A GRAMMAR OF KURTÖP

by

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Kurtöp is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by approximately 15,000 people in Northeastern Bhutan. This dissertation is the first descriptive grammar of the language, based on extensive fieldwork and community-driven language documentation in Bhutan. When possible, analyses are presented in typological and historical/comparative perspectives and illustrated with ample data, drawn mainly from texts but also elicitation as need be.

Within Tibeto-Burman, Kurtöp has been placed within the East Bodish sub-branch. Data presented in this study support this placement and confirm previous observations that the East Bodish languages are close relatives, but not direct descendants of Classical Tibetan. The link between the current East Bodish languages and Bhutanese prehistory remains unclear but the Kurtöp grammar is a first step at understanding the historical relations.

The most remarkable aspect of Kurtöp phonology is the tonal system, which is contrastive following the sonorants, but incipient following the obstruents, except the
palatal fricative, for which tone has completely replaced a previous contrast in voicing. Tone is present only on the first syllable of stems, where vowels are also slightly longer.

Kurtöp is agglutinating and polysynthetic. Words generally consist of two or three syllables, but may be as long as five or six, depending mainly on suffixing morphology. Like most languages of South Asia, Kurtöp exhibits verb-final syntax and the typological correlations that follow, including postposition (or relator noun constructions), auxiliaries after the verb, and sentence-final particles.

The case marking system is ‘pragmatic’ ergative, where an ergative marker is required in some transitive contexts, but not in others. In other contexts, including for some intransitive verbs, the ergative signals a variety of pragmatic or semantic factors. This ergative system, though typologically unusual, is characteristic of many Tibeto-Burman languages, including neighboring Dzongkha and Tshangla.

Nominalization and clause-chaining are two essential components of Kurtöp syntax, constituting a majority of clauses and a diachronic source for much of the main clause grammar. The evidential/mirative system in Kurtöp is also of typological interest, encoding a wide range of values pertaining to speaker expectation as well as mirativity and source of knowledge.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Kurtöp is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by approximately 15,000 people in Lhüntse district of Northeastern Bhutan. This dissertation provides the first descriptive grammar of Kurtöp and, when possible, places the description in typological and historical/comparative contexts.

The relationship between the Tibeto-Burman languages has been an area of ongoing academic interest for nearly two centuries, beginning perhaps with von Klaproth's (1823) observation that Tibetan, Burmese, and Chinese shared a number of striking lexical similarities. Since then, identification of other Tibeto-Burman languages has been growing continuously, and along with it a continued attempt to reconstruct Proto Tibeto-Burman as well as discern information about the culture of the people who spoke the Proto language and their subsequent migration patterns.

With the rise in popularity of documentary/descriptive linguistics, due in no small part to the realization of the field of linguistics itself that we are at risk of losing most of the world’s linguistic diversity within the immediate generations, an increasing number of grammars of Tibeto-Burman languages are being produced. These descriptive grammars, such as Post (2007), Willis (2007), Coupe (2007), Andvik (2010), Lidz (2010) Chelliah (1997) are the ground-breaking requisites to quality comparative and historical work.
The aim in this dissertation is to present a descriptive grammar of Kurtöp in a historical/comparative perspective within a functional/typological framework. Kurtöp, a Tibeto-Burman language of Bhutan, like most languages of Bhutan, was largely undescribed until the present study. When possible, I situate the Kurtöp data in a comparative or historical point of view, as I have also endeavored for this dissertation to be a contribution in the study of Bhutanese pre-history.

A secondary aim of this grammar is to be a contribution to typological studies. Thus, various phenomena are also considered from a typological viewpoint. The Kurtöp data, in particular, are a contribution to studies of tonogenesis, ergativity, and evidentiality.

The second chapter of this grammar describes the methodology used in compiling the documentation and subsequent description. An effort has been made to work in the evolving collaborative framework that sees language documentation as inherently involving work between outside linguists and inside community members that is for, by, and with a language community. As I argue in §2, this framework provides the ideal means to collect a wide variety of naturalistic data, enabling the linguist to extract a description of the language as it spoken by a wide variety of native speakers across a broad range of socio-cultural contexts.

The third and fourth chapters are devoted to a discussion of Tibeto-Burman linguistics and the linguistic history of Bhutan as a way to situate the Kurtöp grammar in a (pre-) historic context. §3 begins with a brief history of Tibeto-Burman studies and discusses the various groupings within the Tibeto-Burman languages, including the
contentious placement of Chinese. I also address the placement of Tibeto-Burman languages in the larger context. The last sections of §3 discuss the East Bodish languages and suggest a preliminary internal phylogeny of Kurtōp’s closest linguistic relatives.

Much of the discussion in §4 is devoted to a review of the relevant archaeological literature. There is very little published about Bhutan’s archaeology, due to the dearth of studies. There is a fair amount of literature, however, surrounding Bhutan’s northern neighbor, Tibet, and slightly less on Bhutan’s neighbors in India. The current ethnolinguistic situation in Bhutan is discussed in this context. There is too little information on Bhutan’s approximately 20 other Tibeto-Burman languages to form any hypotheses beyond conjecture. In this chapter I also present the first public images of the archaeological site Bangtsho of Kurtō ’Umling, which, located in the Kurtō region, may or may not have any link to the current Kurtōp-speaking inhabitants in the region.

The fifth chapter of this dissertation introduces the Kurtōp-speaking community in terms of their geography and culture. The observations presented here, including a map of the Kurtōp-speaking area, and a brief discussion of economy, agriculture, religion and spirituality, history and marriage practices are based on the time I spent in Bhutan.

Chapters six through eight present Kurtōp phonology and the orthographies developed for Kurtōp phonology. In §6 I describe the contrastive phonology, including consonant phonemes, vowel phonemes, and the tonal system. This includes a discussion

1 As I show in §3, there are several competing models of Tibeto-Burman/Sino-Tibetan. According to some theories, Chinese is considered a separate branch of the larger family, Sino-Tibetan, with the entire Tibeto-Burman family being a sister to Chinese. According to other theories, Chinese is a separate branch within Tibeto-Burman. See §3 for an overview of these models.
of the origin of the contrasts when possible, especially the recent development of a retroflex series of stops and tone. The following chapter, §7, describes the non-contrastive phonology of Kurtöp, including word-level stress, phonological words and allomorphy. §8 is a presentation of the Roman and 'Ucen-based Kurtöp orthographies, including the motivations for the difficult decisions involved in adapting 'Ucen to Kurtöp. After §7, all Kurtöp data are illustrated in the Roman orthography.

Chapters nine and ten discuss the Kurtöp lexicon, with §9 being an overview of word shape and etymologies and §10.5 being a discussion of word classes. As we will see, much of the Kurtöp vocabulary is borrowed from Classican Tibetan, or Chöke, and in fact it is still difficult to discern native inheritances from Chöke borrowings. Kurtöp readily distinguishes nouns from verbs, though there is some overlap between the two categories. There is also a category of adjectives as well as numerals and determiners in the noun phrase and adverbs in the verb phrase.

The next three chapters present the structure associated with noun phrases. §11 is a structural analysis of the noun phrase, including a detailed discussion of Kurtöp nouns. In §12 I discuss the nominal modifiers, including the adjectives and numerals. The next chapter, §13, is a presentation of proforms. This includes pronouns and demonstratives, but also branches outside of the NP to include the forms that are syntactically adjectives. In other words, §13 constitutes a discussion of a functional class of words, including a subset of which are found to fulfill the same syntactic function of a NP.

Case markers are introduced in §11 as a category of the NP, but a subset of these are discussed in §14 in greater detail in the chapter on case-marking. In particular, I focus
on a description of the ergative case-marker, which, in addition to demonstrating the expected syntactic distribution of designating the A argument in a bivalent clause, has a noted number of pragmatic uses. §14 also touches on the typologically unusual differential object marking.

Nominalization, which has been shown to be an important facet of Tibeto-Burman syntax, and in particular the development of main clause grammar, is discussed in §15. Though verbal uses of the nominalizers are discussed in passing in §15, a full discussion of the verb phrase is left for §16, which is a full syntactic analysis of the verbal complex, including a discussion of verbs in detail. §16 includes a syntactic analysis of the verbal suffixes, clitics and particles.

The tense/aspect categories are discussed in §17. Perfective and imperfective aspect are contrasted in both main clause grammar and in subordinate clauses. Future tense is found in main clauses only, though in at least one instance it is clear that one of the main clause future constructions has recently grammaticalized from a subordinate irrealis construction involving a nominalized verb plus copula.

Main clauses in Kurtöp can be broadly divided into two categories: those constituting a verb plus an optional tense/apsect/evidential suffix and those constituting a nominalized verb plus copula. Copulas are therefore a rich aspect of Kurtöp verb phrases. §18 describes the four basic copulas in Kurtöp (positive and negative existential and equational plus their various evidential allomorphs).

The next chapter, §19, is devoted to a presentation of non-declarative speech acts. Here, I present imperative constructions, question formation, and negation. There are
three imperative suffixes which differ only by the shape of the vowel and indicate
differences in formality or tense. Negation is done exclusively by way of a prefix. The
vowel in this prefix varies depending on tense and also changes to agree in height with
the stem vowel (see also §7.3.2.1 for a discussion of the movement of tone to the prefix).
Question formation in Kurtöp is particularly interesting as speakers must take into
account their expectations of interlocutors’ knowledge in choosing the forms they use.

Intertwined with the tense/aspect system in finite clauses is a rich and unusual
evidential system, a description of which serves the basis for §20. The Kurtöp evidential
system makes a five-way contrast in perfective aspect, a two-way contrast in imperfective
aspect, and a two-way contrast in epistemic modality in future tense. Even more contrasts
are made within the copulas According to a strict definition of evidentiality, such as
‘grammaticalized information source’ (Aikhenvald 2004: 14), much of the Kurtöp system
described in §20 would fall outside of the cagtegory of evidentiality. Indeed, much of
what I describe in this chapter is about expectations of knowledge, not necessarily source
of knowledge.

The twenty-first chapter discusses the combination of clauses into complex
clauses. Broadly, the constructions described in §21 are grouped into relative clauses,
complement clauses, and adverbial clauses. The very productive clause-chaining
construction, involving a converb, is discussed in this chapter as a type of adverbial
construction.

The second to last chapter is a discussion of rhetorical devices used in Kurtöp.
Most of §22 is devoted to the set of constructions involving the rhetorical use of negated
verbs, but a section is devoted each to exclamations and hesitations. The final chapter, §23, summarizes the findings of the grammar and offers conclusions regarding historical placement of Kurtöp as well as typological significance of the grammar.
 CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The (re-)emergence of language documentation has brought with it an exciting, rigorous, and collaborative research agenda. Himmelmann (2006: 1) defined language documentation as a ‘lasting, multipurpose record of a language’. Woodbury (2003) outlines new conceptions in documentary linguistics, identifying six points that are widely-agreed to be of value in language documentation. These are: 1) diversity of corpus; 2) large corpus; 3) production of corpus that is ongoing, distributed, and opportunistic; 4) transparent and properly annotated materials; 5) material that is preservable, ethical, and portable; 6) ethical corpus.

Describing the benefits of working with natural data as opposed to elicitation, Mithun (2001: 51) states: ‘speakers often shape the record most effectively when they are given the opportunity to choose what to say and how to say it’. Likewise, Chelliah (2001) also advocates steering away from purely elicitation. In a similar vein, Sherzer (1987) describes a discourse-centered approach to language and culture which takes discourse as the starting point for linguistic and cultural analysis.

Grinevald (1998: 156) advocates for a ‘collaborative fieldwork framework … which consists of a multidimensional framework of work on a language, for its speakers and with its speakers.’ Dwyer (2006) describes ‘cooperative fieldwork’ and ‘community-researcher teams’ wherein successful research outcomes are dependent on 1) a good relationship between the researchers and indigenous partners; and 2) a plan based on

Finally, although a language description cannot be based on elicitation alone, Mithun (2001) argues that direct elicitation, in conjunction with recording natural speech, is an essential tool in language description. Thus, I have supplemented the collection of natural discourse with elicitation techniques when appropriate. While eliciting data, I maintain awareness of the issues articulated in Schütze (1996), keeping in mind that speakers may provide differing data for seemingly identical questions because of idiolectal variation, education, other individual experience, or different interpretation of the question or context at hand.

My language documentation methods encapsulate these points, which I envision to be two sides of the same coin: high-quality documentation entails ethical work and relationships; and ethical work and relationships engender high-quality documentation.

2.1. Previous work

Before the present study, Kurtöp had barely been the focus of any linguistic study and there had been no large-scale language documentation in Bhutan whatsoever. Having completed the first linguistic survey in Bhutan, George van Driem laid the foundation stones for our current understanding of Bhutanese linguistics. Van Driem (1998; 1995a; 2001) identifies 19 disparate languages in Bhutan, mostly of Tibeto-Burman origin (see below). Of these, six belong to the Central Bodish group: Dzongkha, Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha, Brokpa, Brokkat, Lakha and Tibetan (B’ökha). The group with the most languages is the East Bodish sub-family, which comprises Bumthap, Khengkha, Kurtöp, ’Nyenkha, Chali,
Dzala and Dakpa. Four other Tibeto-Burman languages are also found in Bhutan. Tshangla (Sharchop) is the *lingua franca* of eastern Bhutan and is spoken by well over one hundred thousand Bhutanese (van Driem 2001). Three particularly endangered Tibeto-Burman languages of Bhutan have received additional attention from the Dzongkha Development Commission (DDC). Van Driem (2004) outlines these *three gems*, which are Lhokpu, Black Mountain, and Gongduk. The only language spoken as a mother tongue in Bhutan not belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family is Nepali. The linguistic situation in Bhutan is described in greater detail in §4.1.

Of the languages outlined above, Dzongkha and Tshangla have received the most attention. van Driem (1998) is a grammar of Dzongkha and Andvik (2010) is a grammar of Tshangla. George van Driem and Karma Tshering, in collaboration with the Dzongkha Development Commission, devised a Roman orthography for writing Dzongkha (van Driem 2001). The orthography is readily used by foreign academics in Bhutan but, unfortunately, has yet to gain popularity with the Bhutanese themselves, including the Dzongkha Development Commission, who still use ad-hoc representations for Dzongkha in Roman orthography.

Within Bhutan, Wangdi (2005) is an outline of various aspects of Tshangla, written primarily for the non-linguistic audience. A recent grammar of Tshangla is Andvik (2010) and Andvik has also been involved in dictionary creation and literacy

2 The term ‘three gems’ or ‘triple gem’ has its origin in Buddhism, where the three gems are the Buddha, the Dharma (religion) and the Sangha (the religious community). Reference to good things that come in sets of three is often made using the term *three gems*, as a way to link the three entities at hand with the Buddhist ‘three gems’.
work with the Bhutanese Tshangla-speaking population residing in India. In culmination of several years of work, Andvik (to appear) proposes an ’Ucen-based orthography for Tshangla, though, to my knowledge, there is no standardized orthography in use practically today.

Other, smaller, linguistic studies are Mazaudon and Michailovsky (1988), an acoustic analysis of Dzongkha tones, Watters (1996), an M.A. thesis on Dzongkha prosody, Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994), a preliminary comparative lexical and phonological analysis of Kurtöp and other languages of the Bumthang group, van Driem (1995b), a preliminary analysis of conjugational verbal morphology in Black Mountain Mönpa, van Driem (2007), a lexical comparison of Dakpa and Dzala, and Nishida (2009), a brief introduction to ’Mangde. This list represents most of the previous research on languages of Bhutan. Until the present work, there was no linguistic documentation in Bhutan per se.

The Kurtöp Documentation Project has its roots in Eugene, OR in 2005. At that time native Kurtöp speaker Pema Chhophyel was studying Business at the University of Oregon. When he came to the Linguistics Department looking for work, Professors Spike Gildea and Scott DeLancey immediately decided to hire Pema as the consultant for the upcoming Field Methods class and thus the project was born. The 2005-2006 Field Methods class consisted of Professors Spike Gildea and Scott DeLancey and students Kun Yue, Michael Ahland, Colleen Ahland, Racquel-María Yamada, John Busch, Christopher Doty, Jesse Blackburn-Morrow, Brian Bird and the present author. From the beginning, Pema was concerned with the impending loss of his language and has been
very devoted to the research. At present, though he now resides in Japan, he is very much engaged in the project.

The Field Methods class indeed provided the foundation for the work that was to follow. We were fortunate to find another Kurtöp speaker living in Santa Barbara, CA, and the University of Oregon, Department of Linguistics paid for Pema Chhophyel, Racquel-María Yamada, and the present author to travel to Santa Barbara and record conversations between the two Kurtöp speakers over a Thanksgiving holiday. Those conversations were the beginning of the current and continually-expanding Kurtöp corpus (see §2.7 for more details).

With a completed M.A. on Kurtöp phonology (Lowes (Hyslop) 2006), I traveled to Bhutan in 2006 in order to ascertain the level of interest and feasibility of a larger, in-depth documentation and description project. My first step was to contact local linguist Karma Tshering. Together we traveled to Pema’s home village and discussed the proposed project with the village leaders, teachers, and community members. The idea for the project was well-received by the local community and during that time we were able to make a few additional recordings and also made the acquaintance of Kuenga Lhendup, who later joined the project as a collaborator (cf. §2.2).

In 2007 I applied for an Individual Graduate Studentship from the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Project, which was awarded later the same year. In another trip to Bhutan the same year, George van Driem and I approached the Dzongkha Development Commission (DDC) about the project, requesting permission to conduct the research over the course of three years, much of it in residence in Bhutan. As
such, requests for a visa and travel permission were also made. Permission from the DDC was also granted later that same year.

2.2. Collaboration

All research in Bhutan -- both from outsiders and from native Bhutanese -- needs to be approved by and conducted in collaboration with a governing authority. In the case of linguistic research this organization in Bhutan has generally been the Dzongkha Development Commission (DDC), and this research has followed suit. All data are archived with the DDC and the DDC gives necessary permissions and helps process paperwork as needed. Orthography development (discussed in detail in §8) is also developed in close collaboration with the DDC.

Since I approached the Kurtöp-speaking community in Bhutan in 2006, many individuals have also gotten on board, forming a team of people dedicated to the documentation of Kurtöp. Individual roles have varied from data collection, input into what sort of data to gather, transcription, translation, editing, and lexicography. The background of these people and their respective roles in the project are described in greater detail in §2.4.

In addition to the DDC, the following people contribute fully to the direction of the project: Kuenga Lhendup, Karma Tshering, and Pema Chhophyel. This team makes mutual decisions about what data to collect, what to archive, the orthographies (cf. §8), and the content and scope of the dictionary.
2.3. Goals of the Kurtöp Documentation Project

The Kurtöp Documentation Project was founded in 2006 in order to document and describe the Kurtöp language. The present dissertation (grammatical description) is one of these goals. The other goals are: documentation, orthography development, language promotion, and the trilingual dictionary, as described below.

2.3.1. Documentation

The first goal has been to adequately document the language. As such, we have been striving to collect a wide variety of data that would represent the language in as many socio-cultural contexts as possible. To do this, we have collected audio and video recordings of conversations between two or more speakers, personal and third person narratives, songs and dance, detailed accounts of historical and current cultural events, interviews, and story-telling. Photographic documentation is meant to accompany the dictionary, providing visual identification of flora, fauna, and cultural items not native to most English-speaking populations.

In order to ensure the documentation represented the speech of a community and not simply a few individuals, we ensured the consultants were drawn from as mixed a group as possible, including men and women, people who were married and single, educated and uneducated, people who grew up in the village and outside of the village, those currently living in the village and elsewhere, and a wide range of ages, from children to adults in their 80s. Like any other language, Kurtöp has different registers within a given community and different dialect variation from community to community. We also aimed to collect data from as many communities as possible. As I described in
§1, this grammatical description is based on the Kurtöp spoken in Dungkar geo, though I note where other dialects differ, when I have evidence for variation. By collecting a wide range of data we have also made the attempt to document various registers of Kurtöp. Throughout the grammar I make reference to register differences I have noted, when possible.

As I describe in §5, there is a great deal of sociolinguistic variation within the Kurtöp-speaking community. Register variation is often triggered by the nature of the interlocutor. Foreign interlocutors, especially Caucasians from abroad but also native Dzongkha-speaking interlocutors, often lead to the speaker using a different register than when the interlocutor is a personal acquaintance from within their community. This is true despite our instructions to the speakers that we were interested in recording real Kurtöp, as it is normally spoken at home. As such, we took care to vary the interlocutor and vary the people present at the time of the recording.

2.3.2. Grammatical description

The current dissertation constitutes the grammatical description. As the first description of the language ever, the aim has been to make the description as complete and comprehensive as possible. An important facet of this has been to describe data that do not follow the trends we found or are difficult to explain. As possibly the only description ever of the language, we have aimed to make the description as theory- and jargon-independent as possible. Words and categories are described and while I attempt to link the language typologically where relevant, I also make an attempt to describe the
language in as few linguistic terms as possible. I hope this effort would make the work accessible to a linguistically-savvy audience in the near and distant future.

Though the entire documentation team hopes the work would be of interest to Kurtöp speakers, the current grammar is not intended as a pedagogical grammar. However, I hope the current description would serve as a base for a pedagogical grammar in the future, should the speech community or Bhutanese government decide it useful to have one. Of course, any pedagogical grammar would have to be designed with the local literature tradition and teaching philosophy in mind.

2.3.3. Orthographies

Development of appropriate\^3 orthographies has been an important facet of our work. First, a Roman orthography was needed for practical reasons. Second, the DDC requested Kurtöp be put to an ´Ucen orthography as well. These orthographies have both been achieved, though only the Roman orthography is in any use practically, and it remains to be seen whether it will become widely used, and indeed whether Kurtöp will be widely written. These factors depend in large part on the future role of literature in Bhutan and Bhutanese policies of promoting minority languages.

\^3 The term ‘appropriate’ here is used in two senses. On the one hand, an ‘appropriate’ orthography is needed for linguistic presentation and ease of written communication in a Roman-based orthography for community members who prefer written communication in a Roman-based medium. On the other hand, a culturally ‘appropriate’ orthography would be ´Ucen (Tibetan-like; cf. §8.2), based on government requests and cultural practices.
The Roman orthography is used throughout this grammar and both orthographies will be used in the Kurtöp/English/Dzongkha dictionary. The orthographies are described in detail in §8.

2.3.4. Language development

The native Kurtöp-speaking community would also like to see their language be developed. Currently, Dzongkha is the only language with a written tradition and the only Bhutanese language taught in the schools. We have been working to develop Kurtöp in a few ways. First, by continuing to engage native speakers in the documentation process we are spreading pride and interest in Kurtöp as a language worthy of as much prestige as Dzongkha, English, Hindi, or any other written language. Second, we have involved several Kurtöp speakers in the process of orthographic development (cf. §8). Through this process many Kurtöp speakers have learned that it is possible to write in Kurtöp, which furthers the interest in and prestige of the language. Third, we give copies of all conference handouts and published articles to interested Kurtöp speakers. While no Kurtöp speaker has the background necessary to understand the research in much depth, they enjoy seeing their language and their contributions acknowledged in print. This also engenders greater pride in the language. I believe that speakers deserve to know what outsiders have said about their language, in spite of the fact that the analysis may be beyond their present comprehension.
Kurtöp language development is slowly moving beyond the basics described above. In early 2010, Pema Chhophyel created a Facebook page devoted to Kurtöp language and culture\(^4\). This page is the first public venue devoted solely to the Kurtöp language or culture. The page has received minimal traffic so far, but it has been an important first step. We have had several written Kurtöp conversations on the page, and one speaker commented they were ‘elated to be writing in Kurtöp on Facebook’. Future steps are addressed in §2.9.

2.3.5. Kurtöp/English/Dzongkha dictionary

The fifth goal of the Kurtöp Documentation Project has been to compile a trilingual Kurtöp/English/Dzongkha dictionary. The dictionary will have detailed Kurtöp to English definitions plus indices in English and Dzongkha showing the Kurtöp translation. Here, the potential is greater for the dictionary to be used by a wider audience than the grammatical description. Literate Kurtöp speakers can reference the dictionary to find English terms for Kurtöp words and concepts. Given that English is the primary language of written communication within the government, the private working sector, and most of the education system, this could be a powerful tool indeed for Kurtöp speakers, who otherwise would have to rely on Dzongkha-English or Tibetan-English dictionaries -- languages they do not speak natively, if even fluently.

2.4. Consultants

In total, over fifty individuals have been involved in data collection. The roles of these people have varied, from being the primary speaker(s), to conducting the recording, to being present during the recording. The consultants vary greatly in age, education, and life experience. The represent men and women, speakers who were born in Kurtö and have never left the village as well as speakers born outside the village and residing in Thimphu or even outside of Bhutan. The occupations of the consultants also vary greatly; speakers range from being monks, former monks, college students, farmers, housewives, shopkeepers, and government civil servants. There is a range of second languages spoken by the speakers as well, though no monolingual speakers were found. Even the most uneducated speakers had working knowledge of Dzongkha or Chocangaca. Details pertaining to the Kurtöp consultants involved in the Kurtöp Documentation Project can be found in Appendix C.

2.5. Fieldtrips

Following the Field Methods class at the University of Oregon, I conducted nine separate field trips to Bhutan, totaling just over sixteen months. The first trip, described briefly above, was in 2006. I traveled to Kurtö for the first time and gained local permission for the project. I began collaborating with Karma Tshering at that point and made a few recordings. The last three days of this two-week trip were spent with Kuenga Lhendup, a native Kurtöp speaker who had just graduated from Kanglung College, in Trashigang, Bhutan, with a B.A., with honors, in English. He was immediately drawn to the project and offered to volunteer his help in any way he could. I trained him to use the
program *Transcriber* and explained the working orthography I had outlined based on discussions with Karma Tshering and my previous M.A. work. As time passed, Kuenga continued to be one the most important members of the project.

The second field trip was a week-long stay in March, 2007. The aim of this trip was to submit a proposal for long-term research with the Dzongkha Development Commission. I also met with Kuenga Lhendup during this time and collected the transcriptions and translations he had completed.

With official permission from the government of Bhutan I returned for the first official field trip in fall of 2007 for two weeks. The plan was to travel to Kurtö and spend the majority of my time in the village, finalizing plans for the rest of the project. However, it rained heavily during most of the time and a landslide closed the road from Monggar to Lhuntse the day before I reached Monggar. After waiting most of the remainder of my time in Monggar, the road did not open and I had to return to Thimphu.

The third field trip began in January 2008 and ended in February 2009. During this period I was based in Monggar, in eastern Bhutan, where I could easily commute to Kurtöp-speaking villages for extended stays. I recorded data in the villages during that time and also conducted research as a participant-observer in several aspects of village life. In Monggar, I worked on monolingual transcription and translation with Kurtöp speakers residing there. During this time period I also made four trips to Thimphu in order to archive data with the DDC and keep in contact with Kuenga Lhendup for elicitation, transcription and translation. With Monggar being less than a day’s drive to Kanglung, location of Sherubtse College, I also made a point to connect with the Kurtöp-
speaking community enrolled in the college. This turned out to be very effective for the research project. There, I met Jurme Tenzin, primary lexicographer, and Sangay Phuntsho, who works with Kuenga Lhendup to transcribe and translate recordings.

The fifth field trip in September 2009 involved a stayover in Japan, where Pema Chhophyel was living. I brought a draft of the Kurtöp/English/Dzongkha dictionary and he painstakingly went through every entry, making comments and corrections where appropriate. In Bhutan, I focused my efforts on clarifying questions I had in the grammatical analysis, collection and further distribution of recordings for transcription and translation, and training of consultants for data collection. I made a focused attempt at training the students in using new equipment (the Marantz PMD 660 and Shure head-mounted microphone) and encouraged them to train others.

Five months later I returned to Thimphu in February 2010, for a brief trip of only one week. I received transcriptions and translations from Kuenga and Sangay and passed on more work to them. I also spent a large portion of my time with the DDC discussing the details of the Kurtöp ’Ucen font, designed by Chris Fynn for the DDC.

My seventh trip was again a short trip of two weeks in June of 2010. With the grammatical description close to completion, I focused my efforts on clarifying more questions and doubts regarding grammatical and phonological analysis that had arisen since my previous trip.

The eighth and final fieldtrip was in September 2010 when I presented a draft of the Kurtöp grammar to the DDC and the Kurtöp community for their approval.
2.6. Data collection and processing

The primary researchers involved in data collection have been the author, Karma Tshering, Kuenga Lhendup and Jurme Tenzin. A Marantz PMD 660 has been the primary recording device, recording most data in .wav format at a sampling rate of 48,000 Hz. However, sampling rates of 44,100 Hz and 22,050 Hz were also used on occasion if there was a need to minimize space. The team also had access to a Sony Minidisc recorder but this was only used as an emergency backup since it recorded data in a proprietary ALTRAC format, thus losing quality when it was converted into .wav for use in other programs. The third recorder we had occasional access to was an Edirol R-09HR portable recorder, on loan from Karma Tenzin with the Bhutan Broadcasting Service, which we also set to record in .wav format.

A wide range of microphones were used, including lapel, hand-held, and head-mounted microphones. The lapel and head-mounted microphones were omni-directional while the hand-held microphone was uni-directional. The head-mounted microphone was used exclusively for recordings that were going to be the source of acoustic analysis, while the other microphones were used for other recording contexts. When possible, a single speaker was recorded with the head-mounted microphone, in order to ensure maximal fidelity, but this was not always possible, either because the head-mounted microphone was not available at the time of the recording, or because the speaker did not feel comfortable using it. When recording two people we usually used two lapel microphones, with one being clipped to the shirt of each speaker. When recording more
than one speaker, sometimes the omni-directional hand-held microphone was used, by
being placed on a stand between the speakers.

The audio files were transferred directly to the researchers’ computer, where they
were names, stored, and prepared for analysis. A small set of the recordings were used for
acoustic analysis, and these were kept separately from the recordings used for
transcription and translation. The larger group of audio recordings, a collection of
conversations, storytelling, interviews, and narratives, were given names that allowed to
researchers to glean some information about the recording and then opened with the
program Transcriber. The researchers and assistants used Transcriber to transcribe and
translate the recordings.

Some video recording accompanied the audio recording, but it is of relatively
poor quality, and has been used for linguistic analysis only as a backup device. The Sony
DCR-SR40 records .mpeg format videos directly on to a 30GB hard drive, which can
then be transferred to the computer. The primary aim of the Sony HD videocamera was
1) to serve as a way to capture the metalinguistic context of recordings; and 2) serve as a
backup recording device in case an audio recorder failed. Unfortunately, the Sony HD
videocamera did not have external microphone capability, and thus the quality of the
audio in the video recordings is not ideal. However, the files did serve their purpose to
add to the metalinguistic context and, though the subsequent audio would not be suitable
for acoustic analysis, we were able to transcribe and translate much of it for the purposes
of grammatical analysis.
Regardless of the type of data (audio -- for acoustic or grammatical analysis, or video) we recorded appropriate metadata to accompany each recording. In general, the metadata consisted of the place, date and time of recording and details about the event or context, including what other people were present during the recording. When possible, we obtained the age, gender, level of education, occupation and the languages known from all people involved in data collection, even if their role was a silent one. The metadata was linked to the filename on an excel spreadsheet. A separate spreadsheet keeps track of the speaker metadata (shown in Table 1, in Appendix C).

2.7. Corpus

The corpus consists of over 150 recordings, constituting a variety of lengths and genres. The recordings were also done in different formats -- some audio, some video, and some in both. The metadata for each recording is summarized in Table 2 in Appendix C.

2.8. Funding

Initial research in 2005-2006 on Kurtöp was funded by the University of Oregon, Department of Linguistics. In addition to offering the Field Methods class, they paid for Pema Chhophyel and two researchers (Racquel-Maria Yamada and the author) to travel to Santa Barbara, CA, where Kezang Wangchuk, another Kurtöp speaker, was residing. We recorded several conversations between Pema and Kezang as well as elicited data and performed acoustic production and perception experiments with Kezang. The UO Department of Linguistics also paid for Pema to travel to Bhutan and return to his village.
in Tabi over winter break, 2005-2006, in order to collect more data for the class to analyze.

