A Grammar of Brokpa

A Trans-Himalayan Language of Bhutan

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by

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(BA Hons, Graduate Diploma, MA)

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Language and Culture Research Centre, James Cook University

August 2021

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many people have contributed directly or indirectly to this research study on the Brokpa language, and to name each and every individual and acknowledge them adequately would take scores of pages. My first and foremost gratitude goes to the Brokpa people of Bhutan for their great friendship, warm hospitality, and their willingness to help me in every way while I was studying their language. I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to the Australian government, the people of Australia, and James Cook University for supporting my study through the Research Training Program. I would like to acknowledge the Secretariat of Dzongkha Development Commission, Royal Government of Bhutan, for facilitating my research work in Bhutan.

A special thanks go to Jamba Tenzin འཇམ་བྱ་བསྟན་འཛིན་, my adopted elder brother since childhood, who has been highly resourceful for my research on this language. He is a distinguished lama and is one of the best storytellers in the community. He gave several recordings on different genres, provided information and explanations on almost all the most important aspects of Brokpa language and culture used in this grammar.

Kelzang Namgay སྐལ་བཟང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་, my adopted younger brother since childhood, accompanied me to all the villages and assisted me in all my fieldworks including handling the audio-visual equipment. In addition to being a storyteller himself, he has introduced many helpful people in different villages, and arranged meetings with them. Throughout my fieldwork, he has helped me with transcribing texts, translating them, and explaining meanings. Without his full support and genuine commitment to this project, it would not have been possible for me to do anything on this language. His contributions can never properly be acknowledged.

A big thankyou goes to Jamyang Chophel འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཆོས་འཕེལ་ who patiently answered all my questions during my fieldwork as well as during my analysis and write up at the Language and Culture Research Centre (LCRC) JCU. Jamyang also helped me with transcribing texts, translating them, and providing vocabulary items. Whenever I had doubts while analyzing the Brokpa language data, I contacted Jamyang and he was always ready to answer any questions. Jamyang was always there to tell me whether it was possible to say something like this, or like that and, if there were several versions, which one was better. He has carefully checked almost all the examples and their translations used in this grammar. Jamyang has been enormously helpful, and I can never thank him enough.

I ow a debt of gratitude to Sangay Wangdi སངས་རྒྱས་དབང་འདུས་ for helping me with a few text recordings and transcriptions. A word of thanks is due to Phurpa Tshering ཕུར་པ་ཚེ་རིང་ who also participated in listing lexical items by semantic domains, as well as answering questions related to material culture and Brokpa kinship system; and also to Pema Tshewang པད་མ་ཚེ་དབང་, a native of Joenkhar in Sakteng, who works as a news reporter at the Bhutan Broadcasting Service for similar contributions. Thanks are also due to Kezang Choden for the substantial data that she provided, and explaining the local history and cultural practices. In fact, all the people given in Table 2 of §1.9.2 have directly helped me providing stories and/or answering questions related to their language and culture. I would like to express my sincere thanks to each and every one of them.

On the intellectual support front, I would like to mention that this grammar was completed under the direct supervision of Distinguished Professor Alexandra Aikhenvald and Professor R. M. W. Dixon. Professor Aikhenvald was my Primary Advisor and Professor Dixon my Secondary Advisor from beginning until the last couple of months before my study was completed. Professor Aikhenvald read the draft of every chapter of this grammar, two or more times, provided insightful comments, corrected many points, and suggested better ideas and references. Her contributions to my study are

absolutely invaluable and can never be adequately acknowledged. I had a reading course on Basic Linguistic Theory with Professor Dixon for the first six months of my study programme at the LCRC, and I had one-to-one discussions with him on a weekly basis. Professor Dixon explained all linguistic theoretical terms and concepts, related them to cross-linguistic typological parameters, and answered every single question I had. In addition, Professor Dixon read the papers that I wrote during my study programme at the LCRC, and provided especially helpful comments. Professor Dixon also read the whole draft of this grammar and gave insightful comments and suggestions on many sections of the grammar. I have benefited considerably from the supreme level of scholarship and sky-high intellectual abilities of Professor Aikhenvald and Professor Dixon. All shortcomings and errors in this grammar are my own.

I would like to express my gratitude to Distinguished Professor Sean Ulm for assuming the role of my Primary Advisor for the last couple of months of my PhD candidature at JCU, providing all the administrative support, and facilitating successful completion. I would like to acknowledge Dr Simon Overall, University of Otago, New Zealand for assuming the role of my Secondary Advisor in the last two months. Dr Overall has read the whole draft of my grammar and gave a highly positive critical review for my pre-completion evaluation.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to David Ellis who kindly helped me with all my logistical needs during fieldworks, international travels, as well as during my study period at the JCU. I am immensely grateful to him for his unstinting support. I would also like to thank Professor Hilary Whitehouse, Professor Rosita Henry, and Dr Brigitta Flick for their loving care, support, and guidance during my stay in Cairns. The world becomes a beautiful place to live in with beautiful people around. I would like to thank all my colleagues at the Language and Culture Research Centre for their comments and ideas over the years.

Thanks are also due to Professor George van Driem དཀོ་བཤེས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་འོད་ཟེར་, Dr Gwendolyn Hyslop, and Dr Steve Watters for their contributions to the study of

Bhutanese languages. I especially want to thank them for visiting the LCRC and making presentations on topics relevant to my study. I have learned a lot from all of their works.

Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge my family. Without my wife Yeshi Pelden's unflagging support, love, and friendship I would not have had the energy to complete this study successfully. The road to the end of this study programme has been rather bumpy, and I would have easily turned back if it was not for her words of encouragement. Special thanks also go to my three children— my elder daughter Damchoe Dema and her husband Karma Yoezer, and my younger daughter Kezang Choden— for their support and encouragement. They have been the source of my energy and motivation. Finally, I would like to extend my gratitude to all my friends and relatives for their goodwill and best wishes.

STATEMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF OTHERS

Nature of Assistance	Contribution	Name
	Proposal writing	Distinguished Professor Alexandra Aikhenvald, Professor R. M. W. Dixon
Intellectual support	Data Analysis	comments from Distinguished Professor Alexandra Aikhenvald, Professor R. M. W. Dixon
	Editorial assistance	Distinguished Professor Alexandra Aikhenvald, Professor R. M. W. Dixon, Dr Brigitta Flick (Editorial Assistant), Bruce Allen (Editorial Assistant)
	Seminars and journal publications	Distinguished Professor Aikhenvald (provided comments), Professor Dixon (provided comments), Dr Brigitta Flick (Editorial Assistant), Jolene Overall (Editorial Assistant), Betsy Bradshaw (Editorial Assistant)
Financial support	Fee offset/waiver	Fee waiver granted by JCU
	Research costs	Research funded through MRP policy, JCU, and competitive grants under the name of Dist Prof Aikhenvald as CI (ARC, DAAD)
	Stipend	Research Training Program (RTP) Scholarship
Administrative support	administrative processes	Distinguished Professor Sean Ulm
Logistical support	Organization of travel, preparation for fieldwork, and acquittals	Mr David Ellis
Data collection	Brokpa language data and language consultancy	Native speakers of Brokpa (as stated in Acknowledgements and §1.9.2)

ABSTRACT

This is a comprehensive reference grammar of Brokpa, a Trans-Himalayan (Tibeto-Burman) language spoken by around 5,000 people, mostly in Bhutan and in small parts of Northeast India. The study is based on the data collected during seven months of immersion fieldwork, two short fieldwork stints, and participant observation over several years. Cast in terms of Basic Linguistic Theory, this thesis analyses the core areas of the Brokpa language including its phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse-pragmatic features.

Brokpa has 39 consonant and eight basic vowel phonemes. Five of the basic vowels are contrastive for length. There are four phonation types: unaspirated voiceless, aspirated voiceless, breathy-voiced, and voiced phonation. Brokpa has two register tones— high and low—, which are lexically contrastive on words with certain onset series. In words with obstruent initials, register tone is a function of 'onset voice effect', and can inherently be of high register or low register. Typically, high register tone is associated with unaspirated voiceless and aspirated voiceless phonation types, and the low register tone is typically associated with breathy-voiced and voiced phonation types.

Brokpa has large open word classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and a semi-open class of adverbs. In addition, there are at least eleven closed classes which have distinct grammatical properties and occupy different functional slots within a clause. Grammatical categories typically associated with nouns include case, number, definiteness, and evaluative morphology; and grammatical categories typically associated with verbs include polarity, aspect, modality, and knowledge. There are four categories of knowledge namely egophoricity, evidentiality, mirativity, and epistemic

modality. Evidentiality is further divided into direct, inferred, reported, and factual evidentiality.

The prototypical function of a noun is as head of an NP, and for a verb it is as head of a predicate. An adjective prototypically functions as modifier to a head noun, serves as parameter of comparison in comparative constructions, and takes comparative and superlative marking. An adverb modifies a verb, an adjective, another adverb, or a clause.

Brokpa uses a system of cases to mark its core and peripheral arguments, and further employs postpositional relator nouns to mark spatial and temporal peripheral arguments. The case-marking system prototypically works in terms of an absolutive-ergative scheme. S and O are marked in the same way with zero case for absolutive, and A differently by ergative case. CS and CC are zero-marked like S and O, and unlike A.

Pragmatics and semantics may affect the case-marking pattern. For example, O argument may take differential case marking if it is in contrastive focus and/or high in prominence. Similarly, S argument of an intransitive but volitional verb may take non-zero case (control) marking. An A argument may be left unmarked if it is topicalized or in a cleft-focus construction.

The notion of subject in Brokpa can be determined according to various syntactic properties it exhibits including the obligatory requirement of a second person addressee in A or S function in canonical imperative constructions, and its antecedent control over reflexive and reciprocal pronouns.

Clause types in terms of predicate structure are divided into clauses with verbal predicates and copula predicates. Clause types with verbal predicates include intransitive, transitive, extended intransitive, and extended transitive clauses. Brokpa has several copulas which function as a copula predicate taking two core arguments, CS and CC, and marking the semantic relations of Identity, Attribution, Possession, or

Location in a copula clause. The copula inherently expresses knowledge categories in copula constructions.

The same set of copulas function as grammaticalized markers of knowledge, where it applies to a predicate with a lexical verb stem as head, in what is referred to as 'epistemological clause' in Brokpa.

Clause types by speech acts or sentence mood include declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses. Imperative mood includes the canonical second person imperative used for giving direct commands, and the non-canonical first-person imperative used for expressing commands to oneself or with another participant(s). Brokpa also has a third-person imperative to express indirect commands.

Second person imperative includes polite imperative, precative or requestative, strong imperative, and prohibitive or negative imperative. Interrogative mood is shown by a content interrogative, or a polar interrogative. Brokpa has at least eight different types of content interrogatives, which relate to different word classes including nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, but they have a shared function of converting a statement clause into an interrogative one, to which an answer is always expected. A polar interrogative is expressed by using a polar particle at the end of a clause or simply by a rising intonation clause-finally, or both.

Brokpa has two forms of negation marker. One form is used to negate verbal predicates of declarative clauses in perfective aspect, and the other in imperfective aspect; the former is used to express negative imperatives or prohibitives.

Relative clauses and complement clauses are closely associated with nominalization, in that a relative clause modifying the common argument within a relative clause construction is realized by nominalization. Likewise, complement clauses filling an argument slot are also realized by nominalization.

Constituent order in Brokpa is prototypically predicate-final in main clauses, and strictly predicate-final in dependent clauses. The constituent order in a copula

clause is fairly strict, with the copula predicate always occurring clause-finally, and the CC almost always immediately preceding it.

Brokpa employs case markers, relator nouns, conjunctions derived from lexical and grammatical elements, or simply apposition to link clauses within a sentence, and sentences within a stretch of discourse. Three types of bridging constructions are used as devices for linking sentences and providing discourse cohesion between successive paragraphs or discourse units. They include recapitulating linkage, summary linkage, and mixed linkage. In a recapitulating linkage, the predicate of the last clause, or the whole clause, of the preceding sentence is repeated as the dependent clause of the following sentence. In a summary linkage, a demonstrative and a generic verb are used anaphorically to summarize the actions of the previous sentence. A mixed linkage employs a combination of the recapitulating and summary linkages.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following table gives the abbreviations used in this document.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	transitive subject
ABIL	abilitative modality
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADJ	adjective/adjectival
ADDRE	addressee (semantic role)
ADV	adverb(ial)
AGTV	agentive (nominalization)
AGENT	agent (semantic role)
ALL	allative
APPROX	approximative
AROUND	around (relator)
ASPL	associative plural
ASSERT	assertive
AUG	augmentative
BASE	base (relator)
BDL	bundle (classifier)
CA	common argument (MC and RC)
CAN	canonical (imperative)
CAUS	causative
CAUSER	causer (semantic role)
CC	copula complement
CL	classifier
CNSV	concessive
CNTV	connective
COCL	complement clause
COCLM	complement clause marker
COGIT	cogitator (semantic role)
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
COMPAR	comparee
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
MARK	mark of comparison
MASC	masculine
MC	main clause
MED	medial clause
MEDIUM	medium (semantic role)
MESG	message (semantic role)
MIDL	middle (relator)
MIR	mirative
MOD	modal
MOM	moment (relator)
MONEY	money (classifier, specific)
MOVING	moving (semantic role)
N	noun
NCAN	non-canonical (imperative)
NECES	necessitative modality
NEG	negation
NEGCOP	negative copula
NEGEXIST	negative existential verb
NONEGO	non-egophoric
NF	non-finite
NOM	nominative
NOMZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NUMB	number
NUMCL	numeral classifier
O	transitive object
OBLIG	modality of obligation
OCN	occasion (relator)
ONO	onomatopoeia
OPT	optative
OVL	oval (classifier)
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PAST	past
PERCR	perceiver (semantic role)
PERI	peripheral (argument)
PERM	permission (modality)

CONT	continuous
CONTENT	content (question)
CONTROL	controller
COP	copula
CPR	copula predicate
CS	copula subject
CYL	cylindrical (classifier)
D	possessed
DAT	dative
DC	dependent clause
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direction (relator)
DIRECT	direct (or visual) evidential
DISJ	disjunctive (connective)
DIST	distal
DOM	differential object marking
DONOR	donor (semantic role)
DU	dual
DUR	durative
E	extended argument
EGO	egophoric
ELG	elongated (classifier)
EMPH	emphasis
ERG	ergative
EVT	event (nominalization)
EVID	evidential
EXH	exhortative
EXIST	existential verb
EXPER	experiencer (semantic role)
FACT	factual (knowledge distinction)
FC	focal clause
FEM	feminine
FIN	finite
FINAL	clause-final marker
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GIFT	gift (semantic role)
GNR	general (classifier)
HEAD	head NP or argument
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
HUMAN	human (semantic role)
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
IMPERV	imperfective
PERV	perfective
PL	plural
POLANS	polar answer
POLAR	polar (question)
POLITE	polite particle
POSS	possessive
POSSIB	possibilitative modality
POST	postposition
POTEN	potential modality
PRECAT	precative (mood)
PRED	predicative
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PROSP	prospective
PROX	proximal
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
PURP	purposive
Q	question particle
QUANT	quantifier
QUOT	quotative
R	possessor
RC	relative clause
REAL	realis
RECIP	reciprocal
RECIPT	recipient (semantic role)
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative clause marker
RELAT	relator
REP	reported
RES	resultative
REST	resting (semantic role)
RHEQ	rhetorical question
RT	relative time
S	intransitive subject
SA	'active' S, marked like A
SC	supporting clause
SELF	self-pronoun
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SIMI	similative
SLDR	slender (classifier)
SPEAKER	speaker (semantic role)
STIMU	stimulus (semantic role)
SUBST	substance (semantic role)
SUPER	superlative
SURF	surface (relator)

IMPRES	impression (semantic role)
INDEF	indefinite
INFER	inferred
INSD	inside (relator)
INST	instrumental
INTENS	intensifier
INTENT	intentional modality
INTJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IPR	intransitive predicate
LK	linker
LOC	locative case
LOCTV	locative (nominalization)
LOCUS	locus (semantic role)
MANR	manner (nominalization)
TAG	tag (question)
TARGET	target (semantic role)
THOUGHT	thought (semantic role)
TIP	tip (relator)
TOP	topic
TPR	transitive predicate
TR	transitive
UNDS	underside (relator)
UNTIL	until (relator)
V	verb
VCC	verbless clause complement
VICI	vicinity (relator)
VOC	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Chapter 1

The language and its speakers

This chapter focuses on non-linguistic aspects of Brokpa society, while the other chapters of the grammar will deal with its linguistic parameters. These are mutually reinforcing. On the one hand, linguistic parameters fulfil a useful role in understanding the non-linguistic parameters including history, religion, customs, ideas, beliefs, social behaviour, and material cultural aspects of the speakers; on the other, the non-linguistic features of the language can shed light on language structure and usage.

1.1 General introduction

Bhutan is situated on the Eastern edge of the Himalayas having a common border with Tibet to the north and a long border with India touching four states: Arunachal Pradesh in the east, Sikkim west, and Assam and West Bengal to the south.

Figure 1. Bhutan and her international borders

The Brokpa language is one of nineteen native languages in Bhutan (see Figure 19). Dzongkha is the national language of Bhutan while Brokpa is spoken in Eastern Bhutan and in small parts of Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. Specifically in Eastern Bhutan, the Brokpa language is spoken in the highlands of Merak and its nearby tiny villages of Gengo, Khashateng, and Khiliphu; and it is spoken in Sakteng and its outlying villages of Thrakthri, Joenkhar, and Moorbi. In Northeast India, the Brokpa language is spoken in the small villages of Lubrung, Dirme, Sumrang, Nyokmadung, Undra, and Sengedrong in the West Kameng District and in Lagam, Mago, Thingbu, and Lakuthang in the Tawang District (see Dondrup 1993). The Brokpa villages, in Bhutan as well as in India, are widely scattered and are separated by high mountains, dense forests, and fast-flowing rivers. The Brokpa village of Lubrang, located on the Indian side of the border, is only about five hours' walk from the Brokpa village of Sakteng in Bhutan.

Based on the National Population and Housing Census of Bhutan, taken in 2005, the total number of Brokpa speakers in Merak is 1,621 (876 males and 745 females) and in Sakteng it is 2,072 (1,078 males and 994 females). Thus the total number of native Brokpa speakers in Bhutan adding up to 3,693 was about 0.55 percent of the country's then population of 672,425 people. Note the population of Bhutan, as of 2017, has increased to 727,145 (NSB 2018).The total number of native Brokpa speakers in Arunachal Pradesh in India, reported by Dondrup (1993) based on the 1981 census, was 1,855. This combined total of Brokpa speakers in Bhutan and India, although recorded in different years, indicates around 5,548 native speakers of the language.

In this study, the toponym Merak is employed to refer to the main village of Merak and its nearby Brokpa villages; likewise, the toponym Sakteng is employed to refer to the main village of Sakteng and its outlying Brokpa villages. However, when a discussion warrants a specific reference, an individual village name may be employed. Administratively, all the Brokpa villages of Bhutan are under the jurisdiction

of the Sakteng Sub-district which is within the Trashigang District administration (see §1.6.1).

The two main villages of Merak and Sakteng have a hospital (Basic Health Unit) and a primary school each and the other smaller Brokpa villages have community schools and community health clinics. A rising number of students who started their education from their village schools have entered higher education and many have secured gainful employment in the government as well as in private companies and live in the capital city and other parts of Bhutan. Quite recently, these Brokpa-speaking villages have been connected to the national electricity grid, and have been linked to international telecommunications.

The Brokpa villages are in direct contact with the Tshangla-speaking villages of Radhi, Phongme, Khaling, and Shingkhar Lauri; and with the Dakpa-speaking villages of Chaleng, Thongrong, and Phajo Gonpa. There is a rough side road diverging from the main road of Radhi leading right up to the Merak villages, while another notoriously bumpy road stretches from Phongme—a partly Tshangla-speaking and partly Dakpa-speaking village—up as far as Sakteng. Currently, there is no direct road linking Merak and Sakteng, and these two major Brokpa-speaking villages are spatially separated by a towering mountain known as Nyakshungla.

Legend has it that when the Brokpa ancestors were migrating to present-day Merak, they had to cross over the lofty mountain of Nyakshungla. The climb up this steep mountain was so gruelling and tedious that some of the Brokpa ancestors became utterly exhausted and were forced to give up their journey. Those ancestors who were physically exhausted returned to settle in present-day Sakteng, located at a much lower altitude than Merak and those who did successfully cross that mountain settled in present-day Merak. There is a well-known saying in the Brokpa language associated with this mountain:

(1) ta ɲakpa=e Nyakshungla mí ɲakpa=e Nyakshungla
horse exhaust=ERG Nyakshungla person exhaust=ERG Nyakshungla
"It is called Nyakshungla because the horses were exhausted; it is called Nyakshung because the humans were exhausted'

The name of this mountain Nyakshungla, pronounced [ˈɲək.ɕʊŋ.lɐ], is based on the verb root *ɲak* 'to exhaust, to make somebody feel tired'. Note that the ergative case marking on the verb root *ɲak* functions as a clause linker (see Chapter 15).

The distance between Merak and Sakteng, in a beeline, is just fifteen kilometres, but it takes half a day to walk from Merak to Sakteng and nearly one day in the opposite direction. The substantial difference of time between the outward and the return journey on foot is that from Merak, after a short climb, the footpath descends sharply to Sakteng village and one can walk quite swiftly; whereas it is a long and arduous climb from Sakteng to Merak. In either direction, one has to make a lengthy detour around the Nyakshungla mountain.

The people of Merak and Sakteng identify themselves as Brokpa and they say that their early ancestors originally migrated from a place called Tshona (this place name is now transcribed, and marked on the world map, as Cona) in Southeastern Tibet. This historical information persisted down the centuries, through oral tradition and later through the mixed medium of oral tradition and a few handwritten records. One such handwritten record quite difficult to decipher is the biography of Ama Jomo. Ama Jomo is now worshipped as the patron deity of the Brokpa people. She was an exceptionally accomplished Brokpa ancestral woman who suggested how to end the cruel oppression the Brokpa people were suffering at the hands of a local tyrant in Tibet. Going further back, according to Ama Jomo's biography, the early ancestors of Brokpa are believed to have descended from a race of birds (see §1.2.11).

The autodenomination *brok-pa* means 'pastureland people', which is evidently formed by adding the polyfunctional morpheme *-pa*, functioning as a non-word-class-changing derivational suffix in this instance, to the root *brok* meaning 'pastureland'.

This same autodenomination appears in the biography of Ama Jomo, written three and a quarter centuries ago, so it probably existed long before written records and has been exquisitely preserved from antiquity to the present day. This is a name steeped in history, with pure cultural and social values, which the Brokpa generation of today proudly hold onto and cherish. The speakers of Tshangla, the language which Brokpa is in direct contact with, also refer to them by that name or by their toponymic denomination Merak-Saktengpa 'People of Merak-Sakteng'.

The speakers of Dzongkha—a language that belongs to the same subgroup as Brokpa—refer to the people of Merak and Sakteng as *bʤo:p*, commencing with the postalveolar affricate /bdʒ/, and sometimes by combining it with their toponym *Merak Sakteng=gi bʤo:p* employing the genitive and expressing the meaning of 'the *bʤo:p* of Merak and Sakteng'. The use of this toponymic combination is to distinguish the speakers of Brokpa and the speakers of some other Central Bodish languages of Bhutan including Brokkat and Layakha, which are also commonly referred to as *bʤo:p*. While this palatalized and syllable-reduced variant *bʤo:p* must carry the same meaning as *brokpa*, the term *bʤo:p* seems to have acquired negative connotations. Therefore, this rather demeaning and derogatory exonym *bʤo:p* is best avoided.

There is no single lexicalized denomination to refer to the Brokpa language. The Brokpa language name is derived by following the common practice of adding the native term for 'language' to the name of the ethnicity. There are two lexemes with a meaning 'language': *kæ* and *k^{h}a*.[1] The term *kæ* also means 'voice', and *k^{h}a* has additional meanings including 'mouth' and 'opening'. These terms can be added to the root word *brokpa*, deriving *Brokpakæ* and *Brokpakha* respectively. The native speakers also refer to their language descriptively by employing genitive constructions—*Brokpa=i kæ, Brokpa=i k^{h}a, Brokpa=gi kæ,* all meaning 'the language of Brokpa'. The speakers of Tshangla refer to the Brokpa language as *Brokpalo,* by adding its own native term *lo* 'language' to *brokpa* or refer to it descriptively as *Merak Saktengpa lo* 'language of

[1] Please read the vowel *æ* as /æ/ throughout this thesis.

Merak and Sakteng'. The speakers of Dzongkha and some other languages of Bhutan, who refer to the Brokpa people as *bʤoːp*, refer to the Brokpa language as *bʤokʰa* or descriptively as *bʤoba=i kæ* or *bʤoba=i kʰa*. The same caveat, that of sounding derogatory, must be noted.

In this study, the term 'Brokpa'—a long-established ethnic name of the people of Merak and Sakteng—is employed to refer to the people as well as to their language. This has to be a good choice since it is economical and also it is an autodenomination. However, the pronunciation of 'Brokpa' has to be in accordance with the standard native pronunciation ['brok.pɐ]. The is because, based on the traditional Classical Tibetan and written Dzongkha spelling <'brog pa>, one can easily be led to pronounce it erroneously as ['ɖok.pɐ]. Many speakers of other languages who are literate in Classical Tibetan and written Dzongkha use this spelling-based pronunciation. In fact, the term *bʤoːp* is a palatalization and contraction of this spelling-based pronunciation ['ɖok.pɐ].

Brokpa does not have a script of its own; however, Brokpa can be written using two traditional scripts— Uchen and Joyig (see §1.2.4). Even though all Tibeto-Burman (Trans-Himalayan) languages of Bhutan can be written using these two scripts, a popular tradition of using Classical Tibetan as the literary counterpart for all Bhutanese languages has evolved. More recently, following the introduction of a literary tradition for Dzongkha, both Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha came to be employed as the literary counterparts for all the languages of Bhutan. Brokpa has been no exception to this rule. Brokpa retains much of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman initial consonant clusters and the final consonants (see among others, Shafer 1966:74–77; Benedict 1972:96–98; and Matisoff 2003:247–490 on Proto-Tibeto-Burman phonotactics); and the orthography of the Classical Tibetan could be applied to Brokpa with greater efficiency than to many other Bodish languages in the Himalayas.

Currently, the use of Brokpa language by the members of its community is reasonably active, and it is spoken on a day-to-day basis in all spheres of life. But this

optimistic scenario is exclusively confined to their permanent village setting. Once outside the domain of their permanent settlements, the Brokpa people are quickly exposed to Tshangla, one of the two lingua francas of Bhutan the other being the national language Dzongkha. The overwhelming dominance of Tshangla language over Brokpa language is clear from the fact that almost all the Brokpa speakers have excellent command of Tshangla, whereas few, if any, Tshangla speakers can demonstrate even a rudimentary knowledge of Brokpa.

Brokpa is also in close contact with Dakpa (Takpa, Dwags), an East Bodish language (see Shafer 1966:2; van Driem 2001; and Hyslop 2013), both within Bhutan as well as across on the Indian side of the border. Dakpa—known as Brami to the speakers of Tshangla and other languages of Eastern Bhutan—has nearly twice the number of speakers as Brokpa, if all the Dakpa speakers in Northeast India, Southern Tibet, and Eastern Bhutan are counted.

In Bhutan, Dakpa is spoken in the villages of Chaleng, Yobinang, and Lengkhar which are all within a few hours' walking distance from Merak. Some of these Dakpa villages are actually much closer to Merak than other Brokpa villages. Dakpa is also spoken in Thongrong which is located in the immediate vicinity of the Brokpa villages of Joenkhar and Moorbi. In India, Dakpa is spoken mainly in the Tawang district. In fact, an Indian Dakpa village known as Mokto is just about three hours' walk from the Brokpa village of Sakteng. Interestingly, the Brokpa people call the Dakpa speakers of Bhutan Brami; while they refer to the speakers of the same Dakpa language in Northeast India as Monpa. The Brokpas of Bhutan also call their fellow Brokpa speakers in Northeast India Monpa.

Although these three language communities—Brokpa, Dakpa, and Tshangla—have been in close contact for centuries, Brokpa and Dakpa share a closer affinity than either shares with Tshangla in terms of culture, dress, food, lifestyle, and more importantly language. And it is not at all uncommon for intermarriage to take place between

Brokpas and Dakpas, while intermarriage between Tshangla and either of these two communities is exceptionally rare.

When a Brokpa speaker and a Dakpa speaker talk to each other, one can observe occasional instances of code-mixing of their two languages and both speakers appear to adequately understand each other. Unlike the case with Tshangla speakers, the Brokpa speakers and the Dakpa speakers can achieve a good level of competence in each other's language, and so a majority of the Brokpa and Dakpa speakers are trilingual in these languages—Brokpa, Dakpa, and Tshangla.

Perhaps this kind of close affinity between Brokpa and Dakpa led Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) to report that the latter could be a dialect of the former. However, Dakpa has been long suggested as an East Bodish language and Brokpa a Central Bodish language within the Tibeto-Burman language family (see §1.7). So far, there has been no comprehensive grammatical description of Dakpa, and this will be the first comprehensive study of Brokpa based on immersion fieldwork and participant observation. Until a comprehensive study is carried out on Dakpa, it will be difficult to explain the similarities or the differences between Dakpa and Brokpa. The lexical similarity between these two languages can be quite considerable whether it is as a result of long contact or as a result of distant common origin. This is also the case between other Tibeto-Burman languages in the region irrespective of their subgroupings.

Brokpa has been identified as belonging to the Central Bodish subgroup, alongside Dzongkha, within the Trans-Himalayan (Tibeto-Burman) language family (see §1.7). Based on the shared and regular corresponding forms with other Central Bodish languages such as Dzongkha and Classical Tibetan, this study confirms the placement of Brokpa within this phylogenetic subgroup (§1.7). Although Brokpa and Dzongkha are not geographically contiguous, many people from the Brokpa-speaking areas, particularly the younger generation, migrate to the capital city Thimphu and other Dzongkha-speaking regions of the country to find favourable opportunities. It has become quite

an observable phenomenon that a Brokpa speaker can quickly become a competent Dzongkha speaker.

In terms of linguistic situation, Brokpa is under pressure from the two lingua francas of Bhutan, the national language Dzongkha and my language Tshangla. My specific aims in studying Brokpa are to produce a comprehensive grammar of this language, while it is sufficiently vigorous and to write a number of journal papers and book chapters on this language, in order to build a body of literature on it. This is to provide a basis for pursuing synchronic and diachronic comparison with other Bodish languages including Chöke (Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan),[2] Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan, Tshangla, and other languages in the Himalayas. The broad or the general aim is to contribute to the scientific study of human languages, and to enhance our understanding of human languages. My overall aims in the study of this language are as follows:

1. To contribute to the scientific study of human languages, and to enhance our understanding of the diversity of linguistic structures across the languages of the Trans-Himalayan domain.
2. To put forward inductive generalizations concerning the structure of the lesser known Trans-Himalayan languages.
3. To contribute toward the knowledge base of the discipline of linguistics, especially linguistic typology, and also cultural anthropology, with a focus on correlations between language and culture.
4. To foster intuitive awareness among the native speakers, with an aim to foster language maintenance and preservation. This is especially to create awareness among the younger generation of the importance of preserving their own language by taking pride in speaking their own language and ensuring its unbroken continuity.

[2] Note that the term Chöke [ˈtɕʰø.kɛː] literally meaning 'dharma language' is conveniently used to include both Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan, especially in Bhutan.

It must be emphasized that this study was primarily motivated by the love for the science of linguistics and a desire to describe a language the way it is and relate to the cross-linguistic typological parameters, along the lines of Dixon (2010a:12).

1.2 History and religion

This section gives an account of the local history and the religious beliefs and cultural aspects, which are important for understanding the Brokpa language.

1.2.1 Local history

The history of the Brokpa people is inextricably linked to two legendary figures—Ama Jomo [ˈʔɐ.mɐ.ˈdʑɔ.mo] and Lama Jarepa [ˈlé.mɐ.ˈdʑɐ.ɾɛ.pɐ]. Ama Jomo was a remarkably wise woman who skillfully orchestrated the removal of a despotic ruler and the following migration of the Brokpa ancestors from Tshona to the present-day Brokpa settlement areas in eastern Bhutan. Ama Jomo is believed to have been an emanation of the Goddess Remati, also known as Palden Lhamo 'Glorious Goddess', who is considered to be the principal female protecting deity of Buddhism in the Himalayas. Today, the Brokpa people of Merak and Sakteng worship Ama Jomo as their patron deity (see §1.5.5).

Lama Jarepa was a learned Buddhist saint who together with Ama Jomo was instrumental in guiding and protecting the Brokpa ancestors during their mass migration to Bhutan. The lineage of Lama Jarepa is continued to this day through a line of successive reincarnations, in accordance with the Buddhist tradition, bearing the title 'Kushu Guru'. Further discussion on the reincarnated lineages of Lama Jarepa is in §1.2.3. Local folklore has it that both Ama Jomo and Lama Jarepa were already regarded as divine beings by their Brokpa contemporaries. Today Lama Jarepa is lovingly venerated as the spiritual master and Ama Jomo as the protecting deity.

There is only scant information about the origin of the Brokpa in contemporary records. The only available source is a biography of Ama Jomo, undoubtedly written some centuries later. The original handwritten biographical text would have been engraved on woodblocks even later since xylographic copies can be found in the hands of some Brokpa families today.

In the literary tradition of Classical Tibetan, the style of providing information about authorship is unique and the details such as date, year, and sources, are provided in-text quite often figuratively or in verses, rather than in the normal language. Only the pen name or a cognomen of the author may be provided. The biography of Ama Jomo also follows the same style giving a statement of authorship somewhere in the middle.

The author of the Ama Jomo biography introduces himself as a Mon monk by the name of Lama Wang (*Lama* is an honorific title applied to the spiritual head of a Buddhist monastery or to a high-ranking Buddhist monk, as in Lama Jarepa). Beyond a shadow of a doubt, this Lama Wang was a native Brokpa. This can be easily deduced from his opening sentence, which states: "If I recount the history of my ancestors…..". It is most likely that Lama Wang was a Buddhist monk registered either at Tawang monastery in the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh or at another monastery there, because he describes himself as a 'Mon monk'. That region, as stated earlier in §1.1, is referred to as Monyul 'Valley of Mon' and its inhabitants as 'Monpa' by the Brokpa people today as it would have been in Lama Wang's time. Lama Wang mentions the year in which he drafted the biography as: "Fire Male Rat Year of twelfth *rabdʑuŋ*, two thousand five hundred and seventy-two years after the passing away of Buddha". The *rabdʑuŋ* is a sexagenary cycle used in the Bhutanese and Tibetan calendar system starting in the early eleventh century. Today we are in the seventeenth *rabdʑuŋ* cycle, which makes the Fire Male Rat Year of the twelfth *rabdʑuŋ* cycle the period between 1696 and 1697 in the Julian calendar. The handwritten biography is an impressive three-and-a-quarter centuries old document.

Lama Wang makes a brief mention of the source material he used for writing the biography: "This brief history that I have noted is a compilation of whatever sources I could gather and whatever knowledge my fellow monk-brothers, the learned disciples of the Ten Commandments of Buddha, possessed". Lama Wang's use of a phrase approximately meaning 'compilation' in English, indicates without doubt that he used source materials written before his time period, and that he consulted some of his learned fellow monks.

The biography of Ama Jomo is written in an interesting mix of Classical Tibetan and native Brokpa language, as spoken at that time, and it is not easy to interpret the language today both in terms of sound and meaning. Any interesting snippets of information relating to the ancient history of the Brokpa people and their early migration to Bhutan, gathered by the English-literate outsiders and disseminated in a few pieces of published and online literature so far, are based on sources available mainly through oral tradition; or provided by someone who might have read the biography of Ama Jomo and interpreted it quite liberally. As would be expected of oral narratives, the content and sequence of events in different oral sources often contradict each other.

The history of the Brokpa people, the ancient myth about their early origin and migration from Tibet to Bhutan, is reconstructed here using some crucial information given in the biography of Ama Jomo. It is further reinforced with the careful analyses of oral accounts provided by village elders and lamas.

As mentioned in the biography of Ama Jomo, the Brokpa people trace their ancestry to Lyonpo Nachenpo, one of the divinely-emanated ministers of the seventh-century Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo. Lyonpo Nachenpo <blon po sna chen po> 'Minister Big Nose' is believed to have descended from <bya'i rgyal.po> 'king of birds' known as <'dap bzang dang gshog bzang> 'fine feathers and fine wings'. Legend has it that inside a cave called Yangleshö <yang le gshod> in present-day Nepal, a mythical bird <khyung> 'Garuda' laid an egg; and out of that egg emerged a baby boy, with conjoined limbs. That boy came to Tibet where he obtained the name <bya

khri gzigs> which is written, based on the sounds of the Classical Tibetan letters, as Jathrizik; and from him started the Brokpa human race. That boy acquired the title Ja ['dʑɐ] <bya> meaning 'bird', since he was the progeny of a bird. Four sons were born to Jathrizik, who all inherited the 'Ja' title. Then, separate lines of descent followed from those four siblings, some retaining the 'Ja' title and others not. Lyonpo Nachenpo was a descendant of one of these lines, someone without the 'Ja' title.

Down the line, Janak Nádum <bya nag sna dum>—popularly known as Drupthop Nádum <grub thob sna dum> (literally 'Saint with Torn Ear')—whose name remains always popular amongst the Brokpa people, was also born to one of the lineal descendants of those four siblings of Jathrizik. Lama Jarepa, the founding father of the Brokpa people of Merak and Sakteng, was a grandson of that renowned Janak Nádum.

It is said that, in accordance with a particular prophecy, Lama Jarepa came to reside in a place called Kamlönroksum <skom rlon rog gsum> in Tshona, Southeastern Tibet. Kamlonroksum, at that time, was ruled by a cruel chieftain called Yazang Ponpo <g.ya bzang dpon po> who occupied a formidable fortress known as Khardong Dzong <mkhar gdong rdzong>. The fortress was located close to a mountain ridge which was blocking out sunlight and keeping the fortress forever in the shade. One day the foolish tyrant had the absurd idea of somehow allowing the sunlight to make his fortress sparkle. Very soon Yazang Ponpo issued a peremptory command to the people of Kamlonroksum to chop down the high mountain ridge.

Utterly powerless, all the people of Kamlonroksum gathered and were trying to find ways and means of carrying out the command of the tyrant. Among the assembled crowd was a woman holding a baby, who under the pretence of cuddling the baby and singing a lullaby, uttered: "It will be easier to chop off a human head than chopping down a mountain head". The hidden meaning of the lullaby—to assassinate the tyrant—was unequivocally clear and readily understood by the crowd. That adept woman who sang the lullaby was later identified as Ama Jomo, now the patron deity of the Brokpa people.

Then, the people of Kamlonroksum planned the assassination of the tyrannical chieftain Yazang Ponpo, by arranging a grand banquet in his honour. Some people cooked wheat flour, some brewed alcoholic drinks from barley, while others killed yaks and roasted meat, and then they invited Yazang Ponpo as their honoured guest. While the chieftain was partaking of the sumptuous feast, some people offered him alcohol and made him drunk. Then an elderly man stood up and delivered a speech saying: "You young ones, who are good at singing must sing and who are good at dancing must perform a dance for our chieftain". Some broke into songs while others danced. Yazang Ponpo gradually sank into a drunken stupor with all the delicious food, drinks and entertainment and, picking that opportune moment, some young men stood up and cut off his head.

In the immediate aftermath of the assassination, the Brokpa community decided to flee into exile, fearing the bloody reprisals they were bound to suffer. Living in Kamlonroksum in Tibet became impossible for the Brokpa people. So, some of the people secretly approached Lama Jarepa and begged him to leave with them as their spiritual guide. Lama Jarepa advised the people to make the same request to Ama Jomo. Therefore, the people asked Ama Jomo who was more than ready and willing to leave with her people.

The Brokpa people made all the necessary preparations and set out on a journey *en masse* with Lama Jarepa and Ama Jomo as their spiritual leaders, carrying whatever worldly possessions they could, including volumes of sacred Buddhist scriptures, artefacts, food, clothes, and livestock. It was a long and sorrowful journey with no intended destination. The exodus of people blindly moved on and, whenever they found themselves stranded on the way, they obediently followed the advice of Lama Jarepa and Ama Jomo. They had to pass over many steep hills, rugged mountains, and had to cross fierce rivers; sometimes, the people had to deliberately force their yaks down the cliffs as there were no footpaths to follow.

The Brokpa exodus moved from one location to another, sometimes building temporary dwelling houses on the way and living there for short durations, and then moving on. In this way, they gradually came across a mountain area in the upper valley of a place called Lungshambi <lung sham bi>. Lama Jarepa named this mountain as 'Pema Gosum' <pad ma mgo gsum> , the nearby mountain lake as 'Yutsho Ngonmo' <g.yu mtsho sngon mo>, and the path leading to the mountain as Dzalam Karpo <rdza lam dkar po>. At Pemagosum Mountain, the Brokpa exodus formally split into two groups—Sharpa Tshensum <shar pa tshan gsum> meaning 'Three Divisions of Easterners' and Nupa Dingzhi <nub pa lding bzhi> roughly meaning 'Four Circles of Westerners'. These two groups moved in different directions and settled in various places.

The Sharpa Tshensum group travelled eastwards and settled in an area which is today within the jurisdiction of the Northeast Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. (All the villages in Northeast India today were originally known by different names). The members of Núpa Dingzhi—the major group—moved westward and established early settlements in two places known as Kemanyak Latse <skye ma nyag la tse> and Galep Shanden <sga leb shan ldan>. Lama Jarepa founded a seat at a place called Nyamgateng <nyams dga' steng>. Since those two places were not suitable for permanent settlements, the members of Núpa Dingzhi journeyed further and some of them permanently settled in and around Sakteng.

All the Brokpa villages in and around Sakteng today were also originally known by different names. Local legend has it that, originally, all the members of Núpa Dinzhi group intended to travel to present-day Merak and settle there, but some of them got exhausted while ascending the Nyakshungla mountain, as pointed out in §1.1, and, based on oral sources, were forced to turn back from a place called Londrojong literally 'Valley of Return', located on the lower half of the mountain slope. However, there is no mention of some people returning from Londrojong in the biography of Ama Jomo written by Lama Wang. Then the other members of the Núpa Dingzhi group moved

further on, crossing the Nyakshungla mountain, and founded permanent settlements in and around Merak.

The Ama Jomo biography does not provide the exact year in which the Brokpa people first came and settled in Bhutan, but it is possible to logically deduce the century in which they left Tibet by using some key events narrated in the biography. For example, it is stated in the biography that Drubthop Nadum met Karmapa Pakshi and offered some gifts. Karma Pakshi was second in the lineage of Karmapa, the head of one of the major schools of Buddhism called Karma Kagyu. Karmapa Pakshi lived from 1204 to 1283. Lama Jarepa, the spiritual father of the Brokpa people who guided them during their migration from Tibet to Bhutan, is said to be the grandson of Drubthop Nadum. The grandfather of Drupthop Nadum is said to have fought the Mongol invasion in Tibet, which started at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Accordingly, from the sequence of these two events, we can reasonably infer that the Brokpa people left Tibet either in the late thirteenth century or sometime in the early fourteenth century. It is clear that the Brokpa people moved away from their immediate Tibetan-speaking neighbours nearly 700 years back.

1.2.2 The etymology of Merak and Sakteng

The etymology of the village names of Merak and Sakteng are associated with the arrival of Ama Jomo and the Brokpa ancestors in these two places. Prior to their arrival in Sakteng, as can be inferred from the biography of Ama Jomo, the place was covered in a dense thicket of bamboo. As a result, the place came to be known as 'Sakteng', a compound of *sak* 'bamboo' and *teŋ* 'surface'.

Some of the Brokpa ancestors permanently settled in Sakteng while others moved further with Láma Jarepa and Ama Jomo, crossing the Nyakshungla mountain, and arrived at the location of the present-day Merak which was a tract of impenetrable woods. Ama Jomo and entourage built a fire on a small flatland to cook lunch. The

fire blazed out of control and swept through the entire woodland. Consequently, Ama Jomo named the place 'Merak', a compound of *me* 'fire' and the verb *r̥ak* 'to burn'.

The two place names, steeped in history and going back more than six centuries, reveal an important word-derivational process in the Brokpa language. The name Sakteng is the result of the morphological process of forming root compounds, a compound in which two nouns are juxtaposed without a verb base (see §8.1); and the name Merak is an instance of lexical compounding via noun incorporation, forming complex predicates by incorporating a noun within a lexical verb stem (see §12.10). The compound *me-r̥ak* can function as a complex verb stem meaning 'to burn', but the resulting form is a lexicalized locational noun Merak, after zero derivation and voicing of the rhotic /r̥/ have applied.

The verb *r̥ak*, the original source of the second component of the name *Merak*, reveals the presence of voiceless liquids in the language. Voicing contrast for sonorants, which includes rhotics and laterals, is supposed to be rare in languages (see Dixon 2010a:271).

1.2.3 Religion

The Brokpa people are devout Buddhists and, as is the case in the entire Himalayan region, they practice Tibetan Buddhism. The origin and the spread of this religious tradition amongst the Brokpa community can be linked to their ancestral history, to the time of Songtsen Gampo—the Dharma King of Tibet—who embraced Buddhism and introduced it in Tibet during the seventh century. Lyonpo Nachenpo (Minister Big Nose), one of the forefathers of the Brokpa people (§1.2.1), was a minister of that Dharma King of Tibet; and in all likelihood Buddhism among the Brokpa community would have been passed down through Lyonpo Nachenpo and through the forefathers of Lama Jarepa during the early spread of Buddhism in Tibet.

From the earliest times, Buddhism has been of cardinal importance in the life of Brokpa people. This can be noted from the fact that, prior to their departure from

Tibet, the Brokpa ancestors requested Lama Jarepa, a Buddhist saint, to lead them as their spiritual guide (§1.2.1). It was to ensure that the Brokpa people had a religious figure to bless them on the way as well as in their eventual dwelling places. As stated in §1.2.1, Lama Jarepa is critically important to the understanding of the history of the Brokpa people, their religion, and their close connection with the speakers of Dakpa of Arunachal Pradesh in India.

Lama Jarepa was believed to be an emanation or manifestation of Lhase Küntu Lekpa, the son of an enlightened female practitioner of Buddhism known by the name 'Khandro Drowa Zangmo' and the legendary King Kala Wangpo. The legend of Khandro Drowa Zangpo is extremely popular in Bhutan, in Tibet, and in Northeast India. In Bhutan, the story is taught in schools as part of classical literature and sometimes it is performed as drama. A brief plot summary of the story is as follows:

> Kala Wángpo is the king of a place known as Mendregang. The king has an evil queen called Dümo Hashang who is infertile. One day the king goes hunting in the woods with his dog and a team of attendants. All of a sudden, the king's hunting dog disappears mysteriously in the woods; and, while searching high and low for the missing dog, the king and his attendants come across a thatched hut of an elderly couple. The elderly couple has a dazzlingly beautiful daughter known as Khandro Drowa Zangpo who possesses a deep spiritual quality. The king, wielding his power, takes the young and beautiful Khandro Drowa Zangmo as his consort queen. Khandro Drowa Zangmo gives birth to a princess and a prince. The prince is Lhase Küntu Lekpa. The first queen Dümo Hashang feels bitter jealousy and hatches several plots to kill Khandro Drowa Zangmo who ultimately manages to flee to her parents, leaving behind her two children. Queen Hashang hires assassins to kill the young prince Lhase Küntu Lekpa and his sister. The assassins take the prince and the princess to a distant jungle and push them over a precipitous cliff. Both prince and princess survive the assassination but the two siblings land in different places. Lhase Küntu Lekpa goes in search of food and water and reaches a place known as Pemachen. The people of Pemachen crown Lhase Küntu Lekpa as their king. Then Lhase Küntu Lekpa wages war against Dümo Hashang and kills her, buries her body by a riverside, and erects a stupa over it as a sign of victory of good over evil.

Many of the events mentioned in this legend are believed to have taken place either in and around Merak and Sakteng or in the neighbouring Dakpa-speaking areas of Bhutan and Northeast India. There are today several places associated with this legend and are regarded as sacred by the Brokpa speakers as well as by the speakers of other languages in the neighbourhood.

In particular, the kingdom of Mendrelgang in this story is believed to be located in the present-day Dakpa-speaking region of Northeast India. Pemachen, the ultimate

kingdom of Lhase Küntu Lekpa, is identified as the present-day Chaleng which is also a Dakpa-speaking village located below Merak. Intermarriages between the Brokpa people of Merak and the Dakpa people of Chaleng are very common, as is the case between the Brokpa people of Sakteng and the Dakpa people of Thongrong, a Dakpa village below Sakteng.

The stupa, atop the body of Dümo Hashang, erected by Lhase Küntu Lekpa after killing her is called Choten Nakpo 'Black Stupa' and is located just below the Merak village, and can still be seen today. The river that runs by the stupa is known as Damnangchu, *tɕʰu* means 'river' and *damnaŋ* is from an honorific compound verb stem *dam-náŋ* (vow-give:HON) meaning 'to subdue' because an evil queen—Dümo Hashang—was subdued here, putting an end to the forces of evil, by Lhase Küntu Lekpa.

As pointed out above, Lama Jarepa was believed to be an emanation of that prince Lhase Küntu Lekpa who subdued the evil Dümo Hashang. The emanation lineage of Lama Jarepa continues to this day and is still held in great reverence throughout the Brokpa and Dakpa communities in Bhutan and Northeast India. Somewhere down the line, the emanation lineage acquired the title 'Kushu Guru' and the present one is Kushu Guru Thinley Namgyal who is the twelfth reincarnation, starting from Lhase Küntu Lekpa. A major part of the religious history of Brokpa people, from the earliest period to the present, is somehow connected to one of the successive holders of the emanation lineage of Lama Jarepa.

Furthermore, the Brokpa community of Bhutan, although a smallish one has earned its place in the religious history of Tibetan Buddhism. Merak Lama Lodre Gyatso, also an emanation lineage of Lama Jarepa, founded Tawang Monastery in Arunachal Pradesh in the seventeenth century. Lama Lodre Gyatso was a native speaker of Brokpa from Merak, hence his title 'Merak Lama'. Tawang Monastery is especially popular amongst the Tibetan Buddhist community, particularly amongst the followers of the Gelugpa tradition. Tawang Monastery is held in deep veneration

almost like the Potola Palace at Lhasa in Tibet and was built by a Brokpa speaker, a fact that is remembered with admiration and respect.

Moreover, Gyalwa Tshangyang Gyatso, the Sixth Dalai Lama of Tibet and a great Buddhist adept, was born in a village between Tawang Monastery in India and Sakteng in Bhutan. Since the Sixth Dalai Lama was born in Tawang in Northeast India, Tawang monastery became spiritually and symbolically important for the followers of the Gelugpa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Because that important monastery was built by a Brokpa lama of the reincarnated lineage of Lama Jarepa, many people of Merak and Sakteng have undergone higher Buddhist training in Tawang Monastery and other nearby monasteries, as did the author of Ama Jomo's biography Lama Wang so long ago.

The present reincarnation of Lama Jarepa also served as Khenpo 'Buddhist Perceptor' of Tawang Monastery from 2010 through 2016. In this way the Brokpa people of Bhutan have a long-standing spiritual connection with the Dakpa speakers of Tawang and the birthplace of one of the Dalai Lamas. Moreover, the speakers of Brokpa and Dakpa share the same Buddhist school within Tibetan Buddhism and have influenced each other enormously not only culturally but also linguistically for centuries.

Another interesting historical interaction between the speakers of Bhutanese languages and the Northeast Indian languages is that the same Sixth Dalai Lama Tshangyang Gyatso was a descendant of Terton Pema Lingpa, a great Buddhist saint born in Central Bhutan sometime in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Gyalwa Tshangyang Gyatso was a native speaker of Dakpa in Tawang and Terton Pema Lingpa was a native speaker of Bumthang, another East Bodish language spoken in Central Bhutan. Both historical and religious figures were great language scholars, particularly in Classical Tibetan, and both have several sacred writings to their names.

Bumthang, the birthplace of Pema Lingpa and Tawang, the birthplace of Gyalwa Tshangyang Gyatso—are quite distant from each other. According to oral sources,

one of the brothers of Pema Lingpa migrated to Tawang and founded three Buddhist monasteries of the Nyingma 'old (translation) school' tradition there. The Sixth Dalai Lama was born in Pema Lingpa's direct family line in one of those monasteries which still exist. Both Dakpa and Bumthang languages are related to Brokpa, while Dakpa and Brokpa are in direct contact with each other.

Besides Lama Jarepa and his emanation lineages, many other Buddhist saints have also visited the Brokpa villages and had profound impacts on their religious tradition. The Brokpa society also produces *geɕe* 'Buddhist scholars' who pursue higher education in Buddhist universities and return either to their villages or teach and practice elsewhere.

The deep sense of spirituality of Brokpa people is shown by the fact that every Brokpa village has one or more Lhakhang 'monasteries, temples', typically located at the upper reaches of the village. And every village has a lama with a number of disciples, who conduct religious affairs. Some villages may have more than one lama with or without a circle of his own disciples. With the generous patronage of the village community members, the lama(s) and the disciples perform pujas (worship ceremonies) in the temples during auspicious days of every lunar month, in accordance with the Buddhist astrological interpretation, and they also perform a few grand annual pujas known as *máŋ kurim* 'public puja', and *ɲúŋne* 'fasting puja'. The pujas are performed to pray to the Dharma protectors and their local deities, and for the wellbeing of sentient beings in general of village folks in particular. Classical Tibetan is used for all kinds of liturgical purposes in the Brokpa community, as is the case in other language communities of Bhutan.

In this way Brokpa children are naturally brought up as Buddhist and grow up with a deep sense of spirituality. Note, however, that to practice Buddhism in a very real sense is left to the lamas and their disciples and monks. For an ordinary person, Buddhism is perceived as something that reminds oneself to do good things and avoid, as much as possible, doing bad things in life. The basic idea of the existence of *tʰori*

'heaven' and *ɲéwa* 'hell', and that you will go to heaven if you do good things in life and that you will go to hell, otherwise, is generated naturally in the mind of every Brokpa person, as it is in the mind of every Buddhist.

Other aspects of belief in Buddhism that impact upon the life of the ordinary people are the related concepts known as *tʰa damtsʰik* 'sacred commitment', *læ dʑudre* 'karmic cause and effect', and 'you will suffer for your bad deeds when you die'. The central theme of these three concepts means that every good action will lead to good consequences. On the other hand, if you engaged in a bad action, although you might be able to get away with it (for example, by flouting the law), you will have to suffer its consequence even on your deathbed or after your death. Therefore, more than just law-abiding, every person is expected to be a religion-abiding citizen. Despite such natural effective deterrents, just like in any other community, there are people in the Brokpa community who behave well and people who do not. Nonetheless, basic expectations of good behaviour do help to foster harmony, social cohesion, and community vitality.

During big pujas, especially during the grand annual pujas, the entire village gets together in their main village *l̥akʰaŋ* to take part in the religious celebration. When lamas and monks do recitations, people make prostrations to the chief lama and to the altar of the temple and they sometimes make circumambulations round the temple (see also §1.5.5). It is not uncommon to come across ordinary people reciting some simple mantras by heart during auspicious days, or even during normal days in tandem with other regular activities such as walking. Such mantras are typically dedicated to important Buddhist deities, such as Avalokiteshvara, and invoking them through the mantra even by ordinary people is a pan-Bhutanese, and pan-Tibetic, practice.

The Brokpa families also invite lamas and their disciples to their private homes to perform pujas a few times in a year. People make water offerings to the statues and images of Buddha and other Buddhist deities on a daily basis, and they burn butter lamps whenever possible. As much as their way of thinking is influenced by Buddhist

principles, the Brokpa language is heavily influenced by Old Tibetan or Classical Tibetan, and the origin of some lexical and grammatical items in Brokpa such as the honorifics (see Chapter 7) can be directly linked to this language of Buddha dharma.

It is believed that, by invoking the Buddhist deities through mantras, you can cleanse whatever negative actions you might have accumulated, knowingly or unknowingly, with the dharma concepts of *lü* <lus> 'body', *ŋáː* <ngag> 'speech', and *yiː* <yid> 'mind', which together are called *gosum* <sgo gsum> 'three doors'. Notably, human beings are considered as capable of performing ten negative deeds (non-virtues) through the three doors—three with body, four with speech, and three with mind.

The three negative deeds of body (physical misdeeds) are *soktɕo* <srog gcod> 'killing', *madʑin len* <ma byin len> 'taking what is not given (stealing)', and *mitsaŋ tɕö* <mi tsangs spyod> 'engaging in sexual misconduct'. The four negative deeds of speech (verbal misdeeds) are *dzün* <rdzun> 'lying', *ʈʰama* <phra ma> 'divisive talk', *tsʰik tsup* <tshig rtsub> 'harsh words', and *ŋaktɕʰöl* <ngag 'khyal> 'gossiping, idle talk, pointless talk', and the three negative deeds of mind (mental misdeeds) are *nápsem* <brnab sems> 'covetousness', *nósem* <gnod sems> 'ill will' (lit. harming mind), and *lokta* <log lta> 'wrong views'.

For an ordinary person, the entire purpose of religion (Buddhism) is to serve as a tool to understand oneself and tame one's own mind. To know oneself, one has to identify *duk ŋá* <dug lnga> 'five poisons (of mind)' and directly deal with them, first by trying to reduce them and then gradually eliminate them altogether. In fact, the *duk ŋã́* 'five poisons (of mind)' are the root causes of the ten negative deeds introduced above. The five poisons of mind are *dötɕʰa* <'dod chags> 'desire', *ʑedaŋ* <zhe sdang> 'anger, aggression', *timu* <gti mug> 'delusion', *ŋadʑe* <nga rgyal> 'pride' (lit. 'I king'), and *ʈʰado* <phra dog> 'jealousy'.

To effectively counteract the five poisons of mind introduced above, one has to engage in six antidotes which are known as *pʰartɕʰin druk* <phar phyin drug> 'six

perfections'. The six perfections are *dʑinpa* <sbyin pa> 'generosity', *tsʰülʈʰim* <tsul khrims> 'discipline, morality', *zöpa* <bzod pa> 'patience, forbearance', *tsöndrü* <brtson 'grus> 'diligence, perseverance', *samten* <bsam gtan> 'concentration, awareness' (lit. 'stable mind'), and *ɕerap* <shes rab> 'discriminating knowledge, wisdom'.

To achieve peace and happiness and to free oneself and others from suffering, one has to overcome the five poisons of mind and refrain from these ten negative deeds.

The lamas introduce and teach these concepts to the people wherever and whenever possible; over time, such dharma concepts become part of the normal vocabulary. There can be hundreds of such Buddhist terms and concepts which have become part of everyday Brokpa vocabulary, as is the case in other languages of Bhutan.

Prior to Buddhism, Bon was the indigenous religion of Tibet and other parts of the Himalayas, and it was the fundamental dimension of their identity (see also Giles and Dorjee 2005). Some elements of Bon practices would have been kept alive in the Brokpa community even after the adoption of Buddhism. They were brought with them to Bhutan in some forms of spirit worship, such as *pawo* and *pʰremin* or *dʑomo*, which are still practiced by them today.

The Brokpa people also believe in local gods or deities and spirits which may not necessarily be part of the Buddhist tradition. Broadly, there are two types of gods and/or deities: those within the system of Buddhist religious faith and those without. The key difference is that the ones within the Buddhist faith are always benevolent, whereas the ones without can be both benevolent and malevolent. Therefore, it is the duty of the people to keep the second type always happy so that they do not turn malevolent. Those within the Buddhist faith system are generally included in the Buddhist iconographies, and those without are believed to be residing in the physical world: in the depths of forests, mountains, rocks, rivers, lakes, and so on.

There are numerous local deities of the latter type, including *yú-l̥a* <yul lha> (village-god) 'local deity', *ke-l̥a* <skyes lha> (birth-god) 'birth deity, natal deity', *ɖa-l̥a* <dgra lha> (enemy-god> 'war-god', *nɑ́-dak* <gnas bdag> (local-god) 'owner of a region', *ʑi-dak* <gzhi bdag> (ground-god) 'master of locality', *sa-dak* <sa bdag> (earth-god) 'local deity', *lú-ɲɑ́n* <klu gnyan> (serpent-spirit> 'serpent spirits', *tsan* <btsan> 'powerful spirits', *dʑœlpo* <gyal po> 'mischievous spirits', and so on (see also Pommaret 2004 on a discussion on some types of local deities in Bhutan). The knowledge of the non-human world, like everything else in the Brokpa society, is handed down from generation to generation.

1.2.4 Writing system

As noted in §1.1, Brokpa is officially an unwritten language of Bhutan. However, the Uchen དབུ་ཅན་ <dbu can> script, used for writing Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha, was also used for writing important documents in Brokpa since the earliest times. There are accounts of the people carrying religious scriptures with them written in the Uchen script while migrating to Bhutan from Tibet. As noted in §1.2.1, the biography of Ama Jomo, one of the oldest literary works of Brokpa, is written in this script, which makes Brokpa one of the earliest written languages in the Himalayas.

The origin of Uchen script is attributed to Thönmi Sambhota who was a gifted minister of the Tibetan King Songtsan Gampo. In the early seventh century, King Songtsan Gampo sent Sambhota, along with fifteen other Tibetans, to India to study Indian linguistics in order to devise a script for the Tibetan language (see among others, Yuthok 1994; Wangdi 2015). Thönmi Sambhota studied Sanskrit grammars—Pāṇinian (Aṣṭādhyāyī), Kalapa, and Candrapa—, lexicography, literature, philosophy, poetry, and other related subjects, under Brahman Lijinkara, also known as Brahman Lipikara, and Devavidhyāsiṃha. Thönmi Sambhota devoted careful attention to phonological aspects of those grammars in order to work out a practical orthography for Tibetan language at that time. After completing his studies, Thönmi Sambhota returned to

Tibet and invented the Tibetan scripts during a long retreat at the Kukharmaru Temple <sku mkhar ma ru> in Lhasa.

Most notably, Thönmi Sambhota is said to have devised two variants of the same script: Uchen <dbu can> 'headed letters' and Ume <dbu med> 'un-headed letters'. He based this on Devanagari and/or Kashmiri (Nagari) scripts, originally derived from the Brahmi Script or Gupta Script (see among others, Yuthok 1994; Giles and Dorjee 2005; and Wangdi 2015).[3] Thönmi Sambhota is credited with writing eight grammatical treatises on Tibetan language, but only two— <sum cu pa> and <rtags kyi 'jug pa> —are extant today (see Miller 1963, Yuthok 1994, Wangdi 2015). These two treatises deal with phonology, morphology, and syntax of Classical Tibetan. In particular, <sum cu pa> provides phonological and syntactic descriptions and <rtags kyi 'jug pa> describes morphology and morphophonemics of the Classical Tibetan.

The other script, which is a variant of Uchen script དབུ་ཅན་, known as Joyig <mgyogs yig> pronounced [ˈdʑɔ.jɪʔ] is a cursive style of writing, and is truly unique to Bhutan. The Joyig script was originally devised by Denma Tsemang in the eighth century. He was a great translator and is popularly referred to as Lotsawa Denma Tsemang, *lotsawa* meaning 'translator'. He was one of the twenty-five main disciples of Padmasambhava, also known as Guru Rinpoche, the founder of Buddhism in Bhutan and Tibet. It is believed that Denma Tsemang developed the Joyig script in Central Bhutan while Guru Rinpoche was practicing meditation at the Kuje Temple in Bumthang. Denma Tsemang is said to have accompanied Guru Rinpoche to Bhutan at the invitation of Sindhu Raja, a local ruler in Bumthang (see also Wangdi 2015). Literally, Joyig <mgyogs yig> means 'rapid script', obviously referring to it as cursive script. It is also known as Lhoyig <lho yig> 'southern script'.

[3] Note that Uchen is pronounced [ˈʔu.tɕɛːn] and Ume as [ˈʔu.mɛː].

1.3 Physical environment and means of subsistence

1.3.1 Physical environment

Merak is situated at an altitude of 3500 metres (approx.11,500) and Gengo at 3400 metres (approx. 11,200 feet); while Sakteng is situated at 2800 metres (approx. 9,200 feet), Thrakthri at 2200 metres (approx. 7,200 feet), and Joenkhar at 1700 metres (approx. 5,600 feet) above sea level. The villages of Merak and Sakteng are surrounded by dense forest, home to an abundance of wildlife carefully preserved within a single protected zone: the Sakteng Wildlife Sanctuary.

Figure 2. The main Merak village

The main village of Merak is situated on a gentle slope that leads up to Nyakshungla Mountain, and down to a shallow stream known as Nyaskangrong. This stream flows along the edge of the villages of Merak and Gengo and feeds into the River Damnangchu which runs through the Tshangla-speaking villages of Kangpar and Thrimshing with a different name, Ngera Ama Chu. The edge of River Ngera Ama Chu is referred to as Pangzam Lúyi Phodrang 'Abode of Naga (water deity)', and is regarded as sacred. There are three important sacred sites on the chain of mountains surrounding Merak—Jomo Phodrang, Serphu, and Tsholúng Gonpa— each of which is important to the people for special reasons.

Jomo Phodrang, itself a majestic mountain crag (see Figure 17), is considered to be the main abode of their patron deity and ancestral mother Ama Jomo (see §1.5.5).

It is considered especially sacred not only by the Brokpa people, but also by the speakers of Dakpa and Tshangla in the neighbouring villages. Although Jomo Phodrang [ˈdʑo.mo.ˈpʰo.ɖɐ̃ː] appears quite close and one can admire its panoramic view from the main village of Merak, the footpath that leads to it ascends steeply immediately after crossing the Nyaskangrong stream. The ascent from the Merak valley to Jomo Phodrang can take up to one day.

Brokpa people make an annual pilgrimage to Jomo Phodrang known as *dʑomo kora* (see §1.5.5) and perform a petition prayer to Ama Jomo known as *dʑomo sökʰa*. Government officials and people from other places also come and visit this sacred mountain site all year round. It is possible to climb to the top of Jomo Phodrang despite its extremely craggy and precipitous nature. There is a deeply entrenched belief that women, after reaching the age of puberty and starting their menstruation, must not climb Jomo Phodrang, but they can go up to the foot of the mountain where there is a little lake, and pray from there. All men can climb Jomo Phodrang without this conventional restraint (also see §1.5.5).

Serphu, situated to the north of Merak village, is deemed sacred because it is believed to be the dwelling place of the *ke-l̥a* 'natal deity' of the people of Merak. Every Brokpa person born in and around Merak is naturally under the ethereal dominion of the *ke-l̥a* of Serphu. Tsholung Gonpa, situated to the east of Merak, is held particularly sacred because Láma Lobsang Tenpai Drönme—one of the reincarnated lineages of Láma Jarepa—built a temple there. This ancient temple fell into ruin. Quite recently, the people of Merak formed a committee known as Tsholung Gonpa Tshogpa to initiate the building of a new temple. Today an annual puja is performed at the temple, restoring Tsholúng Gonpa to its original glory.

Figure 3. An old picture of Merak village

Sakteng, situated in a broad valley on the other side of Nyakshungla, is at a much lower altitude than Merak. The Mígsachu River flows alongside Sakteng village, winding its way through the hills below the Brokpa-speaking village of Thrakthri, downwards through two other Brokpa villages of Joenkhar and Moorbi, and finally flowing into the Gamrichu River just above the tiny Dakpa-speaking village of Thongrong. The Gamrichu River then runs through the Tshangla-speaking village of Radhi to the left and Yabrang and Phimsong to the right, gradually joining the mighty River Dangmechu in Trashigang, one of the district administration centres of Eastern Bhutan. Ultimately this river then flows into the Brahmaputra River in Assam, India. Besides Nyakshungla, two majestic mountains—Lingsangla and Gurgurla—surround the valley of Sakteng and two clearwater streams—Chukhorchu and Manikhorchu—flow through the Sakteng villages.

Figure 4. The main Sakteng village

There are three major sacred places in the neighbourhood of Sakteng—Ney Khashipa, Ney Dangkhor, and Ney Bagajang. Ney Dangkhor is regarded as the dwelling place of a local deity of Sakteng. The sacred place of Bagajang is actually located across the mountains on the Indian side of the border, but it is closer to Sakteng than to any Indian village and people generally associate this sacred place with Sakteng. The first component of the compounded name *baga* translated from Sanskrit term *yoni*, euphemistically refers to 'female genitalia', *jang* [ˈdʑaŋ] is 'north' and there is a naturally-appearing female genitalia on a rock face at this sacred site, facing northward. The concept of *baga* is considered to be the origin of life, and therefore deemed sacred, and people believe that by visiting this sacred place, one can clear obstacles and accumulate merit in life. Besides the Brokpa people, the speakers of other languages from various places in Bhutan, India, and Tibet, come to visit Ney Bagajang.

The tiny Brokpa villages of Joenkhar and Moorbi are surrounded by the mountains of Bamdung, Nguephiri, Mem Tshongtshongma, and Mem Ralang. The initial title of the names of these mountains, Mem, is from the kin term *meme* 'grandfather' (the same as in Tshangla), and the local people affectionately attach it to the names of these two mountains. This is in complete contrast to Merak where the speakers attach the feminine marker *–mo* to the names of the mountains (see §1.5.5). Mem Tshongtshongma is picturesquely situated facing these two villages and is between the Dakpa-speaking villages of Bhutan and the Dakpa-speaking villages of India.

Mem Ralang, situated on the banks of the Gamrichu River, is a dramatic towering mountain cliff which borders the Tshangla-speaking villages of Yabrang and the Dakpa-speaking village of Thongrong in Bhutan. A thick forest known as Ama Yumu Zangmo, in the neighbourhood of these two villages, is held to be the dwelling place of both their *ke-l̥a* 'natal deity' and *yü-l̥a* 'local deity' (literally, 'village deity') of the Brokpa speakers of Joenkhar and Moorbi. The fast-flowing streams Pachurong and Khirirongchu, run through these villages.

The immediate natural environment consists of mountains, forests, rivers, and streams, many of which are held especially sacred, and thus the Brokpa people have a deep spiritual connection with their natural environment. Its conservation is of profound importance to them and while these areas have great potential to attract tourists, and ecotourism has been introduced fairly recently, the need for extreme caution cannot be stressed enough.

Karst (2017) examined the indigenous perceptions of ecotourism and the well-being among the Brokpa people of Bhutan using the framework of *buen vivir* 'living well'. She concluded that ecotourism in Merak-Sakteng has not been entirely negative. In her interviews with representatives of all these Brokpa villages, she found Merak-Sakteng is still regarded as holy by the people, and that there is a need for careful attention in promoting ecotourism. Indeed, everything must be done to ensure eco-friendly tourism in the Brokpa villages. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan enshrines that Bhutan shall maintain "a minimum of 60% of its total land under forest cover for all times"; and 'ecological diversity and resilience' is one of the nine domains of Gross National Happiness (GNH)—the development philosophy of Bhutan that synthesizes the needs of our body with those of our mind. The other domains of GNH are: 'community vitality', 'good governance', 'cultural diversity and resilience', 'education', 'time use', 'health', 'psychological wellbeing', and 'living standards' (CBS and GNH Research 2016). While all the domains are crucially important, coherent

polices of protecting environment and preserving cultural diversity—especially languages—and that of maintaining community vitality must remain ever undiminished, particularly with regard to smaller communities such as Merak and Sakteng.

1.3.2 Means of subsistence

Other than some seasonal vegetables, nothing can be grown in Merak and its satellite villages. In Sakteng, owing to its relatively lower location, barley, buckwheat, foxtail millet and other cereals, can be cultivated successfully. Sakteng is also suitable for more varieties of vegetable crops. In Thrakthri, which is even lower than Sakteng, maize can be cultivated. Joenkhar and Moorbi, the two Brokpa villages at the lowest altitude, are ideal for growing more varieties of agricultural crops including buckwheat, maize, and even rice; however, only a variety of highland rice or *so:* 'paddy' can be cultivated on arable lands by practicing a dry method of farming. Originally, the forest lands were converted into arable lands by the slash-and-burn method, but now the same open arable fields are used for growing any agricultural crop.

Figure 5. Yaks

The main means of subsistence in Merak and to a lesser extent in Sakteng, is livestock, especially yaks. Yaks are reared for milk, meat, and hide. The yak is the lifeblood of the Brokpa economy. Another hybrid cattle called *dzo*—'a cross-breed between a yak and a cow or between a bull and a female yak'— and *dzo-mo* 'female *dzo*' are also reared for the same use. These breeds of cattle and some breeds of bulls,

in addition to their primary purposes, are used as pack animals. A breed of cattle, which are typical of highlands with slightly larger build and longer coats than the ones found in the Tshangla-speaking lowlands, are also reare for milk and meat. Sheep are reared for wool, hide, and meat, and, in the olden days, they were moved down to the Tshangla-speaking villages in winter for manure in exchange for temporary grazing space and fodder but this practice is now discontinued. Goat and poultry rearing is marginal.

Figure 6. The *dzo* animals and bulls as pack animals

Horses, donkeys, and mules, are kept as beasts of burden. Every Brokpa household keeps dogs and they are vitally important to the Brokpa people. The dogs guard their animals, houses, and other property, particularly in their camps on the grazing lands, and they are taken with the herd while moving from one grazing ground to another. Indeed the dog appears to be the symbolic animal of the cattle herder and is quite common to see a dog at the entrance gate of a makeshift camp of cattle herders. The Department of Livestock (DoL) of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests employs a full-time Livestock Officer each in Merak and Sakteng to manage livestock-related affairs and to control the diseases of the livestock.

Figure 7. Horses used as beasts of burden

In contrast to some other languages in the neighbourhood such as Tshangla which has only two seasons in its vocabulary—*ber* 'summer' and *ton* 'winter'—Brokpa observes four seasons in a year and has a specific term for each: *sok^{h}a* 'spring', *ʑar* 'summer', *ton* 'autumn', and *gyun* 'winter'. The family households of Merak and all its satellite villages and the main village of Sakteng practice transhumance. Typically, they move their livestock to the lowlands in autumn and winter and to highlands in spring and summer. The people of Merak move their cattle to places like Chebling, and to the upper valleys of the Tshangla-speaking villages of Radhi, Khaling, and Shingkhar Lauri and the people of Sakteng to the upper valley of the Tshangla-speaking village of Phongme and the Dakpa-speaking village of Thongrong.

An apparent reason behind practicing transhumance, apart from that of seasonal change, is to allow the livestock to graze on fresh pastureland for a certain time in a year allowing it to recover and regrow during the rest of the year. This leads to higher milk yield and directly boosts income. The people of Joenkhar and Moorbi engage in subsistence agriculture and their livelihood depends more on agriculture than livestock, so they do not practice transhumance.

The transhumant group of the Brokpa people produce a wide range of livestock products—milk, cottage cheese, fermented cheese, Swiss cheese, butter, meat, hide, wool, yak fibre, etc. The milk is the primary raw material from which many other income-generating dairy products are made, particularly fermented cheese and butter.

The traditional method of making butter is by agitating milk with a wooden plunger in a simple wooden barrel. The cream is separated using the wooden plunger and then lightly kneaded into butter chunks by hand. The leftover buttermilk is boiled and left to coagulate until the curd can be skimmed and put into a large bamboo strainer lined with thin fabric. The curd inside the fabric is gently pressed, squeezing out as much liquid as possible, yielding a chunk of soft cottage cheese.

A tough leather, commonly tanned from calf hide, is used to tightly wrap cottage cheese to allow fermentation and for long-term preservation. The fermented cheese made with this natural fermentation process, without any preservatives or added flavour, is called *yoɕa* and its leather package is called *ʑorse*. The Brokpa term for butter is *mar*. The butter to be sold over a long period of time is also packed in tough leather and this butter package is called *martaŋ*. These two terms are used to refer to bulky packages of cheese and butter—*ʑorse* for 'fermented cheese' and *martaŋ* for 'butter'. The cottage cheese and fresh butter, to be sold immediately, is wrapped in two or more broad birch leaves and tied with a bamboo filament. A smaller package of cottage cheese or fresh butter is referred to as *dokpa*.

Nowadays, the people of Merak and Sakteng use churning machines imported from India (see also Chand 2004), as well as modern cream separators and freezers. The Department of Livestock (DoL) of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests provide training in modern cheese-making and hygiene practices to the Brokpa people. Such initiatives have resulted in better processing, storage, and much improved standards of hygiene. The DoL also train the people of Merak and Sakteng in making Swiss-style cheese. Besides these improved devices, people continue to use the traditional wooden barrels and plungers to make the traditional and widely popular fermented cheese *yoɕa* but with improved quality and hygiene.

The hides of yak and other cattle are used for making some coarse leather products mainly for home use. These home-tanned leather products include leather jackets, knee-length boots, leg trousers, etc., which are discussed in §1.4.1. Yak fibre, sheep's

woo, and lamb's wool are used for making clothes, caps, blankets, bags, ropes, and a range of similar items..

The Brokpa families keep only a small part of their dairy produce for home consumption. A sizeable amount of the dairy produce—butter, fermented cheese, cottage cheese, dried beef, etc.—is bartered for most of what a family needs in a year and beyond. The Brokpa people have been engaging in barter trade with their Tshangla-speaking neighbours in Radhi, Phongme, Bidung, Shingkhar Lauri, and other villages for centuries. The Brokpa people undertake what has traditionally come to be known as *bru-kor*, a compound of *bru* 'grain' and *kor* 'to go around'. The term *bru-kor* exactly describes the traditional economic practice of the Brokpa people; the practice of going around into the Tshangla villages, exchanging the dairy products for grains, bringing the grains home, and storing it. The dairy products are exchanged for rice, maize, wheat, dried chilli pepper, and suchlike.

In order to facilitate *bru-kor*, there developed a family host system known as *népo*. The term *népo* literally means 'host' and its feminine counterpart is *némo* 'hostess'. In general, a Tshangla speaker would address a Brokpa male as *népo* and female as *némo*; but, in the context of the *bru-kor* system, *népo* has acquired an additional sense of 'family host'. Every Brokpa household would have a Tshangla *népo* in whichever Tshangla village they go for grain collection, and then the Tshangla family would have a Brokpa *népo* either in Merak, or in Sakteng, or in both. The term *népo* is employed to refer to the participants in both directions—to the Brokpa family by the Tshangla family and vice versa.

While in business economics the *népo* system might be considered some kind of quid pro quo relationship, to the Brokpa and Tshangla people it is more than that. The *népo* system is a very harmonious and happy 'family relationship' between a Brokpa family and a Tshangla family. Any member(s) of the Brokpa *népo* family would come to the Tshangla *népo* family and the latter would extend a warm hospitality to the former. Likewise, any member(s) of the Tshangla *népo* family would go to the Brokpa

népo family and would be offered the same kind of hospitality. The two families develop a special and long-lasting bond and the children of the two families would have some sort of brotherly and sisterly feelings towards one another, and they cherish this relationship even beyond their village setting. Now, with the development of road infrastructure and changing economic activities of both language communities, both the *bru-kor* system and the *népo* system are diminishing.

The Brokpa people also earn cash income from their livestock products and through trade with the people of Northeast India. They either take their livestock products to Northeast India themselves or deal with people from the other side of the border who come to Merak and Sakteng to buy such products for cash. Some of these dealers are brokers who buy these products to sell in Northeast India for modest profits. Apart from barter trade, products are also sold to the neighbouring Tshangla speakers for cash and sometimes more widely within Bhutan for generating cash income.

The Brokpa people are also adept at hunting and gathering, which has been their major means of subsistence in the past. Now, this practice, particularly hunting, is not so common. Some seasonal forest products such as mushroom, fiddlehead ferns, bamboo shoots, etc., are collected and eaten as vegetables and, if their gathering is in abundance, sold for cash or exchanged for grains and other food.

1.4 People and their lifestyle

1.4.1 Dress

The traditional costumes of the Brokpa people, both men and women, are quite elaborate. Almost all the traditional garments are made locally using their own raw materials such as sheep's wool, yak hair, sheepskin, calfskin, etc. Only one particular traditional female cloth known as *ba töduŋ*, a homespun cotton jacket, may be bought

from the neighbouring Tshangla speakers. But it is by no means uncommon for Brokpa women to be weaving this particular cloth themselves.

Every traditional dress that a Brokpa man or woman wears has been adjusted to adapt to their environment, particularly the bitterly cold weather, and to match their transhumant lifestyle. However, in more recent times, outside influence, ready availability, and the ease of use and movement, has resulted in the Brokpa people giving way to mainstream Bhutanese costumes and imported shirts and trousers. Despite this pessimistic scenario, the people generally feel that they must preserve their traditional costumes and proudly wear them.

Brokpa men wear *tɕʰuba*—a thigh-length garment with long sleeves—securely fastened around the waist by a belt known as *(gitʰa) kera*. The fabric for *tɕʰuba* is woven from sheep's wool or yak's hairs. The *tɕʰuba* made from sheep's wool is generally red in colour and is called *tsʰokʰam tɕʰuba*. It can also be pale grey called *rigu*. The one from yak's hairs is typically black and is called *pui tɕʰuba*. While the red and black ones are more commonly worn, the pale grey *rigu* is typically worn by herders. All the types of *tɕʰuba* are descriptively and generically referred to as *námbu=i tɕʰuba* 'woolen *tɕʰuba*'; and *kera* is made from yak's hair or from imported cotton yarn.

Figure 8. Traditional dress of Brokpa men

Men also wear a loose and sleeveless leather jacket—known as *paktsa* in Merak and *ɲoʑi* in Sakteng—which is drawn in around the waist over *tɕʰuba* by a strip of leather. This coarse leather jacket is usually made from sheepskin or calfskin, or from the hides of wild animals—such as antelope, deer, and wild goat—and can be with or without fur. This coarse leather jacket, with fur or without it, simply referred to as *paba*, would be worn while doing tough work or when pushing through dense jungle.

Figure 9. A Brokpa man wearing *paktsa* or *ɲóʑi* and *piɕup*

Men also wear baggy knee-length shorts called *kaŋgo* over a pair of tight-fitting leather leg overgarments known as *piɕup*. More than anything else, *kaŋgo* and *piɕup* are being replaced with imported cotton trousers because a single pair of cotton trousers can effectively fulfil the functions of both these traditional lower-body garments. Men always carry a long knife in a sheath fastened to the waist belt. The knife is usually wooden handled or bone handled and can be drawn out easily and quickly for use.

Brokpa women wear a *ɕiŋka*, a voluminous and sleeveless chemise, which hangs from the shoulders to the calves, and a black protective garment known as *mékem* (*mido* in Sakteng) over the lower rear area of the body reaching to the knees. Both *ɕiŋka* and *mékem* are tied to the waist with a sash-like belt called *kʰetɕen* causing the front part of the *ɕiŋka* to hang in soft vertical folds. Traditionally, in place of the *ɕiŋka*, women would wear what is called a *ŋúiɕiŋ* made exclusively from wool. Today, the *ɕiŋka* which is red with distinctive white stripes running vertically and commonly made from raw silk, is more common.

Figure 10. Women and men in red traditional costumes

Additionally, women wear three types of upper garments over the *ɕiŋka*. One is an unbuttoned shirt generically called *töduŋ*, with very long sleeves, which is usually imported and can be of various colours, patterns, and materials. Worn in other areas of Bhutan, this female shirt is generally known as *wondʑu* in other languages, including Dzongkha and Tshangla. The second garment is *ba töduŋ* which is a long-sleeved jacket-like garment with stylish and innovative designs and is made of either wool, silk, or cotton. The sleeves of the inner *töduŋ* are rolled up over the outer *ba töduŋ*.

Figure 11. Women and men in traditional dress

It is instructive to mention that *tö* means 'upper' and *töduŋ* actually is a generic term for any upper garment and can refer to *ba töduŋ* as well. However, *ba töduŋ*, also known as *ʑukt^{h}en töduŋ*, specifically refers to the particular upper garment which is jacket-like with intricate patterns including, but by no means restricted to, flowers, leaves, elephants, and stars. Finally, another protective and decorative red woolen cloth known as *l̥emba (ʔote)* is worn over the upper back part of the body, hanging from the shoulder to the waist. A *l̥emba* can be red or black.

Figure 12. A woman wearing *l̥emba*

Women also carry *ɲúk-ɖi* (awl-knife)[4], a type of small pocketknife, and several white cowrie shells known as *ɖonba* and other handy tools and instruments like needles, tweezers and bamboo jew's harp threaded together by their eye, loop, or any available hole, and suspended from the waist belt on the right side.[5] If a Brokpa woman dressed in traditional costume walks swiftly, one can hear a clattering noise of these objects striking one another. The cowrie shell, probably used as money in the Himalayan region during the medieval period, is an important ornamental item of the Brokpa people and many of the traditional products including bags and jewelry items would be adorned with it.

[4] There are two possible etymologies for the component *ɲuk*. One is *ɲúŋu* 'awl', and the other is *ɲúkma* 'bamboo'.

[5] In Classical Tibetan cowrie shell is called *kaɕapani* and in Tshangla it is called *wailaktaŋ*.

Figure 13. Cowrie shells used as ornamental decoration by a mask dancer

Both Brokpa genders don *tsitpai ʑamo*, a black hat with a number of downward-protruding slender tassels, made from yak felt (see figures 10 and 11). The name for this particular hat is formed a compound of *tsitpa*—a specific type of yak hair—and *ʑamo* 'hat' and linked by the genitive enclitic *=i*. This process of forming new nouns, by combining two or more lexical nouns with genitive marker, is quite common in Brokpa as well as in its closely-related language Dzongkha. There is another broad-brimmed hat called *tɕiŋʑa* which is worn especially by herdsmen.

A home-tanned leather boot called *pak-l̥am* (leather-shoe) and a felted fabric boot called *ném-l̥am* (woven.wollen-shoe) or *námbu = i l̥am* (wool = GEN shoe) are the traditional footwear of the Brokpa people. These traditional boots are always knee-length and are tied around the knees by a strip of leather or fabric called *l̥amrok (kera)*. Nowadays, factory-manufactured wellington boots are also worn, generally knee-length by men and calf-length by women, as well as other modern shoes.

Jewellery is part and parcel of the Brokpa costume. Women wear (pendant) necklaces of coral, turquoise, and other gemstones, and bracelets, generally silver, optionally adorned with coral, turquoise, and other gemstones. Traditionally, both Brokpa men and women would wear earrings of coral, turquoise, or of both. Now it is becoming fairly uncommon for men to wear earrings and women also wear modern earrings, besides the traditional ones. Typically, both genders wear rings with coral and turquoise.

1.4.2 Style of living

Every Brokpa family has one permanent house in their main village and one or two bamboo huts on their grazing lands. Some well-to-do families, who own more cattle and grazing lands, would have more than two huts. The Brokpa houses are built of stone and wood and can serve for several generations. A typical Brokpa house would be two storeyed, but it is by no means uncommon to find single-storeyed or triple-storeyed houses in both Merak and Sakteng.

Typically, a Brokpa house would have a room called *gemp^{h}u* used both as kitchen and living room; another room called *naŋ* which is an 'inner room' used for sleeping in, and a third room called *tse* which is the entire upper floor used for performing religious rituals, organizing special events, and entertaining house guests. In a single-storeyed house, where there is a shortage of space, *naŋ* would be used as a multipurpose room including the functions of the *tse* room. A traditional Brokpa house has a few small windows and doors fitted with wooden shutters, and a wooden plank floor to keep

out the cold. The houses in the main village of Merak and Sakteng are built in a dense cluster and the villages appear picturesque from afar, akin to a Swiss village (see figures 2, 3, and 4).

The huts on the grazing lands, made of bamboo and logs, also serve as semi-permanent dwelling structures and are quite long-lasting. They can be used for several years. When a hut falls into a state of disrepair, it would be knocked down and a new one rebuilt in its original location. The huts are thinly scattered and, sometimes, only a single hut may be seen in a large area.

Traditionally, a Brokpa family lives in their permanent house in summer and autumn and their cattle would be allowed to graze in the nearby grasslands. In spring and winter seasons, the family migrate to the lower grazing lands and, usually, one member of the family stays behind in the permanent house as its caretaker. Nowadays, a majority of the family members live in the permanent house throughout the year and only the father and/or son(s) go as herders and tend to the cattle in their grazing lands. If a family does not have male members, mother and/or daughter(s) would go and live in the grazing lands as herders, but this is relatively rare.

In most circumstances, parents live with one of their children and their spouse in a single house. It is fairly uncommon for one nuclear family owning one house. However, it is exceptionally rare for uncles and aunts to be living in the same house with a married couple. The Brokpa classificatory kinship system is discussed in §1.6.2.

1.4.3 Food and drink

The Brokpa people live on a diet rich in protein, carbohydrate, and fat, supplemented by foods containing vitamins, minerals, and fibres. The staple food of a Brokpa family consists of meat (fresh as well as dried), cheese, butter, maize, rice, buckwheat, barley, millet, and vegetables. Meat, particularly yak, and milk products are the major sources of protein and carbohydrate, and cereals and vegetables provide essential vitamins and dietary minerals and fibre. Some seasonal wild fruits and domesticated (cultivated)

ones, grown in the lower Brokpa villages, are eaten sparingly but it is not part of the regular food habits.

In the past, meat was roasted or, as in many other traditional human societies, eaten raw (see also Chand 2004). Nowadays, eating raw meat has either become very uncommon or is non-existent. Typically, fresh meat is sliced or diced and then cooked with a judicious mix of vegetables and pepper, or allowed to simmer, without mixing with vegetables, until the meat becomes almost tender. It is also not uncommon for meat to be fried or roasted. Meat meant for future consumption or future sale is allowed to dry naturally in the sun, or is left to dry over fire by placing the meat in a drying rack above the earth oven inside the house, or by making a special earth oven outside on the open ground. The meat, dried in this way, is typically tough and is cooked following the same methods used for cooking fresh meat.

Vegetables are cooked thoroughly as curry, with generous amount of butter and cheese. Cooked meat curry known as *ɕa-paː* (meat-curry) and vegetable curry known as *tsʰoma=i paː* (vegetable=GEN curry) are typically served with a lump of *zan* which is a cooked dough, made out of maize flour. Then *dʑadʑu* 'vegetable soup' and *kʰaizæ* 'salad' may be served with *toptcæ ŋoto* 'main dish' which can be 'cooked rice' or a mix of rice and ground maize corn called *ʈʰaŋpʰa*, also referred to by the Tshangla term *kʰaraŋ*. In Dzongkha and Tshangla, and perhaps in all other languages of Bhutan, *paː* specifically refers to cooked meat slices whereas in Brokpa it refers to curry in general and derive specific curry names by compounding with the name of the main ingredient. A hot butter tea known as *sudʑa*, also known as *márdʑa*, brewed by mixing generous amount of butter, milk, and tea leaves collected locally, is a popular non-alcoholic beverage. The *sudʑa* tea is taken together with a main meal or drunk throughout the day and also served to the guests.

The popular alcoholic beverages are *lúm* 'brewed rice liquor', and *kʰoː* 'non-brewed fermented liquor'. Alcoholic drink in general is called *ʔara* or *tɕʰaŋ*. The imported drinks *ber* 'beer' and *barkʰandi tɕʰaŋ* 'whiskey' are also popular. These alcoholic

beverages are part and parcel of the warm Brokpa hospitality. They are served as a welcome drink, a celebratory drink, or a farewell drink, and there are special terms for *ʔara* served on different occasions and for different purposes. It is also enjoyed as a leisure drink such as on occasions discussed in §§ 1.5.4-1.5.5. Any festival would be incomplete without *ʔara*. If a special guest visits a Brokpa village, people would come for *tsʰoktɕʰaŋ* 'feast liquor' bringing a bottle or a wooden container of *ʔara* to offer to the guest, share with fellow village folks, and have themselves. The practice of *tsʰoktɕʰaŋ* has become a very popular and special event. Brokpa people also love drinking imported beer. Quite often one can see piles of empty beer bottles stacked against the outside walls of their houses.

Traditionally, every family would use a simple earth oven with a portable cast iron tripod called *tɕak-tʰap* literally 'iron oven' placed in the centre of *me-tʰap* or simply *tʰap* 'fireplace' inside their permanent dwelling houses as well as in their bamboo huts on the grazing lands. The earthenware pots and aluminium pots and pans would be placed on the metal tripod to cook food. Nowadays, modern electric rice cookers, curry cookers, and water boilers, and even gas stoves, are used in their permanent villages. Also, a simple wood-burning heating stove known as *bugur(i)* is used for heating the house as well as for boiling water and cooking food. The *bugur(i)* has become widely popular as it serves two purposes—heating and cooking. Besides these modern cookwares, the traditional earth oven is still popular especially in the grazing camps.

One can enjoy any food or drink according to one's taste and preference without any kind of prohibition, as long as they remain confined to their permanent village. However, the three food items collectively referred to as a single expression *ɲa-pʰak-goŋ-sum* 'the three—fish, pork, and egg' are strictly prohibited in sacred places, particularly Jomo Phodrang, and added to the list of prohibited food are garlic and onion (see §1.5.5). One cannot eat any of these items even at home if one is to visit Jomo

Phodrang or any other sacred sites during the day, let alone cook these food items at the sites.

This is a self-regulating prohibition passed down from generation to generation and strictly followed by all, without anyone imposing the rule. If someone violates this prohibition, an awful disaster may strike that person on the same day or later. They relate a true story about a health worker who could not seriously believe this prohibition and wanted to disprove it, so he took some pieces of pork and cooked it at a sacred site. That health worker went completely insane on the same day, took off his clothes, and disappeared naked into the woods. He was never seen again. Even if nothing happens to the person who violates this prohibition, the local spirits would be agitated and the entire village would be struck by a devastating storm and thunder.

1.5 Culture and tradition

The traditional Brokpa culture is so rich and wide that to cover all aspects of it, or to describe each aspect adequately, is outside the scope of this study. Be that as it may, an attempt has been made here to introduce those non-linguistic parameters that have some connection with the language. Equally important to mention here is the fact that culture and tradition are extremely broad concepts, encompassing almost everything that a society has or does, and of course has passed down from generation to generation.

The Brokpa people have several festivals, spiritual as well as cultural, and all are representative of fundamental aspects of their life (§§1.5.1-1.5.5). They also have many songs that are unique to them. Some of the words in songs are difficult to interpret. Typically, the words are mostly shared with Classical Tibetan and, interestingly, the words of most Brokpa songs are also from the Dakpa language.

It would be far too much to deal with all aspects of culture and tradition under a single topic or in one section. Several aspects of material or tangible culture such

as food, clothing, shelter, and immaterial or intangible culture such as history, religion, customs and tradition, political and social organization, and kinship system are introduced briefly in separate sections.

1.5.1 The *kʰapɕæ* 'playful singing dialogue'

Brokpa has a unique genre of oral literature known as *kʰapɕe* or *tsaŋmo*. Most Bhutanese languages—including Dzongkha and Tshangla— have only one term *tsaŋmo*, whereas Brokpa has an additional term *kʰapɕæ*. In Classical Tibetan, the word *kʰapɕe* <kha bshad> has double shades of meaning. One is 'talk, conversation' and the other is 'empty talk, gossip', but in Brokpa the word *kʰapɕe* took on the full meaning of this particular genre of oral literature. Literally, in Classical Tibetan, *ɕæ* <bshad> is 'to express' and *kʰa*, in this context, is 'oral'; and this lexicalized term historically formed by a noun + verb compound can literally mean 'oral expression'. The meaning of *kʰapɕæ* in Brokpa probably developed from this literal sense in Classical Tibetan.

The word *tsaŋmo* has two etymons: one is Tsangmo meaning 'Lady from Tsang' and the other is *tsaŋdum* meaning 'matchwood'. In the first one, the feminine gender marker *-mo* is attached to Tsang—the name of a valley in Tibet—forming Tsangmo to refer to any lady from Tsang. This origin goes back to a stanza of *tsaŋmo* originally composed by Tsangyang Gyatso, the Sixth Dalai Lama, in the late seventeenth century. Based on this etymological origin, *tsaŋmo* is written གཙང་མོ་ <gtsang mo> in the Dharma language and Dzongkha orthography. The possible explanation for the second etymon—*tsaŋdum* <rtsang dum> 'matchwood, twig'—is as follows. Traditionally, while engaging in a *tsaŋmo* singing event, a group of people would sit in a circle and they would carry a small pointed matchwood. Quite interestingly, *kʰapɕæ* or *tsaŋmo* singing can also be a matchmaking event. A person would initiate the singing with a stanza full of meaning intended for one of the persons in the circle, typically of the opposite sex. And at the end of the song they would place the matchwood in front of the intended person. This is the signal indicating that it is the turn of the person

who received the matchwood to respond. That person would, after singing a stanza, return the matchwood to the first person, if a response was required from the first person; or place it in front of another person, if the part or whole of the meanings of his or her stanza were directed at another person. If there are only two participants, the placement of matchwood would go just to and fro.

This style of singing *tsaŋmo* continues until one of the participants, if there are just two, or the majority of the members in the circle, if there are several, decide to end the session. This is the explanation of the second etymology, *tsaŋmo* རྩྭང་མོ་ <rtsang mo> with the root meaning of 'matchwood, twig' or 'bramble' in Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha. The two etymological origins are equally accepted, and both spelling variants are retained in the literature.

Irrespective of its origin, *kʰapɕæ* or *tsaŋmo* is a kind of poetry through which one expresses feelings and ideas by employing as rich a figurative language as possible, typically invoking the concepts of sun, moon, air, earth, fire, wind, ocean, mountain, flowers, trees, and the like. Generally, the theme is love and romance, but it is not uncommon for it to touch upon other themes. However, it is quite different from the conventional poetry in a number of ways. Firstly, *kʰapɕæ* or *tsaŋmo* was oral originally and not written. There would be a vast body of it in Bhutanese language communities, passed down orally from generation to generation. Only later, when a local language was transcribed using the national script, or when a language was studied by a researcher employing a foreign script such as Roman, would the song poetry have been written down or recorded.

In its best tradition, new bodies of verses must continue to originate orally and keep adding to the existing ones, even if the old ones were recorded or written down. A person with higher linguistic competence may sing impromptu and come up with new contextual stanzas, without making use of the existing ones, and the newly invented ones—particularly if they are couched in flowery language and clear meaning—may be remembered by the same person or by others and repeated in later singing events.

This way the verses will become popular and enter the general *kʰapɕæ* oral vocabulary of the language community. As this oral tradition is kept alive, from generation to generation, the verses become so familiar that a member of the language community can easily commit a number of stanzas to memory, and can choose a relevant stanza, depending on the context, and sing from memory whenever the situation demands it.

Secondly, *kʰapɕæ* is sung in the form of verses—typically in a stanza of four lines—using a distinctive melody and rhythm. The melody is generally simple and familiar, but one can resort to strong and complex melodies, depending on the theme and illocutionary force needed for the occasion. Also, unlike conventional poetry, *kʰapɕæ* is not delivered as a monologue but involves a kind of rhythmic interlocution with two or more participants.

A research team from Japan (Niigata University, Hiroshima University, Tokyo College of Music) conducted a documentation project on *kʰapɕæ* and *tsaŋmo* in Bhutan between 2010 and 2014. They describe it as 'singing dialogue' or 'playful singing dialogue' (Ino; Kuroda; Gondo; and Wangchuk 2015a). The research team collected *kʰapɕæ* or *tsaŋmo* from Brokpa-speaking areas and other regions in Bhutan, translated them into Japanese, and conducted a seminar in which I also participated. The compilation of their work and seminar discussion papers were published in their University journals and other journals in Japan (see Ino; Kuroda; Gondo; and Wangchuk 2015a; Ino; Kuroda; Gondo; and Wangchuk 2015a; Gondo, Ino, Tomiko, Dorji, Wangdi, Tshewang, Dema, and Namgyel 2016).

Customarily, *kʰapɕæ* would be exchanged between young people of the opposite sex, and is believed to reveal karmic connection between a boy and a girl who may fall in love. Usually, *kʰapɕæ* is meant to be humorous and full of praise and admiration for the other person, but it can also be critical and combative and, sometimes, it can lead to arguments—all through the medium of this playful singing dialogue.

Generally, *kʰapɕæ* would take place during important religious social events, when there are large gatherings. But it does happen spontaneously, if there is a gathering of two or more people, for instance, while tending to cattle in the grasslands. Among the Brokpa people, it is quite popular for *kʰapɕæ* to take place in the evenings when several people would make a pilgrimage in groups to Jomo Phodrang, the abode of the patron deity Ama Jomo (§1.5.5).

In a *kʰapɕæ* event, one person initiates, the other person responds, another would join, and so on. Nowadays, such traditional practice of singing *kʰapɕæ* is becoming less and less common and, as a matter of fact, it takes place only when there is an organized event, such as especially held competitions in the community or in schools. This oral tradition, under the name of *tsaŋmo*, is taught to Language (Dzongkha) Teacher Trainees, as part of their training curriculum, in the Colleges of Education in Bhutan. When these trainees take up their teaching duties in the country, they play a vital role in preserving and promoting this important linguistic tradition. A few radio stations also have programmes dedicated to this kind of oral tradition.

1.5.2 The *yák tɕʰam* 'yak dance'

The *yák tɕʰam* 'yak-dance' is a crucial component of Brokpa language and culture. In general, *yák tɕʰam* is performed in honour of the yak which is the source of livelihood of the Brokpa people. It depicts the mythical story of how the yak came into being in the aftermath of a vehement denial of property bequeathed to one of the three sons in a legendary family. In spite of its significance, the intriguing story behind this dance has been passed down through the medium of oral tradition and was documented only recently (see, for example, Chand 2004; Karchung 2013). A similar yak-dance is performed by other language communities in Tibet, Northeast India, as well as in Ladahk. Whether the yak-dances performed in other language communities have the same storyline or, more importantly, whether this particular dance can shed any light

on the lower-level internal subgrouping of the languages of the Himalayan region is fertile ground for further exploration.

Figure 14. A yak-dance performed in the upper reaches of Merak

Legend has it that there was a man called Thöpa Gali [ˈtʰøː.pɐ.gɐ.li] in a village known as Endza [ˈʔɛn.dzɐ] in the Kongpo province of Southeast Tibet. This village must have been one of the original Brokpa villages in Southeast Tibet or one of the villages in Tshona and was perhaps located in the immediate vicinity of Kamlőnroksum, the original homeland of the Brokpa ancestors (see §1.2.1). Thöpa Gali was the youngest of three sons in the family. The name of his elder brother was Hawo Darge [ˈhɐ.wɔ.ˈdəɾ.gɛː] and the middle one was Gawa Samdrup [ˈgɐ.wɐ.ˈsəm.ɖʊp]. Their father was known by the name of Nyakpo Zhidar [ˈɲək.pɔ.ʑi.ˈdəɾ] and the mother by the name of Shölma Samki [ˈɕøːl.mɐ.ˈsəm.ki].

Thöpa Gali was believed to be an emanation of *nor-l̥a* (cattle-god) 'deity of wealth, deity of livestock'.[6] Some oral sources, and the translation of the Thopa Gali song by Karchung (2013), link him directly to Jhambala [ˈdʑəm.bɐ.ˌlɐ] 'god of wealth'. He is believed to have achieved immortality and entered the moon. A distorted reflection can be seen on the surface of the waxing moon, which is believed to be an image

[6] The term *nor* can mean 'cattle' and also 'wealth', and *nor-l̥a* can refer to the 'deity of wealth' or the 'deity of livestock'.

of Thöpa Gali churning milk. Thöpa Gali took on human form to bless people with livestock, particularly yaks.

As a human, Thöpa Gali was the black sheep of the family. Not only was he ugly, but he was also downright lazy and a good-for-nothing son. Apparently, his parents took a great dislike to him and gave preferential treatment to his two elder brothers. It is said that family property from the father's side was bequeathed to Hawo Darge, the eldest brother, and the family property from the mother's side was bequeathed to Gawa Samdrup, the middle brother. Thöpa Gali did not receive any share of his rightful inheritance, so he was left with no option but to request every member of his family—father, mother, and two elder brothers—to be realistic and give him his rightful share of inheritance. Instead, Thöpa Gali was given a battered hat by his father, a filthy rag by his mother, a rope without a noose by his elder brother, and a pair of shoes with holes in their soles by his middle brother.

Figure 15. An enactment of the legendary Thöpa Gali

Thöpa Gali pondered hard over the treatment he suffered at the hands of his family members. Feeling deeply insulted and utterly devastated, he left for an unknown destination leaving his village and his family. After wandering over several mountains, Thöpa Gali came across a beautiful mountain lake, and just as he was making an aspirational prayer at the lakeside, an exotic woodland bird flitted about from a spot adjacent to the lake. He went to that spot and found that the bird had laid three eggs: one white, one red, and one black.

First, he cracked the white egg and out emerged a white yak; then he cracked the red one and a red yak emerged; then, finally, he cracked the black egg and, out of it emerged a black female yak. The white yak was claimed by the god of gods, the red one was claimed by a local deity, and Thöpa Gali took hold of the black female yak using the tethering rope one of his two brothers gave him. That black female yak gave birth to another yak and the herd multiplied. That is how yaks came into being, according to this legend. This dance is a celebration to mark the origin of yaks, and to tell the story of the yak tamer Thöpa Gali as narrated by him.

This yak-dance is quite straightforward typically with just two participants, the symbolic representation of living yaks, achieved by men hidden under a yak pelt, and a masked man who is the portrayal of Thöpa Gali. Nowadays other clowns can be seen accompanying Thöpa Gali in the yak-dance. While the yak is the non-human animate protagonist, the masked dancer representing Thöpa Gali is considered the human protagonist. Both the yak and the masked man perform some slow sequence of movements and steps to the rhythm of a drum. In addition, the mask man dressed to represent Thöpa Gali delivers dramatic monologues, supposedly regaling the audience with his sad tale.

The yak dance is hugely popular in Bhutan. Not only is it performed during the important community events, but also during big national celebrations in the capital city or other parts of Bhutan. The *yák tɕʰam* helps to maintain the cultural identity of the Brokpa people and to display the richness of their language, as the motif of the dance is couched in poetic expression.

1.5.3 The *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* 'sister goddess dance'

ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam is one of the indigenous dances of the Brokpa people and an important constituent of their culture. Like the *yák tɕʰam*, this dance is also performed by some language communities in Tibet and in other parts of the Himalayas. In Tibetan, the word *ʔatɕe l̥amo* seems to be carrying a general meaning equivalent to English 'opera'

(see, for example, Wojahn 2016). It appears that, according to the Tibetan tradition, performance of any pleasant story involving song and dance could be an *ʔatɕe l̥amo* performance. But in Brokpa, and in other languages of Bhutan, it is a specific reference to the particular dance described in this section. The origin of *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam*, based on the interpretation of Brokpa and other languages of Bhutan, is thought-provoking.

According to oral accounts, there are two different versions of the origin of this dance. One version goes back to the prehistoric time of Chogyal Norzang, a legendary Dharma King believed to have been an emanation of the Lord Buddha. According to this legend, Chogyal Norzang had five hundred wives. One of his wives, known by the name Yithroma, was a princess believed to have been an emanation of a goddess. Yithroma was very beautiful and was the personal favourite of the Dharma King, which made all other wives bitterly jealous of her. The other wives together hatched a number of plots to kill both Yithroma and the Dharma King, but every plot was uncovered and, every time, the two could escape unscathed. According to this version, the dance is a depiction of those failed assassination attempts as well as the celebration of the victory of good over evil.

The other version traces the origin of *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* to Drubthob Thangtong Gyalpo, a very educated and skilled Buddhist saint, who is widely credited with building several iron chain suspension bridges in Bhutan and Tibet during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to this version, Drubthob Thangtong Gyalpo started this dance to exorcise local evil demons so that he could build these iron chain suspension bridges without interference from the beings of the non-human world, local deities, and spirits. Those who adhere to this belief say that the dance troupe must carry a statue of Drubthob Thangtong Gyalpo, place it in an ideal place where the dance is to be performed, and pray to it before, during, and after the dance performance.

In the past, it was quite common for the non-Brokpa-speaking communities in Eastern Bhutan to invite *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* dance troupes from the Brokpa-speaking

areas to their villages. Generally, they would be invited to perform this dance on a piece of land where a new house was to be built. The dance would also be performed as a groundbreaking ceremony or a sod-cutting ceremony. The chief purpose is to ward off the evil spirits so that they do not pose any obstacles to the builders during the construction as well as to the family who will occupy the house following completion. It is to create auspiciousness, an ideal situation, and to celebrate the first day of the house construction. The dance would also be performed in Brokpa-speaking villages as well as in other language communities in Bhutan as a healing ritual for a chronically sick person.

Figure 16. The *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* 'sister goddess dance'

Nowadays, the practice of inviting the *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* dance troupes from the Brokpa-speaking to the non-Brokpa-speaking areas for the aforementioned purposes is diminishing. This dance may be performed only during special events in the Brokpa communities, and, like the Yak Dance, it may be performed during big national celebrations in the capital city and other parts of Bhutan.

The common purpose of the *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam*, that is, the exorcising of malevolent demons and warding off evil spirits in bridge and in house constructions, make the second version of the origin of *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* more plausible than the first one.

But, looking at the name of one of the characters in the dance troupe called *norzaŋ* (the second from left in Figure 16), it is directly based on the name of the legendary king Chogyal Norzang. The only reasonable interpretation would be that this dance was first introduced by Drubthob Thangtong Gyalpo in Bhutan to elaborate on the story of the legendary king Chogyal Norzang. In that case, both versions have equal validity, by sharing a common origin. The Brokpa people believe that Drubthob Thangtong Gyalpo personally visited and blessed their places, which only increases this likelihood. The language of the song used in *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* is Classical Tibetan, but the dancers use the local language to communicate with the spectators during the performance.

The *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* involves five characters—two *l̥amo* 'goddess', two *ɲapa* 'fisherman', and one *norzaŋ* 'legendary being' (see Figure 16). Each character type will have a distinct costume. Among other things, the two *ɲapa* wear leather masks with furs, generally of sheep (the first and the last from left in Figure 16), the two *l̥amo* put on a crown (the third and the fourth from left in Figure 16), and *norzaŋ* wears an elaborate costume adorned with precious stones and embroidery (the second from the left in Figure 16). The *ʔatɕe l̥amo tɕʰam* performance combines song, dance, and chants.

1.5.4 The naming ceremony—*ketsi* 'birth horoscope'

The Brokpa people have a special tradition of naming a newborn baby. They conduct a naming ceremony on the third day, following the birth of the baby, to construct their *ketsi* 'birth horoscope'. Although *ketsi* actually means birth or natal horoscope, the main purpose is the naming ceremony. The ceremony is presided over by a *dʑambeyáŋ*, a specific Brokpa term for 'astrologer'; this term is noteworthy because in most of the languages of Bhutan, the astrologer is known as *tsipa* or just *tsip*, sometimes also referred to as *tsipa lópön*. These terms would generally be expected because the generic

term for 'astrology' in all these languages including Brokpa, is *tsi* as in *kartsi* 'astronomy', *dʑuŋtsi* 'elemental astrology', *naktsi* 'elemental astrology' (lit. 'black astrology'), etc.

In Brokpa, besides *tsipa (lópön)*, the term *dʑambeyáŋ* is widely used for 'astrologer'. This is a direct employment of *dʑambeyáŋ* <'jam dpal dbyangs>, the Bhutanese and Tibetan name for Mañjuśrī who is worshipped as the Buddha of Wisdom. Mañjuśrī is believed to be the personification of transcendent knowledge and is mainly associated with wisdom and insights in Mahayana Buddhist tradition; he is also worshipped as *yidam* 'tutelary deity' and is invoked in astrological divination. A rational explanation as to why the same term *dʑambeyáŋ* is employed to refer to 'Buddha of Wisdom' as well as to the 'astrologer' is that the latter is believed to be the embodiment of the former. When a village astrologer is consulted it is the same thing as consulting the Buddha of Wisdom himself.

The village astrologer *dʑambeyáŋ* serves an essential role in the Brokpa community in ceremonies of birth, marriage, sickness, death, and also during other occasions such as going on a long journey, embarking on a professional career, or setting up a major business. The *dʑambeyáŋ* is the only qualified expert in the community who has the authority to perform the naming ceremony. There can be one or more *dʑambeyáŋ* in a village, and people have the option of consulting their favourite one. The father of the new baby, or another member of the family, go and personally invite the *dʑambeyáŋ* to hold the naming ceremony.

On the third day, the *dʑambeyáŋ* comes to the house of the newborn and makes simple but meticulous preparations for the special day. He prepares *tɕʰe-mar* <phye mar> (flour-butter) 'butter-flour' which is a mixture of roasted barley flour with a judicious mix of fresh butter. This substance is considered an auspicious offering and made during traditional New Year and other special ceremonies; and, usually, the *tɕʰe-mar* is placed on the altar.

After that, it is the time for ascertaining the baby's *ketsi*. The *dʑambeyáŋ* refers to his astrological materials, such as scriptures, charts, and matrixes, and works through the specifics of the *ketsi*. Technically, he examines the relationships between the *dʑuŋwa ŋá* 'five external elements', *lok^{h}or tɕuŋɲi* 'twelve-year (animal) cycle', *park^{h}a gyæ* 'eight trigrams', *méwa gu* 'nine mole/birthmark', *za: gyæ* 'eight planets', *dʑukar ɲer-gyæ* 'twenty-eight constellations', and the *tendel tɕuŋɲi* 'twelve interdependent links'.

All these astrological parameters are then entered into the astrological charts and their significance as provided in the scripture ascertained. The duty of the *dʑambeyáŋ* is to calculate the permutations and how they match in accordance with the birth details of the baby to construct the *ketsi* of the child. The significance of every parameter and its relationship with others is taken into account.

The enumeration and a brief explanation of every astrological category is given below, based on consultation with a lama of Merak, and my own basic knowledge as a speaker of a language in which similar astrological tradition is followed[7]:

a) *dʑuŋwa ŋá* 'five external elements'—*ɕiŋ* 'wood', *me* 'fire', *sa* 'earth', *tɕak* 'metal', and *tɕ^{h}u* 'water'.

These external elements are considered as forces of existence always interacting with one another. Based on their patterns of interaction, some favourable, unfavourable, and sometimes neutral, predictions concerning the child's future are made.

b) *lok^{h}or tɕuŋɲi* 'twelve-year cycle' (symbolised by twelve animal signs)—*dʑiwa* (Brokpa: *dʑe:*) 'rat', *láŋ* (Brokpa: *gleŋ*) 'ox', *tak* 'tiger', *yö* 'rabbit', *druk* (Brokpa: *bruk*) 'dragon', *ɖül* (Brokpa: *ru:*) 'snake', *tai* 'horse', *lu?* 'sheep', *ʈel* (Brokpa: *ɻiu*) 'monkey', *dʑa* 'rooster', *k^{h}i* (Brokpa: *kyi*) 'dog', and *p^{h}ak* 'pig'.

The system of observing a twelve-year cycle is based on these twelve animal signs. Each animal represents a particular year; and the child is designated the corresponding animal sign of the year in which they are born. Every animal is associated

[7] The transcription of the astrological terms is based on the general pronunciation of those terms by the lamas. If the spoken Brokpa has different pronunciation or a different term, it is indicated in parenthesis.

with certain personality traits and personal well-being, economic as well as psychological, and is believed to influence the child's personal well-being with its associated traits. The animal sign is considered the baby's *lo-tak* 'birth-year sign' and would be used for different purposes in life, but may not be worshipped as the baby's totem, as in some other cultures of the world.

c) *park^{h}a gyæ* 'eight trigrams' (represented by name of the elements: *li* (fire), *k^{h}on* (earth), *dak* (metal), *k^{h}en* (fire), *k^{h}am* (water), *gin* (wood), *zin* (earth), and *zon* (earth).

The *park^{h}a gyæ* has its origin in Chinese Astrology and its philosophy of *yang* and *yin*. The interaction between the active male force (*yang*) and the passive female force (*yin*) of the Universe is reflected in the eight trigrams in eight different directions. They are believed to govern the person's movements, both internal and external, the moment they are born. From these trigrams, among others, information on directions, whether favourable or unfavourable, can be inferred and accordingly predictions about the child's life are made.

d) *méwa gu* 'mole/birth mark': *tɕikar* 'one-white' (deities of medicine), *ɲinak* 'two-black' (demonic spirits), *sumt^{h}iŋ* 'three-azure' (lake spirits), *ʑidʑaŋ* 'four-green' (*naga*—water-deities), *ŋáser* 'five-yellow' (warrior deities), *ɖukar* 'six-white' (*dʑælpo*—a class of mischievous deities), *dünmár* 'seven-red' (*tsan*—a class of disease-causing spirits), *gyækar* 'eight-white' (local deities), and *gumár* 'nine-red' (deities of prosperity).

These are based on a system of nine numerals, arranged in squares, and each number is associated with a colour, and each numeral represents a class of astrological spirits. Each class of spirits is associated with certain characters. Each combination has different interpretations including karmic connection between the child's past and future lives, and some predictions about good things and bad things the child is likely to encounter in life are ascertained.

e) The five natal forces: *sok* 'life-force/vitality', *lű́* 'body/physical health', *wáŋt^{h}aŋ* 'charisma/personal power', *lúŋta* 'luck', and *lā́* 'soul'.

These forces are associated with different colours and external elements and each association has particular meaning. Every person or child is influenced by these forces differently. Depending on the child's birth details, various predictions about the child's life are made based on these forces.

f) *za: gyæ* 'eight planets': *ɲima* 'Sun', *dʱawa* (Brokpa: *dʱa:*) 'Moon', *míkmar* 'Mars', *l̥akpa* 'Mercury', *pʰurbu* 'Jupiter', *pasaŋ* 'Venus', *penpa* 'Saturn', and *datɕʰen* 'Moon Node'.

These planets are associated with other astrological parameters, namely external elements, twelve-year cycle animal signs, and trigrams. Each association has different meanings and certain predictions about the life of the child are made based on those associations.

g) The *dʑukar ɲiɕu tsagyæ* 'twenty-eight constellations' refers to twenty-eight lunar constellations found in the path of the moon.

It is believed that the moon meets each of these twenty-eight stars daily, and that they influence life on earth. Also, each constellation is believed to be the dwelling place of a particular deity. Both the residing deity and the interaction of the moon with other stars have different significance, and predictions about the child's life, temperament, sicknesses, etc., are made accordingly.

h) *tendel tɕuŋɲi* 'twelve interdependent links': *marikpa* 'ignorance', *dudʑe* 'volitional factors', *námɕe* 'consciousness', *miŋzuk* 'name and form', *kemtɕʰe* 'sense source', *rekpa* 'contact', *tsʰorwa* 'sensation', *sedpa* 'craving', *lenpa* 'grasping, strong desire', *sitpa* 'becoming', *kewa* 'birth', *gaɕi* 'old age and death'.

These twelve astrological parameters are the basis of Buddhist philosophy of understanding the nature of suffering in *kʰorwa* 'samsara/cyclic existence'. The twelve links are represented symbolically as *sitpa kʰorlo* 'wheel of life/existence' on a chart. It is believed that the seeds of bad actions can be destroyed, and it can be initiated from any independent link.

In astrology, each link has various interpretations for health, wealth, power, and so on. Based on the birth details of the child and their correspondence to the

'wheel of life', predictions such as what the child can become in life, number of friends and enemies, number of descendants, and lifespan, are made.

The astrological predictions are worked out under eleven sections: *námlo* 'year', *dʱawa* 'month', *reza:* 'day', *karma* 'star', *keta kʰorlo* 'wheel of birth examination' (different from 'wheel of life'), *düdʑor* 'zodiac time (exact time the child was born)', *tendel* 'dependent relation', *kepar* 'birth *parkʰa*, trigram', *kemé* 'birth mole, birthmark', *pʰamai rükʰam* 'the bone constituents of the parents', and *kʰandoi ketak* 'birth examination of female deity'.

Simply put, *ketsi* is forecasting the child's future including health, prosperity, family, education, career, calamities, and lifespan. All these predictions are carefully written down.

While the *dʑambeyáŋ* works on the child's *ketsi*, the members of the family, other relatives, neighbours, and village folks gather for the ceremony. Every family brings a bottle or a wooden container of *tɕʰaŋ* 'home-brewed liquor', a flask of tea, and some small gifts as a token of *tendel* 'auspicious connection'. Any guest who arrives is poured a *doŋtɕʰaŋ* 'welcome drink' (lit. 'frontal alcohol').

After the *dʑambeyáŋ* has completed writing the *ketsi*, everybody gathers in the altar room or the main room of the house and sits cross-legged on the floor. The mother of the baby or, either her mother or her sister, if she has any, would have already bathed the baby and swaddled it in a soft blanket. The baby is kept on the mother's lap, with head rested on the right hand of the mother. All the bottles and wooden containers of *tɕʰaŋ* and flasks of tea, brought by guests and those provided by the family, are set up in front of the *dʑambeyáŋ*. He is then offered three servings of *tɕʰaŋ* or three serving of tea if he is a teetotaller.

Then the *dʑambeyáŋ* reads out the contents of the child's *ketsi* aloud and provides explanations on those which are difficult for an ordinary person to comprehend. As mentioned above, the astrological findings can be both positive and negative. The *ketsi* itself will contain a number of antidotes to counteract some or all of the negative

ones, or the *dʑambeyáŋ* will prescribe antidotes based on his other scriptural texts. Some typical antidotes include recitation of religious texts, performing pujas, building statues, distributing alms, and if the child is going to live a short life, the parents may be advised to prevent the slaughtering of animals and save their lives by buying them. In some exceptional cases, if the child is extremely likely to encounter serious obstacles in life, the advice for the child may be to attend monastic education and become a monk or a nun.

Next, *saŋ* 'smoke-offering' is made either in the hearth or in a large iron pan. Typically, three large pieces of dry wood of equal size and length are used to light the fire along with several wood fragments and *saŋɕiŋ* 'smoke-offering plants', commonly juniper tree branches are put into the burning fire. The smoke offering is to cleanse *ɖip* 'defilement'. There are so many types of *ɖip* or defilements, such as *ke-ɖip* 'birth defilement', *ɕi-ɖip* 'death defilement', *bak-ɖip* 'marriage defilement', *zæ-ɖip* 'food defilement', *már-ɖip* 'blood defilement' (lit. 'red defilement'), etc. Human beings are likely to be polluted by contact with those things and they have to be purified with *saŋ*. During the naming ceremony it is to purify *ke-ɖip* 'birth defilement'.

Then a slab of fresh butter is placed inside three new broad birch leaves, arranged crisscross, and brought to the *dʑambeyáŋ* who takes a small pat of butter with the tips of his fingers and rubs it three times across the mother's forehead and three times across the child's forehead. He then places one *kʰadar* 'scarf' around the mother's shoulders and one over the child's body. Then every person gathered there would have brought a *kʰadar* 'scarf' each, and now offers their *kʰadar* and places it near the child and the mother. Some may give an envelope with a small amount of money.

Once the *kʰadar* offering is complete, the *dʑambeyáŋ* stands up and delivers a short speech. Generally, the *dʑambeyáŋ* would be someone quite eloquent, more so about this particular ceremony. He utters honeyed and auspicious words, with messages intended essentially for the child and sometimes also for the parents. He uses phrases such as: "Today, we have a new guest in this world.....", born in accordance with

the astrological birth letter composed by *pʰakpa dʑambeyáŋ* (Mañjuśrī—the Exalted One); parents and relatives are all gathered here today to welcome you", and so on. The d*ʑambeyáŋ* concludes his speech by wishing the child every happiness, prosperity, and success in life.

Following his speech, the *dʑambeyáŋ* formally announces the name of the child. The newborn baby is given two different names, an astrological name and a main name; the latter is more specific, and the child will be known by it throughout his or her life. The astrological name would have been already noted down in the *ketsi* and, in fact, not much attention is paid to it, and maybe referred to only during times of sickness. It is the main name that everybody has been anxiously waiting for in this ceremony.

Typically, the name is based on the names of some of the planets used in the astrological study, although the pronunciations can be slightly different from the names of the planets, such as Nima [ˈɲi.mɐ] 'Sun', Dawa [ˈdʱa.wa] 'Moon', Lhakpa [ˈl̥ək.pɐ] 'Mercury', Phurpa [ˈpʰʊɾ.bɐ] 'Jupiter', Pasang [pɐ.ˈsəŋ] 'Venus', Pemba [ˈpen.pɐ] 'Saturn'. A name can also be the generic term for 'star' which is Karma [ˈkəɾ.mɐ] or the name of a specific star such as Mindu [ˈmɪn.du]; and a name can also be the term for 'female deities' which is Khandro [ˈkʰən.dɔ] (Sanskrit *dakini*).

The name of the baby can also be derived from words which have spiritual and symbolic meaning such as Kelzang [ˈkɛːl.zəŋ] 'good fortune/luck', Pema [ˈpɛ.mɐ] 'lotus', Sherab [ˈɕeːrəp] 'wisdom', Sonam [sø.ˈnəm] 'merit', Tashi [ˈʈɐ.ɕi] 'auspiciousness', Yonten [ˈyøn.ten] 'knowledge, quality', and so on.

Quite remarkably, a baby can also be given the name of a person from outside the immediate family, who first came to the house after the delivery of the baby, especially if the name of that person is a good one. This stems from the belief that the temperament and behaviour traits of the baby can be somehow influenced by those of the person who first arrived.

It is more common to give double-barreled names than single names. There is no tradition of inheriting the family name and, whenever required, the second part of the double-barreled name is employed as the surname. In the case of a single-word name, that same word is employed as the surname, resulting in a reduplicated name on documents when travelling outside the country. The common single-word names given above can occur in any of two slots in a double-barreled name.

After the child has been named in this way, the *dʑambeyáŋ* sprinkles a pinch of *tɕʰe-mar* 'butter-flour' over the head of every person, and sometimes rub a bit on the cheek or chin, in order of seniority. After everyone is done, one of the senior guests does the same to the *dʑambeyáŋ*. Then the *dʑambeyáŋ* removes all scarves and places them on the altar keeping only one over the baby.

The guests are poured a round of *tendel-tɕʰaŋ* 'celebratory liquor' (lit. 'dependent-relation liquor') and then another round of drinks called *ʈaɕi-tɕʰaŋ* 'auspicious liquor'. After this some people will burst into song and dance while others sit and enjoy. Meanwhile, the main meal of the day, especially prepared for this occasion, is served. After the meal, song and dance continue for some time. Then, gradually, the guests start leaving and every one is poured a *dʑön-tɕʰaŋ* 'farewell liquor' before final departure from the house. Thus, the naming ceremony is formally concluded.

The *dʑambeyáŋ* submits a brief report containing the birth details of the child to the Gup's office 'the community head's office' (see §1.6.1), the child is included in the village census records, and the astrological responsibility of the *dʑambeyáŋ* finally ends. The naming ceremony of any child born in the main village is held strictly after three days; but, due to the practice of transhumance, if a baby is born in the temporary dwelling huts in the grazing lands, the mother and baby may end up staying three or four months outside of their main village. In such cases, the naming ceremony cannot be performed three days after the birth. However, as soon as they return to the main village house, the *dʑambeyáŋ* is invited and the naming ceremony of the child is conducted following the same convention.

1.5.5 The *ʤomo kora* pilgrimage

The Brokpa people, particularly in Merak and its nearby villages, follow a highly cherished ancestral tradition of making an annual pilgrimage to Jomo Phodrang, the abode of their patron deity Ama Jomo. This unbroken tradition of going on a pilgrimage to pay tribute to and receive blessings from their patron deity at least once a year is known as *ʤomo kora*. It is typically done in groups of three or four households, sometimes as many as ten households.

Literally, *ʤomo kora* means 'circumambulation of Jomo (Phodrang)'. The idea of 'circumambulation' is based on a belief that one can accumulate merits and purify defilements by walking around an object of veneration in a clockwise direction. However, this pilgrimage does not involve circumambulating Jomo Phodrang, because the whole abode of Jomo Phodrang is a mountain crag. Instead, *ʤomo kora* refers to the entire process of completing this pilgrimage as a ritualistic act of worship to their patron deity, beginning from home to Jomo Phodrang, the place of pilgrimage, and back again. It includes everything the pilgrims do on the way, at the place of pilgrimage, and for three days after their return. On different legs of this pilgrimage journey, some of the activities are performed as exact repetition of those performed during the first great journey of Ama Jomo and her entourage from Merak to the mountain crag which later came to be known as Jomo Phodrang.

Figure 17. A far-off view of Jomo Phodrang taken from Merak

By tradition, people make the *dʑomo kora* trip from the first through to the twentieth day of the eighth month (around September) in the Bhutanese lunar calendar. But after the restoration of the temple, originally built by Láma Kezang Deyön Tenzin, one of the emanations of Láma Jarepa, at the foot of Jomo Phodrang, the practice of going on this pilgrimage from the fifteenth to the twentieth day of the seventh month also started. The reason for this is that the consecration ceremony of the newly restored temple took place on the fifteenth of the seventh month and the great majority of the people had to go there on that day.

Pelgen (2007) mentions that the pilgrimage to the abode of Ama Jomo takes place during one month from the fifteenth of the seventh month through to the fifteenth of the eighth month. However, according to my consultants, it is not considered auspicious to make *dʑomo kora* pilgrimage during the *ɲiɕu* period of any lunar moon, which is from the twenty first to the end of any lunar month. In any case, the Brokpa people take *dʑomo kora* as a kind of personal obligation, something that one must fulfil or else one will be consumed with guilt for the rest of the year. Because of such strong beliefs, it is not uncommon to hear people say: "This year I have not yet done *dʑomo kora*", "I have the need to go on *dʑomo kora* this year", and suchlike.

The households who have agreed to go on *ʤomo kora* together complete preparation on the night of the fourteenth day of the month, whether seventh or eighth month of the Bhutanese lunar calendar. While most of the family members set out together, one or two members stay behind at home, and these members will join another group on a different day once the other family members have returned.

Typical preparations includes food and drink for personal consumption as well as for a *tsʰok* 'feast offering' to Ama Jomo; fish, pork, and egg, which are, as pointed out earlier, used as a single term *ɲa-pʰak-goŋ-suːm*, are strictly excluded from any foodstuffs, cooked or otherwise, and so are garlic and onion. The pilgrims also take bedclothes and cookware necessary for an overnight stay at Jomo Phodrang and every family makes sure that they take several sitting mats. These sitting mats are of both practical and symbolic importance, as will become clear later in this section. The saddles, bridles, brass sleigh bells, and some decorative items for horses, including colourful headbands, leather nosebands, saddle blankets, are some of the important symbolic items for this pilgrimage journey.

On the morning of the fifteenth day, the family members who stay behind, neighbours, and relatives come to see the group of pilgrims off bringing what is called *tɕætɕʰaŋ* 'see-off drink', which are alcoholic drinks and tea, and some eatables. There are two different see-off points: the pilgrims who begin their *ʤomo kora* journey from the main village of Merak hold *tɕætɕʰaŋ* at a place called Tawangthang, and those who start in the village of Gengo do it at Tshangchudruk. There is a *ʑuk-ʈʰi* (sitting-throne) 'stone dais' at Tshangchudruk on which Ama Jomo is believed to have sat while first travelling to Jomo Phodrang which was during the time when she was living the life of a supreme, but real, human being. This place is sacred to the Brokpa people.

Today, the commonly held belief is that their patron deity Ama Jomo comes to Tshangchudruk to gratefully receive every group of pilgrims. As symbolic gestures, a special sitting mat is spread over the stone dais of Ama Jomo and a cup of *tɕʰaŋ* or *ʔara* drink is placed at the front. Then *ʔara* liquor and tea are served to all men

and women, the pilgrims as well as those who have come to see them off. The men collect a moderate amount of money and leave *sölra* 'bestowing', firstly one amount as a symbolic offering to Ama Jomo and then another generous one to be shared by all the women who have come to see the pilgrims off.

Although *sölra* is in the form of cash, which is not to be thought of as a monetary compensation for goods and/or services, rather it is a fine tradition of showing loving kindness, and a matter of courtesy to thank the other party for their goodwill gesture. *Sölra* is a time-honoured tradition in the Brokpa villages, even followed by the locals themselves, and breaking that would be a woefully ignorant and careless act. One may be perceived as discourteous and disrespectful towards the dominant local culture, if not considered parsimonious.

After *tɕœ-tɕʰaŋ* drinks at Tshangchudruk, those who come to see the pilgrims off return home and the pilgrims continue their journey to Jomo Phodrang. It is customary for women to go ahead and wait for the men beside a clear stream called Tshangtshangchu and lay down sitting mats for the men. If the women cannot arrive in time and finish laying the sitting mats, they are liable for a *tɕʰœ* 'fine'. There are a number of cultural offenses in this *dʑomo kora* journey that one could commit and face fines, and it is a long-established cultural rule commonly accepted.

Traditionally, men would go on *dʑomo kora* pilgrimage riding horses, but this practice is dying out, and men also walk, just like the women. When the menfolk arrive at Tshangtshangchu, the women playfully splash water from the stream on the men and men do the same to women. This playful act is not just for the fun of it but is meant as a ritual cleansing from all kinds of *ɖip* 'defilements', especially *ke-ɖip* 'birth defilement', *ɕi-ɖip* 'death defilement', and *zœ-ɖip* 'food defilement', that they might have come into contact with knowingly or unknowingly. This is to ensure that they are clean, both physically and mentally, before setting out on this highly spiritual journey. All the pilgrims have a round of *tsʰok-tɕʰaŋ* 'feast drinks' by the side of the stream, men offer *sölra* to women, and all the pilgrims resume their journey.

Since time immemorial, it has become customary for the pilgrims to halt for lunch at a place called Muktangmo. The name of this place is actually the name of its inhabiting local deity (Brokpa people also address her with the Jomo title, so the local deity is Jomo Muktangmo). Jomo Muktangmo is believed to be the *gosuŋ* 'gatekeeper' of Ama Jomo. The pilgrims hang some prayer flags called *pʰanba* made from sheep's wool, make some *tsʰok* 'feast offering' in Jomo Mutango's honour, and then eat. Whether it is lunchtime or not, it has remained traditionally obligatory for every pilgrimage group to eat lunch at Muktangmo. Then, again, they serve a round of *tsʰok-tɕʰaŋ* 'feast drink' and *sölra* is bestowed on the women. After steadily climbing for some time, they pass a place called Komchu Sangtangsa and arrives at a place called Komchu Kangyel where a session of *tsʰok-tɕʰaŋ* and *sölra*-giving is again repeated. The pilgrims leave some drinks hidden at this place, enough for a round when returning.

The next place the pilgrims make a stop is at Jomotathaksa meaning 'the place where Jomo's horse was tethered'. Just like the other places of stop at different stages of this journey, the women try to arrive ahead of the men and lay the sitting mats, or else risk a fine. In the olden days, when men used to go on this *dʑomo kora* journey exclusively by riding horses, they deliberately would ride fast just to make the women pay fines. This was not difficult because the horses walked faster up the hill than the women. If any man falls off the horse or drops any horse equipment, then the men also have to pay a fine to the womenfolk. Some other things which make men liable for a fine in the course of this journey are their hats falling off, *l̥amrok* 'boot tie' becoming loose and boots unrolling, and so on.

Due to the practice of horse riding in the past, both men and women would end up paying substantial fines. Nowadays, not many people ride horses and the pilgrims, especially the women, do not end up paying many fines. But the tradition of women walking fast ahead of men and laying sitting mats for men, and getting fined for such failure, is continued. Even though horse riding has diminished, horses are still used for carrying things. When men arrive at Jomotathaksa either riding horses or leading

them, women always try to be there in advance and take one of the horses and tether it to a stone block. If the women fail to tether a horse, they again have to face a fine.

At Jomotathaksa, some men take part in horse racing. Known as *baŋgyuk* in Brokpa, and in Dzongkha, horse racing is rather uncommon in other parts of Bhutan. But surprisingly it used to be quite popular among the Brokpa people in the past. Unfortunately, like some other native cultural practices, this minority sport too is disappearing. According to the locals, their horse racing sport originated during the time of Ama Jomo, when she was making her epic journey to the mountain crag, later to become her permanent abode.

Local legend has it that when Ama Jomo and her entourage arrived at Jomotathaksa which is quite an open plain, her warriors took part in horse racing to keep her entertained. Thereafter, it was continued by every pilgrimage group. Since it was originally held as a form of entertainment, the idea of winning and losing is not important in the horse racing done at this place. Nonetheless, Brokpa people passionately embrace the custom of competition, also indicated by some other sports such as archery matches with the neighbouring villages, wrestling among men as a way of demonstrating prowess, and engaging in playful singing dialogues (§1.5.1). In every such traditional activity, one person or one team tries to be better than another. At Jomotathaksa too, after the horse racing, if there are some enthusiastic men, or even without horse racing, a round of *tsʰok-tɕʰaŋ* is served and *sölra* 'bestowing' given.

The next place the pilgrims come to halt is Chumodurdur. The name of this place is derived from the word *tɕʰu* 'water, stream, river'. Some natural phenomena, such as mountains, rivers, and streams, probably were considered feminine in the proto-language, just like animate beings. Therefore the female marker *–mo* is inserted in between the term for 'stream' and the inherently reduplicated name *durdur* which is an onomatopoeia based on the sound of a flowing stream. As with many other places, this place was so named by Ama Jomo during her first trip from Merak to Jomo Phodrang.

Local lore has it that Ama Jomo and her entourage needed water to cook lunch, and they searched for a water source when they reached this place. They could hear the low gurgling noise *durdur* of an underground stream, but the stream could not be located. Ama Jomo said the time was not ripe or auspicious for that stream to be revealed to the people. Therefore, as an alternative, she revealed a *ɖuptɕʰu* 'blessed water source' nearby to fulfil the immediate need as well as for the benefit of the people afterwards.

Note that the term *ɖuptɕʰu* is used to refer to any small water source first revealed and then blessed by a learned Buddhist master for the benefit of sentient beings. A *ɖuptɕʰu* is believed to contain natural healing properties and can also cleanse *ɖip* defilements. A *ʑapdʑe*, generally referring to 'footprint' but here meaning the 'hoofmark' of a mule of Ama Jomo, which can be seen on a rock face at Chumodurdur, is considered sacred by the pilgrims. There is also a rock believed to be the body form of a *mákpön* 'commander' of Ama Jomo, supposedly commissioned there to check the pilgrims for any *ɖip* 'defilement'. If any member of the pilgrimage should be polluted with any kind of defilement, the entire group can get caught in the rain, and sometimes storm, on their way up to Jomo Phodrang.

After crossing a place called Kayakpa, the pilgrims arrived at Thrütshang. No clear etymological origin can be found for Kayakpa, but Thrütshang is obviously derived by compounding the honorific noun *ʈʰü* 'bath' and *tsʰaŋ* 'nest/lair/dwelling'. While her *mákpöns* 'commanders' cleared the path, Ama Jomo took a bath and had a short rest from the tiring journey, hence the name Thrütshang [ˈʈʰyːˈtsʰəŋ] literally meaning 'bathing lair'. There is another *ʑuk-ʈʰi* 'stone dais' of Ama Jomo at this place. Just as they do at other sacred places on the way, where there are stone daises, here too a sitting mat is spread over the stone dais in honour of Ama Jomo and then for all the pilgrims. Then women pour a round of drinks for men as well as for themselves, and the men give *sölra* to the women, maintaining the centuries-old tradition of the pilgrimage journey.

Next, the pilgrims pass through a place known as Chopoti Chudruk. This name is clearly based on *tɕʰö poti tɕu-ɖuk* 'sixteen volumes of Dharma scriptures' and undoubtedly named after the volumes of scriptures carried by Ama Jomo and her entourage. The next place is Rangthak literally 'millstone'. It is believed that there is a *ser=gi raŋtʰak* 'golden millstone' and a *ŋül=gi raŋtʰak* 'silver millstone' at this place. From Chopoti Chudruk, following the well-established custom, the women leave beforehand and walk to Gogolamo, the sacred mountain of the Brokpa community, which is mentioned in a popular tribute song to Ama Jomo, titled *ʔemo tɕile*.

The proper name of the mountain is Gorgorla, based on *gorgor* which is an inherently reduplicated adjective describing a 'circular' shape. The historical syllable-final rhotic /r/ in Classical Tibetan, although preserved in some other Brokpa words, is dropped in this case and the word is pronounced *gogo*, hence 'Gogolamo'. This is probably an influence from Dzongkha in which the final /r/ is lost almost altogether. As can be seen, the feminine gender marker *–mo* is attached in adoration to the name of the mountain.

At Gogolamo too, the womenfolk arrive in advance and lay sitting mats for the men. Remarkably, a round of drinks, referred to as *tsʰok-tɕʰaŋ* 'feast drinks' elsewhere, served here at the mountain is referred to as *la-tɕʰaŋ* 'mountain drinks'. And just like in other places, men give *sölra* to women. Anyone undertaking the *dʑomo kora* trip for the first time must do a song in front of other fellow pilgrims at Gogolamo. If one does not know how to sing, one must make a sound of an animal.

After Gogolamo, the pilgrims eventually reach Jomo Phodrang, the abode of Ama Jomo, their ultimate place of pilgrimage. Because it is the abode of their patron deity, Jomo Phodrang is considered to be the most important place of veneration.

Jomo Phodrang itself is a spectacular rocky mountain ridge rising high in a chain of mountains, and there is a small latsʰo 'Spirit Lake' of Ama Jomo known as Tsangdamo at the foot of the mountain. Some pilgrims pitch tents in a little flat open ground by the lake while others occupy a modest guest house nearby. On the night of

the arrival, the pilgrims make *karme* 'sacred fire' (literally, 'white fire') before the lake. After dinner and drinks, the pilgrims entertain themselves by performing song-and-dance acts while others engage in *kʰapɕœ* 'playful singing dialogue'. Several rounds of drinks are shared among the pilgrims.

The next day is the day of worship for the patron deity Ama Jomo and all the men and some women climb up Jomo Phodrang. As stated in §1.3.1, all men can climb up Jomo Phodrang, but only those women who have never had *ɖelwa* 'contact' (referring to 'sexual contact') can climb the mountain. There is a narrow flat area on the mountain ridge of Jomo Phodrang which is extremely precipitous, where *lúŋdar* 'prayer flags', made of local paper known a *deɕok* or *ɖukɕok*, are hung. Every new group of pilgrims removes the old prayer flags and replaces them with new ones.

Atop Jomo Phodrang, the pilgrims make the *saŋ* 'smoke offering', and if there is a lama or any other religious figure among the group, they perform *dʑomo sölkʰa* 'petition prayer to Ama Jomo' and *serkem* 'libations offering' and the lama chants recitation of the texts. Then *tsʰok* 'feast offering' comprised of food and drinks are placed on the ground. All kinds of offering are then made to Ama Jomo. If there are feast offerings left by the previous group of pilgrims, those items of offering are taken by the new group as blessings from Ama Jomo and fresh offerings are left instead.

After all these acts of worship to Ama Jomo are completed atop Jomo Phodrang, the pilgrims slowly descend to the lakeside. On the way down they will encounter several sacred objects and sites of worship. In particular, there is a nose-like rock protrusion at which the pilgrims hurl their caps. If the cap ends up hanging on the nose one has repaid the parent's kindness. Others are the *ɖuptɕʰu* 'blessed water source' from which people take home modest quantities for therapeutic, and the *pʰoɖaŋ* 'dwelling abode (of a deity)' at which people pray and make wishes. In Brokpa, as well as in many Tibeto-Burman languages of the region, *pʰoɖaŋ* has at least three meanings: 1) a historically important large monastery, 2) a palace of an important figure, and 3) any site, small or large, in which a deity is believed to be dwelling.

Then there is a rock formation in the shape of an elephant's tusk. People throw a string of rosary beads at it. If the rosary string hits and hangs on the tusk-shaped rock, it is considered auspicious. The next place of worship is a rock face shaped like a *baga* 'female genitalia' which is believed to represent that of Ama Jomo. Then there are places of meditation for Lopon Khije, a learned Buddhist practitioner, and for Ama Jomo. Further on is a meditation cave of Ama Jomo's shepherd and a naturally occurring rock believed to be a saddle of Ama Jomo.

These all-natural phenomena are directly associated with Ama Jomo, their patron deity, and are held particularly sacred by the Brokpa people. After seeing these sacred sites and praying there, the pilgrims who have climbed to the top of Jomo Phodrang collect fresh birch leaves before arriving at the Spirit Lake. The leaves are thrown in the lake one leaf at a time and the *ts^{h}o-tak* 'lake signs' are observed. A single birch leaf is thrown in for each member in the family, both *kepa* 'male' and *zama* 'female', also one birch leaf for *zaŋ* cattle (the cattle of the yak family is known as *zaŋ(nor)* meaning 'excellent (cattle)'), one birch leaf for cows and another for sheep. There are certain ways to decide whether the 'lake sign' is *a zaŋ-tak* 'excellent sign' or a *ŋan-tak* 'bad sign' for whoever it is meant for during the rest of the year.

During the entire time in which men and women, generally young girls, who have fulfilled the criteria for climbing up the Jomo Phodrang mountain ridge do the aforementioned rituals, the womenfolk who did not meet the criteria for climbing, make *ts^{h}ok* 'feast offerings' by the lake in honour of Ama Jomo. The women also make butter pellets, equal to the number of heads of cattle one's family owns and throw them into the lake. This act is to avert bad things from happening to their cattle and to bless them with abundance of dairy products during the year.

After those who climbed up Jomo Phodrang return to the lakeside, all members of the pilgrimage group partake of the sumptuous feast offerings. Typically, a family

who owns cattle would have brought an entire day's yield of butter and cheese, regardless of how many milking cattle they have at the time, to be included in the *tsʰok* offering.

Three varieties of feast offerings are typically made at the lakeside: 1) *dʑomo tsʰok* 'feast offering to Ama Jomo'; 2) *líŋʑi tsʰok* 'feast offering to the Four Continents'; and 3) *dzambala tsʰok* 'feast offering to the Deity of Wealth'. Everybody can eat (1) and (2), while only those who have cattle can eat (3). The pickled vegetables and meat brought by all the families are put in one container and mixed together, while butter and cheese are put in another container, and are also mixed together. It is customary for all to get into playful fights and rubbing butter into each other's faces.

Finally, all men and women stand up and perform one song-and-dance especially dedicated to Ama Jomo. The name of the song is *ʔemo tɕile* and is performed not only during the *dʑomo kora* pilgrimage, but also during other important social events and during big national celebrations. This song has become phenomenally popular in Bhutan. The words of the song are originally in native Brokpa, perhaps also with some Dakpa words, but while writing it down the non-native writers tended to make it sound more Classical Tibetan or Dzongkha. Besides helping to preserve the poetic expression of their language for future generations, this song helps Brokpa people foster a sense of their identity.

Once the song dedicated to Ama Jomo has been sung, the pilgrims return home. It is believed that Ama Jomo will accompany the pilgrims up to Gogolamo and see them off from there. Therefore, a separate sitting mat is kept for Ama Jomo and, after a round of drinks, the pilgrims sing that same song once more, bid final farewell to Ama Jomo, and then continue their homeward journey. On the way home the tradition of women walking ahead, laying sitting mats, serving drinks to men and to themselves, men giving *sölra* to women, and so on, is followed in a couple of halting points, namely at Gogolamo and at Komchukangyel (where some drinks were stashed away during

the onward journey). If a group of pilgrims returning from Jomo Phodrang meets a group going there, they sit together and share drinks.

It is customary for the group of pilgrims who arrives first at a halting point to lay the sitting mats. However, the group who laid the sitting mats first does not have to contribute anything but sit and enjoy the drinks provided by the members of the other group of pilgrims. The *sölra* has to be given by the group of men who did not lay the sitting mats. On their return journey, the pilgrims bring odd numbers, typically three, five, seven new birch tree leaves, without any markings, from Jomo Muktangmo. Theses birch leaves are considered the *lá* 'life-force' of Ama Jomo and are brought as blessings to all the animals.

When arriving at the village, the pilgrims go inside the house of every individual member of the group. The ones who stayed behind at home make a *saŋ* 'smoke offering' and would have prepared *ʔara* liquor and tea. The pilgrims have a round of drinks in each house. This final drink is known as *kor-tɕʰaŋ* 'round drinks', so named because the group has been to every house. While partaking of the *kor-tɕʰaŋ* drinks at every house, the returned pilgrims sing together *ʔemo tɕile*, a special song in honour of Ama Jomo, and then dance wildly. They then proceed to stamp on the feet of those who did not go and utter the onomatopoeic words *ɲét ɲét*, in a gesture of sharing blessings from Ama Jomo. Once every house has been visited the pilgrims finally return to their own home.

On the next day, the pilgrims gather again for a final round of drinks known as *keri-tɕʰaŋ* in one of the pilgrimage member's house. Each family brings *baŋ-tɕʰaŋ*, a type of fermented grain drinks, and some food such as *yo:* 'puffed rice' and *pʰendaŋ* 'roasted and rolled maize'. At first, the women make the men drink a bit of *baŋ-tɕʰaŋ* and eat a little *yo:* with their hands while singing, and then sprinkle some *yo:* over the men's heads, and the men do the same to the women. Then they sit together and chat about the pilgrimage over cups of drinks. Some burst into song and start to

dance, women typically singing the usual *ʔemo tɕile* song and men typically another song called *paŋla kebi*.

After returning home, every member of the pilgrimage must wear the same dress with which they have gone to Jomo Phodrang for three continuous days, even if the clothes got wet in the rain. If anyone breaks this cultural rule, they have to pay a fine to the other members of the group. This way the *dʑomo kora* pilgrimage of one group is complete and formally comes to an end. Even though the pilgrimage is to be undertaken once a year, one has the option of going any number of times.

1.6 Political and social organization

1.6.1 Political organization

Today, Bhutan thrives on a political system of parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy. The country had been a territory ruled by numerous feudal chieftains, but beginning in the early seventeenth century continuing till the early twentieth century, there developed a system of governance called *lúk ɲí* <lugs gnyis> 'dual-system'—spiritual and temporal. This system led to the emergence of Bhutan as a nation state and since the beginning of the twentieth century the hereditary monarchy has played a pivotal role in cementing the national sovereignty of Bhutan. Notably, Bhutan was never colonized by any foreign power.

The strong spiritual tradition of the country has long influenced profoundly the day-to-day life of the people. Chöke (literally, 'Dharma Language') was not only associated with religious practices, but also with administration and education. Because of that, Chöke had considerable influence on the lexicons, and also to varying degrees on the grammatical systems of the spoken languages of Bhutan. Although the road to democracy was made easy by successive monarchs, it was the Fourth King, the father

of the socio-economic philosophy of Gross National Happiness, who securely established true democracy in Bhutan. It was the Fourth King's indomitable will to ensure that Bhutan achieved democracy during his lifetime, although the people in every district expressly requested him not to do so when he travelled the country to discuss the draft constitution with them. In 2008, Bhutan uniquely transitioned to parliamentary democracy and in the same year the Constitution was promulgated. Currently, the Fifth King is the head of state and like his father, the Great Fourth King, he too has been exclusively devoted to democratic ideals, and has worked selflessly to help the people, quickly earning the name 'People's King'.

Enshrined in Bhutan's constitution are three branches of government: executive, legislative, and judicial. These three branches of government are associated with the 'temporal system' of governance. In addition, Zhung Dratshang (Central Monastic Body) and Je Khenpo (Chief Abbot) who is the spiritual head of the country continue the centuries-old tradition of the 'spiritual system'. The Central Monastic Body is associated with religious matters and is exclusively apolitical. The members of the religious community are seen as above politics and are not required to vote.

The head of the government—the executive branch—is the Prime Minister, elected by the public, and the highest executive body is Lhengye Zhungtshok (Council of Ministers). The Prime Minister and his team of ministers, recommended by the Prime Minister and endorsed by the King, forms Lhengye Zhungtshog. The legislative function is fulfilled by a bicameral parliament consisting of Gyalyong Tshogde (National Council) and Gyalyong Tshogdu (National Assembly), both popularly elected houses. The judicial function is performed by the Royal Court of Justice, consisting of the Supreme Court, the High Court, the Dzongkhag (District) Courts, and the Dungkhag (Sub-district) Courts (the Judicial Service Act of Bhutan 2007). The Supreme Court and High Court are in the capital city Thimphu. Every district has their own Dzongkhag Court, save for the capital city which has a number of district-equivalent courts because of the larger population. In some sub-districts, there is a Dungkhag Thrimkhang

(Sub-district Court) and in other sub-districts, the Dungpa performs double duty as an executive head and as Dungthrim (Sub-district Magistrate).

Bhutan consists of twenty Dzongkhag (Districts), fifteen Dunkhag (Sub-districts), and 205 Gewog (Blocks) besides a number of Thromde 'City Municipalities' which are still undecided in some cases. These various administrative institutions—Dzongkhag, Dunkhag, Gewog, and Thromde— were introduced by successive Monarchs, as part of a decentralization process. After the enactment of the Local Government Act of Bhutan (2009), they took over all local government, completing the decentralization process. The Dzongkhag Tshogdu (District Council) is the highest decision-making body in the district. Equivalent to the number of districts, there are twenty local governments.

The executive head of a district is known as Dzongda (District Governor). The sub-districts were amalgamated into larger districts for effective service delivery. The head of a sub-district is called Dungpa (Sub-district Officer) and has a non-voting seat at the District Council. Every district has Dzongkhag Tshogdu (District Council) as its non-legislative executive body of the Local Government. One of the Gups (Community Heads) under a district is elected as the Thrizin (Chairperson) of the Dzongkhag Tshogdu. The Dzongda, the executive head of a district, can participate only as an observer. The members of Dzongkhag Tshogdu are: Gups (Community Heads), Mangmis (Community Representatives), a representative of Dzongkhag Thromde (Class A) in that district, and another representative from Yenlag Thromde (Class B) in that district.

A Gewog consists of several Chiwogs (Sub-communities/Sub-blocks), and the head of a Gewog is called Gup (Community Head). A Chiwog can be one or more villages and has a Tshogpa (Sub-community/Village Representative). At the Gewog level, there is a Gewog Tshogde (Community Council) as its non-legislative executive body. The Gup acts as the Chair and the members are Mangmi who functions as Deputy Gup, and several Tshogpas (Community Representatives). The number of Tshogpas

will depend on the size of the Gewog. All the members of the Gewog Tshogdu—Gup, Mangmi, and Tshogpas—are elected by the public.

A Thromde is also a non-legislative administrative body that carries out decentralization works. It is divided into two classes: Dzongkhag Thromde (Class A) and Yenlag Thromde (Class B) and there is Thromde Tshogde (Municipal Council) as its non-legislative body. The head of a Thromde is called Thrompon (Mayor) and is elected by the public. There can be several members of the Thromde Tshogde, all appointed by the people. The Thromdes are either under the Dzongkhag administration if it is Class A or under Gewog administration if it is Class B.

In the Brokpa-speaking areas, there is one Dungkhag (Sub-district) office based in Sakteng which has a Dungpa as its executive head. This sub-district office is part of the district administration of Trashigang. Merak and its nearby Brokpa villages form one Gewog (Block, Community) while Sakteng and its nearby Brokpa villages form another. There is a Gewog Tshogde (Community Council) in Merak, led by a Gup, a Mangmi, and five Tshogpas. Similarly, in Sakteng too, there is a Gewog Tshogde, comprised of a Gup, a Mangi, and five Tshogpas. Both Merak Gewog and Sakteng Gewog are under the local administration of the Sakteng Dungkhag which, in turn, is under the district administration of Trashigang Dzongkhag.

People seek help from their Tshogpa (Village Representative) for the settlement of disputes, particularly if it is a minor one. If a dispute cannot be resolved locally by the Tshogpa, or if there is a major issue, people go to the Gewog Administration Office and report either to the Mangmi or to the Gup. Then a case can come before the Dungkhag Thrimkhang 'Sub-district Court' (or Dungkhag if there is no Dungkhag Thrimkhang at the sub-district level). If it cannot be resolved, or if one party is not happy with an outcome, at that level a case can go to, in hierarchical order, the District Court, the High Court, and ultimately the Supreme Court.

1.6.2 Social organization and kinship

Brokpa is a small-scale society whose people predominantly adopt a transhumant lifestyle and making a living as cattle herders (§1.3.2). There are no stratified social classes and no local chiefs. The members of the Gewog Tshogde (Community Council), the local governing body, in both Merak and Sakteng are all popularly elected by the people for a fixed term of five years. The head of the sub-district office in Sakteng is a bureaucrat with specific executive and judicial functions and has no role in Gewog Tshogde (§1.6.1). Every decision is taken democratically.

As pointed out in §1.2.1, the Brokpa people believe that their villages were founded several centuries ago by two important historical figures, Lama Jarepa and Ama Jomo who was held to be a manifestation of a goddess. The lineage of Lama Jarepa continues to this day in a line of reincarnated *tulku* 'emanation, manifestation' and Ama Jomo is worshipped as their patron deity (§1.2.1) and for the Brokpa people, she resides in her abode and is always there to help them (§1.5.5). Thus, both have achieved some sort of immortality.

As discussed in §1.2.1, the Brokpa people have a strong sense of history. The stories of their place of origin and their ancestors' journeys are told with fierce pride and satisfaction. The knowledge of their history, including oral traditions, is handed down from generation to generation, and is always kept alive.

Buddhism plays an essential role in the day-to-day life of the people. Each village has one or more Buddhist temples, and every family has some kind of altar room. The religious ceremonies are conducted in public temples, as well as in private homes, at regular intervals (§1.2.3). The Buddhist scriptures that exist in this part of the world were either translated from Sanskrit to Chöke or were first cast in this classical language itself. Because of that, only Chöke is considered appropriate for dealing with Buddhism. Not only the scriptures, but also the Uchen script and other associated scripts are regarded as sacred by the people. For example, if there is a

piece of paper lying on a footpath or anywhere with something written on it in the traditional script, people will quickly pick it up to either burn or place it somewhere appropriate, because stepping on the letters, irrespective of the contents, is a sacrilege.

Buddhist iconographies are vitally important; in fact temples are sacred only because they house various Buddhist iconographies although blessings by high lamas add sacredness. People worship and pray to these iconographies, make offerings and prostrations and also perform circumambulation of the temples and stupas. The term *tɕʰospa* 'dharma practitioner' can be employed as a generic term to refer to lamas, *gomtɕʰen* 'lay monk', *geloŋ* 'monk', *ʔanim* 'nun', *geɕe* 'spiritual benefactor, Buddhist scholar'. The dharma practitioners occupy a special place in the Brokpa social organization and are always held in deep respect. This set of dharma practitioners fulfils the role of priests elsewhere in the world. They perform pujas in accordance with the Buddhist tradition they adhere to. The language they use in all pujas is exclusively Chöke.

Besides the dharma practitioners, there is a class of shamans who are also important in the Brokpa society. They are known as *pawo* literally meaning 'hero' and a female one is known as *pamo* literally 'heroine'. The lexical root for shaman is *pa-* 'bravery, courage' to which a morphological process of suffixation, *-wo* for male and *–mo* for female, is applied. Both *pawo* and *pamo* take the role of healers. These shamans, although it existed in the past, has declined in the Brokpa villages and may be hired from neighbouring villages to perform the divination for them.

If a family member is taken gravely ill, a shaman performs a ritual in which they go into a mesmeric trance and, in that state, communicates with the spirits. Sometimes, if a sickness is caused by a dead person, that dead person speaks through the shaman or the two communicate and the dead person is identified. In this semi-conscious state the shaman practices divination. The language used in rituals is a mix of Chöke and the native spoken language of the *pawo* or *pamo* and so an interpreter is hired from the locality of the shaman to translate the divinations orally.

There is another minority class of healers known as *pʰremin* in some Tshangla-speaking areas. In Brokpa this class of shaman is referred to by terms like *l̥abu*, *lúbu* or a juxtaposition of these two terms *l̥abu lúbu*, all meaning 'shaman'. A shaman is also referred to by a descriptive term *yu = gi tɕotʰap gya-gan* 'The healer of the village' or 'one who does healing in the village'. The healing system practised by this class of shaman is a remnant of Bon, a pre-Buddhist (partially overlapping) spiritual tradition in some areas of the Himalayas. They are also known as *bonpo* 'Bon practitioner', particularly in other parts of Bhutan. There are certain rituals which can be performed only by the *l̥abu*. The language they use is a combination of the native tongue and Chöke. The services of all these three classes of *tɕʰospa*, *pawo* and *pamo*, and *l̥abu* are hired and there is no preferred order of hiring during times of sickness. However, more often than not, modern medical practitioners receive second preference.

As stated in §1.5.4, the local astrologer occupies a special place in the Brokpa social organization. The astrologer fulfils a crucial role in conducting important ceremonies including naming ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. He may also be consulted before going on a long journey, starting a business, taking part in a competition, and so on. Because of such importance, he is referred to as *dʑambeyáŋ*, the same name they call the 'Buddha of Wisdom'.

The Brokpa speakers of different villages coexist harmoniously although some are spatially quite distant. They clearly demonstrate a feeling of kinship and closeness to one another. The Brokpa people also foster cordial relations with their neighbours (§1.3.2). They combine a sense of identity at the micro-village level, generally, with a common identity in the eyes of the nation or the world.

The Brokpa people live in small villages and have an articulated classificatory kinship system. Generally, Brokpa society recognizes both patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups. Therefore, in an ideal situation, people associate themselves equally with patrilineal kinsmen and matrilineal kinsmen but in reality may affiliate more with either line of descent. Table 1 gives an overview of the Brokpa kinship system.

Table 1. Brokpa kinship system

EGO's direct links		**PATRILINEAL**	**MATRILINEAL**
ŋa=i	(EGO = GEN) 'my'	***pʰui ʔani*** 'innermost aunt' (father's elder sister & younger sister)	***pʰui ʔaʑaŋ*** 'innermost uncle' (mother's elder brother & younger brother)
ʔapa	'father'	***ʔap bombo*** 'big father' (father's elder brother) ***ʔakʰu*** 'father's younger brother' ***ʔap tɕʰuŋku*** 'small father' (father's younger brother)	
ʔama	'mother'	***ʔam bombo*** 'big mother' (father's elder brother's wife, if elder than EGO's mother) ***ʔam tɕʰuŋku*** 'small mother' (father's elder brother's wife, father's younger brother's wife, if younger than ego's mother)	***ʔam bombo*** 'big mother' (mother's elder sister) ***ʔam tɕʰuŋku*** 'little mother' (mother's younger sister)
ʔau	'elder brother'	***ʔau*** 'cousin brother' (elder than EGO)	
nou	'younger brother'	***nou*** 'cousin brother' (younger than EGO)	
ʔaʑi	'elder sister'	***ʔaʑi*** 'cousin sister' (elder than EGO)	
noumo	'younger sister'	***noumo*** 'cousin sister' (younger than EGO)	
ʔou	'son'		
bomo	'daughter'		
ʔaʑaŋ	'father-in-law'	***ʔaʑaŋ*** 'uncle' (father's sisters' husbands)	
ʔani	'mother-in-law'		***ʔani*** 'aunt' (mother's brothers' wives)
ʑaŋzen	'brother-in-law'		***ʑaŋzen*** 'cousin brother' (both elder & younger)
o̯romo	'sister-in-law'		***o̯romo*** 'cousin sister' (both elder & younger)
tsʰowo	'nephew'	***tsʰowo*** 'nephew'	***tsʰowo*** 'nephew'
tsʰomo	'niece'	***tsʰomo*** ‘niece’	***tsʰomo*** 'niece'

The kinship terms *meme*, also referred to as *mep*^{h}, 'grandfather', *ʔe* 'grandmother', *meme gepo* 'great-grandfather' and *ʔe gepo* 'great-grandmother' are employed to refer to the grandparents and great grandparents from both the descent groups—patrilineal and matrilineal—as well as affinal; that is, parents and grandparents of uncles and aunts who are linked by marriage. The presence of a classificatory kinship system in Brokpa is indicated by the fact that a particular kinship terminology is used to refer to different types of relationship. For example, the term *ʔau* 'elder brother' is used to refer to male cousins (sons of father's brothers) older than ego. However, mother's sister's sons and daughters are referred to by separate kin terms, *ʑaŋzen* and *ɻomo* respectively. These same terms are employed to refer to brother-in-law and sister-in-law.

Brokpa probably had consanguine and affinal distinction in the past. Traditionally, the maternal uncles would be referred to as *p*^{h}*ui ʔaʑaŋ* 'innermost uncle' and paternal aunts as *p*^{h}*ui ʔani* which can be contrasted with *ʔaʑaŋ* 'father-in-law' and *ʔani* 'mother-in-law'. Based on a working rule of thumb, all are integrally related to one another, and each person has moral and social obligations to comply with according to where one fits in the kinship system.

Note that kinship nouns form a closed subclass of nouns. A kinship noun has to be obligatorily possessed the first time it is introduced in a discourse, and it takes the associative plural marking (see §4.4.1.3).

1.7 Genetic classification

Brokpa is a Central Bodish language within the Trans-Himalayan (Tibeto-Burman)[8] language family (see among others, van Driem 1991b, 1994, 1998; Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2019). There are about 441 languages within the Tibeto-Burman language family, out of which 84 are Bodish and 39 are Central Bodish (see Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2019). Tournadre (2014) refers to Brokpa by the name 'Mera Sakteng

[8] The language family names 'Trans-Himalayan' and 'Tibeto-Burman' are used interchangeably in this grammar.

Brokpa-ke' and groups it under 'Southern section' of Tibetic languages. The terms 'Bod' and 'Tibet' have the same meaning; the former is an endonym and the latter an exonym, both referring to the same place. The term 'Central Bodish' was first postulated by Shafer (1955) as a unit under the Bodic Division. Excluding Tshangla and Dakpa (Dwag, Takpa), Shafer (1955, 1966) included Bhutan, supposedly referring to all other languages of Bhutan, under Central Bodish. He recognized Tshangla as a separate branch and Dakpa as an East Bodish language.

Discussion on the classification of the Sino-Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman languages can be found in Shafer (1955, 1966, 1967, 1968), Benedict (1972), Matisoff (1991, 2000, 2003), and van Driem (1997, 2001, 2003, 2011). There are other scholars who have reviewed the structure of this phylogeny (see for example, Bradley 1997, 2002; Burling 2003; Matisoff 2003) and more recently a proposal on the classification of the smaller languages under this genetic group by Blench and Post (2013). Similarly, Hyslop (2013) provides an initial comparative reconstruction across languages of the East Bodish subgroup.

van Driem (2001, 2002, 2003, 2011, 2014) proposes an agnostic 'Fallen Leaves' model of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic phylum, provided in Figure 18.

Figure 18. van Driem's (2011) Fallen Leaves Model of Trans-Himalayan languages

This model aims to "discover the structure of the family tree by working up from the firmer ground of lower-level subgroups to the higher levels of superordinate subgroups" (van Driem 2011). The leaves on this forest floor, according to van Driem, have all fallen from a single tree known as Tibeto-Burman. van Driem also suggests a geographically more neutral term 'Trans-Himalayan'—instead of Sino-Tibetan—which may consist of one language family or, maybe even, several.

After the First Linguistic Survey of Bhutan was undertaken in 1991, on the initiative of the Dzongkha Development Commission, van Driem (1991b,1997, 1998) provided an internal subgrouping of the languages identifying nineteen different languages. A language map of Bhutan is given in Figure 19.

Figure 19. Languages of Bhutan

All the languages of Bhutan, save Nepali (also known as Lotshamkha in Bhutan), are Trans-Himalayan or Tibeto-Burman languages, and the Trans-Himalayan languages of Bhutan are classified under two major subgroups, Central Bodish and East Bodish, with a few supposedly forming a subgroup of their own (see Figure 20). Brokpa, as noted above, belongs to the Central Bodish subgroup. Alongside Brokpa, van Driem (1991b,1994,1998) includes five other language of Bhutan— Dzongkha, Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha, Brokkat, Lakha, and Tibetan (B'ökha)— in the Central Bodish subgroup. Chöke (Old Tibetan, Classical Tibetan), used in Bhutan as a language of liturgy and monastic education, can be added to this subgroup. Based on Shafer (1955, 1966), van Driem (1991b,1997, 1998, 2003, 2011), Tournadre (2014), and Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig (2019), the subgrouping of Bodish languages of Bhutan can be represented in Figure 20.

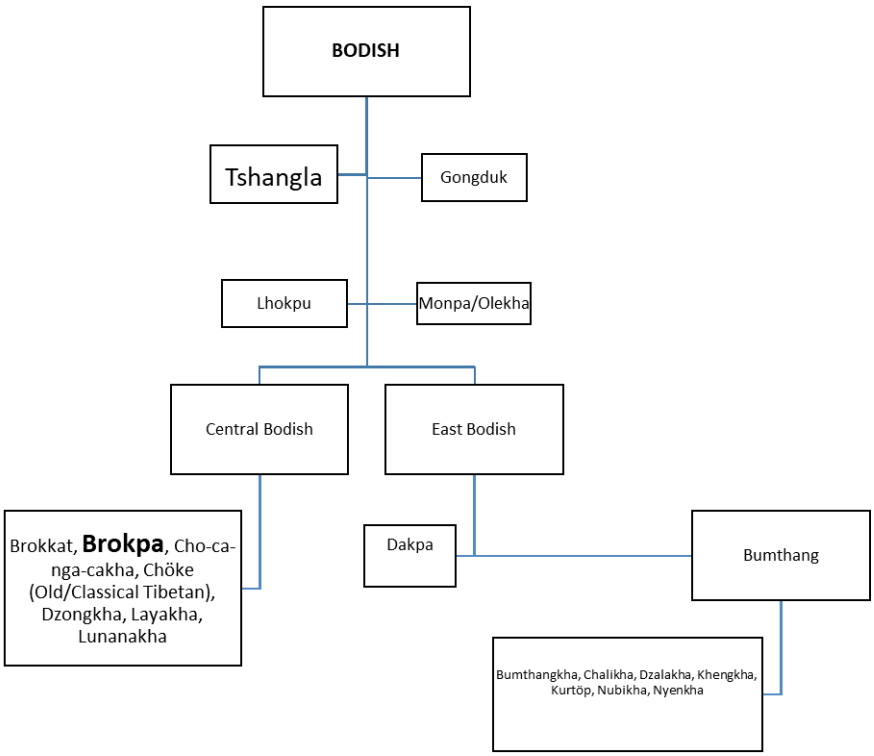

Figure 20. Bodish languages of Bhutan

As can be seen in Figure 20, most Trans-Himalayan languages of Bhutan belong to either the Central Bodish or East Bodish subgroup, with Tshangla, Gongduk, Lhokpu, and Monpa (Olekha) allegedly forming a distinct sub-group of their own. There is no West Bodish Trans-Himalayan language in Bhutan. Although 'Olekha (Monpa) was originally assumed to be an East Bodish language, it was later suggested to be an isolate within the Tibeto-Burman language family (see van Driem 2011; Blench and Post 2013; Hyslop 2017). Note that the possibility cannot be ruled out that Tshangla, Gongduk, Lhokpu, and Monpa (Olekha) may constitute Trans-Himalayan branches of their own.

1.8 Previous studies

Dondrup (1993) has written a short language guide book containing a brief grammatical sketch based on the Brokpa language spoken in Nyokmadung village in Northeast India. He uses the name 'Brokeh' for this language. The office of Dzongkha Development Commission (DDC) of Bhutan published a Dzongkha-Brokpa bilingual language book in 2018 under the title 'Dzongkha-Brokat Bi-lingual Language Book' which was authored by myself and a colleague at the DDC (Wangdi and Tashi 2018). This language book is based mainly on the preliminary Brokpa data I collected in 2014 with some additions by my colleague. It has a short description of the grammatical features of Brokpa and contains phrases and sentences in Brokpa with Dzongkha translations. The language of analysis is Dzongkha and it is written in the Uchen script developed by the DDC.

I have published a paper on the segmental and suprasegmental features of Brokpa (see Wangdi 2020). I have also published a paper this year comparing the grammatical features of Brokpa with Classical Tibetan, Dzongkha, and Tshangla (see Wangdi 2021a), and a book chapter dealing with the integration of language and society in Brokpa (see Wangdi 2021b)). In addition, a team of students from the University of Bern conducted a study on Brokpa and published their findings in 2020 (see Gerber and Grollmann 2020 and references there). Their study was based on a single male speaker who is a friend of mine from Sakteng living in Switzerland.

This is the first comprehensive grammar of Brokpa based on immersion fieldwork, participant observation, and extensive data sources involving both male and female speakers from different age brackets and from different villages (see §§1.9.1-1.9.2).

1.9 Basis for this study

1.9.1 The data source for non-linguistic parameters

Two methods were used to gather information on the non-linguistic parameters: 1) A simple questionnaire was prepared and circulated among some native Brokpa speakers who have obtained higher education in English. 2) Face-to-face interviews with several village elders both in Merak and Sakteng were conducted during my immersion fieldwork.

Additionally, I have used old materials such as the biography of Ama Jomo, and several other published materials on the non-linguistic aspects included in the reference section.

1.9.2 The language data for the grammar

This study is based on seven months of immersion fieldwork, and participant observation over several years. I am a native speaker of Tshangla, which is geographically contiguous to Brokpa. I have been observing Brokpa language use since my childhood and I have been visiting Brokpa villages from an early age. My PhD programme on the Brokpa language and culture formally began in July 2017. Previously, I conducted two short fieldwork assignments on Brokpa in 2004 and 2014 and undertook the main immersion fieldwork on Brokpa from January 2018 in Merak, Sakteng, and other neighbouring Brokpa villages in Bhutan.

During my main immersion fieldwork, I made a total of 39 recordings of different genres including oral narrative, history and procedural discourse involving speakers from different age groups in several Brokpa villages. I have transcribed and translated over 400 pages of text from more than four hours of recordings, with the help of English-educated native speakers, and collected over 500 pages of lexical entries

and phrases by working in close collaboration with senior native speakers from different Brokpa villages. Table 2 gives a list of consultants, with their basic profile, who provided recordings and/or supplied information about the Brokpa language.

Table 2. Brokpa language consultants

NAME	GENDER	AGE GROUP	VILLAGE
Jamba Tenzin	**male**	50-55	Gengo, Merak
Kelzang Namgay	**male**	40-45	Gengo, Merak
Jamyang Chophel	**male**	20-25	Joenkhar, Sakteng
Phurpa Tshering	**male**	20-25	Merak
Lama Chozom	**female**	75-80	Gengo, Merak
Dawa	**male**	35-40	Gengo, Merak
Leki Wangchuk	**male**	65-70	Merak
Nguechu Dema	**female**	55-60	Gengo, Merak
Rinchen Dondrup	**male**	65-70	Merak
Phurpa Tshering (Au Bombo)	**male**	40-45	Gengo, Merak
Sangay Wangdi	**male**	25-30	Merak
Kezang Choden	**female**	60-65	Sakteng
Pema Drakpa	**male**	65-70	Sakteng
Dorji Ngodul	**male**	50-55	Gengo, Merak
Pema Deki	**female**	40-45	Merak
Pema Tshewang	**male**	25-30	Joenkhar, Sakteng
Sangay Tenzin	**male**	40-45	Sakteng

Note that the age of every consultant was estimated at the time of recording and/or consultation during the immersion fieldwork in 2018. In addition to those given in Table 2, I have involved several other native speakers for short interviews.

The transcribed texts which are used as the main data source for this grammar include:

1. Three oral accounts, consisting of one hour, of how their ancestors have migrated to the present Brokpa-speaking areas.
2. A full audio, consisting of 72 minutes, of the traditional Brokpa wedding ceremony.

3. An audio, consisting of 34 minutes, of an autobiographical account of a middle-aged man rich in different language features including sayings and poetic expressions in the language.
4. Audio recordings of three folktales, consisting of 23 minutes, passed down across generations by word of mouth.

The documentation works (1), (2), (3) and (4) were largely carried out in the community context. Further analysis, interlinear glossing, and translations were completed at the Language and Culture Research Centre (LCRC), James Cook University, in Cairns.

1.9.3 Theoretical framework

The textual corpus obtained using the techniques in §§1.9.1-1.9.2 were analysed, interpreted, and described in terms of *Basic Linguistic Theory* (Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2012), a non-formalist approach, which puts empirical evidence first, then relates to the cross-linguistic typological parameters, and then contributes to the inductive generalizations about human languages. I have also used *The Art of Grammar: a practical guide* by Aikhenvald (2015a), which provides clear guidance on the principles and practice of writing a comprehensive reference grammar, as an additional framework for analyzing and writing this grammar of the Brokpa language.

Additionally, as given in the references, I have consulted all relevant current literature including the grammars of individual languages, particularly those of the Trans-Himalayan domain, journal articles and collection papers on individual languages written within the perspective of general typological theories.

1.10 A brief overview of the thesis

This thesis 'A grammar of Brokpa: A Trans-Himalayan Language of Bhutan' contains 16 chapters.

The introduction in Chapter 1 covers the language and its speakers. This chapter deals essentially with non-linguistic parameters, which are important for understanding the grammar of this language.

Chapter 2 examines the segmental phonology and prosodic systems. It presents the inventories of consonants and vowels, with their phonetic descriptions, and provides an analysis of phonotactics, syllable structure, and suprasegmental features.

Chapter 3 examines the phonological word and grammatical word. This chapter looks at the criteria for phonological and grammatical words based on the Brokpa language-internal features.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 deal with word classes, the open and the closed classes. Chapter 4 begins with the contrasting possibilities for three open classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and then explores the first two in great detail. Chapter 5 provides fuller discussion and exemplification of the grammatical properties of adjectives, and also examines the class of adverbs. Chapter 6 investigates the various closed classes, and their defining features.

Chapter 7 covers the honorific system, one of the important features of the Brokpa language. This chapter traces the origin and development of honorific forms including nouns and verbs, and also examines the functions of honorifics in the language.

Chapter 8 is on compounding and derivation. This chapter examines the various types of compounding and nominalization. It also addresses valency-changing derivations including reflexive and reciprocal constructions, and causative derivations.

Chapter 9 analyzes nominal morphology. This chapter deals with all grammatical categories associated with nouns including case, grammatical number, definiteness, gender, and evaluative morphology (augmentative and diminutive marking).

Chapter 10 deals with the NP structure. This chapter examines the structure of simple NPs including the types of head and modifiers, lexical and grammatical. It also examines the structure of complex NPs including possessive constructions and NPs involving clausal modifiers.

Chapter 11 is on the marking of arguments. This chapter discusses the marking of core arguments as well as peripheral arguments (obliques).

Chapter 12 looks at the predicate structure, examining the structure of the verb phrase, including the types of head and the slots occupied by different modifiers within the verb phrase. It also deals with noun incorporation and serial verb constructions, both of which form complex predicates.

Chapter 13 is on non-spatial setting. This chapter covers all grammatical categories associated with verbs including aspect, modality, and the grammar of knowledge. The grammar of knowledge includes egophoricity, evidentiality, and mirativity.

Chapter 14 provides an analysis of various clause types in terms of predicate structure and speech acts. Furthermore, this chapter provides an analysis of relative clauses which are clauses within phrases, and complement clauses which are clauses within clauses. This chapter also examines the order of phrasal constituent within a clause, besides looking at negation which has a clausal scope.

Chapter 15 is on the syntax and semantics of clause linking in Brokpa. This chapter focuses on various types and subtypes of clause linking at the level of a sentence. It investigates the markers of different clause linking, including their forms and etymologies, and whether a marker is associated with the Supporting clause or the Focal clause.

The final chapter, Chapter 16, examines the discourse-pragmatic features, which are crucial for analyzing information structure in this language. This chapter goes beyond the sentence-level grammar of this language including the discourse markers and discourse cohesion at the level of a paragraph or a stretch of discourse.

The grammar has an appendix containing an analyzed narrative text. Finally, the grammar includes a list of references.

1.11 Conventions

This section explains the conventions used in this grammar. The diacritic (´) over a vowel indicates high tone (or high pitch), (ˈ) and (ˌ) before a syllable show primary stress and secondary stress respectively, and (.) marks a syllable break. The syllable break is used where necessary for clarity. The symbol (-) marks a boundary between root and affix, X=Y indicates that Y is phonologically a clitic to X, and X+Y(+Z) shows that X and Y (and Z) are the components of a stem formed by two or three lexical roots.

Italic face is used for linguistic citation in the underlying phonemic forms (words, phrases, sentences) in the body of the text and inside the tables, but normal (non-italic) style font is used for set-off examples.

The surface phonetic forms are provided in square brackets [ ]. A phonetic form is provided only where it is important to specify the precise phonetic realization such as stress. The same square brackets in the underlying phonemic sentence examples indicate the boundaries of a syntactic realization of a constituent within a clause such as transitive predicate (TPR), intransitive predicate (IPR), and transitive object (O), as in [X+Y-Z]TPR, and/or to specify the semantic role of an NP, as in [....]NP:DONOR.

Since tone is lexically contrastive only on words with a sonorant initial, only the vowel following a high-tone sonorant-initial is overtly marked for tone in the phonemic form. The low tone after a sonorant-initial is treated as the default tone and is left unmarked.

In the introductory chapter, 'The Language and its Speakers', the name Chöke is employed to refer to both Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan. However, when dealing with specific grammatical topics in other chapters, Old Tibetan and/or Classical

Tibetan will be mentioned by their individual names wherever relevant. The orthography of these two ancient languages represents earlier stages of a language(s) in the Himalayas, and therefore it is helpful to look at these two ancient languages, wherever necessary, for synchronic and diachronic explanation for the forms and structural features of a spoken language such as Brokpa.

The term 'Old Tibetan' generally refers to the period of written Tibetan after the introduction of the Tibetan writing system and the two aspects of grammar, <sum cu pa> 'The Thirty Verses' and <rtags kyi 'jug pa> 'The Application of Gender Signs> by Thonmi Sambhota in the early seventh century through to the end of the eleventh century. The term 'Classical Tibetan' is typically used to refer to the period of written Tibetan from the 12th century until the present. It is needless to mention that proto-Brokpa, as with other spoken languages, will predate any written language including Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan by thousands of generations.

The orthography of Old Tibetan, Classical Tibetan, and written Dzongkha is shown using the Wylie (1959) transliteration scheme, and is enclosed within angle brackets < >.

Chapter 2

Segmental phonology and prosodic systems

This chapter discusses the sound system of Brokpa, beginning with segmental phonology, phonotactics and syllables, phonological and morphological processes, and prosodic systems including stress, tone, and intonation. Brokpa has a relatively complex phonology broadly similar to other Trans-Himalayan languages including Dzongkha (see also Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1988; van Driem 1998; van Driem and Tshering 2019; Watters 2018), Old Tibetan (see Hill 2010, 2012a), Classical Tibetan (see among others, Beyer 1992; DeLancey 2003a; and Duff 2009), Standard Tibetan (see among others, Tournadre and Dorje 2003), mBrugchu Tibetan (see Suzuki 2015), and Ladakhi (see Koshal 1976). An exploration of Old Tibetan sources for the modern phonological system of Brokpa lies outside the purview of this synchronically-oriented grammar.

Section 2.1 investigates consonant phonemes, §2.2 vowel phonemes, § 2.3 phonological and morphophonological processes, §2.4 phonotactics and syllables, and §2.4 prosodic systems. The chapter ends with a brief summary in §2.6.

2.1 Consonant phonemes

Brokpa has thirty-nine consonant phonemes. Table 3 provides the consonant phonemes of Brokpa. The first row and the second row provide the active articulators and the passive articulators involved in the production of the consonants. The first column specifies the contrastive manners of articulation. In general, the same IPA consonant symbols are used as the phonemic symbols, with the following exceptions: /y/ for the lamino-alveo-palatal approximant or glide [j], /r/ for the voiced apico-alveolar tap [ɾ], and /r̥/ for the voiceless apico-alveolar tap [ɾ̥].

Table 3. The Brokpa consonant phonemes

	labio-labial	**apico-alveolar**	**apico-post-alveolar**	**lamino-prepalatal**	**dorso-velar**	**glottal**
Unaspirated voiceless stop	p	t	ʈ		k	ʔ
Aspirated voiceless stop	pʰ	tʰ	ʈʰ		kʰ	
Voiced stop	b	d	ɖ		g	
Breathy-voiced stop	bʱ	dʱ	ɖʱ		gʱ	
Unaspirated voiceless affricate		ts		tɕ		
Aspirated voiceless affricate		tsʰ		tɕʰ		
Voiced affricate		dz		dʑ		
Voiceless fricative		s		ɕ		h
Voiced fricative		z		ʑ		ɦ
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
Voiceless lateral		l̥				
Voiced lateral		l				
Voiceless tap		r̥ [ɾ̥]				
Voiced tap		r [ɾ]				
Semi-vowel	w			y [j]		

A reason for choosing the non-IPA symbol /y/ for [j] and /r/ for [ɾ] is to avoid potential ambiguities with the Wylie (1959) transliteration system. In the Wylie system, the letter ཛ, pronounced [dʑɐ], in Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha is represented as /ja/; and the letter ཡ, pronounced [jɐ], is represented as /ya/. Similarly, the letter ར, pronounced [ɾɐ], is representated as /ra/. Wylie transcription is used in this thesis to represent Classical Tibetan and written Dzongkha since these two languages share significant similarities with Brokpa, and employing different symbols for the same sound can be a source of ambiguity. Furthermore, the English-literate native speakers of Brokpa and other languages in the Himalayas pronounce the Roman letter /j/ as [dʑɐ], and /y/ as [jɐ].

The contrastive manners of articulation are discussed in the following sections.

2.1.1 Stops

Stop consonants are produced at five places of articulation: labio-labial (bilabial), apico-alveolar, apico-retroflex, dorso-velar, and glottal. All stops, save glottal, are distinguished by four manners of articulation. In other words, there are four contrastive stops— unaspirated voiceless, aspirated voiceless, breathy-voiced (partially-aspirated), and voiced.

The stops produced with breathy-voiced phonation are analyzed as an independent series of stop phonemes because they clearly contrast with stops produced with modal voicing or regular voicing, and they also contrast with the aspirated voiceless stops as well as the normal unaspirated voiceless stops. The native speakers are acutely sensitive to the contrasts between these stop consonants.

In the articulation of a breathy stop, the vocal folds are slightly more open than in regular voicing. This allows adequate airflow and reduces pressure. The breathy-voiced stops may be in a process of transition from voiced to voiceless stops. Synchronically, the breathy-voiced stops correlate to low register tone.

In a word commencing with a simple unaspirated voiceless stop such as *po:* 'incense', the voicing of the vowel /o:/ begins virtually the same time as the release of the /p/ sound. In the articulation of this word, vibrations start almost instantaneously after the lips are open.

On the other hand, in a word beginning with a regular (modal) voiced stop such as *bagyo* 'wooden bowl', the voice onset time (VOT) of the vowel /a/ merges with the onset of the voiced stop /b/. In the production of the first syllable of the word *bagyo*, there are vibrations during the closure of the lips.

In a word beginning with a breathy-voiced stop such as *g^{ɦ}am* 'wooden box', there are some vibrations while producing the stop consonant /g^{ɦ}/. But the vibration in consonant /g^{ɦ}/ in the word *g^{ɦ}am* is not as robust as when producing the regular voiced stop /b/ in the word *bagyo*. Compared to *bagyo*, there is very little voicing at the beginning of the word *g^{ɦ}am*. The vibrations become more prominent with the onset of voicing of the vowel /a/.

There are two degrees of pitch height, high and low, interacting with these four phonation types (manners of articulation). Typically, the incipient high pitch is associated with unaspirated voiceless and aspirated voiceless, and the incipient low pitch is associated with breathy-voiced and voiced phonation. This phenomenon has been observed in other related languages, albeit in different numbers and types of manner contrasts for stops (see Donohue 2018 for the relationship between pitch and voicing in Himalayan languages).

This correlation between pitch and voicing also exists for affricates and fricatives. The incipient high pitch is associated with unaspirated voiceless and aspirated voiceless affricates; and the incipient low pitch is associated with voiced affricates. In the same manner, the incipient high pitch is associated with voiceless fricatives and the incipient low pitch with voiced fricatives.

It will be instructive to look at the number of pitch contrasts and phonation types in some other languages which are the linguistic relatives of Brokpa. Dzongkha

distinguishes four contrasts for stops with a high versus low register distinction; unvoiced and aspirated are associated with high register and voiced and devoiced with low register (see Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1988; van Driem and Tshering 2019; Watters 2018). Kurtöp (Hyslop 2009, 2017) has voicing distinction and contrastive aspiration for stops (three contrastive stops) and two degrees of pitch; and the pattern of pitch and segment interaction is the same, high pitch with the voiceless and aspirated series, and low pitch with the voiced series. Bartee (2007) posits a three-way pitch contrast (low, mid, and high) and a four-way contrast for stops in voicing, aspiration, and pre-nasalization for Dongwang, a sub-dialect of Khams Tibetan. In Dongwang, low tone and high tone (monosyllables with plosive onsets) interact with the voiceless and mid tone with the voiced.

The four series of initial stops found in Dzongkha are also evident in Brokpa. What is referred to as "devoiced" series in Dzongkha (see Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1988; van Driem and Tshering 2019; Watters 2018) will be referred to as 'breathy-voiced' in Brokpa. Note that the 'breathy-voiced' stops in Brokpa are different from the South Asian breathy-voiced consonants such as Hindi. A breathy-voiced stop in Brokpa is partially aspirated and followed by a breathy voice on the vowel. The breathy voice series is not present in the affricates and fricatives in Brokpa. Note, however, that for some speakers the distinction between the voiced and the breathy-voiced series is not very clear. For some speakers, especially the younger generation, the two series tend to neutralize.

2.1.1.1 Bilabial stops

There are four bilabial (labio-labial) stops in Brokpa: /p/, /p^{h}/, /b/, and /b^{ɦ}/. The phoneme /p/ is an unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop; /p^{h}/ is an aspirated voiceless bilabial stop; /b/ is a voiced bilabial stop; and /b^{ɦ}/ a breathy-voiced bilabial stop. All bilabial stops, with the exception of /b^{ɦ}/, are robust phonemes. The phoneme /b^{ɦ}/

has a limited distribution. The minimal pairs in (2) establish the phonemic status of bilabial stops:

(2)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
pu	'body hair'	*bu*	'insect'
pʰu	'to blow'	*bʱu*	'breath (N)'

The unaspirated voiceless /p/ occurs in the root-initial, root-medial, and root-final positions, e.g. *premoŋ* 'foot', *durpa* (M: *dupa*) 'smoke', *sipsip* (M: *sepsem*) 'temple (part of head)'. The aspirated voiceless bilabial stop /pʰ/ occurs in the root-initial, root-medial, and root-final positions, e.g. *pʰadʑu* 'astrologer', *kʰyapʰu* 'chilly', *tasepʰ* 'stallion'. The phoneme /p/ occurs in the initial position in suffixes, e.g. *–pi* 'PERV, NOMZ'. The phoneme /pʰ/ occurs in the initial position in suffixes, e.g. *–pʰi* 'PERV, NOMZ', and it occurs in the initial position of the masculine gender prefix *pʰo-*.

The unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop /p/ and the aspirated voiceless bilabial stop /pʰ/ contrast in word-initial position, e.g. *paktsa* 'hide jacket' versus *pʰaktsʰaŋ* 'bush'. Evidence suggest that /p/ and /pʰ/ also contrast in the coda position: *tsap* 'substitute' versus *tsapʰ* [tsaɸ] 'to chop'.

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ occurs in the root-initial, root-medial, and root-final; positions, e.g. *kyaba*[1] ['kjɐ.bɐ] 'tanned leather container for storing milk', *tʰob* 'win, get' (also the imperative form of *tab* 'to sow'). It also occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in the perfective allomorph *–bi* (see §13.1.1.3). The breathy-voiced bilabial stop /bʱ/ occurs only in the root-initial position, *bʱaː* 'wool'. The breathy-voiced bilabial stop /bʱ/ also contrasts with the voiced bilabial stop in clusters, as in *bʱro* 'buckwheat' versus *bro* 'dance'.

[1] *kyaba* is also an exonym for neighbouring Tshangla speakers.

2.1.1.2 Apico-alveolar stops

In the production of an apico-alveolar stop in Brokpa, the active articulator—tongue tip—forces closure with the area just behind the upper teeth. The tip of the tongue does not fully come into contact with the teeth, hence it is apico-alveolar. There are four apico-alveolar stops in Brokpa /t/, /t^{h}/, /d/, and /d^{ɦ}/, distinguished in terms of the four manners of articulation. The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar stop; /t^{h}/ is an aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar stop; /d/ is a voiced apico-alveolar stop; and /d^{ɦ}/ is a breathy-voiced apico-alveolar stop. The first three are robust phonemes in Brokpa. The minimal pairs in (3) establish the phonemic status of the four apico-alveolar stops in Brokpa:

(3)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ta	'to see'	*da*	'now'
t^{h}a?	'to weave'	*d^{ɦ}a:*	'arrow'

The unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar stop /t/ occurs in all three positions in roots, e.g. *toka* 'bull', *rakatoŋ* 'billy goat', *ʨot* 'to jump'; in the initial position of suffixes as in the perfective allomorph *–ti* (§13.1.1.9), and in the initial position in enclitics as in the focus marker *=ta*. The aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar /t^{h}/ occurs in the root-initial and root-medial positions, e.g. *t^{h}otpa* 'forehead', *dʑat^{h}oŋ* (M: *godo*) 'rooster', *kot^{h}kot^{h}* 'cackle'. It is relatively rare for /t^{h}/ to occur in the root-final position, but not impossible. It typically occurs in the imperative forms of the verbs in the coda slot, as in *ʑot^{h}* 'start: IMP', *blot^{h}* 'grumble:IMP'. Note that aspiration is an additional formative in 2SG imperative. The phoneme /t^{h}/ occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in *–t^{h}oŋ*, the free variant of the continuous or progressive aspect marker *-toŋ* (see 13.2.2), or in the manner nominalizing suffix *-t^{h}aŋ*.

The voiced apico-alveolar stop /d/ occurs root-initially and root-medially, e.g. *doŋba* 'face', *ŋardoŋ* 'shin'. It occurs in the initial position in suffixes as in the direct

evidential marker *-duʔ* (see 13.4.2.1), and in the initial position of enclitics as in *=daŋ* which functions as a coordinating conjunction as well as a comitative or associative case marker, or in the definite marker *=di*. In the root-final position, /d/ is neutralized with an unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar stop /t/.

The breathy-voiced apico-alveolar stop /dʱ/ occurs mostly in root-initial position, e.g *dʱa+tʰa* (month + blood) 'menstruation'.

2.1.1.3 Apico-postalveolar (retroflex) stops

Apico-postalveolar or retroflex stops in Brokpa are specifically sub-apical post-alveolar consonant sounds, pronounced distinctly with the underside of the tongue tip touching the hard palate. In the production of an apico-postalveolar stop, the active articulator—the tongue tip—vibrates and a faint rhotic sound can be heard in the middle part of the articulation. A retroflex is not analysed as an apico-alveolar stop plus a rhotic cluster since it is produced as a single unit involving a distinct place of articulation, the postalveolar region. The retroflex series is also found in other languages of Bhutan including Dzongkha (see Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1988; Watters 2018:25; van Driem and Tshering (2019:29), and in Denjongke, the language of Sikkim (see Yliniemi 2019:35-36).

Brokpa has four apico-postalveolar stops: the unaspirated voiceless apico-postalveolar stop /ʈ/, the aspirated voiceless apico-postalveolar stop /ʈʰ/, the voiced apico-postalveolar stop /ɖ/, and the breathy-voiced apico-postalveolar stop /ɖʱ/. The minimal sets in (4) establish the phonemic status of the apico-postalveolar stops in Brokpa:

(4)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ʈiː	'roll up'	*ɖa*	'enemy'
ʈʰiː	'in accord with'	*ɖʱa*	'sound'

The three apico-postalveolar stops /ʈ/, /ʈʰ/, and /ɖ/ typically occur in the root-initial position. It is rare but not impossible for a retroflex to occur in the root-medial

position, as in *tenɖeː* 'celebration'. The breathy-voiced apico-retroflex stop /ɖʱ/ occurs only in the root-initial position. The unaspirated voiceless apico-postalveolar stop /ʈ/ is found in the initial position of the diminutive suffix *-ʈuʔ* as in *boŋ-ʈuk* (donkey-DIM) 'foal' (see also §9.5), but it does not occur in enclitics. The phoneme /ɖ/ occurs in the initial position of the similative suffix *-ɖou* (see §8.3). The rest of the retroflex series do no occur in affixes or clitics.

2.1.1.4 Dorso-velar stops

There are four dorso-velar stops: /k/, /kʰ/, /g/, and /gʱ/. The phoneme /k/ is an unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop; /kʰ/ is an aspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop; /g/ is a voiced dorso-velar stop; and /gʱ/ is a breathy-voiced dorso-velar stop. Apart from /gʱ/, all other consonant phonemes in this series are frequently-occuring phonemes in Brokpa. The minimal pairs in (5) illustrate the phonemic status of the four dorso-velar stops:

(5)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ko	'to dig'	*go*	'head; areca nut'
kʰo	'3:SG:MASC'	*gʱo*	'door'

The unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop /k/ and the aspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop /kʰ/ contrast even in the word-final position, e.g. *luk* 'tradition' versus *lukʰ* 'to bury, to plough'. The voiced dorso-velar stops do not contrast in the word-final position.

The unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop /k/ occurs in all three positions in roots, e.g. *kyaː* 'swim', *ʔaŋko* 'bladder', *gakpa+lok* 'to burp'. This phoneme also occurs in enclitics as in the ergative allomorph *=ke*. It occurs in initial position of suffixes as in the future imperfective allomorph *-ku* (see §13.1.4).

The aspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop /kʰ/ occurs in all three positions in roots, e.g. *kʰama* 'kidney', *mákʰa* 'wound', *dukʰ* 'to touch'. This phoneme is highly

restricted in the root-final position occurring only in a few verbs such as *bruk^{h}* 'to pick (teeth)'. The phoneme /k^{h}/ occurs in suffixes as in the future imperfective allomorph *–k^{h}u*, as well as in enclitics as in the ergative allomorph *=k^{h}e*.

The voiced dorso-velar stop /g/ occurs root-initially and root-medially, e.g. *golam* 'cloth', *p^{h}rugu* 'child'. It occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in the agentive nominalizer *–gin* (see §8.2.2), and in the initial position in enclitics as in the genitive marker *=gi*.

The breathy-voiced dorso-velar stop /g^{ɦ}/ appears in the root-initial position, e.g. *b^{ɦ}agal* 'log cabin', *b^{ɦ}aga* 'vulva' (sacred site). This phoneme does not occur in affixes and clitics, and possibly not in other positions in lexical roots apart from the initial position.

2.1.1.5 Glottal stop

In Brokpa most kinship terms, interrogative particles, and deictic particles, and other words commence with a glottal stop. Examples include *ʔau* 'elder brother', *ʔadʑaŋ* 'uncle', and *ʔapa* 'father', *ʔo(ti)* 'DEM.PROX', *ʔa* 'TAG', *ʔi* 'POLAR,TAG'. Such words are produced by an obstruction of airflow in the vocal tract. The minimal word in Brokpa is CV, e.g. *ʔe* 'grandmother' (and not just a single vowel *e). Notwithstanding the onset of vowel being hard to tease apart, one can easily feel the glottis getting tense while articulating the words such as the polar question particle *ʔi*.

Furthermore, evidence shows that the glottal stop contrasts with the dorso-velar /k/[2] and the vowel /a/ in the word-final position as shown in (6):

[2] Note that the final /k/ in certain words may be realized as a glottal, while for some speakers these two phonemes may be used in free variation.

(6)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
lúk	'tradition'	*lu?*	'sheep'	*lů*	'song
tsak	'slap'	*tsa?*	'to strain'	*tsa*	'nerve'
ɕik	'to dismantle'	*ɕi?*	'INDEF'	*ɕi*	'to die'
tɕʰak	'to land'	*tɕʰa?*	'hand:HON'	*tɕʰa*	'pair'
ʑuk	'to sit:HON'	*ʑu?*	'to enter'	*ʑu*	'to melt'

Further evidence suggests that the glottal stop /ʔ/ contrasts with the voiced and the voiceless fricatives in the word-initial position, as in (7):

(7)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ʔur	'to anoint'	*ʔaŋko*	'bladder'
ɦur	'to be haughty'	*ɦuŋku*	'animal horn'
hurku	'hollow eyes'	*ɦaŋki*	'bray (donkey)'
ʔam	'mother/lady'	*ham*	'to feel shock'

It is not clear whether the glottal stop onset contrasts with zero consonantal onset. The issue of the phonemic status of glottal stop requires further study.

The glottal stop in Brokpa falls within the group of consonants that are inherently high-registered. In contrast, the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ is low-registered (cf. the voiceless glottal fricative /h/). The lexical distinction of words beginning with these three consonants— /ʔ/, /ɦ/, and /h/— is engendered by the initial glottal consonants and not by the pitch height, akin to the non-sonorant initial consonants despite exhibiting pitch variation.

2.1.1.6 Contrasts between stops across articulators

There are minimal pairs illustrating phonemic contrasts for stop consonants across places of articulation. The minimal pairs in (8) exemplify contrast between bilabial and apico-alveolar stops:

(8)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
poŋpoŋ	'talk'	*toŋ~toŋ*	'thousands'
pʰuŋ	'destruction'	*tʰuŋ*	'to drink'
boŋbu	'donkey'	*doŋbu*	'quiver'
bʱaː	'target'	*dʱaː*	'arrow'

The minimal pairs in (9) exemplify contrasts between dorso-velar stops and glottal stop:

(9)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
kau	'difficult'	*gau*	'amulet'	*ʔau*	'elder brother'
kʰa	'mouth'	*gʱa*	'saddle'	*ʔa*	'what'

The minimal sets in (10) exemplify contrasts between apico-alveolar and postalveolar (retroflex) stops:

(10)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
tok + taŋ	(cut + do) 'to cut'	*ʈok + taŋ*	(stir + do) 'to agitate'
tʰaŋ	'flatland'	*ʈʰaŋ*	'to straighten'
daŋbu	'first/beginning'	*ɖaŋbu*	'honest'
dʱiŋ	'to levitate; to surge'	*ɖiŋɖiŋ*	'robust'

Note that the word *ɖiŋɖiŋ* 'robust, healthy' is an adjective with an inherent reduplication.

2.1.2 Affricates

In terms of place of articulation, there is a two-way contrast for affricates: apico-alveolar and lamino-palatal. For manner of articulation, there is a three-way contrast: unaspirated voiceless, aspirated voiceless, and voiced.

Unlike the stop consonants, there is no 'breathy-voiced' series in affricates. Furthermore, it is quite uncommon for an affricate to occur in the coda slot, although there are few exceptional cases.

All affricates are independently functioning phonological units, meaning that they are a class of distinctive phonemes. An affricate is not a cluster of a stop and a fricative, but is heard as a single sound representing a single phoneme, which does not involve two-part sounds or two phonemes.

2.1.2.1 Apico-alveolar affricates

Similar to the articulation of an apico-alveolar stop, in the production of a apico-alveolar affricate the tip of the tongue touches less of the upper teeth and more of the alveolar ridge. Note that the consonants produced using this secondary articulator in Brokpa are 'alveolar affricates' and not 'dental affricates'.

There are three apico-alveolar affricates: /ts/, /ts^{h}/, and /dz/. The phoneme /ts/ is an unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar affricate; /ts^{h}/ is an aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar affricate; and /dz/ is a voiced apico-alveolar affricate. The minimal pairs in (11) establish the phonemic status of the apico-alveolar sibilant affricates in Brokpa:

(11)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**
tsoŋ	'to sell'
ts^{h}oŋ	'business'
dzoŋ	'fortress'

The unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar affricate /ts/ and the aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar affricate /ts^{h}/ are vigorous phonemes. The voiced apico-alveolar affricate /dz/ is a marginal phoneme, occurring mostly in the root-initial position.

All three apico-alveolar affricates occur root-initially and root-medially, but not root-finally. Examples in the root-medial position are: *p^{h}atsa* 'sack', *p^{h}akts^{h}aŋ* 'thicket/underbrush'. The phoneme /ts/ occurs in the initial position of only one suffix, *-tsam* which is a non-word-class-changing derivational suffix (see §8.3).

The phoneme /ts^{h}/ occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in the suffix *-ts^{h}au* which derives adjectives from nouns (see §5.1.1.5.1). It also occurs in the initial position of enclitics as in the general plural marker *=tshu* (see §9.2.2) or the associative plural marker *=ts^{h}an* (see §9.2.3).

2.1.2.2 Lamino-prepalatal affricates

Brokpa has three lamino-prepalatal affricates, synonymous with the lamino-alveopalatal affricates /tɕ/, /tɕ^{h}/, and /dʑ/, which are all produced with the blade of the tongue raised against the prepalatal region. The phoneme /tɕ/ is an unaspirated voiceless lamino-prepalatal affricate; /tɕ^{h}/ is an aspirated voiceless lamino-alveopalatal affricate; and /dʑ/ is a voiced lamino-alveopalatal affricate. The minimal pairs in (12) establish the phonemic status of lamino-alveopalatal affricates:

(12)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**
tɕaː	'metal'
tɕ^{h}a	'pair'
dʑaː	'to measure'

The three lamino-alveopalatal affricates are all robust phonemes. The three phonemes, /tɕ/, /tɕ^{h}/, and /dʑ/, occur in the root-initial and root-medial positions, but not root-finally. Examples of these three phonemes occurring in the root-medial position are: *ʔaktɕuŋ* 'uvula', *kyabtɕ^{h}okpo* 'good-looking', *ɲíŋdʑe* 'compassion/empathy'.

The phonemes /tɕ/ and /tɕ^{h}/ occur in the onset slot of suffixes as in the adjectival suffix *-tɕan* (see §5.1.1.5.1) or in the permissive modality *-tɕ^{h}oʔ* (see §13.3.3). The phonemes /tɕ/ and /tɕ^{h}/ occur in the initial position in enclitics as in the focus marker *=tɕin* (see §16.2.2). The phoneme /dʑ/ does not occur in enclitics.

2.1.2.3 Contrasts between affricates across articulators

The examples in (13) illustrate the phonemic contrasts for the different places of articulation for affricates.

(13)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
tsuk	'to put'	*tɕuk*	'CAUS'
dzok	'to complete'	*dʑok^h∼ʑok^h*	'talk:IMP'
ts^{h}ö	'estimate'	*tɕ^{h}o*	'dharma/religion'
ts^{h}uŋda	'mill'	*tɕ^{h}uŋda*	'smallest/youngest'

Note that the word for dharma *tɕ^{h}o* is also realized as *tɕ^{h}ö* [tɕ^{h}ø] with the close-mid front rounded vowel [ø] which is inherently long in Brokpa.

2.1.3 Fricatives

There are three distinct places of articulation for fricatives: apico-alveolar fricative, lamino-alveopalatal fricative, and glottal fricative. In terms of manner of articulation, there is a two-way contrast: voiceless versus voiced.

Fricatives lack the aspirated phonation type of affricates, and the aspirated phonation and breathy-voiced phonation types of stop consonants. The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ and the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ are analyzed as independent phonemes and not as voiceless or breathy-voiced counterparts of the vowels that follow them for the same reasons stated for the glottal stop in § 2.1.1.5.

2.1.3.1 Apico-alveolar fricatives

Brokpa has two apico-alveolar fricatives: the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative /s/ and the voiced apico-alveolar fricative /z/. The minimal pairs in (14) establish the phonemic status of apico-alveolar fricatives:

(14)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
so	'tooth'	*zo*	'hybrid yak'
soː	'spring (season)'	*zoː*	'mistake'

In terms of distribution, the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in all three positions in lexical roots. Examples of /s/ occurring in the root-medial and the root-final positions are: *luspu* 'body', *másа* 'lowland', *blas* 'dusty', *ʔotɕins* ~ *wotɕins* 'like this, as it were'. The phoneme /s/ occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in the locative nominalizer *-sa*, and in enclitics as in the locative case marker *=su*, also a variant form of the plural enclitic *=tsʰu*.

Similarly, the voiced apico-alveolar fricative /z/ occurs in all three positions of the word, e.g. *zopta* '(body) figure', *ɖazin* 'lookalike', *keluŋ naz* 'genetic disease'. The phoneme /z/ occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in *-zin*, the marker of simultaneous events in a clause chain. This phoneme occurs in the initial position of one enclitic as in the plural allomorph *=zu*.

2.1.3.2 Lamino-alveopalatal fricatives

There are two lamino-alveopalatal fricatives in Brokpa: the voiceless lamino-alveopalatal fricative /ɕ/ and the voiced lamino-alveopalatal fricative /ʑ/. Both are articulated with the blade of tongue raised against the alveolar ridge and the palate, and they differ only in voicing. The minimal pairs in (15) establish the phonemic status of these two lamino-alveopalatal fricatives:

(15)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ɕur	'to get tanned'	*ʑur*	'heap'
ɕoŋ	'to hang'	*ʑoŋ~dʑoŋ*	'cleft (fissure)'

The voiceless lamino-alveopalatal fricative and the voiced lamino-alveopalatal are also robust phonemes, with /ɕ/ occurring in all three positions within roots, and

/ʑ/ occurring in the root-initial and root-medial positions. Their occurrence in the root-medial position is less frequent than in the root-initial position. Examples of /ɕ/ in root-medial position include *ʔeɕin* 'good' and *ʔokɕ* 'dewlap', /ʑ/ in medial slot includes *zaŋʑoŋ* 'mixing bowl'.

The phoneme /ɕ/ occurs in the initial position of one suffix, namely the adjectival suffix *-ɕin*, and in the initial position of one clitic which is the indefinite allomorph *=ɕiʔ*. The phoneme /ʑ/ occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in the adjective suffix *-ʑin*, and in one enclitic *=ʑiʔ* which is also an allomorph of the indefinite marker *=tɕiʔ* (see §9.3).

2.1.3.3 Glottal fricatives

Brokpa has two glottal fricatives: the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ and the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/. There is no distinction between the active articulator and the passive articulator in case of the glottal fricatives, or the glottal stop. This is because the functions of two or more articulators involved in the production of consonant phonemes other than glottal phonemes are achieved exclusively by the glottis.

Examples in (16) give the minimal pairs or quasi-minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of the glottal fricatives in Brokpa:

(16)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
ho(ho)	'POLANS'	*ɦo*	'attendance'
hurku	'sunken eyes'	*ɦurkoŋ*	'haughty'
ɦoː	'rays'	*ɦuŋku*	'horn (instrument)'

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occurs in the root-initial position for the most part, with rare instances in the root-medial position as in the inherently reduplicated root *haŋkaŋhoŋkaŋ* 'uneven (surface)' or in the ideophonic *wahaha* 'hurrah!', etc. The voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ is rather restricted to the root-initial position. The voiced

glottal fricative is inherently breathy, and, when it occurs as the onset, the breathy voice applies to the whole syllable.

As will be discussed under the prosody of tone in §2.5.1, the pitch height of a syllable, with the voiced glottal fricative as the initial, is naturally low. The voiced glottal fricative is distinct from the bilabial and/or dorso-velar approximant /w/ as in *ɦo* 'attendance' versus *wo* 'measurement (the length of outstretched arms)'. Sometimes, these two phonemes are interchangeable as shown in the allophonic variants of consonants (§ 2.1.6). The phoneme /ɦ/ occurs in the initial position of only one modal suffix, *-ɦoŋ* 'POSSIB'. The phoneme /h/ does not occur in other affixes and clitics. The phoneme /ɦ/ is one of the phonemes that have the potential to signal phonological word boundaries (see §3.2.2).

2.1.3.4 Contrasts between fricatives across articulators

The phonemic status of fricatives can be further established across three places of articulation: apico-alveolar, lamino-alveopalatal, and glottal. Evidence for this can be found for each articulator. The minimal sets in (17) exemplify the contrast between the apico-alveolar and the lamino-alveopalatal fricatives:

(17)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
sur	'a smoke offering to spirits)	*ɕur*	'to steam, to be tanned (by sun)'
ʑar	'leak, drain'	*ʑ̵ar*	'summer'

The minimal pairs in (18) show the contrast between the apico-alveolar and the glottal fricatives:

(18)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
samba	'thought'	*hamba*	'sudden'
zulu	'cockroach'	*ɦulu*	'a weaving tool'

The minimal pairs in (19) demonstrate the contrast between the lamino-alveopalatal and the glottal fricatives:

(19)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
ɕaŋ	'to lean'	*haŋ*	'to be moldy'
ɕur	'to steam, to be tanned (by sun)'	*ɦur*	'to boast'
ʑonba	'young'	*ɦonba*	'deaf'

There are also three compound verb stems formed by a noun or an adjective plus the light verb *gya* 'to do' all with the same meaning 'to boast': *wokar* + *gya* (boast + do), *harkoŋ* + *gya* (braggart + do), *ɦurkoŋ* + *gya* (big.mouth + do). Note that the nominal component of these compound verb stems commence with the dorso-velar approximant /w/, the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, and the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/, respectively.

2.1.4 Nasals

There are four nasal consonants: the voiced bilabial nasal /m/; the voiced apico-alveolar nasal /n/; the voiced lamino-alveopalatal /ɲ/; and the voiced dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/. No voiceless counterparts of the nasal consonants are attested.

