By the Same Author:

Ladakhi Phonetic Reader
Conversational Ladakhi
Conflicting Phonological Patterns
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For

Dr. Debi P. Pattanayak
Dr. Bal G. Misra
The Central Institute of Indian Languages was set up on the 17th July, 1969 with a view to assisting and co-ordinating the development of Indian languages. The Institute was charged with the responsibility of serving as a nucleus to bring together all the research and literary out-put from various linguistic streams to a common head and narrowing the gap between basic research and developmental research in the fields of languages and linguistics in India.

The Institute and its four Regional Language Centres are thus engaged in research and teaching which lead to the publication of a wide-ranging variety of materials. Preparation of materials designed for teaching/learning at different levels and suited to specific needs is one of the major areas of interest of the Institute. Basic research relating to the acquisition of language and study of language in its manifold psycho-social relations constitutes other broad ranges of its interest. Its publications include materials produced by the members of the staff of the Central Institute of Indian Languages and its Regional Language Centres and associated scholars from universities and institutions, both Indian and foreign.

The Central Institute of Indian Languages has initiated the Grammar series in non-literate languages in general and tribal languages in particular presenting a description of every such language in the sub-continent.

Of the four language families in India the Sino-Tibetan occupies the fringe areas in the north and the east of the country. Languages of this family are spoken by small aggregates of people. As they live in difficult terrains there is considerable variation both in terms of geographical regions as well as social class. However, study of these languages is of paramount importance because (a) they help in understanding the life styles of a people inhabiting the vitally important border regions of the country; (b) they provide the cultural and linguistic bridge with Tibet which, in spite of its changing political status, is part of the Indian cultural area; (c) they
help in the understanding of small zone communication and sharing of a common core within an overall pattern of intelligibility matrix. Dr. Sanyukta has performed a commendable task in writing this grammar of Ladakhi, working under difficult conditions, which I am sure will be of help to both theoretical linguists and those interested in the application of this linguistic knowledge to pedagogy and such other fields.

In understanding the relationship between dialects and languages mutual intelligibility is usually considered an important factor. Yet most linguists know that there are mutually unintelligible dialects classified under the German language. Even those familiar with the language scene of India know that extreme dialects of a particular language are often mutually unintelligible. What is important in the circumstances however is the understanding of the assymetrical relationship between the non-standard and the standard rather than the mutuality of their intelligibility. As in the case of Bengali, a standard speaker may not with facility follow the Chittagong dialect, but the Chittagong speaker follows the standard colloquial Bengali or as in the case of Oriya the coastal standard speaker may not understand Desia but the Desia speaker has a relatively better comprehension of the standard, so also in the case of Ladakhi the Zangskar speaker has a better comprehension of the standard colloquial Leh variety rather than vice versa. In fact, in multilingual countries continuous communication is ensured through a process similar to this.

Diglossia is an attendant feature of linguistic situations with long literary traditions. In highly stratified societies and linguistically varied communities even triglossia is not very uncommon. In the Hindi speaking zone of North India, for example, Maithili to standard colloquial Bihari Hindi to highly Sanskritised Khariboli Hindi could be a triglossic situation. A different kind of triglossic picture is presented by Zangskar variety of Ladakhi speakers who have not only to learn the standard Leh variety, but also classical Tibetan which is the language of religion and high culture.

All over India the minority language speakers are bilingual in dominant languages and the dialect speakers are bilingual
in the standard. The reverse is seldom true. The oral traditions are responsible for knitting different areas into a single cultural zone. The Ladakh area is no exception to this. The folk songs which have greater carrying power are responsible for bringing about a homogeneity in language which in turn provides depth to the natural standard.

I have no doubt that the hard work and analytical acumen underlying the present sophistry in presentation will not go unnoticed by scholars. The supervisor Dr. B. G. Misra deserves to be justly proud of this publication.

I congratulate the publishers who have brought out this book in record time.

D. P. Pattanayak
EDITOR'S NOTE

Analysis and description of the basic units of a language and the relationships, in which they are hierarchically organised, in terms of its own structure and organisation, is, at times, considered to be a relatively recent achievement in the field of linguistics. However, the Indian tradition of grammatical analysis, which culminated in the form of \textit{aṣṭādhyāyī}, a description par excellence of the Sanskrit language, is a hoary predecessor of the application of the same theory and model of descriptive analysis. \textit{aṣṭādhyāyī} is such a comprehensive and detailed description that it was, soon after its completion, seen with reverence and awe. This had some unwanted results. It resulted in scholars paying attention only to developed and literary languages to the neglect, nay exclusion, of colloquial language varieties used for mundane purposes of common everyday communication. It also resulted in the Indian grammarian not concerning himself with the analysis and description of the smaller languages — tribal or otherwise. Furthermore, if and when such an exercise was undertaken, the language was described in terms of Sanskrit grammatical categories etc., as it was considered to be the only appropriate and adequate model of language description. Viewed in this perspective, the development of descriptive linguistics in the present century, though partly influenced by the old Indian grammatical tradition, was a wholly welcome and scientific development.

The multitude of different languages and speech communities, be they large or small in size, in India and the sharp rise in ethnic and linguistic consciousness in the country in this century have given rise to a host of problems of planning the use of different languages especially in the formal contexts of language use like the domains of education, administration and mass communication. With the Indian independence, the domains of the use of Indian languages have expanded and commensurate code elaboration has to be carefully planned and executed taking the multilingual and pluricultural Indian context into account.
This has necessitated scientific analyses and descriptions of various Indian languages, howsoever small they be in terms of the size of their native (and/or adherent) speakers. Materials as well as manpower resources have been channelised for such a work institutionally as well as on individual basis.

The present descriptive account of Ladakhi grammar needs to be viewed in the light of these developments. Ladakhi, a language of the Himalayan sub-branch of the Sino-Tibetan sub-family, though used only by approximately fifty-five to sixty thousand persons, has a rich historical and cultural tradition. As it is spoken on the northern frontiers of the country, a sensitive geographical area politically and diplomatically, it is all the more important that we know about the culture and traditions of the Ladakhis by analyzing and describing their language. The Central Institute of Indian Languages has undertaken the study of a number of tribal and border languages of the country since its inception, as such a work is fundamental to undertaking any applied linguistic and educational work in such language areas. The present author undertook the study of Ladakhi language under that scheme. It has involved a detailed desk-work and library work as a preliminary to field work, and then a number of field trips to that remote and relatively inaccessible part of the country during the last seven years in order to collect language data — words, paradigms, sentences and connected language texts. After the first phase of analysis, the author has carefully checked and rechecked the data, filled in the gaps thus found by further data collection and has finally presented a comprehensive account of how the Ladakhi language works. This phase of study entails the linguistic description of the language which is now completed with the publication of this grammar (the Ladakhi Phonetic Reader having been published earlier), to be followed by a multilingual dictionary and a collection of folk literature which will be published in course of time. In case of Ladakhi, the exigencies of the situation demanded the preparation of instructional materials to teach Ladakhi to adult non-native learners (especially those of the defence services) and the same has also been completed and is being published shortly.
The model of linguistic analysis and description adhered to in the present work is basically the structural-distributional one. This has been done in this work, as in others being done at the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, with a view to making the grammar accessible to the largest possible body of researchers and users and not just to the professional linguists.

Guiding the present descriptive study and editing the same has had its own set of special problems as well as pleasures. The editor is especially gratified that the author has taken great pains to ensure that the Ladakhi language is described in its own terms, its grammatical categories and hierarchies emerge from out of the language itself and that the analysis reflects the cultural genius and the world-view of the Ladakhi speakers as faithfully as possible.

In the end, I, as the editor, must also express my gratitude to the author who has very patiently and pleasantly put up with all my fussy perfectionisms and with my analytical as well as editorial changes and modifications. It has been a pleasure to work with an intelligent and committed scholar like Dr. Sanyukta Koshal, the young analyst and interpreter of the Ladakhi language and culture to me.

Bal Govind Misra
PREFACE

With the development of linguistic studies in India, the imperative necessity of recording, analyzing and describing hitherto unstudied languages, tribal or otherwise, comes to the forefront and the Central Institute of Indian languages undertook a comprehensive programme of studying and describing these languages. Although Ladakhi has been studied earlier in terms of its grammatical structure by some scholars and Sir G.A. Grierson has also given a short description of Ladakhi grammar in his monumental Linguistic Survey of India, none of these descriptions are either scientifically adequate or modern. Hence, this programme of studying Ladakhi language and folklore was undertaken by the present author.

This grammatical description of Ladakhi is the result of a continuous work of collecting, analyzing and describing the language over seven and a half years. An attempt has been made to present a comprehensive and full scale description of Ladakhi language by recording language data, analyzing the same, rechecking and augmenting the data and repeating this process till a coherent and integrated picture of the grammatical structure of Ladakhi language emerged. However, it is not claimed that this is the most perfect description, or the only way of describing the facts of Ladakhi language. An account of the Ladakhi phonology was earlier published as Ladakhi Phonetic Reader in early 1976. The present work incorporates the results of that study and augments and modifies them in the light of further data and analysis. In spite of that, there are certain aspects of Ladakhi language structure and use which need to be further investigated in depth and the results of such an investigation may have a bearing on the present work. To cite an example, there are a number of variations at phonological as well as morphological levels, which have not yet been attributed accurately to any social or regional variable. It is intended to undertake very shortly a study of Ladakhi variations by itself. It may also be fruitful to look into certain aspects of Ladakhi phonology in a more detailed manner, and perhaps, a historical
study might yield rewarding results even for the synchronic analysis of its phonology.

The same may be true of the analysis of the verbal system. A more detailed study of the morphophonemics of verbal forms and of the syntactic behaviour of individual verb stems may add to the present analysis.

A grammatical analysis of any language presents its own problems and studying and analyzing Ladakhi has been no exception. It has presented its own complexities and peculiarities and has at times bewildered, annoyed and irritated the author. However, in the final outcome it has been satisfying to be able to put all the facts together coherently in this description. This has been made possible by the help and cooperation of different kinds by different persons.

I am grateful to Dr. Debi P. Pattanayak, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, who initiated this project and who provided all the facilities for the study. But for his constant hammering for completing this work, it may perhaps have never been finished in this form.

I am grateful to Dr. Bal. G. Misra, Professor, Central Institute of Hindi, Delhi, earlier Deputy Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, who has been associated with the work from the very beginning. He has been my guide and teacher, and without his help this study would not have been completed; his constant help and guidance has helped in improving the quality of the work.

I am grateful to Prof. R. N. Srivastava, Head of the Department of Linguistics, Delhi University, Delhi, who kindly read through the manuscript and gave useful suggestions.

I am grateful to Dr. E. Annamalai, Professor-cum-Deputy Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, for having kindly read through the manuscript and for giving valuable suggestions.

I have benefited from various discussions, sometimes fairly lengthy ones, with Prof. M. W. Sugathapala de Silva, University of York, Prof. Peter Ladefoged, UCLA, Los Angeles and Dr. Sprigg, SDAS, London at various stages of analysis.

I am extremely grateful to my informant Lama Thupstan Paldan, teacher in Higher Secondary School at Leh, who has
been working with me for the last seven years. He has been extremely patient in standing the drudgery of being informant all these years; but for his patient and kind nature, and his intelligence and imagination it would have been very difficult to work in Ladakh.

I am also grateful to Mr. Tashi Rabgias, information officer, J. & K., Government. Leh, who has also been a very patient informant, and has been very encouragingly critical through out the work.

I am also grateful to Mr. Richen, information officer, Leh, Lama Lobzang, secretary, Ladakh Baudhha Vihar, Delhi; and to all other Ladakhis who have helped in collecting and checking the data.

I am grateful to the authorities of the Jammu and Kashmir Government, to the chief secretaries (1971-1978), to secretaries for Ladakh Affairs (1971-1978) and to the district authorities of Ladakh, for providing various facilities on request.

I am grateful to the Defence Department, especially the authorities at Ladakh, for various facilities provided by them, though it has been a mixed experience, but I am grateful to them who have helped.

I am grateful to my family members, who ungrudgingly gave me financial help, whenever I needed the same. At various times, the financial provisions and remunerations as per government rules were found wanting in getting the work done and my family members came to my help by supplementing the material resources.

I am grateful to M/s. Motilal Banarsidas for the printing of the book.

SANYUKTA KOSHAL
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Abbreviations

N. St. Noun Stem
Narr. Cont. Narrative Continuous
Narr. Perf. Narrative Perfect
Neg. Negative
Neg. Suf. Negative Suffix
Nonf. Non-finite
Nonf. V. Non-finite Verb
Non-hon. Non-honorific
Non-Pros. Pro. Non-Proximate Pronoun
Num. Number
Numr. Numeral
Numr. Adj. Numeral Adjective
Ob. Pr. Observed Present
Ob. Pr. Cont. Observed Present Continuous
Ob. Pt. Observed Past
Ob. Pt. Cont. Observed Past Continuous
Obvi. Pro. Obviative Pronoun
Ord. Numr. Ordinal Numeral
P.P. Post Position
Part. Particle
Per. Pro. Personal Pronoun
Perf. Parti. Perfect Participle
Perm. Permissive
Pl. Plural
Pl. Suf. Plural Suffix
Pot. Parti. Potential Participle
Pr. Parti. Present Participle
Pro. Pronoun
Prop. N. Proper Noun
Prox. Pro. Proximate Pronoun
Pt. Perf. Past Perfect
Qul. Adj. Qualitative Adjective
Re. Pr. Reportive Present
Re. Pr. Cont. Reportive Present Continuous
Re. Pt. Reportive Past
Re. Pt. Cont. Reportive Past Continuous
Refl. Pro. Reflexive Pronoun
Sg. Singular
Simp. Narr. Simple Narrative
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INTRODUCTION

1. The Language

Ladakhi, a language belonging to the Sino-Tibetan sub-family of Chinese family, is spoken in Leh, Nyuma, Zangskar and Nubra tehsils of Ladakh District of the present Jammu and Kashmir State. The present name of the district 'Ladakh' is derived from the Ladakhi word la—daks meaning 'many passes' (la 'pass', 'daks 'many'). It has also been called by different names at different times in the past like mər—yul la—daks 'Republican Ladakh (lit. Ladakh of many villages)' mər—yul la—daks 'Ladakh of (or having) red villages', khə—čən la—daks 'snowy Ladakh' etc. The language of the area is named la—daks—si—skat 'the voice (speech) of la—daks'. The total number of mother-tongue speakers of Ladakhi, according to the 1971 Census is 60,272. Ladakhi speakers are spread mainly in rural areas (54,439) and those living in urban areas are only 5,838. The bulk of Ladakhi speakers is in the Jammu and Kashmir State (59,823) and the rest, i.e. 449 are spread in the rest of the country.

2. Regional and Social Varieties

There are five regional varieties of Ladakhi — Zangskar Ladakhi, Nubra Ladakhi, Upper Ladakhi or Stotpa, Lower Ladakhi or Shamma and Central Ladakhi (also called Leh Ladakhi). Upper Ladakhi (Stotpa) is spoken in the higher altitude regions, i.e. in the east of Leh — Upshi, Sakti, Chushul etc. and its boundaries extend up to the Tibetan Border. This
variety shows a marked influence of Tibetan on its phonology. Lower Ladakhi (Shamma) is spoken in the north-west of Leh, in places like Khalbse, Timizgam etc. Nubra variety is spoken in the north of Leh, mostly in Nubra Tehsil. Nubra variety also attests differences between its upper sub-variety and lower sub-variety. The lower sub-variety is more akin to Shamma variety than to any other form of Ladakhi. The upper sub-variety is close to Leh variety. Zangskar variety is spoken in the west of Leh and is spread all over the Zangskar tehsil. Upper Ladakhi and lower Ladakhi are much closer to the Leh variety than Zangskar and Nubra varieties. The Central Ladakhi spoken in Leh and in neighbouring areas is accepted as the standard form and is hence considered prestigious. These regional varieties differ phonologically, grammatically as well as lexically.

Ladakhi speakers are predominantly Buddhist. Muslim mother-tongue speakers of Ladakhi are mostly in Leh although some speakers are spread in the neighbouring villages. The Muslim variety differs from the standard one in terms of phonology and lexicon. The Muslim variety shows a higher incidence of Perso-Arabic borrowings due to religio-cultural reasons. Muslim speakers also show a tendency of devoicing intervocalic stops in certain lexical items.

3. Diglossic Situation

Ladakhi speech community attests a kind of diglossic situation. Ladakhis use Classical Tibetan for their literary compositions. Whenever a Ladakhi writes something, literary or otherwise, it is in Classical Tibetan. The pressure of the diglossic situation is such that the plays being written at present are in the Classical (written) variety but when they are staged, the language is converted into the standard colloquial form. Literary variety is now-a-days taught in schools as a subject known as ‘Bodhi’. The word ‘Bodhi’ is an adaptation of the word ‘bhoṭ’ meaning Tibet, ‘bhoṭi’ meaning Tibetan (cf. Skt. bhoṭa Tibet).

The religious writings of Buddhist Ladakhis are in Classical Tibetan and all religious instruction is imparted in the same language. Till recently Ladakhi Lamas used to go to Tibet for educational instructions. All the Lamas studied religion including its ritualistic aspect in Tibet through Classical Tibetan.
Some of them also specialized in other secular fields of knowledge like medicine, philosophy etc. Occasionally persons not belonging to the Lama class also went to Tibet for education. These traditionally educated Ladakhis, having received their instruction in Classical Tibetan, still consider it to be the language which should be used for education. This accounts for a marked influence of this variety in the speech of these persons.

This tradition is still continued in the religious training of Lamas in India although the migration of Ladakhis to Tibet for religious instruction has ceased since early fifties due to political reasons.

Bodhi, the language taught in schools and also the language of religion, is at present used for all kinds of written purposes. This language now shows a large number of Ladakhi words which have, over the years, made their way in the language by presumably replacing the Classical Tibetan items. However, the grammatical structure including the grammatical markers, functors, endings etc. of the classical language still remain in tact.

As far as the colloquial level is concerned, the Leh variety is considered to be standard and prestigious, although various regional variations are used in their own areas for informal purposes.

The standard variety (i.e. the Leh variety) is used in the mass media. The Ladakhi programmes of the All India Radio meant for all Ladakhi audience use the standard colloquial language. Slogans, posters, election speeches etc. also use the same form of the language.

4. Script and Literary Tradition

Ladakhi is written in the Tibetan script. Tibetan script is derived ultimately from Brahmi and made its way in Tibet in the 7th Century A.D.

In Ladakh, this script is called yi-ge. When it is used for writing religious texts, it is termed as chos (lit. religion). Being a Brahmi derivative it is syllabic in nature. It has thirty letters (twenty-eight consonant symbols and two vowel symbols), which are called kə—nə—sum—ču, from kə thirty. Besides these
symbols, there are four matras. The script marks the syllable boundary by a raised dot placed in the linear position.

Buddhist Ladakhis feel a strong attachment towards this script as they consider it to be a marker of their cultural and religious identity. The same is not true of non-Buddhist Ladakhis. Muslim Ladakhis do not write Ladakhi. If ever they have to do so, they use Perso-Arabic script for the same.

Ladakhi has hardly developed its own literary tradition, as the literary and religious writings have all along the history been done in Classical Tibetan. Now-a-days some poems and songs are being written in Ladakhi but it is still not used for writing prose. However, 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 case of folk songs.

5. Data

The present study gives a grammatical description of Central Ladakhi, which is the standard form of the language. Data for this grammar have been collected at different times over a period of five years (1971-1976). A previously prepared word-list and a sentence-list was used for data collection initially. After a tentative analysis, it was felt necessary to augment the data by collecting additional material. After this augmented material was analysed, certain gaps in the analysis showed up and new questions arose. This resulted in a further checking up and in obtaining supplementary data on specific points. Thus a number of field trips have been made to Ladakh at each stage of data collection. Frequent field trips and repeated collection and analysis of data have ensured that a fairly comprehensive and accurate description of the grammatical structure of the language emerges in this study.

6. Informants

The data have been collected from Ladakhi native speakers following the standard elicitation techniques. The principal informant for this work has been a male Buddhist Ladakhi of thirty years of age. He belongs to the Lama class and is
educated in traditional manner in India as well as in Tibet. He teaches Tibetan (Bodhi) at present in a high school in Ladakh District. Data obtained from him have been checked with and augmented from other male as well as female informants of different age-groups, social status and educational levels.

7. Analysis: Theoretical Model

Ladakhi, data have been analysed and the grammatical description presented following the structural-distributional model of linguistic analysis. The principles of opposition and contrast in form and in function have been the basic tenets of the analysis at all linguistic levels.

Ladakhi, being a language of the Sino-Tibetan sub-family, is a syllabic language like most of the languages of Chinese family. It clearly manifests that its phonological as well as grammatical organizations are amenable to an appropriate description only when syllable is taken as the basic unit of description. By basic unit we mean that smallest elements at different linguistic aspects like phonemes and morphemes as well as sememes are monosyllabic and a polysyllabic sequence is a sequence of as many grammatico-semantic elements as the number of syllables it is comprised of. Thus phonemes are established and their distribution stated in terms of their occurrence in syllables. Inflectional as well as derivational morphology confirms the syllabic nature of the language. The Ladakhi writing system also attests the syllabic nature of the language. The script marks syllable boundaries. Graphemic-phonemic relationship also consistently and systematically reveals the syllabic nature of the language. Taking all these indicators into account, syllable has been accepted as the basic unit of analysis and description in the present study.

The present grammatical description is in a way a phrase grammar of Ladakhi. A Ladakhi sentence is more aptly divided into units like noun-phrase, verb-phrase and adverbials or particles, if any, than into parts of speech like nouns, pronouns, adjectives etc. Within the noun-phrase are constituents which can, in terms of form as well as function, be identified and labelled as noun, pronoun, adjective stems and numerals to which the grammatical functors expressing number and case
relationships are added. Thus the entire noun-phrase acts like a grammatical word. The verb-phrase is also organised likewise. It consists of the main verb together with the honorific and causative markers followed firstly by modals and then by tense-aspect-orientation suffixes. The adverbials and particles are independent and their placement is fairly flexible in terms of the order of grammatical words.

8. Presentation

The present grammatical description is divided into six chapters.

The first chapter describes the geographical spread of Ladakhi, its genetic position, its dialects and their specific characteristics. It gives a brief account of Ladakhi diglossia and language use in education, mass media and literature. This chapter also describes the methodology of data collection, analysis and presentation.

The second chapter gives an account of Ladakhi phonology. It describes the phonemes of the language, their allophones and distributions and shows their contrasts. Specific problems relating to vowel length, nasalization etc. are also considered. Then types of syllables and rules for determining syllable boundaries are also given. In the end the consonant clusters are also analysed. A more detailed account of Ladakhi phonology is given in the Ladakhi Phonetic Reader published earlier.

The third chapter is on morphophonemics. All phonologically conditioned alternations are stated herein. Among morphologically conditioned and lexically conditioned alternations, the significant ones are stated in the chapter and individual allomorphs are given at their specific places.

The fourth chapter is on the analysis of noun-phrase. It describes the structure and composition of the noun stem, and the grammatical categories like gender, number and case. An analysis of pronouns, adjectives, and numerals is also included in this chapter as they may form part of the noun-phrase.

The fifth chapter describes the verb-phrase. It analyses the structure and composition of the verb stem. Then the tense-aspect-orientation forms and modals—primary and secondary—are
stated. This is followed by the negative, causative, and honorific sub-systems of the verb. After the presentation of the finite verb-system, the non-finite verbal formations and their use is stated.

The sixth and the last chapter is a description of the adjuncts.

9. Language Variation

Ladakhi shows language variation along the regional as well as social parameters. In terms of regional variation, five varieties as given earlier are clearly identifiable. This was observed while determining the extent of the regional spread of the standard colloquial variety. During this discussion it was observed that in spite of regional variation there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between Leh variety and Stotpa, Shamma and Nubra varieties. In terms of sharing of linguistic features, Stotpa and Shamma are closer to Leh variety than Nubra. In its turn Nubra is closer to Shamma. Mutual intelligibility between the Leh and Zangskar varieties is assymmetrical. The Leh variety speakers find it difficult to understand the Zangskar variety while the Zangskar variety speakers understand the Leh variety to a great extent. This is partly the result of the rugged terrain of the Zangskar area which makes inter-communication infrequent between Zangskar and the rest of the Ladakhi speech area.

This study does not present all the variation features or all the correlates of the variation phenomena as it is a synchronic description of the standard variety. A comprehensive study of language variation of Ladakhi is intended to be taken up separately in future. The features of language variation being presented here are the most striking and apparent ones:

1) /s/ occurs as the second member of the final consonant clusters in Central, Shamma and Nubra varieties while it is elided in the Stotpa and Zangskar varieties.

2) Ladakhi attests a number of syllable-initial consonant clusters. The first member of these clusters is elided in the Stotpa variety. In the Shamma, Nubra, and Leh varieties, this elision is optional. In Zangskar variety some
initial clusters of Leh variety are simplified and fricativized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leh variety</th>
<th>Zangskar variety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rb</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rd</td>
<td>δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rg</td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rest of the initial clusters optionally lose their first member.

However, the composition of consonant clusters and elision of consonants is in a fluid state in the entire Ladakhi speech community.

(3) Zangskar variety does not have a contrast between voiced alveolar murmured lateral /l/ and voiced alveolar lateral /l/, which is attested in the rest of the four varieties. Standard Ladakhi /l/ is replaced by /l/ in this variety.

(4) The Zangskar variety shows a contrast between voiced stops [b, d, g] and voiced fricatives [β, δ, γ] while the two types of sounds are in free variation in the other areas.

(5) Perfect marker /-s/ is replaced by a zero in Zangskar variety.

(6) Infinitives are marked by /če/ in Zangskar variety while in the rest by /čes/.

(7) The ergative case is expressed by the suffix /-s/ in the Shamma and Nubra varieties. Thus Leh variety ē is attested as ēs is Shamma, kho-e as khos etc.

(8) There are lexical peculiarities in each area, e.g. for 'Bird' /i-ču/ occurs only in Shamma, /či-pō/ in Leh and Nubra, /ča/ Zangskar.

Language variation correlating with social class and education is also attested in Ladakhi. Thus, Ladakhi speakers of any variety, if educated in Tibet, elide the second member /s/ of final consonant clusters and also the perfect marker /-s/. This has further dependent relationship with age since the Tibet-educated Ladakhis are of older age group as the Ladakhis going
to Tibet for education has ceased since 1951 due to political reasons. It is felt that a detailed study of the language variation phenomena in Ladakhi will yield revealing and rewarding results.

10. Language of Oral Literature

The language of Ladakhi oral literature has its own special characteristics. In spite of regional differences in the colloquial form of speech, the language of folk songs is the same in all the regions. The language of folk songs shares more linguistic features with the Shamma variety than with any other regional form. The phonological features specific to the Shamma variety mentioned earlier in this chapter are also found in the folk songs. In terms of grammatical characteristics, the case suffixes in the folk songs are different from the standard spoken variety. There has been a spurt in the composition of new folk songs in the community. The language of these newly composed songs is the standard colloquial variety (i.e. the Leh variety).

The language of folk tales is not identical with the language of folk songs but is the same as that of the specific region. Ladakhi folk literature and its language are being analysed separately and the same will be published in future.

11. Language Variation within Standard Ladakhi

There are certain linguistic features, phonological as well as grammatical, which are in free variation within the standard form of the language.

A—Allophonic Free Variation

(1) [ə] freely varies with [v] in the initial and medial positions, e.g.
   [ə—gu] ~ [v—γu] Uncle
   [mək'] ~ [mək'] War
(2) [a] freely varies with [v] in the non-absolute final positions, e.g.
   [gya—tsho] ~ [gy v —tsho] Ocean
   [ma—y ə r] ~ [mr—y ə r] Stepmother
(3) Voiced stops \([b, d, g]\) freely vary with their fricativized counterparts \([\beta, \delta, \gamma]\) in the non-absolute initial position after the final vowel or \([r, l, n, \eta]\) of the preceding syllable. This free variation is also found in initial clusters after \([r, l]\). e.g.

\([\text{le}-\text{gur}] \sim [\text{le}-\gamma\text{ur}]\) Immediate
\([\text{sk} \ \text{o} \ r-\text{da}] \sim [\text{sk} \ \text{o} \ r-\delta\text{a}]\) Meteor
\([\tilde{\text{n}}\text{ul}-\text{gur}] \sim [\tilde{\text{n}}\text{ul}-\gamma\text{ur}]\) Mosquito net
\([\text{rd}E-\text{mo}] \sim [\text{rd}E-\text{mo}]\) Beautiful

B—Phonemic Free Variation

(1) Initial \(/\text{c}/ \sim /\text{ch}/\) in certain items, e.g.
\(/[\xi]-\text{c}\text{a}/ \sim /\xi-\text{ch}\text{a}/\) Wages

(2) Initial/\text{kh}-/ \sim /\text{k}-/ in some items, e.g.
\(/[\text{kh} \ \text{o} \text{n}] \sim /\text{k} \ \text{o} \text{n}/\) Derivational agentive suffix

(3) Initial \(/\text{ph}/ \sim /\text{b}/\) in some items, e.g.
\(/[\text{ph}\text{a}] \sim /\text{b}\text{a}/\) Father

(4) Voiceless \(/p, t, \text{t}, \text{c}, k/\) vary with their voiced counterparts \(/b, d, \text{d}, \text{j}, g/\) initially in some items, e.g.
\(/[\text{pe}-\text{ma}] \sim /\text{be}-\text{ma}/\) Sand
\(/[\text{t}\text{a}k]-\text{po} \sim /\text{d}\text{a}k-\text{po}/\) Pure
\(/[\text{t}\text{o}n]-\text{po} \sim /\text{t}\text{o}n-\text{po}/\) Cold
\(/[\text{c}\text{a}k]-\text{pa} \sim /\text{ja}k-\text{pa}/\) Rubber
\(/[\text{k}\text{o}-\text{sao}] \sim /\text{go}-\text{sao}/\) Rank

(5) \(/\text{d}/ \sim /\text{r}/\) in certain items, e.g.
\(/[\text{di}] \sim /\text{ri}/\) Knife

C—Grammatical Free Variation

(1) There are two ergative suffixes -yi and \(\text{a} \rightarrow \text{e}\) which freely vary in case of \(-\text{a}\) ending noun stems, e.g.

\(\text{a} \rightarrow \text{m} \text{a}\) Mother
\(\text{a} \rightarrow \text{m} \text{a} \sim \text{e} \rightarrow \text{m} \text{e} \rightarrow \text{y} \text{i}\) Mother (Ergative)
\(\text{dol} \rightarrow \text{m}\text{a}\) Proper name Dolma
\(\text{dol} \rightarrow \text{m}\text{e} \sim \) Dolma (Ergative)
\(\text{dol} \rightarrow \text{m}\text{a} \rightarrow \text{y} \text{i}\) ""
The same phenomenon is true in the case of the genitive, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{father} & \quad \text{son} \\
\text{or} & \\
\text{father} & \quad \text{son}
\end{align*}
\]

It may, however, be mentioned that—yi forms are not frequent.

2. Plural markers—gun, —kun, and —sak are in free variation. —kun is relatively infrequent, e.g. kho-gun ~ kho-kun ~ kho-sak ‘They’.

3. Second person honorific pronominal stem fie-rəŋ varies with fie-əə and second person non-honorific khyo-rəŋ varies with khyo-əə. The free variants fie-əə and khyo-əə are infrequent among Buddhist Ladakhi speakers but are fairly common among Muslim Ladakhi speakers.

4. The plural personal pronouns əə-əə, əə-təŋ, fie-rəŋ, fie-əə, khyo-əə, khoŋ, may optionally take the plural suffixes —gun, —kun, —sak.

5. There are two suffixes —ruk and —duk which mark the ‘observed’ component in the observed present and observed past forms. After a vowel final stem —ruk is commonly used but may vary with —duk, e.g. di-ruk ~ di-duk

6. The simple perfect marker /—s/ freely varies with the zero allomorph after stems ending in t, r, l, n, e.g.
Ladakhi Grammar

dzəts ~ dzət  Did (Hon.)
zərs ~ zər  Told
səls ~ səl  Offered (Hon.)
dons ~ don  Ate (Hon.)

7. Ladakhi attests a full-fledged honorific verbal sub-system. Many Ladakhi verb stems have corresponding honorific equivalents which are different lexical entities, e.g.

(To) give  təŋ :  səl—(Hon.)
(to) go  čhə :  skyod—(Hon.)

Where there are no such lexical equivalents attested, the suffix —dzət is placed after the non-honorific form to give it an honorific import, e.g.

(to) write  di—:  di—ə—dzəd—(Hon.)
(to) cry  ƞu—:  ƞu—ə—dzəd—(Hon.)
(to) read  sil— : sil-lə—dzəd—(Hon.)

However, —dzət can also be added to the lexical honorific stems, thus resulting in a free variation between the two types of forms, e.g.

səl ~ səl—lə—dzəd—(to) give  (Hon.)
skyot ~ skyod—də—dzəd—(to) go  (Hon.)

8. The honorific suffix —dzət is preferred to be placed after the main verb plus secondary modal suffix or causative suffix. It is however possible to use it after or between the main verb and the secondary modal suffix, e.g.

di—ə—thub—bə—dzəd ~ di—ə—dzət—thub ~  
Write  

di—thup—čug—go—dzəd—  ~
Write  

di—ə—dzət—thup—čug—  ~
Write  

di—thub—bə—dzət—čug—
Write
It is preferred to add the honorific suffix before the primary modal suffixes or before the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes. Thus it is added after the main verb and the secondary modal suffixes and causative suffix. However, the honorific suffix can be placed after the main verb and before the secondary modal suffix and/or the causative suffix, thus attesting a free variation in the placement of the constituents of the verb phrase.

9. Derivational agentive suffix—khən freely varies with —kən
   Writer  ḍi—khən ṣi—kən
   Carpenter  šiŋ—khən ṣiŋ—kən
1. Syllable as Basis of Description

The phonological organisation of a syllabic language can be appropriately described only by taking the syllable and not the word as the basic unit of description. Ladakhi, being a syllabic language lends itself to an efficient description only in terms of syllable as the operational unit of analysis and description. Therefore, the same basis has been accepted in the present phonological analysis of Ladakhi. Thus the distributional terms like initial, medial, final etc. refer to syllable initial, syllable medial, syllable final and the like.

2. Phonemic Inventory

The phonemes of Ladakhi are as follows:

**Vowels**

\[
i \quad u \\
\hat{a} \\
e \quad o
\]
Phonology

Consonants

Labial Dental Alveolar Retroflex Palatal Velar Glottal

Stops

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
Vl. & p & t & t \\
Vl. Asp. & ph & th & th \\
Vd. & b & d & d \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
Affricates & \ts & \c & \h \\
Vl. & ph & th & th \\
Vd. & dz & \j & \j \\
\end{tabular}

Fricatives

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
Vl. & s & \s & \s & h \\
Vd. & z & \z & \z \\
Trill & r & r & r \\
Lateral & l & l & l \\
\end{tabular}

Murmered Fricatives

Laterals

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
Nasal & m & n & \n & \n \\
Semi-vowels & w & w & w \\
\end{tabular}

3. Vowels: Allophones and Distribution

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{LADAKHI VOWEL SOUNDS} & \textbf{Front} & \textbf{Central} & \textbf{Back} \\
\hline
\textbf{Higher} & \textbf{High} & i & u \\
\textbf{Lower} & & e & o \\
\textbf{Higher} & \textbf{Mean} & E & \vartheta \\
\textbf{Lower} & \textbf{Mid} & \vartheta & \Omega \\
\textbf{Higher} & \textbf{Low} & v & a \\
\textbf{Lower} & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
There are nine vowel sounds \([i, e, E, ə, ə, a, o, ə, u]\) in Ladakhi. \([i, e, E]\) are front, \([ə, ə]\) are central, and \([a, ə, o, u]\) are back. Vowels \([i, u]\) are high, \([e, E, ə, o, ə]\) are mid, and \([a, ə]\) are low vowels. The back vowels \([u, o, ə]\) are round, while the rest are not.

Vowel phonemes \(/i, u/\) have one allophone each, viz. \([i]\) and \([u]\) respectively; \(/e, o/\) have two allophones each, viz. \([e, E]\) and \([o, ə]\) respectively, while \(/ə/\) has three allophones, viz. \([ə, ə, a]\).

\(/e/\) has a higher-mid allophone \([e]\), which occurs only in the final position, while the mean-mid allophone \([E]\) occurs in the initial and medial positions.

\(/o/\) has a higher-mid allophone \([o]\), which occurs in the absolute-final position only, while the mean-mid allophone \([ə]\) occurs elsewhere, viz. initially, medially and finally (but not before pause).

\(/ə/\) has three allophones:

- \([a]\) a low unrounded vowel which is in between the central and the back vowel positions and occurs only in the syllable final,
- \([ə]\) a mean-mid central unrounded vowel occurring initially and medially, and
- \([ə]\) a low central unrounded vowel which freely varies with \([ə]\) initially and medially and with \([a]\) in the pre-internal juncture position.

Examples:

\(/i/\) \([i]\)

\([i—ru]\) [Here]
\([mik^*]\) [Eye]
\([ri]\) [Hill]

\(/e/\) \([e]\)

\([me]\) [Fire]

\(/[E]\)

\([El-čEs]\) [To neglect]
\([zEr]\) [Light]

\(/ə/\) \([ə]\)

\([əm-či] \sim [əm-či]\) [Doctor]
[rəs] ~ [rəs]  
[a]  
[ʰa]  
[ma—you] ~ [me—you]  
[ə] freely varies with [ə] or [a] as given earlier.

/o/ [ɤ]

[ɤ m—thuŋ]  
[tʃhɤŋ]  
[pɤ m—mo]  

[o]

[ɤo]  

/u/ [u]

[uks]  
[rus]  
[čh]  

4. Phonemic Contrasts: Vowels

Some examples showing the contrast of these vowels are given below:

/i/ : /e/

/i—bo/  
[i-bo]  
/ðis/  
[ðis]  
/mi/  
[mi]  

/u/ : /o/

/u-nə/  
[u-na]  
/mul/  

/o/  
/o-nə/  
[ɤ- na]  
/mol/  

[c]  
[ʃu]  
[ʃu]  
[ʃo]  

Cotton  
Hair  
Stepmother  
Infant  
Colour used for painting  
Girl  
Curd  
Breath  
Courage  
Water  
To neglect  
Place where hay is kept  
Fire  
Yes  
Oath (Hon.)  
Silver  
Told  
Curd
/i/ : /ə/
/i—bo/ This /ə—bo/ That
[i—βo] [i—βo]
/čik/ One /čək/
[čik’] [čək’]
/či/ What /čə/ Tea
[či]

/u/ : /ə/
/əm/ Used for /um/ Kiss
[əm] feeding [um]
/khel/ the baby /khul/
[khel] (To) Spin /khul/ Inside
[sə]/ Earth /su/ Who
[sa]

/o/ : /ə/
/o—ma/ Milk /ə—ma/ Mother
[ə—ma] 
[tshor/ (To) Hear /tshər/ Completive suffix
[tshor] [tshər]
/lo/ Year /la/ Pass
[lo]

/e/ : /ə/
/el—/ (To) Neglect /ə—če/ Elder
[el—] sister
[ə—če]
/šel/ Glass /šəl/ Fee or tax
[šel] in the form of money or work
[šəl]
Phonology

Length is non-distinctive in Ladakhi. Vowels [i, u] are relatively long in the final position.

All vowels show a certain degree of nasalization in the vicinity of nasal consonants and thus nasalization is predictable.

5. Consonant : Allophones and Distribution

There are thirty-three consonant phonemes. Eighteen stop-affricates can be classified into voiceless /p, t, t, k, ts, ç/, voiceless aspirate /ph, th, ðh, kh, tsh, ðh/, and voiced consonants /b, d, ð, g, dz, ß/. In terms of place of articulation /p, ph, b/ are bilabial, /t, th, d/ are dental, /t, ðh, d/ are retroflex, /k, kh, g/ are velar, /ts, tsh, dz/ are alveolar, and /ç, ðh, ß/ are palatal. There are six fricatives in all—four voiceless /s, ð, h/ and two voiced /z, ß/. /s, z/ are alveolar, /ñ / retroflex, /ñ, ß/ palatal, and /h/ glottal. There are four nasals—bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, palatal /ñ/, and velar /ñ/. There are five more resonants, alveolar trill /r/, alveolar lateral /l/, alveolar murmured lateral /l/, and semi-vowels /w, y/; which are bilabial and palatal respectively. Nasals, trill, laterals and semi-vowels are voiced.

There is a retracted velar [kʰ] which occurs before pause and is an allophone of /k/.

There are three voiced fricatives [β, δ, γ] which freely vary with [b, d, g] respectively in initial clusters after /r, l/ and after a vowel or /r, l, n, ñ/ and syllable boundary.

/r, l/ have a voiceless allophone each, viz. /ð, ß/ which occur initially before a voiceless consonant.

All consonants occur initially; only nine of them, viz. /p, t, k, s, m, n, ñ, r, l/ occur before pause. As we have taken syllable as the basic unit for analysis, no consonant can occur medially by definition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
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<tr>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>(\ddot{t})</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(\ddot{k})</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vl. asp.</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{dh}})</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>(\ddot{d})</td>
<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{c}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{c}})h</td>
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<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{ts}})</td>
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<td>(\ddot{\text{ch}})</td>
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<td>vl. asp.</td>
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<td>(\ddot{\text{tsh}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{j})</td>
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<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{d\zeta})</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{s}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{s}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{z}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{y}})</td>
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<tr>
<td>vl.</td>
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<td>(\ddot{\text{s}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{s}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{z}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{y}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>(\beta)</td>
<td>(\delta)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{z}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{y}})</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{g}})</td>
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<td>(\ddot{\text{r}})</td>
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<tr>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>(\ddot{\text{g}})</td>
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<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
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<td>(\ddot{\text{r}})</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{l}})</td>
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<tr>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{l}})</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{l}})</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murmured Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\mathcal{L}})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{n}})</td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{\eta}})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\ddot{\text{y}})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples:

/p/ [p]

[pv — tum] Bud
[kh o p] ~ [kh v p] Needle

/ph/ [ph]

[phoη] ~ [phoη] Spindle

/b/ [b]

[bEn] Target of an arrow
[yeb — yum] Parents (Hon.)

[β]

[go r— β a] Blacksmith
[r β øt] An instrument to smoothen the harrow

/t/ [t]

[tus] Time
[tʃh ø t] ~ [tʃh ø t] Fever

/th/ [th]

[thiK* ] Line
[θi m — thuη] Infant

/d/ [d]

[dEn—β ø] Truth
[rγød — mo] Old woman

[ð]

[rðE — mo] Beautiful
[skør — δa] Meteor

/t/ [t]

[tuk*] Six

/th/ [th]

[tha] Hawk

/d/ [d]

[dθiη] Wild yak

/k/ [k]

[kør] ~ [kør] White
Phonology

[k]
[tʃʰ ə kʰ] ~ [tʃʰ ə kʰ]

Point

/kh/ [kh]
[khE—mo]

Cheap

/g/ [ɡ]
[ɡon—pa]
[ǝ]
[ɬə—γur] ~ [ɬə—γur]
[sEt—γa]

Monastery

Immediate

Goldsmith

/ts/ [ts]
[tʃa]

Rust

/tʃh/ [tʃh]
[tʃhəɣ—ma]

All

/dz/ [dz]
[dzo]

A male animal, who is a mixed breed of cow and yak

/ɬ/ [ɬ]
[ɬikʰ]

One

/ɬh/ [ɬh]
[ɬhəɣ]

Local alcohol

/ʃ/ [ʃ]
[ʃa]

A small section of rainbow

/s/ [s]
[skət]

Voice, Language

/z/ [z]
[zikʰ]

Panther

/ʒ/ [ʒ]
[ʒəɣ]

Street

/ʃ/ [ʃ]
[ʃEi]

Glass

/ʐ/ [ʐ]
[ʐEŋ]
/h/ [h]  
[hr̩-γo]  

/ɾ/ [ɾ]  
[rul]  
[ɾ]  
[ɾiɾn]-pa  

/l/ [l]  
[les] ~ [les]  
[l]  
[lpɛks] ~ [lpɛks]  

/ɛ/ [ɛ]  
[ɛa]  

/m/ [m]  
[mɔɾ] ~ [mer]  
[nɔm] ~ [nem]  

/n/ [n]  
[ناس] ~ [ناس]  
[dik-ʃin]  

/ŋ/ [ŋ]  
[ŋa]  

/ŋ/ [ŋ]  
[ŋu]-čEs]  
[θoŋ]-[θŋ]  

/w/ [w]  
[we]-tse]  
[ɾe]-wa  

/y/ [y]  
[yul]  

6. Phonemic Contrasts: Consonants

The phonemic contrasts can be exemplified below:
/p/ : /b/
[pek] ~ Diet [bek] ~ Mask

[pek]

/t/ : /d/
[tən] ~ Gave [dən] ~ Composition of music

[tən]

/t/ : /d/
[ti—čEs] To ask /dɪ—čEs/ To write

/k/ : /g/
[kən] ~ Where [ɡən] ~ (To) Fill

[kən]

/tʃ/ : /dz/
[tʃum] (To) Shut mouth /dzum/ (To) Smile

[tʃum]

/e/ : /j/
[čak—pa] ~ Rubber [jək—pa] ~ To be impressed

[čak—pa]

/p/ : /ph/
[per] ~ Design, Block, [pher] ~ (To) Bounce

[per]

/t/ : /th/
[tθk] Top, Highest point [θk] Roof

[tθk]

/θk/ of a thing

/thok/
### Ladakhi Grammar

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>pronunciation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/k/ : /kh/</td>
<td>[kəs] Crack</td>
<td>/kəs/</td>
<td>[khəs] Scholar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ : /t/</td>
<td>[tuk̚] Poison</td>
<td>/tuk/</td>
<td>[tuk̚] Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t̚/ : /č/</td>
<td>[t̚̚u—mo] Chief lady</td>
<td>/t̚̚o—mo/</td>
<td>[č̚̚o—mo] Nun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonology

/tʃh/ : /ɬh/

[tʃʰət] ~ Heat, Fever

[chət] ~ Promise

[dz]/ : /ʃ/:

[dzukʰ] (To) Plant

[jukʰ] Behind

[juk]/

/s/ : /ʃ/ : /ɾ/:

[sa] Earth

[ʃə] Meat

[sə]/

[sil] (To) Read

[ʃil] (To) Wrap

[ʃil]/

[ʃa] Hair

[ʃə] Meat

[ʃə]/

[s]/ : /z/

[səŋs] ~ Incense

[zəŋs] ~ Copper

[səŋs]

[zəŋs]/

/[ʃ]/ : /ʁ/

[ʃi] (To) Die

[ʁi] Four

[ʃi]/

/[ʃ]/ : /z/

[ʃa] A small

[zə] (To) Eat

rainbow

[zə]/

/m/ : /n/

[mək—pa] ~ Husband

[nək—po] ~ Black

[mək—pa]

[nək—po]/

[mək—pə]

[nək—po/]

[phəm] ~ (To) Be
defeated

[phən] ~ (To) Be

profitable

[phəm]

[phən]/

[n]/ : /ɾ/

[na] Oath

[ɾə] Fish

[ɾə]/
/n/ : /η/

[ŋan] ~ (To) Press [ŋəŋ] ~ Bad
[ŋan] [ŋəŋ]
/ŋəŋ/ /ŋəŋ/

/r/ : /η/

[ŋə—ra] ~ (To) [ŋə—ra] ~ Cold
Care Breeze
[ŋə—ra] [ŋə—ra]
/nə—rə/ /ŋə—rə/

/r/ : /l/

(ro) Dead body [lo] Year
/ro/ /lo/

/l/ : /lə/

[la] Pass [lə] God
/lə/ /lə/

/b/ : /w/

[bəŋ] ~ Race [wəŋ] ~ Power
[bəŋ] [wəŋ]
/bəŋ/ /wəŋ/

7. Syllable : Nature and Structure

Syllable boundary can be determined in Ladakhi on the basis of permitted initial and final consonants as well as permitted initial and final consonant clusters.

Ladakhi syllabic structure is (c) (c) (c) v (c) (c). All possible twelve types of expansions of this structure are available in Ladakhi :

Examples :

v /i/ This
vc /ot/ Light
vcc /uks/ Breath
cv /sə/ Hair
ccv /sə/ Drum
cccvc /skəŋ/ Light colour
cvc /təŋ/ (To) Give
8. Consonant Clusters

Two consonant clusters occur initially and finally in Ladakhi. Three consonant clusters occur only initially.