The initial fieldtrips for what was to become the current dissertation began in 2006, with funding from the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies (CAPS) and the Department of Linguistics, both at the University of Oregon. CAPS continued to cover the researcher through smaller grants. In addition, the Center for the Study of Women in Society, at the UO, and the Association for Asian Studies offered research grants in 2007. The Endangered Languages Documentation Project, out of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) has funded the majority of the research since 2007 by means of an Individual Graduate Studentship. The National Science Foundation also supported aspects of this research from 2008-2010 through a Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant.
CHAPTER III

TIBETO-BURMAN AND THE PLACEMENT OF KURTÖP

The observation that Chinese, Tibetan and Burmese are related languages appears to have first been made by Julius Heinrich von Klaproth (von Klaproth 1823) but the modern Sino-Tibetan research agenda began with the work of Robert Shafer, which can be summarized by an examination of Shafer (1966), outlined in §3.1, and Paul Benedict, which can be summarized by an examination of Benedict (1972), discussed in §3.2.

3.1. Shafer (1966)

For Shafer, Sino-Tibetan was composed of nearly 400 languages spread across six divisions: Sinitic (e.g. Mandarin Chinese), Daic (e.g. Thai), Bodic (e.g. Tibetan), Burmic (e.g. Burmese), Baric (e.g. Garo) and Karenic (e.g. Karen). He discusses languages in these main divisions in terms of comparative phonology, and in some instances discusses the internal relations among languages within a division, but abstains from discussion on relations among these divisions. Shafer's (1966) map of Sino-Tibetan is shown in Figure 1.

5 Shafer (1966: VII) also mentions Miao (e.g. Hmong) as possibly being distantly related.

6 A cursory inspection of Shafer (1966) may suggest that the author does believe in higher-level subgroupings, but Shafer himself (1966: 1) notes ‘Comounds, such as Sino-Daic, Sino-Bodic, etc., imply no close genetic connection, but merely that for the moment we are considering the groups together.
In terms of phonology, Shafer (1966) describes the development in modern-day Sino-Tibetan languages from reconstructed initial aspirated, voiceless, and voiced labial, dental and velar stops as well as a four-way series in nasals (labial, dental, palatal, velar), rhotic and lateral consonants, and palatal and labio-velar glides, as well a contrast between ‘glottal opening’ vs. ‘easy vocalic ingress’ Shafer (1966: 41).

With regard to vowels, Shafer (1966) describes medial vowels versus final vowels and often considers rhymes rather than a vowel in a nucleus on its own. He reconstructs:
*-, *-ui, *-e-, *-ya-, *-uk, *-uj, *-ok, *-onj, *-uD\(^7\), *-uL\(^8\), and *-a-. The reconstructed finals are *-r and *-l.

Another important feature in Sino-Tibetan is tone, and modern-day linguists still disagree over whether or not to reconstruct tone to Proto-Sino-Tibetan/Tibeto-Burman. Shafer (1966) does not reconstruct proto-tones for Sino-Tibetan but does discuss tone on the assumption that it should be reconstructed. He also discusses the placement of tone in words vs. syllables amongst the Bodic and Burmic languages by stating that on polysyllabic stems there is indication that only the root will carry the tone Shafer (1966: 17).

Shafer (1966: 77) may also be the first to notice the similarities between Khassic (<Austroasiatic) and neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages, for which he puts forth three possible hypotheses: 1) that the Khassic languages (and, presumably, therefore Austroasiatic) are distant relatives of Sino-Tibetan; 2) that the languages groups have borrowed extensively from each other; or 3) that the resemblance is accidental. The possible genetic relation is not reflected in his diagram.

At the word and morphemic level, Shafer (1966) discusses proclitics, prefixes (actually phonetic elements which precede the root but have no clear morphological function), roots, stems (prefix+root), determinatives (the suffixal equivalent of a prefix)

\(^7\) Shafer (1966: iv) uses ‘D’ to refer to dental stops without reference to voicing/aspiration type.

\(^8\) Shafer (1966: iv) uses ‘L’ to refer to labial stops without reference to voicing/aspiration type.
and suffixes (which have a morphological function) as constituting Sino-Tibetan words.

A schematic interpretation of Shafer’s analysis is shown in Figure 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proclitic-</th>
<th>Stem (prefix+root)</th>
<th>-Determinative</th>
<th>-Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Figure 2. The Sino-Tibetan word according to Shafer (1966)**

**3.2. Benedict (1972)**

Benedict (1972), unlike Shafer (1966), proposes an internal taxonomy amongst the divisions of Sino-Tibetan and also removes the Daic branch from the Sino-Tibetan family altogether. Benedict places Sinitic coordinate to Tibeto-Karenic, stating that ‘the relationship between Tibeto-Karenic and Chinese is a distant one, comparable to that between Semitic and Hamitic, or between Altaic and Uralic’ (Benedict 1972: 2). Tibeto-Karen, Benedict argues, is composed of Tibeto-Burman on one side and Karen on the other, with Karen standing in relation to Tibeto-Burman in a relationship analogous to Hittite and Indo-European (1972: 2). Within Benedict’s (1972) Tibeto-Burman are seven primary divisions: Tibetan-Kanauri (Bodish-Himalayish), Bahing-Vayu (Kiranti), Abor-Miri-Dafla (Mirish), Kachin, Burmese-Lolo, Bodo-Garo, and Kuki-Naga. One of these groups, Kachin, is envisioned to be at the center of Tibeto-Burman, both geographically as well as linguistically (lexically and morphologically). The proposed relationship among the Sino-Tibetan languages is represented in Figure 3.
Figure 3. Sino-Tibetan phylogeny according to Benedict (1972)

Much of Benedict (1972) is devoted to phonological reconstruction of Tibeto-Burman, which, recalling Shafer’s agnostic view of Sino-Tibetan phylogeny, would actually represent a distinct but lower-down Proto-language from what Shafer’s reconstruction represented. For Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB), Benedict reconstructs a two-way contrast in voicing amongst velar, dental and labial consonants, plus voiced and voiceless dental fricatives, velar, dental and labial nasals, a rhotic, a lateral, a palatal and labio-velar glide, and an aspirate.

According to Benedict’s (1972) reconstruction, in root-initial position the PTB consonants may group into consonant clusters as follows. \( r \) and \( l \) may follow velar stops
and labial consonants (stops and nasals), with \( r \) also appearing following the velar nasal; \( w \) may follow all stops plus a voiceless fricative and affricate; and \( y \), the palatal glide, may follow the velar and labial stops plus the voiceless fricative and affricate. The PTB vowel system was made up of the five cardinal vowels. Benedict also mentions the fact that tones are spread widely throughout TB, but points out that our understanding of the synchronic tonal systems is too meager to be of use toward a reconstruction.

A brief discussion of morphology and syntax follows the discussion of phonology, including mention of several syntactic features which could be considered typical areally (such as ‘relatively isolating’ morphology and verb-final syntax). Benedict (1972: 96–123) reconstructs several prefixes and suffixes with morphological functions. The last section of Benedict (1972) presents the Tibeto-Burman consonantal and vocalic alternations found throughout the family, before moving on to discuss the Karen and Sinitic branches of Sino-Tibetan.

3.3. Competing models of Sino-Tibetan

With many of the estimated 450 Sino-Tibetan languages (Lewis 2009) still undescribed or only marginally described, and internal reconstructions within languages or across smaller divisions within the family still outstanding, the phylogeny of the Sino-Tibetan languages still remains subject to debate. Three primary proposals have received considerable attention in the literature: the Tibeto-Burman hypothesis, described in §3.3.1, the Sino-Tibetan hypothesis, described in §3.3.2, and the agnostic ‘fallen leaves’ hypothesis described in §3.3.3.
3.3.1. The Tibeto-Burman hypothesis

The proposal that Sinitic is a branch of Tibeto-Burman, not a subfamily on the same level as Tibeto-Burman, is often referred to as the Tibeto-Burman hypothesis. Van Driem (1995b; 2005a; 1997; 1992; 2002; 2006) adheres to the Tibeto-Burman hypothesis and more specifically following Simon (1929) and Bodman (1980) argues for the ‘Sino-Bodic’ hypothesis, which links Chinese and Bodic languages to one parent within Tibeto-Burman.

Van Driem (Driem 2005b: 299) attributes the observation that Chinese and Tibetan are closer to each other than either are to Burmese, to Klaproth himself\(^9\). The first use of the term ‘Tibeto-Burman’ appears to be attributed to John Logan in 1852 (van Driem 2006: 16). The use of the term ‘Tibeto-Burman’ to refer to the family of languages comprising Chinese, Tibetan and Burmese continued into the discourse of Charles Forbes (Forbes 1878: 210) and Bernard Houghton (Houghton 1896: 28). Following the more recent works of Simon (1929) and Bodman (1980), van Driem has been the primary modern proponent of the ‘Sino-Bodic’ (van Driem 1997), summarized in Figure 4.

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\(^9\) Van Driem (Driem 2005b, 299) states: ‘Sino-Bodic essentially dates back to Klaproth’s own observation that Tibetan appeared to be genetically closer to Chinese than either was to Burmese (1823: 346, 356, 365).’
According to van Driem (2002; 2005b), the phylogenetic model in Figure 5 can be interpreted in geographic space, with assistance from archaeology and genetics as follows. The Tibeto-Burman homeland was likely in Sichuan around the Yangtze river and dates from >11,500-2,000 BC. van Driem (2002) summarizes three arguments in support of this claim. First, Sichuan is the center of gravity based on distribution of modern Tibeto-Burman languages. Second, it appears that archaeologists have identified the Indian Eastern Neolithic as originating in Sichuan. Third, archaeologists have argued that Southwestern China would be a potentially promising place for Neolithic civilizations which later took root in Yellow River Valley. The latter point here is corroborated by genetic research in J Y Chu et al. (1998).
This mesolithic and neolithic Sichuan culture was the origin for a number of subsequent migrations, corresponding to the ensuing dispersal of Tibeto-Burman languages. The first migration was the westward advancement of Tibeto-Burman speakers into Northeast India. This migration may have begun as early as before 7,000 BC and brought with it the seeds for the Indian Eastern Neolithic. Northward migrations before the beginning of the sixth millennium BC established the Dadiwan and Peiligang-Cishan Neolithic cultures along the Yellow River. These groups would have spoken the proto language which is represented by Sino-Bodic in the phylogenetic model in Figure 4.

Perhaps the most important neolithic settlements of East Asia are those of Péiligāng cultures in North China and 河姆渡 Hémǔdū in South China. Péiligāng has

10 The Péiligāng (裴李崗) culture was first identified in 1977 in Henan (河南) province as a number of related sites in the Yilou valley near the Yellow River (Barnes 1993; Chang 1986). It is one of four material assemblages that depict Early Neolithic North China cultures, the others being Cishan (磁山) in south Hebei, Houli in north Shandong and Laoguantai (in Shaanxi) (Li Liu 2004). The name ‘Péiligāng’ comes from the most important of these sites and is used to apply to the entire culture. In the late 1970s to early 1980s, the discovery of the Péiligāng culture was important as it pushed back the known dates of agriculture from the Yangshao culture (approx. 5000 BCE) to a now established Early Neolithic starting at 6500BC. Chang (1986) also describes pots filled with grains, indicating storage. Additional evidence in support of agriculture at this time is the presence of tools such as grinding slabs and sickles in the stratigraphy. In addition to evidencing agriculture for the first time in North China, the Péiligāng culture provides evidence for domestication of dog, pig and chicken (Barnes 1993), though the chicken is argued to have been domesticated already in Southeast Asia at that time (West and Ben-Xiong 1989). Another important facet of Péiligāng culture is pottery. Pots found were mostly plain red or brown but could be decorated by means of cord-marking, comb-impressions, comb-rocker stampings, appliqué, incisions or press-and-pick designs (Chang 1986). In terms of shape, the pots may be tripod, quadruped, handled pots, perforated vessels and angled vessel supports. Other artifacts associated with the Peiligang cultural complex were tools such as tanged, untanged or barbed projectile point bone tools, awls, adzes, and punches, some being intricately carved and decorated, and, interestingly, microliths. Other bone artifacts were spearheads, arrowheads, harpoons, hairpins, needles, and more (Chang 1986).

11 Hémǔdū, just south of the Shanghai delta, is also known for pottery that may be blackish and plain or cord-marked.
been important in the East Asian archaeobotanical record for its early purported dates of domesticated millet, with both Broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and Foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*) present as early as 6,000 BP (Lee et al. 2007). Hémūdū, on the other hand, is best-known for early dates of the domestication of rice where it, along with dogs, were clearly domesticated by 5,000 BCE (Barnes 1993).

We are not yet at a stage when we can definitely associate modern ethnolinguistic groups with archaeological sites as old as Péiligāng and Hémūdū, but it may prove fruitful to speculate some on the relationship between current ethnolinguistic groups and known arcaheological cultures, particularly in the case where historical linguistics, history, and genetics may be brought in.

Following the Mājiāyáo Neolithic (3900–1700 BCE), itself a successor to the Dàdiwān culture along the Yellow River, offshoot cultures ventured west, seeding the cultural sites at Kharro in modern-day eastern Tibet, and Burzahom in modern-day Kashmir. This offshoot of the Mājiāyáo could be interpreted as being the forebearers of the communities that brought Bodic languages into Tibet and the Himalayas.

Van Driem (2006) outlines alternative models to the one described above. One intriguing alternative shares a beginning with the previous scenario but deviates with regard to the development of the languages along the Yellow River basin, namely that the Yellow River basin and the several cultures found along the river have been source of intense cultural contact over the course of history. In fact, that intense cultural contact could have given birth to the Sinitic languages is suggested in the following:
‘It might be argued that the ST (Sino-Tibetan) elements constitute only a superstratum in Chinese, and that the substratum is of a distinct origin. In historical terms, the Chou (Zhōu) might be regarded as the bearers of a ST language (Sino-Tibetan), which became fused with, or perhaps immersed in, a non-ST (Sino-Tibetan) language spoken by the Shang (Shāng) people.’ (Benedict 1972: 197). [Information in parentheses is mine.]

In other words, a second hypothesis regarding the development of the Sinitic and possibly Bodic languages is that the Shāng may, in fact, not have been Sinitic speakers. Rather, it was the Zhōu who brought Sinitic languages into the Shāng non-Tibeto-Burman speech community.

Van Driem (2006: 190-197) expands on this idea in a couple of different ways. Contra-agricultural dispersal theory, van Drien suggests it may have been the lure of advanced civilization and agriculture that enticed different communities (Tibeto-Burman and non-Tibeto-Burman speakers) to the Yellow River basin. It is quite possible that the Sinitic languages are the result of language contact as different ethnolinguistic groups have come in contact with each other over time. DeLancey (to appear) argues the Bodo-Garo languages arose out of an intense contact situation in which non-native speakers abandoned their native languages and switched en masse to speaking a form of Proto-Bodo-Garo, simplying the grammar. DeLancey (to appear) makes a similar argument for Lolo-Burmese as well.
3.3.2. The Sino-Tibetan hypothesis

Many contemporary linguists adhere to the Sino-Tibetan hypothesis. That is, they recognize the close relationship between Sinitic (i.e. Chinese languages) on the one hand and Tibeto-Burman languages on the other. The family of languages represented by Klaproth (1823) was first named ‘Sino-Tibétain’ by Jean Przyluski (Przyluski 1924). By the time Paul Benedict inherited the model, ‘Sino-Tibetan’ consisted of Tibeto-Burman on one side, and Sinitic (with Daic recently removed) on the other (Driem 2005b, 298).

Despite the fact that this model is widely used in Tibeto-Burman linguistics, the evidence for this model remains to be illustrated in rigor. Both Benedict (1972) and recently (Matisoff 2003) adhere to the model in which Sinitic lies one side, parallel to the family of Tibeto-Burman languages, but neither presents the evidence in favor of this. The Sinitic languages are typologically different when compared to Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, Sinitic has SVO syntax and isolating morphology, like languages of Southeast Asia, while most of the other languages of the Sino-Tibetan family have SOV syntax. Much of this can likely be attributed to areal influence. The Chinese (Sinitic) languages are typologically similar to their neighbors, the SE Asian languages, while much of Tibeto-Burman languages are typologically similar to their neighbors, the verb-final languages of South Asia.

Bradley (1997) assumes the Sino-Tibetan theory and updates the Tibeto-Burman branch based on data new since the the time of Benedict (1971) as shown in Figure 5.
Figure 5. Bradley’s phylogenetic model of Tibeto-Burman (1997: 2)

Bradley’s ‘Northeastern India’ group includes the languages that Shafer had coined as ‘Baric’ (more commonly referred to as the Sal languages today) plus Jinghpaw and the Luish group. The ‘Western’ group mainly corresponds to Shafer’s Bodic group with some additions (see §3.5 for a more detailed discussion of Bodic). ‘Southeastern’ comprises Lolo-Burmese, Kuki-Chin, Karen, and the Naga languages. Finally, the ‘Northeastern’ languages in Bradley’s (1997) classification consist of Qiang, Nungish and Naxi languages.

3.3.3. Fallen leaves model

The most agnostic theory of the relationship amongst Sino-Tibetan languages is the ‘fallen leaves’ model (see

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12 ‘Sal’ is the term proposed in Burling (1983) to name the TB languages of NE India which all shared the innovative word sal for ‘fire’.

13 It is becoming more and more apparent that the term ‘Naga’ is similar to the term ‘Monpa’ in that it is more of a vague endonym or ethnonym, and probably does not represent a group of languages that would be cohesive from a genetic point of view.
Figure 6), so-named in van Driem (2001, *inter alia*) but perhaps first attributed to Shafer (1966). This model is an agnostic acknowledgement of the observation that too little is known about Tibeto-Burman languages to make a meaningful tree of relationships within Tibeto-Burman. This is true enough, especially when one considers the likelihood that Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas may be rich in TB and non-TB substrates, as several scholars have argued for many of the TB families.

![Diagram of van Driem's 'fallen leaves' model of Tibeto-Burman (2001: 403).](image)

**Figure 6. Van Driem’s ‘fallen leaves’ model of Tibeto-Burman (2001: 403).**

Regardless of whether one assumes the model above, or any other model, there is a tremendous number of languages which remain undescribed and internal
reconstructions which are yet to be done. For several languages, such as the Kho-Bwa\textsuperscript{14} languages in Arunachal Pradesh, and Gongduk in Bhutan, we have barely more than scanty wordlists, but what we do have suggests the languages -- though assumed to be Tibeto-Burman -- are highly unusual in a comparative light. Until more work is done on these languages, it remains difficult to do much more than speculate on the broader relationship between the languages subsumed in the Sino-Tibetan and/or Tibeto-Burman families.

3.4. Beyond Sino-Tibetan

Scholars have also speculated about the relationship of the Sino-Tibetan languages with other language families.

The *Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian* theory, which proposes a common ancestor between the Sino-Tibetan and Austronesian speakers. Sagart (2005) states that this Proto-language would have been spoken 8500-7500 years ago in the mid to lower Huang He valley. Sagart speculates the first division would have been attributed to an ‘eastern’ group spreading southward along the coast, eventually reaching Taiwan by ca. 5500 years ago, yielding the Austronesian language family. Tai-Kadai is absorbed into this theory as a family under Austronesian which returned to coastal South China and underwent heavy relexification. The ‘western’ group of Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian would have become the

\textsuperscript{14} Van Driem (2001) proposes the term *Kho-Bwa* to identify four (Lishpa, Bugun, Sherdukpen, Puroik) highly divergent Tibeto-Burman languages, where *kho* is the term for ‘water’ and *bwa* is the term for fire’. Rutgers (1999) also identified the relationship between these languages, referring to them as ‘isolates’ because of the collective deviance from other Tibeto-Burman languages. However, cognates to *kho* are now shown to appear in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Kurtöp *khwe* ‘water’, Dzongkha *khau* ‘snow’, Bodo *khwa* ‘snow’, Dakpa *kho* ‘snow’, etc.
Sino-Tibetan family, leaving Chinese primarily in-situ while the rest of the family headed westward and formed the modern Tibeto-Burman languages. One potential problem with this theory is the fact that the Sinitic side is much less diverse than the Tibeto-Burman side. If Sinitic had been in-situ for so many millennia, we would expect much more diversification of language in the geographic area.

3.5. East Bodish languages

The East Bodish languages are a fairly coherent group of languages spoken primarily in Bhutan, though the language areas also extend into Tibet and Arunachal Pradesh. Shafer (1954) appears to have been the first to use the term ‘East Bodish’ to identify Dakpa, a language that was clearly in a close relationship to the Tibetan dialects but was not a dialect of Tibetan. Since then, Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994), DeLancey (2008) and Hyslop (2008a) have provided further evidence that Kurtöp, though closely related to Tibetan, cannot be considered a Tibetan dialect. Tournadre (2008) identifies 25 Tibetic languages and lists several dozen lexical criteria diagnostic of Tibetan. The data in Table 1, a comparative list of chosen vocabulary items from Tournarde’s (2008) diagnostic Tibetan vocabulary with their Kurtöp counterparts, repeat the arguments put forth in Michailovsky & Mazaudon (1994), DeLancey (2008) and Hyslop (2008a) that Kurtöp (and therefore the other East Bodish languages) are not dialects of Tibetan.

Table 1. A comparison of some diagnostic Tibetan vocabulary with Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(diagnostic per Tournarde)</td>
<td>(or * PEB)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gcig</td>
<td>*thek</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnyis</td>
<td>zon</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gsum</td>
<td>*sum</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bzhi</td>
<td>*ble</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bdun</td>
<td>*nis</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bcu</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brjed</td>
<td>zhit</td>
<td>forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>btsong</td>
<td>'mui</td>
<td>to sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bras</td>
<td>mras</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'brog-pa drogpa</td>
<td>nakpo</td>
<td>pastoralist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bsgyur</td>
<td>zhi, pu</td>
<td>change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu</td>
<td>khwe</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dmar(-po)</td>
<td>zhinti</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gzhou</td>
<td>limi</td>
<td>bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glo</td>
<td>zhowa</td>
<td>lung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnyis</td>
<td>zon</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khol</td>
<td>shak, koi</td>
<td>be boiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrag</td>
<td>kak</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klad-pa</td>
<td>tratpa, ratpa</td>
<td>brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lcags</td>
<td>'la:</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>'neng</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lud</td>
<td>yot</td>
<td>manure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mda'</td>
<td>mya</td>
<td>arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mye</td>
<td>gami</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgo</td>
<td>guyung</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nag(-po)</td>
<td>nyunti</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nye</td>
<td>chan(do)</td>
<td>near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phyic</td>
<td>Bi(to)</td>
<td>Outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Phur</td>
<td>Ling</td>
<td>Fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdo</td>
<td>Gor</td>
<td>Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rkang-pa</td>
<td>Tawa</td>
<td>Leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rlung</td>
<td>Zhilung</td>
<td>Air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgam</td>
<td>Drom</td>
<td>Box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi</td>
<td>Set</td>
<td>Die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shig</td>
<td>Se</td>
<td>Louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shing</td>
<td>Seng</td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shug-pa</td>
<td>Drokseng</td>
<td>Juniper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skol</td>
<td>Shak, Koi</td>
<td>Boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skudpa</td>
<td>'Rotman</td>
<td>Thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So</td>
<td>Kwa</td>
<td>Tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sran-Ma</td>
<td>Neme</td>
<td>Pea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srab-(Po)</td>
<td>Ngapmi, Pratmi, 'Latmi</td>
<td>Thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa</td>
<td>Am, Phawa?</td>
<td>Fox</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While East Bodish appears to be an obvious subgrouping, the placing of East Bodish within Tibeto-Burman remains subject to debate. Bradley (1997) proposes that East Bodish languages are most closely related to the Central Bodish languages, or Tibetan dialects. In addition to the East Bodish languages described here, Bradley also includes Sherdukpen and the ambiguous ‘Eastern Monpa.’ However, my own comparison of Sherdukpen with other East Bodish language data suggests Sherdukpen would not be in this group, an observation echoed in van Driem (2001: 473). An approximate family tree for the Bodic subfamily, proposed in Bradley (1997), is illustrated in Figure 7.
According to Figure 7, the East Bodish languages join with the Central Bodish languages (e.g. Tibetan dialects), which next join with the West Bodish languages (e.g. Tamang, Gurung) into Bodish. Bodish joins with Tshangla, West Himalayish (e.g. Kanauri, Darma) and Himalayan (e.g. Magar, Newar and the Kiranti languages).

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Bradley (1997: 53) incorrectly assigns Lhokpu and Gongduk to a Tshangla branch. Neither language has been studied in any significant depth, making classification problematic at this stage. Further, an overview of the Gongduk data presented in van Driem (2001: 463–468) and the Lhokpu data in Sharma (2005: 232–238) make it clear that neither language is obviously close to another language within Tibeto-Burman. For example: Gongduk *dayli* ‘water’, *taň* ‘meat’, *diŋ* ‘wood; firewood’, *xn* ‘tooth’, *um* ‘face’ have no known
The East Bodish languages themselves have been only marginally studied, with the current dissertation being the most in-depth study of any East Bodish language to date. A handful of East Bodish languages have been identified, including the majority of the languages indigenous to Central and Eastern Bhutan (e.g. Bumthang, Black Mountain, etc.), the adjacent region in Tibet (e.g. Cuona Menba) and some languages in Arunachal Pradesh (e.g. Dakpa). The distribution of the East Bodish languages is summarized by Figure 8 and Table 2.

Kurtöp was first studied by Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994), who describe the phonology of Kurtöp, showing comparison with Tibetan, several other East Bodish languages, and, occasionally, Tamang. Recently, DeLancey (2008) also compares Kurtöp with Tibetan, showing a close relationship but sufficient evidence to show that Kurtöp is not a direct descendent of Classical Tibetan. Busch (2007) is a M.A. thesis examining verbal nominalizations in Kurtöp. The most comprehensive work on Kurtöp has been my own, including a grammar (the current dissertation), a dictionary (Hyslop et al. in prep), several publications (Hyslop 2008a; Hyslop 2010a; Hyslop 2008b; Hyslop 2009) and conference presentations. The names, location, and estimated number of speakers of the East Bodish languages is summarized in Table 2.16

### Table 2. Name, location, and estimated population of East Bodish languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Other names</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kurtöp</td>
<td>Kurtöbi-kha, Zhâke, au gemale</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Lhüntsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bumthap</td>
<td>Bumthang-kha, Bumthabikhä</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Bumthang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khengkha</td>
<td></td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>Zhâmgang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chali</td>
<td>Chalipakha</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Monggar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>´Nyenkha</td>
<td>Henkha, Mangdebi-kha</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Trongsa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 The data presented here are based on figures from van Driem (1998). In a few places the numbers have been modified to reflect updated findings in my own research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dakpa</th>
<th>Tawang Monpa, Dwags, Northern Monpa</th>
<th>35,000</th>
<th>Trashigang, Tawang district (Arunachal Pradesh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dzala</td>
<td>Kurtöp, ’Yangtsebikha, i ga brok</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Lhüntse, Trashi-’Yangtse, Tibet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Mountain</td>
<td>’Olekha, ’Olep</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Trongsa, Wangdi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other work on East Bodish languages include a 61 page publication on Bumthang (Driem 1995a), an article presenting Black Mountain conjugational verbal morphology (Driem 1995b), a short article comparing Dakpa and Dzala (van Driem 2007) and Lù (1986), a 187 page publication in Chinese on Cuona Memba (actually dialects of Dzala and Dakpa, according to van Driem 2001: 914–915). In 2008-2009 Carol Genetti led a Field Methods class using Dzala as the language. A summary of the results of that class was presented at the 15th Himalayan Languages Symposium (Genetti 2009; Balodis 2009). Dakpa was the focus of work by Shafer (1954) and a small study we conducted in 2007 (Hyslop and Tshering 2010). Fuminobu Nishida has been working on the dialect of Mangde spoken near Trongsa since 2007, producing a twelve-page report in Japanese (Nishida 2009).

These previous, descriptive studies echo the observation made by Shafer (1954) and subsequently codified by Bradley (1997) that the East Bodish languages are close relatives of Tibetan. However, a more thorough examination of these languages -- both in terms of comprehensive description of one language and a comparison of several -- calls
the placement of “East Bodish” within Bodish into question. For example, DeLancey (2008) uses the allomorphy associated with the Kurtöp perfective -pa (c.f. §7.3.2.2, which shows that -pa has allomorph -sa after open verb stems and -wa after -ng, -k and -r final stems) as evidence that Kurtöp shares a Bodish ancestor with Tibetan. However, this allomorphy is not found throughout all Kurtöp dialects; nor does Khengkha, Kurtöp’s sister language, possess this allomorphy. Rather, in Khengkha and the variety of Kurtöp spoken in Tangmachu, -pa is found invariably following all verb stems, regardless of phonological shape. This finding challenges the notion that Kurtöp has shared the allomorphological change characteristic of Bodish languages since the change in Dungkar Kurtöp could not have occurred at the time of the parent language. Rather, the fact that a dialect of Kurtöp still does not have the allomorphy associated with perfective -pa is evidence that Dungkar Kurtöp and other varities which exhibit this morphophonological alternation have borrowed it.

As further evidence against the claim that Kurtöp -pa is shared with a Proto-Bodish ancestor, the -pa nominalizer meaning ‘one who’ or ‘one from’ in Kurtöp (§15.2.1) does not exhibit any allomorph whatsoever. Again, this lack of allomorphy is evidence that the -pa nominalizer is new and thus is borrowed in Kurtöp as well, perhaps under the influence of Dzongkha.

There are other facts which potentially challenge the classification of Kurtöp and other East Bodish languages as Bodish at all. For example, the Kurtöp copula nâ (§18.2.1, §20.2.1.1.2) has recently grammaticalized from a lexical verb ‘to be at’. The evidence for this is found in a comparison with Bumthap and Khengkha, for which nak
‘to be at’ still inflects morpho-syntactically as the other lexical verbs\textsuperscript{17}. Further research is clearly needed to ascertain the exact history of the East Bodish languages and thus their placement in Tibeto-Burman.

Van Driem (1995b) provisionally divides the East Bodish languages into ‘Maintstream’ and ‘Archaic’, with Archaic being represented by two dialects of what he refers to as ‘Black Mountain Mönpa’. §3.5.1 presents some evidence in favor of Black Mountain being a separate branch of East Bodish and in §3.5.2 I argue for a provisional genetic classification of the other East Bodish languages.

3.5.1. Archaic East Bodish\textsuperscript{18}

Van Driem (1995b) recognizes two varieties of what he calls ‘Archaic East Bodish’. The western variety of ‘Archaic’ East Bodish is also called ’Olekha; it is spoken in the remote village of Rukha, ’Wangdi district and is the most endangered language in Bhutan with only a few speakers still alive\textsuperscript{19}. The eastern variety of Black Mountain Mönpa (Archaic East Bodish) is spoken in Trongsa district in the villages of Wang’ling, Jâmî, and Phumzur, and in Zhâmgang district in the village of Cunseng. Other than van

\textsuperscript{17} In Bumthap and Khengkha, \textit{nak} is still a lexical positional verb, meaning something like ‘be at’, as in Bumthap \textit{weri Bumthabikha lektoka nakta} ‘your Bumthap language is good’ (field notes).

\textsuperscript{18} In a recent conversation with George van Driem, prior to the submission of this dissertation but after this section had been written, he advocates for removing Black Mountain Mönpa from the East Bodish tree altogether, citing the observation that much of the lexicon is probably borrowed from an old Bodic/Bodish source, and that the heart of the language is not Bodish, though clearly Tibeto-Burman.