Apart from the apico-retroflex stops, all places of articulation of the stop consonants are matched by the nasal consonant series. All other consonant phonemes in Brokpa are produced at no more than three places of articulation. The minimal pairs in (20) establish the phonemic status of nasals:

(20)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ma	'ma/mother'	*mo*	'divination; 3:SG:FEM'
na	'to be sick'	*no:~nou*	'younger brother'
ɲa	'fish'	*ɲo*	'to buy'
ŋa	'1:SG'	*ŋo*	'identity; gratitude'

All nasals are contrastive for register-tone. Examples of lexical words clearly differentiated by tone contrast in Brokpa are presented under 'tone' in §2.5.1. All voiced nasals, other than the voiced lamino-palatal nasal /ɲ/, are robust phonemes and occur in all three positions of roots.

Example (21) shows bilabial nasal, apico-alveolar nasal, and dorso-velar nasal occurring in the root-medial and root-final positions:

(21)

WORD-MEDIAL	GLOSS	WORD-FINAL	GLOSS
rembu	'good health (greeting)'	*garpatoŋsum*	'wedding master'
zanbu	'active'	*ɦo:ʑin*	'shiny'
breŋga	'breast'	*gleŋ*	'ox'

The voiced lamino-palatal nasal occurs mainly in the word-initial position with few instances of it occurring in the word-medial position such as *gaɲa* 'saddle', *tɕiɲóm* 'average', *doŋertɕæn* 'studious/inquisitive'. Note that in the Sakteng accent a schwa is inserted between the liquid /l/ and following the dorso-velar /g/ in the term for 'ox'.

The phonemes /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ occur in the initial position of suffixes as in the perfective allomorphs *–mi, -ni,* and *-ŋai ~ -ŋi.* The phoneme /m/ occurs in the initial position of prefixes as in the negation prefix *ma-* or in the feminine gender prefix *mo-*, and in the final position of suffixes as in the non-word-class-changing derivational suffix *-tsam.* The phoneme /n/ occurs in the final position of suffixes as in the agentive nominalizer *-gan ~ -gin,* in the initial position of enclitics as in the ablative case *=næ,* and in the final slot of enclitics as in the associative plural *=ts^{h}an.* The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs in the final position of suffixes and enclitics as in the manner nominalizer *-t^{h}aŋ*

and the reflexive/emphatic *=raŋ*. The phoneme /ɲ/ does not occur in any position in affixes and clitics.

2.1.5 Approximants

There are six approximants consisting of four liquids and two semi-vowels (glides), and voiceless counterparts for both voiced apico-alveolar liquids. The contrast between the voiced and the voiceless rhotic is a remarkable feature, not found in many Bodish languages. The two semi-vowels in Brokpa, though articulated more like a vowel, occupy the role of a consonant than a vowel and may well be regarded as 'semi-consonants'. For the sake of presenting the syllable structure and consonant clusters, in which the term 'glide' enjoys general currency, the semi-vowels or semi-consonants will here be referred to as 'glides'.

2.1.5.1 Liquids

Liquid consonants comprise two laterals, /l/ and /l̥/, and two rhotics, /r/ and /r̥/. The phoneme /l/ is a voiced apico-alveolar lateral; /l̥/ is a voiceless apico-alveolar lateral; /r/ is a voiced apico-alveolar tap [ɾ]; and /r̥/ is a voiceless apico-alveolar tap [ɾ̥]. Example (22) gives minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of liquids in Brokpa:

(22)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
laŋ	'to rise'	*raŋ*	'self'
l̥a	'deity'	*r̥a*	'hair'
lem	'shovel'	*r̥em*	'servant'

The voiced apico-alveolar lateral /l/ occurs in the root-initial, root-medial, and root-final positions. Examples of it occurring root-medially include *golam* 'clothes', and root-finally include *kaŋal* 'hardship'. The phoneme /l/ also occurs in the initial

position of suffixes as in the perfective allomorph *–li*, and in the initial position of enclitics as in the ablative/comparative marker *=læ*.

Example (23) gives minimal pairs confirming the voicing contrast for laterals:

(23)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
læ	'karma'	*l̥æ*	'to overflow'
lo	'age'	*l̥o*	'south'

The voiced apico-alveolar tap /r/ root-initially as shown in (24) also occurs root-medially and root-finally as in *ʔort^{h}oŋ* 'throat', *gyukar* 'satellite', *ɲim + ɕar* (sun + rise) 'sunshine', and *ʑam + kaptar* (hat + canopy) 'sun hat'. Note that the r-coloured sounds are found quite abundantly in Brokpa. The phoneme /r/ occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in the perfective allomorph *–ri*, and in enclitics as in the reflexive/emphatic marker *=raŋ*.

The rhotics also make voicing distinction. Example (24) gives minimal pairs confirming the voicing contrast for rhotics:

(24)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
ra	'goat'	*r̥a*	'hair'
ri:	'to roll'	*r̥iu*	'monkey'

The phonemes /l̥/ and /r̥/ occur only in the initial position in roots, but these two phonemes do not occur in any position in affixes and clitics. These voiceless liquids also serve as phonemic word boundary signals (see §3.2.2).

2.1.5.2 Glides

There are two glides: /w/ and /y/. The phoneme /w/ is a voiced labio-dorso-velar approximant, and /y/ a voiced lamino-palatal approximant [j]. The glide /w/ is both bilabial and dorso-velar, although it is shown only under the labio-labial column in

Table 3. Example (25) gives examples showing phonemic contrast between the two glides in Brokpa:

(25)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
woŋ	'hole'	*yoŋ*	'to arrive'
wáŋ	'blessing'	*yáŋ*	'prosperity'

The voiced labio-dorso-velar approximant /w/ occurs in the root-initial position, as shown in (25); it also occurs root-medially as in *ʑuwa* 'appeal' and *ʔewa* 'distinction'. The voiced lamino-palatal approximant /y/ occurs in the root-initial and root-medial positions as in *yo* 'puffed rice' and *hayaŋ* 'pot'. The phoneme /y/ occurs in the initial position of suffixes as in the future perfective allomorph *-yu*, and in enclitics as in the emphatic marker *=ye* ~ *=ya*. The phoneme /w/ does not occur in affixes and clitics.

Table 4 gives a full summary of the phonotactic restrictions capturing the occurrences of consonant phonemes in different slots in lexical roots, affixes, and clitics in Brokpa.

2.1.6 Allophonic variants of consonants

The vowel phoneme /p^{h}/ is realized as the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] word-finally. Intervocalically, /b/ is realized as the voiced bilabial fricative [β], e.g. *dʑaba*→ [ˈdʑɐβɐ] 'Adam's apple'.

In the word-final position, /g/ is neutralized with /k/. The phoneme /k^{h}/ is realized as the voiceless dorso-velar fricative [x] in the word-final position, e.g. *tek^{h}* [tɛx] 'stool/support'. Intervocalically, /g/ is realized as the voiced velar fricative [ɣ], *p^{h}rugu* [p^{h}rʊɣu] 'child', *brugu* [brʊɣu] 'NUMCL:GNR'. These are instances of spirantization in Brokpa.

Table 4. Phonotactic restrictions on the consonant phonemes in Brokpa

phoneme	root-initial	root-medial	root-final	affix-initial	affix-final	enclitic-initial	enclitic-final
p	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
t	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
ʈ	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
k	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
ʔ	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
pʰ	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
tʰ	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
ʈʰ	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
kʰ	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
b	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
d	+	+	-	+	-	+ one	-
ɖ	+	+	-	+ one	-	-	-
g	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
bʱ	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
dʱ	+	restricted	-	+ one	-	-	-
ɖʱ	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
gʱ	+	restricted	-	-	-	-	-
ts	+	+	-	+ one	-	+	-
tɕ	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
tsʰ	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
tɕʰ	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
dz	+	restricted	-	-	-	-	-
dʑ	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
s	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
ɕ	+	+	+	+ one	-	+ one	-
h	+	restricted	-	-	-	-	-
z	+	+	+	+ one	-	+ one	-
ʑ	+	+		+	-	+ one	-
ɦ	+	-	-	+ one	-	-	-
m	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɲ	+	restricted	restricted	-	-	-	-
ŋ	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
l̥	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
l	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
r̥	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
w	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
y	+	+	-	+	-	+	-

There is a tendency for the voiced apico-alveolar affricate /dz/ to occur in free variation with the voiced apico-alveolar fricative /z/, as in *dzoŋ* ~ *zoŋ* 'fortress', *dzom-sa* ~ *zom-sa* (meet-NOMZ:LOCTV) 'meeting place'. Similarly, the voiced apico-alveolar fricative /z/ also occurs in free variation with its voiceless counterpart /s/, as in *=se* ~ *=ze* 'QUOT' and *-sin* ~ *-zin* 'SIM'.

The voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ and the bilabial and/or dorso-velar approximant /w/ are sometimes interchangeable in words such as *ɦukpa* ~ *wukpa* 'owl'. But the two phonemes are mutually exclusive in other words such as in *ɦom(a)* 'milk' (not **woma*), *ɦam* 'eat:IMP(BT)' (not **wam*).

2.2 Vowel phonemes

Brokpa has eight basic vowel phonemes. Table 5 provides an inventory of vowel phonemes.

Table 5. The vowel phonemes in Brokpa

	front unrounded	**near-front rounded**	**near-back unrounded**	**back rounded**	
close	i	ü		u	**high**
close-mid	e	ö		o	**high-mid**
near-open	æ		a		**near-low**

A basic description of every Brokpa vowel, provided in Table 5, is as follows: /i/ is a close front unrounded vowel; /u/ is a close back rounded vowel; /ü/ is a close front rounded vowel; /e/ is a close-mid front unrounded vowel; /o/ is a close-mid back rounded vowel; /ö/ is a close-mid near-front rounded vowel; /æ/ is a near-open near-front unrounded vowel; and /a/ is a near-open near-back unrounded vowel.

The four vowels phonemically represented as /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ have almost the same articulation as those associated with these symbols in the IPA, so their qualities can be [i], [u], [e], an [o] respectively. The quality of the phoneme represented as

/a/ is close to [ɐ] in the IPA. For ease of reference, these five vowels— /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/— are referred to as 'archaic vowels' in Brokpa.

The three vowels, /ü/, /ö/, and /æ/ are hypothesized to be 'innovative vowels' in Brokpa. The quality of the innovative vowel /ü/ is quite close to [yː], /ö/ to [øː], and /æ/ to [ɛː]. There are two possible pathways to the development of these innovative vowels. A possible pathway is through the loss of coda consonants. For example, the word for 'smog' written <dud.pa > in Classical Tibetan is *dur.pa* in the Sakteng accent and *dü.ʑak* in the Merak accent in which the loss of the final /d/ or /r/ has led to the development of the close front round /ü/ in Merak. The word *tɕʰö.pa* 'offering' in Brokpa is written <mchod pa> in Classical Tibetan suggesting that the syllable final /d/ has developed into the close-mid near-front rounded /ö/. Similarly, the word for 'faith' in Brokpa is *dæba*, which in Classical Tibetan is written <dad.pa>. Proto-Brokpa probably had the coda /d/ in the first syllable of this word, and the loss of it may have engendered the development of the near-open front unrounded /æ/. Further pathways for the genesis of innovative vowels are a matter for additional investigation.

The five archaic vowels, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/, contrast in length and occur in diphthongs. The three innovative vowels, /ü/, /ö/, and /æ/, are not contrastive in length and these three vowels do not appear in diphthongs. The innovative vowels in Brokpa are inherently long.

The minimal or near-minimal pairs in examples (26)-(40) establish the phonemic status of the vowels in Brokpa.

The minimal pairs in (26) contrast the close front unrounded /i/ and the close back rounded /u/ in open and closed syllables:

(26)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
bri	'to sniff'	*bru*	'grain'
ɕiŋ	'tree'	*ɕuŋ*	'to hang'

The minimal pairs in (27) contrast the close front unrounded /i/ and the close front rounded /ü/:

(27)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ʈʰi	'throne'	*ʈʰü*	'gadget; to adjoin'
sin	'DUR; IMP'	*sün*	'to be fed up'

The minimal sets in (28) show the contrast between the close front unrounded /i/ and the close-mid front unrounded /e/:

(28)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
di	'DEM:PROX; DEF'	*de*	'DEM:DIST'
tʰiŋ	'blue'	*tʰeŋ*	'times'

The minimal pairs in (29) contrast the close front unrounded /i/ and the close-mid back rounded vowel /o/:

(29)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ʑi	'four'	*ʑo*	'curd'
tiŋba	'heel'	*toŋba*	'void'

The minimal pairs in (30) contrast the close front unrounded /i/ and the near-open near-back unrounded /a/:

(30)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
ɖi	'knife'	*ɖa*	'enemy'
zaŋziŋ	'hurly-burly'	*zaŋzaŋ*	'in excess of'

The minimal pairs in (31) provide contrasts between the close-mid front unrounded /e/ and the close back rounded /u/:

(31)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
re	'to rely, one'	*ru*	'horn'
tek^h	'stool/support'	*tu?*	'EXIST'

The minimal pairs in (32) contrast the close-mid front unrounded /e/ and the near-open near-back unrounded /a/:

(32)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
de	'DEM'	*da*	'now, PART'
p^{h}er	'fly'	*p^{h}ar*	'to rise/to build up'

The minimal pairs in (33) contrast the close-mid front unrounded /e/ and the close-mid near-front rounded /ö/:

(33)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
ts^{h}e	'lifespan'	*ts^{h}ö*	'estimation'
kyen	'obstacle'	*kyön*	'defect'

The minimal pairs in (34) contrast the near-open near-back unrounded /a/ and the close-mid back rounded /o/:

(34)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
l̥a	'deity'	*l̥o*	'south'
ramba	'dried bamboo sticks'	*romba*	'drain'

The minimal pairs in (35) contrast the near-open near-back unrounded /a/ and the close back rounded /u/:

(35)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ra	'goat'	*ru*	'horn'
pap^h	'hide'	*pup^h*	'to cover'

The minimal or near-minimal pairs in (36) contrast the close-mid back rounded vowel /o/ and the close back rounded /u/:

(36)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
bemo	'plumpy girl'	*bembu*	'duvet'
t^{h}or	'to scatter, to peck'	*t^{h}ur*	'downhill, bridle'

The minimal pairs in (37) contrast the close-mid back rounded /o/ and the close-mid near-front rounded /ö/:

(37)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
k^{h}o	'3:SG:MASC'	*k^{h}yo*	'2:SG'
sok^{h}a	'spring (season)'	*sök^{h}a*	'petition prayer'

Note that the second person singular is also pronounced as *k^{h}yö*, with the close-mid near-front rounded vowel /ö/ [ø].

The minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs in (38) contrast the close-mid front unrounded /e/ and the near-open front unrounded /æ/:

(38)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
bre	'measuring bowl'	*brœ*[3]	'rocky outcrop, taste'
zer	'nail; sunray'	*zærba*	'wart'

The minimal pairs in (39) contrast the near-open near-back unrounded /a/ and the near-open front unrounded /æ/:

(39)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
pʰa	'father'	*pʰrœ*	'to meet'
yár	'to borrow'	*yǽr*	'summer'

Evidence for the phonemic status of three vowels in Brokpa, namely the near-open near-back unrounded /a/, the near-open front unrounded /æ/, and the close-mid back rounded /o/, can be found in its morphophonology. Brokpa exhibits stem alternations through suppletion and ablaut for some verbs, particularly the verbs 'to see' and 'to eat', as in (40).

Examples in (40) provide the morphophonological evidence for the phonemic status of vowels /a/, /æ/, and /o/ in Brokpa:

(40)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ta	'see:IMPERV'	*za*	'eat:IMPERV'
tæ	'see:PERV'	*zæ*	'eat:PERV'
tʰo	'see:IMP'	*zo*	'eat:IMP'

In terms of distribution, not all vowels in Brokpa occur in the initial position in roots. Apart from the genitive allomorph *=i* and the ergative allomorph *=e* which do not allow hiatus (see 2.2.1), vowels also do not occur in the initial position of affixes and enclitics. A vowel phoneme can occur only in the medial or in the final position in roots, affixes, and clitics. The phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of each

[3] In the Merak dialect, 'rocky outcrop' is *brak* and 'taste' is *brɔ*.

vowel will be described in the following paragraphs and a summary will be given in Table 7.

The close front unrounded vowel /i/ occurs root-medially and root-finally, e.g. *tima* 'heel', *muʑi~muʑu* 'other (pronoun)'. The vowel phoneme /i/ occurs in the root-medial and root-final positions of affixes and enclitics, e.g., *-kʰin* 'NOMZ:AGTV', *mi-* 'NEG:IMPERV', *=ki* 'GEN'.

The close-mid front unrounded vowel /e/ occurs root-medially and root-finally, e.g. *geɕiŋ tsap* 'slash and burn', *megam* 'jaw', *takpʰruŋtse* 'nape'. The vowel phoneme /e/ occurs in the root-medial and root-final positions of clitics, e.g. *=te* 'ALL', and in the final position of suffixes as in *–ge,* a number suffix meaning 'both, the whole of'.

The close back rounded vowel /u/ occurs in the medial and final positions of roots, e.g. *kurkyaŋ+ton* (noise+take.out) 'cry/scream', *ʔintɕu* 'elegant'. The vowel phoneme /u/ also occurs in both medial and final positions of suffixes as well as enclitics, e.g. *-ruʔ* 'DIM', *-gu~gyu* 'FUT.IMPERV', *=su* 'DAT, ALL'.

The close-mid back rounded vowel /o/ occurs in the medial and final positions of lexical roots, e.g. *bombo* 'big; wide', *námʑo* 'ear'. This vowel phoneme also occurs in both the medial and final positions of affixes, *-ɦoŋ* 'POSSIB', *-go* 'OBLIG', *-pʰo* 'MASC', *-mo* 'FEM'.

The near-open near-back unrounded vowel /a/ occurs root-medially and root-finally, e.g. *tʰaŋloŋ* (Mek: *mík+zurkyo*) 'cross-eyed', *puŋma* 'shoulder'. The vowel phoneme /o/ occurs in the medial and final positions of both affixes and clitics, e.g. *-gan* 'NOMZ:AGTV', *ma-* 'NEG-', *–ma* 'MIR', *=baʔ* 'PL', and *=ta* 'TOP'.

The close front rounded vowel /ü/ occurs in the medial and final positions of roots, e.g. *suipʰa* 'stomach', *ɖamrü* 'jawbone'. The close-mid near-front rounded vowel /ö/ also occurs root-medially and root-finally, e.g. *mwötɕuspu ~ mwoitɕuspu* 'woman; wife', *naŋʈʰö* 'internal organ'. Similarly, the near-open near-front unrounded vowel /æ/ occurs in the root-medial and root-final positions, e.g. *tʰækor* 'a ring made of ivory', *rubæ* 'vine'.

The occurrence of the three innovative vowel phonemes /ü/, /ö/, and /æ/ in the root-medial and root-final positions is much rarer compared to the five archaic vowels. The two vowel phonemes /ü/, and /ö/ do not occur in affixes and clitics, while /æ/ occurs in the final slot of enclitics and as in the ablative *=næ*.

2.2.1 Diphthongs

Brokpa has diphthongs in monomorphemic roots— monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic . A unitary diphthong found in a monomorphemic root, typically in monosyllabic, can be contrasted with a monophthong, e.g. *ʔau* 'elder brother' versus *ʔa* 'what'. A diphthong can also be contrasted with a long vowel, e.g. *deu* 'convenient' versus *deː* 'chase'.

The following distinct diphthongs have been attested: /iu/, /ui/, /au/, /ai/, /ou/, /oi/, /ea/, /eu/, and /ei/. Table 6 provides a list of diphthongs with example words, typically monomorphemic, in Brokpa.

Table 6. Diphthongs in Brokpa

DIPHTHONG	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	DIPTHONG	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
/iu/	*biu*	'calf (yak)'	/ou/	*ʔou*	'younger brother'
/ui/	*suipʰa*	'stomach'	/oi/	*moitɕuspʰu*	'woman'
/au/	*tauʐam*	'nutcracker'	/eu/	*deu*	'convenient'
/ai/	*khaizæ*	'salad'	/ea/	*pʰeakpa*	'NUMCL:ELG'

As can be seen in Table 6, a diphthong occurs usually in an open monosyllabic root and it is extremely rare for a diphthong to be followed by a consonant in the same syllable. The occurrence of a diphthong in the root-medial position in a monomorphemic word is not altogether impossible as in *laika* [ˈlɐi.kɐ] 'work'. However, in general, a diphthong has to be root-final.

Note that, in every diphthong the first part is the peak and the second offglide; and perhaps this is the reason why there is a strong tendency for a diphthong not to

be accompanied by the final consonant in the same syllable both word-medially and word-finally.

There are no instances of hiatus in Brokpa. The words which may appear as vowel initial in some languages actually commence with a glottal stop in Brokpa as in the examples mentioned above. As a result, no two vowel qualities occur next to each other in two adjacent syllables without a consonant in between, e.g. *mo=**i** **ʔou*** (3SG:FEM=GEN younger.brother) 'her younger brother'. A potential hiatus within a syllable is resolved by a diphthong realization as the phonological word *mo=i* → [ˈmɔi] (3SG.FEM=GEN) 'her' indicates. In this word, the two adjacent vowels, /o/ and /i/, combine and operate within the rhyme of the single syllable and is pronounced as the monosyllable [ˈmɔi], and not as the disyllable [ˈmo.i].

2.2.2 Contrastive vowel length

The five vowels referred to as 'archaic vowels'— /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/— are contrastive for length in an open monosyllabic lexeme. A closed syllable can be short or long, but there is no evidence to establish a length contrast in closed syllables. Similarly, in disyllabic and polysyllabic morphemes, a syllable can be short or long. If a long open syllable is the final component of a compound lexeme, it retains its length. On the other hand, if the first component of a compound stem ends in a long open syllable, the length of the final vowel may be reduced.

As noted in §2.2, the three 'innovative vowels'— /ü/, /ö/, and /æ/— are inherently long and do not contrast for length. Their short realizations, as illustrated in §2.1.6, are the allophonic variants occurring in closed syllables. The long vowels are marked with the symbol (ː) right after the vowel symbols as /iː/, /uː/, /eː/, /aː/, and /oː/. The minimal sets provided in (41) show the length contrasts in the five archaic vowels in open monosyllabic morphemes:

(41)

SHORT EXAMPLE	GLOSS	LONG EXAMPLE	GLOSS
tsi	'to consider'	*tsi:*	'astrology; to squeeze'
pʰu	'to blow'	*pʰu:*	'to give.HON'
bre	'measuring bowl'	*bre:*	'to divorce'
tsa	'grass, nerve, rust'	*tsa:*	'to search'
ʑo	'curd'	*ʑo:*	'to milk'
dʑa	'tea'	*dʑa:*	'to meet.HON'

The long vowels /i:/, /e:/, /o:/, /u:/, and /a:/ commonly occur in the final position of lexical roots, e.g. *saʑi:* 'estate', *lo?+pʰu:* (again+give:HON) 'to return', *bre:* 'to divorce', *ɲi+ɦo:* (sun+ray) 'daylight', *gyu ya:* (wealth disappear) 'lose fortune'.

The long vowels can also occur root-medially, but their occurrence in the root-medial position is less common, e.g. *ɕu:ʑa* 'memory', *soso+ɕe:r-pʰi* (different+separate-NOMZ) 'distinguish', *go:m* 'afternoon', *kʰa:ʑin* 'important'. The five long vowels do not occur in affixes and clitics.

Table 7 gives the phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of Brokpa vowels in the following slots: root-medial (r-med), root-final (r-fin), affix-initial (a-ini), affix-medial (a-med), affix-final (a-fin), enclitic-initial (e-ini), enclitic-medial (e-med), and enclitic-final (e-fin) positions.

Vowels in Brokpa do not occur in the initial position in roots, affixes, and clitics.

2.2.3 Allophonic variants of vowels

The vowel phoneme /i/ is realized as the near-close front unrounded vowel [ɪ], and the vowel /u/ is realized as the near-close back rounded vowel [ʊ] in closed syllables. Also, the vowel phoneme /a/ tends to be pronounced as the reduced vowel [ə] in closed syllables, and as [ɐ] in open syllables. Examples of allophonic variants of the vowels in Brokpa are provided in (42):

Table 7. Phonotactic restrictions on the vowel phonemes in Brokpa

phoneme	**r-med**	**r-fin**	**a-med**	**a-fin**	**e-ini**	**e-med**	**e-fin**
i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
iː	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
e	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
e:	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
o	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
o:	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
u	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
u:	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
a	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
a:	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
ü	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
ö	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
æ	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
iu	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
ui	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
au	+	+	-	+ one suffix	-	-	-
ai	+	+	-	+ one suffix	-	-	-
ou	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
oi	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
ei	-	restricted	-	+ one suffix	-	-	-
eu	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
ea	restricted	-	-	-	-	-	-

(42)

OPEN SYLLABLE EXAMPLE		GLOSS	CLOSED SYLLABLE EXAMPLE		GLOSS
tʰi	[ˈtʰi]	'bottom'	*tʰiʔ*	[ˈtʰɪʔ]	'line'
su	[su]	'who?'	*sum*	[ˈsʊm]	'three'
ra	[ˈɾɐ]	'goat'	*ramba*	[ˈɾəm.bɐ]	'dried bamboo'

The vowel phoneme /e/ is in free variation with the open-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ], *me* → [ˈme] ~ [ˈmɛ] 'fire'. Similarly, /o/ is in free variation with the open-mid back vowel /ɔ/, *toptɕœ*→[ˈtop.tɕɛː] ~ [ˈtɔp.tɕɛː] 'food'.

The three 'innovative vowels'— the close front rounded /ü/, the close-mid front rounded /ö/, and the near-open front unrounded /æ/— are inherently long, typically occurring in open syllables. When the innovative vowels occur in closed syllables, /ü/ is realized as [y], /ö/ as [ø], and /æ/ as [ɛ]. Examples of the allophonic variants of the vowels /ü/, /ö/, and /æ/ in Brokpa are provided in (43):

(43)

OPEN SYLLABLE EXAMPLE		GLOSS	CLOSED SYLLABLE EXAMPLE		GLOSS
ɖamrü	[ˈɖəm.ryː]	'jawbone'	*püka*	[ˈpy.kɐ]	'appearance'
tʰö	[ˈtʰøː]	'to appear'	*döɕa*	[ˈdø.ɕɐ]	'kick'
bʱrunœ	[ˈbʱɾu.nɛː]	'placenta'	*pʰrædo*	[ˈpʰɾɛ.dɔ]	'jealousy'

All vowels occurring after the breathy-voiced consonants and the voiced glottal fricative are realized as breathy vowels. Examples include *bʱu* → [ˈbʱṳ] 'air', *dʱa* → [ˈdʱa̤] 'month', *gʱa* → [ˈgʱa̤] 'saddle'. Recall from §2.1.1 that breathiness is the property of the stop consonants in Brokpa. The realization of breathiness on a vowel, following a breathy-voiced consonant, is attributable to the spreading of breathiness from the preceding consonant. The voiced glottal fricative is inherently breathy.

2.3 Phonological and morphophonological processes

This section investigates some common phonological and morphophonological processes affecting consonants and vowels in Brokpa.

2.3.1 Palatalization

Palatalization in Brokpa involves pronouncing the dorso-velar stops, /k/, /k^{h}/, and /g/ in the palatal region when adjacent to the palatal approximant or palatal glide [j] phonemically represented as /y/. That means palatalization in Brokpa involves only a single place of articulation which is dorso-velar. In other words, the dorso-velars are articulated in a front position, the palatal region.

Palatalization, indicated by the superscript symbol [^{j}] as [k^{j}], [k^{hj}], and [g^{j}] is to be distinguished from its palatal approximant or the glide /y/ [j]. Palatalization involves secondary articulation affecting the dorso-velar stops, whereas the palatal approximant or the glide /y/ has a palatal primary articulation. The palatal approximant is a phoneme which can occur word-initially as in *yuː* [ˈjuː] 'village', word-medially as in *hayaŋ* [hɐ.ˈjəŋ] 'pot' , and in consonant clusters as in *gyop* [ˈgjɔp] 'do: IMP'.

The palatalized stops are also to be distinguished from the lamino-palatal affricates /tɕ/, /tɕ^{h}/, and /dʑ/. Palatalization in Brokpa, as noted above, is a type of sound change involving secondary articulation and affecting the dorso-velar stops and the entire syllable, while the lamino-palatal affricates are independent consonant phonemes. There is no complete change in primary articulation from dorso-velar to lamino-palatals. They differ in manner of articulation, palatalized stops versus affricates.

When a dorso-velar stop is palatalized before the palatal approximant, there is a duplication of <j> symbol in the phonetic transcriptions [k^{j}j], [k^{hj}j], and [g^{j}j]. It is crucial to represent both (the superscript ^{j} and the normal j) in the phonetic transcription if the distinction between the suprasegmental feature of palatalization and the palatal approximant or glide is to be maintained as a phoneme. A similar phenomenon is reported for Tibetan (see for example, Hill 2012a). Table 8 gives examples of the dorso-velar stops /k/, /k^{h}/, and /g/ being palatalized before the approximant /y/.

Table 8. Palatalization of dorso-velar stops in Brokpa

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**
kyi → [kʲji]	'dog'	*kʰyakpʰu* → [ˈkʰʲjək.pʰu]	'chilling'
kyuk → [ˈkʲjʊʔ]	'to vomit'	*gyip* → [ˈgʲjɪp]	'rubber'
kʰyu → [ˈkʰʲju]	'group'	*gyuptɕa* → [ˈgʲjʊp.tɕɐ]	'material'
kʰyi → [ˈkʰʲji]	'2:SG'	*gya* → [ˈgʲjɐ]	'to do'

Note, however, that some speakers may fully replace the palatalized stops with the lamino-palatal affricates. For example, the word *kyowa* [kʲjo.wɐ] 'sadness' in which the initial /k/ is palatalized can be heard as *tɕowa* [ˈtɕo.wɐ] beginning the /tɕ/ in some speakers. Palatalization typically takes place at the beginning of a phonological word boundary, and it serves as a non-phonemic boundary signal for phonological words in Brokpa (see §3.2.4).

2.3.2 Labialization

Brokpa has a tendency to labialize the consonant before certain vowels. In particular, consonants preceding the close-mid back rounded vowels /o/ and the close-mid near-front rounded vowel /ö/ are produced with co-articulated lip rounding. This means that labialization in Brokpa is also a change in pronunciation as a result of secondary articulation, akin to palatalization.

Similar to the distinction between palatalization and lamino-palatal approximant, labialization and the voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ in Brokpa are to be considered different. Labialization is a secondary articulation, while the labio-velar approximant is an independent phoneme. Labialization is more prominent in dorso-velar stops and nasals. Table 9 gives examples of labialization in Brokpa.

The consonants before the labio-velar approximant can be affected by labialization. Note, however, that labialization is triggered by its phonetic environment and not by the glide /w/, as indicated by the labialized initial consonants without the following glide /w/ in Table 9.

Table 9. Labialization in Brokpa

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
poː → [pʷoː]	'incense'	*go* → [gʷo]	'head'
mwoi →[ˈmʷwoi]	'wife'	*ŋo* → [ˈŋʷo]	'identity, face'
ɲo → [ˈɲʷo]	'to buy'	*logö* → [lo.ˈgʷø]	'regret'
kʰo → [ˈkʰʷo]	'3:SG:MASC'	*nou* →[ˈnʷou]	'younger brother'

2.3.3 Elision

Elision or deletion affects both consonants and vowels in Brokpa. Consonant elision applies within a phonological word, across a root-affix boundary, or a root-clitic boundary. Note that clitic(s) in Brokpa are prosodically dependent on their host and they typically form a phonological word with the host in Brokpa (see §3.2). Sadock (1995) notes that no phonological processes may apply between a root and a clitic. In Brokpa since a clitic typically forms a phonological word with the root, phonological processes do take place within a phonological word, that is across a root-enclitic boundary. For example, the final consonant of a root in an enclitic may both be elided, and the initial consonant of the enclitic coalesces with the root as in *tɕak=næ* → [ˈtɕaːn] (break=ABL.SEQ) 'by/after breaking'.

Both apocope (loss of a final sound) and aphaeresis (loss of an initial sound) occur in Brokpa. Typically, consonant aphaeresis predominantly affects the dorso-velar stop /k/, the bilabial stop /p/, and the dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/. In some instances, the apico-alveolar fricative /s/ and the liquids /l/ and /r/ can also be elided.

Consider the verb root *pʰok* 'to hit'. Depending on the grammatical marker it takes, the final consonant of the verb *pʰok* may be retained or deleted. Typically, the final /k/ is retained if the following grammatical marker begins with a voiceless consonant as in *pʰok-pi* 'hit-PERV' and *pʰok-soŋ* 'hit-PERV.DIRECT', but it is deleted if the following morpheme commences with a voiced initial, as in *pʰok-ɦioŋ* → [ˈpʰoː-ɦiõː] 'hit-POSSIB' and *Merak=gi* → [ˈmɛ.ɾɐː.gi]. Note that the final consonant deletion engenders

compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see §2.3.6). Further note that the final /k/ may be realized as the glottal /ʔ/.

The final consonant from a root and the vowel from a suffix can both be omitted and the initial consonant of the clitic or the suffix syllabifies with the root. For example, *lok-sa* → [los] 'return-NOMZ:LOCTV'. This is also an instance of the vowel elision discussed above.

A further type of consonant elision involves deleting the final consonant from a root if it takes a grammatical element commencing with the same phoneme as its final consonant, disallowing consonant gemination or consonant lengthening as in ***dʑin**-ni* → [ˈ**dʑi**.ni] (give-PERV) 'gave/given', ***pʰer**-rim-tɯʔ* → [ˈ**pʰeː**.rim.tɯʔ] (fly-CONT-DIRECT) '(still) flying'.

This same process applies if the final consonant of the root and the initial consonant of the following morpheme are not exactly the same, but belong to the same place of articulation as in *la**p**-**p**ʰi* → [ˈ**laː**.pʰi] (say-PERV) 'said', *dʑo**k**-**k**ʰi* → [**dʑoː**.kʰi] (gossip-IMPERV) 'gossiping'.

Note that the final consonant of the root is retained if it is followed by a morpheme commencing with other consonants, e.g. *dʑi**n**-soŋ* → [**dʑin**.sõː] (give-PERV.DIRECT) 'gave/given', *la**p**-**k**u* → [ˈ**ləp**.kʲu] (say-fut.imperv) 'will tell'.

Sometimes, while forming a compound or a grammatical word the final consonant from the first root and the initial consonant from the second root are both omitted, and the resulting form undergoes resyllabification. This happens especially if the second root or the grammatical marker begins with the glide /y/ or the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/. For example, *lok-yoŋ* (return-come) 'come again/return' is realized as [loːŋ], and *dʑin-ɦoŋ* (give-POSSIB) 'might give' as [dʑi.noŋ].

As pointed out above, elision also affects vowels. An unstressed vowel from a grammatical word formed by means of a lexical nominalization may be omitted. Since a vowel sound is omitted word-finally, this is a type of 'apocope'. For example, the vowel /a/ from the locative nominalizer *-sa* is deleted in a rapid register as in

e.g. *dʱo-sa* → [dʱos] (live:NOMZ:LOCTV) 'staying place/residence), *ɖo-sa* → [ɖos] (go-NOMZ:LOC) 'place to go to, destination'. Similarly, the final vowel from a word formed through an instrumental nominalization can also be omitted if the root before nominalization is of the open syllable type, e.g. *tɕʰaʔ-ma* → [tɕʰəːm] (sweep:NOMZ:INST) 'broom', *tʰaʔ-ma* → [tʰəːm] (tether-NOMZ:INST) 'tethering rope'.

In the same vein, the unstressed near-low near-back unrounded vowel /a/ can be omitted from a phonological word after a root has taken the bound locative/dative/allative case enclitic *=la*. The vowel /a/ is deleted from the end of of a phonological word, after the encliticization of locative *=la* has applied, leading to syllable compression, e.g. *lakpa=la* → [ˈlək.pəl] (hand:DAT) 'to someone/something', *lumba=la* → [ˈlʊm.bəl] (village:LOC) 'at the village'. Furthermore, the near-low near-front unrounded vowel /æ/ can be omitted from a phonological word after a root has combined with the ablative case enclitic *=næ*, e.g. *ʔoti=næ* → [ˈʔo.tin] (DEM.PROX=ABL) 'after that, then', *Merak=næ* → [Meraːn] (Merak:ABL) 'from Merak'.

2.3.4 Epenthesis

Brokpa exhibits some instances of consonant and vowel epenthesis. Epenthesis (inserting an extra consonant or a vowel sound to a morpheme) is the direct opposite of elision discussed in §2.3.3. A consonant epenthesis takes place in a restricted morphological environment, typically only within the boundaries of certain roots and suffixes, or between the two components of certain compounds. Consonant epenthesis may also apply across the boundary of certain modal auxiliaries and suffixes, or between two suffixes.

An epenthetic /m/ appears after certain verb roots preceding the lexical nominalizer *–gan~ -gin*. For example, the verb root *ɖo* 'to go' has an open syllable, and it remains an open syllable when suffixed with the imperfective *-gi* or other grammatical elements; however, when it is suffixed with the nominalizer *-gan ~ -gin*, the same

verb root takes an epenthetic /m/ as in *ɖo-gan* → [ɖo**m**.gən] (go-NOMZ:AGTV) 'one who goes'.

The same process applies to the verb root *ɕi* 'to die' which is also an open syllable. When suffixed with the perfective allomorph *-li*, the verb root *ɕi* remains an open syllable, but when it is suffixed with the agentive nominalizer it takes an epenthetic /m/ as in *ɕi-gin* → [ˈɕi**m**-gin] 'die-NOMZ:AGTV'. Likewise, the verb *ta* 'to look' is an open syllable, and it takes an epenthetic /m/ before the nominalizer *-gin*, *ta-gin* → [ta**m**.gin] (look-NOMZ:AGTV) 'one who looks'.

An epenthetic /n/ may be inserted between a modal auxiliary and a suffix. For example, the auxiliary verb *go* 'OBLIG' marking the modality of obligation or necessity takes the epenthetic /n/ when followed by the clause-final marker *–to* as in *pakʰa + gya-go-to* → [pakʰa.gya.go**n**.tɔ] 'preparation + do-OBLIG-FIN' 'must prepare', *bo-go-to* → [bo.go**n**.to] 'invite-OBLIG-FIN'. The epenthetic /n/ can also be inserted between two suffixes, e.g. *kʰyoŋ-mi-to* → [kʰjoŋ.mi**n**.to] 'bring-NOMZ-FIN', where /n/ is inserted after the nominalizing/perfective aspect suffix *–mi* and before the final suffix *-to*. An auxiliary or a suffix taking an epenthetic consonant may become prosodically non-cohering, and takes a primary stress forming a domain for a phonological word.

Certain roots may also take the epenthetic /ŋ/. For example, the number word *ɲí* 'two' takes an epenthetic /ŋ/ before the number suffix *–ge* which has the meaning of 'both' or 'whole', as in [ˈɲíŋ.gɛ] 'both'.

A consonant epenthesis may also occur within a cohering compound, forming a phonological word as well a new grammatical word (see §3.3.4). For example, *la* 'mountain' and *tse* 'tip' are compounded by inserting /p/ forming [lɐp.tsɛ] 'mountain pass'. Similarly, *go* 'head' and *ʑuk* 'tail' form a compound [ˈgʷom.ʑuʔ] 'upside down', in which the first component, the labialized *go* 'head', takes the epenthetic /m/.

The epenthetic /ŋ/ is also found in several cohering compounds. Examples include [miŋ̣.gu] 'human head', a compound formed by *mi* 'person' and *go* 'head', in

which the first component *mǐ* takes the epenthetic /ŋ/. Note that the second component is realized as [gu] due to vowel harmony (see §2.3.7). Further examples include [riŋ.gu] 'mountaintop', formed by *ri* 'mountain' and *go* 'head', after vowel harmony is applied.

Furthermore, the epenthetic /r/ is also found in cohering compounds. For example the noun *mí* 'person' takes an epenthetic /r/ when it forms a compound with *gyü* 'lineage' as in [ˈmir.gyː] 'family lineage'.[4]

Phonological and morphophonological processes within a cohering compound including consonant epenthesis and vowel harmony suggest that a cohering compound is a phonological word in Brokpa (see also §3.3.4).

As pointed out above, Brokpa also shows instances of vowel epenthesis, albeit marginally. Vowel epenthesis in Brokpa involves inserting an additional vowel within a phonological word. A vowel, typically the high vowel /i/, is added to an open-syllable root before an enclitic. The motivation for adding a vowel to the root before encliticization appears to be to block the vowel omission from the following enclitic or the suffixes, that is word-finally. For example, the vowel /i/ is added to the verb root *dʱu* 'collect' preceding the ablative/sequential marker *=nœ* as in *rup dʱu=nœ* → [ˈrʊp ˈdʱui.nɛ] (money collect=SEQ) 'by/after collecting money'. In §2.3.3, it was shown that if a phonological word is formed by a combination of a root and an enclitic, the final vowel is often deleted. So, the phonological word *dʱu=nœ* (collect=ABL) has to be [ˈdʱʊn] in the absence of the epenthetic vowel /i/ but is not the case when the host takes an epenthetic /i/. The epenthetic vowel /i/ leads to the preservation of the final vowel /æ/ in *dʱu=nœ* → [dʱui.nɛː].

Therefore, a vowel epenthesis is employed as a technique to preserve the number of syllables of a phonological word, formed by a combination of a lexical root and a bound grammatical element.

[4] Consonant epenthesis is better shown in the phonemic transcription since an underlying form and surface form sound significantly different, after a consonant epenthesis is applied. My consultants were also not able to accept an underlying form in which consonant epenthesis was not shown, if that underlying form has an epenthetic consonant in the surface form.

Consider another example. If the vowel /i/ is added to verb *ʑu* (say:HON) as in *deɕor ʑu=næ* → [deɕor ʑui̯.nɛː] (say:HON=ABL) 'by/after bidding farewell', the ablative marker *=næ* is preserved, and the syllable count of the resulting phonological word (root plus enclitic) is maintained. On the other hand, if the epenthetic vowel /i/ is not added, then the vowel /æ/ from the ablative marker *=næ* is deleted. The resulting consonant /n/ then merges with the root and the disyllabic phonological word *ʑu=næ* is reduced to the monosyllabic [ˈʑʊn]. The vowel /i/ can also be added to the verb root *ʑu* preceding other grammatical elements such as a nominalizer/perfective marker, *ʑu-pʰi* → [ʑui̯.pʰi] (say: HON-NOMZ.PERV) 'said/reported'.

As mentioned earlier under diphthongization in §2.2.1, a vowel epenthesis in Brokpa results in a diphthong and not in a hiatus. Two vowels in a sequence, resulting from a vowel epenthesis, form a single rhyme and are not articulated as two syllables. Further possible motivation for a vowel epenthesis is to ensure a smooth transition from a vowel to a consonant in rapidly articulated speech. The occurrence of a vowel epenthesis breaking up consonant clusters, whether in the onset or in the coda slot, is surprisingly rare. In fact, I have come across only one example, which also highlights variation between the Merak and the Sakteng accents. The lexeme *gleŋ* 'a breed of ox' in the Merak accent is pronounced [gəleŋ] in the Sakteng accent, where the onset clusters are reduced to an epenthetic schwa. This rare occurrence of vowel epenthesis in consonant clusters suggests that, synchronically, Brokpa displays a tendency to preserve its consonants clusters. Note, however, that using a vowel epenthesis as a means of cluster reduction by young children who have not fully acquired the power of speech is not uncommon in Brokpa, as is the case with other languages which have consonant clusters.

2.3.5 Nasalization

The vowels in Brokpa assimilate to the adjacent nasal consonants, typically to the following nasal consonant, especially the dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/ and, to a lesser degree,

the apico-alveolar nasal /n/. The bilabial nasal /m/ is always retained in the coda slot, although the vowel preceding it may show the effects of nasalization. The lamino-prepalatal nasal /ɲ/ does not occur in the coda slot.

Examples of nasalization preceding the dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/ is given in (44):

(44)

EXAMPLE			**GLOSS**
ɕiŋ	→	[ˈɕĩː]	'tree'
ʑuŋma	→	[ˈʑũːmɐ]	'tail'
teŋ	→	[ˈtẽː]	'to inflate'
ʔelɕaŋgor	→	[ˈʔɛl.ɕẽːgɔɾ]	'whirlwind'

Note that the dorso-velar nasal can be pronounced distinctly in slow register. In rapid register, it is realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel. Examples of nasalization preceding the apico-alveolar nasal /n/ is given in:

(45)

EXAMPLE			**GLOSS**
kʰenku	→	[ˈkʰẽːku]	'a type of squirrel'
teŋan	→	[ˈte.ŋãː]	'ill-omened'
min	→	[ˈmĩː]	'NEG.COP.EGO'
ʔunmi	→	[ˈʔũː.mi]	'earlier, past'

Akin to /ŋ/, the apico-alveolar nasal can be produced as a distinct consonant in slow register. Only in rapid register is this consonant susceptible to deletion.

2.3.6 Compensatory lengthening

Compensatory lengthening in Brokpa involves lengthening of a vowel sound as a result of the deletion of a final consonant. Compensatory lengthening in Brokpa is engendered by consonant elision (§2.3.3) and/or nasalization (§2.3.5). Note, however, that not all consonant deletion leads to compensatory lengthening.

Examples of compensatory lengthening with the deletion of nasal consonants were given 'under nasalization' in §2.3.5). Compensatory lengthening with the deletion of some other consonants in the coda slot are given in (46):

(46)

EXAMPLE			**GLOSS**
tsʰik	→	[ˈtsʰiː]	'stalk (tree)'
tʰuk	→	[ˈtʰuː]	'mind:HON'
mar	→	[ˈmɐː]	'butter'
ɕar	→	[ɕəː]	'east; to divide'
ɖilbu	→	[ɖiːbu]	'bell'
tsʰal	→	[tsʰaː]	'solder'

As can be seen in (46), compensatory lengthening is engendered by the deletion of the final /k/, /r/, and /l/, in addition to the deletion of the nasal /n/ or /ŋ/ discussed in §2.3.5. The issue of compensatory lengthening in the case of the /r/ coda requires additional study. Note that in Brokpa compensatory lengthening commonly affects the near-open near-back unrounded vowel /a/. Further note that, akin to nasal consonants, the other final consonants given in (46) may be preserved in the coda slot when uttered in isolation or in a slow register.

2.3.7 Vowel harmony

Brokpa exhibits some ad hoc or sporadic vowel harmony within phonological words, typically consisting of a monosyllabic root and an affix or a clitic. Vowel harmony can also be found within some cohering compounds, typically formed by a combination of two monosyllabic roots. Vowel harmony operates in both directions in Brokpa; that is, the vowel of a preceding segment changes according to the vowel of the following segment ('regressive vowel harmony'); and the vowel of the following segment changes according to the vowel of the preceding segment ('progressive vowel harmony').

Regressive vowel harmony is usually found in cohering compounds which is an instance of one grammatical as well as one phonological word (see §3.3.4). In a

regressive vowel harmony, the vowel of the second component of a compound triggers the vowel of the first component to raise and agree with it. Typically, the low vowels undergo regressive raising in a compound. For example, the near-low vowel /a/ from the lexeme *pʰa* 'there' is raised to the high-mid [e] when it combines with *tɕʰoʔ* 'direction' forming a compound realized as [pʰe.ˈtɕʰoʔ] 'that side', the raising being triggered by the high-mid /o/.

Progressive vowel harmony can be found within a phonological word involving a root plus a suffix or a root plus an enclitic. The vowel of the following suffix/enclitic changes with reference to the vowel of the root. The dimension involved in a progressive harmony is also raising and, in some instances, fronting.

Progressive harmony involving a root and a suffix can be illustrated using the feminine gender suffix *-mo*. The mid-vowel /o/ of this feminine gender suffix is raised to the high vowel [u] if the root has a high vowel. If the root has the high-back vowel /u/, the vowel of the feminine gender suffix is raised, /o/ → [u] as in *tɕʰu-mo* → [tɕʰu.mu] (river-FEM) 'river', *lú-mo* → [ˈlú.mu] (serpent.spirit-FEM) 'female serpent spirit'. If the root has a low vowel, the suffix *-mo* is pronounced the same: *ɕa-mo* → [ɕa.mo] (deer-FEM) 'doe'.

Progressive vowel harmony also affects the vowel of the enclitic. For example, the enclitic *=raŋ*, marking reflexive or emphasis, remains as is if the preceding root has a low vowel as in *ŋa=raŋ* → [ŋɐ.ɾɐ̃ː] (1:SG=REFL.EMPH) 'I myself'. However, if the root contains the vowel /o/, the vowel /a/ is raised to [o] as in *mo=raŋ* → [ˈmo.ɾoŋ] (3:SG.FEM-REFL) 'she herself'.

When a progressive vowel harmony applies in a compound, the vowel of the first component of a compound triggers the vowel of the second component to raise and agree with it, which is the exact opposite of the regressive harmony in a compound. For example, *ri* 'mountain' and *tse* 'tip' forms a compound *ri+tse* realized as [ˈri.tsi] (mountain+tip) 'mountaintop', causing the mid vowel /e/ to raise to [i] on the trigger of the vowel /i/ of the first component.

Similarly, *ɲíŋ* 'heart' and *top* 'strength' forms a compound [ˈɲíŋ.tup] 'courage, confidence' causing /o/→[u] raising, being triggered by the high vowel /i/ of the first component. Further examples of /o/→[u] involving progressive raising within a compound include *ɕiŋ* + *zoba* (tree + artesan) 'carpenter' realised as [ɕiŋ.zuba] in the surface form, *riŋ* + *go* (mountain + head) 'upper reaches of a mountain' realized as [ˈɾɪŋ.gu].

As illustrated above, both regressive and progressive vowel harmony involves raising. I have found one example of progressive lowering, namely /u/ → [o]. The future marker is *-k^{h}u* as in *ɕi-gu* (die-IMPERV) 'will die'. Following the modality auxiliary *-go* indicating obligation or necessity, the vowel /u/ surfaces as [o] as in [ɖik-go-k^h**o**] (arrange-OBLIG-IMPERV) 'will have to arrange', in which the vowel /u/ of the future imperfective marker *-k^{h}u* is realized as [o].

Vowel harmony in Brokpa is a morphophonogical phenomenon and it is not obligatory. The alternating forms of the same segment do not engender semantic difference. Ad hoc vowel harmony does not correlate to any sociolinguistic parameter such as age or gender.

2.4 Phonotactics and syllables

Individual phonemes— consonants and vowels—, and the phonotactic restrictions on their occurrence in different positions (initial, medial, and final) within lexical roots, affixes, and clitics were described and illustrated in §§2.1-2.2. This section describes the phonotactics in the structure of syllable in Brokpa. Section 2.4.1 examines the syllable structure and syllable types, and §2.4.2 phonotactics in the syllable structure.

2.4.1 Syllable structure

This section examines the syllable structure and syllable types in Brokpa. Figure 21 shows the constituents of a maximum syllable structure in Brokpa.

σ = C1(C2)V(C3)(C4)

Figure 21. Syllable structure in Brokpa

'C' indicates a consonant or a glide, and 'V' a vowel. V can be a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong. C1(C2) corresponds to onset, V to nucleus, and (C3)(C4) to coda. All syllables in Brokpa must minimally consist of an onset and a nucleus, C1V. Table 10 shows the possible syllables in Brokpa with examples.

Table 10. Syllable types in Brokpa

Syllable type	**Example**	**Meaning**
C1V	*ʔe*	'grandmother'
C1C2V	*bru*	'grain'
C1VC3	*goːm*	'afternoon'
C1C2VC3	*bruk^{h}*	'scratch'
C1VC3C4	*d^{ɦ}ans*	'memory, mindfulness'

The first two syllable types, C1V and C1C2V, are open syllables and the other three—C1VC3, C1C2VC3, and C1VC3C4— are all closed syllables. If the V in the C1V syllable structure is a short vowel, then it is a light syllable; and if the V in C1V is a long vowel or a diphthong, then it is a heavy syllable. An open syllable with the C1C2V structure is also a heavy syllable. The closed syllables are all heavy even when the V is a short vowel. This light versus heavy syllable distinction or the distinction of moraicity is important for stress assignment in Brokpa (§2.5.3). There are some limitations on how many consonants can occur in one syllable. For example, it is not possible to get C1C2C3V. Brokpa also does not allow the syllable structure C1C2VC3C4 and C1C2C3VC4. The CV and CVC are the most frequent syllable structures, followed by CCV and CCVC structures. The CVCC is the least frequent structure.

A word in Brokpa can consist of one or more of these syllable types. In a polysyllabic word, one syllable type can recur, or it can co-occur with another syllable type. Examples of some polysyllabic words are *p^{h}akpa* 'pig', *kyaptɕ^{h}okpa* 'handsome, beautiful', *láŋbotɕ^{h}e* 'elephant', *norbusili* 'rhinoceros'. The breathy stops are disallowed in the word-medial position in a polysyllabic word.

2.4.2 Phonotactics

This section examines which consonants and vowels correspond to the different slots in the structure of syllable shown in Figure 21. Table 11 gives the phonotactic distribution of syllable constituents in Brokpa. The V2 in Table 11 is a subsystem of V, which was subsumed under the definition of V as 'diphthong' in the syllable structure (§2.4.1).

Table 11. The phonotactic distribution of the syllable constituents in Brokpa

ONSET		**RHYME**			
		NUCLEUS		**CODA**	
C1	**(C2)**	**V**	**(V2)**	**(C3)**	**(C4)**
p pʰ t tʰ ʈ ʈʰ k kʰ ʔ b bʱ d dʱ ɖ ɖʱ g gʱ ts tsʰ dz tɕ tɕʰ dʑ s z ɕ ʑ h ɦ m n ɲ ŋ l̥ l ɾ̥ r w y	r l, w, y	i ü u e ö o æ a (:)	i u a	p pʰ b t tʰ k kʰ m n ŋ r l s z	s ɕ

Any of the thirty-nine consonants can fill the C1 slot; only liquids /r/ and /l/, and the glides /w/ and /y/ may fill the C2 slot. Note that the glides /w/ and /y/, as phonemes, are more restricted to word-initial and word-medial positions and their occurrence in the C2 slot (consonant plus glide cluster word-initially) is very infrequent, found only in some speakers. The C3 slot may be filled by any of the following: the voiceless, both unaspirated and aspirated, stops /p/, /pʰ/, /t/, /tʰ/, /k/, /kʰ/; the nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/; the apico-alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/; the two voiced liquids /r/ and /l/; and the glottal stop /ʔ/. Severe restriction applies to which consonant can fill the C4 slot. Only two, the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative /s/ and the voiceless lamino-palatal fricative /ɕ/, are found to be occupying the C4 slot.

Brokpa has consonant clusters at the beginning of a syllable. Only stop plus approximant clusters are allowed. Even within these allowable sequences, there are constraints on the consonants that can combine with the four C2 consonants given in

Figure 21. Table 12 shows syllable-initial consonant clusters /pr/, /pl/, /p^{h}r/, /br/, /bl/, /kr/, /ky/, /k^{h}y/, /gl/, and /gy/ with examples.

Table 12. Initial consonant clusters in Brokpa

CLUSTER	EXAMPLE	MEANING
/**p**/ + /**r**/	*preŋbu*	'poor'
/**p**/ + /**l**/	*ploi*	'to roll'
/**p^{h}**/ + /**r**/	*p^{h}ræ*	'to meet'
/**b**/ + /**r**/	*brukor*	'grain collection'
/**b**/ + /**l**/	*bluk^{h}*	'to burst'
/**k**/ + /**r**/	*krapkrup*	'crispy'
/**k**/ + /**y**/	*kyowa*	'sadness'
/**k^{h}**/ + /**y**/	*k^{h}yeŋ*	'to fill'
/**g**/ + /**y**/	*gyuk^{h}*	'to run'

The occurrence of C4 is very rare and consonant clusters at the end of a syllable are extremely limited, found only in some speakers. There are severe constraints on which C3 can combine with the C4 consonants. Only a few instances of nasal-fricative or stop-fricative clusters can be found in the coda slot, e.g. *ʔotɕins* 'like this/that', *ʔokɕ* 'dewlap'. There is a clear tendency to drop the consonant clusters at the end of a syllable, as indicated by the free variation between *ʔotɕins* ~ *ʔotɕis* 'like this'. There is also some tendency to reduce initial consonant clusters by the younger generation of speakers, e.g. *bru* ~ *ɖu* 'grain', *bruk* ~ *ɖuk* 'dragon'. It is probably a sociolinguistic tendency of sounding like Dzongkha. Consonant clusters with the apico-alveolar stops as C1 and /r/ as C2, that is /tr/, /t^{h}r/, /dr/, etc., do not exist because they have phonemicized into retroflex stops.

Compared to the phonology of Old Tibetan and/or Classical Tibetan as reflected by the traditional orthography and modern linguistic analyses (see among others, Hill 2010; DeLancey 2003a; and Beyer 1992), Brokpa can said to be partially conservative. Brokpa retains some features of Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan phonology, such as the syllable-initial consonant clusters, the coda consonants (C3), and even some

coda clusters. For example, other languages such as Dzongkha (see Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1988; van Driem 1998; Watters 2018; van Driem and Tshering 2019) and Denjongke (see Yliniemi 2019), which are close linguistic relatives of Brokpa, have simplified the initial consonant clusters.

It is reasonable to assume that Brokpa was a language with a simple vowel system with abundant consonant clusters, as is typical for many Bodish languages; and, conceivably, without contrastive tone. But now Brokpa is in the process of simplifying its consonant clusters, losing coda consonants, and developing into a tonal language from a non-tonal proto-language, akin to the origin of tones in Vietnamese (see Matisoff 2001, 2003; Haudricourt 1954).

Brokpa and closely related Trans-Himalayan languages may be passing through what Sapir (1921) refers to as 'parallelism in drift'. This 'parallelism in drift' may be operating in the phonological sphere as well as in the morphological sphere of the Trans-Himalayan languages, as it can be operating cross-linguistically (see Sapir 1921). Brokpa, similar to its related languages such as Dzongkha, may be moving from being a 'cluster-rich' language with simple prosodies to a 'non-cluster' language with complex prosodies. The only difference may be that some languages like Brokpa are moving more slowly than other languages like Dzongkha, considering the fact that Dzongkha has lost almost all its consonant clusters.

Synchronically, Brokpa may be said to be midway between the 'tonal languages' and the 'non-tonal languages', and between the 'cluster-rich languages' and the 'non-cluster languages' in the Trans-Himalayan language family. Compared to some archaic related languages such as Balti (see Caplow 2016) and Ladakhi (see Koshal 1976, 1979) on one end of the spectrum and languages such as Dzongkha on the other end, Brokpa probably is in an in-between stage. Brokpa preserves many archaic features, phonological as well as morphological, reflected in the Classical Tibetan. At the same time, Brokpa exhibits many innovative features including tone prosody and allomorphic variants.

2.5 Prosodic systems

This section discusses the prosodic features of tone, pitch assimilation, and stress in Brokpa. The prosody of intonation associated with different speech acts (sentence types) will be examined under clause types by speech acts in §14.2.

2.5.1 Tone

Brokpa has two register tones, distinguished by pitch height applying over a syllable within a phonological word. Syllables with obstruents have an inherent pitch value, whereas syllables beginning with sonorants are contrastive for pitch. The phenomenon of pitch in Brokpa can be understood in terms of the 'onset voice effect' (OVE). This is a phenomenon that has been well documented in many languages wherein there is a strong correlation between vowel pitch and the phonation class of the consonant which precedes it, along the lines of Kirby and Ladd (2015). This has been documented for non-tonal languages like English and French (see Hombert 1978 and Hombert et al. 1979), and for Dzongkha (see Watters 2018). The OVE can also be seen in languages which are developing tonal contrast (see Howe 2017).

In Brokpa, the voiceless stops, affricates and fricatives have corresponding high pitch, and the voiced stops have corresponding low pitch and breathy voice on the vowel. Pitch in this context is not contrastive and will not be illustrated. Pitch following a sonorant consonant, however, is contrastive, and will be referred to as 'register tone' or simply 'tone'.

Since register tone is contrastive exclusively on syllables with sonorant-initial consonants in Brokpa, only the vowels following high-tone initial sonorants are overtly marked in the working orthography. The low tone after sonorant-initials is treated as the default tone and is left unmarked orthographically. Pitch is not marked on words where it corresponds to the phonation type of the onset.

Table 13. Contrastive tone on sonorant-initial words in Brokpa

LOW TONE		**HIGH TONE**	
Lexeme	**Meaning**	**Lexeme**	**Meaning**
mar	'butter'	*már*	'red'
maŋ	'to be in excess'	*máŋ*	'base'
nup	'to set'	*núp*	'west'
ŋu	'to cry'	*ŋú*	'silver'
ɲa	'fish'	*ɲǎ*	'edge'
lok	'to return'	*lók*	'to recite'
yar	'to run'	*yár*	'to borrow'
woŋ	'hole'	*wóŋ*	'power'

Table 13 gives examples of words with sonorant initials which have one meaning in low register tone and another meaning in high register tone.

Pitch height in lexemes beginning with /r/, /r̥/ and /l̥/ is not lexically contrastive. They exhibit the OVE distribution of stops. The words beginning with /r/ show voicing contrast, e.g. *ra* 'goat' vs *r̥a* 'hair', *raŋ* 'self' vs *r̥aŋ* 'to swell'. The words commencing with the apico-alveolar lateral /l/ also have a voicing contrast, as the *la* 'mountain' vs *l̥a* 'deity', *læ* 'karma' vs *l̥æ* 'to overflow' pairs illustrate. The pitch contrasts between these words are phonologically the same as the *lok/lók* pair illustrated in Table 13.

To illustrate the differences in pitch heights in high-tone and low-tone words commencing with sonorants, the pitch of three pairs of words spoken by a 63-year-old female from Sakteng were analyzed. These words provide characteristic examples. Note that it is fairly easy to perceive the difference in high versus low tone contrast on words with sonorant-initials.

Table 14 shows numerical data that illustrates the contrasts in the maximum pitch heights of the syllable; it gives the maximum pitch for high and low tone words. While the pitch height contrasts are small, it confirms what was learned while living in situ among community members. The pitch values of words with high tone are

consistently higher than those with low tone. The average difference in maximum pitch between these pairs is 72.28 Hz. Again, this is a perceptually robust difference.

Table 14. Comparative pitch analysis of high tone vs low tone

HIGH (HT)		**LOW TONE (LT)**		**Difference (HT-LT)**
Example	**Max pitch (Hz)**	**Example**	**Max pitch**	
lát.pa 'brain'	252.56	*lak.pa* 'hand'	191.12	61.44
ló: 'lung'	261.20	*lo* 'year'	214.97	46.23
ŋú.na 'sweat'	324.66	*nu.ma* 'breast'	215.47	109.19

Figures 22 and 23 give visual representations of the pitch contrast between high and low tone for the first two pairs of words. Figure 22 illustrates the pitch traces of the high-tone word *látpa* 'brain' and the low-tone *lakpa* 'hand'. Pitch height is measured on the y axis in hertz, and duration is measured on the x axis in milliseconds.

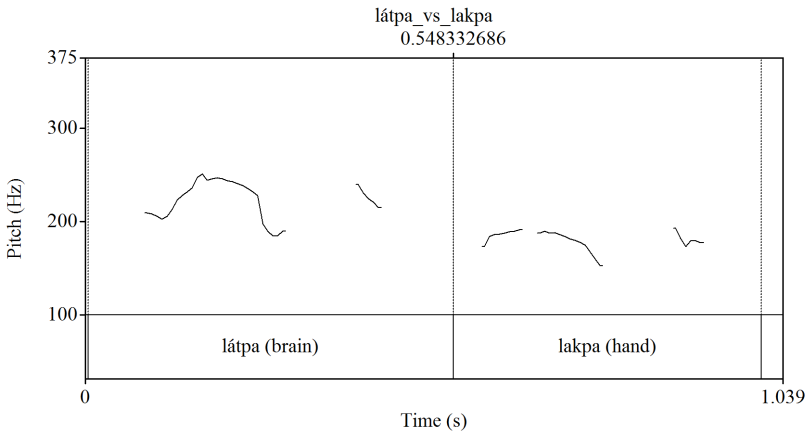

Figure 22. Pitch contours of *látpa* 'brain' versus *lakpa* 'hand'

In Figure 22 the pitch traces show a second short trace following a longer one; this second trace is the pitch of the syllable *pa*. The focus of comparison is on the first trace which overlies the syllable *lát* and *lak*. The pitch trace for *lát* rises through the /l/, is level over the /á/, and then falls to meet the /t/. The maximum pitch is realized in the vowel, and its value is 252 Hz. The pitch trace for *lak* remains level throughout the syllable, and the maximum pitch in the vowel is 191 Hz. The difference between

maximums is approximately 60 Hz, a difference that is perceptually robust. The rise in pitch through the /l/ in *lát* is a case of pitch assimilation, wherein the pitch of the sonorant rises in anticipation of the high tone of the vowel.

Similarly, Figure 23 gives a visual representation of the pitch contrast between high and low tone of the words *lő* 'lung' and *lo* 'year':

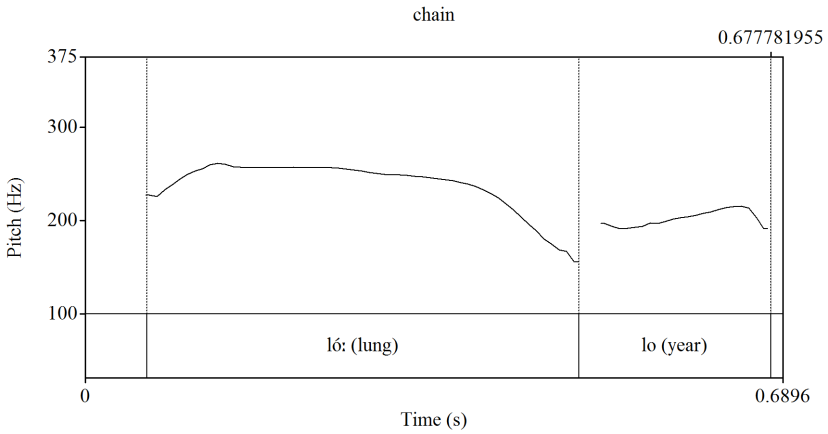

Figure 23. Pitch contours of *ló:* 'lung' versus *lo* 'year'

The pitch listings of the high-tone word *ŋúna* 'sweat' and the low-tone word *numa* 'breast' are plotted in Figure 24. The Y-axis shows the fundamental frequencies, the correlate of pitch, and the X-axis shows the time in milliseconds.

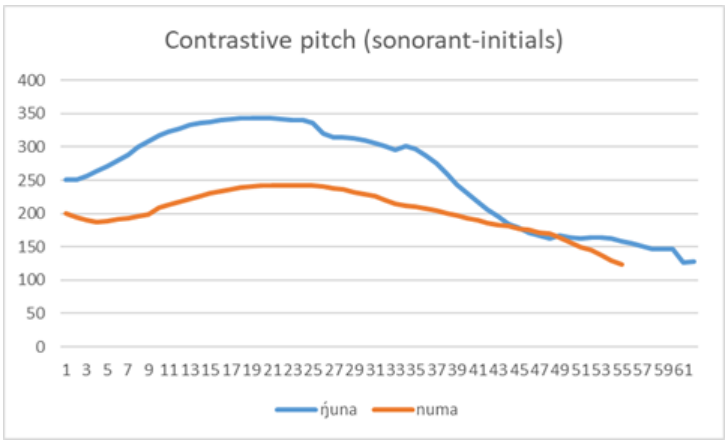

Figure 24. Pitch contours of *ŋúna* 'sweat' versus *numa* 'breast'

Figure 25 further illustrates the average values of the pairs of contrasts in Table 14. It plots three values: the average pitch at maximum pitch. It shows that high pitch consists of a rising falling contour, and that low pitch is level. Although the difference in the pitch values at the beginning and end of the syllables is slight, the difference at the maximum point is robust.

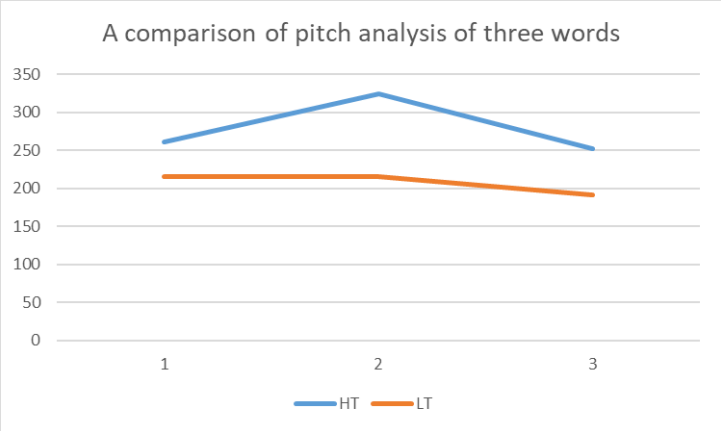

Figure 25. Comparative pitch contours high-tone words versus low-tone words

There are a number of areas that require further confirmation of in situ learning, and mother-tongue knowledge of related languages. One of these is the prosodic assimilatory process in Brokpa occurring over the negation and verb stem boundary which can be referred to as 'pitch assimilation' (see §2.5.2).

Tone has not been reconstructed at the Proto-Tibeto Burman level (see for example, Benedict 1972 and Matisoff 2003). However, modern spoken languages are said to be showing evidence for tonal development, ranging from toneless to fully tonal (see Sun 1997 with reference to modern Central Bodish languages).

The study of tonogenesis has been documented for many other Trans-Himalayan languages in the region. Hyslop (2009) succinctly explains the interaction of tone and voicing in Kurtöp. Besides the loss of initial voicing contrast and loss of coda consonants, tonogenesis in the Trans-Himalayan languages is said to be involving several other pathways. Tonogenesis can be from stress to pitch, as suggested by Caplow (2016) on the basis of the Balti stress pattern; from length to pitch as suggested by

Watters (2018) on the basis of Dzongkha; or breathy voice alone could trigger tonogenesis, as asserted by Suzuki (2015) based on mBrugchu Tibetan. All these pathways are within the bounds of possibility for tonogenesis in Brokpa.

Brokpa can be said to be showing features of all these processes of tonogenesis on account of the following: the presence of breathy phonation; the contrastive vowel length; tendency to simplify consonant clusters; and the conflation of stress and tone on sonorants. What Matisoff (2003) considers happening with tone in Trans-Himalayan languages could be an independent development in Brokpa not just through one tonogenetic principle—namely the loss of initial voicing contrast—, but by means of one or more, or all, of these processes. The process of tonogenesis may well be an instance of what Sapir (1921:2) calls 'parallelisms in drift' in which genetically related languages pass through strikingly similar phases of development.

2.5.2 Pitch assimilation

Brokpa has a prosodic assimilatory process occurring over the negation and verb stem boundary which can be referred to as 'pitch assimilation' or 'tone spreading'. A verb root commencing with a voiced or a breathy-voiced (low-register) initial takes the negation prefix *ma-* or *mi-* with a low pitch, as in *ma-gya* (NEG-do) 'didn't do, don't do', *mi-dʱœ* (NEG-stay) 'will not stay'. On the other hand, a verb root with a unaspirated voiceless or an aspirated voiceless (high-register) takes the negation prefix *má-* or *mí-* with a high pitch, as in *má-taŋ* (NEG-do') 'didn't send, don't send!', *mí-pʰuː* (NEG-give:HON') 'will not give' (see §14.6 for further discussion and examples of negation).

This assimilation of pitch occurs in words with sonorant initials with lexically contrastive tone, e.g. *má-náŋ* (NEG-give:HON') 'didn't give, don't give'. The assimilation of pitch also occurs in words with obstruent initials without lexically contrastive tone, e.g. *má-ploi* (NEG-roll) 'didn't roll, don't roll'.

Examples of pitch assimilation from roots with sonorant initials to the negation prefix are given in (47):

(47)

LOW-REGISTER	GLOSS	MEANING	HIGH-REGISTER	GLOSS	MEANING
ma-yar	NEG-jog	'didn't/don't jog'	*mí-yúk*	NEG-shake	'will not shake'
ma-za	NEG-eat	'didn't/don't eat'	*mí-nǽ*	NEG-rely	'will not rely'
mi-dʱur	NEG-compete	'will not compete'	*má-ɲám*	NEG-compare	'didn't/don't compare'
mi-gya	NEG-do	'will not do'	*mí-lúk*	NEG-pour	'didn't/don't pour'

As noted in §2, obstruents are of two types, inherently low-pitch (low-register) and inherently high-pitch (high-register). The voiced series of obstruents, including breathy-voiced stops, are inherently low-pitch, and the voiceless series of obstruents, including aspirated stops, are inherently high-pitch. The vowel pitch assimilation in Brokpa also applies to obstruents; that is, the inherent high-pitch (high-register) of a root triggers pitch harmony in its negation marker. Examples are provided in (48):

(48)

LOW-REGISTER	GLOSS	MEANING	HIGH-REGISTER	GLOSS	MEANING
ma-bro	NEG-escape	'didn't/don't escape'	*má-ta*	NEG-look	'didn't/don't look'
ma-dʱok	NEG-arrive	'didn't arrive'	*má-pʰræ*	NEG-meet	'didn't/don't meet'
mi-gaː	NEG-like	'will not like'	*mí-koŋ*	NEG-beat	'will not beat'
mi-ɖu	NEG-drag	'will not drag'	*mí-po*	NEG-shift	'will not shift'

The pitch assimilation across the boundary of verb roots and negation markers is found in other Bodish languages including Dzongkha. Note that since the register tone, realized by a high pitch, is indicated in the phonemic transcription, pitch assimilation on the negation prefix is also shown in the phonemic transcription.

2.5.3 Stress

Stress serves as a useful criterion for a phonological word in Brokpa. Stress is not contrastive but it serves as a non-phonemic boundary signal and helps to identify phonological words, fulfilling 'delimitative function', in agreement with Trubetzkoy (1969) and Aikhenvald (2015a). Stress in Brokpa is a prosodic feature that makes the language more natural and native-sounding. If an utterance is not in line with its generally accepted stress pattern, it runs the risk of sounding unnatural. For example, if words like *breŋga* 'chest' and *ŋarpʰi* 'roar' which have stress on the first syllable, [ˈbɾɛŋ.gɐ] and [ˈŋər.pʰi], are stressed on the second syllable, [*bɾɛŋ.ˈgɐ] and [*ŋər.ˈpʰi], they will sound odd although their meanings may be understood. Therefore, stress in Brokpa is to be considered as an essential feature of the language.

Some other Bodish languages such as Kurtöp (see Hyslop 2017) and Dzongkha (see among others, Watters 2018) are also reported as having stress accent, albeit non-phonemic. Dongwang Tibetan, a sub-dialect of Kham described as having three phonemic tones, is reported as a language with non-phonemic stress (see Bartee 2007). Sprigg (1966) reported the existence of contrastive accent in Balti. Similarly, Caplow (2016) reports that stress in Balti is contrastive and suggests that tonogenesis in Tibetan must take account of 'transphonologization of stress to tone'. Watters (2018:69) presumes that length, which he finds as analogous to stress in Dzongkha, could be "a manifestation of transphonologization from length to pitch".

In Brokpa, a disyllabic root takes a single stress which is the primary stress; but longish roots of three or more syllables take a primary and a secondary stress. A syllable bearing the primary stress is one with greater amount of respiratory energy and an increased tension of the vocal folds, along the lines of Ladefoged and Disner (2012:23). A syllable bearing the secondary stress in Brokpa is the one which has relatively less energy than the one receiving the primary stress but more strongly than an unstressed syllable within a phonological word.

Tone and intonation are manifested by pitch measured in terms of the fundamental frequency of sound waves while loudness, measured in terms of intensity (acoustic energy), is considered to be indicative of stress (see Ladefoged 2003:90). While loudness (intensity) is an acoustic correlate of stress in Brokpa, the stressed syllables also correlate with high pitch and vowel length. A stressed syllable is likely to be some combination of increased pitch, length, and loudness, along the lines of Ladefoged (2003). In other words, there is no conflict between stress and tone and between stress and duration in Brokpa.

The stress pattern in Brokpa is more influenced by the phonemic structure of the rhyme. The stress placement in Brokpa is sensitive to the syllable weight or the moraic structure; that is, whether a syllable is light or heavy. A distinction between a light versus a heavy syllable in Brokpa was made under the syllable structure in §2.4.1. To recapitulate, a light syllable with no initial clusters is any open syllable in which the rhyme is occupied by a short vowel, that is any one of /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, and /o/. A heavy syllable is one in which the rhyme consists of either a long vowel, or a diphthong, or a short vowel with coda consonant(s). In other words, all closed syllables are heavy; and open syllables with long vowels or diphthongs or an open syllable with onset clusters are also heavy.

The study of the stress patterns in Brokpa is based on the analysis of the intensities of some twenty-four pairs of disyllabic words, involving different syllable types and combinations, spoken by a male speaker (Speaker 1) and a female speaker (Speaker 2). Speaker 1 is from Merak and Speaker 2 is from Sakteng. Both speakers were in their early fifties. The words of Speaker 1 were extracted from a connected speech and those of Speaker 2 were recorded in isolation. The findings are also consistent with my perception, based on careful observation and listening and articulatory imitation, as well as the perception of the two (one from Merak and the other from Sakteng) of my consultants who helped me with transcription. The intensity analyses of the total of twenty-four words by the two speakers are grouped into the following

syllable combinations: σ1 (first syllable) heavy and σ2 (second) light; σ2 light and σ1 heavy; both σ1 and σ2 light; and both σ1 and σ2 heavy.

The number of tokens for each type of word is quite small but all the tokens covered in this analysis show direct correlation between loudness and syllable weight. The tokens covered also correspond with my own perceptions, and mother-tongue intuitions of my consultants.

A. When σ1 is heavy and σ2 light:

Table 15 gives the values of the highest intensity of each syllable of three pairs of words for Speaker 1 and Speaker 2. The first column gives the Brokpa word and gloss, followed by the measurements of the maximum dB level for each syllable. The difference in dB level is given in the rightmost column. The data show that the intensity of σ1 is greater than σ2 in all the words spoken by both speakers. The average difference in loudness for Speaker 1 is 3.64 dB and 5.22 dB for Speaker 2.

Table 15. Intensity measurements in words with σ1 heavy σ2 light structure

	Example word	**σ1 (Heavy)**	**σ2 (Light)**	**Difference in dB (σ1-σ2)**
Speaker 1 (Male)	*tun.ɖe* 'discussion'	73.20	69.74	3.46
	yak.po 'good'	67.51	64.68	2.83
	tem.re 'celebration'	70.97	66.33	4.64
Speaker 2 (Female)	*kyes.pa* 'man'	69.94	63.39	6.55
	kʰɑ:.ma 'kidney'	74.06	68.62	5.44
	muk.ki 'itch'	79.29	75.61	3.68

Figure 26 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllable words *tun.ɖe* 'discussion', *yak.po* 'good', and *tem.re* 'celebration' in which σ1 is heavy and σ2 light of Speaker 1, the male speaker from Merak:

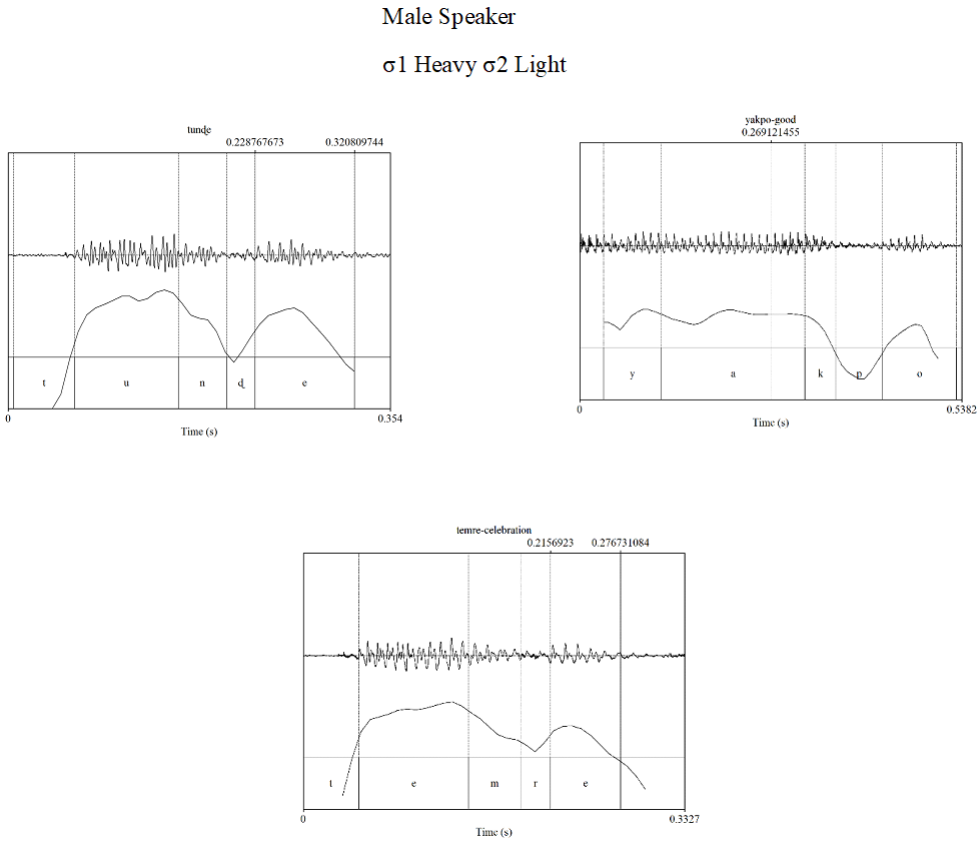

Figure 26. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 light)

Figure 27 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which σ1 is heavy and σ2 light in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 1 (male) in the form of charts.

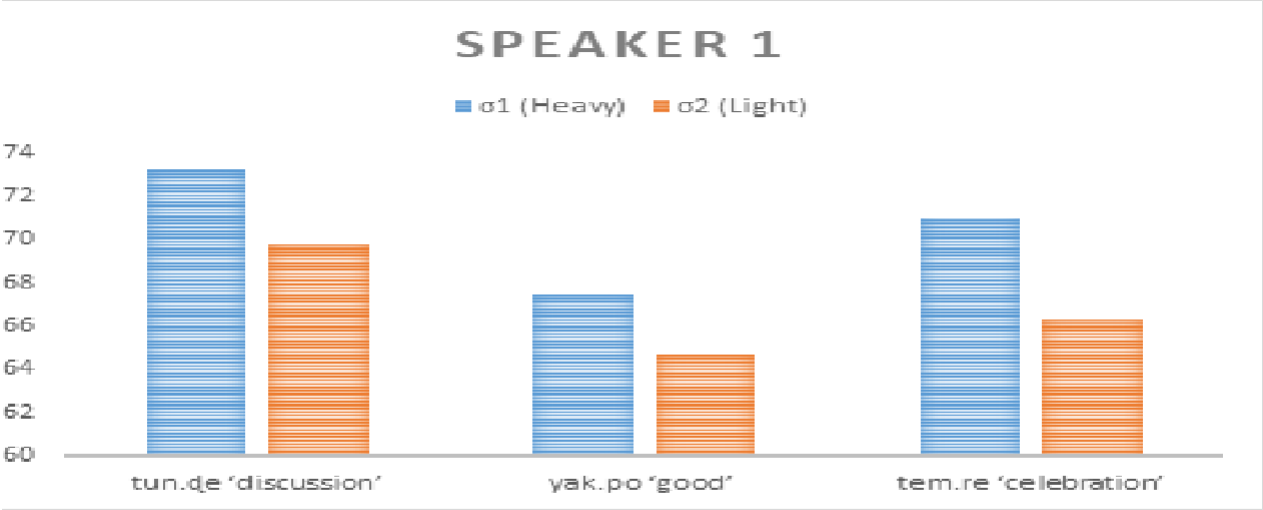

Figure 27. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 light)

Figure 28 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllable words *kyes.pa* 'man', *kʰaːma* 'kidney', *mukki* 'itch' in which σ1 is heavy and σ2 light spoken by Speaker 2, the female speaker from Sakteng:

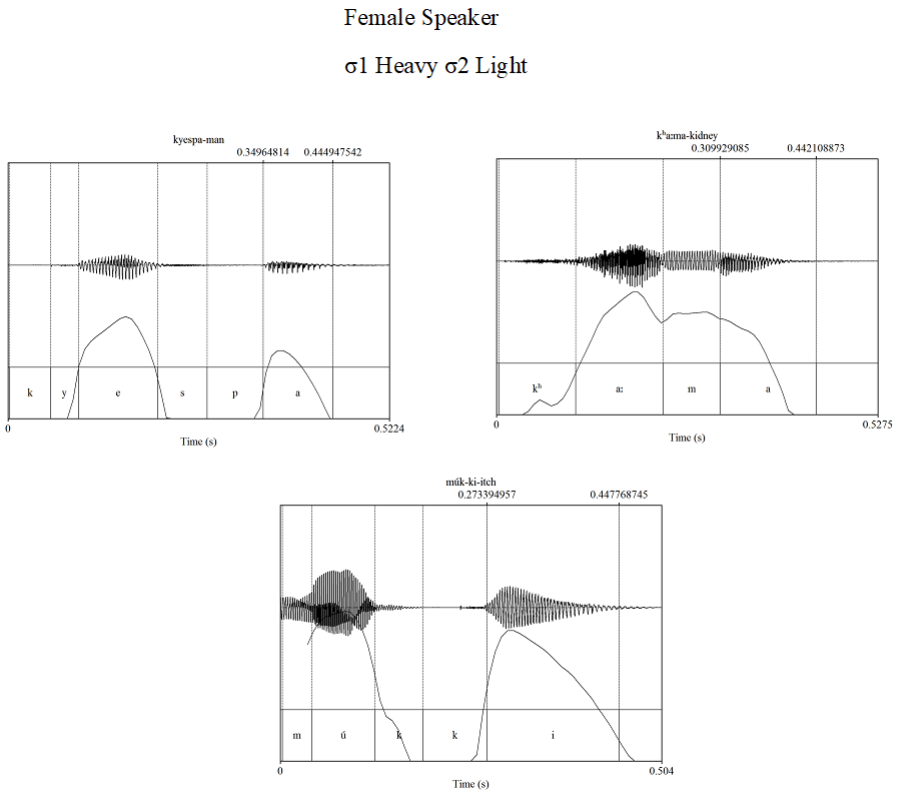

Figure 28. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 light)

Figure 29 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which σ1 is heavy and σ2 light in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 2 (female) in the form of charts.

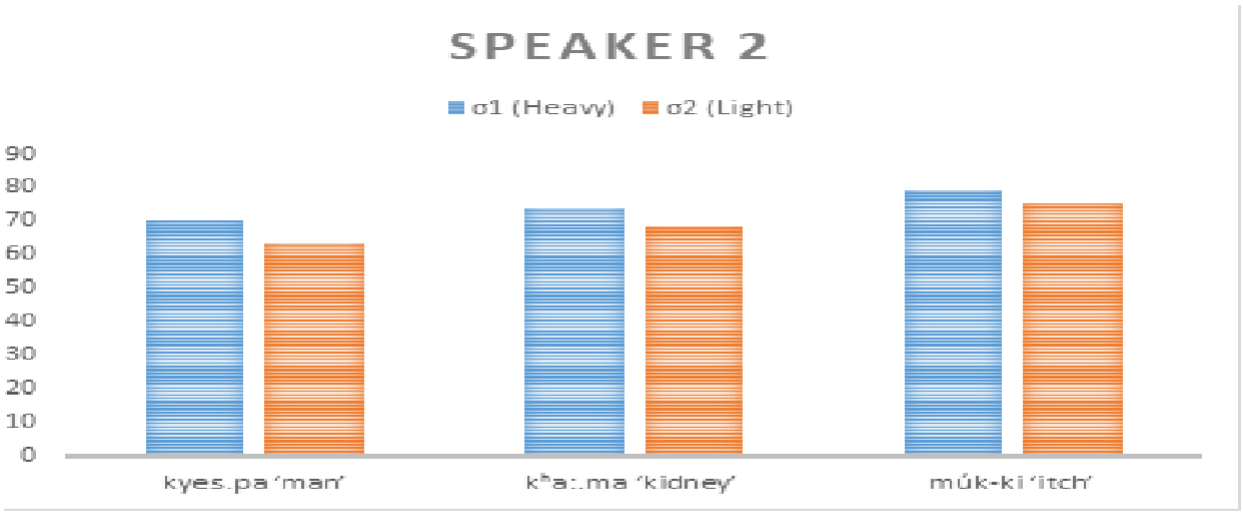

Figure 29. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 light)

B. When σ1 is light and σ2 heavy:

Table 16 gives the values of words where syllable σ1 is light and σ2 is heavy. Here, there is a change in pattern, and it is σ2 that is greater in loudness. The difference between σ1 and σ2 is a negative value. That is, σ1 is less than σ2 for both Speaker 1 and Speaker 2. The average negative difference in loudness for Speaker 1 is 3.31 dB and 3.19 dB for Speaker 2. Note that the average differences are still comparable with the other word structures.

Table 16. Intensity measurements in words with σ1 light σ2 heavy structure

	Example word	σ1 (Light)	σ2 (Heavy)	Difference in dB (σ1-σ2)
Speaker 1	*de.næ* 'then'	75.73	78.98	-3.25
	ri.ma 'shadow'	72.95	77.78	-4.83
	pe.tam 'saying'	73.30	75.17	-1.87
Speaker 2	*be.tsaː* 'sand'	68.66	72.15	-3.49
	di.riŋ 'today'	73.32	75.73	-2.41
	ɲí.lam 'dream'	74.36	78.05	-3.69

Figure 30 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllabic words *de.næ* 'then', *ri.ma* 'shadow', and *pe.tam* 'saying' in which σ1 is light and σ2 heavy by Speaker 1, the male speaker from Merak:

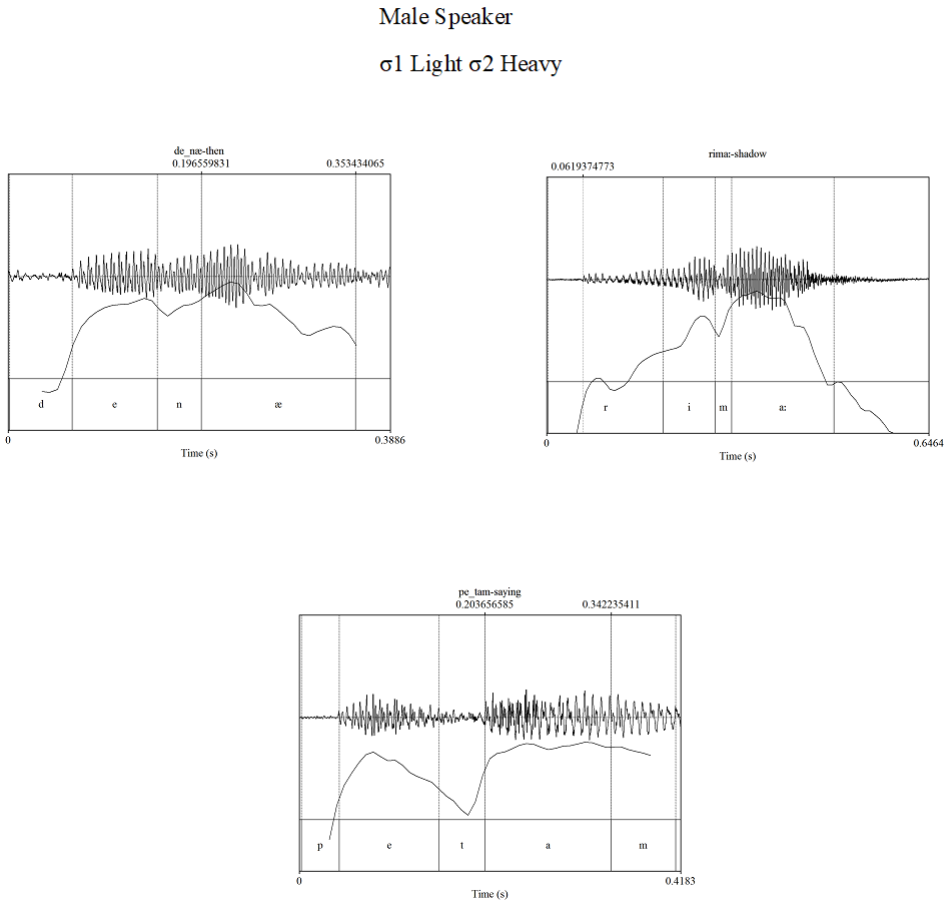

Figure 30. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 light σ2 heavy)

Figure 31 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which σ1 is light and σ2 heavy in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 1 (male) in the form of charts.

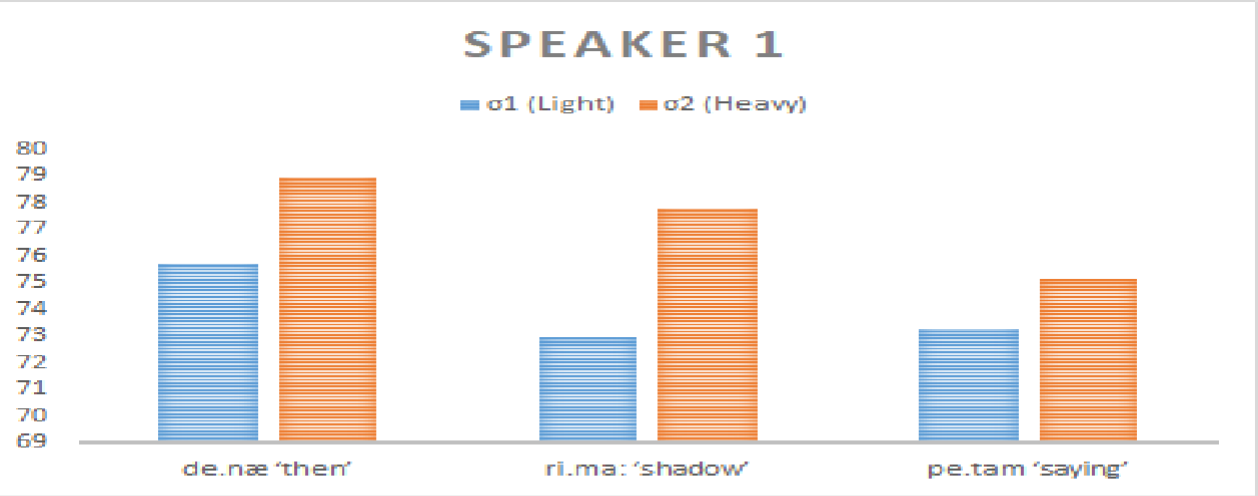

Figure 31. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 light σ2 heavy)

Figure 32 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllabic words *be.tsaː* 'sand', *di.riŋ* 'today', and *ɲí.lam* 'dream' in which with σ1 is light and σ2 heavy spoken by Speaker 2, the female speaker from Sakteng:

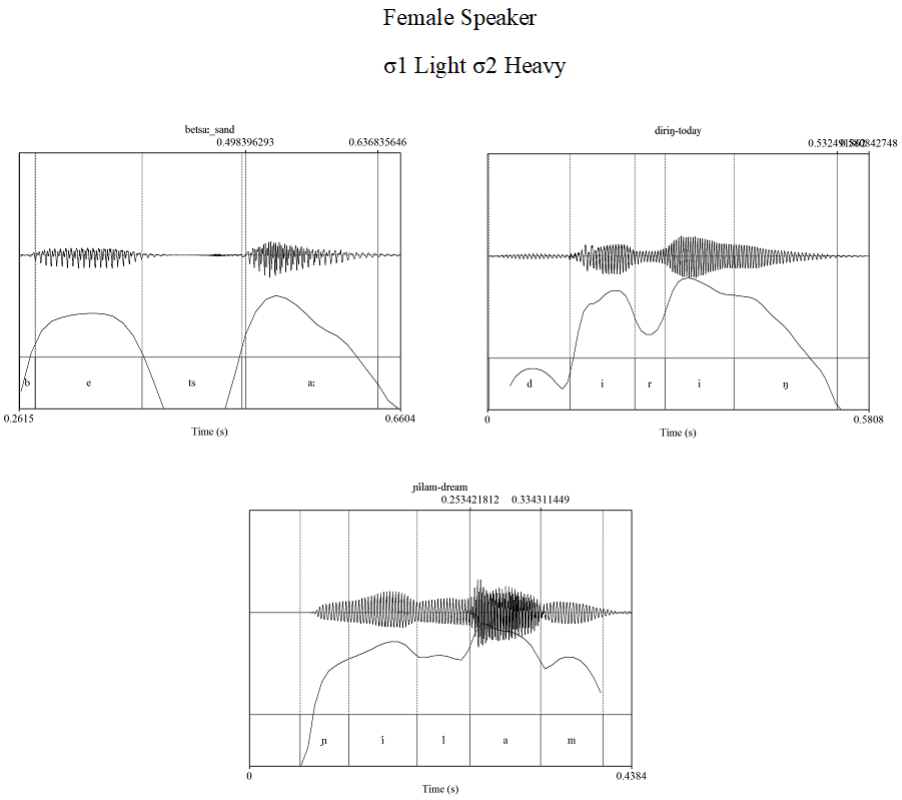

Figure 32. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 light σ2 heavy)

Figure 33 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which σ1 is light and σ2 heavy in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 2 (female) in the form of charts.

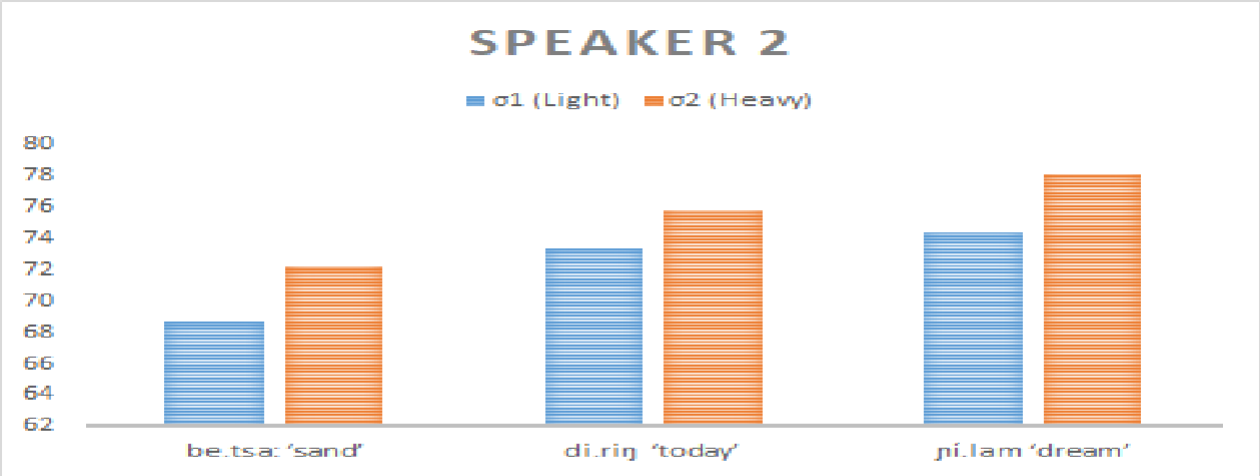

Figure 33. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 light σ2 heavy)

C. When both σ1 and σ2 are heavy:

Table 17 gives the values of words where both syllables are heavy. The data show that the intensity of σ1 is greater than σ2 in all the words spoken by both Speaker 1 and 2. The average difference in loudness for Speaker 1 is 4.30 dB and 7.89 dB for Speaker 2.

Table 17. Intensity measurements in words with σ1 heavy σ2 heavy structure

	Example word	σ1 (Heavy)	σ2 (Heavy)	Difference in dB (σ1-σ2)
Speaker 1	*dʑeː=ʑik* 'a rat'	80.52	78.76	1.76
	top.tɕœ 'food'	69.97	66.17	3.8
	ɖik=nœ 'arrange=SEQ'	70.91	63.57	7.34
Speaker 2	*gyap.teŋ* 'back'	73.25	65.24	8.01
	gaŋ.tʰaŋ 'all'	72.72	61.41	11.31
	dʱoː=tɕik 'a friend'	71.01	66.66	4.35

Figure 34 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllabic words *dʑeː=ʑik* (one phonological word) 'a rat', *top.tɕœ* 'food', and *ɖik=nœ* 'arrange=SEQ' in which both σ1 and σ2 are heavy spoken by Speaker 1, the male speaker from Merak:

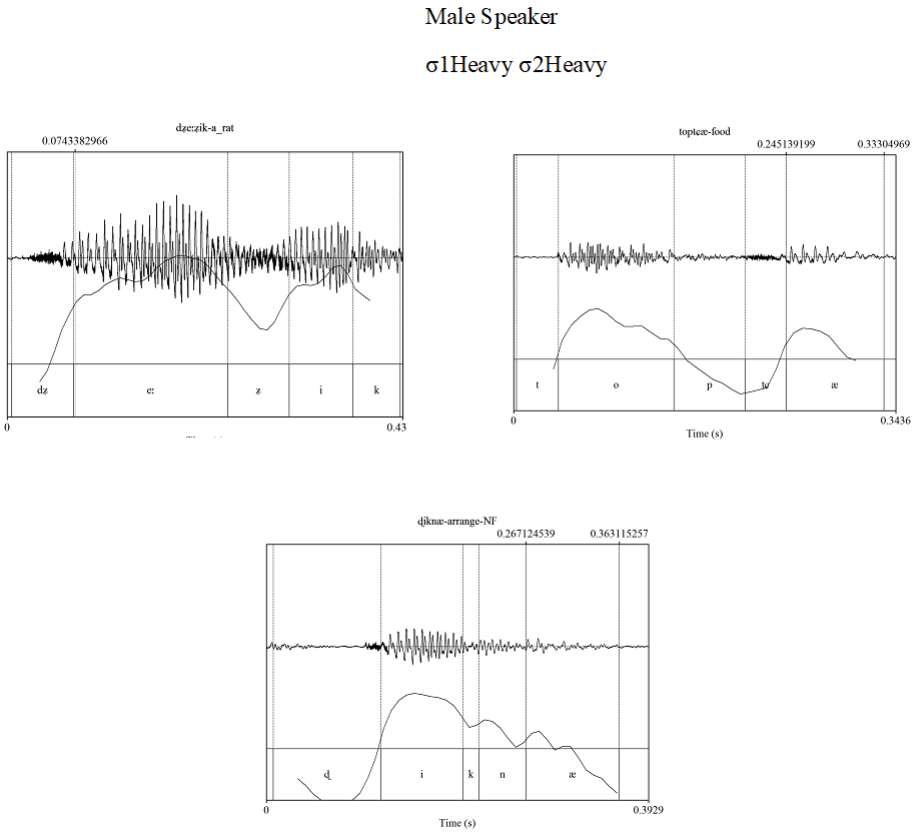

Figure 34. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 heavy)

Figure 35 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which σ1 is heavy and σ2 heavy in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 1 (Male) in the form of charts.

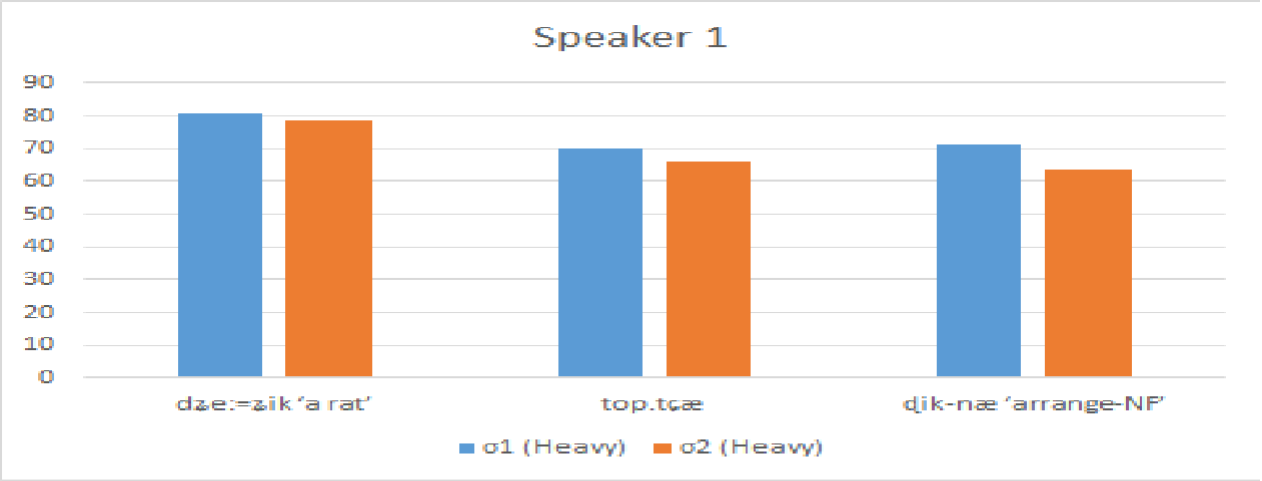

Figure 35. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 heavy)

Figure 36 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllabic words *gyap.teŋ* 'back', *gaŋ.tʰaŋ* 'all', and *dʱoː=tɕik* 'a friend' in which both σ1 and σ2 are heavy spoken by Speaker 2, the female speaker from Sakteng:

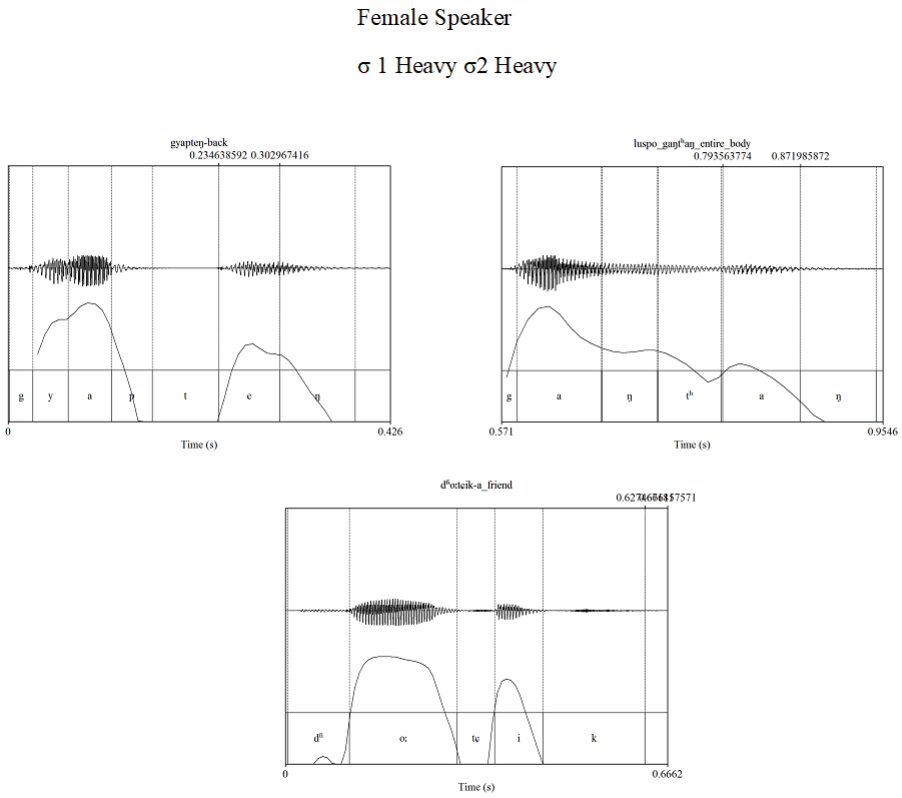

Figure 36. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 heavy)

Figure 37 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which both σ1 and σ2 are heavy in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 2 (female) in the form of charts.

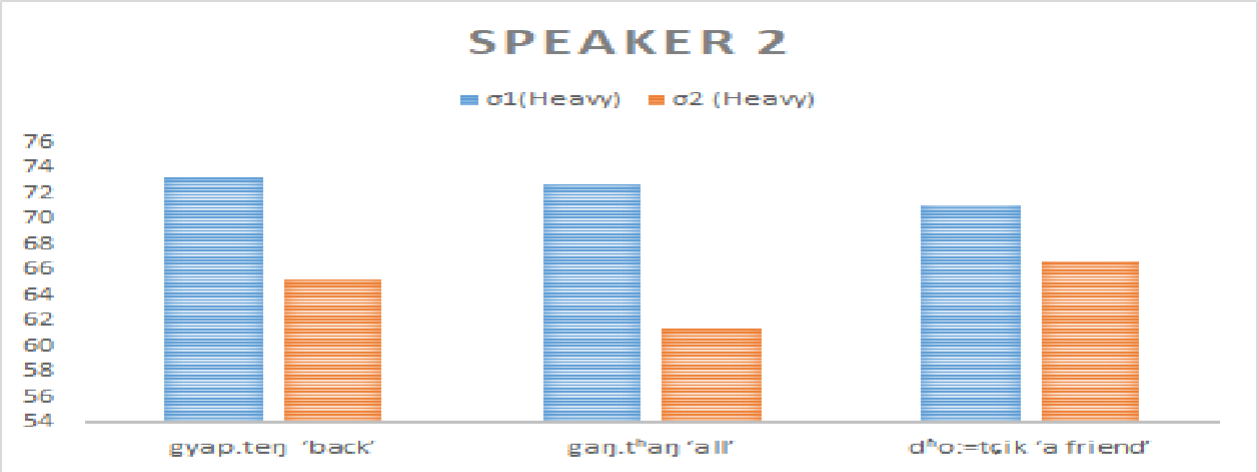

Figure 37. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 heavy σ2 heavy)

D. When both σ1 and σ2 are light:

Table 18 gives the values of words where both syllables are light. Once again, the data show that the intensity of σ1 is greater than σ2 in all the words spoken by both Speaker 1 and Speaker 2. The average difference in loudness for Speaker 1 is 4.83 dB and 4.11 dB for Speaker 2.

Table 18. Intensity measurements in words with σ1 light σ2 light structure

	Example word	σ1 (light)	σ2 (light)	Difference in dB (σ1-σ2)
Speaker 1	*kʰa.da* 'scarf'	75.15	72.99	2.16
	mu.zu 'other'	73.38	65.48	7.90
	de.ga 'exactly'	69.27	64.83	4.44
Speaker 2	*bo.mo* 'daughter'	72.65	66.78	5.87
	tsi.ma 'rib'	74.37	70.05	4.32
	so.la 'charcoal'	71.27	69.11	2.16

Figure 38 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllabic words *kʰa.da* 'scarf', *mu.zu* 'other', and *de.ga* 'exactly' in which both σ1 and σ2 are light spoken by Speaker 1, the male speaker from Merak:

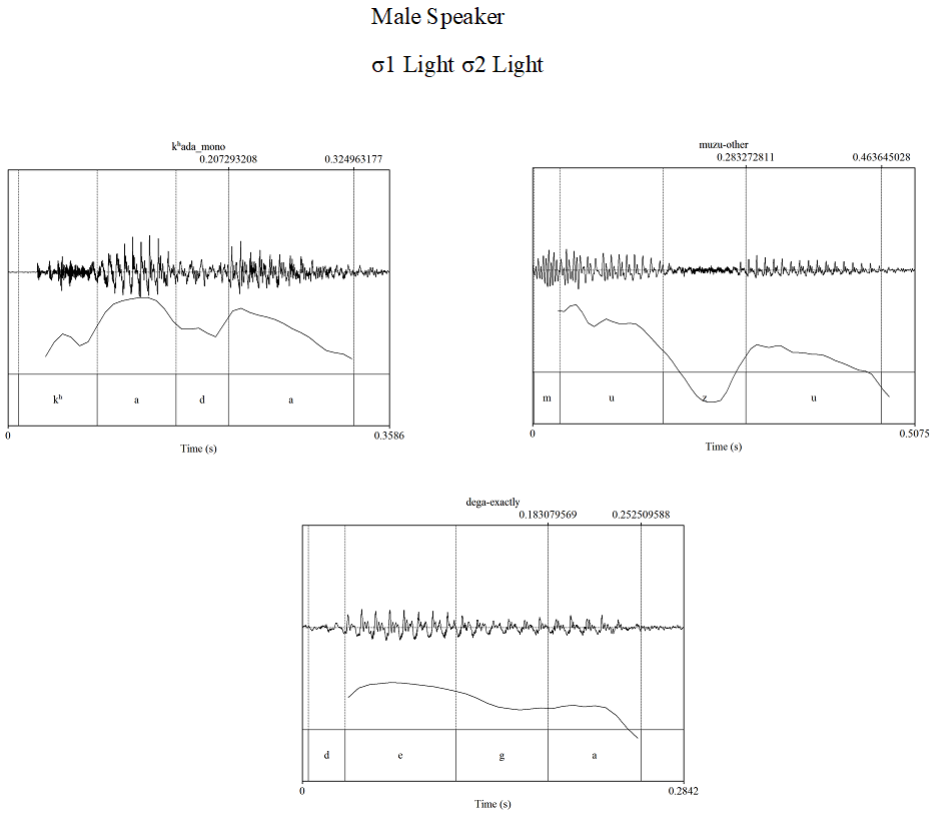

Figure 38. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 light σ2 light)

Figure 39 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which both σ1 and σ2 are light in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 1 (male) in the form of charts.

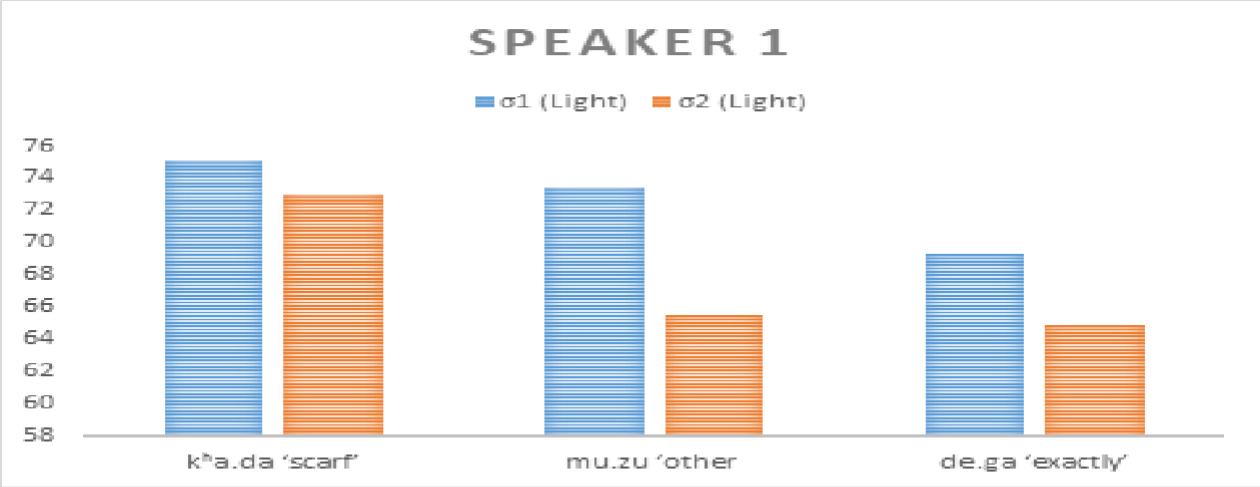

Figure 39. Intensity level of male speaker (σ1 light σ2 light)

Figure 40 gives a visual representation of the stress pattern in disyllabic words *bo.mo* 'girl/daughter', *tsi.ma* 'rib', and *so.la* 'charcoal' in which both σ1 and σ2 are light spoken by Speaker 2, the female speaker from Sakteng:

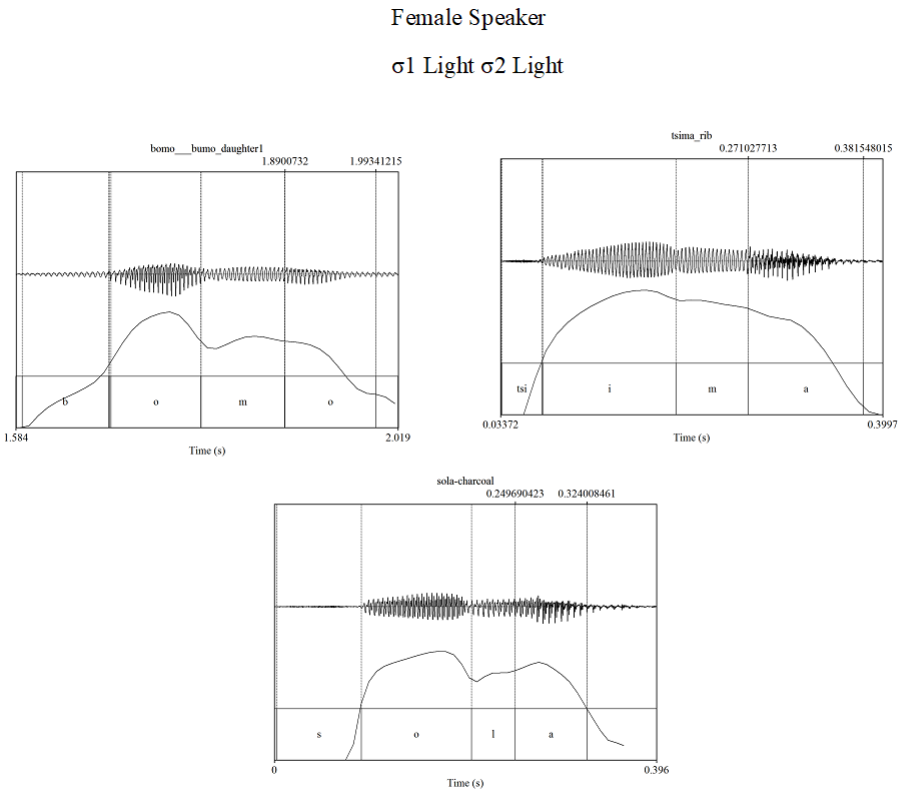

Figure 40. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 light σ2 light)

Figure 41 shows the difference in intensities between the two syllables in which both σ1 and σ2 are light in the three pairs of words spoken by Speaker 2 (female) in the form of charts.

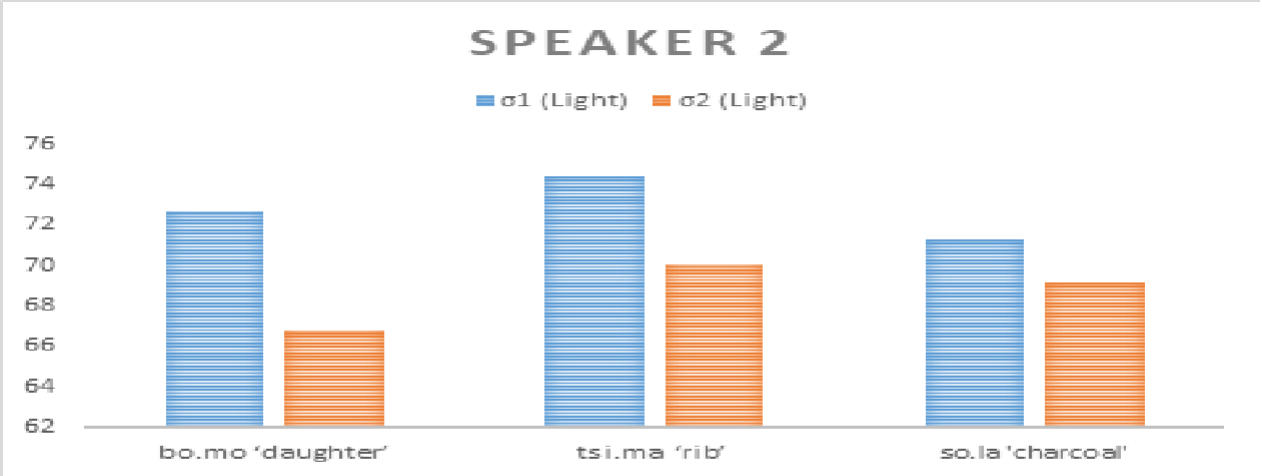

Figure 41. Intensity level of female speaker (σ1 light σ2 light)

In summary, the intensities of the disyllabic words show a relative difference in intensity between syllables of different weight. The first syllable always has greater levels of intensity, unless the word is a σ1 light or σ2 heavy structure, in which case it is the heavy syllable which takes greater intensity levels. This pattern is taken to be an acoustic indicator of phonological stress. Table 19 gives a summary of the stress pattern in Brokpa.

Table 19. A summary of stress pattern in Brokpa

1st syllable	**2nd syllable**	**stress on**
light	light	1st
light	heavy	2nd
heavy	light	1st
heavy	heavy	1st

Preliminary analyses show secondary stress in longish roots of three or four syllables. It is particularly rare to find roots with more than four syllables, disregarding the compounded or reduplicated stems. Secondary stress operates in two instances: when a single lexeme is trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic; and when a resulting form is trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic after the morphological process of affixation/cliticization has applied to a monosyllabic or a disyllabic root. Affixes and clitics may take secondary stress, or primary stress in isolated instances, depending on the number of syllables the resulting form has and their position in a string of affixes and/or clitics.

The placement of secondary stress in Brokpa is contingent upon the primary stress and is reasonably straightforward. If the primary stress on a trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic word is on the first syllable, the secondary stress always falls on the third syllable. The secondary stress bearing unit will be the final syllable in case of a trisyllabic root, e.g. *láŋ.bo.tɕʰe* [ˈləŋ.bɔ.ˌtɕʰe] 'elephant', and the penultimate syllable in case of a quadrisyllabic root, e.g. *ko.ka.li.ko* [ˈkɔ.kɐ.ˌli.kɔ] 'crow/squawk', *ɖeu.ʑa.kuk.pa* [ˈɖɛu.ʑɐ.ˌkʊk.pɐ] 'hoopoe'. If the primary stress in a trisyllabic root is on the second syllable, there is no discernible secondary stress, e.g. *kʰa.rak.pa* [kʰɐ.ˈrək.pɐ] 'quiet'. If the primary stress is on the second syllable of a quadrisyllabic root, then secondary stress is on the fourth syllable which will be the final syllable, e.g *ta.lai.zik.pa* [tɐ.ˈlɐi.zɪk.ˌpɐ] 'centipede'.

The stress pattern in Brokpa is such that the primary stress can be either on the first syllable or on the second syllable. Likewise, the secondary stress can be on the final syllable or on the penultimate syllable.

Stress provides major evidence for phonological words in Brokpa (see §3.2.1). One can recognize a phonological word in Brokpa based on the premise that every phonological word contains just one primary stress, and a secondary stress for words with three syllables and beyond. Thus, stress functions as a non-phonemic word boundary signal in Brokpa.

Stress rules apply independently to each component of compounds and each reduplicant, save in two exceptional cases: in cohering compounds (see §3.3.4) and cohering reduplication (see §3.3.5). When each component of a compound or each reduplicant receive a primary stress, it is an instance of one grammatical word constituting two phonological words. A cohering compound or a cohering reduplication receives only one primary stress and is an instance where phonological and grammatical words coincide. Phonological and grammatical words will be addressed in Chapter 3.

2.6 Segmental phonology and prosodic systems: summary

This chapter examined the segmental phonology and prosodic systems in Brokpa. There are thirty-nine consonant phonemes and eight basic vowel phonemes. The five vowels, namely /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/ contrast for length in open syllables. The other three vowels /ö/, /ü/, and /æ/ are typically inherently long, and do not have a length contrast.

There are four contrasting stops: unaspirated voiceless stops, aspirated voiceless stops, voiced stops, and breathy-voiced or partially aspirated stops. Brokpa has two register tones distinguished by pitch height, high versus low. Register tone is lexically contrastive only in words with sonorant initials. In words with obstruent initials, register tone is a function of 'onset voice effect', and is only allophonic.

Typically, a high pitch is associated with unaspirated voiceless stops and aspirated voiceless stops, and a low pitch is associated with voiced stops and breathy-voiced stops. A similar principle applies to words with affricates and fricatives in the word-initial position. Brokpa also has voicing contrast for some sonorants, namely rhotics and laterals.

This chapter also saw some common phonological and morphophonological processes affecting consonants and vowels in Brokpa. The phonological processes af-

fecting consonants include palatalization, labialization, consonant elision, and consonant epenthesis. Phonological processes applying to vowels include nasalization, compensatory lengthening, vowel harmony, vowel elision, and vowel epenthesis.

This light versus heavy syllable distinction or the distinction of moraicity is important for stress assignment in Brokpa. The position of primary stress is determined by the number of syllables in a phonological word and their moraic structure. The primary stress can be either on the first syllable or on the second syllable. Likewise, the secondary stress can be on the final syllable or on the penultimate syllable.

Chapter 3

Grammatical word and phonological word

This chapter investigates the structure of the grammatical word and the phonological word in Brokpa. Recognizing the unit 'word' in a language is by no means straightforward. A hierarchy of phonological units suggested by Dixon (2010b:27) and repeated in Aikhenvald et al. (2020) is: phoneme, (mora), syllable, (foot), phonological word, intonation group, and utterance. The units higher than phonological word in the prosodic hierarchy suggested by Nespor and Vogel (1986, 2007) are phonological phrase, intonational phrase, and phonological utterance. A hierarchy of grammatical units suggested by Dixon (2010b:27) and repeated in Aikhenvald et al. (2020) is: morpheme, grammatical word, phrase, clause, and sentence.

At a cursory glance, one might be led to believe that the unit 'phonological word' is directly parallel with 'grammatical word', since each of these two units is immediately below the phrase-level unit in their respective hierarchies. However, as this chapter will illustrate, a phonological word and a grammatical word do not always match in Brokpa.

The tradition of systematically distinguishing 'phonological word' and 'grammatical word' was initiated by Dixon in his grammar of Yidiɲ (Dixon 1977a:88-98) and Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:24-31). In-depth discussions of phonological words and grammatical words and the history of the recognition of these concepts are provided, inter alia, in Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002) and Dixon (2010b:1-36), and, more recently, Aikhenvald et al. (2020) and references there. Further sources on word include Bickel, Schiering and Hildebrandt (2009), Selkirk (1995), Hall, Hildebrandt,

and Bickel (2008), Hall and Kleinhenz (1999), Hildebrandt (2015), Nespor and Vogel (1986, 2007), Peperkamp (1997), and Schiering, Bickel, and Hildebrandt (2010).

The issue of the correlation between the phonological and the grammatical word has been the focus of numerous publications on Tibeto-Burman languages. Publications on this subject, especially phonological features and phonological word, in Tibeto-Burman languages include Belhare (see Bickel 1998), Chintang (see Bickel and Zúñiga 2017), Dzongkha (see Mazaudon and Michailovsky 1988; van van Driem 1991a; and Watters 2002, 2018), Khyirong Tibetan (see among others, Hall and Hildebrandt 2008), Lepcha and Balti Tibetan (see Sprigg 1966; Caplow 2016), Limbu (see among others Hildebrandt 2007), Manange (Hildebrandt 2004), mBrugchu Tibetan (see Suzuki 2015), Tamang (see Mazaudon 1973), and Tibetan (see among others, Hill 2010, 2012a; Sprigg 1955; and Watters 2002).

This chapter provides a synchronic analysis of the different facets of 'word' in Brokpa (see also Wangdi 2021c). The focus is on the distinction between phonological word and grammatical word based on the internal features of this language. Section 3.1 briefly discusses the term for the concept 'word' in Brokpa, and how differently it could be used. Section 3.2 examines the structure of the phonological word, §3.3 the structure of the grammatical word, §§3.4-3.5 examine the relationship between grammatical and phonological word, and the chapter ends with a brief summary in §3.6.

3.1 The term for 'word' in Brokpa

Brokpa has a term for 'word' beginning with an aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar affricate and ending in a glottal stop, *ts^{h}i?*. The meanings of the Brokpa term *ts^{h}i?* are comparable to the concept 'word' in English. The term *ts^{h}i?* can be used for referring to a topic of conversation, a piece of advice, a theme of a song, a line of poetry, and many more. To celebrate an event such as a wedding ceremony, the families of the

bride and groom would look for a *garpatoŋsum* 'wedding MC' who is an expert in *tsʰiʔ*. A *garpatoŋsum* is someone who can talk at length and who can crack funny jokes at a wedding ceremony.

The term *tsʰiʔ* can refer to what someone says in an argument. Something that a person says when criticizing someone may be described as *tsʰiʔ tsanbu* 'violent words'. Angry words that people exchange are *tsʰiʔ kaktar* 'uncompromising words'. Damning someone is referred to as *tsʰiʔ ŋanbu* 'evil/ignoble words'.

Any morpheme used as an independent pronounceable unit, be it a noun, a verb, or a clitic, will be referred to as *tsʰiʔ* by a native speaker of Brokpa. The same term, *tsʰiʔ*, can be used to refer to a phrase, a set of expressions, a clause, or a sentence. In a nutshell, *tsʰiʔ* is a layman's term for any unit of speech in the language.

The meaning of a word for native speakers of any language will be based on their 'linguistic experience tested in daily usage', and on the basis of bringing it 'to consciousness as a psychological reality', along the lines of Sapir (1921:10). This remains very true for the concept of word in Brokpa. As will be seen in this chapter and in the whole thesis, a word 'based on the native speaker's linguistic experience tested in daily usage and psychological reality' in Brokpa can be a single morpheme or it may consist of several lexical and/or grammatical elements.

3.2 Phonological word

A phonological word is a phonological unit larger than the syllable, which has one or more phonologically defining properties which include segmental and prosodic features. A phonological word typically constitutes the domain for the application of phonological rules (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:35; Dixon 2010b:7, see also Aikhenvald et al. 2020 and references therein). A phonological word is a minimally pronounceable unit, and thus has a psychological reality for the speaker. Speakers will dictate units word by word, along the lines of Aikhenvald et al. (2020).

A phonological word in Brokpa can be recognized on the basis of one or more of the following criteria: stress, phonotactic restrictions, diphthong position, vowel harmony, and principles of resyllabification.

A phonological word may be preceded and followed by a short pause. The placement of the pause itself functions as a separate criterion for recognizing a phonological word in Brokpa as in many other languages (see Bloomfield 1933:180; Dixon 2010b:7; Lyons 1968:202). Under normal conditions, there is no pause between a host and an enclitic forming a phonological word or between a host and a sequence of two or more enclitics forming a phonological word in Brokpa.

3.2.1 Stress and tone

Major evidence for phonological words in Brokpa comes from the prosody of stress (see §2.5.3). To recapitulate here, a disyllabic root takes a single primary stress, and secondary stress appears in longish roots of three or more syllables. Stress is not contrastive, but it serves as a criterion for phonological words and functions as, in Trubetzkoy's (1969:77) words, a 'non-phonemic word boundary signal'.

Every disyllabic word in Brokpa receives a primary stress; a word of three or more syllables has a primary and a secondary stress. A monosyllable CV structure with a short vowel cannot stand alone as an independent phonological word. Thus, the vowel undergoes phonetic lengthening, e.g. *ra* [ˈɾɐː] 'goat'. This means that a monomoraic element in Brokpa cannot occur as an independent pronounceable unit (a phonological word). A phonological word in Brokpa always has to contain at least two morae as is often the case cross-linguistically (see Dixon 2010a:197; Aikhenvald et al. 2020). In Brokpa, a light syllable is considered monomoraic while a heavy syllable (long vowel, diphthong, CVC) is bimoraic. This is one of the few instances in Brokpa where the notion of mora is applicable. A short vowel counts as one mora, and a long vowel and a diphthong as two moras.

The primary stress is generally on the first syllable of a phonological word, e.g. *zarbu* [ˈzəɾ.bu] 'steep', *kʰyekrom* [ˈkʰjek.ɾom] 'glacier'. There is one exception: If the first syllable in a disyllabic phonological word is light (CV) and the second syllable is heavy (CVC, CVː, CVV), then the second syllable of a phonological word is stressed, e.g. *pumoŋ*[1] [pʊ.ˈmõː] 'shoulder'. The secondary stress falls on the final syllable of a trisyllabic phonological word, e.g. *ɖamaru* [ˈɖɐ.mɐ.ˌɾu] 'small drum', *yáŋkume* [ˈjáŋ.ku.ˌmɛ] 'a cross-bred cow', *sekpeliŋ* [ˈsɛk.pɛ.ˌlɪŋ] '(fish) scale'. In a quadrisyllabic phonological word, the secondary stress falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *dʱikpaɾaza* [ˈdʱɪk.pɐ.ˌɾɐ.zɐ] 'scorpion', *kamarupa* [ˈkɐ.mɐ.ˌɾu.pɐ] 'marble'. A disyllabic phonological word has no noticeable secondary stress. Note that monomorphemic quadrisyllabic phonological words are very rare. There are no monomorphemic phonological words longer than four syllables in my corpus.

Stress rules apply independently to each component of compounds and each reduplicant, save in two exceptional cases— in cohering compounds (see §3.3.4) and cohering reduplication (see §3.3.5).

In summary, the primary stress and the secondary stress help to ascertain the exact boundary of a phonological word. One can deduce the beginning of a phonological word from the location of the primary stress. The location of a secondary stress also provides a clue about the end of a phonological word (see Table 20 in §3.2.4).

Similar to primary stress, high tone serves as a clue for the beginning of a phonological word. Tone is lexically contrastive in words with sonorant initial. Typically, words with a high tone are monosyllabic and can easily be heard in connected speech, as in (49a). If a word consisting of two or more syllables receives a high tone, it is actually specified on the first syllable, as in (49b):

(49) a. te num=ʑi? **ŋúi**=næ...
PART night=INDEF cry=SEQ
'By crying the whole night...'

[1] In the Sakteng accent, this word is pronounced *puŋmo* [ˈpʊŋ.mo], and the stress is on the first syllable.

b. da **ló**pon=la guʑap ʑu-go-k^{h}u-na
PART teacher=DAT respect serve:HON-OBLIG-IMPERV-FACT
'One must pay respect to the teacher'

Bold type in (49a) and (49b) marks a high tone in the middle of a phrase or a clause, which provides a signal for the beginning of a phonological word.

3.2.2 Phonotactic restrictions

Certain consonant phonemes typically occur in the coda or in the onset position and may signal phonological word boundaries. A phoneme that carries this function may be said to possess double values, that is the value of boundary signals and the value of its phonemic distinctiveness, along the lines of Trubetzkoy (1969:275).

One phoneme that marks the phonological word boundaries is the glottal stop, similar to a number of other languages (see among others, Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002).[2] As shown in §2.1.1.5, the glottal stop is an independent phoneme in Brokpa. The glottal stop marks the beginning of a phonological word, as in the phonological word shown in bold in (50):

(50) ŋe=raŋ=gi **ʔou=la** náma=di mo láŋ-na ɖik-ro
1.PL=EMPH=GEN boy=DAT wife=DEF 3SG.f take-COND be.ok-FINAL
'It will be okay if we take her as the bride for our son'

Note that certain roots, suffixes and enclitics also end with a glottal stop, and it may signal the end of a phonological word, e.g. *buʔ* 'breath', *ta-ruʔ* (horse-DIM) 'foal', *názi=baʔ* (cattle.herder=PL) 'cattle herders'.

As noted in §2.2.1, there are no instances of hiatus in Brokpa. A further clue for the phonological word boundaries is provided by the breathy stops. A breathy stop typically occurs in the word-initial position, as in:

[2] The glottal stop, due to its voiceless phonation, belongs to the group of consonants that have an inherent high pitch register, and it engenders high pitch on the following vowel.

(51) bʱa-ruʔ
[ˈbʱa.ɾʊʔ]
cow-DIM
'calf'

(52) ɖʱans + me-ti
[ˈɖʱəns.ˈmeː.ti]
memory + NEG.EXIST-NOMZ
'unconscious'

(53) ɖonbu + dʱo-sa
[ˈɖon.bu.ˈdʱo.sɐ]
guest + stay-NOMZ:LOCTV
'living room'

(54) gʱo + tɕak
[ˈgʱoː.ˈtɕək]
door + iron
'doorknob'

For example, in (53) the compound *ɖonbu + dʱo-sa* meaning 'living room' comprises two phonological words— *ɖonbu* 'guest' and *dʱo-sa* 'living place'. One can tell that the second stem *dʱo-sa* is a separate phonological word based on the occurrence of the apico-alveolar breathy-voiced stop /dʱ/ within the compound, since breathy stops only occur at the beginning of a word. Therefore, a breathy stop can be interpreted as a phonemic signal for the beginning of a phonological word in Brokpa.

In the same vein, the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/ typically occurs at the beginning of a phonological word, as in:

(55) ɦoʔ + tʰoʔ
[ˈɦoʔ.ˈtʰoʔ]
below-storey
'basement'

(56) sa = yi + ɦoʔ
[ˈsɐ.ji.ˈɦoʔ]
land = GEN + below
'underground'

In (56), *sa = yi + ɦoʔ* is a non-cohering compound consisting of two phonological words joined by the genitive marker. The commencement of the second phonological word within the compound can be understood from the voiced glottal fricative. Note that there is one suffix which commences with this phoneme, namely *-ɦoŋ* marking possibilitative modality (see §13.3.2). This suffix may be phonologically non-cohering since it has historically developed from a verb.

Furthermore, voiceless liquids signal phonological word boundaries. The apico-alveolar voiceless lateral /l̥/ and the apico-alveolar voiceless rhotic /r̥/ occur only at the beginning of a phonological word. Consider:

(57) ḻanba + gya
['ḻən.bɐ.'gʲjɐ]
patch + do
'to patch'

(58) paŋlep + r̥amu
['pəŋ.lep.'r̥ə.mu]
plank + thin
'plywood'

The lexeme *ḻanba + gya* in (57), a complex predicate formed by incorporating the noun *ḻanba* 'patch' to the light verb *gya* 'to do', has two phonological words. The initial phoneme /ḻ/ marks the beginning of the first phonological word, and the /g/ + /y/ sequence marks the beginning of the second phonological word in this lexical compound. Similarly, in (58) the voiceless rhotic /r̥/ marks the beginning of the second phonological word in *paŋlep + r̥amu,* in addition to the primary stress on its first syllable. The voiceless liquids /ḻ/ and /r̥/ remain as they are in non-cohering compounds.

Along similar lines, the lamino-prepalatal /ɲ/ occurs at the beginning of a phonological word, e.g. *rui + ɲúgu* ['ɾui.'ɲú.gu] (bone:GEN + needle) 'bone needle'. The second phonological word commences with the phoneme /ɲ/. Similarly, the voiced apico-alveolar affricate /dz/ occurs more commonly in the initial position of a phonological word, as in:

(59) dzægyur
['dʑɛː.gjʊɾ]
substance
'substance'

(60) tɕʰu + dzom-sa
['tɕʰu.'dzom.sɐ]
water + meet-NOMZ:LOCTV
'estuary'

The compound word *tɕʰu + dzom-sa* in (60) includes two phonological words. The second phonological word begins with the phoneme /dz/. Although the phoneme /dz/ occurs in the word-medial position, there is a strong tendency for the intervocalic /dz/ to be pronounced [z], e.g. *dakdzin* → [dɐ.'zɪn] 'custody', *ŋodzin* → [ŋo.'zɪn] 'recognition'. As a result, the phoneme /dz/ can be treated as an indicator of the beginning of a phonological word.

3.2.3 Diphthong position

As shown in Chapter 2, Brokpa has nine diphthongs: /iu/, /ui/, /au/, /ai/, /ou/, /oi/, /ei/, /ea/, and /eu/. The preferred slot for a diphthong is in the root-final position: e.g. *biu* [biu] 'calf', *ɻiu* [ˈɻiu] 'monkey'. If a grammatical word contains two phonological words and the first one ends in a diphthong, one can recognize the boundary between the two phonological words from the position of the diphthong, as in:

(61)	ʔ**ou** + tɕʰaka	(62)	dʱ**au** + ŋá-pa
	[ˈʔou.ˈtɕʰɐ.kɐ]		[ˈdʱɐu.ˈŋé.pɐ]
	boy + baby		month + five-NOMZ
	'newborn (boy)'		'fifth month'

Note that, in every diphthong, the first part is the peak and the second the offglide, and a diphthong does not occur with a final consonant in the same syllable both word-medially and word-finally.

The occurrence of a diphthong in the root-medial position in a monomorphemic word is rare although not impossible as in the monomorphemic lexeme *laika* [ˈlɐi.kɐ] 'work'. However, in general, a diphthong has to be root-final. It is extremely rare for a diphthong to be followed by a consonant in the same syllable.

There may not be a pause between the components of a compound in contrast to a sequence of phonological words, but the component immediately following a diphthong receives a primary stress signaling the commencement of a new phonological word. Therefore, one can identify the end of the first phonological word based on the occurrence of a diphthong and the beginning of the new phonological word from the placement of a primary stress.

Note, however, that the role of a diphthong as a phonological word boundary signal is restricted to a compound of polysyllabic forms or a phrase of a number of words. If a root ending in a diphthong takes a cohering suffix or an enclitic, there is no pause between the root and the suffix and/or enclitic but together they constitute a

phonological word. The cohering suffixes and enclitics do not bear stress. The absence of stress on the following morphemes and the potential placement of a pause after a sequence of cohering grammatical elements signal the end of a phonological word.

3.2.4 Other hints about the phonological word boundaries

In Brokpa, the dorso-velar stops /k/, /kʰ/, and /g/ undergo palatalization before the glide /y/ [j]. These velars have a more frontal place of articulation when they occur before the glide /y/. However, these velars without the following /y/ are not articulated in that way. For example, the initial consonant /k/ in the genitive allomorph *=ki* is articulated with the back part of the tongue, but in *kyi* 'dog' the initial /k/ is articulated in a more frontal position of the velum, as is the case with /kʰ/ in *kʰyi* '2:SG'. This phenomenon typically takes place in the initial boundary of a phonological word and serves as, what Trubetzkoy (1969:284) calls, a 'special non-phonemic boundary signal'. If a compound or a phrase of two or more phonological words has an element commencing with a sequence of velar + /y/, they signal the beginning of a new phonological word as shown in bold in (63):

(63) ŋa=i pʰrugu babur+**gyak**-pi
[ˈŋɐi ˈpʰɾu.gu bɐ.ˈbʊɾ.ˈ**gjək**.pi]
1SG=GEN baby crawling+do-PERV
'My baby crawled'

Note that there are few suffixes with a velar + /y/ sequence. Examples include the future marker *-gyu* (especially in the Sakteng accent),[3] the adverbial *-gyan*, and the intensification/superlative marker *-kyaŋ*. Such a suffix does not cohere phonologically with the root and may form a separate phonological word. There could be a diachronic explanation for this kind of non-cohering suffixes. For example, the future marker *-gyu* appears to be from the lexical verb *gyuk* 'to run' cognate with the Classical Tibetan <rgyu ba> 'to move'.

[3] In the Merak accent, the future *-gyu* is realized as *-gu*.

Furthermore, there are phonological processes such as vowel harmony and resyllabification operating on the boundary between an affix and its host.

In vowel harmony, as noted in §2.3.7, the vowel of the root triggers the vowel of the suffix to change and agree with it in certain features. For example, the suffix *-mo* marks feminine gender as in *ɕa-mo* (deer-FEM) 'doe'. If the root has a high-back vowel /u/, the vowel of the feminine gender suffix is raised, /o/→[u] as in *tɕʰu-mo* → [ˈtɕʰu.mu] (river-FEM) 'river', *lú-mo* → [ˈlú:.mu] (serpent.spirit-FEM) 'female serpent spirit'.

Resyllabification can involve an initial consonant of a suffix. For example, the vowel /a/ from the locative nominalizing suffix *-sa* can be deleted and its initial consonant /s/ becomes the syllable-final consonant of the preceding host, e.g. *dʱo-sa* → *dʱos* (live:NOMZ:LOCTV) 'staying place/residence', *ɖo-sa* → *ɖos* (go-NOMZ:LOCTV) 'going place/destination'. Similarly, the final vowel from a word formed via an instrumental nominalization can be omitted and the initial consonant /m/ becomes the coda of the host, e.g. *tɕʰaː-ma* → *tɕʰaːm* (sweep:NOMZ:INST) 'broom', *tʰaː-ma* → *tʰaːm* (tether-NOMZ:INST) 'tethering rope'.

Table 20 provides a summary of the phonological principles for recognizing a phonological word in Brokpa.

Table 20. Phonological word boundary signals in Brokpa

	FEATURE	PHONOLOGICAL WORD BOUNDARY	
		BEGINNING	END
PROSODIC	primary stress	yes	no
	secondary stress	no	yes
	high tone	yes	no
	pause	yes	yes
SEGMENTAL	glottal stop	yes	yes
	breathy stop	yes	no
	voiced glottal fricative	yes	no
	voiceless liquids	yes	no
	lamino-palatal nasal	yes	no
	voiced apico-alveolar affricate	yes	no
	diphthong position	no	yes
PHONOLOGICAL	palatalization	yes	no
	vowel harmony	no	yes
	resyllabification	no	yes

Each of these phonological principles, given in Table 20, provides evidence about the phonological word boundaries. I now move on to the structure of grammatical words and the relationship between phonological and grammatical words.

3.3 Grammatical word

A grammatical word will be the unit just above 'morpheme' (inflectional and derivational) and below 'phrase' in the hierarchy of grammatical units in Brokpa. Dixon (2010b:13–19) and Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:10–13) put forward a range of criteria for recognizing grammatical words cross-linguistically. They include conventionalized coherence and meaning, and cohesiveness, fixed order of morphemes, and

one inflectional affix per word. Bickel and Zúñiga (2017) suggest criteria such as domains of inflectional morphology selection, degree of syntactic cohesion, morphological positioning and behaviour for determining grammatical words in polysynthetic languages. Aikhenvald et al. (2020) point out that "grammatical word is the target for syntactic operations. Functions within a clause and a sentence are defined in terms of grammatical words and their roles in the overall argument structure".

A grammatical word in Brokpa can be identified on the basis of conventionalized coherence and meaning, fixed order of morphemes, and cohesiveness. If a grammatical word is made up of more than one component, the components must behave as one grammatical whole for the purposes of derivational and inflectional marking.

Table 21 shows the morphological processes that Brokpa employs for forming grammatical words.

Table 21. Morphological processes for deriving grammatical words in Brokpa

MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
lexical root (zero derivation)	*ɕiŋ*	tree	'tree'
noun incorporation	*sem* + *ɕi*	mind + die	'to despair'
verb serialization	*pʰir* + *tʰoŋ*	spin + send	'to spin'
compounding	*ɕiŋ* + *zoba*	wood + artisan	'carpenter'
reduplication	*r̥apta* ~ *r̥apta*	thin ~ thin	'very thin'
prefixation	*ma-yakpo*	NEG-good	'bad'
suffixation	*ɖo-sa*	go-NOMZ:LOCTV	'destination'

All the morphological processes in Table 21 are productive in Brokpa.

In order to understand the structure of phonological and grammatical words in Brokpa, it is important to draw essential distinctions between an affix and a clitic in this language.

An affix in Brokpa functions on the word level, e.g. *ʑim-**ru?*** (cat-DIM) 'kitten', where the diminutive suffix *-ru?* forms an integral part of the resulting grammatical

word. In contrast, a clitic functions above the word level with scope over a phrase or over an entire clause, e.g. *muʑi*=***ge*** *dʑin-ɦoŋ* (other=ERG give-POSSIB) 'they might give', where the ergative case =*ge* marks relationships within a clause.

An affix typically attaches to a root belonging to a single syntactic category (high selectivity of host). For example, the agentive nominalizing suffix *-gan/-gin* attaches only to a verb root, e.g. *zam-**gan*** (eat-NOMZ:AGTV) 'eater', *ɕim-**gin*** (die-NOMZ:AGTV) 'the late (someone no longer alive)'. The suffix *-gan/-gin* cannot attach to a noun or an adjective, **pʰrugu-gan* (child-NOMZ:AGTV), **ʔeɕin-gin* (good-NOMZ:AGTV).

On the other hand, an enclitic can attach to a host word belonging to a variety of syntactic categories (less selective). For example, a plural enclitic can attach to an NP argument whose head is a noun, a pronoun, or a demonstrative, e.g. *ʈeloŋ*=*baʔ* (boy=PL) 'boys', *kʰyi*=*baʔ* (2:SG=PL) 'you(s)', *ʔoti*=*baʔ* (DEM.PROX=PL) 'these'. The plural enclitic can also attach to a nominalized predicate, e.g. *lap-pʰi*=*baʔ* (say-NOMZ=PL) '(things) said'.

An affix directly attaches to the head of an NP, e.g. *dʑa-**ruʔ*** *maŋbu*=*ʑiʔ* (bird-DIM many=INDEF) 'several chicks'. An affix associated with the head noun cannot attach to a modifier, **dʑa maŋbu-ruʔ*=*ʑiʔ* (bird many-DIM=INDEF). In contrast, an enclitic occurs with the last modifier, if there are several modifiers in an NP, e.g. *ʈeloŋ kyaptɕʰokpa ɕukɕin*=***ɕiʔ*** (boy handsome strong=INDEF) 'a strong handsome boy'. An enclitic attaches to the head only if there are no modifiers in an NP.

A root has only one affix and there cannot be a sequence of two or more derivational suffixes following a root, **ɲiŋʑi-**tɕan-ɕin*** (compassion-ADJ-ADJ); but a word can be followed by two or more enclitics, e.g. *ta*=*baʔ*=***ti*** (horse=PL=TOP) 'the horses'. When a host takes a suffix as well as an enclitic, the enclitic is always placed after the suffix, e.g. *keː-pʰi*=*baʔ* (be.born-NOMZ=PL) 'those born'. The reverse, host + enclitic + suffix, is disallowed, **keː*=*baʔ-pʰi* (be.born=PL-NOMZ), **ta*=*baʔ-ruʔ* (horse=PL-DIM).

An affix in Brokpa is different from a clitic, in that the former assembles a grammatical word with the lexical base to which it is attached, while the latter does not form a grammatical word with the host. Clitics in Brokpa do not participate in derivations, and they do not qualify as derivational suffixes.

Affixes and clitics in Brokpa are distinguished based on the above criteria which go back to established sources, including Zwicky (1977,1985), Zwicky and Pullum (1985), Sadock (1991, 1995), Aikhenvald (2002), Dixon (2010b:20-22), Aikhenvald et al. (2020) and references therein.

Several sources on the concept of 'word' describe clitics as having separate syntactic properties and as instances of mismatch between grammatical and phonological words; some sources directly relate clitics to grammatical words. Sadock (1991:52) mentions clitics as 'independent elements of syntax'. Zwicky (1977) describes clitics as having 'special syntax' and 'opaque phonology'. Dixon (2010b:20) notes that the term 'clitic' is "typically used of something which is a grammatical word, but not a phonological word in its own right". Noonan (2003) mentions 'compound case' in which two or more case clitics create complex expressions in Chantyal, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. Aikhenvald et al. (2020) define clitic as "a morpheme capable of forming an independent grammatical word, without being able to stand on its own as a phonological word". Booij (1996) refers to clitics as "forming a classic case of non-isomorphy between the syntactic structure and the prosodic structure of sentences". Enfield (2020) recognizes clitics marking aspect and modality, negation, irrealis, and animate classifier in Lao as independent grammatical words; see also Aikhenvald et al. (2020) and other chapters in this volume.

A clitic in Brokpa also differs from a lexical grammatical word, in that it cannot form a lexical base to which derivations and inflectional process may apply. Clitics in Brokpa show a wider range of attachment options and are either prosodically dependent on a host, or else may cluster together (if there are multiple clitics) to form their

1. PREFIX: Gender
2. ROOT/STEM: Noun/pronoun
3. SUFFIX: Gender, evaluative, adjectival, adverbial

Figure 42. Structure of grammatical word with a nominal stem in Brokpa

own prosodic domains. Therefore, a host plus enclitic(s) in Brokpa will be an instance in which phonological and grammatical words do not coincide in Brokpa.

Now I examine the structure of grammatical words involving noun, adjective, and verb as a lexical base, including compounded and reduplicated stems.

3.3.1 Nominal grammatical word

A nominal grammatical word can be just a lexical noun or a pronoun. Recall from Table 21 that a lexical root is considered a stem after zero morphological derivation. A stem will be a minimal grammatical word with an invariant shape, idiosyncratic meaning, and the ability to host grammatical morphemes. The possible concept of the structure of a grammatical word with a nominal (noun/pronoun) stem is schematised as in Figure 42.

As shown in Figure 42, there are four sets of suffixes and one prefix associated with nouns.[4] A nominal stem, making up a full grammatical word on its own, may take any of the suffixes and form a new grammatical word, as in the two examples in (64). A lexical grammatical word formed in this way corresponds to the head or to the modifier slot in a phrase structure. A grammatical word formed by an affixation involving a

[4] The morphemes *pʰo* (male) or *mo* (female) marking natural gender of animate entities occur as a prefix to some animate nouns or as a suffix to others. In most cases, the gender morphemes are suffixed to the root. With some higher animals, they are prefixed, e.g. *mo-kyi* (FEM-dog) 'bitch', *mo-luʔ* (FEM-sheep) 'ewe', *pʰo-pʰaʔ* (MASC-pig) 'boar', *pʰo-ta* (MASC-horse) 'stallion'. Natural gender marking is analyzed as affixation and not as compounding. These two gender morphemes can be attached to all nouns which can be specified for natural gender (be extended to some natural phenomena) and function as grammaticalized markers. Both the masculine marker *pʰo* and the feminine marker *mo* are of the light type of CV syllables and they cohere phonologically with the host to which they are attached; that is, they behave as affixes (see §9.4 for further discussion and exemplification of the marking of natural gender).

nominal stem plus a gender or evaluative morphology (augmentative/diminutive) is an instance of non-word-class-changing derivation; that is, the form after affixation has applied, also remains a noun. Consider:

(64) a. ri = di ts^{h}ur ri yón = næ **pa-mo** = tɕi?
mountain = DEF this.side mountain left = ABL juniper-FEM = INDEF

len
bring:IMP:CAN
'Bring a female juniper tree from the left side of the mountain to this side'

b. ŋa = i nor + breŋ = la **kyi-ru?** sum yo
1SG = GEN cattle + hut = LOC dog-DIM three EXIST.EGO
'I have three puppies in my cattle-herder's hut'

In (64a), the grammatical word *pa-mo* 'female juniper tree' formed by the root *pa* 'juniper' and the gender suffix *-mo* is head of the NP in a peripheral (oblique) argument slot hosting the indefiniteness enclitic *=tɕi?*. Similarly, in (64b) the noun *kyi* 'dog', making up a full grammatical word on its own, takes the diminutive suffix *-ru?* and derives a new grammatical word 'puppy'.

In both (64a) and (64b), affixation does not change the word class of the resulting form. A grammatical word formed by a nominal stem plus an augmentative suffix is also an instance of non-word-class-changing derivation. For example, the noun *p^{h}ukpa* 'cave' can take the augmentative suffix *-tɕ^{h}en* and form a new grammatical word *p^{h}uk-tɕ^{h}en* (cave-AUG) 'cavern' which is also a noun, the same word class as its stem but refers to a different type of cave, a bigger version.

A nominal stem can take an adjectival suffix or an adverbial suffix and derives a new grammatical word. A grammatical word formed in this way, by adding an adjectival or an adverbial suffix to a nominal stem, is an instance of word-class-changing derivation. Consider:

(65) a. mí = di násmeti **ʑa-ʑin** yo-ti = ʑi?
person = DEF very.much charisma-ADJ EXIST-NOMZ = INDEF
'The person is very charismatic'

b. bru ta **k^{h}uzu-tɕan**
grain horse load-ADV
'horse loads of grain'

In (65a) the resulting grammatical word *ʑa-ʑin* is an adjective meaning 'charismatic' derived by adding the suffix *-ʑin* to the noun *ʑa* 'charisma'. Similarly, in (65b) the noun *k^{h}uzu* 'load' takes the suffix *-tɕan* and forms an adverb *k^{h}uzu-tɕan* meaning something like 'in/as horse loads'.

Each of the grammatical words in (64) and (65) has a conventionalized coherence and meaning, the components occur together (cohesive) and in fixed order, and are the target of syntactic operations. A new grammatical word, formed by an affixation, can take one or more enclitics appropriate to the word class of the newly formed grammatical word.

3.3.2 Adjectival grammatical word

Adjectives in Brokpa have two prefixes and two types of suffixes. The prefixes are the negation marker *ma-* and the emphatic negative intensifier *man-*. The two types of suffixes associated with adjectives are the comparative/superlative markers, which are non-word-class-changing, and the adverbial suffixes which change the word class of the newly derived grammatical words. Note that adjectives and verbs share these two sets of negation markers, but they show different derivations and occupy different functional slots in the phrase and clause structure. Further, verbs have an additional negation marker *mi-* which does not apply to adjectives. Figure 43 gives the possible structures of grammatical words with an adjective as stem.

1. PREFIX: Emphatic negative intensifier, negation
2. ROOT/STEM: Adjective
3. SUFFIX: Comparative/superlative, adverbial

Figure 43. Structure of grammatical word with an adjectival stem in Brokpa

Akin to a grammatical word with a nominal stem, a minimal adjectival grammatical word can be just a monomorphemic lexical adjective. Examples include:

(66) a. muzu **yóm** **tɕʰukpu** = ʑiʔ = kʰe láŋ + yoŋ-na ...
other another rich = INDEF = ERG beg + come-COND
'If other rich people come to beg (propose)...'

b. ʔot Hindi = gi ʑapʈʰa násmeti **ʔeɕin** tuʔ
DEM.PROX Hindi = GEN song very.much nice EXIST.DIRECT
'This Hindi song is extremely nice'

A grammatical word realized by a monomorphemic lexical adjective has a modifying role in the NP argument structure, as in (66a). A lexical adjective also functions as a copula complement, as in (66b). An adjectival stem constituting a grammatical word in its bare form can freely function as a complete utterance.

Furthermore, an adjective can take a comparative or superlative suffix, and form a new grammatical word. The word class of the resulting form remains the same as the adjectival stem. Consider:

(67) a. yaŋna **tɕʰe-ɕo** láu yo-na **tɕʰe-ɕo** ʈʰiː + kʰer = næ...
DISJ big-COMP near EXIST-COND big-COMP lead + take = SEQ
'Or else, if the elder (one) is nearby, take the elder (one)...'

b. gonor gaŋyu naŋ=næ yá? **ɖak-ta** na
farm.cattle all RELAT:INSD=ABL yak good-SUPER COP.FACT
'Of all the farm cattle, yak is the best'

Note that an adjective may undergo morphophonological processes including truncation before an affixation, as in the two examples in (67). The comparative suffix *-ɕo* is attached to the truncated form of the adjective *tɕʰetɲu* 'big', as in (67a), and the superlative suffix *-ta* ~ *-da* to the truncated form of *ɖakpo* 'good', as in (67b). The newly formed grammatical word, containing an adjectival root and a comparative/superlative suffix, has a conventionalized coherence and a new meaning; that is, the newly formed grammatical word functions as the parameter of comparison. The adjectival stem and the suffix, *tɕʰe-ɕo* 'elder/bigger' or *ɖak-ta* 'best', must occur together and in this fixed order to carry the new meaning. The order of the stem and the suffix cannot be reversed, **ɕo-tɕʰe*, **ta-ɖak*, nor can the components be scattered within the clause, **tɕʰe láu ɕo*.

A grammatical word can be formed by a lexical adjective plus an adverbial suffix. This is an instance of word-class-changing derivation; the resulting form is an adverb and not an adjective. Consider:

(68) hindi=gi ʑapʈʰa **ʔeɕin-gyan** ʑot+taŋ-duʔ
Hindi=GEN song nice-ADV prepare+send-DIRECT
'(Someone) has kindly sent Hindi songs'

The adjective *ʔeɕin* 'nice/kind' takes the suffix *-gyan* and forms an adverb with the meaning 'nicely', a new grammatical word. The derived adverb modifies the complex verb stem, formed by a serialization of two verbs, functioning as the head of predicate. As with other grammatical words, this derived adverb has a coherent meaning, it must occur in this order, and has its own functional slot within the verb phrase, that of modifying the predicate and always preceding it.

Certain adjectives, typically some members from the VALUE semantic type, can be negated. This means that an adjectival grammatical word can also be formed by

a negation prefix plus an adjective root, e.g. *ma-yakpo* (NEG-good) 'bad', *má-ʈʰaŋbu* (NEG-straight) 'crooked'. Note that the negative marker occurs as an infix in a few adjectives. For example, the negated form of the adjective *ʔeɕin* 'good' is *ʔema**ɕ**in* 'bad' in which *ʔe-* and *-ɕin* cannot be segmented as separate morphemes. An example of a grammatical word formed by a sequence of two prefixes— emphatic negative intensifier and negation— and an adjectival stem is given in (81b) in §3.5.

Another structure of a grammatical word with an adjective as the base can be an adjectival stem, formed by a compound of a noun, an adjective, and an adverbial suffix, deriving an adverb, such as *pʰredo* + *tɕʰetpo-gyan* (jealousy + big-ADV) 'jealously'. A partially or fully reduplicated adjectival stem may take a suffix and be a grammatical word, *ŋarmu~ŋar-kyaŋ* (strong~strong-SUPER) 'strongest, extremely strong/really strong', *tsʰap~tsʰap-gyan* (hurry~hurry-ADV) 'hurriedly'.

3.3.3 Verbal grammatical word

Unlike a noun or an adjective, a verb root in Brokpa has to undergo a morphological process to be in the citation form. Typically, the nominalizer and the perfective aspect marker *–pi ~ -pe* (or its allomorphs) functions as the marker of citation form of a verb, e.g. *yar-pi* (run-NOMZ.PERV') 'running/ran', *riː-li* (roll-NOMZ.PERV) 'rolling/rolled'. No element can intervene between the verb root and the nominalizing or perfective aspect suffix.

If a verb root stands alone, then it is generally in the imperative form. For some verbs, the root and the imperative form are the same. For example, *yar* is the imperative form of the root *yar-* 'to run'. Note that the imperative form may bear a sentence stress and/or a rising intonation (see §14.2).

A further instance in which a verb root can occur on its own, without an affix, is after the application of ablaut, e.g. *zo* (the imperative of the verb root *za* 'to eat' after ablaut); or after ablaut and aspiration, e.g. *tʰo* (the imperative form of the verb root *ta-* 'to see' after ablaut and aspiration). There are six sets of suffixes and two

prefixes associated with verbs. Figure 44 gives the possible structure of grammatical word with a verbal stem.

1. PREFIX: Emphatic negative intensifier, negation
2. ROOT/STEM: Verb
3. SUFFIX: Aspect, knowledge, nominalizer, causative, clause linker, clause-final marker

Figure 44. Structure of grammatical word with a verbal stem in Brokpa

The prefixes associated with a verb are *ma-* which negates the predicate in perfective aspect, *mi-* in imperfective aspect, and the emphatic negative intensifier *man-*. The suffixes associated with verbs include aspect, knowledge (egophoricity, evidentiality, mirativity), various nominalizing suffixes, causative, clause-final markers, and the grammaticalized markers of various types of clause linkages.

A grammatical word with a verbal stem can be formed by a verb plus any of the prefixes or suffixes shown in Figure 44. The suffixes associated with verbs will be discussed under relevant grammatical categories.

As an illustration, a verb stem may take a prefix and a suffix, or it may take a sequence of two prefixes and a suffix at the same time, if they are inflectional. Consider:

(69) a. mík=ke **tʰoŋ-ro**=raŋ **me-na**=ya...
eye=INST see-FINAL=FOC NEG.COP-COND=EMPH
'Even if it is not seen with eyes...'

b. kʰi=ge **ma-dʑin-ni** ʑak-nan...
2SG=ERG NEG-give-PERV keep-COND:TOP
'If you do not give...'

c. ʔoti kʰyo=e **brek+ʑak-soŋ** mó
DEM.PROX 2SG=ERG push+keep-PERV Q
'You have pushed this, haven't you?'

In (69a) there are two verbal grammatical words involving the stem + suffix structure, shown in bold. The first one formed by the verb stem *tʰoŋ* 'to see' and the suffix *-ro*, takes the enclitic *=raŋ* marking emphasis and/or focus. Similarly, the negative copula *me* and the conditional suffix *-na* form a grammatical word, and then take the enclitic *=ya* ~ *=ye* marking emphasis. The grammatical word with the verb stem, shown in bold, in (69b) is an example of a grammatical word involving the prefix+stem+suffix structure. The stem, as already mentioned, can be a complex one formed by two roots as in (69c). A verbal grammatical word can be formed by a sequence of two prefixes (emphatic negative intensifier + negation) and stem, as shown in (81a) in §3.5.

Further types of verbal grammatical words involve noun incorporation and verb serialization. Brokpa has a lexical compounding type of noun incorporation (see Mithun 1984; Aikhenvald 2007 on types of compounds), whereby a nominal constituent is added to a verbal word and the resulting form describes a single event and effectively functions as one grammatical word.

Both noun incorporation and verb serialization are analyzed as one grammatical word in Brokpa since the resulting form has a conventionalized coherence and meaning, and behaves as a single grammatical whole with regard to derivational and inflection marking, along the lines of Aikhenvald et al. (2020). The components of a noun incorporation or a serial verb construction in Brokpa have, in Bickel and Zúñiga's (2017) words, a high 'degree of syntactic cohesion', and form a grammatical word. However, each component of a noun incorporation or a verb serialization may bear a primary stress, if they are non-cohering, and show the status of an independent phonological word. No word-internal phonological processes can be observed in both noun incorporation and verb serialization.

A verb stem formed by noun incorporation or verb serialization, making up a grammatical word on its own, can be accompanied by one or more of the suffixes marking different grammatical categories given in Figure 44. Consider the two examples in (70):

(70) a. ŋa=e kʰyo=la **gau**+**tsʰor**-ri yin=s
1SG=ERG 2SG=DAT happiness+feel-PERV COP.EGO=ASSERT
'I loved you'

b. náma **pak**+**kʰer**-zin..
bride separate+take-SIM
'When taking the bride...'

In example (70a) the noun *gau* 'happiness' and the verb *tsʰor* 'feel' form a complex but single predicate *gau*+*tsʰor* achieving the meaning of a single verb 'to love'. The resulting form takes the nominalizing suffix *-ri*, also marking past tense. Similarly, in (70b) two verbs constitute a single predicate taking the simultaneous clause chain marker *-zin*. The two components of the noun incorporation in (70a) and the serial verb construction in (70b) are contiguous, and the components must occur in this fixed order to have the same meaning.

Note that the components of a compound verb stem, formed by a noun incorporation or a serial verb construction, must be contiguous to constitute a single grammatical word. Sometimes, however, other elements may appear between the parts of a compound verb stem. Compare:

(71) a. [ŋa=e]A [kʰo]O [**ló**+**tsoŋ**-pʰi]TPR
1SG=ERG rational.mind+see-PERV
'I embarrassed him'

b. [ŋa=e]A [kʰo]O **ló** tɕin **tsoŋ**-pʰi
1:SG=ERG 3SG.MASC rational.mind how.why sell-PERV
'How/why did I embarrass him?'

In (71a) the verb stem *ló*+*tsoŋ* (rational.mind+sell) 'to embarrass' is formed by incorporating the noun *ló* to the verb *tsoŋ*, and the two components occur together

within the predicate. But in (71b) the two components of the same complex predicate are in two non-contiguous syntactic slots. The interrogative *tɕin* 'how, why' is allowed to intervene between the incorporated noun *ló* and the verb stem *tsoŋ*, which form the predicate head. When another lexical item is allowed to intervene between the parts of a grammatical word, they become separate grammatical words within the verb phrase, so that *ló tɕin tsoŋ-pʰi* would be three grammatical words. However, the component *ló* and *tsoŋ* constitute one lexical word (dictionary entry), an instance of a lexeme consisting of two grammatical words (see also §12.10.6). Note that it is also possible for the interrogative *tɕin* to occur immediately before the nominal component *ló*.

A verb stem may be accompanied by a modal auxiliary as in (72a) and (72b) or by a sequence of two modal auxiliaries as in (72c):

(72) a. kʰoŋ = ge lu? = ʑi? **dʑin-ɦioŋ**
3PL = ERG sheep = INDEF give-POSSIB
'They might give a sheep'

b. ri = di **pʰap-go-pʰi**
mountain = DEF bring.down-OBLIG-PERV
'The mountain must be brought down'

c. lale = kʰe den ʔou = la = ya tɕik **ɖi + ta-go-ɦioŋ**
some = ERG PART boy = DAT = EMPH one ask + see-OBLIG-POSSIB
'Someone might have to at least try to ask the boy'

A verb stem plus auxiliary construction is to be distinguished from a verb serialization. A verb stem may be formed by a verb serialization or a noun incorporation before combining with an auxiliary, as in (72c). The stem + auxiliary (+ auxiliary) construction is analyzed as one grammatical word since the auxiliaries form one complex predicate with the verb stem and take grammatical markers. Note that the auxiliaries themselves may code modal or aspectual meaning. A grammatical word formed by a stem plus a sequence of auxiliaries will be a typical instance where one grammatical word contains more than one phonological word. Each verb root forming the stem

retains its primary stress; an auxiliary may or may not be stressed depending on the number of syllables in a resulting word.

3.3.4 Compounding and wordhood

Compounding is a productive derivational process in Brokpa. A compound is considered a single grammatical word (see Dixon 2010b:138; Aikhenvald 2015a:77; Aikhenvald et al. 2020). The components of a compound in Brokpa occur together and in a fixed order and inflection processes apply to the resulting stem, in agreement with Dixon (2010b:14). A compound forms a coherent word domain of affixation and encliticization in Brokpa, along the lines of hosting grammatical morphemes suggested by Bickel and Zúñiga (2017).

In terms of phonological wordhood, compounds in Brokpa are of two types. Some compounds form one phonological word, and others more than one. For ease of reference, a compound of the former type can be called a 'cohering compound' and of the latter a 'non-cohering compound'[5].

A cohering compound is typically a disyllabic compound, formed by two monosyllabic roots, in which the two components of a compound cohere into a single phonological word, and bears a single primary stress. The components of a compound can potentially be from any major word class, but the resulting compound is always a noun. Examples are given in (73):

[5] The terms 'cohering' and 'non-cohering' are employed here as used by Dixon (1977a) in his classification of affixes in Yidiɲ. I use them here to distinguish two types of compounds ('cohering compound' versus 'non-cohering compound') as well as two types of reduplication ('cohering reduplication' versus 'non-cohering reduplication') in Brokpa.

(73)

Example	**Gloss**	**Meaning**
luŋ + nor [ˈlʊŋ.noɾ]	valley + cattle	'lowland cattle'
pʰa + ma [ˈpʰɐ.mɐ]	father + mother	'parents'
ɖi + zaŋ [ɖi.ˈzəŋ]	smell + good	'camphor'
ɲi + zer [ɲi.ˈzɛɾ]	sun + ray	'sunlight'
ɲaː + ʈʰi [ˈɲɐ.ʈʰi]	sleep + trestle	'bed'
za + tʰuŋ [zɐ.ˈtʰʊŋ]	eat + drink	'edibles'

An indication that a cohering compound constitutes a single phonological word is the fact that the resulting form has a single primary stress. Further indication is that a cohering compound typically functions as a lexical item or it is in an advanced stage of lexicalization.

Further evidence for a cohering compound as a single phonological word comes from the process of vowel harmony operating within a compound formed by two monosyllabic roots. This is in addition to the single primary stress that the resulting disyllabic compound bears.

Typically, the vowel of the first component of a compound triggers the vowel of the second component to change and agree with it in certain features (see also §3.3.4). For example, *ri* 'mountain' and *tse* 'tip' forms a compound [ˈri.tsi] 'mountaintop' in the surface form, causing the mid vowel /e/ to raise to [i] triggered by the vowel /i/ of the first component. The same lexical root *ri* 'mountain' combines with another lexical root *go* 'head' forming a compound [ˈrɪŋ.gu] 'upper reaches of a mountain', causing /o/→[u] raising in the surface form, again triggered by the high vowel /i/ of the first component. In this instance, the forming of a single phonological word involves a consonant epenthesis /ŋ/, which also suggests that phonological processes can operate on the boundary between the two components of a cohering nominal compound. Vowel harmony does not operate within a non-cohering compound.

A non-cohering compound is one in which the resulting form contains more than two syllables and each component bears its own stress, resulting in as many phonological words as there are components. Non-cohering compounding may involve

two nominal roots, a noun and an adjective, or three nominal roots. A compound with three or more roots is rare. Examples of non-cohering compounds are given in (74):

(74)

Example	Gloss	Meaning
ɕiŋ + dʑoktaŋ [ˈɕɪŋ.ˈdʑok.təŋ]	tree + potato	'cassava'
sem + tʰaŋbu [ˈsem.ˈtʰəŋ.ˌbu]	mind + straight	'honest'
ɕiŋ + ɖœ + kʰoː [ˈɕɪŋ.ˈɖɛ.ˈkʰoː]	tree + result + liquid	'fruit juice'
tɕʰambu + tʰunbu [ˈtɕʰəm.bu.ˈtʰʊn.bu]	friendly + intimate	'acquaintance'
láma + tɕʰospa [ˈlɛ́.mɐ.ˈtɕʰos.pɐ]	lama + dharma.practitioner	'religious personnel'

The components of these nominal compounds must be contiguous and be in a fixed order to carry the new meaning. No element can intervene between the components of a nominal compound and, unlike a cohering compound, no phonological processes operate across the components of these non-cohering compounds. In a nutshell, all nominal compounds can be recognized as a single grammatical word. Also, in terms of phonological wordhood, a cohering compound constitutes a single phonological word, and a non-cohering compound more than one phonological word. A non-cohering compound contains precisely as many phonological words as there are components in it (see also Wangdi 2021c).

3.3.5 Reduplication and wordhood

Reduplication in Brokpa, similar to compounding, creates one grammatical word with inflectional marking on an entire reduplicated form rather than on each reduplicant. Examples include *ʈʰikʈʰik=ʑiʔ* 'accurate=INDEF', and *dʱa~dʱa=raŋ* (month~month=EMPH) 'several months'. It is not possible for each reduplicant in these two examples to show inflections separately: **ʈʰik=ʑiʔ ʈʰik=ʑiʔ*, **dʱa=raŋ ~ dʱa=raŋ*.

In terms of phonological wordhood, reduplication in Brokpa may be divided into two types: 'cohering reduplication' and 'non-cohering reduplication'.[6]

[6] Aikhenvald et al. (2020) also employ the terms 'cohering reduplication' and 'non-cohering reduplication'.

Cohering reduplication results in a single phonological word bearing a single primary stress. A cohering reduplication in Brokpa is essentially an inherent reduplication with the single form (reduplicant) having no meaning. No pause can be inserted between the reduplicants. Some adjectives, nouns, and ideophones involve cohering reduplication, e.g. *taktak* [ˈtək.tək] 'exact', *ʈʰuŋʈʰuŋ* [ˈʈʰʊŋ.ʈʰũː] 'crane', *durdur* [ˈdʊɾ.dʊɾ] 'peal of thunder'. The root is stressed, and the repeated form is phonetically weakened and unstressed, and the entire reduplicated stem constitutes one phonological word.

In contrast, non-cohering reduplication typically involves a full reduplication in which each reduplicant retains its primary stress and constitutes a separate phonological word, as in (75):

(75) ʈʰiktaŋ~ʈʰiktaŋ
[ˈʈʰɪk.təŋ.ˈʈʰɪtəŋ]
stripe~stripe
'striped'

Non-cohering reduplication can also involve a partial reduplication. For example, an adjective in the superlative form is derived through a partial reduplication, in which the first syllable of the root is repeated with an independent primary stress and then the superlative suffix *-da* is added to the reduplicated form as in (76), or it can be an inherent but partially reduplicated word as in (77):

(76) tsaŋma~tsaŋ-da
[ˈtsəŋ.mɐ.ˈtsəŋ.dɐ]
clean~clean-SUPER
'extremely clean/cleanest'

(77) kyaka~kyoko
[ˈkjə.kɐ.ˈkjo.ko]
?~?
'crooked'

Non-cohering reduplication can involve a number word as in *saya~saya* [ˈsɐ.jɐ.ˈsɐjɐ] (million~million) 'millions', an adjective as in *ɾ̥apta~ɾ̥apta* [ˈɾəp.tɐ.ˈɾəp.tɐ] (thin~thin) 'extremely thin', or a verb as in *ploi~ploi* (roll~roll) 'roll (several times)'. Non-cohering reduplication involving a noun is rare.

3.3.6 Non-cohering function words

As with any language, Brokpa has several words which do not belong to the major word classes of nouns, adjectives, or verbs, but can stand alone as a complete utterance. These words enjoy a high frequency of occurrence as well as freedom of occurring potentially anywhere within a sentence. For ease of reference, these words can be called 'non-cohering function words'.

Non-cohering function words include fixed expressions such as *maʑi* 'in fact', *ʔo-mats^{h}æti* 'furthermore', *lasokpo* 'and so on, et cetera', *yin-ne* 'even then'. Some of these words may be syntactically considered as sentential adverbs and others as conjunctions. Interjections such as *han* 'alas', *ʔakhai* 'yuck', *yalama* 'gosh' and prompters of attention such as *wái* 'hey' and *ʔehem* 'ahem' will fall under this heading.

Further types of non-cohering function words include discourse particles such as *te*, *da*, *den*, *ʔeŋ*, *ʔa*, and honorific particles *lá* and *láso* 'yes, okay'. Among others, these discourse particles are used as hesitation fillers or to move the discourse forward without indicating any specific relationship between what comes before and what comes after. Similarly, the honorific particles can be used as a one-word response to a polar question. Finally, non-cohering function words may include time words such as *diriŋ* 'today'.

These non-cohering function words will be discussed under different parts of the thesis; in particular, discourse particles will be discussed in Chapter 16. Of relevance here is that a non-cohering function word will be both a grammatical and a phonological word. A non-cohering function word can stand as a complete utterance on its own and bear a primary stress and an optional secondary stress if it involves more than two syllables. Consider sentence (78):

(78) **te** da diriŋ ʔo=la **te**
PART PART today DEM.PROX=LOC PART

tɕar-ri-yo=**se** ʑu-mi-yin
call.on-PERV-EXIST.EGO=QUOT say:HON-PERV-EGO
'I would like to say that I have come (called on you) here today'

In (78) the morphemes *tɕar* and *ri* have to be together as do the morphemes *ʑu* and *mi*. If the order of morphemes in these two words is changed, they will be ungrammatical.

In contrast, the words such as *diriŋ* 'today' can potentially be positioned anywhere within the sentence without affecting the meaning of the sentence. One can deduce that morphemes like *tɕar* and *ri* together constitute a single grammatical word, and morphemes like *diriŋ* are separate grammatical words.

The discourse particles such as *te* also offer evidence for the boundaries of a grammatical word. For example, the particle *te* comes up frequently in conversations and is typically positioned immediately before or after a grammatical word. The particle *te* does not occur before every grammatical word, but when it does, it indicates that what comes after is the commencement of a new grammatical word in a clause. In example (78) there is the particle *te* before the grammatical word *tɕar-ri*. It is not possible for this particle to occur within the grammatical word, **tɕa-**te**-ri-yo* or **tɕa-ri-**te**-yo*.

The discourse particles *da* literally meaning 'now, so' and *den* literally meaning 'then/after that' also behave in a similar fashion. Akin to the particle *te*, these two discourse particles appear frequently in conversations and provide a clue about the beginning of a grammatical word, due to their position at the start of a word as in (79):

(79) te ʔo bomo=di **den** **da**
PART DEM.PROX girl=DEF then now

muzu te **da** ŋori yin-ne=ye
other PART now looks COP.EGO-CNSV=EMPH

den ʔa **da** yakpo=ʑiʔ tuʔ
then PART now good=INDEF EXIST.DIRECT
'This girl, she has good looks'

Similarly, the quotative enclitic *=se* typically occurs immediately after a grammatical word. This quotative enclitic can occur with any constituent within the clause, not just at the end of a clause. Every time the enclitic *=se* occurs it shows that a grammatical word has ended just before it. In example (78) the quotative enclitic is positioned after the grammatical word *yo* and is preceding the grammatical word *ʑu-mi*. The enclitic *=se* does not occur within a grammatical word, **ʑu=se-mi*.

Consider another example in (80) where the quotative enclitic *=se* is placed immediately after a grammatical word:

(80) lú=ɕiʔ gya-náŋ-na kaɖin-tɕʰe-**ro**=se
song=INDEF do-give:HON-COND gratitude-be.big-FINAL=QUOT

ʑu-yo
say:HON-EXIST.EGO
'I would like to say that, if you sing a song, I will be grateful'

As with other enclitics, the quotative particle *=se* is an enclitic and forms a phonological word with a preceding host. In (80) the quotative enclitic *=se* cannot occur within the grammatical word preceding the suffix *-ro* which marks the end of the main clause within a reported speech construction, **kaɖin+tɕʰe=**se**-ro*. The enclitic *=se* also cannot be placed before the grammaticalized egophoric suffix *-yo* within the next grammatical word, **ʑu=**se**-yo*.

Note that the quotative marker *=se* is originally from the verb *se* 'to say' and retains its lexical status elsewhere. Typologically, in many instances, verbs of speech

grammaticalize into reported or quotative clitics as is the case, for instance, in many Qiangic languages, including Ersu (Zhang 2014), and across Tibeto-Burman languages, including Dzongkha (see also van Driem and Tshering 2019; Watters 2018).

3.4 Phonological word and grammatical word coincide

Phonological word and grammatical word in Brokpa coincide when a word has the following structures: a monomorphemic nominal root, a nominal root plus a suffix, a nominal root plus a prefix, an imperative form of a verb, a verb root plus a suffix, a verb root plus a prefix, a cohering compound, a cohering reduplication, and a non-cohering function word. Table 22 gives examples of the internal structure of items which can constitute an independent phonological and grammatical word.

Table 22. Phonological and grammatical words that coincide in Brokpa

WORD STRUCTURE	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
monomorphemic noun	*gyamaʐa* ['gʲjɐ.mɐ.ˌɾɐ.zɐ]	'a crossbred sheep'
monomorphemic adjective	*ʔeɕin* [ʔe.ɕin]	'good'
nominal root + suffix	*ba-ruʔ* [ˈbaːrʊʔ]	(cow-DIM) 'calf'
prefix + nominal root	*mo-ra* [ˈmoː.ɾɐ]	(FEM-goat) 'nanny goat'
adjectival root + suffix	*yakpo-gyan* [ˈjək.po.gʲjən]	(good-ADV) 'nicely'
prefix + adjectival root	*ma-deu* [mɐ.ˈdɐu]	(NEG-confortable) 'uncomfortable'
monosyllabic verb (IMP)	*ɖui* [ˈɖui]	(drag:IMP) 'to pull'
verb root + suffix	*lap-pʰi* [ˈlɐː.pʰi]	(say-PERV) 'said'
prefix + verb root	*má-pæŋ* [mɐ́.ˈpɛŋ]	(NEG-lie) 'didn't sit back'
cohering compound	*pʰa+ma* [ˈpʰɐ.mɐ]	(father+mother) 'parents'
cohering reduplication	*prakprak* [ˈprək.prɐː]	'roll of thunder'
function word	maʑi [ˈmɐ.ʑi]	'in fact'

In agreement with the generally accepted definition for a grammatical word suggested by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:19–25) and Dixon (2010b:12-19), a grammatical word in Brokpa, involving any of the internal structures provided in Table

22, has as its base one or more lexical roots to which morphological processes have been applied. Each of these lexical-based words has a conventionalized coherence and meaning and can be accompanied by grammatical elements.

A monomorphemic lexeme, irrespective of the number of syllables, is non-segmentable with no intra-word pauses and is both a grammatical and a phonological word. As noted in §3.3.3, a verb root has to undergo a morphological process to be in the citation form. A monosyllabic verb root in the imperative mood— after the morphological process of stem suppletion, vowel gradation, aspiration, or zero derivation is applied, — is both a phonological word and a grammatical word, e.g. *soŋ* 'go:IMP' (a suppletive form of the verb root *ɖo*), *tʰo* 'see:IMP' (vowel gradation and aspiration of the verb root *ta*), *yar* 'run:IMP' (zero derivation of the verb root *yar*).

A verb root plus any one of the inflectional suffixes marking different verbal categories is an instance of grammatical word and phonological word coinciding, e.g. *ɲór-pʰi* [ˈɲór.pʰi] (sing-NOMZ.PERV) 'singing/sang', *láp-ku* [ˈlə́p.ku] (read-FUT.IMPERV) 'will read', *ŋar-kʰu* [ˈŋəɾ.kʰu] (roar-FUT.IMPERV) 'will roar'. A word form consisting of a root plus an affix in Brokpa is, what Bybee (1985:11) calls, a single 'inflectional expression', and is an instance where a phonological and a grammatical word coincide. When a root takes an affix, as shown in example (78), the resulting form adheres to the principles of cohesiveness, non-recursiveness, uninterruptability, and isolatability in addition to satisfying other main criteria of a grammatical word suggested by Dixon (2010b:12-18). A great many verbal words in Brokpa will belong to this type: a root plus an affix.

Prefixes are generally reported to be non-cohering to a prosodic word across languages (Bickel 1998, 2003; Hildebrandt 2015; Hall and Kleinhenz 1999; Hall and Hildebrandt 2008; Hall, Hildebrandt, and Bickel 2008). In Brokpa, there are only three sets of prefixes, the negation *ma-* and *mi-*, the gender prefixes *pʰo-* and *mo-*, and the prefix *man-* coding emphasis on a negated verb or a negated adjective (negative intensifier). A negation or a gender prefix forms a prosodic unit with the root/stem

and is part of one phonological word. The prefix *man-* does not cohere and forms a separate phonological word as will be shown in §3.5. As noted in §3.3.6, a function word is both a phonological and a grammatical word with an independent primary stress and constitutes a complete utterance, among other aspects.

3.5 Phonological word and grammatical word do not coincide

Cross-linguistically, the processes of compounding, incorporation, and reduplication are typical 'suspects' for one grammatical word involving more than one phonological word (see Aikhenvald 2015a:77; Dixon 2010b:23-24; Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002; Aikhenvald et al. 2020). In Brokpa, as noted in §§3.3.4-3.3.5, non-cohering compounds and non-cohering reduplication are instances where grammatical word and phonological word do not coincide.

Non-cohering compounds were discussed in §3.3.4, and non-cohering reduplication in §3.3.5. As noted above, a further instance in which one grammatical word consists of two phonological words is the co-occurrence of the negation prefix *ma-* and the non-cohering emphatic negative intensifier *man-* with a stem. Example (81a) shows the emphatic negative intensifier *man-* before a negated verb and (81b) before a negated adjective:

(81) a. kʰyo=ge ʔoti **man-má-suŋ**
['kʰjo.gɛ 'ʔo.tɪ 'mən.mé.'sʊŋ]
2SG=ERG DEM.PROX INTENS-NEG-say:HON:IMP:CAN
'You don't really say this'

b. ʔupʰi mí=di **man-ma-ɖau=ʑiʔ** tuʔ
'ʔʊ.pʰɪ =mí.di 'mən.mɐ.'ɖɐu]
DEM.DIST person=DEF INTENS-NEG-same=INDEF EXIST.DIRECT
'That person is totally unique'

The form, shown in bold, in both (81a) and (81b) can be recognized as one grammatical word. Among other requirements, the morphemes must occur adjacent

to each other (be cohesive), and occur in this fixed order with nothing to intervene. The prefix *man-* adds emphasis or intensification to both the negated verb and to the negated adjective. However, the prefix *man-* is stressed forming a separate phonological word. Therefore, a form with the prefix *man-* is an instance of one grammatical word but two phonological words.

Table 23 provides examples of one grammatical word containing more than one phonological word.

Table 23. One grammatical word consisting of more than one phonological word in Brokpa

MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESS	**EXAMPLE**	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
Non-cohering compound	*kaŋliŋ* + *ruspa* [ˈkəŋ.lɪŋ.ˈrʊspɐ]	trumpet + bone	'femur'
Non-cohering reduplication (full)	*tʰerbum*~*tʰerbum* [ˈtʰɛɾ.bʊm.ˈtʰɛɾ.bʊm]	billion~billion	'billions'
Non-cohering reduplication (partial)	*ŋarmu*~*ŋar-kyaŋ* [ˈŋəɾ.mu.ˈŋəɾ.kjəŋ]	strong~strong-SUPER	'too strong'
Non-cohering prefix + stem	*man-ma-zæ* [ˈmən.mɐ.ˈzɛː]	EMPH-NEG-eat	'really didn't eat'
Noun incorporation	*bro* + *tæ* [ˈbɾɔ.ˈtɛː]	taste + see	'to taste'
Serial verb construction	*tor* + *taŋ* [ˈtɔɾ.ˈtɐŋ]	scatter + send	'to scatter'
Verb stem + auxiliary + auxiliary	*láp-tʰop-go* [ˈláp.ˈtʰop.ˈgoː]	say-ABIL-OBLIG	'must be told'

As noted in §3.3.3, a verb stem formed by two or more roots, followed by auxiliaries constitutes one grammatical word. However, each root of the verb stem is stressed and an auxiliary may also be stressed forming an independent phonological word. Both noun incorporation and verb serialization result in the creation of one

grammatical word, as pointed out in §3.3.3; however, each component forms a separate phonological word. Finally, as noted in §3.3, a host plus clitic(s) constitutes one phonological word but will be an instance of mismatch between phonological and grammatical word.

3.6 Phonological and grammatical word: summary

A phonological word in Brokpa can be recognized by means of phonemic and non-phonemic boundary signals. Phonemic boundary signals include a number of distinctive phonemes that occur in the root-initial position either exclusively or predominantly. Non-phonemic boundary signals include prosodic feature of stress, tone, articulation of dorso-velars in a front position, and the placement of a pause.

Phonological and grammatical words coincide in the following instances in Brokpa: (1) when a word is a monomorphemic lexeme or a non-cohering function word; (2) when a word involves a lexical root plus an affix; 3) a cohering compound; and (4) a cohering reduplication. A grammatical word may consist of more than one phonological word when a word is formed by means of non-cohering compounding, non-cohering reduplication, or when a verb stem is formed by two or more roots and/or followed by auxiliaries which may be stressed.

In most cases, phonological and grammatical words coincide in Brokpa. However, as shown in the present study, there are instances where the two units do not coincide. Typical mismatches include words involving non-cohering compounds and non-cohering reduplication, and words containing clitics. Therefore, it is important to distinguish the two units, so as to produce a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon in Brokpa, within the context of other Bodish and Tibeto-Burman languages.

Chapter 4

Open word classes

Word classes in a language can be established on the basis of several features including morphological, syntactic, semantic, and discourse-pragmatic (Useful discussions of word classes include Aikhenvald 2015a:48–50; Dixon 2010b:37–114; Bisang 2012; Schachter 1985; Schachter and Shopen 2007; Wierzbicka 2000). Based on the morphological and syntactic criteria, Brokpa has three distinct open classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and a semi-open class of adverbs.

Nouns, verbs, and adjectives are recognized as open word classes since they cannot be listed exhaustively. New members of each of these open word classes can easily be added. Brokpa has eleven closed classes, which are recognizable on morphological and/or syntactic criteria. The members of a closed class can be listed exhaustively, in contrast to an open class. Also, no new members of closed class other than borrowings can be introduced.

Adverbs in Brokpa are limited, but the class of adverbs can be augmented through word-class-changing derivations, particularly 'manner adverbs', from adjectives. Therefore, adverbs are recognized as a semi-open word class in Brokpa. Adverbs occupy different functional slots from the three open word classes.

This chapter first compares the properties of the three open classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and then provides detailed discussions and exemplification of the properties of nouns and verbs. Adjectives and adverbs will be discussed in Chapter 5. Closed classes will be investigated in Chapter 6.

Section 4.1 briefly introduces the distinguishing properties of nouns and verbs, §4.2 the distinguishing properties of nouns and adjectives, and §4.3 the distinguishing

properties of verbs and adjectives. Then §4.4 examines the class of nouns in detail, and §4.5 the class of verbs. The chapter ends with a brief summary in §4.6.

4.1 Distinguishing nouns from verbs

A noun and a verb in Brokpa can be recognized on the basis of a number of morphological and syntactic features, including word-class-changing and word-class-preserving derivations. The inflectional categories which are prototypically associated with nouns but not with verbs are case, gender, grammatical number, definiteness, and evaluative morphology (augmentative and diminutive marking). The inflectional categories prototypically associated with verbs but not with nouns are polarity, aspect, mood and modality, knowledge (egophoricity, evidentiality, mirativity), and valency-changing categories such as causative. Note that some case markers such as the ablative applies to verbs, but they perform different functions. Further note that most grammaticalized categories associated with a noun will apply to a nominalized verb (see §8.2).

A dependent clause or a main clause, or both, can be negated with the prefix *ma-* or *mi-* applied to the verb functioning as the predicate head, but a noun can be negated only with a negative copula. A constituent within a clause cannot be negated without negating the whole clause, but negation applies directly to a verb stem within the predicate. And if a noun has to be negated, it has to be used in a copula clause. Note that certain nouns take the suffix *-min*, grammaticalized from the negative egophoric copula *min*, and form negative adjectives (see §5.1.1.5.1)

Nouns and verbs differ in their primary syntactic function, and they occupy different functional slots within a clause. A noun primarily functions as the head of an NP, while a verb functions as the head of a predicate. There are some derivations which are specific to each of these two open classes. Table 24 gives a summary of the contrasting possibilities for noun and verb in Brokpa.

Table 24. Contrasting possibilities for noun and verb in Brokpa

GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM	NOUN	VERB
morphological polarity marking	no	yes
aspect, modality, knowledge	no	yes
valency-changing derivation	no	yes
nominalization	no	yes
evaluative morphology	yes	no
case marking	yes	yes
grammatical number marking	yes	no
natural gender marking	yes	no
head of an NP	yes	no
head of a predicate	no	yes
copula complement, copula subject	yes	no

These distinctive morphological and syntactic properties, and word-class-specific derivations to be discussed under each word class, will be the main criteria for formally distinguishing a noun and a verb. As pointed out above, a case marking on a verb has different functions such as clause-linking (see Chapter 15).

4.2 Distinguishing nouns from adjectives

Nouns and adjectives in Brokpa share several grammatical properties. They share inflections including case, number, genitive, definiteness, and discourse-pragmatic categories. The prototypical function of an adjective as a copula complement does not directly serve to distinguish it from a noun since the latter can also be a copula complement. The morphological process of a noun forming complex predicate by compounding with a verb too does not help to distinguish it from an adjective. The adjectives can also form compounds with verbs, e.g. *tsaŋma* + *tɕʰo* (clean + make) 'to tidy'. There is no contrasting possibility between nouns and adjectives on the basis of phonology.

However, nouns and adjectives can be distinguished based on certain distinct morphological and syntactic properties. Natural gender is marked directly on a noun, and not on an adjective. Only a noun takes the augmentative or the diminutive suffix

(evaluative morphology). On the other hand, only an adjective takes the comparative or the superlative suffix. The comparative and superlative marking on an adjective is an important criterion that distinguishes adjectives from nouns and verbs in Brokpa. The negation prefix *ma-* which occurs on verbs can occur on a few adjectives but not on nouns. As pointed out above, a noun can only be negated with a negative copula.

Adjectives undergo full reduplication. Several adjectives involve inherent reduplication. A few nouns may undergo full reduplication, and form adjectives/adverbs such as *kʰaʔ~kʰaʔ* (group~group) 'different(ly)', 'separate(ly)' 'in groups', but it is not productive. Only a few nouns may have inherent reduplication. An adjective modifies the head noun and occupies a modifier slot within an NP. The prototypical function of a noun is as the head of an NP.

The syntactic role of an adjective to enter into comparative construction serves to distinguish it from a noun within a clause. As pointed out, both adjectives and nouns can function as copula complement. However, only an adjective in the copula complement slot can be modified by an intensifier or pre-modifier.

Nouns, including body parts and artefacts associated with human beings, distinguish between ordinary forms and honorific forms. Adjectives do not have honorific forms. Table 25 gives a summary of the contrasting possibilities for nouns and adjectives in Brokpa.

Table 25. Contrasting possibilities for nouns and adjectives in Brokpa

Grammatical system	**NOUN**	**ADJECTIVE**
comparative and superlative marking	no	yes
morphological polarity marking	no	a few
overt gender marking	yes	no
evaluative morphology	yes	no
functional slot	head of NP	modifier of head noun
copula complement	yes, no pre-modifier	yes, takes pre-modifier
full reduplication	few	yes
inherent reduplication	few	yes
honorific forms	yes	no

A noun and an adjective in Brokpa can be distinguished based on their contrasting morphological and syntactic properties given in Table 25, as well as on the basis of several word-class-changing and word-class-preserving derivations associated with each word class.

4.3 Distinguishing verbs from adjectives

A verb and an adjective in Brokpa can be distinguished on the basis of several morphological and syntactic features. The ability of an adjective to occur as the parameter in a comparative construction provides a useful criterion to distinguish it from a verb.

The nominal categories that adjectives have in common with nouns such as number and definiteness do not occur with verbs in bare form. An adjective can potentially take the markers of all grammatical categories associated with a noun while functioning as a modifier of the head noun within an NP, or on its own while forming an NP. As noted earlier, a verb has to be nominalized in order to take a nominal category, and certain nominal categories such as case applied directly to a verb root have different functions. On the other hand, as mentioned in §4.1, a verb takes the markers of aspect, modality, and knowledge, which do not apply to an adjective.

An adjective can be modified by a number word within an NP, but a verb cannot be modified by a number word within a predicate. A verb may be reduplicated, but reduplication as a derivational process is not productive for verbs. Adjectives undergo productive reduplication. A reduplication of an adjective brings about a semantic effect of 'intensification', whereas reduplication of a verb indicates a forceful instruction.

All verbs can be negated but only a few adjectives can, possibly only those which are more like verbs. Also, a verb can take either the negation morpheme *ma-* in the perfective or *mi-* in the imperfective, while an adjective can take only the negation morpheme *ma-*. The negation on a verb has scope over an entire clause, whereas the

negation on an adjective only has a word-level scope. A negated adjective is only just a sort of negative adjective.

A verb can take the causative suffix *tɕu?~ɕu?*, while the causative morphology does not apply to an adjective. Furthermore, a verb can take a host of nominalizing suffixes, and form nominal stems or clauses which show the properties of a nominal. The nominalizing suffixes on verbs mark relative clauses (see §14.3) or form complement clauses (see §14.4). A verb takes the markers of medial clause in a clause chain. The markers of medial clauses do not apply to adjectives. Adjectives take the adverbial suffix *-gyan(æ)*, historically formed by a combination of the light verb *gya* 'to do' and the ablative marker *=næ*, and derive adverbs.

The imperative form does not exist for an adjective, while it is an important feature of a verb. A verb can be in the imperative mood by taking a dedicated suffix or through other morphological processes including ablaut, suppletion, or change of intonation. Verbs, like the nouns, have honorific forms which adjectives lack.

An adjective cannot be an intransitive predicate on its own. An adjective has to first form a compound with a verb root and form a verb stem in order to occur in a predicate. In that case, the resulting form will be a derived verb and not an adjective. In other words, an adjective can form a compound with a light verb and derive complex verb stems. An adjective can make up an NP in copula complement function, while a verb cannot. Table 26 provides a summary of contrasting possibilities for adjectives and verbs in Brokpa.

As noted above, an adjectival root can be incorporated into a verb stem and then be in an intransitive predicate. This will be discussed and illustrated under the adjective class in §5.1.2.4.

An adjective can function as head of an NP as in (82a). A verb may be used as head of an NP, in place of a noun, only through the process of nominalization as in (82b) .

Table 26. Contrasting possibilities for adjectives and verbs in Brokpa

Grammatical system	Adjective	Verb
comparative and superlative marking	yes	no
aspect, modality, knowledge marking	no	yes
polarity marking	only few	yes
causative	no	yes
reduplication	yes	yes
imperative mood	no	yes
intransitive predicate	no	yes
NP head	yes	only through nominalization
copula complement	yes	no
honorific forms	no	yes

(82) a. go + ʑuk ʈʰuk = næ [**yakpo** = ʑi?]MESG:O ʑu-má-tʰob
head + tail mix.up = SEQ good = INDEF say-NEG:PERV-ABIL
'Mixing up the sequences, I could not tell it well'
Lit. 'Mixing up sequences, I could not tell a good one'

b. padar [**kʰyoŋ**-gan = ba? = kʰe]NP:A heta + tsaː = næ...
heroic.sash bring-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = ERG nagging + search = SEQ
'Those who bring the Heroic Sash (scarf) are nagging'
Lit. 'Those bringers of Heroic Sash nag'

In (82a), the adjective *yakpo* marked by the indefinite *=ʑi?* is the head of the NP which is the Message role in O function. In (82b) the verb *kʰyoŋ* 'to bring' is nominalized and functions as the head of the NP in A function.

Now I will provide detailed discussion and exemplification of nouns and verbs in Brokpa. Section 4.4 discusses nouns, and §4.5 verbs.

4.4 Nouns

A noun in Brokpa can be marked for case (see §9.1), grammatical number (see §9.2), definiteness (see §9.3), natural gender (see §9.4), and evaluative morphology (see §9.5). The markers of the first two grammatical systems—gender and evaluative morphology— are realized as suffixes. The markers of the other three grammatical sys-

tems— case, grammatical number, and definiteness— are realized as enclitics. Nouns can form verbs, adjectives, or other nouns through affixation or compounding. There are several suffixes which apply to nouns and derive adjectives (see §5.1.1.5.1). A noun may also take markers of discourse-pragmatic features such as topicality (see Chapter 16).

The primary function of a noun in Brokpa is as head of an NP. A noun can be the head of an NP in A, S, or O syntactic function. Consider:

(83) a. [**ʔama** = baʔ = kʰe]A [**tʰakpa**]O tʰaʔ-tʰob-bi gya-go-na
woman = PL = ERG rope tether-ABIL-PERV do-OBLIG-FACT
'The womenfolk must ensure that they have tethered the rope'

b. [**mwoitɕupʰu** = baʔ = ti]S tɕi-gyanæ pʰa = te yar = næ...
women = PL = DEF what-ADV thither = ALL run = SEQ
'The womenfolk anyhow run to that side...'

In (83a) the noun *ʔama* 'woman, mother' is the head of the NP in A function, and the noun *tʰakpa* 'rope' an NP in O function. In (83b) the noun *mwoitɕupʰu* 'woman' is the head of the NP in S function. Furthermore, a noun can be the head of an NP in E function (see §14.1.1.4) or in peripheral argument function (see §11.2). Further, a noun can be the head of NP in CS or the CC function (see §14.1.2).

A noun as the head of an NP can be modified by adjectives, number words, quantifiers, and relative clauses (see Chapter 10). A noun can also be modified by another noun in juxtaposition, as in (84):

(84) data kʰyo = raŋ = gi pʰa + ma ɲíŋ-ge = raŋ **ku**
now 2SG = EMPH = GEN father + mother two-both = EMPH body:HON

ŋo ʑuk-duʔ
identity/face live-DIRECT
'Currently, both your parents are alive'
Lit. 'Currently, both of your parents are living in body identity'

In (84) the noun *ku* 'body:HON' is the head of the NP in peripheral argument function, which is modified by another noun *ŋo* 'identity, face'.

A noun in Brokpa can be the possessed D or the possessor R in a possessive construction, as shown in bold types in (85a). A noun can also be possessed by a nominalized clause, as in (85b):

(85) a. [**Merak**-pa = i]R [**kæ** = la]D Paktsa = se lap-ki
Merak-NOMZ = GEN language = LOC Paktsa = QUOT say-IMPERV
'In the language of Merak, it is called Paktsa (coarse leather jacket)'

b. [yigu bri = næ taŋ-mi = gi] [**sö** = ɕi?]D
letter write = SEQ send-NOMZ = GEN tradition = INDEF

duŋ
COP.PERV.EVID:DIRECT
'There was a tradition of sending (hand) written letters'

In (85a) the complex NP in peripheral argument function is realized by a possessive construction in which the place name *Merak* 'Merak' is the possessor R and the noun *kæ* 'language' is the possessed D. In (85b) the noun *sö* 'tradition' is the head (possessed D) and the modifier (the possessor R) is a nominalized clause marked with the genitive *=gi*.

Grammatical subclasses of nouns, distinguished mainly on the basis of their functional slots and syntactic functions, are discussed in the following sections.

4.4.1 Grammatical subclasses of nouns

Nouns in Brokpa can be grouped into different subclasses on the basis of certain grammatical properties they share. A noun may belong to one subclass or it may belong to two or more subclasses due to their overlapping properties—grammatical, semantic, or both. Nouns in Brokpa can be divided into the following grammatical subclasses: animate vs inanimate nouns (§4.4.1.1), count noun vs mass nouns (§4.4.1.2), kinship nouns (§4.4.1.3), personal names (§4.4.1.4), inherently locational nouns (§4.4.1.5), and honorific nouns (§4.4.1.6).

4.4.1.1 ANIMATE NOUN versus INANIMATE NOUN

A noun in Brokpa can be broadly grouped into a subclass of ANIMATE nouns on the basis of whether or not it can be specified for gender; or whether a noun can take augmentative or diminutive marking.

Animate nouns can be specified for gender. Brokpa has the gender morphemes *pʰo* 'male' and *mo* 'female'. With most nouns, the gender morphemes are suffixed to the nominal roots, *ɕa–pʰo* (deer-MASC) 'stag', *ta-mo* (horse-FEM) 'mare'. However, with a few animals, the gender morpheme can be prefixed, e.g. *pʰo-pʰaʔ* (MASC-pig) 'boar', *mo-ra* (FEM-goat) 'nanny goat'. See §9.4 for discussion on why the gender marking is analyzed as affixation and not compounding in Brokpa.

The degree of animacy in Brokpa can also be looked at from the vantage point of evaluative morphology (augmentative and diminutive marking). In general, we can say that nouns which are evaluative-specifiable tend to be ANIMATE and nouns which are not evaluative-specifiable tend to be INANIMATE in Brokpa. It is just a tendency and should not be considered as the main guiding parameter of animacy. An evaluative-specifiable noun can take the augmentative suffix *-tɕʰen*, e.g. *ɕiŋ-tɕʰen* (tree-AUG) 'big tree', *lá-tɕʰen* (lama-AUG) 'highly accomplished lama', or the diminutive suffix *-ʈuʔ*, e.g. *ba-ruʔ* (cow-DIM) 'calf', *boŋ-ʈuʔ* (donkey-DIM) 'donkey foal', *dʑa-ʈuʔ* (bird-DIM) 'chick'. The choice between the augment and the diminutive morphology can be due to age, size, value, etc., of the referent.

4.4.1.2 COUNT NOUN versus MASS NOUNS

A count noun takes number marking, e.g. *pʰrugu=baʔ* (child=PL) 'children'. Number marking is discussed in §9.2. A count noun can be modified by a quantifier such as *ɖaŋme* 'countless', *tsʰœme* 'myriad', as in *koʑur ɖaŋme* (sparrow countless) 'countless sparrows'. Quantifiers are discussed in §6.8. A count noun can be modified by a numeral classifier obligatorily followed by a number word, as in *keruk go sum* (radish

NUMCL:CYL three) 'three radishes'. Numeral classifiers are discussed in §6.6. Furthermore, a count noun can be specified for definiteness, e.g *kaŋtʰi=tɕi?* (table=INDEF) 'a table'. Definiteness is discussed in §9.3.

A mass noun usually refers to non-individualizable quantities and does not take the number marking, **dʑa=ba?* (tea=PL'), **yoː=ba?* (puffed.rice=PL). A mass noun cannot be modified by a numeral classifier or a number word, **dʑa go sum* 'tea NUMCL:CYL three'. A mass noun can take the (in)definiteness marker as in *dʑa=di* (tea=DEF) 'the tea', or the topic marker as in *soː=tɕin* (rice=TOP) 'the rice'.

Note that a mass noun which can be stored in a container can be used with the plural marker, as in *tɕʰaŋ=ba?* '(alcoholic) drink=PL'. In this case, the number marking indicates the plurality in terms of the container and not in terms of the content.

4.4.1.3 KINSHIP NOUNS

Kinship nouns form a closed subclass of nouns in Brokpa. A kinship noun must have a human referent, and, it has to be obligatorily possessed the first time it is introduced in a discourse. A kinship noun takes the associative plural marker *=tsʰan* ~ *=san*, e.g. *ŋa=i ʔaʑi=san* (1SG=GEN elder.sister=ASPL) 'My elder sister and all'. The associative plural occurs with a personal name if the personal name is preceded by a kinship term, *ŋa=i ʔaʑi Karma=tsʰan* (1SG=GEN elder.sister Karma=ASPL) 'My elder sister Karma and all'. The associative plural is discussed in §9.2.3.

Note that a kinship noun can also take the general plural markers (§9.2). Also note that when a kinship term is used with a non-human noun, it is always an instance of personification either due to mythological connection or for sociocultural and religious reasons.

A kinship noun can be the head (the possessed D) within a possessive phrase, as in *bomo=i* ***ʔapa*** (girl=GEN father) 'the girl's father'. However, in order for a kinship noun to be the modifier (the possessor R) within a possessive phrase, it has to be first possessed by another noun typically a pronoun, as in:

(86) [mo]CS [**ŋa = i** **ʔaʑaŋ** = gi bomo]CC na
3SG.FEM 1SG = GEN uncle = GEN girl COP.FACT
'She is my uncle's daughter'

The NP in CC function, denoting Identity semantic relation, is realized by a possessive phrase involving double possessors. The head of the NP *bomo* 'girl, daughter' is possessed by the kinship noun *ʔaʑaŋ* 'uncle' which is further possessed by the first person pronoun *ŋa*.

A kinship noun as the head of a possessive phrase can be modified by an adjective and/or by a number word within the NP as in (87a). A possessed kinship noun can be preceded by a demonstrative as in (87b):

(87) a. **kʰo = i** **ʔou** **doriri** **ɲî** dziŋro taŋ-gi
3SG.MASC = GEN son healthy two fighting do-IMPERV
'His two strong sons are fighting'

b. [**ʔoti** **ŋa = i** **ʑaŋzen** = di]CS yakpo mena
DEM.PROX 1SG = GEN brother-in-law = DEF good NEG.EXIST.FACT
'This brother-in-law is not good'

In (87b) the head of the NP in CS function is the kinship noun *ʑaŋzen* 'brother-in-law', possessed by the person singular pronoun, which is preceded by the proximal demonstrative *ʔoti*.

Note that, as indicated above, a kinship noun can appear without being possessed if it was introduced in an earlier part of a discourse as a possessed D.

Phonologically, most kinship nouns begin with the glottal stop /ʔ/. So the first syllable of most kinship terms is *ʔa-* as in ***ʔa**pa* 'father', ***ʔa**ma* 'mother', ***ʔa**ʑaŋ* 'father-in-law', ***ʔa**kʰu* 'uncle' (father's younger brother), ***ʔa**ne* 'aunt', ***ʔa**ʑe* 'elder sister', ***ʔa**u* 'elder brother', *ʔou* ~ *nou* 'younger brother'. The initial syllable *ʔa-* is not analysed as the prefix because all kinship terms are monomorphemic and non-segmentable. Even if the first syllable of the kinship nouns such as *ʔapa* and *ʔama* appear like a prefix on the roots *-pa* and *–ma*, they are fully lexicalized and cannot be segmented.

Some kinship nouns will belong to those nouns whose gender morphemes are an inherent part of the lexeme. For example, in *bomo* 'daughter, girl', the final segment *-mo* is also the same as the gender morpheme referring to the 'female' of animate nouns. However, *bomo* is a fully lexicalized term. In most kinship nouns, the second/final segment does not have any meaning, suggesting that the first syllable *ʔa-* is not a prefix. An analysis and classification of the Brokpa kinship was provided in Chapter 1.

4.4.1.4 PERSONAL NAMES

Personal names form a separate subclass of nouns. A personal name does not take grammatical number marking, **Pema=baʔ* 'Pema=PL'. However, as noted in §4.4.1.3, a personal name may take the associative plural marking if it is preceded by a kinship term. A personal name cannot be modified by a quantifier, **Sonam maŋbu* (Sonam many) 'many Sonams' or a number word, ** Sonam ŋá* (Sonam five) 'five Sonams', unless there are five people with the same name Sonam at a particular place in which the speaker has to address them or make a reference to all of them at the same time.

A personal name can take the marker of definiteness, as in *ʔoti Karma=di* (DEM.PROX Karma=DEF) 'this Karma', or the topic marker, as in *ʔupʰi Karma=tɕin* (DEM.DIST Karma=TOP) 'that KARMA'. A personal name does not take indefinite marker, **Tashi=ʑiʔ* (Tashi=INDEF) 'a Tashi'.

The possible etymologies of personal names and how personal names are given in the Brokpa tradition are discussed under the 'naming ceremony' in Chapter 1. It is rare but not impossible for a personal name to be used as the possessed D in a possessive NP. The possession of a personal name indicates endearment and closeness of relations. One can hear *ŋa=i Karma* (1SG=GEN Karma) 'my Karma' only if Karma is the wife or a daughter of the speaker.

Some personal names have gender morphemes lexicalized with the root. For example, Zangpo is a male name due to its ending *-po*, and Wangmo a female name

due to its ending *-mo*. A male can never be named Wangmo and a female can never bear the name Zangpo.

4.4.1.5 INHERENTLY LOCATIONAL NOUNS

Brokpa has a subset of nouns which are inherently locational. They include place names such as countries, towns, and villages. The inherently locational nouns include proper names of geographical locations such as mountains and rivers.

An inherently locational noun can appear with or without the locative/allative case *=la*, *=na*, or *=su*. An utterance is grammatical even without the overt locative case marking, so the locative case on an inherently locational noun becomes optional, *Merak(=la)* 'At/to/in Merak'. The marking of peripheral arguments, spatial and temporal, using the locative/allative case is discussed in §11.2.1.