A — INITIAL TWO CONSONANT CLUSTERS

(a) Stop, Nasal+/y/

[k]+[y] [kjəŋ]  
/kjəŋ/  
[kh]+[y] [khyəŋ t]  
/khyəŋt/  
[ɡ]+[y] [ɡyəŋ n—pa]  
/ɡyəŋ pə/  
[ʔ]+[y] [ʔyəŋ—ŋəŋ]  
ʔyəŋ—ŋəŋ/

(b) Sibilant /s,s/ + Stops, Nasals

[s]+[p] [spəŋ]  
/spəŋ/  
[s]+[t] [stəŋ t—pa]  
/stəŋ pə/  
[s]+[k] [skut—pa]  
/skut—pə/  
[s]+[m] [sməŋ n—ləm]  
/sməŋ ləm/  
[s]+[n] [snəm—bu]  
/snəm—bu/  
[s]+[ʔ] [sŋəŋ—po]  
/sŋəŋ—po/  
[s]+[ŋ] [ŋəŋ n—po]  
/ŋəŋ n—po/  

Boundary wall
You
To wear
Sorrow
Lawn
Upper part or Man from upper part
Thread
Prayer
Woollen
Melodious, Sweet
Blue
(c) Sibilant /z/ + Stops

[z] + [b] [zbɔːm—po]  
/zbom—po/  
Thick  
(For wood)

[z] + [d] [zdɔːŋ—po]  
/zdɔŋ—po/  
Trunk of the tree

[z] + [g] [zɡəŋ]  
/zɡəŋ/  
High

(d) Trill /r/ + Stops, Affricates

[ɾ] + [t] [ɾtiŋ—pa]  
/ɾtiŋ—pa/  
Heel

[ɾ] + [ts] [ɾtsɔːl—pa]  
/ɾtsɔːl—pa/  
To give

[ɾ] + [θ] [ɾθəɾ—ɾθo]  
/ɾθo—ɾθo/  
Wave

[ɾ] + [ð] [ɾðəɾ—ɾðo]  
/ɾðo—ɾðo/  
A stone to sharpen the knife

[ɾ] + [ŋ] [ɾŋəɾ—po]  
/ɾŋəɾ—po/  
Old man

[ɾ] + [ʃ] [ɾʃEs]  
/ɾʃEs/  
After, behind

[ɾ] + [dʒ] [ɾdʒəɾ]  
/ɾdʒəɾ/  
Material
(e) Lateral /l/+Stops, Affricates

\[
[l]+[p] \quad [\text{lphks}] \\
/\text{lphks/}
\]

\[
[l]+[t] \quad [\text{ltd\text{-}mo}] \\
/\text{ltd\text{-}mo/}
\]

\[
[l]+[č] \quad [\text{lče}] \\
/\text{lče/}
\]

\[
[l]+[ð] \quad [\text{lðən-pa}] \\
/\text{lðən-pə/}
\]

\[
[l]+[γ] \quad [\text{lγən-βu}] \\
/\text{lγən-βu/}
\]

\[
[l]+[yre] \quad [\text{lyən-khu}] \\
/\text{lyən-khu/}
\]

\[
[l]+[z] \quad [\text{lze-wə}] \\
/\text{lze-wə/}
\]

(f) There are some clusters with a stop as its first member, which occur syllable initially after an open syllable. Such clusters occur mostly in numerals, e.g.

**Examples**:

\[
b]+[č] = [\text{ži-bču}] \\
/\text{ži-bču/}
\]

\[
b]+[š] = [\text{ču-kšik}] \\
/\text{ču-kšik/}
\]

\[
γ]+[n] = [\text{ču-gnïs}] \\
/\text{ču-gnïs/}
\]

\[
[k]+[s] = [\text{ču-ksum}] \\
/\text{ču-ksum/}
\]

\[
b]+[d] = [\text{ču-bdun}] \\
/\text{ču-bdun/}
\]

\[
[k]+[ž] = [\text{ču-bži}] \\
/\text{ču-bži/}
\]

\[
[r]+[γ] = [\text{ču-rγu}] \\
/\text{ču-rγu/}
\]

\[
b]+[r]+[g]+[y] = [\text{čo-brgyat}] \\
/\text{čo-brgyat/}
\]

\[
[k]+[s] = [\text{ču-ksum}] \\
/\text{ču-ksum/}
\]

\[
[b]+[d] = [\text{ču-bdun}] \\
/\text{ču-bdun/}
\]

\[
[r]+[γ] = [\text{ču-rγu}] \\
/\text{ču-rγu/}
\]

\[
[b]+[r]+[g]+[y] = [\text{čo-brgyat}] \\
/\text{čo-brgyat/}
\]

Forty
Eleven
Twelve
Thirteen
Seventeen
Fourteen
Nineteen
Eighteen
Thus it is evident that in such cases the first member of the clusters occurring in the numerals in non-absolute initial syllable is elided in the absolute initial position.

(g) Some clusters of /m/ followed by voiceless aspirates /th/, /kh/ and /tsh/ occur sometimes in syllable initial position in compound words.

**Examples:**

\[
[m]+[\text{th}] = [\text{sm} + \text{mth}]_n \\
/\text{sm} + \text{mthon}/ \\
[m]+[\text{kh}] = [\text{sku} + \text{mkhar}] \\
/\text{sku} + \text{mkhar}/ \\
[m]+[\text{tsh}] = [\text{rgy} + \text{mtsho}] \\
/\text{rgy} + \text{mtsho}/ \\
\]

The first member of such clusters is elided when these items occur in the absolute initial position.

B — THREE CONSONANT CLUSTERS

There are only three such clusters. Their structure is ‘resonant + stop + semi-vowel’. The occurring clusters are sky, $\text{sky}$ and rgy.

**Examples:**

\[
[\text{sky}]_n \\
/\text{sky}/ \\
[\text{sky\varepsilon}] \\
/\text{sky\varepsilon}/ \\
[\text{rgy} + \text{la}] \\
/\text{rgy} + \text{la}/ \\
\]

C — FINAL CLUSTERS

Only two consonant clusters occur finally in Ladakhi. In such cases /s/ is always the second member. The clusters are $-\text{ks}$, $-\text{ps}$, $-\text{ms}$, $-\text{t}$, $-\text{ns}$, $-\text{rs}$ and $-\text{ls}$.

**Examples:**

\[
[t + \text{ks} - \text{po}] \\
/\text{toks} - \text{po}/ \\
\]
Final clusters —ts, —ns, —rs and —ls freely vary with single consonants as a result of the optional deletion of the second member /s/.
MORPHOPHONEMICS

1. Kinds of Morphophonemic Alternations

Morphophonemics of a language describes the relationship of the different phonemic representations of a morpheme. Such phonemic representations, otherwise termed as allomorphs of a morpheme, occur in statable distributions which may be conditioned in phonological, morphological or lexical terms. In this chapter morphophonemic rules which are of general applicability and have wider scope will be described. Individual allomorphic distributions are given at the appropriate places.

2. Phonologically conditioned Alternations

(1) vd. stop → vl. stop / { + vl. consonant? }

Ladakhi voiced stops g, d, b become voiceless before voiceless consonants or pause, e.g.

khyod+kun→khyot—kun       II P.Pro. Familiar Pl. you
                           Had been able to do.
čo—čug+šik→čo—čuk—šik      V. do—Caus.—Imp. Pl.
                           Get done
sil—lə—phog+kək→sil—lə—phok—kək   V. read—Compl.—Narr.
                           Perf. Had to read
(2) \(c_1 \rightarrow c_1 + c_1/\rightarrow + v\)

When a closed syllable is followed by a vowel initial syllable the final consonant of the closed syllable is repeated and the repeated consonant becomes the onset element of the following syllable, e.g.

\[
\{\text{sil}\} + \{\text{-at}\} \rightarrow \text{sil-łat}
\]  
V. read+Re. Pr.

\[
\{\text{sil}\} + \{\text{-ok}\} \rightarrow \text{sil-łok}
\]  
V. read+F.B. Inf. Pr.

\[
\{\text{ńe-ře-ŋ}\} + \{\text{-i}\} \rightarrow \text{ńe-ře-ŋ-ŋi}
\]  

(3) The final cluster -rs, -ls, -ms, -ns, -ts are frequently simplified by the loss of -s in the speech of some of the speakers.

\[
s \rightarrow \phi/r, l, m, n, t
\]

However, this rule applies only optionally.

\begin{align*}
\text{zers} & \sim \text{zer} & \text{Told} \\
\text{sils} & \sim \text{sil} & \text{Read} \\
\text{gams} & \sim \text{gəm} & \text{Eat (as of powder)} \\
\text{ltans} & \sim \text{łən} & \text{Saw} \\
\text{čə̃t} & \sim \text{čə̃t} & \text{Broke}
\end{align*}

(4) č\(=\rightarrow š/s\) —

The palatal affricate č is assibilated to palatal sibilant š after a sibilant.

\[
\text{lō-ŋs} + \text{čes} \rightarrow \text{lō-ŋs-šes} \quad \text{To stand}
\]
\[
\text{goms} + \text{čes} \rightarrow \text{goms} + \text{šes} \quad \text{To jump over}
\]

(5) An alveolar -s followed by another alveolar -s is simplified to a single s, e.g.

\[
\text{lō-ŋs} + s \rightarrow \text{lō-ŋs} \quad \text{Stood}
\]
\[
\text{šes} + s \rightarrow \text{šes} \quad \text{Knew}
\]
(6) A morpheme final single -s becomes voiced before the initial voiced consonant or vowel of the following syllable:

\[
\text{s} \rightarrow \text{z} / \rightarrow \text{vd.c}
\]

Exx.
- tus+lə → tuz-lə ‘time (Dat.)'
- læs-ne → læz-ne ‘rank'

3. Morphologically conditioned Alternations

Morphophonemic alternations, which can be predicted in terms of morphological categories or sub-categories are termed as the morphologically conditioned alternations. Important morphologically conditioned alternations are the following:

(1) The final -ə of the pronouns ñə, ñə-žə, ñe-žə, khyo-žə changes to -e in order to form their ergative as well as genitive forms. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Erg.} & \text{Gen.} \\
\etaə, \text{ I Pro. Sg.} & \eta e & \eta e \\
\etaə-žə, \text{ I Pro. Pl.} & \etaə-že & \etaə-že \\
khyo-žə, \text{ II Pro. Pl.} & \text{khyo-že} & \text{khyo-že} \\
ñe-žə, \text{ II Pro. Pl.} & \ñe-že & \ñe-že \\
\end{array}
\]

(2) When the imperative suffix is added to a verb root, the vowel ə of the verb root is changed to o.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Sg.Imp.} & \text{Pl. Imp.} \\
zə (\text{To) Eat} & \text{zo} & \text{zo-šik} \\
təŋ (\text{To) Give} & \text{toŋ} & \text{toŋ-šik} \\
\end{array}
\]

(3) Imperative plural suffix /-šik/ changes to /-čik/ after the stem final -d-, e.g. (to) do dzəd+šik→dzət-čik

(4) When continuous aspect marker yin, and future marker yin as well as yin of the present participle suffix yin-nəŋ occur after a verb stem, there are two morphophonemic alternants—
(a) yin is added after the vowel ending stems, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(to) do} & \tilde{čo}+\text{yin-yot} \\
\rightarrow\tilde{čo}+\text{yin-yot} & \text{Tr.V. Re.Pr.Cont.} \\
\tilde{čo}+\text{yin-duk} & \rightarrow\tilde{čo}+\text{yin-duk} & \text{Tr.V. Ob.Pr.Cont.}
\end{array}
\]
(to) do  čo + yin — yot — pin  → čo — yin — yot — pin  
 Tr.V. Re.Pt.Cont.
,,  čo + yin — duk — pin  → čo — yin — duk — pin  
 Tr.V. Ob.Pr.Cont.
,,  čo + yin  → čo — yin  
 Tr.V. Def.Fut.
,,  čo + yin — ɖo  → čo — yin — ɖo  
 → Tr.V. Indef.Fut.
,,  čo + yin — nəŋ  → čo — yin — nəŋ  
 Tr.V. Pr. Parti.

(b) after the consonant ending stems, the final consonant is repeated and — in is added after the repeated consonant, e.g.

(to) read  sil + yin — yot  → sil — lin — yot  
 Tr.V. Re.Pr.Cont.
,,  sil + yin — duk  → sil — lin — duk  
 Tr.V. Ob.Pr.Cont.
,,  sil + yin — yot — pin  → sil — lin — yot — pin  
 Tr.V. Re.Pr.Cont.
,,  sil + yin — duk — pin  → sil — lin — duk — pin  
 Tr.V. Ob.Pr.Cont.
,,  sil + yin  → sil — lin  
 Tr.V. Def.Fut.
,,  sil + yin — ɖo  → sil — lin — ɖo  
 Tr.V. Indef.Fut.
,,  sil + yin — nəŋ  → sil — lin — nəŋ  
 Tr.V. Pr. Parti.

(5) When the definite future suffix yin, indefinite future suffix yin — ɖo, and present participle suffix yin — nəŋ are added to a — ə ending verb stem, the final — ə is palatalized because of yi and — yi becomes — e, e.g.

(to) go  čə + yin  → čhen  
 Intr.V. Def.Fut.
,,  čə + yin — ɖo  → chen — ɖo  
 Intr.V. Indef.Fut.
(6) When the historical present suffix -nok, experiential suffix -rak (and its past tense form with -pin), compulsive suffix -phog -(and all its forms), honorific suffix  -&zad- and na~ of ěap ... na~ ‘as soon as’ are added to a verb stem, vowel-ə is inserted between the verb stem and the specific suffix.

(to) do ěo+nok → ěo-ə-nok
Tr.V. His.Pr.

ěo+rak → ěo-ə-rak
Tr.V. Exp. Pr.

ěo+phog- gàt → ěo-ə-phog- gàt
Tr.V. Compl.Re.Pr.

ěo+rak-pin → ěo-ə-rak-pin
Tr.V. Exp.Pt.Perf.

(to) write di+dzad- → di-ə-dzæt
Tr.V. Hon.Suf.

di+čap ... naŋ → ěap-di-ə-naŋ
Tr.V.

When the verb stem has a final consonant, it is repeated before the inserted -ə (see rule 2 above), e.g.
sil+rak-pin → sil-la-rak-pin
Tr.V. Exp. Pt.Perf.
read

sil+dzæt-pin → sil-la-dzet-pin
read

Lap+čap ... naŋ → ěap-Leb-ə-naŋ
Intr.V.
reach

(7) When -met is a constituent of a verbal sequence, the above insertion rule applies and -ə is placed before -met, e.g.
čo+met → čo-ə+met
Tr.V. Neg.
do
Thus, in case of observed present and past negative forms the above inserted -a- is placed before the negative marker.

4. Lexically Conditioned Alternations

Verb root čha—‘go’ changes to soγ— in perfect and imperative forms.
## Consonant Clusters

|     | p     | ph    | b     | t     | th    | d     | k     | kh    | ts    | tsh   | dz    | c     | ch    | j     | s     | z     | s     | s     | z     | h     | m     | n     | y     | r     | l     | f     | w     | y     |
|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| p   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| ph  |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| b   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| t   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| th  |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| d   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| k   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| kh  |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| g   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| ts  |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| tsh |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| dz  |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| c   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| ch  |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| j   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| s   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| z   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| s   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| s   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| z   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| h   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| m   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| n   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| p   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| r   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| l   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| f   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| w   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| v   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |

**X** = Initial  
**= Final
IV

NOUN PHRASE

1. Structure of Noun Phrase

A Ladakhi sentence consists of one or more noun phrases and a verb phrase. A noun phrase has various constituents in a specified order. The constituents and their order are as follows:

N.P.$\rightarrow$ $\pm$ Dem. Pro./Ind. Adj.$\pm$N./Pro.$\pm$Ind. Adj.$\pm$Qual. Adj.$\pm$Num. Suf./Numr./Sp.$\pm$Case suffix

*Example*:
i-ṭhug-gu-ka-zuk-ṛde-mo-gun-ni.....
this boy how handsome

—What these handsome boys (Erg.).....

Characteristics of the members of each slot will be discussed in this chapter.

2. Noun Defined

In Ladakhi a noun can be defined as a form which takes a number suffix, numeral or specifier followed by a case suffix.

3. Noun Stem and its kinds

Noun stems are of four types: Simple, Complex, Compound, and Derived. Simple stems consist of one morpheme and are always monosyllabic.
Complex stems are composed of a noun root and a formative suffix; both the constituents are always bound forms. A formative suffix may usually be added to many noun roots. Complex stems are thus polymorphemic and polysyllabic.

Compound stems are constituted of at least two morphemes. Each of the constituents participating in a compound stem is monosyllabic. At least one of such constituents is attested as a free form and can occur as a simple noun stem. The bound forms in such compound stems cannot be treated as derivational suffixes because they are not productive in the same manner as the derivational suffixes used for forming derived noun stems (see § 4.7.) are.

Derived noun stems are those which are formed by adding a derivational suffix to a noun stem—Simple, Complex or Compound. Some derivational suffixes are also added to verb stems—Simple or Compound—to form derived noun stems.

There are nominal compounds in Ladakhi which are composed of noun stems standing in a specific relationship. Such nominal compounds can be used as noun stems and function in the same manner with respect to gender, number and case categories.

4. Simple Noun Stems:

Examples:

mik Eye
bøl Wool
smön Medicine
škøŋ Leg
mør Butter
løs Work
šø Meat
løm Road
skøt Sound, Language
rgyøp Back
kø Pillar
me Fire
mi Man
Noun Phrase

£əm Shoe
zep Horse
yək Local animal ‘Yak’.

Examples:

(1) mi-ñis-si رأس چو-ات. Two men work
N. Numr. Erg. N.Dir. Tr.V. Re. Pr. (lit., do the work).
man two work do

(2) yag-gi  שלהם ى¥ب-بً (There) is (a)
N. Gen. N. Dat. (There) is (a)
local back heavy load on
animal the yak’s back.
ku-ru-lcin-te duk.
N. Qual.Adj. Dir. V. To be
load heavy

5. Complex Noun Stems

Complex noun stems are formed by adding formative suffixes to noun roots. Noun roots as well as formative suffixes are always bound forms. Such noun roots are by and large monosyllabic; in rare cases a disyllabic root is attested, e.g. po—ro—. The resultant forms function as noun stems to which number, case suffixes etc. are added. There are a large number of formative suffixes in Ladakhi. A fairly comprehensive list of formative suffixes and some examples of each kind are given below:

Examples:

(i) —па
sket—па Waist
ldet—па Brain
tsheηs—па Ascetic
čhor—па Rain
rik—па Intelligence

(ii) —по
šə—по Ibex
tsheηs—по River
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thon-po</td>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skyit-po</td>
<td>Happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgat-po</td>
<td>Old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zgit-pu</td>
<td>Three stones used to make an oven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzot-pu</td>
<td>A white hair on the forehead of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot-pu</td>
<td>Lord Buddha between the two eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chut-pu</td>
<td>Stomach of a child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgit-pu</td>
<td>Cloth added to make a clothe bigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bo</td>
<td>Male goat (about three years old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chan-bo</td>
<td>Scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thet-bo</td>
<td>Shyness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pen-bo</td>
<td>Patch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu-bo</td>
<td>Long-coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ger-bo</td>
<td>Blacksmith (Male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tae-bo</td>
<td>Monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yol-bo</td>
<td>Curtain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-bo</td>
<td>Load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tho-bo</td>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min-bo</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra-bo</td>
<td>Goat (He)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero-bu</td>
<td>Cooking Pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pag-bu</td>
<td>Brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ril-bu</td>
<td>Tablet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li-bu</td>
<td>Flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo-bu</td>
<td>Donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nez-me</td>
<td>Thread for weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-me</td>
<td>Smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-me</td>
<td>Sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-me</td>
<td>Udder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra-me</td>
<td>Goat (She)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na—mo</td>
<td>Bride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la—mo</td>
<td>Religious teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(viii)</strong>—mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ltaq—mo</td>
<td>Show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshen—mo</td>
<td>Night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyir—mo</td>
<td>Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sne—mo</td>
<td>Border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgad—mo</td>
<td>Old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgyal—mo</td>
<td>Queen, Retina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be—mo</td>
<td>Beggar (Female), or any female member of a male beggar's family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(ix)</strong>—wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzow—wo</td>
<td>Friend (Male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də—wo</td>
<td>Enemy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spa—wo</td>
<td>Warrior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu—wo</td>
<td>Water of a river, lake etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsho—wo</td>
<td>Nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(x)</strong>—wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so—wo</td>
<td>Barley (a particular variety)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(xi)</strong>—ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zgo—ə</td>
<td>Egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thən—ə</td>
<td>Rosary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su—ə</td>
<td>Part of head ornament hanging on both sides, Black bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(xii)</strong>—to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya—to</td>
<td>Help, Companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bər—to</td>
<td>Cudgel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(xiii)</strong>—te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skən—te</td>
<td>Thickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šən—te</td>
<td>Hardness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lən—te</td>
<td>Thinness (Liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(xiv)</strong>—ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šug—ra</td>
<td>Whistle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu—ra</td>
<td>Narrow stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spe-ra</td>
<td>Talk, Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdzab-ra</td>
<td>Wild rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yag-ra</td>
<td>Place where yak are kept (yakshed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pha-ra</td>
<td>Wild cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xv) ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi-ru</td>
<td>Nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thu-ru</td>
<td>Colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ču-ru</td>
<td>Coral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-ru</td>
<td>Goose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xvi) čo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku-čo</td>
<td>Sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rčo-čo</td>
<td>Horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čo-čo</td>
<td>Doll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-čo</td>
<td>Elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xvii) če</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khče</td>
<td>Person from Kashmir region (These days this is also used for Muslims)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-če</td>
<td>Elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xviii) ča</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur-ča</td>
<td>Peg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lča</td>
<td>Seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bča</td>
<td>Oil cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xix) da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khča</td>
<td>Advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mig-da</td>
<td>Movement of the eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-da</td>
<td>Beggar (Male), who plays drums etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xx) ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spit-ka</td>
<td>Spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ston-ka</td>
<td>Autumn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsher-ka</td>
<td>Anxiety, Sorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thọn-ka</td>
<td>Painting of Gods on a cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yar-ka</td>
<td>Summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxi) -go</td>
<td>Branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yal-go</td>
<td>Walnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stor-go</td>
<td>Stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber-go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxii) -gu</td>
<td>Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šu-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thug-gu</td>
<td>Boy, Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu-gu</td>
<td>Lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su-gu</td>
<td>Leg of an animal or a bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yag-gu</td>
<td>Baby yak (yak—local animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxiii) -go</td>
<td>Bridle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thur-go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rọ-go</td>
<td>Hoof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxiv) -de</td>
<td>Evil spirit of a living being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donη-de</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋan-de</td>
<td>Evil spirit of a dead being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxv) -tse</td>
<td>Lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skyoη-tse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-ro-tse</td>
<td>Arrangement of the crop tied into small bundles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čok-tse</td>
<td>Low table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxvi) -tse</td>
<td>Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məl-tse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxvii) -tsha</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-tsha</td>
<td>Ink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak-tsha</td>
<td>Powder to polish the pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gya-tsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxviii) -lo</td>
<td>Pulley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phenη-lo</td>
<td>Pink colour, flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-lo</td>
<td>Dice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čho-lo</td>
<td>Ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxix) -le</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šog-le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Compound Noun Stems

Compound noun stems, as mentioned earlier, are composed of a simple noun and another bound form with indeterminate meaning. They are distinct from complex noun stems in the following ways:

(1) Both the constituents in complex stems are bound forms while there is at least one free form in a compound stem.

(2) Noun root is always the first constituent in complex noun stems, while in the compound noun stem the simple noun stem constituent can be either the first or the last member.

(3) A formative suffix can be added to form a number of complex nouns, while the bound constituent of a compound noun stem participates in the formation of only that item. There are a sizeable number of compound noun stems in Ladakhi. Some of them are given below by way of illustration. Some of the compounds might show a difference in meaning from that of the constituent...
element(s) of the compound, specially when they are looked at through the meaning in English. It should be pointed out that Ladakhi appears to reflect a world view different from that reflected in languages known to us. Moreover, semantics of certain items seems to have undergone certain metaphorical changes, e.g. šǝ—phos.

**Examples:**

(i) \( \text{tø}_n-\text{khyer} \)  
\( \text{tø}_n-\text{pǝ} \)  
\( \text{khyer} \)  
City  
House  
\( x \)

(ii) \( \text{tshǝk}-\text{thuk} \)  
\( \text{tshǝk} \)  
\( \text{thuk} \)  
Twin  
Pair  
\( x \)

(iii) \( \text{sø}_n-\text{bo}_n \)  
\( \text{sø}_n \)  
\( \text{bo}_n \)  
Camel  
\( x \)  
Donkey

(iv) \( \text{šǝ—phos} \)  
\( \text{šǝ} \)  
\( \text{phos} \)  
Quilt  
Meat  
\( x \)

(v) \( \text{sǝ—kyǝt} \)  
\( \text{sǝ} \)  
\( \text{kyǝt} \)  
Floor  
Earth  
\( x \)

(vi) \( \text{šǝ—kǝr} \)  
\( \text{šǝ} \)  
\( \text{kǝr} \)  
Cupboard  
Meat  
\( x \)

(vii) \( \text{stǝ—ri} \)  
\( \text{stǝ} \)  
\( \text{ri} \)  
Axe  
\( x \)  
Knife

(viii) \( \text{rǝl—di} \)  
\( \text{rǝl} \)  
\( \text{di} \)  
Sword  
\( x \)  
Knife

(ix) \( \text{pǝ—so} \)  
\( \text{pǝ} \)  
\( \text{so} \)  
Ivory  
\( x \)  
Tooth
7. Derived Noun Stems

Derived noun stems are formed by adding derivational suffixes to a noun stem or a verb stem. Such suffixes can be added to all types of noun and verb stems in Ladakhi. There are four sub-categories of derived noun stems which shall now be discussed.

(a) NOUN STEM + DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX:

Noun stems in Ladakhi are formed by adding derivational suffix -pa to simple nouns as well as to complex noun forms. The derivational suffix expresses the meaning ‘connected with...’

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Derived Noun Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šə</td>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>šə—pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshon</td>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>tshon—pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čhos</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>čhos—pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>Astrology</td>
<td>mo—pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šəm—mo</td>
<td>Lower Region</td>
<td>šəm—mo—pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ltəd—mo</td>
<td>Show</td>
<td>ltəd—mo—pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšem—po</td>
<td>Stitching</td>
<td>tšem—po—pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One connected with meat; butcher.
One connected with colour; painter.
One connected with religion; religious.
One connected with astrology; astrologer.
One connected with lower region.
One connected with show; spectator.
One connected with stitching; tailor.
Noun Phrase

Such forms can be used as common as well as collective nouns. As common nouns they refer to male beings while as collective nouns they refer to all human beings—male and female—collectively.

(b) **SIMPLE NOUN STEM + AGENTIVE SUFFIX — khan:**

Agentive suffix — khan can be added to simple nouns to form derived noun stems having agentive import, e.g.

- 珣 Wood: 珣—khan Carpenter
- 硃ms Shoe: 硃ms—khan Cobbler
- ḩtəŋ Beggary: ḩtəŋ—khan Beggar
- ṛdže Clay: ṛdže—khan Potter

Suffix — khan freely varies with — kən in Ladakhi.

(c) **VERB STEM + — khan:**

Up to this time we have discussed derived nouns formed from noun bases. Ladakhi has a regular system of forming derived noun stems from verb stems as well. Thus noun stems are formed by adding an agentive suffix — khan ~ — kən either to simple or to compound verb stems.

**Examples:**

- ṭsɒŋ Sell: ṭsɒŋ—khan Seller
- ćo Do work: ćo—khan Worker
- ไต Write: ไต—khan Writer
- ri—mo—ไต Draw: ri—mo—ไต—khan One who (Painting) draws; painter.

(d) **COMPOUND VERB STEM + — pa:**

Some noun stems are formed by adding the derivational suffix — pa only to a compound verb stem. — pa expresses agentive meaning.

**Examples:**

- նəs—skor—pa A pilgrim, cf. նəs skor Place, (To) Go around
- սըuŋ—նəs—pa One who fasts, cf. սըuŋ նəs Hunger (To) sit
8. Nominal Compounds:

Ladakhi attests nominal compounds as well as verbal compounds. Verbal compounds or compound verbs will be discussed while analysing the composition and structure of the verbal stems. Nominal compounds are formed by a juxtaposition of two or more noun stems. All the constituents of a nominal compound are meaningful and this is where they differ from compound noun stems, where only one element, the free form, is meaningful. If one of the participating constituents in its free form is disyllabic, one of the syllables, usually the second one, is dropped as a result of the compounding process.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sm\=o\=n} & \quad \text{Medicine} \\
\text{kh\=e\=n}-\text{po} & \quad \text{House} \\
\text{sm\=o\=n}-\text{kh\=e\=n} & \quad \text{Hospital}
\end{align*}
\]

The constituents of a nominal compound stand in different kinds of grammatical relationships, which become clear in the paraphrase of the compound. The constituents can be in coordinate relationship or in subordinate relationship.

A— Co-ordinate Nominal Compounds: In such compounds none of the constituents is subordinate to the other constituent(s). All the constituents function as independent heads. The relationship of such constituents is additive in nature.

(a) \( \text{c\=e\=n}-\text{po} \) Clever
\( \text{t\=u\=n}-\text{po} \) Clever
\( \text{c\=e\=n}-\text{t\=u\=n} \) Clever

(b) \( \text{\=t\=h\=a\=p} \) Shield
\( \text{\=s\=m\=o\=k} \) Helmet
\( \text{\=t\=h\=a\=p}-\text{\=s\=m\=o\=k} \) Helmet (functions as a shield)

As it is more or less obligatory to use the additive particle \( \text{d\=o\=n}$–$\text{t\=e\=n}$–$\text{n\=e\=n} \) ‘and’ and an alternative particle \( \text{y\=e\=n}$–$\text{n\=e} \) ‘or’ (these days the frequently used form is \( \text{y\=e} \) borrowed from Hindi-Urdu) in Ladakhi, such compounds are rarely used.

B— Subordinate Nominal Compounds: Such compounds are formed by the juxtaposition of two or more noun stems,
which are by themselves free forms. They can be grouped into two main types.

(1) Where one of the two constituents is the head of the construction and the other is subordinate to it, and the meaning of the nominal compound is the meaning of the head noun as modified by the meaning of the subordinate constituent. The head noun can occur either as the first or the last constituent.

(2) Where the meaning of the nominal compound is different from the total meaning of the constituent elements although the constituent elements are grammatically in a subordinate-head relationship.

There are various kinds of compounds in each one of the above two types, which shall now be discussed and illustrated in this section.

(1) (i) When such compounds are paraphrased the subordinate constituent takes a case suffix. The head constituent can occur either as the first or the last member of the compound. These may be compared with ‘Tatpurusa’ compounds in Sanskrit. There are various sub-types as follows:

(a) Compounds in which the subordinate constituent takes post-position phi — ‘for’

1. \( \text{tshok-} \)  
   \( \text{khø} \)  
   Assembly House  
   \( \text{tshok-si} \)  
   \( \text{phi-ø} \)  
   \( \text{khø-pø} \)  

2. \( \text{chot-} \)  
   \( \text{koø} \)  
   Worship lamp  
   \( \text{chot-pe} \)  
   \( \text{phi-ø} \)  
   \( \text{koø-pu} \)  

3. \( \text{phag-ra} \)  
   \( \text{Si} \)  
   \( \text{ro-wo} \)  
   \( \text{Fortress} = \)  
   \( \text{phag-gi} \)  
   \( \text{phi-ø} \)  
   \( \text{phag} \)  

4. \( \text{stun-} \)  
   \( \text{šiø} \)  
   Pestle  
   \( \text{stun-ni} \)  
   \( \text{phi-ø} \)  
   \( \text{stun} \)  
   \( \text{ mortar } \)  
   \( \text{for } \)  
   \( \text{mortar } \)  
   \( \text{for } \)  
   \( \text{wood } \)
(b) Compounds in which the subordinate constituent takes post-position \( n\eta - 'i n' \) in the paraphrase.

1. ge-rgan = ge-we
   Teacher        N. Gen.        P.P. Dat.        N.
   virtue
   \( n\eta - \eta \)  \( r\eta - b\eta \)

2. tsho- \( \xi \eta \)
   Island        N. Gen.        P.P. Dat.        N.
   \( n\eta - \eta \)  \( \xi \eta \)
   (A tract of land in sea)

3. se-do = se
   Pit           N. Gen.        P.P. Dat.        N.
   earth         \( n\eta - \eta \)  do

(c) Compounds in which the subordinate constituent takes only genitive suffix in the paraphrase.

1. sm\( \eta \)-kh\( \eta \) = sm\( \eta \)-ni
   Hospital      N. Gen.        N.
   medicine
   \( k\eta - p\eta \)

2. m\( \kappa \)-spon = mag-gi
   Army officer  N. Gen.        N.
   army
   spon-po

3. rgyal-thi = rgyal-po-e
   Throne        N. Gen.        N.
   king
   thi

4. spe-dzot = spe-\( \c{e} \)he
   Library       N. Gen.        N.
   book
   dzot

5. tshig-dzot = tshig-\( \c{e} \)i
   Dictionary    N. Gen.        N.
   words
   dzot

(ii) Compounds in which the subordinate constituent is a qualifier of the head constituent. Such compounds can be compared with ‘Karmadh\( \tilde{a} \)raya’ compounds of Sanskrit.

1. sk\( \kappa \)m-po-Cok
   Dry
   +Cok
   Thunder, Lighting
   \( = sk\kappa m-Cok \)
2. nam
+ lok
Sky
Thunder
= nam—lok
Lightning, Light of the sky.

3. rgya
+ thη
Big
Level, Area
= rgya—thη
Plains

4. tak
+zη
Rock
Good
= tak—zη
Solid rock

5. chu
+ char
Water
(to) Be hung
= chu—char
Waterfall

(2) Another type of subordinate nominal compounds is the one in which the meaning of the compound is not the sum total of the meaning of the constituent elements but is somewhat different, though related. In such compounds the participating constituents are grammatically in subordinate-head relationship. The head noun can occur either as the first or the last member of the compound. There are a large number of such compounds in Ladakhi. We shall give only some examples for illustration.

1. chu—mik
Spring
= chu—yi
N. Gen.
Water
mik

2. nam—sis
Weather
= nam—mi
N. Gen.
sky
šis—kə

3. nəη—tshəη
Family
= nəη—nι
N. Gen.
house
tshəη—mə

4. phə—yər
Step-father
= yər—po—e
N. Gen.
loan
phə

9. Types of Nouns:
Ladakhi has three types of nouns, common nouns, proper nouns and abstract nouns. Abstract nouns are not very common in Ladakhi. It has been possible to elicit only four
abstract nouns. Abstract nouns are formed by adding the suffix छा to the noun (adjective) roots. These abstract nouns are as follows:

\[ \begin{array}{lll}
\etaर—मो & \text{Sweet} & : \etaर—छा & \text{Sweetness} \\
\n्ःक—पो & \text{Black} & : \्ःक—छा & \text{Blackness} \\
\kर—पो & \text{White} & : \kर—छा & \text{Whiteness} \\
\sतो—प & \text{Empty} & : \sतो—छा & \text{Emptiness} \\
\end{array} \]

It may be mentioned that Ladakhi adjectives may also function as nouns, hence it is difficult to determine whether the abstract noun suffix is added to the noun root or to adjective root, e.g.

\[ \text{्ःक—पो Black} \quad \text{्ःक—पो—ा To the black one} \]

There is no distinction of mass nouns versus count nouns in Ladakhi. It has already been mentioned that some common nouns may act as collective nouns under certain contexts in Ladakhi.

10. Gender:

There is no grammatical gender in Ladakhi. Animat nouns are referred to as masculine or feminine on the basis of natural gender. However, agentive nouns formed by adding -क्सन either to a noun or a verb stem, are not marked for gender. They can be used for masculine or feminine reference according to the context. There are three different ways by which gender of animate nouns is marked in Ladakhi. They will now be discussed below:

(a) Noun stems are masculine and the corresponding feminines are formed by adding mo after them. This applies in the case of certain simple noun stems, e.g.

\[ \begin{array}{lll}
\dzo & \text{A Ladakhi male animal} & \dzo—मो & \text{Female of dzo} \\
\sतो & \text{Hybrid offspring of dzo and colt} & \text{(Male)} & \sतो—मो & \text{Female of stol} \\
\gir & \text{Young one of stol} & \text{(Male)} & \gir—मो & \text{Female of gir} \\
\end{array} \]
Complex noun stems formed from noun roots by the addition of formative suffixes also form their feminine by adding the suffix —mo

\[ \text{rdzab—rә} \quad \text{Wild male} \quad : \quad \text{rdzab—rә—mo} \quad \text{Wild female rat} \]

This is also true of derived noun stems.

\[ \text{šә—pә} \quad \text{Butcher} \quad : \quad \text{šә—pә—mo} \quad \text{Butcher} \]

\[ \text{šәm—mә} \quad \text{A person} \quad : \quad \text{šәm—mә—mo} \quad \text{A woman from Shamma area} \]

\[ \text{tʃon—pә} \quad \text{Painter} \quad : \quad \text{tʃon—pә—mo} \quad \text{Painter} \]

(b) Some noun stems ending in —pә, which express the meaning “one connected with ……” and are masculine forms, for instance, mo—pә, ltәd—mo—pә etc. form their feminines by substituting —pә with —mә or —po/—pho with —mo. This method of indicating gender classification applies to the following types of noun stems:

(i) Noun Root+Formative Suffix—>Complex Noun Stem

\[ \text{ltәd—mo—pә} \quad \text{Spectator} \quad : \quad \text{ltәd—mo—mә} \quad \text{Spectator} \]

\[ \text{tʃem—po—pә} \quad \text{Tailor} \quad : \quad \text{tʃem—po—mә} \quad \text{Tailor} \]

\[ \text{yuk—sә—po} \quad \text{Widower} \quad : \quad \text{yuk—sә—mo} \quad \text{Widow} \]

\[ \text{mә—he—pho} \quad \text{Buffalo} \quad : \quad \text{mә—he—mo} \quad \text{Buffalo} \]

(ii) Simple Noun+Derivational Suffix—>Derived Noun Stem

\[ \text{mo—pә} \quad \text{Astrologer} \quad : \quad \text{mo—mә} \quad \text{Astrologer} \]
bəl—pə Wool-maker: bəl—mə Wool-maker
(Male) (Female)

(iii) Compound Verb Stem+ pə— Derived Noun Stem
nəs—skor—pə Pilgrim: nəs—skor—mə Pilgrim
(Male) (Female)
sniη—nəs—pə One who fasts: sniη—nəz—mə One who fasts
(Male) (Female)

This is also applicable to nominal compounds.

Examples:
nəl—jor—pə A male ascetic: nəl—jor—mə A female ascetic
pəl—ldən—pə A distinguished male person: pəl—ldən—mə A distinguished female person

£unη—thin—khən—pə A male person working at a Radio Station: £unη—thin—khən—mə A female person working at a Radio Station

(c) There are certain simple as well as complex noun stems, which are used as masculine and are paired off with other noun stems which function as corresponding feminine forms. In such cases both the masculine as well as the feminine forms are independent lexical items and their gender relationship is not marked by any one of the two methods discussed earlier in this section. These are always animate nouns. This correspondence is found between simple masculine nouns and simple feminine nouns, between simple masculine nouns and complex feminine nouns and between complex masculine nouns and complex feminine nouns. The fourth possible correspondence is not noted in the language. An illustrative list of such forms is given below:
(i) Simple Masculine Noun: Simple Feminine Noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yap Father</td>
<td>yum Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pha Father</td>
<td>ma Mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Simple Masculine Noun Stem: Complex Feminine Noun Stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zep Horse</td>
<td>rgod—ma Mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yək Local male animal yak</td>
<td>di—mo Female of yak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Complex Masculine Noun Stem: Complex Feminine Noun Stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me—me Grand-father</td>
<td>ø—bi Grand-mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø—ʔəŋ Uncle</td>
<td>ø—ne Aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miŋ—bo Brother</td>
<td>šiŋ—mo Sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted that all the complex noun stems in this sub-class are composed of a noun plus a formative suffix and appear to be paired off, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzə— : dzə—wo Friend (male)</td>
<td>dzə—mo Friend (female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be— : be—da A male beggar who plays drum etc.</td>
<td>be—mo Female beggar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no— : no—no Young boy</td>
<td>no—mo Young girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgota— : rgota—po Old man</td>
<td>rgota—mo Old woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparent similarity between some of these pairs leads to the question as to why they cannot be classed under a) or b) method of indicating gender relationship as described above.

The reasons are as follows:

(i) Wherever a formative suffix is added to a noun root and a noun stem is formed, the feminine form is made by the addition of a suffix after the formative suffix, e.g. rdzəb—ra—mo ‘Wild female rat’. This is not true in the above cases.
(ii) In the second method the suffix —po expresses the meaning ‘one connected with……’ together with masculine reference and the corresponding substitution of — po by — ma indicates ‘one connected with……’ and feminine reference. Pairs in this sub-class do not function in this manner.

The above items indicate that there may have been a multiplicity of paired suffixes at an earlier stage of the language and each one of them may have been applicable to sets of items. However, presumably due to language change, the same is lost. The apparent correspondence between these forms may be a remnant of an earlier fuller system of relationship.

11. Number

Ladakhi nouns have two numbers: Singular and Plural. Singular is not marked overtly except in an additive construction.

Examples:

mik Eye
lam Path, Road
thap Oven
khəŋ—po House

Plurality is marked in one of the two ways: (i) by adding a plural suffix —kun, —gun or —sak (all the three forms are in free variation), preference towards one may indicate regional use; (ii) by adding the morpheme for numerals other than one.

Examples:

(i) khəŋ—po House:                    {   
  khəŋ—po—gun
  khəŋ—po—kun
  khəŋ—po—sak

    {     Houses

thap Oven:                {       Ovens
  thap—gun
  thap—kun
  thap—sak

dzə—wo Friend:            {     Friends
  dzə—wo—gun
  dzə—wo—kun
  dzə—wo—sak

In additive constructions the plural suffix or the intended numeral is added after the relevant noun. If it is added at the end of the string, it implies that all constituents are plural.

**Examples:**

(i) pu—tsʰə—čik—naŋ—pu—mo—gun—ni zers...

    N. Numr. Part. N. Pl.Suf.Erg. Tr.V.

    boy one and girls say

    One boy and girls said...

(ii) pu—tsʰə—gun—naŋ—pu—mo—čiŋ—gi zers...

    N. Pl.Suf. Part. N. Numr.Erg. Tr.V.

    boys and girl one say

    Boys and one girl said...
boys and girl say
Boys and one girl said...

Boys, two men and one girl said...

Many Ladakhi speakers, in informal contexts, do not use the plural suffix -kun, -gun or -sak. Plurality is marked either by the use of the appropriate enumerative numeral or by the quantifier ma-po ‘many’; often it is left unmarked and is understood only from the context.

**Examples**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. Gen.</th>
<th>P. P. Dat.</th>
<th>N. Dir.</th>
<th>V. To be Pr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khaŋ—pe</td>
<td>dun—lə rdwa duk.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>in front of stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. Gen.</th>
<th>P. P. Dat.</th>
<th>N. Qul. Adj. Dir.</th>
<th>V. To be Pr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khaŋ—pe</td>
<td>dun—lə rdwa maŋ—po duk.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>in front stone many</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are stones in front of the house.

**12. Indefinite Marker ʒiŋ**

Ladakhi maintains a distinction of referring to an object or animate being as against referring to a particular specified object or animate being. The specificity or definiteness is conveyed by the use of the specifier bo—or by a number suffix or a numeral,
while indefiniteness is marked by the use of ʒig —. The indefinite marker ʒig — is used in the same slot as the number suffix/numeral/specifier and gives the sense of a/an, some, approximately etc.

pu—mo—ʒig—gi las. čos
girl a work do
A girl did the work.

mi—zik čə—ruk.
man a go
A man is going.

ηε čə—ʒik thuŋ—pin.
Pro.
Sg.
Erg.
I tea drink
I drank some tea.

ηε ḹhom—mə kyir—mo—rgya—ʒik skyoks—pin.
Sg.Erg.
I market rupee hundred spend
I have spent about (approximately) hundred rupees in the market.

The indefinite marker ʒig and the numeral čig—contrast in their use in Ladakhi. When čig—is used, the meaning conveyed is of definiteness of ‘one’, while when ʒig—is used indefiniteness is expressed. Their contrast parallels more or less the contrast of English a/an and one.

ηə
dil—li—lə
I.P.Pro.
Sg.Dir.
I
Idə—ʒik duks—pin.
proper name Delhi
month a stay
I stayed in Delhi for a month (i.e. about a month).
It may be noted that šig— has an allomorph šig—, which occurs after —k and —s final forms, e.g.

I stayed in Delhi for one month (i.e. exactly for one month).

I ate some rice.

13. Case

Case is a grammatical category by which a noun form expresses its relationship with the verb. However, expressing the relation of a noun form to another noun form has also been accepted as a case relation, i.e. the genitive.

Cases can be established on morphological, syntactic or semantic criteria. Sometimes the number of cases in a language are also set up on morpho-syntactic basis. Even when semantic criterion is given primacy in establishing different cases, it is not done exclusively on the basis of meaning. Only those semantic relations are considered distinct cases which are expressed syntactically and have syntactic correlates.

In this grammar morpho-syntactic criteria are used for establishing the number of cases in Ladakhi. Based on these criteria seven cases can be set up for Ladakhi. These case relations are expressed by suffixes. Case suffixes are added after the number suffixes. The seven cases, their grammatical functions and suffixes are as follows:

A—Direct Case: It is used for expressing

(a) the subject of the intransitive verbs,
(b) the subject of the transitive verb /ža—/ ‘eat’ (which can optionally take ergative case), /jol/ ‘visit’.
(c) the direct object except of the verb /ltə-/ ‘see’, /nên-/ ‘hear’.

This case is left unmarked in Ladakhi.

Examples:

(i) \( \eta \)  čha-at.
I. P. Pro. Intr. V. Re. Pr.
Sg. Dir.
I go

(ii) \( \eta \)  spe-čha  ño-at\( ^{\#} \)
I. P. Pro. N. Dir.
Tr. V.
Sg. Erg. Re. Pr.

(iii) \( \eta \)  kho-ə  spe-čha  təη-ηat.
I. P. Pro. III P. Pro.
N. Dir.
Tr. V. Re. Pr.
Sg. Erg. Sg. Dat.
I he book give
I give him a book.

but

(iv) \( \eta \)  khər-ji  zə-at.
I.P. Pro.
N. Dir.
Tr.V. Re. Pr.
Sg. Dir.
food eat I eat food.

(v) pal-ldan  yoη-ruk.
N. Dir.
Intr. V. Ob. Pr.
Proper name
Paldan come Paldan comes.

(vi) khyo-rəη  rgod-duk.
II P. Pro.
Intr. V. Ob. Pr.
Non-Hon. Pl.
Dir.
You laugh You laugh.

B.—Ergative Case: It is used for expressing the subject of transitive verbs except in the case of a few verbs like /zə/ ‘eat’, /jo/ ‘visit’ etc. /zə/ ‘eat’ can also take ergative case
optionally. Ergative case morpheme is realised in various forms. The specific shape depends upon the final consonant or vowel of the form to which the case suffix is added. These shapes can be shown briefly as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem final</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-C</td>
<td>+ C_Xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>+ yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>→ e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the stem ends in a consonant, the ergative suffix is composed of the same consonant as the final consonant of the noun stem plus i, if the stem ends in u, i, e, ə suffix —yi is used, the stem final ə may optionally be replaced by e; if the stem ends in o, the suffix e is added. Ergative case forms of first person pronouns /ṛə/, /ṛə— ḥə/ and second person /ṅe— ḥə/, /khyo— ḥə/ are /ṅe/, /ṛə— ḥe/, /ṅe— ḥe/, and /khyo— ḥe/. Thus the ergative case has the following allomorphs:

Allomorphs of ergative morpheme:

(i) —yi after stem final i, u, e, ə
(ii) ə→ e, in case of stem final —ə and ə final pronouns
(iii) — e after stem final o
(iv) — C_Xi after any stem final consonant (C_X will be the same consonant as the stem final one).

*C_X stands for the same consonant as the stem final one.
Examples:

(i) a-ba-yi (ə—be)  ηa—zą—a  đuŋs
father (father)    Pl. Dat.     story
štšs.
Tr. V. Simp. Perf.
tell

Father told us a story

(ii) a— mi—yi  šiŋ  čad—duk.
   Non. Prox. N. Erg.
   Pro.
that man wood cut
N. Dir.  Tr. V. Ob. Pr.
That man cuts the wood.

(iii) me—me—yi  spe—čhə  sil—duk.
   N. Erg.  N. Dir.
   grand father book read
Tr. V. Ob. Pr.
Grandfather reads a book.

(iv) kho—e  Lu  təŋs.
   III P. Pro.  N. Dir.
   Sg. Erg.
   he song give
Tr. V. Simp. Perf.
He sang a song.

(v) ŋe  khər—ji  čo—st.
   I. P. Pro.  N. Dir.
   Sg. Erg.
   I food do
Tr. V. Re. Pr.
I cook food.

(vi) kho—gun—ni  spe—rə  təŋ—duk.
   III P. Pro. Pl.  N. Dir.
   Erg.
   they talk give
Tr. V. Ob. Pr.
They talk.

C Dative Case: This case not only expresses the relationship which traditionally the dative case does in Indo-European languages, viz. that of indirect object, it also expresses
certain other relations. Thus this case is used for expressing the following relations:

(a) For indirect object.
(b) For expressing possession: dative is used for the possessor with the verb ‘to be’.
(c) For expressing allocative relationship, i.e. for expressing the relation of something inside of something. In such cases the noun which contains something is put in dative case.
(d) For expressing direction.
(e) For direct object of verbs like /ltə—/ ‘see’./ñen—/‘hear’ etc.

Dative case morpheme has various shapes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem final</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-v</td>
<td>+ə ~ 1ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-b</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>+ *Cₚə ~ 1ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-η</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>+1ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the stem ends in any one of the vowels, i.e. i, e, a, o, u, the dative suffix —ə or —lə is used; if the stem ends in b, g, m, n, η the dative suffix is either composed of identical consonant plus —ə or the suffix —lə is used, if the stem ends in d, s, r, l, the suffix —lə is used. However, after the familiar second person khyod—, the dative suffix is *Cₚə ~ 1ə.

