



# *Ladakhi Grammar*

SANYUKTA KOSHAL

**By the Same Author :**

**Ladakhi Phonetic Reader**

**Conversational Ladakhi**

**Conflicting Phonological Patterns**

# LADAKHI GRAMMAR

SANYUKTA KOSHAL

EDITED BY  
B. G. MISRA

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*For*

*Dr. Debi P. Pattanayak*

*Dr. Bal G. Misra*



## FOREWORD

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 asymmetrical 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 accumen 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 *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. *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 Bauddha 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



## ABBREVIATIONS

|              |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| Abi.         | Abilitative                  |
| Adj.         | Adjective                    |
| Abl.         | Ablative Case                |
| Adv.         | Adverb                       |
| Adv. M.      | Adverb of Manner             |
| Adv. Pl.     | Adverb of Place              |
| Adv. T.      | Adverb of Time               |
| Affir.       | Affirmative                  |
| Agg. Numr.   | Aggregative Numeral          |
| Agnt.        | Agentive                     |
| App. B. Inf. | Appearance-Based Inferential |
| Appr. Numr.  | Approximative Numeral        |
| Ass.         | Associative Case             |
| Att. Inf.    | Attested Inferential         |
| Bend.        | Benedictive                  |
| C            | Consonant                    |
| Card. Numr.  | Cardinal Numeral             |
| Caus.        | Causative                    |
| Comp. Part.  | Comparative Particle         |
| Compl.       | Compulsive                   |
| Compl. St.   | Complex Stem                 |
| Compt.       | Completive                   |
| Core. Pro.   | Co-relative Pronoun          |
| D. Ob.       | Direct Object                |
| Dat.         | Dative Case                  |
| Def. Fut.    | Definite Future              |
| Dem. Pro.    | Demonstrative Pronoun        |
| Der. Suf.    | Derivational Suffix          |
| Derd. St.    | Derived Stem                 |
| Desi.        | Desiderative                 |
| Dir.         | Direct Case                  |
| Dir. Adv.    | Directional Adverb           |
| Emph. Part.  | Emphatic Particle            |
| Erg.         | Ergative Case                |
| Excl.        | Exclusive (Pronoun)          |

|                     |                                |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Exp. Pr.            | Experiential Present           |
| Exp. Pt.            | Experiential Past              |
| F.B. Inf. Pr.       | Fact-Based Inferential Present |
| F.B. Inf. Pt.       | Fact-Based Inferential Past    |
| F.V.                | Finite Verb                    |
| Fami.               | Familiar                       |
| Fem.                | Feminine                       |
| Frac. Numr.         | Fractional Numeral             |
| Fut. Cont.          | Future Continuous              |
| Fut. Parti.         | Future Participle              |
| I.P. Pro.           | First Person Pronoun           |
| Gen.                | Genitive Case                  |
| His. Pr.            | Historical Present             |
| Hon.                | Honorific                      |
| Hon. N.             | Honorific Noun                 |
| Hon. Suf.           | Honorific Suffix               |
| Imp.                | Imperative                     |
| Incl.               | Inclusive (Pronoun)            |
| Ind. Adj.           | Indicative Adjective           |
| Indef. }<br>Indf. } | Indefinite Article             |
| Indef. }<br>Indf. } | Indefinite Future              |
| Indef. }<br>Indf. } | Indefinite Marker              |
| Indef. }<br>Indf. } | Indefinite Pronoun             |
| Infi.               | Infinitive                     |
| Infi. Suf.          | Infinitive Suffix              |
| Inst.               | Instrumental Case              |
| Inten. Adj.         | Intensifier Adjective          |
| Intrr. Suf.         | Interrogative Suffix           |
| Intrr. Pro.         | Interrogative Pronoun          |
| Intr. V.            | Intransitive Verb              |
| Loc. Adv.           | Locational Adverb              |
| Mas.                | Masculine                      |
| Mul. Numr.          | Multiplicative Numeral         |
| N.                  | Noun                           |
| N. P.               | Noun Phrase                    |

|                |                              |
|----------------|------------------------------|
| 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-Prox. 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                 |
| Qual. 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             |

|             |                       |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| Simp. Perf. | Simple Perfect        |
| Sp.         | Specifier             |
| Suf.        | Suffix                |
| II P. Pro.  | Second Person Pronoun |
| Tem. Adv.   | Temporal Adverb       |
| Tr. V.      | Transitive Verb       |
| III P. Pro. | Third Person Pronoun  |
| V           | Vowel                 |
| V.          | Verb                  |
| V.N.        | Verbal Noun           |
| V.P.        | Verb Phrase           |
| V.R.        | Verb Root             |
| V.St.       | Verb Stem             |
| Vd.         | Voiced                |
| Vl.         | Voiceless             |

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ABBREVIATIONS

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# I

## 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 *lə—dəks* meaning 'many passes' (*lə* 'pass', 'dəks' 'many'). It has also been called by different names at different times in the past like *məŋ—yul* *lə—dəks* 'Republican Ladakh (lit. Ladakh of many villages)' *mər—yul* *lə—dəks* 'Ladakh of (or having) red villages', *khə—čən* *lə—dəks* 'snowy Ladakh' etc. The language of the area is named *lə—dəks—si—skət* 'the voice (speech) of *lə—dəks*'. 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 upto 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 Khaltse, 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 asymmetrical. 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 :

| Leh variety  | Zangskar variety |
|--------------|------------------|
| sk           | h                |
| sp           | f                |
| rb           | $\beta$          |
| rd           | $\delta$         |
| rg }<br>zg } | $\gamma$         |

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 / $\text{ɬ}$ / and voiced alveolar lateral / $l$ /, which is attested in the rest of the four varieties. Standard Ladakhi / $\text{ɬ}$ / is replaced by / $l$ / in this variety.
- (4) The Zangskar variety shows a contrast between voiced stops [b, d, g] and voiced fricatives [ $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\gamma$ ] 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 / $\text{ɕe}$ / in Zangskar variety while in the rest by / $\text{ɕes}$ /.
- (7) The ergative case is expressed by the suffix /-s/ in the Shamma and Nubra varieties. Thus Leh variety  $\eta e$  is attested as  $\eta\text{əs}$  is Shamma, kho-e as khos etc.
- (8) There are lexical peculiarities in each area, e.g. for 'Bird' /i- $\text{ču}$ / occurs only in Shamma, / $\text{či-pə}$ / in Leh and Nubra, / $\text{čə}$ / 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 [ɐ] in the initial and medial positions, e.g.

[ə—gu] ~ [ɐ—ɣu]      Uncle

[məkʰ] ~ [mɛkʰ]      War

- (2) [a] freely varies with [ɐ] in the non-absolute final positions, e.g.

[gya—tʂho] ~ [gy ɐ —tʂho]      Ocean

[ma—y ə r] ~ [mɛ—y ə r]      Stepmother

- (3) Voiced stops [b, d, g] freely vary with their fricativized counterparts [β, δ, γ] in the non-absolute initial position after the final vowel or [r, l, n, ŋ] of the preceding syllable. This free variation is also found in initial clusters after ]r, l]. e.g.

[lɐ—gur] ~ [lɐ—ɣur] Immediate  
 [sk ə r—da] ~ [sk ə r—ɖa] Meteor  
 [ñul—gur] ~ [ñul—ɣur] Mosquito net  
 [rdE—mo] ~ [rδE—mo] Beautiful

## B—Phonemic Free Variation

- (1) Initial /č/ ~ /čh/ in certain items, e.g.  
 /ʃə—čə/ ~ /ʃə—čhə/ Wages
- (2) Initial /kh—/ ~ /k—/ in some items, e.g.  
 /kh ə n/ ~ /k ə n/ Derivational agentive suffix
- (3) Initial /ph/ ~ /b/ in some items, e.g.  
 /ə—phə/ ~ /ə—bə/ Father
- (4) Voiceless /p, t, t̥, č, k/ vary with their voiced counterparts /b, d, ɖ, ʃ, g/ initially in some items, e.g.  
 /pe—mə/ ~ /be—mə/ Sand  
 /tək—po/ ~ /ɖək—po/ Pure  
 /təŋ—po/ ~ /ɖəŋ—po/ Cold  
 /čək—pə/ ~ /ʃək—pə/ Rubber  
 /ko—sə/ ~ /go—sə/ Rank
- (5) /ɖ/ ~ /r/ in certain items, e.g.  
 /ɖi/ ~ /ri/ Knife

## C—Grammatical Free Variation

- (1) There are two ergative suffixes -yi and ə→e which freely vary in case of —ə ending noun stems, e.g.

|                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| ə—m ə            | Mother            |
| ə—m e ~ ə—m ə—yi | Mother (Ergative) |
| ɖol—mə           | Proper name Dolma |
| ɖol—me ~         | Dolma (Ergative)  |
| ɖol—mə—yi        | „ „               |

The same phenomenon is true in the case of the genitive,

e.g.

|             |         |                |
|-------------|---------|----------------|
| ə—bə        |         | Father         |
| ə—be        | ṭhug-gu | } Father's son |
| N. Gen.     | N.      |                |
| father      | son     |                |
| or          |         |                |
| ə—bə—yi     | ṭhug-gu | } Son's book   |
| N. Gen.     | N.      |                |
| father      | son     |                |
| or          |         |                |
| pu-tshə     |         | Son            |
| pu-tshe     | spe-čhə | } Son's book   |
| N. Sg.-Gen. | N.      |                |
| son         | book    |                |
| or          |         |                |
| pu-tshə-yi  | spe-čhə | } Son's book   |
| N. Sg. Gen. | N.      |                |
| son         | book    |                |
|             |         |                |

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

2. Plural markers—gun, —kun, and —sək are in free variation. —kun is relatively infrequent, e.g. kho-gun ~ kho-kun ~ kho-sək 'They'.
3. Second person honorific pronominal stem ñe-rəŋ varies with ñe-žə and second person non-honorific khyo-rəŋ varies with khyo-žə. The free variants ñe-žə and khyo-žə are infrequent among Buddhist Ladakhi speakers but are fairly common among Muslim Ladakhi speakers.
4. The plural personal pronouns ηə-žə, ηə-təŋ, ñe-rəŋ, ñe-žə, khyo—žə, khoŋ, may optionally take the plural suffixes —gun, —kun, —sək.
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.
 

|               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| ḍi-ruk ~      | ḍi-duk        |
| Tr. V. Ob.Pr. | Tr.V. Ob. Pr. |
| Write         | Write         |
6. The simple perfect marker /—s/ freely varies with the zero allomorph after stems ending in t, r, l, n, e.g.

|                            |                |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| <u>dzəts</u> ~ <u>dzət</u> | Did (Hon.)     |
| zers ~ zer                 | 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 | ḍi— :  | ḍi—ə— <u>dzəd</u> —(Hon.)   |
| (to) cry   | ŋu— :  | ŋu—ə— <u>dzəd</u> —(Hon.)   |
| (to) read  | sil— : | sil—lə— <u>dzəd</u> —(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— <u>dzəd</u> —(to) give   | (Hon.) |
| skyot ~ skyod—də— <u>dzəd</u> —(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.

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| ḍi—ə—thub—bə— <u>dzəd</u> ~ ḍi—ə— <u>dzət</u> —thub ~                           |       |
| Tr.V. Abi.                      Hon.Sf.                      Tr.V. Hon.Sf. Abi. |       |
| Write   | Write |
| ḍi—thup—čug—gə— <u>dzəd</u> —   | ~     |
| Tr.V. Abi. Caus. Hon.Sf.  |       |
| Write   |       |
| ḍi—ə— <u>dzət</u> —thup—čug—  | ~     |
| Tr.V. Hon.Sf. Abi. Caus.  |       |
| Write   |       |
| ḍi—thub—bə— <u>dzət</u> —čug—   |       |
| Tr.V. Abi.                      Hon.Sf. Caus.                                   |       |
| 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    | <i>ɖi—khən</i> ~ <i>ɖi—kən</i>   |
| Carpenter | <i>ʃiŋ—khən</i> ~ <i>ʃiŋ—kən</i> |

# II

## PHONOLOGY

### 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 | u |
| ə |   |
| e | o |

Consonants

Labial Dental Alveolar Retroflex Palatal Velar Glottal

Stops

|         |    |    |  |    |  |    |
|---------|----|----|--|----|--|----|
| VI.     | p  | t  |  | ʈ  |  | k  |
| VI.Asp. | ph | th |  | ʈh |  | kh |
| Vd.     | b  | d  |  | ɖ  |  | g  |

Affricates

|         |  |  |     |  |    |
|---------|--|--|-----|--|----|
| VI      |  |  | ʈʂ  |  | ç  |
| VI.Asp. |  |  | ʈʂh |  | çh |
| Vd.     |  |  | ɖʂ  |  | ʝ  |

Fricatives

|     |  |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|
| VI. |  | s | ʂ | ʃ | h |
| Vd. |  | z |   | ʝ |   |

Trill

r

Lateral

l

Murmered

Laterals

ʎ

Nasal

m

n

ɲ

ŋ

Semi-

vowels

w

y

3. Vowels: Allophones and Distribution

LADAKHI VOWEL SOUNDS

|        |      | Front | Central | Back |
|--------|------|-------|---------|------|
| Higher | High |       |         |      |
| Lower  |      | i     |         | u    |
| Higher | Mid  | e     |         | o    |
| Mean   |      | E     | ə       | Ω    |
| Lower  |      |       |         |      |
| Higher | Low  |       | v       |      |
| Lower  |      |       | a       |      |

There are nine vowel sounds [ i, e, E, ə, ɐ, a, o, ɔ, u ] in Ladakhi. [ i, e, E ] are front, [ ɐ, ə ] are central, and [ a, ɔ, o, u ] are back. Vowels [ i, u ] are high, [ e, E, ə, o, ɔ ] are mid, and [ a, ɐ ] are low vowels. The back vowels [ u, o, ɔ ] 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, ɔ ] respectively, while / ə / has three allophones, viz. [ ə, ɐ, 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 [ ɔ ] 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

[ ɐ ] 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       |
|         | [mikʰ]              | Eye        |
|         | [ri]                | Hill       |
| /e/ [e] |                     |            |
|         | [me]                | Fire       |
| [E]     |                     |            |
|         | [El-čEs]            | To neglect |
|         | [zEr]               | Light      |
| —ə/ [ə] |                     |            |
|         | [əm-č'i] ~ [ɐm-č'i] | Doctor     |

|     |                     |            |
|-----|---------------------|------------|
| [a] | [rəs] ~ [rɛs]       | Cotton     |
|     | [ʂa]                | Hair       |
|     | [ma—yər] ~ [mɛ-yər] | Stepmother |

[ɐ] freely varies with [ə] or [a] as given earlier.

/o/ [ɔ]

|     |            |                          |
|-----|------------|--------------------------|
|     | [ɔ m—thuŋ] | Infant                   |
|     | [tʂhɔŋ]    | Colour used for painting |
|     | [pɔ—mo]    | Girl                     |
| [o] | [ʒo]       | Curd                     |

/u/ [u]

|  |       |         |
|--|-------|---------|
|  | [uks] | Breath  |
|  | [rus] | Courage |
|  | [čhu] | Water   |

#### 4. Phonemic Contrasts: Vowels

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

/i/ : /e/

|        |       |          |                 |
|--------|-------|----------|-----------------|
| /i—bo/ |       | /el—čes/ | To neglect      |
| [i-bo] | This  | [El-čes] |                 |
| /d̥is/ |       | /d̥es/   | Place where hay |
| [d̥is] | Wrote | [d̥Es]   | is kept         |
| /mi/   |       | /me/     |                 |
| [mi]   | Man   | [me]     | Fire            |

/u/ : /o/

|        |             |        |      |
|--------|-------------|--------|------|
| /u-nə/ |             | /o-nə/ | Yes  |
| [u-na] | Oath (Hon.) | [ɔ-na] |      |
| /mul/  |             | /mol/  | Told |
| [mul]  | Silver      | [mɔl]  |      |
| /žu/   |             | /žo/   | Curd |
| [žu]   | Bow         | [žo]   |      |

|                     |                  |                     |   |
|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|---|
| /i/ : /ə/           |                  |                     |   |
| /i—bo/              | This             | /ə—bo/              | That                                    |
| [i—βo]              |                  | [ə—βo]              |   |
| /čik/               | One              | /čək/               | (To) Break                              |
| [čik <sup>˘</sup> ] |                  | [čək <sup>˘</sup> ] |   |
| /či/                | What             | /čə/                | Tea                                     |
| [či]                |                  | [ča]                |   |
| /u/ : /ə/           |                  |                     |   |
| /əm/                | Used for feeding | /um/                | Kiss                                    |
| [əm]                | the baby         | [um]                |   |
| /khəl/              | (To) Spin        | /khul/              | Inside                                  |
| [khəl]              |                  | [khul]              |   |
| /sə/                | Earth            | /su/                | Who                                     |
| [sa]                |                  | [su]                |   |
| /o/ : /ə/           |                  |                     |   |
| /o—mə/              | Milk             | /ə—mə/              | Mother                                  |
| [Ω—ma]              |                  | [ə—ma]              |   |
| /tshor/             | (To) Hear        | /tshər/             | Completive suffix                       |
| [tshΩr]             |                  | [tshər]             |   |
| /lo/                | Year             | /lə/                | Pass                                    |
| [lo]                |                  | [la]                |   |
| /e/ : /ə/           |                  |                     |   |
| /el—/               | (To) Neglect     | /ə—če/              | Elder sister                            |
| [El—]               |                  | [ə—če]              |   |
| /šəl/               | Glass            | /šəl/               | Fee or tax in the form of money or work |
| [šEl]               |                  | [šəl]               |   |

|      |  |      |
|------|--|------|
| /ŋe/ |  | /ŋə/ |
| My   |  | I    |
| [ŋe] |  | [ŋa] |

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, t̚, k, t͡ʃ, č/, voiceless aspirate /ph, th, t̪h, kh, t͡ʃh, čh/, and voiced consonants /b, d, d̪, g, d͡z, ʃ/. In terms of place of articulation /p, ph, b/ are bilabial, /t, th, d/ are dental, /t̚, t̪h, d̪/ are retroflex, /k, kh, g/ are velar, /t͡ʃ, t͡ʃh, d͡z/ are alveolar, and /č, čh, ʃ/ are palatal. There are six fricatives in all—four voiceless /s, s̪, š, h/ and two voiced /z, ž/. /s, z/ are alveolar, /s̪ / retroflex, /š, ž/ palatal, and /h/ glottal. There are four nasals—bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/, palatal /ɲ/, and velar /ŋ/. There are five more resonants, alveolar trill /r/, alveolar lateral /l/, alveolar murmured lateral /ɭ/, and semi-vowels /w, y/; which are bilabial and palatal respectively. Nasals, trill, laterals and semi-vowels are voiced.

There is a retracted velar [k̠] 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, ŋ/ and syllable boundary.

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

All consonants occur initially; only nine of them, viz. /p, t, k, s, m, n, ŋ, r, l/ occur before pause. As we have taken syllable as the basic unit for analysis, no consonant can occur medially by definition.

|                         | Labial | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|---------|
| <b>Stops</b>            |        |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| vl.                     | p      | t      |          | t̠        |         | k     | kʰ      |
| vl. asp.                | ph     | th     |          | ɖh        |         | kh    |         |
| vd.                     | b      | d      |          | ɖ         |         | g     |         |
| <b>Affricates</b>       |        |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| vl.                     |        |        | t͡s      |           | ç       |       |         |
| vl. asp.                |        |        | t͡sh     |           | çh      |       |         |
| vd.                     |        |        | ɖ͡z      |           | ʝ       |       |         |
| <b>Fricatives</b>       |        |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| vl.                     |        |        | s        | ʂ         | š       |       | h       |
| vd.                     | β      | ð      | z        |           | ʒ       |       | ɣ       |
| <b>Trills</b>           |        |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| vl.                     |        |        | ʀ        |           |         |       |         |
| vd.                     |        |        | r        |           |         |       |         |
| <b>Laterals</b>         |        |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| vl.                     |        |        | l̥       |           |         |       |         |
| vd.                     |        |        | l        |           |         |       |         |
| <b>Murmured Lateral</b> |        |        |          |           |         |       |         |
|                         |        |        |          |           |         | ɭ     |         |
| <b>Nasals</b>           | m      | n      |          |           |         |       |         |
| <b>Semi-vowels</b>      | w      |        |          |           | ɲ       |       | ŋ       |
|                         |        |        |          |           | y       |       |         |



*Examples :*

|           |                       |                                      |
|-----------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| /p/ [p]   |                       |                                      |
|           | [pə—tum]              | Bud                                  |
|           | [kh ə p] ~ [kh ɐ p]   | Needle                               |
| /ph/ [ph] |                       |                                      |
|           | [phəŋ] ~ [phɛŋ]       | Spindle                              |
| /b/ [b]   |                       |                                      |
|           | [bEn]                 | Target of an arrow                   |
|           | [yəb—yum]             | Parents (Hon.)                       |
|           | [β]                   |                                      |
|           | [gə r— β a]           | Blacksmith                           |
|           | [r β ət]              | An instrument to smoothen the harrow |
| /t/ [t]   |                       |                                      |
|           | [tus]                 | Time                                 |
|           | [tsh ə t] ~ [tsh ɐ t] | Fever                                |
| /th/ [th] |                       |                                      |
|           | [thikʰ]               | Line                                 |
|           | [ŋm—thuŋ]             | Infant                               |
| /d/ [d]   |                       |                                      |
|           | [dEn—β ə]             | Truth                                |
|           | [rɣəd—mo]             | Old woman                            |
|           | [δ]                   |                                      |
|           | [rδE—mo]              | Beautiful                            |
|           | [skər—δa]             | Meteor                               |
| /t/ [t]   |                       |                                      |
|           | [tukʰ]                | Six                                  |
| /tʰ/ [tʰ] |                       |                                      |
|           | [tʰa]                 | Hawk                                 |
| /d/ [d]   |                       |                                      |
|           | [dŋŋ]                 | Wild yak                             |
| /k/ [k]   |                       |                                      |
|           | [kər] ~ [kɐr]         | White                                |

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| [k]                     |  |
| [tʃh ə kʰ] ~ [tʃh ɐ kʰ] | Point  |
| /kh/ [kh]               |  |
| [khE—mo]                | Cheap  |
| /g/ [g]                 |  |
| [gon—pa]                | Monastery  |
| [ə]                     |  |
| [lə—γur] ~ [lɐ—γur]     | Immediate  |
| [sEr—γa]                | Goldsmith  |
| /ts/ [ts]               |  |
| [tsa]                   | Rust   |
| /tʃh/ [tʃh]             |  |
| [tʃhəŋ—ma]              | All  |
| /dz/ [dz]               |  |
| [dzo]                   | A male animal, who is a mixed breed of cow and yak |
| /ɕ/ [ɕ]                 |  |
| [ɕikʰ]                  | One  |
| /ɕh/ [ɕh]               |  |
| [ɕhəŋ]                  | Local alcohol                                      |
| /ʃ/ [ʃ]                 |  |
| [ʃa]                    | A small section of rainbow                         |
| /s/ [s]                 |  |
| [skət]                  | Voice, Language                                    |
| /z/ [z]                 |  |
| [zikʰ]                  | Panther  |
| /ʂ/ [ʂ]                 |  |
| [ʂəŋ]                   | Street   |
| /ʃ̥/ [ʃ̥]               |  |
| [ʃ̥Eɪ]                  | Glass  |
| /ʒ/ [ʒ]                 |  |
| [ʒΩ, ŋ]                 | Busy   |

|         |                             |               |
|---------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| /h/ [h] | [hɛ—ɣo]                     | Understanding |
| /r/ [r] | [rul]                       | Snake         |
|         | [ɾ]<br>ɾtiŋ—pa]             | Heel          |
| /l/ [l] | [ləs] ~ [ləs]               | Work          |
|         | [l̥]<br>[l̥pəks] ~ [l̥pəks] | Skin          |
| /ʃ/ [ʃ] | [ʃa]                        | God           |
| /m/ [m] | [mər] ~ [mər]               | Butter, Oil   |
|         | [nəm] ~ [nəm]               | Sky           |
| /n/ [n] | [nəs] ~ [nəs]               | Barley        |
|         | [dik—ʃin]                   | Crab          |
| /ñ/ [ñ] | [ña]                        | Fish          |
| /ŋ/ [ŋ] | [ŋu—čEs]                    | To cry        |
|         | [thəŋ] ~ [thəŋ]             | Ground        |
| /w/ [w] | [wɛ—tse]                    | Fox           |
|         | [re—wa]                     | Hope          |
| /y/ [y] | [yul]                       | Village       |

## 6. Phonemic Contrasts : Consonants

The phonemic contrasts can be exemplified below :

|             |               |            |             |
|-------------|---------------|------------|-------------|
| /p/ : /b/   |               |            |             |
| [pəkʰ] ~    |               | [bəkʰ] ~   |             |
|             | Diet          |            | Mask        |
| [pəkʰ]      |               | [bəkʰ]     |             |
| /pək/       |               | /bək/      |             |
| /t/ : /d/   |               |            |             |
| [təŋs] ~    |               | [dəŋs] ~   | Composition |
|             | Gave          |            | of music    |
| [təŋs]      |               | [dəŋs]     |             |
| /təŋs/      |               | /dəŋs/     |             |
| /t/ : /d/   |               |            |             |
| [ti—čEs/    | To ask        | /d̥i—čEs/  | To write    |
| /t̥i—čes/   |               | /d̥i—čes/  |             |
| /k/ : /g/   |               |            |             |
| [kəŋ] ~     |               | [gəŋ] ~    |             |
| [kəŋ]       | Where         | [gəŋ]      | (To) Fill   |
| /kəŋ/       |               | /gəŋ/      |             |
| /ts/ : /dz/ |               |            |             |
| [t̥sum]     | (To) Shut     | [d̥zum]    | (To) Smile  |
|             | mouth         |            |             |
|             | or eyes       |            |             |
| /t̥sum/     |               | /d̥zum/    |             |
| /č/ : /ʃ/   |               |            |             |
| [čək—pa] ~  |               | [ʃək—pa] ~ | To be       |
|             | Rubber        |            | impressed   |
| [čək—pa]    |               | [ʃək—pa]   |             |
| /čək—pə/    |               | /ʃək—pə/   |             |
| /p/ : /ph/  |               |            |             |
| [pər] ~     | Design,       | [phər] ~   | (To) Bounce |
| [pər]       | Block,        | [phər]     |             |
|             | Photo         |            |             |
| /pər/       |               | /phər/     |             |
| /t/ : /th/  |               |            |             |
| [tɔkʰ]      | Top,          | [thɔkʰ]    | Roof        |
|             | Highest point |            |             |
|             | of a thing    |            |             |
| /tok/       |               | /thok/     |             |

/t/ : /tʰ/

[tʰu—ɣu]

Reel of  
thread

[tʰug—ɣu] Child

/tʰu—ɣu/

/tʰug—ɣu/

/k/ : /kh/

[kəs] ~

Crack

[khəs] ~

Scholar

[kəs]

[khəs]

/kəs/

/khəs/

/ts/ : /tʃh/

[tsʉt]

Wood used  
for making  
colour

[tʃhʉt]

Estimate

/tsot/

/tʃhot/

/č/ : /čh/

[čʉ]

Ten

[čhu]

Water

/čʉ/

/čhu/

/t/ : /t̥/

[tuk̥]

Poison

[tuk̥]

Six

/tuk/

/tuk/

/th/ : /tʰ/

[thu—ru]

Colt

[tʰug—ɣu] Child

/thu—ru/

/tʰug—ɣu/

[thəps] ~

Remedy

[tʰəp] ~

Shield

[thəps]

[tʰəp]

/thəps/

/tʰəp/

/d/ : /d̥/

[dʉk̥]

Colour

[d̥ʉk̥]

Pasture

/dok/

/d̥ok/

/ts/ : /č/

[tsʉ—mo]

Chief lady

[čʉ—mo] Nun

/tso—mo/

/čo—mo/

/tsh/ : /čh/

[tshət] ~

Heat,  
Fever

[čhət] ~

Promise

[tshət]

[čhət]

/tshət/

/čhət/

/dz/ : /ʝ/

[dzukʔ]

(To) Plant

[ʝukʔ]

Behind

/dzuk/

/ʝuk/

/s/ : /s̺/ : /š/

[sa]

Earth

[ša]

Meat

/sə/

/šə/

[sil]

(To) Read

[šil]

(To) Wrap

/sil/

/šil/

[ša]

Hair

[ša]

Meat

/sə/

/šə/

/s/ : /z/

[səŋs] ~

Incense

[zəŋs] ~

Copper

[səŋs]

[zəŋs]

/səŋs/

/zəŋs/

/š/ : /ž/

[ši]

(To) Die

[ži]

Four

/ši/

/ži/

/ʝ/ : /z/

[ʝa]

A small  
rainbow

[za]

(To) Eat

/ʝə/

/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]

/phəm/

/phən/

/n/ : /ñ/

[na]

Oath

[ñə]

Fish

/nə/

/ñə/

/n/ : /ŋ/

|         |            |         |     |
|---------|------------|---------|-----|
| [nən] ~ | (To) Press | [ŋən] ~ | Bad |
| [nɛn]   |            | [ŋɛn]   |     |
| /nən/   |            | /ŋən/   |     |

/ñ/ : /ŋ/

|           |              |           |                |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| [ñə—ra] ~ | (To)<br>Care | [ŋə—ra] ~ | Cold<br>Breeze |
| [ñɛ—ra]   |              | [ŋɛ—ra]   |                |
| /nə—rə/   |              | /ŋə—rə/   |                |

/r/ : /l/

|      |           |      |      |
|------|-----------|------|------|
| [ro] | Dead body | [lo] | Year |
| /ro/ |           | /lo/ |      |

/l/ : /ʃ/

|      |      |      |     |
|------|------|------|-----|
| [la] | Pass | [ʃa] | God |
| /lə/ |      | /ʃə/ |     |

/b/ : /w/

|         |      |         |       |
|---------|------|---------|-------|
| [bəŋ] ~ | Race | [wəŋ] ~ | Power |
| [bɛŋ]   |      | [wɛŋ]   |       |
| /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   | /ʃə/   | Hair         |
| ccv  | /ʃŋə/  | Drum         |
| cccv | /skyə/ | Light colour |
| cvc  | /təŋ/  | (To) Give    |

|        |          |            |
|--------|----------|------------|
| ccvc   | /ʃkəŋ/   | Leg        |
| cccvc  | /ʃkyəŋ/  | Wild horse |
| cvcc   | /dəŋs/   | Colour     |
| ccvcc  | /skəŋs/  | Filled     |
| cccvcc | /skyəŋs/ | Spread     |

### 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]  | [kyəŋ]<br>/kyəŋ/        | Boundary wall |
| [kh] + [y] | [khyŋ t]<br>/khyot/     | You           |
| [g] + [y]  | [gyŋ n—pa]<br>/gyon—pə/ | To wear       |
| [ñ] + [y]  | [ñyə—ŋən]<br>/ñyə—ŋən/  | Sorrow        |

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

|           |                            |   |
|-----------|----------------------------|---|
| [s] + [p] | [speŋ]<br>/spəŋ/           | Lawn                                    |
| [s] + [t] | [stŋ t—pa]<br>/stot—pə/    | Upper part or<br>Man from upper<br>part |
| [s] + [k] | [skut—pa]<br>/skut—pə/     | Thread                                  |
| [s] + [m] | [smŋ n—ləm]<br>/smon—ləm / | Prayer                                  |
| [s] + [n] | [snəm—βu]<br>/snəm—bu/     | Woollen                                 |
| [s] + [ñ] | [sñən—po]<br>/sñən—po/     | Melodious,<br>Sweet                     |
| [s] + [ŋ] | [sŋŋ n—po]<br>/sŋon—po/    | Blue                                    |



|                                |              |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| [ʃ]+[t] [ʃtiŋ—pa]<br>/ʃtiŋ—pə/ | Heel         |
| [ʃ]+[k] [ʃkəŋ—pa]<br>/ʃkəŋ—pə/ | Foot         |
| [ʃ]+[m] [ʃmik—pa]<br>/ʃmik—pə/ | Horse's shoe |
| [ʃ]+[n] [ʃnə—wa]<br>/ʃnə—wə/   | Ear          |
| [ʃ]+[ŋ] [ʃñŋps]<br>/ʃñŋops/    | Laziness     |
| [ʃ]+[ŋ] [ʃŋa]<br>/ʃŋə/         | Drum         |

## (c) Sibilant /z/+Stops

|                                |                     |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| [z]+[b] [zbŋm—po]<br>/zbom—po/ | Thick<br>(For wood) |
| [z]+[d] [zdŋŋ—po]<br>/zdoŋ—po/ | Trunk of the tree   |
| [z]+[g] [zgəŋ]<br>/zgəŋ/       | High                |

## (d) Trill /r/+Stops, Affricates

|   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| [r̥]+[t] [r̥tiŋ—pa]<br>/rtiŋ—pə/        | Heel                            |
| [r̥]+[ts̥] [r̥ts̥əl—pa]<br>/r̥ts̥əl—pə/ | To give                         |
| [r]+[β] [rβə—ŋəps]<br>/rbə—ŋəps/        | Wave                            |
| [r]+[ð] [rðər—rdo]<br>/rdər—rdo/        | A stone to<br>sharpen the knife |
| [r]+[ɣ] [rɣət—po]<br>/rgət—po/          | Old man                         |
| [r]+[ʃ] [rʃEs]<br>/rʃes/                | After, behind                   |
| [r]+[dz] [rdzəs]<br>/rdzəs/             | Material                        |

## (e) Lateral /l/+Stops, Affricates

|          |                          |                      |
|----------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| [l̥]+[p] | [l̥pəks]<br>/lpəks/      | Skin                 |
| [l̥]+[t] | [l̥təd—mɔ]<br>/ltəd—mɔ/  | Show                 |
| [l̥]+[č] | [l̥če]<br>/lče/          | Tongue               |
| [l]+[δ]  | [—ldən—pə]<br>/—ldən—pə/ | Possessive<br>Suffix |
| [l]+[ɣ]  | [lɣəŋ—βu]<br>/lgəŋ—bu/   | Balloon              |
| [l]+[ʝ]  | [lʝəŋ—khu]<br>/lʝəŋ—khu/ | Valley               |
| [l]+[z]  | [lzə—wa]<br>/lzə—wə/     | Moon                 |

(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]         | = [ži—bču]<br>/ži—bču/        | Forty     |
| [k]+[š]         | = [ču—kšikʰ]<br>/ču—kšik/     | Eleven    |
| [ɣ]+[ň]         | = [ču—ɣñis]<br>/ču—gñis/      | Twelve    |
| [k]+[s]         | = [ču—ksum]<br>/ču—ksum/      | Thirteen  |
| [b]+[d]         | = [ču—bdun]<br>/ču—bdun/      | Seventeen |
| [b]+[ž]         | = [ču—bži]<br>/ču—bži/        | Fourteen  |
| [r]+[ɣ]         | = [ču—rɣu]<br>/ču—rgu/        | Nineteen  |
| [b]+[r]+[g]+[y] | = [čŋ —brgyət]<br>/čo—brgyət/ | 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 /tʃh/ occur sometimes in syllable initial position in compound words.

*Examples :*

|                            |          |
|----------------------------|----------|
| [m] + [th] = [ʃmə—mthŋ n]  | Low-high |
| /ʃmə—mthon/                |          |
| [m] + [kh] = [sku—mkhər]   | Palace   |
| /sku—mkhər/                |          |
| [m] + [tʃh] = [rgyə—mtʃho] | Sea      |
| /rgyə—mtʃho/               |          |

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, ʃky and rgy.

*Examples :*

|           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| [skyŋ n]  | Fault      |
| /skyon/   |            |
| [ʃkyəŋ]   | Wild horse |
| /ʃkyəŋ/   |            |
| [rgyə—la] | Road       |
| /rgyə—lə/ |            |

#### C — FINAL CLUSTERS

Only two consonant clusters occur finally in Ladakhi. In such cases /s/ is always the second member. The clusters are —ks, —ps, —ms.—ŋs, —tʃs, —ns, —rs and —ls.

*Examples :*

|            |        |
|------------|--------|
| [tŋ ks—po] | Friend |
| /tŋks—po/  |        |

|               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| [ʃups]        | Cover               |
| /ʃups/        |                     |
| [tʃhəŋs—pə]   | Brahmin             |
| /tʃhəŋs—pə/   |                     |
| [sə—tʃhəms]   | Border              |
| /sə—tʃhəms/   |                     |
| [d̪i—ə—dzəts] | Wrote (hon.)        |
| /d̪i—ə—dzəts/ |                     |
| [ʃəns]        | Applied fomentation |
| /ʃəns/        |                     |
| [zərs]        | Told                |
| /zərs/        |                     |
| [čhək—tʃhəls] | Bowed in salutation |
| /čhək—tʃhəls/ |                     |

Final clusters —ts, —ns, —rs and —ls freely vary with single consonants as a result of the optional deletion of the second member /s/.

# III

## 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 storable 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

$$(1) \text{ vd. stop} \longrightarrow \text{vl. stop} \left/ \begin{array}{l} - \{ + \text{vl. consonant} \} \\ \# \end{array} \right.$$

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

čo—thub+pin→čo—thup—pin      V. do+Abi.+Pt. Perf.  
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

$$(2) \text{ ---}c_1\text{---} \rightarrow c_1 + c_1 / \text{---} + v$$

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.

$$\{ \text{sil} \} + \{ \text{---} \text{ət} \} \rightarrow \text{sil---lət}$$

V. read + Re. Pr.

$$\{ \text{sil} \} + \{ \text{---} \text{ok} \} \rightarrow \text{sil---lok}$$

V. read + F.B. Inf. Pr.

$$\{ \text{ñe---rəŋ} \} + \{ \text{---} \text{i} \} \rightarrow \text{ñe---rəŋ---ŋi}$$

II P. Pro. Hon. + Erg.

(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.

$$s \rightarrow \phi / r, l, m, n, t \text{ ---}$$

However, this rule applies only optionally.

|              |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|
| zers ~ zer   | Told               |
| sils ~ sil   | Read               |
| gəms ~ gəm   | Eat (as of powder) |
| ltəns ~ ltən | Saw                |
| čəts ~ čət   | Broke              |

$$(4) \check{c} \rightarrow \check{s} / s \text{ ---}$$

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

|                           |              |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| ləŋs + čes → ləŋs --- šes | To stand     |
| goms + čes → goms + šes   | To jump over |

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

|                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| ləŋs + s → ləŋs | Stood |
| šes + s → šes   | Knew  |

(6) A morpheme final single *-s* becomes voiced before the initial voiced consonant or vowel of the following syllable:

$$s \longrightarrow z / \text{---} + \text{vd.c}$$

Exx.

tus+lə → tuz-lə 'time (Dat.)'

ləs+ne → ləz-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 *ŋə*, *ŋə-žə*, *ñe-žə*, *khyo-žə* changes to *-e* in order to form their ergative as well as genitive forms. Thus :

|                              | Erg.           | Gen.           |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>ŋə</i> , I Pro. Sg.       | <i>ŋe</i>      | <i>ŋe</i>      |
| <i>ŋə-žə</i> , I Pro. Pl.    | <i>ŋə-že</i>   | <i>ŋə-že</i>   |
| <i>khyo-žə</i> , II Pro. Pl. | <i>khyo-že</i> | <i>khyo-že</i> |
| <i>ñe-žə</i> , II Pro. Pl.   | <i>ñe-že</i>   | <i>ñe-že</i>   |

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

|                      | Sg.Imp.    | Pl. Imp.       |
|----------------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>zə</i> (To) Eat   | <i>zo</i>  | <i>zo-šik</i>  |
| <i>təŋ</i> (To) Give | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>toŋ-šik</i> |

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

|         |                   |                     |                   |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (to) do | <i>čo+yin-yot</i> | → <i>čo-yin-yot</i> | Tr.V. Re.Pr.Cont. |
| „       | <i>čo+yin-duk</i> | → <i>čo-yin-duk</i> | Tr.V. Ob.Pr.Cont. |

|         |                      |  |
|---------|----------------------|--|
| (to) do | čo + yin — yot — pin | → čo — yin — yot — pin<br>Tr. V. Re. Pt. Cont. |
| „       | čo + yin — duk — pin | → čo — yin — duk — pin<br>Tr. V. Ob. Pt. Cont. |
| „       | čo + yin             | → čo — yin<br>Tr. V. Def. Fut.                 |
| „       | čo + yin — ɖo        | → čo — yin — ɖo<br>→ Tr. V. Indef. Fut.        |
| „       | čo + yin — nəŋ       | → čo — yin — nəŋ<br>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<br>Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.       |
| „         | sil + yin — duk       | → sil — lin — duk<br>Tr. V. Ob. Pr. Cont.       |
| „         | sil + yin — yot — pin | → sil — lin — yot — pin<br>Tr. V. Re. Pt. Cont. |
| „         | sil + yin — duk — pin | → sil — lin — duk — pin<br>Tr. V. Ob. Pt. Cont. |
| „         | sil + yin             | → sil — lin<br>Tr. V. Def. Fut.                 |
| „         | sil + yin — ɖo        | → sil — lin — ɖo<br>Tr. V. Indef. Fut.          |
| „         | sil + yin — nəŋ       | → sil — lin — nəŋ<br>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 | čhə + yin      | → čhen<br>Intr. V. Def. Fut.        |
| „       | čhə + yin — ɖo | → chen — ɖo<br>Intr. V. Indef. Fut. |



(to) go      čhə + yin — nəŋ      —→ čhen — nəŋ  
Intr.V. Pr.Parti.

(6) When the historical present suffix —nok, experiential suffix —rək (and its past tense form with —pin), compulsive suffix —phog —(and all its forms), honorific suffix —dzəd— and nəŋ of čəp ... nəŋ 'as soon as' are added to a verb stem, vowel—ə is inserted between the verb stem and the specific suffix.

(to) do      čo + nok      —→ čo — ə — nok  
Tr.V. His.Pr.  
,,      čo + rək      —→ čo — ə — rək  
Tr.V. Exp. Pr.  
,,      čo + phog — gət      —→ čo — ə — phog — gət  
Tr.V. Compl.Re.Pr.  
,,      čo + rək — pin      —→ čo — ə — rək — pin  
Tr.V. Exp.Pt.Perf.  
(to) write      ɖi + dzəd —      —→ ɖi — ə — dzət  
Tr.V. Hon.Suf.  
,,      ɖi + čəp ... nəŋ      —→ čəp — ɖi — ə — nəŋ  
Tr.V.

When the verb stem has a final consonant, it is repeated before the inserted —ə (see rule 2 above), e.g.

sil + rək — pin      —→ sil — lə — rək — pin  
Tr.V. Exp. Pt.Perf.  
read  
sil + dzət — pin      —→ sil — lə — dzət — pin  
Tr.V. Hon.Suf. Pt. Perf.  
read  
ʃep + čəp ... nəŋ      —→ čəp — ʃeb — bə — nəŋ  
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

sil + met

—→sil—lə—met

Tr.V. Neg.

read

Thus, in case of observed present and past negative forms the above inserted —ə— is placed before the negative marker.

#### **4. Lexically Conditioned Alternations**

Verb root čhə— ‘go’ changes to soŋ— in perfect and imperative forms.

Consonant Clusters

Second Member

|     | p | ph | b | t | th | d | t | th | d | k | kh | g | 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   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| th  |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| d   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| k   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | x |
| kh  |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | x |
| g   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | x |
| ts  |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| tsh |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| dz  |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| c   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ch  |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| j   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| s   | x |    | x |   |    |   |   |    |   | x |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | x | x | x | x |   |   |   |
| z   |   |    | x |   | x  |   |   |    |   |   |    | x |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| s   |   |    | x |   |    |   |   |    |   | x |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | x | x | x | x |   |   |   |
| s   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| z   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| h   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| m   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| n   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| n   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | x |
| v   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |    |     |    |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| r   |   |    | x | x |    | x |   |    |   |   |    | x | x  |     | x  |   |    |   |   | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| l   | x |    |   | x |    | x |   |    |   |   |    | x |    |     |    |   | x  |   |   |   | x |   | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 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. → ±Dem. Pro./Ind. Adj.+N./Pro.±Ind. Adj.±Qual.  
Adj.+Num. Suf./Numr./Sp.+Case suffix

*Example :*

i—ṭhug—gu—kə—zuk—rde—mo—gun—ni.....

Prox. Pro. N. Ind. Adj. Qual. Adj. Pl. Erg.

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             |
| bəl   | Wool            |
| smən  | Medicine        |
| ʃkəŋ  | Leg             |
| mər   | Butter          |
| ləs   | Work            |
| ʃə    | Meat            |
| ləm   | Road            |
| skət  | Sound, Language |
| rgyəp | Back            |
| kə    | Pillar          |
| me    | Fire            |
| mi    | Man             |

|     |                     |
|-----|---------------------|
| ʃəm | Shoe                |
| zəp | Horse               |
| yək | Local animal 'Yak'. |

*Examples :*

- (1) mi—ñis—si      ləs      čo—ət.      Two men work  
 N. Numr. Erg. N.Dir. Tr.V. Re. Pr. (lit., do the work).  
 man two              work              do
- (2) yəg—gi      rgyəb—bə  
 N. Gen.      N. Dat.                              (There) is (a)  
 local              back                              heavy load on  
 animal    the yak's back.  
 khu—ru—lč̣in—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)              —pə  
 sket—pə              Waist  
 ldət—pə              Brain  
 tʃhəŋs—pə              Ascetic  
 čhər—pə              Rain  
 rik—pə              Intelligence
- (ii)              —po  
 šə—po              Ibex  
 tʃəŋs—po              River

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| thon—po   | Height   |
| skyit—po  | Happiness  |
| rgət—po   | Old man  |
| (iii) —pu |  |
| zgit—pu   | Three stones used to make an oven                                |
| dzot—pu   | A white hair on the forehead of Lord Buddha between the two eyes |
| ʈot—pu    | Stomach of a child.  |
| čhut—pu   | Cloth added to make a clothe bigger                              |
| rʈsit—pu  | Male goat (about three years old)                                |
| (iv) —bə  |  |
| čhən—bə   | Scissors   |
| ʈhet—bə   | Shyness  |
| ʃən—bə    | Patch  |
| čhu—bə    | Long-coat  |
| gər—bə    | Blacksmith (Male)  |
| ʈə—bə     | Monk   |
| yol—bə    | Curtain  |
| (v) —bo   |  |
| to—bo     | Load   |
| tho—bo    | Height   |
| miŋ—bo    | Brother  |
| rə—bo     | Goat (He)  |
| (vi) —bu  |  |
| zəŋ—bu    | Cooking Pot  |
| pəg—bu    | Brick  |
| ril—bu    | Tablet   |
| ʃiŋ—bu    | Flute  |
| boŋ—bu    | Donkey   |
| (vii) —mə |  |
| nəz—mə    | Thread for weaving   |
| ʈi—mə     | Smell  |
| pe—mə     | Sand   |
| nu—mə     | Udder  |
| rə—mə     | Goat (She)   |

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| nə—mə      | Bride   |
| lə—mə      | Religious teacher   |
| (viii) —mo |   |
| ltəd—mo    | Show  |
| tʃhən—mo   | Night   |
| kyir—mo    | Rupee   |
| sne—mo     | Border  |
| rgəd—mo    | Old woman   |
| rgyəl—mo   | Queen, Retina   |
| be—mo      | Beggar (Female), or any female member of a male beggar's family |
| (ix) —wo   |   |
| dzə—wo     | Friend (Male)   |
| də—wo      | Enemy   |
| spə—wo     | Warrior   |
| čhu—wo     | Water of a river, lake etc.                                     |
| tʃhə—wo    | Nephew  |
| (x) —wə    |   |
| so—wə      | Barley (a particular variety)                                   |
| (xi) —ŋə   |   |
| zgo—ŋə     | Egg   |
| tʃhəŋ—ŋə   | Rosary  |
| ʃu—ŋə      | Part of head ornament hanging on both sides                     |
| buŋ—ŋə     | Black bee   |
| (xii) —to  |   |
| yə—to      | Help, Companion   |
| bər—to     | Cudgel  |
| (xiii) —te |   |
| skən—te    | Thickness   |
| ʃən—te     | Hardness  |
| ʃən—te     | Thinness (Liquid)   |
| (xiv) —rə  |   |
| ʃug—rə     | Whistle   |
| yu—rə      | Narrow stream   |



|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| spe—rə      | Talk, Conversation  |
| rdzəb—rə    | Wild rat  |
| yəg—rə      | Place where yak are kept<br>(yakshed)                                       |
| phə—rə      | Wild cat  |
| (xv) —ru    |   |
| zi—ru       | Nail  |
| thu—ru      | Colt  |
| ču—ru       | Coral   |
| mu—ru       | Goose   |
| (xvi) —čo   |   |
| ku—čo       | Sound   |
| rə—čo       | Horn  |
| čo—čo       | Doll  |
| ə—čo        | Elder brother   |
| (xvii) —če  |   |
| khə—če      | Person from Kashmir region<br>(These days this is also used for<br>Muslims) |
| ə—če        | Elder sister  |
| (xviii) —čə |   |
| pur—čə      | Peg   |
| lə—čə       | Seal  |
| bə—čə       | Oil cake  |
| (xix) —də   |   |
| khə—də      | Advice  |
| mig—də      | Movement of the eyes  |
| be—də       | Beggar (Male), who plays drums<br>etc.                                      |
| (xx) —kə    |   |
| spit—kə     | Spring  |
| ston—kə     | Autumn  |
| tsher—kə    | Anxiety, Sorrow   |
| thəη—kə     | Painting of Gods on a cloth   |
| yər—kə      | Summer  |

|          |                  |  |
|----------|------------------|--|
| (xxi)    | —gə              |  |
|          | yəl—gə           | Branch   |
|          | stər—gə          | Walnut   |
|          | ber—gə           | Stick  |
| (xxii)   | —gu              |  |
|          | š <u>u</u> —gu   | Paper  |
|          | ṭ <u>hug</u> —gu | Boy, Child   |
|          | lu—gu            | Lamb   |
|          | su—gu            | Leg of an animal or a bird                         |
|          | yəg—gu           | Baby yak (yak—local animal)                        |
| (xxiii)  | —go              |  |
|          | thur—go          | Bridle   |
|          | rə—go            | Hoof   |
| (xxiv)   | —də              |  |
|          | doŋ—də           | Evil spirit of a living being                      |
|          | ʎən—də           | Evil spirit of a dead being                        |
| (xxv)    | —tse             |  |
|          | skyoŋ—tse        | Lamp   |
|          | po—ro-tse        | Arrangement of the crop tied<br>into small bundles |
|          | čok—tse          | Low table  |
| (xxvi)   | —tsə             |  |
|          | məl—tsə          | Bed  |
| (xxvii)  | —tshə            |  |
|          | pu—tshə          | Son  |
|          | nək—tshə         | Ink  |
|          | gyə—tshə         | Powder to polish the pots                          |
| (xxviii) | —lo              |  |
|          | phəŋ—lo          | Pulley   |
|          | hə—lo            | Pink colour, flower                                |
|          | čho—lo           | Dice   |
|          | po—lo            | Ball   |
| (xxix)   | —le              |  |
|          | šog—le           | Page   |

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| tog—le       | Frying Pan   |
| khə—le       | Handful (a measurement)                                |
| (xxx) —ne    |  |
| lez—ne       | Rank   |
| ə—ne         | Aunt   |
| mə—ne        | A row of piled up stones on<br>which Mantra is written |
| (xxxi) —no   |  |
| no—no        | Young boy  |
| (xxxii) —sə  |  |
| yuk—sə       | Mourning period  |
| (xxxiii) —he |  |
| mə—he        | Buffalo  |
| (xxxiv) —čhə |  |
| ŕə—čhə       | Wages  |

## 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. *śə—phos*.

*Examples :*

|        |                   |          |
|--------|-------------------|----------|
| (i)    | <i>ʈoŋ—khyer</i>  | City     |
|        | <i>ʈoŋ—pə</i>     | House    |
|        | <i>khyer</i>      | x        |
| (ii)   | <i>ʈshək—ʈhuk</i> | Twin     |
|        | <i>ʈshək</i>      | Pair     |
|        | <i>ʈhuk</i>       | x        |
| (iii)  | <i>ʂŋə—boŋ</i>    | Camel    |
|        | <i>ʂŋə</i>        | x        |
|        | <i>boŋ</i>        | Donkey   |
| (iv)   | <i>śə—phos</i>    | Quilt    |
|        | <i>śə</i>         | Meat     |
|        | <i>phos</i>       | x        |
| (v)    | <i>sə—kyət</i>    | Floor    |
|        | <i>sə</i>         | Earth    |
|        | <i>kyət</i>       | x        |
| (vi)   | <i>śə—kər</i>     | Cupboard |
|        | <i>śə</i>         | Meat     |
|        | <i>kər</i>        | x        |
| (vii)  | <i>stə—ri</i>     | Axe      |
|        | <i>stə</i>        | x        |
|        | <i>ri</i>         | Knife    |
| (viii) | <i>rəl—di</i>     | Sword    |
|        | <i>rəl</i>        | x        |
|        | <i>di</i>         | Knife    |
| (ix)   | <i>pə—so</i>      | Ivory    |
|        | <i>pə</i>         | x        |
|        | <i>so</i>         | 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 —pə to simple nouns as well as to complex noun forms. The derivational suffix expresses the meaning ‘connected with....’

#### *Examples :*

|          |              |               |   |
|----------|--------------|---------------|---|
| šə       | Meat         | : šə—pə       | One connected with meat; butcher.         |
| tshon    | Colour       | : tshon—pə    | One connected with colour; painter.       |
| čhos     | Religion     | : čhos—pə     | One connected with religion; religious.   |
| mo       | Astrology    | : mo—pə       | One connected with astrology; astrologer. |
| šəm—mə   | Lower Region | : šəm—mə—pə   | One connected with lower region.          |
| ltəd—mo  | Show         | : ltəd—mo—pə  | One connected with show; spectator.       |
| tshem—po | Stitching    | : tshem—po—pə | One connected with stitching; tailor.     |

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 —khən:

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

|      |         |   |           |           |
|------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|
| š'iŋ | Wood    | : | š'iŋ—khən | Carpenter |
| ʒəms | Shoe    | : | ʒəms—khən | Cobbler   |
| lʒəŋ | Beggary | : | lʒəŋ—khən | Beggar    |
| rdzə | Clay    | : | rdzə—khən | Potter    |

Suffix —khən freely varies with —kən in Ladakhi.

