

**Tshangla verb inflections:
a preliminary sketch¹**

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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 (Sharchhopkha), 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-dile*⁴, 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
 ge-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) tha-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 precedes 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 *l* in the mirative suffix *-la* 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.

	past perfective	non-past perfective
'to look'	got-pa	got-pe
'to divide'	bang-ma	bang-me
'to go'	di-wa	di-le
'to boil'	dur-ba	dur-be

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*, *khorme*, *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.⁹ However, it is visible in periphrastic inflections and compound verbal expressions where the bare root occurs, for example in the present continuous *din-cha*, the past continuous *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.

S	→	(C _{NF} ⁿ) + C _F	(n>0)
C _F	→	(SUB) + (OBJ _D) + (OBJ _{ID}) + VP _F	
C _{NF}	→	(SUB) + (OBJ _D) + (OBJ _{ID}) + VP _{NF}	
VP _{TF}	→	(goal) + (neg) + Vroot + (aspect) + [(tense ₁)+(tense ₂)] + (emphatic)	
VP _{NTF}	→	(goal) + (neg) + Vroot + non-temporal marker	
VP _{NF}	→	(goal) + (neg) + Vroot + non-final marker + (particle _{NF})	

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 tense₁ or tense₂ must be present. Or both may occur together.

The non-temporal final verb phrase (VP_{NF}) 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-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-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,¹⁰ corresponding to past, present, and future time. Each of these forms plays a significant role in the structure of the temporal verb phrase.

past	present	future
chhowa ‘stayed’	cha ‘is’	uphe ‘will come’

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.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.

4.2.2 Past imperfective: root + **chhowa**

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

- (21) Phai nang-ka shek -pa-kap -nyi, meme ko tshing-ga lang-chho-wa.
 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.
- (25) Ro songo mar -khan-ba-ka got -chho-wa.
 3s person sick-REL -PL-DAT look-stay-PAS
 He used to see sick people.

¹¹ *cha*, *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: *got-pe*, 'sec, will see', *got-pa*, 'saw', but the present continuous forms as two separate words: *got cha*, *got la* (but *din + la* → *di na*?). This is somewhat unnatural, given the fact that the present imperfective occupies a place within a 3-way system together with and in contrast to the perfective forms. For simplicity, the phonological solution is chosen here: clitics are represented as joined to the preceding word by a hyphen.

- (26) Songo mar -khan-ba-ki ro-ka -ta -nyi tang pha -nyi un -chho-wa.
 person sick-REL -PL-ERG 3s-DAT-DIR-UNS gift bring-UNS come-stay-PAS
 Patients used to bring him gifts.

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'.

	past	present	non-past
perfective	got-pa 'looked'	-	got-pe 'will look'
	bang-ma 'divided'	-	bang-me 'will divide'
	di-wa 'went'	-	di-le 'will go'
	dur-ba 'boiled'	-	dur-be 'will boil'
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.

reference point	present		past		future	
relation to ref. point	past	future	past	future	past	future
perfective	gotpa-cha	gotpe-cha	gotpa-chhowa	gotpe-chhowa	gotpa-uphe	gotpe-uphe
imperfective	got-chhowa-cha		got-chhowa-chhowa		got-chhowa-uphe	

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-bkod 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:

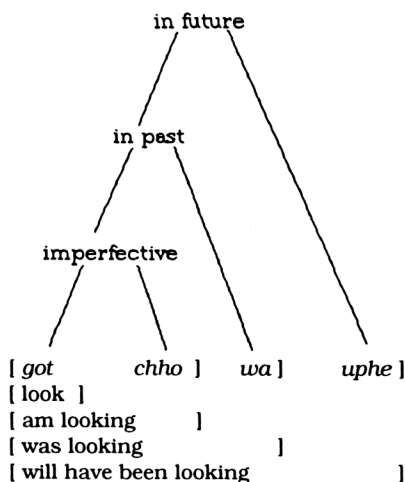


Figure 7:

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) Inying=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*'.

- (46) Meme ko tshing-ga lang-chho-wa-cha.
 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.
- (48) Dai-ten -rang thola zhingkhām-ga di-le ma -r -ba chho-wa -cha.
 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 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-imperfect-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.
- (58) Lai thup -tha -le ma -a -nyi-la lekpu di-le-cha.
 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.