Allomorphs of dative morpheme:

(i) —ə ~ 1ə after vowel final stems.
(ii) —*Cₚə ~ 1ə after stems ending in b, g, m, n, η.
(iii) —lə after stems ending in d, s, r, l.

*Cx stands for the same consonant as the stem final one.
After vowel final stems the allomorph -a is preferred. After stems ending in -b, -d, -m, -ŋ the C₃a shape is preferred, while after stem ending in -n, the -l₃ shape is preferred.

Examples:

(i) dol-me  
N. Erg.  
Proper name  
Dolma  

zhĭŋŋsənə-ə  
N. Dat.  

khar-ji  
N. Dir.  

field (which are)  
food  

khyer-duk.  
Tr. V. Ob. Pr.  
take

Dolma takes the food to the field.

(ii) kho-a  
III P. Pro. Sg.  
Dat.  
he  

thug-gu-  
N.  

nîs  
Numr. Dir. V. to be Pr.  
yot.  

He has two children.

(iii) zgəm-mi  
N. Gen.  
box  

nəŋ-ŋə  
P. P.Dat.  
inside  
N. Dir. V. to be Pr.  
gon-čəs yot.  

dress  

There is a dress in the box.

(iv) go-a  
N. Dat.  
head  

šik  
N. Dir.  
louse  

V. to be Pr.  

duk.  

There are lice in the head.

(v) yaz-la  
N. Dat.  
right  

soŋ.  
Intr. V. Imp.  
go  

Go to the right (side).

It may be pointed out here that in colloquial use a form may take two dative suffixes in sequence. In such cases, the -ə/C₃a comes first and is followed by -l₃.
Example:

\( \text{ŋe} \)  \( \text{ṭhug-gu-ə-ə} \)  \( \text{pe-ne} \)  
I. P. Pro.  N.  Dat. Dat.  N. Dir.  
Sg. Erg.  I  child  money  
\( \text{təŋ-ŋət} \).  
Tr. V. Re. Pr.  give  
I give money to the child.

D. Instrumental Case: Instrumental case is marked by the suffix \( nəŋ \sim dəŋ \) or \( nəŋ-ñəm-po \sim dəŋ-ñəm-po \). It is used for expressing the instrumentality of an action. The variant \( nəŋ \sim dəŋ \) is more frequently used in the language.

Examples:

(i) \( \text{ŋe} \)  \( \text{šňu-gu-ŋə} \)  \( \text{yi-ge} \)  \( \text{diš-pin.} \)  
Sg. Erg.  I  pen  with  letter  write  

or  
\( \text{ŋe} \)  \( \text{šňu-gu-ŋə-ñəm-po} \)  \( \text{yi-ge} \)  
I. P. Pro.  N.  Inst.  N. Dir.  
Sg. Erg.  I  pen  with  letter  dis-pin.  
Tr. V.  Pt. Perf.  write  
I wrote a letter with (by means of) a pen.

(ii) \( \text{ŋe} \)  \( \text{ko} \)  \( \text{do-ŋə} \)  \( (\sim ŋəŋ-ñəm-po) \)  
I. P. pro.  III P. Pro.  N. Inst.  (Inst.)  
Sg. Erg.  I  he  arrow with  (with)  
šats-pin.  
Tr. V. Pt. Perf.  kill  
I killed him with (by means of) an arrow.
(iii) i — šiŋ—bo  ti—is ṇe (ṁe ṇe—po)
Prox. Pro. N. Dir. N. Inst. (inst.)
this wood knife
čot.
Tr. V. Imp.
cut

Cut this wood with (by means of) a knife.

The verb stem thuk—‘(to) meet (someone)’ governs the use of the instrumental case ṇe— po with the person met with, e.g.

ηŋ lā—mā—Ďeŋ
I. P. Pro. N. Inst.
Sg. Erg.
I monk

I met the monk.

E. Associative Case: This case is used to express either inherent or a casual association of a thing or a person with some other thing or person. It is marked by the suffix /ėm—po/ or /ėŋ—ėm—po/ or /Ďeŋ—ėm—po/. The suffix /ėm—po/ is more frequently used.

Examples:

(i) kho  ŋe—ėm—po( ṇe—ėm—po) chen.
III P. Pro. I.P. Ass. (Ass.) Intr. V. Def.
Sg. Dir. Pro. Sg.
he I with go
He will go with me.

(ii) i — smēŋ—po o—mā—ėm—po
Prox. Pro. N. Dir N. Ass.
this medicine milk with
(ṅe—ėm—po) thuŋ.
Ass. Tran.V. Imp.
drink
Take this medicine with milk.
(iii) khyo—rəŋ də—mən—neŋ—nəm—po
II P.Pro. N. Ass.
Sg. Dir.
you drum with
(∼nəm—po) rτɨs.
Ass. Intr. V. Imp.
dance
Dance with the beat.

F. Ablative Case: This case is used to express the separation of a thing or person from another thing or person. Suffix /—ne/ is used for ablative. Suffix /nəs/ is also used but rarely.

Examples:
(i) kho—e nə—ne spe—čha khyers.
Sg.Erg. Sg.Abl.
he I book take
He took away a book from me.

(ii) sə—ne ser biŋ—nə—nok.
N. Abl. N.Dir. Intr.V. His.Pr.
earth gold come out
Gold comes out of the earth.

(iii) khoŋ—pe rgyab—ne žiŋ—nə soŋ.
house back from field go
Go to the field from the back (side) of the house.

(iv) yag—ne khu—lu thob—bə—nok.
N. Abl. N.Dir. Tr.V.His.Pr.
local Pashmina get
Pashmina is obtained from yak.

(v) kho šər—zgo—ne nəŋ—nə soŋ—pin.
Pro.Sg. Dir.
he east gate from into go
He went in through the eastern gate.
Many (people) come from the city.

It may be mentioned here that this case is also used in cases where an abstract kind of separation is involved. For instance, getting knowledge or information from a person or from inanimate sources (book etc.) requires ablative case in Ladakhi.

I learn Ladakhi language from this book.

G. *Genitive Case*: Genitive case is used for expressing the relationship of something or someone with something or someone. Genitive case suffix has various forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem final</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( -v ) e</td>
<td>+yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( -v ) i</td>
<td>+e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( -v ) o</td>
<td>+Cx* i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Stands for the same consonant as the stem final one.*
If the stem ends in -i, -e, -u, -a the suffix -yi is used; the stem ending in -o, may optionally replace -o by e; if the stem final vowel is -o, the suffix -e is used, if the stem ends in a consonant, the genitive suffix is composed of the same consonant as the final consonant of the noun plus -i. Thus, the genitive case has the following allomorphs.

Allomorphs of Genitive morpheme:

(i) -yi after stem final u, e, i, o
(ii) -o→-e in case of stem final -o.
(iii) -e after stem final vowel -o
(iv) C*xi after consonant final stems.

Examples:

(i) khyi-yi sηɛ—mə—riŋ—mo duk.
   N. Gen.  N.   Dir. Qul. Adj. V. to be Pr.
   dog     tail    long

   Dog’s tail is long.

(ii) ŋə—žë ə—čo—e žiŋ—čhen—mo yot.
   I.P.  N. Gen. N. Qul. Adj. Dir. V. to be Pr.
   our elder brother field big

   Our elder brother’s field is big.

(iii) ə—me (ə—mə—yi) lo—sŋə—bČu
   N. Gen. (N. Gen.) N. Numr. Dir.
   N. mother (mother) year fifty
   yin—nok.
   V. to be His. Pr.

   Mother is of fifty years (of age).

(iv) so—nəm—mi ʈʰuɣ—gu sil—lə ɾgyal—lə duk.
   N. Gen. N. Dir. V.N.Dat. Qul. Adj. V. to be Pr.
   Proper name
   Sonam child study good

   Sonam’s child is good in studies.

*Stands for the same consonant as the stem final one.
Genitive case form is also used with postpositions which express other relations. A comprehensive analysis of postpositions is given later in this chapter.

**Examples:**

(i) тхуг—гу—yi  пəл—ldən—ni  κə—ne
   boy           Proper name    from
   spe—чə   khyers.
   N. Dir.       Tr. V. Simp. Perf.
   book         take

   The boy took the book from Paldan.

(ii) ɲe  khəŋ—pe  dun—lə  ču—li—yi
   my         house    in front    apricot
   тшəs  yot.
   N. Dir.  V. to be Pr.
   garden

   There is a garden of apricots in front of my house.
## SUMMARY OF LADAKHI CASE MARKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Case Markers</th>
<th>Illustrative Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A—Direct</td>
<td>(a) The subject of the intransitive verb.</td>
<td>$\phi$</td>
<td>thug—gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) The subject of the transitive verb $\omega$—/ ‘eat’/. $\acute{\omega}$—/ ‘visit’, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>fe—raη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) The direct object.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B—Ergative</td>
<td>Used for expressing the subject of the transitive verb except of $\omega$—/ ‘eat’/. $\acute{\omega}$—/ ‘visit’, etc.</td>
<td>Stem Final</td>
<td>Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$-$u</td>
<td>thug—gu—yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$-$i</td>
<td>mi—yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$+$yi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$-$e</td>
<td>me—me—yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$+$e</td>
<td>$\omega$—yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$-$e</td>
<td>$\omega$—be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$+$e</td>
<td>kho—e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>sīg—gi etc.</td>
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<td>C—Dative</td>
<td>(a) For indirect object.</td>
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<td>(b) For expressing possession.</td>
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<td>kho—$\omega$</td>
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<td>thug—gu—$\omega$</td>
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<td>D—Instrumental</td>
<td>For expressing the instrumentality of an action.</td>
<td>Stem Final</td>
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<td>thug—gu—l$\omega$</td>
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<td>sīn—u—n$\omega$—n$\omega$</td>
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<td>sīn—d$\omega$—n$\omega$</td>
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### Case Meaning

**E—Associative.** To express either inherent or a casual association of a thing or person with some other thing or person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Markers</th>
<th>Illustrative Forms</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—ñem—po or</td>
<td>ñe—retañem—po~</td>
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<td>—ñem—po</td>
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<td>—ñem—po</td>
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<td>thug—guñem—po~</td>
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<td>thug—guñem—po~</td>
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<td>—ñem—po</td>
<td>iie—retañem—ne</td>
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**F—Ablative** To express the separation of a thing or person from any other thing or person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Markers</th>
<th>Illustrative Forms</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—ne</td>
<td>ñereñane</td>
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<td>kho—ne</td>
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### G—Genitive

For expressing the relation of something or someone to something or someone.

#### Stem Final

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<th>V— u e i e</th>
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#### Suffix

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<th>thug—gu—yi</th>
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<td>+yi</td>
<td>me—me—yi</td>
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<td>+yi</td>
<td>mi—yi</td>
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<tr>
<td>+yi</td>
<td>e—ba—yi</td>
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<td>+e</td>
<td>a—be</td>
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<tr>
<td>+e</td>
<td>kho—e</td>
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<td>+Cxi</td>
<td>ñereñi</td>
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<td>dżod—di</td>
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<td>nam—mi</td>
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<td>sku—don—ni</td>
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<td>yig—zuks—si</td>
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<td>yul—li</td>
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<td>rgyab—bi</td>
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14. Post-Positional Forms

Case expresses the relation of a noun with the verb and of a noun with some other noun. However, certain semantic nuances concerning the noun reference are expressed by postpositional forms in Ladakhi. Such forms usually define or describe with greater definiteness the spatial relation or some other qualitative characteristics of the nouns. Thus, in the sentence ‘there is a garden in the back of the house’ the phrase ‘in the back of’ describes the spatial relationship of the ‘house’ and the ‘garden’. Such phrases are being referred to as post-positional forms in this description of Ladakhi.

Post-positional forms occur after a noun phrase in the genitive case form. The post-positional phrase in turn consists of an item followed by the dative, ablative or genitive case suffix. Thus the structure of a noun phrase which has a post-positional form is as follows:

Noun/Pronoun in genitive case + post-position + genitive/dative/ablative suffix.

In the case of the two spatial post-positions thag—riŋ ‘far’ and (thag—) ñe—mo ‘near’ the genitive case form of the preceding noun varies with the use of the instrumental form ñeŋ~dɔŋ.

The post-positional items are in some sense nouns as they take case suffixes and the entire construction is related to the main noun phrase by a genitive case marker. There is a certain kind of parallelism between the expressions from the son of Ram from the back of the house.

However, these are in a sense special types of elements as they can be declined only for three cases dative, ablative and genitive, and not for others. Thus they can be regarded as a sub-class of nouns which take only a limited number of cases. This is further confirmed by the fact that they can occur without a preceding noun in genitive but are followed by the three case suffixes as mentioned above.
These post-positional forms in most cases describe the spatial or temporal orientation of the noun.

Some post-positional elements can also function as adverbials. In such cases they are not a constituent of the noun phrase and do not modify the same. Hence, there is no question of a preceding noun/pronoun in genitive. In their adverbial function post-positional elements are followed by dative and ablative suffixes. Such use of post-positions is illustrated later in this section.

There are a large number of such post-positional constructions in Ladakhi. A fairly comprehensive description of the same is given below:

These post-positions are as follows:

(1) \(/\text{stig}/\): It is used to express the meaning 'after', 'behind (following)' only in the context of living beings and time.

**Examples:**

(i) \(\text{chu-}t\text{shot} s\text{a-}p\text{e}\)  
N. Numr. Gen.  
o'clock, time five  
\(\text{stig-}s\text{a}\)  
P. P. Dat.  
\(\text{yo}\).  
Come after five o'clock.

(ii) \(\text{yag-}g\text{i}\)  
N. Gen.  
local  
\(\text{stig-}n\text{i}\)  
P. P. Gen.  
behind  
\(\text{yas-}\text{choks-}l\text{o}\)  
N. N. Dat.  
right side  
\(\text{so}\).  
go  
Go to the right (side) behind the yak.

(iii) \(\text{yag-}g\text{i}\)  
N. Gen.  
local  
\(\text{stig-}s\text{a}\)  
P. P. Dat.  
behind  
\(\text{yo}\)-\(\text{khan-}n\text{i}\)  
N. Gen.  
coming  
\(\text{mi}\)  
man  
The man who was coming behind the yak ... ...
(iv) lə—me stiŋ—ne soŋ.
monk behind go
Go from the back (lit. behind) of the monk (Lama).

(v) stiŋ—ne soŋ.
after go
Go afterwards.

(2) /rgyøb—/: This is used to mean ‘the back side of a person or a thing.’

Examples:

(i) yag—gi rgyøb—bø rgəl—pø duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. ‘to be’ Pr.
local back wound

There is a wound on the yak’s back.

(ii) yag—gi rgyøb—bi zya—čhen—mo duk.
local back hump big

Yak has a big hump (on his back).

(iii) yag—gi rgyøb—ne to—bo but.
local back load fall

Load fell off the back of yak.

(iv) khøŋ—pe rgyøb—la tshøs duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
house behind garden

There is a garden just behind the house.

(v) rgyøb—bi ri thon—po duk.
P.P. Gen. N. Dir. Qul. Adj.Dir. V. to be Pr.
back mountain high

The hill (situated) at the back (side) is high.
(vi) rgyab—ba
       Adv. Dat.     soṇ.
       behind            Intr. V. Imp.
go  

Go behind.

(3) /dun/: It is used to express the following meanings:

(i) Previous time

(ii) Something or someone who is directly in front of the referrent.

(iii) Frontal part of something or someone.

Examples:

(i) kho ṇe dun—la yọṇṣ.
he I front come

He came in front of me.

(ii) khọṇ—pe dun—la ọtọ—ra duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
house in front stable

There is a stable directly in front of the house.

(iii) khọṇ—pe dun—la ọtọ duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
house in front mountain

There is a mountain directly in front of the house.

(iv) khọṇ—pe dun—ni ọtọ—yi duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Gen. N. Gen. V. to be Pr.
house in front mountain in front tree

There is a tree directly in front of the front part of the mountain.
which is in front of the house (i.e. in front of the house but not in a straight line with the house).

(v) dun-la yor. P.P. Dat. Intr.V.Imp. come

Come to the front.

(4) /loks/: It is used to describe something which is within the sight of the speaker but does not lie directly in front of or opposite, it is on either side in front of the referrent.

(i) khaŋ—pe loks-la rdo-ə—məŋ—po
house in front of stone many
yot.
V. to be Pr.

There are many stones in front of the house. (i.e. on either side of the house but not directly opposite).

(ii) khaŋ—pe loks—ne phu-ə
house in front higher part of the valley
ča—se—ləm duk.
N. Dir. V. to be Pr.

There is a footpath through the higher part of the valley in front of the house (i.e. on either side of the house but not directly opposite).

(iii) khaŋ—pe loks—si lčaŋ—mə—ə
house in front tree
lo—mə mi—duk~ruk.
N. Dir. Neg. V. to be Pr.
leaf

There are no leaves on the trees which are (on either side) in front of the house.
Having got up from the front he went (away).

(5) /ldən/: It is used to describe something which is in the close proximity of the referrent.

Examples:

(i) šar-ri-yi  ldən-l  rtsə  ske-ste
east mountain  near  grass  grow having
V. to be Pr.
Grass has grown on the frontal sides of the mountain on the east.

(ii) khəŋ—pe  ldən-ni  čhor—nten—bo
    house  near  Stupa
duk.
V. to be Pr.
There is a big Stupa by the house.

(iii) ran-thag-gi  ldən-ne  ṭok—po
    N. Gen.  P.P. Abl.  N. Dir.
    water-mill  nearby  stream
duk.
V. to be Pr.
There is a water-mill near the stream.

(iv) ldən-l  soŋ.
    P.P. Dat.  Intr. V. Imp.
    nearby  go  Go nearby

(6) /ldo/: It is used to describe the meaning ‘by the side’.
(i) thug—gu ṣa—me ldo—o duk—ste
child mother by the side sit having duk.
V. to be Pr.

Child is sitting by the side of the mother.

(ii) ke ldo—e ẓop—kər—bo
pillar by the side earthen pot
i—ru khyoŋ.
Loc. Adv. Tr. V. Imp.
here bring

Bring the earthen pot (used to churn buttermilk) which is by the side of the pillar.

(iii) khyo—rəŋ ŋe ldo—ne soŋ.
Hon. Dir.
you my by the side go

You go by my side.

(iv) ldo—ne soŋ.
P.P. Abl. Intr. V. Imp.
by the side go

Pass (lit. go) by the side.

(7) /skyil/: It means ‘centre’.

Examples:

(i) ḱəŋ—pe skyil—lə tshoms duk
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
house centre
courtyard

There is a courtyard in the centre of the house.

(ii) nəm—khe skyil—li skər—mə čhen—mo
sky centre star big duk.
V. to be Pr.

There is a big star in the centre of the sky.
There is a path through the centre of all the houses.

Go to the centre.

It means ‘between, middle’.

There is a street between the two houses.

My small house is in the middle of the two big houses.

My field is between the two trees.
(iv) par—ne soŋ.
P.P. Abl. Intr. V. Imp.

middle go

Go from the middle (i.e. through the space in between).

(9) /tʰo/: It is used to describe the situation in which something is mixed with something else, but can be separated, if required, like small pebbles in grain etc.

Examples:

(i) ḍəs—si tʰo—ə šək—mə duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
rice in pebble

There are pebbles in the rice.

This is also used to refer to a situation in which a person is part of a group of persons or a crowd.

(ii) pu—mo—gun—ni tʰo—e ə—če—yi
girls among elder sister
rdon—kər—po duk.
N. Qul. Adj. Dir. V. to be Pr.
face white

The face of the elder sister among the girls is white.

(iii) mi—məŋs—si tʰo—ne kho
crowd among he
ləŋs—te duk.
St. Perf. V. to be Pr.
Parti.
stand having

He stands (is standing) in the crowd.

(iv) tʰo—ne soŋ.
P.P. Abl. Intr.V.Imp.
among go

Go away from the group.
(10) /ṇəŋ/: It means ‘in’.
It is used to describe something which is mixed with something else in such a manner that it cannot be separated, e.g. water mixed with milk etc.

Examples:

(i) o—me ṇəŋ—ṇə chestra duk.
N. Gen. P.P.Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
milk in water

There is water in the milk.

(ii) če ṇəŋ—ṇə tsha mi—ruk.
N. Gen. P.P.Dat. N. Dir. Neg. V. to be Pr.
tea in salt

There is no salt in the tea.

It also means ‘inside’, ‘within’.

Examples:

(i) gon—pe ṇəŋ—ṇə tə—bə duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
monastery inside monk

There is (are) monk (monks) in the monastery.

(ii) gon—pe ṇəŋ—nī səṇ—rgyəs ser—ri
monastery inside Buddha gold

There is a golden Buddha in the monastery.

(iii) gon—pe ṇəŋ—ne tuṇ phu—ruk.
monastery inside conch shell

A conch-shell is being blown from the monastery.

(iv) ṇəŋ—ṇə sōn.
P.P. Dat. Intr. V. Imp
inside go

Go inside.
(11) /yog-/ : It means ‘below’, ‘under’.

Examples:

(i) skɔŋ—pe yog—ga
    N. Gen. P.P. Dat. under

but—tšik duk.
    N. Dir. V. to be Pr. insect

There is an insect under the foot.

(ii) kɔ—čɔg—gi yog—gi phe—por—bo

pillar table barley-powder-bowl
    khyɔŋ.

Tr.V. Imp. bring

Bring barley-powder-bowl from under
the table around the pillar.

(iii) zam—pe yog—ne mɔ—čʰɔ.

bridge go
    under

Do not go (from) under the bridge.

(iv) yog—ne yoŋ.
    P.P. Abl. Intr. V. Imp.

under come

Come from the beneath.


Examples:

(i) kho—e ŋe ltɔŋ—ga lɔs ɛo—ɛt.

he my above work do

He works above me (i.e. he is my superior).

(ii) khɔŋ—pe ltɔŋ—ne bɔ—lɔŋ khyɔŋ.

house upper cow bring

Bring the cow from the upper (part) of the house.
(iii) ziη—ηi ltəg—gi xiη—gun su—yi
pond above fields whose
yin?
V. to be Pr.

Whose are the fields (situated) above the pond?

(iv) ltəg—gə yonη.
P.P. Dat. Intr. V. Imp.
above come

Come up.

(13) /seps/: It expresses the meaning ‘in, in between, in the middle of’. It is used to describe the existence of an object which remains hidden or concealed in another place or object.

Examples:

(i) rtse seps—la rul duk.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
grass in snake

(There) is a snake in the grass.

(ii) spe—čhe seps—la pe—ne yot.
N. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
book in money

(There) is money in the book.

(iii) ri—bοn tshoks—si seps—la ips.
rabbit forest in hide

Rabbit is hidden in the forest.

(14) /kοnη/: It means ‘above, at the top of, higher’. It is used in specific contexts as illustrated by the following examples.
Examples:

(i) rgyal-po-dṣaṃ
N. Part. N. P.P. Dat.
king and monk above
phut te-ne tṣhaṃ-ma tṣok
Imp.
leave then all equal
yin-nok.
V. to be Pr.

Leaving the kings and monks, all are equal.

(ii) koṃ-ṇi tṣhir-gun tak-po čo-ste
Dir.
above words correct do
Tr. V. Imp.
write

Write having corrected the above words.

(iii) tṣhaṃ-me koṃ-ṇa kon-čok yin-nok.
Indef. Pro. Gen. P.P. Dat. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
all
God

Above all (of us) is God.

(15) /kə/: It takes ablative case suffix and means ‘on, upon’.

(i) čok-tṣe-yi kə-ne yul-kor-sum
N. Gen. P.P. Abl. N. N. Numr. Dir
table top silver cup three
khyoṃ.
Tr. V. Imp.
bring

Bring the three silver cups from the top of the table.

(ii) lṣaṃ-me yəl-ge kə-ne
tree branch top
Pluck the green leaves from the top of the branch of the tree.

The child fell from the ladder.

There are hair on my head.

I went to Paldan.

He stays with me.

He works for me.
(ii) la—daks—pa—gun—la  yon—tən
N.  Pl.Suf.  N.

Ladakhis knowledge

La yon-tan
N.  PI.Suf.  N.  Dat.

Ladakhis knowlege

Lap-tes-si phi-ə  Lap-fa-khav—
V.  N.  Gen.  P.P.  Dat.  N.
learn for school

Many schools (have been) opened for Ladakhis to learn (get) knowledge.

(17) /(thɔk—)nə—one:

This post-position conveys the meaning of nearness between two objects/persons. The noun preceding the post-position can be put in the instrumental case (nə—də variants only), or genitive case. The post-position in turn is followed by dative, ablative or genitive cases as necessary.

Examples:

(i) pal—ldən—nə  /  pal—ldən—də  /  pal—ldən—ni
proper name Inst.  proper name Inst.  proper Gen.
Paldan  Palden  name

nə—one—a  so—nəm  ləəs—duk.
P.P.  Dat.  proper name  Intr.  V.  Ob.  Pt.

near  Sonən  stand

Sonən was standing near Paldan.

(ii) kəə—pə—nə  /  kəə—pə—də  /  kəə—pə
house  house  house

nə—one—e  gon—pə  čən—mo  duk.
P.P.  Gen.  N.  Dir.  Qul.  Adj.  V.  to be Pr.

near  monastery  big

Monastery (which is) near the house is a big (one).
The cow went by the house.

This post-position is used to express distance between two objects or persons. The noun preceding the post-position takes the instrumental case suffix naq-darl or the genitive suffix. thag-riŋ is followed by dative, ablative or genitive case markers as required by the construction.

Examples:

(i) khəŋ—pə—nəŋ /khəŋ—pə—dəŋ /khəŋ—pe
   house house house
   thag—riŋ—ŋa tsoŋs-po rgyug—duk.
   P.P. Dat. N. Dir. Intr. V.
   far river flow
   River flows away from the house.

(ii) gəŋ—pə—nəŋ /gon—pə—dəŋ /gon—pe
    monastery monastery monastery
    thag—riŋ—ŋi ziiŋ—gun ŋe yin.
    P.P. Gen. N. Pl.Suf. I.P.Pro. V. to be Pr.
    Dir. Sg. Gen.
    far field my
    The fields far from the monastery are mine.

(iii) kho—nəŋ/ kho—dəŋ kho—e thag-riŋ—ne
    Sg. Inst. Sg. Inst. Pro. Sg.
    Gen.
    he he far
    ŋe yoŋs—pin.
    Sg. Dir.
    I come
    I have come from (a place) far from his (place).
15. Use of /ma—ились/, /men—ни/, /min—па/

There are three forms which occur after the direct form and the genitive form of nouns or pronouns but are not in turn followed by any case suffix. These are /ma—ились/, ‘besides’, and /men—ни/ or /min—па/ ‘except’. Such forms function like post-positional elements in Ladakhi and are therefore described here.

**Examples:**

(i) šiη—накс—си  нэη—γα  siη—ge  siη—ge—yi  
forest  inside  lion  lion  
ма—лись  зэη—чэн—нэη  duk.  
P.P.  N. Emp. Part. Dir. V. to be Pr.  
besides  elephant also  
Besides the lions, there are elephants as well in the forest.

(ii) i — gon—pe  нэη—γα  pu—тшэ  (pu—тшэ)  
this monastetry inside  boy  (boy)  
ма—лись  pu—мо—эη  чэη—чог—гэт.  
P.P.  N. Emp.  Intr. V. Perm. Re. Pr.  
Part.  Dir.  
besides  girl also go  
Besides the boys, girls are also allowed to go in this monastery.

(iii) γе  men—ни  (min—па)  
I.P. Pro.  P.P.  (P. P.)  
Sg. Gen.  except  
khοη—тшэη—ма  лтэд—мо—є  чэη—є—нок.  
Pro. Pl.  Dir.  
they all show go  
They will all go to the show except me.
16. Honorific Forms of Nouns

Ladakhi speakers are very particular about adhering to the rules of social conduct in terms of giving or expecting respect. The language use of the speakers reflects this fact. Nouns as well as verbs have sets of non-honorific and honorific forms.

Most Ladakhi nouns have honorific forms. Such forms are used when talking to or referring to persons to whom respect is intended according to the rules of social behaviour and to all things, actions etc. connected with such persons. Respect is normally given to persons older in age to the speaker, to those having higher social or religious status and to strangers in general.

To exemplify, when a Ladakhi speaker talks to a Lama, a religious teacher, the set of respectful items is used in connection with him including the Lama’s body parts, worldly possessions like books, house etc. as well as for the things he uses like water, food and the like.

Ladakhi does not attest honorific forms for various kinsmen except for father and mother.

Kinship relationship is often extended to acquaintances and to intimately known persons even if they are not actually related. While talking or referring to such persons ka-ga is used for elder males, no-no for younger males, še-mǝ for older women and šem—čhuŋ or no—mo for younger women to express respect.

Honorific forms are formed by any one of the following ways:

A. by adding a prefix to monosyllabic nouns.

B. by eliding the first syllable of a disyllabic noun while adding a prefix.

C. by eliding the second syllable of a disyllabic noun while adding a prefix.
D. by using different forms for honorific reference.

There is no definite rule about which one of the various processes of expressing honour will be used in the case of a specific noun.

A—Prefixes are added to nouns. Some of these prefixes can be added to only one noun and some others to a number of them.

1. Prefixes used with only one noun:

*Examples:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) skyems—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>čhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) ṭal—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face</td>
<td>rdoŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) ṭaps—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe</td>
<td>ḗem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) thuks—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mind, Thought</td>
<td>sems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) ṭuks—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throne</td>
<td>thi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Prefixes with more than one noun:

*Examples:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) sol—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>mɔr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curds</td>
<td>ʒo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>čɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) don—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td>o—mɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, Sweet</td>
<td>khɔ—ra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(c) sən—

water ṇhu : sən—čhu
Door zgo : sən—zgo
Field žiŋ : sən—žiŋ

(d) čhək—

Box zgəm : čhək—zgəm
Arrow də : čhək—də

(e) u—

Pillow šŋyəs : u—šŋyəs
Canopy duks : u—duks

(f) šum—

Curds žo : šum—žo

B—By dropping the first syllable of a disyllabic noun and substituting it with a prefix. There are various prefixes used in such cases.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) žəl—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cover, Lid</td>
<td>khə—čhot : žəl—čhot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) zims—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cot</td>
<td>ŋəl—ṭhi : zims—ṭhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) sku—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>lus—khams : sku—khams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) ser—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast</td>
<td>čhi—nən : ser—nən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C—By eliding the second syllable of a disyllabic noun while adding an honorific prefix. There are various prefixes used in this category.
Examples:

(a) zims—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>khəŋ—pə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed</td>
<td>mel—təə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) ţuks—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mattress</td>
<td>bol—ləən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) čhək—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stick</td>
<td>ber—gə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosary</td>
<td>thəŋ—ŋə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>til—bu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) ţəl—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>kəə—yol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) sol—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>kəə—yol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D—By using different forms for honorific reference. A large number of such honorific nouns are found in Ladakhi. Some such forms are given below by way of illustration:

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-honorific</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corpse</td>
<td>ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, Meal</td>
<td>khə—jî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>s cân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>khə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>l cân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>spaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>tî—gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local beer</td>
<td>čhəŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>šə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>ə—mə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>ə—bə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun Phrase

Cap  ti—bi  :  u—²o
Lamp  skyon—tse  :  zims—ti

17. Pronouns

Pronouns are forms used as substitutes for a noun. Pronouns, followed by appropriate number suffix/numeral/specifier and case suffixes, can function as subject, object etc., e.g.

(i) ːə
   I.P. Pro.  
   Intr.V. Pt. Perf.
   Sg. Dir.
   I
   go
   I had gone.

(ii) i—bo
   Intr. V. Pt. Perf.
   this one
   go
   This one had gone.

(iii) khoq—ŋi
   III. P. Pro.
   I.P. Pro.  
   N. Dir.  
   Tr.V.Re.Pr.
   Sg. Hon. Erg.
   he
   me
   book
   give
   He gives a book to me.

(iv) kə—bo—e
   Intr. Pro.  
   II. P. Pro. Non-Hon.
   Sp. Erg.
   who
   spe—čə
   Sg. Dat.
   you
   sal—lət ?
   N. Dir.
   book
   Tr. V. Re. Pr.
   give
   Who gives you the book ?

(v) khə—čig—gi
   Indef. Pro. Erg.
   II. P. Pro. Non—Hon.
   Sg. Dat.
   some one
   spe—čə
   you
   sal—lət.
   N. Dir.
   book
   Tr. V. Re. Pr.
   give
   Someone gives you the book.
Such pronominal constructions can be expanded by a noun constituent. When a noun constituent is used it is always the head of the construction and the pronoun modifies the noun. When it modifies the nouns, it functions as a pronominal adjective. Only demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns can occur in such constructions. Demonstratives and interrogatives always occur before the noun and the indefinite ones after.

**Examples:**

(i) i—mi—bo
   Prox. N. Sp. Dir.
   Pro.
   this man

   khər—ji
   N. Dir.
   Tr. V. Simp. Perf.

   food
   eat

   This man ate the food.

(ii) kə—mi—bo
    Intr. N. Sp.
    Pro. Dir.
    which man one

    khər—ji
    N. Dir.
    Tr. V. Simp. Perf.

    food
    eat

    Which (one) man ate the food?

(iii) mi—khə—čik
     N. Indef. Pro.
     Dir.
     man some

     khər—ji
     N. Dir.
     Tr. Simp. Perf.

     food
     eat

     Some man ate the food.

(iv) i—mi—gun—ni
    Prox. N. Pl. Suf.
    Erg. Pro.
    this man

    ṣpe—čə
    N. Dir.
    Tr. V. Re. Pr.

    book
    read

    These men read the book.

(v) mi—tʃəʃ—me
    man all

    ṣpe—čə—gun
    N. Pl.Suf. Dir.
    Tr. V. Re. Pr.

    books
    read

    All the men read the books.

Such nominal phrases can also have adjective constituents. In such cases the order of constituents is:

Pronoun + Noun + Qualitative Adj. + Number suffix/Numeral/bo + Case suffix.
Indicative Adjectives are derived from pronominal bases i—, o—, o—te and te— and the interrogative kə— (See § 4.30). Occurrence of such pronominally derived adjectives automatically prohibits the occurrence of other pronouns in the same construction.

**Examples:**

i—mi—rde—mo—gun—ni  
Pro. this man handsome  

These handsome men

ə—pu—mo—rde—mo—bo—e  
Prox.  
Pro. that girl beautiful  

That beautiful girl

kə—pu—mo—rde—mo—bo—e  
Pro. which girl beautiful  

Which beautiful girl

**18. Kinds of Pronouns**

There are five kinds of pronouns in Ladakhi:

(a) Personal Pronouns  
(b) Demonstrative Pronouns  
(c) Interrogative Pronouns  
(d) Indefinite Pronouns  
(e) Reflexive Pronouns.

Ladakhi pronouns take number and case suffixes. Gender is not marked. There are two numbers: Singular and Plural, and seven cases: direct, ergative, dative, instrumental associative, ablative and genitive as in the case of nouns. Singularity is not marked, while Plurality is marked either by adding —gun, —kun, or —sək or by the appropriate numeral.
Plural suffixes may be optionally added after the 1st person exclusive जो—जे, 1st person inclusive जो—जो, and 1Ind person non-honorific क्षियो—ज़ा and honorific ने—ज़ा. Plural suffixes — गुन, -- कुन, — सक are optionally used, except with त्शों—मा 'all' and क्षियो—चिक 'some', where the plural suffixes are not used. In an idiomatic usage like जो त्शों—मा—सक त्सोक—में, 'I am not like others (lit. all'), — सक may be used after त्शों—मा. When त्शों—मा 'all' and क्षियो—चिक 'some' are used adjectively in a construction, — कुन, — गुन, may be optionally added to the construction. But such instances are rare and are accepted as grammatical only by some speakers.

Personal Pronouns show familiar, non-honorific and honorific distinction in the 1Ind person and non-honorific and honorific distinction in 3Ind person. In 1st person plural, there are separate forms for inclusive and exclusive subcategories. Ladakhi pronoun stems are given in the following table:—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Familiar</td>
<td></td>
<td>khyot</td>
<td>kho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Non-honorific</td>
<td>ηə</td>
<td>khyo-ʁəŋ</td>
<td>ηə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Honorific</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋe-ɾəŋ~</td>
<td>khoŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋe-ʁəŋ ~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Inclusive</td>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ-gun~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ-kun~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ-sek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Exclusive</td>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ-gun~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ-kun~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηə-ʁəŋ-sek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Familiar</td>
<td></td>
<td>khyod-gun~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyot-kun~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyot-sek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Noun Phrase
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>IIInd Person</th>
<th>IIInd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Non-familiar</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>khyo-(\alpha\eta)~</td>
<td>kho-(\eta)-gun~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyo-(\alpha\eta)-gun~</td>
<td>kho-(\eta)-kun~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyo-(\alpha\eta)-sek</td>
<td>kho-(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyo-(\varepsilon)~</td>
<td>kho-(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyo-(\varepsilon)-gun~</td>
<td>kho-(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyo-(\varepsilon)-kun~</td>
<td>kho-(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khyo-(\varepsilon)-sek</td>
<td>kho-(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Honorific</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\alpha\eta)~</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-gun~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\alpha\eta)-gun~</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-kun~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\alpha\eta)-kun~</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-kun~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\alpha\eta)-sek</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\varepsilon)~</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\varepsilon)-gun~</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\varepsilon)-sek</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\varepsilon)-kun~</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{n})e-(\varepsilon)-sek</td>
<td>kho(\eta)-sek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IIIrd Person Singular khov is also sometimes used for IIIrd Person Plural reference.

*Demonstrative Pronouns* show a three way distinction: Proximate i; Non-proximate o—te and a, and Obviative te. Obviative is used for a thing or person being referred to but not within the sight of the speaker.

There are three *interrogative Pronouns* in Ladakhi.

- Interrogative animate and inanimate: ka ‘which’
- Interrogative animate: su ‘who’
- Interrogative inanimate: ci ‘what’

ka may also be used as a *relative pronoun* with or without the co-relative te.

Ladakhi has three *indefinite pronouns*, khə—čik ‘some’; tshə—ma ‘all’, re—re ‘each’.

*Reflexives* are formed in Ladakhi by adding the suffix rəŋ to the appropriate pronoun.

19. *Use of specifier —bo*

Ladakhi has a *specifier* which has two forms—po and —bo.

- po is used after stems ending in g, d, b, s and the final voiced consonants are devoiced before—po—bo is used elsewhere. It is used with demonstrative pronouns i, o—te and te and with interrogative pronoun—ka in singular. The specifier is used to specifically refer to a particular object/person etc. like this *one*, that *one* etc. When these pronouns are used as head of the construction, the use of —bo is obligatory.

```
Prox. Pro. Sg.  N.Dir.  Tr. V. Re. Pr.
i—bo—e  ṣpe—čə  sil—lət.
```

If the demonstrative pronoun is followed by a noun which it modifies, the use of the specifier —bo is optional. In such cases the order is Pronoun + Noun + bo + Case Suffix, e.g.
Ladakhi Grammar

That man reads the book.

-bo is used in the same slot as the number suffix/numerals. Thus, if the noun-phrase has an adjective constituent, -bo occurs only after the adjective, e.g.

i—mi—rde-mo—bo—e ṣpe-ĉhā sil-lāt.
this man beautiful book read

or

i—mi—rde-mo—a ṣpe-ĉhā sil-lāt.
this man beautiful book read

In connected speech (i.e. in a discourse) the specifier -bo can also be used with singular nouns when the person or object being referred to, discussed or indicated has to be particularized. Thus ṭhug-gu—bo ‘the boy itself’ pha-ram—bo ‘the form itself (the form being discussed)’ etc.
The use of 

\(-bo\) after singular nouns is fairly frequent but is only a discourse characteristics.

20. Personal Pronouns:

Three persons—Ist, IIInd, and IIIrd—are distinguished among personal pronouns. First person plural forms show inclusive-exclusive distinction. The exclusive form which excludes the addressee is marked by \(-\varepsilon\) and the inclusive form which includes the addressee is marked by \(-\eta\). As mentioned earlier, plural suffixes \(-\text{gun}, -\text{kun}, \text{or}-\text{sak}\) are used only optionally after \(-\varepsilon\) and \(-\eta\).

Among second person pronouns a three way distinction is made:

(i) khyot is used to convey a derogatory meaning, to address one's own children, in intimate contexts between husband and wife, and in abusing a person.

(ii) Second person honorific stems are \(\text{ñe} - \eta\) or \(\text{ñe} - \varepsilon\). They are used to address persons having higher social status than the speaker, to elders, or to strangers. They are also used in formal situations.

(iii) The other two second person stems are khyo-\(\eta\), and khyo-\(\varepsilon\) which are used in the rest of the situations. khyo-\(\varepsilon\) is less frequent and is used mostly by Muslim Ladakhis.

In IIIrd person also, honorific—non-honorific distinction is maintained. Thus kho\(\eta\) is the honorific singular stem and kho is used as non-honorific stem. For plural, \(-\text{gun}, -\text{kun}, -\text{sak}\) are added to kho—and kho\(\eta\). However, kho\(\eta\) can be used for non-honorific plural reference too.

Case suffixes added to the pronominal bases are the same and follow the same morpho-phonemic rules as in the case of nouns except in the case of 1st Person singular \(\eta\); 1st Person Plural \(\eta - \varepsilon\); IIInd Person non-honorific khyo-\(\varepsilon\); and IIInd Person honorific ñe-\(\varepsilon\) in ergative and genitive cases. (See § 1.4). The forms are as follows:
In genitive ɳe, ɳə-ɺe, khyo-ɺe, and ɳe-ɺe are more frequently used than the forms ɳə-ɺi, ɳə-ɺə-ɺi, khyo-ɺə-ɺi, and ɳə-ɺə-ɺi.

**Personal Pronouns**

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<th>IIInd. Person Honorific</th>
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<td>ə—kun—nəŋ—nəm—po ~</td>
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<td>ə—sag—nəm—po ~</td>
<td>ə—sag—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
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<td>ə—sag—nəm—po</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ə—bo—ne</td>
<td>ə—gun—ne ~</td>
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<tr>
<td>ə—bo—yi ~</td>
<td>ə—gun—ni ~</td>
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<tr>
<td>ə—bo—e</td>
<td>ə—kun—ni ~</td>
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<td>ə—sag—gi</td>
<td>ə—sag—gi</td>
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<td>ə—gun—ni ~</td>
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<td>ə—kun—ni ~</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ə—sag—gi</td>
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<td>ə—sag—ni ~</td>
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<tr>
<td>ə—bo—la</td>
<td>ə—sag—la</td>
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<tr>
<td>ə—bo—la ~</td>
<td>ə—sag—la</td>
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<tr>
<td>ə—sag—ne ~</td>
<td>ə—sag—ne</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Case</strong></td>
<td>o—te ~</td>
<td>o—te—gun ~</td>
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</table>
21. Demonstrative Pronouns:

Demonstrative pronouns are used as substitutes of nouns for referring to certain things and persons. Ladakhi has a three way distinction—proximate, non-proximate and obviative,—among demonstrative pronouns. The proximate stem is *i*; the non-proximate stems are *o—te* and *a* and the obviative *te*.

There are two non-proximate stems *o—te* and *a.* *o—te* is used when the object or person in question is close to the addressee in spatial terms. *a* is used when the object or
person in question is not close either to the speaker or addressee but is within sight.

The obviative demonstrative form *te* is used to refer to a person or a thing which is not within the speaker’s sight but is being mentioned or referred to at the time. The *te* form is used more frequently in folk songs and folk narratives than in common speech.

The demonstrative pronouns take the same number and case suffixes as the rest of the pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns occur before the noun they modify in case the phrase has both.

Demonstrative pronouns obligatorily use –bo when in singular. Case suffixes follow –bo, thus i–bo, o–te–bo, ι–bo, te–bo. The paradigms of these four forms are as follows:

**DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS**

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<th>Proximate Pronoun i—</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<td>i—gun~</td>
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<tr>
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<td>i—kun~</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>i—sak</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative Case</strong></td>
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<td>i—gun—ni~</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i—bo—yi</td>
<td>i—kun—ni~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i—sæg—gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative Case</strong></td>
<td>i—bo—ə~</td>
<td>i—gun—nə~</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i—bo—lə</td>
<td>i—gun—lə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i—kun—nə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i—kun—lə~</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i—sæg—gə~</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i—sæg—lə</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i—</td>
<td>i—bo—nəŋ</td>
<td>i—gun—nəŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>i—gun—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
</tr>
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<td>Instrumental Case</td>
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<td>i—gun—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
</tr>
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<td>i—gun—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
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<td>i—gun—ne</td>
<td>i—gun—ne</td>
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<td>Genitive Case</td>
<td>i—bo—ỹi</td>
<td>i—gun—ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i—bo—ỹi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>i—bo—e</td>
<td>i—gun—ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i—bo—e</td>
<td>i—gun—ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non—proximate Pronoun a—</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>a—gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a—bo</td>
<td>a—gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a—bo</td>
<td>a—gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
<td>a—bo—e</td>
<td>a—gun—ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a—bo—ỹi</td>
<td>a—gun—ni</td>
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<td>a—bo—ỹi</td>
<td>a—gun—ni</td>
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<td>a—bo—ỹi</td>
<td>a—gun—ni</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-proximate Pronoun e—</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative Case</td>
<td>ə—bo—ə ~</td>
<td>ə—gun—na ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ə—bo—la</td>
<td>ə—gun—la ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ə—kun—na ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ə—kun—la ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ə—sag—ga ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ə—sag—la</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instrumental Case</td>
<td>ə—bo—nəŋ ~</td>
<td>ə—gun—nəŋ ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—gun—nəŋ—nəm—po ~</td>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—kun—nəŋ ~</td>
</tr>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—kun—nəŋ—nəm—po ~</td>
</tr>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—sag—nəŋ ~</td>
</tr>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—sag—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—kun—nəm—po ~</td>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—kun—nəm—po ~</td>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—sag—nəm—po ~</td>
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<td>ə—bo—nəŋ—nəm—po</td>
<td>ə—sag—nəm—po</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ablative Case</td>
<td>ə—bo—ne</td>
<td>ə—gun—ne ~</td>
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<td>ə—bo—ne</td>
<td>ə—gun—ne ~</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ə—sag—ne</td>
<td>ə—sag—ne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive Case</td>
<td>ə—bo—yi ~</td>
<td>ə—gun—ni ~</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ə—bo—e</td>
<td>ə—gun—ni ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ə—kun—ni ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ə—sag—gi</td>
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<td>Non-proximate Pronoun o—te</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
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<td>Direct Case</td>
<td>o—te ~</td>
<td>o—te—gun ~</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-proximate Pronoun o-te</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Direct Case**           | o-te-bo  | o-te-kun-~
|                           |          | o-te-sək |
| **Ergative Case**         | o-te-yi~ | o-te-gun-~ni~
|                           | o-te-bo-e| o-te-kun-~ni~
|                           |          | o-te-səg-gi |
| **Dative Case**           | o-te-ə~  | o-te-gun-~nə~
|                           | o-te-la~ | o-te-gun-~lə~
|                           | o-te-bo-~| o-te-kun-~nə~
|                           |          | o-te-kun-~lə~
|                           |          | o-te-səg-~gə~
|                           |          | o-te-səg-lə |
| **Instrumental Case**     | o-te-₀nə~| o-te-gun-~₀nə~
|                           | o-te-₀nə-₀nəm--po~ | o-te-kun-~₀nə-₀nəm-~po~
|                           |          | o-te-səg-~₀nə~
|                           |          | o-te-səg-~₀nə-₀nəm-~po |
| **Associative Case**      | o-te-₀nəm-~po~ | o-te-gun-~₀nəm-~po~
|                           | o-te-₀nə-₀nəm-~po~ | o-te-kun-~₀nəm-~po~
|                           | o-te-bo-₀nəm-~po~ | o-te-kun-~₀nəm-~po~
|                           | o-te-bo-₀nə-₀nəm-~po | o-te-səg-~₀nəm-~po |
|                           |          | o-te-səg-~₀nə-₀nəm-~po |
| **Ablative Case**         | o-te-ne~  | o-te-gun-~ne~
<p>|                           | o-te-bo-ne | o-te-kun-<del>ne</del> |</p>
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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<td><strong>Ablative Case</strong></td>
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<td>o-te-sag-ne</td>
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<td>o-te-gun-ni ~</td>
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<td></td>
<td>o-te-sag-gi</td>
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<td>te-gun ~</td>
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<tr>
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<td>te-kun ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>te-sag</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
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<td>te-kun-ni ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te-sag- ~</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Case</strong></td>
<td>te-bo-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative Case</strong></td>
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<td>te-gun-ni ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>te-kun-ni ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>te-sag-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>te-gun-na ~</td>
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<tr>
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<td>te-bo-la</td>
<td>te-gun- la ~</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>te-kun-na ~</td>
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<tr>
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<td>te-kun-la ~</td>
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<td>te-sag-ga ~</td>
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<td>te-sag- la</td>
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<td>te-gun-nə-nəm-po ~</td>
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<td>te-gun-ňəm-po~</td>
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<td>te-gun-ňə-ňəm-po~</td>
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<td></td>
<td>te-kun-ňəm-po~</td>
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<td>te-kun-ňə-ňəm-po~</td>
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<td>te-səg-ňəm-po~</td>
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<td>te-səg-ňə-ňəm-po~</td>
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<td><strong>Ablative Case</strong></td>
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<td>te-səg-ne</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive Case</strong></td>
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<td>te-kun-ni~</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>te-səg-gi</td>
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</table>

22. **Interrogative Pronouns**

There are three interrogative pronouns in Ladakhi ka, su, and či. ka is used for animate as well as inanimate reference. Singular ka is always followed by the specifier -bo, case suffixes are added after -bo. ka is also used as a relative pronoun with te as correlative, but te can be deleted optionally in such cases.

