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Volume 3

Philip Denwood

Tibetan
TIBETAN

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JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
AMSTERDAM/PHILADELPHIA
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Preface

Why Study Tibetan?

Most people who study the Tibetan language do so in search of knowledge or experience of Tibetan culture, whether through an interest in Buddhism, anthropology, history or the arts, or simply as a result of wanting to know more about Tibetan-speaking people they have encountered. Anyone contemplating such a course is unlikely to be disappointed. For all their meagre material resources the speakers of Tibetan have created a mental and social world of great humanity, vigour and sophistication at all levels of their existence; a world from which no sincere outsider could fail to learn a lesson or two. The Tibetans have also played their part on the world stage, in one phase of their history having ruled a vast empire in Central Asia; in another, having accumulated and developed an enormous store of Buddhist learning, much of it now lost elsewhere.

Often overlooked, but surely among the Tibetans' finest achievements, are the qualities of the language itself. As an essential manifestation and vehicle of its culture, the language has developed a range of dialects, styles and registers well able to express the vicissitudes of everyday life with economy, vitality, and above all good humour; able to provide moving aesthetic experiences through oral and written literature; and able to explore the intellectually demanding terrain of Buddhist philosophy, in whose farthest reaches language itself is tested to destruction.

From the point of view of academic linguistics Tibetan has much to offer. Typologically it is an extreme example of a verb-final language. Some of its varieties are syntactically ergative, though I argue that the main dialect under consideration here - Lhasa Tibetan - is not. Thus the language is interesting from the point of view of loss (or possibly, gain) of ergativity. There is a well-developed system of evidential modality. In a rather unusual system of what I have called "viewpoint", what at first sight looks like person agreement in the verb phrase turns out to be an expression of the viewpoint which the speaker is adopting.

Phonologically, the many spoken dialects of Tibetan appear to span the whole range from non-tonal through partly tonal to fully tonal, thus offering a living laboratory wherein questions of tonogenesis and indeed the definition of tone itself have been vigorously debated. Vowel harmony too is manifested in varying degrees by different dialects. While Tibetan is far from being a "monosyllabic" language. it
more nearly approaches that state than, say, any Indo-European language, and its speakers, whether literate or not, will readily offer an etymology for most of its individual syllables.

From a sociolinguistic angle, Tibetan shows what is probably an extreme degree of social separation between spoken and written forms within the same language, manifested by an extreme reluctance of Tibetans to write what they speak. While the spoken dialects are very diverse, the written varieties are standardised to a remarkable degree considering the wide geographical and historical range of the language. Many varieties of Tibetan have interesting honorific systems, affecting mainly vocabulary.

The Tibetan writing system was based on some presumably spoken dialect or dialects of about the 7th century AD, and with few modifications it has retained the same spelling system ever since. The many spoken dialects, which are mostly known only from modern times, all seem to differ from this early 7th century variety, some more than others. The temptation to reconstruct the history of the language by devising genealogical trees of dialects or their linguistic features back to the 7th century is hard to resist. Tibetan is already the happy hunting ground of a small band of dialectologists and language historians; there is plenty of room for more.

Written forms of Tibetan in particular, aside from their aesthetic potential, are of interest in their ability to import and digest vast numbers of foreign terms in the form of loan-translations or new coinages rather than straight loanwords. This ability was spectacularly displayed between the 8th and the 13th centuries when the enormous technical terminology of Indian Buddhism was successfully absorbed into Tibetan, and even complex systems of metrics and metaphor were adapted from Sanskrit poetics. Absorption of foreign terms is again in progress as modern written styles come to grips with the vocabulary of modern life, as lived in a more secular, internationally aware community.

While adventurous attempts have been made to link Tibetan genetically to many languages of the world, from English to Sumerian, it is more conventionally held to belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family, a large group of languages and dialects covering much of east and southeast Asia, and is thus related to Chinese and to Burmese, among many others. By the standards of the family Tibetan is well recorded, and the antiquity of its earliest written texts is exceeded only by those in Chinese. It is therefore of crucial importance in many aspects of comparative and historical Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan linguistic studies. It has also figured in a few interesting if speculative essays exploring links between the Sino-Tibetan and other language families, particularly Indo-European.

I should point out here that the Tibetans themselves are very far from being linguistically naïve. They have their own well-developed academic discipline of linguistics, derived in the first place from the Sanskrit grammarians of India but perforce heavily modified and adapted to fit the Tibetan language, and worthy of study in its own right. This is a highly specialised and technical subject, most of which is beyond the scope of this book, and indeed beyond the experience of most Tibetan-speakers outside the monasteries. Many of these speakers however, whether educated
or not, know that language is a fit subject for academic study, and can offer astute and imaginative observations on it. While the standpoint of this book is (or aims to be) that of linguistics as pursued in modern western universities, I have been influenced at many points in my overall approach and in many matters of detail by the Tibetan-speakers' own view of their language.

The Aims and Organisation of this Book

A comprehensive study of all varieties of Tibetan would be impossible within a single volume. In the main descriptive portion of the book (Chapters 6-13) I have therefore concentrated on a single variety, the Lhasa dialect, which I define as the present-day spoken Tibetan of Lhasa and its surroundings to a distance of some 50 kilometres. This can reasonably be regarded as a single état de langue with readily available informants and a history of study by linguists from various traditions, native and foreign. Outside its home territory it is widely understood, and is familiar to most of the Tibetan exiles, so that is as near as one can get to a "standard" variety of the spoken language. Lhasa Tibetan naturally incorporates its own social, regional and individual variations: what is described in this book is not the speech of a single speaker but has been generalised to cover a range of idiolects and sociolects.

My intention is to present, as far as possible within the allotted length, a general view of the linguistic features of Lhasa Tibetan for the reader who has some linguistic knowledge and interest but not necessarily any acquaintance with Tibet and its culture. In Chapters 1-3 I have tried to set the dialect in its geographical, historical and linguistic contexts.

Although not required by the original publisher's specification, in Chapter 5 I describe the main features of the Tibetan writing system, and throughout the book the examples are given in transliterated Tibetan as well as the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). In this language, where a lexical item can take a bewildering variety of phonetic shapes within a single dialect - let alone between dialects - the conventional Tibetan spellings are indispensable for maintaining full control. They are also crucial to the historical linguistics of Tibetan.

My theoretical framework is that of "Systemic Linguistics" (see Halliday 1961, 1985). A brief outline of how I apply this framework to Tibetan is given in Chapter 4. Having discussed the phonology of the Lhasa dialect in Chapter 6 and its lexis and grammar in Chapters 7-13, I try to show in Chapter 14 how an analysis based on the same framework may be applied to selected works written in Preclassical and Classical Tibetan.
Acknowledgements

The writing of this book would have been impossible without the previous efforts of my teachers David L. Snellgrove, Samten G. Karmay, Keith Sprigg, Hugh Richardson, the late Walter Simon, and the late Tashi Lhakpa Tenzin Khedrup, all at the time employed or funded like myself by the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. The School, with the British Academy, also funded several trips to the Himalayas and northern India. It is hard to imagine producing the book without access to the School’s Library, its comprehensive collections and helpful staff. Gratitude is also due to the School’s Information Technology staff and to Catherine Lawrence for preparing the Map.

Special thanks must go to Thea Bynon for her patience during the book’s long gestation and her searching but always constructive criticism of the manuscript. Help with the Bibliography was given by Charles Drage, Jim Weldon and John Sargent.
Abbreviations

3sg.  third-person singular pronominal noun
A   alveolar
abl. ablative noun particle
Adj adjunct
adv. adverbial particle
alt. alternative/interrogative modal verb particle
app. approximative noun particle
asp. aspiration
aux. auxiliary verb particle
B   bilabial
C   consonant
cert. certain verb particle
Cm  case marker
co-ord. co-ordinating noun particle
com. comitative noun particle
Comp complement
conv. convention
corr. corroborative modal verb particle
CT Classical Tibetan
def. definite noun particle
D   deictic
disj. disjunctive noun particle
distr. distributive noun particle
DN  dental nasal
dub. dubitative polar verb particle
E   epithet
emph. emphatic modal verb particle
ET event time
excep. exceptive noun particle
excl. exclamatory verb particle
gen. genitive noun particle
H   head
h.   high pitch
hon. honorific
imp. imperative modal verb particle
inst. instrumental noun particle
interr.  interrogative modal verb particle (Classical: also interrogative noun particle)
intl.  intentional (verb, clause)
IPA  International Phonetic Alphabet
l.  low pitch
link.  linking verb particle
loc.  dative/locative noun particle
mcf.  main-clause final verb particle
N  homorganic nasal consonant
neg.  negative polar verb particle
nom.  nominalising verb particle
nonasp.  non-aspiration
Num  numerator
num.  numerative noun particle
O  object
ord.  ordinary
P  predicator
pol.  polite noun particle
poss.  possible modal verb particle
PT  Preclassical Tibetan
quot.  quotative particle
redup.  reduplicative adjective nominalising particle
resp.  respectful
RT  reference time
S  subject
ser.  serial verb particle
smp.  subject-marking noun particle
spec.  speculative modal verb particle
ST  speech time
sub.  subordinating verb particle
sugg.  suggestive modal verb particle
Tm  topic marker
top.  topic-marking particle
U  uvular
ult.  ultimate adjective particle
unintl.  unintentional (verb, clause)
V  vowel
Vb.  verb
✧  nasal vowel
vls.  voicelessness
vol.  volunteering modal verb particle
wh.int.  wh-interrogative modal verb particle
Two systems are used for transcribing Tibetan: a romanised transliteration and a phonetic transcription.

Transliterated Tibetan is in italics. The system used is a modification of the Wylie transliteration (Wylie 1959) which avoids diacritics. No capital letters are used, and the intersyllabic dot is represented by a full stop. The system is explained in Chapter 5. I have adhered to traditional spellings where known even when the Lhasa pronunciation diverges from them. For some Lhasa dialect particles and other constituents which have no one accepted spelling, I have invented a spelling or chosen between competing spellings. I have grouped written syllables into words (for my definition of a word, see 4.2), although Tibetans themselves do not attempt to do so.

The phonetic transcription of Lhasa Tibetan (and, in Appendix 2, of other dialects) is in bold type. It uses symbols approved by the International Phonetic Association in their revision of 1993, as explained in Pullum & Ladusaw (1996). Syllables are grouped into words (phonologically defined), which are separated by spaces. Departures from this system are as follows:

The symbol  is used for what is in Lhasa Tibetan typically an alveolar fricative more accurately symbolised by  or sometimes an alveolar flap .

The symbols  and  denote the tonal classification of the following word: Tone 1 and Tone 2 respectively (see Chapter 6). They are chosen because in contexts where they contrast, the first syllable of a Tone 1 word is generally pronounced on a higher pitch than that of a Tone 2 word. Pitch movement (contour) is ignored for this purpose. Where actual pitch rather than tonal classification is symbolised, " denotes high pitch; " denotes low pitch.

In Appendix 2, I have rendered the varying dialect transcriptions of different authors in what I take to be the IPA equivalent.
1. Geography

The Tibetan-speaking Area

Between the Indian subcontinent to the south and the deserts and steppes of East Turkestan and Mongolia to the north lies a vast area of highland: an immense plateau bordered and traversed by the world’s highest mountain ranges. From west to east it stretches from eastern Afghanistan to the Chinese provinces of Sichuan and Gansu. Except for its western extremity (the Pamirs and Hindu Kush) and parts of its northern edge (the Kunlun mountains), it is the homeland of the Tibetan-speaking peoples, who occupy a block of territory somewhat larger than Scandinavia or somewhat smaller than India: an area measuring some 2,800 kilometres east to west, and at its widest 1,100 kilometres north to south. Until the 1950s, few people living inside the area spoke anything but Tibetan. Around its northeastern, eastern and southern edge, a contour line between 3,000 and 3,500 metres above sea level generally serves to separate Tibetan-speakers from the lower-altitude speakers of neighbouring languages.

Political Divisions

There has probably never been a time when all the Tibetan-speaking area, and it alone, has been ruled by a single government. At times during the royal period of the 7th-9th centuries AD, Tibetan rule extended far beyond the present Tibetan language area to include East Turkestan as far as the borders of what is now Mongolia to the north, western China as far as the then capital Chang’an (Xi’an) to the east, and the Pamirs as far as Samarkand to the west. There then followed a period of political disintegration from the 9th century until a new unification of most, though not all the area under Mongol suzerainty in the 13th century. The political ebb and flow of the subsequent centuries has left various parts of the Tibetan-speaking area under the rule of six different nation states at the time of writing: China, Burma, India, Bhutan, Nepal and Pakistan.¹

Questions of sovereignty over many of the regions occupied by Tibetan speakers and of the demarcation of their boundaries have been and continue to be something of a political minefield. In a work such as this, it is not possible to do more than describe the de facto situation, leaving questions of international law and of several separate territorial disputes to those better qualified to discuss them. Nor is it easy to avoid giving offence to groups of people who might be surprised to find themselves classed as “Tibetans”, contrary to their own perception of themselves. Although complete
consistency is hard to maintain, I shall generally employ the word "Tibetan" in a purely linguistic sense to cover all the forms and dialects of the language irrespective of political divisions or ethnic affiliations; but the word "Tibet" I shall use to mean just the political unit of that name as it has waxed and waned over the centuries.

When dealing with census statistics and maps, it should be noted that the linguistic and the ethnic uses of the term "Tibetan" and its equivalents in other languages do not always coincide. Thus for example the 100,000 speakers of the Gyarong language along with 40,000 of the 140,000 speakers of Qiang, both in western China, are officially classified as "Tibetan" in nationality despite the fact that many or most of them do not speak Tibetan. Similarly the Rangpa people of northern Garhwal in India, though called "Bhotia" (Tibetan) by those living nearby them and in many publications, speak a non-Tibetan dialect. Conversely, the Sherpas of Nepal generally reject the epithet "Bhotia" and are often classified separately from the other Tibetan-speaking peoples of Nepal, though their language is certainly a dialect of Tibetan. The gatherers of census statistics should not be blamed for failing to distinguish linguistic categories with the precision we would like - they should rather be praised for managing to gather statistics at all in many of these wild areas. It should also be borne in mind that many Tibetan-speakers, particularly in border regions, may be bilingual or even trilingual.

China

The largest number of Tibetan-speakers, about 3.3 million according to Chinese census figures, is contained in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China, which is a truncated version of the areas ruled by the Dalai Lamas from 1642 to 1950. The northwestern parts of the Tibetan Autonomous Region are so sparsely inhabited, and then only by peripatetic nomads, that to fix a meaningful linguistic boundary is difficult. According to the Language Atlas of China the language boundary runs roughly along the 34th parallel from the border with Kashmir across the Tibetan Autonomous Region and then turns northeastwards across the Qinghai Province of China, staying south of the Tsaidam salt desert as far as and to the north of the Kokonor Lake. It encloses the southeastern half of Qinghai Province, comprising the eastern parts of the Haixi Mongol-Tibetan, the Yushu Tibetan and the Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures, and most or all of the Hainan, Ngolok and Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures; also parts of the Xining City area - though around Xining, the language boundary differs significantly on different maps.

In Gansu Province, there is a small Tibetan-speaking outlier around the settlement of Anyuan I (Tibetan Autonomous County); otherwise the line continues from Qinghai to enclose the South Gansu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in the southwestern corner of the Province.

Tibetan-speakers inhabit the greater part of the western third of Sichuan Province - most of the Aba and Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures - and the northern tip of Yunnan Province (Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture).
The Eastern Himalayas: Burma, India

Moving now westwards along the mountain valleys to the south and north of the main Himalayan watershed, we find a rather confusing picture in the far north of Burma, the northern valleys of the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh (much of which is also claimed by China) and a small area of Tibet where the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) river flows southwards to cross the frontier. It is difficult to sort out the ethnographic and linguistic geography of this region where most ethnic groups have several alternative names, some are only vaguely located, and many have been differently classified by different authorities. Some of the groups have been heavily influenced by Tibetan culture and no doubt language as well; others less so or not at all. The various Monpa peoples who live in both Indian and Chinese-administered areas (and who are not linguistically homogeneous) have been classified as Tibetan-speakers by some authorities, but are excluded by others. Leaving the Monpas aside, a line for the language boundary roughly following the present de facto international frontiers between China on one side and Burma and India on the other would probably not be far wrong, though there are a few Tibetan-speakers to the south of the frontier here and there, and some non-Tibetan speakers to the north of it, particularly around the Tsangpo river. Overlapping statistics and differing census categories from China and India make it difficult to estimate population numbers in this sector.

Bhutan and Sikkim

According to a recent government-sponsored linguistic survey, eight of Bhutan's nineteen “languages” can probably be regarded as dialects of Tibetan; they cover most of the western half of the country and small areas in the northeast. The main one, Dzongkha, is also the official language of the whole kingdom. A figure of about 140,000 speakers of all these dialects has been given by the Bhutanese Government: it is not clear whether this includes speakers of Dzongkha as a second language.

Lying between Bhutan and Nepal, the Indian state of Sikkim is the home of some 22,000 speakers of “Bhotia” (Sikkimese Tibetan) as well as some 11,000 speakers of Sherpa Tibetan.

Nepal

Continuing westwards, the Tibetan language boundary includes the highest valleys along the whole northern border zone of Nepal. From east to west these include the upper valleys of the Tamur and Arun river systems (Tapplejung and Sankhuwasawa Districts); the Dudh Kosi system (Solukhumbu District); upper Ramechhap and Dolakha Districts; Helambu (Sindhupalchok District) and Langthang (Nuwakot and Rasuwa Districts). Further westwards, and to the north of a line linking the Ganesh Himal, Himalchuli, Annapurna and Dhaulagiri mountain ranges, lie Tsum, Kutang and Nupri (Gorkha District); Gyasumdo, Nar and Nyeshang (Manang District); the upper Kali Gandaki valley (Mustang and Myagdi Districts); and Dolpo District. Finally in the extreme northwest of Nepal are Mugu and Humla Districts. A figure of about 83,000 can be estimated from Nepalese census data for the total Tibetan-
speaking populations of all these northern border areas.

*The Western Himalayas: India, Pakistan*

Further westwards still, in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, the inhabitants of the highest valleys, though called "Bhotias" (Tibetans) by those to the south, seem mostly to speak non-Tibetan languages, so that apart from a small area in the extreme northwest of the state in Uttarkashi the language boundary coincides with the international frontier. Over the state boundary in Himachal Pradesh (India), Tibetan-speakers are found in the valleys of upper Kunawar, Lahul and Spiti. Indian census data suggest a total figure of about 23,000 for speakers of the various Tibetan dialects of these areas.8

The most westerly Tibetan-speakers of all inhabit parts of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, disputed between India and Pakistan (and part of it also between India and China). On the Indian side of the cease-fire line which forms the *de facto* boundary with Pakistan are the districts of Ladakh (72,000 speakers of Ladakhi in 1981), and Kargil (48,000 of Purik).9 On the Pakistani side is the Baltistan Agency, comprising a section of the Indus and Shyok valleys, with a population figure of 132,000 given in a census of 1961, 94% of whom were Tibetan-speakers.10

The total number of Tibetan-speakers in the six countries at a very rough approximation might be put at 3.8 million. To this should be added about 100,000 exiles, most of whom left Tibet after 1959. Some of these have settled in Tibetan dialect areas of India, Nepal and Bhutan, but most live among otherwise non-Tibetan-speaking peoples in India, Nepal and other countries.

**Climate**

Despite its southerly location - Lhasa lies at the same latitude as Cairo and Kuwait - its high altitude gives much of the Tibetan-speaking area only short though pleasantly warm summers. The fearsomeness of the winters in the higher inhabited parts may be judged by Dr. Gerard's report, quoted in Duka (1885:82-7), of his encounter with the pioneering Hungarian Tibetologist Alexander Csoma de Körös at Kanam in Kunawar in 1828:

"I now turn to the Hungarian, who is far from the least remarkable of the many objects which have passed before me in this journey ... I found him at the village of *Kanum*, in his small but romantic hamlet, surrounded by books, and in the best health ... The cold is very intense, and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval of recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal routine of greasy tea: but the winters at Kanum dwindle into insignificance compared to the severity of those at Yangla, where Mr. Csoma passed a whole year. At that spot he, the Lama, and an attendant, were circumscribed in an apartment nine feet square for three or four months; they durst not stir out, the ground being covered with snow, and the temperature below the zero [Fahrenheit] of the scale. There he sat, enveloped in a sheepskin cloak, with his arms folded, and in this situation he read from morning till evening without fire, or light after dusk, the ground to sleep upon, and the bare walls
of the building for protection against the rigours of the climate ... The cold was so intense as to make it a task of severity to extricate the hands from their fleecy resort to turn over the pages ...[He] collected and arranged 40,000 words of the Tibetan language in a situation which would have driven most men to despair."

This intense cold was even held by Col.L.A.Waddell (1905:144) to affect the language itself:

"One curious result of the cold should be mentioned here, namely its effect on the speech of the people ... so full of consonants are Tibetan words that most of them could be articulated with semi-closed mouth, evidently from the enforced necessity of keeping the lips closed as far as possible against the cutting cold when speaking."

An objective study may oblige us to reject Waddell's hypothesis; but that it could seriously be proposed - and by a qualified physician and surgeon - at least lends confirmation to Dr.Gerard's graphic evocation of the Himalayan winter.

As if this were not enough, much of the area is afflicted with a serious lack of rainfall. Most of its western half is effectively desert, with less than 100 millimetres of rainfall per annum, and in some parts none at all. Only the more hospitable south-eastern fringes of the Tibetan-speaking area, from Bhutan through to northern Yunnan and southwest Sichuan could be described as anything on the wetter side of semi-arid. Here winters are less severe, and the somewhat higher rainfall and warmer summers allow the growth of woodland on the hillsides and the cultivation of wheat and even rice in the valleys.

Economy

Not surprisingly, the Tibetan-speakers are thin on the ground. The population density over most of the region, at less than 0.2 per square kilometre, is only a thousandth of that obtaining over large parts of Western Europe, India or China.

Agriculture, the main source of livelihood, is dependent on irrigation. Although the area is crossed by a network of rivers - the headwaters of the Indus, Sutlej, Brahmaputra, Salween, Mekong, Yangtse and Yellow Rivers all flow for long distances across the Tibetan plateau - their water is of little use to the inhabitants, who have no means of raising it in sufficient quantities. Instead they tap small tributary streams, fed by groundwater, and guide them through small-scale networks of channels and ponds to water small patches of terraced fields in the valley bottoms. A group of such irrigated patches in a single valley or valley-system constitutes a yul. or lung.pa. (the latter meaning also "valley"), which is normally a social, economic and administrative unit, a focus of local loyalties, and very often a dialect unit also. Here are grown the staple crops of barley, buckwheat, wheat, pulses and a little fruit and vegetables. Every household, with its farmhouse and holding of irrigated fields, will also have a number of livestock - cattle, yaks, sheep, goats - which will be pastured in the summer on the mountainsides and upland steppes, large stretches of which may separate one inhabited valley from the next.

These upland pastures are also the home of true nomads, tent-dwellers herding
yaks and sheep. Although they may be found over vast areas, particularly in the north and northeast, their total numbers are small and they have never dominated the country either economically or politically. Some authorities have proposed a fundamental distinction between the dialects of settled and nomadic groups, but all seem agreed that both are truly Tibetan. Between them, settled farmers, nomads and semi-nomadic groups contrive to achieve an integrated and largely self-sufficient regional economy by the exchange of various commodities amongst themselves. This ubiquitous network of petty trade, often combined with religious pilgrimage, acts as one of two main integrating factors tending to overcome local social and linguistic isolation - the other integrating factor being the monastic system of Tibetan Buddhism.

**Society**

The picture sketched out below is of Tibetan-speaking society down to say the 1950s. In many places it has changed little if at all since then, but in others there have been subsequent developments, some of which are mentioned on pages 18-19.

Traditionally, the people of Tibetan-speaking communities have been divided into four major hereditary social classes, reminiscent in broad outline though not in detail of the Indian system. While the legal basis of the traditional system has been replaced in most places since the 1950s by the institutions of the different nation states concerned, its influence often lingers on.

A class of aristocrats provided rulers, holders of agricultural estates, and government officials. Most people fell into the class of farmer, tied to a greater or lesser degree to their land holding. Outcaste groups pursued such trades as smith, musician or butcher. Finally there was a group of religious specialists, hardly distinguishable from the farmers except by a freer status, and since the rise of Buddhism, overshadowed in most places by the monasteries.

The detailed workings of the system have varied greatly from place to place, depending particularly on the degree of control by centralised government. In remote and largely self-governing districts social distinctions might in practice be slight; conversely, strong governments tended to sharpen them in the areas under their control. Nomadic groups might be integrated in various ways, or might enjoy a large degree of independence in political entities of their own. In border districts, there has often been mutual adaptation with the institutions of neighbouring peoples.

While the members of all social classes within a particular district will converse in the same local dialect, in districts with a pronounced social stratification there is usually a well-defined “honorific” register of the dialect, affecting mainly vocabulary, and used in addressing those of higher social or religious status than oneself, or to equals and strangers to whom one wishes to be especially polite. In addition to the local dialect, the more educated and those with outside contacts (particularly in the pursuit of trade or religion) will be familiar with one or more of the *lingua franca* dialects of Tibetan. Thus, for example, a farmer and part-time trader from western Ladakh might traditionally have spoken both Leh Ladakhi and Lhasa Tibetan in addition to the dialect of his own village.

Centres of administration and government have seldom been more than villages
clustered near the castles of local governors or aristocratic rulers. Towns have in most areas been few and small, their populations of shopkeepers, traders and craftsmen usually forming a negligible proportion of the total. Any business conducted in writing would normally use the standard written language common to the whole Tibetan-speaking area.

Literacy rates were generally low, particularly among women. Reading and writing were taught mainly in the Buddhist monasteries, and most monks would be literate, as would a small class of lay government officials. There were privately-run non-monastic schools in Lhasa and a few other urban centres, attended by both boys and girls, but only a small fraction of the population lived within reach of them. It is doubtful whether a literacy rate of ten percent was exceeded in many areas.

Religion

Some of the functions fulfilled elsewhere in urban settlements have until recently been performed in the many Buddhist monasteries. These have often housed a significant proportion of the male population (up to 25% in some areas, though usually probably much less). A given monastery belongs to one of five main Buddhist orders, each of which will have monasteries scattered throughout the Tibetan-speaking area. Movement of monks from one monastery to another within the same order, and even between different orders, is normal. Such intercommunication has naturally encouraged the widespread knowledge of common spoken *lingua franca* dialects as well as the common written language used for all religious purposes, alongside any more local dialect. The linguistic influence which monastic institutions with their pan-Tibetan connections have exerted within their local communities has been enhanced by the role they play in local religious life, education and the arts, and often in craft and mercantile activities and landholding. Nunneries also exist, but are far fewer.

While the majority of Tibetan-speakers are Buddhists, significant numbers in some areas follow a parallel religion known as Bon, which also has its monastic system, and functions socially very much like Buddhism. Islam is the religion of the westernmost Tibetan-speakers in Baltistan, Purik, parts of Zangskar and the western areas of Ladakh; of small trading communities in the towns of western and central Tibet; and of a few villages in the Amdo area of the northeast. Christians in Ladakh and some other parts of the Himalayan fringes formerly under British rule, though few in numbers, have not been without cultural significance in the past hundred years. Some Tibetan-speakers in parts of Nepal, while Buddhist, may be influenced by Hindu customs and beliefs. Followers of all these religions have generally integrated into them a host of customs and practices presumably derived from indigenous Tibetan folk-traditions.

Tibetan and Other Languages

The often-held view of the Tibetans as totally isolated in their mountain fastnesses from the rest of humanity is misleading in many respects, not least the linguistic. It
could well be argued that the creativity and vitality of the Tibetan language owes much
to a continuing give-and-take over the centuries with other languages, numbering
several dozen if all the local border languages are included. Most of these have had
some influence on Tibetan, at least locally, and the various layers of Tibetan
loanwords in many of them have an important part to play in reconstructing the history
of Tibetan.

Neighbouring languages

The major language groups adjoining the Tibetan-speaking area are: to the west and
south, Indo-European (Iranian and Indo-Aryan); to the north, Altaic (Turkic and
Mongolian); and to the east, Chinese and other Sino-Tibetan languages.

To the south of the Tibetan speakers on the Indo-Gangetic plain and in the
Himalayan foothills lies the civilization of northern India and Pakistan, the home of the
Sanskrit language and the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, with in later centuries an increasing
element derived from the Perso-Arabic tradition, particularly in the western parts.
This broad area was the ultimate and often the immediate source of Tibet's major
religion, Buddhism, and has for many centuries had trading as well as cultural links
with Tibet.

Besides Sanskrit, which has profoundly influenced the Tibetan language on a
scholarly and literary level, the main Indo-Aryan languages in contact or near-contact
with Tibetan have been Urdu in the Baltistan, Purik, Ladakh and Zangskar areas;
Western and Central Pahari in Himachal and Uttar Pradesh; Nepali in Nepal, Sikkim
and Bhutan; and Bengali and Assamese in northeast India.

In the far western parts of this southern zone, Tibetan borders on the linguistic
isolate Burushaski in Hunza and on the Indo-Aryan (Dardic) languages of Shina and
Kashmiri, with Tadjik (Iranian) not very distant to the northwest. In addition, from
Kunawar in the west to Burma in the east along the middle ranges of the Himalayas
there runs a bewildering series of local languages and dialects classified, sometimes
faute de mieux, as Tibeto-Burman; all but two (Newari and Lepcha) traditionally
unwritten, and most of them poorly studied. Their speakers have often been the target
of competing cultural influences from Tibet and India respectively. An extinct and
rather enigmatic language known as Shangshung is alleged to have been spoken in
western and northern Tibet and perhaps Ladakh before the rise of the Tibetan empire;
literary remnants of it suggest links with some of these Himalayan Tibeto-Burman
languages. Their surviving representatives have traditionally been divided into firstly
a "non-pronominalised" group in the central Himalayas, including Gurung, Tamang,
Sunwar, Magar and Newari (all in Nepal) and Lepcha in Sikkim and western Bhutan;
and secondly a "complex pronominalised group" which includes both a dozen
languages in Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (India) in the western Himalayas,
and a similar number in eastern Nepal. Tibeto-Burman languages in the eastern
Himalayas include Tshangla and about nine others in central and eastern Bhutan, and
Monpa (sometimes classed as Tibetan) and dialects of Adi/Abor and Mishmi in
Arunachal Pradesh (India).

To the southeast of the Tibetan area lies Burma; despite their linguistic affinities, in
historical times Burma and Tibet have had little to do with one another. The immediate
linguistic neighbours of the Tibetans here are speakers of the Rawang or “Nungish” Tibeto-Burman dialects.

To the southeast, east and northeast of the Tibetan-speakers is China, whose cultural, economic and political relations with Tibet have been manifold for at least the last twelve hundred years. While speakers of the various neighbouring dialects of Chinese and of Mandarin have been in continuous contact with Tibetan-speakers, the linguistic border is complicated here, as in the southern sector, by the presence of speakers of many little-known local languages, presumed to be of Tibeto-Burman affiliation. The main ones are, from south to north, Trung, Lisu and Naxi in Yunnan; and Pumi, Gyarong and Qiang in Sichuan. Again, some of their speakers have been subject to strong cultural influence from Tibet, as also from China.

The northeastern sector is also linguistically complicated, and the evidence for precise language boundaries somewhat conflicting. As well as Chinese, there live, adjacent to and sometimes intermingled with Tibetans in Qinghai and Gansu, speakers of various Mongol dialects, namely Oirat, Eastern Yugur, Monguor, Dongxian and Bao’an. Since the thirteenth century the political and cultural fortunes of Tibet and Mongolia have often been intertwined, Mongols speaking both these and other dialects having often exercised political power in Tibet, and Tibetans having converted many of the Mongols to Buddhism. There are also speakers of at least two Turkic languages (Salar and Western Yugur) in this region. Before the advent of Tibetan-speakers in the 6th-7th centuries AD, these northeastern areas had successively been dominated by speakers of Tibeto-Burman Qiang languages (with remnants of Indo-European, perhaps Tocharian speakers) and by the probably Turco-Mongol Tuyuhun; in the medieval period they came under the control for a time of the Xixia (Hsi-hsia or Tangut) empire whose main language was Tibeto-Burman.

To the northwest, the linguistic neighbours of the Tibetans nowadays speak Uighur (Turkic) and Chinese, though in the first millennium AD the main languages of this area (East Turkestán, Xinjiang) were Indo-European: Iranian (Saka), Prakrit, Sanskrit and Tocharian. During part of that time most of this area was ruled by the Tibetans who came to participate in the Buddhist culture of this area (as did the Uighurs), but since the subsequent Islamicisation of East Turkestán its relations with most of the Tibetan-speaking area, apart from the Islamic western extremity, have been commercial rather than cultural.

The picture sketched out above of a homogeneous Tibetan-speaking area surrounded by non-Tibetan-speaking neighbours has to be modified by mentioning the groups of non-Tibetan-speakers who have lived in the Tibetan area as well as the use of the Tibetan language outside it, and the influence of Tibetan on other languages.

**Other languages in the Tibetan-speaking area**

Small numbers of non-Tibetan speakers apparently indigenous to the area are found here and there, particularly in the more wooded parts of the lower reaches of the Tsangpo river where such groups as the Monpas and Lobas (the latter speaking Tibeto-Burman dialects of Tshangla, Adi and Mishmi) have come to the notice of both Tibetan and foreign writers. Some of the Tibeto-Burman dialects of the Gyarong and Horpa areas in Sichuan, though somehow linked to Tibetan and heavily influenced by
it, seem to be best regarded as separate from it and perhaps even from each other. An area inhabited by speakers of Oirat Mongolian, the Honan Mongol Autonomous County on the right bank of the Yellow River in Qinghai, is entirely surrounded by Tibetan-speakers. Apparently non-Tibetan speakers of nomadic lifestyle are also reported from the western end of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, though they do not appear on the maps of the Language Atlas of China. There is an enclave of Shina (Dardic) speakers in the Indus Valley northeast of Purik. Other groups of supposedly “pre-Tibetan” origin such as the Mon and Bheda of Ladakh, on the other hand, seem to be purely Tibetan in language.

While foreigners of many nations have been recorded as residing in Tibet, groups present in sufficient numbers to have had any influence on the language were, until the 1950s, few. Lhasa and one or two other urban centres have had small communities of Chinese, Kashmiris, Uighurs, Armenians and others engaged in commercial pursuits, as well as Newars from the Kathmandu valley of Nepal who practised both trade and handicrafts. Mongols were present as monks in some of the monasteries, particularly around Lhasa.

Particularly since about 1950, a proportion of Tibetan-speakers which is often considerable, though hard to put a figure on, is competent to varying degrees in at least one other language: Chinese in Tibet, Hindi in Himachal Pradesh, Nepali in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, Urdu in Ladakh and Baltistan. These “second languages” are often accompanied by English, a knowledge of which may be sought after by the more educated and whose second- or third-hand influence may sometimes be suspected in modern written forms of Tibetan. Exiled Tibetan-speakers in India and Nepal are generally competent in Hindi and/or Nepali, and many of the younger generation particularly, also in English.

The influence of Tibetan on other languages

Many of the local Tibeto-Burman languages of the southern and eastern Tibetan borderlands which have been profoundly influenced by Tibetan are perhaps just the most recent examples of a centuries-old process of cultural and linguistic “Tibetanisation” which has been one of the means whereby the Tibetan cultural identity has created and extended itself. The major language group to have been most influenced by Tibetan is Mongolian. Written forms of Mongolian have been influenced by Tibetan at many levels, while dialects throughout the Mongol-speaking world incorporate Tibetan loanwords. The Mongol dialect of the Monguors of Qinghai has been heavily Tibetanised; it has been claimed that other groups in the same region such as the Arig represent almost completely Tibetanised Mongols (nor is the reverse process unknown). A handful of loanwords - yak, polo, lama, sherpa - have found their way into many of the world’s major languages.

The use of Tibetan outside the area

The use of the Tibetan language outside the area goes back at least to the days of the Tibetan empire in East Turkestan, western China and the Pamirs in the 7th-9th centuries, where it was the language of government and administration. Even after
Tibetan central authority collapsed in the mid-9th century, Tibetan continued in use for a century or more in the Dunhuang and Ganzhou areas of Gansu as a chancery and diplomatic language among the Uighurs and probably in Buddhist monasteries. Tibetan was one of the languages of the Xixia (Tangut) empire of northwest China in the 12th and 13th centuries. Tibetan Buddhism along with the Classical Tibetan language enjoyed a vogue in court circles in China under some of the Manchu emperors (16th-19th centuries). From the 17th to the mid-20th centuries Buddhism and classical Tibetan became thoroughly well-established among the Monguor, Kalkha, Buriat and Kalmuck Mongols of the Chinese and Russian Empires. In the Peoples' Republic of Mongolia, after several decades of eclipse, the study of Tibetan is now staging something of a revival. Tibetan has some degree of currency as a religious language also among certain of Tibet's Himalayan neighbours, such as the Tamangs and Newars of Nepal, and speakers of non-Tibetan languages in Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh.

Teaching and research in Tibetan are pursued outside the Tibetan-speaking area in several dozen higher education institutions throughout Asia, Europe, North America, China and Japan and Australasia, and in at least as many “Dharma Centres” (Buddhist religious institutions) in the same parts of the world.

Notes

1 On Tibetan history and culture see Stein (1962), Snellgrove & Richardson (1968).
3 The Haixi Mongol-Tibetan Prefecture, extending to the west of the Kokonor, was formerly known as the Haixi Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh Prefecture and has a detached section in the southwest corner of the Province which seems to be virtually uninhabited.
4 The various maps of the Language Atlas of China (1987) and that in Ekvall (1939) all give different boundaries.
5 See the Language Atlas of China (1987); Grierson (1909); Marrison (1964); Das-Gupta (1968); Nishida (1989).
6 See van Driem (1991a).
10 See Afridi (1988).
2. History

Tibetan Origins

The Tibetans, who have a keen sense of their own past, trace their history back to remotest antiquity in a variety of genealogies, legends and myths whose degree of historicity is not always easy to establish. To the Chinese, the Tibetans originated as a branch of the large and rather vaguely defined western group of peoples of Sichuan, Qinghai and neighbouring areas known as the Qiang (Ch’iang). Attempts have been made to connect some Chinese accounts of such peoples in the first millennium BC with the Tibetans or their forerunners. It is not until they deal with the first half of the 7th century AD, however, that Chinese sources come together with Tibetan ones to describe a Tibetan civilisation, based on the valley of the Tsangpo and its tributaries, which has had a clear and continuous historical existence from that time down to the present day. Tibetan names and words contained in these sources represent our earliest reliable evidence for the language, though it should be noted that neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese documents concerned with the early 7th century are necessarily themselves of that date.

The ethnic origins of the Tibetans are obscure. The plateau was certainly occupied in neolithic and bronze age times, surviving artefacts from those periods suggesting cultural links in various directions. Remaining groups of peoples in Sichuan still known as Qiang do indeed seem to have some cultural and linguistic affinity with the Tibetans. If the Tibeto-Burman language hypothesis has any validity, then the linguistic connections of the Tibetans should be sought to the east, southeast and south rather than to the west, northwest or north. In contrast, the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the early Tibetan aristocracy (as distinct from the peasantry) is reminiscent in some ways of the then Turkic-dominated steppelands to the north. In yet another direction, it has been observed that the agricultural patterns of peasant life, as well as the pastoral economy of Tibetan nomads, generally resemble those of the drier parts of the Middle East and Central Asia to the west. Probably the Tibetans, like most other peoples, created their culture and identity out of diverse elements over long periods of time. From the linguistic point of view, the best guess at the moment is that at least some of the ancestors of the Tibetans were among groups of speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages who moved westwards from the southwest China or southeast Asian regions along the Himalayas and the Tsangpo Valley at some time before the 7th century, doubtless conquering or mingling with whoever was there before them. To judge from the surviving historical evidence, the core of the new empire in the late 6th century would have lain along the Tsangpo from about the Powo/Kongpo area where
the river turns south to cross the Himalayas, and upstream through the Dakpo, Yarlung, Lhasa and Gyantse areas perhaps as far as Shigatse or Sakya.

The Early Kingdom: 7th-9th Centuries AD

At the beginning of the 7th century the Tibetan plateau must have been something of a political and cultural backwater. From the reign of King Songtsen Gampo (died 649) Tibet was first consolidated as a national entity and then launched into two centuries of remarkable military and political expansion which made it one of the major Eurasian imperial powers, standing comparison with the contemporary empires of the Abbasids in the Middle East and the Franks in Europe. From at least the early 7th to the mid-9th century, the kings of a single dynasty ruled most of the areas now occupied by Tibetan speakers, and at times much else besides. Generally allied with the Western Turks, the Tibetans as a major imperial power fought almost continuously against Chinese, Arabs, Uighurs and others in dispute of vast territories, including West and East Turkestan, the Pamirs and Hindu Kush, and large areas of western China, as well as crossing the Himalayan watershed to threaten Nepal, Kashmir and India north of the Ganges.

This period of imperial expansion, during which their kings boasted (with some exaggeration) of having conquered the four quarters of the known world, required the Tibetans to change and develop many aspects of their life and culture, while at the same time involving them in a multiplicity of foreign contacts at all points of the compass. In little more than two centuries they were transformed from illiterate tribesfolk of little significance to anyone but themselves, into citizens of a highly organised, militaristic empire, with a complex social hierarchy, a developed bureaucracy, a highly sophisticated state religion (Buddhism) and active foreign relations. No doubt some of these new modes of life did not penetrate very far down the social scale and in other ways existence may have carried on much as before - in some places it perhaps still does - but on any reckoning the range and nature of Tibetan cultural activities were transformed into those of a true civilisation.

It may also be the case that many outlying areas, particularly in the west and the northeast, first became Tibetan-speaking in the wake of imperial expansion during those two centuries, whether through immigration of Tibetans or “Tibetanisation” of the pre-existing population, or both. Language studies may have an important part to play in exploring this problem of the expansion of the Tibetan peoples. This question and that of the history of the Tibetan language itself largely turn on the relationship of the spoken dialects to each other and to the spelling of written Tibetan. The date of the introduction of writing is crucial to the argument and not free from controversy.

The Introduction of Writing

On balance it would seem that the writing of Tibetan in its own script must go back to at least the early part of the 8th century; most probably to the 650s, and quite possibly to the two decades ending in 650.
The interest which was shown by some Tibetans of the 7th-9th centuries in studying and translating the Chinese classics and Chinese Buddhist literature and in obtaining Chinese writing materials is not known to have led to any systematic attempts to write Tibetan in Chinese characters. The Tibetan script, whenever it was devised, was evidently modelled on an original of the type known as Brahmi used for writing Sanskrit and/or Prakrit. The adoption of such a model might be expected from the early kings' apparent interest in the Buddhist religion. In fact, however, much of the earliest evidence for writing in Tibet is in the form of secular rather than religious documents.

Models for the Tibetan script have been proposed which were variously in use in north-central India, Nepal, Kashmir, Afghanistan, or Khotan and other places in East Turkestan at dates between the 5th and 10th centuries. Whatever the model or models, some letters were evidently invented or greatly modified by the Tibetans, and various letters have seemed to different scholars to resemble those in different Indian alphabets. Furthermore the exact phonetic values cannot always be known for either Tibetan or the relevant Indian languages in those days. The palaeographic debate over the precise origin of the Tibetan script continues, and until it is resolved we would probably be wise to agree with A.Róna-Tas (1985) that the development of the Tibetan writing system could well have been a long drawn out process with contributions from more than one Indian language area and script.

On the civil side of society, writing contributed to the development of official, bureaucratic, and literary registers of the language. Indigenous liturgical and other religious works were also written down, while on the Buddhist side the Tibetans became acquainted with the existence of a voluminous written literature in Sanskrit (and to a lesser degree, Chinese, Pali and Khotanese); the vehicle for a body of largely alien ideas. They had to create what was in many ways a new language (chos.skad.) in order to translate this literature into Tibetan and add their own contributions to it. In this task they had the assistance of many foreign collaborators, as well as a certain contribution from foreign linguistic theory both Indian and Chinese (though the full impact of this may not have come till later). While the foreign contribution to Buddhism in Tibet was in the long run overwhelmingly Indian, there was significant input in these early centuries from China and East Turkestan. Apart from Buddhism, there is evidence of some early interest on the part of the Tibetans in the Chinese classics, and possibly of some slight acquaintance with aspects of Iranian and even Greek writings.

The Tibetan “Dark Ages”: Mid 9th-Late 10th Centuries

The reign of the allegedly anti-Buddhist king Lang Darma and his assassination in 842 is held by many later Tibetan historians to have ushered in a period of political and religious collapse, during which the state disintegrated, the outlying parts of the empire were lost, and Buddhism was almost extinguished by first persecution and then neglect. While there is undoubtedly much truth in this picture, it is certainly oversimplified and perhaps exaggerated by later partisan interests. The Tibetans held on to parts of their empire for at least fifty years, and while the country itself dissolved
into separate principalities, consciousness of its history and national identity remained very much alive. Although Buddhism suffered great setbacks and seems to have lost contact with India on an official level, some of its institutions survived under certain local rulers who were still sympathetic to it. While much of the bureaucracy must have been dismantled, the production of many types of official and religious documents discontinued, and the quantity of the remainder sharply reduced, it is quite clear from what does survive from this troubled period that wherever literacy was maintained it continued to be of a very high standard in both civil and religious circles.

The "Second Spreading" of Buddhism: Late 10th-Mid 13th Centuries

Despite a continued lack of political unity (or perhaps because of it), the period from the 10th century saw the formation and organised expansion of most of the orders of Tibetan religion, as a result of which Tibet could truly be said to have become a Buddhist country by the 13th century. The pace was set by the so-called "new orders" (Smapa) of Buddhism which stemmed from individual Tibetans who visited northern India (including Kashmir and Nepal) in search of developed Buddhist teachings and scriptures from the foremost Indian scholars and practitioners of the time. With the financial and political backing of local rulers and aristocrats, each order founded monasteries which were to multiply both in the order's "home area" and far and wide across the Tibetan-speaking world, creating a complex web of monastic institutions. Most of the Buddhist literature available in northern India was translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, usually by small teams which included both Tibetans and Indians. The culmination of this literary endeavour was the formation in the 13th and 14th centuries of the Tibetan Buddhist scriptural canon which in its various editions has remained standard down to the present day.

Parallel efforts of religious organisation and scriptural canonisation were at the same time being begun by two other groups. The first of these harked back to the days of the early kingdom and claimed to represent an authentic Buddhist tradition handed down from that time, the so-called "old order" (Nyingmapa). Undoubtedly much literature of an early type was conserved by this group, who filled in any gaps with "rediscovered works" or "terma" (a genre swiftly emulated by others). The second group, who styled themselves Bonpo, traced their origins to the western land of Tashi via a country and language known as Shangshung. Notwithstanding this rather surprising affiliation, they managed to create an organisation and a literature closely comparable to those of their Buddhist contemporaries.

The achievement of this period was the consolidation and wide dissemination of newly resurgent standard written forms of the Tibetan language. Although used overwhelmingly for religious purposes and heavily indebted to foreign, mainly Sanskrit models, they were well enough suited also to a wide variety of literary and official uses.
Mid 13th-Early 20th Centuries

During the course of these six and a half centuries there was little overall cultural change in the Tibetan-speaking area, at least in comparison with other periods in its history. Political control of Tibet itself was wielded with brief lay interregnums by one or other of the major Buddhist monastic orders and their aristocratic allies, beginning with the Sakyapas in the 13th and 14th centuries, and followed by various Kargyupa orders from the 14th to the 17th centuries and finally the Gelugpas from the mid-17th century. The ultimate guarantor of their rule was usually, whether in theory or in practice, an outside power, generally some group of Mongols before the eighteenth century, followed by the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty of China. The 17th and 18th centuries saw the permanent political detachment of Ladakh, Bhutan and other Tibetan-speaking parts of Nepal and India from the rule of Lhasa, while some eastern areas in Kham and Amdo became increasingly controlled by China, and others managed to retain some sort of independent status.

Whatever their political fortunes, most areas remained culturally dominated by organised Buddhism throughout this period, though Islam made some progress in the far west. The secure position of Buddhism, the lack of serious population pressure, a self-sufficient economy, isolation from many of the currents of world events and relative freedom from major armed conflict and natural disasters encouraged a high degree of social and cultural stability and conservatism - some might say fossilisation. On the literary scene a confident Buddhist clergy produced vast quantities of mainly religious writings. Much of this output took the form of the recycling of earlier material, and there was little essential linguistic change in the classical Tibetan in which it was written, though a trend towards increasing elaboration and complexity in vocabulary and syntax is detectable in some circles. While their quantity is daunting and their quality not always rewarding, the written works of this period nevertheless include many of high literary merit as well as important content.

The Early 20th Century

The first half of the 20th century, while it brought little or no difference to the daily lives of most of the population, laid the ground for a diminution of Tibet's isolation and for potentially far-reaching social and cultural change. There were military incursions into Tibet from both British India and China, and Tibet could no longer remain entirely unaffected by the often radical political, cultural and economic developments in those two countries and in other parts of the world. While the influence of the monastic establishment continued unabated, a demand was voiced in some, mainly lay quarters for changes which had cultural implications. On the linguistic front these involved questions of what written media were appropriate in modern conditions, and of the status and development of the spoken dialects: questions which had already been raised in the second half of the 19th century by Christian missionaries and others.
Modern Developments

Around the middle of the 20th century the coincident independence of India and Pakistan and the creation of the Peoples' Republic of China saw the formal and actual integration of most of the Tibetan-speaking area into one or other of those countries, all of which were imbued with a new national consciousness and a commitment to rapid economic and other development. While Nepal and Bhutan were not subject to such dramatic changes of regime, it was not to be long before they too adopted policies of modernisation.

Geographical divisions within the Tibetan-speaking world corresponding to political spheres of influence have been present since at least the 9th century AD, but during most of their history they have seldom impeded communications to any great extent. Geopolitical developments since the second world war, however, have strongly reinforced many of these divisions, often splitting the area into watertight compartments under very different regimes and ideologies for years at a time. Thus from 1959 until the late 1970s the Tibetan speaking parts of China were not only almost completely cut off from the rest of the Tibetan-speaking world (and to some extent from each other), but also subjected to ferocious experiments in social and cultural reform, particularly during the Cultural Revolution of the late sixties and early seventies.

Tibetan-speakers in India and Nepal have also been affected by what local English-speaking politicians are wont to call "socio-economic transformation", though in a much more relaxed and democratic manner than has been the case in China. The Baltis of Pakistan found their already limited contacts with the mainstream of Tibetan civilisation further attenuated. The kingdom of Bhutan has retained the greatest degree of political independence and shows a keen and sophisticated sense of its cultural heritage, but it too has instituted social and economic change with outside help, and, like Sikkim, has also seen an increase in its Nepali-speaking community.

Whatever the country and type of regime, the effects of these modern changes are in some ways quite similar, though varying greatly in intensity. Administrators, educationists, technicians and traders move in to administrative centres from outside, often accompanied by large numbers of military personnel. The local Tibetan-speakers are presented with new opportunities in education (often outside the area) and employment (often in government service). Urban centres begin to develop: although small by world standards they often represent a new type of social phenomenon. Medical advances lead to population increase, and patterns of marriage and family organisation may change, particularly near the urban centres.

Non-local languages - Chinese, Urdu, Nepali or Hindi - come into use, with English never far behind. While many, perhaps most, Tibetan speakers still live in remote villages where life continues very much in traditional style, none are likely in the long run to escape the cultural, including linguistic changes of modern times. The centrifugal tendency for Tibetan speakers to be absorbed into the life of the various and very dissimilar nation states in which they now live poses a challenge to the centripetal Tibetan cultural tradition which tends to hold them together. On the positive side, rates of literacy in Tibetan tend to increase, sometimes dramatically, in and near the main towns.
A major development since the 1950s has been the presence of some 100,000 refugees from Tibet in India, Nepal and Bhutan, with smaller groups in such diverse countries as Switzerland, Canada and Turkey. Associated with them has been a veritable renaissance of classical learning and academic endeavour which has involved non-Tibetans from many parts of the world and which is now having a significant effect within Tibet itself.

Notes

1 Roerich (1931:283) offers no supporting evidence for his view of the origin of the Tibetans in waves of nomad hordes sweeping in from the northeast.

2 The writing system was obviously very carefully adapted to the Tibetan language of the time. The importance it gives to the syllable and the lack of interest in the word could perhaps suggest that the Tibetans were familiar with that aspect of the Chinese writing system.

3 See Róna-Tas (1985:ch.6); Francke (1912); Hoernle (1916); Laufer (1914, 1918); Clauson & Yoshitake (1929); Thomas (1951); Uray (1955a).

4 A loanword from Arabic, denoting an area roughly corresponding to the Iranian cultural sphere.
3. Varieties of Tibetan

Like most other languages, Tibetan is a collection of sub-varieties: some spoken, some written, and some intermediate between the two; some confined to particular geographical areas, others more widely spread; and many of them further subdividable into different genres, styles and registers.

A threefold division into colloquial, written, and intermediate or “narrative” styles forms a useful pattern for a broad classification of varieties, provided one remembers that all such schemes are to some extent arbitrary. It groups them on three “levels” according to criteria such as: the purposes for which the varieties are used, and by whom; the degree to which they involve speech and writing respectively; and the degree to which they vary from place to place.

Spoken Dialects

General characteristics

The spoken dialects, which however one divides them up are quite numerous, are the vernaculars of daily life, spoken by people of all social groups and classes, and without any reported linguistic distinctions between the sexes. Two of their characteristics should be noted immediately:

Firstly, they differ greatly from one another, particularly in phonology but also significantly in vocabulary and in the use of grammatical particles. They also differ in the extent to which they incorporate a separate “honorific” register, which is used when conversing with one’s social or religious superiors, or with strangers and social equals to whom one wishes to be especially polite. This honorific register, to be discussed more fully later, operates mainly on the level of vocabulary, though it can also have a phonological dimension.

No objective measure of mutual intelligibility has been applied to Tibetan dialects, and opinions on the matter vary. Thus according to the Linguistic Atlas of China (Australian Academy of the Humanities 1987) Central Tibetan and the Amdo dialect (Northeast Tibetan) are “basically mutually unintelligible”. It has been observed in recent years that Central Tibetans and Amdo Tibetans often find it easiest to communicate in Chinese. Informants from Nangchen in northwest Kham are quoted by Causemann (1989) as finding little difficulty in understanding the Kham dialect of Derge some 250 kilometres southeast and that of the Goloks a similar distance northeast in the neighbouring part of Amdo, but as finding the Amdo Tibetan of 700
kilometres northeast completely unintelligible. Conversely, Hermanns was told by an Amdo lama that Kham dialects sounded like the unintelligible "twittering of birds".

The southern dialect of the Sherpas of Nepal is said by T. Thingo (1988) to be "not readily understandable by Tibetans, in part even unintelligible."

Concerning the far western dialects of Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Spiti and Lahul, spoken over an area some 450 kilometres across, S. Koshal (1990) reports a "fairly high degree of mutual intelligibility", though this is naturally greatest between neighbouring pairs of dialects, and Lahuli and Balti situated at opposite ends of this continuum would seem from their descriptions to pose significant difficulties of communication. From the scanty evidence at our disposal, a distance of 450-500 kilometres might be postulated as the maximum for practical intelligibility between dialects.

The question of whether the Tibetan language area is a true continuum, every village having a dialect only slightly different from its neighbours as suggested by some of the above evidence, or whether there are major lines of cleavage separating blocks of relatively homogeneous dialects as suggested in the Linguistic Atlas of China, cannot be answered at present. It is further complicated by the existence of nomadic groups scattered widely in some areas (particularly the east) and allegedly speaking dialects similar to each other but very different from those of nearby settled communities.

A second characteristic of the spoken dialects of Tibetan is the extreme reluctance of most of their speakers to use them in written form. The almost ubiquitous dissemination of the standardised written Tibetan language since at least the 8th century AD and its high social and religious prestige have until recently made it the automatic choice for all forms of administration and literature, both religious and secular. The fact that it no longer obviously corresponds to any particular local dialect (if it ever did) is often seen, quite logically, as an advantage, for it helps to unify the national culture without according special privilege to the speech of any one district. A disadvantage of this independence of writing and speech is that the written language exerts less influence than it might otherwise do on the spoken dialects, which are left free to drift apart from one another and become ever less mutually intelligible.

Lingua franca dialects

No doubt because of such problems of intelligibility between the spoken dialects, versions of a few of them, while still regionally based on a "home" district, have become lingua franca dialects, used and understood over wider areas by people who speak their own local colloquial dialect as well. The lingua franca dialects are officially encouraged, being important in government administration, and are also used for religious and commercial purposes. The most important of them are Lhasa Tibetan, used to varying degrees in most parts of the Tibetan-speaking world; Dzongkha, now current over most of Bhutan; Leh Ladakhi known throughout Ladakh, Purik, Zangskar and formerly Baltistan; and the Drokke of Amdo. They could be regarded as occupying a higher sub-level within the level of colloquial dialects, since they are subject to less regional variation and are somewhat less isolated from written dialects. With perhaps the partial exception of Dzongkha however, they
can really only be considered as spoken dialects, and in no way as replacements for written Tibetan. Compared with most strictly local dialects they have a large vocabulary and a well-developed honorific register.

Dialect Classification

Indigenous and foreign scholars are united in recognising a large number of spoken dialects of Tibetan. On the taxonomy of these dialects there is less agreement: inevitably so, given the fragmentary nature of the available data and the differing aims of the scholars involved in the task. As in the case of any other language, the details of a dialect classification will vary with one’s definition of a “dialect”. They will also vary with the relative weighting of the criteria employed - criteria both linguistic (phonology, grammar, lexis) and non-linguistic (geography, ethnography, sociology, politics); and with the fineness of the distinctions which one is prepared to make. A concern to trace genetic relationships diachronically through history may well lead to a different classification from a synchronic study of dialects at one particular point in time. Most of the schemes produced so far, when not based on simple geographical schemes, rely heavily on phonology and make little or no attempt at genealogical classification.

Classifications of the dialects of the whole Tibetan-speaking area are surprisingly few, and often lacking in detail. H.A.Jaeschke’s pioneering effort in his Dictionary of 1881 is still frequently referred to; it was followed by two rather different classifications from G.N.Roerich (1931, 1961). T.Nishida (1970, 1987) has combined a global classification with a scheme of genealogical relationship; unfortunately this work is available only in Japanese, though some of it is summarised and adapted by A.Róna-Tas (1985:153ff) and J.Sun (1986:1-3). Schemes limited to particular regions, particularly the east and the west, are more numerous.  

Geographical

Not surprisingly, dialects are usually named and classified geographically according to the area in which they are spoken; or, in the case of the lingua franca or “official” dialects such as Lhasa Tibetan and Leh Ladakhi, their areas of origin. Dzongkha, the official language of Bhutan, takes its name from the Dzongs or fortified buildings which serve as government headquarters over a wide area of the country.

Economic-social-religious

An economic and sociological element enters some taxonomies which emphasise a cleavage between the dialects of nomadic and settled populations that cuts across geographical divisions, particularly in northeast Tibet. One of the nomadic northeastern dialects, Drokke (“steppe language”) has itself served as an official dialect. As it happens, these nomadic dialects are said by some authorities to be linguistically “archaic”; a correlation which may hold true for northeast Tibet but which is certainly not valid in western areas such as Baltistan and Ladakh, where archaic-type dialects
are spoken by settled farming populations. Nor does it hold in all parts of eastern Tibet (Kham) or central and western Tibet, where some nomadic groups speak extremely non-archaic dialects. I shall discuss the question of "archaism" further below.

Particularly within nomadic populations it has often proved tempting to classify dialects according to the ethnonyms borne by their speakers; thus such names as Golok and Banak are essentially those of ethnic or kinship units whose geographical spheres are rather vaguely defined and liable to change. Even some groups not engaged in pastoral nomadism may be known by names which are not derived from their area of habitation, but are rather "ethnic", such as the Sherpas, or economic, such as the Kagate ("paper-makers") of Nepal and Sikkim, with their respective dialects.

A religious factor has been noted in the Ladakhi group of dialects by S.Koshal, who states (1979) that

"The Muslim variety differs from the standard [Buddhist] one in terms of phonology and lexicon. The Muslim variety shows a higher incidence of Perso-Arabic borrowings ... Muslim speakers also show a tendency of devoicing intervocalic stops in certain lexical items."

Informants have told me of a similarly distinctive - and favourably regarded - variety of Lhasa Tibetan spoken by the city's Muslim community.

**Historico-linguistic**

Some scholars, including notably A.Róna-Tas in his *Tibeto-Mongolica* (1966), following Uray (1949) and others back to Jaeschke (1865a,b,c), classify dialects along a scale of phonological conservatism moving from "archaic" through "transitional" to "non-archaic". This at least has the merit of basing the classification of linguistic entities (dialects) on linguistic (phonological) criteria, though it also makes assumptions about the history of the language, some of which may be open to debate. The scheme has been used to greatest effect in studying the archaic dialects, and as developed so far has had little to say about the non-archaic dialects, which are probably in the great majority. Róna-Tas himself (1966:21) writes: "I use the term 'archaic' for those Tibetan dialects which do not have pitch [register] as a phonematic suprasegmental feature, and have preserved in a more or less complete form the preradical [initial consonant cluster] system of Old Tibetan."

Briefly, "archaic" dialects which have a "complete preradical system" show many word-initial consonant clusters; "non-archaic" dialects show none. The most archaic dialects have clusters incorporating nasal consonants as well as clusters with only oral consonants. Somewhat less archaic dialects have only one kind; generally oral, though there are dialects with only nasal clusters. A complication is the existence of some western dialects with word-final as well as word-initial clusters. Dialects with some clusters and perhaps also incipient or partial "phonematic suprasegmental pitch" would be classified as "transitional".
Linguistic

The terminology of Sprigg (1972b), who divides dialects along what are essentially comparable criteria to those of Rôna-Tas between “cluster” and “non-cluster” dialects seems preferable to “archaic” and “non-archaic”, as it makes no assumptions as to the antiquity of any dialect or the nature of “Old Tibetan”. It also has the advantage of avoiding the possible confusion between the pronunciation of words in spoken dialects and the spelling of their written equivalents which can be introduced by the use of terms such as “preradical”.

Problems

As I have indicated, the classifications offered by different scholars are not always in agreement, and even the same scholar has sometimes changed his mind. Many classifications suffer from vagueness and/or ambiguity. Thus the lists of the dialects of the Kham region given in Hermanns (1952), Roerich (1931), Migot (1956) and Jumian (1989) are all different and all read in part like simple enumerations of well-known districts and urban centres. The “Panaka” of Rockhill (1891a,b) seems to be rather different from Roerich’s dialect of the same name. In Central Tibet there is confusion between “Lhasa Tibetan” and “Central Tibetan”, some taking the two to be synonymous, others holding them to be distinct. In the west there is disagreement over whether certain bodies of material should be classed as Balti, Purik or Ladakhi. Even purely linguistic criteria are not without problems. Thus Koshal (1990) plausibly classes Zangskar on lexical and grammatical grounds as a sub-dialect of Ladakhi, but it fails to satisfy the phonological criteria by which Ladakhi has been classified as “archaic”.

Many parts of the Tibetan-speaking area are virtual terra incognita from the dialect point of view. Although the extreme western dialects of Baltistan and Ladakh are fairly well served, and much work has been done on some central and southern dialects, there are large intervening areas of Western Tibet about which little is known. The same is true of most of the northern areas which though very sparsely inhabited are not totally devoid of human population. While information on eastern dialects is much more copious, it tends to relate to isolated and widely separated bodies of material, often from only one informant, leaving vast geographical gaps. Another big lacuna lies in the eastern parts of Central Tibet.

Furthermore, not a few of the “dialects” on which we do have information are represented by somewhat suspect data - often material from a vaguely identified single informant of mysterious antecedents. One often suspects that the authors concerned have not avoided the pitfalls, warned against by Sprigg and Sun, of getting their informants to read from texts or to pronounce isolated words (see below under “reading and spelling styles”). Some of the material of, for example, Wen Yu (1946) and Migot (1956) may be vulnerable to these criticisms. For the so-called Bhotia dialect of Garhwal, the material is characterised even by its presenter, Grierson (1909:100) as “untrustworthy” - and with good reason, judging by the later work of Zoller (1983:XXIXff). While one can only be grateful to all the authors who have collected and published Tibetan dialect material, one should remember that not all of
them would claim to be trained in linguistics. At the other extreme however, the field is fortunate in being able to boast of some thorough and sophisticated studies of high quality, among which I would include Jackson Sun’s monograph on the Dzorge dialect, S.Koshal’s books on Ladakhi, and the work of Sprigg and Róna-Tas. The series of dialect monographs in German entitled *Beiträge zur tibetischen Erzählforschung* edited by D.Schuh is also most impressive, though as these works concentrate on material derived from oral literature it may be that their subject matter might be classed as narrative-style Tibetan rather than, or as well as, the colloquial language.

**Conclusion: a scheme of classification**

The scheme of classification I adopt for the purposes of this book follows on from those of Róna-Tas, Sprigg and others in ranging dialects along a continuum from “cluster” dialects at one extreme through “transitional” dialects to “non-cluster” dialects at the other. In cluster dialects, initial consonants both simple and cluster which may total over 100, play an important role in establishing lexical distinctions, while vowel systems are relatively simple, comprising on a phonemic-type analysis some six or so primary vowels, usually with no distinction of vowel length, nasality or tone. Most cluster dialects are relatively well-provided with simple consonant finals, and some with final consonant clusters. The best-described of the extreme cluster dialects is Amdo Khake with about 114 syllable initials, 36 of them simple and 78 cluster (see Min & Geng 1989) listed in Appendix 2. Possibly even more extreme is Huari (Hermanns 1952), and the mysterious “Khams” of Jaeschke (1881:XVIff).

As one moves through the continuum of transitional dialects, initial consonant clusters become fewer, the resulting loss of lexical distinction being compensated for by a progressive complication of the vowel system, which involves the presence of more vowel phonemes (usually including secondary vowels); also contrastive vowel length and/or nasality and tone, often confined to certain phonological types of syllable only. Final consonants become fewer.

Truly non-cluster dialects have no word-initial consonant clusters (though seemingly always some word-medial syllable-initial clusters), and a restricted inventory of less than 30 simple initials. Vowel systems are complex with a rich vowel inventory, contrastive length and nasality, and tonal distinctions applying to all types of constituent which may stand as monosyllables or word-initial syllables. Final consonants are few. The most extreme non-cluster dialect so far described is probably Dingri with 27 syllable initials, all simple, listed in Appendix 2 (Herrmann 1989).

While my scheme could well turn out to represent the diachronic development of Tibetan dialects from an original cluster-type dialect towards the present-day non-cluster dialects (in which case modern cluster dialects might indeed be “archaic”), no such assumption is built into it. In the first place I doubt whether modern Tibetan dialects have a single ancestor. In the second place, it seems to me that different dialects have probably taken different routes towards the same general goal, so that if any two dialects at the same level of the classification are compared, dialect a will be found to be the more archaic in some respects, dialect b in others. This “multi-track” picture of a variety of different dialects mostly moving in the same general direction (at
least phonologically) makes it rather pointless to try and locate each one precisely along a single continuum. As already pointed out, it says nothing about other aspects of language, including lexis and grammar.

**Geographical Distribution**

With this linguistic classification in mind, the Tibetan-speaking area may be roughly divided into seven broad geographical blocks for my present purpose: the northeast (Amdo); the east (Kham); the north; the west; the central Himalayas (India & Nepal); Central Tibet; and the south (eastern Himalayas). The dialects as named by the various authors are listed in Appendix 1.

**The Northeast and East (Amdo and Kham)**

The northeastern and eastern parts of the Tibetan-speaking area may conveniently be separated from northern and central Tibet, and divided from each other, by reference to the major river systems of the region. The northern section is known to the Tibetans as Amdo - the basin of the upper Yellow River (Tibetan Machu, Chinese Huanghe) and its tributaries extending as far north as the Nanshan mountain range and including the Kokonor Lake area. Most of it falls into the present-day Chinese province of Qinghai, but it also extends into the southwestern fringe of Gansu and the northern tip of Sichuan.

Amdo is separated from Kham (sometimes written Khams) to the south by the Bayankhara mountain range which constitutes the watershed dividing the Yellow River system to the north from the upper valleys of the Min, Dajin, Dzachu (Yalong), Drichu (Yangtse), Lachu (Mekong) and Ngulchu (Salween) rivers. These rivers flow south or southeastwards through Kham into the Yangtse system or into Southeast Asia.

Kham extends eastwards and southwards through Sichuan and northern Yunnan as far as the limits of the Tibetan language; to the northwest it extends up the Drichu (Yangtse) to include the Nangchen/Jyekundo area (Yushu district of Qinghai Province); and to the west, at least for linguistic purposes, to the Ngulchu (Salween) valley or the watershed between it and the Pochu valley in the eastern part of the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

This demarcation of Amdo and Kham is the one generally accepted for geographical and cultural purposes. While most authorities also divide dialects into an Amdo group and a Kham group, there is less agreement on where the actual linguistic boundaries lie. Scholars such as Hermanns and Roerich draw them to coincide with the geographical boundaries sketched out above; the *Language Atlas of China* on the other hand shows an extension of Amdo dialect some 350 km into what is geographically Kham. Conversely, it classifies the vernaculars of Chone and Drukchu as Kham dialects although they are situated in Amdo geographically and separated from the main block of Kham dialect by some 325 km. The same work shows the western varieties of Kham dialects as stretching right across northern Tibet as far west
as a point north of Lake Manasarowar in western Tibet, in a startling extension of the toponym “Kham”.

**Amdo**

All the many dialects of Amdo are said by Hermanns (1952), Ekvall (1939) and Jumian (1989) to be fairly easily mutually intelligible. Three broad schemes for their classification have been proposed.

**Nomadic versus sedentary.** Several authors, including Hermanns (1952), Ekvall (1939) and Norbu (1983), following local usage have stressed a fundamental division between nomadic dialects (Drokpa, Drokke) and settled or “valley” dialects (Rongpa, Rongba, Rongke) within Amdo, usually indicating that the nomadic varieties are comparatively archaic. The *Language Atlas of China* uses the same terminology, adding a “neither nomadic nor settled” (or “both nomadic and settled”?) type (Rongmadrokpa). It does not however differentiate the types on linguistic grounds. From the ten phonetic/phonological characteristics it gives for Amdo dialects, probably all three types would have to be classed as archaic. Evidently non-archaic dialects in Amdo, such as Chone and Drukchu, are classified as “Kham” in the *Atlas*. There is rather little agreement on the geographical distribution of these dialects between the maps of Ekvall and the *Atlas*, though if one takes the Rongpa, Rongmadrokpa and “Kham” dialects of the *Atlas* together, they form a continuous band along the eastern side of Amdo which partly corresponds to Ekvall’s “sedentary” dialects.

The Drokpa dialect of the nomadic segment of the Huari people described by Hermanns seems to be an extremely cluster-rich dialect, though unfortunately Hermanns gives only isolated words and sounds without saying how they were elicited. The Huari are somewhat vaguely located northeast of the Kokonor, whither they are said to have migrated in the 17th century from nearer the lake itself. A.Róna-Tas (1983) has transcribed a reading by T.J.Norbu of a text written partly in “colloquial Amdowa” in what apparently purports to be a Drokpa dialect learned from a teacher from the Ongta district near the Kokonor, alternatively called “Banag” (Panaka). As transcribed, this dialect seems to be about as non-cluster as it could possibly be. It is in this respect also quite unlike the Panaka dialects described by Rockhill (1891a,b), Roerich (1958b) and Kara (1983). A transcription of a reading of the same text by a speaker from Southern Amchog is almost equally non-cluster except in syllables following a word ending in a vowel: an unusual phenomenon which might make the dialect “transitional”. The fact that both readings are, by definition, in the “reading style”, (see below under “reading and spelling styles”) adds further uncertainty.