\textsuperscript{19} Under invitation from the Bhutanese government, Bhuanese colleagues and I recently visited Rukha and worked with the last speakers of ’Olekha. While media reports had indicated there was only one speaker who still lived, we met three elderly native speakers and two middle-aged younger speakers. The younger speakers are fluent, but Dzongkha is their first language. We found that young children did not even have a passive understanding of the language, though younger adults, in their twenties and thirties, often did, even if they could not speak.
Driem (1995b), an overview of Black Mountain conjugational morphology, there is no linguistic study published to date, though some vocabulary may be gleaned from Giri (2004)’s ethnographic study, bearing in mind the author is not a linguist. Nonetheless, a preliminary comparison of the data presented in these studies with other East Bodish data offers meager support to the hypothesis that Black Mountain and the other East Bodish languages form a distinct sub-family of languages. Some of these similarities are presented in Table 3.20

Table 3. Data evidencing similarity between ‘Archaic’ and ‘Mainstream’ East Bodish languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Black Mountain Mönpa</th>
<th>Other East Bodish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Artemesia sp.’</td>
<td>dungmen (Giri 2004: 64)</td>
<td>dungmin (Kurtöp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nettle’</td>
<td>kulima (Giri 2004: v)</td>
<td>kuli (Kurtöp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘today’</td>
<td>dirik (Driem 1995b: 240)</td>
<td>dee (Dakpa); dasum (Kurtöp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE</td>
<td>-se (Driem 1995b: 239)</td>
<td>-si (Dakpa; Hyslop and Tshering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2010: 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td>-m (Driem 1995b: 239)</td>
<td>-m (Dakpa; Hyslop and Tshering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2010: 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-m (Khengkha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>-lo (Driem 1995b: 239-240)</td>
<td>-lu/-lo (Kurtöp; see §17.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 In our Dakpa data, we found -m to correlate with third person future, while -k appeared to correlate with first person future. Given that the study was preliminary, it is too early to tell whether or not the analysis of -m being a marker of third person future, or something else, such as dijunct future, for example.
Due to scarce data, the differences between Black Mountain and the other East Bodish languages are equally difficult to show. However, two linguistic facts immediately become salient in a brief comparison. First is the fact that Black Mountain has complex conjugational verbal morphology (van Driem 1995b). Second is the presence of a stop-initial first person pronoun where the other East Bodish languages present a nasal-initial form.

3.5.2. Mainstream East Bodish

Table 4. Black Mountain and Mainstream East Bodish personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Kh</th>
<th>Bm</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>Da</th>
<th>Dz</th>
<th>Black Mountain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>ɳat</td>
<td>ɳa/ɳat</td>
<td>ɳat</td>
<td>ɳa</td>
<td>ɳat</td>
<td>ɳe</td>
<td>ɳe</td>
<td>kō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.PL</td>
<td>ner</td>
<td>ɳet</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ɳar</td>
<td>ɳata</td>
<td>ɳədat, ɳənak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(INCL), anak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>net</td>
<td>ɳet</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ɳar</td>
<td>ɳara</td>
<td>(EXL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(EXL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.SG</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>wet</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iŋ, andat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.PL</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>win</td>
<td></td>
<td>ir</td>
<td>forcements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ira(ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(EXL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SG</td>
<td>khit</td>
<td>gon</td>
<td>gon/khit</td>
<td>khi</td>
<td>khi</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>hoʔma (M), hoʔmet (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.PL</td>
<td>bot</td>
<td>bot</td>
<td>ber</td>
<td>beta(ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>hoʔŋə, hoʔŋak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A comparison of Black Mountain pronouns with Mainstream East Bodish pronouns is shown in Table 4. Figure 9 illustrates the proposed tentative relationship of the East Bodish languages.

Figure 9. Proposed tentative relationship amongst East Bodish languages

21 Pronominal Dzala data are from Genetti (2009) and Black Mountain data are from (Driem 1995b).
3.5.2.1. Dzala/Dakpa vs. the rest

The fact that Dzala and Dakpa form their own subgroup within East Bodish was first noticed in van Driem (2007). My findings corroborate and build on this. There are two sound changes which separate Dzala and Dakpa from the rest of the Mainstream East Bodish languages; the low vowel /a/ is fronted to /e/ and /e/ is raised to /i/. Some examples are shown in Table 5.22,23

Table 5. Sound changes $a > e$, $e > i$ in Dzala and Dakpa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Da</th>
<th>Dz</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Bum</th>
<th>Kh</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>Ph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>leñe</td>
<td>leñe</td>
<td>jaña</td>
<td>jaña</td>
<td>jaña</td>
<td>jaña</td>
<td>lañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘waist’</td>
<td>khref</td>
<td>thret</td>
<td>khrat</td>
<td>khrat</td>
<td>thrat</td>
<td>ketpa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>bri</td>
<td>bli</td>
<td>ble</td>
<td>ble</td>
<td>ble</td>
<td>bre</td>
<td>bre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another phonological difference that separates Dakpa and Dzala from the rest of the Mainstream East Bodish languages is aspiration. While all East Bodish languages make the three-way contrast in voicing described for Kurtöp (§6.2.1.1), Dakpa and Dzala often have voiceless unaspirated initials where the rest of the East Bodish languages have aspirated initials. Some examples are shown in Table 6.24

22 This sound change has several exceptions, such as: Dakpa wā and Kurtöp kwa ‘tooth’, Dzala, Dakpa, Kurtöp khasha ‘deer’.

23 The order of the sound change is primarily motivated by the comparison with PTB ‘five’ *ŋa Matisoff (2003: 650) and Written Tibetan ‘horse’ བ <rta>

24 It is not clear whether the lack of aspiration in the Dakpa and Dzala forms for ‘ten’ is innovative or conservative. Further, this example is potentially problematic. The Phobjip form kaepche suggests the
Table 6. Aspiration in Dakpa/Dzala versus other East Bodish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Da</th>
<th>Dz</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Bum</th>
<th>Kh</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>Ph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>ciŋnai</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>khepche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the sound changes that separate Dakpa and Dzala from the other East Bodish languages, Dakpa and Dzala share a number of forms that are not found elsewhere in East Bodish to our knowledge. Some examples are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Words unique to Dzala and Dakpa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Dakpa</th>
<th>Dzala</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Bumthap</th>
<th>Kheng</th>
<th>Chali</th>
<th>Phobjip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘sun’</td>
<td>play</td>
<td>praj</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>thanman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td>tshi</td>
<td>tshi</td>
<td>khwe</td>
<td>khwe</td>
<td>φe</td>
<td>khwe</td>
<td>khö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sg</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>khit</td>
<td>khit/gon</td>
<td>gon</td>
<td>khit</td>
<td>khi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.2.2. Phobjip vs. Chali/Bumthang group

One of the East Bodish languages identified in van Driem (1998) is ’Nyenkha, actually a rather diverse group with several dialects including those of Trongsa, Tshangkha, and Phobjikha. Of these van Driem (2001: 913) states that the variety spoken in the Phobjikha valley is the most divergent, lexically. Phonological evidence that Phobjip is separate from Chali and the Bumthang languages is shown in Table 8, which presents evidence of a sound change shared by Chali and the Bumthang languages, but not the other East Bodish languages.

---

etymology ‘twenty-half’ for ‘ten’. If so, presumably the form $c^h e$ found in Kurtöp, Bumthap, Khengkha and Chali.
Table 8. Sound change /l > j in Chali and the Bumthang group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Dakpa</th>
<th>Dzala</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Bumthap</th>
<th>Kheng</th>
<th>Chali</th>
<th>Phobjip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>leye</td>
<td>leye</td>
<td>jajà</td>
<td>jajà</td>
<td>jajà</td>
<td>jajà</td>
<td>lajà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QP</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>jo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hand’</td>
<td>ja:</td>
<td>ja:</td>
<td>ja:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.2.3. Bumthang group

There are several changes that separate Kurtöp from Bumthap and Khengkha, Bumthap from Khengkha and Kurtöp, and Khengkha from Kurtöp and Bumthap. In other words, each language constitutes a group in its own right.

3.5.2.3.1. Kurtöp

Kurtöp differs from Khengkha and Bumthap in not using the form gon as a pronoun for third person and has a number of different lexical items. Another importance difference is the grammaticalization of nak ‘to be at’ as a copula, which is still a lexical verb in Bumthap and Khengkha. Examples are in Table 9.

Table 9. Forms unique to Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Bum</th>
<th>Kh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.sg</td>
<td>kʰit</td>
<td>gôn/kʰít</td>
<td>gôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>nápʰañ</td>
<td>nabli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>nàk</td>
<td>bù</td>
<td>bù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>nà:</td>
<td>nák (‘to be at’)</td>
<td>nák (‘to be at’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kurtöp has also simplified all previous velar-rhotic onset clusters, as illustrated by data in Table 10.
Table 10. Loss of /kr-, kʰr-, gr-/ Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Bum</th>
<th>Kh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘hair’</td>
<td>rá</td>
<td>krá</td>
<td>krá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>kʰrá́ŋ</td>
<td>kʰrá́ŋ</td>
<td>kʰrá́ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
<td>kʰrá́k</td>
<td>kʰrá́k</td>
<td>kʰrá́k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td>dò</td>
<td>gròk</td>
<td>grò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘village’</td>
<td>trón</td>
<td>krón</td>
<td>krón</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.2.3.2. Khengkha

There are some forms unique to Khengkha, not found in Kurtöp or Bumthap, as shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Forms unique to Khengkha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kh</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Bum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>cáp</td>
<td>zù</td>
<td>zù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wife’</td>
<td>kéme</td>
<td>nésaŋ</td>
<td>nemo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Khengkha has also innovated a voiceless labial fricative where Kurtöp and Bumthap have /kʰw-/ onset clusters. Khengkha also has a palatal stop in some instances where Bumthap and Kurtöp have fricatives. Table 12\(^{25}\) presents some of these innovations.

---

\(^{25}\) Bumthap data here are from (van Driem 1995b).
Table 12. Sound changes unique to Khengkha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kh</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Bum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>jinti</td>
<td>zhinti</td>
<td>zhinti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>zha</td>
<td>zhra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>phi</td>
<td>khwi</td>
<td>khwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td>phi</td>
<td>khwe</td>
<td>khwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.2.3.3. Conclusions

The East Bodish languages are clearly not dialects of Tibetan, though they share a close relationship with Tibetan. More work is needed to confirm all levels of the proposed genetic relationship among the East Bodish languages. Within East Bodish, particularly, it is still not clear whether we are dealing with clearly delineated languages or with something more like a dialect chain. More documentary and descriptive work is needed on all these languages, particularly the Black Mountain language, about which we know almost nothing. Along with descriptive work, rigorous comparative work is needed in order to peel off what must be many layers of borrowing from Tibetan. For the sake of completeness and comparison, Table 13 presents numerals one through ten and 20 in the East Bodish languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Khengkha</th>
<th>Bumthap</th>
<th>Phobjip</th>
<th>Chali</th>
<th>Dakpa</th>
<th>Dzala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>thé:</td>
<td>thek</td>
<td>thék</td>
<td>thi</td>
<td>thé</td>
<td>thé</td>
<td>thé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>zòn</td>
<td>zon</td>
<td>zòn</td>
<td>zòn</td>
<td>nè</td>
<td>nèi</td>
<td>nài</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td>súm</td>
<td>sum</td>
<td>súm</td>
<td>sum</td>
<td>súm</td>
<td>súm</td>
<td>súm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>blè</td>
<td>bla</td>
<td>blè</td>
<td>bre</td>
<td>brè</td>
<td>bli</td>
<td>bri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>þàngà</td>
<td>janga</td>
<td>þàngà</td>
<td>laŋ</td>
<td>þàngà</td>
<td>þèŋ</td>
<td>þèŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td>ðò:</td>
<td>gro</td>
<td>gròk</td>
<td>ðò</td>
<td>ðò?</td>
<td>krò</td>
<td>ðò?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td>ní(s)</td>
<td>nyít</td>
<td>nyít</td>
<td>nis</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>nís</td>
<td>ñí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>þàt</td>
<td>jat</td>
<td>þàt</td>
<td>gæ</td>
<td>þàt</td>
<td>þèt</td>
<td>þèt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nine’</td>
<td>þògò</td>
<td>dogo</td>
<td>þògò</td>
<td>dok</td>
<td>þùgù</td>
<td>þùgù</td>
<td>þùgù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>þè</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>þè</td>
<td>khepche</td>
<td>þè</td>
<td>þè</td>
<td>þè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td>þhedí</td>
<td>khaide</td>
<td>þhaide</td>
<td>þhedí</td>
<td>þhedí</td>
<td>þhèli</td>
<td>þhèli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV
LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF BHUTAN

In a recent archaeological study, Meyer et al. (2009) reported evidence of human inhabitation in northwestern Bhutan as early as 4280 ± 130 cal BP. This data is consonant with the general idea that the earliest inhabitation of Bhutan is 2000 BCE (e.g. Chakravarti (1979) and the National Museum in Paro, Bhutan). Unaware of the archaeological evidence in northwestern Bhutan, sources such as Chakravarti (1979) and Savada (1993) cite the presence of stone tools and weapons, megaliths, large stone structures, and absence of neolithic mythological legends as evidence of inhabitation in 2000 BC. According to Savada (1993), there is evidence in Bhutanese and Tibetan chronicles that Lhomon or Monyul was a kingdom present in modern-day Bhutan, existing between 500 BC and AD 600. Lho is a Tibetan word for ‘south’, mon may refer to ‘without religion’, or a generic ethnolinguistic term for non-Tibetans and non-Indians, and yul means ‘country’. Thus, the general understanding of Lhomon and

26 It is likely the sources who gave this interviewed only speakers of Dzongkha, and not other Bhutanese ethnolinguistic communities. It would be interesting to interview Gongduk and Lhokpu speakers to ascertain what their legends suggest regarding their own origins.

27 Jäschke ([1881] 2007:420) defines མོན།<mon> as ‘general name for the different nations living between Tibet and the Indian plain’ while the Dictionary put out by the Dzongkha Development Commission (DDC 2007) defines མོན།<mon> as གོ་<chos.dang.yon.tan.ma.dar.bai.gyus> ‘a valley where religion and knowledge have not been diffused’.

59
*Monyul* is that they refer to Tibetan expressions denoting a sort of inferior race of people in the south.

However lacking rigorous archaeological study may be on prehistoric sites in Bhutan, recent genetic work in Nepal and Bhutan (e.g. Kraaijenbrink et al. 2007; Parking et al. 2006), it seems, has led to the discovery of genetic markers that are specifically correlated to the spread of Tibeto-Burman populations in Asia. Su et al. (2000) suggest that the modern Bodic and Baric Tibeto-Burman speaking populations moved into the Himalayas about 5000-6000 BP. The genetic data and archaeological evidence, under the interpretation put forth in van Driem (2008), suggest that Bhutan could have been inhabited only recently (around 4000 BP), as populations from Kharro spread into Bhutan.

Buddhism arrived in Bhutan in the 7th century AD, imported directly from Tibet under the orders of the Tibetan king Srongtsen Gampo, who constructed the J’ampa Lhakhang and Kichu Lhakhang in Bhutan. Both remain revered as the holiest of sites in Bhutan. Soon after, in AD 747, the Indian Buddhist saint Padmasambhava (known as Guru Rimpoche in Bhutan) came to Bhutan, leaving behind a rich and fascinating folklore that today dominates Bhutan’s colorful ideas regarding origins.

Shortly after the arrival of Buddhism, Bhutan lacked a central government but instead consisted of small and independent monarchies, each ruled by a *Deb Raja*. Forces from Tibet continued to come into Bhutan and by the 11th century much of Bhutan was inhabited by Central Tibetan-speaking forces, pushing the indigenous inhabitants further south into remote pockets. The independent kingdoms continued warring until Ngawang
Namgyal (referred to as Zh’apdrung in Bhutan) came from Tibet in 1616 and unified the country. Several wars with Tibet ensued after Zh’apdrung’s death and Bhutan’s borders grew and shrunk as parts of land were taken and recaptured from neighboring regions. Notably, Bhutan had acquired the portion of India immediately south of the current border, referred to as the Bengal and Assamese Duars. Britain became involved and war ensued for five months between 1864-1865 (Rennie 1866), with the eventual result that the Duars were returned to India, in exchange for an annual payment from India to Bhutan.

Finally, in 1907, Sir ’Ugen Wangchuk emerged as the first King of Bhutan and a peaceful monarchy reigned for one hundred years, before the fourth King, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk, introduced a Constitutional Monarchy in 2008.

4.1. Current ethnonlinguistic situation

There have been very few ethnographic studies of any Bhutanese cultures to date (Sharma 2005 and Giri 2004 being two such exceptions) but I have made some of the following observations in my fieldwork. In reading the following, one should keep in mind that I am not an anthropologist and as such my observations regarding culture (exclusive of language) would be best be equated with those of a layperson. The following overview combines my own field notes with information outlined in van Driem (1998, 2001).

_________________________

28 To my knowledge, there is still no authoritative and accurate source for Bhutanese history. The history outlined until this point has been based on my interviews in Bhutan and reflects the general understanding of most educated Bhutanese.
Bhutan, though being sparsely populated (between 600,000-700,000 inhabitants at the current estimate), is surprisingly diverse in language and culture. With the exception of recent Nepalese immigrants\(^{29}\), the languages of Bhutan all fit into the Tibeto-Burman family. But within Tibeto-Burman, the 19 languages\(^{30}\) are understood to belong to six sub-families.

Western Bhutanese are identified as ’Ngalop and speak Dzongkha, the national language. Dzongkha, together with the Tibetan dialects, belongs to the Central Bodish branch within Bodic. Aberrant varieties of Dzongkha are also spoken by the northern nomads in the Laya and Lunana areas. Chocangaca is the most conservative Central Bodish language in Bhutan, having retained many phonological features characteristic of Classical Tibetan but lost in most dialects of Tibetan, including Dzongkha. Because of the similarity of Chocangaca with Classical Tibetan, and the designation of Classical Tibetan as the liturgical language, Chocangaca enjoys a special privileged status when compared to its geographic neighbors (see Figure 10).

East Bodish languages comprise the family of languages with the most internal diversity in the Kingdom. Ranging from south central Bhutan to the northeast corner, the East Bodish languages wrap around the middle and northeastern portion of the country.

\(^{29}\) The Nepalese immigrants, who primarily inhabit the southern border areas of Bhutan, speak Nepali and often various Tibeto-Burman languages indigenous to Nepal.

\(^{30}\) George van Driem, having completed the first linguistic survey of Bhutan, tentatively identifies 19 different Tibeto-Burman languages in the Kingdom (van Driem 1998). This figure will likely be larger once more extensive documentation work takes place on known languages and mutual intelligibility is better understood. It remains entirely likely that more languages are waiting to be identified in Bhutan, given the difficulties inherent to language survey and documentation work.
In a few isolated pockets in the south, a few communities still speak what van Driem (1995b; 1998) refers to as Black Mountain Mönpa and what is locally called ‘Monkha’. Van Driem (1995b) considers this an archaic East Bodish language, separated from its East Bodish relatives largely by a complex system of conjugational verbal morphology. The other branch of East Bodish consists of Khengkha, ’Nyenkha, Bumthap, Kurtöp, Chali, Dzala, Dakpa and mTshona Menba.31

In the southwestern Samtsi district, the Lhokpu are found to be one of the oldest groups in Bhutan. They speak an unclassified Tibeto-Burman language, though van Driem (2001: 804) tentatively notes that the Lhokpu language appears to be closer to the Kiranti languages of Nepal than to the neighboring Lepcha. The Lhokpu have also resisted being converted to Buddhism and still inter their dead (van Driem 2001; Sharma 2005) and evidence a matrilineal and matrilocal-based social organization (Sharma 2005). Interestingly, van Driem (2001: 804-805) hypothesizes that the Lhokpu language may in fact be a substrate to Dzongkha, and speculates that perhaps most of ’Ngalop Bhutanese are actually of mixed Lhokpu and ’Ngalop ancestry. This claim is also supported by the fact that matrilineality is the norm throughout most (if not all) of Bhutan and matrilocality is so common that a usual question asked of a married couple in Bhutan in Dzongkha is ‘maba züzu ‘ing na ‘(did you) enter as a husband?’ or ‘nama züzu ‘ing na

31 Lù (1986) is a short description in Chinese of two dialects of mTshona Menba, spoken in southeastern Tibet. Van Driem (2001: 914-915) states that that dialects represented in this study are actually a a dialect of Dzala and a dialect of Tshangla.
‘(did you) enter as a wife?’ Also, there is a word in Dzongkha and other Bhutanese languages to express husbands of sisters (*maro*) but not wives of brothers.

Gongduk is another language of Bhutan that does not appear to have any other close relatives, though it has been classified as Tibeto-Burman. Gongduk is spoken in a secluded corner of the Kheng district in south central Bhutan. Little is known about the group of Gongduk speakers, except for what has been published of their language in van Driem (2001a), though van Driem (2001a: 870) also speculates that Gongduk may be a substrate in the ‘Greater Bumthang’ languages (i.e. Butmhang, Kurtöp, Khengkha) and perhaps may itself be a mixed language with a non-Tibeto-Burman substrate, representing an even older population in Bhutan.

Perhaps the largest linguistic group in Bhutan is the Sharchop (lit. *easterners* in Dzongkha) who speak Tshangla. This language has been well-described by Erik Andvik (Andvik 2010; Andvik 1999; Andvik 2003). Tshangla is also spoken in adjacent Arunachal Pradesh, where it is often called Central Monpa. B.Chakravarti (1979) speculates that the current Tshangla-speaking population is representative of an old Austroasiatic-speaking population, perhaps related to the contemporary Khasi population in Shilong.

The location of Bhutan’s Tibeto-Burman languages is illustrated in Figure 10.
Figure 10. The Tibeto-Burman language map of Bhutan. The small black shape in the southwest corner of the country, near Chhukha, indicates the approximate location where Lepcha is spoken; the adjacent blue shape denotes Lhokpu and the small green circle, just south of Zhempang, is the approximate location of Gongduk. Central Bodish languages are illustrated with purple shapes. Dzongkha (and its many dialects) are indicated with a large shape in the western portion of the country. Chocangaca is spoken toward the east. The small blue circle illustrates approximate areas where Black Mountain Mönpa is spoken. Other blue shapes, starting in the south and moving clockwise into Arunachal Pradesh, represent Khengkha, ’Nyenkha, Buumthang, Kurtöp, Dzala and Dakpa, respectively. The pink shapes illustrate where Tshangla is spoken (adapted from van Driem 1998 to reflect my own research).
4.2. The archaeological record

4.2.1. Bhutan’s Neighbors

4.2.1.1. Tibet

4.2.1.1.1. Paleolithic

The archaeology of the Tibetan plateau, which borders Bhutan’s north, has been studied by both Chinese and western archaeologists. Aldenderfer and Zhang (2004) outline the prehistoric research of the Tibetan plateau, noting late Paleolithic inhabitation in a handful of locations. One that has been relatively well-studied is that of Chusang, located approximately 85 km northwest of Lhasa. Optically stimulated luminescence dates estimate the age of site to be between 21,700 and 20,600 BP (Zhang and Li 2002).

The find consisted of 19 human hand and foot prints, probably including those of children, on a now calcified Travertine deposit (Zhang and Li 2002). No artifacts have been found, though Zhang and Li believe they may have evidence for a hearth in the locality. As Aldenderfer and Zhang point out, if this evidence is indicative of inhabitation, it would predate the late glacial maximum (LGM) and models of extensive ice cover on the plateau are probably invalid (2004:17).

These hand and footprints are not the only evidence of Paleolithic inhabitation of the Tibetan plateau. An assemblage of large blade tools, core and simple flake tools were unearthed from the Getting (Huang 1984; Qian and Wu 1988), Duogeze (Liu and Wang 1986), Zhulole (An and et al 1982), Hadongtang and Quedetang (Huo 2000) and Zhabu
(Liu and Wang 1986) sites, spreading from west (Zhabu) to the south (Sure) (Figure 11). These tools were presumably used as scrapers, gravers, burins and unifacial points.

Figure 11. Paleolithic sites on the Tibetan Plateau. The approximate location of Bhutan is indicated with a white oval. 1: XiaoQaidam; 2: Heimhe and Jiangxigou; 3: Chusang; 4: Sure; 5: Zhuluole; 6: Duogeze; 7: Zhabu; 8: Luling; 9: Layihai. (Adapted from Aldenderfer and Zhang 2004: 17)

The only other finds on the Tibetan Plateau from the Pleistocene are near Koko Nor lake (also called Qinghai lake, near point 9 in the map in Figure 11 above) in the Northeastern corner of Qinghai province, China (Brantingham et al. 2003), dating between 12,400 and 10,800 BP.32 At the Heimahe site five stone-lined hearths were found in the stratified layers, revealing several animal bone fragments but none of lithics.

32 These dates are based on AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectometry) radiocarbon dating of wood charcoal (Brantingham 2003).
The Jianxigou site consists of one hearth and debitage from it suggests a microblade industry.

4.2.1.1.2. Tibetan neolithic

As Gayden et al. (2007) articulate, the genetic, archaeological and linguistic evidence all point toward a peopling of the Tibetan Plateau during the Neolithic period. Aldenderfer and Zhang (2004) propose alternative theories in greater detail. The eastern Neolithic cultures spread to the Tibetan Plateau by 5000 BP as clearly evidenced by several settlement sites (Aldenderfer and Zhang 2004). Whether any indigenous groups contributed to the Neolithic arrivals on the plateau is an interesting question, pending further investigation, and will not be further pursued here.

In the Holocene, archaeological evidence between 11,000 and 6,000 BP is virtually absent. The one exception to this has been Layihai in the eastern extreme of Qinghai province (Gai and K Wang 1983). By 5000 BP the Neolithic culture was well established in several places on the Tibetan Plateau, as seen in Lhasa, Nyingthri and Metok counties (van Driem 2001a).

The one of the most famous Neolithic sites is the Kharro (mKharo-ro) Fort, also called ‘Fort River’ (mKhar-chu) (van Driem 2001a:430). It is located at a high terrace above the confluence of the Mekong with a small lateral tributary, about 12 km south of Chamdo (chab-mdo) in Kham, eastern Tibet (today the southeastern portion of Qinghai and northwestern Sichuan provinces of China). The site was first excavated and described in a report by The ‘Managing Committee for Cultural Affairs of the Autonomous Region of Tibet’ (Xizang etc. 1979) excavated the site under the name of ‘Karu’ and reported its
cultural similarity to the Neolithic culture called the ‘Mǎjiāyào (馬家窯)’ in Gansu-Qinghai regions. Tong, Jian, and Suolang (1982) report the presence of millet at Kauro and speculate that the inhabitants there did not share the rice-based culture of central and southern China.

The artifacts at Kauro were the bone tools and multi-functional stone tools, including polished jade. Coil-built pottery has cord-marked, appliqué, punctate, and painted decoration. The similarities of this site with the Mǎjiāyáo culture is noted by Tong et al. (1982) and Van Driem more specifically argues that the site is most closely related to Banshan (2200-1900 BC) and Machang (1900-1700 BC) phases of the Mǎjiāyáo culture (2001a:431). This Neolithic inhabitation at Kharro are dated from 3300 to 1800 BC.

In the Himalayas, a culture similar to Mǎjiāyáo has been found in the Djangu area of Northern Sikkim (Sharif and Thapar 1992). The artifacts here resemble the so-called ‘Mǎjiāyáo nucleus’, including double-perforated rectangular harvesters and semi-lunar knives (van Driem 2001a:430). Sharif and Thapar (1992:129) also note the similarity between the Sikkim site with the Yángshào (仰韶) culture in the east, postulating a southward penetration into Sikkim during the early third millennium BC or slightly later. If the Sikkim Neolithic culture originated from the Tibetan Neolithic culture, which is well represented at the Kharro site, it is plausible to assume that the Tibetan Neolithic

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33 Mǎjiāyáo, found in the upper Yellow River region of Gansu, in modern day Qinghai province, is considered an offshoot of the Yángshào culture, which was a Neolithic Yellow River culture existing in modern day Henan, China from approximately 5000-3000 BC (Chang 1986).
people passed through Bhutan sometime after 3300 BC but before the beginning of the Sikkim Neolithic culture as Van Driem argues (2001; 1999). Van Driem (2001; 1999) speculates that the modern Bodic languages of the Himalayas were brought in when bands of Tibeto-Burmans migrated west from the Kharro proximity.

Figure 12. The location of the Kharro site in eastern Tibet (illustrated with a green circle), modern day Bhutan, and the approximate location of the Sikkim Neolithic cultural complex (illustrated with a purple circle). Note that any group migrating from Kharro to Sikkim would like have had to pass through Bhutan.

Though no Neolithic sites in Bhutan have been squarely identified,\textsuperscript{34} the current ethnolinguistic situation in Bhutan may also support the migration hypothesis. Languages such as Lhokpu and Gongduk may be remnants of languages spoken by the first Tibeto-Burmans to populate the Himalayas. Lhokpu and Gongduk have been only marginally studied, though preliminary research has shown them to be highly divergent Tibeto-

\textsuperscript{34} This is probably due to the dearth of archaeological research in Bhutan.
Burman (though probably Bodic) languages with no clear close relatives. However, as van Driem (2001a) articulates, the little documentation of most of the Himalayan languages (Arunachal Pradesh, in particular) inhibits our ability to test theories regarding the correlation between modern-day endangered Bhutanese languages and possible Neolithic migrants entering Bhutan from the northeast.

4.2.1.1.3. Zhang-zhung

At least as long as 3000 years ago the inhabitants of Upper Tibet had developed a state-level society, what would become the Zhang-Zhung kingdom, and many elements of the kingdom still exist in Tibet and parts of the Indian Himalaya. Bellezza (2008) provisionally identifies the two major cultural epochs in the region, based on the rock art and monuments. Epoch I is further divided into the two cultural phases: the Iron Age and the protohistoric period. Epoch II is the historic time, consisting of the early historic and vestigial cultural periods.

The first phase of Epoch I begins in the late Bronze Age (circa 1200-800 BC) or the early Iron Age (1000 – 500 BC). The second phase is the Tibetan extension of the Iron Age and marked by the Central Tibetan line of kings (Bellezza 2008: 26). The Tibetan written records referenced the Central Tibetan kings of the second phase but the presence of Bon texts needs to be confirmed. Epoch I ends by the 7th century AD.

Epoch II, the early historic period, corresponds to the Tibetan Empire. Buddhism was introduced during this period and along with it the development of the Tibetan orthography. The upper Tibetan proto states of Zhang-zhung and Sum-pa joined this wider Tibetan polity. It is during this time that historical records document Tibetan
relations with Bhutan and proto-Dzongkha speakers invaded Bhutan, leaving this Central Bodish language to eventually become the national language of Bhutan (van Driem 2001a). The second phase in the historic epoch, the vestigial period, spans from the late 10th to the mid 13th centuries AD. Even though Tibet had collapsed by then, the production of some earlier cultural assets continues during this time.

Although this chronology seems fairly straightforward, much work on Zhang-zhung remains provisional, As Bellezza states

this provisional chronology indicates that archaic cultural horizon archaeological monuments in Upper Tibet are a highly diverse group in terms of age and composition. By virtue of spanning the prehistoric and historic epochs, the sites surveyed represent a heritage of varying environmental dimensions, social forces, religious persuasions and political order, which are emblematic of cultural change in Upper Tibet over a period of no less than two millennia (2008:27)

Though more research is needed to understand the specific details of the chronologies within these time periods, and cultural documentation in general, the architecture has been well described. Corbelled buildings were a particularly prominent style of architecture from the prehistoric to early historic times. Bellezza (2008:32) further suggests that all-stone corbelled buildings in Upper Tibet reached the fullest stage of development in Inner Asia, East Asia and the Subcontinent. Although there are minor
all-stone shelters for shepherds found in various western Transhimalayan regions, it was Upper Tibet where corbels became a canonical feature of extensive archaeological projects). Generally, these buildings were residential structures for Upper Tibetans, rather than large places for communal gatherings. Though dating is still ongoing, one site is radiocarbon-dated to 550-100 BC.

The alleged date of the ’Umling Bangtsho ‘castle’ in eastern Bhutan would predate the upper Tibet sites with corbels by at least 1500 years, making the Bhutan ruins a precursor to those of Zhang-zhung. While it remains premature to link the corbelling technology associated of the ’Umling Bangtsho with that of Zhang-zhung, these dates do call into serious doubt question the purported date of ’Umling Bangtsho being 2000BC.

In addition to residential buildings, ceremonial sites have been fairly well documented in Upper Tibet, though a great deal of them has been destroyed since the communist period in China and especially during the Cultural Revolution. Interestingly, many of these structures are attributed to the Mon, rather than Tibetan culture. The most prominent of the Upper Tibetan ceremonial structures are stelae (Tibetan <rdor-rin>) with their accompanying structures. They begin to appear on the horizon in the early part of the first millennium BC and vary in size from 20 to 250 cm. They may be triangular, four-sided or tabular in form and may come from volcanic, igneous, metamorphic or sedimentary rocks.

