	I. -a one event
III. -aa two events	II. -a two events (go, come)
	III. -aa two events

For speaker 1, represented by the left column in Table 26, who did not accept the additional construction, negation may spread backwards in a clause chain from final to non-final verb only if the events are causally linked or the latter event is the expected result of the former (Genetti 1986b:13), and only if the subjects are coreferent and marked with the same case.¹⁴

For speaker 2, who accepted the additional construction, shown as II. in the right column of Table 26, negation may spread backwards in clause chains only when the final verb is 'come' or 'go', i.e. in the same syntactic context as that in which the additional construction occurs. In this case, the participle may be either long or short, but if it is long, there can be no intonation break between the clauses.

For both of Genetti's Newari informants, the semantic conditions under which negative scope may spread backwards are strikingly similar to those found in the Tshangla serial predicate construction, namely two events closely related semantically and with necessarily coreferent subjects, over which the scope of certain semantic operators may spread. The serial predicate construction has been described as having characteristics of both a two-event and a single-event proposition. It is natural to find then that this construction shows borderline characteristics between the long and short participle constructions in Newari, i.e. between a single event and two-event reading. It is also not surprising that the additional construction would be accepted by one speaker and unacceptable to another. For constructions which are borderline between categories or in a process of grammatical change we would expect some variance of acceptability judgements.

¹⁴ Certain subjects in Newari are dative-marked.

15.5 AMBIGUOUS UTTERANCES AND UNDERLYING STRUCTURE

Two problems arise in analysing the underlying structure of the non-final construction to distinguish between clause chaining and serial predicate constructions. The first relates to the semantic effect of the union. Joining two events in a composite event by means of a serial predicate construction may on occasion have a marked effect upon the meaning of the individual component events. This is what we saw with for example the verb *zale* 'to eat', in example (19) above, repeated below. When construed with a second verb in a serial predicate construction, the verb *zale* 'eat' takes on the meaning, 'to live by doing'. We might say that *zale* is polysemic, and an alternate sense is triggered by the serial predicate construction.

- (19) Nganpa-ba-ki ngan phi-nyi za-n-ca.
 nganpa-PL-AGT hex do-NF eat-SE-COP
 'The *nganpas* live off of doing hexes.' (serial predicate)

However, in some cases this effect on the representation of the individual events is not as obvious. In examples (70) and (71), the natures of the individual events are not significantly altered as a result of their being construed as a composite event.

- (70) Ro pecha lap-nyi u-pha.
 3 book study-NF come-NOM
 1) 'He studied and came.' (clause-chain)
 2) 'He came while he was studying.' (adverbial clause)
 3) 'He came as a student.' (lit. 'He came studying.') (serial predicate)
- (71) Apa ri-gi phak bu-nyi shi-wa.
 father river-AGT sweep take-NF die-NOM
 1) 'Father was swept away by a river and he died.' (clause-chain)
 2) 'When father was swept away by a river, he died.' (adverbial clause)
 3) 'Father died by drowning (by being swept away by a river.)' (serial predicate)

We have already seen that clauses concatenated in *-nyi* may be given either clause-chain or adverbial-clause interpretations (cf. Chapter 13). These are represented in the free translations 1 and 2. In addition to these two readings, however, a third is available, namely the serial predicate reading, which gives the mostly tightly merged construal of the events, representing the two events as a single composite event. Note that these three readings, while possible and acceptable, are not all equally likely. The semantics of the events combined with the pragmatic context of the utterance will dictate which of them is likely to be understood. The semantics also dictate whether, in the case of an adverbial clause reading, the events will be

understood as simultaneous, cause-effect, sequential etc. In (70) for example, a simultaneous interpretation is perhaps most likely, while in (71) the interpretation would be cause-effect or sequential.

In addition to the clause-chain and adverbial readings, (70) and (71) may also be construed as composite events, corresponding to reading 3 in the free translation. The difference between the clause-chain and serial-predicate reading does not represent denotations of two different situations, but rather alternate connotative representations or construals of the same situation, the difference being the way in which the speaker chooses to conceptualise and/or present the situation.¹⁵ The distinction between clause-chain and serial-predicate construal is in these cases a pragmatic rather than a referential-semantic one, a matter of connotation rather than denotation.

A second factor which makes distinguishing between these two construals difficult, relates to the problem of zero anaphora. In Tibeto-Burman languages it is common for arguments to be elided when they have already been mentioned or are shared arguments of another verb. These elided arguments are not to be confused with the actual absence of an underlying structural argument slot.¹⁶ Andersen (1987: 285) acknowledges the importance of making a distinction between the obligatory sharing of an argu-

¹⁵ A functional account of clause-chaining must link it to a cognitive state in the mind of the speaker during production, a 'mental model' (Johnson-Laird 1983:377) or 'preverbal message' component of language production (Levelt 1989:9), much as Tomlin has linked morphosyntactic marking of subject to attentional factors (Tomlin 1995; 1997). Likewise, during comprehension, concatenating structures might be expected to give rise to a distinct cognitive state, a 'thinking-from-hearing' component analogous to Slobin's 'thinking-for-speaking' (1987). Models of comprehension such as Gernsbacher's 'structure-building' model may turn out to be well-suited for exploring such a grammar-cognition mapping (Gernsbacher 1985; Gernsbacher 1989; Gernsbacher 1990; Gernsbacher et al. 1989). It seems likely, as well, that the mental representations formed during both production and comprehension are not entirely different (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:17). Experimental techniques suggest that the cognitive integration of mental representations of events is a measurable phenomenon (Bever et al. 1969; Keenan et al. 1984). Ultimately notions such as coherence in discourse, 'relevance' (Sperber and Wilson 1986) etc. are 'artifacts of the cognitive phenomenon' (Givón 1993:171).

¹⁶ This is the mistake made by Genetti (1986c), in her critique of an early version of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG, Foley and Van Valin 1984). Genetti claims (p. 33) that the following example is 'core juncture' (serial predicates in the present analysis), because the peripheral locative 'at the bazaar' applies to both clauses. In RRG core juncture involves the sharing of peripheral arguments and necessary subject coreference, similarly to serial predicates in the present analysis. This, she claims, proves that in Newari, peripheral arguments of clauses in core-juncture need not be coreferential, as Foley and Van Valin claim.

Monu-nō bojar-e duku nyan-a-a misā-ā kapo nya-e phut-o.
 man-ERG bazaar-LOC goat buy-PART-NF woman-ERG cloth buy-INF able-PD
 'Because the man bought the goat at the bazaar, the woman was able to buy some cloth there.'

ment vs. a zero representation or elision of that argument. He makes a distinction between arguments which are generated but not filled vs. arguments which are not generated in the first place. If we accept that there are two underlying syntactic structures corresponding to the two construals, then a non-final construction may be ambiguous on the surface between a clause chain with a zero subject, and a serial predicate with no independently specifiable subject at all.

In this section the argument will be advanced that although utterances may be similar on the surface, there is, in fact, an underlying structural difference which correlates with the different construal as either clause chain or serial predicate. The two structures will be teased apart by showing that the semantic and syntactic behaviors cluster together. That is to say that when one serial predicate behavior is present, then the other serial predicate behaviors are necessarily also present. This suggests that a structure is either of one type or the other according to the various diagnostics, but not both at the same time, i.e. that the serial predicate structure is distinct in a systematic way from the contrasting clause-chain structure. This argument from clustered behavior is a basic type of syntactic argumentation, relying on the premise that units which behave in a similar way must be similar types of constituents (cf. Haegeman 1994; Radford 1981: 68–70; 1988).

Specifically it will be shown that when any one of the distinguishing clause-chain features is present, such as comma pause, different subjects, or non-shared peripheral arguments, the spreading of certain semantic operators such as deontic modality, interrogative, or imperative is blocked, and relativisation under a single relativiser is also impossible.

A claim regarding the underlying structure of the construction can also be made on the basis of these behaviors. The fact that the occurrence of a non-shared subject in the final clause collocates with the other clause-chain features suggests that the clause-chain construction contains an independently specifiable subject slot, whether or not that slot is filled, while the final verb in a serial predicate structure lacks an independent subject slot.

Here the mistake is interpreting Foley and Van Valin to mean that juncture (binding) is determined by the fact that the arguments happen to be coreferential. The crucial criterion is whether the arguments are *necessarily* coreferential, i.e. whether it is not *possible* for them to be specified independently of the other clause. In example (3) above, the locative is interpreted as applying to both clauses because that is a natural pragmatic interpretation. The coreference is not necessary, however. Distinct locative arguments could be specified for the two clauses.

Perhaps because this distinction between necessary and optional omission of arguments was not made sufficiently clear in Foley and VanValin (1984), the newer reference on Role and Reference Grammar, (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) states the distinction more explicitly, in terms of underlying structure (cf. pp. 444–5).

Example (72) is an example of a clause which can be given both clause-chain and serial-predicate readings.

- (72) Ro lok di-nyi lai a-wa.
 3 return go-NF work do-NOM
 1. 'He went back and then he worked.' (clause-chain)
 2. 'When he went back, he worked.' (adverbial clause)
 3. 'He went back and worked.' (serial predicate)

Example (72) is similar to (70) and (71) above, in that the construal as serial predicate does not radically alter the meaning of the individual predicates. However, by applying combinations of the syntactic and semantic tests, we can show that when one of the characteristics of serial predicates is present, the others must be as well. This clustering of syntactic and semantic behaviors constitutes a strong argument for the existence of serial predicates as a unique syntactic construction.

15.5.1 *Comma pause*

The first diagnostic to distinguish clause chains from serial predicates is the so-called comma pause. An expression of deontic modality such as *khele* 'must' may be added to the utterance in example (72). When this is done, we might expect there to be three possible interpretations, corresponding to three different underlying structures, as shown in example (73). The first interpretation, represented by free translation 1, is a clause-chain reading. The second, represented by free translation 2, is an adverbial clause reading. The third, represented by free translation 3, is a serial predicate reading. Notice that with the serial predicate construction (free translation 3) the scope of the modal expression spreads leftward to include the non-final as well as the final verb. With the adverbial clause reading (free translation 2) the scope of the modal expression does not spread to the non-final verb.

The second important point to note is that the clause-chain reading is no longer available when the modal expression is attached. This is seen clearly in 73, where the comma pause disallows a serial predicate reading. The only remaining reading is the adverbial clause reading. The particular semantic operator forces the non-final verb and its arguments into either a serial predicate structure, where the non-final verb may come under its scope, or, if the syntax prevents this, into an adverbial structure for which the scope of a matrix operator is irrelevant (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997).

- (73) Ro lok di-nyi lai a-le khe-le.
 3 return go-NF work do-INF must-INF
 1) *'He will go back and must work.' (clause-chain)
 2) 'When he goes back he must work.' (adverbial clause)
 3) 'He must go back and work.' (serial predicate)

- (74) Ro lok di-nyi, nyi lai a-le khe-le.
 3 return go-NF PRT work do-INF must-INF
 'When he goes back he must work.' (adverbial clause)

In the same manner, when in (75) the imperative operator is applied, both adverbial and serial predicate readings are available. In the serial predicate reading the scope spreads backwards to the non-final predicate. In (76), however, with the comma pause between clauses, the serial predicate reading is not possible.

- (75) Nan lok di-nyi lai a-i!
 2s return go-NF work do-IMP
 1) 'When you go back, work!' (adverbial clause)
 2) 'Go back and work!' (serial predicate)
- (76) Nan lok di-nyi, nyi lai a-i!
 2s return go-NF PRT work do-INF
 1) 'When you go back, work!' (adverbial clause)

In example (77) with the interrogative operator, both adverbial and serial predicate readings are possible, while in (78) with the comma pause, the serial predicate reading is not possible.

- (77) Ro lok di-nyi lai a-le mo?
 3 return go-NF work do-INF QUES
 1) 'When he goes back, will he work?' (adverbial clause)
 2) 'Will he go back and work?' (serial predicate)
- (78) Ro lok di-nyi, nyi lai a-le mo?
 3 return go-NF PRT work do-INF QUES
 1) 'When he goes back, will he work?' (adverbial clause)

In (79), both adverbial and serial predicate readings are possible, while in (80), with the comma pause, the serial predicate reading is not possible.

- (79) Ro lok di-nyi lai ma-a-le gila.
 3 return go-NF work NEG-do-INF COP
 1) 'When he goes back he will not work.' (adverbial clause)
 2) 'He will not go back and work.' (serial predicate)
- (80) Ro lok di-nyi, nyi lai ma-a-le gila.
 3 return go-NF PRT work NEG-do-INF COP
 1) 'When he goes back he must work.' (adverbial clause)

In the serial predicate structure in (79), both predicates may be relativised under a single relativiser. If the comma pause is inserted, however, eliminating the serial predicate structure and forcing the two events into separate clauses with independently specifiable subjects, the dual relativisation is not possible.

- (81) lok di-nyi lai a-khan songo
 return go-NF work do-REL person
 'the person who went back and worked'
- (82) ...*lok di-nyi, nyi lai a-khan songo
 ...return go-NF PRT work do-REL person

Note that the resultant construction in (82) is ungrammatical. Because the final verb is relativised, the non-final clause in this case is stranded without a final clause verb from which to derive specification for tense, aspect and mirativity.

15.5.2 *Non-shared subjects*

Another diagnostic is the criterion of subject sharing. The semantic scope of various operators does not spread backwards and dual relativisation is not possible if the non-final and final verbs do not share a single subject. In (83), when the subjects are not shared, the scope of the deontic modal *khele* 'must' may not spread backwards. A serial predicate reading is not possible. Only an adverbial reading is available.

- (83) Ro lok di-nyi nan lai a-le khe-le.
 3 return go-NF 2s work do-INF must-INF
 1) 'When he goes back you must work.' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'He must go back and you work.' (serial predicate)

Likewise, the scope of the imperative in (84) cannot spread backwards when the subject is not shared.

- (84) Ro lok di-nyi nan lai a-i!
 3 return go-NF 2s work do-IMP
 1) 'When he goes back work!' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'Let him go back and you work.' (serial predicate)

The interrogative scope cannot spread backwards in (85), nor can the scope of the negative in (86).

- (85) Ro lok di-nyi nan lai a-le mo?
 3 return go-NF 2s work do-INF QUES
 1) 'When he goes back will you work?' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'Will he go back and you work?' (serial predicate)
- (86) Ro lok di-nyi nan lai ma-a-le gila.
 3 return go-NF 2s work NEG-do-INF COP
 1) 'When he goes back you will not work.' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'He will not go back and you work.' (serial predicate)

15.5.3 *Non-shared peripherals*

Another diagnostic involves the presence of peripheral constituents. The scope of semantic operators cannot spread backwards, nor can dual relativisation occur if peripheral constituents such as temporal and locative expressions are not shared.

- (87) Ro thinung lok di-nyi namnying lai a-le khe-le.
 3 today return go-NF tomorrow work do-INF must-INF
 1) 'If he goes back today, he must work tomorrow.' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'He must go back today and work tomorrow.' (serial predicate)
- (88) Nan thinung lok di-nyi namnying lai a-i!
 2s today return go-NF tomorrow work do-IMP
 1) 'If you go back today, work tomorrow!' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'Go back today and work tomorrow!' (serial predicate)
- (89) Ro thinung lok di-nyi namnying lai a-le mo?
 3 today return go-NF tomorrow work do-INF QUES
 1) 'If he goes back today, will he work tomorrow?' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'Will he go back today and work tomorrow?' (serial predicate)
- (90) Ro thinung lok di-nyi namnying lai ma-a-le gila
 3 today return go-NF tomorrow work NEG-do-INF COP
 1) 'If he goes back today he will not work tomorrow.' (adverbial clause)
 2) *'He must go back today and not work tomorrow.' (serial predicate)

In (87), where the non-final verb is modified by the temporal adverbial *thinung* 'today' and the final verb by *namnying* 'yesterday', the scope of the modal *khele* 'must' will not spread backwards. Nor will the imperative operator in (88), the interrogative operator in (89), or the negative operator in (90).

Finally, clauses with independent peripheral arguments may not be relativised together under a single relativiser, as seen by the impossibility of (91).

- (91) ...*thinung lok di-nyi, namnying lai a-khan songo
 ...today return go-NF tomorrow work do-REL person

In summary, the syntactic characteristics postulated for clause chains, i.e. potential for independent subjects and peripheral arguments, and ability to be separated by a comma pause, always coincide with the failure of certain semantic operators such as modality, imperative, interrogative, and negative to expand their scope backwards to the non-final verb. These syntactic characteristics also disallow dual relativisation under a single relativizer. Conversely stated, whenever the scopes of these semantic operators *do* spread backwards to the non-final predicate, or when both predicates *are* relativised under a single relativiser, the syntactic conditions for serial

predicate constructions, i.e. shared subject and peripheral arguments and absence of comma pause, *must* be met. This correlation of syntactic and behavioral properties is a strong argument for the claim that clause chains and serial predicates are two distinct syntactic constructions.

15.6 SERIAL VERBS

The serial verb construction was described above as a series of verbs in a single verbal nucleus. This is the closest degree of concatenation possible. The key syntactic characteristic of this construction is that as a single combined verbal nucleus, the verbs must necessarily share not only subjects and peripheral constituents, but all arguments.¹⁷ The serial verb construction itself describes a single event, while one of the component verbs often encodes manner, direction, or various aspectual properties of the event. Table 27 below gives a selection of the most common serial verb constructions found in Tshangla, with their glosses.

Table 27. Serial verb constructions

<i>Manner</i>		
juk 'to go fast, to run'	di 'to go'	to run somewhere fast
phur 'to fly'	di 'to go'	to fly somewhere
ze 'to err'	di 'to go'	to go in the wrong direction
bu 'to carry'	di 'to go'	to carry away
shuk 'to slide'	dang 'to walk'	to slither along
thup 'to throw'	gem 'to discard'	to throw away
khan 'to shake'	gem 'to discard'	to shake off
utsu-ke 'to exert effort'	yek 'to speak'	to exhort, persuade, lecture
thrang 'be straight, be honest'	yek 'to speak'	to speak honestly
thrang	cot 'to prepare, to make'	to straighten
zong 'to boil'	cot 'to prepare, to make'	to cook by boiling
ngat 'to err'	yen-bi 'to teach'	to teach erroneously
bang 'to carry'	bu 'to take'	to take away
rik 'to guide'	bu 'to take'	to escort, accompany, guide
ru 'to seize'	bu 'to take'	to grab away, seize
phun 'to ask for'	pha 'to bring'	to get by request
wak 'to fling'	thup 'to throw'	to fling away
dung 'to pluck up'	za 'to eat'	to eat by plucking up

¹⁷ Serial verb constructions, and their grammaticalisation from clause-chaining structures, have been described for many languages. For some specific references to Tibeto-Burman and also to South Asian languages, cf. DeLancey (1991), Pokharel (1991), and Wheatley (1985).

Table 27 (*cont.*)

<i>Manner</i>		
<i>Direction</i>		
lok 'to return'	di 'to go'	to go back
lok	u 'to come'	to come back
lok	sho 'to issue forth out of'	to come back out
lok	bi 'to give'	to give back
lok	pha 'to bring'	to bring back
sho 'to issue forth out of'	di 'to go'	to go out
sho	u 'to come'	to come out
sho	bu 'to take'	to take out
sho	pha 'to bring'	to bring out
sho	kunti 'to send'	to send out
sho	gem 'to discard'	to remove
bap 'to descend'	di 'to go'	to go down
bap	u 'to come'	to come down
<i>State</i>		
gep 'to weep'	cho 'to stay'	to keep on weeping
shu tak 'to accumulate strength'	cho 'to stay'	to keep on getting stronger
za 'to eat'	cho 'to stay'	to keep on eating
<i>Modality</i>		
nam 'to weave' etc.	go tsuk 'to start'	to start weaving etc.
nam	chum 'to finish'	to finish weaving etc.

15.6.1 *Syntactic properties of serial verbs*

15.6.1.1 *Argument ordering*

When two transitive verbs are in sequence, the object of the final verb is moved to a position before the non-final verb, so that the two verbs are adjacent, as illustrated in examples (92) and (93).

- (92) Nyi ro throm-gai di-la-kap, bi-ga saphurtsi thamcen
 PRT 3 town-ABL go-PTC-with foot-LOC dust all
 kha-n ge-ma.
 shake-SE lose-NOM
 'When they left the town, they shook off the dust of their feet.'
- (93) Ro-ki songo-ga kap cot-nyi bi-wa-la.
 3-AGT person-LOC shelter make-NF give-NOM-COP
 'He made a shelter for the man.'

In example (92), *bi* 'foot' is in locative case, indicating that it is not a patient argument of *khan* (*khale*) 'to shake', but rather a genitive modifier of the noun phrase *saphurtsi* 'dust'. The compound noun phrase *biga saphurtsi* 'the dust of the feet', being the only argument in the clause, must therefore be an argument of a combined verbal unit *khan geme* 'to shake off'. The two serial verbs have been joined into a single predicate, and the erstwhile object of the final verb has been moved to a position immediately preceding the combined verbal nucleus.

In example (93), the locative-marked *songo* 'person', which would normally be a locative object of *bile* 'to give', occurs to the left of the combined verbal unit, separated from *bile* by the non-final verb *cotpe* 'to make'.

15.6.1.2 *Adjacent verbs*

That the two verbs necessarily share all of their arguments is obvious from the fact that no noun phrase object may occur between the two verbs. This suggests there is no object slot for the second verb, but only for the combined verb as a whole.

The object must come before both verbs in a serial verb construction, as in (94), but may be interposed between two clauses in a clause chain, as in (95).

(94) Ro phai-gai mewaktsa sho-n kunti-wa.
 3 house-ABL woman come.out-NF send-NOM
 'He sent the woman out of the house.'

(95) Ro phai-gai sho-n mewaktsa kunti-wa.
 3 house-ABL come.out-NF woman send-NOM
 'He came out of the house and sent the woman.'

If example (94) were two distinct events, the verb *sho* 'to emerge' would have a single subject argument *mewaktsa* 'woman'. In the serial verb construction here, however, the two verbs are combined into a single predicate meaning 'to send out', whose actor is the third person pronoun *ro* and whose patient is *mewaktsa* 'woman'.

15.6.1.3 *Case marking*

An argument for serialisation may also be made from case-marking evidence. The following examples are taken from spontaneously produced oral text.

(96) Ro tokang-gi tok-nyi di-n-ca.
 3 stick-AGT poke-NF go-SE-COP
 'He is walking with a walking stick' (lit. 'poke-walks with a stick')

- (97) Ro-ki lung-gi thup-nyi cang-la.
 3-AGT stone-AGT throw-NF play-COP
 'He is throw-playing with the stone.'
- (98) pholang-gi shuk-nyi dang-khan semcen...
 stomach-AGT slither-NF walk-REL animal
 '...the animals that slither-walk using their stomachs...'

Each of these example sentences contain a non-subject argument in the instrumental case, followed by a non-final and final verb. What is unique about these clauses, however, is that the instrumental-marked nominal, were it to occur together in a clause with *only* the non-final verb, would not take the instrumental case, but some other case, as follows.

- (99) Ro tokang tok-ca.
 3 stick poke-COP
 'He is walking with a walking stick' (lit. 'He is poking a stick')
- (100) Ro-ki lung thup-la.
 3-AGT stone throw-COP
 'He is throwing the stone.'
- (101) pholang-ga shuk-khan semcen...
 stomach-LOC slither-REL animals
 '...animals that slither on their stomachs...'

In (99), *tokang* 'stick' is in the absolutive case, as a patient argument of the verb. The instrumental case on *tokang* 'stick' in (96) shows that *tokang* is now no longer a patient but an instrument. The question is what has motivated this change in case role? The most likely possibility is that the nominal is now an argument of a different predicate. Since *tokang* 'stick' is adjacent to the non-final verb *tokpe* 'to poke', and not the final verb *dile* 'go', *tokang* could not be an argument of the final verb. It remains that *tokang* must be an argument of a combined predicate *toknyi dile* 'to walk with a stick'.

Similarly, in (100), *lung* 'stone' is also a patient and so appears in the absolutive case. In (101), *pholang* 'stomach' is a core locative, marked with the locative case. In (97) and (98) these nominals are both marked with the instrumental case, as instruments of the combined predicates *thupnyi cangme* 'to throw-play' and *shuknyi dangme* 'to slither on one's stomach' respectively.

15.6.2 *Semantic properties of serial verbs*

Semantic operator scope can be drawn upon as evidence for the uniqueness of the serial verb construction as well. Recall that the serial predicate

construction allowed for the backward spreading of the scope of deontic modal, imperative, interrogative, and negative operators. One semantic operator whose scope does not necessarily spread over serial predicates, but which must spread over serial verbs, is that of aspect. In examples (102) through (107), the inflection on the final verb specifies the aspectual value for both final and non-final verbs.

- (102) Goma jang tabu-rang juk-nyi di-n-cho-wa.
 before 1s always-EMPH run-NF go-SE-stay-NOM
 Earlier, I was going running every day.
- (103) phur-nyi di-wa 'flew'
 phur-nyi di-n-chho-wa 'was flying'
- (104) kha-n gema 'shook off'
 kha-n gem-chho-wa 'was shaking off'
- (105) bangnyi buwa 'carried away'
 bangnyi bu-n-chho-wa 'was carrying away'
- (106) shonyi diwa 'went out'
 shonyi di-n-chho-wa 'was going out'
- (107) bapnyi upha 'came down'
 bapnyi u-n-chho-wa 'was coming down'

In the serial predicates in examples (108) through (111), by contrast, the aspectual value of the final verb does not spread to the non-final verb.

- (108) Jang shek-pa-kap-nyi, ja-ga charo gotham zong-nyi
 1s arrive-PTC-with-NF 1s-LOC friend egg boil-NF
 za-n-cho-wa.
 eat-SE-stay-NOM
 'When I arrived, my friend was eating eggs boiled (having boiled them.)'
- (109) Ro gari-gi zop-nyi shi-n-cho-wa.
 3 car-AGT crash-NF die-SE-stay-NOM
 'Having been hit by a car (perfective) he was dying (imperfective.)'
- (110) Ro natsha khe-nyi shi-na.
 3 disease strike-NF die-COP
 'He is dying, having caught a disease.'
- (111) Ro gopen-gi du bi-nyi mar-la.
 3 chief-AGT poison give-NF be.sick-COP
 'He is sick having been poisoned by the chief.'

By saying that aspect does not necessarily spread over both predicates in the serial predicate construction, we are not saying that the two predicates may *not* share the same aspectual interpretation. In fact, there is a

strong pragmatic tendency for them to do this when possible. An utterance like example (112), for example, will be interpreted to mean either that he habitually kicked the door and it broke each time he did so, or that he was continuously kicking the door and it was in the process of breaking. No other reasonable reading is available for this event.

- (112) Ro ko biti dom-nyi phot-cho-wa.
 3 door foot kick-NF break-stay-NOM
 'He was kicking the door in.' (cf. example 26)

However, this is a pragmatic effect, and not a grammatical necessity. Examples (108) through (111) were chosen because the events they describe dictate against this pragmatic effect, i.e. the utterances do not easily allow for an interpretation where the two predicates share aspectual values. The point is that the scope of the aspectual operator, though free to do so pragmatically, is not grammatically *required* to spread with serial predicates, while with serial verbs, no matter what the inherent nature of the verb is, aspect must *necessarily* spread. So for example, in (113), although the non-final verb *ze* 'to err' by itself would easily lend itself to a punctual reading, the aspectual operator on the final verb *dile* 'to go' by necessity spreads to the non-final verb as well.

- (113) Sonam lam-ga ze-nyi di-n-cho-wa.
 Sonam path-LOC err-NF do-SE-stay-NOM
 'Sonam was taking the wrong path.'
 *'Sonam was walking having taken the wrong path.'

The mistake was arguably made when Sonam chose to go off on the wrong path, though we might say continuing to walk there is suffering the consequences of that mistake. However (113) as a serial verb construction encodes the mistake as part of the walking. The two are a single event, 'to walk mistakenly'

- (114) Ro-ki lung-gi thup-nyi cang-la.
 3-AGT stone-AGT throw-NF play-COP
 'He is throw-playing with the stone.'
 *'He is playing with the stone having thrown it.'

In the same way, in example (114), repeated from (97) above, although *thup* 'to throw' ordinarily easily allows for a punctual interpretation, the construction cannot do so when configured with *cangme* 'to play' in the nuclear juncture meaning 'throw-play'. The imperfective aspect marker on the final verb requires that both verbs must be imperfective.

15.7 GRAMMATICALISATION OF SERIAL VERBS

15.7.1 *Derivational markers*

The continuum of merging, from separate clauses to serial predicates to serial verbs, does not stop with serial verbs but continues in the direction of a closer bond, to the point where the serial verb construction shows signs of grammaticalisation into verb plus grammatical auxiliary (Bruce 1988; DeLancey 1991b). In this case, the non-final verb has taken over more of the actual semantics of the event, while the final verb has become grammaticalised toward a marker of derivational or grammatical information. The final verb has become semantically bleached and generalised to where it may apply to many different non-final stems. Some of the grammatical categories typically encoded by grammatical affixes in many languages are encoded in Tshangla by these serial verb constructions.

An example of a final verb in a serial verb construction which has become semantically bleached is *bi* 'give'. The lexical meaning 'give' has clearly been reinterpreted into a benefactive or malefactive marker in the following examples.

Benefactive:

ke bile (send-give) 'to send something to someone'
 melam tap bile (pray-give) 'to pray for someone'
 shik bile (explain-give) 'to explain something for someone'
 tek bile (stretch-give) 'to extend (body part) for someone to see'
 yek bile (speak-give) 'to tell someone something'
 dok bile (receive-give) 'to receive on behalf of someone else'

Malefactive:

ngam bile (bite-give) 'to bite someone'
 ngar bile (laugh-give) 'to laugh at someone'
 thon bile (peck-give) 'to bite or peck someone (snake, bird)'
 tsik bile (pinch-give) 'to pinch someone'
 thohtang tshen bile (spit-give) 'to spit on someone'
 zop bile (smash-give) 'to crash into someone'

Other serial verbs add information relating to the completeness, randomness, or success of the event or action. The following are several more examples, all culled from naturally occurring discourse.