(c) VERB STEM + —khən:

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 —khən ~ —kən either to simple or to compound verb stems.

*Examples:*

|          |                    |   |               |                               |
|----------|--------------------|---|---------------|-------------------------------|
| tʂhoŋ    | Sell               | : | tʂhoŋ—khən    | Seller                        |
| čö       | Do work            | : | čö—khən       | Worker                        |
| ɖi       | Write              | : | ɖi—khən       | Writer                        |
| ri—mo—ɖi | Draw<br>(Painting) | : | ri—mo—ɖi—khən | One who<br>draws;<br>painter. |

(d) COMPOUND VERB STEM + —pə:

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

*Examples:*

|             |                    |             |                          |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| nəs—skor—pə | A pilgrim, cf.     | nəs<br>skor | Place,<br>(To) Go around |
| sñuŋ—nəs—pə | One who fasts, cf. | sñuŋ<br>nəs | Hunger<br>(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.

|           |          |
|-----------|----------|
| smən      | Medicine |
| khəŋ—pə   | House    |
| smən—khəŋ | Hospital |

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 co-ordinate 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) čəŋ—po | Clever                         |
| tuŋ—po     | Clever                         |
| čəŋ—tuŋ    | Clever                         |
| (b) ʃhəp   | Shield                         |
| ʃmok       | Helmet                         |
| ʃhəp—ʃmok  | Helmet (functions as a shield) |

As it is more or less obligatory to use the additive particle dəŋ ~ təŋ ~ nəŋ 'and' and an alternative particle yəŋ—nə 'or' (these days the frequently used form is yə 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 'Tatpuruṣa' compounds in Sanskrit. There are various sub-types as follows :
  - (a) Compounds in which the subordinate constituent takes post-position phi — 'for'

|   |                                    |                           |                        |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. tshoks—<br>khəṅ =<br>Assembly<br>House | tshoks—si<br>N. Gen.<br>assembly   | phi—ə<br>P.P. Dat.<br>for | khəṅ—pə<br>N.<br>house |
| 2. čhot—<br>koṅ =<br>Worship-<br>lamp     | čhot—pe<br>N. Gen.<br>Worship      | phi—ə<br>P.P. Dat.<br>for | koṅ—pu<br>N.<br>bowl   |
| 3. phəg—rə<br>Fortress =                  | phəg—gi<br>N. Gen.<br>hiding place | phi—ə<br>P.P. Dat.<br>for | rə—wə<br>N.<br>fence   |
| 4. stun—<br>šīṅ =<br>Pestle               | stun—ni<br>N. Gen.<br>mortar       | phi—ə<br>P.P. Dat.<br>for | šīṅ<br>N.<br>wood      |



(b) Compounds in which the subordinate constituent takes post-position *nəŋ—'in'* in the paraphrase.

- |                          |           |          |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------|
| 1. ge—rgən = ge—we       | nəŋ—ŋə    | rgən—bə  |
| Teacher N. Gen.          | P.P. Dat. | N.       |
| virtue                   | in        | superior |
| 2. t̥sho— t̥sho—e        | nəŋ—ŋə    | ʃiŋ      |
| ʃiŋ = N. Gen.            | P.P. Dat. | N.       |
| Island sea               | inside    | valley,  |
| (A tract of land in sea) |           | land     |
| 3. sə—do = se            | nəŋ—ŋə    | do       |
| Pit N. Gen.              | P.P. Dat. | N.       |
| earth                    | in        | hole     |

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

- |                            |         |
|----------------------------|---------|
| 1. smən—khəŋ = smən—ni     | khəŋ—pə |
| Hospital N. Gen.           | N.      |
| medicine                   | house   |
| 2. mək—spon = məg—gi       | spon—po |
| Army officer N. Gen.       | N.      |
| army                       | officer |
| 3. rgyəl—ṭhi = rgyəl—po-e  | ṭhi     |
| Throne N. Gen.             | N.      |
| king                       | throne  |
| 4. ʃpe—dzot = ʃpe—čhe      | dzot    |
| Library N. Gen.            | N.      |
| book                       | godown  |
| 5. t̥shig—dzot = t̥shig—gi | dzot    |
| Dictionary N. Gen.         | N.      |
| words                      | godown  |

(ii) Compounds in which the subordinate constituent is a qualifier of the head constituent. Such compounds can be compared with '*Karmadhāraya*' compounds of Sanskrit.

- |            |           |            |
|------------|-----------|------------|
| 1. skəm—po | Dry       | = skəm—ʃok |
| +ʃok       | Thunder,  | Lightning  |
|            | Lightning |            |

|                  |                          |  |
|------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 2. nəm<br>+ʃok   | Sky<br>Thunder           | = nəm—ʃok<br>Lightning, Light of<br>the sky. |
| 3. rgyə<br>+thəŋ | Big<br>Level,<br>Area    | = rgyə—thəŋ<br>Plains                        |
| 4. ʈək<br>+zəŋ   | Rock<br>Good             | = ʈək—zəŋ<br>Solid rock                      |
| 5. čhu<br>+čhər  | Water<br>(to) Be<br>hung | = čhu—čhər<br>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. čhu—mik<br>Spring      | = čhu—yi<br>N. Gen.<br>Water  | mik<br>N.<br>eye            |
| 2. nəm—šis<br>Weather     | = nəm—mi<br>N. Gen.<br>sky    | šis—kə<br>N.<br>environment |
| 3. nəŋ—tshəŋ<br>Family    | = nəŋ—ŋi<br>N. Gen.<br>house  | tshəŋ—mə<br>N.<br>all       |
| 4. phə—yər<br>Step-father | = yər—po—e<br>N. Gen.<br>loan | phə<br>N.<br>father         |

### 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 čhə to the noun (adjective) roots. These abstract nouns are as follows :

|         |       |   |          |           |
|---------|-------|---|----------|-----------|
| ŋər—mo  | Sweet | : | ŋər—čhə  | Sweetness |
| nək—po  | Black | : | nək—čhə  | Blackness |
| kər—po  | White | : | kər—čhə  | Whiteness |
| stoŋ—pə | Empty | : | stoŋ—čhə | Emptiness |

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.

nək—po      Black      nək—po—ə      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. Animate nouns are referred to as masculine or feminine on the basis of natural gender. However, agentive nouns formed by adding —khən 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.

|      |   |         |                |
|------|---|---------|----------------|
| dzo  | A Ladakhi male animal                   | dzo—mo  | Female of dzo  |
| stol | Hybrid offspring of dzo and colt (Male) | stol—mo | Female of stol |
| gir  | Young one of stol (Male)                | gir—mo  | Female of gir  |

Complex noun stems formed from noun roots by the addition of formative suffixes also form their feminine by adding the suffix —mo

|          |                  |   |             |                    |
|----------|------------------|---|-------------|--------------------|
| rdzəb—rə | Wild male<br>rat | : | rdzəb—rə—mo | Wild<br>female rat |
|----------|------------------|---|-------------|--------------------|

This is also true of derived noun stems.

|          |  |   |                 |                             |
|----------|--|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| šə—pə    | Butcher<br>(Male)                      | : | šə—pə—mo        | Butcher<br>(Female)         |
| šəm—mə   | A person<br>(Male) from<br>Shamma area | : | šəm—mə—mo       | A woman from<br>Shamma area |
| tshon—pə | Painter<br>(Male)                      | : | tshon—pə—<br>mo | Painter<br>(Female)         |

- (b) Some noun stems ending in —pə, which express the meaning “one connected with .....” and are masculine forms, for instance, mo—pə, ltəd—mo—pə etc. form their feminines by substituting —pə with —mə 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

|             |                     |   |             |                       |
|-------------|---------------------|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| ltəd—mo—pə  | Spectator<br>(Male) | : | ltəd—mo—mə  | Spectator<br>(Female) |
| tshem—po—pə | Tailor<br>(Male)    | : | tshem—po—mə | Tailor<br>(Female)    |
| yuk—sə—po   | Widower             | : | yuk—sə—mo   | Widow                 |
| mə—he—pho   | Buffalo<br>(Male)   | : | mə—he—mo    | Buffalo<br>(Female)   |

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

|       |                      |   |       |                        |
|-------|----------------------|---|-------|------------------------|
| mo—pə | Astrologer<br>(Male) | : | mo—mə | Astrologer<br>(Female) |
|-------|----------------------|---|-------|------------------------|

|        |                      |   |        |                        |
|--------|----------------------|---|--------|------------------------|
| bəl—pə | Wool-maker<br>(Male) | : | bəl—mə | Wool-maker<br>(Female) |
|--------|----------------------|---|--------|------------------------|

(iii) Compound Verb Stem + — pə → Derived Noun Stem

|             |                            |   |             |                              |
|-------------|----------------------------|---|-------------|------------------------------|
| nəs—skor—pə | Pilgrim<br>(Male)          | : | nəs—skor—mə | Pilgrim<br>(Female)          |
| sñuŋ—nəs—pə | One who<br>fasts<br>(Male) | : | sñuŋ—nəz—mə | One who<br>fasts<br>(Female) |

This is also applicable to nominal compounds.

*Examples :*

|                      |   |   |                  |  |
|----------------------|---|---|------------------|--|
| nəl—jor—pə           | A male<br>ascetic                                       | : | nəl—jor—mə       | A female<br>ascetic                              |
| pəl—ldən—pə          | A distin-<br>guished<br>male<br>person                  | : | pəl—ldən—<br>mə  | A distinguished<br>female<br>person              |
| ʃuŋ—thin—<br>khəŋ—pə | A male<br>person<br>working<br>at a<br>Radio<br>Station | : | ʃuŋ—thin—khəŋ—mə | A female person<br>working at a Radio<br>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       |               |
| yəp                                 | Father                | : yum                      | Mother        |
| phə                                 | Father                | : mə                       | Mother        |
| (ii) Simple Masculine Noun Stem :   |                       | Complex Feminine Noun Stem |               |
| zəp                                 | Horse                 | : rgod—mə                  | Mare          |
| yək                                 | Local male animal yak | : di—mo                    | Female of yak |
| (iii) Complex Masculine Noun Stem : |                       | Complex Feminine Noun Stem |               |
| me—me                               | Grand-father          | : ə—bi                     | Grand-mother  |
| ə—žəŋ                               | Uncle                 | : ə—ne                     | Aunt          |
| miŋ—bo                              | Brother               | : šiŋ—mo                   | Sister        |

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.

|        |         |                                   |           |                 |
|--------|---------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| dʒə—:  | dʒə—wo  | Friend (male)                     | : dʒə—mo  | Friend (female) |
| be—:   | be—də   | A male beggar who plays drum etc. | : be—mo   | Female beggar   |
| no—:   | no—no   | Young boy                         | : no—mo   | Young girl      |
| rgət—: | rgət—po | Old man                           | : rgəd—mo | Old woman       |

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—rə—mo 'Wild female rat'. This is not true in the above cases.

- (ii) In the second method the suffix —pə expresses the meaning ‘one connected with.....’ together with masculine reference and the corresponding substitution of — pə by — mə 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        |
| ləm     | Path, Road |
| thəp    | Oven       |
| khəŋ—pə | House      |

Plurality is marked in one of the two ways: (i) by adding a plural suffix —kun, —gun or —sək (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—pə | House:  | khəŋ—pə—gun | } | Houses  |
|             |         | khəŋ—pə—kun |   |         |
|             |         | khəŋ—pə—sək |   |         |
| thəp        | Oven:   | thəp—gun    | } | Ovens   |
|             |         | thəp—kun    |   |         |
|             |         | thəp—sək    |   |         |
| dzə—wo      | Friend: | dzə—wo—gun  | } | Friends |
|             |         | dzə—wo—kun  |   |         |
|             |         | dzə—wo—sək  |   |         |

- |      |         |        |             |            |
|------|---------|--------|-------------|------------|
| (ii) | khəŋ—pə | House: | khəŋ—pə—ŋis | Two houses |
|      | ʈhug—gu | Boy    | ʈhug—gu—sum | Three boys |

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:*

|          |         |      |             |                        |
|----------|---------|------|-------------|------------------------|
| pu—tshə— | nəŋ—pu— | mo—  | gun—ni      | zers...                |
| N.       | Part.   | N.   | Pl.Suf.Erg. | Tr.V.                  |
|          |         |      |             | Simp.Perf.             |
| boy      | and     | girl |             | say                    |
|          |         |      |             | Boys and girls said... |

*or*

|          |         |         |       |             |                        |
|----------|---------|---------|-------|-------------|------------------------|
| pu—tshə— | gun—    | nəŋ—pu— | mo—   | gun—ni      | zers...                |
| N.       | Pl.Suf. | Part.   | N.    | Pl.Suf.Erg. | Tr.V.                  |
|          |         |         |       |             | Simp.Perf.             |
| boys     |         | and     | girls |             | say                    |
|          |         |         |       |             | Boys and girls said... |

In an additive construction, singularity is marked by adding the numeral čik 'one' to the intended noun. Its addition is optional only if the last constituent of such a phrase is singular.

*Examples:*

- |     |          |       |         |       |             |                           |
|-----|----------|-------|---------|-------|-------------|---------------------------|
| (i) | pu—tshə— | čik—  | nəŋ—pu— | mo—   | gun—ni      | zers...                   |
|     | N.       | Numr. | Part.   | N.    | Pl.Suf.Erg. | Tr.V.                     |
|     |          |       |         |       |             | Simp.Perf.                |
|     | boy      | one   | and     | girls |             | say                       |
|     |          |       |         |       |             | One boy and girls said... |

- |      |          |         |         |      |           |                           |
|------|----------|---------|---------|------|-----------|---------------------------|
| (ii) | pu—tshə— | gun—    | nəŋ—pu— | mo   | čig—gi    | zers...                   |
|      | N.       | Pl.Suf. | Part.   | N.   | Numr.Erg. | Tr.V.                     |
|      |          |         |         |      |           | Simp.Perf.                |
|      | boys     |         | and     | girl | one       | say                       |
|      |          |         |         |      |           | Boys and one girl said... |



or

|                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| pu—tshə—gun—nəŋ—pu—mo—e  | zers. . .                 |
| N. Pl.Suf. Part. N. Erg. | Tr.V.                     |
| boys and girl            | Simp.Perf.                |
|                          | say                       |
|                          | Boys and one girl said... |

(iii) pu—tshə—gun—nəŋ— mi— ñis— nəŋ— pu—mo—e  
 N. Pl.Suf.Part. N. Numr. Part. N.Erg.  
 boys and man two and girl  
 zers...  
 Tr.V.Simp.Perf.  
 say

Boys, two men and one girl said...

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

*Examples :*

|         |                   |        |              |
|---------|-------------------|--------|--------------|
| khəŋ—pe | dun—lə            | rdwə   | duk.         |
| N. Gen. | P.P. Dat.         | N.Dir. | V. To be Pr. |
| house   | in front of stone |        |              |

or

|         |           |                 |             |
|---------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|
| khəŋ—pe | dun—lə    | rdwə—məŋ—po     | duk.        |
| N. Gen. | P.P. Dat. | N. Qul.Adj.Dir. | V.To be Pr. |

|   |          |       |      |
|---|----------|-------|------|
| house                                   | in front | stone | many |
| There are stones in front of the house. |          |       |      |

## 12. Indefinite Marker žig —

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 *žig* —. The indefinite marker *žig* — is used in the same slot as the number suffix/ numeral / specifier and gives the sense of a/an, some, approximately etc.

pu—mo—žig—gi ləs. čos  
 N. Indf. Erg. N.Dir. Tr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 girl a work do

A girl did the work.

mi—zik čhə—ruk.  
 N. Indf. Intr. Ob.Pr.  
 man a go

A man is going.

ŋe čə—žik                      thuŋs—pin.  
 I.P. N. Indf.Dir. Tr.V. Pt.Perf.  
 Pro.  
 Sg.  
 Erg.  
 I                      tea drink

I drank some tea.

ŋe                      ʈhom—mə kyir—mo—rgya—žik                      skyoks—pin.  
 I.P.Pro. N. Dat. N. Numr.Indf.Dir. Tr.V.Pt.Perf.  
 Sg.Erg.

I                      market                      rupee                      hundred                      spend

I have spent about (approximately)  
 hundred rupees in the market.

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

ŋə                      dil—li—lə                      ldə—žik                      duks—pin.  
 I.P.Pro. N. Dat. N.Indf.Dir. Intr.V.Pt.Perf.  
 Sg.Dir. proper name  
 I                      Delhi                      month a                      stay

I stayed in Delhi for a month  
 (i.e. about a month).

|          |             |  |                 |
|----------|-------------|--|-----------------|
| ηə       | dil—li—lə   | ldə—čik  | duks—pin.       |
| I.P.Pro. | N. Dat.     | N. Numr.   | Intr.V.Pt.Perf. |
| Sg.Dir.  | proper name | Dir.   |                 |
| I        | Delhi       | month one  | stay            |
|          |             | I stayed in Delhi for one month<br>(i.e. exactly for one month). |                 |

It may be noted that žig— has an allomorph šig—, which occurs after — k and —s final forms, e.g.

|          |             |               |                  |
|----------|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| ηə       | qəs—šik     | zos—pin.      |                  |
| I.P.Pro. | N.Indf.Dir. | Tr.V.Pt.Perf. |                  |
| Sg.Dir.  |             |               |                  |
| I        | rice        | eat           |                  |
|          |             |               | 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 /zə—/ 'eat' (which can optionally take ergative case), /ʃəl/ 'visit'.

(c) the direct object except of the verb /ltə—/ 'see', /ñen—/ 'hear'.

This case is left unmarked in Ladakhi.

*Examples :*

(i) ηə                    čhə—ət.  
I. P. Pro. Intr. V. Re. Pr.  
Sg. Dir.

I go

I go.

(ii) ηe                    s̥pe—čhə                    ño—ət̚  
I. P. Pro. N. Dir.                    Tr. V.  
Sg. Erg.                    Re. Pr.

I book

buy

I buy a book.

(iii) ηe                    kho—ə                    s̥pe—čhə                    təŋ—ηət.  
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) ηə                    khər—ʃi                    zə—ət.  
I.P. Pro. N. Dir.                    Tr.V. Re. Pr.  
Sg. Dir.

I

food

eat

I eat food.

(v) pəl—ldən                    yoŋ—ruk.  
N. Dir.                    Intr. V. Ob. Pr.  
Proper name  
Paldan come

Paldan comes.

(vi) khyo—rəŋ                    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', /ʃə/ '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 :

| Stem final | Suffix                          |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| — C        | + C <sub>x</sub> <sup>*</sup> i |
| — u        | + yi                            |
| — i        |                                 |
| — ə        |                                 |
| — ə        |                                 |
| — ə        | —→ e                            |
| — o        | + e                             |

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 /*ŋə*/, /*ŋə—žə*/ and second person /*ñe—žə*/, /*khyo—žə*/ are /*ŋe*/, /*ŋə—že*/, /*ñe—že*/, and /*khyo—že*/ . 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<sub>x</sub>*i* after any stem  
final consonant  
(C<sub>x</sub> will be the same  
consonant as the  
stem final one).

\*C<sub>x</sub> stands for the same consonant as the stem final one.

## Examples :

- (i) ə—bə—yi (ə—be)                      ηə—žə—ə                      ɖuŋs  
 N. Erg. (N. Erg.)                      I.P. Pro. Incl.                      N. Dir.  
 father (father)                      Pl. Dat.                      story  
 šəts.                      us  
 Tr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 tell

Father told us a story

- (ii) ə—                      mi—yi                      šŋ čəd—duk.  
 Non. Prox. N. Erg.                      N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.  
 Pro.  
 that                      man                      wood                      cut  
 That man cuts the wood.

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

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

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

- (vi) kho—gun—ni                      spe—rə                      təŋ—duk.  
 III P. Pro. Pl.                      N. Dir.                      Tr. V. Ob. Pr.  
 Erg.  
 they                      talk                      give  
 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'. /ñien—/ 'hear' etc.

Dative case morpheme has various shapes.

| Stem final                           | Suffixes                 |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| —V                                   | +ə ~ lə                  |
| —b }<br>—g }<br>—m }<br>—n }<br>—ŋ } | + *C <sub>x</sub> ə ~ lə |
| —d }<br>—s }<br>—r }<br>—l }         | +lə                      |

If the stem ends in any one of the vowels, i.e. i, e, ə, o, u, the dative suffix— ə or—lə is used; if the stem ends in b, g, m, n, ŋ 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 \*C<sub>x</sub>ə ~ lə. Allomorphs of dative morpheme:

- |                               |                                      |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (i) —ə ~ lə                   | after vowel final stems.             |
| (ii) — *C <sub>x</sub> ə ~ lə | after stems ending in b, g, m, n, ŋ. |
| (iii) —lə                     | after stems ending in d, s, r, l.    |

\*C<sub>x</sub> stands for the same consonant as the stem final one.

After vowel final stems the allomorph  $-\text{ə}$  is preferred. After stems ending in  $-\text{b}$ ,  $-\text{d}$ ,  $-\text{m}$ ,  $-\eta$  the  $\text{C}_x\text{ə}$  shape is preferred, while after stem ending in  $-\text{n}$ , the  $-\text{lə}$  shape is preferred.

*Examples :*

|  |  |                                       |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| (i) $\text{d}\text{ol}-\text{m}\text{e}$ | $\text{ʒi}\eta-\text{ʃ}\eta\text{O}-\text{s}\text{ə}-\text{ə}$ | $\text{kh}\text{ər}-\text{j}\text{i}$ |
| N. Erg.                                  | N. Dat.  | N. Dir.                               |
| Proper name<br>Dolma                     | field (which are)<br>being ploughed                            | food                                  |
| $\text{khy}\text{er}-\text{duk}$ .       |  |                                       |
| Tr. V. Ob. Pr.                           |  |                                       |
| take                                     |  |                                       |

Dolma takes the food to the field.

|                            |                                 |                     |                   |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (ii) $\text{kho}-\text{ə}$ | $\text{t}\text{hug}-\text{gu}-$ | $\text{n}\text{is}$ | $\text{yot}$ .    |
| III P. Pro. Sg.            | N.                              | Numr.               | Dir. V. to be Pr. |
| Dat.                       |                                 |                     |                   |
| he                         | child                           | two                 |                   |

He has two children.

|                                      |                                     |  |                |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|----------------|
| (iii) $\text{zg}\text{əm}-\text{mi}$ | $\text{n}\text{ə}\eta-\eta\text{ə}$ | $\text{gon}-\check{\text{c}}\text{əs}$ | $\text{yot}$ . |
| N. Gen.                              | P. P. Dat.                          | N. Dir.                                | V. to be Pr.   |
| box                                  | inside                              | dress                                  |                |

There is a dress in the box.

|                           |              |                |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| (iv) $\text{go}-\text{ə}$ | $\text{ʃik}$ | $\text{duk}$ . |
| N. Dat.                   | N. Dir.      | V. to be Pr.   |
| head                      | louse        |                |

There are lice in the head.

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| (v) $\text{y}\text{əz}-\text{l}\text{ə}$ | $\text{sO}\eta$ . |
| N. Dat.                                  | Intr. V. Imp.     |
| right                                    | 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  $-\text{ə}/\text{C}\text{ə}$  comes first and is followed by  $-\text{l}\text{ə}$ .



Example:

|                |              |                            |
|----------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| ηe             | ṭhug—gu—ə—lə | pe—ne                      |
| I. P. Pro.     | N. Dat. Dat. | N. Dir.                    |
| Sg. Erg.       |              |                            |
| I              | child        | money                      |
| təη—ηət.       |              |                            |
| Tr. V. Re. Pr. |              |                            |
| give           |              | I give money to the child. |

D. *Instrumental Case* : Instrumental case is marked by the suffix  $nəη \sim dəη$  or  $nəη—ñəm—po \sim dəη—ñəm—po$ . It is used for expressing the instrumentality of an action. The variant  $nəη \sim dəη$  is more frequently used in the language.

Examples:

|          |            |         |                  |
|----------|------------|---------|------------------|
| (i) ηe   | ṣñu—gu—nəη | yi—ge   | ḍis—pin.         |
| I.P.Pro. | N. Inst.   | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Pt. Perf. |
| Sg. Erg. |            |         |                  |
| I        | pen with   | letter  | write            |

or

|                  |                   |  |
|------------------|-------------------|--|
| ηe               | ṣñu—gu—nəη—ñəm—po | yi—ge                                      |
| I. P. Pro.       | N. Inst.          | N. Dir.                                    |
| Sg. Erg.         |                   |  |
| I                | pen with          | letter                                     |
| ḍis—pin.         |                   |  |
| Tr. V. Pt. Perf. |                   |  |
| write            |                   | I wrote a letter with (by means of) a pen. |

|                  |             |            |               |
|------------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| (ii) ηe          | kho         | də—nəη     | (~ñəη—ñəm—po) |
| I. P. pro.       | III P. Pro. | N. Inst.   | (Inst.)       |
| Sg. Erg.         |             |            |               |
| I                | he          | arrow with | (with)        |
| səts—pin.        |             |            |               |
| Tr. V. Pt. Perf. |             |            |               |
| kill             |             |            |               |

I killed him with (by means of) an arrow.

|            |                     |  |                       |
|------------|---------------------|--|-----------------------|
| (iii) i —  | š <sup>i</sup> η—bo |  | ṭi—nəη ( ~ñen ñəm—po) |
| Prox. Pro. | N. Dir.             |  | N. Inst. (īnst.)      |
| 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 *dəη ~ nəη* with the person met with, e.g.

|            |           |  |                   |
|------------|-----------|--|-------------------|
| ηe         | lə—mə—dəη |  | thuks.            |
| I. P. Pro. | N. Inst.  |  | Tr. V. Sim. Perf. |
| Sg. Erg.   |           |  | meēt              |
| 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 /ñəm—po/ or /nəη—ñem—po/ or /dəη—ñəm—po/. The suffix /ñəm—po/ is more frequently used.

*Examples:*

|             |                          |               |
|-------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| (i) kho     | ηə—ñəm—po ( ~nəη—ñəm—po) | chen.         |
| III P. Pro. | I.P. Ass. (Ass.)         | Intr. V. Def. |
| Sg. Dir.    | Pro.                     | Fut.          |
|             | Sg.                      |               |

he I with go

He will go with me.

|            |          |             |
|------------|----------|-------------|
| (ii) i —   | smən—po  | o—mə—ñəm—po |
| Prox. Pro. | N. Dir   | N. Ass.     |
| this       | medicine | milk with   |

(—nəη—ñəm—po)  
Ass.

thuη.  
Tran.V. Imp.  
drink

Take this medicine with milk.



(vi) thoη—khyer—ne      məη—po      yoη—duk.  
 N.      Abl.      Qul.Adj.Dir.      Intr.V.Ob.Pr.  
 city      from      many      come  
 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.

ηe      i—      spe—čhə—ne      lə—daks—si      skət  
 I.P.      Prox.      N.      Abl.      N.      Gen.      N.Dir.  
 Pro. Sg.      Pro.  
 Erg.  
 I      this      book      Ladakhi      language  
 Jəη—ηət.  
 Tr.V.Re.Pr.  
 learn

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:

| Stem final |   | Suffix                                     |
|------------|---|--|
| -V         | u<br>e<br>i<br>ə<br>ə<br>o<br>-C <sub>x</sub> | +yi<br><br>→e<br>+e<br>+C <sub>x</sub> * i |

\*Stands for the same consonant as the stem final one.

If the stem ends in *-i*, *-e*, *-u*, *-ə* the suffix *-yi* is used; the stem ending in *-ə*, may optionally replace *-ə* 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, ə*
- (ii) *-ə* → *-e* in case of stem final *-ə*.
- (iii) *-e* after stem final vowel *-o*
- (iv) *C\*xi* after consonant final stems.

Examples:

- (i) khyi—yi sŋə—mə—riŋ—mo duk.  
 N. Gen. N. Dir. Qul. Adj. V. to be Pr.  
 Dir.  
 dog tail long  
 Dog's tail is long.
- (ii) ŋə—že ə—čo—e žiŋ—čhen—mo yot.  
 I.P. N. Gen. N. Qul. Adj. Dir. V. to be Pr.  
 Pro. Incl.  
 Pl. Gen.  
 our elder brother field big  
 Our elder brother's field is big.
- (iii) ə—me (~ə—mə—yi) lo—ŋə—bču  
 N. Gen. (N. Gen.) N. Numr. Dir.  
 mother (mother) year fifty  
 yin—nok.  
 V. to be His. Pr.  
 Mother is of fifty years (of age).
- (iv) so—nəm—mi ʈhug—gu sil—lə rgyəl—lə duk.  
 N. Gen. N. Dir. V.N. Dat. Qul. Adj. V. to  
 Proper name be Pr.  
 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)  $\text{t}\text{hug—gu—yi}$      $\text{p}\text{əl—l}\text{d}\text{ən—ni}$      $\text{k}\text{ə—ne}$   
 N. Erg.            N. Gen.            P. P. Abl.  
 boy                Proper name        from  
                          Paldan  
                          khyers.  
 $\text{s}\text{pe—}\check{\text{c}}\text{h}\text{ə}$         Tr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 N. Dir.            take  
 book
- The boy took the book from Paldan.
- (ii)  $\eta\text{e}$              $\text{k}\text{h}\check{\text{a}}\eta\text{—pe}$          $\text{dun—l}\check{\text{a}}$          $\check{\text{c}}\text{u—li—yi}$   
 I.P.Pro.        N. Gen.            P. P. Dat.        N. Gen.  
 Sg.Gen.  
 my                house                in front            apricot  
 $\text{t}\text{sh}\check{\text{a}}\text{s}$         yot.  
 N. Dir.        V. to be Pr.  
 garden
- There is a garden of apricots in front of my house.

SUMMARY OF LADAKHI CASE MARKERS

| Case       | Meaning   | Case Markers   | Illustrative Forms |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
|------------|---|--|--------------------|--------|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|------|---|
| A—Direct   | (a) The subject of the intransitive verb.<br>(b) The subject of the transitive verb/zə—/ 'eat'/.ʃəl/'visit', etc.<br>(c) The direct object. | ϕ  | ʧug—gu<br>ñe—rəŋ   |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| B—Ergative | Used for expressing the subject of the transitive verb except of /zə—/ 'eat' /.ʃəl./ 'visit' etc.   | <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Stem Final</td> <td>Suffix</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—u</td> <td rowspan="2">+yi</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—i</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—e</td> <td rowspan="2">→e</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—ə</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—ə</td> <td rowspan="2">+e</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—o</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—C</td> <td>+Cxi</td> </tr> </table> | Stem Final         | Suffix | —u | +yi | —i | —e | →e | —ə | —ə | +e | —o | —C | +Cxi | ʧug—gu—yi<br>mi—yi<br>me—me—yi<br>ə—bə—yi<br>ə—be<br>kho—e<br>ñe—rəŋ—ŋi<br>spon—ni<br>pəl—ʃor—ri<br>kun—dzes—si<br>ʃig—gi etc.<br>kho—ə~<br>kho—lə<br>ʧug—gu—ə~ |
| Stem Final | Suffix  |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| —u         | +yi   |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| —i         |   |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| —e         | →e  |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| —ə         |   |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| —ə         | +e  |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| —o         |   |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| —C         | +Cxi  |  |                    |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |
| C—Dative   | (a) For indirect object.<br>(b) For expressing possession.  | —V   | +ə~lə              |        |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |      |   |

|                |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
|----------------|--|---|------------|--------|----|---------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|--|--|-------|--|
|                | (c) For expressing allocative relationship.<br>(d) For expressing direction. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Stem Final</td> <td>Suffix</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—b</td> <td rowspan="5">+Cxə~lə</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—g</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—m</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—n</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—ŋ</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—d</td> <td rowspan="4">+lə</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—l</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—r</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—s</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>→z+lə</td> </tr> </table> | Stem Final | Suffix | —b | +Cxə~lə | —g | —m | —n | —ŋ | —d | +lə | —l | —r | —s |  |  | →z+lə | ʧug—gu—lə<br>me—me—ə~<br>me—me—lə<br>mi—ə~<br>mi—lə<br>ə—bə—ə~<br>ə—bə—lə<br>rgyəb—bə~<br>rgyəb—lə<br>yog—ga~<br>yog—lə<br>zgem—mə~<br>zgəm—la<br>pəl—ldən—nə~<br>pəl—ldən—lə<br>ʒiŋ—ŋə~<br>ʒiŋ—lə<br>dzod—lə<br>yez—lə<br>ʃŋu—gu—nəŋ~<br>ʃŋu—gu—dəŋ~<br>ʃŋu—gu—nəŋ<br>ñəm—po~<br>ʃŋu—gu—dəŋ<br>ñəm—po<br>ʃiŋ—nəŋ~<br>ʃiŋ—dəŋ~ |
| Stem Final     | Suffix   |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —b             | +Cxə~lə  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —g             |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —m             |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —n             |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —ŋ             |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —d             | +lə  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —l             |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —r             |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| —s             |  |   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
|                |  | →z+lə   |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |
| D—Instrumental | For expressing the instrumentality of an action.                             | —nəŋ~dəŋ<br>or<br>—ŋəŋ—ñəm—<br>po<br>or<br>—dəŋ—ñəm—<br>po  |            |        |    |         |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |  |  |       |  |

| Case           | Meaning  | Case Markers                                      | Illustrative Forms   |
|----------------|--|---|--|
| E—Associative. | To express either inherent or a casual association of a thing or person with some other thing or person. | —ñam—po<br>or<br>—nəŋ—ñem—po<br>or<br>—dəŋ—ñam—po | <p>           ʃiŋ—nəŋ—<br/>           ñam—po ~<br/>           ʃiŋ—dəŋ—<br/>           ñam—po<br/> <br/>           ñe—rəŋ—ñam—<br/>           po ~<br/>           ñe—rəŋ—nəŋ—<br/>           ñam—po ~<br/>           ñe—rəŋ—dəŋ<br/>           ñem—po<br/>           ʧug—gu—ñam—po ~<br/>           ʧug—gu—nəŋ—<br/>           ñam—po ~<br/>           ʧug—gu—dəŋ—<br/>           ñam—po         </p> |
| F—Ablative     | To express the separation of a thing or person from any other thing or person.                           | —ne   | <p>           ñe—reŋ—ne<br/>           kho—ne         </p>   |

## G—Genitive

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

## Stem Final

V— u }  
 e }  
 ə }  
 o }

—C

## Suffix

ʧug—gu—yi  
 +yi me—me—yi  
 mi—yi  
 e—bə—yi  
  
 → e ə—be  
 +e kho—e  
  
 +C<sub>x</sub>i ñe—reŋ—ŋi  
 ʃig—gi  
 ɖzod—di  
 nəm—mi  
 sku—don—ni  
 yig—züks—si  
 səŋ—ri  
 yul—li  
 rgyəb—bi



#### 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 *thəg—riŋ* 'far' and (*thəg—*) *ñe—mo* 'near' the genitive case form of the preceding noun varies with the use of the instrumental form *neŋ ~ dəŋ*.

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) /stiŋ/: It is used to express the meaning 'after', 'behind (following)' only in the context of living beings and time.

*Examples :*

- |     |               |            |            |                          |
|-----|---------------|------------|------------|--------------------------|
| (i) | čhu—tshot     | ŋə—pe      | stiŋ—ŋə    | yoŋ.                     |
|     | N.            | Numr. Gen. | P. P. Dat. | Intr. V. Imp.            |
|     | o'clock, time | five       | after      | come                     |
|     |               |            |            | Come after five o'clock. |

- |      |                 |            |              |   |
|------|-----------------|------------|--------------|---|
| (ii) | yəg—gi          | stiŋ—ŋi    | yəs—čhoks—lə | soŋ.                                      |
|      | N. Gen.         | P. P. Gen. | N. N. Dat.   | Intr. V. Imp.                             |
|      | local<br>animal | behind     | right side   | go  |
|      |                 |            |              | Go to the right (side) behind<br>the yak. |

- |       |                 |            |             |          |
|-------|-----------------|------------|-------------|----------|
| (iii) | yəg—gi          | stiŋ—ŋə    | yoŋ—khən—ni | mi ..... |
|       | N. Gen.         | P. P. Dat. | N. Gen.     | N. Dir.  |
|       | local<br>animal | behind     | coming      | man      |

The man who was coming behind the yak .....

|             |           |              |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| (iv) lə--me | stiŋ--ne  | soŋ.         |
| N. Gen.     | P.P. Abl. | Intr.V. Imp. |
| monk        | behind    | go           |

Go from the back (lit. behind) of the monk (Lama).

|              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| (v) stiŋ--ne | soŋ.        |
| Adv. Abl.    | Intr.V.Imp. |
| after        | go          |

Go afterwards.

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

*Examples :*

|            |           |         |                |
|------------|-----------|---------|----------------|
| (i) yāg—gi | rgyāb—bə  | rgəl—pə | duk.           |
| N. Gen.    | P.P. Dat. | N. Dir. | V. 'to be' Pr. |
| local      | back      | wound   |                |
| animal     |           |         |                |

There is a wound on the yak's back.

|             |           |                 |              |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|
| (ii) yāg—gi | rgyāb—bi  | zya—čhen—mo     | duk.         |
| N. Gen.     | P.P. Gen. | N. Qul.Adj.Dir. | V. to be Pr. |
| local       | back      | hump big        |              |
| animal      |           |                 |              |

Yak has a big hump (on his back).

|              |           |         |                 |
|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------------|
| (iii) yāg—gi | rgyāb—ne  | to—bo   | but.            |
| N. Gen.      | P.P. Abl. | N. Dir. | Tr.V.Simp.Perf. |
| local        | back      | load    | fall            |
| animal       |           |         |                 |

Load fell off the back of yak.

|              |           |         |              |
|--------------|-----------|---------|--------------|
| (iv) khəŋ—pe | rgyāb—lə  | tʂhəs   | duk.         |
| N. Gen.      | P.P. Dat. | N. Dir. | V. to be Pr. |
| house        | behind    | garden  |              |

There is a garden just behind the house.

|              |          |               |              |
|--------------|----------|---------------|--------------|
| (v) rgyāb—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) rgyəb—bə | sOŋ.         |
| Adv. Dat.     | Intr.V. Imp. |
| behind        | 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     | ŋe      | dun—lə    | yOŋs.                   |
| III P. Pro. | I.P.    | P.P. Dat. | Intr.V.Simp.Perf.       |
| Sg.Dir.     | Pro.Sg. |           |                         |
|             | Gen.    |           |                         |
| he          | I       | front     | come                    |
|             |         |           | He came in front of me. |

|              |           |         |   |
|--------------|-----------|---------|---|
| (ii) khəŋ—pe | dun—lə    | ʃtə—rə  | 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) khəŋ—pe | dun—lə    | ri       | 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) khəŋ—pe | dun—ni    | ri—yi        | dun—ni    |
| N. Gen.      | P.P. Gen. | N. Gen.      | P.P. Gen. |
| house        | in front  | mountain     | in front  |
| loks—lə      | lčəŋ—mə   | duk.         |           |
| P.P. Dat.    | N. Dir.   | V. to be Pr. |           |
| 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—lə*      *yoŋ*.  
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 referent.

- (i) *khəŋ—pe*    *loks—lə*              *rdo—ə—məŋ—po*  
N. Gen.    P.P. Dat.              N. Qul.Adj. Dir.  
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) *khəŋ—pe*              *loks—ne*                      *phu—ə*  
N. Gen.              P.P. Abl.                      N. Dat.  
house              in front                      higher part of the valley  
*čhə—se—ləm*    *duk*.  
N. Dir.              V. to be Pr.  
foot path

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) *khəŋ—pe*              *loks—si*                      *lčəŋ—mə—ə*  
N. Gen.              P.P. Gen.                      N. Dat.  
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.

|             |           |              |                |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| (iv) kho    | loks—ne   | ləŋs—te      | soŋ.           |
| III P. Pro. | P.P. Abl. | V. St. Perf. | Intr. V. Simp. |
| Sg. Dir.    |           | Parti.       | Perf.          |
| he          |           | stand        | go             |

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 referent.

*Examples :*

|               |           |         |                    |
|---------------|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| (i) šər—ri—yi | ldən—lə   | rt̪sə   | ske—ste            |
| N. N. Gen.    | P.P. Dat. | N. Dir. | V.St. Perf. Parti. |
| east mountain | near      | grass   | grow having        |
| duk.          |           |         |                    |
| V. to be Pr.  |           |         |                    |

Grass has grown on the frontal sides of the mountain on the east.

|              |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (ii) khəŋ—pe | ldən—ni      | čhor—rten—bo |
| N. Gen.      | P.P. Gen.    | N. Sp.       |
| house        | near         | Stupa        |
| čhen—mo      | duk.         |              |
| Qul.Adj.Dir. | V. to be Pr. |              |
| big          |              |              |

There is a big Stupa by the house.

|                   |           |         |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|
| (iii) rən—thəg—gi | ldən—ne   | tok—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—lə | soŋ.          |
| P.P. Dat.    | Intr. V. Imp. |
| nearby       | go            |
|              | Go nearby     |

- (6) /ldo/: It is used to describe the meaning 'by the side'.

- |              |         |             |              |
|--------------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| (i) ʧhug—gu  | ə—me    | ldo—ə       | duk—ste      |
| N. Dir.      | N. Gen. | P.P. Dat.   | V.Perf.Part. |
| 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       | ʒop—kər—bo  |
| N. Gen.  | P.P. Gen.   | N. Sp. Dir. |
| 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.               |
| IIP. Pr.Sg.    | I.P.Pro. Gen. | P.P. Abl.   | Intr.V.Imp.        |
| 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) khəŋ—pe | skyil—lə  | ʧshoms    | 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      |
| N. Gen.      | P.P. Gen. | N. Dir. | Qul.Adj Dir. |
| sky          | centre    | star    | big          |
| duk.         |           |         |              |
| V. to be Pr. |           |         |              |

There is a big star in the centre of the sky.

- (iii) khəŋ—pə—tʂhəŋ—me      skyil—ne      ləm  
 N.                    Indef.Pro.Gen. P.P. Abl.      N. Dir.  
 house            all                    centre            path  
 yot.  
 V. to be Pr.

There is a path through the centre of all the houses.

- (iv) skyil—la      soŋ.  
 P.P. Dat.      Intr. V. Imp.  
 centre      go

Go to the centre.

(8) /pər/: It means 'between, middle'.

*Examples:*

- (i) khəŋ—pə—ñis—si              pər—lə              səŋ  
 N.                    Numr. Gen. P.P. Dat.      N. Dir.  
 house            two                    between            street  
 yot.  
 V. to be Pr.

There is a street between the two houses.

- (ii) khəŋ—pə—čhen—mo—ñis—si              pər—lə  
 N.                    Qul. Adj.      Numr. Gen.      P.P. Dat.  
 house            big                    two                    middle  
 ŋe                    khəŋ—ŋu              yot.  
 I.P. Pro. Gen N. Qul.Adj.Dir.      V. to be Pr.  
 my                    house small

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

- (iii) šŋ—doŋ—ñis—si              pər—ri              žiŋ—bo  
 N.                    Numr. Gen.      P.P. Gen. N. Dir.  
 tree                    two                    middle            field  
 ŋe                    yin.  
 I.P. Pro.      V. to be Pr.  
 Sg. Gen.  
 my

My field is between the two trees.



- (iv) pər—ne      soŋ.  
 P.P. Abl.      Intr. V. Imp.  
 middle      go  
 Go from the middle (i.e. through the space in between).
- (9) /t̥ho/ : 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) dəs—si      t̥ho—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      t̥ho—e      ə—če—yi  
 N.      Pl. Gen.      P.P. Gen.      N. Gen.  
 girls      among      elder sister  
 rdoŋ—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      t̥ho—ne      kho  
 N. Gen.      P.P. Abl.      III. P.Pro.  
 crowd      among      Sg. Dir.  
 ləŋs—te      duk.      he  
 St. Perf.      V. to be Pr.  
 Parti.  
 stand      having  
 He stands (is standing) in the crowd.

- (iv) t̥ho—ne      soŋ.  
 P.P. Abl.      Intr.V.Imp.  
 among      go  
 Go away from the group.

(10) /nəŋ/ : 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    | nəŋ—ŋə   | čhu                          | duk.          |
|      | N. Gen. | P.P.Dat. | N. Dir.                      | V. to be Pr.  |
|      | milk    | in       | water                        |               |
|      |         |          | There is water in the milk.  |               |
| (ii) | če      | nəŋ—ŋə   | tshə                         | mi—ruk.       |
|      | N. Gen. | P.P.Dat. | N. Dir.                      | Neg. V. to be |
|      | tea     | in       | salt                         | Pr.           |
|      |         |          | There is no salt in the tea. |               |

It also means 'inside', 'within'.

*Examples:*

- |       |              |              |  |                |
|-------|--------------|--------------|--|----------------|
| (i)   | gon—pe       | nəŋ—ŋə       | 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       | nəŋ—ŋi       | səŋ—rgyəs  | ser—ri         |
|       | N. Gen.      | P.P. Gen.    | N. Dir.  | N. Gen.        |
|       | monastery    | inside       | Buddha   | gold           |
|       | yin—nok.     |              |  |                |
|       | V. to be Pr. |              | There is a golden Buddha in the monastery.       |                |
| (iii) | gon—pe       | nəŋ—ne       | tuŋ  | phu—ruk.       |
|       | N. Gen.      | P.P. Abl.    | N. Dir.  | Tr. V. Ob. Pr. |
|       | monastery    | inside       | conch  |                |
|       |              |              | shell  |                |
|       |              |              | A conch-shell is being blown from the monastery. |                |
| (iv)  | nəŋ—ŋə       | soŋ.         |  |                |
|       | P.P. Dat.    | Intr. V. Imp |  |                |
|       | inside       | go           |  |                |

Go inside.

(11) /yog—/ : It means 'below', 'under'.

Examples:

- |             |           |          |              |
|-------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| (i) ṣkəŋ—pe | yog—gə    | but—tsik | duk.         |
| N. Gen.     | P.P. Dat. | N. Dir.  | V. to be Pr. |
| foot        | under     | insect   |              |
- There is an insect under the foot.

- |                |           |                    |
|----------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (ii) kə—čog—gi | yog—gi    | phe—por—bo         |
| N. N. Gen.     | P.P. Gen. | N. Sp. Dir.        |
| pillar table   | under     | barley-powder-bowl |
| khyoŋ.         |           |                    |
| Tr. V. Imp.    |           |                    |
| bring          |           |                    |
- Bring barley-powder-bowl from under the table around the pillar.

- |              |           |                    |
|--------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (iii) zəm—pe | yog—ne    | mə—čhə.            |
| N. Gen.      | P.P. Abl. | Neg. Intr. V. Imp. |
| bridge       | under     | go                 |
- Do not go (from) under the bridge.

- |             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| (iv) yog—ne | yoŋ.          |
| P.P. Abl.   | Intr. V. Imp. |
| under       | come          |
- Come from the beneath.

(12) /ltəg—/ : It means 'above', 'upwards', 'upper side'.

Examples:

- |            |           |           |         |               |
|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| (i) kho—e  | ŋe        | ltəg—gə   | ləs     | čə—ət.        |
| III.P.Pro. | I.P. Pro. | P.P. Dat. | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Re.Pr. |
| Sg.Erg.    | Sg. Gen.  | above     | work    | do            |
| he         | my        |           |         |               |
- He works above me (i.e. he is my superior).

- |              |          |         |             |
|--------------|----------|---------|-------------|
| (ii) khəŋ—pe | ltəg—ne  | bə—ləŋ  | khyoŋ.      |
| N. Gen.      | P.P.Abl. | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Imp. |
| house        | upper    | cow     | bring       |
- Bring the cow from the upper (part) of the house.

|       |          |           |            |               |
|-------|----------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| (iii) | ziη—ηi   | ltəg—gi   | ʒiη—gun    | su—yi         |
|       | N. Gen.  | P.P. Gen. | N. Pl.Suf. | Intr.Pro.Gen. |
|       | pond     | above     | fields     | whose         |
|       | yin?     |           |            |               |
|       | V. to be | Pr.       |            |               |

Whose are the fields (situated) above the pond ?

|      |           |               |
|------|-----------|---------------|
| (iv) | ltəg—gə   | yoη.          |
|      | 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—lə   | rul     | duk.         |
|     | N. Gen. | P.P. Dat. | N. Dir. | V. to be Pr. |
|     | grass   | in        | snake   |              |

(There) is a snake in the grass.

|      |         |           |         |              |
|------|---------|-----------|---------|--------------|
| (ii) | ʃpe—če  | seps—lə   | 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—boη  | tʃhoks—si | seps—lə   | ips.           |
|       | N. Dir. | N. Gen.   | P.P. Dat. | Intr. V. Simp. |
|       | rabbit  | forest    | in        | Perf.          |
|       |         |           |           | hide           |

Rabbit is hidden in the forest.

- (14) /koη/: It means 'above, at the top of, higher'. It is used in specific contexts as illustrated by the following examples.

*Examples :*

|     |              |                  |           |
|-----|--------------|------------------|-----------|
| (i) | rgyäl—po—dəŋ | —lə—mə           | koŋ—ŋə    |
|     | N. Part.     | N.               | P.P. Dat. |
|     | king and     | monk             | above     |
|     | phut te—ne   | ṭshəŋ—mə         | ṭsoks     |
|     | Tr.V. Part.  | Indef. Pro. Dir. | Qul. Adj. |
|     | Imp.         |                  |           |
|     | leave then   | all              | equal     |
|     | yin—nok.     |                  |           |
|     | V. to be Pr. |                  |           |

Leaving the kings and monks, all are equal.

|      |           |            |           |                  |
|------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------------|
| (ii) | koŋ—ŋi    | ṭshir—gun  | tək—po    | čö—ste           |
|      | P.P. Gen. | N. Pl Suf. | Qul. Adj. | Tr.V.Perf.Parti. |
|      |           | Dir.       |           |                  |
|      | above     | words      | correct   | do               |
|      | ḍis.      |            |           |                  |
|      | Tr.V.Imp. |            |           |                  |
|      | write     |            |           |                  |

Write having corrected the above words.

|       |                |           |          |              |
|-------|----------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| (iii) | ṭshəŋ—me       | koŋ—ŋə    | kon—čhok | 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) | čök—ṭse—yi | kə—ne     | ŋul—kor—sum      |
|     | N. Gen.    | P.P. Abl. | N. N. Numr. Dir  |
|     | table      | top       | silver cup three |
|     | khyoŋ.     |           |                  |
|     | Tr.V.Imp.  |           |                  |
|     | bring      |           |                  |

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

|      |         |         |           |
|------|---------|---------|-----------|
| (ii) | lčəŋ—me | yəl—ge  | kə—ne     |
|      | N. Gen. | N. Gen. | P.P. Abl. |
|      | tree    | branch  | top       |

|                      |             |
|----------------------|-------------|
| lo—mə—s $\eta$ on—po | tus.        |
| N. Qul.Adj. Dir.     | Tr. V. Imp. |
| leaf green           |             |

Pluck the green leaves from the top of the branch of the tree.

|                      |               |           |                             |
|----------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| (iii) t $\eta$ ug—gu | s $\eta$ s—ke | kə—ne     | but—s $\eta$ .              |
| N. Dir.              | N. Gen.       | P.P. Abl. | Tr. V. Intr. V. Simp. Perf. |
| child                | ladder        | top       | fall                        |

The child fell from the ladder.

|               |         |           |          |              |
|---------------|---------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| (iv) $\eta$ e | go—e    | kə—ə      | s $\eta$ | yot.         |
| I. Pro.       | N. Gen. | P.P. Dat. | N. Dir   | V. to be Pr. |
| Sg. Gen.      |         |           |          |              |
| my            | head    | on        | hair     |              |

There are hair on my head.

kə can also be used without an overt case marker following it. In such cases it expresses the relationship of destination or association.

|              |             |                        |
|--------------|-------------|------------------------|
| (v) $\eta$ ə | pəl—ldən—ni | kə s $\eta$ —pin.      |
| I.P. Pro.    | N. Gen.     | P.P. Intr. V.Pt. Perf. |
| Sg. Dir.     | proper name |                        |
| I            | Paldan      | go                     |
|              |             | I went to Paldan.      |

|             |           |      |                   |
|-------------|-----------|------|-------------------|
| (vi) kho    | $\eta$ e  | kə   | dug—gət.          |
| III.P. Pro. | I.P. Pro. | P.P. | Intr.V. Re. Pr.   |
| Sg. Dir.    | Sg. Gen.  |      |                   |
| he          | my        |      | stay              |
|             |           |      | He stays with me. |

(16) /phi/: It is used for expressing the meaning 'for' in the benefactive sense. It always takes the dative case suffix—ə.

*Examples :*

|            |          |           |      |                  |
|------------|----------|-----------|------|------------------|
| (i) kho—e  | $\eta$ e | phi—ə     | ləs  | čö—ət.           |
| III.P.Pro. | I.P.     | P.P. Dat. | N.   | Tr. V. Re. Pr.   |
| Sg. Erg.   | Pro.     |           | Dir. |                  |
|            | Sg. Gen. |           |      |                  |
| he         | my       | for       | work | do               |
|            |          |           |      | He works for me. |

|                        |                    |              |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (ii) lə—dəks—pə—gun—lə |                    | yon—tən      |
| N.                     | Pl.Suf.            | N.           |
|                        | Dat.               |              |
| Ladakhis               |                    | knowlege     |
| ʃəp—čes—si             | phi—ə              | ʃəp—tə—khəŋ— |
| V. N. Gen.             | P.P. Dat.          | N.           |
| learn                  | for                | school       |
| məŋ—po                 | phe—ste            | yot.         |
| Qul.Adj.Dir.           | V.St. Perf. Parti. | V. to be Pr. |
| many                   | open having        |              |

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

(17) / (thək—)ñe—mo/:

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 (nəŋ~dəŋ variants only), or genitive case. The post-position in turn is followed by dative, ablative or genitive cases as necessary.