Stelae were erected into compact rows of two to around 50. Larger groups (up to 4000 at a single site) were arranged in multiple rows producing quadratre formations. Such pillars are not unique to Upper Tibet, but are found in Himachal Pradesh and
Kashmir, India, in the upper valleys of Kumaon and Kathmandu, Nepal (Bellezza 2008:70), Bhutan, and Meghalaya, India. What relationship do these sites have with one another? Were these constructed by the same ethnocultural group? Or did the different groups share the similar cultural practices? And if so, which cultural group(s) practiced this trend first, and how did the trend spread? Understanding the interrelations of each region may shed a light on Bhutan’s unknown past.

Figure 13. Stelae (Megaliths) in the Jaintia Hills, Meghalaya, taken by author. Attributed to the Khasi (Mon-Khmer speaking) culture

Scholars have discussed the Zhang-Zhung languages for decades, beginning probably with Frederick Thomas (1933; 1926) who was among the first to examine the ancient manuscripts discovered in the Dānhuáng caves discovered by Sir Aurel Stein. Since then, many scholars have studied the manuscripts and made conjectures about the
language as it was spoken then and what its contemporary daughter languages might be. There appears to be unanimous agreement that Zhang-Zhung is Tibeto-Burman\textsuperscript{35} and that its closest extant relatives are the West Himalayish languages, such as Byangsi, Manchad and Zhangzhung (e.g. (Shafer (1957); Hoffman (1967); Driem (2001), etc.). There appears to be no direct relationship between Zhang-zhung and the contemporary languages of Bhutan.

\textbf{4.2.1.2. India}

Sorting out the prehistoric and historic details from the area south of Bhutan, the Brahmaputra river valley, is more complex than the situation in the north, due in large part to the passing of several different ethnolinguistic groups throughout the course of time. For example, northeast India is currently home to five language families: Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian, Austroasiatic and Tai-Kadai (Hyslop 2008).

Many scholars hypothesize that by the time Tibeto-Burman speakers arrived in northeast India, Austroasiatic speakers populated the region (Kakati 1941; Driem 1997). Some even speculate that the Brahmaputra river valley is possibly a homeland for Proto-Austroasiatic (e.g. Driem 2001; Diffloth 2005). The genetic evidence points out that Tibeto-Burman migrations into northeast India were incursions into Austroasiatic territory. Sahoo et al. (2006) found the Y haplogroup O2a present at a frequency of 77% in Austroasiatic populations and 47% in Tibeto-Burman speaking populations. Van

\textsuperscript{35} One derivation from this is the claim made by Hummel (1995); (1986) that there is evidence for a proto-Altaic substrate in Zhang-zhung.
Driem (2008) suggests that a possible linguistic interpretation for these data is that Tibeto-Burman parental lineages could have partially replaced Austroasiatic speaking populations already present when Tibeto-Burman speakers migrated in.

Indo-European languages (represented by Assamese) were later intruders, followed by Tai-Kadai (represented by Ahom) in the 13th century AD. It is not clear what role Dravidian has played in the development of the current linguistic situation in northeast India. One or two Dravidian languages are reported to be spoken in northeast India, but they are clearly eastern outliers, and thus perhaps very recent migrations. To my knowledge, the establishment of Dravidian languages in northeast India remains an unstudied topic.

Turning back to Tibeto-Burman migrants, scholars have speculated that Bodo-Garo languages, or at least some Tibeto-Burman languages, have been spoken in the Brahmaputra river valley for 3,000 years. An epic from around 3000 years ago, the Mahabharata, mentions “Kirata” and “Mlecha” of Pragjyotisha.36 Both are considered to be Tibeto-Burman tribes (Sircar 1990; Baruah 1962). DeLancey (in press) proposes the entry of Proto-Bodo-Konyak-Jingphaw37 by 1000 BC at the latest. Since that time, Tibeto-Burman languages have been spoken throughout the Brahmaputra river valley, sometimes as a lingua franca and other times in small, isolated pockets.

36 Modern-day Assam, India and its capital Guwahati, have been identified by several names throughout the course of history. During the time of the Mahabharat, the region surrounding Guwahati was known as Prajyotisha. Following that time it was known as Kamarupa.

37 This is sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman which refers to the linguistic ancestor shared by modern Bodo-Garo, Jingphaw and Konyak languages.
4.2.2. Bhutan

The only pre-historical study we know of Bhutan’s archaeology is Meyer et al. (2009), who has found that by circa 4280 ± 130 cal BP there was human inhabitation in northwestern Bhutan, as evidenced by the presence of cereals (barley) and over-grazing and trampling, which would be evidence of yak pastoralism. Meyer et al. speculate that those prehistoric inhabitants migrated south from Tibet, but it is not clear whether or not there are any modern remnants of that culture in Bhutan.

The next oldest site that is known is the palace of the Bangtsho king at Kurtö 'Umling, which an Indian team of archaeologists excavated. No report appears to be available and most artifacts that would have been present have apparently disappeared. One potsherd is on display at the Paro Museum in Bhutan, but an examination remains to be carried out. For example, it is not known at present what type of clay was used or if there is any archaeobotanical residue inside the pot. The piece of pottery attributed to Kurtö 'Umling is shown in Illustration 1.
The Paro museum reports the site of Kurtö ‘Umling to date to 2,000 BC, though there appears to be no criteria to dictate this date. This is a suspicious date given the relatively well-preserved state of the ruins today and the technology available in neighboring regions 4000 years ago.\textsuperscript{38}

The Kurtö ‘Umling site is near the Chocangaca-speaking villages ‘Umling and Domkhar in Lhüntse district, Bhutan. The site is located on the top of a hill, approximately 1000 m higher in elevation from the village of Domkhar (approximately 1,400 masl). The site is shown in Illustration 2 below.

\textsuperscript{38} By neighboring regions I mean explicitly Tibet and Sikkim. A review of the archaeology in areas adjacent to Bhutan’s southern and eastern border has yet to take place.
Illustration 2. The mound covering the Kurtö ’Umling site in Lhüntse.

From the outside a few rooms were fully exposed and accessible, due to fallen walls. Images of these are shown in Illustrations 3 and 4.
Illustrations 3. An exposed room of the Kurtö 'Umling ruins.

Illustrations 4. An exposed room of the Kurtö 'Umling ruins, with Karma Tshering inside serving as an indicator of relative size of the area in the room.
Through at least one of the rooms a small passage opened into otherwise concealed rooms, one of which consisted of a large stone plank, shown in Illustration 5 below.

Illustration 5. A room inside Kurtö ’Umling. This is one of the many room with all its walls intact; entrance is only possible through a small opening, leading from what appears to have been an inner corridor. The large stone slab is approximately six feet in length.

Many of the rooms displayed corbelled ceilings and traces of paintings on the wall. Many of the ceilings appeared to be in very good condition. The paintings, however, were heavily faded; on the walls exposed to the outside the painting was barely visible. Inside concealed rooms, the painting was more obvious. Only black and red colors were visible, often indicating circular shapes. Examples of corbelled ceilings are
shown in Illustration 6 and Illustration 7 and some wall paintings are illustrated in Illustration 8, Illustration 9, and Illustration 10.

Illustration 6. A corbelled ceiling inside the ruins of Kurtö 'Umling.

Illustration 7. A corbelled ceiling in unexposed rooms of Kurtö 'Umling
Illustration 8. Wall painting inside the ruins of Kurtö ’Umling. Note also the stone shelving built into the wall of this room.

Illustration 9. Wall painting inside a concealed room of the Kurtö ’Umling ruins.
I was able to access one or possibly two levels of structure inside Kurtö ´Umling. However, there was at least one level below us we were not able to enter. Obviously, a rigorous study if the entire Kurtö ´Umling site is required. The aim of including what little information we have regarding this site is to introduce the site, noting some of its structures and features. The corbelled design, in particular, appears similar to the iron-age structures in Tibet. It is not yet known if this prehistoric site has any relationship to the modern Kurtöp-speaking population.
Tracing the prehistoric events that have formed Bhutan’s current ethno-linguistic situation, we are forced to expand our survey of the literature outside of Bhutan’s borders. Since all of Bhutan’s indigenous languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman family, it is reasonable to begin with other, adjacent Tibeto-Burman speaking cultures.

The Tibetan Plateau, north of Bhutan, offers evidence of inhabitation since the Pleistocene, although there is little (if any) evidence that the Plateau has been inhabited continually since then. Archaeological, linguistic and genetic data point to a modern peopling of the plateau during the Neolithic period; the Tibeto-Burman speakers along the Yellow River Valley migrated to the plateau around 5300 BP. Kharro, near modern day Chamdo reflects the first westward movement. Shortly following this migration, it may be inferred that a population from this culture found its way to Sikkim, to form the Sikkim Neolithic during approximately 5000 BP. It is highly likely that in this migration course, some communities stayed in Bhutan, forming the ancestral communities that are represented by Lhokpu and Gongduk communities today.

Closer to historic times, the Zhang-zhung kingdom began to flourish in Upper Tibet from approximately 3200 BP to its absorption into Tibet in the second half of the first millennium AD. Zhang-zhung is associated with corbelled stone buildings, perhaps similar to the ruined site of Kurtö ’Umling in eastern Bhutan. The language associated with Zhang-zhung texts has since died and what are considered to be its closest linguistic relatives are found in Himachal Pradesh, India, far west of Bhutan. However, this fact does not exclude the possibility that a language similar to that found in the Zhang-zhung texts could also have been spoken in the Kingdom at that time. Several possible questions
result, including whether or not the linguistic ancestors of a related language could have migrated to Bhutan at that time, and whether the Kurtö ’Umling ruins are representative cultural incursions from the North during the time of Zhang-zhung. Alternatively, Kurtö ’Umling may have been built by indigenous Bhutan (perhaps the Gongduk), inspired by the technology in the north. In the case of the latter, an explanation for why the Gongduk would have lost much of their technology would be in order. Another possible scenario is that the Kurtö ’Umling culture has no relation with the modern day ethnolinguistic situation in Bhutan.

Tibeto-Burman influence from the south could have come as early as 3000 BP. In fact, historical evidence suggests that Bodo-Garo languages were spoken in Bhutan during recent times. During the Mughal period in India, a historian of Mir Jumlah invaded the areas of India adjacent to Bhutan in the 17th century AD and noted that the people of Bhutan spoke a language similar to that of the ‘Koches’ (of the Bodo-Garo branch) (Gait 2005). And during his political mission into Bhutan in the 19th century, Sir Ashley Eden learns that before the time of Zhabdrung, Bhutan belonged to people called the ‘Tephu’, originally believed to have been from Koch Bihar. They were apparently driven down into the plains once Tibetan soldiers invaded the country. If these records are true, and modern-day Bhutan was home to Bodo-Garo speakers who would have entered Bhutan some time after their 3000 year old migration into the Brahmaputra river valley from the mountainous area bordering Burma, then we can ask the question of how Bodo-Garo shaped the modern languages of Bhutan. It would not be unreasonable to wonder whether any of the modern Bhutanese languages have a Boro-Garo substrate.
Whyte (2004) also mentions a Khen dynasty in modern day Cooch Bihar that was prominent before the 16th century; perhaps there is some link between this dynasty and the current Khen community in southern Bhutan.

Other possible relations with the south could have existed between the 4th and 12th centuries AD. Gait (2005) reports that in the Hindu epic *Vishnu Puran*, Kamarupa was said to have extended about 450 miles from the Kamakhya temple in Guwahati. If this is the case, then Kamarupa would have included nearly all of modern day Bhutan.

Finally, the possibility that Austroasiatic presence could have influenced the modern ethnolinguistic diversity of Bhutan is intriguing. Chakravarti (1979) assumes a scenario in which the current Tshangla-speaking population in Bhutan is representative of an old Austroasiatic population. Genetic and other evidence suggests Austroasiatic presence in the Brahmaputra valley before the onslaught of Tibeto-Burman speakers from the northeast. One could propose the hypothesis that the ‘Mon’ described by the Zhang-zhung refers to Austroasiatic speakers who migrated north from the Brahmaputra river valley, through Assam. In such a scenario, one would have to ask whether the introduction of stelae in upper Tibet associated with their presence; and likewise, whether the megaliths in Bhutan associated with their culture as well.

Historical linguists discuss with great detail and great potential accuracy the way languages change over time, and historical linguistics can tell a great deal about the relationship of modern languages to a known or unknown ancestral language. However, our models for language shift or replacement are virtually non-existent. As LaPolla (2001) and Kortlandt (2002) for example, articulate, language replacement is more
common than population replacement. In the event of a migration of one group of people to an area already inhabited by another, rather than replace the entire population (by warfare or migration elsewhere) the indigenous population adopts the language of the newcomers. Colin Renfrew (1990) has called this ‘elite dominance’ language transfer. Linguists have hardly touched the idea, but it clearly is paramount to our understanding of language change over time. Indeed it is possible that much of Bhutan’s current ethnolinguistic diversity may have been shaped by language transfer, as Neolithic Tibeto-Burmans (and those inhabiting Bhutan prior to their arrival), Austroasiatics, Iron-Age Tibetans, Bodo-Garo speakers and now Central Bodish speakers migrated into Bhutan.

Unfortunately, the study of Bhutanese prehistory is in its infancy and we can only raise questions. However, I hope this is one step toward deciphering the prehistoric events which have taken place in forming the current ethnolinguistic situation in Bhutan.
CHAPTER V
KURTÖ AND THE KURTÖPS

This chapter provides a brief ethnographic description of the people who speak Kurtöp. It should be noted that the following observations are not made by a trained anthropologist. A rigorous ethnography of Kurtöp-speaking people, and in fact most of Bhutanese cultures, is still needed.

5.1. The name of the language

Kurtöp, also called Kurtöpkha, Kurtöbikha, Zhâke and also known ’Au Gemale (lit. ‘where are you going’) in Bhutan has been called Kurtöp in the western linguistics literature. In Bhutan, the term Kurtöp is a Dzongkha word referring to a person from the Kurtö region in Bhutan, roughly the area of Lhüntse district in eastern Bhutan. The word Kurtö itself can also be analyzed according to the written equivalent in Chöke: <skur.stot>, where <stot> means ‘upper’ and <skur> is the name of the river. Other than the name of the river, kur, or kuri as it is also called, the origin of <skur> is unknown, although it is tempting to point to the possible relationship with Old Chinese *gar ‘the Yellow River’ Norman (1988: 68) and hypothesize that when East Bodish speakers migrated into the already inhabited region, they took the local name for the river (‘water’) as the name of the river itself.

39 Chöke, literally ‘religion language’ refers to the liturgical language in Bhutan, also called Classical Tibetan.
Scholars in Bhutan have offered a few potential hypotheses regarding the origin of the name *kur* or *kuri*, as it is also sometimes called. Drâsho Sangay Dorji (pc)\(^{40}\) observes that the name of the glacier from which the *Kur* river originates is *Kulagangri* and thus states it is possible that *Kur* may have a shared history with *Kula*. However, Dorji also points out that most rivers in Bhutan are named after the valley, rather than the source. Geshe Tenzin also says that he saw `<skuristod>` and `<skurismad>` used as place names in a few Chöke texts, without any other reference to meaning.

*Kurtöp* is the word used in Dzongkha to refer to people from the Kurtö region; this term is not used in Bhutan to refer to a language, but only to people. The terms *Kurtöpkha* or *Kurtöbikha* are Dzongkha words which refer to the language spoken by *Kurtöps*, or people from the Kurtö region in Bhutan. Within the Kurtö region in Bhutan, a number of languages are actually spoken. In the village of Khoma and surrounding area, the *Kurtöps* speak a language known as Dzala in the western literature. South of Lhüntse town, *Kurtöps* speak another language, closer in relation to Dzongkha, often called *Chocangackha* or *'Matpaikha*. In Lhüntse itself, and the villages directly north of Lhüntse along the Kurichu up to the border of Tibet, and in the village of Tangmachu *Zhâke* is spoken.

Because *Kurtöp* literally means ‘one from Kurtö’ in Dzongkha, and several distinct languages are actually spoken in the Kurtö region, the term *Kurtöp language* in Bhutan is actually ambiguous. In addition to Kurtöp (the focus of this dissertation), Dzala

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\(^{40}\) I am grateful to Namgay Thinley for discussing the etymology of Kurtö with scholars in Bhutan on my behalf.
and Chocangaca are also spoken in the Kurtö region and, thus, are sometimes also referred to as the Kurtöp language. When people designate themselves as being Kurtöps or as speakers of Kurtöbikha, the question ‘which Kurtöp?’ usually follows. In order to specify which particular Kurtöp language is at question, speakers often identify Zhâke by the way they ask ‘where are you going?’, which is au gemale? The use of the translated question ‘where are you going’ is a common way to identify other languages in Bhutan as well. For example, Dzala is often referred to as i ga brok, which is ‘where are you going?’ in Dzala.

According to the DDC, the term Zhâke is used to refer to Kurtöp (the focus of this dissertation), exclusively, setting it apart from the other languages spoken in the Kurtö region which may be confused with Kurtöp (the focus of this dissertation). The term Zhâke is composed of two morphemes: zhâ and ke. The former term is of unknown origin but the latter is a reflex of Written Tibetan <skad> ‘voice’. The loss of the coda consonant and fronting of the vowel in ke are indicative of a Dzongkha origin for the term Zhâke, as these sound changes have occurred in Dzongkha, like in other Central Bodish languages. The East Bodish languages (to which Zhâke belongs) have, for the most part, not participated in these sound changes and in fact have a different linguistic history altogether (cf. §3.5). In Kurtöp, for example, the reflex of Written Tibetan <skad> is kat and in Dakpa and Dzala, the term is ket, where a vowel quality difference separates the two.
5.2. Geographical context

Kurtöp is spoken in Lhüntse. In addition to Tangmachu (where Chocangaca) is also spoken, Kurtöp is spoken between the village of Gorgan, south of Lhüntse, and up until Naling, near the border with Tibet. Some of the villages included in this area are Gangzur, Shawa, Zhamling, Dungkar, Tabi, Jasabi, Tünpe, Cakzom, and Nê, amongst several other villages. In total, there are probably around 15,000 speakers of Kurtöp.

The Kurtöp language community spans the approximate geographic coordinates of 27° 35’ 38.90” N on the southern end of the region to 27° 53’ 01.50” N on the Northern edge, just south of the border with Tibet. The lowest point of the river valley in the area is around 3,800 feet and the highest mountain peak in the region is approximately 16,500 feet; however, the villages are located at elevations ranging from approximately 4,000 to 8,500 feet.
Illustration 11. Dungkar village as seen from Tabi during the summer

Illustration 12. Dungkar village as seen from Tabi during the winter
5.3. History of the Kurtö region

Obtaining historical facts throughout Bhutan is, in general, difficult due to the tendency in Bhutan to mix fact with mythology in such a way that it is nearly impossible to disentangle historical accuracy from popular mythology. A deeper understanding of the history of Kurtö region will likely come only through broader studies, such as historical/comparative linguistics, archaeology, and genetics, keeping the Kurtöps, in particular, in mind. In §4 I summarized the current state-of-the-art of Bhutan’s past and thus will focus the remainder of this section on what is known, or assumed, to be true particularly with regard to the Kurtö region.

The origin of the word Dungkar, considered to be a sort of cultural capital for the Kurtöp-speaking area, is somewhat of a mystery. Local myth says that Pema Lingpa was
instructed to find the area of the white conch (lit. *dung kar*) and settle there. Thus, he arrived at Dungkar, which is said to resemble a white conch, and settled the village. However charming this story may be, the fact that a large number of Bhutanese villages and towns have a second syllable beginning with a velar initial, followed by the rhyme -*ar* cannot be ignored. For example, other places names in Bhutan are Monggar, Khengkhar, Jakhar, etc., and the resemblance of these syllables with place names in India, such as Itanagar or Chandigar, cannot be ignored. It may also be relevant here to point out that *ghar* in Hindi means ‘house’, *gar* in Kurtöp means ‘shack’, *gur* in Mongolian is ‘hut’. While of course it is possible that the relationship between the second syllable -*gar* in Indian and Bhutanese place names with Mongolian/TB/Hindi words for residence-type structures is simply chance, the other possibility, that these are related, could be explored.

5.4. Subsistence and economy

Kurtöps are by and large subsistence farmers, with each family raising cows for dairy and cultivating grains and vegetables for individual use. Dairy from cows is used primarily for making cheese and butter; their byproducts whey and buttermilk are also consumed. Rice has become a staple grain only in recent years; previously maize, ground into grain-like pellets called *kharang*, was probably the most important, but wheat (*go*), buckwheat (*cara*), millet (both finger millet, *Eleusine coracane* -- called *thre* locally, and foxtail millet, *Setaria Italica* -- called *ran* locally), and bitter buckwheat (*brama*) have also been in use. Historically, taro (*byo*) and a root which may or may not be cassava
were also used, though these days people have the means, and indeed prefer to, cultivate the grains described above instead.

Common crops are potatoes (ki), which grow particularly well in Shawa, green onion (tsong), beans of several varieties (shepen), eggplant (dolom), daikon radish (muya), squash (laushar) and, more recently, cabbage (banda kopi < Hindi), cauliflower (meto kopi < Kurtöp + Hindi). Chiles (banggala) are a very important crop and they are used in several different ways. In addition to being used in its fresh, green state, chiles may be dried in the sun after turning red (banggala kam), dried green (’ngokam) or boiled and then dried, becoming white.

Several foods are found growing in the wild, including a wide variety of mushrooms (mu), and fiddlehead (zhiwa). Fruits are citron (kapula), banana (cela ~ ceya, ngala in some dialects), guava (’andre), fig (khongdi), orange (tshalu), a sweet tomato that grows on trees (’lambenda) and various berries (mrip). Spices are cilantro (wesi), ginger (saga) and garlic (chacu) and salt (tsha), which is used generously in nearly all cooking. People rarely drink water, but tea (ja) in a variety of forms (e.g. suja ‘butter tea’ ’ngaja ‘sweet tea’), whey (shurkhu) and buttermilk (tarwa) are common. Kurtöps also make alcohol out of a variety of grains, such as rice, corn, and millet. Distilled alcohol is called zhor. Potatoes are a common cash crop.

5.5. Religion and spirituality

The official religion of the Kurtöps, like mainstream Bhutan, is Buddhism. However, also like mainstream Bhutan, much of the Buddhist practices are actually interlaced with Bon, or seemingly non-Buddhist, practices practices. The actual meaning
of Bon seems to be vague with a wide range of uses, ranging from something like ‘barbaric, unreligious, animistic practices’ to the identification of a codified religion, with an identified spiritual leader who predated the Buddha. Rather than attempt to describe Kurtöp religious practices as being either animistic or something belonging to an earlier, codified religion called Bon, I will simply present the observations made by many Bhutanese themselves regarding Buddhism in Bhutan, supplemented with my own observations about religious life in Kurtö.

There have been several recent articles in the national online newspaper, Kuensel about Buddhism and/or Bonism in Bhutan. An article by Rinzin Wangchuk in 2005 (http://www.kuenselonline.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=5318) describes a biannual ritual in Bongo, located in Chukha Dzongkhak, in which the people historically made ritual sacrifices at the time of planting and then again at cultivation to sister deities that are said to rule over the village. If these deities are not appeased through these animal sacrifices, people believe, the harvest will not go well and the farmers’ hard work will have been in vain. During these rituals the villagers also invoke neighboring deities and ask for their protection and assistance in obtaining a successful harvest. Household sacrifices are also performed as needed, to drive away sickness and evil spirits.

interview with Dasho Sangay Wangchuk, advisor to the Department of Cultural Affairs, in the Home Ministry, who states “In my opinion and from my observations, the influence has been great. Although Buddhism is our faith, I think many of our rituals are not only derived from Bon but are based on Bon beliefs.” Wangmo clarifies:

Many ritual objects we use and think to be Buddhist originate from Bon. Research and studies on the subject seem to support this. Prayer flags, tormas (sacrificial food offerings), use of swords, spears, and arrows in rituals, namkhas (thread-cross constructions), belief in lus (underworld spirits), yulhas (village deities), and nyes (spirits that live in trees, rocks, lakes and mountains), are all Bon traditions. Even our endless worldly rituals to local deities, observed to clear obstacles, to bring wealth, to make the sick better, pawos, mo and tsi all come from the Bonpo cosmogony. Our death rituals also stem from Bon and the practice of Phowa comes from their soul ritual. (italics added)

Wangmo’s research finds that animal sacrifices were also associated with Bonism in Tibet, prior to the arrival of Buddhism. I find Wangmo’s description of Bon religious practices throughout Bhutan an apt description of the religious practices of Kurtö as well, though thorough, anthropological research remains outstanding.
5.6. Marriage practices

As elsewhere in Bhutan, marriage amongst the Kurtôps involves little ceremonious ritual. People become ‘married’ once they’ve moved in together. Traditionally, much (perhaps all?) of Bhutan is a matrilocal and matrineal society so that men usually go to the woman’s house upon marriage and property is passed down from mother to daughter. While it is not unusual for a woman to move to men’s houses, particularly when the man’s family has fewer people to help with the farm work, property is almost always passed from mother to daughter.

5.7. Sociolinguistic factors

Even in a community as small as the Kurtôp-speaking community, there are different registers of speech, depending primarily on education, time spent in the village, and exposure to Dzongkha. The highest register of Kurtôp involves a high level of Chôke and Dzongkha borrowings and is characterized by the use of the honorific particle la (cf. §16.2.4.8) and honorific vocabulary (cf. §9.3). Interestingly, the pronunciation of these words varies drastically, depending on education and experience of the speaker. For example, front-rounded vowels are only found in the speech of the most educated speakers, or those who have grown up in Thimphu (cf. §6.3.2.1). As in Dzongkha, Hindi borrowings are also characteristic of the ‘cool’ speech of the younger generation, though some words, such as thrîka ‘okay; good’ appears to have filtered down to all registers.
CHAPTER VI
CONTRASTIVE PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Kurtöp has been described in several publications. The first publication on Kurtöp, to my knowledge, was a phonological sketch by Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) who placed Kurtöp into the East Bodish group for the first time. They clearly showed that Kurtöp was a not Tibetan dialect (i.e. a direct descendent from Classical Tibetan) but could tentatively belong in the same family as Dakpa, assuming Shafer’s (1954; 1966) classification. Since then, I published a M.A. thesis on Kurtöp phonology, which included an in-depth examination of acoustic properties such as Voice Onset Time (VOT), pitch and vowel length (Lowes (Hyslop) 2006), an outline of the phonology in a comparative perspective (Hyslop 2008), and an experimental study providing evidence that Kurtöp is undergoing tonogenesis (Hyslop 2009). In (Lowes (Hyslop) 2006) and (Hyslop 2008), I also showed how my findings deviated from those reported in Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994). This chapter includes new data and a slightly updated analysis.

41 This article presented Kurtöp phonology in a comparative perspective with data from several languages of Northeast India, with the attempt to assess to what extent NE India could be conceived of as a linguistic area, apart from Bhutan. The tentative conclusions were that the languages of NE India differed from Bhutanese languages by their pervasive lack of retroflex consonants, a feature which, interestingly, Masica (1976) used to establish South Asia as a linguistic area.
6.1. Introduction

Kurtöp contrasts fifteen stops, three fricatives, two affricates, two laterals, one rhotic, four nasals, two glides and a glottal aspirate, shown in Table 14 below. A subset of the Kurtöp consonant phonemes may be combined to make complex onsets; these are illustrated in Figure 14.

Table 14. Kurtöp consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>p, pʰ, b</td>
<td>t, tʰ, d</td>
<td>t, tʰ, ð</td>
<td>c, cʰ, j</td>
<td>k, kʰ, g</td>
<td>(ʔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates</td>
<td>ts, tsʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m, n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>l, l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotics</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14. Kurtöp onset clusters

| pr- | pj- | (pl-) |
| pʰj- | pʰr- |
| br- | bj- | bl- |
| mr- | mj- |
| kw- | kʰw- | gw- |

42 The use of parentheses with the glottal stop indicates this segment has not been found to be phonemically contrastive; it only precedes vocalic high-toned initials (§6.4) and some times in place of coda /k/ (cf. §6.2.1.1.4).
Figure 15 shows the subset of phonemes used as coda consonants. Kurtöp consonants are discussed in detail in §6.2. More details regarding syllables, including shape and the comparative/historical relevance of Kurtöp syllables can be found in §7.

The consonants in parentheses are marginally found as codas. See §6.2.1.3.1, §6.2.4.2, and §6.2.5 for detailed information regarding the coda status of /s/, /l/ and /h/, respectively.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{l}
  -p  -t  -k  \\
  (-s) \\
  -m  -n  -ŋ  \\
  -r  (-l)
\end{tabular}
\caption{Kurtöp coda consonants}
\end{figure}

Kurtöp vowels are summarized in Figure 16 and diphthongs are shown in Figure 17. Vowels may be long or short, may be glottalized, and may have high or low tone. However, the distribution of each of these is limited and is of particular relevance and interest to historical phonological events which are recoverable in the language. Vowels, including diphthongs are further discussed in §6.3. Tone is discussed in §6.4.

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The consonants in parentheses are marginally found as codas. See §6.2.1.3.1, §6.2.4.2, and §6.2.5 for detailed information regarding the coda status of /s/, /l/ and /h/, respectively.
6.2. Consonants

6.2.1. Obstruents

6.2.1.1. Stops

Like several languages of the area (e.g. Dzongkha, Nepali, Hindi, Tshangla, etc.), Kurtöp contrasts stops at five places of articulation (labial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar). The contrast made with each place is demonstrated by the data in Table 15.
Table 15. Kurtöp stops at five places of articulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pa:</td>
<td>‘slice.of.meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
<td>ʈa</td>
<td>‘brightness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>‘dress.up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like many Bodic languages (e.g. Tshangla, Tamang) each place of articulation makes three contrasts in terms of voicing. The categories of voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced for each place of articulation will be discussed for each stop below.

6.2.1.1.1. Labials

Kurtöp contrasts voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced labials, as demonstrated in Table 16.

Table 16. Kurtöp labial stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pa:</td>
<td>‘slice.of.meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>pʰaʔ ~ pʰak ~ pʰa:</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>‘target’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The labials in Kurtöp tend to combine with other consonants more readily than any other consonant type to form complex onsets. All three (voiced, voiceless, aspirated) can occur as the first member of an onset cluster with sonorants and obstruents.

The data in (1) illustrate /p/ in its environments within the syllable. The complex onsets involving /p/ are rarer than the simple onset. Out of approximately 5,500 tokens, only 26 being with /pr-/ , 4 begin with /pj-/ , and one sole token begins with /pl-/.44 Mikhailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) also report only word with /pl-/ as an onset, but I have been unable to find the same word. The onset /pj-/ is pronounced with a great deal of variation. The pronunciation with a glide [pj-] is found only amongst the older population, usually with speakers over 60 years old. The younger generation of speakers, from around 30 to 60, will pronounce this sequence with a palatal fricative or stop for the second member of the cluster: [pɛ ~pc]. Finally, the younger generation of speakers often pronounces this onset as a simple stop with the initial /p/ at all: /c/. This variation mirrors the Tibetan sound change py > c.45

(1)  /p/ onset  onset cluster with /r/  onset cluster with /j/  onset cluster with /l/  coda
    pa:  ‘meat.slice’   prá  ‘cheese’   pjó  ‘falsehood’   plik  ‘circumcise’   tʰép  ‘saliva’

44 The one word in the database to begin with /pl-/ is /plik/ ‘penis’. Interestingly, the Koro word for ‘penis’, [mlak40] is also unusual phonologically in that it has both a complex onset and coda consonant (Anderson, Harrison, and Murmu 2009). Both are likely etyma of the PTB form *lik ‘penis’

45 Dzongkha also appears to be undergoing this sound change, so that Written Dzongkha py, phy, by are pronounced [pɛ, pɛʰ, bj].
In word-initial-position \( /p/ \) is found preceding all five vowels, as demonstrated in Table 17.