Kuntile 'to send' implies an action which initiates a change of location on the part of the patient.

brek kuntile (push-send) 'to push someone or something into something'
 thon kuntile (peck-send) 'to peck loose (e.g. a fruit from tree)'

Bule 'to take' suggests that an event completely removes the object from the scene, either literally or metaphorically.

gir bule (turn-take) 'to roll something somewhere'
 khon bule (follow-take) 'to chase after someone'
 phok bule (burst-take) 'to burst apart'
 re bule (tear-take) 'to tear apart'

Dile 'to go' works like *bule* in removing a referent from the scene, but for intransitive events.

ngat dile (err-go) 'to err'
 nor dile (cease-go) 'to stop, cease'
 dak dile (cleanse-go) 'to be cleansed'
 phok dile (burst-go) 'to burst apart'
 sem shin dile (mind-die-go) 'to become discouraged'
 thang dile (lie-go) 'to lie down flat'
 tor dile (spread-go) 'to be scattered'

Jongme 'to go in a random direction' suggests a similar motion away from the scene but with the added sense of randomness.

bun jongme (take-go) 'to carry away, carry off'
 khon bun jongme (follow-take-go) 'to go off chasing something'
 ngat jongme (err-go) 'to forget, to err'
 rap jongme (wither-go) 'to wither and die'
 sa chet jongme (earth-slide-go) 'to landslide'
 sem shon jongme (mind-leave-go) for one's mind to leave the body
 (astral travel)
 yikta min jongme (mind-forget-go) 'to forget completely'

Thale 'to leave' emphasises the completeness of the effect of an activity upon the resultant state of the patient.

bin thale (give-leave) 'to give away'
 buk thale (cover-leave) 'to cover up'
 cot thale (prepare-leave) 'to fix, establish (e.g. price)'
 dung thale (pick up-leave) 'to keep, store'
 gem thale (discard-leave) 'to abandon'
 jan thale (hang-leave) 'to hang in a place'
 ke thale (create-leave) 'to create'
 pen thale (push-leave) 'to push (a button)'
 phin thale (do-leave) 'to put in (ingredient in food)'
 shin thale (die-leave) 'to die off'
 shen thale (kill-leave) 'to kill off'
 sung thale (say-leave) 'to pass on orally, (for benefit of posterity)'
 thik thale (tie-leave) 'to tie something somewhere'
 thing thale (stand-leave) 'to stand up'
 thok thale (burn-leave) 'to keep burning (lamp)'

thup thale (throw-leave) 'to abandon, throw away'
 tsuk thale (put-leave) 'to put away'
 zan thale (eat-leave) 'to eat up'

Geme 'to lose' suggests the completeness of the effect of a destructive act upon the object.

det geme (destroy-lose) 'to destroy'
 shen geme (kill-lose) 'to kill off'
 yen geme (erase-lose) 'to erase'

Gotpe 'to look' usually suggests uncertainty as to the success of an activity. In some cases, this can be used when the successful completion of the activity itself is doubted, such as *jur gotpe* 'transform-look', meaning 'to try to transform oneself'

More often, the activity represented by the non-final verb is successfully performed, but the intended result of that activity is in doubt. So for example, *lam gotpe* 'search-look' does not mean 'to make an attempt to search', but 'to search, in an attempt to find.' The following examples illustrate this usage.

got gotpe (look-look) 'to look in an attempt to find out'
 lam gotpe (search-look) 'to search in order to find out'
 na than gotpe (ear-hear-look) 'to listen in order to find out'
 noksam min gotpe (mind-think-look) 'to think in order to find out, to try and think of something'
 phin gotpe (do-look) 'to try doing something, to do something to see if it works'
 ren gotpe (compare-look) 'to compare in order to find out'
 nup gotpe (enter-look) 'to get in in order to try something'
 zan gotpe (eat-look) 'to taste, i.e. to eat something in order to find out how it tastes'

When *gotpe* is attached to the change of location verbs *uphe* 'to come' and *dile* 'to go', the intended result implied is 'to find out', giving the composite meaning 'to go find out', 'to come find out', or 'to go see', 'to come see'.

un gotpe (come-look) 'to come in order to find out'
 din gotpe (go-look) 'to go in an attempt to find out'

Nyongpe 'to receive' signifies that the subject has been given the opportunity or ability, been able, or managed, to perform an activity.

lai an nyongpe (work-do-receive) 'to have opportunity to work'
 shin nyongpe (die-receive) 'to have experienced death'
 to cot nyongpe (food-prepare-receive) 'to manage to prepare food'
 yen nyongpe (wear-receive) 'to manage to put on'

15.7.2 *Inflectional marker chole*

The examples seen so far are all cases of serial verbs used to code derivational categories. There is one serialising final verb in Tshangla which has become grammaticalised into an inflectional auxiliary, namely the verb *chole* ‘stay’, which is used to as a marker of imperfective aspect. The imperfective *chole* may indicate progressive aspect, as in (115), or habitual, as in examples (116) and (117).

- (115) Lam dang-ma-kap-nyi, ngamsu dazere khe-n-cho-wa.
 way walk-PTC-with-NF rain bit fall-SE-stay-NOM
 ‘As I was walking, it was raining a little bit.’
- (116) Goma uthu man za-la-kap-nyi jam-cho-wa, oma
 before this medicine eat-PTC-with-NF heal-stay-NOM now
 jam-pu ma-la.
 heal-PTC NEG-COP
 ‘This medicine used to help, but now it doesn’t.’
- (117) Tsonpa-ba dazin a-nyi borang-ga di-n-cho-wa.
 prisoner-PL care do-NF forest-LOC go-SE-stay-NOM
 ‘Taking care of the prisoners, I used to go in the forests.’

The evidence for grammaticalisation of *chole* is as follows.

1. completely bleached semantically
2. completely generalised to all verbs
3. expresses an obligatory category
4. defect paradigm: the verb *cho* ‘stay’ when grammaticalized only occurs in past imperfective (*chowa*), in paradigmatic relationship to present copula (*ca*)
5. phonological reduction: non-final verb may not take *-nyi* or any other particle such as *tu* or *rang*. This is the only instance of serialization in Tshangla where *-nyi* is not allowed. In all other instances the suffix is optional.

Chole has become bleached and generalised to the point where it may be serialised with any other verb, regardless of that verb’s inherent aspectual meaning. In past time, the perfective vs. imperfective aspectual distinction is an obligatory grammatical category. The imperfective is marked by *chowa*, the past form of the auxiliary, and stands in a paradigmatic opposition to the simple perfective verb, which is marked with the nominaliser or infinitive suffix. These oppositions were discussed and illustrated in section 10.1.

In addition to the semantic evidence, there is also morphosyntactic evidence for the grammaticalisation of *chole*. Of all the serial verb constructions, the aspectual *chole* construction is the only one in which the non-final verb may not take the full form of the non-final marker *-nyi*,

but may only take the reduced form, the stem extender *-n* (on vowel-final roots, $-\emptyset$ on others.) In all other serial verb constructions, either the full form or the reduced form may occur on the non-final verb.

The verb *chole* thus reveals a ‘grammaticalisation chain’ (Heine et al. 1991: 220–229) from clause-chaining construction to inflectional marker, leaving extant usages at all four stages of the proposed clause-merging continuum, from clause chain (118), to serial predicate (119), to serial verb (121), and finally to inflectional marker (122).

- (118) Nyi droban-gi care thungka gong-nyi, cho-la-kap-nyi,
 PRT thief-AGT wall upon climb-NF stay-PTC-with-NF
 nyi... khaila thur u-nyi...
 PRT tiger one come-NF
 ‘And the thief climbed up onto the wall, and stayed there, and then a tiger came...’

(118) is an example of a clause chain with the verb *chole*. Here a comma pause separates the *chole* clause from the previous clause, and the two verbs describe two distinct events.

- (119) Songo thamce-ki-rang Yalang-ga-rang nup cho-na.
 people all-AGT-EMP Yalang-LOC-EMP enter stay-COP
 ‘Everyone comes to live in Yalang.’

Example (119) shows *chole* in a serial predicate construction. Here *nup(nyi)* ‘enter’ plus *chole* ‘stay’ each describe component sub-events in a composite event ‘to come to live’ or, ‘come live’. We can see that this is a serial predicate construction by applying the relative clause test. When conjoined under a single relativiser in (120), the construal of the event is identical to their construal in (119), indicating that the structures are equivalent.

- (120) Nyi nup cho-khan-ba-ki se-lu ma-la.
 PRT enter stay-NOM-PL-AGT know-PTC NEG-COP
 ‘Those who’ve come to live don’t know.’ (as opposed to those who’ve always lived here.)

Chole may also occur in a serial verb construction, where it takes on the meaning ‘to keep on doing X’, as in (121).

- (121) Bartshampa-gi la barka-rang nup cho-na.
 Bartshampa-AGT TOP between-EMP enter stay-COP
 ‘Bartshampa’s are always intermediating.’ (lit. ‘keep on coming between.’)

We can see that (121) is a serial verb construction because the aspectual value spreads to the non-final verb *nup* ‘enter’. That *chole* here is not functioning as the imperfective marker is clear because *chole* is only used to mark imperfective in the past or non-finite constructions. The copula *na*

here is the aspectual auxilliary, and marks the verb *chole* for imperfective aspect in the present time.

Example (122) shows clause-final *chole* as a marker of imperfective aspect. The left-most *chole* in the utterance is the lexical verb in serial verb construction. This lexical *chole* means ‘keep on’, and is identical to *chole* in example (121). It is the rightmost, i.e. final *chole*, inflected for past tense with the nominaliser suffix, which is the aspectual marker.

- (122) Bartshampa-gi la barka-rang nup cho-n cho-wa.
 Bartshampa-AGT TOP between-EMP enter stay-SE stay-NOM
 ‘Bartshampa’s were continuing to intermediate.’ (lit. ‘were keeping on coming between.’)

The fact that *chole* occurs as an imperfective marker only in past time and only in the final verb paradigm helps distinguish between lexical and grammatical *chole*. Only a clause-final *chole* inflected with the nominaliser suffix *-wa* can be the aspectual *chole*. This implies the following observations.

1) Whenever *chole* appears twice in succession, the non-final *chole* must be a lexical verb, as illustrated in (123) and (124).

- (123) Nyi iskul lap-nyi-bu jang-ga charo-ba kap-nyi kholong
 then school learn-NF-FOC 1s-LOC friend-PL with-NF fight
 phi-nyi nyi ma-lek-pa lai thur-sho a-nyi cho-n
 do-NF then NEG-good-NOM work one-only do-NF stay-SE
 cho-wa
 stay-NOM
 ‘Even in school, I fought with my friends and was always doing bad things.’

- (124) Onya gangka jang-sho ata-ga phai-ga yigi
 DEM time-LOC 1s-TOP elder.brother-LOC house-LOC letter
 lap-nyi cho-wa cho-wa.
 learn-NF stay-NOM stay-NOM
 ‘In those days, I had been staying with my big brother to do my writing practice.’

2) When *chole* appears as the final verb but is inflected with other than the nominalised past-time marker, this must be lexical *chole*, such as in example (125) where *chole* is inflected with the copula *ca* in the present imperfective construction.

- (125) Lai ma-lek-pa-ba pang-nyi, che-ga depa phi-nyi
 deed NEG-good-NOM-PL leave-NF religion-LOC faith do-NF
 cho-n-ca.
 stay-SE-COP
 ‘Having left behind evil deeds, (he) is practicing the religion.’

15.7.3 *Generalisation of the non-final verb*

The discussion of grammaticalisation here is not meant to imply that all final verbs in a serial verb construction have become grammaticalised or are in the process of grammaticalisation. While many of the final verbs in a serial construction have become bleached and generalised to the point where they occur with many non-final verbs, it is evident from the serial verb chart in Table 27 above that many of the final verbs occur together with only one or a few different non-final verbs. Furthermore, it is often the *non-final* verb in the serial construction which is the one generalised and which may co-occur with several different *final* verbs. For example the verbs *shole* 'to issue forth, come out' and *lokpe* 'to return' both occur as a non-final verbs in serialisation with many different final verbs of motion, transfer, speech etc. While not all verbs in serialisation show the same bleaching and grammaticalisation as a derivational or inflection auxiliary, many of them come to represent common adverbial notions, meanings which would be expressed by adverbs or verbal particles in English, for example 'out' for *shole*, and 'back' for *lokpe*, as in 'come out', or 'give back' etc.

15.8 GRAMMATICALISATION OF SERIAL PREDICATES

The preceding section discussed the grammaticalisation of the final verb in a serial verb construction. At the extreme end of the concatenation continuum, where the two verbs are maximally merged into a single verbal nucleus, the final, finite, tense-bearing verb takes on a relational function with respect to the other verb with which it is merged. In this section, we will examine another small set of verbs which have also grammaticalised, but in contrast to the grammaticalised serial verbs, it will be claimed that the verbs in this set have grammaticalised at the serial predicate stage on the continuum.

Recall that the non-final verb in a serial predicate construction may have its own independent direct object. When this structure grammaticalises, it is the non-final verb which grammaticalises, taking on a relational function with respect not to the other verb, but to the verb's own object argument. In most cases, the grammaticalised verb takes on the function of a postposition, marking the relationship between an object nominal and the final clause. These derived or 'verbal postpositions' still show verbal morphology, and most show a clear semantic similarity to a still extant lexical verb. In two special cases, to be dealt with later, the grammaticalised verb has become a marker of the relationship between an embedded clause and a

final verb. The members of the class will first be described along with the evidence for grammaticalisation. Next will be taken up the evidence that the verbs are grammaticalised as functors *within a serial predicate*.

15.8.1 *Postpositions*

The chart in Table 28 lists the set of non-final serial predicate verbs which show tendencies of grammaticalisation into verbal postpositions, along with their lexical-verbal sources.

Table 28. Verb-derived postpositions

lexeme	grammaticalised meaning	verbal source	meaning of verbal source
tsaknyi	through	tsakpe	to strain, filter, go through
tunyi	according to, in proportion to	tule	to join together
thrinnyi	in accordance with	thrile	to comply, obey
tenyi	in proportion to	tenme	to depend on
khonyi	along, by	khonme	to follow
kapnyi	with	khamé	to accompany, take sides with
tanyi	to, towards	tanme (?)	?

The postpositions are listed in order of their apparent progress along the grammaticalisation cline. The first four, *tsaknyi* through *tenyi* still occur as fully inflected finite verbs, and in fact for that reason may still be analysed as verbs. However, these verbs show the beginnings of grammaticalisation, in that their finite, inflected usage is rare. All four occur overwhelmingly more often as non-final verbs in *-nyi*, and express a relationship between an object nominal and the final predicate.

The last three are more clearly grammaticalised. Some semantic bleaching has taken place with *khonyi*, and *khonyi* also occurs perhaps more often without the *-nyi* marker than with. Although it is possible for any verb to occur non-finally without *-nyi*, this is the unmarked situation for *khonyi*. We might therefore see this as a form of phonological reduction. *Kapnyi* occurs often with the *-nyi* marker, but the lexical source is obscure, although there is a possible lexical source extant in one dialect. *Tanyi* only occurs as a postposition, never as a finite verb, and is moreover often phonologically reduced to *-tan* or *-ta*. The lexical source for *tanyi* is obscure. The optional verbal marking *-nyi* offers the only hint of a verbal origin.

15.8.1.1 *Postposition tsaknyi*

The lexical verb *tsakpe* means ‘to go through’. *Tsakpe* is used of filtering or straining water or tea, or of being subjected to something, for example punishment, as in (126). This verb can also be used in a metaphorical sense, ‘to do something through or by means of another person or thing’ as in (127).

(126) Ro khepa thrim-ga tsak-pe.
 3 TOP judgement-LOC put.through-INF
 ‘He will go through (be subjected to) punishment.’

(127) A-shi se thur-gai tsak-nyi-sha ro-ka apa-ga
 1p-AGT son one-ABL go.through-NF-PRT 3-LOC father-LOC
 phodrang-ga di-le re-be.
 palace-LOC go-INF can-INF
 ‘Only by means of the son are we able to go into the father’s palace.’

15.8.1.2 *Postposition tunyi*

The lexical verb *tule* means ‘to join or connect’, as in example (128). Example (129) shows *tule* in a serial predicate construction.

(128) Doma-gi sharang tu-le bu-wa-la.
 Doma-AGT head join-INF take-NOM-COP
 ‘Doma took the head to reattach it to the body.’

(129) Tsik thamcen tu-nyi dri-ba ca.
 word all join-NF write-NOM COP
 ‘The words are all written joined together.’

Clear evidence of semantic bleaching is seen in the following examples, where non-final *tunyi* means ‘according to, in proportion to’. In this construction a particle *dang* is inserted between the nominal and the verb *tunyi*.

(130) milop dang tu-nyi...
 population PRT join-NF
 ‘...in proportion to the population...’

(131) lama-ga thuk dang tu-nyi...
 lama-LOC will PRT join-NF
 ‘...according to the lamas wishes...’

(132) goma-ga luksu dang tu-nyi a-le...
 before-LOC custom PRT join-NF do-INF
 ‘...to do something according to tradition...’

- (133) rang-ten cho lai ro-ka nowang dang tu-nyi a-lu
 self-RFLX TOP deed 3-LOC mouth PRT join-NF do-PTC
 manca.
 NEG.COP
 ‘They never work according to their mouth.’ (i.e. ‘They never practice what they preach...’)

15.8.1.3 *Postposition thrinyi*

The lexical verb *thrile* means ‘to comply with, to be subject to’, as in example (134).

- (134) Nyi sa-gai tiru la-nyi songo she-n u-khan
 PRT land-ABL money take-NF person kill-NF come-REL
 zambuling-ga thrim dang thri-le khe-du.
 world-LOC punishment PRT comply-INF must-SUB
 ‘Those who have killed people and taken money from the land must be subject to the law of the world.’

In example (135), the non-final *thrinyi* retains its verbal meaning ‘to comply’, but functions as a marker of the relation of the final verb *cha zhule* ‘serve’ to the word or speech which is referred to by the relative clause headed with *sungthang* ‘speech’.

- (135) Ro-ka sung-ma sungthang dang thri-nyi
 3-LOC speak(hon.)-NOM speech PRT comply-NF
 cha+zhu-le go+tsuk-pa.
 serve-INF begin-NOM
 ‘I began to serve complying with the word which he had spoken.’

The relational function of *thrinyi* is also seen in the next two examples, but now semantic bleaching is evident. Here the verb refers not to compliance with the expressed wishes of a personal referent, but to a logical relationship, better translated as ‘according to’.

- (136) Ro-sho yola Yongla Gonpa zheng-kan giwala. Ro-ka
 3-TOP down.there Yongla monastery raise-REFL COP 3-LOC
 lama-gi lungten nang-ma dang thri-nyi.
 lama-AGT power give-NOM PRT comply-NF
 ‘He was the founder of the Yongla monastery down there, in accordance with the spiritual power given by his lama.’
- (137) Ja-ga lai dang thri-nyi gosa onyen nyong-pa
 1s-LOC deed and comply-NF promotion DEM receive-NOM
 gila.
 COP
 ‘In accordance with my deeds, I received those promotions.’

15.8.1.4 *Postposition tenyi*

The lexical verb *tenme* means ‘to adhere to, to follow’, used commonly of adherence to a religion or a religious teacher, as in example (138).

- (138) Hang a-nyi rang-ga chos thup-than rokte chipa-ga
 what do-NF self-LOC religion discard-NF other foreign-LOC
 chos-ga ten-ma ya?
 religion-LOC depend-NOM QUES
 ‘Why did you leave your own religion and adhere to a foreign one?’

In example (139) and (140), the concept encoded by the non-final *tenyi* has gone from dependence upon or adherence to, toward the relational idea of logical dependence, i.e. ‘because of’.

- (139) Nyi, tha zambuling khepa unyu songo-gai te-nyi nyi
 PRT here world TOP DEM person-ABL depend-NF PRT
 namesame ma-lek-pa ri dak Kenco-gi
 very NEG-good-NOM become say God-AGT
 sungmala.
 speak-NOM-COP
 ‘And because of that person God said, “The world must become very evil.”’

- (140) Onya a-wa te-nyi, thinung ngamce onya lo khai,
 DEM do-NOM depend-NF today future DEM word TOP
 bra ibi-gai-rang ye-khan manca.
 other who-ABL-EMPH speak-REL NEG.COP
 ‘Because this happened, today our language, it is not spoken by anyone else.’

Tenyi with this meaning has been reduced to *-ten* in example (141).

- (141) Onya ka dang tu-nyi lai ma-a-wa-gai-ten,
 DEM command PRT join-NF deed NEG-do-NOM-ABL-depend
 ro nyiktsing shi-le khe-wa.
 3 two die-INF must-NOM
 ‘Because they didn’t act according to the command, the two of them must die.’

As discussed in section 9.2.2b above, in combination with the question word *hang* ‘what’, *tenyi* forms the question expression meaning ‘how’, literally ‘by what means?’. Although more commonly reduced to *-ten* or *-te*, the full form *tenyi* does occur in this expression, as in (142).

- (142) Lopen-ba-ki sem mi-wa-la, Hang-te-nyi otha
 teacher-PL-AGT mind think-NOM-COP what-depend-NF DEM
 songo-gi Kenco dabu yek-pe re-ca ya?
 person-AGT God as speak-INF hope-COP QUES
 ‘The teachers thought, “How does this person presume to speak as God?”’

In a compound with a personal pronoun (including the generalised *rang* ‘one’) *tenyi* functions as a reflexive marker (cf. section 5.5). One can see the connection between the idea of ‘depending upon’ and a reflexive. The reflexive meaning might be paraphrased as ‘depending on oneself, in connection with oneself’, cf. example (143).

- (143) Ro-ki songo shi-wa-gai-bu wu-la-kap-nyi ro ro-tenyi
 3-AGT person kill-NOM-ABL-FOC raise-PTC-with-NF 3 3-RFLX
 hangte nyi?
 how PRT
 ‘If he is able to raise others from the dead, what about him himself?’

15.8.1.5 *Postposition khonyi*

The lexical verb *khonme* means ‘to chase’ or ‘to follow’, as in example (144). In example (145) *khonme* occurs as a non-final verb in a clause chain.

- (144) Danyi-gi phicurba khon-ma.
 cat-AGT mouse chase-NOM
 ‘The cat chased the mouse.’
- (145) Nyi meme-gi zala kho-nyi, borang angka di-nyi,
 PRT grandfather-AGT monkey chase-NF forest in go-NF
 zala tsung-nyi, phai-ga pha-wa-la.
 monkey seize-NF house-LOC bring-NOM-COP
 ‘Then the grandfather, chasing the monkey into the forest, catching it, brought it back to the house.’

Khonme shows signs of semantic bleaching when it occurs with non-final marking. In (146), the thing being followed or chased does not move. In (147), the *act* of following no longer refers to any motion at all, but by metaphorical extension to the state of being extended in a direction along a course, i.e. ‘along’. In (148) the component of motion is present, but the direction is not linear but random, i.e. ‘around, about’. (Note that in (146) and (148) the non-final marker has been reduced to *-n*.) In all of these examples *khonyi* has the ‘feel’ of a postposition more than a verb.

- (146) Ridrang khon dang-ma, ri-ga tanmong thong
 riverbed follow walk-NOM water-LOC view see
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 'While walking along the riverbed I saw the view of the river.'
- (147) Songo-ba ri nep kho-nyi cho-khan thamcen
 person-PL river bank follow-NF stay-REL all
 zo-ma-la.
 gather-NOM-COP
 'The people living along the river all gathered together.'
- (148) Jang das dung khon kor-be di-le.
 1s bit village follow go.around-INF go-INF
 'I'm going to walk around the village a bit.'

15.8.1.6 *Postposition kapnyi*

The last items on the list are more clearly grammaticalised than the others. Both *kapnyi* (*kap*) 'with, while' and *tanyi* (*tan, ta*) 'to, toward' occur frequently with relational function, are often phonologically reduced, and (with one exception which will be mentioned below) never inflected as finite verbs.

Kapnyi frequently modifies a noun phrase. *Kapnyi* may signify 'together with, accompanied by' in reference to the accompaniment of another person as in (149) and (150).

- (149) Oma zambuling-ga songo kap-nyi cho-khan semcen-sho
 now world-LOC person with-NF stay-REL animal-TOP
 abi-ga khepa lus-pa gila dang.
 grandmother-LOC TOP leave-NOM COP PRT
 'All of the animals which are with people in this world are the one's left over from grandmother's share.'
- (150) Ro kap-nyi chas phi-nyi jang-ta shonang phe-wa.
 3 with-NF talk do-NF 1s-PRT happiness feel-NOM
 'I was happy to talk with him.'

Most occurrences of *kapnyi* are more abstractly relational and merely serve to mark any kind of logical relationship to the nominal, as illustrated in (151) and (152).

- (151) Nan ro kap dolo ri-du.
 2s 3 with equal become-SUB
 'You may become equal to him.'

- (152) Nongthur jang ja-ga charo kap-nyi kholong phi-wa,
 one.day 1s 1s-LOC friend with-NF fight do-NOM
 ibi goma sho-le dak-nyi.
 who first issue-INF say-NF
 'One day I fought with my friend over which of us two would come in
 first place.'

It is also not necessary for the nominal modified by *kapnyi* to be animate, as the following examples will show.

- (153) Jang tsongkhang nang-kai lakcak kap-nyi gan u-pha.
 1s jail in-ABL iron with-NF flee come-NOM
 'I fled from the jail with my handcuffs.'
- (154) Otha lekhung-bu Wongbap Yiktshang kap dep-ka
 DEM department-FOC revenue department with together-LOC
 cot-nyi...
 make-NF
 'That department was also was merged with the Wongbap Yiktshang
 (Department of Revenues)...'

Even though there is no phonological reduction, in that the verbal *-nyi* inflection is retained, grammaticalisation appears to be quite complete with *kapnyi*. In most dialects of Tshangla *kap* does not occur as a finite lexical verb. However, in the Pema Gatshel dialect, *kapnyi* is pronounced *khapnyi*, and an extant lexical verb *khame* does exist, with the meaning 'to go with, be of a party with, take sides with', as in (155).

- (155) Jang ro khapnyi kha-me.
 1s 3 with be.of.a.party.with-INF
 'I'm with him.' (lit. 'I'll go with him. I'll take his side.')

If, as seems very likely, this verb is the lexical source for the postposition *kapnyi*, examples (149) and (150) can be seen as preserving much of the lexical semantic content held by the verb, while (151) through (156) show considerable bleaching and generalisation.

Kapnyi has one function as a verbal particle indicating temporal co-occurrence, i.e. 'while', as in example (156). This was described in section 13.2.1.1 as marking a cotemporal adverbial clause. The semantic similarity between the nominal and verbal modifying usages is obvious. As a verbal particle, *kapnyi* is unique in that it requires the *-la* participle form of the verb. This usage does not fit into an analysis as serial predicate.

- (156) Nyi di-la-kap-nyi lam-ga meaktsa-gi am+shing thur
 then go-PTC-with-NF path-LOC woman-AGT mango.tree one
 thong-ma.
 see-NOM
 'Then while they were walking along the path, the woman saw a mango tree.'

15.8.1.7 Postposition *tanyi*

The last item, *tanyi* 'to, toward', has been placed last on the chart because its verbal source is obscure. *Tanyi* also shows the furthest progressed phonological reduction.

Tanyi (*tan*) often marks the goal or recipient of a speech act, as in the examples below.

- (157) Nyi buchila-gi songo-ga-tan yek-pa-la, nan-gi jang
 PRT snake-AGT person-LOC-to speak-NOM-COP 2s-AGT 1s
 das ri nya-loka ke ge.
 bit river there-side send give
 'Then the snake said to the man, "Carry me to the other bank of the river."'
- (158) Ja mewaktsa-gi jang-ga tanyi ji-gi yek-pe, dak-nyi...
 1s wife-AGT 1s-LOC to 1s-AGT speak-INF say-NF
 'My wife said to me, "I will tell them ..."'

Tanyi may also mark the goal of a motion verb, as in the following example.

- (159) Ga tanyi jon-sho na, nan daknyi.
 up to go-IMP PRT 2s say-NF
 '“You keep going up,” (he) said.'
- (160) Khu dawa thur sho-n, nya-tan tha-tan jong jong-ma.
 dog like one come.out-SE here-to there-to go go-NOM
 'A beast like a dog came out and ran here and there.'

Tanyi may mark the recipient or goal of any transitive verb, as seen in the following examples.

- (161) Songo mar-khan-ba-ki ro-ka tanyi tang pha-nyi
 person be.sick-REL-PL-AGT 3-LOC to gift bring-NF
 bi-n-cho-wa
 give-SE-stay-NOM
 'The sick people were bringing him gifts.'
- (162) Hang a-nyi songo dukpu-ba-ka tanyi a-khe rokram
 what do-NF person poor-PL-LOC to 1p-AGT help
 a-n-ca ya?
 do-SE-COP QUES
 'Why are we helping the poor?'

- (163) O-ga ca mo na, ja-ga tan gen-sho, jang di-n
 where-LOC COP QUES PRT 1s-LOC to show-IMP 1s go-SE
 got-pe.
 look-INF
 'Where is it? Show me and I'll go look.'
- (164) Ro-ka hang nang-sho dak-pa thur a-ha-tan nang-ma.
 3-LOC what give-IMP say-NOM one 1p-LOC-to give-NOM
 'Whatever we asked him for, he gave to us.'
- (165) Nyi ja-ga-tan-bu gom+threse a-wa.
 PRT 1s-LOC-to-FOC anger do-NOM
 'And he was even angry with me.'

Of all the items on the list, *tanyi* is the one that has gone furthest in terms of phonological reduction. Several of the above examples, such as (157), (160), (164), and (165), show a reduction to *-tan*, but this is often shortened even further to *-ta*, as in the following examples.

