Tshangla verb inflections:  
a preliminary sketch\(^1\)

Erik Andvik  
Payap University  
Chiangmai, Thailand

1. Introduction

The Tshangla language is spoken predominantly in eastern Bhutan, where it is also known as Sharchhop-kha, the language of the Sharchhop or Sharchhokpa, i.e. 'people living in the East.' The number of speakers in Bhutan is approximately 140,000 (George van Driem, personal communication). As the largest of the non-official languages of Bhutan, it serves as a lingua franca for several smaller language groups in the eastern half of the kingdom.\(^2\)

Tshangla of Bhutan is equivalent to the Cangluo language of south-eastern Tibet, described by Zhang Jichuan (1986), earlier presented by Sun et al. (1980) as the Motuo Menba. However, the language described by Zhang and Sun is spoken in a cluster of communities geographically separated from Bhutan by several hundred miles, namely the region formerly known as Padma-bkod, located near the point where the Tsangpo River (Siang), crosses the McMahon Line. A comparison of Bhutanese Tshangla vocabulary with the word list given in Sun et al. (1980) indicates that there are very few differences in the speech of the two communities. This was also confirmed by the author's own data taken from speakers of the Padma-bkod dialect.\(^3\) Speakers from Bhutan, as well as speakers from Padma-bkod who have had contact with each other, report that they easily understand the speech of the other group.

The geographical separation of the two communities is apparently due to recent migration from Bhutan, as indicated by Aris in his Notes on the Mon-Yul Corridor (1980):

"It is known that the southern end of two of Tibet's most sacred sanctuaries ...  
Tsa-ri and Padma-bkod ... are inhabited mainly by groups who were encouraged

---

\(^1\) This paper was originally presented to the 25th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, 14-18 October, 1992.

\(^2\) Most of the data presented here was obtained from Bhutanese Tshangla speakers residing in or visiting the Darjeeling district in West Bengal, India. My thanks to Prof. R.K. Sprigg for his help in finding housing and language assistants in Kalimpong.

\(^3\) A word list was taken from two speakers of Padma-bkod Tshangla attending school in Darjeeling, who were born in Choepheling Camp, a Tibetan settlement near the village of Miao in the Chenglang (formerly Tirap) District of Arunachal Pradesh. According to these informants, most of the approximately 2,000 people living in the settlement are Tshangla speakers with roots in Padma-bkod.
by the legendary reputation of these 'hidden lands' (sbas-yul) to flee there in the 19th century to escape from oppressive taxation in the area of eastern Bhutan and elsewhere."

Tshangla is also spoken just across the border from eastern Bhutan in Arunachal Pradesh, in and around Dirang in the Kameng Region. The language of this area has been referred to as Central Monpa by Das Gupta (1968), who also reports that the Monpas used to be called Sher-chok-pa, and that their numbers were frequently added to by migrations from eastern Bhutan as well as from across the Himalayas. Central Monpa, spoken by about six thousand, is one of four dialect groups which Das Gupta calls Monpa, encompassing 21,000 speakers in all. The others are Northern Monpa, spoken in the rTawang area, Southern Monpa, spoken south of Dirang in the Kalaktang area, and Lishpa, spoken in the two villages Lish and Chug.

Yet another group given the name Monpa is the Tshona (Cuona) Monpa, centered around the town of mTsho-sna in southeastern Tibet, just north of eastern Bhutan. This language was first described by Sun et al. (1980). See also Nishida (1988).

The Monpa label is unfortunate, in that it separates languages which should be grouped together while joining under a common name languages which should not be grouped together. Thus Bhutanese Tshangla (Sharchhok-kha), Cangluo Menba and Central Monpa are closely related and apparently mutually intelligible varieties of a single language, while Northern Monpa and Cuona Menba are distinct from these, and should be grouped with Bumthang of Central Bhutan (cf. Aris 1979:121-2, also Mazaudon & Michailovsky 1992). The former are unclassified under the Bodish Section, while the latter fall under Proto East Bodish (cf. Shafer's classification below.)

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

Figure 1: Shafer's classification (1955, 1966)

The purpose of this paper is to sketch the structure of three types of verb phrase in Tshangla, and to examine the function of their various inflectional markers. After a brief discussion of compound verbs and verb classes in
section 2, an overview of the three verb phrase types is presented in section 3. Sections 4 through 6 contain a description of the inflections peculiar to each verb phrase type. Finally, in section 7, negation is described with respect to the various verb phrase types.

2. The Tshangla verb

2.1 Compound verbs

One of the distinctive characteristics of Tshangla is its compound verbs, in which two or more grammatical words combine to form a single semantic concept. In some cases each of the two elements in the compound may occur as an independent verb. For some of these, the compound may be understood literally as a combination of the meaning of the two terms (dang-dile4, lit. 'walk-go': 'to walk somewhere', kham-tsukpe, lit. 'injection-put': 'to give an injection'); or else the compound may take on a new, idiomatic meaning (yen-bile, lit. 'wear-give': 'to teach', nyinang-khule, lit. 'mucus-come.out': 'to be shy').

In other cases, one or both of the elements in the compound does not occur independently. Of these, the dependent element may be semantically obscure,5 (go-tsukpe, lit. '?'-put': 'to begin'), or it may have a meaning of its own but still never be used except in a compound (ha-gole, lit. 'heart-put': 'to understand', ha-chhatpe, lit. 'heart-stop': 'to be amazed').

As an example of the idiomatic and semantically unpredictable nature of these compounds: yitka-mile (lit. 'memory-think') means 'to forget', while yitka-ale (lit. 'memory-do' means 'to remember'. Yitka occurs only as an element in these two compounds, while ale 'to do' and mile 'to think' are common verbs.

The compound verbs may be classified according to the word class of the individual elements. The combinations attested are verb + verb, instrument + verb, object + verb, and location + verb.

4 The non-past perfective is used as the citation form. It is the most frequent form, occurring both as "goal" (see Figure 3) and as main verb. Also, the entire paradigm is always derivable from the non-past form, while the root itself may be ambiguous. For an explanation of the phonological values of the orthography used herein, see the phoneme chart in Appendix B.

5 This, of course, creates a problem for interlinear glossing: whether to gloss the individual items or the compound as a whole. The grossly inelegant solution chosen for this paper has been to gloss the individual items when the meaning is known, but when obscure, to connect the lexemes with a '=' and gloss the compound as a whole. What is obscure to one informant, however, is known to another, so in time, more of the meanings of these compound elements should be recovered.
2.1.1 Verb + Verb

These are composed of two verbs, the first element a verb root, the second a fully inflected verb:

(1) yen-bile (lit. 'wear-give') = to teach
thup-thale (lit. 'throw-leave') = to throw away
dang-dile (lit. 'walk-go') = to walk somewhere
chot-thale (lit. 'prepare-leave') = to establish, to fix
gi-dakpe (lit. 'give-say') = to request

2.1.2 Instrument + Verb

The first element is an instrument which is used to perform the action of the verbal second element:

(2) biting-phile (lit. 'leg-do') = to kick
kha-shole (lit. 'mouth-release') = to confess
kha-dokpe (lit. 'mouth-receive') = to admit, confess

2.1.3 Object + Verb

The first element is the nominal object of the second verbal element:

(4) sem-shorbe (lit. 'mind-lose') = to grieve
yong-khele (lit. 'shadow-be affected by') = to be afraid

2.1.4 Location + Verb

The locative adverbial shows the location of the event encoded by the verbal element:

(5) cha-chatpe (lit. 'here-cut') = to decide
ha-gole (lit. 'heart-put') = to understand

2.1.5 Compounds with phile, khele, ale

A few verbs tend to occur frequently as the second element in a compound. Among these are phile 'to make, to do', khele 'to be affected by, to suffer' (i.e. to have happen to), and ale 'to do'.

(6) shonang-phile 'to be happy'
nyen-phile 'to marry'
yut-khele 'to fall down'
thungma-khele 'to catch cold'
ngamcha-khele 'to thunder'
drang-ale 'to count'
menang-ale 'to criticize'

2.1.6 Three-element compounds

Examples of three elements compounds are gum-yen-bile (lit. 'face-wear-give') = 'to introduce', yitka-min-jongme (lit. 'memory-think-go') = 'to forget completely'.

2.1.7 Grammatical characteristics

The elements of a compound verb become separated by the negative prefix ma-, as in the following examples. The negative prefix preceeds the verb root (or the last verb root in the case of more than one).

(6) Jang ha ma -go -wa.⁶
    1s heart NEG -put-PAS
    I didn't understand.

(7) Ai-ten giti-rang gum yen ma -bi -wa -cha.
    1p-RFLX when-INT face wear NEG-give-PAS-COP
    We have never been introduced.

Even in affirmative clauses, although the two elements of the compound verb tend to occur contiguously, they may be separated by interposition of an adverbial such as namesame 'very'. For this reason they must be analyzed as two separate words on the grammatical level,⁷ although they function as a single concept at the semantic level.

(8) Ha ro-ki namesame gon-a.⁸
    heart 3s-ERG very put-MIR
    S/he really understands.

---

⁶ See Appendix A for a key to the abbreviations used in glossing.
⁷ Discontiguous compound verbs, both negative as well as those interrupted by an adverbial, should probably be described in terms of some sort of movement from their original position. For the purposes of the syntactic description of the verb phrase in this paper, the elements of a compound verb will be analyzed as belonging to the single root slot.
⁸ By means of a morphophonemic process, the 1 in the mirative suffix -1a is dropped after roots ending in -n. E.g. din-la → din-a, un-la → un-a.
(9) Kholong namesame ro-ki phi -wa.
    fight very 3s-ERG make-PAS
    S/he really fought.

(10) Ro nyinang namesame khu -wa.
    3s mucus very come.out-PAS
    S/he was really shy.

2.2 Verb classes

Tshangla verbs may be divided into 4 classes according to their inflections for
past and non-past in the perfective aspect. The present imperfective marker
-cha and past imperfective -chhowa are the same for all classes. Figure 2
shows an overview of the four verb classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past perfective</th>
<th>non-past perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to look'</td>
<td>got-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to divide'</td>
<td>bang-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>di-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to boil'</td>
<td>dur-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>got-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bang-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dur-be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Tshangla perfective verb inflections

2.2.1 Class 1, gotpe: -pe/-pa

Class 1 verbs like gotpe take the past suffix -pa, and the non-past suffix -pe:
gotpa 'saw', gotpe 'will see'. This class is the most general, occurring with roots
ending in all possible final consonants: stops (gotpe, phekpe), nasals (dampe, linpe, jangpe), and [r] (sorpe). A root-final labial stop is degeminated according
to a general prohibition of geminate segments, and optionally aspirated as in
phap + pe → phaphe ~ phape 'to fold'.

2.2.2 Class 2, bangme: -me/-ma

Class 2 verbs like bangme take the past suffix -ma and the non-past suffix -me.
This class is next in order in terms of the restrictions on its occurrence. It
occurs only with roots ending in nasals: (singme, khonme, jime). The geminate
nasal [mm] occurring when the affix is attached to a root ending in [m] is
degeminated (Jim + me → jime 'to ask').
2.2.3 Class 3, dile: -le/-wa

Class 3 verbs like dile 'to go' take the past suffix -wa and the non-past suffix -le: diwa 'went', dile 'will go'. Although many verbs belong to this class, it is more restricted than the previous two in that it only occurs with roots ending in -n. The root-final consonant is deleted before the past or non-past suffixes are added. However, it is visible in periphrastic inflections and compound verbal expressions where the bare root occurs, for example in the present continous din-cha, the past continous din-chhowa, and compound expressions din gotpe (lit. 'go-see') 'to find out'.

2.2.4 Class 4, durbe: -be/-ba

A final class consists of verbs which take the suffixes -ba in the past and -be in the non-past. This is the most restricted class of all, occurring only with roots which end in [r] (eg. durbe 'to boil'. Note that not all verb roots ending in [r] belong to this class (cf. sorpe, Class 1 above).

3. Tshangla verb phrase structure

The Tshangla sentence may be described as a series of optional non-final clauses followed by a single final clause. The final and non-final clauses are distinct in terms of the type of verb phrase which may occur in each. See Figure 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>(C_{NF})^n + C_F</th>
<th>(n&gt;∅)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C_F</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>(SUB) + (OBJ_D) + (OBJ_ID) + VP_F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C_{NF}</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>(SUB) + (OBJ_D) + (OBJ_ID) + VP_{NF}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP_{TF}</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>(goal) + (neg) + Vroot + (aspect) + [(tense_1)+(tense_2)] + (emphatic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP_{NTF}</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>(goal) + (neg) + Vroot + non-temporal marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP_{NF}</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>(goal) + (neg) + Vroot + non-final marker + (particle_{NF})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Tshangla sentence and clause structure

---

9 For a similar example of the dropping of -l after -n see note 8 [Ed.]
The formulas in Figure 3 are to be read as follows:
The sentence is composed of one or more optional non-final clauses followed by one final clause. The non-final clause is composed of optional subject, optional direct object, optional indirect object plus a non-final verb phrase. The final clause is composed of optional subject, optional direct object, optional indirect object plus a final verb phrase.