A locational noun cannot be pluralized or be modified by a quantifier and/or a number word, **Sakteng=ba?* (Sakteng=PL) 'Saktengs', **Merak maŋbo* (Merak many) 'many Meraks', **Sakteng ɖuk* (Sakteng six) 'six Saktengs'. A locational noun also cannot occur with the indefinite marker, **Joenkhar=ʑi?* (Joenkhar=INDEF) 'a Joenkhar', but it can be accompanied by the marker of definiteness, *Merak=di ŋa=i pʰa+yuː yin* (Merak=DEF 1S=GEN father+village COP.EGO) 'Merak is my native village'. Place names cannot be marked for gender, **Sakteng-mo* 'Sakteng-FEM'. A locational noun can be preceded by a directional adverb, *mæ Merak* 'Merak down there', and it can be followed by a relator noun optionally followed by the locative case, *Merak naŋ(=la)* 'in Merak'.

4.4.1.6 HONORIFIC NOUNS

Honorific nouns form a separate grammatical class of nouns in Brokpa on account of their syntactic and morphological properties and social-pragmatic functions. An honorific noun as the head of an NP in an argument function obligatorily takes a predicate with an honorific verb as its head, or a predicate realized by a compound

verb stem in which the final component is the honorific verb *náŋ* 'give:HON', 'do:HON' (see §7.4). The honorific nouns have different patterns of derivations (see §7.2).

As with other Bodish languages, the honorific system is an important feature of the Brokpa language, and it is dealt with in a separate chapter (Chapter 7). The honorific nouns generally comprise humans and their body parts. They also include non-human beings including deities and spirits. Honorific nouns include artefacts associated with humans and body parts.

Table 27 gives a summary of the subclasses of nouns in Brokpa, determined on the basis of their grammatical and semantic properties.

Note that some features may overlap between two or more grammatical subclasses of nouns, but each subclass has one or two unique features. It is a combination of the features that distinguish one grammatical subclass of nouns from the other subclasses.

4.5 Verbs

The grammatical categories typically associated with verbs in Brokpa include aspect, modality, and knowledge (egophoricity, evidentiality, mirativity). The other grammatical markers applying directly to a verb stem within the predicate of a main clause or a dependent clause include negation, causative, imperative, nominalization, and the markers of medial clauses in a clause chain. The clause-final marker is also associated with verbs, typically occupying the final slot within a predicate (see §12.9), but it can apply directly to the verb stem if there are no other lexical and grammatical elements within the predicate. Each of these categories associated will be covered under relevant topics.

The grammatical properties that distinguish a verb from a noun were introduced in §4.1, and those that distinguish it from an adjective in §4.3. Those distinguishing features form the criteria for establishing verbs as an independent lexical

Table 27. Grammatical subclasses of nouns in Brokpa

NOUN SUBCLASS	KEY DISTINGUISHING FEATURE
ANIMATE NOUN	takes gender marking
	takes evaluative morphology
COUNT NOUN	takes grammatical number marking
	can be modified by numeral classifiers and number words
	can be accompanied by definite or indefinite markers
MASS NOUN	does not take grammatical number
	cannot be modified by number words or numeral classifiers
	takes only indefinite marker
KINSHIP NOUN	obligatorily possessed
	takes associative plural
	has a human referent
PERSONAL NAME	does not take indefinite marking
	cannot be quantified
	can take definite marking
	possession indicates endearment
	can take associative plural if preceded by a kinship term
	can inherently end in a gender morpheme
INHERENTLY LOCATIONAL NOUN	inherently locational
	locative/allative case rendered redundant
	cannot be pluralized or modified by number words
	cannot take gender morpheme
HONORIFIC NOUN	typically HUMAN referent
	obligatorily takes honorific predicate
	shows different derivations
	culturally important ARTEFACTS/THINGS associated with HUMANS
	this property distinguishes nouns from adjectives

class in Brokpa. To reiterate, verbs can be distinguished from nouns on the basis of negation, imperative, causative, aspect, modality, knowledge, and clause-chain and clause-final markers (see Table 24). Similarly, verbs can be distinguished from adjectives on the basis of causative, imperative, nominalizers, aspect, modality, knowledge, clause-chain and clause-final markers (see Table 26).

In general, verbs can also be distinguished from adjectives based on negation. As noted earlier, only a limited number of adjectives, particularly a few members from the VALUE, VOLITION, and HUMAN PROPENSITY semantic types, take the marker of negation. Adjectives from all other semantic types do not take morphological negation. The suffix marking negation on an adjective has scope over a word only whereas negating a verb has scope over an entire clause.

A verb prototypically functions as the head of a predicate. It can be the predicate head or a main clause as in (88).

(88) kʰoŋ=la lu? maŋbo [yona]PRED lu? [**go**-ro]PRED
3:PL=LOC sheep many EXIST.COP-FACT sheek need-FINAL
'They have many sheep; we need sheep'

Sentence (88) is formed by an apposition of two clauses, the Supporting clause (also the dependent clause) realized by a copula clause and the Focal clause (also the main clause). The verb *go* 'to need', marked by the clause-final suffix *-ro*, functions as the head of the predicate of the main clause. Note that a copula clause can also be a main clause on its own.

A verb can be the head of the predicate of a dependent clause as in (89):

(89) ʔoti=næ den lú-duŋ bro-duŋ [**gya**=næ]PRED
DEM.PROX=ABL PART song-beat dance-beat do=SEQ

den lala=e=k^{h}e ʔou=daŋ bomo
then some=ERG=ERG boy=CNTV girl

ɲi=ɘ́la=ye den lú **gya-tɕuʔ**=næ...
two=DAT=EMPH PART song do-CAUS=SEQ
'After that, (they all) break into song and dance; some people make the bride and groom dance...'

Example (89) consists of two medial (dependent) clauses with the light verb *gya* 'to do' as the predicate. The predicate of the first medial clause directly takes the sequential marker *=næ*, while that of the second takes the cause suffix and the sequential marker.

Section 4.5.1 discusses different verb forms, §4.5.2 the verb classes, and §4.5.3 the semantic types of verbs, the semantic roles, and their association with syntactic functions.

4.5.1 Verb forms

Based on their morphological structure, the verbs in Brokpa can be broadly divided into monomorphemic verb roots and compound verb stems. Generally, the monomorphemic verb roots are monosyllabic and the compound verb stems are disyllabic or polysyllabic. A verb root in Brokpa has to undergo morphological processes including affixation, compounding, reduplication, ablaut, and stress in order to be used in citation. As can be seen under the semantic classification of verbs, Brokpa has a substantial number of monomorphemic verb roots, e.g., *ɕe:* 'to know', *sam* 'to think', *tsa:* 'to search'.

A compound verb stem can be formed by a sequence of two or more verb roots, or by incorporating a noun or an adjective to a verbal stem. The structure of verb phrase and the types of compound verb stems (noun incorporation, serial verb constructions) will be discussed in Chapter 12. Examples of compound verb stems,

formed by a serial verb construction, are *ʑot* + *taŋ* (prepare + send) 'to send', *kui* + *kʰer* (steal + take) 'to steal'. Examples of compound verb stem, formed by noun incorporation, include *natpa* + *tɕo* (patient + make) 'to hurt', *bruk* + *dʱir* (dragon + rumble) 'to thunder'. A compound verb stem may take auxiliaries which express different modalities (see §12.6).

A verb root can undergo morphophonological alternations including ablaut, aspiration, or both. For a predicate to be grammatical, each aspect marker has to select a particular verb stem. For example, the verb stem 'to eat' in the imperfective is *za* and in the perfective is *zæ*. The general imperfective marker *-gi*, the future imperfective marker *–gu*, and the perfective marker *–pʰi* have to choose the right stem. Only *za-gu* (eat-FUT.IMPERV) 'will eat/will be eating', *za-gi* (eat-IMPERV) 'eats/is eating', and *zæ-pʰi* (eat-PERV) 'ate/eaten' are grammatical. An imperfective verb stem cannot take the perfective marker, **za-pʰi*. In the same vein, a perfective verb stem cannot take the imperfective or the future imperfective marker, **zæ-gi*, **zæ-gu*.

The verbs in Brokpa can be grouped into different forms. This classification is based on the number of distinct forms they have without any semantic basis.

4.5.1.1 Type I: verbs with three forms

In a verb stem with three different forms, there is one form in the perfective, another in the imperfective and prohibitive, and yet another form in the imperative. Note that the form in the prohibitive or negative imperative is the same as the imperfective form. In other words, the prohibitive or negative imperative form of a verb is simply formed by prefixing the negation morpheme *ma-* to its imperfective verb stem.

This type involves the morphological process of ablaut, or ablaut plus aspiration. Table 28 provides examples of the verbs with three forms in Brokpa.

Table 28. The verbs with three forms in Brokpa

GLOSS	PERV	IMPERV	IMP	PROHIB
eat	*zæ*	*za*	*zo*	*ma-za*
mow/slice	*bræ*	*bra*	*bro*	*ma-bra*
see	*tæ*	*ta*	*t^{h}o*	*má-ta*

While a non-native speaker can easily make a mistake by selecting a wrong verb form, the Brokpa children acquire different verb forms and the choice of markers for non-spatial setting naturally in the same way as they acquire other lexemes. Note, however, that only a few verbs have three forms as given in Table 28. A largish number of verbs have only one form (§4.5.1.3), while some have two forms (§4.5.1.2).

4.5.1.2 Type II: verbs with two forms

There are two different subtypes below the verbs with two different forms. In the first subtype, a verb has one form in the imperative and another form in both perfective and imperfective (and negative imperative or prohibitive). The alternation involved is either ablaut or aspiration, or both. A substantial number of Brokpa verbs belong to this type.

Table 29 gives examples of the verbs with two forms in Brokpa, achieved by the morphophonological processes of ablaut, aspiration, or ablaut plus aspiration.

Table 29. The verbs with two forms in Brokpa

GLOSS	PERV	IMPERV	IMP	PROHIB	
burn	*ɼa*	*ɼa*	*ɼo*	*má-ɼa*	ABLAUT
sleep	*ɲaː*	*ɲaː*	*ɲaː*	*ma-ɲaː*	
stand	*laŋ*	*laŋ*	*loŋ*	*ma-laŋ*	
climb	*zaː*	*zaː*	*zo*	*ma-za*	
do	*gya*	*gya*	*gyop*	*ma-gya*	
separate	*ɕer*	*ɕer*	*ɕar*	*má-ɕer*	
drink	*tuŋ*	*t^{h}uŋ*	*t^{h}uŋ*	*má-t^{h}uŋ*	ASPIRATION
break	*tɕaː*	*tɕaː*	*tɕ^{h}o*	*má-tɕaː*	
do/send	*taŋ*	*taŋ*	*t^{h}oŋ*	*má-taŋ*	ABLAUT +
sow	*tap* [ˈtəp]	*tap*	*t^{h}op*	*má-tap*	ASPIRATION
cut	*tsap^{h}*	*tsap^{h}*	*tsop^{h}*	*má-tsap^{h}*	

In the second subtype, there are two different forms shown by suppletion. Only a few verbs have suppletive forms (see §4.5.1.4).

4.5.1.3 Type III: verbs with one form

In this type, there is just a single form in perfective and imperfective aspects, as well as in imperative and prohibitive or negative imperative mood. The majority of verbs in Brokpa belong to this type. Table 30 gives examples of the verbs with one form in Brokpa.

Table 30. The verbs with one form in Brokpa

GLOSS	PERV	IMPERV	IMP	PROHIB
smell	*núm*	*núm*	*núm*	*má-núm*
chew	*mur*	*mur*	*mur*	*ma-mur*
suck	*dʑip*	*dʑip*	*dʑip*	*ma-dʑip*
knit	*ruk*	*ruk*	*ruk*	*ma-ruk*
squash	*tsir*	*tsir*	*tsir*	*má-tsir*
wipe	*tɕʰi*	*tɕʰi*	*tɕʰi*	*má-tɕʰi*
dig	*bruk*	*bruk*	*bruk*	*ma-bruk*
lift	*tek*	*tek*	*tek*	*má-tek*

Note that even though the imperative form of a verb is the same as its form in perfective and imperfective aspects, the verb used in imperative mood receives a sentence stress and/or intonation characteristic of an imperative clause (see §14.2).

4.5.1.4 Type IV: verbs with suppletive forms

A few verbs in Brokpa have suppletive forms. I have found four verbs with suppletive forms (in my corpus). A verb can have two different forms, or it can have up to three different forms shown by suppletion. The verbs with two forms distinguished by suppletion fall under Type II (§4.5.1.2), and those with three forms distinguished by suppletion fall under Type I (§4.5.1.1). Table 31 gives a list of verbs with two forms and three forms, shown by suppletion in Brokpa.

Table 31. The verbs with suppletive forms in Brokpa

GLOSS	PERV	IMPERV	IMP	PROHIB
give	*dʑin*	*ter*	*dʑin*	*ma-dʑin*
go	*tɕʰi*	*ɖo*	*soŋ*	*ma-ɖo*
come	*dʱok*	*dʱok/yoŋ*	*ɕo?*	*ma-yoŋ*
pass	*pʰar*	*ga*	*pʰar*	*ma-ga*

Note that the ordinary 'give' verb has two forms, one form in the imperfective aspect, and another in the perfective, imperative and prohibitive. In addition, Brokpa has two honorific forms of the 'give' verb (see 7.4). The MOTION verbs 'go' and 'come' both have three suppletive forms.

4.5.2 Verb classes

The verbs in Brokpa can be broadly classified into transitive and intransitive classes, with a few ambitransitive verbs (mostly S = A type and a few S = O type). The transitive class includes verbs that describe volitional acts (referred to as 'volitional verbs' for ease of reference) and those that describe non-volitional acts ('non-volitional verbs'). Similarly, the intransitive class includes volitional verbs and non-volitional verbs. Section 4.5.2.2 deals with transitive and intransitive verbs, §4.5.2.2 with ambitransitive verbs, and § 4.5.2.3 briefly discusses volitional and non-volitional verbs. Section 4.5.3 examines the transitivity and the volition for verbs from different semantic types, or subtypes, the semantic roles involved for each semantic type and their association with syntactic functions.

4.5.2.1 Transitive and intransitive verbs

The transitivity of a verb can be understood from the semantic type it belongs to, the semantic roles it requires and the syntactic functions they relate to, and the choice of grammatical markers on the core argument(s) or the predicate. Some verbs such as *ɖak* 'to recover' and *ŋu* 'to cry' function as the predicate head of intransitive clauses (see

§14.1.1.1). In contrast, some verbs such as *tsaː* 'to search' and *kʰur* 'to carry' function as the predicate head of transitive clauses (see §14.1.1.2). Furthermore, some verbs such as *ɖo* 'to go' occur as the predicate head of extended intransitive clauses (see §14.1.1.3), and certain verbs such as the verb *ter* 'to give' occur in extended transitive clauses (see §14.1.1.4). The verbs such as *kam* 'to dry' and *ʑu* 'to melt' which can occur in the predicate of a transitive or an intransitive clause are 'ambitransitive verbs', of type S = O (see §4.5.2.2).

For certain verbs, Brokpa makes use of morphophonemic alternations to make their transitivity distinction. The existence of transitive and intransitive 'verb pairs', shown through morphophonemic alternations, has been reported for Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman languages (see among others, Beyer 1992; Bartee 2007). Transitivity distinction shown through vocalic alternation in orientation prefixes has been reported for Qiangic (Tibeto-Burman) languages such as rGyalrong, Lavrung, and Horpa-Shangzhai (see Sun 2000).

The morphophonemic processes of transitivity distinction in Brokpa include tone, voicing, and aspiration. Tone or voicing alternation signalling transitivity contrast, although beautiful features of Brokpa, is rather rare.

When transitive and intransitive verb pairs are shown by a tone contrast, the intransitive member is found to correlate with a low tone and the transitive member with a high tone. Compare:

(90) a. de=næ ŋán-kyaŋ [**laŋ**=næ]IPR...
DEM=ABL early-SUPER wake.up=SEQ
'Then waking up extremely early...'

b. [mákpon=tɕi?]O ʔupʰi=la [**láŋ**+ʑak-pi]TPR yona
warlord=INDEF DEM.DIST=LOC raise+keep-PERV EXIST.COP.FACT
'There is a warlord (rock) set upright (by Ama Jomo) up there'

In (90a), the verb *laŋ* 'to wake up', with a low tone, functions as the head of an intransitive predicate, while in (90b) the verb form *láŋ* 'to wake (someone), to raise (something)', with a high tone, is the head of a transitive predicate.

When transitivity distinction is shown by a voicing contrast in the initial position, the intransitive member is found to correlate with a voiced initial, while the transitive member correlates with a voiceless initial. Compare:

(91) a. [ɕawa=di]S ʔotɕin gaŋ=læ ma=la
deer=DEF like.this mountain=ABL down=ALL

[**bap**-ki-yo=se]IPR
descend-IMPERV-EGO=QUOT
'It is said, "The deer is coming down the mountain like this"'

b. tɕʰe=ʑiʔ [ri]O pʰa=la [**pʰap**-go-pʰa]TPR
little=INDEF mountain thither=ALL reduce-OBLIG-MIR
'(You) have to flatten the mountain a bit'

In (91a) the verb *bap* 'descend, to decrease (by itself)' commencing with the voiced initial /b/ functions as the head of an intransitive predicate, whereas in (91b) the verb *pʰap* 'to reduce' (something by someone), with the voiceless initial /pʰ/ functions as the head of a transitive predicate.

Aspiration plays an important role in this language, in that it provides grammatical information by indicating valency change. Some transitive verbs are made intransitive by means of aspiration. If members of a transitive/intransitive pair are distinguished by aspiration, the transitive member is found to be commencing with an unaspirated initial and the intransitive with an aspirated initial. Table 32 gives some intransitive verbs derived from their transitive counterparts through aspiration.

Table 32. Aspiration making transitivity contrast in Brokpa

TRANSITIVE (UNASPIRATED)	**MEANING**	**INTRANSITIVE (ASPIRATED)**	**MEANING**
tɕœ	'to cut'	*tɕʰœ*	'to be cut off'
ton	'to take out'	*tʰon, tʰœ*	'to come out'
kor	'to turn'	*kʰor*	'to rotate/occur'
kyoː	'to boil' 'to churn (milk)'	*kʰoː ~ kʰuː*	'to come to a boil'
tor	'to scatter'	*tʰor*	'to be scattered'
kaŋ	'to fill'	*kʰeŋ*	'to be filled with'

The exemplification of intransitive versus transitive contrasts shown by aspiration is given in the following paragraphs.

Compare (92b) with (92a):

(92) a. ŋa = e [tɕʰöten]O [kora-**kor**-ri]TPR
1SG = ERG stupa circumambulation-circumambulate-PERV
'(I) circumambulated the Stupa'

b. ŋa = la [samba]S ʔoɖou = ʑiʔ [**kʰor**-soŋ]IPR
1SG = LOC THOUGHT like.this = INDEF occur-PERV.DIRECT
'A thought like this occurred to me'

In (92a) the verb *kor* 'to circumambulate' commencing with the unaspirated initial /k/ functions as the head of a transitive predicate, while in (92b) the verb *kʰor* 'to occur', distinguished from the verb *kor* only by an aspiration, functions as the head of an intransitive predicate.

The unaspirated verb *tɕœ* 'to sever/stop (something)' versus the aspirate *tɕʰœ* 'to stop, to be cut off':

(93) a. [ʑiŋ = gi tɕʰu = di]O [ŋa = e]A [**tɕœ** + ʑak-pi]TPR
field = GEN water = DEF 1SG = ERG sever + keep-PERV
'I turned off the irrigation to the field'

b. daza [nám]S [**tɕʰæ** + ga-soŋ]IPR
just.now rain stop + go-PERV.DIRECT
'The rain stopped just now'

In (93a) shows the verb root *tɕœ* is the head of an transitive predicate, and in (93b) the verb *tɕʰœ*, the aspirated counterpart of the verb *tcœ*, functions as the predicate head of an intransitive clause.

Example (94a) shows the verb root *ton* functioning as a transitive predicate, and in (94b) its aspirated form *tʰon* is in an intransitive predicate function:

(94) a. raŋ = gi [parpuntsʰan = baʔ = kʰe]A lóɖö [**ton**-te]TPR...
SELF = GEN relative = PL = ERG intelligence take.out-NF...
'One's relatives put forward ideas'

b. [ŋe=raŋ gango=bak]S te da soso [**t^{h}on**=næ]IPR...
1:PL=EMPH decrepit=PL PART PART separate go.out=SEQ
'We the old and worn out will move out separately...'

Example (95a) shows the verb root *tor* in transitive predicate function, and (95b) shows its aspirated form *t^{h}or* occurring as head of an intransitive predicate:

(95) a. [mar-p^{h}ui tɕ^{h}ora-p^{h}ui]O k^{h}er=næ [**tor**=næ]TPR...
butter-select.portion cheese-select.portion take=SEQ scatter=SEQ
'(We) take select portions of butter and cheese and scatter (them)...'

b. [dampa]S ʑakʑik [**t^{h}or**-ga-li]IPR
mud sticky splatter-go-PERV
'Sticky mud splattered'

Note that in (95a) there are two clauses linked by the sequential marker *=næ*, and the predicates of the two medial clauses are sharing a common O argument.

The verbs in the (a) examples above are transitive and functioning as the head of a transitive predicate with a transitive subject, that is overtly stated or inferred from the discourse context, and with a transitive object. The head of the transitive predicates in the (a) examples has got no aspiration. But in in the (b) examples, the head of the predicate is an intransitive verb which is aspirated. Therefore, aspiration effectively derives intransitive verb forms from their non-aspirated counterparts.

Note that marking transitivity by means of morphophonemic alternations in Brokpa is not a productive process, however remarkable. It applies only to a small percentage of verbs. Apart from this morphophonemic process, there is no single criterion on the basis of which a transitive and an intransitive verb can be distinguished in Brokpa.

As in most languages, the transitivity value of a verb in Brokpa can be understood from the parameters postulated by Dixon (2010b:152): (i) the number of semantic roles associated with the verb; (ii) whether there is volitional control; (iii) whether or not the verb describes an action; (iv) whether one role is saliently affected. The

transitivity parameters suggested by Hopper and Thompson (1980) can also be useful in understanding the underlying semantics of verbs that may be classed as transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive in Brokpa.

Among other indicators including animacy and constituent order, the morphological ergative marking on an NP and the presence of another NP which is zero-marked within a clause will be useful in determining the transitivity of a clause and the predicate involved. That is, the ergative-marked NP will most likely be the A argument; and, if there is a another NP within the same clause which receives zero marking, that NP will most likely be the O argument. Needless to mention that the presence of an A argument and an O argument within a clause will have a predicate with a transitive verb as head.

4.5.2.2 Ambitransitive verbs

Brokpa has a group of ambitransitive verbs, some being of type S = A and others of S = O. An ambitransitive verb, also known as a 'labile verb' (see Dixon 2010b:124), can be used in the predicate of a transitive as well as an intransitive clause. Compare (96a) and (96b):

(96) a. [tɕʰu]S [**kam**-pʰi]IPR
river dry-NOMZ.PERV
'The river dried up'

b. [kʰyö]A tɕʰe [ŋa=i so:]O [**kam**-go]TPR ʔa
2:SG little 1:SG=GEN paddy dry-OBLIG POLAR
'You will have to dry my paddy a little bit, okay?'

The predicate of the intransitive clause in (96a), and the predicate of the transitive clause in (96b) are both realized by the VP in which the verb *kam* 'to dry' is the head, suggesting that it is an ambitransitive verb. The verb *kam* as illustrated in (96a) and (96b) is an example of an ambitransitive verb of the type S = O. In this type of ambitransitive verbs, the intransitive subject S corresponds to the transitive object O.

Other examples of the verbs of the S = O ambitransitive types include *ʑu* 'to melt', *teŋ* 'to stretch', *kuk* 'to bend', *tap* 'to fold'. The ambitransitive verbs also include complex verb stems such as *korbu* + *tɕo* (coil + make) 'to coil', *kyokpo* + *tɕo* (curl + make) 'to curl'.

Note that the verbs which make transitive versus intransitive distinction through a morphophonemic process such as aspiration will not have S = O ambitransitive type. This is because there will be one form in a transitive clause and another form in an intransitive clause, when the underlying O argument goes into S function in the intransitive. Therefore, there will be no ambitransitive verb of the type S = O without any change in phonemic shape for such verbs.

Brokpa shares several verb forms with Classical Tibetan, Dzongkha, and other Bodish languages and therefore, Brokpa also shares ambitransitive verbs with those languages. In the written traditions of Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha, the ambitransitive verbs are distinguished as transitive and intransitive with different spelling. For example, in both Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha, the verb *gyur* 'change' in an intransitive clause is written <'gyur> and in a transitive clause is written <bsgyur>. Both transitive and intransitive forms, although written differently, have the same phonetic realization ['dʑʊr]. In Brokpa such verbs have the same phonemic shape and can occur in intransitive and transitive clauses, and are clearly ambitransitive. Compare:

(97) a. [kʰo]S [**gyur**-du?]IPR
3:SG:MASC change-DIRECT
'He has changed'

b. [kʰo=e]A [poŋpoŋ]O [**gyur**-ri-na]TPR
3:SG:MASC=ERG talk change-NOMZ-FACT
'He is changing the topic/talk'

The verb *gyur* is used intransitively in (97a) which is a complete sentence meaning something like he has become a different person (such as more egoistical than before). In contrast, the same verb *gyur* is used transitively in (97b). The verb *gyur* as illustrated in (97a) and (97b) is an example of an ambitransitive verb of the type

S = A in Brokpa. In this type of ambitransitive verb, the intransitive subject S corresponds to the transitive subject A. Further examples of the S = A ambitransitive verbs in Brokpa include *hago* 'to understand', *ruk*^{h} 'to knit', and even the verb *zæ* 'to eat'. One can just say 'I have eaten', without an O argument and this can be a complete sentence, in Brokpa.

4.5.2.3 Volitional and non-volitional verbs

For certain verbs, especially the verbs of the ATTENTION semantic type, and a few members from the CORPOREAL semantic type, there are two forms of a verb, one describing a volitional activity, and the other non-volitional. The subject of a volitional verb has the ability to initiate and control the activity described by the verb, whereas the subject of a non-volitional verb lacks such properties. Volitionality is reported to be an important feature of several Indo-Aryan languages, spoken in close proximity to the Trans-Himalayan languages, including Bengali (see among others, Masica 1991). Table 33 gives examples of volitional/non-volition verb pairs in Brokpa.

Table 33. Volitional and non-volitional verb pairs in Brokpa

VOLITIONAL		**NON-VOLITION**	
VERB	**GLOSS**	**VERB**	**GLOSS**
ta	'to look'	*t*^{h}*oŋ*	'to see'
ɲæn	'to listen'	*t*^{h}*o*	'to hear'
sam	'to think'	*ɖan*	'to have a thought occur'
ɲa:	'to sleep'	*ɲítɕ*^{h}*o*	'to fall asleep'

Examples of the verb *ɲæn* 'to listen' expressing volitional activities include:

(98) a. ʑanma lóp^{h} + lap-sin námʑo yakpo-gyan **ɲæn**
other talk + say-SIM ear good-ADV listen.IMP:CAN
'Listen carefully when others are talking'

b. ŋa = e k^hoŋ ɲí tɕi = gi lóp^h lap-ki nam
1SG = ERG 3PL two what = GEN talk say-IMPERV Q

ɲæn-nu ʔa
listen-FUT.IMPERV POLAR
'I will listen to what they are talking about'

Examples of the verb *t^{h}o* 'to hear' expressing non-volitional activities include:

(99) a. k^hoŋ = ge lóp^h lap-p^{h}i = baʔ gaŋ ŋa = e **t^{h}o**-soŋ
3PL = ERG talk say-NOMZ = PL ALL 1SG = ERG hear-PERV.DIRECT
'I heard everything they were talking about'

b. ŋe = i d^{ɦ}o = baʔ ŋa = yi kor = næ k^ha + taŋ + d^{ɦ}æ-sin
1SG = GEN friend = PL 1SG = GEN RELAT = ABL mouth + do + stay-SIM

ŋa = e **t^{h}o**-soŋ
1SG = ERG hear-PERV.DIRECT
'I heard my friends denigrating me'

In examples (98a) and (98b) the volitional verb form *ɲæn* 'to listen' is the predicate head, and it describes a volitional act. In both, the subject can decide not to listen. On the other hand, in (99a) and (99b) the referent of the subject argument has no control over the activity described by the predicate in which the non-volitional verb form *t^{h}o* 'to hear' is the head. The referent of the subject argument here cannot decide not to hear.

An example of the verb *ta* 'to look' describing a volitional activity is in (100):

(100) diriŋ d^{ɦ}a + tse **tæ** + d^{ɦ}æ-ti-yo
today arrow + game look + stay-NOMZ-EXIST.EGO
'Today I am watching an archery match'

In contrast, an example of the verb *t^{h}oŋ* expressing a non-volitional action is in (101):

(101) ŋa = e deber luʔ ɲí ziŋro taŋ + d^{ɦ}æ-ti **t^{h}oŋ**-soŋ
1SG = ERG that.time sheep two fight do + stay-NOMZ see-PERV.DIRECT
'That time I saw two sheep fighting'

Other verbs which do not have two forms (volitional/non-volitional pair) can be inherently volitional or non-volitional or, for certain verbs, both. The verbs with a volitional sense such as *gyuk* 'to run', *tsa:* 'to search/track', *za* 'to eat', and *laŋ* 'to stand; wake up' can be used in the imperative either as is or through a morphological process: *gyuk* (run:IMP) 'Run!', *ts^{h}o* (search:IMP) 'Search!', *zo* (eat:IMP) 'Eat!', and *loŋ* (stand:IMP, wake.up:IMP) 'Stand!; Wake up!'.

In contrast, the verbs with a non-volitional sense such as *bru* 'to fall', *hatc^{h}ar* 'to yawn', *gakpa-lok* 'to burp' cannot be used in the imperative: **bru* (fall:IMP), **hatc^{h}ar* (yawn:IMP), **gakpalo?* (burp:IMP).

Furthermore, the verbs that can be used volitionally can have a causative derivation, e.g. *duŋar + k^{h}ur-tɕu?* (responsibility + carry-CAUS) 'to make somebody take responsibility", *gya-tɕu?* (do-CAUS) 'to make somebody to do something', *taŋ-tɕu?* (send-CAUS) 'to make somebody to send something'. Normally, the verbs describing a non-volitional action may not be used in a causative construction, **kyuk-tɕu?* (vomit-CAUS), **gakpa + lok-tɕu?* (burping + return-CAUS). (See the discussion on typology of causatives in Dixon 2000).

The predicate with a volitional verb as head typically takes an egophoric marking, e.g. *tɕ^{h}aŋ = di ŋa = e tuŋ-p^{h}i-yin* (alcohol = DEF 1SG = ERG drink-PERV-COP.EGO) 'I drank the alcohol (I know it)' and *yigu taŋ-gi-yo* (letter send-PRES.IMPERV-EXIST.EGO) 'I sent the letter (I know it)'.

On the other hand, a clause with a non-volitional verb typically has an evidential marker within its predicate, e.g. *k^{h}o = e ŋa ma-t^{h}oŋ-ŋai-na* (3SG.MASC = ERG NEG-see-PERV-FACT) 'He didn't see me (it is a fact)', *ŋa mo ɖan-soŋ* (1SG 3SG.FEM though.occur-PERV.DIRECT) 'I miss her (I can feel it for sure)'.

The volitional class of verbs in Brokpa include both transitive and intransitive verbs (§4.5.2.2). As will be shown in Chapter 11, the marking of core argument in Brokpa works in terms of an absolutive/ergative scheme. The A argument is canonically marked by ergative case. However, the A argument of a transitive clause can be

left unmarked due to pragmatics or if it can be recognized on the basis of constituent order or animacy (see §11.1.3).

If the A argument has an obligatory ergative marking, the verb involved is more likely to be a volitional verb, as in (102a). On the other hand, if the A argument appears without the ergative case, the verb involved is more likely to be a non-volitional one, as in (102b):

(102) a. [ʔot lá=di]O [kyespʰo=baʔ=**kʰe**]A [**tok**-kʰyoŋ-go-na]TPR
DEM.PROX leaf=DEF man=PL=ERG cut-bring-OBLIG-FACT
'The men have to cut and bring this foliage'

b. [[**kʰyo=raŋ**]A [baŋka=di]O tɕi yin [má-**ɕeː**-na]TPR]]...
2:SG=REFL drum=DEF what COP.EGO NEG-know-COND
'If you don't know what the drum is...'

Both (102a) and (102b) are transitive clauses. The verb *tok* 'to cut' in (102a) is transitive and volitional. Therefore, its Agent role, mapped onto A syntactic function, is obligatorily marked by the ergative case *=kʰe*. However, the verb *ɕeː* 'to know' in (102b) is transitive but non-volitional. Therefore, the ergative case does not appear in the Perceiver role in A function. This suggests that if an A argument appears to the exclusion of the ergative marker, the verb filling its transitive predicate describes a non-volitional activity.

Note that an A argument may be left unmarked when it is topicalized even though the verb involved may be volitional. Also, a transitive non-volitional verb may involve a peripheral argument marked by the instrumental case, syncretic with the ergative case marker, e.g. *mik=ke tʰoŋ-ŋai* (eye=INST see-NOMZ) 'seen with the eyes'.

Following the absolutive/ergative scheme of marking core arguments in Brokpa, the S argument is canonically zero-marked for absolutive case. However, the S argument of an intransitive clause may be marked non-canonically by *=ge*, the same form as the ergative marker but indicating control or emphatic and/or contrastive meaning

(see §11.1.2). Note that this is not the syntactic ergative marking. In Brokpa the term 'ergative' is used when the core argument A is marked differently from the S and O, in agreement with Dixon (2010a:78).

If the S argument is in the absolutive case with zero realisation, the verb involved is more likely to have a non-volitional interpretation. On the other hand, if the S argument is marked non-canonically, with the morphological ergative marker showing control or emphasis or contrastive focus even though the clause is intransitive, the verb involved is more likely to have a volitional interpretation. Compare the two intransitive clauses in (103a) and (103b):

(103) a. [ŋa = ∅]S sem + yeŋ-p^{h}i
1SG = ABS mind + wander-PERV
'I was daydreaming'

b. [lúba ɲí = **k^{h}e**]S ɲór-mi-ɲór-sa...
singer two = CONTROL.EMPH sing-NOMZ-sing-CONT
'Two singers sing and sing...'

The intransitive verb stem *sem + yeŋ* (mind + wander) 'to daydream' in (103a) describes a non-volitional act. Following its canonical case-marking pattern, the S argument in (103a) is zero-marked for an absolutive case. However, the S = A ambitransitive verb *ɲór* 'sing' in (103b) describes a volitional act (the same root can be used in the imperative, among others). In contrast to (103a), the S argument in (103b) is marked by *=k^{h}e* indicating control or emphasis, or both, even though the clause is intransitive because the verb *ɲór* 'sing' is volitional. This suggests that if an S argument is marked non-canonically, the verb filling the intransitive predicate slot describes a volitional activity.

In summary, Brokpa distinguishes the following classes of verbs:

(i) Transitive (volitional/non-volitional) verbs. The A argument of a transitive verb is marked with the ergative case, and the O argument takes zero marking for absolutive.

(ii) Volitional intransitive verbs. The S of a volitional intransitive verb is marked by the control marker which shares the same form as the ergative marker on A argument of a transitive verb. A volitional intransitive verb can be used in the imperative mood. The S argument of a volitional intransitive verb can be an antecedent of a reflexive pronoun or a reciprocal pronoun. The volitional verbs are typically associated with egophoric forms.

(iii) Non-volitional intransitive verbs. The S argument of a non-volitional intransitive verb takes zero marking, the same as the O argument of a transitive verb. A non-volitional intransitive verb cannot be used in the imperative mood. The S argument of a non-volitional verb cannot be an antecedent of a reflexive pronoun/reciprocal pronoun. A non-volitional verb may not take egophoric marking but may take an evidential knowledge marker.

(iv) Extended transitive (ditransitive) verbs. An extended transitive or ditransitive verb takes three core arguments, A, O and E. The A argument of an extended argument typically takes ergative case, O absolutive, and E dative.

4.5.3 Semantic types of verbs and role-argument association

This section examines the association between semantic roles and syntactic functions of verbs from different semantic types in Brokpa. The labels employed here are based on the universal notion of semantic types and semantic roles introduced by Dixon (2005:96-206, 2010a:103-106, 2010b:126-137, 2021:18-25).

The verbs in Brokpa can be divided into the following common semantic types: MOTION, REST, AFFECT, GIVING, THINKING, DECIDING, CORPOREAL, ATTENTION, SPEAKING, LIKING, and ANNOYING. Some semantic types can be further divided into subtypes.

4.5.3.1 The MOTION type

The verbs of the MOTION semantic type in Brokpa include the verbs from the semantic subtypes of RUN, ARRIVE, TAKE, FOLLOW, CARRY, THROW, and DROP.

4.5.3.1.1 The RUN subtype

The MOTION verbs of the RUN subtype involve a single semantic role, the Moving role in S function. They are mostly monomorphemic with a few involving compound stems. The compound verb stems of the RUN subtype involve a noun and a verb (N + V > V) or two verb roots (V + V > V). Examples of the MOTION verbs of the RUN subtype are in (104):

(104)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
yar	'to run'	*babur* + *gya*	(crawling + do) 'to crawl'
gyuk	'to run/march'	*boŋ* + *yoŋ*	(bounce + come) 'to bounce'
ɕot	'to jump'	*bro* + *gya*	(dancing + do) 'to dance'
pʰer	'to fly'	*kyaː* + *gya*	(swimming + do) 'to swim'

A MOTION verb of the RUN subtype is typically used as the head of an intransitive predicate. A predicate in which a RUN verb is the head expresses a fully controllable and/or volitional activity, as in (105):

(105) [mwoitɕupʰu = baʔ = ti]MOVING:S pha = te [**yar** = næ]IPR
woman = PL = TOP there = ALL run = SEQ

[Tshaŋsaɖuk = la]PERI ʔuntɕin = raŋ [dʱok-go-pʰi-na]IPR
Tshangsadruk = LOC before = FOC reach-OBLIG-PERV-FACT
'The womenfolk run towards that side and must reach Tshangsadruk beforehand'

There are two clauses in (105), a main clause and a dependent medial clause, sharing the subject argument 'the womenfolk'. The MC and the dependent clause are linked by the sequential marking *=næ* which marks medial clauses in a clause chain.

The verb *yar* 'to run' occupies the intransitive predicate of the dependent clause with *mwoitɕup^{h}u* 'woman', the shared subject, as the Moving role in S function.

4.5.3.1.2 The ARRIVE subtype

The MOTION verbs of the ARRIVE subtype also involve a Moving role in S function. Every ARRIVE verb describes an act which is volitional and which can be fully controlled. All the ARRIVE verbs can be used in the imperative. Some MOTION verbs of the ARRIVE subtype in Brokpa are provided in (106):

(106)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
tɕ^{h}i	'go:PERV'	*lo?*	'to return'
ɖo	'go:IMPERV'	*yoŋ*	'to approach'
soŋ	'go:IMP'	*bro + ga*	(flee + go) 'to flee/escape'[1]

Note that the verb *soŋ* also occurs as a grammaticalized suffix marking perfective aspect inherently coding direct evidentiality (see §13.1.2). As a suffix, *-soŋ* is unstressed.

A MOTION verb of the ARRIVE subtype can have a Locus in an extended intransitive function. The Locus can be indicated by a case marker, as in (107):

(107) [k^{h}yim = la]LOCUS:E [yakpo-gyan má-**tɕ^{h}i**-ti]IPR
house = ALL good-ADV NEG-go-PERV
'(I) did not go home directly'

The Moving role in (107) is not overtly stated since it can be understood from the discourse context; it is the narrator. An NP in a Locus function can appear without the locative case marker (recall inherently locational nouns from §4.4.1.5) as in (108):

[1] Note that the form *bro* in the compound verb *bro + ga* (flee + g) 'flee' has a long vowel *bro:* in isolation, which contrasts with *bro* 'dancing/dance step' as in in *bro + gya* (dancing + do) 'to dance' in (104) in §4.5.3.1.1. In *bro + ga*, the phonological process of vowel length reduction is applied before the morphological process of compounding.

(108) go:m [**k^{h}yim**]LOCUS:E ɖo-zin...
evening house go:IMPERV-SIM
'While going home in the evening...'

In (108) the Moving role in S function is again not stated since it is recoverable from the discourse context. Note that certain proper nouns, including place names, can be used alone with an allative/locative sense with some verbs such as the MOTION verbs and the POSTURE verbs. The Locus *k^{h}yim* 'house' in (108) is of this type. In the absence of an overt allative/locative marker, one may be led to believe that the Locus appears to be syntactically occupying the O argument slot. However, the verb involved is typically an extended intransitive one, and the NP in Locus role is to be analysed as an obligatory core argument with an inherent allative/locative meaning.

4.5.3.1.3 The TAKE subtype

Every MOTION verb of the TAKE semantic subtype is transitive and volitional. Most members of the TAKE subtype such as *tek* 'to lift' are plain transitive involving two NPs, one filling the A slot and the other the O slot, while a few such as *ʑot + taŋ* (prepare + send) 'to send' can be extended transitive obligatorily requiring an additional core argument in E function. Examples of the MOTION verbs of the TAKE subtype in Brokpa are provided in (109):

(109)

VERB	**GLOSS**	**VERB**	**GLOSS**
k^{h}er	'take'	*ʑot + taŋ* (prepare + send)	'send'
tek	'lift'	*laŋ + taŋ* (rise + send)	'raise'
kunma + gya (thief + do)	'steal'	*kui + k^{h}er* (steal + take)	'steal'

An example of a TAKE verb in a transitive clause is in (110):

(110) [pʰama = e = ge]CAUSER:A [ŋa = ø]MOVING:O lo? [ʔiskul naŋ = la]LOCUS:PERI
parents = ERG = ERG 1:SG = ABS again school RELAT:INSD = LOC

[**kʰer** = næ]TPR...
take = SEQ
'My parents took me again to the school...'

As can be seen in example (110), there are two semantic roles, the Causer *pʰama* 'parents' in A function marked by the ergative case and the Moving role, the first person pronoun *ŋa*, in O syntactic function which has zero marking (for an absolutive case). There is also a Locus NP in peripheral function marked by the enclitic *=la* which marks locative, allative, or dative case.

The TAKE verb *kʰer* can occur as the second component of a complex verb stem, and be in a transitive predicate function, *tɕo + kʰer* (guide + take) 'to take'. The verb *kʰer* can be used in the imperative with a sentence stress, *kʰer* 'Take!', and can apply the negation prefix *má-* and form the negative imperative *má-kʰer* (NEG-take) 'Don't take', suggesting that it is a volitional verb.

4.5.3.1.4 The FOLLOW subtype

The MOTION verbs of the FOLLOW subtype are transitive and volitional and involve two core arguments. The referent of the subject argument of a FOLLOW verb has the ability to initiate and control the action described by the verb. Examples of the MOTION verbs of the FOLLOW subtype are in (111):

(111)

VERB	**GLOSS**
de:	'to follow/chase'
tsa:	'to track/search'
ná + ʈʰi:	(group + lead) 'to lead'

A FOLLOW verb can involve two semantic roles mapped onto two core argument functions as in (112):

(112) den tɕʰe ɻiŋmu-ɖou ɻe=næ den [ʔou=di]LOCUS:O
PART little vampire-SIMI become=SEQ PART boy=DEF

de:+kʰyoŋ=næ za-gu se-ti de:+kʰyoŋ=næ
chase+bring=SEQ eat-IMPERV say-NOMZ chase+bring=SEQ

Lunzhimpu=la lo? dʱok-pʰi=se
Lungzhimpu=LOC again arrive-PERV=REP
'It is said that the sisters became something like vampire and chased after the boy saying: "We will eat you"; the boy again arrived at Lungzhimpu'

In (112) the speaker talks about two sisters becoming vampires, and chasing a boy. The sisters, who became vampires, are the Moving role in A function and the boy is the Locus role in O function.

Note that a FOLLOW verb can form compound verb stems by serializing with other verb roots, e.g., *de:+kʰer* (chase+take)' 'to follow/chase'. The FOLLOW verbs can have an imperative form such as *tsʰo* which is the imperative form of the verb *tsa:* 'to track/search'.

4.5.3.1.5 The CARRY subtype

Only one monomorphemic MOTION verb of the CARRY subtype, *kʰur* 'carry', has been attested. The verb *kʰur* is a transitive verb and typically expresses a Moving role in A function and a Locus role in O function, as in (113):

(113) te [kʰyim naŋ=næ] [tɕʰaŋ=di=su]LOCUS:O kʰur=næ...
PART house RELAT:INSD=ABL liquor=DEF=PL take=SEQ
'So they take the (barrels of) wine from the groom's house...'

Example (113) is a transitive clause with the subject argument, the Moving role, not stated overtly. The verb *kʰur* in (113) involves the Locus NP *tɕʰaŋ* 'liquor' in O function, and the NP in peripheral argument function marked by the ablative case.

The CARRY verb *kʰur* can form a root serialization with TAKE verbs such as *kʰer* 'to take' and derive complex verb stems such as *kʰur+kʰer* (carry+take) 'to transport',

belonging to the same subtype. An example of a complex verb stem with the CARRY verb *kʰur* involving two roles is in (114):

(114) [kʰo=e]MOVING:A [baŋka]LOCUS:O [**kʰur+kʰer**-ra]TPR di=la...
3:SG=ERG drum carry+take-MIR DEF=LOC:PURP
'Since he carried the drum..'

In (114) the complex verb stem shown in bold, in which the verb *kʰur* is the major verb of a serial verb construction, functions as a transitive predicate taking a Moving role in A function and a Locus role in O function.The transitivity and the volitionality properties of the compound verb stem *kʰur+kʰer* (carry+take) remain the same as the monomorphemic CARRY verb *kʰur*. The verb form *kʰur* can be used in the imperative indicating that it is a volitional verb.

4.5.3.1.6 The THROW subtype

All MOTION verbs of the THROW subtype are transitive occurring as the head of a transitive predicate. A partial listing of the MOTION verbs of the THROW subtype is given in (115):

(115)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
pʰir	'to throw'	*pʰuː*	'to push'
kyur	'to throw'	*tʰen*	'to draw'
luʔ	'to pour'	*teŋ*	'to pull'
yoː	'to pour'	*ɖui*	'to drag'

The verbs in (115) can have an imperative form. A THROW verb describes a volitional or intentional activity, which the referent of the subject argument can initiate and control.

A THROW verb involves two semantic roles, a Moving role in O function deliberately stirred into motion by a Causer in A function, as in (116):

(116) [ʔama = baʔ = kʰe]CAUSER:A [mar rilbu]MOVING:O
woman = PL = ERG butter pellet

[**kyur**-go-kʰu-na]TPR
throw-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'The women have to throw butter pellets'

The referent of the A argument with a THROW verb as the predicate head can be a human or an animal. As with most other verbs, a THROW verb can form complex verb stems by combining with other verb roots and form new verb stems of the same semantic subtype, e.g. *pʰir + taŋ* (throw + send/do) 'to throw', *kyur + ʑaʔ* (throw + leave) 'to throw'.

4.5.3.1.7 The DROP subtype

All MOTION verbs of the DROP subtype are used intransitively. A verb of the DROP subtype usually describes an unwanted motion involving a semantic role in S function and the referent of the S argument can be a human, higher animal or a natural phenomenon. Examples of the MOTION verbs of the DROP subtype in Brokpa are provided in (117):

(117)

VERB	**GLOSS**
bru	'to drop
ɕap	'to spill'
bru + ga	(drop/fall + go) 'to drop/fall'
ɕap + ga	(spill + go) 'to spill'
ploi + ga	(turn + go) 'to overturn'
deɕa + ga	(slip + go) 'to slip'

A DROP verb such as *bru* 'to drop, to fall' and *ɕap* 'to spill' can occur on its own, involving a Moving thing in S function, as in *kʰa bru* (snow fall) 'The snow is falling', *tɕʰu ɕap-pʰi* (water spill-PERV) 'The water spilled'.

The DROP verbs can form compound verbs stems with the verb *ga* meaning 'to go/cross/pass' belonging to the ARRIVE subtype, and form intransitive verb stems of

the DROP semantic subtype. A verb stem of the DROP subtype, formed by a compound of a verb root belonging to the same semantic subtype and the verb *ga*, cannot have an imperative form, **ɕap-ma-ga* (spill-NEG-go), and therefore describes a non-volitional and uncontrollable activity. However, if a verb root from the DROP subtype occurs with the light verb *taŋ*, then it can have an imperative form, *ɕap-má-taŋ* (spill-NEG-do) 'Don't spill'.

4.5.3.2 The REST type

The verbs of the REST semantic type include verbs from the semantic subtypes of POSTURE (SIT, STAY), PUT, CONTAIN, HOLD, and OPEN.

4.5.3.2.1 The POSTURE subtype

A posture verb of the REST semantic type describes a stance of resting at a definite locus. Example (118) lists some posture verbs (SIT, STAY) in Brokpa. Note that some of the posture verbs are synonyms:

(118)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
dʱœ	'to sit; stay; live'	*ɕaŋ*	'to hang'
ʑit	'to sit'	*bon*	'to float'
laŋ	'to stand (up)'	*bup*	'to bend, to prostrate'
peŋ	'to lie'	*dʱiŋ*	'to float'
ɲé	'to lie'	*bep*	'to crouch'

The posture verbs are all intransitive, and have a Resting role in S function and an optional Locus role in peripheral argument function. All posture verbs have imperative forms, indicating that they are volitional. A posture verb describes an activity which is volitional and which can be controlled, and the S argument of a posture verb may optionally bear the control marking (see §11.1.2). An example of a posture verb involving a Resting role in S function and an optional Locus in peripheral argument function is in (119):

(119) [ʔou]REST:S [ditɕʰoʔ=la]LOCUS:PERI [dʱæ=næ]IPR...
boy this.side=LOC stay=SEQ
'The boy stays/sits on this side...'

In (119) the posture verb *dʱœ* occurs in the predicate of an intransitive clause with the Resting role in S function and the optional Locus role in peripheral argument function. The verb describes a volitional act (the boy can decide not to stay or sit on this side.

The posture verb *dʱœ* 'to sit/stay' can occur as a main verb or it can occur as the second component of a complex predicate forming an asymmetrical serial verb construction (see Aikhenvald 2006 on the types of serial verb constructions), e.g. *ɕaŋ* + *dʱœ* (hang + sit/stay) 'to hang (down)', *bon-dʱœ* (float + stay) 'to float'. The meaning of the complex verb is almost entirely the meaning of the first verb. The posture verb *dʱœ* as a second component in a compound verb stem has an overtone of progressive aspect. This kind of complex verb stem in which a motion verb or a posture verb is the second component is analyzed as a component of a serial verb construction with a secondary function (see § 12.11).

4.5.3.2.2 The PUT subtype

The REST verbs of the PUT subtype are all transitive and volitional. An imperative form, positive or negative, exists for all the PUT verbs. Example (120) gives a partial list of the PUT verbs of the REST type in Brokpa:

(120)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
tsuk	'to put'	*kaŋ*	'to fill'
ʑak	'to place, to keep'	*ka:*	'to load'
ɖik	'to arrange, to set'	*sar*	'to pack'
tab	'to sow, to plant'	*bœ*	'to hide'
ɲé	'to lie'	*pʰir*	'to dump'

A verb of the PUT subtype has a Causer, typically a human referent, in A function and a Thing resting in O function. Consider:

(121) [ŋa = e]CAUSER:A [toptɕe]REST:O [**tsuk**-pʰi]TPR
1:SG = ERG food put-PERV
'I cooked the food'

Example (121) shows a transitive clause with the PUT verb *tsuk* as the predicate head.[2] The speaker is the Causer role in A function, and *toptɕe* 'food' is the Thing resting mapped onto O function. This verb can be used in the imperative *tsuk* 'put:IMP', 'Put!', and its negative imperative is formed simply by prefixing the negative morpheme *má-* with a high tone, *má-tsuk* (NEG-put) 'Don't put', which indicates that it is a volitional verb.

As shown in §4.5.2.1, some transitive verbs can be made intransitive through aspiration. For example, the transitive verb *kaŋ* 'to fill' becomes *kʰeŋ* when used in an intransitive clause or when used as an intransitive predicate of a peripheral argument in instrumental function.

4.5.3.2.3 The HOLD subtype

The REST verbs of the HOLD subtype includes two sets: the HOLD type and the OPEN type. The HOLD verbs are transitive and volitional. The OPEN verbs are also transitive, but they can be volitional or non-volition. Examples of the HOLD and the OPEN verbs are given in (122):

[2] Note that the verb *tsuk* here means 'to cook', but it literally means putting rice in an electric rice cooker so that they cook.

(122)

SUBTYPE	VERB	GLOSS
HOLD	*ʑun*	'to hold/catch/grab, clutch'
	ɦum	'to gather'
	ruk	'to pick (up)'
OPEN	*tɕʰe*	'to open'
	tɕœ	'to close/shut'
	dam	'to lock'

The verbs from the HOLD subtype describe a position of rest of an NP in O function in reference to an NP in A function, with the O in a particular resting position caused volitionally by the referent of the A argument. Consider:

(123) [náma = gi lakpa peakpa tɕik = di]REST:O [náma = gi
bride = GEN hand NUMCL:ELG one = DEF bride = GEN

dʱou = ge]CAUSER:A [**zun**]TPR
friend = ERG hold
'One of the bride's hands is held by the bride's friend'

In example (123) the heads of both NPs, in A and O functions, have a possessive modifier with genitive marking. The HOLD verb *ʑun* occurs as the transitive predicate, involving two semantic roles: Causer 'the bride's friend' which is the position of rest in A function, and the Moving/Resting role 'the bride's hand', the NP in O function.

The verbs from the OPEN subtype can be used transitively with the thing Resting, mapped onto O function and the Causer, HUMAN or WEATHER, in A function. When the Causer in A function is human, an OPEN verb describes a volitional and controllable activity as in *má rœ = ge* ***dam***-*pʰi* (wound bandage = INST close-NOMZ) '(I) closed the wound with a bandage'. In contrast, when the Causer is weather-related (non-human) noun, an OPEN verb describes a non-controllable activity as in (124):

(124) da gun re-zin [tɕʰu=di=n]O [la=yi
PART winter become-SIM stream=di=TOP mountain=GEN

tse=la]PERI [kʰyekpa=e]A [**dam**]TPR
RELAT:TIP=LOC ice=ERG close
'When it is winter, the stream is stopped from flowing by the ice on the mountaintop'

In (124) the OPEN verb *dam* 'to close' involves two roles: the Causer, the weather item *kʰyekpa* 'ice', in A function and the thing Resting *tɕʰu* 'stream' in O function. The action described by the verb here is non-volitional.

4.5.3.3 The AFFECT type

The verbs of the AFFECT semantic type in Brokpa include the verbs of TOUCH, HIT, STAB, etc. Examples of the AFFECT verbs are given in (125):

(125)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
dukʰ	'to touch'	*koŋ*	'to strike/bash'
ɕuk	'to stroke'	*tɕep*	'to bump'
dʱuŋ	'to beat/hit'	*ɕip*	'to whip'
tsapʰ	'to cut'	*pʰik*	'to pierce'
ɖim	'to twist'	*suk*	'to prick/stab'

The verbs of the AFFECT semantic type in Brokpa are prototypically transitive and volitional. Every AFFECT verb can have an imperative form. An AFFECT verb has an Agent role in A function and a Target role in O function. The Agent role in A function is in control and the Target role in O function is affected, mostly physically. The Agent can be a human, an animal, an object, or a phenomenon. An example of the Agent role of an affect verb in A function whose referent is a human is in (126):

(126) [lópon kʰo = raŋ = gi nou = ya]TARGET:O [kʰo = raŋ = ge]AGENT:A
teacher 3:SG = REFL = GEN younger.brother = EMPH 3:SG = REFL = ERG

[**dʱuŋ**]TPR
beat
'The teacher himself has beaten his own brother'

In (126) the AFFECT verb *dʱuŋ* 'to beat/hit' functions as a transitive predicate taking two roles, the Agent role which is the third person singular masculine pronoun in A function and the Target role *nou* 'younger brother' in O function.

A verb belonging to the AFFECT semantic type may involve a Manip. A Manip refers to a thing manipulated by an Agent to come into contact with a Target (see Dixon 2005:10, Dixon 2010a:104). In Brokpa, a Manip is marked by instrumental case, the same form as ergative case. Consider (127):

(127) [sönompa = e]A bra? bar = la tɕʰi = næ [kʰara = ge]INST
mendicant = ERG rocky.outcrop RELAT:MIDL = LOC go = SEQ staff = INST

suk = næTPR...
pierce = SEQ
'The mendicant went up to the middle of the rocky outcrop and pierced it with the (walking) staff...'

Example (127) consists of two medial clauses, sharing the subject argument 'mendicant' in A function. The AFFECT verb *suk* 'to pierce' takes the Manip '(walking) staff' in instrumental function. The Target role of the verb *suk* which is *bra?* 'rocky outcrop' is omitted in the second medial clause as it is stated in the first one.

The members of the AFFECT verbs can be added through compounding, e.g. *muktum* + *koŋ* (punch + strike) 'to punch', *pekpek* + *koŋ* (ONO + strike) 'to tap (to strike a light blow', *tsapar* + *taŋ* + *dʑin* (spank + do + give) 'to spank'.

4.5.3.4 The GIVING type

The verbs of GIVING in Brokpa involve three semantic roles— Donor, Gift, and Recipient—, as is the case cross-linguistically including English (see (Dixon 2010b:127).

These three semantic roles are mapped onto three core syntactic functions. The Donor controls the act of giving and is in A function. The Gift is in O function, and the Recipient role marked by dative case is in E function. Example of the verbs of the GIVING type in Brokpa are provided in (128):

(128)

VERB	**GLOSS**	**VERB**	**GLOSS**
dʑin	'to give'	*lui*	'to feed'
ter	'to give/bestow'	*tap*	'to pay'
tsoŋ	'to sell'	*ɻ̥e*	'to deliver'
ʔer	'to hire/rent'	*ɕam*	'to supply/distribute'

There are also two honorific forms of the 'give' verb in Brokpa: the upward honorific 'give' verb *pʰuː* and the downward honorific 'give' verb *náŋ* (see §7.4). Furthermore, the downward honorific form *náŋ* can form other honorific compound verb stems by compounding with other nouns or verbs, honorific or non-honorific. A compound verb stem derived with the honorific verb *náŋ* belongs to GIVING semantic type and involve three roles, as (129):

(129) [kʰi = ge]DONOR:A [ŋi = la]RECIPT:E [náma = di]GIFT:O [söre + naŋ]TPR
2:PL = ERG 1:PL = DAT bride = DEF GIFT + give:HON
'You give the bride to us'

Example (129) is an extended transitive clause with three semantic roles mapped onto three core syntactic functions: the second personal plural pronoun *kʰi* is the Donor role in A function marked by ergative case, *náma* 'bride' is the Gift role in O function, and the first person plural pronoun *ŋi* is the Recipient role in E function marked by dative case.

The verbs of GIVING can also be formed through compounding of ordinary (non-honorific) nouns and verbs, typically with the verb *dʑin* as the head, e.g. *naŋsu* + *dʑin* (bribery + give) 'to bribe', *söre* + *dʑin* (reward + give) 'to tip'. The GIVING verbs can also be formed by roots other than the verb *dʑin*, e.g. *ɕuza* + *ʑaʔ* (trace + leave) 'to bequeath', *dʑeba* + *gyap* (exchanging + do) 'to exchange'.

4.5.3.5 The THINKING type

The verbs of the THINKING semantic type are generally transitive involving two roles: the Cogitator and the Thought. The Cogitator initiates and controls the activity and is in A function. The other semantic role, the Thought, is mapped onto O syntactic function.

The verbs of THINKING in Brokpa include monosyllabic and monomorphemic roots such as *sam* 'to think (of/about)', *ɕe:* 'to know', *tsʰor* 'to feel/to sense', *ɖan* 'to remember'. There can also be disyllabic but monomorphemic THINKING verb roots such as *hago* 'to understand'. There are also THINKING verbs formed by compounding, *sam* + *taŋ* (think + do) 'to contemplate, to reflect on/about, to ponder', *pʰoze* + *pakʰ* (estimation + assess) 'to speculate', *ɖanʑi* + *gya* (memory + do) 'to remember', *ɖanʑi* + *ʑe* (memory + forget) 'to forget'. Examples include:

(130) a. [ŋe = raŋ pʰama = i kʰato = næ]COGIT:A [ʔo]THOUGHT:O
1:PL = EMPH parent = GEN RELAT:side = ABL DEM.PROX

[**sam**-pʰi-yo]TPR
think-PERV-EGO
'We, the parents, have thought this'

b. [ŋa = raŋ = ge]COGIT:A [ʔo-ɖou = ʑiʔ]THOUGHT:O [**ɖan**-gi]TPR
1:SG = REFL = ERG DEM.PROX-SAME = INDEF remember-IMPERV
'I myself remember something like that'

The THINKING verbs— *sam* 'to think' and *ɖan* 'to remember'— are used as the head of a transitive predicate in(130a) and (130b), respectively. In (130a), the *pʰama* 'parents', the Cogitator role, are trying to focus their mind on something, and the demonstrative *ʔo* is the other semantic role, Thought. The demonstrative *ʔo* here is functioning as a coreferential argument, making an anaphoric reference to an entire clause, mentioned earlier, in which the parents talked about bequeathing their properties to their children.

In the same vein, in (130b) the THINKING verb *ɖan* 'to remember' has two roles: the Cogitator which is the first person singular pronoun *ŋa* marked by ergative case in A function, and the Thought in O function realized by an NP whose head is the demonstrative *ʔo*.

Note that there is no ergative marking on A argument in (130a). The ablative marker *=næ* is doing the job of the ergative marker, an instance of non-canonical marking on A argument (see also §11.1.5).

A THINKING verb typically describes a volitional, and also controllable, act. A THINKING verb has an imperative form, e.g. *som* 'think:IMP' (cf. *sam* 'to think'). However, a Thought described by a THINKING verb can be non-volitional. For example, the verb *ɖan* 'to remember' can be both volitional or non-volitional. A person can try to remember a Thought deliberately, or a Thought can occur to them by chance, as in (130b). The same applies to the other members of the THINKING verbs such as *sam* 'to think'. Akin to ambitransitive verbs, these groups of verbs which can describe both volitional and non-volitional activities, may be described as 'ambivolitional verbs'.

4.5.3.6 The DECIDING type

The verbs of the DECIDING semantic type involve two roles: the Decision-maker relating to A function, and the Course to O syntactic function. The verbs of DECIDING types in Brokpa can be divided in two subtypes: the RESOLVE and the CHOOSE subtypes.

Only one member of the RESOLVE subtype, *tʰatɕæ* 'decide/resolve', has been attested. The RESOLVE verb *tʰatɕæ* is volitional. It appears in a transitive clause involving two semantic roles, the Decision-maker and the Course. Examples include:

(131) a. [[ŋe=raŋ]A zom=næ]MED [tunɖi]O **[tʰatɕæ**-go-ro]]TPR ʔa
1:PL=EMPH meet=SEQ discussion decide-OBLIG-IMPERV TAG
'We must resolve the issues (discussions) by meeting, mustn't we?'

b. den da [ter-mi = di]COMP:O [**t^{h}atɕæ**-ti]TPR
PART now give-NOMZ = DEF decide-NOMZ
'So now you have decided to give'
Lit. 'So now it is giving deciding'

The sentence in (131a) has a medial clause linked to the MC by the sequential marker =*næ*. The dependent medial clause and the MC share the same subject in A function, shown by the constituent order (see §11.1.3 , also §14.5). The RESOLVE verb *t^{h}atɕæ* functions as the head of the transitive predicate of the MC involving two semantic roles. The first person plural pronoun *ŋe* is the Decision-maker in A function, and *tunɖi* 'discussion' the Course semantic role in O syntactic function.

In example (131b) the Decision-maker role in A syntactic function is omitted as it was mentioned in an earlier discourse. The transitive predicate in which the RESOLVE verb *t^{h}atɕæ* is the head takes a complement clause formed by nominalization *ter-mi-di* (give-NOMZ = DEF) 'the giving' which is the Course semantic role mapped onto O function.

The verbs of the CHOOSE subtype include *dam* 'to choose', *ɕok^{h}* 'to select', *tek* 'to pick', *ruk^{h}* 'to pick', and *ka:* 'to appoint'. The CHOOSE verbs are all transitive and volitional. They require two semantic roles: the Decision-maker in A function which may be stated overtly or understood from the context, and the Course in O function which must always be stated. Examples include:

(132) a. [ʔani = di = ge]A tɕ^{h}aŋ tek + k^{h}yoŋ-zin = di = la te tɕ^{h}aŋ
aunt = DEF = ERG [alcohol]O pick + bring-SIM = DEF = LOC PART alcohol

man-ni [tɕ^{h}u + bruŋ = di]O [**tek** + k^{h}yoŋ
NEG.COP.EGO-NOMZ water + container = DEF pick + bring
laŋ + yoŋ-t^{h}u?]TPR
stand + come-DIRECT

'While my aunt thought she picked up the alcohol container, she picked up and brought the water container'

b. [ŋa]O ʔo-ɖou = ʑiʔ kæpten [**ka:** = næ]TPR...
1:SG DEM.PROX-SIMI = INDEF captain appoint = SEQ
'He appointed me something like a captain...'

In (132a) *ʔani* 'aunt' is the Decision-maker role in A function marked by the ergative case *=ge*. She picked up one Course *tɕʰu+bruŋ* (water+container) 'water container' out of the two alternatives in O function, the alternative Course being the 'alcohol container'. The Decision-maker semantic role in (132b) is not overtly stated, but it is the 'school principal' mentioned in an earlier part of the discourse. The other role in this sentence is the 'captain' which is in O function.

4.5.3.7 The CORPOREAL type

The verbs of the CORPOREAL semantic type can be transitive or intransitive. The subject of a transitive CORPOREAL verb has volitional control. Either the base form of a CORPOREAL verb can be used in the imperative, with a sentence stress and/or rising intonation word-finally, or it can form an imperative through an overt marking or through a morphophonemic process. Examples of the transitive CORPOREAL verbs are provided in (133):

(133)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
za	'to eat'	*tʰuŋ*	'to drink'
mur	'to chew'	*ɲik*	'to swallow'
dʑip	'to suck'	*múkʰ*	'to bite'

A transitive CORPOREAL verb requires Human role in A function, and an NP in O function. Examples include:

(134) a. [ŋa=e]A [ɲo+zæ]O [**zæ**=næ]TPR...
1:SG=ERG insane+substance eat=SEQ
'I took drugs...'

b. da ŋa=i [ʔama=e]A [tɕʰaŋ]O [**tʰuŋ**-gu-na]TPR
PART 1SG=GEN mother=ERG alcohol drink-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'My mother has to drink alcohol'

Note that the verb *za* 'to eat' can be intransitive as well, e.g. *ŋa data zæ-pʰi* (1:SG now eat-PERV) 'I ate just now'. However, in this example the S argument of the verb *za* is in the absolutive, while the argument of the same verb in (134a) is marked by ergative case. Note that the semantic role in the subject function, A or S, of a CORPOREAL verb can also be an animal.

The intransitive CORPOREAL verbs include monomorphemic roots as well as compound verb stems, as provided in (135):

(135)

VERB (ROOT)	**GLOSS**	**VERB (COMPOUND)**	**GLOSS**
si:	'to cough'	*bu?* + *len*	(air + take.in) 'to breathe'
ɲa:	'to sleep'	*zum* + *ton*	(smile + show) 'to smile'
kyuk	'to vomit'	*tɕʰen* + *taŋ*	(fart + do) 'to fart'
hatɕʰar	'to yawn'	*tɕin* + *taŋ*	(urine + do) 'to urinate'
gæ	'to laugh'	*tukpa* + *taŋ*	(faeces + do) 'to defecate'
ɕi	'to die'	*suipʰ* + *ŋám* + *ton*	(stomach + noise + take.out) 'to belch'
ŋú	'to cry'	*mík* + *tʲʰip*	(eye + blink)
na	'to ache'	*ŋúna* + *tʰ̈ö*	(sweat + come.out) 'to sweat'
ɖak	'to recover'	*ʔiktum* + *gya*	(ONO + do) 'to hiccup'

These intransitive verbs all require a Human or an Animal role in S function. Some CORPOREAL intransitive verbs such as *zum* + *ton* (smile + show) 'to smile' and *tɕʰen* + *taŋ* (fart + do) 'to fart', can be volitional with an imperative form shown through vowel gradation in the second component of the compound verb stem. Some CORPOREAL verbs such as *si:* 'to cough' and *gakpalo?* 'to burp' do not have imperative forms, and the referent of the S argument of such verbs have no control. Certain members of the intransitive CORPOREAL verbs such as *ŋú* 'to cry' and *gæ* 'to laugh' can be used in the imperative, and their S argument can optionally take control marking, but syntactically they do not take an O argument.

4.5.3.8 The ATTENTION type

The verbs of the ATTENTION semantic type are mostly transitive, but in terms of volitionality they are of mixed type. The ATTENTION verbs such as *tæ* 'to see/observe/watch' have an imperative form (*t^{h}o* 'See!', homophonous with the ATTENTION verb *t^{h}o* 'to hear'), and describe a voluntary activity. On the other hand, there are some ATTENTION verbs, such as the verb *t^{h}oŋ* 'to see', which cannot be used in the imperative and describe an involuntary activity. A partial listing of ATTENTION verbs in Brokpa is given in (136):

(136)

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
ta	'to see/observe'	*ɕeː*	'to know', 'to notice'
t^{h}o	'to hear'	*ton*	'to show'
núm	'to smell', 'to sniff'	*t^{h}op*	'to find', 'to get'
ɲæn	'to listen'	*tsaː*	'to search'
t^{h}oŋ	'to see'	*hago*	'to understand'

An ATTENTION verb requires a Perceiver role in A function, and an Impression role placed in O function, as in (137):

(137) [tɕ^{h}u = di = su]O mík = ke **t^{h}oŋ**-mi ɖaɖi men
stream = DEF = PL eye = INST see-PERV completely NEG.COP.EGO
'(We) cannot see the streams with (our) eyes'

In (137) the A argument, which is the Perceiver role, of the ATTENTION verb *thoŋ* 'to see' is not overtly stated, but the Impression role in O argument is. Note that this clause also has a peripheral argument in instrumental function.

4.5.3.9 The SPEAKING type

The verbs of the SPEAKING semantic type can be of several subtypes. They can be monomorphemic and derived through compounding, particularly involving a noun

plus the light verb *gya* or *taŋ* both meaning 'to do'. Examples of each subtype are given in (138):

(138)

VERB	GLOSS	SUBTYPE
laɲ	'to speak'	SPEAK
poŋpoŋ + gya	(talk + do) 'to talk'	TALK
tuntɕʰi + gya	(discussion + do) 'to discuss'	DISCUSS
ɕœba + taŋ	(description + do) 'to describe'	DISCUSS
bo	'to call'	SHOUT
ŋar	'to roar'	SHOUT
kurkyaŋ + ton	(shout + take.out) 'to shout'	SHOUT
dʑok (S: ʑok)	'to complain'	REPORT
blot ~ bloŋ	'to grumble'	REPORT
dʰalen + gya	(information + do) 'to inform'	INFORM
ɖangi + taŋ	(memory + do) 'to remind'	INFORM
ɖi	'to ask'	TELL
ka?	'to prohibit'	ORDER
totpa + taŋ	(praise + do) 'to praise'	FORGIVE
kʰa + taŋ	(mouth + do) 'to blame'	FORGIVE

The SPEAKING verbs of all subtypes are volitional. However, they differ in transitivity in that they can be used transitively or intransitively. The S argument of a SPEAKING verb which is used intransitively can optionally take the control marker (see §11.1.2).

Typically, the SPEAK verb *lap* 'to say' involves three roles: the Speaker role in A function, the Message role in O function, and the Addressee role in E function. Therefore the clause in which the verb *lap* 'to say' is the predicate head will be an extended transitive clause. An example is in (139):

(139) [ŋa = e]SPEAKER:A [mo = la]ADDRE:E [ɲén ma-gya = se
1SG = ERG 3SG.FEM = DAT marriage NEG-do = QUOT

lap-pʰi-yin]MESG:O
say-PERV-EGO
'I said to her: "Don't get married"'

In (139) the 'say' verb takes the Speaker role in A function, marked by ergative case, and the O argument realized by a direct speech, marked by the quotative *=se*. The clause is an extended transitive one with an obligatory Addressee role in E function shown by dative case. Note that the Message role can also be a complement clause.

Other subtypes of SPEAKING verbs can be transitive, intransitive, or both (ambitransitive of the S = A type). Most subtypes of the SPEAKING verbs are of the extended transitive type involving three semantic roles: Speaker, Message, and Addressee. The transitivity, the semantic roles and syntactic functions that each subtype of SPEAKING verbs in Brokpa involve are given in (140):

(140)

SUBTYPE	**TRANSITIVITY**	**SEMANTIC ROLES**	**SYNTACTIC FUNCTION**
TALK	intransitive, extended transitive	Speaker	S
DISCUSS	intransitive, transitive	Speaker, Message	S, A, O
SHOUT	intransitive, transitive	Speaker, Message	S, A, O
REPORT	extended transitive	Speaker, Message, Addressee	S, A, O, E
INFORM	extended transitive	Speaker, Message, Addressee	S, A, O, E
TELL	extended transitive	Speaker, Message, Addressee	S, A, O, E
ORDER	extended transitive	Speaker, Message, Addressee	S, A, O, E
FORGIVE	transitive	Speaker, Addressee	A, O

The TALK verb *poŋpoŋ + gya* can be used intransitively involving only the Speaker role in S function as in (141):

(141) [ŋi sum]SPEAKER:S [**poŋpoŋ + gya**-bi]IPR
1PL three talk + do-PERV
'Three of us talked'

The NP in S function of this talk verb may be filled by a complex NP (plural NPs), with two or more participants as in (142):

(142) [ŋa=daŋ ŋa=i ʔapa ʔama=baʔ gaŋyu]SPEAKER:S
1SG=CNTV 1SG=GEN father mother=PL ALL

[**poŋpoŋ**+**gya**-bi]IPR
talk+do-PERV
'Me and my father and mother, all of us, talked'

In (142) the Speaker role in S function is achieved by several NPs linked to the first NP by the connective *=daŋ*.

A DISCUSS verb can be used intransitively with the Speaker role in S function filled by an NP with plural reference as in (143):

(143) [ŋe=raŋ ɲí]SPEAKER:S [**tunʂi**+**gyak**-pi]IPR
1PL=EMPH two discussion+do-PERV
'Two of us discussed'

Furthermore, a DISCUSS verb can be used transitively involving a Speaker role, realized by a plural NP, marked by ergative, and a Message role in O function optionally marked by a postposition as in (144):

(144) [ŋe ɲí=k^{h}e]SPEAKER:A [ʔoti (korn)]MESG:O [**tunʂi**+**gyak**-pi]TPR
1PL two=ERG DEM.PROX (about) discussion+do-PERV
'Two of us discussed this'

Note that a SHOUT verb can also be used intransitively or transitively. When it is used transitively, the Message role can be realized by a direct speech or a complement clause.

4.5.3.10 The LIKING type

The verbs of the LIKING semantic type can be divided into two sets: the transitive LIKING verbs involving an Experiencer role in A function and a Stimulus role in O function, and the intransitive LIKING verbs with just the Experiencer role filled. Examples of the LIKING verbs are given in (145):

(145)

VERB	GLOSS	TRANSITIVTY
ga:	'to like', 'to love'	transitive
tsiba + *gya*	(value + do) 'to value'	transitive
dʑik^{h} ~ *ʑik*^{h}	'to fear'	intransitive
lógö + *ka:*	(regret + put) 'to regret'	intransitive
gaʈo + *ton*	(happiness + take.out) 'to rejoice', 'to enjoy'	transitive

Examples of the transitive LIKING verbs involving two semantic roles include:

(146) a. [ŋa = e]EXPER:A [keruk]STIMU:O matsanraŋ [mi-**ga**]TPR
1SG = ERG radish really NEG-like
'I really hate (don't like) radish'

b. [k^{h}o = e]EXPER:A [k^{h}o = raŋ = gi d^{ɦ}ou = ba?]STIMU:O ʔeɕin-gyan
3SG.MASC = ERG 3SG = REFL = GEN friend = PL good-ADV

[**tsiba** + **gya**-gi]TPR
value + do-IMPERV
'He greatly values his own friends'

Examples of the intransitive LIKING verbs involving only the Experiencer role in S function include:

(147) a. [ŋe = raŋ = ba?]EXPER:S [**gaʈo** + **ton**-go-k^{h}u-na]IPR
1PL = EMPH = PL happiness + take.out-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'We must rejoice'

b. [mo = raŋ]EXPER:S deɕmeti [**lógö** + **ka:**-ɦioŋ]IPR
3SG.FEM = EMPH very.much regret + put-POSSIB
'She might regret it bitterly'

In terms of volitionality, the verbs of the LIKING semantic type fall into two sets. The LIKING verbs such as *gaʈo* + *ton* (happiness + take.out) 'to enjoy/rejoice' and *tsiba* + *gya* (value + do) 'to value' are volitional, while the others such as *dʑik* 'to fear' and *lógo* + *ka:* (regret + put) 'to regret' are non-volitional.

Note that the S argument of a LIKING verb may take the marker =*ge*, the same as the ergative marking on an A argument, to denote control and/or contrastive focus.

In the same vein, the O argument of a LIKING verb may take differential case marking, shown by the enclitic *=la* which is the same as the locative/allative/dative marking on a peripheral/E argument, to express specificity and/or contrastive focus (see §11.1.2).

4.5.3.11 The ANNOYING type

Akin to the LIKING verbs, the verbs of the ANNOYING semantic type can also be divided into two sets: the intransitive verbs taking only an Experiencer role in S function, and the transitive ones involving two semantic roles (Experiencer, Stimulus). Examples of the ANNOYING verbs in Brokpa are given in (148):

(148)

VERB	**GLOSS**	**TRANSITIVITY**
rublaŋ	'to be infuriated' (with oneself)	intransitive
gut^{h}om	'to be confused' (with oneself)	intransitive
rublaŋ-tɕu?	'to be infuriated' (by something)	transitive
gut^{h}om-tɕu?	'to be confused' (by something)	transitive
ɲó	'to madden' (with oneself)	intransitive
ɲó-tɕu?	'to madden' (by something)	transitive
sün	'to feel bored' (with oneself)	intransitive
sün-tɕu?	to be bored' (by something)	transitive

As can be seen in (148), the transitive ones are actually derived from the intransitive verb roots with the causative suffix *-tɕu?*, so the Experiencer role in S function in the intransitive clause goes into the O argument slot, and the Stimulus role is mapped onto A syntactic function in the derived transitive clause. Compare:

(149) a. [ŋa]**Exper:S** diriŋ [**t^{h}akyo**-gi]**IPR**
1SG today feel.sad-IMPERV
'I am feeling sad today'

b. [goto + ŋám = ge]STIMU:A [ŋa]EXPER:O t^{h}eb [**t^{h}akyo-tɕu?**-soŋ]TPR
rooster + sound = ERG 1SG extra feel.sad-CAUS-PERV.DIRECT
'The rooster's crow has made me feel more sad'

In (149a) the ANNOYING verb *tʰakyo* 'to feel sad' functions as the head of an intransitive predicate with only the Experiencer role in S function. In (149b) the same verb takes the causative suffix *-tɕu?*, and it functions as the head of a transitive predicate involving the addition of a new argument, the Stimulus role mapped onto A syntactic function. The erstwhile S argument is placed in the derived O function. Causative construction is discussed in §8.4.3. Note that the intransitive members of the ANNOYING verbs all describe non-volitional acts, while the derived transitive members describe volitional acts.

4.6 Open word classes: summary

This chapter examined the open word classes in Brokpa, beginning with the contrasting possibilities for nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and then exploring the first two open classes in great detail.

Nouns and verbs show different inflections and derivations. The primary function of a noun is as head of an NP, while the primary function of a verb is as head of a predicate. A noun may be incorporated into a verb stem and then functions as the head of an intransitive predicate. A verb can be nominalized and then functions as a noun or as a complete NP. The grammatical categories prototypically associated with a noun are case, gender, number, definiteness, and evaluative morphology. The grammatical categories prototypically associated with a verb are polarity, aspect, modality, and knowledge.

Nouns and adjectives share certain inflections, but they show different derivations; they also have certain inflections unique to each class. Verbs and adjectives show different inflections and derivations, and occupy different functional slots within a clause. Both nouns and verbs have honorific forms, while adjectives do not have honorific forms.

Nouns in Brokpa are divided into different subclasses based on certain shared properties. The grammatical subclasses of nouns include ANIMATE versus INANIMATE nouns, COUNT versus MASS nouns, KINSHIP nouns, PERSONAL NAMES, INHERENTLY LOCATIONAL nouns, and HONORIFIC nouns.

Verbs in Brokpa are divided into three types in terms of their forms distinguished by ablaut, aspiration, or suppletion. Type I verbs have three distinct forms: one form in the perfective, another in the imperfective and the prohibitive, and a distinct form in the imperative. Type II verbs have two forms: one form in the perfective, imperfective, and prohibitive, and another form in the imperative. Type III verbs have just one form for all constructions: perfective, imperfective, prohibitive, and imperative. Type IV verbs include two or three suppletive forms.

In terms of grammatical classes, verbs in Brokpa can be classified into transitive, intransitive, and a few ambitransitive verbs. Among other properties, the subject of a transitive verb is marked by ergative case, and the O argument of a transitive verb receives zero marking. Brokpa also makes use of morphophonemic processes to mark transitivity distinction including tone, voicing, and aspiration. In particular, aspiration plays a major role in deriving intransitive verb stems from the transitive verb roots. The subject of an intransitive verb is prototypically marked by zero case. Brokpa has both S = O and A = S ambitransitive verbs.

Transitive verbs can further be divided into volitional and non-volitional verbs. A volitional intransitive verb can have an imperative form, while a non-volitional intransitive verb cannot be used in the imperative. Furthermore, the S argument of a volitional intransitive verb may optionally take control marking.

Finally, the chapter also looked at the association between semantic roles and syntactic functions of the verbs from different semantic types. The semantic types of verbs include MOTION, REST, AFFECT, GIVING, THINKING, DECIDING, CORPOREAL, ATTENTION, SPEAKING, LIKING, and ANNOYING. Some of these semantic types of verbs have several subtypes.

Chapter 5

Adjectives and adverbs

Brokpa has a large open class of adjectives, potentially hundreds of members including monomorphemic and derived forms. Adverbs in Brokpa can be recognized as a semi-open class. Adverbs can be derived from other word classes, mainly from adjectives and cannot be listed exhaustively but the class of adverbs is much smaller than the major open classes (nouns, adjectives, verbs). Section 5.1 discusses adjectives, §5.2 adverbs, and §5.3 provides a brief summary of the chapter.

5.1 The adjective class

Dixon (2004) notes that, in many languages, the class of adjectives is considerably smaller than the noun class, and also much smaller than the verb class. In Brokpa too the class of adjectives is much smaller than the class of nouns. However, adjectives in Brokpa form an open word class. There is a substantial number of monomorphemic adjectives. New members can be added through the morphological processes of affixation, compounding, and reduplication. As will be shown later, most nouns can potentially be converted into adjectives using a host of word-class-changing derivational suffixes. In terms of size, the class of adjectives can be the same as the class of verbs in Brokpa, when all the monomorphemic and the derived members are put together.

Dixon (2010b:63-114) sets out four types of adjectives cross-linguistically: 1) adjectives with grammatical properties similar to those of verbs; 2) adjectives with grammatical properties similar to those of nouns; 3) adjectives combining some of

the grammatical properties of nouns with some of those of verbs; and 4) adjectives with grammatical properties different from either nouns or verbs. Brokpa has type 4, adjectives with different properties from nouns or verbs.

In some languages with closed adjective class, words in the HUMAN PROPENSITY type are said to be described by nouns, and those in the PHYSICAL PROPERTY type by verbs (see Dixon 1977b, 1982, 2010b). In Brokpa, all words associated with these two semantic types are described by adjectives.

As noted in Chapter 4, adjectives in Brokpa share certain grammatical properties with nouns such as taking the markers of case, number, and definiteness. Furthermore, adjectives share certain grammatical properties with verbs such as taking the marker of negation. But there are properties which are unique to a particular word class. Adjectives may share roots with nouns and/or verbs, but they show different derivations, certain different inflections, and have different functions.

The number of monomorphemic adjectives is much smaller than that of adjectives derived from verbs or from nouns in Brokpa. There are also fewer monomorphemic adjectives than monomorphemic verbs in Brokpa, which appears to be a cross-linguistic tendency (see Dixon 2010b:63). Table 34 gives examples of monomorphemic adjectives from different semantic types in Brokpa.

Brokpa has an impressive number of monomorphemic adjectives, which cannot be analysed as a root plus an affix, or a compound. In my corpus collected thus far, there are fifty-five members which are monomorphemic. Note that the list provided in Table 34 is by no means exhaustive. As noted above, new adjectives can be derived productively from nouns and verbs. In terms of grammatical properties, the monomorphemic adjectives and the derived ones do not differ.

Section 5.1.1 discusses the morphological properties of adjectives including inflections and derivations, and §5.1.2 their syntactic properties. Section 5.1.3 briefly looks at negating adjectives, and finally §5.1.4 examines the semantic contents of adjectives in Brokpa.

Table 34. Monomorphemic adjectives by semantic types in Brokpa

SEMANTIC TYPE	EXAMPLE
DIMENSION	*tompo* 'short', *ɾ̥amo* 'thin', *girku* 'round', *tulumba* 'round', *bombo* 'big', *tɕʰuŋku* 'little, small'
AGE	*ʈeloŋ* 'young', *sarbo* 'new', *gaʈpu* 'old' (M), *ganmu* 'old' (F)
VALUE	*ʔeɕin* 'nice', *yakpo* 'good', *ʔintɕu* 'beautiful'
COLOUR	*karbo* 'white', *nakpo* 'black', *márbo* 'red', *serbo* 'yellow', *ŋónbo* 'blue', *tʰiŋ* 'blue', *kʰambu* 'brown', *dʑaŋku* 'green', *tɕʰakpo* 'light'
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	*kakter* 'hard', *kʰarakpa* 'quiet', *tsʰanmu* 'fresh', *kʰʲapʰu* 'cool', *ɲaʂɲos* 'spongy', *ɲalɲol* 'oily, slippery'
HUMAN PROPENSITY	*ɕaŋbu* 'clever', *sebu* 'clever', *ɖaŋbo* 'honest', *tanbu* 'reliable', *gokpu* 'cruel', *ɲalɲi*l 'apathetic'
SPEED	*guibu* 'slow', *galu* 'slow', *hamtala* 'sudden'
DIFFICULTY	not found in the corpus
VOLITION	not found in the corpus
QUALIFICATION	*taktak* 'definite', *ŋoto* 'true', *sumto* 'true', *tʰatɕæ* 'definite', *tʰatɕæbetɕæ* 'definite', *theribari* 'sure', *ŋónæ* 'certain'
SIMILARITY	*soso* 'different'
QUANTIFICATION	*purtɕin* 'all', *lala* 'some', *ʑepa* 'plenty', *dakʲa* 'abundant', *dʑopdʑop* 'plenty', *ʔotpa* 'plenty', *ʑepakupa* 'plenty', *tʰep* 'extra', *derʑa* 'extra'
POSITION	*keker* 'upright', *gerger* 'upright', *tɕʰarara* 'upright'

5.1.1 Morphological properties

This section examines the morphological properties of adjectives in Brokpa. Section 5.1.1.1 discusses comparative and superlative suffixes, which are only associated with adjectives, and §5.1.1.2 other inflections, which are shared with nouns, but applied to adjectives including case, number, definiteness, and genitive. Section 5.1.1.3 deals with reduplication of adjectives, and §5.1.1.4 with derivation of adjectives by compounding. Section 5.1.1.5 is on derivation of adjectives via affixation, §5.1.1.6 deriving adjectives from other adjectives (non-word-class-changing) involving compounding and affixation, and finally §5.1.1.7 discusses formation of nouns based on adjectives.

5.1.1.1 Comparative and superlative suffixes

Adjectives in Brokpa take morphological marking of index of comparison when they occur as a parameter of comparison. There are two contrasting suffixes, comparative and superlative. The adjectives in comparative constructions are shown by the suffixes *-ɕo*, *-ts^{h}a(r)ɕo*, e.g. *sar-ɕo* 'new-COMPAR', *kaktar-ts^{h}aɕo* 'hard-COMPAR'. Adjectives also take the superlative suffix - *da* (and its allomorphs,*-ta* and *-t^{h}a*), e.g. *bom-da* 'big-SUPER', *d^{ɦ}uk-ta* 'old-SUPER', *dʑok-t^{h}a* 'quick-SUPER'. The suffix *-kyaŋ* which implies intensification of quality is also used as a superlative strategy, e.g. *r̥ap-kyaŋ* 'thin-SUPER'.

The marking of comparative and superlative suffixes on adjectives serves as a useful criterion for distinguishing adjectives from other word classes in Brokpa. Examples of how the morphological marking of comparative and superlative index are provided in §5.1.2.3.

The suffix *-ɕo* (cf. <shos> in Old Tibetan) is found in Dzongkha, and other Bodish languages. In Dzongkha, the suffix *-ɕo* marks superlative construction (see also van Driem 1998; van Driem and Tshering 2019:125). It is probably the same in

other Bodish languages. Brokpa has innovated the superlative suffix *-da*. Since Brokpa innovated a superlative suffix, the suffix *-ɕo*, which marks superlative construction in other Bodish languages, is used as the marker of comparative construction.

The superlative suffix *-da* in Brokpa appears to be from the morpheme *dakpa* 'pure' as in *námpar dakpa* (or its contracted form *námdak*) 'completely pure' which is the same as Classical Tibetan <rnam par dag pa>.

Furthermore, Brokpa uses the intensification marker *-kyaŋ* as a superlative strategy. This marker of intensification in Brokpa is cognate with the Classical Tibetan morpheme <kyang>. In Classical Tibetan, <kyang> has the meaning of 'also', 'too', and 'yet more'. In Classical Tibetan, the morpheme <kyang> is used in contrastive clause linking with meanings similar to 'although', 'nevertheless', 'even though'; or in conditional clause with meanings 'if', 'even if', etc. The Brokpa suffix *-kyaŋ* can also be used as a clause linker, but in Brokpa it has the primary function of marker intensification and/or superlative strategy. Table 35 gives examples of adjectives in their comparative and superlative forms.

Table 35. Brokpa adjectives in comparative and superlative forms

BARE FORM	MEANING	COMPARTIVE	SUPERLATIVE
r̥amo	'thin'	*r̥ap-ɕo*	*r̥ap-ta, r̥ap-kyaŋ*
tompo	'short'	*tom-ɕo*	*tom-da, tom-kyaŋ*
kʰeu	'cheap'	*kʰe-ɕo*	*kʰe-da, kʰe-kyaŋ*
dʑokpʰo	'quick'	*dʑok-ɕo*	*dʑok-tʰa, dʑok-kyaŋ*
guibu	'slow'	*gui-ɕo*	*gui-da, gui-kyaŋ*
sarbo	'new'	*sar-ɕo*	*sar-da, sar-kyaŋ*

The final syllable of an adjectival root may be omitted, as in *tompo* → *tom-,* or a diphthong may undergo monophthongization, as in *kʰeu* → *kʰe-*, before the suffixation of comparative or superlative is applied. In some cases, the coda consonant from the root may be replaced by another consonant, as in *r̥amo* → *r̥ap-*.

Although the suffix *-kyaŋ* is used (as a strategy) to mark superlative constructions when applied to some adjectival roots, there are many monomorphemic adjectives ending in the morpheme *-kyaŋ*. The adjectives which contain this fossilized marker do not take further comparative or superlative markers, **kʰakyaŋ-ɕo*, 'pure (metal)-COMPAR'. This morpheme cannot be used with other word classes. The emphatic marker *=ye* can be used with nouns and verbs, but *-kyaŋ* is used only with adjectives. Some nouns may end in the same segment, e.g. *kurkyaŋ* 'scream/cry', but such nouns are non-segmentable, as is the case with the monomorphemic adjectives ending in *-kyaŋ*.

The suffix *-kyaŋ* brings about a semantic effect of 'intensification'.[1] The meaning of *-kyaŋ* as 'intensifier' is expressed only on adjectives. Examples include:

(150) a. muzu ʔani ʔadʑaŋ yak-**kyaŋ** yona
other aunt uncle good-SUPER EXIST.FACT
'They, aunty and uncle, are excellent/the best (people)'

b. danu=ye lú maŋ-**kyaŋ** ɲor-go ʑu-yo
again=EMPH song many-SUPER sing-OBLIG say:HON-EGO
'I say that you must again sing several songs'

c. golam yin-ne=ye sarbu-sar-**kyaŋ**=raŋ gon=næ
clothes COP.EGO-COND=EMPH new~new-SUPER=FOC wear=SEQ

ɖo-go-pʰi-na
go-OBLIG-NOMZ-FACT
'Even the clothes, you must wear a brand new ones'

As noted above, the suffix *-kyaŋ* occurs with verbs and serves as a clause linker 'even if', 'although', etc. Examples include:

[1] In order to streamline the glosses, the same gloss is given to all the occurrences in each environment as appropriate.

(151) a. ɕar-tɕʰoʔ riwo tʰo-**kyaŋ** ɲi-zer kak-sa
east-direction mountain rise-even.if sun-rays obstruct-NOMZ

mindu
NEG.COP-DIRECT
'Even if the eastern mountain rises up high, it cannot obstruct the sunshine'

b. pʰama ku ŋo tsan-**kyaŋ** lænʈo
father.mother body:HON identity be.powerful-even.if karma.fortune

kak-sa mindu
obstruct-NOMZ NEG.COP-DIRECT
'Even if the personalities of the parents are dominant, they cannot obstruct the karmic fortune (of their children)'

A mono-clausal comparative construction in which the Parameter of comparison is modified by the index marker *-ɕo*, compares two participants. This is, what (Dixon 2008) calls a 'prototypical comparative scheme'. The marker *-ɕo* makes a bipartite categorization. A comparative construction involving the superlative form of an adjective, shown with the suffix *-da*, relates to the system of making tripartite categorization. When the Parameter is modified by the index marker *-da*, the participants or entities are compared in terms of three degrees of gradable properties— the unmarked form, the comparative form, and the superlative form (see §5.1.2.3 for examples).

5.1.1.2 Other inflections applied to adjectives

Adjectives can take the markers of inflectional categories associated with nouns include case, number, definiteness, and genitive marker. When an adjective takes the marker(s) of these categories within an NP, their value is determined by the head of an NP which is usually a noun. This is one difference between adjectives and nouns. Note that an adjective can also form an NP and take these inflectional markers on its own. Examples of adjectives taking the case and the genitive marker within an NP are in (152a) and (152b):

(152) a. mí **ʑonbo=ge** **gatpu=la** ʑapto ʔeɕin
person young=ERG old=DAT service nice

ʑu-go-k^{h}yu-na
serve:HON-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'The young people will have to treat the old ones well'

b. k^{h}o=di Rinchen=gi bomo **tɕ^{h}uŋ-da=gi** makpa
3SG.MASC=DEF Rinchen=GEN daughter small-SUPER=GEN husband

na
COP.FACT
'He is the husband of Rinchen's youngest daughter'

The adjective *ʑonbo* 'young' takes the ergative case *=ge*, and the adjective *gatpu* 'old' takes the dative marker *=la* in the extended transitive clause in (152a). Note that the Recipient role in E function is realized by the adjective, marked by the dative *=la*, without the head noun. In the genitive marker *=gi* applies directly to the adjective in the superlative form *tɕ^{h}uŋ-da* (small-super) 'youngest'. If there is no modifying adjective within the NP, save for the adjective occurring as NP on its own, the case marker and the genitive marker will attach directly to the head noun.

Furthermore, adjectives take grammatical number marking within an NP as in (153a), and discourse category of focus marking in (153b):

(153) a. mi ʈeloŋ **doriri=baʔ** purtɕin ts^{h}ur=la yoŋ=næ...
person young healthy=PL all this.side=ALL come=SEQ
'All young and healthy people came to this side...'

b. p^{h}a=la tɕ^{h}aŋ halam **maŋbo=raŋ**
there=ALL distilled.liquor almost lot=EMPH

k^{h}er-go-k^{h}u-na
take-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'We have to take quite a lot of drinks there'

The rules for the placement of these grammatical modifiers are the same as those for case, in that if there are no modifiers within an NP then the number marker and the emphatic marker will be applied directly to the head noun.

An example of an adjective taking the indefinite marker within an NP is in (154a), and that of taking the definite marker within an NP is in (154b):

(154) a. ta **márbo=ʐi?** yar-ki
horse red=INDEF run-IMPERV
'A red horse is running'

b. mí **tɕʰukpu=di** sönam-tɕan yin
person rich=DEF luck-ADJ COP.EGO
'The rich people are lucky'

The system of case marking or marking of any inflectional category in Brokpa does not directly provide a criterion for distinguishing adjectives from nouns. However, an adjective and a noun can be distinguished on the basis of several other properties including their functional slots within an NP. Adjectives always follow the head noun within an NP. If there are two or more lexemes within an NP, the leftmost one will be a noun and the one immediately following it will potentially be an adjective.

5.1.1.3 Reduplicating adjectives

There are two types of reduplication associated with adjectives in Brokpa. One is full or partial reduplication. The other is inherent reduplication. Morphological reduplication of an adjective, full or partial, in Brokpa creates a semantic effect of intensity or intensification of quality, as is typically the case cross-linguistically (see Dixon 2010b:79; Aikhenvald 2015a:87). Typically, adjectives from the DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, AGE, COLOUR semantic types, and a few members from the VALUE semantic type can undergo full reduplication. Table 36 gives examples of full reduplication of adjectives indicating intensity in Brokpa.

Table 36. Full reduplication of adjectives indicating intensity in Brokpa

ADJECTIVE ROOT	MEANING	REDUPLICATED STEM	MEANING
bombo	'big'	*bombo~bombo*	'very big'
ɻamo	'thin'	*ɻamo~ɻamo*	'very thin'
kaktar	'tough'	*kaktar~kaktar*	'very tough'
ganmu	'old' (female)	*ganmu~ganmu*	'very old'
ɲíŋbu	'old' (things)	*ɲíŋbu~ɲíŋbu*	'very old'
márbo	'red'	*márbo~márbo*	'very red'

When the reduplication of an adjective is partial, the first part of the adjectival stem is repeated. Table 37 gives examples of partial reduplication of adjectives, also indicating intensity.

Table 37. Partial reduplication of adjectives in Brokpa

ADJECTIVAL ROOT	MEANING	REDUPLICATED STEM	MEANING
ŋarmu	'sweet'	*ŋarmu~ŋar-kyaŋ*	'extremely sweet'
tsaŋma	'clean'	*tsaŋma~tsaŋ-da*	'spotlessly clean'
yakpo	'good'	*yakpo~yak-kyaŋ*	'extremely good'
ɖaŋbo	'honest'	*ɖaŋbo~ɖaŋ-kyaŋ*	'absolutely honest'
kitpu	'peaceful'	*kitpu~kit-kyaŋ*	'blissfully peaceful'

As can be seen in Table 37, in the partial reduplication of an adjective the first part of the root that is the CVC sequence, is repeated and the repeated form takes the superlative suffix. The partially reduplicated form with the superlative suffix has the semantic effect of the highest quality or degree.

Note that the same adjectival root can undergo both full and partial reduplication. For example, full reduplication is applied to the adjective *ɲíŋbu* 'old' in Table 36. This same adjective can undergo partial reduplication, like the ones in Table 37, as in *níŋbu~níŋ~kyaŋ* (old~old-SUPER) 'oldest/extremely old'. The difference is in terms of intensity or degree, with the full reduplication creating a semantic effect of 'very' and the partial reduplication plus the superlative suffix creating a semantic effect of the highest quality or degree such as the meaning of 'oldest'.

Table 38 gives examples of inherently reduplicated adjectives.

Table 38. Inherent reduplication of adjectives in Brokpa

FORM	**MEANING**
tsiliŋ~tsiliŋ	'clinking (sound)'
teŋke~teŋke	'crashing (sound)'
tsik~tsik	'pattering (sound)'
talaŋ~iliŋ	'clattering (sound)'
dur~dur	'peal (of thunder)'
prak~prak	'roll (of thunder)'
ɻak~ɻak	'crack (of lightning)'

Almost all inherently reduplicated adjectives are onomatopoeic words (see Dixon 2004 for a discussion on reduplication of adjectives). Note that onomatopoeic words typically describe the sound of something, and are subsumed under the open class of adjectives in Brokpa. The onomatopoeic words in Brokpa cannot be listed exhaustively.

Note that the morphological process of reduplication in Brokpa always creates one grammatical word, as is the case cross-linguistically (see Dixon 2010b:13; Aikhenvald 2015a:77). A reduplicated stem has common inflections, as in (155):

(155) Merak ɻak^{h}aŋ=di **ɲíŋbu~ɲíŋ-kyaŋ=ʑi?=raŋ** yinda
Merak temple=DEF old~old-SUPER=INDEF=EMPH COP.MIR
'The Merak temple is one of the oldest'

In (155), the reduplicated stem *ɲíŋbu~ɲíŋ-kyaŋ* 'oldest' takes the indefinite marker *=ʑi?*, followed by the emphatic marker *=raŋ*, together. The adjectival root and the reduplicated part cannot take inflections separately, **ɲíŋbu=ʑi?~ɲíŋ-kyaŋ=ʑi?*.

In terms of phonological wordhood, recall from Chapter 3 that reduplication in Brokpa can be divided into cohering reduplication and non-cohering reduplication.

As discussed there, a non-cohering reduplication typically consists of two or phonological words, while the cohering ones form one phonological word. Typically, full reduplication of adjectives are non-cohering, while inherently reduplicated ones are of the cohering type.

5.1.1.4 Deriving adjectives by compounding

An adjective can be formed by a compound of two or more lexical roots. Typically the first component of an adjectival compound is a noun and the second an adjective. The adjective may have undergone affixation before the compounding process was applied.

An adjectival compound formed by two or more roots constitutes one grammatical word. As with reduplication, an adjective formed by compounding can be cohering or non-cohering. Cohering adjective compounds form one phonological word, while non-cohering ones form more than one phonological words (see Chapter 3). The first component of an adjectival compound cannot be inflected or modified, and the resulting compound is of the same word class as its final component.

An adjective formed by two roots in which the first is a noun and the second an adjective in Brokpa is an 'exocentric compound', in which the compound denotes something which is different from either of the components (see Aikhenvald 2007 on types of compounds). Table 39 gives some adjectives formed by compounding a noun and an adjective.

Table 39. Compound adjectives formed by noun and adjective in Brokpa

COMPOUND ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING
gyuiɕin + *dukpu*	attitude + poor	'morose'
samba + *nakpo*	thought + black	'wicked'
sem + *ʈʰaŋbu*	mind + straight	'honest'
sem + *ŋabu*	mind + bad	'dishonest'
ɲim + *ɦio-ʑin*	sun + ray-ADJ	'sunny'

In an N + ADJ1 = ADJ2, the ADJ1 can also be derived from other word classes by means of affixation. For example, in *ɲim* + *ɦo-ʑin* (sun + ray-ADJ) 'sunny', the adjective *ɦo-ʑin* is derived by adding the adjectival suffix *-ʑin* to the nominal root *ɦo* 'ray'. In other words, an affixation may have applied before the process of compounding.

The adjective *tɕʰetpo* 'big' can form compounds with nouns, and derive new adjectives. Note that the adjective *tɕʰetpo* may be on a grammaticalization pathway towards becoming an adjectival suffix because it is less frequent as a lexical adjective. It is developing into an augmentative marker. Synchronically, there is evidence of it functioning as an independent adjective, and the morphological process of deriving new adjectives by adding *tɕʰetpo* to nouns is better described as compounding than affixation. Table 40 gives examples of adjectives formed by compounding a noun plus the adjective *tɕʰetpo*.

Table 40. Compound adjectives formed by noun plus the adjective *tɕʰetpu* in Brokpa

COMPOUND ADJECTIVE	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
kʰaʔ + *tɕʰetpo*	importance + big	important'
ɲaŋan + *tɕʰetpo*	worry + big	'mournful'
lúŋtsʰup + *tɕʰetpo*	storm + big	'stormy'
kaɖin + *tɕʰetpo*	gratitude + big	'grateful'
pʰredo + *tɕʰetpo*	jealousy + big	'jealous'

An example showing an adjective, formed by a compound of a noun and the adjective *tɕʰetpu* forming an NP in CC function is in (156a), and an example in which *tɕʰetpu* occurs as an independent adjective, modifying a noun, is in (156b):

(156) a. tsʰe ŋáme=i læ ta-go-pʰi **kʰaʔ+tɕʰetpo** na
life previous karma see-OBLIG-NOMZ importance+big COP.FACT
'It is crucial that the karma of the previous life is discerned'
Lit. 'Discerning previous life's karma is crucial'

b. kʰyo = raŋ = gi mi + tsʰe naŋ = la kyen **tɕʰetpo = ʑi?**
2SG = EMPH = GEN person + life RELAT:INSD = LOC obstacle big = INDEF

tu?
EXIST.DIRECT
'You have a big burden (to bear)'
Lit. 'There is a big obstacle on you'

In (156a), the compound adjective *kʰa? + tɕʰetpu* (importance + big) 'crucial', formed by a compound of the noun *kʰa?* 'importance' and the adjective *tɕʰetpu* 'big', is in CC function. Note that the argument in the CS function in (156a) is a nominalized complement clause. In (156b), *tɕʰetpu* is functioning as a lexical modifier of the noun *kyen* 'obstacle'.

5.1.1.5 Deriving adjectives by affixation

Derived adjectives in Brokpa fall into two subclasses: adjectives derived from nouns, and adjectives derived from verbs. Monomorphemic adjectives were introduced in §5.1.

5.1.1.5.1 Adjectives from nouns

Adjectives can be derived from nouns with a number of suffixes including *-tɕan, -ʑin, -tsʰau,* and *-zan*. These adjectival suffixes are heavy syllables, with the CVC syllable structure. The suffixes deriving adjectives from nouns can also be of the disyllabic CVCV syllable structure such as *-dukpu*. Further types of suffixes deriving adjectives from nouns include inherently reduplicated forms such as *-tɕʰemtɕʰem*. These adjectival suffixes are quite different from the suffixes marking grammatical systems associated with verbs, which are typically monosyllabic and light syllables. The adjective-deriving suffixes have lexical origins. Some of them may retain their original lexical meaning, but also function as a adjective-derivational suffix, e.g. *-tsʰau* and *-dukpu*. The other adjectival suffixes such as *-tɕan, -ʑin,* and *-zan* have lost their lexical status.

Since it is hard to assign general meaning to each adjectival suffix, they are all referred to by the common label 'adjectival suffix' and glossed 'ADJ'.

The adjectival suffix *-tɕan*:

The suffix *-tɕan* has the meaning of 'having', 'possessing', or 'containing', and can be posited as 'X-having' in which X is a noun. A compassionate person is *ɲíŋʑi-tɕan* 'compassion-having', and a greedy one *dʱöba-tɕan* 'greed-containing'. One who is lucky is *sönam-tɕan* 'luck-possessing'. Table 41 gives more examples of adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-tɕan*.

Table 41. Adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-tɕan*

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
ʔapsu-tɕan	merit-ADJ	'meritorious'
pʰredo-tɕan	jealousy-ADJ	'jealous'
zuk-tɕan	body-ADJ	'solid'
rikpa-tɕan	intelligence-ADJ	'intelligent'
gukor-tɕan	deception-ADJ	'dishonest'
ʈowa-tɕan	enjoyment-ADJ	'enjoyable'
kʰadʑe-tɕan	fortune-ADJ	'fortunate'

An example of adjective derived from noun with the suffix *-tɕan* in a modifier function is in (157):

(157) lala = e kʰo = raŋ te ɲíŋʑi-**tɕan** den pʰam
some = ERG 3.PL = FOC PART compassion-ADJ then parents

lala = e = kʰe ŋúi = næ...
some = ERG = ERG cry = SEQ
'Some parents, the compassionate ones, cry...'

The suffix *-tɕan* can be added to compound noun stems and derive adjectives, e.g. *sem* + *ɕuk-tɕan* (mind + force-ADJ) 'motivated', *raŋ-tʰoŋ-tɕan* (self + seeing-ADJ) 'proud'. With some adjectives, the suffix *-tɕan* has become an inseparable part of the root, e.g. *doptɕan* 'stubborn' in which the segment *-dop*, if separated, does not have any precise

meaning. The suffix *-tɕan* in Brokpa is cognate with <can> in Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha.

The adjectival suffix*-ʑin/-ɕin*:

The adjectival suffix *-ʑin* or *-ɕin* has, more or less, the same meaning as the suffix *-tɕan*. Classical Tibetan has a morpheme <bzhin> meaning 'like' or 'similar to' which can derive adjectives from nouns. Although the Brokpa adjectival suffix *-ʑin* resembles the Classical Tibetan <bzhin>, the meaning of the suffix *-ʑin* in Brokpa is more similar to its suffix *-tɕan* than to the Classical Tibetan <bzhin>. Table 42 provides examples of adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-ʑin* in Brokpa.

Table 42. Adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-ʑin* in Brokpa

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING
baŋ-ʑin	atrocity-ADJ	'atrocious'
bro-ʑin	taste-ADJ	'delicious'
kʰaː-ʑin	importance-ADJ	'important, necessary'
kʰa-ʑin	mouth-ADJ	'verbose/talkative'
ɦoː-ʑin	light-ADJ	'luminous'
ɖin-ʑin	gratitude-ADJ	'thankful'
ŋom-ʑin	satisfaction-ADJ	'proud/snobbish'
tam-ʑin	fame-ADJ	'popular'
tsa-ʑin	value-ADJ	'solemn'

An example of an adjective derived from a noun with the suffix *-ʑin* forming an NP is in (158):

(158) mí=di násmeti **ʑa-ʑin**=ʑi? tu
person=DEF very.much charisma-ADJ=INDEF EXIST.DIRECT
'The person is a charismatic one'

The derived adjective *ʑa-ʑin* 'charismatic' in (158) forms an NP on its own in CC function indicating Attribution semantic relation.

The adjectival suffix *-tsʰau*:

Adjectives can be derived from nouns with the suffix *-tsʰau*. Brokpa has the verb root *tsʰa* meaning 'to have a burning pain or sensation', 'to heat up', etc. This verb root can form compounds with nouns with idiomatic meaning, as in *ŋo + tsʰa* (face + heat.up) 'to be embarrassed'. It is not clear whether the adjectival suffix *-tsʰau* is from the verb root *tsʰa*. As an adjective-derivational suffix, *-tsʰau* typically adds a sense of 'good at X', in which the X is a noun. Note that this sense does not apply to some adjectives derived with this suffix such as *kʰa-tsʰau* (mouth-ADJ) 'hot, spicy', *ná-tsʰau* (nose-ADJ) 'noisy'. Typically, the suffix *-tsʰau* 'good at' is used mostly for deriving negative adjectives and is like 'being good at (a bad thing)'. Table 43 gives examples of adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-tsʰau* in Brokpa.

Table 43. Adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-tsʰau* in Brokpa

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING
námtoː-tsʰau	superstition-ADJ	'superstitious'
nótpa-tsʰau	harm-ADJ	'harmful'
ʔutsʰu-tsʰau	pushiness-ADJ	'pushy'
yóbgyur-tsʰau	cunningness-ADJ	'cunning'
kʰa-tsʰau	mouth-ADJ	'spicy, hot'
ná-tsʰau	ear-ADJ	'noisy'
mík-tsʰau	eye-ADJ	'jealous'

An example of an adjective derived from a noun with the suffix *-tsʰau* occurring as a modifier within an NP is in (159):

(159) mo mí **yóbyur-tsʰau** = ʑiʔ = kʰi ɦog = la
3SG.FEM person cunningness-ADJ = INDEF = GEN RELAT:UNDS = LOC

tsʰui-duʔ
get.in-DIRECT
'She has fallen prey to a cunning person'

The adjectival suffix *-zan*:

Adjectives can be derived from nouns with the suffix *-zan*, e.g. *tɕʰaŋ-zan* (alcohol-ADJ) 'alcoholic', *gyob-zan* (sex-ADJ) 'sexy'. The suffix *-zan* is from the adjectival lexeme *zanbu* meaning 'active' or 'mischievous'. The derivation of adjectives with this suffix is not very productive. Note that this suffix *-zan* is not related to the noun *zan* 'cooked flour', which also appears in compound nouns such as *l̥aŋ* + *zan* (steam + cooked.dough) 'steamed dumpling' or *kam* + *zan* (dry-cooked.dough) 'dried food (food without curry)'. It is also not the same as the final syllable *-zan* found in some monomorphemic nouns such as *yamzan* 'awe'. This suffix is found in Dzongkha with the same function, that of deriving adjectives from nouns

The adjectival suffix *-min*

Negative adjectives in Brokpa can be derived using the suffix *-min*, which has grammaticalized from the negative copula *min*. Note that the negative copula *min* is used to negate nouns and NPs syntactically, as in *kʰo Sangay min* (3SG.MASC Sangay NEG.COP) 'He is not Sangay'. However, with certain noun roots, this negative copula functions as a grammaticalized adjective-derivational suffix. Table 44 provides examples of adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *min*.

Table 44. Adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *-min* in Brokpa

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
ʔintɕu-min	beautiful-NEG.COP	'unattractive'
tsʰul-min	manner-NEG.COP	'unconventional, immoral'
ɦioː-min	light-NEG.COP	'pale/dim'
zopta-min	looks-NEG.COP	'not good-looking'

An example of an adjective derived from a noun with the suffix *-min* modifying the head noun in an NP is in (160):

(160) [laika **ts^{h}ul-min**]NP:O maŋbo gya-na ɕi-li kap=la yakpo
work manner-ADJ many do-COND die-NOMZ RELAT:MOM=LOC good

mi-yoŋ
NEG-come
'If you engage in many immoral activities, it will not be good when you die'
Lit. 'If you do many manner-less works, good will not come (your way) while dying'

The subject argument is not overtly stated in (160). The derived adjective *ts^{h}ul-min* (manner-ADJ) 'immoral' directly modifies the noun *laika* 'work/activity' within the NP in O function.

The inherently reduplicated suffixes deriving adjectives from nouns:

Adjectives in Brokpa can be derived from nouns with some inherently reduplicated suffixes. They are typically disyllabic and can be non-cohering if the root to which they attach is more than two syllables. No clear meaning can be attributed to these inherently reduplicated suffixes, but they still have some meaning which they impart to the stem from which they derive adjectives. The inherently reduplicated adjective-derivational suffixes include *-tɕ^{h}emtɕ^{h}em, -lamlam, -sasa, -saŋsaŋ, -wanwaŋ*. These suffixes are shared with Dzongkha. In fact, Dzongkha may have more of such suffixes than Brokpa. Some of these suffixes can also derive adjectives from verb roots (§5.1.1.5.2). Table 45 gives examples of adjectives derived from nouns with inherently reduplicated suffixes.

Table 45. Adjectives derived from nouns with inherently reduplicated suffixes in Brokpa

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING
ʈ^{h}a-tɕ^{h}emtɕ^{h}em	stripe-ADJ	'bright'
ʈ^{h}a-lamlam	-	'vivid, radiant'
d^{ɦ}aŋsaŋsaŋ	-	'complete'

As noted earlier, some adjectives, despite ending in the same form as an adjective-derivational suffix, are non-segmentable, e.g. *ʈʰalamlam* 'vivid, radiant', *dʱaŋsaŋsaŋ* 'completely'. An example of adjective, derived from noun with an inherently reduplicated suffix, occurring as a modifier of the head noun within an NP is in:

(161) ŋa=e ŋa=i kʰyim=gi ʔam=la [sordep
1SG=ERG 1SG=GEN house=GEN lady=DAT ring

ɦio:-tɕʰemtɕʰem=ʑi?]NP:GIFT:O ɲo-pʰi
light-ADJ=INDEF buy-PERV
'I bought a glittering ring for my wife'
Lit. 'I bought a glittering ring for the lady of my house'

In (161) the adjective derived from the noun *ɦio:* 'light/ray' with the inherently reduplicated suffix *-tɕʰemtɕʰem* occurs as the lexical modifier of the noun *sordep* 'ring' within the O NP, which is the Gift role.

5.1.1.5.2 Adjectives from verbs

Brokpa has many adjectives derived from verb roots. An adjective, derived from a verb root, and a lexical verb show different inflections and occupy different syntactic functions within the clause. The suffixes that derive adjectives from verbs include *-pu ~ po, -pʰu~pʰo , -bu~bo, -ku~ko, -mu~mo, -u,* etc. Note that the final segment of some adjectives are the same as these suffixes, even though they are not derived from verbs, e.g. *yakpo* 'good', *renbo* 'well', *ŋármu* 'sweet', which were introduced as monomorphemic or zero-derived adjectives in §5.1.1.

The adjectival suffix *-pu ~ -po, -bu ~ -bo, -ku ~ -kʰu, -u*

Adjectives can be derived from verbs with one of these suffixes *-pu ~ -po, -bu ~ -bo, -ku ~ -kʰu, -u.* These derived adjectives have all the properties of underived ones. Furthermore, no general meaning can be assigned to these suffixes, but the adjectives derived from verbs with these suffixes can be recognised as fully lexicalized. Table 46 gives examples of lexicalized adjectives historically derived from verbs.

Table 46. Lexicalized adjectives historically derived from verbs in Brokpa

VERB ROOT	MEANING	DERIVED ADJECTIVE	MEANING
dʱuk	'to be bad, worsen'	*dʱuk**pu***	'poor, destitute'
kʰya	'to be cold'	*kʰʲa**pʰu***	'cold'
dʑik~ʑik	'to be afraid'	*dʑik**pʰu***	'frightened'
dʑok	'to be fast'	*dʑok**pʰo***	'fast'
ŋan	'to be evil'	*ŋan**bu***	'evil'
ʑim	'to be sweet'	*ʑim**bu***	'sweet'
bom	'to be big'	*bom**bo***	'big'
tʰuŋ	'to be short'	*tʰuŋ**ku***	'short'
tɕʰuŋ	'to be small'	*tɕʰuŋ**ku***	'small'
kʰe	'to be cheap'	*kʰe**u***	'cheap'

Examples of lexicalized adjectives originally derived from verbs modifying the head noun within an NP include:

(162) a. ri **bombo**=di=ge den ɲima ɕar-gya-te...
mountain big=DEF=ERG PART sun block-do-ADV
'The big mountain having blocked the sun...'

b. barbarɕuŋ düse **tʰuŋku**=tɕiʔ=læ mi-yoŋ
sometimes time short=INDEF=ABL.MARK NEG-come
'Sometimes, there will be only a short period of time'
Lit. 'Sometimes, there will be no more than a short time'

In (162a), the adjective *bombo* originally derived from the verb root *bom* 'to be big' is functioning as a modifier of the head noun *ri* 'mountain' within the A NP. Similarly, in (162b) the adjective *tʰuŋku* derived from the verb verb *tʰuŋ* 'to be short' modifies the head noun of a temporal peripheral argument. See further discussions and examples of adjectives derived from verbs with these suffixes in §5.1.2.1.

The inherently reduplicated suffixes deriving adjectives from verbs:

Adjectives can be derived from verbs with inherently reduplicated suffixes such as *-toktok, -sasa, -kʰakʰa, -lamlam*. These suffixes are not very productive. They appear to be occurring with verb roots which are cognate with forms in Dzongkha. Table 47 gives some adjectives derived from verbs with inherently reduplicated suffixes.

Table 47. Adjectives derived from verbs with the inherently reduplicated suffixes in Brokpa

VERB ROOT	MEANING	DERIVED ADJECTIVE	MEANING
kyuk	'to vomit'	*kyuk**sasa***	'nauseating'
ga:	'to be happy'	*ga**toktok***	'breathtaking'
de	'to be comfortable'	*de**toktok***	'comfortable'
yidu-yoŋ	'to like'	*yidu-yoŋ**toktok***	'attractive'
won	'to burst	*won**sasa***	'deafening'
ŋú	'to cry'	*ŋú**sasa***	'close to tears'
ɲik-tɕʰo	'to sleep'	*ɲíktɕʰo**sasa***	'close to sleep, sleepy'
ma-de	'neg-be.comfortable'	*made**kʰakʰa***	'uncomfortable'
zaŋ	'to be good'	*zaŋ**lamlam***	'elegant, relaxed'

Examples of adjectives derived from verbs with inherently reduplicated suffixes include:

(163) a. Sakteng=la tʰaŋ **ga:-toktok** maŋbo=ʑi? yona
Sakteng=LOC flat.land be.happy-ADJ many=INDEF EXIST.COP.FACT
'There are many wonderful flat lands in Sakteng'

b. raŋ=la ŋju: yo-na sa gan tɕʰin-ne=ye
SELF=LOC MONEY EXIST-COND land where go-CNSV=EMPH

zaŋ-lamlam yoŋ-gi
be.good-ADJ come-IMPERV
'If one has money, one will be elegant wherever one goes'

In examples (163a) the adjective derived from verbs with an inherently reduplicated suffix modifies the head noun, *tʰaŋ* 'flat land'. In (163b) the adjective *zaŋlamlam* 'graceful' is forming an NP in CC function denoting Attribution semantic relation.

5.1.1.6 Deriving adjectives from adjectives

New adjective can be derived from other adjectives in Brokpa, an instance of non-word-class-changing derivation. The morphological process involved can be compounding and affixation. This is typically associated with adjectives of the COLOUR semantic type, making it a subclass of adjectives in Brokpa.

Adjectives derived from adjectives through compounding:

Adjectives relating to composite colour terms can be derived from the basic colour terms, also adjectives, through compounding. Table 48 lists examples of composite colour terms formed by compounding two basic colour terms.

Table 48. Colour adjectives derived from basic colour terms through compounding in Brokpa

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING
már + ser	red + yellow	'orange'
már + nak	red + black	'dark red'
kar + ser	white + yellow	'sandy, light yellow'
dʑaŋ + nak	green + black	'dark green'
dʑaŋ + kar	green + white	'pale green'
dʑaŋ + ser	green + yellow	'yellowish green'

Adjectives derived from other adjective through affixation:

Adjectives relating to new colour terms can be derived from other colour terms with some suffixes including *-muʔ, -tɕʰakpo, -tsak*. Similarly, new colour adjectives can be derived from other colour adjectives with inherently reduplicated suffixes.

The colour suffix *-muʔ*:

A basic colour term can take the suffix *-muʔ ,* and form a composite colour term typically describing the hair colour of a person or an animal. The suffix *-muʔ* also adds a sense of intensification to the meaning of a basic colour term. Table 49 gives examples of the composite colour adjectives derived with the suffix *-muʔ*.

Table 49. Colour adjectives derived with the suffix *-mu?* in Brokpa

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING	INTENSIFICATION
már-mu?	red-ADJ	'auburn'	'deep red'
ser-mu?	yellow-ADJ	'chestnut'	'rich yellow'
dʑa-mu?	green-ADJ	'mousy'	'dark green'

The colour suffix *-tɕʰakpo*:

A basic colour term can take the suffix *-tɕʰakpo*, and derive composite colour adjectives with the meaning of 'slightly X', in which X is a colour term. It can also have an entirely new meaning associated with colour. The suffix *-tɕʰakpo* is originally an adjective meaning 'light/pale', but it can potentially be added to most colour terms and derive new colour terms. Table 50 gives examples of composite colour adjectives derived from other adjectives with the suffix *-tɕʰakpo*.

Table 50. Colour terms with morpheme *-tɕʰakpo*

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING
márbo-tɕʰakpo	red-ADJ	'slightly reddish'
ŋónbo-tɕʰakpo	blue-ADJ	'slightly bluish'
dʑaŋgu-tɕʰakpo	green-ADJ	'slightly greenish'

The colour suffix *-tsak*:

Basic colour terms such as *márbo* 'red' and *serbo* 'yellow' can take the colour suffix *-tsak*, after omitting the final syllable before suffixation has applied, and form new colour adjectives including *már-tsak* 'reddish', *ser-tsak* 'yellowish', etc.

The inherently reduplicated colour suffixes:

New colour adjectives can be derived from the basic colour terms with an inherently reduplicated suffix including *-siŋsiŋ, - zimzim, -doŋdoŋ, leŋleŋ, -tsiktsik*, and

-paŋpaŋ. A colour term derived with one of these suffixes is generally used to describe a person's skin colour. Table 51 gives examples of colour adjectives derived from adjectival roots with the inherently reduplicated suffixes.

Table 51. Colour terms derived with the inherently reduplicated suffixes in Brokpa

DERIVED ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	MEANING	INTENSIFICATION
kar-siŋsiŋ	white-ADJ	'fair'	'extremely white'
már-doŋdoŋ	red-ADJ	'florid'	'fiery red'
ŋú-zimzim	blue-ADJ	'dark'	'rather blue'
már-tsitsi	red-ADJ	'sanguine'	'bright red'
ŋó-paŋpaŋ	blue-ADJ	'ghastly'	'pale blue'

5.1.1.7 Formation of nouns based on adjectives

As discussed in §5.1.1.5.1, adjectives can be derived from nouns. On the other hand, adjectives can also serve as sources for deriving nouns. Typically, two adjectives with opposite meanings can be compounded to form a noun. The final syllable from both adjectival roots may be omitted before the compounding process has applied. A compound noun derived in this manner is generally an exocentric compound as can be discerned from the examples in Table 52. Although semantically predictable, a compound of two adjectives denotes a new concept. Table 52 gives a partial listing of nouns formed by compounding two adjectives.

An adjective derived from a noun plus an adjective such as *tʰak* + *riŋbo* (length + long) 'far' can be recursive in that it can further be compounded with another adjective and form new nouns. The first element is a noun, and the second and the third elements are adjectives with opposite meanings, as in *tʰak* + *riŋ* + *tʰuŋ* (distance + long + short) 'distance'. The second and the third components of the compound, *riŋ* and *tʰuŋ*, are from the lexicalized adjectives *riŋbo* 'long' and *tʰuŋbo* 'short'.

Table 52. Two adjectival roots forming nouns in Brokpa

Derived noun	Gloss	Meaning
bom + tɕʰuŋ	big + small	'size'
riŋ + tʰuŋ	long + short	'distance, length'
tʰuk + ɽ̥ap	thick + thin	'thickness'
gar + ɕeŋ	viscous + dilute	'viscosity'
ʑim + ŋar	sweet + strong	'sweetness'
yak + dʱuk	good + bad	'quality'
zaŋ + ŋan	auspicious + evil	'auspiciousness'
maŋ + ɲuŋ	more + less	'quantity'
saː + ɲuŋ	bright + less	'brightness'
dʑi + yaŋ	heavy + light	'weight'
ɲara + kyura	sweet + sour	'taste'
ɽ̥a + ɲuŋ	lasting + less	'durability'
tʰo + man	high + low	'height'
kar + na?	white + black	'complexion, mood'

The colour adjective plus noun compound:

A colour adjective may enter into compounding with a noun, with the colour term preceding the noun, and derive new nouns. Note that an adjective in Brokpa follows the head noun in an NP (see Chapter 10). Table 53 shows examples of nouns formed by a compound of a colour term and a nominal root in Brokpa.

Table 53. Nouns formed by compounding colour term and noun in Brokpa

COLOUR PLUS NOUN	GLOSS	MEANING
kar + tɕʰaŋ	white + liquor	'fermented drinks (not brewed)'
nak + tɕʰaŋ	black + liquor	'brewed liquor'
kar + ɕa	white + meat	'pork'
már + ɕa	red + meat	'beef/yak'

These compound nouns are used as established words in the language.

5.1.2 Syntactic properties of adjectives

Dixon (2004, 2010b:70-73) outlines two major roles that an adjective performs in the grammar of languages: (A) to state a property, and (B) to further specify the referent of a noun. Dixon (2010b) outlines two additional functions that an adjective in some languages may fulfil: (C) to serve as parameter in a comparative construction, and (D) to function like an adverb in further specification of the reference of a verb.

b. [ʔot Hindi=gi ʑap[ʰa]CS násmeti **[ʔeɕin]** *CC*
DEM.PROX Hindi=GEN song very.much nice

tuʔ
COP.EVID:DIRECT
'This Hindi song is extremely nice'

In both (164a) and (164b) the adjectives, shown in bold, are in CC function expressing Attribution semantic relation. Note that the copula subject is not overtly stated in (164a), as it can be recovered from the discourse context.

As pointed out in §5.1.1.5.2, an adjective and an intransitive verb may share the root, as the former can be derived from the latter. Most adjectives derived from verbs are used as lexicalized adjectives. For example, the adjective *zaŋbu* is a lexicalized adjective historically derived from the intransitive verb root *zaŋ* 'to be good'. Consider:

(165) a. takts[ʰ]an **zaŋ**
sign good
'It is a good sign'
Lit. 'Sign will be good'

b. samba **ŋan**
thought bad
'It is a bad thought'
Lit. 'Thought will be bad'

In (165a) and (165b), *zaŋ* and *ŋan* are verbs and not adjectives. These two roots can take most of the markers of grammatical categories associated with verbs. The adjectival forms of the verb roots *zaŋ* and *ŋan* in (165a) and (165b) are *zaŋbu* 'good' and *ŋanbu* 'bad'. These are lexicalized adjectives originally derived from verb roots *zaŋ* 'to be good' and *ŋan* 'to be bad' with the suffix *-bu* ~ *ba*, as in (166a) and (166b):

(166) a. makpa **zaŋbu** bu=i tsap
son-in-law good son=GEN substitute
'A good son-in-law is a son substitute'

b. lá kʰa pub-bi-kʰan dʑuŋ-na
leaf surface turn.downwards-NOMZ = NOMZ:AGTV arise-COND

temre **ŋanba** tsi:
dependent.relation bad consider
'If the leaf is lying face down, it will be considered inauspicious (bad sign)'

An adjective achieves the function of stating a property as a complement within a copula clause and as a complement within a verbless clause (not as predicate). Consider:

(167) a. [ŋa = raŋ = gi ʔaʑi = gi ro:]*S* **[ɕaŋbu]** *VCC*
1.SG = REFL = GEN elder.sister = GEN husband clever
'My own elder sister's husband is clever'

b. ʔupʰi bomo **[kyabtɕʰokpa** = ʑiʔ] *VCC*
DEM.DIST girl gorgeous = INDEF
'That girl is gorgeous'

Both (167a) and (167b) can be copula clauses with a copula predicate in the clause-final position. However, they are also meaningful without a copula, effectively rendering them as verbless clauses.

An adjective in Brokpa occurring as a copula complement does not directly serve to distinguish it from a noun because a noun can also occur as the copula complement as in (168a) and (168b):

(168) a. [ʔoti]*CS* [ŋa = yi **lakpa**]*CC* yin
DEM.PROX 1.SG = GEN hand COP.EGO
'This is my hand'

b. [ʔam = daŋ ʔap ɲi]*CŚ* [raŋ = gi **pʰama**]*CC* na
mother = CNTV father two SELF = GEN parents COP.FACT
'The father and mother are our parents'

An adjective and a noun in copula complement function may be distinguished on the basis of the presence or the absence of pre-modifiers, as is the case with some

languages (see Dixon 2010b:85). In Brokpa, an adjective in CC function can be modified by a pre-modifier whereas a noun cannot be modified by such pre-modifiers. This will be illustrated in the next section.

5.1.2.2 Adjectives as the modifier and the NP head

An adjective functions as a direct modifier of the head noun within an NP. This function as a primary modifier of the head noun, serves as a useful criterion for making a distinction between an adjective and a noun in Brokpa. A noun is essentially a 'referent-introducer' and an adjective gives prominence to it, along the lines of Bhat (1994:30). This distinction applies to Brokpa. The opposite, when an adjective is the head noun (referent-introducer) and the noun is a modifier (prominence-giver), is never the case in Brokpa. Consider:

(169) a. ʔo bomo laika gya-na **lækʰur** **kyakpu**=ʑiʔ
DEM.PROX girl work do-COND responsibility capable=INDEF
'This girl, if she has to work, she is a hardworking (person)'

b. **muzu yóm tɕʰukpu**=ʑiʔ=kʰe láŋ-yoŋ-na
other other rich=INDEF beg-come-COND
'If other rich people come to beg (propose)...'

In both (169a) and (169b) an adjective modifies the head noun, and gives prominence to it. The exact reverse is not possible. For example, **kyakpu lækʰur* in (169a) is ungrammatical.

Note that it is particularly rare for a noun to modify a noun, although not entirely impossible, e.g. *pʰama ku ŋo* 'parents body:HON identity/face = parents in person'.

Brokpa has a number of lexemes including *násmeti, pemasiti, deɕmeti, námesame,* all of which intensify an attribute to an extreme degree. They take on the function of pre-modifiers modifying adjectives, occupying a modifier slot within the verb phrase (see §12.2). They form a subclass of adverbs, referred to as 'degree adverbs' or 'adverbs

of intensity', or simply 'intensifiers' (see §5.2.4). These intensifiers do not directly modify nouns. When an adjective is a copula complement argument, it can be modified by an intensifier such as *násmeti* 'very.much' as in (170a) and (170b):

(170) a. ʔoti **námesame denbu** yona
DEM.PROX extremely true EXIST.COP.FACT
'This is really true'

b. kaitɕʰaŋ=gi ɕæbu=di **násmeti ɲénbu=ʑi**ʔ
Kaichang=GEN description=DEF very.much melodious=INDEF

yo
EXIST.COP.EGO
'There is an extremely melodious description of Kaichang (Gift Drink)'

Therefore, the existence of an intensifier as a pre-modifier in an NP in CC function helps to distinguish an adjective from a noun in Brokpa.

5.1.2.3 Parameter of comparison

An adjective in Brokpa can occur as the parameter of comparison. This syntactic function also serves to distinguish adjectives from nouns. The morphological marking of the index (§5.1.1.1) on an adjective as the parameter of comparison makes the distinction more definite, as in:

(171) a. zo=læ yáʔ ɖak-**ɕo** yin
zo=ABL yak good-COMPAR COP.EGO
'Yak is better than Zo (a cross-bred bull)'

b. gonor gaŋyu naŋ=næ yáʔ ɖak-**ta**
farm.cattle all REL: inside=ABL yak good-SUPER
'Of all the farm cattle, yak is the best'

c. Tashi=læ Lham ɕeː tɕʰe-**ɕo** yin
Tashi=ABL Lham energy big-COMPAR COP.EGO
'Lham is stronger than Tashi'

d. Merak naŋ=næ ɕe: tɕʰe-**da** Lham yin
Merak REL:INSD=ABL energy big-SUPER Lham COP.EGO
'Lham is the strongest from Merak'

The suffix *-ɕo* marks comparative construction in (171a) and (171c), and the suffix *-ta* and *-da* superlative construction in (171b) and (171d), respectively.

5.1.2.4 Adjectives as the predicate head

An adjective can be incorporated into a predicate. The final segment of the adjective root may be omitted before the incorporation has applied. The verb involved in this process is typically a light verb, and derives intransitive predicates with the adjectival component as the head. Consider:

(172) a. ŋi ɲí **gatpu+re:-soŋ**
1.PL two old+become-PERV.DIRECT
'The two of us have aged'
Lit. 'Two of us old-become'

b. mí+ʑi **kon+dʱæ-ti**
person+BASE be.scarce+stay-NOMZ
'Manpower is running short'
Lit. 'Manpower scarce-sitting'

In (172a) the adjective *gatpu* 'old' is incorporated into the complex predicate, as is. In (172b) the adjective *konbu* 'scarce' is incorporated into the verbal word *dʱæ* 'to sit', after omitting the final segment *-bu*. In both, the resulting form functions as an intransitive predicate with the incorporated adjective as the head. In a nutshell, an adjective is verbalized using a light verb. An adjective cannot be a predicate on its own; it has to be first verbalized using a light verb in order to occur in a predicate.

5.1.2.5 Adjectives as the NP head

An adjective can function as the head of an NP in Brokpa. When an adjective functions as the NP head, it can independently take inflections, shared with nouns; that is even

without the head noun. A verb can be head of an NP only through the process of nominalization. Consider:

(173) a. ʔa da yakpo=ʑiʔ tuʔ
INTJ PART good=INDEF EXIST.EGO
'Oh, it is a nice one'

b. da Natshok dets^{h}en naŋ=la [**ʑuk-k^{h}an**
PART Natshok group RELAT:INSD=LOC stay:HON-NOMZ:AGTV

gaŋyu=la] Kuzu.Zangpo=se ʑu-gyu
ALL=DAT Kuzu.Zangpo=QUOT say:HON-FUT.IMPERV
'I would like to wish Kuzu Zangpo (Good Health) to everyone who is in this Natshok group'

In (173a) the adjective *yakpo* 'good' is the head of the NP, and takes the indefinite marker *=ʑiʔ*. In (173b) the the Addressee role is realized by an NP with the nominalized honorific verb, shown in bold, as the head. Just as an adjective has to be first verbalized in order to function as a predicate, a verb has to be first nominalized in order to occur in an NP.

5.1.3 Negating adjectives

Brokpa has two ways of negating adjectives, morphological and syntactic. Some adjectives, such as the ones from the VALUE and SIMILARITY semantic types, are negated morphologically with the prefix *ma-*. Note that there are two prefixes, *ma-* and *mi-*, marking negation on verbs with a clausal scope in Brokpa (see §14.6). Only the prefix *ma-* is used to negate adjectives. Pitch assimilation on a negation marker, a rule in which a high-register verb stem takes the negation prefix with a high pitch (see Chapter 3; also §14.6), applies to adjectives as well.

An adjectival root with the prefix *ma-* forms one grammatical word. When the prefix *ma-* applies to an adjective, it functions like an adjective-derivational prefix deriving negative adjectives from other adjectives. Table 54 provides examples of negative adjectives formed with the prefix *ma-*.

Table 54. Negative adjectives in Brokpa

ADJECTIVE	MEANING	NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE	MEANING
yakpo	'good'	*ma-yakpo*	'bad'
ɖau	'like, similar'	*ma-ɖau*	'different'
deu	'smooth'	*ma-deu*	'rough'
tɕikpu	'same'	*ma-tɕ^{h}ikpu*	'different'
k^{h}ombu	'free'	*má-k^{h}ombu*	'busy'
ʈ^{h}aŋbu	'straight, honest'	*má-ʈ^{h}aŋbu*	'crooked, dishonest'

Note that the term 'negative adjective' in Brokpa does not necessarily carry a negative meaning. Most 'negative adjectives' are formed by prefixing the morpheme *ma-* to an adjectival root. However, the negation morpheme occurs as an infix on certain negative adjectives. For example, the negative forms of the adjectives *ʔeɕin* 'good' and *ʈaɕi* 'auspicious' are *ʔe**ma**ɕin* 'bad', *ʈa**ma**ɕiː* 'inauspicious', respectively. These negative adjectives, despite containing the negative morpheme within them, are non-segmentable. The components *ʔe-* and *-ɕin* in *ʔemaɕin* do not have any meaning, as is the case with the components *ʈa-* and *-ɕi* in *ʈamaɕiː*.

An adjective in the comparative or the superlative form takes the prefix *ma-* in the same way as its bare form, e.g. *ma-yak-ɕo* (NEG-good-COMP) 'worse', *ma-yak-kyaŋ* (NEG-good-SUPER) 'worst'.

An adjective can also be negated syntactically with a negative copula, as in *ʔeɕin man* (good NEG.COP) 'it is not good'. An adjective is negated morphologically in the same way as a verb. Negating an adjective syntactically, by means of a negative copula, is the same as negating a noun.

Note that Brokpa also has the prefix *man-* which marks emphasis/intensification on negated verbs (see §12.3). This same emphatic negative intensifier can be prefixed to a negated adjective, and creates the semantic effect of intensification, as in *man-ma-dau* (NEG.INTENS.-NEG-same) = very/completely different'. This technique of adding the negative emphatic intensifier *man* can also be applied to verbs.

An adjective can be negated with a nominalized negative copula, but the resulting form is like a stand-alone sentence or a condensed clause, e.g. *ta:m man-ni* (permanent NEG.COP-NOMZ) 'temporary/non-permanent'.

5.1.4 Semantic contents of adjectives

Based on Dixon (1977b, 1982, 2004, 2010b), adjectives in Brokpa can be divided into twelve core semantic types: DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, and COLOUR (Set A); PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, and SPEED (Set B); DIFFICULTY, SIMILARITY, QUALIFICATION, QUANTIFICATION, and POSITION (Set C). Some adjectives may belong to more than one semantic type. For example, *kaktar* 'hard' from PHYSICAL PROPERTY in Set B can also mean 'tough' and be under the semantic type of DIFFICULTY in Set C. Table 55 provides the semantic types of Set A adjectives.

Table 55. The semantic content of Set A adjectives in Brokpa

SEMANTIC TYPE	EXAMPLE	SIZE/PRODUCTIVITY
DIMENSION	*ɻamo* 'thin', *tompo* 'short'	11
AGE	*gatpu* 'old', *ʈeloŋ* 'young'	9
VALUE	*ʔeɕin* 'good', *kʰaʑin* 'necessary'	productive derivation
COLOUR	*karbo* 'white', *kʰambo* 'brown'	14

The size or number of members provided in Table 55 is only approximate. Most semantic types can accept new members through derivation. Table 56 provides the semantic contents of Set B adjectives.

Table 56. The semantic content of Set B adjectives in Brokpa

SEMANTIC TYPE	EXAMPLE	SIZE/PRODUCTIVITY
PHYSICAL PROPERTY	*kaktar* 'hard', *ɕukɕin* 'strong'	productive derivation
HUMAN PROPENSITY	*ɕaŋbu* 'clever', *tanbo* 'reliable'	productive derivation
SPEED	*galu* 'slow', *hamtala* 'sudden'	6

Table 57 gives the semantic contents of Set C adjectives. Brokpa tends to have less members under the semantic types in Set C.

Table 57. The semantic content of Set C adjectives in Brokpa

SEMANTIC TYPE	EXAMPLE	SIZE/PRODUCTIVITY
DIFFICULTY	*láu* 'easy', *kau* 'difficult'	4
VOLITION	*ɕe-pʰi-tʰoŋ-ŋai* 'intentional'	not productive
QUALIFICATION	*ŋoto* 'true', *ŋóne* 'certain'	not productive
SIMILARITY	*ɖazin* 'similar', *soso* 'different'	not productive
QUANTIFICATION	*ʑepa* 'abundant', *purtɕin* 'all'	12
POSITION	*yónba* 'left', *tʰonbu* 'high'	9

The adjective class in Brokpa is clearly a major word class consisting of a rather large number of monomorphemic and derived members. New members can be eas-

ily derived from nouns and verbs through all relevant morphological processes, most commonly by affixation. The adjectives derived from nouns share more features with nouns. Adjectives derived from verbs have common properties with verbs, but adjectives share fewer properties with verbs than with nouns. However, adjective also have different inflectional categories, and they show different derivations from either nouns or verbs.

Furthermore, adjectives do not have honorific forms. The absence of honorific forms in adjectives clearly sets them off from nouns and verbs in Brokpa.

5.2 Adverbs

Adverbs in Brokpa are of two types: lexical (underived) and derived. The adverbs in Brokpa cannot be listed exhaustively. The class of adverbs is much smaller than the major open classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Adverbs, particularly the manner adverbs, can be derived from adjectives and nouns. Based on its derivational possibilities, the class of adverbs can be recognized as a semi-open word class in Brokpa.

Adverbs do not take nominal morphology which sets them apart from nouns. Adverbs also differ from adjectives. Note that the forms recognized as adjectives can also function without any change as adverbs, but they occupy different syntactic positions within the clause. An adjective occurs within an NP, and is almost always followed by the markers of grammatical categories associated with nouns. An adverb modifies the verb which functions as the predicate head, with the former immediately preceding the latter. An adverb does not take comparative or superlative markers, like an adjective. An adverb cannot modify a noun like an adjective.

Adverbs can be broadly grouped under a single class on the basis of their overall ability to modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, and clauses. The Brokpa adverbs include adverbs of manner, adverbs of similarity, epistemic adverbs, and degree or intensity adverbs (see, among others, Schachter 1985; Givón 2001a; Schachter and

Shopen 2007; Dixon 2005:30-32; and, Aikhenvald 2015a for discussion on these various types of adverbs). Brokpa also has what can be referred to as 'demonstrative adverbs'; these words have deictic effect and form a closed class of demonstratives (see §6.3.3). Table 58 gives the types of adverbs in Brokpa with their grammatical properties.

Table 58. The types and functions of adverbs in Brokpa

ADVERB TYPE	**FUNCTION**
Manner	modifies verbs
Similarity	modifies verbs
Epistemic	modifies verbs, clauses
Degree/intensity	modifies verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, clauses

The types of adverbs are discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1 Adverbs of Manner

Adverbs of manner can be recognized on account of their ability to modify verbs directly. A manner adverb precedes the verb it modifies; it occupies Slot 1 within the verb phrase (see Chapter 12). As noted earlier, an adjective can modify a verb and have a manner adverbial function in its bare form; but the form as an adjective and as an adverb occupy different syntactic slots within the clause. Compare:

(174) a. ŋa=e [makpa **ʔeɕin**=ʑiʔ]NP:O kʰyoŋ-gyu...
1SG=ERG husband good=INDEF bring-FUT.IMPERV
'I will bring a good husband....'

b. kʰyo=raŋ saŋ Thimphu=la [**ʔeɕin** soŋ]VP:IPR
2SG=EMPH tomorrow Thimphu=ALL nicely go:IMP:CAN
'You go nicely to Thimphu tomorrow'

The form *ʔeɕin* functions as an adjective in (174a), and as an adverb in (174b). As an adjective in (174a) it occurs within the NP in O function modifying the head

noun *makpa* 'husband'. Furthermore, in (174a) *ʔeɕin* is marked by the indefinite marker *=ʑiʔ* which is associated with adjectives and nouns.

As an adverb in (174b), *ʔeɕin* occurs within the verb phrase in extended intransitive predicate function immediately preceding the head of the verb phrase. Thus, the same form functioning as an adjective and as an adverb can be distinguished on the basis of the syntactic positions within the clause.

Most adjectives from, but not restricted to, the semantic types of VALUE, DIFFICULTY, VOLITION, and QUALIFICATION can modify verbs and have manner adverbial function, in bare form.

Otherwise, manner adverbs can be derived from adjectives with the adverbial suffixes *-gyan*, *-tɕʰin(tɕin)*, and *-tɕan*. The adverbial suffix *-gyan* is historically a combination of the light verb *gya* 'to do' marked by the ablative/sequential marker *=nœ*. The combination of the verbal root *gya* and the sequential *=nœ*, sometimes reduced to *-gyan*, functions as a grammaticalized suffix deriving manner adverbs from adjectives. As an adverbial suffix, *-gyan(œ)* adds the meaning of something like 'as X', in which X is an adjective. The derivation of manner adverbs from adjectives with the suffix *-gyan(œ)* is productive. Table 59 gives examples of manner adverbs derived from adjectives with the suffix *-gyan*.

Table 59. Manner adverbs derived from adjectives with the suffix *-gyan* in Brokpa

ADJECTIVE		**DERIVED ADVERB**	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
tsʰatsʰap	'hurry'	*tsʰaptsʰap-gyan(œ)*	hurry-ADV	'hurriedly'
ʔeɕin	'good'	*ʔeɕin-gyan*	good-ADV	'nicely'
ʈʰikken	'exact'	*ʈʰikken-gyan*	exact-ADV	'exactly'
ɕukɕin	'energetic'	*ɕukɕin-gyan*	energetic-ADV	'intensely'

Furthermore, manner adverbs can be derived from adjectives with the suffix *-tɕʰin(tɕin)*. This suffix too is historically from the verb root *tɕʰi*, the perfective stem of the verb 'to go' (the imperfective form of the verb 'to go' is *ɖo* and imperative is *soŋ*). The verb root *tɕʰi* is marked by the sequential *=nœ*. It is not clear whether the

optional final segment *tɕin* in that suffix is related to the topic marker =*tɕin*. However, the form *-tɕʰin(tɕin)* applies to adjectives, typically from the SPEED semantic type, and derives adverbs.

The suffix *-tɕʰin(tɕin)* has the meaning of 'by going/doing X'. Table 60 gives manner adverbs derived from adjectives with the suffix *-tɕʰin(tɕin)*.

Table 60. Manner adverbs derived from adjectives with the suffix *-tɕʰin(tɕin)* in Brokpa

ADJECTIVE	MEANING	DERIVED ADVERB	GLOSS	MEANING
galu	'slow'	*galu-tɕʰin(tɕin)*	slow-ADV	'slowly'
gyopʰ	'quick'	*gyopʰ-tɕʰin(tɕin)*	quick-ADV	'quickly'
guibu	'slow'	*guibu-tɕʰin(tɕin)*	slow-ADV	'slowly'

Examples of manner adverbs derived from adjectives with the suffixes *-gyan* and *-tɕʰin(tɕin)* modifying the predicate are in (175a) and (175b), respectively:

(175) a. nám **ɕuk-gyan** bap-ki
rain energy-ADV fall-IMPERV
'It is raining heavily'

b. kʰyo=raŋ yal=la **galu-tɕʰin(tɕin)** soŋ
2SG=EMPH up=ALL slow-ADV go:IMP:CAN
'You go slowly upwards'

Note that when the adjective *ʔeɕin* functions as an adverb, as in (174b), it can take either of these two suffixes and express the same adverbial meaning.

As pointed out above, the same form functioning as an adjective and as an adverb can be disambiguated on the basis of the syntactic positions within the clause, and the grammatical markers it takes as an adjective. Sometimes, disambiguation becomes problematic if an adjectival form occurs between an NP, realized just by a lexical noun without any grammatical markers, and the predicate. Consider:

(176) bomo ɲí=k^{h}e **lú** **ʔeɕin** **náŋ**-soŋ
girl two=ERG song nice do:HON-PERV
'Two girls have sung beautiful songs/ two girls have sung beautifully'

In (176) the lexeme *ʔeɕin* occurs between the noun *lú*, the NP in O function, and the honorific verb *náŋ* which is the predicate head. This clause can be interpreted as either 'Two girls have sung beautiful songs', in which *ʔeɕin* is used as an adjective; or 'Two girls have sung beautifully', in which *ʔeɕin* is used as an adverb. Whether *ʔeɕin* forms a prosodic unit with the preceding noun or with the following verb may assist in disambiguation; otherwise, the grammatical markers associated with adjectives and/or the existence of the adverbial suffix provide disambiguation of adjective and adverbs. Thus compare:

(177) a. bomo ɲí=k^{h}e lú **ʔeɕin**=ʑi? náŋ-soŋ
girl two=ERG song good=INDEF do:HON-PERV.DIRECT
'Two girls have sung beautiful songs (ADJECTIVE)'

b. bomo ɲí=k^{h}e lú **ʔeɕin-gyan(æ)** náŋ-soŋ
girl two=ERG song good-ADV do:HON-PERV.DIRECT
'Two girls have sung beautifully (ADVERB)'

One can know that *ʔeɕin* functions as an adjective in (177a) since it takes an inflection associated with adjectives, the indefinite marker in this case. On the other hand, in (177b) *ʔeɕin* is functioning as an adverbial root taking the adverbial suffix *-gyan(æ)*.

With certain manner adverbs, the suffix *-gyan* is part of the adverbial root, as in:

(178) k^{h}o=e zan **hapɕagyan** ʑæ-soŋ
3SG=ERG cooked.dough greedily eat-PERV.DIRECT
'He greedily ate the cooked dough'

The manner adverb *hapɕagyan* 'greedily' cannot be segmented into two components: *hapɕa* and *-gyan*. In other words, the part *hapɕa* does not have any discernible meaning, suggesting that *hapɕagyan* is a monomorphemic manner adverb.

Furthermore, a manner adverb can be formed by a full reduplication of an adjective, as in (179a) and (179b):

(179) a. ŋe=raŋ=baʔ **gyop^{h} ~ gyop^{h}** gya-gu
1PL=EMPH=PL quick ~ quick do-IMPERV.EXH
'Let's do it very quickly'

b. k^{h}i=gi lerim=di **rimpa ~ rimpa** tɕ^{h}o
2PL=GEN programme sequence ~ sequence do:IMP:CAN
'Make your programme sequentially'

A manner adverb derived by the full reduplication of an adjectival root may carry an overtone of intensification.

Finally, manner adverbs can be derived from nouns with the suffix *-tɕan ~ -tɕin* as in (180a) and (180b):

(180) a. ŋa=i ʔaʑaŋ=ge ŋa=la bru ta **k^{h}uzu-tɕin**
1SG=GEN uncle=ERG 1SG=DAT grain horse load-ADV

dʑin-soŋ
give-PERV.DIRECT
'My uncle gave me grain in horse loads'

b. lale=k^{h}e ɖonba=baʔ **d^{ɦ}a-tɕan** ʑaʔ-duʔ
some=ERG guest=PL month-ADV keep-direct
'Some have kept the guests for months'

Note that this suffix is different from the adjectival suffix *-tɕan* (§5.1.1.5.1). The adverbial suffix *-tɕan*, cognate with <bcad nas> in Classical Tibetan, means 'in X', wherein X can be a noun referring to flocks as 'in flocks', or a number word as 'in thousands'. This suffix can also have the meaning of 'for X', wherein X can be a time word such as 'day', 'month', 'year', etc. As noted in §5.1.1.5.1, the adjectival suffix

-tɕan ~ -tɕæn, (cf. <can> in Classical Tibetan), means 'X-having' or 'X-possessing' as in *ɲíndʑe-tɕan* (compassion-having) 'compassionate'.

5.2.2 Adverbs of Similarity

Adverbs of similarity modify a predicate and express similar or opposite ways of doing things. As with most other adverbs, the adverbs of similarity are typically derived from adjectives and are semantically related to them. Predictably, adverbs of similarity are derived from the adjectives belonging to the SIMILARITY semantic type with the adverbial suffix *-gyan(æ)*, and form a small subclass of adverbs.

An adjective from the SIMILARITY semantic type can occur as an adverb of similarity, either as is or by taking the adverbial suffix *-gyan(æ)*. Examples include:

(181) a. kʰyo=raŋ=ye mo=e=kʰe ŋúi-pʰi **ɖazin(-gyan)**
2SG=emp=EMPH 3SG.FEM=ERG=ERG cry-PERV same-ADV

ŋúi sa
cry:IMP:CAN ASSERT
'You also cry the same way she cried'

b. kʰyo=raŋ ɲí **soso(-gyan)** soŋ
2SG=EMPH two different-ADV go:IMP:CAN
'You two go separately/differently'

Adverbs of similarity can be derived from the superlative forms of adjectives with the suffix *-gyan(æ)*, as in (182a); or by adding this adverbial suffix to the partially reduplicated stem marked by the superlative suffix, as in (182b):

(182) a. pʰama=ba? gaŋyu=ge lóbsu **ɖa-kyaŋ-gyan** náŋ-gi
parent=PL ALL=ERG advice same-SUPER-ADV give:HON=IMPERV
'All parents give advice the same way'

b. ʔupʰi pʰruru ɲí **ɖou~ɖa-kyaŋ-gyan**
DEM.DIST child two same~same-SUPER-ADV

babur + gya-doŋ-tuʔ
crawling + do-CONT-DIRECT
'Those two babies are crawling exactly in the same way'

Furthermore, adverbs describing different or negative ways of doing things can be derived from the negated adjectives, also from the SIMILARITY semantic type, with the suffix *-gyan(æ),* as in (183):

(183) kʰo = e ŋa = la **ma-ɖou-gyan** tæ + dʱæ-duʔ
3SG = ERG 1SG = LOC NEG-similar-ADV look + stay-DIRECT
'He is looking differently (suspiciously) at me'

The adverb of similarity, shown in bold in (183), is derived from the negated adjective with the adverbial suffix *-gyan*. The derived adverb modifies the predicate and precedes the predicate head.

5.2.3 Epistemic Adverbs

Epistemic adverbs denote the speaker's attitude towards truth, certainty, or possibility of an event (see Givón 2001a:92; Aikhenvald 2015a:97). Epistemic adverbs fall within the broad semantic group of adverbs to do with qualification and evaluation, along the lines of Aikhenvald (2015a:167). Akin to other adverbs, epistemic adverbs are mostly derived from adjectives typically from those belonging to the QUANTIFICATION semantic type.

Note that an adjective from this semantic type can function as an epistemic adverb in its bare form. An epistemic adverb modifies the predicate or the entire clause. As noted earlier, a monomorphemic form functioning as an adjective and as an adverb has different prototypical functional slots within the clause.

Epistemic adverbs in Brokpa can be divided into two types on the basis of semantics— those expressing truth or certainty and those to do with possibility or probability. Table 61 gives a list of epistemic adverbs relating to certainty or truth in Brokpa.

Table 61. Epistemic adverbs relating to certainty in Brokpa

FORM	**MEANING**
tantan	'certainly'
ŋoto~suŋto	'really/definitely'
ŋónœ~ɖaŋnœ	'truly, really'
tʰatɕœ	'decidedly'
tʰœkar	'forthrightly'
lamsaŋ	'forthrightly'
ɕar-gyan	'straightforwardly'
tʰeribari	'surely'
manœ	'not at all, really'

Note that some epistemic adverbs such as *tantan* 'certain(ly)' may optionally take the adverbial suffix *-gyan(œ)*. Furthermore, certain epistemic adverbs relating to certainty are obligatorily derived from adjectives with the suffix *-gyan(œ)* as in *ɕar-gyan* 'straightforwardly'.

An example of an epistemic adverb related to certainty that is modifying a verb— the predicate head— with a semantic scope over the entire clause is in (184):

(184) kʰyo diriŋ názi + breŋ = la **tʰeribari** ɖo-go-kʰyu-na
2SG today cattle.herder + hut = ALL certainly go-OBLIG-fut.IMPERV-FACT
'Today you certainly have to go to the cattle-herder's hut'

Some epistemic adverbs related to certainty involve partial reduplication of an adjectival root, e.g. *ŋoto~suŋto*, *ŋonœ~ɖaŋnœ*. The first components of the partially reduplicated stems— *ŋoto* and *ŋonœ*— occur as adjectives as well as adverbs with or without the adverbial suffix *-gyan(œ)*. The second component— *suŋto* or *ɖaŋnœ*— does not have a precise meaning. Epistemic adverbs may also involve full reduplication, e.g. *lo?~lo?(-gyan)*.

When the semantic scope of an epistemic adverb is over an entire proposition or a clause, it may or may not occur together with the predicate. Consider:

(185) a. námɖaŋ=di **manæ** ma-lui-pʰi
enumeration=DEF not.at.ALL NEG-leave.out-PERV
'The enumeration did not really miss anything'

b. **ŋónæ~ɖaŋnæ** ŋe=raŋ l̥am gon=næ...
truly 1:PL=FOC show wear=SEQ
'Really, we have to wear shoes...'

The epistemic adverb of certainty, shown in bold, modifies the whole clause in both (185a), and (185b). In (185a) the epistemic adverb *manæ* occurs clause-internally, immediately preceding the predicate head, while in (185b) *ŋánæ~ɖaŋnæ* 'truly' occurs clause-initially.

It is instructive to mention here that Brokpa does not have a dedicated suffix marking certainty, and the job of expressing certainty of an event or a proposition is done by epistemic adverbs relating to certainty such as those given in Table 61. However, Brokpa has a dedicated grammatical marker of epistemic modality relating to possibility (see §13.3.2). Additionally, Brokpa makes use of lexical epistemic adverbs to express possibility. Table 62 gives some epistemic adverbs to do with possibility or probability.

Table 62. Epistemic adverbs of possibility in Brokpa

FORM	**MEANING**
pʰatɕʰe(=næ)	'usually, mainly'
maŋcö(=raŋ)	'mostly, in most cases'
tɕirtaŋ(=gi)(=næ)(=ta)	'generally'
halam(=ʑi?)	'almost'
ɖou(=ʑi?)	'approximately'
wolai(=ʑi?)	'nearly, around'

Epistemic adverbs expressing possibility can modify a predicate or a clause. They may also function as clause linkers and sentential conjunctions, and take grammatical markers such as case, indefiniteness, and emphasis. Examples of epistemic adverbs modifying clauses include:

(186) a. da **pʰatɕʰe** diriŋ-saŋ mi=baʔ=kʰe ŋi
PART usually today-tomorrow person=PL=ERG lama+lineage

lám+lárgyu yin=s láp-ki-yona
COP.EGO=ASSERT say-IMPERV-FACT
'Usually, people today say that we are of a lama lineage'

b. **tɕirtaŋ=gi** sam-taŋ+na....
in.general=GEN thought+do-COND
'If we think in general...'

Epistemic adverbs generally occur clause-initially, as in (186a) and (186b), but they can also occur with the predicate, albeit in a clausal scope as in (186b).

5.2.4 Degree or Intensity Adverbs

Degree or intensity adverbs refer to all such words relating to quantification, addition, degree, frequency, and intensification in general (see Aikhenvald 2015a:167). In Brokpa, degree or intensity adverbs include words like *násmeti*, *námesame*, and *derçmeti*, all sharing the meaning 'very' or 'very much'. These words may modify an adjective or an adverb, and strengthen their meaning, thus functioning as intensifiers or pre-modifiers.

The intensifier *násmeti* occurs frequently. The Brokpa intensifier *námesame* is shared with other Bhutanese languages such as Dzongkha and Tshangla. In Dzongkha and Tshangla too, this intensifier has exactly the same meaning and function as the Brokpa *násmeti*. Examples of the degree or intensity adverbs functioning as intensifier or pre-modifier in Brokpa include:

(187) a. kaitɕʰaŋ = gi ɕæbu = di tsʰiʔ **násmeti** ɲénbu = ʑiʔ
Kaichang = GEN description = DEF word very.much melodious = INDEF

yo
EXIST.COP.EGO
'The words of the Kaichang (ode to the farewell drink) are so melodious'

b. ʔoti **námesame** denbu yona
DEM.PROX very.much truthful EXIST.COP.FACT
'This is very much true'

c. den **násmeti** geɕiŋgep-gyan tɕo-pʰi yoŋ-gu
PART very detailed-ADV make-NOMZ come-FUT.IMPERV
'It has to be made very elaborately'

Examples (187a) and (187b) show intensifiers modifying adjectives. Example (187c) shows an intensifier modifying an adverb. These intensifiers in Brokpa are further discussed in Chapter 12.

Note that there are other degree or intensity adverbs such as *halam* 'nearly/around', *tɕʰenɖe* 'little', *tɕʰatsʰaŋ* 'complete(ly)', *gaŋyu* 'all', and *yamzen* 'amazing', which may also express a degree of intensification. Certain degree adverbs may overlap with quantifiers (§6.8). The words expressing quantity may also be used as intensifiers on adjectives and adverbs. Some of these words can be reduplicated creating a further intensification effect, e.g. *tɕʰenɖe tɕʰenɖe* 'extremely little'.

5.3 Adjectives and adverbs: summary

The adjective class is distinguished from the rest of the word classes by a set of morphological and syntactic properties. The morphological marking of index of comparison is a distinctive feature of the adjective class. The ability of an adjective to function as the 'parameter of comparison' in a comparative construction also sets adjectives apart from other word classes.

Adjectives share certain inflections with nouns, but they show different derivations. Adjectives can be derived from nouns with a number of suffixes. Adjectives

can also be derived through compounding two or more lexical items. On the other hand, two or more adjectives may form nouns through compounding. Reduplication of adjectives has a semantic effect of intensification.

Adjectives show different derivations and inflections from verbs. Adjectives can be derived from verbs with a number of suffixes. Adjectives cannot function as the predicate on their own. An adjective has to be first verbalized in order to occur in a predicate. New adjectives can also be derived from other adjectives.

An adjective in Brokpa modifies a noun in an NP. Furthermore, an adjective can function as copula complement. An adjective in copula complement function shows Attribution semantic relation. Only an adjective in the copula complement function can be modified by a pre-modifier.

Adjectives in Brokpa include words from the prototypical adjective semantic types of DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, and COLOUR, as well as from other semantic types including PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, DIFFICULTY, VOLITION, QUALIFICATION, SIMILARITY, QUANTIFICATION, and POSITION.

Adverbs in Brokpa include monomorphemic and derived members. New adverbs can be derived from adjectives and nouns, as a result of which adverbs form a semi-open class. The types of adverbs in Brokpa include adverbs of manner, similarity, epistemic, degree/intensity. They form a general class of adverbs based on their shared function of modifying a verb, a clause, or both.

An adjective may occur as an adverb in its bare form. But the prototypical functional slot of an adjective in an NP, and the prototypical functional slot of an adverb in a VP help to distinguish the former from the latter.

Chapter 6

Closed classes

Closed classes in Brokpa include personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, demonstrative, question words, relator nouns, numeral classifiers, number words, quantifiers, connectives, interjections, and particles. Some closed word classes, such as personal pronouns, demonstrative, relators, numeral classifiers, and number words share many properties with nouns, but they can be recognised as closed classes on the basis of certain special properties, their limited membership, and their inability to accept new members. Some closed classes, such as the number words, may have a largish number of members. One can count up to infinity in Brokpa, as in many languages; however, the patterns of counting can be listed exhaustively.

6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Brokpa are free forms. Brokpa personal pronouns consist of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person, and distinguish singular and plural numbers. Natural gender is inherently distinguished in third person singular pronoun only. The first person *ŋa* is the same as the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) form **ŋa* (see, among others, Benedict 1972:93; Matisoff 2003). The Brokpa second person singular *k^hyo* which commences with the palatalized dorso-velar aspirated voiceless stop is not related to the second person PTB form **naŋ*. Table 63 gives the paradigm of personal pronouns in Brokpa.

Table 63. Brokpa personal pronouns

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st person		*ŋa*	*ŋi ~ ŋe (=ba?)*
2nd person		*kʰyo*	*kʰyi (=ba?), kʰyo=raŋ=ba?*
3rd person	**MASC**	*kʰo*	*kʰoŋ=(ba?)*
	FEM	*mo*	

The grammatical information of plural number is indicated simply by apophony (vowel gradation), /a/→/i/ or /e/ in the first person, and /o/→/i/ in the second person. In both first and second persons, plurality is achieved by vowel fronting. Note that the plural marker *=ba?* is optional on the first person plural pronoun *ŋi ~ ŋe*, the second person plural *kʰyi*, and the third person *kʰoŋ*. The third person plural *kʰoŋ* is formed by means of paragoge, the occurrence of an additional sound at the end of a word— adding velar nasal /ŋ/ to the end of the third person masculine pronoun *kʰo*.

As noted above, personal pronouns make only two distinctions of number, singular and plural. The dual reference can be made by adding the number word *ɲĩ* 'two' onto the plural forms. The number word *ɲí*, commencing with the lamino prepalatal nasal /ɲ/, is a separate word. It bears a high tone with an independent stress and is both a phonological and grammatical word. When *ɲí* is added to a pronoun, it occurs as a quantifier without any phonological reduction. As with other number words, other modifiers can occur between a root pronoun and number word for 'two'. Therefore, the number word *ɲĩ* is not a grammaticalized dual number marker in Brokpa.

It is instructive to compare Brokpa with Tshangla which has three number distinctions in its pronoun paradigm. In Tshangla, the number word for two is *niktsiŋ*, the first person singular pronoun is *dʑaŋ*, the second person singular is *nan* (cf. PTB **naŋ*), and the third person singular *rok*. The Tshangla number word *niktsiŋ* has coalesced into the pronoun stem denoting dual grammatical number, as *ʔatɕʰiŋ* '1:PL.DU', *natɕʰiŋ* '2:PL:DU', *roktɕʰiŋ* '3:PL:DU'. This kind of fusion into one phonological and grammatical word has not taken place in Brokpa.

The plural marker marker *=ba?* in Brokpa is supposedly a loanword from Tshangla because Brokpa has its native Central Bodish plural marker *=tsʰu*, shared with other Central Bodish languages. Brokpa has innovated free variants *=ʑu* and *=su* of its plural marker *=tsʰu* (see §9.2).

A personal pronoun can be the head of an NP and inflect for case, as in (188a). It can also inflect for number and definiteness, as in (188b):

(188) a. [**ŋa=e**]A [ta pʰotɕʰen=ʑi?]O [ter-gu=se]TPR
1:SG=ERG horse gelding=INDEF give-FUT.IMPERV=QUOT
'Some say, "I will give a gelding horse"'

b. **ŋi=ba?**=ti ʔo=la tɕʰi+dʱæ=næ...
1:PL=PL=TOP DEM.PROX=LOC go+stay=SEQ
'We went there...'

Note that the number marking in (188b) is optional since plurality is already achieved by the pronoun stem.

In terms of syntactic orientation, the personal pronouns in Brokpa prototypically display an ergative system. The personal pronouns behave like nouns, and typically inflect on an absolutive-ergative basis: the transitive object O and the intransitive subject S both receive the same absolutive case marking, while the transitive subject A is treated differently and marked with ergative case. The following examples illustrate the ergative system of personal pronouns in Brokpa:

(189) a. [**ŋa**=e]A [**kʰyo**=∅]O [duŋ-gu-na]TR.PRED
1SG=ERG 2SG=ABS beat-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'I will beat you'

b. [**ŋa**=∅]S [ɲa:-li]INTR.PRED
1SG=ABS sleep-PERV
'I slept'

The A argument in (189a), realized by the first person singular pronoun *ŋa*, is marked by the ergative allomorph *=e*. In contrast, the O argument in the same clause,

realized by the second person singular pronoun *kʰyo*, is zero-marked for absolutive. The S argument in (189b) , also realized by the first person singular pronoun, comes to be zero-marked for absolutive, in the same way as the O arguments in (189a). This pattern of marking may change only due to pragmatics such as contrastive focus (see Chapter 11).

Personal pronouns in Brokpa typically occur on their own without modifying elements including adjectives. However, in certain discourse contexts, a personal pronoun may be modified by an adjective or a relative clause. Consider:

(190) a. [ʔoti söra = di]GIFT:NP:O [**ŋa ʔapsu-tɕan** = ge]NP:A matakpal
DEM.PROX gift = DEF 1:SG luck-ADJ = ERG other.than

[**kʰyo reba-tɕan** = ge]NP:A mi-tʰop
2:SG hope-ADJ = ERG NEG-get
'Other than me, the fortunate, You, the expectant, will not get this gift'
Lit. 'Other than fortunate I, expectant you will not get this gift"

b. [garpatooŋsum = di]CS násmeti da [**kʰo tençæ + kʰæpu**]NP:CC
Wedding.MC = DEF very.much PART 3SG:MASC oration + skillful
'The Wedding MC, he is very eloquent'

In (190a), the first person pronoun *ŋa* which is the head of the first A NP is directly modified by the derived adjective *ʔapsu-tɕa*n (luck-ADJ) 'lucky/fortunate'. Similarly, the second person pronoun *kʰyo* which is the head of the second A NP in the same sentence in (190a) is directly modified by the derived adjective *reba-tɕan* (hope-ADJ) 'expectant/hopeful'. Furthermore, the third person masculine pronoun *kʰo* in the verbless clause in (190b) is modified by the adjective *tençæ + kʰæpu* (oration + skillful) 'eloquent', formed by compounding.

In the same vein, a personal pronoun in Brokpa may be modified by a relative clause, as in (191):

(191) [[ʑinga ɻuŋ-gan]RC kʰo]]NP:CS kaktar na
land guard-NOMZ:AGTV 3SG.MASC tough COP.FACT
'He, who is guarding the field is tough'

The third person singular masculine pronoun *kʰo* is the common argument in (191), and it is modified by an RC.

There are no special possessive pronouns in Brokpa. Possession is indicated by morphological marker (genitive) on the possessor R whether the head of the possessor argument is a noun or a pronoun, as in (192a). A personal pronoun can only be the modifier (possessor R) in a possessive NP. A personal pronoun cannot have the role of a possessee. In other words, a personal pronoun cannot be the possessed D. Example (192b) is ungrammatical:

(192) a. **kʰyo=gi** kyoŋʑa
2:SG=GEN conduct
'your conduct'

b. *kʰyo=gi **mo**
2SG=GEN 3:SG.FEM
'*Your's her'

Brokpa has the morpheme *raŋ* literally meaning 'self', which can function as an independent pronoun. It can also attach to personal pronouns and nominals, and forms reflexive pronouns and/or functions as a marker of emphasis or auto-reflexivity. The use of *raŋ* as an independent pronoun forms the topic of the next section. The functions of reflexive pronouns, reflexive and auto-reflexive/emphatic functions, will be discussed under the valency-changing derivation in §8.4.1.

Furthermore, Brokpa has one reciprocal pronoun, *tɕik=ke tɕik=la* (one=ERG one=DAT) literally 'by one to one', formed by the number word *tɕik* 'one' and case markers (see also §6.6). The reciprocal constructions involving the reciprocal pronoun, formed in this way, will be discussed in §8.4.2.

6.1.1 The pronoun *raŋ* 'self'

The pronoun *raŋ* 'self' functions as a first person singular or a first person plural, depending on the discourse context. It can be used for both genders, male and female. The use of *raŋ* 'self' may be extended to second person or third person.

As a free pronoun, *raŋ* can be in any syntactic function. The use of pronoun *raŋ* as a first person singular pronoun in A function can be found in (193a) and (193b), and as a first person plural pronoun is in (193c):

(193) a. [**raŋ**=ge]A hago-zin ʔok^{h}on=ɕiʔ duŋ
self=ERG understand-SIM like.that=INDEF COP.PERV.DIRECT
'When I became aware of it, it was like that'

b. [**raŋ**=ge=ye]A ʈamaɕiʔ gyak-pi-na
self=ERG=EMPH mischief do-NOMZ.PERV-FACT
'I also did mischief'

c. ʔoti lóp^{h}=di **raŋ** tɕ^{h}oʔ=k^{h}i mi=baʔ=k^{h}e
DEM.PROX talk=DEF self RELAT:DIR=GEN person=PL=ERG

lap-p^{h}i-yinta
say-PERV-MIR
'This information was given by our people'

Example (193a) and (193b) show the use of *raŋ* as a first person singular. The speaker refers to himself as a young man. In (193c), *raŋ* followed by the relator noun *tɕ^{h}oʔ* 'direction' in the possessor R function has a plural reference.

Example of *raŋ* in O syntactic function is in (194):

(194) muzu=e [**raŋ**]O ma-ga-yi
other=ERG SELF NEG-be.happy-IMPERV
'They don't like/love us'

The pronoun *raŋ* can be in CS function as in (195a), and in CC function as in (195b):

(195) a. [**raŋ**=ye]CS pʰrugu=i ʔapa=ʑi? yin
SELF=EMPH child=GEN father=INDEF COP.EGO
'I am also a father (of a child)'

b. laika gya-gan=di [**raŋ**[CC na
work do-NOMZ:AGTV=DEF SELF COP.FACT
'One who works is I'

Further examples of *raŋ* in possessor R function are in (196a) and (196b):

(196) a. bomo yin-ne=ye **raŋ**=gi goŋgo=la
girl COP.EGO-COND=EMPH self=GEN threshold=LOC

dʱo-mi=gi gokap=ni me
stay-NOMZ=GEN opportunity=TOP NEG.COP:EXIST
'Even for the girl, there is no opportunity for her to (continue to) live in her (parents') house'

b. lala=e=kʰe den **raŋ**=gi lóbab daŋ tun=næ...
some=ERG=ERG PART self=GEN wish CNTV in.accord=SEQ
'Some (people), in accordance with their own wish...'

Examples (196a) and (196b) demonstrate the use of *raŋ* with regard to the third person, *bomo* 'girl' in the former and *lala* 'some' in the latter, who are not present at the time of the conversation. Similarly, the form *raŋ* can be used to refer to second person in the same discourse context. The controller *bomo* in (196a) and *lala* in (196b) can be replaced by the second person singular personal pronoun *kʰyo* 'you', and the meaning of *raŋ* will shift from 'her' and 'they' to 'you' and 'your', respectively.

Furthermore, the pronoun *raŋ* can be used for expressing generic person meaning, as in *raŋ so? raŋ=ge tɕœ-gan* (self life self=ERG cut-NOMZ:AGTV) 'One who kills oneself'.

6.1.2 The pronoun *muzu* 'other'

The pronoun *muzu* has a literal sense of the adjective 'other'. This word is used more as a pronoun than an adjective. It codes person and is coreferential with another

NP within the same clause. As a pronoun, *muzu* is typically used as a third person singular pronoun, and it can be in any syntactic function. The pronoun *muzu* 'other' contrasts with the pronoun *raŋ* 'self' in Brokpa. As noted in §6.1.2, the pronoun *raŋ* typically refers to first person singular or plural, whereas the pronoun *muzu* excludes 1st person. The pronouns *raŋ* and *muzu* are equivalent to the concepts of <bdag> 'self' and <gzhan> 'other' in Classical Tibetan. In Classical Tibetan, in addition to their use as personal pronouns, <bdag> 'self' and <gzhan> 'other' are also used as terms to describe the transitive subject and transitive object, respectively. The contrast between *raŋ* and *muzu* in Brokpa echoes the well-known contrast between 'self' and 'other' in many Trans-Himalayan languages, not just in Classical Tibetan but possibly, cross-linguistically.

As noted above, the pronoun *muzu* can occur in any argument function, core as well as peripheral. Consider:

(197) [**muzu**=gi doŋ=la]PERI [**muzu**=e]A ɕe:-nan ŋo=ye
other=GEN RELAT:front=LOC other=ERG know-COND face=EMPH

ts^{h}a-ro
heat-FINAL
'If they know (this), we will feel ashamed in front of others'

As can be seen in (197), the pronoun *muzu* is in A argument function and in peripheral argument function, both shown in bold types. An example where the pronoun *raŋ* and *muzu* occur in the same clause is in (198):

(198) [**raŋ**=gi goŋgo=la]PERI [**muzu**=e]A t^{h}amo+tsa:=næ
SELF=GEN threshold=LOC other=ERG quarrel+search=SEQ

d^{ɦ}ok-p^{h}i-yin-to
arrive-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'They have come to our doorstep to pick a quarrel (with us)'

In (198), the pronoun *raŋ* is the possessor of the complex NP in peripheral argument function, and the pronoun *muzu* is in A syntactic function marked by the

ergative case allomorph *=e*. The pronoun *raŋ* relates to first person plural, and *muzu* to third person plural.

Further examples of the pronoun *muzu* in core argument functions include:

(199) a. [ŋa=e]A [**muzu**]O koŋ-pʰi
1SG=ERG other beat-PERV
'I beat them'

b. [**muzu**=e]A [kʰyo]O dʱuŋ-yoŋ ʔa
other=ERG 2SG beat-POSSIB TAG
'They might beat you, okay'

The pronoun *muzu* is in O syntactic function in (199a), and in A syntactic function in (199b).

An example of the pronoun *muzu* in CS function is in (200):

(200) [**muzu**]CS [ɽapɽaptaptap]CC me-ti
other discourteous NEG.EXIST.EGO-NOMZ
'She is not discourteous'

The pronoun *muzu* in CS function in (200) is coreferential with the subject of the preceding sentence whose referent was a girl. Note that *muzu* typically refers to third person plural pronoun, but it can also refer to third person singular, male or female, as in (200), depending on the referent of the controller introduced earlier in the text.

The pronoun *muzu* can occur with the NP it is coreferential with in the same sentence, as in (201a) and (201b):

(201) a. ʔo **bomo** den da **muzu** te da
DEM.PROX girl PART PART other PART PART

ŋori yin-ne=ye den ʔa yakpo=ʑiʔ
looks COP.EGO-COND=EMPH PART INTJ good=INDEF

tuʔ
COP:EXIST.DIRECT
'This girl, even her looks are good'

b. **muzu** **kʰoŋ**=baʔ=kʰe da ŋa=e tɕʰi=næ
other 3:PL=PL=ERG PART 1:SG=ERG go=SEQ

ʈʰü=næ ʔotɕin gyak-pi-na=se lap=næ...
guide=SEQ like.this do-NOMZ.PERV-FACT=QUOT say=SEQ
'They said that it was I who led and acted like that...'

In (201a), *muzu* co-occurs with the NP *ʔo bomo* 'this girl', with which it is coreferential, and in (201b) *muzu* co-occurs with the third person plural pronoun *kʰoŋ*. The co-occurrence of *muzu* with another pronoun or an NP appears to be used as a kind of emphasis, with an overtone of contrastive focus.

6.2 Indefinite pronouns

The term indefinite pronoun is here used to refer to a group of words which express indefinite reference to a person, and can be used as a substitute for a noun or a noun phrase whose head is a human referent. Dixon (2012:401) distinguishes between 'specific indefinite' and 'general indefinite'. A specific indefinite, according to Dixon, relates to a specific person, but the speaker does not know their identity; and a general indefinite refers to a general population of unknown size. There are about a dozen indefinite pronouns in Brokpa. The grammatical marking of indefiniteness, morphemes which cannot be the head of an NP, is discussed in §9.3.

Brokpa has both monomorphemic and derived indefinite pronouns. The monomorphemic ones include bare adjectives of about three members. Table 64 gives a list of monomorphemic indefinite pronouns in Brokpa.

Table 64. Monomorphemic indefinite pronouns in Brokpa

INDEFINITE PRONOUN	**GLOSS**
lala	'some'
gaŋtʰaŋ	'everyone/everybody'
gaŋyu	'all/everybody'

Note that there are other similar adjectives such as *purtɕin* 'all', but only the three words provided in Table 64 are found to be used as a substitute for NPs. Other adjectives occur only with the head noun in an NP.

The indefinite *lala* refers to specific persons, as in (202a), *gaŋtʰaŋ* functions as a general indefinite as in (202b), and *gaŋyu* 'all' also functions as a general indefinite as in (202c):

(202) a. **lala**=**e**=kʰe den ʔou=la=ye tɕik ɖi+ta-go-fioŋ
some=ERG=ERG PART boy=DAT=EMPH one ask+see-OBLIG-POSSIB
'Some say, "We might also have to ask the groom one thing'

b. da **gaŋtʰaŋ**=raŋ náŋda-mi-yoŋ=s
PART everybody=FOC concern-NEG-come=ASSERT
'Everyone! No worries'

c. **gaŋyu**=ge tunɖi=ʑi? gya-zina...
everybody=ERG discussion=INDEF do-SIM
'When everybody enters into discussion...'

In all three examples, (202a)-(202c), the indefinite pronouns, shown in bold types, form an NP on their own.

Indefinite pronouns can be formed by a combination of an interrogative word and other lexemes and grammatical morphemes. The indefinite pronouns involving interrogative words may be specific indefinite or general indefinite, or both (see §§14.2.4.1.1 - 14.2.4.1.8). Table 65 gives a list of indefinite pronouns which are derived from interrogative words.

Table 65. Indefinite pronouns involving interrogative words in Brokpa

INDEFINITE PRONOUN	GLOSS	INDEFINITE MEANING
su yin-ne(=ye)	who COP.EGO-CNSV(=EMPH)	'anyone'
su=raŋ yin-ne(=ye)	who=EMPH COP.EGO-CNSV(=EMPH)	'whoever'
suka mena	whoever NEG.COP.FACT	'no one'
suka man-ne(=ye)	whoever NEG.COP.EGO-CNSV(=EMPH)	'no one'
su=tɕi?(gaŋ)	who=INDEF(all)	'nobody'
su=daŋ su	who=CNTV who	'whoever'
su=daŋ gaŋ	who=CNTV all	'whoever'
re~re(=ʑin)	one~one (=SIMI)	'each one'

As can be seen in Table 65, most indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogative *su*. The form *yin-ne* is formed by a combination of the egophoric copula *yin* plus the concessive conditional marker *-ne*, optionally followed by the emphatic marker *=ye*. This resulting form is added to the interrogative *su* to make an indefinite reference to a person, 'anyone/anybody'. The interrogatives *su* and *suka* (not segmentable) combine with the negative factual copula *mena* or the negative egophoric copula *man* marked by the concessive conditional suffix *-ne*, and form two synonymous indefinite pronouns meaning 'no one'.

The root *su* combines with two grammatical elements, the indefinite marker *=tɕi?* and the emphatic marker *=raŋ*, and forms *su=tɕi?(gaŋ)* 'nobody' and *su=raŋ yin-ne* 'whoever'. The root *su* is repeated with the connective *=daŋ* and forms a synonymous indefinite pronoun *su=daŋ su* 'whoever' with an overtone of emphasis. Although the connective *=daŋ* is involved, the resulting form functions as an indefinite pronoun with the meaning 'whoever', which can be used as a substitute for an NP. One indefinite pronoun *re~re(=ʑin)* 'each one' is not based on an interrogative, but formed by repeating *re* 'each' with an optional similative enclitic *=ʑin*.

Examples of indefinite pronouns, involving interrogative words, occurring in sentences include:

(203) a. **suka**=la ŋa gur=næ tɕo=næ la-p^{h}i=di
whoever=DAT 1:SG bow=SEQ make=seq say-NOMZ=DEF

ŋa=e=ge=ge sem=ra mi-k^{h}or-pa-duŋ
1:SG=ERG=ERG=ERG mind=EMPH NEG-come-MIR-DIRECT.PERV
'I never used to think that I must fear or bow down before anyone'

b. **su=raŋ** **yin-ne** da ɲén sarbu gya-zin...
who=FOC COP.EGO-CNSV PART marriage newly do-SIM
'Whoever it is, when getting newly married...'

The form *suka* in (203a) and *su=raŋ* in (203b) have a general indefinite sense 'whoever'.

6.3 Demonstratives

Three types of demonstrative can be recognized in Brokpa: nominal demonstrative (§6.3.1), local adverbial demonstrative (§6.3.2), and demonstrative adverbs (§6.3.3).

6.3.1 Nominal demonstrative

Brokpa has two sets of nominal demonstrative: one set commencing with the voiced apico-alveolar stop /d/, and the other with the glottal stop /ʔ/. For ease of reference, I am calling the nominal demonstrative commencing with the apico-alveolar stop 'archaic nominal demonstrative' and the ones with the glottal-initial 'innovative nominal demonstrative'. The nominal demonstrative make a two-way spatial contrast— proximal and distal. Table 66 gives the two sets of nominal demonstratives in Brokpa.

Table 66. Nominal demonstrative in Brokpa

	ARCHAIC	**INNOVATIVE**	**GLOSS**
PROXIMAL	*di*	*ʔoti ~ woti, ʔani*	'this'
DISTAL	*de*	*ʔup^{h}i, ʔap^{h}i*	'that'

The Archaic demonstratives are less frequent, and the proximal and distal opposition is netutralized and functions as the definite marker following the head of an NP (see §10.1.4). However, as will be shown later in this section, the forms *di* and *de* still function as demonstratives and be the head of an NP.

The proximal nominal demonstrative commencing with the glottal stop *ʔoti* is used in free variation with *woti*, replacing the glottal initial /ʔ/ with the bilabial approximant /w/. It is sometimes reduced to *ʔot* ~ *wot* or just to *ʔo* ~ *wo*. The nominal demonstrative *ʔani* 'this' and *ʔap^{h}i* 'that' are shared with Dzongkha. These two demonstrative occur less frequently in Brokpa. The nominal demonstrative forms *di* and *de* are common to many Bodish languages including Dzongkha (see also van Driem and Tshering 2019; Watters 2018), Classical Tibetan (see also Beyer 1992; DeLancey 2003a), and Lhasa Tibetan (see among others, DeLancey 2003b).

All nominal demonstrative in Brokpa have deictic function pointing to some person or thing. A nominal demonstrative can have both anaphoric and cataphoric functions. Demonstratives are also used for forming sentential conjunctions to link clauses and sentences (see Chapter 15), and a demonstrative may be used for introducing new information and linking discourse units (see Chapter 16).

Examples of nominal demonstrative used deictically include:

(204) a. **ʔoti** ʔou ke=næ ʑaʔ dün=di=la...
DEM.PROX boy be.born=SEQ day seven=DEF=LOC
'On the seventh day after this boy was born...'

b. Tsemo Gonpa=se te **ʔup^{h}i** gonpa=ʑiʔ
Tsemo Gonpa=QUOT PART DEM.DIST monastery=INDEF

tɕ^{h}ak-tuʔ
establish-DIRECT
'The so-called Tsemo Gonpa, that very monastery has been established there'

c. **ʔup^{h}i** bomo=i miŋ=di **ʔo** lap-ki
DEM.DIST girl=GEN name=DEF DEM.PROX say-PRES.IMPERV
'That girl is known by so-and-so (this-and-this) name'

In (204a), the proximal nominal demonstrative *ʔoti* points to the noun *ʔou* 'boy', and in (204b) the distal nominal *ʔupʰi* points to the thing *gonpa* 'monastery'. In (204c), the distal *ʔupʰi* points to the possessor *bomo* 'girl', and the reduced proximal demonstrative *ʔo* makes up a full NP on its own.

A nominal demonstrative in Brokpa can occur in all core syntactic functions. Consider:

(205) a. [**ʔoti**=ge]A [kʰoŋ míser máŋ=baʔ=la]E [**ʔo**]O
DEM.PROX=ERG 3PL subject public=PL=DAT DEM.PROX

lap-pʰi-na
say-PERV-FACT
'Then this person (Ama Jomo) said this to the people'

b. ʔa te [**ʔani**]CS yakpo yinda
INTJ PART DEM:PROX good COP.MIR
'Oh, this is good'

In (205a), the proximal demonstrative *ʔoti*, which makes an anaphoric reference to Ama Jomo mentioned in an earlier part of the discourse, is in A syntactic function marked by the ergative case *=ge*. In the same example, what is said, the Gift role in O function, is also realized by the demonstrative *ʔo*. In (205b) the proximal demonstrative *ʔani* is in CS function. A demonstrative can also be in CC function, as in (206):

(206) [kunma gya-gan=di]CS [**ʔoti**]CC yinda
thief do-NOMZ:AGTV=DEF DEM.PROX COP.MIR
'This one is the thief'
Lit. 'One who has done stealing is this one'

The demonstrative *ʔoti* in CC function in (206) may be accompanied by a pointing gesture.

A nominal demonstrative can be the possessor, e.g. *ʔoti=gi ɲim=di=la* (DEM.PROX=GENday
'On this/that day'.

A nominal demonstrative in Brokpa can also have anaphoric and cataphoric roles, both substitution and textual. Examples of substitution anaphora include:

(207) den **Ama.Jomo** den matɕi? Jomo den Remati den
PART Ama.Jomo PART only.mother Jomo PART Remati PART

Dema = gi ʈülpa = ʑi? dʑuŋ = næ den...
Goddess.Tara = GEN emanation = INDEF arise = SEQ PART
'The emanation of Goddess Tara arose in the one and only, the mother Ama Jomo, also known as Remati...'

(208) **ʔoti** = ge den da pʰrugu = ʑi? kʰur = næ ʔololo = se den
DEM.PROX = GEN PART PART child = INDEF carry = SEQ ololo = QUOT PART

dʱok-pʰi dʱok-pʰi dʱok-soŋ sen
arrive-PERV arrive-PERV arrive-PERV.DIRECT REP
'It is said that this [anaphora] carried a baby and came singing 'ʔololo"

The topic Ama Jomo is introduced in (207) as an emanation or manifestation of the Goddess Tara. The demonstrative *ʔoti* in A function marked by the ergative *=ge* in (208) makes a reference to Ama Jomo. The demonstrative *ʔoti* in (208) is used as the substitute for the NP Ama Jomo, stated in (207).

A nominal demonstrative functioning as a substitution cataphora is in (209):

(209) **ʔoti** loʔ yoŋ-zin **sayum** = ge kʰyim kyampu gaŋyu
DEM.PROX again come-SIM earthquake house weak all

dʱap + taŋ-soŋ
knock + do-PERV.DIRECT
'When it [cataphora] occurred again, the earthquake knocked down all weak houses'

In (209), the nominal demonstrative *ʔoti* in the dependent clause is used as a substitute for the NP *sayum* 'earthquake' which is stated later in the sentence. In other words, the nominal demonstrative is used as a substitution cataphora here.

It is also possible for a nominal demonstrative in Brokpa to be used for textual anaphora and textual cataphora. For example, the nominal demonstrative *ʔani* in

example (205b) refers to whatever was mentioned earlier, which may be several sentences, including the one in example (205a). An example of a nominal demonstrative used for textual cataphora is in (210):

(210) **ʔoti** ʔeɕin man pʰrugu=baʔ=kʰe tɕʰaŋ tuŋ-pʰi=di
DEM.PROX good NEG.COP child=PL=ERG alcohol drink-NOMZ=DEF
'That children drink alcohol, is not good'
Lit. 'That is not good, children drinking alcohol'

Additionally, a demonstrative can have a temporal reference. For example, *ʔoti=la* (DEM.PROX=LOC) can mean either 'at this/that place' or 'at this/that time' depending on the discourse context. A demonstrative may occur with a relator associated with time such as *kap* as in *ʔoti kap=la* (DEM.PROXRELAT:OCN=LOC) 'at this time', or with the relator *ɕuŋ* as in *ʔoti ɕuŋ=næ* (DEM.PROXRELAT:AROUND=LOC) 'from around this time'.

The choice between a proximal form and a distal form does not always depend on relative distance or visibility. Sometimes a proximal form may be used in a circumstance where a distal is required, as examples (211a) and (211b) demonstrate. This may have something to do with emotional proximity or familiarity:

(211) a. **wot** Naktsang naŋ=di=la ŋi=baʔ=kʰe petɕʰa
DEM. Naktsang RELAT:INSD=DEF=LOC 1:PL=PL=ERG book

lap-sa...
study-NOMZ:LOC
'Inside that Naktsang, the place where we studied...'

b. **ʔo** naŋ=di=la ŋe=e petcʰa lap=næ...
DEM.PROX RELAT:INSD=DEF=LOC 1:SG=ERG book study=SEQ
'We studied inside that...'

In (211a), the variant form of the proximal demonstrative *wot(i)* is used although that Naktsang (a big building) the speaker is talking about is located in a completely different village. The speaker has studied inside that Naktsang and he may

have a feeling of emotional proximity to it. In the same vein, in (211b), the proximal demonstrative *ʔo* is used in a distal context.

If there are two objects in two relative locations with respect to the speaker, then clearly a proximal form is used for the one close to the speaker, and a distal form for the one farther away from the speaker.

The nominal demonstrative *di* and *de*, despite retaining their demonstrative function sporadically, take on discourse pragmatic functions. The form *di* takes on the role of a definite article and the form *de* functions more like a discourse particle, as a pause-filler.

The definite enclitic *=di* and the demonstrative *di* have a prosodic difference, in that the former is not stressed, whereas the latter is. The enclitic *=di*, as a marker of definiteness, is phonologically dependent on the host word, either the head noun or a modifying word. Therefore, the definite marker is realized as an enclitic. The proximal nominal demonstrative *di* is obligatorily lengthened in the absence of an affix and is realized as a word with an independent stress [ˈdiː]. Consider:

(212) a. **di**=ge máts^{h}æ ʑaŋzen Pema Wangchuk=ye
DEM.PROX=INST not.only brother.in.law Pema Wangchuk=EMPH

ʔo naŋ=la suŋ+dʑön
DEM.PROX RELAT:INSD=LOC speech+come:HON
'Not only this, brother-in-law Pema Wangchuk also has spoken in here'

b. te ʔou=**di** p^{h}a=la ʑot+taŋ-zina...
PART boy=DEF there=all prepare+send-sim
'When sending the boy there...'

Example (212a) shows the occurrence of the demonstrative *di*. In this example, *di* functions as the NP head, taking the ergative/instrumental marker. In example (212b), the marker of definiteness *=di* identifies the unique referent *ʔou* 'boy'.

6.3.2 Local adverbial demonstrative

Local adverbial demonstrative are formed from other words, typically nominal demonstrative, by adding the locative/alative suffix *=la*. For example, two simple local adverbial demonstratives, *ʔo=la* (DEM.PROX=LOC) and *ʔupʰi=la* (DEM.DIST=LOC) making spatial contrasts 'here' and 'there', respectively, are formed by adding the locative/allative case enclitic *=la* to the proximal nominal demonstrative *ʔo* 'this' and the distal nominal demonstrative *ʔupʰi* 'that'. There is a tendency for the final vowel to be omitted, rendering *ʔo=la* → ['ʔol] and *ʔupʰi=la* → [ʔu.pʰil]. (It appears that the demonstrative *ʔo* plus the locative *=la* have formed an additional local adverbial demonstrative form; one can sometimes hear *ʔola=la* (here=LOC) 'here', in which the first *=la* has co-lexicalized forming part of the local adverbial demonstrative stem, and forming a grammatical word (see §3.3.6) .

Local adverbial demonstrative can be separated into two types: (a) local adverbial demonstrative with deictic function which do not code height; and (b) local adverbial demonstrative which code height and stance, in addition to the spatial pointing references. Following Aikhenvald (2015a:188) and Post (2011, 2019), the demonstrative which include information about height and stance determined topographically, among others, will be referred to as expressing 'topographic deixis'.

First, consider the local adverbial demonstrative which do not code height. Table 67 gives a list of local adverbial demonstrative which make a two-way spatial contrast.

Table 67. Local adverbial demonstrative in Brokpa

FORM	ETYMOLOGY	FEATURE	MEANING
ʔo(ti)=la	this = LOC	PROXIMAL	'here'
di=la	this = LOC	PROXIMAL	'here'
ʔon		PROXIMAL	'here'
dotil		PROXIMAL	'here'
ʔupʰi=la	that = LOC	DISTAL	'there'
ʔun=la	that = LOC	DISTAL	'there'

All local adverbial demonstrative, provided in Table 67, can have spatial deictic reference and include distance in relation to the speaker, proximal or distal; however, they do not have height reference such as upward or downward and higher or lower than the speaker.

Examples of local adverbial demonstrative occurring in sentences include:

(213) a. ŋa diriŋ **ʔo=la** yo
1SG today DEM.PROX=LOC EXIST:EXIST.EGO
'Today I have come **here**'

b. kʰi=ge **ʔupʰi=la** tɕʰi=næ...
2:SG=ERG DEM.DIST=LOC go=SEQ
'You go **there**...'
Lit. "You, by/after going there..."

When the proximal nominal demonstrative *ʔo(ti)* occurs with the locative case *=la*, it acquires the local adverbial meaning of 'here', as in (213a). In the same vein, when the distal nominal demonstrative *ʔupʰi* occurs with the locative case *=la*, it has the local adverbial meaning of 'there', as in (213b). Table 68 gives the markers of topographic deixis in Brokpa.

Table 68. Topographic deixis in Brokpa

FORM	ETYMOLOGY	FEATURE	MEANING
ya(=la), ya(=te)	up(=LOC/ALL)	UPWARD	'up there/upwards'
ma(=la), ma(=te)	down(=LOC/ALL)	DOWNWARD	'down there/downwards'
ʔoyi(=la)	up.there(=LOC)	UPWARD + DISTAL	'up there'
ʔumi(=la)	down.there(=LOC)	DOWNWARD + DISTAL	'down there'
pʰal(=la)	thither(=LOC/ALL)	SAME LEVEL + DISTAL	'over there/thither'
tsʰul(=la)	hither(=LOC/ALL)	SAME LEVEL + PROXIMAL	'over here/hither'
ditɕʰoʔ(=la)	this.side(=LOC/ALL)	SAME LEVEL + PROXIMAL	'here/this side'
pʰetɕʰoʔ(=la)	that.side(=LOC/ALL)	SAME LEVEL + DISTAL	'there/that side'
gyen(=te)	up.slope(=ALL)	UPHILL	'uphill'
tʰur(=te)	down.slope(=ALL)	DOWNHILL	'downhill'

All topographic deixis optionally take locative/allative case *=la* or the allative *=te*. Note that these topographic deixis function as single lexical items, despite some being formed by two lexical items. Each disyllabic topographic deixis, such as *ditɕʰoʔ*, forms a single phonological word.

Every demonstrative in Table 68 encodes relative height, stance, and direction in addition to spatial reference and all fulfill the criteria of a topographic deixis. Consider:

(214) a. nor=di den nám so: **ya=la** la:=la za-zin...
cattle=DEF DEM season spring up=ALL mountain=ALL climb-SIM
'When the cattle climb **upwards** towards the mountain in the spring season...'

b. den gun **ma=te** ton **ma=te** lo?=næ te...
PART winter down=ALL autumn down=ALL return=ABL PART
'So then in winter and autumn, we return **downwards**...'

In these two examples, (214a) and (214b), the speaker is talking about the transhumant lifestyle of the Brokpa people. He uses the demonstrative *ya(=la)* to refer to the practice of taking the cattle up in the spring season and *ma(=te)* to bringing them down in winter and autumn. In both expressions, *ya=la* and *ma=te* have deictic function as well as a height reference.

The demonstrative *ditɕʰo?* 'this side/hither' and *pʰetɕʰo?* 'that side/thither' have spatial, directional, and deictic functions. Consider:

(215) a. den **ditɕʰo?** kʰim=la dok=næ
DEM this.side house=LOC reach=SEQ
'Then, after arriving at the house this side...'

b. Yeshi Khandom Numa=gi **pʰetɕʰo?**=di=la bæ+yu:
Yeshi Khandom Numa=GEN that.side=DEF=LOC hidden+village

yo
COP:EXIST
'There is Hidden Village on the other side of Yeshi Khandoma Numa'

Both *ditɕʰo?* and *pʰetɕʰo?* encode height level. They can refer to this side or that side of something at the same level as the point of reference such as a river in between. Some body part terms are used with the locative/allative marker to refer to an upper or lower part of something. For example, *go=la* 'head = LOC' can be used to mean the upper reaches of a valley, river, mountain, etc., and *dʑu?=la* 'tail =LOC' can be used to refer to the lower reaches. Similarly, nouns *to:* 'upper part', *bar* 'middle part, *mɑ́* 'lower part' of something can occur with the locative/allative enclitic *=la*, and refer to the upper part, the middle part, or the lower part of a mountain, river, or village.

6.3.3 Demonstrative adverbs

Brokpa has demonstrative adverbs *?otɕins~wotɕins, ?oɖou* and *?ozum*. These demonstrative adverbs have a similative meaning 'like this' or 'like that'. A demonstrative

adverb is used as a pre-head predicate modifier. It is used to describe the manner of doing something, with deictic effect and can be accompanied by a mimicking action.

The demonstrative adverb *ʔoɖou* is formed by the proximal nominal demonstrative *ʔo* and the similative suffix *-ɖou*, and *ʔozum* by the nominal demonstrative *ʔo* and the similative suffix *-zum*. Note that *-ɖou* and *-zum* are non-word-class-changing derivational suffixes (see §8.3), but with nominal demonstrative they form demonstrative adverbs which function as single lexemes. There is another similar word *ʔoŋɕik* which has a meaning of 'this much', which relates to quantity. Although these words—*ʔotɕins, ʔoɖou, ʔozum, ʔoŋɕik*— have transparent etymologies, such as the demonstrative *ʔo* and the similative *-ɖou*, they can be recognized as established words in the language. These forms, such as *ʔotɕins*, are understood and learned as a unit by the native speakers with a meaning of its own.

Examples (216a) and (216b) illustrate the use of *ʔotɕins* with a similative meaning 'like this/that':

(216) a. ʔadʑaŋ=ge yin-ne lóp^{h} **ʔotɕins** lap=næ...
father.in.law=ERG COP.EGO-CNSV talk like.this say=SEQ
'Even father-in-law spoke like this...'

b. Jomo Sök^{h}a **ʔotɕins** ɖo-mi=gi lamsol
Jomo Sökha like.that go-NOMZ=GEN tradition

yo-ti-na
COP:EXIST.EGO-NOMZ-FACT
'There is a tradition of going like that for (performing) Jomo Sökha'

In (216a), the speaker is talking about a bitter argument that broke out between his parents and the parents of his ex-wife regarding their broken marriage. He uses the demonstrative adverb *ʔotɕins* to describe the manner in which even his father-in-law, otherwise a quiet man, said something like that (shouting furiously) with a mimicking action.

In (216b), in the early part of the narration, the speaker has explained how every Brokpa family must go on a pilgrimage to Jomo Phodrang, the dwelling place of

their deity Ama Jomo, and perform Jomo Sökha 'Petition Prayer to Ama Jomo'. The narrator mentioned that they have to prepare food offerings and get ready with horses. After they have set out on the pilgrimage journey, on every leg of it, the pilgrims must take part in a burst of activities. After narrating some of those activities, he summarizes them to the effect 'There is a tradition of going LIKE THAT (doing all those things on the way)'. Here, the demonstrative adverb *ʔotɕins* describes the manner of going on that pilgrimage, and also functions as textual anaphora.

6.4 Interrogatives

Interrogatives in Brokpa consist of content questions and polar questions. Content questions are asked by means of interrogative words and polar question with particles (see §6.11. A content question seeks information and a polar question confirmation or disavowal, along the lines of Dixon (2012:377). Table 69 gives the list of interrogative words in Brokpa.

Table 69. Interrogatives in Brokpa

FORM	GLOSS	RELATES TO
su	'who'	nouns
ga	'who, where'	nouns
tɕi, tɕika, tɕinam	'what'	nouns
tsan	'when'	time words
tsam, gaŋzam	'how many; how much'	adjectives, quantifiers
tɕin, tɕitɕin	'how'	adverbials
tɕak^{h}an	'which', 'how many', 'what'	nouns, adjectives, quantifiers
gati, gan, gaŋ	'where'	nouns, adverbials
tɕigyan	'why'	adverbials

The interrogative words relate to different word classes such as nouns, adjectives, adverbials, and time words. However, on the basis of certain shared properties, we can establish what (Dixon 2012:409) refers to as a 'pan-basic-word-classes word

class' for the closed set of 'interrogatives' in Brokpa. The shared properties of the interrogatives in Brokpa may include:

1) An interrogative converts a statement into a question.

2) When an interrogative is used, the speaker expects an answer, except in a rhetorical question.

3) An interrogative can be used in an echo question.

4) An interrogative precedes the predicate within a clause, except in an echo question.

5) An interrogative typically bears a sentence stress or prosodic stress, and has a distinctive intonation pattern (see §14.2).

6) An interrogative can be used as an indefinite, either specific or general.

7) An interrogative can be embedded as an 'interrogative complement clause'.

8) An interrogative typically commences with an affricate /ts/ or /tɕ/, both voiceless unaspirated affricate.

Lexical interrogatives share most of the properties (1) - (8). Lexical interrogatives relating to adverbials may not satisfy property (6). Note that polar particles share properties (1) - (3) with lexical interrogatives.

Diachronically, the Brokpa interrogatives *tɕi* 'what' and *su* 'who' are the same as <ci> 'what', 'why' and <su> 'who' in Old Tibetan. They can be found in old Buddhist canons in expressions such <ci'i phyir> 'for which/what reason?', <su la red> 'to whom is it?'. They are also attested in Classical Tibetan.

These two interrogatives, *tɕi* and *su*, are shared with many other Bodish languages including Chocha-ngachakha, another Central Bodish language spoken in Bhutan.

The Proto-Lolo-Burmese has **su* 'who/remote 3rd person pronoun' (see Matisoff 2003:180), the same as the Brokpa interrogative *su* 'who'.

The two other lexical interrogatives *gan* and *gaŋ* both meaning 'where' can be related to <ga.nas> and <gang> 'who/what/which' in both Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan.

The Brokpa interrogatives *ga* 'who' and *gati* 'where' are evidently borrowed from Dzongkha (cf. Dzongkha interrogative pronouns *g'â* 'who' and *g'âte* 'where') (also see van Driem and Tshering 2019; Watters 2018:195).

Save for the interrogatives *su, ga, gate, gan* and *gaŋzam,* all lexical interrogatives in Brokpa commence with an affricate *ts-* or *tɕ-,* akin to the *wh-* pattern of English lexical interrogatives. Moreover, most Dzongkha lexical interrogatives begin with the dorso-velar stop /g/, the reason why those two interrogatives, *ga* and *gate,* in Brokpa are hypothesised to be Dzongkha loans.

Most Tshangla lexical interrogatives commence with the voiceless fricative /h/, as in *hang* 'what', *hala* 'when', *hani* 'why', *haptur* 'how much', etc. Interestingly, Tshangla interrogatives are not found in Brokpa, despite their geographical contiguity.

The features and syntactic possibilities of the interrogatives in Brokpa will be explored in §14.2.4.

6.5 Relator nouns

Brokpa has a group of relator nouns (see among others, Thompson 1965:149; Starosta 1985; DeLancey 1997b, DeLancey 2005 for discussions on 'relator nouns'), which occur in a relator noun construction and makes further specification of spatial and/or temporal location. A relator noun construction in Brokpa consists of a complex NP in peripheral argument function, in which a lexical noun is in the possessor R slot, and a relator noun is in the possessed D slot. The lexical noun in the R slot may or may not be marked with the genitive. Although the relator noun is in the D slot, the relator noun performs the function of a postposition, and does not behave as the syntactic head of the NP.

The relator noun constructions are shared by most Bodish languages including Dzongkha (see also Watters 2018), Kurtöp (see Hyslop 2014), Denjongke (see Ylinemi 2019), Tshangla, Classical Tibetan (see also DeLancey 1997b, 2005), and Lhasa

Tibetan (see DeLancey 1997b, 2005). Relator nouns in these different languages may be on a different stages of grammaticalization to adpositions.

Cross-linguistically, the relator noun constructions are supposed to be one of the two historical sources of adpositions, the other being serial verb constructions (see DeLancey 1997b, 2005).

The relator nouns expressing grammatical relations in languages such as Mam, a Mayan language, are found to be obligatorily possessed (see England 1983:71). Relator construction in Classical Tibetan also typically involves genitive marking (see also DeLancey 1997b, 2005). DeLancey notes that even those relator nouns which are more grammaticalized in Lhasa Tibetan require genitive marking, while some no longer require genitive marking.

As pointed out above, in Brokpa the genitive marking within a relator noun construction is optional, akin to the relator noun constructions in Denjongke (see Yliniemi 2019:127). Further, a relator noun in Brokpa may occur with or without the locative/allative case enclitic. This suggests that the relator nouns in Brokpa have taken the role of postpositions. A relator noun in Brokpa may have more than one postpositional meaning, and the meanings of two or more relator nouns may overlap. For this reason, the relator nouns are glossed with their erstwhile lexical nominal meaning, and their postpositional meanings are mentioned in the discussions.

6.5.1 The relator noun *naŋ* 'inside'

The relator noun *naŋ* has the nominal meaning of 'inside'. It is a frequently occurring word expressing locative relation in clauses. Typically it indicates a location within something, so it is an inessive relator which has a meaning of 'in' when it occurs with a spatial peripheral argument, or 'in' or 'at' with a temporal peripheral argument. The relator *naŋ* specifies spatial location as in (217a) and (217c), or temporal location as in (217b). It is glossed 'RELAT:INSD', an inessive relator with its original meaning of 'inside'. Consider:

(217) a. te kʰyim **naŋ**=la tunɖe+gya=næ...
PART house RELAT:INSD=LOC discussion+do=SEQ
'After discussing in the house...'

b. dʱau ŋápe=i **naŋ**=la tɕʰökʰor gya-mi
month fifth=GEN RELAT:INSD Dharma.circumambulation do-IMPERV

sö=ɕi? duŋ[1]
tradition=INDEF COP.DIRECT.PERV
'There was a tradition of doing Dharma circumambulation in the fifth month'

c. názi-gyan ná? **naŋ**=la dʱæ-ti yo
herder-ADV forest RELAT:INSD=LOC stay-NOMZ COP:EXIST.EGO
'I am here **in** the forest as herder'

d. bomo=gi kʰyim **naŋ** tʰö+ɖo-mi=gi tsʰe...
girl=GEN house RELAT:INSD appear+go-IMPERV=GEN date
'The date of going in to the bride's house'

In (217b), the relator *naŋ* is linked to the preceding NP *dʱau ŋápa* 'fifth month' by the genitive allomorph *=i*, and it appears in the slot of the possessed D. However, the meaning of this peripheral argument *dʱau ŋápa* plus the relator *naŋ* is 'in the fifth month', which indicates that the noun *dʱau ŋápa* is the head of the NP, and that the relator *naŋ* only functions as a marker of temporal location. This is further supported by the fact that the locative marker *=la* on the relator *naŋ* is optional. Furthermore, the genitive marking on the head noun *dʱau ŋápa* is optional. As can be seen in (217a) and (217c), the relator *naŋ* occurs in juxtaposition with the head of the NP without being possessed.

As noted above, the relator *naŋ* can also occur without the locative case as in (217d), wherein it effectively functions as a grammatical marker of spatial location.