- (166) Onya urka mongnang-gi tshok-pa-ga, onya sharang-gai dong-ta
 DEM bag leather-AGT sew-NOM-LOC dem head-ABL down-to
 othen muk-pa.
 this.manner cover-NOM
 'With a bag sewn of leather, they covered his head (lit. from the head downward) like this.'
- (167) Lung-gi nya-ta thing-ta thup-nyi cang-ca gila.
 stone-AGT here-to there-to throw-NF play-COP COP
 'With a stone they play here and there.'
- (168) Nan-ga namza-bu ja-ga nang-sho, dak-nyi jelpo-ta
 2s-LOC clothes-FOC 1s-LOC give-IMP say-NF king-to
 yek-than...
 speak-NF
 '“Give me your clothes!” he said to the king...'

15.8.1.8 Evidence for grammaticalisation

In summary, the claim has been made here that the items under discussion are situated at various points along a grammaticalisation cline between verb and postposition. As evidence for the claim that these items are verbs, all but *tanyi* may function as lexical verbs inflected with finite verbal morphology. For *tanyi* the lexical verb is obscure, but the form still occurs with the least reduced non-final *-nyi* inflection.

So far two pieces of evidence for grammaticalisation of the verbal postpositions have been offered. 1) the meaning of the postpositional usage is often a bleached derivative from the full meaning of the lexical verb, taking on a more general logical relational character. This criterion seems

to apply to all of the items. 2) Three of the items, *tenyi*, *kapnyi*, and *tanyi* show phonological reduction beyond the free alternation between the *-nyi* and *-n /-∅* inflected forms of the non-final verb.

A third piece of evidence for the grammaticalisation of the verbal postpositions is that the constituent in which the postpositions occur shows positional characteristics more like those of a postpositional phrase than those of a non-final clause. In example (169) below, the phrase marked with the postposition *tanyi* comes before the matrix clause subject. In (170) the phrase with *tanyi* comes after the final verb of the matrix clause.

- (169) Khon-khan songo-ba-ka tanyi ji namesame kadrinche
 chase-REL person-PL-LOC to 1s.AGT very thank
 a-nyi zhu-le.
 do-NF tell-INF
 'I say a big thank-you to the people who chased me.'

- (170) Songo thur-gi yek-pa-la, ro-ka tanyi, gadang thur
 person one-AGT speak-NOM-COP 3-LOC to hand one
 gen-sho.
 show-IMP
 'One person spoke to him, saying, "Hold out your hand."'

While it is possible for a non-final clause to be fronted or post-posed in this manner, it is much more common for a postpositional phrase to be preposed or postposed to the clause which contains them (Givón 1991; Li and Thompson 1973; 1974; Lord 1973). This is therefore what we would expect if the non-final verb has become grammaticalised to a postposition attached to the previous noun phrase.

15.8.1.9 Evidence for a serial predicate origin

Beyond the claim that these postpositions are grammaticalised from verbs, the specific claim was also made that the items are grammaticalised from verbs in a serial predicate construction. The evidence for this claim will be outlined here.

First, the morphological form of the item in its postpositional usage is the non-final verbal inflection with *-nyi*. This indicates that the postpositions originate as verbs in one of the three possible non-final constructions ending in *-nyi* which have been described in this chapter, namely a clause chain, a serial predicate, or a serial verb construction. We can eliminate the clause-chain construction as a source. Clause chains allow for independent subjects and peripheral arguments. However, in no instance do we find the postpositions occurring with a different subject than that of the final verb in the construction.

This is illustrated for *khonyi* (verbal meaning ‘to chase, to follow’, postpositional meaning ‘along, around’) in example (171), repeated from example (146) above. Free translation 1 gives the propositional meaning of *khonyi* ‘along’. Free translation 2 translates *khonyi* as a verb ‘following’, which in this example still makes sense, and also allows us to consider an underlying subject slot for this verb, as represented by the blank.

- (171) Ridrang khon dang-ma, ri-ga tanmong thong
 riverbed follow walk-NOM water-LOC view see
 cho-wa.
 stay-NOM
 1) ‘While walking along the riverbed I saw the view of the river.’
 2) ‘While I was walking ___ following the riverbed...’

The point here is that the elided subject in free translation 2, represented by the blank, must be indexed to the subject of *dang* ‘walk’ in order for *khonyi* to have the relational meaning it does. If this blank were to be filled with a different subject than the subject of *dang*, the construction would then encode two distinct events, and the relational or postpositional function of *khonyi* would be lost. This shows that *khonyi* is here in a construction together with *dang* ‘walk’ where the two must share a subject. This is therefore either a serial predicate or a serial verb construction.

That the verbal postposition and final verb in this construction share a subject can be shown syntactically by their ability to be relativised together under a single relativiser suffix, as illustrated for *kapnyi* and *khonyi* in the following examples.

- (172) Songo-ba ri nep kho-nyi cho-khan thamcen
 person-PL river bank follow-NF stay-REL all
 zo-ma-la.
 gather-NOM-COP
 ‘The people living along the river all gathered together.’

- (173) Oma zambuling-ga songo kap-nyi cho-khan semcen sho
 now world-LOC person with-NF stay-REL animal TOP
 grandmother-LOC khepa lus-pa gila dang.
 abi-ga TOP leave-NOM COP PRT
 ‘All of the animals which we have in this world are the one’s left over from grandmother’s share.’

So *khonyi* and *dangma* must either be in a serial predicate construction or a serial verb construction, because the two verbs share a subject. However, it can be seen that the verbs are not in a serial verb construction by the fact that they may still take separate objects. Some examples of this are given here for *kapnyi* and *tanyi*.

- (174) Ro kap-nyi chas phi-nyi jang-ta shonang phe-wa.
 3 with-NF talk do-NF 1s-PRT happiness feel-NOM
 'I was happy to talk with him.'
- (175) Ai ket-khan Kenco ngomu khepu-ga tanyi depa a-le
 1p create-REL God true TOP-LOC to faith do-INF
 gila.
 COP
 'We will believe in the true God who created us.'
- (176) Ro-ka tanyi ka thur nang-sho!
 3-LOC to command one give-IMP
 'Give him a command!'

Recall that the serial verb construction does not allow for any intervening object between the two verbs. In example (174), (repeated from (150) above) the nominal *chas* 'talk' comes between *kapnyi* and the following verb *phinyi* 'do'. In (175) the verb which follows *tanyi*, namely *ale* 'to do' has its own object *depa* 'faith'. In (176) the following verb *nang* 'give' has the object *ka* 'command'. Thus we can conclude that the verbal construction from which these verbal postpositions originated was the serial predicate construction.

15.8.1.10 SVO languages

The grammaticalisation of verbs in Tshangla serial predicate structures is similar to the grammaticalisation which has been observed for a class of lexical items which precede the main verb of the sentence in SVO languages. These items have been shown to function semantically as case markers or adpositions, but are historically derived from verbs.

Li and Thompson (1974) showed that certain lexical items (the so-called 'co-verbs') in Mandarin, with syntactic characteristics of adpositions, were in fact lexical verbs at an earlier stage in the language. The co-verb *ba*, for example, developed from a verb meaning 'to take, to hold' into an adpositional marker of accusative case. Like the Tshangla verb-derived postpositions, some of the Mandarin verb-derived prepositions coexist in the modern language with homophonous lexical verbs (p. 262).

Li and Thompson conclude on the basis of various syntactic tests that these items have been reanalysed as prepositions. However, they admit that 'If the co-verb were a verb in such structures, then these sentences would be identical to what we have called elsewhere "serial verb constructions"' (p. 265). Note that they use the term 'serial verb construction' to mean any sequence of two verbs which share a single subject. This includes both the serial verb and serial predicate constructions as these have been described

here for Tshangla. The chief criterion by which Li and Thompson determine that *ba* and the other co-verbs are no longer verbs, is that these co-verbs represent not two but only one event, claiming that 'this semantic fact is the strongest evidence that co-verbs are not verbs but are indeed prepositions.' (p. 266).

Lord (1973) described the same phenomenon for Kwa languages of West Africa. She noted that, 'Often the meaning of a verb in a serial construction can be identified in terms of case relationship and can be translated with a preposition in English.' (p. 270) The case relationships encoded by such verb-derived prepositions in the Kwa languages include instrumental, dative, benefactive, locative, manner, comitative, accusative, direction, and comparison. The serial verb constructions from which these items develop are 'relatable to two independent sentences, but in the serial construction the verb phrases necessarily refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single overall event' (p. 269). Thus, although they have emerged in an SVO context, both the Mandarin co-verbs and the Kwa verb-derived prepositions show marked similarity to the Tshangla verbal postpositions.

15.8.1.11 *Conclusion*

There is cross-linguistic evidence, then, for two pathways of grammaticalisation for verbs in concatenated contexts. The first, of an intransitive non-final verb in series with a final verb with no intervening object, results in the final verb becoming a grammatical marker of some verbal category such as aspect or direction. The second pathway, of a transitive non-final verb together with its object, leads to quite a different result, namely the grammaticalisation of the non-final verb to an adpositional case marker on its erstwhile object. The evidence for this second pathway has until now come for the most part from SVO languages, where the object of a transitive non-final verb intervenes between the two verbs. The first situation, leading to serial verbs, could be diagrammed as S V V (O), while the second situation, leading to co-verbs or adpositions would be diagrammed as S V O V (O).

In Tshangla we have examples of both pathways of grammaticalisation in an SOV language. What is interesting in SOV syntax is that the syntactic structures leading to both pathways may be identical on the surface, namely S O V V. The constructions are only disambiguated by their underlying structure. Recall the underlying structures that were posited for the clause chain, serial predicate, and serial verb constructions in Figure 11 in section 15.2 above. Consider examples (177) and (178) below, repeated from (93) and (148) respectively. These two utterances have identical surface structures with regard to the non-final verb. Both contain an object, followed by

non-final verb, followed by final verb.¹⁸ However (177) is an instance of a serial verb construction grammaticalised to a benefactive auxilliary, while (178) is a serial predicate having been grammaticalised to a postposition.

- (177) Ro-ki songo-ga kap cot-nyi bi-wa-la.
 3-AGT person-LOC shelter make-NF give-NOM-COP
 'He made a shelter for the man.'
- (178) Jang das dung khon kor-be di-le.
 1s bit village follow go.around-INF go-INF
 'I'm going to walk around the village a bit.'

Both (177) and (178) have the structure S O V V on the surface. However, according to the present analysis, only example (178) has the underlying structure of a serial predicate as seen in Figure 11, namely S O V (O) V, where the final verb has its own independent object slot, albeit in this case unfilled.

15.8.2 Preview: subordinators

There are two additional lexical items which belong to the class of verb-derived grammatical markers described above, but which are unique from the rest. These are *daknyi*, the non-final form of the verb *dakpe* 'to say', and *anyi*, derived from the non-final form of the verb *ale* 'to do'. Although these two verbs occur in structures similar to the serial predicates described immediately above, they do not function as nominal postpositions marking case-like relations, but instead as adverbialisers or clausal subordinators. Because of the variety of structural configurations and functional usages which characterise them, the next chapter will be devoted to their description.

15.9 IDIOMATIC SERIAL PREDICATE CONSTRUCTIONS

Just as was true for the serial verb constructions above, not all serial predicates show the tendencies toward generalisation which are realised by a few. For verbs in a serial predicate construction, an alternative scenario to becoming grammaticalised as postpositions is to become an idiomatic phrase, almost in some sense a lexicalisation of the concept expressed by the serial predicate. The following are examples of such idiomatised serial predicate constructions.

¹⁸ The presence of a second infinitive verb *dile* 'go' in (178) is irrelevant to the analysis.

- (179) bi ship-nyi thing-me
 foot line.up-NF stand-INF
 ‘to stand at attention’

- (180) sem shok-nyi ge-phe
 mind burn-NF weep-INF
 ‘to weep with grief’

- (181) kan jik-nyi yek-pe
 voice shout-NF speak-INF
 ‘to raise one’s voice, to shout’

15.10 OVERVIEW OF GRAMMATICALISATION OF
 CONCATENATED CONSTRUCTIONS

Recall Figure 7 from section 8.1. Clause types were divided into finite and non-finite, with the non-finite clauses in turn divided into non-final, or concatenated, and participial. Figure 12 below represents an expansion of

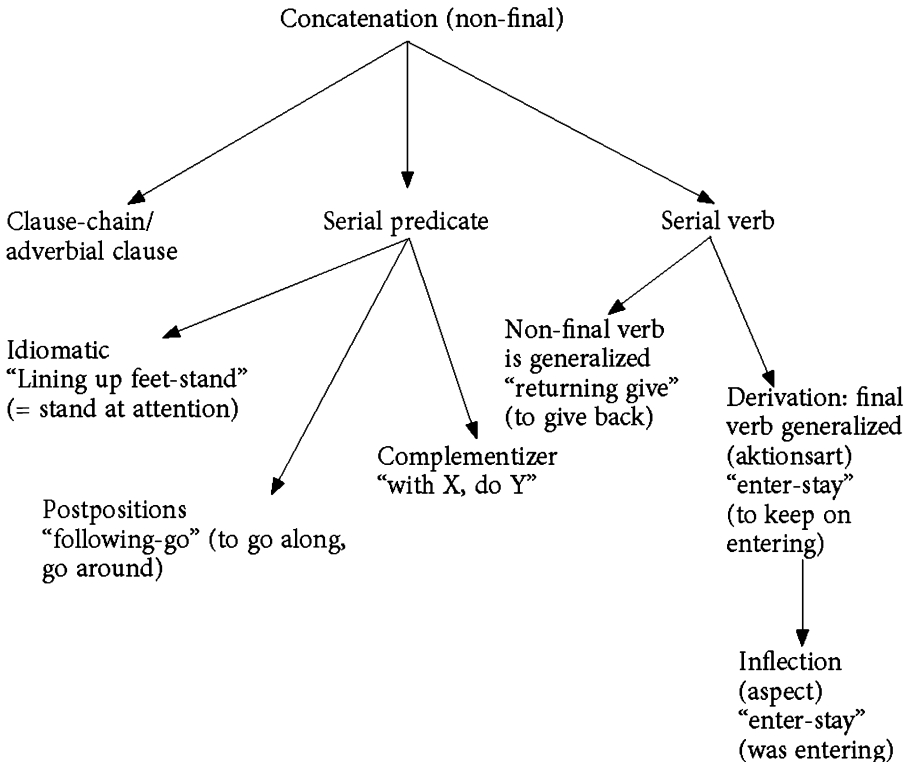


Figure 12. Concatenation continuum

the non-final node of Figure 7, in order to show the various types of non-final clauses and their distinct patterns of grammaticalisation. The diagram summarises the discussion of the entire present chapter on concatenation with *-nyi*.

Concatenation is of three basic types, the clause chain or adverbial clause, where each clause is independently specifiable for all arguments as well as peripheral constituents, the serial predicate construction, where the clauses necessarily share a subject argument and all peripherals but are independently specifiable for at least one core argument, and the serial verb construction, where both verbs necessarily share all arguments.

Serial predicates are further divisible into three types. One is an idiomatic construction where the two predicates combine to form a concept which is greater than the sum of its parts. This construction might be called lexicalisation. No single one of the component verbs is generalised to the point of approaching grammaticalisation. A second type of serial predicate involves a tendency for the non-final verb to grammaticalise into a postpositional marker of some relational concept associated with its erstwhile nominal argument, such as 'along', 'through', 'according to' etc. Finally, the verbs *ale* 'to do' and *dakpe* 'to say', in their non-final form in a serial predicate construction, have become grammaticalised to quotative markers or subordinators marking the presence of a speech or embedded propositional complement. This quotative or subordinator usage of *ale* and *dakpe* will be the topic of the next chapter.

DAKNYI AND ANYI

The constructions to be described in this chapter are all based on some form of the lexical verbs *dakpe* ‘to say’, or *ale* ‘to do’. These two verbs occur in various inflections and varying degrees of grammaticalisation in a wide variety of constructions, with a dramatic functional prominence in Tshangla discourse. The constructions built on each verb will be described in turn.¹ In the final section evidence will be given to show that these constructions are grammaticalised derivatives of a non-final concatenating construction.

16.1 DAKNYI

16.1.1 *Lexical verb*

The first verb to be described is *dakpe* ‘to say’. *Dakpe* shows the behavior common to any lexical verb, participating without restriction in any of the tense, aspect and mirativity inflections.² Examples (1), (2), (3) and (4), show the present imperfective mirative and non-mirative, and past perfective mirative and non-mirative inflections respectively. Example (5) shows *dakpe* in the imperative mood.

- (1) Nyi tam thur zhu-wa giwala, cangapa-gi. Pon, dak-la dang...
 PRT story one tell-NOM COP joker-AGT king say-COP PRT
 ‘So he told a story, the joker. “King, he says...”’
- (2) Bumthang nang-ka la, rokte Khengpa dak-ca me.
 Bumthang in-LOC PRT 3p Khengpa say-COP PRT
 ‘In Bumthang, they say (i.e. call them) Khengpa.’
- (3) Ata brang-ka di-nyi, ji-gi nan yen ma-bi-la
 elder.brother place-LOC go-NF 1s-AGT 2s teach NEG-give-PRT
 dak-pa-la.
 say-PTC-COP
 ‘Then he went to his brother and said, I will not teach you.’

¹ Cf. also Andvik 2004.

² Although negative inflection is rare for *dakpe*.

- (4) Zala-gi hang a-n-ca ya abi dang
 monkey-AGT what do-SE-COP QUES grandmother and
 meme? dak-pa dang.
 grandfather say-NOM PRT
 ‘The monkey said, “What are you doing old man and woman?”’
- (5) Taktakpa odo dak-co na!
 frog come.IMP say-IMP PRT
 ‘Tell the frog to come!’

16.1.2 Quotative marker—speech

The most common usage of *dakpe*, however, is in its non-final inflection *daknyi*, which functions as a ‘quotative marker’ to set off an embedded discourse from the matrix clause. In this quotative function, *daknyi* occurs together with a main verb, commonly *yekpe* ‘to speak’ (6), but also any other verb of speech, such as *gephe* ‘cry’ (7) or *jime* ‘ask’ (8). The embedded discourse or quotation content itself is formally the complement of the verb *daknyi*.

- (6) Nan shong la-i dak-nyi, brumsha-gi yek-pa-la.
 2s breath take-IMP say-NF pumpkin-AGT say-NOM-COP
 ‘“You take a rest,” the pumpkin said.’
- (7) Meme shi-wa dak-nyi, ro-ki ge-pha.
 grandfather die-NOM say-NF 3-AGT cry-NOM
 ‘“The old man died!” she cried.’
- (8) Nyi songo khepa ngam-sho ma-ngam-sho dak-nyi
 PRT person type chew-IMP NEG-chew-IMP say-NF
 ji-ma-la.
 ask-NOM-COP
 ‘Then he asked, “Should this man be swallowed or not?”’

The quotative *daknyi* is occasionally omitted when a main verb of speech is present, and especially when the quotation complement occurs immediately before the final verb, as in example (9).

- (9) Brumsha-gi nan shong la-i yek-pa-la.
 pumpkin-AGT 2s breath take-IMP speak-NOM-COP
 ‘The pumpkin said, “You take a rest!”’

Alternatively, the main speech verb itself may be left implicit, leaving the quotation clause with *daknyi* to function as an ordinary non-final clause, followed by another clause which encodes a subsequent event in the discourse. In this case *daknyi* does double duty, as both quotative marker and main verb in the non-final clause.

- (10) Joktang-bu za-wa dak-nyi, meme-sho abi-gi
 potato-FOC eat-NOM say-NF grandfather-FOC grandmother-AGT
 she-wa dang.
 kill-NOM PRT
 'Saying, "You even ate my potatoes!" the old woman killed the old man.'
- (11) Kha+maja-gi-bu ro-ka shampi namesame lekpu ca dak-nyi
 peacock-AGT-FOC 3-LOC tail very good COP say-NF
 gen-ca gila.
 show-COP COP
 'Even the peacock shows off his tail, thinking it is very beautiful.'

Recall that in the quotative construction, the embedded discourse is formally the complement of *daknyi* as a verb. The entire quotation including *daknyi*, while functioning semantically as a complement to the matrix verb of speech, is formally not a complement, but rather an adverbial subordinate clause. A more literal free translation of example 9 above would be "The pumpkin spoke, saying "You take a rest!"³

16.1.3 *Direct vs. indirect quotes*

Quotations may be either direct or indirect, although in discourse the distinction is often neutralized. This applies to quotations marked by both *daknyi* and *anyi* (cf. section 16.2 below).

In example (12), the switch in pronominal reference from 1st person in the matrix clause pronoun to 2nd person in the complement pronoun shows that this is a direct quote. The reported speech is represented with the deixis of the original utterance, rather than the deixis of the reporting:

- (12) Nyi ro-ki ja-ta-nyi yek-na, na-ga chas-ba thamchen tha
 PRT 3-AGT 1s-to-NF speak-COP 2s-LOC talk-PL all here
 thep nang-ka tsuk-co dak-nyi.
 tape in-LOC put-IMP say-NF
 'He says to **me**, "Put all **your** talk here on the tape."³

In example (13), the reported thought quotation maintains the 3rd person pronominal reference of the matrix clause, showing this to be an indirect quote:

³ Interestingly, the way Tshangla speakers often translate quotation utterances to English brings out the adverbial nature of the quotation construction. Example (9) would be rendered as "You take a rest", the pumpkin spoke *like this*.'

- (13) Ro kap dolo ri-du a-nyi ma-za-i a-n
 3 with equal become-SUB do-NF NEG-eat-IMP do-SE
 yek-pa-la.
 speak-NOM-COP
 'He told you not to eat, thinking that (if you do) you may become equal to him.'

Here the reported thought is represented according to the deixis of the speech act of reporting. A direct quote complement would necessarily have used a first person pronoun subject *jang*, i.e. '...thinking, "They may become equal to me."'

16.1.4 Cognition

Daknyi is also used together with a final clause containing a verb of cognition, where the proposition embedded under *daknyi* represents the thoughts of the subject.

- (14) Yu gurbu pshi-phang nga-phang jam-den-gai-la, ro-rang
 liquor cup four-about five-about drink-reason-ABL-PRT 3-EMPH
 chilu gila dak-nyi sem mi-nyi...
 great COP say-NF mind think-NF
 'After drinking four of five cups of liquor, he thinks he himself is great.'
- (15) Ji-gi kholong ma-phi-la dak-nyi tha+cat-pa.
 1s-AGT fight NEG-do-PTC say-NF decide-NOM
 'I decided not to fight.'

Again, as with verbs of speech, the main verb may be left implicit:

- (16) Jang u-pha se-wa-la, dak-nyi, gan bi-wa-la.
 1s come-NOM know-NOM-COP say-NF flee give-NOM-COP
 'He knows I'm coming, (he thought), and sneaked away.'

16.1.5 Intention

In constructions where the main verb is omitted, the embedded thought proposition may be more like an intention or purpose than an actual explicit thought.

- (17) Lhangpoche mang-chen dak-nyi shu a-nyi lhak-cho-wa.
 elephant NEG.come-OPT say-NF strong do-NF read-stay-NOM
 'In hope that the elephant would not come, he was reading his book out loud.'
 (lit. 'Saying, "May the elephant not come," he was reading out loud.')

16.1.6 *Other functions*

Further abstraction of the rhetorical relationship between the *daknyi* clause and the matrix clause is possible, to the point where the proposition embedded under *daknyi* merely modifies or completes the subsequent clause in some way.

- (18) A-ching ibi goma sho-le dak-nyi onya korgai kholong
 1p-DUAL who first come.out-INF say-INF DEM about fight
 phi-wa.
 do-NOM
 ‘We two fought over who would come out best.’ (lit. ‘The two of us, who will come out best, about that we fought.’)

In the cognition and intention constructions above, because these do not involve actual speech, we already see the beginnings of semantic bleaching of *daknyi*. The gloss ‘to say’ for *daknyi* is no longer entirely appropriate. This semantic reduction is carried further yet with the even more abstract rhetorical relationship of example (18).

16.1.7 *Other forms and usages of dakpe*

In addition to the non-final form *daknyi*, the verb *dakpe* may occur in other inflections as well. These are the *-la* participle, the *-wa* participle,⁴ and relative clause *dakkhan*.

16.1.7.1 *-la participle: dakpa ~ dakpakapnyi*

The *-la* participle form *dakpa* (cf. sections 3.2.1.2.3 and 13.2.1) may occur alone or be followed by *kapnyi*. When *dakpa* is followed by *kapnyi*, the *dakpa* clause is an adverbial clause encoding an event cotemporal with the following final-clause event.

- (19) Nan-gi meaktsa hangten pha-le dak-pa-kap-nyi,
 2s-AGT wife how bring-INF say-PTC-with-NF
 brumsha jelpo-ga brang-ka di-wa-la dang.
 pumpkin king-LOC place-LOC go-NOM-COP PRT
 ‘When the wife had said, “How will you bring a wife?” the pumpkin went to the king of pumpkins (to ask for a wife.)’

⁴ The distinction between *-la* and *-wa* is neutralised and realised as *-pa* for verbs of the class to which *dakpe* belongs (cf. section 4.2). However, we can identify this particular form as the “*-la* form” because the construction itself is the one which requires the *-la* participle on V-final verbs (cf. section 3.2).

Dakpakapnyi is very frequently used in sentence initial position as a discourse connector, usually indicating a contrast between the prior sentence and the sentence to follow, something like the sentence adverbial ‘however’ in English.

- (20) Songo mangpu thur-gi-rang lai ma-lek-pa a-wa-la.
 person many one-AGT-EMPH deed NEG-good-NOM do-NOM-COP
 Dak-pa-kap-nyi songo thur khepa soso cho-wa.
 say-PTC-with-NF person one TOP different stay-NOM
 ‘Many people did evil deeds. However, one person was different.’

As was seen for adverbial clauses with the *-la* participle, *kapnyi* may be omitted, here leaving only the *-la* participle form *dakpa* (cf. Chapter 13)

- (21) Toka sha tsong-me gi-du dak-pa, ma-tsong-ma.
 bull meat sell-INF COP-SUB say-PTC NEG-sell-PTC
 ‘‘Maybe we could sell the meat?’’ (said the joker). ‘‘No, we won’t sell it,’’
 (said the king.)’

16.1.7.2 *-wa-nominalised*: *dakpa* ~ *dakpaga*

Alternatively, the form *dakpa* may be a nominalised *-wa* participle. Here the neutralised *-pa* suffix in example (22) represents the *-wa* participle rather than the *-la* participle, as evident from the fact that the complex predicate *rewa chole* or *rewa ketpe* ‘hope + ‘have’ or ‘place’, i.e. ‘to have hope, place one’s hope’ takes only an infinitive (*-le*) or nominalised (*-wa*) complement, as seen in Chapter 14. The *-wa* nominalised participle, but not the *-la* participle, may be further marked with the locative/dative postposition *-ga*, as in example (23).

- (22) Jang zhingkhram di-du dak-pa rewa ket-ca.
 1s heaven go-SUB say-NOM hope place-COP
 ‘I hope I will go to heaven.’
- (23) Nan gila dak-pa-ga ma-se-wa-la.
 2s COP say-NOM-LOC NEG-know-NOM-COP
 ‘(I) didn’t know it was you.’

16.1.7.3 *Relative clause usages of dakpe*

Dakpa may also be the nominalised relative clause in *-wa*. In addition, *dakpe* occurs in relative clauses with the relativising marker *-khan*. Relative clauses with *dakkhan* were described in detail in section 11.5.

16.2 ANYI

The lexical verb *ale* ‘to do’, exhibits a functional overlap with *dakpe*. Like *dakpe*, *ale* may be used as a quotative marker. However, as we shall see, *ale* occurs in a wide range of additional constructions in which *dakpe* does not occur.

16.2.1 *Lexical verb*

Like *dakpe*, *ale* ‘to do, to act’ is a full-fledged lexical verb that participates in ordinary verbal inflections.

- (24) Nai hang a-n-ca ya?
 2p what do-SE-COP QUES
 ‘What are you doing?’
- (25) Ro-ka dra-ba-ki unyu dabu a-wa-la.
 3-LOC enemy-PL-AGT DEM like do-NOM-COP
 ‘His enemies did like that.’

16.2.2 *Compound predicates*

Ale constitutes the verbal element in a large number of complex predicates (cf. Chapter 3), such as *lai ale* ‘to work’, *chas ale* ‘to talk’ *roram ale* ‘to help’, *ngolok ale* ‘to rebel against’ etc.

- (26) Ro-ki ro-ka apa-ga ngolok a-na.
 3-AGT 3-LOC father-LOC rebel do-COP
 ‘He is rebelling against his father.’

16.2.3 *Non-final clauses with anyi*

Ale, like other verbs, may occur in a non-final clause, taking the non-final form *anyi*. Again as with other verbs in non-final clauses, various rhetorical relationships between non-final and final clause may be expressed, such as cotemporality in (27) or cause-effect in (28) and (29).

- (27) Nan uthu lai a-nyi, haptur di-wa?
 2s this work do-NF how.much go-NOM
 ‘How long have you had this job?’
- (28) Botpa-ba roram a-nyi thamcen ga sho-na.
 Tibetan-PL help do-NF all up come.out-COP
 ‘Helping each other, the Tibetans all improve themselves.’

- (29) Jang a-nyi, nan gor-be-la.
 1s do-NF 2s be.late-INF-COP
 ‘I doing, you will be late.’ (i.e. Because of me you’re going to be late.)

16.2.4 Quotative *anyi*

16.2.4.1 *Speech*

Like *daknyi*, *anyi* may also be used as a quotative marker, taking the quoted utterance as its complement and placing the quotation structure with *anyi* in a subordinate relationship to the matrix clause. Here we observe the starting point of a grammaticalisation continuum involving semantic bleaching and, it will be seen below, eventually phonological reduction.

- (30) Ji-gi na-ga muding thong bi-le a-nyi yek-pa.
 1s-AGT 2s-LOC pearl see give-INF do-NF say-NOM
 ‘“I will find your pearl for you,” (he) said.’
- (31) Rokte-ba uthu sinpu ca a-nyi yek-pa.
 3p-PL DEM demon COP do-NF speak-NOM
 ‘“This is a demon!” they said.’
- (32) Ga-lu mala a-nyi garpu-ba-ki zhu-wa-la.
 allow-PTC NEG.COP do-NF guard-PL-AGT tell-NOM-COP
 ‘“It’s not allowed”, the guards said.’