**Example sentences**

spe-čha
N.Dir. ka-bo
Intr. Pro. rde-mo
Qul. Adj. duk
to be Pro. te
Core. N. Sp. Dir.
book which good book

sil.
Tr. V.
read

or

spe-čha
N. Dir. ka-bo
Intr.Pro. rde-mo
Qul. Adj. duk
V. to be Core. Pro. Sp. Dir.
book which-one good

sil.
Tr. V.
read
su—‘who’ is used only for animate reference while, či is used for the corresponding inanimate. The case suffixes are the same as for personal pronouns. či is also used for animate reference when one asks about some one’s profession, role, action etc. The plural form of kə is formed by following the same rules as for personal pronouns. The plural of su is formed by repeating the base, i.e. su—su. Inanimate interrogative či does not distinguish between singular and plural forms and the same form is used for singular as well as plural reference.
The paradigms of the three interrogative pronouns are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative Pronoun: ka</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animate</strong>, Inanimate</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Direct case</td>
<td>ka—bo</td>
<td>ka—gun~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—gun~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
<td>ka—bo—e</td>
<td>ka—gun—ni~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—kun—ni~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sag—gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative Case</td>
<td>ka—bo—ə~</td>
<td>ka—gun—nə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ka—bo—lə</td>
<td>ka—gun—lə~</td>
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<td>ka—kun—nə~</td>
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<td>ka—kun—lə~</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ka—sag—gə~</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sag—lə</td>
</tr>
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<td>Instrumental Case</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka—bo—nə—nəm—po</td>
<td>ka—gun—nə—nəm—po~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—kun—nə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—kun—nə—nəm—po~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sag—nə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sag—nə—nəm—po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative Case</td>
<td>ka—bo—nəm</td>
<td>ka—gun—nəm—po~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—po~</td>
<td>ka—gun—nə—nəm—po~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka—bo—nə—nəm—po</td>
<td>ka—kun—nə—nəm—po~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sag—nə—nəm—po~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sag—nə—nəm—po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ka—bo—ne</td>
<td>ka—gun—ne~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—kun—ne~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka—sag—ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interrogative Pronoun: ka</strong>&lt;br&gt;Animate, Inanimate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive Case</td>
<td><code>kə-bo-e</code></td>
<td><code>kə-gun-ni~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>kə-kun-ni~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>kə-səg-gi</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interrogative Pronoun: su</strong>&lt;br&gt;Animate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Case</td>
<td><code>su</code></td>
<td><code>su-su</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
<td><code>su-yi</code></td>
<td><code>su-su-yi</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative Case</td>
<td><code>su-ə~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-lə</code></td>
<td><code>su-su-ə~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-lə</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Case</td>
<td><code>su-ŋəŋ~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-ŋəŋ-ŋəm-po</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-ŋəŋ-ŋəm-po</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-ŋəŋ-ŋəm-po-ŋəm-po</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative Case</td>
<td><code>su-ŋəm-po~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-ŋəŋ-ŋəm-po</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-ŋəm-po~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-ŋəŋ-ŋəm-po</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-ŋəm-po~</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-ŋəm-ŋəm-po</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>su-su-ŋəm-ŋəm-ŋəm-po-ŋəm-po</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><code>su-ne</code></td>
<td><code>su-su-ne</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive Case</td>
<td><code>su-yi</code></td>
<td><code>su-su-yi</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Interrogative Pronoun: su

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular and Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Case</td>
<td>či</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
<td>či—yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative Case</td>
<td>či—ə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>či—lə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Case</td>
<td>či—nəŋ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>či—nəŋ—ŋəm—po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative Case</td>
<td>či<del>ŋəm—po</del></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>či~nəŋ—ŋəm—po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative Case</td>
<td>či~ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>či—yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 23. Indefinite Pronouns

There are three indefinite pronouns tshəŋ—mə ‘all’, khə—čik ‘some’, and re—re ‘each’ in Ladakhi. Plural suffixes are not used with tshəŋ—mə ‘all’, khə—čik ‘some’, and re—re ‘each’. When tshəŋ—mə ‘all’, and khə—čik ‘some’ are used as adjectives in a noun phrase, some speakers may use —kun, —gun after the indefinite pronouns. It may, however, be mentioned that such instances are rare and many speakers may consider such forms ungrammatical; use of plural suffixes —gun, —kun with khə—čik is also heard sometimes. In an idiomatic use —sək is added to tshəŋ—me ‘all’, e.g.
In such constructions *tshər*—*ma* always means ‘others’.

Case suffixes for all the three indefinite pronouns are the same as for personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite Pronoun</th>
<th>Singular and Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Case</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative Case</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>me</em>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative Case</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َا~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َاَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrumental Case</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َاَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َاَاَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Associative Case</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َاَاَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َاَاَاَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َاَاَاَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>me</em>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tshər</em>—<em>ma</em>—َاَاَاَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite Pronoun</td>
<td>Singular and Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>re—re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re</td>
<td>re—re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—yi</td>
<td>re—re—yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—ə</td>
<td>re—re—ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—lə</td>
<td>re—re—lə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—nəŋ~</td>
<td>re—re—nəŋ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—nəŋ—ŋəm—po</td>
<td>re—re—nəŋ—ŋəm—po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—ŋəm—po~</td>
<td>re—re—ŋəm—po~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—nəŋ—ŋəm—po</td>
<td>re—re—nəŋ—ŋəm—po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—ne</td>
<td>re—re—ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—re—yi</td>
<td>re—re—yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ladakhi Grammar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite Pronoun</th>
<th>Singular and Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khə—čik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khə—čik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khə—čik</td>
<td>khə—čik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khə—čig—gi</td>
<td>khə—čig—gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative Case</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khə—čig—ɡə~</td>
<td>khə—čig—ɡə~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khə—čig—lə</td>
<td>khə—čig—lə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ladakhi forms reflexive pronouns by adding -ɾəŋ to the pronominal stem. The reflexive suffix may be added to all the personal pronouns as well as to the demonstrative pronouns. The number and case suffixes are added to the reflexive base. Some forms of the reflexive pronouns’ paradigm are as follows:

### 24. Reflexive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Pronoun</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ist. Person</strong></td>
<td><strong>Inclusive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Case</strong></td>
<td><strong>ŋə-ɾəŋ</strong></td>
<td><strong>ŋə-ʃə-ɾəŋ~</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ŋə-ʃə-ɾəŋ-gun~</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ŋə-ʃə-ɾəŋ-kun~</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ŋə-ʃə-ɾəŋ-seŋ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ist. Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative Case</td>
<td>ηο — τη — ρη ~</td>
<td>ηο — τη — ρη — gun ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ηο — τη — ρη — kun ~</td>
<td>ηο — τη — ρη — sεκ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIInd. Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative Case</td>
<td>Κυοδ — τη — ρη — τη ~</td>
<td>Κυοδ — τη — ρη — gun — τη ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Κυοδ — τη — ρη — κυν — τη ~</td>
<td>Κυοδ — τη — ρη — sεθ — τη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| IIInd. Person Non-honorific | khyo-NSMutableArray-
| Instrumental Case | r̂ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ~ | khyo-NSMutableArray-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-
| | khyo-NSMutableArray-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ | khyo-NSMutableArray-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-
| | r̂ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ | r̂ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-
| | n̂em-po | n̂em-po |
| | | | |
| IIInd. Person Non-familiar | khyo- NSMutableArray-
| Instrumental Case | ʔ̂ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ~ | khyo- NSMutableArray-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-
| | khyo-NSMutableArray-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ | khyo-NSMutableArray-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-
| | ʔ̂ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ | ʔ̂ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-
| | n̂em-po | n̂em-po |
| | | | |
| IIInd. Person Honorific | khyo- NSMutableArray-
| Associative Case | ʔ̂ŋ-ŋ-ŋ | khyo- NSMutableArray-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-
<p>| | n̂em-po~ | n̂em-po~ |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Pronoun</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honorific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Pronoun</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IIIrd. Person</td>
<td>kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—ne kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—ne~ kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—ne~ kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—səq—ne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-honorific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ablative Case   | kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—ne | kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—ne~ kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—ne~ kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—səq—ne |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|

| Ablative Case   | kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—ne | kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—ne~ kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—ne~ kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—səq—ne |
There is one more context in which the reflexive suffix \(-raq\) is used. In order to give honour to kinsmen, who are older in age, \(-\text{ray}\) can be added after the referrent noun, e.g. \(a\)-\(ço\) \(-\text{ray}\) ‘elder brother (your) self’, \(a\)-\(mæ\)-\(raq\) ‘mother (your) self’. Suffixes, if any, will follow \(-\text{ray}\).

In reflexive constructions, it is possible to use only the reflexive element \(-\text{ray}\) by itself to convey the reflexivity and drop the pronominal or the nominal element, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\eta\theta & \eta\theta\text{-ray}\text{-}\eta_i \\
\text{I. P. Pro.} & \text{I.P. Refl. Pro.} \\
\text{Sg. Dir.} & \text{Gen.} \\
\text{I} & \text{my} \\
\text{go} & \text{village} \\
\hline
\eta\theta & \text{ray}\text{-}\eta_i \\
\text{I. P. Pro.} & \text{Refl. Pro.} \\
\text{Sg. Dir.} & \text{Gen.} \\
\text{I} & \text{my} \\
\text{go} & \text{village} \\
\hline
\text{kho}\text{-e} & \text{kho}\text{-ray}\text{-}\eta_i \\
\text{III. P. Pro.Sg.} & \text{III. P. Refl. Pro.} \\
\text{Erg.} & \text{Gen.} \\
\text{he} & \text{brother} \\
\text{n\eta\text{-}næm\text{-}po} & \text{kho\text{-}e} \\
\text{Ass.} & \text{III.P.Pro.} \\
\text{thug\text{-}gin.} & \text{N. Inst.} \\
\text{Tr. V. Def. Fut.} & \text{his} \\
\end{array}
\]
It may, however, be noted that if it is intended to emphasize the reflexivity then the optional deletion is not possible.

When there are two nouns or pronouns which are to be reflexivised then only the reflexive element is used twice.
25. Adjectives

Adjective has been established as an independent part of speech on the basis of word-form classes.

Ladakhi adjectives can be classified under two types:

a) Simple

b) Derived

26. Simple Adjectives

Simple adjectives are composed of a root and a formative suffix, e.g. rgyal-la ‘good’, rde-mo ‘beautiful’. Here rgyal- and rde- are roots to which formative suffixes -la and -mo are added. There are a fairly large number of formative suffixes in Ladakhi. All such forms are qualitative adjectives. They will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

27. Derived Adjectives

Derived adjectives are of five kinds:

(i) Root+can, e.g. nor-can ‘wealthy’, rin-can ‘precious, valuable’ etc. In this sub-class the roots may be free forms. Some speakers change can —> sand after the roots ending in -s, e.g. šuks+can ~ šuks-sand

(ii) Root+med—

In this sub-class ‘med—’ is added, which is composed of ma— ‘negative particle’ plus yod— ‘to be’, e.g. ḍzad— med— ‘discourteous’, šed— med— ‘weak’. Such adjectives are derived from roots that are free forms in the language.

(iii) Stem+khān

Such adjectives are formed by adding the suffix —khān to the simple perfect form of the verb which acts as
the stem for this type of adjective, e.g. 

\[ \text{dis} \]\n
simple

perfect form of verb root \( \text{di} - \) (to) \( \text{write} \) + \( \text{khan} \)

derivational suffix = \( \text{dis} - \text{khan} \) ‘written’.

It may be pointed out that this adjectival suffix — \( \text{khan} \), is different from the agentive suffix — \( \text{khan} \) (See § 4.7) although they are homophonic. The adjectival suffix — \( \text{khan} \) has a past passive implication, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i—yi—ge} & \text{ŋe} & \text{dis—khan} & \text{yin}.
\hline
\text{Prox.} & \text{N.Sg.} & \text{I.P.Pro.} & \text{V.Simp. Deri.} & \text{V. to be Pr.}
\text{Pro.} & \text{Dir.} & \text{Sg.Gen.} & \text{Perf. Suff.}
\end{array}
\]

This letter is written by me
(lit. is my written one).

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ko—re} & \text{čhaks—khan—ni} & \text{nəŋ—ŋə čə} & \text{ma—ruk}.
\hline
\text{cup} & \text{cracked} & \text{into} & \text{tea pour}
\end{array}
\]

Do not pour tea in the cracked cup.

When the adjective is followed by a noun then this adjective takes the genitive suffix.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
i & \text{ŋe} & \text{dis—khan—ni} & \text{yi—ge yin}.
\hline
\text{Prox.} & \text{I.P.} & \text{V.Sim. Deri. Gen. N. Dir.} & \text{V. to be Pr.}
\text{Pro.} & \text{Pro.} & \text{Perf. Suf.}
\text{Sg.} & \text{Gen.}
\text{Dir.} & \text{written letter}
\end{array}
\]

This letter is written by me.

Compare

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
khōn & \text{i—spe—čhə} & \text{di—khan} & \text{yin}.
\hline
\text{III P.} & \text{Prox. N.Sg.Dir.} & \text{V. Agent.} & \text{V. to be Pr. Suf.}
\text{Pro.} & \text{Hon.Sg. Dir.}
\text{he} & \text{this book writer is}
\end{array}
\]

He is the writer of this book.
The suffix -khan freely varies with -kan. There is another suffix -po which performs the same semantic and grammatical function as -khan and is also added to the simple perfect form of a verb like -khan. The only difference between them is that of distribution. -khan can be added to any verb while -po only to some, like čhaks-po ‘cracked’ ziks-po ‘broken’ etc.

(iv) Root + zug-

These adjectives are formed only from pronominal bases i-ə-, o- te-, te-, kə-. Thus this is a closed set, while the other two sub-classes of derived adjectives are open sets.

(v) Root + zam-

These adjectives are also formed by adding -zam- to the pronominal bases i-, ə-, o-te-, te- and kə-. This is a closed set of derived adjectives like the ones formed by the addition of -zug-. While the adjectives formed with -zug- qualify the head noun as to its manner, type, kind etc., the ones with -zam- qualify the head noun as to its quantum. Thus i-zam ‘this much’, ə-zam ‘that much’, kə-zam ‘how much’ etc.

Adjectives derived by adding -čan, -met, and -khan -kan are always qualitative adjectives while the ones derived from -zug-, -zam- are always indicative adjectives.

Thus there are two types of adjectives—qualitative adjectives and indicative objectives.

28. Qualitative Adjectives

Such adjectives express the attributes of the noun they qualify. They do not change for gender or number.

A qualitative adjective can function as a nominal adjective or as a predicative adjective. It occurs as a predicative adjective only in equational sentences. Elsewhere, it functions as a nominal adjective. In such constructions it is a constituent of a noun phrase and occurs after the noun stem (which may be preceded by a pronoun) and before the
number suffix/numerals and case suffixes. Thus the order of elements is as follows:
\[\pm \text{Dem.Pro.} + \text{Noun} + \text{Qual. Adj.} + \text{Numeral/number suffix} + \text{Case suffix.}\]

This word-order is applicable for the nominal adjectives whether the noun phrase is part of the subject or the predicate.

**Examples:**

1. \(\text{ṭhug-gu } -\text{rom-po } -\text{gun-ni} \ldots\)
   
   N. Qul.Adj. Pl.Suf.Erg. The fat boys...
   boy fat

2. \(\text{ṭhug-gu } -\text{rom-po } -\text{ñis-si} \ldots\)
   
   N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Erg. Two fat boys...
   boy fat two

3. \(\text{i } -\text{ṭhug-gu } -\text{rom-po } -\text{ñis} \ldots\)
   
   Prox. N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Dir. These two fat boys....
   Pro. this boy fat two

4. \(\eta\eta -\text{təŋ } -\text{khəŋ } -\text{pə } -\text{rde-mo } -\text{ñis-1ə} \ldots\)
   
   Incl.Pl. Dir.
   we house beautiful two live
   We live in two beautiful houses.

\(\eta\eta -\text{təŋ } -\text{khəŋ } -\text{pə } -\text{rde-mo } -\text{gun-ə} \ldots\)
   
   Pl.Dir.
   we house beautiful live
   We live in the beautiful houses.

Here the nominal adjective rde-mo 'beautiful' is a constituent of the noun phrase which is part of the predicate. As mentioned earlier, predicative adjectives occur only in equational sentences. For example:

\(\text{ṭhug-gu-gun } -\text{rde-mo} \ldots\)
   
   N. Pl.Suf. Qul.Adj. V. to be Pr.
   boy beautiful
   duk.

The boys are handsome.
These boys are handsome.

These fat boys are handsome.

These two boys are handsome.

A sentence like thug—gu rgyal—la duk is ambiguous in the sense that rgyal—la could be a constituent of the noun phrase thug—gu rgyal—la ‘good boy’ and a part of the subject and the sentence will then mean ‘A good boy exists (is)’. It could also be part of the predicate wherein the subject will be thug—gu ‘boy’, the predicate will be rgyal—la duk and the sentence will then mean ‘the boy is good’.

More than one adjective can qualify a noun in Ladakhi and in such case they can occur in any order.

The tall fat white girls...
If an adjective occurs in a noun phrase which contains more than one noun conjoined by deŋ ‘and’ or yo ‘or’, the adjective qualifies all the nouns, e.g.

\[ \text{mi-deŋ-pu-mo-rde-mo-gun-ni \ £u-təŋ-duk.} \]

man and girl beautiful song give

Beautiful men and women (i.e. beautiful men and beautiful women) are singing.

If only one noun in such a phrase is to be qualified the adjective occurs immediately after that noun, e.g.

\[ \text{pu-mo-rde-mo-ŋe-mi-gun-ni \ £u-təŋ-duk.} \]

woman beautiful and man song give

Beautiful women and men are singing. (i.e. men and beautiful women are singing).

29. Simple Qualitative Adjectives:

Simple qualitative adjectives are composed of a root and a formative suffix. Both the root and the formative suffix are always monosyllabic except in rare cases. Various formative suffixes are used in the language. Some formative suffixes are used more frequently than others. A fairly exhaustive list of formative suffixes and some examples of qualitative adjectives formed from them are given below:

Examples:

(a) \(-po\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rtṣok-po} & \quad \text{Dirty} \\
\text{nək-po} & \quad \text{Black} \\
\text{skəm-po} & \quad \text{Dry} \\
\text{təŋ-po} & \quad \text{Straight} \\
\text{məŋ-po} & \quad \text{Many} \\
\text{čik-po} & \quad \text{Lonely}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) \(-pə\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṣhniŋ-pə} & \quad \text{Old, Wornout}
\end{align*}
\]
Noun Phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skuk-pa</td>
<td>Stupid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyaks-pa</td>
<td>Stout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ston-pa</td>
<td>Empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣem-pa</td>
<td>Bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žen-pa</td>
<td>Raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) -mo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khe-mo</td>
<td>Cheap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riṣ-mo</td>
<td>Tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭem-mo</td>
<td>Cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuk-mo</td>
<td>Thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭon-mo</td>
<td>Hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sniṣ-je-mo</td>
<td>Innocent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) -ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so-ma</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rtsem-ma</td>
<td>Clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stod-ma</td>
<td>Earlier ones, Upper ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) -wo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žem-wo</td>
<td>Lame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spem-wo</td>
<td>Brave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) -ba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sñon-ba</td>
<td>Mad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>len-ba</td>
<td>Slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) -ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yun-ti</td>
<td>Uneven, Crooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) -to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koṣ-to</td>
<td>Deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) -hu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lṣem-hu</td>
<td>Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshem-hu</td>
<td>Salted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j) -la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgyek-la</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sñon-la</td>
<td>Earlier, Previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ston-la</td>
<td>Pertaining to the month of harvest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(k) —te
yon—te Crooked, Uneven
yin—te Opposite of hard, strong etc. i.e. weak.
skan—te Thick (as of liquid)
khon—te Sour
lan—te Damp
son—te Hard, Strong.

30. Derived Qualitative Adjectives:

Derived adjectives are formed by adding —čən,—med—, and khon — to various stems. Some of such adjectives are given below:

(a) Root + čən

dzat—čən Courteous
yon—tən—čən Knowledgeable
siiŋ—čən Daring
rəŋ—dot—čən Selfish
tot—čən Tasty

(b) Root + med—
dzad—met Discourteous
siiŋ—met Timid
šad—met Weak
tən—met Forgetful
stob—met Weak

(c) Stem + khan
čhaks—khan Broken
dis—khan Written
but(s)—khan Fallen
rtgis—khan Built
sil—khan Read

All qualitative adjectives can function as nouns in Ladakhi, e.g.
rtsoŋ—po sonŋ—pin.
Dir. Perf.
bad go The bad (one) has gone.
The bad (ones) have gone.

The beautiful (ones) dance.

31. Indicative Adjectives

Indicative Adjectives are distinguished from qualitative adjectives on the basis of the following criteria:

(a) Indicative adjectives cannot function as nouns, while the qualitative ones can.

(b) Indicative adjectives can occur either before or after the head noun, e.g.

\[
\text{i-zuk-thug-gu-yi yi-ge di-ruk.} \\
\text{Ind. Adj. N. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.} \\
\text{this such boy letter read} \\
\text{or} \\
\text{thug-gu-i-zug-gi yi-ge di-ruk.} \\
\text{N. Ind. Adj. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.} \\
\text{boy such letter read} \\
\]

\[
\text{Such a boy is writing a letter} \\
\]

\[
\text{a-zuk-thug-gu-gun-ni spe-čha-gun sil-duk.} \\
\text{Ind. Adj. N. Pl. Erg. N. Pl. Suf. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.} \\
\text{that such boy good read} \\
\text{or} \\
\text{thug-gu-a-zug-gun-ni spe-čha-gun sil-duk.} \\
\text{boy that such book read} \\
\]

\[
\text{Those such boys are reading books.} \\
\]

\[
\text{i-zam-o-ma-č kyir-mo-tsam-šik yin ?} \\
\text{Ind. Adj. N. Dat. N. N. Dir. V. to be} \\
\text{this much milk rupee how many} \\
\text{or} \\
\text{o-ma-i-zam-ma kyir-mo-tsam-šik yin ?} \\
\text{N. Ind. Adj. Dat. N. N. Dir. V. to be} \\
\text{milk this much rupee how many} \\
\]

\[
\text{What is the price of this much milk ?} \
\]
Thus the word order of elements will be as follows:

(a) Ind. Adj. + N + Number Suf./Numeral + Case Suf.

or

(b) N + Ind. Adj. + Number Suf./Numeral + Case Suf.

Indicative adjectives are also distinct from qualitative adjectives on the basis of semantic considerations.

There are two sets of indicative adjectives in Ladakhi:
i-zuk, a-zuk, o-te-zuk, te-zuk, kə-zuk, and i-zəm, a-zəm, o-te-zəm, te-zəm, kə-zəm.

Indicative adjectives can occur in attributive constructions. Such constructions can be subject or can be part of the predicate, e.g.

\[
\text{Ind.Adj. N.} \quad \text{Pl.Suf.Erg. N. Pl.Suf. Tr.V.Ob. Dir. Pr.}
\]

\[
\text{this such boy book read}
\]

These such boys are reading books.

Indicative Adjectives can also occur as constituents of the predicate construction in equational sentences.

\[
\]

\[
\text{such boy such book}
\]

These such boys are reading these such books.

\[
\text{Prox. N. Pl.Suf. Ind. Adj. V. to be Pr.}
\]

\[
\text{this boy which such}
\]

What kind are these boys?
The boys are of this kind.

Sentences like ‘thug—gu i—zuk duk’ are ambiguous because i—zuk can be interpreted as a constituent of the subject or of the predicate. The same is true of indicative adjectives derived by adding —zam.

When an indicative adjective and a qualitative adjective, both, qualify a head noun, the indicative adjective always precedes the qualitative adjective.

Such a beautiful boy reads a book.

Such a beautiful boy did such a bad work.

Some qualitative adjectives function as adverbs, e.g.

The boy reads the book well.

The boy reads the book badly.
Indicative adjectives can also function as adverbs, e.g.

\[ \text{ṭhug-\text{-}gu-rde-mo-e spe-\text{-}čha i-zuk sil-duk.} \]

boy good book this such read

The handsome boy reads the book in this way (in such a manner).

\[ \text{ṭhug-\text{-}gu-rde-mo-e spe-\text{-}čha kā-zuk sil-duk?} \]

boy good book which such read

In what manner does the handsome boy read the book?

\[ \begin{align*}
i\text{-zuk} & \quad \text{ma-\text{-}di} \\
\text{Ind. Adj.} & \quad \text{Neg. Tr. V. Imp.} \\
\text{this such} & \quad \text{write} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \begin{align*}
i\text{-zuk} & \quad \text{di-si} \\
\text{Ind. Adj.} & \quad \text{Tr. V. Imp.} \\
\text{this such} & \quad \text{write} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \begin{align*}
i\text{-zam} & \quad \text{ma-\text{-}zo} \\
\text{Ind. Adj.} & \quad \text{Neg. Tr. V. Imp.} \\
\text{this much} & \quad \text{eat} \\
\end{align*} \]  
\[ \begin{align*}
e\text{-zam} & \quad \text{zo} \\
\text{Ind. Adj.} & \quad \text{Tr. V. Imp.} \\
\text{that much} & \quad \text{eat} \\
\end{align*} \]  

Do not write in this manner, write in this manner.

Do not eat this much, eat that much.

It may be pointed out that in such constructions wherein an object is also present the indicative form can be interpreted to modify the verb or modify the object noun thereby making the sentence ambiguous. The ambiguity arises because of two structural functions of such forms: (a) modifying the object, i.e. functioning as indicative adjective and (b) modifying the verb as to its manner, i.e. functioning as adverbial. The same is true of indicative adjectives formed by adding \(-z\text{am}-\).

32. **Intensifier ma-**

Ladakhi has an intensifier particle \(\text{ma-}\) which is added only before the qualitative adjectives and gives an intensifying meaning, e.g.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{rgyāl-}\text{\,lā} & \quad \text{Good} : \quad \text{ma-rgyāl-\,lā} \quad \text{Very good} \\
\text{riŋ-}\text{mo} & \quad \text{Tall} : \quad \text{ma-riŋ-}\text{mo} \quad \text{Very tall} \\
\end{align*} \]
The intensifier plus adjective function as one unit. There can be more than one intensified adjectives in a noun phrase, e.g.

\[ \text{i-} \text{thug-gu-} \quad \text{m} \text{a-rgyal-} \text{l} \text{a-} \quad \text{m} \text{a-ri} \eta \text{-mo} \]


this boy very good very tall

\[ \text{m} \text{a-rom-po-gun-} \text{ni spe-r} \text{a-m} \text{a-m} \text{a} \eta \text{-po} \]


Very fat talk very much
ta\eta-duk.

Tr. V. Ob. Pr.
give

These very good, very tall and very fat boys talk too much.

33. Numerals

It has been stated earlier that numerals occur in the same position as number suffixes in a noun phrase (§ 4.11) and the occurrence of a numeral automatically pre-empts the occurrence of the number suffix.

In many languages, numerals function as adjectives and are, therefore, treated as a sub-category of adjectives. In Ladakhi it is not the case. In Ladakhi, numerals share the position of occurrence with number suffixes, e.g.

\[ \text{pu-mo-gun-} \text{l} \text{a} \]

N. Pl.Suf.Dat.
girl

\[ \text{pu-mo-} \text{n} \text{is-} \text{l} \text{a} \]

N. Numr. Dat.
girl two

They (i.e. numerals) do not share the position of occurrence with adjectives:

\[ \text{pu-mo-rde-mo-gun-} \text{l} \text{a} \]

girl beautiful

\[ \text{pu-mo-rde-mo-} \text{n} \text{is-} \text{l} \text{a} \]

girl beautiful two
A sentence like
*pu-mo-ñis-rde-mo-lə is not possible in Ladakhi.

In Ladakhi, if two adjectives qualify a noun, they can occur in either order, e.g.

pu-mo-riŋ-mo-rde-mo- gun-lə
girl tall beautiful

or
pu-mo-rde-mo- riŋ-mo- gun-lə
girl beautiful tall

To the tall beautiful girls

If the numerals could function as adjectives in Ladakhi, it should be possible to use the order:
Noun + Numeral + Adjective + Case etc.

As exemplified above, it is not so.

It has been shown that the adjectives can occur in predicative constructions, e.g.

ṭhug-gu-rde-mo-gun riŋ-mo duk.
Dir.
boy beautiful tall

The handsome boys are tall.

If the numerals could function as adjectives in Ladakhi, it should be possible to use them in such predicative constructions and say:

*ṭhug-gu-rde-mo-gun ñis duk
boy beautiful two

but it is not grammatical in Ladakhi.

On the basis of the above arguments, a separate part of speech ‘Numerals’ is established in Ladakhi. Ladakhi numerals can be sub-classified as follows:
(a) Cardinals  
(b) Ordinals  
(c) Aggregatives  
(d) Fractionals  
(e) Multiplicatives  
(f) Approximatives

34. Cardinal Numerals

The following are the forms for numerals from zero to ten:

- *lat*-skor: Zero
- čik: One
- ŋis: Two
- sum: Three
- zi: Four
- ʂŋo ~ ɳo: Five
- ʂuk: Six
- dun ~ rdun: Seven
- gyət ~ rgyst: Eight
- gu ~ rgu: Nine
- ʧu: Ten

*dun* 'seven' and *gu* 'nine' are more frequently used than *rdun* and *rgu*. Some speakers occasionally use *rču* instead of *ču* for 'ten'.

Numerals above ten are formed by compounding. There are two different processes involved in such formations—

(i) Numerals for 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 are formed by using the forms for numerals for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 followed by a form meaning *ten*. These forms may optionally be followed by *tham*-bɔ. (ii) The forms for 11 to 19, 21 to 29, 31 to 39, and such series are formed by using the appropriate allomorphs of the forms for 10, 20 etc. as first member of the compound followed by items for 1 to 9 as second member. Such forms are used in enumerative contexts, i.e. while counting. If any one of these numerals has to be used in isolation, i.e. by itself, Ladakhi employs a different mechanism. The isolated forms 20, 30, etc. — the forms made by the specific numeral items followed by *ču* (or its allomorphs) are used before the enumerating forms.
Thus the isolated form for 33 will be sum—ču—so—sum while the enumeration form will be so—sum. The same holds true for all other forms 21 to 29, 31 to 39 and the like.

Different allomorphs of various numerals in compounds are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ōki</th>
<th>One</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—šik ~ čik</td>
<td>in compounds after ton—'seventy'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—kšik</td>
<td>in compounds after ṭa—'forty', ṛa—'sixty'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—kšik ~ —čik</td>
<td>in compounds after ṭa—'ten', rtṣa—'twenty', so—'thirty', ṛa—'fifty', gyə—~ kyə—'eighty', go—'ninety'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—čik</td>
<td>in compounds after ūer—, 'twenty', ṭa—'forty', ṛa—'sixty', before and after rgya—'hundred' and as an independent cardinal number.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| śkyəŋ— | before —ldəp ‘... times’ and —ltəp ‘...fold’. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ŋis</th>
<th>Two</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋi—</td>
<td>in compounds before—šu ‘ten’ and—brgya ‘hundred’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—gñis</td>
<td>in compounds after ṭa—'forty', ṛa—'sixty'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—gñis ~ —ŋis</td>
<td>in compounds after ču—'ten', rtṣa—'twenty', so—'thirty', ṛa—'fifty', gyə—~ kyə—'eighty', go—'ninety'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—ŋis</td>
<td>in compounds after ūer—, 'twenty', ṭa—'forty', ṛa—'sixty', ton—'seventy', before and after rgya—'hundred' and as an independent cardinal number.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun Phrase

—nis

in compounds after tshar—‘times (temporal)’, and sor—‘one finger measurement’.

sum Three

—ksum

in compounds after 跛—‘forty’, ro—‘sixty’.

—ksum ~ sum


—sum

in compounds after _THROWER—‘twenty’, 脞 —‘forty’, re—‘sixty’, ton—‘seventy’, before and after rgya ‘hundred’ and as an independent cardinal number.

zi Four

—bzi

in compounds after 跛 — ‘forty’, ro—‘sixty’.

—bzi ~ —zi


—zi

in compounds after _THROWER—‘twenty’, 蹉 —‘forty’, re—‘sixty’, ton—‘seventy’, before—rgya ~ —brgya ‘hundred’ and after rgya—‘hundred’, and as an independent cardinal number.

}*Fa ~ Eta Five

—Eta

in compounds after .cbo—‘ten’, THROWER—‘twenty’, 蹉 —‘forty’, re—‘sixty’.

—*Fa

in compounds after ro—‘sixty’, go— kko—‘ninety’, before —rgya ~ —brgya and after rgya—.
in compounds after ṛṭṣa—
'twenty', so—'thirty', ṣe—'forty', ṣa—'fifty', ton—'seventy', gya—
~kya—'eighty', and as an independent cardinal number.

-ṭuk
-ruk
-in compounds after ṣa—'forty', ṛa—'sixty'.

-ṭuk ~ -ruk
-in compounds after ċu—'ten', ṛṭṣa—'twenty', so—'thirty'. ṣa—
'fifty', ton—'seventy', gya—~kya—'eighty', go—'ninety'.

-ṭuk
-in compounds after ṅer—
'twenty', ṣe—'forty', re—'sixty', before and after rgya—'hundred'
and as an independent cardinal number.

dun ~ rdun
-in compounds after ṅer—
'twenty', ṣe—'forty', re—'sixty', ton—'seventy', and before and
after rgya—'hundred'.

-bdun
-in compounds after ṣa—'forty', ṛa—'sixty'.

-bdun ~ -dun

-dun
-in compounds after ċu—'ten', ṛṭṣa—'twenty', so—'thirty', ṣa—
'fifty', gya—~kya—'eighty', go—'ninety'.

dun ~ rdun
-as an independent cardinal number.

rgyat
-in compounds after ṣa—'forty', ṛa—'sixty'.

rgyat ~ ~ brgyat
-in compounds after čo—'ten', ṛṭṣa — 'twenty', so — 'thirty',
Noun Phrase

ηο—‘fifty’, гυο—~ кυо—‘eighty’, го—‘ninety’.

—гυə

in compounds before and after rgyə—‘hundred’.

gυə—

in compounds before —brгυə

—rgyət

in compounds after ņə—‘twenty’, ĺє—‘forty’, re—‘sixty’, тon—‘seventy’ and as an independent cardinal number.

Gu ~ rgu Nine

—rgu

in compounds after ĺє—‘forty’, рə—‘sixty’.

—gu

in compounds after ņə—‘twenty’, ĺє—‘forty’, re—‘sixty’, тon—‘seventy’, rgyə—‘hundred’.

and before —rgyə ~ —brгυə ‘hundred’.

—gu ~ —rgu

in compounds after ċо—‘ten’, tгсо—‘twenty’, so—‘thirty’, ηο—‘fifty’, гυо—~ кυо—‘eighty’, го—‘ninety’, and as an independent cardinal number.

Allomorphs of forms for numerals 10, 20, 30 etc. are as follows:

ču Ten

—шu

in compounds after ņі—‘two’.

—bču

in compounds after ξі—‘four’, sηо—~ ηо—‘five’, гу—‘nine’.

čо—

in compounds before—ηо ‘five,’ —gu ~ —rgu ‘nine’, —rgyət ~ —brгυə ‘eight’.

ču

elsewhere.
Ladakhi Grammar

ni—su Twenty
in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.

ner
in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.

ni—su elsewhere.

sum—cu Thirty
in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.

so elsewhere.

sum—cu elsewhere.

zi—cu ~ Forty
in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.

zi—bću

zi ~ že elsewhere.

zi—cu ~

zi—bću

sηa—cu ~ Fifty
in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.

sηa—bću ~

ηa—cu ~

ηa—bću ~

ηa elsewhere.

sηa—cuo ~

sηa—bću ~

ηa—cu ~

ηa—bću elsewhere.

tuq—cu Sixty
in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.

tuq—cu elsewhere
The cardinal numerals 1 to 99 as used in counting are given below for ready reference:

čik  One
řis  Two
sum  Three
ži  Four
šηa ~ ŋa  Five
ťuk  Six
dun ~ rdun  Seven
rgyat  Eight
gu ~ rgu  Nine
ču ~ ću  Ten
ču ~ čik ~ ču ~ kšik  Eleven
ču ~ řis ~ ču ~ gñis  Twelve
ču—sum ~ ču—ksum
ču—ži ~ ču—bži
čo—ηʔ
ču—ṭuk ~ ču—ruk
ču—dun ~ ču—bdun
čo—rgyat ~ čo—brgyat
čo—gu ~ čo—rgu
ňi—šu

rtṣa—čik ~ rtṣa—kšik ~
ňer—čik

rtṣa—ňis ~ rtṣa—gñis ~
ňer—ňis

rtṣa—sum ~ rtṣa—ksum ~
ňer—sum

rtṣa—ži ~ rtṣa—bži ~
ňer—ži

rtṣa—ηʔ ~ rtṣa—ṣηʔ ~
ňer—ηʔ

rtṣa—ṭuk ~ rtṣa—ruk ~
ňer—ṭuk

rtṣa—dun ~ rtṣa—bdun ~
ňer—dun

rtṣa—rgyat ~ rtṣa—brgyat
ňer—rgyat

rtṣa—gu ~ rtṣa—rgu ~
ňer—gu

sum—ču

so—čik ~ so—kšik
so—ňis ~ so—gñis
so—sum ~ so—ksum
so—ži ~ so—bži

Thirteen
Fourteen
Fifteen
Sixteen
Seventeen
Eighteen
Nineteen
Twenty
Twenty-one
Twenty-two
Twenty-three
Twenty-four
Twenty-five
Twenty-six
Twenty-seven
Twenty-eight
Twenty-nine
Thirty
Thirty-one
Thirty-two
Thirty-three
Thirty-four
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Phrase</th>
<th>Thirty-five</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>so—ηο~so—ςηο</td>
<td>Thirty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so—τυκ~so—ρυκ</td>
<td>Thirty-seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so—dυn~so—bdυn</td>
<td>Thirty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so—rgυατ~so—brгυατ</td>
<td>Thirty-nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so—gu~so—ρυυ</td>
<td>Forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζι—δυ~ζι—βυυ</td>
<td>Forty-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—κικ~ζα—κυικ</td>
<td>Forty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—νις~ζα—γυις</td>
<td>Forty-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—συμ~ζα—κυυ</td>
<td>Forty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—ζι~ζα—βυζι</td>
<td>Forty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—ηο<del>ζα</del>ηο</td>
<td>Forty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—τυκ<del>ζα</del>ρυκ</td>
<td>Forty-seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—dυn<del>ζα</del>bdυn</td>
<td>Forty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—rgυατ<del>ζα</del>brгυατ</td>
<td>Forty-nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζε—gu<del>ζα</del>ρυυ</td>
<td>Fifty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—δυ<del>ζηο</del>βυυ</td>
<td>Fifty-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—κυικ~ζα—κυικ</td>
<td>Fifty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—νις<del>ζα</del>γυις</td>
<td>Fifty-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—συμ<del>ζα</del>κυυ</td>
<td>Fifty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—ζι<del>ζα</del>βυζι</td>
<td>Fifty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—ςηο<del>ζα</del>ηο</td>
<td>Fifty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—τυκ<del>ζα</del>ρυκ</td>
<td>Fifty-seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—dυn<del>ζα</del>bdυn</td>
<td>Fifty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—rgυατ<del>ζα</del>brгυατ</td>
<td>Fifty-nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζηο—gu<del>ζα</del>ρυυ</td>
<td>Sixty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τυκ—δυ</td>
<td>Sixty-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—κικ~ρα—κυικ</td>
<td>Sixty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—νις<del>ρα</del>γυις</td>
<td>Sixty-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—συμ<del>ρα</del>κυυ</td>
<td>Sixty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—ζι<del>ρα</del>βυζι</td>
<td>Sixty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—τυκ<del>ρα</del>ρυκ</td>
<td>Sixty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re—dυn<del>ρα</del>bdυn</td>
<td>Sixty-seven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
re—rgyat ~ re—rgyat
re—gu ~ re—rgu
dun—ču
ton—čik ~ ton—šik
ton—ñis
ton—sum
ton—zi
ton—ηa ~ ton—ṣa
ton—tu ~ ton—ruk
ton—dun
ton—rgyat
ton—gu
gyat—ču
gya—čik ~ gyat—kšik ~
kyat—čik ~ kyat—kšik

gya—ñis ~ gyat—gñis ~
kyat—ñis ~ kyat—gñis

gya—sum ~ gyat—ksum ~
kyat—sum ~ kyat—ksum

gya—zi ~ gyat—bži ~
kyat—zi ~ kyat—bži

gya—ηa ~ gyat—ṣa ~
kyat—ηa ~ kyat—ṣa

gya—tu ~ gyat—ruk ~
kyat—tu ~ kyat—ruk

gya—dun ~ gyat—bdun ~
kyat—dun ~ kyat—bdun

gya—rgyat ~ gyat—brgyat ~
kyat—rgyat ~ kyat—brgyat

gya—gu ~ gyat—rgu ~
kyat—gu ~ kyat—rgu

gu—ču ~ gu—bču

Sixty-eight
Sixty-nine
Seventy
Seventy-one
Seventy-two
Seventy-three
Seventy-four
Seventy-five
Seventy-six
Seventy-seven
Seventy-eight
Seventy-nine
Eighty
Eighty-one
Eighty-two
Eighty-three
Eighty-four
Eighty-five
Eighty-six
Eighty-seven
Eighty-eight
Eighty-nine
Ninety
There is a special word *skor* for twelve, which is used for enumerative purposes while referring to the age of a person. While counting in multiples of *skor* ‘twelve’, čig — ‘one’ is used after *skor* while other numerals are used before it, e.g.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
<td><em>skor</em></td>
<td><em>čik</em></td>
<td>Twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>twelve</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
<td><em>sum</em></td>
<td><em>skor</em></td>
<td>Thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>twelve</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
<td><em>tuk</em></td>
<td><em>skor</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>twelve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While using such constructions čik ‘one’ is usually elided in *lo—skor—čik* and the item *lo—* is elided from other such constructions. Thus *lo—ṣη—skor* becomes ṣη—skor ‘sixty’. years.

**Examples:**

1. ṣη ʰthug—gu—a  ᵗlo—skor  non—te
   I.P.Pro Sg. N. Dat. N. Numr. V. St. Pref.
   Gen.        N. Numr. V. St. Pref.
   my          my       year twelve complete
   boy         yin.

   V. to be Pr. My child is twelve years old (lit. My child, having completed twelve years, is).
2. kho-e ə-mə tı̄k-skor non-te
   Sg.Gen.
   his
   yin-nok.
   V. to be Pr.

His mother is seventy-two years old (lit. his mother, having completed seventy-two years, is).

Numerals above hundred are formed as follows:

1. Numerals for hundred series are formed by using the item for 1 to 9 followed by rgya ‘hundred’:

   čig-rgya
   one hundred
   One hundred

   ṇis-rgya
   two hundred
   Two hundred

   tı̄ug-rgya
   six hundred
   Six hundred

   gu-rgya
   nine hundred
   Nine hundred etc.

Sometimes these can also be formed by using the item for 1 to 9 after rgya ‘hundred’, e.g. rgya-pañis ‘two hundred’, rgya-bdun ‘seven hundred’ etc. Such formations are used only for the round hundred figures, i.e. 100, 200, etc. They are not used if such forms are in construction with items for a thousand and above.

However, this way of forming the hundred series is used rarely.

rgya ‘hundred’, by itself, i.e. without čig ‘one’, can also be used for one hundred.

Numerals for 100 to 900 are given below for ready reference:

rgya-čig-rgya-rgya-čik
   One hundred

ǹīs-rgya-ǹi-rgya-ǹi-rgya-ǹīs
   Two hundred
sum—rgya~rgya—sum
zd—rgya~zd—brgya~rgya—zd
\{ 
\{ 
\} 
\} 
tug—rgya~rgya—tuk
dun—rgya~rgya—dun
\} 
\} 
gyat—rgya~gyat—brgyat~ 
grya—gyat
\} 
\} 
gu—rgya~gu—brgya~ 
grya—gu 
ču—rgya~rgya—ču
Three hundred
Four hundred
Five hundred
Six hundred
Seven hundred
Eight hundred
Nine hundred
Ten hundred

2. Numerals above the series of hundred figures are formed by the item for the specific hundred numeral followed by the specific numeral, e.g.

čig—rgya—dη—ñis
one hundred-and-two
Two hundred and two.
ñis—rgya—dη—so—ksum
two-hundred-and-thirty-three
zh—brgya—dη—tuk—ču
four-hundred-and-sixty
gu—rgya—dη—go—rgu
nine-hundred-and-ninety-nine
Nine hundred and ninety-nine etc.

Ladakhi speakers have been heard to drop dη ‘and’ from such constructions, but rarely. dη ‘and’ freely varies with nəη ‘and’.

As čig—rgya ‘one hundred’ has an alternative form rgya ‘hundred’, numerals above hundred can be formed alternatively by using rgya for hundred, e.g.

čig—rgya—dη—čik
one-hundred-and—one
rgya—dη—čik
hundred—and—one
čig—rgya—dη—ton—rgyat
one-hundred-and-seventy-eight
One hundred and one.
One hundred and one.
One hundred and seventy-eight.
One hundred and seventy-eight.

When referring to page numbers the only way of forming such numerals is by using the item for the specific hundred numeral followed by the specific numeral, i.e. the word ‘doṇ’ is not used, e.g.

ñis—rgyā—zi  204
two—hundred—four
zi—rgyā—tuk  406
four-hundred-six

The following are the forms for other important numerals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>st07</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thi</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Ten thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bum</td>
<td>1,00,000</td>
<td>Lakh (hundred thousand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa—yā</td>
<td>10,00,000</td>
<td>Ten lakhs or million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>če—wā</td>
<td>1,00,00,000</td>
<td>Crore or Ten million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuṇ—cur</td>
<td>10,00,00,000</td>
<td>Ten crores or one hundred million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be mentioned that numerals above one thousand can be referred to only as (one thousand and X), e.g.

čik—stoṇ—ñis—rgyā—doṇ—sum  1203
one-thousand two-hundred and three

It is not possible to refer to this number as ‘twelve hundred and three’ in Ladakhi.

35. **Ordinal Numerals**:

Ordinals are formed by adding the suffix /—pə/ to the specific numeral, e.g.

čik—pə  First
gu—pə ~ rgu—pə  Ninth
ču—pə  Tenth
rgyā—pə  Hundredth
čig—rgyā—doṇ—  }
čik—pe  One hundred-first.
As far as 'first' is concerned there are three different forms čik—po, təŋ—po and go—mə which are used for different meanings. When one refers to a thing as being first in terms of prior in time or space, go—mə or təŋ—po can be used. They are also used for stating things in a series, i.e.

1. təŋ—po  go—mə  kho  ěeps  nis—po
Pro.  Simp.
Sig.  Perf.
Dir.

first  first  he  arrive  second
ŋə  sum—po  pə̣̄ldən.
Sg. Dir.
I  third  Paldan

First (of all) he came, then I, and then Paldan.

2. təŋ—po  zəm—po  nis—po  lēŋ—mə
first  bridge  second  tree
sum—po  khəŋ—po—thon—po—žik  te—ne
Dir.

third  house  high  a  then
čə̣̄—kə̣̄  yot.
N. Dir.  V. to be Pr.
school

First (there) is the bridge, second the tree, third a tall house and then the school.

When the word for 'first' is to be used in a series of objects, i.e. the first, second, third etc., for instance books in a shelf, the number of years, months, weeks, days etc. təŋ—po is used, e.g.

čok—tse—yi  kə̣̄—ne  ʃpe—čə̣̄—təŋ—po  khyonə.
table  on  book  first  bring
Bring the first book from the top of the table.
2. подобно-тый—по
N. Ord.Numr. Dir.
boy first

беде—мо duk.
Qul.Adj. V. to be Pr.

The first boy is handsome.

3. подобно-тый—по
N. Ord.Numr.
boy first

ни—пю—сум—пю—
second third

тоб—бин.
Tr. V. Def. Fut.

The first, second (and) third (boys) get the prize.

čik—пю is used in all other contexts, e.g.

1. aterno—бо—е
Pro.
this boy
sil—лат.
Tr. V. Re. Pr.
read

This boy is studying in the first (class).

2. Лей-yi
N. Gen.
Proper name

чак—пю—нэ—я
school
čik—pe Ord.Numr.
Pro.

Lap-tа-khа—gun
first

spe—ча—gun
N. Pl. Suf. Dir.
book

cu—pe Ord.Numr.

good but
tenth
Noun Phrase

ṣpe—cbā  rgya'i-la  mi—ruk.
N.Dir.  Qul. Adj.  Neg. V. to be  Pr.
book  good

In Leh books of first (grade) are good but of tenth are not.

36. Aggregative Numerals

In order to express the meaning ‘two together or both, three together or all the three’ etc.—kā is used after the cardinal numerals.

Examples:

ñis—kā  Both
zi—kā  All the four
cu—kā  All the ten

Example:

ηo—zā—  ñis—kā  kho—sum—kā
Incl.  Dir.  Pro.
we  both  they three
ṭhit—te  ñe—zā—zi—kā—yot—ṣā—ə
V. St. Parf. Parti.  II. P. Pro.  Agg. V. to be—place—Dat.
Hon.  Numr.
take having  you  four  the place where
yoph—ηin.
Def. Fut.
come

We both having brought those three will come to the place where you four are.