The relator *naŋ* may co-occur with the relator *ɕuŋ* 'during' (§6.5.10) as in (218a), but not with other relators. When *naŋ* and *ɕuŋ* co-occur, they have an overtone of making an exact specification of location, spatial or temporal, to the effect 'in (that

[1] This tradition still exists. The speaker has moved out of the village and uses the past existential copula *duŋ* instead of the present *yo*.

particular place)' or 'at (that particular time)'. The relator *naŋ* may be followed by the marker of definiteness, as in (218b). The relator *naŋ* takes the ablative =*læ* when it indicates movement away from the referent, spatial or temporal, of the NP; or when it indicates the source of something, as in (218c):

(218) a. lumba=i **naŋ-ɕuŋ**=la muzu=i ɲóm=ba?
village=GEN RELAT:INSD-RELAT:AROUND=LOC other=GEN other=PL

doŋ=la...
RELAT:FACE=LOC
'In front of other people in the village.'

b. yigu **naŋ**=di=la tɕitɕin se-na...
letter RELAT:INSD=DEF=LOC how say-COND
'If I mention what is all in the letter...'

c. tɕʰö-tshi? **naŋ=læ**=ye ʔokʰan=ʑi?
Dharma-word RELAT:INSD=ABL=EMPH like.that=INDEF

tʰö-yo-ti-ɖou=ʑi? yin
appear-PRES-NOMZ-same=INDEF COP:EGO
'It appears that something like that is mentioned in the Dharma scripture also'

The relator *naŋ*, followed by other grammatical morphemes including case and definiteness markers, can occur with demonstrative and form sentential connectors or conjunctions, as in (219a) and (219b):

(219) a. ʔoti **naŋ**=di=la
DEM.PROX RELAT:INSD=DEF=LOC
'so/therefore'

b. ʔoti **naŋ**=næ
DEM.PROX RELAT:INSD=ABL
'importantly/moreover'

The sentential connectors formed this way, as in (219a) and (219b), can be used for linking clauses (Chapter 15), sentences, and stretches of discourse (Chapter 16).

Note that *naŋ* retains its original lexical meaning as in *naŋ mi* (inside person) 'family member'. A particular room inside a house, used as a multipurpose room, is also referred to as *naŋ*. The *naŋ*, in these two senses, can function as head of an NP, which is distinct from the grammatical meaning of the relator *naŋ*.

6.5.2 The relator noun *bar* 'middle'

The relator *bar* meaning 'middle' specifies both spatial or temporal location. It expresses a relational sense of 'between', 'within', 'in the middle of', 'in between', etc. It is glossed 'RELAT:MIDL'. The relator *bar* takes the same grammatical morphemes as *naŋ* (§6.5.1). Example sentences with the relator *bar* constructions are provided in (220a) and (220b):

(220) a. ʔoyi bra? **bar** = la tu?
up.there cliff RELAT:MIDL = LOC EXIST.COP.DIRECT
'It is up there halfway up the cliff'

b. pʰal-tsʰul **bar** = la kʰoŋ mi ɲí~ɲí sum~sum
thither-hither RELAT:MIDL = LOC 3:PL person two~two three~three

tɕʰin = næ...
go = SEQ
'They go between here and there in groups of twos or threes...'

As with other relator nouns, the relator *bar* may occupy the slot of the possessed D, but it expresses locative relationship and does not function as the head of an NP. The relator *bar* sometimes takes on the same relational meaning as the lative relators *tsʰuntsʰon*, *sumke*, or *sakai*, all meaning 'until' (§6.5.11). The relator *bar* may also co-occur with a lative relator with or without genitive marking on the first relator, as in (221a) and (221b):

(221) a. dato **tsʰuntsʰon** = gi **bar** = la laika gya + dʱæ-ti = baʔ
now RELAT:UNTIL = GEN RELAT:MIDL = LOC work do + stay-NOMZ = PL
'The works which I have been doing until this time...'

b. tsʰe tɕik=næ kʰaː=ʑiʔ=gi **bar-sumke**...
date one=ABL twenty=INDEF=GEN RELAT:MIDL-RELAT:UNTIL
'From the first up to the twentieth date....'

In (220), the relator *bar* makes further specification of spatial location, and in (221) temporal location. Note that the co-occurrence of two relators following the same peripheral argument creates a semantic effect of making precise specification of spatial or temporal location.

It is instructive to emphasize here that even when a relator is possessed, it has a syntactic function of indicating locative or case relationship, and the possessed relator does not behave like a morphologically possessed noun. In other words, the possessed relator does not function as the head of the possessive phrase, instead it functions as a postpositional locative marker. This shows that the genitive has lost its function as a marker of intra-NP possessive relation in this kind of construction (noun plus relator), and the genitive marker simply functions as a linker between the postpositional relator and the NP head.

6.5.3 The relator noun *tse* 'tip'

The relator *tse* originally meaning 'tip', 'peak', or an 'apex' of something makes further specification of a spatial location. Unlike *naŋ* and *bar*, the relator *tse* does not specify temporal location. As a postpositional relator, it has a superessive meaning of 'on', 'above', 'over', etc. It is glossed 'RELAT:TIP', a superessive relator with its original meaning of 'tip'. The original meaning of this relator can be understood as 'tip' or 'peak', because this form is still used as a noun with this meaning. For example, a mountain or a treetop can be referred to as *tse*.

Like other relator nouns, the relator *tse* can occur following a noun marked by genitive as in (222c), or it can occur in juxtaposition with the head noun, as in (222a) and (222b):

(222) a. ʔuntɕin bomo ya=la tan **tse**=la dʱæ-na=ye
beforehand girl up=LOC mat RELAT:TIP=LOC sit-COND=EMPH

ɖik-ku
be.ok-FUT.IMPERV
'It is okay even if the bride sits on the mat up there beforehand'

b. ʔot baŋɕuŋ **tse**=di=la to: karbo
DEM.PROX bamboo.bowl RELAT:TIP=DEF=LOC food white

mik=kʰe má-tʰoŋ-ŋai ɕa kar-ɕa már-ɕa=ge kʰyeŋ
eye=INST NEG-see-NOMZ meat white-meat red-meat=INST fill
'The white rice in (lit. on) the bamboo bowl, covered with white meat (pork) and red meat (beef)'

c. gʱo=gi **tse**=næ den ya=la ʈʰom
door=GEN RELAT:TIP =ABL PART up=LOC wooden.frame

laŋ-tʰaŋ...
lay-NOMZ:MANR
'The way of laying the frame on the door...'

The relator *tse* combines with the definite article *=di* and the locative *=la*, and functions as a clause linker, occurring after a dependent clause ending in a nominalized verb, as in (223a). Furthermore, the relator noun *tse* can occur with demonstrative and function as a clause linker with the meaning 'on top of', 'in addition to', as in (223b):

(223) a. tɕʰaŋ=ye maŋbo=ʑi ʔ ga-li **tse**=di=la...
alcohol=EMPH many=INDEF go-NOMZ RELAT:TIP=DEF=LOC
'On top of consuming quite an amount of alcohol...'

b. ʔo(ti=gi) **tse**=la
DEM.PROX(=GEN) RELAT:TIP=LOC
'in addition/besides/furthermore'

The relator *tse* followed by the definite marker *=di* and the locative case *=la* has a sense of 'on top of' or 'in addition' in (223a). Similarly, the demonstrative plus the relator *tse* followed by the locative *=la* has a meaning of 'in addition to' in (223b), which marks a same-event type of clause linkage (see Chapter 15).

6.5.4 The relator noun *teŋ* 'surface'

The relator *teŋ* literally 'surface' or 'plain ground' expresses a location of the referent of a noun. The relator *teŋ* takes on the meaning of 'on' or 'on top of', which is similar to the relator *tse* (§6.5.3)'. Consider:

(224) a. kʰyim=gi goŋgo **teŋ**=di=la dok-sin...
house=GEN threshold RELAT:SURF=DEF=LOC arrive-SIM
'When arriving at the door of the house...'
Lit. 'While arriving on the door of the house'

b. ʔoti ɲúgu ɖi+ʈʰi **teŋ**=la ʑoʔ
DEM.PROX pen writing+table RELAT:SURF=LOC keep:IMP:CAN
'Keep this pen on the desk'

In both (224a) and (224b), the relator *teŋ* functions as a marker of spatial peripheral argument with the locative case *=la*. Note that the locative case following the relator *teŋ* is optional. The relator *teŋ* alone can indicate the locative relationship.

The relator *teŋ* may also occur following a nominalized clause, as in (225a) and (225b):

(225) a. ŋe=raŋ pʰame=i ɖup-ʑak-pi
1:PL=REFL parents=ERG accumulate-keep-NOMZ:GEN

teŋ=di=la ɲámbu dʱæ+ʑaʔ-go
RELAT:SURF=DEF=LOC with stay+keep-OBLIG
'We must live together **on top of** what our parents have acquired'

b. Tawang.Thang=se lap-pʰi **teŋ**=di=la
Tawang.Thang=QUOT say-NOMZ RELAT:SURF=DEF=LOC

dantɕʰa gya=næ...
farewell.drink do=SEQ
'They serve farewell drinks at what is known as Tawang Thang...'
Lit. 'They serve farewell drinks on what is known as Tawang Thang..'

In (225a), the relator *teŋ* applies to a dependent nominalized clause, effectively functioning as a clause linker. In (225b), the relator *teŋ* marks the peripheral argument

followed by the nominalized form of the generic verb *lap* 'to say'. Note that most relators can occur following a nominalized dependent clause or a peripheral argument realized by nominalization.

6.5.5 The relator noun *ɦoʔ* 'underside'

The relator noun *ɦoʔ*, as a nominal, refers to the 'underside (of something)' or 'bottom' of something, especially the ground floor of a house. As a postpositional relator, *ɦoʔ* has a meaning of 'under', 'underneath', 'in', as in (226a) and (226b). It also has a meaning of 'below', as in (226c):

(226) a. ʔou=gi rima **ɦoʔ**=la tsaŋso=ɕiʔ tuʔ
boy=GEN shadow RELAT:UNDS=LOC lizard=INDEF EXIST.COP.DIRECT
'There is a lizard in that boy's shadow'

b. kʰo=di tʰimsuŋgakpa=i dodam **ɦoʔ**=la
3SG.MASC=DEF police=GEN custody RELAT:UNDS=LOC

ʑaʔ-pi-yinda
keep-PERV-MIR
'He was kept in police custody'

c. Genggo l̥akʰaŋ **ɦoʔ**=la Buchung.Kewa.Zangpo=i kuduŋ
Gengo temple RELAT:UNDS=LOC Buchung.Kewa.Zangpo=GEN relic

yo
EXIST.COP.EGO
'Below the Gengo temple, there are relics of Buchung Kewa Zangpo'

As with other relator nouns, the locative case following the relator *ɦoʔ* is optional. It can also occur following a noun optionally marked by genitive.

Note that there is another relator *ra* meaning 'base' of something, such as the 'root buttress' of a tree, which is used as a postposition with the same meaning as the relator *ɦoʔ*. Examples include:

(227) a. ŋa = e ŋa = i tɕʰampaŋ **ra** = la pir + ʑa?-pi
1S = ERG 1SG = GEN armpit RELAT:BASE = LOC press + keep-PERV
'I pressed under/below my armpit[2]'

b. ŋa ɕiŋ = gi **ra** = la ɲa:-li
1SG tree = GEN RELAT:BASE sleep-PERV
'I slept under the tree'

The relator noun *ra* can occur following a noun marked with genitive, as in (227b), or without genitive marking, as in (227a). In both, *ra* makes a further specification of spatial location with the meaning of 'under'. This relator noun is shared with Tshangla, but *ra* in Tshangla has a meaning of both 'under' and 'near'. Unlike other relator nouns in Brokpa, the relator *ra* seems to require the locative case marker obligatorily, which suggests that it may be a borrowing from Tshangla. The relator *ra* in Tshangla obligatorily requires the locative case marker *-ga*.

6.5.6 The relator noun *tɕʰo?* 'direction'

The relator noun *tɕʰo?* meaning 'direction' specifies spatial location and takes on the postpositional meaning of 'to', 'towards'. It only indicates spatial, and not temporal, location. Examples include:

(228) a. Merak = ki lumba = i **tɕʰo?** = la ɖo-go-pʰi
Merak = GEN village = GEN RELAT:DIR = ALL go-OBLIG-PERV
'(I) have to go towards Merak village'

b. ʔoti sago **tɕʰo?** = la ɖo-má-tɕʰo?-pi[3]
DEM.PROX jurisdiction RELAT:DIR = ALL go-NEG-PERM-PERV
'It is not allowed to go to this place'

In (228a), the relator noun *tɕʰo?* has an allative postpositional sense of 'to' or 'towards'. It occurs following the noun *lumba* 'village'/'valley', which is marked with

[2] In the Merak accent, the term for armpit is *tɕʰinpoŋ*.

[3] The relator *tɕʰo?* and the permissive modality *tɕʰo?* are homophones. Both morphemes are shared with Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha. In written Dzongkha and Classical Tibetan, the two morphemes are distinguished by spellings <phyogs> 'direction' and <chog> 'allowed/can be done'.

the genitive allomorph. As with most relator nouns, the genitive marking on the noun *lumba* and the locative case *=la* following the relator noun *tɕʰo?* are optional. In (228b) too, the relator *tɕʰo?* has an allative meaning of 'to' or 'towards', and in this example it occurs without the genitive marking on the preceding noun.

The relator *tɕʰo?* occurs with a word referring to the direction of the compass with an allative *=la*, and has an allative meaning 'towards X', in which X is a cardinal direction such as 'east' or an intermediate direction such as 'north-east', as in (229):

(229)			
	ɕar (=gi) tɕʰo?=la	east RELAT:DIR=ALL	'towards east'
	l̥o (=gi) tɕʰo?=la	south RELAT:DIR=ALL	'towards south'
	núp (=ki) tɕʰo?=la	west RELAT:DIR=ALL	'towards west'
	dʑaŋ-ɕar (=gi) tɕʰo?=la	north-east RELAT:DIR=ALL	'towards north-east'

As indicated by parentheses following the words associated with direction in (229), the genitive marking is optional.

6.5.7 The relator *tsʰam* 'vicinity'

The relator noun *tsʰam* meaning 'vicinity' or 'boundary' specifies both spatial and temporal locations. It has postpositional meanings including 'around', 'nearby', 'almost', and sometimes 'to'. As with other relator nouns, the locative case *=la* on *tsʰam* is optional. Examples of *tsʰam* indicating spatial location include:

(230) a. kʰoŋ=ba? halam yu: **tsʰam** dʱok-tʰu?
3PL=PL almost village RELAT:VICI arrive-COP:EXIST.DIRECT
'They have arrived around the village'

b. di ʔe **tsʰam**=la kʰer+ʑa:=næ
DEM grandmother RELAT:VICI=LOC take-leave-SEQ
'After taking this (close) to grandmother....'

c. mal gebo **tsʰam** tɕʰin=næ...
down:ALL king RELAT:VICI go:PAST=SEQ
'He went down to (the presence of) the king...'

In all examples, (230a), (230b), and (230c), the relator noun *ts^{h}am* is functioning as a marker of grammatical relation, indicating a locative relationship of the NP, which it follows.

Examples of the relator *ts^{h}am* occurring with temporal peripheral arguments include:

(231) a. d^{ɦ}aː dunpa **ts^{h}am**=la nor=baʔ ya=te
month seventh RELAT:VICI cattle=PL up=ALL

k^{h}er-go-k^{h}u-na
take-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'We have to take the livestock uphill around the seventh (lunar) month'

b. Lopon.Rimpoche=di dürap gæpa **ts^{h}am**=la
Lopon.Rimpoche=DEF century eighth RELAT:VICI

ʈ^{h}uŋ-p^{h}i-yin-to
be.born:HON-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'Lopon Rimpoche (Guru Rimpoche) was born in the eighth century'

As with other relator nouns, the relator noun *tsham* may be preceded by the genitive marking in both (231a) and (231b). Also, the locative case marking on the relator *ts^{h}am* is optional.

Note that the relator noun *ts^{h}am* 'vicinity' is semantically close to the relator noun *ɕuŋ* 'around' (§6.5.10). Both can be used to mark spatial as well as temporal arguments (E, peripheral). However, *ts^{h}am* can be used with both animate and inanimate referents, while *ɕuŋ* can be used only with inanimate referents. Thus, one can say (232a) but not (232b):

(232) a. ŋa=i ʔe **ts^{h}am**=la tɕ^{h}i-ti
1SG=GEN grandmother RELAT:VICI=LOC go-PERV
'I went to (near) my grandmother'

b. *ŋa=i ʔe **ɕuŋ**=la tɕ^{h}i-ti
1SG=GEN grandmother RELAT:AROUND=LOC go-PERV

Further discussion of the relator noun *ɕuŋ* and exemplification are in §6.5.10.

6.5.8 The relator nouns *kap* 'occasion'

The relator *kap* meaning 'occasion' or 'moment' specifies temporal location of an event. This relator noun does not specify spatial location. As a postposition, *kap* has a meaning of 'at', 'at the time of', 'around', 'during' and some cases 'in'. Examples include:

(233) a. te ʔoti **kap**=di=la námesame=ʑiʔ
PART DEM.PROX RELAT:OCN=DEF=LOC very.much=INDEF

ma-dʑuŋ-du-dʑuŋ-na=ye...
NEG-arise-LK-arise-COND=EMPH
'Even if nothing serious happened at this time...'

b. te ʔun=la=raŋ dʱo-bi=gi **kap**=su=la...
PART earlier=FOC stay-NOMZ=GEN RELAT:OCN=LOC=LOC
'At the time of living in a bygone age....'

In both (233a) and (233b), the relator noun *kap* indicates temporal location with the meaning of 'at' or 'during'. The relator *kap* optionally takes the rather infrequent locative marker *=su* along with *=la* as in (233b).

6.5.9 The relator noun *gaŋ* 'moment'

Brokpa has another relator noun *gaŋ* meaning 'moment' or 'occasion', the same meanings as the relator noun *kap* (§6.5.8). Both *gaŋ* and *kap* are shared with Dzongkha and Tshangla. For distinction, the relator *gaŋ* is glossed 'moment', while *kap* is glossed 'occasion'. As a postposition, the relator *gaŋ* indicates temporal location with the same meanings as the relator noun *kap*. Consider:

(234) lumba=la muge tʰæ=næ ʔo **gaŋ**=la
village=LOC famine come:PERV=SEQ DEM.PROX RELAT:MOM=LOC

mí ɕokɕik ɕi-li-na
person many die-PERV-FACT
'Famine struck the village and many people died at that time'

In (234), the relator *gaŋ* indicates temporal location with the meaning of 'at', which is also the meaning expressed by the relator *kap*. The relator *kap* in (233a) and (233b) can be replaced by the relator noun *gaŋ* with no difference in meaning.

Note that the relator *gaŋ* may co-occur with the relator *ɕuŋ* optionally marked by the locative *=la*, when it specifies temporal location (see §6.5.9).

6.5.10 The relator noun *ɕuŋ* 'around'

Brokpa has a frequently occurring relator noun *ɕuŋ*. No nominal meaning can be attributed to the relator noun *cuŋ*, hence it is glossed with its postpositional meaning 'around'. There is a lexical verb *ɕuŋ* 'to climb', but no other relator nouns are found to be historically from verbs. As a postposition, *ɕuŋ* marks both spatial and temporal location with meanings including 'around', as in 'around this place' while expressing spatial location, and 'at (the time of)' or 'during' while expressing temporal location. Examples of *ɕuŋ* marking spatial location are in (235a) and (235b):

(235) a. ʔoti **ɕuŋ** ʑuŋ=kʰi læ gya-gin
DEM.PROX RELAT:AROUND government=GEN work do-NOMZ:AGTV

maŋbo min
many NEG.EXIST.EGO
'Around here, there are not many civil servants'

b. ʔoti=gi lam-go **ɕuŋ**=la dʑa=daŋ tɕʰaŋ
DEM.PROX=GEN path-HEAD RELAT:AROUND=LOC tea=CNTV liquor

tɕʰenɖe~tɕʰenɖe tʰuŋ-mi-tʰuŋ-sa
little~little drink-NOMZ-drink-DUR
'They drink a little tea and alcohol around this footpath'

An example of the relator noun *ɕuŋ* coding temporal location is in (236):

(236) ʔoti sa=di ŋe=raŋ=gi p^{h}ama=i
DEM.PROX land=DEF 1PL=EMPH=GEN parent=GEN

ɕuŋ=la tsoŋ-p^{h}i-yin-to
RELAT:AROUND=LOC sell-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'This land was sold during the time of our parents'

As noted in §6.5.10, the relator *ɕuŋ* can co-occur with the relator *gaŋ* and indicates temporal location, as in (237a) and (237b):

(237) a. ŋa ʔo **gaŋ-ɕuŋ**=la ʔiskul=gi=gi
1:SG DEM.PROX RELAT:MOM-RELAT:AROUND=LOC school=GEN=GEN

naŋ=la ʔunda ʑuk-tam-soŋ=di=la...
RELAT:INSD=LOC first.time enter-as.soon.as-because=DEF=DAT
'Because I had just joined the school for the first time then...'

b. ʔo **gaŋ-ɕuŋ**=la Naktsang=se
DEM.PROX RELAT:MOM-RELAT:AROUND=LOC Naktsang=QUOT

lap-p^{h}i-duŋ
say-PERV-DIRECT
'At that time it was called Naktsang'

Note that when *ɕuŋ*, optionally marked with the locative case, immediately follows a demonstrative without the relator *gaŋ*, it indicates either spatial or temporal location depending on discourse context. For example, *ʔoti ɕuŋ=la* (DEM.PROX RELAT:AROUND=LOC) can mean either 'around here' or 'around this/that time'.

6.5.11 The relator noun *sakai* 'until'

The two disyllabic relators *sakai*, sometimes heard as *sake* without the diphthong in a rapid register, specifies both spatial and temporal location. This relator noun has a variant form *sumbe* ~ *sumke* with same meaning and function. This relator noun also does not have any lexical nominal meaning, hence it is glossed with its postposition meaning 'until'.

Brokpa has another disyllabic morpheme *ts^{h}unts^{h}on*, also achieving the same function as *sakai*. The morpheme *ts^{h}unts^{h}on* is shared with Dzongkha <tshun tshod>, and is not very frequent in Brokpa. The Brokpa *ts^{h}unts^{h}on* appears to be a borrowing from Dzongkha. The Brokpa relator *sakai* is similar to *saken* or *sakpo* both meaning 'until' in Tshangla.

In terms of wordhood, these morphemes— *sakai*, *sumbe* ~ *sumke*, and *ts^{h}unts^{h}on*— are realized as words, akin to other relator nouns, and are different from the set of local case markers which are realized as clitics. In function, these three disyllabic morphemes perform the role of a lative case with the meanings 'until' or 'up to the location of' or 'as far as X', where X is the referent of the noun it marks. Therefore, these three morphemes are analyzed as relators with, and glossed the same (RELAT:UNTIL).

The example sentences in (238) show these relators fulfilling lative functions. The referent of noun in (238a) is a place (house), in (238b) time (now), and in (238c) quantity (one):

(238) a. ʔani-ʔadʑaŋ=gi k^{h}yim **sakai**=raŋ te ʔou=di=e
aunt-uncle=GEN house RELAT:UNTIL=FOC PART boy=DEF=ERG

tɕ^{h}aʑui=næ...
serve:HON=SEQ
'The groom accompanied mother-in-law and father-in-law up to their house...'

b. dato **ts^{h}unts^{h}on**=gi bar=la laika-gya-d^{ɦ}æ-ti=baʔ...
now RELAT:UNTIL=GEN RELAT:MIDL=LOC work-do-stay-NOMZ=PL
'All of us who have been working until now...'

c. tɕirtaŋ lo tɕik **sumbe**...
gerally year one RELAT:UNTIL
'Generally, up to one year...'

These relator nouns with a lative meaning 'until' can occur following dependent clauses, and function as clause linkers marking Temporal clause linkage, as in (239a) and (239b):

(239) a. ɲén=gi temre ma-zin **sakai** kʰyo=e
marriage=GEN celebration NEG-finish RELAT:UNTIL 2SG=ERG

ʑoː=næ..
milk=SEQ
'Until the wedding ceremony is over, you do the milking...'

b. kʰa tɕæ=næ kʰyim=la ma-dʱok **sumbe**
mouth cover=SEQ house=LOC NEG-reach RELAT:UNTIL

kʰyoŋ-go-na da
bring-OBLIG-FACT PART
'We must cover the top and take it there until we reach home'

The relator *sakai* in (239a) and its variant form *sumbe* in (239b) mark Relative time linkage of the Temporal clause linking semantic type of clause linking (also see §15.2.1.2).

The relator *sakai* or *sumbe* can co-occur with the relator noun *bar*, as in (240a) and (240b):

(240) a. dʱawa gyæpe=gi tsʰe tɕik=næ kʰaːʑiʔ=ki
month eighth=GEN date one=ABL twenty=GEN

bar-sumbe=di=la...
RELAT:MIDL-RELAT:UNTIL=DEF=LOC
'Until the twentieth day from the first day of the eighth month...'

b. dü da **bar-sakai** kaktɕʰa=ye
time now RELAT:MIDL-RELAT:UNTIL restriction=EMPH

minuŋ
NEG.COP:EXIST.DIRECT
'There is no restriction until now'

Note that if no statement about the co-occurrence of relator nouns is made under a particular relator noun, then it shows that that relator noun is not found to be co-occurring with any other relator in my corpus.

Table 70 gives a summary of the relators in Brokpa with their properties.

Table 70. Relators in Brokpa

FORM	NOMINAL MEANING	LOCATIVE MEANING	SPATIAL	TEMPORAL
naŋ	'inside'	'in'	yes	yes
bar	'middle'	'within', 'between'	yes	yes
tsʰam	'vicinity', 'border'	'around', 'in', 'to'	yes	yes
tse	'tip'	'on', 'above', 'over'	yes	no
teŋ	'surface'	'on', 'on top of'	yes	no
ɦo?	'underside'	'under', 'below'	yes	no
ra	'base'	'under', 'below'	yes	no
tɕʰo?	'direction/side'	'to', 'towards'	yes	no
kap	'occasion'	'at', 'at the time of'	no	yes
gaŋ	'moment'	'at', 'at the time of'	no	yes
ɕuŋ		'around', 'at (the time of)'	yes	yes
sakai ~ sumbe		'until'	yes	yes

Note that some body parts also appear in the relator slot expressing locational meaning. They include body parts such as *doŋ* 'face' with the locational meaning such as 'in front of', *gyap* 'back' with the locational meaning 'back of something', *go* 'head' with the locational meaning 'above' or 'on', *kʰa* 'mouth, surface' with the locational meaning 'on, in',

As seen thus far, the primary function of a relator noun is to specify locational relations— spatial, temporal, or both. Some relator nouns may also function as clause-linkers, akin to case markers.

6.6 Numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers are divided into two broad types— sortal and mensural (see, among others, Lyons 1977:463; Aikhenvald 2000:115, 2021b). Sortal classifiers, according to Aikhenvald (2000:115), 'categorize nouns in terms of their inherent properties such as animacy, shape, consistency'. According to Aikhenvald (2021b): 'Mensural classifiers provide information about the properties of a noun and the arrangements in which it may occur, or how it is measured'.

There is some evidence of numeral classifiers in Brokpa. They are mainly of the sortal type. Numeral classifiers in Brokpa are optional element within an NP (see Chapter 10). When a numeral classifier occurs within an NP, it is accompanied by a number word, which is one of the main criteria for a numeral classifier (see Aikhenvald 2015a:108). Only a few numeral classifiers show up sporadically in my corpus. It may well be that the numeral classifiers in Brokpa are undergoing obsolescence.

Table 71 provides a list of numeral classifiers with their semantics and example nouns they are used with in Brokpa.

Table 71. Numeral classifiers in Brokpa

FORM	SEMANTICS	EXAMPLE NOUNS
brugu	general	humans, animals, plants, stones, grains
peakpa ~ *pʰeakpa*	elongated, flat	arms, scripture, leafy (broad-bladed) vegetables
go	cylindrical, pear-shaped	radish, carrot
lep	specific	paper money
tom	bundle, collection of thin objects	incense, shallots, fiddlehead ferns, flowers
tɕʰakpa	bundle, same as *tom*	incense, shallot, fiddlehead ferns, flowers
nim	slender, pointed oval-shaped	chillies, maize (cob)
dokpa	oval, round	butter, cheese, cabbage

A numeral classifier can be distinguished from a quantifier in Brokpa. As noted above, when a numeral classifier occurs within an NP, a number word also occurs, e.g. *solo nim ŋá* (chilli NUMCL:SLENDER five) 'five chillies'. A quantifier is mutually exclusive with a number word within an NP: It has to be either *solo márbo maŋbo* (chilli red many) 'many red chillies' or *solo márbo nim ŋá* (chilli red NUMCL:SLDR five) 'five red chillies'. It cannot be **solo márbo nim maŋbo ŋá* (chillie red NUMCL:SLDR many five).

In terms of slot, a quantifier always follows an adjective within an NP, while a numeral classifier can either precede or follow an adjective. For example, in *solo márbo nim ŋá* (chilli red NUMCL:SLDR five) 'five red chillies', the adjective *márbo* 'red' precedes the numeral classifier *nim*. On the other hand, in *meto tom bom-kyaŋ ɲí* (flower NUMCL:BDL big-SUPER two) 'two big bundles of flowers', the adjective *bom-kyaŋ* follows the numeral classifier *tom*. Note, however, that a numeral classifier is accompanied by a number word in an NP, even if they are not contiguous. When a numeral classifier precedes an adjective in an NP, the number word occurs immediately following the adjective within the same NP.

The numeral classifier *brugu* can be recognized as a general classifier in Brokpa. Cross-linguistically, three distinct functions are associated with a general classifier: RESIDUE or COMPLEMENT FUNCTION, DEFAULT FUNCTION, and UNSPECIFIED REFERENT FUNCTION (see Aikhenvald 2000:335; Zubin and Shimojo 1993). The RESIDUE (Aikhenvald 2000:335) or COMPLEMENT FUNCTION (Zubin and Shimojo 1993) of a general classifier covers the remainder category for nouns not covered by other classifiers; the DEFAULT FUNCTION is a general classifier that can be substituted for other classifiers under specialised pragmatic conditions; and a general classifier can be in UNSPECIFIED REFERENT FUNCTION if it is used for referring to an unknown entity (see Zubin and Shimojo 1993; Aikhenvald 2000:335).

The general numeral classifier *brugu* in Brokpa has RESIDUE and DEFAULT functions. The numeral classifier *brugu* can be used with nouns not covered by other numeral classifiers. For example, human nouns such as *mí* 'person' and *moitɕup^{h}u* 'woman' are not covered by any numeral classifiers, but they can be accompanied by *brugu*, as in:

(241) a.

yu:	naŋ = la	mí	**brugu**	**tɕik** = raŋ
village	RELAT:INSD = LOC	person	NUMCL:GNR	one = EMPH

min
NEG.EXIST.EGO
'There is not even one person in the village'

b. ʔup^{h}i = la mwoitɕup^{h}u **brugu** **sum** tuʔ
DEM.DIST = LOC woman NUMCL:GNR three EXIST.DIRECT
'There are three women over there'

Similarly, no other numeral classifiers can be used with animals of any type, but they can occur with *brugu*, as in (242):

(242) ʔoyi teŋ = la yáʔ **brugu** **ɲí**
up.there plain.ground = LOC yak NUMCL:GNR two

dʑiŋro + taŋ + d^{ɦ}æ-duʔ
fighting + do + stay-DIRECT
'Two yaks are fighting in the plain ground up there'

Further examples of nouns which do not take other numeral classifiers but *brugu* include:

(243) a. Gengo l̥ak^{h}aŋ = gi ts^{h}am = la tsenden + ɕiŋ **brugu** **tɕik**
Gengo temple = GEN RELAT:VICI = LOC cypress + tree NUMCL:GNR one

ke-p^{h}i-yo
be.born-PERV-EGO.EXIST
'A cypress tree has grown beside the Gengo temple'

b. tɕ^{h}ut^{h}aʔ = di d^{ɦ}o **brugu** **ɲí** = k^{h}e tɕ^{h}o-go-yi-na
watermill = DEF stone NUMCL:GNR two = ERG make-OBLIG-IMPERV-FACT
'We must make a watermill with two stones'

In all examples from (241)-(243), *brugu* is used with the referents which are outside the semantic domains covered by other numeral classifiers.

Furthermore, the numeral classifier *brugu* can be used as a substitute for other numeral classifiers, which is its DEFAULT FUNCTION. For example, the noun *ʔaɕom* 'corncob' takes the classifier *nim* (see example (248)), and *keruk* 'radish' *go* (see example (245)), but *brugu* can be used as a substitute for both *nim* and *go*. Here it is not an instance of a remainder category or complementation. The speaker may use *brugu* as a substitute for another classifier because it is a globally available one, or when the speaker wants to be semantically neutral, along the lines of Zubin and Shimojo (1993).

Examples of the numeral classifier *pʰeakpa* include:

(244) a. náma=gi lakpa **pʰeakpa** **tɕik**=di náma=gi dʱou=ge zun
bride=GEN hand NUMCL:ELG one=DEF bride=GEN friend=ERG hold
'One hand of the bride is held by the bride's friend'

b. den tsʰom **pʰeakpa** **tɕik** tɕur+ʑaʔ-pi
PART spinach NUMCL:ELG one throw+leave-PERV
'(They) threw one stalk of spinach'

The numeral classifier *pʰeakpa* occurs with the body part *lakpa* 'hand', categorised as elongated, in (244a), and with the noun *tsʰom* 'spinach', a thin and elongated object, in (244b). In both, *pʰeakpa* functions as a sortal classifier categorising nouns in terms of their shape.

Example of the numeral classifier *go* occurring with a number word can be found in (245):

(245) ŋa=e keruk **go** **sum** zae-pʰi
1SG=ERG radish NUMCL:CYL three eat-PERV
'I ate three (heads of) radish'

The Brokpa classifier *go*, like other numeral classifiers is, as a rule followed by the number word, and functions as a sortal numeral classifier, as in (245).

Examples of some other sortal numeral classifiers are given in the following paragraphs.

The numeral classifier *tɕʰakpa*:

(246) kʰyo=e po: **tɕʰakpa** **ɲî** ɲo
2SG=ERG incense NUMCL:BDL two buy:IMP:CAN
'You buy two bundles of incense'

The numeral classifier *dokpa*:

(247) ŋa=e kopi **dokpa** **gæ** tsoŋ-pʰi
1SG=ERG cabbage NUMCL:OVL eight sell-PERV
'I sold eight (numbers of) cabbages'

The numeral classifier *nim*:

(248) ʔup^{h}i sönompa=e ʔaçom **nim** **tɕut^{h}amba** t^{h}ob-duʔ
DEM.DIST mendicant=ERG corncob NUMCL:SLDR ten get-DIRECT
'That mendicant has got ten (numbers of) corncobs'

The numeral classifier *tom*:

(249) ŋa=i burziba=e mendo **tom** **ɲî** t^{h}ob-soŋ
1SG=GEN nanny=ERG flower NUMCL:BDL two get-PERV.DIRECT
'My nanny has got two bunches of flowers'

Only one specific classifier *lep* used with paper currency has been found in Brokpa. This classifier is actually shared with Dzongkha, Tshangla and many other languages in Bhutan. An example of the specific numeral classifier *lep* in Brokpa is in (250):

(250) ŋa=yi naŋ=la **rup** **lep** **ʑi**=læ
1SG=GEN RELAT:INSD=LOC money NUMCL:MONEY four=ABL

min
NEG.EXIST.EGO
'I don't have more than four coins'
Lit. 'There are not more than four monies in me'

Further example of the specific numeral classifier *lep* is in (251):

(251) k^{h}yo=la rup **lep** **tsam** yo
2SG=LOC money NUMCL:MONEY how.much EXIST.EGO
'How much money do you have?'

Note that the numeral classifier *lep* is not accompanied by a number word in the interrogative clause in (251). This is because the interrogative word *tsam* asks information about the quantity or amount of something, to which the answer can be a number word or a quantifier. The interrogative *tsam* in (251) can be replaced by a number word, but the clause will become declarative. Alternatively, if the question

particle such as *ʔe* is added in the clause-final position, or if an intonation contour characteristic of an interrogative clause is used (see also §14.2), the clause will remain interrogative even if the interrogative word *tsam* in (251) is replaced with a number word.

6.7 Number words

Brokpa has a well-developed system of number words, due to influence from Classical Tibetan. Just like the honorific forms of nouns and verbs, number words are shared by Bodish languages of Bhutan and beyond. There may be variation at the phonological, phonetic, and even morphological level (such as derivational techniques).

Number words constitute a closed class of modifiers with a largish set of members in Brokpa. There are two series of numbers, cardinal and ordinal. The cardinal numbers are used for counting, while the ordinal numbers are used for indicating the order of something in a series. Most adult speakers demonstrate competence for number words up to one hundred. The competency level varies among speakers beyond hundred. Generally, speakers who have received monastic education and modern education have competence in higher numbers.

Number words share many nominal categories such as inflecting for case and definiteness, akin to nouns and adjectives. However, there are some properties which are specific to number words discussed in §6.7.1 and §6.7.2. Based on these properties, number words can be recognized as a separate closed class.

6.7.1 Number words from 'one' to 'ten'

The cardinal numbers from 'one' to 'ten' are monomorphemic, and constitute one phonological as well as one grammatical word. Table 72 provides cardinal number words from one to ten in Brokpa.

Table 72. Cardinal numbers from one to ten in Brokpa

NUMBER WORD FORM	MEANING
tɕʰik, gaŋ	'one',
ɲi, dʱó	'two'
sum	'three'
ʑi	'four'
ŋá	'five'
ɖuk	'six'
dün	'seven'
gyœ	'eight'
gu	'nine'
tɕu(tʰam(ba))	'ten'

The word for zero is *lœ́kor*, a disyllabic morpheme shared with other Bodish languages. Number words from one to nine are monosyllabic. Number ten has a monosyllabic form *tɕu* but it can also be in a disyllabic form *tɕutʰam* or a trisyllable form *tɕutʰamba* wherein the second syllable *-tʰam* and the third syllable *-ba* are both optional.

As can be seen in Table 72, there are two additional forms for number word 'one' and 'two', *gaŋ* for 'one' and *dʱo* for 'two'. Typically, when counting involves only one or up to two, the forms *gaŋ* and *dʱo* are preferred over the regular number words *tɕik* and *ɲí*. If counting beyond two, either of the forms are used.

The marker of indefiniteness *=tɕi?* in Brokpa has developed from the number word *tɕi?* ~ *tɕik* 'one'. The development of the former from the latter appears to be a common phenomenon (see Aikhenvald 2015a:121). In Brokpa, the indefinite marker forms a phonological word with the preceding host word, while the number word *tɕik* is stressed and constitutes a separate phonological word on its own (see §9.3).

The form *gaŋ* can be used as an indefinite pronoun (§6.2). There is a separate ordinal form *daŋba* for the 'first', not based on number word *tɕik* 'one'. Ordinals from the 'second' are formed by suffixing the polyfunctional morpheme *–pa* to the cardinal numbers, e.g. *ɲi-pa* (two-NOMZ) 'second', *sum-pa* (three-NOMZ) 'third', *tɕu-pa* (ten-NOMZ) 'tenth'.

The cardinal number words form distributives by taking the suffix *-re*, e.g. *ɲí-re* (two-each) 'two each', *sum-re* (three-each) 'three each'. Distributives can also be formed by adding the suffix *-re* to the reduplicated form of a cardinal number *ɲí~ɲíi-re* (two~two-each) 'two each', *ŋá~ŋá-re* (five~five-each) 'five each'. There is no discernible semantic effect as a result of reduplication in this context. Distributives can be formed on any number, and not just on small numbers, e.g. *ɖuk + tɕu-re* (six + ten-each) 'sixty each'. Recall from §6.6 that the numeral classifiers are not obligatory with the number words, but the number words are with the classifiers. That is, a number word can occur without a classifier, but a classifier has to be accompanied by a number word.

The number word *tɕik* takes the suffix *-pu* or the intensifying suffix *-kyaŋ*, also used as a superlative strategy, and forms *tɕik-pu* and *tɕik-kyaŋ*, both referring in isolation to being by oneself or doing something with the meaning of 'alone', 'lone', 'sole', or 'by yourself'. These two can be compounded forming an expression *tɕikpu + tɕik-kyaŋ* (alone + one-SUPER), and have the same meaning with added semantic effect of intensification.

The multiples of something such as 'double', 'triple' are formed by adding the suffix *-tap* which has a sense of 'fold' to a cardinal number, *ɲí-tap* (two-FOLD) 'double', *ʑi-tap* (four-FOLD) 'quadruple'.

The words describing entirety similar to 'both' in the case of two and 'whole of X' in which X is a number word beyond two are formed by adding the suffix *-ge* to a cardinal number, e.g. *ɲíŋ-ge* (two-WHOLE) 'both', *sum-ge* (three-WHOLE) 'all three/whole of three'.

Number word *tɕik* 'one' forms a reciprocal expression with the help of case markers, e.g. *tɕik-tɕik = ke* 'one-one = ERG = each other', *tɕik = ke tɕik = la* 'one = ERG one = DAT = one another (lit. 'by one to one')' (see §8.4.2).

A number word can take the non-word-class-changing derivational suffix *-tsam ~ -ʑam* which has an approximative meaning of 'about' (X amount), 'approximately'

'only', 'just', 'merely', which expresses an approximate amount, quantity, or degree (see also §8.3). Examples include:

(252) a. Thimphu=na pʰatɕʰe lo **sum-tsam**-ɖou=ʑi?
Thimphu=LOC pretty.much year three-APPROX-SIMI=INDEF

lü yo-ta
leave.behind EXIST:EGO-MIR
'I was left behind in Thimphu for about three years'

b. tɕʰuze **gu-zam** ɖo-zin...
hour nine-APPROX go-SIM
'At around nine o'clock...'
Lit. 'While striking around nine o'clock'

Typically, a number word occurs as a modifier in an NP. However, a number word can provide a one-word response to a question seeking information about the quantity or the amount of something. For example, the answer to question (251) can be just the number word *kʰaːʑi?* 'twenty', occurring without the head noun and effectively forming an NP on its own.

A number word can take case markers. If there are modifiers in an NP, number words follow adjectives and classifiers. Examples of number words taking inflectional morphemes include:

(253) a. lúba **ɲi=kʰe** te lú=di=su dʱaŋ tɕæpa-gyan
singer two=ERG PART song=DEF=PL melody together-ADV

pʰu:
perform:HON
'The two singers performed the songs (along with melodies)'

b. ʑa? **ɲí+sum=gi** ʔuntɕin
night two+three=GEN before
'Two-three (a few) days earlier'

c. kʰoŋ mi ɲi~ɲi **sum~sum=ʑi?** tɕʰin=næ...
3:PL person two~two three~three=INDEF go=SEQ
'They go in (groups of) twos or threes...'

In (253a), the number word takes the ergative case marker, in (253b) the genitive marker, and in (253c) the indefinite marker.

A number word may undergo full reduplication. When a number word is reduplicated it means 'in (groups of) X' in which X is a number word, as in (254):

(254) goŋba **ʑi~ʑi** **ŋa~ŋá** **gu~gu** **tɕup~tɕu** **sum~sum** ʔotɕins
household four~four five~five nine~nine ten~ten three~three like.this

gya = næ ɖo-go-na
do = SEQ go-MOD:OBLIG-FACT
'We must go with (groups of) four, five, nine, ten, or three households'

Note that the large numbers can also undergo full reduplication. Reduplicating a large number has the same semantic effect as the one produced by the reduplication of a small number, e.g. *bum~bum* (hundred thousand~hundred thousand) 'in groups of one hundred thousand'.

6.7.2 Number words beyond ten

Number words from eleven to nineteen are formed by compounding *tɕu*, the root word for the number word 'ten', with the cardinal numbers from one to nine; so the number word from ten to nineteen is a ten-base system. Although there are two morphemes and two syllables in each of these number words, they are produced as a single prosodic unit, and form a single phonological word. The final vowel /u/ from the morpheme *tɕu* may have undergone change in vowel quality to agree in some features with the vowel of the following number word, before compounding, e.g. *tɕui* + *ʑi* (ten + four) 'fourteen'; or it may have taken an additional consonant to agree in some features with the initial consonant of the following number word, e.g. *tɕuŋ* + *ɲí* (ten + two) 'twelve'. Table 73 gives number words eleven to nineteen in Brokpa.

Table 73. Number words for cardinal numbers from eleven to nineteen in Brokpa

FORM	GLOSS	MEANING
tɕuk + tɕʰi	ten + one	'eleven'
tɕuŋ + ɲî	ten + two	'twelve'
tɕuk + sum	ten + three	'thirteen'
tɕui + ʑi	ten + four	'fourteen'
tɕe + ŋá	ten + five	'fifteen'
tɕui + ɖuk	ten + six	'sixteen'
tɕup + dün	ten + seven	'seventeen'
tɕap + gyæ	ten + eight	'eighteen'
tɕur + gu	ten + nine	'nineteen'

Multiples of ten are formed by compounding the morpheme *tɕu* 'ten' to the cardinal numbers from 'three' to 'nine'. The word for 'twenty' is *ɲiɕu*. Some number words are formed by changing the initial consonant of the second morpheme /tɕ/ → /ɕu/, from affricate to fricative at the same place of articulation (lamino-prepalatal). Table 74 gives number words for multiples of ten in Brokpa.

Table 74. Number words for multiples of ten in Brokpa

FORM	GLOSS	MEANING
tɕu	ten	'ten'
ɲiɕú	twenty	'twenty'
sum + tɕu	(three + ten)	'thirty'
ʑip + tɕu	(four + ten)	'forty'
ŋáp + tɕú	(five + ten)	'fifty'
ɖuk + tɕu	(six + ten)	'sixty'
dün + tɕu	(seven + ten)	'seventy'
gyæp + tɕu	(eight + ten)	'eighty'
gup + tɕu	(nine + ten)	'ninety'

Brokpa has another form for 'twenty/score' which is *kʰaːʑiʔ* which is a vigesimal system. Multiples of ten also can be formed based on the syllable *kʰaː*. A number word for an even score such as 'twenty' or 'forty' is formed by merely adding the morpheme *kʰaː* to the cardinal number words.

A number word for an odd score such as 'thirty' or 'fifty' has to be expressed descriptively with *kʰaː* and the particular cardinal number word by employing additional words *tɕʰe* 'half' and the connective *daŋ*, e.g. *kʰaː* + *tɕʰe* = *daŋ gyœ* (score + half = CNTV eight) 'seventy'. It is akin to saying 'half score (ten) less than eighty' for 'seventy'. Such a compound is an instance of one grammatical word constituting two or more phonological words. There is also an alternative way of expressing multiples of ten, e.g. *kʰaː sum* = *daŋ tɕutʰam* (score three = CNTV ten) for 'seventy' (lit. 'three scores and ten'.

Number words beyond 'twenty' other than the multiples of ten provided in Table 74 are formed as described in the following paragraphs.

Number words from 'twenty-one' to 'twenty-nine' are formed by prefixing the morpheme *ɲer-* which is a phonologically reduced adjusted form of *ɲiɕu* 'twenty' to the cardinal number word from 'one' to 'nine': *ɲer-tɕik* 'twenty-one', *ɲer-ɲí* 'twenty two' until *ɲer-gu* 'twenty-nine'.

Number words from 'thirty-one' to 'thirty-nine' are formed by prefixing the morpheme *so-* which is a phonologically reduced adjusted form of the number word *sumtɕu* 'thirty' to the cardinal number words from 'one' to 'nine': *so-tɕik* 'thirty-one', *so-ɲî* 'thirty-two', until *so-gu* 'thirty-nine'.

Number words from 'forty-one' to 'forty-nine' are formed by prefixing the morpheme *ʑe-* which is a phonologically reduced and adjusted form of *ʑiptɕu* 'forty' to the cardinal number words from 'one' to 'nine': *ʑe-tɕik* 'forty-one', *ʑe-ɲî* 'forty-two' until *ʑe-gu* 'forty-nine'.

Number words from 'fifty-one' to 'fifty-nine' are formed by prefixing the morpheme *ŋá-* which is a phonologically reduced form of the number word *ŋáptɕu* 'fifty' to the cardinal number words from 'one' to 'nine': *ŋá-tɕik* 'fifty-one', *ŋá-ɲí* 'fifty-two' until *ŋá-gu* 'fifty-nine'.

Number words from 'sixty-one' to 'sixty-nine' are formed by prefixing the morpheme *re-* to the cardinal number words from 'one' to 'nine': *re-tɕik* 'sixty-one', *re-ɲî* 'six-two' until *re-gu* 'sixty-nine'. This prefix *re-* denoting 'sixty' indicates that the word

for 'six' originally had the initial consonant cluster /dr/ and the /r/ is a result of that cluster reduction.

In the same manner, the number words from 'seventy-one' to 'seventy-nine' are formed by prefixing *don-* (cf. *dün* 'seven'), from 'eighty-one' to 'eighty-nine' by prefixing *dʑa-* (cf. *gyæ* 'eight'), and from 'ninety-one' to 'ninety-nine' by prefixing the morpheme *go-* (cf. *gu* 'nine') to the cardinal number words from 'one' to 'nine'.

There are at least five ways of saying 'hundred' using the same basic form: (1) *gya* 'hundred'; (2) *gyat^{h}amba* 'hundred', (3) *gya=ʑi?* (hundred=INDEF) 'a hundred', (4) *tɕik+gya* (one+hundred) 'one hundred', and (5) *k^{h}aː+ŋá* (five+score) 'hundred (lit. 'five scores').

The word for 'percentage' is *gyatɕa* (literally 'hundred portion'), which always precedes a number word.

When a large number such as an equivalent of 'hundred' or 'thousand' is reduplicated, the reduplicated stem refers to a very large and indefinite number like 'hundreds' and 'thousands' in English, e.g. *gya~gya* (hundred~hundred) 'hundreds', *toŋ~toŋ* (thousand~thousand) 'thousands', *saya~saya* (million~million) 'millions'. Further technique for referring to very large indefinite numbers is by compounding the lexeme *k^{h}aɖaŋ* meaning 'count/enumeration', as in *saya+k^{h}aɖaŋ* (million+count) 'millions', *t^{h}erbum+k^{h}aɖaŋ* (billion+count) 'billions'.

Further examples of a number word occurring as a modifier within an NP are in (255a) and (255b), and a further example of a number word forming an NP on its own is in (255c):

(255) a. p^{h}rugu **ɲí+gya+ŋaptɕu** naŋ=næ...
child two+hundred+fifty RELAT:INSD=ABL
'Among two hundred and fifty children...'

b. Merak lumba=la tɕʰak=næ lo da **ŋáp+gya**
Merak valley=LOC settle=SEQ year now five+hundred

ɖuk+gya-ɖou=ʑi?=di=la...
six+hundred-SIMI=INDEF=DEF=LOC
'In about five hundred or six hundred years after settling in the Merak valley...'

c. **kʰaːʑi?** **sumtɕu** **so-ɖuk** **so-ŋá** da **so-ʑi**
score:one thirty thirty-six thirty-five now thirty-four

dʱok-tʰuk da
arrive-COP:EXIST.EGO now
'Twenty, thirty, thirty-six, thirty-five, now it has come to thirty-four'

In terms of slots, if there is a classifier in an NP, a number word always follows the classifier within an NP. If there is no numeral classifier but adjectives, then a number word always follows adjective(s) in an NP unless an adjective is a complement argument in a copula construction, in which case a number word may precede an adjective.

6.8 Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a closed class with about twenty members. They include words which indicate whether there are many things or people or much of something. Similarly, quantifiers also include words indicating a few or little of something. Table 75 provides a list of quantifiers referring to many things or people or a large amount of something. These words share meanings and are exactly or virtually synonymous.

Table 75. Words for large quantities in Brokpa

FORM	MEANING
maŋbo	'many, several'
maŋɕo	'most'
dakya	'a lot of'
yór	'too many; too much'
gaŋyu	'all'
purtɕin	'all'
ʔo(t)pa	'plenty'
yoŋzo	'complete, all'
tɕʰatʰaŋ	'complete, all'
ʑepa	'lots of'
kʰaɕe	'some, a certain amount of'

A large quantify of something can also be expressed descriptively by adding an adverbial suffix to a fully reduplicated noun stem such as (256a) and (256b):

(256) a. dʱo~dʱo-gyan
baggage~baggage-ADV
'tons of'

b. kʰuzu~kʰuzu-tɕæn
load~load-ADV
'loads of'

There are fewer quantifiers expressing a small number of something than quantifiers that express the opposite. Some adjectives/adverbs may function as quantifiers. For example, *halam* can be used to refer to a modest amount of something or to a degree or extent of something similar to English 'nearly', 'almost', 'little'. Table 76 provides a list of quantifiers related to a few and a little of something. They can also describe a small number of animate nouns. Note that the meanings of these quantifiers are more or less synonymous.

Table 76. Words for small quantities in Brokpa

FORM	MEANING
ɲuŋku	'few/little'
ɲuŋɕo	'minimum, tiniest bit'
samsim	'scant, iota'
yaŋyiŋ	'minute, trace'
halam	'modest'
tɕʰenɖe	'little bit'

All these quantifiers can combine with the indefinite *=ʑi?* or *re* 'each', and have meanings including 'a little', 'a bit of', and 'a small amount of'. The quantifier *samsim* and *yaŋyiŋ*, provided in Table 76, are inherently (partially) reduplicated.

A little amount of something can also be expressed descriptively, as in (257a) and (257b):

(257) a. brugu ʑi + ŋá = ʑi?
NUMCL:GNR four + five = INDEF
'a small amount of'
Lit. "About four-five grains"

b. yo + me = ʑi?
COP:EXIST.EGO + NEG.COP:exis.EGO = INDEF
'a bit of'
Lit. "About existing or non-existing/have not have"

The expression *brugu ʑi + ŋa = ʑi?* 'a small amount of' in (257a) involves the general numeral classifier *brugu* and the number words *ʑi* 'four' and *ŋá* 'five', followed by the indefinite marker *=ʑi?*. The expression *yo + me = ʑi?* in (257b) is a compound of the existential copula *yo* and its negative form *me* with the indefinite marker *ʑi?*. Both (257a) and (257b) involve the indefinite marker, and describe something that is too little or too less.

A quantifier occurs within an NP, and it always follows the head noun. Examples are in (258a) and (258b):

(258) a. lok dok-sin ɲim **yór** gor-go-duŋ
again arrive-SIM day many take-OBLIG-POSSIB
'Returning might take many days'

b. Merak lap-p^{h}i = di = la názi lúzi **dakya**
Merak say-NOMZ = DEF = LOC cattle.herder sheep.herder many

yona
COP:EXIST.FACT
'In the so-called Merak, there are too many cowherds and shepherds'

If a quantifier is the final element of an NP, without any other modifiers following it, then it may immediately precede the predicate, as in (258a) and (258b), since the Brokpa constituent order is A-O-TPR or S-IPR (see §14.5).

An example of the frequently-occurring quantifier *gaŋyu* 'all' is in (259):

(259) biu **gaŋyu** t^{h}er + taŋ = næ...
calf all release + send = SEQ
'All calves were release and then...'

In (259), the quantifier *gaŋyu* directly modifies the head noun in a dependent clause. This quantifier is sometimes reduced to *gaŋ* in rapid register. This reduced form of *gaŋ* functions like a plural marker.

Examples (260a) and (260b) show the occurrences of quantifiers describing smaller quantities in sentences:

(260) a. muz k^{h}o = raŋ = raŋ nor **ɲuŋku** na
other 3SG.MASC = REFL = FOC cattle little COP.FACT
'They themselves have a few (head of) cattle'

b. goʑu? tɕ^{h}enɖe te ʈ^{h}uk-pi = di = su...
head.tail little PART disturb-NOMZ = DEF = PL
'The ones in which the order is messed up slightly...'

There is an expression *maŋ~maŋ + ɲuŋ~ɲuŋ* which has the meaning similar to 'a fair amount of', which is used as a quantifier. It is formed by reduplicating two

quantifiers with opposite meanings *maŋbo* 'more' and *ɲuŋku* 'less' after dropping the final syllables, as in:

(261) söri **maŋ~maŋ+ɲuŋ~ɲuŋ**
tips more~more+less~less

yo-ti+me-ti gaŋ ʔo=la
COP:EXIST.EGO-NOMZ+NEG.COP:EXIST.EGO-NOMZ all DEM.PROX=LOC

ʑaʔ=næ...
keep=SEQ
'They leave there a fair amount of gifts of money, whatever they have...'

Note that despite *maŋ~maŋ+ɲuŋ~ɲuŋ* consisting of two reduplicated stems, the entire form is produced as one prosodic unit, without any internal pause. It is a word formed by a compound of two (reduplicated) stems.

6.9 Connectives

Connectives in Brokpa are a group of morphemes which are used for linking NPs within a complex NP, clauses within a sentence, or sentences or stretches of discourse units at a discourse level.

Some are monomorphemic while others are formed from other lexical and grammatical words. Although a connective may be formed by two or more lexical and/or grammatical items, the resulting forms function as a single connective. For example, *de=næ*, which is a combination of the demonstrative *de* and the ablative case *=næ*, which functions as a connective linking phrases (NPs, VPs), clauses, sentences, and introducing a new stretch of discourse. Some connectives are realized as words, while others are realized as enclitics and suffixes. Whereas the connectives have different scope and wordhood, they can be grouped under a closed class of connectives on the basis of their shared function as the markers of coordination, subordination, or both. Table 77 provides a list of possible connectors with their meanings.

Table 77. Connectives in Brokpa

FORM	SEMANTICS	FUNCTION (LINKS)
=daŋ	and, with, after, as soon as,	NPs, clauses,
yaŋna(n), yaŋman	or, either, neither	NPs, clauses, sentences
ɲiŋge	both	NPs
yin-ne=ye	but, even then, although, either...or	clauses, sentences
man-ne	neither...nor	NPs, clauses
-na(n)	if (conditional)	clauses
-zin(a)~-sin(a)	while, simultaneous	clauses
de=nœ	then, next, and, so	clauses, sentences
ʔoti=nœ	then, next, and	clauses, sentences
ʔo-gya-zin	because, therefore,	sentences, discourse units (paragraphs)
ʔo-soŋ=di=la	because, therefore,	sentences, discourse units
tɕitɕin se-na	because	sentences, discourse units
tɕi gya(b) se-na	because	sentences, discourse units
den-k^{h}onter	so, therefore	sentences, discourse units
mats^{h}œ	not only that, besides	NPs, clauses
matak(pal)	otherwise, other than	NPs, clauses
don=la	for the purpose of	NPS, clauses

As pointed out above, a connective may function as a marker of coordination for all major units of grammatical hierarchy, be it a phrase, a clause, a sentence, or a paragraph (a stretch of discourse). The functions of these connectives will be examined under relevant topics including the noun phrase structure (Chapter 9), clause linking (Chapter 15), and discourse-pragmatic features (Chapter 16). Here I will briefly introduce two connectives, *=daŋ* and *ɲínge*.

The connective *=daŋ* is shared with many Bodish languages including Classical Tibetan. The morpheme <dang>, cognate with the Brokpa *=daŋ*, is described in Classical Tibetan grammars as <tshig phrad> meaning 'grammatical connector' (lit. 'word connector') with at least five functions: 1) <sdud> 'inclusion'; 2) <'byed>

'separation'; 3) <rgyu mtshan> 'reason'; 4) <tshe skabs> 'temporal duration'; and 5) <gdams sngags> 'instruction'.

The functions of (1) and (2), that is 'inclusion' and 'separation', are the coordination of phrases; and of (3) and (4), that is 'reason' and 'temporal duration', the functions are the coordination of clauses. The last function, that is (5), in Classical Tibetan appears to be the occurrence of the morpheme <dang> as a mood marker, directly applied to an honorific verb, e.g. <gnang dang> (give:HONCNTV) 'please give'. In this kind of occurrence, <dang> marks 'precative mood' indicating that an utterance is a request. This fifth function of <dang> in Classical Tibetan is not fulfilled by the Brokpa =*daŋ*.

The connective =*daŋ* in Brokpa functions both as an NP connector and as a clause linker. Brokpa =*daŋ* fulfils the first four functions described for <dang> in Classical Tibetan. In particular, (1) 'inclusion' in Classical Tibetan is the same as the phrase coordinating function of the Brokpa =*daŋ* with the meaning of 'and'; (2) 'separation' is equivalent of a phrase coordination function with the disjunctive meaning 'or'.

The function of =*daŋ* as a coordinator of NPs will be discussed in §10.2.4. The function of =*daŋ* in clause coordination, specifically as a marker of Point in time linkage, is discussed in §15.2.1.2. The enclitic =*daŋ* also functions as a comitative or associative case marker (see §9.1). Furthermore, the connector =*daŋ* in Brokpa functions as intra-VP coordinator, as in (262):

(262) ɲáen + sen-k^{h}an = ba? = k^{h}e t^{h}uk = la [bap = **daŋ**
ear:HON + listen:HON-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = ERG mind:HON = LOC fall = CNTV

ma-bap = ki]IPR tɕi dʑuŋ-na = ye goŋpa-má-ts^{h}uŋ
NEG-fall = GEN what occur-COND = EMPH mind:HON-NEG-be.upset
'Whether it pleases (or not pleases) the minds of those who listen, please do not be upset'

In (262), the connective =*daŋ* joins the verb root *bap* 'occur' with its negated form *ma-bap* forming a verb phrase within a dependent clause.

The connective *ɲíŋge* is originally derived by adding the number word suffix *-ge* meaning 'whole of' to the number word *ɲí* 'two' after inserting the velar nasal /ŋ/. The form *ɲiŋge* functions as a lexicalized connective with the meaning of 'both', connecting two people or two things. It carries an overtone of emphasis.

Examples (263a) and (263b) show *ɲínge* functioning as a determiner connecting two NPs at a phrase-level:

(263) a. ʔou=daŋ bomo **ɲínge** raŋ~raŋ-soso mík=ke tʰoŋ-ro=ge
boy=CNTV girl both SELF-SELF-different eye=INST see-NOMZ=ERG

máts^{h}æ
not.only
'Both the groom and the bride have not seen each other...'

b. ʔou=daŋ bom **ɲínge**=la den
boy=CNTV girl both=LOC PART

ʔou=gi ʔapa+ʔama=ge kar+már tak=næ
son=GEN father+mother=ERG white+red put.around=SEQ
'The groom's parents offer (put around neck) red-white (scarves) to both the groom and the bride'

As shown in bold in examples (263a) and (263b), *ɲiŋge* typically occurs immediately after a complex NP consisting of two NPs coordinated by the connective *=daŋ*. Note, however, that *ɲínge* can occur following a complex NP formed by an apposition of two NPs, without a marker of intra-NP coordination. For example, the connective *=daŋ* in (263a) and (263b) can be omitted without any difference in meaning.

6.10 Interjections

An interjection is a conventionalised cry indicating the speaker's emotional response to something, along the lines of Dixon (2010b:27-30). Interjections form a closed class with about 16 members. Interjections in Brokpa can be divided into two types in terms of syllable structure: (a) monosyllabic interjections; and (b) polysyllabic interjections.

The interjections of type (a) are conventionalised sounds, and those of (b) are regular lexemes of the language. A lexical interjection does not carry its original lexical meanings in its function as an interjection. For example, *yaláma* literally means 'lama up there', but as an interjection it just expresses surprise similar to English 'my God' or 'oh, my gosh'. Table 78 provides a list of interjections with a range of emotions each form covers.

Table 78. Interjections in Brokpa

FORM	**FUNCTION**	**APPROXIMATE ENGLISH EQUIVALENT**
ya	surprise, triumph, satisfaction	good grief, aha
han	surprise, concern, grief	alas, woe is me
ɲo:	admiration, understanding, delight, relief	wow, ooh, phew
pao	admiration, astonishment, success	wow
dʑai	surprise, fear, impatience, horror	tut-tut, argh
wái	surprise, joy	oh
ɲa:	dislike	ugh
ʔai	grief, pity,	alas, dear me, too bad
ʔa:	mild surprise, sympathy	gee, oops, oh dear
(ʔa)kʰai	disgust	yuck
pʰui	disgust	yuck
yaláma	surprise	gosh, oh my God
(ya)láma kʰyen(o)	surprise, disbelief	gosh, oh my God
ʔala	sudden pain (general)	ouch
ʔatsa	sudden pain (hot, burning, stinging)	ouch
ʔatɕʰu	sudden pain (cold)	ouch

Brokpa has more monosyllabic interjections than polysyllabic ones. The interjections do not have any special phonological or phonetic characteristics. They are stressed and accompanied by a rising intonation towards the end of a syllable in the case of monosyllabic ones and towards to the end of a word or phrase in the case of polysyllabic items. An interjection with an open syllable is phonetically lengthened. This process also applies to other monosyllabic words, which are not interjections, when spoken in isolation, and is not a unique feature of interjections.

In terms of wordhood, Dixon (2010b:27-30) suggests not treating an interjection as either a phonological word or a grammatical word, but as having special properties. Interjections in Brokpa do not participate in any derivational or inflectional process in the language; and, therefore, do not enter into any morphological or syntactic relations with other lexical or grammatical elements of the language. A polysyllabic interjection, which may contain two or more lexical items, is a fixed expression uttered as a single prosodic unit. An interjection can occur in isolation and make up a complete utterance by itself, or an interjection can be in apposition to a sentence which gives the reason for an emotive response, as is the case cross-linguistically (see Dixon 2010b:28).

Examples of an interjection in apposition to a following sentence which describes the reason for the emotional outburst are in (264a) and (264b):

(264) a. **wái** kʰoŋ=ge=ta yaŋnan tɕʰuk=ɕi? dʑin-ɦioŋ
INTJ:oh 3:PL=ERG=TOP DISJ female.yak=INDEF give-POSSIB

yaŋnan zomo=ʑi? dʑin-ɦioŋ
DISJ hybrid.female.yak=INDEF give-POSSIB
'Oh, they might give either a female yak or a hybrid female yak (because they are rich and have many cattle)'

b. **ʔa** ŋa=la yo=ye luʔ=læ
INTJ:gee 1:SG=LOC COP:EXIST.EGO=EMPH sheep=ABL

me ŋa=e luʔ ter
NEG.COP:EXIST.EGO 1:SG=ERG sheek give
'Oh dear, I have nothing other than sheep, I will give sheep (because I am poor and have only sheep)'

Note that only a few of the interjections listed in Table 78 such as, *ʔa*, *ɦa*, *wái*, and *ya* show up in my textual corpus. Most of these interjections are gathered from the utterances observed in the community. These are heard in the language of the daily discourse. My consultants have checked, confirmed and also added. Furthermore, note that certain interjections may have other functions in this language. For example, the

form *wái* may also be used for getting attention with a meaning similar to 'hey' in English, but this is a separate function and is better treated as a homophone.

6.11 Particles

The label 'particle' in Brokpa is used to refer to a group of noninflecting morphemes with different functions, mainly discourse-pragmatic, in Brokpa. Particles form a closed class with about a dozen members. They can be recognized as a closed class on the ground that they are noninflecting, and do not belong to other word classes. Table 79 provides a list of particles with their functions.

Table 79. Particles in Brokpa

FORM	FUNCTION
lɑ̊̄	politeness, honorific
ʔi ~ ʔe	polar question
mɔ̃̊	tag question, rhetorical question
lo	content question marker, reported speech marker
ʔa	discourse particle (assertion), tag, interjection, polite
ɦaza	polite
kutɕe	polite
te	discourse particle, conversation initiator, pause-filler, signals grammatical word boundaries
da	discourse particle, pause-filler, signals grammatical word boundaries
den	discourse particle, pause-filler, signals grammatical word boundaries
ʔeŋ	discourse particle, pause-filler

As pointed out above, the particles listed in Table 79 have different functions in Brokpa, and belong to different grammatical systems.

The particles— *te*, *da*, *den*, *ʔeŋ*, *ʔa*— have wider distributional possibilities. They can occur clause-initially, clause-finally, or before or after any constituent within a clause. These particles may co-occur within a clause. These five particles all have common functions as pause-fillers and conversation starters. In addition, these particles may have certain discourse functions such as signalling new information about the

topic or theme of a discourse. They may also provide a clue for the grammatical word boundaries. The discourse functions of three particles, *te*, *da*, and *den* are discussed in §16.5, and their function as marker of grammatical word boundaries in §3.2.

Examples of the particles *ʔeŋ* and *ʔa* are in:

(265) a. **ʔeŋ** ʔotɕin kʰer-gu-na...
PART like.this take-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'They have to take it like that...'

b. ʔo-soŋ = di = la te ŋa = raŋ = gi = gi
DEM.PROX-PERV.DIRECT = DEF = DAT PART 1:SG = REFL = GEN = GEN

ʔa mitsʰe = ʑiʔ = kʰi = kʰi
PART life = INDEF = GEN = GEN
'Therefore, it is about my own life's.....'

A discourse particle may occur at the beginning of a sentence signalling the beginning of it, as in (265a), or it may occur within the sentence signalling the commencement of a new grammatical word as in (265b). In addition, a particle may simply function as a pause-filler.

Akin to the connectives (§6.8), the particles will be discussed under relevant topics. For example, the particle *lā́* marks honorificity or politeness, which will be discussed under 'honorific system' in Chapter 7, and the particle *lo* marks reported evidentiality, which will be discussed under the grammar of knowledge in §13.4.

6.12 Closed classes: summary

This chapter examined eleven closed classes in Brokpa. They include personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, demonstrative, interrogatives, relator nouns, numeral classifiers, number words, quantifiers, connectives, interjections, and particles. These are considered closed classes since their members can be listed exhaustively, and they do not admit new members.

There are three persons— 1st, 2nd, and 3rd— in the Brokpa pronoun system, and two grammatical number distinctions— singular and plural. The third person singular has a separate form each for male and female referent, but only one plural form. In addition to these regular personal pronouns, Brokpa uses *raŋ* 'self' and *muzu* 'other' also as personal pronouns.

Three types of demonstrative are distinguished— nominal demonstrative, local adverbial demonstrative, and demonstrative adverbs. Nominal demonstrative make a two-way, proximal versus distal contrast. There are two forms of nominal demonstrative, one type beginning with the glottal stop /ʔ/, and the other with the apico-alveolar stop /d/. The one with the apico-alveolar stop is infrequent. Some local adverbial demonstrative express topographic deixis indicating relative height, stance, and direction. A demonstrative adverb has a deictic function and can be accompanied by a mimicking action.

Interrogative words relate to different word classes, but they are recognized as a closed class on the basis of certain shared properties. Among other things, an interrogative converts a statement into a question. Relators are a group of nominals, which have undergone semantic bleaching, and function as postpositions expressing locative relationships, spatial and/or temporal. Brokpa has some evidence of numeral classifiers, mainly of the sortal type. A numeral classifier is optional in an NP, in that a number word can occur without a numeral classifier. Whenever a numeral classifier occurs, it is always accompanied by a number word in an NP.

Number words, also known as numerals, constitute a closed class with a fairly large group of members. Although it may not be possible to count the number words exhaustively, the patterns of counting can be. Quantifiers can be contrasted from numeral classifiers on the basis of their positional slots within an NP, and whether or not they can occur with a number word.

Connectives differ in terms of wordhood, but they are recognized as a closed class on the basis of their shared function of linking noun phrases, clauses, sentences,

or discourse units. Interjections do not participate in any derivational or inflectional process. An interjection has the ability to make up a complete utterance. Finally, what are identified as particles in Brokpa include non-inflecting words which have various grammatical and discourse-pragmatic functions.

Chapter 7

Honorific system

Brokpa is a small egalitarian society. However, there is a strong culture of showing deference towards elders and seniors. As a result, several bipartite and tripartite systems of social categorizations have been developed. Examples of terms making bipartite categorization include *tɕʰe-tɕʰuŋ* or *bom-tɕʰuŋ* 'big-small', *tʰo-mæn* 'high-low', and *ɖak-ʑæn* 'stronger-weaker'. A tripartite categorization goes further, making three distinctions. Examples of tripartite categorizations include *tɕʰe-ɖiŋ-tɕʰuŋ-sum* 'the three—big, medium, and small', *tʰo-mǽn-bar-sum* 'the three— high, low, and middle', *teŋ-ɦok-bar-sum* 'the three—upper, lower, and middle'. (See further discussion of this in Wangdi 2021b.)

Terms associated with such categorizations are used as social deixis. They are used as referential terms and in certain context, such as addressing an audience, they can be used as forms of address. Most of these terms can also be used with deictic effect, to refer to the height or size of a natural phenomenon such as mountains, rocks, and trees.

The bipartite and tripartite categorizations are for the purpose of according deference to people who are 'elders' not only in terms of age, but also in terms of responsibility, experience, knowledge, contribution, and suchlike. The terms used in this chapter such as 'social status', 'higher status', 'lower status', 'big', 'small', 'superior', and 'inferior' include these parameters associated with deference in the context of Brokpa and Bhutanese society and not in the sense of a rigid social class system. The honorific forms in Brokpa have additional functions of politeness and express, in Dixon's (2010b:201-203) words, 'social niceties'.

For some outside people, the bipartite and tripartite terms may sound too hierarchical and appear to reflect stratified social classes. On the face of it, these concepts sound ordered and hierarchic. However, at a deeper level, they reflect a culture of according deference towards others, particularly elders. It reflects a way of thinking in which people who are elders in terms of the parameters mentioned above are duly recognized and formally acknowledged.

The first person, the speaker, is always included in the 'small' or the 'low' category in both bipartite and tripartite categorizations. Placing oneself in the bottommost category stems from a culture of self-effacing or self-deprecating known as *kʰeŋpa tɕuŋwa* literally 'casting away of pride' in Classical Tibetan. This self-deprecating culture is associated with a politeness register referred to as humilifics, as in Mabzhi Amdo Tibetan (see Samdrup and Suzuki 2019). Brokpa too has a culture of showing humility by belittling oneself. Among other devices, humility is shown by using lexical items— usually adjectives— such as *preŋbu*, *dʱukpu*, *kyambu* (all meaning 'poor'), *kukpa* 'dumb', and *ʑænba* 'feeble/weak'.

The speaker and the people from the 'small' category are supposed to use the honorific forms (see §7.1) while interacting with people from the 'middle' and the 'big' categories; and those in the 'middle' category are supposed to do same with those from the 'big' category. However, this is not a hard-and-fast rule and the conventions for personal interaction are extremely complex. For example, social status can be absolute for some while relative for others. A person may be in the 'big' category in one context and in the 'middle' or even 'small' category in another.

Note that the honorific system is the same across all Bodish languages of Bhutan and beyond in which the language of liturgy is Classical Tibetan, also known as Chöké (literally 'Dharma Language'). Classical Tibetan, originally written in *dʱa-ɲíŋ* 'old orthography' and now in *dʱa-sar* 'new orthography', was once used as a medium of instruction in Bhutan. Classical Tibetan is still the medium of monastic education in the Brokpa-speaking community and other language communities in the Himalayas.

Looking at the shared honorific forms in the spoken languages, the honorific forms clearly spread through Classical Tibetan.

There may be subtle phonological variations in the honorific forms depending on the phonology of a Bodish language. However, the forms and functions of the honorific nouns and verbs and their derivational processes are essentially the same across all Bodish languages despite differences in the main lexicon, construction patterns, and grammatical elements.

Some publications dealing with honorifics in Bodish languages include DeLancey (1998), Denwood (1999:215-217), van Driem and Tshering (2019:399-404), and Watters (2018). Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language which is not genetically related to Brokpa but spoken in some parts of Bhutan, is also reported as having morphological means for according deference (see van Driem 2019). General discussions on 'honorifics' include Comrie (1976b), Brown and Levinson (1987:276-280), Levinson (1983:89-94), Frawley (1992:117-121), Agha (1994), and McCready (2019). Some discussions related to honorifics and politeness in Japanese include Matsumoto (1988, 1989), Dunn (1998, 1999), and Jarkey (2015, 2017).

7.1 Development of honorific forms

The honorific system is a deep-rooted feature of Brokpa and other Bodish languages. Its origin and development can be associated with the Buddhist values. Akin to social categorizations in the spoken languages, Buddhism has a distinguished tradition of enumerating various related phenomena in terms of numbers. The number word and the enumerated concepts together function as a lexical unit. Common examples of Buddhist enumerations in Classical Tibetan include *gewa tɕu* <dge ba bcu> 'Ten Virtues', *mi-gewa-tɕu* <mi dge ba bcu> 'Ten Non-virtues', *ʈaɕi-taː-gyæ* <bkra shis rtags brgyad> 'Eight Auspicious Symbols', *rintɕʰen-ná-dün* <rin chen sna bdun> 'Seven Precious Posessions'. There are hundreds of such enumerated concepts. Some common ones become part of the vocabulary of spoken languages.

Perhaps the most important such enumeration is *kön-tɕʰoː-sum* <dkon mchog gsum> 'Three Precious Jewels'. The Three Precious Jewels are the Buddha Jewel, the Dharma Jewel, and the Sangha Jewel. The Buddha Jewel refers to Buddha, the Dharma Jewel to the Buddhist teachings including all Buddhist scriptures, and the Sangha Jewel refers to the monastic community.

In the Brokpa tradition, as is the case with other Bodish language communities, the monastic community includes all the lamas, *geɕes* 'learned teachers', *geloŋs* 'monks', *ʔanimos* 'nuns', *gomtɕʰens/tɕʰospa* 'noncelibate monks', and *dʑambeyáŋs/pʰadʑus* 'astrologers'. All three Jewels are infinitely precious to every person and people pray to them and seek refuge in them all the time.

A further enumerated concept in threes, related to the Three Precious Jewels, is *dordʑe sum* <rdo rje gsum> 'Three Indestructible Realities' which refer to the 'body', 'speech', and 'mind' of a buddha. The ordinary term for body, speech, and mind in most Bodish languages including Brokpa is *lü* 'body' (with synonyms such as *luspu*) *ŋaː* 'speech' (with synonyms such as *ló* and *poŋpoŋ*) and *yiː* 'mind' (with synonyms such as *sem*).

The term *dordʑe sum* is also related to the Three Precious Jewels in general— 'body' relates to Sangha Jewel, 'speech' to Dharma Jewel, and 'mind' to Buddha Jewel.

Given the infelicitous effects of employing the ordinary terms to refer to the body, speech, and mind of a buddha or any of the Three Precious Jewels, it is only natural for speakers to come up with special terms. So there is a special term for each of the Three Indestructible Realities— *ku* for 'body', *suŋ* for 'speech', and *tʰuk* for 'mind'. These special terms became the honorific forms of the ordinary terms *lû, ŋáː*, and *yiː*.

The development of honorific forms extends to anything related to the Three Jewels, over and above body, speech, and mind; and the honorific forms developed not just for the words describing concrete objects, but also for words describing actions and states associated with the Three Jewels.

For example, Avalokiteshvara, originally one of the closest disciples of Buddha and now worshipped as a Deity of Compassion, is called <spyan ras gzigs> ['tɕɛ:n.ɾɛ:.zi:] literally meaning 'Watching with the Eyes'. He is given the epithet *tɕʰak-toŋ-tɕæn-toŋ* <phyag stong spyan stong> 'Thousand Hands and Thousand Eyes'. The reason for him having a thousand eyes is that he watches over all the people with compassionate concern. Apart from the number word *toŋ* 'thousand', only the honorific forms— *tɕæn* <spyan> 'eye', *tɕʰak* <phyag> 'hand', and *zi:* <gzigs> 'to watch'— are used in his name and epithet instead of the ordinary forms *mík* 'eye, *lakpa* 'hand', and *ta* 'see/watch'.

There is a host of monomorphemic nouns and verbs all associated with the Three Jewels, body parts as well as artefacts; and actions and states associated with the body parts and artefacts of the Three Jewels. Other honorific nouns and honorific verbs are derived from the given set of monomorphemic honorific nouns and verbs by means of compounding.

A largish set of honorific nouns can be derived from *ku* 'body:HON', *suŋ* 'speech:HON', and *tʰuk* 'mind:HON', and *tɕʰak* 'hand:HON'. In the same manner, the honorific verb *náŋ ~ nóŋ* 'give' is the most common monomorphemic verb root from which other honorific verbs can be derived. In fact, all ordinary predicates can be converted into honorifics by means of compounding with the honorific verb *náŋ*. Other monomorphemic honorific nouns and monomorphemic honorific verb roots can also be used for deriving new honorific nouns and verbs with varying degrees of productivity.

The use of the honorific forms, albeit originating in the context of religion and spirituality, is extended to the non-religious setting and the rules of usage are determined by the social deixis.

Note that the honorific system is the same across all Bodish languages of Bhutan and beyond where language of liturgy is Classical Tibetan/Old Tibetan or Chöke 'Dharma Language'. The Dharma language (Old Tibetan, Classical Tibetan) was originally in *dʱa-ɲíŋ* 'old orthography' and now it is written in *dʱa-sar* 'new orthography'. Looking at

the shared honorific forms in the spoken languages, the honorific forms clearly spread through the Dharma language.

There may be subtle variations in pronunciation of the honorific forms depending on the phonology of the main languages. However, both forms and functions of the honorific nouns and verbs, and their derivational processes, are the same across all these languages, although the main lexicon, construction patterns, and grammatical elements may differ significantly from language to language.

7.2 Honorific nouns

The phonology and phonotactics of the honorific nouns and honorific verbs do not differ from those of the ordinary nouns and verbs. Typically, monomorphemic honorific nouns and verbs in Brokpa are monosyllabic, to the exclusion of affixes, clitics, and other derivational processes. New honorific nouns and verbs are derived from a given set of monomorphemic honorific nouns and verbs by means of compounding and affixation. There are no monomorphemic honorific adjectives from which other honorific adjectives can be derived. What may appear like a derived honorific adjective, such as *ku-tɕʰem* 'HON-big', is actually an honorific noun. Similarly, there are no honorific forms for the members of other word classes.

Generally, nouns from the semantic types of HUMAN (and PARTS), ARTEFACTS, and concrete objects and abstract phenomena, which are related to humans have honorific forms. There are more monosyllabic monomorphemic honorific nouns than disyllabic ones in Brokpa. Table 80 gives some monomorphemic and monosyllabic honorific nouns from these semantic domains.

Table 80. Monosyllabic monomorphemic honorific nouns in Brokpa

HON N	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS
ku	*luspa*	'body'
tɕʰak	*lakpa*	'hand'
ʑœl	*kʰa*	'mouth'
ɕaŋ	*nå̊*	'nose'
yap	*ʔapa*	'father'
ʑap	*kaŋba*	'leg'
ʔu	*go*	'head'
suŋ	*ló*	'speech'
tʰuk	*sem/samba*	'mind'

Note that the honorific noun *suŋ* 'speech/talk:HON' can also be used as an honorific verb root *suŋ*, 'tell:HON', an instance of double duty or zero derivation.

There are also a few monomorphemic honorific nouns which are disyllabic, e.g. *tɕʰöme* (cf. *karme*) 'butter lamp', *námza* (cf. *golam*) 'cloth'. No monomorphemic trisyllabic honorific nouns have been attested in Brokpa, and there are more monosyllabic monomorphemic honorific nouns than disyllabic ones. As mentioned in §7.2, a largish set of honorific nouns can be derived from the honorific noun roots *ku* 'body:HON', *suŋ* 'speech:HON', and *tʰuk* 'mind:HON'.

Table 81 gives examples of honorific nouns derived on the basis of the monomorphemic honorific root *ku*.

Table 81. Honorific nouns derived based on the honorific root *ku* in Brokpa

DERIVED HON N	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS
ku + wóŋ	*woŋ*	'power'
ku + par	*par*	'photo'
ku + tsʰe	*tsʰe*	'life'
ku + tsʰou	*tsʰou*	'nephew'
ku + tɕʰem	*mi bombo*	'VIP'
ku + pʰuŋ/ku + duŋ/ku + pur	*pʰuŋba/ro:*	'dead body'
ku + pʰo	*suipʰa*	'stomach'
ku + tɕʰa?	*lakpa*	'hand'

The meaning of every derived honorific compound in Table 81 is the same as that of the ordinary form which is the second component of the compound. There are exceptional cases in which second component of the compound is not the ordinary form. Furthermore, in some cases, the second component is another suppletive form. I will discuss them later in this section.

The first component *ku* is a light CV syllable. When it enters into compounding, there is no phonetic lengthening, as in isolation, and it functions like a grammaticalized prefix. Table 82 provides examples of honorific nouns based on the honorific root *suŋ*.

Table 82. Honorific nouns based on the honorific root *suŋ-* in Brokpa

DERIVED HON N	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS
suŋ + pʰrin	*pʰrin*	'message'
suŋ + læn	*læn*	'answer/response'
suŋ + ɖö	*tun-ɖö*	'discussion'
suŋ + ɕœ	*ɕœba*	'description'
suŋ + kœ	*kœ*	'voice'
suŋ + gyun	*kʰa-gyun*	'verbal tradition'
suŋ + kœ	*kœ*	'voice'

Table 83 provides examples of honorific nouns based on the monosyllabic honorific root *tʰuk*[1].

Table 83. Honorific nouns based on the honorific root *tʰuk* in Brokpa

DERIVED HON N	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS
tʰuk + sam	*samba*	'thought'
tʰuk + món	*mónlam*	'aspiration'
tʰuk + tæ	*lótæ*	'trust'
tʰuk + gen	*genkʰa*	'responsibility'
tʰuk + gyö	*gyöpa*	'regret'
tʰuk + dok	*dokpa*	'doubt'
tʰuk + dʱö	*dʱöba*	'desire'
tʰuk + gyæ	*ŋagyæ*	'pride'
tʰuk + dʑe	*ɲíŋdʑe*	'compassion'
tʰuk + don	*sam-don*	'expectation'

The form *tɕʰak*, which is the honorific form of *lakpa* 'hand', is also a robust honorific root which can derive a largish set of honorific nouns. Table 84 gives examples of honorific noun stems derived by compounding with *tɕʰak*[2].

Table 84. Honorific nouns based on the form *tɕʰak* in Brokpa

DERIVED HON N	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS
tɕʰak + ɖi	*ɖi*	'knife'
tɕʰak + tʰam	*tʰiu*	'seal'
tɕʰak + gʱam	*gʱam*	'wooden box'
tɕʰak + ɖil	*ɖilbu*	'bell'
tɕʰak + dʱup	*dʱugu*	'bracelet'
tɕʰan + dʱaː	*dʱaː*	'arrow'
tɕʰak + pe	*petɕʰa*	'book/scripture'
tɕʰak + pʰreŋ	*pʰreŋa*	'rosary beads'

[1] The dorso-velar /k/ is phonetically realized as a long vowel in some compounds, e.g *tʰuk-dʑe* ['tʰuː.dʑe].

[2] An additional phonological process taking place in a derived honorific compound is consonant epenthesis. The final /k/ from the honorific root is omitted and, instead of the anticipated compensatory lengthening, the apico-alveolar /n/ is inserted as part of the phonological adaptation. e.g. *tɕʰan-dʱa* 'HON-arrow'.

All common monomorphemic honorific noun roots listed in Table 80 and others can form honorific compounds in the same way, although the degrees of productivity vary. The patterns of compounding and morphophonemic processes before compounding was applied are the same as those described in Table 82.

Based on the examples given in Tables 81, 82, 83, and 84, it can be concluded that the monomorphemic honorific roots in Brokpa, typically occurring as the first element of the derived honorific compound noun, share some similarities with noun classifiers (see Aikhenvald 2000:87, 2017:81-97 on 'noun classifiers'). In fact, DeLancey (1998) describes such phenomena in Tibetan as 'class nouns'.

Brokpa provides clear evidence that the honorific noun derivation process is also a noun categorization device. Most concrete objects and abstract phenomena that are related to the body take its honorific form *ku*; and most abstract nouns related to speech combine with the honorific root *suŋ*. Most mental states, including emotions, feelings, and intellectual processes combine with *tʰuk*, the honorific form of 'mind'.

In the same manner, most concrete nouns including artefacts associated with 'hand' take the honorific form *tɕʰak* 'hand:HON' as the first component of the honorific compound. Note that *tɕʰak* in *ku-tɕʰak* 'HON-prostration' is an ordinary term meaning 'prostration' and is only a homonym of the honorific term for 'hand'. This principle applies to all other body parts, which generally have a monomorphemic honorific form, as well as to other monomorphemic honorific roots which participate in the honorific noun derivation process.

The honorific verb roots also take part in the derivation of honorific nouns. An honorific verb can enter into compounding with an ordinary noun and derive honorific noun stems. Table 85 provides examples of honorific noun stems derived from honorific verb roots via compounding.

Table 85. Honorific nouns derived from honorific verb roots in Brokpa

DERIVED HON N	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS	HON V	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS
ʑuk + ʈʰi	*kaŋtʰi*	'chair'	*ʑuk*	*dʱo*	'to sit'
ʑuk + tan	*tan*	'mattress'			
dʑön + lam	*lam*	'path'	*dʑön*	*ɖo*	'to go/walk'
dʑön + tɕʰaŋ	*tɕʰaŋ*	'farewell drink'			
zim + kʰaŋ	*ɲaː-kʰaŋ*	'bedroom'	*zim*	*ɲaː*	'to sleep'
zim + ʈʰi	*ɲaː-ʈʰi*	'bed'			
ɲé + tsʰor	*ga-tsʰor*	'gratitude'	*ɲéː*	*gaː*	'to be happy'
ʑeŋ + dʑa	*loŋ-dʑa*	'bed tea'	*ʑeŋ*	*laŋ*	'to wake up'

In this type of honorific compound noun, the honorific verb root appears as the first component and the ordinary noun root as the second component of the compound. The base is the nominal component because its meaning is the referential meaning of the compound. The verbal component adds 'honorificity' to the compound.

Honorific nouns can also be derived by means of lexical nominalization. Nominalizers are realized as suffixes forming one grammatical word with the host while the derivation process involved will be affixation. The categories of nominalization involved in honorific noun formation are agentive nominalization as in (266a), locative/place nominalization as in (266b), and as shown in (266c), manner nominalization (see among others, Comrie and Thompson 1985, 2007; Aikhenvald 2007 on the types of nominalization in a cross-linguistic perspective). Examples include:

(266) a. ɕak-**kan**
die:HON-NOMZ:AGTV
'The late/One who died'

b. ʈʰuŋ-**sa**
be.born-NOMZ:LOC
'Birthplace/village'

c. suŋ-**tʰaŋ**
speak:HON-NOMZ:manner
'Style of speaking'

One can make some generalizations about the morphology of honorific nouns. Honorific nouns involve only two derivational processes— compounding and affixation. There is no reduplication, inherent or total. All honorific compound nouns in Brokpa fall into the category of 'endocentric compounds' (see Aikhenvald 2007, 2015a:123 on types of compounds). An honorific compound noun denotes the same item referred to by the second component, which is an ordinary noun. The first component of the compound, which is a monomorphemic honorific noun or verb root, adds an honorific sense.

There are three compounding patterns in the derivation of Brokpa honorific nouns:

In Pattern A, the honorific root is added to an ordinary form as is, e.g. *suŋ* + *læn* 'HON-answer' in which the ordinary form *læn* does not undergo any phonological process before compounding.

In Pattern B, the ordinary component of the compound is already a compound noun; and the first component of the ordinary compound is replaced by the honorific root in the derived honorific compound stem, as in *suŋ* + *ɖö* (speech.HON + discussion) 'discussion.HON'.

In Pattern C, the final syllable from the ordinary component which is disyllabic is omitted before compounding with the honorific root, e.g. *suŋ* + *tɕʰo:* (cf. *tɕʰoga*) (speech.HON + liturgy) 'liturgy.HON', *suŋ* + *ɕæ* (cf. *ɕæba*) (speech.HON + explanation) 'explanation.HON', wherein the second/final syllables *-ga* and *-ba* are dropped.

The Brokpa honorific noun compounding patterns are similar to some patterns of honorific noun formation in Tibetan. Brokpa Pattern A is similar to Tibetan Pattern I, B to IV, and C to III, but one Tibetan pattern (Compounding Pattern III of Tibetan), in which honorificity is built on the second component of the compound noun, is not found in Brokpa (see DeLancey 1998 for the Tibetan patterns). However, in Brokpa, an honorific form may enter into compounding with another honorific root such as *ku* + *tɕʰak* 'hand', wherein the root *tɕʰak* is already the honorific form of *lakpa* 'hand'.

In this type of compound, both the components are honorific. Following the general pattern, we can assume that honorificity is indicated by the first component or both, but not exclusively by the second component.

An honorific root may also enter into compounding with an ordinary root which is not an expected root but is synonymous with or semantically related to the expected ordinary root. For example, in *ku+tɕʰem* 'VIP', the expected ordinary form would be *bom* from *bombo* 'big', but *tɕʰem* from *tɕʰenmo* which is a synonym of *bombo* appears in the honorific compound. Structurally, it is like Pattern C.

The honorific nouns derived from honorific verb roots, provided in Table 85, follow these same compounding patterns (A-C). All the derived honorific nouns are disyllabic.

Some honorific compound nouns are formed by omitting the first syllable from the ordinary component and changing the vowel quality of the resulting form. For example, in *ku+pʰo* 'HON-stomach' in which the first syllable *sui-* from the ordinary form *suipʰa* is omitted and the final vowel /a/ changes to /o/. In another instance, the second syllable of the ordinary form is omitted, but the final consonant from the first syllable is also omitted and there is a change in vowel quality. For example, in *ku-rü*, the honorific form of *ruspa* 'bone', the final syllable *pa* is omitted; and the coda consonant /s/ from the resulting syllable *rus* is also dropped leading to a change in vowel quality from /u/ to /ü/.

The honorific nouns, both monomorphemic and derived, have the same inflectional possibilities as the ordinary nouns including case, gender, number, and markers of other grammatical systems which may be realized as affixes or clitics. The honorific nouns, as well as honorific verbs, bear the same suprasegmental features as ordinary nouns and verbs including tone and stress.

7.3 Honorific verbs

Brokpa has a number of monosyllabic monomorphemic honorific verbs. No disyllabic honorific verb roots that are monomorphemic are found. Typically, verbs belonging to ATTENTION, GIVING, MOTION, and SPEAKING semantic types have honorific forms. Table 86 provides some common monomorphemic honorific verb roots, which are all monosyllabic.

Table 86. Monomorphemic honorific verbs in Brokpa

HON VERB	ORDINARY FORM	GLOSS
náŋ	*dʑin*	'to give'
suŋ	*láp*	'to tell'
ʑu	*láp*	'to tell'
sen	*ɲœn*	'to listen'
ʑim	*ɲaː*	'to sleep'
ʑeŋ	*loŋ*	'to wake up'
ɖeː	*geː*	'to age'
dʑon	*ɖo*	'to go'
ʑuk	*dʱoː*	'to sit'

Honorific verb stems are derived from the monomorphemic honorific verb roots and noun roots via compounding. The honorific verb stems basically follow the same compounding patterns as the honorific nouns[3]. As seen in §7.2, all honorific compound noun stems constitute a maximum of two syllables and two morphemes. If a monosyllabic honorific root enters into compounding with a disyllabic ordinary root and the expected number of syllables of the resulting form is three, a syllable from the ordinary compound is reduced and the resulting form is always disyllabic. In contrast, a derived honorific verb stem can be disyllabic, trisyllabic, or more. There can also be more than two morphemes in an honorific verb compound.

An honorific verb stem in Brokpa can be derived through 'lexical compounding' by incorporating an honorific noun into an honorific verb base (see Aikhenvald

[3] This kind of deletion and changes in vowel qualities, before compounding is applied, are not found in honorific verb formation.

2007; Mithun 1984 on types of 'noun incorporation'). The honorific compound verb stem can be endocentric as in (267a) or 'exocentric' as in (267b), with the meaning of the derived honorific compound verb different from either of its components (see Aikhenvald 2007, 2015a:123 for a discussion on compound types). Examples include:

(267) a. tʰuk + ɲéː
mind:HON + be.happy:HON
'to be pleased'

b. tɕʰa + ʑu
hand:HON + receive:HON
'to serve'

Further relatively uncommon honorific verb stems can be formed by a compound of honorific noun and an ordinary verb root. This clearly suggests that honorificity is indicated by the first component of the compound. An honorific compound verb of this type can be endocentric as in (268a) or, although semantically predictable, it can be exocentric as in (268b). In this kind of compound, the first component is an honorific noun and the second is an ordinary verb. Examples include:

(268)
a. **goŋma** + ʈʰel
thought:hon + scorn
'to get angry'
b. **tʰuk** + pʰam
mind:HON + defeat
'to be disappointed'

(269)
a. **ʑæl** + keŋ
face/mouth:HON + be.embarrassed
'to be embarrassed'
b. **tʰuk** + den
mind:HON + be.true
'to be true'

In (269a), the honorific noun root *ʑæl* is incorporated into the ordinary verb *keŋ*; similarly, the honorific noun *tʰuk* is incorporated into the ordinary verb *den* in (269b). In both, the meaning of the derived complex honorific verb remains the same as the meaning of the ordinary verb. The incorporated honorific noun root adds honorificity in both cases.

An honorific verb stem can be formed by adding a derived honorific compound noun to an honorific verb root. This type of honorific compound verb stem will have three roots, and two of the three roots may be lexicalized. The first component of the compound can be an honorific noun, the second an ordinary noun, and the third an honorific verb, as in (270a) and (270b). The entire resulting compound functions as a single honorific verb, as in:

(270) a. tʰuk + món + náŋ
mind:HON + aspiration + do:HON
'to bless'

b. ku + ʈʰü + náŋ
body:HON-wash-do:HON
'to bathe'
Lit. "to body-wash"

The honorific verb *náŋ*[4] 'give/do' is the most productive root. It can combine with most verb roots or verb stems and form honorific predicates. The honorific verb root *náŋ* can combine with an ordinary verb root, e.g. *kʰur + náŋ* (carry + do:HON) 'carry' or with an honorific verb root, e.g. *zik + náŋ* (watch:HON + do:HON) 'watch'. A verb stem may also have an honorific verb root before compounding with *náŋ*, e.g. *tʰuk + kʰur + náŋ* (mind:HON + carry + do:HON) 'shoulder responsibility'. If a verb root that forms a compound with *náŋ* is already an honorific root or if a verb stem already has an honorific root, *náŋ* serves to further reinforce the honorific meaning.

The honorific verb root *náŋ* can also occupy a predicate slot on its own, as in:

(271) ʔama dʑomo mo = raŋ = ge = raŋ kaktɕʰa + **náŋ**-ŋai
Ama.Jomo 3:SG:FEM = REFL = ERG = EMPH restriction + do:HON-PERV
'Ama Jomo herself stopped'

The honorific verb *náŋ* can occur in different types of predicates. It combines with an intransitive verb as in *yar + náŋ* (run + do:HON) 'run', with a transitive verb as

[4] The form *náŋ* is the honorific form of verb *dʑin* 'give' as well as the honorific form of verb *gya* 'do'. It is glossed 'do' throughout for consistency.

in *ʈʰiː + náŋ* (guide + do:HON) 'guide', or with an extended transitive (ditransitive) verb as in *ton + náŋ* (show + do:HON) 'show'.

There are more monomorphemic honorific nouns than monomorphemic honorific verbs. New honorific verbs are derived only through compounding as opposed to two derivations processes involved in honorific nouns, compounding and affixation. Most predicates can be made honorific by adding one or more monomorphemic honorific verb roots, particularly *náŋ* 'do:HON'. The honorific verb roots and stems take the markers of all the grammatical systems associated with ordinary verbs.

7.4 Functions of honorifics

Honorifics are generally discussed in terms of three main axes: (a) speaker-referent; (b) speaker-addressee, and (c) speaker-bystander (see Comrie 1976b; Brown and Levinson 1987; Levinson 1983; Frawley 1992). Levinson (1983:90) and Brown and Levinson (1987:181) add a fourth axis: (d) speaker-setting. The type (a) is referred to as 'referent honorifics', (b) as 'addressee honorifics', (c) as 'bystander honorifics', and (d) as 'setting honorifics' (situation honorifics). Addressee honorifics and referent honorifics are also referred to as 'utterance honorifics' and 'argument honorifics' respectively (see for example, McCready 2019).

In a referent honorific expression, respect is conveyed by referring to the target of the respect; in an addressee honorific, respect is conveyed without necessarily referring to the target; in a bystander honorific, the intended target of respect is the participants in an audience role or the non-participating hearers; and setting honorifics concerns the setting or the circumstances in which a conversation is occurring. Typical examples of setting honorifics include formality levels of Japanese or the diglossic variants of Tamil (see Levinson 1983:93).

Honorifics in Brokpa convey deference, humility, and politeness. They also convey formality and social distance. All types of honorifics are encoded in Brokpa

through one, or more, of these three techniques: (i) variant honorific forms (lexical); (ii) compounding or affixation (morphological); and, (iii) the polite particle *lɑ̋* (syntactic). The first two (lexical and morphological) encode referent honorifics and bystander honorifics, and the third technique uses the particle *lá* to encode addressee honorifics and setting honorifics. I will first illustrate referent honorifics and bystander honorifics by using the verbs of SPEAKING and GIVING. Then I will briefly illustrate addressee honorifics and setting honorifics (see also Wangdi 2021b).

Verbs of SPEAKING and GIVING make a three-way contrast involving two honorific forms and one ordinary form. Theoretically, one honorific form describes the speaking/giving from a higher to a lower (downward), another from a lower to a higher level (upward), and the ordinary form to be used between equals (horizontal). Table 87 shows verbs of SPEAKING and GIVING making these three distinctions.

Table 87. Three-way contrast in the verbs of GIVING and SPEAKING in Brokpa

	DOWNWARD	**UPWARD**	**HORIZONTAL**
GIVE	*náŋ*	*pʰuː*	*dʑin*
SPEAK	*suŋ*	*ʑu*	*láp*

This three-way (downward, upward, and horizontal) contrasts will be illustrated later in this section using the 'give' verb. First consider the semantic aspects behind these two verbs with three forms in Brokpa. The use of an honorific verb has semantic basis. There are three semantic roles conveyed by these two verbs. For the verb 'give', the three semantic roles are Donor, Gift, Recipient, and for the verb 'speak', the semantic roles are Speaker, Addressee, Message/Medium, along the lines of Dixon (2010b:127). A particular verb form will be used depending on the referent of each semantic role, in terms of the bipartite and tripartite social deixis, and its syntactic function. Consider:

(272) a. [Dasho = ge]DONOR:A diriŋ [ŋa = la]RECIPT:E [gokap]GIFT:O
Dasho = ERG today 1:SG = DAT opportunity

náŋ-ŋai
give:HON-PERV
'Today, Dasho gave me (an) opportunity'

b. [pʰadʑu = la]RECIPT:E [ɲénsem = tɕi?]GIFT:O pʰa = te **pʰuː** = næ...
astrologer = DAT report = INDEF that.side = ALL give:HON = SEQ

'After giving a report to the astrologer...'

c. [söri = di]GIFT:O gaŋyu [lumbe = i mi = ba? = la]RECIPT:E **dʑin** = næ...
money.gift = DEF all village = GEN person = PL = DAT give = SEQ
'By giving all the money gifts to the people of the village...'

The Donor role is in A function,[5] the Gift is assigned to O function, and the Recipient is in E function marked by dative *=la* in all three examples of (272). Note that A is not overtly stated in (272b) and (272c). In (272a), the downward honorific verb *náŋ* is used because the Donor is perceived to belong to 'big/high' category in the eyes of the Recipient who is the speaker. In the same manner, the upward honorific form *pʰuː* is used in (272b) because *pʰadʑu* 'astrologer', fulfilling the Recipient role, is an important person in the village who is always accorded deference by the people. In (272a), the speaker is the Recipient and the verb *náŋ* shows respect to the Donor as well as humility of the Recipient.

If the Gift in (272a) were to someone other than the speaker, the choice of the honorific verb will depend on the relative status of the Donor and the Recipient in the speaker's perception. If the Donor is perceived to be of higher status than the Recipient, then the same downward honorific verb *náŋ* will be used. If the Recipient is perceived to be higher than the Donor, then the upward honorific verb *pʰuː* will be used. If the Donor and the Recipient are somewhat equal, the speaker will still use one of the two honorific forms and not the horizontal form to show humility. The choice

[5] Dasho here is used as a term of address for someone important.

between the downward form and the upward form may be determined by whether or not one of the two referents (Donor, Recipient) is with the speaker at the time of speaking.

Similarly, in (272b) too, the verb *pʰuː* shows both the humility of the Donor and respect to the Recipient. If the Donor in A function is people with whom the speaker identifies (such as the people in the speaker's village), the speaker will still use the upward honorific form *pʰuː*. If the Donor is someone other than the speaker, the choice of the honorific form will again depend on the relative status of the Donor and the Recipient. If the Donor has a higher status than *pʰadʑu* such as the chief lama of the village, the speaker will shift to the downward honorific form *náŋ*.

In (272c), the speaker is talking about local wedding practices. The Gift in O function must preferably be in an honorific form when the predicate is realized by an honorific verb. The parents of the groom, the underlying Donor in A function in (272c), leaves money gifts to the friends and neighbours of the bride when they go to fetch her. Since both the Donor and the Recipient are village folks, viewed at equal level in terms of social deixis, the horizontal (ordinary) form *dʑin* is used. When the predicate is realized by an ordinary verb, the Gift in O function must preferably be an ordinary noun.

The same principle holds for the transitive verb of speaking. The Speaker is in A, the Addressee in E, and the Message/Medium in O function. If the referent of the Speaker role in A function is supposedly from big/high category, then the honorific form *suŋ* is felicitous. If the referent of the Addressee role in E function is perceived to be from that same big/high category, the honorific form *ʑu* is felicitous. If a referent of either of these two semantic roles is perceived to be from the middle/equal/small category, then the ordinary form *láp* is more acceptable. The Message/Medium must preferably be in an honorific form when one of the honorific verbs is used.

Only the verbs of GIVING and SPEAKING make three-way contrasts. Other monomorphemic verb roots and derived verb stems make two-way contrasts— ordinary versus honorific. One can also find intransitive predicates realized by monomorphemic honorific verb roots or derived honorific verb stems, as in (273a) and (273b):

(273) a. láma **ɕum**-p^{h}i
lama cry-PERV
'The Lama cried'

b. mákpon=baʔ daŋ tɕ^{h}atsaŋ **söwa+ɲúŋ**=næ...
general=PL CONJ complete food:HON+be.hungry:HON=SEQ
'The generals and everyone felt hungry...'

In (273a), the predicate slot is filled by an intransitive monomorphemic honorific verb *ɕum*; and in (273b), the predicate slot is filled by a derived verb stem or a complex predicate, in which the incorporated honorific noun *söwa* doesn't have argument status. As with the referent of transitive subject A of an honorific transitive predicate, the referent of an intransitive subject S must be from the 'big/high' category.

Examples (272a) and (272b) are instances of both referent honorifics and bystander honorifics. The Donor in A function in (272a) and the Recipient in E function in (272b), which are the targets of honour, can be speech act participants as well as bystanders. Examples (273a) and (273b) are bystander honorifics. The referents of the S arguments in (273a) and (273b), the targets of honour, are not the speech act participants. The referent of these S arguments can be non-participant hearers, or they can be absent from the conversational moment.

The association between the semantic roles and syntactic functions involving the three forms of the 'give' and 'speak' verbs have been demonstrated thus far. Now I will illustrate the three-way contrasts (upward, downward, and horizontal) honorific system in Brokpa using the 'give' verb. As shown in Table 87, there are three forms of the 'give' verb: two honorifics and one ordinary form. One honorific form is to describe the giving/speaking from a lower to a higher participant ('upward honorific'), another

from a higher to a lower participant ('downward honorific'), and the ordinary form to be used between the equals ('horizontal non-honorific').

UPWARD (HONORIFIC):

If the speaker is giving something to someone elder or higher in status, then the form of the 'give' verb is the upward honorific form *pʰuː*. Consider: as in (274):

(274) yuː=gi mí=baʔ=kʰe Geshe=baʔ=la solpʰoʔ tɕʰenɖe
village=GEN person=PL=ERG Geshe=PL=DAT ration:HON little

pʰuː-go-yi-na
give:HON-OBLIG-IMPERV-FACT
'The village folks must give some rations to the Geshes'

The clause in (274) involves an action of giving rations from the village folks to the Geshes. The Geshes are learned monks who are considered important members of the community and are highly respected. So the upward honorific form of the 'give' verb *pʰuː* is used.

DOWNWARD (HONORIFIC):

If someone higher gives something to someone younger or of lower status, then the form of the 'give' verb is the downward honorific form *náŋ*. Consider:

(275) láma=e mí=baʔ=la r̥oŋa **náŋ**-soŋ
lama=ERG person=PL=DAT protection.cord each give:HON-PERV
'The lama gave a Protection Cord to every person'

Example (275) involves the action of giving Protection Cords by the lama to the people, that is from a higher to a lower participant. Therefore, the downward honorific form of the 'give' verb *náŋ* is used.

HORIZONTAL (ORDINARY, NON-HONORIFIC):

If the speaker talks about the act of giving something between the equals, then the form of the 'give' verb is the ordinary, non-honorific, form *dʑin*. Consider:

(276) ŋa = i d^{ɦ}o: Nyima = e ŋa = la d^{ɦ}a tɕ^{h}a = ʑi?
1SG = GEN friend Nyima = ERG 1SG = DAT arrow pair = INDEF

dʑin-soŋ
give-PERV.DIRECT
'My friend Nyima gave me a pair of arrows'

In example (276), the action of giving (arrows) is between Nyima and the Speaker, which is between the equals. So the ordinary form of the 'give' verb *dʑin* is used.

Note that the same form *náŋ* is used if the speaker talks about a second person or a third person giving something to someone younger or of lower status than them. However, if the Speaker— the first person— gives something to someone younger, the form of the verb used is the ordinary *dʑin* and not the downward honorific form *náŋ*. This is because the speaker cannot use the honorific form to describe themself or their own actions. In other words, one cannot accord oneself respect in the Brokpa culture.

It is instructive to mention here that the honorific system in Brokpa and other Bodish languages is for the purpose of according deference to the people who are 'elders' in terms of age, responsibility, experience, knowledge, wisdom, contribution, and suchlike.

Furthermore, the honorific forms have additional functions of politeness. It is an aspect of 'social niceties'. Brokpa has a polite particle *lɑ́* shared with all Bhutanese languages. Its function is similar to the polite particle *khá* or *khráp* in Thai (see among others, McCready 2019:43; Levinson 1983:91) except that there is no natural gender distinction of the speaker in Brokpa. In Thai, the closed syllable *khráp* can only be used by male speakers and the open syllable *khrá* only by female speakers.

The polite particle *lɑ́* in Brokpa occurs in vocative expressions after a personal name *Tashi lá* 'Tashi POLITE', after a term of address as in *Dasho lɑ́* 'Dasho POLITE', and after a kinship term *ʔapa lá* 'father POLITE'. The particle *lɑ́* also occurs with a predicate, *ta-gu lá* 'see-FUT.IMPERVPOLITE'. When *lɑ́* occurs with an NP, its scope is only over a

word or a phrase, but when it occurs with a predicate its scope extends over an entire clause. When it has scope over an entire clause, the polite particle *lá* functions as a marker of addressee honorifics in Brokpa. Consider:

(277) a. pʰa=yi=la=ya toptɕa=ʑi? yoŋ-gu **lá**
there=GEN=LOC=EMPH food=INDEF be.there-FUT.IMPERV POLITE
'There will be a meal there also'

b. ʔotɕins lap-ki **lá**
like.this say-IMPERV POLITE
'It is said like this'

In both (277a) and (277b) neither the speaker nor the addressee is a referent, and the particle *lá* can also be used in these kinds of sentences. This is distinct from, though often compatible with, the referent honorifics.

Brokpa does not have a distinct marker of setting honorifics such as a marker of formality level. However, in a situation where formality needs to be maintained, one uses honorific verbs and honorific nouns wherever possible complemented by the particle *lɑ́*, as in (278). There can also be a change in prosody such as a flat intonation at the end of the clause. Consider:

(278) ʔo-ɖou **suŋ**+**náŋ**-na námpardakpa
DEM.PROX-SIMI tell:HON+give:HON-COND perfect

yoŋ-ro=se **ʑu**-yo **lá**
be.there-FINAL=QUOT say:HON-EGO POLITE
'I would like to say that, "If you say it like this, it will be perfect"'

Essentially, in (278), the speaker is trying to achieve a maximum level of formality using whatever honorific resources the language has.

It is important to bear in mind that if the S/A argument is a respectable person who is doing something with the referent of the honorific noun in instrumental function, the predicate should be an honorific one. Consider:

(279) ɲáén + sen-k^{h}an = ba? = k^{h}e **t^{h}uk** = ke
ear:HON + listen:HON-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = ERG mind:HON = INST

zöba + ʑe-náŋ
patience + take:HON-do:HON
'Those who are listening, please be patient'
Lit. "Those who listen, please feel patience with the mind"

In (279), the referent of the A argument who is listening is the audience which is the target of honour. The honorific noun *t^{h}uk* 'mind' in instrumental function triggers the predicate *zöba + ʑe-náŋ* to be in the honorific. If any of the two honorific verb roots in the predicate is replaced with an ordinary verb root, as in **zöba + **za**-náŋ* or **zöba + ʑe-**dʑin***, it will sound incongruous and even be ungrammatical.

A couple of caveats must be noted concerning the use of honorific language. Employing honorific forms with someone who is very close, such as close relatives or close friends, might be viewed as a distancing strategy. One is generally expected to use ordinary forms among family members. While it is not uncommon to find the use of honorific forms with one's parents or elder members, particularly if the parent is a religious practitioner such as a lama, using honorific language among family members and close relatives may sound ludicrous to others.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, it is not uncommon for people from 'big/high' category to use honorific forms with those from the 'medium/small' category. However, care must be taken lest it be taken as an expression of disdain or mockery, akin to similar effects produced by gender reversals in some languages (see Aikhenvald 2019b). It also runs the risk of creating an unfriendly environment for conversation. In any case, the use of honorific forms in an infelicitous situation, whether among close friends and relatives or from high to low, will sound oddly formal and may become a social distancing strategy.

7.5 Forms of address

Brokpa does not have special honorific pronouns. This is a little surprising since it has honorific forms for most nouns and verbs, either monomorphemic or derived. The form *kʰoŋ* 'he/she/it' which is the third person honorific pronoun in Classical Tibetan is the ordinary third person plural pronoun in both Brokpa and Dzongkha. Classical Tibetan also has a 2nd person honorific pronoun <khyed>, distinguished by a vowel from its ordinary 2nd person pronoun <khyod>; but they are neutralized for ordinary 2nd person pronoun *kʰyö ~ kʰyo* in Brokpa and *tɕʰö* in Dzongkha. Dzongkha has innovated a polite or honorific second person *nâ* (see also van Driem and Tshering 2019:100; Watters 2018:190), but there is no such innovation in Brokpa. In addition to its pronouns with regular three persons, Brokpa makes use of *raŋ* 'self' and *muzu* 'other' as independent personal pronouns with a wide range of functions.

However, Brokpa makes use of other terms of address or honorific titles[6]as a strategy for avoiding the use of pronouns to refer to respected persons. The forms of address (honorific titles) are distinct from linguistic honorifics, but they are related because the target of an honorific title is usually the target of respect in an honorific speech. All forms of address or the honorific titles in Brokpa are used as forms of address in the 2nd person and as terms of reference in the 3rd person. McCready (2019:79-103) describes honorific titles such as Japanese *sensei* 'teacher' or Thai *mɔ̌ɔ* 'doctor' as 'role honorifics'.

There are three common honorific titles which are used for the king— *miwaŋ, ŋáda:*, and *ʑap (*all similar to 'Majesty'). The term *ʑap* is used in isolation, more as a referential term than a term of address. The other two, *miwaŋ* and *ŋáda:*, can be used in isolation or they can be juxtaposed and compounded with *rinpotɕʰe* literally 'precious' and derive a single term of address *miwang ŋada: rinpotɕʰe* which is exclusively used for addressing the king. The term *gyætsun* is used only for addressing the queen. The

[6] Most terms of address and honorific titles are shared with other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Bhutan.

honorific title *miwaŋ* can be used for addressing the queen and the members of the king's family.

The prime minister and the ministers would be addressed as *midʑe* 'Excellency' (literally 'Human Lord')[7]. There is a special group of individuals who have received a special award, a red scarf and a symbolic sword, from the king in recognition of their outstanding contributions in different fields. These people are addressed as *ɖakɕo* <drag shos> which is, interestingly, an adjectival root *ɖak* with comparative index marker *-ɕo* after omitting the final syllable *-po* from the adjective *ɖakpo* 'better' before the morphological process of suffixation. Note that these are not honorific adjectives but honorific titles or honorific terms of address which is a subclass of noun.

Members of parliament are addressed by a term coined recently which is a bit of a mouthful, *tɕʰötötɕangi tʰümi* literally 'Praise-worthy Member'. People generously address members of parliament, other senior civil servants, senior corporate employees, and in fact anyone perceived as respectable with the title *ɖakɕo*. A term *tɕʰog* literally 'supreme' may be added to the name of anyone occupying 'big/high' slot preceded by a relevant term of address.

There are also several terms of address used among the people. Some common ones are *lópon* (lit. 'teacher'), akin to the Japanese *sensei* or the Thai *aacaan*, both meaning 'teacher' (see McCready 2019:4), *ʔau* (lit. 'elder brother'), *ʔap(a)* (lit. 'father'), *ʔam(a)* (lit. 'mother'), *ʔaɕi* (lit. 'elder sister'). English terms including *sar* 'sir', *medam* 'madam', *ʔaŋkal* 'uncle', *ʔanʈi* 'aunty' are popularly used. Another address term *sayab* [sɐˈjəp] originally from Arabic *sahib* 'companion', borrowed via Hindi in which it is used as an honorific title, was once popularly used in Brokpa due to its proximity to the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. Now it is less popular and has been replaced by English loan words.

[7] The term for 'minister' is *lónpo* and not *midʑe*.

7.6 Honorifics: summary

This chapter has looked at the honorific system, one of the important features of the Brokpa language. Honorific forms and constructions in Brokpa are used for showing deference, humility, and politeness. The origin of the honorific system can be associated with the spiritual tradition of the people. Only nouns and verbs of certain semantic domains have honorific counterparts. Adjectives do not have honorific forms.

Nouns associated with, but not limited to, HUMAN (and PARTS), ARTEFACTS, and some concrete objects have honorific forms. Similarly, verbs of, but not limited to, the semantic types of ATTENTION, GIVING, MOTION, and SPEAKING have honorific forms. New members of honorific nouns and verbs can be formed by different patterns of compounding, involving honorific noun roots, honorific verb roots, and ordinary noun and verb roots.

The Brokpa honorific system can be described in terms of four axis: referent honorifics, bystander honorifics, addressee honorifics, and setting honorifics. The first two— referent and bystander honorifics— are shown by using monomorphemeic honorific forms or honorific forms derived via compounding. Addressee and setting honorifics are shown by the use of the polite particle *lɑ̃́*.

There are various terms of address and honorific titles, depending on the addressee. The honorific constructions, terms of address, and honorific titles reflect a culture of according deference towards others, particularly elders. The use of honorifics also indicates politeness and social niceties. Be that as it may, if used excessively or if used in the wrong context, honorifics may have infelicitous effects.

Chapter 8

Compounding and derivation

Compounding and derivation are both productive word-formation processes in Brokpa. Compounding and derivation resulting in the formation of adjectives and adverbs were discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Complex verb stems formed by serial verb constructions, noun incorporation, and light verb constructions are treated as different phenomena from compounding and will be dealt with in Chapter 12. This chapter focuses on compounding and derivation that result in the formation of noun stems, and valency-changing derivations. Section 8.1 discusses the morphological process of compounding, § 8.2 looks at a word-class-changing derivation of nominalization, and § 8.3 deals with the non-word-class-changing derivational processes including affixation and reduplication. Section 8.4 deals with valency-changing derivations.

8.1 Compounding

Compounding is a morphological process in which two lexical roots join to form one stem (see, among others, Dixon 2010b:17; Aikhenvald 2015a:49). In Brokpa, a compound stem can constitute either one phonological word (cohering compound) or more than one phonological word (non-cohering compound). Recall from Chapter 3 that each component of a compound retains its independent stress and forms a separate phonological word, e.g. *mi?*+*pa?* (eye+skin) 'eyelid'. A non-cohering compound with more than one phonological word usually has a lesser degree of cohesion between its components, indicating an early stage of lexicalization.

A compound stem with a high degree of cohesion between its components can form a single phonological word, e.g. *pʰa*+*ma* [ˈpʰɐ.mɐ] (father+mother) 'parents'.

This kind of compound shows a high degree of lexicalization and tends to function as a conventionalized lexical item, despite the components having transparent etymologies. Further examples of compounds constituting one phonological word include *la* + *nor* (mountain + cattle) 'highland cattle', *luŋ* + *nor* (valley + cattle) 'lowland cattle', *ɲi* + *zer* (sun + ray) 'ray of sun'.

A compound noun is generally formed by two nominal roots. However, a compound noun can also involve other word classes. A noun and an adjective may form a compound noun. Similarly, two verb roots or two adverbs may form a compound noun. Note, however, that two verb roots forming a compound noun is rare. Table 88 shows the possible morphological structure of compound nouns in Brokpa.

Table 88. Morphological structure of compound nouns in Brokpa

COMPOUND STRUCTURE	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
N + N	*ɕiŋ* + *zob*a	wood + artisan	'carpenter'
V + N	*ɲaː* + *ʈʰi*	sleep + trestle	'bed'
V + V	*za* + *tʰuŋ*	eat + drink	'food/edibles'
N + ADJ	*ɖi* + *zaŋ*	smell + good	'saffron'
ADJ + N	*kar* + *tsi*	white + calculation	'astrology
ADJ + ADJ	*tɕʰambu* + *tʰunbu*	friendly + intimate	'acquaintance'
ADV + ADV	*diriŋ* + *saŋ*	today + tomorrow	'nowadays'

A compound can be formed simply by juxtaposition of two or more lexical roots, or involving compound-internal inflection. The first noun can be in a genitive relationship to the second noun, e.g. *ɲimei* + *ɦoː* (sun:GEN + radiance) 'sunlight', a compound of the *tatpuruṣa* type (see §8.1.1). Note that the cohering compounds which show a high degree of lexicalization do not take compound-internal genitive marking. A compound may be recursive, in that a resulting compound can combine with another root to form a new stem, e.g. *ɕiŋ* + *ɖœ* + *kʰoː* (tree/wood + result + liquid) 'fruit juice'. Irrespective of the number of roots, a compound has a single referent.

A compound of V + N > N structure is to be distinguished from a deverbal noun formed by nominalization (V-NOMZ). In a V + N compound, two free roots, each of which is an independent phonological word, combine to form a nominal stem, e.g. *tse* + *tʰaŋ* (play + ground) 'playing field'. A deverbal noun is formed by affixing a grammaticalized morpheme to a free root, e.g. *tɕʰaː-ma* (sweep-NOMZ:INST) 'broom'. If a nominalizer is the same as a content word, e.g. *sa* meaning 'land/place' and *-sa* which is a locative nominalizer, there is a difference in suprasegmental phonology. The lexeme *sa* has an independent stress whereas the nominalizing suffix *-sa* loses its suprasegmental features of stress, an instance of grammaticalization (see §8.2.3).

Cross-linguistically, the most common semantic types of compounds include endocentric compounds, exocentric compounds, coordinative compounds (copulative compounds), and synthetic compounds (see Aikhenvald 2015a:123; Bauer 2011; Lieber 2011, among others). Brokpa exhibits all of these semantic compound types.

8.1.1 Endocentric compounds

An endocentric compound denotes a subclass of items referred to by one of their components which can be treated as the head of the compound (see Aikhenvald 2007; Bauer 2011). In Brokpa, the second component is typically the head which contains the general meaning of the resulting endocentric compound. The components of an endocentric compound in Brokpa tend to be only nouns. Two or more nouns are simply juxtaposed or the modifying noun may take genitive inflection. The first component of an endocentric compound acts as the modifier which narrows down the meaning of the resulting compound. Endocentric compounds are very productive in Brokpa. Examples are provided in (280).

(280)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
luʔ + ɕa	sheep + meat	'lamb, mutton'
sa + num	earth + oil	'petroleum'
tsʰa + gʱam	salt + box	'saltshaker'
ba + breŋ	cow + hut	'cow barn'
ɕa + ɖi	meat + knife	'hunting knife'
ɕukpa + ɕiŋ	juniper + tree	'juniper'
ɲa = yi + goŋa	fish = GEN + egg	'caviar (fish eggs)'

An endocentric compound in Brokpa is similar to the *tatpuruṣa* compound type in Sanskrit literally 'the man of him' or 'his man' (see, inter alia, Lowe 2015; Macdonell 1926:171; Maurer 1995b:599 for discussions on *tatpuruṣa* compound types in Sanskrit). In a *tatpuruṣa* compound in Sanskrit, the first component depends on the second component. This is the same as an endocentric compound in Brokpa; and the syntactic relation of the first component to the second is that of an attribute in an oblique case.

8.1.2 Exocentric compounds

An exocentric compound denotes something which is different from either component of the compound (see Aikhenvald 2007; Bauer 2011). In contrast to an endocentric compound, neither of the component in an exocentric compound can formally be identified as head. The meaning of an exocentric compound tends to be non-compositional. The components of an exocentric compound can be from any word class, and the resulting compound is typically a compound noun or verb stem. An exocentric compound can be N + N, N + Adj, or Adj + Adj. Examples are given in (281).

(281)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
sem + naz	mind + disease	'depression'
sem + ʂu?	mind + energy	'motivation'
lúŋ + ta	wind + horse	'luck; charisma'
ɖi + zaŋ	smell + good	'saffron'
ɲíŋ + top	heart + strength	'confidence'
riŋ + tʰuŋ	long + short	'distance'

Exocentric compounds are said to be similar to *bahuvrīhis* compounds in Sanskrit, *bahu* literally meaning 'having much' and *vhrī* 'rice' forming a compound 'having much rice' (see Aikhenvald 2015a:123; Bauer 2011; Lowe 2015; Maurer 1995a). [1]A *bahuvrīhis* compound in Sanskrit is sometimes described as a possessive compound (see, for example, Macdonell 1926:175). In Brokpa too, the first component of exocentric compounds can optionally have genitive marking, as in *sem = gi + naz* (mind = GEN + disease) 'depression'. Other exocentric compounds in Brokpa are similar to *bahuvrīhis* compounds in Sanskrit in terms of semantics without being possessives. Alternatively, some of these compounds can be considered endocentric.

8.1.3 Coordinate compounds

In a coordinate compound, two nouns are juxtaposed or coordinated to form a unitary concept (see Aikhenvald 2007). Neither of the components can be identified as the head. A coordinate compound is known by several other names such as 'copulative compound', 'co-compound', or 'aggregative compound' (see Bauer 2011). In a coordinate compound or a copulative compound, two components are simultaneously predicated on a single referent, along the lines of Lieber (2011).

Brokpa has coordinate compounds. A coordinate compound in Brokpa is formed by a juxtaposition of two nouns. The meaning of a resulting compound is not exactly the same as either component of the compound and, therefore, a coordinate compound

[1] In the English language linguistics it is spelt *bahuvrihi* (see, for example, Aikhenvald 2015a:123).

in Brokpa is similar to an exocentric compound. Examples of coordinate compounds are given in (282).

(282)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
pʰa + ma	father + mother	'parents'
ɲén + ɲepʰ	spouse + relative	'kinfolk'
par + puntsʰan	parent + sibling	'family (members)'
láma + tɕʰospa	lama + lay.monk	'religious personnel'
kaŋ + laʔ	leg + hand	'limb'
ɲén = daŋ ɖok	marriage = CNTV friend	'spouse'

The two components of a coordinate compound can be linked by the connective *=daŋ*, e.g. *pʰama = daŋ puntsʰan* (parent = CNTV sibling) 'family'. A synthetic compound in which two components are joined by a connective can refer to a single referent 'family', or it may refer to the two components separately coordinated by the connective, 'parents' and 'siblings'. The coordinate compounds in Brokpa are similar to the Sanskrit compound *dvandva* 'couple; pair' literally meaning 'two and two' (see Aikhenvald 2007; Macdonell 1926:169 for discussions on *dvandva* compounds).

8.1.4 Synthetic compounds

A synthetic compound consists of a verb as the base and a noun which is the argument of that verb (see Aikhenvald 2007, 2015a:123; Lowe 2015). A synthetic compound is also referred to as 'verbal-nexus compound' (see, for example, Lowe 2015). Synthetic compounds can be attested in Brokpa. A synthetic compound in Brokpa is formed by a juxtaposition of a nominalized verb and a noun. The nominalized verb is the second component of the compound and it is the head of the compound. The first component of the compound, which is a noun, functions as the modifier. Examples are given in (283).

(283)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
ɕa + zam-gan	meat-eat-NOMZ:AGTV	'meat-eater/carnivore'
tsa + zam-gan	grass-eat-NOMZ:AGTV	'grass eater/ herbivore'
lák^{h}or + taŋ-gan	taxi + do-NOMZ:AGTV	'cab driver'
tɕ^{h}uma + t^{h}ö-sa	saliva + come.out-NOMZ:LOCTV	'where saliva comes from/salivary gland'
ŋúna + t^{h}ö-sa	sweat-come.out-NOM:LOCTV	'where sweat comes from/sweat gland'
tɕ^{h}uze + tam-gan	watch + see-NOMZ:AGTV	'timekeeper'

A synthetic compound is similar to an endocentric compound in Brokpa, in which the first component gives an added specification to the meaning of the resulting compound. In a synthetic compound too, the first component acts as a restrictive modifier of the second component. A key distinguishing feature between a synthetic compound and an endocentric compound in Brokpa is that a synthetic compound always involves a nominalized verb as the head component, whereas the components of an endocentric compound tend to be only nouns and does not involve a verb root (see §8.1.1).

A synthetic component may be contrasted with other compound types (endocentric, exocentric, coordinate), which do not involve a verb root. For example, endocentric compounds in (280) do not involve a verb base.

8.2 Nominalization

Dixon (2010b:408) describes nominalization as "a process (or its results) by which something with the properties of a nominal can be derived from a verb or adjective". In Brokpa, nominal stems are typically derived from verbs and not from adjectives. An adjective can form a nominal stem via compounding. Similarly, an adjective may form a verb stem by combining with a verb root which can then be nominalized. But there is no overt affix applying directly to an adjective and deriving a nominal stem. In other words, Brokpa has deverbal nominalization but lacks, what is referred to as 'de-adjectivization' (see Aikhenvald 2015a:122). An adjective, in its bare form,

may function as a noun such as a copula complement, which can be said to be a nominalization without any morphological transformation (see Chapter 5).

Nominalization is an important feature of the syntax of Tibeto-Burman languages (see, among others, Noonan 2008; DeLancey 2002, 2011a; Genetti et al. 2008; Genetti 2011; Bickel 1999). Like other languages in the Himalayas, Brokpa makes extensive use of nominalization. As noted in Chapter 3, a verb root in Brokpa is bound and it can stand alone as a complete utterance only after taking a nominalizing suffix or after undergoing a morphological process. Following the Tibeto-Burman norms in making a wide range of uses of nominalization, Brokpa uses nominalization as a strategy for forming relative and complementation clauses (see Chapter 14). Furthermore, nominalization forms a key structural framework for clause linking in Brokpa (see Chapter 15).

Of the various major semantic types of nominalizations found in literature (see Aikhenvald 2011b; Comrie and Thompson 1985, 2007; Givón 2001b:190; Genetti et al. 2008; Genetti 2011; Noonan 1997, 2008; Shibatani 2019; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011), the following main types of nominalizations can be attested in Brokpa: agentive nominalization, locative nominalization, manner nominalization, and instrumental nominalization. Then, as will be discussed a little later, Brokpa has what may be referred to as 'grammatical nominalization'. The grammatical nominalization may have the meaning of an event (action) nominalization.

Genetti et al. (2008) recognize a distinction between a 'derivational nominalization' and a 'clausal nominalization'. In Brokpa, derivational nominalization also applies to clauses. A derivational or lexical nominalizer can also nominalize an entire clause which can be used to modify the common argument within a relative clause construction (see §14.3). Therefore, the term 'clausal nominalization' can be ambiguous in Brokpa since both types of nominalizations— derivational and clausal— can have scope over an entire clause.

Brokpa also uses the perfective aspect marker *-pi* ~ *-pe* (and its allomorphs) to nominalize an entire clause (see §8.2.1 and §13.1.1).

For ease of reference, the term 'grammatical nominalizer/nominalization' will be used to refer to the nominalization derived by the same suffix as the perfective aspect marker, and simply 'nominalizer/nominalization', to refer to other types of nominalizations such as agentive nominalization and manner nominalization.

Note that the grammatical nominalizer *-pi/-pe* always converts clauses into something with the properties of a nominal, and does not derive nominal stems or lexical nouns, hence the term 'grammatical nominalizer'. The other nominalizers can derive nominal stems from verbs, and it can nominalize whole clauses. In a nutshell, a form created by a nominalization tends to be used as a term (lexical item), whereas a form created by a grammatical nominalization never becomes a lexical item.

The other nominalizers in Brokpa include *-gan* (agentive), *-sa* (locative), *-tʰaŋ* (manner), and *-ma* (instrumental).

Some hints for providing disambiguation for the suffix *-pi* as a nominalizer and as an aspect marker are as follows:

As a nominalizer, the suffix *-pi* (and its allomorphic variants), occur within the predicate of a dependent clause, and is typically followed by nominal categories and/or clause linking morphemes.

As an aspect marker, the suffix *-pi* occurs as part of the predicate of a main clause, and is typically preceded by the modal auxiliaries and/or followed by the markers of knowledge including egophoricity and evidentiality.

The grammatical nominalizer *-pi* (and allomorphs) is glossed simply as 'NOMZ', while the other types of nominalizers are specified according to their semantic type. For example the nominalizer *-gan* is glossed 'NOMZ:AGTV' for 'agentive nominalizer'.

8.2.1 The grammatical nominalizer *-pi*

As noted earlier above, the term 'grammatical nominalizer' is used to refer to the suffix *-pi* ~ *-pe* (and its allomorphic variants) because it has at least two functions: nominalizing a clause and marking perfective aspect.

The grammatical nominalizer has various allomorphic variants including *-pi*, *-pʰi*, *-bi*, *-mi*, *-ni*, *-ŋai* ~ *-ŋi*, *-ri*, *-li*, *-ti*, and *-yi*. The grammatical nominalizer or the perfective aspect marker involves more complex allomorphic alternations. It is difficult to provide a neat distributional statement of the allomorphy of this nominalizer. The selection of the allomorphy of the grammatical nominalizer presupposes an intimate knowledge of verbal morphology of the language. Since the grammatical nominalizer also marks aspect, the discussion of the allomorphy of the suffix *-pi* is delayed until the section on 'perfective aspect' in Chapter 13.

The suffix *-pi* is analyzed as a nominalizer because a clause marked by it has some of the syntactic possibilities of a noun, along the lines of Dixon (2010a:80). This suffix (or its allomorphic variants) converts a clause into a nominal type which can take morphology typically associated with nominals. A clause with the suffix *-pi* (or its allomorph) can take case marking, as in (284a), and number marking and the marker of definiteness, as in (284b):

(284) a. [bom mo=raŋ=gi te ʔau ʔaʑi=baʔ
girl 3SG.FEM=REFL=GEN PART brother sister=PL

pʰok-**pi=la**]E den [kʰoŋ=ge]A [ló=ɕiʔ]O [láp=næ]TPR....
hit-NOMZ=DAT PART 3PL=ERG talk=INDEF say=SEQ
'Then they talk to those who would be cousins of the girl herself...'

b. data [ŋa = e]A ʔoti = næ p^ha = la [poŋpoŋ]O
now 1SG = ERG DEM.PROX = ABL there = ALL talk

[gyak-**pi** = **ba?** = **ti**]TPR]COCL:O ŋetik [ŋe = raŋ]A [gya-go-p^hi
do-NOMZ = PL = DEF certain 1PL = REFL.EMPH do-OBLIG-PERV

tɕo-go-p^hi]TPR
make-OBLIG-PERV
'The things that I will be saying just now, from here onwards, are the ones which we have to be following and practising'

Further, a clause with the suffix *-pi* can take genitive marking and be the possessive modifier of the head noun within a complex possessive NP, as in (284):

(285) [[ʐaŋzen = ge]A [dʑin + ʐak-**pi** = **gi**]TPR [rup]O]NP
brother.in.law = ERG give + leave-NOMZ = GEN money
'The money given by the brother-in-law'
Lit. 'The money of brother-in-law's giving'

As shown in bold in the two sentences in (284) and in sentence (285), a clause whose predicate ends in the suffix-*pi* can potentially take most nominal morphology. For these reasons, the suffix *-pi* and its allormorphs can be recognized as a nominalizer.

As shown in bold in (285), the entire clause ending in the suffix *-pi* is functioning as a nominal to which the genitive enclitic *=gi* is attached. DeLancey (2002) identifies the morpheme *-pa* as a 'general-purpose nominalizer' in older forms of Tibetan. This is probably the same case for the suffix *-pi* in Brokpa. In (284), the clause marked by the grammatical nominalizer *-pi* functions as a relative clause modifying the common argument *rup* 'money' which would be in instrumental function in the MC.

As will be illustrated in §8.2.2, an agentive nominalization can be used as A argument, but a clause nominalized with a grammatical nominalizer has limited syntactic functions. For, example, a clause nominalized with the grammaticalized nominalizer is not attested in A syntactic function. As noted above, a grammatical nominalization behaves like a nominal in that they take some markers associated with a noun such as number and definiteness. However, a clause nominalized with the

grammatical nominalizer can be in other syntactic functions, such as the subject of an intransitive predicate, as in (286):

(286) [dadar = ya má-tʰoŋ-**ŋai**]S [re-ti]IPR
arrow.banner = EMPH NEG-see-NOMZ become-PERV
'The arrow banner has become invisible'
Lit. 'The arrow banner has not-seeing become'

As can be seen in (286), the clause nominalized with the suffix *-ŋai* functions as the subject of an intransitive verb *re-* 'to become' marked by the perfective allomorph *-ti*, also a nominalizing allomorph. Note that a clause nominalized by the grammatical nominalizer can be in CS function (see §14.4.1 for examples).

Furthermore, a clause nominalized with the grammatical nominalizer can be in O function, as in (287).

(287) [tsʰok + pʰui ya = te kʰer-**ri** = ba?]O [sar = næ]TPR...
feast.offering + select.portion up = ALL take-NOMZ = PL prepare = SEQ
'They prepare [the feast offerings to be taken up]...'

In (287), the transitive subject A, 'the women who prepare the feast offerings', was introduced in an early part of the discourse, and the A argument is recoverable from the context. The clause nominalized with the grammatical nominalizing allomorph *-ri* in (287) takes the plural marker *=ba?*, and the resulting nominal clause is occupying the O argument slot.

A clause nominalized with a grammatical nominalizer can occupy the peripheral argument slot, as in (288):

(288) [kʰyo = gi bakyo = tɕin[O [de-ga-**li**]PERI ɕul [pʰrugu = ba? = kʰe]A
2:SG = GEN bowl = TOP leave-go-NOMZ after child = PL = ERG

[tɕa?-taŋ-n]TPR
break-send-SEQ
'Your bowl, the kids have broken it [after (your) leaving]'

Example (288) has two core arguments, A and O. The 'bowl' which is a core argument in O function is topicalized with the enclitic *=tɕin*. The 'kids' which is the referent of the A argument, marked with ergative allomorph *=kʰe*, is the controller of the activity described by the predicate 'to break'. The nominalized clause *de-ga-li* 'leaving' is an optional peripheral argument in the oblique slot.

The grammatical nominalizing allomorphs marking event nominalization:

An event nominalization refers to the nominalization of an action, also referred to as action nominalization (see, for example, Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, and Wrona 2011). The grammatical nominalizing allomorphs can mark an event nominalization. Strictly speaking, all grammatical nominalizing allomorphs code event or action nominalization akin to English *-ing*, such as the noun *going* which refers to an act of leaving a place. Consider:

(289) a. ʔo-ɖou te lap-**mi**=gi sö=ɕiʔ
DEM.PROX-SIMI PART say-NOMZ=GEN tradition=INDEF

duŋ=se ʑu-**mi**-yin
COP.PERV=QUOT say-NOMZ-EGO
'I say/am saying that there was a tradition of saying it like this'

b. te ʔoti ɖo-**ri** düsu=la...
PART DEM.PROX go-NOMZ time=LOC
'So, at the time of going...'

The verb *lap* 'to say' with the nominalizing allomorph *-mi* in (289a) and the verb *ɖo* 'to go' with the nominalizing allomorph *-ri* in (289b) derive event (action) nominalization with a meaning 'saying' and 'going' repectively. In both, the nominalized clause is used as a preposed modifier to a distinct nominal head, functioning as the common argument within a relative clause construction. Note that the suffix *-mi* is homophonous with the lexical noun *mi* 'person' in Brokpa. This morpheme is also found in Dzongkha with the same lexical meaning 'person' as well as the event nominalizer or relativizer (see also Watters 2018).

8.2.2 The agentive nominalizer *-gan*

An agentive nominalization derives noun stems from verbs which relate to transitive subject A or intransitive subject S (see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2011a:162-163). Agentive nominalization in Brokpa is derived by the suffix *-gan*. The agentive nominalizer has two allomorphs:

-gan following a verb stem commencing with a voiced or breathy-voiced onset.

-kan ~ *kʰan* following a verb stem commencing with a voiceless onset.

In the Sakteng accent, the agentive nominalizer is *-gin* and the allomorph *-kin*~ *kʰin*.

Agentive nominalization in Brokpa typically relates to A/S argument, or to CS. As will be shown at the end of this section, it may also be possible for an agentive nominalization to occur in other syntactic functions, albeit rarely. As noted above, this nominalizer can be used to nominalize whole clauses.

In general, the agentive nominalizer *-gan* has a meaning 'doer, performer', or 'one which "verbs", in the words of Comrie and Thompson (1985, 2007). The agentive nominalizer may also have an overtone of 'one who is expert or skillful at verbing' or 'one who is expert or skillful at clausing', akin to the Lahu agentive nominalizations (see Matisoff (1973:457). For example, the word *pup-kan* (cheat-NOMZ:AGTV) in Brokpa is a noun meaning 'cheater', which can also refer to someone who is expert at cheating.

The agentive nominalizng morpheme *-gan* ~ *-gin* also has a meaning 'one who is responsible for verbing or clausing'. For example, *toptɕæ* + *tɕʰo-gan* (food + make-NOMZ:AGTV) means 'cook', which also means 'one who is responsible for cooking'. The agentive nominalizer also has an overtone of potential meaning, e.g. *tʰoŋ-gan* (see-NOMZ:AGTV) '(potential) witness'. This potential meaning of an agentive nominalization in Brokpa is also found in other languages (see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2011a:249). Furthermore, the agentive nominalizer can have a meaning 'one who is proficient at', e.g. *lekdʑar taŋ-gin* (speech do-NOMZ:AGTV) 'one who is proficient at

speaking, speaker', *tɕʰoɕæ náŋ-gin* (dharma.explanation do-NOMZ:AGTV) 'One who is proficient at preaching (dharma), preacher'.

The agentive suffix *-gan* generally applies to lexical verbs, but it can also apply to existential copulas and derive nominal stems, e.g. *yo-gan* (COP:EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV) 'rich', *me-gan* (NEG.COP:EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV) 'poor'. As noted above, the morpheme *-gan* can nominalize clauses, e.g. *ŋoʑ me-gan* (gratitude NEG.COP:EXIST) 'one who has no gratitude, ingrate', *lú ɲór-kʰan* (song-sing-NOMZ:AGTV) 'one who sings, singer'. The suffix *-gan* can also attach to the causative suffix *-tɕu?* and derives a nominal stem referring to the 'causer' of an action, e.g *semɕu?-gya-tɕu?-gan/gin* (mind.energy-do-CAUS-NOMZ:AGTV) 'motivator'.

In terms of syntactic function, as pointed out above, a nominal stem derived by means of the suffix *-gan* is typically in A or S syntactic function. An example of agentive nominalization in A function can be found in(290):

(290) [ɖukpa=i lú kʰen-**kʰan**=ba?=kʰe]A ?otɕins
Bhutanese=GEN song know:HON=PL=ERG like.this

náŋ-tʰoŋ=se ʐu-yo
do:HON-send:IMP:CAN=QUOT say:HON-EXIST.EGO
'I request those who know Bhutanese songs to sing like this'
Lit. 'Those who are knower of Bhutanese songs! "sing like this"'

In (290), the agentive allomorph *-kʰan* derives the noun 'knower' (of the Bhutanese song) which is the transitive subject and bears the ergative marker *=kʰe* after the plural marker *=ba?*.

An agentive nominalization in S function is in (290):

(291) [ɕu? yo-**gan**=ba?]S Nyakshungla tse=la
strength EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV=PL Nyakshungla RELAT:TIP=LOC

dʱok-pʰi-na
arrive-PERV-FACT
'The strong ones arrived at the top of Nyakshungla'
Lit. 'The strength-possessing ones arrived at the tip of Nyakshungla'

Example (290) is an extended intransitive clause with the locus marked by the locative case. The Human role, realized by agentive nominalization, is in S syntactic function.

An agentive nominalization can also be in CS function, as in (292):

(292) [yu: = la d^{ɦ}o-**gan** = di]$_{CS}$ mo = i ʔazi na
village = LOC live-NOMZ:AGTV = DEF 3SG.FEM = GEN elder.sister COP.FACT
'The one who lives in the village is her elder sister'

Agentive nominalization is remarkably productive in Brokpa. An agentive nominalization can be formed on transitive verbs such as *sœ-gan* (kill-NOMZ:AGTV) 'killer', and on intransitive verbs such as *ŋú-gan* (cry-NOMZ:AGTV) 'one who cries'. Further examples are given in (293).

(293)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
jnæn-gan	listen-NOMZ:AGTV	'eavesdropper'
na-gan	be.sick-NOMZ:AGTV	'patient'
ts^{h}oŋ-gan	sell-NOMZ:AGTV	'salesperson'
rup-k^{h}an	help-NOMZ:AGTV	'helper'
dʑik-k^{h}an	be.afraid-NOMZ:AGTV	'coward'

As shown above, an agentive nominalization derived with the suffix *-gan* ~ *gin* is typically in A, S, or CS function. However, it may also be possible for a nominal stem derived with the suffix *-gan* to be in other syntactic functions. Consider:

(294) [padar k^{h}yoŋ-**k^{h}an** = baʔ = la]$_{E}$ toptɕe = ye gaŋyu = la
hero.sash bring-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = DAT meal = EMPH ALL = DAT

taŋ-go-p^{h}i
do-OBLIG-PERV
'We have to serve food also to all who have brought a Heroic Sash'
Lit. 'We have to serve food also to all the bringers of Heroic Sash'

In (294), the nominalized clause, marked by the agentive nominalizing allomorph *-k^{h}an*, is the Recipient role in E function.

This suggests that the agentive nominalizer *-gan* may be developing as a general nominalizer, deriving nominal stems from verbs that can be in any syntactic function, similar to the nominalizer *-mi* in Dzongkha and several other Bodic and non-Bodic languages (see, for example, Noonan 2008).

The clauses nominalized with the suffix *-gan* function as complement clauses that can potentially be in any syntactic function. Similarly, clauses nominalized with the agentive nominalizer function as relative clauses which modify the common argument within a relative clause construction. Relative clauses are discussed in §14.3, and complement clauses in §14.4.

8.2.3 The locative nominalizer *-sa*

A locative nominalization derives a noun stem from a verb root meaning 'a place where "verb" happens"', along the lines of Comrie and Thompson (2007). A locative nominalization in Brokpa is derived from a verb with the suffix *-sa*. Note that this locative nominalizer in Brokpa does not correspond to its locative case marker *=la*. The locative nominalizer *-sa* has grammaticalized from a lexical noun *sa* meaning 'earth/soil'. The lexical noun meaning 'earth/soil' as a source of the locative nominalizer is widely attested in Bodic languages (see, for example, Noonan 2008).

Evidence for the locative nominalizer *-sa* as a grammaticalized suffix in Brokpa comes from the following. As it undergoes grammaticalization, the form *-sa* loses its independent stress. Sometimes, the final vowel of the locative nominalizer is deleted and the consonant /s/ fuses with the verb stem, e.g. *ɖo-sa* → [*ɖos*] (go-NOMZ:LOCTV) 'destination', *dʱo-sa* → [*ɖʱos*] (stay-NOMZ:LOCTV) 'residence/accommodation'. Therefore, a verb plus the suffix *-sa* is analyzed as a nominalization, and not a V + N compound.

A locative nominalization can refer to place as a destination of a Motion verb, as in (295):

(295) pʰa=yi=la norze ter-**sa**=la dʱok-sin...
there=GEN=LOC cattle.GIFT give-NOMZ:LOCTV=LOC arrive-SIM
'While arriving there at the place of giving the Cattle Gift'

Akin to an inherently locational noun, such as a place name, a locative nominalization in a peripheral argument slot can occur with or without the locative case. For example, the locative case *=la* following the nominalizer *-sa* in (295) can be omitted without any difference in meaning.

A locative nominalization can be in CS function, as in (296):

(296) [tsʰoʔ pʰuː-**sa**]CS ʔo=la yin
feast.offering offer-NOMZ:LOCTV DEM.PROX=LOC COP.EGO
'The feast-offering-place is here'

Example (296) is a copula clause with the copula *yin* establishing Location relation between the CS, and the NP in CC function marked by the locative case. The CS is realized by a clause nominalized with the locative nominalizer, as shown in bold.

A nominal stem derived via a locative nominalization can occur as an E argument with or without a locative case, as in (297a). Similarly, a locative nominalization can be used as a relative clause with or without the genitive marker, as in (297b):

(297) a. Jomo Phodrang tʰoŋ-**sa**(=la) tsʰoʔ
Jomo.Phodrang see-NOMZ:LOCTV(=LOC) feast.gathering

pʰuː-ʐaʔ=næ...
offer-leave=SEQ
'We offer Feast Gathering at the place from where Jomo Phodrang can be seen...'
Lit. 'We offer the Feast Gathering Jomo Phodrang seeing place'

b. mi ɕi-**sa**=gi kʰyim
person die-NOMZ:LOCTV=GEN house
'The house where people died'
Lit. 'The house which is the dying place of people'

Locative nominalization can be formed on verbs of any transitivity. Like agentive nominalization, the locative nominalization is very productive in Brokpa. Further examples of locative nominalization are given in (298).

(298)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
phre-sa	meet-NOMZ:LOCTV	'place of appointment'
ɖo-sa	go-NOMZ:LOCTV	'destination'
dʱoː-sa	stay-NOMZ:LOCTV	'residence'
bru-ʑak-sa	grain-keep-NOMZ:LOCTV	'granary'
me-taŋ-sa	fire-do-NOMZ:LOCTV	'fireplace'
ʈʰa-gyuk-sa	blood-flow-NOMZ:LOCTV	'blood vessel'
boktsan-pʰir-sa	rubbish-throw-NOMZ:LOCTV	'pit/dump'
tɕu-sak-sa	water-accumulate-NOMZ:LOCTV	'reservoir'
tsʰoŋ-tsoŋ-sa	merchandise-sell-NOMZ:LOCTV	'marketplace'
tukpa-taŋ-sa	faeces-do-NOMZ:LOCTV	'toilet'
ʑo-dʱuŋ-sa	smithy-beat-NOMZ:LOCTV	'blacksmith shop'

A noun stem derived from a verb by means of the locative nominalizer can be the head of an NP, as a thing possessed (D), in a genitive type possessive construction, e.g. *Ama Jomogi ʑuk-sa* (Ama Jomo = GEN sit:HON-NOMZ:LOCTV) 'Ama Jomo's seat'.

Locative nominalization can be formed on compound verb stems, formed by a serialization of two verb roots, e.g. *tʰö-ɖo-sa* (come.out-go-NOMZ:LOCTV) 'exit'. Brokpa has a distinct instrumental nominalizer *-ma* (§8.2.5). Note that in certain context, the suffix *-sa* derives nominal stems akin to an instrumental nominalization, quite different from a locative nominalization, e.g. *lænɖo kak-sa mindu* (karma-stop-NOMZNEG.COP:EXIST) 'there is no way of stopping karma'.

8.2.4 The manner nominalizer *-tʰaŋ*

A manner nominalization derives a nominal stem which means 'a way of "verbing"' (Comrie and Thompson 2007). Brokpa uses the suffix *-tʰaŋ* to derive manner nominalization. The suffix *-tʰaŋ* has a meaning of 'way', 'mode', 'style', 'manner'. A manner nominalization in Brokpa shares only some of the morphological and syntactic

properties of a noun. A manner nominalization cannot be pluralized, **gya-tʰaŋ=ba?* (do-NOMZ:MANR=PL). It goes without saying that manner nominalization cannot be specified for gender or evaluative morphology. It is rare but possible for a manner nominalization to be quantified, *lú ɲor-tʰaŋ maŋbo* (song sing-NOMZ:MANR many) 'several singing ways/styles'; this can be said of a singer who can sing songs with different voice qualities. However, a manner nominalization can occur with definite or indefinite marker, as in *topɕe tɕʰo-tʰaŋ=di* (food cook-NOMZ:MANR=DEF) 'the manner of cooking'.

A manner nominalization can be the possessed D in a possessive NP, e.g. *lusp^hi [lai-gya-tʰaŋ]* (body:GEN work-do-NOMZ:MANR) 'body function'; and a manner nominalization can also be the possessor R taking the genitive marker within a possessive NP, e.g. *[ɲén-gya-tʰaŋ=gi] lamluk* (marriage-do-NOMZ:MANR=GEN system) 'marriage practice'.

Note that a manner nominalization does not take any of the verbal properties including aspect, negation, epistemic (modalities) and epistemological (knowledge) marking. This applies to other types of nominalization in Brokpa.

In terms of syntactic functions also, manner nominalization cannot occur in A or S syntactic function. However, a manner nominalization can be marked for instrumental case and be a peripheral argument in instrumental function, as in (299):

(299) [kʰo=e]A [**lópʰ+lap-tʰaŋ=ge**=raŋ]PERI:INST [ŋa]O
3SG.MASC=ERG talk+say-NOMZ:MANR=INST=EMPH 1SG

ʈowa+ka:-tɕuk-pi
interest-put-CAUS-PERV
'He made me take an interest with only his way of talking'

It is also possible for a manner nominalization to be in O function, as in (300):

(300) [ŋa=e]A [kʰi=gi lopʰ **lap-tʰaŋ**]O ga:-yi-na
1SG=ERG 2SG=GEN talk speak-NOMZ:MANR like-IMPERV-FACT
'I like your way of talking'

Furthermore, a manner nominalization can be in CS function, as in (301):

(301) [ŋa=i **lam+ɖo-tʰaŋ=di**]CS [yakpo]CC [mena]CPR
1SG=GEN path+go-MANR=DEF good NEG.COP.FACT
'My walking style is not good'

In (305), the manner nominalization, shown in bold, is the head of the possessive phrase in CS function. The nominalized CS argument is also marked for definiteness.

Note that one can also find another manner nominalizer *-sol* in Brokpa. This is not very frequent and is probably a borrowing from Classical Tibetan <srol> 'tradition'. An example of *-sol* used as a manner nominalizer in Brokpa can be found in (302):

(302) den petam=ye ʔoɖou=ʑi? **gya-sol**
PART saying=EMPH like.that=INDEF do-NOMZ:MANR

ŋa=raŋ=ge tʰoŋ-soŋ
1SG=REFL.EMPH=ERG see-PERV.DIRECT
'I myself have heard how sayings like this are used'

Manner nominalization is also quite productive in Brokpa. Some examples are given in (303).

(303)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
tʰob-tʰaŋ	get-NOMZ:MANR	'entitlement'
láp-tʰaŋ	say-NOMZ:MANR	'speaking style/accent'
ɖo-tʰaŋ	go-NOMZ:MANR	'walking style; custom'
samba-taŋ-tʰaŋ	thought-do-NOMZ:MANR	'attitude; idea'
duɕe-tsʰor-tʰaŋ	emotion-feel-NOMZ:MANR	'emotional makeup'
toptɕe-tɕʰo-tʰaŋ	food-make-NOMZ:MANR	'cooking method/recipe'
ɻa-ɕam-tʰaŋ	hair-distribute-NOMZ:MANR	'hairstyle'

Note that Brokpa also has a lexical noun *tʰaŋ* 'field, plain ground'. The noun *tʰaŋ* is not the diachronic source of the manner nominalizer *-tʰaŋ*. Classical Tibetan has two morphemes, <stangs> and <thang>, which are written differently. In Classical Tibetan, the morpheme <stangs> is bound and has to be attached to a verb to convey the derivation with the meaning of manner/way of performing the action described by the verb, as in <'gro stangs> 'the way of going' and <lta stangs> 'the way of looking'. On the other hand, the morpheme <thang> is a free noun in Classical Tibetan with the same meaning as the Brokpa free noun *tʰaŋ* 'flatland, steppe'.

The Brokpa manner nominalization *-tʰaŋ* is cognate with the Classical Tibetan bound form <stangs>, and the Brokpa free noun *tʰaŋ* cognate with Classical Tibetan noun <thang>. Despite the nominalizer *-tʰaŋ* and the free noun *tʰaŋ* sharing the same phonemic shape in Brokpa synchronically, the two morphemes have completely different meanings and functions.

Note, however, that the free noun *tʰaŋ* can form compound noun stems by combining with verb roots, which are different from lexical nominalization, e.g. *tse* + *tʰaŋ* (play-field) 'playground'. The component *tʰaŋ* in this compound is the free noun *tʰaŋ* meaning 'flatland, steppe' which is different from the nominalizer *-tʰaŋ*. The free noun *tʰaŋ* and the manner nominalizer-*tʰaŋ* are only homonymous in Brokpa.[2]

[2] There are also nouns inherently ending in the syllable *-tʰaŋ* which has no connection either with the free noun *tʰaŋ* 'flatland, steppe' or with the nominalizer *-tʰaŋ*, e.g. *kutʰaŋ* 'image', *ŋátʰaŋ* 'might/power', *ʤatʰaŋ* 'plain tea (tea without milk)'.

8.2.5 The instrumental nominalizer *-ma*

In an instrumental nominalization, a noun stem meaning, what Comrie and Thompson (2007) calls, 'an instrument for "verbing"' or, what Shibatani (2019) refers to as, 'a device for V - ing' is derived from verbs. Brokpa uses the suffix *-ma* to derive nouns from verbs to be used as an instrument or device to carry out the action described by the verb. An instrumental nominalization in Brokpa does not normally occur in A syntactic function. An instrumental nominalization typically functions as a peripheral argument in instrumental function; it can also be a Gift or a Target role in O function.

An example of instrumental nominalization as a peripheral argument in instrumental function can be found in (304):

(304) mo = e k^{h}o **tɕ^{h}a:-ma = e** koŋ-t^{h}u?
3SG.FEM = ERG 3SG.MASC sweep-NOMZ:INST = INST beat-DIRECT
'She beat him with a broom'

Examples of instrumental nominalization in O function include:

(305) a. de = næ ta = la **gya-ma** gaptɕ^{h}a = næ zuŋ-te...
DEM = ABL horse = DAT do-NOMZ:INST saddle = ABL start-NF
'Then starting with the saddle, the thing for putting onto horses...'

b. ŋe = raŋ = gi da ta = la **t^{h}a-ma** t^{h}akpa = næ
1PL = REFL.EMPH = GEN PART horse = DAT tether-NOMZ:INST rope = ABL

zuŋ-te gaŋyu = raŋ...
start-NF ALL = EMPH
'Starting with the rope, the thing for tethering our horses...'

The instrumental nominalization derived with the suffix *-ma*, 'the thing for putting' in (305a) and 'the thing for tethering' in (305b)[3], is the Gift role in O function. An instrumental nominalization in Brokpa may have a purposive meaning, akin

[3] Note that, in both examples, the speaker is specifying what the instrumental noun is by overtly stating the noun *gaptɕ^{h}a* 'saddle' and *t^{h}akpa* 'rope', although their meanings were already shown by the nominalized form of the verb: 'the thing for putting onto horses' in (305a), and 'the thing for tethering horses' (305b).

to some languages (see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2011a:250). For example, the meaning of (305a) can be interpreted as 'the thing for the purpose of putting onto horses', and (305b) 'the thing for the purpose of tethering our horses'.

The instrumental nominalizer *-ma* can occur with the causative suffix *-tɕu?* and refers to something which acts as a cause, e.g. *tsʰor-tɕu?-ma* (feel-CAUS-NOMZ:INST) 'stimulation (feeling)', *sam-tɕu?-ma* (think-CAUS-NOMZ:INST) 'stimulation (thought)'.

The instrumental nominalization is fairly productive. The suffix *-ma* is typically used with transitive verbs. Examples are given in (306).

(306)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
tɕaː-ma	clean-NOMZ:INST	'broom'
tɕʰui-ma	scoop-NOMZ:INST	'ladle'
bri-ma	write-NOMZ:INST	'pen'
kyo-ma	stir-NOMZ:INST	'churn'
gon-ma	wear-NOMZ:INST	'cloth'
tɕʰe-ma	open-NOMZ:INST	'opener'
rek-ma	scrub-NOMZ:INST	'scrubbing brush'

The suffix *-ma* can also attach to a complex verb stem formed by a noun incorporation. Examples are provided in (307).

(307)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
ɕeba-toŋ-ma	mixing-do-NOMZ:INST	'grader (dirt mover)'
so-ʈʰu-ma	tooth-wash-NOMZ:INST	'toothbrush'
saŋda-toŋ-ma	steering-do-NOMZ:INST	'steering wheel'
boktsaŋ-ruk-ma	rubbish-collect-NOMZ:INST	'dustpan'
kutpu-ɕik-ma	thread-disentangle-NOMZ:INST	'spinning wheel'

Note that the nominalizer *-ma* is to be distinguished from the mirative marker *-ma*.[4] Most nouns with the nominalizer *-ma* occur as conventionalized terms. A verb with the mirative marker *-ma* is often followed by other verbal categories such as

[4] Further note that some lexical nouns and adjectives inherently end in syllable *-ma*, e.g. *ʑuŋma* 'tail', *ɲúkma* 'bamboo', *tsaŋma* 'clean', *dʑamseŋma* 'simple'. Such lexemes cannot be segmented as a verb root plus the instrumental nominalizer *-ma*.

the grammaticalized copulas marking egophoricity and evidentiality. A verb with the nominalizer *-ma* is accompanied by a marker of nominal categories such as case, definiteness, and number.

8.3 Non-word-class-changing derivation

Brokpa uses the suffix *-pa* as a non-word-class changing derivational suffix, deriving lexical nouns from other nominal roots. The suffix *-pa* is a direct reflex of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman form **pa* meaning 'father; MASC' (see, among others, Benedict 1972:96; Matisoff 2003:166). The suffix *-pa* functions as a deverbal nominalizer in most Tibeto-Burman languages. As noted in §8.2.1, the corresponding form of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman nominalizer *-pa* in Brokpa appears to be the nominalizer *-pi* with its several allomorphs.

As with most other Trans-Himalayan languages, the suffix *-pa* functions as a polyfunctional morpheme. The suffix *-pa* occurs in a variety of other constructions in Brokpa including on nouns and on main verbs. On nouns, the suffix *-pa* appears as a non-word-class-changing derivation. The suffix *-pa* occurs on main verbs as a marker of new information or mirativity; it also occurs in various clause combining constructions including 'because' adverbial clauses and some complement clauses. As a mirative marker on verbs, it occurs in several allomorphs, *-pa*, *-pʰa*, *-ba*, *-da* ~ *-ta*, *-ma*, *-na*, *-ŋa*, *-ra*. The use of the suffix *-pa* as a mirative marker on verbs will be discussed in §13.4.3.

When the suffix *-pa* applies to a nominal root, it derives a new noun stem with a human referent. The referent of the new noun is a human connected to the noun it derived from; or the referent of the new noun can be someone who does something related to the noun it is derived from. If the suffix *-pa* occurs on a place name, it refers to the person who is a native of that place, e.g. *Merak-pa* 'person from Merak', *Mago-pa* 'person from Mago'.

Similarly, the suffix *-pa* can attach to a common noun and derive a noun stem with a human referent. In fact, the autodenomination Brokpa itself is derived by adding the non-word-class-changing derivational suffix *-pa* to the nominal lexeme *brok* 'pastureland'. In some disyllabic nouns, the final syllable is dropped before taking the nominalizer *-pa* and deriving new nouns. For example, *ɲér-pa* 'storekeeper) is formed by attaching the suffix *-pa* to the resulting form after the final segment *-tsʰaŋ* is omitted from *ɲértsʰaŋ* 'store'. [5] The nominalizer *-pa* is realized as a voiced *-ba* following a root with a voiced or breathy-voiced initial and/or final. Examples are provided in (308).

(308)

NOUN ROOT	GLOSS	DERIVED NOUN	GLOSS
tson	'prison'	*tson-pa*	'prisoner'
tsʰoŋ	'trade/business'	*tsʰoŋ-ba*	'trader/merchant'
barma	'middle'	*barma-pa*	'mediator'
ɲértsʰaŋ	'store'	*ɲér-pa*	'treasurer'
tsʰem	'tailoring'	*tsʰem-ba*	'tailor'
tʰaptsaŋ	'kitchen'	*tʰaptsaŋ-pa*	'cook'
ɕar	'east'	*ɕar-pa*	'easterner'

Further non-word-class-changing suffixes include *-tʰapso* and *-tsam*. The suffix *-tʰapso* meaning 'like', 'likely', 'somewhat', etc., is low in selectivity. The suffix *-ɖou* is quite similar to the suffix *-tʰapso*, and it carries the meanings 'same/similar/like', 'as if', 'somewhat'. For ease of glossing, both *-tʰapso* and *-ɖou* will be glossed 'similative' (SIMI), since both indicate a similar meaning including likeness or resemblance.

The suffix *-tʰapso* can occur with members of any word class, *pʰaktsʰaŋ-tʰapso* (thicket-SIMI) 'thicket-like', *tɕikpu-tʰapso* (alone-SIMI) 'somewhat alone', *tsʰaptsʰap-tʰapso* (hurriedly-SIMI) 'like in a hurry'. The suffix *-tʰapso* can occur with a verb after nominalization has applied, e.g. *ɖin-ka:-li-tʰapso* (gratitude-impose-NOMZ-SIMI) 'somewhat demanding gratitude'.

The suffix *-tʰapso* also occurs with an existential copula, as in (309).

[5] Some non-segmentable monomorphemic nouns inherently end in the syllable *pa*, e.g *dupa* (M: *durpa*) 'smog', *mukpa* 'clouds', *buthpa* 'bellows', *dʑiŋba* (S: *ʑiŋba*) 'neck'.

(309) ts^{h}i? gwo me ʑuk me-t^{h}apso=ʑi?
word HEAD NEG.COP:EXIST tail NEG.COP:EXIST-SIMI=INDEF
'A statement somewhat without beginning or end'

This suffix *-ɖou* can attach to nominal or to adjectival roots. The suffix *-ɖou* does not change the word class of the host it attaches to, but gives a meaning such as 'same as X', 'akin to X' or simply 'appears like X' in which X is the host word. Examples of the suffix *-ɖou* occurring with noun and adjective roots are *petam-ɖou* (saying-SIMI) 'as advice', *lópon-ɖou* (teacher-SIMI) 'teacher-like', *?eɕin-ɖou* (good-SIMI) 'somewhat good'. There is another suffix *-ʑum* which has the same meaning as the suffix *-ɖou*, as *nou-ʑum* (younger.brother-SIMI) 'like the younger brother'.

With verbs, the suffix *-ɖou* appears immediately following a nominalizer, e.g. *ʑui-p^{h}i-ɖou* (tell:HON-NOMZ-SIMI) 'as said', *tɕ^{h}u tor-p^{h}i-ɖou* (water sprinkle-NOMZ-SIMI) 'as if water is sprinkled'. The suffix *-ɖou* can occur with demonstratives, e.g. *?o-ɖou* (DEM.PROX-SIMI) 'like this'.

The suffix *-tsam* expresses meanings including 'approximately', 'about', 'only', 'just', 'merely', etc., and for ease of reference it will be glossed 'approximative' (APPROX). This suffix can attach to a host which can be a noun, a number word, or a demonstrative and be followed by a number marking, e.g. *ser bor-tsam=ʑi?* (gold bowl=APPROX=INDEF) 'just about a bowl of gold', *tɕik-tsam* (one-APPROX) 'just about one', *wo-ʑam=ʑi?* (DEM-APPROX=INDEF) 'about that much'. The suffix *-tsam* can occur with an adjective and be followed by a number enclitic, e.g. *rip-tsam=ʑi?* (momentary-APPROX=INDEF) 'only momentary', *maŋrap-tsam* (many-APPROX) 'just many'.

The suffix *-tsam* can also occur with an adverb. When the suffix *-tsam* occurs with an adverb it carries the meaning of 'somewhat' similar to the suffix *-t^{h}apso*, e.g. *?untɕin-tsam* (ahead-APPROX) 'somewhat ahead', *gyopgyo-ʑam* (soon-APPROX) 'somewhat soon'.

Note that the non-word-class-changing derivational suffix *-tsam* is homonymous with the question word *tsam* 'how many?' or 'how much?'. The non-word-class-changing derivational suffix *-tsam* has an allomorph *-ʑam* following a stem with a

voiced and breathy-voiced onset. The question word is accompanied by a rising intonation, whereas the suffix *-tsam* has a falling intonation.

Brokpa has another non-derivational suffix *-ka*, similar to *-tsam*. The suffix *-ka* is placed following a nominal, especially a number word, and has the meaning of something like 'whole set' or 'both'. This suffix also combines with some lexical interrogative words and forms indefinite sense (see Chapter 14).

Further types of non-word-class-changing derivation includes a reduplication of a number word or a repetition of a word referring to a day, week, month, or year. The reduplication of a number word or the reduplication of a word referring to month or year creates a new grammatical word but does not change the word class, e.g. *tɕu-tɕu* (ten-ten) ' tens', *dʱa~dʱa* (month~month) 'several months', *lo~lo* (year~year) 'several years'.

Adjectives and some nouns, such as number words and words referring to periods of time, may undergo productive reduplication in Brokpa. A verb root may be repeated for emphasis. Reduplication of adjectives has the semantic effect of intensification of quality, e.g. *keruk márbo~márbo* (carrot red~red) 'very red carrot' (see §5.1.1.2). Reduplication of a number word or a word referring to a period of time signifies plurality, typically referring to a large unspecifiable number, e.g. *tɕu~tɕu* (ten~ten) ' tens', *dʱa~dʱa* (month~month) 'several months', *lo~lo* (year~year) 'several years'. These are full reduplications, but Brokpa also has adjectives, and ideophones involving inherent reduplication, *taktak* 'exact', *ʈʰuŋtʰuŋ* 'crane', *durdur* 'peal (of thunder)'.

A reduplicated form of an adjective or a noun, similar to a compound, is an instance of one grammatical word in Brokpa. There can be just one inflection for a reduplicated word, *dʱa~dʱa=raŋ* (month~month=EMPH) 'really months'. See Chapter 5 on the discussion of reduplication of adjectives, and Chapter 3 on the wordhood of the reduplicated stems.

A verb root may be repeated for emphasis, certainty, or making an imperative sentence a polite one with an overtone of approval e.g. *kʰerkʰer* (take take) 'take (it) really, take (it) for sure' (see 'polite imperative' in §14.2.2.1.1). Note that repetition of verbs is not the same as reduplication.

8.4 Valency-changing derivations

In this section I will examine three types of constructions involving changing valency in Brokpa: reflexive, reciprocal, and causative construction. Brokpa uses the same construction type, pronominal, for both reflexive and reciprocal constructions, but has different forms of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. Reflexive and reciprocal constructions have valency-reducing effect, while causative constructions increase valency. Section 8.4.1 discusses reflexive construction, §8.4.2 reciprocal construction, and §8.4.3 causative construction.

8.4.1 Reflexive construction

A reflexive construction in Brokpa is achieved by means of 'pronominal construction' (see Dixon 2012:141 for a discussion on 'pronominal construction for reflexive') using the derived reflexive pronouns.

Reflexive pronouns are built on personal pronouns. Reflexive pronouns in Brokpa are formed by adding the enclitic *=raŋ* to the plain personal pronouns. This enclitic *=raŋ*, which is used for forming reflexive/emphatic pronouns, has grammaticalized from *raŋ* 'self' which can be used as independent personal pronoun (see §6.1.1). Table 89 gives a list of reflexive pronouns, formed by adding *=raŋ* to the personal pronouns in Brokpa.

Table 89. Reflexive pronouns in Brokpa

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN	GLOSS	MEANING
ŋa=raŋ	1SG=REFL	'myself'
ŋe=raŋ	1PL=REFL	'ourselves'
kʰyo=raŋ	2SG=REFL	'yourself'
kʰo=raŋ	3SG.MASC=REFL	'himself'
mo=raŋ	3SG.FEM=REFL	'herself'
kʰoŋ=raŋ	3PL=REFL	'themselves'

The reflexive pronouns also have 'intensive or auto-reflexive functions emphasizing the main actor', along the lines of Aikhenvald (2015a:183).[6]

Dixon (2012) points out two possible scenarios regarding the main and subsidiary functions of a grammatical form that may be used to mark reflexive in languages: 1) The main function of a grammatical form is to mark reflexive, but it may have further functions in the language, and 2) The marking of reflexive is a 'subsidiary function' of a grammatical form which has 'wider significance'.

Brokpa falls under type (2). The enclitic *=raŋ* occurs more frequently in the non-reflexive function than otherwise, and its main function appears to be that of marking emphasis or auto-reflexivity. When it occurs in a non-reflexive context, it is glossed 'emphatic' (EMPH), and when it occurs where reflexive interpretation is possible, it is glossed 'reflexive' (REFL).

As is evident from the personal pronoun stems, shown in Table 89, a reflexive pronoun varies for the person of the controller. If the controller is the speaker, the reflexive is *ŋa=raŋ* 'myself', and if it is the addressee the reflexive pronoun is *kʰyo=raŋ* 'yourself'. If the controller is a third person, the form of the reflexive pronoun will depend on the gender and number of the controller. In other words, the third person

[6] Note that there is vowel harmony taking place across the pronoun root and the reflexive/emphatic marker *=raŋ*. The vowel /a/ of the reflexive marker remains as if the pronoun root ends in the vowel /a/ or /e/. On the other hand, if the pronoun root has the vowel /o/ as its rhyme or as the final segment, the vowel of the reflexive/emphatic marker agrees with the vowel of the pronoun root, that is /a/ is realized as [o]: *kʰyo=raŋ* → [kʰyo.ɾoŋ] (2SG=REFL) 'yourself', *kʰo=raŋ* → [kʰo.ɾoŋ] (3SG.MASC=REFL) 'himself', *mo=raŋ* → [mo.ɾoŋ] (3SG.FEM=REFL) 'herself', and *kʰoŋ=raŋ* → [kʰoŋ.ɾoŋ] (3PL=REFL) 'themselves'.

reflexive pronoun varies for gender and number of the controller or antecedent. Note that in Brokpa only the third person pronoun distinguishes both gender and number, while the first and the second person distinguish only number.

If the controller is a third person plural, the reflexive pronoun is *kʰoŋ=raŋ* 'themselves' with no gender distinction. If the controller is a third person singular male, the reflexive pronoun is *kʰo=raŋ* 'himself' (to be distinguished from the third person plural *kʰoŋ* which has a coda consonant /ŋ/). If the controller is a third person female, the reflexive pronoun is *mo=raŋ* 'herself'.

As pointed out above, the reflexive pronouns in Brokpa have both reflexive and non-reflexive (auto-reflexive/emphatic functions). I will get back to the non-reflexive functions of the reflexive pronouns a little later. First consider the reflexive functions.

In a reflexive construction in Brokpa, it is always the A or the S argument which is the controller or the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun (see §11.1.6.2). The A or the S argument is fully stated, and the reflexive pronoun is placed in the O argument or the E argument slot. Since the preferred constituent order in Brokpa is A-O-TPR (see Chapter 14), the controlling argument (antecedent) in A function and the reflexive pronoun in O function occur in juxtaposition, but the antecedent or the controller typically precedes the reflexive pronoun in a reflexive construction.

When A is the grammatical controller of reflexivisation, the reflexive pronoun is placed in the O slot. The reflexive pronoun in the O slot is coreferential with the referent of the A argument. Consider:

(310) a. [Karma=e]AGENT:A [**mo=raŋ**]TARGET:O tsik-pʰi
Karma=ERG 3SG:FEM=REFL pinch-PERV
'Karma pinched herself'

b. daŋ kʰur tsemo+tse-sin [Leki=ge]A se=la
yesterday dart game+play-SIM Leki=ERG TARGET=LOC

mani [**kʰo=raŋ**]O pʰo?-du?
instead 3SG.MASC=REFL hit-DIRECT
'Yesterday, while playing darts, Leki hit himself instead of the target'

c. ʔayi = la [bomtɕʰuŋ = ʑiʔ = ge]A [**mo = raŋ**]O
up.there = LOC girl.young = INDEF = ERG 3SG.FEM = REFL

go + ʈü + dʱæ-duʔ
head + wash + stay-DIRECT
'A young girl is washing her hair by herself up there'
Lit. 'A young girl is head-wash + stay herself up there'

In sentence (310a), the reflexive form of the third person feminine pronoun *mo = raŋ* 'herself' which is the Target role in O function is coreferential with *Karma*, the fully stated NP which is the Agent role in A function. Similarly, in (310b) the reflexive form of third person masculine pronoun *kʰo = raŋ* 'himself', the Target role in O function in the main clause, is coreferential with *Leki*, the A argument of the same main clause. In the same vein, in (310c), the reflexive pronoun form *mo = raŋ* is coreferential with *bomtɕʰuŋ* 'young girl', the argument in A function.

In all example sentences— (310a), (310b), and (310c)— the A argument has an antecedent control over the reflexive pronoun placed in the O slot. As can be noted from these example sentences, the reflexive pronoun reflects the person and gender of the subject.

The reflexive constructions with A argument as the controller does not change transitivity but has a valency-reducing effect: A = O. The underlying two core arguments, A and O, have the same reference. As the two core arguments, A and O, coincide in reference there is in effect one argument, along the lines of Dixon (2010a:175).

When an S argument is the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun, the reflexive pronoun is placed in the E slot, as in (311):

(311) [ʔou = di]S [**kʰo = raŋ** = gi kornæ]PERI totpa + toŋ-gi
boy = DEF 3SG:MASC = REFL = GEN relat:about praise + do-IMPERV
'The boy is praising himself'
Lit. 'The boy is praising about himself'

Example (311) is an extended intransitive clause. The reflexive pronoun form, *kʰo = raŋ*, is followed by the relator *kornæ* 'about', preceded by the genitive marker

=gi, to show that it is in a peripheral argument slot. Note that the genitive marker is optional here. Alternatively, the reflexive pronoun can be marked by the dative *=la* when the predicate head is the compound verb stem *totpa+toŋ* 'praise', something like 'praising about himself'. The reflexive pronoun in the peripheral argument slot is coreferential with *ʔou* 'boy' the referent of the S argument. This shows that, if a clause is an extended intransitive, the S argument can be the controller of a reflexive pronoun.

As noted above, a reflexive pronoun can occur in a non-reflexive context; that is, in 'autoreflexive' function indicating emphasis. This is to be distinguished from a 'reflexive' construction. A reflexive pronoun used in a non-reflexive context is determined by the pragmatic parameters or discourse-pragmatic motivations.

In a non-reflexive context, a reflexive pronoun can potentially co-occur with any argument. For example, an E argument can be accompanied by a reflexive pronoun when it involves a verb of GIVING semantic type or the SHOW subtype, which may contain three semantic roles. In Brokpa, the verb *dʑin* 'to give' can define three semantic roles: Donor in A function, Gift in O function, and Recipient in E function. The Recipient role of the 'give' verb in E function may be followed by a reflexive pronoun for pragmatic effect, as in (312):

(312) [rup=di]GIFT:O [ŋa=e]DONOR:A [**Tashi** **mo=raŋ**=la]RECIPT:E dʑin-ni
money=DEF 1SG=ERG Tashi 3SG:FEM=EMPH=DAT give-NOMZ
'I gave the money to Tashi herself (and not to anyone else)'

In (312), the reflexive pronoun *mo=raŋ* 'herself' is modifying Tashi, the Recipient role in E function, shown by the dative *=la*. In this instance, the reflexive pronoun does not form one NP with the noun it modifies. The reflexive pronoun is not coreferential with the A argument, rather it is an instance of fulfilling intensive or auto-reflexive function, emphasizing the argument in E function in this instance.

Further consider:

(313) a. **kʰyo** pʰa=yi=la kʰim dʱo-zin **kʰyo=raŋ=ge**
2:SG there=GEN=LOC house stay-SIM 2:SG=EMPH=ERG

ʔo=zum=ʑiʔ kau+tɕæ-ti
DEM.PROX=SIMI=INDEF hardship+bear-PERV
'You yourself have worked so hard when you were staying there at the house'

b. **Ama Jomo**=ge Chumdurdur=gi pʰe-tɕʰoʔ=di=la
Ama Jomo=ERG Chumdurdur=GEN DEM-RELAT:direction=DEF=LOC

mo=raŋ=ge ɖubtɕʰu ton=næ...
3:SG:FEM=EMPH=ERG blessed.water.source reveal=SEQ
'Ama Jomo herself revealed the Blessed Water Source (Holy Water) on the other side of Chumdurdur...'

Examples (313a)-(313b) demonstrate the non-reflexive use of the reflexive pronoun forms. The pronominal forms, formed by enclitic *=raŋ* applied directly to the plain personal pronoun, emphasizes the main actor it is coreferential with. In (313a), the main actor is the second person pronoun *kʰyo*, and in (313b) the main actor is the NP Ama Jomo in A syntactic function.

In both example (313a) and (313b), there is a preceding actor. It is also possible for a reflexive pronoun to occur without the coreferential preceding actor, when it is in a non-reflexive (auto-reflexive or emphatic) function, as in:

(314) **ŋa=raŋ** pʰam=baʔ=kʰe gaŋyu=raŋ Dongol=se
1:SG=EMPH parents=PL=ERG ALL=FOC Dongol=QUOT

bo-gi-yo
call-IMPERV-EGO.EXIST
'Me, all the parents and relatives call me Dongol'

The first person reflexive form *ŋa=raŋ* in (314) occurs without any preceding controller. Here the enclitic *=raŋ* emphasizes the referent of the first person.

As noted above, the occurrence of personal pronouns with the enclitic *=raŋ* is more frequent in the non-reflexive context than in the reflexive. When the enclitic *=raŋ* occurs with a personal pronoun, in a non-reflexive use, it emphasizes the pronoun something like 'really I/he/she/we/' or it shows auto-reflexivity such as 'I myself',

'we ourselves'. This auto-reflexivity is distinct from the valency-changing reflexive construction (see §8.4).

As can be seen in Table 89, the enclitic *=raŋ* can attach to all personal pronouns. The enclitic *=raŋ* on first person plural *ŋi ~ ŋe* may or may not include addressee. It depends on discourse context or who the addressee is. For example, in expressions such as (a) *ŋe=raŋ=gi Brokpa=i lukse=la* (1PL=EMPH=GEN Brokpa=GEN tradition=LOC) 'in our Brokpa culture', and (b) *ŋe=raŋ=gi gœlk^{h}ap=la* (1PL=EMPH=GEN country=LOC) 'in our country', the addressee would be included if they are a Brokpa native in the case of (a), and a Bhutanese in the case of (b). If the addressee is not a Brokpa native or a Bhutanese, then the addresses is not included in such expression even though there is the first person plural pronoun form *ŋe=raŋ*.

Furthermore, both (a) and (b) can be expressed without the enclitic *=raŋ* and they can include or exclude the addressee depending on the meaning. In fact, one can observe Brokpa people using *ŋe=raŋ* to the outsiders, while talking about something related to Brokpa society and culture. The addressee is not included in such discourse context. Consider:

(315) **ŋe=raŋ** p^{h}ama=i k^{h}ato=næ ʔo
1PL=EMPH parent=GEN RELAT:side=ABL DEM.PROX

sam-p^{h}i-yo
think-NOMZ-EGO.EXIST
'We, the parents, we are thinking like this'

In (315), the father is talking to his daughter. The plural form *ŋe=raŋ* here refers only to the father and the mother. Their daughter— the addressee— is not included. Here the enclitic *=raŋ* only has an emphatic function.

The enclitic *=raŋ* may mark contrastive focus. When it functions as a contrastive focus marker, it may occur with any nominal, including pronouns. Examples include: *ŋa=raŋ ɖo-gu* (1SG=EMPH.FOC go-FUT.IMPERV) 'I (and not someone else) will go', *ŋa=la yáʔ=raŋ ʤin-go* (1SG=DAT yak=EMPH give-OBLIG) 'You must give

me a yak (and not another animal)'. The enclitic *=raŋ* may be repeated following a nominal, *ŋa=raŋ=raŋ* 'I myself (not someone else)'. When there is a double occurrence of *=raŋ* following a pronoun, the first *raŋ* codes auto-reflexivity; and the second contrastive focus. The second *=raŋ* is phonetically weakened leading to nasalization and compensatory lengthening, *ŋa=raŋ=raŋ* → [ŋɐ.rəŋ.rə̃ː].

8.4.2 Reciprocal construction

Brokpa employs the same technique for reflexive and reciprocal constructions, that is using pronominal construction while having different pronoun forms. As introduced in Chapter 6, Brokpa has one reciprocal pronoun *tɕiktɕik* 'each other/one another', which is formed by a repetition of the number word *tɕik* 'one'. In slower and more careful speech, the reciprocal pronoun form can be heard *tɕik=ke tɕik=la* (one=ERG one=DAT) literally 'by one to one'. Sometimes, the first *tɕik* takes the ablative marker *tɕik=næ tɕik* (one=ABL one) literally 'one from one' to derive the reciprocal pronoun form.

A reciprocal construction in Brokpa is expressed by using the reciprocal pronoun *tɕiktɕik* 'each other/one another', which has lexicalized from the expression *tɕik=ke/=næ tɕik=la* 'by one to one'. The reciprocal pronoun occurs in an underlying transitive structure, and the transitivity value of the clause is not affected. Akin to a reflexive construction, a reciprocal construction has a valency-reducing effect since the reciprocal pronoun and its antecedent have the same reference.

When A is the grammatical controller in a reciprocal construction, the reciprocal pronoun is placed in the O slot. Consider (316a) and (316b):

(316) a. [Nima=daŋ Dawa ɲí]A [**tɕiktɕik**]O muktum+koŋ-gi
Nima=CNTV Dawa two RECIP punch+beat-IMPERV
'Nima and Dawa are punching each other'

b. [muzu mí=baʔ=kʰe]A [**tɕiktɕik**]O námʑo+tʰo-duʔ
other person=PL=ERG RECIP ear+hear-DIRECT
'The other people have heard one another...'

In both (316a) and (316b), A is the target of reciprocal pronouns in the O slot. In (316a), two NPs are coordinated to form a larger NP in A function. Note that the two coordinated NPs in A argument slot in the reciprocal construction in (316a) appear without the ergative case. The information about the subject is shown by the constituent order, predicate-final with A preceding O. One reason why the ergative case is absent here could be because the reciprocal pronoun form inherently carries the ergative case in it.

In (316b), the NP in A function is the antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun in O slot. Since the underlying A and O arguments have the same referent in a reciprocal construction, as in (316b), it leads to valency reduction and change in the overall argument structure.

When an S argument is the controller in a reciprocal construction, the reciprocal pronoun takes the dative *=la* and is in the peripheral argument slot. Consider:

(317) [ʔou=daŋ bomo ɲí]S [**tɕiktɕik**=la]E ga:-li-na
boy=CNTV girl two RECIP=DAT like-NOMZ-FACT
'The bride and groom are loving each other'

Example (317) is an extended intransitive clause. The extended argument (the person loved) takes dative marking. The reciprocal pronoun shown by the dative *=la* is coreferential with the S argument, realized by two coordinated NPs.

A reciprocal construction serves as a means of coreferential deletion, to virtually reduce an entire clause. In the absence of a reciprocal pronoun, both A and O arguments have to be stated twice. For example, (317) would be a sentence with two juxtaposed clauses 'The bride loves the groom and the groom loves the bride' containing four arguments and a repeated predicate within a sentence. In the reciprocal construction, the same meaning is achieved by two core arguments, bride and groom in the A slot and the reciprocal pronoun in the O slot.

A reciprocal construction may also involve causative derivation. In a causative construction, an S argument with a reciprocal construction may be placed in the O slot, and the reciprocal pronoun goes into the peripheral argument slot, as in (318):

(318) [pʰama=ba?=kʰe]A [?ou=daŋ bomo ɲí]O [**tɕik=ke tɕik=la**]E
parent=PL=ERG boy=CNTV girl two RECIP=DAT

ga:-tɕu?-soŋ
like-CAUS-PERV
'The parents made the bride and groom love each other'

Example (318) is an extended intransitive clause. In the derived causative construction in (318), the reciprocal pronoun in the E argument slot is coreferential with the 'bride and groom' in the O slot, and a new argument *pʰama=ba?* (parent=PL) 'parents' is introduced in A function. This creates a superficial impression that the O argument is the grammatical controller of the reciprocal pronoun. However, the argument in the O slot is the erstwhile S argument of an extended intransitive clause. The reciprocal pronoun is actually coreferential with the erstwhile S argument which occupies the O slot in the derived causative construction. The coordinate NP *?ou=daŋ bomo* 'bride and groom' would be in S function before the causative derivation has applied, and the two erstwhile core arguments, S and E, have the same referents 'bride and groom' producing a valency-reducing effect.

8.4.3 Causative construction

Brokpa has a causative suffix *-tɕu?* occurring within the predicate of a dependent clause or a main clause. When a causative marker appears in a dependent clause, it is followed by a clause linking morpheme, and when it occurs in the predicate of a main clause it is followed by an aspect marker optionally followed by epistemic (modality) and epistemological (knowledge) markers (see Chapter 12). A causative derivation can apply to intransitive or transitive verbs, so the predicate of both A and S can be causitivized.

When a causative derivation applies to an intransitive predicate, the S argument is moved to the O argument status, and a new A is introduced increasing the valency by one. Compare:

(319) a. [ŋe=raŋ ɲí]S ɲámbu [dʱo-go-kʰyu-na]IPR
1PL=EMPH two with stay-OBLIG-IMPERV-FACT
'The two of us must live together'
Lit. 'The two of us must live with (one another)'

b. [kʰyo=i ʔaʑi=daŋ ʔam ɲí=kʰe]A
2SG=GEN sister=CNTV mother two=ERG

[ŋe=raŋ ɲí]O yakpo-gyan dʱo-**tɕu?**-pa min=s
1PL=EMPH two good-ADV stay-CAUS-MIR NEG.COP=ASSERT
'Your mother and sister will not let the two of us live nicely'

Sentence (319a) is an intransitive clause. After the causative derivation, in (319b), the original S argument *ŋe=raŋ ɲí* 'two of us' is moved to the O status, and a new A (the causer NP) 'your mother and sister' is introduced. In (319b), the causer NP takes the ergative allomoprh *=kʰe* and is in control of the causative clause. The causee NP *ŋe=raŋ ɲí* which was the subject of the underlying non-causal (intransitive) clause cannot take ergative case because it is affected— the causee NP is made to do something.

When a causative derivation applies to a transitive predicate, the original A is demoted by removing the ergative case and a new A is introduced with ergative case. Compare the two sentences in (320):

(320) a. [ʔou=daŋ bomo ɲí=kʰe=ye]A [lu=∅]O [gya=næ]TPR...
boy=CNTV girl two=ERG=EMPH song=ABS do=SEQ
'The bride and groom also sing...'

b. [lale=kʰe]A [ʔou=daŋ bomo ɲí= ye]O den [lú]O gya-**tɕu?**=næ....
some=ERG boy=CNTV girl two=EMPH then song do-CAUS=SEQ
'Some make the bride and groom sing a song...'

Example (320a) is a dependent medial, but a transitive clause with the A argument 'bride and groom' marked by the ergative case, and O zero-marked (absolutive). After the causative derivation in (320b), a new A argument *lale* 'some' is introduced. In the derived causative construction, the ergative marking from the original A is omitted and the new A takes ergative marking. The causer NP which is marked by ergative case is in control of the causative construction; the original A is affected by being made to sing. The O argument remains as is.

In the causative of a transitive clause, as in (320b), a new A argument is introduced as the causer. The old A becomes a new O argument and the old O also stays as an O argument. Now there are two O arguments within the derived causative construction. There are two techniques for telling the two O arguments apart. The first technique is the order of NPs. The new O (old A) precedes the old O, that is the new O is the NP immediately following the new A NP, as can be seen in (320b). The second is that the new O can take a differential object marking as in:

(321) a. [lale=k^{h}e]$_{A}$ [ʔou=daŋ bomo ɲí=**la**=ye]$_{O}$ den [lú]$_{O}$
some=ERG boy=CNTV girl two=DOM=EMPH then song

gya-tɕuʔ=næ....
do-CAUS=SEQ
'Some make the bride and groom sing a song...'

b. [Ama.Jomo=ge]$_{A}$ [mákpon=baʔ=**la**]$_{O}$ [ta+ɖö]$_{O}$ [taŋ-tɕuʔ-pi]$_{TPR}$
Ama.Jomo=ERG general=PL=DOM horse+race do-CAUS-PERV
'Ama Jomo made the generals do horse racing'

Example (320b) is repeated in (321a) with the differential object marking *=la* on the new O. Note that both (321a) in which the new O has the *=la* marking and (320b) where the new O does not have the *=la* marking are acceptable. Further instance of the new O argument receiving a differential object marking in the causative of a transitive clause is in (321b). (See § 11.1.4 for further discussion on differential object marking).

In summary, the predicates of both S and A arguments can undergo causative derivation, and the causer NP which takes ergative case is in control of the causative clause.

Extended intransitive and extended transitive (ditransitive) verbs are not found in causative constructions in my corpus. However, as observed in everyday conversations, both extended intransitive and extended transitive verbs can be causativised, as in (322a) and (322b) respectively:

(322) a. ŋa=e ŋa=i nou lobɖa=la ɖo-**tɕu?**-pi
1SG=ERG 1SG=GEN younger.brother school=DAT go-CAUS-PERV
'I made my younger brother go to school'

b. kʰoŋ=la söri=di ŋa=e ŋa=i dʱou=la dʑin-**tɕu?**-pi
3PL=DAT TIP=DEF 1SG=ERG 1SG=GEN friend=DAT give-CAUS-PERV
'I made my friend give tips to them'

Further note that when the causative *-tɕu?* occurs within the predicate of a main clause, it can be optionally followed by other grammatical markers such as aspect, modality, and knowledge (see 'verb phrase structure' in Chapter 12), as in (323):

(323) da kʰoŋ=la da ɖanba+tsʰor-**tɕu?**-go-ro
PART 3PL=DAT PART awareness+feel-CAUS-OBLIG-final
'We must make them realize'

Further, the causative *-tɕu?* has a permissive overtone. It can mean 'make A/S do something or allow A/S to do something', as in (324):

(324) keruk=di kæzaŋ=la tsapʰ-**tɕu?**-go-kʰu-na
radish=DEF Kelzang=DAT chop-CAUS-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'We have to make/let Kelzang chop the radish'

In fact, all examples of causative constructions above have a permissive overtone.

Note that causative *-tɕu?* is to be distinguished from the third-person imperative/or optative mood marker *-ɕu?*, which differs only slightly in terms of phonemic shape. If the causative *-tɕu?* in the above examples is replaced by *-ɕu?*, each sentence becomes an indirect command to a third person, and the meaning will change from 'make/cause' to 'let' (see 'non-canonical imperative' in Chapter 14).

The causative *-tcu?* is cognate with the Classical Tibetan verb <bcug> which has several meanings including 'to insert', 'to lead into', 'to do', and 'to cause to do something'. The optative marker *-ɕu?* ~ *-ɕo?*, which will be discussed in Chapter 14, is related to the Classical Tibetan <shog>, used in expressing a wish. In a nutshell, the optative *-ɕu?* and the causative *-tɕu?* have different historical origins in addition to their different syntactic functions.

8.5 Compounding and derivation: summary

In this chapter I have examined compounding, nominalization, and valency-changing derivations. The morphological process of compounding results in the formation of noun stems in Brokpa. A compound noun is typically formed by a combination of two or more nouns. A compound noun can also be formed by other words classes such as verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, albeit marginally. Semantic types of compound nouns include endocentric, exocentric, coordinate, and synthetic compounds.

Nominalization in Brokpa is divided into grammatical nominalization, agentive, locative, instrumental, and manner nominalization. A grammatical nominalization uses the same suffix (or an allomorph) that marks perfective aspect. The grammatical nominalizer converts a clause, typically a dependent clause, into a nominal type which takes some grammatical elements associated with nouns, but grammatical nominalization does not result in the formation of noun stems. A grammatical nominalization may code event or action nominalization.

Other types of nominalization include agentive, locative, instrumental, and manner nominalization. The nominalizing suffixes used for deriving these types of

nominalization can be used for deriving noun stems, and they can also be used for nominalizing a whole clause. Nouns in Brokpa can also be derived by means of a host of non-word-class-changing derivational suffixes.

Valency-changing derivations include reflexive, reciprocal, and causative constructions. Reflexive and reciprocal constructions have a valency-reducing effect, while causative construction is an instance of valency-increasing derivation.

Chapter 9

Nominal morphology

This chapter discusses grammatical categories associated with nouns in Brokpa including case, number, definiteness, gender, and evaluative morphology (augmentative and diminutive). The first three grammatical categories are marked by enclitics, while the last two— gender and evaluative morphology— are coded by affixation.

Section 9.1 introduces case markers, focusing on their forms and distinctions by functions. The function of each case marker will be explored with reference to the marking of core arguments and peripheral arguments in Chapter 11. Section 9.2 deals with grammatical number, and §9.3 definiteness and indefiniteness. Section 9.4 discusses the marking of masculine and feminine gender, and §9.5 deals with evaluative marking. The chapter ends with a brief summary in §9.6.

9.1 Case

Case markers in Brokpa, as indicated in Chapter 3, have the morphological status of clitics. Brokpa case markers are phonologically bound to their stem and do not receive primary stress. The case marking applies only once to an NP either onto the head, in the absence of a modifier, or typically onto the last modifier if there are modifiers. The choice of a case marker, despite attaching to a modifier in an NP, is dictated by the syntactic role of the head noun. Note that Dryer (2007b) suggests that if the case markers in a language attach to the last constituent in an NP, they are better considered as 'postpositional clitics'.

Only those case morphemes which mark the function of NP in the clause are referred to as case markers. The genitive marker which has a possessive function

within an NP is not treated as a case (see the discussion on the distinction between 'case' and 'genitive' in Dixon 2010a:45). The genitive marker in Brokpa is a marker of possessive construction, applying on the genitive or the possessive modifier (see §10.2.1). Table 90 provides a list of case markers in Brokpa.

Table 90. Case markers in Brokpa

FORM	FUNCTION
=*ø*	Absolutive
=*ge* ~ =*gi*	Ergative
=*ge* ~ =*gi*	Instrumental
=*la*, =*na*, =*su*	Locative
=*la* ~ *lu*,	Dative
=*næ*, =*læ*	Ablative
=*la*, =*te*	Allative
=*daŋ*	associative/comitative

As can be seen from Table 90, Brokpa allows case syncretism. A single case form can be used to achieve two different case functions, marking a core argument as well as a peripheral argument. In Brokpa, ergative and instrumental case have the same form =*ge*. Note that the ergative/instrumental case =*ge* is used in free variation with =*gi* which then becomes the same form as the genitive marker.[1] In the same vein, a single case form may mark two or more peripheral arguments and/or E core arguments such as the enclitic =*la* marking locative/allative and dative case.

Akin to other Bodic languages (see, for example, Genetti 1986), the case markers in Brokpa can be used for linking clauses whether on their own or in conjunction with other lexical or grammatical elements (see Chapter 15).

The enclitic =*ge* — marking ergative and instrumental case— has three allomorphs: =*ge*, =*ke* ~ =k^h*e*, and =*e*. The conditioning behind an ergative allomorphic selection, in general, appears to be as follows:

[1] In Classical Tibetan and written Dzongkha, the ergative/instrumental case is written <gis>, and the genitive marker as <gi>. However, in terms of their synchronic phonemic shape, the ergative/instrumental case marker and the genitive marker are all realized the same as /gi/ in spoken Dzongkha and some other Bodish languages. Brokpa is probably at an early stage of innovating a distinct ergative case marker.

$=ge$ following a sonorant consonant;

$=ke \sim =k^he$ following an obstruent;

$=e$ following a vowel.[2]

Note that the allomorphic distinctions are not clearly maintained, and they are more or less used in free variation, especially $=ge$ and $=e$.

Further note that if a host word ends in vowels /a/ and /o/, there is a syllable reduction in the surface forms. The vowel of the host word plus the ergative case leads to monophthongization and a change in vowel quality, /a/ + /e/ → [æ] and /o/ + /e/ → [ø]. However, the ergative allomorph $=e$ exists in the underlying form, as in (325a) and (325b):

(325) a. ʔoti laika **k^{h}yo=e** gyop
DEM.PROX work 2SG=ERG do.IMP
'You do this work'

b. **ŋa=e** ʔoti mi-gya
1SG=ERG DEM.PROX NEG-do
'I will not do this'

This way of of reducing the syllable in the surface form is probably an influence from Classical Tibetan. In Classical Tibetan, the first person singular pronoun is <nga>, but it becomes <ngas>, pronounced [ŋæ], in ergative case; similarly the third person singular masculine pronoun in <kho> becomes <khos> pronounced [k^{h}ø] in ergative case.

Sometimes, especially in the Merak accent, the ergative allomorph $=e$ is further followed by the ergative allomorph $=ge$ or $=ke \sim =k^he$, resulting in double ergative marking on the same NP, as in:

(326) ŋa=**e=k^{h}e** k^{h}yo=la yigu=ʑi? taŋ-yo
1SG=ERG=ERG 2SG=DAT letter=INDEF send-EGO
'I have sent a letter to you'

[2] When the ergative case marker is realized as $=gi$, its allomorphs $=ke \sim =k^he$, $=e$, will be realized as $=ki \sim =k^hi$, and $=i$ respectively, the same as genitive allomorphs.

This double marking of ergative on A argument does not seem to be an accident. One can observe a similar phenomenon in Tshangla. In Tshangla, the first person singular pronoun is *dʑɒŋ*, and the ergative marker is *=gi*, the same form as the free variant of the Brokpa ergative or its genitive marker. The Tshangla pronoun stem undergoes morphophonemic alternation, involving a coda consonant deletion and a vowel raising (and fronting), and becomes *dʑi* in the ergative case. This inflected pronoun in the ergative case can also appear with the overt ergative marker *=gi*:

(327) a. dʑɐŋ di-le
1SG go-FUT
'I will go'

b. dʑi rok koŋ-me
1SG:ERG 3SG beat-FUT
'I will beat them (him/her)'

c. **dʑi=gi** got^{h}am t^{h}ur za-wa
1SG:ERG=ERG egg one eat-PAST
'I ate one egg'

Example (327a) is an intransitive sentence and the first pronoun has a zero marking for absolutive. Example (327b) is transitive, and the first person pronoun has a single ergative case, achieved by morphophonemic alternation. As shown in bold in (327c), the pronoun in the ergative form further takes an overt ergative case marker, resulting in double ergative marking.

However, this double ergative marking is not observed in Dzongkha. Dzongkha also shares the same first person singular pronoun *ŋa* with Brokpa; Dzongkha has ergative case allomorphs *=i* and *=gi*, but in Dzongkha these allomorphs are mutually exclusive, despite being used in free variation. That is, a Dzongkha speaker chooses either the allomorph *=i* or the *=gi*, but not both, **ŋa=i=gi*, which is a completely acceptable expression in Brokpa, is not attested in Dzongkha. This phenomenon of double ergative marking deserves further studies in Brokpa and Tshangla.

The ergative case and the instrumental case in Brokpa, which share the same morphological realisation, can be recognised as two distinct cases on the basis of their different syntactic behaviour in topicalization and noun incorporation. Besides the morphological coding, one of the strategies for topicalizing a constituent is by fronting or left-dislocation of a topic. Whereas the transitivity value of the clause is not affected, this strategy of topicalization involves a rearrangement of syntactic arguments. Thus compare:

(328) a. [kʰyo]O [ŋa=e]A [ʔoti kʰara=**ge**]PERI [duŋ-gu-na].TPR
2SG 1SG=ERG DEM.PROX stick=INST beat-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'I will beat you with this stick'

b. [ŋa]A [kʰyo]O [ʔoti kʰara=**ge**]PERI [duŋ-gu-na]TPR
1SG 2SG DEM.PROX stick=INST beat-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'I will beat you with this stick'

In (328a), the O NP, *kʰyo* '2SG', precedes the A NP, *ŋa* '1SG', since the latter bears an ergative marking. When the A NP is topicalized by placing it before the O NP, as in (328b), the ergative marking on the A argument is omitted, but the instrumental argument remains unchanged and still bears the instrumental case *=ge*, shown in bold. It appears that the topicalization of A argument is triggered by an omission of its ergative case.

A further difference in the syntactic behaviour between ergative and instrumental case can be observed in noun incorporation. Note that noun incorporation in Brokpa may reduce valency, deriving an intransitive predicate from a transitive one, or it may not change the valency; that is, a complex verb stem formed by noun incorporation can function as a transitive predicate taking transitive O argument. Of relevance here is a noun incorporation reducing valency by one and making the original argument in instrumental function as part of the predicate. Thus compare(329a) and (329b):

(329) a. [ŋa=**e**]A [kʰyo=ø]O [dʱo=ge]PERI:INST [taŋ+dʑin-ni]TPR
1SG=ERG 2SG=ABS stone=INST do+give-NOMZ
'I will hit you with a stone (pebble)'

b. [ŋa=**e**]A [kʰyo=ø]O [dʱo+taŋ-yi-na]TPR
1SG=ERG 2SG=ABS stone+do-IMPERV-FACT
'I will stone/will be stoning you'

Sentence (329a) has three arguments— the Agent role in A function, the Target role in O function, and the Manip in instrumental (peripheral) function. The original A and O arguments remain unchanged in (329b), the A argument bearing ergative case and the O argument in absolutive case; but the NP originally marked with instrumental case is incorporated into the predicate after omitting the instrumental case marker; the erstwhile peripheral argument becomes part of the predicate, reducing valency by one. But the A argument remains unchanged and still bears the ergative case *=e*, shown in bold.

The syntactic behaviour of ergative and instrumental cases in these two construction types, despite sharing the same morphological form, suggest that they can be recognized as two distinct cases.

Typically, ergative and absolutive cases mark core arguments, and other cases mark peripheral (oblique) arguments. In particular, ergative case *=ge* marks transitive subject A, absolutive case *=∅* marks intransitive subject S and transitive object O; the locative *=la* marks spatial and/or temporal peripheral arguments. The ablative case *=nœ* also marks spatial and temporal peripheral arguments indicating movement away from the referent of an NP peripheral argument, and it may mark peripheral arguments which do not relate to space and time.

The instrumental case *=ge* marks peripheral arguments in instrumental function with no spatial and temporal sense; the dative *=la* ~ *=lu* marks several non-spatial and non-temporal peripheral arguments including benefactive, recipient, and

purpose; and the dative case also marks E (indirect object) which will be a core argument. The allative *=te, =la* indicates movement towards the referent of an NP in peripheral argument function which relates to space and time.

Note that the enclitic *=daŋ* has several functions including comitative (associative) case marker, NP-internal coordination, clause coordination, and clause-linking. As a marker of coordination between phrases and clauses, the morpheme *=daŋ* has a meaning of 'and'. As a clause linker, the morpheme *=daŋ* marks temporal sequence 'after X...then'; and it may also simply mean 'after', 'as soon', 'then', etc. When *=daŋ* occurs as a case marker, it is glossed 'comitative' (COM), and, when it occurs as a coordinator and clause linker, it is glossed 'connective' (CNTV).

In addition to the case markers realized as enclitics, provided in Table 90, Brokpa has a number of weakly grammaticalized postpositional relators, as noted in Chapter 6. A relator may co-occur with a case enclitic such as locative or ablative case; or a relator may appear with a peripheral argument without a case enclitic. When a relator occurs with a peripheral argument without a case enclitic, it specifies a location. A relator can mark a spatial location or a temporal location, on its own, and achieves the role of the locative case marker.

The marking of core and peripheral arguments using the case system and relators is dealt with in Chapter 11.

9.2 Grammatical number

As noted in Chapter 6, Brokpa personal pronouns make two number distinctions—singular and plural. The singular number refers to 'one' and the plural to 'many' or 'more than one'. The personal pronouns express plurality via vowel alternations. A personal pronoun in the plural form may also optionally take a plural marker which, like the double ergative marking, is a fertile ground for further exploration.

As seen under personal pronouns (§6.1.1), Brokpa has a special pronoun *raŋ* 'self' which functions as a free pronoun as well as a marker of a reflexive and emphatic

pronoun by attaching to the root of a free personal pronoun. Similarly, the lexeme *muzu* 'other' can be used as a free pronoun or can be used in juxtaposition with a personal pronoun. The pronoun *raŋ* 'self' and the pronoun *muzu* 'other', as illustrated in Chapter 6, can have a singular or a plural reference depending on context.

Number marking on nouns is shown by enclitics and, sometimes, lexical words. A noun does not undergo word-internal changes or morphophonemic alternations to code plurality, in contrast to a pronoun. Plurality on pronouns can be indicated by ablaut, and, as noted above, overt number markers become optional on pronouns.

Brokpa does not have a bound morpheme to indicate dual number. The number word *ɲí* 'two' can be employed to precisely specify two referents, but this number word is not phonologically bound to its host. The number word *ɲí* commences with a sonorant with a high tone bearing independent stress and blocking any phonological cohesion. Thus a dual number marking in Brokpa is achieved only lexically.

The unmarked stem indicates singular number in Brokpa, e.g. *buŋba* '(one) donkey', *kyi* '(one) dog'. Note, however, that unmarked nouns can also indicate plural number depending on context (see §9.2.5). There are three different morphemes marking plurality, *=ba?*, *=ts^{h}u*, and *=ts^{h}an*. These plural markers are analyzed as clitics and not as words or suffixes. The plural markers in Brokpa are not words because they cannot occur without a host. The plural markers are phonologically bound to their host.

Along similar lines, the plural markers are not suffixes because it is not obligatory for a plural marker to attach directly to a head noun and form a grammatical word with it. The scope of a plural marker is phrasal, as opposed to a suffix which has a word-level scope. A plural marker always occurs outside of a suffix when a noun is followed by a suffix , e.g. *ʑim-ru?=ba?* (cat-DIM=PL) 'kittens'. The number marker never precedes a suffix, **ʑim=ba?-ru?* (cat=PL-DIM).

The enclitics *=ba?* and *=ts^{h}u* may be said to be 'simple' or 'basic' additive plural markers, which show more than one referent of the same type. However, the plural

markers *=ba?* and *=tsʰu* differ in terms of the positional slots and the selectivity of host.

Interestingly, the plural marker *=tsʰan* appears only with kin terms and personal names and typically indicate a group of people including the focal referent. This plural marker is described as an 'associative plural' in Brokpa (see Moravcsik 2003 and Aikhenvald 2015a:89 for discussions on 'associative plural').

There are also certain measure terms which can be used as collective plural markers. In addition, Brokpa makes use of other lexical resources to express plural numbers.

In terms of loci, the plural marker goes directly onto the head noun if there is no modifier in an NP, e.g. *mi=ba?* (person=PL) 'persons/people'. If there are several modifiers in an NP, the plural marking goes once onto to the last modifier, e.g. *ʈeloŋ ʔintɕu kyaptɕʰokpa ɕukɕin=ba?* (boy good-looking handsome strong=PL) 'The handsome good-looking strong boys'. Many languages are said to have restrictions on the co-occurrence of modifiers (see, for instance, de Vries 2005, de Vries 2013). [3]

There is no number agreement in NPs in Brokpa. Plurality can be marked on free pronouns, nouns, demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, and interrogatives; and the plural marking can also apply to nominalizations. Although plurality on nouns is overtly shown in most cases, evidence suggest that the plural marking in Brokpa is optional. Section 9.2.1 discusses the plural marker *=ba?* and §9.2.2 the plural marker *=tsʰu*. Section 9.2.3 deals with the associative plural *=tsʰan*. Section 9.2.4 looks at the independent markers of plurality including 'collective plural' and 'honorific plural' in Brokpa. Section 9.2.5 deals with 'optional number marking'.

[3] This example is elicited. In my data, an apposition only up to two adjectival modifiers could be found. Theoretically, any number of adjectives is possible.

9.2.1 The plural =*ba?*

The plural marker =*ba?* is the most frequently occurring number marker in Brokpa. The plural marker =*ba?* is shared with Tshangla, a distantly-related Tibeto-Burman language spoken in direct contact with Brokpa. The plural =*ba?* occurs with count nouns, with an animate count noun (humans), e.g. *názi*=*ba?* (herder=PL) 'herders', with an inanimate noun, e.g. *kʰuzu*=*ba?* (load=PL) 'loads'. The plural enclitic =*ba?* is a clitic with a low selectivity of host, occurring with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and interrogatives. The occurrence of the plural =*ba?* with the members of these word classes will be exemplified a little later.