16.2.4.2 *Embedding of both daknyi and anyi under zhule or a copula*

In spoken discourse, Tshangla speakers, especially when desiring to hedge an assertion of their own opinion, will often embed their utterance under *anyi* or *daknyi* (or their reduced non-final form *an* or *dak*) followed by a verb of speech, usually the honorific *zhule* ‘to say, to offer’, as in example (33).

- (33) Om thinung ngamce tiktare se-n-ca giwala dak zhu-le.
 now today future bit know-SE-COP COP say offer-INF
 ‘Nowadays, a few people know this, I would say.’

To hedge the certainty of the utterance, an assertion is also sometimes embedded under *anyi* or *daknyi* and the mirative form of the equative copula, *giwala*, as in example (34).

- (34) Rang-ga waktsa pura shi-wa te-nyi ge-pha a-n
 self-LOC child completely die-NOM adhere-NF cry-NOM do-SE
 giwala.
 COP
 ‘What happened was apparently that she cried because her children were all dead.’

16.2.4.3 *Cognition/intention*

Again as with *daknyi*, the proposition embedded under *anyi* need not necessarily be a spoken utterance, but may represent thought or even intention.

- (35) Ja-ga phai dzong cos-pe a-nyi phai
 1s-LOC house fortress make-INF do-NF house
 phi-n-cho-wa.
 build-SE-stay-NOM
 'Thinking, "I must make my house a fortress," he was building.'

- (36) Jang Thimpu-ga di-nyi, tiru das cos-pe a-nyi, mikpa
 1s Thimpu-LOC go-NF money bit make-INF do-NF plan
 ca.
 COP
 'I plan to go to Thimpu and make some money.'

16.2.5 *Hang anyi*

The configuration of question word *hang* 'what?' + *anyi*, literally meaning 'doing what?' draws upon the cause-effect or reason-result interpretation of *anyi* in order to create the interrogative expression 'why?'. *Hang anyi* is often contracted to form the single word *hanyi*.

- (37) Nan hang a-nyi gep-ca ya?
 2s what do-NF cry-COP QUES
 'Why (from what cause) are you crying?'
- (38) Ro hang a-nyi Thimpu-ga di-le ya?
 3 what do-NF Thimpu-LOC go-NOM QUES
 'Why (for what reason) is he going to Thimpu?'

16.2.6 *Instrument/cause*

When two agentively marked nominals are present, *anyi* emphasises and makes explicit the instrumental role of the secondary cause, or instrument.

- (39) Ji-gi nai-ba ri-gi a-nyi thrisor phi-wa.
 1s-AGT 2p-PL water-AGT do-NF cleansing do-NOM
 'I cleansed you with water.'

16.2.7 *Manner*

Adverbials like *dozo* 'fast', and *chapte* 'slow' may be embedded under *anyi*. The non-final clause then expresses the manner of the final clause event or action.

- (40) Ro-ki dozo a-nyi dung-ga lok shek-pa.
3-AGT fast do-NF village-LOC return arrive-NOM
'He quickly returned to the village.'
- (41) Chapte a-nyi yek-co!
slow do-NF speak-IMP
'Speak slowly!'

Adjectives as well, such as *lekpu* 'good', *chilu* 'great' and *dolo* 'equal', which normally occur as modifiers in the noun phrase, may modify *anyi* to create an adverbial expression.

- (42) Ja-ga zamin zemu khepa namesame kalu a-nyi-rang
1s-LOC daughter small TOP very difficult do-NF-EMPH
mar-ba- ca.
be.sick-NOM COP
'My youngest daughter is gravely ill.'
- (43) Phama-gi waktsa-ba thamcen dolu a-nyi phang-ca.
parent-AGT child-PL all equal do-NF love-COP
'Parents love all of their children equally.'
- (44) Ja-ga meaktsa jang-gai-bu topcha lekpu a-nyi cot-ca.
1s-LOC wife 1s-ABL-FOC food good do-NF prepare-COP
'My wife prepares food better than I.'

In some contexts this adverbial construction with *anyi* may together with the matrix verb encode a stative or resultative predication.

- (45) Zambuling nakdungdung changlu a-nyi cho-wa.
world dark black do-NF stay-NOM
'The world was dark and black.'
- (46) Rokte-ba-ki lung nyiktsing khuk-nyi dolu a-nyi cos-ca.
3p-PL-AGT stone two carve-INF equal do-NF make-COP
'They carve the two stones, making them equal.'
- (47) Shing tshebang chilu a-nyi lik-pe.
tree some great do-NF grow-INF
'Some trees will grow large.'

16.2.8 *Specifier emphasis*

In what may be viewed as a subtype of the manner usage, an *anyi* construction may be used to place emphasis on some specification of the subject argument, such as specification of quantity, as in (48) and (49), or specification as reflexive, as in (50).

- (48) Om a-ching a-nyi sha nga-me gi-du?
now 1p-DUAL do-NF meat chew-INF COP-SUB
'How about if you and I eat the meat?'

- (49) Ro sam a-nyi drom ti-wa.
 3 three do-NF box open-NOM
 'The three of them together opened the box.'
- (50) Jang-ten-rang a-nyi lam-pa.
 1s-REFL-EMPH do-NF learn-NOM
 'I am learning on my own.'

16.2.9 Anyi with nominalised clausal complement

In their quotative constructions, both *daknyi* and *anyi* take a quoted utterance as modifier or complement. *Anyi*, however, unlike *daknyi*, may also take a nominalised clausal complement. The distinctions between the two types of complement are as follows: 1) While the quoted utterance complement is inflected as a fully finite independent utterance with respect to tense, aspect and mirativity marking, the nominalised complement allows only a non-finite form of the verb, namely either the *-wa* or *-la* participle forms. 2) The utterance complement may reflect deixis of the original speech act (i.e. direct quote), while the nominalised complement may not be specified for deixis independently of the matrix clause. 3) Functionally, a fully inflected utterance complement stands in only one type of rhetorical relationship to the final-clause verb of speech or cognition, namely as the content of the utterance described. For the nominalised complement of *anyi* there is a wide range of different rhetorical relationships which may exist between the complement and matrix clauses, as will be seen below. 4) With the nominalised complement, *anyi* may be phonologically reduced to *-an* or merely *-n*, as in example (51). With the utterance complement this phonological reduction is not possible.

- (51) Nan cala ma-phang-pa-n chi-le bi.
 You things NEG-cherish-PTC-do⁵ lend-INF give
 'Lend the things without cherishing them.'

16.2.9.1 Same subject

Commonly in discourse, the nominalised complement of *anyi* often shares its subject with the final clause, as in the following examples.

⁵ The choice of a gloss for this morpheme *-n* is obviously problematic. It might be analysed either as the stem-extender *-n* found on vowel-final verb stems, or as a reduction of the non-final marker *-nyi* (the two of which may be diachronically related, as was suggested in section 4.2). Here, however, *-n* is all that remains of the verb *ale* 'to do', the presence of which is the defining element in this construction. Its grammatical function is of course not as a lexical verb, but rather as some sort of postpositional subordinator (as it in fact was glossed in Andvik 2004).

- (52) Ro-ki phakpa le khi sho-n ma-ge-ma a-nyi
 3-AGT pig intestine feces remove-SE NEG-rid-PTC do-NF
 zong-nyi za-wa-la.
 boil-NF eat-NOM-COP.
 'He ate the intestine without taking the feces out.'
- (53) Ro-ki tsik thur-rang ma-sung-ma a-nyi tsangken
 3-AGT word one EMPH NEG-say-PTC do-NF quiet
 zhuk-pa-la.
 sat-NOM-COP
 'He sat quietly without saying a word.'
- (54) Ro sem nyam-pa a-nyi lok di-wa-la.
 3 mind comfort-NOM do-NF return go-NOM-COP
 'She returned with peace of mind (lit. with her mind having been comforted).'

16.2.9.2 *Different subject*

However, the complement subject may be distinct from the final-clause subject as well.

- (55) Songo mangki ma-se-wa a-nyi ro thup tha-le
 person public NEG-know-NOM do-NF 3 thow leave-INF
 khe-le-la.
 must-INF-COP
 'He must leave her without the public knowing.'
- (56) Cangan-gi jut ri-ga di-wa a-nyi sha namesame
 joker-AGT flavor water-LOC go-NOM do-NF meat very
 dur-ba.
 boil-NOM
 'The joker, to make all the flavor go out into the water, really boiled the meat.'

16.2.9.3 *Intended result*

The complement of *anyi* may represent the goal or intended result of the event or action of the final verb. This intentional reading may occur with either a negative or an affirmative complement.

- (57) Zala-gi ro she-le ma-bi-wa a-nyi, kuche+sungche
 monkey-AGT 3 kill-INF NEG-give-NOM do-NF excuse
 yek-pa.
 speak-NOM
 'To not let them kill him, the monkey excused himself.' (lit. 'Not letting them kill him, doing, the monkey excused himself.')

- (58) Jang gari-ga chin-ma a-nyi juk-nyi di-wa.
 1s car-LOC reach-NOM do-NF run-NF go-NOM
 'I ran to catch the bus.' (lit. 'Catching the bus, doing, I ran.')
- (59) Khamung guri dak-pa a-nyi zik-co!
 clothes dirt cleanse-NOM do-NF wash-IMP
 'Wash the clothes until they are clean!' (lit. 'Cleansing the clothes, doing, wash them!')

16.2.9.4 *Attendant circumstance*

The most frequent use of the *anyi* with nominalised complement construction, is to encode 'attendant circumstance', a circumstance or event which occurs concomitant with the final clause event. The attendant circumstance is represented as background or qualification to the final clause event, rather than as a distinct event in its own right. Unlike the intended result construction above, this usage is most common when the *anyi* complement is negative.

- (60) Lakher ma-nyong-pa a-nyi, uptur a-n thup
 license NEG-receive-NOM do-NF this.much do-SE throw
 tha-wa.
 leave-NOM
 'Not getting a license, I left it at that.'
- (61) Ata-gi ma-na-wa a-nyi jang tson-ga lanyi
 brother-AGT NEG-agree-NOM do-NF 1s jail-LOC month two
 nyiktsing tsuk-pa.
 two put-NOM
 'Elder brother, in disagreement (with what I was doing) threw me in jail for two months.'
- (62) Ro sem nyam-pa a-nyi lok di-wa-la.
 3 mind comfort-NOM do-NF return go-NOM-COP
 'She returned, with peace of mind.'
- (63) Nan-gi Tshangla chas ma-yek-pa a-nyi shama
 2s-AGT Tshangla speech NEG-speak-PTC do-NF long.time
 di-wa.
 go-NOM
 'You haven't spoken Tshangla in a long time.' (lit. 'Much time has gone by without you speaking Tshangla.')

16.2.9.5 *Manner*

Some attendant circumstances which share the subject with the final verb are very similar in function to the manner construction with *anyi* and an adjective or adverbial which was discussed above.

- (64) Nyinang+khu-le mawa a-nyi lai phi-wa.
 ashamed-INF NEG.COP do-NF work do-NOM
 'They were working unashamedly.' (lit. '...without being ashamed.')
- (65) Ro-ki lai namesame dazen mawa a-nyi thup
 3-AGT work very care NEG.COP do-NF throw
 tha-na.
 leave-COP
 'He very carelessly leaves his work.' (lit. '...without caring...')

The complement of *anyi* may occasionally be a non-final clause itself.

- (66) Ro-ki juk-nyi a-nyi lai a-n-ca.
 3-AGT be.fast-NF do-NF work do-SE-COP
 'He works quickly.'

16.2.9.6 *Comparing the anyi construction to a non-final clause without anyi*

This attendant circumstance function of the *anyi* clause, being arguably the least specific type of rhetorical relationship between non-final and final clause, gives rise to the question of what is the functional difference, if any, between an ordinary non-final clause and an equivalent nominalised clause embedded under *anyi*. Although the difference is subtle, a comparison of the two constructions in examples (67) and (68) illustrates the difference in meaning. Example (67) has the nominalised clause *sem nyampa* '(her) mind being comforted' embedded under *anyi*, the entire clause including *anyi* functioning as the non-final clause. In example (68) the equivalent *sem nyamnyi* '(her) mind being comforted' itself stands as the non-final clause. The free translations suggest the subtle semantic difference between the two constructions.

- (67) Ro sem nyam-pa a-nyi lok di-wa-la.
 3 mind comfort-NOM do-NF return go-NOM-COP
 'She returned with peace of mind.'
- (68) Ro sem nyam-nyi lok di-wa-la.
 3 mind comfort-NF return go-NOM-COP
 'Having peace of mind, she returned.'

When the *anyi* clause is negative, as in (69), the difference is more pronounced. In fact, this *anyi* construction is by far more common with a negative than an affirmative complement. The non-embedded non-final clause version as illustrated in (70), would in fact be somewhat strange.

- (69) Ro-ki phakpa le khi sho-n ma-ge-ma a-nyi
 3-AGT pig intestine feces remove-SE NEG-rid-NOM do-NF
 zong-nyi za-wa-la.
 boil-NF eat-NOM-COP.
 'He ate the intestine without taking the feces out.'

- (70) ?Ro-ki phakpa le khi sho-n ma-ge-nyi zong-nyi
 3-AGT pig intesting feces remove-SE NEG-rid-NF boil-NF
 za-wa-la.
 eat-NOM-COP
 '?Not taking out the feces, he ate the pork intestine.'

Structurally, the complement under *anyi* is further removed from the level of the final clause, rather like embedding of a clause under a preposition like 'without' in English, as in the following:

- (71) He left her without anyone finding out.
 (72) He ate the intestine without removing the feces.

Note the difference in meaning between the embedded versions (71) and (72), and the equivalent non-embedded constructions in (73) and (74):

- (73) He left her and no one found out.
 (74) He didn't remove the feces, and ate the sausage.

The difference between the embedded propositions and the non-embedded versions seems to be that the non-embedded 'finding out' proposition is a distinct event, while the proposition embedded under 'without' lacks such status, being viewed rather as a concomitant feature of the main clause event. One observes for Tshangla, as one might for English as well, that the embedded construction is more common with a negative than an affirmative complement, i.e. with the preposition 'without' than the preposition 'with'. That the construction should be more common with negative events follows from its function. A non-event becomes salient when its affirmative equivalent becomes the expected background (Givón 1984: 348). In other words, talking about an event which did *not* take place is a pragmatically marked situation, usually done only when that event was expected to happen. What would trigger such an expectation would normally be some other actually occurring event. For this reason, it may be

more commonplace to talk about a non-event when it is concomitant to some other actually occurring event, than when it is not.⁶

In summary, nominalising and embedding under *anyi* seems to function, similarly to the English example, to downgrade the status of the embedded proposition from a distinct event, to a feature or aspect of the matrix event. Recall that this was precisely the function of the so-called serial predicate construction discussed in section 15.4. The event coded by the non-final verb in the serial predicate construction is interpreted as a facet or sub-event in a composite event structure together with the final clause event.

Recall that serial predicates must share the subject argument. This would normally preclude clauses with distinct subjects from being configured in a serial predicate construction. Embedding under *anyi* allows a distinct clause with its own subject to occur in a serial predicate construction and be encoded as an aspect or sub-event of the matrix clause. Compare the difference in meaning between example (55), repeated below, and its equivalent non-final clause without *anyi* in (75).

- (55) Songo mangki ma-se-wa a-nyi ro thup tha-le
 person public NEG-know-NOM do-NF 3 thow leave-INF
 khe-le-la.
 must-INF-COP
 ‘He must leave her without the public knowing.’

- (75) Songo mangki ma-se-nyi, ro thup tha-le khe-le-la.
 person public NEG-know-NF 3 thow leave-INF must-INF-COP
 ‘The public not knowing (because the public does not know), he must leave her.’

Without being embedded under *anyi*, the non-final clause in (75) is interpreted as a distinct event and in this instance an adverbial subordinate clause. Embedding under *anyi* in (55) allows the non-final clause to be viewed as a sub-event or facet of the matrix clause event.

That a negative proposition is most naturally encoded as an attendant circumstance, i.e. as a sub-facet or background to the main event, may offer a functional explanation for why the *anyi* construction with an affirmative complement is likely to receive a ‘goal’ or ‘intended result’ reading rather than an attendant circumstance reading.

⁶ For further discussion on this functional relationship between negative propositions and structural embedding in Tshangla, cf. Andvik 2004: 328–336.

16.2.10 *Embedding under anyi + chole with the -la participle*

So far all of the nominalised complements under *anyi* have involved a clause nominalised by means of the *-wa* nominaliser suffix. There are, however, *anyi* constructions in which the *-la* participle suffix occurs. These were discussed above in Chapter 13 on subordination. These both involve a clause containing the *-la* participle embedded under the verb *chole* ‘to stay’ also marked with the *-la* participle (i.e. *chola*). The rhetorical relationships expressed by these constructions are both of a temporal nature. In these constructions with *chola*, *anyi* is almost always reduced to *-an* or *-n*. The remainder of section 16.2 will describe these *la + anyi + chola* constructions.

16.2.10.1 *Adverbial ‘while’ and ‘before’*

Embedding of a negative *-la+anyi* clause under the verb *chole* ‘to stay’ in the *-la* participial inflection (*cho-la*) encodes the rhetorical relationships of cotemporality, ‘while’, or temporal anteriority, ‘before’. For examples of this construction see section 13.2.1.10.

16.2.10.2 *Alternate expressions of negative finite inflections*

It was noted in Chapter 10, under the discussion of the finite verb tense, aspect and mirativity paradigm, that certain members of the paradigm are codable by means of alternate expressions involving embedding under *anyi*. These are the future imperfective negative, and the future perfect imperfective negative. Formally these constructions consist of a phonologically reduced *anyi* with an embedded clausal complement in *-la* (*-pa ~ -ma ~ -ba*). Functionally the constructions have in common that they encode the imperfective aspect in a negative proposition (cf. Andvik 2004: 328–336):

a. *Future imperfective negative.*

- (76) Ji-gi ma-cang-ma-n cho-le, lopen-gi pecha
 1s-AGT NEG-play-PTC-do stay-INF teacher-AGT book
 ye-la-kap-nyi.
 teach-PTC-with-NF
 ‘I will not be playing while the teacher is teaching.’

- (77) Jang ma-kor-ba-n cho-le, ja-ga namesame lai ca.
 1s NEG-stroll-PTC-do stay-INF 1s-LOC very work COP
 ‘I will not be strolling here and there; I have lots of work to do.’

- (78) Nan chutse guga jaga phai-ga u-nyi-la, jang
 2s hour nine-LOC 1s-LOC house-LOC come-NF-PRT 1s
 ma-za-la-n cho-le.
 NEG-eat-PTC-do stay-INF
 'If you come to my house at nine o'clock, I will not be eating.'

b. *Future perfect imperfective negative.*

- (79) Nan chutse gu-ga ja-ga phai-ga u-nyi-la, jang
 2s hour nine-LOC 1s-LOC house-LOC come-NF-PRT 1s
 ma-za-la-n cho-wa u-phe.
 NEG-eat-PRT-do stay-NOM come-INF
 'If you come to my house at nine o'clock, I will not have been eating.'

The same construction may encode a contra-fact proposition:

- (80) Nyi kawa cat-nyi-bu jang khepa songo lekpu
 PRT hardship endure-NF-FOC 1s TOP person good
 ri-le ma-r-ba a-n cho-wa u-phe.
 become-INF NEG-can-PTC do-SE stay-NOM come-INF
 'Even if I had tried hard, I would not have been able to be a good person.'

16.2.10.3 -wa vs. -la participles

The choice between *-wa* and *-la* participles in the *anyi* construction is not entirely grammatically determined. Both alternatives may be acceptable in some contexts. For example, the utterance in (81) is acceptable with either *ma-se-la-n* or *ma-se-wa-n*.⁷

- (81) Jang songo ibi-gi-rang ma-se-la/wa-n phis-ka
 1s person who-AGT-EMPH NEG-know-PTC/NOM-do out-LOC
 di-wa.
 go-NOM
 'I went out without anyone knowing.'

Certain generalisations can be made, however, regarding the forms in this construction. First, phonological reduction of *anyi* only occurs with an embedded clause (either in *-la* or *-wa*). When the *anyi* complement encodes a quoted utterance, i.e. a fully finite speech act, as in (30) through (32) above, phonological reduction of *anyi* is not possible.

Secondly, the *-la* participle usually coincides with phonological reduction of *anyi*. Thirdly, the attendant circumstance (usually negative) is more likely to coincide with both *-la* and phonological reduction than is the affir-

⁷ Some differences are attributable to regional varieties. According to speakers, *maselan* is more common in Trashigang and Wamrong, but *masewan* in for example Pema Gatsel.

mative 'intended result' reading. Finally, embedding under *chole* 'to stay' to encode temporal relationships, as illustrated above, *always* coincides with phonological reduction and the *-la* participle.

All of these features suggest a continuum from distinct events toward less and less distinct events representing merely background to the main event. This continuum of complement types would proceed from quotation, to intended result, to attendant circumstance, and finally to a purely temporal aspectual function. The facts also lead to an analysis of the *-la* participial as being more expressive of this event reduction than *-wa*.

16.3 GRAMMATICALISATION

This chapter has shown several unique constructions involving the non-final form of the verbs *ale* 'to do', and *dakpe* 'to say'. What all of these constructions have in common is that they involve a grammaticalisation of the lexical verb, as shown by the following signs:

- 1) The grammaticalised verb, *daknyi* or *anyi*, shows bleaching and generalisation (loss of specificity) of semantic content vis-à-vis the original meaning of the lexical verb.
- 2) The grammaticalised verb does not represent a distinct event, but modifies in some way the event represented by the matrix verb.
- 3) The grammaticalised verb has a reduced argument structure. The subject cannot be specified independently, but must be coreferent with the subject of the matrix verb.
- 4) The grammaticalised verb is phonologically reduced in certain constructions.

It will be recalled from Chapter 15 that there are two distinct pathways of grammaticalisation of non-final verb constructions in Tshangla. These were called the 'serial verb' and the 'serial predicate' constructions. The structural difference between these two is that the serial verb construction allows for no intervening objects, the two verbs having become merged into a single predicate, while the serial predicate construction requires sharing of the subject but allows for each of the verbs to have its own object. In grammaticalisation of the serial verb construction, it is the rightmost of the two verbs which is bleached and grammaticalised and takes on a relational function with respect to the other verb, becoming a marker of some aspectual category. In grammaticalisation of the serial predicate construction, by contrast, we saw that it is the leftmost verb that is bleached and

grammaticalised and takes on a relational function with respect not to the other verb, but to its own object argument, becoming a postpositional marker of some type of nominal case relation.

It is readily apparent that the quotative and subordinating constructions involving *anyi* and *daknyi* are of the serial predicate type. The quotative and subordinating constructions can be easily distinguished from the serial verb constructions by the fact that objects are allowed to intervene between the two verbs, i.e. there is no combined predicate, and also that it is the leftmost of the two verbs which is bleached and grammaticalised and takes on a relational function with respect to the constituent to its left, in this case the quoted speech or thought or the nominalised clause.

The *anyi/daknyi* construction may also be distinguished from the clause chain construction by the same tests which were applied in Chapter 15, all of which showed that there is a closer structural and semantic bond between the two predicates than that which is ordinarily found with clauses in a chain. For example, an embedded quotation with *anyi* or *daknyi* may be conjoined together with a final verb in the same relative clause (cf. sections 15.4.3.5 and 15.8.1.9).

(82) Ro-ki uthu sinpu ca a-nyi/dak-nyi yek-pa.
 3-AGT DEM demon COP do-NF/say-NF speak-NOM
 'He said, "This is a demon!"'

(83) uthu sinpu ca a-nyi/dak-nyi yek-khan songo...
 DEM demon COP do-NF/say-NF speak-REL people
 '... the person who said, "This is a demon!"'

The *anyi* and *daknyi* constructions are thus structurally identical to the verb-derived postpositions described in section 15.8.1. Whereas the postpositions have taken on a relational function to nominal arguments as markers of grammatical case, *daknyi* and *anyi* have taken on relational functions to an embedded utterance, or to an adverbial phrase or clause, as quotative markers or subordinators.

As a grammaticalised relational marker, the item, whether postposition, quotative marker, or subordinator, is more closely joined to the constitution to which it relates and thus the two are free to move together. So we find alternative quote structures to (82) above, where the entire quotation structure including the quotative marker *anyi* or *daknyi* is preposed to the matrix subject, as in (84).

(84) Uthu sinpu ca a-nyi/dak-nyi ro-ki yek-pa.
 DEM demon COP do-NF/say-NF 3-AGT speak-NOM
 "'This is a demon!'", he said'

Not only the quotative uses of *anyi* but the other subordinating usages of *anyi* as well clearly show this serial-predicate structure. For example, the manner-adverbial construction (cf. section 16.2.7) in (85) shows both bleaching of semantic content of the grammaticalised verb as well as a clear single-event interpretation. This may be contrasted to the two-event clause-chain structure in (86):

(85) Ro dozo a-nyi chas a-wa.
 3 fast do-NF talk do-NOM
 'He talked quickly.'

(86) Ro dozo di-nyi chas a-wa.
 3 fast go-NF talk do-NOM
 'He talked while walking fast.'

Consider another near minimal pair of sentences:

(87) Ro-ki lai lekpu a-nyi cos-pa.
 3-AGT work good do-NF prepare-NOM
 'He prepared the work well.'

(88) Ro-ki lai lekpu a-nyi di-wa.
 3-AGT work good do-NF go-NOM
 'He did the work well and left.'

Here again, similarly to examples (85) and (86), example (87) expresses a single event, while example (88) contains two events in sequence. Because the serial predicate structure is necessary for the manner adverbial interpretation, forcing the serial predicate apart and into an ordinary clause chain structure by, for example, assigning non-identical subjects to the two verbs, prevents the manner adverbial from modifying the final verb.

(89) Ro-ki lai lekpu a-nyi ji-gi cos-pa.
 3-AGT work good do-NF 1s-AGT prepare-NOM
 'While he did good work, I prepared (it).'

Further evidence of a serial-predicate structure may be seen in the *hang-anyi* construction (section 16.2.5 above). Here the 'why' interpretation (cf. (37) and (38) above) is not possible if *anyi* has a subject distinct from that of the following verb. An utterance like (90), where *anyi* has a distinct subject, destroys the 'why' interpretation and the utterance becomes merely a cause-effect sequence of non-final plus final clause, comparable to example (29) above. Notice that the verb *anyi* then retains its lexical meaning 'to do'.

(90) Nan hang a-nyi ro gep-ca ya?
 2s what do-NF 3 cry-COP QUES
 'What did you do to make him cry?'

Likewise in the instrument/cause usage of *anyi* (section 16.2.6 above), the subject of *anyi* must be shared by the following clause. Modifying example (39) above to (91) where the subject of *anyi* is not shared by the following clause would destroy the instrumental reading, leaving *anyi* to function as a distinct verb ‘to do’, which in this case would result in the somewhat strange utterance:

- (91) Ji-gi nai-ba ri-gi a-nyi ro-ki thrisor phi-wa.
 1s-AGT 2p-PL water-AGT do-NF 3-AGT cleansing do-NOM
 ‘I did you with water, and he cleansed you.’

Finally, when a nominalised clause is embedded under *anyi* (cf. section 16.2.9), even though the embedded clause may have its own subject, nevertheless *anyi* itself may not have a subject distinct from that of the matrix clause. Consider example (56) repeated here.

- (56) Cangan-gi jut ri-ga di-wa a-nyi sha namesame
 joker-AGT flavor water-LOC go-NOM do-NF meat very
 dur-ba.
 boil-NOM
 ‘The joker, to make all the flavor go out into the water, really boiled the meat.’

In example (56), *jut* ‘flavor’ is the subject of *di* ‘go’, while *cangan* ‘joker’ is subject of both *anyi* and *dur* ‘boil’. Inserting a distinct subject for *anyi* would render the construction uninterpretable:

- (56) *Cangan-gi jut ri-ga di-wa ro a-nyi sha namesame
 joker-AGT flavor water-LOC go-NOM 3 do-NF meat very
 dur-ba.
 boil-NOM

As a serial predicate construction, the entire nominalised clause with *anyi* can be conjoined under a single relative clause:

- (56) jut ri-ga di-wa a-nyi namesame dur-ba-ga sha
 flavor water-LOC go-NOM do-NF very boil-NOM-LOC meat
 ‘...the meat that was really boiled so the flavor would go out into the water...’

We have seen then that the *hang anyi*, instrument/cause, manner, specifier-emphasis, and nominalised-clause usages of *anyi*, although they do not comprise a single predicate, all require that *anyi* share its subject with the following verb. Thus these constructions fit into the analysis of the serial-predicate construction discussed in Chapter 15.

VERSATILE PARTICLES

This chapter will be devoted to a mixed bag of unstressed, uninflectable clitic particles representing various subtle pragmatic functions, and each of which may occur as a marker on a variety of different constituents, from verb to noun phrase to non-final clause. Because of this varied distribution, this class of items will here be called ‘versatile particles’.¹ The examples in this and the following chapter are taken from naturally generated oral discourse, especially conversation, as it is in this kind of data that these particles and constructions are most likely to occur.

Several of the particles to be discussed will be described as ‘hedges’. A hedge, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1978), is:

...a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set: it says of that membership that it is *partial*, or true only in certain respects, or that it is *more* true and complete than perhaps might be expected (p. 150).

Hedges often modify nominal constituents; an example is the phrase ‘a kind of’ or ‘technically’ in English. An example of a hedge on a predicate is ‘sort of’, as in ‘He was sort of angry.’ Note that hedges may perform seemingly opposite functions of mitigating or intensifying. This latter sense is an extension of the colloquial sense of ‘hedge’.

Studies of particles with elusive meaning in a variety of languages have revealed the existence of a ‘purely’ pragmatic hedging function, modifying the utterance at the illocutionary level rather than at the semantic level. English expressions like *well, oh, ah, so, anyway, actually, still, after all, by the way, now, all right, you know* have been shown to function as so-called ‘performative hedges’ by hedging Gricean conversational maxims (James 1972; James 1973; Lakoff 1973a; Lakoff 1973b) or Searle’s (1969, 1975) felicity conditions (cf. Brown and Levinson 1978; Lakoff 1972a).