The fragmentary nature of our information and the confusion in the nomenclature and location of the various nomadic groups, dialects, populations and districts found in the sources is too great to enable the problem to be explored further without extensive fieldwork. The question of nomadic versus sedentary dialects is complicated by the fact that some named population groups are divided into nomadic and settled sections, which may or may not share a common dialect. Thus for example the Huari dialect studied by Hermanns (1952) is that spoken by the nomadic
section of the group, and distinct from that of the agriculturalists who share the name of Huari. For Rebkong, by contrast, Roerich (1958b) states that this group is also divided into nomadic and settled sections, but makes no mention of any linguistic difference between the two. Although Rebkong is clearly a cluster dialect, the inhabitants of the area are stated to be sedentary by Ekvall (1939), even though he insists on the linguistic contrast between the peoples of the desert and the sown. It should also be remembered that it is in the nature of nomadic groups to shift their locations and to change their names and even the consciousness of their ethnic identity over sometimes quite short stretches of time. The Goloks of southwest Amo, for example, have evidently been a heterogeneous and unstable grouping speaking a variety of dialects, some of them perhaps not even strictly Tibetan. They are a group or series of groups of nomads occupying a large area stretching from the Panaka territory near the Kokonor in the north, extending west of the Yellow River and then across its upper course across the Bayankhara range to the borders of Nangchen in Kham. The “Golok” of Sprigg (1972b, 1979) and of Roerich (1958b) (the latter originating largely from the northeastern part of the Golok area) are clearly dialects comparable in the richness of their clusters to Huari, but the Golok neighbouring on Nangchen to the southwest, described by Causemann’s informants as “almost identical” (nahezu gleich) to their own dialect, must be something different (1989). Roerich’s opinion that the Goloks are both ethnically and linguistically diverse evidently contains some truth.

Settled groups of people also can change their names, migrate elsewhere or even become nomadic.

These inconsistencies - not to say contradictions - of classification and terminology are extreme though far from isolated examples of the difficulties of using the secondary literature in Tibetan dialectology. In this particular case it would seem wisest to suspend judgement on the issue of the “nomadic” versus the “settled” dialects of Amo until we have a much larger and more reliable corpus of properly located and identified material to work with.

Geographic/ethnic. G.N.Roerich (1958b) ignores the socio-economic division between nomadic and sedentary, and classifies the dialects along geographic and ethnic lines, distinguishing a northern and a southern group within Amo dialect proper, to which he adds Banag to the northwest and Golok to the southwest (both essentially ethnic designations), with Chone occupying a somewhat uncertain position to the east.

Linguistic. Róna-Tas (1966) and others have classified the dialects of Amo along the scale of phonological “archaism” alluded to above.

Cluster dialects. Material from some eighteen varieties of spoken Tibetan from Amo itself suggests a classification as cluster dialects. Of these, ten display both oral and nasal clusters and three oral clusters only; for the remaining five there is insufficient information to decide which clusters are found.

The valuable work of Min & Geng (1989) on “colloquial Amo” is a fully-fledged teaching primer aimed at the non-native speaker, covering the grammar and including
short texts and a glossary with Chinese translations and romanised equivalents for the vocabulary. Evidently its dialect is a form of the “standard” Amdo lingua franca or Drokke often referred to, for otherwise few outsiders would wish to learn it and the considerable effort of producing the book would have been pointless.

The remaining works on cluster dialects are a mixed bag ranging from travellers’ word lists (e.g. Ekvall 1939, Rockhill 1891a,b) to a lengthy dictionary with Chinese, Japanese and English translations (Go et al. 1954) and sophisticated linguistic analyses (Sprigg 1972b and Sun 1986). Jackson T.-S. Sun’s material from a Dzorge dialect is presented and analysed in an exemplary scientific fashion which puts it in an entirely different class from most other Tibetan dialect studies. Dzorge as a geographical term apparently covers the valleys of the Kachu and Mechu rivers, tributaries of the Yellow River at its “dogleg”, and according to Roerich’s map (1958b) extends northwards as far as Amchog south of Labrang.

The term “Tangut” is derived from the Mongolian word for the Tibetans of these parts: the three varieties so named were collected in different areas and show dialectal differences.

The main body of material on the Amdo dialects with oral clusters only is that from the dialect of the part-settled, part-nomadic area of Rebkong northwest of Labrang, given in Roerich’s Le Parler de l’Amdo (1958b): a systematic study also covering grammar. A few words from Wayen, spoken by a group of “Tibetanised Mongols” between Xining and the Yellow River, also fall into this category, as do others from a form of Panaka/Banag cited by Roerich and Kara (1983) which is evidently distinct from that of Rockhill.

A few references in Sun’s book to the dialects of Amchog (south of Labrang) and Arig (east of the Kokonor) show evidence of oral clusters, but the material is insufficient for diagnosis of nasal clusters. The same is true of Ekvall’s material (Ekvall 1939) from “’Brog-skad” (Drokke) and Nishida’s from “Qinghai” (Nishida 1960), both vague designations impossible to locate precisely, and both confined to numerals, in none of which one would expect to find nasal clusters anyway.

Transitional dialects. The Amdo Sherpa dialect is the subject of a detailed phonological study by Nagano (1980). Since it is partly tonal and has nasal clusters only I have classed it as “transitional”. The South Amchog reading style is hard to classify: since it has oral and nasal word-initial clusters, but only after words ending in a vowel, so that perhaps it fits into this category better than any other.

Non-cluster dialects. Of the non-cluster Amdo dialects, only the “Tangut” of Shibata (1951) is represented by much material in any western language publication. Shibata’s informant was from the Luchu river south of old T’ao-chou, presumably near Chone. The “Gyo tzung” of Hermanns (1952), which he calls “very corrupted” (sehr korrumpiert) may be the same as the “Gro tshang” of Norbu (1983). Several authors have commented on the distinctiveness of the Chone dialect within Amdo, though without giving much material on it. Ekvall attributed its character to prolonged contacts between the monastic centre of Chone and Central Tibet, while the Language Atlas of China classifies it and the neighbouring Hbrugchu as Kham dialects. The work of Qu (1962) is not accessible to me.
According to Gesong Jumian (1989), “Inner difference is relatively great within the Kham dialect which is represented by groups of subdialects of the South, of the North and of the Central area, and of the cattle breeders.” The *Language Atlas of China* divides Kham dialects into Southern in Yunnan; Northern in Qinghai, Eastern in Sichuan and the east of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, and Western extending right across northern Tibet. It may be doubted whether the linguistic term “Kham” is much more than a convenient geographical label for a rather heterogeneous collection of dialects which range from extreme cluster dialects to transitional dialects well on the way to being non-cluster. As a whole, the land of Kham with its warmer and damper climate and more plentiful water supplies is a more agricultural area than Amdo, though the upland belts (Gang) between the deep river defiles also support groups of nomads (Jumian’s “cattle breeders”), at the same time clearly separating the farmers in each valley from those of the next.

Apart from Nangchen, the nasal- and oral-cluster dialects of Kham are all in some way problematic. The “Khams” dialect of Jaeschke (1881) would appear to be perhaps the most extreme cluster dialect of all; unfortunately we are given no details on the home of this dialect nor any on the informant(s) used by Jaeschke, who was working in Lahul at least 2,000 km. from the nearest part of Kham. Grierson’s material on the dialect (Grierson 1909) is derived from Jaeschke. It is possible that it is in fact an Amdo dialect, and quite likely that it is a reading style.

The remainder are all from the eastern parts of Kham. The status of Migot’s Tao material (Migot 1956) and Von Rosthorn’s Han-niu (Rosthorn 1894) is a little mysterious. Róna-Tas (1966) claims that Tao “shows some influence from the non-Tibetan Tao-fu language” (the *Language Atlas of China* shows dialects of Amdo type around Tao). F.W.Thomas (1948:93) regards Han-niu as a “very much Tibetanised” variety of a Gyarong (non-Tibetan) dialect. The several dialects of Gyarong complicate the picture in this area to the northeast, north and northwest of Kangding, as there has been mutual influence between the two languages, and within Gyarong it is often difficult to distinguish words cognate with Tibetan from Tibetan loanwords of various periods. Finally the Sa-stod data presented by Wen Yu (1946) is subject to the same doubts as his other material, since it contains no actual words and could be influenced by the literary language. However, the cumulative evidence of these dialects along with that of Chog-che would seem to support the existence of cluster dialects in this eastern part of Kham.

The Nangchen dialect is the subject of a detailed monograph by M.Causemann (1989). As she describes it the dialect is non-tonal, though Bielmeier (1988a:17) prefers to regard her “breathy voice” (she uses the English term) as low phonemic pitch contrasting with high. This would make it the only known tonal dialect with both nasal and oral preradicals, in which case it might be better classified as transitional.

The one Kham cluster dialect showing oral clusters only is represented by Wen Yu’s material from “Chog-che”, otherwise known as one of the 18 states of the Gyarong area. It is limited like most of this author’s other data to a list of syllable-initial sounds corresponding to the Tibetan spellings.
An interesting case is presented by the so-called Washul dialects (R.A. Stein, 1961b:22, 48, 66). Washul is the name given to a series of nomadic groups based in the upland area of Serta in northern Kham who have also fanned out southwards along parts of the tablelands between the river valleys as far south as the 30th parallel. In earlier centuries they are said to have lived among the Goloks of southern Amdo and before that in the Kokonor region, where legend ascribes to them an origin in groups of disbanded troops brought in from western Tibet in the early royal period of the 8th and 9th centuries. Whatever the truth of these traditions (which are somewhat confused though not without supporting evidence), they point to a southward extension into Kham of northerly dialects, presumably of an Amdo type, which may be reflected in the assignment of the dialects of the Tao area to the Amdo group by the Language Atlas of China. They also provide a useful reminder that folk-migrations, even from one end of the Tibetan-speaking world to the other, have been a normal feature of Tibetan history.

The best-recorded of the transitional Kham dialects are those of Drayab, Bathang, Kandze and Gyethang. Most of these transitional dialects appear to have tonal distinctions in many but not all types of syllable, with nasal but not oral clusters and also a series of voiceless nasal initials. The presumed non-cluster and "unspecified" Kham dialects are mostly very poorly recorded.

The North

The bleak northern zone of the Tibetan Autonomous Region is the most sparsely inhabited of the whole Tibetan-speaking area, and one whose ethnography is little known. Before the rise of the Tibetan empire in the 7th century it may have been part of the land of Shangshung. From the late 13th to at least the 16th century parts of it were occupied by groups of Mongols. Some of the nomads of the region are still known as "Hor", an old Tibetan word for "Mongol", and they may be descended from Mongols. Their dialects however, which Roerich (1931) divides into two - spoken north and south of the Thangla range respectively - appear to be Tibetan. Other inhabitants of the region and their dialects Roerich calls Changpas ("northerners"). To confuse matters, he also mentions groups of speakers of Amdo dialects in Namru region, while the Language Atlas of China regards most of northern Tibet as the province of what it calls "western Khams" dialects.

Despite their desolation these northern wastes have been of strategic importance in the disposition of military forces and as corridors of communication, particularly in the early royal period and in the period of Mongol domination from the 13th-18th centuries. Traditions held by more than one group in eastern Tibet whereby they trace their origins to movements from the west across the northern zone need not be dismissed out of hand. These factors and the inherent mobility of nomadic populations may have resulted in all sorts of connections between the dialects of the north and those of other areas.
The West, Centre and South

In the present state of our knowledge the most obvious division of the dialects of this large area is into the far western cluster dialects - Balti, Purik and most varieties of Ladakhi - and the rest, which all seem to be at least partially tonal, with few or no word-initial consonant clusters.

The West

Balti, Purik, Ladakhi

The various subdialects of Balti, Purik/Purig/Purki and Ladakhi, all spoken in the interconnected valleys of the Indus system, seem to form a continuum. K.Rangan’s “Balti” (Rangan 1975) and his “Purki” (Rangan 1979), spoken on the Indian side of the cease-fire line, are the same dialect, the change of name being a response to local preference. The division between cluster and other dialects would seem to occur within the Ladakhi dialect, whose Zangskar, Rubshu and “Indian Changthang” subdialects appear to have no word-initial consonant clusters. Indian Changthang is said by Bielmeier (1985b) to show phonemic pitch, while Rubshu is classed as a form of “Central Tibetan” by Grierson (1909). Those two dialects are then presumably transitional or even non-cluster. However, Koshal (1990) regards all sub-dialects of Ladakhi as non-tonal, although she describes Zangskar as without initial clusters. On the face of it therefore Zangskar occupies an anomalous position - neither clusters nor tone - which would repay further investigation.

In fact it is open to debate whether even Balti and the cluster subdialects of Ladakhi are non-tonal. Sprigg has devoted an article to the question of tone in Balti, in which he draws attention to a set of disyllabic and trisyllabic nouns with lexically distinctive pitch patterns. In Leh Ladakhi, from my own experience it seems to me that words beginning with what Koshal calls a “murmured l” might alternatively be regarded as of lexically low pitch. However, the domain of such phenomena within the respective dialects seems to be quite restricted, and in the case of Balti the correlation of tone with other features of the language seems to be quite different from that in other tonal dialects, suggesting that tonogenesis in Balti may have proceeded along quite independent lines. Other scholars have regarded these dialects as non-tonal, and as they are certainly rich in clusters, both initial and final, it seems reasonable to classify them as cluster for the time being.

Western Tibet, Himachal Pradesh

R.Bielmeier (1985b) has classed the dialects of Lahul and Spiti on the Indian side of the border in Himachal Pradesh and the nomad dialects of western Tibet as transitional, as they seem to be without initial clusters and according to him “show distinctive pitch levels to a greater or lesser extent.” The dialects of Upper Kunawar, Nyamkat and Jat, insofar as they have been described, seem to be similar in these respects. The tonal status of some of these dialects is actually rather uncertain. While
Grierson firmly classes Lahuli as non-tonal, Roerich in his monograph on the dialect (1933b) states that it has distinctive tones, though he does not describe them very clearly. Of the neighbouring dialect of Spiti, Grierson says “Tones and accents are the same as the Central Dialect”, whereas Jaeschke regards it as transitional between western and central dialects. S.R.Sharma (1979:104-5) however describes its tones using a contour-based rather than a register-based system. The *Language Atlas of China* classifies the western dialects of the Tibetan Autonomous Region as a subgroup within the central (“Dbusgtsang”) group.

**Nepal**

The Tibetan dialects of Nepal are grouped together here purely for convenience. Most of them do fall within Bielmeier’s “southwestern transitional dialects” and all appear to be non-cluster and at least partly tonal, though most of them also seem to be very similar to their immediate neighbours over the border in Tibet. Little apart from word lists is known about the dialects of Humla, Mugu and Dolpo in the west. Glo-skad or the dialect of Mustang has been better studied, and seems from Nagano’s description (Nagano 1982, 1985) to be partly tonal, in that pitch levels are lexically distinctive only in words beginning with “alveolar and alveopalatal” consonants (sibilants), in what the author describes as “a beautiful example of tonogenesis”.

Of the remaining Nepalese Tibetan dialects, only Sherpa, Jirel and Kagate have been more than superficially investigated. The people of Langthang north of Kathmandu, though generally known as Tamangs, speak not the Tamang language but a Tibetan dialect. The Sherpas of Solu Khumbu near Mount Everest (not to be confused with the group of the same name in Yolmo/ Helambu to the southwest) have offshoots in Sikkim and other parts of the Himalayas, and according to the *Language Atlas of China* their dialect extends a short way over the border into Tibet, south of Nyalam. They are unusual in having a well-documented history, which traces their origins to two districts in Kham in eastern Tibet. There they would have presumably spoken local Kham dialects, and might also have had contact with speakers of non-Tibetan languages. Their ancestors left these areas around 1500 and were settled for some decades in Central Tibet before moving into allegedly virgin territory in the Himalayas where they still live. Whether their present dialect resembles those of their ancestral homelands remains to be investigated.

**Central Tibet**

Central Tibet corresponds to the former administrative provinces of Ū and Tsang, whose borders varied somewhat over time but which covered the valley of the Tsangpo river and its tributaries south of the Nyenchen Thangla mountain range and westwards to about halfway between Sakya and the Lake Manasorawar area. The *Language Atlas of China* divides this area into two roughly equal halves for dialect purposes: “Gtsang” (Tsang) in the west and “Dbus” (Ū) to the east.

The dialect or dialects subsumed under the terms “Central Tibetan” and/or “Lhasa
Tibetan" - also sometimes called "Tibetan koiné" (as spoken all over the Tibetan-speaking world) and, misleadingly, "Literary Tibetan" or even "Classical Tibetan" - have been the subject of numerous studies during the past century. Considerable linguistic differences are apparent from one study to another; in part these may be artefacts of the different methods of presentation, or they may reflect differences in the training, mother tongue, aims or methodology of the various authors. Much of the variation must however be attributable to real dialectal differences over what is quite a large geographical area, which also has a degree of social complexity greater than most others.16 It is a pity that many of the authors concerned do not specify very closely exactly what they mean by the names they give to their dialects.

Most of the studies have in fact concentrated on the dialect spoken by natives of the town of Lhasa and/or its immediate environs. As a metropolitan centre (by Tibetan standards) and seat of government, whose visitors for purposes of trade, government, monastic purposes and pilgrimage must run into thousands per annum in normal times, harbouring also communities from other parts of Tibet and other nationalities, the town could hardly have a uniform dialect. Some sociolectal variations have been noted in the literature, for instance by Beyer (1992:27, 87fn.). Informants from Lhasa itself and those from other parts of the Tibetan-speaking area may not always hold identical views on what constitutes Lhasa Tibetan or Central Tibetan, or indeed on its importance as a lingua franca.

It is perhaps the cultural and political importance of the Lhasa dialect that has led to its overshadowing of other dialects of the eastern half of central Tibet. There is practically no information on dialects of such areas as Chayul, Kongpo and Powo to the south and east of Lhasa. The case of the dialect called by Shafer (1954) "Dwags" is a peculiar one. His study of it is based on word lists collected by Hodgson (in Kathmandu?), and he states that "The area in which the dialect is spoken has not been precisely defined ..." Following Hodgson, Shafer points to the well-known district of Dakpo west of Kongpo along the Tsangpo river, but Hodgson also confuses this with the Tawang area of Arunachal Pradesh some 200 kilometres southwest. As it happens there is a dialect locally called Dakpakha and said to be of Tibetan type, spoken in a small area in eastern Bhutan and the adjacent Tawang district. The relationship between Shafer's "Dwags", Dakpakha, the dialect(s) of Dakpo and the Monpa dialects of the same general area needs to be cleared up by further study. From the available material, "Dwags" seems to have some of the characteristics of a cluster dialect, but also to incorporate a number of words closer to those in other Tibeto-Burman languages than to Tibetan.

The dialects of Tsang province - the western half of central Tibet as here defined - have been surprisingly poorly studied, considering the cultural, political and economic importance of the area. Herrmann's monograph on the Dingri dialect (1989) is an important exception.

The South

Grouped under this heading are the dialects of Sikkim in India; Tromowa in Tibet; and the Tibetan dialects of Bhutan, all of which appear to be broadly similar. In Arunachal
Pradesh and southern Tibet are found speakers of the various Monpa dialects.

**Sikkim**

The Tibetan of Sikkim, often called “Bhotia”, was the subject of a monograph by G. Sandberg as long ago as 1888, and has more recently been treated in a polemical style with radical proposals for script reform by a local resident, K.L. Kaleon (1982). Sikkim also houses several thousand Sherpa speakers as well as Tibetan refugees.

**Tromowa**

Tromowa, of which two varieties are distinguished by E.H.G. Walsh (1905), is spoken in the Chumbi Valley, a tongue of Tibetan territory extending southwards, and has enjoyed close trading relations with Sikkim, Bhutan and north Bengal. Part of its population is said to be of Bhutanese origin.

**Bhutan**

G. van Driem (1991a) has identified eight indigenous Tibetan dialects spoken in Bhutan. The most important, Dzongkha, he describes as “a cultivated form of the native language of western Bhutan, the inhabitants of which as well as their language have traditionally been known as ... ‘Nalong.’” The latter is comprised of several subdialects. Since about the 1960s Dzongkha has been the subject of strenuous efforts to establish it as a standard spoken and also written language. As a *lingua franca*, it is spoken to some degree practically all over Bhutan.

The Tibetan dialect with the second largest number of speakers in Bhutan is Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha, spoken in a small area in the east of the country along the Kurichu river. The others are Brokpa and Dakpakha in the extreme east of the country; Layakha and Lunakha to the north of the Dzongkha area near the Tibetan border, and Lakha and Brokkat in small areas in central Bhutan. To these should be added Tibetan dialects spoken by small numbers of exiles in various parts of the country.

**Narrative Styles**

Narrative styles are varieties of the language used for such purposes as oral literature (songs, poetry, folktales, epic, drama, liturgy etc.) and public speaking. While firmly based on colloquial dialects, or at least strongly influenced by them, these varieties are subject to less regional variation, partly no doubt because some of their practitioners are accustomed to travel around and perform in more than one colloquial dialect area. Furthermore, texts in these dialects sometimes get written down, in which case one could argue that they are no longer truly oral. Although their performers are commonly illiterate or may not have consulted written texts, one often suspects that written versions have played a part in the transmission of the texts in question. Mutual influence vis-a-vis truly written varieties is here much greater than it is in the case of colloquial dialects. Though everyone will have some familiarity with one or more of
these intermediate varieties, they do have to be learned, and their most active users may even be professional specialists in some oral genre.

The main difference between the narrative and the colloquial dialect of a given area will be the frequent use of both verse and formulaic speech patterns in the narrative dialect, and the presence of items of vocabulary, including sometimes grammatical particles, occurring in the narrative dialects of other areas (and probably in written Tibetan also), but not in the local colloquial. The pronunciation of the narrative style will mainly be the same as the colloquial, though there may be differences induced by the vocal technique of song or chant, and even special pronunciations of certain words, reflecting either an earlier phase of the language or the pronunciation of some other area, or both.

In Ladakh, S.Kosha (1979) writes:

"Ladakhi has a rich folk literature which is handed down to people by oral tradition. The language of this oral literature is somewhat different structurally from Standard Ladakhi. It is more so in the case of folk songs."

Many examples of such differences for the Rebkong Amdo dialect are cited by G.N.Roerich in the glossary to his Le Parler de l'Amdo: (Roerich 1958b): for instance on page 133:

"da-wa - lune, mois. Tib. lit. zla-ba ; ... (cette forme se rencontre seulement dans les prières et chants qui conservent la prononciation de Lhasa). Dans la langue parlé de l'Amdo: dzá."

Similarly in his monograph on the dialect of Lahul, Roerich (1933b:1-2) states that he aimed

"... to collect specimens of the colloquial and literary forms of the dialect. The first is represented by numerous sentences taken from the everyday speech of the Lahuli hillmen, and the second by several New Year songs and prayers, that represent the literary form of the dialect and belong to an older strata [sic] of the language."

He goes on to say,

"As in the case of the other Tibetan dialects, the literary form of the Lahul dialect is closely related to the literary Tibetan and is only slightly tinted with colloquialism peculiar to Lahul. It seemed expedient to let the native informants talk, and record both phonetically and in Tibetan writing whatever they had to say. Another method is to give a Tibetan text, and ask the men to read it according to local pronunciation, but in this case we have always the danger, that the informants will try to conform as much as they can with the standard Tibetan pronunciation, which is that of Central Tibet, and which is known to most of the literate. The dialects of Central Tibet still exercise a powerful influence on the dialects of Outer Tibet, and each Lahuli hillman, who has visited Central Tibet or made a stay there, represents a channel through which this influence penetrates the local language. Lahuli lamas ... make frequent trips to Bhutan and Tibet proper, and often spend many years in ... some of the great centres of learning in the country. The result is that their speech becomes strongly tinted by that of Central Tibet, and exercises a considerable influence on the everyday speech of the countrymen."
In his use of the term "literary", which he does not properly distinguish from "written", Roerich may be confusing a number of phenomena which might better be kept distinct. The dialects of Central Tibet to which wandering Lahulis may be exposed are no more "literary" than is the colloquial dialect of Lahul itself. Central dialects may well have influenced colloquial Lahuli as a whole, but this process is not the same as the development of a distinct style of Lahuli, appropriate to certain genres of oral literature. It is for these reasons that I have adopted the term "narrative" rather than "literary" to designate such styles.

In mentioning the dangers of getting informants to read from written texts, Roerich also raises the question of a "reading style" which he does not clearly distinguish from these other phenomena.

Reading and Spelling Styles

Although I have emphasised the psychological separation of writing and speech, the two must of course come together when written texts are recited, quoted or chanted, or when they are read aloud, for example for pedagogic purposes or over the radio. Others besides Roerich - notably R.K.Sprigg (1991) - have noted the existence of a distinctive "reading style" pronunciation appropriate to such activities: or rather, several different reading styles corresponding to different colloquial dialect areas. Sprigg himself distinguishes one reading style common to informants from Lhasa, Tsang, Kham and Sikkim from another used by speakers of the Golok dialect; to these I would add at least a Ladakhi reading style, while Rôna-Tas (1983:245ff) has drawn attention to another Amdo equivalent. Apart from their intrinsic interest, a knowledge of such styles is important for any linguistic investigator, as a passage read from a text will show significant and systematic phonological differences from the same speaker's colloquial pronunciation. Jackson Sun (1986:184), echoing Roerich, has aptly warned:

"One of the worst methods of studying the sound system of a Tibetan dialect is to ask one's informant to read off a list of words in Tibetan orthography; unless of course, the objective is to find out the reading pronunciation of WRITTEN Tibetan current in the community speaking that dialect."

Similarly misleading can be yet another pronunciation pattern, the so-called "spelling style", again investigated by Sprigg (1991) and by Rôna-Tas (1983:268ff). This is used by literate speakers as part of their traditional system of spelling words out loud, and also when citing isolated words for the benefit of foreign students of the language. While very similar to the reading style, it differs from it in minor respects. Experience of it has led Sprigg to state that:

"... using citation forms, or one-word utterances, for phonetic and phonological analysis is an invitation to literate [Lhasa] Tibetans to use a Spelling-style pronunciation or - worse - a pronunciation that is neither L[hasa] T[ibetan] nor Spelling-style but sufficiently influenced by the latter to lie somewhere between the two."
In my own experience, spelling-style pronunciations of isolated words can even be offered by illiterate informants, who have presumably picked them up from their literate fellow-speakers.

**Written Varieties**

With a few odd exceptions, written texts in Tibetan are handwritten, carved or printed in various styles of a single script, specially devised for writing Tibetan from an Indian-derived model. The exceptions include the Perso-Arabic script occasionally used in Baltistan and Ladakh, and among Muslims in Central Tibet; and a special set of characters formerly used for writing Balti Tibetan. There is a romanised phonetic script for Dzongkha in Bhutan which is officially sanctioned alongside the Tibetan script though little used.

There are also sporadic examples (mainly proper names or lists of words) written by non-Tibetans in such scripts as Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu, Japanese, roman and cyrillic. Since the nineteenth century, Tibetan has very commonly been written by foreigners for scholarly purposes in a variety of romanised transliteration systems. There have also been attempts at script reform and proposals for writing Tibetan in other alphabets intended for native speakers.

The most important single use of written Tibetan throughout its history has been in connection with Buddhism. While Sanskrit manuscripts have been conserved in Tibet, and familiarity with Sanskrit, always esteemed, has been enhanced by recent exiles in India, in practice the vast working corpus of Buddhist scripture and associated writings has always been maintained in Tibetan, and only a tiny minority of Tibetan-speakers has ever been able to read any other language. Other uses for writing have included purposes connected with other religions; governmental business in general; correspondence both official and personal; works of scholarship, history, biography and other "non-fiction"; and more recently education and journalism.

Detailed consideration of written styles and their linguistic features is beyond the scope of this book, but some of the main approaches and terminology may usefully be indicated. The terms "written", "classical" and "literary" are used by different authors in different senses, sometimes interchangeably and sometimes not. Use of the term "literary" invites confusion between written and oral literature. Authors such as R.A.Miller (1972) and A.Róna-Tas (1985:93ff.) have adopted classifications by historical period and corresponding terminology such as "Early-", "Middle-" and "Late Old Tibetan" (Preclassical); "early-" and "late middle Tibetan" (Classical); "New Tibetan" and "Modern Tibetan". Others have emphasised differences of genre or mode of composition rather than historical period. Many authors would, with Jaeschke (1881:iv) regard Tibetan translated from Sanskrit as "classical" almost by definition. However, S.Beyer (1992), following sinological usage, specifically excludes translations from Sanskrit, along with the language of modern newspapers, and defines "Classical Tibetan" as the entire remaining corpus of writings from the 8th century to the present day, and "new Tibetan" as the modern spoken dialects. S.C.Das (1902:viif) regards the Tibetan documents of all periods as written in "Classical" Tibetan.
Whereas my classification of spoken dialects was primarily geographical (and within geographical areas, phonological), my classification of written varieties is primarily historical, reflecting the fact that while spoken dialects vary from place to place, the written language has been geographically standardised but has varied through time. In the modern period, however (mid-20th century on), some written varieties have also begun to diverge along partly geographical lines.

**Preclassical Tibetan (see also Chapter 14)**

This might alternatively be called “Early Indigenous Written Tibetan”. It covers the documents and inscriptions of the Royal period and later, down to about the mid-10th century. The type does not completely die out then, however, for examples continue to crop up in inscriptions in outlying areas such as Ladakh, and occasionally in later literature as well as in the “narrative” style of spoken Tibetan, and in quoted passages from or reproductions of old works, whether genuine or spurious. The word “indigenous” is intended to exclude translations from Sanskrit, although linguistic influences emanating from Buddhism and Sanskrit are certainly not absent from this style. A few texts may be translations or adaptations of Chinese originals. The writers of this Preclassical Tibetan would mostly have been laymen, or in some cases practitioners of non-Buddhist religious traditions. Both prose and verse survive; their literary effect is frequently direct and vital. The term “Dunhuang material” is often applied loosely to texts in the style, after Dunhuang in Xinjiang where a large cache of documents was found in the early 20th century, though much of the material comes from elsewhere.

**Sanskritic Tibetan**

After a false start in the 8th century, this type was officially relaunched in the early 9th, under the specific Tibetan name of skad.gsar.bcad. (“reformed language”: see Simonsson 1957) as a thoroughly codified and sophisticated vehicle for translating Buddhist works from (mainly) Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: “a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect in Sanskrit garb” (Masica 1991:52f.). Thus it overlaps in time with the Preclassical type. Most of the translations were made by small collaborative teams of Tibetans and Indians. Its productive phase effectively ended in the early 13th century with the demise of Buddhism in most of the Indian Subcontinent, at which time many of the works written in it were formally accorded the canonical status which they still retain. Much of this material, though skilfully and accurately translated, can only be described as mechanical in style in the case of prose, or tortuously ingenious in the case of verse. Occasional texts are translated from Chinese originals, which however are themselves translated from Sanskrit or other Indian languages. The Sanskrit originals of some works in the style may be apocryphal.

**Classical Tibetan**

What might be termed “Later Indigenous Written Tibetan”, often known together with Sanskritic Tibetan as Chöke (chos.skad. “book-language” or “religious language”) by
Tibetan speakers; might reasonably be called "Classical Tibetan". This is close to Beyer's definition. Arising out of both the foregoing types, sometimes with a contribution from colloquial dialects, from about the 11th century this style is used mainly by Buddhist monks composing directly in Tibetan and writing on a wide range of topics, most of them having at least something to do with Buddhism. Particularly developed are liturgical, commentorial and didactic religious literature, the prose genres of biography and history, and religious verse. While its didactic content is generally prized by Tibetans above its literary qualities, high aesthetic effects are consciously striven for, particularly in verse where the Sanskrit Kavya tradition has been adapted to the Tibetan language. At their best, works in this style may rank with the foremost in world literature. At their worst, they can be overblown and practically impenetrable, at least to a foreigner.

Outside the Buddhist monastery the same style has been used by laymen in civil administration and formalised types of correspondence (an interesting sub-genre being that of love-letters).

The occurrence in Classical Tibetan of words derived from regional spoken dialects is not unknown, and dialect material may sometimes be included deliberately - in the form of direct and reported speech or technical terms of local relevance, as the object of scholarly comment, or even in an attempt to appeal to local readers. On the whole however such cases are hardly more than curiosities, scarcely detracting from Classical Tibetan's remarkable degree of standardisation over its entire geographical range. This range includes the whole Tibetan-speaking area with the exception of the Islamic districts of Baltistan and Purik in the far west. Here, although Balti is occasionally written (in Perso-Arabic script), the place of Classical Tibetan is taken by Urdu and Persian.

Notwithstanding the rise of newer types of written Tibetan to be mentioned below, Classical Tibetan as here defined is far from being a dead language: any monk or even layman writing on subjects for which it is traditionally the vehicle would normally use it automatically. This is true even in areas such as Bhutan where modern written varieties are vigorously promoted.

Modern Literary Tibetan and other regional varieties

In the 20th century several attempts have been made to develop forms of written Tibetan in response to one or both of two new social and political demands. The first demand is for a medium of expression felt to be suitable for journalism and radio broadcasting, and for material such as textbooks and pedagogic literature, works of popular scholarship, personal memoirs, political propaganda and the like aimed at the general reader in a more secular social environment. A quasi-political desire to break with the traditions of the monastic establishment may also be a factor. The second demand is for a language deliberately attuned to the needs of some regional unit rather than the Tibetan-speaking world as a whole; again, political overtones are often present. Texts read out over the radio are also written in these varieties, though since they also have a spoken form they share something with narrative styles.

Modern Literary Tibetan. The most successful of these modern regional styles is
that called by M. Goldstein (1991) "Modern Literary Tibetan". S. Beyer (1992) has observed that the uses to which it is put are mostly far from literary. Following Sedláček & Semichov (1972), he calls it "Newspaper Tibetan". A natural outgrowth from Classical Tibetan with influence from the Lhasa colloquial, its origins probably owe something to Tibetan-speakers during the inter-war years in India, particularly the Darjeeling-Kalimpong area of West Bengal, where a combination of British Indian cultural influence and rather greater freedom of expression than in the Tibet of the time encouraged experimentation with new forms. Its development was then boosted in Chinese-administered Tibet from the early 1950s and among the refugees in South Asia from 1959. It has now become a standard medium for modern writings in Tibet and among exiles, and for radio (and, in Tibet, television) broadcasts by the Chinese radio services and All-India Radio.

**Ladakhi.** Already by the early 1880s H. A. Jaeschke had translated some Christian literature into Ladakhi (as well as translating most of the New Testament into Classical Tibetan), and his successors in the Moravian Mission, both Ladakhis and foreigners, continued to produce such material, including a regular newspaper in Classical Tibetan, down to the 1930s. Similar material was produced by Moravians in Lahul and Kunawar. Such writings, some of which used reformed spelling, never caught on outside the very small Christian community, but they prepared the ground for a steady trickle of material since the 1970s in what might perhaps be termed "Modern Literary Ladakhi", including some valuable works on local history and culture, several series of reading and writing primers and other schoolbooks, and even a few novels. Ladakhi is regularly broadcast by All-India Radio.

**Dzongkha.** A similar process in Bhutan did not really get under way until the 1960s, but since then it has been pursued with much more vigour than in Ladakh. It amounts to an official attempt to create a national language, Dzongkha, out of the colloquial lingua franca of government which is itself based on the local Ngalong dialect of western Bhutan. Grammars, dictionaries and even a new spelling system have been produced in a determined bid to establish the language on a separate footing from modern Tibetan. Newspapers, magazines and a variety of books are available, and there are regular radio broadcasts.

**Other varieties.** Similar moves to base a written language on Sikkimese Bhotia (accompanied by attacks of unprecedented outspokenness on the traditional monastic approaches to education and language) are hampered by lack of political independence and the small numbers of Tibetan-speakers in the state. Modern Literary Tibetan is also used in Sikkim.

There exists some material in Balti, both Muslim and Christian, in Perso-Arabic and occasionally roman script, dating back at least to the early 20th century. It may be that one could reasonably speak of a "Literary Balti", though I am not sufficiently familiar with the material to be able to judge. There is a Balti service on Pakistan Radio.

The existence of transcriptions of the "official" Drokke dialect of Amdo by the 18th century Lama Gungthangpa (Norbu 1983), Róna-Tas 1983) leads to the
interesting speculation that a "modern written Amdowa" might have come into being had political events taken a different course. Such an enterprise would certainly be practicable, as is demonstrated by the textbook of colloquial Amdo recently produced by Min and Geng (1989).

In recent years Christian missionaries with local collaborators have made attempts to establish a standardised written form of Kham Tibetan (Kraft & Tsering n.d.).

Of the above varieties, Modern Literary Tibetan has clearly established itself as a going concern, with an ever-increasing output of works including recently even the beginnings of imaginative literature emulating Western or Chinese genres. It provides a medium of communication amongst all who would consider themselves politically or nationally "Tibetan", whether in China or in exile, exemplifying their cultural resilience and national consciousness. As for the others, they were not distinguished as separate "languages" by M.Goldstein in his Modern Literary Tibetan of 1973. The inclusion of Dzongkha under this heading would now be strongly disputed by the Bhutanese. Time will tell to what extent Ladakhi and Sikkimese can genuinely preserve their independence from the twin magnets of Classical Tibetan, with its enormous prestige, and Modern Literary Tibetan with its well-established norms and wide currency. Dzongkha, thanks to its political backing, will no doubt continue to thrive at least in name, though it is not immune to the same pressures.

Important linguistic characteristics of these modern written varieties include, in vocabulary, the use of words shared with the local "home" colloquial dialect (Lhasa dialect for Modern Literary Tibetan, spoken Dzongkha for Dzongkha, and the Leh dialect for Ladakhi) and a host of neologisms along with a lesser number of loanwords from foreign languages. In their grammar each variety makes use of its own standard set of particles and constructions, again showing some similarity to the respective colloquial forms. This similarity is not total, however, and it should be emphasised that these Modern Literary varieties remain essentially written dialects which have not breached the fundamental psychological divide between the written and the spoken languages. Modern Literary Tibetan in particular can become very convoluted in style, with long sentences replete with complex constructions of Classical derivation and elaborate clichés, giving it an effect far removed from the colloquial.

The Hypothesis of a Common Origin

The similarities in vocabulary, phonology and grammar between all these spoken, written and intermediate varieties, together with their geographical contiguity, make it apparent that they are closely related to one another. Less obvious are the precise causes and nature of the relationship. The main alternatives - not of course mutually exclusive - are a) descent from a single common ancestor; b) mutual interaction and influence between the different forms; and c) influence from other languages. Most scholars who have considered the problem have assumed alternative a as the dominant factor, and have therefore been faced with the task of identifying or reconstructing the original proto-Tibetan or Ur-Tibetan ancestor from which all other varieties are descended.

It must be emphasised that no-one has so far produced any convincing and
substantial body of material from the supposed proto-Tibetan language. Of course, even if they had, it would be subject to the same difficulties with regard to its ontological and scientific status and value as are all other reconstructed languages from Indo-European onwards. This however has not prevented scholars from comparing “Tibetan” with other languages in order to propose wider groupings: principally “Tibeto-Burman” and “Sino-Tibetan”; the latter constituting a major independent language family on a par with Indo-European.

Notes
1 Jackson Sun in his study of a Dzorge (Amdo) dialect (1986:134-5), for example, distinguishes a pronunciation style which differs from both the “colloquial” and the “reading-style”. It is used “chiefly in honorific or elegant speech suitable for interlocution with or between lamas or aristocrats” and is termed by Sun “literary” - perhaps confusingly, since its users need not be literate. A few words featuring this pronunciation in the same dialect “are current in spoken [Dzorge Tibetan - i.e. “colloquial”], even in the mouths of uneducated speakers.” See also the remarks on “elegant breathiness” in Beyer (1992:26ff).
3 R.Ekvall’s claim that “Speaking the dialect of the nomads of northeast Tibet, I have yet been able to talk with monks from Tashilumpo or pilgrims from Ladak, far off in the western corner of the land” should perhaps be taken with a pinch of salt. See Ekvall (1939:10); Koshal (1990:14); Causemann (1989:22f); Hermanns (1952:154).
4 For Eastern areas we have Uray (1949), Hermanns (1952), Migot (1956), Norbu (1983) and Jumian (1989); for Western and Southwestern areas Frankce (1904a), Miller (1956a), Bielmeier (1985b), and Koshal (1990); for the Centre, Miller (1955a); for the South, Walsh (1905); for areas under Chinese administration, the Australian Academy ... (1987:map C-11).
5 Hermanns (1952); Roerich (1931); Stein (1961b); Norbu (1983); Jumian (1989).
6 Its vowel system seems typical of Amdo: no information is given on tone.
7 This dialect presumably has no connection with that of the Sherpas of Nepal.
8 The Thochu of Hodgson (1828), though named after T’ao-chou, is clearly not Tibetan.
9 Kham dialects of Tibetan should not be confused with Kham, a Tibeto-Burman language of western Nepal, nor with Khambu, an old name for the Limbus of eastern Nepal. Some groups of Tibetan exiles, for instance in Solu-Khumbu, Nepal and in northeastern Bhutan, and others living a gipsy-like existence in India are called Khambas without necessarily coming from Kham.
10 The history of this word is a complex one. It was applied to various northern peoples before coming to designate the Mongols from the 13th century to about the 18th. Apart from the Hor of northern Tibet, the word nowadays also denotes a group of principalities in the Kanze-Tao area of Kham which were taken over by Mongol or Turco-Mongol rulers from the 13th century (possibly a factor in the departure of the ancestors of the Sherpas of Nepal). Here Tibetan coexists with a little-known language which Hodgson (1853b) calls “Horpa”. He has however confused the two uses of the word Hor and located the language in northwest Tibet. G.C.Teschke (1977), conversely, regards the Horpa of Kham as Turkish. It seems however to be Tibeto-Burman.
11 Hor and Changpa, see Roerich 1931, 289; Amdo, see Roerich 1958b, 4.
12 Bielmeier 1985, 14-22 gives a useful survey of the literature on the far western dialects.
14 Compare Bielmeier’s interpretation of the “breathy voice” of the Nangchen dialect (Causemann) as phonemically low pitch.
15 G.C.Teschke (1977: English summary 166) claims to detect traces of such non-Tibetan strains in the Sherpas’ physical anthropology.
16 Miller (1955a) is devoted to this question.
For the Balti characters see Schuler (1978); Grierson (1909:33); Afridi (1988:28-30). According to Grierson they may have been devised around 1400 AD, but according to Schuler's informant, by the latter's own grandfather, presumably in the late 19th century. They appear to be an adaptation of the Perso-Arabic script in a devanagari-like form, written from left to right.

Beyer, chapter 3/1.

Bray 1991a, 1991b, 1994; Tsewang Tondan n.d..


Kaleon 1982.
4. Levels of Analysis

In the chapters to follow, Tibetan will be analysed on the three levels of Graphology, Phonology, and Lexis/Grammar. At each level, component units are ordered in syntagmatic structures (sequences of items) and paradigmatic systems (sets of mutually exclusive choices at each point in the sequences). An indication of the principal structures and systems to be considered at each level is given below, to be expanded in the relevant chapters. Items when considered as structures and their elements are denoted in this chapter by bold type; when considered as terms or sets of terms in systems, by italics. The justification for this division into levels, apart from convention, is that each of the three levels has a certain autonomy, there being no automatic one-to-one correspondence between the units recognised at one level and those recognised at another.

4.1 Graphology (Chapter 5)

The main structural unit of graphology is the written syllable, easily recognisable in the Tibetan script and in my romanised transcription by its punctuation. The demarcation by punctuation of stretches of text longer than the syllable, however, is semi-random, yielding sequences amounting typically to clause- or sentence-like length, but with little consistency. Some particle syllables by their spelling variations provide a criterion for defining a grouping of two or more syllables (5.6: Particle sandhi), but this criterion is very far from being sufficient to divide most texts systematically into words.

The written syllable is composed of letters and punctuation marks. These are positioned within one of several possible structures internal to the syllable, the commonest such structure comprising prefix, head letter, basic letter, subjoined letter, vowel symbol, final letter, second final letter and syllable marker.

Example: ha. ma.go.ba'i. "of not understanding", comprises four written syllables (ha. go. = "understand"; ma. = "not"; ba'i = "of -ing").

4.2 Phonology (Chapter 6)

The spoken syllable (6.1) has as its internal structure an initial (one or more
consonants), a **nucleus** (one or more vowels) and a **final** (one or more consonants). This internal structure can in most cases be brought into direct correspondence with the internal structure of the written syllable (6.2), though for most spoken varieties of Tibetan the rules for doing so are complex.

A disyllabic stretch - the (harmonic) **syllable-pair** - coextensive with or contained within a word has been recognised as the domain of vocalic alternations subsumed under vowel harmony (6.3.5).

The phonological **word** (6.3) may be monosyllabic (6.1) or polysyllabic (6.3), comprising from two to at least seven spoken syllables. A pause may occur before or after a word, but not within it. This feature is represented in my phonetic transcription by leaving spaces between phonological words. I have also left spaces between the graphological units corresponding to my phonological words, although Tibetans themselves do not do so.

The polysyllabic word is the domain of certain phonological patterns and restrictions pertaining particularly to syllable-initial and syllable-final consonants, and to pitch and stress.

It seems simplest to define the unit **word** at the phonological level, for if defined at the lexico-grammatical level it confuses the picture by not always corresponding to a whole number of constituents. Once defined phonologically, however, it may be used at the lexico-grammatical level, and indeed may be given a grammatical classification.

Example: **-ha -magowe**: (the spoken reflex of written ha. ma.go.ba'i.) comprises two words: a monosyllable followed by a trisyllable.

**Intonation units** above the level of the word have been little investigated, though they certainly operate in most if not all dialects. The role of clause intonation in thematising predicators and echoing themes is touched upon at 12.6.

### 4.3 Lexis/Grammar (Chapters 7-14)

**Constituents**

The smallest lexico-grammatical unit is the **constituent**. Although the constituent largely corresponds to the "morpheme" of many authors, and to the "lexical item" of R.K.Sprigg, I avoid both these terms, since not every constituent has an individual semantic identity or independent existence (e.g. the ha. of ha. ma.go.ba'i., as far as I know, is not found as an independent morpheme and can hardly be allotted a meaning'). In some such cases it could be argued that the constituent is sub-lexico-grammatical; however it is included here for convenience.

A constituent is realised graphically and phonologically by a monosyllable or, since two constituents can sometimes combine to form a single syllable, by part of a monosyllable. Graphologically, different letters within a written monosyllable can realise different constituents. Phonologically, one of the constituents of a spoken monosyllable may be realised by features of vowel length and/or quality.

Thus the constituent does not always correspond exactly to the morpheme, the
lexical item or the written or spoken syllable: hence the reason for giving it a separate status.

Example: ha. ma.go.ba'i. ṭha ṭmagowe: “of not understanding” comprises five constituents: in written form ha.+ma.+go.+ba.+‘i. In spoken form, the last two constituents are fused in the single syllable -we:

Parts of speech

The next highest unit is the part of speech, grammatically classifiable in all cases as noun, verb or particle\(^2\). Adjectives are treated as a sub-category of verb (Chapter 11).

**Nouns and verbs.** Nouns and verbs are towards the lexical end of the lexico-grammatical spectrum. While nouns are invariable, some verbs have grammatical alternants: in the Lhasa dialect, the past, present and/or imperative stems. There are also at least two adjectives with grammatical alternants: positive and non-positive. Nouns and verbs are glossed as translations in roman type in the examples. Nouns (Chapter 8) and verbs (Chapter 9: including adjectives, Chapter 11) are phonologically classifiable into non-phrasal (comprising one word or less) and phrasal (comprising more than one word). A phrasal part of speech is again a unit not lexically reducible to the sum of its parts. However, it can sometimes be discontinuous: interrupted by another phrase. The boundary between lexicalised phrasal parts of speech and freely composed phrases is, as in most languages, a fuzzy one.

Thus the nouns mi. mí “person” and khang.pa. ṭkṇgba “house” and the verb byed. ṭtce: “do” are single-word, non-phrasal parts of speech. The noun nang.srid. las.khung. ṭnɡsi: ṭlɛɡð: “interior ministry” and the verb ha. go. ṭha ṭko “understand” are two-word, phrasal parts of speech.

All non-phrasal verbs (including adjectives) and many non-phrasal nouns comprise a single constituent: thus the distinction between constituent and part of speech is redundant for them. Many non-phrasal nouns and a few particles, however, comprise more than one constituent (within a single word), and are lexically not simply the sum of their parts (e.g. las.khung. ṭlɛɡð: “office”).

As it is sometimes difficult to avoid confusing the parts of speech and the words containing them, I shall where necessary refer to the parts of speech themselves as stems: i.e. verb stems (including adjective stems) and noun stems.

Example: ha. ma.go.ba'i. ṭha ṭmagowe: “of not understanding” comprises four parts of speech:

a) a two-word phrasal verb ha. go. ṭha ṭko “understand”;
b) a negative verb particle ma. ṭma “not”;
c) a nominalising verb particle ba- “-ing”; and
d) a genitive noun particle -‘i. “of”;

(the last two fused into a single spoken syllable -we:).

Although the constituent go. ṭko exists as an independent part of speech meaning “hear”, as far as I am aware the constituent ha. ṭha has no independent existence, and so the phrasal verb ha. go. ṭha ṭko, although comprising two words, cannot be
decomposed, either lexically or even etymologically.

Particles. Particles are at the grammatical end of the lexico-grammatical spectrum, being used to establish such things as the case of noun phrases, and polarity and tense/aspect of verb phrases. Particles are glossed in italic type, each particle being given a grammatical classification rather than a translation; e.g. -\textit{sm}p.(“subject-marking particle”).

Unlike a noun or verb, a particle may not stand alone in a phrase: it always accompanies a noun or verb: in the case of most particles (though not all) as part of the same word as the noun or verb. Graphologically most particles follow their noun or verb, though a few verb particles precede the verb. Phonologically the genitive and subject-marking/instrumental noun particles combine with the vowel of vowel-final noun stems.

Examples:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{kho.}: \textit{\textbar{kh}a} “he”, “him” (noun)
  \item \textit{kho'\textbar{i}}. \textit{\textbar{kh}s}: “his” (noun+genitive particle)
  \item \textit{khang.\textbar{m}ig}. \textit{\textbar{kh}\textbar{g}m\textbar{i}}: “room” (noun)
  \item \textit{khang.\textbar{m}ig.\textbar{la}}. \textit{\textbar{kh}\textbar{g}m\textbar{i}l\textbar{a}} “to the room” (noun+dative/locative particle)
  \item \textit{nga}. \textit{\textbar{g}a} “I”, “me” (noun)
  \item \textit{nga.\textbar{d}ang}. \textit{\textbar{g}a \textbar{t}d}: “with me” (noun+co-ordinating particle)
  \item \textit{red}. \textit{\textbar{r}e}: “is” (verb)
  \item \textit{ma.\textbar{red}}. \textit{\textbar{m}a\textbar{r}e}: “isn’t” (polar particle+verb)
  \item \textit{zhu}. \textit{\textbar{c}o} “ask” (verb)
  \item \textit{zhu.\textbar{gi}.\textbar{yin}.\textbar{pas}}. \textit{\textbar{c}\textbar{g}\textbar{y}j\textbar{m}b\textbar{e}}: “will you ask?” (verb+linking particle +auxiliary particle+interrogative particle)
  \item \textit{yag}. \textit{\textbar{ja}:} “good” (adjective)
  \item \textit{yag.\textbar{shos}}. \textit{\textbar{ja}k\textbar{c}s}: “best” (adjective+superlative particle)
\end{itemize}

Every particle is categorised as a noun particle or a verb particle, with some verb particles sub-categorised as adjective particles. Thus the particles -'i., \textit{la.}, \textit{dang.} are found only with nouns and therefore classed as noun particles; \textit{ma.}, \textit{gi.}, \textit{yin.}, \textit{pas.} are likewise verb particles; and \textit{shos.} is an adjective particle.

In principle a given particle is fully grammaticised in that it may accompany any item in its appropriate part of speech class or sub-class, and always with the same meaning. Thus the meaning of the combination of, e.g. noun+particle is always fully predictable from a knowledge of the meanings of the individual parts.
Summary: syllables, constituents and parts of speech

The example: ha. ma.go.ba’i. ‘ha _magwe: “of not understanding” comprises:

a) four written syllables *ha*.+*ma*.+*go*.+*ba’i*. (graphological);
b) four spoken syllables ‘ha+ma+go+we: (phonological);
c) two spoken words ‘ha + ‘magawe: (phonological);
d) five constituents: ha +ma.+go.+ba- +’i. (lexico-grammatical);
e) four parts of speech (lexico-grammatical);
   i) ha. go. ‘ha _ko phrasal verb “understand”;
   ii) ma. _ma negative verb particle “not”;
   iii) ba. nominalising verb particle “-ing”;
   iv) ’i. genitive noun particle “of”.

Phrases

A phrase comprises a whole number of parts of speech, usually though not necessarily consecutive. Parts of speech may be phrasal in themselves, or words may be linked to form noun phrases by the use of the genitive particle -kyi./gi./gyi./’i., or by simple juxtaposition. They may be co-ordinated with the co-ordinating particle dang. to form phrase-groups.

From the point of view of their functions at clause level, phrases and phrase-groups may be classified into noun phrases (Chapter 7) and verb phrases (Chapter 9), which are definable also by the parts of speech they may contain.

* Noun phrases. The elements of structure of the noun phrase (7.7) are head, epithet, deictic, numerator, case marker and topic marker, typically in that order. An example of a noun phrase containing all these elements is:

```
khang.pa. chen.po. gsum. ’di. gyad.la.yang.
’kha.ta ’tse.embu sum ’dijjei:ae:
house big-nom. three this-num.-loc.-top.
```

"and to these three large houses too"

* Verb phrases. The essential element of structure of the verb phrase is a unit comprising the verb stem, which may typically be preceded by a polariser and followed by a modal e.g.:

```
’dug. ‘du: “It’s there.” (verb stem)

mi.’dug. _mindu: “It isn’t there.” (polariser+verb stem)
```

neg.-exist
More complex verb phrases include the elements auxiliary and linking particle, to give a number of structures discussed at 9.1, e.g.

'gro.gi.ma.red.pas: “Won’t he go?  
_drogymarbe: (verb stem+linkingparticle+polariser+auxiliary+modal)  
go-link.-neg.-aux.-interr.

The following grammatical systems are regarded for present purposes as operating at verb phrase level and discussed in Chapter 9. (Technically, however, most of them can involve more than one phrase and so could be regarded as operating at clause level.)

a) The polarity system comprises positive, negative and dubitative phrases (9.2.5 and Chapter 9 passim).

b) The intention system comprises intentional and unintentional phrases (9.3.2).

c) The person system comprises first person and second/third person phrases (9.3.1).

d) The viewpoint system comprises self-centred and other-centred phrases (9.3.1).

The elements of clause structure are the three arguments subject (S), object (O) and adjunct (Adj), all realised by noun phrases, and predicator (P), realised by a verb phrase. In the vast majority of clauses, the predicator is the final element of clause structure.

"Yesterday Sonam gave the book to Dawa."
At the clause level there operate the systems of

a) transitivity (12.2);

b) given/new (12.5);

c) theme (12.6);

d) deference (12.7).

These systems concern the interrelations between the clause arguments subject, object and adjunct, involving their presence, absence, order, co-occurrence, composition and intonation.

a) The transitivity system comprises transitive, intentional intransitive, unintentional intransitive, copular and existential clauses.

b) The given/new system comprises clauses which are subject-given, subject-new, object-given, object-new, adjunct-given, adjunct-new, or some permutation of these possibilities.

c) The theme system includes subject-theme, object-theme, adjunct-theme, predicator-theme and echoed-theme clauses.

d) The deference system comprises ordinary, ordinary/respectful, honorific, honorific/ordinary and honorific/respectful clauses.

Where more than one predicator occurs in the same clause, they are regarded as being linked by serialisation (Chapter 10); whereas the linkage between predications in different clauses within the sentence is treated as subordination (Chapter 13).

Sentences

At the sentence level there operates the subordination system, comprising main and subordinate clauses (Chapter 13). A sentence may be simple (consisting of a main clause only; such as the example given above under "clauses") or complex (consisting of a main clause preceded by one or more subordinate clauses). An example of a sentence comprising a subordinate clause followed by a main clause is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinate clause</th>
<th>Main clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bsod. nams. kyi.</td>
<td>deb. tshang. ma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>all-nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>read-sub.</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawa-loc.</td>
<td>give-aux.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Having read the whole book, Sonam gave it to Dawa yesterday."

Notes

1 ha. meaning "breath", "yawn" would seem to be a different constituent.

2 A few exclamations and the like, which can hardly be given a grammatical classification, are discussed at 12.3.
5. Graphology

Although the main concern of this work is with aspects of Tibetan other than its writing system, an outline of the graphology of the language has been thought necessary for two reasons.

The first is that in the standard Lhasa dialect (and many others), the pronunciation of the constituents realised by written syllables varies greatly according to vowel harmony and position in the word. Most of these constituents have well-established standard spellings, easily accessible in dictionaries, and while the relationship of spelling to pronunciation can be tortuously indirect, it is on the whole consistent, so that the continued use of these standard spellings has seemed preferable to inventing something new. By giving most examples in both traditional and phonetic (IPA) spellings I hope to combine the ready lexical identifiability of parts of speech with a reasonable degree of phonetic accuracy.

The second reason for retaining and using traditional spellings for our present purposes is that they facilitate comparison between different varieties of the language: such as the Lhasa dialect of Chapters 6-13 and the Preclassical and Classical Tibetan of Chapter 14. For both synchronic dialect comparison and diachronic studies of the language, a thorough familiarity with the script is essential at some stage in the research.

In what follows, the romanised transliteration of Tibetan, given in underlined form, is accompanied by an IPA rendering in bold type, appropriate to a fairly careful colloquial (speaking-style) pronunciation in the Lhasa dialect. (This IPA rendering is rather artificial at times since not all the syllables actually occur as constituents in the dialect. The actual phonology of the Lhasa dialect will be considered in Chapter 6.)

5.1 The Tibetan Alphabet

The basic Tibetan alphabet comprises 34 symbols, each of which may be thought of as potentially representing a particular combination of phonetic features. There are also several common punctuation marks, only one of which is governed by rigorous rules. A further twenty symbols are used only when writing words borrowed or thought to be borrowed from other languages, principally Sanskrit: these, together with a large number of rarer symbols, mostly non-phonetic, need not concern us.
5.2 Syllable Structure

Tibetan writing runs from left to right in lines across the page like English. Unlike English, it is articulated as a string of syllables rather than words. A written syllable consists of two or more symbols occupying up to eight positions in one of two alternative arrangements as follows:

**Alternative a)** (Below left; the numbers refer to the order in which the symbols are written):

1. Prefixed letter; 2. Head letter; 3. Basic letter (obligatory); 4. Subjoined letter; 5. Vowel sign; 6. Final letter; 7. Second final letter; 8. Syllable marker (obligatory). The syllable may have only one of each symbol: thus only one of each of the vowel signs (nos. 5 and 10) in the diagrams below may be present.

```
    5
  2  *  
1  3  6  7  8
  4  
  5
```

**Alternative b)** (See above right: no. 8 is still written last):


In theory, under alternative b), one can have, after the second vowel carrier, either 11 a third vowel carrier, and 12 a third vowel sign (see below left); or 13 a post-second-vowel final letter (see below right). The rather freakish appearance of such syllables may lead writers to split them up in practice.

```
    5
  2  10  12
1  3  9  11  8
  4  10 12
  5
```

```
    5
  2  10
1  3  9  13  8
  4  10
  5
```

5.3 The Initial Cluster (Symbols Nos. 1-4)

5.3.1 Basic letter (ming.gzhi.) (symbol no. 3)

The 30 basic letters (Tibetan gsal.byed.) in their traditional order and divided into the traditional seven groups of four and one of two (reading across) are given in Table 5.1.
Table 5.1  Basic letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 vls. nonasp. high</th>
<th>2 vls. asp. high</th>
<th>3 vls. nonasp. low</th>
<th>4 voice nasal low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(N.B. Some speakers have aspiration in the first five rows of column 3.)

In Table 5.1, the transliterated -a. represents a syllabic vowel reckoned to be present in the absence of a vowel sign. The dot represents the syllable marker (tsheg.: symbol no. 8). While one could in theory write Tibetan letters without these dots (or some other punctuation mark), Tibetans seldom if ever do so. The 30 basic letters written out in this way, as they normally are for pedagogic or scholarly purposes, thus constitute a syllabary, each corresponding spoken syllable comprising a consonant or non-syllabic vowel initial followed by a syllabic vowel (CV). There is one exception: the syllable GetComponent 'a., whose spoken equivalent in the Lhasa dialect has for most speakers no consonant before the syllabic vowel. (Some speakers however have here the "breathy voice" or "whispery voice" arytenoidal GetComponent -fi- of the reading-style pronunciation, while before a lip-rounded vowel, many speakers have GetComponent -w-.)

The comments at the head of the columns refer to phonetic features of initial consonants as symbolised by the IPA: vls. = voicelessness; asp. = aspiration (delayed voice onset); nonasp. = non-aspiration; h(igh) and l(ow) refer to pitch levels. These comments apply only to the first nineteen letters (within the solid-outlined boxes) whose arrangement is modelled on that of alphabets used to write Sanskrit.

For ease of understanding, particularly when considering phonology, I shall consider the remaining symbols in the order 4, 2, 1, 5, 6, 7, 9+10, 11+12, 13.

Returning to the simple combination of basic letter plus syllable marker, the basic letter may be modified either by the addition of subjoined letter GetComponent -w- GetComponent -y- GetComponent -r- GetComponent or GetComponent -l-; or by the addition of head letter GetComponent r- GetComponent s- GetComponent or GetComponent l-; or both, with certain combinatorial restrictions. No extra vowel is involved; thus we are dealing with a kind of written "consonant cluster" at the beginning of the syllable, and the additional symbols are being used alphabetically rather than syllabically. All these subjoined and head letters are drawn...
from the list of 30 basic letters, though in the cases of \( y, r \) and \( w \) they may have a different graphical form when used as head- or subjoined letters.

### 5.3.2 Subjoined letters  (smad.'dogs') (symbol no. 4)

The letters \(-y-, -r-, -l-\) may be added singly below (in transliteration, written after) certain basic letters. The letter \(-w-\) may also be added, either alone or in combination with one of the others.

The letter \(-y-\)  (written \( \text{\textcircled{5}} \)) may be subjoined to basic letters \( k- \) \( kh- \) \( g- \) \( p- \) \( ph- \) \( b- \) \( m- \) \( h-\) to give the syllables of Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2 Subjoined \(-y-\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 vls.nonasp. h.</th>
<th>2 vls. asp. high.</th>
<th>3 vls. nonasp. l.</th>
<th>4 v. nasal low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) kya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) kja</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) khya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) kja</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) gya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) kja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) pya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) t( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) a</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) phya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) t( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) a</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) bya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) t( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) hya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ja</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) hya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ja</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) hya. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.3 Subjoined \(-r-\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 vls.nonasp. h.</th>
<th>2 vls. asp. high</th>
<th>3 vls. nonasp. l.</th>
<th>4 voice nasal low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) kra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) khra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) gra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) thra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) dra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) pra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) phra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) bra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) mra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) kra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) khra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) gra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) shra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ca</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) sra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) sa ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) tra ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ra</td>
<td>( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) hra. ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ra ( \text{\textcircled{5}} ) ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The letter \(-r-\)  (written \( \text{\textcircled{4}} \)) may be subjoined to basic letters \( k- \) \( kh- \) \( g- \) \( p- \) \( ph- \) \( b- \)
The letter -l- may be subjoined to basic letters k- g- b- z- r- s- to give the syllables of Table 5.4 (all pronounced "la" except zla, which is pronounced "da").

**Table 5.4 Subjoined -l-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>high pitch</th>
<th></th>
<th>high pitch</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kla. &quot;la&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>gla. &quot;la&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>bla. &quot;la&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>zla. &quot;da&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rla. &quot;la&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sla. &quot;la&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The letter -w- (written w) may be subjoined to basic letters k- kh- g- c- ny- t- d- ts- tsh- zh- z- r- l- sh- s- h- to give the syllables of Table 5.5.

-w- may also be combined with subjoined -y -r or -l, to give syllables such as grwa., phywa. etc. Pronunciations are in all cases as for the same syllables without the -w-.

**Table 5.5 Subjoined -w-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vls nonasp. h.</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>vls. asp. high</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>vls. nonasp. l.</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>v. nasal low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>cwa. &quot;tca&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>twa. &quot;ta&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tswa. &quot;tsa&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>zhwa. &quot;ca&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>rwa. &quot;ra&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>hwa. &quot;ha&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.3 **Head letters (mgo.yig.) (symbol no. 2)**

The letters *r-, l-, s-* may be added singly above (in transliteration, before) certain basic letters.

The letter *r-* (without its lowest stroke) may be written above basic letters -k- -g- -ng- -j- -ny- -t- -d- -n- -b- -m- -ts- -dz- to give the syllables of Table 5.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 no change</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3 voice</th>
<th>4 high pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rka. -ka</td>
<td></td>
<td>rga. ga</td>
<td>rga. ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rta. -ta</td>
<td></td>
<td>rda. da</td>
<td>rda. da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rtsa. -tsa</td>
<td></td>
<td>rdz. dza</td>
<td>rdz. dza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The letter *l-* may be written above basic letters -k- -g- -ng- -c- -j- -t- -d- -p- -b- -h- to give the syllables of Table 5.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 no change</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3 voice</th>
<th>4 high pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lka. -ka</td>
<td></td>
<td>lga. ga</td>
<td>lga. ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ltsa. -tsa</td>
<td></td>
<td>lda. da</td>
<td>lda. da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpa. -pa</td>
<td></td>
<td>lba. ba</td>
<td>lba. ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lha. -ha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The letter *s-* may be written above basic letters -k- -g- -ng- -ny- -t- -d- -n- -p- -b- -m- -ts- to give the syllables of Table 5.8.
The following combinations of subjoined letter (except -w-) with head letter and basic letter are recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>no change</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བ</td>
<td>ska.</td>
<td>ད</td>
<td>sga.</td>
<td>ད</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང</td>
<td>sta.</td>
<td>ང</td>
<td>sda.</td>
<td>ང</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>གྷ</td>
<td>spa.</td>
<td>ང</td>
<td>sba.</td>
<td>ང</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ང</td>
<td>stsa.</td>
<td>ང</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The combination lgya. _gja exists in some dictionaries but is often rejected by Tibetans.

### 5.3.4 Prefixed letters (sngon.'jug.) (symbol no. 1)

The next position in the syllable to be considered is that of the prefixed letter, which as its name suggests is written before the basic letter (and before the head letter, if any). Prefixed letters, like head and subjoined letters, are drawn from the 30 basic letter symbols, and are added singly without any extra vowel, thus increasing the potential complexity of the initial "consonant cluster" of the syllable.

The letters which may be prefixed are g-, d-, m-, b-, '-. In writing syllables of the type "prefix+basic letter+vowel -a- +syllable marker", (e.g. d+g+a+.), it is the practice to add a final letter ད. A useful effect of this final ད is to show which is the basic letter of the syllable. That is to say, it distinguishes syllables of type "prefix+basic letter+vowel -a- +syllable marker" (e.g. ད g + ད) from those of type "basic letter+vowel -a- +final+syllable marker", these latter being written without the final ད (e.g. ད g + ད). If this was in fact the original reason for the practice, then the final ད is sometimes redundant, for some letters of the alphabet can be basic letters but not finals, so that there is no question of ambiguity; yet the final ད is still added. Final ད is never now added to a syllable which contains a head letter, a subjoined letter or a vowel sign (although examples of all these may be found in
Preclassical Tibetan documents).

The letter g- may be prefixed to basic letters -c- -ny- -t- -d- -n- -ts- -zh- -z- -y- -sh- -s- to give the syllables of Table 5.9 (for the final ဗ in each syllable, see above).

Table 5.9 Prefixed g-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>high pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gca. ဗ</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gna. ဗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gta. ဗ</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gda. ဗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gtsa. ဗ</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gsa. ဗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gza. ဗ</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>gza. ဗ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The hyphen in the transliteration of ဗ ဗJa is there to distinguish it from ဗ ဗja.

Prefixed g- does not combine with head letter or subjoined letter in the same syllable.

The letter d- may be prefixed to basic letters -k- -g- -ng- -p- -b- -m- to give the syllables in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 Prefixed d-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no change</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>high pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>dka. ဗ</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>dga. ဗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>dpa. ဗ</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ဗ</td>
<td>dba. ဗ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prefixed d- does not combine with head letter, but may combine with subjoined -y- or -r- in the same syllable: e.g. dbya. ဗ ja, dgra. ဗ dra.

The letter b- may be prefixed to basic letters -k- -g- -c- -t- -d- -ts- -zh- -z- -sh- -s-; and to the basic letters -ng- -ny- -dz- when these are also combined with a head letter as follows: rng- rj- rmy- rm- rdz- sng- sny- sn-; to give the syllables of
Table 5.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 no change</th>
<th>2 Prefixed b-</th>
<th>3 voice</th>
<th>4 high pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ब्का् 'bka'</td>
<td>ब्गा् 'bgā'</td>
<td>ब्गा् 'bgā'</td>
<td>गा् 'ga'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्सा् 'bca'</td>
<td>ब्र्जा् 'brjā'</td>
<td>ब्र्जा् 'brjā'</td>
<td>ना् 'na'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्ता् 'bta'</td>
<td>ब्दा् 'bda'</td>
<td>ब्दा् 'bda'</td>
<td>ना् 'na'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्तसा् 'btsa'</td>
<td>ब्र्दा् 'brdā'</td>
<td>ब्र्दा् 'brdā'</td>
<td>ना् 'na'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्जाँ 'bzha'</td>
<td>ब्जाँ 'bza'</td>
<td>ब्जाँ 'bza'</td>
<td>ना् 'na'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prefixed b- combines freely with head letter -r- or -s- and with subjoined letter -y- or -r- in the same syllable: e.g. brka. bsna. bksya. bksra.

The letter m- may be prefixed to basic letters -kh- -g- -ng- -ch- -j- -ny- -th- -d- -n- -tsh- -dz- to give the syllables of Table 5.12.

Table 5.12 Prefixed m-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 no change</th>
<th>2 Prefixed m-</th>
<th>3 voice</th>
<th>4 high pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>भ्का् 'mkha'</td>
<td>भ्गा् 'mga'</td>
<td>भ्गा् 'mga'</td>
<td>गा् 'ga'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भ्चा् 'mcha'</td>
<td>भ्जा् 'mja'</td>
<td>भ्जा् 'mja'</td>
<td>ना् 'na'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भ्ञा् 'mtha'</td>
<td>भ्जा् 'mda'</td>
<td>भ्जा् 'mda'</td>
<td>ना् 'na'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भ्ञसा् 'mtsha'</td>
<td>भ्जा् 'mdza'</td>
<td>भ्जा् 'mdza'</td>
<td>ना् 'na'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prefixed m- combines with subjoined -y- or -r- on basic letters -kh- and -g-.

The letter ' may be prefixed to basic letters -kh- -g- -ch- -j- -th- -d- -ph- -b- -tsh- -dz- to give the syllables of Table 5.13.

Prefixed ' combines with subjoined -y- or -r- in the same syllable.
5.4 Vowel Signs (dbyangs.yig.) (Symbol No. 5)

There are four syllabic vowel signs, which for purposes of pedagogy or discussion are usually written as part of a syllable over or under (in transliteration, after) basic letter ʰa; viz:

\[ \text{ʰi}, \text{ʰu}, \text{ʰe}, \text{ʰo} \]

The presence of one of these symbols replaces the -a by the respective vowel. Any basic letter, with or without prefixed letter, head letter and/or subjoined letter, may in principle combine with any vowel sign. In the equivalent spoken syllables the corresponding vowel sound follows the initial consonant or consonant cluster.

5.5 The Final Cluster (Symbols Nos. 6,7,9,10)

5.5.1 Final letters (rjes.jug.) (symbol no. 6)

One of the letters -g -ng -d -n -b -m -r -l -s, with no extra vowel, may be added as a final letter after the basic letter of a syllable (in transliteration, after the vowel letter), to give syllables such as:

\[ \text{ʰa}, \text{ʰe}, \text{ʰo}, \text{ʰs} \]

The use of final ʰ- is restricted to syllables of the type discussed above under prefixed letters at 5.3.4.

In principle final letters combine freely with all other categories of symbol.
As may be seen from the above examples, besides final consonants, four different vowel qualities (a, a, e, v) as well as distinctions of length and nasality are symbolised by the written finals in combination with the vowel -a-. The system for this and other written vowels is presented in greater detail in Chapter 6 (Table 6.2).

5.5.2 Second final letters (yang.,jug.) (symbol no. 7)

The letter -s may be added as a second final letter after one of the final letters -g- -ng- -b- -m- to give syllables such as:

\[\text{\bar{a}ka:} \quad \text{\bar{a}kAng.} \quad \text{\bar{a}kd:} \quad \text{\bar{a}kAbS.} \quad \text{\bar{a}kVp} \quad \text{\bar{a}kams.} \quad \text{\bar{a}kam.}\]

In general the second final -s may be ignored for the purposes of pronunciation.

In older documents the letter -d may be found as a second final letter after one of the final letters -n- -r- -l- in syllables such as \[\text{\bar{a}kand.}\] This second final letter -d is now obsolete.