If there are two or more enclitics including the *plural* =*ba?* following an NP, the plural enclitic =*ba?* precedes all other enclitics, except the enclitic =*raŋ*, e.g. *baru?*=***ba?***=*ti* (cow-DIM=PL=DEF) 'the calves'; *kʰoŋ*=***ba?***=*kʰe* (3PL=PL=ERG) 'they all...'. The enclitic =*raŋ* which marks reflexivity and emphasis may precede or follow the plural enclitic =*ba?*, eg. *ŋe*=*raŋ*=***ba?***=*kʰe*=*ye* (1:PL=REFL=PL=ERG=EMPH) 'we also', *kʰi*=***ba?***=*raŋ* (2PL=PL=EMPH) 'You all'. The indefinite enclitic =*tɕi?* (and its allomorphs) also occurs in the same slot as the number marker. Recall from Chapter 3 that, because the plural enclitic =*ba?* or the indefinite enclitic =*tɕi?* typically follows a lexical stem, after affixation has applied, the plural marker =*ba?* and the indefinite =*tɕi?* may provide a signal for the end of a grammatical word. As noted in Chapter 4, a grammatical word may end immediately before the plural marker =*ba?* or the indefinite =*tɕi?*.

As noted above, the plural =*ba?* applies directly to the head noun if there is no adjectival modifier in an NP. If there is an adjective modifying the head noun in an NP, the plural =*ba?* applies to the modifying adjective, as in (330):

(330) dʱou **ɲóm=ba?**=la tɕæt+gya-sa má-tʰoŋ-ŋai
friend other=PL=DAT chat+do-NOMZ:LOCTV NEG-see-NOMZ

yor=ʑi?
long.time=INDEF
'For a long time, (I) did not get to chat with other friends'

Example (330) contains a subordinate adverbial clause, hence it ends with the sequential marker *=næ*, which is from the ablative case *=næ*. In (330), the plural *=ba?* occurs with the adjective *ɲóm* 'other' which modifies the head noun *dʱou* 'friend' which is an oblique argument marked by dative case.

Plurality on pronouns, as noted in Chapter 6, is indicated by means of an ablaut or vowel gradation. However, a pronoun in the plural form can optionally take the plural marker *=ba?*, as in (331):

(331) **kʰoŋ=ba?**=kʰe ʔotɕins gya-gi=se lap=næ
3PL=PL=ERG like.this do-IMPERV=QUOT say=SEQ
'By saying, "They are doing it like this"'

In (331), the third personal pronoun *kʰoŋ* takes the plural marker *=ba?* even though the pronoun stem already has a plural reference. Akin to the English *they* which is used both as a third person singular and as a third person plural, the pronoun *kʰoŋ* in Brokpa appears to be carrying a singular overtone in addition to its primary function as the third person plural pronoun. The Brokpa pronoun *kʰoŋ* is a calque form of the Classical Tibetan third person singular honorific pronoun <khong> 'he/she/it>. In Brokpa, this pronoun does not have an honorific meaning and is typically used as the third person plural pronoun. Sometimes, one could hear this pronoun being used in the discourse contexts when singular form would be more felicitous. This may perhaps be an instance of the enhancement of its usage due to influence from Classical Tibetan.

The plural marker *=ba?* can occur with a demonstrative, as shown in bold in (332):

(332) tɕʰuk=daŋ **ʔoti=baʔ**=ti tsʰatpe=di=ge
female.yak=CNTV DEM.PROX=PL=DEF malaria=DEF=ERG

má-tub-bi
NEG-be.okay-PERV
'They could not keep the female yaks and those (other animals) because of the risk of malaria'

In (332), the plural enclitic *=baʔ* immediately follows the demonstrative *ʔoti* which is one of the two NPs, each with its own independent referent, coordinated by the connective *=daŋ* and forming a complex NP in O function. The plural marker precedes the definite marker *=ti*. The plural enclitic *=baʔ* can also occur with the distal demonstrative, *ʔupʰi=baʔ* (DEM.DIST=PL) 'those'.

In the same vein, the plural *=baʔ* can occur with some question words such as *su* 'who?' and *tɕakʰan* 'which?'. The other interrogatives such as *tsan* 'when' and *gate* 'where' typically do not take the plural marking, **tsan=baʔ*, **gate=baʔ*. Examples of the plural *=baʔ* occurring with a question word include:

(333) a. kʰoŋ sui=baʔ=la dʑin lo
3PL who=PL=DAT give Q
'Who do you want (me) to give to?'

b. tɕala tɕʰakʰan=baʔ=ti lo
thing which=PL=DEF Q
'Which things are the ones?'

Further, the plural marker *=baʔ* can be added to a nominalized predicate. The plural *=baʔ* applies to a predicate taking the grammatical nominalizer, as in (334a), as well as to the predicate nominalized with the agentive nominalizer, as in (334b):

(334) a. [pʰa=la poŋpoŋ gya-go-**pʰi=baʔ**=ti]NOMZ:O ŋe=raŋ
there=LOC talk do-OBLIG-NOMZ=PL=TOP 1:PL:ERG=FOC

gya-go-pʰi
do-OBLIG-NOMZ
'The talking that we have to do there, we must do'
Lit. 'The talk-doing there, we (and no one else) have to be doing'

b. yóm [**ɖom-gan**=**ba?**=k^{h}e=ye]NOMZ:A...
other go-NOMZ:AGTV=PL=ERG=EMPH
'The other travellers also...'

In (334a), there is a juxtaposition of two nominalized clauses. The first nominalized clause functions as the complement of the second headless nominalized clause. The plural *=ba?* occurs immediately following the grammatical nominalizer *-p^{h}i*, nominalizing a predicate in an object function in this instance. Similarly, the plural *=ba?* occurs immediately following the agentive lexical nominalizer *-gan* in (334b), nominalizing a predicate and takes ergative case, which has to be in A function.

9.2.2 The plural *=ts^{h}u*

The Brokpa plural marker *=ts^{h}u* is cognate with the plural marker *tsho* in Standard Tibetan (see, among others, Duff 2009:572; Tournadre and Dorje 2003:86) and *=tshu* in Dzongkha (see van Driem and Tshering 2019:102; Watters 2018:163). Because Brokpa is a Central Bodish language and it has the plural marker *=ts^{h}u* which is the same as other Central Bodish languages such as Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha, the plural marker *=ba?* (§9.2.1) appears to be a loan from Tshangla. Or, alternatively, it can be a common inheritance enhanced through language contact.

The plural *=ba?* and the plural *=ts^{h}u* in Brokpa differ only in the choice of demonstrative as the head of an NP and whether or not they can follow or precede the definite marker *=di*.

The plural marker *=ba?* typically occurs with the demonstrative *?oti* or *?up^{h}i*, e.g. *?oti=ba?* (DEM.PROX=PL) 'these', *?up^{h}i=ba?* (DEM.DIST=PL) 'those'. The plural *=ba?* does not occur with the archaic demonstrative *di* or *de*, **di=ba?*, **de=ba?*. As noted in Chapter 6, the morphemes *di* and *de* occur less frequently as demonstratives in Brokpa and only the single form *=di* functions as the marker of definiteness, as a bound morpheme. Therefore, the plural marker *=ba?* also does not occur following the definite enclitic *=di*, **bomo=di=ba?*. When the two morphemes co-occur, the plural

=ba? always precedes the definite *=di ~ =ti*, e.g. *kʰoŋ=ba?=di* (3:PL=PL=DEF) 'they (all)'.

In contrast, the plural marker *=tsʰu ~ =ʑu ~ =su* occurs following the definite marker *=di* within a phonological word in Brokpa, e.g. *bomo=di=su* (girl=DEF=PL) 'girls'. This same phenomenon can be observed in Dzongkha— plural *tsʰu* following the definite marker *di* (see also van Driem and Tshering 2019:102). Furthermore, in contrast to the plural marker *=ba?* which occurs only with a count noun as head of an NP, the plural marker *=tsʰu* (with *=di* preceding it) occurs with count nouns as in *pʰrugu=di=tsʰu* (child=DEF=PL) 'children/kids' and with mass nouns, e.g. *lorgyu=di=tsʰu* (information=DEF=PL) 'information', *poŋpoŋ=di=tshu* (talk=DEF=PL) 'talks/discussions'.

As illustrations of the plural *=tsʰu* occurring with the definite enclitic *=di* within an NP, consider:

(335) a. poŋpoŋ=**di**=**tsʰu**=ye ʔotɕins gya-gi
talk=DEF=PL=EMPH like.this do-IMPERV
'The talks are done like this'

b. ʔoti=**di**=**su** ʑipsol náŋ-zin...
DEM.PROX=DEF=PL research do:HON-SIM
'All these, while doing research...'

c. ŋe=raŋ=gi lo=daŋ ɖaŋam=**di**=**su**=ta
1SG=REFL=GEN age=COM equal=DEF=PL=TOP.FOC
'Those who are the same age as me'
Lit. 'This who are equal with my age'

In (335a) the enclitic *=tshu* immediately following *=di* marks plurality on the mass noun *poŋpoŋ* 'talk'; in (335b), it occurs with NP whose head is the demonstrative *ʔoti*; and in the plural *=tsʰu* (with *=di*) immediately follows the adjective *ɖaŋam* 'equal'.

Akin to the plural *=ba?*, the plural *=tsʰu* (with *=di*) applies to nominalized verbs, both grammatical nominalizer, as in (336a)[4], and agentive nominalizer, as in (336b):

(336) a. kʰer-má-tɕʰok-pi=**di**=**su** kʰer-má-tɕʰok-pi-gyan=raŋ
take-NEG-allow-NOMZ=DEF=PL take-NEG-allow-NOMZ-ADV=FOC

dʱæ-ti yo-na
stay-NOMZ EXIST-FACT
'Prohibitions need to be observed'
Lit. 'The disallowed (items) are observed as disallowed only'

b. ta=la ʑon-gan=**di**=**su** me-ti-na
horse=LOC ride-NOMZ:AGTV=DEF=PL NEG.EXIST-NOMZ-FACT
'There are no horse riders'

Some differences between the plural marker *=ba?* and the plural marker *=tshu* in Brokpa include:

1) The plural *=ba?* and the plural *=tsʰu* differ in terms of their positional slots following an NP. The plural marker *=tsʰu* typically follows the definite *=di*. The plural marker *=ba?* typically appears without the definite marker *=di* following an NP. If the plural *=ba?* and the definite *=di* co-occur, it is always the case that the former precedes the latter, *=ba?=ti* (PL=DEF), which is the opposite order of *=di=tsʰu* (DEF=PL).

It is extremely rare for the plural marker *=tsʰu* to appear with an NP without the definite enclitic *=di*. Only a single occurrence of the plural *=tsʰu*, to the exclusion of the definite marker *=di*, following an NP could be found in my corpus containing more than 2000 clauses. The sentence in which this morpheme occurred is *yá?=zu ʈo+kʰer ga-li-ɖou* (yak=PL raise+take go-NOMZ-SAME) 'Just as yaks break into a fast gallop raising (their tails)'.

[4] In this example the speaker is talking about some food items which are not allowed to be taken while going on a pilgrimage to the sacred place of their local deity.

2) The plural *=ba?* and the plural *=tsʰu* differ in the choice of the semantics of the head noun in an NP. The enclitic *=ba?* shows plurality in an NP whose head is only a count noun. There is no such restriction for the enclitic *=tsʰu* as long as it is preceded by the definite *=di*. The plural marker *=tsʰu* with the definite *=di* can apply to an NP whose head can be a count noun or a mass noun.

3) The first person and second person pronouns typically take the plural marker *=ba?*, e.g. *ŋi=ba?* (1PL=PL) 'we', *kʰi=ba?* (2PL=PL) 'you (all)'. The plural *=tsʰu* typically does not occur with the first and the second person pronouns, **ŋi=tsʰu*, **kʰi=tsʰu*. However, the plural *=tsʰu* accompanied by the definite marker *=di*, can occur with the third person pronoun, *kʰoŋ=di=su* (3PL=DEF=PL) 'they'. Note, however, that this distinction may not always be observed, especially by the younger speakers.

9.2.3 The associative plural *=tsʰan*

The meaning of an associative plural can be postulated as 'X and associate(s)' in which X is the focal referent and the associates are defined with regard to X (see Aikhenvald 2015a:113; Moravcsik 2003). This is quite different from the basic additive plural markers *=ba?* and *=tsʰu* which have the meaning 'many X', indicating any number of an identical referent which is the head of an NP. The associative plural is shown by the enclitic *=tsʰan* ~ *=san*.[5] The associative plural marker can occur on kin terms, as shown in bold type, in (337a) and (337b):

(337) a. te num ŋa=i ʔot ʔani-ʔaʑaŋ=**tsʰan** loʔ
PART night 1SG=GEN DEM.PROX aunt-uncle=ASPL back

yar+ga-soŋ
run+go-PERV.DIRECT
'So, at night, my mother-in-law, father-in-law, and all of them went back[6]'

[5] In some speakers, the apico-alveolar coda /n/ can be heard as a dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/.

b. ʔaʑi = **san** = ge ya = la mi = baʔ = la kayi kʰyoŋ-pʰi
sister = ASPL = ERG up = LOC person = PL = DAT GIFT bring-PERV
'Sister and everybody (all) brought gifts for the people up there'

In (337a), the speaker mentions that his parents-in-law and whoever came with them went back to their village at night. Similarly, in (337b), the associative plural *=san* refers to the speaker's sister and whoever came with her to the village including her husband, bringing gifts to the people of the village up there. There is only one sister involved and the plural *=san* refers to other people who came with that one sister of the speaker and not two or more sisters of his.

The associative plural marker can occur on personal names. This is in agreement with the hierarchy established by Moravcsik (2003) who suggests that if a language has associative numbers on kin terms, it will have them on a proper noun. An example of the associative plural on personal names in Brokpa can be found in (338):

(338) ʔadʑaŋ Phurpa = **tsʰan** = kʰe ʔo lap-ki
uncle Phurpa = ASPL = ERG DEM.PROX say-IMPERV
'Uncle Phurpa and everyone are saying this'

Further, the associative plural can be added to a relative clause, formed by a nominalization, if the head of an NP modified by the relative clause is a kinship term, as in (339):

(339) ʔaʑaŋ [ɕim-gan = **tsʰan**]RC ʔun yal dok-pʰi-na kʰoŋ
uncle die-NOMZ:AGTV = ASPL in.the.PAST up.there reach-PERV-FACT 3PL
'The uncle who died and all of them have been up there, all of them'

In example (339), the speaker mentions that his late uncle and his uncle's contemporaries, who are no longer alive now, had been to Tibet (up there). The use of the associative plural with the relative clause is triggered by the use of the kinship term *ʔaʑaŋ* 'uncle', the head of NP modified by the relative clause. The third person plural

[6] The word *loʔ* is both an adverb and a verb. As an adverb it means 'back' (in the opposite direction). As a verb, it means 'to return'.

pronoun *kʰoŋ* in the same clause is coreferential with the focal referent 'the uncle who died'. Note that the relative clause occurs as a post-head modifier of the NP head here. In most cases, the relative clause occurs as a pre-head modifier of the NP head (see Complex NPs in §10.2).

In my corpus, the associative plural marker occurs only with a kinship term or with a personal name preceded by a kin term. The associative plural does not occur with any human referent or a personal name, if they are not accompanied by a kinship term. The associative plural also does not occur with non-human referents, animate or otherwise.

It is worth comparing the associative plural *=tsʰan* with the plural marker *=ba?* (§9.2.1). The plural marker *=ba?* also occurs with kinship terms but, unlike the associative plural marker *=tsʰan*, the simple additive plural marker *=ba?* does not express associative meaning; it only indicates many of the same type. So the example *?aʑaŋ=ba?* refers to more than one human referent each of whom is related to the speaker as an 'uncle'. But *?aʑaŋ=tsʰan* refers to 'one uncle' plus all others with him who may not necessarily be related to the speaker, let alone be uncles. In a nutshell, *?aʑaŋ=ba?* means 'many uncles' and *?aʑaŋ=tsʰan* means 'one uncle plus others who may not be uncles'.

Etymologically, the associative plural marker *=tsʰan* can be linked to these words: *parpuntsʰan* 'relative/kinsmen', *pʰamapuntsʰan* 'family (parents and siblings)', and simply *puntsʰan* 'sibling, cousin'. The final component *tsʰan* in these words can mean 'group, associate, team'. It can also be used as a collective term meaning 'in several (numbers)'.

Additionally, Tsangla has a word *tsʰankor* meaning 'relatives, associates', as in *rokte* ***tsʰankor*** *=bak* (3PL associate=PL) 'they and their associates'. However, Tshangla uses *tsʰankor* as a full lexical noun and does not have *=tsʰan* as a plural marker. Based on the meaning of the word *tsʰankor* in Tshangla (that is 'associates'), it is possible that the Brokpa might have originally borrowed this word from Tshangla and used

it to form compounds, as well as innovated it as the associative plural marker. Both markers, *ts^{h}an* in Brokpa and *ts^{h}ankor* in Tshangla, are cognate to the Old Tibetan ཚན་ <tshan>, 'class, group'.

9.2.4 Expressing number through lexical items

In addition to the number word *ɲí* 'two', the dual number can be expressed by lexical items *tɕ^{h}a* 'pair', *zon* 'two'. These two words, which specifically refer to two persons or things can be followed by the indefinite marker, e.g. *toka tɕ^{h}a=ʑi?* (bullock pair=INDEF) 'a pair of bullocks', *p^{h}reŋa zon* 'two rosary beads'.

A simple plurality on nouns can be expressed by quantifiers such as *maŋbo* 'many', *yor* 'too many', *gaŋyu* 'all', *ʑepa* 'a lot of', and other words referring to large quantities introduced under 'quantifiers' §6.8. A few examples of quantifiers expressing plurality are *nor maŋbo* 'many cattle', *k^{h}a maŋbo* 'many mouths (too many opinions; too many heads (to feed))', *ɕiŋ dakya* 'woods (too many trees)'.

Brokpa has a morpheme *yoŋ* 'all' which is shared with other Tibeto-Burman languages of Bhutan. This plural morpheme, homophonous with the verb root *yoŋ* 'to come', is used only with human referents; it carries an overtone of politeness and honorifics in Brokpa, as is the case in other Bodish languages in which this plural morpheme is used. The plural morpheme *yoŋ* is generally used in a formal register such as a public oratory, e.g. *kuɖon yoŋ* (guest:HON all) 'guests', *ɖonba yoŋ* (guest all) 'guests', *p^{h}ama yoŋ* (parent all) 'parents'.

Furthermore, there are some quantifier-like or measure terms such as *k^{h}yu* 'flock/herd', *poŋ* 'heap', *ts^{h}oŋ* 'bunch/cluster', and *tsep^{h}* 'comb, bunch', which can express collective plural in Brokpa. These words cannot be used as head of an NP (note that *tsep^{h}* can be NP in its original lexical meaning of 'comb', but not when it is functioning as a quantifier) and cannot function as a core argument. They are also not semantically void such as case markers and other plural markers. Within an NP, they occupy a modifier slot, the same as a numeral classifier.

Similar to the number word *ɲí* indicating a dual number lexically, these words can be said to be the independent lexical markers of collective plural in Brokpa. These modifiers may be followed by the definite or the indefinite marker but it is rare for them to occur with a number word, unless the reference is to the several groups of the same type. These words may change to the status of grammatical items, as grammaticalized collective plural markers.

The lexeme *kʰyu* can be used with human referents, e.g. *mi kʰyu=ɕi?* (person flock=INDEF) 'a crowd of people'; it can also be used with certain animals including birds, e.g. *seŋge kʰyu=ɕi?* (lion flock=INDEF) 'a pride of lions', *ba kʰyu=ɕi?* (cow flock=INDEF) 'a drove/herd of cows', *dʑa kʰyu=ɕi?* (bird flock=INDEF) 'a flock of birds'. *ɲa kʰyu=ɕi?* (fish flock=INDEF) 'a school of fish'.

The lexeme *poŋ* can refer to a group of objects without individualising them, e.g. *kʰa poŋ* (snow heap) 'snowflakes', *puŋbo poŋ* (tussock heap) 'clump of grass tussocks', *durpa poŋ* (steam heap) 'jets of steam/steam plumes'. The lexeme *poŋ* can also be used with small animals and eggs, e.g. *kyi poŋ=ʑi?* (dog flock=INDEF) 'pack/kennels of dogs', *goŋa poŋ=ɕi?* (egg heap=INDEF) 'clutch of eggs'. It is also not uncommon for *poŋ* to be used with animate nouns including human referents, as in (340):

(340) mi **poŋ** kyi=la saŋ toŋ
person heap RELAT:MIDL=LOC smoke.offering do:IMP:CAN
'Make a smoke offering in the middle of a bunch of people'

Similarly, the lexeme *tsʰoŋ* refers to a group of objects, typically fruits that are grown in clusters, *breptɕaŋ tsʰoŋ* (grapes bunch) 'bunch of grapes'. The lexeme *tsepʰ*, a lexical noun meaning 'comb', is used as a measure term for fruits such banana as in *læsi tsepʰ=ɕi?* (banana comb=INDEF) 'a hand of bananas/a bunch of bananas'.

9.2.5 Optional number marking

Despite having all types of plural markers discussed in §§9.2.1-9.2.4, the plural marking in Brokpa does not appear to be obligatory. It is not uncommon for nouns to appear without any plural marker even though one can infer from the context that the reference is plural. Both human nouns and non-human nouns can appear without an overt plural marker. Consider:

(341) a. da **mwoitɕup^{h}u** ʔuntɕin ʔup^{h}i=la
now womenfolk before DEM.DIST=LOC

dok-má-t^{h}ub-bi-k^{h}an dʑuŋ-na...
arrive-NEG-ability-NOMZ-NOMZ:AGTV arise-COND
'In case the womenfolk cannot arrive there beforehand...'

b. den **kyesp^{h}o** ʔuntɕin t^{h}ö-ga-na te
PART menfolk before appear-go-COND PART

mwoitɕup^{h}a=la p^{h}en ka:-ma yo-na
womenfolk=DAT fine impose-MIR EXIST.EGO-FACT
'If menfolk arrive there beforehand then the womenfolk are fined'

c. so: d^{ɦ}au ŋápa=i naŋ=la **zo**
spring month fifth=GEN RELAT:INSD=LOC hybrid.yak

k^{h}er-gon mó d^{ɦ}au tɕuktɕikpa=i naŋ=la
take-NECES:FACT TAG month eleventh=GEN relar:INSD=LOC

yáʔ k^{h}er-gon mó
yak take-NECES:FACT TAG
'In Spring, the fifth month, we have to move the hybrid yaks (towards the mountain), don't we? In the eleventh month, we have to move the yaks (down the valley), don't we?'

As can be inferred from the discourse context in which they occur, the argument NPs shown in bold type in each sentence in (341) are semantically plural, but there is no overt plural marking on any of the NPs. Sentence (341a) and (341b) are from the same discourse. The speaker is narrating a local cultural practice in which a number of women and a number of men go on a spiritual pilgrimage. By tradition, all women who

are on this pilgrimage have to reach certain designated places of the pilgrimage route before men. The singular nouns *mwoitɕup^{h}u* 'woman' and *kyesp^{h}o* 'man' are used to refer to the plural 'womenfolk' and 'menfolk' without any overt plural marker. Similarly, the focal referents *zo* 'hybrid yak' and *yá?* 'yak' are used without a plural marker in spite of their plural reference. Maybe the lack of plural marker here has to do with the fact that 'yaks' have collective reference.

Further, the plural marker and the number word appear to be mutually exclusive. Consider (13).

(342) ʔani ʔadʑaŋ ʑi-gæ zom=næ...
aunt uncle four-whole.set meet=SEQ
'The four parents meet...'
Lit. 'All four aunts and uncles (the parents of the bride and the groom) meet'

The complex NP in (342) formed by a juxtaposition of two nouns, each with an independent meaning, is followed by the number word *ʑi* 'four'. The plural marking is not required as there is a number word in this NP. It is not possible to have a sequence of a plural marker and a number word, **ʔadʑaŋ=ba? ʑi* (uncle=PL four). The opposite, that is a sequence of a number word and a plural marker, *ʔadʑaŋ ʑi=ba?* (uncle four=PL) 'four uncles', is not ungrammatical, but their occurrence is extremely rare in everyday conversation. I could not find a single example in my corpus. Since the plural markers are enclitics and the number word is a lexical word, it is phonologically and grammatically possible for an enclitic to appear after a number word. However, the plural-marking enclitic is not required by the semantics of the NP as there already exists a number word within it.

9.3 Definiteness

Brokpa uses the enclitic *=di* to mark definite NPs. This marker of definiteness is historically from the 'archaic' proximal demonstrative *di*, extant in Classical Tibetan (the distal counterpart is *de*). As noted in Chapter 6, Brokpa has two other nominal demonstratives *ʔoti* 'this' and *ʔupʰi* 'that'.

However, as noted in §6.3.1, the archaic demonstratives *di* and *de* are also in use, albeit less frequently, in Brokpa. The demonstrative use of these morphemes may be found in somewhat lexicalized compounds such as *ditɕʰoʔ* 'this side' or may be used as the head of NP in a pronominal function (see Chapter 10). The function of *di* or *de* as demonstratives in Brokpa is mutually exclusive with the function of demonstratives *ʔoti* and *ʔupʰi*. However, as will be illustrated a little later, the morpheme *=di* as a marker of definiteness can occur in an NP whose head can be the demonstrative *ʔoti* or *ʔupʰi*. Perhaps, this is conspicuous evidence that the definite *=di* is functioning as a marker of definiteness, distinct from the demonstrative *di*, a clear instance of grammaticalization.

As pointed out in Chapter 6, it is possible to distinguish the definite marker *=di* from the demonstrative *di* on the basis of prosody. To recapitulate, the definite *=di* does not bear stress but attaches to a host and forms one phonological word with it. The demonstrative *di* is always stressed and constitutes a phonological word on its own. The definite *=di* is a clitic and not a suffix because, like all other clitics, its scope extends over a phrase occurring at the end of an NP rather than after every lexical word within it, among others.

Syntactically, the demonstrative *di* is an independent morpheme and can make a full NP on its own or be head of an NP and may take other lexical modifiers, e.g.

di naŋ ʑo (DEM:PROXRELAT:INSD keep:IMP:CAN) 'Keep in this'. There can be a pause preceding the demonstrative *di*. In contrast, the definite =*di* is a bound morpheme occurring as a post-head grammatical modifier within an NP, e.g. *riŋ* + *gu* = *di* (mountain + head = DEF) 'the mountaintop'. Among other things, there is no pause preceding the definite enclitic =*di*.

As noted earlier, one piece of telltale evidence suggesting that the morpheme =*di* has grammaticalized into a definite marker and not a demonstrative in Brokpa, lies in the fact that it can occur in an NP whose head is a regular demonstrative. Consider:

(343) [**ʔo** tse = **di** = la]NP:PERI lá = e kab = næ...
DEM.PROX RELAT:TIP = DEF = LOC leaf = INST cover = SEQ
'By covering (tip of) this with a leaf...'

The demonstrative *ʔo(ti)* is the head of the NP, a spatial peripheral argument, in (343). The morpheme =*di*, occurring after the relator *tse* and before the locative case =*la*, indicates that this entire NP (with the demonstrative *ʔoti* as head) is definite.

As a marker of definiteness, the enclitic =*di* is used with an NP whose referent is either known or introduced previously. Consider:

(344) a. den ʔou = **di** den naŋ = la yoŋ-ma-ɲæn = næ...
PART boy = DEF PART inside = LOC come-NEG-listen = SEQ
'Then the boy refused to come in...'

b. lale = kʰe te tɕʰaŋ kar + tɕʰaŋ nak + tɕʰaŋ = se
some = ERG PART alcohol white + alcohol black + alcool = QUOT

te tɕʰaŋ karbo = **di** tɕi se-na...
PART alcohol white = DEF what say-COND
'Some call it 'white alcohol' and 'black alcohol'; if I say what the 'white alcohol' is...'

The speaker uses sentence (344a) because they assume that the hearer can identify the boy being referred to in the situation. This boy had already been mentioned in the preceding discourse, so the speaker uses the marker of definiteness =*di* with it.

Along similar lines, there are two juxtaposed clauses in sentence (344b). The first clause contains two apposed NPs (non-subject)— 'white alcohol' and 'black alcohol'— constituting a single complex NP as the Message role, of the verb 'say', in O function. When one of the NPs— 'white alcohol' — is repeated in the second clause, the speaker employs the definite enclitic *=di* with *tɕʰaŋ karbo* 'white alcohol'. When it is mentioned the second time, it has become old information, hence the use of the definite marker.

Note that the antecedence of the definite NP in (344b) can be found within the same sentence. However, this is not always the case. If the speaker assumes that a nominal referent is a shared knowledge with the hearer, that nominal referent may be coded as definite, even though it was not mentioned in the preceding discourse. Consider:

(345) Ama Jomo=**di** bö=læ ma=la bro+yoŋ=næ...
Ama Jomo=DEF Tibet=ABL down=ALL escape+come=SEQ
'Ama Jomo fled southwards (downwards) from Tibet...'

Ama Jomo, a tutelary deity of Brokpa people, is everybody's knowledge. The speaker presupposes this pre-existing knowledge in the mind of the hearer and uses the definite enclitic with Ama Jomo in (345).

Now consider the marking of indefiniteness. The indefiniteness in Brokpa is marked by the enclitic *=tɕi?* and its allomorphs *=ʑi?* and *=ɕi?*. These forms are clearly direct reflexes of the indefinite markers attested in Classical Tibetan which could be rendered using the Wylie (1959) system of transliteration as <cig>, <zhig>, and <shig>.

In the orthography of Classical Tibetan, <cig> is written following the letters <g>, <d>, and <b>. The allomorph <zhig> is written following the letters <ng>, <n>, <m>, <ɲ>, <r>, <l>, and after what is known as <mtha' med> literally 'no ending', which means after an open syllable. The allomorph <shig> is written following the letter <s>.

In Brokpa, it appears that *=tɕi?* ~ *=ʑi?* occurs following a closed syllable and ~ *=ɕi?* following an open syllable. However, as with some other allomorphic variants such as the allomorphs of the ergative case marker, these rules are not faithfully observed and all three forms are used in free variation.

The indefinite *=tɕi?* has clearly evolved diachronically from the number word *tɕi?* 'one'. However, synchronically, they function as two separate morphemes. This is in agreement with Dryer's (2007a) observation that the form of the indefinite article is the same as that of the numeral 'one' in some languages, but their syntax is different. Strong evidence that points to the status of number word *tɕi?* and indefinite *=tɕi?* as separate morphemes, and having separate functions, is the development of allomorphic variants *=ʑi?* and *=ɕi?* with regard to the marker of indefiniteness, which do not mean 'one'. The indefinite *=tɕi?* has become a grammaticalized marker corresponding to English 'a' or 'an', while the number word *tɕi?* is a lexical word meaning 'one'.

Secondly, the indefinite *=tɕi?* and the number word *tɕi?* occur within the same NP in different slots showing that they are performing separate functions:

(346) da [tɕʰuze **tɕi?** tsam=**tɕi?**=læ]NP:CS min
now hour one RELAT:about=INDEF=ABL NEG.EXIST.EGO
'Now there is no more than about an hour'
Lit. 'Now there is no more than an approximate one hour''

The NP in CS function in (346) has the word *tɕʰuze* 'hour/time' as its head, modified by the stressed number word *tɕi?* which is further modified by the relator *tsam* 'about/approximately'. The de-stressed indefinite *=tɕi?* attaches to the last modifier, *tsam*, showing that the entire NP is indefinite. The number word *tɕi?* carries with it the meaning of 'one'. There can be a pause before the lexical number word *tɕi?*, but no pause can be inserted before the indefinite marker. In sum, the number word *tɕi?* functions as a lexical modifier and the indefinite *=tɕi?* as a grammatical element within an NP.

Akin to the distinction between the definite article *=di* and the demonstrative *di*, the number word *tɕi?* and the indefinite *=tɕi?* can be disambiguated through prosody. The indefinite *=tɕi?* is a bound morpheme which cliticizes to the head noun or to a modifier in an NP. The number word *tɕi?* is a free morpheme. The indefinite *=tɕi?* forms a prosodic unit with the preceding host for the purpose of stress assignment. The number word *tɕi?* is always stressed and forms an independent phonological word. Both in Classical Tibetan and written Dzongkha, the two are distinguished in spelling: the indefinite marker is written གཅིག་ <cig> and the number word གཅིག་ <gcig>, when transliterated using the Wylie (1959) system.

In terms of pragmatic function, the indefinite marker is used with an NP which is introduced for the first time in the discourse. The marker of indefiniteness indicates that the referent of an NP has not been identified, and that NP refers to something which is not known to the hearer. It may also be used if the speaker does not want to be precise or the speaker does not want to assert epistemological authority, opposite of egophoricity. Consider the sentences in (347):

(347) a. tɕʰaŋ palaŋ=**tɕi?** kʰyer-ra=di=la lakpa toŋba
alcohol container=INDEF take-MIR=def=dat hand empty

me-ti=ʑi?
NEG.EXIST.EGO-NOMZ=INDEF
'We will take a container of alcohol so that we are not (an) empty-handed'

b. kʰo=ta ŋotɕʰuŋ=**ʑi?** yo-na
3SG=EMPH shy=INDEF EXIST.EGO-FACT
'He is a shy (person)'

c. yigu brin+taŋ-mi=gi sö=**ɕi?** duŋ
letter write+send-NOMZ=GEN tradition=INDEF COP.DIRECT
'There was a tradition of writing letters'

In (347a), the NP in O function is introduced by the indefinite marker. The use of this indefinite marker indicates that there are several containers of alcohol at home, and the speaker is going to take one of them, without specifying which one. In (347b),

the referent of the 3rd person masculine pronoun is described for the first time, as a shy person, hence the indefinite marker is used. The speaker does not assume that the hearer has a prior knowledge of what kind of person the speaker is talking about. Sentence (347c) would mean that sending hand-written letters was one of the several traditions that existed in the village before; or it can also suggest that there was a tradition something like this, but the speaker is not quite sure about it, or they don't want to assert epistemological authority about the proposition.

9.4 Gender marking

Gender marking in Brokpa is not a grammatical categorization of nouns, but a biological categorization, along the lines of Aikhenvald (2000, 2017). The masculine gender (glossed 'MASC' for masculine) is marked by morpheme *-pʰo~ -po ~ -bo* (also *-pa*), and the feminine (glossed 'FEM' for feminine') by *-mo ~ -mu ~ -ma*. The reflexes of proto-Tibeto-Burman **pa* and **ma* are widely used as male and feminine gender markers, in addition to their uses as nominalizers, in Tibeto-Burman languages (see DeLancey 1993; LaPolla 2017; Matisoff 2003; Tournadre and Dorje 2003:87, inter alia).

In Brokpa, the gender morphemes are typically suffixed to the root, as in (348) and (349); however, they can also be prefixed to the root, as in (350):

(348)
a. ɕa
deer
'deer'
b. ɕa-pʰo
deer-MASC
'hart'
c. ɕa-mo
deer-FEM
'doe'

(349)
a. dʑarsi
hybrid.cow
'hybrid cow'
b. dʑarsi-pʰo
hybrid.cow-MASC
'male hybrid cow'
c. dʑarsi-mo
hybrid.cow-FEM
'female hybrid cow'

(350)
a. luʔ
sheep
'sheep'
b. pʰo-luʔ
masc-sheep
'ram'
c. mo-luʔ
fem-sheep
'ewe'

With certain animate nouns, the gender morpheme forms an inherent part of the root. A monomorphemic animate noun ending in the final syllable *–pa, -po, -pu, -pʰa,* or *-pʰu* inherently denotes masculine gender, e.g. *ʔapa* 'father', *makpa* 'husband', *gatpu* 'old man'; *tsipʰa* 'astrologer', *kyespʰo* 'man'. The syllable indicating gender is non-analyzable as separate morphemes in these nouns.

On a similar note, a monomorphemic noun ending in *-ma, –mo,* or *–mu* inherently denotes feminine gender, e.g. *ʔa**ma*** 'mother'*, durmo* 'bitch', *ʔomo* 'vixen', *bomo* 'girl', *noumo* 'younger sister', *ganmu* 'old woman', *ʑonbo* 'young (boy)', *ʑonmo* 'young (girl)'. A personal name may end in *-po* or *-mo* indicating male or feminine gender, e.g. *Zang-po* (male name), *Zang-mo* (female name).

Note that in certain animate nouns, the male is left unmarked and only the feminine gender is formally marked, e.g. *ʑo* 'male hybrid yak' versus *ʑo-mo* (hybrid.yak-FEM) 'female hybrid yak'. Further, for some animals, there are separate lexical terms for male and female, e.g. *yak* 'male yak' versus *tɕʰuk* 'female yak'.

It is instructive to mention that the morphemes *pʰo* and *mo* in isolation can function as adjectives and be in copula complement function, e.g. *ʔoti baruʔ = di **pʰo** yinda* (DEM.PROX calf = DEFmaleCOP.DIRECT) 'This calf is male'. In certain discourse context, the gender morpheme *pʰo* can directly mean 'man/boy' and *mo* 'women/girl' and the two may be coordinated, as in *pʰo = daŋ mo* (man = CNTV woman) 'man and woman/ boy and girl).

Therefore, the gender markers can be considered lexemes, and gender marking in Brokpa can said to be coded lexically.

However, it is possible to analyze the gender markers in Brokpa as affixes and not lexemes. The morpheme *pʰo* or *mo* forms a prosodic unit with the host to which they are attached. When attached to a nominal root, the morphemes *pʰo* and *mo* lose prosodic features such as stress. As adjectives, both *pʰo* and *mo* are phonetically lengthened and stressed, in order to satisfy the minimal word requirement. In sum,

there is a clear prosodic difference when the morphemes *pʰo* and *mo* occur as gender markers and when they occur as independent lexemes, as adjectives.

Further, the gender morphemes *-pʰo* and *-mo* can be applied productively to animate nouns which can be specified for natural gender.

Viewed from a wider perspective of the emergence of grammatical elements in Brokpa, as in other languages, most grammatical morphemes have transparent origins in the lexicon.

As will be illustrated a little later, the gender marking can be extended to some natural phenomena. When the morpheme *mo* occurs with a root ending in the /u/, the final vowel of the gender morpheme agrees with the vowel of the root, as in *tɕʰu-mo* → ['tɕʰu.mu] (river-FEM) 'river/stream'. Likewise, the gender morphemes have some variant forms which cannot stand in isolation.

These are some of the telltale signs that the gender morphemes have either fully grammaticalized or they are in a process of grammaticalization. Note, however, that there is a fine line between compounding and affixation in Brokpa for certain morpheme sequences; and that includes gender. The degree of productivity (as affixes) and (the loss of) prosodic features such as stress and intonation may be the only clues for distinguishing affixes from lexemes or affixation from compounding.

DeLancey (1993), citing Francke (1929:111), points out that there is evidence that morphemes such as *-po* and *-mo* were once used to mark gender on nouns in Tibetan. This was probably the case in Brokpa also. One can find some evidence in the language supporting that claim. For example, a particular tree may be considered male or female, and the gender morphemes can be added to the lexeme *ɕiŋ*, the general word for tree, and then compounded with the name of a particular tree species, e.g. *kʰimbu* + *ɕiŋ-mo* (apricot + tree-FEM) to refer to a female type of 'apricot' tree.

In natural discourse, the gender morphemes are more used with fauna. It is less common for the gender morphemes to occur with a plant name in natural discourse. However, one can see the feminine morpheme *-mo* occurring with the names of plant

species in songs and poetic expressions. For example, *tsenden* 'sandalwood' would be referred to as *tsenden + doŋ-po* with a suffix *-po* in songs (lit. 'male cypress trunk'). The plant name *paː* 'juniper' (also known as *ɕukpa*) appears with the feminine morpheme *-mo* in a marriage song, shown in bold in (351):

(351) ri = di tsʰur ri yón = næ paː-**mo** = tɕi?
mountain = DEF this.side mountain left = ABL juniper-FEM = INDEF

len
bring:IMP:CAN
'Bring a female juniper tree from the left side of the mountain this side'

Brokpa, as with other language communities in the neighbourhood, has a tradition of distinguishing sex for certain trees and plants. A tree of a particular species may be considered a male or a female. It is difficult to know precisely what determines the sex of a tree. It appears to be a kind of knowledge that is acquired not just as a native but as someone living in close contact with the environment of the natural world for a long time. Even some native speakers, who have not lived in the village on a regular basis or who do not have to go to the forest often may not be able to recognize whether a particular tree is a male or a female; but a yak herder can instantly make that distinction. Beside the shape of the flowers, the rings of a tree trunk or bark, and colour or shapes of leaves are plausible parameters of sex differentiation in plants.

A personal family deity may also be considered masculine or feminine, *pʰo-l̥a* 'MASC-deity', *mo-l̥a* 'FEM-deity'. Similarly, local spirits can be referred to as masculine or feminine, e.g. *pʰo-tsan* (MASC-spirit) 'male spirit', *mo-tsan* (FEM-spirit) 'female spirit', *lú-mo* (snake.spirit-FEM) 'female snake spirit'. Names of some spirits inherently indicate gender, e.g. *gyalpo* (homophonous with 'king') 'male spirit' and *gyalmo* 'female spirit'.

As noted above, there is some evidence suggesting that gender markers were used with inanimate nouns in Brokpa. For example, the lexeme *la* 'mountain' typically appears with the morpheme *-mo* in songs and poetic expressions. Consider:

(352) a. guŋ-tö tʰonpo la-**mo**=i pʰar-gya so:
sky-upper high mountain-FEM=GEN thither-do ONO

ʈʰiduŋ ɲima la-**mo**=i tsʰur-gya so:
parasol sun mountain-FEM=GEN hither-do ONO
'The sky-high mountain on the other side and the sun is shaded by a parasol on this side'

b. la-**mo** tɕi?-gyæl-ɲí-gyæl yo ~ yo
mountain-FEM one-cross-two-cross ONO ~ ONO
'Scaling mountain after mountain'
Lit. "Crossing one female mountain, crossing two female mountains"

Sentences (352a) and (352b) are taken from two different songs. In both, *la* 'mountain' appears with the suffix *-mo*. One of the surrounding mountains of Merak valley is named Gogolamo, ending in the morpheme *-mo*.

Along similar lines, the term for the bodies of water including rivers, lakes, and oceans appear with the morpheme *-mo* in songs and poetic expressions, e.g. *tsho-mo* (lake-FEM) 'lake' (also used as female personal name), *dʑamtsʰo-tɕʰen-mo* (sea-AUG-FEM) 'ocean', *tɕʰu-mo* (water-FEM) 'river/stream'. The name of an astrological sixty-year cycle also begins with *tɕʰu-mo* (water-FEM) 'water'.

In Classical Tibetan, some sacred texts and prayers are considered feminine and either assigned the feminine gender suffix *-mo* or referred to with an honorific feminine lexical term *yum* (mother:HON) 'mother', or both, e.g. *yum tɕʰen-mo* (mother:HON-AUG-FEM) 'Prajñaparamita Sutra in One Hundred Thousand Verses' (lit. 'big mother'), *yum do:* (mother:HON scripture) 'Mother Sutra', *mönlam-tɕʰen-mo* (prayer-AUG-FEM) 'The Great Aspirational Prayer' (lit. 'the mother prayer'). These same dharma-related terms, are used in the spoken languages of Bhutan including Brokpa.

9.5 Evaluative (augmentative and diminutive) morphology

Brokpa allows nouns to derive evaluative (augmentative and diminutive) forms by means of suffixation. This process applies to animate nouns including animals, humans, and plants; it also applies to inanimate nouns including stones, caves, and wind.

An augmentative form of a noun is derived with the suffix *-tɕʰen*. This augmentative suffix is historically derived from an adjective *tɕʰenpo* 'big' (synonymous with *bombo*) which is shared with Classical Tibetan and other Bodish languages. Similarly, a diminutive form of a noun is derived by the suffix *-pʰru? ~ -ʈu? ~ -ru?*. The diachronic origin of the diminutive suffix is apparently from the Brokpa noun *pʰrugu* 'baby'. The development of diminutive suffix from the word meaning 'child' or 'son' is reported for other Tibeto-Burman languages (see, for instance, Matisoff 1995).

Synchronically, in Brokpa, both the augmentative *-tɕʰen* and the diminutive *-pʰru?* are bound morphemes and they have to be attached to a root to form a grammatical word. These morphemes cannot stand independently and host other grammatical elements on their own. They are suffixes and not clitics because they directly attach to a nominal root, and their scope is over a word only. The augmentative or the diminutive suffix becomes part of the root for the purpose of stress assignment. If the root to which they attach is of the heavy CVC syllable, the stress is on the root. In contrast, if the root is of the light CV syllable, the stress falls on the augmentative or diminutive suffix because they are of a heavy syllable (recall stress pattern from Chapter 2).

The augmentative suffix typically indicates big size, mature/old age, powerful nature, etc. Examples include:

(353)

a. mí → mí-tɕʰen
   person person-AUG
   'person 'big/powerful person'

b. láma → lá-tɕʰen
   lama → lama-AUG
   'lama' 'big/chief lama'

(354)

a. ru → ru-tɕʰen
   snake snake-AUG
   'snake' 'big/deadliest snake'

b. ɕiŋ → ɕiŋ-tɕʰen
   tree tree-AUG
   'tree' 'big tree'

As example (353b) shows, the final syllable from the root may be dropped before taking the augmentative suffix.

The augmentative suffix *-tɕʰen* indicates the same parameters—big size, more powerful, etc.,— on inanimate nouns and on animate nouns. With certain nouns augmentatives may have pejorative overtones. Examples include:

(355) a. lúŋ → lúŋ-tɕʰen
wind wind-AUG
'wind' 'strong wind'

b. nak → nak-tɕʰen
forest → forest-AUG
'forest' 'big forest'

(356) a. pʰuk → pʰuk-tɕʰen
cave cave-AUG
'cave' 'big cave'

b. duŋ → duŋ-tɕʰen
horn horn-AUG
'horn' 'big horn'

The diminutive suffix typically applies to animals and indicates young age, a little one (baby) of a particular species of animal. The diminutive suffix may carry an endearing overtone. Examples include:

(357) a. ŋaŋba → ŋaŋ-pʰruʔ
duck duck-DIM
'duck' 'duckling'

b. go: → go-pʰruʔ
eagle eagle-DIM
'eagle' 'eaglet'

(358) a. ba → ba-ruʔ
cow cow-DIM
'cow' 'calf'

b. ki → ki-ruʔ
dog dog-DIM
'dog' 'puppy'

(359) boŋbu → boŋ-ʈuʔ
donkey donkey-DIM
'donkey' 'foal'

(360) ʑimi → ʑim-ruʔ
cat cat-DIM
'cat' 'kitten'

Note that there are also lexicalized nouns ending in a diminutive suffix. These nouns have inherently diminutive meaning, e.g. *dʑipʈuk* and *pulpuʈuʔ*, both meaning 'teenager', *lápʈuʔ* 'student', *dopʰʈuʔ* 'pimple', *ɕiŋʈuʔ* 'small tray'. It is rare but not impossible for the diminutive suffix to occur with an inanimate noun, e.g. *do-ʈuʔ* (stone-DIM) 'pebble'. Typically, the lexical adjective *tɕʰuŋku* 'small' is used to indicate the small size of inanimate nouns, but this is a syntactic modification and not a morphological process of affixation.

9.6 Nominal morphology: summary

Brokpa has morphological cases. Excluding the genitive marker, there are eight cases coding the function of NP in the clause. The case markers are realized as enclitics. Absolutive case is coded by zero marking. Ergative and instrumental cases share the same form. Likewise, locative and dative case are marked by the same morpheme. However, these case forms mark arguments in different functional slots, and may behave quite differently under different syntactic derivations.

Brokpa makes two number distinctions, singular and plural. Only plurality is overtly coded through a clitic. Singular is formally unmarked. The dual number is expressed lexically by the number word 'two' which is a phonological word by itself. Both animate and inanimate nouns can be marked for plurality. There is a special morpheme coding associative plural occurring only with human nouns. Brokpa uses other techniques to code number including lexical words and zero morpheme (optional number marking).

Brokpa makes definiteness and indefiniteness distinction on NPs by means of enclitics. The enclitic marking definiteness is used with an NP which was mentioned in an earlier discourse or with an NP whose referent is common knowledge. On the other hand, the indefinite marker is used with an NP which was not mentioned in the preceding discourse or is not shared knowledge between the speech act participants. The marker of indefiniteness may also be used if one does not want to be specific about what is being mentioned or take epistemological ownership of it.

There are no grammatical genders in Brokpa. Biological gender especially for animals is coded morphologically. Not only humans, but also other animate nouns including plants and non-human beings such as deities and spirits can be specified for gender. Masculine gender, shown by the morpheme *-pʰo*, is used for animate nouns of the male sex. Feminine gender, shown by the morpheme *-mo*, is used for animate nouns of the female sex.

However, evidence suggests that there might have existed a grammatical gender in Brokpa. It includes the occurrence of gender morphemes on natural phenomena such as mountains, rivers, and lakes in songs and poetic expressions.

Finally, a noun in Brokpa may form an augmentative meaning 'big of X' or a diminutive 'small of X'. The augmentative suffix has diachronically developed from an adjective meaning 'big' and the diminutive suffix from a noun meaning 'baby' or 'son'. Augmentatives may have pejorative overtones, while diminutives may have endearing overtones.

Chapter 10

Noun phrase structure

As in any language, the Noun Phrase (NP) is an important constituent of the Brokpa grammar. The core arguments and the peripheral arguments, also called obliques or adjuncts, are all realized by NPs. An NP can be formed by a number of lexical and grammatical elements discussed in different parts of the grammar. The possible NP structure can be as shown in Figure 45:

(DEM) (POSS) (RC) HEAD (RC) (NUMCL) (ADJ) (NUMB) (QUANT)

Figure 45. The Brokpa NP structure

The head of the NP can be a noun, a pronoun, a proper noun, a demonstrative, or an adjective. The modifiers of the head within an NP can be divided into pre-head modifiers (those preceding the head noun) and post-head modifiers (those following the head noun). The pre-head modifiers include demonstrative (DEM), genitive or possessive modifier (POSS), and relative clause (RC). The post-head modifiers include relative clause (RC), numeral classifier (NUMCL), adjective (ADJ), number word (NUMB), and quantifier (QUANT). Note that adjectives may precede or follow numeral classifier, although typically it is the latter (see Chapter 6).

The head is the only obligatory element of an NP; the modifiers are all optional. The head of the NP determines the types of modifiers— lexical (adjectives, quantifiers, etc.) and grammatical (gender, number, or augmentative and diminutive, etc.). One or more elements from the modifier slots may be chosen, but it is unlikely for all modifying elements to occur together in a natural discourse. The quantifiers may occur only optionally with a number word within an NP. As will be shown later (Table

93), an NP can consist of a head plus one or more pre-head modifiers, or a head plus one or more post-head modifiers, or a head plus one or more pre-head and post-head modifiers.

It is relatively easy to recognize the head of an NP. As shown in Figure 45, there are only three types of pre-head modifiers— a lexical (demonstrative), a phrasal (genitive/possessive modifier), and a clausal (relative clause). All other lexical and grammatical modifiers follow the head. Therefore, in a simple NP formed by lexical and grammatical elements, the head will be the left-most word, e.g. ***miŋtam*** *zaŋbo=ʑi?* (reputation good=INDEF) 'a good reputation'. If the head in a complex NP is modified by a pre-head relative clause, the word which immediately follows the nominalizer/relativizer will be the head, e.g. *ɖo-gan* ***mi*** *=di* (go-NOMZ:AGTV person=DEF) 'The person who left'. In the same vein, if the head in a complex NP is modified by a possessive phrase, the word immediately following the genitive marker will be the head, *ʑaŋzen=gi* ***nou*** (brother.in.law=GEN younger.brother) 'Brother-in-law's younger brother'. The class of pre-head nominal demonstrative has only two members, the proximal *?oti* and the distal *?upʰi*, and the word which immediately follows will be the head, e.g. *?oti* ***hayaŋ*** *bombo=di* (DEM.PROX pot big=DEF) 'This big pot', *?upʰi* ***pʰrugu*** *teŋan=di* (DEM.DIST mischievous=DEF) 'That mischievous child'.

The order of elements within an NP is as presented in Figure 45, and this order is relatively rigid. Only relative clauses and adjectives may have some flexibility. Brokpa sometimes allows a relative clause to occur to the right of the NP head; however, the preferred slot of a relative clause is to the left of the head. Table 91 gives a list of components of an NP with examples.

Table 91. Lexical elements of the Brokpa NP

ELEMENT	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
DEM	***ʔoti*** *dadar*	'this scarf'
POSS	***bomo*** *=* ***gi*** *dʱou*	'the girl's friend'
RC	***ɖom-gan*** *mĩ̂*	'person who is going'
HEAD	***kyespʰo***	'man'
ADJ	*kyespʰo* ***ɕukɕin***	'strong man'
NUMCL-NUMB	*keruk* ***go sum***	'three radishes'
QUANT	*kyespʰo* ***purtɕin***	'all men'

Besides the lexical modifiers, the head of an NP may be followed by one or more grammatical elements. Table 92 gives a list of grammatical elements of the NP in Brokpa. The grammatical elements can co-occur in an NP.

Table 92. Grammatical elements of the Brokpa NP

ELEMENT	FORM
plural enclitic	*=baʔ*
(in)definiteness	*=tɕiʔ, =di,*
case enclitic	*=ge*
genitive enclitic	*=gi*
topic	*=ni, =tɕin, =ta* (focus)
emphasis	*=ye, =raŋ*

The grammatical elements are not shown in the structure of the NP in Figure 45; however, like the lexical modifiers of the head within an NP, the grammatical elements are all optional. The grammatical elements always follow the other post-head lexical modifiers given in Figure 45. There are no inflectional pre-head grammatical modifiers within an NP. The grammatical elements typically occur in the order in which they are presented in Table 92. In this section I will focus on the structure of NP with lexical elements. Some sporadic references to the grammatical elements will be made while

discussing the NPs containing lexical elements, but a full discussion on the functions of each grammatical element will be made under the relevant sections.

Noun phrases in Brokpa can be distinguished into simple and complex according to whether or not the head takes modifiers within an NP, and whether a modifier is lexical or clausal. Section 10.1 discusses simple NPs and §10.2 complex ones.

10.1 Simple NPs

A simple NP consists of only the head or the head plus simple modifiers such as demonstrative, adjective, numeral classifier, number word, or quantifier. As noted above, the head can be a lexical noun, pronoun, proper noun, demonstrative, or an adjective.

10.1.1 Lexical noun as NP head

It is quite common for an NP in Brokpa to contain just a noun. Consider two sentences in (361):

(361) a. [**garpatoŋsum** = ge]N:NP:S gya = næ ɕæba + taŋ = næ
wedding.MC = CONTROL do = SEQ description + do = SEQ
'After the Wedding MC explains/describes'

b. [**ʑimi** = ge]N:NP:A [**dʑe:**]N:NP:O zæ-t^{h}u?
cat = ERG mouse eat-DIRECT
'The cat has eaten the mouse'

The NP corresponding to the S argument in (361a) contains only the noun *garpatoŋsum* 'Wedding MC' with no lexical modifiers. Similarly, both the A argument and the O argument slots in (361b) are filled by the NPs containing only a noun. Each of these individual lexemes— *garpatoŋsum* in (361a), and *ʑimi* 'cat' and *dʑe:* 'rat' in (361b)— qualify as an NP because each occupies a syntactic (argument) slot and can be replaced either by a pronoun or by a multi-word phrase.

A lexical noun as NP head can be modified by one or more of the following lexical elements: demonstratives, adjectives, numeral classifiers and/or number words,

or quantifiers. Examples of an NP consisting of a lexical head noun and a variety of modifying lexemes are given in the following table.

Table 93. Head noun and lexical modifiers in an NP

COMBINATION	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
DEM-N	*ʔoti pʰrugu*	(DEM.PROX child)	'this child'
N-ADJ	*bomo ʑonmo*	(girl young)	'young girl'
DEM-N-ADJ	*ʔupʰi luʔ karbo*	(DEM.DIST sheep white)	'that white sheep'
N-QUANT	*luʔ maŋbo*	(sheep many)	'many sheep'
N-ADJ-QUANT	*kyi nakpo dakya*	(dog black several)	'several black dogs'
N-NUMB	*ʈaɕidooŋtʰep ɲíi*	(table two)	'two tables'
N-NUMCL-NUMB	*solo nim ʑi*	(pepper NUMCL four)	'four peppers'
N-ADJ-NUMCL-NUMB	*solo ŋónbo nim ɲî*	(pepper green NUMCL two)	'two green peppers'

An NP head can also be modified by some nouns, typically animate nouns. A modifying noun can follow the head noun as in *dʑiu pʰrugu* (bird baby) 'baby bird' where *pʰrugu* 'baby' modifies the head *dʑiu* 'bird'; or a modifying noun can precede the head noun as in *pʰrugu mán* (baby lotion) 'baby lotion'. The meaning of the resulting phrase is typically compositional. A head noun modified by another noun can be further modified by other modifiers such as adjectives. Note that the noun modifier slots are not shown in Figure 45. A noun modifier either immediately precedes the head noun or immediately follows it.

10.1.2 Personal pronoun as NP head

A personal pronoun as NP head has limited possibilities for modification. Although not altogether impossible, it is rare for a personal pronoun to be modified by a lexical adjective, demonstrative, or relative clause in an NP position. A pronoun or a personal name as NP has a well-specified reference, and further modification may not be crucial. In Brokpa, a pronoun as NP head may be modified by number words. In certain circumstances, a personal pronoun may also be modified by an adjective or

a relative clause; however, they have restricted productivity. First I look at the personal pronouns typically constituting a full NP without any lexical modifiers. Consider (362):

(362) a. [**kʰyo**]2SG:NP:A [[**ŋi**=ge]1PL:NP:R [tɕʰaŋba+ʔama=ʑiʔ]D]NP:O
2:SG 1:PL=ERG drink.serving.lady+mother=INDEF

gya-go
do-OBLIG
'You have to be our chief drink-serving lady'

b. [sö=di]O [ŋa=e]1SG:NP:A ɖangi=ye yakpo mi-yoŋ-ŋa
tradition=DEF 1:SG=ERG memory=EMPH good NEG-come-MIR
'I also don't really remember the tradition clearly'

In (362a), the second person singular pronoun *kʰyo* is the only element of the NP in S function; and the third person plural *ŋi* also constitutes an NP functioning as a pre-head modifier (R) of another NP (D) which is the head of a larger (complex) NP in O function. Similarly, in (362b), the first person singular *ŋa* is the only element of the NP filling the A argument slot. Also note that the referent of the O NP in (362b) is marked by the indefinite marker *=ʑiʔ*, showing that it is an indefinite NP.

A personal pronoun can be modified by a number word. Any number word can occur with any person within an NP, e.g. *kʰi sum* (2SG three) 'you three', *kʰoŋ ŋá* (3PL five) 'five of them' (lit. 'they five)', *ŋi ʑi* (1PL four) 'four of us' (lit. 'we four'). Examples of a pronoun as NP head modified by number words in sentences are shown in bold in (364):

(363) a. **kʰoŋ ɲi~ŋi** **sum~sum**=ʑiʔ tɕʰin=næ...
3:PL two~two three~hree=INDEF go=SEQ
'They go in twos and threes...'
Lit. 'They two-two three-three go..'

b. **ŋi ɲí** ŋa=i mwoi=daŋ **ŋi ɲí**...
1PL two 1SG=GEN wife=CNTV 1PL two
'The two of us, my wife and I, the two of us...'

c. **kʰoŋ ɲi** ɕip=næ tɕik ya=te tɕik ma=te
3PL two align=SEQ one up=ALL one down=ALL
'By aligning the two of them, one (facing) upwards, one downwards'

As noted above, personal pronouns typically occur on their own without modifying elements including adjectives. But, in certain discourse contexts, a pronoun may be modified by an adjective, as shown in the two sentences in (364):

(364) a. [ʔoti söra=di]GIFT:NP:O [**ŋa ʔapsu-tɕan**=ge]NP:A matakpal
DEM.PROX gift=DEF 1:SG luck-ADJ=ERG other.than

[**kʰyo reba-tɕan**=ge]NP:A mí-tʰob
2:SG hope-ADJ=ERG NEG-get
'Other than I, the fortunate, YOU, the hopeful one, will not get this gift'
Lit. 'Other than fortunate I, expectant you will not get this gift"

b. [garpatooŋsum=di]CS násme:ti da [**kʰo tençæ+kʰæpu**]NP:CC
Wedding.MC=DEF very.much PART 3SG:MASC oration+skillful
'The Wedding MC, he is very eloquent'

Example (364a) is a sentence involving a disjunction of two NPs in A function. Both speech act participants are presented as potential A argument marked by ergative case. The two A arguments are linked by a clause linking morpheme *matakpal* with the meanings 'other than', 'except', 'alone', etc. The first person pronoun *ŋa* which is the head of the first A NP is directly modified by the derived adjective *ʔapsu-tɕa*n (luck-ADJ) 'lucky/fortunate'. Similarly, the second person pronoun *kʰyo* which is the head of the second A NP is directly modified by the derived adjective *reba-tɕan* (hope-ADJ) 'expectant/hopeful'.

As shown in (364a), the NP with common noun *söra* 'gift' as the head takes the marker of definiteness *=di* which indicates that it is a definite O NP; and both the A NP containing personal pronoun as head in (364a) take the ergative marker *=ge*, a post-head grammatical modifier.

Sentence (364b) is a copula clause, although the copula verb is not stated. The CC argument is filled by an NP containing the third person masculine pronoun *kʰo* as head modified by the adjective *tenɕæ* + *kʰæpu* (oration + skillful) 'eloquent'.

Recall from Chapter 7 (Honorific systems) that Brokpa has a unique culture of self-effacement and showing humility. It is not uncommon for a speaker to belittle or downplay themselves, and praise the other party. One can hear the first person pronoun *ŋa* used together with a negative adjective as in *preŋbu ŋa* (poor 1SG) 'I 'the poor one', or with a nominalized verb in modifier function as in *kʰyam-gan ŋa* (wander-NOMZ1SG) 'I 'the wanderer' (lit. 'vagabond I'). In contrast, the second person and third person pronouns would be associated with an adjective describing positive qualities, as in *kʰoŋ tɕʰukpu* (3PL wealthy) 'wealthy them', *kʰyo sönam-tɕan* (2SG merit-ADJ) 'fortunate you'. These kinds of expressions can be found in a coherent discourse such as in (365):

(365) [**kʰoŋ** **tɕʰukpu** = gi goŋgo = la]NP:PERI [**ŋi** **preŋbu** = i pʰrugu = ge]NP:A
3PL rich = GEN threshold = LOC 1PL poor = GEN child = ERG

go = di tɕʰö-gu-n-tɕʰö ʔi
role = DEF fulfil-FUT-SEQ-fulfill POLAR
'Can the daughter of the poor fulfil the role (of a daughter-in-law) at a rich family's house?'
Lit. 'Will a child from the poor us fulfill the role at the threshold of the rich they"

The father of a girl is uttering the sentence (365) to the middlemen who were sent by the parents of a boy to discuss the possibility of their children getting married. The father of the bride-to-be girl refers to the parents of the prospective groom as *kʰoŋ tɕʰukpu* (3PL rich) 'they rich' and to his own family as *ŋi preŋbu* (1PL poor) 'we poor'.

A personal pronoun cannot at the same time be the possessed D and the head of an NP. However, a personal pronoun with a genitive marking can be the possessive modifier of the head noun (§10.2.1).

10.1.3 Proper noun as NP head

Proper nouns include names of people, places, or names of natural phenomena or features such as mountains and rivers. A proper noun can constitute an NP and fill an argument slot in a clause. However, it has limited morphological and syntactic properties compared to a common noun or a personal pronoun. Unlike a personal pronoun, a proper noun may not be modified by a number word in an NP. Apart from the associative plural, a personal name is usually not accompanied by the (plural) number marker.[1]

An NP can consist of just a personal name, as shown in (366a) and (366b):

(366) a. [Karma]Name:NP:S suŋɖö yor~yor náŋ-du?
Karma talk:HON much~much do:HON-DIRECT
'Karma has talked too much'

b. da [Kezang=ge]Name:NP:A ʔotɕins gya-du?=s
now Kezang=ERG like.this do-DIRECT=ASSERT
'Now, Kezang has done in this way'

The subject argument in both (366a) and (366b) is realized by an NP containing only a personal name (proper noun). In (366b), the personal name Kezang makes up a full NP on its own in A syntactic function, marked by ergative case.

A personal name as NP head can be preceded by a kin term or a term of address, involving two nouns (a kin term and a proper name) in apposition, as the sentences in (367) show:

[1] There has arisen a habit of using the plural marker *=ba?* with personal names, particularly among the younger generation. It has an overtone of associative plural and politeness. This is probably influenced by the meaning of the associative plural *=tsʰaŋ*. The usage of *=ba?* with personal names is rather infrequent. In Dzongkha too, the plural marker *=bu* is sometimes used with personal names, and it has an overtone of politeness. It could well be that the use of plural marker with personal names in Brokpa is due to an influence from Dzongkha.

(367) a. [**ʑaŋzen** **Pema Wangchuk**=ye]NP:S da ʔo
brother-in-law Pema.Wangchuk=EMPH PART DEM.PROX

naŋ=la suŋ-dʑön-náŋ-duʔ
RELAT:INSD=LOC speech:HON-come:HON-do:HON-DIRECT
'Brother-in-law Pema Wangchuk has spoken here (forum)'

b. wái [**kʰotken** **Kezang Wangdi**=ye]NP:S ʔo
VOC brother-in-law Kezang.Wangdi=EMPH DEM.PROX

naŋ=la ʑuk-duʔ
RELAT:INSD=LOC stay:HON-DIRECT
'Oh, brother-in-law Kezang Wangdi is also in here[2]'
Lit. 'Oh, brother-in-law Kezang Wangdi is also sitting inside here'

c. [**sar** **Tshering Dorji**=ge]NP:A násmeti ʔeɕin-gyan
sir Tshering.Dorji=ERG very nice-ADV

suŋ-náŋ-duʔ
say:HON-give:HON-DIRECT
'Sir Tshering Dorji has talked really nicely'

The head of the subject NP in (367a) as well as in (367b) is a personal name preceded by a kinship term. Similarly, the head of the A NP in (367c) is a personal name preceded by the terms of address *sar* 'sir', a loanword from English.

In the same vein, a place name occurs as the head of a locational NP. An NP containing a place name as head is the Locus marked by locative/allative case. A place name typically occurs with a MOTION verb or with a verb from the REST semantic type. Examples of NPs with place names as head include:

(368) a. den [**Sakteng**=la]LOCUS:NP dʱok-tʰuʔ lá
then Sakteng=la arrive-DIRECT POLITE
'Then (they) arrived at Sakteng'

b. te ʔoti tsʰur=la [**Merak**=la]LOCUS:NP dʱok=næ...
PART DEM.PROX this.side=ALL Merak=LOC arrive=SEQ
'Then (they) arrived this side at Merak...'

[2] The term *kʰotken* 'brother-in-law' is from Tshangla. It is used freely in Brokpa, alongside its native term *ʑaŋzen*.

A place name as NP head may be followed by a relator within an NP, as in (369):

(369) a. [**Serkyem Laptse** **tse**=la] tɕʰin=næ...
Serkyem.Laptse RELAT:TIP=ALL go=SEQ
'After going to the top of Serkyem Laptse...'

b. [**Merak** **naŋ**=la] geɕe maŋbo=raŋ yo
Merak RELAT:INSD=LOC learned.scholar many=EMPH EXIST.EGO
'There are many learned scholars in Merak'

One nominalized verb *lap-sa* (say-NOMZ:LOCTV) with meaning 'known as' or 'so-called' may follow a place name[3]:

(370) ʔoti=næ ya=la [Lungzhimpu **lap-sa**=la]
DEM.PROX=ABL up=LOC Lungzhimpu say-NOMZ:LOCTV=LOC

tɕʰak-duʔ lá
settle-DIRECT
'After that, (they) settled at a place known as Lungzhimpu'

In (370), the nominalized form of the verb *lap* 'to say' is functioning as a post-head modifying element, taking the locative case marker of the local NP whose head is the place name Lungzhimpu. Note that this verb *lap* 'to say' can also take grammatical nominalizing allomorph *-pʰi* and be used as, what Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007) refer to as, 'back-reference via adverbial clauses'; and it behaves like a conjunctive element and serves to link clauses and maintain cohesion between paragraphs. This will be explored under 'clause-linking' in Chapter 15.

[3] In everyday speech, I have noticed that the verb root *se* 'to say', also function as a grammaticalized quotative and reported evidential marker, and can be used with the locative nominalizer *-sa* with the same meaning as *lap-sa*, e.g. *Chaleng se-sa=la* (Chaleng say-NOMZ:LOCTV=LOC) 'at a placed called Chaleng'.

10.1.4 Demonstrative as NP head

As shown in Figure 45, a demonstrative in Brokpa typically functions as a pre-head modifier with deictic reference. A demonstrative can make up a full NP on its own. A demonstrative as NP head may take other post-head modifiers including the definite article. An NP containing demonstrative as the only lexical element or as head is coreferential with an argument mentioned earlier (anaphoric) or later (cataphoric) in a discourse.

Examples of a demonstrative making up a full NP include:

(371) a. [ʔoti=di]DEM:NP:CS muz náma=gi pʰui ʔadʑaŋ na
DEM.PROX=DEF other bride=GEN innermost.uncle COP.FACT
'This is the bride's closest uncle'

b. da **ʔoti** **ɲam**=di=la
now DEM.PROX with=DEF=LOC
'Now with this...'

c. [ʔoti=ge]DEM:NP:A den da pʰrugu=ʑiʔ kʰur=næ...
DEM.PROX=ERG then PART baby=INDEF carry=SEQ
'Then this carried a baby...'

In (371a), the proximal nominal demonstrative *ʔoti*, immediately followed by the definite article *=di*, is functioning as the NP in CS function. In (371b), we know that the same demonstrative *ʔoti* is functioning as a peripheral argument because it is immediately followed by the lexeme *ɲam(bu)* 'together' which also has a comitative meaning 'with'. The demonstrative *ʔoti* is functioning as the NP in A function, marked by ergative case, in (371c). Note that, sometimes, the proximal demonstrative is used where the distal would be expected. The proximal versus distal distinction is made, and their separate forms used, only when a deictic reference has to be clearly specified; otherwise, the single proximal demonstrative is used in both proximal and distal sense.

Further, a demonstrative can function as an NP in a peripheral argument function marked by locative case. Consider the sentences in (372):

(372) a. ŋe=raŋ=ba? [**ʔoti**=la]LOCUS:NP kʰor=ʑi? lo?~lo?
1PL=REFL=PL DEM.PROX=LOC times=INDEF again~again

pʰre-ro min
meet-FINAL NEG.COP.EGO
'We will not meet here (at this place) again and again for some time'

b. gaŋyu [ʔupʰi=læ]LOCUS:NP lok=næ...
ALL DEM.DIST=ABL return=SEQ
'All returned from there...'

c. mwoitɕupʰu ʔuntɕin [ʔupʰi=la]LOCUS:NP
woman before DEM.DIST=LOC

dɦok-má-tʰub-bi-kʰan dʑuŋ-na...
arrive-NEG-be.able-NOMZ-NOMZ:AGTV occur-COND
'In case the womenfolk cannot arrive there beforehand...'

The proximal nominal demonstrative *ʔoti* and the distal *ʔupʰi* in (372a) and (372c) are marked by locative case *=la*; and in (372b) the distal demonstrative *ʔupʰi* takes the ablative case *=læ* indicating a movement away from it, the NP head.

Similar to other nouns such as a place name, a demonstrative as NP head can be followed by a relator in a modifier slot. Consider:

(373) [**ʔo** **naŋ**=la]NP:PERI ŋe=raŋ dʑo:+kæ
DEM.PROX RELAT:INSD=LOC 1PL=EMPH Tibetan+language

gya-gan me
do-NOMZ:AGTV NEG.EXIST.EGO
'There is no one speaking Tibetan here'

The head of the peripheral NP— the demonstrative *ʔo*— is immediately followed by the relator *naŋ*.

As noted in §6.3.1, there are two nominal demonstratives, *di* 'this' and *de* 'that', in Classical Tibetan, which are also shared by some modern spoken Bodish languages including Dzongkha (see van Driem and Tshering 2019:101; Watters 2018:193) and Tibetan (see, among others, Tournadre and Dorje 2003:80). Brokpa also shares these two demonstratives.

In Brokpa, the demonstratives *di* and *de* referred to as 'archaic demonstrative', for ease of reference, seem to have lost their proximal and distal contrast and have merged into a single de-stressed enclitic form *=di* functioning as the marker of definiteness. The de-stressed *=di* occurs immediately after the head noun which may be modified by a preceding demonstrative, e.g. *ʔoti kyespʰo=di* (DEM.PROX man=DEF) 'This man'; or it may attach to the modifier of the head noun in an NP as in *kyespʰo doriri=di* (man solid=DEF) 'the solid man'.

However, Brokpa retains the stressed proximal *di* and *de* forms in pronominal function and as NP head, e.g. *di yinda* (DEM COP.MIR) 'this is true/it', *de=læ ten* (DEM=ABL depend) 'due to that/for that reason'. It has to be emphasized that the demonstrative *di* is always stressed, as in the example *di=læ ten*, while the definite article *=di* is always unstressed and has to attach to a host word as in the example *ʔoti kyespʰo=**di***. Furthermore, both *di* and *de*, as demonstratives, only function as a demonstrative pronoun or as an NP head, but they do not occur as a pre-head modifier of an NP head, akin to the regular demonstratives *ʔoti* and *ʔupʰi*.

10.1.5 Adjective as NP head

As discussed in Chapter 5, an adjective is distinct from a noun or a verb in Brokpa. Syntactically, adjectives are those words which typically modify nouns. Morphologically, adjectives take comparative and superlative suffixes, among others. Adjectives may also be used as NP head, whereas a verb will have to be nominalized to be used as the head of an NP.

An adjective as an NP head may or may not occur with the definite article. However, an NP containing adjective as head may have a definite reference, even if it is not accompanied by the marker of definiteness, and it gives a reading 'The X' or 'The X one', where X is an adjective. Consider:

(374) a. yaŋna **barma**=di láu yo-na **barma**=di ʈʰiː-kʰer=næ...
DISJ middle=DEF near EXIST.EGO-COND middle=DEF lead-take=SEQ
'Or else, if the middle (one) is close, take the middle (one)...'

b. yaŋna **tɕʰe-ɕo** láu yo-na **tɕʰe-ɕo** ʈʰiː-kʰer=næ...
DISJ big-SUPER near EXIST-COND big-SUPER lead-take=SEQ
'Or else, if the elder (one) is close, take the elder (one)...'

In each sentence in (374a) and (374b), there are two NPs with the same adjective as head; the second NP is coreferential with the first one in both sentences. In (374a) the NP with adjective *barma* 'middle' as head takes the definite article *=di*. In (374b) the NP with adjective *tɕʰe-co* (big-SUPER) 'elder' as the head has no definite article, but it must have a definite reference.

The two examples in (374) are from the same text and from the same complex sentence. The speaker is narrating the traditional practice of polygamy in their village. The speaker has mentioned, in an earlier part of the narration, that if a family had three sons it was quite common for the three brothers to marry one wife at the same time, the custom of polyandry. However, it was not possible for all the brothers to be in the same village as they had to be in different places shouldering different responsibilities. For example, one brother would be tending yaks in one place and one would be tending sheep in another place. When a wedding ceremony took place, the family and relatives of the prospective grooms would take whichever brother was closer to the bride's house; and the speaker uses just an adjective, as a full NP, to make a definite reference to either the middle one or to the elder one, of the three brothers.

An adjective as NP head can take a plural marker or be modified by a quantifier, or both, as in (375):

(375) tsʰur=la **doriri=ba?** **purtɕin** tsʰur=la yoŋ=næ **ɕuk-tɕan=ba?**
hither=ALL sturdy=PL ALL hither=ALL come=SEQ energy-ADJ=PL

yoŋ=næ...
come=SEQ
'All sturdy ones came to this side; all energetic ones came to this side...'

Example (375) contains two clauses linked by the sequential marker *=nœ*. In both clauses, the adjective is placed in the S syntactic function, making up a full NP. The adjective *doriri* 'sturdy' is used with the plural *=ba?* immediately followed by the quantifier *purtɕin* 'all', and the derived adjective *ɕuk-tɕan* (energy-ADJ) 'energetic' takes the plural marker even though the NP does not have a lexical noun as head.

10.2 Complex NPs

A complex NP consists of a head lexeme plus a complex modifier such as a possessive phrase or a relative clause. A complex NP can also be formed by two or more coordinated NPs, or NPs linked by disjunctive conjunctions. Further types of complex NP can consist of apposed NPs.

10.2.1 Possessive NP

Brokpa uses genitive marking on the possessor R for showing possession. The genitive marking on R is shown by enclitic *=gi* and its allomorphs *=ki* ~ *=kʰi*, and *=yi* ~ *=i*. The genitive allomorphs are selected in the same way as the ergative allomorphic are as pointed out in §9.1. Recall from Chapter 9, that ergative marker in Brokpa occurs as *=ge* or as *=gi*. The variant *=gi* (and its allomorphs) of the ergative case marker is the same as the genitive marker. The conditions underlying the genitive allomorphy are as follows:

=gi following a sonorant consonant;

=ki ~ *=kʰi* following an obstruent;

=yi ~ *=i* following a vowel.

Within a possessive phrase, the R is the possessive or genitive modifier and the D the head of the resulting (complex) NP. The genitive marker on R may be omitted, and an R and a D may simply be apposed, e.g. *raŋ yuː* (self village) 'our village' with the R preceding the D. The omission of the genitive marker happens typically in a

fast speech in a connected discourse. In a slow register, a possessive phrase with an apposed R and D may be rendered in full with the genitive marking on R, *raŋ=gi yuː* (self=GEN village) 'one's own village'.

An NP realized by a possessive phrase contains a complex structure: an NP embedded within an NP, e.g. *[[ʈaʨidoŋtʰep=ki]R [sukpa]D]POSS.NP* (table=GEN leg) 'leg of a table'. An NP can have more than two NPs embedded within it, e.g. *[[[luʔ=kʰi]R [papʰ=kʰi]D]R [ʑamo]D]]POSS.NP* (sheep=GEN skin=GEN hat) 'sheepskin hat (lit. sheep's skin's hat)'. Further note that, in a rapid register, the genitive marker may be dropped from one or all of the embedded NPs, *luʔ papʰ ʑamo* (sheep skin hat).

Brokpa does not make any formal distinction between alienable possession and inalienable possession. Both alienable and inalienable possession is shown by the genitive, e.g. *ŋa=i mwoi* (1SG=GEN wife) 'my wife', *ŋa=i námʑo* (1SG=GEN ear) 'my ear'. One can say that Brokpa has only one type of possessive construction irrespective of the nature and the referent of R. Strictly speaking, there are no distinctions between obligatorily and optionally possessed nouns. Consider:

(376) a. den ŋe=raŋ=gi ʔou=la...
then 1:PL=EMPH=GEN son=DAT
'Then, to/for our son...'

b. ŋa=i=gi ʔani ʔadʑaŋ
1SG=GEN=GEN aunt uncle
'My parents-in-law (aunt and uncle)'

c. khoŋ=gi kʰyim
3PL=GEN house
'Their house'

d. ŋa=i(=gi) goː
1SG=GEN(=GEN) head
'My head'

In (376a), the first person pronoun *ŋa*, itself a full NP, is the R with the genitive marker *=i*, and the kin term *ʔou* 'son', also making up a full NP, is the D and the head of

the NP. The two NPs, the possessive modifier and the possessed head NP, together form a larger NP in peripheral function which is the Recipient/Benefactor role. Similarly, in (376b), the head of the NP (D) is a kin term *ʔani ʔadʑaŋ* 'parents-in-law' and the referent of R is the first person singular pronoun, together constituting a complex NP which can take up any semantic and grammatical role.

There is no difference in the possessive constructions in any of the examples in (376), whether the possessed noun (D) is a kinship term as in (376a) or in (376b), or whether there is no close connection between the referents of D and R, as in (376c), or whether D is an inherently possessed noun, as in (376d). The internal structure NP which includes possession is the same, the D is always the head. The possessive construction is established by the same genitive enclitic.

Examples showing possessive constructions with a proper noun as the referent of R and a common noun as the referent of D include:

(377) a. Kezang=gi zimtɕuŋ naŋ=di=la...
Kezang=GEN residence:HON RELAT:INSD=DEF=LOC
'Inside the residence of Kezang...'

b. Brokpe=gi petam=ye tuʔ
Brokpa=GEN saying=EMPH COP:EXIST.DIRECT
'There is also a Brokpa saying (Brokpa's saying)'

Both examples in (377) have complex NPs whose head is modified by a possessor NP. Further, the referent of the R in both (377a) and (377b) are proper nouns, with the personal name *Kezang* in the former and the language/ethnicity name in the latter. The NP in (377a) can occur as a peripheral argument (locus) with the honorific form of 'residence' *zimtɕuŋ* as the head (D), shown by the locative case *=la*. Syntactically, the complex possessive NP with the noun *petam* 'saying/proverb' as the head (D) in (377b) is in CS function.

Similarly, a complex NP can be formed by a demonstrative as the R, and the referent of the D can be a common noun, e.g. *ʔoti=gi ɲim* (DEM.PROX=GEN day) 'this

day (lit. 'the day of this')', *ʔoti=gi l̥akma* (DEM.PROX=GEN remainder) 'the remainder of this'. The nature of the possessive relation can relate to time as in *ʔoti=gi düts^{h}e* (DEM.PROX=GEN time) 'the present time (lit. 'the time of this').

A possessive phrase can also be recursive (a possessive phrase within a possessive phrase). For example, the entire possessive NP *[[bomo=gi]$_{R}$ [d^{ɦ}ou]$_{D}$]$_{POSS.NP}$* (girl=GEN friend) 'girl's friend' can be the possessor R, and further takes a genitive marking and possess another NP (D), as in *[[bomo=gi]$_{R}$ [d^{ɦ}ou=gi]$_{D}$]$_{R}$ [ro:]$_{D}$]]$_{POSS.NP}$* (girl=GEN friend=GEN husband) 'husband of girl's friend'. In this way, there can be a number of possessive modifiers within a larger possessive NP. In terms of the referents, any nominal item can be the R in a recursive possessive NP. Further, a demonstrative can be an R in a recursive possessive phrase; that is, a demonstrative can be R marked by the genitive and its D can be a possessive phrase with a phrase-internal R, as in (378):

(378) ʔup^{h}i=gi bomo=i miŋ=di ʔo lap-ki
DEM.DIST=GEN girl=GEN name=DEF DEM.PROX say-IMPERV
'That girl's name is called so and so'
Lit. 'The name of the girl of that is this'

Example (378) contains two possessor NPs, one with demonstrative *ʔup^{h}i* 'that' as the first R and the other with *bomo* 'girl' as the second R; and there is only a single D *miŋ* 'name'. The first possessor NP is embedded within the second possessive NP. Although the free translation of this NP is 'this girl's name...', literally it is like saying, 'the name of the girl of that...'.

Furthermore, Brokpa uses the existential *yo* to establish a possessive relationship. This lexeme *yo* can be thought of as a close equivalent of the verb 'have' in English, but, compared to other regular verbs, it has an irregular morphology and syntax and forms a class of its own. It takes some verbal morphology like the nominalizing allomorph or the markers of knowledge, but it cannot be negated like a regular verb. The existential verb *yo* has a negative counterpart *me*. The verb *yo* can occur in a

copula-type construction and can be identified as an existential copula. Construction with *yo*, including the establishment of possessive relation, will be discussed under copula constructions in Chapter 14.

10.2.2 Relative clause as a modifier

A complex NP can consist of a head noun modified by a relative clause. An NP which contains a relative clause as a modifier occupies the same syntactic slot as a simple NP. However, an NP modified by a relative clause is structurally complex as the modifying relative clause contains other simple NPs within it.

Relative clauses in Brokpa are derived from nominalized clauses, akin to other Tibeto-Burman languages (see, among others, DeLancey 1999, 2002; Genetti et al. 2008; Genetti 2011; Matisoff 1972). As discussed in § 8.2, Brokpa has two types of nominalization: lexical nominalization and grammatical nominalization. Both lexical and grammatical nominalizing suffixes can be used as relativizers. The types of nominalizations and their functions, including their functions as relative clauses are explored in Chapter 8 and Chapter 14.

In this section I present the relative clause as a complex modifier of a head lexeme forming a complex NP. As shown in Figure 45, a relative clause can either precede or follow the head noun it modifies. Examples of a relative clause occurring as a pre-head modifier include:

(379) a. [[nor názi + gya-**gan**]RC [bomo = di = su]HEAD]NP
cattle cattle.herder + do-NOMZ:AGTV.REL girl = DEF = PL
'The girls who herd cattle'

b. [[dʱo-gan]RC mi = di]HEAD]NP:S
stay-NOMZ:AGTV person

ʈaɕi + yáŋ + tɕʰa:-ɕo?
auspiciousness + prosperity + occur-OPT
'May the person who stays behind flourish'

In the two sentences in (379), the agentive nominalizing suffix *-gan* ~ *-gin* is used as a marker of a relative clause which functions as a modifier to the lexeme *bomo* 'girl', the head of NP. The modifying relative clause itself contains a noun *nor* 'cattle' which is the O NP of the transitive predicate. The entire complex NP can be in CS function, or can be a peripheral argument if the dative marker is added to the resulting NP. Similarly, the complex NP in (379b), modified by a relative clause, is in S function.

Note that verbs can modify a noun only through a relative clause construction. In both the examples in (379), the relative clause has a verb as predicate which takes the nominalizer/relativizer and precede the noun it modifies.

Just as it is theoretically possible to have any number of adjectives modifying a head noun in an NP, it is also possible to have any number of relative clauses modifying an NP head. In a coherent discourse, it is more common to have only a single adjective or a single relative clause. However, it is not impossible to find more than one relative clause modifying the same head noun forming a complex NP. Consider:

(380) [[námi nát^{h}uŋ naŋ=la d^{ɦ}o-**gin**]RC [nor=daŋ
forest dense RELAT:INSD=LOC stay-NOMZ:AGTV.REL cattle=COM

ŋam d^{ɦ}o-**gin**]RC [názi=ba?]Head]]
together stay-NOMZ:AGTV.REL cattle.herder=PL
'The cattle herders who live in dense forests, who live together with cattle'

In sentence (379b), there are two relative clauses modifying the single head lexeme *názi* 'cattle herder', making the NP even more complex.

Relative clause constructions in Brokpa including the nature, functions, and possibilities for realization of common argument will be explored in §14.3.

10.2.3 Nominalization as NP head

A further source of syntactic complexity in a noun phrase comes from nominalization. An NP realized by a nominalized clause is structurally complex as it involves an entire clause. Despite their superficial similarity, a nominalization forming a relative clause and a nominalization forming an NP are syntactically different. In the former, a nominalized clause is modifying a head noun (§10.2.2), just like a lexical adjective, which functions as the common argument in a relative clause construction (see Chapter 14). In the latter, a nominalized clause itself functions as an NP, just like a lexical noun. Put simply, nominalization as a relative clause is in a modifier slot, and as an NP is in the head slot.

Two types of nominalization functioning as NP are attested: clausal nominalization, and predicate nominalization. Examples of an entire nominalized clause functioning as an NP include:

(381) a. laika gya-gin=daŋ
work do-NOMZ:AGTV=COM
'With workers'
Lit. 'With doers of work'

b. gaŋyu ɲǽn+sen-kʰan=baʔ=kʰe...
ALL ear:hon+listen:HON-NOMZ:AGTV=PL=ERG
'All listeners...'
Lit. 'All those who listen...'

Both nominalized clauses in (381) consist of an NP plus predicate, which is then nominalized and derives a complex NP which can potentially be in any core argument function. An example of a predicate nominalization can be found in (382):

(382) pʰaltsʰul [dʱo-gan=di]PRED.NOMZ:NP:CS [pʰama]CC na
here.there stay-NOMZ:AGTV=DEF parents COP.FACT
'The ones living here and there are the parents'

Example (382) is a copula clause in which the CS is formed by a verb modified by the local adverbial *pʰaltsʰul* 'here and there'. In an NP realized by a nominalization, the nominalized verb is functioning as the head.

10.2.4 Noun phrase coordination

Two or more NPs can be coordinated and form a complex NP. The coordinated NPs function as a single NP sharing the same semantic role, syntactic function, and predicate. In a coordinated NP, the case marking appears on the last NP, situated furthest to the right. Brokpa uses the morpheme =*daŋ* to coordinate noun phrases. Note that this morpheme =*daŋ* is also used as a comitative or associative case marker, as well as clause linker. The morpheme =*daŋ* can occur with other case enclitics, in its function as a coordinating conjunction or as a clause linker, but not as a comitative case marker. When it occurs with another case enclitic, it follows other case enclitics, e.g. *ʔaʑaŋ=ge=daŋ* (father-in-law=ERG=CNTV) 'By the father-in-law and...'. Examples of coordinated NPs in a clause are given in (383):

(383) a. [[Karma=daŋ]NP [Sonam ɲi=ˊkʰe]NP]NP:SPEAKER:A lú ʔe-tɕʰe-kyaŋ
Karma=CNTV Sonam two=ERG song good-big-SUPER

náŋ-duʔ
do:HON-DIRECT
'Karma and Sonam have sung the most beautiful songs'

b. [[ʔou=daŋ]NP [bomo ɲí]NP]NP:S ɲén+ɖik-sina...
boy=CNTV girl two marriage+arrange-SIM
'When the boy and girl enter into marriage'

In (383a), two participants— Karma and Sonam— each making up a full NP on their own, are coordinated and form a single complex NP sharing the Speaker role in A function. This coordinated NP takes an ergative marking, shown on the modifying number word of the second NP, because the resulting complex NP formed by coordination is in A function. The subject NP of sentence (383b) is also a complex

NP, formed by two coordinated NPs, sharing a predicate with an inherent reciprocal meaning.

The complex NPs in (383a) are in the subject slot, A or S. A complex NP, realized by a coordination of two or more NPs, can also be a Gift role or an Addressee role and be in O syntactic function. Consider:

(384) a. pʰrugu = ba? = la = ye pʰama = ba? = kʰe [[kʰa = daŋ]NP
child = PL = DAT = EMPH parent = PL = ERG mouth = CNTV

[lábdʑa]NP]NP:GIFT:O gya-go
advice do-OBLIG
'The parents must give guidance and advice to the children also'

b. [[pʰui ʔani = daŋ]NP [ʔadʑaŋ = ta]NP]NP:ADDRE:O bo-gon-to
innermost aunt = CNTV uncle = TOP.FOC invite-OBLIG-FINAL
'We have to invite the closest uncle and aunt'

Example (384a) is an extended transitive (ditransitive) construction. The O NP which is the Gift role is formed by two nouns *kʰa* 'mouth' and *lábdʑa* 'advice' coordinated by the comitative/connective *=daŋ*. Similarly, the Addressee role in O function in (384b) is a complex macro NP formed by a coordination of two micro NPs.

It is more common for a complex NP, formed by coordination, to contain only two simple NPs. But there can be three, four, and in fact, any number of NPs in an NP-level coordination. For example, one could easily coordinate different body parts, equivalent to several simple NPs, and make up a complex NP in a single syntactic function as in (385):

(385) [[[pʰrugu = gi]R [[kʰa = daŋ]NP [mík = daŋ]NP [ná = daŋ]NP
child = GEN mouth = CNTV eye = CNTV nose

[námʑo gaŋyu]NP]D:HEAD]NP:CS ʔeɕin tu?
ear ALL nice COP:EXIST.DIRECT
'The baby's mouth, eyes, nose, and ears are all beautiful'

All the body parts in (385) are in the head (D) slot, being possessed by the *pʰrugu* 'baby'. The resulting possessive NP can be in a single grammatical relation, CS in this instance.

Note that the comitative/connective =*daŋ* is also used for coordinating clauses. A coordination of two clauses involves two intonation units, with the intonation break occurring immediately after =*daŋ*. In contrast, there is no intonation break after the connective in an NP-level coordination.

Note as well that a coordinated NP is different from a coordinate compound noun, discussed in Chapter 8. A coordinated complex NP has two or more distinct NPs, each with its own referent, and only shares a single semantic role and a syntactic function. A coordinate compound noun, on the other hand, denotes a single referent despite consisting of two or more nouns.

Furthermore, noun phrases can also be coordinated in a list-style by using the particle *denæ*. In terms of diachronic trajectory, *denæ* is a combination of the archaic distal demonstrative *de* and the ablative case enclitic =*næ*. Synchronically, it has become a freely functioning particle with a meaning 'then, next, after that, etc.', and functions as a conjunctive particle, among other things. It is also used as clause linker (see Chapter 14). A reduced form of this particle, the monosyllabic *den*, functions as a hesitation or pause filler and occurs even when its conjunctive function is not apparent. An example of *denæ* as a NP coordinator can be found in:

(386) [[ʔani]NP [ʔadʑaŋ]NP **denæ** [náma]NP **denæ** [láma l̥enge=baʔ=kʰe]NP]]NP:A
aunt uncle PART bride PART lama council=PL=ERG
'Aunt and uncle, then bride, then council of lamas and all.....'

In (386), four NPs constitute a single complex NP in A syntactic function. The first two are simply juxtaposed while the following two are conjoined by the particle *den(æ)*. Just like the comitative/connective =*daŋ*, the particle *den(æ)* can also be used to link clauses (to be discussed under 'Clause Linking').

10.2.5 Noun phrase disjunction

Disjunction of noun phrases is achieved by the disyllabic morphemes *yaŋna* or *yaŋman*. The morpheme *yaŋna* has a meaning of 'or', while *yaŋman* means something like 'if not' or 'or else'. These two morphemes can also be used as clausal disjunctions, as well as disjunctions beyond the sentence (see Chapter 15).

The question particle *nam* (Chapter 6) can also express disjunction. These morphemes can be recognized as disjunctive conjunctions in that they indicate an exclusive choice of one of the two NPs or one of the several NPs in a single argument slot that is either in A, S, O, E, or in a peripheral argument slot. Disjunction of NPs can be considered an instance of a complex NP as they link several NPs in the same syntactic function, all competing for one semantic role.

Examples of *yaŋna* indicating disjunction include:

(387) a. **yaŋna** [[makpa = la]NP **yaŋna** [náma = la]NP]NP:RECIPT:E dʑin
DISJ son-in-law DISJ daughter-in-law give:IMP:CAN
'Give to either son-in-law or daughter-in-law'

b. kʰoŋ = ge **yaŋna** [[[tɕʰuk]NP **yaŋna** [zomo]NP **yaŋna**
3PL = ERG DISJ female.yak DISJ hybrid.yak DISJ

[luʔ = tɕiʔ]NP]]NP:GIFT:O dʑin-ɦioŋ
sheep = INDEF give-POSSIB
'They might give either a sheep, or a female yak, or a hybrid yak'

In (387a), the disjunctive conjunction *yaŋna* expresses an alternative between the two NPs in an extended argument syntactic function vying for the Recipient role. In (387b), *yaŋna* indicates alternatives between the three NPs and O syntactic function, one of which will be the Gift role. Examples of *yanman* and *nam* marking disjunction are given in (388):

(388) a. **yaŋman** [[tɕ^{h}aŋ]NP **yaŋman** [dʑa]NP]NP:LOCUS:O k^{h}ur = næ
DISJ alcohol DISJ tea carry = SEQ

ɖo-gu-na
go-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'We have to go taking either alcohol or tea'

b. teŋan = di [[ŋa]NP **nam** [k^{h}o]NP]NP:CS **nam** má-ɕe:
badly.behaved = DEF 1SG DISJ 3SG DISJ NEG-know
'We don't know whether the badly-behaved is me or him'

Sentence (388a) involves a predicate with a motion verb of the CARRY subtype. The morpheme *yaŋman* links two NPs in Locus role in O function, presenting a choice between them. In (388b), *nam* expresses a disjunction between two personal pronouns in CS syntactic function.

The disjunctive conjunction preceding the first NP from the left in a disjunctive phrase is optional, although it typically occurs. That is, either every NP will be preceded by a disjunctive conjunction, or the first NP can be without one and only the following NPs can be accompanied by a disjunctive morpheme.

As noted above, all these morphemes used for showing disjunction of noun phrases can also be used as clause-introducers, linking clauses with the same semantics, that of providing alternatives of the two clauses. In the same vein, they may fulfil the function of maintaining cohesion at a higher level of discourse, such as intersentential and interparagraph level (see Chapter 15).

10.2.6 Noun phrase apposition

Two or more NPs can be juxtaposed without any overt marker of coordination. As in a coordinated complex NP, two or more simple NPs in apposition, forming a single complex NP, also share both semantic roles and syntactic function. Consider:

(389) denæ [[ɲén + ɲepʰ]NP [pʰam + butsha = baʔ = kʰe]NP]NP:MOVING:A bomo = di
then spouse + relative parent + child = PL = ERG girl = DEF

ʈʰi: + kʰer = næ...
guide + take = SEQ
'Then, relatives and family members accompany the bride...'

In (389), two NPs, each formed by compounding two nominal roots, are placed in apposition to each other sharing the Moving semantic role and A syntactic function. The complex NP, formed by an apposition of two NPs, takes a single ergative case signalling the unification of an event in the complex NP.

Although it is more common for two simple NPs to be apposed, it is possible for more than two NPs to be apposed within a complex NP, as in (390):

(390) da ŋa = raŋ lakpa ɲí = kʰe tɕiʔ-gya = næ
PART 1SG = REFL.EMPH hand two = INST one-do = SEQ

[[[ɲén-ɲepʰ]NP [ta-totsʰaŋ]NP [pʰam-puntɕʰa]NP gaŋtʰaŋ = raŋ]]]NP:ADDRE:O
spouse-relative ?-friend parent-sibling ALL = EMPH

ʔotɕin ʑu-yo lá
like.this say:HON-COP.EXIST.EGO POLITE
'I would like to fold my (two) hands (into one) in this way, and request all my family members, friends, and relatives'

Sentence (390) contains two clauses, an adverbial clause and a focal clause. The A argument in the focal clause is not stated as it is inferable from the context. The NP in Addressee role in O function is formed by three NPs in apposition.

Listing of several nouns or enumerating several items without coordinating conjunction is extremely common in Classical Tibetan. Typically, the topic marker *=ni* is attached to the last item. Note that in the grammatical tradition of Classical Tibetan *=ni* <ni> is described as having two functions: 1) <dgar ba'i sgra> 'sound of segregation'; and 2) <bsnan pa'i sgra> 'sound of highlighting'. In the case of apposition, *=ni* certainly is used in the context of function (1). Examples of apposition in Classical

Tibetan using the morpheme *=ni* on the last item, as in (391), can be found in several scriptural texts:

(391) a. <sa chu me rlung nam.mkha'=**ni** 'byung.ba lnga yin-no>
earth water fire air=TOP space/sky element five COP.EGO-FINAL
'Earth, water, fire, air, and sky are the five elements'

b. <'dod.chags zhe.sdang gti.mug nga.rgyal phrag.dog=**ni** dug lnga
greed aggression delusion pride jealousy=TOP poison five
yin-no>
COP.EGO-FINAL
'Greed, aggression, delusion, pride, and jealousy are the five poisons (of mind)'

Brokpa shares the same topic marker, *=ni* with Classical Tibetan, and just like in Classical Tibetan the morpheme *=ni* is also used on the final noun in a listing of several nouns in apposition. Note, however, that sometimes the topic marker *=ni* is realized as *=di* which then becomes the same as the definite marker *=di*. Disambiguation may be only by discourse context. Several nouns can occur in apposition without any coordination marker and the resulting complex NP is followed by the topic marker *=ni*, as in (392). The morpheme *=ni* on the last NP appears to be signalling the fact that all the NPs mentioned before it are but subsets of one whole NP in a single syntactic function:

(392) [[yá?]NP [tɕʰu?]NP [zo]NP [zo-mo=**ni**]NP]NP:CS zaŋ+nor
yak female.yak hybrid.yak hybrid.yak-FEM=TOP good+cattle
yin-to
COP.EGO-FINAL
'Yak, female yak, hybrid yak, female hybrid yak, are superior cattle'

As noted above, there is no intonation break in a coordination of NPs. In contrast, it may be possible to have intonation break after every NP in an apposition.

It is also by no means uncommon to employ both the strategies— coordination and apposition— in the same clause. Typically, the first two NPs are coordinated by

means of the morpheme *=daŋ* and the subsequent NPs can simply be juxtaposed, as in (393):

(393) [[[ŋe=raŋ=gi]R [lumbe=gi]R mi=daŋ]D]POSS.NP [ɲén+ɲepʰu]NP
1PL=EMPH=GEN village=GEN person=CNTV spouse+relative

[pʰam+butsʰa]NP
parent+child

gaŋyu=ge=raŋ]]]NP:SPEAKER:A ŋa=la Dongol=se
ALL=ERG=EMPH 1SG=DAT Dongol=QUOT

láp-ki-yo
say-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'Our village people, relatives, family members, all of them call me Dongol'

Sentence (393) is particularly interesting in that it has an exceptionally complex NP employing both coordination and apposition. There are three NPs forming a single NP in Speaker role and A syntactic function. The first NP is a possessive NP, further containing two possessor NPs 'our' and 'village's' and a single D 'person', is coordinated with the second NP *ɲén+ɲepʰu* (spouse+relative) 'relatives' by means of the morpheme *=daŋ* 'and'. And then the third NP *pʰam+butsʰa* (parent+child) 'family members' is simply placed after the second NP. The quantifier *gaŋyu* 'all' is used as a summary of all the NPs, a sort of reminder to the listener that all the NPs just mentioned in a sequence have but one grammatical role.

The coordinating connective *=daŋ* may also be used optionally after the first noun in a list where the topic *=ni* occurs, as in example (392). The nouns in between, if there are several, may simply be juxtaposed.

10.3 Negating NPs

A noun phrase can be negated syntactically by means of copula *man* or *manda*, which are the negative counterparts of the equational egophoric copula *yin* and the mirative

copula *yinda* respectively. If a single NP occurs with a negative copula, the construction is the same as a copula clause with the NP preceding the negative copula in CS function. When a NP from a sequence of two or more NPs with a common predicate occurs with the negative copula *man* or *manda*, then it is an instance of NP negation. The semantic effect created by NP negation is like that of a de-topicalization or backgrounding of a less important NP. In that case, the negation of an NP has only a phrase-level scope, just over one NP. Examples include:

(394) a. kʰi=ge [[tɕʰaŋ]NP **man** [tɕʰu]NP]NP:Gift:O kʰyoŋ-tʰu?
2SG=ERG alcohol NEG.COP.EGO water bring-DIRECT
'You have brought water, not alcohol'

b. [dar kar+na?]NP **manda** [kar+már] se
scarf white+black NEG.COP.MIR white+red QUOT

láp-ki-yo
say-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'We say reddish white scarf, not blackish white scarf'

Sentence (394a) has two NPs 'alcohol' and 'water' forming a complex NP in Gift role and O function, and the first NP is negated. In the same vein, in (394b), two NPs are in Message role in O function, again the first NP is negated. Note that syntactic negation on an NP is to be distinguished from the morphological negation on a predicate. The scope of the morphological negation may be over an entire clause, but its scope may be reduced if the same clause involves a negated NP. Negation will be dealt with in Chapter 14.

10.4 Noun phrase: summary

Noun phrase is an important constituent of Brokpa grammar. A noun phrase relates to a core argument slot— S, A, O, or E— or to a peripheral argument slot. Every NP has a lexeme as its head. The head of an NP can be a lexical noun, pronoun, proper noun, demonstrative, or an adjective. The head of NP can also be a nominalized clause.

The pre-head modifiers of an NP head include demonstrative, genitive or possessive modifier, and relative clause. The post-head modifiers include adjective, numeral classifier, number word, and quantifier. The order of words within an NP is relatively rigid save for relative clause. It is also possible for a relative clause to follow the head it modifies, despite typically functioning as a pre-head modifier. Brokpa does not make any formal distinction between a restrictive modifier and a non-restrictive modifier.

An NP can be recognized as either a simple NP or a complex NP on account of the syntactic structure of the modifiers. A simple NP is just a lexeme with no modifier, or a lexical item with one or more simple modifiers— lexical words (plus the grammatical morphemes). A complex NP has syntactically complex modifiers involving phrases or clauses.

An NP can be negated only syntactically by means of a negative copula. Negation of an NP may limit the scope of morphological negation on the predicate which otherwise has a clausal scope.

Chapter 11

Argument marking

This chapter discusses grammatical relations in Brokpa and their coding properties. It also examines the marking of peripheral arguments. The mapping of semantic roles onto syntactic functions or grammatical relations for different semantic types of verbs in Brokpa was briefly introduced in Chapter 4, which will be useful here. Section 11.1 deals with the marking of core arguments and non-canonical case-marking systems which, among other things, can be used as an argument focusing device; and §11.2 with peripheral arguments.

11.1 Marking core arguments: A, S, and O

Brokpa uses a system of cases, introduced in Chapter 9, to mark core arguments. Constituent order may be useful if a clause involves unmarked NPs (see §11.1.5). As noted in Chapter 9, the case marking applies only once in an NP, directly onto the head if there are no modifiers of the head noun in an NP, or onto the last modifier if there are modifiers. As noted in Chapter 3 and Chapter 9, case markers are realized as enclitics.

Following 'basic linguistic theory' (Dixon 1994, 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Aikhenvald 2015a), I employ the abbreviation 'S' for the core argument in subject function of an intransitive clause, 'A' for the core argument in subject function of a transitive clause, and 'O' for the core argument in object function of a transitive clause; and 'E' for the core argument in E function in an extended intransitive or an extended transitive ('ditransitive') clause.

Brokpa is a language that has 'intra-clausal or morphological ergativity' with case inflections (see Dixon 1994:39-41 on 'intra-clausal or morphological ergativity').

Ergative languages are sometimes said to not have the category of 'subject' (see, for example, Keenan and Comrie 1977). I employ the notion of 'subject' in Brokpa in terms of its universal definition provided by Dixon (1994:111-127) and Keenan (1976), inter alia. Among other things, Dixon (1994:111) states that "the 'subject' of a sentence is that NP whose referent could be the 'agent' that initiates and controls an activity; the subject NP is normally obligatory in a sentence".

Further, following 'basic linguistic theory' (ibid. p.32), the term 'ergativity' in Brokpa is used for referring to the phenomenon of S and O being treated in the same way with zero marking for absolutive case, differently from A with ergative marking. In the same vein, the label 'ergative case' will be used for referring exclusively to the case marker occurring on the transitive subject A in Brokpa.

Tibeto-Burman languages are reported to show variations in ergativity. Several interesting observations have been made about the nature of ergativity in Tibeto-Burman languages including 'pragmatic ergativity' (see Tournadre 1990, 1991; Saxena 1991; Andvik 2010; Hyslop 2010; Watters 2018:217), 'anti-ergativity' (see, for example, LaPolla 1992), 'variable ergativity' or 'optional ergativity' (see LaPolla 1995; DeLancey 2011b, Vollmann 2008, Andvik 2010:127-128; Willis 2011), and recently 'extended ergativity' (see Donohue and Donohue 2019). Some languages of the Ladakhi dialect groups such as Kenhat (Upper Ladakh) and Shamskat (Lower Ladakh) are reported to behave quite differently with respect to case marking variation (see Zeisler 2012).

The marking of core arguments in Brokpa typically works in terms of absolutive/ergative scheme. This case marking scheme applies to an NP whose head is a pronoun as well as to an NP whose head is a noun in clauses in both perfective and imperfective aspects.

First consider pronouns in perfective aspect in (395) where personal pronouns occur as core argument(s):

(395) a. [kʰo = ∅]S [gyuk-pʰi]IPR
3:SG:MASC = ABS run-PERV
'He ran'

b. de = næ [ŋi ɲí = ∅] betʰa-tʰuk-pi
DEM = ABL 1:PL two = ABS wrestling-meet-PERV
'Then two of us wrestled (fought)'

c. [ʔoti bom = ∅ = ta]O [ŋa = e]A [tʰoŋ-soŋ]TPR
DEM.PROX girl = ABS = TOP 1:SG = ERG see-PERV.DIRECT
'I saw this girl'

d. [kʰyo = e]A [ŋa = ∅]O [duŋ-tʰuk]TPR
2:SG = ERG 1:SG = ABS beat-DIRECT
'You have beaten me'

Examples (395a) and (395b) both have a single argument in S function which is in absolutive case. In (395c), the pronoun *ŋa* is the Perceiver role in A function and takes ergative case marking. The NP *ʔoti bom = ta* is the Impression role in O function and is in absolutive case.

Both core arguments in (395d) are realized by an NP whose head is a pronoun. The second person singular *kʰyo* functions as the Agent role, mapped onto A syntactic function of an AFFECT verb and is marked by ergative case. The first person pronoun *ŋa* which is the Target role is marked by absolutive case with zero marking since it relates to the O syntactic function.

The A arguments of the two transitive clauses in (395c) and (395d) take an ergative marking, but the O arguments of these same clauses and the S arguments of the intransitive clauses (395a) and (395b) are marked by absolutive case. All example sentences in (395) neatly illustrate that pronouns have absolutive/ergative alignment in perfective aspect.

Now consider pronouns as NP head in clauses in imperfective aspect:

(396) a. [ŋa = ∅]S [bro + ɖo-i]IPR
1:SG = ABS escape + go-IMPERV
'I am running away (EL)'

b. [ŋa = e]A [luʔ ŋá = ∅]O [ter = se]TPR
1:SG = ERG sheep five = ABS give = QUOT

[ŋa = e]A [luʔ tɕut^{h}am = ∅]O [ter = se]TPR
1:SG = ERG sheep ten = ABS give = QUOT

te ʔo-ɖou = gi sö = ya yo
PART DEM.PROX-SIMI = GEN tradition = EMPH EXIST.EGO
'There is a tradition of saying this: "I will give five sheep", "I will give ten sheep"'

c. [ŋa = e]A [k^{h}yo = ∅]O [ʔoti k^{h}ara = ge] [duŋ-gu-na]TPR
1:SG = ERG 2:SG = ABS DEM.PROX stick = INST beat-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'I will hit you with this stick'

d. [k^{h}o = e]A [k^{h}yi ɲí = ∅]O [ʔup^{h}i miɕin = ge]
3:SG:MASC = ERG 2:SG two = ABS DEM.DIST machine = INST

[par + gya-gi]TPR
picture + do-IMPERV
'He is taking a photo of you two with that camera (PO)'
Lit. 'He is picture-taking you two with that machine'

In (396), the first person singular pronoun *ŋa* is the Moving role in S function, therefore it takes zero marking (absolutive case). Example (396b) has two juxtaposed transitive clauses, each making up a complete sentence on their own, conjoined to the following MC. The pronoun *ŋa* is the Donor role mapped onto A function in both (juxtaposed) transitive clauses in (396b); therefore, it takes the ergative allomorph *=e*. The referent of the Gift semantic role *luʔ* 'sheep' is in O function in these two clauses in the same sentence in (396b); therefore, it takes a zero marking for absolutive case.

Similarly, in (396c), the first person pronoun *ŋa* is marked by the ergative case because the Agent role is in A syntactic function; and the referent of the O argument, the second person singular *k^{h}yo*, is zero-marked because it is the Target role in O syntactic function.

Sentence (396d) has two core arguments and a peripheral argument in instrumental function. The third person singular masculine *k^{h}o*, the Agent role in A function,

takes the ergative case allomorph *=e*. The second person *kʰyi* and the modifying number word *ɲîi* 'two' form an NP which is zero-marked for absolutive case since it is the Target role in O function.

All sentences in (396) illustrate that pronouns have (absolutive-)ergative alignment in clauses in imperfective aspect as well.

Along similar lines, the case-marking on NPs with common noun as head operates in terms of an absolutive/ergative scheme both in perfective and imperfective aspects. First, consider the common noun as NP head in perfective aspect:

(397) a. [sönompa=di=∅]S [sönam=la]E [tɕʰin]IPR
mendicant=DEF=ABS alm=DAT go:PERV
'The mendicant went for alms'

b. [kyi=ye]A [luʔ=∅]O [zæ-tʰuʔ]TPR
dog=ERG sheep=ABS eat-DIRECT
'The dog has eaten the sheep'

Example (397a) is an extended intransitive clause with an E argument relating to purpose used with the perfective stem of the MOTION verb 'to go'. The Moving role in S function in (397a) has a zero-marking, the same as the O argument of the perfective stem of the (ambi)transitive verb 'to eat' in (397b), but different from the A function which has an ergative marking in (397b).

The case-marking pattern on NPs with common noun as head remains the same (absolutive/ergative) in clauses in imperfective aspect. Consider:

(398) a. [parpuntsʰan gaŋyu=∅]S [ŋúi=næ]IPR...
parent.sibling ALL=ABS cry=SEQ
'All family (members) cry...'

b. [mwoitɕupʰu=baʔ=ti=∅]S [tɕi-gyan] [pʰa=te] [yar=næ]IPR...
woman=PL=DEF=ABS what-ADV there=ALL run=SEQ
'The womenfolk run on that side...'

c. [pʰa = yi = la [toptɕe = di]O [bome = gi ʔapa + ʔama = baʔ = kʰe]A
there = GEN = LOC food = DEF girl = GEN father + mother = PL = ERG

[ɖik-go-kʰu-na]TPR
arrange-OBLIG-IMPERV-FACT
'The bride's parents must arrange the meals there'

The clauses in (398) showing absolutive/ergative marking on NPs, with common noun as head, are in imperfective aspect. Both (398a) and (398b) are dependent or medial clauses in which the predicate is marked by the sequential marker *=nœ* (see Chapter 15). Example (398a) is a plain intransitive clause, and (398b) an extended intransitive clause with an NP realized by a local adverbial demonstrative relating to location in E function marked by the allative case *=te*; and (398c) is a transitive clause.

In (398a), the NP with the noun *parpuntsʰan* 'family (members)' as head is the Human role of a CORPOREAL verb *ŋu* 'to cry'; and this NP has a zero case marking (absolutive) since it relates to S function. Similarly, the head of the NP which is the Moving role of a MOTION verb *yar* 'to run' in (398b) has the human noun *mwoitɕupʰu* 'woman' as its head; and this NP too is zero-marked since it relates to S function.

Example (398c) has two core arguments and a peripheral argument or oblique. The NP whose referent is the *bomo = gi ʔapa + ʔama* (girl = GEN father + mother) 'bride's parents', a genitive phrase, is the Causer semantic role in A function and takes the ergative allomorph *=kʰe*. The referent of the other core argument *toptɕe* 'food' is the Resting role in O function; therefore, it takes a zero marking for an absolutive case. The argument in oblique function is marked by the enclitic *=la* specifying the location of the Resting role.

In summary, example sentences in (397) and (398) illustrate that common nouns have the same case-marking pattern as the personal pronouns, both in perfective and imperfective aspects. The core argument S and O consistently receive zero-marking for absolutive case, and the A argument consistently bears ergative case.

The referents of the NPs in subject function, A or S, showing an absolutive-ergative case marking pattern thus far have been a human or a higher animal. But the referent of the subject argument can also be a natural phenomenon or a celestial body. Consider the example sentences in (399):

(399) a. [tɕʰu = ∅]S [kam-tʰuʔ]IPR
river = ABS dry-DIRECT
'The river has dried up'

b. [ɲim = ∅]S [ɕar-gi]IPR
sun = ABS rise-IMPERV
'The sun is rising/coming out'

c. [lúŋba = e]A [tɕinam = ʑiʔ = ∅]O [tɕʰak + kʰer-soŋ]TPR
wind = ERG what = INDEF = ABS sweep + take-PERV.DIRECT
'The wind has blown away something'

d. [soː = ∅]O [lúŋba = e]A [tɕʰak + kʰer-gu]TPR
rice.husk = ABS wind = ERG sweep + take-FUT.IMPERV
'The rice husk will be blown away by the wind'

The referents of the core arguments (S, A, and O) of the clauses in (399) are river, sun, wind (natural phenomena) and rice husk (inanimate, non-human). The S argument has zero marking in both (399a) and (399b), the same as the O argument in (399c) and (399d). In contrast, the A argument in both (399c) and (399d) receives ergative marking.

In summary, the marking of core arguments with non-human/inanimate referents follow the same pattern (absolutive-ergative) in perfective clauses as in (399a) and (399c), and in imperfective clauses as in (399b) and (399d).

Furthermore, nominalized clauses functioning as core arguments also show absolutive-ergative case marking patterns. Consider:

(400) a. [padar kʰyi-yoŋ-kʰan = baʔ = ∅]NOMZ:MOVING:S [dok = næ]IPR...
scarf bring-come-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = ABS arrive = SEQ
'After those who brought a scarf have arrived...'
Lit. 'The scarf-bringers arrive (and then...)'

b. den [kaŋpa tɕak-pi = di = ∅]NOMZ:REST:O [ya = la] [ʑak-pi]TPR
PART leg break-NOMZ = DEF = ABS up = LOC keep-PERV
'Then they kept the one with the broken leg up there'

The intransitive clause in (400a) has the Moving/Resting role realized by a nominalized construction in S function and is in absolutive case with zero marking. In example (400b), the nominalized construction 'one with the broken leg' is the Resting role which has a zero marking as it relates to the transitive object (O). Note that the Causer in A function is not stated in this transitive clause. Further consider:

(401) a. [nor me-gin = ba? = kʰe]NOMZ:DONOR:A [nor
cattle NEG.EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = ERG cattle

yo-gan = ba? = la]NOMZ:RECIPT:E [kʰaize = ∅]GIFT:O [kʰer = næ]TPR...
EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = DAT pickled.vegetable = ABS take = SEQ
'Those who do not have cattle take pickled vegetables to those who have cattle...'
Lit. 'The cattle-non-possessors take pickled vegetables to (for) the cattle-possessors'

b. [tɕʰaŋ tʰuŋ-gin = ge]NOMZ:HUMAN:A [tɕʰaŋ = ∅]SUBST:O [dʑa
wine drink-NOMZ:AGTV = ERG wine = ABS tea

tʰuŋ-gin = ge]NOMZ:HUMAN:A [dʑa = ∅]SUBST:O penze re∼re
drink-NOMZ:AGTV = ERG tea = ABS cup one∼one

[tʰuŋ = næ]TPR...
drink = SEQ
'Those who drink wine drink a cup of wine each and those who drink tea drink a cup of tea each...'
Lit. 'The wine-drinkers drink one-one cup of wine; the tea-drinkers drink one-one cup of tea'

Example (401a) has three semantic roles: the nominalized clause 'those who do not have cattle' is the Donor role in A function and bears the ergative case *=ge*; and *kʰaize* 'pickled vegetable' is the Gift role in O function and it is in the absolutive case; and the other nominalized clause 'those who do not have cattle' is the Recipient role in E function marked by the dative case *=la*.

Example (401b) is an interesting sentence in that it has two A arguments co-ordinated via juxtaposition and two object arguments sharing a common predicate. The two subject arguments, both coded by nominalization — 'those who drink wine' and 'those who drink tea'—, take ergative case marking. The two object arguments 'wine' and 'tea' (Substance role) are zero-marked. In summary, sentences in (400) and (401) neatly illustrate that NP arguments realized by nominalized clauses follow the absolutive-ergative case marking pattern, the same as the NP realized by lexical and grammatical words.

Note that copula arguments, CS and CC, do not receive case marking. Unlike the predicate of a transitive or an intransitive clause which has a referential meaning, a copula predicate (CPR) has a relational meaning (see Dixon 2010a:100), and there is no need to specify the semantic roles and syntactic functions of 'who does what to whom' in a copula clause. Consider:

(402) a. [tʰaʔ]CS [riŋbo=ʑiʔ]CC [yin]CPR
distance long=INDEF COP.EGO
'The distance is a long one'

b. [kʰoŋ=ni]CS [mi tɕʰukpu]CC [na]CPR
3:PL=TOP person rich COP.FACT
'They are rich people'

The CS and the CC arguments in both (402a) and (402b) do not take any case marking.

A copula argument realized by a nominalized clause behaves in the same way, in that it does not take case marking, as in (403):

(403) [kʰa lap-tʰaŋ=raŋ]NOMZ:CS den [yakpo=ʑiʔ]CC [tuʔ]CPR
mouth tell-NOMZ:MANR=EMPH PART good=INDEF EXIST.DIRECT
'So the talking (manner) is also good'

If the relationship between a CS and a CC is that of possession, then the CC argument occurs with genitive marking, as in (404). This may be because the genitive

marker codes relationship within an NP, as opposed to a case marker which codes relationship within a clause.

(404) [ʔoti k^{h}yim]$_{CS}$ [ŋa=yi]$_{CC}$ [yin]$_{CPR}$
DEM.PROX house 1:SG=GEN COP.EGO
'This house is mine'

In summary, the case marking in Brokpa works in terms of an absolute/ergative scheme: S and O are treated similarly with zero marking for absolutive, and A is treated differently with ergative marking. This is the prototypical scheme.

Brokpa does not appear to be exhibiting split-ergativity conditioned by aspect or animacy as is reported for some other TB languages. As seen above, the A argument appears with ergative case in both perfective and imperfective aspects. Similarly, the A argument is marked by ergative case, irrespective of whether its referent is a human/animate or non-human/inanimate.

Be that as it may, there are certain variations in the marking of core arguments using the case system in Brokpa. Understanding these variations fully is no easy task for two reasons at least:

One is the polysemous/polyfunctional nature of the grammatical elements including some case markers. A single form can function as a marker of two or more grammatical systems such as the enclitic *=la* marking different cases (dative, locative, allative), and it also occurs as a marker on an NP with a meaning of something like 'each' or 'one at a time', as in *lú=la gya* (song=each do) 'Do one song (at a time)'. Note that *=la* in these two functions is again different from *lá*, with a high tone, marking honorificity or politeness (see Chapter 7 and Chapter 14).

The other reason is the tendency to omit arguments and even grammatical elements. We have seen in several places where a transitive clause appears without an A argument. Similarly, a grammatical element can be omitted from a constituent. For example, as noted in Chapter 5, manner adverbs are usually derived from adjectives

by means of the suffix *-gyan* as in *ʔeɕin-gyan* (nice-ADV) 'nicely'. In slow register and when uttered in isolation, a manner adverb appears in full with suffix *-gyan*. However, in rapid register and connected speech, only an adjective form appears even when it is in the adverbial slot, modifying a predicate, as in *ʔeɕin soŋ* (nice go) rendering 'go nice' meaning 'go nicely' but the adverbial suffix *-gyan* is omitted. The omission of a core argument/grammatical element and/or the polyfunctionality associated with a grammatical marker may obscure an analysis.

As with some other Tibeto-Burman languages, an A argument in Brokpa may appear without an overt ergative case marking. Similarly, an S argument can appear with the marker *=ge* or one of its variants (see Chapter 9), which is the same form as the ergative/instrumental case morpheme. The *=ge* (or allomorph) marking on an S argument shows that the referent of the S argument can control the activity (see §11.1.2).

However, as with other Tibeto-Burman languages, the coding of grammatical relations in Brokpa appears to be a complex phenomenon and the status of ergativity is indeed murky. In Brokpa, as with many other languages, most clauses in a connected speech are subjectless, and it is difficult to know whether an unstated subject would have been with or without an overt marking if it were stated.

Therefore, it may be difficult to know whether an absence, or presence, of a morphological manifestation of an ergative marking on A argument is truly an instance of optional ergativity, or pragmatic ergativity just as it will be hard to know whether an unstated core argument is in which particular case role. It may also be hard to know whether it is merely a casual omission of the ergative marking (even though it is there in the underlying system); or whether it is an instance of using some other techniques— such as placing A argument in focus through topicalization/fronting, or cleft-focus construction, or merely employing constituent order— to take on the role of coding grammatical relations in lieu of ergative case marking.

In the same vein, it is hard to know whether the marking of an S argument with the same marker as an A argument is truly an instance of Split-S marking, or whether it is an instance of using a homophonous marker to encode some other functions in the language. This requires further study. Based on the data collected thus far, NPs in S function, which take the marker *=ge*, are typically associated with volitional verbs showing that the S argument exerts volitional control over the activity (see § 11.1.2).

I will examine the nature of the case-marking variation in Brokpa including the marking of *=ge* on S arguments, the unmarked A arguments, and the *=la* marking on O arguments.

11.1.1 Additional core argument: E

Brokpa allows both extended intransitive and extended transitive (ditransitive) clause types, which include an additional core argument. This additional core argument, in basic linguistic theory, is referred to as E for 'extension to core' (see Dixon 2010b:379), otherwise called 'indirect object'.

An extended intransitive clause will have two core arguments, S with zero marking in absolutive case and E marked by dative/locative case. Examples include:

(405) a. [gaŋyu=raŋ tɕʰatsʰaŋ=∅]S [Ama Jomo=la]E söwantap
ALL=EMPH completely=ABS Ama Jomo supplicate
'All (S) supplicate to Ama Jomo (E)'

b. [ŋeraŋ=ba?]S diriŋ [Jomokora=la]E ɖo-mi yin
1PL.REFL=PL today Jomokora=DAT go-NOMZ COP.EGO
'Today we are making the Jomokora pilgrimage'
Lit. 'Today we (S) are going on the Jomokora pilgrimage (E)'

Both (405a) and (405b) have two arguments. The subject argument is zero-marked while the other core argument in both examples is marked by the dative case *=la*.

An extended transitive clause type will involve three core argument A, O, and E. The E argument is shown by the dative/locative case *=la*. An E argument typically involves the Recipient role of the verbs of GIVING semantic types such as *ter* 'to give/proffer/bestow' and *dʑin* 'to give', or the Recipient of the MOTION verb such as *taŋ* 'to send'. The referent of a Recipient role is usually a human being or it can be a higher animal. Consider:

(406) a. [kʰi=gi bomo=la]RECIPT:E [ŋa=e]DONOR:A [ta mo-ta=ʑi?]GIFT:O
2PL=GEN girl=DAT 1SG=ERG horse FEM-horse=INDEF

ter
give
'I (A) will give a mare (O) to your daughter (E)'

b. [ŋa=e]DONOR:A [kʰyo=**la**]RECIPT [yigu=ʑi?]GIFT:O taŋ-yo
1:SG=ERG 2:SG=DAT letter=INDEF send-EGO
'I (A) have sent a letter (O) to you (E)'

Sentence (405a) has three semantic roles, Donor in A function, Gift in O function, and the Recipient of the 'give' verb placed in E function. The referent of the Recipient role in E function is shown by the dative case. The verb *taŋ* in Brokpa can have several interpretations including that of a MOTION or a GIVING verb 'to take/send', an AFFECT verb 'to hit/strike' or a light verb 'to do'. In example (406b), the verb *taŋ* is treated as a GIVING type with Donor in A function, Gift in O function, and Recipient in E function. The second person pronoun *kʰyo* which is the Recipient in E function of relevance here, takes the dative case *=la*.

Similarly, an E argument of transitive clause may involve verbs like *ʑa?* 'to keep', as in (407a), or *kaː* 'to put/place/impose', as in (407b):

(407) a. [kʰi=ge]A [ʔoti lorgyu=di=zu=∅]O [sem=la]E
2SG=ERG DEM.PROX information=DEF=PL=ABS mind=LOC

ʑoʔ
keep:IMP:CAN
'You (A) keep this information (O) in mind (E)'

b. [kʰo = raŋ = **la**]E tɕinam [duŋar = di = su = ∅]O
3:SG:MASC = EMPH = LOC what.to.say suffering = DEF = PL = ABS

ka:-go-ro
impose-NECES-FINAL
'We (A) have to give him (E) responsibilities (O)'
Lit. 'We have to impose sufferings on him'

Example (407a) contains A argument with ergative case, O with zero marking, and an additional core argument *sem* 'mind' shown by the locative case. In (407b) the A argument is not stated because it can be inferred from the discourse context. The speaker narrates a typical instance in which the parents of the bride and the parents of the groom and their relatives have a discussion before planning a wedding. This clause is a continuation of the discourse in which one of the parents suggests that it is about time that they delegated responsibilities to their kids. The noun *duŋar* 'suffering/responsibility' is the O argument with zero marking, and the third person pronoun *kʰo* is the additional core argument in E function, shown by the dative case *=la*.

11.1.2 The *=ge* marking on S argument

An S argument may take the *=ge* marking when the head of its intransitive predicate is realised by a volitional intransitive verb. When an S NP takes the *=ge* marking, its referent is likely to control the activity or event.

Recall from §11.1 that the label 'ergative' is reserved for the case marker on the subject of a transitive clause (A). I gloss the *=ge* marking on S arguments as CONTROL for 'controller', conforming to Dixon (1994:33). I use the term 'ergative' for the *=ge* marking on A, and not controller, because A takes *=ge* marking even where its referent has no control over the activity, e.g. *ŋa=e mo tʰoŋ-soŋ* (1SG=ERG 3SG.FEM see-PERV.DIRECT) 'I saw her' (by accident). Put differently, the *=ge* marking on an A argument is determined by the grammatical relations and transitivity of a clause

whereas the *=ge* marking on an S argument is determined by whether its referent has control over the activity or event.

Note however, that the marking on the S argument of an intransitive predicate or monovalent predicate has been described as an ergative case in other related languages including Tibetan (see for example, DeLancey 2005), Dzongkha (see van Driem and Tshering 2019; Watters 2018), Kurtöp (see Hyslop 2010), and Bumthang (see Donohue and Donohue 2019).

As pointed out above, whenever an S argument appears with the *=ge* marking in Brokpa, which is less frequent than an S argument with zero absolutive marking in my corpus, the referent of the S has some kind of control over the activity described by the verb. Consider:

(408) a. [kʰi=ge]MOVING:S te da zusken-gyan [ɲinmu]PERI [tɕʰin=næ]IPR...
2:SG=CONTROL PART PART quiet-ADV day go=SEQ
'So you go quietly during the daytime...'

b. [pʰam lale=kʰe]HUMAN:S [ŋúi=næ]IPR...
parent some=CONTROL cry=SEQ
'Some parents cry...'

Each sentence in (408) is intransitive involving a single semantic role in S function and an intransitive predicate. The S argument in both examples in (408) takes the marker *=ge* (or the allomorph *=kʰe*) because the referents of the S arguments in both clauses have control over the activity. In (408a), the referent of S can choose not to go, (408a). Example (408b) is in relation to a situation where some family and relatives usually cry when their daughter gets married and is ceremoniously taken to the groom's house. The parents and relatives can decide not to cry, and instead sing songs as is done by some other families. In other words, they have control over the activity, hence the *=ge* marking on S argument.

However, in Brokpa the marking of *=ge* on S arguments does not appear to be obligatory for any particular verb class (even for volitional intransitive). If the occurrence of the enclitic *=ge* on S was obligatory on volitional intransitive verbs, one

could say that Brokpa has two types of marking on the intransitive subject (Split-S marking), with these splits being conditioned by the semantic nature of verbs (volitional, non-volitional). However, an S argument that appears with the *=ge* marking is acceptable without it. The two sentences in (408) are acceptable without the *=ge* marking as reproduced in (409):

(409) a. [kʰi=∅]MOVING:S te da zusken-gyan [ɲinmu]PERI [tɕʰin=næ]IPR...
2:SG=ABS PART quiet-ADV day go=SEQ
'So you go quietly during the daytime...'

b. [pʰam lala=∅]HUMAN:S [ŋúi=næ]IPR...
parent some=ABS cry=SEQ
'Some parents cry...'

On the other hand, the S arguments with zero marking in (395a), (396a), and (398a) given above can appear with the enclitic *=ge* (or the allomorphic variant *=ke*, *=kʰe*, or *=e*). The examples with zero marking on S arguments in (395a), (396a), and (398a) are repeated below with the *=ge* marking:

(410) a. [kʰo=e]S [gyuk-pʰi]IPR
3:SG:MASC=CONTROL run-PERV
'He ran'

b. [ŋa=e]S [bro+ɖo-i]IPR
1:SG=CONTROL escape+go-IMPERV
'I am running away'

c. [parpuntsʰan gaŋyu=ge]S [ŋúi=næ]IPR...
parent.sibling all=CONTROL cry=SEQ
'All family (members) cried...'

The referents of the subject arguments of volitional verbs *bro+ɖo-i* (escape+go-IMPERV) 'running away', *gyuk* 'to run', and *ŋui* 'to cry' could already be established even without the marker *=ge* in (395a), (396a), and (398a) . The S argument does not seem to require the *=ge* marking to have a referential meaning, it being already achieved

with the underlying absolutive case. The marking of S with *=e* is not obligatory suggesting that the *=e* marking on S is not there to identify its syntactic function.

In addition, the marking of S with *=e* in (410a) seems to be coding contrastive focus, something like 'He (and not anyone else) ran'. The marking of *=e* on S in (410a) also codes epistemological authority, something like 'It is absolutely true that he ran' and that this proposition cannot be questioned; so the *=e* on the S argument (410a) emphasises the argument and the predicate. The marking of *=e* on S in (410b) shows emphasis 'I will (really) run away'.

The marking of *=e* on S argument in (410c) codes emphasis, something like some family members really cried even though there was an option not to cry. It also expresses intention of the referent of the S argument, something like the family members intentionally cried because it is a tradition to do so when their daughter goes away to live with her husband (and not doing so will not look nice in front of others).

In a nutshell, an S argument seems to be taking the *=ge*, or one of its allomorphs (see Chapter 9), when marking discourse-pragmatic factors such as focus, emphasis, or epistemological authority is intended.

DeLancey (2005) describes the grammatical relation of Lhasa Tibetan, in his thumbnail sketch of it as an "aspectually-split active-stative language, in which ergative marking is obligatory on the A arguments of perfective transitive clauses, optional on A arguments of non-perfective and S arguments of active intransitive imperfective clauses, and impossible on S arguments of non-perfective clauses".

As illustrated in §11.1, Brokpa has absolutive (S, O) versus ergative (A) case marking both in perfective and imperfective aspects. Furthermore, both pronouns and nouns show the same case marking pattern; so Brokpa does not have a split-ergative profile like that of Lhasa Tibetan.

Further, in Brokpa the *=ge* marking on S argument is also possible in non-perfective clauses if emphasis, intention, certainty, etc., are intended. We can illustrate this by using the verb *ɕi* 'to die'. Compare (411a) and (411b):

(411) a. ŋa = ∅ ɕi-gu
1:SG = ABS die-FUT.IMPERV
'I will die'

b. ŋa = e ɕi-gu
1:SG = CONTROL:INTR die-FUT.IMPERV
'I will die'

Under normal circumstances, the Human role in S function of the intransitive verb *ɕi* 'to die' has no control over the activity of dying; and the fact that 'I will die' is expressed by the zero-marking on the S argument, as in (411a).

However, the S argument of the same intransitive clause in imperfective aspect is also acceptable, as in (411b). When the marker *=e* (an allomorphic variant of *=ge*) appears on S in (411b), it indicates intention; that the referent of the S argument is going to die intentionally, such as by committing suicide. The *=e* marking on S further suggests that the referent can exercise control even if the verb involved inherently may not allow control on the activity it describes such as the verb *ɕi* 'to die'. When the *=e* marking is used on the S argument of the verb *ɕi* 'to die' in (411b) it shows that the referent of the S argument can exert control over the activity: they can decide not to commit suicide.

This kind of marking on S in imperfective aspect, as in Brokpa, is possible in Dzongkha and Tshangla if motivated by the same consideration or pragmatics. Consider the following two examples which I translated from Brokpa, as a native speaker of Tshangla and a near-native speaker of Dzongkha (cross-checked with other native speakers):

DZONGKHA:

(412) ŋá = gi ɕi-ni
1S = CONTROL die-IMPERV
'I will die (intentionally, such as by committing suicide)'

TSHANGLA:

(413) ji = gi ɕi-le
1S = CONTROL die-IMPERV
'I will die (intentionally, such as by committing suicide)'

In a nutshell, Brokpa, Dzongkha, and Tshangla share the same system. That is, S NP may be overtly marked if its referent has control over an activity or event.

Further, consider the two Brokpa sentences in (414a) and (414b):

(414) a. kʰo = ∅ ɕi-gu
3:SG = ABS die-FUT.IMPERV
'He will die'

b. kʰo = e ɕi-gu
3:SG = CONTROL:EGO die-FUT.IMPERV
'He will die'

As with other S arguments, the S argument in (414a) is in absolutive case. When the marker *=e* appears on the S argument in (414b), it indicates that the speaker has some kind of privileged access to knowledge (epistemic authority, egophoricity); the speaker has a foreknowledge. The speakers would use sentence (414b) only when they have prior knowledge such as the referent of the S argument in (414b) having a terminal disease. The other scenario could be that the speaker is a lama or a local healer. They would use sentence (414b) to mean something like 'I am saying that he will die because I know for sure through a knowledge of a higher order or a higher perception (that his life has come to an end)'. The same discourse-pragmatic effects apply to Dzongkha and Tshangla.

Dixon (1994:23-35) distinguishes two kinds of strategies that languages employ for marking 'who is doing what to whom':

(1) the syntactically based (or 'prototypical') alternative; and

(2) the semantically based (or 'direct') alternative.

As noted in §11.1, Brokpa is predominantly of the first type with elements of the second type. In most circumstances, Brokpa uses a syntactically-based method employing morphological case marking, but also shows characteristics of semantic marking. In summary, Brokpa has morphological ergativity, determined by grammatical relations, motivated by semantic and pragmatic factors. The system appears to be typologically unusual (see Dixon 1994:23-35).

In §11.1.3 , I will look at the nature of unmarked A arguments and the marking of O arguments, or 'direct marking' (Dixon 1994:24), with the morpheme *=la* which is the same marker as the dative/locative case in §11.1.4.

11.1.3 Zero marking on A argument

As mentioned in §11.1, the marking of subject with ergative case in Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman languages is reported to be not syntactically obligatory. As a result of this, various concepts are associated with ergativity in these languages including 'variable A marking', 'optional ergativity' or 'pragmatic ergativity'. In some Tibeto-Burman languages, the ergative marking is said to be determined by pragmatic functions (see, among others, DeLancey 2011b; Hyslop 2010; Tournadre 1991, 1995; Vollmann 2008).

The marking of core arguments in Brokpa in terms of absolutive/ergative scheme is more or less consistent: A marked by an ergative case and S and O by zero case for absolutive. In my corpus, zero-marked S and O arguments and ergative-marked A arguments are by far the most frequent. And, as shown in §11.1, A receives ergative marking even when the clause is pragmatically neutral, that is even when the A argument is not in contrastive focus.

Furthermore, the *=ge* marking on S, as shown in §11.1.2, is not obligatory and can be considered an optional marker of discourse-pragmatic functions with an underlying absolutive case. Compare (415a) and (415b):

(415) a. ʔoti bom = ∅ ŋa = e t^hoŋ-soŋ
DEM.PROX girl = ABS 1:SG = ERG see-PERV.DIRECT
'I saw this girl'

b. ʔoti bom ŋa t^hoŋ-soŋ
DEM.PROX girl 1:SG see-PERV.DIRECT
'This girl saw me'

When there is an ergative marking on an NP, the NP in A function and the NP in O function can easily be disambiguated in the two NPs as seen in the transitive clause in (415a).

If the ergative marker is removed as in (415b), my consultants made two comments: first, the sentence is somewhat odd although not entirely ungrammatical; second, if we really put an interpretation on it, the sentence would mean: 'This girl saw me' instead of 'I saw this girl'. In the absence of the ergative marking, A becomes O and vice versa. This suggests that if all the core arguments are not marked for case (absolutive, ergative, or both), the left-most NP takes the A role indicating that Brokpa makes use of constituent order to control grammatical relations. As will be shown later, Brokpa does employ constituent order as a mechanism to disambiguate the arguments if a clause involves unmarked constituents.

One can see how ergative case marking on A arguments is crucial. Otherwise, a clause with unmarked arguments can either be rendered ungrammatical or the meaning changes on the basis of factors such as constituent order, animacy, or humanness. Compare the example pairs:

(416) a. ɲima = e ts^hik-pi
sun = ERG burn-PERV
'The sun has burnt (something)'

b. ∅ ɲim ts^hik-pi
sun burn-PERV
'Something has burnt the sun'

c. ɲima = i ɖoː = ge mar ʐu-gi
sun = GEN heat = ERG butter melt-IMPERV
'The sun's heat is melting the butter'

d. *ɲima = e ɖoː mar ʐu-gi-yo

e. lúŋtsʰup = ge babreŋ tɕʰak + kʰer-ɦoŋ
heat = ERG cow.barn sweep + take-POTEN
'The windstorm might blow the cow barn over'

f. *lúŋtsʰup babreŋ tɕʰak + kʰer-ɦoŋ

Example (416a) is a transitive clause with an O argument omitted. When the only NP 'sun' has ergative marking, the sun is the Agent role in A syntactic function. In the absence of the ergative marking, the same NP 'sun' becomes the Target role in O function which is affected by the action of burning by an unstated subject.

Sentences (416c) and (416e) are meaningful only when one of the NPs in each clause has an ergative marking. Without ergative marking on a core argument, examples (416d) and (416f) are infelicitous at best. The meaning of the sentence in example (416f) could be inferred on account of pragmatic and normative judgement, that it is normal for a windstorm to blow away a cow barn rather than the other way round. But the native speakers find this sentence distinctly odd without the ergative marking on *lúŋtsʰup* 'wind'. It appears that if the referents of the unmarked A NP and the unmarked O NP are extremely low in animacy, even constituent order is not a useful tool for recognizing grammatical relations.

Sentences (415) and (416) suggest that ergative case is crucial for identifying the A syntactic function in a clause, including the imperfective ones. No discourse or pragmatic function is indicated in these sentences and yet the ergative marking appears to be obligatory.

However, if all the referents of the NPs in core argument functions are high on the animacy scale including humans, high animates, and personal pronouns, an A argument may appear without an overt ergative marking. Consider:

(417) [ŋa]A [makpa ʔeɕin=ʑi?]O [ʈʰi:+kʰyoŋ-gyu]TPR
1:SG husband good=INDEF guide+bring-FUT.IMPERV
'I will be bringing a good husband'

Example (417) is a transitive sentence containing two NPs required by the predicate whose head is formed by a serialization of two MOTION verbs *ʈʰi:* 'to guide' and *kʰyoŋ* 'to bring'. The NP with the pronoun *ŋa* '1:SG' as head is understood to be the Causer (Human) role in A function even if there is no overt ergative marking and the 'good husband' is understood to be the Moving (Human) role in O function.

In this sentence, the burden of identifying the A syntactic relation is directly borne by the ordering of the phrasal constituents. Further compare the two sentences in (418):

(418) a. *[makpa ʔeɕin=ʑi?] [ŋa] [kʰyoŋ=næ]
husband good=INDEF 1:SG bring=SEQ

b. makpa ʔeɕin=ʑi? ŋa=**e** kʰyoŋ=næ...
husband good=INDEF 1:SG=ERG bring=SEQ
'I will be bringing a good husband,...'

I swapped the order of the two NPs in the same sentence, placed the pronoun *ŋa* in between the O NP 'good husband' and the predicate as in (418a). When I asked one of my consultants as to who is bringing whom in that sentence, he said that (418a) is not a normal sentence. He insisted that the ergative allomorph *=e* be added onto the pronoun *ŋa*, as in (418b), in order for the sentence to be acceptable even if the order of the constituents was kept unchanged. Otherwise, the meaning is either 'A good husband brings me' or the sentence is odd.

In a clause with unmarked constituents, only the first NP from the left is capable of being in A function. It also does not necessarily have to be a first person pronoun. This is corroborated by example (415b) above where *ʔoti bom* 'this girl' could be identified as the A argument on the basis of the constituent order.

An observation that can be made here is that when there is no overt ergative case marking on an A argument in a clause, that clause has an overtone of reported speech. To use example (417) again, this sentence sounds something like '(I would like to tell you that or I am declaring that) I will bring a good husband'. Perhaps, the omission of ergative case and making use of topicalization to identify an A argument may be one of the techniques for expressing a reported speech in Brokpa.

All these examples illustrate that morphological coding of core arguments is important in Brokpa. In addition, constituent order, animacy, real world knowledge, etc., are useful for recognizing grammatical relations. In particular, if all the NPs in a clause appear without overt case marking, it is quite often the case that the left-most NP, topicalized by fronting, is the subject (see also 11.1.6.4). As most examples in this grammar illustrate, the preferred constituent order in Brokpa is A before O followed by the predicate in a transitive clause, and S before predicate in an intransitive clause.

There is another condition under which an A argument may not show ergative marking; that is, when there is the *=la* marking on an O argument, which forms the topic of the next section.

11.1.4 Differential object marking

As illustrated in §11.1, in most circumstances, O arguments are unmarked (like S) for absolutive case. However, an NP in O function may be overtly case-marked on account of certain semantic and pragmatic functions. Typically, an O argument is marked by the enclitic *=la* if it is specific, in contrastive focus, or high in prominence. This is an example of what is generally described as a 'differential object marking' or simply 'object marking' (see Bossong 1991; Aikhenvald 2015a:216, Aikhenvald 2015b; Blake 2001:119-20, Karatsareas 2020). Objects are either zero-marked for absolutive case or marked by *=la*, depending on pragmatics. Compare the two sentences in (419):

(419) a. [kʰo = e]A [kʰyo = ∅]O [duŋ-yoŋ]TPR
3:SG:MASC = ERG 2:SG = ABS beat-POTEN
'He might beat you'

b. [kʰo = e]A [kʰyo = la]O [duŋ-yoŋ]TPR
3:SG:MASC = ERG 2:SG = DOM beat-POTEN
'He might beat you (not me or someone else, but you; he will beat YOU)'

The O NP in (419a) is in absolutive case shown by zero marking and the same O NP may take the marker *=la* as in (419b). Note that the enclitic *=la* marks locative and dative case. On the face of it, both sentences have the same meaning. However, on close scrutiny, the *=la* marking on the O argument in (419b), appears to be a morphological device for coding contrastive focus with an overtone of assertion. Further compare:

(420) a. [ŋa = e]EXPER:A [mo = ∅]STIMU:O gau + gyak-pi
1SG = ERG 3SG.FEM = ABS happiness + do-PERV
'I loved her'

b. [ŋa = e]EXPER:A [kʰyo = **la**]STIMU:O gau + gyak-pi
1SG = ERG 2SG = DOM happiness + do-NOMZ.PERV

yin = s
COP.EGO = ASSERT
'I loved YOU'

There are two semantic roles in both sentences in (420), the Experiencer and the Stimulus. The referent of the Experiencer role—the first person pronoun *ŋa* in (420a) and (420b)— are mapped onto A syntactic function marked by ergative case.

The current relevance is the marking on the Stimulus role in O function. The referent of NP in O function, the third person singular feminine *mo*, in (420a) is unmarked, while the referent of O NP, the second person singular *kʰyo*, in (420b) is overtly marked. The Stimulus role in (420b) cannot be omitted and is logically in O function, just like (420a). The Stimulus role in (420b) is not an E argument of an extended intransitive clause because the subject argument is not S but A marked by

ergative case. This *=la* marking on the O argument (420b) indicates that the O NP is in contrastive focus, something like 'I have loved YOU (and not another person)'. This could also indicate that, among the several people, the referent of A NP loved a specific person which is the referent of the O NP in (420b).

DeLancey (2005) reports that the O arguments of some transitive verbs are obligatorily marked with locative/dative case in Tibetan. In Brokpa, it appears that every time there is a *=la* marking on O, it codes contrastive focus, specificity, prominence with an overtone of assertion, particularly if the predicate is followed by the egophoric copula *yin* and assertive enclitic *=s*. In other words, an O argument takes *=la* only when focus or assertion is implied. Otherwise, O argument bears zero marking.

11.1.5 Non-canonically marked A arguments

As shown thus far, the canonical scheme of marking core arguments with cases in Brokpa is absolutive-ergative. As seen in §11.1, if a clause has three core arguments—A and two non-A arguments, one of the two non-A arguments takes the dative case and goes to E function, known as 'extension to core' function (Dixon 2010a), while the other non-A argument remains in O function with zero marking. To reiterate, the canonical marking of core arguments in Brokpa in most instances is as follows: A marked by the ergative case and O and S unmarked or zero-marked (for absolutive case).

However, a core argument, particularly A, may attract a different marking referred to as 'non-canonical marking' (see Aikhenvald 2015a:215-216; Dixon 2010b:147-152; Onishi 2001). Two instances of non-canonical marking on core arguments can be observed in Brokpa: dative marking on A and ablative marking on A.

The dative case marking typically appears on the A argument of the verb *go* 'to need', as the two examples in (421) illustrate:

(421) a. [ŋa = **la**]A [lense = ʑi? = ∅]O go
1SG = DAT reply = INDEF = ABS need
'I need a reply'

b. [ʔou = la]A [dʱou = ʑi? = ∅]O go-kʰu
boy = DAT friend = INDEF = ABS need-IMPERV
'The boy needs a friend'

This non-canonically marked A has the properties of a subject. For example, Brokpa allows both second and first person in imperative constructions, with the former forming a canonical imperative and the latter a non-canonical imperative (see Onishi 2001:8 on the syntactic properties of non-canonically marked core argument). Among other things, predicates with non-canonical marked A argument can occur in imperative constructions with the verb taking the optative marker; it can also occur as the common argument in a relative clause construction. First consider imperative constructions using the optative marker:

(422) a. [kʰyo = **la**]NP:A [ɲéndo = ʑi? = ∅]O doʑi? lo = la = raŋ
2SG = DAT spouse = INDEF = ABS this.year year = LOC = EMPH

tʰob-ɕoʑi?
get-OPT
'May you get a husband/wife in this year'

b. [ŋa = **la**]NP:A diriŋ [bartɕʰe = ∅]O tɕika ma-yoŋ-ɕoʑi?
1SG = DAT today obstacle = ABS nothing NEG-come-OPT
'May I not come across any obstacles today'

Example (422a) is an imperative construction with the second person pronoun *kʰyo* in A function, but is marked by the dative *=la* instead of the ergative *=ge*. Similarly, example (422b) is a non-canonical imperative construction with the first-person pronoun *ŋa* in A function, and it is also marked non-canonically by the dative *=la*.

Example of a non-canonically marked A as the common argument in a relative clause construction can be found in (423):

(423) [zuwa tɕika me-gin]RC [[ŋa=**la**]CA:A [tʰim=∅]O
mistake nothing NEG.EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV 1SG=DAT punishment=ABS

má-pʰo?-ɕoʑi?]MC
NEG-hit-OPT
'May I, who has not made any mistakes face no punishment'

In (423), the common argument in A function in the MC which is a non-canonical (first-person) imperative construction is marked non-canonically by the dative *=la*.

A further non-canonical marking of A argument involves ablative marking, albeit rarely. The ablative marking on A appears to be an instance in which interpersonal communication is manipulated by cultural convention. We have seen in Chapter 7 that the verbs of GIVING and SPEAKING produce a three-way contrast—the 'downward honorific form', the 'upward honorific form', and the 'horizontal (non-honorific) form'. Of relevance here is the verb *náŋ*, the 'downward honorific form' of the verb 'to give', and the verb *suŋ* which is the downward honorific form of the verb 'to speak'. The honorific verb *náŋ* involves a Donor role in A function, Gift in O function, and Recipient in E function. Along similar lines, the honorific verb *suŋ* involves a Speaker role in A function, a Medium/Message in O function, and an Addressee in E function.

The referents of the Donor role and the Speaker role are always the target of honour ('referent honorifics'). In a construction with a referent honorific, the A argument (Donor, Speaker) is marked canonically with ergative case, but the A argument can also be marked non-canonically with ablative case. Consider two sentences in (424):

(424) a. [láma=**næ**]DONOR:A [ŋa=la]RECIPT:E [söri=ʑi?=∅]GIFT:O
lama=ABL 1:SG=DAT GIFT=INDEF=ABS

naŋ-soŋ
give:HON-PERV.DIRECT
'The lama bestowed me a gift'

b. [ʔoti = ∅]MESG:O [ŋa = la]ADDRE:E [láma = **næ**]SPEAKER:A suŋ-p^{h}i
DEM.PROX = ABS 1:SG = DAT lama = ABL tell:HON-NOMZ
'The lama said this to me'

The 'lama', someone who is always the target of honour in the community, is the referent of the Donor role in A function in (424a) and the referent of the Speaker role in A function in (424b). The A argument in both the sentences attracts an ablative marking which is non-canonical. Note that an ergative marking on the A argument in such a sentence is not ungrammatical, but the intended deference to the referent of the A argument is not as strong as it is with the ablative marking even if lexical honorific words are employed in the utterance. This can be described as an instance of reducing agentivity of A as a mark of deference and establishment of cognitive distance.

The motivation for non-canonical marking of core arguments in Brokpa is quite obvious: (i) for an A argument to attract a dative marking, the verb has to be from the WANTING semantic type; (ii) for an A argument to take ablative marking, its referent has to be the target of deference and the predicate is typically realized by a SPEAKING verb or a GIVING verb.

11.1.6 The criteria for subject

The notion of 'subject' refers to a grammatical relation that encompasses both A and S syntactic functions. Several syntactic properties can be used as criteria for defining the notion of subject cross-linguistically. They include constituent order, NP-marking, control in imperative constructions, ellipsis in subordination and complementation, valency-changing derivations, control over reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, constraints on relativisation, switch-reference and pivot constraints (see, among others, Aikhenvald 2015a:221; Dixon 1994:2, 2010b:119; Andrews 2007a; Onishi 2001).

As illustrated thus far, the basic technique for coding syntactic functions in Brokpa is NP-marking using a system of cases. Constituent order may be deployed as an alternative technique. Based on the NP-marking rule in Brokpa, ergative case is

assigned to an NP in A function, and zero absolutive case to the NP in S function, the same as the NP in O function. Therefore, case-marking fails to establish the existence of the 'subject' grammatical relation, since A and S prototypically take different cases. Additionally, the ergative case marking an NP in an A core argument function is syncretic with the instrumental case marking an NP in peripheral argument or oblique function. This makes it more difficult to establish the identity of the subject (A/S) based on case markers, since an oblique argument also shares the same form of the case marker as the core argument.

However, there are some other phenomena which can serve as criteria for establishing the notion of subject grammatical relationship in Brokpa. They include the subject of an imperative clause, control properties in reflexive and reciprocal constructions, and constituent order.

In addition, the semantic roles associated with each core argument may help recognize the 'subject' grammatical relation, covering both A and S, as opposed to O.

11.1.6.1 Subject of imperative sentence

In a canonical imperative construction, the speakers asks the addressee to do something (see Chapter 14), hence the addressee has to be either in A or S function. Consider:

(425) a. [kʰyo=e]A [pʰrugu=∅]O [tʰo sin]TPR
2SG=ERG child=ABS look.IMP:CAN ASSERT
'You look after the child'

b. [kʰyo=∅]S [ma-ŋu sin]IPR
2SG=ABS NEG-cry.IMP.CAN ASSERT
'You don't cry'

The second person pronoun *kʰyo* is the A NP in the positive imperative clause in (425a) and the S NP in the negative imperative clause in (425b). Both clauses require canonically marked 2nd person A/S. It is not possible for the O NP, marked with

zero absolute case, to exert control over the event or state expressed by the predicate. Changing the slots of A and O argument is not ungrammatical. For example, clause (425a) can be *pʰrugu kʰyo = e tʰo sin* (child 2SG = ERG look.IMP.CAN ASSERT), but it will always have the meaning 'You look after the child' and can never be 'Child look after you'. This indicates that the addressee, who the speakers asks to exert control over an activity, can only be the subject, A/S, and not O. As noted in §4.5.2.3, only volitional or control verbs allow the formation of canonical imperatives (see also §14.2.2.1).

11.1.6.2 Controller of reflexive and reciprocal pronoun

Brokpa has reflexive as well as reciprocal construction (Chapter 8). In both construction types, it is either the A or the S argument, and not O, which is the grammatical controller; therefore, these two constructions provide evidence for the existence of the notion of 'subject' which subsumes both A and S. See Chapter 8 for examples of A and S arguments functioning as the grammatical controller of reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

As noted in Chapter 8, in both reflexive and reciprocal constructions the referent of the A or the S argument is fully stated. The reflexive or reciprocal pronoun is placed in the O slot when the antecedent is an A argument, and in a peripheral argument slot when the antecedent is an S argument. Similarly, the reflexive or reciprocal pronoun goes into a peripheral or oblique function when the antecedent is an S argument. In a nutshell, only A or S, and not O, can be the controller of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, thus proving to be a criterion for subjecthood in Brokpa.

11.1.6.3 Constituent order as a subject criterion

As noted under 'zero marking on A argument' in §11.1.3, Brokpa uses constituent order as a strategy for coding syntactic functions, albeit marginally. The idea is that the left-most NP is understood to be the subject if a clause involves unmarked NPs. Consider:

(426) [ŋa]A [mo = ∅]O [ɖu-li]TPR
1SG 3SG.FEM = ABS tease-PERV
'I teased her'

In (426), the first NP from the left, *ŋa* (1SG) 'I', is the subject. The meaning of clause (426) cannot be '*She teased me'. Note that the identification of the subject argument in (426) is not biased as a result of animacy or humanness. This shows that it is the constituent order that provides a clue for the identification of subject, if a clause involves unmarked arguments.

The constituent order helps to identify the A function in a transitive clause, involving two unmarked NPs, or in an extended transitive clause with two unmarked arguments and E marked with dative.

A canonical intransitive clause has only a single unmarked NP, and it prototypically occurs in the sentence-initial position. In the case of an extended intransitive clause, the unmarked S argument always precedes the dative-marked oblique argument. For example, a locational oblique argument can occur without locative case. Then an extended intransitive clause is left with two unmarked NPs, as in:

(427) [Ngawang]S [Tawang]E [dʱok-tʰuʔ]IPR
Ngawag Tawang arrive-DIRECT
'Ngawang has arrived in Tawang'

Example (427) is an extended intransitive clause with two unmarked NPs, one supposedly S NP and the other oblique. Recall from §4.4.1.5 that place names are inherently locational and the locative case on them is optional. In such an instance, the first NP 'Ngawang' can be identified as the S NP on the basis of its clause-initial position. If the E argument without locative case is placed clause-initially, to the left of the S argument, the clause becomes ungrammatical: **Tawang Ngawang dʱok-tʰuʔ*. In summary, constituent order also serves as a criterion for identifying the subject, both A and S, in Brokpa.

11.1.6.4 Semantic properties of the subject

In addition to the criteria for identifying the subject in Brokpa discussed in §§11.1.6.1-11.1.6.4, semantic roles associated with the syntactic functions can help identify the subject argument. In other words, syntactic functions have semantic bases. The subject arguments A and S are typically associated with Agent, Donor, Speaker, Cogitator, Perceiver, and Experiencer. Note that, while there can be overlaps, Perceiver and Experiencer semantic roles are more associated with S than A in Brokpa.

In contrast, the O argument is typically associated with Target (Patient), Gift, Addressee, Thought, Impression, Stimulus, and E with the Recipient role. The semantic roles associated with A and S on the one hand and with O on the other are quite distinct. See in §4.5.3 for examples of argument-role association.

11.2 Marking peripheral arguments

The core of any clause consists of a predicate and one or two core arguments (as required by the predicate). It can be augmented by one or more PERIPHERAL ARGUMENTS, also known as 'obliques' or 'adjuncts', which are added to provide extra information, along the lines of Dixon (2021:3). A peripheral argument is marked by a case, akin to a core argument, or a postpositional relator, or by a combination of a relator and a case marker. As noted above, in a clause with unmarked constituents, ordering of phrasal constituents may provide a clue about the core arguments and/or peripheral arguments. Typically, the peripheral arguments in Brokpa are marked by the following cases: dative, instrumental, locative, allative, and ablative.

11.2.1 Spatial and temporal peripheral arguments

Spatial and temporal peripheral arguments in Brokpa are shown by case markers, relator nouns (§6.5), a combination of a relator and a case marker, or a combination of an adverb and a locative. Table 94 gives the markers of these peripheral arguments

including the cases, relators, and adverbs with a basic meaning referring to space, time, or both.

Table 94. Markers of spatial and temporal arguments in Brokpa

FORM	TYPE	MEANING	SPATIAL	TEMPORAL
=la	locative case	at, on, in	yes	yes
=næ	ablative case	from, since	yes	yes
=la, =te	allative case	towards	yes	no
naŋ	relator	in, at	yes	yes
bar=la	relator + locative	among, until	yes	yes
kyi=la	relator + locative	among, in	yes	no
tse=la, teŋ=la	relator + locative	on, upon	yes	no
naŋ=næ	relator + locative	amongst, from	yes	no
ya=la	adverb + locative	up	yes	no
ma=la	adverb + locative	down	yes	no
gaŋ(=la), ɕuŋ(=la), kap (=la)	relator (+ locative)	during	no	yes
sakai, sumke, tsʰuntsʰon	relator	until, till	yes	yes
ʔuntɕin, ʔunda	adverb	before	yes	yes
tɕʰitɕi(=la)	adverb (+locative)	after	yes	yes

Note that the locative case *=la* is polysemous with the dative and differential object marker (§11.1.4).

As discussed in §6.5, relators form a closed class of weakly grammaticalized nominal postpositions, with about a dozen members. The functions of the relators marking peripheral arguments indicating spatial, temporal, or both, relations either on their own or in combination with the locative case marker are discussed and exemplified in Chapter 6 under 'relators' in §§6.5.1 - 6.5.10. In this section I focus on the role of the local cases in specifying the spatial and/or temporal relations.

Dixon (2010a:119) distinguishes 'inner locative' and 'outer locative' as well as 'inner temporal' and 'outer temporal'. The inner locative is also referred to as 'inner peripherals', the outer locative and the outer temporal together as 'outer peripherals' (see also Dixon 2021:30-31). An inner peripheral argument provides spatial modification of the predicate; in contrast, with an outer peripheral argument there is no particular

association between the meaning of the marker and the meaning of the verb (Dixon 2021:30-31).

In Brokpa, there are markers specific to inner peripheral arguments and to outer peripheral arguments. An inner peripheral argument is shown by the locative case *=la*, and an inner peripheral argument may be shown by a relator plus the locative case *=la*. This same technique, employing just the locative or a combination of a relator and the locative, is used for specifying the spatial setting or temporal location of an outer peripheral argument. In a nutshell, both 'inner peripheral' and 'outer peripheral' arguments make choices from the same system of case markers and relators.

The locative/dative case enclitic *=la* marks the function and meaning of a peripheral NP including specifications such as 'at', 'on', 'in', etc. Classical Tibetan locative marker *<na>*, *<su>*, and *<ka>* can be heard sometimes in the speech of the speakers who received monastic education, but they do not appear in the everyday discourse of common native speakers.

The enclitic *=la* indicating spatial location of an NP, which can be in a peripheral argument slot within the clause, can be found in (428):

(428) a. kʰoŋ=gi goŋgo=**la**
3:PL=GEN threshold=LOC
'in their house'
Lit. 'at their threshold'

b. lumba tɕik=**la** dʱæ=næ
valley one=LOC stay-SEQ
'Having lived in the same village..'
Lit. 'By/after living in one valley'

c. ʔou=daŋ bom ɲí=ye kʰyim=**la** dʱok-pʰi=ʑik=**la**
boy=cntv girl two=EMPH house=LOC arrive-PERV=INDEF=LOC
'Around the time when the boy and the girl would have arrived (at) home'

d. nám + kʰa = **la** l̥a go-kʰu sa + kʰa = **la** ɖe
sky + mouth = LOC gods need-FUT.IMPERV earth + mouth = LOC ghost

go-kʰu
need-FUT.IMPERV
'We need gods in the sky and ghosts on the earth'

Sentences (428a)- (428d) show the enclitic *=la* indicating position of rest 'at', 'in', 'on' with the referent of the peripheral NP to which it is attached.

In sentences (428a)- (428d) above, the referents of the peripheral arguments stating spatial setting are inanimate nouns, but the referent of a spatial peripheral argument can also be animate or a noun associated with a human being:

(429) a. suipʰa naŋ = **la** der~der pʰrik~pʰrik gya
stomach RELAT:INSD = LOC IDEO~IDEO IDEO~IDEO do
'Growling inside the stomach'

b. muzi ɲóm = baʔ doŋ = **la** ŋo = ye tsʰa-ro
other other = PL RELAT:face = LOC face = EMPH heat-FINAL
'We will be ashamed in front of other (people)'
Lit. 'Our face will be heated in front of others'

c. tʰuk = **la** bap = daŋ ma-bap = ki tɕi dʑuŋ-na = ye...
mind:HON = LOC fall = CNTV NEG-fall = GEN what arise-COND = EMPH
'Whether it is to your liking or not...'
Lit. 'Even if it has fallen on your mind or not...'

The head of NP is human, as in (429b), or something associated with human, as in (429a); or it can be an abstract noun associated with human, as in (429c).

Examples of the locative enclitic *=la* specifying temporal location of a peripheral argument can be found in (430):

(430) a. ʔoti = gi dütsʰe = di = **la** dᶯok-sin...
DEM.PROX = GEN time = DEF = LOC arrive-SIM
'At this time of arrival...'
Lit. 'While arriving at this time...'

b. tsʰe ʔoti = gi ɲim = di = **la** den woti
date DEM.PROX = GEN day = DEF = LOC PART DEM.PROX

go:m = di = **la** ŋi Barchang kʰyoŋ-mi-yin-to
evening = DEF = LOC 1:PL:ERG Barchang bring-NOMZ-EGO-FINAL
'We will be bringing Barchang (mediation drink) on the evening of that day'

Moreover, spatial and temporal peripheral arguments can be marked by the ablative case *=næ* or its free variants *=læ* and *=yæ*. Typically, the ablative case enclitic *=næ* indicates a spatial source as well as a temporal source. When the ablative case indicates a spatial location it has the meaning corresponding to 'from', and when it marks a temporal location it has the meaning 'from' or 'since'. The ablative case indicating a spatial source can be found in (431):

(431) a. raŋ~raŋ + soso = gi yu:kʰa = **næ** ma = la tɕʰi = næ...
self~self + different = GEN village = ABL down = ALL go = SEQ
'Everybody went down from one's own village...'

b. ʔoti tɕʰu ga = **næ** tʰö-gu-yo-na
DEM.PROX river where = ABL come.out-FUT.IMPERV-EGO-FACT
'From where does this river come?'

c. la = **næ** tɕʰu tʰö-ti-na
mountain = ABL river come.out-PERV-FACT
'The river has originated from the mountain'

d. ʔou = di goŋgo sakai tɕʰi = næ te
boy = DEF doorstep RELAT:UNTIL go = SEQ PART

goŋgo = **næ** te: + dʱæ = næ yoŋ-ma-ɲæn = næ...
doorstep = ABL support + stay = SEQ come-NEG-listen = SEQ
'The boy comes upon the doorstep, and refuses to come in by putting his feet on the doorstep...'

Examples of the ablative case enclitic *=næ* indicating temporal location, occurring with an argument which can potentially be a peripheral argument include:

(432) a. daŋbo = **næ** ʔotɕin gyak-pi
olden.time = ABL like.this do-PERV
'We have been doing it like this since the olden times'

b. ŋim diriŋ=**næ** pʰa=la ŋi=gi woŋ+zin-ni-yin
day today=ABL DEM=ALL 1:PL=ERG power+take.hold.of-NOMZ-EGO
'From today onwards, we have booked you'

c. go:m tɕʰuze sum=**næ** ʑi sumke
evening hour three=ABL four RELAT:UNTIL
'From 3-4 p.m.'

d. tɕʰuze ŋá=i ɕu:=**næ**
hour five=GEN RELAT:after=ABL
'After five hours/from five o'clock'

The ablative case can indicate a path of motion with the meaning 'via, through':

(433) ŋa Paro=**næ** Merak=la yoŋ-zin Radhi=**næ** yoŋ-pʰi
1:SG Paro=ABL Merak=ALL come-SIM Radhi=ABL come-PERV
'While coming to Merak from Paro, I came via Radhi'

In sentence (433), there are three proper place names, two shown by the ablative enclitic *=næ* and one by the allative *=la*. The first NP with the ablative marking (Paro) is the spatial source from where the motion started. The second NP with the ablative marking (Radhi) is the path of motion to get to the final spatial destination (Merak) shown by the allative case.

Further, the ablative enclitic may occur with a demonstrative used as the head of the NP in a core argument function or used as an anaphoric pronoun of a spatial peripheral argument, e.g. *woyi=næ ma=la* (DEM=ABL down=ALL) 'down from there', *pʰa=yæ tsʰu=la* (that.side=ABL this.side=ALL) 'to this side from there', *ditɕʰo:=næ* (this.direction=ABL) 'from here'.

Finally, a spatial peripheral argument can be marked by the allative case. The allative case does not mark temporal peripheral arguments. In fact, the single case form *=la* covers both locative and allative meanings. Besides the enclitic *=la*, Brokpa has allative case marker *=te* ~ *=ta*. Note that an allative meaning is generally expressed with polysemous case marker *=la*. Both *=la* and *=te* in the allative function have the meaning 'to, towards'. Consider:

(434) a. ʔapa + ʔame = ge te pʰa = **te** tɕʰi = næ poŋpoŋ̣ + gya-zin...
father + mother = ERG PART there = ALL go = SEQ talk + do-SIM
'When the parents go to the other side and discuss...'

b. te bomo = gi kʰyim = **la** ɖo-zin...
PART girl = GEN house = ALL go-SIM
'So while going to the girl's house...'

c. kʰyo Trashigang = **la** soŋ
2:SG Trashigang = ALL go:IMP:CAN
'You go to Trashigang'

Note that when the enclitic *=la* occurs with a place name, it has to be identified either as the locative or the allative, depending on the semantics of the accompanying verb. For example, we know that *=la* has an allative meaning in (434b) and (434c) because the accompanying verb is a MOTION verb *ɖo* 'to go' in (434b), and its imperative form *soŋ* in (434c). If the accompanying verb of a spatial peripheral argument marked by the enclitic *=la* is from the REST type such as *dʱo* 'to stay/live/sit', then it has a locative meaning. Finally, as noted in §4.4.1.5, proper names of places are inherently locational and can be used as a peripheral argument with or without the locative or allative case.

11.2.2 Other peripheral arguments

This section examines peripheral arguments which are not related to space and time. The peripheral arguments that are not associated with space and time in Brokpa include instrumental, accompaniment, recipient, benefactive, purpose, perceiver, addressee, and topic. These peripheral arguments may be shown by a case marker, relator, lexical words (typically adverbs), or by a combination of these items. One or two peripheral arguments may be marked by the same morpheme.

11.2.2.1 Instrumental

The instrumental enclitic *=ge* marks an NP in peripheral function used as an instrument by the Agent role. The referent of the instrumental NP is typically inanimate, as in the two sentences in (435):

(435) a. [soŋompa=e]A [kʰara=**ge**]PERI:INST bar=la]O suk-tʰa-tɕæn
mendicant=ERG stick=INST crag=DAT prick-MIR-CONT

suk-tʰa-tɕæn
prick-MIR-CONT
'The mendicant kept prodding the rock face with the (walking) staff'

b. [ŋa=yi pʰrugu=ge]A [to:=∅]O [kʰimpu=**ge**]PERI:INST tɕʰui=næ
1:SG=GEN child=ERG food=ABS spoon=INST scoop=SEQ

za-yi
eat-IMPERV
'My child eats the food by picking it up with a spoon'

Along similar lines, the instrumental enclitic *=ge* marks a peripheral NP whose referent is a body part used as a tool or weapon by the Agent for carrying out the activity described by the predicate. The referent of the NP in instrumental function is the body part of an animate referent of the Agent in A function, as shown in the two sentences in (436):

(436) a. raŋ~raŋ+soso=ge den ʔou=daŋ bomo
self~self+different=ERG part boy=CNTV girl

ɲí [mik=**ke**]PERI:INST tʰoŋ-ro=ra me-na=ye
two eye=INST see-FINAL=FOC NEG.COP-COND=EMPH
'Even if the boy and the girl have not seen each other'
Lit. 'Even if the boy and the girl have not set eyes on each other'

b. dom=ge kʰo=raŋ=ge [senmo=**ge**]PERI:INST bræ=næ
bear=ERG 3:SG:MASC=EMPH=GEN claw=INST scratch=SEQ

luʔ sæ-duʔ
sheep kill-DIRECT
'The bear has killed the sheep by tearing with its claws'

Example (436a) is a reciprocal construction in which A and O arguments whose referents are human beings are interchanged. The Perceiver 'the boy' or 'the girl' uses their body part 'eye' as a means for carrying out the action of seeing the other person and is marked by the instrumental enclitic *=ge*. The referents of the core arguments, both A and O, in (436b) are higher animals. The referent of the A argument *dom* 'bear' employs its body part *senmo* 'claw', shown by instrumental *=ge*, as a weapon to carry out the activity of killing the *luʔ* 'sheep', the referent of the O argument.

Further, the instrumental case appears within some fixed expressions typically occurring in the predicate slot, as shown in the two sentences in (437):

(437) a. [ɲǽn + sen-kʰan = bak = kʰe]A [tʰuk = **kʰe**
ear:HON + listen:HON-NOMZ = PL = ERG mind:HON = INST

zöba + ʑeː + náŋ]PRED
patience + accept:HON + do:HON
'Those who listen, please forgive'
Lit. 'Those who listen, please forgive with the mind'

b. [lama = e]A [ʑæ = **ge** ʑeː-pʰi]PRED
lama = .ERG mouth:HON accept:HON-PERV
'The lama accepted/agreed'
Lit. 'The lama accepted/agreed with mouth'

The predicate of the clause in (437a) is realized by a fixed expression, *tʰuk = ke zöba + ʑeː-náŋ* (mind:HON = INST patience + accept:HON + do:HON) 'forgive' (lit. 'forgive with mind'). In the same vein, the predicate in (437b) is achieved by a fixed expression *ʑæ = ge ʑeː* (mouth = INST accept:HON) 'accept/agree' (lit. 'agree with mouth'). The predicate in (437a) has a noun *tʰuk* 'mind:HON' marked by the instrumental case expression-internally in (437a). Similarly, the predicate in (437b), contains a body part noun *ʑæ* 'mouth:HON' marked by instrumental case. Although these are originally noun incorporations representing verbal constructions, they have become fixed expressions, and can make up a complete clause.

11.2.2.2 Accompaniment

An Accompaniment peripheral argument can be shown by the lexeme *ɲám(bu)* 'together', or by the comitative *=daŋ*, or by both.

Examples of the morpheme *ɲám(bu)* marking Accompaniment peripheral argument include:

(438) a. te ŋa kʰoŋ ɲí **ɲámbu** dʱo-mi=di...
PART 1:SG 3:PL two with stay-NOMZ=DEF
'(The reason for) me living with the two of them is....'

b. bomo Yangzom lap-pʰi=ʑi? **ɲámbu** te ŋa=e
girl Yangzom tell-NOMZ=INDEF with PART 1:SG=ERG

ɲén+gya=næ...
marriage+do=SEQ
'I am married to a girl called Yangzom...'

The lexeme *ɲám(bu)* can occur with an NP whose head is a noun or a pronoun, as in (438a) or it can appear following a nominalized verb as in (438b).

Examples of the comitative *=daŋ* marking Accompaniment peripheral arguments include:

(439) a. te raŋ=**daŋ** ɲam-bi=gi ɲén=daŋ dʱou
PART SELF=COM be.equal-NOMZ=GEN relative=CNTV friend
'So, relatives and friends who are equal with me (in age)'

b. dü=ki pʰogyur=**daŋ** tun=næ...
time=GEN change=COM to.comply=SEQ
'In accordance with changing time...'

c. wo=**daŋ** tun-zin...
DEM=COM to.comply-SIM
'While complying with that...'

An Accompaniment peripheral argument can also be shown by a juxtaposition of the comitative *=daŋ* and the lexeme *ɲám(bu)* as in (439):

(440) ŋe=raŋ kyesp^{h}o=**daŋ ɲámbu** ɖewa+gyak-pi=**daŋ**...
1:PL=EMPH man=COM with relationship+do-NOMZ=CNTV
'After developing relationship with us, the men,....'

Note that the enclitic *=daŋ* has several functions. It is used as a comitative case marker, marking Accompaniment peripheral argument as illustrated by its first occurrence in the three sentences in (439), and in (440). The enclitic *=daŋ* is also used as a coordinator of NPs with meaning 'and' as indicated by its second occurrence in (439a). Note that *=daŋ* also coordinates clauses with the meaning 'after, as soon as', as in the clause-final position in (440) (see also Chapter 15).

Since the enclitic *=daŋ* marks Accompaniment peripheral function, it is described as an 'associative case marker' in other related languages including Tibetan (see Tournadre and Dorje 2003; Tournadre 2010), Dongwang (see Bartee 2007), and Ladhaki (see Koshal 1979), among others. In Brokpa, as noted in Chapter 9, the enclitic *=daŋ* is treated as a case marker as well as a connective or coordinator, linking two or more simple NPs within a complex NP or linking two or more clauses at a discourse level.

11.2.2.3 Recipient

A Recipient peripheral argument of a ditransitive verb is shown by the dative case *=la*. The referent of a Recipient role is typically a Human being or it can be a higher animal. Examples of Recipient peripheral argument marked by the dative *=la* include:

(441) a. [k^{h}o=yi mar]GIFT:O [ŋa=e]DONOR:A [Kezang=**la**]RECIPT
3:SG:MASC=GEN butter 1:SG=ERG Kezang=DAT

ter-gi
give-IMPERV
'I will be giving his butter to Kezang'

b. [ŋa=e=k^{h}e]DONOR:A [k^{h}yo=**la**]RECIPT [yigu=ʑi?]GIFT:O taŋ-yo
1:SG=ERG=ERG 2:SG=DAT letter=INDEF send-EGO
'I have sent a letter to you'

c. [kʰo = raŋ = **la**]RECIPT tɕinam [duŋar = di = su]GIFT:O
3:SG:MASC = EMPH = LOC what.to.say suffering = DEF = PL

ka:-go-ro
impose-OBLIG-FINAL
'We have to give him responsibilities'
Lit. 'We have to impose sufferings on him'

Sentence (441a) has three semantic roles, Donor in A function, Gift in O function, and the Beneficiary of the 'give' verb placed in a peripheral function. The referent of the Recipient role in peripheral function is shown by the dative case. The verb *taŋ* in Brokpa can have several interpretations including that of a MOTION or of a GIVING verb 'to take/send', AFFECT verb 'to hit/strike' or a light verb 'to do'. In example (441b), the verb *taŋ* is treated as a GIVING type with Donor in A function, Gift in O function, and Recipient in a peripheral function. The second person personal pronoun *kʰyo* which is the Recipient in peripheral function, of relevance here, takes the dative case *=la*.

The A argument in example (441c) is not stated, but, based on the textual context, the parents of the bride and groom and their relatives are talking to each other. Someone suggests that it is about time that the parents delegated responsibilities to their kids. The third person pronoun *kʰo* is the Recipient role which goes into a peripheral function, marked by the dative case *=la*.

11.2.2.4 Benefactive

A Benefactive peripheral argument can be marked by a combination of the lexeme *don(da)* which means 'meaning' and the dative enclictic *=la*. The lexeme *don(da)* functions as a weakly grammaticalized morpheme, like that of a relator with the meaning of 'purpose'. The relator *don(da)* and the dative *=la* may optionally be preceded by the genitive *=gi*. Examples are given in (442):

(442) a. muzi=gi **donda=la** raŋ=gi po:
other=GEN RELAT:PURP=DAT SELF=ERG finger.beating

p^heakpa=ɕi? taŋ-ma-ɲoŋ-ŋai
CL:flap=INDEF do-NEG-experience-PERV
'We have not given you the slightest beating for (the sake of) others'

b. ʔoti **don=la** laklen-t^hap-ku
DEM.PROX RELAT:meaning=DAT applicatiion-put.to.use-FUT.IMPERV
'(I) will use it for this'

c. kho=e Karma(=i) **don=la** dʑa+ta-gi-yo
3:SG:MASC=ERG Karma(=GEN) RELAT:PURP=DAT spy-IMPERV-ego
'He is spying (someone) for Karma'

d. ŋa=e muzi(=gi) **donda=la** poŋpoŋ gyak-pi
1:SG=ERG other(=GEN) RELAT:meaning=DAT talk do-PERV
'I talked for them'

As will be shown in the next section (§11.2.2.5), the dative enclitic *=la* also functions as a marker of Purpose peripheral argument. The dative case also marks a purposive supporting clause on its own or in combination with the relator *don(da)* 'meaning, purpose'. The clause linking function will be explored in Chapter 15.

11.2.2.5 Purpose

A Purpose peripheral argument in Brokpa is also shown by the dative case *=la*. Examples (443a) and (443b) show the dative case on a peripheral NP of a MOTION verb *ɖo* 'to go':

(443) a. ya=la Jomokora=la ɖo-yi
up=ALL Jomokora=DAT go-IMPERV
'We are going up there on the Jomokora (pilgrimage)'

b. ŋa söŋnom=la ɖo-yi
1:SG alm=DAT go-IMPERV
'I am going for alms'

Note that the dative *=la* indicating purpose applies to an oblique, local NP, of an intransitive predicate.

11.2.2.6 Perceiver

A peripheral argument whose referent is the Perceiver or the person to whom something is shown is marked by the dative case. Examples are given in (444):

(444) a. tɕala ʑænma=**la** ton-ni
thing other=DAT show-PERV
'(I) showed the thing to others'

b. [lópon=**la**] güʑap gyop
teacher=DAT respect do:IMP:CAN
'Show respect to the teacher'

In both sentences in (444a) and (444b), the subject argument is not stated. There are two other arguments in non-subject function in each clause: something shown in O function is in absolutive case; and the perceiver or the person to whom that thing is shown is in peripheral function shown by the dative case.

11.2.2.7 Addressee

An Addressee role in Brokpa is typically included as a peripheral argument, shown by the dative case *=la*. Brokpa uses *=lu* (same as Dzongkha) in free variation with *=la* in dative/locative/allative functions. Verbs from the semantic types such as SPEAKING typically require an additional semantic role in peripheral argument function. The dative case marks such an additional or second argument which is prototypically associated with the semantic role of Addressee, Recipient (§11.2.2.3), or Perceiver (§11.2.2.6).

Examples of Addressee peripheral argument marked by the dative case *=la* include:

(445) a. [dʑo: + kæ ɕe-k^{h}an = ba? = k^{h}e]SPEAKER:A [Tibetan = gi lo
Tibet + language known-NOMZ:AGTV = PL = ERG Tibetan = GEN talk

naŋ = la]MEDIUM
RELAT:INSD = LOC

te [mo = **la** = ye]ADDRE [tɕ^{h}e]MESG:O ʑu-go-ro
PART 3:SG:FEM = DAT = EMPH little tell:HON-OBLIG-FINAL

da
PART
'Those who know Tibetan must talk to her a little bit in Tibetan'

b. [lale = k^{h}e]SPEAKER:A [ʔou = **la** = ye]ADDRE [tɕik]MESG:O
some = ERG boy = DAT = EMPH one

ɖi-ta-go-ɦioŋ
ask-see-OBLIG-POSSIB
'Someone might have to at least try to ask something of the boy'

c. [ʔou = daŋ bom ɲí = **la** = ye]ADDRE [k^{h}i = ba? = k^{h}e]SPEAKER:A
boy = CNTV girl two = DAT = EMPH 2:SG = PL = ERG

[k^{h}a = daŋ lábdʑa = ʑi?]MESG:O gya-go
mouth = CNTV advice = INDEF do-OBLIG
'You all must give advice to the bride and groom'

In example (445a), the Addressee *mo* (3:SG:FEM) is placed in the peripheral function marked by the dative *=la*. Similarly, the Addressee peripheral argument 'boy/groom' in (445b) and 'bride and groom' in (445c) are in peripheral functions marked by the dative case *=la*.

11.2.2.8 Topic

A Topic peripheral argument referring to a specific area of talk is shown by *kor(=næ)* which is the relator *kor* 'about, concerning' optionally followed by the ablative enclitic *=næ*. The relator plus ablative, *kor=næ*, may be preceded by the genitive *=gi*. Examples are provided in (446):

(446) a. ʔoti=næ da ɲén=**gi** **kor=næ** lo:n
DEM.PROX=ABL PART marriage=GEN RELAT:about=ABL again:ABL

ma=te
down=ALL
'Again of/about marriage from here onwards'

b. ŋe=raŋ=ge da tɕi **kor=næ** ʑu-ma
1:SG=EMPH=ERG now what RELAT:about=ABL say:HON-MIR

se-na
tell-COND
'If I tell about/of what I will speak now'

c. lam+lukse tɕak^{h}an~tɕak^{h}an yo-ti nam ʔoti
path+tradition how~how EXIST-NOMZ Q DEM.PROX

kor=næ
RELAT:about=ABL
'Which of all traditions are there? Of/about those'

As can be seen in (446b) and (446c), it is not obligatory for the genitive *=gi* to occur with a Topic peripheral argument.

11.3 Argument marking: summary

In a transitive clause involving two core arguments, A NP has overt marking and O NP is left unmarked. The S NP of an intransitive clause is typically left unmarked, in the same way as O NP of a transitive clause. The main technique for marking core arguments in Brokpa is using a system of case enclitics (see §9.1).

If there is a single core argument in an intransitive clause, that will more likely be S. Typically, the S argument will be zero-marked (absolutive case).

If there are two core arguments in a transitive clause, one will more likely be A and the other O. Typically, A will be marked by ergative case and O zero-marked (absolutive case).

If there are three arguments in an extended transitive clause, they will more likely be A, O, and E. Typically, A will be marked by ergative case, O by absolutive case, and E will be marked by dative case.

If there are several non-A arguments in a transitive clause or an extended transitive clause, one will more likely be O shown by zero absolutive marking and the other non-A argument(s) will have some kind of marking, grammatical or lexical or both, to show that they are in peripheral functions (§11.2.2).

In addition to the morphological device of case marking, Brokpa employs constituent order for coding grammatical relations. If a transitive clause has unmarked constituents, in particular if clause has no overtly marked A, the left-most NP typically is the A NP.

The ergative marking on A argument is due to the syntactic motivations. The referent of A argument, marked by the ergative case enclitic *=ge*, may or may not have control over the activity described by a verb. For example, the subject of the transitive, but non-volitional, verbs also take the ergative *=ge* marking but the referent of the A argument has no control over the activity, as can be illustrated with the verb *tʰoŋ* 'to see'.

If the referent of an S argument has control over an activity or state, the S argument takes *=ge* marking, the same form as the ergative marker on A argument. However, an S argument takes the *=ge* marking only when its predicate describes a volitional activity or event; therefore, the *=ge* marking on S functions as a marker of volitional control and not as the ergative case marker. The *=ge* marking on S is motivated by several discourse-pragmatic functions including contrastive focus, assertion, epistemic authority, akin to the dative marking on O argument.

The criteria for identifying the subject in Brokpa includes its ability to be ellipsed in medial clauses, imperative constructions, control properties in reflexive and reciprocal constructions, and constituent order.

Apart from the grammatical properties, the grammatical relations A, S, O, and E can be distinguished on the basis of the semantic roles they relate to. As examined in Chapter 4 under verbs and in this chapter, the subject arguments A and S are typically associated with Agent, Donor, Speaker, Cogitator, Perceiver, and Experiencer. An O argument is typically associated with Target (Patient), Gift, Addressee, Thought, Impression, Stimulus, and E with the Recipient role. Note that, while there can be overlap, Perceiver and Experiencer semantic roles are more associated with S than A in Brokpa.

As seen in §11.2, a peripheral argument is added to provide an extra information to the one already expressed by the predicate plus core argument(s), just like a subordinate clause. I have distinguished a number of peripheral arguments in Brokpa, on the basis of what additional information they provide. The foremost peripheral arguments are spatial and temporal ones. Other peripheral arguments include Instrumental, Accompaniment, Recipient, Benfactive, Purpose, Perceiver, Addressee, and Topic.

A peripheral argument is marked by a case marker, like a core argument, or by a relator or by a combination of a relator and a case marker. In particular, a spatial peripheral argument can be marked by the locative case *=la*, ablative *=næ*, allative *=te*. Similarly, a temporal peripheral argument is typically marked by the locative *=la*. As shown in Chapter 6 under 'Relators', a spatial and temporal one can be shown by a relator such as *naŋ* 'RELAT:INSD' optionally followed by the locative case.

An Instrumental peripheral argument is marked by the instrumental case enclitic *=ge*, the same form as the ergative case. An Accompaniment peripheral argument is shown by the comitative *=daŋ* or by the lexeme *ɲám(bu)* 'together', or by a combination of these two— *=daŋ ɲám(bu)*. Most other peripheral arguments including Recipient, Benefactive, Purpose, Perceiver, and Addressee are shown by the dative case *=la*, the same form as the locative case. Some peripheral arguments such

as Benefactive and Purposive may employ an additional lexical word *don(da)* 'meaning/purpose' besides the dative case. Finally, a Topic peripheral argument may be marked by the relator *kor* 'about, concerning' optionally followed by the ablative enclitic *=næ*. The genitive *=gi* may be inserted between the Topic NP and the relator plus ablative, *kor=næ*.

Chapter 12

Predicate structure

This chapter deals with the predicate structure in Brokpa. The structure of a grammatical word with a verbal stem in Brokpa was discussed and illustrated in Chapter 3. As a matter of fact, a predicate is the same as a verbal grammatical word in Brokpa. This is because the members of other word classes cannot occupy the predicate slot without being verbalised. In this chapter I also examine the structure of the verb phrase (VP) in Brokpa, which may or may not be the same as a predicate. I employ the term 'verb phrase' to refer to a unit that includes a verb stem and its modifiers excluding any core NPs, such as O NP or E, (See Dixon 2003, 2010b:51-52, 2019:54-58) for discussions of the notions of 'verb', 'predicate', and 'verb phrase'; and see Aikhenvald (2015a:153-54) for discussion on verbal word and the structure of verb phrase in different languages).

The VP structure in Brokpa can be described in terms of the slots shown in Figure 46.

There is one slot for the head of the VP (Slot 3), one for the pre-head lexical modifiers (Slot 1), and another slot for prefixes (Slot 2). In the post-head positions, there is one slot for the markers of adjoined or dependent clauses (Slot 4), and one for the valency-changing morphemes (Slot 5). Slot 6 is filled by a host of auxiliaries making modality distinctions,[1] and Slot 7 by the markers of aspect including composition and phase of activity. Further, there is one slot for the markers of different kinds of knowledge (egophoricity, evidentiality, mirativity), which have mostly gram-

[1] In the practical orthography, auxiliaries are written together with the verb stem separated by the morpheme boundary marker (-), akin to suffixes, since they constitute one grammatical word with the stem.

1. Manner modifiers (§5.2)
2. Polarity (negation) prefixes (§14.6)
3. Head of the verb phrase (root/stem)
4. Adjoined/dependent clause markers (§15.2)
5. Valency-changing (causative) suffix (§8.4.3)
6. Modal auxiliaries (§13.3)
7. Aspect suffixes (§13.1)
8. Knowledge suffixes (§13.4)
9. Clause-final markers (suffixes)
10. Number enclitics (§9.2)
11. Enclitics marking (in)definiteness (§9.3)
12. Case/genitive enclitics (§9.1)
13. Enclitics marking emphasis, contrastive focus (§16.2)
14. Enclitics marking quotation, reported evidentiality, assertion (§13.4.2.3, §16.3)

Figure 46. The verb phrase structure in Brokpa

maticalized from copulas and existential verbs (Slot 8)[2], and, there is one slot for the clause-final markers, or the markers of the main clause, which typically attach to the final element of the predicate (Slot 9). Each slot can have sub-slots; that is, two or more members from a single slot may occur simultaneously and form sub-parts. The sub-slots are not shown in the verb phrase structure in Figure 46 because their order within a particular slot is not always fixed. The co-occurrence of markers, associated with a single category, within a predicate will be discussed under the relevant categories, especially under non-spatial setting in Chapter 13.

Slots 3 and 4, optionally with pre-head modifiers (slots 1 and 2), typically constitute the predicate of a dependent clause or a supporting clause, also known as a

[2] Like a modal auxiliary, copulas functioning as grammaticalized markers of knowledge are treated as a suffix and written as part of the same grammatical word with the head, separated by the same morpheme boundary marker (-). When a copula is in copula function, i.e., as a copula predicate, it is stressed and forms an independent grammatical word (and a phonological word), and therefore it is written separately. It is easy to recognize whether a copula is functioning as a copula predicate or as a grammaticalized marker. When functioning as a copula predicate, there will be no verbal predicate in the clause and the copula will be stressed with an option of inserting a pause before it. When functioning as a grammaticalized marker of evidentiality/egophoricity, it is de-stressed, and there is no pause between the preceding element and the copula. This is an instance of parallel development in grammaticalization – where phonological depletion accompanies grammaticalization.

non-finite clause or a medial clause. Disregarding the slots for enclitics (Slot 10-14), all the slots in Figure 46, minus Slot 4 and Slot 1, typically constitute the predicate of a main clause or a focal clause, sometimes referred to as a final clause.

Note that Slot 1 (manner modifiers) is filled by lexical items, and is outside of verbal grammatical word. The boundaries of the grammatical word in Brokpa extend from Slot 2 to Slot 9. Further note that, as will be discussed under negation in Chapter 14, Slot 2 for polarity holds only when the predicate is a simple one realized by a single lexical verb root. If a predicate is a complex one, the polarity can be realized in different ways (see Chapter 14).

In addition to one slot for the manner modifiers and eight slots for the grammatical words, a number of clitics marking various grammatical and discourse-pragmatic functions can occur within a VP, attaching to the last component, especially if the VP involves a nominalizing suffix which also codes perfective aspect. These include Slot 10 for plural enclitic *=ba?*, Slot 11 for enclitics marking definiteness *=di*, indefiniteness *=tɕi?* (and their allomorphs), and topic *=ni*. Further, Slot 12 is filled by case enclitics such as ergative *=ge* (either in their case role in linking complement clauses to main clauses, or in other clause-linking functions) and the genitive *=gi* (in coordinating clauses), Slot 13 is filled by enclitics marking emphasis *=ye*, the focus *=raŋ*. Finally, Slot 14 is occupied by enclitics marking quotation and/or reported evidentiality (*=se*), assertive/strong imperative (*=sa*, sometimes reduced to *=s*). These enclitics (Slots 10-14) do not form part of the verbal grammatical word because they are less selective and can be added to a variety of hosts, more frequently to NPs.

It goes without saying that a VP head may not be modified by all the elements, both lexical and grammatical modifiers listed in Figure 46, in a single sentence. When the head of a VP is accompanied by two or more modifiers, their order within a VP is as presented in Figure 46.

It is important to mention a couple of caveats in connection with some elements that go to make up a VP and their order within it. The order of most elements is fairly

rigid, as shown in Figure 46; however, some modifiers can occupy different positions. For example, the manner modifiers may also occur in the post-head modifier slot, following Slot 9. However, it is not shown in the VP structure because the pre-head slot is considered the basic slot for the manner modifiers. A speaker may mention a manner adverb following the VP head and other grammatical elements, only if they have missed it in the first utterance, as a kind of self-repair; or when they want to add an increased emphasis on the manner of doing something. Otherwise, it is more common for a manner adverb to be placed before the VP head. Note that when it is a self-repair, it would not be part of the same verb phrase; instead, it will it be an afterthought characterized by a pause.

The second caveat is the slot for negation, as pointed out above. Negation in a predicate is always prefixed to the head verb when the head of the VP is a simple verb root, hence Slot 2 immediately precedes the head. However, when the head of a VP is a complex verb stem formed by a noun incorporation or a serial verb construction, negation is expressed by placing the negation marker between an incorporated noun and the verbal base in case of a noun incorporation and between the two verbs in a verb root serialization. The negation may also be placed between the main verb and an auxiliary verb when there are modal auxiliaries following the head within a VP (see Chapter 14 on 'negation').

Note, however, that a negation has a clausal scope but it always applies to the predicate, and it is marked only once in the predicate irrespective of whether it occurs at the beginning of the predicate or predicate-internally. There is suggestive evidence that Brokpa uses an infixation to code negation even on some monomorpemic lexical words, e.g. *ʔeɕin* 'good' vs *ʔe**ma**ɕin* 'bad'. Likewise, some fully lexicalized words have an inherent negation, e.g. *pe**ma**siti* 'unrivalled'. I will get back to negation in Chapter 14 and also briefly in this chapter under noun incorporation and serial verb construction.

As noted above, two or more modifiers associated with a single overall category may code finer distinctions and co-occur within a VP, forming sub-slots within the

same slot. For example, two different types of modalities such as a deontic modality of obligation and an epistemic modality of possibility may co-occur following the head of a VP, forming subparts within the single modality slot. Only one slot, the overall category slot, is shown in the VP structure because their order is not entirely rigid.

I will now examine the possibilities for how a VP is made up in terms of the slots given in Figure 46. Note that the grammatical markers, realized as clitics, filling slots 10-14, will be discussed under their relevant grammatical categories.

12.1 Slot 3: The head of verb phrase

Slot 3 is filled by the head of VP which can either be a simple verb root or a complex verb stem. A complex verb stem can be formed by a noun incorporation or a continuous single-word serial verb construction.

Recall from Chapter 4 that a verb in Brokpa has to be either in an imperative form or combine with a grammatical element to be in the citation form. If the verb stem is in the imperative form, then Slot 3 alone can be the predicate and all other slots are optional; that is, a verb stem in the imperative form alone can make up the full predicate of a main clause, as shown in bold type in (447a) and (447b):

(447) a. kʰyo ʔupʰi ri=la [**zo**]V:VP:PRED
2SG DEM.DIST mountain=LOC climb:IMP
'You climb that mountain'

b. ŋe=i lu?=di te kʰyo=raŋ lo?=la
1SG=GEN sheep=DEF PART 2SG=REFL RELAT:side=LOC

[**koŋ**]V:VP:PRED
beat:IMP
'You whip my sheep (when they get) on your own side'

Otherwise, a verb root has to combine with any one of the pre-head or the post-head modifiers to make up a full VP. In the citation or elicitation form, the verbs always appear with the suffix *-pi* or its allomorph (see Chapter 13) which functions

as a nominalizer as well as a marker of perfective aspect. In a coherent discourse, a simple verb root may take any of the modifiers and be in the citation form, as shown in bold type:

(448) a. ŋa Tashigang=la [**tɕʰi-ti**]VP:PRED
1SG Tashigang=ALL go:PAST-PERV
'I went to Tashigang'

b. kʰi=ge tɕʰaro-ma-gya-na su=e [**gya-gu**]VP:PRED
2PL=ERG friend-NEG-do-COND who=ERG do-IMPERV
'If you do not help, who will?'

The head verb takes the nominalizer/perfective allomorph *-ti* in (448a) and the imperfective suffix *-gu* ~ *-gyu* (448b). In both sentences, the VP and the predicate are the same.

Further, a copula clause will have a copula verb as its predicate. A copula verb does not take any modifiers but constitutes a predicate on its own taking two core arguments, Copula Subject (CS) and Copula Complement (CC). Copula clauses will be discussed under 'Clause Types' in Chapter 14.

Only verbs can function as heads of transitive and intransitive predicates. Nouns and adjectives cannot be heads of a predicate.[3]However, nouns and adjectives can participate in a predicate. In order for a noun or an adjective to be in the predicate, they have to be first verbalized by means of a noun incorporation or a light verb construction. Note that noun incorporation has a word-class changing function.

Finally, the head slot can also be filled by a serial verb construction. Noun incorporation which constitutes a complex verb stem, filling the head slot within a VP, is discussed below in §12.10, light verb constructions in §12.10.4, and serial verb constructions in §12.11.

[3] Note that a copula verb plus an adjective in the CC slot in a copula clause is not analyzed as a (nominal/adjectival) predicate.

12.2 Slot 1: The manner modifiers

Slot 1 of the VP in Brokpa is filled by the manner adverbs (see Chapter 6). It can be a lexical adverb, as in (449a), or a manner adverb derived typically from adjectives, as in (449b), or an entire clause functioning as a manner adverb, as in (449c). However, when a VP involves a manner modifier, the predicate is not equal to the VP because the manner modifier constitutes a separate grammatical word:

(449) a. mwoitɕup^{h}u = ba? [**ʔuntɕin** [gyuk-ma-go-p^{h}i-na]PRED]VP ʔoyi
woman = PL ahead run-NEG-OBLIG-PERV-FACT up.there

tse = la
RELAT:TIP = LOC
'The womenfolk do not have to run ahead, up there'

b. kyesp^{h}o yin-ne denæ [**zapzap-gyan** [ɖo-go-p^{h}i-na]PRED]VP
man COP.EGO-CNSV then careful-ADV go-OBLIG-PERV-FACT
'Then, even men have to go carefully'

c. k^{h}o = di [**ŋo-ma-ts^{h}a-yi-gyan**]ADV.CL [lap-t^{h}ob-go-na]PRED]VP
3SG.MASC = DEF face-NEG-heat-NOMZ-ADV say-ABIL-OBLIG-FACT
'He can/must talk without feeling shy'

As shown by the syntactic bracketing in all the sentences in (449), the predicate in Brokpa will be a VP minus the manner modifier. However, one has to note that the VP and the predicate will be the same in the absence of a pre-head lexical or a clausal modifier.

Slot 1 can also be filled by the so-called intensifiers. An intensifier modifies an adjective, another adverb or a verb stem. When an intensifier directly modifies a verb, it is the sole pre-head lexical modifier of the head, as in (450a). When an intensifier modifies a manner adverb which, in turn, modifies the head verb, there will be a sequence of two pre-head lexical modifiers within a VP, as shown in bold types in (450b). Akin to modal auxiliaries, the two intensifiers occupy two different sub-slots within the same pre-head modifier slot:

(450) a. [**násmeti** [ʑu-ma]PRED]VP me
very say:HON-NOMZ NEG.COP
'(I) don't have much to say'

b. den [**násmeti geɕiŋgepʰu-gyan** [tɕʰo-pʰi-yoŋ-gu]PRED]VP
PART very detailed-ADV make-NOMZ-POTEN-IMPERV
'It will be made very elaborately'

Note that an intensifier may also modify an adjective functioning as a copula complement. An intensifier precedes the lexical adjective it modifies, which is typically followed by the lexical and/or grammatical modifiers such as a number word or a marker of indefiniteness, e.g. *násmeti ɲånbu=ʑi? yo* (very melodious=INDEFCOP) 'It is very melodious'. When an intensifier occurs within a predicate, it is optionally followed by an adverb and obligatorily followed by the head verb which takes grammatical modifiers associated with a verb such as aspect and modality markers. As discussed in § 5.1.2.2 and §5.2.4, and as shown here, an intensifier displays different patterns of behavior than other modifiers and form a subclass of adverbs.

Recall from Chapter §5.2.1 that the manner adverbs in Brokpa are typically derived from adjectives by means of the suffix *-gyan*. However, in connected speech, there is a strong tendency for this adverbial suffix to be dropped and the duty of an adverb is fulfilled by an adjective in its bare form. In that circumstance, an intensifier superficially modifies an adjective within a VP, e.g. *námisami yakpo mi-ɖan-na* (very good NEG-remember-MIR) 'I can't remember very well'.

12.3 Slot 2: The polarity markers

Slot 2 of the VP is associated with negative polarity. It is filled by a negative prefix, as in (451a), or by a sequence of an emphatic negative intensifier *man-* and a negation prefix *ma-* or *mi-*. The occurrence of the emphatic negative intensifier is contingent upon the presence of a negation marker. That is, in order for the head of a VP (Slot 3) to include the emphatic negative intensifier, it must first be negated with a negative prefix. The emphatic negative intensifier *man-* is added to a negation prefix for

further emphasis, and the two together create a meaning similar to 'never' in English. Consider:

(451) a. da bomo=di=ge [**ma**-ɲæn+dʱæ-nan]VP:PRED...
PART girl=DEF=CONTROL NEG-listen+stay-COND
'Now if the girl does not listening (agreeing)...'

b. ʔo [**man-ma**-zæ-pʰi]VP:PRED
DEM.PROX EMPH.NEG-NEG-eat-PERV
'(I) never ate this'

The predicate in (451a) is negated with the prefix *ma-*, and in (451b) the negated head verb is preceded by the emphatic negative intensifier *man-*. The emphatic negative intensifier and the negative prefix occupy two different sub-slots within a single slot for the polarity distinction (Slot 2). The emphatic negative intensifier *man-* is further discussed under 'double marking of negation' in Chapter 14.

12.4 Slot 4: The markers of adjoined clauses

Slot 4 plus Slot 3, with optional Slots 1 and 2, constitute the predicate of an adjoined or a dependent clause. The suffixes occupying this slot apply directly to the verb stem and typically function as markers of adverbial subordinate clauses or clause chains. In other words, these suffixes are medial verb forms. Note that Brokpa has a medial-main verb clause chain, commonly referred to as 'bridging linkage' or tail-head linkage (see, for example, Longacre 2007). This means that, in Brokpa, adjoined dependent clauses precede the main clause.

This slot is mutually exclusive with all other post-head slots; that is, when a suffix from Slot 4 occurs, no other post-head modifiers occur within a VP. In other words, Slot 3 (head verb) plus the Slot 4 constitutes the predicate of a dependent clause. The markers filling this slot include the sequential *=nœ* marking medial clauses in a clause chain, and the suffix *-na(n)* marking conditional clauses. This slot is also frequently

filled by the simultaneous suffix *-zin* marking temporal clauses, specifically relative time with the sense of 'while', 'when', 'at the time of', etc. While the marking of different adverbial clauses will be formally treated under 'clause linking' in Chapter 15, I will also briefly deal with the frequent medial verb forms *=nœ*, *-zin*, and somewhat less frequent medial verb form *=te* under the 'non-spatial setting' in Chapter 13. Here I provide an example of one of these suffixes filling a slot within a VP:

(452) [kyesp^{h}o=ba? [ʔuntɕin [t^{h}ö+ga-**nan**]PRED]VP]SC den [ʔama=ba?=la [p^{h}en
man=PL ahead emerge+go-COND PART lady=PL=DAT fine

ka:-go-na]VP:PRED]MC
impose-OBLIG-FACT
'If the men emerge (arrive) before women do, then a fine has to be imposed on the women'

In (452), the subordinating morpheme *-nan* which signals conditionality is attached to the head of the VP in the adjoined clause. The predicate of this conditional clause is formed by the adverb *ʔuntɕin* 'ahead, before' (Slot 1), the head of the VP (Slot 3) realized by a serial verb, *t^{h}ö+ga* (emerge+go) 'emerge', and a marker of subordinating clause (Slot 4).

12.5 Slot 5: The markers of valency-changing derivations

Brokpa morphology does not allow applicative, antipassive, or passive valency-changing derivations. Brokpa has causative construction, a valency-changing derivation applied to a verb within a predicate. The syntactic aspect of causative construction was explored in Chapter 8. In this section I will illustrate the slot the causitivizer occupies within the verb phrase in Brokpa. In terms of wordhood, the causativizer *-tɕuk* ~ *-tɕu?* may be treated as an auxiliary, and not as a suffix, because it can also be negated like a modal auxiliary. Examples of the causative auxiliary occurring within a VP include:

(453) a. Ama Jomo = ge mákpon = baʔ = la taɖö [taŋ-**tɕuk**-pi]VP:PRED
Ama.Jomo = ERG army.general = horse.racing do-CAUS-PERV
'Ama Jomo made army generals do horse racing'

b. da kʰoŋ = la [ɖænba + tsʰor-**tɕuk-ko**-ro]VP:PRED
now 3PL = DAT mindfulness + feel-CAUS-OBLIG-FINAL
'Now we have to make them realize'

c. kʰo = raŋ kʰo = raŋ = la duŋar [kʰur-**tɕuk-ko**-ro]VP:PRED
3SG-REFL 3SG-REFL = DAT worry carry-CAUS-OBLIG-FINAL
'We must make them bear responsibilities'
Lit. 'They themselves must be led to carry worries'

In (453a), the causative marker *-tɕuk* occurs immediately after the head verb, realized by a simple verb stem, and in (453b), the causitivizer follows the complex verb stem, formed by a noun incorporation, as the head of VP. The causativizer and a modal auxiliary may occur simultaneously, in the given order as shown in bold type in (453c). Note that some non-spatial settings such as continuous or progressive aspect may be coded by means of serial verbs, in addition to the fully grammaticalized markers.

12.6 Slot 6: The modal auxiliaries

Slot 6 is filled by the auxiliaries coding a number of irrealis modalities, both epistemic and deontic, as in (454a). This slot can be filled by an auxiliary coding a degree of certainty, as in (454b). In addition, a modal auxiliary and an auxiliary expressing a degree of certainty may co-occur, filling two different sub-slots within the single modal auxiliary slot (Slot 5), as in (454c):

(454) a. da mo [tsaː-**go**]VP:PRED
PART 3SG:FEM search-OBLIG
'So we have to hire her'

b. muzi = ge [dʑin-**ɦioŋ**]VP:PRED
other.ERG = ERG give-POTEN
'They might give'

c. ŋi [ɖo-**go**-**ɦioŋ**]VP:PRED wái
1PL go-OBLIG-POTEN INTJ
'Oh, we might have to go'

As can be seen in (454c), the auxiliary *-go* marking obligation modality and the auxiliary *-ɦioŋ* coding potential modality occur together within a single modal category slot. Note that modal auxiliaries typically occur in main clauses, and they can occur in some types of non-main clauses such as the conditional clauses. However, it is not possible for a modal auxiliary to occur in the predicate of some non-main clauses such as medial clauses within a clause chain. For example, *ʔoti gya-go-na* (DEM.PROX do-OBLIG-COND) "If this has to be done..." is possible, but **ʔoti gya-go=næ* (DEM.PROX do-OBLIG=SEQ) is not.

12.7 Slot 7: The aspect markers

Slot 7 is filled by the suffixes coding information on non-spatial settings including aspect and phase of activity. A verb stem taking these various morphological markers is typically the predicate of a main clause because the predicate of a medial clause would usually be deficient in many of these categories.

Brokpa makes a formal distinction between a perfective and an imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect is coded by the same suffix as the grammatical nominalizer and its allomorphs. There is a designated grammaticalized marker for imperfective aspect. All markers associated with aspectual or phasal category occupy Slot 7 of the VP in Brokpa.

An aspect marker may apply directly to the verb stem, as in (455a), or to an auxiliary, as in (455b):

(455) a. rup gan+me+na tɕʰospa=e
money where+NEG.COP+FACT dharma.practitioner=ERG

[tʰop-**kyu**]VP:PRED]=se
get-IMPERV=REP
'It is said that the Dharma Practitioners will get money by any means'

b. pʰa=la tɕʰaŋ [kʰer-go-**pʰi**]VP:PRED
there=LOC alcohol take-OBLIG-PERV
'We have to take alcohol there'

In (455a), the allomorph *-kyu* which is the future imperfective aspect marker occupies the aspectual slot. Note also that Brokpa has the general imperfective marker *-gi* (and its allomorphs). These aspect markers will be dealt with under the 'non-spatial setting' in Chapter 13.

Slot 7 can also be filled by the suffix *-pa* (and allomorphs *-pʰa* and *-ba*) which marks mirativity, a grammatical expression of expectation of knowledge, (see §13.4.3):

(456) laika gya-mi-thob-**ba**
work do-NEG:IMPERV-ABIL-MIR
'We are not able to work'

The allomoprh *-ba* applies to the auxiliary *-tʰob* which marks the deontic modality of ABILITY in (456).

12.8 Slot 8: The markers of knowledge

Slot 8 is filled by the markers of various kinds of knowledge including egophoricity and evidentiality, which have mostly grammaticalized from copulas and existential verbs. These markers occur in what may be called an 'epistemological clause', distinct from a 'copula clause' or a 'verbal clause' (see Chapter 14). The grammaticalized markers of knowledge, save modality markers, occur only in main clauses. If the same form of a grammatical marker of knowledge occurs in a non-main clause, it is typically in a copula predicate function; that is, when a dependent clause is a copula clause. The grammar of knowledge in Brokpa will be dealt with in Chapter 13.

Examples of the marker of knowledge specification occurring within the verb phrase include:

(457) a. l̥apsaŋ gæpa=di=raŋ [taŋ-**yo**]VP:PRED
smoke.offering detailed=DEF=FOC do-EXIST.EGO
'We perform the detailed Smoke Offering (Prayer)'

b. kʰo=di [ŋo-ma-tsʰa-yi gya=næ]adv.cl
3SG:MASC=DEF face-NEG-heat-NOMZ do=SEQ

[láp-tʰop-go-**na**]VP:PRED
speak-ABIL-OBLIG-FACT
'He must be able to speak without being embarrassed'

The predicate in (457a) has the egophoric marker *-yo* which attaches to the main verb *taŋ* 'do'. In (457b), the suffix *-na*, coding a factual knowledge, occurs following the modal auxiliary *-go* within the VP.