With a nod to Matisoff and his “versatile verbs” (Matisoff 1969).

17.1 THUR

The lexeme *thur* ‘one’ has already been discussed as having grammaticalised to an indefinite marker. *Thur* also occurs on other types of phrases, where it functions as a pragmatic hedge, mitigating or alternatively strengthening the force of the reference. As a hedge, *thur* may occur on various nominal or nominalised phrases, on adverbial and complement clauses, and on clauses concatenated with a non-final marker.

17.1.1 *Postpositional phrase with thur*

A phrase containing the manner postposition *dabu* ‘like’ may be hedged with *thur*, such as in the next two examples. A natural gloss for this usage is the English expression ‘sort of...’. In example (1), where *thur* marks the postpositional phrase *giwa dabu* ‘as if (it were) true’, the effect of the particle *thur* is to hedge or mitigate the certainty of the phrase.

- (1) Mastong, gi-du-la manggi-du-la, rang-gi-la
 don’t.know COP-SUB-PRT NEG.COP-SUB-PRT self-AGT-PRT
 thong-ma-la manca. Nyi noksam mi-n got-pa-kap-nyi
 see-NOM-COP NEG.COP PRT mind think-SE look-PTC-with-NF
 giwa dabu **thur**-bu la ko.
 COP.NOM like one-FOC COP PRT
 ‘I don’t know whether it is true or not, I haven’t seen it myself. But when I think about it, it sort of seems as if it were true.’

In example (2), the first instance of *thur* is a quantifier. The second *thur* is a versatile particle functioning as a hedge.

- (2) Tam das thur sho ca, ngartsham dabu **thur** ca.
 story bit one only COP joke like one COP
 ‘(I) have one story, sort of like a joke.’

17.1.2 *Thur on adverbial clause in -nyi*

Thur may hedge an adverbial clause in *-nyi*, as seen in the second occurrence of *thur* in the following example.

- (3) Nyi shama thur-gai jelpo-rang khi wu-le brang mawa,
 PRT much one-ABL king-EMPH feces expel-INF place NEG.COP
 nang dok-nyi **thur**...
 distress receive-NF one
 ‘So after a while, the king himself, not having anywhere to go to the bathroom, began to be rather distressed...’

17.1.3 *Thur on adverbial clause in -la*

After an adverbial clause formed with the cotemporal participle ending in *-la* (cf. Chapters 3, 13) the hedging function intensifies rather than mitigates the force of the adverbial clause.

- (4) Binang ri-la **thur** rokte-ba dung-gai gan di-wa-la.
 night become-PTC one 3p-PL village-ABL flee go-NOM-COP
 'As soon as it became night, they fled from the village.'

17.1.4 *Thur on complement clause in -le*

As noted in Chapter 5 on the noun phrase, stressed *thur* 'one' with a definite referent is an adverbial meaning 'alone', or 'only'. Stressed *thur* may occur on a complement clause with the same adverbial function, as in example (5).

- (5) Nyi omchang-rang yu jam-dengai a-ha nowang-gi
 PRT another-EMPH liquor drink-NF 1p-LOC mouth-AGT
 nya-ta chas ma-lek-pa yek jong-nyi, bra
 there-to talk NEG-be.good-NOM speak go-NF other
 songo-ba-ki ma-lek-pa thong-me **thur**-sha gila.
 person-PL-AGT NEG-be.good-NOM see-INF one-PRT COP
 'And furthermore, if we drink liquor, we with our mouth telling bad things about others, they in turn will only look badly upon us.'

Unstressed, *thur*, however, is a versatile particle and may act as a hedge on a complement clause.

- (6) Om ai zo-me **thur** khe-le-la.
 now 1p meet-INF one must-INF-COP
 'We ought to meet.'
- (7) Oma nan-gi a-ha charo a-le **thur** cho-nyi-la, nan-gi
 now 2s-AGT 1p-LOC friend do-INF one stay-NF-PRT 2s-AGT
 a-ha dasar roram a-khe.
 1p-LOC bit help do-ADH
 'If you would be like our friend, then may you help us.'

17.2 *TA (TV)*

Another versatile particle, *ta*, may have developed as a grammaticalised form of *thur*. *Ta* is pronounced in some dialects as *tu*, often in free variation with *te*. The particle has a hedging function similar to unstressed *thur*, but occurs in a more diverse set of constructions. *Ta* is one of three hedging particles which in addition to marking adverbial and complement clauses,

may also mark a reduplicated verb or even the pre-verbal particle in the complex verb (described below). The function of the particles is subtle, and often impossible to gloss adequately in English. A discussion of the comparative semantics of these particles will follow the syntactic description.

17.2.1 *Ta on the noun phrase*

The hedging particle *ta* may occur on a noun phrase, as in the following examples.

- (8) Rang-ga lo khepa-**ta** hang a-nyi-bu-rang ge-me
 self-LOC language TOP-PRT what do-NF-FOC-EMPH lose-INF
 mang-pha.
 NEG.come-PTC
 ‘One’s language, whatever happens, one should never forget.’
- (9) Oi, phakpale-**ta** zhimpu la!
 ITJ sausage-PRT sweet COP
 ‘Oh, this sausage is delicious!’
- (10) Nan-ga mewaktsa drak-pe gi-nyi-**ta**, ja thinglom-**ta** hang
 2s-LOC wife heal-INF COP-NF-PRT 1s heart-PRT what
 a-nyi ma-bi-le ya!
 do-NF NEG-give-INF QUES
 ‘If it will actually heal your wife, how could I not give you just my heart!’

17.2.2 *Ta on adverbial clauses*

On a clausal constituent, such as adverbial or complement clauses, the hedge *ta* is used to hedge the speaker’s commitment to the entire utterance. Tshangla speakers typically hedge their utterances even when expressing strong sentiment. It seems that as a rhetorical device, a form of understatement is considered wise. In example (11) the speaker uses both the *ta* particle as well as the lexeme *das* ‘a bit’ as hedges.

- (11) Rang-ga lo dak-khan ge-ma dak-pa-**ta** das
 self-LOC language say-REL lose-NOM say-NOM-PRT bit
 ma-lek-pa.
 NEG-be.good-PTC
 ‘To sort of lose what is called one’s own language is not so good.’

Ta may mark non-final adverbial clauses, as shown in examples (12) and (13) on an adverbial clause with the *-la* participle (here represented by its allomorph *-pa*), and in example (14) on an adverbial clause in *-nyi*. Note also that the first occurrence in example (10) above was also a *-nyi* adverbial clause.

- (12) Nyi ji-gi sem-ki a-nyi nan yongba gila a-nyi
 PRT 1s-AGT mind-AGT do-NF 2s fool COP do-NF
 sem-ki mi-la-**ta** hang-rang ma-a-la.
 mind-AGT think-PTC-PRT what-EMPH NEG-do-PTC
 Hang-ya-dak-nyi-la, sem-ki mi-khan-**ta** ibi-gi-rang
 what-QUES-say-NF-PRT mind-AGT think-REL-PRT who-AGT-EMPH
 thong-mu-bu manca.
 see-PTC-FOC NEG.COP
 ‘So if I just think with my mind that you are a fool, you won’t do anything
 (to me). Because what is just thought with the mind no one can see.’
- (13) Gonglam shek-pa-**ta** laktang un-dawa a-n-cho-wa.
 hill arrive-PTC-PRT exceeding DEM-like do-SE-stay-NOM
 ‘(While travelling back to Phuntsholing from Thimphu, my car was giving
 me trouble.) When we reached the hill, it did like that even more.’
- (14) Dutshe ringbu-rang gor-nyi-**ta**, nyi a-chi-ka lawang
 time long-EMPH last-NF-PRT PRT 1p-DUAL-LOC lamp
 khaipu she-n-than phi-le khe-le-la me.
 TOP kill-NF-NF do-INF must-INF-COP PRT
 ‘Since it’s going to take a rather long time, we should put out the lamp.’

17.2.3 *Ta on complement clauses*

Ta may also occur on complement clauses, as shown on an infinitive complement in example (15), and a nominalised complement in example (16).

- (15) Songo-ga nowang chok-pe-**ta** jang-bu la-mu mala.
 person-LOC mouth open-INF-PRT 1s-FOC want-PTC NEG.COP
 ‘I also don’t want to open my mouth to people.’
- (16) Un-dabu gi-n-than a-nyi-bu jang namesame sem
 DEM-like COP-SE-NF do-NF-FOC 1s very mind
 shonang ma-phe-wa-**ta** a-lu manji.
 happiness NEG-do-NOM-PRT do-PTC NEG.COP
 ‘Even though it was like that, I was not made very unhappy.’

17.2.4 *Ta on serial predicates*

In example (17), *ta* marks a serial predicate (cf. Chapter 15).

- (17) Ngap-kai rek-nyi-**ta** ma-di-wa u-phe, nan-gi sodo
 sky-ABL contact-NF-PRT NEG-go-NOM come-INF 2s-AGT lie
 phi-na!
 do-COP
 ‘You couldn’t have gone close to the sky! You’re lying!’

Example (18) shows *ta* marking a grammaticalised serial predicate with *kapnyi* (cf. Chapter 15).

- (18) Jang kap-nyi-**ta** ma-jong-shi, ja-ga mewaksa kap-nyi jong-ma.
 1s with-NF-PRT NEG-go-COP 1s-LOC wife with-NF go-NOM
 ‘They didn’t go with me, they went with my wife.’

17.2.5 *Ta in verb reduplication*

It was noted at the beginning of this section that the three particles *ta*, *rang*, and *bu*, in addition to marking an adverbial or complement clause, may occur on the verb itself, or on a pre-verbal particle in a complex verb. In these latter two constructions, the particles may be said to be internal to a verbal phrase which consists of only the verb and its related verbal particles or auxiliaries, but which includes no nominal arguments.

The first of these constructions, the ‘reduplicated verb construction’, consists of a verb inflected with the stative participial suffix *-lu* (cf. Chapter 3), followed by the versatile particle *ta*, *rang*, or *bu* and again by a repetition of the verb stem. This second verb stem receives the normal clausal inflection, whether final or non-final. With the particle *ta*, the construction counts as a hedging of the intended success or result of the activity performed by the agent or subject. Consider the following examples.

- (19) Ro-ki lai a-lu-**ta** a-na.
 3-AGT work do-PTC-PRT do-COP
 ‘He is working, (implication: but he doesn’t really know much about what he’s doing.)’
- (20) Ro-ki lam-pu-**ta** lap-la.
 3-AGT study-PTC-PRT study-COP
 ‘He is studying, (implication: but he’s not really remembering much).’
- (21) Changpu za-lu-**ta** za-wa.
 breakfast eat-PTC-PRT eat-NOM
 ‘I ate breakfast, (implication: but it wasn’t really very good).’

In each of these examples, the implication generated by the use of the particle construction is that the speaker is making the predication with reservation. While the propositions encoded are true in the strict sense, they are not fully felicitous, i.e. they are for some reason not exemplary assertions, and so the listener makes the statement with reservations.

That the propositions are still true strictly speaking is an important point. This shows that the hedges have a pragmatic rather than a semantic function. A semantic hedge would express the reservation explicitly, hedging the actual truth of the proposition. This is the case with an epistemic

modal device such as English *maybe*, *probably*, etc. which actually change the truth conditions of the utterance. If a speaker says 'Father will probably be home in half an hour.' and father does not in fact arrive home within that time, the listener may *not* claim that the speaker has told a lie, because the speaker hedged the utterance with the word *probably*.

A pragmatic hedge, by contrast, does not change the truth conditions of the utterance, but merely signals the speaker's reservations about the utterance. An example of a purely pragmatic epistemic modal device in English would be a certain intonation pattern which indicates uncertainty. Other languages commonly use discourse particles to accomplish the same thing. If the speaker says, 'Father will be home in half an hour,' using this uncertain intonation pattern, he may be implying that he is not certain, but the listener will indeed be able to accuse the speaker of speaking untruthfully or at least of being mistaken if father does not in fact arrive home within that time. The uncertainty was only communicated pragmatically, as a hedge on the illocutionary force of the utterance (James 1973), but not semantically as a hedge on the proposition itself.

One piece of evidence for this pragmatic hedging effect of the particle *ta* comes in its occurrence in an imperative speech act, such as in example (22).

- (22) Di-lu-**ta** di.
 go-PTC-PRT go
 'Go ahead and go.'

Example (22) might be uttered in response to a request for permission, say from a child to a parent, 'May I go.' The parent gives permission, but implies that they have reservations. The proposition itself is an imperative, 'Go!', however, the utterance is hedged at the pragmatic or speech act level. The utterance would be natural for example in a larger context such as (23).

- (23) Nan di-le lam-nyi-la, di-lu-**ta** di, mapa ditshe-ga
 2s go-INF want-NF-PRT go-PTC-PRT go but time-LOC
 lok-co.
 return-IMP
 'If you want to go, go ahead, but be back on time.'

What is significant with this example is that the particle *ta* hedges the utterance on the part of the speaker, without modifying any part of the proposition itself. Because the hedge operates at a higher pragmatic level, it has no effect at all on the representation of the clause at the semantic level.

17.2.6 *Ta on a reduplicated copula*

An additional point to note about the reduplicated verb construction, is that the lexeme *chole* ‘to stay’ may count as the participial form of the descriptive copula *ca*, as has been seen in several other constructions, in a context where the *ta* hedge would be applied to the copula itself.

- (24) Nyi tha pau cho-lu-**ta** mangpu ca.
 PRT here *pau* stay-PTC-PRT many COP
 ‘And here there are quite a lot of *paus*.’ (implication: They’re not all the best examples of *paus*.)

Note also that the reduplicated verb construction may be interrupted by an adverbial, as in example (24) *mangpu* ‘many’

17.2.7 *Ta in a complex predicate*

The particles *ta*, *rang*, and *bu* also occur in the ‘complex predicate’ construction. Recall from Chapter 3, that the complex predicate consists of a nominal followed by a verb, the two of which function as a single lexical item semantically, though they are grammatically independent and therefore separable. With the complex predicate construction, the versatile particle occurs on the pre-verbal element. The particle functions as a pragmatic hedge as described above.

- (25) Ji-gi ha-**ta** go-n-ca.
 1s-AGT heart-PRT put-SE-COP
 ‘Yes, I guess I understand.’

17.3 *TE*

The particle *te* is suspiciously similar to *ta* both in form and function. However there is enough of a distinction to suggest that these two particles have distinct diachronic origins,² even though they may be showing

² *-Te* is perhaps more likely to be diachronically related to the nearly homophonous reflexive marker *-ten*. The hedge *-te* would then be seen as having generalized to all nouns, where the reflexive *-ten* may only occur on pronouns. In some regional varieties, reflexive *-ten* is pronounced *-te*:

Nan-**te**-rang a-i na!
 2s-RFLX-EMPH do-IMP PRT
 ‘You yourself do it!’

The forms *-te* and *-ten* are interchangeable in at least two forms, *chapte* ~ *chaptén* ‘slowly’ (cf. *chaphe* ‘to spread’), and *hangte* ~ *hangtén* (cf. the discussion in section 9.2) There is evidence that *-ten* is a grammaticalized non-final verb in a serial predicate construction (cf. section 15.8).

a tendency toward merging or neutralisation of the distinction between them. The alternative analysis would of course be that these two forms have a common origin but are in the process of a phonological and semantic divergence. In any case, the two forms appear to contrast semantically and pragmatically.

17.3.1 *Te as future*

One distinction speakers make is to use *te* in contexts referring to future or irrealis events, and *ta* in other contexts:

- (26) Changpu za-le-**te** gi-nyi-la, zaxhang-ga di-le khe-le.
 breakfast eat-INF-PRT COP-NF-PRT hotel-LOC go-INF must-INF
 ‘If you want to eat breakfast, you must go to a hotel.’

Before the verb *uphe* ‘to come’, used as a modal auxiliary with future time reference or contra-fact, cf. Chapter 10), only *te* occurs, and not *ta*.

- (27) Ga wu-n-than nan-ga lha-ga melam tap-co;
 up rise-SE-NF 2s-LOC god-LOC prayer put-IMP
 hangyadaknyila, nan-ga lha-gi khen-nyi a-ha-ba
 because 2s-LOC god-AGT know-NF 1p-LOC-PL
 ma-shi-le-**te** u-phe.
 NEG-die-INF-PRT come-INF
 ‘Rise up and pray to your god, because if he knows then we may not die.’
- (28) Onye-gi thong-ma-**te** u-phe na, jim got-co!
 DEM-AGT see-NOM-PRT come-INF PRT ask look-IMP
 (looking for a lost pearl) ‘That one will have seen it. Go ask.’

Note that these examples all involve a verb plus auxiliary, either a copula or the verb *uphe* ‘to come’. The database upon which this study is based contains no examples of the *ta* form of the particle in this verb plus auxiliary construction. It may be that this is in fact what conditions, or at least originally conditioned the *te* form, and that the future or irrealis environment is secondary. This is a topic for further study.

17.3.2 *Te on noun phrases*

When *te* occurs on a noun phrase, the particle functions as a hedge on the specificity or restrictedness of the reference, in other words, to broaden the reference. That is, a noun phrase marked with *te* refers not only to the referent signified by that noun phrase, but to other items in the same general semantic category as the referent, as would be glossed by the expression ‘and such’, or, ‘and things like that’.

- (29) Bra songo-ba-ki-bu choto-**te** laga-ga chom-nyi pha-nyi
 other person-PL-AGT-FOC butter-PRT leaf-LOC wrap-NF bring-NF
 u-n cho-wa dang.
 come-SE stay-NOM PRT
 ‘Other people had brought butter and such, wrapped in a leaf.’
- (30) Jang kho notsang zik-nyi, onya nong-ka sha-**te** nga-me
 1s pot article wash-NF DEM day-LOC meat-PRT eat-INF
 nyong-cho-wa.
 receive-stay-NOM
 ‘By washing the pots and utensils, on that day I would get a
 chance to eat meat and such.’
- (31) Om tshong-**te** phi-le-ga noksam thur manca jang-ga.
 now business-PRT do-INF-LOC mind one NEG.COP 1s-LOC
 ‘I don’t really have a mind to do business (or such things) now.’
- (32) Ro khepa laipa ri-wa-la. Ro-ki momse-**te**
 3 TOP worker become-NOM-COP 3-AGT vegetable-PRT
 ya-pha-la.
 scatter-NOM-COP
 ‘He became a worker (= farmer). He sowed vegetables (and such).’

17.3.3 *Te on nominalised phrases*

Any phrase which can be nominalised, may be hedged with *te*. The nominalised phrase may be a relative clause as in (33) and (34), or a nominalised complement as in example (35).

- (33) Za-le ja-me-**te** ca mo?
 eat-INF drink-INF-PRT COP QUES
 ‘Do you have anything to eat or drink?’
- (34) Nyi onya songo-gi hangte yek-nyi bi-wa
 PRT DEM person-AGT how speak-NF give-NOM
 cho-wa-**te**, philingpa-gi biti kang-ma non-ma-la.
 stay-NOM-PRT foreigner-AGT foot strike-NOM stay-NOM-COP
 ‘And whatever that person said to him, the foreigner just kept kicking him.’
- (35) Nai-ba-ka-tan bra-gi ma-lek-pa-**te** a-wa
 2p-PL-LOC-to other-AGT NEG-good-NOM-PRT do-NOM
 cho-nyi-la kadrin cang-sho.
 stay-NF-PRT mercy forgive-IMP
 ‘If there is something bad that another (person) has done to you, forgive (them).’

17.3.4 *Te in lists*

Although *te* may occur on a solitary noun phrase, the particle commonly marks multiple noun phrases in a sequence or list, as in the following examples.

- (36) Bra mar-khan-ba-ki ro-ka-ta-nyi tang pha-nyi
 other be.sick-REL-PL-AGT 3-LOC-to-NF gift bring-NF
 bi-n-cho-wa; choto-**te**, gotham-**te**, unyu dabu.
 give-SE-stay-NOM butter-PRT egg-PRT DEM like
 ‘Other patients used to bring him presents; butter, eggs, and things like that.’
- (37) Nyi droban-gi wa-**te** kurta-**te** droban bu-le dak-nyi,
 PRT thief-AGT cow-PRT horse-PRT thief take-INF say-INF
 gong-nyi, tsikpa thung-ka shek-pa-la.
 climb-NF wall upon-LOC arrive-NOM-COP
 ‘And the thief, planning to steal cows, horses, etc., climbing, got to the top of the wall.’

17.4 RANG

The second particle to be discussed, *rang*, may also be seen as a hedge, but in this case as a hedge in the strengthening sense, in that the set membership of the constituent modified by *rang* is *more* true and complete than might be expected. *Rang* is aptly described as an emphatic marker, yet its syntactic distribution is parallel to that of the hedge *ta*.³

³ An interesting case of *-ta* and *-rang* in the same phrase is shown in the following example. Here *-ta* occurs on a nominal *se* ‘fruit’ within the noun phrase, while *-rang*, cliticized to the final constituent in the noun phrase, marks the noun phrase as a whole.

Dumre barka cho-khan shing-ga se thur-sha ma-za-i a-nyi
 garden among stay-REL tree-LOC fruit one-PRT NEG-eat-IMP do-NF
 sung-ma ma-stok-pa, bra shing-ga se-ga-ba-ta
 speak-NOM NEG-exclude-NOM other tree-LOC fruit-LOC-PL-PRT
 thamchen-**rang** za-le chhok-pe a-nyi sung-ma cha.
 all-EMPH eat-INF allow-INF do-NF speak-NOM COP
 (He) not only said, “Of all the fruit from trees in the garden don’t eat that one,” but
 (he) said, “Of all (*rang*) the other fruit (*ta*), you *are* allowed to eat.”

-Rang and *-ta* were described as having opposite hedging effects, *-rang* strengthening, and *-ta* mitigating. In this context, they complement each other; *-ta* hedges the reference to ‘fruit’, implying that ‘fruit’ must not be taken too narrowly or restrictively, i.e. perhaps other types of growing things, such as vegetables etc., are included. *-Rang*, on the other hand, by marking ‘all’, emphasises that the reference of ‘all’ should be taken very narrowly, in other words, that the reference must be understood as literally all and *nothing less*. There

17.4.1 Rang on the noun phrase

Rang occurs frequently on noun phrases, as in (38) and (39), including predicate nominals or adjectives, as in (40).

- (38) Jang-**rang** chilu gila!
 1s-EMPH great COP
 'I am the greatest!'
- (39) Songo thamcen-rang gep-nyi cho-wa-la.
 person all-EMPH cry-NF stay-NOM-COP
 'Absolutely everyone was crying.'
- (40) A-ha waktsa nyiktsing cikpu-**rang** la.
 1p-LOC child two same-EMPH COP
 'Our two children are exactly the same.'

17.4.2 Rang on sentence adverbials

Rang may also occur on sentence adverbials, including as a component in sentence-initial coherence devices such as *onya threkerang* 'immediately', *omchangrang* 'furthermore', *onyenrang* 'in that manner'

- (41) Nyi nong nyiktsing phang-ga japkai omchang-**rang** di-nyi
 PRT day two about-LOC after again-EMPH go-NF
 got-pa-kap-nyi...
 look-PTC-with-NF
 'And after about two days, again they went to look...'
- (42) Nyi omchang-**rang** a-ha nangpa cho-ga cho hangte depa
 PRT again-EMPH 1p-LOC Buddhist faith-LOC TOP how faith
 a-n-ca ya dak-nyi-la...
 do-SE-COP QUES say-NF-PRT
 'And another thing about what we Buddhists believe...'
- (43) Nyi onya threke-**rang** ro bonying nyiktsing-gi-bu apa
 PRT DEM immediate-EMPH 3 brother two-AGT-FOC father
 dang dru thup tha-nyi ro kap jong-ma-la.
 and boat throw leave-NF 3 with go-NOM-COP
 'And immediately, the two brothers left their father and their boat and went with him.'

is no contradiction because of the nature of the reference of a nominal like 'fruit' and a quantifier like 'all'. The nominal limits its reference to a set of objects in the world, while a quantifier like 'all' restricts the set of referents from being anything *less* than all.

17.4.3 Rang on adverbial clauses in -nyi

Rang also occurs on adverbial clauses, on non-final clauses in examples (44) and (45), and *la*-participle clauses in (46).

- (44) Ro goma sho-nyi-**rang**, nan 'fail' sho-wa-la.
 3 first come.out-NF-EMPH 2s fail come.out-NOM-COP
 'Though he placed first, you got a "fail"'
- (45) Nyi ro shing-ga se za-la-kap-nyi-**rang** ka-gai
 PRT 3 tree-LOC fruit eat-PTC-with-NF-EMPH command-ABL
 ge-ba lai a-wa-la.
 oppose-NOM deed do-NOM-COP
 'So when they ate the fruit, they broke the command.'
- (46) Got cho-la-**rang** meme lhangpoche-gi gopen
 look stay-PTC-EMPH grandfather elephant-AGT officer
 nyiktsing-ga gur ro-ka sung-gi dung thu-pha.
 two-LOC tent 3-LOC trunk-AGT pick throw-NOM
 'While they were looking on, the elephant picked up the two officer's tent
 with his trunk and threw it.'

17.4.4 Rang on serial predicates in -nyi

Rang may occur on a the non-final predicate in a concatenated serial predicate construction (cf. section 15.4 above).

- (47) A-shi tsa.drek-nyi-**rang** lai a-n-ca.
 1p-AGT strive-NF-EMPH work do-SE-COP
 'We are striving to work (i.e. working with great effort).'
- (48) Bartshampa-gi nang-ka nup-nyi-**rang** cho-na.
 Bartshampa-AGT in-LOC enter-NF-EMPH stay-COP
 'The Bartshampas are always intervening.' (lit. 'keep on entering in')
- (49) Jang u-n-**rang** ma-got-pa.
 1s come-SE-EMPH NEG-look-PTC
 'I will not come and see you.'

In example (50), the particle *rang* is attached to the verb *ale* 'to do' functioning in the predicate construction as a postpositional quotative marker, as discussed in Chapter 16. The quote complement consists of the subjunctive copula *gisa* 'it may be' (cf. section 9.1.4 above).

- (50) Gisa a-nyi-**rang** ji-gi-bu noksam mi-n-ca.
 COP do-NF-EMPH 1s-AGT-FOC mind think-SE-COP
 'I too was thinking, "It may well be!"'

17.4.5 *Rang on complement clauses in -le*

Rang occurs frequently on participial complement clauses in *-le* where matrix and complement subjects are coreferential (cf. section 14.2).

- (51) Nan-gi goma ji-me-**rang** khe-le.
 2s-AGT before ask-INF-EMPH must-INF
 ‘You have to ask first.’
- (52) Yintsang nang-kai wu-le-**rang** ma-r-ba.
 mud in-ABL rise-INF-EMPH NEG-able-PTC
 ‘They can’t even get themselves out of the mud-hole.’
- (53) Ro ko phek-pe-**rang** ma-na-n-ji.
 3 door open-INF-EMPH NEG-comply-SE-COP
 ‘She absolutely refused to open the door.’
- (54) Ro gom.thre-nyi yamnang thur kong-me-**rang**
 3 become.angry-NF youth one beat-INF-EMPH
 cam-pa.
 be.about.to-NOM
 ‘He nearly beat up one youth.’

17.4.6 *Rang on complement clauses with mo*

In example (55), *rang* follows the question particle *mo* and marks an embedded question complement (cf. section 12.1).

- (55) Jang shi-wa mo ca mo **rang** lek-pa-n
 1s die-NOM QUES COP QUES EMPH good-PTC-do
 ma-se-la.
 NEG-know-PTC
 ‘They did not even really know whether I was dead or alive.’

17.4.7 *Rang in the verb plus auxiliary construction*

Rang occurs frequently on the non-final element in all grammaticalised verb-auxiliary constructions. Example (56) shows *rang* attached to the verb, preceding the negative existential copula, in the negative present imperfective construction.

- (56) Unyu-ba noksam mi-lu-**rang** mala.
 DEM-PL mind think-PTC-EMPH NEG.COP
 ‘These people aren’t thinking at all.’

In example (57), *rang* marks an infinitive main verb before the auxiliary *chole* ‘to stay’, in the past prospective inflection.

- (57) Ro-ki nowang ma-chok-pe-**rang** cho-wa-la.
 3-AGT mouth NEG-open-INF-EMPH stay-NOM-COP
 'She was not about to open her mouth.'

The particle frequently occurs on a verb followed by the equative copula *gila*.

- (58) A-ha-ba mut-pe-**rang** giwala na!
 1p-LOC-PL destroy-INF-EMPH COP PRT
 'He is going to do away with us!'
- (59) Nginang khu-wa-**rang** gila!
 timid feel-NOM-EMPH COP
 'It is something to be timid of!'
- (60) Den-ma-**rang** manggi-du a-n mi-la-kap-nyi...
 be.true-NOM-EMPH NEG.COP-SUB do-SE think-PTC-with-NF
 'While he was thinking, "It is certainly not true!" '

In example (61), the particle comes before the auxiliary *uphe* 'to come', in the future prospective.

- (61) Un-dawa chas sho-le-**rang** mang-pha.
 DEM-like talk come.out-INF-EMPH NEG.come-PTC
 'We should not talk that way!'

17.4.8 Rang in verb reduplication

The particle *rang*, like *ta* and *bu*, occurs in the reduplicated verb construction discussed above, in which the verb stem occurs once inflected with *-lu*, and then is repeated, with the clausal inflection coming on the second instance of the verb. The particle occurs between the two instantiations of the verb. This reduplication provides a way of using *rang* to express emphasis in a simple clause, i.e. when the verbal construction provides no other verb-auxiliary or verb-complement construction within which to place the particle.