The temporal final verb phrase (VP_{TF}) is composed of an optional goal, an optional negative marker, verb root, optional aspect marker, optional tense marker, optional second tense marker, and an optional emphatic particle. The bracket notation indicates that at least one tense marker from either tense_1 or tense_2 must be present. Or both may occur together.

The non-temporal final verb phrase (VP_{NTF}) is composed of an optional goal, optional negative prefix, verb root, and a non-temporal verb marker.

The non-final verb phrase (VP_{NF}) is composed of an optional goal, optional negative prefix, verb root, non-final marker, and an optional non-final particle. The goal position encodes an event or state to which the action of the main verb is directed, similar to the English verb + infinitive construction. Only a verb inflected with the non-past perfective form may occur in this position. Note the following examples:

(11) Dorje Tshangla chhas lam -pe go=tsuk -pa -cha mo? Dorje Tshangla speech learn-NP begin-PAS-COP QP? Has Dorje begun to learn the Tshangla language?

(12) Ji-\textit{gi} nan-ga ji -me la -ma -cha. 1s-ERG you-DAT ask-NP seek-PAS-COP I have been looking for you to ask you (something).

(13) Kan katang sho -le ga -lu m -an-cha. sound large put.out NP allow-DEP NEG-do-COP Making a lot of noise is not allowed.

(14) Ji-\textit{gi} tam hang-rang yek -pe se -lu m -an-cha. 1s-ERG story what-INT speak-NP know-DEP NEG-do-COP I don't know any story at all to tell.

(15) Meme -gi zala -ba thamchhen she -le cham -pa. Grandfather-ERG monkey-PL all kill-NP about.to-PAS The old man was about to kill all the monkeys.
The remainder of the paper will be organized around the three types of verb phrase formulated in Figure 3 above, and termed “temporal”, “non-temporal”, and “non-final”.

4. Temporal final verb phrase

Within the temporal verb phrase the Tshangla tense-aspect-modality (TAM) system is encoded. As will be seen below, the modality in this system is of the evidential type. Other types of modality are encoded within the other verb phrase types. The evidentiality of the temporal verb phrase, however, is formally distinct from these in that it forms a system together with markers for tense and aspect. In order to describe the Tshangla TAM system, we first need to take a look at the characteristics of some of these individual markers.

4.1 The descriptive/existential copula

There are three lexemes in Tshangla which may take on descriptive/existential copular function,\(^\text{10}\) corresponding to past, present, and future time. Each of these forms plays a significant role in the structure of the temporal verb phrase.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{past} & \text{present} & \text{future} \\
\text{chhowa 'stayed'} & \text{cha 'is'} & \text{uphe 'will come'}
\end{array}
\]

**Figure 4: The verb ‘to be’**

(16) Waktsa dukpu chho-wa.
child poor stay-PAS
The child was poor.

(17) Waktsa dukpu cha
child poor COP
The child is poor.

(18) Thamcherang lekpu u -phe.
all good come-NP
Everything will be alright.

\(^{10}\) The equative copula *gila* will be described in section 4.5 below.
The present tense form consists of a unique present time copula cha. For past time, however, the past tense form chhowa is borrowed from the lexeme chhole 'to stay' (example 16). The form used to indicate future time is in turn the non-past tense form of the lexeme uphe 'to come' (example 18). Both chhole and uphe also occur as full-fledged lexical verbs with their own complete paradigms.

4.2 The absolute tenses

Tshangla tense-aspect categories may be divided into two types, the simple and the periphrastic. The simple tenses are the present imperfective, past perfective, and non-past perfective. These are composed of an uninflected verb root followed by a tense marker or copula. In terms of their semantics, what these have in common is that they take the present moment as their deictic center. They are the so-called "absolute tenses" (cf. Comrie 1985). In Tshangla, as in most languages, the absolute tenses are the most frequent and basic.

The periphrastic tenses are composed of a fully inflected verb followed by a past, present, or future form of the copula. These are the so-called "absolute-relative tenses" (Comrie 1985), in which the form both establishes a temporal reference point (which may or may not be the present moment) and locates the situation with reference to that point.

As shown above, there are two tenses in the perfective aspect, and four allomorphs for each of the two tense affixes: -pa, -ma, -wa, and -ba for the past perfective, and -pe, -me, -le, and -be for the non-past perfective. There is no present perfective form.

In the imperfective aspect there are also two tenses, but these are formally quite different from the perfective.

4.2.1 Present imperfective: root + cha

The present imperfective is composed of the verb root plus the present time copula cha. It may be used with both continuous (19) and habitual (20) meaning:
(19) Sonam ngang jang -cha.\textsuperscript{11}  
Sonam neck stretch-COP  
Sonam is singing.

(20) O -ga -rang di-nyi-bu Sonam ngang jang -cha.  
where-DAT-INT go-UNS-AS Sonam neck stretch-COP  
Wherever he goes Sonam sings.

\textbf{4.2.2 Past imperfective: root + \textit{chhowa}}

The past imperfective is formed by the verb root plus the past copula \textit{chhowa} (the past tense form of the verb \textit{chhole} 'to stay'). It may encode either continuous or habitual meaning:

house in -DAT arrive-CC-CONC-UNS grandfather door behind-DAT sit-stay-PAS  
When they arrived at the house, the old man was sitting behind the door.

(22) Rokte-ba-ki ai phung=yang-me gan -chho-wa.  
3p -PL-ERG 1p fight -NP give-stay-PAS  
They were trying to get us to fight.

(23) Makmi thur pechha thur lhak-chho -wa.  
soldier one book one read-stay-PAS  
A soldier was reading a book.

(24) Goma uthu man za -la-kap-nyi jam -chho-wa, oma jam -pu m a -la  
before this medicine eat-CC-CONC-UNS heal-stay-PAS now heal-DEP NEG do-MIR  
This medicine was helping (used to help) but now it doesn't.

3s person sick-REL -PL-DAT look-stay-PAS  
He used to see sick people.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{cha}, \textit{la}, and many other verbal inflections in Tshangla, as well as nominal markers for case and number, are clitics: although phonologically they behave like affixes (they belong to the stress pattern of the preceding word) grammatically they function at the phrase-level. To reflect the grammatical status in transcription would require that we write the perfective forms with a hyphen: \textit{got-pe}, 'see, will see', \textit{got-pa}, 'saw', but the present continuous forms as two separate words: \textit{got cha}, \textit{got la} (but \textit{din + la} $\rightarrow$ \textit{di na}?). This is somewhat unnatural, given the fact that the present imperfective occupies a place within a 3-way system together with and in contrast to the perfective forms. For simplicity, the phonological solution is chosen here: clitics are represented as joined to the preceding word by a hyphen.

4.2.3 Summary

The perfective affixes are bound morphemes which do not occur in any other context. The imperfect markers, in contrast, occur independently in other contexts, cha as present copula, and chhowa both as past copula and past tense of ‘to stay’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>past</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>non-past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>perfective</strong></td>
<td>got-pa ‘looked’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>got-pe ‘will look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bang-ma ‘divided’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>bang-me ‘will divide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>di-wa ‘went’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>di-le ‘will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dur-ba ‘boiled’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dur-be ‘will boil’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **imperfective** | got-chhowa ‘was looking’ | got-cha ‘is looking’ | - |
|                  | bang-chhowa ‘was dividing’ | bang-cha ‘is dividing’ | - |
|                  | din-chhowa ‘was going’ | din-cha ‘is going’ | - |
|                  | dur-chhowa ‘was boiling’ | dur-cha ‘is boiling’ | - |

**Figure 5: Tshangla basic tenses**

Figure 5 shows the inflections for both perfective and imperfective aspects for each of the four verb classes. While the perfective affixes each have four allomorphs, there is no alternation in the imperfective markers. Further, with verbs of Class 3 (di-le) the perfective suffixes are added after the root-final -n is dropped, while with the imperfective the root-final -n is preserved (din-cha).

Although formally there is only a 2-way contrast possible within a given aspect, the present imperfective in -cha is used to indicate present time in general, giving the impression of a 3-way tense contrast between past -pa, present -cha, and future -pe. The past imperfective -chhowa, is by far the least frequent of the four forms, being used in contrast to the past perfective only when imperfective meaning is clearly intended.

The affixal nature of the perfective forms in contrast to the periphrastic characteristics of the imperfective construction, as well as the relatively greater degree of fusion of the perfective markers to the verb root in Class 3, suggest that the imperfective forms may be an innovation into what was a 2-way
past/non-past contrast, the newer present imperfective -cha taking over the present time portion of a former non-past suffix -pe.

In addition to the formal characteristics, there is also semantic evidence of an older 2-way contrast. In situations where a perfective interpretation is natural, speakers will frequently use the -pe form (non-past perfective) to refer to events in the present time unless an imperfective interpretation is clearly intended. Consider the following examples:

(27) Oga di-le ya?
    where go-NP QI
    Where are you going?

(28) Oga din-cha ya?
    where go -COP QI
    Where are you going?

(29) Dangpo tam se -le mo?
    ancient story know-NP QP
    Do you know any old stories?

(30) Ro Tshewang gum=ye-le.
    3s Tshewang know -NP
    S/he knows Tshewang.

To express present time meaning (27) is more common than (28) although (28) does occur. Likewise (29) and (30) are often used with present time meaning.

Verbs expressing deontic modal meaning such as khele, 'to have to', rebe 'to be able to', which take a second verb as "goal", almost always occur in the non-past perfective and not in the imperfective with -cha:

(31) Jang ri -ga kan na tha -le re-be.
    I river-DAT sound ear leave-NP can-NP
    I can hear the sound of the river.

(32) Jang ja-ga ama ji -me khe -le.
    I 1s-DAT mother ask-NP must-NP
    I must ask my mother.

The above evidence suggests that the non-past perfective affix still retains remnants of an earlier present time function, which is in the process of being transferred to the present imperfective form.
4.3 The absolute-relative tenses

As noted above, the absolute-relative tenses are periphrastically constructed, consisting of an inflected verb, followed by various combinations of the past and present copula.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reference point</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>relation to ref. point</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>gotpa-cha</td>
<td>gotpe-cha</td>
<td>gotpa-chhowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>got-chhowa-cha</td>
<td>got-chhowa-chhowa</td>
<td>got-chhowa-uphe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6: Tshangla periphrastic tenses**

In figure 6 above, the top row of the chart represents the reference point itself, whether set in present, past or future time. The second line shows the time of the event relative to the reference point. Thus gotpa-uphe for example, represents the “past-in-the-future” (English: ‘will have seen’). Note that there is no future imperfective in any of the absolute-relative tenses. The perfective/imperfective contrast exists only in the past tense.\(^{12}\)

The “perfect” is being treated here as an absolute-relative tense, i.e. ‘past-in-the-present’ (contrary to Comrie 1985). Likewise the “prospective” is equivalent to the ‘future-in-the-present’. Formally these show no distinction to the other absolute-relative tenses.

We may also note that with the absolute-relative verb forms it is possible to identify morphological correlates of the time relations encoded. As in many languages, the time relations are encoded outwardly in successive layers starting at the verb root, beginning with the time of the situation and proceeding through the reference points to the present moment. In the Tshangla absolute-relative tenses, the aspectual marker occurs closest to the

\(^{12}\) The Padma-bkd dialect, however, according to the author’s data, does have the formally expected got-chhole ‘will be seeing’ for future imperfective. This form is rejected by Bhutanese Tshangla speakers as ungrammatical. However, in section 4.3.6 below, it will be suggested that the function of the missing simple future imperfective is taken over by the future perfect imperfective got-chhowa-uphe ‘will have been seeing’.
verb root. The next morpheme outward encodes the time of the situation relative to the reference point. Finally the time of the reference point relative to the present moment is encoded. For example, in the past-imperfective-in-the-future (got-chhowa-uphe 'will have been looking') the function of the constituents is as follows:

(33) got - situation
    chho- - imperfective aspect
    -wa - situation past in relation to reference point
    uphe - reference point future in relation to present moment

This "compositionality" may be illustrated by means of a tree diagram:

```
        in future
            |
            |
            in past
            |
            |
            imperfective
            |
            [ got    chho   ]
            [ look    ]
            [ am looking   ]
            [ was looking  ]
            [ will have been looking ]
```

**Figure 7:**

*Compositionality of the past-imperfective-in-the-future: got-chhowa-uphe*

4.3.1 Present perfect: past + cha

The past tense verb plus copula cha forms the present perfect, which relates a past situation or event to a present state. The situation or event of the verb is located in the past, but the present state is a result of this past action having occurred. In English we would say: 'has + VERB -ed.'
(34) Meme, ji-gi na-ga to pha -wa-cha. Grandfather 1s-ERG 2s-DAT food bring-PAS-COP Grandfather, I've brought your food.

(35) Na-ga meaktsa Tshangla chhas lam -pe go=tsuk-pa -cha mo? 2s-DAT wife Tshangla speech learn-NP begin -PAS-COP QP Has your wife started studying the Tshangla language yet?

(36) Jigi lai singmu go=tsuk-pa -cha. 1s-ERG work new begin -PAS-COP I have started a new job.

(37) Nan-gi Tshangla-ga pechha thong-ma -cha mo? 2s -ERG Tshangla-DAT book see -PAS-COP QP Have you (ever) seen a Tshangla book?