5.5.3 Second vowel sign (symbols nos. 9,10)

Instead of one of the final letters or combinations of final letter plus second final letter, a syllable may have a second vowel sign, whose sign is always written over or under (in transliteration, after) a letter \[\text{\bar{a}}\] which is functioning as a second vowel sign carrier. In practice the second vowel sign is always -i -u or -o. Examples are: \[\text{\bar{a}kai.} \quad \text{\bar{a}ke;} \quad \text{\bar{a}ga'u.} \quad \text{\bar{a}guu,} \quad \text{\bar{a}ma'o.} \quad \text{\bar{a}mau.}\] Such forms may or may not correspond to diphthongs in the various spoken dialects.

5.5.4 Third vowel sign (symbols nos. 11, 12)

After a second vowel sign it is possible to add a third vowel sign, written over a letter \[\text{\bar{a}}\] functioning as third vowel sign carrier. In practice the third vowel sign is always -i. Examples are: \[\text{\bar{a}mi'u'i.} \quad \text{\bar{a}miy;} \quad \text{\bar{a}ma'o'i.} \quad \text{\bar{a}maa.}\] Writers may prefer to split such "syllables" into two; e.g. \[\text{\bar{a}mi'u.yi..}\]

5.5.5 Post-second vowel sign final letter (symbol no. 13)

Instead of a third vowel sign, it is possible to have a post-second-vowel sign final letter -ng or -s. (In the case of -ng, the letter follows a letter \[\text{\bar{a}}\] with no vowel sign, which may be regarded as a second vowel sign carrier - its vowel being -a-). Examples are: \[\text{\bar{a}na'ang.} \quad \text{\bar{a}ne;}\] (this pronunciation is idiosyncratic), \[\text{\bar{a}mi'us.} \quad \text{\bar{a}miy;}\] Again, writers may prefer to separate these out into such forms as \[\text{\bar{a}mi'usc.}\]
na.yang and འབྲི་བོད་མི’་ཡིས་, though in practice the problem seldom arises.

5.6 Particle Sandhi

Some particles vary in their choice of basic letter according to the spelling of the verb or noun syllable preceding them. In modern dialects, including the Lhasa dialect, this spelling alternation does not always correspond to phonological alternation. In the Lhasa dialect the main particles concerned are the genitive noun particle -kyi./gi./gyi./-i.; the linking verb particle -kyi./gi./gyi.; the subject-marking/instrumental noun particle -kyis./gis./gyis./-s.; the linking verbs particle -pa./ba.; and the nominalising verb particle -pa./ba..

Genitive particle

The genitive noun particle (after a consonant, usually pronounced -gi) is spelt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>བོད།</td>
<td>after final བོད་།</td>
<td>e.g. བོད་ཀྱི་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤྱི་</td>
<td>after final སྤྱི་</td>
<td>e.g. སྤྱི་གྱི་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤྱི་</td>
<td>after final སྤྱི་རྒྱ་</td>
<td>e.g. སྤྱི་སྤྱི་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>སྤྱི་</td>
<td>after final vowel sign (added to the same syllable, as a second vowel)</td>
<td>e.g. སྤྱི་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the vowel qualities symbolised by the vowel sign of the noun syllable in combination with this second vowel sign སྤྱི་ are similar to those symbolised by vowel sign+the three consonant finals སྤྱི་ (see 5.5 above).

Occasionally after a vowel final this particle is written as a separate syllable, for instance to make up the syllables in a line of verse, e.g.:

| སྤྱི་ | nga.yi. | "my" |

The linking verb particle -kyi./gi./gyi. follows the same spelling rules, except that the alternant -gi. follows a final vowel sign in the preceding syllable.

Subject-marking/instrumental particle

The subject-marking/instrumental noun particle (after a consonant, usually pronounced -gi) is spelt:
Occasionally after a vowel final this particle is written as a separate syllable, for instance to make up the syllables in a line of verse, e.g.:

Nominalising and linking verb particles -pa./ba.

This nominalising verb particle is spelt:

The linking verb particle follows the same spelling and pronunciation rules.
Notes

1. Sometimes called "superadded" or "superscribed" letter. Both these and the prefixed letters are sometimes called "preradicals", e.g. by Róna-Tas.

2. Also called "basic consonant" (Das), "radical" (Róna-Tas), "root letter", and rather misleadingly, "first letter" (Jaeschke), or "initial".

3. Also known as "subscribed letter".

4. A velar nasal initial is often palatal before ē or ē.
6. Phonology

Introduction

The phonology of the Lhasa dialect will be outlined in this chapter. Some comparative material from other dialects is given in Appendix 2.

6.1 Monosyllables

6.1.1 Segmental inventory: syllable initial

Features pertaining to the columns i-viii of Table 6.1 are:

i) Plosion (or affrication in rows 3, 4 & 5); voicelessness (voice onset simultaneous with onset of following vowel).

ii) Plosion (or affrication in rows 3, 4 & 5); voicelessness; aspiration (voice onset delayed beyond onset of following vowel).

iii) Plosion (or affrication in rows 3, 4 & 5); voicing (voice onset simultaneous with release of consonant).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ii</th>
<th>iii</th>
<th>iv</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>vi</th>
<th>vii</th>
<th>viii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>p-</td>
<td>pʰ-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dental/alveolar</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>tʰ-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>ḵ-</td>
<td>s-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>ts-</td>
<td>tˢʰ-</td>
<td>dz-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>tr-</td>
<td>tɾ-</td>
<td>dr-</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>ṭɾ-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>tɾ-</td>
<td>tɾʰ-</td>
<td>dz-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>ṭ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>palato-velar</td>
<td>kj-</td>
<td>kj-</td>
<td>gj-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>velar</td>
<td>k-</td>
<td>kʰ-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>ṣ-</td>
<td>ḷ-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>glottal</td>
<td>ṭ-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
iv) Plosion; voicing, nasality.
v) Approximation, laterality or friction; voicing.
vi) Friction (& laterality in row 2); voicelessness.
vii) Friction; voicelessness.
viii) Friction; whisper; voicing.

The Lhasa dialect alveolar fricative typically corresponds to IPA ɬ-, but the symbol r- has been retained for simplicity's sake.

Variation within the dialect

The above initials have been generalised from a number of speakers from Lhasa and up to about 50 kilometres away. Commonly heard divergences from them include the following:

Some speakers have voiced dental fricative ʐ- instead of affricate dz-.

Palatal plosives c-, ch- and ğ- are sometimes heard instead of kj-, kj- and gj- respectively.

Some speakers, particularly from higher social strata in Lhasa itself, lack the voiced plosive/affricate initials of column iii in Table 6.1, replacing them with the corresponding sounds in column i or ii. Some such speakers have a voiceless m- alongside voiced m-.

Speakers differ in their combination of pitch features with the aspirated initials of column ii (see below under "Tone").

6.1.2 Syllable nucleus

There is a system of five vowels in short open monosyllables, shown in column i of Table 6.2. The written vowel sign is given on the left. Columns ii and iii show the vowels in closed syllables; columns iv-viii those in long and/or nasalised syllables arranged so as to show typical correspondences with the written final letters indicated at the head of the columns (the correspondences in practice are not absolutely regular):

In addition to the five symbols of column i in Table 6.2, I have used eight more in monosyllables: (ɤ ə i u o y ø ø) giving a total of thirteen not counting length and nasality. A phonemic analysis might eliminate the symbols ɤ, ə and i as allophonic variants, leaving a total of ten. However I have not attempted to group the vowels into phonemes because of the difficulty this causes when dealing with vowel harmony in polysyllabic words (see 6.3.5). The vowels ə, ʌ and ʊ which are not found in monosyllables are introduced below at 6.3.4 and 6.3.5.

Although the degree of regularity between spelling and pronunciation is much greater than in, say, English, in practice a fair number of lexical items are irregular and depart from the above rules in some way. Three common items may be mentioned here:

The verb shes. "know", "understand" is pronounced as if spelt shen.

The verb/particle dgos. "want", "need", "have to" is pronounced as if spelt dgo.

The verb myong. "experience" is pronounced as if spelt myung.
For these and all other irregular items, the traditional Tibetan spellings, where known, have been retained in the present work, but the IPA transcriptions represent the sounds actually heard.

### 6.1.3 Syllable final

The only syllable-final consonants regularly heard in connected speech of normal speed are bilabials -p and -m (see columns ii and iii of Table 6.2.). In slow speech velar -k may replace vowel length in column v; likewise -q, may be heard instead of vowel length and nasality in column vi. In a few loanwords there may be a final -r following a short vowel, (column viii); e.g. pir. "pïr" "paintbrush", par. "par" "print".

### Table 6.2. Syllable nuclei and syllable finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ii</th>
<th>iii</th>
<th>iv</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>vi</th>
<th>vii</th>
<th>viii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-V</td>
<td>-a:</td>
<td>-b(s).</td>
<td>-m(s).</td>
<td>-g(s).</td>
<td>-ng(s).</td>
<td>-d/l/s.</td>
<td>-n.</td>
<td>-r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-a-</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-v</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-a:</td>
<td>-d:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
<td>-a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-i-</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-i:</td>
<td>-l:</td>
<td>-l:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-u-</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-u:</td>
<td>-y:</td>
<td>-y:</td>
<td>-u:</td>
<td>-o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-e-</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-a:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
<td>-e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-o-</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-o:</td>
<td>-f:</td>
<td>-o:</td>
<td>-o:</td>
<td>-f:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.1.4 Tone

**Nouns and verbs.** Most commentators have regarded Lhasa Tibetan as a tone language in the sense that factors of voice pitch are an essential part of lexical differences. There has been little agreement, however, on the number of tonemes or on the respective contributions of pitch level (register), pitch movement (contour) and phonation to the phenomenon of tone. One or two dissenters even refuse to acknowledge Lhasa Tibetan as a tone language at all (see Appendix 2). A complication is that the dialect is also highly intonational, and the actual pitch of a constituent may be a manifestation of phrase or sentence intonation instead of, or as well as, tone. My approach owes much to that of Sprigg (e.g. 1961), since my informants seem to manifest tonal phenomena in a similar way to his.

Every constituent which can occur as a monosyllabic word or as the first syllable of a polysyllabic (except a handful of particles) has a lexical tone classification: either "Tone 1" or "Tone 2". The classification arises from the fact that at many places within the sentence there are two potential pitch levels, one higher than the other. In a
monosyllabic word in most (though not all) positions in the sentence, a "Tone 1" constituent will have the pitch of its voiced components on the higher of the two levels; a "Tone 2" constituent on the lower. In Tables 6.3 and 6.4, actual pitch (´ and ~) rather than tonal classification (¬ and _) is symbolised.

**Table 6.3. Tone: minimal pairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone 1 (high pitch)</th>
<th>Tone 2 (low pitch)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ´pu spu. &quot;hair&quot;</td>
<td>´pu bu. &quot;son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ´tce bcad. &quot;cut&quot;</td>
<td>´tce byas. &quot;did&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ´co sho. &quot;dice&quot;</td>
<td>´co zho. &quot;yoghurt&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>´ca: gshegs. &quot;die&quot; (hon.)</td>
<td>´ca: bzhag. &quot;put&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>´sa sa. &quot;earth&quot;</td>
<td>´sa gza'. &quot;planet&quot;, &quot;epilepsy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. `ga lnga. &quot;five&quot;</td>
<td>`ga nga. &quot;I&quot;, &quot;me&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. `la bla. &quot;soul&quot;</td>
<td>`la la. &quot;mountain pass&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. `jø: g-yol. &quot;avoid&quot;</td>
<td>`jø: yod. &quot;exist&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in Table 6.3 include constituents beginning with 1) plosive, 2) affricate, and 3) fricative initials, all of which are voiceless and unaspirated; and with 4) nasal, 5) lateral and 6) non-syllabic vowel initials, all of which are voiced. It is only in syllables of these six types that pitch is independently contrastive for my informants. In most positions in the sentence, monosyllabic words beginning with voiced plosives and voiced affricates are always Tone 2 (low pitch), while those beginning with aspirates are always Tone 1 (high pitch):

**Table 6.4. Tone and phonation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone 1 (aspiration)</th>
<th>Tone 2 (voicing)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>`kʰam khaps. &quot;Kham&quot; (placename)</td>
<td>`gam sgam. &quot;box&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`pʰa pha. &quot;father&quot;</td>
<td>`ba sbra. &quot;black tent&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`tɕʰa cha. &quot;pair&quot;</td>
<td>`dza 'ja'. &quot;rainbow&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*`kʰam, *`pʰa, *`tɕʰa, *`gam, *`ba, *`dza are all impossible. Thus for such speakers pitch is not independently lexically contrastive for constituents with these types of initial. To account for this, one can add phonation criteria to the statement of exponents of tone:

Exclusively Tone 1 exponents:

a) high pitch
b) aspiration: kʰ, kɭ, tɕʰ, tʰ, pʰ, tsʰ, tʃ
c) voiceless alveolar or lateral friction: ŋ, ɭ
d) voiceless glottality: ?, h

Exclusively Tone 2 exponents:

e) low pitch
f) voice with non-nasal plosion or affrication: g, gj, dz, d, b, dz, dr
g) voice with glottality: ŋ
Exponents of both tones:

h) voiceless plosion, affrication or friction: k, kj, tɕ, t, p, ts, tr, s, ɕ

i) voice with nasality, laterality, friction or approximation: ɡ, ɲ, n, m, l, r, j, w

Alternatively one could regard Lhasa Tibetan as non-tonal in constituents beginning with aspirates or with voiced plosives or affricates - but one would still have to state the different pitch levels associated with these types of initials. One could think of this as the “non-contrastive” or “inherent” pitch postulated by some scholars for an early, proto-tonal stage of Tibetan (see Appendix 2).

(N.B. Some speakers not used as informants for this study have aspiration as an exponent of both tones. To relate this to the script, this means that these speakers aspirate some or all the initials in column 3 of the tables in Chapter 5, where no head letter or prefix is present in the Tibetan spelling.)

Particles. Most particles cannot occur as monosyllables or as the first syllable of a polysyllable, and are not assigned a tonal classification. The exceptions which have been noted are the co-ordinating noun particle dang. tā: “and”, “with”; the numerative noun particle cig. tɕi: “a”; and some uses of the negative verb particle ma. mA “not”. While these are all generally pronounced on a low pitch, this may be better treated as a manifestation of phrase or sentence intonation than one of tone, as in the case of other particles, and these items have not been assigned a tonal classification. For negative particle ma. as part of a polysyllable, see 6.3.3.

6.2 Sound and Script

A study of the tables in Chapter 5 will reveal two striking facts. Firstly, relatively simple sounds may be represented by what seem unnecessarily complicated and indirect combinations of symbols. Thus whereas a syllable such as ḥam can be represented straightforwardly by, say, kham., one such as ṭro: can be represented by something as strange as sprod..

Secondly, it is usually possible to spell a given spoken syllable in several, often many ways while retaining the same pronunciation. Thus the same syllable ṭro: may also be spelt trod., dkrod., pros., skrol., dkros. etc. While this massive redundancy within the spelling system can come in useful for distinguishing homophones (as in English), one cannot help feeling that it would be seriously overdone if the script’s only purpose were to write the Lhasa dialect.

The obvious inference is that the script was designed to write a variety of Tibetan rather different from the present-day Lhasa dialect. The fact that some outlying modern dialects - the so-called “archaic” or “cluster” dialects - seem possible candidates for such a variety (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 1) opens up the whole field of dialectology and historical linguistics. The Lhasa dialect turns out to be among the least “archaic” dialects, at least where monosyllables are concerned, though perhaps not the very least archaic.


6.3 Polysyllables

As stated previously (4.2), my definition of the word is primarily phonological. The polysyllabic word may be defined as a sequence of two or more spoken syllables between which no pause may be present, and which is the domain of certain phonological patterns and restrictions pertaining particularly to syllable-initial and syllable-final consonants, and to pitch and stress.

While these patterns apply generally to all syllables of polysyllabic words, those pertaining to consonants can be especially effectively demonstrated in polysyllabic nouns, where there are abundant examples of constituents which may be realised by either the first or the second syllable of a word. From the point of view of these noun constituents, the word is the domain within which some of their phonetic features alternate. For such constituents, one alternant per relevant feature may be appropriate to a first syllable, the other to a non-first syllable. The monosyllabic form of the constituent is in some cases the same as the first-syllable form; in other cases the same as the non-first syllable form; and in yet other cases different from both.

Five types of alternation will be exemplified below:
   a) alternation in phonetic features of syllable initials (particularly phonation);
   b) alternation between simple consonants and consonant clusters;
   c) alternation of pitch features (tone); and
   d) stress-like alternation of vowel quality.

A fifth type of alternation e) harmonic alternation of vowel quality (vowel harmony), applies to disyllabic stretches which may be shorter than the word, but insofar as these stretches must be contained within words, such vowel harmony is also relevant to word delimitation. In this type of alternation, it is not the order of the syllables but the harmonic classification of the constituents which is important.

6.3.1 Syllable-initial voicing/phonation alternation

Certain syllable-initial phonation types are found only at the beginning of words, never word-internally. These are aspiration (Ch-); plosion when combined with glottality (1-); and voicelessness when combined with lateral or alveolar friction (r-, 1-). For most speakers at normal conversational speed, one can add voicelessness when combined with plosion or affrication. Thus constituents whose monosyllabic or first-syllable forms have these features in their initials will have alternants with non-aspiration, non-glottality, and/or voice respectively when they are realised by non-first syllables (see Table 6.5).

For some speakers uvularity combines with voicing and friction word-internally (-y-), mainly when the second syllable is a particle. This may not strictly be alternation since the particles in question cannot be word-initial, though dgos. has a word-initial homograph:

\[
\text{byed. dgos.kyi.red.} \quad \text{“will have to do”} \quad \text{byas.dgos.} \quad \text{“will do”} \\
\text{.tce: .gugyre:} \quad \text{.tce:y0}
\]
Table 6.5. Syllable-initial alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voicelessness &amp; aspiration / Voicing &amp; non-aspiration: kʰ-/g-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khang.pa. kʰaṅbø “house” lha.khang. ḡaṅ: “temple”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voicelessness / Voicing: p-/b-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spang. leb. paṅlip “plank” nag.spang. nagbø: “blackboard”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosion+Glottality / Zero: ñ-/-Zero-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dbugs. ?u: “breath” ljags.dbugs. dzæ:u: “breath” (hon.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2 Simple/cluster consonant alternation

Lhasa Tibetan is a good example of a Tibetan dialect with no word-initial consonant clusters, but with a variety of clusters word-medially. The existence of such clusters in the dialect provides another criterion for delimiting words. Historically the medial clusters may be divided into two types: those which represent sequences of first-syllable final + second-syllable initial (Table 6.6), and those which represent a second-syllable initial cluster (Table 6.7). In general, present-day phonology seems to respect this distinction.

Second-syllable initial cluster

In this category, the first-syllable constituent has a short vowel without nasality or consonant final. The consonant cluster is usually found to correspond to a second-syllable spelling with initial prefix, head letter or subjoined letter. The alternation is therefore between first-syllable C- (Table 6.7, column 2) and non-first-syllable -V+CC- (Table 6.7, column 3). For examples see Table 6.7.

Note that this type of cluster permits the VC sequences -an- -on- -un- which are not found in monosyllables or in the final-initial type of cluster exemplified in Table 6.6.

The vowel alternations in Table 6.7 between first and second syllable for the same constituent are discussed at 6.3.4 below.

6.3.3 Tone: pitch alternation

Nouns

In polysyllabic nouns, both Tone 1 and Tone 2 constituents have alternating pitch features correlating partly with which syllable of the word they occupy, but also interacting with sentence intonation. Thus for disyllabic nouns, three pitch patterns have been distinguished by Sprigg (1955:147f). Their various combinations of pitch levels allow a twofold grouping of all such words in the dialect, which may be termed “Tone 1 words” and “Tone 2 words” after the lexical class of their respective first syllables.
Table 6.6. *First-syllable final + second-syllable initial*

**Final -g.** For some constituents spelt with final -g., monosyllabic or final-syllable V:+zero (column 1 below) alternates with non-final syllable Vg+C-, Vk+C-, Vx+C-, or VY+C- (C- representing the second-syllable initial; and + representing syllable boundary) (column 2), e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chu.lag.</td>
<td>tchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lag.pas.</td>
<td>lagpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lug.</td>
<td>lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lag.sha.</td>
<td>lukcha/lukcha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other constituents however do not show this alternation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phyag.</td>
<td>tcba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phyag.dpe.</td>
<td>tchab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Final -ng.** Monosyllabic or final-syllable V:+zero alternates with non-final syllable Vη+C-, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lha.khang.</td>
<td>lagd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khang.pa.</td>
<td>hanga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Final -n.** Monosyllabic or final-syllable V:+zero alternates with non-final syllable VN+C- (N = homorganic nasal) where C is not nasal, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sman.</td>
<td>mel</td>
<td>&quot;medicine&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sman.pa.</td>
<td>memba</td>
<td>&quot;doctor&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sman.khang.</td>
<td>mngd</td>
<td>&quot;hospital&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sman.bcos.</td>
<td>mendzø</td>
<td>&quot;therapy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sman.rtsis.</td>
<td>mendzi</td>
<td>&quot;medical science&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7. *Second-syllable initial cluster*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tchu</td>
<td>&quot;water&quot;</td>
<td>tca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bya.</td>
<td>_tca</td>
<td>cha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja.</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td>tchba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mchod.</td>
<td>_tchba</td>
<td>mchod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bcu.</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dgu.</td>
<td>_gu</td>
<td>dgu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bcu.</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>tsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gcig.</td>
<td>_tsi</td>
<td>gcig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da.</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lta.</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>lta.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pitch pattern appropriate to a noun occurring at the beginning of a sentence is by far the commonest. Here one essentially has two pitch possibilities (in Table 6.8, pitch levels of both syllables are indicated):

Table 6.8. Pitch patterns in disyllabic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone 1 words: high pitch+high pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shing.rta. `cig' dø            &quot;horse-drawn vehicle&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shing.ba. `cig' be:             &quot;cotton&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone 2 words: low pitch+high pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhing.kha. `cig' gø               &quot;field&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhing.'brog. `cig' dro:           &quot;farmers and nomads&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all the above cases the second constituent is high in pitch regardless of whether it is classified as Tone 1 (high as monosyllable: rta. `ta, kha. `khā) or Tone 2. (low as monosyllable: bal. `pe, 'brog. `dro:).

Conversely, in non-thematised predicators and echoed themes, all constituents are low in pitch regardless of whether they are classified as Tone 1 or Tone 2. (For thematisation and echoing, see 12.7.)

**Particles**

Most particles are not given a tone classification because they cannot occur as monosyllables or as the first syllable of polysyllables. Their pitch is regarded as a manifestation of phrase or sentence intonation. The following are generally low in pitch:

**Noun particles**
- particles at numerator position in the noun phrase cig.,-tsam. (7.7);
- subject-marking particle (12.2);
- case-marking particles (12.4);
- genitive particle (7.8).

**Verb particles**
- linking particle -pa./ba. (9.3.4.1);
- auxiliaries (9.2.1);
- modal particles (9.2.6);
- echoed or non-thematised subordinating particles (Chapter 13);
- non-thematised linking particles -kyi./gyi./gi., -rgyu., -yag., -mkhan., -grabs, -chog. (Chapter 9);
- echoed nominalising particles (13.4) (including adjective particles Chapter 11).

**Other particles**
- echoed topic-marking particles.

The following are generally high in pitch:

**Verb particles**
- non-echoed nominalising particles (including adjective particles);
thematised linking particles -kyi./gyi./gi., -rgyu.,-yag., -mkhan., -grabs, -chog.;
thematised subordinating particles.

Other particles
non-echoed topic-marking particles.

The dubitative verb particle "e.?a/?a, and the negative verb particle ma. ma/ma when they are word-initial may have high or low pitch, agreeing with the pitch of the following verb stem which behaves tonally as if word-initial.

6.3.4 Stress-like vowel quality alternation

The vowels -a. -a, -e. -e and -o. -o in short open initial syllables or monosyllables have "reduced" (closer, or closer and more central) alternants -e, -i and -a/u respectively in the same constituents in non-initial syllables. The combinations -e?q and -e?p also have reduced alternants -i and -ip. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lta.ba.</th>
<th>tawa “view”</th>
<th>da.lta.</th>
<th>tanda “now”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rtse.mo.</td>
<td>tsemu “tip”</td>
<td>rgyal.rtse.</td>
<td>gjandzi “Gyantse” (place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deb.</td>
<td>tep “book”</td>
<td>phyag.deb.</td>
<td>tchadip “book” (hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’phreng.ba.</td>
<td>trega “rosary”</td>
<td>phyag.’phreng.</td>
<td>tchandri: “rosary” (hon.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtsho.</td>
<td>tsho “lake”</td>
<td>rgya.mtsho.</td>
<td>gjadzo “sea”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blo.</td>
<td>lo “mind”</td>
<td>bsam.blo.</td>
<td>samlo “thought”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Certain particle syllables (particularly adjective particles) spelt with a., o. or e. occur only in non-initial syllables, and with the “reduced” vowels e, u or i respectively:

| tshang.ma. | tshangma “all” |
| mang.po.   | mangbu “many” |
| zang.nge.  | sgni _sgni “jumbled” |

The auxiliary -byung. -dzO has a short vowel: similarly the auxiliary -song. is pronounced -s0, or sometimes -su or even -s.

At first sight these look like stress-related alternations, with high prominence or stress on the first syllable and lower prominence on the second. Such is indeed my impression from listening to the examples. However, the components of stress in the Lhasa dialect have never been satisfactorily analysed, and the accounts of the various authors who have touched on the topic are not compatible enough to be reducible to a single statement.

6.3.5 Harmonic vowel quality alternation (vowel harmony)

Many constituents in the dialect have vowels which vary between an open and a close
The open alternant is found if and when the constituent occurs as a monosyllable:

\[ \text{bod. } \text{-p\$:/-py:} \quad \text{skad. } \text{\~kje:/\~kje:} \]

The closer alternant is found only in a syllable adjacent (within the word\(^6\)) to a constituent of a second, non-alternating class, all of which have close vowels:

\[ \text{bod.skad. } \text{-p\$:ge:} \quad \text{“Tibetan (language)” (both alternants open)} \]

The alternation can as well be seen in the second as in the first syllable of a pair:

\[ \text{rgya.bod. } \text{-gjab\$:} \quad \text{“sino-tibetan”} \quad \text{dbyin.bod. } \text{\~imby:} \quad \text{“anglo-tibetan”} \]
\[ \text{rgya.skad. } \text{-gjage:} \quad \text{“Chinese”} \quad \text{dbyin.skad. } \text{\~igge:} \quad \text{“English”} \]

When two non-alternating close constituents occur together, their vowels will, by definition, both be close:

\[ \text{dbyin.gzhung. } \text{\~im\$:\$} \quad \text{“British Government”} \]

The alternating group of constituents are usually spelt with one of the vowels \( o, e, \) or \( a \) (but not \( ab. \) or \( abs. \)). The vowel alternants are shown in Table 6.9, each open alternant accompanied by its close equivalent immediately below it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.9. Harmonic vowel alternants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( o )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{~o:} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{~o:} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-alternating group are mostly spelt in Tibetan with the vowels \( i \) or \( u \), or the vowel+final(s) \( ab. \) or \( abs. \). The relevant phonetic vowels are \( i \text{ i:} \) \( u \text{ u:} \) \( y \text{ y:} \) and \( v \).

Note that there is some overlap between the possible vowels of the non-alternating and the alternating groups, though most vowels are peculiar to one or the other group (ignoring length: see Table 6.10):

A constituent which through the operation of stress and vowel harmony has three vowel alternants will always have the “unstressed” vowel rather than the open or the harmonically close alternate in a non-first syllable; e.g. \( \text{rta. ta/\~a/-d\$:} \)
Table 6.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uy</th>
<th>(non-alternating)</th>
<th>iuy</th>
<th>(alternating)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rta.dmag.</td>
<td>tama: “cavalry”</td>
<td>rta.dnlig.</td>
<td>tami: “horse’s hoof”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rta.dnlig.</td>
<td>conda</td>
<td>bzhon.rta.</td>
<td>cinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinda</td>
<td>“horse-drawn vehicle”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As their spelling might suggest, however, these constituents count as harmonically alternating from the point of view of their preceding constituent: thus an alternating constituent will have its open alternant before such a syllable, (see _cnda above) despite the fact that the reduced syllable has phonetically a comparatively close vowel.

Noun words

The examples of polysyllables given above are all disyllabic nouns. The rules for combining constituents of nouns in this way are subject to the following exceptions:

a) constituents spelt with -ag(s), -eg(s), or -ang(s), and having vowel alternants open a: (monosyllable) or aC+C/ close A:- or AC- generally have their more open alternant in the second syllable of a pair, even after the close vowel of a non-alternating constituent:

dmag. | ma: “war” | dmag.mi. | ma:mi “army” |
but jab.dmag. | dzvmba: “guerilla” not *dzvmba: |

b) Some constituents spelt with i or u have open alternants which are lexically specified in certain constituent-pairs where the other constituent is an a, o, e type:

mig. | mi: “eye” | mig.dpag. | miga: “eyelid” |
but mig.she: mekce: “spectacles” not *mikci: |

With some nouns one will hear an open alternant from some speakers and a close one from others, or even both from the same speaker in different social registers:

sku. | ku | “body” (hon.) |
sku.mgron. | kundry: / kondro: | “guest” (hon.) |
rkub. | kup | “buttocks” |
rcub.kyag. | kubgja: / kobgja: | “chair” |
bcu. | cu | “ten” |
brgyad. | gjé | “eight” |
dbu. | ?u | “head” |
In the last pair of examples above, different combinations of the same two constituents display different vowel quality combinations: open+open and close+close respectively.

Nouns containing such alternating $i$, $u$, $ab(s)$. constituents can give the curious impression that features of their vowels have "swapped over" in a kind of vowel disharmony:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BCU.BRGYAD</th>
<th>tchabgje:</th>
<th>&quot;eighteen&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRGYAD.BCU</td>
<td>gje:dzu</td>
<td>&quot;eighty&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the vowel sequence close+open in a pair of monosyllabic words corresponds to the sequence open+close in the same constituents in the same order in a disyllabic word. In the disyllable, the second constituent has its unstressed alternant (which happens to be the same as its harmonically close alternant), but the fact that it is an alternating constituent accounts for the openness of the vowel of the first constituent.

c) A noun particle cannot be the first constituent of a word. The vowels of the alternating $a$, $o$, $e$ class of constituents always have their open alternants before noun particles with an $a$, $e$ or $o$ spelling, as one might expect. None of these particles, however, has a close vowel alternant found after a non-alternating $i$, $u$ $ab(s)$. constituent:

- **sku.**  
  {\-\ku\-
  "body"

- **rtse.**  
  {\-\tes\-
  "play"

- **sku.rtse.**  
  {\-\kdzi\-
  "game" (hon.)

Furthermore, before the particles -kyi./gi./gyi./-.i. (genitive), -kyis./gis./gyis./-s. (subject-marking/instrumental) and -ni. (topic marker), alternating $a$, $o$, $e$ constituents have their open rather than their close alternant:

- **bod.nas.**  
  {\-\psne\-
  "from Tibet"

- **ri.nas.**  
  {\-\rine\-
  "from the mountain" not _rinue:

- **nga.tsho.**  
  {\-\gandzo\-
  "we", "us"

- **'di.tsho.**  
  {\-\dindzo\-
  "these" not _dindzu

It may be said therefore that there is no harmony between the vowels of the above noun particles and those of their preceding alternating constituents. There is one noun particle, _-tu./du./ru./su. (dative-locative) which, though almost obsolete in the dialect, occurs in a few expressions and is preceded by the close alternant of alternating $a$, $o$, $e$ constituents:
Verb words
Verb stem. Since a verb word must contain one and only one (monosyllabic) verb stem but may contain more than one particle constituent, the possibilities for vowel harmony are limited to those between verb stem and adjacent particle, and those between adjacent particles.

Table 6.11. Vowel harmony between verb stem and particle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/future tense linking particle</th>
<th>Nominalising particle</th>
<th>Progressive aspect linking particle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kyi./gi./gyi.</td>
<td>-rtsis.</td>
<td>-mas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gi/ga/gy.</td>
<td>-dzi.</td>
<td>-sagju.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnang.gi.red.</td>
<td>’gro.rtsis. yod.</td>
<td>za.rgyu. med.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_n̄aggare:</td>
<td>_drudzi: jø:</td>
<td>_s̄agju: m̄e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“he will give”</td>
<td>“I plan to go”</td>
<td>“I’ve nothing to eat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalising particle -rtsis. -dzi:</td>
<td>Nominalising particle -thabs. -dvp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’gro.rtsis. yod.</td>
<td>byed.thabs. med.</td>
<td>t̄c̄idvp _m̄e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_drudzi: jø:</td>
<td>“There’s no means of doing it.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalising particle -shul. -cy:</td>
<td>Nominalising particle -snying. -ni:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klog.shul. ring.kar.</td>
<td>bsdad.snying. sdod.kyi.</td>
<td>_de:nı: dy:gi:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_l̄okcy: r̄ıgga:</td>
<td>“while he was reading it”</td>
<td>“He wants to stay.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalising/prospective aspect linking particle -rgyu. -gju</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za.rgyu. med.</td>
<td>nyo.mus.red.</td>
<td>_numy:re:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_sagju _m̄e:</td>
<td></td>
<td>“He’s in the process of buying it.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a monosyllable and before an a, o, e type particle, nearly every a, o, e type verb stem has its open vowel alternant. It has its close vowel alternant before any of the i, u, ab(s). particles of Table 6.11.

The common verb of being/auxiliary red. re:/rı is irregular in that it has its close alternant before the alternating interrogative particle -pas.: rıbe:

A few verb stems spelt in -er. have an open (and short) alternant only before the nominalising and linking particles -pa./ba. in fast-tempo utterance:

bster.ba.(yin.) "te:ba/teru(j1:) “giving” / “I gave.”

Particle constituent: a, e, o. Verb particles do not show the same regularity of behaviour as verb stems. Although all a, e, o verb particles are, as one might expect, preceded where possible by open verb stem alternants, only a few have themselves open and close alternants: the non-first-syllable -pas. (interrogative) (-be/bei,
The combination byung.ngas. _tcshe: (not * _tcshe:) “was there?” is irregular.

Particle constituent: i, u, ab(s). Before the linking verb particle _gi., and the nominalising verb particles _rtsis., _thabs., _shul., _snying., _rgyu., _mus. listed in Table 6.11 above, alternating verb stems have their close alternants. Before the particles _shig. (imperative), _bzhin. (linking), and _dug. and _byung. (auxiliary), however, they have their open alternants, as they do before _myong., which despite its spelling is always pronounced with the vowel o.

The first-syllable particle mi.-, despite its spelling, has the alternants me-/mr-, and (if it is the same particle), the open and lip-rounded alternant mo- before the verb dgos.: 

mi.'dug. _mindu: “is not”
mi.yong. _mej5: “is unlikely to be”
mi.dgos. _mago “I don’t want”

Harmony of lip-rounding (and spreading) is also characteristic of the present/future tense linking particle -kyi./gi./gyi., already encountered in Table 6.23, which has the alternants -gi/ga/gy. These have nothing to do with the graphological alternation of the same particle, which is purely a matter of orthography. -gi harmonises with the spread vowels i and i of the adjacent verb stem; -gy with the lip-rounded vowels u, o; and -ga with the neither spread nor rounded vowels e, o, o: 

zin.gyi.'dug. _simgidu: “he catches”
'gro.gi.yin. _drugyj1: "I shall go"
gnang.gi.red. _naggare: “he will give”

Vowel harmony between particles. The auxiliaries -yin., -red., -yod., -’dug., -byung., -song. show harmonic relations with following particles -pas. and -pa’i. similar to those between verb stems and the same particles, exemplified as follows:

gnang.gi.yin.pas. _naggajimbe: “will you give?”
shes.kyi.yod.pas. _cigijos:be: “do you know?”
Adjective words

The positive degree particles -pa., -ma., -po., -mo. though pronounced with the reduced unstressed vowel a or u are preceded by the open alternants of a, o, e adjective stems, as might be expected from their spellings:

- **gsar.pa.** - *sa:ba* "new"
- **btsog.po.** - *tsogbu* "dirty"
- **gtsang.ma.** - *tsagme* "clean"
- **grang.mo.** - *tragmu* "cold"

The rare positive degree particle -ku. is preceded by the close alternant of an a, o, e adjective constituent:

- **ljang.khu.** - *jangu* "green"

The comparative degree particle -ga./-nga./-pa./-ba./-ra (when pronounced as a separate syllable) is preceded by an open verb alternant:

- **yag.ga.** - *jagə* "better"

The superlative degree particle -shos. has the vowel alternants -ɕə:/-ɕy: which harmonise with the vowel of the adjective stem as expected:

- **yag.shos.** - *jəkɕː* "best"
- **zhim.shos.** - *ɕimɕyː* "tastiest"

The nominalising adjective particle -los. has the harmonising alternants -лə:/-lyː:

- **mang.los.** - *maŋləː* "quantity"
- **ring.los.** - *ringlyː* "length"

6.3.6 Word-final -s

It is possible for a word to end in an -s which realises one of three constituents separate from that of the preceding syllable: past-tense verb particle -song.; quotative particle zer.; and adverbial particle -se.

Past-tense verb particle -song.

- **da. nga.tsho. bslebs.song.** "Now we have arrived!"
- **ta. gandzo le:s**
- **now l-num. arrive-aux.**

(This -s is a shorter alternant of -סד or -סוע.)
Phonology of the Lhasa Dialect

Quotative particle -zer.

\[ \text{nga. yong.gi.yin.zer.} \]
\[ \text{"He says he will come."} \]
\[ \text{\_ga \_juggyl:s} \]
\[ \text{I come-link.-aux.-quot.} \]

This is a shorter alternant of verb phrases beginning with zer, such as zer.ba. _sa, zer.ba.red. _serwere: or zer.gyi.'dug. _sigidu:.

Adverbial particle -se.

\[ \text{nga. da.ga.se. bsdad.kyi.yod.} \]
\[ \text{"I'm just waiting here."} \]
\[ \text{\_ga _taga:s \_degaj:s} \]
\[ \text{I that-adv. stay-link.-aux.} \]

Notes

1 My use of the term "whisper" is taken from Sprigg (1978a:9) to denote the posture "in which the ligamental glottis is closed or nearly so, but the cartilage glottis is open, with the bodies of the arytenoid cartilages separated". When combined with voicing it probably corresponds to the "breathy voice" of Causemann (1989) (Nangchen dialect) and others and the "murmur" of Koshal (1979) (Ladakhi dialect).

2 The fact that from its spelling one might expect cig. to be a Tone 1 word, pronounced as a monosyllable on a high pitch, reinforces the argument that its actual low pitch is a matter of phrase intonation.

3 For this purpose, sound sequences such as kj, tr, ts are not regarded as clusters. For a justification of this, see Sprigg (1972b:547f).

4 The -r- here is flapped rather than fricative.

5 Meredith (1980:84-95, 126-131) offers the most systematic study. See also Roerich & Lhalungpa (1957), Odden (1979), Goldstein & Nornang (1970), Chang & Chang (1968), and Chang & Shefts (1964:46); and for other dialects Ray (1965b), Bielmeier (1985a:68f), Sprigg (1966a).

6 More specifically, within a disyllabic sequence or "piece" contained within a word.
7. Nouns and Noun Phrases

7.1 Non-phrasal Nouns

A non-phrasal (single-word) noun
a) may comprise one or more constituents (most commonly one or two);
b) is invariable in its Tibetan spelling;
c) may co-occur in the same word with noun particles only;
d) may occur in noun words only.

Nouns are divided into two grammatical types, *postpositional* and *non-postpositional*, defined by their behaviour within noun phrases. Either type may stand at head position in a noun phrase, but only the postpositional noun can stand at deictic position in such a phrase (see 7.7).

Monosyllabic nouns

Monosyllabic nouns are numerous, denoting particularly many of the common referents of daily conversation. All the following examples from Classical Tibetan, shown to the left in the following list, are current in the Lhasa dialect, except those which are replaced in some or all uses in the Lhasa dialect by a disyllable, shown to the right:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal nouns</th>
<th>(Lhasa version)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nga.</td>
<td>_ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyed.</td>
<td>_kje:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo.</td>
<td>_mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho.</td>
<td>_kho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Human beings

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi.</td>
<td>_mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu.</td>
<td>_pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma.</td>
<td>_ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.ma.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?a ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Parts of the body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mgo.</td>
<td>བོད</td>
<td>&quot;head&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snying.</td>
<td>སྤྱི།</td>
<td>&quot;heart&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mig.</td>
<td>རྒྱུ།</td>
<td>&quot;eye&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so.</td>
<td>ཐོབ</td>
<td>&quot;tooth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha.</td>
<td>ཁྲ</td>
<td>&quot;mouth&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Household objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sgo.</td>
<td>ད་</td>
<td>&quot;door&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thab.</td>
<td>ཐབ</td>
<td>&quot;stove&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gos.</td>
<td>ལས</td>
<td>&quot;clothes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lham.</td>
<td>ལམ</td>
<td>&quot;shoes&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Nature and agriculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhing.</td>
<td>བོད</td>
<td>&quot;field&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nas.</td>
<td>རྒྱུད</td>
<td>&quot;barley&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gro.</td>
<td>དབྱུ</td>
<td>&quot;wheat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lug.</td>
<td>ལུ</td>
<td>&quot;sheep&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyi.</td>
<td>ཬློ</td>
<td>&quot;dog&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rta.</td>
<td>ནག</td>
<td>&quot;horse&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri.</td>
<td>གཞན</td>
<td>&quot;mountain&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtsho.</td>
<td>མཚོ</td>
<td>&quot;lake&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Elements & natural materials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa.</td>
<td>རྣམ</td>
<td>&quot;earth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu.</td>
<td>རྣམ་གྲུབ</td>
<td>&quot;water&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me.</td>
<td>རྫེ</td>
<td>&quot;fire&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rlung.</td>
<td>རྩེ་བྲལ།</td>
<td>&quot;wind&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gser.</td>
<td>རྩེ་བྲལ།</td>
<td>&quot;gold&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Abstract referents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tshong.</td>
<td>བོད་སྤེལ།</td>
<td>&quot;trade&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngang.</td>
<td>བོད་སྤེལ།</td>
<td>&quot;patience&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshe.</td>
<td>བོད་ལྟྭ</td>
<td>&quot;life&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blo.</td>
<td>བོད་ལྟྭ</td>
<td>&quot;mind&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ming.</td>
<td>བོད་ལྟྭ</td>
<td>&quot;name&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dus.</td>
<td>བོད་ལྟྭ</td>
<td>&quot;time&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Disyllabic nouns

Disyllabic (single-word) nouns are also numerous, covering most lexical fields. It is
noticeable that in modern spoken dialects a disyllable sometimes corresponds to a monosyllable in Classical Tibetan (see the list above); and that where the Classical language has a monosyllable and a disyllable which are synonymous or nearly so, the modern spoken dialects often use only, or more commonly, the disyllable. The reverse phenomenon, a modern monosyllable corresponding to a Classical disyllable, is rare.

Many common everyday nouns are also disyllabic:

**Human beings**

- **bu.mo.** _pho_mo_ "girl"
- **khyo.ga.** _kjo_ga_ "husband"
- **spun.kyag.** _pjo_ga_ "sibling"

**Parts of the body**

- **rkang.pa.** _ka_ga_ "foot"
- **lag.pa.** _lag_ga_ "hand"
- **"a.mchog.** _a_mdzo_ "ear"
- **sna.khug.** _nag_u_ "nose"

**Household objects**

- **sge.khung.** _gji_ga_ "window"
- **rtsig.pa.** _tsig_ga_ "wall"
- **thog.kha.** _tbo_ga_ "upstairs"
- **ka.ba.** _ka_wa_ "pillar"

**Nature & agriculture**

- **yur.ba.** _ju:w_a_ "irrigation channel"
- **bra.bo.** _traw_u_ "buckwheat"
- **bong.bu.** _pun_gu_ "donkey"
- **nags.tshal.** _nag_dze_ "forest"
- **spyang.ku.** _tca_gg_a_ "wolf"
- **lcang.ma.** _tca_gga_ "willow"

**Elements & natural materials**

- **lhag.pa.** _tja_ga_ "wind"
- **bye.ma.** _tceema_ "sand"
- **char.pa.** _tcaha:ba_ "rain"
- **kha.ba.** _kha:wa_ "snow"

The common second-syllable constituents _pa_, _ba_, _po_, _bo_, _ma_, _mo_, _ku_ in the above list (along with a few others) are etymologically probably particles in origin,
though in all cases they are now bound to the first syllable to form an indivisible lexical unit.

A large proportion of nouns in more educated registers of the language are disyllabic. This is noticeable already in Preclassical Tibetan, where many such nouns relate to administrative, military and political spheres, such as bka'gyod. kagṣ: “punishment”, rkyen.ris. kjenri: “estate”, dgra.zun. ḍrans: “enemy”, rgyal.po. ḍgebu: “king”, gdung.rabs. ḍuṇṟv: “generation”, mna'.kha. naga: “oath”, pho.brang. phodrā: “court”, blon.po. lombu “minister”, gtsug.lag. tsugla: “statecraft”.

In the case of Sanskritic and Classical Tibetan, hundreds of disyllabic nouns were coined out of the native stock of constituents or adapted from pre-existing native terms between the 9th and 13th centuries in order to translate Sanskrit nouns relating to Buddhism: many of them technical terms, in which Buddhism abounds. Some of these nouns have filtered through into other varieties of the language, though many remain as strictly technical terms. Examples are:

dka'.thub. (hardship-withstand) skt. tapas “penance”  
kdup  
dkyil.'khor. (centre-perimeter) skt. maṇḍala “mandala”  
kjiggo:  
ngan.song. (evil-gone) skt. apāya “hell”, “misfortune”  
nensd:  
nyan.thos. (listen-hear) skt. śrāvaka “disciple”  
nendō:  
bdag.med. (self-not exist) skt. anātman “selflessness”  
 dagme:  
gnas.brtnan. (place-firm) skt. sthavira “elder”  
neːdːɛː:  
byang.chub. (pure-perfect) skt. bodhi “enlightenment”  
tcāndzup  
tshul.khrims. (way-rule) skt. śīla “moral discipline”  
tsby:drim  
sangs.rgyas. (purify-vast) skt. buddha “Buddha”  
sàngje:  
sems.can. (mind-with) skt. sattva “sentient being”  
semzɛː:

More disyllabic nouns were coined between the 13th and 20th centuries, particularly to produce terms required for the administration of government and monastic organisations, while yet more appear for the first time in modern written varieties, accompanying the accelerated pace of the technological, social and political changes of the twentieth century.

Etymologically speaking, disyllabic nouns can be analysed as deriving from a wide variety of combinations of grammatical categories: particularly the following:
NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

noun+particle  

\textit{thag.pa.} (distance-er) “rope”  
\textit{tha\text{\textgreek{g}}}\textit{ba.}  

noun+noun  

\textit{mar.phyur.} (butter-cheese) “dairy products”  
\textit{ma\text{\texti{d}}\text{\textx{z}}\text{\texti{u}.}}  

noun+adjective  

\textit{stod.thung.} (trunk-short) “shirt”  
\textit{ty\text{\textd{d}}\text{\textj{u}.}}  

adjective+noun  

\textit{dkar.rtsi.} (white-resin) “whitewash”  
\textit{ka\text{\textd{z}}\text{\texti{i}.}}  

Less commonly:  

adjective+adjective  

\textit{ring.thung.} (long-short) “length”  
\textit{ri\text{\textd{g}}\text{\textd{d}}\text{\textj{u}.}}  

verb+verb  

\textit{gro.song.} (go-went) “expenses”  
\textit{dras\text{\textd{u}.}}  

verb+noun  

\textit{rgyugs.khyi.} (run-dog) “running dog”  
\textit{gji\text{\textg{u}.}}  

noun+verb  

\textit{ngo.sprod.} (face-join) “introduction”  
\textit{go\text{\textd{r}}\text{\textd{s}.}}  

adjective+verb  

\textit{gsang.gcod.} (secret-cut off) “bathroom”  
\textit{sa\text{\textd{g}}\text{\textd{d}}\text{\textj{s}.}}  

Sometimes however one or both of the elements are unknown as freestanding constituents.

\textit{Trisyllabic nouns}\n
Trisyllabic (single-word) nouns are much less common and the majority of them fall into a few specific types. These include:

a) placenames, e.g.  
\textit{gzhis.ka.rtsi.} \textit{\texttg{a\text{\textd{z}}\text{\texti{d}}\text{\texti{z}}.}} (estate-peak) “Shigatse”  
\textit{sa.ma.mda.} \textit{\textts{sama\text{\textd{d}}\text{\texte{a}.}} (?place-not-lower valley) “Samada”.

b) words ending in \textit{pa./ba.} denoting origin, affiliation or occupation, e.g.  
\textit{lha.sa.ba.} \textit{\textte{l\text{\textg{e\text{\texti{s}}}}.}} (god-place-er) “native of Lhasa”  
\textit{dge.lugs.pa.} \textit{\texttg{il\text{\textg{o\text{\textd{g}}}}\text{\textb{e}.}} (virtue-way-er) “belonging to the Geluk religious order”  
\textit{lha.bris.pa.} \textit{\textt\text{\textl\text{\texta\text{\textb{r}}\text{\textb{r}}}\text{\texti{b\text{\texti{r}}}}\text{\texti{b}}.}} (god-draw-er) “artist”.

c) family names and personal titles, many of them also ending in \textit{pa./ba.}, e.g.  
\textit{lha.lung.pa.} \textit{\textt\text{l\text{\texta\text{\textl}}\text{\textu\text{\textg{u\text{\textg{b}}}}.}} (god-valley-er)“Lhalungpa”  
\textit{pho.lha.nas.} \textit{\textp\text{\texth\text{\texta\text{\textl\text{\texto\text{\texth}}}}\text{\textn\text{\texte\text{\texta\text{\texte}}}.}} (male-god-from) “Pholhane”.

d) constructions in \textit{-po./bo./mo.che.} “great”, e.g.  
\textit{rin.po.che.} \textit{\textt\text{\textr\text{\texti{m\text{\textb{u\text{\textd{d}}}}\text{\textd{z}}}}.}} (price-great) (religious title)
thang.po.che. t¹agbudzi (plain-great) (place name)

e) constructions in -ma-, e.g.
sa.ma.'brog. samadrö: (land-not-steppe) "neither farmland nor steppe"

f) (for some speakers) constructions in -khang. "building", e.g.
gtsug.lag.khang. tsuglagd/: (religion-building) "temple"
dpe.mdzod.khang. pendzöd/: (book-store-building) "library"

g) loanwords or part-loanwords, e.g.
"o.mu.su. tumsu "sock" (Mongol)
be.ren.gen. bereggé "bren gun" (English)
rkang.ga.ri. kaggari "bicycle" (Tibetan "foot"+Hindi "vehicle")
be.dü.rya. pedurja "beryl" (Sanskrit)

Note that some of these graphical trisyllables are pronounced as disyllables in the Lhasa dialect.

### 7.2 Phrasal Nouns

A phrasal noun stretches over more than one (phonological) word, at least one of which will be of more than one syllable. The commonest type in non-Buddhist contexts consists of two disyllabic words. Such combinations are rather infrequent in the surviving non-Buddhist Preclassical Tibetan material, being confined mainly to proper names, e.g. phying.ba. stag.rtse. t¹agh¹agız “Chingwa Taktse” (name of a castle), khri.srong. lde.brtsan. t¹isö. dedžê: “Thrisong Detsen” (name of a king), which might be deemed only marginal as lexical items.

Large numbers of phrasal nouns were created in the phase of Buddhist translation from Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit down to the 13th century. Their forms show great variety, and in some cases of purely literary expressions the word-division may be difficult to determine without checking the pronunciation with a literate informant. In practically all cases at least one of the component words is disyllabic. Many are lexicalised phrases or even clauses, incorporating grammatical particles and calqued upon elaborate one-word Sanskrit compounds.

The personal names of most Tibetans now take the form of a pair of disyllabic words, each a translation of a Buddhist Sanskrit name. The 20th century has also seen the coinage of a large number of this type of compound, particularly since the 1950s in order to translate Chinese administrative and political terms, many of which take a similar quadrisyllabic form in the original. Such terms often incorporate Chinese loanwords; many of them, however, as terms imposed from outside and liable to go out of fashion with the political trends that gave them birth, quickly fall out of use.
7.3 Postpositional Nouns

All the examples of nouns given above are of the non-postpositional variety. A minority of nouns are classified as postpositional in that they may occupy the deictic position in the noun phrase; otherwise they have no particular formal characteristic in common. In terms of their resemblance to nouns or adjectives, their behaviour within the phrase and their semantics, they are divisible into a number of subtypes, which however will not be analysed in detail here. Some of them, such as the mensurational ones, seem obvious nouns. Others resemble adjectives formally in having a final particle-like syllable or reduplication; however, this does not alternate with the full range of adjective particles in the manner of true adjectives. The postpositional nouns differ from particles in being able to stand as the head of a phrase, and in never forming part of the same word as the preceding part of speech. Examples, classified roughly according to semantic type and order of occurrence where there is more than one of them in the phrase, are as follows:

Mensurational

kha.  \( \text{kha} \) “square”

bre.  \( \text{tre} \) “bushel”.

Comparative

gzhan.dag.  \( \text{cendo} \) “other”

‘dra.mi.’dra.  \( \text{dramdra} \) “different”

so.so.  \( \text{soso} \) “separate”

khag.khag.  \( \text{khaga} \) “different”

gcig.pa.  \( \text{tcigbe} \) “the same”, “identical”

‘dra.mnyam.  \( \text{dramam} \) “similar”, “the same”

rnam.pa. sna.tshogs.  \( \text{nam: nadzo:} \) “all sorts”

rang.  \( \text{rd:} \) “itself”, “very”, “really”

rkyang.rkyang.  \( \text{kjaggjd:} \) “only”

Numerative (including numerals)

gcig.  \( \text{tci:} \) “one”

phyed.ka.  \( \text{tehge} \) “half”

rgya.cha.  \( \text{gjadza} \) “percent”

tshang.ma.  \( \text{tsbagme} \) “all”

gang.  \( \text{kjd:} \) “one -ful” (used with containers)

Specific

‘di.  \( \text{di} \) “this”, “the”

de.  \( \text{te} \) “that”, “the”

pha.gi.  \( \text{phagi} \) “(the one) over there”

ya.gi.  \( \text{yagi} \) “(the one) up there”
ma.gi.  \(\text{ma}^{\text{gi}}\) "(the one) down there"

skor.  \(\text{skor}^{\text{\text{}}}\) "about" (after numeratives)

yas.mas.  \(\text{ya}^{\text{m}}\text{a}^{\text{e}}\) "about" (after numeratives)

(\(\text{ma}^{\text{gi}}^{\text{, ya}^{\text{g}}\text{i}. \text{and ma}^{\text{gi}}^{. \text{have alternants pha}^{, \text{ya}^{., \text{and ma}^{. \text{before pluraliser tsho}}}}\))

An example of a phrase containing all four types of postpositional noun is:

\(\text{ras. kha. gzan.dag. tshang.ma. pha.tsho.} \ "\text{all those other squares of cotton}\"

\(\text{ka. re. ko. re.}^{\text{kar}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{kar}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{kar}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{kar}^{\text{\~}}} \ "\text{dilly-dallying}\"

\(\text{zang.nge. zing.nge.}^{\text{sa}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{sa}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{sa}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{sa}^{\text{\~}}} \ "\text{disorderly, "turmoil}\"

\(\text{lang.nge. ling.nge.}^{\text{la}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{la}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{la}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{la}^{\text{\~}}} \ "\text{dangling}\"

\(\text{hab.be. hob.be.}^{\text{ha}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{ho}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{ha}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{ho}^{\text{\~}}} \ "\text{hurried(ly)}"

\(\text{tshag.ge. tshig.ge.}^{\text{tsh}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{tsh}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{tsh}^{\text{\~}}}^{\text{tsh}^{\text{\~}}} \ "\text{restless(ness)}"

Similar constructions which do not quite fit the above pattern include:

\(\text{nyin.}^{\text{gyangs. zhag.}^{\text{gyangs.}}^{\text{gyangs.}}}^{\text{ni}^{\text{ngj}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{ni}^{\text{ngj}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{d}}} \ "\text{delay}\"

\(\text{the.}^{\text{gtor. dgu.thor.}}^{\text{th}^{\text{e}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{o}}}^{\text{th}^{\text{e}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{o}}}^{\text{th}^{\text{e}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{o}}} \ "\text{scattered}\"

\(\text{ther.tshal. sba.tshal.}^{\text{th}^{\text{e}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{z}}}^{\text{ba}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{ba}^{\text{d}}}^{\text{d}}} \ "\text{smashed to bits.}\"

7.3.2 Relative/Interrogative Nouns

An important category of postpositional noun is the relative/interrogative noun, of which there are nine members in everyday use:

\(\text{ga.re.}^{\text{ka}^{\text{r}}} \ "\text{what}\"

\(\text{gang.}^{\text{k}^{\text{d}}} \ "\text{whatever", "all}\"

\(\text{ga.gi.}^{\text{k}^{\text{a}}} \ "\text{which}\"
ga.par.  \texttt{~kaba}:  “where”, “whither”
ga.nas.  \texttt{~kane}:  “whence”, “from which”
ga.tshad./tshod.  \texttt{~kadze}/\texttt{~kadzø}:  “how much”
ga.dus.  \texttt{~kady}:  “when”
ga.’dras.  \texttt{~kandre}:  “like what”, “how”
su.  \texttt{~su}:  “who”

(The -\textit{r}. of \textit{ga.par.} and the -\textit{nas.} of \textit{ga.nas.} may be identified with the dative-locative and ablative case-marking particles “to” and “from” respectively.)

A relative/interrogative noun, like other postpositional nouns, may occupy the deictic position in the noun phrase:

\texttt{pha.yul. ga.nas.  \_ph\texttt{~ajy}:  \_kane}:  “from which native place”

Unlike other postpositional nouns, however, relative/interrogative nouns enter into the mood system (in conjunction with “wh-interrogative” particles: 9.2.6).

7.4 Nominalised Verbs

A class of (verb) particles, the so-called nominalising particles, have the function of combining with a verb, and by extension any clause of which the verb stands as predicating, to form a noun or noun phrase. These particles and their resulting nouns will be discussed at 13.4.

7.5 Honorific Nouns

Many nouns, mainly denoting referents which are either human beings or physical or abstract entities which may be closely associated with human beings, effectively exist in pairs, each consisting of an “ordinary” and an “honorific” member. A given referent, whether general or particular, may be denoted by either member of the pair, depending on that referent’s social relation to the speaker as part of the system of deference which operates at clause level (see 12.7). Formally the relationship between the two may be one of several types:

a) The two may be etymologically unrelated, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mgo.  _go</td>
<td>dbu. _\texttt{\textit{?u}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mig. _mi:\</td>
<td>spyan. _\texttt{tc\textit{fe}}:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lag.pa. _lagbø</td>
<td>phyag. _\texttt{tcb\textit{ba}}:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rta. _ta</td>
<td>chibs.pa. _\texttt{tcb\textit{iba}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu. _pu</td>
<td>sras. _\texttt{s\textit{se}}:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) The honorific member may consist of the ordinary member or one of its
constituents, preceded in the same word by one of a few constituents which exist independently as honorific nouns; particularly sku. “body”, phyag. “hand”, dbu. “head”, zhabs. “foot”, zhal. “face”, thugs. “heart”, bka’. “order”, “speech”; or with kinship terms the non-independent constituent “a., e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gzugs.po.</td>
<td>sku.gzugs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par.</td>
<td>sku.par.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don.dag.</td>
<td>sku.don.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dpe.cha.</td>
<td>phyag.dpe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>las.ku.</td>
<td>phyag.las.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smyug.gu.</td>
<td>phyag.smyug.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhva.mo.</td>
<td>dbu.zhva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyi.gdugs.</td>
<td>dbu.gzugs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rkub.kyag.</td>
<td>zhabs.kyag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;o.mu.su.</td>
<td>zhabs.ru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha.lag.</td>
<td>zhal.lag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snying.rje.</td>
<td>thugs.rje.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo.jo.</td>
<td>&quot;a.wa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spun.kyag.</td>
<td>sku.mched.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lham.gog.</td>
<td>zhabs.cag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skad.cha.</td>
<td>bka’.mol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrug.gu.</td>
<td>&quot;a.wa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases of this type, the second constituent of the honorific member is not present in the ordinary member:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja.</td>
<td>gsol.ja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sha.</td>
<td>gsol.dkrum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chang.</td>
<td>mchod.chang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a.rag</td>
<td>bzhes.rag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam.ku.</td>
<td>phebs.lam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tca</td>
<td>gsol.ja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>gsol.dkrum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tchd</td>
<td>mchod.chang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;aro</td>
<td>bzhes.rag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagge</td>
<td>phebs.lam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nouns corresponding to English personal pronouns have ordinary and honorific alternants as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja.</td>
<td>gsol.ja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sha.</td>
<td>gsol.dkrum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chang.</td>
<td>mchod.chang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a.rag</td>
<td>bzhes.rag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam.ku.</td>
<td>phebs.lam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nouns corresponding to English personal pronouns have ordinary and honorific alternants as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nga.(rang.)</td>
<td>nged.rang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyod.(rang.)</td>
<td>khyed.rang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kjo,(rang.)</td>
<td>kjerd:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho.(rang.)</td>
<td>khong.(rang.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kho,(rang.)</td>
<td>&quot;khgs;/&quot;khgrd:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo.(rang.)</td>
<td>khong.(rang.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;mo,(rang.)</td>
<td>&quot;khgs;/&quot;khgrd:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga.(rang.)tsho.</td>
<td>nged./nga.rnams.tsho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyod.(rang.)tsho.</td>
<td>khyed.rnams.tsho./ nga.rnams.tsho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kjandzo/&quot;kjo:rgdzo</td>
<td>&quot;kjenandzo/&quot;ganandzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho.(rang.)tsho.</td>
<td>khong.rnams.tsho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;kho:rgdzo/&quot;kho:ndzo</td>
<td>&quot;kho:nandzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo.rang.tsho.</td>
<td>khong.rnams.tsho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;morrgdzo</td>
<td>&quot;kho:nandzo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Etymology: the constituents rang. "self" and tsho. "group" are transparent to native speakers. rnams. is found as a noun in Preclassical Tibetan, meaning "individuals").

d) Some nouns referring to human beings, including personal names and nouns denoting trades or professions, have an honorific equivalent: a phrasal noun formed with the constituent lags.. Usually these refer to specific individuals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bsod.nams.</td>
<td>bsod.nams. lags.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sonam</td>
<td>&quot;sonam _la:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general lags. can be added to any personal name, kinship term or name of trade or profession in this way:

"a.ma. | "a.ma. lags. |
"?amà | "?amà _la: |
"adzo: | "adza: _la: |
"am.ci. | "am.ci. lags |
"amdži | "amdži _la: |

In some cases lags. combines with only one constituent of the ordinary noun:

"a.jo. jo. lags. |
"adzo jo: tčo _la: |
"a.pha. pha. lags. |
"?aba pha _la: |
dge.rgan.  rgan. lags. “teacher”
._gegɛ  _gɛ _la:

rgan. lags. is sometimes used for any educated person; similarly dbu.mdzad.
lags., "tum·de  _la: etymologically the honorific for dbu.mdzad. “foreman”,
“leader”, may be used as honorific for any craftsman, e.g. shing.bzo.ba., "tɕəsə: 
“carpenter”.

7.6 Respectful Nouns

For a few referents, there is a “respectful” noun as well as, or instead of an honorific
noun. Its selection is determined by the social relation of the “goal” or “beneficiary”
of the clause to the “actor”, again as part of the system of deference discussed at 12.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Respectful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yi.ge.</td>
<td>phyag.bris.</td>
<td>zhu.yig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_jigl</td>
<td>tɕʰaɾi:</td>
<td>_ɕoji:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.7 Noun Phrases

Simple noun phrases

A noun phrase (other than a nominalised clause, see 13.4) has a structure comprising
the elements head (noun, or adjective phrase: see 11.8), epithet (adjective phrase),
deictic (postpositional noun), numerator (noun particle), case marker (argument-
marking noun particle or genitive particle) and topic marker (topic-marking particle), in
that order, thus:

head (+epithet) (+deictic(s)) (+numerator) (+case marker)
(+topic marker)

There is some flexibility in the number of epithets and deictics which may be
present, and in their order.

Examples of the minimum noun phrase according to the above schema (head
only) are:

khang.pa.  "kʰaŋba (noun)  “the/a house” “(the) house(s)”
chen.po.  "tɕʰem̥bu (adj.-nom.)  “big” “the/a big one” “(the) big ones”
gsum.  "sum (postpositional noun)  “three (of them)”
’di.  "di (postpositional noun)  “this one”

An example near the maximum in normal usage would be:
head+epithet+deictic+deictic+numerator+case marker+topic marker:

khang.pa. chen.po. gsum. 'di.gyad.la.ni.
ţkbaţbo ţcbe ابو sum _dige'lanı
house big-nom. three this-num.-loc.-top.
H E D D Num Cm Tm

"now to these three large houses"

7.8 Noun Phrase Elements

Head and epithet

Non-postpositional nouns, which occur at head position, have been discussed above. Adjective phrases, which occur at head and epithet position, are discussed at 11.8.

Deictic

Postpositional nouns, which occur at head and deictic position, resemble adjectives syntactically in their possible attributive relation to preceding nouns. They behave morphologically as nouns, however, combining only with noun particles and not with adjective or verb particles. Many of them are polysyllabic, like other noun stems but unlike adjective stems, which are all monosyllabic.

Numerator

Singular noun particle cig. The singular noun particle cig. tci: is the equivalent of the English indefinite article, and can also mean "some" or "somewhat". It is less frequent than its English equivalent, usually referring to a specific referent:

khor. grogs.po. cig. yog.red.
ţkbo ţragbo tci: jore:
3sg.-loc. friend num. exist

mi.tshang. chen.po. yin.na.
ţmzdţ tceuốbo jina
family big-nom. be-sub.

"He has a friend." (i.e. a specific one.)

"In the case of an important family,"

(i.e. any such family)

Approximative noun particle tsam.. The noun particle tsam. means "just", "about", "just about". It is particularly used after numeral deictics, and is sometimes followed by a second numerator cig.:

mi. buc.lnga.tsam. (cig.) yog.red.
ţmi ţcţgadţa (tci:) jore:
person fifteen-num. (num.) exist

"There are about fifteen people."
Dual and plural noun particles. The nouns corresponding to English personal pronouns regularly combine with the dual particle gnyis. (a homograph of the numeral "two") or the plural particle tsho. (honorific rnams.tsho.) when their referents are twofold or multiple respectively.

The "specific" type of postpositional nouns (corresponding to English demonstrative pronouns) 'di. _di "this", de. _te "that" (not visible), pha.gi. _pAgi "that" (visible), ya.gi. _jagi "that up there", ma.gi. _magi "that down there" likewise regularly combine with plural particle tsho. and/or gyad. when their referents are multiple. The constituent -gi. and sometimes -rang. are absent from the dual/plural forms. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nga.(rang.)} & \quad \text{"I/me"} & \text{nga.gnyis.} & \quad \text{"We/us two"} \\
\_g\text{a}(\text{rd:}) & & \_\text{gA}n\text{i}: & \\
\text{khyed.gnyis.} & \quad \text{"you two"} & \text{khyed.rnams.tsho.} & \quad \text{"you (plural)"} \\
\_k\text{jeni:} & & \_\text{kjenandzo} & \\
\_di.\text{tsho.} & \quad \text{"these"} & \_di.gyad. & \quad \text{"these"} \\
\_d\text{nandzo} & & \_\text{dijje:} & \\
\_di.gyad. & \quad \text{"those"} & \_\text{tegje:} & \\
\_\text{dini:} & & \_p\text{bajandzo} & \_\text{jandzo} \\
\_di.tsho. & \quad \text{"these up there"} & \text{phu.tsho.} & \quad \text{"those up there"} \\
\_\text{dindzo} & & \_\text{pandzo} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Dual and plural particles, like the singular particle generally denote specific referents. After nouns with inanimate referents, some speakers do not allow a plural particle without a deictic. A noun at head position unaccompanied by deictic or plural particle can denote a single referent (specific or non-specific) or specific multiple referents:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{deb.} & \quad _\text{tep} & \quad \text{"a book", "books" (non-specific);} \\
\text{deb. cig.} & \quad _\text{tep}_\text{tcji:} & \quad \text{"a book" (specific)} \\
\text{deb. 'di./de.} & \quad _\text{tep}_\text{di/te} & \quad \text{"the/this/that book" (specific)} \\
\text{deb. tsho.} & \quad _\text{tebdzo} & \quad \text{"the books" (specific)} \\
\text{deb.'di.tsho.} & \quad _\text{tep}_\text{dindzo} & \quad \text{"the/these books" (specific)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

With an adjective of quantity as epithet or a numeral noun as deictic, the pluraliser is absent unless a specific postpositional noun is also present:
**Case marker**

Those case markers which mark noun phrases as clause arguments (subject-marking particle; also instrumental, dative-locative, ablative, comparative, and adverbial particles, which are all adjunct-marking) are discussed in Chapter 12. This leaves the genitive particle, which may be found in subject, object and/or adjunct noun phrases and therefore does not distinguish these clause arguments. It also leaves the co-ordinating particle, which although not case-marking, occupies the case-marker position in the phrase.

**Genitive particle**

The genitive particle -kyi./gi./gyi./-'i. is the grammatical and semantic equivalent of the English genitive suffix “-'s”, except that it can be used on any kind of noun phrase. It is used to link adjacent noun phrases such that a preceding noun phrase becomes a modifier of the head of the following noun phrase. The process may be repeated to form a chain of several noun phrases, which from the point of view of the clause are the equivalent of a single noun phrase functioning as subject, object or adjunct of the clause.

The genitive particle may link a noun phrase which is not a nominalised clause to a following noun phrase; or it may link a nominalised clause (see 13.4) to a following noun phrase.

**a) Linking two non-nominalised noun phrases.** Modifying noun phrases are enclosed in square brackets:

- [nga'i. lag.pa. "my hand"
  
  [._pe:] _lagba
  
  [I-gen.] hand

- [khang.pa. chen.po. 'di'i.] thog.khar. "on the roof of the big house"
  
  [‘kha:gbas _tcʰembu _di:] _thga:
  
  [house big-nom. this-gen.] roof-loc.
"the colour of his son's car"

3sg.-gen. child-gen. car-gen. colour

b) Linking a nominalised clause to a following noun phrase. Here the genitive particle makes the event or state referred to by the whole nominalised clause a modifier of the head of the following noun phrase, accomplishing what is most often done in English by a relative clause. In the following example the clause nga. yong. ("I come") is nominalised by -ba. ("-ing"). It modifies the noun don.dag. which is the subject of the clause:

[nga. yong.ba'i.] don.dag. 'di. red.
[_.ga _jogwe:] tønda: _d1 _re:
[I come-nom.-gen.] reason this be

"The reason for my coming is this."

[kha. sang. bslebs.mkhan.gi.] mi. bsod nams. red.
[5kba:sa: _le:nengi] _mi _sonam _re:
[yesterday arrive-nom.-gen.] person Sonam be

"The person who came yesterday was Sonam."

Such a nominalised clause may not normally be preceded by another noun phrase with genitive particle.

c) Last word of subject or object/complement. A genitive particle is often found on the last word of the complement of a nominal copular clause (9.2.3), sometimes also on the subject:

khang.pa. de. [khong.gi.] red.
_khangba te [5kho:gi] _re:
house that [he-gen.] be

[nga'i.ni.] 'di. red.
_[nèni] _d1 _re:
[I-gen.-top.] this be

Here the "missing" noun phrase after the genitive particle is recoverable from the previous discourse.

Co-ordinating particle

The co-ordinating particle dang. (pronounced with voiceless initial and treated as a separate word) links two noun phrases which are of the same status as clause arguments (i.e. subject, object or adjunct):
NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

"I shall sell all these tables and the chairs."

Topic marker

The two topic-marking particles \textit{ni.} and \textit{da.}, if translated at all, can usually be rendered “as for” or the like in English. A noun phrase containing one of these may be subject, object or adjunct. The particle can reinforce the “theme” of the clause (see 12.6) or establish a secondary theme.

\begin{verbatim}
[nga.nl] yong.gi.man.
[.ga ni] .joggym:
[1-top.] come-link.-neg.-aux.