12.9 Slot 9: The clause-final markers

Slot 9 is filled by suffixes which typically occur within the final slot of the predicate of a main clause or, semantically, the focal clause. They include the suffixes *-ro* and *-to*. The suffix *-to* typically attaches to the egophoric marker *-yin* and the suffix *-ro* elsewhere. These two suffixes apply to the predicate of the main clause. Examples include:

(458) a. kʰi=la diriŋ kamtɕʰa=ʑi? den da
2SG=DAT today dry.gift=INDEF PART PART

[pʰu:+taŋ-go-**ro**]VP:PRED
offer:HON+send-OBLIG-FINAL
'Today we will offer you a Dry Gift (cash)'

b. ŋi da bar+tɕʰaŋ [kʰyoŋ-mi-yin-**to**]VP:PRED
1PL:ERG PART middle+drink bring-NOMZ.PERV-EGO=FINAL
'We will be bringing the Middle Alcohol'

As can be seen in the predicate in (458b), the focal clause marker *-to* attaches to the grammaticalized egophoric *-yin*. There is a phonetic reduction going on here. The morpheme *-yin* fuses with the preceding nominalizer, also coding perfective aspect,

so the underlying *kʰyoŋ-mi-yin-to* is rendered [kʰyoŋ.min.to] in the surface realization. This serves as evidence for the fact that the copulas have grammaticalized as the markers of knowledge. Based on such phonological evidence and their semantic grammaticalization, the markers of the grammar of knowledge (egophoricity, evidentiality, mirativity) and the markers of different modalities form one grammatical word with the verb stem and, as noted above, they are written together as a single orthographic word with the verb stem.

12.10 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation (NI) is a process in which a noun root is added to a verb root and creates a compound verb stem (see Aikhenvald 2007, 2015b:146; Dixon 2010a:139; Mithun 1984, 1986, 2009, Sapir 1911). NI is very productive in Brokpa, and probably also in other Bodish languages including Dzongkha, Tshangla, and Tibetan, although it is not widely recorded. NI is reported to be very common in unrelated languages such as Hindi (see Mohanan 1994), 1995) or Greenlandic (see Sadock 1980).

In many instances, a noun gets incorporated into a verb root in its free form. However, as can be seen later, it is also possible for a noun to be incorporated in its reduced form. A compound verb formed by NI can fill the head slot of a VP, just like a monomorphemic lexical verb. Brokpa exhibits a 'lexical compounding' type of NI (see Mithun 1984, 1986 and Aikhenvald 2007 regarding the types of NI). The meaning of a lexical compounding type of NI can be compositional or it can be idiosyncratic and non-compositional.

Syntactically, a NI in Brokpa may involve a noun in the O argument function (§12.10.1) or in the instrumental peripheral argument function (§12.10.2), both of which affect the syntactic relations of a clause. There are no instances in which S function gets incorporated in Brokpa which is an unusual feature. There are also instances of NI which do not affect the valency of the clause (§12.10.3). I also look at the

light verb constructions in which a light verb forms a complex verb stem with a noun or an adjective (§12.10.4), which is structurally the same as a compound verb stem derived via NI, but they differ in terms of their composition. Note that incorporation, including light verb constructions, is used as a word-class changing process in Brokpa.

12.10.1 Incorporation of O argument

An incorporated noun plus a verb root form a compound verb stem in which the former is understood as the O argument of the verb. When a noun in O function is incorporated into a transitive verb, the transitive clause is made intransitive. Compare the pair of sentences in (459):

(459) a. lúba ɲí=k^{h}e **lú**=di=su **ɲór**=næ...
singer two=ERG song=DEF=PL sing=SEQ
'By/after the two singers sing the songs...'

b. k^{h}oŋ=raŋ **lú**+**ɲór**-ki-yo
3PL=REFL.EMPH song+sing-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'They are singing'
Lit. 'They are song-singing'

In (459a), the NP in O function has the noun *lú* 'song' as its head modified by the definite marker *=di* and the plural marker *=su*. The NP *lú* is definite as shown by the definite marker *=di*, referring to some particular songs sung during a wedding ceremony. In (459b), the noun *lú* is incorporated into the verbal root *ɲór* forming a compound verb stem which describes a 'name-worthy unitary activity', along the lines of Aikhenvald (2015a:146) and Mithun (1984) or a habitual activity, that of singing, and does not have to refer to singing any specific songs. Further consider:

(460) a. **g^{ɦ}o**=ye tsaŋma **ʈui**=næ de=næ...
head=EMPH clean wash=SEQ DEM=ABL
'After thoroughly washing the head also, and then...'

b. gebo pʰepʰe meme gaŋ **gʱo + ʈui = næ**
king father.son mother.daughter all head + wash = SEQ

tɕʰaʔ + tsaː = næ gya-bi-na = se
prostration + do = SEQ do-PERV-FACT = REP
'It is said that the king and family bathed and prostrated'

The noun *gʱo* 'head' which can occur as an O argument on its own, as in (460a), gets incorporated into the verbal word in (460b). A compound verb stem formed by NI can recursively create further complex compound verb stems as in *pʰrugu = di* ***gʱo + ʈui + dʑin*** (child = DEF head + wash + give) 'wash the baby' where the compound verb stem *gʱo + ʈui* 'to bathe' serializes with the verb *dʑin* within a single predicate (see §12.11). Further examples of NI, involving a noun which can be in the O argument slot but is likely to get incorporated into the verbal word, are provided in (461):

(461)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**
doŋ + ʈu	face + wash
lakpa + ʈu	hand + wash
tʰapɕiŋ + tʰu	firewood + collect
ɲa + ʑun	fish + catch

A largish number of compound verb stems can be derived by incorporating a noun into a host verb. In this type of NI, both the nominal and the verbal components can occur as independent lexical items elsewhere. When a free noun is incorporated into a verbal word, it loses its argument status. The incorporated noun and the host together describe 'a unitary name-worthy activity' (see Aikhenvald 2007; Mithun 1984). The verb stems such as the ones given in (461) can describe a generic activity.

12.10.2 Incorporation of instrumental peripheral argument

As noted under the 'case markers' in Chapter 9, a noun functioning as a peripheral instrumental argument can be incorporated into the verb stem which can be the head of a predicate. In this type of NI, the case marker from the peripheral argument in

instrument function is omitted, and that peripheral argument then becomes a part of the predicate, affecting the structure of the clause. The NI of this type typically involves the verbs of the HIT subtype, but it can also involve verbs from other semantic types. Consider:

(462) a. [kʰyo = e]A [kʰo]O [**muktum = ge**]PERI:INST [taŋ + dʑin]TPR
2SG = ERG 3SG:MASC fist = INST do + give:IMP
'You hit him with the fist'

b. [ŋa = e]A [kʰo]O [**muktum** + taŋ + dʑin-ni]TPR
1SG = ERG 3SG:MASC fist + do + give-PERV
'I will pummel him'
Lit. 'I will fist-hit him'

The noun *muktum* 'fist' is a peripheral argument in instrumental function, marked with the instrumental case *=ge,* in (462a). In (462b), the same noun is incorporated into the verbal word. The transitivity value of the predicate is not affected with both clauses— (462a) and (462b)— remaining transitive, but the peripheral argument has become part of the predicate. Further examples of nouns which can participate in this kind of NI include:

(463) a. **tetɕa = ge** koŋ-pʰi
belt = INST beat-PERV
'beat with belt'
b. **tetɕa** + koŋ-pʰi
belt + beat-PERV
'belted'
Lit. 'belt-beat'

(464) a. **tsapar = ge** taŋ + dʑin-ni
palm = INST do + give-PERV
'hit with palm'
b. **tsapar** + taŋ + dʑin
palm + do + give
'slap'
Lit. 'palm-hit'

(465) a. **me = ge** tsʰik-pi
fire = INST burn-PERV
'burnt with fire'
b. **me** + tsʰik-pi
fire + burn-PERV
'burnt'
Lit. 'fire-burnt'

(466) a. **sem = ge** tsʰor-ri
mind = INST feel-PERV
'feel with mind'
b. **sem** + tsʰor-ri
mind + feel-PERV
'realized'
Lit. 'mind-felt'

As the example pairs above illustrate, a peripheral argument in instrumental function, shown by the instrumental case, can be incorporated into the verbal word. The instrumental case is deleted and the noun in the instrumental argument slot forms a complex verb stem with the predicate which can be transitive or intransitive. The meaning of a resulting verb stem appears to be mostly compositional, as illustrated by most of the examples above, although it can also be non-compositional as in (466b).

To reiterate, the incorporation of a peripheral argument into an instrumental function always leads to a reduction of valency of the verb by one.

12.10.3 Non-valency-changing noun incorporation

The NI, discussed in §12.10.1 and in (§12.10.2), both affect the syntactic functions within a clause. In §12.10.1, I have illustrated that a free noun in O argument function can be incorporated into the verbal word; similarly, in §12.10.2, a free noun in an instrumental peripheral argument function can be incorporated. In both, the valency reduces by one. However, in §12.10.1, the newly derived verb stem is always made intransitive, whereas in §12.10.2 the transitivity of the clause is not affected, with the O argument remaining as is, but the valency is reduced by one. The erstwhile instrumental peripheral argument becomes part of the predicate.

In addition, there are verb stems which inherently contain an incorporated noun, but the incorporated noun may or may not have any relation with the arguments of the clause, O argument or peripheral instrumental argument. In other words, the valency of the argument is not altered. If the head verb root is transitive, the derived verb stem after NI is also transitive, and vice versa. In other words, NI can produce both transitive and intransitive verb stems in Brokpa, and the incorporated noun in an intransitive verb stem may not necessarily be the O argument or the instrumental peripheral argument of the verb. Further, a transitive verb stem can function as the predicate of a transitive clause with an O argument realized by an NP whose head can

be a noun which may or may not be related to the incorporated noun of the predicate. The resulting form is semantically non-compositional. Consider:

(467) a. [ʑaŋzen = ge]A [tɕʰaŋ]O [**bro** + **tæ**-pʰi]TPR
brother.in.law = ERG wine taste + see-PERV
'Brother-in-law tasted the wine'

b. [ŋa = e]A [kʰyo]O [**ló** + **tsoŋ**-pʰi]TPR
1SG = ERG 2SG rationality + sell-PERV
'I embarrassed you'

The head of the predicate in (467a) is formed by a lexical compounding type of NI where the noun *bro* 'taste' is compounded with the verb *tæ* 'to see'. The verb stem *bro* + *tæ*, despite having an incorporated noun, functions as the head of the transitive predicate with a separate noun *tɕʰaŋ* 'wine' in the O argument function. The verbal meaning 'to taste' is achieved only when the incorporated noun *bro* 'taste' and the verb root *tæ* 'see:PERV' are treated as a lexical unit. In (467a), the incorporated noun may be interpreted as semantically related to the O core argument *tɕʰaŋ* 'wine', as the taste is typically associated with a liquor. However, in (467b), the incorporated noun *lő* 'rationality, intellect' is not related to *kʰyo* '2SG' (the O argument) in any way, nor can it be in an instrumental peripheral argument function: one cannot say **ló = ge tsoŋ* (rationality = ERG sell) 'Sell with/by rationality'.

Brokpa makes extensive use of this kind of NI to produce compound verb stems which can be transitive or intransitive without affecting the structure of a clause. The transitivity, and the valency, of a derived compound verb stem depends on the inherent transitivity of the verb which functions as its head. Further examples include:

(468)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
buʔ + len	air + take	'to breathe'
bru + núm	taste + smell	'to sniff'
duŋar + kʰur	worry + carry	'to be responsible'
ra + plokʰ	root + pull	'to uproot'
rub(a) + laŋ	anger + arise	'to be angry'
ʈowa + ton	enjoyment + take.out	'to enjoy'
ɕa + dʱa	meat + chase	'to hunt'

The compound verb stems such as those in (468) are well-established lexical verbs. As noted earlier above, the derived verb stems can be transitive, e.g. *bru + num* 'to sniff'; or they can be intransitive, e.g. *buʔ + len* 'to breathe'.

Semantically, the nominal component may have more influence on the meaning of a derived verb stem, e.g. *ʈowa + ton* (enjoyment + take.out) 'to enjoy'; or, the verbal component may have more semantic influence, as in *bru + num* (taste + smell) 'to sniff'. In others, both the nominal and the verbal components may have a combined semantic effect, e.g. *ra + plokʰ* (root + pull) 'to uproot'. Furthermore, a resultant verb stem may have a completely new idiomatic meaning (see §12.10.5).

12.10.4 Light verb constructions

Brokpa has compound verb stems derived via light verb constructions (LVC). An LVC is one in which a so-called 'light verb' (see, among others, Jespersen 1965, Volume VI:117; Givón 2001a:166; Butt 1995:89-90, 2003; Johns 2007) is added to a noun or an adjective, and the resulting form functions as a predicate describing a single event. Hook (1974) refers to the Hindi light verbs as 'vector verbs'. Light verbs are said to be lacking the semantic contents that full verbs have. In Brokpa, the light verbs can also be the predicate on their own.

In Brokpa, the verb roots such as *gya* 'to do', *taŋ* 'to do' (polysemous with *taŋ* 'to send'), *re* 'to become', *tɕo* 'to make', etc., can be identified as light verbs on the basis that they typically form predicates with nouns and adjectives. A light verb can be used

as a word-class-changing derivation, effectively deriving verbal stems from nouns and adjectives. Based on this behaviour, the light verbs form a small, closed subclass of verbs.

However, as pointed out above, a light verb can function as an 'independent verb' capable of forming independent clauses elsewhere (see Longacre 2007). A light verb in Brokpa can head the predicate and take a full range of verbal morphology. Consider:

(469) a. ya den ʔoti dʑo:+kæ **gya**-gan=di
INTJ PART DEM.PROX Tibetan+language do-NOMZ:AGTV=DEF
'Ok then, this one who speaks Tibetan'

b. te gaŋyu=ge tunɖi=ʑiʔ **gya**-zina...
PART ALL=ERG discussion do-SIM
'So, while everybody engages in a discussion...'

c. $ts^hoʔ$=la tɕika **ma-gyak-pi**
food.offering=DAT anything NEG-do-PERV
'(We) did not do anything to the Food Offering'

The light verb *gya* functions as an independent verb and takes the agentive nominalizing suffix *-gan* in (469a) and the suffix *-zina* marking simultaneous events in a temporal subordinate clause in (469b). Similarly, the light verb *gyak* 'to do' takes the negation prefix as well as the marker of perfective aspect in (469c).

It is instructive to mention that Brokpa has two verb roots— *gya* and *gyak*— which are both light verbs with a somewhat similar meaning 'to do, to act'. These two verbs superficially look similar, with only an additional coda /k/ in the case of the latter, and one may be tempted to say that there is only one underlying form of this light verb. It is not the case. This is because in Old Tibetan, and also in Classical Tibetan, there are three verbs which are written completely differently, involving different letters. One commences with a voiced bilabial onset as shown in (a) and the other with a voiced dorso-velar stop at the onset (with a surmounted prefix /r/) as shown in (b), and again a third one as in (c):

a) <bya> 'to do', 'to make', 'to create', 'to act'.

b) <rgyag> 'to shut', 'to close', 'to cover', 'to put up', 'to strike', and in some context it also means 'to build', 'to throw', 'to cast', 'to fling'.

c) <rgyab> 'to do', 'to throw'.

In Classical Tibetan, (b) and (c) are used synonymously, but a distinct orthography is maintained.

As can be seen from (a) and (b) above, in Old Tibetan, the meanings of these two verbs are quite distinct as are their phonological shapes. Whereas both <bya> and <rgyag> are light verbs, they collocate with different nouns. For example the verb <bya> collocates with the noun 'study' as in <slob.sbyong bya> (study + do) 'to study'. This same noun cannot be used with the other light verb <rgyag>, *<slob.sbyong rgyag>.

In contrast, the light verb <rgyag> collocates with a noun such as 'stone wall', as in <rtsig.pa rgyag> (stone.wall + do) 'to build a stone wall'. The noun 'wall' cannot take the other light verb <bya>, *<rtsig.pa bya>. The verb <rgyab> may be used in the same context as <rgyag>. In summary, <bya>, <rgyag>, and <rgyab> are phonologically three distinct verb roots in Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan, albeit the last two are semantically synonymous.

It is interesting to note that Brokpa retains both the verbs, *gya* and *gyak*. The Brokpa *gya* relates to Old Tibetan <bya> and the Brokpa *gyak* to Old Tibetan <rgyag>. In Brokpa, the meanings of these two verbs appear to have merged but the phonologies have not. Both the open syllable *gya* and the closed syllable *gyak* can be heard distinctively in the same text by the same speaker. Furthermore, one can see that Brokpa disambiguates these two verbs in terms of the grammatical markers they take. For example, the light verb *gya* takes the perfective *-bi*, being triggered by the low-register stem and/or the final vowel of the verb stem. Example (460b) containing *gya-bi* is repeated in (470). In contrast, the verb *gyak* takes the perfective marker *-pi*, being triggered by the final /k/, as in (471):

(470) gebo pʰepʰe meme gaŋ gʱo + ʈui = næ
king father.son mother.daughter ALL head + wash = SEQ

tɕʰaʔ + tsaː = næ **gya-bi**-na = se
prostration + do = SEQ do-PERV.FACT = REP
'It is said that the king and his family bathed and did prostrations'

(471) nou = ge **gyak-pi** = di = la ʔau = ge
younger.brother = ERG do-NOMZ.PERV = DEF = DAT elder.brother = ERG

yin-ne = ye ɖik = se barma = ge lap-pʰi
COP.EGO-COND = EMPH be.ok = QUOT middle = ERG say-PERV
'Even the middle brother said: "What the younger brother did will be OK"'

As noted earlier above, an LVC in Brokpa is structurally not distinct from a NI in that both construction types contain a N + V combination; however, the two constructions differ in terms of their semantic composition. A NI can be symmetrical or asymmetrical whereas an LVC is always asymmetrical. In a NI, the verbal component can be from a major open class, whereas in an LVC the verb is always a light verb which has a trivial or no semantic contribution other than converting the nominal or the adjectival root to a verb stem. In a NI, the nominal or the verbal component can have an equal contribution to the meaning of the derived verb stem, or either can have more semantic influence, but both contributing something. The first component of a NI is always a noun, whereas it can be a noun or an adjective in an LVC.

In an LVC, it is always the nominal or the adjectival component that predominantly determines the meaning of the derived verb stem. In other words, in a VP involving an LVC, one can say that its head is a noun or an adjective. A noun or an adjective is first verbalized by a light verb and is used in the predicate. A light verb functions as a verbalizer. The meaning of the derived verb stem appears to be something like 'to be X, to do X' where X is a noun or an adjective. Consider:

(472) a. kʰoŋ = raŋ pʰa = yi = la yin-na = ye
3PL = REFL.EMPH there = GEN = LOC COP.EGO-COND = EMPH

poŋpoŋ̣ + gya = næ...
talk + do = SEQ
'They discuss it even if it is there, and then...'

b. ʔotɕins **betʰa + taŋ** = næ...
like.this wrestling + do = SEQ
'By wrestling like this....'

c. diriŋ + saŋ **yoŋɖa + tɕo**-pʰi
today + tomorrow popular + make-PERV
'It is made popular nowadays'

The predicates in (472a) and (472b) are formed by a noun plus a light verb, and in (472c) by an adjective plus a light verb. As can be seen from these examples above, the meaning of the derived verb stem is essentially the meaning of the first component, that of the nominal in (472a) and (472b) and of the adjectival in (472c). The incorporated component is only converted into a verbal word by the light verb. Further examples of verb stems formed by means of LVC include:

(473)

EXAMPLE	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
toptɕe + tɕo	food + make	'to cook'
yakpo + gya	good + do	'to be nice'
natpa + re	patient + become	'to fall ill'
gatpu + re	old + become	'to age'
níŋʑi + gya	compassion + do	'to pity'

Each verb stem derived via an LVC, as in (473), is formally intransitive. All the examples in (473) are compositional in their semantics.

12.10.5 Compound verb stems with idiomatic meaning

An incorporated noun may not always be the one which could be interpreted as a core syntactic argument, as shown in §12.10.1, or an instrumental peripheral argument, as discussed in §12.10.2. The incorporated nouns may be semantically heterogeneous,

and may include those nouns which may have secondary function of forming predicates together with a verb.[4] The semantic relationships between an incorporated noun and a host verb may not always be predictable. In other words, the meaning of a compound verb stem formed by incorporating such a noun is typically idiomatic and non-compositional. Consider:

(474) a. ʔoti lense=ʑiʔ ma-lap-na mo=ye
DEM.PROX response=INDEF NEG-say-COND 3SG:FEM=EMPH

sem+**ʑi**-ro
mind+die-FINAL
'If we do not give this response, she will also be saddened (cf. mind-die)'

b. da diriŋ **ŋo**+**ts^{h}a**-ma me
PART today face+heat-IMPERV NEG.COP.EGO
'Today there is nothing to be ashamed of'

c. ŋa=raŋ **sem**+**p^{h}am**-soŋ
1SG=EMPH mind+defeat-DIRECT.PERV
'I regretted'

The head of the predicate in (474a) is filled by a compound verb stem formed by adding the noun *sem* 'mind' to the host verb *ʑi* 'die' and derives the intransitive compound verb stem meaning 'to be sad' (cf. 'mind+die'). Along similar lines, in (474b), the noun *ŋo* 'face' is added into the verb *ts^{h}a* 'heat' and forms the compound verb stem meaning 'be ashamed of' (cf. 'face+heat'). The head of the VP in (474c) is filled by the compound verb stem *sem*+*p^{h}am* meaning 'to regret' (cf. 'mind+defeat').

The meaning of a verb stem, shown in boldface, in all the sentences in (467), is not the sum total of the meanings of their individual parts. The meaning of each compound verb stem is idiomatic. Further consider:

(475) a. ŋa=e k^{h}yo=la **gau**+**ts^{h}or**-ri yin=s
1SG=ERG 2SG=DAT happiness+feel-NOMZ.PAST COP.EGO=ASSERT
'I loved you'

[4] (Matisoff 1973:310) calls an incorporated noun which is closely allied with the following verb a 'transhemistichial compound'.

b. ŋa = raŋ **ló + p^{h}am**-soŋ
1SG = EMPH intellect + defeat-DIRECT.PERV
'I regretted'

c. k^{h}oŋ = ye **k^{h}oda + tɕ^{h}æ**-ti = ʑi? yoŋ-ro
3PL = EMPH hope + exhaust-NOMZ = INDEF happen-FINAL
'They will also be disappointed'

Note that the enclitic *=s* is distinct from the quotative enclitic, *=se*. The enclitic *=s* appears where a quotation formula is not required. The enclitic *=s* has at least two functions: marking factual assertion, and marking the end of a unit (phrase, clause, sentence) with an overtone of emphasis. Note that, based on the observation of everyday conversations, there are two other related morphemes *-sin* (distinct from the marker of medial clauses *-ʑin* ~ *-sin*) and *sa* used in commands and demands, which are again different from the quotation formula (see 'strong imperatives' in Chapter 14).

In example (475a) the noun *gau*, the reduced form of *gawa* 'happiness' (recall that a reduced form of a noun can be incorporated at the beginning), and the verb *ts^{h}or* 'feel' form a complex but single predicate *gau + ts^{h}or* achieving the meaning of a single verb 'to love'. In the incorporated noun *gau*, the disyllabic noun *gawa* is reduced to a monosyllable noun, and the vowel of the resulting form becomes a diphthong. In (475b), the noun *ló* 'rationality, intellect' is incorporated into the verb *p^{h}am* 'defeat', forming a verb stem with an idiomatic meaning 'to regret' (cf. 'intellect + defeat'). In the same vein, the noun *k^{h}oda* 'hope' and the verb *tɕ^{h}æ* 'exhaust' forms a verbal word with an idiomatic meaning 'to disappoint' in (475c).

Brokpa makes extensive use of this type of NI to derive verb stems. Most of such verbs express feelings and bodily states. Examples of compound verb stems with idiomatic meanings include:

(476)

EXAMPLE	GLOSS	MEANING
mík + ts^{h}a	eye + heat	'to be jealous'
sem + ɕor	mind + lose	'to like, to envy'
ɕa + d^{ɦ}œ	meat + follow	'to hunt'
p^{h}rugu + tɕo	baby + make	'to impregnate'

Sometimes, a noun with an adjectival modifier can be added to a verb and the entire resulting form (an NP plus a verb) of idiomatic collocations reflects a different phenomenon— an idiomatic collocation which does not form one grammatical word, e.g. *mík nakpo tœ* (eye black see) 'to sneer', *ɲíŋ bombo tɕo* (heart big make) 'to act confident'.

12.10.6 Formal cohesion in noun incorporation

The status of wordhood of the compound verb stems formed by N + V sequence in Brokpa is at best problematic. Lexicality and wordhood of the compound verb stems involving NI, or SVC (§12.11), deserve further study in Brokpa and other Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas. My treatment here will only be cursory.

As far as the phonological wordhood is concerned, as noted in Chapter 3, the nominal and the verbal component of a NI remain separate phonological words with independent stress, e.g. *ló + tsoŋ-p^{h}i* [ˈló.ˈtsoŋ.p^{h}ɪ] (intellect + sell-NOMZ) 'to embarrass', although they may be uttered under a single intonation contour. As shown in the phonetic transcription, both the nominal root *ló* 'intellect' and the verb root *tsoŋ* 'to sell' are stressed. The semantic evidence, as all our examples of NI thus far illustrate, strongly support the fact that the verb root and the nominal component of a NI constitute one lexical word and also one grammatical word since their components are contiguous. Omitting either the nominal component or the verb, or replacing either component with another word, will lead to a loss of the meaning achieved by that compound verb stem. As an illustration, consider two somewhat synonymous words in Brokpa meaning 'to trust':

(477) ló + tæ
intellect + fix.upon
'to trust'

(478) yi: + tɕʰe
mind + believe
'to trust'

The verbal meaning of 'to trust' is formed if, and only if, the noun *ló̩* 'intellect' and the verb *tæ* 'to fix upon, to focus'[5] in (477) or the noun *yi:* 'mind' and the verb *tɕʰe* 'to believe' in (478) are considered as a single lexical unit. If *ló* in (477) is replaced by *yi:* from (478), the resulting form **ló + tɕʰe* is distinctly odd and does not mean anything. This shows that the incorporated noun and the verb have formed a lexical unit and are semantically inseparable.

Syntactically too, as our examples thus far illustrate, and as illustrated in Chapter 3, the nominal and the verbal components of a NI form a complex verb stem which functions as the head of a predicate and hosts grammatical elements associated with a verb. On the basis of its syntactic function as a predicate head, a compound verb stem formed by NI is easily recognizable as a single grammatical word when its components are contiguous. Consider:

(479) a. ŋozu + ton
identity + take.out
'to disgrace (someone)'

b. kʰi = ge ŋa **ŋozu-ma-ton**
2SG = ERG 1SG identity-NEG-take.out
'You do not disgrace me'

The verbal word *ŋozu + ton* 'to disgrace (someone)' in (479a) is formed by incorporating the nominal *ŋozu* which can be approximately translated as 'identity' into the verb *ton* 'to take out' (homophonous with *ton* 'to show'). Like the other compound verb stems, these two components take on the verbal meaning 'to disgrace' only when they are together, functioning as a single lexical unit and single grammatical word.

[5] The verb *tæ* 'to fix upon, to focus on' is homophonous with the verb *tæ*, the perfective form of the verb *ta* 'to see'. In Classical Tibetan, *tæ* meaning 'to fix upon, to focus on' is written <gtad>, and *tæ* 'see:PERV' is written <bltas>. In Brokpa, both have the same phonemic shape.

As noted earlier, there is evidence suggesting that Brokpa allows infixation of negation marker, e.g. *ʔeɕin* 'good' versus *ʔema**ɕ**in* 'bad' in which the segment *ʔe-* before negation and *-ɕin* following it are not segmentable, and the appearance of the negation marker word-internally does not disqualify it from being a grammatical word. So the predicate shown in bold with the negation placed between two roots in (479b) also can be analysed as a single grammatical word.

However, other lexical words may be allowed to intervene between the incorporated noun and the host verb and the two components can appear non-contiguous. Consider:

(480) [mo=e]A [ŋa]O [ŋozu **zupken** ton-soŋ]TPR
3SG.FEM=ERG 1SG identity completely take.out-PERV.DIRECT
'She disgraced me completely'

In (480), the adverb *zupken* 'completely' occurs between the nominal and the verbal components of the predicate. When another word is inserted between the two parts, the nominal *ŋozu* 'identity' and the verb root *ton* 'to take out' can be analysed as two separate grammatical words forming one lexical word, an instance of a lexeme (one dictionary entry) consisting of two grammatical words akin to English phrasal verbs such as *make up* (see Dixon 2010b:5; Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:6-7); Lyons 1968:197). Note that the adverb *zupken* can also occur outside of the predicate, typically preceding it, in which case the parts of NI filling the predicate head slot will be contiguous. Further note that both phrases and compounds can be semantically non-compositional. This issue requires further investigation (see also Wangdi 2019).

12.11 Serial verb constructions

A serial verb construction (SVC) is one in which two or more verb roots are combined in a single predicate describing a single action, along the lines of Dixon (2010b:406). SVCs in Brokpa form a single grammatical word (single-word SVCs) and are strictly

contiguous. An SVC fills the head slot in the structure of a Brokpa VP, just like a compound verb stem formed by NI. Note that the auxiliary verbs which are often the markers of different modalities occupy the slots outside of the one filled by an SVC within a VP. In other words, the modal auxiliaries are postposed to the VP head which may be realized by an SVC, a compound verb stem, or a monomorphemic verb. Consider:

(481) lale=k^{h}e den ʔou=la=ye tɕik **ɖi+ta**-go-ɦoŋ
some=ERG PART boy=DAT=EMPH one ask+see-OBLIG-POTEN
'Someone might have to at least try to ask something of the boy'

In the predicate (481) only the sequence of two verb roots, shown in bold, are analyzed as an SVC. The two modal auxiliaries *-go* expressing the deontic modality of OBLIGATION and *-ɦoŋ* the epistemic modality of POTENTIAL or POSSIBILITY, although they can function as full verbs elsewhere, are not part of the SVC. An auxiliary verb such as *-go* and *-ɦoŋ* functions as a grammaticalized marker of modality and behaves more like an inflectional suffix (see Chapter 13).

Aikhenvald (2018a:3-4) provides the following properties of SVCs:

"A. A serial verb construction (SVC) consists of two or more verbs, each of which could also function as the sole verb in a clause.

B. There is no mark of dependency—such as coordination, subordination, or dependency of any sort—between the verbs within a serial verb construction.

C. A serial verb construction is monoclausal—it functions as a single predicate.

D. The serial verb construction itself will have its own transitivity value.

E. There is usually at least one core argument shared by all the verbs in a serial verb construction.

F. The serial verb construction is conceived as describing a single event".

As example (481) illustrates, the sequences of verbs in Brokpa duly qualify as SVCs. To illustrate using the example (481), the two verbs— *ɖi* 'ask' and *ta* 'see'—

function as head of a single transitive predicate. The SVC formed by these two verbs is monoclausal sharing the same A argument, *lale* 'some' shown by ergative case, and the same O argument *tɕik* 'one' which is zero-marked for absolutive, as well as the same E argument *ʔou* 'boy' marked by dative case. There is no marker of coordination or subordination between the two verb roots within this SVC. The two verbs together describe a single action, that of 'asking', effectively functioning as the head of a single predicate (Aikhenvald 2006:4, 2018a:2) The second verb *ta* 'to see' in (481) has become a 'semantically-bleached grammaticalized verb' (Givón 2001b:83) and instead of imposing its meaning of 'seeing', it adds a sense of 'trying' or 'checking' to the predicate.

An SVC in Bropka is not limited to a sequences of two simple verb roots only. There can be SVCs containing two verbs, forming two constituent components, but the first verb can be a compound verb stem formed by NI, which is then serialized with another verb, e.g. *doɕe* + *taŋ* + *dʑin* (kick + do + give) 'to kick'.[6] Further, an SVC can involve a sequence of three verb roots (V1 + V2 + V3), e.g. *tɕep* + *taŋ* + *dʑin* (hit + do + give) 'to hit' which can further take modal auxiliaries, *tɕep* + *taŋ* + *dʑin-go-ɦioŋ* (hit + do + give-OBLIG-POTEN) 'might have to hit'.

Sometimes, SVCs are interpreted as expressing 'multiple events' (see, among others, Baker and Harvey 2010, Foley 2010). In Brokpa, as sentence (481) shows, an SVC is monoclausal and functions as a single predicate and describes a single event, in agreement with Aikhenvald (2018a:I, 2018a:34). In a verb stem formed by an SVC such as *ɲaː* + *dʱoː* (sleep + stay/sit) 'to sleep' or *lap* + *dʑin* (tell + give) 'to tell', the meaning of one verb— the second one in these two examples— makes secondary specifications such as an aspectual information or a valency change rather than their lexical meaning. The meaning of *ɲaː* + *dʱoː* is only 'to sleep' (or continue to sleep) and is not 'first to sleep, then to 'to sit/stay'; likewise, the meaning of *lap* + *dʑin* is only to 'to tell' and does not have anything like 'first tell, and then give'. The minor verb *dʑin* here denotes a command with an overtone of permissive meaning.

[6] Note that the lexeme *doɕe* 'kick' in the SVC is a noun incorporated into the light verb *taŋ* 'do', forming the verb stem *doɕe* + *taŋ* (kick + do) 'to kick'.

An SVC in Brokpa has the properties of a single predicate, in that the components have to have the same aspect value, and illocutionary force value, and cannot be questioned or negated separately.

If a sequence of two verbs describe two events, then there will be a clear marker of subordination or coordination, typically the first verb will have a marker such as the suffix *=næ*, as shown in the two sentences in (482):

(482) a. kʰi=ge tɕʰaŋ palaŋ=tɕi? **kʰer=næ** **soŋ**
2SG=ERG wine wooden.container=INDEF take=SEQ go:IMP
'You go, taking a wooden container of wine'

b. pʰa+ma ʑi **zom=næ** **tʰatɕæ=næ**...
father+mother four meet=SEQ decide=SEQ
'The four parents meet and then decide'

At a cursory glance, sentences such as (482a) or (482b) may appear like a monoclausal with its predicate realized by a sequence of two verbs forming an SVC. On closer examination, it is not an instance of SVC formed by a verb + verb sequence, but a sequence of two clauses, an instance of an embedded clause. The first clause in (482a) is a dependent clause chained to the main clause consisting of just a verb in the imperative form. The two clauses share the same arguments. In (482b), there are two medial clauses with no main clause.

The first verb has the marker *=næ* glossed 'seq' (marker attached to a supporting clause), which can, among others, mark adverbial subordination or clause-chaining. It always occurs with a medial verb.

When there is a marker such as *=næ* (there can be other markers on the medial verbs such as the simultaneous *-ʑin*, marking temporal sequence), the construction is clearly bi-clausal and describes two events. Sentence (482a) involves two simultaneous activities of 'going' and 'taking a wooden container of wine'; and (482a) involves two sequential events— first the parents meet, and then the parents decide. These two

examples contrast with (481) in which the two verbs describe a single event. However, an SVC is different from this kind of verb sequences. An SVC has no marker of subordination or chaining and, to reiterate, it is always monoclausal.

Zeisler (2019) notes that there are two different construction types, involving verb sequences, in Tibetic (Bodish) languages: a serial construction or a converb construction. She too postulates that, in a serial construction, the first verb appears without any marker; but, in a converb construction, the first verb takes a marker of clause chaining. As explained above, Brokpa has both the construction types—SVC, as illustrated by (481), and clause chain or converbal construction as shown by examples (482a) and (482a).

As the two examples in (482) show, in Brokpa, the marker such as *=nœ* provides disambiguation for an SVC describing a single event versus a converbal construction or clause chaining involving two or more events.

SVCs can be broadly divided into asymmetrical SVCs and symmetrical SVCs on the basis of their composition, in line with Aikhenvald (2018a), which form the topics of the subsequent sections.

12.11.1 Asymmetrical serial verbs

In an asymmetrical SVC, one component can be from an unrestricted open class, and the other from a closed subclass of verbs; and the former can be considered the 'major verb' and the head of the SVC and the latter the 'minor verb' (see Aikhenvald 2018a:80-81). The meaning of an asymmetrical SVC is determined by the major verb and the minor verb does not have any major semantic contribution. However, a minor verb provides secondary specifications such as direction, aspect, increasing and reducing valency (Aikhenvald 2018a:81). Regarding the semantic types, asymmetrical serial verbs in Brokpa typically cover Motion verbs denoting direction and orientation such as *taŋ* 'to send (away from speaker)', in agreement with a cross-linguistic tendency (see Aikhenvald 2018a:56).

The minor verb slot of the Brokpa SVCs is typically filled by a light verb or by a verb such as 'put', 'give', or a posture verb such as the verb 'to sit'. The two light verbs *taŋ* 'to do, to send' and *ʑa?* 'to keep, to leave' occur more frequently as a minor verb in SVCs. First consider the verb *taŋ*:

(483) a. mí nor gaŋ ʔoti=næ ma=la **r̥on+taŋ**-zina...
person cattle all DEM.PROX=ABL down=ALL push+send-SIM
'While pushing all the people and cattle down (the cliff) from there....'

b. tɕʰo=di **tor+taŋ**-ŋai=se
dharma=DEF scatter+send-PERV=REP
'It is said that the Dharma (scriptures) were scattered'

c. bakɕik=ke tɕi+yin ga+yin meti **ʑot+taŋ**
some=ERG what+cop.EGO who+cop.EGO NEG.COP send+do
'Some send whatnots'

d. yaŋna pʰrugu=ge **ʔeb+taŋ**-ŋai
DISJ child=ERG press+send-PERV
'Or the kid might have pressed (on the phone)'

The meaning of the SVC in all the examples in (483) is determined by the meaning of the first component which is the major verb. The minor verb *taŋ* expresses certainty or a motion away from a deictic centre. If the speaker uses an SVC with *taŋ* as the minor verb with a meaning 'to do', the hearer can infer with absolute certainty that they have either done it or they are going to do it anyway. For example, in (483a), the meaning of the resulting SVC is 'to push' which is the meaning of the major verb, but the verb *taŋ* with the meaning 'to send' indicates that the people and the cattle were pushed down the cliff, showing the motion away from a deictic centre. In (483c) in which the meaning of the verb *taŋ* appears to be 'to do', the speaker bemoans that if the moderator in a social media network did not do something, the people will really send unwanted images there, because some people do it anyway.

In some instances, we can find the light verb *taŋ* also occurring as the major verb in SVCs, e.g. *taŋ+dʱœ* (do+stay) 'to do'. In this example, the light verb *taŋ*

which is typically a minor verb in other SVCs is functioning as the major verb, with the posture verb *dʱœ* 'to sit' as the minor verb.

Examples of the verb *ʑa?* 'to keep/leave, to place' occurring as a minor verb in an SVC include:

(484) a. muzu=gi lu? **tɕur+ʑa?**-pi=ba? gaŋyu ŋi=ge
other=GEN sheep fence+keep-PERV=PL ALL 1PL=ERG

tʰer+taŋ=næ....
release+send=SEQ
'After releasing the other people's sheep which were fenced,.....'

b. biu **tak+ʑa?**-pi gaŋyu biu gaŋyu tʰer+taŋ=næ...
calf tether+keep-PERV ALL calf ALL release+send=SEQ
'After releasing all the calves that were tethered,.....'

c. kʰoŋ=raŋ pʰa=yi=la **bo-ʑa?**=næ.....
3PL=REFL.EMPH there=GEN=LOC invite-keep=SEQ
'By/after inviting them there....'

The verb *ʑa?* as a minor verb expresses a sense of imposition on the O argument of an SVC. Note, however, that the verb *ʑa?* does not have a causative meaning. The referent of the O argument has no choice but to be a victim, surely affected by the action of the SVC, as in (484a) and (484b); or be a beneficiary of something, as in (484c). In (484a), the sheep are imposed upon to be inside the fence as are the calves in (484a), which are made to remain tethered until they are released by the owner. In (484c), some people, the referents of the O argument, are invited to partake of a wedding feast. They are effectively imposed upon to be at the party to enjoy themselves by being personally and positively invited. In sum, the O argument is imposed upon in a positive way or in a negative way when the minor verb of an SVC is *ʑa?*.

Surprisingly, it is not at all common for the polyfunctional verb *gya* to be functioning as a minor verb in SVCs. One may find an isolated instances of *gya* as the minor verb in an SVC as in *duŋ+gya* (sting+do) 'to sting', but it is not frequent like the other light verbs. In this case, *gya* will be functioning as a verb with the meaning 'to do' and

will not be used as a light verb. The verb *gya* appears more frequently in LVCs, which derive compound verb stems from nouns and adjectives (discussed in §12.10.4), than in SVCs. In contrast, it is possible for the verb *gya* to occupy the major verb slot in an SVC, e.g. *gya* + *dʱœ* (do + stay) 'to continue to do'.

Interestingly, I have observed one of my consultants using the verb *gya* as the second component of an SVC in which the major verb is an English loan word when she was talking with someone on the phone:

(485) ŋa = raŋ = gi = ye pʰon da **heŋ + gya** = te ma-ɲæn
1SG = REFL.EMPH = GEN = EMPH phone PART **hang** + do = SEQ NEG-listen
'Mine too, my phone hung up and did not work'
Lit. 'Mine too, my phone hang-go and did not listen'

As shown in bold in (485), the light verb *gya* is used as the minor verb forming an SVC with the English word *hang*. It is not clear what specification the verb *gya* makes here. Structurally this is not different from an LVC in which the first component is a noun or an adjective, and it may well be that the speaker took the English verb *hang* for a noun.

Further examples of serial verbs with the light verb *taŋ* 'to do, to send' as the minor verb include:

(486)

SVC	**GLOSS**	**Meaning**
ɕik + taŋ	dismantle + do	'to dismantle'
ɖim + taŋ	twist + do	'to twist'
tɕep + taŋ	stab/bump + do	'to stab, to bump'
pʰik + taŋ	pierce + do	'to pierce'
brukʰ + taŋ	dig + do	'to dig'

Further examples of SVCs with the light verb *ʑaʔ* 'to keep, to leave' as the minor verb include:

(487)

SVC	**GLOSS**	**Meaning**
bœ + ʑa?	hide + keep	'to hide'
kyur + ʑa?	abandon + keep	'to abandon'
suk^{h} + ʑa?	prick + keep	'to prick'
tɕ^{h}e + ʑa?	open + keep	'to open'
tsap^{h} + ʑa?	slice + keep	'to slice'

Finally, the verb *dʑin* 'to give' also occurs as a minor verb in SVCs. It typically occurs with a compound verb stem, formed by NI, belonging to the AFFECT semantic type. Consider:

(488) a. ɖakɕo = ge k^{h}o gonæ + ka:-soŋ
Dasho = ERG 3SG.MASC postion + put-PERV.DIRECT
'Dasho promoted him'

b. Daksho = ge k^{h}o = **la** **gonæ + ka: + dʑin**-soŋ
Dasho = ERG 3SG.MASC = DAT position + put + give-PERV
'Dasho promoted him'
Lit. 'Dasho position-put-give on him'

c. ŋa = ye lópon = ge den da **muktum** t^{h}ap = tɕi?
1SG = EMPH teacher = ERG PART PART fist times = INDEF

taŋ + dʑin-soŋ
do + give-DIRECT.PERV
'The teacher threw punched me'
Lit. 'The teacher did-gave me a punch'

The verb *dʑin* is a verb of the GIVING semantic type which involves three semantic roles when it is the main verb of a predicate. When it occurs as a minor verb in an SVC, the verb *dʑin* does two different but related things: it changes the transitivity status of the clause, and it increases the valency of the predicate.

When the predicate is realized by a compound verb stem, without an SVC, sentence (488a) is a neat transitive clause with the third person singular pronoun *k^{h}o*, the O argument, zero-marked for absolutive case. When the same predicate involves an SVC with the minor verb *dʑin* in (488b), it triggers a dative marking on the O

argument. It does not increase the valency of the predicate, but changes the clause type from a transitive to an extended transitive one.

In a somewhat similar vein, in (488c), the noun *muktum* 'fist' undergoes noun incorporation with the verb *taŋ* 'to do' to describe an action of hitting someone with a fist and the clause would be an intransitive one with a single core argument in S function. However, the minor verb *dʑin* requires an NP to be syntactically mapped onto a peripheral argument slot and increase the valency by one. The verb *dʑin*, as noted above, has a semantic effect of a soft command and may include permissive meaning.

Further examples of SVCs with the verb *dʑin* as the minor verb include:

(489)

SVC	**GLOSS**	**Meaning**
tsapar + *taŋ* + *dʑin*	slap + do + give	'to slap'
doɕe + *taŋ* + *dʑin*	kick + do + give	'to kick'
yár + *dʑin*	lend + give	'to lend'
lap + *dʑin*	tell + give	'to tell'
duŋ + *dʑin*	beat + give	'to bit'

As the top two words in (489) show, the verb *dʑin* can form an SVC with a compound verb stem, formed by NI, belonging to the AFFECT semantic type; or, as the bottom three words illustrate, the verb *dʑin* can form an SVC with a monomorphemic verb root from different semantic types as the major verb.

Furthermore, an asymmetrical SVC can be formed by the SITTING verb *dʱœ* 'to sit, to stay' and the verb 'to see' of the ATTENTION semantic type as the minor verb. First, consider an asymmetrical SVC with the posture verb *dʱœ* as the minor verb:

(490) a. den rup kʰoŋ=la padar=di gaŋyu **tʰop + dʱæ**-ti
PART money 3PL=DAT hero.sash=DEF all get + stay-NOMZ

dega=gi tse=di=la
that.one.exactly=GEN RELAT:TIP=DEF=LOC
'They will be getting the donations and all the Heroic Sashes, in addition to that one'

b. te pʰe + tɕʰoʔ = la den pʰe = la l̥apsaŋ
PART dem + direction = LOC PART DEM = LOC smoke.offering

taŋ-gin te ŋe = raŋ
do-NOMZ:AGTV PART 1PL = REFL.EMPH

yáŋ + kuʔ = di = la **guk + dʱæ**-ti-yoŋ-gu
prosperity + summon = DEF = LOC wait + sit-NOMZ-POTEN-IMPERV
'So over there, those who make Smoke Offering will be waiting there for our Richness Summoning (ritual)'

c. de = næ ʔun = læ ʔotɕin **laklen + tʰap + dʱæ**-ti
DEM = ABL before = ABL like.this practice + do + stay-NOMZ
'We have been practising like this since ancient times'

d. den tsʰoː gonor = la **ten + dʱæ**-ti soŋ...
PART livelihood livestock = DAT depend + stay-NOMZ because
'Because (people) are depending on livestock for livelihood....'

As can be inferred from the meaning of the sentences in (490), the 'sit' verb *dʱœ* imparts the semantic of a progressive or a continuous meaning. It is quite common, cross-linguistically, for the posture verb 'sit' to express a progressive meaning (see Aikhenvald 2018a:58). Further example of SVCs with the verb *dʱœ* as the minor verb include:

(491)

SVC	**GLOSS**	**MEANING**
ɲaː + dʱœ	sleep + stay/sit	'to continue to sleep'
laŋ + dʱœ	stand + stay/sit	'to continue to stand'
peŋ + dʱœ	lie + stay/sit	'to continue to lie'
ɕaŋ + dʱœ	hang + stay/sit	'to continue to hang'

Examples of asymmetrical SVCs with the verb *ta* 'to see' as the minor verb are found in (492):

(492) a. da diriŋ + saŋ **sam + taŋ + tæ**-na...
part today + tomorrow thought + do + see-COND...
'If I think (of it) nowadays....'

b. ʔak^{h} ʔo sönomp^{h}a=e diriŋ ga+yin+guŋ+yin
INTJ DEM.PROX mendicant=ERG today what+COP+?+COP

me-ti k^{h}o=i bakyo=la ma-lap
NEG.COP-NOMZ 3SG.MASC=GEN wooden.bowl=DAT NEG-say

lap-soŋ tɕ^{h}e **lap-ta**-gu
say-PERV little speak-see-HORT
'Oh, this mendicant told me not to speak to his Wooden Bowl and what-nots today. Let me speak to it a bit[7]'

The verb *ta* 'to see' imparts a sense of 'trying' or 'checking' to the resulting SVC. This minor verb expresses an idea of trying to find out if the action described by the major verb, or the SVC, is plausible (see Aikhenvald and Storch 2013 on linguistic expression of perception and cognition in typological perspective). In some instances, the 'see' verb *ta* as a minor verb in an SVC also imparts an idea of 'pretending'.

Whereas the SVC of the conditional clause in (492a) means 'to think' which is the meaning already expressed by the major verb *sam+taŋ* (thought+do) 'to think', formed by incorporating the noun *sam* 'thought' to the light verb *taŋ* 'to do', the minor verb *tæ* adds an idea of 'trying' or 'making an attempt' to the main meaning of the predicate: 'If I try to think (of it) nowadays'. The SVC in (492a) does not carry the actual meaning of *tæ*, that is 'see:PERV' (with the eyes).

Along similar lines, the predicate of the second clause in sentence (492b) has a meaning of 'Let me try to speak to it' or 'Let me pretend to speak to it'. Further examples of SVCs with the verb *ta* 'to see' as the minor verb include:

[7] The Wooden Bowl is personified.

(493)

SVC	GLOSS	MEANING
ɖi + ta	ask + see	'to try to ask'
ɖo + ta	go + see	'to try to go'
gya + ta	do + see	'to try to do'
ʑun + ta	hold + see	'to try to hold'

Note that the meaning of 'trying to' is only an approximate description of the secondary specification achieved by the verb *ta*.

Table 95 gives a summary of the minor serial verbs and their secondary specifications in the Brokpa asymmetrical SVCs:

Table 95. Asymmetrical serial verb constructions in Brokpa

MINOR VERB	MEANING	SECONDARY SPECIFICATION
taŋ	'to do'	certainty
taŋ	'to send'	direction of motion
ʑa?	'to keep, to leave'	imposition
dʑin	'to give'	valency change
dʱœ	'to stay, to sit'	progressive aspect
ta	'to see'	trying, checking

The list of verbs, provided in Table 95, which can occur as a minor verb in SVCs are far from exhaustive, as is the case with the secondary specifications assigned to them. There could be several other verbs, occurring as a minor verb within SVCs, with further interesting secondary specifications.

In Brokpa, based on all our examples in this section, it does appear that there is a syntactic constraint which rules that a minor verb has to follow the main verb in an asymmetrical SVC. For example, in *tʰen + ʑa?* (pull + keep) 'to pull', the order of components always has to be like this with the major verb *tʰen* 'to pull' preceding the minor verb *ʑa?* 'to keep/leave'. The reverse order **ʑa? + tʰen* is not only odd, but is not acceptable. Cross-linguistically, it is not necessary for the order of components in an asymmetrical SVC to "iconically reflect the sequence of verbal subactions" (see Aikhenvald 2018a:84). However, the asymmetrical SVCs in Brokpa reflect the use of,

what Givón (2001a:35) calls, 'sequence-order principle of iconicity'. The verb which has more semantic influence on the resulting SVC occupies the V1 slot, a lesser V2. Cross-linguistically the minor component in asymmetrical SVCs have a tendency to grammaticalize (see Aikhenvald 2018a:68). Synchronically, the minor component of an asymmetrical SVC in Brokpa can potentially have all the verbal properties, but can be viewed as an instance of semantic bleaching, whereby the original verbal meaning is lost and a new meaning of secondary specification is obtained.

12.11.2 Symmetrical serial verbs

In a symmetrical SVC, 'the components come from the open unrestricted class of verbs which cover sequences of subactions, concomitant actions related together, or alternating between one another, cause-effect and result, and manner' (see Aikhenvald 2018a:73). Strictly speaking, in Brokpa the symmetrical SVCs are not as common as the asymmetrical ones. This may be partly due to the fact that a sequence of two verbs describing two different events are separated by some markers on the first verb, drawing a clear distinction between a clause chain and an SVC.

However, one can find a few examples of verb-verb sequences which are not clause chains but symmetrical SVCs which express a sequence of subactions within a single predicate. Examples include:

(494) a. raŋ=ge yo **sar**+**kʰer**-ri=di
SELF=ERG puffed.rice pack+take-PERV=DEF
'The puffed rice that one has packed and brought (pack bring)'

b. so: den go:m da ŋa
rice PART evening PART 1SG

tsum+duŋ=næ to:=ʑi? **tɕo**+**za**-yu=se
stone.mortar+beat=SEQ rice=INDEF cook+eat-IMPERV=QUOT
'I will cook and eat the rice by husking it in the evening (make/cook eat)'

c. náma **pak** + **k^{h}er**-zin
bride separate + take-SIM
'While identifying and taking the bride (separate take)...'

d. ya = te ɖo-zin **gon** + **k^{h}er**-ri = gi golam = di....
up = ALL go-SIM wear + take-PERV = GEN cloth = DEF
'The cloth which was worn and taken while going up (wear take)....'

In all the sentences in (494), the two verbs in the SVC contain two subactions which are subparts of an event viewed as a whole, in line with Aikhenvald (2018a:73). There may be further types of symmetrical SVCs in Brokpa. This is an area for further study. Note that the verb sequences in symmetrical SVCs show a tendency to undergo lexicalization. For example, the meaning of *pak* + *k^{h}er* 'separate + take', (494c) can also be interpreted as having a single verbal meaning 'to take'; this also applies to the predicates realized by an SVC in (494a), (494b), and (494d). The meaning of an SVC is not the sum total of the meanings of its individual components.

12.11.3 Serial verbs: wordhood and contiguity

An SVC forms a single grammatical word, but may constitute one or more phonological words in line with the stress pattern (see Chapter 2; also Chapter 3). An SVC in Brokpa is analyzed as one grammatical word because an SVC is a single predicate on its own or fills the slot of the head of a verb phrase, just like a compound verb stem formed by means of NI, and forms a predicate with other lexical and grammatical elements. Further, as the examples in this chapter illustrate, the component verbs of an SVC share TAM morphology and the morphology associated with polarity and knowledge distinction. As noted earlier above, an SVC describes a single event.

In terms of contiguity, in the underlying structure, an SVC is contiguous and remains so in the positive polarity in most instances. For negative polarity, the negation marker is inserted between the two components of an SVC. Further, although it is rare for two components of an SVC to be non-contiguous in positive polarity, certain modifying elements of the head verb of a VP may be allowed to intervene. Consider:

(495) a. ʔani ʔadʑaŋ = ge p^ha = la **tɕo-má-k^her**-ri
aunt uncle = ERG there = ALL escort-NEG-take-NOMZ.PERV

ʔuntɕin = di = la norze tsi + gya-gyu
before = DEF = LOC cattle.GIFT calculation + do-IMPERV
'The parents-in-law decide the wedding gifts before escorting (their daughter) that side (to the groom's house)'

b. k^hi = ge **ploi** tɕitɕin **taŋ**-ŋai lo
2:PL = ERG plough how do-NOMZ Q
'How did you plough?'

As shown in bold in (495a), the negation marker occurs between two roots within a grammatical word. Strictly speaking, the negation marker occurs as a prefix only when the predicate is realized by a monomorphemic verb. If a predicate consists of two or more verb roots and/or modal auxiliaries, the negation marker can apply to any verb root or an auxiliary. It depends on which element, whether a verb root or an auxiliary, is placed in focus for the negation to apply. The ability to take the negation marker is one of the reasons why the modal markers are considered auxiliaries and not suffixes. Otherwise, as noted earlier above, the modal auxiliaries in Brokpa behave exactly like inflectional affixes. Note, however, that a predicate is negated only once, irrespective of whether it is on the verb stem or on an auxiliary (see Chapter 13).

Note also that in my corpus, the components of SVCs consistently appear contiguous, with the marker of negation between two verb roots if the predicate is in negative polarity. However, based on the observation of everyday conversations, it is possible for the components of an SVC to be scattered within a clause as in (495b). As shown in bold in (495b), the two components of the SVC *ploi* + *taŋ* (plough + do) 'to plough' are made non-contiguous by the interrogative *tɕitɕin* 'how'.

As with a NI, the components of an SVC can be contiguous or non-contiguous in the surface syntax. However, an SVC always forms a single predicate and describes a single event even if its components are scattered in the surface syntax. The two

verb roots of an SVC always share a single set of verbal morphology. The two component verbs cannot be negated separately nor can they take TAM or other grammatical markers separately.

12.12 Predicate structure: summary

In this chapter I have examined the structure of the predicate in Brokpa, encompassing the predicate of a dependent clause and a main clause. In particular, I have looked at the structure of VP in Brokpa, which can be viewed in terms of fourteen major slots, including the slots occupied by enclitics that have clausal scope. A particular slot may have subslots within it. For example, an epistemic modality and a deontic modality may co-occur occupying two different subslots within a single overall modal slot.

A VP can be realized by a single monomorphemic verb in the imperative form or it can contain a head verb plus a number of lexical and grammatical modifiers. In most instances, a VP and the predicate are the same. However, a VP in Brokpa may include manner modifiers within it, just as an NP includes adjectival modifiers within it. In that case, the VP and the predicate do not match. Therefore, a simple formula for the predicate in Brokpa can be:

Pred = VP - Manner Modifiers

When a VP involves a manner modifier, it consists of two grammatical words because a manner adverb is a separate grammatical word and a predicate in Brokpa is an instance of one grammatical word, whether it is realized by a simple verb root or a compound verb stem plus the grammatical elements.

Further, we have seen that the head of a VP can be filled by a verb stem formed via the lexical compounding type of NI. NI is a highly productive process for deriving compound verb stems. Furthermore, we have seen that the head slot of a VP can be filled by an SVC.

There are two different types of SVCs in Brokpa: asymmetrical and symmetrical. The asymmetrical SVCs are more common than the symmetrical ones. The minor

verbs in asymmetrical SVCs come from the verbs of Attention, Sitting (motion or posture verbs), and the verbs of Giving. The minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs impart secondary specifications including aspect and valency change. Only the symmetrical SVCs expressing a sequence of actions are found in Brokpa. There could be further types of asymmetrical as well as symmetrical SVCs which deserve further studies.

Chapter 13

Non-spatial setting

This chapter deals with the parameters of non-spatial setting in Brokpa. They include aspect, phase, and modality, which are the properties of the predicate and of the clause, along the lines of Dixon (2012:4). Other parameters of non-spatial setting which apply simultaneously at the predicate level and at the clause level in Brokpa include the categories of knowledge including egophoricity, evidentially, and mirativity. For general reference, I will use the label 'knowledge' to include all three categories. Where an exact knowledge specification is necessary, the name for a particular knowledge category will be used.

13.1 Aspect

Tense and aspect are generally contrasted in languages. While tense relates to grammaticalized time distinctions, aspect relates to the structure of event. It is instructive to briefly examine the notions of tense and grammatical aspect in the literature before embarking on an investigation of these parameters in Brokpa.

Tense, as commonly defined, is a grammaticalized expression of location in time, which usually has the utterance time as the reference point (see, among others, Comrie 1985:9; Bhat 1999:14; and Aikhenvald 2015a:34). Dixon (2012:10) discusses tense as a grammatical category with a shifting reference, concerned with time. Lyons (1977:677) emphasizes the fact that tense is a deictic category. Comrie (1976a:5) points out that "tense is a deictic category which locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment". Along similar lines, Timberlake (2007) notes

that tense is a "deictic operation that locates events and their contextual occasions with respect to the here-and-now of speech".

Aspect, on the other hand, is a "grammatical representation of the internal structure and composition of activity" (see Aikhenvald 2015a:136). Aspect is concerned with, in Comrie's (1976a:5) words, the "internal constituency of the situation". In the words of Bhat (1999:43), aspect is concerned with the "temporal structure of an event". In the same vein, Timberlake (2007) notes that "aspect morphology shows how situations are related to some occasion internal to the ongoing discourse or text", which he terms as a "contextual occasion".

Clearly then, tense is a grammatical category which refers to the time of an event or a state in relation to the moment of speaking or some other temporal reference point. In contrast, aspect is not concerned with the moment of speaking or any temporal reference point, but how a discourse is organized in relation to some occasion. In a nutshell, tense indicates location in time typically with reference to the present moment, while aspect provides a view of the structure of an event or state, regarded as a whole.

It would be instructive to look at whether Brokpa has a dedicated present tense marker. Dixon (2012:13) notes that "present is a rather enigmatic tense". This is certainly the case in Brokpa. There are different ways of presenting the event or state in the present in Brokpa. As will be discussed in §13.1.3, Brokpa has an imperfective suffix *-gi* (or its allomorph *-ki*) which can be used in generic statements. The suffix *-gi* can occur with a marker of knowledge such as the egophoric *-yo* or the factual *-na*, and the resulting forms (*-gi-yo* or *gi-na*) appear to be describing a present activity (see 'predicate structure' in Chapter 12). However, on closer examination, and as will be illustrated later, these same suffixes (*-yo* and *-na*) are associated with knowledge distinction and also occur in perfective or in imperfective aspect. Therefore, neither of these two knowledge markers, *-yo* and *-na,* is specifically associated with a particular aspect.

Moreover, when the egophoric *-yo* is attached to the suffix *-gi*, it has more of an overtone of continuous or progressive aspect than of present tense. This is because the egophoric marker *-yo* is originally from the existential verb *yo* which inherently has a progressive meaning. The existential verb *yo* in Brokpa is close to the English verb 'have'.

In keeping with the oft-quoted definitions of tense and aspect, some of which were given above, the morphological coding of time in Brokpa is better described as an aspect than a tense system, although the two notions interact in certain contexts. The markers dealing with situation in time in Brokpa do not locate time with reference to the present moment nor do they make clear ternary nor binary contrasts in relation to the moment of speaking. Brokpa marks aspect, and a temporal reading of an aspect form is either contextual or corollary to its main meaning.

On the other hand, there is substantial evidence suggesting that Brokpa makes aspectual distinctions. One piece of evidence in favour of the aspect analysis comes from negation. The marking of negation shows a binary contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect in a declarative clause. The negation marker *ma-* expresses the negation of an event viewed as a complete whole, e.g., ***ma**-gyak-pi* (NEG-do-PERV) 'did not do'. In contrast, the negation marker *mi-* marks an incomplete action including on-going event and future, *mi-ɖo* (NEG-go) 'not going/will not go'. The negation of an event in perfective aspect cannot be shown by the marker *mi-* (**mi-tɕ^{h}ok-pi*). In the same vein, the negation of an incomplete action cannot be shown by the marker *ma-* (**ma-taŋ-gyu*). Clearly then, the morphological coding of negation exhibits a binary— perfective versus imperfective— aspectual contrast (see Chapter 14 for further discussion on negation).

A further piece of evidence supporting the aspect analysis, rather than tense, in Brokpa lies in the verb stem alternation. For those verbs which undergo stem alternation, there is one form for the perfective and another for the imperfective aspect in declarative clauses. Note that an imperative may have a different form or the same

as an imperfective form. [1] For example, the verb form *zæ* 'eat:PERV' versus the form *za* 'eat:IMPERV' are two different forms for perfective and imperfective aspect, distinguished by a vowel gradation.

The same imperfective verb form *za-* is used in all but the perfective aspect: the future imperfective *-gyu*, as in *za-gyu* (eat-IMPERV) 'will eat'; the imperfective marker *-gi*, as in *za-gi* (eat-IMPERV) 'eats/eating'; and the imperfective *-gi* with the egophoric marker *-yo*, which gives a progressive reading, *-gi-yo*, as in *za-gi-yo* (eat-PRES.CONT.IMPERV-EGO) 'is eating'.

The perfective marker can occur only with a perfective verb stem and the imperfective marker with imperfective verb stem, e.g. *zæ-pʰi* 'eat-PERV' and *za-gyu* 'eat-IMPERV'. The imperfective marker *-gyu* cannot occur with the perfective verb stem (**zæ-gyu*) nor the perfective marker with an imperfective verb stem (**za-pʰi*). In summary, there is one verb stem *zæ* for the perfective aspect and another stem *za* for everything which is not perfective.

In the traditional grammars of Classical Tibetan, verb stems are described as having three tense distinctions in declarative clauses, shown by different spellings: past, present, and future. For example the verb 'to see' is written <bltas> in the past, <lta> in the present, and <blta> in the future. In Classical Tibetan too, these three distinctions are maintained only in the orthography. The last two— the present <lta> and the future <blta>— are both read as [tɐ]. DeLancey (2003a) points out that the present verb stem in Classical Tibetan is better interpreted as imperfective and the past verb stem as perfective.

Therefore, the grammatical category that deals with the situation in time in Brokpa can be regarded as an aspect. This is also in agreement with Matisoff's (2017) observation that aspect, and not tense, is the major verbal category of Tibeto-Burman languages. Lidz (2010:423) similarly notes that representation of time in Tibeto-Burman languages is commonly achieved by aspect.

[1] The imperative form may be the same as the imperfective form or may be a different form via ablaut or suppletion (see Chapter 14).

Brokpa broadly makes two aspectual contrasts, with perfective on the one hand and imperfective aspect on the other. There are two kinds of perfective aspect: the general perfective, simply referred to as 'perfective', and the direct evidential perfective, glossed 'direct perfective' (§13.1.2). The perfective, that is the 'general perfective', is shown by the suffix *-pi* ~ *-pe* and its allomorphs (§13.1.1), and the direct perfective by the suffix *-soŋ*. The direct perfective suffix *-soŋ* is associated with the past tense, in that it always codes events or situations that took place in the past. This makes full sense because one uses the evidential to talk about what one has seen. This is also in line with the cross-linguistic tendency to make more evidential distinctions in perfects and pasts than in other tenses/aspects (see also Aikhenvald 2015c). The perfective suffix *-pi* (and its allomorphs) marks a completed action or an action which may not necessarily be completed, but which can be conceived as a whole and bounded.

Similarly, there are two sets of imperfective markers: *-gi* (and allomorphs) and *-gu* ~ *-gyu* (and allomorphs). The imperfective suffix *-gi* typically marks an ongoing event, and is simply referred to as 'imperfective'. The imperfective suffix *-gu* is typically associated with an event that has not yet taken place, and is labelled 'future imperfective'. Note, however, that sometimes *-gu* may be used with regard to an ongoing event also. The label 'future' with 'imperfective' is only to distinguish between the two forms of the imperfective markers.

Furthermore, both perfective suffix *-pi* and imperfective *-gu* can be used with the lexical time word *data* 'now', as in *ŋa=i data lap-pʰi* 'I have said now'; *kʰo data ɖo-gu* 'He will go now/he is going now'. This suggests that *-gu* is not just a future marker but also codes an incomplete action including 'now' which overlaps with the moment of speaking. The suffix *-pi* denotes a complete action including the moment of speaking or, sometimes, after the moment of speaking. Similarly, the imperfective marker *-gi* can also be used with a lexical time word with a present meaning such as *data* 'now' if a precise time location needs to be made, as in *ŋa data ɖo-gi* (1SG now go-PRES.IMPERV) 'I am going now'.

Note that an aspect may be shown by an inherent property of the lexical semantics of a verb such as the 'sit' verb. This lexical coding of aspect, or Aktionsart, falls under serial verb constructions (see Chapter 12). This section is concerned only with the grammatical marking of aspect.

13.1.1 The perfective aspect

The perfective aspect casts an event as a whole without respect for its temporal constituency or composition, along the lines of Dixon (2012:35) and Aikhenvald (2015a:136). Timberlake (2007) points out that "perfective aspect imposes boundaries on situations at the contextual occasion". In Brokpa, the perfective aspect applies to predicates describing events that are viewed as bounded and telic, that is having a goal or endpoint. As introduced in §13.1, the perfective aspect is shown by the suffix *-pi* ~ *-pe* which has a number of allomorphs. Note that the perfective aspect marker can also be used on stative verbs, e.g. *ʑik-pʰi* (fear-PERV) 'feared'. The same suffix or an allomorph coding perfective aspect also functions as the grammatical nominalizer, discussed under §8.2.2. The allomorphs include *-pi*, *-pʰi*, *-bi*, *-mi*, *-ni*, *-ŋai/-ŋi*, *-ri*, *-li*, and *-ti*.[2]

Further note that other deverbal nominalizers (see Chaper 8.2) are not formed on perfective aspect, only the grammatical nominalizer *-pi* is. The suffix *-pi* marks a completed action or denotes a complete situation in Brokpa (see Comrie 1976a:18 for a distinction between 'complete' versus 'completed' in the discussion of aspect), which is a perfective aspect. Besides marking a completed action, the perfective may also denote a situation as a whole, without distinguishing their internal structure. For example, the perfective may mark an event that did not take place at the moment of speaking, but which can be viewed as bounded and telic with a definite end point, sure to take place soon after the present moment.

[2] For some speakers, *-pi* is realized as *-pe*. This same variation applies to some other allomorphs such as *-pʰi* and *-bi*, with a free variant *-pʰe* and *-b*e respectively. However, other allomorphs such as*-ni*, *-ri*, and *-li* do not show this free variation pattern. The forms *-ŋai* and *-ŋi* are the same allomorph, with the former found more in the Merak accent and the latter in the Sakteng accent.

The choice of a perfective allomorph is not always predictable. In general, there appears to be a phonological condition on the verb stem which requires that the coda of the verb stem be either the same as the initial consonant of the perfective allomorph, or that the coda of the verb stem must belong to the same place of articulation as the onset of the perfective allomorph. However, there are numerous instances in which this condition is not met. One can see how notoriously difficult it will be for a non-native speaker of Brokpa to learn to speak this language.

Since there are no clear rules behind the selection of allomorphs coding perfective aspect, it may well be regarded as a lexical, item-based, principle, following Bickel and Nichols (2007:184). This means that a perfective allomorph in Brokpa is selected more according to lexical contexts than rules. Therefore, the Brokpa perfective allomorphs are best regarded as 'preferences' rather than 'rules'. There are some tendencies though, and some allomorphs have a historical explanation, which will be made clear in this section.

A comparison with Classical Tibetan may provide some diachronic information regarding the choice of a perfective allomorph in Brokpa, since the orthography of Classical Tibetan represents an earlier stage of a Bodish language. For example, we can tell whether a verb in Brokpa has lost or retained its coda consonant by looking at the spellings of its cognate form in Classical Tibetan. However, the orthography does not show much regarding the choice of allormorphs of a grammatical marker such as the perfective aspect. Further, there may not be diachronic and synchronic connection for every lexical or grammatical element between Brokpa and Old/Classical Tibetan. In this instance, a diachronic comparison does not provide much information about how the choice of a perfective aspect allomorph works synchronically in Brokpa.

Since the allomorphs of perfective aspect marker are not governed by any absolute rule, an ideal solution is to consider them as lexical and item-based, as noted above, and then list as many verb roots as possible, sharing the same allomorph. If any

diachronic explanation can be provided based on the orthography of Classical Tibetan or on the synchronic phonemic shapes of the verb roots, that will be done.

13.1.1.1 The perfective allomorph *-pi*

A partial listing of verb roots that take the perfective allomorph *-pĩ* ~ *-pe* is provided in Table 96:

Table 96. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-pi* in Brokpa

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
ɖik-pi	arrange-PERV	*lúk-pi*	pour-PERV	*blot-pi*	grumble-PERV
gyak-pi	do-PERV	*tɕak-pi*	break-PERV	*ɕot-pi*	jump-PERV
yúk-pi	wave-PERV	*múk-pi*	bite-PERV	*ʑit-pi*	sit-PERV
lok-pi	return-PERV	*lók-pi*	recite-PERV	*dʱot-pi*	desire-PERV
ʑak-pi	place-PERV	*yar-pi*	run-PERV	*pʰok-pi*	hit-PERV

The verb forms in Brokpa, given in Table 96, have cognates in Classical Tibetan. However, the traditional orthography of the cognate verbs in Classical Tibetan do not provide a clear rule for the perfective allomorph *-pi* in Brokpa.

For example, the verb *ɖik* 'to arrange, to fix' in Brokpa is cognate with the Classical Tibetan verb written <bsgrigs> in the past, <sgrig> in the present, <bsgrig> in the future, and <sgrigs> in the imperative. If we consider the spellings of the past form, it ends in the letter <s>. This is the same case for the Classical Tibetan verb <blugs>, cognate with the Brokpa verb *lúk* 'to pour', which also ends in <s> in the past and the imperative, as in <blugs>. On this basis, it may be tempting to suggest that the allomorph *-pi* in Brokpa occurs after those verbs which historically may have had the final /s/.

However, there are also several verbs in Classical Tibetan which do not end in <s>, but their cognate forms in Brokpa take the perfective allomorph *-pi*. For example, the Brokpa verb *ʑak* 'to keep' takes the allomoprh *-pi*, but in Classical Tibetan this verb is <bzhag> in the past, <'jog> in the present, <gzhag> in the future, and

<zhog> in the imperative, all ending in <g>. This is also the case with the Brokpa verb *lok* 'return' which is cognate with <log> in Classical Tibetan. Further, the verb *dʱot* 'to desire, to want' which selects the perfective allomorph *-pi* in Brokpa is <'dod> in Classical Tibetan, ending in <d> in all three tenses. Therefore, not every Brokpa verb that takes the perfective allomorph *-pi* had the final /s/ historically.

Synchronically, most verb roots that take the allomorph *-pi* end in the phoneme /k/, thus providing a clear-cut tendency. Note that there are several exceptions to this rule such as those ending in /t/ and /r/. Furthermore, some other perfective allomorphs, and not just *-pi*, also attach to the verb roots ending in /k/.

In summary, as noted above, the selection of allomorph *-pi* is best considered as a lexical preference rather than a rule. Both diachronic considerations and synchronic states do not provide a clear rule for an allomorphic selection.

The perfective suffix *-pi* may apply directly to the verb stem that functions as head of the predicate within a main clause, when it is not in a nominalizing function, as in (496a) and (496b):

(496) a. náma tɕik=ke ɖik-**pi**
wife one=INST be.ok-PERV
'One wife will suffice'

b. lákɕiŋ gaŋ ʔo=la tɕak-**pi**=se
wooden.board ALL DEM.PROX=LOC break-PERV=QUOT
'It is said that all the wooden boards were broken here'

Example (496a) is taken from a text in which the speaker talks about the practice of polygamy. The speaker says that if there are three sons in a family, one of them would say something like (496a). In (496a), the event is not completed at the time of speaking. However, the event described by the predicate is viewed as bounded and telic, tending towards a goal; and, therefore, the perfective aspect allomorph is used.

Further, the perfective allomorph *-pi* can be attached to a minor verb within an SVC which makes certain secondary specifications (see Chapter 12), if the predicate

is realized by a complex predicate formed via serial verb constriction, as in (497a). If the predicate involves an auxiliary, achieving a valency-changing derivation such as the causative, the perfective marker is added to that morpheme within the predicate, as in (497b):

(497) a. dʱo = ba? tɕik tɕʰo? = la poŋ + ʑak-**pi**
rock = PL one RELAT:DIR = LOC pile + keep-PERV
'The rocks are piled up on the one side'

b. de = næ paŋʑuŋtse = la dok-sin mákpon = ba? = la
DEM = ABL Panzhungtse = LOC arrive-RT general = PL = DAT

taɖö + taŋ-tɕuk-**pi**
horse.race + do-CAUS-PERV
'After that, while arriving at Pangzhungtse, the generals were made to do horse racing'

Sentences (496b), (497a), and (497b) describe events which have already occurred.

As will be shown later in this section with some other perfective allomorphs, a perfective allomorph may also appear between the last modal auxiliary and the markers of the knowledge categories such as egophoricity and/or evidentially within a predicate (see 'verb phrase structure' in Chapter 12).

13.1.1.2 The perfective allomorph *-pʰi*

As with all other perfective allomorphs, the selection of the perfective allomorph *-pʰi* is based on lexical principle rather than on any rule. One can discern two principles underlying the choice of the perfective allomorph *-pʰi*:

1) A sequence of a verb root + the allomorphic suffix *-pʰi* forms a domain of application of a sound assimilation, depending on the initial consonant of the suffix. That is, since the initial consonant is aspirated, the final consonant of the verb root is aspirated in the surface form, as in *pak-pʰi* → [ˈpəkʰ.pʰi] 'speculate-PERV), a process of aspiration spread.

2) For some verbs, the final consonant of the verb stem is aspirated in the underlying form, and directly triggers the choice of this perfective allomorph *-pʰi*, as in *tsapʰ-pʰi* (chop-PERV). In this case, there is a consonant degemination taking place in the surface form, as in *tsapʰ-pʰi* → [tsɐː.pʰɪ] (say-PERV), with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Note that the verb root loses aspiration when it combines with other grammatical elements which do not begin with an aspirated consonant, such as the present imperfective allomorph *-ki* as in *tsap-ki* (chop-IMPERV) or the future imperfective allomorph *-ku* as in *tsap-ku* (say-IMPERV).

Table 97 gives a list of verb roots that combine with the perfective allomorph *-pʰi*.

Table 97. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-pʰi* in Brokpa

VERB	**GLOSS**	**VERB**	**GLOSS**	**VERB**	**GLOSS**
yúʔ-pʰi	wave-PERV	*gyuʔ-pʰi*	stroll-PERV	*pakʰ-pʰi*	speculate-PERV
siʔ-pʰi	shake-PERV	*pʰer-pʰi*	fly-PERV	*pʰar-pʰi*	cross-PERV
zaː-pʰi	climb-PERV	*dokʰ-pʰi*	arrive-PERV	*pʰik-pʰi*	pierce-PERV
ʑuʔ-pʰi	enter-PERV	*yoŋ-pʰi*	come-PERV	*brukʰ-pʰi*	dig-PERV
tui-pʰi	cut-PERV	*braː-pʰi*	mow-PERV	*lepʰ-pʰi*	slice-PERV
tɕʰi-pʰi	wipe-PERV	*tɕo-pʰi*	make-PERV	*tsapʰ-pʰi*	chop-PERV
tɕʰaː-pʰi	sweep-PERV	*dʑoː-pʰi*	lick-PERV	*rekʰ-pʰi*	shave-PERV
yóː-pʰi	roof-PERV	*lekʰ-pʰi*	plaster-PERV	*sokʰ-pʰi*	polish-PERV
dam-pʰi	select-PERV	*seŋ-pʰi*	increase-PERV	*kyoŋ-pʰi*	govern-PERV
tsʰaŋ-pʰi	be.enough-PERV	*tœ-pʰi*	see-PERV	*ʈoŋ-pʰi*	kill.HON-PERV
tʰo-pʰi	hear-PERV	*sam-pʰi*	think-PERV	*lap-pʰi*	say-PERV

From what is presented in Table 97, based on the synchronic state of the phonemic shapes of the verb roots taking the allomorph *-pʰi*, all one can say is that arbitrariness prevails, with a few exceptions where we can see some tendencies.

Diachronically, the cognate forms of a majority of the Brokpa verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-pʰi* have the final <s> in the past tense in Classical Tibetan, e.g. <g.yugs> 'to wave' and <bcos> 'to make'. One may be tempted to say that in Brokpa the allomorph *-pʰi* occurs following a verb root which historically might have had the final */s/*, although this may not fully address the issue of the synchronic state.

However, one can also find that some Classical Tibetan verbs, cognate with the Brokpa verbs that take other perfective allomorphs (and not *-pʰi*), also end in <s>. For example, the Brokpa verb *dzom* 'to meet' takes the perfective allomorph *-mi*, and its cognate form in Classical Tibetan is <'dzoms> ending in <s>. Similarly, some verbs in Classical Tibetan, cognate with the verbs which take the unaspirated allomorph *-pi* (§13.1.1.1) in Brokpa, also have the final <s>.

Furthermore, there are several other verb roots in Classical Tibetan with their cognate forms in Brokpa taking the *-pʰi* perfective allomorph, but not ending in <s> even in the past tense (Classical Tibetan verbs typically end in <s> in the past tense). For example, the Brokpa verb *tsʰɑŋ* 'to be enough' which selects the allomorph *-pʰi* ends in the digraph <ng> (the same as /ŋ/ in Brokpa), in the past tense in Classical Tibetan, and not in <s>. Similarly, the Brokpa verb *pʰer* 'to fly' is written <'phur> ending in <r> in all three tenses in Classical Tibetan.

Examples of the allomorph *-pʰi* coding perfective aspect include:

(498) a. ...ɖaɖik-gya=næ ma=la yoŋ-**pʰi**
ready-do=SEQ down=ALL come-PERV
'They readied and came down'

b. den Sakteng=la dokʰ-**pʰi**-yin-to
then Sakteng=LOC arrive-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'Then they arrived at Sakteng'

c. yaŋman kyi=yi ŋám+ton-tɕu? yaŋman buŋbu=i
DISJ:or dog=GEN sound+take.out-CAUS DISJ:or donkey=GEN

ŋám+ton-tɕu?-te ŋám+ton-go-**pʰi**-na ʔoyi
sound+take.out-CAUS-ADV sound+take.out-OBLIG-FACT up.there

tse=la
RELAT:TIP=LOC
'We have to make them produce a sound at the top up there, either by making them bark like a dog or bray like a donkey'

Both (498a) and (498b) express a bounded event temporally and spatially, 'they came down' in (498a), and 'they arrived at Sakteng' in (498b). In both, the perfec-

tive allomorph *-pʰi* marks a completed action. In (498c), the predicate which has the marker *-pʰi* does not describe a completed action; instead, the situation described by this predicate is viewed as something to be completed without explicitly referring to its internal temporal constituency, so the perfective allomorph *-pʰi* is employed. Note that every other perfective allomorph will be expected to have the same meaning.

13.1.1.3 The perfective allomorph *-bi*

In general, the allomorph *-bi* is added to the verb root ending in the voiced bilabial stop, /b/. One can clearly hear this perfective allomorph commencing with the phoneme /b/ in some verbs such as those listed in Table 98. The existence of the allomorph *-bi* indicates that the final consonant of the verbs to which it attaches is not the voiceless /p/, only *kab-bi* (cover-PERV) is plausible, **kap-bi* is not. A further piece of evidence confirming the existence of the perfective allomorph *-bi* comes from the fact that the verb *gya* 'to do' selects the perfective allomorph *-bi* even though the verb root has an open-syllable structure with no final /b/. Only *gya-bi* is normal, **gya-pi* is not attested. On the other hand, *gyak-pi* is normal and **gyak-bi* is an odd combination of a verb root and a perfective allomorph.

The open-syllable verb root *gya* combining with the allomorph *-bi* also suggests that the perfective allomorph is to be analyzed as having the CV syllable structure, as *-bi*, and not V, as *-i*. One would think that since the perfective allomorphs are generally of the CV syllable structure with V typically filled by the vowel /i/ or /e/, and the C typically the same as the final consonant of the verb stem, the perfective allmorph could as well be analyzed as the vowel *-i* ~ *-e*. This is not possible because when a perfective allomorph occurs with an open-syllable verb stem such as *gya* it occurs as *-bi* (CV) and not as the bare vowel *-i* (V), that is **gya-i*, is not attested. Further, when a perfective allomorph occurs with a closed-syllable verb stem, it is realized as CV and not as V. For example, *dok-pʰi* (arrive-PERV) 'arrived' in which the closed-syllable verb stem *dok* takes the perfective allomorph *-pʰi* (CV) where the initial consonant of the

perfective allomorph is different from the final consonant of the verb stem, and the verb stem plus perfective allomorph is not **dok-i*.

A reason behind the Brokpa verb root *gya* taking the allomorph *-bi* can be explained in diachronic terms. As noted in Chapter 12, Old/Classical Tibetan has three verb roots which are similar but not exactly the same: <bya> 'to do', and <rgyab> and <rgyak> which share the same meanings including 'to close' and 'to strike' but are written differently. The first root is an open syllable, the second ends in <b>, and the third in <g>.

Brokpa also has two such verb roots with similar meanings but distinct phonology— *gya* and *gyak*— with the former selecting the allomorph *-bi* and the latter *-pi*. Perhaps, Brokpa *gya* is a reflex of the Classical Tibetan <rgyab> which has the final <b>, and therefore it selects the allomorph *-bi* even though the final /b/ does not exist synchronically in Brokpa. It just goes on to show that a language can have a strategy of refreshing the memory of its proto forms. Most of the cognate forms of these verbs taking the allomorph *-bi* in Brokpa also end in <b> in Classical Tibetan. This suggests that proto-Brokpa too may have had this same set of verbs ending in a voiced bilabial stop. Perhaps, this is an instance where diachrony meets the synchrony in Brokpa. This is in agreement with earlier findings on renewal of morphological markers in the history of languages (see, for example, Heath 1978).

Table 98. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-bi* in Brokpa

VERB	**GLOSS**	**VERB**	**GLOSS**
gya-bi	do-PERV	*pub-bi*	veil-PERV
kab-bi	cover-PERV	*t^{h}ob-bi*	get-PERV
la:len + t^{h}ab-bi	utilize-PERV	*sowantab-bi*	pray-PERV
pub-bi	turn.upside.down-PERV	*t^{h}ub/t^{h}ob-bi*	withstand-PERV

Examples of the perfective allomorph *-bi* coding perfective aspect include:

(499) a. lala tɕʰaŋ tʰuŋ-tʰub-**bi** lala tɕʰaŋ tʰuŋ-má-tʰub-**bi**
some alcohol drink-ABIL-PERV some alcohol drink-NEG-ABIL-PERV
'Some could drink alcohol; some could not drink alcohol'

b. den lala wolaini den dütsʰe=ʑi?=la
then some meanwhile then time=INDEF=LOC

ten den dɦo-má-tʰub-**bi**
due.to PART stay-NEG-ABIL-PERV
'Then some could not stay due to time (constraints)'

In (499a), there are two juxtaposed clauses each forming a sentence on its own, with finite morphology. The perfective *-bi* denotes the action of drinking alcohol as a single whole. Sentence (499b) describes a completed action, as is typical for a perfective marker.

13.1.1.4 The perfective allomorph *-mi*

Recall from Chapter 8 that the suffix *-mi* marks an event nominalization, and is not an allomorph of the grammatical or object nominalizer *-pi*. However, the suffix *-mi* occurs within the predicate of a main clause and can be reinterpreted as an aspect marker. My English-literate consultants, however, gave *-mi* as a marker of past tense (completed action) on verbs such as *dʑom* 'to meet' or *pʰam* 'to defeat'. In my corpus, the suffix *-mi* typically mark events which is not yet completed, but may be viewed as bounded and telic, which is also one of the semantic effects of all other allomorphs, as noted at the beginning. Consider:

(500) a. ŋe=raŋ gango=ba? te da soso
1PL=REFL.EMPH decrepit=PL PART PART separate

tʰön=næ den ʔotɕin ɖo-**mi**-yin
go.out-SEQ PART like.this go-PERV-EGO
'We, the decrepit with old age, will go like that moving out separately'

b. den da petam = di ʔo-ɖou = ɕiʔ
then PART saying = DEF DEM-SIMI = INDEF

ɕik = næ den poŋpoŋ + gya-mi = gi sö = ɕiʔ
narrate = SEQ then talk + do-NOMZ = GEN tradition = INDEF

duŋ = se ʑu-**mi**-yin
EXIST.PERV = QUOT say.HON-PERV-EGO
'There was a tradition of discussing (like that) by using such sayings'

c. da tɕi yin-ne ɲæn-**mi**-yin = se
PART what COP.EGO-CNSV listen-PERV-COP.EGO = QUOT

ʑu-yo
say.HON-EXIST.EGO
'I would like to say that, whatever it is, I will listen'

The predicate in both (500a) and (500c) describes an imminent action. The action is not completed, but is about to begin which can be viewed as a complete whole, and is therefore presented within the framework of perfective aspect.

In (500b), the suffix *-mi* occurs with the honorific verb *ʑu* 'say.HON'. The suffix *-mi* mostly occurs with this verb optionally followed by the egophoric copula *yin* or the polite particle *lɑ̃*, typically functioning as a sentence-closing morpheme.

Whereas the object nominalizer *-pi* (and its allomorphic variants) marks a perfective aspect referring either to a completed action or an action to be completed in the future but viewed as telic and bounded, the event nominalizer *-mi* marks one perfective aspect which is typically the latter. This is another piece of evidence that points towards these morphemes being aspect markers rather than tense markers. This suffix is neither specifically associated with the present nor with the future, but with both.

Table 99. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-mi* in Brokpa

VERB	**GLOSS**	**VERB**	**GLOSS**
dʒom-mi	meet-PERV	*núm-mi*	smell-PERV
pʰam-mi	lose-PERV	*ɲam-mi*	compare-PERV
taŋ-mi	send-PERV	*ɲæn-mi*	listen-PERV

Note that with certain verbs such as *ɲæn* 'to listen', the allomorph *-ni* and *-mi* are used interchangeably. The verb root *ɲæn-* typically takes the perfective allomorph *-ni*, but it also takes *-mi*, as shown in (500c).

13.1.1.5 The perfective allomorph *-ni*

Example verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-ni* are given in Table 100.

Table 100. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-ni* in Brokpa

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
dʑin-ni	give-PERV	*len-ni*	acquire-PERV
gon-ni	wear-PERV	*ɲæn-ni*	obey-PERV
ʑin-ni	grasp-PERV	*ton-ni*	show-PERV
kʰyen-ni	know.HON-PERV	*yin-ni*	COP.EGO-PERV
tin-ni	lay-PERV	*man-ni*	NEG.COP.EGO-PERV

Note that most verbs in Brokpa are polysemous. For example, the verb *ʑin* is a verb root which can mean 'to grasp/seize/capture/to take hold of', 'to learn by heart', 'to complete/finish', etc., depending on contexts. It can also form compound verb stems by incorporating different nominal roots or by means of serial verb constructions.

As can be seen in Table 100, the perfective allomorph *-ni* occurs after a verb stem ending in the consonant /n/. Similar to *-bi*, the verbs combining with the allomorph *-ni* are also congruent with the diachronic scenario. Most cognate forms in the past tense in Classical Tibetan end in <n>, e.g. <byin> 'give' (cf. Brokpa *dʑin*>, <mkhyen> 'know.HON' (cf. Brokpa *kʰyen*), <bstan> 'show, teach' (cf. Brokpa *ton*).

However, there are also instances in which the Classical Tibetan verbs in the past tense form do not have the final <n>, but cognate with the Brokpa verbs take the perfective allomorph *-ni*. For example, the equivalent form of the Brokpa verb *len* 'to acquire' is <blangs> in Classical Tibetan in the past tense, and it has the final <s> and not <n>. Similarly, the past form of the verb 'to lay out, to spread out' in Classical Tibetan is <bting>, again ending <ng> [ŋ] and not in <n>.

This suggests that, historically, the initial consonant of the perfective allomorph may not necessarily have been the same as the final consonant of the verb stem, a reason why this allomorph is analyzed as *-ni* (CV) and not *-i* (V). Further, I have noticed a few instances in which the allomorph *-ni* is used with the verb *dʑom ~ ʑom* 'to meet' which has the final /m/. This means that the marker *-ni* is transferred as a unit with the CV syllable structure.

In summary, the perfective allomorph *-ni* typically occurs following the verb roots ending in nasal coda /n/, but it is also possible for it to occur with the verbs ending in different coda. Hence, the lexical-based principle applies.

Examples of the allomorph *-ni* marking perfective aspect include:

(501) a. ɲim diriŋ=næ pʰa=la ŋe=ge wóŋ+zin-**ni**-yin
day today=ABL thither=ALL 1PL=ERG power+grasp-PERV-EGO
'From today, we have taken hold of you'

b. te bartɕʰaŋ=gi temre=di=su
PART middle.drink=GEN celebration=DEF=PL

tsi+zin-**ni**=daŋ...
celebrate+complete-PERV=COM.CNTV..
'As soon as the Middle Drink ceremony is held...'

c. data ʔo zum=ʑi? dʑin-**ni**
now DEM.PROX similar=INDEF give-PERV
'We have given so much now'

As noted at the beginning of this section, in all example sentences in (501), the allomorph *-ni* denotes the situation as a whole, without distinguishing their internal structure. For example, in (501b), the event did not take place at the moment of speaking, but it is viewed as bounded and telic with a definite end point, sure to take place soon after the present moment, and therefore realized in a perfective aspect.

13.1.1.6 The perfective allomorph *-ŋai*

Synchronically, the allomorph *-ŋai* follows a verb stem ending in /ŋ/ which is consistent with the general statement made above. That is, the initial consonant of the perfective allomorph is typically the same as the final consonant of the verb stem.[3] This may also accord well with its diachronic origin. A majority of the sets of likely cognates in Classical Tibetan end in digraph <ng> which, according to the Wylie (1959) input scheme is used for the fourth consonant letter in Classical Tibetan, which is a dorsovelar nasal [ŋ].[4] Examples include <btang> 'to send' (cf. Brokpa *taŋ*), <bkang> 'to fill up' (cf. Brokpa *kaŋ*). Note, however, that there can be exception to this adherence also. For example, the past tense form of the verb <lang> 'to raise, to rise' is actually <langs> with an <s> in Classical Tibetan (cf. Brokpa *laŋ*). One would expect the past form in Classical Tibetan to be the same as the perfective form in Brokpa.

Table 101 gives a partial listing of the Brokpa verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-ŋai*.

Table 101. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-ŋai* in Brokpa

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
taŋ-ŋai	do/send-PERV	*dʑuŋ-ŋai*	arise-PERV
kaŋ-ŋai	fill-PERV	*ɲoŋ-ŋai*	get-PERV
tʰoŋ-ŋai	see-PERV	*náŋ-ŋai*	give.HON-PERV
yoŋ-ŋai	come-PERV	*láŋ-ŋai*	raise-PERV

Note that the verb root *yoŋ* 'to come' typically occurs with the allomorph *-pʰi*, as shown in (498a). I found a single instance of the allomorph *-ŋai* appearing with the verb *yoŋ* in my corpus, as in (502):

[3] Note that the perfective allomorph *-ŋai* is also realized as *-ŋi* and, sometimes, *-ŋe*, especially in Sakteng.

[4] Wylie is a method for transliterating Tibetan script into Roman script. This system accurately reproduces written Old/Classical Tibetan which represents an earlier stage of a Bodish branch, within Tibeto-Burman, to which Brokpa belongs.

(502) ...go = daŋ pʰu: bre = daŋ
beginning = COM.CNTV ultimate measuring.bowl = COM.CNTV

ɦoŋ = se lap-pʰi = di tɕakʰan yoŋ-**ŋai**-min
CONTENT = QUOT say-NOMZ = DEF how come-PERV-NEG.EGO
'One cannot be sure how the so-called 'The Beginning and the Ultimate, the Measuring Bowl and the Contents' will be"

The allomorph *-ŋai* occurs within the predicate of the main clause in (502) to which another clause is adjoined by means of a nominalization plus the marker of definiteness. It appears that *-ŋai* has a nominalizing function here.

Examples of the allomorph *-ŋai* marking perfective aspect include:

(503) a. muzu = gi donda = la raŋ = ge po: pʰekpa = ɕi?
other = GEN purpose = DAT SELF = ERG slapping CL:ELG = INDEF

taŋ-ma-ɲoŋ-**ŋai**
do-NEG-experience-PERV
'We have not laid a hand on you for the sake of others'
Lit. 'We have not done a slapping for other purpose'

b. ...tɕʰuba gaŋyu bræ lo? = la ɕoŋ-ʑak-pi
cloth all cliff RELAT:side = LOC hang-leave-PERV-FACT = QUOT

tʰoŋ-**ŋai**-na = se
see-PERV-FACT = REP
'It is said that they saw clothes hung on the cliff face'

In both (503a) and (503b), the allomorph *-ŋai* occurs within the predicate of the main clause coding perfective aspect. In (503a), it is placed after the second verb in a serial verb construction, and in (503b) immediately after the head verb of the main clause in a narrative. Note that the predicate in (503a) is realized by an SVC consisting of the verb *taŋ* 'to do' and *ɲoŋ* 'to experience'. This kind of placement is typical for the behaviour of perfective aspect in SVCs (see §12.1 for examples).

13.1.1.7 The perfective allomorph *-ri*

The vast majority of Brokpa verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-ri* has the coda /r/. However, as with other perfective allomorphs, there are also verbs which do not end in /r/ but select the allomorph *-ri*, as in *ɖo-ri* (go-PERV). Further, some verbs which take other allomorphs such as the verb *zin* 'to complete' which typically takes the allomorph *-ni* can also appear with the allomorph *-ri*, indicating that they can be in free variation. Since the perfective allomorph *-ri* can attach to verb roots that do not end in /r/, analyzing it as a bare vowel *-i* instead of *-ri* is not plausible. The form *-ri* attaches as a non-segmentable unit (CV) while occurring with a verb that does not end in /r/.

Furthermore, even when the final consonant of the monosyllabic verb stem and the initial consonant of a perfective allomorph are identical, the consonant sound appears distinctly on the second syllable, after the consonant degemination has applied. This same principle underpins all other verb stem and the perfective allomorph combinations. Table 102 gives a list of verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-ri*.

Table 102. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-ri* in Brokpa

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
tsʰor-ri	feel-PERV	*ʔur-ri*	brush-PERV
kʰur-ri	carry-PERV	*dur-ri*	compare-PERV
ɕor-ri	lose-PERV	*sor-ri*	change-PERV
kʰer-ri	take-PERV	*ɖo-ri*	go-PERV
tʰüɕor-ri	err-PERV	*dok-ri*	arrive-PERV
dar-ri	rub-PERV	*zin-ri*	complete-PERV

Examples of *-ri* marking perfective aspect include:

(504) a. diriŋ ʔo=la tɕar-**ri**-yo
today DEM.PROX=LOC come-PERV-EXIST.EGO
'I have come here today'

b. náma = di pʰetɕʰoʔ = la pak + kʰer-**ri** = daŋ....
bride = DEF that.side = ALL guide + take-PERV = COM.CNTV
'As soon as the bride is taken to the other side...'

As with other perfective allomorphs, *-ri* marks perfective aspect describing a completed action as in (504a) or yet to be completed, but viewed as a whole, as in (504b). Note that the morpheme *=daŋ*, cliticized to the perfective allomorph *-ri* in (504b) is a polyfunctional morpheme in Brokpa. Among others, it coordinates simultaneous clause, the reason why it appears following a main clause, in (504b), which could make up a complete sentence on its own.

13.1.1.8 The perfective allomorph *-li*

Based on the synchronic phonemic shape of the verb roots which take the perfective allomorph *-li*, one could say that it occurs following an open-syllable verb root. However, this does not address the problem because there are other perfective allomorphs such as *-bi* and *-ri*, which can also attach to an open-syllable verb root as shown in §§13.1.1.3-13.1.1.6. The perfective allomorph *-li* occurs with verb stems that do not end in /l/; this provides evidence that the perfective allomorphs have initial consonant phoneme. Table 103 gives a list of verbs that take the perfective allomorph *-li*.

Table 103. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-li* in Brokpa

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
tsaː-li	search-PERV	*hago-li*	understand-PERV
pʰuː-li	offer.hon-PERV	*kʰuŋkaː-li*	justify-PERV
gaː-li	like-PERV	*ga-li*	go.past-PERV
ɲo-li	madden-PERV	*ŋotsʰa-li*	embarrass-PERV
ʑaː-li	measure-PERV	*námto + ʑa-li*	be.discursive-PERV
riː-li	roll-PERV	*tɕʰe-li*	distinguish-PERV
ɖiː-li	wrap-PERV	*gu-li*	shake-PERV
pʰe-li	fly-PERV	*saː-li*	clear-PERV

The Brokpa verbs taking the *-li* perfective allomorph may have had the final /l/ originally. Compare the Brokpa verbs which take the *-li* perfective allomorph with their cognate forms in the past tense in Classical Tibetan, as shown in Table 104.

Table 104. A comparison of Brokpa verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-li* with Classical Tibetan

BROKPA	**CLASSICAL TIBETAN**	**MEANING**
riː	<ril>	'to roll'
ɖiː	<sgril>	'to wrap'
ʑaː ~ dʑaː	<'jal>	'to measure'
pʰuː	<pʰul>	'to offer.HON'

As can be seen in Table 104, the Classical Tibetan verbs which are cognate with the Brokpa verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-li* all end in <l>. This shows that, historically, these Brokpa verbs also had the final /l/, but it got deleted. The loss of coda in Brokpa is compensated by a vowel lengthening, but the coda /l/ resurfaces in its perfective allomorph *-li*.

However, there are also several verbs in Classical Tibetan that do not end in <l>, but their cognate forms in Brokpa take the allomorph *-li*. Examples include <nyo> 'to buy' (cf. Brokpa *ɲo*), <phye> 'to distinguish/separate' (cf. Brokpa *tɕʰe*), <dga'> 'to like/enjoy' (cf. Brokpa *gaː*) respectively.

In summary, both synchronic and diachronic factors provide but little insight into the selection of a perfective allomorphy in Brokpa. Examples of *-li* coding perfective aspect include:

(505) a. da garpatoŋsum yin-ne su tsaː-**li**
PART wedding.master COP.EGO-CNSV who search-PERV
'Who have you hired as Wedding MC?'
Lit. 'Even if Wedding MC, who is searched'

b. ŋa = raŋ tʰimpʰu dokʰ = næ = raŋ lo sumtɕu-zam
1SG = REFL.EMPH Thimphu arrive = SEQ = EMPH year thirty-APPROX

ga-**li**
go-PERV
'About thirty years have passed since I arrived in Thimphu'

c. ʔoti = la dokʰ-sin den ʔama.dʑomo = gi mákpon = baʔ = kʰe
DEM.PROX = LOC arrive-RT PART Ama Jomo = GEN general = PL = ERG

den do saː-li = se
PART rock clear-PERV = QUOT
'It is said that when arriving there the generals of Ama Jomo had cleared the rocks'

The allomorph *-li* codes perfective aspect in all three example sentences in (505). In (505a), the perfective allomorph *-li* occurs in the predicate of a content interrogative clause which seeks information about the referent of the O argument, the identity of who is already confirmed. In (505b) and (505c), *-li* marks events which have already occurred. All the examples describe a completed event, telic and bounded.

13.1.1.9 The perfective allomorph *-ti*

Synchronically, most verb roots that take the perfective allomorph *-ti* end in a long vowel, a diphthong, or in an inherently long vowel labelled 'innovative vowels' (recall from Chapter 2) such as /æ/ and /ö/. A comparison of the Brokpa verbs taking the allomorph *-ti* with the cognate forms in Classical Tibetan suggests that this set of Brokpa verbs historically might have ended in a coda consonant, possibly /d/ which may have undergone a final devoicing to /t/. The final devoiced consonant gradually disappeared engendering a compensatory vowel lengthening, but it resurfaces in the form of the allomorph *-ti* that occurs with this set of verbs. This is because most verbs in Classical Tibetan, cognate with the Brokpa verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-ti*, end in <d>, as in Table 105.

Table 105. A comparison of Brokpa verbs taking the perfective allomorph *-ti* with Classical Tibetan

BROKPA	CLASSICAL TIBETAN	MEANING
tɕœ	<bcad>	'to close, to cut'
dʱœ	<bsdad>	'to sit, to live'
ɖui	<drud>	'to drag'

However, as with other other lexical verb sets which share an allomorph, there are exceptions to the verbs taking the *-ti* allomorph. For example, the verb *tɕʰi* 'go.PERV' which chooses the perfective allomorph *-ti* in Brokpa is <phyin> in the past tense in Old Tibetan, ending in <n> and not in <d> or <t>.

As can be understood from the verb stem *tɕʰi* which is the perfective stem of the verb *ɖo* 'to go', achieved via suppletion, it is clear that a perfective allomorph always occurs with a perfective verb stem. Clearly then, even those verbs which have a single form in both perfective and imperfective aspect, one that occurs with a perfective allomorph is actually the perfective verb stem. It is simply the case that a verb stem taking a perfective allomorph is superficially the same as its imperfective stem because there is just one form in both perfective and imperfective aspect for that verb. Table 106 provides a list of verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-ti*.

Table 106. Verb roots taking the perfective allomorph *-ti* in Brokpa

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
tɕʰi-ti	go-PERV	*reː-ti*	become-PERV
ʈʰiː-ti	guide-PERV	*ʈʰotʰii-ti*	continue-PERV
pʰrœ-ti	meet-PERV	*ɖui-ti*	drag-PERV
tɕœ-ti	close-PERV	*siː-ti*	cough-PERV
tʰö-ti	withdraw-PERV	*ʑeː-ti*	forget-PERV
dʱœ-ti	stay-PERV	*yoː-ti*	EXIST-PERV
ɲeriŋ + tɕʰe-ti	differentiate-PERV	*meː-ti*	NEGEXIST-PERV

Note that the verb *tɕœ* is also the perfective form of the verb meaning 'to cut, to stop, to decide'.

Examples of *-ti* marking perfective aspect can be found in (506):

(506) a. den da ter-mi = di tʰa:tɕæ-**ti**-yinda
then PART give-NOMZ:EVT = DEF decide-PERV-MIR
'So they have decided to give'
Lit. 'So the giving is decided'

b. den Tawong.Somateng lap-sa = di = la dᶢæ-**ti** = se
then Tawong Somateng say-nomz:loc = def = loc stay-perv = quot
'It is said that then they lived at what is known as Tawong Somateng'

c. raŋ + raŋ + soso naŋ = gi gyutop = daŋ
self + self + different RELAT:INSD = GEN wealth.power = OBLIG

ʈʰi: = næ laika = ʑi? tsam-go-**ti**-yin-to
in.accord.with = SEQ work = INDEF plan-OBLIG-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'One must make a plan in accordance with one's own capability (wealth)'

The allomorph *-ti* denotes a completed action in (506a) and (506b), but in (506b) the same allomorph marks a predicate which describes an action that is not completed. However, (506b), the situation is viewed from the outside as a complete whole without distinguishing the internal temporal structure. Hence, the perfective is used.

13.1.2 The direct perfective aspect *-soŋ*

The 'direct perfective' stands for the 'direct evidential perfective', following DeLancey's (2003b) description of this same morpheme in Lhasa Tibetan. The grammaticalized morpheme *-soŋ* in Brokpa, historically from the verb *soŋ* which is the suppletive imperative form of the verb *ɖo* 'to go', refers to events that are completed in the past. This morpheme is shared by several other Bodish languages including Lhasa Tibetan and Choca-ngaca. DeLancey (2003b) describes *-song* in Lhasa Tibetan as a 'direct evidential perfective' used when the speaker has actually witnessed the event. The morpheme *-soŋ* in Brokpa has a similar function as in Lhasa Tibetan. In Brokpa too, besides its primary function of coding perfective aspect, the morpheme *-soŋ* has a secondary

function of marking direct evidentiality. In a nutshell, *-soŋ* combines an aspect and an evidentiality.

A distinction between the perfective *-pi* (and its allomorphs) and the direct perfective *-soŋ* in Brokpa is that the latter always denotes a completed event and also the information source. As we have seen in §13.1.1.1, the perfective *-pi* does not always mark a completed action, although it typically does. Sometimes, the perfective allomorph *-pi* denotes an event which has not yet taken place but may be regarded as a simple whole. This means that, in certain contexts, the perfective *-pi* can occur in the future context, as in *ŋám-ton-go-pʰi-na* (sound-take.out-OBLIG-PERV-FACT) '(I) will have to make noise'. In contrast, the direct perfective *-soŋ* denotes a situation that is always in the past, devoid of future and present meaning. In many other languages, this type of evidential distinction is said to be linked to completive/perfective aspectual meaning (see Aikhenvald 2015c, for instance). The perfective past always refers to a completed event. Examples include:

(507) a. da ŋi ɲí gatpu reː-**soŋ**
PART 1PL two old become-PERV.DIRECT
'Now we two became old'

b. ...ŋa=la gokap náŋ-**soŋ**
..1SG=DAT opportunity give.HON-PERV.DIRECT
'He gave me opportunity'

c. ʔoti bomo=di tʰoŋ-**soŋ**
DEM.PROX girl=DEF see-PERV.DEF.DIRECT
'(I) have seen this girl'

The direct perfective *-soŋ* denotes events that have already taken place in all three sentences in (507). Further distinction between the perfective *-pi* and the direct perfective *-soŋ* is that the former may optionally be followed by other grammatical elements such as a marker of egophoricity, evidentiality, or main clause marker, whereas *-soŋ* does not take grammatical markers associated with knowledge as it inherently has an evidential meaning.

Note that there is also a homonymous morpheme *-soŋ* which functions as a Consequence clause linker with a meaning similar to 'because' in Brokpa. The clause linker *-soŋ* is added to a nominalized verb typically in a dependent or a supporting clause, and the aspect marker *-soŋ* is applied directly to the verb stem or to an auxiliary within the predicate of a main clause. The clause-linker *-soŋ* in Brokpa will be discussed in Chapter 15.

13.1.3 The imperfective aspect *-gi*

Brokpa uses the morpheme *-gi*, and its allomorphs *-ki* ~ *-kʰi* and *-yi* ~ *-i* to mark the imperfective. The imperfective *-gi* describes an event which is not yet complete, along the lines of Comrie (1976a:63). This imperfective marker is homophonous with the genitive marker *=gi*. However, the genitive marker occurs within an NP, attaching either to the head noun or to a modifier. In contrast, the imperfective aspect marker is added directly to the verb stem within a predicate.

However, the rule for an allomorphic selection for the present imperfective *-gi* is the same as it is with the genitive marker. To recapitulate, typically, it is *-gi* after a sonorant, *-ki* ~ *-kʰi* after an obstruent, and *-yi* ~ *-i* after a vowel. As noted in Chapter 9, this allomorphic rule, as with the rules of many other grammatical elements, is not strictly adhered to and the allomorphs are used in free variation by most speakers.

The suffix *-gi* or the allomorph *-ki* can be used for generic statements, as in (508a) and (508b):

(508) a.

zoŋ	kar + már = se	lap-**ki**,	dar	kar + már = se
textile	white + red = QUOT	say-IMPERV	scarf	white + red = QUOT

lap-**ki**
say-IMPERV
'The textile is said to be called red-white, the scarf is said to be called red-white'

b. ŋa lú násmeti gau + ts^{h}or-**gi**-to
1SG song very happiness + feel-IMPERV-FINAL
'I like/I am liking songs very much'

Dixon (2012:12) notes that the verb form used for generic statements is typically the present tense form for a language which has an obligatory tense inflection. However, the imperfective marker *-gi* in Brokpa could not be analyzed as a present tense marker because it can also be used with a future time word, among others. For example, *-yi,* an allomorph of *-gi,* occurs with a future time word, as in:

(509) ŋa saŋ Trashigang = la ɖo-**yi**
1SG tomorrow Trashigang = ALL go-PRES.IMPERV
'I am going to Trashigang tomorrow'

Further, as will be shown in §13.1.4, the generic statements can also be made using the future imperfective marker *-gu ~ -gyu.* The suffix *-gi* describes an event at the present moment which is not yet complete, and that which is ongoing, habitual or repeated. Consider:

(510) a. ŋa = i bomo = di náma pak + k^{h}er-**gi**
1SG = GEN girl = DEF bride split + take-IMPERV
'They are taking my daughter as a bride'

b. deu = ʑi? = raŋ mi-yoŋ sam-**gi** lá
peaceful = INDEF = EMPH NEG-come feel-IMPERV POLITE
'I am thinking that it will not be really peaceful'

c. yigu taŋ-**gi** taŋ-**gi** k^{h}oŋ = raŋ ɲí
letter send-IMPERV send-IMPERV 3PL = REFL.EMPH two

go + ɕip + ga-mi = gi ɲén
head + be.close + go-PERV = GEN marriage
'The marriage in which the two of them became close started by sending letter after letter'
Lit. 'The marriage in which they became close, letter-sending and letter-sending'

The predicates in sentence (510a) and (510b) describe an ongoing and a habitual activity respectively. The marker *-gi* in the predicate in (510a) presents an ongoing

action 'taking my daughter...', as is the case in (510b) which describes a habitual action, that of thinking. Example (510c) contains two independent clauses in apposition, and the first clause describes a repeated event, repeating the predicate by employing the imperfective *-gi*.

The imperfective *-gi* occurs with the existential egophoric marker *-yo*, with the former filling the functional slot aspect and the latter that of knowledge within the verb phrase structure in Brokpa (see Chapter 12). The grammaticalized marker *-yo* has an egophoric meaning and further adds an imperfective sense although this latter meaning is already shown by the imperfective *-gi*:

(511) a. garpatoŋsum=se lap-**ki-yo** Mera?=gi
garpatoŋsum=QUOT say-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO Merak=GEN

kæ=la
language=LOC
'We say/are saying 'garpatoŋsum' in the language of Merak'

b. te ŋa=raŋ pʰama=ba?=kʰe gaŋyu=raŋ doŋol=se
PART 1SG=EMPH parent=PL=ERG ALL=EMPH Doŋol=QUOT

bo-**gi-yo**
call-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'All the relatives (lit. 'parents') call/are calling me Doŋol'

The speakers uses the egophoric *-yo* in both (511a) and (511b) because he has that personal knowledge. Otherwise, both sentences are acceptable, and the imperfective aspectual meaning is achieved, without the marker *-yo*. However, the marker *-yo* reinforces the personal speaker's perspective and an imperfective meaning.

Note that in rapid speech, the imperfective *-gi* and the existential egophoric *-yo* can be heard as a monosyllabic [gjo], and with the allomorph *-ki* as [kjo]. This shows that the markers of knowledge, mostly originally from the copulas, are at an advanced stage on the grammaticalization cline in Brokpa. However, for most speakers, typically the people from the older generation, the disyllabic [gi.jo] can be heard distinctly.

Since the etymology of the morphemes is entirely transparent, *-gi-yo* can be considered as the underlying form.[5]

Further, the same existential egophoric marker *-yo* can occur with the perfective allomorphs, e.g. *ʔo sam-pʰi-yo* (DEM.PROX feel-PERV-EXIST.EGO) 'thought this', *tɕa-ri-yo* (come.HON-PERV-EXIST.EGO) 'came/have come', *dʱœ-ti-yo* (stay-PERV-EXIST.EGO) 'stayed' (see also §13.4.1.2).

In the same vein, the factual evidentiality marker *-na* can occur with the perfective allomorphs as well as with the future imperfective allomorph *-gyu* (see §13.4.2.4). Further, *-na* combines with the existential egophoric *-yo* and forms a complex factual copula *-yona* (see Chapter 14). When *-yona* functions as a grammaticalized marker of factual evidentiality it fills the functional slot of the knowledge markers within the verb phrase structure (see Chapter 12), the same as other markers of knowledge.

The grammaticalized markers of knowledge including the egophoric *-yo* and the factual *-na*, and *-yona* as a distinct morpheme, are not associated with any particular temporal or aspectual category (see §13.4 for further discussions on this).

The marker *-yo* has a continuous or progressive meaning when added to the head of the predicate even without the imperfective marker *-gi* preceding it, as in (512):

(512) ŋa ʈaɕigaŋ=la ɖo-**yo**
1SG Trashigang=ALL go-EXIST.EGO
'I am going to Trashigang'

In (512), *-yo* performs double duty: coding egophoricity and marking continuous or progressive aspect.

[5] My English-literate consultants who are mostly from the younger generation actually gave the form *-gyo* (or *-kyo*) as the present tense marker in Brokpa. This is understandable because they are not aware of the distinction, and the interaction, between tense and grammatical aspect. They do that under the influence of English grammar. Their intuitions come from the way they were taught in English and Dzongkha in school.

Otherwise, the egophoric *-yo* occurs with both present imperfective *-gi* (and its allomorphs) and perfective *-pi* (and its allomorphs), and is not exclusively associated with the former.

13.1.4 The future imperfective aspect *-gu*

Brokpa deals with future time through modalities which are within irrealis (§13.3). Further, Brokpa uses lexical time words to express future time (see §13.1.5). In addition, Brokpa has a grammaticalized coding of imperfective aspect in the future shown by the suffix *-gu* ~ *-gyu*. Since the suffix *-gu* combines future time, considered semantically, and imperfective (non-perfective) aspect, it can be referred to as 'future imperfective' marker in Brokpa for ease of distinction from the general imperfective marker *-gi*.

There are two allomorphs in free variation. Evidently, *-gu* appears to be occurring after a low-register stem, and *-ku* ~ *-kʰu* after a high-register stem. However, as with the allomorphs of most other grammmatical markers, *-gu* and *-ku*, and the aspirated *-kʰu* are used rather in free variation. Sometimes, the future imperfective marker simply occurs as *-u* in free variation with *-gu*. Further note that the palatalized form *-gyu* is found more in Sakteng and the non-palatalized *-gu* in Merak.

The future imperfective suffix *-gu* marks an event or state that is going to take place but is not perfective. This suffix can be added to the verb stem functioning as the predicate of a main clause. Examples include:

(513) a. dantɕʰa=di kʰoŋ=ge gya-**gu** lá
farewell.drinks=DEF 3PL=ERG do-FUT.IMPERV POLITE
'They will arrange/will be arranging the farewell drinks'

b. kʰi=ge tɕʰaro ma-gya-na su=i gya-**gu**
2PL=ERG friend NEG-go-COND who=ERG do-FUT.IMPERV
'If you do not help, who will?'

c. bomo ya=la tan tse=la dʱæ-na=ye
girl up=LOC mat RELAT:TIP=LOC sit-COND=EMPH

ɖik-**ku**
suffice-FUT.IMPERV

ma-dʱæ-na=ye ɖik-**ku**
NEG-sit-COND=EMPH suffice-FUT.IMPERV
'It doesn't matter if the girl sits on the mat up there or not'

Similar to the imperfective *-gi*, the future imperfective *-gu* can be used for generic statements, as in:

(514) nám kʰa=la ɻa go-**kʰu**
sky RELAT:surface=LOC god need-FUT.IMPERV

sa kʰa=la ɖe go-**kʰu**
land RELAT:surface=LOC ghost need-FUT.IMPERV
'We need gods in the heaven, we need ghosts on the earth'

This suggests that the marker *-gu* is used in ways that are not strictly referring to the future moment. I have observed that the imperfective *-gu* can be used with the time word *data* 'now' in everyday conversation, as in *ŋa data ɖo-gu* (1SG now go-FUT.IMPERV) 'I shall go/shall be going now'.

Furthermore, the future imperfective marker can take the factual evidentiality marker *-na*, as shown in (515a) and (515b):

(515) a. ʔani ʔadʑaŋ ɲí=la te da
aunt uncle two=DAT PART PART

kʰada: re-re-gyan ɖik-**ku-na**
scarf one-one-ADV arrange-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'They will have to arrange a scarf each for father-in-law and mother-in-law'

b. tɕʰu la=næ tʰö-**gu-na**
river mountain=ABL emerge-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'The river comes from the mountain'

As noted above, the factual evidentiality marker *-na* can also occur following a perfective aspect allomorph as well as following the present imperfective aspect. The marker *-na*, originally a copula (see Chapter 15), shows that the event or situation described by the clause is general knowledge or factual knowledge (see §13.4.2.4).

Diachronically, the future imperfective marker *-gu* ~ *-gyu* in Brokpa can be related to its verb root *gu:* 'to move'.

The Brokpa verb root *gu:* has a cognate form <rgyu ba> 'to move' or 'to go' in Classical Tibetan. Classical Tibetan also has a noun <rgyu> with at least two meanings 'wealth' and 'cause, condition'. Also, the form <rgyu> is used as a nominalizer in Classical Tibetan, as in <bza'.rgyu> (eat.NOMZ) 'foodstuff', <'thung.rgyu) (drink.NOMZ) 'drinks'. Furthermore, in Classical Tibetan the form <rgyu> is used as what is called <tshig grogs> literally 'word assistive' but it is used to refer to any kind of function words. To create a function word in Classical Tibetan, the morpheme <rgyu> is added to a verb stem in a main clause as well a dependent clause and it does show tense-aspect meaning, e.g. <nga nang.nyin 'gro.rgyu yin> 'I will be going tomorrow'.

In Brokpa, the verb *gu:* functions as an ambitransitive verb, of A=S type. One can also hear *gyu* in Brokpa, an equivalent of the Classical Tibetan <rgyu>, used infrequently as a nominalizer especially with the Corporeal verbs 'to eat' and 'to drink'. However, this function of *gyu* as a nominalizer in Brokpa is not at all productive, and is discernibly an influence from Classical Tibetan. Brokpa also has a noun *gyu* 'wealth' or a compound *gyu+nor* (wealth+cattle) also meaning 'wealth'.

Of relevance is this: Where Classical Tibetan uses <rgyu> as a grammatical marker on verbs, Brokpa uses *-gu* ~ *-gyu* as a future imperfective aspect marker.

It is instructive to note that the form *-gu* is also used as a marker of first-person non-canonical imperative, also known as hortative, describing commands with a first person singular and plural (see Chapter 14). This may be a kind of reinterpretation of imperfective in Brokpa. Note, however, the palatalised form *-gyu* is not used as

the first-person imperative marker, only *-gu* is. The palatalization of the future imperfective, as *-gyu* [gʲju], by some speakers partially resolves this ambiguity. Otherwise, the ambiguity about *-gu*, as an imperfective marker and as a non-canonical imperative marker, can only be resolved by discourse context.

It is plausible that the imperfective *-gi* in Brokpa may be on its way to becoming a 'general imperfective' corresponding to habitual or repeated action, along the lines of Comrie (1976a:26) and Timberlake (2007), covering both present and future. In that case, *-gu* ~ *-gyu* may be re-analyzed as a hortative suffix *-gu*. For example, the hortative or adhortative suffix in Dzongkha is *-ge* and possibly this suffix in Dzongkha followed the same grammaticalization pathways as the Brokpa *-gu*.

As noted above, the form *-gu* having two meanings, imperfective and non-canonical first-person imperative, may be an instance or reinterpretation rather than full homonymy.

13.1.5 Lexical time words

If an exact location of time of an event seems necessary, lexical time words may be used in Brokpa. Time words, as noted in Chapter 6, constitute a closed class sharing some properties of nouns. Dixon (2012:20) divides lexical time words into roughly five classes: (a) duration, (b) frequency, (c) specific time spans, (d) with respect to expectation, and (e) temporal shifters. Brokpa has ways and means for showing all these types of lexical time words.

(a) Duration

The general word referring 'time' is *düse* or *tɕʰüse*, with the former used exclusively for 'time' and the latter to either 'time' or 'watch'.

Lexical time words indicating duration include *ribtsam* 'for a short time', *takpar* 'always', *tamtakyaŋ* 'forever'. These three time words are more noun-like and they take certain inflections associated with nouns. Brokpa does not have a lexical time word, which is noun-like, to indicate that an event or state continues for a long time;

interestingly, this is achieved by using the verb *gor* 'to take time' followed by the nominalizer *-ri*. This verb may be preceded by a general time word such as *düse* as in *düse gor-ri* 'time-taking'.

(b) Frequency

Time words relating to frequency describe how often something happens. They can be general or specific types, following Dixon (2012:20). The general type of frequency time words in Brokpa typically constitutes inherently reduplicated words such as *tɕʰentɕʰen* 'sometimes', *manman* 'sometimes', *barbar* 'occasionally, at times', *ʈʰœʈʰœ* 'frequently', *lo?lo?* 'now and again'. Examples of frequency time words in sentences include:

(516) te **barbar** ɕuŋ=la düse násmeti
PART at.times RELAT:AROUND=LOC time very.much

riŋbo=ʑi? yoŋ-gi **barbar** ɕuŋ te
long=INDEF occur-IMPERV at.times RELAT:AROUND PART

düse tʰuŋku=tɕi?=læ mi-yoŋ
time short=INDEF=ABL NEG-occur
'At times, the time is too long, at times there would be no more than a short time'

The general frequency time words code various temporal aspects of events, which Givón (2001a:91) describes as 'aspectual adverbs'. Further sentence examples of general frequency time words include:

(517) a. **manman** yá? ya=la kʰer-zin puŋbo len
sometimes yak up=ALL take-SIM fungus bring
'Sometimes, when they take yaks up, they bring fungus (down)'

b. **barbar** ɕuŋ=la ŋo-tɕʰuŋ gya-zu=la gya=næ...
at.times RELAT:AROUND=LOC face-small do-pretend=FOC do=SEQ...
'At times, (she) pretends to be shy'

These adverbs have scope over an event proposition and typically occur clause-initially, modifying an entire clause. They may occur in other places within a clause if a particular constituent of a clause such as a predicate is the target of modification.

Time words indicating specific frequency, that is showing that an event happens on a regular basis such as 'every day', 'month', or 'year' are derived from monomorphemic words referring to 'day', 'month', or 'year' by means of two suffixes: *–tar* or *-rikse*.

The suffix *-tar* apparently is a borrowing from the Classical Tibetan <ltar> which has a meaning of 'as, similar to'. The suffix *-rikse* appears to be from the lexicalized compound *ɲints^{h}an* 'day and night', which in Classical Tibetan is written <nyin mtshan>. In Classical Tibetan, this compound is used with the nominalized negative copula <med par>, and the resulting form <nyin mtshan med par> has become a fixed expression meaning 'constantly, regularly, every day'. Similar process can be found in Brokpa, especially among Classical Tibetan literate persons.

In Brokpa, both *-tar* and *-rikse* can be used to derive time words indicating specific frequency with a meaning similar to English *-ly*, as in *daily*, or *every* as in *everyday*. Examples of the suffix *-tar* and *-rikse* deriving time words indicating specific frequency include:

(518) a. ɲin-tar
day-AS
'daily'

b. d^{ɳ}a-tar
month-AS
'monthly'

c. lo-tar
year-AS
'yearly/annually'

(519) a. ɲim=rikse
day-EVERY
'everyday/daily'

b. d^{ɳ}a-rikse
month-EVERY
'every month/monthly'

c. lo-rikse
year-EVERY
'every year/yearly/annually'

Note that these time words formed by means of the suffix *-tar* or *-rikse* have become lexicalized or fixed expressions, and their glosses are only approximate.

Further, time words relating to frequency can also be formed by adding the superlative suffix *–kyaŋ* to a partially reduplicated stem, e.g. *ta:m~takyaŋ* 'every day'.

(c) Specific time spans

Words indicating specific time spans include units such as *ɲin* 'day', *dunbra* 'week', *dʱa* 'month', *lo* 'year. The Hindi *hapta* and the Dzongkha *dunʈʰa,* both referring to 'week', could be heard in Brokpa besides its native *dunbra*. Further, specific time spans include the names for the parts of those spans including *ʑoːpʰu* 'morning', *goːm* 'afternoon'. An example of a specific time span in a sentence can be found in:

(520) da diriŋ **goːm** ŋe=raŋ=baʔ kʰim dʱo-ma-min
PART today evening 1PL=EMPH=PL house stay-PERV-NEG.COP.EGO
'This evening, we will not stay in the house'

Brokpa has four seasons and the names of all four seasons are monomorphemic: *gun* 'winter', *sokʰa* 'spring', *ʑar* 'summer', and *ton* 'autumn'. These words referring to seasons relate to the time of year and fall within specific time spans.

(d) With respect to expectation

Time words associated with respect to expectation include *ŋáitʰali* 'too soon' which is a lexicalized word, *ŋánmu ~ ŋán-kyaŋ* 'too early' formed by a partial reduplication in which the first syllable of the word *ŋánmu* 'early' is repeated and then the superlative suffix *-kyaŋ* is added to it. The lexical word meaning 'already' is expressed by *ʔunda=raŋ,* formed by adding the emphatic *=raŋ*. Similarly, the time word meaning 'not yet' is expressed by *das min* or *data min* (lit. 'not now') which is a combination of the *das* or *data* meaning 'now' and *min* which is the negative form of the egophoric copula *yin*.

(521) **ʔunda=raŋ** pʰama ʑi zom=næ tʰaːtɕæ=næ...
before=EMPH parent four meet=SEQ decide=SEQ..
'Already, the four parents would have met and decided...'

There are also some lexical time words indicating that an event or state will happen soon or too soon including *matsa* 'almost' (to be distinguished from *matsan* 'actually') and *ʈʰœ=raŋ* (soon-EMPH) 'sooner'.

Brokpa has a word *deber* 'a short time ago, a little while back' to indicate that an event happened a short time ago. Similarly, an event that occurred recently or a few days ago can be expressed with two reduplicated words *sarbu ~ sarbu* 'newly' or *tsʰanmu ~ tsʰanmu* 'recently'.

Brokpa has two further interesting ways of forming compound time words to indicate that an event took place quite recently: one is *dʱaŋ+kʰiŋim*, a compound of *dʱaŋ* 'yesterday' and the truncated form *kʰiniŋmu* 'the day before yesterday'. This compound word refers to recent days but not specifically to yesterday or the day before. The second is *dari+bar*, a compound of *dari* 'today' and *bar* 'middle', but the compound has become more or less a fixed expression with the meaning of 'recently'.

(e) Temporal shifters

Lexical words relating to temporal shifters can be a location within today or outside of today, along the lines of Dixon (2012:20). A location within today include *das* or *data* with a fully synonymous meaning 'now'. Consider:

(522) a. **data**=la ŋa=raŋ=ge lo ʑiptɕu takin ɖo-yo
now=LOC 1SG=EMPH=ERG year forty exact go-EXIST.EGO
'Now, I am exactly forty years old'
Lit. 'Now, I have gone exactly forty years'

b. **data** ŋa ʔunda ŋa=e kʰyo=la
now 1SG first.time 1SG=ERG 2SG=DAT

gau+gyak-pi-yin=s
happiness+do-PERV-EGO=ASSERT
'Now, I am loving you for the first time'

The predicate of sentence (522a) is composed of the verb stem *ɖo* and the existential egophoric marker *-yo*, without any dedicated aspect marker. The precise temporal specification of the clause is actually indicated by the lexical time word *data*

'now' stated clause-initially. In the same vein, in (522b), the predicate of the clause contains the perfective marker which typically codes completed action. However, the time word *data* gives the present reading of the clause, in spite of the perfective aspect marker *-pi*. As noted above, this shows that a time word is a better choice if an exact temporal specification is necessary.

Most time words referring to specific time of the day are monomorphemic, e.g. *ʑoːpʰu* 'morning', *zara* 'noon' (same as 'lunch'), *goːm* 'afternoon', *num(o)* 'night', *tʰore* 'late at night'. These time words, which specify temporal location within a day, overlap with the names for the parts of the specific time spans (parameter c above).

Furthermore, time words relating to specific time of the day can be derived through lexical compounding and affixation. Typically, the suffix *-zin* marking simultaneous clause chain, and relative time clause linkage, with a meaning 'while, when', is added to a compounded stem in which a noun is incorporated into a verb, as in examples (523a) and (523b):

(523) a. nám-saː-zin
sky-clear-SIM
'dawn'

b. ɲim-ɕar-zin
sun-rise-SIM
'sunrise'

Brokpa has a rich set of time words referring to days relative to each other, which will be outside of the 'today' temporal shifters. There are specific words that can refer to up to six days removed from TODAY without requiring the use of descriptive phrases such as 'the day before yesterday' or 'three days from now' in English. Table 107 gives time words referring to after and before with TODAY as the locus.

Table 107. Time words of the days relative to each other in Brokpa

BEFORE TODAY	**GLOSS**	**AFTER TODAY**	**GLOSS**
dʱaŋ	'yesterday'	*saŋ*	'tomorrow'
kʰiniŋmu	'day before yesterday'	*náŋ*	'day after tomorrow'
ʑiniŋmu	'two days before yesterday'	*ʑe*	'two days after tomorrow'
guniŋmu	'three days before yesterday'	*gui*	'three days after tomorrow'
peniŋmu	'four days before yesterday'	*pe*	'four days after tomorrow'
tɕuniŋmu	'five days before yesterday'	*tɕui*	'five days after tomorrow'

As shown in Table 107, the time words referring to AFTER TODAY are all monomorphemic. With the exception of *dʱaŋ* and *kʰiniŋmu*, the term for each day BEFORE TODAY is derived by adding a term for AFTER TODAY to the morpheme *niŋmu* after morphophonological processes: via ablaut as in /ʑe/ → /ʑi/ in *ʑiniŋmmu*, and monophthongization as in /tɕui/ → /tɕu/ in *tɕuniŋmu* and /gui/→/gu/ in *guniŋmu*. Note that the time words referring to BEFORE TODAY are highly lexicalized words.

Outside of today temporal shifters can include the names of days of the week, which are monomorphemic with optional morpheme *za:* 'planet', e.g. *(za:) dʱawa* 'Sunday', *(za:) l̥akpa* 'Tuesday'.

The names of the months of the year are formed by compounding *dʱau* 'month, moon' with ordinal numbers, e.g. *dʱau-daŋba* 'first month', *dʱau-ŋápa* 'fifth month'. The second component of the compound is formed by suffixing the polyfunctional morpheme *-pa* (and allomorph *-ba*) to a cardinal number.

Time words referring to THIS YEAR and one year AFTER and one year BEFORE it are monomorphemic: *doʑik* 'this year', *saŋre* 'next year', *ɲiniŋ* 'last year'.

A reference beyond one year is expressed descriptively through a possessive construction in which the term *lo* 'year' followed by a number word includes the word *ʔunmi* 'before' for a year before THIS YEAR, as in (524a). For a year after THIS YEAR, the same possessor possesses the word *tɕʰiti* 'later/future', as in (524b):

(524) a. lo ʑi = gi ʔunmi
year four = GEN before
'Four years ago'

b. lo ɲí = kʰi tɕʰiti
year two = GEN after
'After two years'

The reference to an indefinite number of years is expressed through a possessive construction in which *lo* is modified by *ʔunmi* followed by the genitive *=gi* for BEFORE as in (525a), and *tɕʰiti* followed by the genitive for AFTER as in (525b). The year can be followed by the plural marker if the reference is more than one year, as in:

(525) a. ʔunmi = gi lo = baʔ
before = GEN year = PL
'The years before'

b. tɕʰiti = gi lo = baʔ
future = GEN year = PL
'The years to come'

The future years can also be expressed alternatively as *kerme = gi lo* or *mañoŋpe = i lo* using the synonymous words for *tɕʰiti*.

In essence, time words indicate a temporal location of an event, absolutely and precisely. In general, the position of the time word is not fixed and may occur anywhere within a clause. A time word can precede a predicate, similar to a manner adverb, as in (526a); or it can occur clause-initially or in between two arguments as in (526b):

(526) a. [raŋ = gi pʰrugu = di = zu = ge]S **tɕʰida** [go-ma-tɕʰö-nan...]IPR
self = GEN child = DEF = PL = ERG later effficacy-NEG-realize-COND
'If our children do not prove worthy enough later on...'

b. **diriŋ + saŋ** den lákɕiŋ **data** ʔoti
today + tomorrow PART wooden.board now DEM.PROX

Gerong tɕʰumbap roŋ = di = la ɕukpa-ɕiŋ ke-pʰi-yo:
Gerong waterfall ravine = DEF = LOC juniper-tree grow-NOMZ-EGO
'Nowadays, the wooden boards have (now) grown into juniper trees there at the ravine of Gerong Waterfall'

In (526a), the time word *tɕʰida* 'later' modifies the intransitive predicate. In such an instance, a time word can be considered head of an intransitive predicate. In (526b), the time word *diriŋ + saŋ* (today + tomorrow) 'nowadays' is in the clause-initial position, modifying the entire clause. A time word answers the question 'when' of an event, irrespective of its position within a clause, and is semantically associated with the predicate. For example, the time word *data* 'now' in (526b) is after an NP in a core function and before an NP in a locative adverbial function preceding the demonstrative *ʔoti*. Both words have a temporal reference, neutralized into 'nowadays'. They specify the precise time of the 'growing' of that juniper tree.

When a time word modifies a clause, it can be said to be modifying noun(s) in the argument(s) slots within a clause and the definition of an adverb as a non-noun modifier may prove problematic. However, when a time word modifies a clause it does not just modify the noun to the exclusion of other words in a clause. This is in contrast to the prototypical role of an adjective which can modify a noun to the exclusion of all other elements within a phrase or a clause. A time word modifies just a verb in the predicate function, to the exclusion of other elements; or it modifies an entire clause with a particular association to the information provided by the main verb in a predicate.

A time word can take markers of nominal categories such as a marker of definiteness (§ 9.3), case (§9.1), or relator nouns (§6.4). There might be restrictions on some of the grammatical categories associated with nouns. However, time words differ from nouns on the basis that a time word cannot form a core argument. A time word

always forms an NP in peripheral function either in a main clause or in a dependent clause. Consider:

(527) [**dʱaŋ** kʰar = gi **bæ** + ʑak-pi]RC tɕʰaŋ
yesterday RELAT = GEN conceal + leave-NOMZ:REL alcohol

yoː-ti = di
EXIST-NOMZ = DEF
'The alcohol which was hidden yesterday'

In (527), the time word *dʱaŋ* 'yesterday' occurs in a possessive construction with the relator *kʰar* followed by the genitive marker within a relative clause modifying the common argument *tɕʰaŋ* 'alcohol'. Within the relative clause in (527), the time word *dʱaŋ* specifies the time during which the alcohol was concealed, the meaning expressed by the predicate head which is the verb *bæ* 'conceal'.

13.2 Phase of activity

Phase of activity is a parameter of non-spatial setting that specifies whether an activity is beginning, continuing or finishing, following Dixon (2012:30-31). Brokpa uses grammatical coding to show a continuing or a finishing phase of activity. A continuing phase of activity is coded by either the suffix *-doŋ* or the suffix *-rim* (§ 13.2.2). Completion of activity is shown by the auxiliary *-ʑin* or the auxiliary *-tsʰar* (§13.2.3). There are two verbs which indicate the beginning of an activity.

13.2.1 The prospective *ʑetsu* and *gotsuk*

The beginning of an activity, referred to as 'prospective', is shown by the morpheme *ʑetsu* which means 'let's start'. Based on participant observation, this word typically occurs as a predicate in a non-canonical imperative construction type implying a plural addressee 'us', as in:

(528) a. læ **ʑetsu**
work PROSP
'Let's start working'

b. ʔuntɕin **ʑetsu**
early PROSP
'Let's start early'

In (528a) and (528b), *zetsu* functions as the predicate of an imperative construction expressing a command to the third person plural including the speaker. However, this word also denotes the beginning of an event.

Further, the beginning of an activity may be expressed descriptively with the verb *gotsuk* meaning 'to start', which is a secondary or semi-modal verb. This verb functions as a full predicate, as in (529a), or applies to a nominalized predicate or a predicate with TAM inflections, as in (529b):

(529) a. da tɕitɕin **gotsuk**-ku se-na...
PART how begin-FUT.IMPERV say-COND
'If I say 'how it should begin...''

b. yáŋku? gya-mi **gotsuk**-sin...
prosperity.summon do-NOMZ begin-SIM
'While beginning the prosperity summoning ritual...'

In contrast, the markers of continuing and finishing phase of activity apply directly to the verb stem within a single predicate. Section 13.2.2 discusses the marking of the continuing phase of activity, and §13.2.3 the completing phase of activity.

13.2.2 The continuous *-doŋ* and *-rim*

Brokpa uses either the suffix *-doŋ* ~ *-toŋ* ~ *-t^{h}oŋ* or the suffix *-rim* to specify that an event or state is continuing. These two markers occur with knowledge markers, but not with imperfective markers. These markers appear to be mutually exclusive with the imperfective markers, possibly because they themselves mark a subtype of aspect that is continuous or progressive. While it is not possible to trace the origin of the

suffix *-doŋ*, the suffix *-rim* appears to be the cognate form of the Classical Tibetan <ring> which means 'when, during, while'. Examples of the Brokpa *-rim* marking continuous phase of activity include:

(530) kʰyo petɕʰa lap-**toŋ** gaŋ=la mwoi tsaːn=s
2SG book study-CONT RELAT:MOM=LOC wife search:SEQ=PERV.ASSERT
'You have married (searched wife) while **studying**'

The speaker married while he was still a student, and when his mother found out about it later on she mentioned sentence (530) to him. The suffix *-toŋ* is added directly to the predicate head of the temporal adverbial clause, which is adjoined to the main clause by means of the relator *gaŋ* followed by the locative *=la*. The suffix *-toŋ* indicates a continuous phase of activity. Because the mother did not know when exactly her son married, she uses the suffix *-toŋ* to show that the event of her son's developing relationship with his wife might have unfolded over a period of time.

The suffix *-toŋ* ~ *-tʰoŋ* in (530) can be replaced by the suffix *-rim* with no difference in meaning, hence both suffixes are glossed 'continuous (CONT)'. The same speaker uses the suffix *-rim* in the same text:

(531) ŋa petɕʰa lap-**rim** ɕuŋ=la ŋa
1SG book study-CONT RELAT:AROUND=LOC 1SG

kʰyo=daŋ ɲámbu ɖik-pi-soŋ...
2SG=COM with arrange-NOMZ.PERV-BECAUSE...
'Because I have married you while I was **studying**....'

The speaker mentions that he said sentence (531) to his wife when his mother got angry at them when he took his wife for the first time to his house, which was acutely embarrassing for them. He tries to console his wife by saying that his mother has the right to be angry because he married her while he was studying. Again, the suffix *-rim* codes a continuous phase of activity.

In both (530) and (531), the continuous suffixes *-doŋ* and *-rim* occur on a non-main clause, but they can also occur on the predicate of a main clause. When a continuous suffix applies to the predicate of the main clause, it is followed by a grammaticalized existential copula, either the existential copula *yo* coding egophoricity or the existential copula *tu?* coding direct evidentiality:

(532) ŋa gari naŋ=la ʔaɕom múr-**doŋ**-yo
1SG car RELAT:INSD=LOC maize munch-CONT-EXIST.EGO
'I am munching on a corn cob in the car'

One of my consultants and I were travelling in a car. On the way we bought some 'corns on the cob', and he was eating one in the car. Suddenly he received a call on his cell phone, and when the other person asked him what he was doing he responded with sentence (532), using the suffix *-doŋ* immediately after the head of the predicate. His action of eating the corn was still continuing at the time of the phone conversation. I asked him if the suffix *-doŋ* could be replaced by the suffix *-rim* in that same sentence. He gave an affirmative answer and added that there is no difference in the meaning of the sentence whatsoever.

Further examples of the marker *-doŋ* occurs in the predicate of a main clause and coding continuous phase of activity include:

(533) a. Tshering to: za-**doŋ**-tuʔ
Tshering food eat-CONT-DIRECT
'Tshering is eating (food)'

b. Rinchen tsemo+tsa-**doŋ**-tuʔ
Rinchen game+play-CONT-DIRECT
'Rinchen is playing'

c. ŋa læ+gya-**doŋ**-yo
1SG work+do-CONT-EXIST.EGO
'I am working'

The marker *-doŋ* applies directly to the verb stem within the predicate of the main clause in all three examples in (533). In (533a) and (533b), *-doŋ* is followed

by the marker of direct evidentiality *tu?* which is a non-egophoric marker typically associated with a third-person subject. In (533c), the marker *-doŋ* is followed by the egophoric marker *-yo*, typically associated with the first person. The suffix *-doŋ* can be replaced by the suffix *-rim* in all three examples— (533a), (533b), and (533c)—, and have the same semantic effect. A further example of *-rim* occurring with an egophoric marker within the predicate of a main clause can be found in:

(534) ŋa tɕʰaŋ tʰuŋ-**rim**-yo
1SG alcohol drink-CONT-EXIST.EGO
'I am drinking alcohol'

Furthermore, one can also hear another morpheme *-tɕiŋ*, possibly a borrowing of the Classical Tibetan <cing>. In Brokpa, the suffix *-tɕiŋ* has the same function as the other two continuous suffixes, *-doŋ* and *-rim*. Consider:

(535) ŋa=i pʰrugu data petɕʰa lap=daŋ lap-**tɕiŋ**-yin=s
1SG=GEN child now book study=CNTV study-CONT-COP.EGO=ASSERT
'My son is **studying** at the moment'

In the same autobiographical text, the speaker says that his mother mentioned (535) to his wife. The suffix *-tɕiŋ* occurs on the predicate head of a main clause, followed by the egophoric copula and the assertive particle. The entire sequence of morphemes— the head verb, the continuous suffix, copula, and the assertive particle— function as a single-predicate unit and expresses a continuing action or state.

13.2.3 The completive *-zin* and *-tsʰar*

Completion phase of activity is shown by two auxiliaries: *-zin* and *-tsʰar*. The auxiliary *-zin* is from the lexical verb *zin* meaning 'to finish/to complete', and it is homonymous with the simultaneous suffix *-zin* 'while, when' which marks relative time clause linkage (see Chapter 15). Note, however, that completive *-zin* occurs within the predicate of a main clause and is followed by other grammatical markers, while the simultaneous

-zin is applied directly to the verb stem of a dependent clause and functions as a clause linker. The auxiliary *-ts^{h}ar* is from the lexical verb *ts^{h}ar* also meaning 'to finish/to complete'. As auxiliaries coding non-spatial setting of the phase of activity, there is no difference in meaning or function between *-zin* and *-ts^{h}ar* and both are glossed COMPL for 'completive (phase of activity)'.

As an auxiliary, both *-zin* and *-ts^{h}ar* are obligatorily followed by an aspect marker, but when they function as a lexical verb they take aspect marker only in positive declarative clauses; in negative declarative clauses, they can stand without an aspect marker like any other lexical verb because the aspectual value is coded by the negation prefix (see §14.6.1).

Examples of the auxiliary *-zin* marking completion of activity include:

(536) a. yáŋ ʑuk + dü-**zin**-ni = daŋ...
prosperity ending + conclude-COMPL-PERV = CNTV...
'After finishing the concluding of the Prosperity Summoning ritual.....'

b. mí = baʔ muz gaŋyu = raŋ k^{h}i = ge ʔuntɕin lap-**zin**-ni
person = PL other ALL = EMPH 2SG = ERG before tell-COMPL-PERV

yo-na...
EXIST-COND...
'If you have already finished telling all other people...'

Examples of *-ts^{h}ar* marking completion phase of activity include:

(537) a. námɖaŋ = di manæ ma-lui-p^{h}i gya = næ tɕiʔ
enumeration = DEF really NEG-leave.out-NOMZ do = SEQ one

ʑui-**ts^{h}ar**-pi-yin
say.HON-COMPL-PERV-EGO
'I have finished narrating the events, without leaving out anything'

b. ʔoti = næ lo t^{h}onbu re:-**ts^{h}ar-**pi riŋ den
DEM.PROX = ABL age high become-COMPL-PERV duration PART

ya = te yoŋ-ma me
up = ALL come-NOMZ NEG.COP.EGO
'After (finishing) attaining mature age, they cannot come up'

Both *zin* and *ts^{h}ar* attach directly to the verb stem, as shown in bold types, in examples in (536) and (537). As an auxiliary marking the completion phase of activity, both *-zin* and *-ts^{h}ar* occupy the modal auxiliary slot within the verb phrase structure, and can be added to a verb stem which can be a simple verb root or a complex verb stem. As a lexical verb, they occupy the head of the verb phrase (see Chapter 12).

13.3 Modality

Modality codes speakers' attitude toward a proposition or the actuality of event (see, among others, Aikhenvald 2015a:138; Givón 2001a:300). According to Dixon (2012:3), "Modality relates to a clause and its predicate, and indicates what kind of irrealis specification is appropriate". Brokpa makes a number of modality distinctions within irrealis.

The modalities in Brokpa are expressed by what can be described as 'partially grammaticalized' verbs. The same form of a lexical verb functions as a modal auxiliary. DeLancey (1991) refers to such morphemes in Lhasa Tibetan as 'versatile verbs'. In Brokpa, among others, lexical verbs and modal verbs fill different functional slots within a verb phrase (see Chapter 12).

Most of the modal markers that are encountered in Brokpa are shared with other Bodish languages including Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha. In the traditional grammatical analyses of Classical Tibetan, a form functioning both as a verb and as a modal marker is analyzed distinctly: as <las tshig> or <bya tshig> 'verb' (lit. 'action word') when it occurs as the head of a predicate and as <tshig grogs> 'function words' (lit. 'word assistive') when it occurs as a modal marker.

In Brokpa too, the same distinction can be made. A main verb is always stressed and constitutes a separate phonological and grammatical word. In contrast, when the same form of a main verb functions as a marker of modality, it undergoes semantic bleaching, and forms one grammatical word with the verb stem. A modal auxiliary

may or may not be stressed, depending on the number of syllables in a resulting form. In other words, a modal auxiliary loses its status of an independent grammatical word. This can be analysed as another instance of grammaticalization in Brokpa. The modality markers are extremely frequent, in terms of types, and they occur with any verb stem, behaving like inflectional suffixes.

The modality choices in Brokpa cover the semantic notions of obligation and necessity, possibility, potentiality, permission, ability, intention, desire, and attempt.

13.3.1 OBLIGATION and NECESSITY

Deontic modality, also known as debitive, of obligation is expressed by the auxiliary *-go* which is from the verb *go* 'to need/to require'. As a marker of modality, *-go* codes obligation and/or necessity, and is added directly to the verb stem within a predicate. The auxiliary *-go* imposes a sense of obligation on an argument in A or S function. Consider:

(538) ŋa ŋa = raŋ = raŋ söŋnom láŋ + za-**go**-pʰi
1SG 1SG = REFL alms beg + eat-OBLIG-PERV
'I myself **have to** depend on begging for alms (for livelihood)'

As can be seen in (538), the obligation modality marker *-go* occupies the slot outside of the head of the predicate— a verb stem formed by serial verb construction—, but precedes the perfective suffix *-pʰi* within the same predicate of the main clause. The speaker feels compelled to engage in the activity of alms-begging for a living, and uses the auxiliary *-go* which indicates a 'strong obligation' with a meaning 'have to'. The same auxiliary *-go* can also code a 'weak obligation' (see Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994:177; Palmer 2001:184 for a distinction between 'strong' and 'weak' obligation). Consider:

(539) gebo lá ŋa söŋom=la ɖo-i
king POLITE 1SG alm=DAT go-PRES.IMPERV

ŋa=i bakyo tɕʰe tɕu+ʑa?-**go**
1SG=GEN wooden.bowl little entrust+keep-OBLIG
'Oh king, I am going for alms, I **ought to** entrust my wooden bowl (to you) for a while'

In (539), there are two interlocutors, the king and the mendicant, and the latter is the speaker. The marker *-go* on the uninflected verb stem shows rather a weak obligation with a meaning 'ought to' or 'should'.

In both (538) and (539), *-go* imposes the condition of obligation modality on the speaker, but the obligation can also be imposed on the addressee, as in:

(540) medam karma.minɖu=daŋ medam sonam ɲí=kʰe lú
madam Karma.Mindu=CNTV madam Sonam two=ERG song

ʔetɕʰe-kyaŋ náŋ-soŋ kaɖintɕʰe danu=ye lú
good-SUPER do.HON-PERV.DIRECT thank.you again=EMPH song

maŋ-kyaŋ ɲór-**go** ʑu-yo lá
many-SUPER sing-OBLIG say.HON-EGO POLITE
'Madam Karma Mindu and Madam Sonam have sung most beautiful songs, thank you. I would like to say that you **must** sing great many songs hereafter again'

In the conversation in (540), the speaker places an obligation on the addressees in A argument function. The auxiliary *-go*, added to the verb stem, requires the A argument realized by a complex NP consisting of two coordinated NPs, Madam Karma Mindu and Madam Sonam, to perform the action of the verb (singing great many songs hereafter also).

The same auxiliary form *-go* is used to indicate necessity. The explanation for this probably lies in what Lyons (1977:791) says, 'There is an intuitively obvious connexion between the notions of necessity and obligation'. Consider:

(541) tɕ^{h}e=ʑi? ri p^{h}a=la p^{h}ap-**go**-p^{h}a
little=INDEF mountain there=ALL reduce-NECES-MIR
'The mountain **must** be flattened a little bit towards that side'

Example (541) comes from a traditional legend in which a local chieftain explains to his subjects the need to cut off the side of a mountaintop that was preventing the rays of the sun from falling onto his castle. Here, *-go* is used as necessitative modality to express a 'strong necessity' modal with a meaning of 'must', along the lines of Portner (2009:80). Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994:177) point out that 'modality of obligation reports the existence of external, social conditions, while necessity reports the existence of physical conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action'. This distinction, as shown by example (541), applies to Brokpa.

13.3.2 POSSIBILITY

Possibilitative modality is a type of epistemic modality, which is a category of knowledge that has acquired grammatical expression in Brokpa along with egophoricity, evidentiality, and mirativity (see 13.4). An epistemic modality shows speaker's assessment of the truth of a statement, whether it is certain, probable or possible, etc. (see Aikhenvald (2021a) and references therein). Aikhenvald (2021a) defines an epistemic modality as a 'grammatical expression of attitude to knowledge'. There is no dedicated marker of certainty in Brokpa. Certainty in Brokpa is expressed lexically using epistemic adverbs (see §5.2.3). Brokpa has a grammaticalized marking of possibilitative modality. Possibilitative modality[6]is shown by the auxiliary *-ɦoŋ* or *-yoŋ*. Both markers function as synonymous lexical verbs with the meaning 'to come'. This modality shows that it is possible for the agent in A/S function to carry out the action of the main verb. Examples include:

[6] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994:191) use the term 'root possibility' to refer to this modality.

(542) a. bomo = e ɲæn-**ɦioŋ** mi-ɲæn-**ɦioŋ** má-ɕe:
girl = ERG listen-POSSIB NEG-listen-POSSIB NEG-know
'I don't know whether the girl will listen or not'
Lit. 'Don't know, the girl might listen, not listen'

b. muzi = ge mi-ter láp-na = tɕin te ŋotsʰa-**yoŋ**
other = ERG NEG-give say-COND = TOP PART be.ashamed-POSSIB
'If they say that they will not give, then we might feel ashamed'

Sentence (542a) contains three independent clauses, the first two are linked to the main clause by means of apposition. The first two clauses are marked by the possibilitative modality. In (542b), the possibilitative marker *-yoŋ* is added to the verb stem functioning as the predicate head of the main clause.

Lyons (1977:787) points out that the 'necessity', or 'obligation', discussed in §13.3.1, and the 'possibility' are 'the central notions of traditional modal logic'. Brokpa uses the auxiliaries *-ɦioŋ* or *-yoŋ* to code 'epistemic modality' covering possibility and probability, as shown in (542a) and (542b). Note that these markers in these same examples also indicate probability.

This modality shows that knowledge or belief expressed by the meaning of a sentence may be true, but is non-empirical. The knowledge is not grounded in experience nor is there a privileged access to it (see §13.4.1). It is also not a factual knowledge, something that the whole community knows (see §13.4.2.4). The truth of an utterance cannot be verified through perception or any sort of evidence, hence the possibilitative modality is employed.

There is another marker *-duŋ* that denotes uncertainty or possibility with a meaning similar to 'might' in English. Note that *-duŋ* marking possibility modality is distinct from the *-duŋ* marking 'direct evidentiality' in perfective aspect (see 13.4.2.1 for a disambiguation between these two markers). The possibility modal marker *-duŋ* has a progressive reading. Consider:

(543) kʰyi tsokpa gya = næ yoŋ-yo-**duŋ**
2SG dirty do = SEQ come-EXIST.EGO-PROG.POSSIB
'You might be coming after engaging in a dirty act'

It appears that the marker *-duŋ* is a grammaticalized form of a fusion of the possibilitative modality marker *-ɦoŋ* and the verb root *dʱo* 'to sit'. Such fusion seems to be a regular morphophonological process, especially if the verb root is an open syllable. This can be understood by looking at the similar construction types in written Dzongkha such as <blo.slab.sdod.ɦiong> (talk.say.sit.might) 'might be talking'. Further, the progressive meaning of the marker *-duŋ* supports this analysis. As discussed under serial verb construction in Chapter 12, the sit verb *dʱo* as a minor verb codes progressive aspect. Further examples of *-duŋ* coding possibilitative modality with a progressive meaning include:

(544) kʰer-yo-duŋ
take-EXIST.EGO-PROG.POSSIB
'might be taking'

(545) kunma + gyab-yo-duŋ
thief + do-EXIST.EGO-PROG.POSSIB
'might be stealing'

(546) tukpa + taŋ-yo-duŋ
faeces + do-EXIST.EGO-PROG.POSSIB
'might be passing stool'

(547) ʂot + taŋ-duŋ
jump + do-PROG.POSSIB
'might be jumping'

Typically, the progressive possibility marker immediately follows the existential copula *yo* in a grammaticalized construction, as shown in examples (544)-(546); it can also be added directly to a verb stem, as in (547).

13.3.3 PERMISSION

Permissive modality is used to show that the agent in A or S function is allowed to complete the predicate action. Permissive modality indicates that the speaker has the authority to allow or prohibit something that the addressee would want to do, along the lines of Aikhenvald (2010:200). Semantically, a distinction is drawn between a passive or weaker sense of permission, and an active or stronger sense (see Lyons 1977:836). Brokpa has only one marker *-tɕʰo?*, and it codes a strong permission. A weak permission may be expressed with the same predicate, marked by the strong permission *-tɕʰo?*, but said in a friendly intonation.

In my corpus, *-tɕʰo?* doesn't occur as a main verb, that is the head of a predicate. It does not have any restrictions on person. However, its cognate form <chog> in Classical Tibetan functions both as a main verb and as a modal suffix. As with other modalities, the permissive modal *-tɕʰo?* in Brokpa is added to the verb stem in the predicate of a main clause or a dependent clause, another instance of grammaticalization. Consider:

(548) a. ʔoti sago tɕʰoʔ=la de=næ ɖo-**má-tɕʰo?**-pi
DEM.PROX area RELAT:DIR=ALL DEM=ABL go-NEG-PERM-PERV

ʔe se-na ʔot manda de
TAG say-COND DEM.PROX NEG.NONEGO DEM

ɖo-**tɕʰo?**-gu-na
go-PERM-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'If asked whether one cannot go to this area, it is not that. One can go there'

b. mwoitɕupʰu=di=su maneraŋ ɖo-**tɕʰo?**-gu me-na
women=DEF=PL really go-PERM-FUT.IMPERV NEG.EXIST-FACT
'The womenfolk **can never** go there (not allowed to go)'

Examples (548b) and (548a) come from a procedural text about a pilgrimage trip to a sacred mountain, believed to be the dwelling place of the patron deity of the Brokpa people. The narrator explains the dos and don'ts of this pilgrimage trip.

There is a specific point at the foot of that sacred mountain beyond which any women who have slept with men cannot go, but the narrator tries to explain this by avoiding the reference to the idea of women sleeping with men. In (548b), the narrator intends to explain that it is not the case that all women are prohibited from going to the sacred mountaintop, and intends to say that only the virgins can actually go, using the marker of possibilitative modality. In (548a), the narrators tries to say that those women who have slept with men are really prohibited beyond that point.

In (548b) the dependent (conditional) clause expresses a prohibition in which the predicate marked by the permission modal *-tɕʰo?* is preceded by the marker of negation, and the main clause shows permission with the modal *-tɕʰo?* attached directly to the verb stem. Example (548a) also shows prohibition, but unlike the dependent clause in (548b), the predicate in (548a) is negated by means of the negative existential copula *me* which occurs after the TAM morphology.

The clauses marked by the modal *-tɕʰo?* or its negated form already convey a strong sense of permission or prohibition. The adverb *maneraŋ* 'really' before the predicate in (548a) intensifies the prohibition with a meaning 'never'. Similarly, the factual knowledge marker *-na* on the predicate in both example (548b) and (548a) shows that what the narrator says is a well-known fact, something that every local knows and believes beyond doubt.

Note that the modal of obligation, permission, etc., are said to be 'deontic' and the modal relating to possibility, probability, etc., are said to be 'epistemic' (see, inter alia, Lyons 1977:823; Dixon 2012:27). When these two types of modalities co-occur in Brokpa, typically, a deontic modality precedes an epistemic modality within a predicate (see Chapter 12).

13.3.4 ABILITY

Abilitative modality indicates that the agent in A/S function has the ability to complete the predicate action. Brokpa has two auxiliaries *-tʰob* ~ *-tʰub* and *-ɕe* to mark Ability

modality. The auxiliary *-tʰob* is associated with both physical and mental ability, while *-ɕe* is associated more with a mental ability.

Examples of *-tʰob* coding Abilitative modality are given in (549a) and (549b):

(549) a. dʑuŋ-na sarbu~sar-kyaŋ=raŋ tsem-**tʰob**-bi=gi
occur-COND new~new-SUPER=EMPH stitch-ABIL-PERV=GEN

tsem=næ te
stitch=SEQ PART

gon=næ ɖo-go-pʰi-na
wear=SEQ go-OBLIG-PERV-FACT
'If it is possible, for those who **can** sew all new (clothes) to sew, wear, and go'

b. ŋa=i yakpo=ʑi? te go+ʑu? ʈuk=næ yakpo=ʑi?
1SG=ERG good=INDEF PART head+tail mix=SEQ good=INDEF

ʑu-má-**tʰob**
say.HON-NEG-ABIL
'I have mixed up the sequence and **could** not give a good narration'

The Abilitative modality marker *-tʰob* is homophonous with the verb *tʰob* 'to get'. However, the verb *tʰob* is not the lexical source for the Abilitative modality. The Abilitative modality marker *-tʰob* is cognate with the Classical Tibetan verb <thub> 'to be able' or 'to withstand', which is completely different from the verb 'to get'. One of the epithets of Buddha is <thub pa> which means he was an adept who achieved the ability to withstand the problems of life through his accomplishment. Brokpa probably had the same verb as the Classical Tibetan <thub> which is the source of the abilitative modality marker *-thob*.

In Brokpa, *-thob* and *-tʰub* are used in free variation, as illustrated by (550):

(550) geɕiŋgep-gyan ʑu-má-**tʰub**-tu dʑuŋ-na=ye...
detail-ADV say.HON-NEG-ABIL-NF occur-COND=EMPH
'Even if I **cannot** recite it in detail'

In (550), the marker of abilitative modality occurs as *-tʰub* and not *-tʰob*. In this example, it may appear that *-tʰob* is realized as *-tʰub*, but they occur in free variation even in other contexts.

As noted earlier, the auxiliary *-tʰob* marks both physical ability, as in (549a), and mental ability, as in (549b) and (550). In contrast, the auxiliary *-ɕe* marks only mental ability, as in:

(551) tsʰul = ta hago-yi den pʰa = te
hither = ALL = ALL understand-PRES.IMPERV PART thither = ALL

láp-má-**ɕe**-pʰi matakpal
say-NEG-ABIL-NOMZ although
'I can understand (the language) but I cannot speak it'

In (551), the auxiliary *-ɕe* applies to the negated predicate within the Supporting clause which describes the mental inability of the speaker to speak a language although she can understand it.

The modality marker of mental ability *-ɕe* is obviously from the verb *ɕe* 'to know'. This morpheme may be in an early stage of a grammaticalization cline from a verb to an affix, and sentence (551) could also be interpreted as: 'I can understand but I don't know how to speak'.

As seen in §13.3.3, the Permissive modality *-tɕʰo?* has a sense of 'can', and the Abilitative modality markers *-tʰob* and *-ɕe* also have a sense of 'can'. Palmer (2001:10) draws a distinction between the Permission as deontic modality and the Ability as a category of dynamic modality, although both have a sense of 'can' using the following English examples:

"He can go now (Deontic: I give permission)

He can run a mile in five minutes (Dynamic: he has the ability)

He can escape (Dynamic: the door's not locked)".

According to Palmer (2001:10), a deontic modality indicates permission, while a dynamic modality indicates ability plus the possibility in a general sense.

Sometimes the auxiliary *-tsʰuʔ* can be heard in the same function as the ability modality *-tʰob*. This morpheme is cognate with <tshugs> in Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha.

13.3.5 INTENTION

Intentional modality shows that the agent in A/S function intends to carry out the action described by the main verb of the predicate. This is shown by the auxiliary *-sam*. Consider:

(552) lap-**sam**-kʰu ɕin ŋa=ye lap-ma-ɲe-pʰi
say-INTENT-FUT.IMPERV although 1SG=EMPH say-NEG-be.able-PERV

dʱæ-ti
stay-NOMZ
'Although I **intend to** tell (him), I am not able to tell (him)'

This marker of Intentional modality *-sam* occurs with the first person agent in A/S function, and is a speaker-oriented modality. Sentence (552) contains two independent clauses linked by the contrast linkage marker *ɕin* 'but/although' (see Chapter 16). As a lexical verb, functioning as a predicate head, *sam* means 'to think about' or 'to mind'. The auxiliary *-sam*, attached directly to the predicate head, expresses the speaker's intention to tell someone that he treated her rudely, but she is not able to do so.

13.4 Expression of knowledge

Brokpa uses dedicated markers, grammaticalized from copulas,[7] to express a range of meanings related to knowledge. Knowledge can be expressed through an exponent of another grammatical category, as its additional function. In order to understand the system of knowledge expression in Brokpa, it is instructive to distinguish clauses

[7] This refers to their etymology, not to their synchronic status.

according to the structure of their predicate, that is, what goes into the predicate of a clause. Compare:

(553) a. ŋa sönom=la ɖo-yi
1SG alms=DAT go-IMPERV
'I am going for alms(-begging)'

b. kʰoŋ teuli na
3PL Tshangla COP.FACT
'They are Tshangla'

c. yá?-kʰe tsa za-gu-na
yak=ERG grass eat-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'Yak eats/will eat grass'

Example (553a) is a clause in which the predicate of the clause is formed by a lexical verb plus a marker of aspect. For ease of reference, this clause may be referred to as a 'verbal clause'. The head of the predicate of a 'verbal clause' can be a single lexical verb root or a compound verb stem. A 'verbal clause' can be transitive or intransitive. In a verbal clause, predicate = verb stem + TAM.

Example (553b) is a 'copula clause' in which the copula *na* occurs with two core arguments, copula subject (CS) and copula complement (CC). In (553b) a copula, as opposed to a lexical verb as in (553a), is functioning as the predicate or, more precisely, the 'copula predicate'. In a copula clause, predicate = copula.

Example (553c) may be referred to as an 'epistemological clause' in which knowledge markers, factual evidentiality marker *-na* (grammaticalized from the copula *na*) in this instance, are added to the verbal predicate. In example (553c), *-na* does not function as a copula predicate, but as a marker of factual evidentiality. In other words, in (553c), the copula *na* has become a grammaticalized marker of knowledge; it is no longer a copula synchronically. In an epistemological clause, predicate = verb stem + TAM + Knowledge specifier(s). A knowledge specifier can be a marker of one or more of egophoricity, evidentiality, and mirativity.

In (553c), as a grammaticalized marker of knowledge, *-na* is not stressed and there is no pause preceding it. In (553b), as a copula predicate, *na* is stressed and it can be preceded by a pause.

Note, however, that in a copula clause too, as in (553b), the copula *na* inherently adds a knowledge distinction as a secondary function, the primary function being copula predicate. Copula clauses and the inherent coding of knowledge distinction will be dealt with in Chapter 14.

In this section, I deal with the grammaticalized marking of knowledge involving 'epistemological clauses', as in (553c); and, where necessary, the inherent expression of knowledge involving the copula clauses will be shown, as in (553b).

There is no standard terminology for the categories related to knowledge in the literature on Tibeto-Burman linguistics, particularly Bodic languages. Most scholars recognize three categories of knowledge, often discussed under the rubric of 'Evidentiality'. Garrett (2001:3, also passim) recognizes three evidential categories (ego, direct, and indirect) in Standard Tibetan. DeLancey (2012), basing on Lhasa Tibetan, postulates three categories of knowledge ('personal', 'generic', and 'immediate') as a basic pan-Tibetic system. Hill (2013) distinguishes Personal, Factual, and Testimonial categories. In the same vein, Tournadre and Rinzin (2015) speak of Egophoric, Factual, and Sensory, and Hill and Gawne (2017) of Personal, Factual, and Experiential. Hyslop (2014) makes a distinction between three knowledge categories in Kurtöp: evidentiality, egophoricity, and mirativity.

Zeisler (2004:300-302) mentions four subtypes of non-experiential knowledge in modern Tibetan languages: 'personal self-evident' or 'certain knowledge', 'generic' or 'shared knowledge', 'mental knowledge', and 'hearsay' in Tibetan.

DeLancey (2018) draws a distinction between grammatical forms and the cognitive categories that they express in Tibetic languages. Based on Lhasa Tibetan, DeLancey postulates three cognitive categories in Tibetic languages: 'personal', 'assumed', and 'contingent knowledge'. DeLancey refers to the grammatical forms marking those

three cognitive categories as Egophoric, Factual, and Evidential (Direct versus Inferential) respectively.

Cross-linguistically, four major categories of knowledge are said to have acquired grammatical expression, which include evidentiality, egophoricity, mirativity, and epistemic modality (see Aikhenvald 2014, Aikhenvald 2021a). Egophoricity is 'grammatical expression of access to knowledge', evidentiality 'grammatical expression of information source', mirativity 'grammatical expectations of knowledge', and epistemic modality 'grammatical expression of attitude to knowledge' (see Aikhenvald 2014, Aikhenvald 2021a, and references therein).

Brokpa has acquired grammatical expression of all four knowledge categories: Egophoricity (grammatical expression of access to knowledge), Evidentiality (grammatical expression of information source), Mirativity (grammatical expression of expectations of knowledge), and Epistemic modality (grammatical expression of attitude to knowledge). Epistemic modality of possibility was discussed in §13.3.2. In this section, I will deal with Egophoricity, Evidentiality, and Mirativity.

Compare the following three examples:

EGOPHORIC:

(554) pʰama ku+ŋo tsan-kyaŋ lændo
parent body.HON+identity powerful-SUPER karma.fortune

kak-sa
block-NOMZ:LOCTV

mindu=se lap-pʰi=gi den pe **yo**
NEG.EXIST=QUOT say-PERV=GEN PART example EXIST.EGO
'There is a saying that "Even if the parents are most powerful, they cannot stop the karmic connection (ego's privileged access to knowledge)"'

EVIDENTIAL:

(555) bomo násemeti ʑi:+tɕʰa:-toto=tɕi? **tu?**
girl very.much mind+attach-ADJ=INDEF EXIST.DIRECT.EVID
'The girl is a very adorable one (the speaker can see her)'

MIRATIVE:

(556) kʰoŋ=la genkʰa má-pʰok-pi ta? **yinda**
3PL=DAT responsibility NEG-fall.on-PERV sign COP.MIR
'It is a sign that the responsibility has not fallen on them (the speaker finds it surprising)'

In (554), the speaker can be said to have privileged access to knowledge for that proverb; the speaker has either read it in some written sources, or it has been passed down to him orally by the older generations. The speaker has an epistemological authority and he can assert this, and therefore uses the existential egophoric copula *yo*. Brokpa has copula *yin* which also expresses egophoricity. Egophoricity in Brokpa is discussed in §§13.4.1.1-13.4.1.2.

In (555), the existential copula *tu?* indicates that the speaker has a direct information source. The speaker has seen the girl himself in this instance. Besides seeing, a direct information source can also be based on other senses such as hearing. Section 13.4.2 discusses Evidentiality. In (556), the mirative copula *yinda*, formed by the egophoric copula *yin* and the mirative allomorph *-da*, expresses new knowledge or information with an element of unexpectedness or surprise, discussed in §13.4.3.

Note that, in this analysis, evidential forms are to be treated as non-egophoric (there is no overt glossing as 'non-egophoric'). Therefore, the grammar of knowledge in Brokpa can be described as follows: Egophoricity on the one hand, and the Evidential category with several specifications on the other as non-egophoric; and then the category of Mirativity, also distinct from all other categories. Evidentiality (§13.4.2) is further subdivided into Direct, Inferred, Reported, and Factual.

13.4.1 Egophoricity

Egophoricity is an important feature of Bodish languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, as well as beyond. The development of the concept of egophoricity is often associated with the conjunct/disjunct marking system (see Hale 1980; DeLancey 1990, 1992; Hargreaves 2005, Sun (2018), among others). Hale (1980) used the conjunct/disjunct pattern to describe person distribution in Newari, a Bodic language. Hargreaves (2005), following Hale (1980), characterizes conjunct/disjunct system as follows:

"A clause will have a conjunct form whenever:

(1) the clause is finite, and (2) the event being described is interpreted as involving an intentional action by the actor, and (3) the speech act is either (a) declarative/first person, or (b) interrogative/second person, or (c) reported speech when the matrix clause subject and complement clause subject are coreferential. Disjunct suffixes occur in all other finite environments except those outlined above."

DeLancey (1985, 1990, 1992) adopts Hale's (1980) conjunct/disjunct terminology and maintains that Lhasa Tibetan has this system. Other Tibeto-Burman scholars rejected this idea (see Sun 1993, 2018; Garrett 2001; and Tournadre 2008, 2017, among others). For example, Garrett (2001:209, Note 66) points out that the adoption of the terms 'conjunct/disjunct' in reference to Lhasa Tibetan is 'regrettable' citing a reason that "for a language like Tibetan, in which the evidential opposition is ternary (ego, direct, and indirect) rather than binary, as in Newari, two terms do not suffice". Sun (2018) mentions very clearly that conjunct/disjunct (or congruent/noncongruent) distinction(s) are limited in their coverage because they presuppose a binary distinction.

Most scholars consider egophoricity or the conjunct/disjunct system in the context of evidentiality or egophoric evidentiality (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001; Hill and Gawne 2017; Gawne 2017; Tournadre 2017, among others). For example, Garrett (2001:102) notes that "without question the most unusual and complex type of evidentiality in Tibetan is ego evidentiality". Along similar lines, Tournadre (2008, Note

7) points out: "What some linguists have described as a conjunct/disjunct system is actually a subset of the evidential system, as it used in limited circumstances".

Aikhenvald (2004:127) argues that conjunct-disjunct person-marking system (or 'egophoricity') is not evidential in nature. Although DeLancey (1997a, 2001) treated the Tibetic egophoricity as part of the evidential system, he later (DeLancey 2018) points out that "The Tibetic egophoric category is not part of the evidential system; it is an independent, and more fundamental, category which affects evidential meanings that come under its shadow". In Brokpa, evidentiality forms a distinct category within the grammar of knowledge.

As his quoted lines indicates, DeLancey (2018) has fully embraced the term 'egophoric' and treats 'egophoricity' as a distinct category of knowledge.

The framework of egophoricity was recognized by different scholars in Bodish languages, especially Tibetan and/or Lhasa Tibetan, but was described with different terminologies. They include 'participant specific' (Agha 1993), 'self-centred' (Denwood 1999), 'ego' (Garrett 2001), 'personal experience' (Huber 2000), and 'personal knowledge' (van Driem 1998).

Most scholars now use the term 'egophoric', following (Tournadre 1996, 2008; Garrett 2001), to refer to the marking associated with the first-person, previously known as 'conjunct'.

The phenomenon of egophoricity has been reported not just for some Tibeto-Burman languages, but also for the Nakh-Daghestanian languages spoken in the Caucasus, Papua New Guinea, and the Andes (see San Roque, Floyd, and Norcliffe 2017; Aikhenvald 2018b, inter alia). Some languages of the Southern Mongolic and other Mongolic varieties of the Amdo region are also said to be exhibiting egophoric distinctions under the influence of Tibetic languages (see Aikhenvald 2018b, based on Brosig and Skribnik 2018).

What is 'egophoricity'?

According to Tournadre (2008), "'egophoric' expresses personal knowledge or intention on the part of the actual speaker, or, in the case of direct questions, expresses the next speaker's (the addressee's) personal knowledge or intention, as anticipated by the actual speaker". Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) note that 'the egophoric markers may serve to indicate a type of access such as "self-awareness", however, more broadly, the function of the egophoric marker is to indicate personal knowledge'.

San Roque, Floyd, and Norcliffe (2017) point out that "'egophoric' markers canonically (although not exclusively) occur in statements with first person subjects and questions with second person subjects, associating with the speech act participant who is the 'epistemic authority' for a given conversational turn and bringing to the fore the question of whose knowledge is at issue".

Aikhenvald (2018b) defines 'egophoricity' as denoting "access to knowledge, distinguishing information accessible to the speaker ('egophoric') from that accessible to another person". She further notes, "In many Tibeto-Burman languages, the egophoric markers are employed in declarative sentences with first person subjects and interrogative sentences with second person subjects".

Brokpa has an equational copula *yin* and an existential copula *yo*, which function as grammaticalized markers of egophoricity. These two egophoric copulas are typically associated with first person, but they may also occur with non-first-person subject in certain contexts.

A typical relationship between the person of the subject in declaratives and questions, involving egophoric forms, in Brokpa can be represented as:

Table 108. Egophoricity framework

Declaratives (statements)	**Interrogatives (Questions)**
1	1
2	**2**
3	3

Typically, an egophoric form in Brokpa occurs in first-person statements and in second-person questions, as shown in bold in Table 108. Note, however, that here are instances in which statements about non-first persons can have an egophoric form; in the same vein, there are instances where first-person statements are without an egophoric form.

As noted above, there is no especially dedicated non-egophoric or, in Post's (2013) terminology, 'alterphoric' marker in Brokpa. This is because another existential copula *tuʔ*, typically associated with the non-first person subject, which would otherwise be non-egophoric (or 'disjunct') form of the existential egophoric *-yo*, is interpreted as a marker of direct evidentiality. It appears that the egophoric marker *-yo*, originally from the existential copula *yo*, can be used with stative verbs. For example, one can easily say *ŋa gut^{h}om-yo* (1SG confuse-EGO.EXIST) 'I am confused'. However, there appear to be restrictions on the use of egophoric markers *-yin*, originally from the equational copula *yin*, with a stative verb. One cannot say **ŋa gut^{h}om-yin* (1SG confuse-EGO.COP).

In other words, the Evidential markers are non-egophoric markers by default. The Factual evidentiality marker (§13.4.2.4) may be used with any person, if a proposition described by a clause is a common knowledge or something which does not call for a justification or an epistemological ownership.

Copulas and their further function of inherently coding of knowledge are dealt with in Chapter 14. In this section, I address the grammatical marking of knowledge, the markers of which have grammaticalized from the copulas, in many cases, at least.

The egophoric marker *-yin* or *-yo* in Brokpa shows that the speaker has an internal/personal/primary knowledge, or personal experience, of an event or situation, and the speaker has epistemological authority of a given speech act. An egophoric marker in Brokpa indicates that the speaker has 'privileged access to knowledge', which is commonly associated with the notion of egophoricity. The egophoric markers in Brokpa may also show 'personal intention', similar to what Tournadre and Dorje (2003:93, et passim) describe for Standard Tibetan.

As noted above, the egophoric marking in Brokpa is usually associated with first person, but this is not always the case. Aikhenvald (2018b:28) points out that "Statements about others can contain an egophoric marker and thus be marked as 'personal knowledge' if the speaker is emotionally close to the third person". This is applicable to Brokpa. Further, an egophoric marker may be used in a second-person statement in certain contexts. Furthermore, egophoricity in Brokpa is more associated with volitionality, as is the case with other related Bodish languages such as Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 2018).

13.4.1.1 The egophoric *-yin*

The egophoric marker *-yin* has grammaticalized from the relational or equational copula *yin*. As a copula, the primary function of *yin* is to serve as a copula predicate, taking two core arguments, and form copula clauses. Besides functioning as a copula predicate and inherently marking personal knowledge (see Chapter 14), *-yin* occurs in 'epistemological clauses' in which the head of a predicate is a lexical verb. In an 'epistemological clause', *-yin* does not have a copula predicate function but only occurs as a grammaticalized marker of egophoricity.

As a grammaticalized marker of egophoricity, *-yin* can follow the perfective marker. The semantic effect is the same. The perfective marks the structure of event, and the egophoric marks internal knowledge of the speaker, among others. Examples include:

(557) a. gæpo = di = i ri + gu da míser = ba? = la
king = DEF = ERG mountain + head PART subject = PL = DAT

ri + gu = di
mountain + head = DEF

dæ-t^{h}oŋ = ze láp-**p^{h}i-yin**-to
dismantle-do.IMP = QUOT say-PERV-COP.EGO-FINAL
'The king said to the people: "Flatten this mountaintop"'

b. Ama Jomo = la söri ʐa? = næ den ʔoyi = næ ma = la
Ama.Jomo = DAT tips keep = SEQ PART up.there = ABL down = ALL

yoŋ-**mi-yin**
come-PERV-COP.EGO
'(We) leave small money offerings for Ama Jomo and then we come down from there'

Sentence (557a) is from a text that talks about the early history of the Brokpa people. A local chieftain, referred to as 'king' here, is said to have asked the people of his community who were the ancestors of the Brokpa people to flatten a mountaintop. The speaker uses the egphoric *-yin*, applied to the perfective allomorph *-p^{h}i* followed by the clause final marker *-to*, because this information has been passed down from generation to generation within every Brokpa family. Every Brokpa person has an internal knowledge of this history. The perfective marker denotes that the action has been completed in (557a) and that an action can be viewed as bounded and telic in (557b), which is typical of the perfective marker in Brokpa. So each marker makes its own semantic contributions.

In the same vein, *-yin* is used following the perfective allomorph *-mi* in (557b) because the event described by this sentence is a traditional custom, and the speaker has that personal knowledge about it.

Note that there is a phonetic reduction taking place when the egophoric *-yin* follows the perfective allomorph *-pʰi*. For example, the predicate *lap-pʰi-yin-to* in (557a) can be heard [laː.pʰɪn.tɔ], which offers evidence in favour of the fact that the erstwhile copula *yin* has grammaticalized as an egophoric marker.

The egophoric marker *-yin* can follow the future imperfective marker. Examples include:

(558) a. ɲima diriŋ dadar tsuk-**kyu**-**yin**
day today arrow.banner place-FUT.IMPERV-COP.EGO
'(I) will put up the Arrow Banner today'

b. te ʔoti=næ den pʰa=la ʔaʑi
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART there=ALL elder.sister

yo-sa=la taŋ-**gu**-**yin**-to=se...
EXIST-NOMZ=LOC send-FUT.IMPERV-EGO.COP-FINAL=QUOT
'So, saying that (I) will be sent there to my elder sister's place...'

The egophoric *-yin* in (558a) implies personal intention of the speaker, and it follows the future imperfective *-gu* within the predicate. Likewise, in (558b), the egophoric *-yin* is used in the reported speech construction, also following the future imperfective *-gu*, because the parents of the speaker have indicated their personal intention to the speaker, that it is their son would be sent to his sister's place. The imperfective describes a habitual action which is to take place in the present, as in (558a), and in the future, as in (558b).

Further note that the egophoric *-yin*, or any grammaticalized copula for that matter, is not an obligatory grammatical element within the predicate of a main clause, although it helps to distinguish the main clause from a dependent clause in complex sentences whenever it occurs. In other words, a knowledge marker does not form an obligatory part of an aspect marker. The predicate of a main clause can end in an aspect marker without any marker of knowledge, and the grammaticalized copula such as *-yin* is used only when a knowledge specification is necessary. That is, a marker of

knowledge is used only when the speaker feels the need to specify information source, access to knowledge, or expectation of knowledge. It is the same case with a modal marker. A modal marker is used only if the speaker feels the need to specify their attitude to knowledge. Otherwise, a predicate of a main clause can be the verb stem plus an aspect marker, or without an aspect marker in the case of negative declarative clauses.

There is no need to analyze the aspect marker *-pi* and the egophoric marker *yin* together as a single verb ending *-piyin* in Brokpa, akin to *-payin* which many scholars have done for Tibetan and Lhasa Tibetan (see, among others, Tournadre and Dorje 2003, DeLancey 2018).

In the same vein, it is also not necessary to analyze other grammaticalized knowledge marker such as the existential egophoric *-yo* and the factual *-na* as part of the aspect marker in Brokpa. As will become clear in the relevant sections, the knowledge marker such as *-yin*, *-yo*, and *-na* in Brokpa can potentially occur with any aspect marker, if knowledge specification has to be made. (I will get back to this in the relevant section on each knowledge marker.)

However, a knowledge marker can occur within the predicate of a main clause without an aspect marker preceding it. The function of an aspect, as noted above, is to provide the specification of the structure of an event. When there is no overt aspect marking within the predicate, it might be the case that a knowledge marker is typically associated with a particular aspect. For example, the egophoric *-yin* can be added directly to the verb stem, and if there is no overt aspect marking preceding it, it typically has an imperfective meaning, as in:

(559) ʔoti kor=næ tɕʰe ʑu-gu=ze lap-**yin**
DEM.PROX RELAT=ABL little speak-FUT.IMPERV=QUOT say-EGO
'I am saying/would like to say that I will speak a little about this'

Otherwise, when an egophoric marker is attached directly to the verb stem without an aspect marker preceding it, the aspect meaning has to be inferred from the

context of the sentence or from the form of the verb stem. Alternatively, it might be the case that an aspect marker is omitted in a connected speech. In (559), *-yin* has an imperfective meaning. It appears that the imperfective marker, either the present imperfective *-gi* or the future *-gu*, is omitted here.

As noted earlier above, the egophoric *-yin* can be used in a third-person statement if the speaker has an emotional attachment to the referent of the third person who could be a family member or close relatives. Consider:

(560) a. kʰyo=gi ba=la tak-pi=di tɕi **yin**
1SG=GEN neck=LOC wear-PERV=DEF what COP.EGO
'What is the thing you are wearing around your neck?'

b. mo=raŋ=ge ke-pʰi=gi ʔou ɲí mo=raŋ=gi
3SG.FEM=EMPH=ERG give.birth=GEN boy two 3SG.FEM=REFL=GEN

ro gyab-**yin**
husband do-COP.EGO
'She kept the two sons she gave birth to as her own husbands'

c. lam+gak=ʑiʔ=la Milü.Rinpoche pʰræ-ti-yin
path+front=INDEF=LOC Milü.Rinpoche meet-PERV-COP.EGO

ʑe+ʑaː-li-**yin**
face.HON+meet.HON-PERV-COP.EGO
'She met Milü Rinpoche on a footpath'

In (560a), the egophoric *yin* is used in a second-person question in a copula construction (as a copula predicate), which is in its prototypical usage. In contrast, in (560b) and (560c), *-yin* is used in a third-person statement (as a grammatical marker of knowledge). These three examples are from a local folklore about Milü Rinpoche (literally 'Precious Human Body', but is personified in this story) and a barren woman. As the story is about the preciousness of human life, supposedly believing that the barren woman in the story (who later gives birth to two sons) is the first mother of all beings, the speaker feels some emotional attachment to her and uses the egophoric *-yin* in most of the clauses where the barren woman is the subject argument.

Note that the egophoric copula *yin* has a negative counterpart *man* (see Chapter 14), which can also express egophoricity in the same contexts as *yin* (Negative markers are not shown here to keep the chapter to a reasonable length).

13.4.1.2 The existential egophoric *-yo*

Besides the egophoric *-yin*, discussed in §13.4.1.1, egophoricity can also be shown by the marker *-yo* which is a grammaticalized existential verb *yo* (see Chapter 14). Because there are two egophoric markers in Brokpa, I gloss *-yo* as 'existential egophoric' ('EXIST.EGO,) and *-yin* (§13.4.1.2) as 'copular egophoric' or simply 'egophoric' ('COP.EGO'). This is to distinguish between the two egophoric markers in 'epistemological clauses'. Akin to the equational copula *yin*, the existential verb *yo* inherently codes egophoricity in copula constructions as a secondary function (see Chapter 14). This section deals with *-yo* occurring in grammaticalized constructions in which the predicate head is a lexical verb root or a complex verb stem in an 'epistemological clause'.

As a grammatcalized marker of egophoricity, *-yo* can occur in a predicate of an 'epistemological clause' following a perfective allomorph:

(561) ŋe=raŋ pʰame=i kʰato=næ ʔo
1PL=EMPH parents=GEN RELAT:side=ABL DEM.PROX

sam-pʰi-**yo**=se
think-PERV-EXIST.EGO=QUOT
'(They would say:) "We, the parents, have thought like this"'

Example (561) is a reported speech construction. The existential egophoric marker *-yo* is used, following the perfective allomorph *-pʰi*, because the subject argument, the parents, in the quoted speech have the epistemological authority because they are the ones who have thought like that.

The existential egophoric *-yo* can also occur following an imperfective allomorph in an 'epistemological clause'. Consider:

(562) a. diriŋ + saŋ se-na de Nare.Gonpa
today + tomorrow say-COND DEM:distal Nare.Gonpa

lap-**ki-yo**
say-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'Nowadays, that is known as Nare Gonpa'
Lit. 'If we say nowadays, we saying that as Nare Gonpa'

b. te ŋa = raŋ pʰam = baʔ = kʰe gaŋyu = ge = raŋ doŋol = se
PART 1SG = EMPH parent = PL = ERG ALL = ERG = EMPH Dongol = QUOT

bo-**gi-yo**
call-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'So all the parents call me 'Dongol"

In (562a) the speaker uses the egophoric *-yo* in a declarative speech act, following the imperfective allomorph *-ki*, because he is one of the community members who all know that a particular hermitage in the outskirts of Merak village is known as Nare Gonpa currently (it used to be known by another name previously). The imperfective *-ki* marks an ongoing and habitual action (that of calling a particular temple Nare Gonpa). As pointed out under example (559), even if the imperfective marker is omitted, the sentence could still be interpreted as having an imperfective meaning based on the context. Further, the marker *-yo* has a progressive meaning since it is originally from the existential copula which also has a meaning of 'have' (see Chapter 14).

Along similar lines, in (562b), the speaker uses the egophoric form *-yo* with the imperfective allomorph *-gi* because he has personal knowledge of it. The speaker has that personal experience of people calling him by that pet name 'Dongol'.

Akin to *-yin*, when a verb stem is followed by the imperfective allomorph *-gi* or *-ki*, the egophoric *-yo* is optional. The marker *-yo* occurs only when egophoricity has to be expressed, if the predicate already contains an aspect marker. Both example (562a) and (562b) can stand as a complete sentence without *-yo*, with the predicate of (562a) ending in the marker *-ki* and the predicate of (562b) in *-gi*, and marking imperfective

aspect. This suggests that the egophoric *-yo* is not part of the imperfective marker, but a separate grammatical element marking a different grammatical category altogether.

Note, however, that there is phonetic reduction by some speakers whereby the marker *-gi* or *-ki* plus the existential egophoric *-yo* are phonetically reduced to [gjo] or [kjo]. In some speakers, two syllables [gi.jo] can be distinctly heard. That is, for some speakers the tendency to grammaticalise the two into one morpheme is stronger than for others.

The egophoric marker *-yo* also occurs immediately following the verb stem without any aspectual marker within the predicate of a main clause. The aspectual meaning may be ascertained from what goes to make up the predicate (see 'verb phrase structure' in Chapter 12). Consider:

(563) data ma-ɲam-pʰi ʔotɕins gya + dʱo-**yo**
now NEG-degenerate-NOMZ like.this do + stay-EXIST.EGO
'(We) are practising like this without getting tired'

In (563), the predicate of the main clause which has a progressive meaning ends in the existential egophoric *-yo*. This is because the predicate in (563) is realized by a serial verb construction in which the minor verb makes a secondary specification of progressive aspect lexically. Further, the complex verb stem takes the existential egophoric *-yo* which, as noted above, also has a progressive meaning.

Furthermore, *-yo* may also indicate perfective meaning when added directly to the verb stem within the predicate of a main clause, as in:

(564) ŋa = e = kʰe kʰyo = la yigu = ʑi? taŋ-**yo**
1SG = ERG = ERG 2SG = DAT letter = INDEF send-EXIST.EGO
'I have sent you a letter'

The verb *taŋ* 'to send' has the same stem in both perfective and imperfective aspects. It can be said that in (564) the verb stem *taŋ* is the perfective stem because the predicate *taŋ* plus *-yo* gives a perfective reading, denoting a completed action. The

letter is already sent. Here *-yo* does not indicate a progressive meaning 'I am sending you a letter'.

In most instances, when *-yo* occurs immediately after the verb stem within a predicate without the preceding aspect suffix, it has an imperfective aspect meaning by default. Examples include:

(565) ŋa kunma + gyab-yo
1SG thief + do-EXIST.EGO
'I am stealing'

(566) ŋa ɲaː-yo
1SG sleep-EXIST.EGO
'I am sleeping'

(567) kʰyo gati ɖo-yo
2SG where go-EXIST.EGO
'Where are you going?'

(568) ŋa ló + lap-yo
1SG talk + say-EXIST.EGO
'I am talking'

In the above examples, the existential egophoric marker *-yo* is performing the duty of an imperfective marker besides coding egophoricity. This could be due to its original meaning of 'have', and this morpheme can be interpreted as having an imperfective meaning besides coding egophoricity. However, as noted earlier, the marker *-yo* can be preceded by the overt imperfective marker *-gi* or *-ki* in an epistemological clause, in which case it becomes optional. If *-yo* occurs in a predicate which already contains an imperfective aspect marker, its function is only to express personal knowledge or, as DeLancey (2018) suggests with regard to the existential copula *yod* (cognate with the Brokpa *yo*) in Lhasa Tibetan, 'self-representation'.

As noted at the beginning of this section, and as can be understood from our examples in §13.4.1.1 and from this section, the egophoric forms in Brokpa are strongly associated with volitionality. Both egophoric forms typically occur in clauses describing volitional acts. If a clause involves a non-volitional act, it typically involves an evidential marker, which will be discussed in the subsequent sections. Note however, that Evidentiality is associated with both volitional and non-volitional verbs, while Egophoricity shows a clear preference for the volitional verbs. As illustrated with the

verb *gut^{h}om* 'to confuse' in §13.4.1, the egophoric marker *-yin* cannot occur with stative verbs, while *-yo* can.

Finally, note that the existential egophoric copula *yo* has a negative form *me* (see Chapter 14). The negative *me* can also function as a grammaticalized marker of egophoricity in the same contexts as its positive form.

13.4.2 Evidentiality

As noted in §13.4, evidentiality is a distinct grammatical category in Brokpa. Aikhenvald (2015c:239, (2018b:1) defines evidentiality as "a grammatical marking of information source".[8] Aikhenvald (2018b:13) provides a list of six semantic parameters found to be grammaticalized as evidential terms in languages, which is reproduced below.

"1. VISUAL covers information acquired through seeing.

2. NON-VISUAL, SENSORY covers information through hearing, is typically extended to smell and taste, and sometimes also touch.

3. INFERENCE based on visible and tangible result.

4. ASSUMPTION based on information other than visible results: this may include logical reasoning, assumption or simply general knowledge.

5. REPORTED, for reported information with no reference to who it was reported by.

6. QUOTATIVE, for reported information with an overt reference to the authorship of the quoted source."

Brokpa has grammaticalized constructions to express evidentiality or to mark 'contingent knowledge', to use DeLancey's (2018) terminology. Brokpa has an evidential system with four choices: direct, inferred, reported, and factual. Note that the semantic content of the direct evidentiality in Brokpa would include information

[8] Tournadre and LaPolla (2014:240) define evidentiality as "the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker's perspective and strategy".

seen, heard, smelt, or even felt or touched (such as feeling/touching the presence of a key inside a trouser pocket by hand although not seen with eyes). Direct evidential in Brokpa covers both visual and non-visual or sensory (parameters 1 and 2), illustrated in §13.4.2.1. An inferred evidential mainly covers parameter 3 (inference), but may also include parameter 4 (assumption), discussed in §13.4.2.2. A reported evidential covers both parameters 5 and 6, discussed in (§13.4.2.3); in other words, Brokpa does not make a formal distinction between reported and quotative evidential. Factual evidentiality relates to parameter 4 (assumption) that includes general/common knowledge (§13.4.2.4). See Aikhenvald (2021a:63-67) for the discussion of a similar category, of general and common knowledge.

13.4.2.1 DIRECT

Besides the existential copula *yo*, which marks egophoricity discussed in §13.4.1.2, Brokpa has two other existential copulas, *tɯʔ* ~ *tʰɯʔ* ~ *duʔ* and *duŋ*[9]. These two copulas do not take any inflectional markers, while *yo* takes certain grammatical markers associated with verbs (see §14.1.2.3). As a copula, *tɯʔ* has a present time relevance, but as a grammaticalized marker of direct evidentiality, it is aspect neutral; that is, *tɯʔ* can occur either with a perfective allomorph or with an imperfective one. The existential copula *duŋ* has a past time relevance, and is typically associated with perfective aspect. For ease of reference, the former can be referred to as a 'direct existential copula', and the latter a 'direct perfective existential copula'.

As with the markers of egophoricity, the two existential copulas *tɯʔ* and *duŋ* occur in 'epistemological clauses' as a grammaticalized marker of direct evidentiality, needless to mention that they also occur in copula clauses as a copula predicate. When *tɯʔ* or *duŋ* is in a copula predicate function, it inherently codes a direct evidentiality as a secondary function (see Chapter 14).

[9] The existential copula *duŋ* is homonymous with the lexical verb *duŋ* 'to beat'. The lexical verb *duŋ* can be head of the predicate and show inflections. The copula *duŋ* either occurs as a copula predicate without any inflection, or it occurs as the final element within the predicate of an 'epistemological clause'.

Examples of the direct existential copula *tu?* occurring as a grammaticalized marker of direct evidentiality in 'epistemological clauses' include:

(569) a. ʔup^{h}i gonpa=ʑi? tɕ^{h}ak-**tu?** lá
DEM.DIST monastery=INDEF establish-DIRECT.EVID POLITE
'A monastery has been established there'

b. k^{h}yo=e ŋa duŋ-**t^{h}u?**
3SG=ERG 1SG beat-DIRECT.EVID
'You have beaten me'

c. ʔo ya=la tɕ^{h}umdurdur lap-sa=la
DEM.PROX up=LOC Chumdurdur say-NOMZ:LOCTV=LOC

dok-**t^{h}u?**
arrived-DIRECT.EVID
'They arrived up there at a place known as Chumdurdur'

The evidentiality marker *-tu?* (or its free variant *-t^{h}u?*) refers to information obtained by seeing in (569a) and touch in (569b); in (569c) the information is based on general knowledge, as this is from a legend about their local deity which everybody is supposed to know. Note that in (569c) direct, and not factual, evidentiality is used because the speaker had been to this place, and his general knowledge was confirmed by his visual experience.

Examples of the perfective existential *duŋ* coding direct evidentiality in grammaticalized constructions include:

(570) a. ʔo gaŋ-ɕuŋ=la náktsaŋ=se
DEM.PROX RELAT:MOM-RELAT:AROUND=LOC Naktsang=QUOT

lap-p^{h}i-**duŋ**
say-PERV-DIRECT.EVID.PERV
'During that time, it used to be known as Naktsang'

b. ʔam = daŋ ʔap ɲí ma = la kyaleŋ
mother = CONJ father two down = LOC Chaleng

lap-sa = la den ʔumi
say-NOMZ:LOCTV = LOC PART down.there

tɕʰi + dᶢæ-ti-**duŋ**
go + stay-PERV-DIRECT.EVID.PERV
'Mother and father arrived down there in Chaleng'

In both (570a) and (570b), *-duŋ* occurs following the perfective allomorph within the predicate of or an 'epistemological clause'. The predicate head is formed by a single lexical verb root in (570a) and by a complex verb stem, consisting of two verb roots, in (570b). In (570a), *-duŋ* marks information obtained by hearing (the speaker himself has heard people calling a particular house in the village as 'Naktsang'); in (570b), it refers to information obtained from seeing (the speaker met his parents in a village called Chaleng even though they were expected to be in Merak).

Recall from §13.3.2 that there is a homonymous morpheme *-duŋ* marking possibilitative modality, a type of epistemic modality, with a progressive reading. These two homonyms both occur as a grammatical marker within a predicate, but they can be disambiguated by the preceding element. The modal *-duŋ* typically occurs immediately after the grammaticalized existential copula *yo* or is added directly to the verb root, while the perfective existential *-duŋ* occurs following a perfective allomorph within a predicate. Note that the negative of the direct evidential copula *tuʔ* and *duŋ* is expressed by *min* in Brokpa. Sometimes, one can hear *mindu* as a negative direct evidential copula in Brokpa, which is a cognate of *mindu* in Dzongkha.

Further note that direct evidentiality is also shown by the perfective aspect marker *-soŋ*, discussed in §13.1.2. The direct perfective marker *-soŋ* also marks information source based on seeing or hearing in perfective aspect. Therefore, the direct perfective marker *-soŋ* is similar to *-duŋ* which also marks direct evidentiality in perfective aspect. The direct perfective marker *-soŋ* cannot occur with *-tuʔ* or *-duŋ*. Both

dok-tʰuʔ-soŋ*** and **dʱœ-ti-**duŋ-soŋ*** are ungrammatical. Note, however, that there is a homonymous lexical verb *duŋ* 'to beat', as in (569b), which can take the direct perfective marker *-soŋ* in perfective aspect. It is not clear whether the two direct perfective evidentials, *-soŋ* and *-duŋ*, are interchangeable. This requires further study.

13.4.2.2 INFERRED

An inferred evidentiality in Brokpa refers to inference based on visual traces, which can be easily observed, or something that can be deduced through reasoning or logic. It may also be based on pure conjecture. Inferred evidentiality is marked by the grammaticalized copula *-yinuŋ* which means something like 'it seems, it looks like, it appears', and its negative form *-minuŋ* with a negative meaning. Consider:

(571) ŋe=raŋ ɻ̥em yin-ne=ye tsaː-gu-**yinuŋ**
1PL=EMPH servant COP.EGO-CNSV=EMPH search-FUT.IMPERV-INFER.EVID
'It seems that we even have to look for a servant'

Example (571) is spoken by the father of a girl who is about to get married, and will go to live with her husband at the parents-in-law's house. The father infers from the result and/or logic that, after her daughter is gone, he and his wife may have to hire a helper because there will be a shortage of hands at their house.

In (571), *-yinuŋ* occurs after the future imperfective *-gu* which refers to an event not yet commenced and one that may extend over a period of time. In an epistemological clause, such as in (571), *-yinuŋ* does not have a copula predicate function but occurs as a marker of an inferred evidentiality. The morpheme *-yinuŋ* has undergone semantic bleaching, forming one grammatical word with the preceding morphemes within a predicate. In epistemological clauses, *-yinuŋ* is produced together with the preceding constituent of the predicate without any pause.

Further, an inferred evidentiality can also be expressed by grammaticalized copula *-yoduŋ*, as in (572):

(572) ʔou = ʑiʔ = soŋ = di = la da teŋan = ni gya-**yoduŋ**
boy = INDEF = because = DEF = DAT PART mischief = TOP do-EXIST.INFER
'Because I was a boy, I might have done mischief'

The speaker infers from the fact that, as a young boy, he might have got into some mischief which he could not remember exactly at the time of speaking by adding *-yoduŋ* to the verb stem of an epistemological clause.

Historically, *yinuŋ* and its negative form have developed from the equational copula and the possibility modality; it can effectively function as a copula predicate and inherently code evidential meaning in a copula construction. But in epistemological clauses, *-yinuŋ* is grammaticalized, so synchronically it is not a copula like any other markers of knowledge that have grammaticalized from the copulas.

The marking of inferred evidentiality in (572) is a grammaticalized function of the complex copula *yoduŋ*, formed by the existential *yo* and the possibilitative modality marker *-duŋ* (see 14.1.2.9).

13.4.2.3 REPORTED

Brokpa has at least three morphemes associated with reported and quoted speech, *=lo*, *=se*, and the verb root *lap* 'to say'.[10] The enclitics *=lo* can be described as a dedicated marker of reported evidential (§13.4.2.3.1). The enclitic *=se* performs double duty: as a quotative marker and as a reported evidential marker, discussed in §13.4.2.3.2; this appears to be quite a typical polysemy (see Aikhenvald 2004, 2018b). The verb *lap* occurs frequently following the quotative *=se* and can be either reinterpreted as a reported evidential marker or can be considered as being on a grammaticalization cline towards becoming one (§13.4.2.3.2).

Note that while both *=lo* and *=se* effectively function as a marker of reported evidentiality, they may differ in terms of the certainty of the knowledge. As will

[10] Classical Tibetan has three markers associated with reported and quoted speech: <lo>, <zer>, and <grag>.
The two markers in Brokpa, *=lo* and *=se* are cognate with the Classical Tibetan <lo> and <zer> respectively.

be discussed under each section, the enclitic *=lo* indicates a sense that an information just reported may not necessarily be certain to the speaker, while *=se* presents a knowledge as certain. A basic distinction between these two markers of reported evidential in Brokpa can be made using the two English idiomatic expressions: 'through the grapevine' and '(straight) from the horse's mouth'. If information is heard through the grapevine, the marker *=lo* is more felicitous. On the other hand, if information is straight from the horse's mouth, *=se* is preferred.

13.4.2.3.1 The reported evidential *=lo*

The reported evidential marker *=lo* in Brokpa is shared with several related languages including Choca-ngaca, Dzongkha, and Denjongke. van Driem and Tshering (2019:383) describe the particle *lo* as a hearsay evidential marker in Dzongkha. In Denjongke, Yliniemi (2017) analyzes *=lo* as a reportative marker, and furthermore points out that it can function as a copula substitute for equative copulas. In Brokpa too, the reported evidential marker *=lo* can replace the equational copula *yin* in its copula predicate function (see Chapter 13.4.2.3).

In Brokpa, as noted in §13.4.2.3, *=lo* functions as a dedicated marker of reported evidential coding information with or without specifying the exact author of the information. It has an overtone of uncertainty, and may include information based on hearsay. Consider:

(573) a. ʔup^{h}i ɻak^{h}aŋ ʑuŋ=ge zeŋ-p^{h}i=**lo**
DEM.DIST monastery government=ERG build.HON-PERV=REP
'That monastery was built by the government (I heard that/someone said that)'

b. karma=ge saŋ ʈ^{h}i=la k^{h}o dathen
Karma=ERG tomorrow Blessed.Rainy.Day=LOC 3SG.MASC archery

gya+ɖo-yi=**lo**
do+go-PRES.IMPERV=REP
'Karma says that he is going to do archery tomorrow on the Blessed Rainy Day'

In both (573a) and (573b), the speaker claims to know the information presented. However, in (573a), the speaker does not specify the exact source of the reported information. In contrast, in (573b), there is an overt reference to the source of the reported information. The speaker claims to have heard from Karma about him going to do archery on the Blessed Rainy Day. The enclitic *=lo* is used for the reported evidential (parameter 5).

As noted above, *=lo* tends to indicate that an information may not be certain and that it may be based on conjecture or doubt. Consider:

(574) tençæ kʰæpʰu=ʑi? yo-ti yin-na te
oration skilled=INDEF EXIST-NOMZ COP.EGO-COND PART

da kʰo=yi nám pup=**lo** sa tin=**lo**
PART 3SG.MASC sky reverse=REP earth spread=REP
'If he was someone who has good oratory skill, he would say something like 'the sky is turned upside down', he would say something like, 'the earth is laid bare'"

Example (574) is from a text on traditional Brokpa marriage system. The speaker claims that if a *garpatoŋsum* 'Wedding MC' is someone who has good oratory skill, he will use figurative expressions such as these, but the marker *=lo* after each clause indicates that the speaker is not quite certain whether these are the exact clauses a *garpatoŋsum* might use during a wedding ceremony. In a nutshell, the reported evidentiality marker *=lo* carries an overtone of doubt.

Note that the reported evidential marker *=lo* also functions as an interrogative marker, typically accompanying a content question word in an interrogative clause (see Chapter 14).

13.4.2.3.2 The reported evidential *=se*

Brokpa has an enclitic *=se* (sometimes realized as *=ʑe*), historically a verb meaning 'to say', which is used for direct quotations. This enclitic *=se* can be considered a

quotative evidential because the author of the speech report is specified. The enclitic *=se* can be used for quoting someone or something verbatim, as in:

(575) de=næ te guŋ+tö t^{h}onpo la-mo=i p^{h}argya
DEM=ABL PART sky+upper lofty mountain-FEM=GEN on.that.side

so=**se**
IDEO=QUOT

láp=næ te lú+ɲór=næ....
say=SEQ PART song+sing=SEQ...
'Then they sing the song: "The lofty northern sky on the other side of the mountain..."'

In (575), the enclitic *=se* is used for quoting a line from a song, word-for-word, sung by pilgrims at the sacred place of their local deity. The quotation is accompanied by *lap*, another verb of speaking with the meaning 'to say/tell'[11]. This is a direct speech report, and *=se* is used as quotative. The author of the song, the pilgrim, was introduced in an early part of the discourse.

In addition to its quotative function, *=se* can be reinterpreted as a reported evidential marker. The enclitic *=se* is extremely frequent in narratives. It occurs at the end of every second or third sentence. Sometimes, it occurs several times within a single sentence. However, as noted in Chapter 3, it never occurs within a grammatical word but only outside of a grammatical word; it is only cliticized to a grammatical word as an enclitic. When the enclitic *=se* occurs at the end of a clause or a sentence, it is functioning as a marker of reported evidential. Consider:

(576) a. ʔo=la d^{ɦ}ö-ma-tɕ^{h}ak-pi ten=næ den ma=la
DEM.PROX=LOC live-NEG-cling-NOMZ due.to PART down=ALL

bro+tɕ^{h}i-duʔ=**se**
escape+came-DIRECT.EVID=QUOT.REP
'Because they could not live there, they moved away downhill (it is said)'

[11] Note that *láp* occurs as a lexical verb, but it frequently also occurs following the quotative *=se*.

b. kʰema gaŋyu den ma=la den ka:=næ
pack.animal ALL PART down=ALL PART load=SEQ

te ɖaɖi?+gya=næ ma=la yoŋ-pʰi=**se**
PART ready+do=SEQ down=ALL come-PERV=QUOT.REP
'They loaded all the pack animals, got ready, and came down (it is said)'

c. ʔotɕin lúŋtan gya=næ kʰyoŋ-pʰi=**se**
like.this prophecy do=SEQ bring-PERV=QUOT.REP
'They were brought here after a prophecy like this was made (it is said)'

In all three examples in (576), the enclitic *=se* effectively functions as a marker of reported evidential. Here it does not have a verbatim or a word-for-word quotation function, but functions something like a marker of evidence from folklore. The speaker claims that the events described are parts of an established oral history, therefore the information is conceived as reliable. The quotative enclitic *=se* is used to mark information which the speaker considers as reliable, but without specifying the exact authorship, along the lines of Aikhenvald (2004:177).

Note that *=lo* and *=se* can occur together, as in:

(577) a. kʰo=gi poŋpoŋ=di yin=lo man=**lo**=**se**
3SG.MASC=GEN talk=DEF COP.EGO=REP NEG.COP.EGO=REP=QUOT

ha=raŋ-ma-go
?=EMPH-NEG-understand
'I did not understand his talk, said to be "this, that, etc.,"'

b. ʑuŋ=gi læ=di yal=lo mal=**lo**=**se**
government=GEN work=DEF up=REP down=REP=QUOT

gotsuk=raŋ-má-tʰob-ba
begin=EMPH-NEG-ABIL-MIR
'The government project could not be rolled out at all saying because of to-ing and fro-ing (saying "up and down")'

When *=lo* and *=se* co-occur, the former has a semantic effect of marking reported evidentiality, and the latter direct quotation.

In summary, both *=se* and *=lo* are polyfunctional, with both having their meanings of reported and of quotative evidentials. The only difference between them

lies in their epistemic overtones, with *=lo* reflecting unreliable and uncertain information, while *=se* marks the opposite.

13.4.2.4 FACTUAL

DeLancey (2018) defines a Factual knowledge as "expressing propositions which are to be taken as assumed without justification", and considers it as an independent category of knowledge, distinct from Egophoricity and Evidentiality.

In Brokpa 'factual knowledge' falls within the category of evidentiality. The factual knowledge in Brokpa is marked by *-na* on the predicate of 'epistemological clauses'. The factual evidentiality in Brokpa typically refers to information which is a generally known fact, and is seen as reliable information by the speaker or a character. The speaker or the character makes a factual claim.

Akin to the egophoric copula *yin* and the egophoric existential *yo*, the factual copula *na* ('factual copula' hereafter) also functions as a copula predicate and codes 'factual knowledge' inherently in copula clauses (see §13.4.2.4).

As a grammaticalized marker of factual knowledge in an 'epistemological clause', *-na* can occur with a perfective marker which codes completed action, as in:

(578) Jigten.Mile.Rinpoche=di ʔam morenmo=ge ro gyab-gu
Jigten.Mile.Rinpoche=DEF lady barren=ERG husband do-FUT.IMPERV

lap-**p^{h}i-na**
say-PERV-FACT
'The barren woman asked Jigten Mili Rinpoche to be her husband'

The speaker employs the grammaticalized factual marker *-na* in this narrative with a third person subject, as this story has been told from one generation to the next, and he assumes it to be general knowledge.

The factual *-na* can occur following an imperfective marker within the predicate of a main clause, as in:

(579) yáʔ=k^{h}e tsa za-**gu**-**na**
yak=ERG grass eat-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'Yaks eat grass'

Further, the factual *-na* can combine with the existential verb *yo* and form a distinct complex copula *yona* functioning as a copula predicate with further function of coding factual evidentiality. The same complex copula occurs in epistemological clauses as a marker of factual evidentiality, as in:

(580) te bartɕ^{h}aŋ=di=la dok-sin ʔotɕin ter-gi-**yona**
PART middle.drink=DEF=LOC arrive-SIM like.this give-IMPERV-FACT
'During the Middle Drink ceremony, it will be given like this'

In (580), *-yona* is not functioning as a copula predicate, but a marker of factual evidentiality. It refers to a common knowledge that when the time for a particular event (Middle Drink ceremony) arrives during a wedding ceremony, the guests who have the potential to give bigger presents to the bride and groom will be given a special scarf each. The whole community knows this, hence the speaker uses *-yona* within the predicate to describe this information.

13.4.3 Mirativity

Mirativity has been described as a grammatical category in its own right, distinct from evidentiality and egophoricity (see, among others, DeLancey 1997a, 2001, 2012; Aikhenvald 2012; Hyslop 2014, 2018). Akin to the concept of conjunct-disjunct, mirativity has excited a lively controversy among fellow linguists, especially surrounding its existence in Bodic languages such as Tibetan (see, for example, Hill 2012b, 2013; Hill and Gawne 2017; van Driem 2015).

DeLancey (1997a, 2001) defines mirativity, or admirative, as "the linguistic marking of an utterance conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker". identifies *'dug* as a mirative form in Tibetan and illustrates that it expresses

an elements of surprise. Brokpa has an existential copula *tuʔ*, cognate with the Tibetan *'dug*, but as noted §13.4.2.1, *tuʔ* in Brokpa marks direct evidential which may be visual or sensory, or both (parameters 1 and 2), and not mirativity.