4.3.2 Past perfect: past + chhowa

The past tense verb plus chhowa indicates an action in the past relative to some point in the past, the 'past-in-the-past'; in English: ‘had + VERB -ed’.

(38) Ja-ga chharo shek -pa-kap -nyi, jang di-wa chho-wa. 1s-DAT friend arrive-CC-CONC-UNS 1s go-PAS stay-PAS

(39) Jang das tshong phi-le dak-nyi mi -wa chho-wa, mapa lakher ma -ga -wa. 1s bit business do -NP say-UNS think-PAS stay-PAS but license NEG-give-PAS A while back I had been thinking of going into business, but I didn't get a trade license.

(40) Ining=khining hapta jang thungma khe -wa chho-wa, oma jam -pa. day.before,yesterday week 1s cold strike-PAS stay-PAS now heal-PAS Last week I had (had caught) a cold, now I'm better.

(41) Nong-thur jang makmi nang-ka chho-la-kap, tsantsham-ga di-wa chho-wa. day -one 1s army in -DAT stay-CC-CONC border -DAT go-PAS stay-PAS One day when I was in the army, I had gone to the border.

(42) A -ha brang-ka re -ka gur zemu thur puk -pa chho-wa. 1p-DAT camp -DAT near-DAT tent small one pitch-PAS stay-PAS Near our camp, a small tent had been pitched.
43) Nong-thur meme -sho ung bak-pe di-wa chho-wa.  
day -one grandfather-PRT field hoe-NP go-PAS stay-PAS  
One day the grandfather had gone to hoe his fields.

In examples (38) through (40) the temporal reference point is explicitly referred to in the immediate context of the sentence itself. Examples (41) through (43) illustrate the narrative usage of the past-in-the-past to set the stage for the thematic events of the text. In this case, the beginning of the narrative represents the reference point, the stage-setting events having taken place prior to that point.

4.3.3 Future perfect: past + uphe

The future perfect represents a situation as located in the past in relation to a future reference point, the 'past-in-the-future'; in English 'will have + VERB -ed'.

44) Ja-ga chharo chutse gu -ga shek -nyi-la, jang zan-chhu -ma u -phe.  
1s-DAT friend hour nine-DAT arrive-UNS-PRT 1s eat-finish-PAS come-NP  
If my friend comes at 9 o’clock, I will have finished eating.

45) Ja-ga chharo shek -pa-kap -nyi, jang di-wa u -phe.  
1s-DAT friend arrive-CC-CONC-UNS 1s go-PAS come-NP  
When my friend arrives, I will have left.

4.3.4 Present perfect imperfective: root + chhowa + cha

The present perfect imperfective is the imperfective equivalent of the present perfect (see section 4.3.1 above). It implies present relevance of a past situation or event, while viewing the event in the imperfective aspect; in English: ‘has been + VERB -ing’.

grandfather door behind-DAT sit-stay-PAS-COP  
Grandfather has been sitting behind the door.

47) Jang phai phi -nyi, lela din-chho-wa-cha.  
1s house make-UNS there go-stay-PAS-COP  
I built a house and have gone there to live.

3p -RFLX-INT up heaven -DAT go-NP NEG-able-PAS stay-PAS-COP  
They themselves have not been able to go to heaven.
4.3.5 Past perfect imperfective: root + chhowa + chhowa

The past perfect imperfective, or past-imperfect-in-the-past, is the imperfect equivalent to the past perfect (4.3.2 above). It locates a situation or event in the past in relation to a past reference point, while viewing the situation/event in the imperfective aspect; in English: 'had been + VERB + -ing'.

(49) Jang topda bang ko re -ka thing-chho-wa chho-wa.  
1s gun carry door near-DAT stand-stay-PAS stay-PAS  
I had been carrying my gun, standing near the door.

(50) Ja-ga chharo shek -pa kap -nyi, jang zan-chho-wa chho-wa.  
1s-DAT friend arrive-CC COND-UNS 1s eat-stay-PAS stay-PAS  
When my friend arrived, I had been eating.

(51) Jang oma ga-ta u -pha, draiver lang-chho-wa chho-wa.  
1s now up-DIR come-PAS driver sit -stay-PAS stay-PAS  
When I came up, the driver had been sitting there.

4.3.6 Future perfect imperfective: root + chhowa + uphe

The future perfect imperfective, or past-imperfective-in-the-future, is the imperfective equivalent of the future perfect (4.3.3 above). It locates a situation or event in the past in relation to a future reference point, while viewing the situation or event in the imperfective aspect; in English: 'will have been VERB + -ing.' This form has both a modal and a temporal usage.

(52) Ja-ga chharo chutse gu -ga shek -nyi-la, jang zan-chho-wa u -phe.  
1s-DAT friend hour nine-DAT arrive-UNS-PRT 1s eat-stay-PAS come-NP  
I will be eating when my friend arrives.

(53) Ji-gi kholong ma -phi -la dak -nyi tha chat -pa, uthu lekpu ma -nggi  
1s-DAT fight NEG-make-NP say-UNS here cut-PAS this good NEG-be  
dak -nyi mi -wa, mapa a -nyi jang kholong-rang phin-chho-wa u -phe.  
say-UNS think-PAS but do-UNS 1s fight -INT make-stay-PAS come-NP  
I decided not to fight, because I realized it wasn't good. Otherwise I  
would have been fighting all the time.

(54) Ro-ki rum -pa ma -a -nyi, jang songo lekpu ri -le ma -r -ba  
3s-ERG help-PAS NEG-do-UNS 1s person good become-NP NEG-can-PAS  
an-chho-wa u -phe.  
do-stay-PAS come-NP  
If she had not helped me, I would not have been able to become a good person.
Example (52), although using the past-imperfective-in-the-future, is glossed by the future imperfective 'will be eating'. Recall from figure 6 on page 13 that there is no distinct form for any future imperfective in the Bhutanese dialect. A look at the actual time reference indicated by the two forms will show that, in spite of their formal differences, they are quite similar in terms of function. The simple future imperfective ('will be eating') places a situation in the future and views it as having some duration in time. The periphrastic past-imperfective-in-the-future ('will have been eating') also places a situation in the future, but differs in that it portrays the action as starting at an earlier point in the future. Being also the imperfective, it is also interpreted as continuing up to the future reference point. Data such as (52) suggest that the past-imperfective-in-the-future may also carry the function of the missing simple future imperfective. Examples (53) and (54) express counterfactual meaning when conjoined with a future perfect imperfective. Rather than "will have", the interpretation is "would have (but in fact did not)" or "would not have (but in fact did)".

4.3.7 Prospective: non-past + cha

The prospective may be viewed as the inverse of the present perfect. Whereas the present perfect relates a present state to a past event, the prospective relates a present state to a future event. The situation or event of the verb is located in the future, but the future occurrence of this event is described as a present state.

(55) Chhije di-wa thur-gi ma -drik -pe-cha.
    foreign go-PA one -ERG NEG-enough-NP-COP
    Just travelling abroad is not going to be enough.

(56) A -shi sem -ga tha -le-cha.
    1p-ERG mind-DAT leave-NP-COP
    We're going to remember.

(57) Uthu to ngam nyiktsing lang -pe-cha.
    this food day two suffice-NP-COP
    This food is going to be enough for two days.

    work throw-leave-NP NEG-do-UNS-PRT good go-NP-COP
    If we don't abandon the work it is going to go well.
4.3.8 Past prospective: non-past + chhowa

The past prospective, or 'future-in-the-past', locates an event or situation in the future in relation to a past reference point; in English: 'was going to/was about to + VERB'. Similarly to the future perfect imperfective, this tense may encode a counterfactual expression.

The arrow was about to (would have) hit him on the forehead. The princess pulled his head away.

(60) To ma -za-wa chho-nyi-la, oma binang=khu-le chho-wa. food NEG-eat-PAS-stay-UNS-PRT now be.hungry -NP stay-PAS
If you hadn't eaten, you would have been hungry now.

(61) Kenchho-gi jinla nang-ma ma -a-nyi-la, jang kawa=chat -pe khe-le chho-wa. God -ERG grace give-PAS NEG-do-UNS-PRT 1s have.hardship-NP must-NP stay-NP
If God hadn't given grace, I would have had hardship.

(62) Nan m -a-wa gi-nyi-la, ai kesake -be chho-wa. 2s NEG-do-PAS be-UNS-PRT 1p trouble-NP stay-NP
If it weren't for you, we would have been in a lot of trouble.

Of the above examples, only for (59) may the purely temporal interpretation, 'was about to' be derived, although one might equally well derive a counterfactual interpretation, 'would have' from the context. The difference between the two interpretations is that 'would have' carries the further implication that the situation described by the verb (which was about to happen) did in actuality not happen. In examples (60) through (62) the interpretation is more clearly counterfactual. Recall the counterfactual usage of the future perfect imperfective in examples (53) and (54) above. It seems that there are two formally quite dissimilar means of expressing the same idea of counterfactuality in the past: both the future perfect imperfective (past-imperfective-in-the-future) and the past prospective (future-in-the-past). To state it in terms of English forms, 'was about to X' and 'will have been X' may both express the counterfactual idea 'would have'.
4.4 The evidentials

4.4.1 Introduction

Cross-coding with tense and aspect, there is a 2-way evidential category, whereby the speaker may qualify the utterance according to the degree of “ownership” of the information being presented. The unmarked form indicates that the speaker is presenting information which he has prior knowledge of, it may be said to be “owned” or “vested” by the speaker, and not dependent on external evidence or confirmation. The other, marked form characterizes information which is somehow derived by the speaker from evidence manifest to him externally. For English speakers, hedges like “apparently”, “evidently” or even “I guess” in certain contexts create a similar effect.

This type of evidential distinction has been described by DeLancey as having to do with the relative newness of the information being presented. A proposition is marked as either “old” information, i.e. information which has already been assimilated by the speaker, or “new” information, i.e. information which has only recently been acquired, and so is not yet assimilated. Modal encoding of this distinction, sometimes called “mirative”, is widely attested in Tibeto-Burman languages, and has been noted for languages as diverse as Turkish, Korean, and Athabaskan (DeLancey 1989). Most recently, DeLancey seems to have backed away from the old/new terminology, preferring to characterize the distinction as one of information known by the speaker “simply because he knows it,” versus that which he “knows through information channels to the outside world” (DeLancey 1992.) As will be seen below, the distinction is not the same as the typical “hearsay/inference” vs. “eyewitness” type of evidential distinction.

In Tshangla, the evidential contrast is found in the present descriptive copula whenever it occurs, whether as main verb or together with an inflected verb in each of the tense/aspect categories. It occurs in both declarative and interrogative sentences.

4.4.2 cha vs. la as copula

Although the form cha was introduced above as the present descriptive/existential copula, there are in fact two forms, depending on the way in which the speaker intends to present the proposition. Consider the following examples:

(63) Tha Druk -ga philingpa mangpu-rang la.
    here Bhutan-DAT foreigners many -INT MIR

There are apparently many foreigners here in Bhutan.
(64) Tha Druk -ga philingpa mangpu-rang cha. 
     here Bhutan-DAT foreigners many -INT COP 
There are many foreigners here in Bhutan.

Sentence (63) might be spoken by a stranger who has just arrived in the country. The force of his utterance is an observation. The evidentially marked la particle is used because the speaker wishes to present the proposition as information recently or currently manifest to him but not yet assimilated.

Utterance (64) would be spoken by a resident of Bhutan. It could even be spoken in reply to (63). He is able to verify the information contained in the proposition by making recourse to knowledge which he had prior to the speech situation.

(65) Waktsa dukpu cha. 
     child poor COP 
The child is poor.

(66) Waktsa dukpu la. 
     child poor MIR 
The child is evidently poor.

The speaker of (65) knows that the child is poor. He may be acquainted with the family, know their income, etc. He is not in any way having recourse to what is now manifest to him for this information; the knowledge was brought to the speech situation, having been acquired at some time prior to it.

The speaker uttering (66), by contrast, has only recently derived or, typically, is at the moment of speech deriving the knowledge that the child is poor. He observes the child, noticing that she has ragged clothing, does not look well fed, etc. and says, "Evidently she is a poor child." The information contained in his utterance is dependent on information manifest to him from the outside world.

4.4.3 cha vs. la as present imperfective marker

The distinction between the two forms of the copula is the same as the one we find in the present imperfective form, which is composed of verb root plus copula.

(67) Ama khamung zik-cha. 
     mother clothes wash-COP 
Mother is washing the clothes.
(68) Ama khamung zik -la.
mother clothes wash-MIR
(I see that) mother is washing the clothes.
Mother is (apparently) washing the clothes.

(69) Rokte-ba bijili mi -ga lai an-cha.
3p -PL electric fire-DAT work do-COP
They are working on the electricity.

(70) Rokte-ba bijili mi -ga lai an-a.
3p -PL electric fire-DAT work do-MIR
They are evidently working on the electricity.

(71) Dorji un -cha.
Dorji come-COP
Dorji is coming.

(72) Dorji un -a
Dorji come-MIR
Dorji is apparently coming.