[.di ta] .drigimare:
[that top.] be right-link.-neg.-aux.
\end{verbatim}

The constituents \textit{yin.na.} could be regarded as copular verb of being \textit{yin.} plus subordinating particle \textit{na.} “if” (13.3). Regarded as having become grammaticised as a topic marker, they correspond to English expressions such as “in the case of”, “if we’re talking about”, “regarding”.

\begin{verbatim}
[nga. yin.na.] snang.dag. med.
[.ga _jina] .nangdo: \_me:
[I top.] worry neg.-exist

[bod.la. yin.na.] 'di.'dras. yog.ma.red.
[_p\$:la _jina] .dindre: .jo:mare:
[Tibet-loc. top.] such exist-neg.-aux.
\end{verbatim}

"Now in Tibet, there are no such things."

The particle \textit{yang./kyang.}, usually pronounced simply as a final -\textit{e}, in topic-marker position means either “as for”, or “too”, “also”; or with a negative verb sometimes “even”:

\begin{verbatim}
[bod.la.yang.] 'di.'dras. yog.red.
[_p\$:lae] .dindre: .jo:re:
[Tibet-loc.-top.] such exist
\end{verbatim}

"There are such things in Tibet too."

The particle \textit{da.} is used very similarly to \textit{ni.}, and in most people’s speech seems much more frequent:
"Not all of them are red."

[sgang.ga. da.] dmar.po. ma.red.
_gagga ta ma:bu _mare:
[all top.] red-nom. neg.-be

Notes

1 For a list of such expressions, see Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.2:173ff).
2 For a list of such pairs, see Tomulic (1987 vol.2, addenda:26ff).
3 Despite its spelling, mig. is a Tone 1 constituent: pronounced on a high pitch as a monosyllable.
8. Verbs

8.1 Non-phrasal Verbs

A non-phrasal verb

a) is a single constituent (monosyllabic);

b) may in some cases be variable in graphology, corresponding to variation between grammatical forms ("stems");

c) may co-occur in the same word with verb particles and noun particles;

d) may occur in verb words and noun words.

The verb stem is the only constituent which may occur in different grammatical forms. These variations are represented graphologically, and may or may not be represented phonologically. To avoid confusion with other variants such as the different forms arising out of vowel harmony, I shall call these grammatical forms "stems": e.g. "present stem", "past stem". The treatment to follow concerns in the first place written Tibetan, at least as this is codified in the standard grammars and dictionaries, both native and foreign. Written Tibetan here includes Classical Tibetan, Sanskritic Tibetan and Modern Literary Tibetan.

8.2 Verb Stems in Written Tibetan

Not all verbs have different stems: many have only one, e.g. shes. "čč: "know", mjal. _dże: "visit", red. _re: "is". Those which do have different stems may have two, three or four graphological stems, though in the Lhasa dialect the maximum number of phonologically distinct stems is three (present, past and imperative). The traditional English and Tibetan names for the four stems are "present" (da.lta.ba. _tanda_ wa, the normal citation form); "past" or "perfect" (das.pa. _de:ba "past"); "future" (ma.'ongs.pa. _ma:gba); and "imperative" (skul.tshig. _ky:dzi:), suggesting a tense/mood system.

The picture is somewhat complicated for written Tibetan in some verbs which have alternative graphological forms corresponding to the same stem. Thus the verb "seize" has six written forms, corresponding to four stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'dzin./zin.</td>
<td>bzung./zung.</td>
<td>gzung.</td>
<td>zungs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_dzl:/_sl:</td>
<td>_sd:</td>
<td>_sd:</td>
<td>_sd:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The graphological patterning of the written stems of the verbs may at first sight seem arbitrary. The possibilities of variation are however limited in number, and
W.S. Coblin (1976) has attempted, by tabulating their combined effects, to group 135 of the 266 four-stemmed verbs he recognises in the language into eight paradigms, within each of which the pattern of graphological (and corresponding phonological) variation is regular. Coblin's scheme postulates for each verb a "hypothetical" stem, from which a set of rules derives the appropriate paradigm. The rules are in part synchronic, but in part involve assumed diachronic developments. Some of the verbs so classified are however described as "irregular"; a further 106 are ambiguous, being assignable to more than one paradigm; and yet others cannot be fitted in at all. (And, of course, two- and three-stemmed verbs are excluded altogether.) One could be forgiven for regarding this scheme as hopelessly untidy, and for simply choosing to treat every verb as irregular, in the sense that the stems have to be learned for each verb.

A.Róna-Tas (1985) has attempted to rationalise Coblin's scheme somewhat, choosing to regard the past stem as the "basic" and ancestral form, and suggesting ways of reducing the number of paradigms.

Rather than reproduce the Coblin/Róna-Tas scheme in all its complexity or try to modify it, I shall simply give some examples to illustrate the possibilities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot;pass over&quot;</td>
<td>rgal.</td>
<td>brgal.</td>
<td>brgal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot;hold&quot;</td>
<td>'chang.</td>
<td>bcangs.</td>
<td>bcang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot;cook&quot;</td>
<td>'tshod.</td>
<td>btsos.</td>
<td>btsos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot;do&quot;</td>
<td>byed.</td>
<td>byas.</td>
<td>bya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 &quot;bless&quot;</td>
<td>sngo.</td>
<td>bsngos.</td>
<td>bsngo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 &quot;beat&quot;</td>
<td>rdung.</td>
<td>brdungs.</td>
<td>brdung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 &quot;take out&quot;</td>
<td>'byin.</td>
<td>phyung.</td>
<td>dbyung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &quot;scatter&quot;</td>
<td>'thor.</td>
<td>btor.</td>
<td>gtor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 &quot;cover&quot;</td>
<td>'gebs.</td>
<td>bkab.</td>
<td>dgab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &quot;weep&quot;</td>
<td>shum.</td>
<td>(b)shum.</td>
<td>bshum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 &quot;put in&quot;</td>
<td>'jug.</td>
<td>bcug(s).</td>
<td>gzhug.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A simplified statement of the possibilities is as follows: (numbers refer to the examples above):

a) Basic letter:
   The basic letter of the imperative stem is commonly the aspirated counterpart of those of the other stems (when the latter are unaspirated). (9, 11).

b) Vowel signs:
   i) If the vowel sign of the past and future stems is -a-, then the vowel sign of the imperative stem will be -o- (1, 2, 4, 9). (Otherwise the vowel signs of these three stems will be the same.)

   ii) If the vowel sign of the past and future stems is -a-, then the vowel sign of the present stem may be -a- or -e- (1, 2, 4).

   iii) If the vowel sign of the past, future and imperative stems is -u-, then the vowel sign of the present stem may be -u- or -i- (6, 7, 10).
   (N.B. The vowel signs of the past and future stems are always the same.)

c) Final extra final letters:
i) The imperative stem will very commonly have a final or extra final letter -s (where graphologically possible), whether or not any other stems do (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10).

ii) The past stem may have a final or extra final letter -s (where graphologically possible), when this is absent from the present and future stems (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11).

iii) A final letter -d on the present stem may be absent from the other stems (3, 4).

(N.B. Only very seldom is there a final or extra final letter -s on the future stem.)

d) Prefixes:

i) There will almost always be a prefixed b- on the past stem (where graphologically possible). This will replace any different prefix on the present stem, and the basic letter of the past stem will, where necessary to fit with the b- prefix, be an unaspirated or de-affricated counterpart of the basic letter of the present stem (all except 4, 7).

ii) There will likewise almost always be a prefixed b- or g- on the future stem, with the same provisos (all except 4).

The vowel variation displayed in many of the above examples has been referred to by some scholars as “ablaut”. While E.Pulleyblank (1965) and others have postulated an early stage of “close-open ablaut” in Chinese and other Sino-Tibetan languages, and suggested either genetic or areal connections with ablaut in other language groups, Róna-Tas claims that the phenomenon can be explained diachronically entirely within Tibetan.

Two verbs, meaning respectively “go” and “come”, show a suppletive paradigm with members drawn from etymologically different verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“go”</td>
<td>'gro.</td>
<td>phyin./song.</td>
<td>song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“come”</td>
<td>'ong.</td>
<td>'ongs.</td>
<td>shog.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3 Verb stems in Lhasa Tibetan

Many of the above complications do not arise in Lhasa Tibetan. In that dialect, only a very few verbs have more than one form for a given stem (leaving aside variants due to vowel harmony): in most such cases the alternating stem is the imperative. No verb has more than three phonologically distinct stems: present, past and imperative. Furthermore, the only verbs which have separate past and present stems are a handful from among those whose present stem is pronounced as a short, open (non-nasalised) syllable. Their past stem is pronounced with a longer vowel of different quality:

**present stem** (showing harmonic variants)  a/ʌ  o/u  u  e/ɪ

**past stem**  e:  ŋ:  y:  e:

For most verbs which have separate present and past stems in written Tibetan only one of these stems survives in Lhasa Tibetan, often the written past stem. For most speakers, no verb in Lhasa Tibetan now has a separate future stem.

The commonest verbs with separate stems in Lhasa Tibetan are:
The verbs may be classified into three main types according to the number of their stems: one, two or three. Those with one or two stems may be further subclassified according to the written equivalents of their stems. For the uses of the stems, see Chapter 9.

**One-stem verbs**

a) = Written one-stem verb:  
shes. "če:/čig "know"

b) = Written present stem:  
klog. "lo:/lo: "read"

c) = Written past stem:  
bris. "tri: "write"

For these verbs the one form must perforce be used in all tenses, aspects and moods. The two spoken reflexes of shes. and of klog. are vowel harmony alternants, not separate stems.

**Two-stem verbs**

The two possible patterns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/Past</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>btang. &quot;td:/&quot;tag/&quot;tag</td>
<td>tong. &quot;t6: &quot;send&quot; (Written past &amp; imperative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/Imperative</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhu. &quot;cu</td>
<td>zhus. &quot;cy: &quot;ask&quot; (Written present &amp; past)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Three-stem verbs (= Written present, past & imperative)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Written present, past &amp; imperative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Suppletive paradigms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
8.4 Phrasal Verbs

A phrasal verb consists of a verb stem preceded by a separate word or words, usually a noun word, though sometimes an adjective word or another verb word. The justification for treating the syntagm as a unit is the non-predictability of its meaning from a knowledge of its component parts; also, in some cases, the compound may behave grammatically like a non-phrasal verb, with a separate subject and/or object. Sometimes it can be difficult to decide whether a given case is better regarded as a phrasal verb or simply as a non-phrasal verb stem+object or subject: the two constructions shade off into one another. Wherever one draws the line, phrasal verbs would seem greatly to outnumber non-phrasal verbs in the lexicon, no doubt because there seems to be no way of creating new verb stems in the language. The main types of phrasal verb are as follows:

a) The verb stems *rgyab./rgyag.* “strike” and *btang.* “send”, both also occurring independently, become virtually drained of independent meaning in a large number of phrasal verbs, usually in combination with a noun, occasionally another verb stem or adjective stem. Examples:

**rgyab. with noun**

- *dkal.las. rgyab.* (dkal.las. “hardship”) “work hard”
- *bod. skad. rgyab.* (bod.skad. “Tibetan”) “speak Tibetan”
- *phags: -gjvp* (phags: “needle”) “give an injection”
- *khab. rgyab.* (khab. “needle”) “build a house”
- *khang.pa. rgyab.* (khang.pa. “house”) “fire a gun”
- *me.za: -gjvp* (me.za: “gun”) “take a photograph”
- *par. rgyab.* (par. “photograph”) “set on fire”
- *me. rgyab.* (me. “fire”) “water”
- *chu. rgyab.* (chu. “water”) (cf. *me.btang.* below)

**rgyab. with verb**

- *mchongs. rgyab.* (mchongs. “jump”) “jump”

**rgyab. with adjective**

- *gsar.pa. rgyab.* (gsar.pa. “new”) “renovate”
btang. with noun

- skad. btang. (skad. "speech") “call”, “invite"
- kha.par. btang. (kha.par. “phone” (noun)) “telephone”
- kha.par. btang. (kha.par. “phone” (noun)) “telephone”
- gangs. btang. (gangs. “snow” (noun)) “snow”
- kha.par. btang. (kha.par. “phone” (noun)) “telephone”
- tshon. btang. (tshon. “colour”) “paint”
- bsam.blo. btang. (bsam.blo. “thought”) “think”
- me. btang. (me. “fire”) “light a fire”
- chu. btang. (chu. “water”) “irrigate”
- tshon. btang. (tshon. “colour”) “paint”
- bsam.blo. btang. (bsam.blo. “thought”) “think”
- me. btang. (me. “fire”) “light a fire”
- chu. btang. (chu. “water”) “irrigate”


- phebs.bsu. zhu. (phebs.bsu. “welcome” (noun)) “welcome”
- med.pa. bzo. (med.pa. “nonexistence”) “destroy”
- rlung. lang. (rlung. “wind”, “temper”) “be angry”
- grva.pa. byed. (grva.pa. “monk”) “become a monk”
- gad.mo. shor. (gad.mo. “laugh” (noun)) “let out a laugh”

- skyug.pa. skyug. (skyug. "vomit") “vomit”
- gnyid. sad. (gnyid. “awake” (noun)) “awake”
- sleep (noun) rouse

- khyer. yong. "bring"
- khyer. ’gro. "take"
- khrid. ’gro. "lead"

- tshon. btang. (tshon. “colour”) “paint”
- bsam.blo. btang. (bsam.blo. “thought”) “think”
- me. btang. (me. “fire”) “light a fire”
- chu. btang. (chu. “water”) “irrigate”

- skyug.pa. skyug. (skyug. "vomit") “vomit”
- gnyid. sad. (gnyid. “awake” (noun)) “awake”
- sleep (noun) rouse

- khyer. yong. "bring"
- khyer. ’gro. "take"
- khrid. ’gro. "lead"
Verbs take part in the system of deference, which I treat as operating at clause level (12.7).

Most verbs, the referents of whose subjects can be human beings, exist in pairs comprising an ordinary and an honorific member. Essentially, a greater degree of deference is being shown by the speaker or writer to the referent of the subject of an honorific verb, as compared with that of the corresponding ordinary verb. The main honorific types are as follows:

a) In many cases, the ordinary and honorific forms are apparently etymologically unconnected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na.</td>
<td>bsnyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shes.</td>
<td>mkhyen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bsdad.</td>
<td>bzhugs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Some ordinary verbs may be made honorific with a syntagm consisting of the ordinary verb + the honorific verb stem gnang. “do”, “give”. This could be regarded as a phrasal verb, or better, perhaps, as a case of verb serialisation (see Chapter 10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>btang.</td>
<td>btang. gnang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shor.</td>
<td>shor. gnang.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C) Honorific phrasal verbs are formed from their ordinary equivalents by one or other or a combination of the above means. rgyab. is commonly replaced by skyon. or skron.; btang. by btang. gnang.; byed. by gnang.; bzo. by bzo. gnang.; shor. by shor. gnang.; lang. by bzheng.. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>par. rgyab.</td>
<td>sku. par. skyon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gling.kha.</td>
<td>bzhugs. gling. btang. gnang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingo</td>
<td>gling. btang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gra.sgrig. byed.</td>
<td>gra.sgrig. gnang.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Particularly in the case of non-phrasal verbs, the number of honorific forms is smaller than the number of ordinary forms. One honorific form may thus sometimes
have to do duty for more than one non-honorific form: thus the range of semantic distinctions expressible in the honorific register without additional means is somewhat less than that of the ordinary register:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yong.</td>
<td>_jś:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'gro.</td>
<td>_dṛo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byed.</td>
<td>_tçe:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprad.</td>
<td>_tre:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lta.</td>
<td>_tā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyo.</td>
<td>_nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lab.</td>
<td>_lvp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bshad.</td>
<td>_če:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zer.</td>
<td>_se:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za.</td>
<td>_sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thung.</td>
<td>_tbdū:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>za.</td>
<td>_sa</td>
<td>mchod. _tcbš:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zer.</td>
<td>_se:</td>
<td>gsung. _sū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprad.</td>
<td>_tre:</td>
<td>gnang. _nđ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thug.</td>
<td>_tbdū:</td>
<td>thug. gnang. _tbdū: _nđ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yong.</td>
<td>_jś:</td>
<td>phebs. _pbe:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.6 Respectful Verbs

The deference system also involves, besides ordinary and honorific verbs, a third category, namely respectful verbs. Their number is much smaller than that of either ordinary or honorific verbs, but it includes some very common verbs. In their case, deference is being shown to the referent not of the verb’s subject but of an object or adjunct, or even a person not represented in any argument of the clause. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Respectful</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>za.</td>
<td>_sa</td>
<td>mchod. _tcbš:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zer.</td>
<td>_se:</td>
<td>gsung. _sū:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprad.</td>
<td>_tre:</td>
<td>gnang. _nđ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thug.</td>
<td>_tbdū:</td>
<td>thug. gnang. _tbdū: _nđ:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yong.</td>
<td>_jś:</td>
<td>phebs. _pbe:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of zhu. “say”, phul. “give” and mjāl. “meet”, respect is shown to the person being met (who may be represented in the clause as an object), or being given something to or being spoken to (who may be represented as an adjunct). In the case of zhu. “eat”, respect is shown to the person whose food it is or in whose company the food is being eaten: a person who may well neither be represented in any argument of the clause, even allowing for ellipsis, nor be present during the conversation. (In this regard, the system of deference resembles the system of viewpoint: see 9.2.3.)

8.7 Honorific/respectful Verbs

It is possible also to have verbs (or sequences of verbs) which combine the honorific and respectful categories; showing deference to referents of both subject and object/adjunct:
8.8 Nominalised Verbs

Many varieties of Tibetan, including the Lhasa dialect and the Preclassical and Classical language, have a substantial number of productive nominalising particles which may follow, or in a few cases, precede a verb stem to convert it to a noun. Such particles generally convert not only the verb but also the whole of any clause of which it is the predicator into a noun phrase, which may stand as subject, object or adjunct of the clause in which it is embedded. Such constructions will be discussed at 13.4.

Notes

1 DeLancey (1991:19fn) remarks that “the number of single-stem verbs is steadily increasing, noticeably from one generation to the next.” However, I would doubt his claim that “It is probably still the case ... that a majority of verbs distinguish perfective and imperfective stems ...”.

2 For some verbs, two spellings may be conventionally used for what is can phonologically be regarded as a single stem: e.g. lta. (present); blta. (future) “look”.

3 For lists of such phrasal verbs, see Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.2:2-16); Hu Tan et al. (1989:305ff).


5 Called by Tomulic (1987 vol. 2:addenda 26ff) “honorifique d’humilité”.
9. Verb Phrases

The systems operating purely at the level of the verb phrase are those of polarity, judgemental modality and part of the mood system. They are manifested in the choice of verb stem (past or present) and/or choice of verb particles.

The systems of tense/aspect, intention, person, viewpoint and evidential modality are strictly speaking manifested at clause level, since they involve other parts of the clause besides the verb phrase. In the case of mood, other clauses within the sentence may be involved. However, because the workings of these five systems are so closely interwoven, and a large part of their formal expression takes place within the verb phrase, I find it more convenient to discuss these systems in that context.

9.1 Structure of the Verb Phrase

There are two common patterns of verb phrase structure: the first is typical for verbs of being. The second, typical for lexical verbs, may be seen as an expansion of the first, wherein a lexical verb precedes a homograph of a verb of being. The homograph is in this second pattern called an auxiliary, which I classify as a type of verb particle on both grammatical and phonological grounds.

The motivation for the distinction between verbs of being and lexical verbs includes the different verb phrase structure appropriate to each, and the fact that the verbs of being have their "auxiliary" homographs. Of course, verbs of being are far from devoid of lexical content, but even when not being used in their auxiliary role they form a distinct category of verb, obligatorily participating, unlike lexical verbs, in the grammatical systems of viewpoint and evidential modality. In all their manifestations they are more grammaticised than lexical verbs.

Common patterns: a) Verbs of being: simple pattern

The essential element of structure of the verb phrase is a unit comprising the verb stem, which may be preceded by a polariser and followed by a modal. In such a simple unit, in a main clause which is not a response to a previous part of the discourse, the verb stem position is usually occupied by a verb of being, the polariser by a negative particle, dubitative particle or zero, (collectively, polar particles), and the modal by one of a number of modal particles (including zero), thus:

(polar particle+) verb of being (+modal particle)
mi.'dug.ga. "Isn’t it so?”, “Isn’t it there?”

_minduge:

neg.-be-interr.

All verbs other than verbs of being are lexical verbs. A phrase with a lexical verb stem occupying the verb stem position will typically have the expanded version of the above pattern.

b) Lexical verbs: expanded pattern

For the non-phrasal variety of lexical verb, the majority pattern is an expansion of the verb-of-being pattern, in which the lexical verb stem, with or without a following linking particle precedes the polariser position.

In this type of phrase, the position immediately following the polariser is occupied by a constituent which is homographic with a verb of being but is called an “auxiliary” because of its heavily grammaticised role and phonological behaviour

\[
\text{lexical verb stem (}+\text{linking particle}) (+[polar particle}) (+[auxiliary}) (+[modal particle})
\]

\[
\text{go-link.-neg.-aux.-emph.}
\]

Note that in this pattern, polar and modal particles are adjacent to the auxiliary rather than to the lexical stem.

There is also a minority pattern found in the negative past tense, in which the polariser may precede the lexical verb:

\[
\text{(negative particle)}+\text{lexical verb stem (}+\text{linking particle+auxiliary}) (+[modal particle})
\]

\[
\text{neg.-went-link.-aux.-emph.}
\]

Linking particles. The two linking particles -gi. and -pa. exemplified above are by far the commonest. I name them from the fact that they are found only between verb stem and auxiliary or between verb stem and negative particle+auxiliary.

-gi. and -pa. are superficially similar to the genitive noun particle (7.8) and the nominalising verb particle (13.4) respectively, but with significant differences in phonological behaviour. -gi. is sometimes regarded as “imperfective”, roughly equivalent to English present participial “-ing”; and -pa. as “perfective”, roughly equivalent to English past participial “-ed”. However, such an analysis is difficult to carry through in the face of many counterexamples.

Five other linking particles are discussed under “prospective aspect” at 9.3.5.3:
-rgyu., -yag., -mkhan., -grabs. and -chog.. The first four are homographs of nominalising particles (13.4), while -chog. is a homograph of a serial verb (10.4).

c) Verbs of being: expanded pattern

A verb of being can also participate in the expanded patterns:

**verb of being (+linking particle) (+polar particle) +auxiliary (+modal particle)**

yod.kyi.ma.red.pas. "Isn’t it likely to be there?"
_jy:gymaribe: exist-link.-neg.-aux.-interr.

or:

**(polar particle) + verb of being (+linking particle) + auxiliaries (+modal particle)**

med.pa.red.da. "So it’s not there!"
_me:barida neg.-exist-link.-emph.

In this example the polar particle and verb of being are conflated in the first syllable, both graphically and phonologically.

d) Further expansions

Phrases are sometimes encountered which are expanded by the addition of further auxiliaries, such as:

**lexical verb stem + linking particle + auxiliary + linking particle + auxiliary + linking particle + auxiliary**

'gro.gi.yod.pa.yin.pa.'dra "So it seems he’s going."
_drugijøjajimbadora go-link.-aux.-link.-aux.-link.-aux.

or:

**verb of being + linking particle + auxiliary + linking particle + auxiliary**

yod.pa.yin.gyi.red. "So there probably is."
_ja:ba:ingire: be-link.-aux.-link.-aux.

I have not explored the upper limits of this expansion.
e) Lexical verbs: contracted pattern

Two verbs zer. "say", and dgos. "want", "need", as well as participating in the expanded patterns referred to above, are also often heard in a reduced pattern. In the case of zer., the reduced form pronounced \textit{sas}/\textit{s} is used in quoting direct speech, e.g.:

\begin{verbatim}
nga. yong.gi.yin. zer. "'I'll come,' he says."
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
_ga. _juggyj1: (_s(a)
I come-link.-aux. say
\end{verbatim}

Here the zer. could perhaps be regarded as a "quotative" clause-final particle. However in a wh-interrogative clause it is clearly a verb:

\begin{verbatim}
_ga.re. zer.ba.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
=kar~_sa:
what say-wh.interr.
\end{verbatim}

The verb dgos. in the reduced pattern is heard with both positive and negative polarities:

\begin{verbatim}
'di.'dra. cig. (mi.)dgos. "I (don't) need one like that."
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
_dindre tci: _(mc)go
such num. (neg.)-need
\end{verbatim}

9.2 Verbs of Being

9.2.1 The five principal verbs of being

Verbs of being have the following characteristics, which distinguish them from lexical verbs:

a) Their stems commonly occur as main clause verbs (the "simple pattern" above) without the tense/aspect combinations of linking particles and/or auxiliaries (the "expanded pattern").

b) Although the standard tense/aspect combinations of linking particles and auxiliaries (9.3.4, 9.3.5) can be added to verb stems of being, the resulting combinations denote not tense or aspect, but judgemental modality.

c) The verbs of being have homographs which occur at the auxiliary position within the predicator (verb phrase).

d) The stems of the verbs of being participate in the systems of viewpoint and evidential modality, whereas lexical verbs do so only via any auxiliaries with which they may combine.

The five principal verbs of being are all single-stemmed verbs.

Four monosyllabic constituents - yin., red., yod., and 'dug. - are clear cases of verbs of being.
A fifth item, pronounced _jo:re:, is also very common both as a verb of being and at auxiliary position. Many authorities both native and foreign regard it as an example of the expansion outlined above, consisting of verb+linking particle (yod.+pa. combined in one spoken syllable _jo:) + auxiliary (red.), and spell it yod.pa.red.. This would make it formally a past tense construction (see 9.3.4.1).

In some ways, _jo:re: does behave like a verb+linking particle+auxiliary. In favour of this interpretation is the fact that the polariser comes before the red. in the negative _jo:mar:en:. "Infixed" within a constituent are otherwise unknown in Tibetan. The final constituent red., found in main clauses, alternates with yin. in subordinate clauses as does the auxiliary red. in past and future tense constructions. There is a possible parallel for an equivalence of yod.pa. and _jo: in the wh-interrogative form (9.2.6). Also, if regarded as a single part of speech, yog.red. would be the only polysyllabic non-phrasal verb stem in the language. An analysis as verb+auxiliary is also implausible, as auxiliary red. otherwise never follows a verb without a linking particle.

However, there is a separate and often overlooked form yod.pa.red. _joo:bare: (with negative med.pa.red. _me:bare:) with a different meaning, which clearly is a verb+linking particle+auxiliary. Faced with this form, one must at least devise a way of writing _jo:re: so as to distinguish it from _joo:bare:. This uncertainty is reflected in a number of alternative spellings besides yod.pa.red. which native speakers have devised for this item, such as yog.red, yo'o.red. and yod.red..

It looks as if _jo:re: represents a sequence of verb+linking particle+auxiliary which has moved some distance towards being fossilised as a unitary item. However one looks at it, it is somewhat anomalous. Since it clearly alternates as a unit with the four verbs of being introduced above, I treat it as a unitary item and after the example of some Tibetan writers spell it yog.red. to distinguish it from yod.pa.red..

9.2.2 Four marginal verbs of being

Four other constituents of less frequent occurrence have some but not all of the characteristics of verbs of being: yong., byung., 'dra. and song.. (See 9.2.4.)

9.2.3 Verbs of being: viewpoint, evidential modality

I shall follow an established practice by beginning with a consideration of these constituents as verbs of being before examining their homographs' roles as auxiliaries in the systems of tense, aspect etc..

The five principal verbs of being (yin. _ji:; red. _re:, yod. _jo:, 'dug. _du:; and yog.red. _jo:re:) divide lexically into two sets: yin. and red. in one; and yod., 'dug. and yog.red. in the other.

yin. and red. mean "be (something)" and are the copular variety of two-argument verb.¹ Their clauses may contain either complement or subject and complement.

One meaning of yod., 'dug. and yog.red. is "exist" or "be located": in this meaning they are single-argument in that their clauses may contain a subject but not a
complement. They also express possession (i.e. "having"); the thing possessed being the referent of the subject, and the noun phrase referring to the possessor being in an adjunct containing a dative-locative particle. These existential verbs are also found, however, in clauses containing an adjectival complement, where they act as a copula like yin. and red.. The three verbs yod., 'dug. and yog.red. may be termed "evidential" or "attestative" in that they imply a particular degree of evidence for the statement; they are also very often "affective" in that they imply some sort of subjective judgement.

Thus one can distinguish three types of clause:

a) nominal copular clauses (two-argument) with yin. or red. ;
b) existential clauses (single-argument) with yod., 'dug. or yog.red. ;
c) adjectival copular clauses (two-argument) with any of the five verbs.

Within these types of clause operate the two systems of viewpoint and evidential modality.

Nominal copular clauses

The verbs yin. and red. are used as copulas to identify a subject with a complement whose head is a noun other than a nominalised adjective. The clause, if indicative, represents an assertion or bald statement of fact, made regardless of supporting evidence, if any, and regardless of the speaker's subjective attitude or judgement. Such clauses are called by some French authors "assertif"; English "assertive" or "factual" are suitable equivalent terms.

The choice between yin. and red. is often presented as one of person; yin. agreeing with first person subjects and red. with second/third person subjects. While for lexical verbs person is not a totally redundant category in Tibetan (see 9.3.1), in clauses of being there is no system of person in the sense of strict concord between subject and verb phrase.

It is certainly usual to find yin. in indicative clauses of which nga. "I" or nga.tsho. "we" is the subject, and red. in all other clauses. However, it is possible to reverse the combinations and have red. with second/third person subject, or yin. with first person. The key to understanding the system is to recognise that yin. indicates that the speaker is making a statement from his or her viewpoint, whereas red. implies no such indication. Concord is thus with the individual as speaker rather than as subject or as any other argument of the verb.

Statements about oneself are typically, though not necessarily, regarded as being "self-centred", personal or subjective (English-speaking Tibetans sometimes categorise them as "intimate"). Other statements are typically regarded as being "other-centred", impersonal or objective. The distinction is seldom made in English and to render it in translation one normally needs to resort to adverbs or other adjuncts, thus:

* nga. bslab.grwa.ba. yin. 
  
  *ga*  *lvdra*;  *j1*;
  
  I  student  be

("Personally) I'm a student." (Unmarked.)
"(It's a fact that) I'm a student." (Marked.)

- 1 student be

"He's a student." (Neutral statement of fact: unmarked.)

3sg. student be

"He's a student (of mine)." or "He's my fellow student." (Marked.)

3sg. student be

As indicated above, in the sense that yin. indicates positive personal viewpoint and red. simply lacks it, yin. may be regarded as the marked member of the pair. In the context of a first-person clause, however, red. as the less usual alternative could be regarded as marked.

Thus the verb is agreeing with the speaker, who is not necessarily the referent of one of the arguments of the clause. The choices may be diagrammed as in Figure 9.1. According to the conventions of systemic linguistics one moves along from one choice to the next from left to right: it is not suggested that the speaker necessarily follows such an algorithm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Viewpoint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>self yin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.1: Nominal copular clauses (n/a = not applicable)

Existential clauses
In existential clauses the systems of both viewpoint and evidential modality operate. In diagrammatic form the evidential modality system may be thought of as operating first, and as dividing the possibilities between yod. and 'dug. on the one hand, and yog.red. on the other, as in Figure 9.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Viewpoint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>witnessed</td>
<td>self yod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other 'dug.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unwitnessed</td>
<td>yog.red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.2: Existential clauses
yod. and 'dug. are used of situations of which the speaker has definite knowledge arising out of first-hand witness, usually eyewitness. Some French authors label them "constatif". They may be regarded as marked in relation to yog.red. which implies no such first-hand knowledge, though it does not specifically rule it out.

yog.red. is typically used where the evidence for the statement is merely hearsay, and can usually be rendered in German as "sein sollen" or in French as "serai(en)"; though it is very much commoner than either of those expressions are in their respective languages. All three verbs may be termed "evidential" or "attestative" in that some greater or lesser degree of evidence for the statement is being implied.

Within the "witnessed" term of the evidential system, the choice between yod. and 'dug. is one of viewpoint; yod. being self-centred, and 'dug. other-centred.

In addition to the system of viewpoint, the choice between yod. and 'dug. very often relates to what might be called generality. yod. often implies that the state of affairs in question is generally the case or has been so for a considerable period of time. 'dug. by contrast often refers to a particular, even momentary state of affairs, and frequently conveys a sense of surprise, recency or discovery. (For a similar contrast between auxiliaries byung. and song., see 9.3.4.1.)

The normal way of expressing possession in Tibetan is with an existential verb and an adjunct (referring to the possessor) containing a dative-locative noun particle such as -la. The examples below, with third-person subject deb. "book(s)" are of this type. The first three illustrate very common patterns:

ngal.ta. dreb. yod. _gala _tep _jo: I-loc. book exist

"I have some books." (Self-centred; witnessed.)

khol.ta. dreb. 'dug. _khola _tep _du: he-loc. book exist

"(I see) he has some books."/"'Ah, he has some books!" (Other-centred; witnessed; discovery.)

khol.ta. dreb. yog.red. _khola _tep _jo:re: he-loc. book exist

"He has some books (I assume / so I am told / as is generally known)." (Other-centred; not necessarily witnessed.)

The following show less usual but nevertheless perfectly acceptable patterns:

ngal.ta. dreb. yog.red. _gala _tep _jo:re: I-loc. book exist

"I have some books (apparently / as is generally known)."(Other centred; not necessarily witnessed.)

The above sentence can also mean "I should/must have some books" (i.e. I haven't seen them, but they must be there), and "I seem to remember having some books". There may thus be an element of judgemental modality in yog.red., but expressed lexically rather than grammatically. (For grammatical judgemental modality, see 9.2.8.)
With first-person subject the usual verb is yod., but both 'dug. and yog.red. are possible; informants may claim to find the latter two rather contrived when presented with them but will in fact use them in spontaneous speech:

**ngala. deb. 'dug.**
I-loc. book exist

"(I see) I have some books!" (Other-centred; witnessed, recent discovery.)

**kho la. deb. yod.**
he-loc. book exist

"He has some books (of mine / in my house)." (Self-centred; witnessed.)

**Adjecrival copular clauses**

In an adjectival copular clause, the head of the complement noun phrase is a nominalised adjectival verb. All five verbs of being may be used in such clauses. The basic assertive versus evidential distinction between yin. and red. on the one hand and yod., 'dug. and yog.red. on the other is maintained.

yin. and red. may again be termed factual or assertive in that they assert purported facts without regard to evidentiality. They are particularly used when referring to qualities thought of as being innate, not liable to change and not matters of subjective judgement, thus:

**nga. nang.la. yod.**
I home-loc. exist

"I was at home." (Self-centred; witnessed.)

**nga. nang.la. 'dug.**
I home-loc. exist

"There I was at home (in my dream)." (Other-centred; witnessed.)

**nga. nang.la. yog.red.**
I home-loc. exist

"I was at home (so they tell me)." (Other-centred, not necessarily witnessed.)

yod., 'dug. and yog.red. are again evidential, in that they imply a greater or lesser degree of evidence for the statement being made. They are particularly used in connection with qualities which are thought of as unpredictable, liable to variation, or
matters of subjective judgement or taste. Within this group, the choice between \textit{yod.} and \textit{'dug.} is again one of viewpoint. Examples:

\begin{verbatim}
ja. 'di. zhim.po. yod. 
_tca _di _cimbu _jo:\ 
tea this tasty-nom. exist
\end{verbatim}

"(In general) I find this tea tasty.' (Self-centred; witnessed.)

\begin{verbatim}
ja. 'di. zhim.po. 'dug. 
_tca _di _cimbu _du: 
tea this tasty-nom. exist
\end{verbatim}

"What tasty tea this is!' (Other-centred; witnessed; recent discovery.)

\begin{verbatim}
ja. 'di. zhim.po. yog.red. 
_tca _di _cimbu _jo:re: 
tea this tasty-nom. exist
\end{verbatim}

"This tea is said to be / should be tasty." (Other-centred; not necessarily witnessed.)

(Note that \textit{yog.red.} may again have overtones of judgemental modality - "should be" - a phenomenon discussed more fully below.)

Substituting \textit{red.} in this sentence one could have:

\begin{verbatim}
ja. 'di. zhim.po. red. 
_tca _di _cimbu _re: 
tea this tasty-nom. be
\end{verbatim}

"(It is a fact that) this is an inherently tasty type of tea." (Other-centred; assertion.)

Somewhat unusual but possible would be the same sentence with \textit{yin.}:

\begin{verbatim}
ja. 'di. zhim.po. yin. 
_tca _di _cimbu _jl: 
tea this tasty-nom. be
\end{verbatim}

"This tea (personally selected by me) is tasty." (Self-centred; assertion.)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\textbf{Person} & \textbf{Evidentiality} & \textbf{Viewpoint} \\
\hline
 & self & \textit{yin.} \\
 & other & \textit{red.} \\
\hline
n/a & witnessed & self \textit{yod.} \\
 & & other \textit{'dug.} \\
\hline
 & unwitnessed & \textit{yog.red.} \\
\end{tabular}
\caption{Adjectival copular clauses}
\end{figure}

The five verbs \textit{yin.}, \textit{red.}, \textit{yod.}, \textit{'dug.} and \textit{yog.red.} as found in adjectival copular clauses may be diagrammed into a template or paradigm manifesting the distinctions of factual (\textit{yin.}, \textit{red.}) vs. evidential (\textit{yod.}, \textit{'dug.}, \textit{yog.red.}); self-centred (\textit{yin.}, \textit{yod.}) vs.
other-centred (red., 'dug.'); and witnessed (yod., 'dug.) vs. unwitnessed (yog.red.) as in Figure 9.3.

This basic pattern of systems, with the addition of the system of person, is applicable when the auxiliaries are used to help form the past, present and future tenses and the perfect aspect of lexical verbs.

The five verbs of being themselves may refer equally well to past, present or future time. Some of the past and future tense-forming particles may be added to them, but in the case of these five verbs the resulting forms refer to something other than time: namely, judgemental modality. These forms will be discussed under the headings of the appropriate tenses below.

In some cases, past or future tense equivalents of the verbs of being are available if felt necessary by using a different verb from one of the five: either yong., byung. or bsdad.. Of these, yong. and byung. when so used have many of the distinguishing characteristics of a verb of being, including homographs used as auxiliaries. bsdad., however, behaves grammatically as a lexical verb rather than a verb of being.

9.2.4 Marginal verbs of being

The marginal verbs of being are yong., byung., song. and 'dra.. All have auxiliary homographs. While yong. and 'dra. have some claim as verbs of being, all four are also lexical verbs, unlike the five principal verbs of being. In their non-auxiliary manifestations none of their stems participates in the systems of viewpoint and evidential modality, again unlike the five principal verbs of being.

The verb yong. as future-stem verb of being

yong. -j5:/-jug is a common lexical verb meaning “come”.

There is also a verb of being yong.. It can be used in an existential or adjectival copular clause as if it were the future stem of yod./dug./yog.red., sometimes referring to future time, but more often, like the future tense with lexical verbs (see below; and like the future tense in English), referring to habitual action or suppositional mode:

'di.'dra. mang.po. yong. “There will be/will have been plenty like that.”
_dindre: _magbu _j5:
   such many-nom. will exist

la.dwags.la. rtsam.pa. yag.po. yong. “The barley-meal is good in
_ladagla _tsambo _jagbu _j5:
Ladakh-loc. barley-meal good-nom. will exist  (Adjectival copular clause.)

yong.nga.
   Good idea!”, “That’ll be good!”
_joga
will exist-emph.

yong. has an auxiliary homograph used in the future tense (see 9.3.4.3).
The lexical verb yong. in its future tense form yong.gi.red. is sometimes used in adjectival copular and existential clauses as a future semantic equivalent of yod./‘dug./yog.red., referring to future time rather than habitual action or suppositional mode:

yag.po. yong.gi.red. “That will be good!”
_jagbu _juggyre: good-nom. will exist-link.-aux.

nga.la. zhing.kha. yong.gi.red. “I shall have some farmland.”
_ga = _cenga _juggyre: I-loc. farmland will exist-link.-aux.

There is also a lexical verb yong. found in the future tense without a subject, meaning “will be alright”, or “will be good”.

’di.‘dras.se. byas.na. yong.gi.red. “If you do it so, it’ll be alright.”
_dindres _tce:na _juggyre: such-adv. did-sub. be ok-link.-aux.

lags. yong.nga. “Yes, that’ll be fine.”
_la: _jona: yes be ok-emph.

The verb byung.
byung. as a lexical verb means “happened”, “was obtained” (note the reference to past time).

byung. is found without tense/aspect particles as a main clause verb in such sentences as

nga.la. yi.ge. cig. byung. “I received a letter.”
_ga = _jigi _tci: _tcð: I-loc. letter num. was obtained

(ngar.) skyid.po. zhe.drag. byung. “That was very pleasant (for me).”
(_ga:) ~kjibu _cedra: _tcð: (I-loc.) pleasant-nom. very existed

This lack of tense/aspect particles however is limited mainly to clauses with first-person adjuncts (compare the lack of tense/aspect particles on serial verbs myong. and tshar. with first-person subjects: 10.3). It always seems to be possible to add particles even with first-person adjuncts (-song. in the above examples). Although it is tempting to regard byung. as a verb of being equivalent to a past stem of yod., it is probably better classified as a lexical verb.
The verb song.

-song. is common as an auxiliary. Its lexical verb homograph song. “went” however, is not used as a semantic equivalent of a verb of being. Moreover, this lexical verb, although familiar to most speakers from Classical and/or Modern Literary Tibetan and poetic register, is of doubtful status for many speakers of the Lhasa dialect.

? kho. song.(ba.red.) ? “He went.”
?

The verb 'dra.

The lexical verb ‘dra. means “resemble”:

kho.tsho. 'dra.gi.mi.'dug. “They are not alike.”
?kho 'dra.gam.indu:
3sg.-num. resemble-link.-neg.-aux.

A verb 'dra. is sometimes used without tense/aspect particles in adjectival copular clauses and occasionally in nominal copular clauses with the meaning “seem to be”.

'di. yag.po. 'dra. “This seems good.”

this good-nom. seem

The lack of particles suggests 'dra. is behaving either like a verb of being or as a lexical verb in the “reduced” pattern. In favour of regarding it as a verb of being is its presence in such constructions expressing judgemental modality (see 9.2.8) as:

yin.pa.'dra.

be-link.-aux.

and (with lexical verb thad.):

khong. thad.mkhan.(yin.pa.)'dra “It appears he’s going to go.”
?kho thad.mkhan.(yin.pa.)'dug.(pa.)
3sg go-link.(-aux.-link.)-aux.

However, 'dra. in this position seems to be pronounced with a greater degree of prominence or stress than other auxiliaries. Furthermore in interrogative and wh-interrogative clauses (e.g. yin.pa.'dra.'dug.(pa.)), 'dra. is itself followed by an auxiliary with no linking particle. Thus while showing some of the typical features of the verbs of being/auxiliaries, it has some untypical features also.
9.2.5 Verbs of being: polarity

The polarity system operating at the polariser position immediately before the verb and within the same word comprises positive (zero particle), negative and dubitative (verb particles). With yin., red., yod. and 'dug. the particle is in the regular position immediately before the verb, though in the negative forms of yin. and yod. particle and verb are exceptionally fused into a single syllable, both graphically and phonetically. With yog.red. the polariser occurs between the two syllables. In dubitative polarity, the systems of viewpoint and evidential modality do not apply; only yin., yod. and yong. are available.

Table 9.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>negative</th>
<th>dubitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yin.</td>
<td>_jl:</td>
<td>_me:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red.</td>
<td>_re:</td>
<td>_mare:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yod.</td>
<td>_jø:</td>
<td>_me:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dug.</td>
<td>_du:</td>
<td>_mindu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yog.red.</td>
<td>_jo:re:</td>
<td>_jo:mare:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yong.</td>
<td>_jø:</td>
<td>_mejø:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byung.</td>
<td>_tcø:</td>
<td>_madzø:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dubitative polarity when used with third-person subjects means "I doubt whether", "I don’t suppose" or "I wonder whether". With second person subjects it often simply expresses a polite question; "are you?", or "have you?".

There is also a "certain" polar particle los. used before yin. and yod., referring to future time.

Examples of negative, dubitative and certain polarity:

 nga. bod.pa. man. _ga _psæø _me: I Tibetan neg.-be

mang.po. yog.ma.red. _maðøu _jo:mare: many exist [neg.] "There aren’t many."

gsar.'gyur. "e.yod. _sangju: _?ajar: news dub.-exist

"I doubt whether there’s any news." or "I don’t suppose there’s any news?" or "I wonder whether there’s any news?"

khyed.rang. bod.pa. "e.yin. _kjerd: _psæø _?ajj: you Tibetan dub.-be

"Are you Tibetan?"
9.2.6 Verbs of being: mood

At the modal position in the verb phrase after a verb of being there is a system of five terms: indicative (zero particle), interrogative (-be/-be: / -ge/-ge: / -ge/-gei), wh-interrogative (-ba / -o: / -e:), corroborative (-ba / -ga / -ga) and emphatic (-da / -ga / -ga) (Table 9.2).

The corroborative particle generally has a rising-falling pitch; the emphatic particle a falling pitch.

There are high honorific forms yin.pa.no. _jimbenco and yod.pa.no. _js:be_nco which serve as both interrogative and wh-interrogative forms.

There are also "alternative" forms yin.nam. _jina; yod.dam. _js:da: and 'dug.gam. _duga: with rising pitch on the particle syllable, which for some speakers is nasalised. These forms can also be used with or without an interrogative noun to express a more tentative inquiry than the interrogative or wh-interrogative forms.

Table 9.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>indicative</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>wh-interrog.</th>
<th>corroborative</th>
<th>emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yin.</td>
<td>yin.pas.</td>
<td>yin.(pa.)</td>
<td>yin.pas.</td>
<td>yin.da.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_jl:</td>
<td>_jimbe:</td>
<td>_jl:/_jimba</td>
<td>_jimba:</td>
<td>_jinda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red.</td>
<td>red.pas.</td>
<td>red.pa.</td>
<td>red.pas.</td>
<td>red.da.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yod.</td>
<td>yod.pas.</td>
<td>yod.pa.</td>
<td>yod.pas.</td>
<td>yod.da.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dug.</td>
<td>'dug.gas.</td>
<td>'dug.pa.</td>
<td>'dug.gas.</td>
<td>'dug.gas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yog.red.</td>
<td>yog.red.pas.</td>
<td>yog.red.pa.</td>
<td>yog.red.pas.</td>
<td>yog.red.da.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>byung.</td>
<td>byung.bas.</td>
<td>byung.ba.</td>
<td>byung.nga.</td>
<td>byung.nga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yong.</td>
<td>yong.ngas.</td>
<td>yong.ba.</td>
<td>yong.nga.</td>
<td>yong.nga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>song</td>
<td>song.ngas.</td>
<td>song.ba.</td>
<td>song.nga.</td>
<td>song.nga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_sge/-sge</td>
<td>_sge/-sge:</td>
<td>_sge/-sge:</td>
<td>_sge/-sge:</td>
<td>_sge/-sge:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interrogative

\[ \text{khong.la. phebs.'gro. yog.red.pas.} \]
3sg.-loc. car exist-interr.

“Does she have a car?”

Wh-interrogative (with su. “who”)

\[ \text{khong.la. rogs.pa. su. yog.red.pa.} \]
3sg.-loc. companion who exist-wh.interr.

“Who was with him?”

Corroborative

\[ \text{khong.la. mang.po. yog.red.pa.} \]
3sg.-loc. many-nom. exist-corrob.

“She has a lot, hasn’t she?” or “She has a lot, as we know.”

Emphatic

\[ \text{khong.la. mang.po. yog.red.da.} \]
3sg.-loc. many-nom. exist-emph.

“She certainly has a lot.”

In interrogative and wh-interrogative clauses with first or second person subjects, the questioner generally uses the verb which is expected in the answer. This is sometimes expressed by Tibetans as a “change of verbs” or “swapover” within the viewpoint system. Thus a question with a first-person subject will typically use an other-centred verb; a question with a second-person typically a self-centred verb. In questions with a third-person subject both question and expected answer will typically have an other-centred verb, so there is no reversal. The same applies to interrogatives with lexical verbs.

\[ \text{khyed.rang. bod.pa. yin.pas.} \]
you Tibetan be-interr.

“Are you a Tibetan?” (Expecting a reply with yin..)

\[ \text{khyed.rang. su. yin.pa.} \]
you who be-wh.interr.

“Who are you?” (Expecting a reply with yin..)

\[ \text{nga. gzhon.gzhon. red.pas.} \]
I young be-interr.

“Am I young?” (Expecting a reply with red..)
Alternative

gare. yinnam. “Why?”

_kaři_ jina:

what be-alt.

khong. su. yinnam. ngas. ha. go.ma.byung. “I don’t know who she might be.”

-kh3: “su _ jina: _ ne: _ ha _ kəmadzə

she who be-alt. 1-smp. know-neg.-aux.

9.2.7 Verbs of being: polarity with mood

Negative polarity combines with interrogative, corroborative and emphatic mood in a straightforward way:

khyed.rang.la. phyag.deb. med.pas. “Haven’t you got the book?”

-kjeragla _ tch3adi _ me:be:
you-loc. book neg.-exist-interr.

yinpo. yog.ma.red.pas. “Aren’t there many?”

_yagbu _ jo:maribe:

many-nom. exist[rel.-]interr.

chen.po. ma.red.pas. “Isn’t it big?”

-tch3embu _ maribe:

big-nom. neg.-be-interr.

chen.po. ma.red.pas. “It’s not big, is it?”

-tch3embu _ mariba

big-nom. neg.-be-corrob.

yinpo. mi’dug.ga. “It’s no good!”

_jagbu _ mınduga

good-nom. neg.-be-emph.

9.2.8 Verbs of being: judgemental modality

The system of judgemental modality operates by the selection of the self-centred verb yin. or yod. (thus neutralising distinctions of evidential modality) and a variety of other means. These include modal particle -gro. or -gro’o.,* linking particle+auxiliary; and nominalising particle+verb of being.

This type of modality conveys the speaker’s opinion of the likelihood of the event referred to by the verb. The judgemental forms concerned may be graded along a scale of decreasing probability from apparent actuality at one end, through
doubtfulness and, via forms with negative polarity, to apparent non-actuality at the other.

**Positive polarity**

— "Apparent" modality

\[
yin.p'a.\ 'dra./yod.p'a.\ 'dra. \quad \text{"seemingly" (with auxiliary -dra.)}
\]
\[
_jimb\ 'dra./_j\ 's:b\ 'dra \quad (yod.p'a.\ 'dra. \text{has an alternant yod.p'a.yin.p'a.\ 'dra.})
\]
\[
yin.bzo. \ 'dug./yod.bzo. \ 'dug. \quad \text{"seemingly" (with nominalising particle -bzo.}
\]
\[
_jinso\ _du:/_j\ 's:so\ _du: \quad \text{and verb of being 'dug.}
\]

— "Probable" modality

\[
yin.g'yi.red./yod.k'yi.red. \quad \text{"probably" (future tense form)}
\]
\[
_jig\ 'gire:/j\ 'g:gyre: \quad (yod.g'i.red. \text{has an extended alternant yod.p'a.yin.gyi.red.})
\]

— "Possible" modality

\[
yin.g'ro./yod.g'ro. \quad \text{"it could well be that"/"maybe"}
\]
\[
_jind\ 'r:o/_j\ 's:dro \quad \text{(with modal particle -g'ro.)}
\]

**Negative polarity**

— "Speculative" modality

\[
man.g'ro'o./med.g'ro'o. \quad \text{"I wonder if it might (not) be the case that"}
\]
\[
_mend\ 'r:o/_med\ 'ro: \quad (\text{With high-falling intonation on final syllable.})
\]

— "Possible" modality

\[
man.g'ro./med.g'ro. \quad \text{"it could well not be that"/"maybe not"}
\]
\[
_mend\ 'ro/med\ 'ro \quad \text{"Probable" modality}
\]

\[
yin.g'yi.ma.red./yod.kyi.ma.red. \quad \text{“probably not” (future tense)}
\]
\[
j\ 'gim\ 'are:/j\ 'gim\ 'are: \quad (yod.kyi.ma.red. \text{has an extended alternant med.p'a.yin.gyi.red.})
\]

— "Apparent" modality

\[
man.p'a.\ 'dra./med.p'a.\ 'dra. \quad \text{"seemingly not"}
\]
\[
_mem\ 'dra/\ 's:bra \quad \text{"Probable" modality}
\]
Examples:

khong.rnams.tsho. bod.pa. yin.pa.'dra. “They seem to be Tibetans.”

\[ \text{'dir. khang.pa. yod.bzo. mi.'dug. “There don’t seem to be any houses here.” } \]

\[ \text{mang.po. yod.kyi.red. “There are probably plenty.” } \]

\[ \text{khong. yin.gro. “Maybe it’s her.” } \]

\[ \text{khong.la. dngul. med.gro’o. “I wonder if he might (not) have some money?” (i.e. I rather think he might.) } \]

\[ \text{Note that with man.gro./med.gro’o., formally negative polarity combined with a long final vowel with distinctive high-falling intonation corresponds to weakly positive semantics. This may be compared with the English gloss in which polarity is virtually neutralised, to the point where the “not” can be put in or left out with little or no difference in meaning. Compare the following which cannot be semantically positive: } \]

\[ \text{khong.la. dngul med.gro. “He may not have any money.” } \]

\[ \text{“em.ci.’i. mo.tra. yin.gyi.ma.red. “It’s probably not the doctor’s car.” } \]

\[ \text{deb. med.pa.’dra. “The book doesn’t seem to be here.” } \]

The emphatic particle -da. can also be used in combination with a reduplicated yin. or yod. to mark “certain” modality:
“It’s certainly big.”

chen.po. yin.da. yin.

*tphembu _jinda _j:*  
big-nom. be-emph. be

“We certainly have plenty of food.”

lto.byad. mang.po. yod.da. yod.

*tobdzep _magbu _joda _j:*  
food much-nom. exist-emph. exist

“You certainly have the strength.”

khyed.rang.la. nus.shugs. yod.da. yog.red.

*kjeragla _nyo:cu _joda _jore:*  
you-loc. strength exist-emph. exist

Note that in the last example the verb yod. is “reduplicated” as the other-centred unwitnessed yog.red.. This supports the analysis of yog.red. as verb (yod.)+linking particle+auxiliary.

Apparent and probable modality combine with both indicative and interrogative moods.

9.3 Lexical Verbs

9.3.1 Person, evidential modality and viewpoint

The tenses and aspects of lexical verbs generally take the form of expanded verb phrases of which the majority pattern is:

lexical verb stem (+linking particle) (+polar particle)+auxiliary  
(+modal particle)

The lexical verb stem is followed by the homograph of one of the five major verbs of being yin., red., yod., 'dug., yog.red. or of one of the marginal verbs of being yong., byung. song., 'dra. at the auxiliary position, with or without a linking particle between the two. Polarity is most commonly manifested by a polarising particle before the auxiliary; modality by a modal particle after the auxiliary.

As in the case of verbs of being, the paradigms of lexical verbs are presented in many grammar texts, by both Tibetans and others, as displaying regular concord or agreement between subject and verb phrase. In indicative clauses, subjects are divided into a) first person, and b) second/third person, each category agreeing with a different particle or set of particles in the verb phrase. However, some of the examples given elsewhere in the same texts usually contradict these rules, showing for example first person subject with second/third person particles or vice versa, usually unexplained or dealt with in an ad hoc manner.

While there is a rudimentary system of personal concord in Tibetan, in that certain combinations of subject and particle are impossible, the system interacts closely with those of evidential modality and viewpoint, as already outlined.
Although these three systems are clearly separate, the highly portmanteau nature of the forms they produce makes it easier to describe them together. The pattern behind their paradigms is a development of that outlined for verbs of being and may be diagrammed as in Figure 9.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Viewpoint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd/3rd</td>
<td>witnessed</td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unwitnessed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.4: person, evidentiality and viewpoint

**Person**

The basic choice here is between first person on the one hand and second/third person on the other, and the formal manifestation is the choice of auxiliary and/or linking particle to agree with the subject of the clause. Although there is considerable flexibility in combining subjects and particles, some combinations are ruled out. Thus in past and future tenses (unwitnessed clauses), while the combination of first-person subject and self-centred auxiliary is possible, that of second/third-person subject and self-centred auxiliary is not:

\[
\text{ngas. byed.kyi.yin.} \quad \text{“I shall do it.” (Voluntarily.)}
\]
\[
\_\text{ne: } \_\text{tci:tgjI:} \quad \text{I-smp. do-link.-aux.}
\]

\[
\text{ngas. byed.kyi.red.} \quad \text{“I shall do it.” (I have no option.)}
\]
\[
\_\text{ne: } \_\text{tci:gie:re:} \quad \text{I-smp. do-link.-aux.}
\]

\[
\text{khos. byed.kyi.red.} \quad \text{“He will do it.”}
\]
\[
\text{khos. byed.kyi.red.} \quad \text{I-smp. do-link.-aux.}
\]

\[
\text{khos. byed.kyi.yin.} \quad \text{“I shall do it.” (Voluntarily.)}
\]
\[
\_\text{ne: } \_\text{tci:tgjI:} \quad \text{I-smp. do-link.-aux.}
\]

\[
\text{khos. byed.kyi.red.} \quad \text{“I shall do it.” (I have no option.)}
\]
\[
\text{khos. byed.kyi.red.} \quad \text{I-smp. do-link.-aux.}
\]

Furthermore, first-person clauses do not select for evidential modality (except in future tense). The category of person, therefore, as already stated, is not redundant.
Evidential modality
Past-tense, present-tense, future-tense and perfect-aspect clauses with a second- or third-person subject select within the system of evidential modality between witnessed (-yod., -'dug., -byung., -song.) and unwitnessed (-yog.red., -red.) auxiliaries. (Auxiliary -red. counts as unwitnessed, whereas the verb of being red. is indifferent to witness.) As with verbs of being, the basic criterion for selecting a witnessed form is that in the non-future tenses, the speaker has a secure knowledge of the actuality (or non-actuality) of the event through first-hand acquaintance, typically as an eyewitness.

In the future tense, where by definition the actuality of an event cannot be witnessed, the secure knowledge through first-hand acquaintance is of some specific preparation or arrangement which has been made for the event, or of other circumstances relating to the event, rather than of the event itself.

Clauses with a first-person subject do not make this selection for evidential modality except, oddly enough, in the future tense.

Viewpoint
All first-person clauses and second-/third-person witnessed clauses containing auxiliaries which are homographs of the verbs of being select for self-centred (-yin., -yod., -byung.) or other-centred (-red., -'dug., -song.) auxiliaries in their verb phrases. (Second-/third-person unwitnessed clauses do not take part in the viewpoint system.)

In present-tense and perfect-aspect intentional clauses, which use the -yod., -'dug., -yog.red. auxiliaries, viewpoint has much the same semantic correlates as with verbs of being: i.e. close association or otherwise with the speaker:

--- Present tense, 1st-person subject, self-centred auxiliary.

:\ngas. yi.ge. cig. bris.kyi.yod. \“I am writing a letter.\”
_\ne: _jig ti: ³trigjo:
I-smp. letter num. write-link.-aux.

--- Present tense, 1st-person subject, other-centred auxiliary.

:\ngas. yi.ge. cig. bris.kyi.'dug. \“I am writing a letter!\”
_\ne: _jig ti: ³trigidu: (Said on seeing oneself in a film.)
I-smp. letter num. write-link.-aux.

--- Present tense, 3rd-person subject, other-centred auxiliary.

:\khong.gis. gzhas. bslab. gnang.gi.'dug. \“She is teaching songs.\”
³kba'ggi: _ce: ³lvp ³naggadu:
3sg.-smp. song teach do-link.-aux.
— Present tense, 3rd-person subject, self-centred auxiliary.

*khong.gis. nga.la. gzhas. bslab. gnang.gi.yod.* “She is teaching me songs.”

**she-smp. I-loc. song teach do-link.-aux.**

The same applies to second and third person subjects in the future tense:

— Future tense, 3rd-person subject, other-centred auxiliary.

*khos. las.kα. 'di. byas.pa.'dug.* “He’s sure to do the work.”

**3sg.-smp. work this did-link.-aux.**

— Future tense, 3rd-person subject, self-centred auxiliary.

*khos. las.kα. 'di. byas.pa.yod.* “He’s sure to do the work.

**3sg.-smp. work this did-link.-aux.**

In past-tense and future-tense “intentional” clauses with first-person subjects, use of the other-centred auxiliary -song. or -red. instead of the more usual self-centred -yin. indicates that the deed was or will be in fact involuntary:

— Past tense, 1st-person subject, self-centred auxiliary.

*ngas. yi.ge. klog.ba yin.* “I read the letter (on purpose).”

**I-smp. letter read-link.-aux.**

— Past tense, 1st-person subject, other-centred auxiliary.

*ngas. yi.ge. klog.song.* “I read the letter (without meaning to).”

**I-smp. letter read-aux.**

— Future tense, 1st-person subject, self-centred auxiliary.

*sang.nyin. ngas. las.kα. 'di. byed.kyi.yin.* “I shall do this work tomorrow

**tomorrow I-smp. work this do-link.-aux.**
— Future tense, 1st-person subject, other-centred auxiliary.

\[\textit{sang.nyin. nga. las.ka. 'di. byed.kyi.red.} \quad \text{"I shall be doing this work tomorrow (whether I like it or not)."} \]

(Note that the subject-marking particle is usually omitted in this type of clause: see 12.2.)

In present-tense and past-tense unintentional clauses with first-person subjects, choice of self-centred auxiliary -\textit{yod.} or -\textit{byung.} rather than other-centred -\textit{dug.} or -\textit{song.} respectively indicates a long-standing state rather than a recent or sudden occurrence:

— Unintentional clause, 1st-person subject, self-centred auxiliary.

\[\textit{nga. na.gi.yod.} \quad \text{"I'm chronically sick."} \]

— Unintentional clause, 1st-person subject, other-centred auxiliary.

\[\textit{nga. na.gi.dug.} \quad \text{"I'm sick at the moment."} \]

— Unintentional clause, 1st-person subject, self-centred auxiliary.

\[\textit{ngas. 'di. ha. go.byung.} \quad \text{"I knew that (already)."} \]

— Unintentional clause, 1st-person subject, other-centred auxiliary.

\[\textit{ngas. 'di. ha. go.song.} \quad \text{"I've understood that (just now)."} \]

9.3.2 \textit{Intention}

The intention system applies to all three tenses and to the perfect aspect.

It distinguishes two types of clause: a) intentional and b) unintentional (see 12.2.) There are two similarly named classes of verb, each of which is found only in the appropriate type of clause. The system is manifested by the type of verb (intentional
or unintentional) and the possibilities and significance of concord between subject and auxiliary.

**Intentional clauses**

Intentional verbs refer to acts which, if their actors are animate, are thought to be typically voluntary and performed by deliberate intent. Intentional verbs include lta. "look", "watch", nyan. "listen", 'gro. "go", klog. "read".

In intentional clauses, a first-person subject is most commonly accompanied by a self-centred form within the system of viewpoint in the predicator: i.e. by a self-centred auxiliary -yin. or -yod. in the verb phrase. An other-centred auxiliary -red. or -'dug. or -song. with a first-person subject is, however, also possible (see above under "viewpoint").

In most types of intentional clause, second- and third-person subjects are accompanied by other-centred auxiliary -red., -'dug., -yog.red. or -song., or by self-centred auxiliary -byung..

In a present-tense clause, a second- or third-person subject accompanied by the self-centred witnessed auxiliary -yod. manifests a type of viewpoint "discord" and intimately associates the deed with the speaker.

**Unintentional clauses**

Unintentional verbs refer to acts thought to be typically involuntary: not under the control of their actors, whether animate or inanimate. Unintentional verbs include mthong. "see", go. "hear", na. "be ill", shi. "die" (with animate subject-referents); brjed. "be forgotten", reg. "be obtained" (animate or inanimate subject-referent).

In most types of unintentional clause, first- second- and third-person subjects are all accompanied by an other-centred auxiliary in the predicator: i.e. -red., -'dug., -yog.red. or -song..

In a present-tense or past-tense unintentional clause, some lexical verbs with first-person subjects may be accompanied by the self-centred auxiliary -yod. or -byung. respectively, to refer to a relatively long-standing or chronic state (see above under "viewpoint").

**Intentional/unintentional verbs**

There are a few verbs which refer to deeds that are normally involuntary but can be done deliberately, such as glo.rgyab. "cough".

* glo. rgyab.byung. "I coughed (involuntarily)."
* 'lo _gjvb dz0 cough-aux.

* glo. rgyab.pa.yin. "I coughed (deliberately)."
* 'lo _gjvbajl: cough-link.-aux.
These could either be classified as intentional verbs which in fact usually accompany other-centred auxiliaries as allowed for in the paradigm, or as verbs which can occur in both intentional and unintentional clauses.

9.3.3 Tense/aspect

The working of the tense/aspect system is rather complicated, its interpretation by linguists rather varied. Most works written before the present decade or so generally speak in terms of tense and ignore aspect, while a few more recent ones (e.g. Chang & Chang 1983; Agha 1993b) have swung towards the opposite extreme which would regard the distinctions in question as essentially aspectual. It is of course notoriously difficult to disentangle tense and aspect, or even to define them to complete satisfaction for many languages. In Tibetan, as in other languages, mood and modality further complicate the picture. Before offering my own analysis I shall set out some of the general principles I am following and define some of my terms.

Terminology
I use tense, aspect and modality to denote formal types of verb phrase; time, action and mode to denote the semantic categories they refer to (or may refer to). Thus tenses are forms of verb phrases referring to categories of time, aspects forms of verb phrases referring to categories of action, and modalities forms referring to categories of mode.

Definition of tense and aspect
I follow a neo-Reichenbachian definition of tense and aspect which recognises three points in time: a speech time ST, an event time ET and a reference time RT (see Binnick 1991:115).

Tense arises from the relation of speech time ST to reference time RT. For past tenses RT precedes ST, for present tenses RT coincides with ST, and for future tenses ST precedes RT. Tibetan has one of each of these three types of tense, which I call past, present and future.

Aspect arises from the relation of event time ET and reference time RT. For an action denoted by perfective aspect, ET is contained within RT. For imperfective aspect (which includes habitual and progressive aspect), RT is contained within ET. For perfect aspect, ET precedes RT. For prospective aspect, RT precedes ET.

Tibetan distinguishes neutral aspect, in which the relation of ET and RT is indifferent; progressive and habitual aspects (subtypes of imperfective); simple perfect and recent aspect (subtypes of perfect); gerundive, preparative and imminent aspect (subtypes of prospective). It does not distinguish perfective aspect as defined above.

These aspects are not all manifested in the same way: some are marked by the tense forms, some by separate aspectual forms, others by both. In addition, there is a "completive" perfect aspect and an "experiential" perfect aspect, marked by what I prefer to call serial verbs rather than by stem and/or particle variation (10.3).
Time, tense and aspect

I recognise three tenses in Tibetan: past, present and future. One does not have to listen to spoken Tibetan for very long to hear instances of these tenses referring to events at the "wrong" time - e.g. the present tense to events in past time, etc. However, this phenomenon is hardly limited to Tibetan. In English, for example, it is easy to think of examples of each of the tenses past, present and future being used to refer to events in past or present or future time.

It is helpful however to think of each tense as having a "prototypical", "unmarked" or "default" relationship between reference time RT and speech time ST: that from which it takes its name. In a clause containing no adjunct of time, and with no other textual or pragmatic temporal cues, a given tense will normally be interpreted by a native listener as referring to its prototypical time. Most Tibetan informants who know English unhesitatingly identify the tenses they call "past" (\textquoteleft das.p\textquoteright ), "present" (\textquoteleft da.l\textquoteright ) and "future" (\textquoteleft ma.\textquoteright ) with the English tenses of the same names (simple past or preterite, simple present, and future) on the basis of isolated sentences.

When used outside its prototypical time frame, a tense may have a more limited range of meaning, perhaps referring to a restricted type of action or mode, and thus becoming a formal manifestation of aspect or modality.

Thus for example the English future auxiliary "will", when used for present time, e.g. in: "He will read the newspaper right through every day," has an implication of habitual action to which it is not limited when used for its prototypical time, the future. Referring to future time, "will" can be either habitual: "He will read the newspaper right through every day next week," or non-habitual: "He will read the newspaper right through tomorrow." English "will" when referring to present time therefore becomes a formal manifestation of habitual aspect as well as future tense.

So it is with Tibetan. When used to refer to its prototypical time, each tense is neutral in aspect, and can refer to actions which are complete, incomplete, in progress or repeated. When used outside its prototypical time, the tense refers (usually together with an adjunct or another clause) to a particular action or mode, and therefore is an aspectual or modal form, as in Table 9.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Aspect/modality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>Past time</td>
<td>Neutral aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>Present time</td>
<td>Habitual aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>Future time</td>
<td>Hypothetical modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>Past time</td>
<td>Progressive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>Present time</td>
<td>Neutral aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present tense</td>
<td>Future time</td>
<td>Imminent aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td>Past time</td>
<td>Perfect aspect/Conditional modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td>Present time</td>
<td>Habitual aspect/Conditional modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tense</td>
<td>Future time</td>
<td>Neutral aspect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition there are separate aspectual forms for recent aspect (ET immediately precedes RT) and various types of prospective aspect (RT precedes ET).

9.3.4 Tense

Distinction between the three tenses is achieved partly by the distinction between past and present lexical verb stems where this exists; and partly by particles at the linking and auxiliary positions.

*Past tense (reference time precedes speech time)*

The past tense linking particle is -pa/-ba. (sometimes also written -ga/-nga/-ra.). It is pronounced ba, ga, Na or ra depending on the final of the preceding verb stem and speed of utterance, and is referred to for short as -pa. It is not found before auxiliaries byung or song. The patterns are:

- **lexical past stem+linking particle -pa. (+polar particle)**
  +auxiliary -yin./red. (+modal particle)

and

- **lexical past stem (+polar particle)+auxiliary -byung./song. (+modal particle)**

(The past stem is of course only selected for verbs which have separate past and present stems: see 8.3.)

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Viewpoint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>past+pa.yin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>past+song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd/3rd witnessed self</td>
<td>past+byung.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>past+song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unwitnessed</td>
<td>past+pa.red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9.5: Past tense intentional clauses*
The other-centred form past+pa.red. is said to be possible with a first-person subject and is certainly found in writing (cf. Goldstein et al. 1991, 55), but I have not heard it in spontaneous speech.

The self-centred auxiliary -byung. is used particularly when the speaker is the beneficiary, goal, destination or patient of the act referred to by the predicator and the subject is second- or third person. In other circumstances, the other-centred -song. is normal:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khong.gis. gnang.byung.} & \quad \text{"He gave it (to me)."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-khaggi: \text{\textasciitilde}nagdz\textdagger}} & \quad \text{3sg.-smp. give-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khong.gis. gnang.song.} & \quad \text{"He gave it (to you or to someone else)."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-khaggi: \text{\textasciitilde}nags\textdagger}} & \quad \text{3sg.-smp. give-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kho.tshos. nyan.m.a.byung.} & \quad \text{"They didn’t listen (to me)."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-khandz\textasciitilde: \text{\textasciitilde}\text{nemadz\textdagger}}} & \quad \text{3sg.-num.-smp. listen-neg.-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the following examples are by no means unusual:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khong.gis. nga.la. gnang.song.} & \quad \text{"He gave it to me."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-khaggi: \text{gala \text{\textasciitilde}nags\textdagger}}} & \quad \text{3sg.-smp. I-loc. give-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nga.tsho’i. rtsa.la. rta.dmag. kha.shas. slesbs.song.} & \quad \text{"Several cavalrymen arrived where we were."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-gandz\textasciitilde: \text{\textasciitilde}tsa:la \text{\textasciitilde}tama: \text{\textasciitilde}ka:ce: \text{\textasciitilde}le:s\textdagger}} & \quad \text{I-num.-gen. place-loc. cavalry several arrive-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nga.tshor thob.song.} & \quad \text{"We got some."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-gandzo: \text{\textasciitilde}tobs\textdagger}} & \quad \text{I-num.-loc. get-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

The other-centred auxiliary -song. may be used with first-person subjects in intentional clauses instead of -pa.yin. to indicate that the deed was in this case accidental or involuntary

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngas. dkar.yol. bcag.pa.yin.} & \quad \text{"I broke the cup (on purpose)."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-ne: \text{ka:ys: \text{\textasciitilde}tca:boj\textdagger}}} & \quad \text{I-smp. cup break-link.-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngas. yi.ge. de. klog.song.} & \quad \text{"I read the letter (without meaning to)."} \\
\text{\quad \text{-ne: \text{jig\textasciitilde \text{\textasciitilde}l\textdagger}}} & \quad \text{I-smp. letter the read-aux.}
\end{align*}
\]
With negative polarity, this type of clause can convey the idea that perhaps the act should have happened:

\[ nga.\ ts\h.\ s\g\o.\ r\gya.\ m\a.\ s\o.\ n \]

\[ \text{We didn't close the door.} \]

\[ \text{Perhaps we ought to have done.} \]

It is sometimes claimed by Tibetans that \(-song\), indicates that the end part of the action has been witnessed, but not necessarily the beginning.