*Examples :*

|                  |       |              |       |             |
|------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------------|
| (i) pəl—ldən—nəŋ | /     | pəl—ldən—dəŋ | /     | pəl—ldən—ni |
| proper name      | Inst. | proper name  | Inst. | proper Gen. |
| Paldan           |       | Palden       |       | name        |

|           |             |                  |
|-----------|-------------|------------------|
| ñe—mo—a   | so—nəm      | ləŋs—duk.        |
| P.P. Dat. | proper name | Intr. V. Ob. Pt. |
|           | Dir.        |                  |
| near      | Sonam       | stand            |

Sonam was standing near Paldan.

|                  |       |             |   |         |
|------------------|-------|-------------|---|---------|
| (ii) khəŋ—pə—nəŋ | /     | khəŋ—pə—dəŋ | / | khəŋ—pe |
| N.               | Inst. | N. Inst.    |   | N. Gen. |
| house            |       | house       |   | house   |

|           |           |           |              |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| ñe—mo—e   | gon—pə    | čhen—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).

|       |             |              |                   |
|-------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (iii) | khəŋ—pə—nəŋ | /khəŋ—pə—dəŋ | /khəŋ—pe          |
|       | N. Inst.    | N. Inst.     | N. Gen.           |
|       | house       | house        | house             |
|       | ñe—mo—ne    | bə—ləŋ       | soŋ—pin.          |
|       | P.P. Abl.   | N. Dir.      | Intr. V.Pt. Perf. |
|       | near        | cow          | go                |

The cow went by the house.

(18) /thəg—riŋ/ :

This post-position is used to express distance between two objects or persons. The noun preceding the post-position takes the instrumental case suffix nəŋ~dəŋ or the genitive suffix. thəg—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   |
|     | N. Inst.    | N. Inst.     | N. Inst.   |
|     | house       | house        | house      |
|     | thag—riŋ—ŋa | tʂəŋs—po     | rgyug—duk. |
|     | P.P. Dat.   | N. Dir.      | Intr. V.   |
|     | far         | river        | flow       |

River flows away from the house.

|      |             |                 |                                |
|------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| (ii) | gon—pə—nəŋ  | /gon—pə—dəŋ     | /gon—pe                        |
|      | N. Inst.    | N. Inst.        | N. Gen.                        |
|      | monastery   | monastery       | monastery                      |
|      | thag—riŋ—ŋi | ziŋ—gun         | ŋe yin.                        |
|      | P.P. Gen.   | N. Pl.Suf. Dir. | I.P.Pro. V. to be Pr. Sg. Gen. |
|      | far         | field           | my                             |

The fields far from the monastery are mine.

|       |             |                    |          |             |
|-------|-------------|--------------------|----------|-------------|
| (iii) | kho—nəŋ/    | kho—dəŋ            | kho—e    | thag—riŋ—ne |
|       | III.P. Pro. | III.P.Pro.         | III. P.  | P.P. Abl.   |
|       | Sg. Inst.   | Sg. Inst.          | Pro. Sg. | Gen.        |
|       | he          | he                 | he       | far         |
|       | ŋə          | yoŋs—pin.          |          |             |
|       | I.P. Pro.   | Intr. V. Pt. Perf. |          |             |
|       | Sg. Dir.    |                    |          |             |
|       | I           | come               |          |             |

I have come from (a place) far from his (place).



## 15. Use of /mə—tshæt/, /men—ni/, /min—pə/

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 /mə—tshæt/, ‘besides’, and /men—ni/ or /min—pə/ ‘except’. Such forms function like post-positional elements in Ladakhi and are therefore described here.

*Examples :*

- (i) ṣ̌iŋ—nəks—si      nəŋ—ŋə      siŋ—ge      siŋ—ge—yi  
       N. Gen.              P.P. Dat.      N. Dir.      N. Gen.  
       forest              inside          lion          lion  
       mə—tshæt          žəŋ—čhen—nəŋ      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      nəŋ—ŋə                      pu—tshə              (pu—tshə)  
       Prox. N. Gen. P.P. Dat.                      N. Gen.                      (N.Dir.)  
       Pro.  
       this monastety inside                      boy                      (boy)  
       mə—tshæt          pu—mo—əŋ          čhə—čhog—gət.  
       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) ŋe                      men—ni              (min—pə)  
       I.P. Pro.                      P.P.                      (P. P.)  
       Sg. Gen.  
       my                      except  
       khoŋ—tshəŋ—mə ltəd—mo—ə      čhə—ə—nok.  
       III. P. Indef. Pro. N. Dat.                      Intr. V. His. Pr.  
       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 *kə—gə* is used for elder males, *no—no* for younger males, *še—mɛ* for older women and *šem—ču<sub>η</sub>* 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:*

|                                | <i>Non-honorific</i> |   | <i>Honorific</i> |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|---|------------------|
| (a) skyems—<br>Water           | čhu                  | : | skyems—čhu       |
| (b) žəl—<br>Face               | rdoŋ                 | : | žəl—rdoŋ         |
| (c) žəps—<br>Shoe              | ʃəm                  | : | žəps—ʃəm         |
| (d) thuks—<br>Mind,<br>Thought | sems                 | : | thuks—sems       |
| (e) žuks—<br>Throne            | ṭhi                  | : | žuks—ṭhi         |

2. Prefixes with more than one noun:

*Examples:*

|                    | <i>Non-honorific</i> |   | <i>Honorific</i> |
|--------------------|----------------------|---|------------------|
| (a) sol—<br>Butter | mər                  | : | sol—mər          |
| Curds              | žo                   | : | sol—žo           |
| Tea                | čə                   | : | sol—ʃə           |
| (b) don—<br>milk   | o—mə                 | : | don—o—mə         |
| Sugar,<br>Sweet    | khə—rə               | : | don—khə—rə       |

## (c) səŋ—

|       |     |   |         |
|-------|-----|---|---------|
| water | čhu | : | səŋ—čhu |
| Door  | zgo | : | səŋ—zgo |
| Field | žiŋ | : | səŋ—žiŋ |

## (d) čhək—

|       |      |   |           |
|-------|------|---|-----------|
| Box   | zgəm | : | čhək—zgəm |
| Arrow | də   | : | čhək—də   |

## (e) u—

|        |       |   |         |
|--------|-------|---|---------|
| Pillow | şŋyəs | : | u—şŋyəs |
| Canopy | duks  | : | u—duks  |

## (f) şum—

|       |    |   |        |
|-------|----|---|--------|
| Curds | žo | : | şum—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 :*

|               | <i>Non-honorific</i> | <i>Honorific</i> |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------|
| (a) žəl—      |                      |                  |
| Cover,<br>Lid | khə—čhot :           | žəl—čhot         |
| (b) zims—     |                      |                  |
| Cot           | ñəl—ṭhi :            | zims—ṭhi         |
| (c) sku—      |                      |                  |
| Health        | lus—khəms :          | sku—khəms        |
| (d) ser—      |                      |                  |
| Breakfast     | čhi—nən :            | ser—nən          |

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

*Examples :*

|           | <i>Non-honorific</i> | : | <i>Honorific</i> |
|-----------|----------------------|---|------------------|
| (a) zims— |                      |   |                  |
| House     | khəŋ—pə              | : | zims—khəŋ        |
| Bed       | məl—tʂə              | : | zims—məl         |
| (b) žuks— |                      |   |                  |
| Mattress  | bol—ldən             | : | žuks—bol         |
| (c) čhək— |                      |   |                  |
| Stick     | ber—gə               | : | čhək—ber         |
| Rosary    | ʧhəŋ—ŋə              | : | čhək—ʧhəŋ        |
| Bell      | ʧil—bu               | : | čhək—ʧil         |
| (d) žəl—  |                      |   |                  |
| Cup       | kər—yol              | : | žəl—kər          |
| (e) sol—  |                      |   |                  |
| Cup       | kər—yol              | : | sol—kər          |

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 :*

|               | <i>Non-honorific</i> | : | <i>Honorific</i> |
|---------------|----------------------|---|------------------|
| Corpse        | ro                   | : | spur             |
| Food,<br>Meal | khər—ji              | : | don—təŋ          |
| Eye           | mik                  | : | lčən             |
| Heart         | sŋiŋ                 | : | thuks            |
| Mouth         | khə                  | : | žəl              |
| Tongue        | lče                  | : | lʃəks            |
| Brother       | spəks                | : | skyu—rims        |
| Knife         | ʧi—gu                | : | čhək—šən         |
| Local beer    | čhəŋ                 | : | skyems           |
| Meat          | šə                   | : | šums             |
| Mother        | ə—mə                 | : | yum              |
| Father        | ə—bə                 | : | yəp              |

|      |           |   |         |
|------|-----------|---|---------|
| Cap  | ti—bi     | : | u—žə    |
| Lamp | skyoŋ—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)  $\eta\text{ə}$                                  soŋ—pin.  
 I.P. Pro.                                 Intr.V. Pt. Perf.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 I   go  
I had gone.
- (ii) i—bo                                 soŋ—pin.  
 Prox. Pro. Sp.                         Intr. V. Pt. Perf.  
 this one                                 go  
This one had gone.
- (iii) khoŋ—ŋi                          $\eta\text{ə}$ —ə                 spe—čhə                 səl—lət.  
 III. P. Pro.                         I.P. Pro.                 N. Dir.                 Tr.V.Re.Pr.  
 Sg. Hon. Erg.                         Sg. Dat.  
 he   me                         book                         give  
He gives a book to me.
- (iv) kə—bo—e                         khyo—rəŋ—ŋə  
 Intr. Pro.                                 II. P. Pro. Non-Hon.  
 Sp. Erg.                                 Sg. Dat.  
 who   you  
 spe—čhə                                 səl—lət ?  
 N. Dir.   Tr. V. Re. Pr.  
 book   give  
Who gives you the book ?
- (v) khə—čig—gi                         khyo—rəŋ—ŋə  
 Indef. Pro. Erg.                         II. P. Pro. Non—Hon.  
    Sg. Dat.  
 some one                                 you  
 spe—čhə                                 səl—lət.  
 N. Dir.   Tr. V. Re. Pr.  
 book   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<br>Prox. N. Sp. Dir.<br>Pro.<br>this man           | khər—ji<br>N. Dir.<br>food              | zos.<br>Tr. V. Simp. Perf.<br>eat<br>This man ate the food.          |
| (ii) kə—mi—bo<br>Intr. N. Sp.<br>Pro. Dir.<br>which man one    | khər—ji<br>N. Dir.<br>food              | zos ?<br>Tr. V. Simp. Perf.<br>eat<br>Which (one) man ate the food ? |
| (iii) mi—khə—čik<br>N. Indef. Pro.<br>Dir.<br>man some         | khər—ji<br>N. Dir.<br>food              | zos.<br>Tr. Simp. Perf.<br>eat<br>Some man ate the food.             |
| (iv) i—mi—gun—ni<br>Prox. N. Pl. Suf.<br>Erg. Pro.<br>this man | spe—čhə<br>N. Dir.<br>book              | sil—lət.<br>Tr. V. Re. Pr.<br>read<br>These men read the book.       |
| (v) mi—tshəŋ—me<br>N. Indef. Pro. Erg.<br>man all              | spe—čhə—gun<br>N. Pl.Suf. Dir.<br>books | sil—lət.<br>Tr. V. Re. Pr.<br>read<br>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—, ə—, 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*

Prox. N. Qul.Adj. Pl. Suf. Erg.

Pro.

this man handsome

These handsome men

*ə—pu—mo—rde—mo—bo—e*

Non. N. Qul.Adj. Sp. Erg.

Prox.

Pro.

that girl beautiful

That beautiful girl

*kə—pu—mo—rde—mo—bo—e*

Intr. N. Qul.Adj. Sp. Erg.

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 Ist person exclusive  $\eta\partial$ — $\check{z}e$ , Ist person inclusive  $\eta\partial$ — $t\partial\eta$ , and IInd person non-honorific  $khyo$ — $\check{z}\partial$  and honorific  $\tilde{n}e$ — $\check{z}\partial$ . Plural suffixes —  $gun$ , —  $kun$ , —  $s\check{a}k$  are optionally used, except with  $\underline{tsh}\partial\eta$ — $m\partial$  ‘all’ and  $kh\partial$ — $\check{c}ik$  ‘some’, where the plural suffixes are not used. In an idiomatic usage like  $\eta\partial$   $\underline{tsh}\partial\eta$ — $m\partial$ — $s\check{a}k$   $\underline{tsoks}$ — $men$ , ‘I am not like others (lit. all)’,— $s\check{a}k$  may be used after  $\underline{tsh}\partial\eta$ — $m\partial$ .

When  $\underline{tsh}\partial\eta$ — $m\partial$  ‘all’ and  $kh\partial$ — $\check{c}ik$  ‘some’ are used adjectively in a construction, — $kun$ , — $gun$ , 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 IInd person and non-honorific and honorific distinction in IIIrd person. In Ist person plural, there are separate forms for inclusive and exclusive subcategories. Ladakhi pronoun stems are given in the following table :—

|                   | Ist Person                               | IIInd Person                            | IIIrd Person     |
|-------------------|--|---|------------------|
| Sg. Familiar      | }<br>ၵ<br>}                              | }<br>khyot<br>khyo—ၵၵ<br>ၵၵ—ၵၵ<br>ၵၵ—ၵၵ | }<br>kho<br>khoၵ |
| Sg. Non-honorific |  |   |                  |
| Sg. Honorific     |  |   |                  |
| Pl. Inclusive     | ၵ—ၵၵ<br>ၵ—ၵၵ—gun<br>ၵ—ၵၵ—kun<br>ၵ—ၵၵ—sək | —                                       | —                |
| Pl. Exclusive     | ၵ—ၵၵ<br>ၵ—ၵၵ—gun<br>ၵ—ၵၵ—kun<br>ၵ—ၵၵ—sək | —                                       | —                |
| Pl. Familiar      | —  | khyod—gun<br>khyot—kun<br>khyot—sək     | —                |

|                  | Ist Person | IInd Person  | IIInd Person                              |
|------------------|------------|--|---|
| Pl. Non-familiar | —          | khyo—rəŋ ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—gun ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—kun ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—sək<br>khyo—ʒə ~<br>khyo—ʒə—gun ~<br>khyo—ʒə—kun ~<br>khyo—ʒə—sək | }<br>kho—gun ~<br>kho—kun ~<br>kho—sək    |
| Pl. Honorific    | —          | ñe—rəŋ ~<br>ñe—rəŋ—gun ~<br>ñe—rəŋ—kun ~<br>ñe—rəŋ—sək<br>ñe—ʒə ~<br>ñe—ʒə—gun ~<br>ñe—ʒə—sək<br>ñe—ʒə—kun ~<br>ñe—ʒə—sək    | }<br>khoŋ—gun ~<br>khoŋ—kun ~<br>khoŋ—sək |

IIIrd Person Singular  $kh\theta\eta$  is also sometimes used for IIIrd Person Plural reference.

*Demonstrative Pronouns* show a three way distinction : Proximate  $i$ ; Non-proximate  $o$ — $te$  and  $\theta$ , 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  $k\theta$  'which'

Interrogative animate  $su$  'who'

Interrogative inanimate  $\check{c}i$  'what'

$k\theta$  may also be used as a *relative pronoun* with or without the co-relative  $te$ .

Ladakhi has three *indefinite pronouns*,  $kh\theta$ — $\check{c}ik$  'some';  $\text{tsh}\theta\eta$ — $m\theta$  'all',  $re$ — $re$  'each'.

*Reflexives* are formed in Ladakhi by adding the suffix  $r\theta\eta$  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  $i$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $o$ — $te$  and  $te$  and with interrogative pronoun— $k\theta$  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.

|                  |                                   |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| $i$ — $bo$ — $e$ | $\text{spe}$ — $\check{c}h\theta$ | $sil$ — $l\theta t$ . |
| Prox. Pro. Sg.   | N.Dir.                            | Tr. V. Re. Pr.        |
| Sp. Erg.         |                                   |                       |
| this one         | book                              | read                  |

This one reads the book.

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.

|           |   |     |          |         |              |
|-----------|---|-----|----------|---------|--------------|
| ə         | — | mi  | —bo—ə    | ʃpe—čhə | sil—lət.     |
| Non.Prox. |   | N.  | Sp. Erg. | N.Dir.  | Tr.V. Re.Pr. |
| Pro.      |   |     |          |         |              |
| that      |   | man |          | book    | read         |

or

|           |   |     |      |         |             |
|-----------|---|-----|------|---------|-------------|
| ə         | — | mi  | —yi  | ʃpe—čhə | sil—lət.    |
| Non-Prox. |   | N.  | Erg. | N. Dir. | Tr.V.Re.Pr. |
| Pro.      |   |     |      |         |             |
| that      |   | man |      | book    | read        |

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 | ʃpe—čhə | sil—lət.    |
| Prox.Pro. |  | N.  | Qul.Adj.  | Sp. Erg. |    | N.Dir.  | Tr.V.Re.Pr. |
| this      |  | man | beautiful |          |    | book    | read        |

or

|       |   |     |               |         |               |
|-------|---|-----|---------------|---------|---------------|
| i     | — | mi— | rde—mo—ə      | ʃpe—čhə | sil—lət.      |
| Prox. |   | N.  | Qul.Adj. Erg. | N.Dir.  | Tr. V. Re.Pr. |
| Pro.  |   |     |               |         |               |
| this  |   | man | beautiful     | book    | read          |

This beautiful man reads the book.

|       |      |           |             |         |              |
|-------|------|-----------|-------------|---------|--------------|
| i     | —mi— | rde—mo—   | gun—ni      | ʃpe—čhə | sil—lət.     |
| Prox. | N.   | Qul.Adj.  | Pl.Suf.Erg. | N.Dir.  | Tr.V. Re.Pr. |
| Pro.  |      |           |             |         |              |
| this  | man  | beautiful |             | book    | read         |

These beautiful men read the book.

|       |     |           |           |         |             |
|-------|-----|-----------|-----------|---------|-------------|
| i     | —mi | —rde—mo   | —ñis—si   | ʃpe—čhə | sil—lət.    |
| Prox. | N.  | Qul.Adj.  | Numr.Erg. | N.Dir.  | Tr.V.Re.Pr. |
| Pro.  |     |           |           |         |             |
| this  | man | beautiful | two       | book    | read        |

These two beautiful men read the book.

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 ʃhug—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, IInd, 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 —žə and the inclusive form which includes the addressee is marked by —təŋ. As mentioned earlier, plural suffixes —gun, —kun, or —sək are used only optionally after —žə and —təŋ.

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 ñe—rəŋ or ñe—žə. 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—rəŋ, and khyo—žə which are used in the rest of the situations. khyo—žə is less frequent and is used mostly by Muslim Ladakhis.

In IIIrd person also, honorific—non-honorific distinction is maintained. Thus khoŋ is the honorific singular stem and kho is used as non-honorific stem. For plural, —gun, —kun, —sək are added to kho—and khoŋ—. However, khoŋ 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 Ist Person singular ŋə; Ist Person Plural ŋə—žə; IInd Person non-honorific khyo—žə; and IInd Person honorific ñe—žə in ergative and genitive cases. (See § 1.4). The forms are as follows :

|                               | Ergative Case | Genitive Case |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Sg. Ist. Person               | ηe            | ηe            |
| Pl. Ist. Person               | ηə—že         | ηə—že         |
| IInd. Person<br>Non-honorific | khyo—že       | khyo—že       |
| IIInd. Person<br>Honorific    | ñe—že         | ñe—že         |

In genitive ηe, ηə—že, khyo—že, and ñe—že are more frequently used than the forms ηə—yi, ηə—žə—yi, khyo—žə—yi, and ñə—žə—yi.

*Personal Pronouns*

| Ist. Person | Singular | Plural   |
|-------------|----------|--|
| Direct Case | ηə       | Inclusive  |
|             |          | ηə—žə ~<br>ηə—žə—gun ~<br>ηə—žə—kun ~<br>ηə—žə—sək     |
|             |          | Exclusive  |
|             |          | ηə—təη ~<br>ηə—təη—gun ~<br>ηə—təη—kun ~<br>ηə—təη—sək |

| Ist. Person   | Singular        | Plural  |
|---------------|-----------------|---|
| Ergative Case | ηe              | <p style="text-align: center;">Inclusive</p> <p>ηa—že ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—gun—ni ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—kun—ni ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—sag—gi</p>   |
|               |                 | <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> <p>ηa—təη—ηi ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—gun—ni ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—kun—ni ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—sag—gi</p>  |
| Dative Case   | ηa—ə ~<br>ηa—lə | <p style="text-align: center;">Inclusive</p> <p>ηa—ža—ə ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—lə ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—gun—nə ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—gun—lə ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—kun—nə ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—kun—lə ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—sag—gə ~<br/>                     ηa—ža—sag—lə</p> |
|               |                 | <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> <p>ηa—təη—ηa ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—lə ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—gun—nə ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—gun—lə ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—sag—gə ~<br/>                     ηa—təη—sag—lə</p>  |



| 1st. Person       | Singular   | Plural   |
|-------------------|--|--|
| Instrumental Case | ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—<br>རྣམ་—<br>རལལ   | <p style="text-align: center;">Inclusive</p> ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—སེག་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—སེག་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ   |
|                   |  | <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—<br><span style="float: right;">རལལ~</span><br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—<br><span style="float: right;">རལལ~</span><br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—སེག་—འཇཱ་~<br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—སེག་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ |
| Associative Case  | ཇཱ་—རྣམ་—<br><span style="float: right;">རལལ~</span><br>ཇཱ་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་<br><span style="float: right;">—རལལ</span> | <p style="text-align: center;">Inclusive</p> ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—ཀུན་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—སེག་—རྣམ་—རལལ~<br>ཇཱ་—ཉཱ་—སེག་—འཇཱ་—རྣམ་—རལལ   |

| Ist Person    | Singular      | Plural  |
|---------------|---------------|---|
|               |               | <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> <hr/> <p>                     ηḁ—tḁη—ñḁm—po ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—nḁη—ñḁm—po ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—gun—ñḁm—po ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—gun—nḁη—ñḁm—<br/> <span style="float: right;">po ~</span><br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—kun—ñḁm—po ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—kun—nḁη—ñḁm—po ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—sḁg—ñḁm—po ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—sḁg—nḁη—ñḁm—po                 </p> |
| Ablative Case | ηḁ—ne         | <p style="text-align: center;">Inclusive</p> <hr/> <p>                     ηḁ—žḁ—ne ~<br/>                     ηḁ—žḁ—gun—ne ~<br/>                     ηḁ—žḁ—kun—ne ~<br/>                     ηḁ—žḁ—sḁg—ne                 </p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> <hr/> <p>                     ηḁ—tḁη—ne ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—gun—ne ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—kun—ne ~<br/>                     ηḁ—tḁη—sḁg—ne                 </p>                   |
| Genitive      | ηe ~<br>ηḁ—yi | <p style="text-align: center;">Inclusive</p> <hr/> <p>                     ηḁ—že ~<br/>                     ηḁ—žḁ—yi ~<br/>                     ηḁ—žḁ—gun—ni ~<br/>                     ηḁ—žḁ—kun—ni ~<br/>                     ηḁ—žḁ—sḁg—gi                 </p>   |

| Ist. Person            | Singular   | Plural  |
|------------------------|--|---|
|                        |  | <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> <p> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \eta\text{i} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{gun} - \text{ni} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{kun} - \text{ni} -</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{s}\text{əg} - \text{gi}</math> </p> |
| IIInd. Person Familiar | Singular   | Plural  |
| Direct Case            | khyot  | khyod—gun~<br>khyot—kun~<br>khyot—sək   |
| Ergative Case          | khyod—di   | khyod—gun—ni~<br>khyot—kun—ni~<br>khyot—səg—gi  |
| Dative Case            | khyod—lə   | khyod—gun—nə~<br>khyod—gun—lə~<br>khyot—kun—nə~<br>khyot—kun—lə~<br>khyot—səg—gə~<br>khyot—səg—le   |
| Instrumental Case      | khyod—nə $\eta$ ~<br>khyod—nə $\eta$ —<br>ñem—po | khyod—gun—nə $\eta$ ~<br>khyod—gun—nə $\eta$ —ñəm—po~<br>khyot—kun—nə $\eta$ ~<br>khyot—kun—nə $\eta$ —ñəm—po~<br>khyot—səg—nə $\eta$ ~<br>khyot—səg—nə $\eta$ —ñəm—po  |
| Associative Case       | khyod—ñəm—<br>po~                                | khyod—gun—ñəm—po~<br>khyod—gun—nə $\eta$ —ñəm—po~   |

| Ind. Person<br>Familiar     | Singular             | Plural   |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|--|
|                             | khyod—nəŋ—<br>ñəm—po | khyot—kun—ñem—po ~<br>khyot—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>khyot—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>khyot—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po                                       |
| Ablative Case               | khyod—ne             | khyod—gun—ne ~<br>khyot—kun—ne ~<br>khyot—səg—ne   |
| Genitive Case               | khyod—di             | khyod—gun—ni ~<br>khyot—kun—ni ~<br>khyot—səg—gi   |
| Ind Person<br>Non-honorific | Singular             | Plural   |
| Direct Case                 | khyo—rəŋ             | khyo—rəŋ—gun ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—kun ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—sək<br>khyo—žə ~<br>khyo—žə—gun ~<br>khyo—žə—kun ~<br>khyo—žə—sək                   |
| Ergative Case               | khyo—rəŋ—ŋi          | khyo—rəŋ—gun—ni ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—kun—ni ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—səg—gi<br>khyo—žə ~<br>khyo—žə—gun—ni ~<br>khyo—žə—kun—ni ~<br>khyo—žə—səg—gi |



| IInd Person<br>Non-honorific | Singular                    | Plural   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Associative<br>Case          | khyo—rəŋ—<br>nəŋ—ñəm—<br>po | khyo—rəŋ—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ—nəm—<br>po ~<br>khyo—žə—ñəm—po ~<br>khyo—žə—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>khyo—žə—gun—ñəm—po ~<br>khyo—žə—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>khyo—žə—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>khyo—žə—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>khyo—žə—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>khyo—žə—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—<br>po |
| Ablative Case                | khyo—rəŋ—ne                 | khyo—rəŋ—gun—ne ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—kun—ne ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—səg—ne<br>khyo—žə—ne ~<br>khyo—žə—gun—ne ~<br>khyo—žə—kun—ne ~<br>khyo—žə—səg—ne  |
| Genitive Case                | khyo—rəŋ—ŋi                 | khyo—rəŋ—gun—ni ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—kun—ni ~<br>khyo—rəŋ—səg—g<br>khyo—že ~<br>khyo—žə—gun—ni ~<br>khyo—žə—kun—ni ~<br>khyo—žə—səg—gi  |



| IInd Person Honorific | Singular   | Plural  |
|-----------------------|--|---|
|                       |  | <p> <i>ñe—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ~</i><br/> <i>ñe—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po</span> </p> <p> <i>ñe—ʒə—nəŋ~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—nəŋ—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—gun—nəŋ~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po~</span> </p> <p> <i>ñe—ʒə—kun—nəŋ~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po~</span> </p> <p> <i>ñr—ʒə—səg—nəŋ~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po</i> </p>  |
| Associative Case      | <p> <i>ñe—rəŋ—</i><br/> <i>ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—rəŋ—nəŋ</i><br/> <i>—ñəm—po</i> </p> | <p> <i>ñe—rəŋ—gun—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—rəŋ—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po~</span> </p> <p> <i>ñe—rəŋ—kun—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po~</span> </p> <p> <i>ñe—rəŋ—səg—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po</span> </p> <p> <i>ñe—ʒə—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—nəŋ—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—gun—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po~</span> </p> <p> <i>ñe—ʒə—kun—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—</i><br/> <span style="display: block; text-align: right;">po~</span> </p> <p> <i>ñe—ʒə—səg—ñəm—po~</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po</i> </p> |
| Ablative Case         | <p> <i>ñe—rəŋ—ne</i> </p>  | <p> <i>ñe—rəŋ—gun—ne~</i><br/> <i>ñe—rəŋ—kun—ne~</i><br/> <i>ñə—rəŋ—səg—ne</i><br/> <i>ñe—ʒə—ne</i> </p>  |



| IIInd. Person<br>Honorific    | Singular                        | Plural   |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Ablative Case                 |                                 | ñe—ʒə—gun—ne ~<br>ñe—ʒə—kun—ne ~<br>ñe—ʒə—səg—ne   |
| Genitive Case                 | ñe—rəŋ—ŋi                       | ñe—rəŋ—gun—ni ~<br>ñe—rəŋ—kun—ni ~<br>ñe—rəŋ—səg—gi<br>ñe—ʒə ~<br>ñe—ʒə—gun—ni ~<br>ñe—ʒə—kun—ni ~<br>ñe—ʒə—səg—gi |
| IIIrd Person<br>Non-honorific | Singular                        | Plural   |
| Direct Case                   | kho                             | kho—gun ~<br>kho—kun ~<br>kho—sək  |
| Ergative Case                 | kho—e ~                         | kho—gun—ni ~<br>kho—kun—ni ~<br>kho—səg—gi   |
| Dative Case                   | kho—ə ~<br>kho—lə               | kho—gun—nə ~<br>kho—gun—lə ~<br>kho—kun—nə ~<br>kho—kun—lə ~<br>kho—səg—gə ~<br>kho—səg—lə                         |
| Instrumental<br>Case          | kho—nəŋ ~<br>kho—nəŋ—<br>ñəm—po | kho—gun—nəŋ ~<br>kho—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>kho—kun—nəŋ ~   |

| IInd. Person<br>Non-honorific | Singular                               | Plural   |
|-------------------------------|--|--|
|                               |  | kho—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>kho—səg—nəŋ ~<br>kho—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po  |
| Associative<br>Case           | kho—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>kho—nəŋ—<br>ñəm—po | kho—gun—ñəm—po ~<br>kho—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>kho—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>kho—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>kho—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>kho—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po |
| Genitive Case                 | kho—e ~                                | kho—gun—ni ~<br>kho—kun—ni ~<br>kho—səg—gi   |
| IIIrd. Person<br>Honorific    |  |  |
| Direct Case                   | khoŋ                                   | khoŋ—gun ~<br>khoŋ—kun ~<br>khoŋ—sək   |
| Ergative Case                 | khoŋ—ŋi                                | khoŋ—gun—ni ~<br>khoŋ—kun—ni ~<br>khoŋ—səg—gi  |
| Dative Case                   | khoŋ—ŋə ~<br>khoŋ—lə                   | khyoŋ—gun—nə ~<br>khoŋ—gun—lə ~<br>khoŋ—kun—nə ~<br>khoŋ—kun—lə ~<br>khoŋ—səg—gə ~<br>khoŋ—səg—lə                              |

| Proximate Pronoun i—     | Singular                                | Plural  |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| Instrumental Case        | i—bo—nəŋ~<br>i—bo—nəŋ—<br>ñəm—po        | i—gun—nəŋ~<br>i—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—po~<br>i—kun—nəŋ~<br>i—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po~<br>i—səg—nəŋ~<br>i—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po          |
| Associative Case         | i—bo—ñəm—<br>po~<br>i—bo—nəŋ—<br>ñəm—po | i—gun—ñəm—po~<br>i—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—po~<br>i—kun—ñəm—po~<br>i—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po~<br>i—səg—ñəm—po~<br>i—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case            | l—bo—ne                                 | i—gun—ne~<br>i—kun—ne~<br>i—səg—ne  |
| Genitive Case            | i—bo—yi~<br>i—bo—e                      | i—gun—ni~<br>i—kun—ni~<br>i—səg—gi  |
| Non—proximate Pronoun ə— | Singular                                | Plural  |
| Direct Case              | ə—bo                                    | ə—gun~<br>ə—kun~<br>ə—sək   |
| Ergative Case            | ə—bo—e~<br>ə—bo—yi                      | ə—gun—ni~<br>ə—kun—ni~<br>ə—səg—gi  |

| Non-proximate<br>Pronoun e—   | Singular                                 | Plural   |
|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Dative Case                   | ə—bo—ə ~<br>ə—bo—lə                      | ə—gun—nə ~<br>ə—gun—lə ~<br>ə—kun—nə ~<br>ə—kun—lə ~<br>ə—səg—gə ~<br>ə—səg—lə                                     |
| Instrumental<br>Case          | ə—bo—nəη ~<br>ə—bo—nəη—<br>ñəm—po        | ə—gun—nəη ~<br>ə—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—kun—nəη ~<br>ə—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—səg—nəη ~<br>ə—səg—nəη—ñəm—po          |
| Associative<br>Case           | ə—bo—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>ə—bo—nəη—<br>ñəm—po | ə—gun—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—səg—nəη—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case                 | ə—bo—ne                                  | ə—gun—ne ~<br>ə—kun—ne ~<br>ə—səg—ne   |
| Genitive Case                 | ə—bo—yi ~<br>ə—bo—e                      | ə—gun—ni ~<br>ə—kun—ni ~<br>ə—səg—gi   |
| Non-proximate<br>Pronoun o—te | Singular                                 | Plural   |
| Direct Case                   | o—te ~                                   | o—te—gun ~   |

| IIIrd. Person Honorific | Singular                                 | Plural   |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Instrumental Case       | khoη—nəη ~<br>khoη—nəη—<br>ñəm—po        | khoη—gun—nəη ~<br>khoη—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>khoη—kun—nəη ~<br>khoη—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>khoη—səg—nəη ~<br>khoη—səg—nəη—ñəm—po          |
| Associative Case        | khoη—ñəm<br>—po ~<br>khoη—nəη<br>—ñəm—po | khoη—gun—ñəm—po ~<br>khoη—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>khoη—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>khoη—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>khoη—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>khoη—səg—nəη—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case           | khoη—ne                                  | khoη—gun—ne ~<br>khoη—kun—ne ~<br>khoη—səg—ne  |
| Genitive Case           | khoη—ηi                                  | khoη—gun—ni ~<br>khoη—kun—ni ~<br>khoη—səg—gi  |

## 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*, *ə-bo*, *te-bo*. The paradigms of these four forms are as follows :

#### DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

| Proximate Pronoun <i>i-</i> | Singular                         | Plural  |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| Direct Case                 | <i>i-bo</i>                      | <i>i-gun~</i><br><i>i-kun~</i><br><i>i-sək</i>  |
| Ergative Case               | <i>i-bo-e~</i><br><i>i-bo-yi</i> | <i>i-gun-ni~</i><br><i>i-kun-ni~</i><br><i>i-səg-gi</i>   |
| Dative Case                 | <i>i-bo-ə~</i><br><i>i-bo-lə</i> | <i>i-gun-nə~</i><br><i>i-gun-lə~</i><br><i>i-kun-nə~</i><br><i>i-kun-lə~</i><br><i>i-səg-gə~</i><br><i>i-səg-lə</i> |

| Proximate Pronoun i—     | Singular                                 | Plural   |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| Instrumental Case        | i—bo—nəŋ ~<br>i—bo—nəŋ—<br>ñəm—po        | i—gun—nəŋ ~<br>i—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>i—kun—nəŋ ~<br>i—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>i—səg—nəŋ ~<br>i—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po          |
| Associative Case         | i—bo—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>i—bo—nəŋ—<br>ñəm—po | i—gun—ñəm—po ~<br>i—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>i—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>i—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br>i—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>i—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case            | l—bo—ne                                  | i—gun—ne ~<br>i—kun—ne ~<br>i—səg—ne   |
| Genitive Case            | i—bo—yi ~<br>i—bo—e                      | i—gun—ni ~<br>i—kun—ni ~<br>i—səg—gi   |
| Non—proximate Pronoun ə— | Singular                                 | Plural   |
| Direct Case              | ə—bo                                     | ə—gun ~<br>ə—kun ~<br>ə—sək  |
| Ergative Case            | ə—bo—e ~<br>ə—bo—yi                      | ə—gun—ni ~<br>ə—kun—ni ~<br>ə—səg—gi   |

| Non-proximate<br>Pronoun e—   | Singular                                 | Plural   |
|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Dative Case                   | ə—bo—ə ~<br>ə—bo—lə                      | ə—gun—nə ~<br>ə—gun—lə ~<br>ə—kun—nə ~<br>ə—kun—lə ~<br>ə—səg—gə ~<br>ə—səg—lə                                     |
| Instrumental<br>Case          | ə—bo—nəη ~<br>ə—bo—nəη—<br>ñəm—po        | ə—gun—nəη ~<br>ə—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—kun—nəη ~<br>ə—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—səg—nəη ~<br>ə—səg—nəη—ñəm—po          |
| Associative<br>Case           | ə—bo—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>ə—bo—nəη—<br>ñəm—po | ə—gun—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>ə—səg—nəη—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case                 | ə—bo—ne                                  | ə—gun—ne ~<br>ə—kun—ne ~<br>ə—səg—ne   |
| Genitive Case                 | ə—bo—yi ~<br>ə—bo—e                      | ə—gun—ni ~<br>ə—kun—ni ~<br>ə—səg—gi   |
| Non-proximate<br>Pronoun o—te | Singular                                 | Plural   |
| Direct Case                   | o—te ~                                   | o—te—gun ~   |



| Non-proximate<br>Pronoun o-te | Singular  | Plural  |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Direct Case                   | o—te—bo   | o—te—kun~<br>o—te—sək   |
| Ergative Case                 | o—te—yi~<br>o—te—bo—e   | o—te—gun—ni~<br>o—te—kun—ni~<br>o—te—səg—gi   |
| Dative Case                   | o—te—ə~<br>o—te—lə~<br>o—te—bo—<br>ə~<br>o—te—bo—lə   | o—te—gun—nə~<br>o—te—gun—lə~<br>o—te—kun—nə~<br>o—te—kun—lə~<br>o—te—səg—gə~<br>o—te—səg—lə                                     |
| Instrumental<br>Case          | o—te—nəη~<br>o—te—nəη—<br>ñəm—po~<br>o—te—bo—<br>nəη~<br>o—te—bo—<br>nəη—ñəm—po               | o—te—gun—nəη~<br>o—te—gun—nəη—ñəm—po~<br>o—te—kun—nəη~<br>o—te—kun—nəη—ñəm—po~<br>o—te—səg—nəη~<br>o—te—səg—nəη—ñəm—po          |
| Associative<br>Case           | o—te—ñəm—<br>po~<br>o—te—nəη—<br>ñəm—po~<br>o—te—bo—<br>ñəm—po~<br>o—te—bo—<br>nəη—ñəm<br>—po | o—te—gun—ñəm—po~<br>o—te—gun—nəη—ñəm—po~<br>o—te—kun—ñəm—po~<br>o—te—kun—nəη—ñəm—po~<br>o—te—səg—ñəm—po~<br>o—te—səg—nəη—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case                 | o—te—ne~<br>o—te—bo—ne  | o—te—gun—ne~<br>o—te—kun—ne~  |

| Non-proximate<br>Pronoun o-te | Singular                            | Plural  |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Ablative Case                 |                                     | o-te-səg-ne   |
| Genitive Case                 | o-te-yi ~<br>o-te-bo-e              | o-te-gun-ni ~<br>o-te-kun-ni ~<br>o-te-səg-gi   |
| Obviative<br>Pronoun te—      | Singular                            | Plural  |
| Direct Case                   | te-bo                               | te-gun ~<br>te-kun ~<br>te-səg  |
| Ergative Case                 | te-bo-e                             | te-gun-ni ~<br>te-kun-ni ~<br>te-səg-gi   |
| Dative Case                   | te-bo-ə ~<br>te-bo-lə               | te-gun-nə ~<br>te-gun-lə ~<br>te-kun-nə ~<br>te-kun-lə ~<br>te-səg-gə ~<br>te-səg-lə                            |
| Instrumental<br>Case          | te-bo-nəη ~<br>te-bo-nəη—<br>ñəm-po | te-gun-nəη ~<br>te-gun-nəη—ñəm-po ~<br>te-kun-nəη ~<br>te-kun-nəη—ñəm-po ~<br>te-səg-nəη ~<br>te-səg-nəη—ñəm-po |

| Obliative<br>Pronoun <i>te</i> — | Singular  | Plural   |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Associative<br>Case              | <i>te—bo—ñəm</i><br>— <i>po</i> ~<br><i>te—bo—nəŋ—</i><br><i>ñəm—po</i> | <i>te—gun—ñəm—po</i> ~<br><i>te—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—po</i> ~<br><i>te—kun—ñəm—po</i> ~<br><i>te—kun—nəŋ—ñəm—po</i> ~<br><i>te—səg—ñəm—po</i> ~<br><i>te—səg—nəŋ—ñəm—po</i> |
| Ablative Case                    | <i>te—bo—ne</i>   | <i>te—gun—ne</i> ~<br><i>te—kun—ne</i> ~<br><i>te—səg—ne</i>   |
| Genitive Case                    | <i>te—bo—e</i>  | <i>te—gun—ni</i> ~<br><i>te—kun—ni</i> ~<br><i>te—səg—gi</i>   |

## 22. Interrogative Pronouns

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

|                |              |               |               |                   |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>spe—čhə</i> | <i>kə—bo</i> | <i>rde—mo</i> | <i>duk te</i> | <i>spe—čhə—bo</i> |
| N.Dir.         | Intr. Pro.   | Qul.Adj.      | V. Core. N.   | Sp. Dir.          |
| book           | which<br>one | good          | to be Pro.    | book              |

sil.

Tr. V.

read

or

|                |              |               |            |              |       |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-------|
| <i>spe—čhə</i> | <i>kə—bo</i> | <i>rde—mo</i> | <i>duk</i> | <i>te—bo</i> | sil.  |
| N. Dir.        | Intr.Pro.    | Qul.Adj.      | V. to be   | Core. Pro.   | Tr.V. |
| book           | which-one    | good          |            | Sp. Dir      | read  |

or

|         |                  |          |          |        |
|---------|------------------|----------|----------|--------|
| spe—čhə | kə—bo            | rde—mo   | duk      | sil.   |
| N. Dir. | Intr.Pro.<br>Sp. | Qul.Adj. | V. to be | Tr. V. |
| book    | which            | good     |          | read   |

or

|                          |  |          |                          |
|--------------------------|--|----------|--------------------------|
| kə—spe—čhə—bo            | rde—mo   | duk      | (te—bo) sil.             |
| Intr. N. Sp.Dir.<br>Pro. | Qul.Adj.   | V. to be | (Obvi.Sp. Tr.V.<br>Pro.) |
| which book one           | good   |          | read                     |
|                          | Read (the book), that (lit. which book) is good. |          |                          |

|                          |                |                      |                 |                  |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| kə—pu—mo—bo              | dəŋ            | ʃep—ste              | duk             | te—bo            |
| Intr. N. Sp.Dir.<br>Pro. | Adv. T.        | V.St.Perf.<br>Parti. | V. to be<br>Pr. | Obvi.Sp.<br>Pro. |
| who girl                 | yester-<br>day | reach,<br>having     |                 | that             |

rdə--mo      duk.  
Qul.Adj.Dir. V. to be  
beautiful

or

|                          |           |                      |          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|-----------|
| kə—pu—mo—bo              | dəŋ       | ʃep—ste              | duk      | rde—omo   |
| Intr. N. Sp.Dir.<br>Pro. | Adv. T.   | V.St.Perf.<br>Parti. | V. to be | Qul.Adj.  |
| who girl<br>duk.         | yesterday | reach having         |          | beautiful |

V. to be      The girl, who came yesterday, is beautiful.

su— 'who' is used only for animate reference while, čī is used for the corresponding inanimate. The case suffixes are the same as for personal pronouns. čī 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 čī 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 :

| Interrogative Pronoun: kə<br>Animate,<br>Inanimate | Singular  | Plural   |
|--|---|--|
| Direct case  | kə—bo   | kə—gun ~<br>kə—gun ~<br>kə—sək   |
| Ergative Case                                      | kə—bo—e   | kə—gun—ni ~<br>kə—kun—ni ~<br>kə—səg—gi  |
| Dative Case  | kə—bo—ə ~<br>kə—bo—lə                           | kə—gun—nə ~<br>kə—gun—lə ~<br>kə—kun—nə ~<br>kə—kun—lə ~<br>kə—səg—gə ~<br>kə—səg—lə                                     |
| Instrumental Case                                  | kə—bo—<br>nəη ~<br>kə—bo—<br>nəη—<br>ñəm—po     | kə—gun—nəη ~<br>kə—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>kə—kun—nəη ~<br>kə—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>kə—səg—nəη ~<br>kə—səg—nəη—ñəm—po          |
| Associative Case                                   | kə—bo—ñəm<br>—po ~<br>kə—bo—<br>nəη ~<br>ñəm—po | kə—gun—ñəm—po ~<br>kə—gun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>kə—kun—ñəm—po ~<br>kə—kun—nəη—ñəm—po ~<br>kə—səg—ñəm—po ~<br>kə—səg—nəη—ñəm—po |
| Ablative   | kə—bo—ne  | kə—gun—ne ~<br>kə—kun—ne ~<br>kə—səg—ne  |

| Interrogative Pronoun: kə<br>Animate,<br>Inanimate | Singular                             | Plural                                  |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| Genitive Case                                      | kə—bo—e                              | kə—gun—ni ~<br>kə—kun—ni ~<br>kə—səg—gi |
| Interrogative Pronoun: su<br>Animate               | Singular                             | Plural                                  |
| Direct Case  | su                                   | su—su                                   |
| Ergative Case                                      | su—yi                                | su—su—yi                                |
| Dative Case  | su—ə ~<br>su—lə                      | su—su—ə ~<br>su—su—lə                   |
| Instrumental Case                                  | su—nəη ~<br>su—nəη—<br>ñəm—po        | su—su—nəη ~<br>su—su—nəη—ñəm—po         |
| Associative Case                                   | su—ñəm—<br>po ~<br>su—nəη—<br>ñəm—po | su—su—ñəm—po ~<br>su—su—nəη—ñəm—po      |
| Ablative   | su—ne                                | su—su—ne                                |
| Genitive Case                                      | su—yi                                | su—su—yi                                |

| Interrogative<br>Pronoun : su<br>Inanimate | Singular and Plural                |
|--|------------------------------------|
| Direct Case                                | č̣i                                |
| Ergative Case                              | č̣i—yi                             |
| Dative Case                                | č̣i—ə ~<br>č̣i—lə                  |
| Instrumental Case                          | č̣i—nəŋ ~<br>č̣i—nəŋ—ñəm—po        |
| Associative Case                           | č̣i ~ ñəm—po ~<br>č̣i ~ nəŋ—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case                              | č̣i ~ ne                           |
| Genitive                                   | č̣i—yi                             |

### 23. Indefinite Pronouns

There are three indefinite pronouns *ʈʂhəŋ—mə* 'all', *khə—č̣ik* 'some', and *re—re* 'each' in Ladakhi. Plural suffixes are not used with *ʈʂhəŋ—mə* 'all', *khə—č̣ik* 'some', and *re—re* 'each'. When *ʈʂhəŋ—mə* 'all', and *khə—č̣ik* '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—č̣ik* is also heard sometimes. In an idiomatic use *—sək* is added to *ʈʂhəŋ—mə* 'all', e.g.

|   |                  |                                    |
|---|------------------|------------------------------------|
| <u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—sək                                  | <u>tsoks</u> —lə | khər—rin mə—ruk.                   |
| Indef.Pro. Pl.Suf.                                    | Qul.Adj.Dat.     | Intr.V.Pr. Neg. V. to be<br>Parti. |
| others  | like             | going around                       |
| Do not keep roaming around like others<br>(lit. all). |                  |                                    |

In such constructions tshəŋ—mə always means ‘others’.

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

| Indefinite Pronoun<br><u>tshəŋ</u> —mə | Singular and Plural                                      |
|--|--|
| Direct Case                            | <u>tshəŋ</u> —mə   |
| Ergative Case                          | <u>tshəŋ</u> —me ~<br><u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—yi                |
| Dative Case                            | <u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—ə ~<br><u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—lə              |
| Instrumental Case                      | <u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—nəŋ ~<br><u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—nəŋ—ñəm—po    |
| Associative Case                       | <u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—ñəm—po ~<br><u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—nəŋ—ñəm—po |
| Ablative                               | <u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—ne                                      |
| Genitive                               | <u>tshəŋ</u> —me ~<br><u>tshəŋ</u> —mə—yi                |



|                               |                                    |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Indefinite Pronoun<br>re—re   | Singular and Plural                |
| Direct Case                   | re—re                              |
| Ergative Case                 | re—re—yi                           |
| Dative Case                   | re—re—ə ~<br>re—re—lə              |
| Instrumental Case             | re—re—nəŋ ~<br>re—re—nəŋ—ñəm—po    |
| Associative Case              | re—re—ñəm—po ~<br>re—re—nəŋ—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case                 | re—re—ne                           |
| Genitive Case                 | re—re—yi                           |
| Indefinite Pronoun<br>khə—čik | Singular and Plural                |
| Direct Case                   | khə—čik                            |
| Ergative Case                 | khə—čig—gi                         |
| Dative Case                   | khə—čig—gə ~<br>khə—čig—lə         |

|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Indefinite Pronoun<br>khə—čik | Singular and Plural                    |
| Instrumental Case             | khə—čig—nəη ~<br>khə—čig—nəη—ñəm—po    |
| Associative Case              | khə—čig—ñəm—po ~<br>khə—čig—nəη—ñəm—po |
| Ablative Case                 | khə—čig—ne                             |
| Genitive                      | khə—čig—gi                             |

**24. Reflexive Pronouns**

Ladakhi forms reflexive pronouns by adding —rəη 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:

| Personal Pronoun<br>1st. Person | Singular | Plural   |
|---------------------------------|----------|--|
|                                 |          | Inclusive  |
| Direct Case                     | ηə—rəη   | ηə—žə—rəη ~<br>ηə—žə—rəη—gun ~<br>ηə—žə—rəη—kun ~<br>ηə—žə—rəη—səg |

| Personal Pronoun<br>Ist. Person              | Singular   | Plural  |
|--|--|---|
|  |  | <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> <p> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta - \text{gun} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta - \text{kun} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta - \text{sək}</math> </p>  |
| Ergative Case                                | $\eta\text{ə} - \text{r}\eta - \eta\text{i}$   | <p style="text-align: center;">Inclusive</p> <p> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{ʒ}\text{ə} - \text{r}\eta - \eta\text{i} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{ʒ}\text{ə} - \text{r}\eta - \text{gun} - \text{ni} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{ʒ}\text{ə} - \text{r}\eta - \text{kun} - \text{ni} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{ʒ}\text{ə} - \text{r}\eta - \text{səg} - \text{gi}</math> </p> <p style="text-align: center;">Exclusive</p> <p> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta - \eta\text{i} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta - \text{gun} - \text{ni} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta - \text{kun} - \text{ni} \sim</math><br/> <math>\eta\text{ə} - \text{t}\eta - \text{r}\eta - \text{səg} - \text{gi}</math> </p> |
| Personal Pronoun<br>IInd. Person<br>Familiar | Singular   | Plural  |
| Dative Case                                  | $\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta -$<br>$\eta\text{ə} \sim$<br>$\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta$<br>$- \text{lə}$ | $\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta - \text{gun} - \text{nə} \sim$<br>$\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta - \text{gun} - \text{lə} \sim$<br>$\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta - \text{kun} - \text{nə} \sim$<br>$\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta - \text{kun} - \text{lə} \sim$<br>$\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta - \text{səg} - \text{gə} \sim$<br>$\text{khyod} - \text{r}\eta - \text{səg} - \text{lə}$   |

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Personal<br/>Pronoun<br/>IInd. Person<br/>Non-honorific</p> | <p>Singular</p>   | <p>Plural</p>   |
| <p>Instrumental<br/>Case</p>                                   | <p>khyo—rəŋ—<br/>rəŋ—nəŋ~<br/>khyo—rəŋ—<br/>rəŋ—nəŋ—<br/>ñəm—po</p> | <p>khyo—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—nəŋ~<br/>khyo—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—nəŋ—<br/>ñəm—po~<br/>khyo—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ~<br/>khyo—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ<br/>—ñəm—po~<br/>khyo—rəŋ—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ~<br/>khyo—rəŋ—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ<br/>—ñəm—po</p> |
| <p>Personal<br/>Pronoun<br/>IInd. Person<br/>Non-familiar</p>  | <p>Singular</p>   | <p>Plural</p>   |
| <p>Instrumental<br/>Case</p>                                   | <p>khyo—ʒə—<br/>rəŋ—nəŋ~<br/>khyo—ʒə—rəŋ<br/>—nəŋ—ñəm<br/>—po</p>   | <p>khyo—ʒə—rəŋ—gun—nəŋ~<br/>khyo—ʒə—rəŋ—gun—nəŋ<br/>—ñəm—po~<br/>khyo—ʒə—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ~<br/>khoy—ʒə—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ<br/>—ñəm—po~<br/>khyo—ʒə—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ~<br/>khyo—ʒə—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ<br/>—ñəm—po</p>       |
| <p>Personal<br/>Pronoun<br/>IInd. Person<br/>Honorific</p>     | <p>Singular</p>   | <p>Plural</p>   |
| <p>Associative<br/>Case</p>                                    | <p>ñe—rəŋ—rəŋ<br/>ñəm—po~</p>                                       | <p>ñe—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—ñəm—po~<br/>ñe—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—nəŋ—ñəm—<br/>po~</p>   |

| Personal<br>Pronoun<br>IIInd. Person<br>Honorific     | Singular                                | Plural   |
|---|---|--|
|   | <p>ñe—rəŋ—rəŋ<br/>—nəŋ—ñəm—<br/>—po</p> | <p>ñe—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—ñəm—<br/>po ~<br/>ñe—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ—ñəm<br/>—po ~<br/>ñə—rəŋ—rəŋ—səg—ñəm—<br/>po ~<br/>ñe—reŋ—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ—ñəm<br/>—po<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—nəŋ—ñəm—po ~<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—gun—ñəm—po ~<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—gun—nəŋ—ñəm<br/>—po ~<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—kun—ñəm—<br/>po ~<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—kun—nəŋ—ñəm<br/>—po ~<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—səg—ñəm—po ~<br/>ñe—žə—rəŋ—səg—nəŋ—ñəm<br/>—po</p> |
| Personal<br>Pronoun<br>IIIrd. Person<br>Non-honorific | Singular                                | Plural   |
| Ablative Case   | kho—rəŋ—rəŋ<br>—ne                      | <p>kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—gun—ne ~<br/>kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—kun—ne ~<br/>kho—rəŋ—rəŋ—səg—ne</p>  |

| Personal Pronoun<br>IIIrd. Person<br>Honorific | Singular  | Plural   |
|--|---|--|
| Genitive Case                                  | kho <sub>η</sub> --rə <sub>η</sub> --<br>rə <sub>η</sub> --η <sub>i</sub> | kho--rə <sub>η</sub> --rə <sub>η</sub> --gun--ni~<br>kho--rə <sub>η</sub> --rə <sub>η</sub> --kun--ni~<br>kho--rə <sub>η</sub> --rə <sub>η</sub> --səg--gi |

There is one more context in which the reflexive suffix *rə<sub>η</sub>* is used. In order to give honour to kinsmen, who are older in age, *-rə<sub>η</sub>* can be added after the referrent noun, e.g. ə-čə -rə<sub>η</sub> 'elder brother (your) self', ə-mə-rə<sub>η</sub> 'mother (your) self'. Suffixes, if any, will follow *-rə<sub>η</sub>*.