(73) Tha phom khen-cha.
here snow fall-COP
It snows (habitually) here.

(74) Tha phom khen-a.
here snow fall-MIR
It’s snowing here (at this moment.)

Sentence (67) would be uttered when the speaker has earlier been in the house and seen that mother is washing the clothes, or if she has told him so. He would utter (68) when he rounds the corner and sees mother doing the wash, or sees the evidence (buckets, soap) indicating that she is now doing the wash.

Consider a hypothetical conversation, during which the lights suddenly go off. At this point sentence (69) is uttered by a speaker who has heard in advance that men are going to be working on the power that day. He bases his statement on evidence which he had prior to the moment of utterance. Sentence (70), in contrast, is uttered if the speaker, seeing that the electricity has gone off, draws the conclusion that men must be working on the power. The evidence upon which he bases his utterance is newly manifest at the time of the utterance.
Sentence (71) is uttered when the speaker knows in advance that Dorji is coming (e.g. Dorji has told him that he is coming), whereas sentence (72) is uttered when the speaker sees Dorji approaching in the distance.

When the speaker uttering (73) conveys by means of -cha that he has prior evidence for the proposition, the habitual interpretation of the present imperfective is reinforced. Using -la conveys that the evidence for the proposition is just now manifest, hence the present continuous interpretation of (74). In this case the primary evidential contrast gives rise to a secondary aspectual contrast.

4.4.4 cha vs. la in past and non-past tenses

The mirative form of the remaining absolute tense markers consists of the inflected verb plus -la. Whereas for the copula and for the present imperfective, -la contrasts with -cha, for the remaining past perfective, past imperfective, and future forms, -la is added to the inflected stem and contrasts with its absence. -la, like -cha, is joined with the verb stem to form a single phonological word.

(75) Dorji Tashigang-ga di-wa.
Dorji Tashigang-DAT go-PAS
Dorji went to Tashigang.

(76) Dorji Tashigang-ga di -wa -la.
Dorji Tashigang-DAT go-PAS-MIR
Apparently Dorji went to Tashigang.

(77) Dangpo abi dang meme thur chho-wa -la.
long.ago grandmother and grandfather one stay-PAS-MIR
Once upon a time, there was an old man and an old woman.

(78) “Hang an-cha ya?” zala -gi ji -ma -la.
what do-COP QI monkey-ERG ask-PAS-MIR
“What are you doing?” the monkey asked.

(79) Bozong zong-nyi, laga-gi chhom-nyi chhe -wa -la.
kassava boil-UNS leaf-ERG wrap -UNS plant-PAS-MIR
Boiling the kassava and wrapping it in a leaf, they planted it.

A hypothetical situation will help explain examples (75) and (76) above. A boy returns home to his family after a long absence. His friend is with him. Asking his parents where his brother Dorji is, they would reply with (75). The boy
would then turn to his friend and report, this time using (76) to repeat what his parents have told him. The parents base their utterance on prior information. They have known for some time that their son was gone. The brother, however, makes his utterance upon the basis of information newly manifest to him at the time of his utterance.

The mirative marker may also be used with the non-past tense:

(80) Khaila ganta niktsing yi -phe.
    tiger hour two sleep-NP
    The tiger will sleep for two hours.

(81) Khaila ganta niktsing yi- phe-la.
    tiger hour two sleep NP -MIR
    (It looks like) the tiger will sleep for a couple hours.

Utterance (80) makes an unqualified assertion, while utterance (81) qualifies it as being based on evidence recently or just now manifest to the speaker. According to informants, a game warden's assistant, being told to go and tag the animal, would be more reassured and likely to comply after hearing (80) than after hearing (81).

4.4.5 Semantics

Formally, the perfective stem plus -la (got-pa-la, got-pe-la) would appear to contrast with the present perfect or present prospective forms: perfective stem plus -cha (got-pa-cha, got-pe-cha). However, this does not seem to be the primary contrast. Past stem plus -la is frequently used in contexts where the simple past is more natural than the present perfect. An example of this is the common use of the mirative on verbs of the event-line in narrative discourse, as illustrated in examples (77), (78) and (79) above.

At first glance this narrative use of the mirative runs counter to our expectations for the mirative category. In relating an ancient story or folk tale we would expect speakers to use an "old knowledge" particle. One possible explanation might be that speakers prefer to encode the events of a story as new information in order to create a sense of realism or immediacy.

An alternative explanation lies in the connection between the new/old knowledge distinction and more ordinary evidentiality. Propositions contained in ancient stories whose events have not been experienced at first hand by the speaker are impossible to verify, and thus might remain unassimilated knowledge, however often they are retold. The information cannot become
"vested" or "owned" by the speaker. The mirative in this case would seem to mark unassimilated knowledge rather than strictly new knowledge. Further, we would expect knowledge which is not yet assimilated to be evidentially weaker. So what the assimilated/unassimilated distinction and the inferenced/eyewitnessed distinction have in common is the parameter of relative certainty or strength of the assumption.

Formal support for the argument that unassimilated knowledge is the evidentially weaker of the two comes from markedness: we expect the marked form in a 2-way evidential contrast to be the weaker of the pair. In Tshangla the unassimilated form is arguably the marked form, as seen most clearly in the case of the perfective, where -la is added to the past or non-past stem and contrasts with zero marking (eg. diwa vs. diwala, section 4.4.4. above.)

In light of the above it seems reasonable to continue to view the mirative as an evidential category (as DeLancey has done) inasmuch as it is based on the idea of certainty of the proposition. However, although based on the same parameter, the mirative is a distinct type of contrast from the eyewitness/inferential type. In the latter system, the inflection which represents an event as eyewitnessed by the speaker is the strongest of the set, and other inflections present increasing degrees of "hedgedness" from there on. In the Tshangla evidential category, on the other hand, the inflection most often corresponding to "eyewitnessed information" marks unassimilated information, and is arguably the weaker of the two. According to the present analysis, this is because the contrast is not primarily one of how the information was originally derived (eyewitnessed vs. inferred, hearsay etc.), but whether or not that information has been assimilated by the speaker at the moment of utterance. Either -cha or -la may indicate information which was eyewitnessed: -cha would encode information eyewitnessed at some point prior to the time of utterance and already assimilated by the speaker, i.e. "old" or "vested" knowledge, while -la would indicate information just recently eyewitnessed, and not yet assimilated, i.e. new knowledge. Likewise, both -cha and -la may encode information not eyewitnessed, but manifest in some other way: -cha indicates that the information was derived previously and is old knowledge, -la that it was derived in some way, heard, deduced etc. recently prior to the moment of utterance, and so is still new knowledge.

4.4.6 Relation to person

The evidential inflections show certain restrictions in terms of person. These are not grammatical restrictions but semantic collocation restrictions which arise from the function of the evidential category.
-la may not normally be collated with a 1st person subject:

(82) linying jang pechha lam -pa.
    yesterday 1s book read-PAS
    Yesterday I read a book.

(83) !lnying jang pechha lam -pa -la.
    yesterday 1s book read-PAS-MIR
    Yesterday I apparently read a book.

(83) is semantically strange, because the speaker is stating a proposition about his own past action, which would normally be assimilated knowledge. However, an unusual situation could be contrived in which (83) would be appropriate, for example if the speaker had just awakened from a bout of amnesia and saw a book lying nearby on his nightstand. In that case the speaker is presenting unassimilated knowledge, dependent upon evidence manifest to him at the time of utterance.

4.5 Emphatic gila

The lexeme gila occurs frequently in various grammatical roles. While there are a few examples of gila as a main verb, this appears to be nearly obsolete usage. It occurs much more frequently as a copula, a verbal auxiliary, or as a pre-sentence particle.

In its rare occurrences as a lexical verb, gila means 'to be true'. As a lexical verb gila is inflected for past tense and imperfective aspect in the same manner as Class 3 verbs like dile. Gila does not have a non-past (*gile) nor a present continuous form (*gicha).

(84) Ja-ga apa -gi chhas ye -khan gila.13
    1s-DAT father-ERG speech say-REL be.true
    What my father says is true.

(85) Ja-ga meme -gi chhas ye -khan gi -wa chho-wa.
    1s-DAT grandfather-ERG speech say-REL be.true-PAS stay-PAS
    What my grandfather said, was true.

13 To be consistent with other verbs, gila here would be segmented gi-la, and -la glossed as the mirative form of the descriptive copula. However, the fact that there is no non-evidentially marked form *gi-cha suggests that the lexeme gila is a fossilized carry-over from an older system, where la was the only present continuous marker, cha not yet having been grammaticalized to a verb inflection. (According to Das Gupta (1968) Central Monpa has la but not cha.) La in its present contrast with cha functions as the evidentially marked member of the pair.
4.5.1 *gila* as pro-sentence

All Tshangla verbs may occur as an isolated utterance in answer to a question, as in the following exchange:

(86) **Q:** Di-le mo?
     go-NP  QP
     Are you going to go?

**A:** Di-le!
     go-NP
     (Yes) I'm going.

The lexical verb *gila* functions in the same manner; but this usage extends beyond answering equative questions with *gila* (87), to answering descriptive or existential questions with *cha* as well, so that *gila* functions as an affirmative-response utterance in general (88 & 89):

(87) **Q:** Uthu dung Kangpara gila mo?
     this village Kangpara be QP
     Is this village Kangpara?
**A:** Gila.
     Yes.

(88) **Q:** Na-ga apa shi-wa mo?
     2s-DAT father die-PAS QP
     Is your father dead?
**A:** Gila.
     Yes.

(89) **Q:** Dukpu cha mo?
     tired COP QP
     Are you tired?
**A:** Gila!
     Yes!

4.5.2 *gila* as equative copula

*Gila* also functions as an equative copulative particle, connecting the subject with a predicate nominal. In this usage it differs from the descriptive copulative *cha*, described above, which is used to link a nominal with a predicative adjective, as in the following examples:
(90) Waktsa dukpu cha.
   child poor COP
   The child is poor.

(91) Meto tshalu cha.
   flower red COP
   The flower is red.

In an equative clause, where a subject nominal is linked with a nominal predicate, cha may not be used. The equative copulative gila is used instead:

(92) Waktsa-ga ming Dorje gila/*cha.
   child -DAT name Dorje be
   The child’s name is Dorje.

(93) Jang Drukpa gila.
   1s Bhutanese be
   I am a Bhutanese.

(94) Uthu ku a -ha lha gila.
   these statues 1p-DAT go be.
   These statues are our gods.

(95) Jang jelpo gila.
   1s king be
   I am the king.

4.5.3 gila as emphatic descriptive copula

Whereas the descriptive copulative cha does not occur in an equative clause, the equative copulative gila may occur in a descriptive clause in order to emphasize the permanence of a description:

(96) Waktsa dukpu gila.
   child poor EMPH
   The child is certainly poor.

(97) Meto lekpu gila.
   flower good EMPH
   The flower is a pretty one.
(98) A -ha Sharchhokpa-ba dukpu gila.  
1p-DAT Sharchhokpa-PL poor EMPH  
We Sharchhokpas are poor.

(99) Druk -ga di-nyi-bu kalu gila.  
Bhutan-DAT go-UNS-AS difficult EMPH  
When they go to Bhutan it is difficult.

(100) Buddha lha thamche-gai chhilu gila.  
Buddh god all -ABL great EMPH  
Buddha is greater than all the gods.

(101) Uthu chhas namesame lekpu gila!  
this talk very good EMPH  
This talk is very good!

4.5.4 **gila** as emphatic verbal particle

In this auxiliary usage, **gila** may also occur together with another verb, as the final constituent in the verb phrase. Here, as in the descriptive use of **gila**, the function is to emphasize the certainty or permanence of the situation described by the main verb. Note that the auxiliary **gila** may co-occur with various tense forms of the main verb, and does not affect the time interpretation of the clause:

With past tense verb:

(102) Jang Amerika-ga ke -wa gila.  
1s America-DAT be.born-PAS EMPH  
I was born in America.

With present imperfective verb:

(103) Rokte-ba din-cha gila!  
3p -PL go -COP EMPH  
They're really going!

With non-past verb:

(104) Mi lekpu ji-gi gap -nyi-la, sera nyong -pe gila.  
arrow good 1s-ERG shoot-UNS-PRT prize receive-NP EMPH  
If I shoot well at archery, I will surely get a prize.
(105) Phai dzong chos-pe gila!
       house fortress prepare-NP EMPH
I will make my house into a fortress!

Together with descriptive copula cha:

(106) Mapshi -rang a-ha Sharchhokpa cha gila.
       numerous-INT 1p-DAT Sharchhokpa COP EMPH
We Sharchhokpa are the largest in number.

4.5.5 *gila* vs. *giwala*

Parallel to the evidential contrast in main verbs such as *diwa* vs. *diwala*, the auxiliary *gila* may also be inflected for the assimilated/unassimilated distinction.

The form *giwala* occurs as the mirative form of auxiliary *gila*. *Gila* is used when the speaker has prior knowledge of the information contained in the proposition. *Giwala* signals that the proposition is unassimilated information, for which the speaker is dependent on evidence manifest at the time of the speech situation.