**Table 17. Kurtöp /p/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>‘pluck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>pé</td>
<td>‘example’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>pa:</td>
<td>‘meat.slice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>pó</td>
<td>‘fur’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>pú</td>
<td>‘change’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The aspirated labial \( /pʰ/ \) is found only in the onset of the syllable and in clusters with \( /r/ \) and \( /j/ \). The data in (2) illustrate \( /pʰ/ \)’s distribution across the syllable. \( /pʰ/ \) is often pronounced as \([\phi]\). The set of words with \( /pʰr-/ \) or \( /pʰj-/ \) as an onset is small. The pronunciation of \( /pʰj-/ \) is found as such only amongst the oldest group of speakers, those overly roughly 65. Younger speakers pronounce the cluster with fortition of the glide to a fricative or stop for \( /peʰ/ \) or \( /peʰ/ \). Many younger speakers have lost the labial altogether and pronounce only a full stop \( /cʰ/ \). This variation is similar to that described above for \( /pj-/ \) and, like the change suggested to be in progress for Kurtöp \( (py > c) \), the variation \([pʰj ~ pʰc ~ pʰc ~ cʰ]\) is reminiscent of the change in Tibetan from \( py \) to \( c \).

(2) \[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{/pʰ/} & \text{onset} & \text{onset cluster} \\
& \text{with \( /r/ \)} & \text{with \( /j/ \)} \\
\text{pʰi:} & \text{pʰrüm} & \text{pʰja}
\end{array}\]
The aspirated labial is found preceding all five of Kurtöp’s vowels. The
distribution of /pʰ/ is shown with six vowels are shown in Table 18.

**Table 18. Kurtöp /pʰ/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>pʰi:</td>
<td>‘flour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>pʰé:</td>
<td>‘edge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>pʰɑ:</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>pʰó</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>pʰu</td>
<td>‘upper’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a tendency for the voiced labial /b/ to spirantize to [β], though there
appears to be no conditioning factor for this. The voiced bilabial, like its aspirated
counterpart, has a distribution limited to syllable onsets. It can also occur as the first
member in an onset cluster with /r/, /l/ and /j/. A merger between /br-/ and /bl-/ is
underway in Kurtöp and thus many younger speakers (under approximately 45) no longer
make a distinction between /br-/ and /bl-/ in pronunciation, with /br-/ winning out.

Speakers over 45 consistently make the difference; other speakers seem to prefer a
pronunciation of /br-/ for /bl-/; many often comment that it is better to pronounce words
such as /ble/ ‘four’ and /blek/ ‘keep’ as bre and ble, respectively. The distinction made by
/bj-/ also is waning. Like the previously mentioned change in progress for Kurtöp /pj-
and /pʰj-/., the realizations of /bj-/ vary, with an apparent end result of a palatal stop. The
pronunciation of /bj-/ as [bj-] is found only amongst the elderly speakers. Speakers
between the ages of 25 and 60, roughly, pronounce the complex onset /bj-/ as [bj-] or [b٪]. At the end of this sound change in progress is the pronunciation [j], which is found primarily in young speakers, under the age of 25. Again, this appears to be evidence that Kurtöp is mirroring the known sound change by > j in Tibetan. (3) illustrates /b/ in its possible onset combinations.

(3) /b/ onset onset cluster onset cluster onset cluster
    with /r/ with /l/ with /j/
    be bre ble bja
    ‘only’ ‘measuring.cup’ ‘four’ ‘sand’

The voiced bilabial has been found following each of the five vowels, as illustrated in Table 19.

Table 19. Kurtöp /b/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>bì</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>bè</td>
<td>‘only’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>bå</td>
<td>‘target’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>bû:</td>
<td>‘breath’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1.1.2. Dentals

The fact that Kurtöp contrasts a voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced dental is represented by the minimal triplet in Table 20.
Table 20. Kurtöp dental stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>tʰa</td>
<td>‘wooden.beater’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiceless dental stop is found in syllable onsets and codas, as shown in (4).

Note that the dental series do not form onset clusters. As I show in §6.2.1.1.3 a series of old dental plus rhotic onset clusters has become a series of retroflex stops in the modern language.

(4) /t/ onset coda

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tidualij</td>
<td>pʰát</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘umbilical.cord’</td>
<td>‘okay’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated in Table 21, the voiceless unaspirated dental stop is found preceding the five Kurtöp vowels.

Table 21. Kurtöp /t/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>‘support’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>té</td>
<td>‘be.able’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The aspirated dental is found in syllable onsets only and does not form tautosyllabic clusters with any other consonant. Table 22 illustrates /tʰ/ as an onset with the five vowels.

**Table 22. Kurtöp /tʰ/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>tʰiː</td>
<td>‘measurement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>tʰɛʔ ~ tʰɛː</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>tʰɑʔtʰɑː</td>
<td>‘weaving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>tʰɔː</td>
<td>‘crops’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>tʰù</td>
<td>‘DIST’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>tʰɑuli</td>
<td>‘bud; small.fruit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiced dental, like its aspirated counterpart, is only found in onset position and does not form any tautosyllabic clusters. The data in Table 23 illustrate /d/ as an onset preceding the five Kurtöp vowels and two diphthongs.

**Table 23. Kurtöp /d/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>dì</td>
<td>‘large.pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>dè</td>
<td>‘be.sure.through.experience’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>dɑː</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>dò</td>
<td>‘load.for.someone.else’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.1.1.3. Retroflexes

The retroflex series is a recent innovation, having come from velar or dental plus rhotic clusters, as exemplified by the data in Table 24.

Table 24. Correspondences of Kurtöp retroflexes with Written Tibetan complex onsets involving rhotics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;sgro&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃɖò</td>
<td>‘feather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;sgra&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃɖɑ</td>
<td>‘pronunciation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;sgru&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃɖù</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;grub&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃɖùp</td>
<td>‘house.completion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;drel&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃɖɛ:</td>
<td>‘mule’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;drilbu&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃɖibu</td>
<td>‘bell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;dkrug&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃʈʊk ~ ᵃʈː</td>
<td>‘stir’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;khri&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃʈʰi</td>
<td>‘throne’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;khrom&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃʈʰoṁ</td>
<td>‘market’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;krung-krung&gt;</td>
<td>ᵃʈʊŋ-tuŋ</td>
<td>‘crane’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike in Tibetan, however, onset clusters involving a rhotic as the second member and labial stop as the first member have not become retroflex stops. This is illustrated by the data in Table 25.
Table 25. Correspondences of Kurtöp labial plus rhotic onset clusters with Written Tibetan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;sbrang.ma&gt;</td>
<td>bɾŋ</td>
<td>‘fly (insect)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;brang&gt;</td>
<td>bɾŋ</td>
<td>‘chest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;spra&gt;</td>
<td>pɾi</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;phral.ba&gt;</td>
<td>pʰɾé:</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The change $k$, $kʰr$, $gr > t$, $ʈʰ$ is recent sound change, which has not occurred in either of Kurtöp’s closest neighbors, Bumthap or Khengkha (see §3.5 for more details on the phonological developments of Kurtöp and the other East Bodish languages). This sound change may turn out to be due to areal influence, pending future research. The sound change took place as Written Tibetan developed in Lhasa Tibetan, a change which would have began well after the East Bodish languages had separated from Central Bodish languages.  

The distribution of Kurtöp retroflexes across the syllable is an obvious result of the diachrony. Because clusters in the proto language were only in onset position,

46 Interestingly, despite the fact that Dzongkha has several hundred words with retroflex consonants, the sound change $kr$, $khr$, $gr$, $pr$, $phr$, $br > t$, $ʈʰ$ has not taken place in Dzongkha. This is because Dzongkha did not have the complex onsets $kr$, $khr$, $gr$, $pr$, $phr$, $br$, at least at the stage when the ascribed sound change took place. Rather, where Dzongkha has palatal glides in complex onsets where WT has rhotics. In other words, WT has $kr$, $khr$, $gr$, $pr$, $phr$, $br$ while Written Dzongkha has $ky$, $khy$, $gy$, $py$, $phy$, $by$ (the velar series of these have all changed to palatal stops, while the labial set is currently participating in the same sound change as Kurtöp: $py$, $phy$, $by > c$, $ch$, $j$.)
retroflexes today are also found only as onsets. Though the Kurtöp segments are true retroflexes, there are remnants of the old cluster in pronunciation. Speakers may occasionally pronounce the retroflex stop with a following /ɾ/, so that [ʈ] may also be [ʈɾ]. This appears to be free variation. Nonetheless, the three-way contrast in voicing is shown below in Table 26.

**Table 26. Kurtöp retroflex stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
<td>ʈɑ́</td>
<td>‘brightness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈʰ/</td>
<td>ʈʰɑ́</td>
<td>‘Common Kestrel (<em>Falco tinnunculus</em>)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɖ/</td>
<td>ɖɑ̀ ~ ɖɑ̀Ɂ ~ ɖɑ̀ː</td>
<td>‘excel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiceless unaspirated retroflex is found to contrast in syllable onset positions and does not join any other consonant in a tautosyllabic cluster. Examples of /ʈ/ before the five cardinal vowels are illustrated in Table 27.

**Table 27. Kurtöp /ʈ/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ʈí</td>
<td>‘wrap.around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ʈé</td>
<td>‘year.of.the.monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>ʈɑ́</td>
<td>‘brightness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ʈó</td>
<td>‘heartwood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>ʈúlkua</td>
<td>‘reincarnated lama; trulku’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ʈʰ/ has been found in syllable onset position preceding all five of Kurtöp’s vowels, shown below in Table 28.
The voiced retroflex has been found preceding the five cardinal vowels to date, as illustrated in Table 29.

### Table 29. Kurtöp /ɖ/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ḏɪ</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ḏɛ</td>
<td>‘mule’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>ḏɑk ~ ḏɑʔ ~ ḏɑː</td>
<td>‘excel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ḏɔ</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>ḏù</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2.1.1.4. Palatals
The palatal series of stops in Kurtöp tends to be affricated so that /c, ch, Ḗ/ are often realized as /te, teʰ, dz/. Cuona Menba⁴⁷ (Lù 1986), spoken just north of Kurtö in Tibet, and Tshangla (Andvik 2003), spoken southeast of Kurtö report a three-way contrast of palatal affricates, rather than stops. My argument for naming the Kurtöp equivalent as stops, rather than affricates is phonological. Kurtöp stops, unlike the affricates and fricatives, make a three-way contrast in voicing at four other places of articulation. Thus, a palatal series of stops, with a three-way voicing contrast, is more consonant with the phonology of Kurtöp.

The contrast between voiceless unaspirated, voiceless unaspirated and voiced at the palatal place of articulation is demonstrated in Table 30.

**Table 30. Kurtöp palatal stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>cä</td>
<td>‘dress up; adorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td>cʰä</td>
<td>‘seedling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>Ḗa</td>
<td>‘tea’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palatal series in Kurtöp is only found in onset position. While palatals usually occur on their as onsets, there are a few instances, depending on speaker age, register used, and potentially other factors, the complex onsets described above as labial-glide

⁴⁷ The publication by Lù on ‘Cuona Menba’ (also called [mʊʔ kɛʔ]) refers to two dialects, one of which appears to be a variety of Dzala and the other which appears to be a variety of Tshangla (Driem 2001: 914-915).
clusters (§6.2.1.1.1 and §7), when a palatal stop may occur as the second member of a labial-initial onset cluster. These instances are not illustrated here.

The voiceless palatal stop is illustrated in onset position in front of each of Kurtöp’s five vowels in Table 31.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>cík ~ cíʔ ~ cí:</td>
<td>‘be.identical’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>cé</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>cǎ</td>
<td>‘fraction’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>có</td>
<td>‘do; make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>cúk ~ cúʔ ~ cú:</td>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31. Kurtöp /c/ before each vowel

The aspirated palatal is illustrated below in front of the five vowels in Table 32.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>cʰi</td>
<td>‘lips’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>cʰé</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>cʰak ~ cʰáʔ ~ cʰɑ:</td>
<td>‘land on; land; step on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>cʰó</td>
<td>‘religion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>cʰú</td>
<td>‘bite.and.eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32. Kurtöp /cʰ/ before each vowel
The voiced palatal stop is also found before all five vowels, as shown below in Table 33.

Table 33. Kurtöp /ɟ/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ğin</td>
<td>‘weight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ğè</td>
<td>‘bet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>ğan</td>
<td>‘be.spread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ğöt</td>
<td>‘sow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>ğù</td>
<td>‘milk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1.1.5. Velars

Like the other stops, Kurtöp velars also contrast three voicing types: aspirated, unaspirated and voiced. The contrast is shown below in Table 34.

Table 34. Kurtöp velar stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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The velars have a greater distribution than dentals, retroflexes and palatals, though slightly less than that of the labials. Kurtöp velars may occur in onset position as the sole member, in a cluster with a labiovelar glide, or, with some restrictions, as a coda. Like other complex onsets in Kurtöp, the velar-labiovelar sequence is found in only a small subset of the lexicon, with only nineteen out of over 5,500 words representing /kw-/ for example. As a coda, /-k/ is usually found only word-externally, as word-finally, /-k/ has had a tendency to be deleted leaving vowel length and for some (but not all) speakers glottalization of the vowel and/or a high, level tone (see §6.3.3 and §6.4 for more details). A /-k/ coda may be pronounced in words which are not used with much frequency, in particular specialized, religious vocabulary borrowed from Chöke.\textsuperscript{48}

The distribution of /k/ across the Kurtöp syllable is exemplified by the data in (5).

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
/k/ & ka & ‘snow’ \\
\hline
/kʰ/ & kʰɑ & ‘mouth; language’ \\
\hline
/g/ & ga & ‘saddle’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
(5) & /k/ & onset \\
    & onset cluster with /w/ \\
    & kiktumpa & kwí & pʰiksanj \\
    & ‘Hooded Pitta (Pitta sordida)’ & ‘trivet’ & ‘broom’ \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{48} This is also true of the use of /-l/ as a coda. See §6.2.4.2 for more details.
The Kurtöp voiceless unaspirated /k/ occurs preceding all of the vowels, as shown in Table 35.

**Table 35. Kurtöp /k/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>kí</td>
<td>‘potato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ké</td>
<td>‘birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>kɑʔ ~ kɑː</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>kó</td>
<td>‘door’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>kù</td>
<td>‘statue’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the voiceless unaspirated velar, the Kurtöp voiceless aspirated velar may occur as an onset by itself or may combine with the labiovelar glide /w/ in a complex onset. Neither the aspirated nor voiced velar may occurs as a coda consonant in Kurtöp.

The distribution of /kʰ/ in Kurtöp syllables is shown below in (6).

(6)  /kʰ/  onset  onset cluster  

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰáuti</td>
<td>kʰwé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(chicken) egg’</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occurrence of /kʰ/ before the five vowels is illustrated below in Table 36.

**Table 36. Kurtöp /kʰ/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>kʰí:</td>
<td>‘3.ERG’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Kurtöp voiced velar stop /g/ also occurs in onset position, either in a cluster with /w/ or on its own, as show in below in (7). The onset cluster /gw-/ more so than /kw-/ or /kʰw-/ seems to be rapidly leaving the language. For example, many speakers pronounce / gwɑ̀-/ as /gɔ-/ and in a lexicon over 5,500 words, only six have the onset cluster /gw-/.

Table 37. Kurtöp /g/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>gì</td>
<td>‘move’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>gè</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>gà</td>
<td>‘path’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>gò</td>
<td>‘wheat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>gùm</td>
<td>‘crouch.down’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.1.1.6. Summary

This section has shown a three-way contrast in terms of voicing (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced) at five places of articulation: labial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar. The labials and velars are used most widely in the language, combining with sonorant consonants to make onset clusters and allowing their voiceless unaspirated members to be syllable codas. The dentals are the next most widely used, serving as onsets and codas but not in complex onset clusters. The other segments, retroflexes and palatals, are used least frequently in Kurtöp.

Kurtöp has innovated a third contrast in the category of voicing since the time of Proto-Tibeto-Burman, which is only reconstructed to have a contrast amongst voiced and voiceless initials. The writing system of Classical Tibetan also distinguishes voiceless unaspirated, aspirated, and voiced stops, though they are in close to complementary distribution within the syllable (DeLancey 2003). In modern-day languages, the three-way system is very common throughout TB languages today, including Lolo-Burmese (e.g. Wheatley (2003) for Burmese; Matisoff (2003) for Lahu), Bodic (e.g. Genetti (2003) for Dolakhā Newār; Andvik (2003) for Tshangla), and Qiangic (e.g. LaPolla (2003) for Qiang; Ding (2003) for Prinmi), just to name a few areas of the family.

6.2.1.2. Affricates

Kurtöp contrasts two dental affricates; one is voiceless unaspirated /ts/ and the other is voiceless aspirated /tsʰ/. Dzongkha has a voiced counterpart /dz/, which may also
marginally appear in other languages of Bhutan, but the voiced counterpart does not appear in Kurtöp. Even borrowings from Dzongkha and Chöke with /dz/ are rendered as /z/ in Kurtöp, so that Dzongkha, the name of the national language, is pronounced [zôŋkʰɑ]. The contrast between the voiceless aspirated and unaspirated dental affricate is shown below in Table 38.

**Table 38. Kurtöp affricates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ts/</td>
<td>tsɑ</td>
<td>‘nerves; tendons; blood vessels; sinew; artery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tsʰ/</td>
<td>tsʰɑ</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both affricates may only occur as syllable onsets and do not form clusters with any other segment. The Kurtöp voiceless unaspirated dental affricate is shown preceding all five vowels below in Table 39.

**Table 39. Kurtöp /ts/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>tsí</td>
<td>‘sticky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>tsé</td>
<td>‘apex’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>tsɑ</td>
<td>‘holy; divine; sacred’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>tsó</td>
<td>‘talk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>tsún</td>
<td>‘lime (Calcium Oxide)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

49 Van Driem (1995a) lists /dz/ as a phoneme in Bumthang but I have been unable to find any examples of it. Andvik (2003) lists /dz/ as a phoneme in Tshangla, but notes that it is only used in loan words by those with enough familiarity with Dzongkha or Chöke (p.c.).
The aspirated dental affricate is also found in front all five vowels, as show in Table 40.

Table 40. Kurtöp /tsʰ/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>tsʰi</td>
<td>‘squeeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>tsʰé</td>
<td>‘apex’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>tsʰa</td>
<td>‘shine; heat; reheat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>tsʰó</td>
<td>‘lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>tsʰú</td>
<td>‘make; create; cook’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1.3. Fricatives

Kurtöp has fricatives at two places of articulation: dental and palatal. The voicing contrast between the dental fricative is still apparent in all speakers’ production, but the voicing contrast amongst the palatal fricatives has been lost. Thus, as step in tonogenesis, the Kurtöp palatal fricatives are now both voiceless, displaying a contrast in tone on the following instead (see §6.4 for more details). The contrast between the three fricatives is illustrated in Table 41.

Table 41. Kurtöp fricatives

As I suggest in Hyslop (2009) and articulate in fuller detail in §6.4 below, the tendency for fricatives to undergo tonogenesis first appears to be a common phenomenon, in Bodic especially. For example, Beyer (1992: 26, 24fn) offers three pieces of historical evidence that tonogenesis had happened amongst the fricatives (but not elsewhere) for Tibetan. In the first instance a Nepalese scholar between 1290-1364 writes the voiced palatal fricative as voiceless (presumably he heard the devoicing but not the tonal difference). Second, in 1478 the historian <ngos lo-tsā-ba gzhon-nu-dpal> noted that the graphs for the voiced palatal and dental fricatives were both pronounced as voiceless during his time. And third, the Si-tu Mahāpañḍita listed <zh> and <z> as ‘voiceless’ in his grammatical commentary, likely to be dated to 1744. Importantly, in all these instances, it is only the fricatives which are mentioned.
### 6.2.1.3.1. Alveolars

The voiceless dental fricative /s/ has a greater distribution than its voiced counterpart. In addition to serving in onset position, it may also occur as a coda. Several dialects of Kurtöp, including that of Dungkar geok, have recently lost word-final /s/ in favor of vowel length, so that ‘seven’ in Tangmachu dialect is /nís/ but /ní:/ in Dungkar, for example. Other dialects have changed coda /s/ word-internally to /t/; for example Dungkar /ròspa/ ‘bone’ is [ròtpa] in Wawe. (8) shows /s/ as an onset and coda.

(8) /s/ \hspace{1cm} \text{onset} \hspace{1cm} \text{coda} \hspace{1cm} \text{saín} \hspace{1cm} \text{kás} \hspace{1cm} ‘unpolished.rice’ \hspace{1cm} ‘ladder’ (Tangmachu dialect)

The voiceless dental /s/ is found preceding all Kurtöp vowels, as shown in Table 42.

---

\[51\] Verbs with a historically open stem may also exhibit a coda in front of the imperfective verbal morphology, but this is mainly conditioned by dialect; it is associated with Gangzur and Ne, for example, though some speakers from Dungkar geok also evidence this from time to time. See §7.3 for more details.
Table 42. Kurtöp /s/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>sí</td>
<td>‘pluck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>sɑáŋ</td>
<td>‘sparrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>só</td>
<td>‘feed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>sú</td>
<td>‘bamboo.type’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While historically voiced /j/ is always devoiced in the synchronic language (see §6.4), the voiced dental fricative /z/ may still be realized as a voiced segment. The voiced dental /z/ is found in onset position only, as shown in front of all five vowels in Table 43.

Table 43. Kurtöp /z/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>zì</td>
<td>‘fish.bones’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>zè</td>
<td>‘ridge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>zɑt</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>zò</td>
<td>‘appearance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>zù</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1.3.2. Palatals

As I have argued elsewhere (Hyslop 2008; Hyslop 2009), Kurtöp has recently merged voiced and voiceless palatal fricatives in the first step of tonogenesis spreading to...
The arguments are summarized here. First, the category of voiced is found amongst all stops and amongst the other fricatives /s/ and /z/. Second, in the first publication on Kurtöp, Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) reported a voiced palatal fricative but that it always occurred with low tone on the following vowel and tended to be devoiced. Third, the voiceless palatal fricative is the only obstruent to contrast high and low tone on the following vowel; otherwise voiced obstruents condition low tone on their following vowel and voiceless obstruents condition high tone on their following vowel. The role of palatal fricative in tonogenesis is discussed in §6.4 in more detail. The data in (9-10) show the contrast in tone following the voiceless palatal fricative /ç/.

(9) çám ‘shoes’

(10) çám ‘man’s.length.measurement’

The palatal fricative is shown preceding the five Kurtöp vowels in Table 44.

Table 44. Kurtöp /ç/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>High tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Low tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>çí</td>
<td>‘bamboo.shoot’</td>
<td>çì</td>
<td>‘basis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>çè</td>
<td>‘wander; loiter’</td>
<td>çè</td>
<td>‘spin (thread)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tonogenesis, the development of tonal contrasts in a language, has been the focus of study for several decades. While I address the issue in greater depth in §6.4, I will briefly outline the relevant processes here. Tone may take a variety of pathways into a language, but a very common one is for 1) obstruents to condition tone on the following vowel, with voiceless condition high tone and voiced conditioning low; and 2) for the voiced segments to devoice. The result is a contrast of high versus low tone following voiceless obstruents: ba, pa > bà, pà > pà, pá.
6.2.2. Sonorants

Kurtöp has eleven sonorant consonants. The sonorants differ from most obstruents in that they may occur preceding both high and low tone (recall that, with the exception of the voiceless palatal fricative, Kurtöp obstruents redundantly mark tone on the following vowel: high tone follows the voiceless obstruents and low tone follows the voiced). The exceptions to this are the voiceless lateral, which has a very limited distribution and only occurs preceding high-toned vowels. The glottals /h/ and /Ɂ/ are also not typical sonorants in that 1) they appear with very little frequency and it is not clear that /Ɂ/ itself should be considered a phoneme; and 2) they do not occur preceding both high and low tone (see §6.4 for more phonetic and phonological details on Kurtöp tone). The contrast between high and low tone following the nasals, liquids and glides is shown below in Table 45.

Table 45. Kurtöp tone following nasals, liquids and glides

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>High tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Low tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>manj</td>
<td>‘community; crowd; everyone’</td>
<td>manj</td>
<td>‘be.excessive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɲ/</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>‘Perilla frutescens’</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>‘sky; weather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɲ/</td>
<td>nù</td>
<td>‘be.crazy’</td>
<td>nù</td>
<td>‘borrow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The remainder of this section discusses the nasals /m, n, ŋ, ŋ/ in §6.2.3, the liquids /l, ɭ, r/ in §6.2.4, and the glides /w, j/ and glottals /h, ʔ/ in §6.2.5.

6.2.3. Nasals

Kurtöp contrasts nasals at four places of articulation: labial, dental, palatal and velar, as illustrated below in Table 46.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>mam</td>
<td>‘female.pheasant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>‘sky; weather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ŋam</td>
<td>‘lessen; diminish; fade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ŋam</td>
<td>‘many; a lot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kurtöp bilabial /m/ has a distribution similar to the voiceless bilabial stop /p/; it may occur as a sole onset, as the first member of an onset cluster with /r/ or /j/ and as a coda. Like the complex onsets described above with an initial obstruent, complex onsets involving /m/ are very rare in the language. Six out of over 5,500 lexical items begin with
/mr-/ in Kurtöp and only two begin with /mj-/. Both complex obstruents appear to be limited to the dialects of Dungkar and Ne geoks and /mj-/ is only found in the speech of elders. Kurtöps under approximately sixty pronounce /mj-/ as /ɲ/. Both /mr-/ and /mj-/ have been found preceding only low tone, despite the fact that van Driem (Driem 1995a: 54) reports words with high tone following /mr-/ in Bumthap.

The distribution of /m/ across the Kurtöp syllable is illustrated in (11).

(11)  /m/ onset onset cluster onset cluster coda
with /r/ with /j/
mùja mrà: mjàn úmb
‘radish’ ‘rice.paddy’ ‘receive’ ‘holdable.bundle’

The data in Table 47\textsuperscript{53} illustrates Kurtöp /m/ preceding all vowels.

**Table 47. Kurtöp /m/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>mè:</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>‘wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>mòkaliŋ</td>
<td>‘bamboo.hat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>múŋ</td>
<td>‘Ameranthus’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{53} The attribution of bamboo in mòkaliŋ appears to be found only in the dialect of Dungkar geok, where it is different from /tsakaliŋ/ ‘cloth.hat’. The Gangzur dialect, for example, uses /mòkaliŋ/ for all varieties of hats.
The dental /n/ is found in onsets and codas but not in any tautosyllabic clusters.

This distribution is demonstrated in (12).

(12) /n/ onset coda

nùm nampa nin

‘Dogwood (*Benthamidia capitata)’

Kurtöp /n/ is found before all five vowels, as shown in

Table 48.54

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>‘sit; stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>néŋ</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>nät</td>
<td>‘leave; place; put.down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>nò</td>
<td>‘younger.brother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54 The verb *ni* ‘sit; stay’ is also used to mark durative modality; see §21.2.5.5.
The palatal /ɲ/ is the only nasal to be found only in onset position and not as a coda. Table 49 illustrates /ɲ/ before each of the vowels.

**Table 49. Kurtöp /ɲ/ before each vowel**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ňíŋ</td>
<td>‘pity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ňèrma</td>
<td>‘wrinkles’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>ňám</td>
<td>‘branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ňòt</td>
<td>‘swallow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>ňûm</td>
<td>‘be.unintentionally.burned’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kurtöp velar nasal /ŋ/ is found both in onset position as the only and coda position, as shown in (13).

(13) /ŋ/       onset       coda
       ňût                 ňûŋ
       ‘1.ABS’              ‘nest’

The distribution of the velar nasal preceding front vowels is not entirely clear.

Dzongkha appears to have merged the velar and palatal nasal preceding front vowels and as such Dzongkha borrowings in Kurtöp with a following front vowel are variably pronounced as [ŋ] and [ɲ]. Nonetheless, the Kurtöp velar nasal /ŋ/ is found preceding all five Kurtöp vowels, as shown in Table 50.
Table 50. Kurtöp /ŋ/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ɲì</td>
<td>‘large pestel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ɲètaŋ</td>
<td>‘walking.stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>ɲakpa</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ɲò</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>ɲúnti</td>
<td>‘blue/green’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.4. Liquids

Three liquids are found to be contrastive in Kurtöp: /r, l, l̥/ as evident in Table 51.

Table 51. Kurtöp liquids

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>ɪa</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>lɑ̃</td>
<td>‘month’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l̥/</td>
<td>l̥ɑ̃</td>
<td>‘god’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rhotic and voiced lateral have a wide distribution, both occurring in onsets as the sole member as well as second member in tautosyllabic clusters. The rhotic also occurs regularly as a coda but the lateral only occurs in loans in the synchronic language. There is morphological evidence that /-l/ was also recent coda in native verb stems in the language (see §7.3) but is no longer present. The rhotic and voiced lateral occur preceding both high and low tone. The voiceless lateral is found only in a small handful of words and allows only for high tone on the following vowel. The rhotic is discussed further in 6.2.4.1 and I address the laterals in 6.2.4.2.
6.2.4.1. Rhotic

In my previous description of Kurtöp phonology (mainly Lowes 2006), I describe a great deal of phonetic realization with respect to the Kurtöp rhotic.\(^{55}\) This work, however, was based primarily on the speech of one speaker. Further research has shown that the described variation was a unique feature of that speaker. This is not a surprising finding given that the speaker had left the village near the age of seven, and went to live with his grandparents in Bumthang and was exposed to the Bumthap language, where a contrast amongst rhotics is reported (Driem 1995a).

In terms of distribution across the syllable, the Kurtöp /r/ may occur as a sole onset, as the second member in an onset preceded by a labial stop, and as a coda, as shown in (14).

\[(14) \quad /r/ \quad \text{onset} \quad \text{onset cluster} \quad \text{coda} \]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{rùi} & \text{pʰrúm} & \text{mðr} \\
\text{‘pheasant’} & \text{‘cheese’} & \text{‘butter’}
\end{array}
\]

The Kurtöp /r/ is found preceding all five vowels, shown below in Table 52.

\(^{55}\) In (Lowes (Hyslop) 2006: 55-60) I demonstrated that the Kurtöp rhotic could be realized as an approximant, a trill, a voiced retroflex fricative and a voiceless retroflex fricative.
Table 52. Kurtöp /r/ before each vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>riŋku</td>
<td>‘long; tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>rèmo</td>
<td>‘Red.Panda (Ailurus fulgens)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>rān</td>
<td>‘Foxtail.Millet (Setaria Italic)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>rōtpa</td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>rūŋ</td>
<td>‘make.stand; get.up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.4.2. Laterals

The laterals have a smaller distribution than the rhotic, with the voiceless lateral only occurring in 25 words in the database of over 5,000 words and morphemes. The voiced lateral, on the other hand, occurs readily as an onset, in a few words as the second member of an onset cluster, and as a coda in loans. (15) illustrates the distribution of /l/ across native Kurtöp syllables.

(15) /l/ onset onset cluster with labial
  lū blēŋ
  ‘spider’ ‘one.CT’
Words with sole onset /l/ are prevalent in the data with numerous occurrences of both high and low tone on the following vowel. The phoneme /l/ is very limited as the second member of an onset cluster. It occurs in three words with initial /b/, in one word with initial /p/\(^{56}\) and not at all with initial /p\(^{b}/.\

Table 53. Kurtöp coda /l/ in borrowed words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kúŋel</td>
<td>‘difficulty’</td>
<td>Chöke &lt;dkaa.ngal&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kélchen</td>
<td>‘great.eon’</td>
<td>Chöke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kélpai-me</td>
<td>‘apocalyptic.fire’</td>
<td>Chöke &lt;bskalpaime&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gètshul</td>
<td>‘8-vowed.monk’</td>
<td>Chöke &lt;gedtshul&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭągel</td>
<td>‘sin.of.pride’</td>
<td>Chöke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰuŋel</td>
<td>‘hot.hell’</td>
<td>Chöke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zümṯʰul</td>
<td>‘supernatural.powers’</td>
<td>Chöke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cápal</td>
<td>‘sandal; slipper’</td>
<td>Hindi &lt;cappal&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòbail</td>
<td>‘mobile.phone; cell.phone’</td>
<td>English mobile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ískul</td>
<td>‘school’</td>
<td>English school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coda /l/ appears in loanwords, primarily from Chöke. Some examples are in Table 53.\(^{57,58,59}\)

---

\(^{56}\) Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994: 551) report the word *plot- ‘come.off* as their only example of onset *pl-. However, the only word in my database with initial /pl-/ is *plik ‘circumcize*.