37. Fractional Numerals

Ladakhi fractionals are as follows:
zi—zur (lit. zi ‘four’, zur ‘part’)
or zi—cāb—čik(zi ‘four’, cāb ‘part’, čik ‘one’) ‘one fourth’.
zur meaning ‘part’ collocates only with zi ‘four’, while cāb ‘part’ can be used with any other numeral.
It may be noted here that the order of items in fractionals in Ladakhi is opposite of English. For instance, in the fractional item ‘two-third’ the order of the items in English is ‘two’ first and the ordinal form of three, i.e. ‘third’ later but in Ladakhi the order is the reverse of English, i.e. item for ‘three’ comes first and the item for ‘two’ later with the word meaning ‘part’ in between. This is true of all fractional formations except छङ—जुर ‘one-fourth’ and फ्येट ‘half’.

The fractionals above one are formed in the following two ways:

1. One and a half and other half series are formed by using the word फ्येट—‘half’ followed by the word ठं ‘and’ and the numeral next to the one intended as the full number in question. Literally such a construction means the numeral which needs half more to become X (i.e., the number being mentioned). Thus one and a half is:

   फ्येट—ठं—२० घाटी उन्मि
   Half less two, i.e. one and a half
   half and two
   फ्येट—ठं—सम
   Two and a half
   half and three
   फ्येट—ठं—गु
   Eight and a half
   half and nine

2. The rest of the fractionals using one-fourth, three-fourth, one-third or two-third etc. above one and so on are formed by using the appropriate numeral for full number first followed by ठं ‘and’ and the appropriate item fraction. ठं freely varies with ठ ‘and’.
Examples:

\[ \text{čig-}d\text{η}-\text{ži-zur} \]
one and four part

or

\[ \text{čig-}d\text{η}-\text{ži-}č\text{hə-}č\text{ik} \]
one and four part one

\[ \text{čig-}d\text{η}-\text{ži-}č\text{hə-sum} \]
one and four part three

\[ \text{sum-}d\text{η}-\text{ži-}č\text{hə-}č\text{ik} \]
three and four part one

\[ \text{sηθ-}d\text{η}-\text{ži-}č\text{hə-sum} \]
five and four part three

\[ \text{čig-}d\text{η}-\text{sum-}č\text{hə-}č\text{ik} \]
one and three part one

\[ \text{čig-}d\text{η}-\text{sum-}č\text{hə-}ñ\text{is} \]
one and three part two

\[ \text{tug-}d\text{η}-\text{sum-}č\text{hə-}č\text{ik} \]
six and three part one

\[ \text{gu-}d\text{η}-\text{sum-}č\text{hə-}ñ\text{is} \]
nine and three part two

Other fractions are formed in the same manner. Thus \( \frac{5}{8} \) will be \( \text{sηθ-}č\text{hə-sum} \) ‘five part three’.

38. Multiplicative Numerals

There are two suffixes –\( \text{ldab-} \) ‘... times’ and –\( \text{łab-} \) ‘... fold’, in Ladakhi. They are added after the cardinal forms of the numerals.

Examples:

\[ \text{škyaθ-ldap} \]
Once, single

\[ \text{ñis-ldap} \]
Two times, double

\[ \text{rgyat-ldap} \]
Eight times

\[ \text{rgye-ldap} \]
Hundred times
In the sense of ‘……fold’ \( \text{lt} \varpi \) — is used, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textls{100}sk} & \text{\textls{100}e} \varpi & \text{\textls{100}l} \varpi & \text{One-fold} \\
\text{\textls{100}z}i & \varpi & \text{\textls{100}l} \varpi & \text{Four-fold} \\
\text{\textls{100}s} & \varpi & \text{\textls{100}l} \varpi & \text{Five-fold}
\end{align*}
\]

Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Prox.} & \quad \text{N. Dir.} & \quad \text{Mul. Numr.} & \quad \text{Tr. V. Imp.} \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{cloth} & \quad \text{three-fold} & \quad \text{do}
\end{align*}
\]

Put this cloth (into) three-folds.

39. Approximative Numerals

‘About X-numeral’ is said in Ladakhi by using the item for the specific numeral, followed by the form \( \text{ts} \varpi \text{m} \) — \( \text{zik} \) or \( \text{zik} \) ‘about’ (in terms of quantity). Sometimes \( \text{ph} \varpi \text{cher} \) ‘about’ is also used before the numeral, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textls{100}s} & \varpi \text{e} \varpi & \text{zik} \\
\text{\textls{100}s} & \varpi & \text{ts} \varpi \text{m} & \text{zik} \\
\text{ph} \varpi \text{cher} & \text{\textls{100}s} & \varpi & \text{ts} \varpi \text{m} & \text{zik} \\
\text{about five how much} & \}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textls{100}c}u & \text{zik} \\
\text{\textls{100}c}u & \text{ts} \varpi \text{m} & \text{zik} \\
\text{ph} \varpi \text{cher} & \text{\textls{100}c}u & \text{ts} \varpi \text{m} & \text{zik} \\
\text{about ten how much} & \}
\end{align*}
\]

The approximative phrase is also formed by using two numerals. In such cases, the two numerals are used followed
by ṭszęm-šik or ṭ ámb, or ḡik. phał-cher ‘about’ can also be used before the first numeral, e.g.

\[ \text{nís-sum-}
\]
\[ \text{phał-cher-}
\]
\[ \text{nís-sum-}
\]
\[ \text{phał-cher-nís-sum-}
\]
\[ \text{phał-cher-nís-sum-}
\]
\[ \text{nís-sum-}
\]
\[ \text{nís-sum-}
\]
\[ \text{nís-sum-}
\]

\[ \text{About two (to) three}
\]
\[ \text{About two three how Ind. much Art.}
\]

It may be noted that in such constructions consecutive numerals are used and only in ascending order, i.e.

\[ \text{nís-sum-}
\]
\[ \text{two three how much}
\]
\[ \text{ṣηο-ᵗuk-}
\]
\[ \text{five six how much}
\]

Only two constructions with non-consecutive numerals in ascending order are used, e.g.

\[ \text{ṣi-rgyat-}
\]
\[ \text{About four (to) eight}
\]
\[ \text{ṣηο-rdun-}
\]
\[ \text{About five (to) seven}
\]

Such constructions are normally used only up to numeral ‘ten’. After ‘ten’ such constructions are used only for decade series, e.g.

\[ \text{ču-}
\]
\[ \text{About ten}
\]
\[ \text{ni-šu-}
\]
\[ \text{About twenty}
\]
\[ \text{tuk-ču-}
\]
\[ \text{About sixty}
\]
\[ \text{gu-ču-}
\]
\[ \text{About ninety}
\]
Herein again only थ०म—षिक or षिक is used; adding फह—
चहर before the phrase is optional, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{फह—चहर—} & \quad \text{गु—चु—थ०म—} \quad \text{षिक} \quad \text{about} \\
\quad & \text{ninet} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{Ind. Art.} \\
\quad & \text{much} \\
\text{गु—चु—} & \quad \text{थ०म—} \quad \text{षिक} \\
\quad & \text{ninet} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{Ind. Art.} \\
\quad & \text{much}
\end{align*}
\]

About ninety

Among the decade series again consecutive decade numerals are used but only in ascending order, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{चु—} & \quad \text{नी—} \quad \text{शु—} \quad \text{थ०म—} \quad \text{षिक} \quad \text{About ten (to) twenty} \\
\quad & \text{ten twenty} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{Ind. Art.} \\
\quad & \text{much} \\
\text{नी—} & \quad \text{शु—} \quad \text{सुम—} \quad \text{चु—} \quad \text{थ०म—} \quad \text{षिक} \quad \text{About twenty (to) thirty} \\
\quad & \text{twenty thirty} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{Ind. Art.} \\
\quad & \text{much} \\
\text{तुक—} & \quad \text{चु—} \quad \text{दुन—} \quad \text{चु—} \quad \text{थ०म—} \quad \text{षिक} \quad \text{About sixty (to) seventy} \\
\quad & \text{sixty seventy} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{Ind. Art.} \\
\quad & \text{much}
\end{align*}
\]

Only one non-consecutive form is used:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{सुम—} & \quad \text{चु—} \quad \text{तुक—} \quad \text{चु—} \quad \text{थ०म—} \quad \text{षिक} \quad \text{About thirty (to) sixty} \\
\quad & \text{thirty sixty} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{Ind. Art.} \\
\quad & \text{much}
\end{align*}
\]

Where two decade numerals are used, थ०म—षिक or थ०म or षिक can both be used optionally at the end. The use of फह—चहर 'about' before the first numeral form is also optional, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{चु—} & \quad \text{नी—} \quad \text{शु—} \quad \text{थ०म} \quad \text{०} \quad \text{About ten (to) twenty} \\
\quad & \text{ten twenty} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{much} \\
\text{फह—चहर—} & \quad \text{चु—} \quad \text{नी—} \quad \text{शु—} \quad \text{थ०म} \quad \text{०} \quad \text{About ten (to) twenty} \\
\quad & \text{ten twenty} \quad \text{how} \quad \text{Ind. Art.} \\
\quad & \text{much}
\end{align*}
\]
The same rules apply for approximative phrases involving 'hundred' series, 'thousand' series and so on.

It may be mentioned herein that –šik has an allomorph šik which occurs after –s final forms, e.g.

ñis + šik —→ ñis—šik About two

40. Measurements

There are certain ways of measuring specific things, areas, etc. in Ladakhi. The important ones among them are as follows:

(i) dom—pə—: It expresses the length denoted by both arms spread horizontally. It is used mostly to measure cloth.

(ii) tho—: It expresses the length, elbow to the finger-tips of a hand.

(iii) thu—: It expresses the span covered by the stretched hand from the thumb-point to the little finger-point.

(iv) skəŋ—gəŋ—: It expresses the span covered by a fist with the thumb spread.

(v) sor—: It expresses the length denoted by a finger or fingers put together, e.g. sor—čik 'one finger span' sor—ñis 'two finger’s span'.

(vi) kom—(pə)—: Land is measured in terms of kom—pə 'step', e.g. kom—gəŋ~kom—pə—gəŋ ‘one step’, kom—pə—ču ‘ten steps’. 
VERB PHARSE

1. Verb Phrase

A Ladakhi sentence consists of one or more noun phrases, a verb phrase, and some adjuncts. Verb phrase may by itself function as the predicate of the sentence, e.g.

1. \( \eta \)  
   I. P. Pro.  
   Sg. Dir.  
   Subject  
   \( \text{go} \)  
   Predicate  
   I go.

The Predicate may also consist of nouns, adjectives, adverbs etc. besides the verb phrase, e.g.

2. \( \eta \)  
   I. P. Pro.  
   Sg. Dir.  
   Subject  
   \( \text{food} \)  
   Predicate  
   I ate the food.
2. **Finite and Non-finite Verb Forms**

Ladakhi verb forms can be classified into finite and non-finite forms. Finite verb forms take suffixes for mood, aspect, tense, and orientation, act as the head constituents of the verb-phrase and, therefore, do not modify another constituent. The non-finite forms are the rest, viz. participles, verbal nouns, infinitives etc.

3. **Structure of Verb Forms**

A Ladakhi verb form is composed of a verb stem followed by one or more suffixes. In the case of finite verb, these suffixes express mood, aspect, tense and orientation categories. In non-finite forms the stem is followed by suffixes for forming the participles, verbal nouns, infinitives etc.

4. **Classification of Verbal System into Sub-Systems**

Ladakhi verb stems fall into two basic categories—(a) intransitive, and (b) transitive. In some rare cases, intransitive verb stems can be transitivised, but in most cases, a verb
stem is either transitive or intransitive. We can think in terms of a transitive system and an intransitive system in so far as the subject of the intransitive verbs is in direct case and that of transitive verbs in ergative (except a few exceptions to be mentioned at the appropriate place).

Ladakhi has several paired-off sub-systems in the verbal composition resulting into an elaborate pattern. The two main sub-systems are non-causative and causative. The non-causative sub-system can be further classified in affirmative and negative, and non-honorific and honorific. The same is true of the causative sub-system. All the sub-systems and their further classification can be shown as follows:

An affirmative verbal form is changed into negative by affixation. Non-honorific is changed into honorific by affixing ǳəd—. Causatives are formed by the suffix չուգ—. Description of these sub-systems and sub-types will follow the analysis of the affirmative system.

5. **Composition of Verb Stem**

Ladakhi verbal form is quite complex in terms of stem composition as well as in the suffixal aspect. Finite verbs are marked for mood, aspect, tense, and orientation as necessary. Gender and number are not marked in the verb except in imperative where number distinction is maintained.
Some verbal formations occur only with specified persons. The reasons for such restrictions are partly syntactic and partly semantic. Details of such restrictions will be given at appropriate places in this chapter.

Ladakhi verb stem is composed of a verbal form which may be followed by one or more derivational suffixes. A verbal form can be (a) simple, or (b) complex.

6. Simple Verbal Stems

Simple verbal stems are monosyllabic roots. They may consist of an open syllable like di—‘(to) Write’, rtse—‘(to) Dance’ etc. or of a closed syllable like sil—‘(to) Read’, sél—‘(to) Give, Offer’ etc.

7. Complex Verbal Stems

Complex verbal stems are composed of two elements. The first element may be a noun, adjective or verb and the second one a verbal root. Some examples of such stems are given below:

A—Noun + Verb

1. ri-mo-di— (to) Draw
   picture write
2. lás-čo— (to) Do work
   work do
3. īu-təŋ— (to) Sing
   song give
4. o-mə-țər— (to) Milk
   milk squeeze

B—Adjective + Verb

Most of such verb stems are formed by using čo—‘(to) do’ or čhə—‘(to) go’. The ones formed by čhə—function as intransitive and the ones formed by čo— as transitive.

1. nək-po-čo— (to) Blacken (i.e. to make black)
   black do
2. **rtsok-po-čo—**
   bad do
   (to) Spoil (i.e. to make bad)

3. **rgyal-la-čo—**
   good do
   (to) Better (i.e. to make better)

4. **rtsar7-ma—čo—**
   clean do
   (to) Cleanse (i.e. to make clean)

**C—Verb + Verb**

1. **ŋəl—+so—**
   (to) be tired + (to) recover
   =ŋəl-so (to) Rest.

2. **tshonŋ + təŋ—**
   (to) sell + (to) give
   =tshonŋ-təŋ (to) Do business

3. **təŋ+dik—čo—**
   (to) make + (to) make a queue to make arrangement
   =təŋ-dik-čo (to) Arrange (i.e. make a queue to make arrangement) + (to) do

**D—Periphrastic Verbal Stems**

There are some periphrastic verbal constructions also in Ladakhi. In such constructions the simple perfect form of the main verb is used followed by the verb stem `təŋ—` ‘give’. Various verbs can occur in such a construction in their simple perfect form and thus the filler set of this slot is a fairly open set. However, the second element is always `təŋ—`. The tense-aspect-orientation suffixes are then added to `təŋ—` following the normal rules of verb formation. The periphrastic construction modifies the meaning of the main verb by adding senses like willingness, promptness etc. to the action of the main verb.

1. **rtses-təŋ—**
   (to) Dance—promptly, unwillingly etc.

2. **təŋs-təŋ—**
   (to) Give away

3. **tshonŋs-təŋ—**
   (to) Sell away

4. **khyers-təŋ—**
   (to) Take away

5. **čos—təŋ—**
   (to) Do away
8. Intransitive and Transitive Verbal Stems

Ladakhi verb stems are either transitive or intransitive, e.g.

**Intransitive**

1. ēha-  
   (to) Go
2. yo?,-  
   (to) Come

**Transitive**

1. t?a-  
   (to) Give
2. khyer-  
   (to) Take
3. di-  
   (to) Write
4. sil-  
   (to) Read
5. söl-  
   (to) Offer

Usually Ladakhi has separate intransitive and transitive verb stems, which are paired-off to express this relationship.

**Examples:**

rdu-  
(to) Beat  
: phog-  
(to) Be beaten

rtsig-  
(to) Build  
: dub-  
(to) Be built

ñen-  
(to) Hear  
: tšhor-  
(to) Be heard

lta-  
(to) See  
: tho?,-  
(to) Be seen

zum-  
(to) Catch  
: thub-  
(to) Be caught

In rare cases transitive stems are formed from intransitive bases by pre-fixation and devoicing of the initial consonant of the transitive or by only devoicing or aspirating or de-aspirating or by deaspirating of the initial consonant and pre-fixation of the intransitive stems.

**Examples:**

bar-  
(to) Be burnt (Intr.)

spar-  
(to) Burn (Tr.)

but-  
(to) Be uprooted (Intr.)

put-  
(to) Uproot (Tr.)

žik-  
(to) Be destroyed (Intr.)

šik-  
(to) Destroy (Tr.)

čat-  
(to) Cut (Intr.)
Ladakhi verb stems are basically non-causative stems. For making causative verb stems, the causative suffix \( \text{čug} \) is added to the verb stem, e.g.

- \( \text{čhɒt} \) (to) Cut (Tr.)
- \( \text{čhak} \) (to) Break (Intr.)
- \( \text{čʊk} \) (to) Break (Tr.)
- \( \text{khor} \) (to) Move in a circle (Intr.)
- \( \text{skor} \) (to) Move around (Tr.)
- \( \text{di} \) (to) Write
- \( \text{di-čug} \) (to) Make (someone) write
- \( \text{sil} \) (to) Read
- \( \text{sil-čug} \) (to) Make (someone) read
- \( \text{ŋʊl-so} \) (to) Rest
- \( \text{ŋʊl-so-čug} \) (to) Make (someone) rest
- \( \text{fiid-log} \) (to) Sing
- \( \text{fiid-log-čug} \) (to) Make (someone) sing
- \( \text{rtsəŋ-mə-čo} \) (to) Cleanse
- \( \text{rtsəŋ-mə-čo-čug} \) (to) Make (someone) cleanse
- \( \text{ńid-log} \) (to) Sleep
- \( \text{ńid-lok-čog} \) (to) Make (someone) sleep

9. Tense, Aspect and Orientation Categories

A Ladakhi speaker's world view is different from that of the speakers of the other major Indian languages. He categorises his experience and the world around him in a manner which is different from that of other Indian language speakers and also expresses it differently. A Ladakhi verb form thus expresses several features of his orientation towards an action. An action is located temporally, i.e. whether the action is located in the present or prior to the present time, or is going to take place in future with the element of probability, likelihood etc. of its occurrence. The aspectual characteristics of an action like its continuous nature, its completion etc. is also expressed in the verb form. A further important semantic component is the speaker's commitment or involvement in the action. Thus, the speaker's witnessing the action or not, his knowledge of the same or otherwise
(direct, indirect etc.), his uncertainty or otherwise about the veracity of the action etc. are also conveyed by the verb forms. Speaker’s commitment to or involvement in the action is thus a significant component of the semantics of a verb form. The fact that the speaker himself feels or experiences something or reports on someone else’s action is also distinguished in Ladakhi, so is the fact that something appears to be ‘X’ is marked explicitly and differently in Ladakhi verbs. This semantic distinction is termed as orientation in this study. Ladakhi also has distinct verb forms for narratives than for general use.

Thus Ladakhi verb forms can be analysed along the following parameters:
Tense: Present, past and future.
Aspect: Continuous and completion.
Speaker’s Orientation: Reporting, observed, narrational, dubitative etc.

The above parameters are different from the modal categories to which Ladakhi verb forms are subject to, as the above form a full system which then applies to different moods as well. Ladakhi modal verbs will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

10. Affirmative Sub-System: Copula Verb ‘to be’

Ladakhi expresses the sense of ‘to be’ by various equational verb forms like yin—, yod—, dug—, rəg—, yin—nog—. These forms act as copula verb. Various allomorphs of the equational verb are mutually complementary. The details of the use of these forms will be discussed now.

11. Present Tense Forms of ‘to be’

dug—

When a statement is made on the basis of seeing the phenomenon more or less concurrently dug is used, e.g.

pu—mo rde—mo duk. The girl is beautiful (based on the speaker seeing the girl).
\text{The tree is green (on the basis of seeing it).}

Often 
\text{dug- is used only with IIInd and IIIrd person subjects as one cannot see himself but can see only others. However, dug- can be used with 1st person subjects if one is seeing oneself in a mirror or in a dream and is referring to it, e.g.}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{ηο  rde-mo duk.  I am beautiful (on the basis of seeing oneself in the mirror etc.).}
\end{verbatim}

\text{yod—}

\text{yod— is used to express the meaning of 'to be' when the speaker talks about something on the basis of his definite knowledge.}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{pu-mo  a-ru  yot.  The girl is there (the speaker having seen her there earlier himself).}
\end{verbatim}

\text{For reporting on the basis of indirect knowledge obtained from books, writing, narration, radio, etc. yod— is used.}
However, if the speaker does not feel absolutely certain about the veracity of his knowledge, dug—may be used.

While reporting about the indirect knowledge, the Ladakhi speaker normally mentions the source of his knowledge, e.g.

1. **£on—čhen**
   N.Sg.Dir.

   **£e—ə**
   N.Dat.

   **yot**
   V. to be

   **zer—ste**
   V. St. Perf. Parti.

   Prime Minister Leh
tell having

   **tshak—pər—ri**
   N. Gen.

   **nəŋ—ŋə**
   P.P. Dat.

   **duk.**
   V. to be Pr.

   News—paper in

   It is said in the newspaper* that the Prime Minister is in Leh (lit. having said in the newspaper Prime Minister is in Leh).

2. **dəŋ—di—riŋ**
   Adv. T.

   **čhu—šul—li**
   N. Gen.

   **nəŋ—ŋə**
   P.P. Dat.

   these days proper name Chushul into

   **khə—məŋ—po**
   N. Adj. Dir.

   **duk**
   V. to be

   **zer—ste**
   V. St. Perf. Parti.

   **yi—ge**
   N. Dir.

   snow much tell letter

   A letter (which has) reached, says (that) Chushul has a lot of snow these days (The speaker is not certain about it as it is based only on indirect information).

**rag—**

When a personal experience or feeling has to be expressed, the verb form **rag—** is used.
This apple is not sweet.

I have headache but he has stomachache.

General Statement

Le-te - khyer rde - mo yin - nok.
Leh city beautiful

Leh is a beautiful city (lit. Leh city is beautiful).

Universal Truth

Jik - rten ril - ril yin - nok.
world round

World is round.

Historical Truth

rgyel - wa - rin - po - che tsho - n - me sny.
Dalai Lama all

Dalai Lama is the most exalted monk.
Verb Phrase

Red Fort is built by King Akbar.

yin—

It is used to make simple statements with no implications expressed by the above four forms, e.g.

i—bo  ηe  pu—mo  yin.
Prox. Pro.  I.P. Pro.  N. Dir.  V. to be Pr.
Sg. Sp.  Sg. Gen.
this one  my  daughter

η³  mœg—mi  yin.
I.P. Pro.  N. Dir.  V. to be Pr.
Sg. Dir.
I  soldier

Thus 'to be', is expressed by the following items:
dug— 'to be', to express a statement made on the basis of seeing the phenomenon more or less concurrent to the time of statement.
yod— 'to be', to report a phenomenon of which the speaker has a definite knowledge (directly or indirectly).
rag— 'to be', to express an experience or feeling.
yin—nog— 'to be', to make general statements, facts of universal truths, historical truths etc.
yin— 'to be', to make a simple statement, with no implications expressed by the above forms.

12. Past Tense Forms of 'to be'

The past tense forms of the above equational verbs are formed by adding the past tense suffix -pin to dug—,
yod—, and yin—. The semantic implications of meanings in each case are the same except that —pin locates the action in the past.

**duk—pin**

1. pu-mo i-ru duk-pin.
   N.Sg. Loc.Adv. V. to be Pt. Dir. 
   girl here  
   The girl was here (as she was just seen by the speaker).

2. ñe-rəŋ-ŋi yi-ge i-ru duk-pin.
   your letter here  
   Your letter was here (as it was just seen by the speaker).

**yot—pin**

1. kho nək-po yot-pin.
   III.P. Qul.Adj. V. to be Pt. Sg.Dir. 
   he black  
   He was black (based on definite knowledge).

2. sən-mə i-ru čhor-rtən-čhen-mo-ziq
   earlier here 🟢 Stupa big pillar  
   yot—pin. V. to be Pt.  
   Earlier there was a big Stupa here.

**yin—pin**

1. i-bo əət kar yin-pin.
   this one my car  
   This was my car.
2. sən-ʃə kho ʃop-ʃe ge-rgən yin-pin.
   Adv. T. III. P. N. Gen. N. Dir. V. to be Pt.
   Pro. Sg. Dir.

   earlier he school teacher

   Earlier he was a school teacher.

   Ladakhi does not attest past tense form of rəg— with —pin; but when it is intended to express something felt or experienced in the past, Ladakhi uses reportive past tense forms, e.g.

   ɳə ltoks-ʃət—pin
   Sg. Dir.

   I hungry was

   I was hungry.

   It may be noted that yin—nok is not used in past tense, as general statements and universal truths etc. are expressed only in the present tense in Ladakhi.

13. kək Forms of ‘to be’

   The suffix —kək is used in narrations. In such cases —kək implies a certain degree of uncertainty about the veracity of the statement as the speaker cannot himself vouchsafe for it. —kək forms are really indifferent to the temporal distinction of present and past as they express uncertainty about an event. yin—kək expresses a higher degree of uncertainty than yot—kək.

   1. cən-dra-gup-tə rgyəl-po-ʒik yin-kək.
      N. Dir. N. Indef. V. to be Art.

      proper name

      king a

      (Once upon a time) there was a king (named), Chandragupta.

   2. cən-dra-gup-tə zer-ʃən-ni

      proper name

      called
(Once upon a time) there was a king (named) Chandragupta.

14. —do Forms of ‘to be’

When the likelihood of an event or fact etc. is to be expressed by ‘to be’,—do is added to yin— or yod—. yin—do is used where a greater degree of likelihood is based on an explicit and concrete basis for the same. For example, if one hears a telephone bell, a knock at the door etc. one can say ‘who could he be?’ by using yin—do. When a somewhat lesser degree of likelihood is to be expressed yod— + do→ yod—do is used. In such cases no explicit or concrete basis for likelihood is present. This distinction of greater and lesser degree of likelihood is parallel to the same distinction in the case of probability which is expressed by adding —kak to yod— and yin—.

1. a— bot—khon—bo tšhe—wη yin—do.
   Non. V. St. Der. Sp. Dir. N. Dir. V. to be
   Prox. Suf.
   Pro.
   that caller one proper name
   The one (lit. that) who is calling (lit. caller) must be Tshewang.

2. su yin—do ?
   Intrr. Pro. Dir.
   who
   Who must (he) be?

3. daη—di—riη—ηə lê—ə tsoη—mo
   these days Leh cold
   yod—do.
   V. to be
   It should be cold in Leh now.
   (i.e. at this time).
4. ด่าน—di—ริน—η่วย น. gen ภู—rem น. dat
dil—li—o

these days  my teacher  Delhi
yod—pdo.
V. to be pdo

My teacher should be in Delhi at present.

It must be mentioned that there are no future forms of verb ‘to be’, as any future event is interpreted in terms of probability or likelihood of its occurrence in Ladakhi.

15. Affirmative Sub-system: Finite Verb Forms

Ladakhi finite verb forms of the affirmative sub-system are marked for tense-aspect-orientation and mood. The tense-aspect-orientation markers close the verbal form. In modal forms, mood suffixes are added directly to the verb stem and precede the tense-aspect-orientation markers.

Ladakhi shows a three-way tense-distinction—present, past and future. While past and future are overtly marked, the present tense is not marked. In other words, there is no overt marker for present tense in Ladakhi. As far as aspect is concerned, a two-way distinction of continuous action and completed action is attested. Ladakhi further shows different formations for an action being seen, an action being reported on the basis of definite knowledge, for being used in the narrative contexts and the like. As mentioned earlier, different forms of the verb ‘to be’ are used after the main verb stem to express the above distinctions.

16. Present Tense Forms

Present tense forms are distinguished on the basis of aspect and orientation categories into five types—Reportive Present, Reportive Present Continuous, Observed Present, Observed Present Continuous and Historical Present.

17. Reportive Present Forms

Such forms are used to report an action taking place in the present time. They may also be used to report something
which one usually does, may be as a matter of occupation or habit. Such forms are formed by adding the allomorphs of yod— to the verb stem. If the verb stem ends in a vowel, the allomorph is —əd—; if the verb stem ends in a consonant, the allomorph is —Cəd— wherein the C is the same consonant as the final consonant of the verb stem, e.g. ɖi—ət, sil—ɿt, yoŋ—ŋət etc.

Examples:

1. या शिन—यि नय—या लॉस ɕo—ət.
   भए—लह इंड स्टेम—।
   field inside work do
   I work in the fields.

2. so—नम चे—ə च्हो—ə.
   N. Dir. N. Dat.
   नाम पूरा—लह गो.
   Proper name Proper Name go
   Sonam goes to Leh.

3. पाल—ल्दान—नी श्प—च्हो लिल—ɿत.
   N. Erg. N. Dir.
   पाल्दान पूरा—लह गो.
   Proper Name book read
   Paldan reads a book.

18. Reportive Present Continuous Forms

Such forms report the continuity of an action in the present time. These forms are formed by adding yin—yod— to a vowel ending verb stem. If the verb stem ends in a consonant, the final consonant is repeated and —in—yod— is added, e.g. sil—lin—yot, yoŋ—ŋin—yot etc.

1. ये श्प—च्हो लिल—ɿत.
   I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.
   भए—लह इंड स्टेम—।
   book read
   I am reading a book.
2. dol-me yi-ge- xik di-yin-yot.
   N. Erg. N. Indef. Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.

Proper Name
Dolma letter one write
Dolma is writing a letter.

3. kho-e l̥s čo-yin-yot.

he work work
He is working.

19. Observed Present Forms
When an action is located in the present temporally on the basis of seeing the same, the observed present forms are used. Such forms are made by using dug- after the verb stem. After the vowel-final verb-stem, dug- has a free variant rug—

Examples:
1. thug-gu-yi pal-ldan-la pe-ne təŋ — duk.
   N. Sg. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.

Proper Name
boy Paldan money give
The boy gives money to Paldan (direct observation)

2. kho-e l̥cəŋ-mə čəd—duk.
   III. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.

he tree cut
He cuts the tree (direct observation).

3. khyo-rəŋ-ŋi spe-čhə di—ruk.
   II. P. Pro. Sg. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.

you book read
You read the book (direct observation).

20. Observed Present Continuous Forms
If the continuous aspect of the action, being observed by the speaker, has to be referred to, it is done by adding —yin— dug— to the verb stem. In the case of consonant-final verb
stems —yin—dug— is assimilated such that the initial y— of yin— changes to the consonant identical to the final consonant of verb stem, e.g. ğı—yin—duk, čo—yin—duk, sil—lin—duk, ċød—din—duk etc.

Examples:

1. thug—gu—yi  pe—ne
   N. Sg. Erg.  N. Dat. N. Dir.
   boy
   təŋ—yin—duk.
   Tr. V. Ob. Pr. Cont.
   give

   The boy is giving money to Paldan.

2. kho—e  lčəŋ—mə  čød — din—duk.
   he
   tree
   cut

   He is cutting the tree.

3. kho—qaŋ—ŋič  špe—čha  dı—yin—duk.
   you
   book
   read

   You are reading a book.

21. Historical Present Forms

Ladakhi has a separate form for stating universal truths, historical truths and for making general statements. These forms are made by adding —ə—nog— to the vowel ending verb stems. In the case of consonant final stems, the final consonant of the stem is doubled while adding —ə—nog— to the stem.

Examples:

1. ńi—mə  žək—təŋ  şər—ne  şər—rə—nok.
   sun  daily  east  rise

   The sun rises daily in the east.
2. rgyal-po-gun-ni khar rtsig-gə — nok.
   N. Pl. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. His. Pr.
   kings palace build
   Kings build palaces.

3. rgya-θsho-e chu tshə-khu yon-ŋə — nok.
   sea water salty come
   Sea water is salty.

4. la-daks-pə-məŋ-pə-e ʒiŋ-ŋi
   Ladakhis many field of
   naŋ-ŋə las ći-ə—nok.
   P. P. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. His. Pr.
   in work
   Many Ladakhis work in the fields.

22. Past Tense Forms

   Past tense forms of Reportive Present, Reportive Present Continuous, Observed Present and Observed Present Continuous are formed by adding the past tense marker -pin to such forms.

23. Reportive Past Forms

   When the occurrence of an action in the past is reported (based on direct and definite knowledge) such forms are used. They are formed by adding -pin to the reportive present. Such forms may also be used to express something which one used to do in past, as a matter of habit or occupation. These forms do not have any aspectual implication.

   Examples:

   1. ŋə khər-ʒi ʒə-ət—pin.
      Sg. Erg.
      1 food eat
      I ate the food.

   2. pəl-ldən tøŋ-khyer-ła yon-ŋət — pin.
      N. Dir. N. Dat. Intr. V. Re. Pt.
      Proper Name city come
      Paldan
      Paldan came to the city.
24. Reportive Past Continuous Forms

These forms are made by adding the past tense marker —pin to the Reportive Present Continuous forms and are used to report the continuous nature of an action in the past. This is reported or expressed on the basis of definite knowledge about the action.

Examples:

daŋŋ e ḷe khoŋ—ji zə—yin—yot—pin.
Pro. Sg. Erg.
yesterday I food eat
I was eating the food yesterday.

25. Observed Past Forms

When the occurrence of a past action which was observed by the speaker is to be expressed such forms are used. They are formed by adding the past tense marker —pin to the observed present tense forms. These forms are not normally used with 1st Person subject.

Examples:

1. thug—gu—yi lēŋŋ mə—yi lo—mə
N. Sg. Erg. N. Gen. N. Dir.
boy tree leaf
čəd—duk—pin.
Tr. V. Ob. Pt.
cut

The boy plucked the leaves of the tree.

2. khoŋ—rəŋŋ—ŋi ʃpe—čə ɖi—ruk—pin.
II. P. Pro. Sg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pt.
Non-Hon. Erg.
you book write
You wrote the book.
Verb Phrase

3. pu—mo—e  
   girl  
   N. Sg. Erg. 

pal-lde-n-la  
   Proper Name  
   N. Dat. 

pe—ne  
   N. Dir. 

tøη—duk—pin.  
   Tr. V. Ob. Pt. 

give 

The girl gave money to Paldan.

26. Observed Past Continuous Forms

When continuous of an action being done in the past is to be expressed by the speaker who himself saw it happening, such forms are used. They are formed by adding the past tense suffix —pin to the observed present continuous forms.

Examples:

1. tšhe—wøη—ηi  
   proper name  
   N. Erg. 

čø  
   drink  
   N. Dir. 

thu.η—ηin—duk—pin.  
   Tr. V. Ob. Pt. Cont. 

Tshewang was drinking tea.

2. źin—pe  
   farmer  
   N. Erg. 

źin—ηi  
   field  
   N. Gen. 

nøη—ηa  
   into  
   P. P. Dat. 

løs  
   work  
   N. Dir. 

cø—yin—duk—pin.  
   Tr. V. Ob. Pt. Cont. 

do  

The farmer was working in the field.

27. Perfect Forms

Besides the continuous aspect of an action Ladakhi also marks the completion of an action. Herein again a twofold distinction is attested: (a) when a mere statement of the completion of an action is to be conveyed, (b) when the speaker witnesses the completion of the action. Thus there are two types of perfect forms — perfect forms and past perfect forms.

28. Simple Perfect Forms

When the completion of an action is to be conveyed, the
simple perfect forms are used. The simple perfect forms are made by adding the suffix —s to the verb stem. The use of the suffix —s is optional after stems ending in —r, —l, —t, —n. Some verb roots ending in —g do not take the suffix —s. The perfect form of ēhā—‘(to) go’ is sōη. Such forms are more commonly used with IInd and IIIrd person subjects.

1. mi—yi   spiele—čhā  ṇdis.
   N. Sg. Erg.  N. Dir.  Tr. V. Simp. Perf.
   man  book  write
   The man wrote the book.

2. khyo—rəη—ηηi  ǭc—məη—po  thuŋs.
   Non-Hon.  Sg. Erg.
   you  tea much  drink
   You drank tea a lot.

3. kho—e  u  ṭɲs.
   III. P. Pro.  N. Dir.  Tr. V. Sim. Perf
   Sg. Erg.
   he  song  give
   He sang a song.

4. kho  rgyal—lā  rtšes.
   III. P.  Qul. Adj.  Intr. V. Simp. Perf
   Pro. Sg.  Dir.
   he  well  dance
   He danced well.

29. Past Perfect Forms

If the speaker has himself witnessed the completion of the action, the past perfect forms are used. Such forms are made by adding the suffix —pin to the simple perfect forms stated above. As the speaker himself is involved in such situations as a witness, there is a preference for using past perfect forms with the 1st. person subject.
Verb Phrase

Examples:

1. \( \eta \)  
   ba-na-ra-s-la  
   I. P. Pro.  
   N. Dat.  
   proper name  
   Intr. V. Pt. Perf.  
   go  
   I went to Benaras.

2. kho-e  
   thən-kə-gun  
   Ill. P. Pro.  
   N. Pl. Dir.  
   religious paintings  
   Tr. Pt. Perf.  
   make  
   He made religious paintings.

3. kh yo-rən-ŋi  
   po-lo  
   N. Dir.  
   a game  
   Qul. Adj.  
   well  
   You played Polo well.

30. Future Tense Forms

When a reference has to be made about an action, which is scheduled to occur or may occur in future time, future tense forms are used. Ladakhi makes a three way distinction in future tense forms — definite future forms, indefinite future forms and future continuous forms. These shall now be discussed hereinafter.

31. Definite Future Forms

Such forms are used when one wants to refer to an action which is definitely going to occur in future. The definite future marker is —yin. When it is used after a consonant ending verb stem, the initial y— is changed to the consonant identical to the stem final one. In the case of stems ending in —e, and —ə, yin is changed to —en and the stem final vowels —e or —ə is elided. yin is added without any modification only after verb stems ending in —i, —u, —o.
Examples:

1. ṭa tho-re a-ba-a yi-ge di-yin.
   I. P. Pro. Adv. T. N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V.
   father letter write
   I will write a letter to my father tomorrow.

2. kho sti-η-me za--ldο--wa le-ο ħchen.
   name
   He will go to Leh next Monday.

3. khyo-رأس-ηa i-spe-չה-bo di-רη
   this book today
   Will you need this book tonight?

32. Indefinite Future Forms

When one refers to an action which is likely to occur in future, such forms are used. In such a case, the speaker is not at all definite about the future occurrence of the event but thinks that there is a strong probability or even likelihood of its occurrence. There are three different ways of expressing this indefiniteness in Ladakhi as follows:

A. Indefinite future forms are formed by adding — do to the definite future forms. Thus the addition of suffix — do changes the meaning from definite to indefinite in such cases.
Verb Phrase 203

Examples:

1. kho rgun-lə נל-ə lok-ste yon-ə-in-ə-do.
   Pro. Sg. Proper Parti. Fut.
   Dir. name
   he winter Leh return come having
   He may come back to Leh in winter.

2. ə khyo-rən-ə dil-li-ne yı-ge
   Sg. Erg. Hon. Sg. Dat. Proper name
   I you Delhi letter
   di-yin-ə-do.
   Tr. V. Indf.
   Fut.
   write
   I may write a letter to you from Delhi.

B. Indefinite future forms are made by adding —ə-do to the verb stem.

Example:

kho tho-re yon-ə-do.
Pro. Sg.
Dir.
he tomorrow come
He may come tomorrow.

Although there is no difference in meaning between these two ways of forming indefinite future forms the later (i.e. the one in which —ə-do is directly added to the verb stem) is less frequent.

C. The third way is by adding —čen to the verb stem.

Examples:

1. lob-zən tshes-rtsu-lə yon-čen.
   Proper name
   Lobzang date ten come
   Lobzang is likely to come on 10th.
2. khyo—rə η  kə—ru  čhə—čen ?  
Non-Hon. Sg. Dir.
you  where  go 
Where are you going (i.e. where are you likely to go)?

3. kho—e  tho—re  ɲe  thə—čo  thuk—čen.  
he  tomorrow  my  brother  meet 
He will meet my brother tomorrow (i.e. is likely to meet...).

An important idiomatic use of —čen is in referring to personal names. In such cases the verbal sequence zar—čen is used instead of present tense forms.

1. khyo—rə η  miŋ—ŋə  či  zer—čen ?  
your  name  what  tell 
What is your name?

2. ɲe  miŋ—ŋə  dọl—mə  zer—čen.  
I. P. Pro.  N. Dir. 
Sg. Gen. 
my  name  Proper name  tell 
My name is Dolma.

33. Future Continuous Forms

When one wants to refer to the continuous aspect of an action in future time, such forms are used. These forms are made by adding —do to the reportive present tense forms.

Examples:

1. kho—e  tho—re  i—  tuz—lə  Lu  
Pro. Sg. Erg. 
he  tomorrow  this  time  song
Verb Phrase

\[ \text{təη—ŋət—ðo.} \]
\[ \text{Tr. V. Fut. Cont.} \]
\[ \text{give} \]

He will be singing at this time tomorrow.

2. khyo—rəŋ thọ—re
\[ \text{II. P. Pro. Adv. T.} \]
\[ \text{Non-Hon. Sg.Dir.} \]
you tomorrow

\[ \text{i— tuz—la} \]
\[ \text{Prox. Pro. N. Dat.} \]

Will you be eating the food tomorrow at this time?

3. i— tuz—la
\[ \text{Prox. N. Dat.} \]
\[ \text{Pro.} \]
this time

\[ \etaə—təŋ \]
\[ \text{I. P. Pro. Pl. N. Dat.} \]
\[ \text{Incl. Dir. Proper name} \]
we Madras

At this time we will be reaching Madras.

34. Narrative Forms

Ladakhi uses special verb forms for describing an action in narratives, folk or otherwise. Such narrative forms express the contrast of aspect. Thus, there are three distinct formations: Simple narrative forms, narrative continuous forms and narrative perfect forms. As speaker in such cases is making statements about something which he has neither seen himself nor has a direct knowledge of, no definiteness is ever implied by such forms. The narrative forms are really indifferent to the temporal distinction of the type mentioned earlier in this section.
35. **Simple Narrative Forms**

When a simple statement of an action in a narration is to be made, simple narrative forms are used. These forms are made by adding \(-kək\) to the reportive present forms of the verb.

**Examples:**

1. la-mə-gun-ni sku-rim səl-lət-kək.
   
   
   monks           worship          offer

   Monks worshipped (lit. offered worship).

2. kho šə-məŋ-po zə-ət-kək.
   
   
   Sg. Dir.
   
   he          meat          much          eat

   He ate too much meat.

36. **Narrative Continuous Forms**

When the continuous nature of an action in a narration is to be referred to, the narrative continuous forms are used. Such forms are made by adding the suffix \(-kək\) to the reportive present continuous forms.

**Examples:**

1. ḡak—ṣik rgyəl-po-e tshoks-si nəŋ-ŋə
   
   
   day          one          king          forest          into

   One day the king had been hunting into the forest.

2. mi-gun i-ləm-ne čhen-ŋ-yot-kək.
   
   
   Dir.
   
   men          this path          go

   Men had been passing by this way (lit. going from this way).
37. Narrative Perfect Forms

When one wants to refer to the perfect aspect of an action in a narration, the narrative perfect forms are used. These forms are made by adding the suffix -kak to the simple perfect forms of the verb.

Examples:

1. sɐŋ—rgyas—si  chos  suŋs—kak.
   N. Erg.  N. Dir.  Tr. V. Narr. Perf.
   Buddha religion preach
   Buddha preached religion.

2. thə—li—yi  nəŋ—ŋi  ku—šu  so—nəm
   plate into apple Proper name Sonam
   zos—kak.
   Tr. V. Narr. Perf.
   eat
   Sonam might have eaten the apple which was in the plate.

38. Experiential Forms

Ladakhi has a special device for expressing experience, feelings, sentiments etc. It was stated earlier that the form rəg— is used to express it in the sense of verb ‘to be’, e.g. ə—ə zur—mo rək ‘(lit.) I feel pain’. The copula form rək is also used for this meaning with the main (or contentive) verb. It can occur in present as well as past formations.

39. Experiential Present Forms

When one wants to express the meaning ‘one feels like’ going, buying or any other action denoted by a verb or self-experience —ə—rəg— is used after vowel ending stems; if it is a consonant ending stem, the final consonant is repeated and ə—rəg— is used, i.e. the suffix is composed of the repetition of the stem final consonant and ə—rəg—. Such formations are commonly used with Ist. person subjects. When it is used with IInd. and IIIrd. person subjects the
implication is that it is the speaker who feels or experiences something about the person being referred to.

Examples:

1. \( \eta \) ltoks-sə-rək.
   I. P. Pro. Intr. V. Exp. Pr.
   Sg. Dir.
   I to be hungry
   I feel hungry. (i.e. I am hungry).

2. \( \eta \) go-ə zur-mo yon-ŋə-rək.
   Sg. Gen.
   my head pain come
   I have headache.

3. kho čhə-ə-rək.
   III. P. Pro. Intr. V. Exp. Pr.
   he go
   He is going (the speaker feels).

4. khyo-ŋə rgod-da-rək.
   II. P. Pro. Intr. V. Exp. Pr.
   Sg. Non-Hon.
   Dir.
   you laugh
   You are laughing (the speaker feels).

While expressing self-experience, the formation is limited to only 1st. person subjects, e.g.

1. \( \eta \) thəd-da-rək.
   I. P. Pro. Intr. V. Exp. Pr.
   Sg. Dir.
   I happy
   I am happy.

2. \( \eta \) səm-mə-rək.
   I. P. Pro. Tr. V. Exp. Pr.
   Sg. Erg.
   I think
   I am thinking.
40. Experiential Past Forms

If one wants to express a feeling or self-experience with regard to a past action done by a IIInd. or IIIrd. person agent, the past tense maker -pin is added to above forms, e.g.

1. kho čhə-ə-rək-pin.
   III. P. Pro. Intr. V. Exp. P.
   he go
   He was going (the speaker feels).

2. khyo-rəŋ rgod-də-rək-pin.
   II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. Sg. Dir.
   you laugh
   You were laughing (the speaker feels).

If one wants to express a feeling or experience which one oneself had in past, the reportive forms are used with -pin, e.g.

1. ƞe go-ə zur-mo yon-ƞət-pin.
   my head pain come
   I had headache.

41. Inferential Formation

Ladakhi has different formations to express an inference made by the speaker based either on seeing a concrete fact or on the basis of knowledge gained by hearing something from someone or inferring it generally from the circumstances. Such forms can be used in present or past. Forms based on inferences drawn on the basis of direct and concrete facts are distinguished from inferences drawn on the basis of conjectural and indirect evidence (see thig-forms). Such formations are as follows:

42. Fact-based Inferential Forms

A. Fact-based Inferential Present Forms:

When one draws an inference on the basis of seeing a
concrete fact or occurrence, the vowel final stems take the suffix —og— and the consonant final stems repeat the stem final consonant followed by —og—, e.g.

**Examples:**

1. di-riŋ nəm khor-te duk čhər-po
   to be today sky having overcast rain  
   təŋ—ŋok.  
   Tr. V. F. B. Inf. Pr.  
   give  
   The sky is overcast today, (it is) going to rain.

2. kho-ø zur-mo sən-te duk ʃi-ŋok.  
   III P. Pro.  N. Dir.  Qul. Adj.  V. to be Intr. V.  
   Sg. Dat.  
   he pain very die  
   He is very sick, (he) will die.

3. khyo-rəŋ-ŋi rgyel-la sil-duł  
   Sg. Erg.  
   you good read  
   rgyuks thod-dok.  
   N. Dir.  Tr. V. F. B. Pr.  
   examination pass  
   You are studying well,  
   (you) will pass the examination.

**B. Fact-based Inferential Past Forms**

When one draws an inference on the basis of someone's habitual action or an action which the speaker knows has become routine for the referrent person and the speaker wants to state it, the past tense suffix —pin is added to the above —og— or Cog— forms.
Examples:

1. ldǝ—wǝ—rgyat—pe  nǝη—ŋǝ  dil—li—ǝ
month eight into Delhi
čhǝ—pǝ—mǝŋ—po  tǝŋ—ŋok—pin.
rain much give
In the eighth month (August), it used to rain heavily in Delhi.

2. lǝ—daks—lǝ  rgun—lǝ  khǝ  bǝps—sok—pin.
Ladakh winter snow fall
In winter snow used to fall in Ladakh.

3. kho  i—  tǝʊm—mǝ  me—sur—lǝ
III. P. Prox. N. Dat. N. Dat.
Pro. Sg. Pro.
Dir.
he this time Mysore
yǝŋ—ŋok—pin.
Intr. V.F.B. Inf. Pr.
At this time he used to come to Mysore.

43. Appearance-based Inferential Forms

When one wants to indicate that he is drawing an inference or reaching a conclusion based on the outward appearances of a reality (whether actually true or not), then the following types of forms are used. This semantic distinction is denoted by using the suffix —thig— after the verb stem, which is followed by —rǝg—, rǝk— pin—, sǝŋ—, yod—, dug— or duk— pin as necessary. Thus such constructions exhibit the structure

\[ \text{verb stem + thig—} \begin{cases} +rǝg— \\ +rǝk—pin \\ +sǝŋ \\ +yod— \\ +dug— \\ +duk—pin \end{cases} \]
A. *Verb Stem* +thig−rəg−:

When one wants to describe an action which he himself has not seen or does not have any knowledge of but he infers that it is happening, or will happen mainly because it is a routine action or the habit of the doer, such forms are used. The use of such forms is restricted to IIInd. and IIIrd. person subjects due to semantic considerations.