Recall examples (75) and (76) in section 4.4.4 above, which were given to illustrate the contrast between *diwa* and *diwala*. The same utterances may be given emphasis by adding a form of *gila*. When this emphatic statement is marked as new or unassimilated information, the mirative marking occurs on the emphatic particle. Note that there is no incompatibility between an emphatic statement and one that is evidentially qualified.

(75) Dorji Tashigang-ga di-wa.
       Dorji Tashigang-DAT go-PAS
Dorji went to Tashigang.

(76) Dorji Tashigang-ga di -wa -la.
       Dorji Tashigang-DAT go-PAS-MIR
Apparently Dorji went to Tashigang.

(107) Dorji Tashigang-ga di-wa gila.
       Dorji Tashigang-DAT go-PAS EMPH
Dorji went to Tashigang.

(108) Dorji Tashigang-ga di-wa giwala.
       Dorji Tashigang-DAT go-PAST EMPH.MIR
Apparently Dorji went to Tashigang.
Like *gila, giwala* may occur as the equative copula with mirative meaning:

(109) Sonam lopen lekpu gila.
    Sonam teacher good EMPH
    Sonam is a good teacher.
    (know the teacher from before)

(110) Sonam lopen lekpu giwala.
    Sonam teacher good EMPH.MIR
    Sonam is a good teacher.

Utterance (109) is spoken by someone who knows the teacher from previous experience. Utterance (110), in contrast, is spoken by someone who has just recently met the teacher, or heard about him from another person.

Like *gila, giwala* may occur as a one-word response utterance with mirative meaning:

(111) Na-ga nyugu gila mo?
    2s-DAT pen EMPH QP
    Is this your pen?

(112) Gila.
    EMPH
    Yes, it is.

(113) Giwala.
    EMPH.MIR
    Oh yes, I guess it is mine (just realized.)

As an affirmative reply to (111), (112) is based on prior knowledge, while (113) indicates a present or recent realization, a conclusion drawn at the time of or recently prior to the time of the utterance.

4.5.6 Narrative use of *giwala*

Propositions in narrative text are often marked for emphasis. In section 4.4.4 above we saw that the event-line propositions of a narrative text are often marked with the mirative. This applies as well to narrative-text propositions when marked for emphasis: the mirative *giwala* is preferred over unmarked *gila* as the emphatic marker. The following examples illustrate the narrative use of *giwala.*
(114) Dangpo abi thur dang meme thur chho-wa giwala.
    ancient grandfather one and grandmother one stay-PAS EMPH.MIR
    Once upon a time there was an old man and an old woman.

(115) Jelpo Khiharado-gi garpu khainga dus -pa giwala.
    king Khiharado-ERG guard one.hundred collect-PAS EMPH.MIR
    King Khiharado collected one hundred guards.

(116) Goma Khalingpa thur Tashigang-ga di-wa giwala.
    earlier Khalingpa one Tashigang-DAT go-PAS EMPH.MIR
    Once a person from Khaling went to Tashigang.

    1s go-NP must-NP-MIR say-PTC go-PAS EMPH.MIR
    Thinking, "I guess I must go," he went.

Giwala is also the form which tends to occur with 3rd person subject, while
gil occurs more frequently with 1st person subjects. Here, as with lexical
verbs like diwa/diwalla, the contrast is not primarily a grammatical one of
person, but a semantic collocation restriction inherent in the evidential
category.

The formal characteristics of the pair might suggest that gila corresponds to a
present tense verb (cf. gotla) and giwala to a past tense (cf. diwalla.) However,
the contrast between gila and giwala is not one of time reference. It has been
shown above that gila may occur together with main verbs of various tenses.
The same is true for giwala.

Giwala may co-occur with a main verb in the present continuous:

(118) Onya-gai rokte chhas an-cha giwala.
    that-ABL other speech do-PRES EMPH.MIR
    This is evidently why they are speaking another language.

(119) Lopen taburang chhat-la; pechha yen ma -bin -cha giwala.
    teacher always tire -MIR book wear NEG-give-PRES EMPH.MIR
    The teacher is always tired, so apparently she is not teaching.

Giwala may also co-occur with a non-past verb:

(120) Jelpo-gi zi -ga nyen phi-le-ga di-le giwala.
    king -ERG sister-DAT marriage do -NP-DAT go-NP EMPH.MIR
    The king is apparently going to go to his sisters' wedding.
(121) Boss ma -shek -chi, laipa -ba-ka tolop ma -bi -le giwala. 
boss NEG-arrive-PNEG worker-PL-DAT salary NEG-give-NNP EMPH.MIR
The boss didn’t arrive, so it looks like he is not going to pay the workers.

Not surprisingly, given its place in the grammatical system, giša has developed 
an irregular paradigm. As shown above, giša lacks the non-past and present 
imperfective forms. Past perfective giwa and past imperfective giwa chhowa 
are rare, and only occur when giša is used as a lexical verb.

4.6 Summary of the temporal verb phrase

Having discussed their individual function, the various forms may now be seen 
in relation to the structure of the temporal verb phrase. Recall the formula for 
the temporal verb phrase from figure 3 on page 7:

$$VP_{TF} \rightarrow (\text{goal}) + (\text{neg}) + Vroot + (\text{aspect}) + [(\text{tense}_1)+(\text{tense}_2)] + (\text{emphatic})$$

The following chart shows the relative positions of the forms which have been 
discussed so far:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>(aspect)</th>
<th>(tense$_1$)</th>
<th>(tense$_2$)</th>
<th>(emphatic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>got</td>
<td>chho-</td>
<td>-wa (-pa, -ma, -ba)</td>
<td>chhowa</td>
<td>gila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-le (-pe, -me, -be)</td>
<td>uphe</td>
<td>giwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8: The temporal verb phrase**

The aspect slot is occupied in the past imperfective by the root of the past time 
copula chhowa. In all periphrastic tenses both first and second tense slots are 
occupied. The second tense slot encodes the time of the reference point relative 
to the present moment, as discussed above.

Present imperfective is somewhat unique in that only root and tense$_2$ are 
occupied. In this case, both imperfective aspect as well as present time 
reference are encoded by the single copulative particle cha/la.

Note that, in contrast to tense and aspect, the modal category does not occupy 
a slot of its own, but rather, occurs as a two-way contrast between forms in
tense₂ as well as in the emphatic particle. In the simple present imperfective tense, la contrasts with cha as +/- mirative. However, in the present perfect forms (as discussed above), while cha encodes the temporal reference point, fixing it at the present moment (got-pa-cha 'has seen'), la encodes the mirativity of the simple perfective forms (got-pa-la 'evidently saw' and in so doing contrasts with its absence (got-pa 'saw'). In this case, then, the la/cha contrast is disrupted by the functional prioritizing of a simple past mirative form over and above a present perfect mirative form.

5. **Non-temporal final verb phrase**

Having discussed the tense-aspect-modality system found in final clauses, we now turn to two remaining verb phrase types which encode semantic categories outside of the TAM-system. The first of these is the final-clause non-temporal verb phrase. Although operating outside of the evidential modality of the TAM system, the forms in this phrase type do express various deontic and epistemic modal meanings.

Recall the formula for the non-temporal final verb phrase from figure 3 on page 7 above:

\[ \text{VP}^{\text{NTF}} \rightarrow \ (\text{goal}) + (\text{neg}) + \text{Vroot} + \text{non-temporal marker} \]

The non-temporal markers are -sho, -chhen, -khe, and -du. Of these, -sho, -chhen and -khe express some type of deontic modality, while -du expresses an epistemic modality.

Both the non-temporal clause-final verb markers, as well as the non-final verb markers, differ in terms of their relative degree of fusion to the verb root. This is evident in their interaction with Class 3 roots, where the root-final -n is either retained or dropped, depending on the particular affix.

5.1 **Imperative -sho (-cho)**

The imperative suffix has two forms, -cho when it occurs after a root ending in a stop, and -sho after other consonants (-n and -r):

(122) Ma-gep-cho  
     Got-cho!  
     Zhuk-cho!  
     Das nong-sho!  
     Kha thar-sho!  
     "Don't cry!"  
     "Look!"  
     "Sit down!"  
     "Wait a bit!"  
     "Release the bird!"
Verbs of Class 3 (*dile, ale*) form the imperative differently from the other verbs, by adding -i to the root, after dropping the root-final -n:

(123) Kurto pha -i!
      horse bring-IMP
      Bring the horse

(124) To za -i!
      food eat-IMP
      Eat some food!

(125) Nang-ka go -i!
      in -DAT put-IMP
      Put it inside!

(126) Gari bu -i!
      car take-IMP
      Take the car!

In rapid speech the two vowels are combined into a single diphthongal syllable, pronounced *phaï, zai, buï, goï*.

In the case of roots ending in -i or -e, the suffix vowel is dropped:

(127) Phai -ga di-Ø!
      house-DAT go-IMP
      Go home!

(128) Kholong ma -phi-Ø!
      fight NEG-do -IMP
      Don’t fight!

(129) Yong ma -khe -Ø!
      shadow NEG-strike-IMP
      Don’t be afraid!

(130) Semchen ma -she -Ø!
      animal NEG-kill-IMP
      Don’t kill the animal!

A small number of verbs have an irregular imperative:
(131) Nang-ka odo -Ø! (from uphe, 'to come')
   in -DAT come-IMP
   Come in!

5.2 Hortative -chhen

Whereas the imperative is used to indicate an obligation on the part of the addressee to do the action expressed by the verb, the hortative suffix -chhen expresses an obligation on the part of a 3rd party, "he should do X"/"let him do X". In the case of Class 3 verbs, this suffix is added to the complete root including the root-final -n:

(132) Songo mar -khan-ga man zan-chhen.
   person sick-REL -DAT medicine eat-HORT
   Have the patient take his medicine.

(133) Ro di-le dang, din-chhen.
   3s go-NP PRT go -HORT
   If he wants to go, let him go.

(134) Makmi lhangpochhe ma -ng -chhen dak-nyi, ro-ka pechha
   soldier elephant NEG-come-HORT say-UNS 3s-DAT book
   thur-sho a -nyi lhak-chho-wa.
   one -PRT do-UNS read-stay-PAS
   The soldier was reading his book out loud in hope that the elephant
   would not come.

(135) Ro toka shon -phan -chhen dak-nyi jello-ga namza changan-ga bi -wa-la.
   3s bull come.out-bring-HORT say-UNS king -dat clothes joker -DAT give-PAS-MIR
   Thinking, "Let him get the bull out," the king gave the joker his clothes.

5.3 Invitational -khe

The suffix -khe is used when the speaker is making a suggestion or invitation to the addressee to do something together with the speaker, "Let's do X..." In verbs of Class 3, (dile, ale) the root-final -n is deleted before adding the suffix:

(136) Achhing niktsing chhas a -khe.
   1p two talk do-INVI
   Let's us two have a chat.

(137) Di-khe!
   go-INVI
   Let's go!
Taken together, the imperative, hortative, and invitational markers comprise a deontic modal system covering 2nd, 3rd, and 1st person respectively, which one might be tempted to combine under some unified label such as 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person Jussive. The dissimilar morphophonemic behavior of the forms would argue against such as treatment, as well as the fact that Tshangla shows no distinction for person in any other category.

5.4 Dubitative -du

The dubitative suffix -du expresses the speaker's doubt as to the certainty of the utterance, "It might be that X", "I suppose that X". This suffix is added to the root after the final -n is dropped.

(138) Lela -gai got -du.
     there-ABL look-DUB
You might be able to see it from there.

(139) Bra songo -gi ngo-du.
     other person-ERG buy-DUB
Someone else might buy it.

(140) Na-ga gari chos-pe re -du min -cha
     2s-DAT car fix -NP can-DUB hope-COP
I hope that you can fix your car.

The dubitative suffix may also be used in questions:

(141) Oma chhutse songthur di-du mo?
     now hour twelve go-DUB QP
Do you suppose it's twelve o'clock yet?

(142) Ro zak-du mo?
     3s win-DUB QP
Do you suppose she'll win?

6. Non-final verb phrase

The third verb phrase type occurs only in non-final clauses. Recall the formula for the non-final verb phrase from figure 3 on page 7:

\[ VP_{NF} \rightarrow (\text{goal}) + (\text{neg}) + \text{Vroot} + \text{non-final marker} + (\text{particle}_{NF}) \]
The non-final marker encodes the relationship between the non-final clause and the final clause. The semantic nature of these relationships will be discussed below for each of the individual forms. Further, verbs marked with a non-final inflection are dependent on the final, finite verb for their temporal interpretation. If the final verb is in the future time, then the non-final verb will acquire a future time interpretation. If the final verb is in the past, then the non-final verb is interpreted as past time. The non-final and final verbs may have the same or different subjects.

6.1 Complettive -than

The suffix -than signifies that the action of the non-final clause has been completed at some point in time before the action of the final clause (English "After X... then Y..."). The final -n of Class 3 verbs is retained. The subject of the verb inflected with -than may or may not be co-referential with the subject of the final verb.

(143) Changan-gi toka yintsang nang-ka bun -than, shampi chat-than, joker -ERG bull mud in -DAT take-COMP tail cut -COMP yintsang nang-ka shum tha -wa -la. mud in -DAT sink leave-PAS-MIR
After taking the bull to the mud, and cutting off its tail, the joker sank it in the mud.