\(^{57}\) The source for *kaj* is Dhongthong (1988: 109).

\(^{58}\) The source for *kélchen* is the DDC Dictionaries.

\(^{59}\) The source for *kélpai-me* is the DDC Dictionaries.
When some words with coda /l/ are borrowed the /-l/ is interpreted as being an allomorph of the individuating suffix -la (see §11.4.2). For example, the English word ‘bottle’ renders both böṭol and böṭola in Kurtöp.

Coda /l/ also appears in native Kurtöp words, but as a reduction of morphemes that end in -la or -le, namely -pala ‘PFV’, -male ‘FUT’ and -la ‘IDZ’. The final subset of words which may have coda l are onomatopoetic words, as in relpʰol ‘rolling.around; roly.poly’.

The fact that coda l is found only in borrowed words, due to allophonic variation, or only used in onomatopoeia, is underscored by the data in Table 54, illustrating the correlation between coda l in reconstructions of Proto-Tibeto-Burman and open syllables in Kurtöp. Presumably, this indicates that coda l at Proto-state in the language has deleted in modern reflexes of PTB, sometimes, though not necessarily, in favor of vowel length.

Table 54. Loss of coda /l/ from Proto-Tibeto-Burman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*tal</td>
<td>tʰewa</td>
<td>‘dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋul</td>
<td>ŋoi</td>
<td>‘silver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*m-kul</td>
<td>kʰédi</td>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d-pral</td>
<td>pʰélañ</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*m-kal</td>
<td>kʰé:do</td>
<td>‘kidney’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As illustrated in (15), Kurtöp /l/ may also appear marginally as the second member in an onset cluster with initial voiceless and voiced labial stops. In addition to words with this combination being very rare, a sound change is currently in progress which is merging /bl-/ with /br-/, so that for many speakers /bre/ ‘measure.cup’ and /ble/ ‘four’ are synonymous.

The voiceless lateral is much rarer than its voiced counterpart, occurring in less than thirty words in our database. Unlike the voiced lateral, which may occur preceding both high and low tones, the voiceless later only occurs before high tone. It is found only in syllable initial position, preceding four of the five vowels, as in Table 55. The lack of the voiceless lateral preceding the high, back vowel /u/ is likely due to an accidental gap, given the rare occurrence of this phoneme in the language in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ljk ~ lĵ ~ lĵ:</td>
<td>‘come.apart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>l’enkʰa</td>
<td>‘ministry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>laŋa</td>
<td>‘extra’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>ló</td>
<td>‘South’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Despite the limited distribution of /l/ in Kurtöp, it is found productively in a few onomatopoetic words, such as \textit{chlep} ‘flapping sound, such as prayer flag flapping in the wind’ and \textit{wêm} ‘shiny’.

\textbf{6.2.5. Glides and glottals}

Kurtöp has two glides: a labiovelar /w/ and palatal /j/ plus a glottal fricative that occurs in less than thirty words and a glottal stop which is not a phoneme on its own. As onsets, the glides may precede either high- or low-toned vowels, while the glottal fricative appears only preceding high tone. The more complicated relationship of the glottal stop with tone is discussed below.

The labiovelar glide is found in syllable onset position on its own or in a cluster with velar stops. This distribution is shown in (16).

\begin{align*}
(16) & \quad /w/ \quad \text{onset} \quad \text{onset cluster with velar stop} \\
& \quad \text{wd} \quad \text{kwá} \\
& \quad \text{‘trough’} \quad \text{‘tooth’}
\end{align*}

Like complex onsets elsewhere in Kurtöp, velar-labiovelar clusters are found only minimally in the language. The set of words for which complex onsets are found is small, and in fast speech velar-labiovelar clusters with a following low back vowel tend to be simplified to a velar stop plus mid round back vowel /o/.
Kurtöp /w/ is found as a phoneme preceding the unrounded vowels /i, e, ɑ/ but is redundant preceding vowel-initial words beginning with low-toned round vowels, so that words such as /ò/ ‘DEM.PROX’ and /ûr/ ‘nod; swing.side.to.side’ may be pronounced with or without the labiovelar glide present in initial position, so that [ò] ~ [wò] ‘DEM.PROX’ and [ûr] ~ [wûr] ‘nod; swing.side.to.side’ (see §6.3.1 for more details on Kurtöp vowels).

The phonemic presence of /w/ preceding /i, e, ɑ/ is shown in Table 56.

**Table 56. Kurtöp /w/ before /i, e, ɑ,/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>‘2.SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>wèŋ</td>
<td>‘Tibet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>wāgam</td>
<td>‘chin’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palatal glide is also found in onset position as the sole consonant as well as in limited consonant clusters (17).

(17) /j/ onset onset cluster onset cluster with labial stop with labial nasal

jām pjānzi ~ pći ~ cănzi mjā ~ ɲā

‘road; path’ ‘Yellow-billed Blue Magpie’ ‘arrow’

(Urocissa flavirostris)

Kurtöp /j/ as the second member of an onset cluster is found in a very limited subset of words and only amongst more conservative speakers. While the palatal glide may follow all labial consonants (/p, pʰ, b, m/), most speakers today pronounce labial
stop-palatal glide clusters as labial-palatal stop sequences with the youngest generation of speakers omitting the labial stop altogether. Likewise, most speakers today have merged the /mj-/ sequence with the palatal nasal. The trend of simplifying these complex onsets follows the general trend of onset simplification that has been occurring since Proto Mainstream-East-Bodish (see §3.5 for more details).

Like the labiovelar glide, the palatal glide is contrastive preceding a subset of vowels, and redundant preceding a separate set. Kurtöp /j/ may occur as a phoneme preceding the non-front vowels /ɑ, o, u/ but preceding low-toned front vowel-initial words is redundant, so that /igu/ ‘letter’ may be pronounced [igu] or [jigu] and /èn/ ‘roam’ may be either [èn] or [jèn]. The phonemic distribution of /j/ following the three non-front vowels is shown in Table 57.

**Table 57. Kurtöp /j/ before ɑ, o, u /**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>jaŋə</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>jòʔ ~ jó:</td>
<td>‘sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>jùwa</td>
<td>‘storage.basket’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occurs minimally in Kurtöp but does nonetheless have phonemic status as an onset. For some dialects of Kurtöp, [h] is a possible realization of the voiceless aspirated velar /kʰ/. In the variety of Kurtöp spoken in Ne, for example, /kʰɑ́kʰ/ ‘up’ is pronounced as [hɑ́kʰ]. Nevertheless, there is evidence of /h/ as a phoneme, as shown in Table 58.

**Table 58. Evidence of Kurtöp /h/**
Like most other voiceless consonants,\(^6^0\) Kurtöp /h/ is found preceding high-toned vowels. The voiceless glottal fricative is not found robustly in the data, occurring in less than 30 words. Table 59 shows /h/ preceding all five Kurtöp vowels.

**Table 59. Kurtöp /h/ before vowels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>hiktum</td>
<td>‘hiccup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>héma</td>
<td>‘spade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>ḫña</td>
<td>‘tom.cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>hórhomā</td>
<td>‘Bhutanese.accordion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>húrdup</td>
<td>‘sling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The glottal stop in Kurtöp is found word-initially and word-finally, but in both cases is a redundant feature. Word-initially the glottal may occur preceding a vowel-initial high-toned syllable. Word-finally, the glottal stop can be conceived of as a secondary feature of vowel length or tone. The glottal stop, when present, is a reflex from a coda /k/, which is often present in other dialects of Kurtöp or at least Kurtöp’s closest

\(^6^0\) Recall that tone is predictably high following voiceless consonant onsets and predictably low following voiced onsets. As a tonogenetic step, Kurtöp voiceled fricatives have recently conditioned low tone on their following vowel and devoiced. Thus, the voiceless palatal fricative is the only voiceless phoneme in Kurtöp to contrast both high and low tone on its following vowels. See Hylop (2009) and §6.4 of this dissertation for more details.
relatives. This is discussed in greater details in the sections on vowel length (§6.3.3) and tone (§6.4).

6.3. Vowels

Kurtöp contrasts five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and four diphthongs /ai, iu, ui, oi/.

Educated speakers, influenced by Dzongkha and Tibetan, also have front rounded vowels [ø] and [y], which are variably used in the same phonological environments as their Dzongkha counterparts. Kurtöp also contrasts length on vowels. Monophthongs are discussed in §6.3.1, diphthongs in §6.3.2, and length in §6.3.3.

6.3.1. Monophthongs

6.3.1.1. Native vowels

Native, uneducated speakers of Kurtöp contrast the five cardinal vowels shown in Table 60.

Table 60. Kurtöp native vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phoneme /i/ is illustrated in Table 61.

Table 61. Contrast amongst Kurtöp native vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>cʰi</td>
<td>‘lips’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.2.1. Dzongkha influence

The influences of Dzongkha, the national language, and Chöke, the liturgical language, are powerful. In addition to the lexical influences the languages have had over Kurtöp over the centuries, Kurtöp phonology continues to be influenced. Amongst the vowels, the primary influence has been the introduction of the front rounded vowels /ø/ and /y/. Thus, speakers who have been highly educated (say, up to class 10 and beyond) in the Bhutanese education system, and/or have grown up in a bi- or multilingual environment (such as Kurtöps born in Thimphu), usually have front rounded vowels in the environments they would be expected to be found in Dzongkha or Chöke, viz. before coronal codas or in place of the diphthongs /ui/ and /oi/. Table 62 shows some Kurtöp words with Chöke cognates and the difference between educated and uneducated pronunciation.

Table 62. Kurtöp front-rounded vowels with Chöke cognates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Uneducated/village pronunciation</th>
<th>Educated pronunciation</th>
<th>Chöke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Kunga (name)’</td>
<td>kúŋgɑ</td>
<td>kýŋgɑ</td>
<td>མག་ས།&lt;kun.dga‘&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Chöke</th>
<th>Kurtöp pronunciation</th>
<th>&quot;seedling&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ø/</td>
<td></td>
<td>ꦗø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td></td>
<td>ꦗy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While several words with Chöke-influenced pronunciation are clearly borrowings from Chöke, such as those in Table 62, the borrowed pronunciation is not limited to borrowed words.

**Table 63. Kurtöp front-rounded vowels in non-Chöke cognates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Uneducated/village pronunciation</th>
<th>Educated pronunciation</th>
<th>Chöke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>zón</td>
<td>zón</td>
<td>གནིས་&lt;gnis&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>jui</td>
<td>jy:</td>
<td>ཚར་བ་&lt;charpa&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fronting of rounded back vowels before coronal consonants is commonly reported in Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas (e.g. DeLancey (2003b) for Lhasa Tibetan and Genetti (1992) for Sunwar). The Kurtöp data, however, indicates that this sound change is borrowed.

6.3.3. Length

Vowel length is also contrastive on open syllables though the contrast is neither very salient nor very productive. Nonetheless, some minimal pairs can be found, as shown in Table 64.

**Table 64. Contrast between long and short vowels in Kurtöp**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Figures 18 and 19, taken from (Lowes (Hyslop) 2006: 82), I show the results of an acoustic study where I examined vowel duration as a correlate of vowel length.

Figure 18. Graphical representation of mean long vs. short vowels for speaker PC
The long vowels are an average of 65 ms longer than short vowels for P.C., and 45 ms longer for K.W. The ratio of short to long is 1:1.5 for P.C. and 1:1.3 for K.W. This difference was found to be significant for both speakers \[F(1,665)=182.68, p<.001\] for P.C. and \[F(1,432)=46.682, p<.001\] for K.W. The mean, maximum, minimum and standard deviation for short and long vowels for both speakers are summarized in Table 65. Mean, minimum and maximum values are given in milliseconds.

Table 65. Mean and standard deviation of duration in ms as a correlate of long vs short vowels for two speakers of Kurtöp (Lowes (Hyslop) 2006: 83)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
<th>K.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that for both speakers there was a great deal of overlap between the short and long vowels. This may be the result of transcription error, or representative of the little functional weight vowel length seems to carry in Kurtöp. When salient, that is, when the only feature distinguishing two words in a minimal pair, vowel length was transcribed without question. In other instances, vowel length was more difficult to ascertain. When in question, we deferred to the speakers’ intuitions regarding the length of vowels. As I mentioned, vowel length has minimal functional weight in Kurtöp; it is contrastive in open syllables of monosyllabic words, only.

There are at least three diachronic pathways which have led to vowel length in the synchronic language: loss of coda /k/, loss of /-ba/ suffix and monophthongization. Each will be considered in turn below.

The attribution of vowel length, and often falling tone, from the loss of coda /k/ is an established phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman. Coda velars were lost from Classical Tibetan, leading to long vowels with a glottalized pitch in the modern Lhasa dialect (DeLancey 2003b). As discussed in §6.2.1.1.5, in the synchronic language Kurtöp coda /k/ follows the trend of many other TB languages in that it is often realized as a glottal stop or vowel length (however, where it deviates from the expected tonal pattern will be discussed in Chapter Seven below). In Table 66 below I provide some comparative data for the development of vowel length from loss of coda /k/.

| short | 545 | 121 | .048 | 27 | 283 | 362 | 129 | .052 | 39 | 262 |

**Table 66. Comparative evidence for source of long vowels in Kurtöp by way of a lost coda k**
Vowel length has also entered the synchronic language via loss of an old -\textit{ba} suffix, as illustrated by the data in Table 67.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Classical Tibetan} & \textbf{Kurtöp} \\
\hline
\textit{phags} & \textit{pʰɑ:} & ‘pig’ \\
\hline
\textit{rnag} & \textit{na:} & ‘pus’ \\
\hline
\textit{stag} & \textit{ta:} & ‘tiger’ \\
\hline
\textit{ḥbrug} & \textit{qu:} & ‘dragon’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Comparative evidence for source of long vowels in Kurtöp by way of a lost coda -\textit{ba} suffix}
\end{table}

The data for ‘post’ demonstrate the intermediate change /\textit{ba}/ > /\textit{wa}/ and the data for ‘hammer’ indicate this /\textit{ba}/ then develops into vowel length. Finally, the data for ‘hoe’ show that the sound change has finished for some items in the synchronic language.

The final source we have identified for vowel length in Kurtoep is monophthongization. As I mentioned in §6.3.2, diphthongs /\textit{ui}/ and /\textit{oe}/ are often realized as the front rounded vowels /\textit{y}/: and /\textit{o}/: by educated speaker familiar with Chöke and
Dzongkha. In addition, the old diphthong /ai/ has become /e:/, as can be seen by comparison with Bumthap in Table 68.

**Table 68. Comparative evidence for source of long vowels in Kurtöp by way of recent monopthongization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bumthap</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gai</td>
<td>gè:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaido</td>
<td>kʰê:do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further argument that this is a recent sound change comes from a consideration of Michailovksy and Mazaudon (1994) who reported a diphthong /ai/ being in variation with /e:/.

This finding suggests that the form /ai/ was still present in at least some speech varieties in the 1970s.

A broader comparative study of monophthongization suggests we can ultimately attribute this source to old coda consonants, as shown in Table 69.

**Table 69. Comparative evidence for source of long vowels in Kurtöp by way of a lost coda -l**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical Tibetan</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ཀྲིལ་མ་ &lt;mkhal-ma&gt;</td>
<td>kʰê:do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also that the data in Table 69 also evidence vowel fronting in conjunction with vowel lengthening.
Note also that the sound change /ai/ > /e:/ has not happened across morpheme boundaries; that is, only diphthongs and not /a/ /i/ vowel sequences have undergone this change, as suggested by the data in (18).

(18)  ía-iki
       watch-HORT
       ‘let’s watch’

Vowel length has a minimal functional load in Kurtöp. Contrasts only exist in open syllables and, even the best conditions, the difference may be between 45 - 65 ms, or a ratio of between 1:1.3 and 1:1.5. In connected speech, the difference is neutralized in multisyllabic words, so that vowel length is only audible on monosyllabic words.

6.4. Tone

Kurtöp makes minimal use of tone in marking phonemic contrast and comparative evidence suggest tone has recently entered the language and is currently spreading from its current place of contrast following the sonorant consonants to other phonological environments (namely, following the obstruents). In this section I outline the phonology of tone and phonetic correlates in §6.4.1 and the diachronic development in §6.4.2.

6.4.1. Synchronic contrast

As I discussed in §6.2.1.3.2 and §6.2.2, tone in Kurtöp is synchronically contrastive on the first syllable following sonorant consonants and palatal fricatives.
Examples of this contrast, shown initially in Table 45 and (9-10), are repeated below in Table 70.

**Table 70. Contrastive (high/low) tone following sonorant consonants of initial syllables and palatal fricative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>High tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Low tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>máʃ</td>
<td>‘community; crowd; everyone’</td>
<td>máʃ</td>
<td>‘be.excessive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>nám</td>
<td>‘Ameranthus’</td>
<td>nám</td>
<td>‘sky; weather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɲ/</td>
<td>ɲú</td>
<td>‘be.crazy’</td>
<td>ɲú</td>
<td>‘borrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ɲəp</td>
<td>‘dry.out’</td>
<td>ɲəp</td>
<td>‘be.thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>rúŋ</td>
<td>‘make.stand; get up’</td>
<td>rùŋ</td>
<td>‘small.storage.basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>lém</td>
<td>‘flat.spoon’</td>
<td>lèm</td>
<td>‘be.delicious’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>wəŋ</td>
<td>‘blessing’</td>
<td>wəŋ</td>
<td>‘pit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>jəp</td>
<td>‘awning’</td>
<td>jəp</td>
<td>‘wear.on.shoulders’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ç/</td>
<td>çám</td>
<td>‘shoes’</td>
<td>çám</td>
<td>‘man’s.length.measurement’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following all other consonants tone is not contrastive. That is, in the environment following obstruents except the palatal fricative, tone is predictably high when following the voiceless obstruents and predictably low when following the voiced obstruents. This correlation is illustrated in Table 71.

**Table 71. Predictable (high/low) tone following voiced vs. voiceless obstruent consonants of initial syllables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Low tone</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'pë</td>
<td>‘meat slice’</td>
<td>b̀a</td>
<td>‘target’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëp&quot;at</td>
<td>‘leech’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tår</td>
<td>‘axe’</td>
<td>d̀a</td>
<td>expletive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The voiceless palatal fricative is the only obstruent which does not have a voiced or aspirated counterpart and is further the only obstruent to occur preceding both high and low tone (cf. the discussion on tonogenesis in §6.4.2).

Monosyllabic words which were historically closed by a consonant are often realized with glottalization as a concomitant feature to vowel length (§6.3.3). For many speakers the glottalization disappears in connected speech, but in isolation it may quite salient. Consider Figures 20 and 21 below.
Figure 20. Spectrum and spectrogram for *kwa* ‘tooth’ as spoken by Ch

Figure 21. Spectrum and spectrogram for *kwâ* ‘upper arm’ as spoken by Ch
The spectrum and spectrogram for kwá shows a smooth syllable of approximately 176 ms while the spectrum and spectrogram for kwá: show a syllable of approximately 238 ms with obvious glottalization, particularly toward the end of the vowel. In theory, then, there exists a contrast in monosyllables with long vowels that do not have glottalization versus long vowels that do. However, I have not found any minimal pairs to show that this contrast is phonemically contrastive.

6.4.2. Tonogenesis

Some of the mechanisms and motivations underlying tonogenesis have been established over the last several decades by such pioneering work as (Maspero 1912; Haudricourt 1954; Hombert 1978; Matisoff 1973; Matisoff 1999; Mazaudon 1977; Kingston 2004) and many others. Conventional wisdom suggests that tone usually enters a language via lost coda consonants which condition contour tones. Later, the tones may be split with high register being diachronically conditioned by voiceless initials and low register being conditioned by voiced initials. Thurgood (2002) recently updated the model by arguing that voice quality plays a mediating role in tonogenesis. That is, between a contrast in voicing on a consonant and tone on a vowel, an intermediate stage of contrastive voice quality on the vowel is present. However, despite these advances in the study of tonogenesis, many questions remain unanswered. For example, the manner in which the sound change occurs remains unknown. We do not yet know whether the

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61 This section is drawn from Hyslop (2009), with some modification.
sound change happens across all segments at the same time or same rate, or whether certain segments are likely to undergo tonogenesis first.

As I will argue, the results of a production study suggest that Kurtöp is gradually acquiring tone following the consonantal onsets in word-initial position, commencing with the sonorants. I illustrate in detail that tone has entered the language following the sonorant consonants and is now proceeding through the system following the obstruents. I will demonstrate that tone has phonologized first in Kurtöp following the nasal and liquid consonantal onsets in initial syllables. The next step in the process was for Kurtöp to develop tone following the palatal fricative. The remainder of the obstruents in the language is now in place to undergo tonogenesis.

An investigation of tonogenetic properties of other languages may suggest that Kurtöp is not the only language to acquire tone in this manner. Lhasa Tibetan and arguably some Tai languages may have acquired tone in the manner described for Kurtöp, that is, by phonologizing tone following the sonorants before phonologizing tone following the obstruents.

Because many speakers of Kurtöp are also speakers of Dzongkha (the national language of Bhutan), which is tonal, one could argue that Kurtöp tonogenesis is a contact-induced phenomenon. However, regardless of whether tonogenesis in Kurtöp is contact-induced or motivated by other language-internal factors, Kurtöp tonogenetic properties merit further investigation.

Comparative evidence suggests that tone following the sonorants has developed in Kurtöp by means of historically present onset clusters in which the first member was a
voiceless fricative /s/. The historical pattern of a complex onset is reflected in the written Tibetan forms while Kurtöp words have reduced their onsets but added high tone to the nucleus. For each Kurtöp form we include the cognate in Written Tibetan. In Table compare Kurtöp forms with their cognates in Written Tibetan. Note that where Kurtöp forms have a high tone, an s- initial onset cluster is present in Written Tibetan.\textsuperscript{62}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋà́</td>
<td>‘drum’</td>
<td>&lt;ŋa&gt;</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>&lt;rna-ba&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋà :</td>
<td>‘pillow’</td>
<td>&lt;ŋas&gt;</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td>&lt;sna&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā́</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
<td>&lt;skra&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā́</td>
<td>‘root’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sound change in which high tone is conditioned by an s- sonorant onset cluster can perhaps be envisioned in two steps. In the first step the s- sonorant cluster yields a voiceless sonorant. The voiceless sonorant then conditions high pitch on the following vowel, according to the established model. At this point in the language a

\textsuperscript{62} Note I have not found a Classical Tibetan cognate for Kurtöp ‘root’. Whether the Kurtöp form is innovative or is a retention remains unknown. The possibility that a cognate form existed in Classical Tibetan but does not appear in our sources cannot be ruled out either.
contrast would exist between voiceless and voiced sonorants, with high tone predictably following the voiceless sonorants and low tone predictably following the voiced sonorants.\textsuperscript{63} Over time a second sound change would occur in which high tone phonologizes following the voiceless series, low tone phonologizes following the voiced series, and the voicing distinction is neutralized in favor of voiced sonorants. Other motivations for tonogenesis following sonorants remain less clear.

Comparative data suggesting the source of high tone on other sonorants are displayed below in Table 73.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lɑ̀</td>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
<td>&lt;la&gt;</td>
<td>wɑŋ</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɑ́</td>
<td>‘month’</td>
<td>&lt;zla&gt;</td>
<td>wɑ́ŋ</td>
<td>‘blessing’</td>
<td>&lt;bde., gro&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible phonetic motivations for the tonogenesis suggested by the data in Table 2 are less clear, though there is general agreement that the handful of Tibetan forms with initial <zl> represent some idiosyncratic Tibetan-internal development from earlier forms.

\textsuperscript{63} A contrast between voiceless and voiced sonorants is not uncommon for Tibeto-Burman languages, and in many instances high tone follows only the voiced series. Dzongkha (van Driem 1998), for example, has a voiceless rhotic and lateral which precede only high tone while high and low contrast following voiced sonorants.
with *s-. The sound change /db/ > /w/ with a high tone on the following vowel is also characteristic of modern Tibetan dialects.\textsuperscript{64}

A third plausible means by which Kurtöp has obtained tone is areal influence. As Kurtöp has borrowed a large amount of its vocabulary from Dzongkha (a tonal language), it may be more fitting to propose that Kurtöp tonogenesis is a contact-induced phenomenon. Under this hypothesis, as loan words with tones were borrowed into Kurtöp, tone eventually became a component of the phonology of Kurtöp. However, even in this scenario an explanation would need to be sought in order to motivate the current synchronic presence of contrastive tone in Kurtöp following only the sonorants and palatal fricative. Regardless of the source of tone in Kurtöp -- via one of the possible acoustic motivations, borrowing, or a source not mentioned here -- the fact remains that tone has first phonologized following the sonorant consonants. It is this observation we believe to be significant.

While the source for tone following the sonorant consonants may be debatable, the source for tone following the palatal fricative appears straightforward. The tone following the palatal fricative has developed directly via the loss of contrast in voicing. Evidence for this development comes in two forms. First, Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) reported a voiceless and voiced palatal fricative in Kurtöp but no contrastive tone

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Consonant & Vietnamese & English &
\hline
\textbf{Phonemes} & | & \\
\hline
\textbf{Affricate} & kp & c &
\hline
\textbf{Consonant} & v & p &
\hline
\textbf{Voiceless} & | & | &
\hline
\textbf{Voiced} & m & n &
\hline
\textbf{Friction} & s & t &
\hline
\textbf{Sibilant} & | & | &
\hline
\textbf{Stop} & | & | &
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Comparison of Vietnamese and English phonemes.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{64} Contrastive high tone in Lhasa Tibetan and Dzongkha differs from Kurtöp in that it has developed by way of any onset cluster. The first step in the development of Dzongkha and Lhasa Tibetan tone involved the initial member of the onset cluster devoicing, which could have invoked a sound change similar to the one described above for the Kurtöp sonorants. That is, a voiceless initial could have perturbed higher pitch on the following vowel, which would have then phonologized as tone while the initial member in the cluster disappeared.
following either. The instances in which they report a voiced palatal fricative we find a voiceless palatal fricative with low tone. Note that Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) collected their data in the 1970’s. The approximately 30 years which have passed between the two studies may be taken to represent generational differences; that is, perhaps the generation of Kurtöp speakers represented by Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) had the voicing contrast in the palatal fricative but the generations considered today have neutralized the contrast in favor of tone on the following vowel.\textsuperscript{65} The second line of support in favor of the argument that Kurtöp has neutralized a voicing contrast on the palatal fricatives in favor of a contrast in tone on the following vowel comes from comparative evidence. Consider the data in Table 4.

**Table 74. Comparative palatal fricatives in Kurtöp and Tshangla**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tshangla</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tshangla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>çòr</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
<td>ju</td>
<td>çònba</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
<td>jonma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tshangla is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken east of the Kurtöp language area in Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh in India. In many instances where Tshangla has a voiced palatal fricative, Kurtöp utilizes a voiceless palatal fricative with low tone on the following vowel. This, in conjunction with the fact that for at least one variant of Kurtöp

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\textsuperscript{65} I do not need to suggest that tonogenesis has completed for the palatal fricative in the past approximately 30 years. Though spoken by a small community, Kurtöp purports a handful of mutually intelligible dialects. Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994) do not mention where in Kurtö their speakers come from and therefore we do not know which variety of Kurtö they spoke. It is entirely plausible the dialect represented in their study is different from that discussed here. As we have not completed a full dialect survey, the possibility remains that some dialects of Kurtöp have retained a voicing contrast for palatal fricatives.
in the 1970s (Michailovsky and Mazaudon 1994) a voiced palatal fricative corresponds with a voiceless low-toned palatal fricative in the dialect of Kurtöp represented in this study, suggests that tonogenesis following the palatal fricative is more recent than the genesis of tone following the sonorants.\footnote{In instances where tone develops via a contrast of voice it is often the case that phonation is an intermediate contrast as Thurgood (2002) articulates. However, it is not clear this is the case in Kurtöp even though it appears to be in Dzongkha. For example, in Dzongkha, historically voiced consonants may be followed by high or low tone. In instances with low tone, a salient feature is breathy voice on the following vowel, often with a concomitant devoicing of the initial (van Driem 1998, personal field notes). Such salient breathy voice is not audibly present in Kurtöp, though no acoustic measures for breathy voiced such as H1-H2 or H1-F2 (Gordon and Ladefoged 2001) have been taken.}

While data from Tshangla (Andvik 2003) and Kurtöp (Michailovsky and Mazaudon 1994) provide synchronic evidence for the source of tone following the fricatives, evidence for the source of tone following the sonorants is found only in comparison with written forms of Tibetan, which we presume represent an older synchronic state of Classical Tibetan. Variation amongst the palatal fricatives exists between Kurtöp and neighboring languages and has been noted in a prior publication on Kurtöp (Michailovsky and Mazaudon 1994), while variation amongst the sonorants is not found in either. Thus, we argue that the development of tone following the palatal fricative has followed the phonologization of tone following the sonorants.\footnote{Note that the direction of the change in voicing is reversed from that proposed for the sonorants. That is, while we posited a mediating stage of voiceless sonorants which voiced as part of the tonogenesis process, here we see a consonant become voiceless with tonogenesis. We do not see this as a problem; in both instances the neutralization of voicing contrast is in favor of markedness – voiceless sonorants are more marked than voiced sonorants and voiced obstruents are more marked than voiceless obstruents.}

\footnote{66}
6.4.2.1. Experimental study

In this section I investigate the correlation between tone (measured as fundamental frequency) and voicing (measured as voice onset time\textsuperscript{68}). The focus of this study was on production of the stop consonantal onset and vowel in monosyllabic words. Mean fundamental frequency was computed across the duration of the vowels, taking standard deviation for the mean f0 at the approximate vowel midpoint. Mean and standard deviation of voice onset time (VOT Lisker and Abramson (1964)) of stops was also measured. The goals were (1) to determine whether the observation that high and low tones correlated with voiceless and voiced obstruents,\textsuperscript{69} respectively, held true across the entirety of the vowel; (2) determine whether the high and low tones would represent statistically distinct categories; (3) determine mean and standard deviation of VOT for the three voicing categories of stops (voiceless, aspirated, voiced) and mode for the voiced series; and (4) ascertain whether the VOT means represent significantly disparate categories.

If Kurtöp obstruents are undergoing tonogenesis we would predict high tone to phonologize following voiceless obstruents, low tone to phonologize following the

\textsuperscript{68} While I have not done perception studies confirming this observation, it is my impression that voice onset time is the primary cue to voicing in Kurtöp. We are basing this conclusion on two observations. First, acoustic measurements not mentioned in this article have shown no salient distinction in other possible cues, such as duration of closure or vowel length preceding voiceless versus voiced consonants, for example. Second, mean VOT is statistically significant for the categories of voiceless unaspirated compared to voiceless aspirated, suggesting that Kurtöp could also employ VOT as a means by which to distinguish the voiced category from the other two categories of voice.

\textsuperscript{69} In order to simplify wording, here and throughout the remainder of this section when I refer to ‘obstruents’ we are excluding the palatal fricative, which has already undergone tonogenesis.
voiced series, and that the voiced series of obstruents would be devoicing. For the present experiment, then, we predict that f0 measurements will display significantly distinct categories following voiceless versus voiced stops. If Kurtöp voiced stops are collapsing with the voiceless series we might expect some utterances of voiced stops to be realized as voiceless. If voiced stops were at times realized as voiceless stops we would find VOT values associated with the voiceless series of stops alongside the negative VOT values expected for the voiced stops. Therefore, if Kurtöp were neutralizing a contrast in voice on stops we predict this would manifest a very high standard deviation from the mean VOT of voiced stops and possibly a bimodal distribution.

6.4.2.1.1.  Speakers

Data from two native speakers of Kurtöp were recorded and analyzed. The participants were two male native Kurtöp speakers. The first speaker, P.C. was in his 20s at the time of the study and is from Tabi, within the village of Dungkar. K.W. is the second speaker, is in his 40s and is from Thunpe, within Dungkar. Both speakers P.C. and K.W. are also fluent speakers of Dzongkha and English. The speakers were chosen due to their proximity with the researcher (both resided in the western United States at the time of study) and it is by accident that both happen to be males but of different generations. However, the fact that speaker K.W. is approximately 20 years older than speaker P.C. will be of interest when we discuss the findings in terms of sound change.