In reflexive constructions, it is possible to use only the reflexive element *-rə<sub>η</sub>* by itself to convey the reflexivity and drop the pronominal or the nominal element, e.g.

|            |                                      |         |                 |
|------------|--------------------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| ηə         | ηə--rə <sub>η</sub> --η <sub>i</sub> | yul--lə | čə--ət.         |
| I. P. Pro. | I.P. Refl. Pro.                      | N. Dat. | Intr. V. Re.Pr. |
| Sg. Dir.   | Gen.                                 |         |                 |
| I          | my                                   | village | go              |

or

|           |                                  |         |                 |
|-----------|----------------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| ηə        | rə <sub>η</sub> --η <sub>i</sub> | yul--lə | čə--ət.         |
| I.P. Pro. | Refl. Pro.                       | N. Dat. | Intr. V. Re.Pr. |
| Sg. Dir.  | Gen.                             |         |                 |
| I         | my                               | village | go              |

I go to my village.

|                           |                                       |                                      |         |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| kho--e                    | kho--rə <sub>η</sub> --η <sub>i</sub> | (/rə <sub>η</sub> --η <sub>i</sub> ) | ə--čə-- |
| III. P.                   | III. P. Refl. Pro.                    | (Refl. Pro.                          | N.      |
| Pro.Sg.                   | Gen.                                  | Gen.)                                |         |
| Erg.                      |                                       |                                      |         |
| he                        |                                       |                                      | brother |
| nə <sub>η</sub> --ñəm--po | kho--e                                | ə--čə--nə <sub>η</sub> --ñəm--po     |         |
| Ass.                      | III.P.Pro.                            | N. Inst.                             |         |
|                           | Sg.Gen.                               |                                      |         |
|                           | his                                   | brother                              |         |

thug--gin.

Tr. V. Def. Fut.

He will meet his (someone else's) brother with (accompanied by) his own) brother.

|                          |  |      |                                      |
|--------------------------|--|------|--------------------------------------|
| pəl—ldən—ni<br>N. Erg.   | pəl—ldən—rəŋ—ŋi<br>III. P. Refl. Pro. Gen. | ləs  | čö—ruk.<br>N. Dir. Tr.V.<br>—Ob. Pr. |
| Proper name<br><i>or</i> | himself                                    | work | do                                   |

|                        |                          |               |                        |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| pəl—ldən—ni<br>N. Erg. | rəŋ—ŋi<br>Refl.Pro. Gen. | ləs<br>N.Dir. | čö—ruk.<br>Tr.V.Ob.Pr. |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|------------------------|

|             |                               |      |    |
|-------------|-------------------------------|------|----|
| Proper name | himself                       | work | do |
|             | Paldan does his work himself. |      |    |

It may, however, be noted that if it is intended to emphasize the reflexivity then the optional deletion is not possible.

|                             |  |                              |                                 |
|-----------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ŋə<br>I.P.Pro.<br>Dir.<br>I | ŋə—rəŋ—ŋi<br>I.P.Refl.Pro.<br>Gen.<br>my | yul—lə<br>N. Dat.<br>village | čhə—ət.<br>Intr.V. Re.Pr.<br>go |
|-----------------------------|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------|

I go only to my own village.

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

|                              |                        |                       |                                 |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ŋə—dəŋ—kho<br>I.P.Pro. Part. | III.P.<br>Pro.<br>Dir. | rəŋ—<br>Refl.<br>Pro. | rəŋ—ŋi<br>Refl.<br>Pro.<br>Gen. | yul—lə<br>N. Dat.<br>village |
| I                            | and                    | he                    | my                              | his                          |
| čhə—ət.<br>Intr. V. Re. Pr.  |                        |                       |                                 |                              |

go He and I go to each ones (own) village.

|                          |                            |                         |                           |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| pəl—ldən—dəŋ<br>N. Part. | —                          | ḍol—mə—dəŋ—<br>N. Part. | dor — rje—yi<br>N. Erg.   |
| Proper name and          |                            | Proper name and         | Proper name               |
| rəŋ —<br>Refl. Pro.      | rəŋ —ŋi<br>Refl. Pro. Gen. | ləs<br>N. Dir.          | čö—ruk.<br>Tr. V. Ob. Pr. |
| himself                  | himself                    | work                    | do                        |

Paldan, Dolma and Dorje do their work themselves.

## 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. rgyəl—lə ‘good’, rde—mo ‘beautiful’. Here rgyəl— and rde— are roots to which formative suffixes —lə 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+čən, e.g. nor—čən ‘wealthy’, rin—čən ‘precious, valuable’ etc. In this sub-class the roots may be free forms. Some speakers change čən → šən after the roots ending in —s, e. g. šuks+čən ~ šuks—šən

- (ii) Root+med—

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

- (iii) Stem+khən

Such adjectives are formed by adding the suffix—khən to the simple perfect form of the verb which acts as



the stem for this type of adjective, e.g. *ḍis* simple perfect form of verb root *ḍi*—‘(to) write’+*khən* derivational suffix = *ḍis — khən* ‘written’.

It may be pointed out that this adjectival suffix—*khən*, is different from the agentive suffix — *khən* (See § 4.7) although they are homophonous. The adjectival suffix —*khən* has a past passive implication, e.g.

|   |           |                 |              |
|---|-----------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>i—yi—ge</i>  | <i>ŋe</i> | <i>ḍis—khən</i> | <i>yin.</i>  |
| Prox. N.Sg.   | I.P.Pro.  | V.Simp. Deri.   | V. to be Pr. |
| Pro. Dir.   | Sg.Gen.   | Perf. Suff.     |              |
| this letter   | my        | written         |              |
| This letter is written by me<br>(lit. is my written one). |           |                 |              |

|                                     |                      |               |            |                |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>ko—re</i>                        | <i>čhəks—khən—ni</i> | <i>nəŋ—ŋə</i> | <i>čə</i>  | <i>mə—ruk.</i> |
| N.                                  | V.Sim. Deri. Gen.    | P.P. Dat. N.  | Neg. Tr.V. |                |
|                                     | Perf. Suf.           | Dir. Suf.     | Imp.       |                |
| cup                                 | cracked              | into          | tea        | pour           |
| Do not pour tea in the cracked cup. |                      |               |            |                |

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

|                               |              |                    |              |             |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>i</i>                      | <i>ŋe</i>    | <i>ḍis—khən—ni</i> | <i>yi—ge</i> | <i>yin.</i> |
| Prox. I.P.                    | V.Sim. Deri. | Gen. N. Dir.       | V. to be Pr. |             |
| Pro. Pro.                     | Perf. Suf.   |                    |              |             |
| Sg. Gen.                      |              |                    |              |             |
| Dir.                          |              |                    |              |             |
| this                          | my           | written            | letter       |             |
| This letter is written by me. |              |                    |              |             |

*Compare*

|                                |                  |                |              |
|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>khon</i>                    | <i>i—spe—čhə</i> | <i>ḍi—khən</i> | <i>yin.</i>  |
| III P.                         | Prox. N.Sg.Dir.  | V. Agent.      | V. to be Pr. |
| Pro.                           | Pro.             | Suf.           |              |
| Hon.Sg.                        |                  |                |              |
| Dir.                           |                  |                |              |
| he                             | this             | book           | writer is    |
| He is the writer of this book. |                  |                |              |

The suffix *-khən* freely varies with *-kən*. There is another suffix *-po* which performs the same semantic and grammatical function as *-khən* and is also added to the simple perfect form of a verb like *-khən*. The only difference between them is that of distribution. *-khən* can be added to any verb while *-po* only to some, like *čhəks-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+*zəm-*

These adjectives are also formed by adding *-zəm-* 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 *-zəm-* qualify the head noun as to its quantum. Thus *i-zəm* 'this much', *ə-zəm* 'that much', *kə-zəm* 'how much' etc.

Adjectives derived by adding *-čən*, *-met*, and *-khən* ~ *-kən* are always qualitative adjectives while the ones derived from *-zug-*, *-zəm-* 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 :

± Dem.Pro.+Noun+Qual. Adj.+Numeral/number suffix+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.  $\text{ṭhug-gu -rom-po - gun-ni.....}$   
 N. Qul.Adj. Pl.Suf.Erg. The fat boys...  
 boy fat
2.  $\text{ṭhug-gu -rom-po - ñis-si.....}$   
 N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Erg. Two fat boys...  
 boy fat two
3.  $\text{i - ṭhug-gu - rom-po-ñis.....}$   
 Prox. N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Dir. These two fat  
 Pro. boys....  
 this boy fat two
4.  $\text{ṛṇṇ-tṇṇ khṇṇ-pṇṇ-rde-mo-ñis-lṇṇ}$  dug-gṇṇ.  
 I.P.Pro. N. Qul.Adj. Numr. Dat. Intr.V.Re.  
 Incl.Pl. Pr.  
 Dir.  
 we house beautiful two live  
 We live in two beautiful houses.
- $\text{ṛṇṇ-tṇṇ khṇṇ-pṇṇ-rde-mo-gun-nṇṇ}$  dug-gṇṇ.  
 I.P.Pro.Incl. N. QulAdj. Pl.Suf. Dat. Intr.V.Re.  
 Pl.Dir. Pr.  
 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:

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

The boys are handsome.

|                  |           |              |
|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| i-ṭhug-gu-gun    | rde-mo    | duk.         |
| Prox. N. Pl.Suf. | Qul.Adj.  | V. to be Pr. |
| Pro. Dir.        |           |              |
| this boy         | beautiful |              |

These boys are handsome.

|                           |            |              |     |
|---------------------------|------------|--------------|-----|
| i-ṭhug-gu-gun             | rom-po-gun | rde-mo       | duk |
| Prox. N. Qul.Adj. Pl.Suf. | Qul.Adj.   | V. to be Pr. |     |
| Pro. Dir.                 |            |              |     |
| this boy                  | fat        | beautiful    |     |

These fat boys are handsome.

|                |          |              |
|----------------|----------|--------------|
| i-ṭhug-gu-ñis  | rde-mo   | duk.         |
| Prox. N. Numr. | Qul.Adj. | V. to be Pr. |
| Pro. Dir.      |          |              |
| this boy       | two      | beautiful    |

These two boys are handsome.

A sentence like ṭhug-gu rgyəl-lə duk is ambiguous in the sense that rgyəl-lə could be a constituent of the noun phrase ṭhug-gu rgyəl-lə '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 ṭhug-gu 'boy', the predicate will be rgyəl-lə 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.

|                      |             |
|----------------------|-------------|
| pu-mo-rom-po-riṅ-mo  | -gun..... ~ |
| N. Qul.Adj. Qul.Adj. | Pl.Suf.Dir. |
| girl fat tall        |             |

or

|                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| pu-mo-riṅ-mo-rom-po- | gun.....               |
| N. Qul.Adj. Qul.Adj. | Pl.Suf.Dir.            |
| girl tall fat        | The tall fat girls.... |

|                      |          |             |
|----------------------|----------|-------------|
| pu-mo-rom-po-kər-po- | riṅ-mo-  | gun.....    |
| N. Qul.Adj. Qul.Adj. | Qul.Adj. | Pl.Suf.Dir. |
| girl fat white       | tall     |             |

The tall fat white girls....

If an adjective occurs in a noun phrase which contains more than one noun conjoined by *deŋ* 'and' or *yə* 'or', the adjective qualifies all the nouns, e.g.

|   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| mi—dəŋ—pu—mo—rde—mo—gun—ni  | Ƙu—təŋ—duk.                     |
| N. Part.  | N. Qul.Adj Pl.Suf. N. Tr.V. Ob. |
|   | Erg. Pr.                        |
| 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.

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| pu—mo—rde—mo—dəŋ—mi—gun—ni   | Ƙu—təŋ—duk. |
| N. Qul. Adj. Part. N. Pl. Suf. N. Tr.V. Ob. Pr.                                  |             |
|  | Erg.        |
| 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   |              |
| rt̚sok—po | Dirty        |
| nək—po    | Black        |
| skəm—po   | Dry          |
| təŋ—po    | Straight     |
| məŋ—po    | Many         |
| čik—po    | Lonely       |
| (b) —pə   |              |
| ʃñiŋ—pə   | Old, Wornout |

|     |             |                                     |
|-----|-------------|-------------------------------------|
|     | skuk—pə     | Stupid                              |
|     | gyəks—pə    | Stout                               |
|     | stoŋ—pə     | Empty                               |
|     | ŋən—pə      | Bad                                 |
|     | žen—pə      | Raw                                 |
| (c) | —mo         |                                     |
|     | khe—mo      | Cheap                               |
|     | riŋ—mo      | Tall                                |
|     | ʔəŋ—mo      | Cold                                |
|     | thuk—mo     | Thick                               |
|     | ʔon—mo      | Hot                                 |
|     | sñiŋ—rʃe—mo | Innocent                            |
| (d) | —mə         |                                     |
|     | so—mə       | New                                 |
|     | rtʂəŋ—mə    | Clean                               |
|     | stod—mə     | Earlier ones, Upper ones            |
| (e) | —wo         |                                     |
|     | žə—wo       | Lame                                |
|     | spə—wo      | Brave                               |
| (f) | —bə         |                                     |
|     | sñon—bə     | Mad                                 |
|     | len—bə      | Slow                                |
| (g) | —ti         |                                     |
|     | yun—ti      | Uneven, Crooked                     |
| (h) | —ʔo         |                                     |
|     | koŋ—ʔo      | Deep                                |
| (i) | —khu        |                                     |
|     | lʃəŋ—khu    | Green                               |
|     | tʂhə—khu    | Salted                              |
| (j) | —lə         |                                     |
|     | rgyəl—lə    | Good                                |
|     | sŋon—lə     | Earlier, Previous                   |
|     | ston—lə     | Pertaining to the month of harvest. |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| (k) —te |   |
| yon—te  | Crooked, Uneven                             |
| yin—te  | Opposite of hard, strong<br>etc. i.e. weak. |
| skən—te | Thick (as of liquid)                        |
| khən—te | Sour  |
| lən—te  | Damp  |
| ṣən—te  | Hard, Strong.                               |

### 30. Derived Qualitative Adjectives :

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

|                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| (a) Root + čən           |               |
| ḍzət—čən                 | Courteous     |
| yon—tən—čən              | Knowledgeable |
| sñi <sub>η</sub> —čən    | Daring        |
| rə <sub>η</sub> —dot—čən | Selfish       |
| ṭot—čən                  | Tasty         |
| (b) Root + med—          |               |
| ḍzəd—met                 | Discourteous  |
| sñi <sub>η</sub> —met    | Timid         |
| šəd—met                  | Weak          |
| ṭən—met                  | Forgetful     |
| stob—met                 | Weak          |
| (c) Stem + khən          |               |
| čhəks—khən               | Broken        |
| ḍis—khən                 | Written       |
| but(s)—khən              | Fallen        |
| rṭsis—khən               | Built         |
| sil—khən                 | Read          |

All qualitative adjectives can function as nouns in Ladakhi, e.g.

|          |                       |
|----------|-----------------------|
| rṭsok—po | so <sub>η</sub> —pin. |
| Qul.Adj. | Intr.V. Pt.           |
| Dir.     | Perf.                 |
| bad      | go                    |

The bad (one) has gone.

|                   |             |                             |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| rt̥sok—po—gun     | soŋ—pin.    |                             |
| Qul. Adj. Pl.Suf. | Intr.V. Pt. |                             |
|                   | Dir.        | Perf.                       |
| bad               | go          | The bad (ones) have gone.   |
| rde—mo—gun        | rt̥se—ruk.  |                             |
| Qul.Adj.Pl.Suf.   | Intr.V.Ob.  |                             |
|                   | Dir.        | Pr.                         |
| good              | dance       | 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.

|                  |                                |               |   |
|------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|---|
| i—zuk—ṭhug—gu—yi | yi—ge                          | ḍi—ruk.       | } |
| Ind.Adj. N. Erg. | N. Dir.                        | Tr.V. Ob. Pr. |   |
| this such boy    | letter                         | read          |   |
| <i>or</i>        |                                |               |   |
| ṭhug—gu—i—zug—gi | yi—ge                          | ḍi—ruk.       | } |
| N. Ind.Adj. Erg. | N. Dir.                        | Tr.V. Ob. Pr. |   |
| boy such         | letter                         | read          |   |
|                  | Such a boy is writing a letter |               |   |

|                          |                                    |          |   |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|----------|---|
| ə—zuk—ṭhug—gu—gun—ni     | spe—čhə—gun                        | sil—duk. | } |
| Ind.Adj. N. Pl. Erg.     | N. Pl.Suf.                         | Tr.V.Ob. |   |
|                          | Dir.                               | Pr.      |   |
| that such boy            | good                               | read     |   |
| <i>or</i>                |                                    |          |   |
| ṭhug—gu—ə—zug—gun—ni     | spe—čhə—gun                        | sil—duk. | } |
| N. Ind.Adj. Pl.Suf. Erg. | N. Pl.Suf.                         | Tr.V.Ob. |   |
|                          | Dir.                               | Pr.      |   |
| boy that such            | book                               | read     |   |
|                          | Those such boys are reading books. |          |   |

|                  |                                       |          |   |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|----------|---|
| i—zəm—o—mə—ə     | kyir—mo—ṭsəm—šik                      | yin ?    | } |
| Ind.Adj. N. Dat. | N. N. Dir.                            | V. to be |   |
| this much milk   | rupee how many                        |          |   |
| <i>or</i>        |                                       |          |   |
| o—mə—i—zəm—mə    | kyir—mo—ṭsəm—šik                      | yin ?    | } |
| N. Ind.Adj.Dat.  | N. N. Dir.                            | V. to be |   |
| milk this much   | rupee how many                        |          |   |
|                  | 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, ə-zuk, o-tə-zuk, te-zuk, kə-zuk, and i-zəm, ə-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.

|                      |             |             |          |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| i-zuk-ṭhug-gu-gun-ni | ni          | spe-čhə-gun | sil-duk. |
| Ind.Adj. N.          | Pl.Suf.Erg. | N. Pl.Suf.  | Tr.V.Ob. |
|                      |             | Dir.        | Pr.      |
| this such boy        |             | book        | read     |

These such boys are reading books.

|                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| i-zuk-ṭhug-gu-gun-ni | i-zuk-ṣpe-čhə-gun |
| Ind.Adj. N.          | Ind.Adj. N.       |
| Pl.Suf.              | Pl.Suf.           |
| Erg.                 | Dir.              |
| such boy             | such book         |
| sil-duk.             |                   |
| Tr.V.Ob.Pr.          |                   |
| read                 |                   |

These such boys are reading these such books.

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

|               |            |              |
|---------------|------------|--------------|
| i-ṭhug-gu-gun | kə-zuk     | duk ?        |
| Prox. N.      | Ind. Adj.  | V. to be Pr. |
| Pl.Suf.       |            |              |
| Pro.          | Dir.       |              |
| this boy      | which such |              |

What kind are these boys ?

|                  |           |              |
|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| i-ṭhug-gu-gun    | i-zuk     | duk.         |
| Prox. N. Pl.Suf. | Ind.Adj.  | V. to be Pr. |
| Pro. Dir.        |           |              |
| this boy         | this such |              |

These boys are of this kind.

Sentences like 'ṭhug-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 -zəm.

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

|                           |         |             |
|---------------------------|---------|-------------|
| ṭhug-gu-i-zuk-rde-mo-e    | spe-čhə | sil-duk.    |
| N. Ind.Adj. Qul.Adj. Erg. | N. Dir. | Tr.V.Ob.Pr. |
| boy this such beautiful   | book    | read        |

Such a beautiful boy reads a book.

|                           |                    |              |
|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| ṭhu-gu-i-zəm-rde-mo-e     | ləs-i-zəm          | -rṭsok-po   |
| N. Ind.Adj. Qul.Adj. Erg. | N. Ind.Adj.        | Qul.Adj.Dir. |
| boy this much beautiful   | work this much bad |              |
| čos.                      |                    |              |
| Tr.V.Simp.Pt.             |                    |              |
| do                        |                    |              |

Such a beautiful boy did such a bad work.

Some qualitative adjectives function as adverbs, e.g.

|            |         |          |              |
|------------|---------|----------|--------------|
| ṭhug-gu-yi | spe-čhə | rgyəl-lə | sil-duk.     |
| N. Erg.    | N. Dir. | Qul.Adj. | Tr.V. Ob.Pr. |
| boy        | book    | good     | read         |

The boy reads the book well.

|            |         |           |               |
|------------|---------|-----------|---------------|
| ṭhug-gu-yi | spe-čhə | rṭsok-po | sil-duk.      |
| N. Erg.    | N. Dir. | Qul.Adj.  | Tr.V. Ob. Pr. |
| boy        | book    | bad       | read          |

The boy reads the book badly.

Indicative adjectives can also function as adverbs, e.g.

|                  |               |         |                       |
|------------------|---------------|---------|-----------------------|
| ṭhug—gu—rde—mo—e | spe—čhə       | i—zuk   | sil—duk.              |
| N.               | Qul.Adj. Erg. | N. Dir. | Ind.Adj. Tr.V.Ob. Pr. |
| boy              | good          | book    | this such read        |

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

|                  |               |         |                       |
|------------------|---------------|---------|-----------------------|
| ṭhug—gu—rde—mo—e | spe—čhə       | kə—zuk  | sil—duk ?             |
| N.               | Qul.Adj. Erg. | N. Dir. | Ind.Adj. Tr.V.Ob. Pr. |
| boy              | good          | book    | which such read       |

In what manner does the handsome boy read the book ?

|           |                 |   |   |
|-----------|-----------------|---|---|
| i—zuk     | mə—di           | } | Do not write in this manner,<br>write in this manner. |
| Ind.Adj.  | Neg. Tr.V.Imp.  |   |   |
| this such | write           |   |   |
| i—zuk     | dis.            | } | Do not eat this much, eat that<br>much.               |
| Ind.Adj.  | Tr.V.Imp.       |   |   |
| this such | write           |   |   |
| i—zəm     | mə—zo           | } | Do not eat this much, eat that<br>much.               |
| Ind. Adj. | Neg. Tr. V.Imp. |   |   |
| this much | eat             |   |   |
| ə—zəm     | zo.             | } | Do not eat this much, eat that<br>much.               |
| Ind. Adj. | Tr. V. Imp.     |   |   |
| that much | eat             |   |   |

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 —zəm—.

### 32. Intensifier mə—

Ladakhi has an intensifier particle mə— which is added only before the qualitative adjectives and gives an intensifying meaning, e.g.

|          |      |   |             |           |
|----------|------|---|-------------|-----------|
| rgyəl—lə | Good | : | mə—rgyəl—lə | Very good |
| riṅ—mo   | Tall | : | mə—riṅ—mo   | Very tall |

The intensifier plus adjective function as one unit. There can be more than one intensified adjectives in a noun phrase, e.g.

|                   |                  |                |                    |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| i-ṭhug-gu-        | mə-rgyäl-lə-     |                | mə-riŋ-mo          |
| Prox.             | N.               | Inten.Qul.Adj. | Inten.Qul.Adj.Dir. |
| Pro.              |                  |                |                    |
| this              | boy              | very good      | very tall          |
| -mə-rom-po-gun-ni | spe-rə-mə-məŋ-po |                |                    |
| Inten.Qul.Adj.    | Pl.Suf.Erg.      | N.             | Inten.Qul.Adj.Dir. |
| Very fat          |                  | talk           | very much          |
| təŋ-duk.          |                  |                |                    |
| Tr. V. Ob. Pr.    |                  |                |                    |
| give              |                  |                |                    |

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

### 33. Numerals

It has been state dearlier 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.

|              |             |                  |
|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| pu-mo-gun-lə |             |                  |
| N.           | Pl.Suf.Dat. |                  |
| girl         |             | To the girls     |
| pu-mo-ñis-lə |             |                  |
| N.           | Numr. Dat.  |                  |
| girl         | two         | To the two girls |

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

|                     |               |                             |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| pu-mo-rde-mo-gun-lə |               |                             |
| N.                  | Qul.Adj.      | Pl.Suf.Dat.                 |
| girl                | beautiful     | To the beautiful girls      |
| pu-mo-rde-mo-ñis-lə |               |                             |
| N.                  | Qul.Adj.      | Numr. Dat.                  |
| girl                | beautiful two | To the two beautiful girls. |

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—ri $\eta$ —mo—rde—mo— | gun—lə       |
| N. Qul.Adj. Qul.Adj.        | Pl.Suf. Dat. |
| girl tall beautiful         |              |

or

|                      |                |        |
|----------------------|----------------|--------|
| pu—mo—rde—mo—        | ri $\eta$ —mo— | gun—lə |
| N. Qul.Adj. Qul.Adj. | Pl.Suf. Dat.   |        |
| 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  | ri $\eta$ —mo | duk.         |
| N. Qul.Adj. Pl.Suf. | Qul.Adj.      | V. to be Pr. |
|                     | 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          |
| N. Qul.Adj. Pl.Suf. | Numr. | V. to be Pr. |
| 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 :

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| lət—skor     | Zero  |
| čik          | One   |
| ñis          | Two   |
| sum          | Three |
| ži           | Four  |
| ʂŋə ~ ŋə     | Five  |
| ʈuk          | Six   |
| dun ~ rdun   | Seven |
| gyət ~ rgyət | Eight |
| gu ~ rgu     | Nine  |
| ču           | 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 *thəm—bə*. (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:

| čik          | One |  |
|--------------|-----|--|
| —šik ~ čik   |     | in compounds after <i>ton—</i> ‘seventy’.  |
| —kšik        |     | in compounds after <i>žə—</i> ‘forty’, <i>rə—</i> ‘sixty’.   |
| —kšik ~ —čik |     | in compounds after <i>ču—</i> ‘ten’, <i>rtšə—</i> ‘twenty’, <i>so—</i> ‘thirty’, <i>ŋə—</i> ‘fifty’, <i>gyə—</i> ~ <i>kyə—</i> ‘eighty’, <i>go—</i> ‘ninety’.                            |
| —čik         |     | in compounds after <i>ñer—</i> , ‘twenty’, <i>žə—</i> ‘forty’, <i>re—</i> ‘sixty’, before and after <i>rgyə—</i> ‘hundred’ and as an independent cardinal number.                        |
| škyəŋ—       |     | before <i>—ldəp</i> ‘... times’ and <i>—ltəp</i> ‘...fold’.  |
| ñis          | Two |  |
| ñi—          |     | in compounds before <i>—šu</i> ‘ten’ and <i>—brgyə</i> ‘hundred’.  |
| —gñis        |     | in compounds after <i>žə—</i> ‘forty’, <i>rə—</i> ‘sixty’.   |
| —gñis ~ —ñis |     | in compounds after <i>ču—</i> ‘ten’, <i>rtšə—</i> ‘twenty’, <i>so—</i> ‘thirty’, <i>ŋə—</i> ‘fifty’, <i>gyə—</i> ~ <i>kyə—</i> ‘eighty’, <i>go—</i> ‘ninety’.                            |
| —ñis         |     | in compounds after <i>ñer—</i> , ‘twenty’, <i>žə—</i> ‘forty’, <i>re—</i> ‘sixty’, <i>ton—</i> ‘seventy’, before and after <i>rgyə—</i> ‘hundred’ and as an independent cardinal number. |

- ñis in compounds after tshər—‘times (temporal)’, and sor—‘one finger measurement.’
- sum Three
- ksum in compounds after žə—‘forty’, rə—‘sixty’.
- ksum ~ sum in compounds after ču—‘ten’, rtsə—‘twenty’, so—‘thirty’, ηə—‘fifty’, gyə—~kyə—‘eighty’, go—‘ninety’.
- sum in compounds after ñer—‘twenty’, že—‘forty’, re—‘sixty’, ton—‘seventy’, before and after rgyə ‘hundred’ and as an independent cardinal number.
- ži Four
- bži in compounds after žə—, ‘forty’, rə—‘sixty’.
- bži ~ —ži in compounds after ču—‘ten’, rtsə—‘twenty’, so—‘thirty’, ηə—‘fifty’, gyə—~kyə—‘eighty’, go ‘ninety’.
- ži in compounds after ñer—‘twenty’, že—‘forty’, re—‘sixty’, ton—‘seventy’, before—rgyə~—brgyə ‘hundred’ and after rgyə—‘hundred’, and as an independent cardinal number.
- ʂηə ~ ηə Five
- ηə in compounds after čo—‘ten’, ñer—‘twenty’, že—‘forty’, re—‘sixty’.
- ʂηə in compounds after rə—‘sixty’, go—~ko—‘ninety’, before—rgyə~—brgyə and after rgyə—.



|  |       |   |
|--|-------|---|
| — $\text{ṣ}\eta\text{ə} \sim \eta\text{ə}$ |       | in compounds after $\text{rtṣə}$ —‘twenty’, so—‘thirty’, $\text{žə}$ —‘forty’, $\eta\text{ə}$ —‘fifty’, $\text{ton}$ —‘seventy’, $\text{gyə}$ — $\sim \text{kyə}$ —‘eighty’, and as an independent cardinal number. |
| $\text{ṭuk}$                               | Six   |   |
| — $\text{ruk}$                             |       | in compounds after $\text{žə}$ —‘forty’, $\text{rə}$ —‘sixty’.  |
| — $\text{ṭuk} \sim$ — $\text{ruk}$         |       | in compounds after $\text{ču}$ —‘ten’, $\text{rtṣə}$ —‘twenty’, so—‘thirty’. $\eta\text{ə}$ —‘fifty’, $\text{ton}$ —‘seventy’, $\text{gyə}$ — $\sim \text{kyə}$ —‘eighty’, $\text{go}$ —‘ninety’.                   |
| — $\text{ṭuk}$                             |       | in compounds after $\text{ñer}$ —‘twenty’, $\text{že}$ —‘forty’, $\text{re}$ —‘sixty’, before and after $\text{rgyə}$ —‘hundred’ and as an independent cardinal number.   |
| $\text{dun} \sim \text{rdun}$              | Seven |   |
| — $\text{dun}$                             |       | in compounds after $\text{ñer}$ —‘twenty’, $\text{že}$ —‘forty’, $\text{re}$ —‘sixty’, $\text{ton}$ —‘seventy’, and before and after $\text{rgyə}$ —‘hundred’.  |
| — $\text{bdun}$                            |       | in compounds after $\text{žə}$ —‘forty’, $\text{rə}$ —‘sixty’.  |
| — $\text{bdun} \sim$ — $\text{dun}$        |       | in compounds after $\text{ču}$ —‘ten’, $\text{rtṣə}$ —‘twenty’, so—‘thirty’, $\eta\text{ə}$ —‘fifty’, $\text{gyə}$ — $\sim \text{kyə}$ —‘eighty’, $\text{go}$ —‘ninety’.  |
| $\text{dun} \sim \text{rdun}$              |       | as an independent cardinal number.  |
| $\text{rgyət}$                             | Eight |   |
| — $\text{brgyət}$                          |       | in compounds after $\text{žə}$ —‘forty’, $\text{rə}$ —‘sixty’.  |
| $\text{rgyət} \sim$ — $\text{brgyət}$      |       | in compounds after $\text{čo}$ —‘ten’, $\text{rtṣə}$ —‘twenty’, so—‘thirty’,  |

ηə—'fifty', gyə— ~ kyə—'eighty',  
go—'ninety'.

—gyət

in compounds before and after  
rgyə—'hundred'.

gyə—

in compounds before —brgyə

—rgyət

in compounds after ñer—  
'twenty', že—'forty', re—'sixty',  
ton—'seventy' and as an in-  
dependent cardinal number.

gu ~ rgu

Nine

—rgu

in compounds after žə—'forty',  
rə—'sixty'.

—gu

in compounds after ñer—  
'twenty', že—'forty', re—'sixty',  
ton—'seventy', rgyə—'hundred'.  
and before —rgyə ~ —brgyə  
'hundred'.

—gu ~ —rgu

in compounds after čo—'ten',  
rtšə—'twenty', so—'thirty', ηə—  
'fifty', gyə— ~ kyə—'eighty', go—  
'ninety', and as an independent  
cardinal number.

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

ču

Ten

—šu

in compounds after ñi—'two'.

—bču

in compounds after ži—'four',  
sηə— ~ ηə—'five', gu—'nine'.

čo—

in compounds before—ηə 'five',  
—gu ~ —rgu 'nine', —rgyət ~  
—brgyət 'eight'.

ču

elsewhere.

|  |        |   |
|--|--------|---|
| ñi—šu<br>rtsə                                      | Twenty | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.               |
| ñer  |        | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.               |
| ñi—šu<br>sum—ču<br>so                              | Thirty | elsewhere.<br>in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9. |
| sum—ču<br>ži—ču ~<br>ži—bču<br>žə ~ že             | Forty  | elsewhere.<br>in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9. |
| ži—ču ~<br>ži—bču                                  |        | elsewhere.  |
| ʃηə—ču ~<br>ʃηə—bču ~<br>ηə—ču ~<br>ηə—bču ~<br>ηə | Fifty  | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.               |
| ʃηə—čuə ~<br>ʃηə—bču ~<br>ηə—ču ~<br>ηə—bču        |        | elsewhere.  |
| ʈuk—ču<br>rə— ~ re                                 | Sixty  | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9.               |
| ʈuk—ču   |        | elsewhere   |

|         |         |   |
|---------|---------|---|
| dun—čũ  | Seventy |   |
| ton     |         | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9. |
| dun—čũ  |         | elsewhere.  |
| gyət—čũ | Eighty  |   |
| gyə     |         | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9. |
| kyə     |         | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9. |
| gyət—čũ |         | elsewhere.  |
| gu—čũ ~ | Ninety  |   |
| gu—bčũ  |         |   |
| go      |         | in compounds before the appropriate allomorphs of the forms of numerals 1 to 9. |
| ko      |         | in compounds before—ŋə  |
| gu—čũ ~ |         | elsewhere.  |
| gu—bčũ  |         |   |

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

|                  |        |
|------------------|--------|
| čik              | One    |
| ñis              | Two    |
| sum              | Three  |
| ži               | Four   |
| ʂŋə ~ ŋə         | Five   |
| ʃuk              | Six    |
| dun ~ rdun       | Seven  |
| rgyət            | Eight  |
| gu ~ rgu         | Nine   |
| čũ ~ rčũ         | Ten    |
| čũ—čik ~ čũ—kšik | Eleven |
| čũ—ñis ~ čũ—gñis | Twelve |

|  |   |              |
|--|---|--------------|
| ču—sum ~ ču—ksum                           |   | Thirteen     |
| ču—ži ~ ču—bži                             |   | Fourteen     |
| čo—ηə                                      |   | Fifteen      |
| ču—tuk ~ ču—ruk                            |   | Sixteen      |
| ču—dun ~ ču—bdun                           |   | Seventeen    |
| čo—rgyət ~ čo—brgyət                       |   | Eighteen     |
| čo—gu ~ čo—rgu                             |   | Nineteen     |
| ñi—šu                                      |   | Twenty       |
| rt̚sə—čik ~ rt̚sə—kšik ~<br>ñer—čik        | } | Twenty-one   |
| rt̚sə—ñis ~ rt̚sə—gñis ~<br>ñer—ñis        | } | Twenty-two   |
| rt̚sə—sum ~ rt̚sə—ksum ~<br>ñer—sum        | } | Twenty-three |
| rt̚se—ži ~ rt̚sə—bži ~<br>ñer—ži           | } | Twenty-four  |
| rt̚sə—ηə ~ rt̚sə—s̚ηə ~<br>ñer—ηe          | } | Twenty-five  |
| rt̚sə—tuk ~ rt̚sə—ruk ~<br>ñer—tuk         | } | Twenty-six   |
| rt̚sə—dun ~ rt̚sə—bdun ~<br>ñer—dun        | } | Twenty-seven |
| rt̚sə—rgyət ~ rt̚sə—<br>brgyət ~ ñer—rgyət | } | Twenty-eight |
| rt̚sə—gu ~ rt̚sə—rgu ~<br>ñer—gu           | } | Twenty-nine  |
| sum—ču                                     |   | Thirty       |
| so—čik ~ so—kšik                           |   | Thirty-one   |
| so—ñis ~ so—gñis                           |   | Thirty-two   |
| so—sum ~ so—ksum                           |   | Thirty-three |
| so—ži ~ so—bži                             |   | Thirty-four  |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| so— <i>ŋə</i> ~ so— <i>ʃŋə</i>                                   | Thirty-five  |
| so— <i>ʃuk</i> ~ so— <i>ruk</i>                                  | Thirty-six   |
| so— <i>dun</i> ~ so— <i>bdun</i>                                 | Thirty-seven |
| so— <i>rgyət</i> ~ so— <i>brgyət</i>                             | Thirty-eight |
| so— <i>gu</i> ~ so— <i>rgu</i>                                   | Thirty-nine  |
| <i>ʒi—ču</i> ~ <i>ʒi—bču</i>                                     | Forty        |
| <i>ʒe—čik</i> ~ <i>ʒə—kšik</i>                                   | Forty-one    |
| <i>ʒe—ñis</i> ~ <i>ʒə—gñis</i>                                   | Forty-two    |
| <i>ʒe—sum</i> ~ <i>ʒə—ksum</i>                                   | Forty-three  |
| <i>ʒe—ʒi</i> ~ <i>ʒə—bʒi</i>                                     | Forty-four   |
| <i>ʒe—ŋə</i> ~ <i>ʒə—ŋə</i>                                      | Forty-five   |
| <i>ʒe—ʃuk</i> ~ <i>ʒə—ruk</i>                                    | Forty-six    |
| <i>ʒe—dun</i> ~ <i>ʒə—bdun</i>                                   | Forty-seven  |
| <i>ʒe—rgyət</i> ~ <i>ʒə—brgyət</i>                               | Forty-eight  |
| <i>ʒe—gu</i> ~ <i>ʒə—rgu</i>                                     | Forty-nine   |
| <i>ʃŋə—ču</i> ~ <i>ʃŋə—bču</i> ~<br><i>ŋə—ču</i> ~ <i>ŋə—bču</i> | Fifty        |
| <i>ŋə—čik</i> ~ <i>ŋə—kšik</i>                                   | Fifty-one    |
| <i>ŋə—ñis</i> ~ <i>ŋə—gñis</i>                                   | Fifty-two    |
| <i>ŋə—sum</i> ~ <i>ŋə—ksum</i>                                   | Fifty-three  |
| <i>ŋə—ʒi</i> ~ <i>ŋə—bʒi</i>                                     | Fifty-four   |
| <i>ŋə—ʃŋə</i> ~ <i>ŋə—ŋə</i>                                     | Fifty-five   |
| <i>ŋə—ʃuk</i> ~ <i>ŋə—ruk</i>                                    | Fifty-six    |
| <i>ŋə—dun</i> ~ <i>ŋə—bdun</i>                                   | Fifty-seven  |
| <i>ŋə—rgyət</i> ~ <i>ŋə—brgyət</i>                               | Fifty-eight  |
| <i>ŋə—gu</i> ~ <i>ŋə—rgu</i>                                     | Fifty-nine   |
| <i>ʃuk—ču</i>  | Sixty        |
| <i>re—čik</i> ~ <i>rə—kšik</i>                                   | Sixty-one    |
| <i>re—ñis</i> ~ <i>rə—gñis</i>                                   | Sixty-two    |
| <i>re—sum</i> ~ <i>rə—ksum</i>                                   | Sixty-three  |
| <i>re—ʒi</i> ~ <i>rə—bʒi</i>                                     | Sixty-four   |
| <i>re—ŋə</i> ~ <i>rə</i> ~ <i>ʃŋə</i>                            | Sixty-five   |
| <i>re—ʃuk</i> ~ <i>rə—ruk</i>                                    | Sixty-six    |
| <i>re—dun</i> ~ <i>rə—bdun</i>                                   | Sixty-seven  |

|  |   |               |
|--|---|---------------|
| re—rgyət ~ rə—brgyət                               |   | Sixty-eight   |
| re—gu ~ rə—rgu                                     |   | Sixty-nine    |
| dun—ču   |   | Seventy       |
| ton—čik ~ ton—šik                                  |   | Seventy-one   |
| ton—ñis  |   | Seventy-two   |
| ton—sum  |   | Seventy-three |
| ton—ži   |   | Seventy-four  |
| ton—ηə ~ ton—şηə                                   |   | Seventy-five  |
| ton—tuk ~ ton—ruk                                  |   | Seventy-six   |
| ton—dun  |   | Seventy-seven |
| ton—rgyət  |   | Seventy-eight |
| ton—gu   |   | Seventy-nine  |
| gyət—ču  |   | Eighty        |
| gyə—čik ~ gyə—kšik ~<br>kyə—čik ~ kyə—kšik         | } | Eighty-one    |
| gyə—ñis ~ gyə—gñis ~<br>kyə—ñis ~ kyə—gñis         | } | Eighty-two    |
| gyə—sum ~ gyə—ksum ~<br>kyə—sum ~ kyə—ksum         | } | Eighty-three  |
| gyə—ži ~ gyə—bži ~<br>kyə—ži ~ kyə—bži             | } | Eighty-four   |
| gyə—ηə ~ gyə—şηə ~<br>kyə—ηə ~ kyə—şηə             | } | Eighty-five   |
| gyə—tuk ~ gyə—ruk ~<br>kyə—tuk ~ kyə—ruk           | } | Eighty-six    |
| gyə—dun ~ gyə—bdun ~<br>kyə—dun ~ kyə—bdun         | } | Eighty-seven  |
| gyə—rgyət ~ gyə—brgyət ~<br>kyə—rgyət ~ kyə—brgyət | } | Eighty-eight  |
| gyə—gu ~ gyə—rgu ~<br>kyə—gu ~ kyə—rgu             | } | Eighty-nine   |
| gu—ču ~ gu—bču                                     |   | Ninety        |

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| go—čik ~ go—kšik     | Ninety-one   |
| go—ñis ~ go—gñis     | Ninety-two   |
| go—sum ~ go—ksum     | Ninety-three |
| go—ži ~ go—bži       | Ninety-four  |
| go—ŋə ~ ko—ŋə        | Ninety-five  |
| go—ɬuk ~ go—ruk      | Ninety-six   |
| go—dun ~ go—bdun     | Ninety-seven |
| go—rgyət ~ go—brgyət | Ninety-eight |
| go—gu ~ go—rgu       | Ninety-nine  |

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.

|      |        |        |                   |
|------|--------|--------|-------------------|
| lo   | —skor  | —čik   |                   |
| year | twelve | one    | Twelve years      |
| lo   | —sum   | —skor  |                   |
| year | three  | twelve | Thirty-six years  |
| lo   | —ɬuk   | —skor  |                   |
| year | six    | twelve | Seventy-two years |

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—ŋə—skor* becomes *ŋə—skor* 'sixty' years.

*Examples :*

|              |      |          |  |              |
|--------------|------|----------|--|--------------|
| 1.           | ŋe   | ɬug—gu—ə | lo—skor  | non—te       |
| I.P.Pro Sg.  |      | N. Dat.  | N. Numr.   | V. St. Pref. |
|              | Gen. |          | Dir.   | Parti.       |
|              | my   | boy      | year twelve  | complete     |
|              | yin. |          |  |              |
| V. to be Pr. |      |          | My child is twelve years old<br>(lit. My child, having completed<br>twelve years, is). |              |



|              |        |            |                    |
|--------------|--------|------------|--------------------|
| 2. kho—e     | ə—mə   | ʈuk—skor   | non—te             |
| III.P.Pro.   | N.Dir. | Numr.      | V.St. Perf. Parti. |
| Sg.Gen.      |        |            |                    |
| his          | mother | six twelve | complete           |
| 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 rgyə 'hundred' :

|              |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|
| čig—rgyə     |                   |
| one hundred  | One hundred       |
| ñis—rgyə     |                   |
| two hundred  | Two hundred       |
| ʈug—rgyə     |                   |
| six hundred  | Six hundred       |
| gu—rgyə      |                   |
| nine hundred | Nine hundred etc. |

Sometimes these can also be formed by using the item for 1 to 9 after rgyə 'hundred', e.g. rgyə—ñis 'two hundred', rgyə—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.

rgyə 'hundred', by itself, i.e. without čik 'one', can also be used for one hundred.

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

|                                |             |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| rgyə ~ čig—rgyə ~ rgyə—čik     | One hundred |
| ñis—rgyə ~ ñi—brgyə ~ rgyə—ñis | Two hundred |

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| sum—rgyā ~ rgyā—sum  | Three hundred |
| ži—rgyā ~ ži—brgyā ~ rgyā—ži   | Four hundred  |
| ṣṇā—rgyā ~ ṇā—rgyā ~<br>ṣṇā—brgyā ~ ṇā—brgyā ~<br>rgyā—ṣṇā ~ rgyā—ṇā | Five hundred  |
| ṭug—rgyā ~ rgyā—ṭuk  | Six hundred   |
| dun—rgyā ~ rgyā—dun  | Seven hundred |
| gyät—rgyā ~ gyät—brgyät ~<br>rgyā—gyät                               | Eight hundred |
| gu—rgyā ~ gu—brgyā ~<br>rgyā—gu                                      | Nine hundred  |
| čü—rgyā ~ rgyā—čü  | 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—rgyā—dāṇ—ñis<br>one hundred-and-two              | One hundred and two.              |
| ñis—rgyā—dāṇ—so—ksum<br>two—hundred—and—thirty-three | Two hundred and thirty-three.     |
| ži—brgyā—dāṇ—ṭuk—čü<br>four-hundred—and—sixty        | Four hundred and sixty.           |
| gu—rgyā—dāṇ—go—rgu<br>nine-hundred—and—ninety-nine   | Nine hundred and ninety nine etc. |

Ladakhi speakers have been heard to drop *dāṇ* 'and' from such constructions, but rarely. *dāṇ* 'and' freely varies with *nāṇ* 'and'.

As *čig—rgyā* 'one hundred' has an alternative form *rgyā* 'hundred', numerals above hundred can be formed alternatively by using *rgyā* for hundred, e.g.

|   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| čig—rgyā—dāṇ—čik<br>one—hundred—and—one                 | One hundred and one.           |
| rgyā—dāṇ—čik<br>hundred—and—one                         | One hundred and one.           |
| čig—rgyā—dāṇ—ton—rgyät<br>one—hundred—and—seventy—eight | One hundred and seventy-eight. |

*rgyə—dəŋ—ton—rgyət* One hundred and  
*hundred—and—seventy—eight* 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 ‘*dəŋ*’ is not used, e.g.

*ñis—rgyə—ži* 204  
*two—hundred—four*  
*ži—rgyə—tuk* 406  
*four-hundred-six*

The following are the forms for other important numerals :

|                |              |                                    |
|----------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>ston</i>    | 1,000        | Thousand                           |
| <i>t̥hi</i>    | 10,000       | Ten thousand                       |
| <i>bum</i>     | 1,00,000     | Lakh (hundred thousand)            |
| <i>sə—yə</i>   | 10,00,000    | Ten lakhs or million               |
| <i>čc—wə</i>   | 1,00,00,000  | Crore or Ten million               |
| <i>tuŋ—cur</i> | 10,00,00,000 | Ten crores or one hundred million. |

It may be mentioned that numerals above one thousand can be referred to only as (one thousand and X), e.g.

*čik—ston—ñis—rgyə—dəŋ—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.

|  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| <i>čik—pə</i>                          | First                   |
| <i>gu—pə ~ rgu—pə</i>                  | Ninth                   |
| <i>ču—pə</i>                           | Tenth                   |
| <i>rgyə—pə</i>                         | Hundredth               |
| <i>čig—rgyə—dəŋ—</i><br><i>xi:k—pe</i> | }<br>One hundred-first. |

As far as 'first' is concerned there are three different forms čik—pə, 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    | ʒeps         | ñis—pə    |
|    | Ord. Numr. | Ord.Numr. | III.P. | Intr.V.      | Ord.Numr. |
|    |            |           | Pro.   | Simp.        |           |
|    |            |           | Sig.   | Perf.        |           |
|    |            |           | Dir.   |              |           |
|    | first      | first     | he     | arrive       | second    |
|    | ŋə         | sum—pə    |        | pəl—ldən.    |           |
|    | I.P.Pro.   | Ord.Numr. |        | N. Dir.      |           |
|    | Sg.Dir.    |           |        |              |           |
|    | I          | third     |        | Paldan       |           |
|    |            |           |        | Proper name. |           |
- First (of all) he came, then I, and then Paldan.

- |    |             |                     |                |         |
|----|-------------|---------------------|----------------|---------|
| 2. | təŋ—po      | zəm—pə              | ñis—pə         | lčəŋ—mə |
|    | Ord.Numr.   | N. Dir.             | Ord.Numr.      | N.Dir.  |
|    | first       | bridge              | second         | tree    |
|    | sum—pə      | khəŋ—pə—thon—po—žik |                | te—ne   |
|    | Ord.Numr.   | N.                  | Qul.Adj. Numr. | Parti.  |
|    |             |                     | Dir.           |         |
|    | third       | house               | high           | a       |
|    | ʒəp—tə—khəŋ | yot.                |                | then    |
|    | 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 | kə—ne     | ʃpe—čhə—təŋ—po | khyoŋ.                  |
| N. Gen.    | P.P. Abl. | N.             | Ord.Numr.Dir. Tr.V.Imp. |
| table      | on        | book           | first bring             |
- Bring the first book from the top of the table.



ʃpe—čhə  
N.Dir.  
book

rgyəl—lə  
Qul. Adj.  
good

mi—ruk.  
Neg. V. to be Pr.

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.—kə is used after the cardinal numerals.

*Examples:*

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| ñis—kə | Both         |
| ʒi—kə  | All the four |
| ču—kə  | All the ten  |

*Example:*

|                  |                      |                          |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| ŋə—ʒə—           | ñis—kə               | kho—sum—kə               |
| I. P. Pro.       | Agg.Num.             | III.P. Agg.Numr.Dir      |
| Incl.            | Dir.                 | Pro.                     |
| we               | both                 | they three               |
| ʃhit—te          | ñe—ʒə—ʒi—kə—yot—sə—ə |                          |
| V.St.Parf.Parti. | II.P.Pro.            | Agg. V. to be—place—Dat. |
|                  | Hon.                 | Numr.                    |
| take having      | you                  | four the place where     |
| yŋ—ŋin.          |                      |                          |
| 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:

ʒi—zur (lit. ʒi 'four', zur 'part')

or ʒi—čhə—čik(ʒi 'four', čhə 'part', čik 'one') 'one fourth'.  
zur meaning 'part' collocates only with ʒi 'four', while —čhə  
'part' can be used with any other numeral.

|                               |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| phyet                         | Half         |
| ži—čhə—sum<br>four part three | Three-fourth |
| sum—čhə—čik<br>three part one | One-third    |
| sum—čhə—ñis<br>three part two | Two-third    |

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 ži—zur 'one-fourth' and phyet '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 phyed—'half' followed by the word dəŋ '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:

|                                 |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| phyed—dəŋ—ñis<br>half and two   | Half less two, i.e. one and a half |
| phyed—dəŋ—sum<br>half and three | Two and a half                     |
| phyed—dəŋ—gu<br>half and nine   | Eight and a half                   |

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 dəŋ 'and' and the appropriate item fraction. dəŋ freely varies with təŋ 'and'.

*Examples:*

čig—dəŋ—ži—zur  
one and four part

or

čig—dəŋ—ži—čhə—čik  
one and four part one

$1\frac{1}{4}$

čig—dəŋ—ži—čhə—sum  
one and four part three

$1\frac{3}{4}$

sum—dəŋ—ži—čhə—čik  
three and four part one

$3\frac{1}{4}$

ʂŋə—dəŋ—ži—čhə—sum  
five and four part three

$5\frac{3}{4}$

čig—dəŋ—sum—čhə—čik  
one and three part one

$1\frac{1}{3}$

čig—dəŋ—sum—čhə—ñis  
one and three part two

$1\frac{2}{3}$

ʂug—dəŋ—sum—čhə—čik  
six and three part one

$6\frac{1}{3}$

gu—dəŋ—sum—čhə—ñis  
nine and three part two

$9\frac{2}{3}$

Other fractions are formed in the same manner. Thus  $5\frac{3}{5}$  will be ʂŋə—čhə—sum ‘five part three’.

**38. Multiplicative Numerals**

There are two suffixes —ldəb— ‘... times’ and —ltəb— ‘... fold’, in Ladakhi. They are added after the cardinal forms of the numerals.