Examples:

1. dol−mə yoŋ−thig−rək.
   proper name Dolma come
   Dolma is coming (a guess by hearing foot-steps, voice etc.).

2. khyo−rəŋ−ŋi zuks−po thu−thig−rək.
   you body wash
   You are taking bath (a guess by hearing sound etc.).

B. *Verb Stem* +thig−rək−pin:

This is the past tense counterpart of the above forms. It is used to describe a past action which the speaker had not seen or had no knowledge of but had inferred its occurrence as it was a routine action or a habitual action on the part of the doer. Such forms are restricted to be used only with IIInd. or IIIrd. person subjects due to semantic considerations.

Examples:

1. kho dil−li−ə čə−thig−rək−pin.
   Proper name he Delhi go
   He used to go to Delhi (a guess).
Verb Phrase

2. khyo—rəŋ
   you earlier
dar—rjĩ—liŋ
   N. P. P. Dat. Tr. V. App. B. Inf.

Proper name
Darjeeling into study
You used to study in Darjeeling earlier.

C. Verb Stem + thig—yot:

When it appears to the speaker that an action may have occurred earlier, may even have been seen by him but by now he does not remember the same correctly, such forms are used. Such forms can take subjects of all the three persons.

Examples:

1. ḥə
   Proper name
I Hemis monastery reach
   I might have reached Hemis monastery.

2. kho—e
   ḥe  kə—ne  pe—ne  khyer—thig—yot.
   Gen.
   he me from money take
   He might have taken money from me.

3. khyo—rəŋ
   bək—ston—lə rtse—thig—yot.
   II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. Sg. Dir.
   you wedding dance
   You might have danced in the wedding.
D. *Verb Stem+thik—soŋ* :

When it appears to the speaker that an action may have occurred in past, which was not seen by him, but of which he has some vague or partial knowledge, such forms are used. Herein again, the semantic restrictions limit its use only to IIInd or IIIrd person subjects.

*Examples* :

1. kho 
   i—khəŋ—pe
   nəŋ—ŋə
   duk—thik—soŋ.

   He might have lived in this house.

2. khyo—rəŋ—ŋi
   čhəŋ—məŋ—po
   thūŋ—thik—soŋ.

   You might have drunk Chang a lot.

3. khon—gun
   dəŋ
   gor—te
   Ḷep—thik—soŋ.

   They might have reached late yesterday.

E. *Verb Stem+thig—duk* :

When the speaker has to guess the identity of an object or a person, or an action being performed by someone, as the same is not clearly identifiable either due to distance or some other factor, this verbal sequence is used. Due to semantic considerations, this kind of form can be used only with second and third person subjects.
Examples:

1. khyo-rəŋ  čək-təŋ  si-ni-mə-ə
   Non-Hon. Sg.  Dir.
   you  daily  cinema
   čhə-thig-duk.
   Intr. V. App. B. Inf.

   (It appears that) you go daily to cinema.

2. i-bo  gon-pə-ẑik  yin-thig-duk.
   Pro. Sp.
   this  monastery
   (It appears that) it is a monastery.

3. ə  pu-mo rde-mo  yot-thig-duk.
   Prox.
   Pro.
   that  girl  beautiful
   (It seems that) that girl is beautiful.

F. Verb Stem+thig-duk-pin:

This is the past tense counterpart of the construction ‘verb stem+thig-duk’ described above. In this case the speaker refers to a guess he made of the identity of an object or a person or an action performed by someone as the same was not clearly identifiable either due to distance or some other factor.

Examples:

1. kho-e  rtges-təŋ-thig-duk-pin.
   Sg. Erg.
   he  dance
   (It appeared that) he had danced.

2. ūe-rəŋ-ŋə  zur-mo  yoŋ-thig-duk-pin.
   Sg. Dat.
   you  pain  come
   (It appeared as if) you were sick.
3. ñe—rəŋ
   II. P. Pro.
   Hon. Sg. Dir.
   proper name
   you
   (It appeared that) you had gone to Benaras.

44. Attested Inferential Forms

When one wants to talk about an action the occurrence of which he has neither seen himself nor has any direct (first-hand) knowledge of, but which he can infer because he already has other kinds of evidence or proof about the occurrence of the action, then such forms are used. Such forms are made by adding the suffix —tok to the simple perfect form of a verb.

Examples:

1. kho-e
   III. P. Pro.
   he
   house
   buy
   He bought a new house.

2. kho-ə
   III. P. Pro.
   he
   letter
   write
   You wrote a letter to him.

When used with 1st person subjects, such forms are also used to refer to an involitive action, i.e. when one ends up doing something without having planned or even intended to do it.

Examples:

1. ḋə
   I. P. Pro.
   Proper name
   I
   I reached Benaras.
The use of -kək in folk narrations, old stories, and historical, mythological and legendary narrations has been described earlier. There is another set of forms which can be used in such narrations in Ladakhi. Such forms are derived by adding -tshuk to the verbal string which is composed of the verb stem followed by the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes. -tshuk forms when used in narratives, take IIIrd. person subjects. When -tshuk is used with IIInd. and Ist. person subjects, it has a different meaning. In such cases it conveys the meaning that the speaker is surprised that someone is going to do something or is in the process of doing something while the speaker did not expect it or know about it. Evidently the speaker makes the statement only after he knows or sees or finds out about it. Specific meanings of each such formations will be discussed later in this section. -tshuk can be added to the forms of verb ‘to be’ and to reportive present, reportive present continuous, reportive past, reportive past continuous and past perfect forms.

A. Reportive Present+tshuk:
With IIIrd person subjects, such forms are used in narratives of different kinds. In such cases, the forms are interchangeable with -kək forms.

Examples:
rgyal-po-ziik yot-tshuk. te-rgyal-po-o
N. Indef. Art. V. to be Obvi. Pro. N. Dat.
Dir.
king a
rgyal-po
N. Numr. Dir. V. to be N. Dir.
princess two
king
There was a king. That king had two princesses (daughters). The king lived in a palace in Leh.

When such forms are used with IIInd. person subjects, the speaker implies that he is surprised that the doer has already decided to do something, which the speaker did not expect. It also implies that the action has not yet been done.

**Examples:**

1. \( \text{khyo-} \)  
   II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. Sg. Dir. you  
   \( \text{wa-} \)  
   N. Dat. Proper name Varanasi  
   \( \text{čhö-} \)  
   Intr. V. Re. Pr. go  
   \( \text{šuk-} \)  
   Intr. V. Hon. Re. Pr. stay  

   So ! you are going to Varanasi  
   (the speaker is surprised that you have decided to go).

2. \( \text{ñe-} \)  
   II. P. Pro. Hon. Sg. Dat. you  
   \( \text{hin-} \)  
   N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr. know  
   \( \text{khyen-} \)  
   Intr. V. Re. Pr. stay  

   So ! you know Hindi  
   (the speaker is surprised at it).

These forms, when used with Ist. person subjects, imply that the speaker would have done an action without realizing that it was inappropriate or wrong for him to have done it, but has realized his folly. Thus the speaker has not done the action because he has learnt that it would have been a mistake.
Verb Phrase

Examples:

1. ηε
   I. P. Pro. Prox. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr.
   Sg. Erg. I this letter write
   Oh! I would have written this letter.

2. ηο—ξα
   Excl. Dir. Sg. Gen. his house
   ξα—οτ—tshuk.
   Intr. V. Re. Pr. go
   Oh! I would have gone or were going to his house (had decided to go).

B. Reportive Present Continuous + tshuk:

These forms add the meaning of the continuity of action to the one discussed above. Such forms are made by adding —tshuk to the reportive present continuous forms.

It is used in narratives with only IIIrd. person subjects to refer to the continuous aspect of an action.

Examples:

1. rgyal-po-e tshoks —si neη —ηο
   king forest in
   liης rτηε —yot —tshuk.
   N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.
   hunting hunt
   The king was hunting in the forest.

2. ξιη—bοτ—pe ξιη sγεη —yot—tshuk.
   N. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.
   farmer field harvest
   The farmer was harvesting (cutting) the crop.

When used with IIInd. person subjects, it expresses the
speaker's surprise that someone is in the process of doing something, which the speaker did not expect him to do.

Examples:

1. khyo-ɾʰə kʰər-ʃi zen-yot-ʈʂuk.
   you food eat
   Oh! you were going to have food.

2. ʰe-ɾʰə-ɾʱi čho-lo rtsə-dzəd-din-yot-ʈʂuk.
   Sg. Erg. you dice play
   Oh! you were going to play dice.

When used with 1st. person subjects, it means that the speaker was going to be in the process of doing something without realizing that it was wrong to do so and on some one's pointing out the erroneous nature of the same, is expressing his surprise at it.

Examples:

1. ʰə kʰə-tog-go čhen-yot-ʈʂuk.
   Sg. Dir. upper go
   region
   Oh! I was going towards the upper region (I would have done it, if I did not know it was wrong).

2. ʰe čʰəɾʱ thʊɾʰə-ɾʱin-yot-ʈʂuk.
   I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.
   Sg. Erg. local drink
   alcohol
   I was drinking Chang (local alcohol) (without knowing it was wrong).

C. Reportive Past+ʈʂuk:

Such forms consist of the reportive past form of the verb followed by −ʈʂuk.
With IIIrd. person subjects, it is used only in folk narratives and refers to a past action, which someone did as a matter of habit or routine.

**Examples:**

1. kho  ʐək-τəŋ  ʂku-ə  čhə-ət-pin-tʃhuk.
   Sig. Dir.  he  daily  stealing  go
   He used to go every day to steal.

2. khoŋ-ŋi  ŋə  zum-ste  khyoŋ-ŋət-pin-tʃhuk.
   III. P. Pro.  N. Dir.  V. St.  Tr. Y. Re. Pt.
   Pl. Erg.  they  fish  having  bring
   caught
   They used to bring fish having caught (the same).

With IInd. person subjects, it expresses the surprise of the speaker at an action which one did in past, an action which the speaker did not expect him (someone) to do and is surprised at learning about it.

**Examples:**

1. khyo-ɾəŋ  ʐək-τəŋ  ʂok-səŋən  ltə-ə
   II. P. Pro.  Non-Hon. Sg. Dir.
   you  daily  cinema  see
   čhə-ət-pin-tʃhuk.
   Intr. V. Re. Pt.
   go
   Oh! you used to go to see movies every day (speaker is surprised).

2. ŋe-ɾəŋ-ŋi  skyems  don-nət-pin-tʃhuk.
   II. P. Pro.  Hon.  Tr. V. Hon. Re. Pt.
   Hon. Sg. Erg.  you  local  drink
   alcohol
   Oh! you drank Chang (local alcohol) (speaker is surprised).
With 1st. person subjects it is used in the following meaning. The speaker used to do something in the past. Then he is told that it was an inappropriate or erroneous action. On having realized it, he expresses his surprise that he used to do it.

Examples:

1. \( \eta \) \( \# \)k–t\( \eta \) lam–men–ne
   Sg. Dir.
   I daily wrong path
   yo\( \eta \)–\( \eta \)t–pin–tshuk.
   Intr. V. Re. Pt.
   I came by a wrong path every day (without knowing that it was the wrong way).

2. \( \eta \)–\( \eta \) i–\( \chi \)hu thu\( \eta \)–\( \eta \)t–pin–tshuk.
   Pl. Erg.
   we this water drink
   We drank this water (without realizing it to be an error).

D. Reportive Past Continuous + tshuk:

Such forms are constituted by adding –tshuk to the reportive past continuous forms of a verb.

With IIrd. person subjects, it refers to an action in process in past time and is used only in narratives.

Examples:

1. kho–e \( \ddot{s} \)n \( \ddot{s} \)g–gin–yot–pin–tshuk.
   Sg. Erg.
   he wood split
   He was splitting wood.

2. kho\( \eta \)–\( \ddot{s} \)g–gi \( \check{\ell} \)u t\( \eta \)n–gin–yot–pin–tshuk.
   Pl. Erg.
   they song give
   They were singing songs.
With IIInd. person subjects, such forms are used to express the speaker's surprise at someone's progressive action in past, which the speaker did not know about and is surprised on learning about it.

**Examples :**

1. khyo-ɾεŋ  
   ɾεŋ Spe-ʧʰə  
   N.  Yn-ʔot-pin-tʃhuk.  
   Tr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.
   
   II. P. Pro.  
   Non-Hon.  
   Sg. Dir.  
   you book buy  
   Oh! you were buying a book.

2. khyo-žə  
   žə ʧhu-ə  
   Skyəl-lin-ʔot-pin-tʃhuk.  
   Intr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.
   
   you water swim  
   You were swimming in the water (how surprising).

With 1st. person subjects, it expresses the speaker's surprise at finding out that he was doing something in past which he was not expected to do and it was a mistake for him to have done it.

**Examples :**

1. ȵə  
   ȵə (NS)-ŋin-ʔot-pin-tʃhuk.  
   Intr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.
   
   I. P. Pro.  
   Sg. Dir.  
   I sleep come  
   I was sleeping (without realizing that I should not have done it).

2. ȵə-žə  
   žə ʧhoks-лə  
   Čhən-ʔot-pin-tʃhuk.  
   Intr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.
   
   Excl. P. Pl. Dir.  
   we right side go  
   We were going by the right side (which was a mistake).
E. Past Perfect + tshuk :

Such forms are used by adding -tshuk to the past perfect forms of a verb.

With IIIrd. person subjects, it is used only in narratives to refer to an action which was completed in past and the completion of the action was witnessed by someone (other than the present speaker).

*Examples* :

1. kho-e šin šaks-pin-tshuk.
   he wood split
   He had split wood.

2. khoη-sag-gi ĥu təγs-pin-tshuk.
   they song give
   They had sung a song.

With IIInd. person subjects, it is used to refer to an action completed in past by someone of which the speaker was a witness and he (speaker) is now talking about it with a surprise at the fact that they did it.

*Examples* :

1. khyo-rən-ŋi špe-čhə ųnos-pin-tshuk.
   you book buy
   You had bought book (how surprising).

2. khyo-ŋə chu-ə skysal-pin-tshuk.
   you water swim
   You had swam in the water (how surprising).

With Ist. person subjects it expresses the speaker’s surprise at finding that he completed an action in past (being involved
himself he saw it also) which he later learns was a mistake for him to have done.

Examples:

1. \( \eta \)  
   \( \text{P. Pro.} \quad \text{N. Dat.} \quad \text{I. Intr. V. Pt. Perf.} \)  
   \( \text{sleep} \quad \text{come} \)  
   I had slept (without realizing that it was a mistake).

2. \( \eta - \zeta \)  
   \( \text{P. Excl.} \quad \text{N. Dat.} \quad \text{I. Intr. V. Pt. Perf.} \)  
   \( \text{right side} \quad \text{go} \)  
   We had gone by the right side (mistakenly).

46. Primary Modal Forms

Ladakhi attests some modal forms in which the modal suffix is placed directly after the verb stem. Such verbal forms are indifferent to tense-aspect-orientation distinctions and they have been termed as primary modal forms herein. There are two types of such forms — Imperative and Benedictive.

47. Imperative Mood

Forms of the imperative mood are used to express a command or order. They are used only for second person subjects. The imperative forms are marked for number. The imperative singular is formed by adding -s to most of the vowel ending stems, while a zero allomorph is added to the consonant ending stems and to a small number of vowel ending stems like za—‘eat’, etc. Non-honorific verb root vowel \( \varepsilon \) is changed to \( o \). In case of honorific stems, the \( \varepsilon \) of the stem is retained (i.e. does not change to \( o \)) except in a rare case like son: son 'hear'. The imperative plurals are formed by adding -šik to the singular imperative forms.

Examples:

1. \( \text{di— (to write)} \)  
   :  
   \( \text{dis (Sg.) dis—šik (Pl.)} \)
yi—ge gyoks—pə ðis.
letter fast write

Write the letter fast.

2. taŋ—to give : toŋ (Sg.) toŋ—šik (Pl.)
ko—ə kyir—mo—ču toŋ.
III. P. Pro. Sg. N. Numr. Tr. V. Imp. Sg.
Dat. Dir.
him rupee ten give

Give him ten rupees.

3. dul—to walk : dul (Sg.) : dul—šik (Pl.)
(khyo-rəŋ—gun) ku—le—ə dul—šik.
Pl. Dir.)
you slowly walk
(You please) walk slowly.

4. za—to eat : zo (Sg.) : zo—šik (Pl.)
(khyo-rəŋ—gun) khor—ji zo—šik.
Pl. Dir.)
you food (You please) have food.

5. sal—to give : sal (Sg.) : sal—šik (Pl.)
(ñe rəŋ—ŋi) ŋə—ə pe—ne sal.
you me money give
(You please) give me money.

Verb-stems ending in —t take —čik instead of —šik.
čo—ə—dzət (to) do: čo—ə—dzət (Sg.) čo—ə—dzət—čik (Pl.)
(Hon.)

Secondary modal forms (to be described later) do not have imperative forms.

48. Benedictive Mood

When one wants to express the meaning ‘may God bless ...’ in Ladakhi the benedictive mood forms are used. Such forms are used by adding —šik to the verb stem. In this
case the verb root vowel replacement ə→o does not take place as in the case of imperative forms.

Examples:

1. ə ə thop-šik.
   I. P. Pro. Tr. V. Bend.
   Sg. Dat. I get
   May I get (something).

2. khyo-ʔə-η tshe-riη-šik.
   Sg. Gent. you life long
   May you have a long life.

3. yul-Ɋə rde-skyit yoη-šik.
   N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. Bend.
   village happiness come
   May there be happiness in the village.

4. čhor-Ɋə təη-šik.
   N. Dir. Tr. V. Bend.
   rain give
   May it rain.

49. Secondary Modal Forms

Secondary modal forms are used to express the speaker's mental or emotional state about an action like his ability, desire, compulsion etc. with regard to the action of the verb. Such forms are formed by adding the modal suffixes to the verb stem to which other suffixes marking tense-aspect-orientation etc. are added, as required. Thus the secondary modal suffixes occur between the verb stem and the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes, while the primary modal suffixes close the verb construction. There are five secondary moods in Ladakhi—abilitative, desiderative, completive, permissive, and compulsive.

In all the secondary moods except compulsive (i.e. in desiderative, abilitative, completive and permissive), the
subject of the transitive verbs can take either ergative or dative case, while that of the intransitive verbs takes direct case. In the case of compulsive mood, the subject is always in the dative case form irrespective of the verb being transitive or intransitive.

It may also be noted that Ladakhi shows combinatory moods. Thus for instance — abilitative forms of completive are possible in Ladakhi, i.e. it is possible to say ‘I can eat fruit’ (abilitative), and also ‘I am able to complete the eating of the fruit’ (completive of the abilitative). However, all such combinations do not occur due to semantic or logical restrictions. Details of such combinations will be given while discussing the forms of the individual moods.

50. Abilitative Mood

Such forms express the ability of the doer in respect to the action of the verb and thus means that the agent ‘can’, ‘is able to’ do the action. The abilitative suffix is thub—, or ŋən— which is placed just after the verb stem; other suffixes are added after the abilitative suffix. Ladakhi attests abilitative forms for different formations in the past, present and future as well for narrational verb forms, experiential forms, and for the inferential and the — tshuk formations. Some examples are given below:

Examples:

1. kho-a spe-čha di-thub-bat.
   III. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Abl. Re. Pr.
   he book write
   He can write a book.

2. wəŋ-gyol-li kəŋ-s-ri-a dzəks-thup-pin.
   Proper name glacier Perf.
   Wangyal Wangyal could climb the glacier.
3. \( \eta \)  
I. P. Pro.  
Sg. Dir.  
I this food all  
\( i-\text{khar}-\text{ji}-t\theta h\eta -m\text{a} \)  
Prox.  
Pro.  
Tr. V. Abi. Re. Pr.  
eat  
Oh! I could have eaten all the food  
(if I had not realised this to be wrong).  

4. \( s\text{t}\text{a}-\text{a} \)  
N. Dat.  
N. Dir.  
Tr. V. Abi.  
horse water cross  
\( \text{chu} \quad \text{bi}\text{\eta}-\text{thub}-\text{bin}-\text{yot}-\text{kak} \)  
Narr. Cont.  
The horse had been able to cross the water.  

5. \( \eta \)  
I. P. Pro.  
Dir.  
I here Paldar go  
\( i-\text{na} \quad \text{pal}-\text{dar}-\text{la} \quad \text{\&h}-\text{thub}-\text{bin} \)  
Prox. Abl.  
Proper name  
Fut.  
I will be able to go to Paldar from here.  

51. **Desiderative Mood**  
Ladakhi has a main verb form gos—‘(to) wish, desire’, which is used in constructions like  
\( \eta \text{\&}-\text{a} \quad \text{\&h}-\text{\&}-\text{ji} \quad \text{gos}-\text{s\&t} \)  
I. P. Pro.  
N. Dir.  
Desi. Re. Pr.  
I food want  
I want food.  

The stem gos—also acts as the desiderative suffix in Ladakhi when one wants to say ‘I want to buy books’, ‘I want to go’ etc. The form —gos is placed after the main verb stem and then follow the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes, e.g.  
\( \eta \text{\&}-\text{a} \quad \text{y\&-ge}-\text{zik} \quad \text{\&i}-\text{gos}-\text{s\&t} \)  
I. P. Pro.  
N. Indf. Art.  
Intr. V. Desi. Re. Pr.  
I letter one write  
I want to write a letter.  

or  
I should write a letter.
The forms of this mood also express the meaning ‘should’ in English. Ladakhi attests desiderative forms for all the tense-aspect-orientation formations.

Examples:

1. \( \eta \)  
   \text{tu} -r\text{ì}-\text{e}  
   \text{\text{ä}} -gos-s\text{ä}t.  
   I. P. Pro.  
   N. Dat.  
   Intr. V. Desi. Re. Pr.  
   Sg. Dir.  
   proper name  
   go  
   I want to go to Tungri.  
   or  
   I should go to Tungri.

2. phun-\text{\text{ä}}shog-\text{\text{ä}}  
   ru\text{\text{ä}}s-m\text{ä} -po  
   sil-gos-duk.  
   N. Dat.  
   N. Qul. Adj. Dir.  
   Tr. V. Desi. Ob. Pr.  
   proper name  
   Phuntshok  
   story many read  
   Phuntshok should read many stories.

3. zo-r\text{ä}-w\text{ä}-ri-m\text{ä}k-tuz-l\text{ä}  
   mi-gun-ni  
   N. Adv. T. Dat.  
   N. Pl. Erg.  
   proper name  
   war time men  
   mag-rgyaks rig-gos-k\text{ä}k.  
   N. N. Dir.  
   war ration arrange  
   During the war (attack) of Zorawar, the people needed to arrange ration for the army.

4. rig-zin-l\text{ä}  
   ri-\text{\text{ä}}  
   dz\text{ä}ks-thub-gos-duk.  
   N. Dat.  
   N. Dat.  
   Tr. V. Abi. Desi. Ob. Pr.  
   proper name  
   Rigzin  
   mountain climb  
   Rigzin can desire to climb the mountain.

5. w\text{ä} -gy\text{ä}l-li  
   k\text{ë}s-ri-\text{\text{ä}}  
   N. Erg.  
   N. Dat.  
   proper name  
   Wangyal  
   glacier  
   dz\text{ä}ks-thub-gos-pin.  
   Wangyal could want to climb the glacier.
Verb Phrase

6. \( \eta \)
   I. P. Pro.
   Sg. Dir.
   N.
   Prox. Pro.
   Adv. Abl.
   Dat.
   i—ne
   here
   pəl—dər—la
   proper name
   Paldar
   čə—thub—gos—sin.
   go

   I will be able to desire to go to Paldar.

52. Completive Mood

When one wants to refer to the completion of an action explicitly, like 'I have finished eating, working' etc., forms of the completive mood are used. Such forms are made by adding —tšhər— after the verb stem; the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes are used after tšhər—. Ladakhi attests completive forms for all tense-aspect-orientation categories and sub-categories described earlier. Some examples of the different uses of this mood are given below:

Examples:

1. \( \eta \)
   I. P. Pro.
   Sg. Erg.
   N.
   N.
   Dir.
   Tr. V. Compt. Simp.
   Perf.
   food
   do
   I finished cooking.

2. la—mə—gun—la sku—rim
   N.
   Pl. Dat.
   N.
   Dir.
   Tr. V. Hon. Compt. Simp.
   Narr.
   sal—tšhər—rat—kək.

   monk
   worship
   offer
   Monks finished worship (lit. offering worship).

3. \( \xi \)
   Labour
   Pl. Dat.
   Adv. T.
   N.
   Dir.
   Tr. V.
   yu—rə
   canal
   today
   do
   tšhər—rin—do.
   Compt. Indf. Fut.

   Labourers will probably finish digging (lit. doing) the canal today.
4. \( \text{thug}-\text{gu}-\text{tshar}-\text{ma} \) \( \text{lep}-\text{ta}-\text{a} \) \( \text{cha}- \)

N. Indf. Pro. Dir. N. Dat. Intr. V.

boy all school go

tshar-rin-yot.

Compt. Re. Pr. Cont.

All the children are completing going to the school.

Abilitative and desiderative forms of the completive formation are also attested in Ladakhi. In both cases the abilitative suffix \(-\text{thub}/-\text{n}ən\) and desiderative suffix \(-\text{gos}\) are placed after the suffix \(-\text{tshar}\).

**Examples:**

1. kho-e ləs čo-tshar-thub-duk-pin.


Sg. Erg.

he work do

He could complete the work (speaker saw it).

2. zo-tə-khet-ŋi nəŋ-ŋə mi-gun-ła


factory inside people

cə-lək čo-tshar-thub-bət-kək.


thing do

People could complete manufacturing the things in the factory.

3. mi-gun-ła di-riŋ gon-pə


people today monastery

žəŋ-tshar-thub-bin.


build

People will be able to complete building the monastery today.
Verb Phrase

4.  ś̄hug-gu-tshāη-mə  \( \mathfrak{c}_ɛp-\mathfrak{t}_ɛ-a \)  
   N.  Indf. Pro. Dir.  N.  Dat.  
   child  all  school  
   ċhə-tʃhər-gos-sə-nok.  
   go  

Childern want to finish going to school  
(statement of general application).

5.  kho-ə  di-rin  ləs  čo-tʃhər-gos-sə-  
   Sg. Dat.  he  today  work  do  
   mi-ruk.  
   Neg. Ob. Pr.  

He does not want to finish the work today.

6.  rə-ə  khər-ji  čo-tʃhər-gos.  
   Sg. Dat.  I  food  do  
   I wanted to finish cooking the food.

It may be further added that it is possible to have three modal suffixes described so far added to the main verb. The order will be main verb+ tʃhər+ thub+ gos + tense-aspect-orientation suffixes. Some examples are given below:

Examples:

1.  ni-mə-ə  čhu  biņ-tʃhər-thub-gos-  
   proper name  water  draw  
   Nyima  sət-pin.  
   Re. Pt.  

Nyima had the ability to desire to finish drawing water.
2. la—me čhag—läs dzät—tshar—thub—ba—dzad—gos—sin—
monk work do finish can want
yot—tshuk.
Pr. Cont.

Monk had the ability to want to finish the work.

53. Permissive Mood

When one wants to express the meaning ‘permit to do something’ the forms of the permissive mood are used. There are two suffixes—neη—dig and —nη—čhog—which are used to form such modal forms. There seems to be no difference between the meaning of the two suffixes and they can be used interchangeably. However, —nη—dig— is more frequent in the colloquial use. Sometimes nη of the suffix nη—čhog— is dropped. The permissive suffix is added to the verb stem, which is then followed by the appropriate tense-aspect-orientation suffixes. Such forms are not attested for all the formations but only for reportive present, observed present, reportive past, observed past, definite future, and for experiential forms (—rāg— and —rāk—pin both), fact based inferential forms (—ok forms), appearance based inferential forms and the tshuk forms based on reportive present and reportive past. Some examples of the permissive forms are given below:

Examples:

1. kār—gil—pə—gun  
N. Pl. Dir.  Kargil people
ləm—yig—met—pə  
N. Dir.  permit without

People of Kargil are allowed to go to Ladakh without permit.
2. \( \eta \) kho-\( \alpha \) pe-ne t\( \eta \)-n\( \eta \)-dig-duk-
Sg. Erg. Pro. Sg.
Dat.
I he money give
pin (\( \sim n\eta \)-\( \chi \)og-duk-pin).

I was allowed to give him money.

3. tho-re khyo-r\( \eta \) \( \chi \)o-na\( \eta \)-dig-gin (\( \sim \)
Adv. T. II. P. Pro. Non-
Hon. Sg. Dir.
tomorrow you go
n\( \eta \)-\( \chi \)og-gin).
Perm. Def. Fut.

You will be allowed to go tomorrow.

4. s\( \eta \)n-la mi-gun pod-la \( \chi \)o-na\( \eta \)-\( \chi \)ok-pin.
earlier people proper go
name Tibet
Earlier people were allowed to go to Tibet.

5. m\( \varepsilon \)-g\( \varphi \)-ri dun-ne \( \chi \)-n\( \eta \)-\( \chi \)og-gin-
army camp front side go
\( \hat{\sigma} \)o (\( \sim n\eta \)-dig-gin-\( \hat{\sigma} \)o).

Probably it will be allowed to go from
the front side of the army camp.

6. \( \hat{\eta} \)p-\( \tau \)-\( \eta \) thug-\( \varepsilon \)u-\( \varepsilon \)ha\( \eta \)-m\( \varepsilon \)-\( \varepsilon \)
school child all
Tr. V. Per. Ob. Pr.
read
All the children are allowed to read in
the school.

7. \( \varepsilon \)-r\( \eta \) phi-tog-\( \varepsilon \) skyod-n\( \eta \)-\( \chi \)og-gin.
Hon. Dir.
you evening go
You will be allowed to go in the evening.
8. sэт—лә mi—gun pod—лә չә—
Adv. T. Dat. N. Pl. N. Dat. Intr. V.
Dir. proper name
earlier people Tibet go

Earlier people were allowed to go to Tibet.

9. yә pod—ne lok—ste յә—
I. P. Pro. N. Abl. V. St. Perf. Intr. V.
Dir. proper name Parti.
I Tibet return having come

I was allowed to come back from Tibet.

10. ye kho—ә yi—ge դի—ә չә— չәк—ә
Sg. Erg. Hon. Sg. Dat.
I he letter write
I was allowed (unintentionally) to write a letter to him.

54. Compulsive Mood

It has already been mentioned earlier that the desiderative forms express desire or obligation (to do something). The forms of the compulsive mood are used when one wants to state that, although he is extremely unwilling to do something, he is being compelled to do it. The compulsive mood forms are made by adding the suffix -phog- to the verb stem; the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes follow the suffix -phog-. Compulsive forms can be made for all the present, past and future formations, and for the narrational, inferential, and -tshuk forms.

Examples:

1. yә—ә ěә չә—ә—phog—гәт.
I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Compl. Re. Pr.
Sg. Dat. I tea do
I had to prepare tea.
2. སེམ་ལོ། ལོ-མེས-པོ-གུན-ལོ  
   earlier  people of Ladakh  
   ལོ་མེ་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ལོ-ཕོག-གེ་-ཡིན।  
   N. Dir.  Tr. V. Hon. Compl. Re. Pt.  
   tax much  give  

Earlier people of Ladakh had to pay heavy taxes.

3. རྒྱལ་ཐུ་ནྱེ་ལོ། མི་གུན-ལོ  རོག་-ཉེ་-གེ་-ཀ་  
   king  time  people  proper name  
   གྱེ་-དོག-ངེས-ཀེ་  
   Tr. V. Compt. Simp. Narr.  
   build  

During king's reign people had to build Mane.

4. ལུགས་-འ་  ཙེ་-འ།  ཞེ་-འ།  
   N. Dat.  N. Dat.  Intr. V. Compl.  
   child  school  go  
   འོ་-ཡོ་-ཡིན-ཐུ་-ིན。  
   Re. Pr. Cont.  

Children had to be going to school.

55. Negative Sub-System

Ladakhi has a full-fledged system of negative verbal forms. All verbal forms — finite as well as non-finite — have corresponding negative forms. This applies to all the finite verb forms described earlier as well as to the honorific forms and the causatives (to be discussed latter in this chapter).

Rules for forming negative verbal constructions in Ladakhi are as follows:

A—Negative of —yod—

Negative form of —yod— is —med—. It is used in equational sentences as well as in all those verbal constructions where —yod— is a constituent, e.g.
1. Affirmative:  
   i—bo            rgyol—la             yot.  
   Prox. Pro.      Qul. Adj. Dir.        V. to be Pr.  
   this one       good  

   Negative:  
   i—bo            rgyol—la             met.  
   this one       good  

   This one is good.  

2. Affirmative:  
   pal—ldan—ni     spe—čha          
   N. Erg.         N. Dir.  
   proper name     book  
   Paldan          
   dī—yin—yot.    
   Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.  
   write  

   Paldan is writing a book.  

   Negative:  
   pal—ldan—ni     spe—čha          
   N. Erg.         N. Dir.  
   proper name     book  
   Paldan          
   dī—yin—met.    
   Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont. Neg.  
   write  

   Paldan is not writing a book.  

The allomorph —ad— of —yod— is also replaced by —med—  
and —ə— is added between a vowel ending verb-stem and  
—med—. If the verb stem ends in a consonant, the stem  
final consonant is repeated followed by —ə— which is  
then followed by —med—, e.g.  

1. Affirmative:  
   pu—mo—e          las          čo—at.  
   N. Erg.          N. Dir.       Tr. V. Re. Pr.  
   girl            work          do  

   The girl works (does the work).  

   Negative:  
   pu—mo—e          las          čo—ə—met.  
   N. Erg.          N. Dir.       Tr. V. Re. Pr. Neg.  
   girl            work          do  

   The girl does not work.
2. Affirmative: pu—mo—e ępe—ča—žik
   N. Erg. N. Indf. Part. Dir.
girl book
sil—lət.
Tr. V. Re. Pr.
read

   The girl reads a book.

Negative:
   pu—mo—e ępe—ča—žik
   N. Erg. N. Indf. Part. Dir.
girl book
sil—la—met.
Tr. V. Re. Pr. Neg.
read

   The girl does not read the book.

3. Affirmative:
   kho ęk—təŋ ęku—ə
Sg. Dir.
   he every day steal
ča—ət—pin—təshuk.
Intr. V. Re. Pt.
go

   He used to go to steal every day.

Negative:
   kho ęk—təŋ ęku—ə
Sg. Dir.
   he every day steal
ča—ə—met—pin—təshuk.
Intr. V. Neg. Re. Pt.
go

   He did not go to steal every day.

4. Affirmative:
   šte čhu biŋ—thub—bin—yot—kək.
horse water come out

   The horse had been able to cross the water.

Negative:
   šte čhu biŋ—thub—bin—met—kək.
horse water come out

   The horse had not been able to cross the water.
5. Affirmative: kho-e tho-re i-tuz-la
Sg. Erg. Pro.
he tomorrow this time
£u təŋ-ŋəd-do.
N. Dir. Tr. V. Fut. Cont.
song give
He will be singing at this time tomorrow.

Negative: kho-e tho-re i-tuz-la
Sg. Erg. Pro.
he tomorrow this time
£u təŋ-ŋə-med-do.
song give
He will not be singing at this time tomorrow.

B—Negative of yin—

The negative form of the verb —yin ‘to be’ is —mən~ —men. It is used only in equational sentences, e.g.

1. Affirmative: i-bo ŋe pu-mo yin.
Prox. Pro. I. P. Pro. N. Dir. V. to be
this one my daughter
This is my daughter.

Negative: i-bo ŋe pu-mo mən.
Prox. Pro. I. P. Pro. N. Dir. V. to be
this one my daughter
This is not my daughter.

II. P. Pro. Hon. N. Dir. V. to be Pr.
Sg. Dir.
you monk are
You are monk
Negative:  ne-rəŋ
  II. P. Pro. Hon.  lə-mə  man.
  N. Dir.  V. to be Neg. Pr.
  you

                             monk
  You are not a monk.

3. Affirmative:  i-bo  ne  spe-čʰə  yin-pin.
  Prox. Pro.  I. P.  N. Dir.  V. to be Pt.
  Sp. Dir.  Pro.
  this one  my  book

              This was my book.

Negative:  i-bo  ne  spe-čʰə  man-pin.
  Prox. Pro.  I. P. Pro.  N. Dir.  V. to be
  this one  my  book

              This was not my book.

  N. Dir.  Qul. Adj.  V. to be Pr.
  world  round

              The world is round.

  N. Dir.  Qul. Adj.  V. to be Neg. Pr.
  world  round

              The world is not round.

  I. P.  N. Dir.  N. Dat.  V. to be
  Pro. Sg.  proper name
  Gen.  my  house  Leh

              I had a house in Leh (lit. my house was
              in Leh).

Negative:  ne  khəŋ-pə  ɿe-ə
  I. P. Pro.  N. Dir.  N. Dat.  proper noun
  Sg. Gen.  house  Leh
  mən-kək.

              I had no house in Leh (lit. my
              house was not in Leh).
6. Affirmative: ə -bot-khən-bo ʦhe-wəə
Pro. Dir. proper name
that caller one Tshewang

yin-ðo.
V. to be Fut.
The one, (who) is calling, must be Tshewang.

Negative: ə -bot-khən-bo ʦhe-wəə
Pro. Dir. proper name
that caller one Tshewang

mən-ðo.
V. to be Neg. Fut.
The one, (who) is calling, must not be Tshewang.

C—Negative of —cən

Indefinite future tense forms, made by adding —cən to the verb stem, are negated by —cə —men. The negative formation by the addition of cə—men suggests that the affirmative ending cən is probably a contracted form of cə—yin (Cf. men negative of yin).

Example:

N. Dir. N. Numr. Dat. Intr. V.
Indf. Fut.
proper name
Lobzang date ten come
Lobzang is likely to come on 10th.

proper name
Lobzang date ten come
Lobzang is not likely to come on 10th.

D—Negative of other Verbal Forms

All other verbal constructions are negated by the use of an independent negative particle (See E—also in this section). This negative particle is placed before the last morpheme in a verb construction. However, this last morpheme may be followed by the past tense marker -pin, the narrative morpheme -kək, the future markers -yin -do and -do, the inferential formations—(fact-based as well as attested) marked by -og- and -tog-, -tšug- forms and the benedictive -šig-; the occurrence of these markers does not affect the penultimate placing of the negative marker.

This negative morpheme has three alternants ma, me, and mi. Their distribution is as follows:

(i) me. occurs in the historical present formation. Herein me alternates with ma.

Examples:

1. Affirmative: rgyal-po-gun-ni khăr
   N. Pl. Erg. N. Dir.
   kings palace
   rtsig-ge-nok.
   Tr.V. His. Pr.
   build
   Kings build palaces.

   Negative: rgyal-po-gun-ni khăr
   N. Pl. Erg. N. Dir.
   kings palace
   rtsig-ge-ma(~me)nok.
   Tr.V. His. Pr.
   build
   Kings do not build palaces.
2. **Affirmative**: rgya—tsho—e čhu tsho—khu
   sea water salty
   yon—ŋə—nok.
   Int.V.His.Pr.
   come
   The sea water is salty.

   **Negative**: rgya—tsho—e čhu tsho—khu
   sea water salty
   yon—ŋə—mə~me—nok.
   Intr.V.His.Pr.Neg.
   come
   The sea water is not salty.

(ii) —mə— occurs in all those constructions where the perfect form of the verb is used, i.e. in simple perfect, past perfect and narrative perfect formations. It is also used in appearance-based inferential forms which are formed by the addition of —thik —soŋ to the verb stem. Here, it may be remembered that —thik—soŋ is composed of two elements —thik and —soŋ (soŋ is homophonous with the perfect form of the verb čhə—‘to go’).

—mə— is also used to negate the primary modal forms—imperative and benedictive forms.

It is also used to negate the perfect participle forms.

1. **Affirmative**: mi—yi spe—čha dis.
   N. Erg. N. Dir. Tr.V.Simp. Perf.
   man book write
   The man wrote the book.

   **Negative**: mi—yi spe—čha mə—di.
   man book write
   The man did not write the book.
2. Affirmative: \( \eta \)-ba-na-ras-la
I.P.Pro.Sg. N. Dat. Dir. proper name
I Benaras
so\( \eta \)-pin. Intr.V. Pt. Perf. go
I went to Benaras.

Negative: \( \eta \)-ba-na-ras-la
I.P.Pro.Sg. N. Dat. Dir. proper name
I Benaras
ma-so\( \eta \)-pin. Neg.Intr.V. Pt. Perf. go
I did not go to Benaras.

3. Affirmative: so\( \eta \)-rgyas-si cho\( s \)
N. Erg. N. Dir. Buddha religion
su\( \eta \)-s-k\( \omega \)k. Tr. V. Narr. Perf. preach
Buddha gave preachings.

Negative: so\( \eta \)-rgyas-si cho\( s \)
N. Erg. N. Dir. Buddha religion
ma-su\( \eta \)-s-k\( \omega \)k. Neg. Tr. V. Narr. Perf. not preach
Buddha did not give preachings.

4. Affirmative: kho i-kh\( \omega \)-pe
III. P. Pro. Prox. N. Gen. Sg. Dir. Pro. he this house
n\( \omega \)-n\( \eta \) duk-thik-so\( \eta \).
P. P. Dat. Intr. V. App. B. Inf. into stay
He might have lived in this house.
Negative:

Sg. Dir. Pro.
he
this house
nəŋ-ŋə
duk-thig-mə-soŋ.
into
stay

He might not have lived in this house.

5. Affirmative:

yi-ge gyoks-pə dis.
letter fast write
Write the letter fast.

Negative:

yi-ge gyoks-pə mə-di.
letter fast write
Do not write the letter fast.

6. Affirmative:

khyo-rəŋ-ŋi tshe rin-šik.
Sg. Gen.
your
life long
May you have a long life (lit. may your life be long).

Negative:

khyo-rəŋ-ŋi tshe mə-riŋ-šik.
you
life long
May you not have a long life (lit. may your life not be long).

7. Affirmative:

kho čə thuren-ste
Sg. Dir.
he
tea having drunk
soŋ-pin.
Intr. V. Pt. Perf.
go

He went after having had the tea.
Verb Phrase

Negative: kho ē ma—thuŋ—ŋə
Sg. Dir.
he tea not having drunk
soŋ—pin.
Intr. V. Pt. Perf.
go

He went without having the tea.

(iii) —mi— is used to negate all other verbal constructions.

1. Affirmative: thug—gu—yi pəl—ldən—lə pe—ne
N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir.
boy proper name
Paldan money
təŋ—duk.
Tr. V. Ob. Pr.
give

The boy gives money to Paldan (direct observation).

Negative: thug—gu—yi pəl—ldən—lə pe—ne
N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir.
boy proper name
Paldan money
təŋ—ŋə—mi—duk (~ruk).
Tr. V. Neg. Ob. Pr.
give

The boy does not give money to Paldan.

Sg. Erg.
he tree cut
He is cutting the tree.

Negative: kho—e lēŋ—mə
III. P. Pro. N. Dir.
Sg. Erg.
he tree
čad—din—mi—duk (ṅ ruk).
cut

He is not cutting the tree.

3. Affirmative:
khyo—rəŋ—ŋi
II. P. Pro. Sg. Erg. N. Dir.
you

Ifi—ruck (ṅ duk)—pin.
Tr. V. Ob. Pt.
write

You wrote the book.

Negative:
khyo—rəŋ—ŋi
II. P. Pro. Sg. Erg. N. Dir.
you

Ifi—ə—mi—ruck (ṅ duk)—pin.
Tr. V. Neg. Ob. Pt.
write

You did not write the book.

4. Affirmative:
ŋe

My head pain
yə—rək.
Intr. V. Ex. Pr.
come

I have headache
(lit. pain comes to my head).

Negative:
ŋe

I head pain
yə—mi—rək.
Intr. V. Neg. Ex. Pr.
come

I do not have headache
(lit. pain does not come to my head).
5. Affirmative: kho-ə zur-mo-ʂən-te
   Sg. Dat. he pain very
duk, ʂi-ok.
V. to be Intr. V. F. B. Inf. Pr.
die

   He is very sick, (he) will die.

Negative: kho-ə zur-mo-ʂən-te
   Sg. Dat. he pain very
mi-ruk, mi-ʂi-ok.
Neg. V. to be Neg. Intr. V. F. B. Inf. Pr.
die

   He is not very sick, he will not die.

E—Negative of Future Forms with —yin and —yin-do

The definite future marker —yin is dropped in the corresponding negative constructions formed by the particle —mi—.

As mentioned earlier, other future forms are also negated by the marker —mi—.

Examples:

1. Affirmative: ηe tho-re ə-ɓə-ə
   Sg. Erg. I tomorrow father
   yi-ge di-yin.
   N. Dir. Tr. V. Def. Fut.
   letter write

   I will write a letter to (my) father tomorrow.

Negative: ηe tho-re ə-ɓə-ə
   Sg. Erg. I tomorrow father
   yi-ge mi-di.
   N. Dir. Neg. Tr. V. Def. Fut.
   letter write

   I will not write a letter to (my) father tomorrow.
2. Affirmative: khyo—ɾəŋ  
   II. P. Pro. Non-
   Hon. Sg. Dir.  
   bə—nə—ɾəs—lə  
   proper name
   you  
   sil—lə  
   V. N. Dat.  
   study  
   Benaras  
   čhen—do.  
   Intr. V. Indf. Fut.  
   go  
   You may go to Benaras to study.

Negative: khyo—ɾəŋ  
   II. P. Pro. Non-
   Hon. Sg. Dir.  
   bə—nə—ɾəs—lə  
   proper name
   you  
   sil—lə  
   V. N. Dat.  
   study  
   Benaras  
   mi—čhen—do.  
   go  
   You may not go to Benaras to study.

56. Honorific Sub-System

All Ladakhi verbal constructions have corresponding honorific forms.

A—Honorific Verb Roots

Many Ladakhi verb-roots have corresponding honorific roots, e.g.

(to) eat  
zə—(non-honorific) :  
don—(honorific)
(to) go  
čhə—(non-honorific) :  
skyod—(honorific)
(to) give  
təŋ—(non-honorific) :  
səl—(honorific)
(to) build  
rgig—(non-honorific) :  
%av—(honorific)

In order to form an honorific, the corresponding honorific root is used.

B—Honorific Suffix dəd—

Roots, which do not have their corresponding honorific roots, form their honorific forms by the addition of a derivational suffix —dəd—, e.g.
Verb Phrase

(to) read  \( \text{di-} \) (non-honorific) : di-\( \text{a-} \) \( \text{dzad-} \) (honorific)
(to) climb  \( \text{dzaks-} \) (non-honorific) : dzaks-\( \text{a-} \) \( \text{dzad-} \) (""")
(to) come out \( \text{bi}_{\gamma}- \) (non-honorific) : bi_{\gamma}-\( \text{a-} \) \( \text{dzad-} \) (""")
(to) do  \( \text{c}_\circ- \) (non-honorific) : \( \text{c}_\circ- \) \( \text{a-} \) \( \text{dzad-} \) (""")

Verb root \( \text{c}_\circ- \) has a corresponding form \( \text{dzad-} \), but \( \text{c}_\circ- \) \( \text{dzad-} \) is used frequently as its honorific form:

(to) do  \( \text{c}_\circ \) (non-honorific) : \( \{ \text{dzad-} \) (honorific)
\( \text{c}_\circ- \) \( \text{a-} \) \( \text{dzad-} \) (honorific)

Honorific roots can be used by themselves to express respect and politeness. However, it is possible to add the honorific derivational suffix \( \text{dzad-} \) to honorific roots, except to \( \text{dzad-} \) (Honorific) ' (to) do'. In such a case an extra degree of respect and politeness is intended.

1. Non-honorific : kho-e las \( \text{c}_\circ- \) ruk (~duk).
   III. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.
   Sg. Erg. he work do
   He is doing the work.

   Honorific : \( \text{\={n}e-} \) \( \text{r}\_\eta-\eta \) \( \text{\={c}hag-} \) las
   II. P. Pro. Hon. Sg. N. Hon. Dir.
   Erg. you work
   \( \text{c}_\circ- \) \( \text{a-} \) \( \text{dzad-} \) duk.
   Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pr.
   do
   or
   \( \text{\={n}e-} \) \( \text{r}\_\eta-\eta \) \( \text{\={c}hag-} \) las \( \text{dzad-} \) duk.
   II. P. Pro. Hon. N. Hon. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.
   Sg. Erg. you work do
   You are doing the work.

2. Non-honorific : \( \text{s}_\circ- \) \( \text{ni-} \) pe \( \text{\={c}ap-} \) \( \text{t}\_\circ- \) \( \text{kh}\_\eta \)
   N. Gen. N. Dir.
   proper name Sanipa school
   rtsiks-tok.
   Tr. V. Att. Inf.
   build
The school has been built at Sanipa.

**Honorific:** lə—me gon—pə žəη—η̑in.
N. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.
monk monastery build

or

lə—me gon—pə žəη—ηə—
N. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.
monk monastery build
dzəd—din.
Hon. Suf. Def. Fut.

Monk will build the monastery.