6.4.2.1.2.  Methodology
A total of 1,041 monosyllabic stop-initial tokens between two speakers were recorded and analyzed acoustically for f0 on the vowel and VOT of onset. In order to control for possible word stress or tone variation in multi-syllabic words, only monosyllabic words have been chosen for this study. The attempt was made to design a list of tokens which were equally balanced for place (bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar), and voicing (voiceless, aspirated, voiced) of stop, while also controlling for the quality of the following vowel (non low front, non low back, low). Because vowel quality can minimally influence f0, it was hoped that by controlling for quality the current study would rule out the possibility that vowel quality had influenced the results. We examined only stop consonants in this study but expect the results we find would extend to the entire category of obstruents which have not already undergone tonogenesis. This expectation is based on our impressions and observations that high and low tones also follow voiceless and voiced affricates and fricatives.

Both speakers produced each target word in the study four times: three times in isolation and a fourth time in the carrier phrase shown below in (19).

(19) ʰjai  ɗaij  ___  ləp-mi
1.ERG  yesterday  ___  say-TAG
‘I said ___ yesterday’

Each utterance of the word was included in the acoustic analysis, yielding a total of four tokens for every word. List intonation was often association with the three words
in isolation; a rising contour was often present on the first token and a falling contour was often present on the third. This was true regardless of whether the word began with a voiceless, aspirated or voiced onset. Because I was interested in mean f0, and not contour of the pitch, I did not exclude any tokens on the basis of intonation. By systematically including each of the four utterances for a given word, rather than choosing one utterance, for example, I was able to increase the overall number of tokens for each category. I assume that by systematically including all tokens in the analyses, any effect intonation might have on mean f0 would be consistent throughout the voicing categories and therefore not affect the overall results.

However, due to unforeseen difficulties in gathering the data, there were some gaps and the data were not completely balanced for place, voicing and vowel quality. Of considerable importance is the fact that for speaker K.W. voiced retroflex tokens were entirely lacking. At times the speakers repeated an incorrect word, in which case the word was not counted. During the recording a few iterations were omitted, also reducing the number of tokens in a given category. Sometimes additional words in a particular category were recorded, leading to categories with a greater number of tokens. In total, 610 (155 words) tokens were analyzed for speaker P.C. and 431 (108 words) tokens were analyzed for speaker K.W. Despite the lack of precise balance in the tokens analyzed for this study we believe the main argument of this section remains tenable. The number of tokens for each place of articulation combined with voice category is listed by speaker in Table 75.

Table 75. Total number of tokens analyzed in acoustic study, organized according to voicing type for each speaker
All recordings were done using a head-mounted Shure brand microphone, placed approximately 3 cm from the speaker’s mouth. The data were recorded at a sampling rate of 22.05 KHz. into a Marantz PMD 660 flash digital recorder and saved as .wav files on a computer. All acoustic analyses on the tokens were carried out using Praat (Boersma, Paul & Weenink, David (2007)) phonetics software.

Voice onset time was measured between the first voicing cycle and the initial release of the stop. We computed the measurement by hand, using the computer cursor to identify the initial release of the stop and the first voicing cycle. Frication was sometimes present in the velar and especially in the palatal stops. This frication was always included in the measurement of VOT. Fundamental frequency (f0) on each vowel was measured using a script at eight equidistant points on the vowel, beginning with the first glottal pulse.

6.4.2.1.3. Results

The results of this acoustic study demonstrate that (1) the high tone following voiceless stops and low tone following voiced stops is maintained across the duration of the vowel and that (2) these tones are statistically significant categories. The study also
(3) calculated mean and standard deviation for VOT of all three stop types (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced); and while the standard deviation for the voiced categories, especially, was quite high, the results of this study also show that (4) VOT measurements for each stop type is a statistically significant category. However, the results of this study also illustrate a trend for the voiced category of stops to be merging with the voiceless category of stops. The results for fundamental frequency following each stop type will be considered first, followed by an examination of the VOT results.

6.4.2.1.3.1. Fundamental frequency

Figures 22 and 23 below represent the fundamental frequency following voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced tokens for speakers P.C. and K.W., respectively. Recall that speaker P.C. is one generation younger than speaker K.W.
Figure 22. Mean F0 (610 tokens) on vowels following obstruents for speaker P.C. Series 1 represents mean f0 on vowels following aspirated stops; series 2 represents f0 following voiceless stops and series represents f0 following voiced stops.

Figure 23. Mean F0 (431 tokens) on vowels following stops for speaker K.W. Series 1 represents mean f0 on vowel following aspirated stops; series 2 represents f0 following voiceless stops and series 3 represents f0 following voiced stops. Figures 22 and 23 offer a visual illustration of the fact that both speakers demonstrate a clearly disparate f0 following voiced stops compared to when the vowel is following voiceless stops. Note also this difference is maintained across the entire length of the vowel, not neutralizing at some point, as would be expected in a simple intrinsic difference. Hombert (1978), for example, found that English speakers showed a great degree of individual differences with respect to their fundamental frequency following voiceless versus voiced obstruents, but the averaged result showed a drastic decrease of the intrinsic pitch difference over time. These results illustrate that the difference in f0 is maintained across the entire duration of the vowel.
Statistical analysis also confirms an effect of consonant voice type on f0 at the near mid point of the vowel (time interval 4). A univariate analysis of variance showed [F(2, 610)=60.95, p<.001] for P.C and [F(2,431)=26.261, p<.001] for K.W. A Tukey’s HSD post-hoc test confirmed that f0 mean values at the fourth interval on the following vowel for the categories of voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated were both statistically distinct from the f0 measure following the voiced category of stops (p<.01). The difference of f0 following voiceless unaspirated stops versus that following voiceless aspirated stops for P.C., the younger speakers, was significant (p=.017) but not at all significant for K.W., the older speaker (p=.946). This difference is also evident in a visual comparison of Figures 22 and 23.

6.4.2.1.3.2. Voice onset time

Mean and standard deviation of voice onset time following voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced tokens was calculated for both speakers. The results are illustrated in Table 76.

Table 76. VOT Summary for P.C. and K.W. Mean, Standard deviation, minimum and maximum values are shown for each speaker and each stop type (place*voice). The results are representative of 610 tokens for speaker P.C. and 429 tokens for speaker K.W.
Glancing at the values underneath the mean columns for the speakers we see evidence that voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced stops are separate categories. For speaker K.W. the mean VOT of voiceless unaspirated stops was +39.65 ms; the mean VOT of voiceless aspirated stops was +71.75 ms; and the mean VOT of voiced stops was -41.12 ms. These values are similar to those reported for the younger speaker P.C. For speaker P.C. the mean VOT of voiceless unaspirated stops was +36.62 ms; the mean VOT of voiceless aspirated stops was +89.0 ms; and the mean VOT for voiced stops was -50.11 ms.

In terms of the current study, however, as I am interested in sound change it will be useful to consider the variation within these means. A large degree of variation could
be suggestive of a change in progress. Considering the data presented in the columns underneath standard deviation in Table 76, we note that both speakers tended to display the least variation for the voiceless unaspirated category, with an overall standard deviation of 27.16 for speaker K.W. and 23.93 for speaker P.C. Considering each place of articulation separately, we note that the lowest reported standard deviation was 3.57 (speaker K.W. labials) and the highest was 33.44 (speaker K.W. palatals).

The aspirated category of stops displayed slightly more variation than the unaspirated category of stops. The overall standard deviation for speaker K.W. was 22.23 and for speaker P.C. the overall standard deviation was 26.97. The lowest standard deviation of 14.09 was found amongst speaker K.W.’s retroflex stops while the highest standard deviation of 27.03 was found amongst speaker P.C.’s palatal stops.

For both speakers the voiced category of stops displayed the greatest amount of variation with a standard deviation of 55.74 for speaker K.W. and 61.5 for speaker P.C. Amongst the voiced stops, speaker K.W.’s dentals displayed the least amount of variation with a standard deviation of 30.43, while the same set for speaker P.C. -- dentals -- displayed the most variation with a standard deviation of 75.56.

Despite the large standard deviations, however, the difference between the three groups is statistically significant for both speakers: [F(2,610)=60.95, \(p<.001\)] for speaker P.C. and [F(2,429)=349.504, \(p<.001\)] for speaker K.W. A Tukey HSD post-hoc test confirmed \(p<.01\) for both speakers for each of the three possible pairwise comparisons of the three stop types.
On the other hand, it could be argued that voiced segments inherently display more variation than voiceless segments. However, a consideration of VOT in other languages suggests the variation in Kurtöp is unusual. For example, Lisker and Abramson (1964) reported mean and range of VOT in eleven languages, two of which report a three-way contrast in voicing similar to Kurtöp. Thai and Armenian both contrast voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced stops. The ranges reported by Lisker and Abramson (1964:396) for the Thai and Armenian voiced category were always negative. That is, the Thai and Armenian voiced stops in their study were always prevoiced. In Kurtöp, however, with the exception of K.W.’s dental stops, the voiced categories always revealed iterations with positive VOT values.Histograms displaying the distribution of VOT for each stop type for each speaker will enable us to visually compare the findings across categories. Consider Figures 24 and 25.
Figure 24. Histogram displaying distribution of VOT values for speaker K.W. stops. Series 1 represents voiceless aspirated stops; series 2 represents voiceless unaspirated; and series 3 represents the voiced series of stops. Each bar represents an interval of 15 ms.
Figure 25. Histogram displaying distribution of VOT values for speaker P.C. stops. Series 1 represents voiceless aspirated stops; series 2 represents voiceless unaspirated; and series 3 represents the voiced series of stops. Each bar represents an interval of 15 ms.

These histograms illustrate that the distribution of VOT of voiced stops indeed differs from the distribution of VOT of the other stop categories. Let us consider first the relationship between the distribution of voiceless aspirated (series 1) and voiceless unaspirated (series 2) values. There is some overlap between these two categories for both speakers. However, the histograms offer a visual illustration of the findings that
distinct means were found for the voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated categories for both speakers.

The distribution of voiced VOT values, on the other hand, demonstrates much more overlap with the voiceless categories. Further, the distribution of voiced stop VOT values is much greater than either the voiceless aspirated or the voiceless aspirated category. VOT values for voiced stops are distributed widely between values of mainly -150 ms and +100 ms, with a few outliers. For the younger speaker P.C., this overlap is even more pronounced, with a second mode apparently overlapping closely with the mode illustrated for the voiceless unaspirated stops.

Because we are particularly interested in the possibility that the category of voiced stops is merging with the category of voiceless stops as part of tonogenesis, let us consider exclusively the distribution of voiced VOT for both speakers in Figures 26 and 27.
Figure 26. Histogram displaying distribution of VOT values for K.W. voiced stops. Each bar represents an interval of 15 ms.
Figure 27. Histogram displaying distribution of VOT values for P.C. voiced stops. Each bar represents an interval of 15 ms.

Figure 27 displays the frequency of VOT values of voiced stops for the older speaker, K.W. Both speakers appear to have one mode with a negative VOT and a second mode emerging with the VOT associated with voiceless unaspirated stops. The majority of the utterances have a negative VOT around approximately -60 ms. It is noteworthy, however, that a second mode appears to be developing in the positive VOT range, around
+50 ms. This trend is even stronger for the younger speaker, P.C. This figure shows a clear bimodal distribution, with one mode at approximately -70 ms and the other mode around +30ms. Recall that VOT mean values were recorded between +35 ms and +40 ms for both speakers.

6.4.2.1.4. Discussion

The acoustic study has confirmed the impression that high tone follows voiceless stops and low tone follows voiced stops. We expect this difference to be true of the entire series of obstruents that have not already undergone tonogenesis. The difference in f0 between the two tones ranged from approximately 12 Hz for the older speaker K.W. to approximately 20 Hz for the younger speaker P.C. The difference between high and low tone was maintained across the entirety of the vowel.

Mean f0 was calculated at the approximate midpoint (time interval four) for both speakers and a univariate analysis of variance confirmed the two mean values (high tone following voiceless and low tone following voiced) to be statistically distinct. I argue these results suggest that tone is a salient property of these words’ production. That is, I argue that these results suggest high tone has phonologized following voiceless obstruents and low tone has phonologized following voiced obstruents.

In this experimental study I also computed mean and standard deviation of VOT of voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced stops. Because I am interested in researching the possibility that the voiced category of obstruents is devoicing as part of the tonogenesis process, I will discuss only the voiceless unaspirated and voiced results here.
For the older speaker K.W., the mean VOT of voiceless unaspirated stops at all places of articulation was 39.65 (St. Dev. 27.16). For the same speaker, the mean VOT of voiced stops was -41.12 (St. Dev. 55.74). Findings were similar for the younger speaker P.C., who had a mean VOT of 36.62 (St. Dev. 23.93) for voiceless unaspirated stops and a mean VOT of -50.11 (St. Dev 61.5) for voiced stops. This large amount of deviation from the mean for both speakers is indicative of the great deal of variation within the realization of both speakers’ category of [voiced] as VOT. For the older speaker K.W., we found one mode around -60 ms with a possible second mode emerging around +50 ms. illustrated an even stronger trend for the younger speaker P.C. to have a bimodal distribution, with one mode centered around -70 ms and the second emerging around +30 ms. Based on these findings we can speculate that the large amount of variation within the voiced category of stops is attributed to the trend for voiced stops to be realized with positive VOT values. I argue this tendency suggests that a negative VOT is no longer the important cue in producing the voiced series in stops.

A bimodal trend is indeed what we would expect if the category of voiced stops were merging with the category of voiceless stops in favor of a contrast in tone on the following vowel. Sound change is not instantaneous and it thus follows that when voiced stops are merging with voiceless stops there would exist an intermediate stage in which some iterations are voiceless and some are voiced. As the language places phonemic importance on tone and decreases the importance in voicing, voiced stops are free to devoice and merge with their less marked voiceless counterparts. Such variation within the voiced category of stops is precisely what the VOT study has shown. That is, these
results illustrate a trend for “voiced” stops to be realized with the positive VOT associated with voiceless stops.

The combined findings of the experimental study suggest that tone has phonologized following obstruents; high tone has phonologized following voiceless obstruents and low tone has phonologized following voiced obstruents. The results further suggest that a three-way contrast in voicing of stops is collapsing in favor of a two-way contrast, and that the voiced series is merging with the voiceless unaspirated series. These findings are consistent with the argument that Kurtöp obstruents are undergoing tonogenesis.

I must be clear that the nature of these findings represent the synchronic state of Kurtöp as spoken by speakers K.W. and P.C., and cannot taken to be absolute predictors of future sound change. The findings in our acoustic study indeed suggest that f0 is a salient acoustic cue following voiceless versus voiced stops. This study also suggests that the contrast between voiced and voiceless unaspirated stops is neutralizing, with the voiced category merging with that of the voiceless unaspirated. However, it is clear that absolute neutralization has not taken place as voiced stops are still often produced with a negative VOT. I am unable to say whether or not voiced stops will completely merge with voiceless unaspirated stops in the future.

Despite the fact that we are not able to know the future outcomes of sound change, we can consider the results of both speakers separately, as representing subsequent generations of synchronic states of Kurtöp, and make a prediction. While both speakers displayed the results described in this study (disparate tone following voiced
versus voiceless stops and the tendency to realize voiced stops with the VOT associated with voiceless unaspirated stops), the younger speaker P.C. consistently displayed results more consistent with the notion that tone, and not voicing, was the relevant category. That is, the difference in Hertz of high versus low tone following voiceless unaspirated versus voiced obstruents was greater for speaker P.C. (25-10 Hz) than for the older speaker K.W. (15-8 Hz). The younger speaker P.C. also showed a stronger trend to produce voiced stops with the VOT associated with voiceless unaspirated stops.

Indeed, if these speakers can be taken to represent different stages of Kurtöp diachronically, then we have further evidence that tonogenesis is occurring in the language. Crucially, both speakers have disparate tones associated with the vowels following voiceless and voiced stops. The older speaker K.W. illustrated a tendency to realize voiced stops with the VOT associated with voiceless stops. The younger speaker is even more pronounced in displaying this trend. If this trend continues, perhaps we can expect the next generation of Kurtöp speakers to completely neutralize the contrast of voiced versus voiceless stops altogether.

6.4.2.1.5. Summary of study

Kurtöp provides a unique opportunity to examine a gradual tonogenesis in progress and in doing so we have seen that tone has entered the language following the sonorant consonants. The fact that tone first phonologized in Kurtöp following sonorant consonant onsets is illustrated by the synchronic state of the language. Comparative evidence suggests that, at least in the case of the nasals, high tone has been conditioned by *s- initial members of sonorant onset clusters in a historically attested stage of the
language. The conditioning environment for high tone following the remaining sonorant consonants remains unclear but we feel this does not detract from the central point, which is that in the synchronic state of the language tone is contrastive only following the sonorants.

In the time since the development of tone following the sonorant consonants, the palatal fricative has collapsed its contrast in voicing in lieu of a tonal contrast on the following vowel. Our main source of evidence for this ordering (that is, that tonogenesis following the palatal fricative followed the development of tone after sonorant onsets) is the fact that there has been variation reported regarding the palatal fricative in Kurtöp (Michailovksy and Mazaudon 1994) and in the related language Tshangla (Andvik 2003), where the voiced segment is still present. However, such variation is not found amongst the sonorants in Tshangla or in previous descriptions of Kurtöp. Recall that Michailovksy and Mazaudon (1994) reported a voiced palatal for Kurtöp where we find only the voiceless palatal fricative with ensuing low tone but otherwise found the same tonal system. Whether the variation represents a completed sound change, dialectal or speaker differences, while an interesting question, does not affect the fact that there has been variation reported for this segment while none has been observed among the nasals.

The experimental study and results described in Section 3 suggest that the remainder of the obstruents is also in place to undergo tonogenesis. Pitch, measured at the rough midpoint, on vowels following the voiceless obstruents is statistically higher than when following voiced obstruents. Graphs representing pitch on vowels following voiceless versus voiced obstruents provided a visual representation of the fact that tone is
higher (10-25 Hz) across the entire length of the vowel following voiceless stops compared to when following voiced stops. The study also examined VOT and found that the voiced obstruents displayed greater variation than would be expected, suggesting that VOT is no longer the primary cue for voiced segments. More importantly, VOT values for both speakers’ voiced stops suggest a bimodal distribution, supporting the idea that the category of [+voice] is being replaced by the category of [-voiced]. The fact that the bimodal distribution is more exaggerated for speaker P.C. is consistent with his trend for tone to be a more distinct category. That is, it appears that tonogenesis amongst the obstruents is further progressed for the younger speaker P.C. than for the older speaker K.W.

To summarize, for Kurtöp, it appears tonogenesis is a gradual process; tone has developed first following the sonorant consonants, spread to the palatal fricative and now is spreading to the remainder of the obstruents. Kurtöp is unusual in that it is developing tone for the first time following onsets, rather than codas, which is the most common pathway for tone to enter a language for the first time. As Kingston (2004) notes, initial tonogenesis in a given language triggered by onsets is unusual and is reported primarily in the context of areal influence. Kurtöp is likely under influence from Dzongkha, a tonal language, and thus could also be considered as an example of contact-induced tonogenesis.

That tone enters languages following the sonorants first has also been reported for other languages of Asia. Tshangla, a Tibeto-Burman language of eastern Bhutan and western Arunachal Pradesh in India (Andvik 1999, 2003), exhibits tone following only
the sonorants but in some dialects the obstruents are also conditioning tonogenesis. Andvik (pc) further reports that the palatal fricative is the only segment amongst the obstruents to have triggered tonogenesis. Mazaudon (1977) states that tone first phonologized in Tibetan following the historically prefixed nasals and resonant. She states that this has also happened in Tawang, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal (pc). Finally, in Tai languages it has been suggested that the shift from voiceless nasals to tone on the following vowel preceded the shift from a voiced contrast in obstruents to a tonal contrast on vowels (L-Thongkum 1997).

The findings of this study, in light of tonogenesis reported for Tibetan, Tshangla and Tai, suggest that sonority may play a role in tonogenesis, or to be more explicit we suggest that sonorants tend to phonologize tone on their following vowels before a contrast in voice is neutralized in favor of tone. Finally, in an ongoing typological study (Hyslop 2010), I have also found that sonority is an important predictor of tonogenesis.

6.5. Summary and conclusion

Kurtöp contrasts stop consonants at five places of articulation (bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar) which contrast three voicing types (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced), though the contrast between voiceless and voiced may be merging as a result of tonogenesis (cf. §6.4.2). Kurtöp has two dental fricatives and two dental affricates. A recent sound change has collapsed an old contrast in voicing for the palatal fricative, yielding one palatal fricative which precedes high tone and one palatal fricative which precedes low tone, as part of tonogenesis. There are a few complex onsets in the language, though this number has lessened since Proto-East-Bodish (§3.5), with
this trend continuing in the synchronic state of the language (cf. the discussion of
complex onsets in §6.2.1.1.1 and §6.2.1.1.5).

In terms of sonorants, Kurtöp utilizes four nasals (bilabial, dental, palatal, velar),
two laterals and one rhotic. Kurtöp has the five cardinal vowels and three diphthongs,
plus educated speakers also produce front-rounded vowels (cf. §6.3.2.1).

Suprasegmentals in Kurtöp are particularly interesting. Vowel length is
contrastive in open syllables and minimal pairs have been found for all five of Kurtöp’s
vowels. However, the contrast is not very productive and the difference in duration
between short and long vowels is between 45 and 65 ms. Tone is contrastive following
sonorant consonants and predictable following obstruents, so that voiceless obstruents
condition high tone and voiced obstruents condition low tone. The one exception to this
is the palatal fricative, for which tonogenesis has already happened, leaving a voiceless
palatal fricative with high/low tone on the following vowel. In §6.4.2, I provide evidence
for the tonogenetic developments in Kurtöp. Long vowels which developed via the loss
of an old coda obstruent are often associated with glottalization, while long vowels whose
source is another diachronic pathway are pronounced with smooth vowels. However, the
glottalization is often lost in connected speech and there are no minimal pairs contrasting
long, smooth vowels with long, glottalized vowels.
CHAPTER VII

NON-CONTRASTIVE PHONOLOGY

This chapter examines the non-contrastive elements of Kurtöp phonology, beginning with syllables in §7.1, stress in §7.2, allomorphy in §7.3, and a summary and phonological words in §7.4. In §7.1 I continue to represent Kurtöp data using the International Phonetic Alphabet but switch to the Kurtöp Roman orthography in §7.2 and beyond. The orthography is relatively transparent and, in general, should not lead to confusion; however, details may be found in §8.3.

7.1. Syllables

Kurtöp syllables consist minimally of a rhyme and maximally of a complex onset and rhyme. Complex onsets may consist of two consonants (from a restricted subset) and a rhyme may be a short vowel, long vowel, diphthong, or short vowel and coda consonant. Long vowels never co-occur with a coda consonant. The nine possible syllable shapes in Kurtöp are illustrated in Table 77.
Table 77. Possible Kurtöp syllable shapes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Type</th>
<th>Example Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>í.pʰa</td>
<td>‘food, cooked rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>é:</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>ím</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>‘target’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>kó:</td>
<td>‘hoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>gòr</td>
<td>‘rock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>prá</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVV</td>
<td>mraː</td>
<td>‘rice,paddy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>pʰrúm</td>
<td>‘cheese’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible syllable onsets and codas are discussed in §6.1. In the discussion of Kurtöp phonemes I also indicate how the contrast made by complex onsets is fading and how many complex onsets are simplifying. For example, in §6.2.1.1.1 I described how /bl-/ is merging with /br-/ and the labial-palatal conset clusters have become palatal stops for the youngest, most educated members of the speech community. These changes appear to follow a trend from Proto-East Bodish (§3.5.2) to move away from segmentally complex syllables.

7.2. Stress

Hyman (2006: 252) points out that ‘Concerning word-prosodic systems, the primary typological questions are whether a prosodic system has tone (‘an indication of pitch enters into the lexical realisation of at least some morphemes’) and/or stress accent (‘every lexical word has at least one syllable marked for the highest degree of metrical..."
prominence’). With regard to prosody, Hyman (2006) proposes a four-way typology: languages with both stress accent and tone, languages with tone but without stress accent, languages without tone but with stress accent, and finally languages that have neither tone nor stress accent.

Hyman (2006: 237-238) identifies several languages that have both tone and stress systems, including Ma’ya (Remijsen 2001; Remijsen 2002) Usarufa (Bee and Glasgow 1962), Faso (May and Loeweke 1964), and Serbo-Croatian (Zec 1999). In addition to these, one could add Zapotec languages (e.g. Chavez-Peón (2008) for San Lucas Quiavíní Zapotec), Pirahã (Everett 1998) and Hup (Epps 2008).

Kurtöp is another example of a tonal language that also has word-level stress and I argue that stressed syllables in Kurtöp can be identified by the following properties: 1) the obligatory presence of high or low tone; 2) the possibility of a complex onset or long vowel; and 3) the acoustic correlate of duration. I discuss the first two points in the paragraph that follow below in this section and the acoustic correlates in §7.2.1.

The first defining characteristic of stress in Kurtöp is the obligatory presence of tone (high or low). Recall that all Kurtöp monosyllables, or the first syllable of Kurtöp words, have either high or low tone. In the case of sonorant initials, the tone will be contrastive, so that a syllable with a sonorant onset and following high tone may contrast with a sonorant-initial syllable with low tone. Following obstruents, however, tone is predictably high following voiceless or low following (historically) voiced obstruents. Thus, verb roots, which are almost exclusively monosyllabic must have either a high or
low tone. Verbal negation in Kurtöp is done by way of a negative prefix má-. The negative prefix will take the tone of the root and the root will lose its tone.

**Table 78. Movement of tone to first syllable in a word**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Negated form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>kʰór</td>
<td>mákʰor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>gè</td>
<td>mage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, the first syllable of words must bear a tone (either high or low). This obligatory presence of tone is a feature of Kurtöp stress. In addition to the obligatory presence of tone, stressed syllables are slightly longer. In order to quantify stress in Kurtöp, a small production study was designed and carried out. This is described in §7.2.1.

**7.2.1. Production study**

The following production was designed in order to ascertain correlates of stress in Kurtöp. External evidence for first-syllable stress in Kurtöp comes from several sources. First is the intuition I share with native speakers that first syllables are somehow more prominent than other syllables. Second is the movement of tone to the leftmost edge of the word (i.e. the first syllable) when prefixed.

Beckman (1986) shows that pitch, intensity and duration may be acoustic cues of stress. Later, Rietveld and Koopmans-van Beinum (1987) show that unstressed syllables may also have reduced vowel space. Thus, a production study was designed to examine each of these correlates in Kurtöp disyllabic words.
7.2.1.1. Design

Three speakers participated in the study. The first speaker, Ch, is a female of approximately 65 years in age. The second speaker, KT, is a male in his early forties. The final speaker, KL, is also a male but in his mid-twenties. Each speaker repeated a word three times in isolation and a fourth time in Kurtóp phrase, shown in (20).

(20) \( ngai \ldots ngaksi \ lapmale \)

\begin{align*}
\text{ngai} & \quad \ldots \\
\text{ngaksi} & \quad \text{lap-male}
\end{align*}

\( 1.\text{ERG} \quad \ldots \\
\text{QUOT} \quad \text{say-FUT} \)

‘I will say _____’

The words were balanced for the tone of the initial syllable, whether they were verbs or non-verbs, and in order to ensure that intrinsic vowel differences did not affect the results, the vowels in both syllables of a given word were the same. No long vowels were used. In total, eighty words were recorded for this study and only the iteration in the carrier phrase was used. Eighty words with four iterations each yielded 320 tokens per speaker, or 960 tokens in total. The words used in this study are shown in Table 79.
Table 79. Words used in the stress production study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kangshang</td>
<td>‘filled.PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>gangshang</td>
<td>‘fall.backwards PFV.EGO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamshang</td>
<td>‘dry.PFV EGO’</td>
<td>ngakshang</td>
<td>‘do.PFV.EGO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’ngapshang</td>
<td>‘make.evaporate.PFV EGO’</td>
<td>jangshang</td>
<td>‘open.PFV.EGO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakshang</td>
<td>‘slip.PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>drangshang</td>
<td>‘count.PFV.EGO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’nyamshang</td>
<td>‘fancy.PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>damshang</td>
<td>‘tie.PFV.EGO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pratshang</td>
<td>‘wrestle.PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>brangshang</td>
<td>‘be.born’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korte</td>
<td>‘turn.LOC’</td>
<td>branshang</td>
<td>‘(I) knew (it)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khiksi</td>
<td>‘be.cold.NF’</td>
<td>garna</td>
<td>‘it became thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciksi</td>
<td>‘separate.rice.NF’</td>
<td>ginzi</td>
<td>‘having put on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chakna</td>
<td>‘land.PFV.MIR’</td>
<td>girzi</td>
<td>‘having turned around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’nyamna</td>
<td>‘fancy.PFV.MIR’</td>
<td>jangna</td>
<td>‘opened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tashang</td>
<td>‘watch.PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>nyangna</td>
<td>‘received’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phashang</td>
<td>‘cross.PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>jashang</td>
<td>‘(I) invited’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshashang</td>
<td>‘heat.up.PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>rashang</td>
<td>‘(I) came’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pizi</td>
<td>‘be.late. NF’</td>
<td>zashang</td>
<td>‘(I) became (angry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’lana</td>
<td>‘become.thin.PFV.MIR’</td>
<td>rizi</td>
<td>‘having believed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phizi</td>
<td>‘open.NF’</td>
<td>gizi</td>
<td>‘having believed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasa</td>
<td>‘watch.NMZ:LOC’</td>
<td>nata</td>
<td>‘(I) am sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trizi</td>
<td>wrap.around. NF’</td>
<td>nizi</td>
<td>‘having stayed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kangthrap</td>
<td>‘treadle’</td>
<td>bizi</td>
<td>‘having given’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamzar</td>
<td>‘dried.snacks’</td>
<td>drikthrim</td>
<td>‘discipline’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karjan</td>
<td>‘butter.offering’</td>
<td>dringdring</td>
<td>‘steady’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuspung</td>
<td>‘4.days.from.now’</td>
<td>droncong</td>
<td>‘hospitality’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerker</td>
<td>‘extended.up’</td>
<td>donggor</td>
<td>‘face to face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chitni</td>
<td>‘seventeen’</td>
<td>nangshap</td>
<td>‘inner part of go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I attempted to balance the words for syllable shape, but this was not always possible, especially given the fact that complex onsets are found only in syllable-initial position. The number of syllable shapes present in this study is shown in Table 80.

Table 80. Syllable types in stress production study by number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable shape</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Words were recorded on a Marantz digital recorder using a Shure brand head-mounted microphone. The words were analyzed and saved as .WAV files using Praat software. For each token I identified the vowel visually in the spectrogram and waveform. For the most part, the waveform showed the most pronounced cycles during the obvious vowel portion of the spectrogram. Occasionally, particularly if the word ended in an open syllable, I relied on the declination of f2 to dictate the end of the vowel.

7.2.1.2. Results

I will present the results in the following order: intensity, pitch, length, vowel space.

7.2.1.2.1. Intensity

Due to possible intrinsic differences in intensity associated with vowel quality, I first examined intensity as a function of vowel and syllable. The results in Figure 28 show that intensity is slightly higher in first syllables for /a/ and /e/ but higher in second syllables for /i/, /o/ and /u/. The intravowel differences were collapsed and averaged across all vowels for first versus second syllables. This is shown in Figure 29.
Figure 28. Mean db arranged by vowel quality.

Figure 29. Mean db averaged across all vowels
A univariate analysis of variance was performed and the results, illustrated in Figure 30 below, show that the overall difference for second syllables to be approximately .5db higher in intensity than first syllables is not significant \( (p = .453) \).