---

### Unintentional clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Viewpoint</th>
<th>Generality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>general</td>
<td>past+byung.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>particular</td>
<td>past+song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd/</td>
<td>witnessed</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>past+song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>unwitnessed</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>past+song.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9.6: Past tense unintentional clauses*

In unintentional clauses the first person self-centred form \(-pa.yin\) is not possible. (N.B. this applies only in main clauses: in subordinate clauses the viewpoint system may be neutralised in which case \(-pa.yin\) replaces \(-pa.red\) in unintentional clauses: see 13.3.)

As shown in Fig. 9.6, the forms of the paradigm for the first person in unintentional clauses are the same as those for the second/third person in intentional clauses, but the semantic variables are different. Choice between \(-byung/\-song\) on the one hand and \(-pa.red\) on the other is here a matter of viewpoint rather than evidentiality, whereas choice between \(-byung\) and \(-song\) is one of what I have called generality. The “general” form with \(-byung\) is usually interpreted as referring to a longer and/or more remote period of time than the “particular” form with \(-song\), thus:

\[ \text{\'di. n\g\a. h\a. g\o. byung.} \]

\[ \text{I knew that (already).} \]

\[ \text{\'di. n\g\a. h\a. g\o. song.} \]

\[ \text{I have understood that (just now).} \]
With some verbs, use of -byung. with first-person subject indicates that some effort was made to perform the act:

\[
\text{nga. \ dran.ma.byung.} \quad \text{"I didn’t remember." (Though I tried.)} \\
\text{.\ ga \ _trēmādzō} \\
\text{I remember-neg.-aux.}
\]

\[
\text{nga. \ dran.ma.song.} \quad \text{"It didn’t occur to me."} \\
\text{.\ ga \ _trēmasō} \\
\text{I remember-neg.-aux.}
\]

Many unintentional verbs are found either with -byung. or -song., but in practice not with both.

\[
\text{nga. \ na.byung.} \quad \text{"I was ill."} \\
\text{.\ ga \ _nadzō} \\
\text{I be ill-aux.}
\]

\[
??\text{nga.na.song.}
\]

\[
\text{ngas. \ 'di. \ brjed.song.} \quad \text{"I forgot that."} \\
\text{.\ ne: \ dt \ dze:so} \\
\text{I-inst. that forget-aux.}
\]

\[
*\text{ngas. \ 'di. \ brjed.byung.}
\]

The impossibility of the last example is a clue to identifying the ngas. as adjunct rather than subject (see 12.3). \text{brjed.} means "be forgotten", and the subject is the third-person 'di..

— Past tense - polarity

\text{Negative.} Forms with byung. and song. follow the majority pattern, but with no linking particle:

\text{lexical past verb stem+polar particle+auxiliary (+modal particle)}

\[
\text{khos. \ yi.ge. \ btang.ma.song.} \quad \text{"He didn’t send a letter."} \\
\text{.\ kbō: \ _jigi \ _tagmasō} \\
\text{he-smp. letter send-neg.-aux.}
\]

Forms with yin. and red. may follow the majority pattern, but with negative polarity they more usually follow a minority pattern in which the negative polar particle precedes the lexical verb:
negative particle+lexical verb+linking particle+auxiliary (+modal particle)

khong.gis. ma.gnang.pa.red. “He didn’t give it.”
khong.gis. ma.gnang.pa.red. “He didn’t give it.”
khong.gis. ma.gnang.pa.red. “He didn’t give it.”
khong.gis. ma.gnang.pa.red. “He didn’t give it.”

With first person singular subjects, the full pattern (formal register) alternates with a pattern without linking particle or auxiliary (informal register):

negative particle+lexical verb

ngas. ma.sprad. “I didn’t give it.”
ngas. ma.sprad. “I didn’t give it.”
ngas. ma.sprad. “I didn’t give it.”
ngas. ma.sprad. “I didn’t give it.”

Many speakers seem to avoid this tense in the negative, using the perfect aspect instead:

ngas. sprad.med. “I didn’t give it.”
ngas. sprad.med. “I didn’t give it.”
ngas. sprad.med. “I didn’t give it.”
ngas. sprad.med. “I didn’t give it.”

The perfect aspect is also used with dubitative polarity:

ngas. sprad. “e.yod. “Surely I didn’t give it?”
ngas. sprad. “e.yod. “Surely I didn’t give it?”
ngas. sprad. “e.yod. “Surely I didn’t give it?”
ngas. sprad. “e.yod. “Surely I didn’t give it?”

Sometimes the majority pattern is heard with second- or third-person subjects:

lexical verb+linking particle+negative particle+auxiliary (+modal particle)

khos. sprad.pa.ma.red. “He didn’t give it.”
khos. sprad.pa.ma.red. “He didn’t give it.”
khos. sprad.pa.ma.red. “He didn’t give it.”
khos. sprad.pa.ma.red. “He didn’t give it.”

Agha (1993b:118f.) points out a semantic difference between the minority and majority patterns (translations mine):

khong. las.ka. ma.byas.pa.red. “He didn’t do the work.”
khong. las.ka. ma.byas.pa.red. “He didn’t do the work.”
khong. las.ka. ma.byas.pa.red. “He didn’t do the work.”
khong. las.ka. ma.byas.pa.red. “He didn’t do the work.”
khong. las.ka. byas.pa.ma.red.  "It's not that he did the work."

kh:5:  _le:ga  _tce:bamare:
3sg.  work  did-link.-neg.-aux.

This rather subtle distinction needs to be tested more thoroughly than I have done to explore its full semantic and pragmatic implications.

Dubitative. Although in theory there is a form Vb.+pa."e.yin., it is generally avoided in favour of the dubitative perfect aspect.

— Past tense referring to past time
When referring to past time the past tense may be translated into English variously by the aspectually indifferent simple past ("Vb.-ed"), by the past habitual ("used to Vb.") or, the perfect progressive ("have/has been Vb.-ing"). Sometimes even past progressive (imperfect: "was Vb.-ing") may be appropriate, though more often the present tense will be used for this.

ngas.  kha'i.sa. nyin.gang. las.ka. byas.pa.yin. "Yesterday I worked all day."

pe:  ñkhe:sa  ñnigd:  _le:ga  _tce:ba:jl:
I-smp. yesterday all day work did-link.-aux.

— Past tense referring to present time
With some verbs, such as those of knowing or needing, forms in -byung. and -song. often refer idiomatically to present or even future time:

da.lta.  ha. go.song.  "Now I understand!"

_tanda  "ha  _kos
now understand-aux.

— Past tense in conditional sentences
In subordinate clauses ending in the subordinate-clause particle -na. "if", the past tense may occur as protasis to refer to either a counterfactual or a possible condition in past time. It may also occur as protasis to refer to a hypothetical or sometimes a possible condition in future time. It has a shorter alternant without the -pa.yin.

kho.  khas.sa. phyin.(ba.yin.)na.

he  yesterday  went(-link.-aux.-sub.

"If he had gone yesterday," (counterfactual) or "If he went yesterday, " (possible).
If he were to go tomorrow,” or “If he went tomorrow,” (hypothetical), or “If he goes tomorrow,” (possible)

This contrasts with future tense in the protasis, which expresses a possible, likely or intended condition, and not to a counterfactual or hypothetical condition (see below: “Future tense”).

— Past tense as habitual aspect
A present verb stem followed by -pa.red. is sometimes used with third person subjects to refer to a habitual action, particularly one happening at regular intervals, and to present time. It could be argued that since the present rather than the past stem is found here, the form is distinct from that of the past tense as defined above. However, since most verbs lack distinct present and past stems, this form is for them identical to that of the past tense. At any rate this is a convenient point to mention it. The contrast is most strikingly demonstrated for the verb “go” with its suppletive paradigm:

'gro.pa.red.  “They go (regularly).” versus:
   drəbər: (or drɔwər:) (present stem)
phyin.pa.red.
   tɕʰimbər: (past stem)

Other examples: two-stemmed verb byed./byas. :

dngul. brje.len. ga.'dra.se. byed.pa.red. “How does one change money?”
   _nɡy: _dzɛlɛ: _kandɾɛs _tɛɛpɛrɛ: (Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957:112)
money change how-adv. do-link.-aux.
(Interestingly, the reply given uses the future habitual byed.kyi.red. tɕiɡmɛ:.)

Two-stemmed verb bzo./bzos. :

sked.rags. kha.shas. bal.nas. bzo.ba.red. “Some sashes are made of wool.”
   kjɛrɛ: kʰaʃɛ: ɲe: sɔrɛ:
sash some wool-abl. make-link.-aux.

One-stemmed verb gnang. :

rgya.cha. lnga.re. bcog.cha. gnang.pa.red. “... they give a 5% discount.”
   _gjadɛs ɲarɨ tɕʰɡdza ɲaŋbɛrɛ:
percent five-distr. discount give-link.-aux.

According to Sprigg (1954a, part 3:591) not all verbs with distinct present and past stems participate in this contrast: thus there is no *zhu.pa.red. *cubɛrɛ: “they
ask" to contrast with zhus.pa.red. _sbyab_: "they asked". He does not say whether he considers the possibility of a habitual aspect to be ruled out for those verbs which do not have distinct stems: though as shown by the example from Lhasawa above, for some speakers the form in -pa-red. can clearly be used for either past time or habitual aspect.

The polar particle precedes the auxiliary in this form:

'gro.ba.ma.red
   _drobamare:_

— Past tense forms with verbs of being
The forms yin./red., yod., and yog.red. have corresponding "past tense" forms as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yin./red.</td>
<td>yin.pa.red. (negative, min.pa.red.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yod.</td>
<td>yod.pa.red. (negative, med.pa.red., with extended alternants yod.pa.yin.pa.red. and med.pa.yin.pa.red.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yog.red.</td>
<td>yog.yin.pa.red. (negative, yog.min.pa.red.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that yod.pa.red. is distinguished from yog.red. (often spelt yod.pa.red.) by its pronunciation, its meaning and the way it forms its negative.

Rather than referring to past time, these forms express a "deductive" type of judgemental modality. The deduction is made from some assumed fact or hypothesis, which may be information given by an interlocutor. Informants will often begin the English translation with some such phrase as "In that case ..." or "Oh, so .." or "evidently". The modal "must" or "will" is often appropriate, thus:

khong.gi. mtshan.la. shre.si.tha. zhu.tsang. bal.po. yin.pa.red.
   _khang_  _tsbenla_  _crestha_  _cudzdz_  _pe:bu_  _jimbare:_
3sg.-gen. name-loc. Shrestha say-sub. Nepalese be-link.-aux.
   "As his name is Shrestha, he will be Nepalese."

"a.las. da.lta. brtan.brtan. rang med.pa.red.
   _ale: _tanda_  _tendé:_  _rd:_  _me:bae:_
   oh now definite-redup. really neg.-exist-link.-aux.
   "Oh, so it's not actually decided yet!"

The form yog.yin.pa.red. is sometimes used in the narrative register of folktales (see p.277).

byung. as a verb of being is commonly found in the past tense with -pa.red. and -song. (but not with auxiliary -byung. ). Here the reference is to past time rather than to deductive mode.
Present tense (reference time equals speech time)
The present tense linking particle is -kyi./gyi./gi., (pronounced gi, go or gy and referred to for short as -gi.) The pattern is:

lexical present verb stem+linking particle -gi. (+polar particle)  
+auxiliary -yod./'dug./yog.red. (+modal particle)  

The particle combination -gi.dug. has a shorter alternant -gi. -gi: often heard in informal situations.

— Intentional clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Viewpoint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>present+gi.yod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>present+gi.'dug.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd/3rd</td>
<td>witnessed</td>
<td>present+gi.yod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>self</td>
<td>present+gi.yod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>present+gi.'dug.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unwitnessed</td>
<td>present+gi.yog.red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.7: Present tense intentional clauses

The other-centred form present+gi.'dug. with first-person subject is unusual, but is heard in cases where the speaker is seeing him/herself from an outside viewpoint, for instance in a film, photograph or dream.

ngas. las.ka. byed.kyi.'dug.  “I (saw that I) was working (in my dream).”
_pe: _lega _tci:gidu;
I-smp. work do-link.-aux.

— Unintentional clauses (Figure 9.8)
Here the available forms are the same as in intentional clauses: -gi.yod. and -gi.'dug. for first person, and the same plus -gi.yog.red. for second/third person; but the semantic correlates are different for the first person. In the first person, the uncommon general form in -gi.yod. is only available for certain verbs, including transitive shes. and ha.go. “understand”, “know”; and intransitive na. “be ill”, “fall ill”, “hurt”. It may be regarded as the marked variant; and denotes a habitual event or long-term state of affairs:
ngā. na.gi.yod. "I’m chronically sick."
-ga. -nāgējø:
I be ill-link.-aux.

ngā. na.gi.'dug. "I’m sick at the moment."
-ga. -nāgēdø:
I be ill-link.-aux.

<table>
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<th>Viewpoint</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>particular</td>
<td>present+gi.'dug.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd/3rd</td>
<td>witnessed</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>present+gi.yod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>present+gi.'dug.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unwitnessed</td>
<td>present+gi.yog.red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9.8: Present tense unintentional clauses*

---

**Negative**

khyed. rang. phebs.kyi.mi.'dug.

"You’re not going."

mo. rang. slob.sbyong. byed.kyi. "e.yod.

"I don’t suppose she’s studying?"

For second/third-person self-centred clauses with Vb.-gi.yod., Tomulic (1987 vol.1:156,162,174) gives the negative (in her transliteration) Vb.-gi-med-par yod., in my transliteration probably Vb.-gi.med.pa.yod. Vb.-gimbe:bajs:. Informants confirm that this is possible, though I have only heard the expected Vb.-gi.med. in these admittedly rather rare clauses.
— Present tense referring to present time
When referring to present time the present tense may be translated into English variously by the aspectually neutral simple present ("Vb.", "Vb.-s") or the present progressive ("am/is/are Vb.-ing").

— Present tense as progressive aspect
When referring to past time the present tense is similar to English past progressive (imperfect: "was/were Vb.-ing").

— Present tense as imminent aspect
The present tense can refer to future time to denote an imminent action as in

da.lta. nga. khyed.rang.gi. rtsa.la. yong.gi.yod. “I’m coming to your place now.”
tanda  ga  kjeragg  tsala  juggyjö:  (spoken over the telephone)
now  I  you-gen.  place-loc.  come-link.-aux.

Future tense (reference time follows speech time)
The patterns are:

  lexical present verb stem+linking particle -gi. (+polar particle)
    +auxiliary -yin./red. (+modal particle)

  lexical past verb stem+linking particle -pa. (+polar particle)
    +auxiliary -yod./'dug. (+modal particle)

The particle combinations -gi.yin. and -pa.'dug. have the shorter more informal alternants -gi. -gi and -pa. -ba:/ga:/ga: respectively.

— Intentional clauses (Figure 9.9)
In intentional clauses the form -gi-red. may be used with first-person subjects to imply a degree of lack of intention or control: a prediction rather than a statement of intent:

  sang.nyin. nga. las.ka. 'di. byed.kyi.red.
  "sänl:  ga  le:ga  di  tɕi:gi:zë:
tomorrow  I  work  this  do-link.-aux.
  “I shall be doing this work tomorrow (due to circumstances beyond my control)."
Some speakers also allow the witnessed second/third person forms -pa.-'dug. and -pa.yod. in this sense:

\[
\text{sang.nyin. nga. snga.po. langs.pa.yod.}
\]
\[
\text{\_sa\_ nga:bu \_la\_baj:;}
\]
\[
\text{tomorrow I early-nom. rise-link.-aux.}
\]

"I’m sure to get up early tomorrow (because I’ve arranged to be woken)."

In the interrogative clauses with first person plural subjects, the usual Vb.-gi.red.pas. construction with “swapover” to other-centred auxiliary may be replaced by Vb.-gi.yin.pas. with self-centred auxiliary as an invitation to a concerted act:

\[
\text{nga.tshos. zhal.lag. zhu.gi.yin.pas.}
\]
\[
\text{\_ga\_ \_g\_ \_g\_;}
\]
\[
\text{I-num.-smp. meal eat-link.-aux.-interr.}
\]

— Unintentional clauses

In unintentional clauses the first person self-centred form in -gi.yin. is impossible.
Here the paradigm for all persons is the same as that of the second/third person in intentional clauses.

— “Witnessed” future forms with -pa.yod. and -pa.'dug.
Although by definition the future cannot be witnessed by normal human beings, I have included the “witnessed” -pa.'dug. and -pa.yod. in the future tense because in the absence of any indication to the contrary (and in spite of the past verb stem to which they are attached), they are usually interpreted as referring to future time. In this case what has been witnessed is not the event itself but some definite evidence which strongly suggests that the event will take place. Thus in a sentence such as

\[
\text{kho. las.ka. byas.pa.'dug.} \quad \text{“He’s sure to do the work.”}
\]

\[
\text{\textasciitilde} \text{kh\textasciitilde}_3 \text{le:ga} \text{ t\textasciitilde}e:badu:}
\]

3sg. work did-link.-aux.

the speaker must have some first-hand evidence for the statement, such as having witnessed preparations for the work or having discussed the matter with the person concerned. The event is presented as a matter of opinion rather than a gnomic prediction, for which the -gi.red. form would be used:

\[
\text{kho. las.ka. byed.kyi.red.} \quad \text{“He’ll do the work.”}
\]

\[
\text{\textasciitilde} \text{kh\textasciitilde}_3 \text{le:ga} \text{ t\textasciitilde}pi:gie:\]
\]

3sg. work do-link.-aux.

These forms are found in both intentional and unintentional clauses.

— Future with -yong.
There is also a future tense found in both intentional and unintentional clauses comprising

lexical past stem (+polar particle)+auxiliary -yong.
(+modal particle)

which when referring to future time may denote imminence, urgency or expectation:

\[
\text{ngas. byas.yong.} \quad \text{“I’m going to do it (don’t you worry)!”}
\]

\[
\text{\textasciitilde} \text{ne:} \text{ t\textasciitilde}e:j\textasciitilde}_3: \]
I-smp. did-aux.

\[
\text{khyed.rang. zags.yong.} \quad \text{“(Look out,) you’re going to fall!”}
\]

\[
\text{\textasciitilde} \text{kjer\textasciitilde}d: \text{ saij\textasciitilde}_3: \]
you fall-aux.
VERB PHRASES

khyed. rang. la. las. ka. rag. yong. “(I expect) you’ll find work.”

_you-loc. work get-aux._

— Future tense - polarity
Future tense forms generally follow the majority pattern:

**lexical verb stem+linking particle (+polar particle)+auxiliary (+modal particle)**

— Negative

khyed. rang. gnang. gi. ma. red. “You won’t do it.”

_you do-link.-neg.-aux._

— Dubitative

kho. tshag. par. klog. gi. “e. yin. “I doubt if he’ll read the newspaper.”

_he newspaper read-link.-dub.-aux._

khyed. rang. la. las. ka. rag. “e. yong. “I doubt if you’ll find work.”

_you-loc. work get dub.-aux._

With certain polarity, the pattern resembles the minority pattern for the negative past tense:

**polar particle+lexical verb**

nga. tsho. lha. sar. bslebs. nas. khyed. rang. los. mjal. _I-num. Lhasa-loc. arrive-sub. you cert. visit_

“When we have arrived in Lhasa, of course we shall visit you.”

— Future tense referring to future time
When referring to future time the future tense may be translated into English variously by the aspectually neutral future (“shall/will Vb.”) or the future progressive (“shall/will be Vb.-ing.”)
— Future tense as habitual aspect
The -gi.red. form of the future is very commonly used with first, second or third person to refer to present and sometimes past time, in which case it expresses habitual aspect.

When referring to past or present time, the form with -yong., like that with -gi.red., lacks any sense of imminence and denotes habitual action.

— Future tense referring to past time
The future forms with -pa.yod. and -pa.-'dug. may refer to past time, with their normal implication of indirect evidence - i.e. of the circumstances of the event rather than the event itself - as in:

\[
\text{kho. kha.sang. las.ka. byas.ba.'dug.} \]
\[
\text{k\textsc{h}o k\textsc{b}as\textsc{d}: l\textsc{e}ga t\textsc{e}b\textsc{adu}:} \]
\[
3\text{sg. yesterday work did-link.-aux.} \]

"He's sure to have done the work yesterday." (e.g. because he promised me he would, and I trust him).

Often such predicators may be translated by an English future perfect: "He will have done the work yesterday."

— Future tense as conditional
In conditional sentences, clauses with -gi.red. are regularly found in the apodosis to refer to future, present and sometimes even past time, particularly with involuntary verbs and when making an assertion of purported fact:

\[
\text{khyed.rang. kha.lag. 'di. bzas.pa.yin.na. na.gi.red.} \]
\[
\text{k\textsc{je}rd: k\textsc{hala}: d\textsc{i} s\textsc{e}b\textsc{ejna} n\textsc{g\text{\textperiodcenterdot}are}:} \]
\[
\text{you food this ate-link.-aux.-sub. be ill-link.-aux.} \]

"If you ate this food, you would be ill." or, "If you had eaten this food, you would have been ill."

Clauses with -pa.yod. and -pa.'dug. are often translated by Tibetans into unidiomatic English using "would" (i.e. "If you would have eaten this food, ...".). Indeed, these forms also occur in conditional sentences in the apodosis to refer to past time, where the protasis is counterfactual, e.g.:

\[
\text{kha.ssa. khyed.rang.gis. ngar. lab.na. ngas. 'khyer. yong.ba.yod.} \]
\[
\text{k\textsc{e}sa k\textsc{jerag}\text{\textperiodcenterdot} ga: l\textsc{v}\text{\textperiodcenterdot}na \textsc{pe}: k\textsc{je}: y\textsc{g\textperiodcenterdot}b\textsc{ej}\text{\textperiodcenterdot}s:} \]
\[
yesterday you-smp. I-loc. tell-sub. I-smp. carry come-link.-aux. \]

"If you had told me yesterday, I would have brought it."

These forms are also used in the equivalents of some idiomatic English uses of "would", e.g.
VERB PHRASES

"Would you like some tea?"

“I wouldn’t dare go there!”

-- Future tense in conditional protasis

The future tense in the protasis of a conditional sentence refers to future time and a condition regarded as possible, likely or intended:

"If he goes tomorrow" or
"If he is going tomorrow" or
"If he is going to go tomorrow"

The future tense here has a shorter alternant without the -gi.yin..

This contrasts with a hypothetical future condition ("If he were to go tomorrow"), referred to by a past tense (see 9.3.4.1).

-- Future tense forms with verbs of being

The particles -gi.red. may be added to verbs of being yin.- and yod.- to give the forms yin.gi.red. and yod.kyi.red. These do not refer by default to future time but express “probable” judgemental modality (see above).

The form yin.pa.yod. -jmbaj~: again does not refer by default to future time. It is used where one has some personal experience which can be used as evidence for the statement, though not necessarily very strong evidence. The English “I think ...” or “I seem to remember ...” is often appropriate:

"I think (from something I remember or have been told) that the students’ summer holidays are seven weeks long.” (Hu Tan et al. 1989:252)

According to Tomulic (vol.1,133ff.), the particles -gi.red. can be added to the verb red.- to give the future tense form red.kyi.red. re:grre:, which serves as an alternative future tense for yin. and red., referring to future time.

yong. as a verb of being is found with future tense particles -gi.red..
9.3.5 Aspect

In addition to the aspectual uses of the three tenses as described above, Tibetan has distinct aspect forms referring to events E which are completed, in progress or in prospect at reference point or frame RT, regardless of the relation between RT and the speech time ST. The template established for adjectival copular clauses (9.2.3) and the tenses applies to the perfect aspect, but only partially to the other aspects.

**Perfect aspect (reference time follows event time)**

— Simple perfect aspect (Figure 9.11)

The simple perfect (henceforth just called "perfect") aspect is very common in Lhasa Tibetan and behaves similarly in intentional and unintentional clauses. Its pattern is similar to that of the intentional clause present tense, but with past verb stem rather than present, and with no linking particle:

**lexical past stem (+polar particle)+auxiliary (+modal particle)**

When the reference time RT is the present, the perfect may often be translated by a (British) English present perfect, and when RT is in the past, by an English pluperfect.

\[ \text{dkyil.la. smyug.ma. btang.yod.} \quad \text{"I have fixed a bamboo in the centre."} \]

\[ \text{\^kji:la \^nogma \^tagjä:} \text{ centre-loc. bamboo fix-aux.} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Viewpoint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>past+yod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>past+'dug.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd/3rd</td>
<td>witnessed</td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unwitnessed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9.11: Simple perfect aspect clauses*
Verbs Phrases

"He had been ill for a week."

khong. bdun.phrag. cig. na.'dug.

kh5: _dyndra tci: _nadu:

3sg. week num. be ill-aux.

With the common verb bsdad. and its honorifics bzhugs. and bzhugs.gdan.
'jags., meaning "stay", "dwell", "live", "be seated", "remain", "be located"; the
perfect is very often best translated as an English present or past (depending on the
time of RT). This is no doubt because it usually carries quite a strong sense of what
some linguists investigating the perfect aspect have called "extended now" or "current
relevance" (Binnick, index: 531, 533).

"My brothers are in Tibet."

nga'i. spun.kyag. bod.la. bsdad.yog.red.

pe: _pingja: _pa:la _de:jo:re:

I-gen. brother Tibet-loc. stay-aux.

In the few examples I have with RT as the future, the perfect is translatable by an
English future or future perfect:

khyed.rang. tshogs.'du.la. phyis.na. chad.yog.red.

kjerd: _tshugdula _tchipa: _tche:jo:re:

you meeting-loc. be late-sub. fine-aux.

"If you are late for the meeting, you will be fined."

(Lhasawa 1980-86 vol.2:108)

— Perfect aspect with -shag.

The constituent -shag. (also spelt bzhag. or gsha'). following the past verb stem at
auxiliary position is extremely common in the Lhasa dialect.

-shag. is sometimes said to be interchangeable with perfect auxiliary -'dug., and
indeed for its polar and mood forms other than positive indicative, the corresponding
forms of -'dug. or (mainly with first-person subjects) yod. have to be used. It is very
close in meaning to -'dug., but for most speakers differs in that some result of the act
or event referred to has been witnessed, but not the act or event itself. The distinction
is sometimes clear, but it can be a rather subtle one.

de.ring. char.pa. btang.'dug.

_tirl: _tcha:bo _tangdu:

today rain fall-aux.

"It has been raining today."

(I saw the rain.)

de.ring. char.pa. btang.shag.

_tirl: _tcha:bo _ta:pa

today rain fall-aux.

"I've just realised it has been raining today."

(I can see the puddles, but didn't see it raining.)

khong. nang.la. bzhugs.'dug.

kh5: _nagla _cudu:

3sg. inside-loc stay-aux.

"She is at home." (I have seen her.)
khong. nang.la. bzhugs.shag.
khong. ni. pha.gi. shi.shag.
chu.tshod. bzhi.pa. zin.shag.

khyi. pha.gi. shi.shag.
khong.gi. mtshan. brjed.shag.

ngai. nyi.gdugs. lus.'dug.
ngai. nyi.gdugs. lus.shag.
kong. nang.la. bzhugs.shag.

'I've left my umbrella behind.'
'I've forgotten his name.'
'I've left my umbrella behind!
(I must have, as it's not here.)
(I must have, because I can't call it to mind.)
(I must have, because it is dead.)
(I'm looking at my watch.)

"I've left my car here."
"(I remember doing so.)"
"(I must have, as it's not here.)"
(If I had taken this medicine, I would have got better.)

In the case of -shag. with first-person subject, the act must have been unconscious at the time it took place.

-- Perfect aspect as conditional mood

The perfect aspect in -yog.red. is often found in the apodosis of a conditional sentence with a counterfactual protasis referring to past time, e.g.:

sman. 'di. bzas.pa.yin.na. gzugs.po. bde.po. chags. bsad.yog.red.

"If I had taken this medicine, I would have got better.”

-- Perfect aspect forms with verbs of being

The form red.'dug. may be thought of as combining the assertive nature of the verb red., relating to an innate quality, with the "witnessed discovery" sense of the auxiliary particle 'dug. Some such English expression as "I see that ..." may often be used in translation:
"I see you are a strong lion."

\( \text{Goldstein 1991, 337: my trans.} \)

The form `red.shag.` is also possible:

\[ \text{nga.gnyis. grong.pa. red.shag.} \]

"Evidently we are neighbours!"

\[ \text{byung. as a verb of being is found with perfect particles -yod., -’dug., -yog.red. and -shag.} \]

Recent aspect (reference time immediately follows event time)

The recent aspect follows the pattern:

**Lexical present** stem+linking particle -gro. (+polar particle)
+auxiliary -yin./-red. (+modal particle)

\[ \text{nga. bslebs.gro.yin.} \]

"I had just arrived."

\[ \text{ngas. kha.lag. bzos.pa.da.ga.yin.} \]

"I have just prepared a meal."

**Progressive Aspect (Reference Time Contained within Event Time)**

Progressive action is most commonly denoted by the present tense. However when referring to present time the present tense is ambiguous between progressive, habitual and neutral aspects. Specifically progressive action may be denoted by the rather uncommon pattern:
lexical present stem+linking particle -mus. (+polar particle)
+auxiliary -yin./-red. (+modal particle)

kho. da.lta. las.ka. byed.mus.red. “He is working at the moment.”
ţkho tando le ga tci my re: (French: “Il est en train de travailler.”)
3sg. now work do-nom.-aux.

According to Roerich and Lhalungpa (1957:50), the subject of such a clause may not have a subject-marking particle. This is not true for my own material; and Goldstein et al. (1991:56f.) give two literary examples with subject-marking particle.

Prospective aspect (reference time precedes event time)
The prospective aspect may be divided into four subtypes: “gerundive”, “premeditated”, “imminent” and “preparative” aspect. It is formed on the majority pattern:

lexical present stem+linking particle (+polar particle)
+auxiliary -yin./-red. (+modal particle)

The linking particles are -rgyu., -yag., -mkhan., -grabs. and -chog.. (In the case of -chog., the lexical past stem is sometimes found.)

— Gerundive aspect
The gerundive aspect denotes an event E which, though intended or desirable, had not, has not or will not have happened at the reference time RT.

nga. nyo.cha. nyo.rgyu.yin. “I have still to do the shopping.”
ña ncha gbza ngjorl:
I shopping buy-link.-aux.

kho. ‘byor.rgyu.red.shag. “Evidently he is yet to arrive.”
ţkho dzogjure:ca
he arrive-link.-aux.-aux.

When a deictic constituent such as rang. or de. is interposed between -rgyu. And yin. or red., I classify the -rgyu. as a nominalising particle with a different meaning (see 8.5.1).

Some speakers use -rgyu. synonymously with -yag. or -mkhan. to denote premeditated aspect:
"Next year I am to go to Tibet."

next year I Tibet-loc. go-link.-aux.

— Premeditated aspect

The premeditated aspect with present verb stem, linking particle -mkhan. and auxiliary -yin./-red. refers to a pending event E whose occurrence, often in the near future, has, had or will have already been planned at the reference time RT. English "going to" is often appropriate in the translation; sometimes "intend to" or even "want to" (Lhasawa 2, 139 with -yag.):

me. ma.dang./ ga.re. yin. zer.na. lon.dron.la. 'gro.mkhan.yin.
me 'madd: kart _jl: sena lñaandr̥ñlø _droŋjìl:
fire neg.-light what be say-sub. London-loc. go-link.-aux.

"I didn’t light a fire. This was because I was going to go to London."

— Prospective particle -yag.

Use of the third prospective particle, -yag. (with auxiliary -yin./-red.) varies between speakers, as is reflected in its treatment by different authorities.

Some regard -rgyu. as the Modern Literary, and -yag. as the colloquial variant of the same particle (Lhasawa 1980-86 vol.1:193 - but see 122; Agha 1993b:228f). However, both particles may be heard from some speakers, for whom -yag. seems to replace -mkhan. as marker of premeditated aspect (Tomulic 1987 vol.2:430f, 447ff; Goldstein & Nornang 1970: 120).

Yet other speakers have gerundive -rgyu. and premeditated -mkhan. without -yag. in this use at all. Goldstein et al. (1991:108,143) has all three, with -yag. equivalent to -mkhan., though this is Modern Literary usage.

— Imminent aspect

The imminent aspect with the linking particle -grabs. and auxiliary -yod./-'dug./-yog.red. refers to an event E which is to happen immediately after the reference time RT.

zhi.mis. nya. zin.grabs.'dug. "The cat is about to catch a fish."
_zimì: _na _simdro'du:
cat-smp. fish catch-link.-aux.

— Preparative aspect

The preparative aspect with the linking particle -chog. or chog.chog. and auxiliary -yin./-red. (or sometimes -yog.red.) refers to an event E which is ready to happen at any time after reference time RT. It can usually be translated "ready to Vb." or "could
Vb. at any time”. It is heard with both present and past verb stems; the difference in meaning, if any, has not been investigated.

```
ktto. tsho. 'gro.chog.red.
-kbndzo _drodzore:
3sg.-num. go-link.-aux.
```

“They are ready to go.”

```
zam.pa. lug.chog.red.
_samba _lugdzore:
bridge collapse-link.-aux.
```

“The bridge could collapse at any time.”

```
yig.ge. 'di. ngas. bris.chog.chog.yin.
_jigi _di _ne: _tri:dzogdzijl:
letter this I-smp. write-link.-aux.
```

“I was ready to write the letter.”

— Homographs of prospective particles

There are verb particles written -rgyu., -yag. and -mkhan. which have much in common semantically with the prospective aspect particles but are better regarded as nominalising particles (see 13.4).

Aspect: Polarity

As indicated above, negative or dubitative polarity may in principle be marked by a polarising particle immediately before the auxiliary in all the aspects, though some of the resulting forms may be pragmatically unusual.

The negative and dubitative forms of the perfect aspect are frequently used in preference to those of the past tense:

```
las.ka. 'di. byas.med.
_le:ga _di _tce:me:
work the did-neg.-aux.
```

“I haven’t done/didn’t do the work.”

```
hko. ha.sa.la. phyin. "e.yod.
-kho _le:sa:la _tcb: _ajjo:
he Lhasa-loc. went dub.-aux.
```

“I doubt if he has gone/went to Lhasa.”

9.3.6 Mood and judgemental modality

The systems of mood and judgemental modality described under verbs of being at 9.2.6 and 9.2.8 and operating mainly at the modal position generally apply en bloc to all verb phrases with auxiliaries: i.e. all tenses and aspects discussed above. Some particle combinations have shorter alternants often heard in informal situations as follows:
-gi.yin.pas. (future interrogative) alternates with -gi.pas. and -gas.
-pa.yin.pas. (past interrogative) " -pa.
-pa.yin.pas. (past apparent modality) " -pa.'dra.

Examples:

— Past tense, interrogative mood

kho.tsho. bslebs.byung.ngas. "Have they arrived?"
\[ k^\text{b\dagger} \text{ndzo} \quad \text{le} : \text{dzug} ; \]
3sg.-num. arrive-aux.-interr.

— Present tense, wh-interrogative mood (-pa.yin.pa. alternates with -pa.(-yin.))

khyed.rang. ga.nas. phebs.ba.yin.pa. /phebs.pa.yin. /phebs.pa.
\[ k^\text{jerd}: \quad \text{k} \text{\text{a}n}: \quad \text{p}^\text{\text{h}e}: \text{bajmb} / \text{p}^\text{\text{h}e}: \text{baj} / \text{p}^\text{\text{h}e}: \text{ba} \]
you what-abl. come-link.-aux.-wh.interr.
"Where did you come from?"

— Future tense, wh-interrogative mood (-gi.yin.pa. alternates with -gi.yin. and -ga.)

khyed.rang. ga.par. thad.kyi.yin.pa./thad kyi.yin./thad.ga.
\[ k^\text{jerd}: \quad \text{k} \text{\text{a}b}: \quad \text{t}^\text{\text{h}e}: \text{gajmb} / \text{t}^\text{\text{h}e}: \text{gaj} / \text{t}^\text{\text{h}e}: \text{ga} \]
you where-loc. go-link.-aux.-wh.interr.
"Where are you going?"

— Future tense, corroborative mood

khos. khang.pa. cig. rgyag.gi.red.pa. "He will build a house, as we
\[ k^\text{h}: \quad k^\text{h} \text{\text{a}g}\text{b} \text{\text{a}r} \text{\text{c}i}: \quad \text{g} \text{\text{j}a} \text{g}\text{a} \text{r}\text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \]
3sg.-smp. house num. build-link.-aux.-corrob.

— Perfect aspect, emphatic mood

kho.tsho. bslebs.'dug.ga. "They have arrived!"
\[ k^\text{b\dagger} \text{ndzo} \quad \text{le} : \text{doga} \]
3sg.-num. arrive-aux.-emph.

— Recent aspect, apparent modality

khyed.rang. kha.lag. za.gro.yin.pa.'dra. "You seem to have just eaten."
\[ k^\text{jerd}: \quad k^\text{h} \text{\text{a}l} \text{\text{a}} \text{\text{c}a} : \quad \text{s}\text{a}\text{d}\text{ro} \text{jimmbadra} \]
you meal eat-link.-aux.-link.-aux.
— Progressive aspect, probable modality

\[ \text{khong.gis. slob.sbyong. gnang.mus.yin.gyi.red. } \]  
\[ \text{"She's probably at her studies."} \]
\[ ^{-}k\text{bonggi: -labdzö: } \text{-namgyi.jingre:} \]
\[ 3\text{sgf.-smp. study do-link.-aux.-link.-aux.} \]

— Prospective aspect (premeditated), possible modality

\[ \text{kho. rgya.gar.la. yong.mkhan.yin.gro. } \]  
\[ \text{"He may be going to come to India."} \]
\[ ^{-}k\text{bo } \text{gya:la } \text{-j5nêjindro} \]
\[ 3\text{sg. India-loc. come-link.-aux.-poss.} \]

— Present tense, speculative modality

\[ \text{da. 'gro. ran.gyi.med.gro'o. } \]  
\[ \text{"Mightn't it be time to go now?"} \]
\[ _{-}ta _{-}dro _{-}ra\text{ggam\text{e}dro:} \]
\[ \text{now go be time-link.-neg.-aux.-spec.} \]

— Future tense, emphatic mood

\[ \text{nga. 'gro.gi.yin.da. } \]  
\[ \text{"I'll definitely go."} \]
\[ _{-}ga _{-}drugyjinda \]
\[ \text{I go-link.-aux.-emph.} \]

The emphatic particle -da. may be added to the first member of a reduplicated verb pair to convey a meaning like that of the German “zwar”. In main clauses it means “certainly”, and in subordinate clauses in combination with the subordinating particle -te. it means “certainly ... but”:

\[ \text{nga. 'gro.da. 'gro.gi.yin. } \]  
\[ \text{"Certainly I'll go."} \]
\[ _{-}ga _{-}droda _{-}grugyjì: \]
\[ \text{I go-emph. go-link.-aux.} \]

\[ \text{khong.gis. gnang.da. gnang.gi.red. de. } \]  
\[ \text{"Certainly he'll do it, but ..."} \]
\[ ^{-}k\text{bonggi: -nânda -næggare: te} \]
\[ \text{he-smp. do-emph. do-link.-aux. sub.} \]

.9.3.7 Imperative, suggestive and volunteering moods

In these moods the verb stem is followed within the predicator either by zero, or by a modal particle.


**Imperative with zero particle**

The imperative verb stem, where available, is used with positive polarity. If the verb has a present and past stem but no separate imperative stem, the present stem is used.

```plaintext
   ga.le. phebs.
   _kaLi: "phe:
slowly go

   "Goodbye!" ("Go slowly!")
```

With negative polarity the present or present/past stem is used rather than the imperative stem, preceded by polar particle `ma.-`.

```plaintext
   kha.lag. 'di. ma.za.
   "kha.lag. 'di. ma.za.
   food this neg.-eat

   "Don’t eat this food!"
```

**Idiomatic imperatives with zero particle**

**Polite imperative.** More deferential periphrastic imperatives are formed by nominalising the present stem of the verb with nominalising particle `-rogs.` followed by the imperative verb stem `byed.` (pronounced `_tçi: ` or `_tçi:sc `) “do” or `gnang. "nd:` “do” (hon.). With negative polarity the polar particle precedes the nominalised verb.

```plaintext
   bzhugs.rogs. gnang.
   _ghu: nd:
   sit-nom. do

   "Please sit down."
```

**Optative.** The hope that some event may take place may be expressed by nominalising the past verb stem with `-pa.` followed by the imperative stem `shog.` “come”:

```plaintext
   nga.tsho. phyi.po. ma.byas.pas. shog.
   -gandzo "tçibu _madze:be -ço
   I-num. late-nom. neg.-did-nom. come (imperative stem )

   "I hope we won’t be late."
```

**Imperative with shog.** With verbs thought to involve some sort of movement an alternative imperative is formed with the imperative stem followed by the imperative verb `shog. “come”, sometimes followed by one of the friendly imperative particles. `shog.` is here best regarded as a serial verb (it is the suppletive imperative stem of `yong. “come”, also commonly used as a serial verb: see 10.1). Sometimes the English “go and Vb.” is a good equivalent.

```plaintext
   sang.nyin. nga'i. rtsa.la. phebs. shog. "a.
   -sap: _pe: _tsala "phe: "ço ?a
   tomorrow I-gen. place-loc. come come imp.

   "Come to my place tomorrow!"
```
"Go and ask her (and come back)."

khong.la. skad.cha. dris. shog.

Friendly imperatives: dang., "a., cig./zhig./shig.

These particles follow the imperative stem with positive polarity, the present or present/perfect stem with negative polarity.

tog.tse. sgug. "a.

tep. te  nd: ta

deb. de. gnang. dang.

Suggestive moods

— Suggestive particle -na.

da.lta. zhal.lag. bzhes.na.

— Suggestive particle -do.

The particle -do, meaning "let’s" follows the present stem. It may be used with an honorific verb to convey respect to the referent of the other subject(s) of the verb.

mnyam.du. phebs.do.

Volunteering moods

— Imperative/volunteering particle -dgos.

The particle -dgos. follows the past stem.

chang. ngas. nyos.dgos.

— Volunteering particle -chog.

The particle -chog. follows the past stem.
ngas. yi.ge. btang.chog.  "I can easily send a letter."
_ne:  _jgi  _tgadzo  "Let me send a letter."
I-smp. letter  send-vol.

— Volunteering particle -ga. (see also 12.2.)
The particle -ga. follows the past stem.

ngas. kha.lag.  bzos.ga.  "Shall I prepare the food?"
_ne:  _kha.la:  _bzos.ga
I-smp. food  made-vol.

Notes

1 "Argument" here includes subject and object/complement but not adjunct.
2 This phenomenon of viewpoint is called by Agha "[speech act-] participant role perspective", of which he says "this type of indexical category is a non-referring indexical, since it is not coded in a nominal form capable of referring. It is an indexical category of predication, capable of coding values independent of the values coded by the system of nominal reference, [which latter are] located within the arguments of the predication." (Agha 1993b:156-8.) According to him, the phenomenon is "peculiar to Lhasa Tibetan and certain closely related languages" [Sherpa - actually a Tibetan dialect - and Newari.] (Ibid.:8, 256fn).
3 An exception is the form red.gi.red. given by Tomulic (1987 vol.1:13f.) as future tense of red. I have not heard this.
4 Although no other verb in Lhasa Tibetan has a separate future stem, these exist in written Tibetan (see 8.2).
5 E.g. Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.1:51).
6 Spelt variously 'gro., grabs., 'dra'o..
7 Thus I would disagree with the claim of Agha (1993b:91) that Lhasa Tibetan "lacks agreement marking in the verb altogether". Compare however his statement that "the verb [yin.] requires that the agent argument denote the speaker" (189); and his reference to "obligatory person values" of auxiliaries (116); also the statement that volunteering constructions "require first person subjects" (243).
8 Agha (1993b:92f, 109f, 114, 127, 141, 147, 224, 255fn). For Agha (114) Lhasa Tibetan "lacks a category of true tense, so that time reference is figured through the interaction of the aspactual values of the verb stems [a combination of lexical aspect or aktionsart and perfective/imperfective stem distinction] and the quasi-aspectual values of NZRs [linking particles]." Agha's aspect seems a vague and fluctuating phenomenon, which is more lexico-semantic than grammatical. Thus the combination of his "perfective" verb stem bltas. with "completed" quasi-aspect of linking particle pa. can give a semantically imperfective result in bltas.pa.red. "he used to watch" through "aspeccual variability ... due to the inherent imperfectivity of the [auxiliary]..." In fact bltas.pa.red. can also mean "he has been watching", which in English is present perfect progressive, as well as "he watched", which in English makes no aspeccual distinction. I prefer to regard bltas.pa.red. and its commonest English equivalent "he watched" as aspectually neutral in both languages, because of the possible meanings of the whole form in context, rather than through any componential analysis of its parts.
9 Different authors give diverse accounts of these forms. Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.1:47, 61) gives "might" and "maybe" in his translations, and Goldstein et al. (1991:17) likewise regard yin.pa.red. as "less certain" than red. Agha on the other hand, regards yin.pa.red. as conveying "emphatic certainty" (1993b:232). This anomaly is reflected in the English modal "must", which is "emphatic" while yet not based on certain knowlege.
10 Tomulic (1987 vol.2:530ff) gives examples of negative imperative using the imperative stem.
10. Serial Verbs

In some cases a verb stem may have another and preceding verb stem related to it by serialisation rather than subordination.

In subordination, the first verb is in the predicator of a separate subordinate clause, and may be followed by tense/aspect particles, as well as by subordinate-clause-final particle(s) and/or the possibility of a pause. The subjects of the two verbs may be different, and there may be a subject, object and/or adjunct in the second clause between the two verbs.

In serialisation, the result is best analysed as a single clause. The only kind of particle which may follow the first verb is a serial particle; the subject of the two verbs must be the same (except in the case of bcug. “cause”); and there cannot be a subject, object or adjunct between the two verbs.

The different serialising verbs vary in their degree of grammaticisation and phonological independence, though it could be claimed that they, or their homographs, all exist independently and can be used outside the context of serialisation. I have refined and modified the classification of DeLancey (1991), to distinguish five groups representing five increasing degrees of grammaticisation. I avoid his terminology to avoid confusion (the glosses indicate the meanings of the verbs in non-serial contexts):

c) tshar. “finish”; myong. “experience”.
e) dgos. “need”, “want”, “be obliged”.

The second elements of Agha’s class of “compound verbs” (Agha 1993b:120ff) correspond to many of these verbs.

10.1 'gro., yong., bsdad.

These three constituents are all much more common as independent verbs than as serial verbs. In their latter use they may be glossed as 'gro. “go Vb.-ing”, yong. “come Vb.-ing”, and bsdad. “keep on Vb.-ing”. In each of the following examples (adapted from DeLancey 1991:6), the presence or absence of the serial particle byas. is
said by most informants to make no difference to the meaning. Sometimes one hears the serial particle -nas. instead of byas. with the same meaning:

\[ \text{kho.} \text{rgya.gar.la.} \text{bros. (byas.) yong.pa.red.} \quad \text{He fled (here) to India.} \]
\[ \text{3sg.} \text{India-loc. flee (ser.) come-link-aux.} \]

\[ \text{kho. la.dwags.la.} \text{bros. (byas.) phyin.pa.red.} \quad \text{He ran away to Ladakh.} \]
\[ \text{3sg. Ladakh-loc. flee (ser.) went-link-aux.} \]

\[ \text{kho. nang.la. las.ka. byas. (byas.) bsad.pa.red.} \quad \text{He kept working at home.} \]
\[ \text{3sg. home-loc. work did (ser.) stay-link-aux.} \]

\[ \text{kho. rta. bzhon.nas. yong.pa.red.} \quad \text{He came on horseback.} \]
\[ \text{3sg. horse ride-ser. come-link-aux.} \]

The serial particles byas. and -nas. have homographs which are respectively a serial verb and a subordinating particle (13.1; 13.2). However, as serial particles byas. and -nas. indicate simultaneity of the actions of the two verbs, the first verb qualifying the second as a sort of “adverb of manner”. As serial verb or subordinating particle, byas. or -nas. may be placed between any pair of verbs to indicate that the two actions are temporally sequential. Also, as serial verb or subordinating particle, the subjects of the two clauses may differ, and a noun phrase (in the following examples, an adjunct) may be interposed between the verbs:

\[ \text{kho. bros. (byas.) rgya.gar.la. yong.pa.red.} \quad \text{He fled, and then came} \]
\[ \text{3sg. flee (did) India-loc come-link-aux.} \]

\[ \text{kho. bros. (byas.) la.dwags.la. phyin.pa.red.} \quad \text{He fled, and then went} \]
\[ \text{3sg. flee (did) Ladakh-loc went-link-aux.} \]

\[ \text{kho. las.ka. byas. (byas.) nang.la. bsad.pa.red.} \quad \text{He worked, and then} \]
\[ \text{3sg. work did (did) home-loc. stay-link-aux.} \]

In the following example with serial verb byas., its subject is different from that of the main clause:
When he had eaten, I telephoned him.

These three verbs are again commoner as independent than as serial verbs; in their latter use the meaning seems more specialised than is the case with 'gro., 'yong. and bsdad.

Serial verb bzhag.

bzhag. ("put", "leave", "deposit") as a serial verb conveys a meaning somewhat like the English "go and" in such expressions as "he has gone and bought it", implying a decisive act leading to a lasting state of affairs, sometimes with a pejorative overtone:

khos. nyos. bzhag.'dug. "He’s gone and bought it."

3sg. bought put-aux.

Serial verb shes.

shes. and its honorific mkhyen. ("know", "understand") as serial verbs mean "know how to":

khong. slob.sbyong. gnang. mkhyen.gyi.'dug. "He knows how to study."

3sg. studying do know-link.-aux.

Here the subordinate version requires the past stem of the verb where available and has quite a different meaning:

khong. slob.sbyong. gnang. byas. mkhyen.gyi.'dug

3sg. studying do sub. know-link.-aux.

"Having studied it, he understands it."
Serial verb shor.

The verb *shor.* ("escape", "become lost") as a serial verb means "end up Vb.-ing":

\[
\text{nga. khor. dngul. sprad. shor.song.} \quad \text{"I ended up giving him the money."}
\]

10.3 *tshar.*, *myong.*

As independent lexical verb stems, *tshar.* and *myong.* mean "finish" and "experience" respectively.

Serial verb *tshar.*

*tshar.* has more of an independent existence than *myong.*: it can be used in all tenses and aspects, usually with the appropriate particles, though in first-person past tense clauses the particles are sometimes omitted:

\[
\text{nga. las.khung.la. phyin. tshar.(pa.yin.)} \quad \text{"I had gone to the office."}
\]

\[
\text{khos. las.ka. byas. tshar.song.} \quad \text{"He finished doing the work."}
\]

Serial verb *myong.*

*myong.* "experience" is not very common as an independent verb. As a serial verb it regularly lacks particles in first-person subject past tense clauses, and is grammaticised as an "experiential" perfect aspect marker. It can combine with perfect aspect:

\[
\text{khong.rnams.tsho. phyin. tshar.shag.} \quad \text{"They had already left."}
\]

myong. "experience" is not very common as an independent verb. As a serial verb it regularly lacks particles in first-person subject past tense clauses, and is grammaticised as an "experiential" perfect like the English "have/has/had ever Vb.-ed":

\[
\text{khong. lha.sa.la. phebs. myong.pa.red.pas.} \quad \text{"Has she ever been to Lhasa?"
\]

\[
\text{khong. lhasa-la. phebs. myong.pa.red.pas.} \quad \text{"Has she ever been to Lhasa?"}
\]
SERIAL VERBS

khyed. rang. bod. la. 'gro. myong. ngas. “Have you ever been to Tibet?”
‘kjerď: _pas:la _dro _nuge:
you Tibet-loc. go experience-interr.

'gro. myong.
_dro _nun
go experience

khyed. rang. bod. la. thad. myong. "e.yod. “Could it be that you have
‘kjerď: _pas:la _the: _nun _?a:j:
you Tibet-loc. go experience dub.-aux.

ngas. mthong. myong. shag.
_ne: _tb5: _nugca
I-smp. see experience-aux.

I0.4 bcug., thub., chog., ran., nus., srid., thag.chod.

These constituents probably do not exist as totally independent verbs: when used without a preceding verb the latter is lost through ellipsis and recoverable. Examples:

ngas. kho. 'gro.(ru.) bcug.pa.yin.
_ne: _kha _dro(ru) _tsu:ba:j:
I-smp. 3sg. go(-ser.) make-link.-aux.

For many speakers the verb preceding bcug. is followed by the serial (causative) particle -ru. indicated in parentheses above. This may be compared with the comparative adjective particle -ru. (11.1.2).

bcug. is the only serial verb which may have a subject different from that of the preceding verb. However, it is still the case that no noun phrase is allowable between the two verbs.

khos. las. ka. byas. chog. gi. red. “He is/will be allowed to work.”
~kha: _le:ga _tce: _tso:gyre:
he-smp. work did allow-link.-aux.

There is some variability between speakers and between verbs in the stem of the verb preceding chog.; in the above example the past stem is used, but one will also hear the present stem. chog. occurs most commonly in the future tense and in the nominalised chog.pa. pronounced _tso:ga in requests for permission:

nga. yong. chog.pa. byed.
_ga _ji: _tso:ga _tci:s
I come let-nom. do

“May I come?”
mo. tra. btag. chog. pa. gnang. rogs. gnang. "Please let me drive the car!"

_I mo. tra. _td: _tcbog. _nqro. _nd: car drive let-nom. do-nom. do

gnas. las. ka. 'di. byed. thub. kyi. 'dug. "I can do this work."
_gh: _le:ga _di _tpe: _thubgydu: I-smp. work this do. can-link.-aux.

da. 'gro. ran. gyi. 'dug. "It's time to go now."
hta _dro _rangadu: now go be time-link.-aux.

'di. khos. byed. nus. pa. mi. 'dug. "He wouldn't dare do that."

'dir. bsdad. na. las. ka. yong. srid. kyi. ma. red.
_de: _de:na _le:ga _j5: _sgimare: this-loc. stay-sub. work exist be possible-link.-neg.-aux.

"If you stay here, it will be impossible to get work."

rgyal. po. de. sems. shor. thag. chod. nas.
_gje:bu _te _sem _co: _tha: _tcbgini king that heart lose be definite-sub.

"The king having irrevocably lost his heart, ..." (Hu Tan et al. 1989: 201)

10.5 dgos.

The constituent dgos. is cited by DeLancy as the only example of his most advanced stage in grammaticisation, in such sentences as:

 nga. bod. la. 'gro. dgos. red. "I have to go to Tibet."
_gh: _psila _drogure: I Tibet-loc. go-link.-aux.

In this example dgos. is certainly best regarded as a linking particle, and therefore one of the terms in the system of linking particles discussed in Chapter 9. However, as DeLancy recognises (20 n.23), "the story of dgos. is more complicated than this". In fact there is an independent verb dgos. as well as a serial verb dgos. and a nominalising particle dgos. in addition to the linking particle dgos. and volunteering particle dgos., all in common use. Sometimes it is in fact rather difficult to classify a particular instance of dgos.. What is more, as an independent and serial verb it is grammatically quite idiosyncratic; added to which its graphic and phonological forms are out of step: it is always pronounced as if written dgo. rather than dgos.. There is also some variation in the English equivalents given by informants. It deserves a
special study for which there is no space here; a few examples of its different uses will have to suffice (ostensible tense/aspect forms are given in brackets where applicable):

Independent verb: "want", "need"

\[
\text{nga. gcig. dgos.} \\
\quad \text{I one want}
\]

\[
\text{nga. gcig. dgos.yod.} \\
\quad \text{I one want-aux. (perfect aspect, or perhaps a contraction of dgos.pa.yod., future tense)}
\]

\[
\text{nga. gcig. dgos.kyi.yod.} \\
\quad \text{I one want-link.-aux. (present tense, self-centred) idem.}
\]

\[
\text{nga. gcig. dgos.kyi.'dug.} \\
\quad \text{I one want-link.-aux. (present tense, other-centred) idem. more polite}
\]

\[
\text{nga. gcig. dgos.byung.} \\
\quad \text{I one want-aux. (past tense) "I wanted/needed one."}
\]

Serial verb: "should", "must"

\[
\text{slob.grwa.bas. sgrig.lam. yag.po. srung. dgos.} \\
\quad \text{student-smp. conduct good-nom. observe should} \\
\quad \text{"Students should conduct themselves properly."} \\
\quad \text{(Hu Tan et al. 1989:330)}
\]

\[
\text{nga. 'gro. mi.dgos.} \\
\quad \text{I go neg.-want}
\]

\[
\text{nga. 'gro. dgos.kyi.yod.} \\
\quad \text{I go must-link.-aux. (present tense) "I must go."} \\
\quad \text{(cf. Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957:56)}
\]

\[
\text{kho. 'gro. dgos.kyi.'dug.} \\
\quad \text{3sg. go want-link.-aux. (present tense) "He wants/needs to go."}
\]
nga. 'gro. dgos.kyi.yin.
  _ga _dro _gugyel:
    I go must-link.-aux.

(future tense) “I shall have to go.”
(cf. Amipa 1974:76)

khyed.rang. 'gro. dgos.kyi.red.
  ~kjerd: _dro _gugyre:
    you go should-link.-aux.

(future tense) “You should go.”
(cf. Amipa 1974:83)

**Linking particle**

nga./kho. gro.dgos.red.
  _ga/~kho _dro gure:
    I/3sg. go-link.-aux.

“I/he should/must go.”

**Nominalising particle.**

nga. 'gro.dgos. yod.
  _ga _drogo _jog:
    I go-nom. exist

“I would like/want/need to go.”

nga. 'gro.dgos. byung.
  _ga _drogo _tso:
    I go-nom. existed

“I have to go.”

nga. 'gro.dgos. byung.ba.red.
  _ga _drogo _tchugsre:
    I go-nom. existed-link.-aux.

“I had to go.”

nga. 'gro.dgos. byung.song.
  _ga _drogo _tchugsd
    I go-nom. existed-aux.

“I had to go.”

khong. 'gro.dgos. byed.kyi.red.
  ~kho: _drogo _tchigre:
    3sg. go-nom. do-link.-aux.

“She will have to go.”
(cf. Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957:146)

**Notes**

1 As DeLancey puts it, “the [diachronic] grammaticalization process in Tibetan will require the development of an innovative serialization construction lacking the NF [non-final clause] marker.” (DeLancey 1991:5). This of course assumes that the subordinating relationship came first historically.

2 Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.2:101) gives a list of nouns with which it combines to form phrasal verbs. It is not clear whether his past stem myangs is pronounced with an a-type vowel.
11. Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

The Tibetan adjective may be classified as an "adjectival verb" whose combinatorial possibilities differ from, but overlap, those of lexical verbs and verbs of being. An adjective may occur in the predicator of a clause.

More commonly, an adjective is nominalised by one or more nominalising particles, and occupies the position of epithet or head in the noun phrase (7.7). Such a nominalised adjective may be the head of the complement of an adjectival copular clause (with any of the five major verbs of being in the predicator). This distinguishes it from other nouns, which may be heads of complements of nominal copular clauses (with \textit{yin.} or \textit{red.} in the predicator), but not of adjectival copular clauses (9.2.3).

An adjective stem is always monosyllabic. Most adjectives have a single stem. Two common adjectives have a separate positive stem: \textit{chen.} "big" and \textit{sngon.} "blue", "green"; in other degrees they have non-positive stems \textit{che.} and \textit{sngo.} respectively.

An adjective stem may coexist in a word with an adjective particle, with a reduplication of itself, with noun particles or with verb particles.

An adjectival expression may be non-phrasal or phrasal; ordinary or honorific.

11.1 Adjectival Degrees

Adjectival expressions may be considered along a scale of degree comprising positive, comparative, considerable, superlative, intensive and excessive, and ultimate.

11.1.1 Positive degree

The positive degree of an adjective is formed by adding a nominalising particle after the stem, in the form of either a reduplicated version of the stem, or one of a small number of other particles. Which of the two applies to a particular adjective stem is lexically specified for that stem; as is the choice of the other particle.

\textit{Reduplication}

Adjectives which are nominalised through reduplication rather than combining with a particle often denote qualities partaking of smallness, unevenness, irregularity, looseness or fluctuation:
chung.chung.  "small"
nyung.nyung.  "few"
gzhon.gzhon.  "young"
lhug.lhug.  "loose"
chem.chem.  "glittering"
hrob.hrob.  "gravelly"

A few on the contrary denote exactitude or evenness:
tan.tan.  "certain"
tig.tig.  "exact"
tag.tag.  "just right"
leb.leb.  "level"

Positive particle
Most adjectives which combine with a nominalising particle do so with one of the following four: -pa./-ba., -po./bo., -ma., -mo.. The following examples have been chosen to exemplify these particles as well as the spellings of their adjective stems for comparison with the comparative degree below:

btsog.pa.  "dirty"
gtsang.ma.  "clean"
grang.mo.  "cold"
ljid.po.  "heavy"
dkon.po.  "rare"
rtsub.po.  "coarse"
zhim.po.  "tasty"
skyur.mo.  "sour"
gsol.po.  "fresh"
mdzes.po.  "pretty"
bde.po.  "easeful"
chen.po.  "big"

There are a handful of other particles found much more rarely: such as -khu., -cag., -tig., found in combination with only one or two adjective stems:
ljang.khu.  "green"
sdag.cag.  "bad"
kha.tig.  "bitter"

As might be expected, harmonically alternating adjective stems have their closer alternant before a particle spelt with -i or -u.

Positive adjectives may be used attributively at epithet position within the noun phrase, or predicatively in adjectival copular clauses as complements of verbs of being, becoming, appearing etc.. An example of both uses in the same clause is:
ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVE PHRASES

khang.pa. chen.po. de.tsho. gsar.pa. red. “Those large buildings are new.”

building large-nom. that-num. new-nom. be

11.1.2 Comparative degree

There are four ways of forming comparative adjectives:

Adjective+nominalising particle -pa./ba.
Adjective+verb particle -kyi./gi./gyi.-red.
Adjective+-pa./ba. with lengthened vowel at predicator position
Adjective+causative verb particle -ru.

Adjective -pa./ba.

Here the adjective stem combines with the nominalising particle -pa/ba. (pronounced -ba/ga/γa/ra or with lengthened vowel in correspondence with the orthography of the adjective stem, and sometimes spelt -ga/nga/ra as appropriate).

btsog.pa. -tsoga “dirtier”
gtsang.ba. -tsaŋa “cleaner”
grang.ba. -traŋa “colder”
ljid.pa. -dzi:ba “heavier”
dkon.pa. -kšmба “rarer”
rtsub.ba. -tsuba “coarser”
zhim.pa. -čimба “tastier”
skyur.ba. -kju:ra “sourer”
gsol.ba. -sơ:ra “sourer”
mdzes.pa. -dze:ba “fresher”
bde.ba. -de: “more easeful”
che.ba. -tcbē: “bigger”

Note that it is possible for the comparative particle to be spelt the same as the positive particle, as in btsog.pa., though pronounced differently. Also, the comparative particle -pa. -ba after final -s. or -d. is pronounced like the positive particle -pa., which is perhaps the reason why adjective stems ending in these letters avoid combining with -pa. in the positive degree.

This type of comparative adjective may be used attributively in the epithet position in the noun phrase:

khang.pa. gtsang.ba. cig. “a cleaner house”

house clean-nom. num.

It is also used predicatively in adjectival copular clauses as complement of the “evidential” or “attestative” verbs of being yod., ’dug. and yog.red. (see Chapter 9).
"The house is cleaner (I find)."

If used predicatively with the "assertive" verb red. (see Chapter 9), this form does not always carry a comparative meaning. It may sometimes be translated as "a very (Adjective) thing":

'It is very good to do so."

The comparative form may be used before -la. ("a.") to mean "what a Adj."

Adjective verb particle -kyi./gi./gyi.-red.
This type of comparative construction is verbal rather than nominal, usually employing the verb particles -gi.red. which form the future tense (see 9.3.4.3). It is used only predicatively and carries the same "assertive" or "factual" reference as the verbs of being yin. and red. (see 9.2.3). Vowel harmony is as expected for verbs.

This form participates in the same range of possibilities of mood, polarity and modality as the future tense form.

The adjective stem occasionally combines with other tense/aspect particles:

Adjective -pa./ba.with lengthened vowel (-pā./bā.)
This form is similar to the comparative form with -pa./ba. described above: indeed for adjective stems spelt with vowel final the pronunciation is identical. However, after consonant-final stems the vowel sound of the final syllable is a long -a: rather than a reduced -ə. The use is predicative. The comparative adjective word occupies the predicator position in the clause, with no further verb. Thus the particle is best regarded as a verb particle. The form is limited to clauses with positive polarity and indicative mood.
Some speakers seem to use this form only as a shorter alternant of the future tense form in -pa./ba+ 'dug.; others however use it also as an alternative to the comparative form in -kyi./gi./gyi.red..

\[\text{chu. 'di. grang.nga.} \quad \text{\"{}This water is colder.\"}  \\
\text{tch\textsubscript{b}u di traga:}\]
\[\text{water this cold-nom.}\]

**Adjective -ru.**

This type of comparative adjective construction refers to an increase coming about or being brought about in the quality denoted by the adjective. Here the adjective stem is combined with the serial (causative) verb particle -ru. before the verb 'gro. "become" or btang. "cause". As in the case of lexical verbs (see 10.5), a harmonically alternating adjective stem does not harmonise with -ru..

\[\text{deng.sang. nga.tsho'i. tsho.ba. tog.tsam. yag.ru. 'gro.gi.'dug.}  \\
\text{-tegsd: -gandzo: tch\textsubscript{b}a todz\textsubscript{a} jagru drugydu:}  \\
\text{nowadays I-num.-gen. living standard a little good-ser. become-link.-aux.}\]
\[\text{\"{}Nowadays our standard of living is improving somewhat.\"}  \\
\text{kho.tshos. khang.pa. che.ru. btang.'dug.}  \\
\text{k\textsubscript{h}on dz\textsubscript{o}: k\textsuperscript{b}a gbe tch\textsubscript{b}e ru t\textsubscript{a}gd\textsubscript{u}:}  \\
\text{3sg.-num.-smp. house big-ser. send-aux.} \]
\[\text{\"{}They\'ve made the house bigger.\"}  \\
\text{11.1.3 Considerable degree}\]

Here the adjective stem combines with the particle -se. to give the meaning "considerably ...", "very ..., or "rather (Adjective)"

\[\text{mi. mang.se. 'dug.} \quad \text{\"{}There are rather a lot of people.\"}  \\
\text{mi mang\textsubscript{b}i du:}  \\
\text{people many-nom. be}\]

\[\text{11.1.4 Superlative degree}\]

The superlative degree is formed by combining the verb stem with the particle -shos.. Such an adjective word may be used either attributively or predicatively. -shos. has the harmonic alternants -\textsubscript{s}s: and -\textsubscript{c}y: .
mo. tra. mgyogs.shos. 'di. re. “The fastest car is this one.”

mo. tra. 'di. mgyogs.shos. red. “This car is the fastest.”

car fast-nom. this be

car this fast-nom. be

The adjective “big” forms its superlative with the same stem che. as its comparative.

11.1.5 Intensive and excessive degrees

There is a phrasal (two-word) verb thag. chod. \(^{t\text{ba}}: ~^{t\text{cs}/t\text{py}}: \) “be decided”, “be definite”. Two constructions etymologically related to it form the intensive and excessive degrees of the adjective respectively, both being used predicatively.

Intensive degree

The intensive construction is Adj.+thag.chod. thag.chod. is here a single word, immediately following but separate from the adjective stem which stands as a word of its own. thag.chod. is best analysed grammatically here as a particle despite its unusual form.

\[ \text{khang.pa. che. thag.chod. 'dug.} \]

\[ ^{\text{khaqba}} ~^{t\text{che}} ~^{\text{thagdzs:}} ~^{\text{du:}} \]

house big nom. be

Excessive degree

The excessive construction is Adj.+thag+ chod.-. Here thag. chod. is classified as a (phrasal) serial verb (cf. its use with non-adjectival verbs, 10.5).

\[ \text{khang.pa. che. thag. chod.kyi.'dug.} \]

\[ ^{\text{khaqba}} ~^{t\text{che}} ~^{\text{tba:}} ~^{\text{tcpbygydu:}} \]

house big be decided-link.-aux.

Excessive degree with \( \text{drags.} \)

An alternative form for the excessive degree employs the verb stem drags. used as a serial verb in a separate word after the adjective stem.

\[ \text{khang.pa. che. drags.kyi.'dug.} \]

\[ ^{\text{khaqba}} ~^{t\text{che}} ~^{\text{traqadu:}} \]

house big exceed-link.-aux.
11.1.6 Ultimate degree

The ultimate degree is formed by reduplication of the adjective stem following the relative/interrogative noun gang. “whatever”, “all”. All adjective stems reduplicate in this construction, not just those which reduplicate in the positive degree.

\[ \text{khong. } \text{mi. } \text{gang. } \text{yag.yag. } \text{red.} \]
\[ \text{“He is as good a man as it is possible to be.”} \]

11.2 Nominalising Particle of Degree: -los.

The commonest use of an adjective nominalised with the particle -los. is as a wh-interrogative noun when inquiring as to the degree of the quality referred to by the adjective. -los. has the harmonic alternants -1s: and -1y:.

\[ \text{ja. } \text{’di. } \text{mngar.los. } \text{’dug.} \text{pa.} \]
\[ \text{“How sweet is this tea?”} \]

\[ \text{khyped. } \text{rang. } \text{phyi.los. } \text{bslebs.} \text{pa.} \]
\[ \text{“How late did you arrive?”} \]

An adjective nominalised with -los. may also be used in a non-wh-interrogative manner:

\[ \text{khos. } \text{skad.} \text{cha. } \text{bde.los. } \text{bod.} \text{pa. } \text{nang.} \text{bzhin. } \text{bshad.} \text{kyi.’dug.} \]
\[ \text{“He speaks as fluently as a Tibetan.”} \]

11.3 Nominalising Particle of Apparentness -mdog.

Like other verbs, adjectival verbs can be nominalised with the particle -mdog. and followed by the adjective kha.po to form a phrasal adjective denoting apparentness or likelihood of the adjective applying:

\[ \text{deb. } \text{’di. } \text{yag.} \text{mdog. } \text{kha.} \text{po. } \text{’dug.} \]
\[ \text{“This book seems good.”} \]
deb. yag.mdog. kha.shos. 'di. red.
_tep_ jandö  khacö: _di_ re:
book good-nom. seem-nom. this be
“The book most likely to be good is this one.”

-mdog. does not have harmonic alternants.

11.4 Nominalising Particle tsam. “however much”

thag. nye.tsam. yag.gi.red. “The nearer the better.”
tha: _nedzę _jagare:
near-nom. good-link.-aux.

mgyogs.tsam. shog. “Come as quickly as possible.”
gjogdzä  gö
quick-nom. come

khoryed.rang. snga.tsam. ma.phyin.na. sdod.sa. rag.ba.mi.'dug.
_kjerd:  _nadzę  _madzina  _dø:sa  _ra:ba:mi:ndu:
you early-nom. neg.-went-sub. sit-nom. get-link.-neg.-aux.
“He however early you get there, you won’t get a seat.” (Hu Tan 362.)

11.5 Adverbial Use of Adjectives

A noun phrase consisting of a nominalised adjective in positive, comparative or
superlative degree may stand as the adjunct of a clause with no further modification.

khong. bod.skad. yag.po. mkhyen.gyi.'dug. “He knows Tibetan well.”
kð:  _pøge:  _jagbu  _kjig:du:
3sg. Tibetan good-nom. know-link.-aux.

Alternatively the “adverbial” particle byas. or byas.nas. (see 10.1, 12.3) may
follow the nominalised adjective:

khrayed.rang.gis. las.ka. hur.po. byas.nas. mgo. tshugs.shag.
kjerggi: _legø  hubu  _tce:ni  _go  _tsbu:ca
you-smp. work active-nom. did-sub. begin-aux.
“You have evidently started the work energetically.”