However, Brokpa has the suffix *-pa*, distinct from the nominalizer/perfective *-pi*, which shows that the information may be new and/or unexpected to the speaker. The suffix *-pa* has allomorphs *-pʰa, -ba, -da ~ -ta, -ma, -na, -ŋa*, and *-ra*. The suffix *-pa* in Brokpa occurs in the same function as the suffix *-pe* which alternates between *-be, -me*, and *-we* in Dzongkha. van Driem and Tshering (2019) identify this *-be ~ -we* in Dzongkha as a marker of 'newly acquired knowledge or information'. Watters (2018:274) recognizes this same suffix *-be*, with morphophonemic alternates (pe | me | e), as a marker of 'new information' in Dzongkha, and glosses it as 'mirative'. Hyslop (2017:304-309) analyzes the suffix *-na* as a mirative, fused with perfective, and the suffix *-ta* as a mirative, fused with imperfective, in Kurtöp. She also analyzes the form *wenta*, possibly the equational copula *wen* plus the imperfective mirative *-ta*, as a mirative in Kurtöp (Hyslop 2017:3014-315).

I use the label 'mirative' to gloss the suffix *-pa* (and its allomorphs) in Brokpa. The principle behind the allomorphic selection of the suffix *-pa* appears to be the same as that of the nominalizing/perfective allomorphs; that is, lexical-based, and those verbs that take the perfective allomorph *-pi* take the mirative allomorph *-pa*, verbs that take the allomorph *-pʰi* take the mirative allomorph *-pʰa*, and so on (see §13.1.1).

As noted in §13.4, and as will be shown later in this section, the equational egophoric copula *yin* combines with the mirative allomorph *-da*, and the entire resulting form *-yinda ~ yinta* functions as a grammaticalized marker of mirativity in 'epistemological clauses'. Because it marks a distinct knowledge category (mirativity), *yinda*, consisting of egophoric copula plus the mirative allomorph *-da*, can be treated as a separate copula in itself distinct from the egophoric copula *yin*. In the same vein, the existential *yo ~ yö* combines with the mirative allomorph *-ta* and the resulting form *-yota* functions as a grammaticalized marker of mirativity in epistemological clauses.

Therefore, Brokpa employs two ways for marking mirativity: grammaticalized markers *-yinda* or *-yota,* or the suffix *-pa* (and its allomorphs).

Aikhenvald (2012) provides a range of meanings included under 'mirativity'. A mirative marking in Brokpa may refer to 'information new to speaker or to the character'; it may include 'sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization by the speaker or by the character', and may have an 'overtone of surprise to the speaker or to the main character', along the lines of Aikhenvald (2012). In addition, a mirative marking in Brokpa may have an overtone of certainty and speaker's confidence. The overtone of certainty and speaker's confidence denoted by a mirative marking is not to be treated the same as egophoric or factual because a mirative marking has a main sense of coding newness or unexpectedness of an information. A mirative marker refers to the surprised/unprepared mind of the speaker.

Like the markers of other knowledge categories which have grammaticalized from the copulas, *yinda* functions as copula predicate and inherently codes new and/or unexpected information in copula clauses. It also occurs as a grammaticalized marker of mirativity in 'epistemological clauses', as in (581a) and (581b):

(581) a. kʰa=la za-tʰob-má-tʰob-**yinda** ʔot
mouth=LOC eat-ABIL-NEG-ABIL-MIR DEM.PROX
'This can be too much for one mouth'
Lit. 'This can be eaten or not eaten in the mouth'

b. yóm soso gyün~gyün tɕik má-tsuk-pi=ʑiʔ
other different via~via one NEG-put-NOMZ=INDEF

náŋ-na kaɖintɕʰe yoŋ-duŋ-**yinda**
do.HON-COND grateful happen-POSSIB-MIR
'I will be grateful if other people are not invited by someone else'

Example (581a) is from a text in which the speaker explains about a tradition of eating a certain quantity of puffed rice and of sprinkling it over the heads of the fellow pilgrims at the sacred place of their patron deity. One would use such an example if it

was suddenly discovered that the quantity of something, puffed rice in this instance, was too generous for one person to finish in a single helping. The grammaticalized *-yinda* here indicates a sudden discovery by the speaker with an overtone of surprise of the speaker.

I heard a native speaker mentioning example (581b) in a voice message. I found out that the speaker was administering a group chat forum in a social media platform. She used the mirative marker *-yinda* following the marker of possibility modality within the predicate of a main clause when she suddenly found out that the other members of the forum have invited several new members without her permission. The mirative marker *-yinda* in (581b) indicates a sudden realization by the speaker.

An example of *-yota* coding mirativity can be found in:

(582) ʔunʔul gyuk-kin=baʔ=kʰe mi tʰoŋ-ŋai tʰoŋ-**yota**
olden.days travel-NOMZ:AGTV=ERG person see-PERV see-MIR
'In the olden days those who travelled up and down there saw humans, they saw them'

Example (582) is from a text talking about some mysterious sighting of a group of nuns (non-human in human forms) on a rocky outcrop. The narrator claims that some people who used to travel by the outcrop used to have a vision of nuns washing spinach. The nuns would quickly disappear when they saw human beings. The clause once concludes with the verb *tʰoŋ* 'to see' taking the perfective marker. However, the speaker repeats the verb with the mirative marker *-yota* to refer to a sudden discovery, with an overtone of surprise, by the character in the story (the people walking by the outcrop).

Alternatively, new and/or unexpected information can be shown by the suffix *-pa* or its allomorphs in a 'verbal clause' which is not a 'copula clause' or an epistemological clause' (recall from 13.4 regarding the distinctions between these three types of clauses). A mirative allomorph can be added either directly to the verb stem, as

in (583a), or to a modal auxiliary, as in (583b) and (583c). Note that a knowledge marking including mirativity is a sort of optional extra in the language. This applies to modality markers which code attitude to knowledge. The knowledge markers, including modality, occur only if the information requires their exact specifications. Otherwise, a predicate can be a verb stem plus an aspect marker, perfective or imperfective depending on the structure of the event or situation:

(583) a. yinda da ʔau=ge suŋ-pʰi=di
COP.MIR PART elder.brother=ERG say.HON-PERV=DEF

ŋa=e=ta ta=ye má-ɕe:-**pʰa**
1SG=ERG=FOC look=EMPH NEG-know-MIR
'That's right, I didn't even notice what brother said'

b. ŋa söŋom=la ɖo-go-**pʰa**
1SG alms=DAT go-OBLIG-MIR
'I will have to go for alms-begging (I just realized that)'

c. ŋi pʰama=di=su yin-ne=ye lona yal
1PL parent=DEF=PL COP-CNSV=EMPH age up:ALL

ga-li=gi te laika=ye gya-mí-tʰob-**ba**
go-PERV=ERG work=EMPH do-NEG-ABIL-MIR
'Because we, the parents, have grown old and we are also not able to work'

In (583a), the mirative suffix *-pʰa* is used because the speaker suddenly realizes that she has failed to pay attention to what the other person[12] has said sometime ago. There is a sudden realization of awareness and an element of surprise in the mind of the speaker which prompts her to use the mirative allomorph *-pʰa*. If it was just to describe a completed action, with no mirative meaning, the speaker would simply use the perfective allomorph *-pʰi* in place of *-pʰa*. Note that the copula *yinda* at the beginning of the sentence in example (583a) is used as a one-word response to a polar question asked by the addressee in a preceding discourse, while inherently coding a new or unexpected information.

[12] Note that *ʔau* 'elder brother' here is used as a term of address for a male who is elder to the speaker in terms of age.

Further consider two other mirative allomorphs, *-ma* and *-na*, which share the same forms with other grammatical elements. Recall from Chapter 8 that Brokpa also has a deverbal (instrumental) nominalizer *-ma*. It goes without saying that the nominalized form derived by the suffix *-ma* will be in an argument function and will be accompanied by the grammatical elements associated with nouns. The mirative suffix *-ma* occurs within the predicate of a main clause or a dependent clause, as in (584):

(584) ŋi mí-kʰom-**ma**-na-to
1PL NEG-be.free-MIR-FACT-FINAL
'We will not have free time'

The mirative suffix *-ma* is applied directly to the verb stem in (584). Example (584) also serves to disambiguate between the factual marker *-na* and the mirative allomorph *-na*. Compare (584) with (585):

(585) ŋa=i te da tsʰiʔ go+me:
1SG=ERG PART PART word head+NEG.EXIST

ʑuʔ+me: tʰapso=ʑiʔ yakpo mi-ɖan-**na**
tail+NEG.EXIST somewhat=INDEF good NEG-recollect-MIR
'I cannot clearly remember (I just realized), so my narration is without beginning and end'

When a mirative allomorph and an egophoric/factual/evidential marker co-occur within a predicate, the former precedes the latter, as shown in (584). Otherwise, the factual knowledge marker *-na* is always postposed to an aspect suffix, while the mirative *-na* attaches directly to the head of the predicate, as in (585). Note that, in (584), the mirative marking refers to a sudden discovery by the speaker (the fact that they will not have free time). Further note that a mirative marking can be within the scope of negation, as in example (585).

13.5 Non-spatial setting: summary

In this chapter I have examined the parameters associated with non-spatial setting in Brokpa. They include aspect, phase of activity, modality, and the grammar of knowledge. Table 109 gives a summary of non-spatial setting parameters in Brokpa.

Brokpa is an aspect language. There are two types of perfective aspect. One, simply glossed 'perfective', can be used either to denote a completed action or an action which is not completed but may be viewed as a whole. The direct perfective aspect subsumes direct evidentiality.

Likewise, there are two kinds of imperfective aspect. One functions as a general imperfective marker. The other is typically associated with future time, although its main function is to code imperfective aspect. Brokpa does not have a clear tense system, such as a two-way or a three-way tense distinction. If there is a need for an exact specification of the time of an event or state, Brokpa makes use of lexical time words.

Brokpa also has a mechanism for distinguishing phases of activity, that is whether an activity is beginning, continuing or finishing. While grammatical markers are employed to show that an activity is continuing or completing, two lexical verbs are used to indicate the beginning of something.

Brokpa makes a host of modality distinctions shown by a smallish set of semantically-bleached verbs. The modality markers have their own slot within the predicate; they occur outside of the verb stem within the predicate but may carry certain erstwhile verbal properties with them such as the marker of polarity, and are synchronically analyzed as 'modal auxiliaries'. However, the modal auxiliaries tend to have a high frequency of occurrence, and behave like inflectional suffixes. The modal auxiliaries are all monosyllabic. They may or may not be stressed in accordance with the number of syllables of a resulting form and where a modality marker occurs.

Table 109. Parameters of non-spatial setting in Brokpa

NON-SPATIAL SETTING	GLOSS	§	MARKER
Aspect	Perfective	1.1.1	*-pi* ~ *-pe* (and allomorphs)
	Direct perfective	1.1.2	*-soŋ*
	Present imperfective	1.1.3	*-gi* (and allomorphs)
	Future imperfective	1.1.4	*-gyu* ~ *-gu* (and allomorphs)
Phase of activity	Continuous	1.2.1	*-doŋ/-rim/-tɕiŋ*
	Completive	1.2.2	*-zin* or *-ts^{h}ar*
Modality	Obligation/necessity	1.3.1	*-go*
	Possibility	1.3.2	*-ɦioŋ/-yoŋ*
	Permission	1.3.3	*-tɕ^{h}o?*
	Ability (physical/mental)	1.3.4	*-t^{h}ob* ~ *t^{h}ub*
	Ability (mental)	1.3.4	*-ɕeː*
	Intention	1.3.5	*-sam*
	Optative	1.3.6	*-ɕuʔ*
Knowledge	Egophoric (equational)	1.4.1.1	*-yin*
	Egophoric (existential)	1.4.1.2	*-yo*
	Factual knowledge	1.4.2	*-na*
	Direct evidentiality	1.4.3.1	*-tuʔ* ~ *-t^{h}uʔ* ~ *-duʔ*
	Direct evidentiality (past)	1.4.3.1	*-duŋ*
	Direct evidentiality (perfective)		same as 'direct aspect'
	Inferred evidentiality	1.4.3.2	*-yinuŋ*
	Reported evidentiality	1.4.3.3.1	= *lo*
	Reported evidentiality (quotative)	1.4.3.3.2	= *se*
	Mirativity ('epistemological clause')	1.4.4	*-yinda*
	Mirativity ('verbal clause')	1.4.4	*-pa* (and allomorphs)

Brokpa has a complex but clear system of grammar of knowledge. There are three categories of knowledge: egophoricity, evidentiality, and mirativity. Each knowledge category is distinct from the others, just as it is from other categories associated with verbs including aspect, modality, and phase of activity. Some markers of knowledge such as mirativity and evidentiality can co-occur.

Chapter 14

Clause types

This chapter deals with clause types in Brokpa from three perspectives: 1) clause types based on the internal structure of the predicate, 2) clause types in terms of speech acts, and 3) complex clause or sentence types involving relative clauses and complement clauses. This chapter also includes a section each on constituent order and negation in Brokpa.

14.1 Clause types in terms of predicate structure

Clause types based on the internal structure of predicates involving verbal predicates and copula predicates have been discussed, albeit informally, and examples shown throughout this grammar. In particular, the clause types based on verbal predicates were discussed informally under 'Argument marking' in Chapter 11. In this section I will formally discuss and illustrate these clause types together in a brief manner. Section 14.1.1 discusses clause types involving verbal predicates, and §14.1.2 copula predicates.

14.1.1 Clauses with verbal predicates

Recall from Chapter 11 that Brokpa has an absolutive-ergative system: A function is shown by the ergative case enclitic *=ge* ~ *=gi* , S and O functions take zero marking (absolutive case), and dative is marked by the enclitic *=la* which is syncretic with locative/allative case.

Most languages are said to have at least two major clausal structures: intransitive clause with one core argument and transitive with two core arguments. Some

languages are said to have two further clause structure types: extended intransitive involving two core arguments, one in S and the other in E function, and extended transitive (also referred to as 'ditransitive') clause involving three core arguments A, O, and E (see Aikhenvald 2015a:54; Dixon 2010b:116).

Brokpa has all four major clause types with verbal predicates: intransitive, transitive, extended intransitive, and extended transitive.

14.1.1.1 Intransitive clause

An intransitive clause has an intransitive predicate with one core NP in S function, as in:

(586) [ŋe=raŋ=gi meme=∅]NP:S [ɖak-soŋ]IPR
1PL=EMPH=GEN grand.father=ABS recover-PERV.DIRECT
'Our grandfather (S) recovered'

The clause in (586) can make up a complete sentence on its own. The peripheral argument such as 'illness', as in 'recovered from illness' is not obligatory in Brokpa. That information can be understood from the intransitive predicate, whose head is the verb *ɖak*. The clause has only one nominal argument, realized by a possessive NP, in Human role. This single core nominal argument is in S function and receives zero marking, and the clause is intransitive.

14.1.1.2 Transitive clause

A transitive clause has a transitive predicate with two core nominal arguments, one in A and the other in O function, as in:

(587) [Ama.Jomo=ge]A [ʔo=∅]O [suŋ]TPR
Ama.Jomo=ERG DEM.PROX=ABS say.HON.PERV
'Ama Jomo (A) said that (O)'

In (587), Ama Jomo is the Speaker role in A function, shown by the ergative enclitic *=gi*, and the demonstrative is the Message role in O function. Recall from Chapter 4 that transitivity of a clause in Brokpa can be understood either from the verb form or whether a core argument within the clause has an ergative marking.

14.1.1.3 Extended intransitive clause

An extended intransitive clause has an intransitive predicate with the subject argument in S function, and has another obligatory argument in E function (see Dixon 2010b:117 and Aikhenvald 2015a:55). This type of clause is supposed be quite rare cross-linguistically (see Aikhenvald 2015a:56). In Brokpa, verbs from certain semantic types can occur in extended intransitive clauses. For example, the LIKING verbs involve two semantic roles, Experiencer and Stimulus, which are both obligatory. However, the Experiencer role is typically unmarked, and is in S function, and the Stimulus role is obligatorily in E function which is marked by the dative/locative *=la*, as in (588):

(588) [ŋa=∅]S [kʰyo=la]E [sem+ga:-li]IPR
1SG=ABS 2SG=DAT mind+be.happy-NOMZ.PERV
'I (S) love you (E)'
Lit. 'I am feeling happy at you'

Further, the Motion verb of the Arrive subtype can take S and E core arguments. Consider:

(589) [ŋe=raŋ=∅] [Jomokora=la]E [ɖo-yi]IPR
1PL=REFL.EMPH=ABS Jomokora=DAT go-IMPERV
'We (S) are going for the Jomokora pilgrimage (E)'

In (589), the intransitive predicate with the verb *ɖo* 'to go' as head takes two obligatory nominal arguments. The first which is the subject argument takes zero marking for absolute case, and the second core nominal NP (Jomokora) is shown by the

dative *=la* and is in E function, effectively making the clause an extended intransitive one.

Furthermore, some ATTENTION verbs such as the 'look' verb can occur in transitive as well as in extended intransitive clauses. When it occurs in an extended intransitive clause, it takes the Impression role in E function, shown by the dative *=la*. Consider:

(590) [ŋa=∅]PERCR:S [mo=la]IMPRES:E [tæ-p^{h}i]IPR
1SG=ABS 3SG=DAT look-NOMZ.PERV
'I (S) looked at her (E)'

In (590), the verb *tæ* 'to look' takes two core nominal arguments. However, this is an extended intransitive clause instead of a transitive one because the Perceiver role, the subject argument, is zero-marked, and the obligatory NP in Impression role takes the dative marking and is effectively in E function.

14.1.1.4 Extended transitive clause

An extended transitive clause has a transitive predicate plus three core nominal arguments: A, O and E. An extended transitive or ditransitive clause involves three semantic roles such as the verbs of the GIVING semantic type or the REST verbs of the PUT subtype (see Chapter 4). A representative example is given in (591):

(591) [ŋa=i=gi bomo=di=la]RECIPT:E [gaŋɖaɖa=∅]GIFT:O
1SG=GEN=GEN girl=DEF=DAT whatever.possible=ABS

[ɲén+ɲep^{h}u p^{h}ama+buts^{h}a=ba?=k^{h}e]DONOR:A [ter-go-k^{h}u]TPR
friend+relative parent+children=PL=ERG give-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV
'Kith and kin and parents and siblings (A) must give whatever possible (O) to my daughter'

Example (591) has transitive predicate with the verb *ter* 'to give' as the head, and three semantic roles: the Donor role in A function shown by ergative case, Gift in

O function shown by zero absolutive case, and the Recipient role in E function shown by dative case.

Argument profiles for the four clause types, based on verbal predicates, in Brokpa can be represented as:

CLAUSE TYPE/PREDICATE	**CORE ARGUMENTS**	
intransitive	S (absolutive ∅)	
transitive	A (ergative =*ge*) O (absolutive ∅)	
extended intransitive	S (absolutive ∅)	E (dative =*la*)
extended transitive	A (ergative =*ge*) O (absolutive ∅)	E (dative =*la*)

Note that an E argument is obligatory in an extended intransitive as well as in extended transitive clause types.

14.1.2 Copula clauses

A basic distinction between a copula construction, verbal predicate clause, and an 'epistemological clause' (a verbal predicate with markers of knowledge distinction) was made in Chapter 13. Recall that copulas in Brokpa function as grammaticalized markers of knowledge in 'epistemological clauses', dealt with in more detail there. In this section I will examine the defining features of the copulas in Brokpa and, as noted in Chapter 13, refer to the inherent marking of knowledge distinction in copula clauses.

Dixon (2010b:159) points out that a copula has "relational rather than referential meaning", and he gives a list of five relations that a copula construction may mark between CS and CC in languages. Table 110 gives the list of semantic relations in copula constructions provided by Dixon.

Table 110. Semantic relations in copula constructions

	NATURE OF CC	**RELATIONS**
A1	NP or complement clause	Identity
A2	Adjective	Attribution
A3	Possessive phrase	Possession
A4	NP marked by appropriate adposition or affix	Benefaction
A5	NP marked by approriate adposition or affix, or locational adverb	Location

Dixon (2010b:159) further notes that "For a verb to be identified as a copula, it must occur with two core arguments, CS and CC, covering at least A1, Identity relation, and/or A2, Attribution relation".

Brokpa has several copulas which may fulfil these criteria to varying degrees. They include copulas *yin* and *na*, and their negative counterparts, which are essentially 'equational' copulas or 'Identity' copulas, following Dixon (2010b:172). Further, Brokpa has copulas *yo*, *tuʔ*, and *duŋ*, and their negative counterparts, which are existential verbs but they qualify as copulas since they can occur with two core arguments covering at least Identity relation or Attribution relation, or both.

Brokpa has what might be called 'complex copulas' or 'combinatory copulas', as in Denjongke (Yliniemi 2017:333-334, 2019:279-281). The complex copulas in Brokpa include *yinuŋ* (and its negative *manuŋ*), *yona* (and its negative *mena*), *yoduŋ* (and its negative *meduŋ*), *yinda* (and its negative form *manda*), and *yota* (and its negative *meta*). A complex copula in Brokpa is one in which a copula combines with another copula or a grammatical element, and the resulting form effectively functions as a single copula with a further function of marking a knowledge category.

The complex copulas *yinuŋ* and *yinda*, and their negative counterparts, are a type of equational or identity copulas. The complex copula *yoduŋ* (and its negative) is a type of existential copula. A complex copula does not take any inflections available to a lexical verb, as it is already a combination of an underlying copula plus another copula or a grammatical marker.

For ease of reference, the copulas *yin*, *yo*, *na*, *tuʔ*, *duŋ*, and their negative counterparts will be referred to as 'primary copulas'. The copulas *yinuŋ*, *yona*, *yoduŋ*, *yinda*, and *yota*, and their negative counterparts, will be referred to as 'complex copulas'.

The copulas belonging to the equational type, that is *yin*, *na*, *yinuŋ*, and *yinda* can be omitted, and a copula clause without a copula predicate can be a verbless clause. It is not possible for a copula clause with an existential copula as its predicate to effectively produce a verbless clause.

Furthermore, the reported evidential marker *lo* and the verb *ɦioŋ* 'might be/might come', also functioning as a grammaticalized marker of possibility modality, can effectively function as copulas covering relations such as Identity (A1), Attribution (A2), and Location (A5).

As will become clear in this section, the equational egophoric copula *yin* and the existential egophoric copula *yo* share several properties with lexical verbs and can be considered a closed class of verbs. The factual copula *na* and the two direct evidential copulas *tuʔ* and *duŋ* do not show any inflections and form a closed class on their own.

14.1.2.1 The equational copula *yin*

The equational copula *yin* can effectively function as the predicate of a copula clause with two core arguments, CS and CC, indicating a relation between them. As noted in Chapter 13, *yin* has a secondary function of marking personal knowledge or egophoricity, and is labelled 'equational egophoric copula'. The kinds of relation shown by *yin*, as a copula predicate, include:

IDENTITY:

(592) a. [ŋi = ye]CS den [kʰyimtsʰaŋ daŋre]CC [**yin**]CPR
1PL = EMPH PART neighbour next.door COP.EGO
'We are also next-door neighbours'

b. [ŋa = raŋ = gi miŋ]CS da ŋe = raŋ
1SG = REFL.EMPH = GEN name PART 1PL = REFL.EMPH

ŋoʈö + lakʰer
identity + certificate

mítsi naŋ = la [Dorje.Ngoedrup = se]CC [**yin**]CPR
census RELAT:INSD = LOC Dorje.Ngoedrup = QUOT COP.EGO
'My name, in our Citizenship Card and in the census, is Dorje Ngoedrup'

ATTRIBUTION:

(593) [kʰo]CS [yontan-tɕan]CC [**yin**]CPR
3SG.MASC knowledge-ADJ COP.EGO
'He is knowledgeable'

Further, a copula clause with *yin* covering relation A2 (Attribution) can be a comparative construction. An example, given under 'comparative construction' in §5.1.2.3, is reproduced in (594):

(594) [Merak naŋ = næ ɕe: tɕʰe-da]CC [Lham]CS **yin**
Merak RELAT:INSD = ABL energy big-SUPER Lham COP.EGO
'Lham (CS) is (CPr) the strongest from Merak (CC)'

POSSESSION:

(595) a. ʔoti kʰyim ŋa = i **yin**
DEM.PROX house 1SG = GEN COP.EGO
'This house is mine'

b. ʔoti kʰyö=gi ʔou **yin** **ʔe**
DEM.PROX 2SG=GEN boy COP.EGO Q
'Is this your son?'

In (595a), the copula *yin* covers relation A3 (Possession) between the CS 'this house' and the CC 'mine'. The copula *yin* inherently codes egophoricity. If the possessor R in CC function is a second-person, or the CS is a second person, then a construction with *yin* is typically asked as a question with an appropriate intonation contour, as in (595b), (see §14.2).

The use of egophoric *yin* in a second-person declarative statement is rare but not impossible. For example, if a person is paid a compliment such as 'You are knowledgeable' and 'you are rich', it is not unusual for the person to reject that kind of compliment by saying 'I am not'. In such a context, it is not uncommon for the speaker to use the egophoric copula *yin* in a second-person statement such as,(596a) and (596b):

(596) a. kʰyö kʰæba **yin** wái
2SG expert COP.EGO INTJ
'Yes, you are an expert'

b. kʰyo tɕʰukpo **yin** ŋa=raŋ=ge ɕe:
2SG rich COP.EGO 1SG=REFL=ERG know
'You are rich, I myself know'

The use of egophoric *yin* in these contexts, as in (596a) and (596b), is possible in all the Bodish languages that I am quite familiar with, including Tshangla, Dzongkha, and Classical Tibetan, although a language may have different forms of the egophoric copulas.

Furthermore, in Brokpa the egophoric *yin* can be used in a reported speech construction when the subject of the complement clause and the subject of the main clause are co-referential, as in:

(597) [ʔam morenmo=ge ʔou=di ʔuntɕin keː-pʰi]CS
mother barren.woman=ERG boy=DEF before give.birth-PERV

[ʔoti]CC **yin**=se ton+dʑin-**yin**
DEM.PROX COP.EGO=QUOT show+give-COP.EGO
'The barren mother showed the boy saying "This is the son which I first gave birth to"'

In (597), the 'barren woman' is the subject of the nominalized clause in CS function, as well as the subject of the predicate of the main clause, 'one who showed the baby'. Note that there two occurrences of *yin*, shown in bold types, in sentence (597). The first *yin* is used as the copula predicate in the copula clause, and the second *yin* is employed as a grammaticalized marker of egophoricity (see Chapter 13).

In terms of morphological properties, the equational egophoric copula *yin* can be nominalized just like a referential verb, as in:

(598) te ʔoti **yin-ni**=la ten...
PART DEM.PROX COP.EGO-NOMZ=DAT due.to
'Because it is is like this....'

Similarly, the equational egophoric copula *yin* takes a clause-final marker, as in:

(599) da kʰa maŋbo me=se lap-pʰi=gi tsiː
PART mouth many NEG.EXIST=QUOT say-NOMZ=GEN reckoning

yin-to
COP.EGO-FINAL
'That is like saying, "She is not talkative"'

Furthermore, *yin* takes the conditional clause linker *-na* and the copula clause in which it functions as the copula predicate can be a dependent clause, as in (600):

(600) [da bomo **yin-na**]DC [bomo=gi tse+pʰa=la
PART girl COP.EGO-COND girl=GEN over=LOC

dʑa+dʑiu=ʑiʔ=raŋ pʰern+ɖo-gu-mi-yoŋ]MC
bird+small.bird=INDEF=EMPH fly+go-FUT.IMPERV-NEG-POTEN
'If it is the girl, not even a small bird will fly over her'

While the equational egophoric copula *yin* can take certain grammatical categories associated with verbs, it has restricted inflections. For example, *yin* is not found to be occurring with the general imperfective *-gi* and future imperfective *-gu*. This suggests that *yin* does not take aspect markers, but only the grammatical nominalizer which happens to be the same form as the perfective aspect marker.

Also note that copulas cannot be used in commands in Brokpa. A clause with an argument in CS function, realized by a personal pronoun such as the second person pronoun *kʰyo*, and another argument in CC function linked by a copula, effectively becomes a statement and not a command. For example *kʰyo mi yin* (2SG person COP.EGO) 'You are human' is a statement, and it cannot have the meaning of a command '*You be human'. This clause remains a statement even if it is produced with an intonation contour characteristic of an imperative clause.

Further, *yin* cannot be negated, but it has a negative counterpart *man* which potentially has the same grammatical profile as its positive counterpart. Below is an example of the negative copula *man* functioning as copula predicate:

(601) [kʰyi=ta]CS [me-gin]CC [**man**]CPR
2SG=FOC NEG.EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV NEG.COP.EGO
'You are not a poor person'
Lit. 'You are not one who does not have'

As can be seen in (601), the negative equational egophoric copula *man* effectively functions as the copula predicate, covering relation A1 (Identity), taking two core arguments, CS and CC. The CS is realized by the second person pronoun, and CC by a nominalized verb.

Historically speaking, the negative equational egophoric *man* is a fusion of the negation marker *ma-* and the positive equational egophoric copula *yin*. The same copula *yin* in Classical Tibetan can be negated with the morpheme <ma>, as <de ltar **ma yin** no> 'It is not like that'. Note that, typically, if a following morpheme commences with the glide /y/ or the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/, the initial segment is lost (see Chapter 2).

14.1.2.2 The equational copula *na*

The copula *na* is also an equational copula in Brokpa. It has a secondary function of coding factual evidentiality, and is labelled simply as 'factual copula'. The factual copula *na* occurs in a relational or nonreferential clauses, just like the equational egophoric copula *yin* (§14.1.2.1). It inherently codes factual evidentiality in a copula clause as well as occurring as a grammaticalized marker of the same evidentiality in 'epistemological clauses' (see Chapter 13).

The factual copula *na* covers relations A1 (Identity), A2 (Attribution), A3 (Possession) which may include A4 (Benefaction), and A5 (Location). Strictly speaking, *na* may be considered a truly putative copula in Brokpa as it covers more relations plus it does not take any inflections available to verbs.

Examples of the copula *na* covering various semantic relations are furnished below:

IDENTITY:

(602) [ʔup^{h}i mep^{h} gango]$_{CS}$ [ŋa=i p^{h}ui ʔadʑaŋ]$_{CC}$ [**na**]$_{CPR}$
DEM.DIST old.man dotard 1SG=GEN innermost uncle COP.FACT
'That feeble old man is my 'innermost' uncle'

The CC is a complex NP, formed by the possessive phrase. The factual copula *na* with CC consisting of a simple NP can be found in:

(603) [kʰyo = ta]CS da [puntsʰan]CC [**na**]CPR
2SG = FOC PART relative COP.FACT
'You are (my) relative'

Note that the factual copula *na* has no restrictions on the person of CS.

ATTRIBUTION:

(604) [ŋáme = i læ = tɕi? ta-go-pʰi]COCL:CS [kʰa? + tɕʰepu]ADJ:CC
previous.life = GEN karma = INDEF look-OBLIG-NOMZ onus-big

[**na**]CPR
COP.FACT
'Ascertaining previous life's karma is enormously important'

In (604), the CS consists of a nominalized complement clause, the CC a derived adjective, and the copula *na* marks Attribution relation between these two core arguments. Further, the CS can be an NP and the CC a monomorphemic adjective, as in:

(605) [kʰoŋ = ni]CS [tɕʰukpu]CC [**na**]CPR
3PL = TOP rich COP.FACT
'They are rich'

POSSESSION:

(606) [?oti kʰara]CS [ŋe = raŋ ?e = gi]CC [**na**]CPR
DEM.PROX walking.stick 1PL = REFL.EMPH grandmother = GEN COP.FACT
'This walking staff is our grandmother's'

LOCATION:

(607) den [pʰa = yi = la]NP:LOC da [bartɕʰaŋ]CS [**na**]CPR
PART there = GEN = LOC PART mediation.drink COP.FACT
'There is Mediation Drink in there'

Note that in a typical copula clause, the CS precedes the CC as most examples thus far show. In a copula clause covering the semantic relation of Location, the CC

may precede the CS, as in (607). However the locational NP in CC function can be identified on the basis of the locative case marker it takes.

Further, the factual copula *na* can be used in interrogative clauses, as in:

(608) [kʰo]CS [su]CC [**na**]CPR
3SG.MASC who COP.FACT
'Who is he?'

Example (608) is actually a clause in which the copula *na* covers the semantic relation of Identity (A1). In (608), the content question word *su* asks information about the NP in the CC slot, and it occupies the same slot as the CC.

In all the semantic relations it covers, as noted in Chapter 13, the copula *na* inherently codes factual or assumed knowledge. As pointed out above, the copula *na* does not show any inflections, but it may combine with other copulas such as the existential *yo* and form a complex copula marking factual evidentiality. As a grammaticalized marker, the factual *-na* is homonymous with the conditional marker *-na*. The conditional marker *-na* is hypothesized to be historically from the factual copula *na* (see §15.2.1.3). The copula *na* requires further study.

The factual copula *na* cannot be negated. There is also no particular form of a copula that is used as a negative counterpart of the factual copula *na*. In a way, this is not surprising because it is not necessary for a proposition which is factual to be negated, lest it becomes non-factual. However, certain negative propositions, such as *Merak Sakteng man* (Merak Sakteng NEG.COP) 'Merak is not Sakteng' can also be factual.

Since the factual *na* does not have a negative counterpart of its own, the form *man* which is the negative counterpart of the equational egophoric copula *yin*, may be used as the negative counterpart of the factual copula *na*. However, one would expect the negative form of the factual copula *na* to be *mana*, since *ma-* is the marker of negation, and it could well be that the final vowel /a/ got deleted and what remains is the same as the negative form of the egophoric *yin*.

The diachronic origin of the factual copula *na* is not clear. It appears that in Classical Tibetan and other Tibetan dialects, the equivalent copula is <red> although its functions may not be exactly the same as the Brokpa *na*. One can surmise that this copula *na* is a borrowing from East Bodish languages. Khengkha, spoken in Zhemgang district and some pockets of Trashigang district, has an existential copula *na?* ~ *nak* 'there is', 'have'.[1] Bumthang shares this same copula with Khengpa. Kurtöp, an East Bodish language, also has an existential copula *nâ* (see Hyslop 2017:258-259). It is plausible that Brokpa borrowed the existential copula of the East Bodish languages, and then innovated it as a marker of factual evidentiality since it has its own existential copulas marking direct evidentiality.

It is also equally, or even more, plausible that the factual copula *na* in Brokpa could be from Tshangla, a language that shares a long-distance relationship, but is geographically contiguous, with Brokpa. The putative equational egophoric copula in Tshangla is *gila*, as in *dʑaŋ Pema gila* (1SG Pema COP.EGO) 'I am Pema'. In certain contexts, the equational copula *gila* can be replaced by the morpheme *na* in Tshangla (*na* otherwise occurs in declarative clauses as a kind of clause-final marker in Tshangla). Consider the Tshangla sentences:

(609) a. [ɖoban a-k^{h}an]CS [dʑaŋ mangi]CC [rok]CC [**na**]CPR
stealing do-NOMZ:AGTV 1SG NEG.COP.EGO 3SG COP
'One who is stealing is not me, **it is him**'

b. [rokte=tai]CS [bedeŋ]ADJ:CC [**na**]CPR
3PL=TOP rich COP
'They are rich'

In (609a), there are two juxtaposed copula clauses, the first negative copula clause and the second positive, sharing the same CS. In the second copula clause, *na* functions as the copula predicate instead of the putative copula *gila*. The Tshangla

[1] Although I am a native speaker of Tshangla, my parents house is located right on the border between Tshangla-speaking and Khengkha-speaking villages in Radhi Gewog in Trashigang. I have been exposed to Khengkha since my childhood.

na here establishes Identity relation between the CS and CC. The Tshangla clause in example (609b) is a straightforward copula clause in which *na* functions as the copula predicate covering the semantic relation of Attribution.

It is clear that Tshangla also has a morpheme *na* which can function as a copula, and it is highly likely that the Brokpa *na* is from Tshangla, since these two languages are geographically contiguous. Moreover, *na* in Tshangla appears to be coding some kind of factual knowledge, the same as the Brokpa *na*. In any case, other Central Bodish languages such as Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha, which are closely related to Brokpa, do not have any kind of copula resembling *na* in Brokpa. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Brokpa has borrowed the factual *na* from other languages, either from an East Bodish language or from Tshangla which forms a subgroup on its own within the Bodish branch of Tibeto-Burman language family.

14.1.2.3 The existential copula *yo*

The existential copula *yo* occurs in existential clauses, but it can be recognized as a copula based on at least three relational meanings it marks between CS and CC: Attribution (A2), Location (A5), and Possession (A3) by means of a 'have' construction. The existential copula *yo* marks personal knowledge or egophoricity in copula clauses, as an additional function. It also functions as a grammaticalized marker of egophoricity (see Chapter 13). Examples of the semantic relations *yo* marks between CS and CC include:

ATTRIBUTION:

(610) [ŋe=raŋ=gi geɕe]CS [k^{h}eba]CC [**yo**]CPR lá
1SG=REFL.EMPH=GEN Geshe learned EXIST.COP POLITE
'Our Geshe is learned'

In (610), *yo* effectively functions as the copula predicate marking Attribution relation between the two core arguments. The NP 'our Geshe'[2], formed by two NPs in

[2] Geshe 'literally 'virtuous friend' is an academic title, which is also used as a proper noun in the same way as Lama.

intra-NP possessive relation, is in CS function and the adjective *kʰeba* 'learned/expert' in CC function.

LOCATION:

(611) [ŋa]CS data [Gengo=la]NP:LOC [**yo**]CPR
1SG now Gengo=LOC EXIST.COP
'Right now I am in Gengo'

I heard one of my consultants saying clause (611) on the phone when we were in a village called Gengo. In this sentence, the existential egophoric *yo* is used as the copula predicate, marking relation A5, Location, as well as coding egophoricity. Among others, it is used with a first person referent. Note that if the speaker was talking about another person, he would use the direct evidential *tu?* which is a non-egophoric existential copula. If he was talking about both of us, he would again use the same existential egophoric *yo*.

Further, *yo* has a meaning of 'have' and can show a relationship of possession through, what Dixon (2010b:265) calls a 'predicative possessive construction'. Consider:

POSSESSION:

(612) [ʔou ʔo-zum=ʑi?]D:O **yo**
son DEM-like=INDEF EXIST.COP
'We **have** a son like this'
Lit. 'A son like this exists'

The father of the boy, a prospective bridegroom, has just finished describing the admirable qualities of his son, and he concludes his description with the clause (612). The possessors of the son are his parents, which are not stated, but can be inferred from the discourse context. The existential egophoric copula *yo* takes the unstated possessor R, the parents, as its argument in A function and the possessed D, the son, as its core argument in O function. The existential copula *yo* covers the ownership relation between these two core arguments: the parents and the son.

Note that *yo* is used with regard to the first-person subject, which is typical of a marker of egophoricity in most languages that have egophoricity as a knowledge category. The existential egophoric copula *yo* can be used with the third-person subject if the speaker has a personal or internalised knowledge that someone really has a son with such positive qualities.

Further note that *yo* has a meaning 'there is/are'. Examples include:

(613) a. da tɕʰo poti ɲí + sum = ʑi?
now scripture bound.volume two + three = INDEF

bræ = la **yo** lá
rocky.promontory = LOC EXIST.EGO POLITE
'Nowadays, **there are** some bound volumes of scripture at the rocky promontory'

b. den lúbu yin-na = ye su = daŋ su **yo**
PART singer COP.EGO-COND = EMPH who = CNTV who EXIST.EGO
'Then, if it is the singers, who **are all there**?'

In (613a), *yo* shows the existence of an NP, and inherently shows that the speaker is the primary bearer of this knowledge— he has an epistemological authority. The speaker has personally seen the bound volumes of scripture on a rocky promontory, far removed from the village where many other people have not been to. It is believed that the scriptures were taken there by their patron deity. The speaker has a privileged access to this knowledge and uses the existential *yo* in a declarative statement. His knowledge includes more than just seeing the scriptures with his own eyes, but also the fact that this information (that those are the scriptures taken there by their patron deity) has been passed onto him from his forefathers. If it is just the former, he would instead use the direct evidential *tɯ?* (§14.1.2.4).

In (613b), *yo* is used in an interrogative clause addressed to a second person, in an existential use. The astrologer would ask questions such as the one in (613b) of the parents of a bridegroom before a wedding ceremony.

The existential egophoric copula *yo* cannot cover relation A1 (Identity), the way the equational egophoric copula *yin* does. A clause such as **?oti mi=di lama yo* (DEM.PROX person=DEFlamaEXIST.COP) is not even remotely plausible (see Table 110).

Note that the existential copula *yo* is sometimes realized as *yö* ending in a close-mid near-front round vowel /ö/ [ø:], possibly due to an influence from the pronunciation of the same copula in Dzongkha.

The negative form of the existential *yo* is *me*. The negative existential egophoric copula *me* behaves the same as its positive counterpart, in that it can be used as the negative correspondent for *yo* in all its meanings including 'have', 'there is/are', and in copula use. The use of the negative existential copula *me* as a copula predicate can be found in:

(614) [ŋa=i ʔapa]CS [dʑoksaŋ[3]]CC [**me**]CPR
1SG=GEN father talkative NEG.EXIST
'My father is not talkative'

Although the head of the NP in CS function is a third person referent, the speaker's father, the negative existential egophoric *me* is used because the speaker has epistemological authority.

The existential egophoric copula *yo* can be nominalized with the nominalizing allomorph *-ti*, and have the same grammatical possibilities as do nominalizations. For example, it takes the marker of (in)definiteness, as in (615a), or the plural marker, as in (615b):

[3] In Sakteng, 'talkative' is *ʑoksaŋ*. There are other lexicalized items formed by noun *kʰa* plus an adjective or an adjectival suffix, which can mean 'talkative', including *kʰaʑin* and *kʰadabu*. Further,*kʰa maŋbo* (mouth many) literally 'many mouths' can also mean 'talkative.' All of these words can be in the CC slot with the existential egophoric copula *yo* or its negative counter *me* as the copula predicate.

(615) a. yaŋna te da ʔama den
DISJ PART PART lady PART

da kyaptɕʰokpa **yo-ti=ʑi?**
PART good.looking EXIST.EGO-NOMZ=INDEF
'Or else, the lady who is a good-looking one'

b. den yo **yo-ti=ba?** ma=te kʰyoŋ=næ...
PART puffed.ric EXIST.EGO-NOMZ=PL down=ALL bring=SEQ
'Then all puffed rice (whatever is there) will be brought down...'

The existential egophoric copula *yo* or its negative counterpart *me* can take the conditional marker *-na* and the (copula) in which it occurs can be a dependent clause, as in:

(616) a. [te goŋba kʰaː=ʑi? **yo-na**]DC [den
PART household score=INDEF EXIST.EGO-COND PART

yintɕimintɕi ɖo-go-kʰu-na]MC kʰaː tɕʰatsaŋ
by.any.means go-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT score complete

korduk=næ
make.round=SEQ
'So, if there is a score of (twenty) households, we must take turns and go to all the households'

b. te ɲintɕan pʰre-ro **me-na=ye**...
PART all.day meet-FINAL NEG.EXIST-COND=EMPH...
'Even though we cannot meet all day long...'
Lit. 'Even though 'meet all-day long' is not there....'

As with the equational egophoric copula *yin*, the existential egophoric copula *yo* does not take aspect markers, so it has restricted morphology compared to the regular lexical verbs. As is evident from the existence of its negative counterpart *me*, the existential egophoric *yo* also cannot be negated with the markers of negation *ma-* or *mi-*.

As noted in Chapter 13, the existential egophoric copula *yo* may develop into a straightforward progressive aspect marker in Brokpa.

The existential egophoric copula *yo* is shared with other Bodish languages including Classical Tibetan, Dzongkha, Denjongke (see Yliniemi 2017), and Chochangachakha, among others, which is apparently due to shared genetic inheritance.

14.1.2.4 The existential copulas *tuʔ* and *duŋ*

The existential copulas *tuʔ* and *duŋ* typically occur in existential clauses. The predicate of an existential clause is sometimes referred to as 'locative predicate' or 'locative copula' (see, for example, Dryer 2007c:238). The direct evidential copula *tuʔ* has two free allomorphic variants *tʰuʔ* and *duʔ*, and the direct perfective evidential copula *duŋ* has a free variant *tuŋ*.

Similar to the existential *yo*, the existential *tuʔ* has a meaning of 'have' and shows a possessive relation, as in:

(617) kʰo=la mwoi **tuʔ**
3SG.MASC=DAT wife EXIST.DIRECT
'He has a wife (He is married)'
Lit. 'There is wife on him'

Note that *duŋ* can also be used in the same way as *tuʔ* in a 'have' construction as in (617), but will denote the action or event as completed.

The two existential copulas, *tuʔ* and *duŋ*, differ from the existential copula *yo* in terms of their extended functions in the grammar. The existential *yo* marks egophoricity, and is therefore labelled 'existential egophoric copula' (see §14.1.2.3, also see §13.4.1.2). On the other hand, the existential *tuʔ* and *duŋ* mark direct evidentiality, which is non-egophoric, and therefore these two are 'direct existential copula' (see §13.4.1). Despite both being a direct existential copula, *tuʔ* and *duŋ* differ in terms of their aspectual meanings, with the former occurring in imperfective and the latter perfective aspect, as shown in §13.4.1.2, and as the examples in this section will illustrate. For ease of reference, the existential *tuʔ* is simply glossed 'direct existential', and *duŋ* as 'direct perfective existential'. Note that direct means 'direct evidential'.

The existential *tuʔ* and *duŋ* can be recognized as copulas based on at least two semantic relations they cover: Attribution and Location. Examples include:

ATTRIBUTION:

(618) a. [pʰrugu = di]CS [yakpo]ADJ:CC [**tuʔ**]CPR
child = DEF good EXIST.DIRECT
'The kid is nice'

b. te [ló + láp-tʰaŋ = raŋ]NOMZ:CS [ʔoŋɕiʔ]ADV:CC [**duŋ**]CPR
PART talk + say-NOMZ = EMPH like.that EXIST.DIRECT.PERV
'So the talking was like this'

In (618a), the existential *tuʔ* occurs with two core arguments, with an NP in CS and an adjective in CC function, and the relation covered is A2 (Attribution). In (618b), the CS is realized by a nominalized complement clause, and the CC by an adverb. The adverb *ʔoŋɕiʔ* 'like this/that' can be replaced by any adjective of the VALUE semantic type.

LOCATION:

(619) a. [ʔupʰi = la]NP:LOC:CC [bomo ʔotɕin = ɕiʔ]CS [**tuʔ**]CPR
DEM.DIST = LOC girl like.this = INDEF EXIST:DIRECT
'There is a girl like this there'

b. [lamsol]CS yin-na [ʔun = la]NP:LOC:CC ʔotɕin
tradition COP.EGO-COND that.time = LOC like.this

[**duŋ**]CPR
EXIST:DIRECT.PERV
'Even the tradition, it was like this before'
Lit. 'Even the tradition, it was like that in those times'

Both (619a) and (619b) are copula clauses, with *tuʔ* as the copula predicate in the former and *duŋ* in the latter. In both clauses, the speaker has direct evidence regarding their information source, both visual in this instance. However, *tuʔ* relates

to imperfective aspect in (619a) and *duŋ* to perfective in (619b). Both clauses mark relation A5 (Location), with the CC in (619a) realized by a spatial core argument and the CC in (619b) by a temporal core argument.

The existential *tuʔ* can be used in an interrogative clause, as in:

(620) [kʰebar]CS [tɕi]CC [**tuʔ**]CPR
difference what EXIST.DIRECT
'What is the difference?'

The content question word *tɕi* 'what' occupies the CC slot which can potentially be filled by an adjective such as *bombo* 'big' or *tɕʰuŋku* 'small'. This clause clearly seeks information about an attribute, and covers the semantic relation of Attribution.

The direct existential copulas *tuʔ* and *duŋ* do not take any inflections. Note that the assertive particle *=s*, a phonologically reduced form of *=sin* marking a strong and, sometimes, rude assertion may be cliticized to these copulas. These two copulas cannot be negated.

The negative counterpart of the direct existential copula *tuʔ* is *men*, as in:

(621) [ɲa ɲa=ta]CS [náŋda]CC [**men**]CPR
fish fish=FOC worry NEG.EXIST.DIRECT
'Fish, there is no problem'

Example (621) is from the procedural text about the food items that pilgrims can take or not take when they visit the sacred place of Ama Jomo. The narrator has just mentioned that other food items such as onions and garlic are not allowed, but he says that there is no problem with regard to fish (meaning people can take fish to the sacred place). The negative copula *men* is used with two core arguments, and is therefore expressing the opposite of the direct existential in an imperfective context.

Note that *men* is used in free variation with *min*. An example of *min* as a negative copula, as a negative counterpart of *tuʔ*, can be found in (622):

(622) mapa kʰaː=ta **min**
actually onus=FOC NEG.EXIST.DIRECT
'Actually, there is no onus (on you)'

Recall from §14.1.2.3 that the negative counterpart of the existential egophoric copula *yo* is *me*, and that the factual copula *na* can combine with this negative existential *me* and form *mena*. The negative counterpart of the complex copula *yona* is also coding factual knowledge. Sometimes, the form *mena*, which is a combination of the negative existential egophoric copula *me* plus the factual *na*, is reduced to *men* which then becomes homophonous with the direct negative existential copula *men*. Despite both being negative existential copulas, there is actually a difference. The form *men*, the reduced form of *me* plus *na*, is the negative equational copula which codes factual evidentiality (the negative of the factual equational copula *na*). The other *men* ~ *min* is the negative existential copula which codes direct evidentiality (the negative of the direct existential copula *tuʔ*). Disambiguation is achieved only in terms of discourse context.

Sometimes, one can hear *mindu?* used as a negative counterpart of *tuʔ*. This could be the borrowing form of Dzongkha *mindu?* or the Classical Tibetan <mi 'dug>, which are the negative counterpart of the existential verb in these two languages. For example, one of my consultants used *mindu?* in one of the songs, as in *ɲizer kak-sa mindu?* (sun.ray stop-NOMZ NEG.COP.DIRECT) 'There is no way to stop the sunrays'.

The Brokpa direct existential *tuʔ*, especially its free variant *duʔ*, is shared with most Bodish languages including Dzongkha (van Driem 1998:125; Watters 2018:208), Denjongke (Yliniemi 2017, 2019:265), and Chocha-ngacha (Tournadre and Rinzin 2015). The direct perfective existential *duŋ* appears to be an innovation in Brokpa.

The negative form of the direct perfective copula *duŋ* is *minuŋ*, as in (623):

(623) ʔun=la tɕinam lap-mi=gi sö=ɕiʔ
earlier=LOC what.not say-NOMZ=GEN tradition=INDEF

minuŋ
NEG.EXIST.DIRECT.PERV
'Those days, there was no tradition of asking such things'

Note that the the nominalizing allomorph *-mi*is used following the verb root *lap* which typically takes the *-pʰi* allomorph. This may be due to influence from Dzongkha.

No homonyms have been found for the direct existential *tuʔ*, but *duŋ* is homonymous with two nouns: *duŋ* 'horn' and *duŋ* 'purebred (animal)'. Further, as noted in Chapter 13, the direct perfective copula *duŋ* has a lexical homonym *duŋ* which functions as a verb meaning 'to beat/sting'. However, the verb *duŋ* 'to beat' may not be the diachronic source of the existential copula. The historical origin of both *tuʔ* and *duŋ* is more likely the verb *dʱo* 'to sit', a REST verb of the Sit subtype (see Chapter 4), which is a verb of stance. It is quite common for verbs of stance to develop into copulas in the languages of the world (see Dixon 2010b:182).

14.1.2.5 The morphemes *se* and *lo* as copulas

Recall from chapter 13 that Brokpa uses two markers *=lo* and *=se* to code reported evidentiality. As a marker of reported evidentiality, these two enclitics attach to the last element of the predicate of a main clause.

Interestingly, these two markers can also occur with two core arguments and establish a copula-like construction, which can be alternatively described as a verbless clause. In this function, both *lo* and *se* are stressed and each constitutes a separate phonological word. Consider the following examples with *se*:

(624) a. [kʰo]NP:CS [lópon]NP:CC [**se**]CPR
3SG.MASC teacher COP.REP
'He is (reported to be) teacher'

b. [k^{h}o]NP:CS [k^{h}eba]ADJ:CC [**se**]CPR
3SG.MASC knowledgeable COP.REP
'He is (reported to be) knowledgeable'

Both clauses (624a) and (624b) have no verb as the head of predicate. The morpheme *se*, otherwise functioning as a quotative or as a reported evidential *=se*, effectively functions as the copula predicate. It covers Identity relation in (624a) and Attribution in (624b). The morpheme *se* in both clauses can be replaced by the morpheme *lo* with no difference in meaning. The semantic difference between these two morphemes (one being a reportative, the other a quotative evidential) is neutralised in this context.

14.1.2.6 Primary copulas and their properties

Table 111 gives a list of primary copulas of Brokpa with their grammatical properties, minimum semantic relations, and extended functions discussed in the preceding sections.

Table 111. Primary copulas with their properties and extended functions in Brokpa

COPULA	NEGATIVE	CLAUSE TYPE	SEMANTIC RELATION	INFLECTION	EXTENDED FUNCTION
yin	*man*	equational	Identity, Attribution, Possession,	yes, restricted	egophoricity
yo	*me*	existential	Attribution, Location, Possession	yes, restricted	egophoricity
na		equational	Identity, Attribution, Possession, Location	no	factuality
tuʔ	*men* ~ *min*	existential	Attribution, Possession, Location	no	direct evidentiality
duŋ	*minuŋ*	existential	Attribution, Possession, Location	no	direct evidentiality (perfective)

COPULA	NEGATIVE	CLAUSE TYPE	SEMANTIC RELATION	INFLECTION	EXTENDED FUNCTION
se		equational	Identity, Attribution	no	reported evidentiality
lo		equational	Identity, Attribution	no	reported evidentiality

Note that, alternatively, constructions with the reported evidentiality marker *se* or *lo* may be treated as verbless clauses.

14.1.2.7 The complex copula *yinuŋ*

The complex copula *yinuŋ* has resulted from a fusion of the equational copula *yin* and the possibilitative modality marker *-ɦioŋ*. The complex copula *yinuŋ* can function as a copula predicate with a further function of marking inferred evidentiality and/or possibilitative modality, hence glossed 'inferred equational copula' (COP.INFER). The inferred equational copula *yinuŋ* covers the same semantic relations as the equational egophoric copula *yin* including Identity (A1), Attribution (A2), and Possession (A3).

IDENTITY:

(625) [buram = di]CS [ʈiŋ + buram]CC [**yinuŋ**]CPR
sugar = DEF tin + sugar COP.INFER.POSSIB
'It seems that this sugar is cane sugar'

In (625), *yinuŋ* functions as the copula predicate taking two core arguments and showing Identity relation. It inherently codes inferred evidentiality with the meaning 'it seems/appears/looks like' (see §13.4.2.2 for a discussion on 'inferred evidentiality'). Further, the copula clause (625) can also be interpreted as 'This sugar might be cane sugar'. The marking of evidentiality is fused with modality.

ATTRIBUTION:

(626) [ʔoti laika = di] [yakpo]ADJ:CC [**yinuŋ**]CPR
DEM.PROX work = DEF good COP.INFER.POSSIB
'This work might be nice'

A further example *yinuŋ* covering Attribution relation can be found in (627):

(627) [ŋe=raŋ=gi gup=di]CS [tɕoɖup-tɕan=ʑi?]CC
1PL=REFL.EMPH=GEN Gup=DEF capability-ADJ=INDEF

[**yinuŋ**]CPR
COP.INFER.POSSIB
'Our Gup might be capable'

POSSESSION:

(628) [?oti lu?]CS [Donɖup=ki]POSS:CC [**yinuŋ**]CPR
DEM.PROX sheep Dondrup COP.INFER Q
'It seems/looks like this sheep is Dondrup's'

As noted above, this equational inferred copula is a complex copula, and it is not required to select any from a system of inflections available to lexical verbs. The negative equational inferred copula is *manuŋ*, formed the same way as its positive counterpart, that is by a combination of the negative equational egophoric *man* and the possibilitative marker *-ɦoŋ*. Example of *manuŋ* marking Identity relation can be found in:

(629) [?ot=ta]CS [k^{h}o]CC [**manuŋ**]CPR
DEM.PROX=FOC 3SG.MASC NEG.COP.INFER
'This one is not him'

Note that the complex copula *yinuŋ* in all the examples above can be replaced by its negative counterpart *manuŋ*. Note further that this complex copula also occurs as a grammaticalized marker of inferred evidentiality in 'epistemological clauses' (see Chapter 13). Alternatively, the complex copula *yinuŋ* can be analyzed underlyingly as /yin-ɦoŋ/, a combination of the copula *yin* and the modality marker *-ɦoŋ*. However, based on their synchronic functions and native speaker intuition, it is recognized as a single form. The same applies to other complex copulas including *yona* (§14.1.2.8) and *yoduŋ* (§14.1.2.9).

14.1.2.8 The complex copula *yona*

The complex copula *yona* ~ *yöna* is a combination of the existential egophoric copula *yo* and the factual copula *na*. The resulting form *yona* functions as a copula predicate, and codes factual evidentiality in a copula construction. Akin to other copulas, the complex predicate *yona* functions as a grammaticalized marker of the factual evidentiality in grammaticalized constructions in 'epistemological clauses' (see Chapter 13). This complex copula can be glossed 'existential factual copula' (EXIST.FACT').

The complex copula *yona*, despite functioning as a copula inherently denoting factual evidentiality in a copula clause and as a grammaticalized marker of this same evidentiality in an epistemological clause, has an overtone of egophoricity. That is, *yona* has an additional semantic effect beyond the simple provision of factual information source achieved by *na*. This applies to other complex copulas which have an egophoric copula as a component.

The complex copula *yona* covers the same semantic relations as the existential egophoric *yo*. It is not possible for *yona* to have Identity relation, but it can be a predicate of existential clauses covering Attribution (A2) relation, Location (A5), and Possession (A3) via a 'predicative' possessive construction, along the lines of Dixon (2010b:265).

ATTRIBUTION:

(630) [kʰo = ta]CS [ŋotɕʰuŋ = ʑi?]CC [**yona**]CPR
3SG.MASC = FOC timid = INDEF EXIST.FACT
'He is a timid (person)'

In (630), the complex copula *yona* functions as the copula predicate, taking two core arguments: the third person singular masculine pronoun *kʰo* in CS function, and the adjective *ŋotɕʰuŋ* 'timid/shy' in CC function. The speaker talks about the boy who is known to be a naturally shy young man in the community, and uses the existential complex copula *yona* expressing a factual knowledge, akin to *na*. A further example of

yona coding factual knowledge in an existential copula clause, covering the semantic relation of Attribution, can be found in (631):

(631) [ʔama.dʑomo ʑuk-sa=gi tan=di]CS [soso]CC [**yona**]CPR
Ama.Jomo sit.HON-NOMZ:LOCTV=GEN mat=DEF different EXIST.FACT
'Ama Jomo's sitting mat is different'
Lit. 'There is Ama Jomo's sitting mat which is different'

It is a small plain ground where the pilgrims enjoy drinks after offering a select portion to the local deity Ama Jomo when they visit her sacred place, and there is a raised platform believed to be the throne of Ama Jomo. The speaker uses the existential factual copula *yona* to describe the existence of that throne, which every member of the Brokpa community knows, as in:

LOCATION:

(632) [ʔoti=la]NP:LOC ʔun [kʰoŋ=gi gonbu ɲíŋbu roʂu=ʑiʔ]CS
DEM.PROX=LOC before 3PL=GEN monastery old ruin=INDEF

[**yona**]CPR
EXIST.FACT
'In this place, before, there was a ruin of their temple'

In (632), the clause with *yona* as the predicate is used for an A5 (Location) relation. The CC slot is filled by a demonstrative with deictic reference marked by locative case, clearly a locational NP in CC function. Further, the existential factual copula *yona* is used in this clause as the speaker assumes that every member of the community would have seen the ruins of that monastery in that location.

Akin to the existential egophoric copula *yo*, the existential factual copula *yona* also marks a possessive relation through a 'have' construction.

POSSESSION:

(633) [l̥amoʔ=la]R:A [dʱa maŋbo]D:O [**yona**]CPR
boot.strap=DAT arrow many EXIST.FACT
'The boot strap has several arrow (designs)'
Lit. 'To boot strap are several arrows'

In (633), the existential factual copula *yona* takes the possessor (R) as its core argument in A function and the possessed (D) as its core argument in O function. An alternative analysis could be to have the possessor as recipient, shown by dative case, as the literal meaning (633) suggests. Akin to the existential copula *yo*, in a predicative possessive construction, *yona* has an additional function of coding factual knowledge. It is usual for a boot strap used by a Brokpa person to have several designs including the images of arrows, something that is certain and obvious.

The negative existential factual copula is *mena*, a complex copula derived in the same manner as its positive counterpart *yona*. That is, *mena* has resulted from a combination of the negative existential egophoric copula *me* and the factual marker *na*. The resulting form *mena* occurs as a copula predicate, inherently codes factual evidentiality in a copula clause, and functions as a grammaticalized marker of factual evidentiality in 'epistemological clauses' (see Chapter 13). An example of the negative existential factual copula *mena* in a copula predicate function can be found in (634):

(634) da ʔun=la=ni gari+lam **mena**
PART DEM=LOC=TOP vehicle+path NEG.EXIST.FACT
'At that time, there was no road'

In (634), the negative existential *mena* takes the temporal NP, *ʔun* 'before/earlier' marked by the locative case enclitic *=la*, in CC function and the NP, *gari+lam* (vehicle+road) 'road', in CS function. It covers Location relation between these two core arguments. Further, the speaker talks about a time when there was no road to Merak, the fact which everybody knows, hence the existential factual copula *yona*.

14.1.2.9 The complex copula *yoduŋ*

The complex copula *yoduŋ* ~ *yöduŋ* is a combination of the existential copula *yo* and the marker of possibilitative modality *-duŋ*. The resulting form *yoduŋ* functions as a copula predicate with a further function of coding inferred evidentiality and/or possibilitative modality, and is glossed 'existential inferred copula' (EXIST.INFER). The complex copula *yoduŋ*, like *yinuŋ* (§ 14.1.2.7), involves a fusion of evidentiality with modality. Whereas both *yinuŋ* and *yoduŋ* code inferred evidentiality and/or possibilitative modality, the two complex copulas are to be distinguished, in that the former is an equational and the latter existential complex copula. As an existential copula, *yoduŋ* does not cover Identity relation, **k^{h}o lama yoduŋ* (3SG.MASC lama EXIST.INFER) is ungrammatical.

In terms of semantic relations, the complex copula *yoduŋ* covers the same relations as the complex factual copula *yona* (§14.1.2.8): Attribution (A2), Location (A5), and Possession (A3).

ATTRIBUTION:

(635) [ʔoti ʔou]CS [ɕaŋbo]CC [**yoduŋ**]CPR
DEM.PROX boy bright EXIST.INFER
'This boy might be bright'

LOCATION:

(636) diriŋ + saŋ [k^{h}oŋ]CS [Cherbaliŋ lap-sa = la]CC [**yoduŋ**]CPR
today + tomorrow 3PL Cherbaling say-NOMZ:LOCTV = LOC EXIST.INFER
'Nowadays they might be in a placed called Cherbaling'

The complex copula *yoduŋ* can also be heard as *yöduŋ* or sometimes *yæduŋ*, especially in Sakteng, as in:

(637) [ŋa = i ʔapa]CS diriŋ [saʔteŋ = la]NP:LOC [**yæduŋ**]CPR
1SG = GEN father today Sakteng = LOC EXIST.INFER
'My father might be in Sakteng today'

Akin to the existential egophoric *yo* and the existential factual *yona*, the existential inferred copula *yoduŋ* can establish relationship of possession via a 'have' construction, as in (638).

POSSESSION:

(638) [mo = i noumo = la]R:A [ro]D:O [**yoduŋ**]CPR
3SG.FEM = GEN younger.sister = DAT husband EXIST.INFER
'Her younger sister might be married'
Lit. 'Her younger sister might have husband'

The negative form of *yoduŋ* is *meduŋ* which is formed by the negative existential *me* and the possibilitative modality *-duŋ*. An example can be found in (639):

(639) ʔoti = ni = ta **meduŋ** wái
DEM.PROX = TOP = FOC NEG.EXIST.INFER INTJ
'Oh, it may not be like this'

Note that *yoduŋ* and its negative counterpart *meduŋ* can occur as grammaticalized marker of inferred evitentiality and/or possibilitative modality within a predicate with lexical verb as head, which I referred to as 'epistemological clause'.

14.1.2.10 The complex copula *yinda*

The complex copula *yinda* ~ *yinta* is composed of the equational egophoric *yin* and the morpheme *-da* which is an allomorph marking new and/or unexpected knowledge or mirativity. However, *yinda* has become a lexicalized copula and then a grammaticalized marker of mirativity (see Chapter 13). The resulting copula *yinda* inherently codes mirativity when it functions as a copula predicate, and is glossed 'mirative copula' (COP.MIR). It covers relations A1 (Identity), A2 (Attribution), and A3 (Possession).

IDENTITY:

(640) [kʰyo]CS [zaŋ + nas]CC [**yinda**]CPR
2SG yak + herder COP.MIR
'You are a yak herder'

In (640), the complex copula *yinda* functions as a copula predicate taking two core arguments, the second person singular pronoun in CS function, and the yak herder in CC function, and is used to mark Identity relation between them. Further, *yinda* has a mirative meaning something like 'it turns out/I just knew that you are a yak herder'; it can also have a surprise depiction (I thought you were doing something else for a living, but you are a yak herder).

A further example of *yinda* functioning as a copula predicate and marking Identity relation can be found in:

(641) [ʔupʰi mí = di]CS lópon]CC [**yinta**]CPR
DEM.DIST person = DEF teacher COP.MIR
'That person is a teacher'

As pointed out in Chapter 13, a mirative marking in Brokpa also codes certainty and speaker confidence. In (641), the speaker has just found out that 'that person' he is referring to is a teacher (new information). At the same time, it also shows that the information he just shared is certain and that he is confident about it.

ATTRIBUTION:

(642) den da ʔo naŋ = læ [ʈamaɕita]ADJ:CC [**yinda**]CPR
PART PART DEM.PROX RELAT:INSD = ABL mischievous COP.MIR
'Among all those, (it so happened that) I was the most mischievous one'

The CS is not stated in (642), but its identity can be inferred from the overall discourse context. The speaker narrates his autobiography, and refers to the speaker himself. The speaker says that in one school where he studied there were many mischievous students. However, it turned out that he was the most mischievous of all. The use of the copula *yinda* portrays the speaker as being surprised at the result (that he proved to be the number one mischievous student in that school).

POSSESSION:

(643) [ʔoti gari]CS [Dawa=gi]POSS.CC [**yinda**]CPR
DEM.PROX vehicle Dawa=GEN COP.MIR
'This car is Dawa's'

Someone might use clause (643) especially if they did not expect Dawa to own a car. Note that this copula can be used as a short response to a question in place of an informative answer.

The negative correspondent for the mirative copula *yinda* is *manda*, formed by the negative equational egophoric copula *man* and the mirative allomorph *-da*. This negative copula behaves in an identical manner as its positive counterpart. An example can be found in:

(644) [dʑo:+kæ gya-gan=di]CS [dʑo: ŋoma]CC [**manda**]CPR
Tibetan+language do-NOMZ:AGTV=DEF Tibetan REAL NEG.COP.MIR
'The one who talks Tibetan language is not a real Tibetan'

In (644), the negative copula *manda* occurs with two core arguments, CS and CC. The CS is realized by a nominalized complement clause and the CC by an NP with the head noun modified by an adjective. The CC argument of the copula predicate *manda* relates to Identity. Further, the negative copula *manda* has a mirative meaning such as a sudden discovery. The speaker first thought the person was a real Tibetan, but suddenly discovers (based on his accent or something) that he is not.

14.1.2.11 The complex copula *yota*

The complex copula *yota* is formed by the existential egophoric *yo* and the morpheme *-ta*, an allomorph marking new and/or unexpected knowledge or mirativity when applied to a verb stem within a predicate of the main clause. Similar to *yinda* ~ *yinta* (§14.1.2.10), the resulting form *yota* functions as a copula with an additional function of coding new/unexpected information. However, *yinta* is an equational complex

copula, but *yota* is an existential complex copula. Like other copulas, *yota* can also function as a grammaticalized marker of mirativity.

Note that *yota* freely varies with *yöta*. In Sakteng, one can also hear it as *yœta* with the nucleus of the first syllable realized by an inherent long vowel /æ/.

As a copula, *yota* covers Attribution (A2), Possession (A3) via a predicative possessive ('have') construction, and Location (A5),:

ATTRIBUTION:

(645) [mo]CS [miʔ + ɕaŋbo]ADJ:CC [**yöta**]CPR
3SG.FEM eye + clever EXIST.MIR
'She is observant'

A copula clause with the complex existential copula *yota*, covering Identity relation, can be expressed as a rhetorical question with the particle *mó*, as in:

(646) [ʔot]CS [ŋarmo]ADJ:CC [**yota**]CPR mó
DEM.PROX strong EXIST.MIR TAG
'This is strong, no?'

The complex existential copula *yota* can state a relationship of possession via a predicative possessive ('have') construction.

POSSESSION:

(647) [kʰo = la]R:A [rup]D:O [**yota**]CPR
3SG.MASC = LOC money EXIST.MIR
'He has money'
Lit. 'Money is on him'

LOCATION:

(648) ʔo naŋ=la ŋe=raŋ tɕʰi=yi
DEM.PROX RELAT:INSD=LOC 1PL=REFL.EMPH outside=GEN

mí=ʑiʔ yota
person=INDEF EXIST.MIR
'There is one foreign inside this'

Besides functioning as a copula predicate covering the semantic relations of Attribution, Possession, and Location, the complex existential *yota* inherently codes 'new/unexpected information'. For example, in example (648), the speaker finds out that there is a foreigner in a Wechat group forum in which only the people from Merak are allowed as its members. The speaker uses *yota* to denote that this information is new and at the same time unexpected. The fact that there is a foreigner among the people of Merak takes the speaker by surprise, hence *yota* is employed as the copula predicate.

The negative form for *yota* is *meta*, formed by the negative existential verb *me* plus the morpheme *-ta*. The copula predicate *yota* in all the examples above can be replaced by its negative counterpart *meta*, and convert every copula clause into a negative statement with the same mirative effect.

14.1.2.12 Complex copulas and their properties

Table 112 gives a list of the complex copulas in Brokpa with etymologies of their component parts, the extended functions of the resulting copulas, and the semantic relations they cover.

Table 112. Complex copulas with their etymmologies and extended functions

COMPLEX COPULA	NEGATIVE	CLAUSE TYPE	ETYMOLOGY	EXTENDED FUNCTION	SEMANTIC RELATION
yinuŋ	*manuŋ*	equational	egophoric + possibilitative	inferred evidentiality	Identity, Attribution, Possession
yona	*mena*	existential	egophoric + factual	factuality	Attribution, Possession, Location
yoduŋ	*meduŋ*	existential	existential + possibilitative	inferred evidentiality	Attribution, Possession, Location
yinda	*manda*	equational	egophoric + mirative	mirativity	Identity, Attribution, Possession
yota	*meta*	existential	egophoric + mirative	mirativity	Attribution, Possession, Location

Note that the choice of a copula relates to its extended function shown in Table 111 and Table 112. Furthermore, certain copulas are associated with the person of subject. For example, the egophoric copulas *yo* and *yin*, and their negative counterparts, are typically used with first person subject. The copulas which have an extended function of marking evidentiality are typically used with non-first-person subject. However, this is not a hard-and-fast rule. As noted in 13.4.1, the egophoric copulas may also be used with second person and third person subjects in certain contexts. It is the same case with the copulas which have the extended function of marking evidentiality. The association between person and knowledge marking (egophoricity, evidentiality, mirativity) in Brokpa requires further investigation.

14.2 Clause/sentence types in terms of speech acts

This section deals with the clause types based on speech acts including statements, commands, and questions in Brokpa. A statement is characterized by declarative/indicative mood, a command by imperative mood, and a question by interrogative mood (see

Aikhenvald 2010:1, 2015a:133; Dixon 2012:376). Before examining the syntax of these clause or sentence types in Brokpa, it will be instructive to look at the typical intonation pattern associated with each of these clause types in this language.

As might be the case cross-linguistically, the prosodic system of intonation in Brokpa works in a highly complex way and to describe its nuances with an absolute accuracy and adequacy would be a difficult task. Note that the intonation patterns described as characteristic of a particular clause type in this section are based on my listening of several recordings on different genres, involving speakers of different age groups and from different Brokpa-speaking areas. Further, they agree with what I observed in everyday conversation in the field. So what will be described here can be considered a representative intonation pattern of each sentence mood or clause type based on speech acts.

The IPA symbol (↗) (global rise) is used for a 'rising intonation' and (↘) (global fall) for a 'falling intonation'. Also, the non-IPA (→) is added to reflect a 'level intonation' and the term 'global level' is employed for referring to this symbol in this context, if necessary. Note that these statements are based on perception and also on instrumental analysis with the Praat software.

A level intonation is characteristic of a declarative clause in Brokpa, *ceteris paribus*. Consider sentence (649) taken from the connected speech of a male speaker from Merak:

(649) da diriŋ-saŋ se-na→ te Nare.Gonpa lap-ki-yo→
PART today-tomorrow say-COND PART Nare.Gonpa tell-IMPERV-EGO
'Today, that is known as Nare Gonpa'
Lit. 'If it is today, that is known as Nare Gonpa'

Sentence (649) is a declarative sentence containing two clauses. The first is a conditional clause ending in the suffix *-na*. There is a slight downdrift towards the end of the first clause which doesn't differ much with the final intonation contour of the second clause. This is in line with a general typological tendency that an if-clause

has an intonational properties of a declarative sentence (see, for example, Aikhenvald 2015a:240). So, one can expect a level intonation to also be a characteristic of a conditional dependent clause in Brokpa.

There is more or less a level intonation near the end of the main clause ending in the predicate *lap-ki-yo* (say-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO) 'is saying' which is the final constituent of this declarative clause. Figure 47 gives the visual representation of the pitch contour (intonation pattern) of sentence (649).

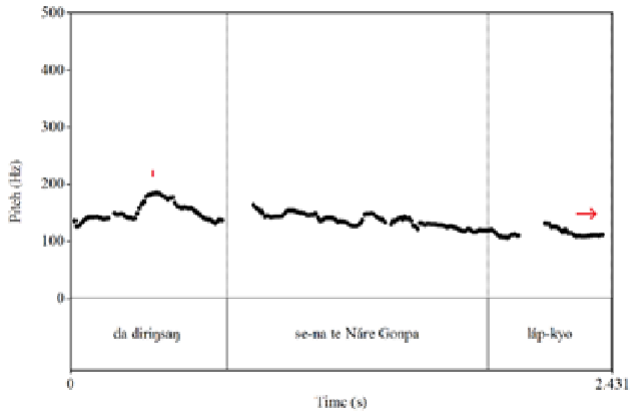

Figure 47. Intonation contour of a declarative clause in Brokpa

An imperative clause in Brokpa is characterized by a rising intonation in the clause-final position. Consider the two sentences in (650):

(650) a. tɕʰo ʔoti=næ kʰyo=raŋ dʱansa tsaː=næ
dharma.scripture DEM.PROX=ABL 2.SG=EMPH seat search=SEQ

den **soŋ↗**
PART go:IMP:CAN
'You, the Dharma Scriptures, you go from here and look for your seat yourself[4]'

b. ʔotɕins petɕʰa má-tæ-pʰi **ma-dʱo=s↗**
like.this book NEG-see-NOMZ NEG-stay:IMP:CAN=ASSERT
'Don't stay like this without studying'

[4] The Dharma scriptures are personified and talked to as if they were human beings.

The positive imperative clauses in (650a) and the negative imperative clause in (650b) both are characterised by a rising intonation towards the end of the clause. (See Aikhenvald 2010 on the issue of rising intonation in imperative clauses.) Figure 48 shows the visual representation of the pitch contour of the imperative clause (650a) taken from the connected speech of another male speaker from Merak.

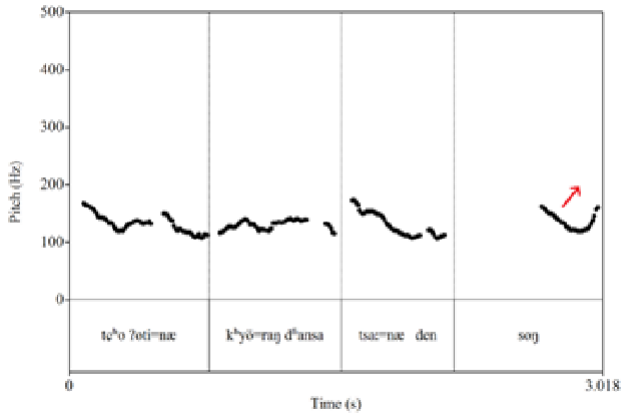

Figure 48. Rising intonation of imperative clause in Brokpa

Note that, although not visible in Figure 48, a distinctive rising intonation contour towards the end of the imperative clause can be accompanied by a slight fall at the tail end of the clause, especially if an imperative clause is the only sentence in a discourse or if there is a long pause before the next sentence commences.

Interrogative clauses are characterized by two intonation patterns. It is notable that content questions show a slightly rising intonation towards the end of a clause and are then accompanied by a slight falling intonation, and polar questions have a slightly rising intonation in the clause-final position. Consider sentence (652) taken from the connected speech of a female speaker from Sakteng:

(651) ʔon te ˈkoʑur=baʔ **ga↘** yar-soŋ tsʰaŋ **ga↘** tuʔ
oh PART sparrow=PL where go-PERV nest where COP
'Oh, where have the sparrows gone? Where is their nest?'

Example (652) is a juxtaposition of two interrogative clauses, both containing the content interrogative *ga* 'where'. The first interrogative clause ends with the verb phrase *yar-soŋ*, the second with the existential copula *tu?*. In both interrogative clauses in (651), a downdrift begins immediately following the content question word *ga*. There is a downdrift following the interrogative word and the downdrift breaks as the second constituent of the clause commences. This suggests that a falling intonation pattern of a content question word is not influenced by the clause-final pitch level. The intonation pattern is somewhat similar when a content interrogative occurs in the clause-initial position.

Figure 49 gives the visual representation of the pitch contour of (652).

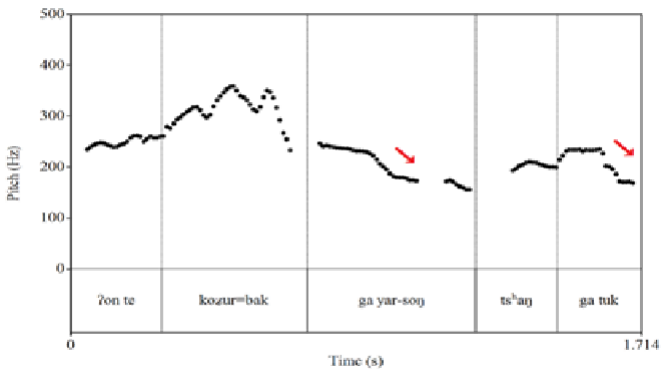

Figure 49. Falling intonation pattern of content question in Brokpa

In contrast, an interrogative clause with a polar question particle has a rising intonation clause-finally. An interrogative tag follows the same intonation pattern as a polar question. Consider:

(652) a. kʰoŋ=baʔ=kʰe kʰailaŋ tɕʰe=næ ɲamlen tɕʰuŋ-pʰi=ʑiʔ
3=PL=ERG pledge be.big=SEQ practice be.small-PERV=INDEF

laŋ-ga-li mó **ʔi↗**
adopt-go-PERV TAG POLAR
'They have promised big and delivered small, haven't they?'

b. ʔæ kʰyo=e tɕʰe ŋe=i so: tɕʰe kam-go **ʔa↗**
grandma 2.SG=ERG little 1.SG=GEN paddy little dry-OBLIG TAG
'Grandma, you have to dry my paddy a bit, OK?'

In (652a), the particle *ʔi* is used as a polar question, and in (652b) the particle *ʔa* as an interrogative tag. In both, the pitch contour rises sentence-finally.

Figure 50 provides the visual representation of the pitch contour of the sentence with the polar question particle *ʔi* in (652a), taken from a male speaker from Merak.

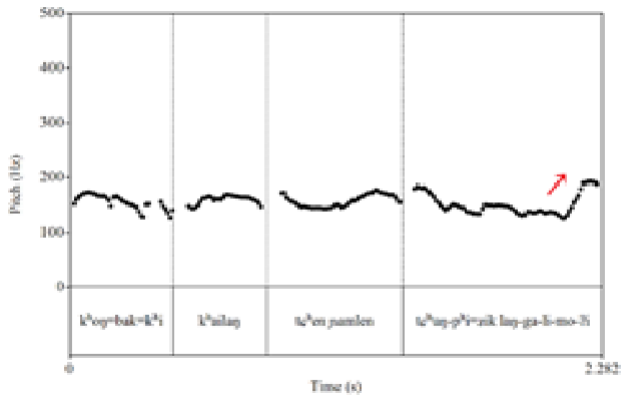

Figure 50. Rising intonation of polar question by a male speaker in Brokpa

Figure 51 gives the visual representation of pitch or intonation contour of the sentence with an interrogative tag in (652b), taken from the connected speech of the same female speaker from Sakteng.

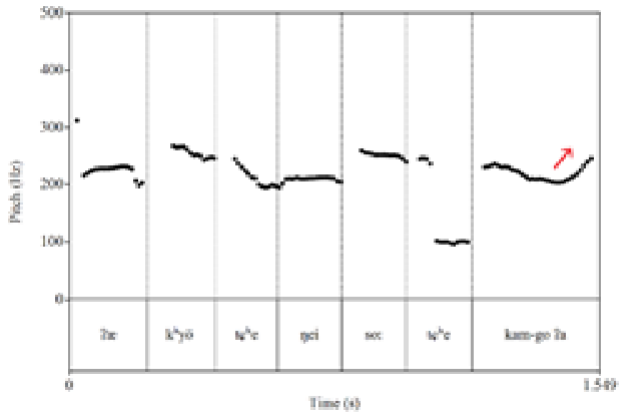

Figure 51. Rising intonation of interrogative tag by a female speaker in Brokpa

Note that a declarative clause can acquire the meaning of a polar question by means of a rising intonation clause-finally, even without an interrogative particle.

To summarise, under the right conditions, we can suggest the following intonation patterns for different speech acts in Brokpa:

A declarative clause typically has a level intonation all throughout the clause, as well as in the clause-final position. A clause in an imperative mood tends to have a rising intonation, akin to a polar question. An interrogative clause can be characterized by two intonation patterns: a falling intonation for a content question, and a rising one for a polar question as well as for an interrogative tag.

No particular intonation pattern can be associated with exclamations. An exclamative clause can have an intonation pattern of an imperative clause or that of a declarative clause, depending on pragmatics.

Other clause types such as rhetorical questions, direct and indirect reports, juxtaposed clauses (both main and dependent), and relative clauses do not have a distinctive intonation pattern of their own; these clauses, more or less, follow the intonation pattern of a statement or declarative clause. This means that, *ceteris paribus*, all clauses other than interrogative and imperative ones have a somewhat level intonation clause-finally.

Now I will examine the syntax of different speech acts.

14.2.1 Declarative mood

Among the major clause types based on speech acts in Brokpa the declarative clause is the default one, which is in line with a general typological tendency (see, among others, Aikhenvald 2015a:133; Dixon 2012:376; König and Siemund 2007:285). Other clause types based on speech acts including interrogatives, imperatives, and negative imperatives can be considered as the result of some operations performed on declarative clauses, along the lines of König and Siemund (2007:285). Cross-linguistically, operations for deriving other clause types from the declaratives may include one or

more of the following: change of intonation, morphology (addition or omission), and change of constituent order (see, among others, Dixon 2012:376; König and Siemund 2007).

König and Siemund (2007:285) point out that "declarative sentences are the most frequent sentence type". Further, Dixon (2012:376) notes that other clause types can be analyzed as "a grammatical overlay on declarative clause types". This applies to Brokpa. The declarative clause is the basic mood, and certainly the most frequent type in narrative texts as well as everyday discourse in Brokpa. This is not altogether surprising because life is not about mostly giving commands and conducting interrogations.

A declarative sentence puts forward propositions, along the lines of Aikhenvald (2010:3). She further notes, "the declarative is the domain for assertive speech acts, stating something". Along similar lines, König and Siemund (2007:285) point out that "declarative sentences are conventionally and typically used to perform representative (descriptive) speech acts such as assertions, reports, acts of complaining and bragging, but also acts of predicting and promising".

In agreement with these cross-linguistic tendencies, a declarative sentence in Brokpa, inter alia, makes a statement, imparts an information, states a fact, puts forward an explanation, or makes an assertion. In performing its representative speech acts, a declarative main clause in Brokpa makes a choice from the full set of categories related to non-spatial setting discussed in Chapter 13 including aspect, modality, and knowledge (egophoricity, evidentiality, and mirativity).

In particular, a declarative main clause in Brokpa can be a 'verbal clause' whose predicate ends in an aspect and/or a modality marker, or it can be an 'epistemological clause' taking aspect/modality plus knowledge markers (see relevant sections in Chapter 13 for examples). Further, a declarative main clause can be a copula clause (discussed in §14.1.2). Examples of declarative clauses abound in this grammar.

Besides the markers associated with non-spatial setting, there are two suffixes, *-ro* and *-to,* which typically occur with the predicate of a main clause of a declarative clause in Brokpa. Classical Tibetan has a set of eleven particles known as <slar.bdsu> literally 'concluder' meaning 'clause concluder'. The eleven clause concluders in Classical Tibetan are: <go>, <ngo>, <do>, <no>, <bo>, <mo>, <'o>, <ro>, <lo>, <so>, and <to>. A clause concluder in Classical Tibetan is added to the final verb of a main clause and it signals the end of a sentence, e.g. <sems.pa 'khrug **go**> (mind stir FINAL) 'Mind is reeling'; <blo.sems rmongs **so**> (rational.mind delude FINAL) 'Mind is deluded'.

One can easily see that the two Brokpa clause-final markers, *-ro* and *-to*, are the same as Classical Tibetan <ro> and <to>. Other Classical Tibetan clause-final particles are not found in Brokpa. These two markers do not occur in every declarative clause, so they cannot be considered a declarative clause marker. However, whenever *-ro* or *-to* occurs, it occurs in a positive declarative clause and signals the end of a clause.

Examples of *-ro* occurring as a clause-final marker in positive declarative clauses include:

(653) a. ŋe=raŋ=gi lumbe=gi lam+lukse=di=su
1PL=EMPH=GEN homeland=GEN path+tradition=DEF=PL

ɲam+ɖo-**ro**
degenerate+go-FINAL
'Our local traditions are degenerating'

b. te dʑin-na=ta pemasiti yakpo yoŋ-**ro**
PART give-COND unprecedently good become-FINAL
'If they really give, it will be incredibly nice'

Example (653a) is a declarative clause in which the speaker bemoans the degeneration of their culture and tradition in modern times. In (653b), the speaker is simply making a prediction of a happy situation. Both clauses have the suffix *-ro* occurring in the clause-final position.

Examples of marker *-to* occurring in positive declarative clauses include:

(654) a. te Merak=ze ʔotɕins lap-**to**
PART Merak=QUOT like.this say-FINAL
'So it is called 'Merak', like this'

b. ŋa mæ=yi=næ zin=næ den guptɕu+goɲí=kʰi
1SG down=GEN=ABL complete=SEQ PART ninety+ninety.two=GEN

lo
year

ʑuʔ=la den ʔo=la dok-pʰi-yin-**to**
end=LOC PART DEM.PROX=LOC arrive-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'I complete (my studies) down there and came here towards the end of the year 1992'

Both clause (654a) and (654b) are statements, stating a fact in the former and giving some kind of a report in the latter. It is not clear what semantic contributions the final markers *ro* and *to* make to sentences. This issue would require further study.

As noted above, all second-person or third-person declarative clauses in (653) and (654) can be converted into an interrogative one either by simply changing the intonation, to the one indicative of an interrogative clause (see §14.2), or by adding a content question word and/or question particle. However, changing a first-person declarative clause into an interrogative using any of the available devices in the language may be grammatically correct, but semantically offbeat unless it is asked as a rhetorical question or as a question seeking confirmation. In normal circumstances, one does not question oneself.

Note that imperative clauses differ significantly from declarative and interrogative clauses in Brokpa. A clause in the imperative mood in Brokpa does not take any markers associated with the non-spatial setting including aspect, modality, phase of activity, epistemology or means of acquiring knowledge, etc.(see Chapter 13).

An interrogative clause may take the knowledge markers, available to a declarative clause. But, as noted above, an interrogative clause with the knowledge marker(s)

would undergo certain operations on a declarative clause, such as changing intonation or adding a question word and/or question particle, or both.

The fact that a declarative statement in Brokpa must be accompanied by a marker of aspect and/or knowledge is true only with regard to positive or affirmative declarative clauses. A negative declarative clause can end in a verb stem without any overt aspect and knowledge markers. This is because, as will be discussed under negation in §14.6, an aspectual distinction can also be made by the negation markers in Brokpa. Brokpa has negation marker *ma-* in perfective and *mi-* in imperfective aspect; and, as will be discussed in §14.2.2.3, a clause in the imperative mood is always negated with *ma-*, and never with *mi-*.

Now recall from Chapter 4 that some verbs in Brokpa have one form in perfective aspect, another in imperfective aspect, and yet another form in imperative mood, but other verbs have the same form throughout. Therefore, the negation of a verb in perfective aspect, which does not have a distinct imperative form, is formally identical to a negative imperative or prohibitive because both will be negated by the marker *ma-*, and the verb stem will be the same. Compare:

(655) a. ŋa **ma-yar**
1SG NEG-run
'I did not run (Declarative, perfective)'

b. kʰyo **ma-yar**
2SG NEG-run.IMP:CAN
'You don't run (Imperative)'

The predicate, shown in bold, is the same in both (655a) and (655b). However, clause (655a) is a statement and (655b) a negative imperative. The two clause types may be properly disambiguated by intonation only or by a sentence stress on the verb stem (see 'negative imperative' in §14.2.2.3). Although a canonical imperative, and negative imperative, is typically associated with a second-person referent in A/S function, a negative declarative clause in perfective aspect can involve a first-person

subject, so the person of the subject does not fully serve to disambiguate a declarative clause in perfective and a clause in the prohibitive or negative imperative mood.

A declarative clause may also end in an assertive enclitic *=s*. Consider:

(656) a. kezaŋ=ge ʔotɕins gya-duʔ=**s**
Kezang=ERG like.this do-DIRECT=ASSERT
'Kezang has done it like this (positive declarative)'

b. ŋa mi-go=**s**
1SG NEG-need=ASSERT
'I don't need to'

This enclitc *=s* occurs in both positive declarative clause, as in (656a), and in negative declarative clause, as in (656b). The enclitic *=s*, which phonetically fuses with the preceding morpheme, is not to be confused with the quotative *=se*. The enclitic *=s* shows that the speaker is making a firm assertion. Among other points, it asserts the authority of the speaker. This assertive particle is arguably a reduced form of the assertive particle *sin* (see 'strong imperative' in §14.2.2.1.3). The enclitic *=s* is shared by 'prohibitive' or 'negative imperative' clauses (see §14.2.2.3).

14.2.2 Imperative mood

Recall from Chapter 4 that only those verbs which express volitional actions can have an imperative form in Brokpa. Verbs which express non-volitional activities are disallowed in imperative clauses. An imperative clause does not take markers of aspect and modality, and they also do not take markers of knowledge categories (egophoricity, evidentiality, and mirativity). Further, as might be expected cross-linguistically, the referent of the Addressee role in an imperative construction is always an animate noun, typically a human noun. A command may be extended to animals, but never to inanimate nouns such as rocks unless they are personified or treated as some kind of spirit.

Imperative mood in Brokpa can be divided into second-person imperative (§14.2.2.1), first-person imperative (§14.2.2.2.1), and third-person imperative (§14.2.2.2.2). Second-person imperative can be further divided into polite imperative (§14.2.2.1.1), precative or requestative (§14.2.2.1.2), strong imperative (§14.2.2.1.3), and prohibitive or negative imperative (§14.2.2.3).

14.2.2.1 Canonical imperative: second-person imperative

A canonical imperative is used to express a direct command to a second-person addressee. Aikhenvald (2010:4) points out that second person imperatives, referred to as 'canonical' imperative, form the core of imperative mood. There are at least six mechanisms of forming a canonical imperative construction with a second person addressee in Brokpa: I) ablaut or vowel gradation, II) ablaut plus an aspiration, III) suppletive stem, IV) intonation contour only, V) serial verb construction (SVC), and VI) the imperative suffix *-ɕo?*.

I. IMPERATIVE via ABLAUT:

In an imperative formed by an ablaut, the vowel of the verb stem changes from an open unrounded vowel /a/ to a close-mid back rounded /o/. As shown in §4.5.1, these belong to the verbs of Type I (verbs having three forms) and Type II (two forms). Examples include:

(657) a. kʰyo=e tɕinam **gyob**
2SG=ERG whatever do:IMP:CAN
'You do something'

b. kʰyo=raŋ tɕʰo?=næ mí bʰo-mi su
2SG=REFL.EMPH RELAT:DIR=ABL person invite-NOMZ who

yo-na=ye
EXIST-con=EMPH

kʰaɬaŋ tsam yo nam te ŋi=la **lop**
number how.much EXIST Q PART 1PL=DAT tell:IMP:CAN
'You tell us the number, no matter how many invitees you have from your side'

In (657a), the verb form *gyob*, the imperative form of the verb *gyab* 'to do', is employed to express command to the second person. It involves a vowel rounding, from /a/ to /o/. Similarly, in (657b), there is a change of vowel from /a/ in the non-imperative form of the verb root *lap* 'to tell' to the vowel /o/ in its imperative form *lop*.

II. IMPERATIVE via ABLAUT and ASPIRATION:

An imperative form of a verb can be formed via an ablaut plus an aspiration. The ablaut process is the same as in I, in that the vowel of the verb root changes from /a/ to /o/. In addition, the resulting form, after the ablaut has applied, is aspirated. Examples include:

(658) a. tɕʰaʔ sum **tsʰoː**
prostration three prostrate:IMP:CAN
'Make three prostrations'

b. kʰyi=baʔ=kʰe mónlam yakpo-gyan tab=næ **tʰoŋ**
2PL=PL=ERG aspiration good-ADV pray=SEQ send:IMP:CAN
'You send her away after offering her your very best wises'

Example (658a) is from a story about a beggar and a flock of sparrows. In the story, the sparrows ask the beggar to make three prostrations to a drum. Although unstated, it is clear from the context that the sparrows are in the Speaker role and the beggar in Addressee role, so clause (658a) is also a second-person imperative clause. The non-imperative form of *tsʰoː* is *tsaː* 'to prostrate'. The vowel changes from /a/ to /o/ in the imperative. Further the resulting form is aspirated. If there was no aspiration, the imperative form has to be *tsoː* which is not the case.

In (658b), *tʰoŋ* is the imperative form of the verb *taŋ* 'to send'. The imperative form is a result of a vowel change from /a/ to /o/ plus an aspiration.

III. IMPERATIVE via SUPPLETION:

As noted in Chapter 3, only a few verbs in Brokpa have suppletive forms. Typically, motion verbs have suppletive imperative forms. Motion verbs with suppletive imperatives are supposed to be widespread cross-linguistically (see Aikhenvald

2010:322-24). For example, the Motion verb 'to go' has a form *tɕʰi* in perfective, *ɖo* in imperfective aspect, and *soŋ* in imperative. An example of *soŋ* used to express command can be found in (659):

(659) kʰyo pʰa=la **soŋ**
2SG thither=ALL go:IMP:CAN
'You go that side'

Similarly, the Motion verb 'to come' is *dʱok* in perfective, *yoŋ* in imperfective, and *ɕoʔ* in imperative. An example of the verb *ɕoʔ* used in an imperative construction can be found in:

(660) kʰyo=ye ʔot tsʰu=la **ɕoʔ**
2SG=EMPH DEM.PROX hither=ALL come:IMP:CAN
'You also come this side'

Note that the Motion verb 'to go' and 'to come' are Type IV verbs with three different forms, so the imperative form is distinct from both perfective and imperfective forms (see §4.5.1.4).

There are some verbs with two different forms, one form in perfective and another in imperfective aspect. There is no distinct form for imperative. The perfective is used in imperative constructions. For example, the verb 'to give' is *dʑin* in perfective and *ter* in imperfective aspect, and the imperative is the same as its perfective form *dʑin*, as in:

(661) kʰyi=gi bomo náma **dʑin**
2PL=GEN daughter bride give:IMP:CAN
'Give your daughter as bride'

Note that the verb form used in the imperative may be accompanied by an intonation pattern characteristic of an imperative clause. The verb may also bear a sentence stress.

IV. IMPERATIVE via INTONATION CONTOUR only

As noted under verbs in Chapter 4, a majority of verbs in Brokpa have just one form in all construction types. For such a verb, the imperative is the same as the non-imperative form that occurs in declarative and interrogative clauses. However, an imperative clause is obligatorily accompanied by an intonation contour characteristic of an imperative clause, and/or the verb has to carry a sentence stress. Examples include:

(662) a. te da náma=di=su **len**
PART PART wife=DEF=PL take.hold.of:IMP:CAN
'So now you marry'
Lit. 'Now you get wife'

b. kʰyo=i baŋka=ya **kʰer** kʰyo=i lu?=ye
2SG=GEN drum=EMPH take.IMP 2SG=GEN sheep=EMPH

kʰer
take:IMP:CAN

da kʰö=gi bakyo=ya **kʰer**
part 2SG=GEN wooden.bowl=EMPH take:IMP:CAN
'Take your drum also, take your sheep also, and take your wooden bowl also'

The verb *len* 'take hold of, seize' occurs as is in both imperative and non-imperative clauses, but the imperative clause with it, as in (662a), is produced with an intonation characteristic of an imperative clause. It is the same case in (662b), where there is a juxtaposition of three imperative clauses with the verb *kʰer* 'take, bring'; this verb also has the same form in all construction types, but when it occurs in an imperative clause it has a distinct intonation. As noted above, most Brokpa verbs belong to this type, with a single form in both imperative and non-imperative clauses, and intonation has to be, by far, the common device for deriving imperative clauses from the corresponding declaratives in Brokpa.

V. IMPERATIVE via SERIAL VERB

An imperative speech act in Brokpa can also be expressed with serial verbs forming a complex predicate. The predicate of the imperative clause is formed by a serialization of two verbs, and the minor verb undergoes monomorphemic processes including ablaut (I) or ablaut plus aspiration (II), appropriate to that verb root. It appears that typically, although not always, one chooses to express imperative through an SVC when the imperative form of verb is the same as its perfective or imperfective form. Consider:

(663) kʰyo=gi bomo náma **dʑin+tʰoŋ**
2SG=GEN girl bride give+send:IMP:CAN
'Give your daughter as bride'

If the clause in (663) is in declarative mood, the predicate could be formed by just the verb *dʑin* taking aspect and/or knowledge markers; or the predicate could be a complex one formed by a serialization of the verb *dʑin* 'to give' and *taŋ* 'to do, to send' accompanied by aspect and/or knowledge markers, such as *dʑin+taŋ-ŋai-na* (give+send-PERV-FACT) 'given'. Since clause (663) is in the imperative mood, the second verb of the serial verb construction is realized in the imperative form *tʰoŋ* (cf. *taŋ*), and the complex predicate appears stripped of markers of aspect and/or knowledge.

This way of forming imperative mood, via an SVC, comes in handy especially if the sole verb in an imperative clause has the same form in perfective, imperfective, and imperative constructions. However, one can find that even those verbs which have a distinct form in the imperative mood can occur as the major verb in an SVC with the minor verb in imperative form. Consider:

(664) kʰyo ʔoti to: **ʑæ + tʰoŋ**
2SG DEM.PROX food eat + do:IMP:CAN
'You eat this food'

Recall from Chapter 4 that the CORPOREAL verb 'to eat' in Brokpa has *za* in imperfective, *zæ* in perfective, and *zo* in imperative mood; and the predicate of the imperative clause in (664) can well be achieved by the imperative form *zo*. Further, the verb *zæ*, the perfective form of the verb *za* 'to eat', can also combine with another imperative verb *ʑoʔ* (cf. *ʑaʔ* 'to leave/keep'), as in:

(665) hayaŋ naŋ = gi to: kʰyö **zæ + ʑoʔ**
aluminium.pot RELAT:INSD = GEN food 2SG:ERG eat + leave:IMP:CAN
'You eat the food which is inside the aluminium pot'

This technique for forming imperative, that is via an SVC and using the imperative forms of other verbs, suggests that the imperative verbs such as *tʰoŋ* or *ʑoʔ* may function as grammaticalized markers of imperative mood in Brokpa, since lexical items grammaticalizing into imperative markers is plausible (see Aikhenvald 2010:339). The exact grammaticalization paths require further study. Consider a further example:

(666) diriŋ kʰyo ŋa = yi kʰyim = la **ɲaː + dʱo**
today 2SG 1SG = GEN house = LOC sleep + stay:IMP:CAN
'Today you sleep in my house'

Both verb roots forming an SVC in the imperative clause in (666) have different forms in different construction types. The imperative form of *ɲaː* 'to sleep' is *ɲo*, the non-imperative form of *dʱo* (sleep:IMP:CAN) 'Sleep!' is *dʱœ*. However, the non-imperative *ɲaː* combines with the imperative *dʱo* to form a complex predicate of this imperative clause.

VI. Imperative using the suffix *-ɕoʔ*

Brokpa predominantly makes use of the techniques I-V to form imperative constructions. Additionally, Brokpa has the suffix *-ɕoʔ* which also marks canonical imper-

ative constructions. An example of the suffix *-co?* marking canonical imperative is in (667):

(667) kʰyo=raŋ ɲí dziŋro toŋ-**ɕo?**
2SG=EMPH two fighting do-IMP:CAN
'Two of you fight'

The imperative suffix *-ɕo?* is not very frequent. This suffix is cognate with the Classical Tibetan imperative marker <shog>. It appears that the imperative suffix *-ɕo?* in Brokpa is used as a substitute for other imperative techniques.

14.2.2.1.1 Polite imperative

Brokpa has at least three ways of forming a polite imperative: using a particle, repeating the imperative verb, and using a reported evidentiality marker. It is interesting to note that Cavineña, a Tacana language from Bolivia, also uses the reported evidential *-pa* to soften an imperative command (see Guillaume 2008:185; also cited in Aikhenvald 2015c).

There are several particles that can follow an imperative verb and make a normal imperative clause a polite one. Some of these particles may be shared by all kinds of speech declarative acts with similar semantic effects. One is the polite particle *lɑ̃*. As noted under 'Honorific systems' in Chapter 7, the particle *lɑ̃* can be added to any kind of clause and express politeness. This polite particle *lá* converts an ordinary imperative clause into a polite imperative, as in:

(668) kʰyo=ge lú=ʑi? **ɲór+tʰoŋ** **lá**
2SG=ERG song=INDEF sing+do:IMP:CAN POLITE
'You sing a song'

In (668), the particle *lɑ̃* softens a direct command to the addressee and makes it a polite one.

Further, an imperative form of the verb may be followed by the particle *ʔa*, which functions as a polar question particle or a question tag. When the particle *ʔa*, uttered in a friendly intonation, is added to an imperative clause, it also has a semantic effect of softening a command, and making it more polite, as in:

(669) da kʰyo diriŋ yintɕimintɕi kʰim **ɕoʔ** **ʔa**
PART 2SG today by.any.means home come:IMP:CAN TAG
'Today you come by any means'

Even if *ɕoʔ*, the imperative form of the verb 'to come', and the adverb *yintɕimintɕi* 'by any means' which expresses necessity are used in the clause in (669), the presence of the question tag *ʔa* in the clause-final position makes this clause a polite imperative. The particle *ʔa* may also carry an overtone of insistence in a positive way used in contexts such as offering a food or drinks to a guest, insisting on them to really eat or drink.

Note that the particle *ʔa* also functions as an interjection. As an interjection, it is used by a speaker to show a feeling of distaste. The intonation may differ when *ʔa* is used as a question tag and/or polar question particle and as an interjection. The interjection *ʔa* may further be accompanied by an odd and stern facial expression.

Furthermore, the predicate of an imperative clause can be followed by the vocative particle *wái* and, among others, has a semantic effect of making the command more friendly, polite, and informal, as in:

(670) kʰotken Kezaŋ.Wangdi lú=ʑi? **ɲór+tʰoŋ** **wái**
cousin Kezang.Wangdi song=INDEF sing+do:IMP:CAN VOC
'Cousin Kezang Wangdi, sing a song'

Without the particle *wái*, the clause in (670) would be an ordinary imperative clause, expressing a direct command. If pronounced with an unfriendly intonation or with a steely eye gaze, a command expressed with a regular imperative construction can appear downright rude. However, the particle *wái* in an imperative clause shows

that the speaker is expressing a command in a friendly way, and that the interaction between the speaker and the addressee becomes informal, even if an imperative construction is employed.

Further, an imperative verb can be followed by the particle *ɦa* which is distinct from the particle *ʔa*. Interestingly, the particle *ɦa* in an imperative clause shows that the speaker is politely putting pressure on the addressee to act, as in:

(671) a. kʰyo petɕʰa **lóp** **ɦa**
2SG book read:IMP:CAN PART
'You study (books)'

b. karma dʑa **tuŋ + tʰoŋ** **ɦa**
Karma tea drink + do:IMP PART
'Karma, you drink tea (you really must)'

The particle *ɦa*, in example (671a) and (671b), shows that the clause is an insistent command expressed in a polite way. Based on participant observation, I have also noticed that one can add the particles *ɦaza*, *kutɕe*, etc., to a command and make it less strong. The particle *ɦa* in the above examples can be replaced by these two particles with no difference in meaning.

In a somewhat similar vein, an imperative verb can be followed by the particle *ya* and shows that the clause in which it occurs is an instant or urgent command, expressed in a polite way, as in:

(672) wái sonam lú = ʑi? **gyop** **ya**
VOC Sonam song = INDEF do:IMP:CAN PART
'Hey Sonam, you do a song (now)'

In (672), the particle *ya* shows that the speaker wants the addressee (Sonam) to carry out the action (do a song) instantly something like 'here-and-now', but it also serves as a marker of polite indication if uttered in a normal way. On the other hand, if the same particle is pronounced with an unfriendly or rude intonation, the tone of command will change (become rude) but the urgency remains the same (now).

Furthermore, a polite imperative can be formed by repeating the imperative verb. The repeated forms have to be contiguous to convey this semantic effect. Examples include:

(673) a. kʰyo=gi bomo náma **dʑin** **dʑin**
2SG=GEN girl bride give:IMP:CAN give:IMP:CAN
'Give your daughter as bride'

b. kʰyo ʔoti ɕiŋ=gi tse=la **zoʔ**
2SG DEM.PROX tree=GEN RELAT:TIP=LOC climb:IMP:CAN

zoʔ
climb:IMP:CAN
'You climb this treetop'

The repetition of an imperative verb makes the command sound mild and polite. In addition, the repetition of an imperative verb has some kind of permissive meaning. Besides making the command milder, a repetition of the imperative verb indicates that the speaker is also granting permission to the addressee to carry out the action.

Recall from Chapter 13 that Brokpa has two markers of reported evidentiality, *lo* and *=se* (also functioning as a quotative marker). The marker *=se* occurs in imperative clauses. In an imperative clause, the marker *=se* does not have the function of marking a reported evidentiality nor that of a direct quotation, but it functions as a marker of polite imperative. Examples include:

(674) a. diriŋ kʰyo ŋa=yi kʰyim=la **dʱo=se**
today 2SG 1SG=GEN house=LOC stay:IMP:CAN=POLITE
'You stay in my house today'

b. kʰyo náŋ Radi=la **soŋ=se**
2SG day.after.tomorrow Radhi=LOC go:IMP:CAN=POLITE
'You go to Radhi the day after tomorrow'

The enclitic *=se* in both clauses (674a) and (674b) reduces the force of the command, and makes it more friendly and polite. It makes a command sound more like a request.

14.2.2.1.2 Precative

Recall from Chapter 7 that the honorific verb *náŋ* 'to give/bestow' occurring in a declarative clause makes it honorific and/or polite. The honorific verb *náŋ* may well be on a grammaticalization cline towards becoming an honorific or polite marker. This honorific verb also occurs in imperative clauses either on its own or as one of the components of a complex predicate. However, a positive declarative clause involving the honorific verb *náŋ* is accompanied by the markers of aspect, modality, and knowledge. In contrast, a precative construction involving the honorific verb *náŋ* does not take any marking of aspect, modality, and/or knowledge.

A precative mood shows that an utterance is a polite request. It can be coded with the honorific verb *náŋ* as the predicate of a precative imperative clause, as in:

(675) ŋa=la gokap **náŋ**
1SG=DAT opportunity give:HON:IMP:CAN
'Give me an opportunity'

A speaker can use a clause (675) as a polite request to an addressee. In this kind of clause, the intonation contour characteristic of an imperative clause is optional because the honorific verb inherently codes a polite request.

A polite imperative is formed by adding a special particle to an imperative clause, while a precative mood is coded inherently by the honorific verb *náŋ* either on its own, as in (675), or by forming a complex predicate with another lexical verb which may be an honorific or an ordinary one. An example of *náŋ* occurring with an honorific verb root and coding a precative mood can be found in (676):

(676) goŋpa má-ts^{h}uŋ t^{h}uk=ke
intent.HON NEG-be.upset.HON mind.HON=INST

zöba+ʐeː+náŋ
patience+consider.HON+do.HON:PRECAT
'Please don't be upset, be patient'

An example of *náŋ* occurring with an ordinary verb root and coding a precative mood can be found in (677):

(677) kʰyo=e ŋa=la petɕʰa **ton+náŋ**
2SG=ERG 1S=DAT book teach+do.HON:PRECAT
'You teach me (book) please'

Note that a precative in Brokpa is to be distinguished from a polite imperative (discussed in §14.2.2.1.1). A polite imperative expresses a soft command which is not necessarily a request, whereas a precative mood codes a polite request. In a polite imperative, the addressee may still be obliged to act, whereas in a precative mood the addressee can either agree or turn it down.

14.2.2.1.3 Strong imperative

The strong imperative is used for coding a stronger manipulation of speech-act, along the lines of Givón (2001a:316). A strong imperative in Brokpa conveys a stronger command than the one conveyed by an ordinary imperative. There are three particles in Brokpa which occur in imperative clauses and make a direct command in the second person a strong one. The particle are *sa*, *sin*, and *=s*. The last one, the enclitic *=s*, is less strong and forceful than the first two.

Consider *sa* and *sin* first. These two particles convert an ordinary command to a radical demand. Further, these particles denote a bold, confident, and sometimes proud, assertion of authority of the speaker; hence they are glossed 'assertive' particle. These two particles may make a command sound aggressive and rude, and may carry an admonitive meaning.

These particles coding a strong imperative occur immediately following the impoverished predicate, without aspect or other marking, in an imperative clause. Example (661), given under the ordinary imperative in §14.2.2.1, is repeated in (678) with the particle *sa* in order to highlight the pragmatic difference:

(678) kʰyi=gi bomo náma **dʑin** **sa**
2PL=GEN daughter bride give:IMP:CAN ASSERT
'Give your daughter as bride (I assert/demand)'

Without the particle *sa*, clause (678) is a normal imperative clause expressing a direct but an ordinary command, neither soft nor strong. The addition of the particle *sa* makes the command more strong and even threatening. A further example of *sa* coding strong imperative can be found in:

(679) kʰyo pʰa=la **soŋ** **sa**
2SG thither=ALL go:IMP:CAN ASSERT
'You go there (I assert/demand)'

An example of the particle *sin* coding strong imperative can be found in (680):

(680) kʰyo ʔoti laika **gyop** **sin**
2SG DEM.PROX work do:IMP:CAN ASSERT
'You do this work (I assert/demand)'

The particle *sin*, after the imperative verb *gyop* in (680), makes the command sound more threatening with a meaning like 'You had better do this work'.

The assertive particle *sin* can be repeated after an imperative verb. The repetition of *sin* makes a command more strong, and may sound like a warning. Examples include:

(681) a. ʈaʨi kʰyo to: zo **sin** **sin**
Tashi 2SG cooked.rice eat:IMP:CAN ASSERT ASSERT
'Tashi, you eat rice'

b. ʑiŋ ko **sin** **sin**
farmland dig.out:IMP:CAN ASSERT ASSERT
'You dig/plough the farmland'

A repetition of the particle *sin* after an imperative verb, as in (681a) and (681b), implies the speaker is going to do something if the addressee does not carry out the command.

Furthermore, there is the enclitic *=s* which also shows that an imperative clause is quite strong, but it is not as strong as the particles *sa* and *sin*. The difference between *sa* and *sin* on the one hand and the enclitic *=s* on the other is as follows:

The two particles *sa* and *sin*, as pointed out above, have two main meanings: a) denotes a bold, confident, and sometimes proud, assertion of the speaker; b) makes a command sound aggressive and rude, and may carry an admonitive meaning.

The *=s* has meaning (a), but not (b). In addition, the enclitic *=s* has a sense of emphasis. Example of *=s* occurring in an imperative clause can be found in:

(682) petɕʰa yakpo-gyan **tʰo:=s**
book good-ADV see:IMP:CAN=ASSERT
'Study nicely'

Note that *=s* is glossed 'assertive' since it also has a meaning of assertion as well partially sharing the meaning with *sa* and *sin*. The etymology of the enclitic *=s* is not clear, but certainly it is not from, or the same as, the quotative or reported evidentiality marker *=se*; this is because the former has the meaning of assertion and/or emphasis, which is not associated with reported evidentiality or quotation. It appears that *=s* is originally the assertive particle *sin* or *sa*, but then it has become less forceful and became a separate morpheme. The enclic *=s* phonetically fuses with the preceding morpheme, and can occur in declarative clauses as well with the same meaning of assertion and emphasis. In other words, the enclitic *=s* codes emphatic command with an assertion of speaker's authority.

14.2.2.2 Non-canonical imperative

'Non-canonical' imperatives refer to imperatives with first person and third-person addressees (see Aikhenvald 2010:4-5). Non-canonical imperatives in Brokpa are used to refer to that speech act which expresses an indirect command to third person actor or to first person, singular or plural.

Brokpa has a dedicated marker to code first-person imperative, and another marker which can be used to express indirect commands to a third-person actor. Since a non-canonical imperative, first-person or third-person imperative, is shown by using a suffix, which is different from the way in which a canonical second-person imperative is coded (see §14.2.2.1), the former does not form a single (morphological) paradigm with the latter. However, a non-canonical imperative is also used to express command, directly or indirectly, and can be considered a subtype of imperative.

14.2.2.2.1 First-person imperative

Brokpa uses the marker *-gu* to form first person singular and plural imperatives, traditionally referred to as 'hortative' especially in some European languages. The first-person imperative suffix *-gu* is homophonous with the future imperfective marker *-gu* (see Chapter 13). Although the first-person imperative mood and the future imperfective aspect share the same suffix, they differ in their allomorphic variants. Recall from Chapter 13 that the future imperfective marker *-gu* ~ *-u* has allomorphs *-ku*, and *kʰu*. The first-person imperative suffix *-gu* has several allomorphs. The presence of the markers of knowledge following the future imperfective marker within the predicate of a main clause should assist in disambiguation. However, when the future imperfective marker is the final element of the predicate of a main clause, disambiguation for the first-person imperative marker *-gu* versus the future imperfective marker *-gu* can only be in terms of intonation and/or discourse context.

The first-person imperative suffix *-gu* occurs following an open-syllable verb root. Note that, just like in perfective aspect marking, the first-person imperative *-gu* is sometimes used in free variation with *-u*. The allomorphs of the first-person imperative suffix are conditioned by the coda consonant of the preceding verb stem. That is, in general, the initial consonant of a first-person imperative allomorph is the same as the final consonant of the verb root. However, some verb root and allomorph combinations do not follow this rule. For example, the verb root *tɕʰi* 'to go' sometimes occurs

with the first-person imperative allomorph *-du*, even though it is an open syllable and takes *-gu* in other contexts.

Examples of the suffix *-gu* marking a command directed to first person singular include:

(683) a. ʔoti laika ŋa=e gya-**gu**
DEM.PROX work 1SG=ERG do-IMP:NCAN
'Let me do this work'

b. ŋa kʰo ɲámbu tɕʰi-**gu**
1SG 3SG.MASC with go-IMP:NCAN
'Let me go with him'

In both (683a) and (683b), the suffix *-gu*, applied directly to the verb stem, urges the speaker to perform an activity which is a first-person imperative mood. Examples of some first-person imperative allomorphs expressing a command directed to first person singular include:

(684) a. mo=la ŋa=e lap-**bu**
3SG.FEM=DAT 1SG=ERG tell-IMP:NCAN
'Let me tell her'

b. ta=la tɕʰaʔ ŋa=e dʑin-**nu**
horse=DAT fodder 1SG=ERG give-IMP:NCAN
'Let me give fodder to the horse'

The allomorphs *-bu* in (684a) and *-nu* in (684b) are used to express commands directed to the first person singular addressee (speaker).[5]

In the examples thus far, the suffix *-gu* (or its allmorphs) is used to address commands to a first person singular addressee. However, it can also be used to address

[5] Note that the verb of speaking in Brokpa typically ends in the consonant /p/ and takes the perfective aspect allomorph *-pʰi*, to match the voicelessness of the final consonant of the verb root. However, the same verb root takes the first-person imperative allomorph *-bu* with a voiced onset. This indicates that the verb 'to speak' in Brokpa also retains its historical voiced coda in certain contexts, as can be understood by looking at the initial consonant of the first-person imperative allomorph *-bu* it takes. The verb 'to speak' in Classical Tibetan is <lab>, and the same verb in Brokpa might have had the same voiced coda consonant historically.

commands to first person plural inclusive actor. Examples of the suffix *-gu* used in first-person imperative constructions to refer to first person plural include:

(685) a. ŋe=raŋ=ba? dʑagar=la nékor tɕʰi-**gu**
1PL=EMPH=PL India=ALL pilgrimage go-IMP:NCAN
'Let's go on a pilgrimage to India'

b. ŋe=raŋ ɲí ɲén doʑi? lo=la gya-**u**
1SG=EMPH two marriage this.year year=LOC do-IMP:NCAN
'Let's (two of us) marry this year'

Note that *-gu* in (685a) can be replaced by *-u*, and the *-u* in (685b) by *-gu* with no difference in meaning. However, the first-person imperative marker (or its allomorphs) cannot be analyzed simply as *-u*. This is because, as pointed out above, certain verb roots take an allomorph with an initial consonant different from its final consonant. Further, one can hear every allomorph with a distinct initial consonant sound; both *-gu* and *-u* are perceptually salient. I tried to replace some first-person imperative allomorphs with just *-u*, and my consultants quickly pointed out that every allomorph is with an initial consonant, and corrected me. The vocalic *-u* is only in free variation with the allomorph *-gu*. In a nutshell, the exact distribution of the allomorphs of first-person imperative marker is only partially predictable.

Examples of some first-person imperative allomorphs used to give commands to first plural actor include:

(686) a. ŋe=raŋ=ba? dʑa tʰuŋ-**ŋu**
1PL=EMPH=PL tea drink-IMP:NCAN
'Let's drink tea'

b. ŋe=raŋ ɲí tɕʰi-**du**
1PL=EMPH two go-IMP:NCAN
'Let's go'

Note that the verb root *tɕʰi* 'to go' also takes the first-person imperative allomorph *-du*, as in (686b), even thought it typically takes *-gu* or its free variant form *-u*,

as in (686a). I thought *-du* was an error and cross-checked with one of my English-literate consultants. He confirmed that all three *-gu, -u,* and *du* are acceptable with the verb root *tɕʰi*. He further confirmed that *-du* and *-gu* clearly commence with different consonants, but have the same function of marking first person imperative— both singular and plural.

Interestingly, one verb has a suppletive form to address the first person plural. The verb *ɖo* 'to go' has a suppletive form *mo:* which means 'let's go'. This word has a verbal meaning of 'to go' plus the first-person imperative meaning 'let's', and it can stand alone as a complete utterance equivalent of an intransitive imperative clause expressing command to first person plural. This verb *mo:* is shared with Tshangla with the same meaning as in Brokpa.

Further, recall from Chapter 13 that the verb *ʑötsu* has a meaning of 'to begin/start/commence', and denotes a beginning phase of activity. In addition, as shown in Chapter 13, this verb also inherently carries a first-person imperative meaning, and can be used to express commands directed at first person plural. An example can be found in:

(687) ŋe=raŋ ɲí gyuk-má-tʰob-bi ʔuntɕin **ʑötsu**
1PL=EMPH two run-NEG-ABIL-PERV earlier begin.IMP:NCAN
'We cannot run, let's begin earlier'

Like mo:, *ʑötsu* has a verbal meaning 'to begin' plus the first-person imperative meaning of 'let's'.

14.2.2.2.2 Third-person imperative

Brokpa uses the suffix *-ɕu? ~ -ɕo?* for expressing an indirect command to a third person agent in A/S function, traditionally referred to as 'jussive' especially in some European languages. As a third-person imperative marker, the suffix *-ɕu?* is added directly to the verb stem and occupies the same slot as the first-person imperative marker *-gu*

(§14.2.2.2.1). The suffix *-ɕu?* is not followed by any of the markers of aspect, modality, and knowledge, which is typical of an imperative construction. The third-person imperative marker may only be followed by those particles which typically occur in imperative clauses including the assertive particles *sa*, *sin*, or *=s* with the same semantic effects as in the canonical second-person imperative constructions.

Examples of the marker *-ɕu?* expressing indirect commands to a third person actor include:

(688) a. da pʰam=e tɕi lap-na=ye lap-**ɕu?**=s
PART parents=ERG what say-COND=EMPH say-IMP:NCAN=ASSERT
'Let the parents say whatever they say'

b. wáŋmo mo=raŋ breŋ=la ɖo-**ɕu?**
Wangmo 3SG.FEM=REFL herder.hut=ALL go-IMP:NCAN
'Let Wangmo go to the herder's hut herself'

c. keruk=di kʰo=la tsapʰ-**ɕu?**
radish=DEF 3SG.MASC=DAT chop-IMP:NCAN
'Let him chop the radish'

The marker *-ɕu?* expresses an indirect command to a third-person actor in all three examples in (688), and the actions described by all three clauses are volitional.

It is not possible for *-ɕu?* to occur with second person and have the meaning of a command. For example, if the third person pronoun *kʰo* in A function in (688c) is replaced by the second person pronoun *kʰyo*, the sentence is rendered ungrammatical: **keruk=di kʰyo=la tsapʰ-ɕu?*. In that case, the sentence has to be cast as a direct command using a canonical imperative, with a canonical imperative verb form shown in bold: *keruk=di kʰyo=e* ***tsopʰ*** (radish=DEF 2SG=ERG cut.IMP:CAN) 'You chop the radish'. Note that the A argument in (688c), realized by the third person singular masculine pronoun *kʰo*, takes non-canonical dative marking (see §11.1.5).

Note that the third-person imperative/optative marker *-ɕu?* is to be distinguished from the causative suffix *-tɕu?* (see Aikhenvald 2010:63 on the term 'optative'). The

causative suffix commences with a lamino-prepalatal affricate /tɕ/, whereas the third-person imperative has a lamino-prepalatal fricative /ɕ/ as its initial consonant. Further, the causative *-tɕu?* can occur within the predicate of a dependent clause or a main clause, typically followed by one or more of the markers of aspect, modality, and knowledge (see Chapter 8). The third-person imperative marker *-ɕu?* occurs only within the predicate of a main clause and, as noted above, it does not take any grammatical marker. Further, they also have different historical origins (see 'causative construction' in Chapter 8).

14.2.2.3 Negative imperative

Aikhenvald (2010:1) describes negative imperative or prohibitive as "trying to make someone not do something, having the effect of forbidding, preventing, or excluding; preventative or restrictive of something". Canonical second-person negative imperatives or prohibitives (hereafter only 'negative imperative or 'prohibitive') in Brokpa have these same semantic effects. As noted in Chapter 4 and illustrated in §14.2.2.1, some volitional verbs in Brokpa have different imperative forms, achieved via ablaut or vowel gradation, ablaut plus aspiration, or suppletion. The imperative forms of the verbs are not used in negative imperatives in Brokpa.

Similarly, as shown in Chapter 4, some volitional verbs have different forms in perfective aspect and imperfective aspect. For a verb with different forms in perfective and imperfective aspect, only the imperfective form is used in negative imperative. Perfective verb forms do not appear in negative imperative constructions. This type of neutralization of aspect distinctions under negation is cross-linguistically well-attested (see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2011b). The negation of a perfective verb form is the same as the negation of a declarative clause in perfective aspect, e.g. *má-tœ* (NEG-see.PERV). For those verbs with just a single form in both perfective and imperfective aspects, and in positive imperative, the same verb form is used in a negative imperative construction.

As will be discussed in §14.2.2.3, out of the two negation markers for declarative clauses in Brokpa, *ma-* and *mi-* , only *ma-* is used in negative imperative. This is the key difference between negative imperatives and negative declaratives in Brokpa; negative imperatives can be formed only by the negation marker *ma-*, whereas declarative clauses can be negated by either *ma-* or *mi-*, depending on the structure of event (aspect). In a nutshell, a negative imperative in Brokpa is formed by an imperfective verb form plus a perfective negation marker.

If the predicate of a clause involves a single lexical verb root, the negative imperative mood is formed by prefixing the negation marker *ma-* to the verb root, as in:

(689) kʰyo sa:teŋ = la **ma-ɖo**
2SG Sakteng = ALL NEG-do:IMP:CAN
'You don't go to Sakteng'

The Motion verb 'to go' is *ɖo* in imperfective aspect, which has a suppletive form *tɕʰi* in perfective aspect, and *soŋ* in positive imperative. However, its negative imperative is formed by prefixing *ma-* to the imperfective stem *ɖo*, shown in bold in (689).

The subject (A/S), if present, typically precedes the predicate in a negative imperative clause. If a prohibitive mood involves a transitive clause, the A argument is prototypically the first NP from the left, as in (689), followed by the O NP, and then by the NP in E or a peripheral function. The predicate is prototypically the final constituent. The order of constituents within a non-imperative clause may change due to pragmatics, just like in a declarative clause.

Note that a negation of the predicate of a declarative clause in perfective aspect can formally be the same as a negative imperative or prohibitive clause. This is because the predicate of a negative declarative clause can end in a verb stem, without an overt perfective aspect marker, since the negative prefix *ma-* inherently codes perfective

aspect. However, the person of the subject can provide disambiguation for a negative declarative clause in perfective aspect versus a negative imperative clause. Compare:

(690) a. ŋa **ma-yar**
1SG NEG-run
'I did not run (declarative)'

b. kʰyo **ma-yar**
2SG NEG-run:IMP:CAN
'You don't run (negative imperative)'

The predicate of the declarative clause in (690a) and of the negative imperative clause in (690b) is the same, as shown in bold. However, the former is a declarative and the latter a negative imperative clause. This can be understood from the person of the subject argument, the first person in (690a) and the second person pronoun in (690b). It is rather uncommon for someone to make themself not do something; in other words, it is rare to have a negative command addressed to first person singular. Further, a non-imperative clause containing a second-person subject may only be possible as an interrogative clause or a rhetorical question. For example, if the negative imperative clause in (690b) is followed by either the polar question particle *ʔe* or the rhetorical question tag *mó*, then it will become an interrogative clause or a rhetorical question, and not a declarative statement.

In addition, disambiguation of a perfective negative declarative clause versus a negative imperative clause can be by intonation. Negative commands in Bokpa have the same intonation contour as positive commands, characterized by a distinctive rising intonation towards the end of a clause accompanied by slight fall.

If the predicate of a clause consists of a complex verb stem, formed by a noun incorporation, its negative imperative is formed by circumfixing the negative morpheme *ma-* between the incorporated noun and the verbal stem, as in:

(691) a. da kʰyo kʰoda-**má**-tɕʰæ
PART 2SG hope-NEG-cut:IMP:CAN
'You don't be disappointed'

b. da kʰyo sem-**má**-ɕi
PART 2SG mind-NEG-die:IMP:CAN
'Now you don't be disheartened'

In Brokpa, *kʰodatɕʰœ* is an intransitive verb meaning 'to be disappointed'. Strictly speaking, this is a fully lexicalized verb. Synchronically, *kʰoda* does not occur as a free noun; however, it is glossed separately as a noun because the negation morpheme comes in between the two components, as in (691a). Historically, *kʰoda* might have been a noun meaning something like 'hope' which got incorporated into the intransitive verbal word *tɕʰœ* 'to be cut off'. Of relevance is the framing of negative imperative when the predicate head involves a complex verb stem formed by a noun incorporation. The negation marker is placed between the nominal component and the verb stem, as in (691a) and (691b).

In the same vein, if the predicate involves an SVC, its negative imperative is formed by placing the negation marker *ma-* in between the two verb roots, as in:

(692) a. ʔoti penza=di tɕʰak-**má**-taŋ
DEM.PROX cup=DEF break-NEG-do:IMP:CAN
'Don't break this cup'

b. tʰaptsaŋ=gi tɕala=di=zu ton-**má**-taŋ
kitchen=GEN utensil=DEF=PL take.out-NEG-do:IMP:CAN
'Don't throw away the kitchen utensils'

In both clauses (692a) and (692b), the negation marker occurs between the two verb roots of an SVC and expresses a negative command, which is used as a direct command in the second person although the addressee is not overtly stated.

A precative mood, formed by a serialization of two verbs in which the second verb is the honorific verb *náŋ* 'to give' is negated in the same way as any other imperative clause in which the predicate is realized by an SVC, as in:

(693) tsʰokʰaŋ naŋ = la ʑuk-kʰan = ba? gaŋyu ʔistikar
assembly.hall RELAT:INSD = LOC stay.HON-NOMZ:AGTV = PL ALL sticker

taŋ-má-náŋ
send-NEG-give.HON:IMP:CAN
'Every one in this group, don't send stickers'

The predicate of clause (693) is formed by a serialization of the verb *taŋ* 'to send' and the honorific verb *náŋ* which is negated by the negative marker *-má-*. It expresses a negative command, with a precative or requestative meaning and a polite overtone.

NEGATIVE POLITE AND NEGATIVE STRONG IMPERATIVES

All particles that occur in positive imperative clauses can occur in prohibitive clauses with the same semantic effects. For example, the polite particle *lɑ́* can be added to any of the negative imperative clauses above and render it a polite negative command. The polite particle *lɑ́* in a negative command presents it like an entreaty or a request to an addressee to not do something, but the meaning can still be that of a negative imperative.

In the same vein, all assertive particles that form strong imperatives on positive imperative clauses can occur in prohibitive clauses, and have the same semantic effect; that is, create a strong negative imperative expressing a strong negative command. A strong negative command has an admonitive meaning expressing some kind of warning akin to an English expression 'you had better not...'. A strong negative command may constitute a feeling of dismay, astonishment, outrage, etc., and it may sound threatening.

Examples of the particle *sin* occurring in a negative imperative clause, following the predicate, and expressing a direct but strong negative command include:

(694) a. kʰyo tɕʰaŋ **má-tʰuŋ** **sin**
2SG alcohol NEG-drink:IMP:CAN ASSERT
'You had better not drink alcohol'

b. kʰyo ʔotɕins **ma-gya** **sin**
2SG like.this NEG-do:IMP ASSERT
'You had better not do like this'

Examples of the enclitic *=s* expressing a strong negative command to a second-person addressee include:

(695) a. ʔoti=næ pʰa=la ŋi: goŋgo=la
DEM.PROX=ABL thither=ALL 1PL:GEN threshold=LOC

ma-yoŋ=s
NEG-come:IMP:CAN=ASSERT
'Henceforth, you had better not come to our house'

b. kʰyo tsʰadʑaŋ **má-kʰur=s**
2SG worry NEG-carry:IMP:CAN=ASSERT
'You had better not worry'

c. ʔotɕins petɕʰa má-tæ-pʰi **ma-dʱo=s**
like.this book NEG-see-NOMZ NEG-stay:IMP:CAN=ASSERT
'You had better not stay like this without studying'

The particles *sin* in (694) and *=s* in (695) can be interchangeable, or they can be replaced by the particle *sa* with no difference in semantics and/or pragmatics.

NON-CANONICAL NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES

As pointed out above, it proves quite impossible to have a negative command addressed to first person singular within the framework of canonical imperative. In the same vein, it is not possible to have a negative first-person imperative construction with a reference to first person singular only. I made up a negative first-person imperative construction with a first-person singular subject by negating the verb with the negative morpheme *ma-* and suffixing the overt first-person imperative marker *-gu* to the verb stem, as: **ŋa=e to: ma-gya-gu* (1SG=ERG food NEG-do-HORT) '*Let me not cook'. One of my consultants corrected me by using the negation marker *mi-* in

place of *ma-* and dropping the first-person imperative suffix *-gu*, in which case the sentence becomes a declarative one *ŋa=e to: mi-gya* (1SG=ERG food NEG-do) 'I will not cook'. This suggests that a negative first-person imperative construction addressed to only first person singular is not intuitively possible in Brokpa. This agrees with Aikhenvald's (2010:76) person distinctions in imperatives.

However, there can be negative first-person imperative constructions addressed to first person plural.

Examples of negative first-person imperative construction addressed to first person plural can be found in:

(696) a. ŋe=raŋ ɲí ɲén doʑi? lo=la **ma-gya-gu**
1PL=REFL.EMPH two marriage this.year year=LOC NEG-do-IMP:NCAN
'Let's (two of us) not marry this year'

b. ŋe=raŋ=ba? woɖau tsan **ma-gya-gu**
1PL=REFL.EMPH=PL like.this forever NEG-do-IMP:NCAN
'Let's not do like this ever'

Negative first-person imperatives (first person plural) are formed in the same way as positive canonical negative imperatives, by using the negation marker *ma-*. The overt first-person imperative marker *-gu* is still retained in the negative first-person plural imperatives, as shown in bold in (696a) and (696b).

A negative indirect command is formed by placing the negation marker *ma-* in between the verb stem and the marker of third-person imperative. Examples (688b) and (688c) are repeated in (697a) and (697b) with negation:

(697) a. wáŋmo mo=raŋ breŋ=la **má-ɖo-ʂu?**
Wangmo 3SG.FEM=REFL herder.hut=ALL NEG-go-IMP:NCAN
'Don't let Wangmo go to the herder's hut herself'

b. keruk=di kʰo=e má-tsapʰ**--ʂu?**
radish=DEF 3SG.MASC=ERG NEG-chop-IMP:NCAN
'Don't let him chop the radish'

The negation of an optative construction, using the suffix *-ɕu?*, is the same as the negation of a third-person imperative clause, but the verb involved will be non-volitional, as opposed to the volitional verbs in (697a) and (697b). Alternatively, the predicate in (697a) can also be negated by placing the negation morpheme in between the verb stem and the third-person imperative marker, *ɖo-ma-ɕu?*. Similarly, the negation marker in (697b) can also be placed after the verb stem, *tsap-má-ɕu?*.

Furthermore, the marker of the first-person imperative *-gu* may co-occur with the causative marker *-tɕu?* in a non-canonical negative imperative construction, as in:

(698) kʰo to: gya-ma-**tɕu?-gu**
3SG.MASC food do-NEG-CAUS-IMP.NCAN
'Let's not make him cook'
Lit. 'Let's not cause him to cook'

Although the negative imperative construction in (698) would require a third-person agent to not perform the action of cooking, the command is actually to the first-person plural. The speaker would say it to a second person to cause someone to not do something. Thus, (698) is a negative third-person imperative construction.

14.2.3 Grammatical marking of 'wish'

Generally, three basic types of speech acts are distinguished in languages: statement, command, and question, and their corresponding grammatical categories include declarative (indicative), imperative, and interrogative (see Aikhenvald 2015a:54; Dixon 2012:376; Givón 2001b:289; König and Siemund 2007:279, among others). As discussed in the preceding sections, the Brokpa imperatives include the canonical second-person imperative and the non-canonical first person and third-person imperatives.

In addition, Brokpa has a speech-act type of wishing, traditionally referred to as 'optative'. This grammatical marking of wish in Brokpa has a scope over an entire clause and is not a modality that relates to a clause and its predicate (see Dixon 2012:3 for a distinction between mood and modality).

The grammatical marking of 'wish' (hereafter 'optative' for ease of reference) in Brokpa is superficially very similar to non-canonical imperative. The same morpheme that marks a third-person imperative is also used as an optative marker. However, optative in Brokpa can occur with first, second, or third person as long as the verb is non-volitional, which is in contrast to an imperative that can be formed only on volitional verbs. This indicates that optative also forms a clause type of its own. Optative does not fall under the first-person or third-person imperative, nor under the second-person imperative.

Therefore, 'expression of wish' in Brokpa can be treated as a separate speech act (or mood), and optative as its grammatical category. In that case, Brokpa distinguishes four speech acts with four corresponding grammatical categories: *statement* characterized by *declarative* mood, *command* by *imperative* mood, *question* by *interrogative* mood, and *wish* characterized by *optative* mood.

As discussed in §14.2.2.2, the suffix *-ɕu? ~ ɕo?* is used as a marker of non-canonical imperative, to express indirect commands to a third person with a meaning of 'let' on volitional verbs. This same suffix also functions as an optative marker with a meaning of 'may', on non-volitional verbs. Further, as an optative marker, the suffix *-ɕu?* can occur with all persons as long as the action described is non-volitional. Consider:

(699) a. ŋa kerme ʔeɕin yoŋ-**ɕu?**
1SG later good come-OPT
'May I achieve goodness later!'

b. kʰyo=raŋ=gi sam-pʰi don ɖup-**ɕo?**
2SG=REFL.EMPH=GEN think-NOMZ purpose accomplish-OPT
'**May** you accomplish your purpose!'

c. ŋa=i ʔapa naza.kensar=næ ɖak-**ɕu?**
1SG=GEN father disease.cancer=ABL recover-OPT
'May my father recover from cancer!'

The marker *-ɕu?* is used to show a speaker's wish with regard to a first person in (699a), second person in (699b), and third person in . This is similar to the 'benedictive' forms for blessings and for curses, e.g. as in Ladakhi (Koshal 1979:227). As a marker of third-person imperative, expressing an indirect command to a third person with a meaning of 'let', the suffix *-ɕu?* in Brokpa cannot occur with the first and second person, but only with third person. The verbs involved in all examples in (699) are non-volitional.

Further, Brokpa has a separate optative marker *-ɕuʑi?* ~ *-ɕoʑi?*, evidently formed by a fusion of the optative suffix *-ɕu?* ~ *-co?* and the morpheme *ʑi?* which is homophonous with an indefinite allomorph *=ʑi?*. Classical Tibetan has a cognate morpheme <zhig> which functions as an indefinite marker as well as a marker of imperative mood.

Historically, Brokpa might have used *=ʑi?* as an imperative maker in addition to marking indefiniteness, the same as in Classical Tibetan, but its imperative meaning has been lost and only the indefinite meaning is retained in Brokpa. However, the morpheme *ʑi?* resurfaces as part of an optative marker *-ɕuʑi?* ~ *-ɕoʑi?* in Brokpa.

As an optative marker, *-ɕuʑi?* ~ *-ɕoʑi?* can also occur with all persons, just like *-ɕu?* ~ *-co?*, as the following examples illustrate:

(700) a. ŋe=raŋ=gi samdon ɖup-**ɕuʑi?**
1PL=REFL.EMPH=GEN wish accomplish-OPT
'May our hope be materialized'

b. kʰyo ɖaɕo tʰob-**ɕuʑi?**
2SG Dasho get-OPT
'May you become Dasho'
Lit. 'May you get Dasho (title)'

c. ŋe=raŋ=gi bomo=la makpa ʔeɕin=ʑi? tʰob-**ɕuʑi?**
1PL=EMPH=GEN daughter=DAT husband good=INDEF get-OPT
'May our daughter get a good husband!'

The marker *-ɕuʑi?* indicates that the speaker is expressing a wish that something good happens to first person plural subject in (700a), second person in (700b), and third person in (700c), and the verbs in all describe non-volitional actions.

A wish expressed using the optative suffixes thus far are benedictive, characterized by blessings. A wish can also be maledictive characterized by curses, as in (701):

(701) ʔap^{h}i kundur=di ɕi-**ɕu?**
DEM thief=DEF die-OPT
'May that thief die!'

Note that the marker *-ɕu?* in the maledictive expression in (701) can be replaced by the marker *-ɕuʑi? ~ ɕoʑi?* with no difference in meaning.

An optative construction in Brokpa can be negated by using the negation marker *ma-*. This is a bit surprising because it appears that optatives and imprecatives in languages cannot usually be negated (see Aikhenvald 2010:172, 192, Note 2). The optative in both first person singular and plural can be negated, unlike the imperative in which there can be a negative construction only for first person plural but not for first person singular. Examples include:

(702) a. ŋa doʑi? lo=la **má-ɕi-ɕu?**
1SG this.year year=LOC NEG-die-OPT
'May I not die this year'

b. ŋe=raŋ=ba?=k^{h}i rewa **ma-ɖup-ɕu?**
1PL=REFL.EMPH=PL=GEN hope NEG-accomplish-OPT
'May our hope be not materialized'

In (702a), the predicate of an optative construction involving first person singular is negated, and in (702b) that of the subject realized by a possessive NP. While one can wish something good to not happen if there are other people involved along with the speaker, it does not make sense for one to wish that something good does not happen to oneself. With a first person singular optative, only a non-volitional verb

which describes an unwanted event or process such as 'to die' or 'to fall sick' may be negated, so that its negation leads to a positive outcome.

An example of negative wish addressed to a second person can be found in (703):

(703) kʰyo gosa **má-tʰob-ɕuʑi?**
2SG promotion NEG-get-OPT
'May you not get a promotion'

The optative marker *-ɕuʑi?* can be replaced by the other optative marker *-ɕu?* with no difference in meaning.

Examples of negative optative involving a third person subject include:

(704) a. ŋe=raŋ=gi ʔe **má-ɕi-ɕu?**
1PL=REFL.EMPH=GEN grandmother NEG-die-OPT
'May our grandmother not die'

b. ʔoti mi sæ-gin=di lo? mí+lü
DEM.PROX person kill-NOMZ:AGTV=DEF again person+body

má-tʰob-ɕoɕi?
NEG-get-OPT
'May this (human) killer not get human life again'

Diachronically, the optative marker *-ɕu?* is from the verb *ɕo?* 'come:IMP', which is a suppletive imperative form of the Motion verb *ɦoŋ* 'to come'. This Brokpa verb is shared with Classical Tibetan, Dzongkha, and other Bodish languages. In Classical Tibetan too, <shog> is an imperative form of the verb <'ong> 'to come', but it is also used as a marker of wish, as in <bkra shis **shog**> 'May there be auspiciousness'. In Brokpa too, the same imperative form is retained, plus it has also become a source of grammaticalization for a marker of wish. The grammaticalization cline can be as follows: *ɕo?* > *ɕo* > *ɕu*. As noted, sometimes *-ɕo*, the second stage, is still retained.

Note that exclamations, using interjections, are discussed in Chapter 6.

14.2.4 Interrogative mood

This section discusses interrogative mood which indicates that the sentence is a question in Brokpa. Content questions are marked with a question/interrogative word or typically characterized by an intonation pattern shown in Figure 49. Similarly, polar questions are marked with a polar interrogative typically accompanied by its characteristic intonation pattern shown in Figure 50.

A content question word in Brokpa can potentially be in any argument function, or seek information about an argument (or about the predicate), and occupy the position associated with that constituent. All content question words precede the predicate, except in an echo question (§14.2.4.2). Further, there is a marked tendency for an interrogative word to immediately precede the predicate (or the predicate head). Consider:

(705) a. [ʑaŋzen=ge]A [**tɕi**]O [lap-soŋ]TPR
brother.in.law=ERG what say-PERV.DIRECT
'What did the brother–in-law say?'

b. [kʰyo=e]A [ʔoti]O [**tɕitɕin** taŋ-gi-yo]TPR
2SG=ERG DEM.PROX how do-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'How are you doing this?'

c. [kʰyo]S **gate** [ɖo-gyu]IPR
2SG where go-FUT.IMPERV
'Where will you go?'

d. [kʰi=ba?]A [dɦatʰen]O [**tsan** taŋ-gyu]TPR
2PL=PL archery when do-FUT.IMPERV
'When will you (all) do archery?'

In (705a), the interrogative *tɕi* 'what' relates to an NP in O function, and immediately precedes the predicate; and, in (705b), the interrogative *tɕitɕin* 'how' is an adverbial, and occurs as a pre-head modifier within the VP in a transitive predicate function. The interrogative *gate* enquires about a locative peripheral argument and

tsan 'when' a temporal peripheral argument, and immediately precedes the head of predicate in (705c) and (705d) respectively.

Similarly, an interrogative word immediately precedes the copula predicate in a copula clause, as in:

(706) a. da [sa]CS [**gan**]CC [yin]CPR
PART place where COP.EGO

te da [kæ]CS [tɕi]CC [yin]CPR
PART PART language what COP.EGO
'So where is the place? What is the language?'

b. [k^{h}o]CS [**su**]CC [na]CPR
3SG.MASC who COP.FACT
'Who is he?'

Two copula clauses are juxtaposed in (706a), and, in both, the interrogative word precedes the copula predicate, as is the case in (706b). Note that content interrogatives cannot take lexical modifiers. They may be followed by discourse pragmatic particles.

Now I will deal with the syntax and semantics of Brokpa content interrogatives in some more detail.

14.2.4.1 Content interrogatives

Brokpa has a wealth of content interrogatives, introduced in §6.4 under 'closed classes'. They include *su* 'who', *tɕi* 'what', *tsan* 'when', *tsam* 'how much', *tɕin* or *tɕitɕin* 'how', *tɕeŋ* or *tɕeŋk^{h}an*[6] 'what/which kind/type', *gate*, *gan*, *gaŋ*, *ga* all meaning 'where', and *tɕigyan* 'why?'. Each content interrogative is discussed in the following section.

[6] Note that *tɕeŋk^{h}a*n is sometimes heard as *tɕak^{h}an* with vowel /a/ and the coda nasal of the first syllable omitted.

14.2.4.1.1 The interrogative *su* 'who' *su*

The content interrogative *su* seeks information about a human referent. It can occupy any argument slot, core as well as peripheral. In other words, the constituent put under focus of *su* can potentially be any argument, A, S, O, and inflect like a nominal. In an interrogative clause with a verbal predicate, typically, an interrogative word occupies the slot of the same argument which it questions. Consider:

(707) a. [**su**=e]A [**su**=∅]O [duŋ-t^{h}u?]TPR
who=ERG who beat-DIRECT
'Who has beaten who?'

b. k^{h}i=ge tɕ^{h}aro-ma-gya-na **su**=e gya-gu
3:SG=ERG friend-NEG-do-COND who=ERG do-FUT.IMPERV
'If you do not help, who will?'

Example (707a) has the content interrogative *su* in both A and O function, as shown in bold, and occupies their slots respectively. In (707b) also, the interrogative *su* which takes the ergative marking seeks information about A argument and occupies its slot. These examples suggest that interrogative words have same syntactic orientation as the nominals, that is they operate in terms of an absolutive-ergative scheme.

Further, the interrogative *su* can take a genitive marking and occupy the role of a possessor, e.g. *su=i k^{h}yim* (who=GEN house) 'Whose house?'

Copula clauses can form interrogative clauses with the content interrogative *su*, as in:

(708) a. [k^{h}o]CS [**su**]CC [na]CPR
3SG.MASC who COP.FACT
'Who is that guy?'

b. [bumpa ʑeŋ-k^{h}an]CS **[su]** CC **[lo]** CPR
vase build:HON-NOMZ:AGTV who COP.REP
'Who is the person who made the vase?'

In (708a), the NP realized by the third person masculine pronoun *kʰo* is in CS function, and the interrogative word *su* which occupies the CC slot is seeking information about the identity of the argument in CS function, which will potentially be an NP in the CC slot in an answer to this question. Similarly, in (708b), the CS is realized by a nominalized clause, and the interrogative *su* in the CC slot seeks information related to the identity of the CS.

Note that the particle *lo* which functions as a reported evidentiality marker functions as a substitute for a copula in (708b) (see more about this in §14.1.2.5).

The question word *su* can be repeated with the comitative case/conjunctive connective *=daŋ*. When there is a repetition, it signifies plurality as in (709). It also carries an overtone of a poetic expression:

(709) den lúbu yin-ne **su=daŋ** **su** yo
PART singer COP.EGO-CNSV who=COM who COP:EXIST.EGO
'Even the singers, who do you have of them all?'

The content interrogative *su* has a specific indefinite sense when it combines with the concessive expressions *yin-ne(=ye)* 'even though, although, but, however'; *su yin-ne* 'whoever'. The content interrogative *su* combines with the non-derivational suffix *-ka* and forms a general indefinite *suka* 'whoever' (see also Chapter 6). Sometimes, *suka* functions as an inherently negative lexeme with the meaning 'nobody'.

Interestingly, if *su* is repeated with the comitative case *=daŋ*, it has a general indefinite sense: *su=daŋ su yin-ne* 'anyone, everyone'.

14.2.4.1.2 The interrogative *tɕi* 'what'

The interrogative word *tɕi* 'what' seeks information about a non-human referent. It can potentially occupy any argument slot and take inflections associated with that argument. Consider:

(710) a. kʰyo=la **tɕi=ye** pʰentʰok-soŋ
2SG=DAT what=ERG benefit-PERV.DIRECT
'What benefited you?'

b. kʰyo=e **tɕi=∅** lap-pʰi
2SG=ERG what=ABS say-PERV
'What did you say?'

c. kʰyo **tɕi=∅=raŋ** dʑok-kʰi-yo
2SG what=ABS=EMPH grumble-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'What are you grumbling about?'

The content interrogative word *tɕi* asks information about the A argument and takes the ergative allomorph *=ye*, as in (710a). Similarly, it questions the O argument in (710b) and (710c), and takes a zero marking for an absolutive case; in (710c), *tɕi* occupies the O argument slot and takes an emphatic marker just like a nominal, and places the predicate under its scope.

The interrogative *tɕi* can form interrogative clauses on copula clauses, as in:

(711) a. [ʔoti]CS [**tɕi**]CC [na]CPR
DEM.PROX what COP.FACT
'What is this?'

b. [mo=e kʰo=la dʑin-ni=di]COCL:CS [**tɕi**]CC [na]CPR
3SG.FEM=ERG 3SG.MASC=DAT give-PERV=DEF what COP.FACT
'What is the thing that she gave to him?'

In the same vein, the content interrogative *tɕi* can occur in existential copula clauses, as in:

(712) a. totpa=gi lú=di **tɕi** yo
praise=GEN song=DEF what EXIST.COP.EGO
'What song of praise is there?'

b. kʰye=gi kʰyim naŋ=la **tɕi** yo
2SG=GEN house RELAT:INSD=LOC what EXIST.COP.EGO
'What is there in your house?'

In (712a) and (712b), the interrogative *tɕi* fills the CC slot in an existential copula clause, and seeks information about the NP in CS function. The answer to this question can either be an NP in Identity relation or an adjective in Attribution relation.

The interrogative *tɕi* can take genitive marking and be the NP in possessor function, as in:

(713) [ʔoti]CS [[**tɕi**=**gi**]R [yiktsaŋ+tewa]D]CC na
DEM.PROX what=GEN office+centre COP.FACT
'What kind of headquarter is this?'

As pointed out §8.3, the interrogative *tɕi* takes the non-derivational suffix *-ka*, forming a lexicalized item *tɕika* which has an indefinite meaning 'whatever'. Sometimes, *tɕika* functions as an inherently negative lexeme with a meaning 'nothing'. Examples include:

(714) a. den ŋa lo? ʔiskuli me **tɕika** me
PART 1SG again school NEG.COP.EGO whatever NEG.COP.EGO
'Then I had no school, nothing whatsoever'

b. kʰyim naŋ=la tɕala **tɕika** min
house RELAT:INSD thing nothing NEG.COP
'There is nothing inside the house'

Furthermore, the content interrogative *tɕi* frequently occurs with the particle *nam* that functions as a question marker as well as a disjunctive conjunction with a meaning of 'or' (see Chapter 15). The particle *nam* may co-lexicalize, or fuse, with the content interrogative stem and eventually become a separate content interrogative word. The two components are often combined without any pause in between. Synchronically, they are treated as separate morphemes. Examples of *tɕi* occurring with the particle *nam* in interrogative clauses include:

(715) a. ʔoti **tɕi** **nam** ɕe: ʔe
DEM.PROX what Q know POLAR
'What is this, do you know?'

b. ʔoti = gi miŋ **tɕi** **nam**
DEM.PROX = GEN name what Q
'What is the name of this?'

The question word *tɕi* can have a general indefinite sense similar to 'whatever' on its own, as in (716a), or together with the particle *nam*, as in (716b):

(716) a. ŋi **tɕi** gya-na = ye den tɕinam kʰyim tɕik = ki
1PL what do-COND = EMPH then what house one = GEN

naŋ = la....
RELAT:INSD = LOC
'**Whatever** it is (whatever we do), we are inside one house (family)...'

b. kʰoŋ da wóŋ = ʑi? ʑui = næ **tɕi** **nam** gya-ɕuʔ
3PL PART blessing = INDEF receive:HON = SEQ what Q do-IMP:NCAN
'Let them receive a blessing and do **whatever**'

Note that *tɕi nam* occurs as a pause-filler or as a conversation starter with a meaning similar to 'what to say, I tell you what'. It occurs frequently both in spontaneous speech and careful narratives. There was a man nicknamed Chinam [ˈtɕi.nəm] in Merak because he had a habit of using this a lot in his speech.

14.2.4.1.3 The interrogative *tsan* 'when'

The interrogative word *tsan* seeks information about the time which will be the head of a temporal peripheral argument. It occupies exactly the same position of a temporal peripheral argument which precedes the predicate within a clause. Unlike *su* and *tɕi*, which can be in the subject argument slot, A/S, or the object slot, O, the interrogative *tsan* cannot be in any of these core argument functions. Examples of the interrogative *tsan* occurring in interrogative clauses include:

(717) a. tɕitɕin ɖik-pi=s **tsan** ɖik-pi=s=se
how arrange-PERV=ASSERT when arrange-PERV=ASSERT=QUOT

lap=næ
say=SEQ
'I was asked, "How did you marry? **When** did you marry?"'

b. te da tɕʰuk woyi=næ ma=la **tsan**
PART PART livestock up.there=ABL down=ALL when

dok-ki-yo
arrive-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'So then, **when** are you bringing your livestock down here from up there?'

c. læ **tsan** gya-bi
work when do-PERV
'**When** did you do the work?'

In all examples, (717a), (717b), and (717c) the interrogative *tsan* is used to ask information about an NP in temporal peripheral argument.

Just like a temporal peripheral argument, the interrogative *tsan* can take the locative marker *=la* as in (718a) and (718b):

(718) a. ŋa **tsan=la** ɕoʔ
1SG when=LOC come
'**When** should I come?'

b. kʰo **tsan=la** tɕʰi-ti-na
3SG:MASC when=LOC go-PERV-FACT
'When did he go?'

In the same vein, the interrogative word *tsan* can take the ablative marker *=næ*, as in (719):

(719) khoŋ=gi tsʰoŋ=gi læ=baʔ **tsan=næ** gotsuk-mi-na
3PL=GEN business=GEN work=PL when=ABL begin-PERV-FACT
'When will they start their businesses?'

Further, *tsan* can take any of the relators marking peripheral temporal arguments, with or without the locative-allative case, such as *sumbe ~ sumke*, *sakai*, and

tsʰuntsʰon, which have both a spatial and a temporal locational meaning 'until, up to', as in:

(720) kʰyo phe=la **tsan** **sumbe** dʱæ-ti
2SG there=LOC when until stay-PERV
'How long did you stay/live there?'
Lit. 'Until when did you stay/live there?'

Finally, the interrogative *tsan* can take the genitive marker *=gi* and be the possessor NP within a larger NP, as in:

(721) [**tsan=gi**]R [lorgyu]D]NP:CS yin
when=GEN story/information COP.EGO
'Of what time is this story?'
Lit. 'Story of when?'

The expression *tsan yin-ne(=ye)* can have a general indefinite sense meaning 'whenever', 'anytime', and 'some day'. Note that *yin-ne(=ye)* is formed by adding the concessive morpheme *-ne* to the copula *yin* optionally followed by the emphatic marker *=ye* (also see Chapter 15).

14.2.4.1.4 The interrogative *tsam* 'how much, how many'

The content interrogative *tsam* relates to quantifiers and asks information about an amount or quantity 'how much' or 'how many' of something. There is another content interrogative *gaŋzam* with the same meaning as *tsam,* but the former is not as frequent as the latter. The interrogative *tsam* occurs as a modifier to a noun whose quantity or amount is asked about. Examples include:

(722) a. kʰi ɲí ɖik=næ **tsam** ga-soŋ
2:SG two arrange=SEQ how.much go-PERV.DIRECT
'How long has it been after two of you have married?'

b. kʰi=gi mi kʰaɬaŋ **tsam** yo nam
2:SG=GEN person number how.many COP:EXIST Q
'How many of your people are there?'

c. rup tsam yo
money how.much EXIST.COP
'How much money do you have?'

The interrogative *tsam* seeks information about an entire clause, but puts the predicate of the main clause in which it occurs under focus, as in (722a). It also occurs as the copula complement about whom information is sought and immediately precedes the copula predicate, as in (722b) and (722c).

The interrogative *tsam* can take the genitive marker and be a modifier possessor 'lit. 'of how much') as in (723a). The form *tsam* can be repeated with an emphatic effect, as in (723b):

(723) a. bru yin-na ta **tsam**=kʰi dʑin-ni nam
grain COP.EGO-COND horse how.many=GEN give-NOMZ Q
'If it is grains, how many horse-loads will be given?'

b. lo re=la kʰoʂ **tsam~tsam** ɖo-go
year each=LOC times how.many~how.many go-OBLIG
'How many times do you (really) have to go every year?'

The interrogative *tsam* can take the locative *=la* and queries a specific point (specific indefinite) at which a quantity of something is enough, as in (724):

(724) tɕʰutsʰe **tsam=la** kʰo ʔol dʱok-mi nam
time how.many=LOC 3SG.MASC DEM:PROX:LOC arrive-PERV Q

ʔi
POLAR
'In how many hours' time will he be here?'

The interrogative *tsam* can take the instrumental case *=ge*, and have the meaning 'by how much/how many?', as in (725):

(725) kʰyo zetsʰoŋ=gi rup **tsam=ge** dʱaŋ-ɦoŋ
2SG expedniture=GEN money how.much=INST be.sufficient-POTEN

ʔi
Q.POLAR
'How much (money) will be enough for your expenditure?'

As noted above, the interrogative *gaŋzam* has exactly the same meaning as *tsam*, and behaves the same. For example *tsam* in (724) is replaced with *gaŋzam* in (726), and has exactly the same meaning as in (724):

(726) tɕʰutsʰe **gaŋzam=la** kʰo ʔo=la dʱok-mi nam
time how.many=LOC 3SG.MASC DEM.PROX=LOC arrive-PERV Q

ʔi
Q.POLAR
'In how many hours' time will he be here?'

The interrogative *tsam* can have a general indefinite sense when expressed together with existential verbs and grammatical elements, e.g. *tsam=raŋ yo-na=ye* (how.many=EMPH EXIST-COND=EMPH) 'however much', *tsam yo-ti=ʑi?* (how.much EXIST-NOMZ=INDEF) 'however much'.

The interrogative *tsam* is homophonous with *-tsam* ~ *-zam*, a marker of degree or amount of something with meanings such as 'about', 'around', 'more or less' or in some context 'only'. Although historically related, the interrogative *tsam* and the degree marker *-tsam* are to be distinguished. The former is a word, and an interrogative one at that, which can stand on its own, whereas the latter is a non-word-class-changing derivational suffix (see Chapter 8).

14.2.4.1.5 The interrogatives *tɕin* 'how'

The content interrogative *tɕin* or *tɕitɕin* relates to adverbials and seeks information about the manner of something, similar to 'how'. The disyllabic form *tɕitɕin* is more

frequent than the monosyllabic *tɕin*. No meaning difference between the monosyllabic *tɕin* and the disyllabic *tɕitɕin* could be inferred, possibly suggesting that *tɕin* is a portmanteau form of *tɕitɕin*. Note that *tɕin*, a closed monosyllabic word, is completely different from the content interrogative *tɕi* which is an open monosyllabic interrogative word. Although the former has just an additional final nasal consonant, the two have different semantics and syntactic possibilities.

The interrogative *tɕin* or *tɕitɕin* occupies exactly the same position as the manner adverbial about which the information is sought. Examples of *tɕin* in interrogative clauses include:

(727) a. da **tɕin** gya-gyu
now how do-FUT.IMPERV
'**How** will you do it now?'

b. læn **tɕin** lap nam mi-ɕeː-pʰa
answer how say Q NEG-know-MIR
'(I) don't know **how** to answer'

Examples of *tɕitɕin* asking about the manner of something in interrogative clauses include:

(728) a. kʰyo=e ʔoti **tɕitɕin** taŋ-gi-yo
2:SG=ERG DEM.PROX how do-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'**How** are you doing this?'

b. kʰo ɲambu tunɕi **tɕitɕin** gya-bi
3SG.MASC together discussion how do-PERV
'**How** did you discuss with him?'

The interrogative *tɕitɕin* can occur with the reported evidentiality particle *=lo* in a verbless clause. When the reported evidentiality marker occurs in a verbless clause with an interrogative, it does not have the semantic effect of reporting an information, but denotes that the speaker wishes to be rude to the addressee (see §13.4.2.3.1 on the use of *=lo* as reported evidentiality marker). Consider:

(729) te kʰyo **tɕitɕin=s=lo**
PART 2SG how=ASSERT=REP
'You, how is it?'

The interrogative clause with in (729), literally 'how is it?', is said when someone is annoyed by what the other person has just said or done and is ready to provoke a confrontation. When the evidentiality marker *=lo* occurs with the interrogative word *tɕitɕin*, it may optionally be followed by the assertive particle *=s*, as in (729).

The content interrogative *tɕitɕin* can be repeated, as shown in bold in the two sentences in (730a) and (730b):

(730) a. tɕʰæ=di=su **tɕitɕin~tɕitɕin**-gyan ka:-m-yo se-na...
fine=DEF=PL how~how-ADV impose-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO say-COND
'If I say how the fines are imposed...'

b. te paŋ-dʑa láŋ-dʑa ɖou=ʐik **tɕitɕin~tɕitɕin=se**
PART abstain-action adopt-action same=INDEF how~how=QUOT

yo-ti nam se-na
EXIST:COP.EGO-NOMZ Q say-COND
'If I say which actions have to all be given up and which actions have to all be adopted'

The repetition seems to be simply adding a semantic effect of emphasizing the (manner) adverbial that the interrogative *tɕintɕin* represents or queries about, as in (730a); or the meaning of the interrogative appears to be changing from the adverbial interrogative 'how' to the nominal interrogative 'what' or 'which one' as the interrogative sentence (730b) shows. The content interrogative *tɕin* or *tɕitɕin* does not have any indefinite meaning.

14.2.4.1.6 Interrogative *tɕeŋ* 'what type'

The content interrogative *tɕeŋ* or *tɕeŋkʰan* has a meaning 'what/which kind/type?', and can be used to question an NP in any core function. The interrogative *tɕeŋ* can take all the inflections associated with nominals such as case. This suggests that it relates to both nouns and adjectives. Examples include:

(731) a. kʰyo golam **tɕeŋ** go-pʰa
2SG cloth what.type need-MIR
'**What type** of cloth do you need?'

b. dʱou **tɕeŋ=ge** kʰyo=la gyapkyor gya-gi
friend what.kind=ERG 2SG=DAT support do-IMPERV
'**What kind** of friend is supporting you?'

c. kʰyo=la golam **tɕeŋ=ge** pʰantʰoʔ-ro
2SG=DAT cloth what.type=ERG be.useful-FINAL
'**What type** of cloth will be of use to you?'
Lit. 'What kind of cloth will benefit you?'

In (731a) the interrogative *tɕeŋ* asks for information about the NP in Gift role, which can be in O function; in (731b) and (731c), it takes ergative marking and questions the NP in A function.

The content interrogative word combines with the morpheme *kʰan*, and the resulting form *tɕeŋkʰan* also has the meaning of 'what/which kind/type', the same meaning as the meaning of *tɕeŋ*. Note that the component *kʰan* does not mean 'type/kind' in isolation. It is not clear whether the morpheme *kʰan* in *tɕeŋkʰan* is from the nominalizing allomorph *-kʰan*, but the entire form functions as a single interrogative word and takes grammatical markers appropriate to the function of that NP in its clause. Consider:

(732) a. kʰo mí **tɕeŋkʰan=ge** tsʰoda+taŋ-duʔ
3SG.MASC person what.kind=ERG scold+do-DIRECT
'**What kind** of person scolded him?'

b. kʰyo=e mí **tɕeŋkʰan=ʑiʔ** tsʰoda+taŋ-ŋe
2SG=ERG person what.kind=INDEF scolding+do-PERV
'What kind of person have you scolded?'

c. rup=di mí **tɕeŋkʰan=la** dʑin-ni
money=DEF person what.type=DAT give-PERV
'**What type** of person did you give the money to?'

The interrogative *tɕeŋkʰan* seeks information about the NP in A function, and receives ergative marking in (732a); in (732b), it questions the O argument, and is

zero-marked (absolutive). In (732c), the interrogative *tɕeŋkʰan* is marked with dative case because it seeks information about the E argument.

The interrogative *tɕeŋkʰan* can occur in copula clauses, as in:

(733) a. bom **tɕeŋkʰan** yo-ti nam
girl what.type EXIST.COP.EGO-NOMZ Q
'What type of girl is there?'

b. kʰo mi **tɕeŋkʰan** tuʔ
3SG.MASC person what.type EXIST.COP.DIRECT
'What type of person is he?'

In some contexts, the interrogative *tɕeŋkʰan* has a sense of 'how many' or 'how long?', as in:

(734) yal mal ɖo-zin ɲim gor-go-duŋ
up:ALL down:ALL go-SIM day take-OBLIG-POSSIB

tɕeŋkʰan gor-go nam
how.many take-OBLIG Q
'It must take many days going up and down; how many days does it take?'

In (734), the interrogative *tɕeŋkʰan* seeks information about the quantity or number of something with a sense of 'how many', the same interrogative meaning coded by the interrogative *tsam* (§14.2.4.1.4).

Like most other interrogatives, *tɕakʰan* can be repeated. The repetition of *tɕakʰan* creates a sense of plurality, as in (735):

(735) lukse den **tɕakʰan~tɕakʰan** yo-ti nam
tradition then what~what COP:EXIST.EGO-NOMZ Q
'What are all the traditions there?'

In (735), a single *tɕeŋkʰan*, without the repetition, would mean just 'what' (with a specific indefinite sense), but not 'what all'.

The interrogative *tɕeŋkʰan* can have a general indefinite sense similar to 'whichever', 'wherever', 'whatever'. Examples include:

(736) a. l̥amro **tɕeŋkʰan**=raŋ yo-du dʑ≠uŋ-na=ya
boot.tie whichever=FOC COP:EXIST.EGO-NF RES-COND=EMPH
'Irrespective of which (type of) boot tie one has'

b. yu:ɖoŋ tɕik naŋ=la **tɕeŋkʰan** dʱæ-ti
village one RELAT:in=LOC wherever stay-NOMZ

yo-ne=ye...
COP:EXIST.EGO-CNSV=EMPH
'Wherever they live within one village...'

Furthermore, the emphatic enclitic *=raŋ* and the concessive (sentential) conjunction *yin-ne=ye* can be added to *tɕeŋkʰan*, forming a fixed expression *tɕeŋkʰan=raŋ yin-ne(=ye)*, (what=EMPH even.then) with meanings 'somehow', 'anyhow', etc. Such an expression can be used for maintaining a cohesion between sentences or bigger chunks of discourse.

The interrogative *tɕeŋkʰan*, like *tɕeŋ*, can take all inflections associated with nominals including case, number, and definiteness, which suggest that it also relates to nouns and adjectives.

14.2.4.1.7 The interrogative *gate* 'where'

There are two content interrogatives used for seeking information about a place, the referent of a spatial peripheral argument. They are *gate* ['gɐ.tɛ] and *gan* ~ *gaŋ* both meaning 'where'. Note that, sometimes, these interrogatives forms can be reduced simply to *ga*. [7] The interrogative *gate* can be a stand-alone sentence 'where (it is)?'. It can take case markers associated with spatial peripheral arguments, and it can be the locational argument used in an elliptical clause, as in *gate=læ* or *gan=næ* both meaning 'from where?'; or it can occur in a verbless clause querying the referent of the locational noun it occurs with, *sa gate=læ* 'from where/from which place?'.

Examples of *gate* in interrogative clauses include:

[7] By some speakers *gate* is realized as *kate* and *gan* as *kan*, both commencing with an unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar stop /k/.

(737) a. kʰyo **gate** ɖo-gi-yo
2SG where go-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO
'**Where** are you going?'

b. kʰo=gi kʰyim **gate=la** tuʔ
3SG=GEN house where=LOC EXIST.DIRECT
'**Where** is his house?'

As with an inherently locational noun (recall from Chapter 4), the locative/allative case is optional with the interrogative *gate*. This interrogative word queries a locational noun, and it behaves exactly like it. The locative case *=la* can be optional in both (737a) and (737b).

Example of *gan ~ gaŋ* can be found

(738) a. kʰyo yu: **gan=**næ
2SG village where=ABL
'Where are you from?'

b. tɕala=baʔ **gaŋ=**la ʑak-pi
thing=PL where=LOC keep-PERV
'Where did you keep the things?'

The interrogative *gate* can occur in dependent clauses with a copula as in (739a). The interrogative *gate* can also introduce the common argument of a relative clause as in (739b). The interrogative *gate* can be the possessor of the head noun in an NP with the genitive enclitic as in (739c):

(739) a. dorgin=gi lumpa=la gʱo **gate** yin
Indian=GEN village=LOC door where COP.EGO
'Where the door is in other countries....'
Lit. 'Where the door is in Indian village'

b. moitɕupʰu=ge tsʰok-tɕʰaŋ **gate** ɖik-sa...
womenfolk=ERG gathering-liquor where arrange-NOMZ:LOC
'(The place) where the womenfolk arrange drinks party...'

c. **gate=**gi dʑo:
where=GEN Tibetan
'Tibetan from where?'

The interrogative clause in (739c) is a highly elliptical one. This was observed in a natural conversation where a speaker mentioned that there was a Tibetan who he met at a gathering. One of the hearers responded with this interrogative clause, possibly meaning: 'A person from which part of Tibet?' or simply 'Which Tibetan?'. In this instance, *gate* replaces a specific place and has a specific indefinite sense.

As with most other content interrogatives, *gate* can combine with the sentential concessive conjunction and have a general indefinite reference of a place, as in (740):

(740) a. **gate** yin-ne
where COP.EGO-CNSV
'Anywhere'

b. **gate** yin-ne=ʑi?
where COP.EGO-CNSV=INDEF
'Somewhere'

A general indefinite reference can also be achieved by repeating the content interrogative *gate*. Further, a repetition adds an inherent sense of plurality of place as in (741a); or the repeated form of *gate* can further occur with the synonymous content interrogative *gaŋ*, and derive an expression of 'each place' as in (741b):

(741) a. **gate ~ gate**(=raŋ)
where~where(=EMPH)
'Everywhere, to several places'

b. **gate ~ gate** **gaŋ**
where~where where
'any place, every place'

Note that the word *gaŋ* is synonymous with *tɕik* 'one', and it is homophonous with the quantifier *gaŋ* 'all'. It is also homophonous with the relator *gaŋ* 'during, at the time of', and the verbal form *gaŋ* which codes a durative phase of activity, not to mention that *gaŋri* 'mountain' can also be reduced to *gaŋ* in a natural discourse.

This is a typical instance of achieving maximum utility out of minimum resources in Brokpa where a single morpheme *gaŋ* fulfils several functions.

The adjectival *gaŋ* 'all' is a contraction of *gaŋyu* 'all, whole, entire'; and the form *gaŋ* marking a phase of activity appears to be a loan from Dzongkha because Brokpa has two other grammaticalized suffixes that perform the same function as the durative *gaŋ*.

The interrogative *gate* is shared with Dzongkha, and the interrogative *gan* ~ *gaŋ* is cognate with the Classical Tibetan <gang> 'which, where'.

14.2.4.1.8 Interrogative *tɕigyan* 'why'

There is no separate monomorphemic interrogative form for asking information about the reason of something. It is formed by a combination of the form *tɕi* 'what' and adverbial *-gyan*, but, as an interrogative, *tɕigyan* is fully lexicalized. Like other interrogatives, *tɕigyan* can effectively convert a declarative statement into an interrogative one. The interrogative *tɕigyan* literally means 'by doing what' and asks a question about a reason in the same manner as 'why'. An interrogative clause with *tɕigyan* can be embedded as an interrogative complement clause. Consider:

(742) a. kʰi=ba? **tɕigyan** ʔotɕins gyak-pi
2=PL why like.this do-PERV
'**Why** did you (all) do it like this?'

b. **tɕigyan** kʰoŋ=ba?=kʰe ɖo-má-tɕʰoʔ-pi=ta dega na
why 3:PL=PL=ERG go-NEG-ABIL-NOMZ=FOC like.that COP.FACT

mó
TAG
'**Why** can they not just go like that, no (needless to mention)?'

c. mo ɲam **tɕigyan** mi-dⁿo
3SG.FEM with why NEG-stay
'**Why** don't you want to stay with her?'

In all examples, (742a), (742b), and (742c), the interrogative *tɕigyan* is used to seek information about the reason why the addressee has done something or will be doing something.

The interrogative *tɕigyan* has a general indefinite reference of a reason such as 'for some reason' or 'for any reason', as in:

(743) a. mwoitɕup^{h}u = ba? = ti **tɕigyan** p^{h}a = te yar = næ...
womenfolk = PL = TOP for.some.reason there = ALL run = SEQ
'The womenfolk run there **for some reason**...'

b. **tɕigyan** k^{h}o ɲam ɖo-go-ɦoŋ
for.some.reason 3SG.MASC with go-OBLIG-POSSIB
'You might have to go with him **for some reason**'

The interrogative *tɕigyan* in a non-interrogative indefinite sense, as in (743a) and (743b), has an overtone of possibility, and functions like a sentential adverb. This also illustrates a recurrent polysemy between interrogatives and indefinites as found in some languages (see Dixon 2012: 384).

Table 113 gives a summary of the possibilities of specific and general indefinite senses with each content interrogative in Brokpa.

Table 113. Indefinite functions of content interrogatives in Brokpa

INTERROGATIVE	GLOSS	SPECIFIC INDEFINITE	GENERAL INDEFINITE
su	'who'	yes	yes
tɕi	'what'	yes	yes
tsan	'when'	no	yes
tsam, gaŋzam	'how many; how much'	yes	yes
tɕin, tɕitɕin	'how'	no	no
tɕeŋ, tɕeŋk^{h}an	'what/which type/kind'	yes	yes
gate, gan, gaŋ, ga	'where'	yes	yes
tɕigyan	'why'	no	no

14.2.4.2 Echo questions

Questions can be asked by repeating what would be a relative clause realized by a nominalization, and then adding an interrogative word to the repeated clause, optionally followed by a copula. The nominalized clause is typically followed by the definite marker. In this kind of construction, the extraposed interrogative that moved to the end of a clause, seeks information about the common argument of the relative clause which can potentially be in any syntactic function. Examples include:

(744) a. den ŋo + ton-gan = di **su** (yin)
PART face + show-NOMZ:AGTV = DEF who (COP.EGO)
'Then who is the one that revealed (identity)'
Lit. 'Then the one who revealed is who?'

b. norze ter-sa = di **gate**
wedding.GIFT give-NOMZ:LOCTV = DEF where
'Where is the place where the wedding gift will be given'
Lit. 'The place of wedding gift-giving is where?'

This kind of echo question may be called a 'back-reference interrogative construction' because the interrogative refers back to the relative clause, repeats it, and then asks about the common argument it modifies. In a back-reference interrogative construction, the focused constituent, about which the information is sought, appears to be the nominalized predicate immediately preceding the content interrogative.

In a somewhat similar vein, the information about the referent of the head of an NP can be asked employing a back-reference interrogative strategy. Such kind of interrogative construction is predicateless. This is a copula clause with the clause-final copula predicate omitted. The constituent order is not as strict as it is in a copula clause. The content interrogative word can also be placed at the clause-initial position. However, a content question placed at the beginning of a clause will not have the same effect of an echo question. For an echo question, the content interrogative is placed after the NP which the information it inquires, as in:

(745) a. ʔo mi = ba? = ti **su**
DEM.PROX person = PL = DEF who
'Who are these people'
Lit. 'These people who?'

b. ɲén = gi temre = di **tsan**
marriage = GEN ceremony = DEF when
'When is the wedding ceremony?'
Lit. 'Wedding ceremony when?'

A construction with an echo-question also serves as a back-reference in the form of a conditional adverbial clause to maintain a discourse cohesion or maintaining a coherence between what might be a paragraph in a written discourse. This may be called a 'back-reference interrogative strategy' of discourse linking. This is using a repetition or 'bridging linkage' to mark discourse continuity, along the lines of Aikhenvald (2015a:275), sometimes referred to as an 'overlap linkage' or a 'lexical overlap', in the words of Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007).

Essentially, something, usually a clause or an NP, mentioned in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph is referred to by means of a back-reference in an interrogative complement clause in the following paragraph. The issue of whether intonation plays a role in Brokpa echo questions require further investigation.

14.2.4.3 Polar questions

A polar question, seeking confirmation or disavowal, along the lines of Dixon (2012:377), is expressed by the particle *ʔi* ~ *ʔe*. These particles seek confirmation of an information with regard to the whole clause, so they have a clausal scope. These particles can also occur with content question words, either in juxtaposition or at the end of a clause commencing with a content question word.

In terms of syntactic dimension, a polar question can be shown by using morphology, that is employing a separate lexical element, or by intonation, or both:

(746) a. ʔo pʰa=la ɖo-sa yinda **ʔi**
DEM.PROX thither=ALL go-NOMZ:LOC COP.MIR POLAR
'Is this the way to go there?'

b. kʰyo=la náma ɖik-ro **ʔi**
2SG=DAT wife be.ok-FINAL POLAR
'Is she OK as your wife?'

c. ŋi pʰama=e=raŋ gya+dʱo-gu **ʔi**
1PL parents=ERG=EMPH do+stay-IMPERV POLAR
'Do we, the parents, have to keep working?'

The three sentences in (746) are made interrogative by the use of the polar question particle *ʔi*. As noted above, the polar particle can be accompanied by a sentence stress.

As shown in example (726), the polar particle *ʔi* can occur at the end of an interrogative clause containing a content question word. In such an instance, the polar particle simply functions as a question particle. The answer to an interrogative clause containing both content question word and polar particle cannot be a simple 'yes' or 'no'; the answer must contain information concerning either a core or a peripheral argument, predicate, or some action or state or property.

Further, a declarative sentence can also be made interrogative by rising intonation sentence-finally as shown in §14.2, even in the absence of a polar question particle.

In Brokpa, an answer to a polar question can be the egophoric copula *yin*or its negative counterpart *man*. It can also be the copula *yinda*, which inherently codes new or unexpected information, and its negative counterpart *manda*.

As a one-word answer to a polar question, these copulas either show agreement or disagreement. The copula *yin* may be translated approximately into 'yes', and the negative copula *man* as 'no', when used as an answer to a polar question, that is in a non-copula function. The copula *yinda* means something like 'it turns out to be the case', and its negative counterpart *manda* 'it doesn't turn out to be the case'.

However, the answer to a polar question does not always have to be a copula. One can respond by giving an approving or reassuring nod, or a perfunctory or a curt nod. The former can be taken as an agreement, the latter disagreement.

There are two other morphological resources which can be used as polar answers, the polite particle *lás* meaning 'yes' and the honorific agreement expression *suŋ den* (say:HON true) 'true', literally meaning something like 'What has just been said is true'.

Note that this *lás* is different from the polite particle *lā́*. The particle *lā́*, without the final */s/*, can convert an ordinary statement into an honorific one, or it can be used to ask a polite question with a rising intonation. The particle *lā́*, with a rising intonation, can also be used as a polite request to the speaker to repeat if the hearer has not heard what they have just said. The particle *lás* (with *-s*) is always used for showing agreement to someone higher in social status than you. In a nutshell, *lás* is an honorific polar answer. The particle *lás* does not have an ordinary form, nor a negative form. The ordinary or the negated form of *suŋ den* does not qualify as a negative polar answer.

14.2.4.4 Interrogative tags

The particle *mṓ* is typically used as an interrogative tag although it can also be used as a rhetorical question. An interrogative tag also expects a confirmation of the supposition of the main clause (see Dixon 2012:393). Both polar question and interrogative tag characterize sentences as questions.

However, in an interrogative clause with a polar question, the respondent has the option of providing positive (yes) or negative (no) answer, without any prior expectation. In an interrogative clause with a tag, the speaker raises expectation and contributes a certain bias toward an answer, either toward a positive or a negative answer, in agreement with König and Siemund (2007). Consider:

(747) a. diriŋ + saŋ klas = se lap-ki **mó**
today + tomorrow class = QUOT say-IMPERV TAG
'Nowadays, it is called 'class', isn't it?'

b. kʰo = ya ʐaŋzen na **mó**
3SG.MASC brother.in.law COP.FACT TAG
'He too is brother-in-law, isn't it so?'

Two sentences above are from an autobiographic text narrated by one of my consultants. He inserted sentence (747a) in the middle of his story using the interrogative tag *mő* to confirm with another consultant. The speaker knows that the other consultant also knows that it is called 'class' nowadays, but that time it used to be called something else. The speaker has already raised the expectation of getting a positive answer from me.

Likewise, in (747b), he was seeking agreement from the other consultant who also knows that the referent is the speaker's brother-in-law. The use of the factual copula *na* already suggests that the referent is his brother-in-law (everybody knows, and there is no doubt about it), but still seeks confirmation from the other consultant. Again, the speaker has a prior expectation of getting a positive agreement from the hearer. There is an 'epistemological bias' towards a particular response.[8]

As noted earlier, a polar question is neutral regarding the speaker's expectation.

14.2.4.5 Rhetorical questions

The particle *mó*, used as an interrogative tag discussed in §14.2.4.4, is also used in rhetorical questions. The only way to distinguish an interrogative tag *mő* from the rhetorical question *mő* is the sentence stress and the pause phenomenon. When the particle *mő* is used as a tag, as in the sentences in (747), it receives a sentence stress (a stress on a particular word) and is typically followed by a pause. When the particle *mó* is used in a rhetorical question, *ceteris paribus*, there is no sentence stress or distinctive pause. Consider:

[8] Givón (2001b:292) calls this 'epistemic bias' or 'systematic bias' towards a particular response.

(748) a. ŋa=n tɕʰaŋ tʰuŋ men **mó** ʔoti=næ...
1SG=TOP alcohol drink NEG.COP TAG.RHEQ DEM.PROX=ABL
'I don't drink alcohol, isn't it so?, after this...'

b. mwoi=kʰi ʔapa=gi ta ɲí yo-ti **mó** te
wife=GEN father=GEN horse two COP.EXIST-NOMZ.PERV RHEQ PART

kʰoŋ=la lap=næ...
3PL=DAT tell=SEQ
'My wife's father had three horses, isn't it so, so we requested them...'

In the two sentence in (748), the particle *mố* is uttered like any other word in the clause without any distinctive stress or rising intonation. There is also no distinctive pause following the particle *mó* when it is used as a marker of rhetorical question.

Further, the particle *mố* as a tag is accompanied by a rising intonation, which is absent when it is used in a rhetorical question.

As noted earlier, the polar question particle *ʔi* ~ *ʔe* can also appear in rhetorical questions, as in (749):

(749) da tɕitɕin gya-mi nam **ʔi**=se lap=næ...
PART how do-NOMZ Q POLAR.RHEQ=QUOT say=SEQ
'Saying, 'How we should be doing it?...'

Example (749) is particularly interesting as it contains a content interrogative *tɕitɕin* 'how', the question marker *nam*, and the polar particle used as a rhetorical question, and the entire interrogative clause is embedded by means of the quotative *=se*.

A clause containing a rhetorical question, as in the two sentences in (748) and (749), is uttered with a level intonation, akin to a declarative clause. There is also no sentence or prosodic stress on the rhetorical particle.

Sometimes, one can find the morpheme *-soŋ* which marks perfective aspect and direct evidentiality, as well as a clause linker, occurs sentence-finally within the predicate of a main clause following an aspect marker. When the morpheme *-soŋ* follows another aspect marker, it is functioning as a tag or rhetorical question, as in (750):

(750) nor + semtɕæn tæ = næ dʱo-go-pʰi-**soŋ**
cattle + sentient.being look = SEQ stay-OBLIG-PERV-TAG
'We have to live (our life) tending cattle, isn't it so?'

As an aspect marker *-soŋ* is attached directly to the verb stem (see Chapter 13), and, as a clause linker, it is followed by other markers and a focal clause (see Chapter 15). When it occurs as the final element of a clause, following another aspect marker, *-soŋ* is not in a clause-linking functioning nor as an aspect marker, but as an interrogative tag. Dzongkha also has this same morpheme *-soŋ*, and in Dzongkha too it is used somewhat like a tag.

The morpheme *-soŋ* in Brokpa has at least three distinct functions: it marks perfective aspect when attached directly to a verb root; it functions as a consequence (cause) clause linker when it applies to a medial clause; and it marks a rhetorical question when it applies to the predicate of a main clause following an aspect marker. Note that there is also a homophonous *soŋ* which is the imperative form of the verb *ɖo* 'to go'.

14.2.4.6 Alternative questions

Alternative questions can be expressed by means of the disjunctive particle *nam* roughly meaning 'or'. As noted and shown above, the particle *nam* can also be used as a question particle, either immediately following a content interrogative or placed elsewhere within a clause, typically extraposed. In the latter function, *nam* does not indicate a disjunction but simply marks an interrogative clause. As discussed in §14.2.4.1.2, the particle *nam* has lexicalized with the content question word *tɕi* 'what'.

When *nam* occurs as a marker of an alternative question, it presents a list of two or more alternatives and the second alternative is typically accompanied by a rising intonation:

(751) a. ʔoti **nam** ʔup^{h}i
DEM.PROX or DEM.DIST
'Is it this or that?'
Lit. 'This or that?'

b. Karma **nam** Sonam
Karma or Sonam
'Is it Karma or Sonam?'
Lit. 'Karma or Sonam?'

c. ŋe = gi so: kyinma k^{h}yoŋ **nam** mi-k^{h}yoŋ
1SG = GEN paddy substitute bring or NEG-bring
'Will you bring my 'paddy substitute' or not'
Lit. 'My paddy substitute bring or not bring?'

In (751a) and (751b), two NPs are offered as alternatives with the morpheme *nam*. The second NP, the distal demonstrative in (751a) and Sonam in (751b), bears a rising intonation. In (751c), the two predicates are provided as alternatives. When two NPs are sought as alternatives, it is not necessary for one NP to be an affirmative and the other negative proposition, as in (751a) and (751b). On the other hand, if the two alternatives involve predicates, one has to be affirmative and the other negative, as in (751c).

Further, the disjunctive conjunction *nam* can occur with the egophoric equational copula *yin* and its negative counterpart *man,* and the whole expression functions as a strategy for asking alternative questions, as in:

(752) mo k^{h}i = gi ʔarogaro **yin** **nam** **man**
3SG.FEM 2SG = GEN girlfriend COP.EGO or NEGCOP.EGO
'Is she your girlfriend?'
Lit. 'Is she your yes girlfriend or no girlfriend?'

The answer can be just the positive copula *yin*, if affirmative, or the negative copula *man*, if it is otherwise.

Similarly, alternative questions can be asked by means of a juxtaposition of the mirative copula *yinda* and its negative counterpart *manda*. The copula *yinda* and its

negative *manda* do not require the disjunctive morpheme *nam* to link them, and the entire juxtaposed form *yinda manda* has a meaning to the effect: 'it is, it is not?' or simply 'yes, no?'. Examples include:

(753) a. mo kʰi=gi **yinda** **manda**
3SG.FEM 2SG=GEN COP.MIR NEGCOP.MIR
'Is she yours or not?'

b. kʰo mí ŋónæ yakpo tu? **yinda**
3.SG.MASC person genuinely good EXIST.COP.DIRECT COP.MIR

manda
NEGCOP.MIR
'He is genuinely a good person, isn't he?'
Lit. 'He is genuinely a good person, yes or no?'

The form *yinda manda* expressing an alternation question occurs with a verbless clause, as in (753a), or after a clause with predicate, as in (753b).

An alternative question involving two juxtaposed copulas is structurally the same as a back-reference interrogative clause wherein the interrogative form is placed in the clause-final position. When a clause preceding the juxtaposed copulas is verbless, as in (753a), it is neutral in terms of answer expectation like that of a polar question; in contrast, when it is a full clause, as in (753b), it has a systematic bias towards an expected answer like that of an interrogative tag.

A point to note about this is that, like *tɕinam*, the juxtaposed expression *yinda manda* has become like a speech habit, with some speakers using it frequently in their speech even when alternative question is not expected. This is something like an English speaker using 'isn't it?' or 'you know what?' without meaning what the words mean. In such a context, it becomes more like a discourse particle than an interrogative expression. This can be considered an instance of grammaticalization of a fixed expression into an interactional discourse particle. Phrases or fixed expressions are one of the diachronic sources of discourse particles in languages (see Kuteva et al. 2019).

14.3 Clauses within phrases: relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) functions as a syntactic modifier to the head lexeme of an NP, just like an adjective (see Aikhenvald 2015a:57; Dixon 2010b:313, 2021:36; Andrews 2007b; Givón 2001b:175). An RC must have the basic structure of a clause with a predicate and required core arguments, along the lines of Dixon (2010b:338). The function of an RC is, in Dixon's (2021:36) words, 'to assist in identifying the referent of the common argument'.

RC as a clausal modifier within a phrase, and forming complex NPs in Brokpa was discussed in Chapter 10. Relativization in Brokpa, in accordance with the general typological tendency of the Bodic languages (see Matisoff 1972, 1991; DeLancey 2002, among others), uses the same suffixes as nominalization, with one type of suffix also marking perfective aspect. A full account of nominalization in Brokpa was given in Chapter 8.

There is need for a detailed study to ascertain the full gamut of the functions of RCs in Brokpa. In this section I examine the structure of relative clause constructions, the nature of common argument, and the possibilities for the syntactic functions of common argument within a relative clause construction in Brokpa.

14.3.1 The structure of the relative clause

A relative clause in Brokpa is marked by the perfective aspect marker *-pi* ~ *-pe* or by one of its allomorphs (see Chapter 13), or by one of the deverbal nominalizers, typically the nominalizer *-gan* ~ *-gin* which is glossed 'agentive nominalizer'. Recall from Chapter 13 that the perfective aspect marker *-pi* also functions as grammatical/clausal nominalizer. The relative clause marker, either the perfective aspect marker *-pi* or a deverbal nominalizer (see Chapter 8), is added to the end of the verb in the RC, and typically precedes the statement of the common argument in the MC.

An RC in Brokpa has highly restricted possibilities in terms of the marking of non-spatial setting. Only the perfective aspect marker is used as one of the relative clause markers, but does not include other markers including imperfective aspect, modality, and knowledge. The fact that no other aspect and knowledge markers occur within an RC indicates that the marker *-pi* is only functioning as a nominalizer, and not as an aspect marker in an RC, because there is a syncretism of nominalization and relativization in Brokpa. This is a typical feature of Tibeto-Burman languages (see also Matisoff 1972; Watters 2002:413; Genetti et al. 2008; Post 2007:57; and Genetti 2011).

It is instructive to mention that although the same set of suffixes mark both relative clauses and nominalization in Brokpa, they have different functions and grammatical properties at the level of the sentence. As the examples in this section will demonstrate, an RC is always accompanied by the head of an NP. An RC only functions as the syntactic modifier of an NP head.[9] A nominalized clause itself functions as the NP head, can be in any argument function, and will directly take grammatical markers associated with nouns; in a nutshell, a nominalized clause is a complement clause.

An example of the grammatical nominalizer *-pi* functioning as a relative clause marker can be found in:

(754) [ŋi=ge d^{ɦ}aŋ ɲo-**p^{h}i**]RC [ta=n diriŋ ɕi-du?]MC
1PL=ERG yesterday buy-REL horse=TOP today die-DIRECT
'The horse that we bought yesterday died today'

In (754), the RC is marked by the aspirated *-p^{h}i*, an allomorph of *-pi*. Note that any allomorph of the grammatical nominalizer *-pi* can occur as the marker of RCs. The rules behind the allomorphy of *-pi*, as a relative clause marker, will remain the

[9] When a suffix marks relative clauses, it is glossed 'relative clause marker' (REL), and not as a nominalizer or as a perfective aspect marker.

same as the rules behind the allomorphy of the perfective aspect marker/grammatical nominalizer *-pi* (see Chapter 13).

Alternatively, an RC can be marked by any of the deverbal nominalizers (see Chapter 8). Interestingly, the nominalizing suffix *-gan ~ -gin* (or its allomorphs *-kan ~ -kin*, *-kʰan ~ -kʰin*), is the most frequently occurring RC marker in Brokpa. This is not at all surprising because, as pointed out in Chapter 8, a clause nominalized by the suffix *-gan* can be in any argument function even though it is glossed 'agentive' in order to distinguish it from other deverbal nominalizers. It appears that the clauses nominalized with *-gan* modify core arguments more than the peripheral arguments in relative clause constructions in Brokpa. As will be shown in §14.3.3, it is possible to relativize any argument, including an argument in possessor function. It appears that the core arguments, A/S and O, are more accessible to relativization than the peripheral arguments, which is in agreement with the Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979).

An example of a deverbal nominalizer marking relative clause can be found in:

(755) [ʔiŋliɕ ɕe-**kʰan**]RC [naʑon=baʔ=kʰe gækʰap=la yakpo pʰentʰoʔ-ɦioŋ]MC
English know-REL youth=PL=ERG country=DAT good benefit-POTEN
'The youth, who know English, will greatly benefit the country'

The relative clause modifying the NP in A function in the MC is marked by *-kʰan*, an allomorph of the agentive nominalizer *-gan*.

An RC, marked by either *-pi* (or one of its allomorphs) or by a deverbal nominalizer, can take genitive marking if the RC precedes the common argument in any function, as in:

(756) a. [ʑaŋzen=ge dʑin+ʑak-**pi=gi**]RC [rup=ke muzu=e
brother.in.law=ERG give+leave-REL=GEN money=INST other=ERG

tɕʰaŋ sar+kʰyoŋ-tʰuʔ]MC
alcohol prepare+bring-DIRECT
'With the money that the brother-in-law gave, they brought alcohol'

b. [kʰa deu yo-**gan**=**gi**]RC [mí=ʑi?=kʰe
mouth comfortable EXIST.COP-REL=GEN person=INDEF=ERG

garpatoŋsum gya-kʰo-na]MC
wedding.master do-OBLIG-FACT
'A person, who has good oratory skill, must take on the role of wedding master'

Relativization with the genitive is reported to be a common feature of Bodish or Tibetic languages (see, for example, Noonan 2008). Note, however, that in Brokpa the genitive marking following an RC is optional. The first clause from the left in both (756a) and (756b) can occur without the genitive marking even if it is in an attributive function, that is as an RC. The genitive marking on pre-head RCs is also common in Classical Tibetan and other Bodish languages (see, for example, DeLancey 2002). As far as I know, the genitive marking on RCs is optional in Classical Tibetan and other Bodish languages such as Dzongkha and Tshangla. The conditions for its use require further investigation in these languages.

Further, it is possible for more than one RC to be associated with an MC in Brokpa. Consider:

(757) [to: ʔe-tɕʰekyaŋ tɕʰo+ɕe-**kʰan**]RC [paʔ ʑim-kyaŋ
food good-SUPER make+know-REL curry tasty-SUPER

gya-**gan**]RC [Zangmo=e=n golam tʰak-má-ɕe-pʰa]MC
do-REL Zangmo=ERG=TOP cloth weave-NEG-know-MIR
'Zangmo, who knows how to cook food very nicely and who knows how to cook very tasty curries, does not know how to weave'

Sentence (757) contains two RCs which are preposed to the MC. Just as it is possible for the head of an NP to be modified by any number of adjectives, by rule, it is also possible for an NP head to be modified by any number of RCs. Note that the relative clauses marked by the nominalizing suffix *-gan* can be non-restricted and also restricted.

In terms of clause types within a relative clause construction, the MC can involve any clause type: transitive, intransitive, extended transitive, extended intransitive. An MC within an RC construction can also be a copula clause, as in (754). In terms of speech act too, the MC within an RC construction can be a statement, question, or command, although statements are more frequent. Examples of MC involving various clause types will become apparent in the various examples of RC constructions in this section.

However, an RC is never realized by an imperative clause or an interrogative clause, in agreement with the general typological tendency (see Dixon 2010b:348). An RC in Brokpa can have most of the possibilities open to an MC, including the copula clause, as in (756b), but not a verbless clause. Note, however, that relative clauses cannot have their own evidentiality and egophoricity specifications.

Interestingly, it appears that the RCs marked by the relativizer *-pi* (and allomorphs), as in (754) and (756a), are of the restrictive type. On the other hand, the RCs marked by the other deverbal nominalizers such as *-gan* (and its allomorphs), as in (755) and (756b), are non-restrictive. Otherwise, the interpretation of a restrictive or a non-restrictive relative clause in Brokpa can be purely on pragmatic grounds.

14.3.2 The common argument

A canonical relative clause construction involves two full clauses, a main clause (MC) and a relative clause (RC), which share a common argument (CA) and make up a single sentence within one intonation unit, along the lines of Dixon (2010b:314). Brokpa has various possibilities in terms of the nature of CA. Potentially, any common noun can be the CA. Examples of a common noun occurring as the CA abound; for example, in all the examples of RCs in §14.3.1, the CA consists of a common noun.

Further, proper names can effectively be the CA. When a proper name is the CA, it is always stated in the MC. Examples include:

(758) a. naʔ naŋ=la názi gyab=næ dʱo-gan [**Nima**=di]S
forest RELAT:INSD=LOC herder do=SEQ do-stay-REL Nima=DEF

dʱaŋ ɲén-gya-soŋ
yesterday mariage-do-PERV.DIRECT
'Nima, who lives in the forest herding cattle, married yesterday'

b. lotʰoʔ tɕika ma-dʑuŋ-ŋi [**Merak** luŋbal]E ŋa=e
crop nothing NEG-occur-REL Merak village:LOC 1SG=ERG

dʱo-mí-tʰob]MC
live-NEG-ABIL
'I cannot live in Merak, where no crops grow'

The CA stated in the MC in (758a) is Nima, a personal name; similarly, the CA in (758b) is a locative NP whose head is Merak, a place name.

In the same vein, personal pronouns can be the CA. Consider:

(759) a. gyunor tɕika me-ti [**ŋa=e**]A kʰyo=la gyapkyor
wealth nothing NEG.EXIST-REL 1SG=ERG 2SG=DAT support

gya-mí-tʰob
do-NEG-ABIL
'I, who does not have any wealth, cannot support you'

b. ŋori námesame yo-gin [**kʰyo=e**]A makpa tɕi+gyab=næ
beauty very.much EXIST.COP-REL 2SG=ERG husband what+do=ABL

mí-tʰob
NEG-get
'Why will you, who is so beautiful, not get a husband?'

c. ʑiŋga ɻuŋ-gan [**kʰo**]CS kaktar na
land guard-REL 3SG.MASC tough COP.FACT
'He, who is guarding the field, is tough'

The CA, stated in the MC, is the first person singular pronoun in (759a), second person singular in (759b), and third person singular masculine pronoun in (759c). The personal pronouns in all examples may be preceded by *mî* person, but it is completely acceptable without *mî*. In other words, a personal pronoun can be the CA.

Furthermore, generic terms or indefinite pronouns such as *lala* 'some' can effectively be the CA within an RC construction in Brokpa, as in:

(760) Brokpa=i kæ ɕe-k^{h}an [**lala**=e]$_{A}$ tɕhö+kæ=ye
Brokpa=GEN language know-REL some=ERG dharma+language

ʔe-tɕ^{h}ekyaŋ ɕe-t^{h}uʔ
good-SUPER know-DIRECT
'Someone who knows the Brokpa language, knows the Dharma Language also well'

A demonstrative as the CA may not be common but is not impossible. An example of demonstrative as the CA within an RC construction can be found in (761):

(761) k^{h}uŋ tɕika me-ti [**ʔoti**]$_{O}$ p^{h}ir-t^{h}oŋ
use nothing NEG.EXIST.COP-REL DEM.PROX throw-send.IMP
'Throw away this which does not have any use'

In all the examples thus far, the CA is stated in the MC, but it is also possible for the CA to be stated in the RC. This means that an RC can follow the NP head within a larger NP. Examples of RC as a post-head modifier of an NP head include:

(762) a. [[**ʔe.wangzom**]$_{S}$ ɕim-gan]$_{RC}$ [∅$_{S}$ Tshona=la dok-p^{h}i]$_{MC}$
Grandmother.wangzom die-REL Tshona=LOC arrive-PERV
'Grandmother Wangzom, who died, had been to Tshona'

b. [ŋa=i **d^{ɦ}ou**$_{S}$ Thimphu=la d^{ɦ}o-gan=di]$_{RC}$] [∅$_{CS}$ ʔeɕin
1SG=GEN friend Thimphu stay-REL=DEF friend good

yo]$_{MC}$
EXIST.COP.EGO
'My friend, who lives in Thimphu, is nice'

In (762a), the CA *ʔe Wangzom* 'grandmother Wangzom' functions as the S argument for both RC and MC, and in (762b) the CA *d^{ɦ}ou* 'my friend' is in S function in the RC. In both sentences, the CA is stated in the RC, as shown in bold. Note, however, that it is more common for the CA to be stated in the MC than in the RC. In summary,

an RC can be either a pre-head modifier or a post-head modifier of an NP head, with a clear preference for the former.

14.3.3 The functions of the common argument

This section deals with the allowed functions for CA within the relative clause constructions in Brokpa. Potentially, the CA can be in any syntactic function in the RC as well as in the MC. Some of the possibilities are illustrated in this section.

The CA can be in A function in the RC, but in S function in the MC. In this syntactic function, the CA is stated in the MC, as in:

(763) [∅A názi gya-mí-t^{h}ob-kin]RC [**bomo**=**e**A ŋi p^{h}ama=la
girl herder do-NEG-ABIL-REL daughter=CONTROL 1PL parents=DAT

phen-mí-t^{h}o?]MC
benefit-NEG-?
'The daughter, who cannot do herding, will not benefit us, the parents'

In (763), the CA *bomo* 'girl' is in S function, which has control over the activity, in the MC which is realized by an extended intransitive clause. The RC is a transitive clause, and if the CA were stated in the RC, it would bear ergative case and be in A function.

Brokpa also allows the CA to be in S function in the RC, but in A function in the MC, as in:

(764) [∅S Borangtse=la ʐuk-**k^{h}an**]RC [láma=e]A [Sakteng=gi
lama Borangtse=LOC live.HON-REL lama=ERG Sakteng=GEN

mí purtɕin=la]E [wóŋ=∅]O [náŋ-du?]TPR]MC
person ALL=DAT empowerment=ABS give.HON-DIRECT
'The lama, who lives in Borangtse, has given empowerment to all the people of Sakteng'

In (764), The CA *láma* 'lama' which is stated in the MC is in A function, marked by ergative case. The RC is an extended intransitive clause, and if the CA *láma* were

the constituent of the RC, it would be in S function bearing a zero marking for an absolutive case.

If the CA is a locative NP— a proper noun—, it can be in E function in both the RC and the MC. Example (758b) is repeated in (765) to illustrate this possibility:

(765) ∅E lot^{h}oʔ tɕika ma-dʑuŋ-ŋi [**Merak** luŋbal]E ŋa=e
Merak crop nothing NEG-occur-REL Merak village:LOC 2SG=CONTROL

d^{ɦ}o-mí-t^{h}ob]MC
live-NEG-ABIL
'I cannot live in Merak, where no crops grow'

In (765), the CA is the place-name Merak, stated in the MC; if this were in the RC it would have been in the extended argument function, either marked by the locative case or without it because a place-name is an inherently locational noun in Brokpa. Note that the CA can be in an oblique function in either RC or MC.

The CA can be in O function in the RC and in S function in the MC, as in (766):

(766) [∅O ŋa=e Cherbaling=la t^{h}oŋ-ŋi]RC [[**náziba**=di]S
herder 1SG=ERG Cherbaling=LOC see-REL herder=DEF

diriŋ Merak=la d^{ɦ}ok-t^{h}uʔ]MC
today Merak=LOC arrive-DIRECT
'The herder that I saw in Cherbaling has arrived in Merak today'

Sentence (766) has an RC realized by a transitive clause with a locative NP in peripheral function, and an MC realized by an extended intransitive clause. The CA *názi(ba)* 'herder', stated in the MC, is in S function. The CA as a constituent in the RC would be in O function, which would bear zero-marking for absolutive case.

As noted in §14.3.1, the CA realized by a possessor NP can be relativized, as in:

(767) a. [me = ge ts^{h}ik-pi k^{h}yim = gi]$_{RC}$ [**dʐinda = di**]$_{R}$
fire = INST burn-NOMZ house = GEN owner = DEF

ʂi-du? = se
die-DIRECT.IMPERV = REP
'The owner whose house was burnt by fire has died'

b. [gari bra? = la ga-li = gi]$_{RC}$ [**?am = di**]$_{R}$ ʈ^{h}im
vehicle cliff = LOC go-PERV = GEN lady = DEF punishment

p^{h}o?-du?
hit-DIRECT.IMPERV
'The lady whose car went off the cliff has to bear a penalty'

The possessor NP, which is the CA in S function in the MC, is relativized with the help of the genitive maker *=gi* in both(767a) and (767b).

RC constructions involving copula clauses:

A copula clause can be the RC or the MC within a relative clause construction. The CA can be stated in the copula clause or in the non-copula clause which forms a relative clause construction with the copula clause. Some of the possibilities are explored in the following paragraphs.

The CA can be in CS function in the MC and in O function in the RC. Consider:

(768) [∅$_{O}$ ta? = ge sæ-ti]$_{RC}$ [[ŋe = raŋ = gi **yá?** = di]$_{CS}$
yak tiger = ERG kill-REL 1PL = EMPH = GEN yak = DEF

bom-da = di = raŋ yinda sin]$_{MC}$
big-SUPER = DEF = EMPH COP.MIR ASSERT
'Our yak which the tiger killed was really the biggest one'

Sentence (768) has a copula clause as the MC and a transitive clause as the RC. The CA *ya?* 'yak', stated in the MC, is in CS function in the MC, but will be in O function if it was stated in the RC.

Further, the MC can be a copula clause, and the RC an extended intransitive clause. In this kind of sentence, the CA can be in CS function in the MC, but in E function in the RC, as in:

(769) [ŋe=i d^{ɦ}ou ∅E d^{ɦ}o-si]RC [**k^{h}yim**CS yaŋpo tu?]MC
1SG=GEN friend house live-REL:GEN house spacious EXIST.COP.DIRECT
'The house, where my friend lives, is spacious'

In (769), the MC is realized by a copula clause in which the direct evidential copula *tu?* establishes a relation of Attribution between the CS *k^{h}yim* 'house', which is the CA, and the CC *yaŋpo* 'spacious' which is an adjective. If the CA were to be the constituent of the RC, it would bear dative marking because the clause is an extended intransitive clause.

In contrast to (768) and (769), the RC can be a copula clause and the MC an extended transitive clause. In such a sentence, the CA is in E function in the MC, but in CS function in the RC:

(770) [∅CS yontæn yo-gan]RC [**mi**=la]E [ŋe=raŋ=ba?=k^{h}e]A
person knowledge EXIST.COP-REL person=DAT 1PL=EMPH=ERG

guʑapO gya-go-k^{h}yu-na]MC
respect do-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'We must pay respect to the person, who has knowledge'

In (770), the CA *mí* 'person', stated in the MC, is the Recipient role in E argument function bearing a dative marking. The CA in the RC would be in CS function.

Table 114 gives a summary of the allowed functions for CA in MC and in RC in Brokpa.

Table 114. Functions of the common argument within a relative clause construction

STATEMENT of CA	**RC**	**MC**	**CLAUSE TYPE RC**	**MC**
in MC	A	S	transitive	extended intransitive
in MC	S	A	intransitive	extended transitive
in MC	E	E	extended intransitive	extended intransitive
in MC	O	S	transitive	extended intransitive
in MC	O	CS	transitive	copula clause
in MC	E	CS	extended intransitive	copula clause
in MC	CS	E	copula clause	extended transitive

Note that CC does not appear in Table 114. It appears that Brokpa does not allow the CC to be the CA in a relative clause construction. This deserves further study.

14.3.4 Condensed relative clauses

Condensed or fused relatives, sometimes referred to as 'headless relatives', in Brokpa are formed by using the content question words. In other words, a content question word functions as a pro-CA within an RC construction. In an RC construction, the content question word may be followed by the emphatic enclitic *=raŋ*. Further, the verb functioning as the predicate of the RC is typically followed by the concessive suffix *-ne* which may further be followed by the emphatic enclitic *=ye*.

It is possible for all content question words that have indefinite functions (see §14.2.4.6) to form condensed relative clauses. I will consider a few of the content question words, with an indefinite sense, here. An example of a condensed relative clause with a content question word *su* 'who' is given in (771):

(771) Jomokora=la ɖo-gan **su**=raŋ yin-**ne**
Jomokora=DAT go-REL who=EMPH COP.EGO-CNSV

ɲa+pʰaʔ+goŋ+sum za-du-mena
fish+pork+egg+three eat-IMPERV-NEG.EXIST.FACT
'Whoever goes on the Jomokora (pilgrimage) is not allowed to eat the three—fish, pork, and egg[10]'

The lexical question *su* is the CA in sentence (771), and it has a meaning of 'whoever' with a general indefinite meaning, further accentuated by the emphatic marker on it and the concessive marker on the copula *yin*.

An example of condensed relative marked by *tɕi* 'what' can be found in (772):

[10] These three food items form a compound, including the number word 'three', following the typical style of enumeration in Classical Tibetan (recall Chapter 7). All four lexemes are produced without any pause in between them.

(772) Geshe=e **tɕi**=raŋ suŋ-**ne** tɕʰaʑoʔ-go-yi-na
Geshe=ERG what=EMPH say.HON-CNSV believe-OBLIG-IMPERV-FACT
'Whatever Geshe says, we have to believe'

In the same manner, the content question word *tsan* 'when' can also have a condensed relative function, as in (773):

(773) kʰyo **tsan** go-**ne** ŋa=la lop ʔa
2SG when need-CNSV 1SG=DAT tell.IMP POLAR
'You tell me whenever you need to, okay?'

The content question word *gate* 'where' also marks condensed relative clause, as in (774):

(774) kʰyo nǽkor **gate** ɖo-**ne** ŋa=ye ɖo-gyu
2SG pilgrimage where go-CNSV 1SG=EMPH go-FUT.IMPERV
'Wherever you go on a prilgrimage I will also go'

The content question word *gate* 'where', shown in bold, is the sole statement of CA in (774), as is the case with all other question words that have an indefinite meaning. Although the content question word in an RC construction may be followed by the emphatic *=raŋ*, it is not obligatory as indicated by examples (773) and (774). On the other hand, it appears that a condensed relative clause marked by a content question word must have the concessive suffix on its predicate, as shown in bold, in all the examples above.

Regarding the diachronic development of relative clause construction in Brokpa, as pointed out above, the same verbal form is used to mark nominalization and relativization. One can surmise that relative clause construction in Brokpa may have evolved from nominalization. What may be simply a nominalized verb modifying the head of an NP may have become expanded, including arguments, so that it becomes a full modifying clause. This position, the direction of development or semantic extension from nominalization to relativization, is in agreement with most scholars working

on Tibeto-Burman languages (see DeLancey 2002; Noonan 1997, 2011; Genetti et al. 2008, among others). There are arguments for development of semantic extension in the opposite direction, that is from relativization to nominalization (see, for example, LaPolla (1994). An additional alternative would be to posit a polysemy in the proto-language, given that the direction of development is hard to prove. See also Watters (2002) on Kham, and Post (2007) on Galo.