*Examples :*

ʂkyəŋ—ldəp

Once, single

ñis—ldəp

Two times, double

rgyət—ldəp

Eight times

rgyə—ldəp

Hundred times



Example :

|               |         |           |               |
|---------------|---------|-----------|---------------|
| l. mər—nəg—gə | rin     | ñis—ldəp  | dzəks—tok.    |
| N. Dat.       | N. Dir. | Mul.Numr. | Intr. V. Att. |
|               |         |           | Inf.          |

oil price double increase

Oil's price has increased two times.

In the sense of '.....fold' *ltəb—* is used, e.g.

|            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| ṣkyəŋ—ltəp | One-fold  |
| žī—ltəp    | Four-fold |
| ṣŋə—ltəp   | Five-fold |

Example :

|       |         |            |             |
|-------|---------|------------|-------------|
| i —   | rəṣ—po  | sum—ltəp   | čos.        |
| Prox. | N. Dir. | Mul. Numr. | Tr. V. Imp. |
| Pro.  |         |            |             |
| this  | cloth   | three-fold | do          |

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 *ṣəm—šik* or *žik* 'about' (in terms of quantity). Sometimes *phəl—čher* 'about' is also used before the numeral, e.g.

|            |                     |   |            |
|------------|---------------------|---|------------|
|            | ṣŋə—žik ~           | } | About five |
|            | ṣŋə—ṣəm—šik ~       |   |            |
| phəl—čher— | ṣŋə—ṣəm—šik         |   |            |
|            | about five how much |   |            |

|            |                    |   |           |
|------------|--------------------|---|-----------|
|            | ču—žik ~           | } | About ten |
|            | ču—ṣəm—šik ~       |   |           |
| phəl—čher— | ču—ṣəm—šik         |   |           |
|            | about ten how much |   |           |

The approximative phrase is also formed by using two numerals. In such cases, the two numerals are used followed

by  $\text{ṭsəm}—\text{ʃik}$  or  $\text{ṭsəm}$ , or  $\text{ʃik}$ .  $\text{phəl}—\text{čher}$  'about' can also be used before the first numeral, e.g.

|   |   |                         |
|---|---|-------------------------|
| $\text{ñis}—\text{sum}—\text{ʃik} \sim$                                 | } | About two (to)<br>three |
| $\text{phəl}—\text{čher}—\text{ñis}—\text{sum}—\text{ʃik} \sim$         |   |                         |
| $\text{ñis}—\text{sum}—\text{ṭsəm} \sim$                               |   |                         |
| $\text{phəl}—\text{čher}—\text{ñis}—\text{sum}—\text{ṭsəm} \sim$       |   |                         |
| $\text{ñis}—\text{sum}—\text{ṭsəm}—\text{ʃik} \sim$                    |   |                         |
| $\text{phəl}—\text{čher}—\text{ñis}—\text{sum}—\text{ṭsəm}—\text{ʃik}$ |   |                         |
| about two three how Ind.<br>much Art.                                   |   |                         |

It may be noted that in such constructions consecutive numerals are used and only in ascending order, i.e.

|                                       |                 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| $\text{ñis}—\text{sum}—\text{ṭsəm}$  | About two-three |
| two three how much                    |                 |
| $\text{ʃɨə}—\text{ṭuk}—\text{ṭsəm}$ | About five-six  |
| five six how much                     |                 |

Only two constructions with non-consecutive numerals in ascending order are used, e.g.

|                                       |                       |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| $\text{ʃi}—\text{rgyət}—\text{ṭsəm}$ | About four (to) eight |
| four eight how much                   |                       |
| $\text{ʃɨə}—\text{rdun}—\text{ṭsəm}$ | About five (to) seven |
| five seven how much                   |                       |

Such constructions are normally used only upto numeral 'ten'. After 'ten' such constructions are used only for decade series, e.g.

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| $\text{ču}—\text{ṭsəm}—\text{ʃik}$             | About ten    |
| ten how Ind. Art.<br>much                       |              |
| $\text{ñi}—\text{ʃu}—\text{ṭsəm}—\text{ʃik}$   | About twenty |
| twenty how Ind. Art.<br>much                    |              |
| $\text{ṭuk}—\text{ču}—\text{ṭsəm}—\text{ʃik}$ | About sixty  |
| sixty how Ind. Art.<br>much                     |              |
| $\text{gu}—\text{ču}—\text{ṭsəm}—\text{ʃik}$   | About ninety |
| ninety how Ind. Art.<br>much                    |              |

Herein again only *ṣəm—šik* or *žik* is used; adding *phəl—čher* before the phrase is optional, e.g.

|  |   |              |
|--|---|--------------|
| phəl—čher—gu—čū— <i>ṣəm—šik</i> ~<br>about ninety how Ind. Art<br>much | } | About ninety |
| gu—čū— <i>ṣəm—šik</i><br>ninety how Ind. Art.<br>much                  |   |              |

Among the decade series again consecutive decade numerals are used but only in ascending order, e.g.

čū—ñi—šū—*ṣəm—šik* About ten (to) twenty  
ten twenty how Ind. Art.  
much

ñi—šū—sum—čū—*ṣəm—šik* About twenty (to)  
twenty thirty how Ind. Art. thirty  
much

ṭuk—čū—dun—čū—*ṣəm—šik* About sixty (to)  
sixty seventy how Ind. Art. seventy  
much

Only one non-consecutive form is used :

sum—čū—ṭuk—čū—*ṣəm—šik* About thirty (to)  
thirty sixty how Ind. Art. sixty  
much

Where two decade numerals are used, *ṣəm—šik* or *ṣəm* or *žik* can both be used optionally at the end. The use of *phəl—čher* 'about' before the first numeral form is also optional, e.g.

|  |   |                          |
|--|---|--------------------------|
| čū—ñi—šū— <i>ṣəm</i> ~<br>ten twenty how much                                | } | About ten<br>(to) twenty |
| čū—ñi—šū— <i>ṣəm—šik</i> ~<br>ten twenty how Ind. Art.<br>much               |   |                          |
| phəl—čher—čū—ñi—šū— <i>ṣəm</i> ~   |   |                          |
| phəl—čher—čū—ñi—šū— <i>ṣəm—šik</i><br>about ten twenty how Ind. Art.<br>much |   |                          |

The same rules apply for approximative phrases involving 'hundred' series, 'thousand' series and so on.

It may be mentioned herein that —žik has an allomorph šik which occurs after —s final forms, e.g.

ñis + žik → 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) ʈu— : It expresses the length, elbow to the finger-tips of a hand.
- (iii) tho— : 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'.

# V

## 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. | ηə         | čhə—ət.          |
|    | I. P. Pro. | Intr. V. Re. Pr. |
|    | Sg. Dir.   |                  |
|    | I          | go               |
|    | ⏟          | ⏟                |
|    | Subject    | Predicate        |

I go.

The Predicate may also consist of nouns, adjectives, adverbs etc. besides the verb phrase, e.g.

|    |            |           |              |
|----|------------|-----------|--------------|
| 2. | ηə         | khər—ji   | zos.         |
|    | I. P. Pro. | N. Dir.   | Tr. V. Simp. |
|    | Sg. Dir.   |           | Perf.        |
|    | I          | food      | ate          |
|    | ⏟          | ⏟         |              |
|    | Subject    | Predicate |              |

I ate the food.

|              |                    |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 3. khyo—rəŋ  | i—ru               | yoŋs—pin.          |
| III. P. Pro. | Loc. Adv.          | Intr. V. Pt. Perf. |
| Non-Hon.     |                    |                    |
| Sg. Dir.     |                    |                    |
| you          | here               | come               |
| Subject      |                    | Predicate          |
|              | You had come here. |                    |

|                               |                    |           |         |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|---------|
| 4. kho                        | ʃəp—tə—khəŋ        | —ŋə       | di—riŋ  |
| III. P. Pro.                  | N.                 | Dat.      | Adv. T. |
| Sg. Dir.                      |                    |           |         |
| he                            | school             |           | to-day  |
| Subject                       |                    | Predicate |         |
| gor—te                        | soŋ—pin.           |           |         |
| V. St. Perf. Parti.           | Intr. V. Pt. Perf. |           |         |
| delayed                       | come               |           |         |
| Predicate                     |                    |           |         |
| Today he came to school late. |                    |           |         |

## 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

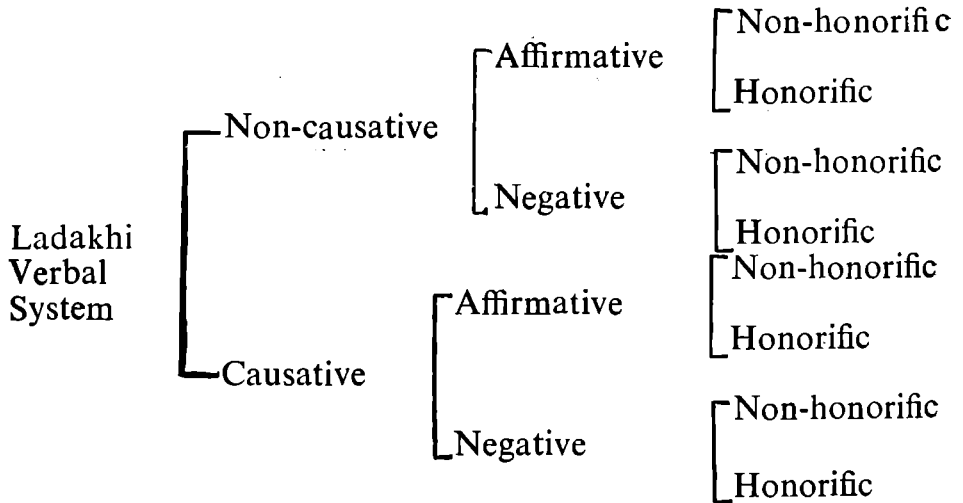
A Ladakhi verb form is composed of a verb stem followed by one or more suffixes. In the case of finite verb, these suffixes express mood, aspect, tense and orientation categories. In non-finite forms the stem is followed by suffixes for forming the participles, verbal nouns, infinitives etc.

## 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 *čug*—. 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 *ḍi*— '(to) Write', *rtse*— '(to) Dance' etc. or of a closed syllable like *sil*— '(to) Read', *səl*— '(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. <i>ri—mo—ḍi—</i><br>picture write | (to) Draw    |
| 2. <i>ləs—čö—</i><br>work do         | (to) Do work |
| 3. <i>ʃu—təŋ—</i><br>song give       | (to) Sing    |
| 4. <i>o—mə—tʃir—</i><br>milk squeeze | (to) Milk    |

### B— Adjective + Verb

Most of such verb stems are formed by using *čö*— '(to) do' or *čhə*— '(to) go'. The ones formed by *čhə*— function as intransitive and the ones formed by *čö*— as transitive.

- |                                  |                                   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>nək—po—čö—</i><br>black do | (to) Blacken (i.e. to make black) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|



- |                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2. r̥sok—po—č̣o—<br>bad do   | (to) Spoil (i.e. to make bad)     |
| 3. rgyəl—lə—č̣o—<br>good do  | (to) Better (i.e. to make better) |
| 4. r̥səŋ—mə—č̣o—<br>clean do | (to) Cleanse (i.e. to make clean) |

### C—Verb + Verb

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. ŋəl— +so—<br>(to) be tired + (to) recover              | =ŋəl—so (to) Rest.                                   |
| 2. tshoŋ + təŋ—<br>(to) sell + (to) give                  | =tshoŋ—təŋ (to) Do business                          |
| 3. ʈəl+ɖik—č̣o—<br>(to)make+(to) make a queue<br>+(to) do | =ʈəl—ɖik—č̣o (to) Arrange (i.e. to make arrangement) |

### 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. r̥ses—təŋ—   | (to) Dance—promptly, unwillingly etc. |
| 2. təŋs—təŋ—    | (to) Give away                        |
| 3. t̥shoŋs—təŋ— | (to) Sell away                        |
| 4. khyers—təŋ—  | (to) Take away                        |
| 5. č̣os—təŋ—    | (to) Do away                          |

## 8. Intransitive and Transitive Verbal Stems

Ladakhi verb stems are either transitive or intransitive, e.g.

### *Intransitive*

- |         |           |
|---------|-----------|
| 1. čhə— | (to) Go   |
| 2. yoŋ— | (to) Come |

### *Transitive*

- |           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| 1. təŋ—   | (to) Give  |
| 2. khyer— | (to) Take  |
| 3. ɟi—    | (to) Write |
| 4. sil—   | (to) Read  |
| 5. səl—   | (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 |
| rɕsig— | (to) Build | : | ɟub—   | (to) Be built  |
| ñen—   | (to) Hear  | : | ɕshor— | (to) Be heard  |
| lta—   | (to) See   | : | thoŋ—  | (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:*

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| bər—  | (to) Be burnt (Intr.)     |
| spər— | (to) Burn (Tr.)           |
| but—  | (to) Be uprooted (Intr.)  |
| put—  | (to) Uproot (Tr.)         |
| ʒik—  | (to) Be destroyed (Intr.) |
| šik—  | (to) Destroy (Tr.)        |
| čət—  | (to) Cut (Intr.)          |

|       |                               |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| čhət— | (to) Cut (Tr.)                |
| čhək— | (to) Break (Intr.)            |
| čək—  | (to) Break (Tr.)              |
| khər— | (to) Move in a circle (Intr.) |
| skər— | (to) Move around (Tr.)        |

Ladakhi verb stems are basically non-causative stems. For making causative verb stems, the causative suffix čug— is added to the verb stem, e.g.

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| đi—              | (to) Write                  |
| đi—čug—          | (to) Make (someone) write   |
| sil—             | (to) Read                   |
| sil—čug—         | (to) Make (someone) read    |
| ŋəl—so—          | (to) Rest                   |
| ŋəl—so—čug—      | (to) Make (someone) rest    |
| ɬu—təŋ—          | (to) Sing                   |
| ɬu—təŋ—čug—      | (to) Make (someone) sing    |
| rtɕəŋ—mə—čo—     | (to) Cleanse                |
| rtɕəŋ—mə—čo—čug— | (to) Make (someone) cleanse |
| ñid—log—         | (to) Sleep                  |
| ñid—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 speakers 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—, ræg—, 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                                   |
| N.Sg.Dir. | Qul.Adj.  | V. to be Pr. | beautiful                                     |
| girl      | beautiful |              | (based on the<br>speaker seeing<br>the girl). |

|           |          |          |                   |
|-----------|----------|----------|-------------------|
| lčəŋ—mə   | sŋon—po  | duk.     | The tree is green |
| N.Sg.Dir. | Qul.Adj. | V. to be | (on the basis of  |
|           |          | Pr.      | seeing it).       |
| tree      | green    |          |                   |

Usually dug— is used only with IInd and IIIrd person subjects as one cannot see himself but can see only others. However, dug— can be used with Ist person subjects if one is seeing oneself in a mirror or in a dream and is referring to it, e.g.

|          |           |          |                   |
|----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| ŋə       | rde—mo    | duk.     | I am beautiful    |
| I.P.Pro. | Qul.Adj.  | V. to be | (on the basis of  |
| Sg.Dir.  |           | Pr.      | seeing oneself in |
| I        | beautiful |          | the mirror etc.). |

yod—

yod— is used to express the meaning of 'to be' when the speaker talks about something on the basis of his definite knowledge.

|           |          |          |                        |
|-----------|----------|----------|------------------------|
| pu—mo     | ə—ru     | yot.     | The girl is there      |
| N.Sg.Dir. | Loc.Adv. | V. to be | (the speaker having    |
|           |          | Pr.      | seen her there earlier |
|           |          |          | himself).              |

girl                      there

|             |        |          |                    |
|-------------|--------|----------|--------------------|
| khon—ŋə     | pe—ne  | yot.     | He has money       |
| III.P.Pro.  | N.Dir. | V. to be | (based on definite |
| Hon.Sg.Dat. |        | Pr.      | knowledge).        |
| he          | money  |          |                    |

|         |                 |        |                    |
|---------|-----------------|--------|--------------------|
| khon—ŋi | stə nək—po      | yot.   | His horse is black |
| III.P.  | N.Dir. Qul.Adj. | V. to  | (based on direct   |
| Sg.Gen. |                 | be Pr. | knowledge).        |
| his     | horse black     |        |                    |

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. <i>Ḥon—čhen</i><br>N.Sg.Dir. | <i>Ḥe—ə</i><br>N.Dat.      | <i>yot</i><br>V. to be | <i>zer—ste</i><br>V. St. Perf. Parti. |
|                                 | Proper name                |                        |                                       |
| Prime Minister                  | Leh                        |                        | tell having                           |
| <i>tshək—pər—ri</i><br>N. Gen.  | <i>nəŋ—ŋə</i><br>P.P. Dat. |                        | <i>duk.</i><br>V. to be Pr.           |
| News—<br>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. <i>dəŋ—di—riŋ</i><br>Adv. T.<br>these days              | <i>čhu—šul—li</i><br>N. Gen.<br>proper name<br>Chushul | <i>nəŋ—ŋə</i><br>P.P. Dat.               |                         |
|  |  | into                                     |                         |
| <i>khə—məŋ—po</i><br>N. Adj. Dir.                          | <i>duk</i><br>V. to be<br>Pr.                          | <i>zer—ste</i><br>V. St. Perf.<br>Parti. | <i>yi—ge</i><br>N. Dir. |
| snow much<br><i>Ḥeps.</i><br>Intr. V. Simp. Perf.<br>reach |  | 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).

*rəg—*

When a personal experience or feeling has to be expressed, the verb form *rəg—* is used.

|               |           |                          |              |   |
|---------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------|---|
| i—ku—šü       | ηər—mo    | mi—rək.                  |              |   |
| Prox. N. Dir. | Qul. Adj. | Neg. V. to be Pr.        |              |   |
| Pro. Sg.      |           |                          |              |   |
| this          | apple     | sweet                    |              |   |
|               |           | not                      |              |   |
|               |           | This apple is not sweet. |              |   |
| ηə            | go—ə      | zur—mo                   | rək          | yin—nə—nəη                              |
| I.P.Pro.      | N.Dat.    | N. Dir.                  | V. to be Pr. | Part.                                   |
| Sg. Gen.      |           |                          |              |   |
| my            | head      | pain                     |              | but                                     |
| kho—e         | ʈot—pə—ə  | zur—mo                   | duk.         |   |
| III. P.       | N. dat.   | N. Dir.                  | V. to be Pr. |   |
| Pro. Sg.      |           |                          |              |   |
| Gen.          |           |                          |              |   |
| his           | stomach   | pain                     |              |   |
|               | *         |                          |              | I have headache but he has stomachache. |

*yin—nog—*

*yin—nog—* is used for 'to be' for general statements, statements of universal application, historical truth etc.

#### *General Statement*

|              |           |   |
|--------------|-----------|---|
| ʎe—ʈoη—khyer | rde—mo    | yin—nok.  |
| N. N. Dir.   | Qul. Adj. | V. to be Pr.  |
| Leh          | city      | beautiful   |
|              |           | Leh is a beautiful city (lit. Leh city is beautiful). |

#### *Universal Truth*

|          |           |                 |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| ʃik—rten | ril—ril   | yin—nok.        |
| N. Dir.  | Qul. Adj. | V. to be Pr.    |
| world    | round     |                 |
|          |           | World is round. |

#### *Historical Truth*

|                     |                |                                      |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| rgyəl—wə—rin—po—čhe | tshəη—me       | səη                                  |
| N. Dir.             | Indf.Pro. Gen. | Comp. Part.                          |
| Dalai Lama          | all            |                                      |
| rtṣət—čən           | yin—nok.       |                                      |
| Qul. Adj.           | V. to be Pr.   |                                      |
| best                |                |                                      |
|                     |                | Dalai Lama is the most exalted monk. |

|                                |                   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| ləl—ki—lə                      | ək—bər—rgyəl—po—e |
| N. Dir.                        | N. N. Gen.        |
| Red Fort                       | Proper Name king  |
| ɾsiks—khən                     | yin—nok.          |
| V. St. Deri. Suf. V. to be Pr. |                   |
| built                          |                   |

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       | ɲe       | pu—mo    | yin.                       |
| Prox. Pro. | I.P.Pro. | N. Dir.  | V. to be Pr.               |
| Sg. Sp.    | Sg. Gen. |          |                            |
| this one   | my       | daughter |                            |
|            |          |          | This (one) is my daughter. |

|          |         |              |
|----------|---------|--------------|
| ɲə       | mæg—mi  | yin.         |
| I.P.Pro. | N. Dir. | V. to be Pr. |
| Sg. Dir. |         |              |
| I        | soldier |              |

I am a 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).

ræg—'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.  
 II,P.Pro. Hon.Sg. N.Dir. Loc.Adv. V. to be Pt.  
 Gen.  
 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. sŋən—mə i—ru čhor—rten—čhen—mo—žik  
 Adv. T. Loc. Adv. N. Qul.Adj. Indef. Art. Dir.  
 earlier here Stupa big  
 pillar

yot—pin.  
 V. to be Pt.

Earlier there was a big Stupa here.

*yin—pin*

1. i—bo ŋe kər yin—pin.  
 Prox. Pro. I. P. N. V. to be Pt.  
 Sp. Dir. Pro. Gen. Dir.  
 this one my car

This was my car.



|                          |          |
|--------------------------|----------|
| rgyäl—po—žik             | yot—kək. |
| N. Dir.      Indef. Art. | V. to be |
| king              a      |          |

(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 —kək to *yod—* and *yin—*.

|         |                   |          |             |
|---------|-------------------|----------|-------------|
| 1. ə—   | bot—khən—bo       | tšhe—wəŋ | 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. | V. to be |
| who              |          |

Who must (he) be?

|                   |         |         |
|-------------------|---------|---------|
| 3. dəŋ—di—riŋ—ŋə  | le—ə    | təŋ—mo  |
| Adv. T.      Dat. | N. Dat. | N. Dir. |
| these days        | Leh     | cold    |
| yod—do.           |         |         |
| V. to be          |         |         |

It should be cold in Leh now.  
(i.e. at this time).

|                  |            |         |          |
|------------------|------------|---------|----------|
| 4. dəŋ—di—riŋ—ŋə | ŋe         | ge—rgən | dil—li—ə |
| Adv. T. Dat.     | I. P. Pro. | N. Dir. | N. Dat.  |
|                  | Sg. Gen.   |         |          |
| these days       | my         | teacher | Delhi    |
| yod—ḍo.          |            |         |          |
| V. to be ḍo      |            |         |          |

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. *ḍi—ət*, *sil—lət*, *yoŋ—ŋət* etc.

*Examples :*

- |                       |               |                |                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. <i>ŋə</i>          | <i>ʒiŋ—ŋi</i> | <i>nəŋ—ŋə</i>  | <i>ləs</i>            | <i>čə—ət.</i> |
| I. P. Pro.            | N. Gen.       | P. P. Dat.     | N. Dir.               | Tr. V. Re.    |
| Sg. Erg.              |               |                |                       | Pr.           |
| I                     | field         | inside         | work                  | do            |
|                       |               |                | I work in the fields. |               |
| 2. <i>so—nəm</i>      |               | <i>ʒe—ə</i>    | <i>čhə—ət.</i>        |               |
| N. Dir.               |               | N. Dat.        | Intr. V. Re.          | Pr.           |
| Proper name           |               | Proper Name    |                       |               |
| Sonam                 |               | Leh            | go                    |               |
|                       |               |                | Sonam goes to Leh.    |               |
| 3. <i>pəl—ldən—ni</i> |               | <i>spe—čhə</i> | <i>sil—lət.</i>       |               |
| N. Erg.               |               | N. Dir.        | Tr. V. Re.            | Pr.           |
| Proper Name           |               |                |                       |               |
| Paldan                |               | 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. <i>ŋe</i> | <i>spe—čhə</i> | <i>sil—lin—yot.</i>  |
| I. P. Pro.   | N. Dir.        | Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont. |
| Sg. Erg.     |                |                      |
| I            | book           | read                 |
|              |                | I am reading a book. |

- |              |           |                            |
|--------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| 2. dol—me    | yi—ge—žik | đi—yin—yot.                |
| N. Erg.      | N. Indef. | Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.       |
| Proper Name  | Art.      | Dir.                       |
| Dolma        | letter    | one write                  |
|              |           | Dolma is writing a letter. |
| 3. kho—e     | ləs       | čö—yin—yot.                |
| III. P. Pro. | N. Dir.   | Intr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.     |
| Sg. Erg.     |           |                            |
| 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. ṭhug—gu—yi        | pəl—ldən—lə  | 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             | lčəŋ—mə  | čəd—duk.               |
| III. P. Pro.         | N. Dir.  | Tr. V. Ob. Pr.         |
| Sg. Erg.             |  |                        |
| he                   | tree   | cut                    |
|                      | He cuts the tree (direct observation).             |                        |
| 3. khyo—rəŋ—ŋi       | ʃpe—čhə  | đi—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. ḍi—yin—duk, čo—yin—duk, sil—lin—duk, čəd—din—duk etc.

*Examples :*

- |    |                      |                                    |                         |
|----|----------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | ṭhug—gu—yi           | pəl—ldən—lə                        | pe—ne                   |
|    | N. Sg. Erg.          | N. Dat.                            | N. Dir.                 |
|    | boy                  | Proper Name                        | money                   |
|    | təŋ—ŋin—duk.         |                                    |                         |
|    | Tr. V. Ob. Pr. Cont. |                                    |                         |
|    | give                 |                                    |                         |
|    |                      | The boy is giving money to Paldan. |                         |
| 2. | kho—e                | lčəŋ—mə                            | čəd — din—duk.          |
|    | III. P. Pro.         | N. Dir.                            | Tr. V. Ob. Pr. Cont.    |
|    | Sg. Erg.             |                                    |                         |
|    | he                   | tree                               | cut                     |
|    |                      |                                    | He is cutting the tree. |
| 3. | khyo—rəŋ—ŋi          | ʃpe—čhə                            | ḍi—yin—duk.             |
|    | II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. | N. Dir.                            | Tr. V. Ob. Pr. Cont.    |
|    | Sg. Erg.             |                                    |                         |
|    | 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. | ñi—mə   | žək—təŋ | šər—ne                           | šər—rə—nok.       |
|    | N. Dir. | Adv. T. | N. Abl.                          | Intr. V. His. Pr. |
|    | sun     | daily   | east                             | rise              |
|    |         |         | The sun rises daily in the east. |                   |

2. rgyäl—po—gun—ni khər rṭsig—gə — nok.  
 N. Pl. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. His. Pr.  
 kings palace build  
 Kings build palaces.
3. rgyä—tsho—e čhu tshə—khu yoŋ—ŋə — nok.  
 N. Gen. N. Dir. Qul. Adj. Intr. V. His. Pr.  
 sea water salty come  
 Sea water is salty.
4. lə—daks—pə—məŋ—po—e žiŋ—ŋi  
 N. Qul. Adj. Erg. N. Gen.  
 Ladakhis many field of  
 nəŋ—ŋə ləs čo—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. ŋe khər—ji zə—ət—pin.  
 I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pt.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 I food eat  
 I ate the food.
2. pəl—ldən ʈoŋ—khyer—lə yoŋ—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 :*

|             |               |         |                                  |
|-------------|---------------|---------|----------------------------------|
| dəŋ         | ŋe            | khər—ʒi | zə—yin—yot—pin.                  |
| Adv. T.     | I. P.         | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.             |
|             | 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. ʧhug—gu—yi   | lčəŋ—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. khyo—rəŋ—ŋi  | ʃpe—čhə    | ɖi—ruk—pin.                             |
| II. P. Pro. Sg. | N. Dir.    | Tr. V. Ob. Pt.                          |
| Non-Hon. Erg.   |            |   |
| you             | book       | write                                   |
|                 |            | You wrote the book.                     |

|             |             |         |
|-------------|-------------|---------|
| 3. pu—mo—e  | pəl—ldən—lə | pe—ne   |
| N. Sg. Erg. | N. Dat.     | N. Dir. |
| girl        | Proper Name | money   |
|             | Paldan      |         |

təŋ—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. tʃhe—wəŋ—ŋi | čə      | thu.ŋ—ŋin—duk—pin.   |
| N. Erg.        | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Ob. Pt. Cont. |
| proper name    |         |                      |
| Tshewang       | tea     | drink                |

Tshewang was drinking tea.

|           |         |            |         |
|-----------|---------|------------|---------|
| 2. žiŋ—pe | žiŋ—ŋi  | nəŋ—ŋə     | ləs     |
| N. Erg.   | N. Gen. | P. P. Dat. | N. Dir. |
| farmer    | field   | into       | work    |

čö—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 *čhə—*‘(to) go’ is *soŋ*. Such forms are more commonly used with IInd and IIrd person subjects.

- |                       |                   |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>mi—yi</i>       | <i>spe—čhə</i>    | <i>dis.</i>             |
| N. Sg. Erg.           | N. Dir.           | Tr. V. Simp. Perf.      |
| man                   | book              | write                   |
|                       |                   | The man wrote the book. |
| 2. <i>khyo—rəŋ—ŋi</i> | <i>čə—məŋ—po</i>  | <i>thuŋs.</i>           |
| II. P. Pro.           | N. Qul. Adj. Dir. | Tr. V. Sim. Perf.       |
| Non-Hon.              |                   |                         |
| Sg. Erg.              |                   |                         |
| you                   | tea much          | drink                   |
|                       |                   | You drank tea a lot.    |
| 3. <i>kho—e</i>       | <i>ŕu</i>         | <i>təŋs.</i>            |
| III. P. Pro.          | N. Dir.           | Tr. V. Simp. Perf.      |
| Sg. Erg.              |                   |                         |
| he                    | song              | give                    |
|                       |                   | He sang a song.         |
| 4. <i>kho</i>         | <i>rgyəl—lə</i>   | <i>rt̤ses.</i>          |
| 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.

## Examples :

- |    |                  |                     |                              |
|----|------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | ηə               | bə--nə--rəs--lə     | soη--pin.                    |
|    | I. P. Pro.       | N. Dat.             | Intr. V. Pt. Perf.           |
|    | Sg. Dir.         | proper name         |                              |
|    | I                | Benaras             | go                           |
|    |                  |                     | I went to Benaras.           |
| 2. | kho--e           | thəη--kə--gun       | ʒəηs--pin.                   |
|    | III. P. Pro.     | N. Pl. Dir.         | Tr. Pt. Perf.                |
|    | Sg. Erg.         |                     |                              |
|    | he               | religious paintings | make                         |
|    |                  |                     | He made religious paintings. |
| 3. | khyo--rəη--ηi    | po--lo              | rgyəł--lə                    |
|    | II. P. Pro. Non- | N. Dir.             | Qul. Adj.                    |
|    | Hon. Sg. Erg.    |                     |                              |
|    | you              | a game              | well                         |
|    | rt̪ses--pin.     |                     |                              |
|    | Tr. V. Pt. Perf. |                     |                              |
|    | play             |                     |                              |
|    |                  |                     | 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. kho   | rgun—lə | ʃe—ə    | lok—ste      | yoŋ—ŋin—ɖo.    |
| III. P.  | N. Dat. | N. Dat. | V. St. Perf. | Intr. V. Indf. |
| Pro. Sg. |         | Proper  | Parti.       | Fut.           |
| Dir.     |         | name    |              |                |
| he       | winter  | Leh     | return       | come           |
|          |         |         | having       |                |

He may come back to Leh in winter.

|              |                  |             |         |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|---------|
| 2. ŋe        | khyo—rəŋ—ŋə      | dil—li—ne   | yi—ge   |
| I. P. Pro.   | II. P. Pro. Non- | N. Abl.     | N. Dir. |
| Sg. Erg.     | Hon. Sg. Dat.    | Proper name |         |
| I            | you              | Delhi       | letter  |
| di—yin—ɖo.   |                  |             |         |
| Tr. V. Indf. |                  |             |         |
| Fut.         |                  |             |         |
| write        |                  |             |         |

I may write a letter to you from Delhi.

B. Indefinite future forms are made by adding —ɖo to the verb stem.

*Example:*

|          |          |                     |
|----------|----------|---------------------|
| kho      | tho—re   | yoŋ—ɖo.             |
| III. P.  | Adv. T.  | Intr. V. Indf. Fut. |
| 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 —ɖo 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—zəŋ  | tʃhes—rtʃu—lə | yoŋ—čen.            |
| N. Dir.     | N. Numr. Dat. | Intr. V. Indf. Fut. |
| Proper name |               |                     |
| Lobzang     | date ten      | come                |

Lobzang is likely to come on 10th.

2. khyo—rəŋ      kə—ru      čhə—čen ?  
 II. P. Pro.      Adv. P.      Intr. V. Indf. Fut.  
 Non-Hon. Sg.  
 Dir.  
 you                      where                      go  
 Where are you going (i.e. where are you likely to go)?
3. kho—e    tho—re    ηe      ə--čö    thuk—čen.  
 III. Pro.    Adv. T.    I. P. Pro.    N. Dir.    Tr. V. Indf.  
 Sg. Erg.                      Sg. Gen.                      Fut.  
 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 zər —čen is used instead of present tense forms.

1. khyo—rəŋ—ŋi    miŋ—ŋə    či            zer—čen ?  
 II. P. Pro. Non-    N. Dir.    Intrr.            Tr. V.  
 Hon.Sg. Gen.                      Pro.  
 your                      name            what            tell  
 What is your name ?
2. ηe                      miŋ—ŋə    ɖol—mə    zer—čen.  
 I. P. Pro.                      N. Dir.    N. Dir.            Tr. V.  
 Sg. Gen.                      Proper name  
 my                      name            Dolma            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 —ɖo to the reportive present tense forms.

*Examples:*

1. kho—e    tho—re    i—            tuz—lə    ʎu  
 III. P.    Adv. T.    Prox. Pro.    Adv. T.    N. Dir.  
 Pro. Sg.  
 Erg.  
 he            tomorrow    this            time            song

təŋ—ŋət—do.

Tr. V. Fut. Cont.

give

He will be singing at this time tomorrow.

2. khyo—rəŋ    tho—re  
 II. P. Pro.    Adv. T.  
 Non-Hon.  
 Sg.Dir.

you            tomorrow  
 khər—ʃi  
 N. Dir.  
 food

- i— tuz—lə  
 Prox. Pro. N. Dat.

this            time  
 zə—əd—do—ə?  
 Tr. V. Fut. Cont. Inrr. Suf.  
 eat

Will you be eating the food tomorrow at this time?

3. i—            tuz—lə  
 Prox.    N. Dat.  
 Pro.  
 this            time  
 ʃcb—bəd—do.  
 Intr. V. Fut. Cont.  
 reach

ŋə—təŋ            məd—rəz—lə  
 I. P. Pro. Pl.      N. Dat.  
 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 :*

- |              |         |                   |
|--------------|---------|-------------------|
| lə—mə—gun—ni | sku—rim | səl—lət—kək.      |
| N. Pl. Erg.  | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Sim. Narr. |
| monks        | worship | offer             |

Monks worshipped (lit. offered worship).
- |              |                   |                    |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| kho          | šə—məη—po         | zə—ət—kək.         |
| III. P. Pro. | N. Qul. Adj. Dir. | Tr. V. Simp. Narr. |
| 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 :*

- |                    |                    |            |           |            |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| žək—               | šik                | rgyəl—po—e | tshoks—si | nəη—ηə     |
| Adv. T. Indf. Art. | N. Erg.            |            | N. Gen.   | P. P. Dat. |
| day                | one                | king       | forest    | into       |
| liηs               | təη—ηin—yot—kək.   |            |           |            |
| N. Dir.            | Tr. V. Narr. Cont. |            |           |            |
| hunting            | give               |            |           |            |

One day the king had been hunting in the forest.
- |                  |                    |                      |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| mi—gun           | i—ləm—ne           | čhen—yot—kək.        |
| N. Pl. Suf. Dir. | Prox. N. Abl. Pro. | Intr. V. Narr. Cont. |
| 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 —kək to the simple perfect forms of the verb.

*Examples :*

- |    |              |           |                           |                    |
|----|--------------|-----------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | səŋ—rgyəs—si | čhos      | suŋs—kək.                 |                    |
|    | N. Erg.      | N. Dir.   | Tr. V. Narr. Perf.        |                    |
|    | Buddha       | religion  | preach                    |                    |
|    |              |           | Buddha preached religion. |                    |
| 2. | thə—li—yi    | nəŋ—ŋi    | ku—šū                     | so—nəm             |
|    | N. Gen.      | P.P. Gen. | N. Dir.                   | N. Dir.            |
|    | plate        | into      | apple                     | Proper name        |
|    |              |           |                           | Sonam              |
|    |              |           |                           | zos—kək.           |
|    |              |           |                           | 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. *ŋə—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.  $\eta\text{ə}$              $\text{ltoks—sə—rək.}$   
 I. P. Pro.    Intr. V. Exp. Pr.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 I            to be hungry  
I feel hungry. (i.e. I am hungry).
  
  2.  $\eta\text{e}$              $\text{go—ə}$              $\text{zur—mo}$              $\text{yO}\eta\text{—}\eta\text{ə—rək.}$   
 I. P. Pro. N. Dat.    N. Dir.            Intr. V. Exp. Pr.  
 Sg. Gen.  
 my            head            pain            come  
I have headache.
  
  3.  $\text{kho}$              $\text{čhə—ə—rək.}$   
 III. P. Pro.    Intr. V. Exp. Pr.  
 he            go  
He is going (the speaker feels).
  
  4.  $\text{khyo—rə}\eta$              $\text{rgod—də—rək.}$   
 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.  $\eta\text{ə}$              $\text{thəd—də—rək.}$   
 I. P. Pro.            Intr. V. Exp. Pr.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 I            happy  
I am happy.
  
  2.  $\eta\text{ə}$              $\text{səm—mə—rək.}$   
 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 IInd. 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.                       |
|    | Sg. Dir.         |  |
|    | he               | go                                     |
|    |                  | He was going (the speaker feels).      |
| 2. | khyo—rəŋ         | rgod—də—rək—pin.                       |
|    | II. P. Pro. Non- | Intr. V. Exp. Pt.                      |
|    | 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. | ŋe         | go—ə    | zur—mo  | yoŋ—ŋət—pin.     |
|    | I. P. Pro. | N. Dat. | N. Dir. | Intr. V. Re. Pt. |
|    | Sg. Gen.   |         |         |                  |
|    | 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—riη                | nəm     | khor—te         | duk   | čhər—pə |
|    | Adv. T.               | N. Dir. | V. Perf. Parti. | V.  | N. Dir. |
|    |                       |         |                 | to be   |         |
|    | today                 | sky     | having          |   |         |
|    |                       |         | overcast        |   | rain    |
|    | təη—ηok.              |         |                 |   |         |
|    | Tr. V. F. B. Inf. Pr. |         |                 |   |         |
|    | give                  |         |                 |   |         |
|    |                       |         |                 | The sky is overcast today, (it is) going to rain. |         |
- |    |             |         |           |                                 |           |
|----|-------------|---------|-----------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 2. | kho—ə       | zur—mo  | şən—te    | duk                             | ši—ok.    |
|    | III P. Pro. | N. Dir. | Qul. Adj. | V. to be                        | Intr. V.  |
|    | Sg. Dat.    |         |           |                                 | F.B. Inf. |
|    |             |         |           |                                 | Pr.       |
|    | he          | pain    | very      |                                 | die       |
|    |             |         |           | He is very sick, (he) will die. |           |
- |    |                      |                  |  |
|----|----------------------|------------------|--|
| 3. | khyo—rəη—ηi          | rgyel—lə         | sil—duk.   |
|    | II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. | Qul. Adj.        | Intr. V. Ob. Pr.   |
|    | Sg. Erg.             |                  |  |
|    | you                  | good             | read   |
|    | rgyuks               | thod—dok.        |  |
|    | N. Dir.              | Tr. V. F. B. Pr. |  |
|    | examination          | pass             |  |
|    |                      |                  | You are studying well,<br>(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 referent person and the speaker wants to state it, the past tense suffix —pin is added to the above —og— or Cog— forms.

## Examples :

1.  $ldə-wə-rgyət-pe$                        $nəη-ηə$                        $dil-li-ə$   
 N.    Ord. Numr. Gen.                      P. P. Dat.                      N. Dat.  
 month                      eight                      into                      Delhi  
 $čhər-pə-məη-po$                        $təη-ηok-pin.$   
 N.    Qul. Adj. Dir.                      Tr. V. F.B. Inf. Pt.  
 rain    much                      give  
 In the eighth month (August), it used to rain heavily  
 in Delhi.

2.  $lə-dəks-lə$                        $rgun-lə$                        $khə$                        $bəps-sok-pin.$   
 N.    Dat.                      N. Dat.                      N. Dir.                      Intr. V. F. B. Inf. Pt.  
 Ladakh                      winter                      snow                      fall  
 In winter snow used to fall in Ladakh.

3.  $kho$                        $i-$                        $tʂəm-mə$                        $me-sur-lə$   
 III. P.                      Prox.                      N.    Dat.                      N.    Dat.  
 Pro. Sg.                      Pro.  
 Dir.  
 he                      this                      time                      Mysore  
 $yəη-ηok-pin.$   
 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  $-rəg-$ ,  $rək-pin-$ ,  $soη-$ ,  $yod-$ ,  $dug-$  or  $duk-pin$  as necessary. Thus such constructions exhibit the structure

$$\text{verb stem} + \text{thig-} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +rəg- \\ +rək-pin \\ +soη \\ +yod- \\ +dug- \\ +duk-pin \end{array} \right.$$

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 IInd. and IIIrd. person subjects due to semantic considerations.

*Examples :*

1.  $\text{d}o\text{l—m}\ddot{a}$        $y\text{o}\eta\text{—thig—r}\ddot{a}k$ .  
 N. Dir.      Intr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 proper  
 name  
 Dolma      come  
                  Dolma is coming (a guess by hearing  
                  foot-steps, voice etc.).
2.  $k\text{h}y\text{o—r}\ddot{a}\eta\text{—}\eta\text{i}$        $z\text{u}k\text{s—p}o$        $\text{t}\text{h}u\text{—thig—r}\ddot{a}k$ .  
 II. P. Pro. Sg. Erg.      N. Dir.      Tr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 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 IInd. or IIIrd. person subjects due to semantic considerations.

*Examples :*

1.  $k\text{h}o$        $d\text{i}l\text{—li—}\ddot{a}$        $\check{c}\text{h}\ddot{a}\text{—thig—r}\ddot{a}k\text{—pin}$ .  
 III. P.      N. Dat.      Intr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 Pro. Sg.  
 Dir.  
                  Proper  
                  name  
 he      Delhi      go  
                  He used to go to Delhi (a guess).

2. khyo—rəŋ                      ŋi—sŋən—mə —ʒik  
 II. P. Pro. Non-Hon.    Adv. T.    Indef. Art.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 you                                  earlier  
 dər—rʒi—ʃiŋ                      nən—ŋə                      sil—thig—rək—pin.  
 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. ŋə                      he—mis—gon—pə—ə                      ʃep—thig—yot.  
 I. P. Pro.                      N.                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 Proper  
 name  
 I                      Hemis                      monastery                      reach  
 I might have reached Hemis monastery.
2. kho—e                      ŋe                      kə—ne                      pe—ne                      khyer—thig—yot.  
 III. P. Pro.                      I. P.                      P. P. Abl.                      N. Dir.                      Tr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 Sg. Erg.                      Pro.  
 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-                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 Hon. Sg. Dir.  
 you                      wedding                      dance  
 You might have danced in the wedding.





*Examples :*

1. khyo—rəŋ                      čək—təŋ                      si—ni—mə—ə  
 II. P. Pro.                      Adv. T.                      N.      Dat.  
 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—žik                      yin—thig—duk.  
 Prox.                      N.      Indef. Art.      V. to be App. B. Inf.  
 Pro. Sp.  
 this                      monastery  
 (It appears that) it is a monastery.
3. ə—      pu—mo      rde—mo                      yot—thig—duk.  
 Non-      N. Dir.      Qul. Adj.                      V. to be App. B. Inf.  
 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                      rtses—təŋ—thig—duk—pin.  
 III. P. Pro.                      N.      Tr. V.                      App. B. Inf.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 he                      dance  
 (It appeared that) he had danced.
2. ñe—rəŋ—ŋə                      zur—mo                      yoŋ—thig—duk—pin.  
 II. P. Pro. Hon.                      N. Dir.                      Intr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 Sg. Dat.  
 you                      pain                      come  
 (It appeared as if) you were sick.

|               |   |                       |
|---------------|---|-----------------------|
| 3. ñe—rəŋ     | bə—nə—rəs—lə                                | skyot—thig—duk—pin.   |
| II. P. Pro.   | N. Dat.                                     |                       |
| Hon. Sg. Dir. |   | Intr. V. App. B. Inf. |
|               | proper name                                 |                       |
| you           | Benaras                                     | go                    |
|               | (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         | khəŋ—pə—so—mə—žik          | ños—tok.    |                  |
| III. P. Pro.     | N. Qul. Adj. Indef.        | Tr. V. Att. |                  |
| Sg. Erg.         | Art. Dir.                  | Inf.        |                  |
| he               | house new                  | buy         |                  |
|                  | He bought a new house.     |             |                  |
| 2. khyo—rəŋ—ŋi   | kho—ə                      | yi—ge       | dis—tok.         |
| II. P. Pro. Non- | III. P. Pro.               | N. Dir.     | Tr. V. Att. Inf. |
| Hon. Sg. Erg.    | Sg. Dat.                   |             |                  |
| you              | 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. ŋə      | bə—nə—rəs—lə       | £eps—tok.          |
| I. P. Pro. | N. Dat.            | Intr. V. Att. Inf. |
| Sg. Dir.   |                    |                    |
|            | Proper name        |                    |
| I          | Benaras            | reach              |
|            | I reached Benaras. |                    |

|            |         |                    |
|------------|---------|--------------------|
| 2. ηə      | ñid—lə  | soŋ—tok.           |
| I. P. Pro. | N. Dat. | Intr. V. Att. Inf. |
| Sg. Dir.   |         |                    |
| I          | sleep   | go                 |
|            |         | I slept.           |

#### 45—tshuk Forms

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 IInd. 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 :

|                |            |                    |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|
| rgyəl—po—žik   | yot—tshuk. | te—rgyəl—po—ə      |
| N. Indef. Art. | V. to be   | Obvi. Pro. N. Dat. |
| Dir.           |            |                    |
| king a         |            | rgyəl—po           |
| šəs—mo—ñis     | yot—tshuk. | that king          |
| N. Numr. Dir.  | V. to be   | N. Dir.            |
| princess two   |            | king               |

ʎe—khər—lə  
 Proper N. Dat.  
 name  
 Leh palace

ʒuks—sət—tshuk.  
 Intr. V. Hon. Re. Pr.  
 stay

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. khyo—rəŋ      | wə—rə—nə—si—e | čhə—ət—tshuk.    |
| II. P. Pro. Non- | N. Dat.       | Intr. V. Re. Pr. |
| Hon. Sg. Dir.    | Proper name   | go               |
| you              | Varanasi      |                  |

So ! you are going to Varanasi  
 (the speaker is surprised that you have decided to go).

- |               |         |  |
|---------------|---------|--|
| 2. ñe—rəŋ—ŋə  | hin—di  | khyen—nət—tshuk.   |
| II. P. Pro.   | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Re. Pr.   |
| Hon. Sg. Dat. | Hindi   | know   |
| you           |         | So ! you know Hindi<br>(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.

## Examples :

1.  $\eta e$  i— yi—ge  $\grave{d}i-\acute{a}t-tshuk.$   
 I. P. Pro. Prox. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 I this letter write  
 Oh ! I would have written this letter.

2.  $\eta\acute{a}-\acute{z}\acute{a}$  kho—e  $kh\acute{a}\eta-p\acute{a}-\acute{a}$   
 I. P. Pro. Pl. III. P. Pro. N. Dat.  
 Excl. Dir. Sg. Gen.  
 I his house  
 $\check{c}h\acute{a}-\acute{a}t-tshuk.$   
 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.  $rgy\acute{a}l-po-e$   $tshoks-si$   $ne\eta-\eta\acute{a}$   
 N. Erg. N. Gen. P. P. Dat.  
 king forest in  
 $li\eta s$   $rt\check{s}en-yot-tshuk.$   
 N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 hunting hunt  
 The king was hunting in the forest.
2.  $\acute{z}i\eta-b\acute{a}t-pe$   $\acute{z}i\eta$   $\check{s}\eta\eta n-yot-tshuk.$   
 N. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 farmer field harvest  
 The farmer was harvesting (cutting) the crop.

When used with IInd. 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—rəŋ                      khər—ʒi                      zen—yot—tshuk.  
 II. P. Pro. Non-                      N. Dir.                      Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 Hon. Sg. Dir.  
 you                      food                      eat

Oh ! you were going to have food.

2. ñe—rəŋ—ŋi                      čho—lo    rtsə—dzəd—din—yot—tshuk.  
 II. P. Pro. Hon.                      N. Dir.    Tr. V.    Hon. Suf. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 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. ŋə                      khə—tog—gə                      čhen—yot—tshuk.  
 I. P. Pro.                      N.                      Dat.                      Intr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 Sg. Dir.                      upper                      go  
                     I                      region

Oh ! I was going towards the upper region (I would have done it, if I did not know it was wrong).

2. ŋe                      čhəŋ                      thuŋ—ŋin—yot—tshuk.  
 I. P. Pro.                      N. Dir.                      Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 Sg. Erg.                      local                      drink  
                     I                      alcohol

I was drinking Chang (local alcohol) (without knowing it was wrong).

*C. Reportive Past + tshuk :*

Such forms consist of the reportive past form of the verb followed by —tshuk.

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       | ʒək—təŋ | ʂku—ə      | čhə—ət—pin—tʂhuk.                 |
| III. P. Pro. | Adv. T. | V. N. Dat. | Intr. V. Re. Pt.                  |
| Sig. Dir.    |         |            |                                   |
| he           | daily   | stealing   | go                                |
|              |         |            | He used to go every day to steal. |
- |              |         |               |   |
|--------------|---------|---------------|---|
| 2. khoŋ—ŋi   | ñə      | zum—ste       | khyoŋ—ŋət—pin— <u>tʂhuk</u> .                     |
| III. P. Pro. | N. Dir. | V. St.        | Tr. Y. Re. Pt.                                    |
| Pl. Erg.     |         | Perf. Parti.  |   |
| they         | fish    | having caught | bring   |
|              |         |               | 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—rəŋ       | ʒək—təŋ | ʃok—sūən | Itə—ə   |
| II. P. Pro. Non-  | Adv. T. | N. Dir.  | V. N. Dat.  |
| Hon. Sg. Dir.     |         |          |   |
| you               | daily   | cinema   | see   |
| čhə—ət—pin—tʂhuk. |         |          |   |
| Intr. V. Re. Pt.  |         |          |   |
| go                |         |          | Oh ! you used to go to see movies every day (speaker is surprised). |
- |               |               |  |
|---------------|---------------|--|
| 2. ñe—rəŋ—ŋi  | skyems        | don—nət—pin—tʂhuk.   |
| II. P. Pro.   | Hon.          | Tr. V. Hon. Re. Pt.  |
| Hon. Sg. Erg. | Dir.          |  |
| you           | local alcohol | drink  |
|               |               | Oh ! you drank Chang (local alcohol) (speaker is surprised). |



With Ist. 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.      $\eta\text{ə}$             $\text{ʒək—tə}\eta$                     $\text{ləm—men—ne}$   
 I. P. Pro.   Adv. T.                   N.           Abl.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 I           daily                   wrong path  
 $\text{y}\text{o}\eta\text{—}\eta\text{ət—pin—tʃhuk.}$   
 Intr. V. Re. Pt.  
 come

I came by a wrong path every day (without knowing that it was the wrong way).

2.      $\eta\text{ə—ʒə}$                     $\text{i—čhu}$                     $\text{thu}\eta\text{—}\eta\text{ət—pin—tʃhuk.}$   
 I. P. Pro. Excl.   Prox. N.   Tr. V. Re. Pt.  
 Pl. Erg.                   Pro. Dir.  
 we                   this water drink  
 We drank this water (without realizing it to be an error).

*D. Reportive Past Continuous + tʃhuk :*

Such forms are constituted by adding —tʃhuk to the reportive past continuous forms of a verb.

With IIIrd. person subjects, it refers to an action in process in past time and is used only in narratives.

*Examples :*

1.      $\text{kho—e}$             $\text{ʃi}\eta$                     $\text{ʃəg—gin—yot—pin—tʃhuk.}$   
 III. P. Pro.   N. Dir.   Tr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 he           wood   split

He was splitting wood.

2.      $\text{kho}\eta\text{—səg—gi}$             $\text{ɕu}$                     $\text{tə}\eta\text{—}\eta\text{in—yot—pin—tʃhuk.}$   
 III. P. Pro. Hon. N. Dir.   Tr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.  
 Pl. Erg.  
 they                   song   give

They were singing songs.

With IInd. 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—rəŋ                      ʃpe—čhə                      ño—yin—yot—pin—tshuk.  
 II. P. Pro.                      N. Dir.                      Tr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.  
 Non-Hon.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 you                      book                      buy  
 Oh ! you were buying a book.
2. khyo—žə                      čhu—ə                      skyəl—lin—yot—pin—tshuk.  
 II. P. Pl. Non-                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.  
 Hon. Pl. Dir.  
 you                      water                      swim  
 You were swimming in the water (how surprising).