(144) Das kor -than yip -cha.
bit stroll-COMP sleep-COP
After walking around for a while I go to bed.

1p-DAT place-DAT go -COMP 1s-ERG sausage prepare-NP
When I get back home, I will fix some sausage.

(146) Nan zala shen-than ji-gl thinglom nga -me
2s monkey kill-COMP 1s-ERG heart chew-NP
After you kill the monkey I will eat its heart.

(147) Nan-gi dri -nyi chhum -than, pechha thur ja-ga ke -sho.
2s -ERG write-UNS finish-COMP book one 1s-DAT send-IMP
After you finish writing your book, send a copy to me.

In example (143) the non-final verb takes on the past time interpretation of the final verb, in example (144) the present, and in examples (145) and (146) the
future time. In example (147) the non-final verb co-occurs with a final imperative, a non-temporal verb, although with a natural future-time interpretation, with the result that the non-final verb is also interpreted as future time.

6.2 Resultative -deke

Like -than, the suffix -deke (dial. -detke) also occurs on non-final verbs. However, while -than merely indicates that the action of the verb has been completed before the action of the next verb, -deke signals that the action of the verb in some way leads to or causes the action of the second. The meaning may be thought of as something like, “Because X happened, then Y...” The root-final -n of Class 3 verbs is dropped. Here again the subject of the verb inflected with -deke may or may not be co-referential with the subject of the final verb.

(148) Yu jam -deke lai namesame dazen m -a -wa a -nyi thup -than -a.
   wine drink-RES work very care NEG-do-PAS do-UNS throw-leave-MIR
Because they drink, they carelessly abandon their work.

(149) Lakher ma -ga -deke, jang tshong phi-le ma -r -si.
   license NEG-give-RES 1s business do -NP NEG-can-PNEG
Because I wasn’t granted a license, I couldn’t do business.

(150) Ro zan chhum -deke, ro nyinang=khu-wa.
   3s eat finish-RES 3s ashamed -PAS
When they had finished eating, they were ashamed.

(151) Jelop galak jong-deke, ro-ka namza thamcherang sa -gi lom -chhu -ma.
   king back go -RES 3s-DAT clothes all soil-ERG cover-finish-PAS
Falling over backwards, the king got his clothes covered with dirt.

6.3 Unspecified non-final -nyi

With the unspecified non-final inflection -nyi, the action of the non-final verb is not represented as necessarily completed before the action of the final verb. As with the other non-final inflections, the subject of the non-final verb may or may not be co-referential with the final-verb subject. When -nyi is joined to Class 3 verb roots ending in -n, the resulting -nnyi is reduced to -ny. Consider the following examples:

(152) Meme zala khon bu -nyi thola shing thung-ga shek -pa.
   grandfather monkey follow take-UNS up tree upon -DAT arrive-PAS
Chasing the monkey, the old man reached the top of the tree.
115

(153) Nyi zemu -gl hang rang ma - yek-nyi, brumsha taphur di -wa -la.
CONJ small-ERG what NT NEG- say-UNS pumpkin with go -PAS-MIR
The smallest, without saying anything, went with the pumpkin.

(154) Songo -ba -ki chhotote laga -ga chhom -nyi, pha -nyi, un -cha.
people-PL-ERG butter leaf-DAT wrap -UNS bring-UNS come-COP
People, wrapping butter in leaves and bringing it along, are coming.

(155) Lok di -nyi hang a -le?
return go-UNS what do-NP
After you go back, what are you going to do?

(156) Keptang zong -nyi, khoptang khop -nyi, laga -gi chhom -nyi
potato boil-UNS skin peel-UNS leaf-ERG wrap -UNS
sa nang -ka chhe -le khe -le.
ground in -DAT plant-NP must-NP
You will have to boil the potato, peel it, wrap it in a banana leaf, and
plant it in the ground.

(157) To tore -ga phi -nyi jang -ga dokang -ga thik -cho.
food cloth-DAT do -UNS 1s -DAT stick -DAT tie -IMP
Wrap the food in a cloth and give it to me.

(158) Khi pha -nyi odo namning.
feces bring-UNS come-IMP tomorrow
Come tomorrow bringing me a stool sample.

(159) Shing thung -ga gong -nyi jong tha -wa -la.
tree upon -DAT climb-UNS go leave-PAS-MIR
Climbing up the tree, he ran away.

(160) Gopen nyiktsing, kan jik -nyi, a -ha loka -tan gan -u -pha.
officer two voice shout-UNS 1P-DAT direction-to flee-come-PAS
Two officers, shouting, fled in our direction.

The verb phrase ending in -nyi may be interpreted as occurring before the event of the final verb, as in (152) through (155), or simultaneously with the final verb, as in (158) through (160). The verb in -nyi will be dependent on the final verb for its temporal interpretation; note the occurrence of the verb in -nyi with
final verbs in past (152), (153) etc., present imperfective (154), and non-past tense (155), (156), as well as with the imperative inflection (157), (158).\footnote{The particle \textit{nyi} is occasionally dropped, leaving the bare verb root, with no apparent change in meaning, as in} \textit{Makmi} thur, \textit{sungjapa} an, \textit{pechia} thur \textit{lhak chho-wa.} 
\textit{soldier} one duty do book on read stay-PAS 
\textit{One soldier, who was on duty, was reading a book.} 
However, it is not clear whether there might be some slight difference in discourse-pragmatic function.

\textit{-nyi} may imply a cause-effect/reason-result relationship between the non-final and final verb, as in the following examples:

(161) Ri jam -nyi, jelpo-gi khi=thri-ba giwala. 
\text{water drink-UNS king -ERG diarrhea-PAS EMPH.MIR} 
\text{Drinking the sauce, the king got diarrhea.}

(162) Ro-ka chhas nya -nyi, jang ngar=khi=lam-cha. 
\text{3s-ERG speech listen-UNS 1s amused -COP} 
\text{I am amused by listening to him.}

(163) Nan-gi ja bi -nyi, kadinche-wa. 
\text{2s -ERG tea give-UNS thank -PAS} 
\text{Thank you for giving me tea.}

(164) Uthu kauko na tha -nyi, jelpo sem namesame shor-ba -la. 
\text{this conversation ear leave-UNS king mind very lose-PAS-MIR} 
\text{When he heard this, the king was very disappointed.}

(164) Nan phatsa nang-ka nyp -nyi, jang bu-le re-be. 
\text{2s sack in -DAT enter-UNS 1s bring-NP can-NP} 
\text{If you get into the sack I will be able to carry you.}

Examples (161) through (164) illustrate the cause-effect relationship. Combined with a future tense final verb, this is given a conditional interpretation in (165).

\subsection{Nyì + \textit{bu}}

\textit{-bu} is a phrase-level particle which is cliticized to the preceding stem. It may occur on the noun phrase, with meaning "even" or "also", as the following:
(166) Waktsa zemu -ba-bu iskul -ga di-le khe -le.
    child small-PL-AS school-DAT go-NP must-NP
    Even small children have to go to school.

(167) Jang-bu a -ha chhas yitka =min=jong-ma.
    1s -AS 1p-DAT speech forget -PAS
    Even I have forgotten our language.

-bu may occur in the non-final verb phrase, after the verb inflected in -nyi as well, with the meaning "even though, although, even if, whether":

    long.time go-UNS-AS 1s clearly remember-MIR
    I remember clearly, even though a long time has passed.

    outside-DAT stay-UNS-AS in -DAT stay-UNS-AS 1p good do-UNS make-NP must-NP
    Whether we are living at home or abroad, we have to improve ourselves.

(170) Jelpo got-nyi-bu changan-gi ming-rang ma-thong -ma chos -chos-nyi
    king see-UNS-AS joker -ERG eye -INT NEG-see -PAS make-make-UNS
    Even though the king was looking at him, the joker pretended not to see.

(171) Hang-dawa u -nyi-bu jang tha chho -le.
    what-INT come-UNS-AS 1s here stay-NP
    Whatever happens (comes) I will stay here.

(172) Makmi nang-ka gi-nyi-bu, thrimsung nang-ka gi-nyi-bu,
    army in -DAT be-UNS-AS police in -DAT be-UNS-AS
    ai -ten mangpu cha gila.
    1p-RFLX many COP EMPH
    Whether in the army or in the police, there are a lot of us.

6.3.2 Intensified nyi + (rang) + chhole

-nyi commonly occurs before final verb chhole "to stay", to describe a situation or event as continuous or repeated (English 'always, constantly'). Insertion after -nyi of the intensifying non-final particle rang intensifies the continuous nature of the event. In this construction, the subject of the verb inflected with -nyi is always the same as the subject of final verb chhole.

(173) Jang ma -leuka lai thur -sho a -nyi chhon chho -wa.
    1s NEG-good work one -PRT do-UNS stay stay -PAS
    I was always doing only bad things.
(174) Ro nyiktsing namesame shonang phi-nyi chho-wa-la.
3s two very happiness do-UNS stay-PAS-MIR
The two of them lived happily ever after.

(175) Ro lai a-nyi-rang chhon-a.
3s work do-UNS-INT stay-MIR
He's always working.

child cry-UNS-INT stay-MIR
The child is always crying.

(177) Ja-ga meaktsa tiru ge dak-nyi-rang chhon-a.
1s-DAT wife money give say-UNS-INT stay-MIR
My wife is always asking for money.

6.3.3 Conditional -nyi + -la

-nyi may occur with non-final particle -la\(^{15}\) to express a conditional (if...then) statement. The subject of the non-final verb inflected with -nyi may or may not be co-referential with the subject of the final verb.

(178) Pechsa lamp -nyi-la, uthu-ba thamchen ha-go -le.
book learn-UNS-PRT that-PL all understand-NP
If we study, we will understand all those things.

(179) Onya nang-ka tha -nyi-la ma -yit -pa.
there in -DAT leave-UNS-PRT NEG-spoil-PAS
If you put it in there, it won't spoil.

(180) Nan-gi gadang thur ge -nyi-la, gari nong-me.
2s -ERG hand one show-UNS-PRT car stop-NP
If you put your hand, the car will stop.

(181) Ji-gi ma -got -nyi-la, ibi-rang got-khan m -a -la.
1s-ERG NEG-look-UNS-PRT who-INT see-REL NEG-do-MIR
If I don't look after them, no one will.

\(^{15}\) This -la is not the mirative copulative particle. The non-mirative counterpart cha does not occur here, the position apparently being restricted to a particular set of clitic particles including rang, -la (non-final), and -bu.
(182) Nan-qi lakchha thur ga -nyi-la, ja-ga lakchha tshang -pe.
2s -ERG tool one give-UNS-PRT 1s-DAT tool complete-NP
If you give me a tool, I will have a complete set.

6.3.4 Daknyi

Two verbs occur frequently in the -nyi inflection. These are daknyi from dakpe 'to say', and anyi from ale 'to do'.

Daknyi functions as a quotation marker of speech or thought. The following final verb will often be a verb of speaking such as ye-kpa 'he/she said', gepha 'he cried', rawa 'he called', jima 'he asked'. The quoted speech segment fills the object slot of the verb daknyi in the non-final clause.

(183) Meme shi-wa dak-nyi, ro-ki ge -pha.
grandfather die-PAS say-UNS 3s-ERG cry-PAS
"The old man died," she cried.

(184) Nan shong la -i dak-nyi, brumsha-gi yek-pa giwala.
2S breath take-IMP say-UNS pumpkin-ERG say-PAS EMPH.MIR
"You take a rest," the pumpkin said.

(185) Joktang-bu za -wa dak-nyi, meme -sho abi -gi she -wa dang.
potato -AS eat-PAS say-UNS grandfather-PRT grandmother-ERG kill-PAS PRT
And saying, "You even ate my potatoes," the old woman killed the old man.

(186) Nyi songo khepa ngam-sho ma -ngam-sho dak-nyi ji -ma -la.
CONJ person type chew-IMP NEG-chew-IMP say-UNS ask-PAS-MIR
Then he asked, "Should this man be swallowed or not?"

Khaling-DAT name-PRT how receive-PAS say-UNS 1s-DAT friend ask-PAS
My friend asked how Khaling got its name.

(188) Nyi meme -gi lam -got-pa -la ibi-gi yek -cha
CONJ grandfather-ERG search-see-PAS-MIR who-ERG speak-COP
gi-sa dak-nyi sem mi -wa.
bE-MOD say-UNS mind think-PAS
Then the old woman looked around to find out who was speaking.
(189) Ji-gi kholong ma -phi-la dak-nyi tha chat-pa, 1s-ERG fight NEG-do -NPN say-UNS here cut -PAS
uthu lekpu ma -nggi dak-nyi mi -wa. this good NEG-be say-UNS think-PAS
I decided not to fight—this is not good, I thought.

(190) Atchhing niktsing ibi goma sho -le dak-nyi onya korgai kholong phi-wa. 1p two who first come.out-NP say-UNS that about fight do -PAS
We two fought over who came out best.

(191) Meme lhangoche ma -ng -chhen dak-nyi ro-ka grandfather elephant NEG-come-HORT say-UNS 3s-DAT
pechha shu a -nyi lhak-chho-wa. book strong do-UNS read-stay-PAS
And in order to keep the elephant from coming, he was reading his book out loud.