3. **Non-honorific:** wəη—gyəl—li kəηs—ri—ə
   N. Erg. N. Dat.
   proper name
   Wangyal glacier
dzəks—pin.
   Tr. V. Pt. Perf.
   climb

Honorific:

wəη—gyəl—le—yi kəηs—ri—ə
N. Hon. Suf. Erg. N. Dat.
proper name
Wangyal glacier
dzəks—sə—dzət(s)—pin.
climb

Wangyal climbed the glacier.

4. **Non-honorific:** kho—e șpe—čəə di—ət.
   III. P. Pro-Sg. Erg.
   he book read
   He reads a book.

Honorific:

khoη—ηi čəłk—șpe di—ə—dzəd—dət.
III. P. Pro. N. Hon. Tr. V. Hon. Suf.
Hon. Sg. Erg. Dir.
he book read
He reads a book.
5. Non-honorific: 

(Familiar) 

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<th>Verb Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khyod-di</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sg. Erg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>khyod-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. P. Pro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Dir. Tr. V. Def.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fami. Sg. Gen.</td>
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Non-honorific: 

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<tr>
<th>Verb Phrase</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khyo—rəŋ—ŋi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sg. Erg.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>khyo—rəŋ—ŋi</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. P. Pro. Non-Hon.</td>
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<td>N. Dir.</td>
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<td>Tr. V. Def. Fut.</td>
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Honorific: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Phrase</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɲe—rəŋ—ŋi</td>
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<td>Sg. Erg.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>ə—ba—le—ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Hon.Suf.Dat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲəd—din.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon. Suf. Def. Fut.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tomorrow you will send a coat to your father.

The honorific derivational suffix is added after the verbal stem. All tense-aspect-orientation suffixes as well as modal suffixes are added only after —ɲəd—. In case of secondary modal formations, i.e. abilitative, desiderative, completive, permissive and compulsive, it is alternatively permitted to add —ɲəd— after the secondary modal suffixes, e.g.
1. **Abilitative**:

Non-honorific: kho-e spe-čha di-thub-bat.

III. P. Pro N. Dir. Tr. V. Abi. Re. Pr.
Sg. Erg. he book write

Honorific: khoη-ηi čhak-spe.

III. P. Pro. N. Hon. Dir.
Hon. Sg. Erg.
he book

Di-ə-dzat-thub-bat.
Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Abi. Re. Pr.
write

or

khoη-ηi čhak-spe.

III. P. Pro. N. Hon. Dir.
Hon. Sg. Erg.
he book

Di-thub-ba-dzat-dat.
Tr. V. Abi. Hon. Suf. Re. Pr.
write

He can write a book.

2. **Desiderative**:

(i) Non-honorific: tŅ tuη-ri-ə čha-gos-sat.

Sg. Dir. proper name Re. Pr.

I Tungri go

I want to go to Tungri (a village in Ladakh).


N. Dir. N. Dat. Intr. V. Hon. Desi.

proper name Re. Pr.

monk Tungri go

or

lə-mə tuη-ri-ə skyod-da—

N. Dir. N. Dat. Intr. V.(Hon.)

proper name

monk Tungri go
Verb Phrase

dzad—gos—sat.
Hon. Suf. Abi. Re. Pr.

or

la—ma  tuŋ—ri—a  skyod—gos—sa—
N. Dir.    N. Dat.        Intr. V. Hon. Abi.
proper name
monk    Tungri    go

dzad—dat.
Hon. Suf. Re. Pr.

Lama should go to Tungri.

or

Lama wants to go to Tungri.

(ii) Non-honorific:  kho—a  rtṣaṇ—he—po
III. P. Pro.    N. Dir.
Non-Hon.
Sg. Dat.
he    river
biŋ—thub—gos—pin.
come out

Honorific:  khoŋ—ŋə  rtṣaṇ—he—po
III. P. Pro.    N. Dir.
Hon. Sg. Dat.
he    river
biŋ—ŋə—dzət—thub—gos—pin.
come out

or

khoŋ—ŋə  rtṣaṇ—he—po
III. P. Pro.    N. Dir.
Hon. Sg. Dat.
he    river
biŋ—thub—ba—dzad—gos—pin.
come out
or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kho} - \eta & \quad \text{rts} \eta - \text{po} & \quad \text{bi} - \text{thub} - \\
\text{III. P. Pro. Hon.} & \quad \text{N. Dir.} & \quad \text{Tr. V. Abi.}
\end{align*}
\]

Sg. Dat.
he river come out
gos-\sigma - \text{dzat} - \text{pin.}


He should be able to cross the river.

3. Completive:

Non-honorific:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kho} - \text{e} & \quad \text{l}\tilde{o} & \quad \text{\textit{\#o} - \text{tsar} - \text{duk}.} \\
\text{III. P. Pro.} & \quad \text{N. Dir.} & \quad \text{Tr. V. Compt. Ob. Pr.}
\end{align*}
\]

Sg. Erg.
he work do

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\eta - \text{dzat} - \text{tsar} - \text{duk}.} \\
\text{Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Compt. Ob. Pr.}
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kho} - \text{\eta} & \quad \text{chag} - \text{l}\tilde{o} \\
\text{III. P. Pro.} & \quad \text{N. Hon. Dir.}
\end{align*}
\]

Hon. Sg. Erg.
he work

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{\#o} - \text{dzat} - \text{tsar} - \text{duk}.} \\
\text{Tr. V. Hon. Compt. Ob. Pr.}
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kho} - \text{\eta} & \quad \text{chag} - \text{l}\tilde{o} \\
\text{III. P. Pro.} & \quad \text{N. Hon. Dir.}
\end{align*}
\]

Hon. Sg. Erg.
he work

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{\#o} - \text{dzat} - \text{tsar} - \text{ra} - \text{dzad} - \text{duk}.} \\
\text{Tr. V. Compt. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pr.}
\end{align*}
\]

He finishes doing the work.

4. Permissive:

Non-honorific:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kho} - \text{e} & \quad \text{\eta} - \te - \text{ne} & \quad \text{t} \eta - \text{\eta} - \\
\text{III. P. Pro.} & \quad \text{I. P. Pro. N. Dir.} & \quad \text{Tr. V.}
\end{align*}
\]

Sg. Erg. Sg. Dat. Perm.
he me money give
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{\#o} - \text{dzat} - \text{pin}} & \quad \text{\textit{\#o} - \text{dzat} - \text{pin}}. \\
\text{Ob. Pt.} & \quad \text{Ob. Pt.}
\end{align*}
\]
Verb Phrase

Honorific: khoŋ-ŋi ṇa-ə pe-ne
Sg. Erg. Sg. Dat.
he me money
səl-ŋəŋ-ŋi-duk-pin (~ŋəŋ-čhoŋ-
give
duk-pin).
Ob. Pt.)

or

khoŋ-ŋi ṇa-ə pe-ne
III. P. Pro. I.P.Pro. Sg. N. Dir.
Hon. Sg. Erg. Dat.
he me money
səl-ŋəŋ-ŋi-ɡo-δzəd-duk-pin (~
give
ŋəŋ-čhoŋ-ɡo-δzəd-duk-pin).
(~Perm. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pt.)

or

khoŋ-ŋi ṇa-ə pe-ne səl-la-δzəd-
III. P. I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.
Pro.Hon.
Hon. Suf.
Sg. Erg. Sg. Dat.
he me money give
ŋəŋ-ɡo-duk-pin (~ŋəŋ-čhoŋ-duk
-pin).
He was allowed to give me money.

5. Compulsive:

Non-honorific: tshug-gu-ə gon-pə-ə čho-ə-
N. Dat. N. Dat. Intr. V.
child monastery go
phog-gin-yot-tshuk.
Compl. Re. Pr. Cont.
Children had to be in the process of
going to the temple.
Honorific: \( \text{la} - \text{ma} - \text{le} - \ominus \)  \( \text{gon} - \text{pa} - \ominus \)

N. Hon. Suf. Dat.  N. Dat.
monk  monastery
skyod - də - phog - gin - yot - tshuk.
go

or

\( \text{la} - \text{ma} - \text{le} - \ominus \)  \( \text{gon} - \text{pa} - \ominus \)  \( \text{skyod} - \text{da} - \)

monk  monastery  go
dzəd - də - phog - gin - yot - tshuk.

or

\( \text{la} - \text{ma} - \text{le} - \ominus \)  \( \text{gon} - \text{pa} - \ominus \)  \( \text{skyod} - \text{da} - \)

monk  monastery  go
phog - gə - dzəd - din - yot - tshuk.

Lama had to be in the process of going to the monastery.

Morpho-phonemic rules operating in such formations have been discussed earlier (Chap. III).

C—Honorific Negatives:

Honorable forms have their corresponding negatives. These negatives are formed by following the same rules as discussed in the section on negative formations.

Examples:

1. Affirmative: \( \text{ñe} - \text{rə} - \text{ŋi} \)  \( \text{ĉhəg} - \text{ləs} \)
you  work
\( \text{čo} - \ominus - \text{dzəd} - \text{duk} \).
Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pr.
do

You are doing the work.
Verb Phrase

Negative:  ne-rəη-ŋi  čhag-las
II. P. Pro. Hon. Sg.  N. Hon. Dir.
Erg.
you work
čo-ə-ɖzəd-ðə-mi-ruk.
do
You are not doing the work.

Affirmative:  lo-me  gon-po  əəη-ŋə-
N. Erg.  N. Dir.  Tr. V. Hon.
monk monastery build
ɖzəd-din.
Hon. Suf. Def. Fut.
The monk will build the monastery.

Negative:  lo-me  gon-po  əəη-ŋə-mi-
N. Erg.  N. Dir.  Tr. V. Hon. Neg.
monk monastery build
ɖzət.
Hon. Suf. Def. Fut.
The monk will not build the monastery.

57. Causative Sub-System:

A—Affirmative Causative Forms

All verbal formations in Ladakhi can be made causative by the addition of the causative suffix —čug—; e.g. ḍi-čes ‘to write’, ḍi-čuk-čes ‘to get someone to write’. The causative suffix —čug— is added after the verb stem and before the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes and modal (primary and secondary) suffixes. The intermediate agent is placed in the dative case in Ladakhi.

Examples:

1. ṇe  kho-ə  Ŀu  təη-čug-gət.
I. P. Pro.  III. P. Pro.  N. Dir.  Tr. V. Caus. Re. Pr.
Sg. Erg.  Sg. Dat.
I he song give
I made him to sing a song.
Ladakhi Grammar

2. lə—me rgyal—po—a gon—pa—a skyod—da—
N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dat. Intr. V.
monk king monastery go
dzət—čuk—thub—bət—tshuk.

Lama had not been able to make the king
to go to the monastery.

3. a—be thug—gu—a spe—čha sil—čug—thub—bin.
N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. Caus. Abi.
father child, book read
son

Father will make the son to read the book.

In some cases a Ladakhi causative construction may also be
translated by a ‘let...’ construction in English.

kho—a ści—čuk.
III. P. Pro. Tr. V. Caus. Cause him to read.
Sg. Dat. Imp. or
he read let him read.

B—Negative Causative Forms

All causative verbal sequences can be negated by following
the negative formation rules as discussed earlier.

1. ye kho—a ɕu təŋ—čug—ga—met.
I. Pro. Sg. III. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Caus. Neg. Re.
Erg. Sg. Dat. Pr.
I he song give
I do not make him sing.

2. a—be thug—gu—a spe—čha sil—čug—mi—thub.
N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. Caus. Neg.
father son book read
Abi. Def. Fut.
Father will not be able to
make the son to read the book.

3. a—me thug—gu ltəd—mo—a čha—mi—
N. Erg. N. Dir. N. Dat. Intr. V. Neg.
mother son show go not
Mother will probably not make the son to go to the show.

In Ladakhi a causative form can be used for conveying a non-causal action. In such cases the use of the causative suffix can be justified by accepting the subject as the source as well as the intermediate agent. Thus, ‘I will finish the work’ can be said in Ladakhi as ‘I will cause (myself) to finish the work.’

**Examples:**

1. \( \eta \) l\( \text{̃} \)s di-\( \text{̃} \)\( \text{̃} \) t\( \text{̃} \)sh\( \text{̃} \)r-\( ċ \)ug-\( ċ \)in.
   Sg. Erg.
   I work today finish
   I will finish the work today.

2. kho-e k\( \text{̃} \)h\( \text{̃} \)r-\( \text{̃} \)j\( \text{̃} \) čo-\( ċ \)ug-\( ċ \)in.
   Sg. Erg.
   he food do
   He will cook the food.

It may, however, be noted that such expressions can be ambiguous. Thus the sentence ‘\( \eta \) l\( \text{̃} \)s di-\( \text{̃} \)\( \text{̃} \) t\( \text{̃} \)sh\( \text{̃} \)r-\( ċ \)ug-\( ċ \)in’ can mean ‘I’ll complete the work today’ as well as ‘I’ll cause X to complete the work today’. The ambiguity can always be disambiguated by explicitly mentioning the intermediate agent.

**Examples:**

kho-e kho-\( \text{̃} \) kho-\( \text{̃} \) e k\( \text{̃} \)h\( \text{̃} \)r-\( \text{̃} \)j\( \text{̃} \) čo-\( ċ \)ug-\( ċ \)in.
Sg. Erg. Sg. Dat.
he he food do
He will make him to cook the food.
C—Honorific Causative Forms:

Honorific constructions can also be causativized following the same rules.

1. ņe—rəŋ—ŋi kh o—a ləs čo—a ʤət—čug—duk.
   you he work do
   You caused him to do the work.

58. Interrogative Constructions

A sentence can be changed into an interrogative one by the addition of the interrogative particle—a at the end of the sentence. Morphophonemically—a will change to a consonant plus—a when it is added to a sentence ending in a consonant.

Examples:

1. khyo—rën—ŋi yi—ge di—aəd—aə?
   II.P.Pro.Non-Hon. N.Dir. Tr.V.Re.Pr.
   Intrr.
   you letter write
   Are you writing a letter?

2. pəd—lədən ņe—rəŋ—ŋi zims—khen—ŋə
   N. Dir. II.P.Pro.Hon. N. Hon. Dat.
   proper name Sg. Gen.
   Paldan your house
   yoŋə—sə?
   come
   Did Paldan come to your house?

Ladakhi attests an interrogative construction, which is used only with Ist. person subjects. It corresponds roughly with the English ‘may’ construction in meaning. In such constructions the interrogative particle is added directly to the verb stem. Such constructions do not have their affirmative (i.e. non-interrogative) counterparts. The interrogative suffix—a is
added after the vowel ending stems. If the stem ends in a consonant then the final consonant of the stem is repeated and then the suffix \(-\circ\) is added.

**Examples:**

1. \(\eta e\) yi-ge di-\(\circ\) ?
   I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Intrr.
   Sg. Erg. I letter write
   May I write the letter ?

2. \(\eta -\xi e\) yi-ge sil-le ?
   Pl. Erg. we letter read
   May we read the letter ?

Such constructions can be negated as per rules, e.g.

\(\eta e\) yi-ge ma-\(\xi\)i-\(\circ\) ?
Sg. Erg. I letter write
May I not write the letter ?

Causatives can also be derived for such constructions.

\(\eta e\) yi-ge di-\(\circ\) dz\(\alpha\)d-\(\chi\)ug-\(\gamma\) ?
Sg. Erg. I letter write
May I cause (someone) to write the letter, i.e. may I get it written ?

59. **Non-finite forms**

In this chapter, an analysis of the finite verb forms of Ladakhi has been presented upto this point. Forms, which are derived from verbal stems and do not take tense-aspect-orientation suffixes or modal suffixes are termed as non-finite verbal forms. Such forms do not close or complete a sentence. Semantically a construction having a non-finite form does not convey a complete or full sense.
Infinitives, verbal nouns and participles are the main types of non-finite forms which occur in Ladakhi.

60. **Infinitive**

Ladakhi infinitives are formed by adding \(-\text{čes}-\) to the verb roots, e.g. sil-čes, 'to read', yoŋ-čes 'to go' etc. The affricate č of -čes is assibilated after the sibilant s and becomes š, e.g. rəŋs+čes=rəŋš-šes ‘to be frozen’, ləŋs+čes=ləŋš-šes ‘to stand’ etc.

Infinitives are used in a verbal sequence in which they are followed by the forms -yod-, -yod-ḍo, -yot- pin and yin-nok ‘to be’.

**Examples**:

1. kho tho re gon pə e yoŋ thup čes yot.
   III. P. Pro. Adv. T. N. Dat. Intr. V. Abi. V. to be
   Sg. Dir. Infi. Suf.
   he tomorrow monastery come
   He is able to come tomorrow to the monastery.

2. kho tho re gon pə o yoŋ čes yod do.
   III. P. Pro. Adv. T. N. Dat. Intr. V. Infi. V. to be
   Sg. Dir. Suf.
   he tomorrow monastery come
   He is (expected) to come to the monastery tomorrow.

3. kho tho re gon pə o yoŋ čes yot pin.
   III. P. Pro. Adv. T. N. Dat. Intr. V. V. to be
   he tomorrow monastery come
   He was (i.e. intended) to come to the monastery tomorrow.

4. ʧə- gos šes yin nok.
   I. P. Pro. Intr. V. Desi. Inf. Suf. V. to be
   Sg. Dir.
   I go
   It is for me to go.
The infinitive form is also used as a constituent of a verbal construction in the principal clause of a contrary-to-fact conditional sentence, e.g.

5. kal-te ñe-røŋ na-niŋ la-daks-ło
   Sg. Dir. Proper name

if you last year Ladakh

skyot-pin na he-mis- tøhes-šu ziks-
Intr. V. Hon. Part. N. N. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.
Pt. Perf. Proper name

come then Hemis festival see

thup-čes yot-pin
Abi. Infi.Suf. V. to be Pt.

If you had come to Ladakh last year,
you would have seen Hemis festival
(lit. you were to see . . .).

61. Infinitive as Verbal Noun

Infinitive forms are also used as verbal nouns in Ladakhi, e.g. čø-čes ‘doing’, čhø-čes ‘going’, zer-čes ‘talking’ etc. These forms take case suffixes and postpositions as required contextually. However, such nouns are not marked for number.

Examples:

1. meŋ-po zer-čes ma-rgyøl-lø man.
   much talking good .
   Talking too much is not good.

2. lo-døks-po-gun lu tøŋ-čes-
   N. Pl. Suf. Dir. N. Dir. V. N.
   proper name
   Ladakhis song giving
Ladakhis are fond of singing and dancing.

Some verbal nouns are formed by adding the suffix -pa (borrowed from Tibetan) to the verb stems, e.g.

- Wearing
- Dancing

These are also negated according to the rules given in § 5.55

62. Verb Stem as Verbal Noun

A—In Ladakhi the verb stem can be used as a noun. In such cases, it takes appropriate case suffixes; however, such nouns are not marked for number.

Examples:

1. kho - ci thug - gu sil - la rgyal - la duk.
   III. P. Pro. N. Dir. V. N. Dat. Qul. Adj. V. to be
   Non-Hon. Sg. Gen.
   his son study good
   His boy is good in studies.

2. kho laš čo - ci tham - pa duk.
   III. P. Pro. N. Dir. V. N. Dat. Qul. Adj. V. to be
   Pr.
   he work doing efficient
   He is efficient in doing the work.
For negation of these forms same rules are applied as given in § 5.55.

B—Another use of a verb stem as a verbal noun is attested in sentences of the type ‘as soon as I reached the station, the train left’, i.e. in sentences where an action begins soon after the completion of another action. In such cases the subject of the ‘as soon as’ clause takes direct or ergative case as required by the verb stem—intransitive or transitive—and the verb of that clause is used in its stem form. This clause further uses čəp——nəŋ ‘as soon as’. čəp—is placed just before the verb stem and—nəŋ after. Morphophonemically—a is inserted after the verb stem and before—nəŋ if the verb stem is a vowel ending one, and the final consonant is repeated if it is consonant ending, before—an-a is added.

If čəb—is not used in such constructions it gives the meaning of ‘as, when’ and not ‘as soon as’.

**Examples:**

1. ɳə
   I. P. Pro. Sg. Dir.
   I rel
   N. Dir. train

   sə-te-ʂən-la  čəp-Ləeb-bə-nəŋ
   N. Dat. Part. V. St. Part.

   As soon as I reached the station, the train left.

2. ҭhu—gu—yi
   N. Sg. Erg. child

   ə-mə  čəp-thəŋ-ŋə—nəŋ
   N. Dir. mother
   ηus. Part. V. St. Part.

   As soon as the child saw the mother, he cried.
3. kho čəp-ℓəb-ənə nyə čhen.
   III. P. Pro. Part. V. St. Part. I. P. Pro. Intr. V.
   Sg. Dir. Sg. Dir. Def. Fut.
   he reach I go

As soon as he arrives, I will go.

These forms are not negated in Ladakhi.

C. There is yet another construction in Ladakhi in which the verb stem is used as a verbal noun. In such cases the verb stem is followed by the suffix -ə/-Ca which is in turn followed by -əə. The two suffixes -ə/-Ca and -əə, both, are homophonous with dative suffixes. Such a construction refers to an action which is about to happen or is happening in the presence of the addressee and the speaker is drawing the addressee's attention to it.

Examples:

1. bəs yon-ə-əə.
   N. Dir. V. N. Suf. (Look) the bus come (is) coming.
   bus

2. ḥug-gu-yi šug-gu čəd-əə-əə.
   N. Erg. N. Dir. V. St. Suf.
   child paper 

   (Look) the child (is) tearing the paper.

At the surface level this type of construction appears to be a verb-less construction. However, it can be interpreted as a sentence resulting from the ellipsis of -duk/-ruk, the observed present tense marker. Thus the sentence bəs yon-ə-əə-əə may result from bəs yon-ə-əə-əə duk. The same applies to all other verb-less sentences of this kind. These forms do not have their negative forms.

63. Present Participle

Ladakhi present participles are formed by adding the suffix -yin-ənə to a vowel ending verb stem, but if the stem ends in -ə, the -ə becomes e and yi- of the suffix is lost, in the case of a consonant ending stem, the final consonant of the verb stem is repeated before -in-ənə. Such forms imply an action, concurrent to the action of the main verb.
Examples:

1. kho  
   III. P. Pro.  
   Sv. Dir.  
   cry  
   go  
   He left (while) crying, i.e. he was crying at the time of leaving.

2. kho-e  
   III. P. Pro.  
   Sv. Erg.  
   walk  
   story  
   tell  
   He told a story (while) walking (i.e. while he was telling the story, he was also walking simultaneously).

3. pəl-λdən-ni  
   N. Erg.  
   Paldan sleep talk  
   təη—duk.  
   Tr. V. Ob. Pr.  
   Paldan talks in sleep (i.e. Paldan is talking while sleeping).

There is yet another way of referring to a concurrent action. Suffix τσα—ne or zα—ne is added to the verb stem to form a present participle, e.g. ñid—yοη—τσα—ne ‘sleeping’.

1. kho  
   III. P. Pro.  
   Sv. Dir.  
   thom-mə  
   go  
   He came to see me while going to the market (lit. ... at the time of going to the market).
He came to see me while going to the market (lit. ... at the time of going to the market).

Do not laugh while eating (lit. at the time of eating).

These forms are negated according to the rules given in §5.55.

64. Perfect Participle

Ladakhi perfect participles are formed by adding the suffix -ste/-te to the verb stem. The allomorph -te is added to the verb stems ending in -s, -t; stems ending in -n, -r, -l may take either -ste or -te and the rest take -ste. The perfect participle forms denote that the indicated action has already been performed before the action of the main verb. The subject in such constructions may take the case suffix according to the verb in the perfect participle form or according to the verb of the main clause.
Examples:

1. kho\textsubscript{η} /kho\textsubscript{η}—\textsubscript{ηi}  
   ċhāg—lās  
   dzāt—te  
   N. Hon. Dir. V. St. Hon. V.  
   Perf. Parti.
   he  
   he  
   work  
   having done  
   skyot.  
   Intr. V. Simp. Perf.  
   He went (after) having finished the work.

2. kho /kho—e  
   ri—ə  
   dzāks—te  
   III. P. Pro. /III. P. Pro.  
   N. Dat.  
   V. St. Perf. Parti.  
   Sg. Dir.  
   Sg. Erg.  
   he  
   he  
   hill  
   having climbed  
   gon—pə—ə  
   jol—la  
   so\textsubscript{η}.
   N. Dat.  
   N.V. Dat.  
   Intr. V. Simp. Perf.  
   monastery  
   visit  
   He, having climbed the hill, went to visit the monastery.

3. ċə  
   kāp—ste  
   khyo\textsubscript{η}.  
   N. Dir.  
   V. St. Perf. Parti.  
   Tr. V. Imp.  
   tea  
   having covered  
   Bring  
   Bring the tea (after) having covered (it).

4. don—tə\textsubscript{η}  
   don—(s)te  
   śnāl  
   zims—sə—  
   N. Hon. Dir.  
   V. St. Hon. Perf.  
   N. Hon. Int. V.  
   Parti.  
   food  
   having eaten  
   sleep  
   sleep  
   dzāt.  
   Hon. Suf. Imp.  
   Sleep after taking (your) food.

5. kho—e  
   thən—kə  
   ʒən—ste  
   gon—pə—ə  
   III. P. Pro.  
   N. Dir.  
   V. St. Perf.  
   N. Dat.  
   Parti.  
   Sg. Erg.  
   religious painting  
   phuls.  
   having made  
   monastery  
   Tr. V. Hon. Simp. Perf.  
   offer  
   Having made the thangka, he offered (it) to the monastery.

6. kho  
   sil—čes  
   tṣhār—(s)te  
   ge—rgən  
   III. P. Pro.  
   V. N. Dir.  
   V. St. Perf. Parti.  
   N. Dir.  
   Sg. Dir.  
   he  
   study  
   having finished  
   teacher
Having completed his studies, he became a teacher.

The verb root ča—‘(to) go’ has an allomorph soŋ— to which -te is added, i.e. soŋ—te ‘having gone’. The verb root za—‘(to) eat’ has an allomorph zo— to which the suffix -ste is added, i.e. zo-ste ‘having eaten’.

7. khoŋŋ-ŋi kə soŋ- te pe-ne
his having gone money

Tr. V. Imp.
bring Having gone to him, bring the money.

It may be pointed out that the subjects of the two clauses involved in such constructions are coreferential.

The perfect participle forms can be used with -duk ‘to be’ in Ladakhi. Such a construction conveys only the present perfect meaning, i.e. it implies that action has been completed in the present, e.g.

1. Łob-zaŋ-ŋi soŋ-rgyas-la men-tok
N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir.
proper name Lobzang Buddha flower
phul (s) te
V. St. Perf. Parti.
having offered duk.

V. to be Pr.

Having offered flowers to Buddha, Lobzang is (i.e. Lobzang has offered the flowers to Buddha).

2. ta-ši-le ŋuk-ste duk.
N. Hon. Suf. V. St. Hon. V. to be Pr.
Dir. Perf. Parti.
proper name Tashi having sat
Tashi having sat is (i.e. Tashi is here).
When a perfect participle form is to be negated, the negative affix ma is placed before the verb stem and the past participle suffix -te/-ste is dropped. Moreover, the vowel ending stems are followed by -ə, while the consonant ending stems repeat the final consonant before adding the -ə, e.g.

soř - te Having done: mə - čəə - ə Not having done
qi - ste Having written: mə - qi - ə Not having written
bəp - ste Having fallen: mə - bəb - ṣə Not having fallen.

Examples:

1. khoŋ̡ čhag - laš mə - dzəd - ṣə skyot.
   he work not having done go
   He went without doing the work (lit. not having finished the work).

2. ḡə khər - ji mə - ẓə - ə soŋ̡ - pin.
   Sg. Dir. Parti.
   I food not having eaten go
   I went without taking the food (lit. not having eaten the food).

65. Potential Participle

There is another construction in Ladakhi in which suffix -ta is added to the verb stem. The suffix -ta adds the meaning of ability or willingness to the action denoted by the verb stem. The entire clause can be considered as a potential participle form for want of a better term. It may also be noted that the verb stem to which -ta is added is repeated in the clause immediately following the -ta construction.

Examples:

1. čo - tə čo - ste phul - lin.
   Parti.
   do - do offer
(If I) could make (I) will give (offer you) after having made it.

2. čhə-tə ɲə  son-ɲ-pin  kho-e  čəɲ
go  I  go  he  something
ma-zers.
Neg. Tr. V. Simp. Perf.
say

I did go, (but) he did not say anything.

3. za-tə ɲə  zen  ɲə-ə  zur-mo
V. St. Pot. I. P. Pro Sg. Tr. V. Def. I. P. Pro. N. Dir.
Parti. Dir. Fut. Sg. Dat.
eat  I  eat  I  sickness
mi-yoɲ-ɲə?
come

I will eat, (but) won’t I get sick?

It may be seen in examples 2 and 3 that there are two clauses other than the -tə clause in these examples. In such cases verb forms in both the clauses take the same tense-aspect-orientation suffixes. If these forms are to be negated then thup-ņen ‘abilitative suffix’ is used and the construction will be like a contingent one.

čo-mə-ņen  na  mi-čo.
do

(If I) could not do, (I) will not do.

66. Future Participle

Future participles are formed by adding the suffix -kyi to the verb stem. The future participle form is followed by the forms of the verb ‘to be’. The future participle gives the meaning ‘just about to—’. 
Examples:
1. kho   ča—kyi duk.
   III. P. Pro. V. St. Fut. V. to be Pr.
   Sg. Dir. Parti.
   he   go
   he is just about to go.

2. thug-gu  yu—kyi yot—pin te—te—ɔ ə—mA
   N. Dir. V. St. Fut. V. to be Pt. Part. N. Dir.
   Parti.
   child   cry
   child was just about to cry; in the meanwhile.

£ep.
Intr. V. Simp. Perf. reach
   Child was just about to cry; in the meanwhile (i.e. at that time)
   the mother arrived.

3. nat—pə  ʃi—kyi duk.
   N. Dir. V. St. Fut. Parti. V. to be Pr.
   patient
   die
   patient is just about to die.

To negate these forms, the form of verb 'to be' are negated; e.g.

   nat—pə  ʃi—kyi mi—ruk.
   N. Dir. V. St. Fut. Parti. Neg. V. to be Pr.
   patient
   die
   patient is not going to die soon (lit. is not about to die).

67. Contingent Constructions

A contingent construction has two major constituents. It has an 'if' clause and a 'then' clause. There are two types of contingent constructions in Ladakhi.

A. Future Contingent Constructions:

In such cases the contingent (or the subordinate) clause uses the verb stem or the infinitive form of the main Verb followed by yot, yin forms of the verb 'to be' (with or without adding pin), it (the contingent clause) may or may not use kal—te 'if'. ɔn—nɔ—ni 'then' is placed in the beginning of the principal clause (i.e. the 'then' clause) and the definite future form of the verb is used in the principal clause.
Examples:

1. (kəl-te) khyo - rəη tho-re yɔŋ
   Part. II. P. Pro. Sg. Adv. T. V.St.
   Non-Hon. Dir.
   if you tomorrow come
   nə - ni əə - təŋ si - ni - mə - ə čhen.
   Part. I. P. Pro. Incl. N. Dat. Intr.V.
   Pl. Dir. Def. Fut.
   then we cinema go
   If you come tomorrow, (then)
   we will go to the movie.

2. kəl-te kho - e čhəŋ - məŋ - po
   if he local much
   thuŋ nə - ni ši - yin.
   V. St. Part. Intr. Def. Fut.
   drink then die
   If he drinks too much Chang,
   (then) he will die.

3. kəl-te ŋə - rəŋ - ni əə - ə ñpe - čhə
   Part. II. P. Pro. Sg. I. P. Pro. Sg. N. Dir.
   Hon. Erg. Dat.
   if you I book
   səl nə - ni ŋə sil - lin.
   V. St. Hon. Part. I. P. Pro. Tr. V. Def.
   Sg. Erg. Fut.
   give then I read
   If you give me the book, I will
   read it.

B. Past contingent or contrary-to-fact constructions:

In such a construction, the contingent clause (i.e. the ‘if’ clause) uses the past perfect form of the verb; and kəl-te ‘if’ may or may not be used. The verbal construction of the principal clause is constituted of the infinitive of the main verb followed by the past tense form—yot-pin of the verb
'to be' or of the perfect participle form of the verb followed by yod-ḍo.

**Examples:**

1. \( \text{kal-te} \ \text{ñe-ṛṛṛ} \ \text{nā-ni} \ \text{la-əaks-la} \)
   - Part. II. P. Pro.Sg. Adv.T. N. Dat.
   - Hon. Dir. proper name
   - if you last year Ladakh
   - skyot-pin nā-ni he-mis-tshes-šu
   - proper name
   - come then Hemis festival
   - ziks-thup -čes yot-pin.
   - Tr.V. Hon. Abi. Infi. Suf. V. to be Pt.
   - see

   If you had come to Ladakh last year, you would have seen Hemis festival.

2. \( \text{kal-te} \ \text{kho-e} \ \text{ũ-ṛṛṛs-pin nā-ni} \)
   - Erg.
   - if he song give then
   - kho-ə pe-ne thop-čes yot-pin.
   - III. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Infi. V. to be Pt.
   - Sg. Dat. get
   - he money

   If he had sung a song, then he would have got the money (lit. he was to get...).

3. \( \text{(kal-te)} \ \text{ñe-ṛṛṛ} \ \text{dəṛṛṛ} \ \text{skyot-pin} \)
   - Sg.Dir.
   - if you yesterday come
   - nā-ni ṇe ŋe-ṛṛṛ-ṛṛṛ thṛṛṛ-ka
   - Part. I. P. Pro. II. P. Pro. Hon. N. Dir.
   - Sg. Erg. Sg. Dat.
   - then I you religious painting
phul – čes yot-pin.
Tr. V. St. Infi. Suf. Hon. V. to be Pt.
offer If you had come yesterday, then, I would have offered you a thangka (lit. I was to offer ...).

4. (kəl – te) \( \eta e \) \( \bar{\eta} e – r\bar{\eta} – \eta \)
if I you
pe – ne phul – pin nə – ni
money offer then
\( \bar{\eta} e – r\bar{\eta} \) bə – nə – rəs – le skyot – te
II. P. Pro. Sg. N. Dat. Intr. V. St. Hon.
Hon. Dir. proper name Perf. Parti.
you Benaras go
yod – ̄do.
V. to be

If I had offered you money, then (probably) you would have gone to Benaras.

5. (kəl–te) \( \bar{\eta} e – r\bar{\eta} – \eta i \) \( \eta i – \circ \) \( \bar{s} p e – \bar{c} hε \)
Part. II. P. Pro. Sg. Hon. I.P.Pro.Sg. N. Dir.
Erg. Dat.
if you I book
səl – pin nə – ni \( \eta e \) sil – (s)te yod – ̄do.
Tr. V. Hon. Part. I. P. Pro. Tr. V. Perf. V. to be
offer then I read

If you had given me the book, I probably would have read (it).

These forms are also negated according to the rules given in § 5.55.
ADJUNCTS

A Ladakhi sentence may use, besides one or more noun phrases and a verb phrase, some other constituents like adverbs and various kinds of particles including connectors. In this chapter Ladakhi adverbs will be analyzed and described first. Then various particles will be enumerated. The use of some of these particles in sentences has specific grammatical characteristics. In order to illustrate such cases, constructions in which these particles are used, will also be described.

1. Adverbs

Adverbial expressions normally modify the verb with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb. Ladakhi adverbs can be of three kinds: (a) Spatial adverbs or adverbs of place, (b) Temporal adverbs or adverbs of time, and (c) Manner adverbs. Spatial adverbs and most of the temporal adverbs take case suffixes while the rest do not.

Ladakhi postpositions can with some restrictions function as adverbs as discussed in § 4. 14.

2. Spatial Adverbs

There are four sets of adverbs of place in Ladakhi. Members of these four sets are formed by adding the suffixes —ru, —ηο, —κω and —ne to the pronominal bases, i—, ɔ—, o—te—, te—, and ƙe—.

Adverbs formed by the addition of —ru and —κω are mainly locational and the ones formed by the addition of —ηο and
—ne are directional. Locational adverbs formed with —ru can be used by themselves and can also take dative and genitive suffixes. The adverbs formed with —ka do not take any case suffixes.

Directional adverbs formed with —ηo take dative, genitive and ablative suffixes while the ones with —ne do not take any case suffix. The adverbs with —ru do not take ablative suffix and instead the —ne forms are used.

The four sets are as follows:

### Locational Adverbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locational Adverbs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i—ru Here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ι—ru There</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o—te—ru There</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te—ru There (Obvi.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kα—ru Where</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Directional Adverbs:

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<tr>
<th>Directional Adverbs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i—ηo In this direction</td>
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<tr>
<td>ι—ηo In that direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o—te—ηo In that direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te—ηo In that direction (Obvi.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kα—ηo In which direction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Examples:

1. i—ru źuks.

2. i—ru—yi ċhαr—pe—źuks—šən yoη—ηe—nok.
   Gen. here rain sharp come It rains heavily here.

3. i—ru—ι skyot.
   here come Please come here.
There are some more adverbs of place, which do not fall under the above four sets. They are items like thag—ñe—mo 'near', thag—riñ 'far, distant' etc. It may be remembered that these two forms have been listed earlier under postpositions. As postpositions they take case suffixes. When they function as spatial adverbs, they do not take any suffix.

1. khoη—pə  
   N. Dir.  
   house  
   thag—ñe—mo  
   hear  
   yot.  

   The house is nearby.

2. khoη—pə  
   N. Dir.  
   house  
   thag—riñ  
   far  
   yot.  

   The house is far.

3. Temporal Adverbs

The following adverbs of time occur in Ladakhi.

tə  
   Now
nəm  
   When (at what time)
te—ne  
   Then
dək—sə  Now itself, at this very time
tə—ɾə  In a little while, soon
sip—čig  For a little while, at once.
də—ltə  Afterwards, after a little while
ma—ne
nam—yə  }  Never
yə  Again
rez—gə—ri  Sometimes
tshuk—pə  Upto, till

1. tə, nam and dək—sə take ablative and genitive suffixes.
2. When the form tə—ne is followed by a particle phar—lə, it means ‘onwards’, i.e. tə—ne—phar—lə ‘now onwards’.
3. sip—čig has two different meanings. When it means ‘a little while’, it takes genitive suffix followed by the postposition phi—ə; it can also be used after phi—ə by itself. When sip—čig is used to convey the meaning ‘at once’ it takes dative and ablative suffixes.
4. Rest of the forms do not take any suffix.

Examples:

1. ɣə
   I. P. Pro.
   Tem. Adv.
   Sg. Dir.
   I now  go
   Now I shall go.

2. kho
   III. P. Pro.
   Tem. Adv.
   Sg. Dir.
   he now  go
   He would probably go now.

3. ku—le—a ɟis
   Adv. M.
   Tr. V.
   Imp.
   slowly  write
   te—ne
   Tem. Adv.
   II. P. Pro.
   Non—N. Dir.
   khyo—ɾə—ɾɨ yig—zucks
   Hon. Erg.
   handwriting
beautiful go

Write slowly, then your handwriting will become beautiful.

4. ņe-rəŋ i-ru te-ne phər-la
Hon. Dir.
you here now on
nəm tshuk-pə žuks-sin.
Def. Fut.
when till stay

How long would you stay here from now on?

5. ņe te-ne phər-la mi-zer.
Sg. Erg.
I then on speak

From now on I will not speak.

6. ŋə kho-ə čos, zər-pin, kho-e ten-na-ne
Sg. Erg.
I him do say he that very time čos.
Tr. V. Simp. Perf. I asked him to do (something) (and)
do he did (it) at that very time.

7. kho šip-čig-gə yons.
Sg. Dir.
he at once come

He came at once.

8. kho šip-čig-gi phi-ə (~ phi-ə šip-čig) yons.
Pro. Gen.
Sg. Dir.
he a little while for (a little while) came
He came for a little while.
Ladakhi Grammar

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Ladakhi has a series of forms derived from cardinal numerals for expressing the meaning 'once (i.e. one time temporarily), two times' etc. They are formed by the bound forms  or  (—pok—) plus the specific cardinal numeral, e.g.
Adjuncts

\[
\begin{align*}
tg\text{har} &- \text{cik} & \text{once} \\
l\text{en} -(pok -) & \text{cik} \\
tg\text{har} &- \text{dun} & \text{seven times} \\
l\text{en} -(pok -) & \text{dun}
\end{align*}
\]

For ‘once, one time’, the forms gə� can also be alternatively used.

4. Adverbs of Manner

The following are the important manner adverbs of Ladakhi:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gyoks} &- pə & \text{Hurriedly, fast} \\
\text{gor} &- te & \text{Delayingly, late} \\
\text{ku} &- le -ə & \text{Slowly} \\
\text{hun} &- med -la & \text{Suddenly}
\end{align*}
\]

As mentioned earlier, these forms do not take any case-suffix and are thus indeclinable.

Examples:

1. khyo—ʁəə  
   II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. Sg. Dir.  
   you  
   fast  
   eat  
   You eat fast.

2. kho—e  
   III. P. Pro. Sg. Erg.  
   he  
   slowly  
   talk  
   give  
   He speaks slowly.

3. ʁəə  
   I. P. Pro. Sg. Erg.  
   I  
   late  
   go  
   I went late.

Adverbs of manner gyoks—pə and ku—le—ə can be repeated.
There are two sets of manner adverbs which are related to indicative adjectives. The members of these two sets are i-zug-gi, a-zug-gi, o-te-zug-gi, te-zug-gi, and ka-zug-gi, i-zam, a-zam, o-te-zam, te-zam, ka-zam. The members of the i-zug-gi set describe the manner in which the action of the verb takes place, while the members of the i-zam set modify it as to its quantitative aspect and both are always adverbial in function.

5. **Particles**

There are two emphatic particles in Ladakhi. The exclusive emphatic particles are rəŋ and na. rəŋ is added only to nouns while -na to demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronoun ka. When -na is added an intrusive nasal is added to the pronominal stems to make them closed syllables. Thus the forms are in-na, en-na, o-ten-na, ten-na and ka-en-na. The inclusive emphatic particle is yəŋ~təŋ~ðəŋ~əŋ (added to a vowel ending form) or -əŋ (added to a consonant ending form, with the morphophonemic repetition of the final consonant). Important conjunction and other particles (including the phrasal ones) of Ladakhi are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
dəŋ & \sim təŋ & \text{And} \\
yin-na-əŋ & \text{Even then, However, But} \\
yin-naŋ & \text{Certainly, surely} \\
kar-met & \\
\ddot{c}i-ə-zer-na & \text{Because}
\end{align*}
\]
Adjuncts

That is why, therefore

At least

If

Consequently, Resultantly, then

Otherwise

Or

These particles are indeclinable and do not take any case suffix. Some examples of their use are as follows:

Examples:

1. \(\eta\) —

\(\delta\eta — \text{khω\(\eta\) — fe — } \text{chen.}\)


Sg. Part. Pro. Hon. Sg. Dir. proper name

I and he Leh go

He and I will go to Leh.

2. \(\text{khω}\eta\) —

\(\text{sol} — \text{ja} — \delta\eta — \text{khω} — \text{ra} — \text{don} — \text{pin.}\)

III. P. Pro. N. Part. N. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.


he tea and sweet eat

He had taken tea and sweets.

3. \(\text{kh}\eta — \text{a}\) —

\(\text{t\(\eta\) — ces} — \text{met} — \text{pin} — \text{yin} — \text{na\(\eta\)}\)

III. P. Pro. Sg. V. N. Dir. Neg. V. to be Part.


he giving was however

\((\sim \text{yin} — \text{na} — \text{na\(\eta\)})\) —

Part.

However
give

(It was) not to be given to him,

however (it was) given.
4. \( \text{tshe-wa} \)  
   N. Dir. thoe-re  
   Adv. T. kør-met  
   Part. yoŋ-yin.  
   Intr. V. Def. Fut.
   proper name Tshewang  
   tomorrow certainly come

Tshewang will certainly come tomorrow.

5. \( \text{ŋo} \)  
   yoŋ-mo-thup  
   či-ŋ-zer-na
   I. P. Pro. Sg. Dir.
   I come  
   because
   \( \text{ŋo-ŋ} \)  
   los
   I. P. Pro.
   I work
   I could not come because I had work.

6. \( \text{ŋo-ŋ} \)  
   zur-mo  
   yoŋ-ŋ-ʁok  
   Intr. V. Exp. Pr.
   I sickness come
   I. P. Pro. Sg. Dat. N. Dir.
   te-bo-e-ʁas-te  
   Part. smen  
   zə-ŋt.
   I. P. Pro. Sg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr.
   that is why
   I medicine eat
   I am sick that is why I take medicine.

7. kho-e  
   čʰəŋ  
   mə-thun  
   yin-ŋəŋ  
   III. P. Pro.
   N. Dir. Neg. Tr. V. Part.
   Def. Fut.
   he local alcohol drink but
   čə  
   thuŋ-yin.
   N. Dir. Tr. V. Def. Fut.
   tea drink
   He will not drink Chang but will drink tea.

8. \( \text{dol-mə} \)  
   thoe-re  
   mi-yon  
   yin-ŋəŋ  
   N. Dir.
   Def. Fut.
   proper name tomorrow come but
   Dolma
dor-rjə  
   yon-yin.
   N. Dir. Intr. V. Def. Fut.
   proper name come
   Dorje

Dolma won’t come tomorrow, but Dorje will come.
9. (kəl—te) kho yon na ƞə—ƞə
   Sg. Dir. Incl. Dir.

   If he come then we

   čhen.

   Intr. V. Def. Fut.

go

   If he comes, then we will go.

10. ƞe spe-če—ƞə ni ño—yin.
   Sg. Erg. Dir.

   I book five at least buy

   I will at least buy five books.

6. Either ... or Constructions:

   yəŋ—na or ƞə can be used for ‘either’ as well as ‘or’ in
   ‘either...or’ constructions. It is also possible to use yəŋ—na
   or yə only after the first clause.

1. yəŋ—na don-təŋ don yəŋ—na skyem-čhu don.
   ye " " " ye " " " " "
   " " " " " yəŋ—na " " " " "
   " " " " " ye " " " " "
   Part. N. Hon. Tr. V. Hon. Part. N Hon. Tr.V.
   Dir. Imp. Dir. Hon. Imp.

   either food eat or water drink

   Either have food or have water.

2. khoŋ—ƞi sol-ʃə yəŋ—na (~ yə) skyem
   III. P. Pro. N. Hon. Part. (Part.) N. Hon. Dir.
   Sg. Hon. Erg. Dir.

   he tea or (or) local alcohol
   Tr. V. Hon. Def. Fut.

   Chang

   don—nin.

   drink

   He will have either tea or Chang.
Such constructions can also be expressed by using या—मेन—ना, ते—मेन—ना, मेन—ना ‘otherwise’ between the two clause. In such cases the forms for ‘either’ ‘or’ या—ना or या may be optionally used before the first clause. या—मेन—ना is used in case of co-referential subjects before the second clause; if the two subjects are different मेन—ना or ते—मेन—ना can be used.

3. (या—ना/या)   
(Part./Part.) 
(\textit{either/either}) 
\text{you} 
\text{food} 
\text{otherwise} 
\text{otherwise} 
\text{I. P. Pro. Sg. Dat.} 
\text{N. Dir.} 
\text{V. N.} 
\text{V. to be Pr.} 
\text{anger} 
\text{coming} 
\text{(Either) you have food otherwise I will be angry.}

4. (या—ना)   
(Part.) 
(\textit{either}) 
\text{you} 
\text{food} 
\text{eat} 
\text{otherwise} 
\text{II. P. Pro.} 
\text{N. Dir.} 
\text{Tr. V.} 
\text{Part.} 
\text{Non. Hon.} 
\text{Imp.} 
\text{Sg. Dir.} 
\text{N. Dat.} 
\text{Intr. V. Imp.} 
\text{work} 
\text{go} 
\text{Either you have (your) food or you go to work.}

7. \textit{Neither ... nor} Constructions

The ‘neither ... nor’ constructions can be expressed in Ladakhi by simply using the two negative clauses one after the other. Thus ‘neither he will eat anything nor he will drink tea’ is literally expressed as ‘he will not eat anything, he will not drink tea at this time.’ However, the use
of the inclusive emphatic particle, as mentioned earlier, is obligatory after the subject of the second clause.

1. kho-e i-tuz-la čəŋ mi-zə
   III. P. Pro. N. Dat. Part. Neg. Tr. V.
   Sg. Erg. he at this time something eat
   čə mi-thuŋ.
   N. Dir. Neg. Tr. V. Def. Fut.
   tea not drink

   Neither he will eat anything at this time, nor he will drink tea.

2. pəl-lədən mi-čəŋ nə-əŋ mi-čəŋ.
   proper Def. Fut. Sg. Dir. Part. Def. Fut.
   Paldan go I go

   Neither Paldan will go nor I will.

There is another device for expressing the above in Ladakhi, in which there is a repetition of the verbs. Thus, a sentence ‘he will neither make ‘Chang’ (local alcohol) nor he will drink it’ will be expressed as ‘he will make not make Chang, he will drink not drink’. In such constructions, the inclusive emphatic particle is used after the stem; the repeated verb stem can take any verbal suffix.

3. kho-e čəŋ čə-əŋ mi-čə mi-thuŋ-ŋə
   III. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Part. Neg. Tr. V. Tr. V.
   Sig. Erg. he local alcohol make drink
   Chang make
   mi-thuŋ.
   Neg. Tr. V. Def. Fut.
   drink

   Neither he will make Chang nor he will drink (it).