With Ist. 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. ɳə                      ñid—yoŋ—ŋin—yot—pin—tshuk.  
 I. P. Pro.                      N.                      Intr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 I                      sleep                      come  
 I was sleeping (without realizing that I should not have done it).
2. ɳə—žə                      yəs—čhoks—lə                      čhen—yot—pin—tshuk.  
 I. P. Pro.                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V. Re. Pt. Cont.  
 Excl. 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        | š <sup>h</sup> iŋ | šəks—pin— <i>tshuk</i> . |
|    | III. P. Pro. | N. Dir.           | Tr. V. Pt. Perf.         |
|    | Sg. Erg.     |                   |                          |
|    | he           | wood              | split                    |
|    |              |                   | He had split wood.       |

- |    |                           |         |                          |
|----|---------------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| 2. | khon <sup>h</sup> —səg—gi | ʃu      | təŋs—pin— <i>tshuk</i> . |
|    | III. P. Pro. Pl. Erg.     | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Pt. Perf.         |
|    | they                      | song    | give                     |
|    |                           |         | They had sung a song.    |

With IInd. 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—rəŋ—ŋi          | spe—čhə | ños—pin— <i>tshuk</i> .                     |
|    | II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Pt. Perf.                            |
|    | Sg. Erg.             |         |   |
|    | you                  | book    | buy   |
|    |                      |         | You had bought book (how surprising).       |
| 2. | khyo—ʒə              | čhu—ə   | skyəl—pin— <i>tshuk</i> .                   |
|    | II. P. Pro. Non.     | N. Dat. | Intr. V. Pt. Perf.                          |
|    | Hon. Pl. Dir.        |         |   |
|    | 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.  $\eta\text{ə}$                        $\text{ñid—lə}$                        $\text{so}\eta\text{s—pin—tshuk.}$   
 I. P. Pro.                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V. Pt. Perf.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 I                      sleep                      come  
 I had slept (without realizing that it was a mistake).
2.  $\eta\text{ə—ʒə}$                        $\text{yəs—čhoks—lə}$                        $\text{so}\eta\text{—pin—tshuk.}$   
 I. P. Pro. Excl.                      N.                      Dat.                      Intr. V. Pt. Perf.  
 Pl. Dir.  
 we                      right side                      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  $\text{zə—}$  'eat', etc. Non-honorific verb root vowel  $\text{ə}$  is changed to  $\text{o}$ . In case of honorific stems, the  $\text{ə}$  of the stem is retained (i. e. does not change to  $\text{o}$ ) except in a rare case like  $\text{sən}$  : son 'hear'. The imperative plurals are formed by adding —šik to the singular imperative forms.

*Examples :*

1.  $\text{đi—}$  (to) write                      :                       $\text{đis}$  (Sg.)  $\text{đis—šik}$  (Pl.)

|         |          |                 |
|---------|----------|-----------------|
| yi—ge   | gyoks—pə | ḍis.            |
| N. Dir. | Adv. M.  | Tr. V. Imp. Sg. |
| letter  | fast     | write           |

Write the letter fast.

|                  |       |            |                 |
|------------------|-------|------------|-----------------|
| 2. təŋ—(to) give | :     | toŋ (Sg.)  | toŋ—šik (Pl.)   |
| kho—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. ḍul—(to) walk      | : | ḍul (Sg.) : | ḍul—šik (Pl.) |
| (khyo—rəŋ—gun)        |   | ku—le—ə     | ḍul—šik.      |
| (II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. |   | Adv. M.     | Intr. V. Imp. |
| Pl. Dir.)             |   |             | Pl.           |

you

slowly

walk

(You please) walk slowly.

|                       |         |            |                 |
|-----------------------|---------|------------|-----------------|
| 4. zə—(to) eat        | :       | zo (Sg.) : | zo—šik (Pl.).   |
| (khyo—rəŋ—gun)        |         | khər—ji    | zo—šik.         |
| (II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. | N. Dir. |            | Tr. V. Imp. Pl. |
| Pl. Dir.)             |         |            |                 |

you

food

(You please) have food.

|                        |                    |             |                  |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|
| 5. səl—(to) give       | :                  | səl (Sg.) : | səl—šik (Pl.)    |
| (ñe rəŋ—ŋi)            |                    | ŋə—ə        | pe—ne            |
| (II.P.Pro.Hon.Sg.Erg.) | I. P. Pro. N. Dir. |             | Tr. V. Hon. Imp. |
|                        | Sg. Dat.           |             |                  |

you

me

money

give

(You please) give me money.

Verb-stems ending in —t take —čik instead of —šik.

čə—ə—ḍzət (to) do: čə—ə—ḍzət (Sg.) čə—ə—ḍzət—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. ηə—ə              | thop—šik.         |  |
| I. P. Pro.           | Tr. V. Bend.      |  |
| Sg. Dat.             |                   |  |
| I                    | get               |  |
|                      |                   | May I get (something).                 |
| 2. khyo—rəη—ηi       | tshe—riη—šik.     |  |
| II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. | N. Intr. V. Bend. |  |
| Sg. Gent.            |                   |  |
| you                  | life long         |  |
|                      |                   | May you have a long life.              |
| 3. yul—lə            | rde—skyit         | yoη—šik.                               |
| N. Dat.              | N. Dir.           | Tr. V. Bend.                           |
| village              | happiness         | come                                   |
|                      |                   | May there be happiness in the village. |
| 4. čhər—pə           | 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 *ñən—* 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—ə       | ʃpe—čhə   | ɖi—thub—bət.                     |
| III. P. Pro.   | N. Dir.   | Tr. V. Abl. Re. Pr.              |
| Sg. Dat.       |           |                                  |
| he             | book      | write                            |
|                |           | He can write a book.             |
| 2. wəŋ—gyəl—li | kəŋs—ri—ə | ɖzəks—thup—pin.                  |
| N. Erg.        | N. Dat.   | Intr. V. Abi. Ob.                |
| Proper name    |           | Perf.                            |
| Wangyal        | glacier   | climb                            |
|                |           | Wangyal could climb the glacier. |

3.  $\eta\partial$  i—khər— $\text{ʃi}$ — $\text{tʃh}\partial\eta$ —mə  
 I. P. Pro. Prox. N. Indef. Pro. Dir.  
 Sg. Dir. Pro.  
 I this food all  
 zə—thub—bət— $\text{tʃhuk}$ .  
 Tr. V. Abi. Re. Pr.  
 eat

Oh! I could have eaten all the food  
 (if I had not realised this to be wrong).

4.  $\text{ʃt}\partial$ —ə čhu bi $\eta$ —thub—bin—yot—kək.  
 N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. Abi. Narr. Cont.  
 horse water cross

The horse had been able to cross the water.

5.  $\eta\partial$  i—nə pəl—dər—lə čhə—thub—bin.  
 I. P. Pro. Prox. Abl. N. Dat. Intr. V. Abi. Def.  
 Dir. Pro. Proper name Fut.  
 I here Paldar go

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

- $\eta\partial$ —ə khər— $\text{ʃi}$  gos—sət.  
 I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Desi. Re. Pr.  
 Sg. Dat.  
 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.

- $\eta\partial$ —ə yi—ge— $\text{ʒik}$  di—gos—sət.  
 I. P. Pro. N. Indf. Art. Intr. V. Desi. Re. Pr.  
 Sg. Dat. Dir.  
 I letter one write

I want to write a letter.

or

I should write a letter.





|                   |            |                       |
|-------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| 6. $\eta\epsilon$ | i—ne       | pəl—dər—lə            |
| I. P. Pro.        | Prox. Pro. | N. Dat.               |
| Sg. Dir.          | Adv. Abl.  |                       |
| I                 | here       | proper name<br>Paldar |

čhə—thub—gos—sin.

Intr. V. Abl. Desi. Def. Fut.

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 —*tshər*— after the verb stem; the tense-aspect-orientation suffixes are used after *tshər*—. 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. $\eta\epsilon$                | khər— <i>ʃ</i> i                                | čö— <i>tshər</i> .          |        |
| I. P. Pro.                       | N. Dir.   | Tr. V. Compt. Sinp.         |        |
| Sg. Erg.                         |   | Perf.                       |        |
| I                                | food  | do                          |        |
|                                  |   | I finished cooking.         |        |
| 2. lə—mə—gun—lə                  | sku—rim   | səl— <i>tshər</i> —rət—kək. |        |
| N. Pl. Dat.                      | N. Dir.   | Tr. V. Hon. Compt. Simp.    |        |
|                                  |   | Narr.                       |        |
| monk                             | worship   | offer                       |        |
|                                  | Monks finished worship (lit. offering worship). |                             |        |
| 3. $\text{ʃ}\epsilon$ —pə—gun—lə | di—ri $\eta$                                    | yu—rə                       | čö—    |
| N. Pl. Dat.                      | Adv. T.   | N. Dir.                     | Tr. V. |
| labour                           | today   | canal                       | do     |
| <i>tshər</i> —rin—do.            |   |                             |        |
| Compt. Indf. Fut.                |   |                             |        |

Labourers will probably finish digging (lit. doing) the canal today.

4.  $\text{ṭhug—gu—ṭshəṅ—mə}$      $\text{ḥəp—tə—ə}$      $\text{čhə—}$   
 N.    Indf. Pro. Dir.    N.    Dat.    Intr. V.  
 boy            all            school            go  
 $\text{ṭshər—rin—yot.}$   
 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  $\text{—thub/—ñən}$  and desiderative suffix  $\text{—gos}$  are placed after the suffix  $\text{—ṭshər}$ .

*Examples :*

1.  $\text{kho—e}$              $\text{ləs}$              $\text{čö—ṭshər—thub—duk—pin.}$   
 III. P. Pro.        N. Dir.        Tr. V. Compt. Abi. Ob. Pt.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 he                    work            do  
 He could complete the work  
 (speaker saw it).

2.  $\text{zo—tə—khəṅ—ṅi}$      $\text{nəṅ—ṅə}$              $\text{mi—gun—lə}$   
 N.            Gen.        P. P. Dat.            N. Pl. Dat.  
 factory            inside            people  
 $\text{čə—lək}$              $\text{čö—ṭshər—thub—bət—kək.}$   
 N. Dir.            Tr. V. Compt. Abi. Simp. Narr.  
 thing                    do

People could complete manufacturing the things in the factory.

3.  $\text{mi—gun—lə}$              $\text{di—riṅ}$              $\text{gon—pə}$   
 N. Pl. Dat.        Adv. T.            N. Dir.  
 people            today            monastery  
 $\text{žəṅ—ṭshər—thub—bin.}$   
 Tr. V. Hon. Compt. Abi. Def. Fut.  
 build

People will be able to complete building the monastery today.



2. lə—me čhəg—ləs dʒət—tʃhər—thub—bə—dʒəd—gos—sin—  
N. Erg. N. Hon. Tr. V. Compt. Abi. Hon. Suf. Desi. Re.  
Dir.

monk work do finish can want

yot—tʃhuk.

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—*nəŋ—dɪg* and—*nəŋ—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, —*nəŋ—dɪg*— is more frequent in the colloquial use. Sometimes *nəŋ* of the suffix *nəŋ—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 (—*rəg*— and —*rək*—pin both), fact based inferential forms (—*ok* forms), appearance based inferential forms and the *tʃhuk* forms based on reportive present and reportive past. Some examples of the permissive forms are given below :

#### Examples :

- |                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. kər—gil—pə—gun      | le—dəks—lə             |
| N. Pl. Dir.            | N. Dat.                |
| Kargil people          | Proper name Ladakh     |
| ləm—yig—met—pə         | čhə—nəŋ—dɪg—gət (~     |
| N. Dir.                | Intr. V. Perm. Re. Pr. |
| permit without         | go allow               |
| <i>nəŋ—čhog—gət</i> ). |                        |
| Perm. Re. Pr.          |                        |

People of Kargil are allowed to go to  
Ladakh without permit.



8.  $s\eta\text{ən—l}\text{ə}$        $mi—gun$        $pod—l\text{ə}$        $\check{c}h\text{ə—}$   
 Adv. T. Dat. N. Pl.      N. Dat.      Intr. V.  
    Dir.      proper name  
 earlier      people      Tibet      go  
 $n\text{ə}\eta—\check{c}hok.$   
 Perm. Sim. Perf.

Earlier people were allowed to go to Tibet.

9.  $\eta\text{ə}$        $pod—ne$        $lok—ste$        $y\text{o}\eta—$   
 I. P. Pro. N. Abl.      V. St. Perf.      Intr. V.  
 Dir.      proper name      Parti.  
 I      Tibet      return having      come  
 $n\text{ə}\eta—\check{c}hog—gin—yot—pin—t\text{sh}uk.$   
 Perm.      Re. Pt. Cont.

I was allowed to come back from Tibet.

10.  $\eta\text{e}$        $kho—\text{ə}$        $yi—ge \text{đi—n}\text{ə}\eta—$        $\check{c}hok—tok.$   
 I. P. Pro. III. P. Pro.      N. Dir. Tr. V. Perm. Att. Inf.  
 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  $—t\text{sh}uk$  forms.

*Examples :*

1.  $\eta\text{ə—}\text{ə}$        $\check{c}\text{ə}$        $\check{c}o—\text{ə—phog—g}\text{ət}.$   
 I. P. Pro.      N. Dir.      Tr. V. Compl. Re. Pr.  
 Sg. Dat.  
 I      tea      do

I had to prepare tea.

2. sṛən—lə                      lə—dəks—pə—gun—lə  
 Adv. T. Dat.                  N.                  Pl. Suf. Dat.  
 earlier                          people of Ladakh  
 ṭhəl—məṅ—po              ṣəl—lə—phog—gət—pin.  
    N. Dir.              Tr. V. Hon. Compl. Re. Pt.  
    tax much              give  
    Earlier people of Ladakh had to pay  
    heavy taxes.

3. rgyəl—tuz—lə              mi—gun—lə                  mə—ne  
 N. N. Dat.                      N. Pl. Suf. Dat.              N. Dir.  
 king time                      people                          proper name  
       Mane

ṣəṅ—ṅə—phog—gət—kək.  
 Tr. V. Compt. Simp. Narr.  
 build

During king's reign people had to build Mane.

4. ṭhug—gu—ə                  ḥəp—ṭə—ə                  čhə—ə—phog—  
 N. Dat.                          N. Dat.                          Intr. V. Compl.  
 child                              school                          go  
 gin—yot—pin—ṭshuk.  
 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 rgyəl—lə yot.  
 Prox. Pro. Qul. Adj. Dir. V. to be Pr.  
 Sp. Dir.  
 this one good

This one is good.

Negative : i—bo rgyəl—lə met.  
 Prox. Pro. Qul. Adj. Dir. Neg. V. to be  
 Sp. Dir. Pr.  
 this one good

This one is not good.

2. Affirmative : pəl—ldən—ni špe—čhə  
 N. Erg. N. Dir.  
 proper name  
 Paldan book  
 ḍi—yin—yot.  
 Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 write

Paldan is writing a book.

Negative : pəl—ldən—ni špe—čhə  
 N. Erg. N. Dir.  
 proper name  
 Paldan book  
 ḍi—yin—met.  
 Tr. V. Re. Pr. Cont. Neg.  
 write

Paldan is not writing a book.

The allomorph —əd— of —yod— is also replaced by —med— and ɣə— 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 ləs čo—ət.  
 N. Erg. N. Dir. Tr. V. Re. Pr.  
 girl work do

The girl works (does the work).

Negative : pu—mo—e ləs 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      špe—čhə—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      špə—čhə—žik  
 N. Erg.                      N. Indf. Part. Dir.  
 girl                              book  
 sil—lə—met.  
 Tr. V. Re. Pr. Neg.  
 read                      The girl does not read the book.

3. Affirmative : kho                      žək—təŋ                      šku—ə  
 III. P. Pro.                      Adv. T.                      V. N. Dat.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 he                              every day                      steal  
 čhə—ət—pin—tshuk.  
 Intr. V. Re. Pt.  
 go

He used to go to steal every day.

- Negative : kho                      žək—təŋ                      šku—ə  
 III. P. Pro.                      Adv. T.                      V. N. Dat.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 he                              every day                      steal  
 čhə—ə—met—pin—tshuk.  
 Intr. V. Neg. Re. Pt.  
 go

He did not go to steal every day.

4. Affirmative : šte                      čhu      biŋ—thub—bin—yot—kək.  
 N. Erg.      N. Dir. Tr. V. Abi. Narr. Cont.  
 horse      water      come out

The horse had been able to cross the water.

- Negative : šte                      čhu      biŋ—thub—bin—met—kək.  
 N. Erg.      N. Dir. Tr. V. Abi. Neg. Narr. Cont.  
 horse      water      come out

The horse had not been able to cross the water.

5. Affirmative : kho—e              tho—re          i—tuz—lə  
 III. P. Pro.              Adv. T.          Prox. N. Dat.  
 Sg. Erg.                                  Pro.  
 he                              tomorrow this time  
 ʡu              təŋ—ŋəd—ɔ.  
 N. Dir. Tr. V. Fut. Cont.  
 song      give  
 He will be singing at this time tomorrow.

- Negative :      kho—e              tho—re          i—tuz—lə  
 III. P. Pro.              Adv. T.          Prox. N. Dat.  
 Sg. Erg.                                  Pro.  
 he                              tomorrow this time  
 ʡu              təŋ—ŋə—med—ɔ.  
 N. Dir. Tr. V. Fut. Neg. Cont.  
 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              ɳe              pu—mo          yin.  
 Prox. Pro.      I. P. Pro.      N. Dir.              V. to be  
 Sp. Dir.              Sg. Gen.                              Pr.  
 this one      my              daughter  
 This is my daughter.

- Negative :      i—bo              ɳe              pu—mo          mən.  
 Prox. Pro.      I. P. Pro.      N. Dir.              V. to be  
 Sp. Dir.              Sg. Gen.                              Neg. Pr.  
 this one      my              daughter  
 This is not my daughter.

2. Affirmative : ɳe—rəŋ                              lə—mə          yin.  
 II. P. Pro. Hon.      N. Dir.              V. to be Pr.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 you                              monk              are  
 You are monk

Negative :   ñe—rəŋ                   lə—mə                   mən.  
 II. P. Pro. Hon.   N. Dir.           V. to be Neg. Pr.  
                   Sg. Dir.  
 you                                   monk

You are not a monk.

3. Affirmative : i—bo                   ŋe           spe—čhə           yin—pin.  
 Prox. Pro.           I. P.   N. Dir.           V. to be Pt.  
 Sp. Dir.           Pro.  
                   Sg. Gen.  
 this one           my           book

This was my book.

Negative :   i—bo                   ŋe           spe—čhə   mən—pin.  
 Prox. Pro.           I. P. Pro.   N. Dir.           V. to be  
 Sp. Dir.           Sg. Gen.                           Neg. Pt.  
 this one           my           book

This was not my book.

4. Affirmative : ʃik—rten           ril—ril           yin—nok.  
 N. Dir.           Qul. Adj.           V. to be Pr.  
 world           round

The world is round.

Negative :   ʃik—rten           ril—ril           mən—nok.  
 N. Dir.           Qul. Adj.           V. to be Neg. Pr.  
 world           round

The world is not round.

5. Affirmative : ŋe           khəŋ—pə           ʃe—ə           yin—kək.  
 I. P.   N. Dir.           N. Dat.           V. to be  
 Pro. Sg.                           proper  
 Gen.                           name  
 my           house           Leh

I had a house in Leh (lit. my house was in Leh).

Negative :   ŋe           khəŋ—pə           ʃe—ə  
 I. P. Pro.           N. Dir.           N. Dat.  
 Sg. Gen.                           proper noun  
 my           house           Leh  
 mən—kək.  
 V. to be Neg.

I had no house in Leh (lit. my house was not in Leh).

6. Affirmative :

|            |                      |                         |
|------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| ə          | —bot—khən—bo         | tšhe—wəŋ                |
| Non.-Prox. | V. St. Der. Suf. Sp. | N. Dir.                 |
| Pro.       |                      | Dir.                    |
| that       | caller one           | proper name<br>Tshewang |

yin—ḏo.

V. to be Fut.

The one, (who) is calling, must be Tshewang.

Negative :

|            |                      |                         |
|------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| ə          | —bot—khən—bo         | tšhe—wəŋ                |
| Non -Prox. | V. St. Der. Suf. Sp. | N. Dir.)                |
| Pro.       |                      | Dir.                    |
| that       | caller one           | proper name<br>Tshewang |

mən—ḏo.

V. to be Neg. Fut.

The one, (who) is calling, must not be Tshewang.

### Ⓒ—*Negative of —čen*

Indefinite future tense forms, made by adding —čen to the verb stem, are negated by —če —men. The negative formation by the addition of če—men suggests that the affirmative ending čen is probably a contracted form of čə—yin (Cf. men negative of yin).

#### *Example :*

|               |             |               |            |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| Affirmative : | lob—zəŋ     | tšhes—rtšu—ə  | yəŋ—čen.   |
|               | N. Dir.     | N. Numr. Dat. | Intr. V.   |
|               |             |               | Indf. Fut. |
|               | proper name |               |            |
|               | Lobzang     | date ten      | come       |

Lobzang is likely to come on 10th.

|            |  |               |                                |
|------------|--|---------------|--------------------------------|
| Negative : | lob—zeŋ                                | tshes—rtsu—ə  | yoŋ—če—<br>men.                |
|            | N. Dir.                                | N. Numr. Dat. | Intr. V.<br>Indf. Fut.<br>Neg. |
|            | 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 —ḍo and —ḍo, the inferential formations—(fact-based as well as attested) marked by —og— and —tog—, —tshug— 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 *mə*, *me*, and *mi*. Their distribution is as follows :

- (i) *me*. occurs in the historical present formation. Herein *me* alternates with *mə*.

#### Examples :

|                  |                         |                             |
|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Affirmative : | rgyəl—po—gun—ni         | khər                        |
|                  | N. Pl. Erg.             | N. Dir.                     |
|                  | kings                   | palace                      |
|                  | rtšig—gə—nok.           |                             |
|                  | Tr.V. His. Pr.          |                             |
|                  | build                   |                             |
|                  |                         | Kings build palaces.        |
| Negative :       | rgyəl—po—gun—ni         | khər                        |
|                  | N. Pl. Erg.             | N. Dir.                     |
|                  | kings                   | palace                      |
|                  | rtšig—ge—mə (~ me)—nok. |                             |
|                  | Tr.V. His. Pr.          |                             |
|                  | build                   |                             |
|                  |                         | Kings do not build palaces. |

2. Affirmative :

|               |         |           |
|---------------|---------|-----------|
| rgyā—tsho—e   | čhu     | tshə—khu  |
| N. Gen.       | N. Dir. | Qul. Adj. |
| sea           | water   | salty     |
| yoy—ηə—nok.   |         |           |
| Int.V.His.Pr. |         |           |
| come          |         |           |

The sea water is salty.

Negative :

|                     |         |           |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|
| rgyā—tsho—e         | čhu     | tshə—khu  |
| N. Gen.             | N. Dir. | Qul. Adj. |
| sea                 | water   | salty     |
| yoy—ηə—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 —soη to the verb stem. Here, it may be remembered that —thik—soη is composed of two elements —thik and —soη (soη 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—čhə | ḍis.       |
| N. Erg. | N. Dir. | Tr.V.Simp. |
|         |         | Perf.      |
| man     | book    | write      |

The man wrote the book.

Negative :

|         |         |            |
|---------|---------|------------|
| mi—yi   | spe—čhə | mə—ḍi.     |
| N. Erg. | N. Dir. | Neg.Tr.V.  |
|         |         | Simp.Perf. |
| man     | book    | write      |

The man did not write the book.

2. Affirmative :  $\eta\theta$                        $b\theta-n\theta-r\theta-s-l\theta$   
 I.P.Pro.Sg.                      N.      Dat.  
 Dir.

proper name

I

Benaras

$s\theta\eta-pin.$

Intr.V. Pt. Perf.

go

I went to Benaras.

Negative :  $\eta\theta$                        $b\theta-n\theta-r\theta-s-l\theta$   
 I.P.Pro.Sg.                      N.      Dat.  
 Dir.

proper name

I

Benaras

$m\theta-s\theta\eta-pin.$

Neg.Intr.V.Pt. Perf.

go

I did not go to Benaras.

3. Affirmative :  $s\theta\eta-rgy\theta-si$        $\check{\theta}os$   
 N.      Erg.                      N. Dir.  
 Buddha                      religion  
 $su\eta s-k\theta k.$   
 Tr. V. Narr. Perf.  
 preach

Buddha gave preachings.

Negative :  $s\theta\eta-rgy\theta-si$        $\check{\theta}os$   
 N.      Erg.                      N. Dir.  
 Buddha                      religion  
 $m\theta-su\eta s-k\theta k.$   
 Neg. Tr. V. Narr. Perf.  
 not preach

Buddha did not give preachings.

4. Affirmative :  $k\theta o$                        $i-k\theta\eta-pe$   
 III. P. Pro.      Prox. N. Gen.  
 Sg. Dir.      Pro.  
 he                      this house  
 $n\theta\eta-\eta\theta$        $duk-thik-s\theta\eta.$   
 P. P. Dat.      Intr. V. App. B. Inf.  
 into                      stay

He might have lived in this house.



|            |              |                  |                            |
|------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| Negative : | kho          | i—               | khəŋ—pe                    |
|            | III. P. Pro. |                  | Prox. N. Gen.              |
|            | Sg. Dir.     |                  | Pro.                       |
|            | he           |                  | this house                 |
|            | nəŋ—ŋə       | duk—thig—mə—soŋ. |                            |
|            | P. P. Dat.   |                  | Intr. V. App. B. Inf. Neg. |
|            | into         |                  | stay                       |

He might not have lived in this house.

|                  |         |          |                        |
|------------------|---------|----------|------------------------|
| 5. Affirmative : | yi—ge   | gyoks—pə | ḍi.                    |
|                  | N. Dir. | Adv. M.  | Tr. V. Imp.            |
|                  | letter  | fast     | write                  |
|                  |         |          | Write the letter fast. |

|            |         |          |                               |
|------------|---------|----------|-------------------------------|
| Negative : | yi—ge   | gyoks—pə | mə—ḍi.                        |
|            | N. Dir. | Adv. M.  | Neg. Tr. V. Imp.              |
|            | letter  | fast     | write                         |
|            |         |          | Do not write the letter fast. |

|                  |  |         |                |
|------------------|--|---------|----------------|
| 6. Affirmative : | khyo—rəŋ—ŋi  | ṭshe    | riŋ—šik.       |
|                  | II. P. Pro. Non-Hon.                                   | N. Dir. | Intr. V. Bend. |
|                  | Sg. Gen.   |         |                |
|                  | your   | life    | long           |
|                  | May you have a long life (lit. may your life be long). |         |                |

|            |  |         |                     |
|------------|--|---------|---------------------|
| Negative : | khyo—rəŋ—ŋi  | ṭshe    | mə—riŋ—šik.         |
|            | II. P. Pro. Non-Hon.   | N. Dir. | Intr. V. Neg. Bend. |
|            | Gen.   |         |                     |
|            | you  | life    | long                |
|            | May you not have a long life (lit. may your life not be long). |         |                     |

|                  |                    |         |                     |
|------------------|--------------------|---------|---------------------|
| 7. Affirmative : | kho                | čə      | thuŋ—ste            |
|                  | III. P. Pro.       | N. Dir. | V. St. Perf. Parti. |
|                  | Sg. Dir.           |         |                     |
|                  | he                 | tea     | having drunk        |
|                  | soŋ—pin.           |         |                     |
|                  | Intr. V. Pt. Perf. |         |                     |
|                  | go                 |         |                     |

He went after having had the tea.



čad—din—mi—duk (~ruk).

Tr. V. Ob. Pr. Cont. Neg.

cut

He is not cutting the tree.

3. Affirmative : khyo—rəŋ—ŋi                   spe—čhə  
 II. P. Pro. Sg. Erg.                   N. Dir.  
 you   book  
 ɖi—ruk (~duk)—pin.  
 Tr. V. Ob. Pt.  
 write

You wrote the book.

- Negative : khyo—rəŋ—ŋi                   spe—čhə  
 II. P. Pro. Sg. Erg.                   N. Dir.  
 you   book  
 ɖi—ə—mi—ruk (~duk)—pin.  
 Tr. V. Neg. Ob. Pt.  
 write

You did not write the book.

4. Affirmative : ŋe                   go—ə                   zur—mo  
 I. P. Pro. N. Dat.                   N. Dir.  
 Sg. Gen.  
 my                   head                   pain  
 yŋŋ—ŋə—rək.  
 Intr. V. Ex. Pr.  
 come

I have headache  
 (lit. pain comes to my head).

- Negative : ŋe                   go—ə                   zur—mo  
 I. P. Pro. N. Dat.                   N. Dir.  
 Sg. Gen.  
 I                   head                   pain  
 yŋŋ—ŋə—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—şən—te  
 III. P. Pro.                      N.        Qul. Adj. Dir.  
 Sg. Dat.  
 he                                      pain very  
 duk,        ši—ok.  
 V. to be Intr. V. F. B. Inf. Pr.  
 die

He is very sick, (he) will die.

Negative : kho—ə                      zur—mo—şən—te  
 III. P. Pro.                      N.        Qul. Adj. Dir.  
 Sg. Dat.  
 he                                      pain        very  
 mi—ruk,                      mi—ši—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—bə—ə  
 I. P. Pro.    Adv. T.                      N. Dat.  
 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—bə—ə  
 I. P. Pro.    Adv. T.                      N. Dat.  
 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—rəŋ                         | bə—nə—rəs—lə        |
|                  | II. P. Pro. Non-                 | N. Dat.             |
|                  | Hon. Sg. Dir.                    | proper name         |
|                  | you                              | Benaras             |
|                  | sil—lə                           | čhen—ḍo.            |
|                  | V. N. Dat.                       | Intr. V. Indf. Fut. |
|                  | study                            | go                  |
|                  | You may go to Benaras to study.. |                     |

|            |                                      |                          |
|------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Negative : | khyo—rəŋ                             | bə—nə—rəs—lə             |
|            | II. P. Pro. Non-                     | N. Dat.                  |
|            | Hon. Sg. Dir.                        | proper name              |
|            | you                                  | Benaras                  |
|            | sil—lə                               | mi—čhen—ḍo.              |
|            | V. N. Dat.                           | Neg. Intr. V. Indf. Fut. |
|            | study                                | 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 | rtʂig—(non-honorific) : | žəŋ—(honorific)   |

In order to form an honorific, the corresponding honorific root is used.

### B—Honorific Suffix *dzəd*—

Roots, which do not have their corresponding honorific roots, form their honorific forms by the addition of a derivational suffix —*dzəd*—, e.g.

- (to) read     *di—*(non-honorific) : *di—ə—dzəd—*(honorific)  
 (to) climb    *dzəks—*(non-honorific) : *dzəks—sə—dzəd—*(,,)  
 (to) come out *bi<sub>η</sub>—*(non-honorific) : *bi<sub>η</sub>—<sub>η</sub>ə—dzəd—*(,,)  
 (to) do       *čo—*(non-honorific) : *čo—ə—dzəd—*(,,)

Verb root *čo—* has a corresponding form *—dzəd—*, but *čo—ə—dzəd—* is used frequently as its honorific form :

- (to) do   *čo* (non-honorific) :  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} dzəd— \quad \text{(honorific)} \\ \text{čo—ə—dzəd—} \text{(honorific)} \end{array} \right.$

Honorific roots can be used by themselves to express respect and politeness. However, it is possible to add the honorific derivational suffix *—dzəd—* to honorific roots, except to *—dzəd—* (Honorific) '(to) do'. In such a case an extra degree of respect and politeness is intended.

1. Non-honorific :   *kho—e*           *ləs*     *čo—ruk* (~ *duk*).  
                           III. P. Pro.        N. Dir. Tr. V. Ob. Pr.  
                           Sg. Erg.  
                           he                   work   do  
   He is doing the work.
- Honorific :        *ñə—rə<sub>η</sub>—<sub>η</sub>i*                                   *čhəg—ləs*  
                           II. P. Pro. Hon. Sg.                        N. Hon. Dir.  
   Erg.  
                           you   work  
                           *čo—ə—dzəd—duk*.  
                           Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pr.  
                           do
- or*
- ñə—rə<sub>η</sub>—<sub>η</sub>i*     *čhəg—ləs*     *dzəd—duk*.  
                           II. P. Pro. Hon. N. Hon. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.  
                           Sg. Erg.    Ob. Pr.  
                           you   work       do  
   You are doing the work.
2. Non-honorific :   *sə—ni—pe*                                   *ʃəp—tə—khə<sub>η</sub>*  
                           N. Gen.    N. Dir.  
                           proper name  
                           Sanipa   school  
                           *rtɕiks—tok*.  
                           Tr. V. Att. Inf.  
                           build

The school has been built at Sanipa.

|             |         |           |             |
|-------------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Honorific : | lə—me   | gon—pə    | ʒəŋ—ŋin.    |
|             | N. Erg. | N. Dir.   | Tr. V. Hon. |
|             |         |           | Def. Fut.   |
|             | monk    | monastery | build       |

or

|  |                     |           |             |
|--|---------------------|-----------|-------------|
|  | lə—me               | gon—pə    | ʒəŋ—ŋə—     |
|  | N. Erg.             | N. Dir.   | Tr. V. Hon. |
|  | monk                | monastery | build       |
|  | dzəd—din.           |           |             |
|  | Hon. Suf. Def. Fut. |           |             |

Monk will build the monastery.

|                    |                  |           |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------|
| 3. Non-honorific : | wəŋ—gyəl—li      | kəŋs—ri—ə |
|                    | N. Erg.          | N. Dat.   |
|                    | proper name      |           |
|                    | Wangyal          | glacier   |
|                    | dzəks—pin.       |           |
|                    | Tr. V. Pt. Perf. |           |
|                    | climb            |           |

|             |                            |           |
|-------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| Honorific : | wəŋ—gyəl—le—yi             | kəŋs—ri—ə |
|             | N. Hon. Suf. Erg.          | N. Dat.   |
|             | proper name                |           |
|             | Wangyal                    | glacier   |
|             | dzəks—sə—dzət(s)—pin.      |           |
|             | Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Pt. Perf. |           |
|             | climb                      |           |

Wangyal climbed the glacier.

|                    |              |         |                  |
|--------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|
| 4. Non-honorific : | kho—e        | ʃpe—čhə | ḍi—ət.           |
|                    | III. P. Pro- | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Re. Pr.   |
|                    | Sg. Erg.     |         |                  |
|                    | he           | book    | read             |
|                    |              |         | He reads a book. |

|             |               |          |                  |
|-------------|---------------|----------|------------------|
| Honorific : | khon—ŋi       | čhək—ʃpe | ḍi—ə—dzəd—dət.   |
|             | III. P. Pro.  | N. Hon.  | Tr. V. Hon. Suf. |
|             | Hon. Sg. Erg. | Dir.     | Re. Pr.          |
|             | he            | book     | read             |
|             |               |          | He reads a book. |

|                    |                   |         |          |             |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------|----------|-------------|
| 5. Non-honorific : | khyod—di          | tho—re  |          |             |
| (Familiar)         | II. P. Pro. Fami. | Adv. T. |          |             |
|                    | Sg. Erg.          |         |          |             |
|                    | you               |         | tomorrow |             |
|                    | khyod—di          | ə—bə—ə  | gos      | kəl—lin.    |
|                    | II. P. Pro.       | N. Dat. | N. Dir.  | Tr. V. Def. |
|                    | Fami. Sg. Gen.    |         |          | Fut.        |
|                    | you               | father  | coat     | send        |

|                 |                      |         |          |  |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------|----------|--|
| Non-honorific : | khyo—rəŋ—ŋi          | tho—re  |          |  |
|                 | II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. | Adv. T. |          |  |
|                 | Sg. Erg.             |         |          |  |
|                 | you                  |         | tomorrow |  |
|                 | khyo—rəŋ—ŋi          | ə—bə—ə  | gos      |  |
|                 | II. P. Pro. Non-Hon. | N. Dat. | N. Dir.  |  |
|                 | Sg. Gen.             |         |          |  |
|                 | you                  | father  | coat     |  |
|                 | kəl—lin.             |         |          |  |
|                 | Tr. V. Def. Fut.     |         |          |  |
|                 | send                 |         |          |  |

|             |                     |              |               |  |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|--|
| Honorific : | ñe—rəŋ—ŋi           | tho—re       | ñe—rəŋ—ŋi     |  |
|             | II. P. Pro. Hon.    | Adv. T.      | II.P.Pro.Hon. |  |
|             | Sg. Erg.            |              | Sg. Gen.      |  |
|             | you                 | tomorrow     | you           |  |
|             | ə—bə—le—ə           | nam—zə       | kəl—lə—       |  |
|             | N. Hon.Suf.Dat.     | N. Hon. Dir. | Tr. V.        |  |
|             | father              | coat         | send          |  |
|             | ɖzəd—din.           |              |               |  |
|             | Hon. Suf. Def. Fut. |              |               |  |

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 —ɖzəd—. In case of secondary modal formations, i.e. abilitative, desiderative, completive, permissive and compulsive, it is alternatively permitted to add —ɖzəd— after the secondary modal suffixes, e.g.



1. *Abilitative* :

Non-honorific      kho—e      ſpe—čhə      ɖi—thub—bət.  
 III. P. Pro      N. Dir.      Tr. V. Abi. Re.  
 Sg. Erg.      Pr.

he      book      write

Honorific :      kho<sub>η</sub>—ηi      čhək—ſpe.  
 III. P. Pro.      N. Hon. Dir.  
 Hon. Sg. Erg.

he      book

ɖi—ə—dzət—thub—bət.

Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Abi. Re. Pr.

write

or

kho<sub>η</sub>—ηi      čhək—ſpe  
 III. P. Pro.      N. Hon. Dir.  
 Hon. Sg. Erg.

he      book

ɖi—thub—bə—dzəd—dət.

Tr. V. Abi. Hon. Suf.      Re. Pr.

write

He can write a book.

2. *Desiderative* :

(i) Non-honorific :      ηə      tu<sub>η</sub>—ri—ə      čhə—gos—sət.  
 I. P. Pro.      N. Dat.      Intr. V. Desi.  
 Sg. Dir.      proper name      Re. Pr.

I      Tungri      go

I want to go to Tungri (a village in Ladakh).

Honorific :      lə—mə      tu<sub>η</sub>—ri—ə      skyod—gos—sət.  
 N. Dir.      N. Dat.      Intr. V. Hon. Desi.  
 proper name      Re. Pr.

monk      Tungri      go

or

lə—mə      tu<sub>η</sub>—ri—ə      skyod—də—  
 N. Dir.      N. Dat.      Intr. V.(Hon.)  
 proper name

monk      Tungri      go

dzəd—gos—sət.

Hon. Suf. Abi. Re. Pr.

or

lə—mə

N. Dir.

monk

dzəd—dət.

Hon. Suf. Re. Pr.

tuŋ—ri—ə

N. Dat.

proper name

Tungri

skyod—gos—sə—

Intr. V. Hon. Abi.

go

Lama should go to Tungri.

or

Lama wants to go to Tungri.

(ii) Non-honorific :

kho—ə

III. P. Pro.

Non-Hon.

Sg. Dat.

he

rt͡səŋ—po

N. Dir.

river

biŋ—thub—gos—pin.

Tr. V. Abi. Desi. Pt. Perf.

come out

Honorific :

khon—ŋə

III. P. Pro.

Hon. Sg. Dat.

he

rt͡səŋ—po

N. Dir.

river

biŋ—ŋə—dzət—thub—gos—pin.

Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Abi. Desi. Pt. Perf.

come out

or

khon—ŋə

III. P. Pro.

Hon. Sg. Dat.

he

rt͡səŋ—po

N. Dir.

river

biŋ—thub—bə—dzəd—gos—pin.

Tr. V. Abi. Hon. Suf. Desi. Pt. Perf.

come out

*or*

|                                       |  |                                   |
|---------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| $\text{kho}\eta$ — $\eta\mathfrak{a}$ | $\text{rts}\mathfrak{a}\eta$ — $\text{po}$ | $\text{bi}\eta$ — $\text{thub}$ — |
| III. P. Pro. Hon.                     | N. Dir.                                    | Tr. V. Abi.                       |
| Sg. Dat.                              |  |                                   |
| he                                    | river                                      | come out                          |

$\text{gos}$ — $\text{s}\mathfrak{a}$ — $\text{dz}\mathfrak{a}\text{t}$ — $\text{pin}$ .

Desi. Hon. Suf. Pt. Perf.

He should be able to cross the river.

### 3. *Completive* :

|                 |                           |                                |   |
|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Non-honorific : | $\text{kho}$ — $\text{e}$ | $\text{l}\mathfrak{a}\text{s}$ | $\mathfrak{c}\text{o}$ — $\text{ts}\mathfrak{a}\text{r}$ — $\text{duk}$ . |
|                 | III. P. Pro.              | N. Dir. Tr. V. Compt. Ob.      |   |
|                 | Sg. Erg.                  |                                | Pr.   |
|                 | he                        | work do                        |   |

|             |                                   |   |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Honorific : | $\text{kho}\eta$ — $\eta\text{i}$ | $\mathfrak{c}\text{h}\mathfrak{a}\text{g}$ — $\text{l}\mathfrak{a}\text{s}$ |
|             | III. P. Pro.                      | N. Hon. Dir.  |
|             | Hon. Sg. Erg.                     |   |
|             | he                                | work  |

$\mathfrak{c}\text{o}$ — $\mathfrak{a}$ — $\text{dz}\mathfrak{a}\text{t}$ — $\text{ts}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{a}\text{r}$ — $\text{duk}$ .

Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Compt. Ob. Pr.

*or*

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| $\text{kho}\eta$ — $\eta\text{i}$ | $\mathfrak{c}\text{h}\mathfrak{a}\text{g}$ — $\text{l}\mathfrak{a}\text{s}$ |
| III. P. Pro.                      | N. Hon. Dir.  |
| he                                | work  |

$\text{dz}\mathfrak{a}\text{t}$ — $\text{ts}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{a}\text{r}$ — $\text{duk}$ .

Tr. V. Hon. Compt. Ob. Pr.

do

*or*

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| $\text{kho}\eta$ — $\eta\text{i}$ | $\mathfrak{c}\text{h}\mathfrak{a}\text{g}$ — $\text{l}\mathfrak{a}\text{s}$ |
| III. P. Pro.                      | N. Hon. Dir.  |
| Hon. Sg. Erg.                     |   |
| he                                | work  |

$\text{dz}\mathfrak{a}\text{t}$ — $\text{ts}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{a}\text{r}$ — $\text{r}\mathfrak{a}$ — $\text{dz}\mathfrak{a}\text{d}$ — $\text{duk}$ .

Tr. V. Compt. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pr.

He finishes doing the work.

### 4. *Permissive* :

|                 |                           |                                     |                           |   |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Non-honorific : | $\text{kho}$ — $\text{e}$ | $\eta\mathfrak{a}$ — $\mathfrak{a}$ | $\text{pe}$ — $\text{ne}$ | $\text{t}\mathfrak{a}\eta$ — $\text{n}\mathfrak{a}\eta$ — |
|                 | III. P. Pro.              | I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V.           |                           |   |
|                 | Sg. Erg.                  | Sg. Dat.                            |                           | Perm.   |
|                 | he                        | me                                  | money give                |   |

$\text{dig}$ — $\text{duk}$ — $\text{pin}$  ( $\sim \text{n}\mathfrak{a}\eta$ — $\mathfrak{c}\text{h}\mathfrak{o}\text{g}$ — $\text{duk}$ — $\text{pin}$ ).

Ob. Pt. ( $\sim$  Perm. Ob. Pt.)

Honorific :

khon<sub>η</sub>-<sub>η</sub>i                      ηə-ə                      pe-ne  
 III. P. Pro. Hon. I. P. Pro. N. Dir.  
 Sg. Erg.                      Sg. Dat.  
 he                                      me                      money  
 səl-nə<sub>η</sub>-<sub>ḍ</sub>ig-<sub>ḍ</sub>uk-pin (~ nə<sub>η</sub>-<sub>č</sub>hog-  
 Tr. V. Hon. Perm.                      Ob. Pt. (~ Perm.  
 give  
 duk-pin).  
 Ob. Pt.)

or

khon<sub>η</sub>-<sub>η</sub>i                      ηə-ə                      pe-ne  
 III. P. Pro.                      I.P.Pro. Sg.                      N. Dir.  
 Hon. Sg. Erg.                      Dat.  
 he                                      me                      money  
 səl-nə<sub>η</sub>-<sub>ḍ</sub>ig-gə-<sub>ḍ</sub>zəd-<sub>ḍ</sub>uk-pin (~  
 Tr. V. Hon. Perm. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pt.  
 give  
 nə<sub>η</sub>-<sub>č</sub>hog-gə-<sub>ḍ</sub>zəd-<sub>ḍ</sub>uk-pin).  
 (~ Perm. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pt.)

or

khon<sub>η</sub>-<sub>η</sub>i    ηə-ə    pe-ne    səl-lə-<sub>ḍ</sub>zəd-  
 III. P. I. P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Hon.  
 Pro. Hon.                                      Hon. Suf.  
 Sg. Erg.    Sg. Dat.  
 he                      me                      money    give  
 nə<sub>η</sub>-<sub>ḍ</sub>ig-<sub>ḍ</sub>uk-pin (~ nə<sub>η</sub>-<sub>č</sub>hog-<sub>ḍ</sub>uk-  
 -pin).  
 Perm.                      Ob. Pt. (~ Perm.    Ob. Pt.)  
 He was allowed to give me money.

## 5. Compulsive :

Non-honorific :

t̚hug-gu-ə                      gon-pə-ə                      čhə-ə-  
                     N. Dat.                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V.  
                     child                      monastery                      go

phog-gin-yot-t̚shuk.

Compl. Re. Pr. Cont.

Children had to be in the process of going to the temple.

Honorific : lə – mə – le – ə                      gon – pə – ə  
 N. Hon. Suf. Dat.                      N. Dat.  
 monk    monastery  
 skyod – də – phog – gin – yot – t̥shuk.  
 Intr. V. Hon. Compl. Re. Pr. Cont.  
 go

or

lə – mə – le – ə                      gon – pə – ə                      skyod – də –  
 N. Hon. Suf. Dat.                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V. Hon.  
 monk    monastery                      go  
 dzəd – də – phog – gin – yot – t̥shuk.  
 Hon. Suf. Compl. Re. Pr. Cont.

or

lə – mə – le – ə                      gon – pə – ə                      skyod – də –  
 N. Hon. Suf. Dat.                      N. Dat.                      Intr. V. Hon.  
 monk    monastery                      go  
 phog – gə – dzəd – din – yot – t̥shuk.  
 Compl. Hon. Suf. Re. Pr. Cont.

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).

### Ⓒ—Honorific Negatives :

Honorific 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 : ñe – rəŋ – ŋi                      čhəg – ləs  
 II. P. Pro. Hon. Sg. Erg.                      N. Hon. Dir.  
 you    work  
 čo – ə – dzəd – duk.  
 Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Ob. Pr.  
 do

You are doing the work.



2. lə—me rgyəl—po—ə gon—pə—ə skyod—də—  
 N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dat. Intr. V.  
 monk king monastery go  
 dzət—čuk—thub—bət—tshuk.  
 Hon. Suf. Caus. Abi. Re. Pr.  
 Lama had not been able to make the king  
 to go to the monastery.

3. ə—be t̥hug—gu—ə ʃpe—čhə sil—čug—thub—bin.  
 N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. Caus. Abi.  
 Def. Fut.  
 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—ə di—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. ŋe kho—ə ʃu təŋ—čug—gə—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. ə—be t̥hug—gu—ə ʃpe—čhə sil—čug—mi—thub.  
 N. Erg. N. Dat. N. Dir. Tr. V. Caus. Neg.  
 Abi. Def. Fut.  
 father son book read  
 Father will not be able to make the son to read the book.
3. ə—me t̥hug—gu ltəd—mo—ə čhə—mi—  
 N. Erg. N. Dir. N. Dat. Intr. V. Neg.  
 mother son show go not

čug—gin—do.  
Caus. Indf. Fut.

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. ŋe    | ləs     | di—riŋ  | tʂhər—čug—gin.                |
| I.       | P. Pro. | N. Dir. | Adv. T.                       |
| Sg. Erg. |         |         | Tr. V. Cause. Def. Fut.       |
| I        | work    | today   | finish                        |
|          |         |         | I will finish the work today. |
- 
- |              |         |                        |
|--------------|---------|------------------------|
| 2. kho—e     | khər—ʂi | čo—čug—gin.            |
| III. P. Pro. | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Caus. Def. Fut. |
| Sg. Erg.     |         |                        |
| he           | food    | do                     |
|              |         | He will cook the food. |

It may, however, be noted that such expressions can be ambiguous. Thus the sentence 'ŋe ləs di—riŋ tʂhər—čug—gin' 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—ə        | khər—ʂi | čo—čug—gin.                        |
| III. P. Pro. | III. P. Pro. | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Caus. Def. Fut.             |
| 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. ñe – rəŋ – ŋi | kh o – ə   | ləs  | čə – ə – dzət – čug – duk. |
| II.P.Pro. Hon.   | III.P.Pro. | N.   | Tr. V. Hon. Suf.           |
| Sg. Erg.         | Sg. Dat.   | Dir. | Caus. Ob. Pr.              |
| 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 –ə at the end of the sentence. Morphophonemically –ə will change to a consonant plus –ə when it is added to a sentence ending in a consonant.

*Examples* :

- |                    |         |                |
|--------------------|---------|----------------|
| 1. khyo – reŋ – ŋi | yi – ge | đi – əd – də ? |
| II.P.Pro.Non-Hon.  | N.Dir.  | Tr.V.Re.Pr.    |
| Sg.Erg.            |         | Intrr.         |
| you                | letter  | write          |
- Are you writing a letter ?
- |               |               |                  |
|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| 2. pəl – ldən | ñe – rəŋ – ŋi | zims – kheŋ – ŋə |
| N. Dir.       | II.P.Pro.Hon. | N. Hon. Dat.     |
| proper name   | Sg. Gen.      |                  |
| Paldan        | your          | house            |
- yəŋs – sə ?  
Intr. V. Simp. Perf. Intrr.  
come

Did Paldan come to your house ?

Ladakhi attests an interrogative construction, which is used only with 1st. 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 –ə 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  $-\bar{\text{ə}}$  is added.

*Examples :*

1.  $\eta\text{e}$              $\text{yi} - \text{ge}$              $\text{ḍi} - \bar{\text{ə}} ?$   
 I. P. Pro.    N. Dir.            Tr. V. Intrr.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 I                letter                write  
May I write the letter ?
2.  $\eta\bar{\text{ə}} - \text{ʒe}$              $\text{yi} - \text{ge}$              $\text{sil} - \text{le} ?$   
 I. P. Pro. Incl.    N. Dir.            Tr. V. Intrr.  
 Pl. Erg.  
 we                letter                read  
May we read the letter ?

Such constructions can be negated as per rules, e.g.

- $\eta\text{e}$              $\text{yi} - \text{ge}$              $\text{m}\bar{\text{ə}} - \text{ḍi} - \bar{\text{ə}} ?$   
 I. P. Pro.    N. Dir.            Neg. Tr. V. Intrr.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 I                letter                write  
May I not write the letter ?

Causatives can also be derived for such constructions.

- $\eta\text{e}$              $\text{yi} - \text{ge}$              $\text{ḍi} - \bar{\text{ə}} - \text{ḍz}\bar{\text{ə}}\text{ḍ} - \text{čug} - \text{g}\bar{\text{ə}} ?$   
 I. P. Pro.    N. Dir.            Tr. V. Hon. Suf. Caus. Intrr.  
 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 —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=rəŋs—šes 'to be frozen', ləŋs+čes=ləŋs—šes 'to stand' etc.

Infinitives are used in a verbal sequence in which they are followed by the forms —yod—, —yod—ɟo, —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.     |          |           | Inf. Suf.                          |          |
| he           | tomorrow | monastery | come                               |          |
|              |          |           | He is able to come tomorrow to the |          |
|              |          |           | monastery.                         |          |
- |              |          |           |   |          |
|--------------|----------|-----------|---|----------|
| 2. kho       | tho—re   | gon—pə—ə  | yoŋ—čes                                   | yod—ɟo.  |
| 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—ə  | yoŋ—čes                               | yot—pin. |
| III. P. Pro. | Adv. T.  | N. Dat.   | Intr. V.                              | V. to be |
| Sg. Dir.     |          |           | Inf. Suf.                             | Pt.      |
| he           | tomorrow | monastery | come                                  |          |
|              |          |           | He was (i.e. intended) to come to the |          |
|              |          |           | monastery tomorrow.                   |          |
- |            |          |                 |          |
|------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| 4. ŋə      | čhə—     | 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. kəl – te    | ñe – rəŋ         | nə – niŋ    | lə – dəks – lə      |
| Part.          | II. P. Pro. Hon. | Adv. T.     | N. Dat.             |
|                | Sg. Dir.         |             | Proper name         |
| if             | you              | last year   | Ladakh              |
| skyot – pin    | nə               | he – mis –  | tšhes – 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. čo – čes 'doing', čhə – 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  | mə – rgyəl – lə | mən.                          |
| Qul. Adj.               | V. N. Dir. | Qul. Adj.       | Neg. V. to be Pr.             |
| much                    | talking    | good            | Talking too much is not good. |
| 2. lə – dəks – pə – gun | ʃu         | təŋ – čes –     |                               |
| N. Pl. Suf. Dir.        | N. Dir.    | V. N.           |                               |
| proper name             |            |                 |                               |
| Ladakhis                | song       | giving          |                               |

nəŋ – rtse – čes – lə      thət – po    yin – nok.  
 Part. V. N. Dat.      Qul. Adj. V. to be  
 and dancing      liking

Ladakhis are fond of singing and dancing.

3.    ηə – ə      khər – ʃi      čo – čes      šes – sə – met.  
 I. P. Pro.      N. Dir.      V. N. Dir.      Tr. V. Neg. Re.  
 Sg. Dat.                     Pr.  
 I      food      doing      know

I do not know cooking.

4.    i – bo      koz – lək      ʃu – čes – si      sə – bən  
 Prox. Pro. Sp. N. Dir.      V. N. Gen.      N. Dir.  
 this one      clothe      washing      soap  
 yin – nok.  
 V. to be

This is the soap for washing clothes.

Some verbal nouns are formed by adding the suffix –pə (borrowed from Tibetan) to the verb stems, e.g.

gon – pə      Wearing  
 rṭses – pə      Dancing

–pə verbal nouns are infrequent. 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 – e      ʃug – gu sil – lə      rgyəl – lə      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      ləs      čo – ə      ʃhəm – pə      duk.  
 III. P. Pro.      N. Dir. V. N.Dat. Qul. Adj. V. to be  
 Non-Hon. Sg.           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 — ə 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 — ə is added.