Examples (183) through (187) above show daknyi as quotation formula. Daknyi is also used to express reported thought, as in examples (188) through (191). Tshangla does not distinguish structurally between direct and indirect quotes. All reported speech or thought with daknyi is "direct" in that the verb tenses of the reported segment make temporal reference to the original moment of utterance.

6.3.5 Anyi

Of all the verbs inflected with non-final marker -nyi, the most frequent and also the most flexible in terms of its function is anyi, from ale 'to do'. Anyi occurs alone or as the second element in a number of compound verbs, with the meaning 'to do' (6.3.5.1). It functions as a phrase-level adverbalizer (6.3.5.2) allowing nominal modifiers to function as adverbials. Anyi may also be used similarly to daknyi, with an embedded quote as object, to mark reported speech or thought (6.3.5.3). Finally and uniquely, anyi may take an embedded sentence as object in a quote-like structure, but which does not mark reported speech or thought. This construction instead expresses other interclausal relations such as purpose, cause, manner, and temporal relations (section 6.3.5.4).

6.3.5.1 Anyi as verb 'to do'

Use of anyi alone or in a compound may signify temporal concurrency of non-final and final clause (as in 192), or a cause-effect relationship (as in 193):
(192) Nan uthu lai a -nyi, haptur di-wa?
   2s this work do-UNS how.much go-PAS
How long have you had this job?

(193) Botpa -ba roram a -nyi thamchen ga shon -a.
   Tibetan-PL help do-UNS all up come.out-MIR
Helping each other, the Tibetans all improve themselves.

(194) Ji-gi totsan-kap kholong a -nyi lochi ket -pa.
   1s-ERG friend -CONC fight do-UNS regret feel-PAS
I regretted fighting with my friend.

When anyi occurs in an intransitive non-final clause, the agenthood of the subject is being emphasized:

(195) Jang a -nyi, nan gor -be-la.
   1s do-UNS 2s be.late-NP-MIR
I will make you late. (Because of me you’re going to be late.)

(196) Jang ten -rang a -nyi lam -pa.
   1s RLFX-INT do-UNS learn-PAS
I am learning on my own.

(197) Om achhing a -nyi sha nga -me gi -du?
   now 1p do-UNS meat chew-NP EMPH-DUB
How about if you and I eat the meat?

(198) Ro sam a -nyi drom ti -wa.
   3s three do-UNS box open-PAS
The three of them together opened the box.

The subject of the non-final clause may be non-identical to the subject of the final clause (195) or the two may be co-referential, as in (196) through (198).

The configuration of question word hang ‘what?’ + anyi draws upon the cause-effect/reason-result interpretation of anyi in order to create the interrogative expression ‘doing what?’/’why?’. This is often contracted to form the single lexeme hangi ‘why?’.

(199) Nan hang a -nyi gep-chu?
   2s what do-UNS cry-COP
Why (from what cause) are you crying?
(200) Ro hang a -nyi Thimpu-ga di-le?
    3s what do-UNS Thimpu-DAT go-PAS
Why (for what reason) is he going to Thimpu?

6.3.5.2 Anyi with modifier

Modifiers like lekpu ‘good’ normally occur as nominal modifiers in the noun phrase. In order to take on adverbial function, the modifier occurs in the predicate of the non-final clause, followed by anyi. The non-final clause then serves as an expression of the manner of the final clause.

(201) Chhapte a -nyi yek -cho!
    slow do-UNS speak-IMP
Speak slowly!

(202) Dozo a -nyi dong-ta odo -Ø!
    quick do-UNS down-DIR come-IMP
Come down quickly!

(203) Ja-ga meaktsa to namesame lekpu a -nyi chot -cha.
    1s-DAT wife food very good do-UNS prepare-COP
My wife prepares food very well.

(204) Rokte-ba-ki Tshangla chhas mangpu a -nyi phin-a.
    3p -PL-ERG Tshangla speech much do-UNS do -MIR
They are speaking Tshangla a lot.

(205) Inying khurbu a -nyi ma -den-chi.
    yesterday cold do-UNS NEG-go -NPAS
I didn’t come yesterday because it was cold.

Note that in (205) the anyi of manner takes on cause-effect significance.

6.3.5.3 Anyi as quote marker

Anyi may function similarly to daknyi, in reporting speech or thought. The quoted speech segment fills the object slot of anyi in the non-final clause:

(206) Uthu sinpu cha a -nyi yek-pa -la.
    this demon COP do-UNS say-PAS-MIR
"This is a demon," they said.
(207) Ga -lu m -a -la a -nyi garpu-ba-ki zhu -wa -la.
allow-DEP NEG-do-MIR do-UNS guard-PL-ERG tell-PAS-MIR
"It’s not allowed", the guards said.

(207) Ja-ga phai dzong chos-pe a -nyi phai phi -le cham -pa.
1s-DAT house fortress make-NP do-UNS house build-NP be.about.to-PAS
Thinking, "I must make my house like a fortress," he was about to build.

(208) Ji-gi na-ga muding thong bi -le a -nyi yek-pa.
1s-ERG 2s-DAT pearl give-NP do-UNS say-PAS
"I will find your pearl for you," he said.

6.3.5.4 Anyi with embedded sentential object

A frequent and versatile function of anyi is when it takes an embedded sentence as object, in a structure identical to a quotation, but where no speech or thought is being reported. Instead, the sentence being "quoted" by anyi reports various temporal, manner, or causal relationships between non-final and final clause.

This construction may signal a temporal relationship, i.e. that events of the non-final clause occur concurrently with or prior to the final verb phrase:

(210) Nan-gi Tshangla chhas ma -yek -pa a -nyi shama di-wa.
2s -ERG Tshangla speech NEG-speak-NP do-UNS long.time go-PAS
You haven't spoken Tshangla in a long time.

(211) Ro-ki phakpa khi shon ma -ge -me a -nyi zong-nyi za -wa -la.
3s-ERG pork feces come.out NEG-discard-NP do-UNS boil-UNS eat-PAS-MIR
He boiled and ate the pig’s intestine without taking the feces out.

(212) Jut thamcherang ri -ga di-wa a -nyi
flavor all water-DAT go-PAS do-UNS
sha tsangpu jelpo-ga bi -wa -la.
meat only king -DAT give-PAS-MIR
After all the flavor had gone into the water, he gave the meat to the king.

It may also signal a cause-effect or reason-result relationship between the non-final and final clauses. In the following examples, the event encoded by a non-final clause is represented as the cause of the event encoded by the final clause:
(213) Jang khur -nyi a -nyi sutar ye -wa.
1s be.cold-UNS do-UNS sweater wear-PAS
Because I was cold, I put on a sweater.

(214) Lakher ma -nyong -pa a -nyi, uptur an thup tha -wa.
license NEG-receive-PAS do-UNS this.much do throw leave-PAS
Because I didn’t get a license, I left it at that.

In the following examples, the event encoded by the non-final clause is being represented as the purpose of the event of the final clause:

(215) Zala -gi ro za -le thap a -nyi, "chhe-le ma -(ng)gi,“ dak-nyi yek-pa-la.
monkey-ERG 3s eat-NP serve do-UNS plant-NP NEG-be say-UNS say-PAS-MIR
The monkey, intending to eat it himself, said, “It is not for planting.”

(216) Zala -gi ro she -le ma -bi -wa a -nyi kuchhe sungchhe yek-pa.
monkey-ERG 3s kill-NP NEG-give-PAS do-UNS excuse excuse say-PAS
The monkeys begged for forgiveness, to keep the old man from killing
them.

(217) Jang gari-ga chhin-ma a -nyi juk-nyi di -wa.
1s car -DAT reach-PAS do-UNS run-UNS go-PAS
I ran to catch the bus.

(218) Khamung guri dak -pa a -nyi zik -cho!
clothes dirt cleanse-PAS do-UNS wash-IMP
Wash the clothes until they are clean!

The embedded sentence object of anyi may also express manner:

(219) Ro-ki jok -nyi a -nyi lai an -cha.
3s-ERG be.fast-UNS do-UNS work do-COP
He works fast.

(220) Ro-ki lai namesame dazen m -a -wa a -nyi thup than -a.
3s-ERG work very care NEG-do-PAS do-UNS throw leave-MIR
He very carelessly leaves his work.

(221) Nyinang=khu-le m -a -wa a -nyi lai phi -wa.
shy -NP NEG-do-PAS do-UNS work do-PAS
They were working unashamedly.
This non-quotation of *anyi* with an embedded sentence as object does show certain formal differences from embedded quotational sentences with *anyi*. While the embedded quotational sentence as object of both *anyi* and *daknyi* must end in a final verb as dictated by the normal phrase structure rules, the non-quotation embedded sentence may end in a non-final verb form as in examples (213), (215) and (219) above. It appears that the status of the embedded sentence has been reduced from a fully independent sentence toward something resembling a dependent element within a merged sentence. *Furthermore*, the tense of the embedded sentence may make temporal reference to the event time of the main clause rather than to the event time of the embedded sentence. Compare two examples taken from the sections above:

(190) Atchhing niktsing ibi goma sho -le dak-nyi onya korgai kholong phi-wa.
    1p two who first come.out-NP say-UNS that about fight do -PAS
    We two fought over who came out best.

(217) Jang gari-ga chhin-ma a -nyi juk-nyi di-wa.
    1s car -DAT reach-PAS do-UNS run-UNS go-PAS
    I ran to catch the bus.

In (190), the non-past form of the verb *shole* 'to come out, result' in the embedded sentence with *daknyi* indicates future time *with reference to the time of the embedded sentence*, which in this case is reported speech, something like "Saying (thinking), 'Who will come out best,' we fought." In (217), the past tense of *chhinma* 'to reach' with *anyi* encodes past time *in reference to the event of the main clause*, something like "In order that I caught the bus, I ran."

6.4 Concurrent—*kapnyi*

The particle *kap* or *kapnyi* following a verb encodes an event or situation as occurring simultaneously with the event or situation of the main verb. Note that concurrent time was also one of the functions of *-nyi* in examples (158) through (160) on page 41. With *kapnyi*, however, the simultaneity is made explicit.

(222) Tashigang-ga shek -pa-kap -nyi to za -le.
    Tashigang-DAT arrive-CC-CONC-UNS food eat-NP
    We'll eat when we arrive in Tashigang.

(223) Meme kong-ma-kap -nyi, zala -ba shon -di-wa.
    grandfather beat-CC-CONC-UNS monkey-PL go.out-go-PAS
    While the old man was hitting them, the monkeys ran away.
(224) Jang pechha lam -pa-kap -nyi, ro u -pha.
    1s book read-CC-CONC-UNS 3s come-PAS
While I was reading a book, he came.

(225) Phakpale zan got -pa-kap -nyi kalu chho-wa.
sausage eat look-CC-CONC-UNS sour stay-PAS
When I tasted the sausage it was sour.

(226) Tha -gai Thimpu-ga di-la-kap -nyi ngam sam gor -be-la.
    here-ABL Thimpu-DAT go-CC-CONC-UNS day three take.time-NP-MIR
It takes three days to go from here to Thimpu.

Formally, kapnyi requires a unique form of the verb stem. In verb classes 1, 2, and 4, this affix is homophonous with the ordinary past tense suffix (-pa, -wa, -ma.) In Class 3 verbs, the affix -la is affixed to the root minus stem-final -n. See the item glossed as CC in example (226).

Verbs in the past imperfective (root + chhowa) may be further inflected with kapnyi:

(227) Jang lam -ga din-chho-la-kap -nyi, buchhila shon u -pha.
    1s path-DAT go -stay-CC-CONC-UNS snake come.out come-PAS
While I was walking along the path, a snake appeared.

(228) Gep-chho-la-kap -nyi, brumsha-gai namesame phorap songo zang -ma.
    cry-stay-CC-CONC-UNS pumpkin-ABL very handsome person shine-PAS
While she was crying, the pumpkin turned into a beautiful person.

(229) Jang zan-chho-la-kap -nyi, ja-ga chharo shek -pa.
    1s eat-stay-CC-CONC-UNS 1s-DAT friend arrive-PAS
While I was eating, my friend arrived.

7. Negation

7.1 Negation of non-temporal verbs

All negated verbs are preceded by the negative prefix ma-. For the non-temporal verb forms, negation involves no more than this, as seen in the following examples:

(230) Nan ma -gep-cho!
    2s NEG-cry-IMP
Don’t cry!
(231) Semchhen ma -she -Ø!
    animal NEG-kill-IMP
Don't kill the animal!

    what-INT NEG-say-UNS go-PAS-MIR
Without saying anything, she left.

(233) Ro chhe ha ma -go -khan gila.
    3s scripture heart NEG-put-REL EMPH
They are illiterate people.

(234) Lhangpoche ma -ng -chhen!
    elephant NEG-come-HORT
May the elephant not come!

(235) Depa m -a -deke, ro-ki drangpe ma -r -ba.
    faith NEG-do-RESUL 3s-ERG recite. mane NEG-can-NNP
Because they don’t have the faith, they can’t do the mane.