11.6 Phrasal Adjectives

Particularly in modern varieties of the language, the lexical stock of adjectives has
been extended by the coinage of phrasal adjectives, most of them consisting of a (non-
ADJECTIVES AND ADJECTIVE PHRASES

phrasal) noun followed by a simple adjective, the two occupying separate words, and the whole capable of qualifying another noun. The process is in fact still largely productive in the Lhasa dialect, but it has also given rise to many lexicalised compounds, e.g.:

\[ \text{dka'las. kha} \text{.po. difficulty hard-nom.} \]
\[ \text{las. sla} \text{.bo. work easy-nom.} \]
\[ \text{kha. bde} \text{.po. mouth easy-nom.} \]
\[ \text{rgyu} \text{.ma. ring} \text{.po. guts long-nom.} \]
\[ \text{gting. zab} \text{.po. depth deep-nom.} \]
\[ \text{khams. dwangs} \text{.po. state clear-nom.} \]
\[ \text{"ang} \text{.gi. dang} \text{.po. number first-nom.} \]
\[ \text{dug} \text{.shed. chen} \text{.po. poison big-nom.} \]
\[ \text{bsnyon} \text{.dri. tsha} \text{.po. irritability hot-nom.} \]

Whereas the simple adjectives in the above phrases are all common adjectives on their own, those in some other compounds seem not to exist outside them, e.g.:

\[ \text{snying. rje} \text{.bo. heart ?-nom.} \]
\[ \text{"nig} \text{.dzebu "attractive".} \]

A category of phrasal adjectives might be called “popular rhyming adjectives” after the “popular rhyming (noun) terms” of Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.2:173-8). Often though not always adjectives of colour, they comprise an adjective stem followed by a reduplicated constituent which may be lexically peculiar to that adjective or shared with others (for a useful list, see Hu Tan et al. 1989:212ff).

Examples formed using the nag. of nag.po._nagbu “black”:

\[ \text{nag. thing} \text{.thing.} \text{.na: th} \text{.ng} \text{.dil: "jet black"} \]
\[ \text{nag. dog} \text{.dog.} \text{.na: to} \text{.gdo: "black-spotted"} \]
\[ \text{nag. hu} \text{.hu.} \text{.na: hu} \text{.hu: "murky", "dark" (of space)} \]
\[ \text{nag. yug} \text{.yug.} \text{.na: ju} \text{.ju: "shadowy"} \]

Of the above reduplicated adjectives, thing. may be etymologically related to gting. “depth”, and dog. to rdog. “piece”; while yug.yug. itself means “swaying”.
A few adjectives including bde.po. “easy”, khag.po. “difficult” and cang. lang.po. “liable”, “prone”, “apt”, combine with the present stem of a wide range of preceding verbs to form phrasal adjectives:

\[ \text{'deb. 'di. klog. bde.po. yog.red.} \]
\[ \text{_teb\_di\_lo\_debu\_jo\_re:} \]
\[ \text{book this read easy-nom. exist} \]

\[ \text{nga. mgo. na. cang. lang.po. yod.} \]
\[ \text{_ga\_go\_na\_t\_la\_bu\_jo} \]
\[ \text{I head hurt prone-nom. exist} \]

“This book should be easy to read.”

“I am prone to headaches.”

11.7 Honorific Adjectives

Honorific adjectives are of two main types:

a) There may be no etymological connection between the ordinary and the honorific members. These are few in number; examples are given in Table 11.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dga'.bo.</td>
<td>_gابu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhim.po.</td>
<td>_cېmbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgan.pa.</td>
<td>_gېmبه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“pleased”
“tasty”
“elderly”

b) The adjective gnang.po. (of which gnang. is homographic with the honorific verb gnang. “do”, “give”) may follow many bare adjectives as a separate word to form an honorific adjectival compound as in Table 11.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yag.po.</td>
<td>_jېgbu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“good”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mgo. rnyog.po.</td>
<td>_nېgبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_go_nېgبه</td>
<td>_تو_nېgبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head turbid-nom.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sha. skam.po.</td>
<td>_kېcإa_kېmbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_kېcإa_kېmbu</td>
<td>_kېcإa_kېmbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flesh dry-nom.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lag.pa.</td>
<td>dam.po.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_lېgبه_tېmbu</td>
<td>_tېmbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand tight-nom.</td>
<td>hand tight-nom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although most non-phrasal adjectives can in theory be made honorific in this way, the construction is not much used.

Phrasal adjectives offer more scope for honorific variants, since their noun constituents may have honorific counterparts. Examples in Table 11.3.

With some adjectives applicable to the human person, a non-phrasal ordinary adjective corresponds to an honorific phrasal adjective as in Table 11.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lhod.lhod.</td>
<td>liš:š:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grang.mo.</td>
<td>trāgmU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khag.po.</td>
<td>khagbu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(sku. = "body" (hon.))

11.8 Adjective Phrases

The adjective phrase occupies the position of head or epithet within the noun phrase. Most such adjective phrases consist simply of a nominalised adjective head (simple or phrasal), but there are also a number of items (nouns, with or without particles, and adjectives) which may take the position of modifier before or after the adjective head, within the adjective phrase. Those most commonly encountered, with their meanings a) when alone in a noun phrase and b) at modifier position in the adjective phrase, are given in Table 11.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11.5</th>
<th>alone</th>
<th>modifier position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zhe.drag.</td>
<td>cedra:</td>
<td>&quot;many&quot;, &quot;much&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhe.po. cig.</td>
<td>cibU tći:</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha.cang.</td>
<td>hadza:</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gang. min.tshad.</td>
<td>kd: mindze</td>
<td>&quot;a great deal&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dga'.rab.</td>
<td>garo</td>
<td>&quot;quite a lot&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a'u.tse.</td>
<td>lodze</td>
<td>&quot;not bad&quot;, &quot;so-so&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dra.po (cig.)</td>
<td>rabU (tći:</td>
<td>&quot;similar&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tog.tse.</td>
<td>toidza</td>
<td>&quot;a little&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each may be found either before or after the adjective head, though ha.cang. and tog.tse. most commonly occur before; "a'u.tse. most commonly after; and 'dra.po. (cig.) always after. When zhe.drag. and dga'.rab. precede the nominalised adjective, they may be followed by a genitive particle. Adjective phrases containing these modifiers are mostly used predicatively in adjectival copular clauses, though sometimes they may be used attributively. Examples:
"The meal was really tasty."

meal tasty-nom. very was

"There are a tremendous lot of people."

person many-nom. very num. exist

"This book is quite a lot better."

book this quite-gen. good-comp.

"I’m reasonably well."

body well-nom. reasonably exist

"The water was sort of hot."

water hot-nom. sort of be

"We’re a bit late."

we slightly late-nom. did-aux.

Notes

1 For a list of such reduplicated adjectives, see Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.2:166ff).

2 If written at all this particle is simply spelt -paha (Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957:24), though in origin it is probably a contraction of more than one particle; perhaps -pa/ba.yin.pa. by analogy with the wh-interrogative past tense form.

3 For a list of examples with body parts as the first syllable, see Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.2:168ff).
12. Clauses

The systems operating at clause level to be considered here (transitivity, given/new, and theme) concern the presence, absence, order, co-occurrence, composition and intonation of the arguments subject, object and adjunct, all represented by noun phrases, and predicator, represented by a verb phrase.

Also considered is the system of deference, which concerns lexical concord between clause arguments.

12.1 Ellipsis

At the level of the clause, Tibetan regularly takes ellipsis to its extreme limit; or, as it sometimes seems to the foreigner, even beyond it. The clause arguments subject, object and/or adjunct are regularly omitted without being represented by any phoric or pronoun-like element, whenever the speaker or writer feels they are recoverable from the preceding text or exchange or from grammatical concord. The non-native speaker often needs to be very quick-witted to achieve the recovery. While this ellipsis complicates the statement of systems at clause level, particularly the transitivity system, the very phenomenon itself forms the basis of another system, that of “given versus new” (12.5).

The omission of an important clause element, the subject-marking particle, can also be considered as a form of ellipsis operating partly within the same parameters as ellipsis of clause arguments.

In considering our first system, that of transitivity, I shall for convenience largely ignore ellipsis of clause arguments, and return to it under the system of given/new.

12.2 Transitivity: Subjects and Objects

Clause arguments

The transitivity system concerns the predicator, and the two arguments subject and object (or complement) of a clause. (Arguments for this purpose include subjects and objects/complements, but not adjuncts.)

There are two types of clause: two-argument and one-argument, defined first of all by the possible arguments and verb type they may contain. There are two similarly named classes of verb, each of which may be found only in the appropriate type of
A two-argument lexical verb may occur in the predicator of a clause with subject, object, or neither or both of the latter. If subject and/or object/complement are absent, this is usually through ellipsis, though there is a sub-class of two-argument verbs where this may not be so. Two-argument verbs and two-argument clauses which are not copular may be called transitive.

ngas bod.pa'i. dug.log. gon.gyi.yod. “I wear Tibetan clothes.”
_n-ne:_ _pshi_: _tuglo:_ _kyggyjs:_
I-smp. Tibetan-gen. clothes wear-link.-aux.
S O P

Copular verbs of being and copular clauses are also two-argument, but by convention they will not be termed transitive, and the non-subject argument will be called a complement.

kho. zhing.pa. ma.red. “He is not a farmer.”
^kʰo _cigba _mare:_
3sg. farmer neg.-be
S Comp P

A one-argument lexical verb may occur in the predicator of a clause with or without a subject, but in all cases without an object. These verbs and clauses may be called intransitive. Again, the subject is usually recoverable.

nga.tsho. yong.gi.yin. “We shall come.”
_gandzo _juggyl:_
I-num. come-link.-aux.
S P

Existential verbs of being, as well as occurring in two-argument (adjectival) copular clauses, also occur as one-argument verbs in existential clauses.

zhal.lag. zhim.po. ‘dug. “The food is good.”
_cela _cimbu _du:_
food good-nom. exist
S Comp P

(two-argument adjectival)

khang.pa. cig ‘dug. “There’s a house.”
^kʰâgba tci:_ _du:_
house num. exist
S P

(one-argument existential)

So far, then, the types of verb and their corresponding clauses may be tabulated as follows:
Subject-marking particle (smp.)

The second major determinant of the transitivity system is the behaviour of the subject-marking particle, which may occur in subjects of clauses with lexical verbs at case-marker position in the noun phrase (see 7.7) and which is often regarded as a marker of "ergative" case. (There is no object-marking particle or any other morphological means of marking objects in Tibetan.)

The subject-marking particle is written kyis./gis./gyis. after a consonant final on the preceding written syllable, or -s. after a vowel final. In the Lhasa dialect it is pronounced -gi(:) in the first case (e.g. khong.gis. ḫhag gi:), or as a long vowel, closer than that of the item without the particle, in the second (e.g. khos. ḫhɔ:). It can be difficult to distinguish from the genitive particle kyi./gi./gyi./-i. in rapid speech, but differs in that its vowel is often longer and closer and may bear falling pitch, and in that it is more likely to be followed by a pause.

Occasionally a homograph of the ablative particle nas. is used as a subject-marking particle, behaving in the same way as kyis./gis./gyis.. For examples see below, 12.3; also Hu Tan et al. (1989:327, 342).

The subject-marking particle may be added to the tabulation as follows ("smp." = "subject-marking particle"). Here the intransitive lexical verb and clause type is subdivided into two: "intentional" and "unintentional" (see 9.3.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-argument lexical (transitive)</th>
<th>2-argument copular</th>
<th>1-argument lexical (intransitive)</th>
<th>1-argument existential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>poss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object/comp.</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>imposs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smp.</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>impossible</td>
<td>poss.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above it will be seen that the subject-marking particle is not found in copular or existential clauses (i.e. with verbs of being in the predicator). It is possible in transitive clauses, and in intransitive intentional clauses.

I regard the single argument of a one-argument unintentional clause as a subject rather than an object because, although like an object it can never take a subject-marking or adjunct-marking particle, like a subject there is concord of deference between it and the predicator.

Examples: (smp. = subject-marking particle):
Two-argument lexical (transitive): smp. possible

khos.  las.kn. byas.song.  “He did the work.”
- kh6:  -le:ga  -tse:id
3sg.-smp.  work  did-aux.
S  O  P

Two-argument copular: smp. not possible

kho.  bod.pa.  red.  “He is Tibetan.”
- kh6:  -pa:id  -re:
3sg.  Tibetan  be
S  Comp  P

One-argument lexical (intentional) (intransitive): smp. possible

khos.  phyin.song.  “It was he who went.”
- kh6:  -tse:id
3sg.-smp.  went-aux.
S  P

One-argument lexical (unintentional) (intransitive): smp. not possible

kho.  na.song.  “He was ill.”
- kh6:  -nasd
3sg.  be  ill-aux.
S  P

One-argument existential: smp. not possible

kho.  yog.red.  “He is there.”
- kh6:  -jo:re:
3sg.  exist
S  P

However the actual presence or absence of the subject-marking particle in a given clause of a type where it is possible correlates with a rather complex set of lexical, grammatical, textual and pragmatic factors, including animacy, grammatical concord and the systems of given/new and theme.

The subject-marking particle in written Tibetan.

Scholars from Tibet itself have traditionally regarded the subject-marking particle as obligatory in those written Tibetan clauses which are by their definitions transitive, and impossible in intransitive clauses. Thus Kesang Gyurme: “Si le verbe est différenciatif [transitive], l’agent admet l’ergatif [subject-marking particle], et il faut
absolument l'employer. Si, en revanche, le verbe est indifférentiatif [intransitive], il n'est pas correct d'employer l'ergatif." (Kesang Gyurme 1992:12; my italics.)

Such systematic surveys of sample texts as I have been able to undertake suggest that this view is largely though not entirely correct for Preclassical, Classical and Modern Literary Tibetan (see 14.9). Intransitive clauses very rarely have subject-marking particles. The great majority of transitive clauses do have such particles, many of the exceptions being imperative clauses, which more often do not.

Thus for written Tibetan the subject-marking particle substantially has an ergative distribution, functioning to differentiate subjects of transitive clauses (morphologically marked) on the one hand from objects of transitive clauses and subjects of intransitive clauses (both unmarked) on the other.

Even in written Tibetan however, particularly the Modern Literary variety, one does come across exceptions, particularly transitive clauses without subject-marking particle. Some, as already mentioned, are in imperative clauses. Other categories are discussed at 14.9.

The subject-marking particle in Lhasa Tibetan

In the spoken Lhasa dialect the occurrence of the subject-marking particle diverges in a significant proportion of clauses from the standard "ergative" pattern which is commonly reckoned to be the norm for written Tibetan. We find not only transitive clauses without subject-marking particles, but also (though more rarely) intransitive clauses with subject-marking particles. (For the instrumental particle, which is homographic and homophonic with the subject-marking particle, see 12.3.)

Goldstein & Nornang do not expressly make the transitive/intransitive distinction, though in their examples intransitive verbs very seldom combine with the subject-marking particle. For "active" (i.e. intentional) verbs, they state that the subject-marking particle is usual in past-tense clauses, optional in present-tense clauses, and only used in the future tense for giving special emphasis to the subject (Goldstein & Nornang 1970:62, 100, 113). This claim reminds one of the "aspectual split" as has been established for "split-ergative" constructions in various languages, such as Hindi. DeLancey (1984:133) also claims that "ergative case is impossible in non-perfective clauses" (though this is in the context of "single-argument" or intransitive clauses).

Roerich & Lalungpa (1957:51) draw attention to what they call an "irregular" use of the subject-marking particle in the "first and second persons singular and plural" of an intransitive verb in the past tense (1957:50), and in the future tense in -yong. (1957:51), suggesting a possible "person split".

In clauses with verbs referring to acts which can be voluntary or involuntary, DeLancey (1984:134) claims that "the determining factor governing ergative case [i.e. use of the subject-marking particle] ... is volition".

Tomulic also does not expressly make the transitive/intransitive distinction, dividing verbs rather into those of "movement", "action", "perception" and "state" (Tomulic 1987 vol. 1:153, 159). In terms of transitivity, her statements and examples of the use of the subject-marking particle in fact amount to a claim that use of the particle is "possible, même conseillé" with transitive verbs (and present in nearly all
her examples), but "impossible" with intransitive verbs (and absent from nearly all her examples). Tense and aspect are not claimed or shown to be involved. Thus her analysis does not differ significantly from that for written Tibetan.

A more systematic study of the phenomenon by Agha (1993b) seems to fit the facts more closely than Goldstein & Nornang's, DeLancey's, or Tomulic's. Agha's conclusions are, I believe, similar to mine, allowing for differences in terminology and theoretical background. Use of the subject-marking particle is not a matter of tense/aspect or person, nor it it strictly ergative.

The use of the subject-marking particle will be considered in the context of the five types of clause defined above (which differ from the clause and verb types distinguished by Agha).

**Transitive clauses**

*Clauses with subject, object and predicater (SOP/OSP): absence of subject-marking particle.* In many clauses of this subtype, identification of the subject, with or without a subject-marking particle, is not seriously in doubt, whether through grammatical, textual, semantic or pragmatic factors or some combination of these. Some examples may illustrate the point:

\[
\text{khong. zhal.lag. bzes.kyi.'dug.} \quad \text{"He is having a meal."}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{3sg.} & \text{meal} & \text{take-link.-aux.} \\
\text{S} & \text{O} & \text{P}
\end{array}
\]

Here an animate argument preceding an inanimate argument followed by a verb normally used with animate subjects represents the unmarked, canonical SOP pattern.

\[
\text{las.kani. nga. byas. tshar.pa.yin.} \quad \text{"As for the work, I finished it."}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{work-top. I did finish-link.-aux.} \\
\text{O} & \text{S} & \text{P}
\end{array}
\]

Here, although the object is thematised and precedes the subject, the latter can again be identified through its animacy which contrasts with the inanimacy of the other argument. Identification of the subject through animacy is reinforced by the fact that there is grammatical concord of person between the indicative past tense verb particle combination -pa.yin. and the noun nga., "I". (Even so, a subject-marking particle would be more usual in this type of clause.)

\[
\text{khong. nga. btang. gnang.pa.red.} \quad \text{"He sent me."}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{3sg. I send do-link.-aux.} \\
\text{S} & \text{O} & \text{P}
\end{array}
\]

Here there is grammatical concord of deference (see 12.8) between honorific (phrasal) verb btang. nang. and honorific noun khong., as well as concord of person (see
9.3.4.1) and the evidence of argument order (subject precedes object).

In the above examples, there is no subject-marking particle. The same sentences with subject-marking particles are not rejected by informants. Some speakers seem to omit the subject-marking particle regularly in such cases; in the speech of others presence and absence of the particle appear to be in free variation.

**Presence of subject-marking particle.** In transitive clauses with SOP or OSP, the presence of the subject-marking particle is obligatory or virtually so in a number of circumstances: including clauses with “volunteering” modal particles; clauses with “who?” questions or the equivalent and their responses; clauses where contrastive focus is being assigned to the subject, and clauses where both arguments are animate. In all these cases the subject is being emphasised or focussed on in some way (often the identity of the referent of the subject is the very message of the clause), or else the subject might not be so readily identifiable without the particle.

**Volunteering clauses.** In a clause with one of the volunteering particles chog., dgos., or ga. (see 9.3.7), contrastive focus is being applied to the referent of the subject, which is being contrasted with some other referent(s). The subject in these cases regularly combines with a subject-marking particle:

```
chang. ngas. nyos.dgos.      "Let me buy the beer!"
"tchda: _ne: _nyo
  beer  I-smp. bought-vol.

ngas. yi.ge. btang.chog.     "I can easily send a letter.”
  _ne: _jig tiq dzc           ("Don’t you bother.")
  I-smp. letter  send-vol.

ngas. kha.lag. bzos.ga.     "Shall I prepare the food?"
  _ne: "khalo: ssig a     ("No-one else seems to want to.")
  I-smp. food  made-vol.
```

**“Who?” questions and their responses.**

```
cha.lag. 'di. gyad. sus.    "Who sold the things?”
  tshong.pa.red.pa.
"tchala: _digje: _sy:    "tshogbare:
  thing  this-num. who-smp. sell-link.-aux.-wh.interr.

pad.mas. deb. tshong.pa.red.  “It was Pema who sold the book.”
"pe:me: _tep tshogbare:
  Pema-smp. book  sell-link.-aux.
```

**Contrastive focus on subject.** Here it is the subject-marking particle itself which by its presence, often in combination with stress, indicates in the appropriate textual or pragmatic context that, although the subject is easily identifiable, its particular referent rather than some other is being singled out:
"It was he who brought the key."

3sg.-smp. key bring-aux.

Double animacy. If the referents of both arguments are animate, and there is no way of telling them apart by concord of person or deference between subject and predicator or object and predicator, then argument order alone is usually not sufficient to distinguish the subject, which is almost certain to combine with a subject-marking particle:

mos. kho. mthong.pa.red. "She saw him."

she-smp. 3sg. see-link.-aux.

Clauses with subject and predicator (SP). In a clause with a transitive verb but no object (usually due to ellipsis), the subject almost always combines with a subject-marking particle, even when its identification can hardly be in doubt:

ngas. bzos.pa.yin. "I made it."

made-link.-aux.

Here the particle is present despite the facts that a) the verb bzo./bzos. normally has an animate subject and an inanimate object; and b) there is grammatical concord of person between the subject nga. and the verb particles -pa.yin.

Absence of subject-marking particle: transitive intentional clauses with first-person subject but "other-centred" predicator. In future-tense clauses the combination of first-person actor with other-centred verb particles indicates that although the verb is of the intentional category, the action referred to being typically voluntary, in the particular case it is involuntary. In such clauses the subject-marking particle is nearly always absent:

sang.nyin. nga. las.ka. 'di . byed.kyi.red. 

tomorrow 1-smp. work this do-link.-aux.

"I shall be doing this work tomorrow (due to circumstances beyond my control)." 

The Subject-marking particle and two-argument copular clauses

Clauses of this type, whether nominal or adjectival, contain in their predicator one of the verbs of being (see 9.2.3). These never contain a subject-marking particle.
The subject-marking particle in intransitive clauses

Intentional clauses. An intentional clause contains an intentional verb (see 9.3.2). While the subject-marking particle is absent from the majority of such clauses, it is certainly not impossible there. In volunteering clauses indeed (see 9.3.7), it seems to be obligatory. There is of course no question of differentiating subject and object, since by definition objects are absent from intransitive clauses. The particle rather seems to perform the function of subject emphasis similarly to the relevant transitive examples given above under “volunteering”, and “contrastive focus”.

Volunteering clauses.

ngas. bsdad.dgos.
_ne: de:yo
I-smp. stay-vol.

ngas. phyin.chog.
_ne: tchindzo
I-smp. went-vol.

ngas. 'khor.ga.
_ne: kbo:ga
I-smp. return-vol.

“Let me stay!”
“I can easily go.”
“Shall I come back?”

Contrastive focus.

dge.rgan.gis. phyin.song.
_gegeggi: tchinsd
teacher-smp. went-aux.

“It was the teacher who went.”

Unintentional clauses. In intransitive clauses which are unintentional (see 9.3.2), the subject-marking particle is impossible.

khong. zhe.drag. bsnyungs.song. “He was very ill.”
_kh3: _cedra: _nugsd (not *khong.gis. zhe.drag. bsnyungs.song.)
3sg. very be ill-aux.

“He was very ill.”

Here the concord of deference between khong. and bsnyungs. (both honorific) establishes khong. as subject, and not an object as in the English “It ails him”.

Summary: Ergativity and the subject-marking particle

In written Tibetan the subject-marking particle has a substantially ergative distribution in the context of transitive clauses (though with some exceptions: see 14.9).

In Lhasa Tibetan it has rather the following functions:

a) In two-argument transitive clauses it serves to identify and/or emphasise the
subject. While its presence is seldom ungrammatical in such clauses, it is quite commonly absent: and normally so in transitive intentional clauses with first-person subject but "other-centred" predicator.

b) In one-argument intransitive intentional clauses it is most commonly absent, but may be used to emphasise the subject.

c) In one-argument intransitive unintentional clauses and all clauses with verbs of being (existential or copular), it is absent.

Thus the use of the subject-marking particle in Lhasa Tibetan is found in the contexts of both transitive and intentional clauses, though in both cases mainly in those clauses where for some reason attention is being drawn to the subject.

If written Tibetan represents a historically earlier state of affairs and Lhasa Tibetan a later one, then ergativity in Tibetan has undergone considerable modification.

**Subject-marking particle in nominalised relative-type clauses**

The Tibetan equivalent of an English relative clause is typically a clause which has been nominalised by the addition to its verb stem or auxiliary of one of the four "polyfunctional" nominalising particles -pa./ba., -mkhan., -yag. or -rgyu. (for a full discussion of such particles, see 13.4). In its nominalised form such a unit is, from the point of view of the sentence, not technically a clause at all, but the head of a noun phrase constituting the subject, object or adjunct of a larger clause in which it is embedded. Internally, however, the nominalised clause remains formally a clause, which may have its own subject, object and/or adjunct. The syntax of such constructions throws further light on transitivity and the subject-marking particle.

**Intransitive clauses.** A single non-adjunct argument (gang. in the following example) accompanying an intransitive verb is a subject:

\[
\text{gang. yod.pa. (khong.gis. mkhyen.gyi.red.)} \\
\text{kd: }_\text{j}+\text{ba ("kogi: kj}+\text{gire:")} \\
\text{whatever exist-nom. (3sg.-smp. know-link.-aux.)} \\
\text{S P "(He knows) whatever there is."}
\]

Often in this type of clause there is an adjunct (kha.sang. in the following example) but no other argument:

\[
\text{kha.sang. bslebs.pa. de. (phyi.logs.la. bsdad.kyi.'dug.)} \\
\text{kd: }_\text{le}+\text{ba }_\text{te ("tchola de:odu")} \\
\text{yesterday arrive-nom. the (outside-nom. wait-link.-aux.)} \\
\text{Adj P "The one who arrived yesterday (is waiting outside)."}
\]

With a lexical verb the -pa./ba. may be replaced by -mkhan. When a subject other than a relative/interrogative noun is present it usually follows the nominalised verb which bears a genitive particle; though with -mkhan. the genitive is often omitted:
Transitive clauses. In a transitive clause nominalised with -pa./ba., a non-adjunct argument lacking a subject-marking particle refers to a patient:

\[
\text{mi. (stag.gis.) bsad.pa. cig. "a man who was killed (by a tiger)"}
\]

or "a man (whom a tiger) killed"

\[\text{Patient (S)}\]

An argument with subject-marking particle (in brackets above, usually following the other argument) refers to the actor.

With two arguments, both lacking subject-marking particle, the nominalised verb combines with the first argument to indicate an actor:

\[
\text{stag. mi. bsad.pa./mkhan. cig. "a tiger which killed a man"}
\]

\[\text{Actor Patient}\]

Here -pa./ba. may be replaced by -mkhan., in which case the actor noun may be omitted:

\[
\text{mi. bsad.mkhan. cig. "one which killed a man"}
\]

\[\text{Patient}\]

A verb nominalised with -pa./ba. and linked to a following argument by a genitive particle indicates a patient. An actor noun preceding the verb must carry a subject-marking particle:

\[
\text{stag.gis. bsad.pa'i. mi. cig. "a man who was killed (by a tiger)"}
\]

\[\text{(Actor) Patient}\]
(mis.) bsad.pa'i. stag. cig. “a tiger which was killed (by a man)”

(_mi:) se:be: ta: tci:

(man-smp.) kill-nom.-gen. tiger num.

(Actor) Patient

However, if there is an argument preceding the nominalised verb which lacks a subject-marking particle, it indicates a patient, and the noun following the genitive particle now represents an actor:

stag. bsad.pa'i. mi. cig. “a man who killed a tiger”

"ta: " se:be: _mi tci:

tiger kill-nom.-gen. man num.

Patient Actor

If the clause is nominalised by -mkhan., the patient noun may be omitted and the remaining argument will still indicate an actor:

(stag.) bsad.mkhan.(gyi.) mi. cig. “a man who killed (a tiger)”

(’ta:) se:ye(qgi) _mi tci:

(tiger) kill-nom.(-gen.) man num.

(Patient) Actor

Clauses with object but no subject (OP)

In many OP-type clauses a subject, omitted through ellipsis, is recoverable by context or concord of person or deference and has to be represented by a pronoun in an English translation. Sometimes however there is no recoverable subject and the most convenient English translation uses a passive construction, although there is no formal distinction between active and passive in Tibetan. Thus the following example could be understood in two ways, depending on whether a subject was recoverable or not:

yi.ge. bris.shag.

a) “(He/she/you/they) wrote the letter.”

_jigi _triça

b) “The letter has been written.”

letter wrote-aux.

The “passive” interpretation of such clauses can give problems of categorising other arguments where these are present: the matter will be returned to below under the instrumental particle.

12.3 Adjuncts

An adjunct is a simple or complex noun phrase, which is neither the subject nor the object of a clause. Some adjuncts are, like objects, not identified as such by any diagnostic particle. This particularly applies to many expressions relating to time. Other adjuncts are marked at case-marker position in the noun phrase by one of five
types of adjunct-marking particle: instrumental, dative-locative, ablative, disjunctive/exceptional, or adverbial.

The instrumental particle (-inst.)

Homographic and homophonic with the subject-marking particle is the adjunct-marking instrumental particle, translatable by such English expressions as "with", "by", "by means of", "through", "because of", etc. It is most commonly found with noun phrases whose referents are inanimate, though animate referents are also possible.

Transitive clauses. In clauses with transitive verbs where this particle is present, the animate/inanimate distinction is a good rule of thumb for distinguishing subjects from instruments:

```
khos. yi.ge. bris.song.  "He wrote the letter."
^khos: -jig`i _trisod
3sg.-smp. letter wrote-aux.
S   O   P

khos. yi.ge. smyug.gus. bris.song.  "He wrote the letter with a pen."
^khos: -jig`i ^nogy: _trisod
3sg.-smp. letter pen-instr. wrote-aux.
S   O   Adj   P

yi.ge. smyug.gus. bris.song.  "(He/she/you/they) wrote the letter with a pen."
^-jig`i ^nogy: _trisod or, The letter was written with a pen.
letter pen-instr. wrote-aux.
O   Adj   P
```

It might reasonably be objected that in the last example smyug.gus. is indistinguishable from a subject and that the sentence could be literally translated "A pen wrote the letter." However, the particle could not be omitted from it, whereas it could from the khos.: thus kho.yi.ge.smyug.gus.bris.song. is possible, whereas *yi.ge.smyug.gu.bris.song. is not. Thus non-omissibility of the particle distinguishes an instrument (adjunct) from a subject.

With first-person concord between recoverable subject and predicator, subject and instrument are clearly distinguished:

```
yi.ge. smyug.gus. bris.pa.yin.  "I/we wrote the letter with a pen."
^-jig`i ^nogy: _tribaj`i:
letter pen-instr. wrote-link.-aux.
O   Adj   P
```

Another type of clause containing an adjunct with inanimate referent and obligatory instrumental particle has no recoverable subject in Tibetan, and has to be
translated as an English passive clause, or as an English active clause with the Tibetan adjunct as English subject:

\[
\text{khang.pa. pha.gis. nyog.khra. bzos.pa.red.} \quad \text{Adj}
\]

\[
\_kha\text{n}b\_pa \_p\_\text{agi:} \_n\text{og}dra \_s\_\text{bare:}
\]

house that-inst. trouble made-link.-aux.

Adj O P

“That house caused trouble.”/“Trouble was caused by that house.”

(Lhasawa 1980-86 vol.1:107)

**Intransitive clauses.** Clauses containing certain intransitive verbs which usually take inanimate subjects may contain adjuncts referring to animate instruments or agents:

\[
\text{shog.bu. ral.song.} \quad \text{“The paper got torn/tore.”}
\]

\[
\_\text{c}u\text{gu} \_\text{re:sd}
\]

paper get torn-aux.

S P

\[
\text{phrug.gu.tshos. shog.bu. ral.song.} \quad \text{“The paper got torn by the}
\]

\[
\_\text{tr}\_\text{ug}dzo\_\text{c}u\text{gu} \_\text{re:sd}
\]

child-num.-instr. paper get torn-aux.

Adj S P

The latter example, containing the intransitive verb ral. “get torn”, contrasts with the following, which contains the intentional transitive verb hral. “tear”:

\[
\text{phrug.gu.tshos. shog.bu. hral.song.} \quad \text{“The children tore the paper}
\]

\[
\_\text{tr}\_\text{ug}dzo\_\text{c}u\text{gu} \_\text{re:sd}
\]

child-num.-smp. paper tear-aux.

S O P

Again, the noun phrase representing the instrument/agent must carry the instrumental particle, whereas that referring to the animate actor of the transitive clause could stand without its subject-marking particle:

*phrug.gu.tsho.shog.bu.ral.song. is impossible, but:

phrug.gu.tsho.shog.bu.hral.song. is possible.

Note that with a first-person actor/agent, there is a three-way contrast between:

\[
\text{ngas. shog.bu. ral.song.} \quad \text{“The paper got torn by me.”}
\]

\[
\_\text{ne:} \_\text{c}u\text{gu} \_\text{re:sd}
\]

I-instr. paper get torn-aux.

Adj S P
The dative-locative particle (-loc.)

The alternant of the dative-locative particle after syllables with a written consonant final is -la. -1a. After a written vowel final this same form is sometimes found; at other times it is written as a final -r, which merges with the preceding syllable to give the expected pronunciation for this spelling: a vowel which is lengthened and sometimes centralised compared with the same syllable without it (see Chapter 6, Table 6.2).

Thus one will hear khong.1ha.s~. la. thebs.kyi. red. "She’ll come to Lhasa.”

khong. mgron.khang.la. bzhugs.kyi. red. “She’ll stay at the guest house.”

khyed.rang.gi. don.dag.la. red. “It is for your benefit.”

Often the particle is found where English would have “towards”, “in”, “on”, “into”, “onto”.

The dative-locative particle can also mean “as”:

khong. srid.’dzin.la. bsko.gzhag. byas.pa.red.

"He was appointed president.” or, “They appointed him president.”
Extended dative-locative expressions. These are semi-grammaticised forms in which the dative-locative particle la. is added to a noun which is either linked by a genitive particle to the preceding part of the noun phrase, or, in the case of some common such nouns, follows the latter directly.

The commonest such nouns include nang.(logs.) “interior”, sgang. “top”, ’og. “bottom”, “space underneath”, phy$i.(logs.) “exterior”, khri. “side” dkyil. “middle” mdun. “space in front”, rgyab. “back”, “space behind”. There are a large number of others: a useful list of some forty is given by Lhasawa (1980-86 vol.1:108f). Examples of adjuncts formed with these are:

- khang.pa'i. nang.la. kʰaːɡbe: _naːɡla “in the house”
- lcoɡ.tse'i. sgang.la. tɕogdze: _gaːɡla “on the table”
- deb.kyi. 'og.la. _tebɡi _waːla “under the book”
- rdzong.gi. phy$i.logs.la. dɯɔɡɡi  tɕʰiloːla “outside the fort”
- mɯsʰi.i. khris.la. tʰbʰoː _tʰpɹiːla “by the lake”
- lung.pa'i. dkyil.la. _lɯɡbeː _kʰiːla “in the middle of the country”
- lha.khang.gi. mdun.la. ’laɡɑɡɡi _dynlɛ “in front of the temple”
- sman.khang.gi. rgyab.la. mɛŋɡɑɡɡi _ɡjvblɛ “behind the hospital”

With a few noun constituents in this type of construction, of which the commonest are ched. and bar., one finds the common literary dative-locative particle du./ru. instead of la.: lha.sa.la. ’gro.ba'i. ched.du. red.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>leːsala</th>
<th>_droːve:</th>
<th>tɕʰedu _re:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lhasa-loc. go-nom.-gen. purpose-loc. be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“It’s for the purpose of going to Lhasa.”

The construction -gen.+nang.la. “in(side)” has the shorter alternants -gen.+nang. and nang. for some speakers, for whom there is thus a particle nang. “in(side)” as well as a noun nang. “interior”:

khang.pa. nang. bsdad.kyi.yin. “I’ll stay in the house.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kʰaːɡbe _nd:</th>
<th>_deːɡaːjὶ:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house loc. stay-link.-aux.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise some speakers have the alternants sgang. “on” and ’og. “under” for -gen.+sgang.la. and -gen.+’og.la. respectively.

A number of examples of extended adjunct-marker combinations of noun+dative-locative particle linked to a preceding nominalised verb with a genitive particle are given in Chapter 8.

Possession. The commonest translation equivalent of English verbs of having or possessing is a construction with the noun phrase referring to the thing possessed as the subject of an existential verb, and that referring to the possessor being an adjunct with dative-locative particle:
The ablative particle (-abl.)

The ablative particle -nas. (homographic with the subordinating verb particle -nas.) is often the translation equivalent of English “from”. It may be added to most of the same nouns as the dative-locative particle to form extended adjunct-markers.

khong. bod.nas. red.pas.  “Is he from Tibet?”
```
khong la. phebs. gro. yog.ma.red.
```
3sg-loc. car not exist

The ablative particle-pairs -nas. bzung. and -nas. byas. mean “since” (the latter being more colloquial). They are often found after nominalised verbs:

deb. 'di. srid.'dzin.nas. par.bskrun. byas.pas.red.  “I haven’t seen it since then.”
```
tep _di _si:dzine: _pa:idry: _te:bare:
```
book this president-abl. publish-link.-aux.

khong. slebs.pa.nas. byas. mjal.byung.  “I’ve seen him since he arrived.”
```
khong slebs.pa.nas. byas. mjal byung.
```
3sg. arrive-nom. abl. meet-aux.

The disjunctive and exceptive particles (-disj., excep.)

The disjunctive particle -las., meaning “than”, “other than” is found in conjunction with comparative adjectives (11.1.2); or with negative verbs to mean “only”:}

rgyal.rtse.ni. lha.sa.las. chung.gi.red.  “Gyantse is smaller than Lhasa.”
```
rgyal rtse ni. lha sa las. chung gi red.
gyandzini le:sa:le: tchuggyre:
gyantse top.
```
Lhasa-disj. be small-link.-aux.
There's only one house.

"There's only one house."

The exceptive particles ma.gtogs. mean “only”, “but”, “apart from” or “except”:

Everyone is Tibetan but you.

"Everyone is Tibetan but you."

The adverbial particles (byas./byas.nas.; -se.)

A nominalised adjective may be used as an adjunct with the adverbial particle -byas. or -byas.nas., equivalent to the English adverbial suffix “-ly”. This is formally similar to the homographic subordinating verb particle, but without the latter's falling pitch and following pause.

You have evidently started the work energetically.

"You have evidently started the work energetically."

The particle -se. is unusual in two respects: it is pronounced as a syllable-final -s, and it only occurs as far as I am aware after the postpositional nouns 'di.dras., de.dras., pha.dras., ya.dras., ma.dras. and da.ga., and the constituent 'dug.. The resulting adjuncts are:

"thus", "that way", "like that up there", "like that down there", "simply", "thus" etc.

The constituent 'dug. is probably better regarded as an otherwise unknown noun than as the verb of being 'dug. (its spelling is in any case conjectural).

The adverbial particles may be combined to give such adjuncts as 'di.'dras.se. byas. "thus", 'dug.se. byas. "thus" etc.

Unmarked adjuncts

Nominalised adjectives are frequently used as adjuncts “adverbially” (see 11.5) without any adjunct-marking particle:
Many adjuncts of time and manner are simply noun phrases with no adjunct-marking particle. Some of the nouns they contain are seldom if ever found outside such adjunctive use.

```
dal. lhasa. bsad.kyi.yod.  “This year I’m staying in Lhasa.”
talo te:sal de:gojs: this year Lhasa-loc. stay-link.-aux.
gone: le:go jagbu tce:sd reality work good-nom. did-aux.
```

**Conventions and exclamations**

A variety of conventional expressions usually standing at the beginning of a sentence, sometimes at the end, or more often alone with no predicator, subject or object, may be classified as adjuncts since the adjunct is in effect a residual category including anything that is not a subject, object or predicator.

**Polite expressions.** The following expressions of assent, greeting, gratitude or pleading imply politeness towards the interlocutor (not, as in the deference system, politeness towards the referent of a subject, object or adjunct as such: compare the use of lags. in Preclassical and Classical Tibetan, 14.6):

```
ths.rje. che. “thankyou” (your compassion is great)
thudzi tce/tbodze compassion be great
skuskyid. “please”
ku:ci: body (hon.)-pleasant
gong.dag. “sorry”, “excuse me”
gonda: pardon
lags. “Yes?” (response to being
la: addressed by name)
```
lags. 'ong
_1a: _s:
be be

"yes", "no", "quite so" (concurrence)

bkra.shis. bde.legs. "Greetings!"
_trasi: _dele:
good fortune happiness

Various expressions including the following mean "yes", "very well" (agreeing to do something)

lags.so. _las
be-mcf.

(lags.) legs.so. (_1a:) _les
(be) be good-mcf.

lags.'ong. legs.so. _ld: _les
be be be good-mcf.

For the main-clause final particle, otherwise largely confined to Classical and Preclassical Tibetan, see 14.6.

Exclamations. Common exclamations include the following; the first three expressing various degrees of surprise:

"a.las. "?a1e:
"a.tsi. "?a?dzi:
"a.kha. _aga:
snying.rje. _n?dz?e "Poor thing!"
compassion

12.4 Argument Order

In those transitive non-copular clauses where the subject is clearly distinguished from the object and adjunct by means other than the order of arguments (i.e. usually by means of the subject-marking particle), that order is free to vary, and indeed does vary so as to create the "theme" system to be described below (12.7), the predicator however nearly always remaining final.

In two-argument copular clauses, where there is neither subject- nor object-marking, argument order is crucial to the identification of subject and complement. The order of arguments in such clauses is subject-complement-predicator, with adjuncts free to take up any position before the predicator, though within the theme system:
"The teacher is a Tibetan."

dge.rgan. bod.pa. red.
_arge: _psba _re:
Teacher Tibetan be
S Comp P

"The Tibetan is the teacher."

bod.pa. dge.rgan. red.
_psbap _arge: _re:
Tibetan. teacher be
S Comp P

In those transitive non-copular clauses with unmarked subject, context and lexico-semantic features such as animacy usually leave the identification of subject and object in little doubt. Nevertheless the subject-object-predicator order is by far the commonest:

khong. zhal.lag. bzhes.kyi.'dug. "He is having a meal."
_kh5: _ce:la: _ci:gidu:
3sg. meal take-link-aux.
S O P

Reversal of the subject and object would normally be accompanied by a subject-marking particle on the subject:

zhal.lag. khong.gis. bzhes.kyi.'dug. "It’s he who is having a meal."
_ce:la: _kh5ggi: _ci:gidu:
meal 3sg.-smp. take-link-aux.
S O P

Thus it seems reasonable to regard SOP (SOV in Greenbergian terms) as the unmarked, canonical phrase order in Tibetan.

In intransitive clauses, which contain no objects, the subject always precedes the predicator and the only possibility of variation in phrase order is between the subject and adjunct(s), again within the theme system.

12.5 Given/new

The given/new system relates to arguments of the clause which are assumed by the speaker to be either "given" or "new" to the hearer, and is manifested by the presence or absence of these arguments.

Having outlined the transitivity system in terms of the possibility or impossibility of subject and/or object being present, we return to the question of ellipsis. The general rule, as already mentioned, is that any subject, object or adjunct may be and commonly will be omitted if the speaker or writer feels that it can reasonably be recovered by the hearer or reader, and therefore regarded as "given" information. A subject, object or adjunct which is present is therefore very often "new" information.
It may be useful to compare the situation with that in English. In English a "given" subject or object will normally be represented by an anaphoric pronoun, unless the lexical verb is omitted, in which case the object will be completely omitted as in Tibetan. Given adjuncts of time or manner tend to be omitted in both languages, those of place omitted in Tibetan but often represented by demonstrative pronouns in English.

Three likely answers to the English question "Did Tashi leave the book on the table?" (subject object and adjunct thus now being "given") are:

a) "Yes, he left it (there).": anaphoric pronoun for subject and object, and possibly adjunct;
b) "Yes, he did.": ellipsis of object, adjunct and lexical verb;
c) "Yes.": ellipsis of subject, object, adjunct and verb phrase.

The corresponding question in Tibetan is:

bkra.shis.kyis. deb. lcog.tse'i. sgang.la. bzhag.ba.red.pas.
"transitive: tep tcogdzi: gagle cabaribe:"
"Did Tashi leave the book on the table?"
to which the only likely replies would be:

a) (lags.) bzhag.pa.red.
   (.la:) cabare:
   (yes) leave-link.-aux.
   "Yes, he left it."
   (ellipsis of subject, object and adjunct)

b) (lags.) red.
   (.la:) re:
   (yes) aux.
   "Yes, he did."
   (ellipsis of subject, object, adjunct, verb and linking particle)

Thus Tibetan generally goes farther in ellipsis than English, except that it less often omits the whole verb phrase.

The possible types of clause are as follows, the ordering of the elements within square brackets being flexible:

**Transitive (non-copular)**


**Intransitive**


**Copular**


The different possibilities of ordering of arguments S,O and Adj in transitive clauses, of arguments S and Adj in intransitive clauses, and of arguments SComp (whose order is fixed) and Adj in copular clauses constitute the system of "theme".
12.6 Theme

Argument order

Whereas the categories of given and new are manifested by the presence or absence of subject, object and adjunct, the categories of the theme system relating to these arguments are manifested by their order within the clause. As well as the main "theme" of a clause, that is, what the speaker decides it is "about", one can recognise subordinate themes and an interaction with the use of the subject-marking particle, topic-marking particle and intonation, in what seems to be a complex process whose full investigation is beyond our present scope. I find it best to regard theme and its converse, "rheme", as two ends of a continuum rather than a stark choice between opposed terms. Be that as it may, the main principles are clear enough.

In general, for any two clause elements except the predicator, the one which comes first is thematically the more prominent. Thus it follows a) that the beginning of the clause is the most "thematic" position; and b) that to reverse the relative thematic prominence of any two elements one reverses their order. The predicator does not enter into this system because it must always be final in the clause, apart from any "echo" argument (see below, under argument intonation).

The converse of the theme is the "rheme", or the information that is being given about the theme. It further follows from the above that the last place in the clause immediately before the predicator is the most "rhematic" position, where what is in a sense the most important piece of new information can be placed for greatest effect.

Some manifestations of the system will now be considered.

Subject and object

Since the order subject-object/complement is fixed as SCompP in two-argument copular clauses, the theme system insofar as it relates to subjects and objects does not apply to these clauses. Nor does it apply to intransitive or existential clauses, as these have no objects.

In transitive clauses with a subject-marking particle the theme system relating to subject and object only applies to those clauses actually containing both: in practice often a rather small proportion of the total. The subject-theme clauses, where the subject precedes the object, are in the great majority within this proportion - typically over ninety percent in written passages which have been analysed - and may be regarded as the unmarked or neutral member. The object-theme clause is used by the speaker or writer to promote the object to the status of theme, much like the situation in English where first position, with or without passivisation, may promote the object to theme.

'di. ngas. ha. go. gi. mi. dug. "That I don't understand."
_d1._ne: _ha: _kugymindu:
that I-smp. understand-link.-neg.-aux.
O S P
Adjuncts

In intransitive clauses adjuncts may precede or follow the subject, and in transitive clauses they may also precede or follow the object/complement.

The numerous resulting permutations of clause-element sequences, and the fact that adjuncts of time, place and manner respectively tend to behave in subtly different ways, make the thematic process in clauses with many elements rather complex. I have not succeeded in identifying a clearly unmarked or neutral overall order in clauses containing adjuncts as well as subject and/or object. Generally however it is noticeable that adjuncts of time very often precede those of place and manner, and in narrative styles, as might be expected, they very often occur at the beginning of a clause as the whole or part of its theme. Adjuncts of place most often seem to precede those of manner, and typically neither of the two precedes the subject unless as part of the theme of the clause.

The “expanded” English translations for the examples with adjuncts of time below indicate the sort of semantic distinctions which can be made within this system:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khe.s.a} & \quad \text{ngas.} \quad \text{pad.ma.} \quad \text{mthong.byung.} \\
\text{\_kh\=se\_} & \text{\_ne: \_p\=e\=m\=a \_tb\=d\=g\=d\=d} \\
\text{yesterday} & \text{I-smp.} \quad \text{Pema} \quad \text{see-link.-aux.} \\
\text{Adj} & \quad \text{S} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{P} \\
\text{“What happened yesterday was that I saw Pema.”}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngas.} & \quad \text{khe.s.a.} \quad \text{pad.ma.} \quad \text{mthong.byung.} \\
\text{\_ne: \_kh\=se\_} & \text{\_p\=e\=m\=a \_tb\=d\=g\=d\=d} \\
\text{I-smp. yesterday} & \text{Pema} \quad \text{see-link.-aux.} \\
\text{S} & \quad \text{Adj} \quad \text{O} \quad \text{P} \\
\text{“What happened was that I saw Pema yesterday.”}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngas.} & \quad \text{pad.ma.} \quad \text{khe.s.a.} \quad \text{mthong.byung.} \\
\text{\_ne: \_p\=e\=m\=a \_kh\=se\_} & \text{\_tb\=d\=g\=d\=d} \\
\text{I-smp. Pema yesterday} & \text{see-link.-aux.} \\
\text{S} & \quad \text{O} \quad \text{Adj} \quad \text{P} \\
\text{“It was yesterday that I saw Pema.”}
\end{align*}
\]

Argument intonation

**Predicate as theme.** A predicator cannot be thematised by moving it towards the beginning of the clause, since no argument may follow the predicator (with the exception of an “echoed” argument; see below). A predicator may instead be thematised, usually when there is only one other argument in the clause, by pronouncing on a high pitch all those syllables which may bear such a pitch: namely, Tone-1 verb stems, and linking particles \(kyi./gi./gyi\), \(rgyu.,\ yag.,\ mkhan.,\ grab.s.,\ chog.;\) also subordinating particles (see Chapter 13). A non-thematised predicator will have all its syllables pronounced on a uniformly low pitch. (The examples following show the pitch of each syllable: \(\downarrow = \) high-falling pitch.)
Echoed theme. A subject, object or adjunct may be placed after a thematised predicator and pronounced with all its syllables on a uniformly low pitch to echo or remind the hearer of the recoverable theme of some previous clause in the conversation.

yi.ge. btang.gi.red.
\`ji\`gi \`tag`\v ga\`re:
letter send-link.-aux.

yi.ge. btang.gi.red.
\`ji\`gi `tag`\v ga\`re:
letter send-link.-aux.

"He'll send the letter." (object theme)

"He'll send the letter." (predicate theme)

This is the only circumstance to my knowledge when any part of a clause may follow its predicator.

12.7 Deference

The deference system is a means by which speakers and writers express their social attitude along a scale of esteem a) towards other human or supernatural beings, living or dead; b) towards animate and inanimate things associated with such beings; and c) even towards some inanimate things such as buildings and religious objects in their own right.

In principle, a Tibetan speaker shows deference to those people or things he purports to regard as superior in social or religious status to himself, and to such strangers and foreigners as he is prepared to give the benefit of the doubt. The practice shows considerable variation between different spoken dialects and different social classes. In places with a more complex society such as Lhasa, the deference system is more elaborate and more strictly observed, and members of the more educated classes will use polite forms among equals. In more rural or remote districts, though the local dialect will usually have its own deference system, it may be less elaborate, fewer people will make regular use of it and some may hardly be familiar with it.

The system is manifested by choice of vocabulary within one or more of subject, object, some types of adjunct, and predicator. Many linguists would see it as simply a matter of lexis, and therefore outside grammar altogether. Alternatively it could be regarded as a form of lexical concord or prosody linking grammatically separate parts of the clause, related to the speaker’s attitude to the referents of specific grammatical elements: in effect then a true grammatical system.

The domains of different parts of the system are subject+predicator and
object/adjunct+predicator, but it seems simplest to treat the whole system as operating at clause level, particularly if one takes a somewhat more semantic view of a clause than I normally do in this book. Such a view of the deference system would seem to be supported by the fact that although flexible up to a point, it is on the whole more strictly codified or grammaticised than the ways of expressing politeness in, say, English.

The basic social dichotomy involved is between "low" and "high" status of the referent of some part of the clause. (Referents regarded as "equal" must be included in either the low or the high category, depending on the circumstances, the social register and the personality and attitude of the speaker. One's own individual status is always low.) Low status corresponds to "ordinary" vocabulary; high status to "honorific" and/or "respectful" vocabulary.

The status of the referent of the subject (protootypically representing the "actor") relative to the speaker determines whether certain lexical items in the subject, adjuncts and predicator are honorific or non-honorific (see honorific nouns, 7.5; verbs, 8.5; adjectives, 11.7).

Another dimension is added by the status of someone who may be the referent of the object; or of an adjunct; or who may even not be referred to in any argument. This person is regarded as a "goal" or "beneficiary" of the act referred to by the predicator. The status of this goal or beneficiary relative to that of the actor determines whether certain lexical items in the object, adjuncts and predicator are respectful or non-respectful (see respectful nouns, 7.6; verbs, 8.6).

Of the large number of logically possible clause types resulting from the combination of different relative statuses of speaker, actor and goal, one can certainly distinguish five in practice (limiting oneself to clauses with no more than one adjunct):

a) Actor low; goal low in relation to speaker/actor ("ordinary"):  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nagas.} & \quad \text{kho.la.} & \quad \text{yig.ge.} & \quad \text{btang.gi.yin.} & \quad \text{"I'll send him a letter."} \\
\_ne: & \quad K^\text{hoba} & \quad _\text{tep} & \quad ^\text{tang^a^jl}: \\
\text{I-smp.} & \quad 3\text{sg.-loc.} & \quad \text{letter} & \quad \text{send-link.-aux.} \\
\text{S (ord.)} & \quad \text{Adj (ord.)} & \quad \text{O (ord.)} & \quad \text{P (ord.)}
\end{align*}
\]

b) Actor low; goal high in relation to speaker/actor ("ordinary/respectful"):  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nagas.} & \quad \text{khong.la.} & \quad \text{zhu.yig.} & \quad \text{phul.gyi.yin.} & \quad \text{"I'll send him a letter."} \\
\_ne: & \quad ^\text{khog^je} & \quad _\text{coji} : & \quad ^\text{phy^gy^jl} : \\
\text{I-smp.} & \quad 3\text{sg.-loc.} & \quad \text{letter} & \quad \text{send-link.-aux.} \\
\text{S (ord.)} & \quad \text{Adj (hon.)} & \quad \text{O (hon.)} & \quad \text{P (resp.)}
\end{align*}
\]

c) Actor high; goal low in relation to speaker and actor ("honorific/ordinary"):  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khong.gis.} & \quad \text{nga.la.} & \quad \text{phyag.bris.} & \quad \text{btang}. & \quad \text{gnang.gi.red.} & \quad \text{"He'll send me a letter."} \\
\_\text{kho^gi} : & \quad _\text{ga^la} & \quad ^\text{tc^bara} : & \quad ^\text{td} : & \quad ^\text{ng^gare} : \\
\text{3sg.-smp.} & \quad \text{1-loc.} & \quad \text{letter} & \quad \text{send-link.-aux.} \\
\text{S (hon.)} & \quad \text{Adj (ord.)} & \quad \text{O (hon.)} & \quad \text{P (hon.)}
\end{align*}
\]
d) Actor high; goal high in relation to speaker, low in relation to actor ("honorific":)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{khong.gis. khyed.rang.la. phyag.bris. btang. gnang.gi.red.} \\
&\text{\_khaggi: \_kjeragia \_tchari: \_td: \_naggare:} \\
&3\text{sg.-smp. you-loc. letter send-link.-aux.} \\
&S \text{ (hon.) Adj (hon.) O (hon.) P (hon.)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"He'll send you a letter."

e) Actor high; goal high in relation to both speaker and actor ("honorific/respectful"):  

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{khong.gis. khyed.rang.la. phyag.bris. phul. gnang.gi.red.} \\
&\text{\_khaggi: \_kjeragia \_tchari: \_ph: \_naggare:} \\
&3\text{sg.-smp. you-loc. letter send-link.-aux.} \\
&S \text{ (hon.) Adj (hon.) O (hon.) P (resp.+h)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"He'll send you a letter."

From the above it can be seen that subject and predicate must be either both honorific or both non-honorific, but there is no such concord between object/adjunct and predicate.

It was mentioned above that one's own status as a speaker is by convention always low. In two circumstances a potential conflict arises between this inherently low status and the desire to render due deference to others of higher status.

The first such conflict occurs in clauses where the subject is the first person plural noun nga.tsho. or the like, and the person or people other than oneself represented by the subject are of high status. The principle of deference here overrides that of one's own low status, resulting in an honorific verb in the predicate.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{da. nga.tsho. phebs.do.} \\
\_ta \_gandzo \_pbe:do \\
\text{now 1-num. go-imp.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"Let's go now."

The second conflict occurs in reporting the utterance of some other person of high status (whether the addressee or a third party) in what purports to be direct speech, that is, quotation of the actual words used. Here a clause with a first person singular subject will be given an honorific verb in the predicate, though both speaker and listeners will be perfectly aware that the "quoted" words could never have been uttered.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nga. phebs.kyi.yin. gsungs.kyi.'dug.} \\
\_ga \_p\text{b}i\text{gij}: \_suggydu: \\
\text{I come-link.-aux. say-link.-aux.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"She says she will come."

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\_ga \_p\text{b}i\text{gij}: \_suggydu:} \\
\text{(Lit. "She says 'I shall come'.”)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

A physical object in transit from a person of low status to one of high status will usually take an honorific variant where possible. Thus in urging someone to drink a cup of tea, the tea will be honorific by association with the potential drinker, even though one may have prepared it oneself.
Notes

1 For Modern Literary Tibetan, Goldstein et al. (1991:46) state that “Active sentences require that their subjects be placed in what is called the instrumental case. That is to say, one of the ... instrumental particles ... is suffixed to or follows the subject.” “Active” is nearly the equivalent of my “voluntary”. However, the authors overlook the fact that the many intransitive voluntary clauses in their material consistently omit these particles.

2 This type of clause lends some weight to DeLancey’s claim (1984:134) that volition is a major determinant in the use of the subject-marking particle.

3 In this it resembles the system of viewpoint.
13. Subordinate and Nominalised Clauses

A subordinate clause is non-final in the sentence. Leaving aside polarity for the moment (in principle subordinate clauses may have positive or negative polarity), the following are the commonest patterns for the predicator of a subordinate clause:

a) lexical verb stem (+topic marker) (13.1)

b) verb stem + subordinator (+topic marker) (13.2)

c) verb stem (+linker) + (auxiliary) + subordinator (+topic marker) (13.3)

Pattern a applies only to lexical verbs. Patterns b and c apply to both lexical verbs and verbs of being. Some subordinators are found only in pattern b; others in both patterns b and c.

As can be seen from the above, the subordinator position is identical to that of the modal in a main clause. It is realised by one of a subclass of modal particles, the subordinating particles.

Patterns a and b, in which there is no linker or auxiliary, are by far the commonest. Since it is at the linker and auxiliary positions that the systems of tense/aspect, intention, person, viewpoint and evidential modality, and part of judgemental modality are expressed, subordinate clauses following patterns a and b do not participate in these systems. The verb phrases of such clauses can therefore be thought of as non-finite, in contrast to the finite verb phrases of main clauses.

Subordinate clauses following pattern c, however, participate in the system of tense/aspect, though in most cases not in the systems of judgemental modality, evidential modality, person and viewpoint. The verb phrases of such clauses may be thought of as intermediate between finite and non-finite.

The referent of the subject of a subordinate clause may be the same as or different from that of the main clause. This is one way in which subordination is distinguished from serialisation, where - except with the serial verb bcug. “cause to” (10.4) - the two verbs must have the same subject.

Intonation features generally involving rising or level rather than falling pitch may also distinguish a subordinate clause from a main clause, though these have not been investigated in detail. If the predicator is thematised (see 12.6), the subordinating particle is generally pronounced on a high pitch.

In addition there are two types of nominal construction involving nominalised
clauses (which are discussed at 13.4):

d) verb stem+nominaliser+adjunct marker (13.5)

e) polariser+verb stem+adjunct marker (13.6)

These are formally adjuncts, but as their function is to subordinate a nominalised clause to a following clause, they are discussed together with subordinate clauses proper.

13.1 Lexical Verb Stem (+Topic Marker): “and”, “and then”

A bare lexical verb stem with no linker, auxiliary or subordinator (“pattern a” above) marks a very weak form of subordination which in some cases might better be called co-ordination:

zhog.gas. nga.tshos. yi.ge. bris. “In the morning we wrote letters, ...”
_ṭog: _gandzø: _jig: _tri:
    morning I-num.-smp. letter write

de.nas. kha.lag. bzas. “... then we had a meal, ...”
_ṭene: ṭʰala: _se?
    then meal ate

(de.nas. cham.cham.la. phyin.pa.yin. “... then we went for a walk.”
_ṭene: ṭʰam.zaml[a ṭʰimbajl
    then walk-loc. went-link.-aux.

(Cf.Hu Tan et al. 1989:90; DeLancey 1991: 18 n.9). As DeLancey remarks, this construction is mostly used in referring to a sequence of more than two consecutive acts, usually though not necessarily with the same subject.)

In a subordinate clause of this sort the verb is usually pronounced with level intonation, contrasting with falling intonation in the verb word of the main clause. The subordinate clause is followed by a distinct pause, and a verb stem which is otherwise pronounced as an open syllable may have a glottal stop final: bzas. ṭse?

Serial verb stem byas.

The bare verb stem byas. (homographic with the past stem of byed. “do”) is used as a serial verb in a clause with positive polarity to mean “-ing”, “having”, “after”, “and then”:

ngas. nyo.byab. rgyab. byas. “having done the shopping”/
    _ne: _gobdzø _gjvβ _tpe:
    I-smp. shopping do did

“when I have/had done the shopping”
With negative polarity the verb is nominalised:

\[ \text{ngas. nyo.bya. ma.rgyab.pa. byas.} \]
\[ \text{J~E: -pabdza} \]
\[ \text{I-smp. shopping neg.-do-nom. did} \]

"Without doing/having done the shopping"

(Compare 10.1, where a serial verb particle \( \text{byas.} \) is used before the verbs \( \text{‘gro.}, \)
\( \text{yong. and bsdad.} \), but with a different meaning.)

### 13.2 Verb Stem+Subordinator (+Topic Marker)

The subordinators under this head have themselves a perfect, progressive or prospective aspectual reference, and stand immediately after the verb stem, with no tense-aspect particles interposed ("pattern b" above).

- \( \text{-nas.} \) "having", "after", "and then" (with past verb stem)

The subordinating particle \( \text{-nas.} \) is largely interchangeable with serial verb \( \text{byas.} \) for most speakers to indicate that the event of the subordinate clause preceded that of the following clause. In the case of \( \text{nas.} \) the first event may precede the second by any length of time.

\[ \text{khyed.rang.gis. las.ka. byas. tshar.nas. nga. yong.gi.yin.} \]
\[ \text{J~E: -le:ga _tce: _tsbaha:n1 _ga _juggyjl:} \]
\[ \text{you-smp. work did finish-sub. I come-link.-aux.} \]

"I’ll come after you’ve finished work."

(There is also a serial particle \( \text{-nas.} \), which like serial verb \( \text{byas.} \) is used before serial verbs in an “adverb of manner” sense: see 10.1).

- \( \text{-gag.} \) "in order to" (with present verb stem)

This is most commonly, though not exclusively, used before verbs of movement in the main clause:

\[ \text{nyo.bya. rgyab.gag. khrom.la. ‘gro.gi.yin.} \]
\[ \text{J~E: -nbdza _gjvbga _trcmla _drugyjl:} \]

shopping do-sub. bazaar-loc. go-link.-aux.

"I’m going to the bazaar to do some shopping.”

This particle should not be confused with corroborative or emphatic particle \( \text{-ga} \) (9.2.5), or with the future tense first-person wh-interrogative modal particle \( \text{-ga.} \) (9.3.6).

The combination of subordinating particle \( \text{-gag.} \) and serial verb \( \text{byas.} \) has a somewhat pejorative sense, often translatable by "(foolishly) try to":

By trying to eat quickly, I got a stomach ache.” (Cf. Hu Tan et al. 1989:325)

13.3 Verb stem (+Linker) (+Auxiliary) +Subordinator (+Topic Marker)

The particles under this head have no inherent aspectual reference, and may stand either immediately after the verb stem (“pattern b”), thus neutralising tense/aspect distinctions, or after an auxiliary (“pattern c”). Of the five major verbs of being/auxiliaries, the subordinators -dus., -tsang and -na. are mostly used only after yin. and yod., thus largely neutralising distinctions of viewpoint, though occasionally they are found after ‘dug. and yog.yin. (a “subordinate” non-finite form of yog.red.).

The subordinator -re. is found after all five major verbs of being/auxiliaries, and even after auxiliary -shag. (e.g. Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957:130).

-dus. “when”, “while” (after present verb stem, or after auxiliary)

ngas. nyo.ya. rgyab.(kyi.yod.)dus.
_ne: _nbdzə  _gbjvb(gajq):dy:
1-  smp. shopping do(link. & aux.)-sub.

“When/while doing the shopping, ...” (with -link. & -aux.)
“When I do/did the shopping, ...” (without -link. & -aux.)

-tsang. “because” (after past verb stem, or after auxiliary)

kho.tsho. zhing.pa. yin.tsang. “Because they are farmers, ...
_ka ndzo  _cig gə . _jindza:
3sg.-num. farmer be-sub.

(gal.srid.-) -na. “if” (after past or present verb stem, or after auxiliary)

The subordinating particle -na. means “if”. Combined with the item gal.srid. earlier in the clause it means “in case”, “in the event that”. It may follow the past or present verb stem, with or without linking particle and/or auxiliary. Some examples of its use with past, present and future tenses and perfect aspect, to show the expression of “hypothetical”, “possible” and “counterfactual” conditions, are as follows:

kho. bod.la. phyin.(pa.yin.)na. (past tense)
_ka po l  _tph(mbeji) na
3sg. Tibet-loc. went (-link.-aux.)-sub.
“If he went/were to go to Tibet,” (future time, hypothetical).
“If he went to Tibet,” (past time, possible).
“If he had gone to Tibet,” (past time, counterfactual).
The use of what could be analysed as a subordinate clause ending in yin.na. as a topic marker is discussed at 7.8.
13.4 Nominalised Clauses

Nominalised clauses are very common in the Lhasa dialect and in most other varieties of Tibetan with which I am familiar. Nominalisation involves the presence of one or more nominalising particles - a class of verb particle - after the verb stem, or sometimes after the auxiliary, within the same word.

The following examples show predications whose verb or auxiliary is followed by a nominalising particle (-pa. in the sense of “-ing”). Bracketing of subject and object show that these are optional (as are adjuncts).

   (₁₃:je) (₁₃:tep) ₁₃:loj♂ (perfect aspect)
   “(I) have read (the book).”

   (₁₃:je) (₁₃:tep) ₁₃:loj♂:ba (perfect aspect)
   “(my) having read (the book)”

   (₁₃:je) (₁₃:tep) ₁₃:loj♂: (present tense)
   “(I) am reading (the book).”

   (₁₃:je) (₁₃:tep) ₁₃:loj♂:ba (progressive/habitual aspect)
   “(my) reading (the book)”

   (₁₃:je) (₁₃:tep) ₁₃:ba (neutral aspect)
   “(my) reading (the book)”

Of the above examples a-e, the last, in which nominalising particle follows the verb stem with no auxiliary, is the commonest type. Example d, meaning “my being in the act of reading the book”, or “my habitual reading of the book” differentiates it grammatically from example e in a way which can only be done lexically in English.

Note that the verb remains a verb “leftwards” within any clause of which it is the predicator, which clause undergoes no change such as the genitivisation of the subject we find in the English equivalents. Thus a literal translation of e above is “I reading the book”, or “reading the book by me”.

The whole nominalised clause however, constitutes the head of a noun phrase, to which may be added the elements epithet, deictic, numerator and case marker. Within the wider clause in which it is embedded the whole noun phrase will stand as a subject, object or adjunct.

Clauses nominalised with one of the particles -pa., -mkhan., -rgyu. or -yag. are often followed by a genitive particle and used attributively to qualify a following noun phrase. This is a common equivalent to an English relative clause (see also 12.3):
**SUBORDINATE CLAUSES**

ngas. klog.pa’i. deb. “the book which I have read”
_ne: _llo:be: _tep (lit. “the book of reading by me”)
I-smp. read-nom.-gen. book

In the Lhasa dialect the productivity of many of these nominalising particles is somewhat restricted, in that they are found only with certain following verbs in the predicator (often yod./dug./yog.red. ) or in certain set idioms.

In some cases a given particle appears to have split into one or more fully grammaticised versions and one or more productive or semi-productive versions, with clearly different meanings; sometimes also with one or more homographs among the tense and aspect particles discussed in Chapter 9.

Thus there seems to have been a general drift towards grammaticisation, which however is far from complete.

For convenience of exposition these nominalising particles may be roughly divided into four groups, with the degree of grammaticisation decreasing from a-d:

a) polyfunctional particles with tense/aspect-particle homographs (-pa/ba, -mkhan./nyan., -yag., -rgyu.);
b) particles mainly used with verbs of existing or doing (-rtsis., -‘dod., --khag., -long., -thabs., -re., -bzo., ma- -ka.med., ma.- rang-. , -lo.ba.);
c) particles mainly used in set idioms (-mdog., -rogs., -nyid/snying., -grabs.);
d) particles behaving like free nouns (-sa., -stangs., -srol.).

The particles to be discussed do not form an exhaustive list but include all the commonest ones.

13.4.1 Polyfunctional nominalising particles

With this group of particles, the noun phrase referring to the actor is treated as subject of the nominalised verb and normally carries a subject-marking particle (see Chapter 12), but not a genitive particle.

**Nominalising particle -pa./ba.**

The nominalising particle -pa./ba. is extremely common in many styles of written Tibetan. For examples of slow- and fast-tempo phonological alternants of this particle in combination with various verb stems, see Chapter 5 (5.10). Potentially confusing is the fact that it can nominalise a clause to give three different meanings. Thus the nominalised clause shing.tog. za.ba. (fruit eat-nom.) in written Tibetan can be:

a) a noun phrase referring to the action of the verb itself (English “Vb.-ing”): “the eating of the fruit”;
b) a noun phrase referring to the actor the (English “Vb.-er”): “the eater of the fruit”, “who eats the fruit”;
c) with transitive verbs, a noun phrase referring to the patient (English “Vb.-ed/en” etc.): “the eaten fruit”, “the fruit which is eaten”).
As their translations suggest, meanings b and c correspond to relative clauses or parts of relative clauses in English.

(There is also a linking verb particle spelt -pa/ba. which is not nominalising: see Chapter 9.)

The following uses of this particle apply to the Lhasa dialect:

a) -pa/ba. as "Vb.-ing" (action) This use is not very common outside a few specific constructions where, it might be argued, it has in effect become grammaticised as part of a subordinate clause-final construction. Usually the past verb stem is used where available, and the action referred to is in past time or is a completed action. However, if the present stem is used and followed by the particle(s) -bzhin. or -gi.yod. before the -pa., present actions or actions in progress are indicated. (Actions which have no particular relation to a reference time or to completeness are usually indicated by the particle -yag.; future or prospective ones which have not commenced, by the particle -yag. or -rgyu.. There is an analogy here with the system of verbal aspect.) Examples:

ngas. dmag.mis. me.mda'. rgyab.pa. mthong.byung.
_ne ma:mi: _menda _gjvbe thqgzD
I-smp. soldier-smp. gun fire-nom. see-aux.

"I saw the soldier fire the gun." (Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957:63)
(i.e. "I saw the firing of the gun by the soldier.")

da.res. nga. 'dir. yong.ba. thengs. dang.po. yin.
_tare: _ga_de: _jgwa thg: _ta gbu _jl:
this time I this-loc. come-nom. time first be

"This is the first time I have come here."
(Lit. "I coming here this time is the first time.")

(See below for a synonymous sentence using -yag..)

In this usage -pa/ba. may be used after the auxiliaries -yin. and -yod.:

ngas.khyed.rams.tshos. kha.lag. za.gi.yod.par lta.gi.yod.
_ne: kjen ndzg: kbal: _sagajbo: tagajg:
I-smp. you-num.-smp. meal eat-link.-aux.-nom.-loc. look-link.-aux.

"I'm watching you eating." (Tomulic 1987 vol 2:608)

The nominalising particle may co-occur with a negative particle:

khyed.rang. nang.la. ma.phyin.pa. ga.re. yin.nam.
you home-loc. neg. went-nom. what be-alt.
_kjerd: _nagle _mdzimbe _kar _jind

"Why didn’t you go home?"

In the following four examples, the clause nominalised with -pa/ba. is in effect subordinated to a following main clause. The combinations Vb+pa+dang. "on Vb.-
ing”, Vb+pa.+da.kar. “immediately on Vb.-ing”; and Vb+pa.+ma.gtogs. “apart from Vb.-ing” can straightforwardly be analysed as nominalised verb+noun particle, though it would alternatively seem reasonable to class these combinations of constituents following the verb as subordinating particles (see 13.2, 13.3). In the case of ma.+Vb.+pa+ byas., it seems better to class the combination pa.+byas. as a subordinating particle, on the analogy of the subordinating particle byas. in clauses with positive polarity, and because outside this construction there is no noun particle byas..