14.4 Clauses within clauses: complement clauses

A complement clause can fill a core argument slot, as an alternative to an NP, along the lines of Dixon (2021:37). Brokpa employs nominalization to form complement clauses. As discussed in §14.3, relative clauses are also based on nominalization. Note that, as pointed out in §14.3, there is a difference between complement clause and relative clause. In a sentence with a nominalized complement clause, there is no CA. A nominalized clause itself functions as an NP in an argument function, while a relative clause functions as a modifier within an NP. The difference between these two types of embedded dependent clauses can be stated by reproducing one example of RC from §14.3 and an example of a nominalized complement clause from Chapter 8. Thus compare:

(775) a. [ɖukpe=i lú kʰen-**kʰan**=baʔ=kʰe]COCL:S
Bhutanese=GEN song know:HON-NOMZ:AGTV:COCLM=PL=CONTROL

ʔotɕins náŋ-tʰoŋ se ʑu-yo
like.this do:HON-send:IMP QUOT say:HON-EGO
'I request those who know Bhutanese songs to sing like this'
Lit. 'Those who are knower of Bhutanese songs can sing like this'

b. [∅S Boraŋtse=la ʑuk-**kʰan**]RC [[lama=e]A Sakteng=gi
lama Borangtse=LOC live.HON-REL lama=ERG Sakteng=GEN

mí purtɕin=la wóŋ náŋ-duʔ]MC
person ALL=DAT empowerment give.HON-DIRECT
'The lama, who lives in Borangtse, has given empowerment to all the people of Sakteng'

Example (775a) is a polite command expressed as a request, and (775b) an RC construction. The complement clause in (775a) and the relative clause in (775b) are both marked by the same morpheme *-kʰan*.

However, in (775a), the clause marked by the suffix *-kʰan* functions as the NP in S function of the main clause, and directly takes the plural marker *=ba?* followed by ergative allomorph *=kʰe*. In other words, the entire nominalized clause functions as the core argument of another clause. Note, however, that a nominalized clause will have fewer grammatical possibilities and categories than a prototypical noun. For example, a nominalized clause cannot take augmentative or diminutive marking.

In contrast, in (775b), the clause marked by the same suffix *-kʰan* does not take ergative marking, but only functions as the syntactic modifier of the CA *láma* 'lama'. Only the CA *láma*, modified by the RC, functions as a core argument in A function in the MC, and in S function in the RC. In summary, (775a) is a nominalized complement clause akin to a noun, and (775b) a relative clause akin to an adjective.

The nominalized complement clauses in Brokpa can be in any syntactic function, core or peripheral, and they can be in CS or CC function (see §8.2). This probably is due to the fact that Brokpa has different types of nominalization including agentive, instrumental, manner, activity, and grammatical/clausal nominalizer. As shown in §8.2, the grammatical nominalizer also functions as object nominalizer. Note, however, that complement clauses fulfilling O function is very frequent, especially with complement-taking verbs such as *ɕe* 'know', *tʰoŋ* 'see', and *go* 'hear'.

While nominalized clauses function as complement clauses, per se, it is not necessary for every complement clause to be nominalized in Brokpa. The nominalized clauses or relative clauses, as noted above, cannot have separate evidentiality and egophoricity specifications, independent of main clauses. Brokpa also has complement clauses which are marked by special complementizers - the topic of the next section. The complement-taking verbs in Brokpa and the semantic types of complement clauses they take are discussed in §14.4.2.

14.4.1 The marking of complement clauses

Brokpa makes use of three morphemes to mark complement clause. One is the quotative marker *=se*, and the other two are nominalized verbs of Speaking of the Talk subtype, *lap-pʰi* (say-NOMZ) and *se-ti* (say-NOMZ).[11] These nominalized verbs may be followed by the grammatical elements associated with nominals such as number and definiteness. Note that the quotative marker *=se* is from the verb *se* 'to speak'; it still functions as a lexical verb and takes markers associated with verbs such as the nominalizing allomorph *-ti*. As a verb, *se* is stressed. But, as an enclitic marking direct quotation, reported evidentiality, and complement clause, *=se* does not bear stress. The verb *se* is synonymous with the Speaking verb *lap*. Further note that the enclitic *=se* is a polyfunctional morpheme. It is used to mark direct quotation and it also functions as a reported evidentiality marker (see Chapter 13). A complement clause in Brokpa typically occurs in O or S syntactic functions.

An example of the enclitic *=se* marking complement clauses can be found in:

(776) [ŋa ɲén+gya-mi-na=**se**]COCL:O kʰoŋ=ge hago-du?
1SG marriage+do-PERV-FACT=COCLM 3PL=ERG undrstand=DIRECT
'They understood [that I will be marrying]'

The complement clause in (776) has an internal structure of an intransitive clause, but the entire clause marked by the enclitic *=se* is in O syntactic function. Note that, in (776), *=se* does not mark a direct quotation or reported evidentiality.

The nominalized Speaking verb *lap-pʰi* can follow a clause that can be a main clause on its own, and function as a complementizer, as in (777):

[11] The nominalized verb *se-ti* is sometimes pronounced ['se.de], always as a single unit. Both *se-ti* and *lap-pʰi* may be in a process of grammaticalization towards becoming dedicated complementizers.

(777) [Tsemo.Gonba=la ʔun=la gonba=ʑiʔ yona
Tsemo Gonba before=LOC temple=INDEF COP.FACT

lap-p^{h}i=di]COCL:O suka=e má-t^{h}o-p^{h}a
say-NOMZ=DEF:COCLM nobody=ERG NEG-hear-MIR
'Nobody heard [that there was a temple at Tsemo Gonba in the past]'

The complement clause in (776) is realized by a copula clause with the copula predicate *yona*, and the nominalized verb *lap-p^{h}i* does not have a predicate function in it but marks it as a complement clause. It is extremely common to find the nominalized verb *lap-p^{h}i* in oral narratives in a non-predicate function, that is as a complementizer. The forms of the verb 'to say' in Tibeto-Burman languages are said to have several grammaticalized functions including as complementizer (see Saxena 1988).

Sometimes, the enclitic *=se* and the nominalized verb *lap-p^{h}i* may co-occur, as in (778):

(778) [ŋa=la mwoi yona=**se** **lap-p^{h}i**=di]COCL:O te
1SG=DAT wife COP.FACT=COCLM say-NOMZ=DEF PART

tam=di k^{h}oŋ=gi t^{h}ö=næ...
talk=DEF:COCLM 3PL=ERG hear=SEQ...
'They heard [that I was married]'

The enclitic *=se* in (778) can be omitted and the nominalized speaking verb *lap-p^{h}i* can effectively function as the complementizer. However, it is more common to find these two complement clause markers together in the discourse than either of them separately. It appears that when they co-occur, the enclitic *=se* marks reported evidentiality and the nominalized verb form *lap-p^{h}i* functions as the grammaticalized marker of complement clause. The exact conditions for the choice of these two complementizers require further study.

Akin to *lap-p^{h}i*, the nominalized verb *se-ti* effectively functions as a complementizer, as in:

(779) [zo = læ yá? ɖa? **se-ti** = di]COCL:O mi
hybrid.yak = ABL yak be.better say-NOMZ = DEF:COCLM person

gaŋyu = ge ɕe-gyu-na
everyone = ERG know-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'All people know [that yaks are better than hybrid yaks]'

In (779), the complement clause is a comparative construction. The entire clause functions as the O argument of the complement-taking verb *ɕe* 'to know'.

As a complementizer, both *lap-p^{h}i* and *se-ti* can occur immediately following an NP, as in:

(780) a. [d^{ɦ}o-sa soso **lap-p^{h}i**]NP:CS ɖati mena
sit-NOMZ:LOCTV different say-NOMZ:COCLM completely NEG.COP.FACT
'There were no separate sitting places (classrooms)'
Lit. 'Separate sitting places were completely not there'

b. [Dorje **se-ti**]NP:CS mí yakpo min
Dorje say-NOMZ person good NEG.COP.EGO
'Dorji is not a good person'

The nominalized verb *lap-p^{h}i* is used immediately after the NP *d^{ɦ}o-sa* 'sitting place' in CS function, and *se-ti* immediately after a person name, also in CS function. Alternatively, one could consider the complementizer *se-ti* (and also *lap-p^{h}i*) to be functioning like the English expression 'so-called'. Since both *se-ti* and *lap-p^{h}i* in Brokpa transparently involves a verb root and nominalizer, I have here preferred to analyze it as a complementizer.

14.4.2 Complement-taking verbs

Brokpa does not make any formal distinction between the types of complement clauses such as Activity, Fact, or Potential complement clauses in terms of markers. All the morphemes, functioning as complementizers, can be used interchangeably and may

potentially occur with all complement clause types. However, it is possible to classify both complement clauses and complement-taking verbs on the basis of semantics. It will be beyond the scope of this section to examine the association between complement-taking verbs of all semantic types and all complement clauses. Only a few complement-taking verbs are considered here.

Complement-taking verbs of the Attention subtype take Activity complement clause, as in:

(781) [ʔanem=baʔ tsʰom ʈü+dʱæ-ti]COCL:O tʰoŋ-ŋai
nun=PL spinach wash+stay-NOMZ:COCLM see-PERV
'(People) saw [nuns washing spinach]'

The complement clause, realized by a nominalized clause, in (781) is an Activity complement clause, as can be discerned from its meaning 'nuns washing spinach'; and the verb involved is 'see' verb of the Attention semantic type.

Further, the verbs of the Thinking semantic type typically take Fact or Activity complement clause. This can be illustrated with the Thinking verb *ɕe* 'know'. Consider:

(782) [ŋe=i ʔapa=e dʑa=læ=ta tɕʰaŋ
1SG=GEN father=ERG tea=ABL=FOC alcohol

dam-gyu-na=se]COCL:O ŋa=e **ɕe**-soŋ
select-FUT.IMPERV-FACT=COCLM 1SG=ERG know-PERV.FACT.DIRECT
'I know [(that) my father will choose alcohol over tea]O'

In (782), the complement clause in O function, marked by the enclitic *=se*, is a Fact complement clause. The speaker knows it as a fact, which is also indicated by the use the factual evidentiality marker *-na* on the predicate of the complement clause preceding the complementizer *=se*.

The same Fact complement clause in O function in (782), with a slight modification and cross-checked with the same native speaker who uttered that, becomes an Activity complement clause:

(783) [ŋe=i ʔapa=e tɕʰaŋ tʰuŋ-gyu-na=se]COCL:O
1SG=GEN father=ERG alcohol drink-FUT.IMPERV-FACT=COCLM

ŋa=e **ɕe**-soŋ
1SG=ERG know-PERV.FACT.DIRECT
'I know [(that) my father will drink alcohol]O'

The complement-taking verb *ɕe* 'to know' takes Activity complement clause 'My father will drink alcohol'. The fact that the Thinking verb *ɕe* takes Fact complement clauses can also be found in (779), wherein the comparative construction in O function 'Yaks are better than hybrid yaks' is a fact which every Brokpa person knows.

Liking verbs typically take Activity, but may also allow Potential complement clause as in (784):

(784) [ɖuk=la sayom ɕuk=ʑiʔ yoŋ-gyu-na=se
Bhutan=LOC earthquake severe=INDEF come-FUT.IMPERV-FACT=COCLM

lap-pʰi=di]COCL:O ŋa=e mi-ga-ɦa
say-NOMZ:COCLM=DEF 1SG=ERG NEG-like-MIR
'I don't like [that a severe earthquake will hit Bhutan]'

The Liking verb *ga* takes a Potential complement clause 'that a severe earthquake will hit Bhutan' in O function, marked by both the enclitic *=se* and the nominalized verb *lap-pʰi*. Additional types of complement clauses with potential meaning require further investigation.

The verb *hago* 'to understand' generally takes Potential complement clauses. In (776), the potential complement clause in O function 'I will be marrying' is the complement, but it can also take Fact complement clause, as in:

(785) [kʰyo lópon yin=se] ŋa=e hago-soŋ
2SG teacher COP.EGO=COCLM 1SG=ERG understand-PERV.DIRECT
'I understood [that you are a teacher]'

Copulas in Brokpa allow Fact or Activity complement clauses. Examples can be found in (786a) and (786b), respectively:

(786) a. [luʔ tam-gan = di]COCL:CS [ʔou tɕʰuŋ-da]CC na
sheep see-NOMZ:AGTV.COCLM = DEF son small-SUPER COP.FACT
'[The one who looks after the sheep]CS is the youngest son'

b. [ʔapʰi dʑoː = di]CS [kaŋ.tsʰoŋ gya-gan]COCL:CC na
DEM Tibetan = DEF foot.business do-NOMZ:AGTV:COCLM COP.FACT
'That Tibetan is [one who does 'on-foot business']CC'

In (786a), the complement clause in CS function, marked by *-gan*, is an Activity complement clause, the activity of 'looking after the sheep'. On the other hand, the complement clause in CC function in (786b), also marked by the suffix *-gan*, is a Fact complement clause. It refers to a Tibetan travelling salesman who comes to the village to sell things by going from door to door. The speaker therefore uses the factual evidentiality copula *na* expressing what everybody knows, that is, common knowledge.

Table 115 gives the semantic types of complement-taking verbs and the semantic types of complement clauses they take in Brokpa, which are in agreement with the classification of complement-taking verbs according to Dixon (2010b:395-405) in a cross-linguistic perspective.

Table 115. Complement-taking verbs in Brokpa

SEMANTIC TYPE	EXAMPLE VERB	COMPLEMENT CLAUSE TYPE
Attention	*tʰoŋ* 'to see'	Activity
Thinking	*ɕe* 'to know', *hago* 'to understand'	Fact, Activity, Potential
Liking	*ga* 'to like'	Activity, Potential
Speaking	*poŋpoŋ* + *gya* (talk + do) 'talk'	Fact

Note that the number of complement-taking verbs given in Table 115 is far from being exhaustive in Brokpa.

14.5 Constituent order

Constituent order in Brokpa is prototypically predicate-final in main clauses, and strictly predicate-final in dependent clauses. The order of constituents in transitive and intransitive clauses can be represented as: A-O-TPR and S-IPR, where TPR stands for 'transitive predicate' and IPR 'intransitive predicate'.

Examples of predicate-final constituent order in the main clauses for both transitive and intransitive clauses can be found throughout this grammar, especially under 'argument marking' in Chapter 11. A representative example of the A-O-TPR constituent order in a transitive clause is in (787):

(787) [ŋa = e]A debe ʔuntɕin [petam = ∅]O [ʑui-pʰi]TPR
1SG = ERG that.time before saying = ABS say.HON-PERV
'I mentioned a saying that time'

Example (787) is the prototypical order of phrasal constituents in a transitive clause in Brokpa: the transitive subject *ŋa* '1SG', marked by ergative case, precedes the transitive O argument *petam* 'saying', which has a zero-marking (absolutive case), and then comes the transitive predicate *ʑui-pʰi* (say.HON-PERV) 'mentioned/said' in the clause-final position.

A representative example of the S-IPR constituent order in an intransitive clause is in (788):

(788) [ʑiŋ = gi naŋ = næ]PERI [tɕʰu = ∅]S [tʰæ-duʔ]IPR
farmland = GEN RELAT:INSD = ABL water = ABS appear-DIRECT
'A water (source) has emerged on the farmland'

The clause in (788) consists of a core argument *tɕʰu* 'water (source)' in S function, with a zero absolutive marking, a locative NP in peripheral argument, and the intransitive predicate realized by the verb phrase *tʰæ-duʔ* (appear-direct) 'has emerged/come out'. The intransitive predicate is in the clause-final position, following the S argument.

However, as noted in Chapter 11, since Brokpa primarily[12] uses case inflections to mark core and peripheral nominal arguments, the basis of identifying the grammatical relations of 'who does what to whom', the order of phrasal constituents in the main clauses is not very rigid. Any constituent order is possible within a main clause. This can be illustrated using an elicited sentence in (789):

(789) [kyi=ye]A [lu?=∅]O [zæ-soŋ]TPR
dog=ERG sheep=ABS eat-PERV.DIRECT
'The dog ate the sheep'

Example (789) adheres to the preferred constituent order of the main clauses in Brokpa: the A argument comes first, followed by the O argument, and then the predicate in the clause (A-O-TPR). However, it is acceptable if the A argument is placed in between the O argument and the predicate, as in:

(790) [lu?=∅]O [kyi=ye]ERG [zæ-soŋ]TPR
sheep dog=ERG eat-PERV.DIRECT
'The dog ate the sheep'

In (790), only the order of nominal core arguments, A and O, changes, but the predicate still remains in the clause-final position. However, the predicate can also be placed in between O and A, as in (791a), or at the beginning of the clause, as in (791b):

(791) a. [lu?=∅]O [zæ+ʐa?+taŋ-du?]TPR [kyi=ye]A
sheep=ABS eat+keep+do-DIRECT dog=ERG
'The dog ate the sheep'

b. [zæ+ʐa?+taŋ-du?]TPR kyi=ye]A [lu?=∅]O
eat+keep+do-DIRECT dog=ERG sheep=ABS
'The dog ate the sheep'

[12] Recall from Chapter 11 that if the core arguments, particularly the A argument, within a clause are unmarked, Brokpa uses constituent order to identify 'who does what to whom'.

l cross-checked sentences (790), (791a), and (791b), collected by participant observation, with my consultants and all were acceptable to them. It appears that if the A argument bears an ergative marking, it is easy to identity grammatical relations of who does what to whom, irrespective of the positions of the arguments within it.

However, a closer examination shows that only the semantics of the surface structure remain the same. A rearrangement of the order of phrasal constituents within a clause may have pragmatic consequences. For example, in (790) where the A argument is placed after the O argument, but before the predicate, the sentence would have a pragmatic effect something like 'the sheep was eaten by a dog (and not by a tiger, for example)'.

In contrast, in (791a), where the O is still the first constituent from the left, but the predicate is placed immediately after the O argument and before the A argument, it would have a pragmatic import of something like 'What was eaten by the dog was a sheep (and not a cow, for example).

Further, in (791b), where the predicate is placed in the clause-initial position, the sentence carries a pragmatic sense to the effect 'the eating of the sheep by the dog really did take place'. In other words, the focus is on the predicate and not on the core arguments.

In a nutshell, the order of constituents within a clause may have pragmatic dimensions such as topicality and contrastive focus. If pragmatic aspects do not come into play, the order of constituents within a transitive clause is predominantly A-O-TPR, and within an intransitive predominantly S-IPR. This is very much a Tibeto-Burman feature (see, among others, Dryer 2008). In summary, constituent order in Brokpa can be determined syntactically or pragmatically, although in most cases it is the former.

Note, however, that constituent order in dependent clauses is strictly predicate-final. This applies to all types of dependent clauses, irrespective of whether a dependent clause is a conditional clause (§15.2.1.3), medial clause in a clause-chaining

construction (see §15.2.1.1), relative clause (§14.3), or complement clause (§14.4). I will illustrate with a medial clause involving sequential activities in a clause chain. Compare:

(792) a. [ʔama=baʔ=k^{h}e]A [tan=∅]O [tin=**næ**]TPR [tɕ^{h}aŋ=∅]O
woman=PL=ERG mat=ABS lay=SEQ alcohol=ABS

[zon=**næ**]TPR....
place=SEQ...
'Womenfolk lay mats, and place drinks (in front of them),...'

b. *[ʔama=baʔ=k^{h}e]A [tin=næ]TPR [tan=∅]O [tɕ^{h}aŋ=∅]O [zon=næ]TPR
woman=PL=ERG lay=SEQ mat=ABS alcohol=ABS place=SEQ

c. *[tin=næ]tpr [ʔama=baʔ=k^{h}e]A [tan=∅]o [tɕ^{h}aŋ=∅] [zon=næ]tpr
lay=SEQ woman=PL=ERG mat alcohol=ABS place=SEQ

Example (792a) consists of two medial clauses, both marked by the sequential marker *=næ*. The two medial clauses share the A argument stated in the first clause from the left. The order of constituents within this medial clause is A-O-TPR. In a clause chain, whether a medial clause is linked to the main clause or to another medial clause, the order has to be strictly like this (A-O-TPR).

Leaving the order of constituents in the second medial clause, as is, let's manipulate the first medial clause. It proves unacceptable if the order of A, O, and TPR of the first clause is rearranged in any way. Both (792b), in which the predicate is placed in between A and O, and (792c), in which the predicate is at the beginning of the medial clause, are odd and unacceptable. This applies to all types of dependent clauses.

Peripheral arguments or obliques tend to be placed clause-initially if the clause is intransitive, as in (788). If the clause is transitive, peripheral argument is typically placed after A and before O, but the predicate is typically clause-final (see §11.2). The constituent order in interrogative (see §14.2.4) and imperative clauses (see §14.2.2) is the same as in declarative clauses, that is typically predicate-final but may change due to pragmatic motivations.

Furthermore, constituent order within a copula clause is strictly predicate-final akin to a dependent clause. Typically, CS is the left-most NP, followed by CC, and then CPR (copula predicate). Constituent order of a copula clause can be represented as: CS-CC-CPR.

Both CS and CC always precede the CPR, with almost always CC immediately preceding CPR (see §s14.1.2 for examples). Unlike the constituent order of a main clause in which the constituents, including the predicate, have some freedom of movement within the clause, it is not possible for CS, CC, and CPR to change their slots within a copula clause. While it may be possible to change the position of CS and CC for pragmatic reasons, it is extremely rare for the CPR to occur either at the beginning or in the middle between CS and CC within a copula clause. This kind of rigid constituent order in a copula clause, especially CC immediately preceding CPR, has been reported for other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Dolakha Newar (Genetti 2007:275).

14.6 Negation

Brokpa has dedicated markers of negative polarity: *ma-* and *mi-*. The negation prefix **ma-* is reconstructed to the proto-Tibeto-Burman family (see, among others, Matisoff 2003:121). In Brokpa, *ma-* is used in perfective aspect, and *mi-* in imperfective aspect in declarative clauses. Interestingly, most Bodish languages distinguish two forms of negation prefixes, *ma-* vs *mi-*, like in Brokpa. For example, Kurtöp (Hyslop 2017) is reported as having two negation prefixes. Dzongkha also has two negation markers, *ma-* and *mi-*, as does Classical Tibetan, where distribution depends on the tense/aspect value of the verb.

Negation of verbal predicates in Brokpa is discussed in §14.6.1. Imperative clauses can be negated only by using the negator *ma-* and not *mi-* (negative imperative or prohibitive clauses were discussed in §14.2.2.3). The same method of negation,

as applied in declaratives, applies to interrogative clauses; §14.6.2 briefly discusses negating interrogative clauses. Dependent clauses are typically negated by the negator *ma-*. The negator *mi-* does not occur in most types of dependent clauses, save nominalized dependent clauses. If a dependent clause is nominalized, then it takes the negator *mi-* and not *ma-*. Negating dependent clauses is discussed in §14.6.3. Brokpa has some kind of double marking of negation, discussed in §14.6.4.

Brokpa makes no distinction between negating a main clause and a clausal constituent; that is, a negation with a scope just over a predicate is negated in the same way as negation of an entire clause, by employing the negator *ma-* in perfective and *mi-* in imperfective aspect. Brokpa has negative copulas to achieve negative copula constructions, discussed under 'copula clauses' in §14.1.2. The same negative copulas are employed for negating NPs within a dependent clause or a main clause involving verbal predicates (NP negation was discussed in §10.3).

Also recall from Chapter 3 that Brokpa exhibits a 'pitch assimilation' across the boundary between the negation marker and the host word (see Chapter 2). To recapitulate, a low-register (voiced or breathy-voiced) verb stem takes the negator *ma-*, with a low pitch, as in (793a) and (793c). In contrast, a high-register (unaspirated voiceless or aspirated voiceless) verb stem takes *má-*, with a high pitch, as in (793b), as a result of 'pitch assimilation'. The same rule of pitch assimilation applies to the imperfective negator *mi-*.

Only the perfective aspect marker may occur within a negated predicate. Imperfective aspect markers are seldom found within a negated predicate.

Finally, note that Brokpa uses negative copulas, as is or the nominalized forms, for creating negating lexemes. The negative copulas are used as grammatical suffixes for deriving negative lexemes, typically adjectives from nouns (see Chapter 5).

14.6.1 Negation of verbal predicates

The negator *ma-* is used to negate verbal predicates of declarative clauses in perfective aspect. Verbs change form according to aspect; perfective verb forms almost always take the negation prefix *ma-*, and imperfective forms the negator *mi-*. If a verb has just a single form for both perfective and imperfective aspect, its aspectual value can be discerned from the negator it takes.

Examples of the negator *ma-* in simple verbal predicates of declarative clauses include:

(793) a. wái ʔot ŋi=ta **ma**-bo
VOC DEM.PROX 1PL=FOC NEG-call
'Hey, they did not invite us'

b. bomo=ge=ye den da ɖik=se lap-gin=di **má**-tʰoŋ
girl=ERG=EMPH PART PART okay=QUOT say-NOMZ:AGTV NEG-see
'I have not seen a girl saying 'okay''

c. ʔoti=ge **mɑ**-dʱaŋ-pʰi=di den pʰetɕʰoʔ=ki
DEM.PROX=INST NEG-be.sufficient-PERV=DEF PART that.side=GEN

ʔani
aunt

ʔadʑaŋ=ge ton tɕʰaŋ **ma**-dʱaŋ-pʰi=di
uncle=ERG take.out alcohol NEG-be.sufficient-PERV=DEF
'When that is not sufficient, parents-in-law on that side will provide sufficient alcohol'

In negative clauses, the predicate can be without the perfective aspect marker, as in (793a) and (793b), or it can take the overt aspect marker as in (793c).

Examples of the negator *mi-* in simple verbal predicates in declarative clauses include:

(794) a. bomo=di pʰa=te lon **mi**-ɖo
girl=DEF thither=ALL again NEG-go
'The girl (bride) will not return'

b. mí + ʑi = di **mi**-dʱaŋ-pʰa
person + base = DEF NEG-be.sufficient-MIR
'We will be running short of people (family members)'
Lit. 'People base will not be enough'

c. ŋi **mí**-kʰom-ma-na-to
1PL NEG-be.free-MIR-FACT-FINAL
'We will not be having free time'

Just like the negator *ma-*, the negator *mi-* can also occur with a verb stem alone without the overt aspect marker, as in (794a), because the aspect is fused with the negation marker. But, unlike the negator *ma-* which sometimes occurs in the predicate of a clause containing an overt perfective marker, the clause negated by *mi-* is not found with the imperfective marker *-gi* or *-gyu*. However, the predicate negated by *mi-* may be followed by the markers of knowledge such as the mirative marker and the marker of factual evidentiality, as in (794b) and (794c).

The negation maker is phonologically dependent on the host verb it attaches to, and is realized as a prefix if a verbal predicate consists of a simple verb stem. This is in line with the universal tendency to place a main clause negator before the verb, often immediately before it (see Dixon 2012:103). However, in Brokpa, this applies only if the predicate is a simple verb stem with one lexical verb root. If a verbal predicate involves a complex verb stem, such as noun incorporation or serial verb construction, or a complex predicate involving modality markers, there is a degree of freedom regarding the positioning of the negation marker within a predicate.

The negators *ma-* and *mi-* can be placed between the two components of a complex verb stem, formed by a serial verb construction, as in:

(795) a. raŋ = ge = ge po: pheakpa = tɕi?
SELF = ERG = ERG lightly.slapping NUMCL:ELG = INDEF

taŋ-**ma**-ɲoŋ-ŋai
do-NEG-experience-PERV
'I have not given you a little slap'

b. ŋa=e lú gya-**mi**-ɕe
1SG=ERG song do-NEG-know
'I cannot sing (songs)'

In (795a), negation is marked by placing *-ma-* between the two verb roots, *taŋ* 'to do' and *ɲoŋ* 'to experience', forming a complex predicate in perfective aspect. Similarly, in (795b), negation is shown by placing *-mi-* between the two verb roots *gya* 'to do' and *ɕe* 'to know', forming a complex predicate in imperfective aspect.

In the same vein, the negators *ma-* and *mi-* can occur between the nominal and the verbal component of a complex verb stem formed by a noun incorporation or lexical compounding, as in (796a) and (796b) respectively:

(796) a. kʰyo sem-**má**-ɕi ʔa
2SG mind-NEG-die.IMP TAG
'You don't be disheartened, okay'

b. ŋa=e kʰoŋ ɲí kʰebar-**mí**-tɕʰe
1SG=ERG 3PL two difference-NEG-separate
'I will not distinguish between the two of them'

If a predicate consists of a verb stem plus a modal auxiliary, the negation marker is placed between the verb stem and the modal auxiliary, as in:

(797) a. lúba=daŋ garpatoŋsum=di lo ta-**ma**-go-pʰi-na
singer=CONJ Wedding.Master=DEF age see-NEG-OBLIG-PERV-FACT
'We do not have to ascertain the age (suitability) of the singers and the Wedding Master'

b. ŋa=i pʰrugu=di babur+gya-**mí**-tʰob-ba
1SG=GEN child=DEF crawling+do-NEG-ABIL-MIR
'My child cannot crawl'

The negator can be placed after the verb stem involving a single lexical verb root, as in (797a), or after a verb stem consisting of two verb roots, as in (797b). Irrespective of the number of components within a complex verb stem, the negator is always placed after the verb stem and before the modality markers, if a complex

predicate contains modal auxiliaries within it. Note, however, that a clausal negation applies only once within a predicate.

14.6.2 Negating interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses are negated in the same way as declarative clauses. That is, the negator *ma-* is used in perfective aspect and *mi-* in imperfective aspect. Consider:

(798) kʰyo dʱaŋ breŋ=la tɕi+gyab=næ **má**-tɕʰi
2SG yesterday herder.hut=ALL what+do=ABL NEG-go

saŋ=ye **mi**-ɖo-ma ʔe
tomorrow=EMPH NEG-go-MIR Q
'Why didn't you go to the herder's hut yesterday? Will you also not go (there) tomorrow?'

Example (798) contains a juxtaposition of two negative interrogative clauses. Interestingly, the predicate of the first clause is realized by the perfective form of the verb 'to go' (*tɕʰi*), and therefore takes the negator *ma-*. In contrast, the predicate of the second clause has the imperfective form of the same 'to go' (*ɖo*) , and therefore takes the negator *mi-*. This example alone proves conclusively that the same method of negation applies to interrogative clauses as to declarative clauses in Brokpa.

14.6.3 Negating dependent clauses

All dependent or subordinate clauses in Brokpa can be negated. Some dependent clauses (relative clauses, complement clauses) can be negated just like a main clause employing the negator *ma-* or *mi-*, while others (conditional clauses, medial clauses) are negated differently by employing only the negator *ma-*, like an imperative clause.

First consider the conditional clauses. A conditional clause can be negated only by using the negator *ma-*. The negator *mi-* does not appear in condition clauses. Consider:

(799) a. kʰoŋ=ta te muzi láp-na **ma**-lap-na=ye....
3PL=FOC PART other:ERG say-COND NEG-say-COND=EMPH
'Them, whether they tell them or not....'

b. ŋi ʔo=la tab-**ma**-de-na=ye...
1PL DEM.PROX=LOC situation-NEG-be.convenient-COND=EMPH
'Even if it is not convenient for us here.....'

Example (799a) and (799b) are conditional clauses with the predicate taking conditional suffix *-na*. It is not possible for the negator *ma-* to be replaced by *mi-* in the conditional clause (799a) with a cleft-focus construction with a simple verbal predicate, and in the conditional clause (799b) which has a complex verbal predicate (§15.2.1.3). Both **__mi__-lap-na=ye* and **tab-__mi__-de-na=ye* are not attested in Brokpa.

In the same vein, medial clauses in a clause chaining construction can be negated only by the negator *ma-*, as in:

(800) a. ..kʰyim naŋ=la dʱo-**ma**-ɲæn=næ tɕʰiɕuŋ pʰa=la
house RELAT:INSD=LOC stay-NEG-listen=SEQ outside thither=ALL

tʰæ=næ...
come.out=SEQ...
'(The girl) refuses to stay at home, and goes outside....'

b. ʔou=di den naŋ=la yoŋ-**ma**-ɲæn=næ...
boy=DEF PART RELAT:INSD=LOC come-NEG-listen=SEQ...
'The boy refuses to come in, and...'

Example (800a) and (800b) are medial clauses with the predicates taking the sequential marker *=næ*. Negation in the predicate of a medial clause cannot be achieved by the negator *mi-* but only by *ma-*: **dʱo-__mi__-ɲæn=næ*, **yoŋ-__mi__-ɲæn=næ*

On the other hand, relative clauses can be negated by either the negator *ma-* or *mi-*. An example of a relative clause negated by *ma-* can be found in example (765), and that negated by *mi-* is in example (763) in §14.3.3. It appears that the a relative clause based on the grammatical nominalizer *-pi* (or by one of its allomorphs) take the negator *ma-*, and a relative clause formed by a lexical nominalizer such as *-gan* ~ *-gin*

takes the negator *mi-*. Since complement clauses are also based on nominalization, just like relative clauses, the same method of negation applies to complement clauses as to relative clauses.

14.6.4 Double marking of negation

There are two ways of including double negation within a sentence in Brokpa: using double negation markers on a single predicate, and using a negated dependent clause and a negated main clause.

As noted in §12.3, Brokpa has a morpheme *man-*, which I described as 'emphatic negative intensifier'. This emphatic negative intensifier may be added before a plain negator to make the negation stronger. The emphatic negative intensifier can be added before the negator *ma-*, as in:

(801) a. ʔo **man-ma**-zæ-pʰi
DEM.PROX EMPH.NEG-NEG-eat-PERV
'(I) really did not eat that/never ate this'

b. kʰyo tɕʰaŋ **man-ma**-tʰuŋ datɕin
2SG alcohol EMPH.NEG-NEG-drink.IMP now
'You really don't drink alcohol now'

In (801a), the emphatic negative intensifier *man-* is added to the plain negator *ma-* in a declarative clause in perfective aspect and in (801b) in an imperative clause. This double marking of negation within the same clause creates a strong negative meaning.

In the same vein, the emphatic negative intensifier *man-* can be added before the plain negator *mi-*, as in:

(802) a. ŋi=baʔ tsem-**man-mi**-tsa
1PL=PL game-EMPH.NEG-NEG-play
'We will really not play/never play'

b. ŋa mo ɲámbu **man-mi**-dʱo da
1SG 3SG.FEM with EMPH.NEG-NEG-stay PART
'Now I am not really going to live with her'

The emphatic negative intensifier *man-* is added to the ordinary negator *mi-* in a declarative clause in perfective aspect in both (802a) and (802b). Like in perfective aspect and in imperative mood, the addition of *man-* to *mi-* in a declarative clause in imperfective aspect has a greater negative force than single marking by the ordinary negative prefix *mi-*.

There are two possible sources for this emphatic negative intensifier *man-*: 1) it may have grammaticalized from the adverb *manerang* which has a meaning 'really', 'absolutely', etc.; 2) It could be the grammaticalized form of the negative copula *man*, the negative counterpart of the equational egophoric copula *yin*. Brokpa uses the negative copula *man* to derive negative lexemes, either by prefixing or suffixing. Deriving negative lexemes by prefixing the negative copula *man* to other lexemes suggests that (2) seems more likely. However, (1) is equally possible. The emphatic negative intensifier always occurs in negated clauses with either the negator *ma-* or *mi-*, and is always pronounced together with the following negator without any pause in between.

A further type of double negation is independent negation of a dependent clause and a main clause. An example of the negator *ma-* negating a dependent as well as a main clause is given in (803):

(803) kʰyi ŋa=i bomo náma kʰer-zin
2SG 1SG=GEN girl bride take-SIM

kʰyi=ba? **ma**-yoŋ-nan saŋ+náŋ den
2SG=PL NEG-come-COND tomorrow+day.after.tomorrow PART

ŋi=ye ɕo **ma**-lap ʔa
1PL=EMPH come.IMP NEG-say POLAR
'If you do not come when my daughter gets married, later on, you will tell us not to come to your wedding either'

Sentence (803) consists of two dependent clauses linked to the main clause. The first clause from the left is a medial clause marked by the simultaneous marker *-zin*, and the second clause is a conditional clause marked by the conditional suffix *-na*. The conditional clause is negated by *ma-*, as shown in bold, and the main clause is a negative imperative clause, formed by the negator *ma-*, as shown in bold. In (803), independent negation of the conditional dependent clause and the main clause does not have any particular semantic effect on the overall meaning of the sentence, other than negating the individual clauses (803). Note that the main clause in (803) is an imperative clause.

However, when a double negation involves the negator *mi-* in both dependent and main clauses, and the main clause is a declarative clause, it has an overall positive meaning. Consider:

(804) ŋi pʰama=e=ta den te **mi**-ter=se lap-sa
1PL parents=ERG=FOC PART PART NEG-give=QUOT say-NOMZ:LOCTV

mi-tʰoŋ
NEG-see
'We, the parents, cannot say that we will not give'

In (804), both dependent (complement) clause and main (declarative) clause are negated by the prefix *mi-*, shown in bold. Here, negating the dependent clause and the main clause independently by the same negator *mi-* has an overall positive meaning to the effect "We have to say that we will give".

Double negation, that is negating a dependent clause and a main clause independently involving both negators, *ma-* and *mi-*, also leads to an overall positive meaning if the main clause is a declarative clause, as in:

(805) ŋa **mi**-ɖo=se **ma**-lap
1SG NEG-go=QUOT NEG-say
'I did not say that I will not go (I said that I will go)'

It shows that if the main clause is a declarative clause, negation of a dependent clause and main clause separately has a positive meaning. If the main clause is an imperative clause, double negation does not necessarily have an overall positive meaning.

In summary, Brokpa is a language with two types of double negation. One type involves a double marking of negation in sequence on the same predicate, and the other is negating a dependent clause and a main declarative clause independently. The first type functions as a strong negative, the second as a technique for showing a positive meaning.

14.7 Clause types: summary

Brokpa has all four clause types in terms of the structure of verbal predicate structure, namely transitive, intransitive, extended transitive, and extended intransitive clauses.

Copulas in Brokpa are divided into basic copulas and complex copulas. A complex copula is formed by a combination of two copulas, or a copula plus a grammatical element, but the resulting form functions as a distinct copula with a distinct secondary function. The secondary function of a copula is to mark a category of knowledge either inherently in copula clauses or by functioning as a grammaticalized marker of knowledge in 'epistemological' clauses. The constituent order in a copula clause is fairly strict, with CPR always occurring clause-finally, and CC almost always immediately preceding CPR.

Brokpa makes use of morphology, intonation, or both, to convert a declarative clause into an interrogative. Constituent order may be a useful clue in a cleft-question construction; but without accompanying prosodic tactics such as a rising intonation or a sentence stress, changing constituent order alone will not achieve an interrogative mood.

A declarative clause is typically characterized by a level intonation, and takes grammatical markers associated with non-spatial setting. A declarative clause may also be accompanied by a clause-final marker.

Imperative mood includes second-person imperative which is the canonical imperative used for giving direct commands, and first-person imperative which is a non-canonical imperative used for expressing a command to oneself or along with another party. There is also a dedicated marker for third-person imperative to express indirect commands.

The canonical second-person imperative can be divided into several subtypes including polite imperative, precative or requestative, strong imperative, prohibitive or negative imperative. Grammatical expression of a wish in Brokpa can be treated as a separate speech act (or mood), and optative as its grammatical category.

Brokpa has a rich set of content interrogatives. The content interrogatives relate to different word classes including nouns, adjectives, and adverbials. However, it is possible to establish, what Dixon (2012:381) calls, a 'pan-basic-wordclasses word class' for the content interrogatives in Brokpa on the basis of several shared syntactic features. Interestingly, content interrogatives also share certain phonology.

All interrogatives— content and polar— convert a statement clause into an interrogative one, where an answer is always expected. A content interrogative bears sentence stress and shares a distinctive intonation, typically accompanied by a falling intonation in the sentence-final position.

When it comes to the functional slot, interrogatives always precede the predicate. More often than not, an interrogative immediately precedes the predicate. This rule may be broken only when an interrogative is put in focus via cleft-focus construction involving either right-dislocation or left-dislocation.

The information sought by a content interrogative can be a core argument— A, S, O, E— or a peripheral argument including spatial and temporal peripheral arguments. The information sought can also be about the predicate and the manner that modifies a predicate.

The same particles used in polar questions and interrogative tags may also be used as a marker of a rhetorical question. Their ambiguity may be resolved by sentence stress, intonation, pause, or discourse context.

An area for further study can be the extralinguistic tactics used in asking questions, especially polar questions and answers. As might be the case cross-linguistically, it appears that things such as unique facial expressions, eye movement/signal , and other bodily gestures can effectively convert a declarative clause into an interrogative one, without employing any morphological or prosodic resources.

Both complement clauses and relative clauses are based on nominalization. Despite both being nominalized, a complement clause can be in any argument function as is, while an RC only functions as the syntactic modifier of the common argument, shared by the RC and the MC, within a relative clause construction.

Constituent order in Brokpa is typically predicate-final in main clauses, and strictly so in dependent and copula clauses. There are two forms of negators for verbal predicates of declarative clauses, *ma-* in perfective and *mi-* in imperfective aspect. Interrogative clauses and the embedded dependent clauses, that is relative clauses and complement clause, are negated in the same way as the main clauses. Imperative clauses can only be negated by *ma-*. Conditional clauses and medial clauses in a clause chain can also be negated only by *ma-*. Negating a dependent clause and a main clause independently, has an overall positive meaning if the main clause is a declarative clause.

Chapter 15

Clause linking

The aim of this chapter is to examine the various grammatical resources and techniques used to specify different semantic relations between clauses in the Brokpa narratives. Section 15.1 briefly discusses the syntax of clause linking, §15.2 deals with the semantics of clause linking in full detail, and this chapter ends with a brief summary in §15.3.

15.1 The syntax of clause linking in Brokpa

A distinction can be made between a Main clause which can make up a complete sentence and a Dependent clause which has to be linked to the Main clause (see Dixon 2009). A typical sentence consisting of a main clause with an adjoined dependent clause in Brokpa can be found in (806):

(806) [ta=yi pʰü+taŋ-na=ye]DC [tɕʰæ=ʑi?pʰo-go-na]MC
horse=ERG push+send-COND=EMPH fine=INDEF bear-OBLIG-FACT
'Even if the horse throws you, you must bear a fine'

A clause linking construction in Brokpa may involve two dependent clauses, two main clauses, a dependent clause and a main clause, or a number of dependent clauses and a main clause.

The main syntactic devices employed for linking clauses in Brokpa include clause chaining, nominalization, and apposition.

A clause chain can involve a dependent clause, also referred to as 'medial clause', and a main clause. Sometimes, there can be a number of dependent clauses

in a clause chain. There are two markers, the ablative case marker *=næ* and the suffix *-zin*(a) ~ *-sin(a)*, attached directly to the verb stem of the dependent clauses in a chain. The marker *=næ* typically marks what is known as 'sequential events' (see Hopper and Thompson 1980), as in (807a). In contrast, the marker *-zin* marks evens that are generally referred to as 'simultaneous events' (see (Givón 2001b:29; Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang 2007, among others), also referred to as 'temporal overlap' (see, for example, Longacre 2007), as in (807b):

(807) a. [nor me:-gin=ba?=k^{h}e]A [nor yo:-gan=ba?=la]E
cattle NEG.EXIST-NOMZ:AGTV=PL=ERG cattle EXIST-NOMZ=PL=DAT

[k^{h}aize]O
salad.greens

k^{h}er=**næ**]DC te [k^{h}a=la dʑin=**næ**]DC den
take=SEQ PART mouth=LOC give=SEQ PART

[go=la p^{h}ur=**næ**]DC [gya-go-k^{h}u-na]MC
HEAD=LOC rub=SEQ do-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'People without cattle take salad greens, put it into the mouths of those who have cattle, and rub their heads with it'

b. [?aʑi=daŋ ʐaŋzen ɲí ɲám d^{ɦ}o-**zin**]DC
elder.sister=CNTV brother.in.law two with live-SIM

[?aʑi=daŋ ʐaŋzen ɲí=k^{h}i p^{h}rugu sum
elder.sister=CNTV brother.in.law two=GEN child three

re-ti-na]MC
become-PERV-FACT
'While living together with elder sister and brother-in-law, their children increased to three'

The three dependent clauses in (807a), all marked by *=næ*, share the same subject argument, and the events described by the dependent clauses happen in the given order.

In (807b), the dependent clause and the main clause involve different subject arguments. The subject of the dependent clause is not stated, but it is the narrator

based on the discourse context and the subject of the main clause is 'the children of brother-in-law and elder sister'. The events described by the dependent clause and the main clause in (807b) are simultaneous: within the duration the narrator was staying with his elder sister and brother-in-law, the number of their children increased to three.

There is a strong probability that simultaneous events— marked by the suffix *-zin*— will involve different subjects, and the sequential events— marked by *=nœ*— have the same subject. In fact, the dependent clauses marked with *-zin* mostly tend to have a different subject from the main clause.

This is not at all surprising because, under normal circumstances, it is not possible for the same agent in A/S function to perform two activities at the same time. For example, I cannot be drinking tea while I am drinking juice. Therefore, it is quite natural that a medial clause marked by the simultaneous marker *-zin* will involve different subjects. However, there are certain activities which an agent in A/S function can perform two at the same time. For example, I can talk while driving, or I can sing while taking a shower. In such instances, a medial clause can be marked by the simultaneous suffix *-zin*, but involves the same subject. Note, however, that simultaneous events involving the same subject within a sentence are extremely infrequent in the corpus.

The marker *=nœ* can either occur in the same subject or in different subject constructions, although in most instances it is the former. In other words, not all dependent medial clauses are switch-reference sensitive, and it is instructive to mention that Brokpa has no clear switch-reference system.

In Brokpa, nominalized predicate forms a key structural framework for clause linking. Consider:

(808) a. ta=ye k^{h}o p^{h}ü+taŋ-ŋai
horse=ERG 3SG.MASC push+send-NOMZ
'The horse threw him'

b. ta = ye kʰo pʰü + taŋ-na..
horse = ERG 3SG.MASC push + send-COND
'If the horse throws him...'

c. ta = ye kʰo pʰü + taŋ-ŋai = daŋ...
horse = ERG 3SG.MASC push + send-NOMZ = CNTV
'After/as soon as the horse threw him...'

The predicate of the clause (808a) is in a nominalized form. In (808b), the slot of the nominalizer is filled by a clause linker; as a matter of fact, a dependent clause in a clause chain is formed like this by replacing the nominalizer by either the sequential or the simultaneous marker. In (808c) a clause linker is attached to the nominalized predicate.

Brokpa uses suffixes, case enclitics, relators, connectives, grammaticalized conjunctions, and adverbs to link clauses. The grammaticalized conjunctions are derived from demonstratives, copulas, and verbs. These clause linkers apply either directly to the verb stem of a dependent clause, as in (808b), or to the nominalized verb stem, as in (808c). The nominalized predicate may occur without any clause linker, as in (808a), where a clause linkage will be achieved by apposition.

Further, a nominalized clause may be followed by a relator or a grammaticalized conjunction. The relators and grammaticalized conjunctions are separate phonological words standing independently, and may be associated either with the preceding clause or with the following clause.

I will examine the grammatical means Brokpa uses to convey various semantic relations between clauses.

15.2 The semantics of clause linking in Brokpa

The present description of the grammar of clause linking in Brokpa essentially follows the semantic approach put forward in Dixon (2009, 2010a:133-37) and Aikhenvald (2009, 2015a:261-263). Other literature on this topic including Longacre (2007),

Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007), and Givón (2001b:327-85) were also consulted.

Dixon (2009:3) makes the following distinction between a Focal clause and a Supporting clause on semantic grounds:

"One clause refers to the central activity or state of the biclausal linking; this is the Focal clause (FC).

Attached to it there will be a Supporting clause (SC), which may set out the temporal milieu for the Focal clause, or specify a condition or presupposition for it or a preliminary statement of it, etc".

A distinction between Focal clause and Supporting clause can be drawn for most clause linking types in Brokpa, apart from the Unordered addition and the Disjunction linkage types, as may be the case cross-linguistically (Dixon 2009).

In most clause linkage types, there is a direct correspondence between the syntactic Dependent clause and the semantic Supporting clause and between the syntactic Main clause and the semantic Focal clause. However, there are also instances in which the syntactic clause types (Dependent, Main) and the semantic clause types (Supporting, Focal) do not coincide.

Table 116 provides an overview of clause linking strategies in Brokpa.

Table 116. An overview of clause linking constructions in Brokpa

SEMANTIC TYPE	SUBTYPE	MARKER	MEANING	MARKS
TEMPORAL	**Temporal succession**	*=nœ*	'and (then)'	SC (DC)
	Relative time	*-ʑin*	'while'	SC (DC)
		=la	'at the time of'	SC (DC)
		=daŋ	'after'/'as soon as'	SC (DC)
		gaŋ/ɕuŋ (=la)	'while'/'during'	SC (DC)
		kap(su) (=la)		SC (DC)
		sumke/sakai (=la)	'until'	SC (DC)
		ʔuntɕin	'before'	SC (DC)
	Conditional	*-na*	'if'	SC (DC)
	Concessive conditional	*-na=ye*	'even if'	SC (DC)
CONSEQUENCE	**Cause**	*-soŋ*	'because'	SC (DC)
		=di=la	'because'	SC (DC)
		ʔo-soŋ=di=la	'because of that'	FC (MC)
		tɕi se-na	'(why) because'	SC (MC)
		=ge	'because, since'	SC (DC)
	Result	*ten=nœ*	'since, due to'	SC (MC)
		ʑor=nœ	'as a result'	SC (MC))
		ʔoti=la ten=nœ	'for that reason'	FC (MC)
	Purpose	*don(da)=la*	'in order to'	FC (DC)
POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCE	**Possible consequence**	*ʔo man*	'or else'	SC (MC)
		má-Pred-*na*	'NEG-PRED-COND'	FC (DC)
ADDITION	**Unordered addition**	*=daŋ*	'and'	n/a
		apposition		n/a
		apposition		n/a

SEMANTIC TYPE	SUBTYPE	MARKER	MEANING	MARKS
	Same-event addition	*mats^{h}œ*	'not only ~ but'	FC (DC)
		=nœ	'and (so)'	FC (DC)
		tse=la	'in addition to'	FC (DC)
	Elaboration	apposition	n/a	MC, MC
	Contrast	*ɕin(tari)*	'but'	SC (MC)
		yin-ne=ye	'even then'	FC (MC)
		matakpa(lœ) ~ matokpa(lœ)	'although' 'otherwise'	SC
ALTERNATIVES	**Disjunction**	*yaŋman(a)*	'if not'	n/a
		yaŋna(n)	'or else'	n/a
		nam	'or'	n/a
	Rejection	*ts^{h}ama(=la)*	'instead of'	SC (DC)
		man ~ yin	'NEG.COP ~ COP'	SC (MC), FC (MC)
		apposition	n/a	
	Suggestion	*=lœ*	'rather than'	SC (DC)
MANNER	**Real manner**	*ʔotɕins(-gyan)*	'as like that'	FC (MC)
		ʔoɖou	'like that'	FC (MC)
	Hypothetical manner	*-ɖou*	'like'/'as if'	SC (DC)

As can be seen in Table 116, Brokpa makes use of different grammatical means to specify different semantic relations between clauses.

Unordered addition, apart from that shown by the morpheme *=daŋ*, Elaboration, and one type of Rejection linkage is shown by apposition. All other linkage types are shown by one or more of the clause linkers given in Table 116.

15.2.1 Temporal

Brokpa has grammatical markers for the two basic types of temporal clause linkage: temporal succession and relative time.

15.2.1.1 Temporal succession

Brokpa shows temporal succession by the sequential clause chaining marked with the enclitic *=nœ* 'and (then)' on the dependent clause. Note that this sequential marker *=nœ* can also mean 'after' or 'by', and can be used for marking other clause linking types.[1] The sequential *=nœ* marking temporal succession is found in:

(809) [tɕʰaŋ palaŋ=tɕi? kʰer=**næ**]DC:SC [kʰi=ge poŋpoŋ=ɕi?
liquor wooden.container=INDEF take-ABL.SEQ 2PL=ERG talk=INDEF

ɖi-go-pʰi]MC:FC
ask-OBLIG-PERV
'You take a wooden container of liquor, and (then) you ask'
Lit. 'Take a wooden container of liquor, and then you must ask one talk'

In (809), the marker *=nœ* on the Dependent clause indicates temporal sequence. Therefore, the Dependent clause is the Supporting clause and the Main clause the Focal. The actions described by the two clauses will happen in that order, an instance of iconic motivation.

However, if the marker *=nœ* is omitted, then the Supporting clause in (809) will be in the imperative mood with a rising intonation on the verb *kʰer* 'take' . In that case, temporal succession in Brokpa will be achieved by an apposition of two independent clauses.

Further, a dependent clause marked with *=nœ* may be followed by the phrase *de=nœ* 'then, after that, next', which may be used optionally to introduce the following clause— either another dependent clause or the main clause— in a chain:

[1] The sequential marker *=nœ* is diachronically the ablative marker. As an ablative marker, it is added to the last modifier within an NP marking locational sense, but as a clause linker it is added directly to the verb root within the predicate of the adjoining clause marking temporal succession.

(810) [muzi ma=yi=næ ya=la to: tɕo=**næ**]DC:SC
other:ERG down=GEN=ABL up=ALL food make-ABL.SEQ

[**de=næ** ɕa tso=**næ**]DC:SC [to: baŋɕuŋ=raŋ
DEM=ABL meat cook-ABL.SEQ food cane.basket=EMPH

ɲí te muzu=e sar+k^{h}yoŋ-t^{h}uŋ]MC:FC
two PART other=ERG pack+bring-DIRECT.PERV
'They cooked food, after that (they) cooked meat, and then they even brought up two baskets (of food) from down there'

The phrase *de=næ* is a combination of the archaic distal demonstrative *de* (shared with Classical Tibetan and Dzongkha) plus the ablative *=næ*. The phrase *de=næ* can be replaced by *ʔoti=næ* with no difference in meaning. The proximal demonstrative *ʔoti* is the most frequently used demonstrative in Brokpa.

Note that there is a monosyllabic particle *den* which occurs frequently within a clause. The particle *den* is a reduced form of *de=næ*. However, these two forms seemingly have separate functions. The monosyllabic *den* has undergone decategorialization and functions as a pause-filler and occurs clause-internally where the clause-linking function is not required, while the disyllabic *de=næ* occurs only at the beginning of a clause or a sentence.

15.2.1.2 Relative time

Brokpa utilizes a number of grammatical resources for showing Relative time clause linkage. Dixon (2009) points out two parameters in relative time clause linkage: (1) whether the reference is to a point in time or to a longer duration of time, and (2) whether the time in the supporting clause is past, present, or future relative to the time in the focal clause.

A1. Length of time linkage 'while':

There are three ways of showing a length of time linkage 'while' in Brokpa: 1) by the simultaneous clause chain with the suffix *-zin ~ -sin*, sometimes occurs as disyllabic *-zina ~ -sina*, attaching directly to the verb stem of a dependent clause,

2) by the continuous suffix *-doŋ* ~ *-toŋ* or *-rim* attached directly to verb stem of the dependent clause obligatorily followed by one of the three synonymous relators *gaŋ, ɕuŋ, kap(su)* all meaning 'while, during, at the time of', and 3) by these same three relators— *gaŋ, ɕuŋ, kap(su)*— applying to a nominalized dependent clause.

First, simultaneous clause chain in which the suffix *-ʑin* is attached directly to the verb stem of the dependent clause shows a length of time linkage 'while'. Examples include:

(811) a. [ʑop^{h}u muzu gaŋyu t^{h}ün taŋ-**zin**]DC:SC
morning other all prayer do-SIM

[ŋa ɲas naŋ=la buŋbuŋ-gyan ɲa:+d^{ɦ}æ]MC:FC
1SG bed RELAT:INSD=LOC comfortable-ADV sleep+stay:PERV
'**While** all others were doing prayer in the morning, I slept like a log in the bed'

b. [te lam+go=næ yoŋ-**zin**]DC:SC [te ŋa=raŋ mwoi=k^{h}e
PART path+head=ABL come-SIM PART 1SG=EMPH wife=ERG

lap-soŋ...]MC:FC
say-PERV.DIRECT
'**While** coming on the path, my wife said...'

In both (811a) and (811b), the Dependent clause marked by the suffix *-ʑin* directly on the verb stem is the Supporting clause and the Main clause ending in the perfective verb stem *d^{ɦ}œ* is the Focal clause; the event described by the Dependent clause puts the event of the Main clause in a temporal perspective. In both examples, there is temporal overlap between the Supporting clause and the Focal clause.

The suffix *-ʑin* is apparently the same as the Classical Tibetan <bzhin> which has a meaning 'like', 'similar to', 'in line with' and when added to a verb it has a progressive meaning as well as clause-linking function in Classical Tibetan also. In Brokpa, *-ʑin* occurs as a suffix marking Temporal linkage, as in (811a) and (811b).[2]

[2] In formal speech, the lexical usage of *ʑin* with a meaning 'similar to' or 'in line with' may be heard even in Brokpa as well as in Dzongkha. When it is used as a lexical item, it optionally occurs with the Classical Tibetan locative particle *=du* even in spoken languages such as Brokpa, suggesting that it is

Evidence for *-zin* being a suffix in Brokpa comes from the presence of its allomorphic variant *-sin* and its low selectivity of host. It can attach to verbs from potentially all the semantic types. The suffix *-zin* sometimes occurs as *-zina* which is possibly a combination of the the suffix *-zin* plus the locative *=na*, after a consonant degemination has applied. Also, the locative *=na* appears to have grammaticalized from the relator *naŋ* 'inside'.

Secondly, a length of time 'while' linkage is shown by the continuous suffix *-doŋ* ~ *-toŋ* or *-rim* applying directly to the verb stem within the Dependent clause followed by one of the three synonymous relators *gaŋ, ɕuŋ, kap(su)* all meaning 'while, during, at the time of', as in (812a) and (812b):

(812) a. [kʰyö petɕʰa lap-**toŋ** **gaŋ=la**]DC:SC [mwoi tsaː=næ=se
2SG book study-CONT RELAT:OCN=LOC wife search-SEQ=QUOT

...ma-ɖik-pa=se]MC:FC
..NEG-be.ok-MIR=QUOT
'[My mother] said: "You have found a wife **while** studying. That is not OK"'

b. [ŋa petɕʰa lap-**rim** **ɕuŋ=la**]DC:SC [ŋa
1SG book study-CONT RELAT:AROUND=LOC 1SG

kʰyo=daŋ ɲambu ɖik-pi-soŋ]MC:FC...
2SG=COM together arrange-PERV-because
'Because I have married (stayed with) you **while** I am studying...'

The continuous suffix *-doŋ* or *-rim* attach directly to the verb of a Supporting clause followed by the relator *gaŋ* or *ɕuŋ*, as in (812a) and (812b). In contrast, the relator *kapsu* applies to a nominalized clause optionally followed by the genitive marker. The genitive marker is used with the nominalized Supporting clause when it is followed by a relator.

Thirdly, a length of time linkage 'while' can be shown by one of the above relators: *gaŋ, ɕuŋ, kap(su)* all with the meaning of 'while, during, at the time of',

a direct influence from the former, e.g. *lo re-re ʑin* (year one-one similar.to) 'each year', *suŋ-pʰi ʑin=du* (say.HON-PERV in.line.with) 'In line with what has been said' or simply 'As said'.

without the preceding continuous suffixes, but the predicate of the Dependent clause has then to be nominalized, as in (813). The relators may be optionally followed by the locative case *=la*:

(813) [ʔun=la raŋ dʱo-bi=gi **kapsu=la**]DC:SC ....[l̥apsaŋ
before=LOC SELF stay-NOMZ=GEN RELAT:OCN=LOC smoke.offering

gæpa=di=raŋ taŋ-yo]MC:FC
detailed=DEF=EMPH do-EXIST.EGO
'**While** I was living there, we used to perform the detailed Smoke Offering (prayer)'

The relator *kapsu* in (813) can be replaced by the relator *gaŋ* or *ɕuŋ* with no difference in meaning.

Furthermore, note that a length of time linkage 'while' can be shown by another relator *riŋ* 'during, when'. This morpheme applies to a nominalized Dependent clause and can replace the relator *gaŋ*, *ɕuŋ*, or *kap(su)* in the above examples without any difference in meaning.

A2. Length of time linkage 'until':

A length of time linkage 'until' can be shown either by the relator *sumke* ~ *sumbe* or the relator *sakai*, both with a lative meaning 'until'. There is an equivalent relator *tsʰuntsʰon* 'until' in Dzongkha which is also used in Brokpa. With NPs, these two relators have both spatial and temporal locational sense and with clauses it marks a length of time linkage. As with other relators, these relators may also be optionally followed by the locative case:

(814) a. [ʔot má-so: **sumke**]DC:SC [den doŋbe=gi
DEM.PROX NEG-supplicate RELAT:UNTIL PART face=GEN

ɕo:=di=su ʔoɖou pʰan-ma-ɲæn-ni]MC:FC
pustule=DEF=PL like.that help-NEG-listen-PERV
'Not **Until** that prayer is performed, will the pustules on the face heal'
Lit. 'Until this is supplicated, the face's pustules will refuse to heal'

b. [tsam yo-ti=di ʔuntɕin tuŋ-ma-zin[3]
how.much EXIST-NOMZ=DEF before drink-NEG-finish

sakai=la]DC:SC ...[temre=di=su tsi-zin-ni]MC:FC
RELAT:UNTIL=LOC ...celebration=DEF=PL observe-finish-PERV
'Not **Until** all the drinks have been finished.....will the celebrations be finished'

The Dependent clauses marked by the relator *sumke* in (814a) and *sakai* in (814b) are Supporting clauses because they specify the end point of a period of time, referring to a prolonged action. The Main clauses in the same sentences above are Focal clauses as they describe an event or state extending in time with respect to the time specified by the Dependent clauses.

B1. Point in time linkage 'when':

A point in time linkage 'when' can be shown by the locative case marker *=la* applied to a dependent clause which is nominalized. This is a very typical Tibeto-Burman feature (see Aikhenvald 2011a; Watters 2009). When used as a case marker with NPs, the enclitic *=la* has a spatial or temporal locational sense, but as a clause linker it marks relative time:

(815) [ʔou=daŋ bom ɲí=ye kʰyim=la dok-pʰi=ʑi?=**la**]DC:SC
boy=CNTV girl two=EMPH house=LOC arrive-NOMZ=INDEF=LOC.when

[pʰama ʑi zom=næ tʰatɕæ]MC:FC
parent four meet=SEQ decide:PERV
'The four parents meet and decide **when** the groom and the bride arrive at home'

[3] Note that the *zin* occurring as the minor verb in a serial verb construction in both the dependent clause and in the main clause is a lexical verb 'to finish', which is homophonous with the simultaneous marker *-zin*.

In example (815), the nominalized Dependent clause marked by the locative enclitic =*la* is the Supporting clause as it indicates a temporal perspective. The second clause is the Focal clause because it describes an event with respect to the temporal perspective provided by the Supporting clause.

B2. Point in time linkage 'after':

Also, a point in time 'after' or 'as soon as' linkage can be shown by the enclitic =*daŋ* attached to the nominalized Depending clause. Consider:

(816) [ʔaʑi=di ɲén+ɖik-pi=**daŋ**]DC:SC [numo=baʔ
elder.sister=DEF marriage+arrange-NOMZ=CNTV younger.sister=PL

lekyaŋ=ge tʰoŋ-ŋai]MC:FC
natural=INST see-NOMZ-because
'**After/as soon as** the elder sister is married, (her husband) will naturally see her younger sisters'

In (816), the Dependent clause marked by =*daŋ* is the Supporting clause, and the Main clause is the Focal clause because the action expressed by the Main clause (seeing younger sisters) will take place only after the event or situation expressed by the Dependent clause (marrying off the elder sister). The marker =*daŋ* shows that the event of the Supporting clause is in an immediate past with reference to the Focal clause.

Note that the enclitic =*daŋ* also functions as a comitative/associative case marker meaning 'with' and as a coordinating conjunction meaning 'and' both at the phrase and clause level. The enclitic =*daŋ* may also mark unordered and same-event addition (§§ 15.2.4.1 - 15.2.4.2).

B3. Point in time linkage 'before':

A point in time linkage related to 'before' can be shown by the adverb *ʔuntɕin* 'before' on the Dependent clause which is nominalized:

(817) [kyesp^{h}o = ba? = la tɕ^{h}aŋ má-luk-pi **ʔuntɕin** = di = la]DC:SC
man = PL = DAT alcohol NEG-pour-NOMZ before = DEF = LOC

[ʔama.dʑomo = gi
Ama Jomo = GEN

ʑuk-sa = di ʑuk + tan tin + ʑak-pi
sit.HON-NOMZ:LOC = DEF sit.hon + mat lay + keep-NOMZ

ʔuntɕ^{h}o? = di = la tɕ^{h}aŋ
front = DEF = LOC alcohol

penza = ʑi? ʔo = la kaŋ-go-k^{h}u-na]MC:FC
cup = INDEF DEM.PROX = LOC fill-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'**Before** pouring drinks for the menfolk, they must fill a wooden cup with liquor in front of the sitting-mat for Ama Jomo'

Note that *ʔuntɕin* may be followed by the marker of definiteness *=di* and/or the locative *=la*, and the preceding nominalized Supporting clause may take genitive marking. However, all these accompanying grammatical elements are optional and the 'before' linkage can simply be shown by the adverb *ʔuntɕin*.

The adverb *ʔuntɕin* marks a Supporting clause expressing an event in the future, as in (817). In the same vein, a Supporting clause expressing an event in the past can be shown by the adverb *tɕ^{h}iti* 'after', also optionally followed by the locative *=la*.

Also note that relative time can also be expressed by using the terms of orientation like *gyap* 'back, behind', *ʔuntɕ^{h}o?* 'front (lit. 'front direction'), *dün* 'front' all optionally followed by the locative *=la* or ablative *=læ*. In the narrative genres, these words occur only in their primary functions (adverbs, orientation) but they do not appear in their clause linking functions marking Relative time.

Furthermore, the sequential clause chaining constructions which express temporal succession type of linkage (§15.2.1.1) show that a Dependent clause (Supporting clause) referring to something in the past as that referred to in the Main clause (Focal clause). The same examples given for Temporal succession linkage— (809) and (810)— illustrate this. In those examples, the sequential marker *=næ* on a Dependent

clause shows that the event or situation expressed by it is in the past relative to that in the Main clause, something like: 'First X, then Y'.

15.2.1.3 Conditional

Dixon (2009) distinguishes two varieties of conditional linking: Possible conditional and Counterfactual conditional clause linking. Brokpa uses the conditional marker *-na*, attached directly to the verb stem of the Dependent clause, for both varieties of Conditional linking. Consider:

(818) a. [padar=ge d^{ɦ}aŋ-**na**]DC.SC [padar=ye dʑin]MC.FC
heroic.sash=INST be.sufficient-COND heroic.sash=EMPH give.IMP
'If there are enough Heroic Sashes, give the Heroic Sash'

b. [zomo=la tæ-**na**]DC.SC [luʔ=la ma-d^{ɦ}aŋ]MC.FC
cross.bred.yak=DAT see:PERV-COND sheep=DAT NEG-be.sufficient
'If cross-bred yaks are taken care of, sheep could not be'
Lit. 'If cross-bred yaks were seen, not enough for sheep'

Sentence (818a) is an example of Possible conditional linkage where the Dependent clause corresponds to the Supporting clause and the Main clause to the Focal clause. The action of giving the Heroic Sash, described by the Focal clause, will take place only if there are adequate numbers of it, the condition set out in the Supporting clause.

Sentence (818b) gives a Counterfactual conditional reading. Because the cross-bred yaks have to be looked after (the condition set out by the Supporting clause), the sheep could not be looked after (the result described by the Focal clause). In (818b) too, the Dependent clause coincides with the Supporting clause and the Main clause with the Focal clause. If the cross-bred yaks did not have to be looked after, then the event described by the Focal clause— that of looking after the sheep— could happen, which is a Counterfactual condition.

Furthermore, the marker of Conditional linkage can apply to a copula clause or an existential clause:

(819) a. [Merakpa = i kæ = la yin-**na**]DC:SC [tençe lap-ki]MC:FC
Merakpa = GEN language = LOC COP.EGO-COND tençe say-IMPERV
'If it is in the language of Merak (people), we call it tençe ('exposition')'
Lit. 'If it is in the language of Merak (people), it is known as tençe ('exposition')'

b. [pun sum yo-**na**]DC:SC [te barma = di ʈʰiː + kʰer]MC:FC
sibling three EXIST.EGO-COND PART middle = DEF guide + take
'If there are three siblings (brothers), we take the middle one'
Lit. 'If there are three siblings (brothers), the middle one will be taken along'

Semantically, the copula clause in (819a) and the existential clause in (819b) are Supporting clauses as they refer to a condition. Syntactically, the copula clause in (819a) and the existential clause in (819b) can be an independent clause, without the conditional marker. Since the copula *yin* and the existential *yo* take the conditional suffix *-na*, they can be considered dependent clauses in a Conditional linkage.

In some contexts, the conditional *-na* appears as *-nan*. This is a fusion of the conditional *-na* and the topic marker *-ni*. It appears that when *-nan*, inherently containing a topic marking, appears in place of the bare conditional *-na* the Supporting conditional clause is emphasized or foregrounded:

(820) [kʰyo = raŋ = ge kyoŋ + tʰop-**nan**]DC:SC [ʔou sum-ge = raŋ
2SG = EMPH = ERG care + ability-COND:TOP boy three-whole.set = EMPH

kʰa + çarn-mí-taŋ]MC:FC
direction + separate-NEG-send
'If you can take care of all (of them), we will not separate the three sons'

Sentence (820) involves a Possible conditional linking. It comes from a text in which the narrator says that if there are three sons in a family, the father would say something like that to their bride-to-be girl. In the Supporting clause the father describes a condition by putting an emphasis on it something like 'if you REALLY can take care of them', and in the Focal clause he presents a possible result 'we will not separate our three sons (by making them marry different wives because you can have all the three sons as your husbands).

Concessive conditional 'even if':

If a Supporting clause marked by the conditional *-na* is followed by the emphatic marker *=ye*, it has a sense of 'concessive conditional' similar to 'even if' in English (see Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang 2007). This type of Conditional linkage refers to what Longacre (2007) describes as a 'frustrated implication'. This type of Conditional linkage, that is the conditional clause followed by the emphatic *=ye*, shows that the result described by the Focal clause will be contrary to expectation or, in Longacre's (2007) words, 'frustrated contingency'. Consider:

(821) [kʰa + tan-ɖou = ʑi? bru + ga-**na** = **ye**]DC:SC [tɕʰæ
outer + mat-SIMI = INDEF fall.off + go-COND = EMPH fine

pʰok-ki-yo-na]MC:FC
hit-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO-FACT
'Even if an outer mat falls off, we have to pay fines'

Sentence (821) is from a procedural text about a pilgrimage trip. The speaker says that even a minor thing as a mat falling off a horse (the concessive condition described by the Supporting clause) will lead to the owner of that horse paying a fine to the other pilgrimage members (the result described by the Focal clause), which is one of a frustrated contingency.

Furthermore, a Concessive conditional linkage in Brokpa can involve both positive and negative condition within the same Supporting clause followed by the emphatic marker. This kind of Concessive conditional linkage shows that the expected result described by the Focal clause will not eventuate and, if it did, it will be against expectation. Consider:

(822) [muzu = e lap-**na** ma-lap-**na** = ye]DC:SC [kʰoŋ = ge den
other = ERG tell-COND NEG-tell-COND = EMPH 3PL = ERG PART

norze = ta ter-mí-tʰob-tuŋ]MC:FC
cattle.gift = FOC give-NEG-ABIL-INFER
'Even if others requested it of them, they will not be able to give the gift of cattle'

Generally, someone would be expected to give something if requested, but as can be seen in (822), the Focal clause refers to a negative result.

The conditional marker *-na* appears to have grammaticalized from the copula *na*, and therefore it is homophonous with the grammaticalized factual evidentiality marker *-na* as well as with the rarely occurring locative *=na*. The conditional marker always occurs with a dependent clause and the factual *-na* with a Main clause, following TAM morphology. The locative *=na* will apply to a peripheral NP if it occurs.

The grammaticalization of the conditional clause linker from a copula is found in other languages such as Hmong (Nathan White, personal communication) and Chinese (see Yip and Rimmington 2004). The Chinese copula *shì* forms part of the connector *yaòshì* used for introducing subordinate clauses with the meaning of 'if' (Yip and Rimmington 2004:256).

15.2.2 Consequence

Brokpa has grammatical means for showing all three varieties of Consequence linking: Cause, Result, and Purpose.

15.2.2.1 Cause

There are several ways of showing Cause linkage in Brokpa. One is by adding the morpheme *-soŋ* 'because' to the nominalized verb stem which is the predicate of the Supporting clause. Consider:

(823) a. [numo = baʔ lækyaŋ = ge tʰoŋ-ŋai-**soŋ**]SC [te
younger.sister = PL definite = INST see-NOMZ-BECAUSE PART

tɕiktɕik = ke
one.one = ERG

den numo = baʔ = kʰe = ye den ʔaʑi = gi
PART younger.sister = PL = ERG = EMPH PART elder.sister = GEN

makpa = la sem + ɕor]FC
husband = DAT mind + lose
'**Because** the younger sisters will definitely be seen, so the younger sisters also fall in love with their elder sister's husband'

b. [ŋa = raŋ tʰimpʰu dok = næ = raŋ lo sumtɕu-zam
1SG = REFL.EMPH Thimphu arrive = ABL.SEQ = EMPH year thirty-APPROX

ga-li-**soŋ**]SC [te ŋa = raŋ = ge
go-NOMZ-BECAUSE PART 1SG = REFL.EMPH = ERG

ɖan + ʑeː-duʔ]FC
memory + forget-DIRECT
'**Because** about thirty years have passed since arriving in Thimphu, I have forgotten (that)'

In both (823a) and (823b), the Focal clause describes what ensues as a direct consequence of the event or state described by the Supporting clause.

Note that the morpheme *-soŋ* also marks direct evidential perfective aspect, and it is homophonous with the imperative form of the verb *ɖo* 'to go'. As an aspect marker, *-soŋ* applies directly to the verb stem of the main clause.

A Cause linkage is also shown by adding the dative/locative case *=la* to the Supporting nominalized clause. The nominalized Supporting clause may be marked for definiteness. The dative *=la* also applies to NPs and marks a Recipient semantic role in extended argument function (E) or marks a spatial peripheral argument. With clauses, the dative/locative *=la* mark Cause linkage with a meaning 'because' or 'for':

(824) [kʰyo = ge ʔotɕin lap-náŋ-ŋai = di = **la**]SC [násmeti
2SG = ERG like.that say-give.HON-NOMZ = DEF = DAT very.much

kaɖintɕʰe-soŋ]FC
be.grateful-PERV.DIRECT
'**Because** you have spoken like that, I felt immensely grateful'

Furthermore, Brokpa has a frequently used sentential conjunction *ʔo-soŋ = di = la* (DEM.PROX-because = DEF = DAT) 'because (of that)', 'due to that', which is formed by a reduced form of the demonstrative *ʔoti*, the aspect marker/clause linker *-soŋ*, the definiteness marker *= di* followed by the dative/locative *= la*.[4] This demonstrative-derived sentence conjunction, introduces the Focal clause of a Cause linking:

(825) [dʱuŋ-tɕʰok-pi tɕo-pʰi = gi lamluk ʔo-ɖou = ʑi? duŋ]SC
beat-PERM-NOMZ make-NOMZ = GEN system DEM-SIMI = INDEF COP.PERV

[**ʔo-soŋ = di = la** te ŋa zapta maŋbu = ʑi?
DEM.PROX-because = DEF = DAT PART 1SG beating many = INDEF

da kʰoŋ = gi ʔotɕins taŋ]FC
PART 3PL = ERG like.that do:PERV
'There was a system in which beating was allowed, **because** of that they gave me too much beating'

This type of Cause linking involves two main clauses, but semantically the first clause shows a cause or reason; therefore, the first clause is the Supporting clause, and the second clause shows result or purpose and is the Focal clause.

Finally, Cause linkage in Brokpa can be shown by stating the Focal clause first and then introducing the Supporting clause using a reported speech construction. The reported speech construction in a clause linking function is formed by an interrogative word followed by the generic verb *se* 'to say'[5] and then followed by the conditional *-na*, as in *tɕi se-na* (what say-COND) '(why) because', '(lit. 'if told what'). Consider:

[4] Sometimes, this clause linker occurs without the demonstrative as *-soŋ = di = la* following the predicate of the dependent clause.

[5] The quotative enclitic *= se* has grammaticalized from the verb *se* ~ *ze* 'say'. The use of *se* as a verb is found only in restricted circumstances such as in this one where it takes the conditional marker *-na*.

(826) [ŋa tsʰokpa=i naŋ=la ʑu-ma-ɲæn]FC
1SG committee=GEN RELAT:INSD=LOC tell.HON-NEG-be.able

[**tɕi se-na** gaŋtʰaŋ=ge=raŋ ...má-suŋ-pʰi]SC
what say-COND everybody=ERG=EMPH ...NEG-say.HON-PERV
'I could not speak in the committee, **because** nobody said anything'

The verb 'say' is used in 'quotative complex' constructions with a range of grammaticalized functions in neighbouring Tibeto-Burman languages such as Newari, Sherpa, Jirel, Magar, Methei, and Adi, and is supposed to be an areal feature due to Indic influence (see Saxena 1988). But Brokpa has two forms of the verb 'say', *se* and *lap*, and both forms have several grammaticalized functions including quotations and conjunctions, even though Brokpa is not geographically contiguous with Indic languages. Cause linkage is just one example of it.

Cause linkage achieved by grammaticalized speech verb occurring with a question word, as in (826), involves two main clauses. Semantically, the first clause is the Focal clause describing the consequence, and the second is the Supporting clause which states reason or cause. The use of the speech verb in causal linkage is reminiscent of a common Tibeto-Burman pattern described by Saxena (1988).

Furthermore, a Cause linkage in Brokpa can be shown by the ergative/instrumental case marker =*ge*, attached directly to the verb root or to the nominalized verb in the supporting clause, as in:

(827) ŋi pʰama=di=su yin-ne=ye lona ya=la
1PL parent=DEF=PL COP.EGO-CNSV=EMPH age up=ALL

ga-li=**ge** te laika=ye gya-mi-tʰob-ba
go-NOMZ=INST PART work=EMPH do-NEG-ABIL-MIR
'Because we, the parents have got old, we are also not able to work'

The ergative/instrumental case showing Cause linkage can be attested in closely related languages such as Classical Tibetan and Dzongka; it is also reported for other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Kham (see Watters 2009:21).

15.2.2.2 Result

Result linkage is shown by two clause linkers: (1) *ten=nœ* (rely.on=ABL) 'due to, since, because', and (2) *ʑor=nœ* roughly meaning 'as a result', and (3) *ʔo(ti)=la ten(=nœ)* 'for that reason'. The marker *ten=næ* is a combination of the grammaticalized verb *ten* meaning 'to depend/rely on' plus the ablative/sequential *=nœ*, but the verb has undergone decategorialization (see Hopper and Traugott 2003:106-114; Brinton and Traugott 2005:25-26 for discussions on 'decategorialization'). Similarly, *ʑor* is a relator roughly meaning 'sake' or 'purpose'. All these phrases, despite consisting of several morphemes, effectively function as conjunctive elements at the intra-sentence as well as inter-sentence levels.

In a Result linkage, the Supporting clause is nominalized and preposed to the Focal clause. (1) and (2) mark the Supporting clause while (3) introduces the Focal clause.

Examples of Result linkage shown by the grammaticalized conjunction *ten=nœ* include:

(828) a. [me+ɤ̥a tɕʰuŋku=ʑiʔ láŋ+ga-li **ten=næ**]SC [te
fire+burn small=INDEF rise+go-NOMZ rely.on=ABL PART

Merak=se ʔotɕis lap-to]FC
Merak=QUOT like.this say-FINAL
'**Since** a small fire broke out there, it is called 'Merak' (lit. 'fire-burning')'

b. [yóm=næ ɖo-sa me-ti **ten=næ**]SC
take.detour=SEQ go-NOMZ:LOCTV NEG.EXIST-NOMZ rely.on=ABL

[gaŋsaŋ
everything

mí nor gaŋ ʔoti=næ ma=la ɤ̥oŋ-taŋ-ŋai]FC
person cattle ALL DEM.PROX=ABL down=ALL push+send-PERV
'**Since** there was no way to make a detour, all —humans, cattle— were pushed downhill from there'

Sentence (828a) is regarding the etymology of the place name 'Merak'. The Focal clause, 'It is called Merak', is as a result of what is described by the Supporting clause, the outbreak of a small fire. Similarly, in (828b), the pushing of humans and cattle downhill (Focal clause) was due to the fact that there was no option of a detour.

In the same vein, the phrase *ʑor=næ* marks Supporting nominalized clause which may be followed by the genitive marker. This relator typically occurs with peripheral NPs, but it appears as clause-linking marker in spontaneous conversation rather than in planned narratives. The relator *ʑor* can also occur with the dative/locative *=la*. When *ʑor* takes the locative *=la* it shows a Purpose linking, and when it is followed by the ablative/sequential marker it shows a Result linking.

Examples of *ʑor=næ* marking Result linking include:

(829) a. [kʰoŋ=ba?=kʰe lú ɲór-mi=gi **ʑor=næ**]SC ŋa
3PL=PL=ERG song sing-NOMZ=GEN relator:sake=ABL 1SG

ʈowa+tʰö-ti]FC
enjoyment+come.out-PERV
'I was happy **due to** them singing (songs)'
Lit. 'I enjoyed due to them singing'

b. pʰrugu=ba? ɲén+gyak-pi=gi **ʑor=næ**]SC [ŋe=raŋ
child=PL marriage+do-NOMZ=GEN RELAT:sake=SEQ 1PL=EMPH

mí pʰo?]FC
person hit
'We are related **as a result of** our children marrying'

In both the sentences above, what is described by the Focal clause is the natural result of that described by the Supporting clause. In (829a), the fact that the speaker enjoyed was the natural result of the other people singing. Similarly, in (829b), the fact that the referents of the first person plural pronoun are related is the natural consequence of their children marrying each other.

The phrase *ʔo(ti)=la ten(=næ)* 'for that reason' or 'for this reason', introduces the Focal clause in a result linkage. The same examples (828a) and (828b) above can

be repeated to show the shifting in marking of Result linkage from the Supporting clause to the Focal clause:

(830) a. [me + r̥a tɕʰuŋku = ʑi? láŋ + ga-li]SC [**ʔoti = la** **ten = næ**
fire + burn small = INDEF rise + go-NOMZ DEM.PROX = LOC rely.on = ABL

te
PART

Meraʔ = se ʔotɕis lap-to]FC
Merak = QUOT like.this say-FINAL
'A small fire broke out, **for that reason** it is called 'Merak' (lit. 'fire-burning')'

b. [yóm = næ ɖo-sa me-ti]SC [**ʔo = la**
take.detour = SEQ go-NOMZ:LOC NEG.EXIST-NOMZ DEM.PROX = LOC

ten gaŋsaŋ
due.to everything

mí nor gaŋ ʔoti = næ ma = la r̥oŋ-taŋ-ŋai]FC
person cattle ALL DEM.PROX = ABL down = ALL push + send-PERV
'There was no way to make detour, **and so** all —humans, cattle— were pushed downhill from there'

Note that there is a slight difference in the reading of the two sentences in (828a) and (828b), where the marker of the Result linkage is *ten = næ* on the Supporting clause, as compared to the two same sentences in (830a) and (830b) where the Result linkage is achieved by the phrase *ʔo(ti) = la ten(= næ)* associated with the Focal clause. In this type of Result linkage where the Supporting clause is nominalized and preposed to the Focal clause which is introduced by a grammaticalized conjunction, the nominalized Supporting clause can also be an independent clause syntactically.

It is quite clear that if the demonstrative is involved in deriving a clause linker in Brokpa, that clause linker will be associated with the Focal clause with an anaphoric reference to the preceding Supporting clause. For example, the relator with ablative *ʑor = næ*, which otherwise marks Supporting clause in a Result linkage as in (829) above, can be preceded by the demonstrative *ʔoti* optionally followed by the genitive

marker and the resulting phrase *ʔoti=gi ʑor=nœ* (DEM.PROX=GENRELAT:sake=ABL) 'due to that' can mark the Resulting linkage. However, when the demonstrative is involved, this marker of the Result linkage will be associated with the Focal clause and not with the Supporting clause.

15.2.2.3 Purpose

Purpose linkage in Brokpa is shown by the marker *don(da)=la* 'for the sake of' or 'in order to'. This marker of Purpose linkage is a combination of the relator *don(da)* which means 'meaning' or 'purpose' followed by the dative/locative *=la*. As a relator, *don(da)* marks a benefactive peripheral argument. As a marker of Purpose linkage, *don(da)=la* applies to the nominalized Dependent clause which may optionally be followed by the genitive marker. Consider:

(831) a. [ʔoyi tse=la ɖo=mi=gi **donda=la**]DC:FC
up.there RELAT:TIP=DAT go-NOMZ=GEN RELAT:purpose=DAT

[ʔama=baʔ=kʰe
lady=PL=ERG

tsʰok+pʰui ɕiŋdo+pʰui [...] sar]MC:SC
food.offering+select.portion fruit+select.portion [...] pack
'The ladies pack the select portions of food offering and fruits **for the purpose of** taking them up there'

b. kʰoŋ=raŋ ɲí [ɲén+gya-mi=gi **don=la**]DC:FC
3PL=REFL.EMPH two marriage+do-NOMZ=GEN RELAT:purpose=DAT

[bro+tɕʰi-ti]MC:SC
escape+go-PERV
'The two of them eloped in order to marry/for the sake of marrying'

In a Purpose linkage, the Supporting clause describes what was done to make sure that the event or state of the Focal clause should take place, along the lines of Dixon (2009). Based on this, the Dependent clause is the Focal clause and the Main clause the semantic Supporting clause in Brokpa.

In (831a), the Main clause is the Supporting clause because it shows what is done (packing of food offering) to make sure that the event described by the Dependent clause (going up there), which is semantically the Focal clause, takes place. In the same vein, in (831b), the Main clause is the Supporting clause and the Dependent clause the Focal; the Main clause shows what was done volitionally to make the event, that of marrying, happen which is described by the Dependent clause.

15.2.3 Possible consequence

Brokpa has two techniques for showing Possible consequence linkage. One is by placing the Focal clause first in the positive imperative mood and then introducing the Supporting clause with the demonstrative *ʔo* followed by the negative copula *man*. These two syntactic elements function as an introducer of the Supporting clause of a Possible consequence linkage with a meaning 'or else, otherwise'. However, Possible consequence involving this technique does not appear in my corpus although it can be frequently observed in the everyday language. Consider:

(832) [diriŋ kʰyo ŋa=i kʰyim=la ɲaː+dʱo]FC
today 2SG 1SG=GEN house=LOC sleep+stay

[**ʔo** **man** ŋa sem-mi-gaː]SC
DEM.PROX NEG.COP 1SG mind-NEG-be.happy
'You sleep in my house today, **or else** I will not be happy'

Example (832) was noted during my fieldwork. Traditionally, it is not uncommon for a host in the Bhutanese society to ask a guest to sleep in their house even if it is not a time for sleeping. It is one of those special cultural and social norms such as offering food and drinks to guests. A lama mentioned sentence (832) to me and one of my Fieldwork consultants when we went to his house for a recording. For some speakers, the conditional marker *-na* can be heard following the negative copula, as *ʔo man-na* (lit. 'if not that') in the same Possible consequence linking construction. Note

that in (832), the Supporting clause is negative and the Focal clause positive. It does not have to be always like this. The Supporting clause can also be positive and the Focal clause negative in a Possible consequence linkage.

Like in a Purpose linkage, the Focal clause precedes the Supporting clause in a Possible consequence linkage. However, syntactically, both the clauses— Supporting and Focal— in a Possible consequence linkage involving this technique have the same status, that of a Main clause. It goes without saying that an imperative clause can be a main clause in a biclausal linking or a sentence involving multiple clauses, and it can stand alone as a complete sentence. When an imperative clause stands as a complete sentence, it is typically accompanied by a rising intonation pattern. However, semantically, in a Possible consequence linkage, the imperative clause is the Focal clause— describing what is to be done or not done— followed by the Supporting clause— describing a possible consequence— which is introduced by the demonstrative and the negative copula[6]. In (832), 'You sleep in my house today' is the semantic Focal clause and 'I will not be happy' is the possible consequence.

The other technique for showing Possible consequence is to negate the predicate of the Supporting clause followed by the conditional marker. In other words, this technique of showing a Possible consequence is by negating a Conditional clause. Consider:

(833) [ʔoti lænse=ɕi ʔ **ma**-lap-**na**]DC:FC [mo=ye
DEM.PROX reply=INDEF NEG-say-COND 3SG.FEM=EMPH

sem+ɕi-ro]MC:SC
mind+die-FINAL
'If we don't give a reply, she will also be disheartened'

In (833), the first clause 'If we don't give a reply' is the semantic Focal clause as it describes what is to be done and the second clause 'She will also be disheartened' is the

[6] Alternatively, the demonstrative *ʔo* and the negative copula *man* together can be analyzed as a monomorpheme syntactic marker *ʔoman* with a meaning 'or else' or 'otherwise'. There is no pause in between. My English literate consultants think of this form as a single word.

Supporting clause showing the possible consequence. Similar to (832) above, the Focal clause precedes the Supporting clause, but, in contrast to (832), the semantic Focal clause is a syntactic Dependent clause in (833), and a subordinate one at that, with the conditional *-na* as a marker of subordination. This kind of technique— employing a negative Conditional clause to achieve a Possible consequence linkage— is reported for Galo, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Tani branch (see Post 2009).

15.2.4 Addition

An Addition linkage is one that is not in any other clause linking relation including Temporal, Condition, Consequence, Possible consequence, Alternative, or Manner (Dixon 2009). Dixon mentions four subtypes of Addition linkage: Unordered addition, Same-event addition, Elaboration, and Contrast. Brokpa has some ways and means for showing all the subtypes. Some subtypes may utilize the same morphemes used for achieving other linkage types, but it will be the instance of a single form with different functions.

15.2.4.1 Unordered addition

There are two ways of showing Unordered addition linkage in Brokpa: apposition and using the polyfunctional morpheme *=daŋ*.

Strictly speaking, Unordered addition is effectively handled by apposition of clauses, as in:

(834) [lala zomo názi + gya-go-ro]MC [lala zaŋ
some cross.bred.yak herder + do-OBLIG-FINAL some yak

názi + gya-go-ro]MC [lala = ni lu? ta-go-ro]MC [lala = ni
herder + do-OBLIG-FINAL some = TOP sheep see-OBLIG-FINAL some = TOP

te da pʰaltsʰul korgya + ɖo-go-ro]MC
PART PART here.there grain.collection + go-OBLIG-FINAL
'Some have to herd the cross-bred yaks, some have to herd the yaks, some have to go around for grain collection'

In (834), four independent clauses describing distinct events, but all relating to a typical lifestyle of a Brokpa family, occur in apposition without any marker. All four clauses are of equal status. Each clause can stand independently as a sentence. The order of these clauses can be interchanged without impacting the overall meaning of all the clauses put together. Temporal sequence is not important and therefore not stated. The events described by those clauses in (834) usually take place simultaneously if there are enough sons and/or daughters in a Brokpa family. If not, those events can happen in either order.

As noted in §15.2.1.2, the morpheme *=daŋ* coordinates NPs with a meaning of 'and', functions as a comitative case marker with a meaning 'with' and also shows Relative time linkage meaning 'as soon as' or 'immediately after'. The morpheme *=daŋ* also joins complement clauses which is outside the scope of this paper. The morpheme *=daŋ* marking Unordered addition clause linkage with its 'and' meaning is not quite clear. Unordered addition linkage shown by *=daŋ* is extremely rare in my corpus. Consider:

(835) kʰoŋ=ge tsuk-pi=**daŋ** ŋa=ye tsuk-ku
3PL=ERG put.in-PERV=CNTV 1SG=EMPH put.in-FUT.IMPERV
'They have put it in **and** I will also put it in'

In (835), two independent clauses are conjoined by the enclitic *=daŋ* which is cliticizable to the first clause. Semantically, there is no Supporting versus Focal clause distinction in an Unordered addition.

One of my consultants received a voice message on his phone while we were transcribing a text and I heard sentence (835). The speaker who sent the recorded voice message was complaining about the fact that other people have sent a lot of unwanted images in their social media forum and he was saying that he will also do the same. He used the enclitic *=daŋ* to join the clause describing what others have done and then describing what he will do.

Note that the Gift role in O function which is the 'stickers' was mentioned in an early part of the recorded voice message and is omitted in the two clauses in (835). Two independent clauses, one in the perfective and the other in the future imperfective, are coordinated. The suffix *-pi* in the first clause is functioning as a marker of the perfective aspect, describing a completed action in this instance, and not a nominalizer. The following main clause ending in the future imperfective aspect also supports this analysis.

15.2.4.2 Same-event addition

Same-event addition linkage in Brokpa can be expressed by one of the following ways: utilizing the connective *máts^{h}œ* which approximately means 'not only ~ but' in English, by *tse=la* 'in addition', 'besides', 'on top of', which is the relator *tse* 'tip' followed by the locative marker *=la* , and the ablative marker *=nœ* 'and (so)' which also marks Temporal succession (§15.2.1.1).

All these markers occur with the Focal clause which precedes the Supporting clause, which inversely correspond to the syntactic Main clause and the Dependent clause; that is, the syntactic Dependent clause is the semantic Focal clause, and the syntactic Main clause the semantic Supporting clause.

The connective *máts^{h}œ* follows a nominalized Dependent, semantically Focal, clause which may or may not be followed by the genitive marker:

(836) [ʔot mí ɖo-mi me-ti=gi **máts^{h}æ**]DC:FC
DEM.PROX person go-NOMZ NEG.EXIST-NOMZ=GEN not.only.but

[...] [t^{h}akpa=tɕiʔ=næ zuŋ-ti=raŋ ya=te k^{h}er-ma
[...] rope=INDEF=ABL start-NOMZ=EMPH up=ALL take-MIR.IMPERV

me-ti-na]MC:SC
NEG.EXIST-NOMZ-FACT
'**Not only** are those people not allowed to go, **but** also they cannot take (anything) up there starting from a rope'

In (836), the Supporting clause is the Main clause as it describes an aspect of the event, with contrastive overtones, which follows from that described by the Focal clause, which is the Dependent clause.

In the same vein, the marker *=nœ* can be used in a non-temporal sense to mark a Same-event addition in a clause-chaining construction:

(837) [kʰyo=daŋ pʰræ=**næ**]DC.FC [sem+gaː-soŋ]MC:SC
2SG=COM meet=SEQ mind+be.happy-PERV.DIRECT
'I met you **and (so)** I am happy'

In a Same-event addition shown by the morphological sequential marker *=nœ* in a clause chain also, the syntactic Main clause is the semantic Supporting clause and the Dependent clause the Supporting clause. In (837), the state described by the Main clause (the speaker being happy) depends on the event described by the Dependent clause (his meeting with the hearer). Hence, there is no direct correspondence between the syntactic Dependent and Main clauses and the semantic Supporting and Focal clauses here.

Furthermore, Same-event addition can be shown by the relator *tse* obligatorily followed by the locative *=la*. The resulting form *tse=la* meaning 'in addition to', 'moreover' applies to the nominalized Focal clause which is stated before the Supporting clause:

(838) [bomo=ye den laika dukʰur kʰyakpo
girl=EMPH PART work hardworking resolute

yo-ti=gi **tse=la**]FC [kyaptɕʰokpu tu?]SC
EXIST.EGO-NOMZ=GEN RELAT:TIP=LOC good.looking EXIST.DIRECT
'The girl also is good-looking **in addition to** being hard-working'
Lit. 'The girl, on top of being hardworking, is good-looking'

Example (838) contains two existential clauses. The first clause, which is nominalized followed by the genitive, describes the main quality (state) of the girl, therefore the semantic Focal clause. The second existential clause with the subject shown

via zero anaphora describes an additional quality of the girl which follows from that described by the Focal clause, and therefore it is the Supporting clause.

15.2.4.3 Elaboration

Elaboration addition in Brokpa is achieved by apposition of two main clauses, just like one of the strategies for showing Unordered addition (§15.2.4.1). Consider:

(839) [ʔoyi teŋ=la den tsʰoʔ lúk=næ te
up.there RELAT:SURF=LOC PART food.offering serve=ABL.SEQ PART

gaŋyu tsʰoʔ za-gi-yo-na]MC:SC
ALL food.offering eat-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO-FACT

[tsʰoʔ ʑæ=næ tɕʰaŋ tuŋ=næ de=næ
food.offering eat=ABL.SEQ liquor drink=ABL.SEQ DEM=ABL

tɕinam gya-gi-yo-na]MC:FC
other.things do-IMPERV-EXIST.EGO-FACT
'We serve the food offerings and eat up there, we eat food offerings, drink liquors, and then we do other things'

The second clause— the semantic Focal clause— provides an elaboration on what was already provided by the first clause. Although both the clauses in (839) can stand alone as an independent clause, the first clause is the Supporting clause because it provides only a limited information, that of eating the food offerings up there. The second clause is the Focal clause because it provides all the details or the fuller information.

In this type of construction, that is showing Elaboration addition by apposition, the first clause (Supporting clause) is typically accompanied by a non-sentence final intonation. There is no pause between the two clauses in an Elaboration addition, as would normally be expected between two independent sentences.

15.2.4.4 Contrast

There are three markers for Contrast linkage, *ɕin(tari)* 'but'/'although'/'however', *yin-ne(=ye)* 'even then'/'however', and *matakpa(læ)/matokpa* 'although'/'otherwise'. Syntactically, Contrast linkage in Brokpa typically involves two independent clauses. Semantically, the second clause is the Focal clause as the information provided by it contrasts with that of the first. The marker *ɕin(tari)* marks the Supporting clause in a Contrast linkage. Consider:

(840) a. [teː+ta=di=la wok+taŋ-gu sam
pick+see=DEF=LOC throw.away+send-FUT.IMPERV think:PERV

ɕintari]SC [da ŋa
but PART 1SG

saŋ pʰa=la te pʰon me-ti sam den
tomorrow there=ALL PART phone NEG.EXIST-NOMZ think PART

ʑak-pi]FC
leave-PERV
'When I picked up I thought of throwing it away, **but** I thought I won't have a phone from tomorrow, I kept it'

b. [láp sam-kʰu **ɕin**]SC [ŋa=ye lap-ma-ɲæn-pʰi
tell think-FUT.IMPERV but 1SG=EMPH tell-NEG-listen-PERV

dʱæ-ti]FC
stay-PERV
'Although I would like to tell (him), I also could not tell (him)'

In both (840a) and (840b), the information provided by the Focal clause contrasts with that of the Supporting clause. In other words, Supporting clause provides one piece of information, and the Focal provides another piece of information which is quite the opposite.

The second marker of Contrast linkage *yin-ne(=ye)* 'even then', 'however' is composed of the relational copula verb *yin* followed by the concessive suffix *-ne* and optionally followed by the emphatic *=ye*. This grammaticalized marker of Contrast

in Brokpa is the same as the Contrastive marker <yin na'ang> in Classical Tibetan, which means 'even though', 'but', 'however', 'although', depending on context. The Contrast marker <yin na'ang> in Classical Tibetan is also formed by the copula <yin>, the concessive <na> and the emphatic <yang>, just like in Brokpa.

In Brokpa, *yin-ne=ye* introduces a Focal clause, as in:

(841) ...[paŋkʰep=daŋ kʰada=di zin+ga-soŋ]SC [te
...apron=CNTV scarf=DEF finish+go-PERV.DIRECT PART

yin-ne=ye
COP-CNSV=EMPH

da kʰi=la diriŋ kamtɕʰa=ʑi? den da
PART 2PL=DAT today dry.gift=INDEF PART PART

pʰu:+taŋ-go-ro]FC
give.HON+send-OBLIG-FINAL
'We ran out of aprons and scarves, **even then** we will offer you a dry gift (cash)'

Example (841) consists of two independent clauses, the second one introduced by *yin-ne=ye*. The first clause provides one piece of information, about the running out of the stock of aprons and scarves. The second clause introduces another piece of information, that of providing 'dry gift' which is a cash payment in lieu of the aprons and scarves, considered an important wedding gift in the Brokpa culture. The information of the second clause contrasts with that of the first.

Sometimes the marker *-ɕin(tari)* and *yin-ne(ye)* can co-occur in a Contrast linkage, with the former marking the Supporting clause and the latter Focal clause:

(842) [wái ʔot ŋi=ta ma-bo **ɕintari**]SC
INTJ DEM.PROX 1PL=FOC NEG-invite.PERV but

[**yin-ne=ye**
COP-CNSV=EMPH:even.then

ɲénŋepʰ pʰambutsʰa yin ŋi ɖo-go-ɦioŋ]FC
kith.kin parent.child COP.EGO 1PL do-OBLIG-POTEN
'Oops, WE are not invited, even then we must go as we are all family members and relatives'

When both *ɕin(tari)* and *yin-ne=ye* co-occur, there can be a pause in between them. This shows that *ɕin(tari)* is associated with the preceding Supporting clause and *yin-ne=ye* with the following Focal clause.

Examples of *matakpalæ* marking Contrast linkage include:

(843) [ʔunla yin-na te baŋɕuŋ=se]SC [**matakpalæ**
before COP.EGO-COND PART cane.basket=QUOT although

da diriŋ+saŋ-ɖou tʰali=se lap-pʰi ʔo-ɖou
PART today+tomorrow-like plate=QUOT say-NOMZ DEM.PROX-SIMI

minuŋ]FC
NEG.EXIST
'If it is in the olden days, **although** there was a so-called 'cane basket', there was no such things as 'plate' like nowadays'

The Focal clause, introduced by the morpheme *matakpalæ*, contrasts with the preceding Supporting clause in (843).

15.2.5 Alternatives

Alternative clause linkage includes Disjunction, Rejection, and Suggestion.

15.2.5.1 Disjunction

Dixon (2009) mentions two types of Disjunction linkage:

"open disjunction: X or Y (but there is a small chance that neither may hold)

closed disjunction: X or Y (with no further alternative possible)"

It is interesting to note that Brokpa has separate syntactic markers for indicating these two different types of disjunction. An open disjunction in Brokpa is shown by the connective *yaŋman(a)* 'if not (lit. 'if it is not again')' or *yaŋna(n)* 'or else (lit. 'if not again really')', and the closed disjunction by the connective *nam* meaning 'or' or 'whether'.

The open disjunction markers *yaŋman* and *yaŋna* superficially look similar, but they differ in their second components. The morpheme *yaŋman* is composed of *yaŋ* which is the same as the Classical Tibetan <yang> 'again', 'moreover', 'further' and the negative copula *man*. In contrast, *yaŋna* is composed of the morpheme *yaŋ* and the conditional *-na*.

The morpheme *yaŋman* sometimes occurs as *yaŋmana*, with an additional syllable, which is actually a combination of the Disjunction marker *yaŋman* plus the conditional *-na*, after a consonant degemination has applied. Likewise, the Disjunction marker *yaŋna* may appear as *yaŋnan*, with a final /n/, which is a fusion of *yaŋna* and the the topic marker *=ni* after the deletion of the final vowel.

Etymological origins notwitstanding, both *yaŋman(a)* and *yaŋna(n)* have grammaticalized and effectively become disjunctive conjunctions in Brokpa.

In Classical Tibetan, the morpheme <yang> is also used as an emphatic marker. In Brokpa too, the emphatic morpheme *=ye* is actually a phonologically reduced form of the morpheme *yaŋ*.

A Disjunction linkage involves clauses with equal status without a Supporting versus Focal clause distinction in Brokpa as is the case cross-linguistically (see Dixon 2009). In an open disjunction, both clauses can be nominalized or can be inflected for aspect, modality, and knowledge categories. The second clause, describing the second alternative, is introduced by one of the open disjunction markers. There can be more than two alternatives in a Disjunction linkage. Consider:

(844) de = næ goto = gi ŋám ton-tɕu?
DEM = ABL rooster = GEN sound take.out-CAUS

yaŋman kyi = yi ŋám ton-tɕu?
or.else dog = GEN sound take.out-CAUS

yaŋman buŋbu = i ŋám ton-tɕu?
or.else donkey = GEN sound take.out-CAUS
'After that, make them produce a rooster's sound, or else make them produce a dog's sound, or else make them produce a donkey's sound'

Example (844) contains three syntactically independent clauses, each clause realized by a causative construction. The second and the third clauses describing Disjunctive alternatives are introduced by the grammaticalized conjunction *yaŋman(a)*.

In the same vein, two or more clauses of equal status can be linked by the connective *yaŋna(n)* showing open disjunction, as in:

(845) kʰoŋ = raŋ = ba? = ti tʰoŋ-ri-lá = ʑi? dʑuŋ-yoduŋ
3PL = REFL = PL = DEF see-NOMZ-SIMI = INDEF occur-EXIST.INFER

yaŋnan tʰoŋ-ri dʑuŋ-meduŋ
or see-FINAL occur-NEG.EXIST.INFER
'They might have seen each other, or they may not have seen each other'

In (845) there are two clauses, one positive polarity and the other negative, introduced by the Disjunctive conjunction *yaŋnan*. Note that the negative clause is also an independent clause with its subject argument omitted under identity.

A closed disjunction is shown by the connective *nam* meaning 'or' or 'whether'. This connective *nam* can also occur with an interrogative word and function as a question marker in content questions. The presence of an interrogative word within a clause is a telltale sign of the interrogative function of *nam*. As a Disjunctive conjunction, *nam* joins two or more clauses of equal status and shows a closed disjunction, as in:

(846) ...goŋgo=næ tsʰu=la den yu: námoŋ
...threshold=ABL this.side=ALL PART village edge

tsʰu=la kʰyoŋ-go-ti **nam** yu: bar
this.side=ALL bring-OBLIG-NOMZ or village middle

tsʰu=la kʰyoŋ-go-ti **nam**...
this.side=ALL bring-OBLIG-NOMZ or...
'Whether they have to bring it from the house (threshold) on this side to the edge of village **or** they have to bring it to the middle of the village **or**...'

In (846), the speaker is talking about the local tradition of organizing *dantɕʰaŋ* 'drink reception', a term which can mean 'farewell drinks' or 'welcome drinks' organized during big social events such as a wedding ceremony, pilgrimage trips, or to honour some reception guests. The speaker is saying that this 'drink reception' has to be organized EITHER in the outskirts of the village OR it has to be organized in the centre of the village. This technique of showing closed disjunction in Brokpa is an 'exclusive closed disjunction: (either) X or Y but not both', in line with Dixon (2009).

15.2.5.2 Rejection

Rejection alternative in Brokpa can be shown by using the grammaticalized conjunction *tsʰama* 'instead of', *mani* also meaning 'instead of', or by the egophoric copula *yin* and its negative *man*. Rejection alternative linkage can also be shown simply by apposition.

The Brokpa grammaticalized conjunction *tsʰama* appears to be a loanword from Tshangla. Tshangla has this same word *tsʰama* meaning 'substitute' which is also used for marking Rejection alternative with the meaning 'instead of'. We speculate it to be a Tshangla loanword because Brokpa has another word *tsʰap* 'substitute' which is shared with other Bodish languages including Dzongkha and Classical Tibetan. The connective *tsʰama* may be optionally followed by the dative/locative marker *=la*.

Rejection construction involving *tsʰama* does not appear in my corpus, but can easily be observed in everyday language. Used as a marker of Rejection alternative,

ts^{h}ama(=la) applies to the Supporting clause which is syntactically a nominalized Dependent clause. The Supporting clause may be optionally followed by the genitive marker. The genitive marker appears between a clause-linker such as a relator and the preceding clause if the predicate of that clause is realized by nominalization. However, the genitive marking in this kind of construction is not obligatory:

(847) [ŋa=e k^{h}o rup+laŋ-tɕuk-pi(=gi) **ts^{h}ama(=la)**]DC:SC
1SG=ERG 3SG.MASC anger+arise-CAUS-NOMZ(=GEN) instead.of

[gæ+ɕor-tɕuk-pi]MC:FC
laugh+let.out-CAUS-PERV
'Instead of making him angry, I made him laugh'

Example (847) involves two clauses with a shared A argument and O argument, but a Rejection alternative construction can also involve two clauses with different core arguments.

The same sentence (847) can be used with the rejection conjunction *mani*, but the nominalizer of the Supporting clause changes from *-pi* to the instrumental nominalizer *-ma*, also marking mirativity, as in:

(848) [ŋa=e k^{h}o rup+laŋ-tɕuk-ma **mani**]DC:SC
1SG=ERG 3SG.MASC anger+arise-CAUS-NOMZ:INST instead.of

[gæ+ɕor-tɕuk-pi]MC:FC
laugh+let.out-CAUS-PERV
'**Instead of** making him angry, I made him laugh'

Furthermore, Rejection alternative can be shown by the egophoric copula *yin* and its negative counterpart *man*. In this type, the negative copula *man* applies to the Supporting clause which is nominalized and the copula *yin* applies to the Focal clause, also nominalized. Syntactically, the two clauses have equal status:

(849) [ŋi = gi tɕʰaŋ rin dega dʑin-ni **man** = s]MC:SC
1PL = GEN alcohol value free give-NOMZ NEG.COP.EGO = ASSERT

[rup dʑin-ni **yin** = s]MC:FC
money give-NOMZ COP.EGO = ASSERT
'Our alcohol was not given for free, we have paid money'

In (849), the speaker rejects the fact that the alcohol was given for free in the Supporting clause and then he mentions that he has paid money for it.

Furthermore, Rejection alternative can be effectively handled by apposition. Instead of using the grammaticalized conjunction *tsʰama* which involves a Dependent (non-main) versus Main clause structure, as in (847), a Rejection alternative indicated by apposition involves two syntactically independent clauses, as in:

(850) [ʔotɕins petɕʰa má-tæ-pʰi ma-dᶯo = s]MC:SC [da
like.this book NEG-see-NOMZ NEG-stay.IMP = ASSERT PART

petɕʰa = ta petɕʰa kʰaʔ + tɕʰe-gu-na = s]MC:FC
book = TOP book importance + be.big-FUT.IMPERV-FACT = ASSERT
'Don't stay like this without studying, Education (book) really will be important'

In (850), the addressee in a state of not studying (as expressed by the Supporting clause) is rejected in favour of education (what is described by the Focal clause) indicating that the addressee should study instead of wasting their time.

In (850), the Supporting clause expressing what is rejected is in the negative imperative, and the Focal clause expressing what is to be done in place of rejection is in the declarative. But a Rejection alternative can be in apposition with the Supporting clause in the negative imperative while the Focal clause is positive, as in:

(851) [kʰyo tɕʰaŋ **má-tʰuŋ**]MC:SC [dʑa **tʰuŋ**]MC:FC
2SG alcohol NEG-drink.IMP tea drink.IMP
'You don't drink alcohol, (you) drink tea'

In (851), Rejection alternative is achieved by an apposition of two main clauses. The first clause, the Supporting clause, expresses a negative command (negative imperative) and the second clause, the Focal clause, a positive command (positive imperative). The drinking of alcohol described by the Supporting clause is rejected in favour of drinking tea described by the Focal clause.

15.2.5.3 Suggestion

A suggestion alternative is shown by the ablative case marker *=læ* which is used as a mark of comparison in comparative constructions. In a Suggestion alternative linking, the marker *=læ* is added to the Supporting clause which is typically nominalized, as in:

(852) [riŋgo tɕæ-ta=**læ**]SC [den miŋgo tɕæ-ti=gi ga:]FC
mountain.head cut-MIR=ABL PART person.head cut-NOMZ=GEN be.happy
'It will be easier cutting off a person's head rather than cutting off a mountaintop'
Lit. 'It will be happier cutting off human head than mountain head'

In (852), the marker *=læ* is added to the nominalized Supporting clause. The cutting off a mountaintop (what is described by the Supporting clause) is recommended to be discarded in favour of cutting off a person head (what is described by the Focal clause).

15.2.6 Manner

Manner linkage includes Real and Hypothetical.

15.2.6.1 Real

Brokpa indicates Real manner by using the demonstrative adverb *ʔotɕins* 'like this' to introduce the Focal clause. Recall from Chapter 6 that this demonstrative adverb describes manner of doing something. The Supporting clause describes the manner, and the Focal clause describes an action done in the manner described by the Supporting clause. The Supporting clause may be marked by the tag *mo*, as in (853a). Alternatively, the Supporting clause may be marked by the grammaticalized adverbial suffix *-gyan(æ)*, as in (853b), or the Supporting clause may be marked simply by the sequential marker *=næ* , as in (853c):

(853) a. [tɕʰaŋ den botol ridum kaː-ɦioŋ **mó**]SC
alcohol PART bottle full impose-POTEN TAG

[haːp kaː-ɦioŋ **mó**]SC [**ʔotɕins-gyan** kaː=næ]FC...
half impose-POTEN TAG like.that impose=SEQ
'Whether they impose a full bottle or impose a half bottle of alcohol, that is what they impose'

b. [tɕʰatsʰaŋ ɖi me-ti-**gyan**]SC [den **ʔotɕins-gyan**
complete taints NEG.EXIST-NOMZ-ADV PART like.that-ADV

ɖadi+gya-go-pʰi-na]FC
preparation+do-OBLIG-PERV-FACT
'Without there being any taints, like that we prepare'

c. [[p^{h}ama=i ɖinlam dʑor-mi-dʑor [mík tsum=**næ**[7]]ADV.CL.SC
parent=GEN gratitude pay.off-NEG-pay.off eye close=SEQ

ʔotɕins takpa ta-ma-yona]]FC
like.that sign see-MIR-FACT
'We see signs whether we can repay the parents' gratitude by closing eyes'
Lit. 'By closing eyes, like that we see signs whether we can repay the parents' gratitude'

Note that this adverbial suffix *-gyan* is originally a combination of the light verb *gya* 'to do' plus the ablative marker *=næ*, but in this function it has become semantically bleached and functions as an adverbial suffix with a meaning 'as' or 'like'. As illustrated in Chapter 6, Brokpa uses the suffix *-gyan* to derive adverbs from nouns and adjectives. When *-gyan* is added to the manner adverbial *ʔotɕins*, there is an addition of adverbial meaning to the effect 'as like that'.

Syntactically, example (853a) involves all non-Main clauses, and (853b) and (853c) a dependent adverbial clause and a Main clause, respectively. The manner adverbial clause in (853c) is attached to the Main clause using the sequential marker *=næ* on the Dependent clause and the adverb *ʔotɕins* to introduce the Main clause. It shows that the dependent clauses in a sequential clause chain can also be reinterpreted as manner adverbial clauses. Semantically, in all these examples, the Main clause is the Focal clause because it describes how an action is done in the manner described by the preceding clause(s).

As introduced in Chapter 6, Brokpa has two other derived adverbs *ʔoɖou* and *ʔozum*, both having the same meaning as *ʔotɕins* 'like this/that'. These two adverbs—*ʔoɖou* and *ʔozum*— are formed by adding the suffix *-ɖou* and *-zum* both meaning 'like', 'as if' to the demonstrative root *ʔo*. Note that *ʔotɕins* is non-segmentable whereas *ʔoɖou* and *ʔozum* are, with the etymology of both the components being transparent.

Interestingly, the suffix *-ɖou* and *-zum*, on their own, mark Hypothetical manner by attaching to the Supporting clause (see §15.2.6.2), and after lexicalization with the demonstrative mark Real manner by introducing the Focal clause, as in:

[7] As shown §15.2.1.1, the sequential marker *=næ* marks clause chain with a meaning 'and (then)', also marks manner adverbial clauses with a meaning 'by' as in 'by doing X'.

(854) [doŋbo = i loksu = la ɕoː re = næ]DC:SC [**ʔoɖou** maŋbo
face = GEN side = LOC pox become = SEQ like.that many

yoŋ-gi-yona]MC:FC
come-IMPERV-FACT
'Many things happen like pustules erupting on the face'
Lit. 'Pustules erupt on your face; like that many things happen'

Further note that there are other syntactic markers which can be used for showing Real manner in Brokpa. They include *ʈʰiː* 'in accordance with', *tun* 'comply with' or 'in keeping with' which can be heard in everyday speech. In addition, two Classical Tibetan loanwords *tar* 'like', 'as', 'similar to' and *ʑin(du)* also meaning 'like', 'as', 'similar to' are heard marking Real manner clause linkage in formal register. All these markers apply to the Supporting clause which precedes the Focal clause in a Real manner clause linkage.

15.2.6.2 Hypothetical

Brokpa shows Hypothetical manner with the marker *-ɖou* or *-ʑum* both meaning 'like', 'as if'. With lexemes, these two morphemes function as non-word-class-changing derivational suffixes with meanings including 'same', 'like', 'somewhat', 'approximately', etc. As a clause linker, both *-ɖou* and *-ʑum* apply to a nominalized predicate and are glossed 'similative':

(855) ŋa = raŋ = raŋ yin-ni-**ɖou** ŋa = raŋ = raŋ
1SG = REFL = EMPH COP.EGO-NOMZ-SIMI 1SG = REFL = EMPH

ɕeː-pʰi-**ɖou**
know-NOMZ-SIMI

ŋa = raŋ = raŋ tʰoŋ-ŋai-**ɖou** ʑui-ɖo-ro ʔa sam
1SG = REFL = EMPH see-NOMZ-SIMI say.HON-go-FINAL INTJ think.PERV
'I thought I might end up saying **as if** I myself was the only one, **as if** I myself was the one who knows everything, **as if** I myself was the one who has seen everything'

In (855), there are three supporting clauses all marked by the suffix *-ɖou* and then the Focal clause, also the syntactic Main clause. The Focal clause portrays an activity of what the Speaker might say and all the preceding Supporting clauses describe what the speaker might appear like, but isn't. Note that the marker *-ɖou* in all the slots in (855) can be replaced by *-zum* with no difference in meaning.

The marker *-ɖou* can also mark Hypothetical manner involving two existential clauses, attaching to the first which is a semantic Supporting clause, as in:

(856) yu:=di mí+kæ kyi+kæ me-ti-**ɖou** ma-gau
village=DEF person+noise dog+noise NEG.EXIST-NOMZ-SIMI NEG-happy

toŋhaŋhaŋ tuʔ
empty EXIST.DIRECT
'The village is empty **as if** there are no humans or dogs'

Further, the two markers *-ɖou* and *-zum* occur with the demonstrative *ʔo* and, as shown in §15.2.6.1, the resulting forms *ʔoɖou* and *ʔozum* function like a lexicalized word both meaning 'like this/that' marking Real manner just like *ʔotɕins*, also with the same meaning 'like this/that'.

Note that most connectives used for linking clauses at the intra-sentence level can also be used to link sentences at the inter-sentence level to form paragraphs, consisting of a sequence of sentences describing related events or situations. These are particularly those connectives that link independent clauses. The intra-sentence clause linkers functioning as inter-sentence clause linkers are Consequence clause linkers including Cause (see §15.2.2.1), Result (see §15.2.2.2), and Purpose (see §15.2.2.3); Possible consequence (see §15.2.3); Addition clause linkers including Same-event addition (see §15.2.4.2), Elaboration (see §15.2.4.3), and Contrast (see §15.2.4.4); Alternatives including Disjunction (see §15.2.5.1), Rejection (see §15.2.5.2), and the adverbs used for introducing main clauses in Real and Hypothetical Manner linkage (see §§15.2.6.1-15.2.6.2).

In addition to the connectives which can be used to link clauses both at intra-sentence and inter-sentence levels, there are some other connectives which are used for linking sentences in general. The two most frequent inter-sentence connectives are *ʔoti=nœ* (DEM.PROX=ABL), formed by adding the ablative/sequential marker *=nœ* to the demonstrative *ʔoti*, and *de=nœ* (DEM.PROX=ABL), formed by adding the same enclitic to the 'archaic demonstrative *de* (see Chapter 6). These two sentential conjunctions, derived from demonstratives, also occur at the intra-sentence level clause linking such as in Temporal succession and Consequence. They also function as sentential conjunctions, as inter-sentence clause linkers. Both *ʔoti=nœ* and *de=nœ* have the same meanings 'then', 'next', 'after that' since both are proximal demonstratives.

Brokpa has several phrases, which have clausal structure, that are used for linking sentences. Table 117 gives a partial listing of phrases used as inter-sentence linkers in Brokpa.

Table 117. Fixed expressions as inter-sentence clause linkers in Brokpa

FORM	**ETYMOLOGY**	**MEANING**
tɕi se-na	what say-COND	'because' 'if said what/why'
ʔo=daŋ tʰiː-zin	DEM.PROX=COM be.in.agreement-SIM	'in accordance with'
goŋ=gi donda=la	above=GEN meaning=DAT	'for the above reason(s)'
ʔo gya-zin	DEM.PROX do-SIM	'thus, therefore' (lit. 'while doing this')
ʔoti	DEM.PROX	'moreover, besides' (lit. 'within that very essence')
naŋdon-ɲi=lœ	inner.meaning-that.very=ABL	

Finally, note that all inter-sentence connectors can also function as the markers of transition or logical relations between episodes, or what in a written text may be referred to as 'paragraph', to produce a coherent body of discourse. Discourse cohesion beyond sentence will be discussed in Chapter 16.

15.3 Clause linking: summary

Brokpa uses various markers to show different kinds of clause linkages. The grammatical markers associated with different clause linking constructions almost always apply to the dependent clauses. Some case markers and relators which mark NPs also occur with predicates and function as clause linkers. Table 118 gives a comparison of the functions of case markers and relators, or both, with NPs and with clauses.

Table 118. Versatile case markers and relators with clause-linking functions in Brokpa

FORM	WITH NPs	WITH CLAUSES
=næ	Spatial/temporal location 'away from'	Temporal succession 'and (then)', 'after'
=læ	Spatial/temporal location 'from'	Suggestion 'rather than'
=la	Spatial location 'at' (locative) Recipient 'to' (dative)	Point in time 'when' Cause linkage 'because'
=daŋ	Comitative/associative 'with'	Relative time 'as soon as' Unordered addition 'and'
sumke/sakai	Spatial/temporal location 'until'	Length of time 'until'
gaŋ/ɕuŋ/kap(su)	Temporal location 'during'	Length of time 'while'
tse=la	Spatial location 'on'	Same-event addition 'in addition to'
donda=la	Beneficiary 'for the sake of'	Purpose 'in order to'

The case markers apply either directly to the verb stem or to the nominalized verb stem within a dependent clause. The relators are separate phonological words but are associated with the dependent clauses.

The sentential conjunctions derived from demonstratives, copulas, and verbs typically introduce the Focal clause, just like adverbs. A clause linkage shown by apposition involves two independent clauses, either nominalized or with TAM morphology and/or the markers of knowledge distinction.

For the most part, the syntactic Dependent clause coincides with the semantic Supporting clause and the syntactic Main clause with the semantic Focal clause in

a biclausal linking; however, there is no such direct correspondence when the Focal clause precedes the Supporting clause. This is because, as noted earlier, sentences in Brokpa typically end with a Main clause.

The intra-sentence clause linking morphemes, realized as independent grammatical words, also function as sentential conjunctions linking a sequence of sentences that relate to a Topic. In addition, there are some fixed expressions which function as inter-sentence clause linkers. All these sentential conjunctions integrate the sentences forming a discourse body.

Chapter 16

Discourse-pragmatic features

This chapter offers a brief outline of discourse-pragmatic features of Brokpa, which are crucial for analyzing its information structure. Aikhenvald (2015a:267) notes that "information structure reflects the organization of a sentence, a stretch of text, or a whole narrative". Lambrecht (1994) defines 'information structure' as follows:

> "That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts". (Lambrecht 1994:5)

The notion of 'information structure' follows the lines indicated in Lambrecht (1994) and Aikhenvald (2015a), and references therein. Section 16.1 deals with 'topic', §16.2 'focus', §16.3 'assertion', and §16.4 the deletion of coreferential NPs. Section 16.5 briefly discusses some discourse markers that have a scope over a large stretch of discourse, and §16.6 some markers that have a global scope over a stretch of discourse. Section 16.7 examines bridging constructions in Brokpa. The chapter ends with a brief summary in §16.8.

16.1 Topic

The concept of 'topic' is important in analyzing the discourse organization of any language. Dixon (2021) defines the 'topic' as follows:

> "Grammar—with its structures and principles (as often said) rules—stops at the sentence. But, when someone speaks, it is not in a staccato sequences of isolated sentences. They are talking about something, which we can call the 'Topic'. A sequence of sentences will each say something concerning the topic, and the sentences are integrated together in order to produce a smooth and coherent discourse". (Dixon 2021:75)

Within a sentence, 'topic' is often associated with 'comment'. Cruse (2006:182) distinguishes topic and comment as "the topic is what a sentence is about and the comment is what is said about the topic" (see also references therein). According to Aikhenvald (2015a:267), "'topic' is what a stretch of discourse, or a sentence, is about". Cruse's definition of topic, and the distinction of topic and comment, appears to be at the level of a sentence. Dixon's description of 'topic' and Aikhenvald's definition of it cover both at a sentence-level as well as at the level of a stretch of discourse, beyond sentence. I follow the more inclusive concept of topic to deal with the information structure at the level of sentence as well as beyond.

Brokpa has a dedicated topic marker. In addition, Brokpa employs two topicalizing strategies. One is by using the marker of definiteness. The other is by placing a topicalized argument at the beginning of a sentence, which may be referred to as 'left-dislocation' (see Aikhenvald (2015a:269). Note that left dislocation in Brokpa involves setting the dislocated topic off from the rest of the sentence by a pause.

Brokpa has special enclitic *=ni* for marking a topic. The topic marker is not obligatory, but whenever it occurs in a discourse it marks an established topic, especially when a topic is a copula subject or an intransitive S. Consider:

(857) kʰoŋ=**ni** muzu mi tɕʰe=ʑi? te
3PL=TOP other person little=INDEF PART

da ɦöbab-tɕan na ∅ tɕʰukpu na
PART suitability-ADJ COP.FACT (they) rich COP.FACT
'They are somewhat so-called better off people, and (they) are rich'

Example (857) contains two juxtaposed copula clauses, each making up a sentence. The topic *kʰoŋ* (3PL) 'they' is stated in the first copula clause, and it is marked by the entlicic *=ni*, shown in bold. The referents of the third person plural pronoun *kʰoŋ*, the parents of the bride, are what this stretch of discourse is about. The second copula clause talks about the same topic stated in the first sentence and omitted here, as being clear from the context.

Using Cruse's (2006) definition of 'topic' and 'comment' at a sentence level, the third person plural pronoun *kʰoŋ*, marked by the enclitic *=ni*, is the 'topic' because it is what the first sentence, realized by a copula clause, is about. The copula predicate plus the copula complement meaning '...are somewhat better-off people' is the 'comment' because that is what is said about the topic.

Further, the third person plural pronoun *kʰoŋ* in (857) is also the topic of a stretch of discourse, beyond a single sentence, in the sense described by Dixon (2021) and Aikhenvald (2015a). The second sentence, also realized by a copula clause, talks about the 'topic' stated in the first sentence. In fact, a number of sentences within a discourse can be said about the same topic. Note that Brokpa allows ellipsis of coreferential NPs in any syntactic function, and the second sentence is effectively realized by a copula predicate plus a copula complement (comment) that describes the Identity relation of the topic stated in the first sentence.

A further example of *=ni* occurring at the end of an NP and marking a topic can be found in (858):

(858) [ta nor luʔ sum=**ni**]CS:TOP [ŋe=raŋ
horse cattle sheep three=TOP 1PL=EMPH

Brokpa=e so-p^{h}i semtɕan tsowo]COCL:CC [yin]CPR
Brokpa=ERG rear-NOMZ animal main COP.EGO
'The three— horses, cattle, sheep— are the main animals reared by us, the Brokpa people'

Recall from §10.2.6 that a complex NP in a single argument function can be formed by several NPs in apposition and the last NP, within a complex NP, can be marked by the topic marker *=ni*. In (858) the complex NP, consisting of three apposed NPs, in CS function is the topic marked by *=ni*. The complement clause in CC function plus the copula predicate is the comment at a sentence level. One can expect more sentences talking about the overtly marked topic within a discourse, in which instance this complex NP can be the topic of a sequence of sentences forming a coherent stretch of discourse.

An argument topicalized by the marker *=ni* can also be an O argument, as in:

(859) raŋ~raŋ+soso [ɲén=daŋ ɖok=ɕiʔ=**ni**]O den sa
self~self+different marriage=CNTV friend=INDEF=TOP PART place

gan me-na=ye go-p^{h}i
where NEG.EXIST-COND=EMPH need-PERV
'Every individual needs a spouse, no matter wherever the place'

In (859), two nouns *ɲén* 'marriage' and *ɖok* 'friend' coordinated with the connective *=daŋ*, and forming a complex NP in O function with an idiomatic meaning 'spouse' is the topic marked by the marker *=ni*. Note that in (859) the topic marker occurs in a simple sentence realized by one main clause. It is also possible for the topic marker *=ni* to occur in a dependent clause. Consider:

(860) a. de = næ da ŋi pun ŋá = yi naŋ = næ tɕʰe-da?
DEM = ABL PART 1PL sibling five = GEN RELAT:INSD = ABL big = SUPER

ʔaʑi
elder.sister
'Then, amongst our five siblings, the eldest is the elder sister'

b. da mo = **ni** ɲén + gya = næ Sakteng = la
PART 3SG.FEM = TOP marriage + do = SEQ Sakteng = ALL

ga:-zin-ni-na
go-COMPL-PERV-FACT
'She got married, and already left for Sakteng'

In (860a), the speaker mentions that there are five siblings including himself in his family, and that the eldest is a daughter.[1] In the following sentence in (860b), the speaker refers to his sister with the pronoun *mo*, the NP in S function in the dependent (medial) clause. This S NP, marked with the enclitic *=ni*, is the topic which this stretch of discourse is about.

Further, a topic in Brokpa can be an NP marked by the marker of definiteness *=di*, which is in a paradigmatic opposition with the indefinite marker (see §9.3). The topicalized NP, shown by the definite enclitic *=di*, may or may not be placed at the beginning of a sentence. Consider:

(861) a. daŋbu den muzu ʔoŋ **söɲompa** = tɕi?
long.long.ago PART other DEM mendicant = INDEF

yo-ti-yin-to
EXIST-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'Long long ago, there lived a mendicant'

b. **söɲompa = di** söɲom = la tɕʰi = næ ∅ so: tɕʰe = ʑi?
mendicant = DEF alm = DAT go = SEQ (mendicant) paddy little = INDEF

tʰob-bi-na = se
get-PERV-FACT = REP
'It is said that the mendicant went for alms-begging, and (mendicant) got some alms'

[1] There is only one female sibling, which is the eldest of all, so the speaker uses the term *ʔaʑi* 'elder sister' also to refer to her as the eldest.

c. ∅ so: tɕʰe tʰob=næ te so:=di
(mendicant) paddy little get=SEQ PART paddy=DEF

ʔe=ʑiʔ tsʰam=la kʰer=næ ʔe
grandmother=INDEF[2] RELAT:VICI=LOC take=SEQ grandmother

kʰyo=e tɕʰe ŋa=i so: tɕʰe kam-go ya=se
2SG=ERG little 1SG=GEN paddy little dry-OBLIG POLAR=QUOT

lap-pʰi-na=se
say-PERV-FACT=REP
'It is said that after they (mendicant) got a little paddy, they (the mendicant) took the paddy to an old lady and said: "You dry my paddy for a short while, okay?"'

Example (861) contains a sequence of three sentences which are the starting lines from a story 'The Mendicant and the Sparrows' narrated by a female speaker from Sakteng. Sentence (861a) is a copula clause, with the existential egophoric verb *yo* as head of the copula predicate. Sentence (861b) consists of a dependent (medial) clause linked to the main clause by the sequential marker *=næ* which is added onto the predicate of the dependent clause. Sentence (861c) has two dependent clauses, both marked by the sequential *=næ*, and a main clause with an embedded complement clause in the O argument slot, realized by a quotative speech construction.

When the narrator introduces the mendicant for the first time in sentence (861a), it takes the enclitic *=tɕiʔ* marking indefiniteness. The mendicant is not a topic in the first sentence because nothing, other than stating that the mendicant exists, is said about him in it. This NP also does not take the special topic marker nor the marker of definiteness. Note further that the definite marker *=di* and the topicalizer *=ni* do not co-occur in my corpus.

However, in sentence (861b), the mendicant is topicalized by marking with the definite enclitic *=di*, and placed at the beginning of the sentence in this instance. In (861b) the mendicant is the topic argument because the second clause, the main clause, within the same sentence and also the first clause of the following sentence,

[2] Note that *=tɕiʔ*, *=ʑiʔ*, and *=ɕiʔ* are variants of the indefinite enclitic (see §9.3).

(861c), talks about the mendicant, as shown by the slots filled by ∅ indicating ellipsis in A syntactic function.

The fact that the marker of definiteness is used as a topicalizing strategy is further supported by another NP *so:* 'paddy' occurring in these two sentences, (861b) and (861c). In (861b), when *söɲompa* 'mendicant' is the topic, the NP with *so:* as head is introduced with the indefinite marker *=tɕi?*. The form *so:* is also not the topic in the first clause of sentence (861c), and it is not marked by the definite enclitic *=di* because the ellipsed NP *söɲompa* is still the topic.

Interestingly, from the second clause in sentence (861c), *so:* is topicalized and foregrounded, marked by the definite enclitic *=di* as a uniquely identifiable referent. The topic shifts from *söɲompa* to *so:* which is overtly stated again, and not ellipsed, in the main clause. The overt statement of *so:* in the main clause probably is to make sure which topic the sentence is dealing with since there was another topic in the preceding sentence.

Furthermore, as noted above, a topic in Brokpa can be the NP placed at the beginning of a sentence, separated from the rest of the sentence with a pause. This is a strategy for topicalizing an argument via left-dislocation. In this strategy, the topic placed at the beginning of a sentence, occurs without any case or definiteness marking, but may be followed by the polar question particle *?e*, and then a coreferential pronoun to complete the rest of the sentence or to talk about it in the following sentences. Note that the polar question particle is optional in this kind of topicalized construction. Consider:

(862) a. **Lhadon** mo Merak=næ man ∅ Sakteng=næ
Lhadon 3SG.FEM Merak=ABL NEG.COP.EGO (she) Sakteng=ABL

yin
COP.EGO
'LHADON, she is not from Merak. She is from Sakteng'

b. ʔaʑaŋ Karma ʔe kʰo=e pʰak+ɕa mi-za nor+ɕa
uncle Karma POLAR 3SG=ERG pig+meat NEG-eat cattle+meat

za-gi
drink-IMPERV
'UNCLE KARMA, he doesn't eat pork. He eats beef'

Note that left-dislocation plus the presence of a pronominal element is sometimes regarded as distinct from topicalization (see, for instance, Foley 2007). Furthermore, a left-dislocation plus an impersonal pronoun 'they' may be considered as a diachronic source of passive construction (see, for example, Givón 2001a:22). Some scholars appear to be considering left-dislocation the same as, or a strategy for, topicalization (see Aikhenvald 2015a:269; Keenan and Dryer 2007). Further investigation is required to explore the different topic-marking strategies in Brokpa.

An NP can also be topicalized without the coreferential pronoun. The head of the topicalized NP can be any noun. As shown above, A NP and S NP can be topicalized. Further, a topicalized NP can be O argument or an oblique or peripheral argument. Consider:

(863) a. [to:]O ŋa=e ma-tɕo
rice 1SG=ERG NEG-cook
'RICE, I did not cook'

b. [Thimphu=la]PERI ŋa tsanæ mi-ɖo
Thimphu=ALL 1SG really NEG-go
'TO THIMPHU, I will never go'

In (863a), the NP *to:* 'rice' in O function[3], which typically comes after an A argument (see §14.5), is topicalized and this topicalization is expressed by left dislocation. In a similar vein, the peripheral argument *Thimphu* marked by the allative case *=la* is topicalized through left-dislocation in (863b). In both examples, one can expect the speech act participants to exchange further information about the same topic such as

[3] The term *to:* actually refers to cooked rice, and *so:* is used to refer to 'paddy'. The term *bre:* is used to refer to 'uncooked rice'. When used with the verb to 'cook' *to:* is used instead of *so:* or *bre:*.

'I don't like the taste of **cooked rice**' following (863a) and '**Thimphu** is too much of hustle and bustle for me' following (863b).

Recall from §14.5 that the prototypical constituent order in Brokpa is A-O-TPR for transitive and S-IPR for intransitive predicate. As examples (863a) and (863b) show, topicalization via left-dislocation changes the constituent order to O-A-TPR. Further note that topicalization via left-dislocation has an overtone of contrastive focus, the topic of the next section.

16.2 Focus

This section deals with pragmatic focus, or simply 'focus', in Brokpa. Aikhenvald (2015a, and references therein) defines 'focus' as "a part of a sentence, or of a stretch of discourse, that is given prominence and is contrastive with respect to other participants, or parts of a sentence". This definition fits the discourse functions of the focus markers in Brokpa.

Brokpa has two focus markers: *=ta* and *=tɕin*. These two apply to a modifier within a constituent or to the head of a constituent, if there are no modifiers. Besides these two dedicated focus markers, the enclitic *=raŋ*, which typically marks reflexive and autoreflexive or emphasis, may also have a secondary function of marking contrastive focus (see Chapter 6).

Here I will discuss the focus markers *=ta* and *=tɕin*. Whereas both *=ta* and *=tɕin* mark focus, it appears that they differ in the degrees of contrast. Different degrees of contrast appear to be a common phenomenon in most languages which have two or more focus markers (see Aikhenvald 2015a:272). In Brokpa, the focus marker *=tɕin* appears to be more intense and has an overtone of assertion, whereas the enclitic *=ta* marks regular contrastive focus.

16.2.1 The focus marker =*ta*

The focus marker =*ta* can occur with any constituent, argument as well as predicate. Consider:

(864) [kʰi=**ta**]CS me-gin man=s ∅
2PL=FOC NEG.EXIST.EGO-NOMZ.AGTV NEG.COP.EGO=ASSERT (you all)

zomo=ʑi? tʰo: ya
cross.bred.yak=INDEF tether.IMP:CAN PART
'You all are not poor. You all give (lit. 'tether') a cross-bred yak[4]'

In (864), a copula clause and an imperative clause are in apposition to each other, each making up a complete sentence. The second person plural pronoun *kʰi* 'you all', the NP in CS function, is the focus. The marker =*ta* indicates that this second person pronoun, the argument in CS function, is contrastive with respect to the speaker and their associates. The copula clause 'You all are not poor' entails that "Only we are poor" when the CS is marked by the enclitic =*ta*.

The focus marker =*ta* can occur with an NP in any semantic role and syntactic function, and make it prominent and/or contrastive. Typically, a sentence contains only one constituent marked for focus. Consider:

(865) a. [ŋa=raŋ=gi ʔapa=e=**ta**]A ŋa=la ló lap-pʰi
1SG=EMPH=GEN father=ERG=FOC 1SG=DAT talk say-NOMZ

tsʰiʔ=ɕiʔ tɕika ma-lap
word=INDEF anything NEG-say
'My FATHER didn't tell me even a word (didn't scold me)'

b. [petɕʰa=**ta**]O ŋa=e tsagen lap-pʰi-na
book=FOC 1SG=ERG with.deligence read-PERV-FACT
'I pursued STUDIES with diligence'
Lit. 'BOOK, I have read with diligence'

[4] When cattle such as a yak is given as a wedding gift, the Donor takes the animal and keeps it tethered to a post nearby the house of the Recipient, the bride. The verb *tʰoː*, the imperative form of the verb *tak* 'to tether/tie', used in this imperative sentence metaphorically means 'to give away an animal as a gift'.

In (865a), the A NP, realized by a possessive phrase, is the focus marked by *=ta*. The speaker claims that his father did not scold him even a word in his life time. This can mean that his mother, or an elder sibling in the family, has scolded him. In (865b), the O NP is the focus. The speaker asserts that although he was a little mischievous in school, he never ignored his BOOKS (studies), the NP in O function.

Further, the focus marker *=ta* can apply to predicate, and put the activity or state described by the head verb under focus. Predicate focus is a rare phenomenon, described only for some languages (see, among others, Aikhenvald 2008; Kandybowicz and Torrence 2015; Zimmermann 2015). Predicate focus has been described for a number of West African languages and a few languages of Papua New Guinea. It is both an infrequent phenomenon (see Aikhenvald 2018a:33–34), and a poorly described one. In Brokpa, the focalized predicate has to occur within a dependent clause, as in (866):

(866) te da te dʑin-na=**ta** pemasiti yakpo yoŋ-ro
PART PART PART give-COND=FOC unprecedently good come-FINAL
'If GIVEN, it will be extremely nice'

The predicate with the verb *dʑin* 'to give' as head takes the focus marker *=ta* in (866). This example comes from a text in which the narrator says that the father of a prospective groom, who would send some middlemen to the parents of the prospective bride to propose (literally 'beg') their daughter to be his son's bride, would say something like this. All the core arguments are omitted in the clause in (866), as they were mentioned in the earlier part of the same discourse. Apparently, the Donor role in A function are the parents of the prospective bride, the prospective bride is the Gift role in O function, and the parents of the prospective groom is the Recipient role in E function.

The use of the marker *=ta* on the predicate can be pragmatically interpreted as: 'If not given, it will be extremely bad'. The focus marking on predicate does not make any of the Donor, Gift, and Recipient roles contrastive with respect to any other participants; only the predicate is within the scope of the focus.

16.2.2 The focus marker *=tɕin*

The focus marker *=tɕin* can apply to any constituent, argument as well as predicate. Further, it can occur with an NP in any function and bring it to a special prominence. Consider:

(867) a. [da ŋe=raŋ=ge=**tɕin**]A tabraŋ=se lap-ki-yona
PART 1PL=EMPH=ERG=FOC horce.race=QUOT say-IMPERV-FACT
'WE call it tabrang 'horse race"

b. da diriŋ+saŋ [lú lap-p^{h}i=**tɕin**]O ts^{h}i? tɕi?=raŋ
PART today+tomorrow song say-NOMZ=FOC word one=EMPH

mí-ɕe-p^{h}a
NEG-know-MIR
'I don't know a word of so-called SONG nowadays (to my surprise)'

In (867a), the A argument is the constituent in focus. The speaker mentions that he and the people from his village pronounce the word for 'horse race' as *tabraŋ* (note the /br/ cluster). In the following sentence, he says that some other people might pronounce it as *tabaŋ* (that is without the /br/ cluster). In (867b), the focus marker *=tɕin* occurs on the O NP, consisting of the noun *lú* 'song' followed by the nominalized verb 'to say' functioning here as a quotative marker with the meaning 'so-called'. The semantic effect created here, as a result of this pragmatic focus marking, is that the speaker does not know SONG, but may know something else such as cracking funny jokes.

Alternatively, if the focus marker is removed from the O NP and added onto *diriŋ+saŋ* (today+tomorrow) 'nowadays', which is a time word, the statement could mean that the speaker used to know songs before, but that he has forgotten and does not know them now.

As pointed out above, *=tɕin* and *=ta* differ in degrees of contrast. For example, the marking of *=tɕin* on A argument in (867a) wholly separates those, including the speaker, who pronounce the word for 'horse race' as *tabrang* from those who pronounce

it differently. Likewise, in (867b), the marker *=tɕin* is used in contrastive statement which is against the expectation of the speaker, with an overtone of surprise, which is further accentuated by the mirative marking on the predicate.

Like *=ta*, the focus marker *=tɕin* can also apply to predicate and make it prominent or contrastive. Examples include:

(868) a. ŋa=e lú ɲór-mi=**tɕin** ɖadi mí-ɕe-p^{h}a
1SG=ERG song sing-PERV=FOC completely NEG-know-MIR
'I completely don't know how to SING'
Lit. 'To SONG-SING, I don't know completely'

b. tɕ^{h}aŋ t^{h}uŋ-mi=**tɕin** ŋa=e tsanæ mi-gya
alcohol drink-PERV=FOC 1SG=ERG really NEG-do
'I will never DRINK ALCOHOL'
Lit. 'TO DRINK ALCOHOL, I will never do'

In both (868a) and (868b), the predicate marked by *=tɕin* is the constituent under focus.

Recall from Chapter 11 that the O argument of a transitive verb in Brokpa is typically zero-marked for absolutive case. But an O argument can be marked for case if it is in contrastive focus. Again, as illustrated in §11.1.2, the S argument is also typically zero-marked for absolutive case, but it can take *=ge* marking if the S argument has control over the activity or is in contrastive focus. In other words, case marking on an argument also serves as a strategy for coding contrastive focus. It is also possible for the focus marker to occur together with a case marking, as *k^{h}o=ge=tɕin ʔoti mi-gya* (3SG.MASC=ERG=FOCDEM.PROX NEG-go) 'HE will not do this' (Someone else might do this). When these two strategies co-occur, it appears that the case marker is only performing its primary duty of marking the syntactic function of the NP, and the contrastive focus is coded by the overt focus marker.

'Topic' and 'focus' in Brokpa are interrelated discourse-pragmatic categories, as may be the case cross-linguistically, in that a topic of a sentence or a stretch of discourse also appears to be an NP under focus. Lambrecht (1994:6) notes that both

TOPIC and FOCUS "have to do with a speaker's assessment of the relative predictability vs. unpredictability of the relations between propositions and their elements in given discourse situations". Topic and focus coincide most of the time in Brokpa. The only difference one can note between these two discourse-pragmatic categories is that a topicalized NP is always under focus, whereas an NP under focus may not necessarily be the topic. A predicate can be under focus, but not topic. In order for a predicate to be a topic, it may have to be nominalized.

In addition, left-dislocation used as a strategy for topicalization, discussed in §16.1, can be reinterpreted as a strategy for marking pragmatic focus. Case marking on an NP has a secondary function of coding contrastive focus (see §§11.1.2-11.1.4). Furthermore, a sentence stress may be used as a strategy for marking focus. Placing a sentence stress on a particle which forms a grammatical word within a sentence in Brokpa can have an effect of a contrastive focus, as may be the case cross-linguistically.

16.3 Assertion

This section briefly examines the coding of assertion in Brokpa. Lambrecht (1994:52) defines 'pragmatic assertion' as "the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result or hearing the sentence uttered". Lambrecht (1994:54-55) makes it clear that his use of the term 'assertion' is not the same as "asserting a proposition contrasts with denying or questioning it", and he further notes that his use of the term 'assertion' is different from the 'assertion' used in statements, as opposed to other sentence types by speech act including interrogatives and imperatives.

Brokpa has three markers of assertion: the particles *sa* and *sin*, and the enclitic *=s*. The assertive particles *sa* and *sin* are stressed and are prosodically independent words (see also §14.2.2.1.3). These markers are not associated with any particular speech act. In fact, these particles, especially *sa* and *sin*, occur more frequently with

imperative sentences than other sentence types, so they are not associated with just the declarative sentences. These markers in Brokpa may have an overtone of 'asserting a proposition contrasts with denying or questioning it' which, as Lambrecht (1994:51) cautions, is not the same as his use of the term 'assertion'. However, these same markers in Brokpa also describe Lambrecht's (1994:52) definition of 'pragmatic assertion'. This may also be an instance of achieving double functions with a single resource in this language.

A marking of assertion in Brokpa denotes that the hearer is expected to know or take for granted, along the lines of Lambrecht (1994:52). Further, an assertion in Brokpa indicates that the speaker is bold and confident, and the proposition expressed by a sentence is somewhat categorical.

The three markers of assertion in Brokpa may differ in terms of degrees of assertion. As noted above, the particles *sa* and *sin* typically occur in imperative sentences making an imperative strong and, sometimes, rude and threatening (see §14.2.2.1.3 for examples).

Here I illustrate the pragmatic meaning of assertion using the assertive enclitic *=s*. Consider:

(869) a. da kʰi ɲámbu mi-dʱuk=**s**
PART 2SG with NEG-stay=ASSERT
'Now, I will not stay with you'

b. ŋa=raŋ ya=la pʰama ʔama=daŋ ʔapa
1SG=EMPH up=LOC parents mother=CNTV father

yo-sa=la ɖo-yu=**s** da ŋa
EXIST.EGO-NOMZ:LOCTV=LOC go-FUT.IMPERV=ASSERT PART 1SG

mi-dʱuk=**s**
NEG-stay=ASSERT
'I will go up to where my parents, father and mother, are. I will not stay'

In examples (869a) , the marking of *=s* on the predicate indicates that the speaker wants his hearers, his sister and brother-in-law, to know that he is not going

to live with them. In the same vein, in (869b) the assertive marking denotes that the speaker wants his hearers to also know that he will go to live with his parents. In both examples, the domain of assertion, shown by the enclitic *=s* attached to the predicate, extends over the entire proposition expressed by the sentence. As noted above, the assertive marking also indicates that the speaker is bold in making this proposition, and that the proposition just made is absolute and categorical. The two particles, *sa* and *sin*, can also occur in declarative clauses such as in (869a) and (869b), and have the same assertive effective, albeit more strongly.

Note that Lambrecht 1994:51-65) associates 'assertion' with another notion called 'presupposition' which the speaker assumes the speaker to be already aware of. Andrews (2007a:150) treats 'presupposition' as a component of 'focus', possibly treating 'focus' the same as 'assertion'. An assertion in Brokpa may or may not have presupposition. There is no special grammatical or lexical element that codes presupposition in Brokpa, and it has to be inferred from the semantics of the sentence and/or the pragmatics of a discourse. Whether there is any relationship between marking assertion and marking focus in Brokpa requires further investigation.

16.4 Ellipsis

In all types of text genres including narrative, procedural, and expository as well as day-to-day conversations, noun phrases may not be stated overtly if they are recoverable from context. An NP in any core function can be ellipsed. First consider arguments in A and S functions. If the subject, A or S, of the following clause in a sentence has the same reference as the subject of the preceding clause, then it can be ellipsed in the following (non-first) clauses. A subject argument may also be omitted if it is clear from discourse or cultural context. Consider the two sentences in (870):

(870) a. [bomo = e = ge]A [ŋotɕʰuŋ = ∅]O gya-zu = la gya = næ ∅
gir = ERG = ERG shy(person) = ABS do-pretend = EMPH do = SEQ (girl)

kʰyim
house

naŋ = la dʱo-ma-ɲæn = næ ∅ tɕʰiɕ ɕuŋ pʰal
RELAT:INSD stay-NEG-listen = SEQ (girl) outside RELAT thither:ALL

tʰon = næ...
go.out = SEQ
'The girl pretends to be a shy person; (the girl) refuses to stay home, (the girl) goes out...'

b. [ʔou = di]S goŋgo sakai tɕʰin = næ ∅
boy = DEF threshold RELAT:till go = SEQ (boy)

goŋgo = næ ti: + dʱæ = næ ∅ yoŋ-ma-ɲæn = næ...
threshold = ABL hold.on.to + stay = SEQ (boy) come-NEG-listen = SEQ
'The boy comes up to the threshold, (the boy) holds on to the threshold, (the boy) refuses to come...'

Both examples, (870a) and (870b), contain three medial clauses marked by the sequential marker *=næ*, applying directly to the verb stem. The subject A NP in (870a) and S NP in (870b)— is stated only once in the first medial clause, and the subject arguments are ellipsed in the following two medial clauses because they are coreferential with the subject of the first clause. So both A NP and S NP can be deleted under identity.

In the same vein, an O NP can also be omitted if it is recoverable from the context. Consider:

(871) a. [ŋe = raŋ = ge]A ya = la [tsʰokzæ]O kʰer = næ ∅A ∅O
1PL = EMPH = ERG up = LOC feast.substance take = SEQ (we) feast.food)

[Ama.Jomo = la]E pʰu:-li-na
Ama.Jomo = DAT offer-PERV-FACT
'We took feast substance, and (we) offered (feast food) to Ama Jomo'

b. kʰoŋ = ge yáʔ = ʑiʔ pʰab = næ ∅A ∅O tsoŋ-pʰi
3PL = ERG yak = INDEF bring.down = SEQ (they) (yak) sell-PERV
'They brought down a yak and (they) sold (the yak)'

In examples (871a) and (871b), both A NP and O NP are stated once in the first clause, and then both are ellipsed from the following clauses.

Further, an argument in E function can also be ellipsed. Consider:

(872) [ŋe = raŋ = ge]A [Ama.Jomo = gi don = la]RECIPT:E [ts^{h}ok]O
1PL = EMPH = ERG Ama.Jomo = GEN RELAT:purpose = DAT feast.offering

tɕo + k^{h}er = næ ya = la ∅E p^{h}u:-li
make + take = SEQ up = LOC (Ama Jomo) give:HON-PERV
'We took feast offering for Ama Jomo and offered (to Ama Jomo) up there'

In (872), all core arguments— A, O and E— are stated once in the first clause. Ama Jomo is the Recipient role in E function, marked by dative case, but it is ellipsed from the second clause because it is clear from the discourse context. It is common knowledge that the recipient of the feast offering will be Ama Jomo, the guardian deity of the Brokpa people, when people go on a pilgrimage to her dwelling place.

Note, however, that non-coreferential NPs cannot be deleted. Compare:

(873) a. názi.Karma = ge zaŋ = ba? tæ = næ ∅
Herder.Karma = ERG yak = PL look = SEQ (herder.Karma)

mar + tɕ^{h}ora tɕ^{h}o = næ tsamdo = la d^{ɦ}æ-ti-ɦoŋ
butter + cheese make = SEQ grazing.land = LOC stay-NOMZ-POSSIB
'Herder Karma might be there in the grazing land, looking after yaks, and making butter and cheese'

b. *názi.Karma = ge ∅ tæ = næ názi.Karma = ge ∅
Herder.Karma = ERG (yaks) look = SEQ (Herder.Karma) (butter + cheese)

tɕ^{h}o = næ názi.Karma tsamdo + la d^{ɦ}æ-ti-ɦoŋ
make = SEQ Herder.Karma grazing.land = LOC stay-NOMZ-POSSIB
'*Herder Karma might be living in the grazing land, looking after (?), and making (?)'

The A NP *názi Karma* 'Herder Karma' is stated once in the first medial clause in (873a). It is perfectly acceptable if the A argument is omitted in the second medial clause and the main clause, as it is coreferential with the A NP overtly stated in the first clause. Further, the O arguments with different referents are all stated in (873a).

However, if A NP is explicitly stated in every clause, but their O NPs with different referents are deleted, as in (873b), both medial clauses become ungrammatical and the sentence meaningless. Note that, as shown under 'topic' in §16.1, an NP can be ellipsed from a stretch of discourse, encompassing several sentences, and not just within a sentence.

In summary, Brokpa does not have syntactic pivot restrictions (in the sense of Dixon 1994). Ellipsis in Brokpa requires further investigation. Many languages with 'ergative characteristics at the morphological level' are said to be lacking syntactic pivot restrictions (see Dixon 1994:155). An NP may be deleted, as Dixon (1994:154) points out, 'according to the semantics of that bit of a discourse'. In a nutshell, an NP deletion in Brokpa is pragmatically-based, and only coreferential NPs can be deleted. As example (873b) indicates, a non-coreferential NP cannot be deleted.

16.5 Discourse markers

Brokpa has three most frequently occurring discourse markers: *te*, *da*, and *den*. These discourse markers occur between grammatical words, phrases, clauses, and sentences, but they do not occur within a grammatical word (see Chapter 3). In isolation, the meaning of *te* is something like 'so', *den* 'then', and *da* 'now'. However, these discourse particles occur in clauses where they do not contribute their individual meanings to the meaning of a sentence. These discourse markers are stressed and are prosodically independent words. They are glossed simply as 'PART' 'particle', and not with their individual meanings. Cruse (2006) defines 'discourse markers' as follows:

> "A category of expressions which includes such items as *well, oh, then, so, but*. They are grammatically optional, in that omitting them does not result in ungrammaticality, and they mark boundaries between units of discourse". (Cruse 2006:51)

Further, Cruse (2006) identifies the following three typical functions of the discourse markers:

> "1. They carry expressive meaning (they may also have propositional meaning). 2. They contribute to, or emphasise coherence relations in discourse. 3. They act as constraints on relevance". (Cruse 2006:51)

Cruse's definition exactly describes the three Brokpa discourse markers *te, da,* and *den*. In terms of function, the three discourse markers in Brokpa fulfil more of function (2), and mark boundaries between grammatical words within clauses and sentences. In addition, the discourse markers in Brokpa function as conversation starters and pause-fillers. The examples of the discourse particles *te, da,* and *den* abound in this grammar. Example sentence (874) contains all three discourse particle *da, den,* and *te,* shown in bold types (see also the Brokpa texts in the Appendix A, and see §3.2 regarding these discourse particles functioning as markers of grammatical word boundaries):

(874) ʔoti=næ **da** **den** to:+tɕʰaŋ ɖik=næ **den** kʰoŋ=baʔ
DEM.PROX=ABL PART PART food+alcohol arrange=SEQ PART 3PL=PL

de=næ gama+gaʈo gya=næ **te** **den**
DEM=ABL happiness+enjoyment do=SEQ PART PART

naŋ=di=la den dzoŋ+pon=di **den**
RELAT:INSD=DEF=LOC PART fortress+master=DEF PART

ʈoŋ-pʰi-yin-to
kill.HON-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'Then they arranged banquet, and then, during the time they were having fun, they killed the chieftain'

These three discourse markers are stressed and constitute a phonological word on their own. Note that the discourse particle *te* is to be contrasted with the enclitic *=te*, which is not stressed, marking allative and dependent clauses.

Diachronically, the particle *den* is from *de=næ* (DEM=ABL) 'after that', subsequently', which is formed by the archaic distal demonstrative *de* plus the ablative case enclitic *=næ*. Synchronically, *den* and *de=næ* have become two different morphemes, with the former occurring between grammatical words and the latter occurring only when it has a function of linking clauses, sentences, and paragraphs. The discourse marker *da* is apparently from *data* 'now'. The etymology of the discourse particle *te* is not clear.

16.6 Global discourse introducers

By global discourse introducers, I refer to those expressions which mark the beginning of a coherent stretch of discourse such as a complete story, narrative, procedural discourse, or formal oratory. A procedural discourse or a formal oratory typically commences with the expression *ɦolaso* or *ɦoya*. A traditional story, historical narrative, or an epic, typically commences with *daŋbu daŋbu* or *ʔunla ʔunla*, also pronounced *ʔunlu ʔunlu* by some speakers.

It is difficult to assign a clear meaning to both *ɦolaso* and *ɦoya*. The component *ɦo* may be similar to 'oh' and *laso* to 'okay, yes'. As a global discourse introducer, *ɦolaso* functions as one phonological word, without a pause in between. For ease of distinction, I assign the meaning 'oh well' to *ɦolaso* and 'oh okay' to *ɦoya*. Note that these meanings are only approximate, and their main function is to mark the beginning of a stretch of spoken discourse.

An example of *ɦolaso* can be found in (875a), and *ɦoya* in (875b):

(875) a. **ɦolaso** da diriŋ zaː=daŋ karma zaŋ zakar
oh.well PART today planet=CNTV star be.auspicious celestial.star

pʰunsumtsʰok-pʰi ɲinmo=la....
be.perfect-NOMZ day=loc
'Oh well, on this day when the planets and stars are auspicious and the celestial stars perfect.....'

b. **ɦoya** da ŋe=raŋ lo takparʑin gya=daŋ gya-ʑin-ma
oh.okay PART 1PL=EMPH year regularly do=CNTV do-like-MIR

yo-ti=gi tɕʰökʰor=di lo doʑi?=ye yakpo
EXIST-NOMZ=GEN dharma.wheel=DEF year this.year=EMPH good

gya=næ gyab-tʰob-soŋ.....
do=SEQ do-ABIL-PERV.DIRECT
'Oh okay, this year also we could nicely celebrate the Dharma Wheel, which we have been celebrating every year.....'

Example (875a) is typically said by a master of ceremonies as the starting line of a speech in a formal event such as a wedding. The use of the expression *ɦolaso* discourse-initially indicates that the speaker is going to make a series of announcements or explanations about an event, and that the listeners are expected to remain quiet and listen attentively until the end. This same expression is used at the beginning of a procedural text, such as making an offering to the local deities.

Similarly, (875b) can be heard in a formal oratory by the head of a village to the community members. The use of *ɦoya* indicates that the speaker is going to deliver

a formal speech, and the listeners are expected to know this as a result of hearing this expression at the beginning of a stretch of spoken discourse.

The word *daŋbu* means 'earlier times', and *ʔun* means 'before' with the locative case *=la*, but *ʔunla* is functioning as a lexicalized word. As a global discourse introducer, both repeated forms— *daŋbu daŋbu* and *ʔunla ʔunlua*— refer to an ancient time which is no longer in existence. A repetition creates a sense a long-distant and indefinite time. Examples include:

(876) a. **daŋbu** **daŋbu** pʰam gengo=baʔ=kʰi dü=la
earlier.times earlier.times parent old=PL=GEN time=LOC

ɲo+tsʰoŋ-gya-zin laga=næ ɖo-go-kʰi-na kaŋ+gyuk
buy+sell-do-SIM mountain.PASS=ABL go-khi-na foot+run=SEQ

taŋ=næ....

'In ancient times, while our old parents were doing business, they had to go crossing mountain passes on foot.....'

b. **ʔunla** **ʔunla** Lopen.Rimpoche ʑuk-pʰi
before before Lopen.Rimpoche live:HON-PERV

dü=su=la=næ=raŋ gotsuk=næ dari tɕʰö
time=LOC=LOC=ABL=EMPH begin=ABL today dharma

yaŋdagpa=ʑiʔ yinda
authentic=INDEF COP.FACT
'Since long long ago, from the time of Lopen Rimpoche till now, dharma is genuinely authentic[5]'

In sentence (876a), which commences with the global discourse marker *daŋbu daŋbu*, the speaker is beginning to give a descriptive account of how the Brokpa ancestors used to engage in barter trade with the people of Tibet. This introducer has a scope over the entire descriptive account of the barter trade between the Brokpa ancestors and their Tibetan contemporaries, that the speaker is about to narrate. In

[5] Lopen Rimpoche literally means 'precious teacher'. Here, the reference is to Guru Rimpoche, a legendary master who introduced Tantric Buddhism to Tibet and Bhutan in the eighth century. He is considered the second-Buddha in some Buddhist traditions.

the same manner, in (876b), the speaker is beginning to give an account of the origin of the dharma practised in his village today. He starts with the sentence with *ʔunla ʔunla* in the sentence-initial position. The speaker is putting a global summary first and says that the dharma tradition practised today in his village has been genuinely authentic since the time of Lopen Rimpoche in the eighth century.

When someone narrates a traditional story, which always begins with either *daŋbu daŋbu* or *ʔunla ʔunla*, the listeners are supposed to say *ʔeŋ* after every bit of new information in the story. Otherwise, it is believed that ghosts will come and join the listeners to listen to the story. The utterance *ʔeŋ* has got no clear meaning, sometimes also occurring as pause-filler, and it is only to help the storyteller to maintain the storyline and to ensure listeners' participation. This is also said by a participant in a conversational discourse, and functions as a marker of interaction between the discourse participants.

A body of spoken discourse, story or a formal oratory, typically ends with the expression *laso*, without the initial component *wo* from the global discourse introducer *wolaso*. Note that this same expression *laso* can also be used as a one-word positive response to a command. At the end of a spoken discourse, *laso* is usually followed by the expression *kaɖintɕʰe* 'thank you' and/or *ʈaɕi dele?* literally 'auspicious goodness', which are shared with other Bodish languages including Dzongkha and Tshangla. [6]

16.7 Bridging constructions

The concept of 'bridging construction' refers to the ways and means of linking sentences within narratives and providing cohesion between successive discourse units (see Aikhenvald 2019a; Guérin and Aiton 2019). Bridging construction is also known

[6] The expressions *ʈaɕi dele?* is shared by most Tibeto-Burman languages in the Himalayas. In Tibetan culture, it is used as a greeting and to congratulate someone. The greeting term *ʈaɕi dele?* is said at the beginning of a conversation or a spoken discourse. In Bhutanese culture, *ʈaɕi dele?* is not used as a greeting, but only to congratulate someone or as a global discourse concluder. In Bhutanese tradition, *ʈaɕi dele?* is typically said at the end of a discourse.

as 'tail-head linkage' or a 'head-tail linkage' (see, for example, de Vries 2005; Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang 2007:273).

According to Guérin and Aiton (2019), a bridging construction involves a sequence of two clauses. The first clause, which they call 'reference clause', ends a discourse unit; and the second clause, which they call 'bridging clause', repeats the first clause at the beginning of a new discourse unit. Sometimes, the term 'paragraph' is used to refer to a discourse unit or a stretch of discourse. I use the term 'paragraph' according to the definition provided by Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007):

> "By 'paragraph', we mean a coherent stretch of discourse which is usually larger than a sentence and smaller than the whole discourse; the term can be used for either spoken or written language". (Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang 2007:272-273)

Aikhenvald (2019a) recognizes two types of bridging constructions: recapitulating linkage and summary linkage. In addition to these two types, Guérin and Aiton 2019) add 'mixed linkage' as the third type of bridging construction. Brokpa uses three types of bridging constructions to provide cohesion between successive discourse units. §16.7.1) discusses recapitulating linkage, §16.7.2 summary linkage, and §16.7.3 mixed linkage.

16.7.1 Recapitulating linkage

In a recapitulating linkage, according to Aikhenvald (2019a), the last clause of the preceding sentence is repeated as the dependent clause of the following sentence. Along similar lines, Guérin and Aiton (2019) mention that in a recapitulative linkage the predicate of the reference clause is repeated in the bridging clause. Recapitulating linkage in Brokpa may involve repeating a whole clause (the reference clause), or simply a predicate of the reference clause may be repeated in the bridging clause.

In Brokpa, when the last clause of the preceding sentence is repeated as the first, dependent, clause of the following sentence, the repeated clause is realized as a medial clause. Consider:

(877) a. kyesp^{h}o=ba? tɕ^{h}ats^{h}aŋ ya=te **Jomo=i** **p^{h}oɖaŋ** **tse=la**
man=PL all up=ALL Jomo=GEN palace RELAT:TIP=LOC

ɖo-go-k^{h}u-na
go-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'All menfolks must go up to the summit of Jomo's palace'

b. da **Phodrang** **tse=la** **ɖo**-zina ʔoti=næ ya=la
PART Phodrang RELAT:TIP=ALL go-SIM DEM.PROX=ABL up=LOC

lamluk gya-ma maŋbo yona
practice do-MIR several EXIST.FACT
'While climbing up to the summit of Jomo's palace, there are several things which have to be done'

Examples (877a) and (877b) are from a procedural text about a pilgrimage trip to the sacred mountain of the local deity Ama Jomo. The head of the predicate, the verb *ɖo* 'go', and the peripheral argument in (877a), the last sentence of the preceding discourse, is repeated as the medial clause, marked by the suffix *-zina*, in (877b), the first sentence of the following discourse. Note that the subject argument is not stated in the repeated medial clause as it can be inferred from the context, so it is the same as repeating an entire clause.

In (877b), the repeated clause is marked by the suffix *-zin(a)*, which marks simultaneous medial clauses in a clause chain construction (see §15.2.1.2). Similarly, a repeated clause in a recapitulating linkage can be marked by the sequential marker *=næ*. Consider the following sentences which come from the same text:

(878) a. kyesp^{h}o=ba? tɕ^{h}ats^{h}aŋ Ama.Jomo=gi p^{h}oɖaŋ tse=la
man=PL ALL Ama.Jomo=en palace RELAT:TIP=LOC

ɖo-go-k^{h}u-na **ʔoyi** **tse=la**
go-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT up.there RELAT:TIP=LOC
'All menfolks must go to the summit of Jomo's palace, up there'

b. **ʔoyi** **tse=la** **tɕʰin**=næ ɕiŋdo yo-na ɕiŋdo
up.there RELAT:TIP=ALL go:PERV=SEQ fruit EXIST-COND fruit

pʰu-i
offer:HON-IMPERV
'Having gone there, they offer fruits, if there are fruits'

The verb *tɕʰin*, the head of the predicate in (878b), is the perfective form of the verb *ɖo* 'go', which is the head of predicate in clause (878a); so it involves the repetition of the same verb. So the head of predicate plus the peripheral argument (destination) is repeated as the dependent clause in sentence (878a). The repeated clause is marked by the enclitic *=næ* which marks sequential medial clauses in a clause chain (see §15.2.1.1).

As noted above, sometimes, only the predicate of the last clause (reference clause) of the preceding discourse unit may be repeated in the first clause of the following discourse unit (bridging clause) in a recapitulating linkage in Brokpa, along the lines of Guérin and Aiton (2019). Consider:

(879) a. te kʰema gaŋyu den ma=la den kaː=næ te
PART pack.animal ALL PART down=ALL PART load=SEQ PART

ɖaɖik gya=næ ma=la **yoŋ**-pʰi=se
ready do=SEQ down=ALL come-PERV=REP
'It is said that then they loaded all the pack animals, got ready, and **came** down'

b. ʔoti=næ den **yoŋ**-sina den Gerongrong=se=di=la
DEM.PROX=ABL PART come-SIM PART Geronrong=QUOT=DEF=LOC

tɕʰumbap=ʑiʔ yo-ti-yin-to
waterfall=INDEF EXIST.EGO-EGO-FINAL
'Then, while **coming**, there existed a waterfall at a place called Gerongrong'

Both(879a) and (879b) are complex sentences. In (879a), two medial clause are linked to the main clause, and (879b) consists of a medial clause linked to the main clause realized by a copula clause. The verb *yoŋ* which is the predicate head

of the main clause in (879a), the last clause of the preceding paragraph or discourse unit, is repeated in the dependent clause of (879b), the first clause of the following paragraph. Sentence (879a) talks about the topic *kʰema* 'pack animals', and the topic changes to *tɕʰumbap* 'waterfall' from sentence (879b), and the two sentences considered as belonging to two different paragraphs. Note that bridging linkage is a feature of many other Tibeto-Burman languages, e.g. Dolakha Newar (Genetti 2005, 2007:438) and Galo (Post 2009:93-94).

16.7.2 Summary linkage

According to Aikhenvald (2019a), a summary linkage "involves using a generic verb in a dependent clause summarizing the actions of the previous sentence". Along similar lines, Guérin and Aiton (2019) point out that a summary linkage 'contains an anaphoric predicate, a light verb, a generic verb, or a demonstrative verb, in the bridging clause which anaphorically refers to the reference clause'.

Brokpa has two devices that mark summary linkage: 1) *ʔo lap-sin* which is formed by the demonstrative *ʔo(ti)* followed by the SPEAKING verb *lap* 'to say' marked by the simultaneous suffix *-sin*; and 2) *ʔo gya-zin* which is formed by the demonstrative *ʔo(ti)* followed by the light verb *gya* 'to do' marked by the simultaneous suffix-*zin* (note that *-zin* and *-sin* are in free variation). Both *ʔo lap-sin* and *ʔo gya-zin*, are structurally the same as a dependent, or a medial, clause meaning (1) 'While saying that', and (2) 'While doing that' respectively. Both (1) and (2) function as an anaphoric predicate with a generic verb as the head, and summarize the actions of the previous sentence.

An example of *ʔo(ti) lap-sin* marking a summary linkage can be found in between the following two sentences:

(880) a.

kʰyo=raŋ	mo=la	ga-gi	lop	sa
2SG=EMPH	3FEM=DAT	like-IMPERV	tell:IMP:CAN	ASSERT

'You tell her that you love her'

b. **ʔo** **lap-sin** mo = gi p^ham = baʔ = la = ye
DEM.PROX say-SIM 3SG.FEM = GEN parent = PL = DAT = EMPH

lap-ko-k^hu-na-to
say-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT-FINAL
'Saying this, you must tell her parents also'

The anaphoric predicate *ʔo lap-sin* at the beginning of example (880b), the first clause of the next paragraph, refers back to what is mentioned in example (880a), the last clause of the preceding paragraph.

In the same vein, an exampe *ʔo(ti) gya-zin* marking a summary linkage can be found in between the two following sentences:

(881) a. diriŋ k^hi = ge te da ɖöton-ni = di = la yakpo
today 2SG = ERG PART PART propose-NOMZ = DEF = DAT good

dʑuŋ-soŋ
occur-PERV.DIRECT
'It is wonderful since you proposed today'

b. **ʔo** **gya-zin** da lop k^hi = ge ʔup^{h}i = la tɕ^{h}in = næ...
DEM.PROX do-SIM PART tell:IMP 2SG = ERG DEM.DIST = LOC go = SEQ
'While doing this, you go there and tell (them)'

The predicate of the preceding clause or the reference clause is not repeated in the bridging clause in(881b), but the bridging clause is introduced by *ʔo gya-zin*, a sentential connective formed by the demonstrative plus the light verb *gya* marked by the simultaneous clause chain marker *-zin*.

The use of verbs with generic meaning such as 'to do' and 'to say' as back-reference are supposed to be quite common cross-linguistically (see Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang 2007:275). The two verbs, *lap* and *gya*, both marked by the simultaneous suffix *-sin* or *-zin* indicating a length of time clause linkage, can occur as a back-reference without the demonstrative also. Further, they occur even if the predicate of the preceding sentence does not involve a SPEAKING verb or an action related to the verb 'to do'. Other similar constructions that may mark summary linkage in

Brokpa include *ʔo = daŋ ʈʰiː-zin* (DEM.PROX = COM be.in.agreement-SIM) 'in accordance with that' and *tɕi se-na* (what say-COND) 'if said what/why'.

16.7.3 Mixed linkage

According to Guérin and Aiton (2019), mixed linkage "is a combination of recapitulative and summary linkages in that the bridging clause contains both the lexical predicate of the reference clause and a generic or demonstrative predicate". In Brokpa, a mixed linkage is shown by repeating the head of the predicate of the reference clause, or the whole reference clause, followed by the phrase *tɕi se-na* (what say-COND) meaning 'If said why/what' in the bridging clause.

A mixed linkage in which the predicate is repeated and followed by *tɕi se-na* can be found in:

(882) a. mwoitɕupʰu = di = su maneraŋ **ɖo-tɕʰoʔ-gu-mena**
woman = DEF = PL really go-PERM-FUT.IMPERV-NEG.EXIST.FACT
'Womenfolk really cannot go'

b. da **ɖo-tɕʰoʔ-gu** **me**-ti **tɕi** **se-na**
PART go-PERM-FUT.IMPERV NEG.EXIST-NOMZ what say-COND

de = næ da ŋe = raŋ kyespʰo = daŋ ɲámbu ɖewa
DEM = ABL PART 1PL = EMPH man = COM with relationship

gyak-pi = daŋ...
do-PERV = CNTV
'If asked why they cannot go, then those who have had relationship with man and.....'

The predicate of the reference clause in (882a) is repeated, nominalized, and then followed by *tɕi se-na* which converts the bridging clause in (882b) into a conditional dependent clause. The bridging clause in (882b) has the repeated predicate (recapitulating linkage) plus the generic predicate (summary linkage), along the lines of Guérin and Aiton (2019).

Further, a mixed linkage in Brokpa can be shown by repeating an entire reference clause immediately followed by the phrase *tɕi se-na* (what say-COND) in the bridging clause. Consider:

(883) a. da **ts^{h}o?=la** **l̥amba** **ɲí** **gya=næ**
PART feast.offering type two do=SEQ

sar-go-k^{h}u-na
prepare-OBLIG-FUT.IMPERV-FACT
'Two types of feast offerings have to be prepared'

b. **ts^{h}o?=la** **l̥amba** **ɲí** **sar-go-p^{h}i** **tɕi** **se-na**
feast.offering=DAT type two prepare-OBLIG-PERV what say-COND

tɕik=di Jomo=gi ts^{h}o?=se lap-p^{h}i=gi tɕik
one=DEF Jomo=GEN feast.offering=QUOT say-NOMZ=GEN one

tɕik Lingzhi=gi ts^{h}o?=se lap-p^{h}i=gi
one Lingzhi=GEN feast.offering=QUOT say-NOMZ=GEN

ts^{h}o? ga? ɲí sar=næ...
feast.offering unit two prepare=SEQ....
'**Two types of feast offerings have to be prepared**. If said why **two types of feast offerings have to be prepared**, one is Jomo's feast offering and the other is Lingzhi's feast offering'

Example (883a) has a medial clause attached to the main clause, and (883b) contains three sentences. The first sentence in (883b) contains a bridging construction of the mixed linkage type. The bridging clause in (883b) is the repetition of the whole reference clause (883a), with only the optional adverbial *gya=næ* omitted, followed by the generic predicate *tɕi se-na*. Note that this generic predicate is added to the nominalized predicate of the bridging clause.

Sentence (883a) talks about the topic *tso?* 'feast offering' in general. The two new sentences in (883b) introduce a new topic talking about specific feast offerings: 'Jomo's feast offering' and Lingzhi's feast offering'. This technique can used for linking two sentences as well as successive paragraphs.

16.8 Discourse-pragmatic features: summary

In this chapter I have dealt with some key discourse-pragmatic features that are crucial for analyzing the information structure in Brokpa. The markers or strategies that are used for organizing discourse and achieving pragmatic functions including topic, focus, and assertion.

Brokpa has a dedicated marker of discourse topic. A topic may also be indicated by the marker of definiteness. In addition, a topic may be shown by placing an NP at the beginning of a sentence, referred to as 'left-dislocation'.

There are two dedicated markers of focus. Brokpa uses the same left-dislocation strategy, used for marking a topic, also as a strategy for marking a focus. Further, a case marker may have the effect of a contrastive focus. Sentence stress can also mark a topic. The markers of assertion which indicate that the speaker is bold and confident also have a sense of pragmatic assertion which expects the hearer to know the proposition expressed by a sentence.

Brokpa does not have syntactic pivot restriction. An NP deletion in Brokpa is pragmatically-based. Only coreferential NPs can be deleted, and the language does not allow the deletion of non-coreferential NPs. There are three discourse markers which are frequent in texts of any genre. They mark grammatical word boundaries as well as function as conversation starters and pause fillers.

Brokpa has three types of bridging construction used as devices for linking sentences and providing discourse cohesion between successive paragraphs. They include recapitulating linkage, summary linkage, and mixed linkage.

Appendix A

Narrative

This text is about the history of the Brokpa people based on oral tradition. It was narrated by a man from Merak, who was about 70 years old at the time of recording.

(884) da daŋbo Merak se-ti den da ya Tshona lap-pʰi=læ
PART long.ago Merak say-NOMZ PART PART up Tshona say-NOMZ=ABL

den yoŋ tɕʰak-pi=gi yinda lá
PART come settle-PERV=GEN COP.MIR POLITE
'The place called Merak was founded by those who came from a place called Tshona up there, long long ago'

(885) te ʔoti=di tɕi yin se=ɕiʔ tuk-na
PART DEM.PROX=DEF what COP.EGO say=INDEF rely-COND
'If (someone) asks what this is about'

(886) daŋbo Tshona=gi dzoŋ+pon=di=ge te ɲima den
long.ago Tshona=GEN fortress+master=DEF=ERG PART sun PART

ri ri bombo=di=gi den ɕar+gya-te
mountain mountain big=DEF=INST PART straight+do-ADV

dzoŋ=di=la ma-dʱok-pʰi ten
fortress=DEF=LOC NEG-reach-PERV due.to
'Long long ago, the chieftain (literally, 'fortress master') of Tshona (was angry) since the sunlight did not fall straight onto the fortress due to the massive mountain'

(887) te ri bombo=di ka?+ʑak=næ den ɲima=di
PART mountain big=DEF block+keep=SEQ PART sun=DEF

ɻip+toŋ yo-ti ten da ʔoti tɕʰe=ʑi?
to.shadow+do EXIST.COP-NOMZ due.to PART DEM.PROX little=INDEF

ri pʰa=la pʰab-go-pʰa=se
mountain thither=ALL bring.down-OBLIG-MIR=REP

lap-pʰi=di=la
say-NOMZ=DEF=DAT
'It is said that the mountain was blocked...because the sun was blocked, and because (of that) they were told to flatten the mountain on that side...'

(888) te ʔoti=næ ri=di pʰab-go-pʰi=se
PART DEM.PROX=ABL mountain=DEF bring.down-OBLIG-PERV=QUOT

se-na míser gaŋyu den ri pʰab=næ den
say-COND subject ALL PART mountain bring.down=SEQ PART

ri pʰa=la pʰab-má-tʰob-bi=di=la...
mountain thither=ALL bring.down-NEG-ABIL-PERV=DEF=DAT
'So, they believed that they must flatten the mountain, and when all the people were flattening the mountain, they realized they could not flatten the mountain...'

(889) den Ama.Jomo den matɕi? Jomo den Remati den
PART Ama.Jomo PART one.and.only.mother Jomo PART Remati PART

Dema=gi ʈülpa=ʑi? dʑuŋ=næ den
Goddess.Tara=GEN emanation=INDEF arise=SEQ PART
'The emanation of Goddess Tara arose in the one and only mother Ama Jomo, also known as Remati'

(890) ʔoti=ge den da pʰrugu=ʑi? kʰur=næ ʔololo=se den
DEM.PROX=GEN PART PART child=INDEF carry=SEQ ololo=QUOT PART

dʱok-pʰi dʱok-pʰi dʱok-soŋ=se
arrive-PERV arrive-PERV arrive-PERV.DIRECT=REP
'It is said that this one (Ama Jomo) carried a baby and came along singing 'ʔololo"

(891) te d^{ɦ}ok-sina da riŋ + gu tɕæ-ta = læ den miŋ + gu
PART arrive-SIM PART mountain + head cut-MIR = ABL PART person + head

tɕæ-ti = gi ga: se-ti ʔoti = ge míser
cut-NOMZ = GEN be.happy say-NOMZ DEM.PROX = ERG subject

máŋ = baʔ = la ʔo lap-p^{h}i-na
public = PL = DAT DEM.PROX say-PERV-FACT
'When she arrived, this one (Ama Jomo) said to the people: "It would be better cutting off a human head than cutting down a mountain head"'

(892) te ʔoti = næ míser máŋ = ke ʔa te ʔani
PART DEM.PROX = ABL subject public = ERG INTJ PART DEM.PROX

yinda te ʔani den da tɕitɕin = ɕiʔ den miŋ + gu = di
COP.MIR PART DEM PART PART how = INDEF PART person + head = DEF

tɕæ-mi = gi t^{h}abɕe tɕitɕin = se ɖik se-na
cut-PERV = GEN strategy how = QUOT arrange say-FACT
'Then the people said: "Oh, that is right! So, in order to cut off a human head, what kind of strategy do we have to arrange?'

(893) da k^{h}yö = raŋ = ge den to: + tɕ^{h}aŋ = ʑiʔ ɖik = næ den
PART 2SG = EMPH = ERG PART food + alcohol = INDEF arrange = SEQ PART

tɕ^{h}aŋ tuŋ = næ ʔoti gyak-pa = di = la te...
alcohol drink = SEQ DEM.PROX do-MIR = DEF = LOC PART
'(Ama Jomo said:) "You can organize a banquet, drink alcohol, and while doing these things..."'

(894) den dzoŋ + pon = di wo = la ten ʔeŋ miŋ + gu
PART fortress + master = DEF DEM = LOC due.to PART person + head

tɕæ-na ʔoti = la tɕæ-ne = ye
cut-COND DEM.PROX = LOC cut-CNSV = EMPH

ɖik-ku-na = se den woti Ama.Jomo = ge
be.ok-FUT.IMPERV-FACT = QUOT PART DEM.PROX Ama.Jomo = ERG

ʈülpa = ge ʔoti suŋ-duʔ
emanation = INST DEM say.HON-DIRECT
'"If you cut off the head of the chieftain there and then, it will be the right time", thus said Ama Jomo with her emanation (divine power)'

(895) ʔoti = næ da den to: + tɕʰaŋ ɖik = næ den kʰoŋ = baʔ
DEM.PROX = ABL PART PART food + alcohol arrange = SEQ PART 3PL = PL

de = næ gama + gaʈo gya = næ te den
DEM = ABL happiness + enjoyment do = SEQ PART PART

naŋ = di = la den dzoŋ + pon = di den
RELAT:INSD = DEF = LOC PART fortress + master = DEF PART

ʈoŋ-pʰi-yin-to
kill.HON-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'Then they (the Brokpa ancestors) arranged a banquet, and then, when everyone enjoyed the feast, they killed the chieftain'

(896) den dzoŋ + pon ʈoŋ-sina ʔoti = næ ma = la den
PART fortress + master kill.HON-SIM DEM.PROX = ABL down = LOC PART

dzoŋ + pon ʈoŋ + ʑaʔ = næ
fortress + master kill.hon + keep = SEQ
'Then they killed the chieftain, and after killing the chieftain...'

(897) den ʔo=la dʱo-má-tɕʰak-pi tene den da
PART DEM.PROX=LOC stay-NEG-stay.put-PERV due.to PART PART

ma=la bron+tɕʰi-duʔ=se den
down=ALL run.away+go-DIRECT=QUOT PART
'Since they could not live there any longer, they thought: "We have to flee down the mountain"'

(898) den láma Jarepa=la den lam=ʑiʔ tön=se se=næ...
PART lama Jarepa=DAT PART path=INDEF show=QUOT say=SEQ
'They said to Lama Jarepa: "Show us a path"'

(899) da láma Jarepa=la zui-na matokpa te ŋa=e ŋa
PART lama Jarepa=DAT tell.HON-COND otherwise PART 1SG=ERG 1SG

tɕik=ke den lam ton-mi-tʰob se-ti Ama.Jomo=ge
one=ERG PART path show-NEG-ABIL say-NOMZ Ama.Jomo=ERG

ʔo suŋ
DEM.PROX tell.HON
'Ama Jomo said: "Ask Lama Jarepa, because I alone cannot show you the path"'

(900) te ʔani yinda=se den láma Jarepa=se=di=la
PART DEM COP.MIR=QUOT PART lama Jarepa=QUOT=DEF=DAT

ʑui=næ
tell.HON=SEQ
'They said "Yes, this is right", and then asked the one called 'Lama Jarepa"

(901) lam Zalam.Karbo=daŋ ton=næ tsʰo ri Pema.Koksum
path Zalam.Karbo=COM show=SEQ lake mountain Pema.Koksum

ʔoti=næ pʰa=la ʔoti=gi tɕik ton-go=se
DEM.PROX=ABL thither=ALL DEM=GEN one show-OBLIG=QUOT

lap=næ
say=SEQ
'They said (to Lama Jarepa): "You must show us Path Zalam Karbo and Lake Ri Pema Koksum"'

(902) ʔoti=næ de=næ da yar yoŋ de=næ ʔayi=næ
DEM.PROX=ABL DEM=ABL PART up come DEM=ABL up.there=ABL

ma=la yoŋ=næ
down=ALL come=SEQ
'Then they gathered together up there, and then they came down from there'

(903) den ta+nor yo-ti+me-ti gaŋyu den
PART horse+cattle EXIST.COP-nomz+neg.EXIST-NOMZ ALL PART

ʔoti=næ te
DEM.PROX=ABL PART
'Then they took whatever livestock animals they had, all of them'

(904) te kʰema gaŋyu den ma=la den ka:=næ te
PART pack.animal ALL PART down=ALL PART load=SEQ PART

ɖaɖik+gya=næ ma=la yoŋ-pʰi=se
ready+do=SEQ down=ALL come-PERV=REP
'It is said that they loaded all the pack animals, got ready, and came down'

(905) ʔoti=næ den yoŋ-sina den Gerongrong=se=di=la
DEM.PROX=ABL PART come-SIM PART Gerongrong=QUOT=DEF=LOC

tɕʰumbap=ʑi ʔ yo-ti-yin-to
waterfall=INDEF EXIST.COP-PERV-EGO-FINAL
'When coming from there, there was a waterfall at a placed called Gerongrong'

(906) den tɕʰumbap=ʑi ʔ yo ʔoti=la te
PART waterfall=INDEF EXIST.COP.EGO DEM.PROX=LOC PART

yóm=næ ɖo-sa me-ti ten=næ
take.detour=SEQ go-NOMZ:LOCTV NEG.EXIST-NOMZ depend=ABL:due.to

gaŋsaŋ mí nor gaŋ ʔoti=næ ma=la ɻoŋ+taŋ-zina...
everything person cattle all DEM=ABL down=ALL push+send-SIM
'There is waterfall over there, and since there was no way to walk around it at that place, they pushed down everything— people and cattle'

(907) te ʔoti=næ ma=la den tɕʰo
PART DEM.PROX=ABL down=ALL PART scripture

bum kangyur den
One.Hundred.Thousand.Prajnaparamita Translated.Buddha-word PART

ʔoti gætoŋpa gaŋyu ʔoyi
DEM Eight.Thousand.Line.Prajnaparamitta ALL up.there

nám-tʰuʔ nám-pʰi-na lá
bring.HON-DIRECT bring.HON-PERV-FACT POLITE
'They brought all the scriptures—One-Hundred-Thousand Prajnaparamita, Translated Buddha-Words, and these Eight-Thousand lines Prajnaparamitta from up there'

(908) woti=næ te ma=la kʰyoŋ-sina ʔo
DEM.PROX=ABL PART down=ALL bring-SIM DEM.PROX

roŋ=di=la tɕur-sina...
ravine=DEF=LOC throw-SIM...
'Then, when they were bringing those things down, they pushed (the animals) down the ravine'

(909) te lákɕiŋ gaŋ ʔo=la tɕak-pi=se
PART wooden.board ALL DEM.PROX=LOC break-PERV=REP

de=næ ʔoti=næ da diriŋ+saŋ den
DEM.PROX=ABL DEM=ABL PART today+tomorrow PART

lákɕiŋ data ʔoti Gerong tɕʰumbap roŋ=di=la
wooden.board now DEM.PROX Gerong waterfall ravine=DEF=LOC

te ɕukpuɕiŋ ke-pʰi-yo=se
PART juniper.tree grow-PERV-EXIST.EGO=REP
'It is said that the wooden boards (of scriptures) broke. Nowadays, juniper trees have grown at the ravine of this Gerong waterfall'

(910) te ʔoti=næ den den luʔ ta nor gaŋyu ʔo
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART PART sheep horse cattle all DEM.PROX

ma tɕur-zina
down throw-SIM
'When pushing down everything from there— sheep, horses, and cattle...'

(911) ʔoti=næ tɕʰuk=ʑiʔ kaŋpa tɕak=næ ya=la
DEM.PROX=ABL female.yak=INDEF leg break=SEQ up=LOC

dok-má-tʰob-bi=gi di ya=la lui-pʰi=se
arrive-NEG-ABIL-NOMZ=ERG DEM up=LOC be.left.out-PERV=REP
'It is said that a female yak broke her leg, and since she could not walk on she was left behind'

(912) te ʔoti=næ te ʔoti=næ den l̥akma=baʔ=ti
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART DEM=ABL PART remainder=PL=TOP

ma=la kʰyoŋ-pʰi den
down=ALL bring-PERV PART
'Then they brought down the rest of the animals'

(913) ʔot kaŋpa tɕak-pi=di ya=la ʑak-pi=se
DEM.PROX leg break-NOMZ=DEF up=LOC leave-PERV=REP

diriŋ+saŋ tɕʰe da nor maŋbo
today+tomorrow little PART cattle many

me-go-pʰi=di te ʔoti tɕuk kaŋpa
NEG.EXIST-OBLIG-NOMZ=DEF PART DEM.PROX female.yak leg

tɕak=næ ya=la lui-pʰi=ge ten=næ da
break=SEQ up=LOC leave.behind-PERV=ERG depend=abl:due.to PART

ɲam-pʰi-yin=se ʔotɕins lap-ki lá
degenerate-PERV-EGO-REP like.this say-IMPERV POLITE
'It is said that the one with the broken leg was left up there. The reason why some people do not have many cattle nowadays is that because the female yak with the broken leg was left behind (by their ancestors) up there; the cattle have degenerated; that is what they are saying'

(914) te ʔoti=næ te ʔoyi=næ ma=la yoŋ=næ den
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART up.there=ABL down=ALL come=SEQ PART

Togong.Somateng lap-sa=di=la den dʱæ-ti=sen
Togong.Somateng say-NOMZ:LOCTV=DEF=LOC PART stay-PERV=REP
'It is said that, after that, they came down from up there, and stayed at a place called Togong Somateng'

(915) ʔoti=næ da ʔoyi=la dʱæ-ti-sina sa tsʰikpu=di=ge
DEM.PROX=ABL PART up.there=LOC stay-NOMZ-SIM land hot=DEF=ERG

ʔeŋ tɕʰuk=daŋ ʔeŋ ʔoti=baʔ=ti den tsʰatpe=ge
PART female.yak=CNTV PART DEM=PL=FOC PART malaria=INST

má-tub-bi
NEG-be.okay-PERV
'Then, while living up there, it was not good for the female yaks due to the heat and malaria'

(916) Somateng lap-sa=di=la ma-tup-ta tɕæ=næ
Somateng say-NOMZ:LOCTV=DEF=LOC NEG-be.okay-MIR analyze=SEQ

den ru: patpa=ge násmeti tɕæ=næ
PART snake leech very.much analyze=SEQ
'They thought that it was not tolerable to live at the place called Somateng due to snakes and leeches'

(917) ʔoti=la ten=næ=ge den de=næ láma Jarepa=la
DEM.PROX=DAT depend=ABL=ERG PART DEM=ABL lama Jarepa=DAT

ʔeŋ loʔ=næ ʑui-tʰuʔ lá
PART again=ABL say:HON-DIRECT POLITE
'Because of this they again talked to Lama Jarepa'

(918) ʑui-sina ʔoti=næ láma Jarepa=ge de=næ
say:HON-SIM DEM.PROX=ABL lama Jarepa=ERG DEM.PROX=ABL

ruː=daŋ ʔoti=baʔ=ti sæ-náŋ-zin-na
snake=CNTV DEM=PL=DEF kill-give:HON-COMPL-FACT
'When they talked to Lama Jarepa, he killed (subdued) snakes and all those others[1]'

(919) te da diriŋ+saŋ ʔeŋ tɕʰuk woma+ʑo-zina te
PART PART today+tomorrow PART female.yak milk+milk-SIM PART

lakpa kyiː-ma=daŋ ʔoti gidaʔ ʈʰapu námbu
hand wrap-NOMZ:INST=CNTV DEM.PROX rope mottled woolen.cloth

karbo=daŋ ʈʰapu=di ʔoyi=næ lúŋtan dʑuŋ-yin
white=CNTV mottled=DEF up.there=ABL prophecy come.about-EGO
'The practice (according to prophecy) of using the mottled rope, the thing for fastening forelimbs, and mottled white cloth while milking female yaks nowadays originated from that time'

(920) ʔotɕin luŋtan gya=næ kʰyoŋ-pʰi=se
like.this prophecy do=SEQ bring-PERV=REP
'This is how they were brought here after the prophecy was made'

(921) te ʔoti=næ te da ʔoyi=la da ruː patpa=ge
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART PART up.there=LOC PART snake leech=ERG

tsʰatpa=ge tɕʰe=ʑiʔ dᶯo-tʰob-ba-min=se ʑui-sina
heat=ERG little=INDEF live-ABIL-MIR-NEG.EGO=REP report:HON-SIM
'When reporting that they cannot live up there because of snakes, leeches, and heat...'

[1] The term 'kill' here is used to mean 'subdue' through miraculous power by the lama, and not in the sense of bringing about death.

(922) da láma=te ʑu-i-sina láma=e da Ama.Jomo=daŋ
PART lama=ALL report-IMPERV-SIM lama=ERG PART Ama.Jomo=CNTV

ŋe ɲí=kʰe matokpa ŋa=e=kʰe tɕik=ke lam tön
1PL two=ERG otherwise 1SG=ERG=ERG one=ERG path show

mí-tʰub se-ti suŋ-sina...
NEG-ABIL say-NOMZ:COCLM say:HON-SIM
'When they informed the Lama, the Lama said, "It is the two of us, Ama Jomo and I (together), I alone cannot show you the path. When saying that...'

(923) te ʔoti=næ den da ya=la den pʰeb=næ den
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART PART up=LOC PART arrive:HON=SEQ PART

Tongshung=gi Zampa tɕʰu bombo da tɕak+zam=gi
Tongshung=GEN Zampa river big PART iron+bridge=GEN

tɕʰu=la dʱok=næ...
river=LOC reach=SEQ
'Then, they arrived there, and after arriving at Tongshung Zampa on the large river, the iron bridge over the river...[2]'

(924) tɕʰu=la dʱok-sina te zampa me-ti
river=LOC reach-SIM PART bridge NEG.EXIST-PERV
'When they arrived at the river, there was no bridge'

(925) lama=e=ge den sare taŋ+ʑak-pa=di=la
lama=ERG=ERG PART shawl do+keep-MIR=DEF=LOC
'The Lama threw his shawl across (on the surface of the river)'

[2] Note that *ʑampa* means 'bridge', but here Tongshung Zampa is referred to as the proper name of the place. Originally, there had been an iron bridge at the place called Tongshung, but that bridge no longer existed when the Brokpa ancestors reached there even though the place used to be known as Tonshung Zampa literally meaning 'Tongshung bridge'.

(926) ʔoti=næ mí nor gaŋyu ʔoti=næ den
DEM.PROX=ABL person cattle ALL DEM=ABL PART

Tongshung.Zampa=gi pʰa=læ pʰar+taŋ-ti ʔotɕin
Tongshung.Zampa=GEN thither=ABL cross+do-PERV like.this

pʰar-pʰi=se
cross-PERV=REP
'Then, all people and cattle crossed the river at Tongshung Zampa, they crossed like that (walking over the Lama's shawl)'

(927) te ʔoti=næ den ʔoyi=næ ma=la yoŋ=næ den
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART up.there=ABL down=ALL come=SEQ PART

ya=la den Sakteng=la dʱok-tʰuʔ lá
up=LOC PART Sakteng=LOC arrive-DIRECT POLITE
'Then they came down from up there, and arrived here at Sakteng'

(928) Sakteng=la dʱok-sina Sakteng=la den ʔoti=næ...
Sakteng=LOC arrive-SIM Sakteng=LOC PART DEM.PROX=ABL
'When arriving at Sakteng, then...'

(929) Sakteng Sakteng Sakteng lap-pʰi=di tɕitɕin tʰob-bi se-na
Sakteng Sakteng Sakteng SA-NOMZ=DEF how get-PERV say-COND

Sakteng lap-pʰi=di sa teŋ yo-ti=ge ten=næ
Sakteng say-NOMZ=DEF land surface EXIST-PERV=ERG rely.on=ABL

Sakteng tʰob-tʰaŋ ʔotɕin tʰob-bi=se
Sakteng get-NOMZ:MANR like.this get-PERV=REP
'If I say how it got its name Sakteng, Sakteng, Sakteng, it was so-called because there is flat land. It got its name that way[3]'

(930) ʔoti=næ den mí ɖak-ɕo ɖak-ɕo ta
DEM.PROX=ABL PART person strong-COMP horse strong-COMP

ɖak-ɕo ɖak-ɕo semtɕæn ɖak-ɕo gaŋyu den
strong-COMP strong-COMP animal strong-COMP ALL PART

ts^{h}ul=la k^{h}yoŋ=næ den
hither=ALL bring=SEQ PART
'After that, all the stronger people, horses, and animals were brought to this side'

(931) yal=la den Nyakshungla d^{ɦ}ok-sina
up.there=LOC PART Nyakshungla arrive-SIM
'When they arrived up there at Nyakshungla...'

(932) den ʔoti=næ Nyakshungla gyap=la
PART DEM.PROX=ABL Nyakshungla RELAT:back=LOC

Londro.Jong=se=di=la d^{ɦ}ok-sina
Londro.Jong=QUOT=DEF=LOC arrive-SIM
'After that, when they arrived on the other side (of the mountain) called Nyakshungla...'

(933) te ʔoti=næ te ʔeŋ mi tɕ^{h}eti ta tɕ^{h}eti tɕ^{h}eti gaŋyu
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART PART person tired horse tired tired ALL

ʔup^{h}i=læ lok=næ ten Londro.Jong=se ʔoti=næ den
DEM.DIST return=SEQ due.to Londro.Jong= QUOT DEM.PROX=ABL

Sakteŋ=la lok-pi=se
Sakteng=ALL return-PERV=REP
'It is said that then, because all exhausted people and horses **returned** from there, it was called Londro Jong (literally, 'return valley'); then it is said that they returned to Sakteng'

[3] People also say that Sakteng got its name from *saʔ* 'bamboo', which is a near-homophonous with *sa* 'land, ground'. They say that the place where Sakteng is located today used to be a place full of bamboos.

(934) ʔoti=næ da Merak=la te den ʔoti=næ den
DEM.PROX=ABL PART Merak=LOC PART PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART

mi+nor tɕʰe ɖak-ɕo gya=næ den ʔoti
person+cattle some strong-COMP do=SEQ PART DEM

ɖak-ɕo=baʔ=ti dʱok-pʰi=se
strong-COMP=PL=DEF arrive-PERV=REP
'It is said that then they separated the stronger people and stronger horses, and those stronger ones arrived at Merak'

(935) ʔoti=næ den da Merak=la den ʔoti=næ yal=la ʔeŋ
DEM.PROX=ABL PART PART Merak=LOC PART DEM=ABL up=LOC PART

Lungshimpu lap-sa=la tɕʰak-duʔ lá
Lungshimpu say-NOMZ:LOCTV=LOC settle-DIRECT POLITE
'After this, they settled down at a place called Lungshimpu up there in Merak'

(936) Lungshimpu lap-sa=la tɕʰak=næ den lo dakpatɕik=raŋ
Lungshimpu say-NOMZ:AGTV=LOC settle=ABL PART year some=EMPH

ʔoyi=la dʱæ-ti-yin=se
up.there=LOC stay-PERV-EGO=REP
'It is said that they settled down at Lungshimpu, and lived there for several years'

(937) da pʰa=la Phu.Thongkornang=se lap-sa=la
PART there=LOC Phu.Thongkornang=QUOT say-NOMZ:LOCTV=LOC

pʰæ ma=la de=næ Phudung=gi to: tɕʰoʔ
there:ABL down=ALL DEM=ABL Phudung=GEN upper direction

ma=te di=la ʑiŋga zæ=næ maŋbo=ʑiʔ dʱæ-ti=se
down=ALL DEM=LOC land eat=SEQ many=INDEF stay-PERV=REP
'It is said that they went from a place called Phu Thongkornang, and lived down there below the upper part of Phudung for many years by cultivating the land'

(938) te ʑiŋga zæ=næ ʔoyi=la tɕʰe luŋtan ma-bap-pi
PART land eat=SEQ up.there=LOC little prophecy NEG-descend-PERV

ten=næ da ʔoyi=la den lo?=næ
depend=ABL:due.to PART up.there=LOC PART return=SEQ
'They cultivated the land. Since they were not predestined (prophecy did not descend) to live up there, they returned'

(939) den ʔoti=næ pʰa=yi ma=la ʑiŋga
PART DEM.PROX=ABL over.there=GEN down=ALL land

ɻuŋ-gan den bomo pun ɲí dⁿæ-ti=se
care-NOMZ:AGTV PART girl sibling two stay-PERV=REP
'It is said that two sisters who were the caretakers of the land lived over there'

(940) te bomo pun ɲí dⁿæ-zina te ʔou=di pʰa=la
PART girl sibling two stay-SIM PART boy=DEF thither=ALL

ʔou=ʑi? pʰa=la ʑot+taŋ-zina
boy=INDEF thither=ALL send+send-SIM
'When the two sisters were living there, a boy was sent there'

(941) ʔou=di ʔou=di=la ten=næ ʔama=di=la
boy=DEF boy=DEF=LOC depend=ABL:due.to mother=DEF=LOC

ten=næ luŋtan ma-dʑuŋ-mi
depend=ABL:due.to prophecy NEG-come.about-PERV

ten=næ
depend=ABL:due.to
'Since the boy's coming was not really prophesized (due to the mother)...'

(942) den tɕʰe ɻ̥iŋmu-ɖou ɻ̥e=næ den ʔou=di
PART little vampiress-SIMI become=SEQ PART boy=DEF

deː+kʰyoŋ=næ za-gu se-ti deː+kʰyoŋ=næ
chase+bring=SEQ eat-IMPERV say-NOMZ chase+bring=SEQ

Lunzhimpu=la loʔ dʱok-pʰi=se
Lungzhimpu=LOC again arrive-PERV=REP
'It is said that the sisters became something like vampire and chased after the boy saying: "We will eat you"; the boy again came back at Lungzhimpu'

(943) loʔ dʱok=næ te ʔoti=næ den luŋtan me-ti
again arrive=ABL PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART prophecy NEG.EXIST-PERV

ten ʔoyi=næ tor=næ yoŋ=næ
due.to up.there=ABL scatter=SEQ come=SEQ
'After arriving there again, they (the Brokpa ancestors) dispersed and came back since it was not prophesied (to live there)'

(944) te da te go+ʑuʔ gaː-soŋ lá
PART PART PART head+tail go-PERV.DIRECT POLITE
'I messed up the order (of events)'

(945) te ʔoti=næ ʔo Sakteng=la dʱok=næ te
PART DEM.PROX=ABL DEM.PROX Sakteng=LOC arrive=SEQ PART

ʔot tsʰur=la da Merak=la dʱok=næ den
DEM.PROX hither=ALL PART Merak=LOC arrive=SEQ PART
'After that they arrived at Sakteng, and then they arrived this side at Merak'

(946) te ʔoti=la ʔun=la den naktsʰal Merak yuː=di
PART DEM.PROX=LOC that.time=LOC PART forest Merak village=DEF

te paŋ matsaraŋ me=se
PART grassland never NEG.EXIST.EGO=REP
'It is said that that time there was only forests here; there never was any grassland in the Merak village'

(947) ʔoti=næ paŋ=di re-go-pʰi=di tɕitɕin
DEM.PROX=ABL grassland=DEF become-OBLIG-NOMZ=DEF how

se-na
say-COND
'If I tell how the grassland came into being'

(948) den to: gya=næ den paŋme ga=næ ten=næ
PART food do=SEQ PART forest.fire go=SEQ depend=ABL:due.to

ʔoti=næ den Merak lap-go-pʰi=di gyutsʰæn
DEM.PROX=ABL PART Merak say-OBLIG-NOMZ=DEF reason

ʔo=la ten=næ=se
DEM.PROX=DAT depend=ABL:due.to=REP
'It is said that they cooked food and a forest fire broke out, and the reason for calling it Merak (literally, 'fire burn') was due to this'

(949) ʔoti=næ den ʔo=la den tɕʰak-tʰaŋ=di
DEM.PROX=ABL PART DEM.PROX=LOC PART establish-NOMZ:MANR=DEF

den
PART
'The way of establishing/settling here is that...'

(950) te pʰa=yi ʔeŋ da diriŋ+saŋ se-na te
PART there=GEN PART PART today+tomorrow say-COND PART

Nare.Gonpa lap-ki-yo ʔun=la Tsemo.Gonpa=se te
Nare.Gonpa say-IMPERV-EGO earlier=LOC Tsemo.Gonpa=QUOT PART

ʔupʰi gonpa gonpa=ʑi? tɕʰak-tuʔ lá
DEM.DIST temple temple=INDEF eastablish-DIRECT POLITE
'A temple, nowadays known as Nare Gonpa, earlier called Tsemo Gonpa, was established there'

(951) den ʔoti=næ den ʔoti gaŋ=la den
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART DEM RELAT:MOM=LOC PART

Miwang.Ngada.Rimpoche=daŋ ʔoti=gi den
Miwang.Ngada.Rimpoche=CNTV DEM.PROX=GEN PART

logyu=di me-ti gya=næ pon gya=næ tɕi
information=DEF NEG.EXIST.EGO-PERV do=SEQ ruler do=SEQ what

gya=næ ʔo=la gya+dʱæ-tuʔ lá
do=SEQ DEM.PROX=LOC do+stay-DIRECT POLITE

'Then, at that time, there was no mention of Miwang Ngada Rimpoche (His Majesty the King), and whether ruler or whatever, this (Tsemo Gonpa) was the seat of government administration (administration was done there)'

(952) ʔo=la gya+dʱæ=næ te ʔoti=næ den ma=la
DEM.PROX=LOC do+stay=SEQ PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART down=ALL

Chom.Bruksa=se tɕʰo lala ʔumi=la kʰer-duʔ
Chom.Bruksa=QUOT dharma some down.there=ALL take-DIRECT

lá
POLITE

'After this (after Tsemo Gonpa became seat of administration), some dharma scriptures were taken down there to a placed called Chom Bruksa'

(953) da tɕʰo poti ɲí+sum=ʑi?
PART dharma volume two+three=INDEF

bræ=la yo
rocky.outcrop=LOC EXIST.EGO

lá
POLITE

'A few volumes of the dharma scriptures are there at the rocky outcrop'

(954) ʔoti=næ den tɕʰuk tɕʰuk=ki biu
DEM.PROX=ABL PART female.yak female.yak=GEN calf

tʰak-mi=gi ʔeŋ pʰurtumba=daŋ diriŋ+saŋ=ye
tether-NOMZ=GEN PART post.short=CNTV today+tomorrow=EMPH

Chom.Bruksa lap-sa=di=la ten=næ ʂukdoŋ
Chom.Bruksa say-NOMZ:LOCTV=DEF=LOC depend=ABL juniper.trunk

bombo yo lá
big EXIST.EGO POLITE
'Even now, there is a big juniper tree trunk used as the post for tethering the calf of the female yak (the one with the broken leg)'

(955) ʔoti=di da daŋbo biu tʰak-mi=gi bepʰur
DEM.PROX=DEF PART bygone.days calf tether-NOMZ=GEN hidden.POST

pʰurtumba yin=se
POST.short COP.EGO=REP
'It is said that this is the post which was used for tethering the calf (of the female yak with the broken leg) in the bygone days'

(956) te ʔoti=næ te tɕʰo den ʔoti=gi
PART DEM.PROX=ABL PART dharma PART DEM.PROX=GEN

l̥akma=di Cho.Torsa=se lap-sa=di
remainder=DEF Cho.Torsa=QUOT say-NOMZ:LOCTV=DEF
'Then, the remainder of those dharma scriptures were (scattered) from a place known as Cho Torsa (lit. 'where dharma scriptures were scattered')'

(957) ma=la Chaleng=gi to:=di=la ʔumi=næ
down=LOC Chaleng=GEN upper.reaches=DEF=LOC down.there=ABL

tɕʰo tɕʰo ʔoti=næ kʰyo=raŋ dʱænsa tsa:=næ
dharma dharma DEM.PROX=ABL 2SG=REFL monastic.seat search=SEQ

soŋ=se tɕʰo=di tor+taŋ-ŋai=se
go:IMP:CAN=QUOT dharma=DEF scatter+send-PERV=REP
'(Ama Jomo) scattered the dharma scriptures down from there, the upper reaches of Chaleng, saying: "You go and look for your own monastic seat'

(958) te tɕʰo tor + taŋ-zina den pʰa = la Thromang
PART dharma scatter + send-SIM PART there = LOC Thromang

lap-sa = la bap-pʰi = se
say-NOMZ:LOCTV fall-NOMZ = REP
'It is said that when the dharma scriptures were scattered they landed at a place called Thromang'

(959) te Thromang lap-pʰi = di ma = la Radhi = gi Jomo
PART Thromang say-NOMZ = DEF down = LOC Radhi = GEN Jomo

lap-pʰi = di = ge Radhi.Jomo lap-pʰi ten = næ ser
say-NOMZ = DEF = ERG Radhi.Jomo say-NOMZ depend = ABL:due.to gold

bor-tsam namʑi? dʑin = næ
bowl-APPROX some give = SEQ
'The place called Thromang was that of the Jomo (noble woman) of Radhi..... Radhi Jomo was given some bowls of gold'

(960) den Radhi.Jomo lak = næ den ŋe = raŋ Merak Ama.Jomo = ge
PART Radhi.Jomo hand = ABL PART 1PL = REFL Merak Ama.Jomo = ERG

gya = næ ɲo = næ
do = SEQ buy = SEQ
'Our own Ama Jomo of Merak bought (the place of Thromang) from Radhi Jomo (by paying bowls of gold)'

(961) dʱænsa ʔumi = la da diriŋ + saŋ ʔeŋ
monastic.seat down.there = LOC PART today + tomorrow PART

Ama.Jomo = ge bo: = næ ma = la kʰyoŋ-pʰi = gi
Ama.Jomo = ERG Tibet = ABL down = ALL bring-NOMZ.PERV = GEN

lákɕiŋ tɕak + ga-li = baʔ gaŋyu den data Thromang
wooden.board break + go-NOMZ.PERV = PL ALL PART now Thromang

l̥akʰaŋ = la yo diriŋ + saŋ yo
monastery = LOC EXIST.EGO today + tomorrow EXIST.EGO
'The broken wooden boards which Ama Jomo brought down from Tibet are today there at the monastic seat of Thromang'

(962) te da ʔoti = næ den gaŋyu ʔumi = la
PART PART DEM.PROX = ABL PART ALL down.there = LOC

ʑak-pi = se
keep-PERV = REP
'It is said that, after that, all the things were kept down there'

(963) te da ʔo-tsam = ʑi? = la ʈaɕi + delek
PART PART DEM.PROX-APPROX = INDEF = LOC auspiciousness + goodness

ʑu-ma = se
say:HON-MIR = QUOT
'I would like to say 'Tashi Delek' at this point'

TASHI DELEK

(Auspicious Goodness)

'Thank You'

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