- (62) Dra u-nyi ti-bu-**rang** ti-be, ngen u-nyi-la
 enemy come-NF defeat-PTC-EMPH defeat-INF friend come-NF-PRT
 cong-mu-**rang** cong-me.
 befriend-PTC-EMPH befriend-INF
 'If an enemy comes, I will certainly defeat him, but if a friend comes, I will certainly befriend him.'
- (63) Ji-gi nan chowang-gi za-mu-**rang** za-me!
 1s-AGT 2s sword-AGT slash-PTC-EMPH slash-INF
 'I will really slash you with the sword!'

- (64) Nan jaga gadang-gai thar-bu-**rang** ma-thar-ba!
 2s 1s-LOC hand-ABL release-PTC-EMPH NEG-release-PTC
 'I will never release you out of my hand!'

As was seen above for *ta*, the grammaticalised verb *chole* 'to stay' substitutes for the existential copula *ca* in reduplication.

- (65) Nyi 'leadership' dak-khan unyu cho-lu-**rang** manca
 PRT leadership say-REL DEM stay-PTC-EMPH NEG.COP
 'And they don't have any leadership whatsoever.'

17.4.9 Interaction between *rang* and the participle *-le* vs. *-lu*

One difference between the verb reduplicating construction with *ta* versus with *rang* is that whereas *ta* occurred only with the *-lu* participle, *rang* occurs also with the *-la* participle form. In example (66) the *-la* participle suffix is represented by its allomorph *-ma*.

- (66) Ro-ki dang-ma-**rang** zala dabu dang-ca.
 3-AGT walk-PTC-EMPH monkey like walk-COP
 'He really walks like a monkey.'

Recall that in the reduplicated verb construction with *tu*, the verb may only be inflected with the participle suffix *-lu*. With *rang*, however, the initial occurrence of the verb may be inflected with one of two participial suffixes, *-la* and *-lu*. Although the distinction in meaning between these two participial forms is subtle, as noted in Chapter 3 above, the two forms are clearly syntactically distinct, occurring in distinct constructions. The *-lu* form occurs, for example, in the periphrastic present imperfective negative inflection, when the verb is followed by a copular auxiliary carrying the negative inflection. The *-la* form, on the other hand, marks the non-final verb in certain adverbial clauses where the dependent clause event occurs concurrently with the event of the matrix clause.

In verb reduplication with *rang*, depending upon which of these two participial suffixes is present on the initial verb, the hedge particle *rang* takes on a subtle but yet distinctly different interpretation. With the participle in *-la*, the particle makes an implication about the manner of the event. With the participle in *-lu* however, the particle makes an implication about the agent involved in the activity.

Examples (67) and (68) illustrate the hedging function of *rang* on the proposition with the *-la* participle. Here the manner of the event itself is hedged. The particle implies that the activity is an especially worthy token of the type of activity referred to, in other words that the activity is performed especially well. This interpretation requires the *-la* participle, but *-lu* is not acceptable.

- (67) Lai a-la/*-lu-**rang** a-n-ca, thri dabu a-nyi.
 work do-PTC-EMPH do-SE-COP machine like do-NF
 'He really works, like a machine.'
- (68) Ro-ki cang-ma/*-mu-**rang** cang-ca, yongkhesisi a-nyi.
 3-AGT play-PTC-EMPH play-COP fearful do-NF
 'He really plays all out, dangerously.' (i.e. not caring if someone gets hurt.)

To these examples may be contrasted examples (69) and (70) with the *-lu* participle. Here the particle *rang* comments not on the manner of the event, but on the motives or intentions of the agent performing the activity. This interpretation is not available in the construction with the *-la* participle.

- (69) Ama-gi lai ma-a-i yek-nyi-bu, a-lu/*-la-**rang**
 mother-AGT work NEG-do-IMP speak-NF-FOC do-PTC-EMPH
 a-n-ca.
 do-SE-COP
 'Even though mother says not to work, he works.'
- (70) Se-nyi-bu ma-se-nyi-bu, cang-mu/*-ma-**rang** cang-ca.
 know-NF-FOC NEB-know-NF-FOC play-PTC-EMPH play-COP
 'Whether or not he knows the game, he plays.'

17.4.10 *Rang in complex predicates*

Again like *ta*, the particle *rang* may also occur on the pre-verbal element in a complex predicate, in example (71) *mo* 'divination' in the complex predicate *mo gotpe*, 'to divine'.

- (71) Tiru ma-bi-wa-ga rokte-gi mo-**rang**
 money NEG-give-NOM-LOC 3p-AGT divination-EMPH
 ma-got-pa.
 NEG-look-PTC
 'Without us giving them money they will not perform divination.'

17.4.11 *Particle rang and pronoun rang 'oneself'*

An obvious possible historical source for the emphatic hedging particle *rang* is a homophonous impersonal pronoun *rang*, meaning 'oneself' This pronoun *rang* is used in both non-referentially (72) as well as referentially (73), often but not exclusively in genitive or reflexive constructions.

- (72) Songo hang-dawa u-phe khe-le dak-pa, **rang-ga**
 person what-like come-INF must-INF say-PTC oneself-LOC
 chas sho giti-rang yitka mi-le mang-pha.
 talk TOP when-EMPH memory forget-INF NEG.come-PTC
 'How people should be, is that one's own language should never be forgotten.'

- (73) Songo-ba thamcen-gi, rang-ten-ga mingtam sho-le-sha
 person-PL all-AGT oneself-RFLX-LOC fame emit-INF-FOC
 got-nyi cho-wa.
 look-NF stay-NOM
 'All the people were only looking each to enhance their own fame.'

The impersonal pronoun *rang* is not restricted to the third person, but is often used to refer to an already explicitly identified first or second person.

- (74) Lai rang-ten hang a-le la-ma thur jang a-n-rang
 work oneself-RFLX what do-INF want-NOM one 1s do-SE-EMPH
 bu-n cho-wa.
 carry-SE stay-NOM
 'Whatever I wanted to do, I was doing.' (lit. 'Whatever work one wanted to do, I was doing.')
- (75) Ai thamce-rang rang-ten-ga sem-ka tha-le
 1p all-EMPH oneself-RFLX-LOC mind-LOC leave-INF
 khe-le-la.
 must-INF-COP
 'We must all keep this in mind.' (lit. 'We all must keep this in one's own mind.')
- (76) Nyi rang-ten-ga sharang-ga ke-nyi-bu na
 PRT oneself-RFLX-LOC head-LOC appoint-NF-FOC oath
 ma-za-i.
 NEG-eat-IMP
 'And do not make an oath on your own head!' (lit. 'Do not make an oath upon one's own head!')

17.5 *Bu*

The particle *bu* shows a similar syntactic distribution to *ta* and *rang*, however the meaning of *bu* is somewhat more specific. The *bu* particle is a marker of contrastive focus, emphasising the marked constituent over and above other referents or propositions that are present in the context, whether explicit or implicit. It is further implied that what is predicated of the item marked with *bu*, is also true for the competing referents or propositions, which is what causes them to be in a competing relationship to the marked item. The particle *bu* can often be translated by the words 'also', 'even', and 'although', or 'even though' in English.

17.5.1 *Bu on a noun phrase*

When occurring on a noun phrase, *bu* focuses and highlights that noun phrase over and above other possible nominal referents. The particle occurs on the last constituent of the noun phrase, and has scope over the entire noun phrase.

- (77) Kota zemu-**bu** makmi-ga nu-phe di-wa.
 younger.brother small-FOC army-LOC enter-INF go-NOM
 ‘Little brother also went to join the army.’ or: ‘Even little brother went to join the army.’

The particle may highlight a nominal in any semantic role. Examples below show the marking of agent (78), patient (79), locative (80), ablative (81), and predicate nominal (82).

- (78) Nyi za-gi-**bu** shingrong thur nang-ka rok-nyi apa
 PRT son-AGT-FOC basket one in-LOC load-NF father
 thola pangthang thur nang-ka nung tha-wa-la.
 yonder field one in-LOC deliver leave-NOM-COP
 ‘And also the son loaded the father into a basket and carried him out and left him in a field.’

- (79) Nyi lai a-wa-ga ma-tshat-pa gosa yarseng-**bu**
 PRT work do-NOM-LOC NEG-need-PTC grade promotion-FOC
 nyong-pa.
 receive-NOM
 ‘Not only (am I) doing that work, but I received as promotion as well.’

In example (78), the son is being contrasted to another referent who had also performed the activity described. In this case the father had earlier carried the grandfather out into the field in a basket.

- (80) Mewaktsa-gi shing-ga se khepa phut-nyi za-wa-la. Nyi
 wife-AGT tree-LOC fruit TOP pick-NF eat-NOM-COP PRT
 ro-ka phewaktsa-ga-**bu** bu-nyi bi-wa-la.
 3-LOC husband-LOC-FOC take-NF give-NOM-COP
 ‘The woman picked and ate some of the fruit. And she gave some to her husband as well.’

- (81) Jang-gai tshing tshing u-khan songo cho, jang-gai-**bu** chilu
 1s-ABL follow follow come-REL person TOP 1s-ABL-FOC great
 gila.
 COP
 ‘The one who is coming after me is greater even than me.’

- (82) Zamling kor-nyi, u-khan-**bu** ca Sharchokpa nang-ka.
 world roam-NF come-REL-FOC COP Sharchokpa in-LOC
 ‘And among the Sharchhop people there are also some who have wandered
 the world and come (home).’

A predicate adjective may also be focused with *bu*. The quality encoded by the adjective, and which is predicated of the subject, is contrasted with other qualities which the subject possesses.

- (83) Otha se khepa za-nyi-la namesame zhimpu-**bu** gila.
 DEM fruit TOP eat-NF-PRT very delicious-FOC COP
 ‘That fruit was also very delicious.’ (i.e. in addition to other qualities it
 possessed.)

17.5.2 *Bu on adverbial clauses in -le and -la*

The focus particle may mark an infinitival adverbial clause. In this construction the focused adverbial clause is being highlighted and contrasted to other events which are also implied to be true.

- (84) Nyi ngeri yi-phe-ga-**bu** rokte-ba-ka phai-ga bu-nyi
 PRT evening sleep-INF-LOC-FOC 3p-PL-LOC house-LOC take-NF
 yi-phe ga-na.
 sleep-INF give-COP
 ‘And even in order to go to sleep in the evening (they) take you to another
 house and let you sleep.’ (The speaker is describing several ways in which
 his hosts gave him a royal treatment.)

In the same way, an adverbial clause built on the *la* participle can be contrasted to other events in the context.

- (85) Dangpo kha-ga ke-n cho-la-**bu**, nan ama,
 ancient bird-LOC bear-NF stay-PTC-FOC 2s mother
 jang apa a-n cho-wa. Oma-bu songo-ga
 1s father do-SE stay-NOM now-FOC person-LOC
 ke-nyi, nan zamin, jang za-ga ke-n cho-wa,
 bear-NF 2s girl 1s boy-LOC bear-NF stay-NOM
 a-ching laidro ma-chu-ma ca.
 1p-DUAL work NEG-finish-PTC COP
 ‘When we were born as birds, you were the mother and I was the father;
 even now after being born as people, you were born a girl and I a boy; our
 (common) fate is not yet finished!’

17.5.3 *Bu on adverbial clauses in -nyi*

The focus particle *bu* frequently occurs on a non-final adverbial clause in *-nyi*. Here the proposition encoded by the adverbial clause is contrasted to

the proposition of the final clause, roughly equivalent to the English ‘even though...’, ‘no matter if...’, ‘no matter how’

- (86) Chas haptur phi-nyi-**bu**, chu-mu mala.
 talk how.much do-NF-FOC finish-PTC NEG.COP
 ‘No matter how much we talk about it, we don’t finish.’
- (87) Jang tsonpa-rang gi-nyi-**bu**, jang-sho tsonpa-ba-ka
 1s prisoner-EMPH COP-NF-FOC 1s-TOP prisoner-PL-LOC
 gopen a-nyi tha-wa.
 chief do-NF leave-NOM
 ‘Even though I was a prisoner myself, I was made captain of the prisoners.’
- (88) Jang la meaktsa thur gila, khon bu-nyi-**bu** khon
 1s TOP woman one COP chase take-NF-FOC chase
 ma-chin-ma.
 NEG-reach-PTC
 ‘I am only a woman, even if I chase them I will not catch them.’

A common discourse connector meaning ‘nevertheless’, ‘even so’, is formed with the equative copula *gila* with non-final inflection *-nyi* plus the focus particle *bu*.

- (89) Kha-ba-ka got-co le. Rokte-ba tho ya-phu mala...
 bird-PL-LOC look-IMP PRT 3p-PL grain scatter-PTC NEG.COP
 Onye-rang **gi-nyi-bu**, rokte-ba tok-nyi cho-wa
 DEM-EMPH COP-NF-FOC 3p-PL starve-NF stay-NOM
 thong-la mo?
 see-COP QUES
 ‘Look at the birds. They do not scatter grain; nor do they gather grain... **Even so**, do you see them starving?’

17.5.4 *Bu on complement clauses in -le*

The particle *bu* may place focus on an infinitival complement, as in the following.

- (90) Nan waktsa sing-ma-kap-nyi namesame kawa cat-pe, nyi
 2s child bear-PTC-with-NF very hardship suffer-INF PRT
 shi-le dang ma-shi-le-ga-**bu** gayin manca na.
 die-INF and NEG-die-INF-LOC-FOC awareness NEG.COP PRT
 ‘You will suffer much when you bear children; you won’t know even whether you are going to live or die.’
- (91) Jang dong kur-than ro-ka bidar phek-pe-ga-**bu** optur
 1s down bend-NF 3-LOC shoe open-INF-LOC-FOC this.much
 lek-pa-n ma-cok-pa.
 good-NOM-do NEG-permit-PTC
 ‘I am not worthy even to bend down and untie his shoes.’

17.5.5 *Bu in the verb plus auxiliary construction*

The particle may mark the non-final verb in a grammaticalised verb plus auxiliary construction. In this case, the entire predicate comes under the scope of the focus particle. Verb and auxiliary together encode a single predication, upon which the particle operates.⁴ Note that when two or more constituents are contrasted in the same utterance, the particle *bu* may occur on all of the items.

- (92) Kha-ba-ka tho ya-phu mala; tho dus-pu-**bu**
 bird-PL-LOC grain scatter-PTC NEG.COP grain gather-PTC-FOC
 mala; nyi budang go-lu-**bu** mala.
 NEG.COP PRT barn put-PTC-FOC NEG.COP
 ‘The birds do not scatter grain; nor do they gather grain, nor do they put it into storehouses.’
- (93) Sem-ki mi-khan-ta ibi-gi-rang thong-mu-**bu** manca,
 mind-AGT think-REL-PRT who-AGT-EMPH see-PTC-FOC NEG.COP
 nyi na-ga tha-lu-**bu** manca.
 PRT ear-LOC leave-PTC-FOC NEG.COP
 ‘What we are thinking no one can see, nor can they hear it.’

17.5.6 *Bu in verb reduplication*

Like *ta* and *rang*, *bu* may also occur in the verb reduplication construction, where in addition to a contrastive focus, *bu* takes on an emphatic function similar to that of *rang*.

- (94) Nyi gi-lu-**bu** giwala, oma ata-gi sung-khan-bu
 PRT COP-PTC-FOC COP now eld.broth.-AGT speak-REL-FOC
 giwala.
 COP
 ‘That’s really true too. What elder brother said now is also true.’
- (95) Gi-lu-**bu** gi-du!
 COP-PTC-FOC COP-SUB
 (‘The people said, “Didn’t you use to be the king’s wife? You’re identical to her!” And the king’s wife answered,) “I just might be!”’)
- (96) Nyi mar-bu-**bu** ma-mar-shi onya-i ga-tan.
 PRT be.sick-PTC-FOC NEG-be.sick-COP DEM-ABL up-to
 ‘And from then on she never ever got sick either.’

⁴ This is further evidence for the grammaticalisation of the auxiliary. It no longer encodes a predication distinct from that of the verb.

- (97) Otha sacha-ga-la hang-rang mala, nyi om
 DEM land-LOC-TOP what-EMPH NEG.COP PRT now
 phit-pu-**bu** phit-la.
 be.late-PTC-FOC be.late-COP
 ‘There is nothing (to eat) at all in this land, and now it’s getting late as well.’

17.5.7 *Bu and rang ordering*

The particles *bu* and *rang* occasionally occur together on a non-final adverbial clause, with *bu* always preceding *-rang*.

- (98) Nan-ten zambuling o-ga kor-nyi-**bu-rang** onya
 2-RFLX world where-LOC go.around-NF-FOC-EMPH DEM
 natsha khepu magairang drak-pe ma-r-ba.
 disease FOC in.no.wise heal-INF NEG-can-PRT
 ‘Wherever you go in the world, that disease will not be cured.’
- (99) Rang-ga lo khepa-ta hang a-nyi-**bu-rang** ge-me
 self-LOC language TOP-PRT what do-NF-FOC-EMPH lose-INF
 mang-pha.
 NEG.come-PTC
 ‘One’s own language, no matter what happens, should never be lost.’

17.6 *SHA*

Another versatile particle *sha*, is translatable as ‘only’. Like *bu*, *sha* may be analysed as a marker of contrastive focus, however the function of *sha* is opposite to that of *bu*. Where *bu* indicates that the coded referent or proposition is true along with another competing referent or proposition, *sha* indicates that the coded referent or proposition is the only one of which the reference or predication may be made. *Sha* also differs from *bu* syntactically in that the former does not occur in the most verb-like constructions, i.e. the verb plus auxiliary, reduplicated verb, and complex predicate constructions. In this manner *sha* is more similar to the marked topic particles *sho* and *la* (below). Because of the similarity of *sha* in phonological form to *sho*, and the fact that the two occur in similar environments, one might suspect a historical relationship between the two particles. This question will be taken up below.

17.6.1 *Sha on a noun phrase*

Sha may mark a noun phrase or predicate nominal constituent. The examples show *sha* marking an agentive noun phrase (100), absolutive noun

phrase (101), locative noun phrase (102), predicate nominal (103), and predicate adjective (104). In each case the particle serves to contrast the marked referent with other possible referents.

- (100) Ro-ki-**sha** se-le.
3-AGT-FOC know-INF
'Only he will know.'
- (101) Ma-lek-pa-ba thamcen-rang pang-nyi, lekpu-**sha** rang
NEG-good-NOM-PL all-EMPH separate-NF good-FOC one
kap lus-la.
with leave-COP
'The bad things are all taken away, and one is left with only the good.'
- (102) Charo-ba-ka-**sha** lekpu a-nyi, dra-ba-ka ma-lek-pa
friend-PL-LOC-FOC good do-NF enemy-PL-LOC NEG-good-NOM
a-le.
do-INF
'(They) only do good to friends, but evil to enemies.'
- (103) Phai got-khan jang thur-**sha** gila.
house look-REL 1s one-FOC COP
'I am the only one looking after my house.'
- (104) Nyi ro cho, hala-rang gi-nyi-bu lai lekpu-**sha** a-khan
PRT 3 TOP when-EMPH COP-NF-FOC work good-FOC do-REL
giwala.
COP
'He was one who, no matter what, did only good work.'

As noted in Chapter 5, the *sha* particle may combine with the quantifier *thur* 'one', and mark a noun phrase or nominalised clause to express the idea 'only, alone', contrasting the referent or state of affairs to other possible referents or states of affairs.

- (105) Jang thur-**sha** ma-na-n-chi.
1s one-PRT NEG-comply-SE-COP
'I alone did not agree.'
- (106) Ro yi-pha thur-**sha** gila!
3 sleep-NOM one-FOC COP
'He is only asleep!'

17.6.2 *Sha on adverbial clauses*

When *sha* marks an adverbial clause, the proposition encoded by the adverbial clause is focused and contrasted to a state of affairs in which that

proposition did *not* hold true. This is true for the concatenated adverbial clause in *-nyi* (107) as well as the participial adverbial clause in *-la* (108).

- (107) Jang shi-n nyok-nyi-**sha** ji-gi se-le.
 1s die-SE receive-NF-FOC 1s-AGT know-INF
 'Only if I had died would I know.'
- (108) Ro-ki cho ming-gi thong-ma-**sha**, tri-le re-ca.
 3-AGT TOP eye-AGT see-PTC-FOC transform-INF can-COP
 'He can transform himself only when looking.'

17.6.3 *Sha on complement clauses*

Sha may mark a complement clause, here again contrasting the truth of the complement proposition to a state of affairs where the proposition was *not* the case.

- (109) Songo-ba thamcen-gi, rang-ten-ga mingtam sho-le-**sha**
 person-PL all-AGT one-RFLX-LOC fame emit-INF-FOC
 got-nyi cho-wa.
 look-NF stay-NOM
 'All the people were looking only to enhance their own reputation.'

17.7 MARKED TOPIC PARTICLE *SHO*

There is one additional versatile particle which is syntactically distinct from the hedging particles *ta*, *rang*, and *bu* described above. This is the marked topic particle *sho*. Although *sho* is also versatile, i.e. may occur in many different syntactic constructions, the distribution of *sho* is distinct from that of the hedge particles described above. *Sho* does not occur on the most verb-like constructions, i.e. the verb plus auxiliary, reduplicated verb, and complex predicate constructions, but only on the more nominalised constructions, such as adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and noun phrases.

17.7.1 *Semantics of sho*

Sho functions as a marked-topic device, which marks a topic of relatively low predictability or referential accessibility (Givón 1990: 741). Topics marked with *sho* tend to have low predictability or accessibility because they are being introduced to the discourse for the first time, or after a long absence, or because they contrast to the expectations of the listener.

17.7.1.1 *New topic*

The anaphoric topicality of a referent marked with *sho* tends to be very low. *Sho* is often used to introduce a brand new topic into the discourse. In example (110), *sho* occurs at the very beginning of the narrative, and then again when the topic switches to another referent.

- (110) Cheki jepo Songtsen Gyempo **sho** Jamyang-ga tri-pa
 faith king Songtsen Gyempo TOP Jamyang-LOC transform-NOM
 giwala. Ro-ka zamin cho-wa giwala. Ming **sho** Lhacam
 COP 3-LOC daughter stay-NOM COP name TOP Lhacam
 Pemasi giwala.
 Pemasi COP
 ‘The religious king, Songtsen Gyempo (SHO) was an incarnation of Jamyang. He had a daughter. Her name (SHO) was Lhacham Pemasi.’

The lengthier text excerpt in example (111) shows how *sho* may be used each time a new topic is introduced into a discourse. For the sake of anonymity full names have been reduced to initials.

- (111) Ja-ga pepe **sho** Lama J.K. dak-pe giwala. Ro sho
 1s-LOC great.grandfather TOP Lama J.K. say-INF COP 3 PRT
 yola Y. Gonpa zheng-kan giwala, ro-ka lama-gi lungten
 there Y. monastery build-REL COP 3-LOC lama-AGT power
 nang-ma dang thri-nyi. Ro-ka se **sho** Lama D.J. dak-pe
 give-NOM and accord-NF 3-LOC son TOP Lama D.J. say-INF
 giwala. Lama D.J.-ga za **sho** L.J. dak-pe giwala. L.J. lo
 COP Lama D.J.-LOC son TOP L.J. say-INF COP L.J. year
 zemu a-n cho-la-rang, ro-ka apa, Lama D.J. shak-pa
 small do-SE stay-PTC-EMPH 3-LOC father Lama D.J. die-NOM
 giwala. Onya-i tshinge, ro-ka ama-bu shi-wa giwala.
 COP DEM-ABL later 3-LOC mother-FOC die-NOM COP
 Ja-ga apa **sho** ro-ka ajang-gi dazen a-nyi sing-ma
 1s-LOC father TOP 3-LOC uncle-AGT care do-NF rear-NOM
 giwala. Tshinge che zhu-le R-gai G u-n, ro-ka
 COP later religion tell-INF R-ABL G come-SE 3-LOC
 tsawai lama G zhuk-teke, ro-bu G-gai che zhu-n
 master lama G stay-NF 3-FOC G-ABL religion tell-SE
 cho-wa giwala. Onya gang-ka ja-ga amchi kap
 stay-NOM COP DEM time-LOC 1-LOC aunt with
 ngen khe-wa giwala. Ja-ga apa dang amchi-gai za
 marriage occur-NOM COP 1s-LOC father and aunt-ABL son

thur dang zamin thur ke-wa giwala. Za-ga ming **sho**
 one and daughter one bear-NOM COP son-LOC name TOP
 T.T. dang zamin-ga ming **sho** T.J. dak ca giwala.
 T.T. and daugher-LOC name TOP T.J. say COP COP
 Tshinge ja-ga amchi lu+natsha khe-wa giwala. Nyisho ro
 later 1s-LOC aunt leprosy occur-NOM COP then 3
 soso a-n-than ja-ga amchi-ga naning L.D. azem
 different do-SE-NF 1s-LOC aunt-LOC younger.sister L.D. 2nd.wife
 a-n la-ma giwala. Ama L.D.-gai **sho** a-ching za
 do-SE want-NOM COP mother L.D.-ABL TOP 1p-DUAL son
 bonying nyiktsing K.N. dang Y.L. zamin pshi ke-wa
 brother two K.N. and Y.L. daughter four bear-NOM
 giwala. Jang K.N. **sho** za ata gila, nyi Y.L. **sho**
 COP 1s K.N. TOP son elder.brother COP PRT Y.L. TOP
 za zemu gila. Jang K.N. nga-gai ga-tan nangka che
 son small COP 1s K.N. five-ABL up-to-SE in religion
 lap-nyi apa kap che lhak-pe di-n cho-wa.
 learn-NF father with religion read-INF go-SE stay-NOM
 'My great grandfather (SHO) was Lama J.K. He (SHO) was the one who
 built the Y. Monastery in accordance with the guidance given by his teacher.
 His son (SHO) was Lama D.J. Lama D.J.'s son (SHO) was L.J. When L.J.
 was small his father D.J. died. Later his mother also died. My father (SHO)
 was raised by his maternal uncle. Later he came from R. to G. to live, and
 received religious teaching from his master. During that time, he married
 my mother's elder sister. From them were born one son and one daughter.
 The son's name (SHO) was T.T. and the daughter's name (SHO) was T.J.
 Later, my mother's elder sister was struck with leprosy. My father took her
 younger sister, L.D. as a second wife. From my mother, L.D. (SHO) were
 born we two brothers K.N. and Y.L. and four sisters. I, K.N. (SHO) am the
 first son and Y.L. is the second son. At the age of five, learning the Buddhist
 faith, I K.N. went with father to learn to read the scriptures.'

17.7.1.2 *Reintroduced topic*

In example (112), the rope is an important prop, and as such highly topical, being the thing which the dove uses to get the girl to come to her house. The rope is introduced into the discourse with a noun phrase, subsequently referred to by zero anaphora, and then mentioned explicitly two more times. After this, there is a gap of 4 clauses. When finally the rope is again reintroduced, it is marked with *sho*.

- (112) Dukpu zamin thur dang bedeng zamin thur cho-wa dang. Ro
 poor girl one and rich girl one stay-NOM PRT 3
 nyiktsing nokmin cho-wa. Dukpu-ga zamin tabu-rang
 two neighbor stay-NOM poor-LOC girl ever-EMPH
 shing-ga di-n cho-wa. Nong thur di-la-kap titara
 wood-LOC go-SE stay-NOM day one do-PTC-with dove
 u-n **lan** dung bu-wa. Tha-loka zor-gai nya-loka
 come-SE rope pluck take-NOM here-side ridge-ABL there-side
 zor-ga bu-wa. Dukpu zamin-gi ra-n, ana titara
 ridge-LOC take-NOM poor girl-AGT call-SE sister dove
lan ge; jang phai-ga di-le; ming mer-la. Nyi
 rope give 1s house-LOC go-INF eye darken-COP PRT
 onya-i, nan **lan** tshat-nyi-la leng odo dak-nyi.
 DEM-ABL 2s rope need-NF-PRT thither come say-NF
 Nyi zamin-gi jang leng u-pha hokang la. Rengan
 PRT girl-AGT 1s thither come-NOM ditch COP ladder
 cho-nyi-la khem ge, ana. Nyi titara dak-khan-gi
 stay-NF-PRT stretch give sister PRT dove say-REL-AGT
 ser-ga rengan khem ga-wa. Nyi, ro-ka phai brak
 gold-LOC ladder stretch give-NOM PRT 3-LOC house cliff
 barka shek-pa dak giwala. Nyi onya-i, **lan sho**
 among arrive-NOM say COP PRT DEM-ABL rope TOP
 ma-bi-wa, nan tha cho-i, ming mer-la. Nyi
 NEG-give-NOM 2s here stay-IMP eye darken-COP PRT
 nan zhego, tan, khumdereng dang thanga hang
 2s meal mattress pillow and blanket what
 tshat-pe dak ji-ma-la.
 need-INF say ask-NOM-COP

‘There was a poor girl and a rich girl. The two of them were neighbors. The poor girl was always going (out) for firewood. One day a dove came and took her **rope**. She took it from the ridge here to the ridge over there. The poor girl called, ‘Elder sister dove, bring the **rope** to me; I must go home; it is getting dark.’ So then the dove said, ‘If you need **the rope**, come over here.’ So the poor girl said, ‘There is a ditch in the way of my coming over. If you have a ladder stretch it out for me, elder sister.’ So the one called a dove stretched out a golden ladder for her. And they arrived at her house. And then, without giving her **the rope** (SHO), (the dove) said, ‘You stay here; it’s getting dark.’ And (the dove) asked, ‘What kind of food, mattress, pillow and blanket do you need?’’

17.7.1.3 Indefinite topic

When introducing a topic for the first time, a referent marked with *sho* may be indefinite, as in example (113).

- (113) Onya-i tshen-bu Kabab Rigzin Jigme Lingpa dak
 DEM-ABL name-FOC say
 nyong-pa. Onya-ga loma **sho** ming Jigme dak mangpu
 receive-NOM DEM-LOC disciple TOP name Jigme say many
 cho-wa giwala.
 stay-NOM COP
 'From then on, he received the name Kabab Rigzin Jigme Lingpa. (Based)
 on that, there were many disciples (SHO) with the name Jigme.'