7.2 Negation of temporal verbs

Negation of the temporal verbs is more involved than with the non-temporal
verbs, involving prefixation with ma- as well as a change in the tense suffixes.
Consider Figure 9 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past</th>
<th>present</th>
<th>non-past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>perfective</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got-pa ‘looked’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>got-pe ‘will look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-got-chi ‘did not look’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ma-got-pa ‘will not look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-wa ‘went’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>di-le ‘will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-din-chi ‘did not go’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ma-di-la ‘will not go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **imperfective**      |                |                |
| got-chhowa ‘was looking’ | got-cha ‘is looking’ |
| -                      | -              | -              |
| din-chhowa ‘was going’  | got-pu ma-la ‘is not looking’ |
| -                      | -              | -              |
| di-lu ma-la ‘is not going’ | -           | -              |

**Figure 9:** Irregular negative inflections (basic tenses)
Figure 9 shows affirmative and negative forms for the 4 basic tense/aspect inflections. The past imperfective negative does not occur. Note the change in suffix for both past and non-past perfective when the negative prefix is added: non-past -pe becomes negative non-past -pa.

In the past perfective, the negative takes a unique suffix -chu. However, this form only occurs when no other constituent follows (e.g. ma-got-chi, 'did not look' but ma-got-pa gila, 'really did not look', ma-got-pa cha 'has not looked' etc.)

The present imperfective negative stands out from the perfective forms, and does not easily fit into the temporal verb phrase formula in Figure 3. This form is composed of the root plus a unique suffix -pu, followed by mala or mancha, the negative non-past form of the verb ale 'to do'. Formally this is identical to predicate adjective plus copula, as in lekpu mala 'not good'. It is also slightly reminiscent of the negated non-past form of a "goal" plus head verb construction such as got-pe ma-(e)ba 'will not be able to see'. As was true for the affirmative, now also for the negative, the present imperfective is the divergent form in comparison to its perfective counterparts.

The temporal verb phrase chart from Figure 8 on page 34 has been modified below to include the negative forms, with the exception of the present imperfective:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(neg)</th>
<th>root</th>
<th>(aspect)</th>
<th>(tense₁)</th>
<th>(tense₂)</th>
<th>(emphatic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>got</td>
<td>chho-</td>
<td>-wa (-pa, -ma, -ba)</td>
<td>-le (-pe, -me, -be)</td>
<td>chhowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-chi</td>
<td>uphe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-la (-pa, -ma, -ba)</td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>giwala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8: The temporal verb phrase**

7.3 Negation in sentence-medial constructions

Figure 9 above shows that the past and non-past negative suffixes differ from the corresponding affirmative suffixes, only when the tensed verb is the last constituent in the sentence (bottom half of tense₁ box). Whenever any other

---

16 In Central Monpa, however, according to Das Gupta (1968), chi (ci, ji, shú) is the marker for both negative and affirmative past time. This corresponds to the author's own data on Padma-bkid Tshangla, and speakers from Bhutan report that a few dialects in Eastern Bhutan also form the negative and affirmative inflections of the past time verb with -chi.
constituent follows, whether it be periphrastic tense marker (cha/chhowa), evidential marker (la), quote marker (anyi), or emphatic particle (gila/giwalal), the past and non-past suffixes are again identical for both negative and affirmative (top half of tense1 box). Note however, that the non-past suffixes which occur sentence-finally (bottom row, bottom box of tense1) and the past suffixes which occur before another constituent (top row, top box of tense1) are distinct only in the first form, i.e. for Class 3 verbs. A comparison of the irregular, sentence-final negative forms with the regular, sentence-medial forms in Figure 10 will illustrate more fully:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affirmative verb</th>
<th>Negated verb</th>
<th>Following constituent in sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 1,2,4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAST</strong></td>
<td>gotpa</td>
<td>cha/la/anyi/gila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>magotpa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>magotchi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N-PAST</strong></td>
<td>gotpe</td>
<td>cha/la/anyi/gila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>magotpe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>magotpa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAST</strong></td>
<td>diwa</td>
<td>cha/la/anyi/gila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madiwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madinchi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N-PAST</strong></td>
<td>dile</td>
<td>cha/la/anyi/gila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 10:** Regular vs. irregular negative inflections

The distinction seen for the class 3 forms in Figure 10 between past negative S-medial (madiwa) and non-past negative S-final (madila) is neutralized in the forms of classes 1, 2, and 4. Thus for example, the non-past magotpa 'will not see' and past emphatic magotpa gila 'certainly did not see' are identical in terms of the form of the verb which occurs. They differ only in the addition of the extra constituent, in this case the emphatic particle.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES

A. KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS:

1s 1st person singular pronoun
2s 2nd person singular pronoun
3s 3rd person singular pronoun (occasionally plural)
1p 1st person plural pronoun
2p 2nd person plural pronoun
3p 3rd person plural pronoun
ABL ablative case particle
AS associative particle (bu) "also, even," (6.3.1)
Cf final clause
CNF non-final clause
COMP completative verbal suffix (6.1)
CC concurrent verb suffix (-la before kap) (6.4)
CONC concurrent verbal particle (kap) (6.4)
CONJ conjunction (sentence-level)
COP descriptive copulative particle (non-mirative) (4.1ff)
DAT dative case particle
DEP dependent verb affix (-pu/-lu)
DIR directional marker
DUB dubitative suffix (5.4)
EMPH emphatic verbal particle (4.5.4)
EMPH.MIR emphatic verbal particle, mirative (4.5.5)
ERG ergative case particle
HORT hortative verb suffix (5.2)
IMP imperative suffix (5.1)
INT intensifying particle
INVI invitational suffix (5.3)
MIR mirative copulative particle (4.4.2ff)
MOD modal suffix
NEG negative prefix (7.)
NNP negative non-past (future) tense suffix (7.2)
NP non-past (future) tense suffix (2.2, 4.2)
OBJD/OBJID direct object/indirect object
PAS past tense suffix (2.2, 4.2)
PL plural particle
PNEG negative past tense suffix (7.2)
PRT particle (precise function unidentified)
QI sentence-final information question particle
QP sentence-final polarity question particle
REL relativizer
RES resultative verbal particle (6.2)
RFLX reflexive particle
TAM tense-aspect-modality
UNS non-final verbal particle, unspecified (6.3)
VPNF non-final verb phrase
VPTF temporal final verb phrase
VPNTF non-temporal final verb phrase
## B. Tshangla Phonemes

### Syllable-initial consonants
(symbols enclosed in parentheses represent sounds found in loanwords)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lab.</th>
<th>dent.</th>
<th>retr.</th>
<th>pal.</th>
<th>vel.</th>
<th>glot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vl.stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl.asp.stop</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>thr</td>
<td></td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl.aff.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ts</td>
<td></td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl.asp.aff.</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td></td>
<td>chh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.aff.</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl.fric.</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.fric.</td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td>(zh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lat.asp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(lh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approx.</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Syllable-final consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lab.</th>
<th>den.</th>
<th>retr.</th>
<th>pal.</th>
<th>vel.</th>
<th>glot.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vl.stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl.fric.</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approx.</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. body</td>
<td>luspu</td>
<td>40. ring</td>
<td>tsedum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. head</td>
<td>sharang</td>
<td>41. sun</td>
<td>ngam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. hair</td>
<td>tsham</td>
<td>42. moon</td>
<td>lanyi-ngam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. face</td>
<td>zu</td>
<td>43. sky</td>
<td>ngam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. eye</td>
<td>ming</td>
<td>44. star</td>
<td>karma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ear</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>45. rain</td>
<td>ngamsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. nose</td>
<td>nawung</td>
<td>46. water</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. mouth</td>
<td>nuwang</td>
<td>47. river</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. teeth</td>
<td>sha</td>
<td>48. cloud</td>
<td>mukpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. tongue</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>49. lightning</td>
<td>namcha-khena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. breast (woman's)</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. belly</td>
<td>pholang</td>
<td>50. rainbow</td>
<td>jang-sharla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. arm</td>
<td>gadang-gure</td>
<td>51. wind</td>
<td>ridi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. elbow</td>
<td>nyizing</td>
<td>52. stone</td>
<td>lung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. palm</td>
<td>gadang-wung</td>
<td>53. path</td>
<td>lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. finger</td>
<td>gadang-bruma</td>
<td>54. sand</td>
<td>betsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. nail</td>
<td>tsingnang</td>
<td>55. fire</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. leg</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>56. smoke</td>
<td>mugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. skin</td>
<td>mongnang</td>
<td>57. ash</td>
<td>thulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. bone</td>
<td>khang</td>
<td>58. mud</td>
<td>jintsang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. heart</td>
<td>thinglom</td>
<td>59. dust</td>
<td>phurtsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. blood</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>60. gold</td>
<td>ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. urine</td>
<td>chherang</td>
<td>61. tree</td>
<td>shing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. feces</td>
<td>khi</td>
<td>62. leaf</td>
<td>shing-shaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. village</td>
<td>dung</td>
<td>63. root</td>
<td>shing-tsa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. house</td>
<td>phai</td>
<td>64. thorn</td>
<td>rachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. roof</td>
<td>bungnang</td>
<td>65. flower</td>
<td>zu/tsang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. door</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>66. fruit</td>
<td>meto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. firewood</td>
<td>miga-shing</td>
<td>67. mango</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. broom</td>
<td>brangphak</td>
<td>68. banana</td>
<td>am-chukuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. mortar</td>
<td>tsam</td>
<td>69. wheat (white)</td>
<td>laisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. pestle</td>
<td>toktsing-lung</td>
<td>wheat (dark)</td>
<td>phemung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. hammer</td>
<td>toktsing</td>
<td>70. millet</td>
<td>bong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. knife</td>
<td>thong</td>
<td>71. rice</td>
<td>kongpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. axe</td>
<td>khachhi</td>
<td>72. potato</td>
<td>khu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. rope</td>
<td>bengra</td>
<td>73. eggplant</td>
<td>joktang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. thread</td>
<td>rongshom</td>
<td>74. groundnut</td>
<td>bantho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. needle</td>
<td>kutpa</td>
<td>75. chili</td>
<td>badam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. cloth</td>
<td>khap</td>
<td>76. tumeric</td>
<td>solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khamung</td>
<td>77. garlic</td>
<td>jung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
78. onion  kokpa  120. evening/afternoon ngeri
79. tomato lambenda  121. yesterday  inying
80. cabbage kopi  122. today  thinong
81. oil si  123. tomorrow namning
82. salt inchha  124. week  hapta
83. meat sha  125. month lanyi
84. fat yan  126. year  nyaing
85. fish nga  127. old (thing) manma
86. chicken goga  128. new  singma
87. egg gotham  129. good lekpu
88. cow wa  130. bad  malekpa/chamu
89. buffalo brung  131. wet yitpa
90. milk nu  132. dry sangma
91. horn warong  133. long ringmu
92. tail shampi  134. short thumu
93. goat raba  135. hot tshalu
94. dog khu  136. cold chhangpu
95. snake buchhila  137. right lanyong
96. monkey zala  138. left menyong
97. mosquito trongchung  139. near reka
98. ant khangjila  140. far tha-ringsa
99. spider shongbu  141. big katang
100. name ming  142. small zemu
101. man/person songo  143. heavy chitpu
person pheaktsa  144. light yangpu
102. woman meaktsa  145. above thunga
103. child waktsa  146. below raga
104. father apa  147. black balingmu
105. mother ama  148. black chhanglu
106. older brother ata  149. red tsalu
107. younger brother kota  150. one thur
108. older sister ana  151. two n(y)iktsing
109. younger sister usa  152. three sam
110. son za  153. four pshi
111. daughter zamin  154. five nga
112. husband pheaktsa  155. six khung
113. wife meaktsa  156. seven zum
114. boy za  157. eight yen
115. girl zamin  158. nine gu
116. day ngam  159. ten se
117. night binang  160. eleven song-thur
118. morning wun-betpe
119. noon ngam-barka
161. twelve song-nyiktsing
162. twenty khai-thur
163. one hundred khai-nga
164. who? ibi
165. what? hang
166. where? oga
167. when? hala/giti
168. how many? haptur
169. what kind? hang-dawa
170. this uthu
171. that onya
172. these uthu-ba
173. those onya-ba
174. same pruskin
175. different soso
176. whole (unbroken) maphotpa
177. broken photpa
178. few tiktang/
dazere
179. many shama
180. all thamcherang
181. to eat za(n)
182. to bite ngam
183. to be hungry binang-khu(n)
184. to drink jam
185. to be thirsty rinang-sop
186. to sleep yip
187. to lie down thang-chho(n)
188. to sit down lang
189. to give bi(n)
190. to burn gok
191. to die shi(n)
192. to kill she(n)
193. to fly phur
194. to walk dang
195. to run juk
196. to go di(n)
197. to come u(n)
198. to speak yek
199. to listen nyan
200. to hear na-tha(n)
201. to see thong
202. to look got
203. 1p.sing. 'I' jang
204. 2p.sing. 'you' nan
205. 3p.sing. 'he, she, it' ro/dan
206. 1p.pl 'we' ai(ba)
207. 2p.pl 'you' nai(ba)
208. 3p.pl 'they' rokte(ba)