8. Use of Connectors

   There are some connecting particles which are used only if the verb forms of the clauses involved are formed by using
specific tense-aspect-orientation suffixes. These particles have limited distribution.

There are two such particles:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pa-ne} & \quad \text{Since} \\
\text{pa-səŋ} & \quad \text{Because of}
\end{align*}
\]

A. The particle pa-ne ‘since’ is placed after the verb form of the first clause, which is invariably in simple perfect and the verb form of the second clause is in simple perfect or in past perfect.

**Examples**:

1. kho \[yəs\] \[pə-ne\] \[ləs\] \[mə-čəs\].
   III. P. Pro. Intr. V. Part. N. Dir. Neg. Tr. V. Sg. Dir. Simp. Perf. he come since work work
   Since he has come he has not done any work.

2. khyo-\[rəŋ\] \[yəs\] \[pə-ne\] \[kho-e\] \[čəŋ\].
   Neg. Tr. V. Simp. Perf. speak
   Since you have come he did not say anything.

3. izos-\[gəɾ\] \[ləs\] \[pə-ne\] \[səms\] \[skyo-mo\].
   N. Dir. Tr.V. Simp. Part. N. Dir. Qul. Adj. Perf. play see since heart unhappy
   Intr. V. Simp. Perf. go
   Since (I) saw the play (I) became unhappy.

B. The particle pa-səŋ is placed after the cause clause, in which the verb is invariably in simple perfect. The verb of the result clause can take the tense-aspect-orientation
Adjuncts

suffixes as required. The subjects of the two clauses are not necessarily coreferential in such a construction.

1. ḋə ḱaehr-ji zos ṭa-sən ṭot-ṛa
   I.P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Simp. Part. N. Dir.
   Sg. Dir. Perf.
   I food eat because stomach ḍənəs
   Intr. V. Simp. Perf.
   fill Stomach got filled because I had food.

2. ṛa-ldən yonəs ṭa-sən ḍoł-ṛa
   N. Dir. Intr. V. Part. N. Dir.
   Simp. Perf.
   proper name proper name Paldan came since Dolma Ḍep.
   Intr. V. Simp. Perf.
   reach Dolma reached because Paldan came, i.e. because of Paldan Dolma reached.

3. ḍoł-me ḍu-tənəs ṭa-sən kho-e
   proper name Perf.
   Dolma song give because he tu-tu-ə zur-mo yonəs-pin.
   throat sickness come
   Because Dolma sang a song her throat became soar.

4. ṛe-rən-ṇi gyoks-ṛa ḍis ṭa-sən yə-ge
   II. P. Pro. Hon. Part. V. Tr.V Part. N. Dir.
   you fast write because letter phed-ṛa-mi-ruk.
   Tr. V. Neg. V. to be Pr.
   to be legible
Because you write fast (your) handwriting is not legible.
9. Comparative and Superlative Constructions

Ladakhi forms comparative constructions by using the comparative particle saη. The order of elements in such a construction is as follows:

Item compared + Item to be compared with + genitive/dative suffix + saη.

Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. Dir.</th>
<th>II. P. Pro. Hon.</th>
<th>II. P. Pro. Hon. Dat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paldan</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saη</td>
<td>riη - mo</td>
<td>duk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comp. Part.</td>
<td>Qul. Adj.</td>
<td>V. to be Pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paldan is taller than you.

The superlative constructions are formed by using the item ṭshəη - ma 'all' as the item to be compared with, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he all all all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rde - mo duk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qul. Adj. V. to be Pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He is the best of all.

It may also be mentioned that the adjectival forms which denote the quality or attribute forming the basis of comparison may undergo a substitution of the formative suffix by the dative suffix. Thus rde - mo may become rde - η, riη - mo may become riη - ne.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kho η - η saη riη - ne duk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Sg. Qul. Adj. Pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir. Dat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he I tall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He is taller than I.

Thus there is really no difference structurally between the comparative and superlative constructions in Ladakhi.
APPENDIX I

ILLUSTRATIVE VERB PARADIGM

A full paradigm of two verb-stems — a vowel-ending stem ḍi—‘(to) write’ and a consonant-ending stem sil—‘(to) read’—is given in this section. All the affirmative forms are given at first, which are followed by the corresponding negative, affirmative honorific, and negative honorific forms.

Secondary modal forms are illustrated by giving examples of only one modal sub-category, viz. abilitative. Herein the full paradigm of affirmative and negative is given but only illustrative forms of the honorific affirmative and its negative are given.

As causative of all the above forms is made by adding the causative suffix ḍug—, the forms of only two present tense sub-categories are being given by way of illustration.

Affirmative

1. Reportive Present ḍi—ət sil—lət
2. Reportive Present Continuous ḍi—yin—yot sil—lin—yot
3. Observed Present ḍi—ruk～ ḍi—duk
4. Observed Present Continuous ḍi—yin—duk sil—lin—duk
5. Historical Present ḍi—ə—nok sil—lə—nok
6. Reportive Past ḍi—ət—pin sil—lət—pin
7. Reportive Past Continuous

8. Observed Past
   ⃜i – ruk – pin~
   ⃜i – duk – pin

9. Observed Past Continuous

10. Simple Perfect
    ⃜dis  sils

11. Past Perfect
    ⃜dis – pin  sils – pin

12. Definite Future
    ⃜i – yin  sil – lin

13. Indefinite Future
    ⃜di – yin – ḍo
    ⃜di – ḍo
    ⃜di – čen
    ⃜sil – lin – ḍo
    ⃜sil – ḍo
    ⃜sil – čen

14. Future Continuous
    ⃜di – ḍa – ḍo  sil – ḍa – ḍo

15. Simple Narrative
    ⃜di – ächt – ḳ̨ak  sil – ächt – ḳ̨ak

16. Narrative Continuous

17. Narrative Perfect
    ⃜dis – ḳ̨ak  sils – ḳ̨ak

18. Experiential Present
    ⃜di – ḡ – ṛ̨ak  sil – ḡ – ṛ̨ak

19. Experiential Past

20. Fact Based Inferential Present
    ⃜di – ok  sil – lok

21. Fact Based Inferential Past
    ⃜di – ok – pin  sil – lok – pin

22. Appearance Based Inferential Verb Stem
    ⃜di – thig – ṛ̨ak  sil – thig – ṛ̨ak

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23. Appearance  \( \text{di—thig—rak—pin} \)  sil—thig—rak—pin
   Based Inferential Verb Stem+
   thig—rak—pin
24. Appearance  \( \text{di—thig—yot} \)  sil—thig—yot
   Based Inferential Verb stem+
   thig—yot
25. Appearance  \( \text{di—thik—so} \eta \)  sil—thik—so\( \eta \)
   Based Inferential Verb stem+
   thik—so\( \eta \)
26. Appearance  \( \text{di—thig—duk} \)  sil—thig—duk
   Based Inferential Verb stem+
   thig—duk
27. Appearance  \( \text{di—thig—duk—pin} \)  sil—thig—duk—pin
   Based Inferential Verb stem+
   thig—duk—pin
28. Attested  \( \text{dis—tok} \)  sil—tok
   Inferential verb stem+Simple
   Perf.—tok
29. tshuk:  \( \text{di—at—tshuk} \)  sil—l\( \text{at} \)—tshuk
   verb stem+Reportive present
   +tshuk
30. tshuk:  \( \text{di—yin—yot—tshuk} \)  sil—lin—yot—tshuk
   verb stem+Reportive present
   continuous+
   tshuk
31. tshuk:  \( \text{di—at—pin—tshuk} \)  sil—l\( \text{at} \)—pin—tshuk
   verb stem+Reportive past+
   tshuk
32. tshuk : verb stem +
Reporotive Past
Continuous +
tshuk

33. tshuk : verb stem +
Past Perfect +
tshuk

34. Imperative
35. Benedictive

Negative

1. Reportive Present
2. Reportive Present Continuous

3. Observed Present

4. Observed Present Continuous

5. Historical Present

6. Reportive Past

7. Reportive Past Continuous

8. Observed Past

9. Observed Past Continuous
10. Simple Perfect  
\[ \text{mə-ði} \]  
\[ \text{mə-sils} \]

11. Past Perfect  
\[ \text{mə-ði-pin} \]  
\[ \text{mə-sils-pin} \]  
\[ \text{mə-sil-pin} \]

12. Definite Future  
\[ \text{mi-ði} \]  
\[ \text{mi-sil} \]

13. Indefinite Future  
\[ \begin{cases} \text{mi-ði-yin-ðo} \\ \text{mi-ði-ðo} \\ \text{ði-če-men} \end{cases} \]  
\[ \begin{cases} \text{mi-sil-lin-ðo} \\ \text{mi-sil-ðo} \\ \text{sil-če-men} \end{cases} \]

14. Future Continuous  
\[ \text{ði-ə-med-ðo} \]  
\[ \text{sil-lə-med-do} \]

15. Simple Narrative  
\[ \text{ði-ə-met-kək} \]  
\[ \text{sil-lə-met-kək} \]

16. Narrative Continuous  
\[ \text{ði-yin-met-kək} \]  
\[ \text{sil-lin-met-kək} \]

17. Narrative Perfect  
\[ \text{mə-ðis-kək} \]  
\[ \text{mə-sils-kək} \]

18. Experiential Present  
\[ \text{ði-ə-mi-rək} \]  
\[ \text{sil-lə-mi-rək} \]

19. Experiential Past  
\[ \text{ði-ə-mi-rək-pin} \]  
\[ \text{sil-lə-mi-rək-pin} \]

20. Fact Based Inferential Present  
\[ \text{mi-ði-ok} \]  
\[ \text{mi-sil-lop} \]

21. Fact Based Inferential Past  
\[ \text{mi-ði-ok-pin} \]  
\[ \text{mi-sil-lop-pin} \]

22. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+thig-rək  
\[ \text{ði-thig-mi-rək} \]  
\[ \text{sil-thig-mi-rək} \]

23. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+thig-rək-pin  
\[ \text{ði-thig-mi-rək-pın} \]  
\[ \text{sil-thig-mi-rək-pın} \]

24. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+thig-yot  
\[ \text{ði-thig-met} \]  
\[ \text{sil-thig-met} \]
25. Appearance di - thig - mǝ - soŋ sil - thig - mǝ - soŋ
   Based Inferential verb stem+thik - soŋ

26. Appearance di - thig - mi - ruk ~ sil - thig - mi - ruk ~
   Based Inferential di - thig - mi - duk sil - thig - mi - duk
   verb stem+thig - duk

27. Appearance di - thig - mi - ruk sil - thig - mi - ruk
   Based Inferential - pin ~ - pin ~
   verb stem+thig di - thig - mi - duk sil - thig - mi - duk
   - duk - pin - pin

28. Attested mǝ - ǝis - tok mǝ - sils - tok
   Inferential verb stem+
   Simple Perfect—
tok

29. tshuk :
   verb stem+
   Reportive Present+tshuk
   di - ǝ - met - tshuk sil - ǝ - met - tshuk

30. tshuk :
   verb stem+
   Reportive Present Continuous+tshuk
   di - yin - met - tshuk sil - lin - met - tshuk

31. tshuk :
   verb stem+
   Reportive past+tshuk
   di - ǝ - met - pin sil - ǝ - met - pin
   - tshuk

32. tshuk :
   verb stem+
   Reportive Past Continuous+tshuk
   di - yin - met - pin sil - lin - met - pin
   - tshuk
Appendix I

33. tshuk: verb stem + Past Perfect + tshuk

34. Imperative

35. Benedictive

Honorable Affirmative

1. Reportive Present

2. Reportive Present Continuous

3. Observed Present

4. Observed Present Continuous

5. Historical Present

6. Reportive Past

7. Reportive Past Continuous

8. Observed Past

9.Observed Past Continuous

10. Simple Perfect

11. Past Perfect

12. Definite Future
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Ladakhi Formulations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Indefinite Future</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-din} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-din} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-do} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-do} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-čen} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-čen} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Future Continuous</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dad} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dad} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzad-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzad-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Simple Narrative</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-det} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-det} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzad-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzad-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Narrative Continuous</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-din} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-din} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzad-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzad-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Narrative Perfect</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzats-} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzats-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzats-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzats-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Experiential Present</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dar} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dar} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzad-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzad-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Experiential Past</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dar} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dar} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzad-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzad-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Fact Based Inferential Present</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dok} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dok} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzad-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzad-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Fact Based Inferential Past</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dok} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzad-dok} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzad-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzad-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig - rěk</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thig-rěk} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thig-rěk} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzat-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzat-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig - rěk - pin</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thig-rěk-pin} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thig-rěk-pin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzat-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzat-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig - yot</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thig-yot} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thig-yot} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzat-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzat-} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig - soη</td>
<td>( \text{di-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thik-soη} ) ( \text{sil-} \text{a-} \text{dzat-thik-soη} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \text{di-a-} \text{dzat-} ) ( \text{sil-a-} \text{dzat-} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I

26. Appearance
   Based
   Inferential verb stem+thig-
   duk

27. Appearance
   Based
   Inferential verb stem+thig-
   -duk - pin

28. Attested
   Inferential verb stem+
   Simple Perfect+
tok

29. \textit{tshuk}:
   verb stem+
   Reportive Present+\textit{tshuk}

30. \textit{tshuk}:
   verb stem+
   Reportive Present Continuous+\textit{tshuk}

31. \textit{tshuk}:
   verb stem+
   Reportive Past+\textit{tshuk}

32. \textit{tshuk}:
   verb stem+
   Reportive Past Continuous+\textit{tshuk}

33. \textit{tshuk}:
   verb stem+Past Perfect+\textit{tshuk}
34. Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Verb</th>
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<th>Indefinite Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzət</td>
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</tr>
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<td>di-ə-dzət-šik</td>
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35. Benedictive

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzət-šik</td>
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### Honorific Negative

1. Reportive Present

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2. Reportive Present Continuous

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met</td>
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3. Observed Present

<table>
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<th>Indefinite Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ruk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-duk</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

4. Observed Present Continuous

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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ruk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-duk</td>
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5. Historical Present

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<tr>
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<td>mə-nok</td>
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6. Reportive Past

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<tr>
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<td>sil-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met-pin</td>
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7. Reportive Past Continuous

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<th>Indefinite Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met-pin</td>
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<td></td>
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8. Observed Past

<table>
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<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ruk-pin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-ə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-duk-pin</td>
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</table>

9. Observed Past Continuous

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Subject/Verb</th>
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<th>Indefinite Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ruk-pin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td>sil-ə-dzəd-din-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-duk-pin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

10. Simple Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Verb</th>
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<th>Indefinite Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di-ə-mə-dzəts</td>
<td>sil-ə-mə-dzəts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I

11. Past Perfect  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{e} - \text{ma} - \text{dzats} - \text{pin} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{e} - \text{dzats} - \text{pin} \]

12. Definite Future  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzat} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzat} \]

13. Indefinite Future  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzad} \\
\text{din} - \text{do} \\
\text{do} \\
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzat} - \text{ce} \\
\text{men}
\end{align*} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzad} - \text{do} \\
\text{do} \\
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzat} - \text{ce} \\
\text{men}
\end{align*} \]

14. Future Continuous  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{med} - \text{do} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{med} - \text{do} \]

15. Simple Narrative  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{met} - \text{kak} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{met} - \text{kak} \]

16. Narrative Continuous  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{din} - \text{met} - \text{kak} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{din} - \text{met} - \text{kak} \]

17. Narrative Perfect  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{ma} - \text{dzets} - \text{kak} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{ma} - \text{dzets} - \text{kak} \]

18. Experiential Present  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} \]

19. Experiential Past  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} - \text{pin} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{dzed} - \text{do} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} - \text{pin} \]

20. Fact Based Inferential Present  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzad} - \text{dok} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzad} - \text{dok} \]

21. Fact Based Inferential Past  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzad} - \text{dok} - \text{pin} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{mi} - \text{dzad} - \text{dok} - \text{pin} \]

22. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig - rak  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzat} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{dzat} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} \]

23. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig - rak - pin  
\[ \text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzat} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} - \text{pin} \]
\[ \text{sil} - \text{l} - \text{a} - \text{dzat} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{rak} - \text{pin} \]
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<td>24.</td>
<td>Appearance Based</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - dzat - thig}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inferential verb stem + thig - yot</td>
<td>$\text{sil} - \text{lo - dzat - thig met}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Appearance Based</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - dzat - thig}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inferential verb stem + thig - so\text{\texteta}</td>
<td>$\text{sil} - \text{lo - dzat - thig ma - so\text{\texteta}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Appearance Based</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - dzat - thig}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inferential verb stem + thig - duk</td>
<td>$\text{mi - ruk \text{-} -mi - ruk}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Appearance Based</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - dzat - thig}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inferential verb stem + thig - duk - pin</td>
<td>$\text{mi - ruk \text{-} -mi - ruk}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Attested</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - ma - dzats}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inferential verb stem + Simple</td>
<td>$\text{tok}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect + tok</td>
<td>$\text{sil} - \text{lo - ma - dzats}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>tshuk: verb stem + Reportive</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - dzed - da}$</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present + tshuk</td>
<td>$\text{met - tshuk}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>tshuk: verb stem + Repor-</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - dzed - din}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tive Present Continuous +</td>
<td>$\text{met - tshuk}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tshuk</td>
<td>$\text{met - tshuk}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>tshuk: verb stem + Repor-</td>
<td>$\text{di} - \text{a - dzed - da}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tive Past + tshuk</td>
<td>$\text{met - pin - tshuk}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ladakhi Grammar*
32. tshuk:  
verb  
stem + Reportive Past Continuous + tshuk

\[
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzad} - \text{din} - \text{sil} - \text{la} - \text{dzad} - \text{din} \\
\text{met} - \text{pin} - \text{tshuk} - \text{met} - \text{pin} - \text{tshuk}
\]

33. tshuk:  
verb stem + Past  
Perfect + tshuk

\[
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{ma} - \text{dzats} - \text{sil} - \text{la} - \text{ma} - \text{dzats} - \\
\text{pin} - \text{tshuk} - \text{pin} - \text{tshuk}
\]

34. Imperative

\[
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{ma} - \text{dzat} \text{(sg.)} - \text{sil} - \text{la} - \text{ma} - \text{dzat} \text{(sg.)} \\
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{me} - \text{dzat} - \text{čik} \text{(pl.)} - \text{sil} - \text{la} - \text{ma} - \text{dzat} - \text{čik} \text{(pl.)}
\]

35. Benedictive

\[
\text{di} - \text{a} - \text{dzat} - \text{šik} - \text{sil} - \text{la} - \text{dzat} - \text{šik}
\]

**Abilitative Affirmatives**

1. Reportive Present

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bät} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bät}
\]

2. Reportive Present Continuous

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{yot} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{yot}
\]

3. Observed Present

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{duk} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{duk}
\]

4. Observed Present Continuous

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{duk} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{duk}
\]

5. Historical Present

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bə} - \text{nok} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bə} - \text{nok}
\]

6. Reportive Past

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bät} - \text{pin} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bät} - \text{pin}
\]

7. Reportive Past Continuous

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{yot} - \text{pin} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{yot} - \text{pin}
\]

8. Observed Past

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{duk} - \text{pin} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{duk} - \text{pin}
\]

9. Observed Past Continuous

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{duk} - \text{pin} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{duk} - \text{pin}
\]

10. Simple Perfect

\[
\text{di} - \text{thups} - \text{sil} - \text{thups}
\]

11. Past Perfect

\[
\text{di} - \text{thups} - \text{pin} - \text{sil} - \text{thups} - \text{pin}
\]

12. Definite Future

\[
\text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin}
\]
13. Indefinite Future
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di-thub-bin-} & \quad \text{do} \\
\text{di-thub-d}\hat{o} & \quad \text{si-thub-d}\hat{o} \\
\text{di-thub-} \hat{\text{c}}\text{en} & \quad \text{si-thub-} \hat{\text{c}}\text{en}
\end{align*}
\]

14. Future Continuous
\[
\text{di-thub-ba-d}\hat{o} \quad \text{si-thub-ba-d}\hat{o}
\]

15. Simple Narrative
\[
\text{di-thub-bat-kak} \quad \text{si-thub-bat-kak}
\]

16. Narrative Continuous
\[
\text{di-thub-bin-} \quad \text{si-thub-bin-yot} \\
yot-kak \quad \text{si-thub-bin-yot-kak}
\]

17. Narrative Perfect
\[
\text{di-thups-kak} \quad \text{si-thups-kak}
\]

18. Experiential Present
\[
\text{di-thub-ba-rak} \quad \text{si-thub-ba-rak}
\]

19. Experiential Past
\[
\text{di-thub-ba-rak-pin} \quad \text{si-thub-ba-rak-pin}
\]

20. Fact Based Inferential Present
\[
\text{di-thub-bok} \quad \text{si-thub-bok}
\]

21. Fact Based Inferential Past
\[
\text{di-thub-bok-pin} \quad \text{si-thub-bok-pin}
\]

22. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+thig-rak
\[
\text{di-thub-thig-rak} \quad \text{si-thub-thig-rak}
\]

23. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+rak-pin
\[
\text{di-thub-thig-rak-pin} \quad \text{si-thub-thig-rak-pin}
\]

24. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+thig-yot
\[
\text{di-thub-thig-yot} \quad \text{si-thub-thig-yot}
\]
Appendix I

25. Appearance
   Based Inferential verb stem + thik – soη
   di-thub-thik- soη

26. Appearance
   Based Inferential verb stem + thig – duk
   di-thub-thig- duk

27. Appearance
   Based Inferential verb stem + thig – duk – pin
   di-thub-thig- duk-pin

28. Attested
   Inferential verb stem + tok
   di-thups-tok

29. tshuk :
   verb stem + Reportive Present + tshuk
   di-thub-bat- tshuk

30. tshuk :
   verb stem + Reportive Present Continuous + tshuk
   di-thub-bin-yot -tshuk yot-tshuk

31. tshuk :
   verb stem + Reportive Past + tshuk
   di-thub-bat-pin -tshuk -tshuk

32. tshuk :
   verb stem + Reportive Past Continuous + tshuk
   di-thub-bin-yot -pin-tshuk -pin-tshuk

33. tshuk :
   verb stem + Past
   Perfect + tshuk
   di-thups-pin -tshuk
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>34. Imperative</th>
<th>( \text{di} - \text{thup} ) (sg.)</th>
<th>( \text{di} - \text{thup} - \text{šik} ) (pl.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35. Benedictive</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thup} - \text{šik} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thup} - \text{šik} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abilitative Negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Reportive Present</th>
<th>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{met} )</th>
<th>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} \text{bә} - \text{met} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Reportive Present Continuous</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{met} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{met} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Observed Present</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Observed Present Continuous</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Historical Present</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{ма} - \text{nok} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{ма} - \text{nok} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reportive Past</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{met} - \text{pin} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{met} - \text{pin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reportive Past Continuous</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{met} - \text{pin} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{met} - \text{pin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Observed Past</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} - \text{pin} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bә} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} - \text{pin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Observed Past Continuous</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} - \text{pin} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{thub} - \text{bin} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} - \text{pin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Simple Perfect</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{mә} - \text{thups} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{mә} - \text{thups} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Past Perfect</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{mә} - \text{thups} - \text{pin} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{mә} - \text{thups} - \text{pin} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Definite Future</td>
<td>( \text{di} - \text{mi} - \text{thup} )</td>
<td>( \text{sil} - \text{mi} - \text{thup} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I

13. Indefinite Future
   \[ \text{di-mi-thub-bin}\text{-}\text{do} \]
   \[ \text{sil-mi-thub-bin}\text{-}\text{do} \]

14. Future Continuous
   \[ \text{di-thub-ba-med}\text{-}\text{do} \]
   \[ \text{sil-thub-ba-med}\text{-}\text{do} \]

15. Simple Narrative
   \[ \text{di-thub-ba-met}\text{-}\text{kak} \]
   \[ \text{sil-thub-ba-met}\text{-}\text{kak} \]

16. Narrative Continuous
   \[ \text{di-thub-bin-met}\text{-}\text{kak} \]
   \[ \text{sil-thub-bin-met}\text{-}\text{kak} \]

17. Narrative Perfect
   \[ \text{di-ma-thups-kak}\text{-}\text{kak} \]
   \[ \text{sil-ma-thups-kak}\text{-}\text{kak} \]

18. Experiential Present
   \[ \text{di-thub-ba-mi}\text{-}\text{rak} \]
   \[ \text{sil-thub-ba-mi}\text{-}\text{rak} \]

19. Experiential Past
   \[ \text{di-thub-ba-mi}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]
   \[ \text{sil-thub-ba-mi}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]

20. Fact Based Inferential Present
    \[ \text{di-mi-thub-bok}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]
    \[ \text{sil-mi-thub-bok}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]

21. Fact Based Inferential Past
    \[ \text{di-mi-thub-bok}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]
    \[ \text{sil-mi-thub-bok}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]

22. Appearance Based Inferential
    \[ \text{di-thub-thig-mi}\text{-}\text{rak}\text{-}\text{rak} \]
    \[ \text{sil-thub-thig-mi}\text{-}\text{rak}\text{-}\text{rak} \]

23. Appearance Based Inferential
    \[ \text{di-thub-thig-mi}\text{-}\text{rak-pin}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]
    \[ \text{sil-thub-thig-mi}\text{-}\text{rak-pin}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]

24. Appearance Based Inferential
    \[ \text{di-thub-thig-met}\text{-}\text{rak-pin}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]
    \[ \text{sil-thub-thig-met}\text{-}\text{rak-pin}\text{-}\text{rak-pin} \]
25. Appearance Based
   Inferential verb stem +
thig - soṇ

   Based -soṇ - soṇ

   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk

26. Appearance Based
   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk

   Based -ruk ~ -ruk ~

   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk - pin

27. Appearance Based
   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk - pin

28. Attested
   Inferential verb stem +
Simple Perfect + tok

   Based -ruk-pin ~ -ruk-pin ~

   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk - pin

29. tshuk:
   verb stem +
Re REPORTIVE Present + tshuk

   Based -tshuk - tshuk

   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk - pin

30. tshuk:
   verb stem +
Re REPORTIVE Present Continuous + tshuk

   Based -tshuk - tshuk

31. tshuk:
   verb stem +
Re REPORTIVE Past + tshuk

   Based -tshuk - tshuk - tshuk

   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk - pin

   Based -tshuk - tshuk - tshuk

   Inferential verb stem +
thig - duk - pin

   Based -tshuk - tshuk - tshuk
Appendix I

32. tshuk:
verb stem+ 
Reportive Past Continuous+tshuk

– pin – tshuk – pin – tshuk

33. tshuk:
verb stem+ 
Past Perfect+tshuk

– tshuk – tshuk

34. Imperative

di – mә – thup (sg.) sil – mә – thup (sg.)
(pl.) (pl.)

35. Benedective


Verb Stem+Abi. (thub – )+Hon. Suf.+Tense etc.

1. Reportive
Present

di – thub – bә – dzәd sil – thub – bә – dzәd 
– dәt – dәt

2. Reportive
Present Continuous

di – thub – bә – dzәd sil – thub – bә – dzәd 
– din – yot – din – yot

Negative

1. Reportive
Present

di – thub – bә – dzәd sil – thub – bә – dzәd 
– dә – met – dә – met

2. Reportive
Present Continuous

di – thub – bә – dzәd sil – thub – bә – dzәd 
– din – met – din – met

Verb stem+Caus. (čug – )

1. Reportive
Present

di – čug – gәt sil – čug – gәt

2. Reportive
Present Continuous


Negative

1. Reportive
Present

### Ladakhi Grammar

#### 2. Reportive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di - čug - gin - met</td>
<td>sil - čug - gin - met</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hon. Affirmative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Reportive</th>
<th>di - čug - gə - dzəd</th>
<th>sil - čug - gə - dzəd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>- dət</td>
<td>- dət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reportive</td>
<td>di - čug - gə - dzəd</td>
<td>sil - čug - gə - dzəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>- din - yot</td>
<td>- din - yot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hon. Negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Reportive</th>
<th>di - čug - gə - dzəd - də - met ~</th>
<th>sil - čug - gə - dzəd - də - met ~</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reportive</td>
<td>di - čug - gə - dzəd - din - met</td>
<td>sil - čug - gə - dzəd - din - met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verb Stem+ Caus. + Abi.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Reportive</th>
<th>di - thup - čug - get ~</th>
<th>sil - thup - čug - get ~</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>di - čuk - thub - bə</td>
<td>sil - čuk - thub - bə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- dzəd - dət ~</td>
<td>- dzəd - dət ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reportive</td>
<td>di - thup - čug - gin</td>
<td>sil - thup - čug - gin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- yot ~</td>
<td>- yot ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>di - čuk - thub - bin</td>
<td>sil - čuk - thub - bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>di - čuk - thub - yot</td>
<td>sil - čuk - thub - yot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hon. Affirmative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reportive</td>
<td>di - thup - čug - gə - dzəd - din - yot ~</td>
<td>sil - thup - čug - gə - dzəd - din - yot ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>di - čuk - thub - bə - dzəd - din - yot</td>
<td>sil - čuk - thub - bə - dzəd - din - yot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Negative

1. **Reportive Present**
   - di-thup-čug-gə  
   - dzəd-ḍə-met~  
   - di-čuk-thub-ə  
   - dzəd-ḍə-met

2. **Reportive Present**
   - Z-
   - dzəd-din-met~
   - di-čuk-thub-ə  
   - -dzəd-din-met

### Verb Stem+Desi.(gos—) : Reportive Present :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Affirmative**| di—gos-sət | sil—gos-sət | sil—gos-sə—dzəd  
| **Negative**   | di—gos-ə—met | sil—gos-ə—dzəd  
| **Honorific**  | di—gos-ə—dzəd | sil—gos-ə—dzəd  
| **Negative**   | di—gos-ə—dzəd | sil—gos-sə—dzəd | sil—gos—sə—dzəd | +dzəd—met |

### Caus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmative</strong></td>
<td>di—gos—čug—gət</td>
<td>sil—gos—čug—gət</td>
<td>sil—gos—čug—gə—met</td>
<td>sil—gos—čug—gə—met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>di—gos—čug—gə—met</td>
<td>sil—gos—čug—gə—met</td>
<td>sil—gos—čug—gə—dzəd</td>
<td>sil—gos—čug—gə—dzəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>di—gos—čug—gə—dzəd</td>
<td>di—gos—čug—gə—dzəd</td>
<td>di—gos—čug—gə—dzəd</td>
<td>dzəd—ḍə—met</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verb Stem+Abi. (thub—)+Desi. (gos—): Reportive Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmative</strong></td>
<td>di—thub—gos—sət</td>
<td>sil—thub—gos—sət</td>
<td>sil—thub—gos—sə—met</td>
<td>sil—thub—gos—sə—met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>di—thub—gos—sə—dzəd</td>
<td>di—thub—gos—sə—dzəd</td>
<td>di—thub—gos—sə—dzəd</td>
<td>dzəd—ḍə—met</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Verb Stem + ċug— + thub— + gos : Reportive Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmative</strong></td>
<td>ści — ċuk — thub — gos — sat ~</td>
<td>ści — thup — ċug — gos — sat</td>
<td>ści — ċuk — thub — gos — sa — met ~</td>
<td>ści — thup — ċug — gos — sa — met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>ści — thup — ċug — gos — sa — met</td>
<td>ści — thup — ċug — gos — sa — met</td>
<td>ści — thup — ċug — gos — sa — met</td>
<td>ści — thup — ċug — gos — sa — met</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II

SAMPLE TEXT

lo - ṭsā - wə - rin - chen - zəŋ - po

Translator Ratnabhadra


- both - to
yul - kyu - wəŋ - rəd - ni zer - sə - village proper name call - place - to ltəms - kək.

was born


manifested

3. ldə - gu - ŋo - ču soŋ - te With the completion month - nine - face - ten having gone of the ninth month i.e. after ninth month facing the tenth the mother's body
Grammar became light and beautiful.

4. mə—tšhat ger—ri ča—kh'yuŋ— Besides this the parents saw (in the dream) the Garuda, parrot, and peacock—

ne—tsho—dəŋ—ṣma—ča—zik

parrot—and—peacock—

khoŋ—rəŋ—ŋi

own—of body—in

thims—sə—dəŋ nəm—khə—ne

as entering sky—from

me—t og—gi čhər—pə bap—ste

flower—of rain having

fallen

mi—tšhəŋ—me tu—ə ziks.

man—all pick—to saw

5. te—ne stə—lo —yar—ri Then he was born on the tenth day of the summer-month of the Tibetan House year.

ldə—we tshes—ču—yi

month—of date—ten—of

žag—gə sku—təms.

day—on was born

6. rin—čhen—wəŋ—čhuk—tšhan sols. He was named Rinchenwangchuk.

proper name named

7. žon—nu ltəms—te lo—ñis By the time he completed two years, he was found uttering

baby having year—two born

lon—nə—dəŋ žəl—ne and writing the vowels and letters on the
Appendix II

319

d—a—i—i  mol—lin  sə—ə

specific sounds uttering ground—on  
also

yəŋ—yik—kun  di—ste

vowels—letters  having written

thal—mo  jə—rə—dzəts.

hands  folded

8. te—ne  yəb—bi  i—thug—gu

then father  this—child

təsət—čən—zik  yin—čes  duk

great  to be  is

goŋ—ste  nam—zə—ser—po

having clothes—yellow

thought

skon—te  ge—sən  dzəts.

having made  Upasaka  made
to wear

9. khoŋ lo—ču—sum  lon—nə—dəŋ

he year—thirteen as completing

khoŋ—po—ləks—pə—zəŋ—po—ne

abbot  proper name—from

rap—tu—jʊŋ—ə—dzət—te

having given the next status, i.e.

Samnyer

tʃən—rin—čen—zəŋ—po  sols.

name  proper name  named

10. khoŋ—po—ne  sum—rgyal—pə—soks

abbot—from name of the  etc.

religious book

rən—chos—məŋ—po  səns.

great—religion—many  heard

He studied many religious books like Sumrgyalpa

with the help of the abbot.

11. khoŋ—ŋə  nəl—ləm—mə

he—to  dream—in

khoŋ—do—ma—mər—po—žig—gi

Dakini—  red—a

holy spirit

He saw a holy spirit (red Dakini) asking him to go to
Kashmir and India, and learn Sanskrit,
khyo—rəŋ khə—če—deŋ
you Kashmir—and—
gyə—gər—lo soŋ lo—təŋ
India—to go Sanskrit
lap—ste bod—lo gyur.
having Tibet—in translate
learnt

12. te—min čhos—dəŋ—sog—ga
otherwise religion—and—life—to
par—čhot yoŋ—čes mol—lo
jeopardy coming saying to
ziks.
saw

Otherwise religion
as well as his life
will be in jeopardy.

13. te—bo—nəŋ thuks—skyo—mo—dəŋ— He was very unhappy.
that unhappy—
ŋəm—po žuks—te yot—tshuk.
mind having sat was

14. yəb—yum—ñis—ke či rək
father-mother-both what is
či soŋ zer—te tis.
what happened having asked
said

Parents asked him
why he was unhappy
and what had hap-
pened.

15. rin—čhen—zəŋ—po—e
proper name
yəb—yum—ñis—lo mi—ləm—dəŋ—
father-mother-both—to dream—and
—khan—do—me luŋ—stan—ni
Dakini—of prophesy—of
skor—kun rgyas—po čo—ste
about detail having made

Rinchenzangpo told
the parents of his
dream and the pro-
phecy of Dakini in
detail.
16. yab-yum—ñis—ka—o
father-mother-both-to-also
thuks—sams—skyo—mo skyot.
unhappy-mind became
Parents also became very unhappy.

17. kho—ce—o—lam—çug na—ni
Kashmir-to send then
lam rgus met,
way knowledge is not
bør—do thon—çes yin—nok.
difficulty see is
If we send him to Kashmir the way to Kashmir is not known, and therefore, there will be difficulties.

18. lam—ma—çug na—ni
not send then
chos—døn—sog—ga ber—çhat
religion—and—life—to jeopardy
yøn—çes yin—nok.
coming is
If we do not send him to Kashmir, religion as well as his life will be in jeopardy.

19. thaps—juk rin—çhen—zøn—po
finally proper name
kho—ce—o chos—døn—lo—tsø
Kashmir-to religion—and—Sanskrit
løb—bo skyot—çes
learning—for going
thuks—thøk—çats.
decision—took
Finally, it was decided to send Rinchen-zangpo to Kashmir to learn religion and Sanskrit language.

20. yul—çik—pe ge—sñen
village-one-of Upasaka
tø—si—rtse—mo zu—khan—bo
proper name named
lam—roks—lo çol—ste ser—
co-traveller having gold made
lam—tug—rgyø—døn—lem—
coin—six—hundred—and way
rgyøks køl—te ñuøn—ti—yi
provisions having proper—of
sent name
Then he went to Kashmir with a co-traveller Tashir-tse, an Upasaka from the village, and he took six hundred gold coins for provisions on the way and a person of the Mon caste from the village Yunti who knew the way.
mon lám rgyus-
name of way knowledge
a caste
yot – khān – žig – dāŋ
is – one – with
sum – yul – ne biŋ – ste
proper – from having come
name out
khā – cē – yi choks – la skyot.
Kashmir – of side – to went

sum – mi stiŋ – ne lām – ne
three-of after way – from
mon – bo dul – ės – la tši – ste
Mon walking – for having felt lazy
lok.
returned

they – both difficulty – and
dā – ēk – pe žiks – pē – gun
enemy – dacoit – of fears
ñoŋ – gin skyot – te khā – cē – yi
facing having Kashmir – of gone
yul – li so – thoms –
village – of ground – border
tōŋ – dun – yot – sō – žig – gō
house – seven – is – place – one – to
Lēp.
reached

there month – one having
sat
phēl – skēt jōŋ – ŋo – dz̄ats.
spoken – language learnt

After one month and three days, the Mon, feeling lazy in travelling further, went back.

They both reached a village of seven houses at the border of Kashmir after facing difficulties and being frightened of enemies and dacoits.

Having stayed there for a month, they learnt the local language.
Appendix II

24. then going because
then going because
proper name named of
then going because
the city named Kalacakti.

25. this-type-man-yellow beard-
dal—met—khan zer—rin
moustache—not—one calling
Kashmir—all
Kashmir of child—all
Kashmir named of

26. there he alms—for
there he alms—for
reached therefore
Brahmin old one with
Brahmin old one with

27. that-Brahmin his
that-Brahmin his
having said nothing inside
Brahmin filled a silver bowl with

28. you spiritually lucky
You are spiritually lucky;
in this life you will learn a lot
about religion and
Ladakhi Grammar

i—ţshe—ə ěhos—məŋ—pə
this-life—in religion—very
khyen—nin sems—ćən—ni
will know living being-of
don—ton—məŋ—pə ćəd—dən.
service—very will do
či— mə ɲon—pər—rdzoks—pə—
enlightenment
səŋs rgyas—sin.
will achieve

29. khoŋ ni ῃm—zə
he particle Brahmin
tət—čhət—go—ćə Ḗu—khən
proper name called
yin—ţshuk.
was

30. te—ne khoŋ pən—di—tə
then he Pandita
gun—mi—tə-ra ću—khən
proper name called
rik—pe—nəs—ςŋə— lo
knowledge—five—to
thuk—khəs—pə—zək ćuks—te
scholar—one having sat
yot—ţshuk.
was

31. ćəm—zə—tət—čhət—go—ćhə
Brahmin proper name
phul—khən—ni ądə—li
offered—of silver-of
spos—phor—bo phul—te
incense-bowl having offered
čhək— tʃhəl—te
salutation—having done
ldə—wə—rdun—ţshuk—pə—ə
month—seven—upto— to
lo—tə Ləps.
Sanskrit studied

will serve the human beings. In next birth you will achieve enlightenment.'

He was a Brahmin called by the name tət—čhət—go—ćhə.

There was a Pandita named Gunmitra, who was well-versed in five fields of knowledge.

Having offered the incense silver bowl given by the Brahmin tət—čhət—go—ćhə, he bowed to the Pandita in salutation and for seven months studied Sanskrit with him.
32. दो— दौन— टेहेड—मा—ए
Sanskrit—and—epistemology
thuks—क्होस—पो
gyur.
scholar
became

He became a scholar of Sanskrit and of epistemology.

33. के—चे—यि
Kashmir—of
kh०—कहेन—पो
abbot
d०—मा—श०न—ति—ने
proper name
—from
sनन—र्दजोक्स
dुब—बा—दज्ञस.
Bhikshu
completed

Then the Kashmiri abbot made him a Bhikshu.

34. ते—चौस—मौए—पो
s०न
great-religion—many
heard
kh०—चिक
bot—स्कॅड—ला—ए
some
Tibetan-language-in—also
zगुर—रा—दज्ञस.
translated

Then he studied many religious texts and also translated some of them into Tibetan.

35. ते—ने
rin—चहेन—ज०ए—पो
then
proper name
तोए—कह्येह—ट०—मा—ला—स०न—ति
city
—from
्दर—स०—ए
pheps—te
called-place—to
having reached
प०न—दित—ट०—चहेन—पो
Pandita—great
सर—द०—का—रा—व०—मा—द०ए
proper—name—with
जि—टॆ
do—घे—क्स—सि
having
Sutra—Tantra—of
met
चौस—मौए—पो
s०न—टे
lo—ज०ए
religion—many
having practise
heard

Then Rinchenzangpo reaching the place named Tamalasanti, studied Sutras and Tantras from the great Pandita Sharadakarawarma and practised them.

36. ते—यि
stी—ने
khoय
that—of
after
he

After that he went to Phulhari monastery,
which was situated in the north before returning to his fatherland; there he visited Mahasiddha Naropa and studied great secret Tantras.

While in Kashmir he made arrangements to go to the eastern part of India.

He kept all his books in the care of the great Pandita of Shardakarawarma.

Then he reached the eastern side of India.

There he studied with abbot Dzinamitra, abbot Shilendra etc. and with many scholars and Panditas.
Appendix II

41. zde—snot—sum—dη—yum—gyas— He translated religious texts Tripitik, and many holy books (like Prajñā Pāramitā) etc.
Tripitik—and—holy book
po—soks—tom—chos—mη—po—
etc.—great—religion—many
zig zgyur—rə—dzets. translated

42. lo—tə—wə—rin—chen—zη—po Then he became known as Lotsawa-Rinchenzangpo.
proper name
zū—ste tshen—sən—
having name—famous
called
toks—ən gyur.
became

43. te—ne yən—khə—ce—a pheps—te Then, returning to
then again Kashmir—to having
reached
pən—di—tə—sər—da—kə—rə—
Pandita proper name
war—me chag—gə col—khan—ni
—of hand—in kept
chak—spe—gun—ne thon—tshet
books—from as much as
snams.
took

44. mə—thon—khan—ni chak—spe—gun Whatever books he could not carry he
not carry of books
khoη—rəη—ni chag—gə col—te left them in the care of Pandita
his hand—in having kept
the care of Pandita
kyu—wəη—nə log—gə—dzət.
proper name—to returned
45. \textit{kha-\textit{ce}-da\text{\textperiodcentered}gya-gar-la}  
\textit{Kashmir-and-India-to}  
\textit{kho\text{\textperiodcentered}lo-\textit{cu} \text{\textperiodcentered}\textit{juk}.}  
He spent ten years in Kashmir and in other parts of India.

46. \textit{pha-yul-la phops-za-ne}  
\textit{father-village-to reaching}  
\textit{yap ton\text{\textperiodcentered}s-tshar-te met-tshuk.}  
When he reached the father-land, his father was already dead.

47. \textit{kha-\textit{ce-ne lok-ste ma-}  
\textit{Kashmir-from having returned}  
\textit{yo\text{\textperiodcentered}n-\textit{\textperiodcentered}}}  
He thought that it was a mistake not to have returned from Kashmir itself.

48. \textit{te-ne kho\text{\textperiodcentered} Pu-\textit{ra\text{\textperiodcentered}z-\text{\textperiodcentered}y}}  
Then he went to Purang village.

49. \textit{rgyul-po-\textit{La-chten-po-\textit{La-lde-yi}}  
There king Lhach-enpolhalde gave him}  
\textit{u-yi}  
king—proper name—of warm welcome,  
\textit{cho\text{\textperiodcentered}d-nas \text{\textperiodcentered}da\text{\textperiodcentered}}}  
made him head of the religious place, and accepted him as his religious teacher (Guru).

50. \textit{pu-\textit{ra\text{\textperiodcentered}z-\text{\textperiodcentered}y}  
\textit{so-\textit{zi-da\text{\textperiodcentered}g}}  
The king offered}  
\textit{bul-wa-ma\text{\textperiodcentered}g-po-\textit{La-ma-}  
Lama Lotsawa Rinchenzango land in the Purang village and many gifts.}  
\textit{lo-tse-wa-rin-chten-}  
proper name  
\textit{za\text{\textperiodcentered}g-po-a phuls.}  
—to offered.
Then as he reached ku-ge (village) where (the king) Lhalamayeshesod offered him a lot of land for religious purposes and made his supreme Lama.

Then Lotsawa Rinchenzangpo promised to build one hundred and eight temples in ri-skor-sum (names of the three places).

First he laid down the foundation of three temples: khɔ -tgɔ, temple of Purang; thɔ -ldiŋ, temple of ku-ge; ŋer -mɔ, temple of mɔ -yul (Ladakh).
Lama Lotsawa Rinchenzangpo to go to Kashmir and bring back some artists together with books.

Having accepted this LotsawaRinchenzangpo went to Kashmir.

He delayed in Kashmir by six years while discussing religious matters with scholars and Panditas.

In the memory of his father he got built a lifesize statue of Lokeshwara and brought it back with him.

He returned to Ku-ge village with thirty-two expert artists and his books.
These expert artists while making frescoes and sculptures built one hundred and eight temples and innumerable Chotrten in \( \eta \)-ris—skor—sum (names of the three places).

Most of the temples and Chotrten built during his time have been destroyed by rains and also by enemies and dacoits; except the ruins there is nothing left to see.
62. lo-tse-wa-rin-chen-zη-
proper name
po-e sku-tuz-la
— of time-in
ζη-η-κη-ni sku-ζη-η-kun
built statues
dη-de-rik-η dη ζη-κη-dη
these days built
mi-da gyo-gar-dη-
not-being-to India-and-
similar
gan-dar-ri luks-la
Gandhar—of style—in
ζη-ste yο-duk.
having built is

63. lo-tse-we ζο-κη-gun-ni
proper name—of temples—of
η-η rdzoks-sku—
inside clay-statue
ζη-η-pa-ζη-dζ-at—
proper name
tζos-pe rgyel-wa-riks—
main—of Dhyani Buddha—
ζη-η-ζηms-pa-ζηm-γηs-dη-
five Maitray Manjushri—and—
phaks-pa-ζη-rζ-ziks-mη—
Arya Avalokiteshwara—
ζη-ste yο-duk.
mostly—to having are
built

64. loks-riz-la skyil-khor
fresco—in Mandala
ζη-η-rgyes-stο-ζη-sku-dη—
thousand Buddhα—and—
dζ-at-ζu-yi skor mη-ζhe-η
Buddha’s—life about mostly
yο-duk.
are

In the temples of Lotsawa the main clay statues are of ζηm-pa-ζη—
dζ-at, (Wirochan), five Dhyani Buddhα, Maitray, Manjushri, and Arya Avalokiteshwara.

In the frescoes Mandala, thousand Buddhα, and the life of Buddha, are depicted.
Besides these there are also different frescoes of historical events. It is also having written different stories about and picture about different events. People all over the world are surprised having seen colours and lustre. At the age of eighty-seven years he met Corjepaldan. After having offered many religious discourse; Atisha became very happy with him. Lotsawa Rinchenzangpo was a translator; Corjepaldan Atisha asked him to become his (Corjepaldan Atisha's) translator.
lo-tṣa-wa  džat-gos
translator  become—should
said

70. η  rgas-te  lo-rgyāt-ču-
I  having  year—eighty
become old
gyā-dun thal  khā-čhol-te
seven to cross  mouth—having
become disordered

chos-si  ḋa-η  tāg-ga
religions—of sound—also clear
mi-rāk.
not—is

71.  te-zuk mā-mol  ḃus.
like this  do not—say requested

72.  ḍo-rje-yi  ṃo-čo  sam-be
proper name  I—to thought—of
ṣnī-yot na-η  zer-čes-si
mind is then—also speaking—of
lāe  met  mō-lin  thuks-tsher
tongue not saying  sad
džat-s.
became

73.  yin-naṇ-  stīn-ne
but  later—on
naṅ-tšho-lo-tṣa-wa
proper name
tšuł-thims-rgyāl—we
proper name
lo-tṣa  džad—din  mōls.
translator will become  said

74.  ḍo-rje-pāl-lṭan-ā-ti-še
proper name
lo-tṣa-wā—rin-čhen-zη-po
proper name

Ladakhi Grammar

I, having reached eighty-seven years of age, my mouth has become misshaped and my voice is feeble.

Please do not say so, requested Lotsawa Rinchenzangpo.

Saying that, although he still had a mind to think, but no tongue to speak, he became very sad.

But later on Lotsawatshulthims—rgyālwa of Naktsho village said, he will become his translator.

Then Corjepaldan Atisha said to Lotsawa Rinchenzangpo: 'you have studied
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religion, have met great Lamas and have met material things, now is the time for you to meditate’ saying so he left for Tibet.

He attained Parinirwana at the age of 98 years in 1055 A.D. after having meditated strictly according to the instructions of his Lama (religious teacher).

His twelve scholarly disciples were known as four pillars and eight beams of religion.
They cremated his body.

And carried forward Buddha Shasana, thus serving humanity.
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