A clause nominalised by -pa./-ba. may be followed by the co-ordinating particle dang. “with” in the sense of English “on Vb.-ing”; or da.kar. in the sense of “immediately on -Vb.ing”, or ma.gtogs. “apart from Vb.-ing”:

khos. yi.ge. btang.ba. dang. “on his sending/as soon as he sent the letter”
\( k^b^b_\circ \_j_\, \_t_\, \_k_\, t\, _d_ : \) (i.e. “with his sending the letter”)
3sg.-smp. letter send-nom. co-ord.

kho. bod.la. bselbs.pa. da.kar. “immediately on his arrival in Tibet”
\( k^b^b_\circ \, \_p_\, t_\, l_\, b_\, e_\, t\_g_\, a_\, : \) he Tibet-loc. arrive-nom. exactly-loc.

gnam. 'thibs.pa. ma.gtogs. char.pa. gtang.mdog. kha.po. ma.red.
\( \_n_\_a_\_m_\_a_\_d_\_z_\_i_\_m_\_b_\_t_\_e_\_c_\_e_\_ : \) sky cloud over-nom. excep. rain fall-nom. likely.-nom. neg.-be
“Apart from the sky clouding over, it’s not likely to rain.”

The following construction with -pa./ba. is only used in clauses with negative polarity. See 13.2 for the positive equivalent without the -pa./ba..

nang.la. ma.phyin.pa. byas. “Without having gone home, ...”
\( n_\_a_\_g_\_l_\_a_\_ \_m_\_a_\_d_\_z_\_i_\_m_\_b_\_t_\_e_\_c_\_e_\_ : \) home-loc. neg. went-nom. sub.

A verb may be nominalised with -pa./ba. and followed by the imperative shog. (“come”) to express the idea of hoping:

sku. tshe.ring. yong.ba. shog. “May your life be long!”
\( k_\_u_\_ \_t_\_s_\_b_\_r_\_i\_f_\_a_\_ \_c_\_o_\_ : \) long life will exist-nom. come (imperative stem)

An involuntary verb nominalised with -pa./ba. and followed by the imperative byed. “do” (honorific gnang.), often with the imperative particle "a. or dang., to express the idea of trying:

las.ka. 'di. tshar.ba. byed. "a. “Try to finish the work!”
\( l_\_e_\_g_\_a_\_ \_d_\_i_\_ \_t_\_s_\_b_\_o_\_b_\_e_\_ \_t_\_s_\_i_\_i_\_ : \) work this finish-nom. do imp.
This could perhaps be regarded as a case of verb serialisation, though it does not follow the usual pattern (see Chapter 10).


\[
\text{ngas} \quad \text{deb. 'di.} \quad \text{klog.pa'i.} \quad \text{re.ba.} \quad \text{yod.} \quad \text{I-smp. book this read-nom.gen. hope exist}
\]

\[
\text{ngas.} \quad \text{deb. 'di.} \quad \text{klog.pa'i.} \quad \text{ched.du.} \quad \text{I-smp. book this read-nom.-gen. purpose-loc.}
\]

I hope to read the book.”


\[
\text{kha.shas.} \quad \text{yod.pa'i.} \quad \text{bzo.} \quad \text{'dug.} \quad \text{I-smp. book this read-nom.-loc. minute ten exist}
\]

There seem to be a few.”

A shorter alternant of this construction has the nominalising particle -bzo. instead of -pa'i.bzo. (see below and 9.2.7.). Nominalising particle -yag. in place of -pa. can also be used in this way (see below).

In these idiomatic uses, -pa. does not necessarily denote a completed or past action.

The nominalising particle -pa. is used in telling the time:

\[
\text{chu.tshod.} \quad \text{dang.po.} \quad \text{zin.par.} \quad \text{kar.ma.} \quad \text{bcu.} \quad \text{du.} \quad \text{It’s ten minutes to one.”}
\]

\[
\text{tchudzy:} \quad \text{tagbu} \quad \text{simba:} \quad \text{ko:ma} \quad \text{tu:} \quad \text{du:} \quad \text{hour first seizing-nom.-loc. minute ten exist}
\]

-pa./ba. as “Vb.-er” (actor). With intransitive verbs, particularly when the subject is elided, the nominalised verb with -pa./ba., often followed by de. or ‘di., may refer to the actor:

\[
\text{kha.sang.} \quad \text{bslebs.pa.} \quad \text{de.} \quad \text{the one who arrived yesterday”}
\]

\[
\text{khasd:} \quad \text{le:ba} \quad \text{te}
\]

yesterday arrive-nom. the
SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The one (which is) on the table

An idiomatic use of this construction with the verb of being yod. is found in the sense of “with”, “possessing”:

A more colloquial way of saying the same thing would be

Sometimes this construction is also used with transitive verbs, in which case an object must normally be present or recoverable:

b) -pa./ba. as “Vb.-en/ed” etc. (patient). With transitive verbs, the nominalised verb with -pa./ba., may refer to the patient; often the object, which also represents the patient, is elided or represented by a relative/interrogative noun:

Use of -pa./ba. in relative-type clauses. The clauses in the “actor” and “patient” examples above are the equivalents of English relative clauses, as are some of those in the “action” category. These are explored further at 12.3, where the distinction of the senses actor and patient is also discussed.

Nominalising particle -mkhan. as “Vb.-er” (actor)

The particle -mkhan. (attached to the present form of the verb) is in common and productive use to refer to the (usually animate) actor, in principle exactly like -pa./ba.
in this use. It is now usually pronounced -ṇē, to the annoyance of some purists of the older generation, who prefer the pronunciation -(ŋ)gē. Roerich & Lhalungpa (1957:63) claim that it is borrowed from the Lhokha dialect. Examples:

yi.ge. 'di. btang.mkhan. su. red.pa.
jie dr tāṇē; su_re
letter this send-nom. who be-wh.int.

kho. bod.skad. bshad.mkhan. red.
kh pā:ge: te:ṇē: re:
he Tibetan speak-nom. be

I distinguish this use of -mkhan. from the etymologically related linking verb particle -mkhan. which is found in the premeditated form of the prospective aspect with a following particle -yin. or -red. (9.3.5.2.). The existence of these two uses creates a potential ambiguity in clauses such as:

bkra.shis. las.ka. 'di. byed.mkhan. red.
tra ci: le:ɡa di tce:ṇē: re:
Tashi work this do-nom. be

This sentence could in theory either mean “Tashi is the one who does this work” (actor) or “Tashi is going to do this work” (prospective aspect). In such cases it seems to be the latter prospective meaning which applies. If one wants to convey the “actor” meaning, one can say

las.ka. 'di. byed.mkhan. bkra.shis. red.
le:ɡa di tce:ṇē: tra ci: re:
work this do-nom. Tashi be

Nominalising particle -yag.
The wide use of the particle -yag. (attached to the present stem of the verb) may be relatively recent - there is no Classical spelling for it and according to Roerich and Lhalungpa (1957:67) it was (in 1957) “on the increase in the modern colloquial”. I have distinguished these uses of -yag. from the prospective aspect linking verb particle -yag.- (see 9.3.5.3).

a) -yag. as “Vb.-ing”. -yag. is often the equivalent of the English verbal noun ending in “-ing” and is frequently found with genitive or dative-locative particle. The action referred to by the nominalised verb is generally in present or future time or is timeless:
Adjunct with dative-locative particle:

\[ \text{shog.} \text{ bu. 'di. yi. ge. bri. yag. la. dgos. pa. yod.} \]
\[ ^\text{-cugu} \_\text{-di} \_\text{jigi} \_\text{tri:ja:la} \_\text{go:js}: \]
\[ \text{paper} \text{ this letter write-nom.-loc. need-link.-aux.} \]
\[ \text{“This paper will be needed for writing letters.”} \]

Attributive use with genitive particle:

\[ \text{yi. ge. bri. yag. gi. smyu. gu.} \]
\[ \_\text{jigi} \_\text{tri:ja:gi} \_\text{nugu} \]
\[ \text{letter write-nom.-gen. pen} \]
\[ \text{“a pen for writing letters”} \]

-yag. in this sense may also be used with (-gen.-) bzo. ‘dug. “it is likely that”:

\[ \text{chen. po. chags. yag. gi. bzo. ‘dug.} \]
\[ ^\text{-cub} \_\text{embu} ^\text{-cubha:ja:gi} \_\text{so} \_\text{du:} \]
\[ \text{big-nom. become-nom.-gen. appearance exist} \]
\[ \text{“It is likely to become big.”} \]

-yag. can be virtually synonymous with -pa.:

\[ \text{da. res. ngas. ‘di. byed. yag. thog. ma. yin.} \]
\[ ^\text{-tare:} \_\text{-ne:} \_\text{-di} \_\text{tc:ja:} \_\text{thogma} \_\text{jil:} \]
\[ \text{this time I-smp. this do-nom. first be} \]
\[ \text{“This is the first time I have done this.”} \]

b) -yag. as “to be Vb.-en/ed”. A nominalised verb with -yag. and no object may be the equivalent of English “to be Vb.-en/ed” (like a Latin gerundive):

\[ \text{deb. ‘di. khong. la. sprad. yag. red.} \]
\[ ^\text{-tep} \_\text{-di} ^\text{-kha:la} ^\text{tre:ja:} ^\text{-re:} \]
\[ \text{book this 3sg.-loc. give-nom. be} \]
\[ \text{“The book is to be given to him.”} \]

\[ \text{dug. log. khrus. yag. red. pas.} \]
\[ ^\text{-tuglo:} ^\text{-try:ja:} ^\text{ribe:} \]
\[ \text{clothes wash-nom. be-interr.} \]
\[ \text{“Are the clothes for washing/to be washed?”} \]

\[ \text{c) -yag. as “for Vb.-ing”. A nominalised verb with -yag. (with or without a following dative-locative particle -la.) and with an object may be the equivalent of English “for Vb.-ing (with)”:
\]
\[ \text{‘di. kha: la. bzo. yag. (la.) red.} \]
\[ ^\text{-di} ^\text{kha:la:} ^\text{-sjo:a:la} ^\text{-re:} \]
\[ \text{this food make-nom.-loc. be} \]
\[ \text{“This is for cooking food (with).”} \]

\[ \text{d) -yag. as “chance to”. For some speakers, -yag. may be used like -rgyu. before} \]
the verbs yod., 'dug., yog.red., byung. or yong., and with the possibility of subject-marking particle on the subject of the nominalised verb, to mean "chance to":

khos. deb. 'di. klog.yag. byung.ba.red. "He got a chance to read the book."
\[\text{khb} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{f} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{cu} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{e} \] 
him-smp. book this read-nom. was obtained-link.-aux.

deng.sang. mjal.yag. mi. 'dug. "We get no chance to meet these days!"
\[\text{d} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{m} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{u} \] 
these days meet-nom. neg.-exist

e) -yag+las. A nominalised verb with -yag. followed by the verb las./lus. "be left behind", "remain", means "still have to" or "forget to":

ngas. las.ka. byed.yag. las.zhag.
\[\text{n} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{c} \quad \text{a} \] 
me-smp. work do-nom. leave-aux.

"There's some work I still have to do / forgot to do." (Tomulic 1987 vol.2:462)

**Nominalising particle -rgyu.**

There is some overlap between the meanings of the nominalising particles -yag. and -rgyu. (as there is between the linking particles -yag. and -rgyu.). Many speakers use the two apparently interchangeably in the senses "to be Vb.-en/ed", "for Vb.-ing" and "chance to Vb." (see above). For such speakers the following sentences can all be found with -yag. as well as -rgyu:

deb. 'di. khong.la. sprad.rgyu. red.
\[\text{t} \quad \text{p} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{k} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{l} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{c} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{j} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{r} \quad \text{e} \] 
book this him-loc. give-nom. be

dug.log. khrus.rgyu. red.pas. "Are the clothes for washing /to be washed?"
\[\text{t} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{l} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{c} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{j} \] 
clothes wash-nom. be-interr.

khang.pa. rgyab.rgyu'i. sa.phag. "bricks for building houses (with)"
\[\text{k} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{j} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{j} \quad \text{y} \] 
house build-nom.-gen. brick

'di. kha.lag. bzo.rgyu(r). red. "This is for cooking food (with)."
\[\text{d} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{k} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{l} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{c} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{j} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{r} \quad \text{e} \] 
this meal make-nom.(-loc.) be

khos. deb 'di. klog.rgyu. byung.ba.red. "He got a chance to read the book."
\[\text{k} \quad \text{h} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{t} \quad \text{p} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{l} \quad \text{g} \quad \text{j} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{r} \quad \text{e} \quad \text{b} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{r} \] 
he-smp. book this read-nom. was obtained-link.-aux.
For many speakers, -rgyu. seems to be preferred to -yag. when the action referred to is prospective or future:

```
gzhung.gis. kho.tshor. rogs.ram. byed.rgyur. dngul. g-yar.gyi.red.
cungji:  "k*ondza: roram tcingju: "qy:  "ja:gar:
government-smp. 3sg.-pl.-loc. help do-nom.-loc. money lend-link.-aux.
“The government will lend money to help them.” (Goldstein et al. 1991:146)
```

There are also some idiomatic uses of -rgyu. in particular collocations:

a) -rgyu.+byed. Followed by the verb byed. “do”, a verb nominalised with -rgyu. means “mean to Vb.” or “undertake to Vb.”:

```
ngas. rgya.gar.la. yong.rgyu. byas.pa.yin.  "I meant to come to India."
_ne:  gjaga:la  _jungju  tce:baej:
I-smp. India-loc. come-nom. did-link.-aux.
```

```
ngas. byed.rgyu. byas.pa.yin.  "I undertook to do it"
_ne:  tcingju  tce:baej:
I-smp. do-nom. did-link.-aux.-sub.
```

b) -rgyu.+yog.red. or 'dug. Followed by the verb yog.red. or 'dug., a verb nominalised by -rgyu. means “one should”:

```
las.ka. thog.la. nga.rgyal. byed.rgyu. yog.red.
lega  thola  nagje:  tcingju  yore:
work regard-loc. pride do-nom. exist
“One should take pride in one’s work.”
```

The construction is more often heard with negative polarity:

```
chang. ’di. ’ thung.rgyu. yog.ma.red.  "One shouldn’t drink this beer."
"tchd:  ’di  thungju  jomare:
beer this drink-nom. exist[neg.]
```

c) -rgyu.+rang.red. Followed by deictic rang. and verb of being red., a verb nominalised by -rgyu. means “will certainly”, usually with regard to some untoward outcome:

```
bzo.po. ma.byas.pa.yin.na. gzags.rgyu. rang. red.
sobu  madze:baejna  sagju  re:  re:
careful-nom. neg. done-aux.-sub. fall-nom. really be
“If you’re not careful, it will certainly fall.” (Cf. Hu Tan 1989:330f)
```

d) -rgyu.+khyer. or gal. Followed by the verb khyer. “carry”, or gal. “load”, “levy”, a verb nominalised with -rgyu. means “be obliged/induced to Vb.”:
"We had to borrow money."

I-num.-smp. money borrow-nom. carry-aux.

"He was forced to sell the things."

3sg-smp thing sell-nom. load-aux.

Followed by an adjective, a verb nominalised with -rgyu. means "at Vb.-ing":

"This woman's good at cooking."

Like -yag., -rgyu. is attached to the present stem of the verb.

I have treated these uses of -rgyu. as distinct from the prospective linking verb particle -rgyu.- (9.3.5.3), though there is obviously a close etymological connection.

13.4.2 Nominalising particles mainly used with verbs of existing or doing

With this group of particles, the noun phrase referring to the actor may be treated as subject of the nominalised verb, with or without a subject-marking particle, or less frequently as an adjunct (as a kind of "possessor" of the action).

Nominalising particle -rtsis. "intention"

A noun consisting of present verb stem+nominalising particle -rtsis. before verb of being yod., 'dug. or yog.red. means "plan to Vb.", "intention to Vb.".

The noun phrase representing the actor of what is planned is usually treated as subject of the verb referring to the intended action:

"I plan to study next year."

I-smp. next year studying do-nom. exist

Some speakers, however, put the noun representing the actor in an adjunct with dative-locative particle:

"I mean to give you the book."

I-loc. you-loc. book the give-nom. exist

(i.e. "I have the intention of giving you the book.")
A verb nominalised with -rtsis. may form the first part of a phrasal verb with verb stem byed. The actor is represented by a noun phrase as subject of the (transitive) phrasal verb:

> khos. khrom. 'gro.rtsis. byas.pa.red. "He intended to go to the bazaar."

> kʰʰ: tʰom la. drdzì. tɕe:baɾe:

The noun phrase referring to the actor is the subject of the nominalised verb.

Nominalising particle -dod. "desire"

A noun consisting of present verb stem+nominalising particle 'dod. means "desire to Vb.". Such a nominalised verb is usually found as the subject of yod., 'dug. or yog.red. (or byung., yong., referring to past or future time respectively); or sometimes as the first element of a phrasal verb with byed. or zer..

The noun phrase referring to the actor is the subject of the nominalised verb.

That the verb of being is not an auxiliary is shown by the possibility of interposing an adjunct between nominalised verb and verb of being.

ngas. khong. mjal.'dod. zhe.drag. yod. "I would very much like to meet her."

ng. kʰʰ: dzɛndø. ḡeɾɾa. jø:

I-smp. 3sg. meet-nom. much exist

mo. rang. 'gro.'dod. zer.mi.'dug. "She has expressed no desire to go."

m. drdzì. dzɛndø. ḡeɾɾa:

she go-nom. say-neg.-aux.

Occasionally before verbs of being (particularly in writing) the phrase referring to the actor is found in an adjunct with dative-locative particle:

tshong. pa. tshor. tshwa. tshong. rgyag.'dod. yog.red.

tʰʰ: 'gbdzø. ḡa. kʰʰ: ḡɛndø. jø:re

tader-num.-loc. salt sell do-nom. exist

"The traders want to sell salt." (Goldstein et al. 1991:231)

(i.e. "The traders have a desire to sell salt.")

Nominalising particle -khag. "pretence"

Nominalising particle -khag. after present stem and before the verb byed. "do" means "pretend to":

E: -t~p -t~ga: -tc~:bajl:
I-smp. book read-nom. did-link.-aux.

Nominalising particle -long. “time to”
Nominalising particle -long. after present verb stem means “(enough) time to Vb.” The noun phrase referring to the actor may be subject or adjunct.

nga. da.lta. za.long. med. “I’ve no time to eat now.”
_ga _tanda _sal5: _me:  
I now eat-nom. neg.-exist

Nominalising particle -thabs. “chance”, “possibility”, “way”
Nominalising particle -thabs. after present verb stem and before yod./'dug./yog.red. (usually in the negative) means “way of, means of Vb.-ing”:

bros.thabs. mi.'dug. “There was no way of escaping.”
__try:dyv _mindu:  
flee-nom. neg.-exist

Before the verb byed. or gnang., a verb nominalised with -thabs. means “try to Vb.”.

nga. khang.pa. cig. nyo.thabs. byed.kyi.yod. “I’m trying to buy a house.”
_ga 'khaṅbō tci: _nudvp _tcigjø:  
I house num. buy-nom. do-link.-aux.

Nominalising particle -re. “hope”
Agha (1993b:124) gives a form with nominalising particle -re. after present stem and before yod./'dug./yog.red. meaning “hope to Vb.”

bkra.shis. 'gro.re. 'dug. “Tashi hopes to go.”
__trači: _drore _du:  
Tashi go-nom. exist

Nominalising particle -bzo. “appearance”
This is an alternative to nominalising particle+genitive particle+noun -pa'i.bzo. (see 8.5.1). As a more grammaticised form than the latter I have included it under “apparent” modality at 9.2.8.
'dir. khang.pa. yod.bzo. mi.'dug. "There don’t seem to be any houses here."
   _de: ḱbaṅbo ḱoṣo ḱmindu:
this-loc. house exist-nom. neg.-exist

Nominalising particles ma- Vb-.ka.med. "no choice but"
A negative present verb stem verb followed by ka.med. as subject of the verb byung.
means there is or was no choice but to do the act referred to by the verb. With the
verb red. the construction denotes future time:

   ma.'gro. ka.med. byung.song. "There is no choice but to go."
   _madro ḱkame: ḱtčugsdsp
neg.-go nom. happen-aux.

   bod.skad. ma.bshad. ka.med. red.
   ḱpøge ḱmæc: ḱkame: ḱre:
Tibetan neg.-speak nom. be
   "There will be no choice but to speak Tibetan."

Nominalising particles ma- Vb.rang- Vb.
This construction is similar in meaning to the preceding one, but generally seems to
use the past stem of the verb:

   sman. ma.zas. rang.zas red. "I have no choice but to take medicine."
   ḱmë: ḱmæc: ḱrægsæ: ḱre:
medicine nom.-ate nom.-ate be

Nominalising particles Vb.-lo.ba. "ability"
The particles -lo.ba. following the present verb stem convey the sense of "fit to Vb."
or "Vb-able":

   kha.lag. di. za.lo.ba. mi.'dug. "This food is not fit to eat."
   ḱkbałø: ḱdi ḱsalö: ḱmindu:
food this eat-nom. neg.-exist (Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957:24)

13.4.3 Nominalising particles mainly used in set idioms

Nominalising particle -mdog./-dogs. "likelihood"
Nominalising particle -mdog. (sometimes spelt -dogs.) after present verb stem and
immediately before the adjective kha.po. means "seems likely to be going to Vb.",
usually as complement of a verb of being.
"It seems likely that unrest will break out."

"It seems likely that he has sent the letter."

Nominalising particle -rogs. “help”
As a nominalising particle -rogs. is in common use for making polite requests to those higher than oneself in the deference system, and generally translated by Tibetans with the English “please”, though in idiomatic English some more oblique usage such as “would you” or “could you” is often more appropriate. It is normally used in imperative clauses whose main verb is gnang. if the verb to which rogs. is attached is honorific; otherwise byed.; both meaning “do”.

“Please come in!”
“Would you kindly pass the salt?”
“Would you kindly give it to him?”
“Please give it to him.”

Nominalising particle -nyid./-snying. “desire”
A very similar meaning to that under -dod. above (but sometimes said to refer to a stronger degree of desire) is achieved by a present verb stem nominalised with -nyid. (sometimes written -snying.) as the first part of a phrasal verb of which the second is the verb stem 'dod.:
de. ring. las. ka. byed. snying. 'dod. kyi. mi. 'dug. “I don’t want to work today.”

.today work do-nom. want-link.-neg.-aux.

Nominalising particle -grabs. “readiness”, “near miss”
The construction verb+grabs.+yod./'dug./yog.red. is analysed as lexical verb+linking particle+auxiliary and discussed under prospective (imminent) aspect in Chapter 9. A noun consisting of involuntary verb+nominalising particle grabs. is found before the verb byed. meaning “ready to Vb.” or in the past tense “almost Vb.-ed” or “just missed Vb.-ing”.

zam.pa. lug.grabs. byed.kyi.'dug. “The bridge is ready to collapse.”

.bridge collapse-nom. do-link.-aux.

zam.pa. lug.grabs. byas.pa.red. “The bridge almost collapsed.”

.bridge collapse-nom. did-link.-aux.

Nominalising particle -nyer. “on the point”

kho.tsho 'gro.nyer. thug.shag. “They are about to go.”

3sg.-pl go-nom. reach-aux.

Nominalising particle -ran. “time”
Nominalising particle -ran. after present verb stem before the verb bsdad. “stay”, “exist” means “be about to Vb.”:

ngag. 'gro.ran. bsdad.yod. “I’m about to go.”

g. drol. de:js. I go-nom. exist-aux.

There is also a serial verb ran. (see 10.5), which however means “be time to Vb.”:

ngag. 'gro. ran.song. “It’s time I went.”

g. drolrensö I go be time-aux.
13.4.4 Nominalising particles behaving like free nouns

In the case of -sa. And -srol., the agent is usually represented by the subject of the nominalised verb:

Nominalising particle -sa. "place", "chance", "occasion".

```
khong. bzhugs.sa. ga.par. bzhugs.kyi.'dug.pa. "Where is he staying?"
"kʰs: _cuːsə _kabo: _cuːgydo
3sg. stay-nom. where stay-link.-aux.-wh.int.
```

deng.sang. nga.tshos. bod.skad. sbyang.sa. yog.ma.red.
"Nowadays l-num.-smp. Tibetan practise-nom. exist [neg.]
"There is no occasion for us to practise Tibetan."

Nominalising particle -srol. "custom"

```
spyid.kar. gling.ka. btang.srol. yog.red.
"There is the custom of picnicking in spring."
```

Nominalising particle -stangs. "style", "manner"

Here the agent is represented as the possessor of the nominalised verb and bears a genitive particle:

```
khö'i. lab.stangs.la. bltas.na. kham.pa. yin.pa.'dra.
"To judge by his accent, he is probably a Khamba."
```

13.5 Verb Stem+Nominaliser+Adjunct Marker

The nominalising particles -pa., -kha. and -shul. enter into various constructions with adjunct-marking particles or extended adjunct-markers, whose function is to subordinate the nominalised clause.

-pa.dang. “on”, “as soon as” (with past verb stem)

```
nga. yong.ba. dang. "On my arrival, ...
"ga _jogə _td:
1 come-nom. co-ord.
```
-pas. "because"
This combination of particles (nominalising+instrumental) is in general much less common in the Lhasa dialect than in Classical Tibetan, perhaps because of its homophony with the Lhasa interrogative particle:

\[\text{khö. bod.rigs. yin.pas.} \quad \text{"As he is a Tibetan, ..."} \]
\[\text{khö. pöri: jimbe:} \quad \text{(lit. "through he being a Tibetan")} \]
3sg. Tibetan be-nom.-instr.

It is however often heard in the following constructions:

\textbf{a) -pas.ma.tshad. "not only" (with past verb stem).}
\[\text{khö. bod.rigs. yin.pas. ma.tshad.} \quad \text{"Not only is he a Tibetan, but ..."} \]
\[\text{khö. pöri: jimbe: madze:} \quad \text{3sg. Tibetan be-nom.-instr. sub.} \]

\textbf{b) -pas.ni. "although".}
\[\text{khö. pöri: bajimbe: ni} \quad \text{3sg. go-link.-aux.-nom.-instr. top.} \]

-par. "with"
\[\text{khö. tsho. med.par. nyin.ma. gsum. phyin.song.} \]
\[\text{khö. nöndzo. me:ba: nime sum tchéinsd} \quad \text{3sg.-num. neg.-exist-nom.-loc. day three went-aux.} \]
\[\text{"Three days have gone by without their being here."} \]

-shul.ring.la./khar. "while" (with present verb stem)
\[\text{khö. säng. khyed.rang. med.shul. ring.la.} \]
\[\text{khö. ñasd: kjerd: mécy: rigla} \quad \text{the other day you neg.-exist duration-loc.} \]
\[\text{"The other day while you were not here, ..."} \]

-kha.lha.mor. (with present verb stem) "just before"
\[\text{khö. shi.kha. lha.mor.} \quad \text{"When he was on the point of death, ..."} \]
\[\text{khö. cigö jamö:} \quad \text{3sg. die-nom. quick-nom.-loc.} \]
13.6 Polariser+Verb Stem+Adjunct Marker

These constructions involve negative particles and extended adjunct markers of time. The English equivalents use positive polarity:

ma.+Vb+gong.la. “before” (with past verb stem):

\[
\text{ngas. nyo.byā. ma.rgyab. gong.la.} \quad \text{“Before I do/did the shopping, ...”}
\]

\[
\text{\_ne: \_n\textasciicircum{b}dz\textasciicircum{a}. \_m\textasciicircum{a}gjv\textasciicircum{a}. \_k\textasciicircum{a}k\textasciicircum{a}.} \\
\text{I-smp. shopping neg.-do before-loc.}
\]

ma.+Vb+bar.du. “until” (with past verb stem):

\[
\text{kho.tsho. ma.bslēbs. bar.du.} \quad \text{“Until they arrive(d), ...”}
\]

\[
\text{\_kh\textasciicircum{n}dzo \_malep \_p\textasciicircum{a}:du} \\
\text{3sg.-num. neg.-arrive meantime-loc.}
\]

Notes

1 The verb \textit{rtsis}. means “count”, “calculate”, and the noun \textit{rtsis.}, “accounts”, “astrology”.
2 The verb \textit{dod.} means “desire”, “wish”.
3 But see Roerich & Lhalungpa (1957:70), where the noun phrase referring to the actor is in an adjunct with \textit{-la.}
4 As a noun \textit{rogs.} means “assistance” as in the phrasal verb \textit{rogs. byed. \_ro: \_we:} “help”; it also occurs as a constituent in disyllabic nouns such as \textit{rogs.pa. \_rogba} “companion”. \textit{las.rogs. \_le:ro:} “colleague” etc.
14. Preclassical and Classical Tibetan

Introduction

In this chapter, some comparisons will be made between Lhasa Tibetan on the one hand, taken as representative for this purpose of the modern spoken dialects, and the language of selected works of Preclassical and Classical Tibetan on the other. The comparisons will not be exhaustive but simply illustrative of the main similarities and differences. The differences between Preclassical and Classical Tibetan are clearly at least partly a matter of historical period. Lhasa Tibetan is recorded from the modern period and is therefore in some sense "later" than Classical Tibetan. Probably it is the lineal descendant not of the original Classical language itself but of some spoken contemporary of Classical Tibetan; however, Preclassical and Classical Tibetan are all we have to compare it with from an earlier era.

All the Preclassical and Classical examples in this chapter are taken from the following corpus of texts, listed in the Bibliography:

*Preclassical:*
Bacot, Thomas & Toussaint (1940) ("Bacot etc.": 8th-9th century); Emmerick (1967) (c.9th century); Li & Coblin (1987) (8th-9th century); Sba gsal snang. (attrib.) (1980) ("Bashe": perhaps late 8th century, edited c.13th century); Taube (1980) (8th-9th century); Thomas (1951:Part II) (8th-9th century).

*Classical:*

14.1 Lexis

Tibetan operates with a stock of monosyllabic or sub-monosyllabic constituents whose number has an upper limit, determined for the written language by the spelling system. Most of the recorded constituents in the language were probably in use already by the 8th century AD. Lexical change has therefore only been able to happen by one or more of four processes:

a) by the dropping out of the language of some constituents;
b) by the recombination of others to form new polysyllabic nouns;
c) by the recombination of parts of speech to form phrasal nouns, phrasal verbs
or phrasal adjectives; and
d) by the adoption of loanwords from other languages.

In general, Tibetan has always been rather resistant to loanwords, but has made full use of the other three mechanisms, particularly b and c.

At a rough guess, at least 80% of the constituents of the Preclassical texts, and 90% of those in Milarepa are still in use in Lhasa Tibetan. Perhaps 70% and 80% respectively of the actual lexical items (parts of speech) survive, though they have by now been outnumbered by more recent coinages.

14.2 Grammar

In terms of the nature of phrase, clause and sentence elements and their ordering, the language has changed little if at all. An exception is the now obsolete use of an adjective preceding the noun within the noun phrase in Classical Tibetan. Even this, however, was a rather uncommon minority pattern.

\[ \text{bzang.po'i. las.thabs.} \quad \text{"good deeds" (Bashe 62, line 11)} \]
\[ \text{good-nom.-gen. deed} \]

14.3 “Grammatical Lexis”

The most striking differences between the two written varieties, between them and Lhasa Tibetan, and indeed between Lhasa Tibetan and other modern spoken and written varieties, is in the realm of the identity and use of grammatical and partially grammaticised constituents: particles, auxiliaries, serial verbs and postpositional nouns.

In the cases of particles found in noun phrases, of postpositional nouns and of subordinating verb particles, the differences are lexical in the sense that one item is replaced by another with the same or very similar meaning.

In the case of other constituents found in verb phrases, particularly auxiliaries and linking and modal particles, the differences involve such important grammatical systems as those of intention, person, viewpoint, tense/aspect, evidential and judgemental modality and mood. In terms of these systems one can see a development from Preclassical to Classical Tibetan, and then a greater development from Classical to Lhasa Tibetan.

Some of this variation may be less a matter of language period than of the genre or register of the texts which are to hand. One would not necessarily expect an everyday conversation to make the same distinctions of intention, person, viewpoint etc. as a royal edict, regardless of historical period. Presumably the speakers of the ninth century were able to make just as subtle grammatical distinctions as those of today in their conversation, even though many of these distinctions are absent from their inscriptive texts. Indeed it is noticeable how personal letters of the ninth century use somewhat different grammatical resources than do the contemporary
inscriptions; and even more noticeable how in Milarepa’s biography the grammar of conversational passages differs from that of their narrative frame.

A comparison between Lhasa Tibetan and other modern spoken dialects, although beyond the scope of this book, would also show great variety in the identity and use of these grammatical constituents, and consequently great variety in the workings of the grammatical systems concerned.

14.4 Nouns and Noun Phrases (Chapter 7)

Examples of lexical differences in non-postpositional nouns between Classical and Lhasa Tibetan are given at 7.1.

Several of the Preclassical and Classical “relative/interrogative” postpositional nouns are replaced in Lhasa Tibetan by disyllabic equivalents beginning with the constituent ga. (which in Classical Tibetan usually means “where”):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical</th>
<th>Lhasa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gang.</td>
<td>“which”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam.</td>
<td>“when”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gar.</td>
<td>“where”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci.tsam.</td>
<td>“how much”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gang.nas.</td>
<td>“whence”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci.’dra.(ba.)</td>
<td>“how”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Preclassical and Classical plural numerator nams. is largely replaced in Lhasa Tibetan by tsho., which is of more restricted use.

14.5 Verbs (Chapter 8)

The theoretical behaviour of verb stems in Classical Tibetan and the way this differs from Lhasa Tibetan is outlined at 8.2.

In Preclassical Tibetan, the use of the future verb stem, where available, is normal to express future tense (and perhaps prospective aspect). By the time of Milarepa’s biography, with one or two exceptions future stems are not used, even in cases of clearly future time reference by a verb which has an available future stem in the dictionaries. The main exception is the future stem bya. of the verb byed. “do”, which is often used where appropriate.

Thus apart from this one verb, the prescribed Classical system of four verb stems does not hold for Milarepa’s biography, which must surely be included in Classical Tibetan by any standard. It would be interesting to study other Classical works systematically to trace this loss of the future verb stem.

Phrasal verbs are much less common in the Preclassical and Classical language than in Lhasa Tibetan, but those that do occur behave in the same way.
14.6 Verb Phrases (Chapter 9)

14.6.1 Verbs of being

The copular verb of being yin. and existential verbs of being yod. and 'dug. are used in Preclassical and Classical Tibetan. 'dug. usually has strongly the sense of discovery that it retains in Lhasa Tibetan. The difference of viewpoint between yod. and 'dug. however is weak if present at all, and there is no distinction of viewpoint in copular verbs of being: i.e. no equivalent of Lhasa dialect red. ^

There may well be a distinction of modality, provided by the uncommon forms 'dug.pa.yin. (Bashe), yod.pa.yin. and respectful mchis.pa.lags.. These, formally past-tense existential verbs, would seem to be the equivalent of Lhasa yog.red. (which may itself be derived from a past-tense form of yod., expressing unwitnessed evidential modality) or yod.pa.red. (expressing deductive judgemental modality).

rmi.lam.du. bstan.pa'i. sa. der. gshegs.nas. gzigs.pa. dang.
dream-loc. show-nom.-gen. place that-loc. go-sub. look-nom. co-ord.
ci.yang. med/ 'di.na. 'dug.pa.yin.pa.la. byas.te. btsan.pos.
what-top. neg.-exist this-loc. exist-link.-aux.-nom.-loc. said-sub. king-smp.
bye.ma.la. zhabs.sug.sug. byas.te.
sand-loc. foot jostling did-sub.

“Having gone to the place shown in the dream and looked, there was nothing. Saying ‘It should be here!’ the king kicked at the sand, and ...”

(Bashe 43, line 2)

khyed.kyi. nor.ram. de. gang.na. yod.pa.yin.
you-gen. wealth-interr. that where-loc. exist-link.-aux.

“Your property? Where would that be?” (Milarepa 34, line 1)

mtsho'i. mig.ni. da.ltar.yang/ pra.bha.sha'i. sku.gzugs. sprul.pa'i.
lake-gen. opening-top. now-top. (proper name)-gen. image incarnation-gen.
zhabs.kyis. mnan.te. mchis.pa.lags//
foot-instr. cover-sub. exist-link.-aux.

“Even now, the opening into the lake is supposed to exist, covered by the feet of the miraculous image of the Prabhasa shrine.” (Emmerick 91, line 110)

In Preclassical and Classical Tibetan, as well as the deference system (14.9) there operates a politeness system at the level of verbs of being and their corresponding auxiliaries. Traces of this may be seen in Lhasa Tibetan, where the constituent lags. in some of its uses expresses politeness towards one’s addressee, not as in the deference system towards referent of a clause argument (subject, object or adjunct) as such. (See 12.3). (There is also a noun constituent lags. in Lhasa Tibetan (7.5) which expresses politeness towards the referent of a subject, object or adjunct.) In Preclassical Tibetan, a series of “polite” verbs of being/auxiliaries and lexical/serial verbs express politeness towards the addressee (who may be the reader of the text), contrasting with non-polite verbs, as follows:
Thus in the *Prophecy of the Li Country*, the only instance of *yod.* occurs in the speech of a king to his inferiors (Emmerick 16, line 175a3); everywhere else “exist” is rendered by *mchis.*. Likewise *lags.* and -pa.*lags.* (past tense) are universal in letters, reports to superiors and petitions, but kings addressing inferiors always use *yin*. and -pa.*yin.* (Bacot etc. 109, line 12; Li & Coblin 48 line 18; 49 lines 33, 38; 265 lines 23, 28; 272 line 41). Kings may however use *mchis.* and *lags.* when respectfully addressing prominent religious figures (Bashe 38, line 4 - 39 line 1).

"The other sons said such things as, ‘You who are of low estate are not (ma.*yin.*) a son of the Emperor. We are (yin.) true sons of royal estate.’ (Sanu) said, ‘If it turns out that I am not (ma.*lags.*) the Emperor’s son, what use is it to stay (mchis.) as the Emperor’s servant? The Emperor said, immediately, ‘You are (yin.) my true son.’’" (Emmerick 81, line 26)

(For another polite use of auxiliary *lags.*, see under “serial verb rung.” at 14.7 below.)

In Classical Tibetan, at least by the time of Milarepa’s biography, *mchis.* has dropped out of the language, but *lags.* and *gda*. are still in normal use to express politeness towards an addressee, both as a verb and an auxiliary, as alternatives to *yin.* and *’dug.* respectively.

Of the marginal verbs of being *byung.*, *song.*, *yong.* and *’dra.*, their lexical counterparts are all found in Preclassical Tibetan. As auxiliaries, *’dra.* fairly often occurs in the Preclassical language; *byung.* very occasionally, while *song.* and *yong.* do not occur in the Preclassical texts under consideration. (*’dra.* and *yong.* occur as serial verbs.)
In *Milarepa*, *byung.*, *song.*, *yong.* and *'dra.* are all found as lexical verbs, as marginal verbs of being and auxiliaries.

phon. rdzod.pa. dang. nor. che.ba. mi.yong.  
successful-nom. co-ord. wealth great-nom. neg.-exist  
“There are none more successful or wealthier.” (*Milarepa* 30, line 12)

*yong.* may also occur as an auxiliary with an adjective occupying the verb position in the predicator:

bem.po. 'di.'dra. gyon.nas. rgyal.khams. bskor.ba'i. mi.la. skyid.yong.  
cloak such wear-sub. country tour-nom.-gen. person-loc. be nice-aux.  
“It must be nice for someone touring the country wearing such a cloak.”  
(*Milarepa* 46, line 25)

Polarity of verbs of being seems essentially the same as in Lhasa Tibetan, except that the dubitative "e. which is found in Classical Tibetan and very occasionally in Preclassical, usually means there “whether”.

At the modal position after verbs of being/auxiliaries, the interrogative particle -gam./dam./bam./sag./ram./lam./(-)'am. occurs in the Preclassical and Classical texts. It may be the ancestor of the “alternative/tentative enquiry” particle of Lhasa Tibetan (9.2.6). The emphatic particle -ang. occurs in *Milarepa*, and occasionally the wh-interrogative -pa., though usually no particle is found on a verb in a wh-interrogative clause.

Of the Lhasa Tibetan degrees of judgemental modality, -pa.'dra. is found in the Preclassical and Classical language, as is grang. which may be the lineal ancestor of Lhasa gro..

The lexical verb drag. “be better” has an auxiliary homograph in *Milarepa*, e.g.

rang.re.rnam.kyang. gsol.ba. btab.pa.drag.  
we-num.-top. petition make-link.-aux.  
“We too had better beseech him.” (*Milarepa* 25, line 27)

14.6.2 Lexical verbs

In both Preclassical and Classical Tibetan, tense/aspect forms using auxiliaries are found. However, in most types of text, auxiliaries and linking particles are not used in the majority of verb phrases. In the Preclassical language, full use is made of past, present and future verb stems without auxiliaries to indicate tense, though of course many verbs do not have all three stems.

In many texts it is very noticeable that auxiliaries are used mainly or only when one person is addressing another or making personal statements, whether in letters (epistolary register), royal charters (epigraphical register) or in reported conversations (conversational register). In the latter two registers, auxiliaries may be strikingly absent from the verb phrases of the surrounding narrative frame (narrative register).
As with the verbs of being/auxiliaries, in neither the Preclassical nor the Classical texts is there any evidence of a formal distinction of viewpoint. Nor is there any evidence of a distinction between intentional and unintentional verbs and clauses. These facts are perhaps not surprising, since in Lhasa Tibetan it is the auxiliaries which convey these distinctions.

In both the Preclassical and Classical language one finds the main-clause final particle (*mcf*), spelt with reduplicated last letter of the preceding syllable+vowel -o. ('o. after vowel). It is found after past, present and future verb stems; also on occasion after auxiliaries. Already in many Preclassical texts there is a tendency to use this particle more as a "paragraph-final" than a "sentence-final" particle; that is, it may be omitted from clauses which are not regarded as bringing a section of narrative or conversation to a close; other main clauses ending in a bare verb stem. Such clauses without verb particles resemble the weakly subordinated clauses in Lhasa Tibetan with bare verb stems and level intonation (13.1).

Occasionally the main clause-final particle is found directly after a noun or adjective. Here it is a shorter alternant of the combination of copular verb *yin* or *lags*+main clause-final particle. (The same sometimes happens before subordinate clause-final particles *te/de/ste* and *cing/zhing/shing*.)

Copular verb absent:

```
yar.lha. sham.po.ni. gtsug.gi. lha'o.
(proper name)-top. order-gen. god-mcf.

"Yarlha Shampo is the god of order." (Bacot etc. 81, line 25)
```

14.6.3 Past tense: Preclassical

— Past verb stem

```
nya. lha. gnyis.kyis. btsan.po'i. spur. bzung.ngo.
(proper names) two-smp. king-gen. corpse take-mcf.

"Nya and Lha took the corpse of the king." (Bacot etc. 99, line 21)
```

— Present verb stem (no past stem available)

```
mkhar. phying.bar. gshegs.so.
castle (proper name)-loc. go-mcf.

"He went to the castle of Chingwa." (Bacot etc. 99, line 25)
```

— Past verb stem+ *pa.yin/lags.*

```
sa. 'di.yang. sngon.gyi. bde.bzhin.gshegs.pas. byin.gyis. brlabs.pa.lags.te
spot this-top. yore-gen. Buddha-smp. grace-instr. bless-link-aux.-sub.

"This spot was blessed by Buddhas of yore, and ..." (Emmerick 48, line 82b4)
```
— Past verb stem; copular auxiliary omitted

mjal.dum.gyi. gtsigs.kyi. mdo. rdo.rings.la. bris.pa'o.
treaty-gen. edict-gen. summary pillar-loc. write-link.-mcf.
“A summary of the treaty-edict was written on this pillar.”
(Li & Coblin 38, line 10)

— Present verb stem+ pa.yin./lags. (no past stem available)

srung.mar. zhal.gyis. bzhes.pa.lags.te.
protector-loc. word-instr. accept-link.-aux.-sub.
“(They) undertook to be protectors, and ...” (Emmerick 34, line 179a5)

— Past verb stem (or, if unavailable, present stem)+ byung.
This form of the past tense occurs once in the Bashe, where it may be a later emendation, as it does not occur in all editions:

rim.gro. ... byas.byung/
offerings did-aux.
“(You) made offerings.” (Bashe 6, line 23)

14.6.4 Past Tense: Classical

In Milarepa, all the above Preclassical past tense forms are used, with the addition of forms in -byung. and -song. The latter two, though not frequent, behave similarly to the corresponding forms in Lhasa Tibetan.

brgyal.ba. sangs.te. langs.byung.nas.
faint recover-sub. rise-aux.-sub.
“Recovering from her faint and standing up...” (Milarepa 37, line 2)

mdang. nga'i. yon bdag. dga'.mo. de.yang. shi.song.bas.
yesterday I-gen. patron beloved-nom. that-top. die-aux.-sub.
“Because that beloved patron of mine died yesterday ...” (Milarepa 51, line 14)

mi. shi.byung.ba. kun.gyis. thos.pas. “All the bereaved having heard it, ...”
person die-aux.-nom. all-smp. hear-sub. (Milarepa 43, line 20)

14.6.5 Present tense: Preclassical

— Present stem

da.dung.yang. yul. srung.zhing. byin.gyis. rlob/ mngon.rtags. dang/
still-top. land protect-sub. grace-instr. bless manifestations co-ord.
"Even now they protect the land and bless it. Manifestations and signs occur."

(Emmerick 14, line 174b5)

— Present stem+ cing./zhing./shing.yod./mchis./'dug./gda'. (progressive aspect)
Like the Lhasa Tibetan present tense, this form may be used to refer to other times (mainly past time) to denote progressive action. Unlike the Lhasa Tibetan present tense, however, it always refers to progressive action even when referring to present time. Thus it might better be regarded as an aspectual form than as a tense form.

"Whereas the officials are harming us by seeking various taxes these days ..."

(Li & Coblin 198, line 9)

14.6.6 Present tense: Classical
In Milarepa both the above Preclassical present tense forms are found. However there is a further form which seems etymologically related to the Lhasa Tibetan present tense, namely present verb stem+linking particle kyin./gin./gyin. (sometimes spelt without the final -n.)+auxiliary yod./'dug./gda'. In Milarepa this usually refers to habitual or repeated action, either in present or past time, contrasting with the progressive action of the present verb stem+cing./zhing./shing.+auxiliary yod./'dug./gda'..

"For each of my companions, who were all making preparations to return, the Lama sewed and presented a fine broadcloth garment." (Milarepa 39, line 10)

Sometimes, however, the form with kyin./gin./gyin. is used to refer to progressive action:

"My mother, who was inside parching barley, heard me, and ..."

(Milarepa 36, line 13)
14.6.7 Future tense: Preclassical

— Future verb stem

myi.bzung.zhing. gtam. dris.te/ brdzangs.nas. phyir. gtang.ngo/
eg.-seize-sub. speech ask-sub. provision-sub. back-loc. send-mcf.

"... without being apprehended, he will be questioned, and having been
provisioned, will be sent back." (Li & Coblin 39, line 34)

— Present verb stem (no future stem available)

lnga.brhya. rtag.tu. gnas.so/
five hundred always-loc. reside-mcf.

"Five hundred will always reside there." (Emmerick 12, line 174a6)

— Present verb stem+ pa.yin.lags. (only with verbs which have a past stem)

sman. snga.ma. skur.ba.yin.no.
medicine before send-link.-aux.-mcf.

"The medicine will be sent in advance." (Taube 43)

— Future verb stem+ pa.yin.lags.

rgyags.snod.ni. li'i. pha.tsa. gzhag.pa.lags.pas.

"Regarding containers for the provisions, as Khotanese sacks will be left,..."

(Thomas 384)

The future stem bya. (of the verb byed. "do") and the present/future verb stem
'gyur. ("become") are frequently found in the constructions:

present (or future?) verb stem+par.bya. or par.'gyur.

These are often regarded as future tense forms. However, since other stems of
the same two verbs byed. and 'gyur. are used in the same construction, the reference
to future time seems to be made by the choice of stem rather than the construction
itself, which may better be regarded as a case of verb serialisation than tense form.
Accordingly it is discussed below under serial verbs.

— "Witnessed" future tense: present or past verb stem+ par.yod./'dug./gda'.
Of the Preclassical texts under review, this form occurs only in the Bashe. As often in
Lhasa Tibetan, it occurs here in the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

ma.byon.na. bdag. gsod.par.yod.pas. brag.g-yang. 'di.la.
eg.-come-sub. I kill-link.-aux.-sub. gorge this-loc.
mchongs.te. 'gum.mo.
jump-sub. kill-mcf.

“If you do not come I shall be put to death, and so I shall jump into this gorge and die.” (Bashe 65, line 15)

— Future verb stem + -i(s)/yi(s)/gi(s)/gi(s).

ngas.kyang. grogs. bya'i.
I-smp.-top. help will do-vol. “For my part, I shall help.” (Bashe 7, line 5)

14.6.8 Future tense: Classical

— Present or future verb stem

In Milarepa the only unambiguously future verb stem used is bya., future of byed. “do”. It seems to be used only in non-nominalised main clauses. The form sbyang. of the verb sbyong. “provide” may also be a future stem, likewise occurring in a main clause. Even these two verbs, however, may use their present stems to refer to future time:

— Future verb stem

tsha.tsha. 'debs.grogs. bya'o.
figurine make-nom. will do-mcf.
“I shall help you to make the figurines.” (Milarepa 113, line 17)

— Present verb stem

'dir. slebs.dus. sna.len. dang. bya.dga'. bzang.po. byed.do.
here-loc. arrive-sub. welcome co-ord. present good-nom. do-mcf.
“I shall provide you with good hospitality on your return.”
(Milarepa 37, line 28)

— Future verb stem

ngas. mthun.rkyen.rnams. sbyang.gis.
I-smp. requisite-num. will supply-vol.
“I shall supply the requisites.”
(Milarepa 51, line 27)

— Present verb stem

lto.gos.kyang. nga.rang.gis. sbyong.
food+clothing-top. I self-smp. provide
“Food and clothing I shall provide.”
(Milarepa 58, line 23)
— Present verb stem+pa.yin./flags. (only with verbs which have a separate past stem)
In the following example, the future stem bya. is used in the main clause, and the present stem of the same verb (byed.)+ pa.yin. in the nominalised clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
da. \text{ngra.} & \text{ rkyen.} & \text{thub.pai.} & \text{chos.} & \text{shig.} & \text{byed.pai.} & \text{pas} / \\
\text{now I circumstance} & \text{withstand-nom.-gen.} & \text{religion some} & \text{do-link.-sub.} \\
khyod.kyi. & \text{ngra'i.} & \text{bu.slob.} & \text{rnams.} & \text{skyongs/} & \text{ngas.} & \text{khyod.kyi.} & \text{mtho.ris.} & \text{dang.} \\
\text{you-smp.} & \text{I-gen.} & \text{pupil-num.} & \text{look after I-smp. you-gen.} & \text{heaven co-ord.} & \\
\text{thar.pai.} & \text{lam.} & \text{sna.zin.pai.} & \text{zhig.} & \text{bya'o.} & \\
\text{liberation-gen.} & \text{path guide num.} & \text{will do-mcf.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"Now I am going to practise some religion which will withstand all vicissitudes, so you look after my pupils. I shall be a guide on your path to heaven and liberation." (Milarepa 51, line 23)

— Present stem or progressive aspect+ yong.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{"a.khu.} & \text{dang.} & \text{a.ne.} & \text{gnyis.kyi.kyang.} & \text{ci.drag.} & \text{re.} & \text{ster.yong.} \\
\text{uncle co-ord.} & \text{aunt two-smp.-top.} & \text{nom -useful some give-aux.} \\
\text{"Even your uncle and aunt may well make some useful contribution."} & \\
\text{(Milarepa 34, line 30)}
\end{align*}
\]

— "Witnessed" future: present or past stem+ pa(r).yod./'dug./gda'.
This form of the future tense is commoner in Milarepa than in Lhasa Tibetan. It is used for predictive statements, often conveying a strong degree of emotion, rather than statements of intention on someone's part; and is frequently found in the apodosis of conditional sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bdag.gis.} & \text{mthu'i.} & \text{rtags.} & \text{ma.thon par.} & \text{yul.du.} & \text{log.na/} \\
\text{I-smp.} & \text{power-gen} & \text{sign neg.-emerge-nom.-loc.} & \text{home-loc.} & \text{return-sub.} \\
\text{bdag.gi.} & \text{mdun.du.} & \text{"a.ma.} & \text{lcebs.nas.} & \text{'chi.ba.yod.pas.} & \text{ma.phyin.pa.lags/} \\
\text{I-gen.} & \text{front-loc.} & \text{mother jump-sub.} & \text{die-link.-aux.-sub.} & \text{neg.-went-link.-aux.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

"I did not go, because if I returned home with no signs of power having emerged, my mother would dash herself to death." (Milarepa 40, line 11)

— Past verb stem+ par.bya.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'}dri.na. & \text{dri.ba.la.} & \text{lan.} & \text{btab.par.bya.} & \\
\text{ask-sub.} & \text{question-loc.} & \text{reply give-link.-aux.} \\
\text{"Since you ask, I shall answer your question."} & \text{(Milarepa 26, line 19)}
\end{align*}
\]
14.6.9 Perfect aspect: Preclassical

— Past stem+ 'dug./yod.

This form is rare: two examples occur in the Bashe.

zhang.gis. me.long.la. bltas.pas. rgas.'dug.pas/
(proper name)-smp. mirror-loc. looked-sub. grow old-aux.-sub.
“When Zhang looked in the mirror, he (saw that he) had grown old, ...
(Bashe 17, line 19)

14.6.10 Perfect aspect: Classical

— Past stem+ yod./'dug./gda'.

ra.ba.na. rta. mang.po. btags.yod.par. ma.mthong.bar.
yard-loc. horse many-nom. tied-aux.-nom.-loc. neg.-see-nom.-loc.
“Without seeing the many horses which had been tethered in the yard ...
(Milarepa 42, line 21)

14.6.11 Prospective aspect

The only occurrence of this form in either the Preclassical or the Classical texts is in the Bashe:

— Present stem+ rgyu.yin.

yong.ni. sangs.rgyas.kyi. bstan.pa. gar. byung.bar.
generally-top. buddha-gen. teaching where-loc. arise-nom.-loc.
mu.stegs.kyi. rgol.ba'i. dgra. re. 'gran.du. 'ong.ba.yang.
heretic-gen. oppose-nom.-gen. enemy one contend-ser. come-nom.-top.
'byung.rgyu.yin.na/
appear-link.-aux.-sub.
“Whereas in general wherever there is Buddhism, there will also appear some
heretical enemy who comes to oppose it, ...
(Bashe 66, line 6)

14.6.12 Imperative mood: Preclassical

— Imperative verb stem

'di.dag.gi. phyir. brtsig.
this-num.-gen. sake-loc. build
“Build it for their sakes!”(Emmerick 28, line 178a3)
14.6.13 Imperative mood: Classical

In Milarepa, all the above imperative forms are found with the exception of those with par.ci./ji.+ gnang. In addition the following are found:

— Imperative verb stem+ dang.

khyed.rang.gi. nor.rnams. skye'd.phel.du. ci.'gro. mdzod.dang.
you-gen. wealth-num. increase-loc. nom.-go make-imp.

“Increase your wealth as much as possible.” (Milarepa 164, line 14)

— Present verb stem+ rogs. gyis.

nga'i. mig.gis. mi.mthong. rnga.bas. mi.thos.pa'i. yul.phyogs. shig.tu.
I-gen. eye-instr. neg.-see ear-instr. neg.-hear-nom.-gen. place one-loc.
'gro.rogs. gyis. go-nom. do

“Please go to some place which I will never see or hear of.”
(Milarepa 123, line 4)
14.7 Serial Verbs (Chapter 10)

As shown in Chapter 10, the usual means of verb serialisation in Lhasa Tibetan is simple juxtaposition of verb stems, with only the causative verb *bcug* sometimes using a serial particle *-ru*, between the verb stems. It was also remarked at 13.4 that a verb nominalised with *-pa/*ba* and followed by the imperative *byed* “do” (in the sense of “try”) resembles verb serialisation.

In both the Preclassical and Classical texts, juxtaposition (i.e. zero particle) is sometimes used in verb serialisation:

14.7.1 Preclassical

— *'dod* with zero particle, “wish to”

```
su. bde.ba.can.du. 'gro. *'dod.pa. des. mchod.rten.*
who (proper name)-loc. go wish-nom. that-smp. stupa
brgya rtsa.brugyad.po. 'di.la. bskor.ba. gyis.
108-def. this-loc. circumambulation do
```

“Whoever wishes to go to the Sukhavati heaven should circumambulate these 108 stupas.” (*Bashe* 81, line 16.)

— *tshar* with zero particle, “finish”

```
de.ltar. lo. bcu.gnyis.na. lha.khang. bzhengs. tshar.ba.las /
thus year twelve-loc. temple build finish-nom.-abl.
```

“Having thus finished building the temple in twelve years, ...” (*Bashe* 57, line 17)

— *nus* with zero particle, “be able to”

```
chab. de. sus. len. nus.
water that who-smp. fetch can
```

“Who can fetch the water?” (*Bashe* 30, line 13)

— *dgos* with zero particle, “have to”

```
ri.la. 'dzeg.pa.la.yang. gom.pa. re.re.nas. 'dzeg. dgos.te.
mountain-loc. climb-nom.-loc.-top. step individual-abl. climb must-sub.
```

“In climbing a mountain, one must climb step by step, ...” (*Bashe* 70, line 23.)

— *btub* with zero particle, “be possible” to

```
bod.kyi. rdo.la. bzo. btub.bam. mi.btub. blta-'o.
Tibet-gen. stone-loc. work be possible-alt. neg.-be possible will look-mcf.
```

“Let us see if it is possible to work in Tibetan stone or not.” (*Bashe* 27, line 10)
— *khom.* with zero particle, "be able to"

```
nged. blon.po. rgan.po.rnams.la. long. ma.mchis.pas. à.tsa.ra'i. skad.
we minister aged-num.-loc. time neg.-be-sub. teacher-gen. language
lob. mi.khom.pas.
learn neg.-be able-sub.
```

"Since we aged ministers lack the time, and so will not be able to learn the
teacher’s language, ..." (Bashe 58, line 11)

14.7.2 Classical

In *Milarepa* all the above serial verbs are found plus the following:

— *yong.* with zero particle, "come", "be forthcoming"

```
mi.la.rdo.rje.seng.ge. de. sho.la. shin.tu. rtse.zhing. mkhas.pas. rgyal.
(proper name) that dice-loc. very play-sub. be clever-sub. stake
mang.po. thob. yong.zhing.yod.pa.las/
many-nom. win come-link.-aux.-nom.-abl.
```

"While Mila Dorje Senge played dice a lot and was very clever at it, so that many
winnings came to him, ..." (Milarepa 28, line 11)

— *phyin.* (past stem of 'gro., "go") with zero particle

```
yum.la.yang. ma.zhus.par. thon. phyin.pas/
wife-loc.-top. neg.-spoke-nom.-loc. leave went-sub.
```

"I left without even speaking to the wife, ..." (Milarepa 68, line 16)

— *shes.* with zero particle, "know how to"

```
khyod.kyis. klog. shes.sam.
you-smp. read know-corrob.
```

"You do know how to read, don’t you?" (Milarepa 68, line 28)

— Phrasal serial verb *thag. chod.* with zero particle, "be definite"

```
thos.pa.dga'. kho. yin. thag. chod.
(proper name) he be be definite
```

"It is certain that Thöpaga is he." (Milarepa 48, line 20)

All the above serial verbs behave in an essentially similar way in Lhasa Tibetan;
with the exception of 'dod., which is either a nominalising particle or follows a clause
nominalised with -nyid./-snying. (13.4).
14.7.3 Serial verb particles

In both the Preclassical and Classical texts, the serial particles -par./bar. and -tu./du./-r. are more widely employed in verb serialisation, sometimes as an alternative to juxtaposition, as in the cases of 'dod., 'gro./phyin., btub. and yong. below. Generally the choice of serial particle is lexically associated with the serial verb, though occasionally the same verb is found with more than one of these alternatives, as in the cases of 'gro./phyin. and rung. below.

— Serial particle -par./bar.

a) 'dod. with serial particle -bar. “wish to”

(proper name)-gen. realm-loc. you brother go-ser. wish-sub.
“If you wish to go to the realm of Amitabha, brother, ...” (Bashe 79, line 3)

b) zhu. with serial particle -bar. “request” to”

chos. dang. gdamgs.ngag. gnang.bar. zhu.
teachings co-ord. oral instructions give-ser. request
“I request you to give the teachings and oral instructions.” (Milarepa 57, line 20)

c) sems. with serial particle -bar. “think of”

rgyal.po. khyod. sangs.rgyas.kyi. sku.gzugs. ci.la. bya.bar. sems.
king you Buddha-gen. image what-loc. will do-ser. think
“What are you thinlung of using as an image of the Buddha, king?”
(Bashe 42, line 14)

— Serial particle -tu./du./-r.

a) yong. with serial particle -du. “come to the point of”

nga. min. gzhan. cig. yin.na. gsod.du’ang. yong.
I neg.-be other num. be-sub. kill-ser.-top. come
“Anyone else but me would come to the point of killing you!”
(Milarepa 58, line 14)

b) thub. with serial particle -r. “be able to”

khron.pa. 'dom. gang. brus.kyang. chu. rdol.te. 'ong.bas. brur. mi.thub
well fathom whole dig-sub. water gush-sub. come-sub. dig-ser. neg.-can
“Though you would excavate a well a fathom deep, since the water will gush forth, you will not be able to dig.” (Bashe 79, line 3)
c) btub. with serial particle -du. “be possible to”, “be willing to”

kha.cig.ni. bo.dhi.sa.twa'i. slob.ma. yin.pas. hwa.shang.gi. ltar.
part num.-top. Bodhisattva-gen. pupil be-sub. Hoshang-gen. manner
slob.du. ma.btub.ste/
study-ser. neg.-be willing-sub.
“Some, being pupils of Bodhisattva and unwilling to study in the fashion of the Hoshang, ...” (Bashe 67, line 21)

d) re. with serial particle -du. “hope to”, “expect to”

bla.ma. rngog.pa. bla.ma. yab. yum.gyi. bsu.ba. yong.du. re.ba.mi.gda/
lama (proper name) lama couple-gen. welcome exist-ser. hope-link.-neg.-aux.
“Lama Ngokpa does not expect a welcome from the lama and his wife.”
(Milarepa 76, line 19)

e) bcug. with serial particle -du. “cause to”

dpe. gcig. 'og.dper. 'chang.du. bcug.go/
copy one secondary copy-loc. hold-ser. cause-mcf.
“One copy has been caused to be held as a secondary copy.”
(Li & Coblin 272, line 4)

bcug. however in Preclassical Tibetan often means “begin to”, “set about”:

gris. lce. gcod.du. bcug.pa. dang.
sword-instr. tongue cut-ser. set-nom. co-ord.
“He set about cutting out the tongue with a sword, ...” (Bashe 41, line 6)

f) cha. with serial particle -tu. “begin to”

ser.ba. 'bab.tu. cha.ba. dang.
hail fall-ser. begin-nom. co-ord.
When the hail began to fall, ...” (Milarepa 72, line 25)

g) gtong. with serial particle -du. “send in order to”

nga. khyod. 'bod.du'ang. gtong. dgos.
I you summon-ser,-top. send must
“I must send to summon you.” (Milarepa 72, line 14)

— Serial verbs used with both serial particles

a) 'gro. with serial particle -du. “go in order to”
bla.m.a. gzhan. 'tshol.du. 'gro. dgos.
lama other seek-ser. go must
   "I must go to seek another lama." (Milarepa 66, line 10)

b) 'gro. with serial particle -par. "amount to", "become"

bla.ma'i. bka'. bcag.par.yang. 'gro.zhing.
lama-gen. word break-ser.-top. go-sub.
   "As well as it amounting to disobeying my lama's orders, ..." (Milarepa 72, line 22)

c) rung. with serial particle -du. "be alright to"

bka'.rgya. bkrol.nas. gnang.du. rung.lags.sam.
secret teachings revealed-sub. give-ser. be alright-aux-alt.
   "Then it will be alright to reveal the secret teachings?" (Milarepa 77, line 34)

d) rung. with serial particle -par. "be alright to"

zhal.bzhes. 'di.rnams.kyi. sku.dpang.du. yum. bzhugs.par.
promise this-num.-gen. witness-loc. wife stand-ser..
rung.lags.sam.
be alright-aux.-corrob
   "Then it will be alright for your wife to stand as witness to these promises?"
   (Milarepa 60, line 28)

The auxiliary lags. in the above two examples occurs directly after the verb stem with no linking particle, and does not alternate with yin. Its function is to convey politeness to the addressee rather than to form a tense/aspect construction. See under "verbs of being" at 14.6 above.

— Serial verbs byed./bgyid. and 'gyur. with serial particle par./bar.

Different stems of the verbs byed. (polite bgyid.) and 'gyur. have been variously regarded as "auxiliaries" and/or "causatives", "transitivisers", "passivisers" or "makers of periphrastic perfect and future tenses" (e.g. Emmerick 113, 116). It seems simpler to regard them both as straightforward serial verbs, though it could be argued that the specialised meanings of some of the uses of byed./bgyid. in particular (namely 3, 5 and 6 in the table below) have moved some way towards being grammaticised as a kind of auxiliary.

Serial verbs byed./bgyid.. As a lexical verb, byed. and its polite equivalent bgyid. mean "do", generally referring to a deliberate act. As a serial verb, the meaning varies as shown in the following table. ("Subjects same" and "Subjects different" refer to the subjects of byed. and the preceding verb respectively.)
The numbers attached to the following examples refer to the above table.

2. lo. re.bzhin. dpyid. zla. ra.ba'i. ngo.la. mchod.par. bygud.cing. year each spring month 1st-gen. start-loc. worship-ser. do-sub. ril.gyis. po.ta.rya'i. gtsug.lag.khang.du. mchis.te. all-instr. (proper name)-gen. temple-loc. went-sub. “Annually at the beginning of the first month they all went to the Potary temple and proceeded to worship, and ..." (Emmerick 34, line 179a5)

3. che.long. gcig.ni. zhang.blon rnams.la. dar.bar. byas/resumé one-top. minister-num.-loc. spread-ser. caused “A resumé was distributed among the ministers.” (Bashe 76, line 7)

4. gsang. dgos.med.pas. bshad.par. bya.ste. secret need-neg.-aux.-sub. tell-ser. shall proceed-sub. “Since there is no need for secrecy, I shall proceed to tell it, ...” (Milarepa 27, line 8)

4. chu. ma.mchis.pas. chab. dbyung.bar. bya. water neg.-exist-sub. water extract-ser. shall do “As there is no water, I shall proceed to draw some.” (Bashe 27, line 4)

While it is sometimes claimed that the future stem bya. always follows a future verb stem, the form dbyung. in the above example may be a present stem (see Jaeschke 390). There is in fact no unambiguously future stem with this construction in the texts under review. Compare the Classical examples below.

6. skye.'gro. mtha'.dag. smin.grol.la. 'god.par. bya.ba'i. phyir. being all liberation-loc. set-ser. will do-nom.-gen sake-loc. “So that all beings should be established in liberation, ...” (Milarepa 26, line 14)

de rnams go.bar. gyis.la. that-num. understand-ser. try-sub. “Try to understand these things, and ...” (Milarepa 79, line 18)

Serial verb 'gyur... As a lexical verb, this means “become”, “change” (intransitive). As a serial verb, it means “become”, “come to”, “turn out that”. In general the past stem gyur. refers to past time. The present stem 'gyur. refers, to
present or more usually to future time, and follows the present stem of the preceding verb, even when that verb has a future stem available.

**khon. dran.par. gyur.te.**
grudge think-ser. come to-sub.

"He came to bear a grudge, and ... " (Emmerick 62, line 185b3)

**bdag. rgya.rje'i. bu. ma.lags.par. gyur.na.**
I Emperor-gen. son neg.-be-ser. turned out-if

"If I have turned out not to be the Emperor's son, ... " (Emmerick 81, line 26)

**'u.then.gyi. sa.mkhar. lnga.ldan.gyi. grong.khyer. chen.po.**
Khotan-gen. fortress (proper name)-gen. city great-nom.

**rtsig.par. 'gyur.ro//**
build-ser. will become-mcf.

"The fortress of Khotan, the great city Ngaden, will come to be built."

(Emmerick 12, line 74a3)

### 14.8 Adjectives (Chapter 11)

As in Lhasa Tibetan, an adjective has a lexically determined nominalising particle in the positive degree. The particles found in *Milarepa* are:

**-po./-bo.:** chen.po. "big" (58, line 9); skya.bo. "grey" (60, line 26).

**-pa./ba.:** che.ba. "big" (57, line 4), 'dra.ba. "similar" and in a special class of "-e. -vowel" adjectives (see below).

**-mo.:** dka'.mo. "difficult" (60, line 22); dga'.mo. "pleasing" (61, line 16).

**-pu./-bu.:** gcig.pu. "single"; lta.bu. "like".

There are two examples of adjectives preceded by negative particles, supporting the view of an adjective as a kind of verb (see Chapter 11):

**mi.'dra.ba.** "different" (64, line 27)

**mi.sdug. thag.gcod.pa.** "definitely disagreeable" (60, line 13)

The comparative & superlative degree nominalising particles are, as in Lhasa Tibetan, -ba. and -shos. respectively. The adjective chen.po./che.ba. "big" uses the stem che. in its comparative and superlative forms, as in Lhasa Tibetan where only chen.po. is found in the positive degree.

The intensive degree particles as seen in mi.sdug. thag.gcod.pa. "definitely disagreeable" (60, line 13) resemble the Lhasa Tibetan intensive form Adj.+thag.chod. (11.1.5).

There is an intensive degree nominalising particle -rub. not found in Lhasa Tibetan:
slob.ma. dad.pa.can. mang.rab. yong.gin.yod.pa. 
pupil faith-com. many-nom. come-link.-aux.-nom.  
"Very many faithful pupils who come ..."  (Milarepa  57, line 21)

A class of -e. -vowel adjectives is not found in Lhasa Tibetan, though they share the constituent containing the -e. vowel with the "popular rhyming terms" of that dialect (see 7.3.2.). In the following examples, the numbers refer to the pages and lines of Milarepa.

These adjectives are of two types. The first type is a phrasal adjective comprising noun+adjective stem+particle with reduplicated initial, vowel -e. and no final letter:

spyan. zim.me.   "with half-closed eyes" (57, line 15).
snum. rug.ge.    "luxuriant" (73, line 6).

The second type comprises an adjective or verb stem+particle with reduplicated initial, vowel -e. and no final letter+ba.:

thol.le.ba.      "wafting" (58, line 13).
gzug.ge.ba.      "anguished" (64, line 23).
gtum.me.ba.      "hot-tempered" (67, line 1).
ring.nge.ba.     "long-lasting" (68, line 24).

Although not phrasal in themselves, the second type may be combined with a preceding constituent (in the example given, a verb) to form a phrasal adjective:

bzi. ber.re.ba.  "potent" (of liquor) (63, line 10).

In Preclassical Tibetan, an adjective stem may stand as a predicator before a subordinating verb particle cing./zhing./shing.. Often this particle is found between two adjective stems used predicatively with reference to the same noun:

rig.pa. blun.zhing. rang.dga'.ba. mang.bas/   chos.ni. 
wits dull-sub. free-thinking be great-sub. religion-top. 
rtogs.pa. dka'.zhing. zab.par.  gyur.pas/ 
considering hard-sub. profound-nom.-loc. became-sub.  
"Their wits are dull and free-thinking is prevalent, so that religion has become hard to fathom and mysterious."  (Bashe  75, line 23)

14.9  Clauses (Chapter 12)

Ellipsis and transitivity

Ellipsis of the clause arguments subject, object and adjunct operates in very much the same way as in Lhasa Tibetan, as does the transitivity system.
Ergativity and the subject-marking particle

By comparison with Lhasa Tibetan, a much higher proportion of the subjects of transitive clauses bear the subject marking particle in the Preclassical and Classical texts. Even there, however, as mentioned at 12.2, some such subjects are without the subject-marking particle. Nearly all of these exceptions fall into one of four categories:

a) Imperatives.