If čəb— is not used in such constructions it gives the meaning of ‘as, when’ and not ‘as soon as’.

*Examples :*

|                |                      |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. ηə          | sə — te — šən — lə   | čəp — ʃeb — bə — nəŋ |
| I. P. Pro. Sg. | N. Dat.              | Part. V. St. Part.   |
| Dir.           |                      |                      |
| I              | station              | reach                |
| rel            | soŋ.                 |                      |
| N. Dir.        | Intr. V. Simp. Perf. |                      |
| train          | go                   |                      |

As soon as I reached the station, the train left.

|                    |         |                       |
|--------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| 2. ʃtu — gu — yi   | ə — mə  | čəp — thoŋ — ηə — nəŋ |
| N. Sg. Erg.        | N. Dir. | Part. V. St. Part.    |
| child              | mother  | see                   |
| ηus.               |         |                       |
| Intr. V. Simp. Pt. |         |                       |
| cry                |         |                       |

As soon as the child saw the mother, he cried.

|              |                      |                  |           |
|--------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------|
| 3. kho       | čəp – ʃəb – bə – nəŋ | ŋə               | 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  $-\ə/-Cə$  which is in turn followed by  $-lə$ . The two suffixes  $-\ə/-Cə$  and  $-lə$ , 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           | yŋŋ – ŋə – lə. |                |
| N. Dir.          | V. N. Suf.     | (Look) the bus |
| bus              | come           | (is) coming.   |
| 2. ʈug – gu – yi | ʃug – gu       | čəd – də – lə. |
| N. Erg.          | N. Dir.        | V. St. Suf.    |
| child            | paper          | tear           |
- (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  $bəs\ yŋŋ - ŋə - lə$  may result from  $bəs\ yŋŋ - ŋə - lə\ duk$ . 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  $-yin - nəŋ$  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  $-in - nəŋ$ . Such forms imply an action, concurrent to the action of the main verb.

## Examples :

- |              |                   |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. kho       | ηu — yin — nəη    | soη.              |
| III. P. Pro. | V. St. Pr. Parti. | Intr. Simp. Perf. |
| Sg. Dir.     |                   |                   |
| he           | cry               | go                |
- He left (while) crying, i.e. he was crying at the time of leaving.

- |              |                   |         |              |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|--------------|
| 2. kho — e   | ḍul — lin — nəη   | ruηs    | šəts.        |
| III. P. Pro. | V. St. Pr. Parti. | N. Dir. | Tr. V. Simp. |
| Sg. Erg.     |                   |         | Perf.        |
| he           | walk              | story   | tell         |
- He told a story (while) walking (i.e. while he was telling the story, he was also walking simultaneously).

- |                    |                       |          |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------|
| 3. pəl — ldən — ni | ñid — yoη — ηin — nəη | spe — rə |
| N. Erg.            | V. St. Pr. Parti.     | N. Dir.  |
| proper name        |                       |          |
| Paldan             | sleep                 | talk     |
| təη — duk.         |                       |          |
| Tr. V. Ob. Pr.     |                       |          |
| give               |                       |          |
- Paldan talks in sleep (i.e. Paldan is talking while sleeping).

There is yet another way of referring to a concurrent action. Suffix  $\text{ʒə} — \text{ne}$  or  $\text{zə} — \text{ne}$  is added to the verb stem to form a present participle, e.g.  $\text{ñid} — \text{yoη} — \text{ʒə} — \text{ne}$  'sleeping'.

- |              |           |               |            |           |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------|-----------|
| 1. kho       | ʃhom — mə | čhə — ʒə — ne | ηə — ə     | ʃhug — gə |
| III. P. Pro. | N. Dir.   | V. St. Pr.    | I. P. Pro. | V. N.     |
| Sg. Dir.     |           | Parti.        | Sg. Dat.   | Dat.      |
| he           | market    | go            | I          | meeting   |
- yoηs.  
Intr. V. Simp. Perf.  
come

He came to see me while going to the market (lit. ... at the time of going to the market).



or

|              |           |                      |                     |
|--------------|-----------|----------------------|---------------------|
| kho          | ṭhom – mə | čhen—nəṅ             | ṅə—ə                |
| III. P. Pro. | N. Dir.   | V. St. Pr. Parti.    | I. P. Pro. Sg. Dat. |
| Sg. Dir.     |           |                      |                     |
| he           | market    | go                   | I                   |
| ṭhug – gə    |           | yOṅs.                |                     |
| V. N. Dat.   |           | Intr. V. Simp. Perf. |                     |
| meeting      |           | come                 |                     |

He came to see me while going to the market (lit. ... at the time of going to the market).

|                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 2. zə – tʂə – nə  | mə – rgot.         |
| V. St. Pr. Parti. | Neg. Intr. V. Imp. |
| eat               | laugh              |

or

|                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| zen – nəṅ         | mə – rgot.         |
| V. St. Pr. Parti. | Neg. Intr. V. Imp. |
| eat               | laugh              |

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. *khon* /*khon—ni*      *čhæg—ləs*      *dzət—te*  
 III. P. Pro. /III. P. Pro.Hon. N. Hon. Dir. V. St. Hon. V.  
 Hon. Sg. Dir. Sg. Erg.      Perf. Parti.  
 he                      he                      work                      having done  
*skyot.*  
 Intr. V. Simp. Perf.      He went (after) having finish-  
 go                      ed the work.
2. *kho* /*kho—e*      *ri—ə*      *dzəks—te*  
 III. P. Pro. /III. P. Pro.      N. Dat.      V. St. Perf.  
 Sg. Dir.      Sg. Erg.      Parti.  
 he /      he                      hill                      having climbed  
*gon—pə—ə*      *ʃəl—lə*      *soŋ.*  
 N. Dat.      N.V. Dat.      Intr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 monastery                      visit                      go  
 He, having climbed the hill, went to visit  
 the monastery.
3. *čə*      *kəp—ste*      *khyon.*  
 N. Dir.      V. St. Perf. Parti.      Tr. V. Imp.  
 tea                      having covered                      bring  
 Bring the tea (after) having covered (it).
4. *don—təŋ*      *don—(s)te*      *ʃñəl*      *zims—sə—*  
 N. Hon. Dir.      V. St. Hon. Perf.      N. Hon. Int. V.  
 Parti.  
 food                      having eaten                      sleep                      sleep  
*dzət.*  
 Hon. Suf. Imp.      Sleep after taking (your) food.
5. *kho—e*      *thəŋ—kə*      *ʒəŋ—ste*      *gon—pə—ə*  
 III. P. Pro.      N. Dir.      V. St. Perf.      N. Dat.  
 Sg. Erg.      Parti.  
 he                      religious painting                      having madem                      onastery  
*phuls.*  
 Tr. V. Hon. Simp. Perf.  
 offer                      Having made the thanka, he  
 offered (it) to the monastery.
6. *kho*      *sil—čes*      *tshər—(s)te*      *ge—rgən*  
 III. P. Pro.      V. N. Dir.      V. St. Perf. Parti.      N. Dir.  
 Sg. Dir.  
 he                      study                      having finished                      teacher

gyur(s).

Intr. V. Simp. Perf.

became

Having completed his studies,  
he became a teacher.

The verb root čhə—‘(to) go’ has an allomorph soŋ— to which —te is added, i.e. soŋ—te ‘having gone’. The verb root zə—‘(to) eat’ has an allomorph zo— to which the suffix —ste is added, i.e. zo—ste ‘having eaten’.

- |    |                   |       |                  |         |
|----|-------------------|-------|------------------|---------|
| 7. | khəŋ—ŋi           | kə    | soŋ—te           | pe—ne   |
|    | III. P. Pro. Hon. | P. P. | Simp. Pt. V. St. | N. Dir. |
|    | Sg. Gen.          |       | Perf. Parti.     |         |
|    | his               |       | having gone      | money   |

khyoŋ.

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—zəŋ—ŋi          | səŋ—rgyəs—lə | men—tok |
|    | N. Erg.             | N. Dat.      | N. Dir. |
|    | proper name         |              |         |
|    | Lobzang             | Buddha       | flower  |
|    | phul (s) te         |              |         |
|    | V. St. Perf. Parti. | duk.         |         |
|    | having offered      | V. to be Pr. |         |

Having offered flowers to Buddha,  
Lobzang is (i.e. Lobzang has offered  
the flowers to Buddha).

- |    |              |   |              |
|----|--------------|---|--------------|
| 2. | tə—ši—le     | žuk—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 *mə* 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.

|                |                |   |                  |                    |
|----------------|----------------|---|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>soŋ-te</i>  | Having done    | : | <i>mə-čhə-ə</i>  | Not having done    |
| <i>di-ste</i>  | Having written | : | <i>mə-di-ə</i>   | Not having written |
| <i>bəp-ste</i> | Having fallen  | : | <i>mə-bəp-bə</i> | Not having fallen. |

Examples :

- |               |                 |                   |               |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>khon</i>   | <i>čhəg-ləs</i> | <i>mə-dzəd-də</i> | <i>skyot.</i> |
| III. P. Pro.  | N. Hon. Dir.    | Neg. V. St. Perf. | Intr. V.      |
| Hon. Sg. Dir. |                 | Parti.            | Simp. Perf.   |

he work not having done go  
 He went without doing the work (lit. not having finished the work).
- |            |                |                   |                    |
|------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>ŋə</i>  | <i>khər-ji</i> | <i>mə-zə-ə</i>    | <i>soŋ-pin.</i>    |
| I. P. Pro. | N. Dir.        | Neg. V. St. Perf. | Intr. V. Pt. Perf. |
| 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 *-tə* is added to the verb stem. The suffix *-tə* 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 *-tə* is added is repeated in the clause immediately following the *-tə* construction.

Examples :

- |              |                     |                  |
|--------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>čo-tə</i> | <i>čo-ste</i>       | <i>phul-lin.</i> |
| V. St. Pot.  | V. St. Perf. Parti. | Tr. V. Def. Fut. |
| Parti.       |                     |                  |
| do-          | do                  | offer            |

(If I) could make (I) will give (offer you) after having made it.

2. **čə-tə**     $\eta\theta$                       **soŋ-pin**    **kho-e**            **čəŋ**  
 V. St. Pot. I. P. Pro. Sg. Intr. V. Pt. III. P. Pro. Part.  
 Parti.            Dir.                      Perf.            Sg. Erg.  
**go**                I                              go                he                something  
**mə-zers.**  
 Neg. Tr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 say

I did go, (but) he did not say anything.

3. **zə-tə**     $\eta\theta$                       **zen**                 $\eta\theta-\theta$             **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-yoŋ- $\eta\theta$  ?**  
 Neg. Intr. V. Def. Fut. Intr.  
 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~ñen* 'abilitative suffix' is used and the construction will be like a contingent one.

**čo-mə-ñen**            **nə**            **mi-čo.**  
 V. St. Neg. Abl.    Part.        Neg. Def. Fut.  
 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          | čhə—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      | ŋu—kyi      | yot—pin                 |
|    | N.Dir.       | V.St.Fut.   | V. to be Pt.            |
|    |              | Parti.      | te—te—ə                 |
|    | child        | cry         | ə—mə                    |
|    |              |             | N. Dir.                 |
|    |              |             | in the                  |
|    |              |             | mother                  |
|    |              |             | meanwhile               |

*£ep.*

Intr. V. Simp. Perf. reach

Child was just about to cry; in the mean while (i.e. at that time) the mother arrived.

- |    |         |                    |              |
|----|---------|--------------------|--------------|
| 3. | nət—pə  | ši—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.

- |         |                    |                   |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|
| nət—pə  | ši—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 kəl—te 'if'. nə~nə—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 - rəŋ   | tho-re              | yoŋ              |
| Part.         | II. P. Pro. Sg.  | Adv. T.             | V.St.            |
|               | Non-Hon. Dir.  |                     |                  |
| if            | you  | tomorrow            | come             |
| nə - ni       | ŋə - təŋ   | si - ni - mə - ə    | čhen.            |
| Part.         | I. P. Pro. Incl. N. Dat.                                 |                     | Intr.V.          |
|               | Pl. Dir.   |                     |                  |
| then          | we   | cinema              | go               |
|               | If you come tomorrow, (then)<br>we will go to the movie. |                     |                  |
|               |  |                     |                  |
| 2. kəl - te   | kho - e  | čhəŋ - məŋ - po     |                  |
| Part.         | III. P. Pro. Sg. Erg.                                    | N. Qul.Adj.Dir.     |                  |
| if            | he   | local               | much             |
|               |  | alcohol             |                  |
| thuŋ          | nə - ni  | ši - yin.           |                  |
| V. St.        | Part.  | Intr. Def. Fut.     |                  |
| drink         | then   | die                 |                  |
|               | If he drinks too much Chang,<br>(then) he will die.      |                     |                  |
|               |  |                     |                  |
| 3. kəl - te   | ñe - rəŋ - ŋi  | ŋə - ə              | spe - čhə        |
| Part.         | II. P. Pro. Sg.  | I. P. Pro. Sg.      | N. Dir.          |
|               | Hon. Erg. Dat.   |                     |                  |
| if            | you  | I                   | book             |
| səl           | nə - ni  | ŋe                  | sil - lin.       |
| V. St. Hon.   | Part.  | I. P. Pro. Sg. Erg. | Tr. V. Def. Fut. |
| give          | then   | I                   | read             |
|               | If you give me the book, I will<br>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. kəl-te                  | ñe-rəŋ         | nə-ni           | lə-dəks-lə  |
| Part.                      | II. P. Pro.Sg. | Adv.T.          | N. Dat.     |
|                            | Hon. Dir.      |                 | proper name |
| if                         | you            | last year       | Ladakh      |
| skyot-pin                  | nə-ni          | he-mis-tshes-šū |             |
| Intr. V. Pt. Perf. Part.   |                | N. N. Dir.      | 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. kəl-te    | kho-e            | ŕu-təŋs-pin               | nə-ni        |
| Part.        | III. P. Pro. Sg. | N. Tr. V. Pt. Perf. Part. |              |
|              | 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.     |                  | Suf.                      |              |
| he           | money            | get                       |              |

If he had sung a song, then he would  
have got the money (lit. he was to  
get...).

|             |                  |                  |                    |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 3. (kəl-te) | ñe-rəŋ           | dəŋ              | skyot-pin          |
| Part.       | II. P. Pro. Hon. | Adv.T.           | Intr. V. Pt. Perf. |
|             | Sg.Dir.          |                  |                    |
| if          | you              | yesterday        | come               |
| nə-ni       | ŋe               | ñe-rəŋ-ŋə        | thəŋ-kə            |
| 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. Inf̄. Suf. Hon. | V. to be Pt.   |
| offer                      | If you had come yesterday, then,<br>I would have offered you a thangka<br>(lit. I was to offer ...). |

|                 |                       |                           |  |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 4. (kəl – te)   | ŋe                    | ñe – rəŋ – ŋə             |  |
| Part.           | I. P. Pro. Sg. Erg.   | II. P. Pro. Sg. Hon. Dat. |  |
| if              | I                     | you                       |  |
| pe – ne         | phul – pin            | nə – ni                   |  |
| N. Dir.         | Tr. V. Hon. Pt. Perf. | Part.                     |  |
| money           | offer                 | then                      |  |
| ñe – rəŋ        | 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 – ɖo.       |                       |                           |  |
| V. to be        |                       |                           |  |

If I had offered you money, then  
(probably) you would have gone  
to Benaras.

|               |                      |             |                       |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| 5. (kəl – te) | ñe – reŋ – ŋi        | ŋə – ə      | spe – čhə             |
| Part.         | II. P. Pro. Sg. Hon. | I.P.Pro.Sg. | N. Dir.               |
|               | Erg.                 | Dat.        |                       |
| if            | you                  | I           | book                  |
| səl – pin     | nə – ni              | ŋe          | sil – (s)te           |
| Tr. V. Hon.   | Part.                | I. P. Pro.  | Tr. V. Perf. V. to be |
| Pt. Perf.     |                      | Sg. Erg.    | Parti.                |
| 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.

# VI

## 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, —kə and —ne to the pronominal bases, i—, ə—, o—te—, te—, and kə—.

Adverbs formed by the addition of —ru and —kə 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 —kə 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:*

|         |               |         |                       |
|---------|---------------|---------|-----------------------|
| i—ru    | Here          | i—kə    | At this (place)       |
| ə—ru    | There         | ə—kə    | At that ( „ )         |
| o—te—ru | There         | o—te—kə | At that ( „ )         |
| te—ru   | There (Obvi.) | te—kə   | At that ( „ ) (Obvi.) |
| kə—ru   | Where         | kə—kə   | At what ( „ )         |

*Directional Adverbs:*

|         |                              |         |  |
|---------|------------------------------|---------|--|
| i—ηo    | In this direction            | i—ne    | From here; from this place             |
| ə—ηo    | In that direction            | ə—ne    | From there; from that place            |
| o—te—ηo | In that direction            | o—te—ne | From there; from that place            |
| te—ηo   | In that direction<br>(Obvi.) | te—ne   | From there; from that place<br>(Obvi.) |
| kə—ηo   | In which direction           | kə—ne   | From where; from which<br>place        |

*Examples:*

- |           |                    |
|-----------|--------------------|
| i—ru      | žuks.              |
| Loc. Adv. | Intr. V. Hon. Imp. |
| here      | sit                |

Please sit here.
- |              |                  |                   |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|
| i—ru—yi      | čħar—pə—šuks—šən | yoη—ηe—nok.       |
| Loc. Adv. N. | Qul. Adj. Dir.   | Intr. V. His. Pr. |
| Gen.         |                  |                   |
| here         | rain             | sharp             |
|              |                  | come              |

It rains heavily here.
- |                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| i—ru—ə         | skyot.             |
| Loc. Adv. Dat. | Intr. V. Hon. Imp. |
| here           | come               |

Please come here.

4. khəŋ                    i—ŋo—ə                    skyot—pin.  
 III. P. Pro. Sg.    Dire. Adv. Dat.            Intr. V. Pt. Perf.  
 Hon. Dir.  
 he                    this side                    come

He had come towards this side.

5. i—ŋo—ne                ləm                duk.  
 Dire. Adv. Abl.    N. Dir.    V. to be Pr.  
 this side                path

The path is from this side.

6. te—ŋo—yi                les—čö—tshər—rə—                rək.  
 Dire. Adv. Gen.    N. Tr. V. Compt. Exp. Pr.  
 that side                work do

The work of that side has been finished (done).

There are some more adverbs of place, which do not fall under the above four sets. They are items like thəg—ñe—mo 'near', thəg—riŋ '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. khəŋ—pə                thəg—ñe—mo                yot.  
 N. Dir.                    Dire. Adv.                    V. to be Pr.  
 house                    hear

The house is nearby.

2. khəŋ—pə                thəg—riŋ                    yot.  
 N. Dir.                    Dire. Adv.                    V. to be Pr.  
 house                    far

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—rəŋ    | In a little while, soon          |
| ʃip—čig   | For a little while, at once.     |
| də—ltə    | Afterwards, after a little while |
| mə—ne     | } Never                          |
| nəm—yəŋ   |                                  |
| yəŋ       | Again                            |
| rez—gə—ri | Sometimes                        |
| tʃhuk—pə  | Upto, till                       |

1. tə, nəm and dək —sə take ablative and genitive suffixes.
2. When the form tə—ne is followed by a particle phər—lə, it means 'onwards', i.e. tə—ne—phər—lə 'now onwards'.
3. ʃip—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 ʃip—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.
 

|            |           |                    |
|------------|-----------|--------------------|
| ŋə         | tə        | čhen.              |
| I. P. Pro. | Tem. Adv. | Intr. V. Def. Fut. |
| Sg. Dir.   |           |                    |
| I          | now       | go                 |
|            |           | Now I shall go.    |
2.
 

|              |           |                           |
|--------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| kho          | tə        | čhen—do.                  |
| III. P. Pro. | Tem. Adv. | Intr. V. Indf. Fut.       |
| Sg. Dir.     |           |                           |
| he           | now       | go                        |
|              |           | He would probably go now. |
3.
 

|         |        |           |             |             |
|---------|--------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| ku—le—a | dis    | te—ne     | khyo—reŋ—ŋi | yig—züks    |
| Adv. M. | Tr. V. | Tem. Adv. | II. P. Pro. | Non—N. Dir. |
|         | Imp.   |           | Hon. Erg.   |             |
| slowly  | write  | then      |             | handwriting |

rde—mo čhen.  
 Qul. Adj. Intr. V.  
 Def. Fut.

beautiful go

Write slowly, then your handwriting will become beautiful.

4. ñe—rəŋ i—ru te—ne phər—lə  
 II. P. Pro. Sg. Loc. Adv. Tem. Adv. Part.  
 Hon. Dir.

you here now on  
 nəm tʂhuk—pə žuks—sin.  
 Tem. Adv. Part. Intr. V. Hon.  
 Def. Fut.

when till stay  
 How long would you stay here from now on?

5. ŋe te—ne phər—lə mi—zer.  
 I. P. Pro. Tem. Adv. Part. Neg. Tr. V.  
 Sg. Erg. Def. Fut.

I then on speak  
 From now on I will not speak.

6. ŋə kho—ə čos, zer-pin, kho—e ten—nə—ne  
 I. P. III. P. Pro. Tr. V. Tr. V. Pt. III. P. Pro. Tem. Adv.  
 Pro. Sg. Dat. Imp. Perf. Sg. Erg.  
 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 yonʂ.  
 III. P. Pro. Tem. Adv. Dat. Intr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 Sg. Dir.

he at once come

He came at once.

8. kho šip—čig—gi phi—ə (~phi—ə šip—čig) yonʂ.  
 III. P. Tem- Adv. P. P. Dat. (P. P. Dat. Tem Intr.  
 Pro. Gen. Adv.) V. Simp.  
 Sg. Dir. Perf.

he a little while for (a little while) came  
 He came for a little while.



|                |   |             |
|----------------|---|-------------|
| tshər—čik      | } | once        |
| lən—(pok—) čik |   |             |
| tshər—dun      | } | seven times |
| lən—(pok—) dun |   |             |

For 'once, one time', the forms gəŋ can also be alternatively used.

#### 4. Adverbs of Manner

The following are the important manner adverbs of Ladakhi :

|            |                  |
|------------|------------------|
| gyoks—pə   | Hurriedly, fast  |
| gor—te     | Delayingly, late |
| ku—le—ə    | Slowly           |
| hun—med—lə | Suddenly         |

As mentioned earlier, these forms do not take any case-suffix and are thus indeclinable.

#### Examples :

1. khyo—rəŋ                  gyoks—pə                  zə—ruk.  
 II. P. Pro. Non-          Adv. M.                  Tr. V. Ob. Pr.  
 Hon. Sg. Dir.  
 you                          fast                          eat  
 You eat fast.
- kho—e                  ku—le—ə                  spe—rə                  təŋ—duk.  
 III. P. Pro.                  Adv. M.                  N. Dir.                  Tr. V. Ob.  
 Sg. Erg.                                                                            Pr.  
 he                          slowly                          talk                          give  
 He speaks slowly.
3. ŋə                          gor—te                          soŋ—pin.  
 I. P. Pro.                          Adv. M                          Intr. V. Pt. Perf.  
 Sg. Erg.  
 I                          late                          go  
 I went late.

Adverbs of manner gyoks—pə and ku—le—ə can be repeated.



- |                  |          |          |                  |
|------------------|----------|----------|------------------|
| 1. khyo—rəŋ      | gyoks—pə | gyoks—pə | zə—ruk.          |
| II. P. Pro. Non- | Adv. M.  | Adv. M.  | Tr. V. Ob.       |
| Hon. Sg. Dir.    |          |          | Pr.              |
| you              | fast     | fast     | eat              |
|                  |          |          | You eat fast.    |
|                  |          |          |                  |
| 2. kho           | ku—le—ə  | ku—le—ə  | ḍul—duk.         |
| III. P. Pro.     | Adv. M.  | Adv. M.  | Intr. V. Ob.     |
| Sg. Dir.         |          |          | Pr.              |
| you              | slowly   | slowly   | walk             |
|                  |          |          | You walk slowly. |

There are two sets of manner adverbs which are related to indicative adjectives. The members of these two sets are *i—zug—gi*, *ə—zug—gi*, *o—te—zug—gi*, *te—zug—gi*, and *kə—zug—gi*, *i—zəm*, *ə—zəm*, *o—te—zəm*, *te—zəm*, *kə—zəm*. 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—zəm* 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 *nə*. *rəŋ* is added only to nouns while *—nə* to demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronoun *kə*. When *—nə* is added an intrusive nasal is added to the pronominal stems to make them closed syllables. Thus the forms are *in—nə*, *ən—nə*, *o—ten—nə*, *ten—nə* and *kən—nə*. The inclusive emphatic particle is *yəŋ ~ təŋ ~ dəŋ ~ 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 :

|                     |                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>dəŋ ~ təŋ</i>    | And                       |
| <i>yin—nə—əŋ</i>    | } Even then, However, But |
| <i>yin—nəŋ</i>      |                           |
| <i>kər—met</i>      | Certainly, surely         |
| <i>č̣i—ə—zer—nə</i> | Because                   |

|                |                                 |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| te—bo—e—žas—te | That is why, therefore          |
| ni             | At least                        |
| kəl—te         | If                              |
| nə ~ nə—ni     | Consequently, Resultantly, then |
| yə—men—nə      | } Otherwise                     |
| te—men—nə      |                                 |
| te—min         |                                 |
| men—nə         | } Or                            |
| yə             |                                 |
| yəη—nə         |                                 |

These particles are indeclinable and do not take any case suffix. Some examples of their use are as follows :

*Examples :*

- |            |               |             |                    |
|------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------|
| ηə—        | dəη—kəη       | ʃe—ə        | čhen.              |
| I. P. Pro. | Part. III. P. | N. Dat.     | Intr. V. Def. Fut. |
| Sg. Part.  | Pro. Hon.     |             |                    |
|            | Sg. Dir.      | proper name |                    |

I and he Leh go  
He and I will go to Leh.
- |               |                   |             |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------|
| khəη          | sol—jə—dəη—khə—rə | don—pin.    |
| III. P. Pro.  | N. Part. N. Dir.  | Tr. V. Hon. |
| Hon. Sg. Dir. |                   | Pt. Perf.   |

he tea and sweet eat  
He had taken tea and sweets.
- |                  |            |               |         |
|------------------|------------|---------------|---------|
| kho—ə            | təη—čes    | met—pin       | yin—nəη |
| III. P. Pro. Sg. | V. N. Dir. | Neg. V. to be | Part.   |
| Non. Hon. Dat.   |            | Pt.           |         |

he giving was however  
(~ yin—nə—nəη)  
Part. Tr. V. Pt. Perf. give  
however (It was) not to be given to him,  
however (it was) given.

4. *tshe-wəŋ*      *tho-re*      *kər-met*      *yoŋ-ŋin.*  
 N. Dir.      Adv. T.      Part.      Intr. V. Def.  
 proper name                Fut.  
 Tshewang      tomorrow      certainly      come  
 Tshewang will certainly come tomorrow.
5. *ŋə*      *yoŋ-mə-thup*      *či-ə-zer-nə*  
 I. P. Pro.      Intr. V. Neg. Abi. Simp.      Part.  
 Sg. Dir.      Perf.  
 I      come      because  
*ŋə-ə*      *ləs*  
 I. P. Pro.                *yot-pin.*  
 Sg. Dat.      N. Dir.      V. to be Pt.  
 I      work  
 I could not come because I had work.
6. *ŋə-ə*      *zur-mo*      *yoŋ-ŋə-rək*  
 I. P. Pro. Sg. Dat. N. Dir.      Intr. V. Exp. Pr.  
 I      sickness      come  
*te-bo-e-žəs-te*      *ŋə*      *smən*      *zə-ət.*  
 Part.      I. P. Pro. Sg.      N. Dir. Tr. V. Re.  
    Dir.           Pr.  
 that is why      I      medicine eat  
 I am sick that is why I take medicine.
7. *kho-e*      *čhəŋ*      *mə-thuŋ*      *yin-nəŋ*  
 III. P. Pro.      N. Dir.      Neg. Tr. V.      Part.  
 Sg. Erg.           Def. Fut.  
 he      local alcohol      drink      but  
*čə*      *thuŋ-ŋin.*  
 N. Dir.      Tr. V. Def. Fut.  
 tea      drink  
 He will not drink Chang but will drink tea.
8. *dol-mə*      *tho-re*      *mi-yoŋ*      *yin-nəŋ*  
 N. Dir.      Adv. T.      Neg. Intr. V.      Part.  
    Def. Fut.  
 proper name      tomorrow      come      but  
 Dolma  
*dor-rje*      *yoŋ-ŋin.*  
 N. Dir.      Intr. V. Def. Fut.  
 proper name      come  
 Dorje

Dolma won't come tomorrow, but Dorje will come.

|                    |              |              |       |                               |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| 9. (kəl—te)        | kho          | yoŋ          | nə    | ŋə—ʒə                         |
| Part.              | III. P. Pro. | Intr. V. St. | Part. | I. P. Pl.                     |
|                    | Sg. Dir.     |              |       | Incl. Dir.                    |
| If                 | he           | come         | then  | we                            |
| čhen.              |              |              |       |                               |
| Intr. V. Def. Fut. |              |              |       |                               |
| go                 |              |              |       | If he comes, then we will go. |

|            |             |          |                                 |
|------------|-------------|----------|---------------------------------|
| 10. ŋe     | spe—čhe—ʂŋə | ni       | ño—yin.                         |
| I. P. Pro. | N. Numr.    | Part.    | Tr. V. Def. Fut.                |
| Sg. Erg.   | Dir.        |          |                                 |
| I          | book five   | at least | buy                             |
|            |             |          | I will at least buy five books. |

6. Either ... or Constructions:

yəŋ—nə or ŋə can be used for ‘either’ as well as ‘or’ in ‘either...or’ constructions. It is also possible to use yəŋ—nə or yə only after the first clause.

|           |         |             |        |           |                                 |
|-----------|---------|-------------|--------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| 1. yəŋ—nə | don-təŋ | don         | yəŋ—nə | skiem-čhu | don.                            |
| yə        | ”       | ”           | yə     | ”         | ” .                             |
| ”         | ”       | ”           | yəŋ—nə | ”         | ” .                             |
| ”         | ”       | ”           | yə     | ”         | ” .                             |
| 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—ŋi            | sol-ʒə  | yəŋ—nə (~ yə) | skiem         |
| III. P. Pro.          | N. Hon. | Part. (Part.) | N. Hon. Dir.  |
| Sg. Hon. Erg.         | Dir.    |               |               |
| he                    | tea     | or (or)       | local alcohol |
|                       |         |               | Chang         |
| don—nin.              |         |               |               |
| Tr. V. Hon. Def. Fut. |         |               |               |
| drink                 |         |               |               |

He will have either tea or Chang.



of the inclusive emphatic particle, as mentioned earlier, is obligatory after the subject of the second clause.

- |    |              |              |           |             |
|----|--------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| 1. | kho – e      | i – tuz – lə | čəŋ       | mi – zə     |
|    | III. P. Pro. | N. Dat.      | Part.     | Neg. Tr. V. |
|    | Sg. Erg.     |              |           | Def. Fut.   |
|    | 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 – ldən | mi – čhə      | ŋə – əŋ        | mi – čhə.     |
|    | N. Dir.    | Neg. Intr. V. | I. P. Pro.     | Neg. Intr. V. |
|    | proper     | Def. Fut.     | Sg. Dir. Part. | Def. Fut.     |
|    | name       |               |                |               |
|    | 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     | thuŋ – ŋə |
|    | III. P. Pro. | N. Dir.       | Tr. V. Part. | Neg. Tr. V. | Tr. V.    |
|    | Sig. Erg.    |               |              | Def. Fut.   |           |
|    | he           | local alcohol | make         | 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 :

|          |            |
|----------|------------|
| pə – ne  | Since      |
| pə – səŋ | Because of |

- A. The particle pə – 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                                      | yoŋs        | pə – nə                | ləs            | mə – čos.   |
| III. P. Pro.                                | Intr. V.    | Part.                  | N. Dir.        | Neg. Tr. V. |
| Sg. Dir.                                    | Simp. Perf. |                        |                | Simp. Perf. |
| he  | come        | since                  | work           | work        |
| Since he has come he has not done any work. |             |                        |                |             |
| 2. khyo – rəŋ                               | yoŋs        | pə – ne                | kho – e        | čəŋ         |
| II. P. Pro.                                 | Intr. V.    | Part.                  | III. P. Pro.   | Part.       |
| Non-Hon.                                    | Simp.       |                        | Sg. Erg.       |             |
| Sg. Dir.                                    | Perf.       |                        |                |             |
| you   | came        | since                  | he             | something   |
| mə – zers.                                  |             |                        |                |             |
| Neg. Tr. V.                                 | Simp. Perf. |                        |                |             |
| speak                                       |             | Since you have come    | he did not say | anything.   |
|   |             |                        |                |             |
| 3. lzos – gər                               | ltəs        | pə – ne                | sems           | skyo – mo   |
| N. Dir.                                     | Tr.V. Simp. | Part.                  | N. Dir.        | Qul. Adj.   |
|   | Perf.       |                        |                |             |
| play  | see         | since                  | heart          | unhappy     |
| soŋ.  |             |                        |                |             |
| Intr. V.                                    | Simp. Perf. |                        |                |             |
| go  |             | Since (I) saw the play | (I) became     | unhappy.    |

- B. The particle pə – 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

suffixes as required. The subjects of the two clauses are not necessarily coreferential in such a construction.

1.  $\eta\partial$              $kh\bar{a}r - \text{ji}$              $zos$              $p\bar{a} - s\bar{a}\eta$              $\text{tot} - p\bar{a}$   
 I.P. Pro. N. Dir. Tr. V. Simp. Part. N. Dir.  
 Sg. Dir. Perf.  
 I food eat because stomach  
 $\text{d}\bar{a}\eta s$   
 Intr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 fill Stomach got filled because I had food.
2.  $p\bar{a}l - l\bar{d}\bar{a}n$              $y\bar{o}\eta s$              $p\bar{a} - s\bar{a}\eta$              $\text{d}\bar{o}l - m\bar{a}$   
 N. Dir. Intr. V. Part. N. Dir.  
 Simp. Perf.  
 proper name proper name  
 Paldan came since Dolma  
 $\text{L}\bar{e}p$ .  
 Intr. V. Simp. Perf.  
 reach Dolma reached because Paldan  
 came, i.e. because of Paldan  
 Dolma reached.
3.  $\text{d}\bar{o}l - m\bar{e}$              $\text{L}\bar{u} - t\bar{a}\eta s$              $p\bar{a} - s\bar{a}\eta$              $kho - e$   
 N. Erg. N Tr. V.Simp. Part. III. P. Pro. Sg. Gen.  
 proper name Perf.  
 Dolma song give because he  
 $tu - tu - \bar{a}$              $zur - m\bar{o}$              $y\bar{o}\eta s - pin$ .  
 N. Dat. N. Dir. Intr. V. Pt. Perf.  
 throat sickness come  
 Because Dolma sang a song her  
 throat became soar.
4.  $\bar{n}e - r\bar{a}\eta - \eta i$              $gyoks - p\bar{a}$              $\text{dis}$              $p\bar{a} - s\bar{a}\eta$   $yi - ge$   
 II. P. Pro. Hon. Part. V. Tr.V Part. N. Dir.  
 Sg. Erg. Simp. Perf.  
 you fast write because letter  
 $phed - d\bar{a} - mi - ruk$ .  
 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 *səŋ*. The order of elements in such a construction is as follows :

Item compared + Item to be compared with + genitive/dative suffix + *səŋ*.

*Example :*

|                   |                        |                      |
|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>pəl - ldən</i> | <i>ñe - rəŋ - ŋi /</i> | <i>ñe - rəŋ - ŋə</i> |
| N. Dir.           | II. P. Pro. Hon. Gen./ | II. P. Pro. Hon.     |
| proper name       |                        | Dat.                 |
| <i>Paldan</i>     | <i>you</i>             | <i>you</i>           |
| <i>səŋ</i>        | <i>riŋ - mo</i>        | <i>duk.</i>          |
| Comp. Part.       | Qul. Adj.              | V. to be Pr.         |
|                   | tall                   |                      |

Paldan is taller than you.

The superlative constructions are formed by using the item *tshəŋ - mə* 'all' as the item to be compared with, e.g.

|                 |                     |                       |            |
|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| <i>kho</i>      | <i>tshəŋ - me /</i> | <i>tshəŋ - mə - ə</i> | <i>səŋ</i> |
| III. P. Pro.    | Indf. Pro. Gen./    | Indf. Pro. Dat.       | Comp.      |
| Sg. Dir.        |                     |                       | Part.      |
| <i>he</i>       | <i>all</i>          | <i>all</i>            |            |
| <i>rde - mo</i> |                     | <i>duk.</i>           |            |
| Qul. Adj.       |                     | V. to be Pr.          |            |
| good            |                     |                       |            |

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 - ə*, *riŋ - mo* may become *riŋ - ŋe*.

|              |               |             |                 |             |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>kho</i>   | <i>ŋə - ə</i> | <i>səŋ</i>  | <i>riŋ - ŋe</i> | <i>duk.</i> |
| III. P. Pro. | I. P. Pro.    | Comp. Part. |                 | V. to be    |
| Sg.          | Sg.           |             | Qul. Adj.       | Pr.         |
| Dir.         | Dat.          |             |                 |             |
| <i>he</i>    | <i>I</i>      |             | <i>tall</i>     |             |

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 *ḡi*—‘(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 *ḡug*—, the forms of only two present tense sub-categories are being given by way of illustration.

#### *Affirmative*

|                                       |  |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Reportive<br>Present               | <i>ḡi</i> – <i>ət</i>                              | <i>sil</i> – <i>lət</i>              |
| 2. Reportive<br>Present<br>Continuous | <i>ḡi</i> – <i>yin</i> – <i>yot</i>                | <i>sil</i> – <i>lin</i> – <i>yot</i> |
| 3. Observed<br>Present                | <i>ḡi</i> – <i>ruk</i> ~<br><i>ḡi</i> – <i>duk</i> | <i>sil</i> – <i>duk</i>              |
| 4. Observed<br>Present<br>Continuous  | <i>ḡi</i> – <i>yin</i> – <i>duk</i>                | <i>sil</i> – <i>lin</i> – <i>duk</i> |
| 5. Historical<br>Present              | <i>ḡi</i> – <i>ə</i> – <i>nok</i>                  | <i>sil</i> – <i>lə</i> – <i>nok</i>  |
| 6. Reportive Past                     | <i>ḡi</i> – <i>ət</i> – <i>pin</i>                 | <i>sil</i> – <i>lət</i> – <i>pin</i> |

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 7. Reportive<br>Past Continuous                                   | ḍi – yin – yot – pin                   | sil – lin – yot – pin                     |
| 8. Observed Past  | ḍi – ruk – pin ~<br>ḍi – duk – pin     | sil – duk – pin                           |
| 9. Observed<br>Past Continuous                                    | ḍi – yin – duk – pin                   | sil – lin – duk – pin                     |
| 10. Simple Perfect  | ḍis                                    | sils                                      |
| 11. Past Perfect  | ḍis – pin                              | sils – pin                                |
| 12. Definite Future   | ḍi – yin                               | sil – lin                                 |
| 13. Indefinite<br>Future  | { ḍi – yin – ḍo<br>ḍi – ḍo<br>ḍi – čen | { sil – lin – ḍo<br>sil – ḍo<br>sil – čen |
| 14. Future<br>Continuous  | ḍi – əd – ḍo                           | sil – ləd – ḍo                            |
| 15. Simple<br>Narrative   | ḍi – ət – kək                          | sil – lət – kək                           |
| 16. Narrative<br>Continuous                                       | di – yin – yot – kək                   | sil – lin – yot – kək                     |
| 17. Narrative<br>Perfect  | ḍis – kək                              | sils – kək                                |
| 18. Experiential<br>Present                                       | ḍi – ə – rək                           | sil – lə – rək                            |
| 19. Experiential<br>Past  | ḍi – ə – rək – pin                     | sil – lə – rək – pin                      |
| 20. Fact Based<br>Inferential<br>Present                          | ḍi – ok                                | sil – lok                                 |
| 21. Fact Based<br>Inferential Past                                | ḍi – ok – pin                          | sil – lok – pin                           |
| 22. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial Verb Stem<br>+thig – rək | ḍi – thig – rək                        | sil – thig – rək                          |

- |   |                  |                   |
|---|------------------|-------------------|
| 23. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial Verb Stem+                     | ḍi—thig—rək—pin  | sil—thig—rək—pin  |
| thig—rək—pin  |                  |                   |
| 24. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial Verb stem+                     | ḍi—thig—yot      | sil—thig—yot      |
| thig—yot  |                  |                   |
| 25. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial Verb stem+                     | ḍi—thik—soŋ      | sil—thik—soŋ      |
| thik—soŋ  |                  |                   |
| 26. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial Verb stem+                     | ḍi—thig—duk      | sil—thig—duk      |
| thig—duk  |                  |                   |
| 27. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial Verb stem+                     | ḍi—thig—duk—pin  | sil—thig—duk—pin  |
| thig—duk—pin  |                  |                   |
| 28. Attested<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+Simple<br>Perf.—tok            | ḍis—tok          | sil—tok           |
| 29. tshuk :<br>verb stem+Re-<br>portive present<br>+tshuk               | ḍi—ət—tshuk      | sil—lət—tshuk     |
| 30. tshuk :<br>verb stem+Re-<br>portive present<br>continuous+<br>tshuk | ḍi—yin—yot—tshuk | sil—lin—yot—tshuk |
| 31. tshuk :<br>verb stem+Re-<br>portive past +<br>tshuk                 | ḍi—ət—pin—tshuk  | sil—lət—pin—tshuk |

- |  |                                 |                                  |
|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 32. tshuk :  | ḍi – yin – yot –<br>pin – tshuk | sil – lin – yot – pin –<br>tshuk |
| verb stem +<br>Reportive Past<br>Continuous +<br>tshuk |                                 |                                  |
| 33. tshuk :  | ḍis – pin – tshuk               | sils – pin – tshuk               |
| verb stem +<br>Past Perfect +<br>tshuk                 |                                 |                                  |
| 34. Imperative   | ḍis (sg.)<br>ḍi – šik (pl.)     | sil (sg.)<br>sil – šik (pl.)     |
| 35. Benedictive  | ḍi – šik                        | sil – šik                        |

*Negative*

- |                                       |   |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Reportive<br>Present               | ḍi – ə – met  | sil – lə – met  |
| 2. Reportive<br>Present<br>Continuous | ḍi – yin – met  | sil – lin – met   |
| 3. Observed<br>Present                | ḍi – ə – mi – ruk ~<br>ḍi – ə – mi – duk                    | sil – lə – mi – ruk ~<br>sil – lə – mi – duk                  |
| 4. Observed<br>Present<br>Continuous  | ḍi – yin – mi – ruk ~<br>ḍi – yin – mi – duk                | sil – lin – mi – ruk ~<br>sil – lin – mi – duk                |
| 5. Historical<br>Present              | ḍi – ə – mə – nok   | sil – lə – mə – nok   |
| 6. Reportive Past                     | ḍi – ə – met – pin  | sil – lə – met – pin  |
| 7. Reportive Past<br>Continuous       | ḍi – yin – met – pin  | sil – lin – met – pin   |
| 8. Observed Past                      | ḍi – ə – mi – ruk – pin<br>~ ḍi – ə – mi – duk –<br>pin     | sil – lə – mi – ruk –<br>pin ~ sil – lə – mi – duk<br>– pin   |
| 9. Observed Past<br>Continuous        | ḍi – yin – mi – ruk –<br>pin ~ ḍi – yin – mi –<br>duk – pin | sil – lin – mi – ruk –<br>pin ~ sil – lin – mi –<br>duk – pin |

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 10. Simple Perfect  | mə—ɖis                                  | mə—sils                                    |
| 11. Past Perfect  | mə—ɖis—pin                              | mə—sils—pin ~<br>mə—sil—pin                |
| 12. Definite Future                                       | mi—ɖi                                   | mi—sil                                     |
| 13. Indefinite Future                                     | { mi—ɖi—yin—ɖo<br>mi—ɖi—ɖo<br>ɖi—çe—men | { mi—sil—lin—ɖo<br>mi—sil—ɖo<br>sil—çe—men |
| 14. Future Continuous                                     | ɖi—ə—med—ɖo                             | sil—lə—med—ɖo                              |
| 15. Simple Narrative                                      | ɖi—ə—met—kək                            | sil—lə—met—kək                             |
| 16. Narrative Continuous                                  | ɖi—yin—met—kək                          | sil—lin—met—kək                            |
| 17. Narrative Perfect                                     | mə—ɖis—kək                              | mə—sils—kək                                |
| 18. Experiential Present                                  | ɖi—ə—mi—rək                             | sil—lə—mi—rək                              |
| 19. Experiential Past                                     | ɖi—ə—mi—rək—pin                         | sil—lə—mi—rək—pin                          |
| 20. Fact Based Inferential Present                        | mi—ɖi—ok                                | mi—sil—lok                                 |
| 21. Fact Based Inferential Past                           | mi—ɖi—ok—pin                            | mi—sil—lok—pin                             |
| 22. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig—rək     | ɖi—thig—mi—rək                          | sil—thig—mi—rək                            |
| 23. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig—rək—pin | ɖi—thig—mi—rək—pin                      | sil—thig—mi—rək—pin                        |
| 24. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem + thig—yot     | ɖi—thig—met                             | sil—thig—met                               |

25. Appearance       $\text{ḍi} - \text{thig} - \text{mə} - \text{so}\eta$        $\text{sil} - \text{thig} - \text{mə} - \text{so}\eta$   
Based  
Inferential verb  
stem +  $\text{thik} - \text{so}\eta$
26. Appearance       $\text{ḍi} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} \sim$        $\text{sil} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk} \sim$   
Based Inferential  $\text{ḍi} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{duk}$        $\text{sil} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{duk}$   
verb stem +  $\text{thig}$   
-  $\text{duk}$
27. Appearance       $\text{ḍi} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk}$        $\text{sil} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{ruk}$   
Based Inferential -  $\text{pin} \sim$       -  $\text{pin} \sim$   
verb stem +  $\text{thig}$   $\text{ḍi} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{duk}$        $\text{sil} - \text{thig} - \text{mi} - \text{duk}$   
-  $\text{duk} - \text{pin}$       -  $\text{pin}$       -  $\text{pin}$
28. Attested       $\text{mə} - \text{ḍis} - \text{tok}$        $\text{mə} - \text{sils} - \text{tok}$   
Inferential  
verb stem +  
Simple Perfect—  
 $\text{tok}$
29.  $\text{ṭshuk}$  :       $\text{ḍi} - \text{ə} - \text{met} - \text{ṭshuk}$        $\text{sil} - \text{lə} - \text{met} - \text{ṭshuk}$   
verb stem +  
Reportive  
Present +  $\text{ṭshuk}$
30.  $\text{ṭshuk}$  :       $\text{ḍi} - \text{yin} - \text{met} - \text{ṭshuk}$        $\text{sil} - \text{lin} - \text{met} - \text{ṭshuk}$   
verb stem +  
Reportive  
Present Conti-  
nuous +  $\text{ṭshuk}$
31.  $\text{ṭshuk}$  :       $\text{ḍi} - \text{ə} - \text{met} - \text{pin}$        $\text{sil} - \text{lə} - \text{met} - \text{pin}$   
verb stem +      -  $\text{ṭshuk}$       -  $\text{ṭshuk}$   
Reportive  
past +  $\text{ṭshuk}$
32.  $\text{ṭshuk}$  :       $\text{ḍi} - \text{yin} - \text{met} - \text{pin}$        $\text{sil} - \text{lin} - \text{met} - \text{pin}$   
verb stem +      -  $\text{ṭshuk}$       -  $\text{ṭshuk}$   
Reportive Past  
Continuous +  
 $\text{ṭshuk}$

- |                  |                        |                         |
|------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 33. tshuk :      | mə – ɖis – pin – tshuk | mə – sils – pin – tshuk |
| verb stem + Past |                        |                         |
| Perfect + tshuk  |                        |                         |
| 34. Imperative   | mə – ɖi (sg.)          | mə – sil (sg.)          |
|                  | mə – ɖi – šik (pl.)    | mə – sil – šik (pl.)    |
| 35. Benedictive  | mə – ɖi – šik          | mə – sil – šik          |

*Honorific Affirmative*

- |                                       |                                    |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Reportive<br>Present               | ɖi – ə – dzəd – dət                | sil – lə – dzəd – dət                |
| 2. Reportive<br>Present<br>Continuous | ɖi – ə – dzəd – din<br>– yot       | sil – lə – dzəd – din<br>– yot       |
| 3. Observed<br>Present                | ɖi – ə – dzəd – duk                | sil – lə – dzəd – duk                |
| 4. Observed<br>Present<br>Continuous  | ɖi – ə – dzəd – din<br>– duk       | sil – lə – dzəd – din<br>– duk       |
| 5. Historical<br>Present              | ɖi – ə – dzəd – də<br>– nok        | sil – lə – dzəd – də<br>– nok        |
| 6. Reportive Past                     | ɖi – ə – dzəd – dət<br>– pin       | sil – lə – dzəd – dət<br>– pin       |
| 7. Reportive Past<br>Continuous       | ɖi – ə – dzəd – din<br>– yot – pin | sil – lə – dzəd – din<br>– yot – pin |
| 8. Observed Past                      | ɖi – ə – dzəd – duk<br>– pin       | sil – lə – dzəd – duk<br>– pin       |
| 9. Observed Past<br>Continuous        | ɖi – ə – dzəd – din<br>– duk – pin | sil – lə – dzəd – din<br>– duk – pin |
| 10. Simple Perfect                    | ɖi – ə – dzəts                     | sil – lə – dzəts                     |
| 11. Past Perfect                      | ɖi – ə – dzəts – pin               | sil – lə – dzəts – pin               |
| 12. Definite Future                   | ɖi – ə – dzəd – din                | sil – lə – dzəd – din                |



|  |                                     |                                       |
|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 13. Indefinite<br>Future   | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din<br>—do          | sil – lə – dzəd – din<br>—do          |
|  | ḍi – ə – dzəd – do                  | sil – lə – dzəd – do                  |
|  | ḍi – ə – dzət – čen                 | sil – lə – dzət – čen                 |
| 14. Future<br>Continuous   | ḍi – ə – dzəd – dəd<br>—do          | sil – lə – dzəd – dəd<br>—do          |
| 15. Simple<br>Narrative  | ḍi – ə – dzəd – dət<br>—kək         | sil – lə – dzəd – dət<br>—kək         |
| 16. Narrative<br>Continuous  | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din<br>—yot – kək   | sil – lə – dzəd – din<br>—yot – kək   |
| 17. Narrative<br>Perfect   | ḍi – ə – dzəts – kək                | sil – lə – dzəts – kək                |
| 18. Experiential<br>Present  | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>rək         | sil – lə – dzəd – də<br>—rək          |
| 19. Experiential<br>Past   | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>rək – pin   | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>rək – pin   |
| 20. Fact Based<br>Inferential<br>Present                               | ḍi – ə – dzəd – dok                 | sil – lə – dzəd – dok                 |
| 21. Fact Based<br>Inferential Past                                     | ḍi – ə – dzəd – dok –<br>pin        | sil – lə – dzəd – dok –<br>pin        |
| 22. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem + thig – rək       | ḍi – ə + dzət – thig –<br>rək       | sil – lə – dzət – thig –<br>rək       |
| 23. Appearance<br>Based Inferential<br>verb stem + thig<br>— rək – pin | ḍi – ə – dzət – thig –<br>rək – pin | sil – lə – dzət – thig –<br>rək – pin |
| 24. Appearance<br>Based Inferential<br>verb stem + thig<br>— yot       | ḍi – ə – dzət – thig –<br>yot       | sil – lə – dzət – thig –<br>yot       |
| 25. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem + thig – soḡ       | ḍi – ə – dzət – thik –<br>soḡ       | sil – lə – dzət – thik<br>— soḡ       |

26. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+thig-duk      ɖi-ə-dzət-thig-duk      sil-lə-dzət-thig-duk
27. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+thig-duk-pin      ɖi-ə-dzət-thig-duk-pin      sil-lə-dzət-thig-duk-pin
28. Attested Inferential verb stem+ Simple Perfect+ tok      ɖi-ə-dzəts-tok      sil-lə-dzəts-tok
29. tshuk: verb stem+ Reportive Present+tshuk      ɖi-ə-dzəd-dət-tshuk      sil-lə-dzəd-dət-tshuk
30. tshuk: verb stem+ Reportive Present Continuous+tshuk      ɖi-ə-dzəd-din-yot-tshuk      sil-lə-dzəd-din-yot-tshuk
31. tshuk: verb stem+ Reportive Past+tshuk      ɖi-ə-dzəd-dət-pin-tshuk      sil-lə-dzəd-dət-pin-tshuk
32. tshuk: verb stem+ Reportive Past Continuous+tshuk      ɖi-ə-dzəd-din-yot-pin-tshuk      sil-lə-dzəd-din-yot-pin-tshuk
33. tshuk : verb stem+ Past Perfect+tshuk      ɖi-ə-dzəts-pin-tshuk      sil-lə-dzəts-pin-tshuk

|                 |                           |                                  |
|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 34. Imperative  | ḍi – ə – dzət (sg.)       | sil – lə – dzət (sg.)            |
|                 | ḍi – ə – dzət – šik (pl.) | sil – lə – dzət –<br>– šik (pl.) |
| 35. Benedictive | ḍi – ə – dzət – šik       | sil – lə – dzət – šik            |