- (59) Mi -gi ro patong -ga -rang khe -le chho-wa. Ashi -gi sharang jak -pa.
 arrow-ERG 3s forehead-DAT-INT strike-NP-stay-NP. princess-ERG head pull-PAS
 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 inferred/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) Inying jang pechha lam -pa.
yesterday 1s book read-PAS
Yesterday I read a book.
- (83) !Inying 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 pro-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 Tashingang.
- (117) "Jang di-le khe -le-la," dak-nyi, di-wa giwala.
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 *gila* occurs more frequently with 1st person subjects. Here, as with lexical verbs like *diwa/diwala*, 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. *diwala*.) 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 rokto 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, *gila* has developed an irregular paradigm. As shown above, *gila* lacks the non-past and present imperfective forms. Past perfective *giwa* and past imperfective *giwa chhowa* are rare, and only occur when *gila* 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:

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

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

root	(aspect)	(tense ₁)	(tense ₂)	(emphatic)
got	chho-	-wa (-pa, -ma, -ba) -le (-pe, -me, -be)	chhowa uphe cha la	gila giwala

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 tense₂ 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:

$$VP_{NTF} \rightarrow (\text{goal}) + (\text{neg}) + \text{Vroot} + \text{non-temporal marker}$$

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 | "Don't cry!" |
| Got-cho! | "Look!" |
| Zhuk-cho! | "Sit down!" |
| Das nong-sho! | "Wait a bit!" |
| Kha thar-sho! | "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 *-r*:

- (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 *phai*, *zai*, *bui*, *goi*.

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 jelpo-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-INV
 Let's us two have a chat.
- (137) Di-khe!
 go-INV
 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 a 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:

$$VP_{NF} \rightarrow (\text{goal}) + (\text{neg}) + V\text{root} + \text{non-final marker} + (\text{particle}_{NF})$$

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 *Completive -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.
- (145) A -ha brang-ka din-than, ji-gi phakpale chot -pe.
 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-gi 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) Jelpo 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 *-nny* 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.

- (153) *Nyi zemu-gi hang rang ma- yek-nyi, brumsha tapthur 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).¹⁴

-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.
water drink-UNS king -ERG diarrhea-PAS EMPH.MIR
Drinking the sauce, the king got diarrhea.
- (162) Ro-ka chhas nya -nyi, jang ngar=khi=lam-cha.
3s-ERG speech listen-UNS 1s amused -COP
I am amused by listening to him.
- (163) Nan-gi ja bi -nyi, kadinche-wa.
2s -ERG tea give-UNS thank -PAS
Thank you for giving me tea.
- (164) Uthu kauko na tha -nyi, jelpo sem namesame shor-ba -la.
this conversation ear leave-UNS king mind very lose-PAS-MIR
When he heard this, the king was very disappointed.
- (164) Nan phatsa nang-ka nyp -nyi, jang bu -le re-be.
2s sack in -DAT enter-UNS 1s bring-NP can-NP
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).

6.3.1 *Nyi + bu*

-bu is a phrase-level particle which is cliticized to the preceeding stem. It may occur on the noun phrase, with meaning “even” or “also”, as the following:

¹⁴ The particle *nyi* is occasionally dropped, leaving the bare verb root, with no apparent change in meaning, as in

Makmi thur, sungjapa an, pechha thur lhak chho-wa.
soldier one duty do book on read stay-PAS
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.

- (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”:
- (168) Shama di-nyi-bu, jang dangsanken yitka=un-a.
 long.time go-UNS-AS 1s clearly remember-MIR
 I remember clearly, even though a long time has passed.
- (169) Phis -ka chho-nyi-bu, nang-ka chho-nyi-bu, ai lekpu a -nyi chot-pe khe-le.
 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 -lekpa 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.
- (176) Waktsa gep-nyi-rang chhon-a.
 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) Pechha 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 out 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-gi 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 *yekpa* '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?"
- (187) Khaling-ga ming-sho hangten chhin -ma dak-nyi, ja-ga chharo ji -ma.
 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 -NNP 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 lhangpochhe 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 adverbializer (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 totsang-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 *hanyi* 'why?'.
 (199) Nan hang a -nyi gep-cha?
 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 see 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-quotational use 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-quotational 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 niktasing 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!
- (232) Hang-rang ma -yek-nyi, di-wa-la.
 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) Lhangpochhe 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:

	past	present	non-past
perfective	got-pa 'looked' ma-got-chi 'did not look' di-wa 'went' ma-din-chi 'did not go'	- - - -	got-pe 'will look' ma-got-pa 'will not look' di-le 'will go' ma-di-la 'will not go'
im-perfective	got-chhowa 'was looking' - din-chhowa 'was going' -	got-cha 'is looking' got-pu ma-la 'is not looking' din-cha 'is going' 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 *-chi*¹⁶. However, this form only occurs when no other constituent follows (eg. *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-r(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:

(neg)	root	(aspect)	(tense ₁)	(tense ₂)	(emphatic)
ma-	got	chho-	-wa (-pa, -ma, -ba) -le (-pe, -me, -be) ----- -chi -la (-pa, -ma, -ba)	chhowa uphe cha la	gila giwala

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, shü) is the marker for both negative and affirmative past time. This corresponds to the author's own data on Padma-bkod 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/giwala*), 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:

	Affirmative verb	Negated verb	Following constituent in sentence
<i>Class 1,2,4</i>			
PAST	gotpa	magotpa magotchi	cha/la/anyi/gila (Sentence-boundary)
N-PAST	gotpe	magotpe magotpa	cha/la/anyi/gila
<i>Class 3</i>			
PAST	diwa	madiwa madinchi	cha/la/anyi/gila
N-PAST	dile	madile madila	cha/la/anyi/gila

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.

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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 <i>kap</i>) (6.4)
CONC	concurrent verbal particle (<i>kap</i>) (6.4)
CONJ	conjunction (sentence-level)
COP	descriptive copulative particle (non-mirative) (4.1f)
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 (4.4.2f)
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)
OBJ _D /OBJ _I D	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
VP _{TF}	temporal final verb phrase
VP _{NTF}	non-temporal final verb phrase

B. TSHANGLA PHONEMES

Syllable-initial consonants

(symbols enclosed in parentheses represent sounds found in loanwords)

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

Syllable-final consonants

	lab.	den.	retr.	pal.	vel.	glot.
vl.stop	p	t			k	
vl.fric.		s				
nasals	m	n			ng	
lateral		l				
flap		r				
approx.	w			y		

Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

C. TSHANGLA WORD LIST

1. body	lusu	40. ring	tsedum
2. head	sharang	41. sun	ngam
3. hair	tsham	42. moon	lanyi-ngam
4. face	zu	43. sky	ngam
5. eye	ming	44. star	karma
6. ear	na	45. rain	ngamsu
7. nose	nawung	46. water	ri
8. mouth	nuwang	47. river	ri
9. teeth	sha	48. cloud	mukpa
10. tongue	le	49. lightning	namcha-
11. breast (woman's)	numa		khen
12. belly	pholang	50. rainbow	jang-sharla
13. arm	gadang-gure	51. wind	ridi
14. elbow	nyizing	52. stone	lung
15. palm	gadang-wung	53. path	lam
16. finger	gadang-	54. sand	beta
	bruma	55. fire	mi
17. nail	tsingnang	56. smoke	mugu
18. leg	bi	57. ash	thulu
19. skin	mongnang	58. mud	jintsang
20. bone	khang	59. dust	phurtsi
21. heart	thinglom	60. gold	ser
22. blood	yi	61. tree	shing
23. urine	chherang	62. leaf	shing-shaba
24. feces	khi	63. root	shing-tsa/
25. village	dung		rachi
26. house	phai	64. thorn	zu/tsang
27. roof	bungnang	65. flower	meto
28. door	ko	66. fruit	se
29. firewood	miga-shing	67. mango	am-chukuli
30. broom	brangphak	68. banana	laisi
	tsam	69. wheat (white)	phemung
31. mortar	toktsing-lung	wheat (dark)	bong
32. pestle	toktsing	70. millet	kongpu
33. hammer	thong	71. rice	khu
34. knife	khachhi	72. potato	joktang
35. axe	bengra	73. eggplant	bantho
36. rope	rongshom	74. groundnut	badam
37. thread	kutpa	75. chili	solo
38. needle	khap	76. tumeric	jung
39. cloth	khamung	77. garlic	lam

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	nying
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	200. to hear	na-tha(n)
162. twenty	khai-thur	201. to see	thong
163. one hundred	khai-nga	202. to look	got
164. who?	ibi	203. 1p.sing. 'I'	jang
165. what?	hang	204. 2p.sing. 'you'	nan
166. where?	oga	205. 3p.sing. 'he, she, it'	ro/dan
167. when?	hala/giti	206. 1p.pl 'we'	ai(ba)
168. how many?	haptur	207. 2p.pl 'you'	nai(ba)
169. what kind?	hang-dawa	208. 3p.pl 'they'	rokte(ba)
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		