17.7.1.4 *Contra-expectation*

A marked topic device, in signalling a change in topic, always contains an element of contrastive focus. This may be contrast with the previous topic or contrast with the expectations of the listener that the current topic will continue. When *sho* is used to mark an entire proposition, the proposition is presented as contrasting to some other idea present in the context. In example (114), the topic-focused conditional adverbial clause is focused.

- (114) Mani cos-nyi, nyi phan char-nyi, karmi
 prayer.wheel make-NF PRT prayer.flag raise-NF butter.lamp
 phi-nyi khung hang-rang manca a-nyi ji-gi zhu-le
 do-NF purpose what-EMPH NEG.COP do-NF 1s-AGT tell-INF
 gila. Tiru omtur di-wa-ga, rokte-ba-ka, songo dukpu-ga
 COP money again do-NOM-LOC 3p-PL-LOC person poor-LOC
 bi-nyi-la **sho**, ngoma unyu gila a-nyi zhu-le gila.
 give-NF-PRT TOP genuine DEM COP do-NF tell-INF COP
 'Making prayer wheels, raising prayer flags, lighting butter lamps isn't of
 any use, I say. The money that goes to those things, if they gave it to the
 poor (SHO), this would be genuine (religion).'

17.7.1.5 *Contrast to khepa and la*

It will be recalled that Tshangla has another marked-topic device, *khepa*, which was discussed in Chapter 5. *Khepa* and *sho*, as marked-topic devices, do show some overlap in function. The most obvious point of difference, however, is that *khepa* may only mark a nominal referent, while *sho* occurs on nominal referents as well as many other types of construction, as seen immediately above. For a proposition to be encoded as a marked topic with *khepa*, the clause which encodes that proposition must first be nominalised.

Khepa and *sho* differ in terms of their semantic function as well. *Khepa*, it was seen above, marks topics which may be referentially accessible, i.e. anaphorically topical, but which are unpredictable or inaccessible as topics because of a competition with another referent in the preceding context.

Khepa elevates the topic it marks, by contrasting the marked topic with the competing potential topic. *Sho*, on the other hand, seems to lack this contrastive function. The contrast signalled by *sho* is a contrast between the previous topic and the new topic being introduced. Between *khepa* and *sho*, *khepa* seems to be the more contrastive, while *sho* seems to be the strongest marker of topicality. This is demonstrated by the extended example (115), containing several occurrences of both *khepa* and *sho*.

An additional topicalising particle seen in this text, apparently similar in function to *sho*, is *la*. This may be a dialectal alternative to *sho* as *la* occurs in many of the same contexts as *sho*, and many speakers seem to use one to the exclusion of the other. However, some speakers do use both *sho* and *la*.

Example (115) comes from a legend which explains how the animals came to be divided into wild animals and domesticated animals.

- (115) Dangpo dangpo abi dang meme thur zambuling-ga
 ancient ancient grandmother and grandfather one world-LOC
 cho-wa-la. Semcen hang dawa gi-nyi-bu kha dang
 stay-NOM-COP animal what manner COP-NF-FOC bird and
 bu thamce-rang ro nyiktsing-ga rang-rang-sa a-nyi
 insect all-EMPH 3 two-LOC selv-selv-LOC do-NF
 bong-ma cho-wa dang. Nyi meme-gi **sho** om
 divide-NOM stay-NOM PRT PRT grandfather-AGT TOP now
 jang la pheaktsa thur gila, khon bu-nyi-bu
 1s TOP man one COP chase take-NF-FOC
 wurthur-ga-rang khon chin-me. Ja-ga kepaung
 immediate-LOC-EMPH chase reach-INF 1s-LOC portion
khepa borang nang-ka thar tha-le dak thamce-rang kha,
 TOP forest in-LOC release leave-INF say all-EMPH bird
 bu, dang semcen thamce borang nang-ka thar
 insect and animal all forest in-LOC release
 tha-wa-la. Nyi abi-gi **sho** jang la meaktsa
 leave-NOM-COP PRT grandmother-AGT TOP 1s TOP woman
 thur gila, khon bu-nyi-bu khon ma-chin-ma, ja kepaung
 one COP chase take-NF-FOC chase NEG-reach-PTC 1s potion
 la ma-thar-ba dak-nyi ro-ka kepaung **khepa**
 TOP NEG-release-PTC say-NF 3-LOC portion TOP
 ma-thar-ba a-n tha-wa giwala. Oma zambuling-ga
 NEG-release-NOM do-SE leave-NOM COP now world-LOC
 songo kap-nyi cho-khan semcen **sho** abi-ga **khepa**
 person with-NF stay-REL animal TOP grandmother-LOC TOP

lus-pa gila dang. Nyi meme-ga kepeng **sho**
 leave-NOM COP PRT PRT grandfather-LOC portion TOP
 borang nang-ka cho-khan semcen-ba thamce-rang meme-ga
 forest in-LOC stay-REL animal-PL all-EMPH grandfather-LOC
 kepeng gila dak-nyi tam goma abi meme
 portion COP say-NF story before grandmother grandfather
 gang-kai dong-tan yek-pe ca.
 time-ABL down-to speak-INF COP

'In ancient times, an old woman and an old man lived in the world. The animals, whatever they might be, birds and insects, all (animals), the two of them divided.

'The old man (SHO) said, "As for me (LA), I am a man, even if I (must) chase them, I will catch them immediately. My portion (KHEPA) I will release in the forest." And he released the birds, insects, and all the animals into the forest.

'The old woman (SHO) said, "As for me (LA), I am a woman. Even if I chase them I will not catch them. As for my portion (LA), I will not release them," and her portion (KHEPA) she didn't release.

'Now all the animals that live with people (SHO) are left from the old woman (KHEPA). And the old man's portion (SHO), all the animals that live in the forest are the old man's portion. And this is the ancient story to be passed down since the time of the old woman and the old man.'

During the course of this short story, the topic changes four times. For each of these topic switches, the topicaliser *sho* is used. After introducing the cast of characters, namely the old man, old woman, and the animals, the topic changes to the old man, and he is marked with *sho*. He remains as primary topic for several clauses, as the story relates first what he said he would do, and then what he did with his share of the animals. Next the topic changes to the old woman, again marked with *sho*. She too remains as primary topic as the story relates what she said she would do, and then what she did with her share of the animals. The topic then switches to the domesticated animals for one clause, marked with *sho*, and finally switches to the wild animals which were the old man's share, again marked with *sho*. *Sho* can be seen here as a device which introduces each new topic.

The difference between the functions of *sho* and *khepa* in this short text is striking. *Khepa* is first used when the old man is speaking about his share of the animals. In reporting his intentions for his animals, he is contrasting them to those animals which are not part of his share, i.e. to the old woman's animals. *Khepa* is again used in the same way in reference to the grandmother's share of the animals, contrasting her share with the old man's share. Both the old man and the old woman made decisions

regarding their share of the animals which contrasted sharply with the decision made by the other. The contrastive nature of *khepa* can be seen clearly here.

Note also that although the first use of *khepa* comes in the grandfathers utterance, the next clause describes the grandfathers action. The grandfather remains the primary topic, in spite of the fact that *khepa* occurs on a different referent, i.e. animals. This suggests that of the two marked-topic devices, *khepa* may have the stronger contrastive element of meaning, while *sho* may have the stronger topicalising effect.

Regarding the function of the third particle *la*, it is noteworthy that the where the old woman uses *la* in reference to her portion of the animals, the old man uses *khepa* in the exact same context. *La* apparently carries some of the contrastive focus conveyed by *khepa*. A more in-depth study of the function of the topicaliser *la* must await future research.

17.7.1.6 Both *khepa* and *sho* on same referent

Khepa and *sho* may occur together on the same nominal referent. This signals that this referent is both a new primary topic, and also contrasts with a competing referent in the context. In example (116), both *khepu* and *sho* are used to mark the same referent, archery, when that referent is being contrasted to the other games as well as being elevated to the status of the primary topic.

- (116) Nyi unyu cangtsham-ba **sho** hangte hangte-rang gila ya
 PRT DEM game-PL TOP how how-EMPH COP QUES
 dak-nyi-la, mi, dekor, khuru, pungdum, jikdum, soksom
 say-NF-PRT archery, dekor khuru pungdum, jukdum soksom
 a-nyi mangpu thur ca. Nyi onya cangtsham nang-kai
 do-NF many one COP PRT DEM game in-ABL
 ngoma-rang a-shi hang cang-ca ya a-nyi-la,
 true-EMPH 1p-AGT what play-COP QUES do-NF-PRT
 tso+tso-rang mi cang-ca gila. A-ha Druk gelkhap
 actually-EMPH archery play-COP COP 1p-LOC Bhutan kingdom
 nangka cho-khan songo thamcet-ki-rang mi cang-me-ga
 in stay-REL person all-AGT-EMPH archery play-INF-LOC
 shonang phe-n-ca gila. Nyi onya den-gai mi
 happiness do-SE-COP COP PRT DEM reason-ABL archery
khepu sho a-ha Druk-ka gelkhap-ga gelyong
TOP TOP 1p-LOC Bhutan-LOC kingdom-LOC national
 cangtsham a-nyi a-shi tsi-n-ca. Nyi mapa
 sport do-NF 1p-AGT regard-SE-COP PRT actually

unyu mi **sho** a-shi hala hala-rang cang-ca ya
 DEM archery TOP 1p-AGT when when-EMPH play-COP QUES
 dak-nyi-la perna losar dabu thur-ga, nyi tendri
 say-NF-PRT example losar like one-LOC PRT celebration
 tsi-nyi, gawai gatro a-nyi shonang phi-nyi mi
 regard-NF fun fun do-NF happiness do-NF archery
 cang-ca gila. Nyi mi cang-ma-kap-nyi mi-ga-bu
 play-COP COP PRT archery play-PTC-with-NF archery-LOC-FOC
 hangte cang-me mo cangthang thur ca.
 how play-INF QUES way.of.playing one COP
 ‘And these games (SHO), if you ask what they are, they are *mi* (archery),
dekor, *khuru*, *pungdum*, *jukdum*, *soksom*—there are many. But from among
 these games, if you ask what we actually play, mainly we play archery. All
 people living in our country of Bhutan love to play archery. And because
 of that, archery (KHEPU SHO) is considered our national sport. And
 this archery (SHO), when do we play it? We play it for example at losar,
 when we are celebrating, when we are having fun and happy, then we play
 archery. And while playing archery, for archery there is a distinct way to
 play...’

17.7.1.7 Discourse connectors

Discourse connectors such as *onyagai* ‘from then on’, *nyi* ‘then’, *onya adeke* ‘for that reason’, *onyen alakapnyi* ‘while this was going on’ etc. are often marked with *sho*. These devices maintain coherence in discourse by signalling a shift to a new temporal or logical setting, a shift which is made even more prominent by coding with *sho*.

- (117) Cheki jepo Songtsen Gyempo **sho** Jamyang-ga tri-pa
 faith king Songtsen Gyempo TOP Jamyang-LOC transform-NOM
 giwala. Ro-ka zamin cho-wa giwala. Ming **sho**
 COP 3-LOC daughter stay-NOM COP name TOP
 Lhacam Pemasi giwala. Ro nying songkhung a-n
 Lhacam Pemasi COP 3 year sixteen do-SE
 cho-la-kap shak-pa giwala. Nyi ro Kingkhen Longchen
 stay-PTC-with die-NOM COP PRT 3 Kingkhen Longchen
 Ramjam dak u-pha giwala. Nyi onya-gai **sho** ro
 Ramjam say come-NOM COP PRT DEM-ABL TOP 3
 shak-teke nying khethur dang nga-phang-gai tshing-gai ro
 die-NF year twenty and five-about-ABL after-ABL 3
 sharopa a-n yak she-n nying khe sam-phang
 butcher do-SE yak kill-SE year twenty three-about
 di-la-kap-nyi khandu lungten nang-nyi nyi **sho** che
 go-PTC-with-NF khandu blessing give-NF PRT TOP religion

a-le di-nyi, tshamkhang phi-n, nying songnyiktsing tsham
 do-INF go-NF prayer.house do-SE year twelve seclusion
 cat cho-la-kap-nyi...
 cut stay-PTC-with-NF

'The religious king, Songtsen Gyempo (SHO) was an incarnation of Jamyang (the goddess of wisdom). He had a daughter. Her name (SHO) was Lhacam Pemasi. And when she was sixteen she died. And she was reborn as Kingkhen Longchen Ramjam.'

'And after that (SHO), about twenty-five years after she had died, she was born as a butcher and killed yaks. About sixty years went by and he was given a blessing, then (SHO) went to practice the religion, built a house of prayer and secluded himself for twelve years...'

17.7.2 Sho on the noun phrase

Sho commonly marks a noun phrase, as in the following examples.

(118) Onya sa-ga yongbu **sho** goga daptur ca giwala.
 DEM land-LOC fly TOP chicken like COP COP
 'The flies of that land, they are as big as chickens.'

(119) Sharang sho phatsa nangka go-n, luspu **sho** apa-ga
 head TOP sack in put-SE body TOP father-LOC
 yi nangka thu-pha.
 blood in throw-NOM
 'The head was put in the sack and the headless body was thrown into the blood pool of his dead father.'

17.7.3 Sho on postpositions and locative phrases

Sho frequently comes on a postpositions such as *korgai* 'about', *nangka* 'inside', *phiska* 'outside', (120), or on locative adverbials such as (121) with the phrase 'on that day' and (122) with the phrase 'within three days' etc.

(120) Tshebang gila nyi, nang-kai mi-nyi phis-kai **sho**
 some COP PRT in-ABL think-NF out-ABL TOP
 nowang-gi sho-le ma-r-ba.
 mouth-AGT issue-INF NEG-can-PTC
 'Yes, its like this for some people, thinking on the inside but as for the outside, it doesn't come out of their mouths.'

(121) Onya nongka **sho** nyi, ro-ki-bu nowang
 DEM day-LOC TOP PRT 3-AGT-FOC mouth
 chok-pa-la-dang.
 open-NOM-COP-PRT
 'On that day, I guess he too (finally) opened his mouth (and spoke).'

- (122) Binang sam-ga **sho** nyung-co na; binang khung-ga **sho**
 night three-LOC TOP fast-IMP PRT night six-LOC TOP
 shak-co na!
 die-IMP PRT
 'Let him fast for three days and let him die within six days.'

17.7.4 *Sho on adverbial clause in -le*

Sho occurs on an infinitival participial adverbial clause (cf. section 13.2.2 above), such as in (123).

- (123) Unyu sho, sem zemu khepa katang cot-pe-ga **sho...**
 DEM TOP mind small TOP big make-INF-LOC TOP
 'And this, in order to make a small mind larger...'

17.7.5 *Sho on adverbial clause in -nyi, -deke, -than etc.*

Sho occurs on non-final adverbial clauses (cf. section 13.1 above) in *-nyi*, *-deke*, *-than* etc.

- (124) Apa dang ama-ga onya-i yek-pa-kap-nyi **sho**,
 father and mother-LOC DEM-ABL speak-PTC-with-NF TOP
 ama dang apa-bu hang-rang yek-pu manchi.
 mother and father-FOC what-EMPH speak-PTC NEG.COP
 'When (he) had said this to mother and father, even the mother and father had nothing to say.'
- (125) Nyi unyu dabu mar-ba cho-nyi **sho**, ai-ba drak-pe gila.
 PRT DEM like be.ill-NOM stay-NF TOP 1p-PL heal-INF COP
 'And if it is this kind of sickness, we will be healed.'
- (126) Nyi onya ten chum-deke **sho**, nyi nan-ten-ga natsha
 PRT DEM believe finish-NF TOP PRT 2s-RFLX-LOC disease
 sho magerang drak-pa giwala.
 TOP actually heal-NOM COP
 'So because you believed (him), your disease is cured.'

17.7.6 *Sho on adverbial clause in -la*

Sho occurs on adverbial clauses with the cotemporal participle in *-la* (cf. section 13.2.1 above).

- (127) Nyi abi-gi khon bu-la **sho** zala shing
 PRT grandmother-AGT chase take-PTC TOP monkey tree
 thung-ga gong di-wa-la.
 upon-LOC climb go-NOM-COP
 'So while the old woman was chasing it, the monkey climbed up a tree.'

17.7.7 *Sho on complement clauses*

Sho may mark a complement clause (cf. Chapter 14).

- (128) Nyi Pelden ro-ten Calcutta-ga shek-pa **sho**
 PRT Pelden 3-RFLX Calcutta-LOC arrive-NOM FOC
 se-wa-la.
 know-NOM-COP
 ‘Then Pelden knew that he had arrived in Calcutta.’

17.7.8 *Sho in verb reduplication*

Finally, *sho* may mark the non-final element in a *-lu* reduplication structure (cf. above).

- (129) Uthu gi-lu **sho** hang gila ya?
 DEM COP-PTC TOP what COP QUES
 ‘What in the world is this?’
- (130) Jang dabu songo-te u-phu **sho** u-phe mo?
 1s like person-PRT come-PTC TOP come-INF QUES
 ‘Doesn’t someone like me (ever) come along?’ (Speaker is wondering why everyone is laughing at him.)

17.7.9 *Sho and sha*

As noted above, the close phonological similarity between the topic particle *sho* and the focus particle *sha* described above might lead us to suspect that the two are historically related. In addition to the close phonological similarity we note that the two particles may not co-occur, suggesting that they occupy the same slot in the syntax. Thus either (131) or (132) with one or the other particles is possible, but not (133) or (134) with both particles. However, the meaning of the particles are quite distinct, as the free translation shows.

- (131) Karma thur-gi **sha** chas se-le.
 Karma one-AGT FOC talk know-INF
 ‘Only Karma will know about this matter.’
- (132) Karma thur-gi **sho** chas se-le.
 Karma one-AGT TOP talk know-INF
 ‘Now Karma, he will know about this matter.’
- (133) *Karma thur-gi **sha sho** chas se-le.
 Karma one-AGT FOC TOP talk know-INF
- (134) *Karma thur-gi **sho sha** chas se-le.
 Karma one-AGT TOP FOC talk know-INF

In the following examples both *sho* and *sha* occur in the same utterance, but in distinct grammatical slots.

- (135) A-ha sharchopa chas **sho** chas thur-**sha** gila.
 1p-LOC Sharchop talk TOP talk one-FOC COP
 ‘Our Sharchhop speech is only speech (i.e. a spoken language).’
- (136) Uthu **sho** namesame senam chilu cho-khan-gi-**sha**
 DEM TOP very blessing great stay-REL-AGT-FOC
 nyong-ca gila.
 receive-COP COP
 ‘These things, only very fortunate people have received.’

In some regional varieties the phonological distinction between the two particles is greater. In Wamrong, for example, the topic particle is pronounced *cho*, while the focus particle remains *sha*.

17.7.10 *Fronting and topicalisation without the particle*

Although topicalisation is usually accomplished by means of the topic particle, a constituent may occasionally be topicalised without the use of a topic particle, merely by fronting to a preclausal position, as in the following examples.

- (137) Nyi to rokte phai-ga za-n-ca jang.
 PRT food other house-LOC eat-SE-COP 1s
 ‘And meals, I take in another house.’
- (138) Tshangla chas jang yitka mi-n jong chu-ma-la
 Tshangla speech 1s memory think-SE go finish-NOM-COP
 tha nyera kap-nyi cho-nyi.
 here Indian with-NF stay-NF
 ‘And my Tshangla I have forgotten completely, living here with Indians.’

SENTENCE-LEVEL PRAGMATIC DEVICES

In this chapter, three different syntactic devices will be described which exhibit a pragmatic rather than a semantic function. That is, rather than affecting the propositional meaning of the utterance, they signal certain attitudes or intentions of the speaker in the particular situation in which the utterance is made. They may be said to modify the utterance at the level of the utterance or speech act.

The devices to be discussed are postposing, pragmatic adverbials, and sentence-final particles. Postposing, also known as ‘right dislocation’, involves rearrangement of word order vis-à-vis the unmarked or default syntactic order. The pragmatic adverbials and sentence-final particles are a small closed class of uninflectable lexical items which occur syntactically at the level of the sentence. The adverbials occur in various positions, while the particles are added on to the end of a sentence after all other markers. While formally quite different, these devices are functionally similar in that they convey the speaker’s attitudes or intentions in the particular situation. Because pragmatic devices such as these are conditioned by the particular circumstances of the speech situation, they are quite impossible to elicit with any reliability. All of the data examples in this chapter are therefore taken from spontaneously occurring natural discourse, for the most part conversation between two or more speakers.

18.1 POSTPOSING

A broad range of constituent types may be postposed to the main clause. The postposed elements are also pronounced with less stress and a lower pitch than the remainder of the utterance. This syntactic alternation has sometimes been called an ‘afterthought’ or ‘repair’ device (Givón 1990: 760–61; Payne 1997: 273). Although further systematic text study is needed to determine precisely the function of postposing in Tshangla, one effect of this device seems to be to move highly topical or predictable constituents ‘out of the way’, as it were, to allow the constituents representing new or unpredictable information to occur at the beginning of the clause. However, because the predictable constituent is not salient or activated enough to be left out entirely, in order to make sure the information is understood

the speaker adds the constituent back in at the end of the utterance. The post-posed element comes under a lower intonation contour than the rest of the utterance. Consider, for example, the utterance in (1), with the post-posed constituent *memega to* ‘grandfather’s food’.

- (1) Abi, ji-gi bu-le meme-ga to.
 grandmother 1s-AGT take-INF grandfather-LOC food
 Grandmother, I’ll take it, grandfather’s food.’

The previous context to this utterance involved a discussion of grandfather’s lunch, which he has forgotten to take with him to the field, and the resulting problem of how to get it to him. Consequently, the object noun phrase, i.e. the food, is already highly topical in the discourse. When the speaker utters (1), the most informative part of the utterance comes at the beginning, i.e. ‘I will take it!’. The infinitive-marked verb *bule* ‘to take’ is the final verb, the infinitive here being the future perfective marker (cf. Chapter 10). Under an afterthought analysis, the mention of the food is added later, lest it be misunderstood what is referred to. Had the utterance come in immediate response to a question ‘Who will take grandfathers food?’ the afterthought insertion of ‘grandfather’s food’ would likely not have been added.

Postposing not only moves a topical referent out of the way but also serves to reinforce the referent. This is suggested by the fact that even a constituent which is explicitly mentioned in the previous clause may be postposed, in effect duplicating the reference. The speaker is perhaps unsure that the referent was salient enough on the first mention, and repeats the reference in order to be certain. In example (2) the highly topical nominal *pau* is postposed to the sentence-final copula.

- (2) Nyi pau tshebang-gi botpa-ga lo yek-pe, nyi pau
 PRT pau some-AGT Tibetan-LOC language speak-INF PRT pau
 tshebang-gi ngera-ga lo yek-pe, nyi mangpu ca **pau**.
 some-AGT Indian-LOC language speak-INF PRT many COP pau
 ‘And some of the *paus* (tantric sorcerer) speak Tibetan, and some of the *paus*
 speak Nepali. And there are many of them, *paus*.’

Noun phrases, adverbials, and non-final clauses may be postposed. The various possibilities will be discussed in turn.

18.1.1 *Postposed noun phrases*

We saw in example (1) above that an object noun phrase may be postposed. The subject may be postposed as well, as shown by the following examples. In each example the postposed constituent is shown in boldface type.

- (3) Jelpo rut-pe-ga mikpu la **ro-ki.**
king scrub-INF-LOC plan COP 3-AGT
'He is planning to scrub the king.'
- (4) Got-co le nyera-ba o-ga shek-pa-la. Rokte thamcen
look-IMP PRT Indo-PL where-LOC arrive-NOM-COP 3p all
o-ga-rang pram chu-ma. Dungling nang-ka-rang
where-LOC-EMPH spread finish-NOM Dungling in-LOC-EMPH
thamcen chu-ma-la **chije-ga songo-ba.**
all finish-NOM-COP foreign-LOC person-PL
'Look at where the Indians/Nepalis have come to. They have spread all over.
Even into Dungling they have come, those foreigners.'

A dative/locative argument may be postposed.

- (5) Tshajang khe-n cho-khan ma-tok-pa kitpa a-n
worry suffer-SE stay-REL NEG-exclude-PTC comfort do-SE
cho-khan mala **zambuling-ga.**
stay-REL NEG.COP world-LOC
'Not only will there be suffering, but there will be no peace, for the world.'
- (6) Nyi ai-ten Sharchokpa-ba mangpu ca gi-du la, **thola**
PRT 1p-RFLX Sharchop-PL many COP COP-SUB PRT up.there
Thimpu nang-ka?
Thimpu in-LOC
'There are probably many of us Sharchhokpa aren't there, up in Thimpu?'

18.1.2 *Postposed adverbials*

The various pragmatic and sentence adverbial particles (cf. Chapter 5) are frequently postposed.

- (7) Nyi-gai-bu dai-ten-ga lo thur ca, **tiktang.**
PRT-ABL-FOC 3p-RFLX-LOC language one COP bit
'And in addition to this, they have their own languages, somewhat.'
- (8) Mapa boe-kai dong u-pha songo la **om.**
actually Tibet-AGL down come-NOM person COP now
'Actually, there are some who have come from Tibet, now.'
- (9) Chije songo-ba-ki a-ha lo lam-khan haphthur
foreign person-PL-AGT 1p-LOC language learn-REL how.much
la nyi, **tha?**
COP PRT here
'And so many people are learning our language, here!'

- (10) Dzongkha chas mangpu a-le khe-wa-gi thamce-rang
 Dzongkha speech much do-NF must-NOM-AGT all-EMPH
 Tshangla-bu yitka mi-n jong-ma-la **thola ta.**
 Tshangla-FOC memory think-SE go-NOM-COP up.there PRT
 'And because they have to speak a lot of Dzongkha, they have forgotten all
 of their Tshangla, up there.'

18.1.3 Postposed non-final clauses

Non-final clauses or predicates may be postposed to the final clause. These may be adverbial clauses as well as serial predicates, which lack their own subject (cf. Chapter 15). However, the non-final verb in a serial verb construction may not be postposed. The examples below show postposing of an adverbial clause in (11) and (12), and of serial predicates in (14) through (16). In (16) the postposed constituent is the attendant circumstance use of *anyi*, which was shown in Chapter 15 to be a serial predicate construction.

a. Concatenated adverbial clause.

- (11) Tshangla chas jang yitka mi-n jong chu-ma-la
 Tshangla speech 1s memory think-SE go finish-NOM-COP
tha nyera kap-nyi chonyi.
 here Indian with-NF stay-NF
 'And my Tshangla I have forgotten completely, living here with Indians.'
- (12) Nyi ro-ki ma-pha dak-nyi-la a-ha nat-pa shi-le gila
 PRT 3-AGT NEG-come say-NF-PRT 1p-LOC ill-NOM die-INF COP
 a-nyi sem mi-le khe-le, **nangpa cho-ga**
 do-NF mind think-INF must-INF Buddhist religion-LOC
a-nyi-la.
 do-NF-PRT
 'And if he says he will not come, we must think that we will die from our
 disease, if we are a Buddhist.'

b. Participial adverbial clause.

- (13) Ro-ki tiru la-n-ca, **rumro phi-wa-ga.**
 3-AGT money take-SE-COP puja do-NOM-LOC
 'They take money having done the puja.' (i.e. charge money for doing the
 puja.)

c. Serial predicate.

- (14) Nyi ro-ki lela di-nyi cot-nyi za-wa giwala **zong-nyi.**
 PRT 3-AGT there go-NF prepare-NF eat-NOM COP boil-NF
 'So he went and prepared some and ate it, boiling it.'

- (15) Dozo odo na, **thinglom pha-nyi.**
 fast come.IMP PRT heart bring-NF
 'Come quickly, bringing the heart.'

d. *Anyi with nominalised complement.*

- (16) Nyi nong thur nong-ka, ja meaktsa-sho di-n cho-wa **jang**
 PRT day one day-LOC 1s wife-FOC go-SE stay-NOM 1s
ma-se-wa a-nyi.
 NEG-know-NOM do-NF
 'And one day my wife was going, without me knowing.'

e. *Grammaticalised anyi quotation.* Perhaps the most frequent type of non-final clause or predicate to be postposed is the quotation complement with non-final *daknyi* or *anyi* serving as quotation marker. In the following example the entire quotation is postposed from its ordinary position preceding the final verb.

- (17) Dorji-gi jang-ga yek-pa **ro wu+duk-pa dak-nyi.**
 Dorji-AGT 1s-LOC speak-NOM 3 tire-NOM say-NF
 'Dorji said to me that he was tired.'

The unmarked construction would be as shown in (18), where the non-final *daknyi* occurs immediately before the final verb of speech.

- (18) Dorji-gi jang-ga **ro wu+duk-pa dak-nyi** yek-pa.
 Dorji-AGT 1s-LOC 3 tire-NOM say-NF speak-NOM
 'Dorji said to me that he was tired.'

In the case of quote complements, because postposing is so common, the pragmatic effect is somewhat diluted. Other factors such as 'weight', i.e. the relative length of the complement, or the presence of an indirect object may also influence the choice between default and postposed variants. For example in (17) with the indirect object *jangga*, postposing the quotation may be to avoid the potential for confusion which would be created by juxtaposition of three nominal arguments in sequence. An utterance like (19) without the indirect object is more likely to be left un-postposed than is (18) with the dative argument.

- (19) Dorji-gi **ro wu+duk-pa** dak-nyi yek-pa.
 Dorji-AGT 3 tire-NOM say-NF speak-NOM
 'Dorji said that he was tired.'

18.1.4 Reduplicated verb

Even elements of a verb plus hedge particle construction may be separated out and postposed. The reduplicated verb construction described in Chapter 17 involved a verb in *-lu* followed by the hedging particle *ta* or *rang*,

in turn followed by an inflected repetition of the verb. The function of the construction with *ta*, it will be recalled, was to hedge or modify the success or result of the activity performed by the agent/subject. Under postposing, both the *-lu* form of the verb and the particle are postposed, leaving the inflected copy of the verb to precede the rest of the construction.

- (20) Thinong namnying tu, songo mangpu-gi-rang pau phi-na,
 today tomorrow PRT person many-AGT-EMPH pau do-COP
phi-lu-tu.
 do-PTC-PRT
 ‘And, nowadays, most people do the pau (tantric ritual), (implication: ‘though not always with success.’)