*Honorific Negative*

|                                       |   |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Reportive<br>Present               | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>met               | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>met               |
| 2. Reportive<br>Present<br>Continuous | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din –<br>met              | sil – lə – dzəd – din –<br>met              |
| 3. Observed<br>Present                | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – ruk ~        | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – ruk ~        |
|                                       | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – duk          | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – duk          |
| 4. Observed<br>Present<br>Continuous  | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – ruk ~       | sil – lə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – ruk ~       |
|                                       | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – duk         | sil – lə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – duk         |
| 5. Historical<br>Present              | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>mə – nok          | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>mə – nok          |
| 6. Reportive Past                     | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>met – pin         | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>met – pin         |
| 7. Reportive Past<br>Continuous       | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din –<br>met – pin        | sil – lə – dzəd – din –<br>met – pin        |
| 8. Observed Past                      | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – ruk – pin ~  | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – ruk – pin ~  |
|                                       | ḍi – ə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – duk – pin    | sil – lə – dzəd – də –<br>mi – duk – pin    |
| 9. Observed Past<br>Continuous        | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – ruk – pin ~ | sil – lə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – ruk – pin ~ |
|                                       | ḍi – ə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – duk – pin   | sil – lə – dzəd – din –<br>mi – duk – pin   |
| 10. Simple Perfect                    | ḍi – ə – mə – dzəts                       | sil – lə – mə – dzəts                       |

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 11. Past Perfect  | ḍi—ə—mə—dzəts—<br>pin   | sil—lə—mə—dzəts<br>—pin  |
| 12. Definite Future   | ḍi—ə—mi—dzət  | sil—lə—mi—dzət   |
| 13. Indefinite<br>Future  | { ḍi—ə—mi—dzəd<br>din—ḍo<br>ḍi—ə—mi—dzəd—<br>ḍo<br>ḍi—ə—dzət—ḥe<br>—men | { sil—lə—mi—dzəd—<br>din—ḍo<br>sil—lə—mi—dzəd—<br>ḍo<br>sil—lə—dzət—ḥe—<br>men |
| 14. Future<br>Continuous  | ḍi—ə—dzəd—də—<br>med—ḍo   | sil—lə—dzəd—də—<br>med—ḍo  |
| 15. Simple<br>Narrative   | ḍi—ə—dzəd—də—<br>met—kək  | sil—lə—dzəd—də—<br>met—kək   |
| 16. Narrative<br>Continuous                                       | ḍi—ə—dzəd—din<br>—met—kək   | sil—lə—dzəd—din<br>—met—kək  |
| 17. Narrative<br>Perfect  | ḍi—ə—mə—dzəts—<br>kək   | sil—lə—mə—dzəts<br>—kək  |
| 18. Experiential<br>Present                                       | ḍi—ə—dzəd—də—<br>mi—rək   | sil—lə—dzəd—də<br>—mi—rək  |
| 19. Experiential<br>Past  | ḍi—ə—dzəd—də—<br>mi—rək—pin   | sil—lə—dzəd—də<br>—mi—rək—pin  |
| 20. Fact Based<br>Inferential<br>Present                          | ḍi—ə—mi—dzəd—<br>dok  | sil—lə—mi—dzəd—<br>dok   |
| 21. Fact Based<br>Inferential Past                                | ḍi—ə—mi—dzəd—<br>dok—pin  | sil—lə—mi—dzəd<br>—dok—pin   |
| 22. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+thig—rək      | ḍi—ə—dzət—thig—<br>mi—rək   | sil—lə—dzət—thig<br>—mi—rək  |
| 23. Appearance Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+thig—<br>rək—pin | ḍi—ə—dzət—thig—<br>mi—rək—pin   | sil—lə—dzət—thig<br>—mi—rək—pin  |

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|---|---|---|
| 24. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+thig-yot              | di-ə-dzət-thig-<br>met  | sil-lə-dzət-thig<br>met   |
| 25. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+thig-soŋ              | di-ə-dzət-thig-<br>mə-soŋ                                       | sll-lə-dzət-thig<br>mə-soŋ  |
| 26. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+thig-<br>duk          | di-ə-dzət-thig-<br>mi-ruk~<br>di-ə-dzət-thig-<br>mi-duk         | sil-lə-dzət-thig<br>-mi-ruk~<br>sil-lə-dzət-thig-<br>-mi-duk        |
| 27. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+thig-<br>duk-pin      | di-ə-dzət-thig-<br>mi-ruk-pin~<br>di-ə-dzət-<br>thig-mi-duk-pin | sil-lə-dzət-thig<br>-mi-ruk-pin~<br>sil-lə-dzət-thig-<br>mi-duk-pin |
| 28. Attested<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+Simple<br>Perfect+tok            | di-ə-mə-dzəts-<br>tok   | sil-lə-mə-dzəts<br>-tok   |
| 29. tshuk:<br>verb<br>stem+Reportive<br>Present+tshuk                     | di-ə-dzəd-də-<br>met-tshuk                                      | sil-lə-dzəd-də-<br>met-tshuk  |
| 30. tshuk:<br>verb<br>stem+Repor-<br>tive Present<br>Continuous+<br>tshuk | di-ə-dzəd-din-<br>met-tshuk                                     | sil-lə-dzed-din-<br>met-tshuk                                       |
| 31. tshuk:<br>verb<br>stem+<br>Reportive Past<br>+tshuk                   | di-ə-dzəd-də-<br>met-pin-tshuk                                  | sil-lə-dzəd-də-<br>met-pin-tshuk                                    |

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 32. tshuk :                                     | ḍi—ə—dzəd—din—<br>met—pin—tshuk                      | sil—lə—dzəd—din<br>—met—pin—tshuk                           |
| verb<br>stem+Reportive<br>Past Continuous+tshuk |  |   |
| 33. tshuk :                                     | ḍi—ə—mə—dzəts—<br>pin—tshuk                          | sil—lə—mə—dzəts—<br>pin—tshuk                               |
| verb stem+Past<br>Perfect+tshuk                 |  |   |
| 34. Imperative                                  | ḍi—ə—mə—dzət (sg.)<br><br>ḍi—ə—mə—dzət—<br>čik (pl.) | sil—lə—mə—dzət<br>(sg.)<br><br>sil—lə—mə—<br>dzət—čik (pl.) |
| 35. Benedictive                                 | ḍi—ə—dzət—šik  | sil—lə—dzət—šik   |

*Abilitative Affirmatives*

|                                       |                         |                          |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Reportive<br>Present               | ḍi—thub—bət             | sil—thub—bet             |
| 2. Reportive<br>Present<br>Continuous | ḍi—thub—bin—yot         | sil—thub—bin—yot         |
| 3. Observed<br>Present                | ḍi—thub—duk             | sil—thub—duk             |
| 4. Observed<br>Present<br>Continuous  | ḍi—thub—bin—duk         | sil—thub—bin—<br>duk     |
| 5. Historical<br>Present              | ḍi—thub—bə—nok          | sil—thub—bə—nok          |
| 6. Reportive Past                     | ḍi—thub—bət—pin         | sil—thub—bət—pin         |
| 7. Reportive Past<br>Continuous       | ḍi—thub—bin—yot<br>—pin | sil—thub—bin—yot<br>—pin |
| 8. Observed Past                      | ḍi—thub—duk—pin         | sil—thub—duk—pin         |
| 9. Observed Past<br>Continuous        | ḍi—thub—bin—duk<br>—pin | sil—thub—bin—duk<br>pin  |
| 10. Simple Perfect                    | ḍi—thups                | sil—thups                |
| 11. Past Perfect                      | ḍi—thups—pin            | sil—thups—pin            |
| 12. Definite Future                   | ḍi—thub—bin             | sil—thub—bin             |

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 13. Indefinite<br>Future  | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ḍi—thub—bin—} \\ \text{ḍo} \\ \text{ḍi—thub—ḍo} \\ \text{ḍi—thub—ḥen} \end{array} \right.$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sil—thub—bin—} \\ \text{ḍo} \\ \text{sil—thub—ḍo} \\ \text{sil—thub—ḥen} \end{array} \right.$ |
| 14. Future<br>Continuous  | ḍi—thub—bəd—ḍo   | sil—thub—bəd—ḍo   |
| 15. Simple<br>Narrative   | ḍi—thub—bət—kək  | sil—thub—bət—kək  |
| 16. Narrative<br>Continuous   | ḍi—thub—bin—<br>yot—kək  | sil—thub—bin—yot<br>—kək  |
| 17. Narrative<br>Perfect  | ḍi—thups—kək   | sil—thups—kək   |
| 18. Experiential<br>Present   | ḍi—thub—bə—rək   | sil—thub—bə—rək   |
| 19. Experiential<br>Past  | ḍi—thub—bə—rək<br>—pin   | sil—thub—bə—rək<br>—pin   |
| 20. Fact Based<br>Inferential<br>Present                            | ḍi—thub—bok  | sil—thub—bok  |
| 21. Fact Based<br>Inferential Past                                  | ḍi—thub—bok—pin  | sil—thub—bok—pin  |
| 22. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial verb stem+<br>thig—rək     | ḍi—thub—thig—rək   | sil—thub—thig—rək   |
| 23. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial verb stem+<br>thig—rək—pin | ḍi—thub—thig—<br>rək—pin   | sil—thub—thig—rək<br>—pin   |
| 24. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial verb stem+<br>thig—yot     | ḍi—thub—thig—yot   | sil—thub—thig—<br>yot   |

- |   |                               |                                |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 25. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial verb stem+<br>thik—so $\eta$   | ḍi—thub—thik—<br>so $\eta$    | sil—thub—thik—<br>so $\eta$    |
| 26. Appearance<br>Based Inferen-<br>tial verb stem+<br>thig—duk         | di—thub—thig—<br>duk          | sil—thub—thig—<br>duk          |
| 27. Appearance<br>based Inferen-<br>tial verb stem+<br>thig—duk—pin     | ḍi—thub—thig—<br>duk—pin      | sil—thub—thig—<br>duk—pin      |
| 28. Attested<br>Inferential verb<br>stem+tok                            | ḍi—thups—tok                  | sil—thups—tok                  |
| 29. tshuk :<br>verb stem+<br>Reportive<br>Present+tshuk                 | ḍi—thub—bət—<br>tshuk         | sil—thub—bət—<br>tshuk         |
| 30. tshuk :<br>verb stem+Re-<br>portive Present<br>Continuous+<br>tshuk | ḍi—thub—bin—yot<br>—tshuk     | sil—thub—bin—<br>yot—tshuk     |
| 31. tshuk :<br>verb stem+<br>Reportive<br>Past+tshuk                    | ḍi—thub—bət—pin<br>—tshuk     | sil—thub—bət—pin<br>—tshuk     |
| 32. tshuk :<br>verb stem+<br>Reportive Past<br>Continuous+<br>tshuk     | ḍi—thub—bin—yot<br>—pin—tshuk | sil—thub—bin—yot<br>—pin—tshuk |
| 33. tshuk :<br>verb stem+<br>Past<br>Perfect+tshuk                      | ḍi—thups—pin—<br>tshuk        | sil—thups—pin—<br>tshuk        |



|                 |                       |                        |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 34. Imperative  | ḍi – thup (sg.)       | sil – thup (sg.)       |
|                 | ḍi – thup – šik (pl.) | sil – thup – šik (pl.) |
| 35. Benedictive | ḍi – thup – šik       | sil – thup – šik       |

*Abilitative Negative*

|                                 |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Reportive Present            | ḍi – thub – bæ – met                  | sil – thub bæ – met                     |
| 2. Reportive Present Continuous | ḍi – thub – bin – met                 | sil – thub – bin – met                  |
| 3. Observed Present             | ḍi – thub – bæ – mi –<br>ruk ~        | sil – thub – bæ – mi –<br>ruk ~         |
|                                 | ḍi – thub – bæ – mi –<br>duk          | sil thub – bæ – mi<br>– duk             |
| 4. Observed Present Continuous  | ḍi – thub – bin – mi –<br>ruk ~       | sil – thub – bin – mi –<br>– ruk ~      |
|                                 | ḍi – thub – bin – mi –<br>duk         | sil — thub – bin—<br>mi – duk           |
| 5. Historical Present           | ḍi – thub – bæ – mə –<br>nok          | sil – thub – bæ – mə –<br>nok           |
| 6. Reportive Past               | ḍi – thub – bæ – met –<br>pin         | sil – thub – bæ – met<br>– pin          |
| 7. Reportive Past Continuous    | ḍi – thub – bin – met<br>– pin        | sil – thub – bin – met<br>– pin         |
| 8. Observed Past                | ḍi – thub – bæ – mi –<br>ruk – pin ~  | sil – thub – bæ – mi –<br>– ruk – pin ~ |
|                                 | ḍi – thub – bæ – mi –<br>duk – pin    | sil – thub – bæ – mi –<br>duk – pin     |
| 9. Observed Past Continuous     | ḍi – thub – bin – mi –<br>ruk – pin ~ | sil – thub – bin – mi<br>– ruk – pin ~  |
|                                 | ḍi – thub – bin – mi<br>– duk – pin   | sil – thub – bin – mi<br>– duk – pin    |
| 10. Simple Perfect              | ḍi – mə – thups                       | sil – mə – thups                        |
| 11. Past Perfect                | ḍi – mə – thups – pin                 | sil – mə – thups – pin                  |
| 12. Definite Future             | ḍi – mi – thup                        | sil – mi – thup                         |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 13. Indefinite<br>Future   | { di—mi—thub—bin—<br>do<br>di—mi—thub—do<br>di—thup—če—men | { sil—mi—thub—bin<br>—do<br>sil—mi—thub—do<br>sil—thub—če—men |
| 14. Future<br>Continuous   | di—thub—bə—med<br>—do                                      | sil—thub—bə—med<br>—do  |
| 15. Simple<br>Narrative  | di—thub—bə—met<br>—kək                                     | sil—thub—bə—met<br>—kək                                       |
| 16. Narrative<br>Continuous  | di—thub—bin—met<br>—kək                                    | sil—thub—bin—met<br>—kək                                      |
| 17. Narrative<br>Perfect   | di—mə—thups—kək  | sil—mə—thups—kək  |
| 18. Experiential<br>Present  | di—thub—bə—mi—<br>rək                                      | sil—thub—bə—mi<br>—rək  |
| 19. Experiential<br>Past   | di—thub—bə—mi—<br>rək—pin                                  | sil—thub—bə—mi<br>—rək—pin                                    |
| 20. Fact Based<br>Inferential<br>Present                             | di—mi—thub—bok   | sil—mi—thub—bok   |
| 21. Fact Based<br>Inferential<br>Past                                | di—mi—thub—bok<br>—pin                                     | sil—mi—thub—bok—<br>—pin                                      |
| 22. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential<br>verb stem+<br>thig—rək     | di—thub—thig—mi<br>—rək                                    | sil—thub—thig—mi—<br>rək                                      |
| 23. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential<br>verb stem+<br>thig—rək—pin | di—thub—thig—mi<br>—rək—pin                                | sil—thub—thig—mi<br>—rək—pin                                  |
| 24. Appearance<br>Based<br>Inferential<br>verb stem+thig<br>—yot     | di—thub—thig—met   | sil—thub—thig—met   |

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 25. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+ thig - soŋ       | ḍi—thub—thig—mə<br>—soŋ                                      | sil—thub—thig—mə<br>—soŋ  |
| 26. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+ thig - duk       | ḍi—thub—thig—mi<br>—ruk ~<br>ḍi—thub—thig—mi<br>—duk         | sil—thub—thig—mi<br>—ruk ~<br>sil—thub—thig—mi<br>—duk          |
| 27. Appearance Based Inferential verb stem+ thig - duk - pin | ḍi—thub—thig—mi<br>—ruk—pin ~<br>ḍi—thub—thig—mi<br>—duk—pin | sil—thub—thig—mi—<br>—ruk—pin ~<br>sil—thub—thig—mi<br>—duk—pin |
| 28. Attested Inferential verb stem+ Simple Perfect +tok      | ḍi—mə—thups—tok  | sil—mə— thups—tok   |
| 29. tshuk: verb stem+ Reportive Present+tshuk                | ḍi—thub—bə—met<br>—tshuk                                     | sil—thub—bə—met<br>—tshuk                                       |
| 30. tshuk: verb stem+ Reportive Present Continuous+tshuk     | ḍi—thub—bin—met<br>—tshuk                                    | sil—thub—bin—met<br>—tshuk                                      |
| 31. tshuk : verb stem+ Reportive Past+tshuk                  | ḍi—thub—bə—met<br>—pin—tshuk                                 | sil—thub—bə—met<br>pin—tshuk                                    |

- |                 |                       |                        |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 32. tshuk :     | ḍi – thub – bin – met | sil – thub – bin – met |
| verb stem +     | – pin – tshuk         | – pin – tshuk          |
| Reportive       |                       |                        |
| Past Conti-     |                       |                        |
| nuous + tshuk   |                       |                        |
| 33. tshuk :     | ḍi – mə – thups – pin | sil – mə – thups – pin |
| verb stem +     | – tshuk               | – tshuk                |
| Past Perfect +  |                       |                        |
| tshuk           |                       |                        |
| 34. Imperative  | ḍi – mə – thup (sg.)  | sil – mə – thup (sg.)  |
|                 | ḍi – mə – thup – šik  | sil – mə – thup – šik  |
|                 | (pl.)                 | (pl.)                  |
| 35. Benedictive | ḍi – mə – thup – šik  | sil – mə – thup – šik  |

*Verb Stem + Abi. (thub –) + Hon. Suf. + Tense etc.*

- |              |                       |                        |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Reportive | ḍi – thub – bə – dzəd | sil – thub – bə – dzəd |
| Present      | – dət                 | – dət                  |
| 2. Reportive | ḍi – thub – bə – dzed | sil – thub – bə – dzəd |
| Present      | – din – yot           | – din – yot            |
| Continuous   |                       |                        |

*Negative*

- |              |                       |                        |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Reportive | ḍi – thub – bə – dzəd | sil – thub – bə – dzəd |
| Present      | – də – met            | – də – met             |
| 2. Reportive | ḍi – thub – bə – dzəd | sil – thub – bə – dzəd |
| Present      | – din – met           | – din – met            |
| Continuous   |                       |                        |

*Verb stem + Caus. (čug –)*

- |              |                      |                       |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Reportive | ḍi – čug – gət       | sil – čug – gət       |
| Present      |                      |                       |
| 2. Reportive | ḍi – čug – gin – yot | sil – čug – gin – yot |
| Present      |                      |                       |
| Continuous   |                      |                       |

*Negative*

- |              |                     |                      |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Reportive | ḍi – čug – gə – met | sil – čug – gə – met |
| Present      |                     |                      |

|                                 |                      |                       |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 2. Reportive Present Continuous | ḍi – čug – gin – met | sil – čug – gin – met |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|

*Hon. Affirmative*

|                                 |                                  |                                   |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Reportive Present            | ḍi – čug – gə – dzəd – dət       | sil – čug – gə – dzəd – dət       |
| 2. Reportive Present Continuous | ḍi – čug – gə – dzəd – din – yot | sil – čug – gə – dzəd – din – yot |

*Hon. Negative*

|                                 |                                   |                                    |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Reportive Present            | ḍi – čug – gə – dzəd – də – met ~ | sil – čug – gə – dzəd – də – met ~ |
| 2. Reportive Present Continuous | ḍi – čug – gə – dzə d – din – met | sil – čug – gə – dzəd – din – met  |

*Verb Stem + Caus. + Abi.*

|                                 |                               |                                |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Reportive Present            | ḍi – thup – čug – get ~       | sil – thup – čug – gət ~       |
|                                 | ḍi – čuk – thub – bət         | sil – čuk – thub – bət         |
| 2. Reportive Present Continuous | ḍi – thup – čug – gin – yot ~ | sil – thup – čug – gin – yot ~ |
|                                 | ḍi – čuk – thub – bin – yot   | sil – čuk – thub – bin – yot   |

*Hon. Affirmative*

|                                 |   |  |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Reportive Present            | ḍi – čuk – thub – bə – dzəd – dət ~       | sil – čuk – thub – bə – dzəd – dət ~       |
|                                 | ḍi – thup – čug – gə – dzəd – dət         | sil – thup – čug – gə – dzəd – dət         |
| 2. Reportive Present Continuous | ḍi – thup – čug – gə – dzəd – din – yot ~ | sil – thup – čug – gə – dzəd – din – yot ~ |
|                                 | ḍi – čuk – thub – bə – dzəd – din – yot   | sil – čuk – thub – bə – dzəd – din – yot   |

## Negative

|                                 |                                     |                                       |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Reportive Present            | ḍi—thup—čug—gə—<br>dzəd—də—met~     | sil—thup—čug—gə—<br>—dzəd—də—<br>met~ |
|                                 | ḍi—čuk—thub—bə—<br>dzəd—də—met      | sil—čuk—thub—bə—<br>dzəd—də—met       |
| 2. Reportive Present Continuous | ḍi—thup—čug—gə—<br>—dzəd—d—din—met~ | sil—thup—čug—gə—<br>dzəd—din—met~     |
|                                 | ḍi—čuk—thub—bə—<br>—dzəd—din—met    | sil—čuk—thub—bə—<br>—dzəd—din—<br>met |

*Verb Stem+Desi.(gos—) : Reportive Present :*

|             |                           |                            |
|-------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Affirmative | ḍi—gos—sət                | sil—gos—sət                |
| Negative    | ḍi—gos—sə—met             | sil—gos—sə—met             |
| Honorific   | ḍi—gos—sə—dzəd<br>—dət    | sil—gos—sə—dzəd<br>—dət    |
| Negative    | ḍi—gos—sə—dzəd<br>—də—met | sil—gos—sə—dzəd<br>+də—met |

*Caus.*

|             |                               |                                 |
|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Affirmative | ḍi—gos—čug—gət                | sil—gos—čug—gət                 |
| Negative    | ḍi—gos—čug—gə—<br>met         | sil—gos—čug—gə—<br>—met         |
| Honorific   | ḍi—gos—čug—sə—<br>dzəd—dət    | sil—gos—čug—sə—<br>—dzəd—dət    |
| Negative    | ḍi—gos—čug—gə—<br>dzəd—də—met | sil—gos—čug—gə—<br>—dzəd—də—met |

*Verb Stem+Abi. (thub—)+Desi. (gos—) : Reportive Present*

|             |                                |                                 |
|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Affirmative | ḍi—thub—gos—sət                | sil—thub—gos—sət                |
| Negative    | ḍi—thub—gos—sə—<br>—met        | sil—thub—gos—sə—<br>—met        |
| Honorific   | ḍi—thub—gos—sə—<br>dzəd—dət    | sil—thub—gos—sə—<br>—dzəd—dət   |
| Negative    | ḍi—thub—gos—sə—<br>dzəd—də—met | ḍi—thub—gos—sə—<br>—dzəd—də—met |

*Verb Stem + čug — + thub — + gos : Reportive Present*

|             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| Affirmative | ḍi — čuk — thub — gos —<br>sət ~                | sil — čuk — thub —<br>gos — sət ~                   |
|             | ḍi — thup — čug — gos —<br>sət                  | sil — thup — čug —<br>gos — sət                     |
| Negative    | ḍi — čuk — thub — gos —<br>sə — met ~           | sil — čuk — thub —<br>gos — sə — met ~              |
|             | ḍi — thup — čug — gos —<br>sə — met             | sil — thup — čug —<br>gos — sə — met                |
| Honorific   | ḍi — čuk — thub — gos —<br>sə — dzəd — dət ~    | sil — čuk — thub —<br>gos — sə — dzəd<br>— dət ~    |
|             | ḍi — thup — čug — gos —<br>sə — dzəd — dət      | sil — thup — čug —<br>gos — sə — dzəd<br>— dət      |
| Negative    | ḍi — čuk — thub — gos —<br>sə — dzəd — də — met | sil — čuk — thub —<br>gos — sə — dzəd<br>— də — met |
|             | ḍi — thup — čug — gos —<br>sə — dzəd — də — met | sil — thup — čug —<br>gos — sə — dzəd<br>— də — met |

## APPENDIX II

### SAMPLE TEXT

*lo — tsə — wə — rin — čhen — zəη — po*

*Translator Ratnabhadrā*

1. *lo — tsə — wə — rin — čhen — zəη — po* ni Lotsawa Rinchenzangpo  
proper name Part. was born in the year  
*či — lo gu — rgyə — s̄ηə — dun — ni* of A.D. 957 in the  
year 957 A.D. of village called *kyu — wəη*  
*lo — ə yəb — žon — nu — wəη — čhuk — — rəd — ni* of father  
year—in father—proper name *zon — nu — wəη — čhuk*  
*dəη — yum — čog — ro — zə — kun — zəη —* and of mother *čog —*  
and mother— proper name *ro — zə — kun — zəη —*  
*šes — rəp — stən — ñis — lə* *šes — rəp — stən.*  
— both—to  
*yul — kyu — wəη — rəd — ni zer — sə —*  
village proper name call-place-to  
*ltəms — kək.*  
was born
2. *khəη ltəms — šes — khur — pə — ne* Since the time of  
he time of conception — from conception many aus-  
*yəb — yum — ñis — kə — lə t̄ə — šis — pə* picious signs and  
father-mother-both—in auspicious-of good omen began to  
*rtəks — təη sten — d̄əl — məη — po* appear to the parents.  
signs good omen-many  
dik.  
manifested
3. *ldə — gu — ηo — ču soη — 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



- ltams—śes      ñe—mo      čhen      became light and  
being born near approaching beautiful.  
yum—mi      zuks—po  
mother-of body  
yəŋ—mo—dəŋ—rde—mo  
light—and—beautiful  
gyur.  
became
4. mə—tʃhət      ger—ri      čə—khyuŋ— Besides this the  
besides gold-of *Garuda* parents saw (in the  
ne—tʃho—dəŋ—smə—čə—žik dream) the *Garuda*,  
parrot—and— peacock— parrot, and pea-  
khoŋ—rəŋ—ŋi      sku—züks—lə cock entering the  
own —of body —in mother's body, and  
tʃhims—sə—dəŋ      nəm—khə—ne saw the flowers falling  
as entering sky —from from the sky and the  
me—tog—gi      čhər—pə      bəp—ste people picking them  
flower-of rain having up.  
fallen  
mi—tʃhəŋ—me      tu—ə      ziks.  
man—all pick-to saw
5. te—ne      śtə—lo      —yər—ri      Then he was born on  
then horse-year —summer-of the tenth day of the  
ldə—we      tʃhes—ču—yi summer month of the  
month-of date—ten—of Tibetan House year.  
žəg—gə      sku—təms.  
day—on      was born
6. rin—čhen—wəŋ—čhuk—tʃhən sols. He was named  
proper name named Rinchenwangchuk.
7. žon—nu      ltams—te      lo—ñis      By the time he com-  
baby having year—two pleted two years, he  
born was found uttering  
lon—nə—dəŋ      žəl—ne the sounds ə—a—i—i  
as completed month—from and writing the vowels  
and letters on the



khyo—rəŋ khə—ʒe—deŋ  
 you Kashmir—and—  
 gyə—gər—lə soŋ lo—tʂə  
 India—to go Sanskrit  
 ləp—ste bod—lə gyur.  
 having Tibet—in translate  
 learnt

and translate religious  
 texts into Tibetan.

12. te—min ʒhos—dəŋ—sog—gə  
 otherwise religion—and—life—to  
 pər—ʒhət yoŋ—ʒes mol—lə  
 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—  
 that unhappy—  
 ñəm—po ʒuks—te yot—tʂhuk.  
 mind having sat was

Parents asked him  
 why he was unhappy  
 and what had hap-  
 pened.

14. yəb—yum—ñis—ke ʒi rək  
 father-mother-both what is  
 ʒi soŋ zer—te ʒis.  
 what happened having asked  
 said

15. rin—ʒhen—zəŋ—po—e  
 proper name  
 yəb—yum—ñis—lə mi—ləm—dəŋ—  
 father-mother-both—to dream—and  
 —khən—ḍo—me luŋ—stən—ni  
*Dakini*—of prophesy—of  
 skor—kun rgyəs—pə ʒo—ste  
 about detail having  
 made  
 ʒəd—də—dzət.  
 told

Rinchenzangpo told  
 the parents of his  
 dream and the pro-  
 phesy of *Dakini* in  
 detail.

16. yəb—yum—ñis—kə—əŋ  
father-mother-both-to-also  
thuks—səms—skyo—mo skyot.  
unhappy-mind became
17. khə—čə—ə— ləm—čug nə—ni  
Kashmir-to send then  
ləm rgus met,  
way knowledge is not  
bər—do thoŋ—čes yin—nok.  
difficulty see is
18. ləm—mə—čug nə—ni  
not send then  
čhos—dəŋ—soŋ—gə beŋ—čhət  
religion—and—life—to jeopardy  
yoŋ—čes yin—nok.  
coming is
19. thəps—ʒuk rin—čhen—zəŋ—po  
finally proper name  
khə—čə—ə čhos—dəŋ—lo—tʂə  
Kashmir-to religion—and—Sanskrit  
ləb—bə skyot—čes  
learning—for going  
thuks—thək—čəts.  
decision—took
20. yul—čik—pe ge—sñen  
village-one-of *Upasaka*  
tə—si—rtse—mo zu—khən—bo  
proper name named  
ləm—roks—lə čol—ste ser—  
co-traveller having gold  
made  
təm—tug—rgyə—dəŋ—lem—  
coin—six—hundred—and way  
rgyæks kəl—te ñuŋ—ti—yi  
provisions having proper—of  
sent name
- Parents also became very unhappy.
- If we send him to Kashmir the way to Kashmir is not known, and therefore, there will be difficulties.
- If we do not send him to Kashmir, religion as well as his life will be in jeopardy.
- Finally, it was decided to send Rinchenzangpo to Kashmir to learn religion and Sanskrit language.
- Then he went to Kashmir with a co-traveller Tashirtse, 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 ləm rgyus –  
 name of way knowledge  
 a caste

yot – khən – žig – dəŋ  
 is – one – with

sum – yul – ne biŋ – ste  
 proper – from having come  
 name out

khə – ɕe – yi ɕhoks – lə skyot.  
 Kashmir – of side – to went

21. ldə – wə – žig – dəŋ – žəg –  
 month – one – and – day –  
 sum – mi stiŋ – ne lam – ne  
 three-of after way – from  
 mon – bo dul – ɕes – lə t̥shi – ste  
 Mon walking – for having felt  
 lazy

lok.

returned

22. khoŋ – rəŋ – ñis – kə – bər – do – dəŋ  
 they – both difficulty – and  
 ɖə – ɕək – pe žiks – pə – gun  
 enemy – dacoit – of fears  
 ñoŋ – ŋin skyot – te khə – ɕe – yi  
 facing having Kashmir – of  
 gone  
 yul – li sə – thəms –  
 village – of ground – border  
 ʈoŋ – dun – yot – sə – žig – g ə  
 house – seven – is – place – one – to  
 ʃəp.  
 reached

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.

23. te – ru ldə – wə – ɕik žuks – te  
 there month – one having  
 sat  
 phəl – skət ʃəŋ – ŋə – dzəts.  
 spoken – language learnt

Having stayed there for a month, they learnt the local language.

24. te — ne pheps pə — səŋ  
 then going because  
 kə — lə — čək — ti zer — khən — ni  
 proper name named — of  
 ʃoŋ — khyer — lə pheps.  
 city — to reached
25. i — zug — mi — ser — po — səm —  
 this — type — man — yellow — beard —  
 dəl — met — khən zer — rin  
 moustache — not — one calling  
 khə — če — yi ʃhug — gu — ʃhəŋ — mə  
 Kashmir — of child — all  
 khoŋ — ŋə ltə — ə dus.  
 him seeing — for gathered
26. te — ru khoŋ sot — sñoms — lə  
 there he alms — for  
 pheps pə — səŋ  
 reached therefore  
 ʃəm — ze — rgət — po — žig — dəŋ  
 Brahmin — old — one — with  
 ʃəl.  
 met
27. te — ʃəm — zə khoŋ — ŋi  
 that — Brahmin his  
 čhəg — riz — lə ziks — te nəŋ  
 hand — line — to having seen and  
 čəŋ — mə — zer — rə nəŋ — ŋə  
 having said nothing inside  
 soŋ — te ŋul — li spos — phor — žig  
 having silver — of incense — bowl — one  
 gone  
 me — tog — gi skəŋ — ste — khoŋ — ŋə  
 flower — of having filled him  
 phul — lin i — zug žus.  
 offering like — this said
28. ñe — reŋ mə — sod — de — čən — žik  
 you spiritually lucky  
 yin — nok, ñe — rəŋ — ŋi  
 is you

Then they reached  
 the city named  
 Kalacakti.

The children of  
 Kashmir gathered  
 to see him saying  
 ‘here is a yellow man  
 without beard and  
 moustache’.

He went for alms  
 there and as a re-  
 sult he met an old  
 Brahmin.

The Brahmin saw  
 the lines of his hand  
 and went inside  
 without saying any-  
 thing; there the  
 Brahmin filled a  
 silver bowl with  
 flowers and while  
 giving it to him the  
 Brahmin said.

‘You are spiritually  
 lucky; in this life  
 you will learn a lot  
 about religion and

i—ṭshe—ə ʒhos—məŋ—po  
 this-life—in religion—very  
 khyen—nin sems—čən—ni  
 will know living being-of  
 ɖon—ton—məŋ—po ɖzəd—din.  
 service—very will do  
 ʒhi—mə ŋon—pər—rdzoks—pə—  
 enlightenment  
 səŋs rgyəs—sin.  
 will achieve

will serve the human  
 beings. In next birth  
 you will achieve  
 enlightenment.'

29. khoŋ ni ṭəm—ze  
 he particle Brahmin  
 tət—čhet—go—čhə ʒu—khən  
 proper name called  
 yin—ṭshuk.  
 was

He was a Brahmin  
 called by the name  
 tət—čhet—go—čhə.

30. te—ne khoŋ pən—ɖi—tə  
 then he Pandita  
 guŋ—mi—tə-rə ʒu—khən  
 proper name called  
 rik—pe—nəs—ŋə—lə  
 knowledge—five—to  
 thuk—khəs—pə—ʒik ʒuks—te  
 scholar —one having sat  
 yot—ṭshuk.  
 was

There was a Pandita  
 named Gunmitra,  
 who was well-versed  
 in five fields of  
 knowledge.

31. ɖəm—ze—tət—čhet—go—čhe  
 Brahmin proper name  
 phul—khən—ni ŋul—li  
 offered—of silver-of  
 spos—phor—bo phul—te  
 incense-bowl having offered  
 čhək—ṭshəl—te  
 salutation—having done  
 ldə—wə—rdun—ṭshuk—pə—ə  
 month—seven—upto— to  
 lo—ṭsə ʒəps.  
 Sanskrit studied

Having offered the  
 incense silver bowl  
 given by the Brahmin  
 tət—čhet—go—čhə,  
 he bowed to the  
 Pandita in salutation  
 and for seven months  
 studied Sanskrit with  
 him.

32. də— dəŋ— tʃhəd—mə—ə      He became a scholar  
Sanskrit—and—epistemology      of Sanskrit and of  
thuks—khəs—pə gyur.      epistemology.  
scholar      became
33. khə—čē—yi      khən—po      Then the Kashmiri  
Kashmir—of      abbot      abbot made him a  
dər—mə—šən—ti—ne      *Bhikshu*.  
proper name      —from  
sñen—rdzoks      dub—bə—dzəts.  
*Bhikshu*      completed
34. təm—čhos—məŋ—po      sən      Then he studied many  
great-religion—many      heard      religious texts and  
khə—čik      bot—skəd—lə—əŋ      also translated some  
some      Tibetan-language-in-also of them into Tibetan.  
zgur—rə—dzəts.  
translated
35. te—ne      rin—čhen—zəŋ—po      Then Rinchenzangpo  
then      proper name      reaching the place  
toŋ—khyer—tə—mə—lə—sən—ti      named Tamalasanti,  
city      — proper name      studied *Sutras* and  
zer—sə— ə pheps—te      *Tantras* from the  
called-place-to      having reached      great Pandita Shara-  
pən—dit—tə—čhen—po      dakarawarma and  
*Pandita* — great      practised them.  
šər—də—kə—rə—wər—mə—dəŋ  
proper —      name—with  
ʃəl—te      do—sŋəks— si  
having      *Sutra-Tantra*—of  
met  
čhos—məŋ—po      sən—te      lo—ʃoŋ  
religion—many      having      practise  
heard  
dzəts.  
did
36. te—yi      stiŋ—ne      khoŋ      After that he went to  
that-of      after      he      Phulhari monastery,



- phə—yul— lə log—gi səŋ  
 father-village-to return-of  
 sŋən—lə čəŋ—čhoks—lə  
 before north—side—to  
 phul—hə—ri—gon—pə— ə  
 proper name monastery—to  
 dup—čhen—nə—ro—pə  
*Mahasiddha*—proper name  
 ʃəl—lə skyot—te  
 for visiting having gone  
 səŋ—sŋəks— si  
*Tantrik*—of  
 zep—čhos—məŋ—po səns.  
 great-religious—many heard
37. te—ne khoŋ khə—če—ne While in Kashmir he  
 then he Kashmir—from made arrangements  
 pheps—te gya—gar—šar— to go to the eastern  
 having gone India—east— part of India.  
 čhoks—lə pheps—šes—si  
 side—to going—of  
 ʃəl dzəts.  
 arrangements did
38. špe—čhə—tshəŋ—mə pən—di—tə He kept all his books  
 book—all *Pandita* in the care of the  
 čhen—mo—šar—də—kə—rə—wər—me great Pandita  
 great— proper name —of Shardakarawarma.  
 čhəg—gə čol—lə—dzəts.  
 hand—in kept in care
39. khoŋ—rəŋ rgyə—gar—šar—čhoks—lə Then he reached the  
 he India— east—side—to eastern side of India.  
 pheps.  
 reached
40. te—ru khən—po—dzi—nə—mi—tə There he studied with  
 there abbot—proper name abbot Dzinamitra,  
 —rə—khən—po—gyən—khən—po— abbot Shilendra etc.  
 abbot—proper name —abbot and with many scho-  
 lars and Panditas.

- šī—len—də—rə—soks—khəs—pə—dəŋ—  
 proper—name—etc.—scholar—and  
 pən—ḍi—tə—məŋ—po—ne  
*Pandita*—many—from  
 čhos—məŋ—po sən.  
 religion—many heard
41. zde—snot—sum—dəŋ—yum—gyəs— He translated religi-  
*Tripitik*—and—holy book ous texts *Tripitik*,  
 pə—soks—təm—čhos—məŋ—po— and many holy books  
 etc.—great-religion—many (like Prajñā Pāramitā)  
 žig zgyur—rə—ḍzəts. etc.  
 translated
42. lo—tṣə—wə—rin—čhen—zəŋ—po Then he became  
 proper name khown as Lotsawa-  
 žu—ste tṣhən—sñən— Rinchenzangpo.  
 having name—famous  
 called  
 təkṣ—čən gyur.  
 became
43. te—ne yəŋ khə—čə—ə pheps—te Then, returning to  
 then again Kashmir—to having Kashmir, he took  
 reached back the books kept  
 pən—ḍi—tə—šər—də—kə—rə— in the care of  
*Pandita* proper name Pandita  
 wər—me čhəg—gə čol—khən—ni Shardakarawarma.  
 —of hand—in kept  
 čhək—spe—gun—ne thon—tṣhət  
 books— from as much as  
 (could) carry  
 snams.  
 took
44. mə—thon—khən—ni čhək—spe—gun Whatever books he  
 not carry of books could not carry he  
 khoŋ—rəŋ—ŋi čhəg—gə čol—te left them in the  
 his hand—in having kept care of Pandita  
 in the care Shardakarawarma.  
 kyu—wəŋ—ŋə log—gə—ḍzət.  
 proper name—to returned

45. khə — ʒe — dəŋ — gyə — gər — lə      He spent ten years  
Kashmir — and — India — to  
khoŋ lo — ʒu ʒuks.  
he year — ten stayed  
in Kashmir and in  
other parts of India.
46. phə — yul — lə      phəps — zə — ne      When he reached  
father — village — to reaching  
yəp ʔoŋs — tʂhər — te met — tʂhuk.  
father having finished not — was  
dying      dead.
47. khə — ʒe — ne      lok — ste mə —      He thought that it  
Kashmir — from having returned  
yoŋ — ŋə  
having not come  
ʒhuks — tok      goŋs.  
made mistake thought      from Kashmir itself.
48. te — ne      khoŋ      pu — rəŋ — ŋə      Then he went to  
then he      proper name — to  
skyot.  
went      Purang village.
49. rgyəl — po — ʒə — ʒhen — po — ʒə — lde — yi      There king Lhach-  
king — proper name —      of      enpolhalde gave him  
pheps — su — gəŋ — ʂən      ʒu — ste      warm      welcome,  
welcome — warm      having      made him head of  
offered      the religious place,  
and accepted him as  
u — yi      ʒhod — nə      dəŋ      his religious teacher  
head — of      religious — place      and      (Guru).  
rdo — rʒe — ʒob — bon      dzəts.  
religious      teacher      made  
Guru
50. pu — rəŋ — ŋi      sə — ʒi — dəŋ —      The king offered  
proper name      land — and      Lama      Lotsawa  
bul — wə — məŋ — po — ʒə — mə —      Rinchenzango land  
gift      many      lama      in the Purang village  
lo — tʂə — wə — rin — ʒhen —      and many gifts.  
proper name  
zəŋ — po — ə      phuls.  
— to      offered.

51. te—ne kho ku—ge—ə  
 then he proper—to  
 name  
 pheps—sə—dəŋ ʃə—lə—mə—  
 as reached proper  
 ye—ʃes—od—di ʧhod—ʒi—  
 name— of religious—land  
 məŋ—po phul—te  
 much having offered  
 rʦə—we—ʃə—mə dzəts.  
 supreme—religious made  
 teacher
52. te—ne lo—ʦə—wə—rin—ʧhen—  
 then proper name  
 zəŋ—po—e ŋə—ris—skor—sum—  
 proper names—  
 mi nəŋ—ŋə ʃə— khəŋ—  
 of inside temple proper name  
 rgyə—dəŋ—rgyəd ʒəŋ—ʧes—si  
 hundred—and—eight making—of  
 ʒəl—ʒes dzəts.  
 promise made
53. təŋ—po pu—rəŋ—ŋi  
 first proper name—of  
 khə—ʦər—ʃə—khəŋ—ku—ge—yi  
 proper name temple proper—of  
 name  
 tho—ldiŋ—ʃə—khəŋ—dəŋ—  
 proper name temple—and  
 məŋ—yul—li—ñer—mə—ʃə—  
 proper name—of proper name  
 Ladakh  
 khəŋ—sum—mi rʦig—məŋ  
 temple—three-of foundation  
 tiŋ—ŋə—dzəts.  
 laid
54. te—ne ʃə—lə—mə—ye—ʃes—  
 then proper name
- Then 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 pro-  
 mised to build one  
 hundred and eight  
 temples in ŋə—ris—  
 skor—sum (names  
 of the three places).
- First he laid down  
 the foundation of  
 three temples: khə  
 —ʦər, temple of  
 Purang; tho—ldiŋ,  
 temple of ku—ge;  
 ñer—mə, temple of  
 məŋ—yul (Ladakh).
- Then Lhalama-  
 yeshesod requested

- od—di ʃə—mə—lo—tʂə—wə—  
lama—proper  
rin—čhen—zəŋ—po—ə  
name  
čhəg—ʃpe—kun len—ni red—dəŋ  
books taking-of along with  
ʃə—zo—wə—gun khyoŋ—ŋə—lə  
artists for bringing  
pheps—sə—dzət žus.  
go said
55. žəl—žes—dzət—te  
having promised  
lo—tʂə—wə—rin—čhen—zəŋ—po  
proper name  
khə—če—ə pheps.  
Kashmir—to went
56. khəs—pə—dəŋ—pən—di—tə—  
scholars—and—Pandits  
kun—ne čhos žu—yin  
from religion discussing  
lo—tuk gor.  
year—six delayed
57. te—ne yəb—bi goŋs—rdzoks—lə  
then father-of memory—in  
khə—če—ə thuks—rje—čhen—po—e  
Kashmir—in *Mahakarunika* i.e.  
*Lokeshwara*  
sku—ʃñən—mi—tʂhət—žig  
statue—man—size—a  
žəŋs—te žus.  
having brought  
made
58. čhək—ʃpe—dəŋ—ʃə—dzo—wə—  
book—and—artists—  
khəs—pə—sum—ču—so—gñis  
experts thirty-two
- Lama Lotsawa  
Rinchenzangpo to  
go to Kashmir and  
bring back some  
artists together with  
books.
- Having accepted this  
LotsawaRinchenzang-  
po went to Kashmir.
- He delayed in  
Kashmir by six years  
while discussing re-  
ligious 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.

thid—də—dzət—te ku—ge— ə  
 having brought proper—to  
 name

pheps.  
 reached

59. te—ʃə—dzo—khəs—pə—kun—ni  
 that—artist—expert  
 loks—riz—dəŋ—sku—ʃñən  
 fresco—and—sculpture  
 žəŋ—ŋin—žik ŋə—ris—skor—sum—  
 building proper names—  
 ni nəŋ—ŋə ʃə—khəŋ—rgyə—  
 of inside temple —hundred—  
 dəŋ—rgyəd—dəŋ—čhot—rten—  
 and—eight—and—stupa  
 təŋs—met žəŋ—ŋə—dzət.  
 innumerable built

These expert artists  
 while making frescoes  
 and sculptures built  
 one hundred and  
 eight temples and  
 innumerable Chotrten  
 in ŋə—ris— skor —  
 sum (names of the  
 three places).

60. khoŋ—ŋi sku—tuz—lə  
 his time— in  
 žəŋ—ŋə—dzəts—khən—ni  
 built  
 ʃə—khəŋ—dəŋ—čhot—rtən—  
 temple—and—stupa—  
 məŋ—tʃhət čhu—čher—dəŋ—  
 mostly water-rain—and  
 čhi—pe—də—čəg—gi  
 non-buddhist enemy—dacoits  
 thor—ʃkyen təŋs—te šul—re  
 destruction having ruins  
 given  
 me—ni ʃəl—čes met—tə yin—nok.  
 except seeing having is  
 nót

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.

61. tʃhot—tʃhot—čik tə—ruŋ—ŋəŋ  
 something even now—also  
 ʃəl—čes yot—te yin—nok.  
 seeing having been is

However, there is  
 still something to  
 see.

62. lo—tsə—wə—rin—čhen—zəŋ—  
 proper name  
 po—e sku—tuz—lə  
 —of time—in  
 žəŋs—khən—ni sku—šñən—kun  
 built statues  
 dəŋ—de—riŋ—ŋə žəŋs—khən—dəŋ  
 these days built  
 mi—də—ə gyə—gər—dəŋ—  
 not—being—to India—and—  
 similar  
 gən—dər—ri luks—lə  
 Gandhar—of style—in  
 žəŋ—ste yəŋ—duk.  
 having built is

Statues built in the time of Lotsawa Rinchenzangpo are different from the statues of these days. They are built in Indian and Gandhara styles.

63. lo—tsə—we ʃə—khəŋ—gun—ni  
 proper name-of temples—of  
 nəŋ—ŋə rdzoks—sku—  
 inside clay—statue  
 šnəm—pər—snəŋ—dzət—  
 proper name  
 tsos—pe rgyəl—wə—riks—  
 main—of *Dhyani Buddha*—  
 ʃŋə—čəms—pə—jəm—yəŋs—dəŋ—  
 five—*Maitray Manjushri*—and—  
 phəks—pə—čən—rəz—ziks—məŋ—  
 Arya Avalokiteshwara—  
 čhe—ə žəŋ—ste yəŋ—duk.  
 mostly—to having are  
 built

In the temples of Lotsawa the main clay statues are of šnəm—pər—snəŋ—dzət, (*Wirochan*), five *Dhyani Buddhas*, *Maitray*, *Manjushri*, and *Arya Avalokiteshwara*.

64. loks—riz—lə skyil—khor  
 fresco —in *Mandala*  
 səŋs—rgyəs—stoŋ—sku—dəŋ—  
 thousand *Buddhas*—and—  
 dzət—ču—yi skor məŋ—čhe—ə  
*Buddha's*— life about mostly  
 yəŋ—duk.  
 are

In the frescoes *Mandala*, thousand *Buddhas*, and the life of *Buddha*, are depicted.

65. te min—pə rgyəl—rəps—si Besides these there  
 that besides history—of are also different  
 skor dəŋ ri—mo—mi—ḍə—mi—ḍə— frescoes of historical  
 about and picture different events.  
 re—əŋ ḍi—ste yon—duk.  
 —also having are  
 written
66. te ri—mo—gun—ni ḍi—tshul—dəŋ— People all over the  
 that pictures—of technique—and— world are surprised  
 tshon—dəŋs—kun thon—ste at their technique,  
 colour—shine— having seen colours and lustre.  
 ḍzəm—ḥiŋ—ŋi mi—gun  
 world —of people  
 hə—ləs—sə—nok.  
 surprised
67. khoŋ guŋ—lo—rgyət—ču—gyə—dun At the age of  
 he year—eighty seven years eighty-seven he  
 —lə pheps—sə—dəŋ čo—rje—pəl—ldən— met Corjepaldan  
 —to as reached proper name Atisha.  
 ə—ti—šə—dəŋ jəl.  
 —with met
68. bul—wə—məŋ—po phul—te After having offered  
 gift —many having many gifts, he heard  
 offered religious discourse;  
 čhos žus; čo—rje—pəl—ldən— Atisha became very  
 religion heard proper name happy with him.  
 ə—ti—šə thuks—thət.  
 became happy
69. khoŋ lo—tṣə—wə—khəs—pə Lotsawa Rinchenz-  
 he translator angpo was a trans-  
 žuks—te yot—khən—bo—e lator; Corjepaldan  
 having sat being Atisha asked him  
 žəs—te čo—rje—yi to become his (Cor-  
 because of proper—of jepaldan Atisha's)  
 name translator.



- lo—tṣə—wə      dzət—gos  
 translator      become—should  
 suṅs.  
 said
70. ḡə      rgəs—te      lo—rgyət—ču—  
 I      having      year— eighty  
    become old  
 gyə—dun thəl      khə—čhol—te  
 seven to corss      mouth—having  
    become disordered  
 čhos—si      də—əṅ      təg—gə  
 religions-of sound- also      clear  
 mi—rək.  
 not—is
71. te—zuk      mə—mol      žus.  
 like this      do not—say requested  
    Please do not say  
    so, requested Lots-  
    awa Rinchenzangpo.
72. čo—rṣe—yi      ḡə—ə      səm—be  
 proper name      I—to      thought-of  
 ṣṅiṅ yot nə—əṅ      zer—čes—si  
 mind is then—also      speaking—of  
 lče      met mol—lin      thuks—tṣher  
 tongue not saying      sad  
dzəts.  
 became  
 Saying that, al-  
 though he still had  
 a mind to think,  
 but no tongue to  
 speak, he became  
 very sad.
73. yin—nəṅ—      stiṅ—ne  
    but      later—on  
 nək—tṣho—lo—tṣə—wə—  
    proper name  
tṣhul—thims—rgyəl—we  
    proper name  
 lo—tṣə      dzəd—din      mols.  
 translator      will become      said  
 But later on  
 Lotsawatshulthims  
 —rgyəlwa of  
 Naktsho village said,  
 he will become his  
 translator.
74. čo—rṣe—pəl—ldən—ə—ti—ṣe  
    proper name  
 lo—tṣə—wə—rin—čhen—zəṅ—po  
    proper name  
 Then Corjepaldan  
 Atisha said to Lot-  
 sawa Rinchenzangpo:  
 ‘you have studied

ñe—rəŋ—ŋi      ʒhos    rgyəl—lə  
 you                    religion properly  
 khyen—te    yin—nok    sems—ŋo—  
 having known are    mind—know  
 ʈot—pe    ʒə—mə—məŋ—po—    dəŋ—  
                   of Lama — many    with  
 ni    ʒəl    ʈsho—wə    ni    duk, tə  
 Part. met material    Part. are now  
                   things  
 ɖub—bə    rgyəl—lə    ɖzət    mol—lin  
 meditation good    do    saying  
 bot—ʒhoks—lə    pheps.  
 Tibet-side—to went

religion, have met  
 great Lamas and have  
 material things, now  
 is the time for you  
 to meditate' saying  
 so he left for Tibet.

75. ʒə—me    kə—ə    ʒin  
 Guru—of order—to according  
 lo—ʈsə—wə—rin—ʒhen—zəŋ—po—e  
                   proper name  
 guŋ—lo—gu—ču—go—rgyət—  
                   year    ninety eight  
 ʈshuk—pə—ə    ɖub—bə  
                   upto                    meditation  
 khyət—pər—čən    ɖzət—te    ʒi—lo    1055  
                   strictly                    having year 1055  
     done  
 ʈsəm—mi    nəŋ—ŋə    sku—ñə—ŋən—ləs  
 about—of    in                    *Parinirwana*  
 dəs.  
 achieved

He attained *Parinir-*  
*wana* at the age  
 of 98 years in 1055  
 A.D. after having  
 meditated strictly  
 according to the  
 instructions of his  
 Lama (religious  
 teacher).

76. khoŋ—ŋi    ʒob—mə—kə—ʒi—  
                   his                    disciples —pillar—four  
 duŋ—rgyəd—ʒu—khən—ni  
 beam—eight    called  
 ʒob—mə—khəs—pə    ču—gñis  
 disciple scholar                    twelve  
 yot—ʈshuk.  
                   was

His twelve scholarly  
 disciples were known  
 as four pillars and  
 eight beams of  
 religion.

77. te—*ŕ*ob—mə—kun—ni  
 that-disciples—of  
 kho<sub>ŕ</sub>—<sub>ŕ</sub>i sku—du<sub>ŕ</sub>—<sub>ŕ</sub>ə me—phuls.  
 his body—to cremated  
 They cremated his  
 body.
78. čhot—pə—rgyə—čhen—po phul—te  
 worship — big having  
 offered  
 And carried forward  
*Buddha Shasana*,  
 thus serving  
 humanity.  
 stən — bə—də<sub>ŕ</sub>—<sub>ɔ</sub>—we  
*Buddha-Shasana*  
 žəp—rtoks *ɔ*zəts.  
 service—welfare did

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