The noun in an imperative clause which refers to the actor usually lacks a subject-marking particle. It might be regarded as a vocative rather than a subject:

\[ mthu.chen. \ kha.sang.gi. \ ngas. \ ma.byas.pa'i. \ ham.pa. \]
(proper name) the other day-gen. 1-smp. neg.-did-nom.-gen. lie
\[ de.'dra. \ ma.byed. \]
such neg.-do

"Great Magician, do not tell lies about what I never did the other day!" (Milarepa 60, line 16)

However, an imperative clause may contain a subject-marking particle when emphasis is being placed on the subject:

\[ da. \ yang. \ khyed.rang.gis. \ long.la. \]
now again you-smp. erect-sub.

"Now erect it again by yourself, and ..." (Milarepa 61, line 25)

b) "Second-person" subjects.

With a second-person pronominal noun or the name or title of a person being directly addressed, whether by a statement or a question, the subject-marking particle is sometimes omitted. Again, this is a kind of vocative usage.

\[ yab. \ mi.gsan. \]
husband neg.-listen
\[ bdag.med.ma. \ khyed.gnyis. \ ci. \ byed.cing.yod.pa.yin. \]
(proper name) you-num. what do-link.-aux.-link.-aux.

"Damema, what are you two doing?" (Milarepa 65, line 20)

Occasionally the subject of a nominalised or interrogative clause lacks the subject-marking particle:

c) Subjects of nominalised clauses.
yum. ba. 'jo.ba'i. 'jo.stegs.
wife cow milk-nom.-gen. milking stand
"a milking stand for the wife to milk the cows" (Milarepa 66, line 9)

bla.ma. ci.gsung. sgrub.dgos.
lama nom.-say do must
"I must do what the Lama says." (Milarepa 60, line 23)

d) Subjects of interrogative clauses.

nged.kyi. mi. de. ci. byed.cing.'dug.
we-gen. person that what do-link.-aux.
"What is that fellow of ours doing?" (Milarepa 75, line 6)

There remains a very small residue of instances which do not fall into the above categories.
Cases of subject-marking particles in intransitive clauses are extremely rare. An example placing contrastive focus on the subject is:

der. ngas. gzhung.gi. ri.bo. khyung.sding.du. slebs.te.
that-loc. I-smp. (placename)-gen. mountain (proper name)-loc. arrive-sub.
"For my part I was then arriving at Khungding Mountain in Shung, and ..." (Milarepa 71, line 8)

As in Lhasa Tibetan, the subject-marking particle seems never to be used in copular or existential clauses containing verbs of being. Included in this category of verb for Milarepa are the two-argument verbs 'byung. "experience", "undergo"; dbang. "possess" and 'dod. "desire".
Adjuncts

Instrumental particle. The instrumental particle kyis./gis./gyis. behaves in the same way as in the Lhasa dialect.

Dative-locative particles. The Lhasa dialect dative-locative particle la./-r. is common in the Preclassical and Classical texts. Also frequent in the latter are the two particles tu./du./ru./su. and na., both non-productive in Lhasa Tibetan. All seven forms of the three particles are classified together under the term la.don. by traditional Tibetan grammarians. There is a considerable degree of overlap between the three, and much idiomatic association between the individual particles and particular nouns. However, one can discern a tendency to use na. in a locative sense with nouns referring to physical locations ("at"); la. in an allative sense ("to", "towards"); and tu. in a more metaphorical or abstract way ("for", "as").

btsan.po. sras. khri.srong. lde.brtsan.gyi. sku.la.ni. dard.du. nye//
ing king son (proper name)-gen. person-loc.-top. harm-ser. be near
“They came close to doing harm to the person of the prince Trisong Detsen.”
(Li & Coblin 143, line 11)

‘u.then.gyi. shel.chab. gong.mar. mchis.pa. dang.
Khotan-gen. river upper-loc. went-nom. co-ord.
“On going to the upper river of Khotan, ...” (Emmerick 18, line 173b5)

chos. rgya.gar.na. yod.pas.
religion India-loc. exist-sub.
“Since the religion is present in India, ...” (Bashe 5, line 6)

rgyal.bus. dus. rtag.tu. de. gleng.ba. zhang.blon. kun.gyis. tshor.te/
prince-smp. time always-loc. that say-nom. minister all-smp. perceive-sub.
“The ministers, perceiving that the prince always said that, ...”
(Bashe 5, line 21)

khal. gcig. sha.chang.du. spyad/
load one meat beer-loc. use
“One load I exchanged for meat and beer.” (Milarepa 57, line 4)

Ablative particles. The Lhasa dialect ablative particle nas. is common in the Preclassical and Classical texts.

rgya.rje. kwang.peng.’wang.yang/ keng.shi’i. mkhar.nas. byung.ste.
Emperor (proper name)-top. (proper name)-gen. city-ABL. come out-sub.
“The Emperor Kuang-p’ing Wang, coming out from the city of Ching-shih, ...”
(Li & Coblin 145, line 61)

The Lhasa disjunctive particle las., as well as having the disjunctive function in Preclassical and Classical Tibetan, often has an ablative meaning:

byang.chub. shing.las. ’o.ma. byung/
enlightenment-tree-ABL. milk come out
“Milk came out from the tree of enlightenment.” (Bashe 11, line 8)

The relationship between ablative nas. and las. resembles that between dative/locative na. and la. respectively, in that nas. tends to refer to movement from a physical location, while las. tends to have a more abstract or metaphorical meaning:

rdo.rings.la. bris.pa.las. myi.dbri. myi.bcos.
pillar-LOC. wrote-nom.-ABL. neg.-diminish neg.-adulterate
myi.bsgyur.bar. gyis.shig.
neg.-change-ser. do-IMP.
“Let it not be diminished, adulterated or changed from what is written on the pillar”. (Li & Coblin 265, line 31)
Disjunctive & exceptive particles. The disjunctive particle las. occurs in both the Preclassical and Classical texts; the exceptive particle ma.gtogs. only in the Classical. There is also a disjunctive particle pas./bas.:

bu. nga.bas.kyang. dad.pa. che.ba.
son 1-disj.-top. faith great-nom.
"a son more faithful than I" (Bashe 2, line 4)

Argument order

The expression of case, theme and given/new information through argument order operate as in the Lhasa dialect.

Deference

The deference system operates very similarly in all three varieties. In two of the Preclassical texts, the king of Tibet clearly uses honorific verbs of which he is the subject, and honorific nouns:

nga'i. thugs.la. dgongs.na.
I-gen. mind(hon.)-loc. think(hon.)-sub.
"On considering it in my mind, ... " (Li & Coblin 271, line 17)

It could be that this is the "quotative" use of the honorific (see 12.7) by the drafter of the text.

14.10 Subordinate and Nominalised Clauses (Chapter 13)

Lexical verb stem

There is no basis for distinguishing a separate class of subordinate clauses ending in a lexical verb stem in Preclassical and Classical Tibetan, since main clauses also commonly end in a lexical verb stem, unlike the situation in the Lhasa dialect. I have come across no examples of clauses ending in lexical verb stem+topic marker, except in the special case of verse, which is outside the scope of this book.

Lhasa subordinating particles not found in Preclassical/Classical texts

No instances have been found in the Classical or Preclassical texts of the Lhasa dialect subordinating particles byas. "and then", ga. "in order to" or ma.+Vb+gong.la. "before".

Lhasa subordinating particles also found in Preclassical/Classical texts

a) nas. "having", "after". Subordinating particle nas. is common after lexical
verb stems and in the Preclassical texts is sometimes found after auxiliaries:

\[\text{kun. tshar.lags.nas. rgyal.pos. yo.byad. sta.gon. mdzad.de/} \]
\[\text{all finish-aux.-sub. king-smp. requisite preparation do-sub.} \]
\[\text{“When everything had been finished, the king prepared the requisites, ... ”} \]
\[\text{(Bashe 39, line 9)} \]

\[\text{gtsug.lag.khang. brtsigs.pa.lags.nas.} \]
\[\text{temple built-link.-aux.-sub.} \]
\[\text{“After the temple was built, ...”} \]
\[\text{(Emmerick 23, line 177a4)} \]

b) \text{na. “if”, “when”.} Subordinating particle \text{na.} sometimes means “if” (as in the Lhasa dialect), but also often “when”:

\[\text{de.ltar. mchod.rten. bzhi.yang. brtsigs.lags.na.} \]
\[\text{thus stupa four-top. built-aux.-sub.} \]
\[\text{“Thus when the four stupas had been built, ...”} \]
\[\text{(Bashe 52, line 18)} \]

\[\text{nga. bram.zo. yin.par. gyur.na.} \]
\[\text{I priest be-ser. become-sub.} \]
\[\text{“If I should turn out to be a priest, ...”} \]
\[\text{(Bashe 2, line 4)} \]

c) \text{na’ang. “even though”, “as”.} Subordinating particle \text{na’ang.} sometimes means “even though” (as in the Lhasa dialect), but also often “as”, or “whereas”:

\[\text{bdag. rang.gi. phag.nor.du. gnang.ba.lags.na’ang.} \]
\[\text{I self-gen. private property-loc. give-link.-aux.-sub.} \]
\[\text{“As it was given as my private property, ...”} \]
\[\text{(Milarepa 67, line 4)} \]

d) \text{te./de./ste. “-ing”, “although”.} This particle is much commoner in Preclassical and Classical Tibetan than in the Lhasa dialect:

\[\text{mtha’.bzhi.i. rgyal.po. gzh.an. dang. myi.dra.ste/} \]
\[\text{border four-gen. king other co-ord. neg.-resemble-sub.} \]
\[\text{“Being unlike the other kings on the four borders, ...”} \]
\[\text{(Li & Coblin 229, line 17)} \]

\[\text{de. yod.de.} \]
\[\text{“Although you have that, ...”} \]
\[\text{(Milarepa 61, line 21)} \]
\[\text{that exist-sub.} \]

Before verbs of speaking or thinking, this particle sometimes acts as a main clause “quotative” particle in Milarepa:

\[\text{rgya.dre’i. gzh.i. cig. ’ong.ste. zhus.pas.ni.} \]
\[\text{quarrel-gen. ground num. will be-sub. said-sub.-top.} \]
\[\text{“It will be the grounds for a quarrel,” she said, and ...”} \]
\[\text{(Milarepa 61, line 19)} \]
e) ma.thag.(du.). "as soon as":

bal.po'i. bzo.bos. dgung. sangs. ma.thag.du. bzo.'phro.la. phyin.pas / Nepal-gen. craftsman-smp. sky lighten sub. work-nom.-loc. went-sub. "As soon as the sky was light the Nepalese craftsmen came to continue the work, and ..." (Bashe 52, line 22)

f) pa.dang. "on":

spyir. dpen.pa'i. las. chen.po. byas.pa. dang. general-loc. benefit-gen. work great-nom. did-nom. co-ord. "On his having done great works of general benefit, ..." (Li & Coblin 271, line 14)

g) pas./bas. "because":

ji.la.yang. log.pa. gshin.p[h]yogs. nyes. dgur. byed.pas// what-loc.-top. perverse-nom. prosperity harm all-loc. do-sub. yul.gyi. srid.kyang. dma's.so// land-gen. government-top. deteriorated-mcf. "Because he behaved perversely in all respects to the detriment of prosperity, the government of the land deteriorated." (Bacot etc. 103, line 7)

Preclassical/Classical subordinating particles not found in Lhasa Tibetan

a) tshe. "when". The place of subordinating particle dus. is taken in the Preclassical and Classical texts by tshe., of which one example has been found in the Preclassical texts:

shing.mkhan. dang. mgar.ba. bkug.te. snyan.du. gsol.tshe/ carpenter co-ord. smith call-sub. ear-loc. tell-sub. "When they recalled the carpenters and smiths and told (the king), ..." (Bashe 53, line 1)

The same construction is found in Milarepa:

byed.grabs. yod.tshe. "When the preparations for doing it were under way, ..." do-nom. exist-sub. (Milarepa 65, line 14)

In the Preclassical texts, tshe. nearly always follows a nominalised verb with genitive particle rather than a verb stem. Here it is best regarded as a noun, standing like many nouns referring to time as an adjunct without following article:

chos. mdzad.pa'i. tshe/ religion practise-nom.-gen. time "At the time of practising religion, ..." (Bashe 22, line 19)
A homograph of the Lhasa dialect constituent -dus. “when” is frequent in the Preclassical and Classical texts, but never as a subordinating particle. It appears as a straightforward noun in the Bashe and the Classical language:

\[
\text{rje.'bangs. kun.} \quad \text{'tshogs.pa'i.} \quad \text{dus.su.} \\
\text{king subject all} \quad \text{assemble-nom.-gen.} \quad \text{time-loc.}
\]

“At the time when the king and all the subjects assembled, ...” (Bashe 17, line 21)

There is also a nominalising particle -dus. “time for”

\[
\text{mnga': gsol.dus. bzang.po.la.} \quad \text{bab.pa'i.} \quad \text{tshe/} \\
\text{consecrate-nom.} \quad \text{good-nom.-loc.} \quad \text{fall-nom.-gen.} \quad \text{time}
\]

“At a good time for consecration, ..” (Bashe 55, line 16)

\[
\text{mkhar. gru. bzhi.'gram.} \quad \text{'dings.dus.kyi.} \quad \text{zhal.bzhes.} \\
\text{building corner four wall} \quad \text{laid-nom.-gen.} \quad \text{promise}
\]

“promises from the time of laying the footings of the quadrangular building” (Milarepa 65, line 5)

b) cing./zhing./shing. “-ing”. There is a considerable degree of overlap between this particle and te./de./ste.. Often the sequence Vb+cing. precedes the sequence Vb+te. in close proximity, apparently as a stylistic device for avoiding repetition of the particle:

\[
\text{sa. sa. mal. mal.na.} \quad \text{bag.} \quad \text{brkyang.ste//} \quad \text{bde.bar.} \quad \text{'khod.cing.} \\
\text{place place site site-loc.} \quad \text{precaution} \quad \text{will relax-sub.} \quad \text{peace-loc.} \quad \text{dwell-sub.}
\]

“Relaxing precautions and dwelling in peace in all places, ...” (Li & Coblin 39, line 54)

\[
\text{sangs.rgyas. shākya. thub.pas. yul.du.} \quad \text{'gyur.bar.} \quad \text{lung. bstan.cing.} \\
\text{(proper name)-smp.} \quad \text{land-loc.} \quad \text{become-nom.-loc.} \quad \text{prophesy-sub.}
\]

“Shakyamuni Buddha, prophesying that it would become a land, ...” (Emmerick 2, line 172a1)

\[
\text{pha.myes. dang.po. lha. myi.} \quad \text{ma.phye.ba.} \quad \text{tshun.chad.} \quad \text{bde. skyid.cing.} \\
\text{ancestor first-nom. god man neg.-separate-nom. since} \quad \text{be happy-sub.}
\]

“From the time of the first ancestors who were not separated as gods and men, we were happy.” (Li & Coblin 198, line 9)

Unlike te./de./ste., the particle cing./zhing./shing. never seems to mean “although”.

c) la. “and”.

\[
\text{tsang.kun.yog.du. rta.} \quad \text{brjes.la//} \quad \text{stse.zheng.cheg.du.} \quad \text{rgya. dang.} \\
\text{(placename)-loc.} \quad \text{horse changed-sub.} \quad \text{(placename)-loc.} \quad \text{China co-ord.}
\]
phrad.pa. man.chad.ni. rgyas. phu.dud. bya.  
meet-nom. below-top. China-smp. respect will do  
“They shall change horses at Chiang-chün-ku, and below the entry to China at  
Sui-jung-cha, China shall treat them with respect.” (Li & Coblin 39, line 42)

Subordinating particle -la., unlike noun particle -la., does not have an alternant  
-r. after vowel finals.

d) kyis./gis./gyis. “whereas”, “because”. This particle is found in the  
Preclassical texts but not in Milarepa.

blon. stag.sgra.klu.khong. nang.blon. chen.po. dang.  
minister (proper name) interior minister great-nom. co-ord.  
yo.ga.'chos.pa. chen.por. bka'. stsal.kyis.kyang.  
(title) great-nom.-loc. appoint-sub.-top.  
“Whereas the minister Takdra Lukhong was appointed Chief Interior Minister  
and Chief Justice Minister, ...” (Li & Coblin 141, line 1)

Classical subordinating particles not found in Preclassical texts or Lhasa Tibetan

a) phyir. “in order to”.

bdag.la. bka'. bkyon. gnang.phyir. phyag. mi.bzhes.rung/ .  
I-loc. rebuke give-sub. salutation neg.-accept-sub.  
“Although you will not accept my salutations in order to rebuke me, ...”  
(Milarepa 76, line 8)

b) rung. “although”, “if”.

yul.du. phyin.rung. chog.par.'dug.  
home-loc. went-sub. be alright-link.-aux.  
“It would be alright if I went home.” (Milarepa 68, line 12)

c) rting. “after”.

lo. ser.bas. brdungs.rting. nga. gang. za.  
crop hail-instr. beat down-sub. I what eat  
“What shall I eat after my crop is beaten down by hail?” (Milarepa 72, line 27)

(For the lack of a subject-marking particle in an interrogative clause, see 14.9.)

Nominalised clauses

Nominalising particles are well represented in Preclassical and Classical Tibetan. I  
have noted some eighteen in Milarepa as against twenty-six in Lhasa Tibetan, with a  
fair degree of overlap. The common Lhasa Tibetan nominalising particle -yag. is
exceptional within this group in being a constituent apparently totally absent from the Preclassical and Classical language. Otherwise, all the Lhasa items are found in the Classical language, though in some cases only as nouns or verbs, not as nominalising particles (e.g. rtsis. “intention”; ’dod. “wish” (Vb.); long. “time”).

The nominalising particles in Milarepa, with references to examples, are as follows. Where the constituent also exists as a noun, a gloss is given after the reference:

- skabs. “occasion of Vb.-ing”, “chance to Vb.” (79, line 21) (“occasion”)
- mkhan. “one who Vb.-s” (76, line 14)
- grabs. “preparations for Vb.-ing” (70, line 5) (“preparation”)
- dgu. “the many which Vb.” (73, line 28) (“nine”)
- rgyu. “to be Vb.-ed” (78, line 5)
- ci. “whatever Vb.-s/ is Vb.-ed” (74, line 18)
- snying “desire to Vb.” (75, line 11) (“heart”)
- stangs. “manner of Vb.-ing”, “appearance of Vb.-ing” (73, line 1)
- thabs. “means of Vb.-ing” (74, line 28) (“means”)
- dus. “time of Vb.-ing” (64, line 5) (“time”)
- don. “reason for Vb.-ing” (61, line 6) (“meaning”)
- pa/ ba. “Vb.-ing”, “Vb.-er”, “that which is Vb.-ed”.
- phro. “continuation of Vb.-ing” (63, line 6) (“continuation”)
- tshad. “all those which Vb./ are Vb.-ed” (73, line 16) (“quantity”)
- tshul. “way of Vb.-ing”, “manner of Vb.-ing” (75, line 3) (“manner”)
- rin. “cost of Vb.-ing” (70, line 2) (“cost”)
- lugs. “manner of Vb.-ing” (69, line 19) (“manner”)
- sa. “place of Vb.-ing” (60. line 31) (“place”)

Notes

1 red. occurs in the Bashe, where however it is a synonym of ’gyur. “become” and seems to have no implication of viewpoint. I have not found it in Milarepa, despite Das (1902:1191).
2 These are the “elegant” verbs of Jaeschke (1881).
15. Texts

15.1 Lhasa Tibetan

The Horpas

The following is from an unscripted taped conversation between two speakers, the first of whom had never lived in Tibet.

*bod.la. dgun.kha. zhe.drag. grang.mo. yog.red.bas.//
_pζ:la _gyγγa _cεdra: _traγmu _jo:ribe:
Tibet-loc. winter very cold-nom. exist-interr.

"Are the winters very cold in Tibet?"

*lags.red.// bod.la. zhe.drag. grang.mo. yog.red.// lha.sa. rang.la. 'di.ga.tsam.
conv. be Tibet-loc. very cold-nom. exist Lhasa self-loc. so

grang.mo. yog.ma.red.// yin.na.yang. byang.phyogs.la. zla.ba. brgyad.pa.nas.
_traγmu _jo:mαre: _jine: _tζαγdzε:la _daωε _γje:bεnε:
cold-nom. exist[neg.] but north-loc. month eighth-abl.

gangs. btang.nas./ lo.gsar. bar.du. gangs. ma.bzhus.par. sdod.kyi.red.//
_kd: _tαγnε _lεso: _pιδωω _kd: _mαγy:ba: _dy:gyre:
snow fall-sub. new year until-loc. snow neg.-melt-nom.-loc. stay-link.-aux.

"Yes. It’s very cold in Tibet. It’s not so cold in Lhasa itself. But in the north, from October, when snow falls it lies without melting until New Year (March)."

dgun.khar. byang.thang.la. mi. bsdad.mkhan. yog.red.pas.//
_gγγγa: _tζαγdαγlε _mi _de:γε: _jo:ribe:
winter-loc. Changthang-loc. person dwell-nom. exist-interr.

"Are there people who live in the Changthang ("northern plains") in winter?"
Horpa all dwell-nom. north-loc. be house suchlike wall exist-nom.

However, if it’s an important family they may have a small house with a roof or suchlike. Other people just pitch their tents and live in them.”

“Where does their food come from between October and the New Year?

Good-nom. exist that-abl. 3sg.-rium. all butter co-ord. cheese meat hide
"From May all the grass grows, and then all the animals give lots of milk. Then they all make up loads of butter, cheese, meat and hides and come to Lhasa to sell them. Then the Lhasa people buy the butter from the Horpas, and buy the hides and so on, and then they hand over grain, barley-meal, tea, cotton goods etc. to the Horpas. Then the Horpas make these up into loads and go back north. Then they keep the things they've bought from Lhasa to eat in the winter."

An Agu Tomba story

The following is one of many tales current in oral tradition about Agu Tomba, a folk hero of the "wise fool" type. It is delivered in a narrative register, the chief symptom of which is the extensive replacement of the auxiliary -red. by its extended alternant -yin.pa.red.. In conversational register, this usage is uncommon and expresses "deductive" modality (9.3.4.1). Here it seems to lend a kind of narrative distance to a story which was certainly not witnessed by the narrator and comes close to being acknowledged as fiction, a genre not clearly distinguished in traditional Tibetan literature. The first sentence might literally be rendered "As for Agu Tomba, it seems he had a friend." There are even the unusual occurrences of the constructions -dug.pa.yin.pa.red. and -shag.yin.pa.red.. (auxiliaries -dug. and -shag. are very rarely followed by a linking particle or further auxiliary in conversational register).
ston.p.a kho. bsdad.'dug.gas. blta.gag. phyin.p.a.red. nang.la./ de.nas. kho. tomba 'kho _de:.dug.e: _tago: 'tc'himbare: _nagla _tene: 'kho Tomba he stay-aux.-interr. look-sub. went-link.-aux. inside-loc. that-abl. he

_ni:ma _sumdza _tsa: _gjago: 'tc'himbajindz: _nagla
day three-app. trade do-sub. went-link.-aux.-sub. inside-loc.

yog.ma.red.ba// yin.na.yang. skyed.dman. 'di. 'dir. bsdad.yog.red. nang.la./
exist [neg]-corr. be-sub.-top. wife the this-loc. stay-aux. inside-loc.


kho.tsho'i _nyal.sa:i. _gdan.khri'i. _og.la. _tug.ga. btais. btais.dus. tsam.nas.

_?agu _tombe _lu: _nagbo 'tc'embo _tibu _tcig _pagba tci:
Agu Tomba sheep black-nom. big-nom. very num.-gen. hide num.

'tgnba:jimbare: _tene: _tcb: _lujagi _?olu: _tc'embo tci:
see-link.-aux.-link.-aux. that-abl. beer pour-nom.-gen. jug big-nom. num.

'tgnba:jimbare: _jine: "?agu _tombe: _kba _ke:
see-link.-aux.-link.-aux. be-sub.-top. Agu Tomba-smp. word any-top.

ma.lab.p. byas./ de.nas. nam.sang. mar. 'don. phyin.p.a.yin.p.a.red.//
_malvyba _tce? _tene: _namsd: _ma: _d: _tc'himbajimbare:
neg.-speak-nom. that-abl. straight away down leave went-link.-aux.-link.-aux.

de.nas. nyin.ma. gsum. bselbs.dus./ de.nas."a.khu. nang.la. tshur. yong.dus./
_tene: _ni:ma _sum _le:dy: _tene: _?agu _nagla _tsbu: _judy:
that-abl. day three arrive-sub. that-abl. Agu inside-loc. towards-loc. come-sub.

de.nas. kho. skyed.dman. 'di:i. kho.yo.ga. bselbs.'dug.p.a.yin.p.a.red. nang.la.//
_tene: _kho _kjime: _di: _kjog _le:dajimbare: _nagla
that-abl. 3sg. wife the-gen. husband arrive-aux.-link.-aux.-link.-aux. inside-loc.
"a.khu. ston. pa. kho'i. skyed.dman. 'di. la. rtsa.ba.nas.
  3sg.-gen. wife this-loc. root-abl.
dga'. gi.med. pa. yin. pa. red. //
den. "a.khu'i. bsam. pa. la. da. ngas.
  3sg.-num. part can-link.-aux. think fight-app. rise-sub. Agu-gen.

skyed.dman. 'di. rtsa. ba.nas. -tens:
-1agu
-tamba
-kha:
kjrmC:
drla
tsa:ne:
that-abl. Agu
Tonpa

this-loc. root-abl.
dga'. gi.med. pa. yin. pa. red. //
den. "a.khu'i. bsam. pa. la. da. ngas.
  3sg.-num. part can-link.-aux. think fight-app. rise-sub. Agu-gen.

3sg.-gen. wife this-loc. root-abl.

like-link.-neg.-aux.-link.-aux.-link.-aux. that-abl. Agu-gen. mind-loc. now 1-smp.

  3sg.-num. part can-link.-aux. think fight-app. rise-sub. Agu-gen.

Agu-gen. friend man this-smp. hey Agu up come inside-loc. come
tog. tsam. sdod.zer. lab. pa. yin. pa. red. //
den. tog. tsam. bsdad. / kho. tsho.
tod.za _dbs _lvbajimbare:  _tene: tod.za _de? _kbsdzko
  a bit stay say tell-link.-aux.-link.-aux. that-abl. a bit stay 3sg.-num.

talk speak-nom. did-sub. that-abl. Agu suddenly just oh now

kha.sang. khkyed. rang. med. shul. ring. la. nyin.ma. cig. de.nas. gnam.
  kbsdz: kjerd: _micy: _rtila _nyima tci: _tene: nam

yesterday you neg.-exist-nom length-loc. day num. that-abl. sky.
sngon.po. sngo. rkyang. red.de. / yin. nas. nam. sang. cig. la. sprin. pa. nag. po.
gsmbo gadjd: _re: _te _jine: _nambsd: tciel trimbz nagbo
blue-nom. pure blue be sub. be-sub. suddenly num.-loc. cloud black-nom.

chen.po. shed.po. cig. bskor. byas. / sprin. pa. che.chung. ni. pha.gir.
tcembo tibo tci: ko: _tce: trimbz tchdzguni phag
big-nom. very num. circulated sub. cloud size-top. yonder-loc.
gdan.khri'i. 'og. la. lug. nag.po'i. pags. pa. tsam. cig. 'dug. zer. /
dendri _wol _lu: _nagbs: pagbdzs tci: dus:
bed-gen. under-loc. sheep black-nom.-gen hide-app. num. exist say.
'o. da. pha.gir. gdan.khrī'i. 'og.la. chang. blugs.yag. dbo.blugs. chen.po. 


therefore husband this hey Agu what say-link.-aux.-wh-int. say
lug.gi. pags.pa. dang. de.nas. gdan.khrī'i. 'og.la. dbo.blugs. ci.dag. ga.re.

zer.gyi.yod.pa.zer./ de.nas. khyo.ga. khos. mar. kug.kug. byas.

say-link.-aux.-wh-int. say that-abl. husband 3sg.-smp. down bent-redup. did

gdan.khrī'i. 'og.la. bltas.dus./ lug. nag.po. cig. bsad./ kho'i. pags.pa. 'di.

this-loc. put-aux.-aux.-link.-aux. that-abl. beer pour-nom. exist-link.-aux

byas.tsang. khyo.ga. 'di. yag. bsam./ da. nga. nyin.ma. gsum. med.shul.

therefore husband the aha think now I day three neg.-exist-nom.

ring.la. skyed.dman. 'di. las.ka. sdu.g.po. byed.kyi.yog.red./ nga. med.pa.

length-loc. wife that work bad-nom. do-link.-aux. 1 neg.-exist-nom.

dang./ lam.sang. lug. bsad./ de.nas. chang. 'thung./ kho.tsho. 'di.'dra.se.

co-ord. sudden sheep kill that-abl. beer drink 3sg.-num such-adv.
"Agu Tomba had a friend. The friend had a wife and child. The friend went off trading for three days or so. He left his wife at home, and so one day Agu Tomba went to see if he was there - to his house. Then because he had gone trading for three days or so, of course he wasn't there. However, his wife was there, at home. Then Agu Tomba went inside, and he looked to see what was under the bed where they slept, and as soon as he looked he saw a great big black sheepskin. Then he saw a big jug for pouring beer. However Agu Tomba didn't say anything; then he went out straight away.

"Then when the three days were up, Agu came to the house again and found that he - the wife's husband - had arrived, back home. Then - Agu didn't like his (friend's) wife at all. Then Agu thought, 'Now I'll be able to separate them: when they have a row.' Thinking this, Agu went off.

"So then he - this friend of Agu's - spoke to him, saying 'Hey, Agu, come round! Stay for a bit!' So then he stayed for a bit. While they were chatting, Agu suddenly said, 'Oh, one day while you were away, the sky was clear blue, but all of a sudden an enormous black cloud blew up: its size was about the same as that black sheepskin under the bed there. Then just as suddenly, some hail fell. The size of the hailstones - well, you see there's a big jug for pouring beer under the bed there - it was like that.' That was how Agu put it.

"So the husband said, "Hey, what d'you say, Agu? What are you saying about a sheepskin, and then a jug under the bed and so on?" Then when the husband bent down and looked under the bed - now presumably a black sheep had been killed and its skin put there, and then there was the beer jug - so the husband thought 'Aha! Now while I wasn't here for three days my wife was up to mischief. As soon as I was away she killed a sheep, then she drank beer: this is how they were carrying on!' Then the two of them had a row and separated."

Going to India

The following dialogue was invented by an informant in Nepal for the purpose of providing language teaching material.
"Lopsang! Tomorrow I’m going to India. I’m thinking I should stay a month or so. In that time I’ll sell off these trade goods, then I’ll go to Dharamsala to pay respects to the Dalai Lama. Then I’ll go on pilgrimage for a bit in the Indian plains, then come back here."

"That’s very good! As you’ve never been to India before, now that’ll be very good! India’s a great pilgrimage place. So you must definitely make a pilgrimage, Norbu!"

"I reckoned just that, and that’s the reason I want to go to India."
Before you go, I have a present to be carried. Would you please take it? It’s not too heavy at all.”

“I’ll take it. You don’t need to worry. To whom should I give it?”

“I have a brother in Dharamsala. His name is Dorje. He works at the Tibetan home.”

15.2 Preclassical Tibetan

The following is an extract from an untitled work generally known as the (Royal) Chronicle, relating events of the early kingdom (7th-9th centuries AD). It is probably of early 9th century date, though may well incorporate earlier material. The rather bare, unornamented style makes much use of the subordinating particle -te./ste./de. and the verb phrases lack linking particles and auxiliaries.

king Tride Tsugtsan -gen. time-loc. honour flourishing administration

smooth-sub. man all-smp. be happy-mcf. great minister Tagdra Khonglo co-ord.
rje. blon. mol.nas.// rgyal.po. zhabs.kyi. btsugs.te.// rgya.la. chab.srid.
king minister confer-sub. king foot-inst. set-sub. China-loc. campaign

mdzad.na.// rgya'i. mkhar. kwa.cu. la.stsogs.pa. phab.ste.// de.tsam.na.
do-sub. China-gen. city Kuachou etc. capture-sub. that-app.-loc.

rgya'i. srid. ches.nas.// byang.phyogs.kyi. dru.gu. kun.kyang.
China-gen. dominion be great-sub. north-gen. Turk all-top.


dkus.la.// ta.zig.la. thug.pa. man.chad. rgya'i. khams.su. gthogs.ste.//
include-sub. Persia-loc. reach-nom. down China-gen. territory-loc. attach-sub.

rgya'i. nor. mang.po. stod.phyogs.su. 'don.pa.rnams.// kwa.cu.na.

tshogs. byas.pa.las.// thams.chad. bod.kyi. phab.ste. bzhes.pas.// blar.yang.
able-nom.-abl. * all Tibet-smp. capture-sub. take-sub. further-top.

dkor. mang.po. brnyes.// 'bangs. mgo. nag.pos.kyang.// rgya.dar.
property much-nom. got subject head black-nom.-smp.-top. China silk

bzang.po. khyab.par. thob.bo.//
good-nom. cover -nom.-loc. get-mcf.

"During the reign of king Tride Tsugtsen honour was flourishing, the administration
was smooth and all the people were happy. When the great minister Tagdra Khonglô
and the king having conferred, the king set forth and campaigned against China, the
Chinese cities of Kuachou etc. were captured. Now at that time the dominion
of China had expanded so that it included all the northern Turks, and everything as far as
Persia was attached to the territory of China, and the Tibetans captured everything of
the abundant Chinese goods which were being exported to the west and was
assembled at Kuachou, and got much further property. Even the common people got
enough silks to cover themselves with."

15.3 Classical Tibetan

The following is an extract from the biography of the famous Buddhist Yogi
Milarepa (?1040-?1123 AD), compiled from earlier materials by Tsangnyön Heruka
probably in 1488. It is written in a confident and spontaneous style, far removed
from that of much technical religious literature, and is generally reckoned to be of high
literary merit. Within the narrative frame quoted conversation, presumably in some
dialect of Tsang province, is frequent.

ser.bas. sdig. bsags.pa.yin. gsung./ rje.btsun. mthu. dang. ser.ba. hail-inst. sin accumulate-link.-aux. say Jetsun magic co-ord. hail.

slob.pa'i. nye.bar.len.pa'i. rkyen. ci. lta.bu. byung. zhus.pas./ learn-nom.-gen. exert-nom.-gen. circumstance what like-nom. happen asked-sub.

nga. mi.thod.gad.kha.na. klog. slob.dus. rtsa'i.mda'.ru. skyid.ston.gyi. chang.sa.
I Mitho Gekha-loc. read learn-sub. Tseda-loc. feast-gen. Wedding

chen.po. zhig. byung.ba. de'i. gral.dbu.la. slob.dpon. big-nom. num. happen-nom. that-gen. seat of honour-loc. teacher.

spyan. drangs. pa'i. phyag.phyi.la. ngas.kyang. phyin./ der. chang. mang.ba. invited-nom.-gen. attendant-loc. I-smp.-top went that-loc. beer much-nom.

dang. slob.dpon.la. zur.nas.kyang. chang.'dren. mang.rab. byung.ba. kun.nas. co-ord. teacher-loc. side-abl.-top. beer serving much-nom. come-nom. all-from

btungs.pas. bzi.bar. song.yod.pa.la./ slob.dpon.gyis. nga.la. drank-sub. drunk-nom.-loc. became-aux.-nom.-loc. teacher-smp. I-loc.

khyos.ma.rnams. bskur.te. sngon.la. brdzangs.pas./ chang.gis. bzi.ba. dang./ present-num. gave-sub. ahead-loc. sent-sub. beer-smp. drunk-nom. co-ord.

de'i. nyin. glu. len.mkhan.rnams.la. sems. 'phros.nas. glu. len.snying. that-gen. day song sing-nom.-num.-loc. enjoy-sub. song sing-nom.

'dod.pa. zhig. byung.ba.dang./ gre.ba. bde.mo. zhig. yod.pas. glu. len.cing. desire-nom. num. happen-nom. sub. voice fine-nom. num. exist-sub. song sing-sub.

'ongs.pas. nged.rang.gi. khang.pa'i. mdun.na. yar. lam. yod.pas. sgo'i. came-sub. we-gen. house-gen. front-loc. up road exist-sub. door-gen.

thad.du. slebs.rung. glu. blangs.pas./ a.ma. nang.na. yos. against-loc. arrived-sub. song sang-sub. mother inside-loc. grain

rngod.kyin.yod.pas. thos.nas./ ci. zer. skad. 'di.ni. nga'i. bu'i. skad. parch-link.-aux.-sub. hear-sub. what say sound that-top. I-gen. son-gen. sound

'dra/ nged. ma.smad.pas. sduk.pa.ni. sa.thog.na. med.pas. resemble we mother & children-abl. suffering top. earth-loc. neg.-exist-sub.
Third (chapter). Again Rechung asked: ‘Jetsun, how did you originally perform the evil deeds which you have said you committed?’, and ‘You said you had accumulated sins by (the casting of) spells and hailstorms. What were the circumstances of your exerting yourself in the study of spells and hail?’

‘When I was learning to read in Mithöh Gekha, I accompanied my teacher who had been invited as guest of honour to a big wedding feast at Tseda, as his servant. The beer flowed freely, and as my teacher drank from all the extra servings he was given, he became drunk. He therefore gave me his presents and sent me on ahead.

‘Being drunk (myself), and having been delighted by the singers that day, a desire to sing came over me, and as I had a good voice, I sang as I went along. The road ran right in front of our house, and even as I arrived at the door I was singing. My mother, who was parching grain indoors, heard me and said, ‘What!’ She thought, ‘That voice is like my son’s. As there’s no-one on earth who has suffered..."
more than us, it's not right that he should sing.' Not believing it, she looked, and realising it was me, in her astonishment she dropped the tongs to her right and the grain-whisk to her left. The parching grain was left to burn.

"Carrying a stick in her right hand and a handful of ashes in her left, she came down the long staircase, jumped over the short one and came out. She threw the ashes in my face and struck my head with the stick several times.

"'Mila Sherab Gyeltsen my husband, what a son has been born to you! Just look at the fate of your widow and children now your succession is broken!' she said. My mother fainted for a moment, and while she lay fallen my sister came out.

"'Have some regard for mother!', she said, and as she sat weeping I thought, 'She is right,' and I too shed many tears."
Unspecified


'Brog-skad 'brog.skad. Ekvall (1939:67). (Oral, but only numerals given - could be nasal also.)

"Ch'ing-hai" Nishida (1960a). (Oral, but only numerals given - could be nasal also.)

Transitional

Amdo Sherpa  Nagano (1980).

"South Amchog" (?) Róna-Tas (1983).

Non-cluster

Rong-ba/Rong-skad  rong.pa./rong.skad. Ekvall (1939:65ff); [Hermanns (1952); Norbu (1983)].

Gro tshang  [Norbu (1983)]. (Perhaps = Gyo tzag.)

Gyo tzag  Hermanns (1952). (Perhaps = Gro tshang.)

"Tangut" Shibata (1951).

'Brog-skad/Hbrogpa/Banag Amdo  'brog.skad./'brog.pa./sbra.nag  


Eastern (Kham)

Cluster

Nasal & oral

Khams  (perhaps from Amdo) Jaeschke (1868), (1881); Grierson (1909).

Tao/Tao fu/Rtahu lta'o.  (Migot 1956); [Language Atlas of China (1987)
(classified as Amdo)].

"Han-niu" Rosthorn (1897).

Sa-stod sa.stod.  Wen Yu (1946).


Oral

Chog-che  Wen Yu (1946).
LIST OF DIALECTS

Transitional

**Bathang 'ba'.thang.** Qu (1963); Gesang Jumian (1989); Ray (1965b); Rockhill (1891); [Migot (1956); Roerich (1961)].

**Drayab brag.g-yab.** Olson (1974); [Roerich (1961)]; Schwieger (1989).

**Kandze dkar.mdzes.** Ray (1965b).

**“K'ang-ting”** Migot (1956). (K’ang-ting or Kangding is the same place as Ta-ch’ien-lu).

**“Ta-ch’ien-lu” dar.rtse.mdo.** D’Ollone (1912) (no. 37).

**Derje sde.dge.** [Causemann (1989: 22-3)]; Migot (1956); Sedláček (1963a); Wen Yu (1948); [Roerich (1961)].

**Chamdo chab.mdo.** Jin Peng (1958); [Hermanns (1952)]; Needham (1886); [Roerich (1961)].

**“An-shun-kuan”** (Songpan) D’Ollone (1912:no. 40).

**“Chung-tien”** (N.Yunnan) Davies (1909).

**Mu-ya (?)** Qu (1963).

**“Ya-Chiang” (?)** Qu (1963).

**Gyethang/Rgyalthang rgyal.thang.** Hongladarom (1996b); Wang Xiaosong (1996).

Non-cluster

**Kham khams.skad.** Kraft & Tsering Hu Heng (n.d.).

**Khams khams.** Roerich (1957).

**Kandze dkar.mdzes.** (“‘Kan-tzü””) Migot (1956).

**“Tsū-ku/Tse-kou”** (N.Yunnan) Desgodins (1873); Monbeig (in Liétard (1909)); D’Ollone (1912:no.36); Orléans (1898:no. 25).

**“Sung-p'an”** Gill (in Lacouperie (1888)). (Cf. An-shun-kuan above.)

**Me-li** Bonin (1903).

Unspecified


dMar-khams dmar.khams./smar.khams. [Hermanns (1952); Roerich (1961)].

**Hor sde lnga hor.sde.lnga.** [Roerich (1961); Migot (1956)].

**Li-thang li.thang.** Migot (1956); Roerich (1961)].

**Nyarong (Agricultural) nyag.rong.** Hermanns (1952); Migot (19560].

**Nyarong (Nomad) nyag.rong.** [Roerich (1931)].

**Dzarong (Agricultural) Hermanns (1952)].

**Rgyarong (?) (Agricultural) rgyal.rong.** [Hermanns (1952)].

**Chala [Migot (1956)].

**Ling-chung [Migot (1956)].

**Tsharong Rockhill 1891; [Roerich (1931)].

**Wa-skad (also in NE) wa.skad.** [Stein (1961)].
Appendix 1. List of Dialects

The following list presents the names of dialects as given by the respective authors and sources, with the Tibetan spelling (in italics) added where known. Some of these names will undoubtedly refer to more than one dialect; conversely a single dialect may sometimes be represented by more than one name. Names in inverted commas are non-Tibetan words. Sources in square brackets mention the dialect without giving any data. A question mark indicates doubt as to whether the dialect really belongs to the section in which it is placed.

Northeastern (Amdo)

Cluster

Nasal and oral
Golok mgo.log. [Causemann 1989:22-3; Ekvall (1939:64); Roerich (1931), (1958b); Sprigg (1972b), (1979); Sun (1986:149).
Huari dpa.ri. Hermanns (1952); Roerich (1931), (1958b).
“Tangut” (Xining/Kumbum) Széchenyi (1897).
“Tangut” (Xining/Datong) Przheval’skii (1875).
“Tangut” Potanin (1893).
“T’ung-jen” (Rong-po) Go (1954); Potanin (1893); Qu (1965).
Panaka sbra.nag. Rockhill (1891a).
Ndzorge (Dzorge) mdzo.dge. Sun (1986).
śemē sde.pa. Sun (1986).
Xvra Sun (1986).
śhtsang Sun (1986).
getshong Sun (1986).
Wvymhkor Sun (1986).
Ngaba rnga.pa. Wen Yu (1946); [Sun (1986)].

Oral
Rebkong re.skong. Roerich (1958b).
Wayen Roerich (1958b); [Hermanns (1952)].
Panaka sbra.nag. Roerich (1931), (1958b); Kara (1983).
Unspecified
'Brog-skad 'brog.skad. Ekvall (1939:67). (Oral, but only numerals given - could be nasal also.)
“Ch’ing-hai” Nishida (1960a). (Oral, but only numerals given - could be nasal also.)

Transitional

Amdo Sherpa Nagano (1980).
“South Amchog” (?) Róna-Tas (1983).

Non-cluster

Rong-ba/Rong-skad rong.pa./rong.skad. Ekvall (1939:65ff); [Hermanns (1952); Norbu (1983)].
Gro tshang [Norbu (1983)]. (Perhaps = Gyo tzang.)
Gyo tjang Hermanns (1952). (Perhaps = Gro tshang.)
“Tangut” Shibata (1951).

Eastern (Kham)

Cluster

Nasal & oral
Khams (perhaps from Amdo) Jaeschke (1868), (1881); Grierson (1909).
Tao/Tao fu/Rtahu lta’o. (Migot 1956); [Language Atlas of China (1987) (classified as Amdo)].
“Han-niu” Rosthorn (1897).
Sa-stod sa.stod. Wen Yu (1946).

Oral
Chog-che Wen Yu (1946).
LIST OF DIALECTS

Transitional

Bathang 'ba'.thang. Qu (1963); Gesang Jumian (1989); Ray (1965b); Rockhill (1891); [Migot (1956); Roerich (1961)].


"K'ang-ting" Migot (1956). (K'ang-ting or Kangding is the same place as Ta-ch'ien-lu).


Derge sde.dge. [Causemann (1989: 22-3)]; Migot (1956); Sedláček (1963a); Wen Yu (1948); [Roerich (1961)].

Chamdo chab.mdo. Jin Peng (1958); [Hermanns (1952)]; Needham (1886); [Roerich (1961)].

"An-shun-kuan" (Songpan) D'Ollone (1912:no. 40).

"Chung-tien" (N.Yunnan) Davies (1909).

Mu-ya (?) Qu (1963).

"Ya-Chiang" (?) Qu (1963).


Non-cluster

Kham khams.skad. Kraft & Tsering Hu Heng (n.d.).


Kandze dkar.mdzes. ("Kan-tzü") Migot (1956).

"Tsū-ku/Tse-kou" (N.Yunnan) Desgodins (1873); Monbeig (in Liétard (1909)), D'Ollone (1912:no.36); Orléans (1898:no. 25).

"Sung-p'an" Gill in Lacouperie (1888)). (Cf. An-shun-kuan above.)

Me-li Bonin (1903).

Unspecified


dMar-khams dmar.khams./smar.khams. [Hermanns (1952); Roerich (1961)].

Hor sde Inga hor.sde.Inga. [Roerich (1961); Migot (1956)].

Li-thang li.thang. Migot (1956); Roerich (1961)].

Nyarong (Agricultural) nyag.rong. Hermanns (1952); Migot (19560).

Nyarong (Nomad) nyag.rong. [Roerich (1931)].

Dzarong (Agricultural) Hermanns (1952)].

Rgyarong (?) (Agricultural) rgyal.rong. [Hermanns (1952)].

Chala [Migot (1956)].

Ling-chung [Migot (1956)].

Tsharong Rockhill 1891; [Roerich (1931)].

Wa-skad (also in NE) wa.skad. [Stein (1961)].

Northern

Changpa byang.pa. [Roerich (1931)].
Horpa (north) hor.pa. Roerich (1931).
Horpa (south) hor.pa. Roerich (1931).

Western

Cluster

Balti sbal.ti. Austen (1866); Bielmeier (1982), (1984), (1988a,b); Francke (1904); Grierson (1909); Jaeschke (1881); Poucha (1967); Read (1934); Sprigg (1966a), (1967a), (1972a,b), (1980a,b,c); Schuler (1978); Vigne (1842).
Skardu Sprigg (1966a), (1967a), (1972a,b); Bielmeier (1985).
Khapalu Read (1934); Sprigg (1966a), (1967a), (1972a,b); Bielmeier (1985).


Ladakhi la.dvags. (cluster dialects) Bielmeier (1982), (1983), (1985b), (1988a); Cunningham (1884); Darroch (1984); Francke (1898), (1900), (1904a), (1905-41); Grierson (1909); Jaeschke (1881); Koshal & Misra (1979); Koshal (1982), (1987), (1990); Miller (1956a); Ramsay (1890); Ribbach & Francke (in Grierson (1909)); Roerich (1958b); Sandberg (1894:III, 215-368).
Leh sle. Grierson (1909); Koshal (1990); Bielmeier (1988a).
Sham shams. Grierson (1909); Francke (1901), (1904);
Koschal(1990); Bielmeier (1988a).

Non-cluster

Ladakhi (non-cluster dialects) Grierson (1909).
Rubshu [Grierson (1909)].
“Indian Changthang”/Trangtse [Bielmeier (1988a)].
Mngahr is mnga’.ris. /Tö stod. [Language Atlas of China (1987)].
“Lahuli” gar.zha. Grierson (1909); Jaeschke (1868, 1881); Roerich (1933).
Kolong Roerich (1933).
Koksar Roerich (1933).
Spiti/Piti spi.ti. Grierson (1909); Jaeschke (1881); S.R.Sharma (1979); D.D.Sharma (1992).
Jad/Jat Grierson (1909); Zoller (1983).

Nepal

Humla.
Mugu mu gu.

Manangba.
Yolmo yol.mo. [Bielmeier (1982)].
Langthang glang.thang. [Bielmeier (1982)].
“Kagate” Grierson (1909); Hoeliger & Hari (1976).
Jirel Maibaum & Strahm (1973); Strahm & Maibaum (1971), (1972); Strahm (1975).

Sherpa shar.pa. Anon (1957); Fürer-Haimendorf (1964); Givón (1980);
Gordon & Schottelndreyer (1970); Gordon (1969), (1970); Grierson (1909);
Hale (1968); Hodgson (1847); Hunter (1868); Schottelndreyer & Hale (1970);

Walung.

Central

“Central” dbus./dbus.gtsang. Amipa (1974); Amundsen (1903); Bell (1905), (1919), (1920); Dawson (1980), (1983), (1985); Gould & Richardson (1943a,b,c,d); Grierson (1909); Hannah (1912); Henderson (1903); Jongcay (1972); Jaeschke (1868), (1881); Kjellin (1974), (1975a,b), (1976a,b); Komarova (1989); Lewin (1879); Lobzang Mingyur Dorje (1938); Mazaudon (1976), (1984); Miller, P.M. (1951); Miller, R.A. (1954), (1955d), (1956a); Nagano (1979); Nishida (1957b); Richter & Mehnert (1978); Roerich (1931), (1958b); Roerich & Phuntsok (1957); Rönà-Tas (1967), (1984), (1985), Sandberg (1894); [Language Atlas of China (1987) (Dbus)].

Lhasa lha.sā. Agha (1990), (1993a,b); Bloomfield & Tshering (1987),

Kongpo (r)kong.po. Roerich (1931).

Powo spo.bo. Roerich (1931).

Tsang gtsang. Jìn Peng (1958); Nagano (1979); Ossorio (1982); Roerich (1931); Tucci (1949); Sprigg (1986); [Language Atlas of China (1987)].


Lente Bielmeier (1982).


Yatte Nishida (1975).

Brag-gsum brag.gsum. Qu et al. (1989).

Southern

"Sikkimese" 'bras.ljong.s kad. Kaleon (1982); Grierson (1909); Sandberg (1888).

Tromowa ("Chumbi Valley") gro.mo.ba. Walsh (1905).

Upper Tromowa Walsh (1905).

Lower Tromowa Walsh (1905).

Dzongkha rdzong.kha. (=Lhoke lho.skad., Lhokha lho.kha., 'Nalong). Anon (1977), (1990); Beames (1867); Buck (1989); Byrne (1909); Campbell (1874); Dorji Gyaltsen & Tshering (1983); van Driem (1991a,b,c), (1992); Grierson (1909); Hodgson (1847), (1848); Hunter (1868); Imaeda (1990); Imaeda & Pommaret (1990); Itonaga (1980), (1982); Mazaudon (1985); Mazaudon & Michailovsky (1989); Michailovsky, (1986), (1989); Rinchen Tshering & Daityer (1971); Sangs-rgyas rdo-rje (1990); Suwa (1982); Dzongkha Development Commission (1977), (1990a,b,c), (1993).

Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha van Driem (1991a).

Brokpa 'brog.pa. van Driem (1991a).

Dakpakha van Driem (1991a).

Layakha van Driem (1991a).

Lunakha van Driem (1991a).

Lakha van Driem (1991a).

Brokkat 'brog.skad. van Driem (1991a).

Other

Appendix 2. Phonology of Other Dialects

This appendix is intended to give some indication of the range of phonological variation between Lhasa Tibetan and other dialects which have been described in the literature, and of some of the practical and theoretical problems which have been raised. I have converted other authors' transcriptions into what I take to be their IPA equivalents.

Monosyllables: consonant initials

The range of variation in number of contrastive monosyllable initials is illustrated from the dialect with the fewest known to me (Dingri: 27, all simple: Table App2.1) and that with the most (Amdo Khake: 36 simple (Table App2.2), 78 cluster, (Table App2.3) 114 in all). Lhasa Tibetan, with about 36, or about 30 for speakers without voiced plosives and affricates, all simple, is obviously quite close to the non-cluster extreme of Dingri.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table App2.1 Dingri dialect (adapted from Herrmann 1989)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other initial series heard in various dialects include the following:

Balti. (Items in brackets might be expected but do not occur in the material available to me) (after Sprigg & Bielmeier):

(pr-) pr̥- br-
(pj-) pj- bj-
tj- tj- dj-
trw- trw- (drw-)
Labial fricatives, and dental fricatives other than s- and z- are unusual. The Zangskar sub-dialect of Ladakhi appears to have f-, p- and ð-; Dzorge has f-, and I have heard ð- in Dzongkha.

Most or all dialects have simple voiced nasal initials at the places of articulation of the first four rows of the alphabetic table. Several central and southern Khams dialects (Kandze, Bathang, perhaps Drayab) have also a series of corresponding voiceless nasals; some Lhasa dialect speakers use two of these (the palatal and bilabial):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articulation</th>
<th>Initials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>m-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>ŋ-ŋʲ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental/alveolar</td>
<td>n-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>ɢ- ɢʲ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table App2.2 Amdo Khake dialect (adapted from Min & Geng 1989)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple initials:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives/</td>
<td>p-pʰ</td>
<td>pʰ-</td>
<td>pʰ-</td>
<td>pʰ-</td>
<td>pʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates:</td>
<td>t-tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ-</td>
<td>tʰ-</td>
<td>tʰ-</td>
<td>tʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ts-tsʰ</td>
<td>tsʰ-</td>
<td>tsʰ-</td>
<td>tsʰ-</td>
<td>tsʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tr-trʰ</td>
<td>trʰ-</td>
<td>trʰ-</td>
<td>trʰ-</td>
<td>trʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tc-tcʰ</td>
<td>tcʰ-</td>
<td>tcʰ-</td>
<td>tcʰ-</td>
<td>tcʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c-cʰ</td>
<td>cʰ-</td>
<td>cʰ-</td>
<td>cʰ-</td>
<td>cʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k-kʰ</td>
<td>kʰ-</td>
<td>kʰ-</td>
<td>kʰ-</td>
<td>kʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives:</td>
<td>s-sʰ</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɕ-</td>
<td>ɕ-</td>
<td>ɕ-</td>
<td>ɕ-</td>
<td>ɕ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x-xʰ</td>
<td>xʰ-</td>
<td>xʰ-</td>
<td>xʰ-</td>
<td>xʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y-yʰ</td>
<td>yʰ-</td>
<td>yʰ-</td>
<td>yʰ-</td>
<td>yʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-sʰ</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
<td>sʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʜ-</td>
<td>ʀ-</td>
<td>ʀ-</td>
<td>ʀ-</td>
<td>ʀ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ð-</td>
<td>ð-</td>
<td>ð-</td>
<td>ð-</td>
<td>ð-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j-jʰ</td>
<td>jʰ-</td>
<td>jʰ-</td>
<td>jʰ-</td>
<td>jʰ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɣ-</td>
<td>ɣ-</td>
<td>ɣ-</td>
<td>ɣ-</td>
<td>ɣ-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʙ-</td>
<td>ʙ-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ʀ-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʝ-</td>
<td>ʝ-</td>
<td>ʝ-</td>
<td>ʝ-</td>
<td>ʝ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Balti (Khapalu subdialect):**

kr- kɾ- gɾ-

**Golok (after Sprigg & Roerich):**

ptr- pɾ- (bdr-)

**Dzongkha (after Mazaudon & Michailovsky 1989):**

pɛ- pɛʰ- bz-

**Bathang (after Jumian 1989):**

s- sʰ- z-

x- xʰ- ɣ-

ɕ- ɕʰ- ʑ-
Table App2.3 *Amdo Khake dialect* (adapted from Min & Geng 1989)

*Cluster initials* (letters at head of columns indicate place of articulation of first element: B=bilabial, A=alveolar, U=uvular, BN=bilabial nasal, HN=homorganic nasal)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless second element</th>
<th>Voiced second element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>A-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τp- (?)</td>
<td>npb-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φt-</td>
<td>τt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φts-</td>
<td>τts-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wts- (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φtc-</td>
<td>τtc-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φc-</td>
<td>τç-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wc- (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φk-</td>
<td>τk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wk- (?)</td>
<td>xsh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φç-</td>
<td>xs- (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Monosyllables: vowels**

The five vowels of the Tibetan script, transliterated "a. "i. "u. "e. "o., correspond to the phonemic vowel inventories of cluster dialects as follows:
Balti (after Bielmeier 1985a) /ə/ /ɪ/ /ʊ/ /ɛ/ /ɔ/
Ladakhi (after Koshal 1979) /ə/ /ɪ/ /ʊ/ /ɛ/ /ɔ/
Amdo Khake (after Min & Geng) /ə/ /ɜ/ /ʊ/ /ɛ/ /ɔ/

In Sprigg's non-phonemic transcription of Balti, the total increases to at least the ten phones ə ə ɪ ʊ ɛ ə ɔ.

The Dzorge dialect, apparently marginal between cluster and transitional with 66 monosyllable initials and no contrastive tone, is given by Sun (1986) the nine vowel phonemes i/ /e/ /e/ /æ/ /ʊ/ /ʊ/ /o/ /ɔ/ /ə/.

Transitional dialects, with about 55 monosyllable initials and some contrastive tone, are generally given from six to nine vowel phonemes, though Nangchen is given eleven by Causemann (1989), and Drayab thirteen by Olson (1974). The correlation between number of initials and number of vowels is not perfect, perhaps because there are other methods of increasing diversity, used in differing degrees by different dialects; particularly vowel quantity, vowel nasality, tone, and diphthongs. There is enormous variety in the actual quality of the seven or more vowels, and the relationships of vowels in the dialects to those in the spelling system are complex, but unlike the cluster dialects described above, most of the transitional and non-cluster dialects include among their totals the secondary vowels y and ø or similar ones.

Diphthongs are described for some dialects, but even in those dialects where they occur they usually seem to be confined to relatively few lexical items.

Probably all dialects display some degree of variability in vowel length: for instance vowels are often said to be longer before nasal finals. In cluster dialects any such variation is often regarded as purely allophonic and correlated with environment.

Contrastively long vowels are in many dialects restricted to open syllables, and in some of these (SW Drokpa, Dingri, Nangchen) to primary vowels as well. In Dzongkha, however, they can occur in closed syllables also.

Non-contrastive nasality of vowels in the neighbourhood of nasal initials or finals is mentioned for several dialects, both cluster and non-cluster. Transitional and non-cluster dialects generally have some form of contrastive vowel nasality, seemingly only in open syllables. Apparent exceptions include Nangchen, Mustang and Jirel.

Syllable finals

Cluster dialects

The western group of cluster dialects including Balti, Purik and western and central Ladakhi are the richest in consonantal finals, and the only ones to show final consonant clusters in single constituents. Balti and Ladakhi have the nine simple unreleased finals -k -g -t -n -p -m -l -r -s corresponding to the written Tibetan -g., -ng., -d., -n., -b., -m., -l., -r. and -s. (Balti also has -t, though probably only in a few loanwords.)

Ladakhi has in nouns, adjectives and verbs the consonant clusters -ks -gs -ps -ms which one might expect from the written -gs. -ngs. -bs. -ms. - sometimes even
on constituents which are not traditionally spelt with the -s-. In verbs it has all these, but in addition also -ts -ns -rs -ls, whose corresponding spellings -*ds. etc. are not even possible according to the normal rules. The total of seventeen consonantal finals is not exceeded by any other variety (see Koshal 1979).

None of the eastern cluster dialects show final consonant clusters, though they generally have a larger set of simple finals than the transitional or non-cluster dialects. Amdo Khake and probably the Golok of Roerich have finals corresponding in place of articulation to eight of the nine in Balti and Ladakhi (all but -s); Dzorge and Rebkong have seven (all but -s and -1 and all but -s and -t respectively).

Transitional and non-cluster dialects

Of the remaining dialects, none has either final consonant clusters or a final -s. The total number of consonantal finals ranges from nine (Mustang) to one (Bathang). In general they correspond in place of articulation to ones on the list of simple finals for Balti or Ladakhi, except that a glottal stop -? - and in Mustang, a glottal fricative -fi also - is sometimes added; in Bathang the glottal stop is the only consonant final.

Tone

Of all the linguistic phenomena in Tibetan, that of tone is perhaps the hardest to capture in a general survey. The undoubtedly diverse behaviour of tone in the many varieties of the language is compounded by the wildly divergent methodologies and perceptions of the authors who have written on the subject; thus Sprigg (1993) comments on

"a disturbing lack of unanimity in the tonal analysis of Lhasa Tibetan at the phonological level and more disconcerting still - a significant lack of agreement even at the phonetic level, on the pitch features that can be distinguished in that dialect."

Likewise Betty Shefts Chang (quoted in Mazaudon 1977:49) complains of

"the great diversity in statements on Tibetan tones. ... This is not the healthy diversity of differing interpretations ... there should be a common ground of phonetic observation. It is not there."

Thus the tonemes of Lhasa Tibetan, for example, have been numbered at none (Kjellin 1977, Civera 1970), two (Sprigg 1954, 1955; Duanmu 1992; Kenstowicz 1994:378-80), three (Bell 1905; Poucha 1978), four (Richer 1964; Meredith 1990), five (Hu et al. 1972), six (Roerich & Lhalungpa 1957; Dawson 1980), and seven (Hari 1977, 1979). Some authors have considered tone to be solely a matter of register (e.g. Sprigg 1993; Duanmu 1992), others solely a matter of contour (e.g. Ray 1965b); yet others, a matter of both (e.g. Jumian 1989; Chang & Shefts 1964; Hari 1979; Herrmann 1989; Meredith 1990). Even within each camp there may be little agreement in detail. The domain assigned to tone - consonant, vowel, syllable,
sequence of syllables or word - varies similarly.


"Non-contrastive pitch"

It has often been observed in Tibetan that, at least for the plosive and affricate series when word-initial, low pitch in a syllable tends to be associated with voiced initials, high pitch with voiceless initials. For the dialect of Labrang in Amdo, Hu calls this pitch variation "habitual tone" (quoted in Sun 1986:72): this is his "non-contrastive pitch"). Similarly in Nangchen, Causemann (1989) states that pitch depends on the word initial: again, low pitch is associated with voiced plosives and affricates, high pitch with voiceless ones. Even in some of the tonal dialects which have voiced plosives and affricates (Drayab, Dzongkha, some types of Lhasa), monosyllables and word-initial syllables beginning with such phones are always associated with low pitch, and therefore pitch could be regarded as non-contrastive in such syllables.

From the point of view of the orthography, syllables spelt with simple initials from the third column of the alphabetic table (g-, j-, d-, b-, dz-) seem to be associated with low pitch in most dialects for which either tone or non-contrastive pitch has been claimed. Such initials are often held to have been "originally" voiced, as they now are in cluster dialects. It may be that it is their association with low pitch which has enabled them to be subsequently devoiced in some non-cluster dialects and still retain their distinctiveness.5

Transitional dialects: incipient tone

Presumably a dialect does not become fully tonal overnight, but gradually admits tonal distinctions into one part of the language after another. As well as the common association of low pitch with voice, there are several hints that syllable-initial nasality (or the lack of it) could be of some importance in the early stages of tonogenesis in Tibetan.

Firstly, syllables with nasal initials (other than prenasalised clusters) will vary in pitch, usually lexically, in all partially and fully tonal dialects. Of no other group of initials is this true. (The main exception is Balti, in which tonogenesis has clearly taken a different route. In Nangchen, the variation exists but is not independently lexical, being correlated with voice/voicelessness.)

Secondly, according to Nagano, in the Amdo Sherpa dialect, the nasal-initial syllables are the only group showing pitch distinctions.

Thirdly, according to Sun (1986),

"None of the Tibetan dialects that still preserve more or less traces of ... ORAL PRERADICALS [i.e. clusters which are non-prenasalised] have phonemic tones. On the other hand, dialects that have lost ... nasal preradicals [i.e. prenasalised clusters] ... may still remain non-tonal. It would seem ... that at least for Tibetan the oral
preradicals form a CRITICAL syllable position, the loss of which tended strongly to trigger tonogenesis."

To put it another way, dialects with prenasalised initials but no other types of cluster are tonal; dialects with non-prenasalised clusters are non-tonal, whether or not they also have prenasalised clusters. If true, this also suggests that syllable-initial nasality may have something to do with tonogenesis in Tibetan.

The dialects which have been claimed by their investigators as partially tonal include Amdo Sherpa (49 initials) (Nagano 1980), Mustang (33 initials) (Nagano 1982, 1985), Balti (87 initials) (Sprigg & Bielmeier, see fn. 5), probably Nangchen (54 initials) (Causemann 1989) and Ladakhi (70 initials) (Koshal 1979). All are in some way problematical. Tone in Balti, where it is confined to disyllabic and trisyllabic nouns, seems to behave in a different way and presumably has an origin quite different from that operating in other dialects. Otherwise, these dialects are claimed in some cases to show non-contrastive pitch differences in syllables beginning with most or all initials, but in all cases contrastive, lexical tone in syllables beginning with certain initials.

Non-cluster dialects

It is only in those dialects of central and western Tibet such as Dingri, Southwest Drokpa and one variety of Lhasa, which have no voiced plosives, affricates or fricatives, that pitch is independently lexical in all types of syllable except those beginning with some types of approximant and/or glottal stop, usually a very small percentage of the total. Thus syllables beginning with voiceless alveolar r̥-, voiceless lateral l̥- and voiceless nasals always seem to be high.

Register and contour

So far, I have treated tone, following many of the authors concerned, in terms of a twofold distinction. In most cases this is conceived of primarily as one of two pitch levels or registers, one higher than the other. Occasionally three levels are distinguished - e.g. for fricative-initial syllables in Nangchen (Causemann 1989:29); and by traditional Tibetan accounts. However I generally agree with at least the conclusion of Dawson (1980: 11); writing here about the Lhasa dialect) that

"All the evidence points in one direction. The perceptual evidence of every investigator on tone available, Kjellin's acoustic evidence, and my own perceptions lead toward one consistent assignment of Register, which 'splits the pitch range of the voice into two halves' ..."

Many authors however also associate some form of pitch movement (contour), whether independently contrastive or not, with the registers. Some even conceive of tone as primarily a matter of pitch contour - for instance Nishida (1975) for the early stages of tonogenesis. S.R.Sharma (1979) distinguishes three tones for the Spiti dialect: falling-rising, level-rising, and rising-falling; though he also specifies at least two slightly differing starting levels of pitch. Ray (1965b) says of his Kham dialects
that "There is a contrast between a rising tone and a falling tone ... Pitch heights are as such without significance ..." Some claim a connection between pitch contour and syllable finals, whether lost or still present, and Sun (1986:175) goes so far as to say that

"it is generally accepted by Tibetanists that as a Tibetan dialect eventually evolves significant tonemes, the relative pitch heights (or registers) will be determined by the voicing state of the original syllable onsets, while the sonorancy vs. obstruency of the syllable codae will condition the contours (i.e. rising, falling, level, etc.) of these nascent tones ..."

To say that this is "generally accepted" is perhaps an exaggeration.

Theoretical contributions to the question of contour tone include Duanmu, in whose autosegmental phonology contour tones are to be regarded as "composed of clusters of level tones" (Duanmu 1992:65), and Dawson (1980, 1983) who follows J.Goldsmith and M.J.Yip in treating register and contour as "independently autosegmental in relation to each other, as well as autosegmental in relation to the segmental level." (Dawson 1980:88.)

Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony has been systematically investigated only for Lhasa Tibetan and Dzorge. At 6.3.5 above I largely follow what I take to be Sprigg's approach to vowel harmony in Lhasa Tibetan. For a rather divergent treatment, see Chang & Chang (1968).

What may be a rather similar type of vowel harmony in the Dingri dialect - "regressive assimilation" or raising of a penultimate-syllable vowel before "suffixes containing /i/ and /u/ " is briefly discussed by Herrmann (1989:27).

Dzorge

The Dzorge dialect displays a quite different and very interesting form of vowel alternation which might better be termed "vowel disharmony". Sun (1986) claims that "vowel [dis]harmony rules in [Dzorge] are phonetically conditioned ... automatic rules that freely apply across the board to all lexical forms, including loanwords." Like harmony in the Lhasa dialect, vowel disharmony in Dzorge applies only in sequences of two syllables, most of which are words. In words of more than two syllables, disharmony never applies unless the word incorporates an independently existing disyllable.

Sun divides the nine vowel phonemes of the dialect into three "[dis]harmony groups" which he terms "dominant", "recessive" and "neutral" as in the following table:

| i | u | v | dominant (close or half close) |
| e | ë | o | recessive (half close, or open and front) |
| e | a | o | neutral (half open or open) |
In general a recessive vowel may not precede a dominant vowel within a disyllabic word. To paraphrase Sun:

When, as a result of case inflection or nominal compounding, such a forbidden sequence is generated in the derivation, vowel [dis]harmony decrees that the [recessive] vowel be converted to a corresponding [neutral, more open] vowel (i.e. /e/→/e/; /o/→/a/; /æ/→/a/). The observations below can now be stated:

(I) [dominant] vowels trigger changes in [recessive] vowels without being subject to change themselves. [E.g. recessive+dominant:

dred. ʈʂet “brown bear” dred.phrug. ʈʂetʃuy “brown bear cub”]

(II) [recessive] vowels do not affect other vowels but must undergo change in the proper environments [example as above].

(III) [neutral] vowels neither cause nor undergo any change [with certain exceptions. E.g. neutral+dominant:

dom. tom “black bear” dom.phrug. tomʃu “black bear cub”]

The exceptions under III above are as follows:

a) The recessive vowel ə and the neutral vowel a when they are followed by -ɡ or -ɡ count as dominant.

b) The neutral vowel -a causes lowering of the recessive vowel -æ, but not of the recessive vowels -e and -o.

The dynamic language of “compounding”, “change”, “triggering” and “lowering” is essentially that used by Chang & Chang (1968), though Sun himself is prepared to countenance an alternative non-dynamic terminology:

“Vowel [dis]harmony rules in [Dzorge], thus, can be regarded either as a static phonotactic constraint against recessive vowels before tautoverbal dominant syllables, or as a dynamic process lowering recessive vowels before such syllables.”

His own preferred way of summarising the situation is by generative “rules” expresseed in equation form, for which the interested reader should consult the original.

Conceived of in dynamic terms, the vertical direction of vowel change is, as Sun says, lowering as against the normal raising of the Lhasa dialect, and involving dissimilation or disharmony as against the assimilation or harmony of Lhasa. Syntagmatically the process is exclusively regressive (right-to-left).

For the sake of comparison with Sprigg’s analysis of the Lhasa dialect (Sprigg...
1961) it would be interesting to restate the situation in Dzorge along prosodic lines. This might be done by distinguishing two types of piece:
   1) “central” (identifiable by a central or recessive vowel in the first syllable);
   2) “non-central” (all other pieces);

   and three types of constituent:
   a) “close” (identifiable by its invariable close or dominant vowel), occurring only in non-central pieces;
   b) “central” (with variable vowel), occurring in central pieces with central vowel, and in non-central pieces with open (neutral) vowel;
   c) “open” (with invariable open or neutral vowel) occurring in both central and non-central pieces.

**Balti**

Vowel harmony in Balti is, according to Sprigg (1980a), restricted to monosyllabic combinations of vowel-final noun+definite, genitive, locative or plural particle.

**Notes**

1 Sprigg (1966a), (1967a), (1972a), (1980c); Bielmeier (1985a).
2 Sprigg (1972b), (1979); Roerich (1958b).
3 Sprigg (1966a), (1967a), (1972a), (1980c).
4 Sun (1986:131) regards the medial -f- of Dzorge rlangs.pa. blagme against the expected blaqwei as a reflex of written -s+.p-, comparable to initial sp. f- in that dialect. If he is correct, this is the only hint of any reflex of extra final -s. in any non-western dialect.
5 Against the association between low pitch and voicing are Sun's assertion (1986:171) that inherent pitch is not observable in Dzorge or North Amchog dialects, and the apparent association of high pitch with voicing in the Spiti dialect (Sharma, S.R. 1979).
6 Of course, Sprigg is not responsible for any of my misunderstandings of his work.
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