The unmarked reduplicated expression would be *philutu phina*. By placing the inflected verb first, the speaker emphasises the most informative part of the predicate. The hedging device is then added as an afterthought.

18.1.5 Multiple changes in a derivation

More than one constituent may be postposed in a given utterance. So, for example, in (21), both a non-final clause as well as an instrument are postposed.

- (21) Jagar-ga cho-wa songo-te thong-mu mala, a-shi
 India-LOC stay-NOM person-PRT see-PTC NEG.COP 1p-AGT
got-pa, ming-gi.
 look-NOM eye-AGT
 ‘People from India we don’t usually see, when we look, with our eyes.’

In Tshangla the expression ‘to look with the eyes’, is a rather idiomatic, almost fossilised expression, which does not convey emphasis as it might in English. In (21) the adverbial clause *ashi gotpa* ‘when we look’ would ordinarily precede the entire matrix clause, while the instrumental noun phrase *minggi* ‘with (our) eyes’ would precede the matrix verbal expression *thongmu mala*. A pragmatically unmarked version of (21) would be as shown in 22.

- (22) A-shi got-pa, Jagar-ga cho-wa songo-te ming-gi
 1p-AGT look-NOM India-LOC stay-NOM person-PRT eye-AGT
 thong-mu mala.
 see-PTC NEG.COP
 ‘When we look, we don’t usually see people from India.’

Occasionally multiple postposings will result in almost a ‘scrambling’ of the utterance in comparison to the unmarked word order. In example (23), a non-final clause, a copular auxiliary, and a direct object are postposed.

- (23) Om nga-me sha gi-du a-ching a-nyi?
 now eat-INF meat COP-SUB 1p-DUAL do-NF
 'How about eating it, the meat, we two?'

The unmarked equivalent to (23) would be as shown in (24).

- (24) Om a-ching a-nyi sha nga-me gi-du.
 now 1p-DUAL do-NF meat eat-INF COP-SUB
 'How about we two eat the meat?'

We can account for (23) in terms of a derivation involving stepwise postposing of the various constituents. First the direct object *sha* 'meat', is postposed, giving (25), then the subjunctive equative copula *gidu*, (26), and finally the instrumental non-final verb phrase *aching anyi* 'we two (doing it)', giving the realised form we finally saw above in (23). Note that each of the 'steps' in this derivation are actually completely possible utterances in their own right.

- (25) Om a-ching a-nyi nga-me gi-du, sha?
 now 1p-DUAL do-NF eat-INF COP-SUB meat
 'How about we two eat it, the meat?'
- (26) Om a-ching a-nyi nga-me, sha, gi-du?
 now 1p-DUAL do-NF eat-INF meat COP-SUB
 'How about we two eat it, the meat, maybe?'
- (23) Om nga-me, sha, gi-du, a-ching a-nyi?
 now eat-INF meat COP-SUB 1p-DUAL do-NF
 'How about eating it, the meat, we two?'

Consider one final example of multiple postposings. In (27) several constituents comprising most of the utterance have been postposed.

- (27) Gi-sa a-nyi-rang mi-n-ca ji-gi-bu noksam
 COP-SUB do-NF-EMPH think-SE-COP 1s-AGT-FOC mind
 lok-thur-gai-ta.
 side-one-ABL-PRT
 'In one way I am thinking that it is true.'

Here the first word *gisa* is pronounced with contrastive stress. This is the new and most important information the speaker wishes to convey. The remainder of the utterance comes under a low, flat intonation contour. The pragmatically unmarked utterance would be as shown in (28).

- (28) Lok-thur-gai-ta ji-gi-bu gi-sa a-nyi-rang noksam
 side-one-ABL-PRT 1s-AGT-FOC COP-SUB do-NF-EMPH mind
 mi-n-ca.
 think-SE-COP

Again the derivation can be retraced step by step. First the agentive first person subject *jigibu* 'even by me' is postposed.

- (29) Lok-thur-gai-ta gi-sa a-nyi-rang noksam mi-n-ca,
 side-one-ABL-PRT COP-SUB do-NF-EMPH mind think-SE-COP
 ji-gi-bu.
 1s-AGT-FOC

Next the pre-verbal element *noksam* 'mind' in the compound verb *noksam mile* 'to think' is postposed.

- (30) Lok-thur-gai-ta gi-sa a-nyi-rang mi-n-ca,
 side-one-ABL-PRT COP-SUB do-NF-EMPH think-SE-COP
 ji-gi-bu, noksam.
 1s-AGT-FOC mind

Finally, the adverbial *lokthurgaita* 'on one side' is postposed.

- (31) Gi-sa a-nyi-rang mi-n-ca, ji-gi-bu, noksam,
 COP-SUB do-NF-EMPH think-SE-COP 1s-AGT-FOC mind
 lok-thur-gai-ta
 side-one-ABL-PRT

Again, each of the steps in the derivation are completely well-formed utterances.

18.2 DEICTIC CENTRE PRAGMATIC DEVICES

One of the distinctives of Tshangla oral style, is the frequent occurrence of certain lexemes of various word classes and with specific semantic meanings, but which in discourse frequently occur in a syntactic position not in keeping with their word class, and with a more nebulous pragmatic meaning or stylistic effect. The lexemes in question are divergent group of temporal and locative adverbials, possessive pronouns, and reflexive pronouns. However, common to the entire group is that each item represents the deictic centre in some way, whether spatially, temporally, or in terms of the speech act participants.

The lexical items in question are the following:

om	'now'
tha	'here'
ai	'1p plural'
aiten	'1p plural reflexive'
aha	'1p plural locative/genitive'

Research in other languages has suggested that devices referring to the deictic centre are often used with pragmatic effect. By alluding to the present

speech act, the effect may be to create a feeling of consensus or rapport between speaker and hearer (Andvik 1992; Lütten 1977, 1979; Brown & Levinson 1978). In Tshangla, these expressions are most often used when the topic is related to one's own village, nation, or people group. However, even when this is not the case, the expressions may be used to create the impression of commonality. There is no clear dividing line between the semantic and pragmatic use of these lexemes. Although in many cases, vestiges of a semantic reference to a deictic centre still remain, these items do seem to be more pragmatically than semantically conditioned. Although both types of meaning may be present in a given usage, it is possible to find clear cases in which no semantic significance of the adverbial can be identified, in which case the function is more entirely pragmatic. The following examples will illustrate the pragmatic use of each of these items.

18.2.1 *Temporal oma 'now'*

The lexeme *oma* 'now', when used as a pragmatic adverbial, no longer represents a semantic reference to the present moment. When used with pragmatic meaning, *oma* is usually reduced to *om*. Examples such as these are extremely frequent in Tshangla oral discourse.

- (32) **Om** pecha lam chum-than nan hang a-le?
 now book read finish-NF 2s what do-INF
 'When you finish your studies, what are you going to do?'
- (33) Jang Kalingpong-gai Druk-ga **om** nying sap-ga lok
 1s Kalimpong-ABL Bhutan-LOC now year three-LOC return
 di-le.
 go-INF
 'In three years I want to return to Bhutan from Kalimpong.'
- (34) Wai jang tha otha-ba-ki tshung-la om la,
 ITJ 1s here DEM-PL-AGT seize-COP now FOC
 otha-ba-ki jang she-le-la **om** la!
 DEM-PL-AGT 1s kill-INF-COP now FOC
 'Oh! I'm going to be caught by these ones! They are going to kill me!'

18.2.2 *Locative tha 'here'*

A locative adverbial may be used in a pragmatic sense, without coding a reference to location, but to heighten the sense of common ground between speaker and listener.

- (35) Jang **tha** ro-ka dazere Tshangla chas ye-n bi-n-ca.
 1s here 3-LOC bit Tshangla talk teach-NF give-SE-COP
 'I am teaching him a little Tshangla.'

- (36) Nyi **tha** sharang cat-nyi, nyi otha sharang dokang thur
 PRT here head cut-NF PRT DEM head stick one
 tsuk-nyi, nyi phakpa takor-gi nyi lela-ga wa-ga
 stick-NF PRT pig snout-AGT PRT there-LOC cow-LOC
 khi pros-nyi phi-n-ca giwala.
 feces plow-NF do-SE-COP COP
 ‘So he cut off it’s head, and stuck a stick inside it, and plowed through the dung.’

18.2.3 First person pronoun

Pronoun forms are also commonly used in this pragmatic sense. They may be personal pronouns, or may be inflected as locative or reflexive. In examples (37) and (38) the 1p locative pronoun *aha* is combined with *tha* ‘here’.

a. Locative/genitive pronoun *aha* ‘to us, of us’.

- (37) Nyi onye-gi ma-drik-nyi-bu pau a-nyi phi-le ca,
 PRT DEM-AGT NEG-suit-NF-FOC *pau* do-NF do-INF COP
a-ha tha.
 1p-LOC here
 ‘And if this does not cure him, the *pau* will do (the ritual).’
- (38) Nyi **a-ha tha** Kecho-gi semcen-ba cho ro-ka
 PRT 1p-LOC here God-AGT animal-PL TOP 3-LOC
 trilpa-gi a-nyi nyi pura-rang chos-nyi...
 power-AGT do-NF PRT complete-EMPH make-NF
 ‘And God made all of the animals by his power.’
- (39) Nyi **a-ha** onya gopen-ba-ki se-nyi jang-ga thrim
 PRT 1p-LOC DEM chief-PL-AGT know-NF 1s-LOC punishment
 phi-nyi...
 do-NF
 ‘So when the boss found out about it, he punished me...’

b. Reflexive pronoun *aiten* ‘ourselves’.

- (40) Om tshong-te phi-le-ga noksam thur manca
 now business-PRT do-INF-LOC mind one NEG.COP
 jang-ga, hang-ya-dak-nyi-la tshong phi-la-kap-nyi
 1s-LOC what-QUES-say-NF-PRT business do-PTC-with-NF
ai-ten nyi tap+ma-nyam-pa shama u-na me.
 1p-RFLX PRT NEG-convenient-NOM much come-COP PRT
 ‘I have no plans to do business, since while doing business, (*aiten*) much inconvenience comes.’

These adverbials very often occur in combination with each other. In example (41), the reflexive pronoun *aiten* is combined with *oma* 'now' and *tha* 'here'.

- (41) **Ai-ten** **oma** **tha** jekhap-ga songo mangpu-rang mar-nyi...
 1p-RFLX now here country-LOC person many-EMPH be.sick-NF
 'Many people in the country get sick...'

In example (42), any vestiges of reference to first person in the pronoun *aiten* are gone, only the pragmatic effect is left. Here *aiten* is combined with *oma*.

- (42) **Ai-ten** **oma** sa Dukthi dak-sa songo thamce-rang du
 1p-RFLX now land Dukthi say-REL person all-EMPH poison
 phi-wa ri-wa.
 do-NOM become-NOM
 'The people of the place called Dukthi all became (known as) the ones who mixed poison.'

In example (43), although the speaker no longer regards herself as a Buddhist, she associates the first person pronoun with the reference to Buddhism. Again, the pronoun is combined with *oma*.

- (43) Ai khung-gai jang thur-sha bra che-ga nu-pha
 1p six-ABL 1s one-FOC other religion-LOC enter-NOM
 ca. Bra thamce-rang **oma** **ai-ten** nangka che
 COP other all-EMPH now 1p-RFLX Buddhist religion
 a-n-ca.
 do-SE-COP
 'Of the six of us (siblings), I am the only one who has entered another religion. The others are all still practising Buddhism.'

c. *Uninflected pronoun* ai 'we'. The most common first person pronouns to occur with purely pragmatic function are the possessive and reflexive. Less commonly, the unmarked 1st person plural pronoun may also be used pragmatically. In example (44), the speaker uses the first person plural pronoun even though he obviously is not including himself in the reference to people to whom he doesn't want to speak.

- (44) **Ai** songo-ga nowang chok-pe-ta jang-bu la-mu
 1p person-LOC mouth open-INF-FOC 1s-FOC want-PRT
 mala.
 NEG.COP
 'I also don't want to open my mouth (i.e. speak) to people.'

18.3 SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES

The sentence-final particles to be described in this section are *me*, *na*, *nyi*, *dang*, *la*, *le*, and *ko*. Each occurs only utterance-finally. Some brief comments will be given on the function of each, along with some illustrative examples taken from spontaneously generated spoken discourse. This section will only serve as an introduction to the particles. Much further research is needed to more precisely determine their entire range of function and meaning.

18.3.1 *Me*

The particle *me* implies that the speaker desires and expects the hearer to agree, something like the English tag particle ‘right?’ or ‘see?’. *Me* may occur on an assertion, as in example (45).

- (45) Kha thur shek-pa me, o-ta-n bu-wa ya?
 bird one arrive-NOM PRT where-to-SE take-NOM QUES
 ‘A bird just came, right? Where did you take it?’

Me may also occur with the polarity question particle *mo* to create a rhetorical question, i.e. an interrogative sentence which nevertheless does not count as a request for information, but as an attempt to solicit the agreement of the hearer.

- (46) Otha kurta tsadro nang-ka tsateling a-n thur cho-wa-la
 DEM horse pasture in-LOC naked do-SE one stay-NOM-COP
 me mo? Onye-gi thong-ma-te u-phe na; jim
 PRT QUES DEM-AGT see-NOM-FOC come-INF PRT ask
 got-co!
 look-IMP
 (to person searching for a missing pearl) ‘There was a naked person in the pasture, right? He must have seen it. Go ask!’

In example (47), *me* occurs in one sentence with *mo*, and then in the following sentence without, with a similar rhetorical effect.

- (47) Chas sho na-gi nyan-pe me mo? Ming-gi nyan-pe
 talk TOP ear-AGT listen-INF PRT QUES eye-AGT listen-INF
 manggi me?
 NEG.COP PRT
 ‘Speech we listen to with our ears, don’t we?! We don’t listen to it with our eyes, do we?!’

There is evidence to suggest that the *me* particle is diachronically related to the negative form of the equative copula *manggi*. This would not be

surprising, given that words like ‘no’, ‘not true?’ etc. function as agreement-solicitation tags in many languages. Speakers often reduce the negative copula *manggi* to the monosyllabic *mai*, as in the following example.

- (48) Mai! Jang gila abi! nong-sho! ma-phi!
 no 1s COP grandmother wait-IMP NEG-do
 ‘No! It’s me grandmother! Wait! Don’t do it!’

Manggi also occurs together with the question particle *mo*, in the same position as the particle *me*.

- (49) Nan goma jelpo-ga mewaktsa manggi mo?
 2s before king-LOC wife NEG.COP QUES
 ‘Didn’t you use to be the king’s wife?’

The question in (49) is not merely a request for information, but rather counts as an attempt by the speaker to confirm information which he thinks to be true. This is precisely what we saw was the function of the tag particle *me*. In other words, it is a short semantic distance from ‘Didn’t you use to be the king’s wife?’ (*manggi*) to ‘You used to be the king’s wife, right?’ (*me*)

The co-occurrence of the negative and interrogative categories highlight the pragmatically marked status of a negative proposition. Whereas a polarity question in the affirmative (‘Is it true that...’) will count as a request for information as to the truth or falsity of a proposition, a polarity question phrased in the negative (‘Isn’t it true that...’) implies that a positive answer is expected.

This is a universal tendency of negatively phrased questions in many languages. As mentioned above, a negative proposition implies that the proposition is counter-expectational, i.e. that the affirmative equivalent was the expected situation. Use of the negative in a question, then, carries this same affirmative expectation with regard to the proposition. The interrogative adds the additional factor that the speaker is requesting a confirmation of this expectation.

18.3.2 *Na*

The sentence-final particle *na* adds emphasis to an utterance. The particle signals the speaker’s intent to persuade the hearer of the truth of the utterance or of some implication derivable from the utterance.

- (50) Rokte khepu dut-ka lai a-khan gila na!
 3p TOP devil-LOC deed do-REL COP PRT
 ‘They are doing the devil’s work!’

The example used above to illustrate the particle *me* will serve to illustrate the contrast in function between *me* and *na*. *Me* signals that the speaker expects the hearer to agree, while *na* carries no such expectation, perhaps even suggesting the opposite—that the hearer needs convincing.

- (51) Otha kurta tsadro nang-ka tsateling a-n thur cho-wa-la
 DEM horse pasture in-LOC naked do-SE one stay-NOM-COP
 me mo? Onye-gi thong-ma-te u-phe na; jim got-co!
 PRT QUES DEM-AGT see-NOM-FOC come-INF PRT ask look-IMP
 (to person searching for a missing pearl) ‘There was a naked person in the
 pasture, right? He must have seen it. Go ask!’

18.3.3 *Nyi*

The stressed sentence-final particle *nyi* is very much like *na*, implying the desire of the speaker to persuade the hearer. With *nyi*, however, there is an added request for confirmation from the hearer. An equivalent English expression might be the tag phrase, ‘Isn’t it?!’. The sentence-final particle *nyi* is in the third line of the example, highlighted in bold.

- (52) Nyi onya lama thing-nyi ama bamnang-ga ra-ga di-nyi,
 PRT DEM lama stand-NF mother old-LOC near-LOC go-NF
 ama, ji-gi shat-khan che khepa nan-gi lekpa
 mother 1s-AGT share-REL religion TOP 2s-AGT good
 a-nyi-rang ha+go-wa **nyi** a-nyi ji-ma-kap-nyi,
 do-NF-EMPH understand-NOM PRT do-NF ask-PTC-with-NF
 onya ama-gi sharang wak-nyi manggi a-nyi
 DEM mother-AGT head wag-NF NEG.COP do-NF
 yek-pa-la.
 speak-NOM-COP
 ‘So the lama, standing up, going over to the old woman, asked her, “Mother, you understood well the religion I preached to you, didn’t you?” And the woman shook her head and said, “No.”’

That the speaker expects confirmation is seen in example (52) from the narrators use of *jime* ‘to ask’ in reporting the exchange. *Nyi* is often used with rhetorical questions, as in examples (53). The utterance in example (54) is a commonly heard expression of bewilderment.

- (53) Chije songo-ba-ki a-ha che lam-khan hapthur la
 foreign person-PL-AGT 1p-LOC religion learn-REL how.much COP
 nyi!
 PRT
 ‘How many foreigners are there who learn our religion!’ (implication: ‘Look how many foreigners learn our religion!’)

- (54) Hangten ya nyi!
 how QUES PRT
 'What now?!'

Nyi may be combined with *na*, as in example (55).

- (55) Oi, hangte a-le drik-pe ya nyi na!
 Oh what do-INF fit-INF QUES PRT PRT
 'Oh, what should we do now?!' (lit. 'What is fitting to do?!')

Stressed sentence-final *nyi* may even occur alone as an interjection in response to a previous utterance by another speaker, meaning something like 'That's right, huh?!' or 'Yeah, what about that?'

Sentence-final *nyi* is pronounced with strong stress, accompanied by a higher pitch which falls rapidly, is distinct from the unstressed *nyi* which often occurs in spoken discourse as a filler particle, or as a transition marker between clauses. Some speakers insert *nyi* more frequently than others. There seem to be few limits on where stressed *nyi* may occur, although a detailed study of this has yet to be done. Example (56) was taken from a spontaneous conversation, throughout which the speaker made extensive use of the particle. The stressed particle is highlighted in bold.

- (56) Goma **nyi**, jang-ga **nyi**, goma-gai zemu thur-gai-rang **nyi**,
 before PRT 1s-LOC PRT before-ABL small one-ABL-EMPH PRT
 nat-nyi... nyi nyeri yip-nyi-bu, nyi ngap-ka yip-nyi-bu,
 be.ill-NF PRT evening sleep-NF-FOC PRT day-LOC sleep-NF-FOC
 nyi charo onyen chas a-n cho-wa cho-nyi-bu, jang
 PRT friend DEM talk do-SE stay-NOM stay-NF-FOC 1s
 onya reka **nyi**, jang onya yip cho-nyi, nyi minang
 DEM near PRT 1s DEM sleep stay-NF PRT sleepy
 das jong tha-nyi-la, nyi oma-rang **nyi**, jang-ga soka
 bit go leave-NF-PRT PRT now-EMPH PRT 1s-LOC soul
 cat-ga dre khepu **nyi**, jang-ga khat-ke pet-nyi, shong
 cut-LOC demon TOP PRT 1s-LOC upon-ABL press-NF breath
 shok-nyi shok-pe ma-ga-wa
 breathe-NF breathe-INF NEG-give-NOM
 'Before, to me, back when I was small, in the evening when I was sleeping, or
 in the daytime when I was sleeping, or when I was talking with my friends,
 close to me, while I was sleeping, if I was a little bit sleepy, right then, that
 demon that was trying to kill me, pressing upon me, so that I when I tried
 to breathe I couldn't breathe...'

18.3.4 *Dang*

The sentence-final particle *dang* acts as an epistemic hedge, mitigating or partially retracting the assertive force of an utterance. The speaker is imply-

ing that he is not entirely sure of the source of the information. This particle is commonly used in the story narration, to indicate that the speaker has gotten the tale from a secondhand source.¹

- (57) Onya nongka cho nyi, ro-ki-bu nowang chok-pa-la
 DEM day-LOC TOP PRT 3-AGT-FOC mouth open-NOM-COP
 dang.
 PRT
 'On that day, I guess he too (finally) opened his mouth.'

A likely historical source for the particle *dang* is a somewhat rare but still extant lexical verb *dangme* 'to tell', used to report an utterance as hearsay, as in the following example.

- (58) Nyi ro-ka luspu sho phangma-i dong-tan-sho lus-pa
 PRT 3-LOC body FOC shoulder-ABL down-to-FOC leave-NOM
 dang-me.
 tell-INF
 'It is said that only his body below the shoulders was left.'

18.3.5 *La*

The particle *la*, which has homophones in many different areas of the grammar, may also occur sentence-finally as a marker of politeness, as in example (59). Notice that the honorific forms are not used here (e.g. *jonme* for *dile* 'to go'). Although *la* signals politeness, the particle may not convey the same degree of deference shown by a person of lower social status as would the use of honorifics.

- (59) Om nan thola di-nyi, lok di-nyi, business phi-le
 now 2s up.there go-NF return do-NF business do-INF
 mo la?
 QUES PRT
 'Now when you go back, are you going to do any business?'

18.3.6 *Le*

The sentence-final particle *le* occurs exclusively after an imperative sentence, and this usually with the verb *gotpe* 'to look'. Like *na*, *le* seems to signal the speaker's attempt to persuade the hearer to accept the utterance and its implications.

¹This usage is similar to that of the mirative copula *-la* on the past and future perfective (cf. Chapter 10).

- (60) Nyi jelpo threke-rang rik bu-nyi, got-co le
 PRT king immediately-EMPH guide take-NF look-IMP PRT
 a-nyi. Na-ga mewaktsa lekpu manggi-wa-la a-nyi.
 do-NF 2s-LOC wife good NEG.COP-NOM-COP do-NF
 Sinpu dabu thur giwala a-nyi. Got-co le.
 demon like one COP do-NF look-IMP PRT
 ‘So he brought the king immediately, “Look!” he said. “Your wife is not
 good. She is like a demon. Look!”’
- (61) Kha-ba-ka got-co le. Rokte-ba thok ya-phu mala,
 bird-PL-LOC look-IMP PRT 3p-PL grain scatter-PTC NEG.COP
 thok dus-pu-bu mala, nyi budang gu-lu-bu
 grain gather-PTC-FOC NEG.COP PRT storehouse put-PTC-FOC
 mala. Onye-rang gi-nyi-bu, rokte-ba tok-nyi
 NEG.COP DEM-EMPH COP-NF-FOC 3p-PL hunger-NF
 cho-wa thong-la mo?
 stay-NOM see-COP QUES
 ‘Look at the birds. They do not scatter grain, they do not gather grain, nor
 do they put it into storehouses. Nevertheless, you don’t see them hungry,
 do you?’

18.3.7 *Ko*

The sentence-final particle *ko* occurs on statements together with the mirative copula *la*. The function of *ko* seems to be to hedge or soften the illocutionary force of the utterance, although more research is needed to pin down a precise function.

- (62) Noksam mi-n got-pa-kap-nyi giwa dabu thur-bu la
 mind think-SE look-PTC-with-NF COP like one-FOC COP
 ko.
 PRT
 ‘Upon thinking about it, it seems like its true.’
- (63) Lekpu thur-rang u-phe-la ko, ji-gi got-pa-kap-nyi.
 good one-EMPH come-INF-COP PRT 1s-AGT look-PTC-with-NF
 ‘It will be good, as I see it.’

Ko also occurs on a reflective question, or ‘auto interruption’, such as ‘What do we say?’ or ‘What is it?’ which, due to uncertainty, the speaker interjects in the middle of his own utterance, as in the following example.

- (64) Ai-ten Tshangla-ga sho yigi mawa-gi nyi, onya,
 1p-RFLX Tshangla-LOC FOC letter NEG.COP-AGT PRT DEM
 hang dak-pe ya ko?... yigi mawa-gi nyi,
 what say-INF QUES PRT letter NEG.COP-AGT PRT
 mapa-gai-rang Dzongkha mangpu a-nyi phi-na me?
 actually-ABL-EMPH Dzongkha much do-NF do-COP PRT
 'Because we don't have any alphabet in Tshangla...what to say...because
 we don't have any alphabet, we actually use a lot of Dzongkha, right?'

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Having now described in detail the various individual constructions found in Tshangla grammar, the purpose of this concluding chapter will be to look back over the grammar in its entirety, and with this perspective, to identify some of the unifying themes which run through the description like a common thread. Identifying these will tie together the various aspects of the description into a unified 'big picture'.

19.1 'META-CONSTRUCTIONS':
 CONCATENATION AND NOMINALISATION

Two of these unifying themes are 'meta-constructions' which show up throughout the individual constructions. One meta-construction is nominalisation with the participial verb. A second meta-construction is the non-final construction or concatenation. As was already observed in Chapter 15, these two themes are in contrast to each other. Concatenation, we might say, joins clauses in a linear or horizontal fashion. Under grammaticalisation pressure, as the events represented by those clauses merge, the dependent event loses its status as an independent event yet retains its verb-like properties. The dependent clause becomes increasingly adverbial, functioning as a *modifier* of the finite clause event. The weakest form of concatenation, the clause-chaining construction, attributes to one or more events what is arguably the weakest or least marked of rhetorical relationships, that of events in sequence, a relationship that in all languages is encoded at the very least simply by the uttering of independent clauses in temporal sequence. In the case of a closer inter-clausal rhetorical relationship, the dependent clause may be read as an adverbial, which modifies the final clause event by giving some sort of background information such as cause, condition, purpose etc. The greatest dependence between events is seen in the serial verb construction, which carries the metamorphosis of the dependent verb to the extreme of becoming no more than a modifier of the finite event, the dependent verb having lost all of its status as a distinct event.

The nominalised event represented by a participial clause, in contrast, fully retains its status as a distinct event. The event is construed and utilised

by the grammar, however, in a noun-like way. That is, rather than becoming a *modifier* of the finite event, the clause becomes an argument or *operand* upon which the final verb acts. The concatenation—nominalisation distinction, then, mirrors the modifier—argument distinction in clausal syntax.

Constructions which utilise nominalisation in Tshangla, then, are those which require the proposition to be construed as an operand. Relative clauses, (cf. Chapter 11), complements of nouns and postpositions, (cf. Chapter 12), do this in the most obvious way, but also verbal complement clauses (cf. Chapter 14) involve this kind of construal, even though the syntactic embedding is less pronounced, in that they share an argument with the matrix verb.

The class of constructions which has functionally been defined as adverbial clauses, it will be noted, stands with a foot in each camp, having one set of members which formally are concatenated, and the remaining set which are nominalised, i.e. which take participial verbs. This reflects the borderline status of adverbial clauses, which while not quite embedded in the sense of being analogous to a nominal argument, are not entirely conjoined either, in the sense of the clause chains which represent distinct mainline events. Interestingly, in the case of the Tshangla adverbial clauses, as pointed out in Chapter 13, only those adverbial clauses which are formally concatenated by means of the *-nyi* suffix may be given a clause-chain reading, i.e. as mainline events in sequence. The clause-chain reading is not available for adverbial clauses formed by participles.

19.2 GRAMMATICALISATION

The grammaticalisation of the ‘meta-constructions’ nominalisation and concatenation allows these to pervade the structure of the language even further. The most obvious example of this is the finite tense, aspect and mirativity paradigm, which is based in its entirety on periphrastic combinations of both concatenation and nominalisation.

Each of the perfective forms are built on a participle, the nominaliser *-wa* for past perfective, infinitive *-le* for future perfective. Throughout the paradigm these perfective forms are embedded under an auxiliary, in a manner parallel to embedding of a complement under a head matrix verb. The perfect and prospective forms amount to an embedding of these perfective verbs under the existential copula *ca ~ la*, while the simple forms, the non-perfect and non-prospective, amount to an embedding under the optional equative copula *gila*. Not only are these grammatical auxiliaries analogous

to and diachronically derived from a complement-like embedding, but they are in some cases difficult to distinguish from a complement clause, the difference being the degree to which they have grammaticalised.

Concatenation is also involved in the finite paradigm, to represent imperfective aspect. For the class of V-final verbs, the stem extender *-n* shows up on the imperfective forms. It has been suggested that the stem extender may be historically derived from the non-final or concatenation marker *-nyi*. Whatever the historical origin of the stem extender, it is certain that there is some relationship between concatenation and the imperfective. Only in concatenation and the imperfective can the stem-extended verb (for V-final verbs) or the bare verb root (for other verb classes) occur without a participial suffix.

It has been claimed (cf. section 15.7, cf. also Chapter 10) that the imperfective inflections are based upon a grammaticalisation of the serial verb construction, with the verb *chole* 'to stay' having become the marker of imperfective aspect in past and future time, while the copula *ca* has that function for present time contexts. Grammaticalisation of concatenation in its serial *predicate* form (cf. section 15.8) also plays a significant role in the grammar, in the form of the verb-derived postpositions (section 15.8.1), as well as the extremely frequent *daknyi* and *anyi* constructions detailed in Chapter 16.

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