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Source} & \text{Type III Sum} & \text{df} & \text{Mean Square} & \text{F} & \text{Sig.} \\
\text{of Squares} & & & & & \\
\hline
\text{Corrected Model} & 45.459^a & 1 & 45.459 & .564 & .453 \\
\text{Intercept} & 2186455.388 & 1 & 2186455.388 & 27104.462 & .000 \\
\text{Syllable} & 45.459 & 1 & 45.459 & .564 & .453 \\
\text{Error} & 38236.504 & 474 & 80.668 & & \\
\text{Total} & 2224737.350 & 476 & & & \\
\text{Corrected Total} & 38281.962 & 475 & & & \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\( a \) R Squared = .001 (Adjusted R Squared = -.001)

**Figure 30. ANOVA showing non-significance of intensity difference on vowels, with syllables (first vs. second) being a fixed factor**

7.2.1.2.2. **Pitch**

Because the initial syllable of every Kurtöp word is obligatorily marked for high or low tone, we computed pitch measurements based on initial tone of the word. The mean pitch for initial syllables with high tone was 192 Hz while the mean pitch for initial syllables with low tone was, unsurprisingly, 25 Hz less at 167 Hz. By the second syllable, these tonal differences have nearly neutralized. High-toned words had a mean pitch of 184 for second syllables and low-toned words had a mean pitch of 181 Hz for second syllables.
An ANOVA shows that pitch does not correlate on its own with syllable \((p = .579)\), but initial tone is significant by itself \((p = .005)\) and the interaction of initial tone with pitch is significant \((p = .035)\). The fact that pitch is significant with initial tone is further illustration of the tone present following all word-initial consonants in Kurtöp (cf. §6.4). The fact that syllable (first vs. second) by itself does significantly correlate with tone, but that it does when initial tone is considered, is interesting. The significant correlation of initial tone * syllable * pitch suggests that the difference shown in Figure 32, comparing the pitch in first syllables with the pitch in the second syllables is a property of Kurtöp disyllables. That is, an important feature of Kurtöp disyllabic words is
that the pitch on the second syllable is neutralized with regard the pitch (reflective of phonological tone) of the first syllable.

**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Model</td>
<td>38150.417*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12716.806</td>
<td>4.264</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1.551E7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.551E7</td>
<td>5199.095</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllable</td>
<td>921.880</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>921.880</td>
<td>.309</td>
<td>.579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initialtone</td>
<td>24144.122</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24144.122</td>
<td>8.095</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllable * Initialtone</td>
<td>13334.196</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13334.196</td>
<td>4.471</td>
<td>.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>1398854.387</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>2982.632</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1.695E7</td>
<td>473</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
<td>1437004.803</td>
<td>472</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. R Squared = .027 (Adjusted R Squared = .020)

**Figure 32.** ANOVA showing significance of initial tone and initial tone * syllable with pitch

7.2.1.2.3. Length

This study mainly examined words with CVC and CV syllable shapes. Because vowel length would presumably be longer in CV syllables, I will first present the vowels by syllable shape.
As the results in Figure 33 illustrate, duration in first syllables is greater than duration in second syllables. For first syllables with CVC shape the mean duration is 76.8 ms while second syllables are 66.8 ms. In CVC syllables mean duration is 62.9 ms for first syllables and 52.9 ms for second syllables. In both instances the mean duration for second syllables is exactly 10 ms less than for first syllables.

Figure 34 illustrates the mean duration across all syllable shapes by syllable. Here again we notice that first syllables are nearly 10 ms longer than second syllables.
Figure 34. Mean duration in vowels for all syllables

Figure 35 displays the results of an ANOVA examining the relationship between duration and syllable. Though the mean difference is small (10 ms), the finding is highly significant ($p < .001$). The fact that first syllables in Kurtöp disyllables are significantly longer than second syllables indicates that duration is a correlate of first-syllable stress in Kurtöp, unlike intensity.
Figure 35. ANOVA showing the significant interaction between duration and syllable

7.2.1.2.4. Vowel space

The final potential acoustic correlate of stress I will examine is vowel space, that is, formant structure of vowels in first syllables versus second syllables. The results, combined across all three speakers, are illustrated in Figure 36.
We would expect second syllables to have reduced formant structure compared to first syllables, since first syllables are stressed. However, this is not obviously the case. The high and mid back vowels are reduced in second syllables when compared to first syllables; the mid front vowel shares almost the same formant averages in both syllables; and the high front and low vowel are, surprisingly, somewhat more peripheral in second syllables than in first syllables, contrary to our predictions.

To see if this unusual finding was perhaps due to inter-speaker variations, I considered the results for each speaker individually. Figures 37 to 39 illustrate the results for each speaker.

Figure 36. Vowel space in first (stressed) versus second syllables - all speakers
Figure 37. Vowel space in first (stressed) versus second syllables - Ch

Figure 38. Vowel space in first (stressed) versus second syllables - KT
The female speaker Ch (also the oldest), evidences the same pattern that was averaged across the speakers; the /e/, /o/, and /u/ vowels are more reduced in the second syllable, while the vowels /i/ and /a/ were more peripheral in the second syllable. The male speaker in his forties, KT, shown in Figure 38, followed almost the same pattern. However, for KT the vowel /e/ is slightly more peripheral in the second syllable as well, similar to /i/ and /a/. Interestingly, KT also had a very fronted /u/ in the second syllable. As he is also the speaker with the most education in Dzongkha and Classical Tibetan, perhaps many of his /u/ iterations in the second syllable are actually realized as /y/. The results for the youngest speaker (also male), KL, are again different. His syllable 2 vowel space can be described as being slightly reduced when compared to vowel space for syllable 1, however the /u/ in second syllables is higher than in the first and the mean vowels /i/, /e/, /a/ almost overlap in both syllables.
The motivation for these findings is unclear. I might suspect there is something unusual about /i/ and /a/, for example, in second syllables, but to my knowledge the vowels in those tokens do not have a different quality when compared to the other /i/ and /a/ vowels. One might also expect a correlation between more peripheral vowels and intensity, but again this does not always hold. Recall that the intensity for /a/ is slightly greater in first syllables when compared to second syllables. Conversely, however, the vowel space for /a/ is more pronounced in second syllables. There is a correlation for the vowel /i/; it has increased intensity in second syllables as well as more peripheral vowel space in that context. More work is needed; perhaps an expanded version of this study, looking at disyllabic words in several phrasal contexts would show more expected results with regard to vowel space.

7.2.1.2.5. Summary of results

The acoustic study demonstrated that intensity and vowel quality are not good measures for Kurtöp stress. Pitch and duration, on the other hand, are useful measures for Kurtöp stress. Pitch is phonemically determined but is also a property of word-level stress. If the initial syllable has phonemic high tone, this will be manifest by high pitch in the first syllable and significantly lowered pitch in the second syllable. Conversely, if the initial syllable as a phonemic low tone, this will be manifest by low pitch in the first syllable and a significantly higher pitch in the second syllable. In both instances (that is, phonemic high tone or phonemic low tone) the pitch of the second syllable of the word is almost identical, varying approximately 12 Hz from the pitch of the first syllable. Vowel
duration in first syllables is approximately 10 ms longer than in second syllables, with the difference being statistically significant.

Like Hup, San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec, Ma’ya, Hup, and many other languages, Kurtöp uses tone as a phonological feature to make contrasts in words yet also relies on stress as a means to delinate words. The primary acoustic correlates of Kurtöp stress are duration and tone.

7.3. Allomorphy

Kurtöp has a moderate amount of allomorphological alterations beyond the basic phonological erosion described occasionally for various morphemes (e.g. §11.6.6.1 and §6.2.4.2 for deletion of final vowels in suffixes ending with -la). These alternations can be divided into four categories: alternations in verb stems, alternation in verbal morphology, alternations in nominal morphology, and one phonological process which affects suffixes ending in velar nasals. I describe these each in turn below.

7.3.1. Verbal stems

Verb stems adhere to the Kurtöp syllable structure, which is maximally CCVC (§7.1) with the following possible codas: -k, -ng, -t, -n, -r, -p, -m, or an open syllable. Open syllables can be divided into two sets: those which were historically closed with coda -l and those which were not. This division will become important for morphophonological reasons discussed below.

Unlike other Bodish languages such as Tibetan (Beyer 1992) and Dakpa (Hyslop and Tshering (2010); personal field notes) which exhibit alternation in vowel quality of
verbal stems, depending on aspectual and other factors, Kurtöp stems exhibit variation in the realization of stem-final -k, voicing of stem-final consonants, and presence/absence of -s following historically open verbal stems (not diachronically closed with coda -l). I first discuss the loss of coda -k in some contexts and then describe the voicing of stem-final codas in the imperative construction.

7.3.1.1. Loss of stem-final k

Verb stems with final /k/ lose their coda consonants in a few morphological instances. When the verb takes the finite suffixes -ta, -na, -mu, -ki, or -shang the stem-final consonant /k/ is present but while the suffixes -mo, -nani, -male, -wa (allomorph of -pa, as described in §17.1.1.2) are used, the stem-final /k/ is absent and vowel length is found in its place.

81 shows morphological instances in which coda /k/ is present and Error!

Reference source not found. 82 provides examples of when coda /k/ is lost. There are no exceptions of this alternation to date.

Table 81. Presence of stem-final k in some morphological contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drak-ta</td>
<td>‘sound-IPFV.MIR’</td>
<td>tshok-ta</td>
<td>‘cook-IPFV.MIR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drak-shang</td>
<td>‘sound-PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>tshok-shang</td>
<td>‘cook-PFV.EGO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drak-na</td>
<td>‘sound-PFV.MIR’</td>
<td>tshok-na</td>
<td>‘cook-PFV.MIR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drak-mu</td>
<td>‘sound-PFV.IND’</td>
<td>tshok-mu</td>
<td>‘cook-PFV.IND’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 82. Loss of stem-final k preceding -pa and -male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>drâ-male</td>
<td>‘sound-FUT’</td>
<td>tshô-male</td>
<td>‘cook-FUT’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drâ-wala</td>
<td>‘sound-PFV’</td>
<td>tshô-wala</td>
<td>‘cook-PFV’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.1.2. Voicing of non-coronal stem-final stops

Following the phonotactic rules for Kurtöp syllables, verbal stem coda consonants are typically voiceless. The non-coronal stem-final consonants, however, become voiced when suffixed with the imperative suffix. Table 83 and Table 84 show voiceless labial and velar stops, respectively, in verbal stems when word-final, suffixed with the egophoric perfective -shang, or the mirative imperfective -ta.

Table 83. Voicelessness of labial stops stem-finally

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phap</td>
<td>‘take.down’</td>
<td>bap</td>
<td>‘go.down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phap-shang</td>
<td>‘take.down-PFV.EGO’</td>
<td>bap-shang</td>
<td>‘go.down-PFV.EGO’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phap-ta</td>
<td>‘take.down-IPFV.MIR’</td>
<td>bap-ta</td>
<td>‘go.down-IPFV.MIR’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 84. Voicelessness of velar stop stem-finally

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
When affixed with the imperative suffix, however, stem-final /p/ and /k/ become voiced, as shown in Table 85.

**Table 85. Voicing of non-coronal stops preceding imperative suffix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phab-e</td>
<td>‘take.down.IMP’</td>
<td>bab-e</td>
<td>‘go.down.IMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trug-e</td>
<td>‘stir-IMP’</td>
<td>kug-e</td>
<td>‘stir-IMP’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the voicing described for verb stems in this environment (that is, when suffixed with the imperative) is unique to this morphological environment. The imperative suffix has allomorphs -le ~ -ye ~ -e and stem-final voicing of consonants occurs when the allomorph is -e. Importantly, however, is the fact that intervocalic voicing is not a regular morphological process in the synchronic language; for example, the denizen -pa does not evidence a voiced allomorph when suffixed to a vowel-final stem, such as Hâpa ‘one from Hâ’.

7.3.1.3. Optional presence of -s following open stems

Open verb stems which were not historically closed by coda -l, that is, historically open stems (CV), may alternate with CVs in a few morphological contexts. Open verb stems are always open following the verbal suffixes -shang, -male, -na, and the forms or allomorphs of -para, -pala, -pa. Interestingly, however, these same verbs (with
historically open stems) condition a s- initial allomorph in these latter three forms (see §7.3.2.2 for more details) and when preceding -ta, -taki or when unsuffixed, an -s coda may be present.

First, consider examples (21) and (22) below, showing the verb se ‘die’ as verb stem without a coda consonant.\(^{70}\)

(21) \textit{tshe daning semaleki namungcham nimaleki wenta la}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{tshe} & daning \\
\textit{se-male=ki} & naming-cham \\
so & this.year \\
\textit{ni-male=ki} & wenta \\
stay-NMZ:IRR=GEN & \textit{la} \\
\end{tabular}

(21)‘So if we are going to die this year then we will stay until next year’

SaT.SW20090917.SW

(22) \textit{ngaci mem the seshangmi tronnga}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ngaci} & meme \\
\textit{the} & \textit{se-shang-mi} \\
1.GEN & grandfather \\
\textit{trong=na} & one \\
die-PFV.EGO-TAG & village=LOC \\
\end{tabular}

(22)‘One of my grandfathers died in the village’

In contrast to this, consider the examples below; (23), (24) and (25) show the verb se ‘die’ with a -s coda.

\(^{70}\) When representing data in this dissertation I will bold the relevant form in the example, in order to aid identification.
The alternation *se ~ ses* when suffixed with the imperfective or as a bare stem, representative of any verbal stem with a historically open coda consonant, is not obligatory, however. In contrast to this are the data in (26), which do not evidence *-s* following the vowel in the verb stem.
Speakers report that this variation is dialectal. Speakers from Ne and the southern end of the Kurtö speaking area tend to have a coda -s in open-stemmed verbs in the morphological contexts described above (preceding imperfective suffixes or when occurring as a bare stem). My observations also support this, as I have no recordings of speakers from Dungkar geok who exhibit this phonological alternation. The examples in (23), (24), and (25) came from speakers in Gangzur. However, though I have no such utterances in my recorded and transcribed database, I have heard speakers in Tabi and Jasabi (in Dungkar geok) pronounce coda -s in the same contexts, such as in sem gas ‘(I) enjoyed (it)’ and sem gasta ‘I enjoy (it)’. When asked about this pronunciation, others will say such pronunciation is not indicative of ‘proper Kurtöp’.

The alternation between -s and -ø is clearly somewhat sociolinguistic and/or dialectal in nature. There may also be interesting historical ramifications here. There is evidence that in Classical Tibetan an -s suffix was associated with perfective aspect (Beyer 1992). It is possible this is the same -s present in these Kurtöp alternations. The strongest evidence for this potential link comes from an examination of the allomorphy
for the Kurtöp -pa suffixes (§7.3.2.2) wherein following historically open verb stems always condition a -sa allomorph. Given that -pa suffixes are always associated with perfective aspect, the idea that a stem-final perfective -s was suffixed to the verb stem, followed by other verbal morphology, is intriguing. However, if the Kurtöp -s seen in the alternations preceding -ta ‘IPFV.MIR’ is the same ‘perfective -s’ suffix, then an explanation for its presence preceding imperfective verbal morphology would be in order. It is premature to solve this problem at present, but let it suffice for the question of the relationship between Kurtöp -s, the -sa allomorphs in perfective aspect, and the perfective -s in Classical Tibetan, to remain unclear.

7.3.1.4. Summary

§7.3.1 illustrated alternations in Kurtöp verbal stems. I have shown that Kurtöp stem-final -k is lost, with the preceding vowel lengthening, when suffixed with -wala, and stem-final non-coronal stops (i.e. -k, -p) are voiced in the context of the imperative suffix. Note that the former sound change (loss of k leading to long vowel) is familiar within the Tibeto-Burman family. For example, loss of /k/ led to a long vowel with a falling tone in Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 2003b). Loss of final -k in other contexts in Kurtöp has led to a long vowel and glottalized tone in some dialects of Kurtöp. The voicing of -k and -p in the environment preceding the imperative suffix (-e in both instances) can be seen as the voicing of a stop inter-vocally. Thus, Kurtöp stem alternations can perhaps be better envisioned as reflecting straight-forward phonological processes, unlike the instances in Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992) and Dakpa (Hyslop and Tshering 2010) in which stem alternations are also associated with grammatical differences. The one challenge to this
hypothesis is the optional alternation of -s with -Ø following open stems which were not historically closed by another consonant. As I stated above, it remains unclear whether or not the described alternation between -s and -Ø is at all related to the perfective -s described for Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992) and/or a potential trigger for the alternation -pa > -sa (§7.3.2.2).

7.3.2. Alternations in verbal morphology

There is a small amount of allomorphy associated with verbal affixes. The negative prefix may occur with high or low tone, as dictated by the tone of the verb stem (§7.3.2.1), three verbal suffixes with -pa exhibit allomorphic alternation of the initial consonant (§7.3.2.2), and the imperative suffix -le also has different realizations depending on the phonology of the verbal stem (§7.3.2.3).

7.3.2.1. Tonal alternations of negative prefix

Verbal negation in Kurtöp is done by way of prefixation to the verbal stem (§16.2.1). The negative prefix itself can be considered atonal and when affixed to the verb stem takes the tone (high or low) of that stem. The verbal stem then becomes toneless, according the phonological process described for phonological words in §7.4. Recall from §6.4 that high tone is conditioned by voiceless syllable-initial consonants and low tone is conditioned by voiced syllable-initial consonants. A negated high-toned verb is shown in (27). The high tone from shong ‘fit’ is conditioned by the voiceless obstruent. But instead of being realized on the verbal stem, as would be the case if the verb were not negated, the high tone is realized on the first syllable, in this case the negative prefix.
(27) \textit{tshe me cing ge chopa gap 'meshongtami tshe la}
\begin{verbatim}
   tshe me cing ge chopa gapo me-shong-ta=mi
\end{verbatim}
so house be.small go monk PL.FOC NEG-fit-IPFV.MIR=TAG
\begin{verbatim}
tshe la
\end{verbatim}
so POL
‘(Since) the house is small the monks don’t fit’
SaT.SW20090917.SaT

A negated low-toned verb is shown in (28). Again, the low tone is conditioned by
the voiced initial in \textit{dot ‘sleep’}. But instead of being realized on the verbal stem, it moves
to the prefix.

(28) \textit{tshe medotto ni tshe botya sang thung}
\begin{verbatim}
   tshe me-dot-to ni tshe bot-yang sang thung
\end{verbatim}
so NEG-sleep-INF stay so 3.PL.-also incense do
\begin{verbatim}
   ‘They sold stay without sleeping, doing the incense offering’
\end{verbatim}
KZ20080515.KZ

7.3.2.2. Alternation of -\textit{pa}

Three verbal suffixes in Kurtöp are derivatives of the old Tibeto-Burman
nominalizer -\textit{pa}. These are -\textit{pa}, for perfective polar questions, -\textit{pala}, for perfective aspect
(§17.1.1.2), and -\textit{para}, for dubitative perfective aspect (§17.1.1.5). These three forms, in
addition to sharing a perfective aspectual function, also share the same allomorphy, described below. I will exemplify the allomorphy with -pala.

The perfective -pala has the form -wala when following -k, -ng, -r and open syllables which were historically closed by a coda -l. The allomorph -sala is found when suffixed to an open syllable which was not historically closed by coda -l, and the form remains -pala in all other contexts. This allomorphy is summarized in Table 86.

The motivation for the allomorphy surrounding -pala is less clear than for that associated with the verbal stems. In case of the stem-final velars, it might be best to hypothesize that /p/ > [w] involves assimilation to velar place of articulation, and that the change /p/ > [w] following r and l involves assimilation in sonority. Regarding the allomorph -sala, there is evidence that in Classical Tibetan an -s suffix was associated with perfective aspect (Beyer 1992). Perhaps this was also true of an older stage of Kurtöp, in which case it remained in the context of open syllables and the p- of -pala fully assimilated to the -s, or deleted in place of it. Table 86\(^1\) illustrates the allomorphy of the -pa suffix.

---

\(^1\) Note that there are two different types of open stems: those that were historically closed with coda -l and those that were not. Because synchronic open syllables in verbs may come from at least two different sources (i.e. open syllable remains open or coda -l is lost and fronts the vowel) a verbal stem in it of itself does not show whether or not a coda -l was present historically. Thus, comparative data is used to discern whether or not the stem had a -l coda historically. For example, with regard to the present data, comparison with Classical Tibetan སྲལ་ <spralba> supports the hypothesis that this form had a historically present -l final stem. In addition to comparative data, synchronic morphophonological alternations also provide evidence of this difference. As I show in Table , old coda -l stems condition a -wa allomorph and as I describe in 7.3.2.3, the imperative suffix takes the form of -le when attached to an old -l coda stem, in a sense, preserving the old -l coda.
Table 86. Allomorphy of perfective -pa suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Type</th>
<th>Example Bare Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Stem with -pala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>kuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
<td>kū-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>thong</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>thong-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>chir</td>
<td>‘chop’</td>
<td>chir-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical –l</td>
<td>phre</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td>phre-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>dot-pala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>‘wear’</td>
<td>gin-pala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td>phap</td>
<td>‘bring.down’</td>
<td>phap-pala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>ngom</td>
<td>‘be.excessive’</td>
<td>ngom-pala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open syllable</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>se-sala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.2.3. Alternation of imperative -IV

Kurtöp has three imperatives, all of which begin with the consonant -l. As I describe in §19.2, the vowel changes depending on level of politeness and whether the clause is realis or irrealis. Regardless, the -l of the imperative undergoes the same allomorphy. Following non-coronals a vowel is found and following open syllables which were not historically closed by -l the form -y is used. In all other contexts -l remains unchanged. The allomorphy associated with the imperative construction is illustrated with -le, the polite imperative, in Table 87.
Table 87. Allomorph of polite imperative -le suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Type</th>
<th>Example Bare Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>kuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
<td>kug-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>thong</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>thong-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td>phap</td>
<td>‘bring down’</td>
<td>phab-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>ngom</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
<td>ngom-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>chir</td>
<td>‘chop’</td>
<td>chir-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical -l</td>
<td>phre</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td>phre-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>dot-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>‘put on’</td>
<td>gin-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open syllable</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>se-ye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allomorphy of the imperative suffix -le is also interesting. If the verbal stem terminates (or terminated, in the case of stems which had an -l coda at a previous stage of the language) in a coronal consonant, then there is no change in the form of the imperative. However, following a non-coronal consonant, the l- of the imperative will delete. Such restrictions on deletion seem intuitive if we assume two adjacent consonants must agree in coronality in this context. Of further interest is the alternation -le \(\rightarrow\) -ye between vowels in light of the sound change /l/ > [y]. While it may be considered another example of assimilation in terms of sonority (c.f. /p/ > [w] \(\_\_\) l, r in the case of -pala, above), the sound change l > y has happened elsewhere in the language and in fact is used
as one of the sound changes to define a subsection of the East Bodish languages ($\S3.5.2.2$).

7.3.2.4. Alternation of -ki

The hortative marker -ki ($\S17.3.3$) exhibits the allomorphy shown in Table 88.

Table 88. Allomorph of hortative -ki suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Type</th>
<th>Example Bare Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td><em>kuk</em></td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
<td><em>kuk-ki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng</td>
<td><em>thong</em></td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td><em>thong-ki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td><em>phap</em></td>
<td>‘bring down’</td>
<td><em>phap-ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td><em>ngom</em></td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
<td><em>ngom-ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td><em>khor</em></td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
<td><em>khor-ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical –l</td>
<td><em>phre</em></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td><em>phre-ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td><em>dot</em></td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td><em>dot-ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td><em>gin</em></td>
<td>‘put on’</td>
<td><em>gin-ci</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open syllable</td>
<td><em>co</em></td>
<td>‘make’</td>
<td><em>co-iki</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.3. Alternation in nominal morphology

Clitics that attach primarily to noun phrases also evidence phonological alternations. One of these changes appears to be stylistic, while the other four changes are dictated by morphophonological rules, albeit sometimes somewhatopaquely. I discuss the allomorphy associated with the locative =ro in $\S7.3.3.1$, the ablative in $\S7.3.3.2$, the ergative in $\S7.3.3.3$, the genitive in $\S7.3.3.4$ and the stylistic alternation between the presence and absence of velar nasals in the locative =$nang$ and ablative in $\S7.3.3.5$.
7.3.3.1. Locative =to

The Kurtöp locative =to has several allomorphs, the distribution of which, for the most part, is predicted phonologically. The predictable distribution is summarized in Table 89.

**Table 89. Allomorphy of locative =to**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological Environment</th>
<th>Form of locative</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>=to</td>
<td>tutto</td>
<td>‘to roast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td>=to</td>
<td>phapto</td>
<td>‘to bring down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>=to</td>
<td>kerto</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old -l</td>
<td>=to</td>
<td>phuito</td>
<td>‘to give. HON’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>=do</td>
<td>nando</td>
<td>‘to add’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>=do</td>
<td>domdo</td>
<td>‘to come together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>=ko</td>
<td>tshoko</td>
<td>‘to cook (curry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>=go ~ =o</td>
<td>thonggo ~ thongo</td>
<td>‘to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open syllable</td>
<td>=ro</td>
<td>coro</td>
<td>‘to make’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allomorphy described in Table 89 is relatively straightforward in terms of assimilation. The coronal obstruent assimilates in terms of sonority when between two vowels and the alternate =ro is found. Following non-velar nasals, the /t/ is voiced yielding =do. Following velars, the =t assimilates to velar place of articulation, and in the case of the velar nasal the =t assimilates in terms of voicing as well, yielding =go. However, the =g is often dropped, yielding simply =o. DeLancey (2008) points out that
this allomorphy closely matches the irregular allomorphy of locative -ru described for Tibetan.72

It would be too simple to state that the rules outlined in Table are always followed, however. In place of =ro following vowels, =ko is sometimes used, as in (29), where the locative following Paro is =ko instead of =ro, as expected. However, speakers will except either =ro or =ko in elicitation. Likewise, in (30) and (31) a =ko allomorph is found in place of =ro.

(29) Paro ko yumgi ngak zonshangmi
Paro=ko yum=gi ngak zon-shang=mi
Paro=LOC mother.HON=ERG do send-PFV.EGO=TAG
‘The mother sent me to Paro’
SBC20051127KW

(30) tše yar ko ’imzi
tše yar=ko ’im-si
so go=LOC hide-NF
‘… then (should) go hidingly …’
SPh.TsC20081022.SPh

72 Jäschke [1883] (1954:22-23) describes the following allomorphy for Tibetan terminative -ru: -ru or -r after vowels, -tu following g and b, -d, -r, -l in certain words; -su after s, -du generally after n, r, l and the other final consonants.
(31)  \textit{sako sa mutle}  \\
\textit{sa} = \text{ko} \hspace{2cm} \textit{sa} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{mutle}  \\
\text{earth} = \text{LOC} \hspace{1cm} \text{earth} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{COP}.\text{EXIS}.\text{NEG}.\text{IND}  \\
‘There wasn’t soil in the earth’  \\
SaT.SW20090917.SW

While more work is needed to fully understand the use of $=ro$ versus $=ko$ following vowels, there are three possible explanations for this distribution. The allomorphological alternation $=t \sim =r \sim =d$, but the not the alternation with $=k$, is found in Classical Tibetan (Jäschke 1954). Different forms with velar initials are found in several Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, Tshangla (Andvik to appear) has a locative/dative -\textit{ga}, Lepcha (Plaisier 2007) has locative -$\textit{kå}$, Dzongkha (van Driem 1998) has locative -$\textit{kha}$, Rawang has locative -$\textit{kha} \sim -\textit{ka}$ and Qiang has -$\textit{ku}$ (LaPolla, pc). It is not yet clear whether the Lepcha, Dzongkha, Tshangla, Rawang and Qiang forms are related, but the fact that so many languages have a similar form is intriguing.

\textbf{7.3.3.2. Ablative}

The phonological alternation associated with the Kurtöp ablative is based on lexical, rather than phonological properties. The form $=\text{ngi}$ follows most demonstrative deictic terms, while the form $=\text{ni}$ follows all other words. In (32) the deictic demonstrative \textit{ya} ‘up’ conditions the $=\text{ngi}$ form of the ablative, while the relator noun \textit{nang} ‘inside’ conditions $=\text{ni}$. 

220
(32)  *tshe Rimpoche o Trashigang Zongnang ‘wang ‘nang yangi Zonggi nangni*  
*tshe Rimpoche o Trashigang ‘wang ‘nang*  
DM Rimpoche DEM.PROX Trashigang blessing give.HON  
yangi Zong=gi nang=ni  
UP.ABL Dzong=GEN inside=ABL  
‘And Rimpoche blessed (the people at) Trashigang Dzong from up there.’  
SBC20051127.7.KW

7.3.3.3. Ergative

The ergative form =gi may occur in all phonological contexts. Consider (33-36), in which a word may end in -n, -e, -u or -a and co-occurs with the ergative form =gi.

(33)  *Rinzingi yang melapta*  
*Rinzing=gi=yang me-lap-ta*  
Rinzin=ERG=also NEG-tell-IPFV.MIR  
‘Even Rinzin wasn’t telling (us)’  
SBC20051127.7.KW

(34)  *tshe Kinlegi yang darung zhanma am-the zongwal wentami ngai ta-mo*  
*tshe Kinle=gi=yang darung am-the zong-wala*  
DM Kinle=ERG=also again woman-one hold-NMZ:PFV  
wenta-mi ngai ta-mo  
COP.EQ.MIR-TAG 1.ERG see-CTM  
‘I guess Kinle got a hold of another woman again, in my opinion.’  
SBC20051127.7.KW
(35)  *tshe oyeni akugi 'ngazi 'nganman 'ipa cozi tshe net gap net 'ruzi*

*tshe  oye=ni   'aku=gi   'ngazi   'nganman*

DM DEM.UP=ABL uncle=ERG morning morning

*'ipa   co-zi   tshe   net   gapo   'ru-zi*

food make-NF DM 1.PL.ABS PL.FOC wake.up-NF

‘Sot the uncle from up there made food early in the morning and woke us up…’

SBC20051127.7.KW

(36)  *puragi zhor 'otsi puragi zhor gapoya 'lamaro drang nisal wenta tshe*

*purai=gi  zhor  'ot-si  gapo-yang  'lama-ro  drang*

all=ERG alcohol bring-NF PL.FOC=also lama=LOC give.HON

*ni-sala   wenta   tshe*

stay-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR DM

‘Everyone brought wine, everyone brought wine and all and was offering it to the Lama.’

KS20061212.118.188.KL

However, if the word ends with a vowel, the vowel may be replaced with *i* as a means to mark ergative, as in (37), where the plural focus marker *gapo* becomes *gapi* in the ergative.

(37)  *'napata melapta bot gapi*

*'napa-ta   me-lap-ta   bot   gapo=gi*

earlier-EMPH NEG-tell-IPFV.MIR 3.PL.ABS PL.FOC=ERG

‘Earlier they weren’t telling (us)’

SBC20051127.7.KW
In another possible form, the ergative may be realized as -li, as in (38).

(38) \textit{tshe yapni yum zonli shumzi}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
DM & father.HON-CMT & mother.HON & two\textasciitilde ERG & cry.HON-NF \\
\end{tabular}

‘So the two mother and father cried…’

PS20061206.786.646.P

The =li allomorph of the ergative is in very limited distribution in the texts and does not occur in elicitation. Speakers report that =li can be replaced with =gi and like the =i allomorph, the form =li also occurs as a genitive, as I describe in §7.3.3.4.

In summary, the Kurtöp ergative =i may be used in place of a vowel word-finally and =li may be used following a coronal nasal final, but neither is required. The marker =gi may be used in any instance. This distribution is not dictated fully by phonology. Rather, it seems that there are two systems at work. In one system, =li is used. Another system seems to be replacing this; =gi can now be eliticised to the end of any word and a word-final vowel may be replaced with =i. Assuming this analysis is correct, I speculate the =gi ergative is a borrowing from Classical Tibetan. The forms of the ergative are summarized in Table 90.

Table 90. Allomorphy of ergative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Form of ergative</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>=gi</td>
<td>Kinle-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel final</td>
<td>=i</td>
<td>Pemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>=li</td>
<td>zonli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.3.4. Genitive

The Kurtöp genitive is homophonous to the ergative and shares the same allomorphy, as described in §7.3.3.3. That is, the genitive enclitic has the same form as the ergative enclitic: \( =gi \sim =li \sim =i \).

The exception to this is the pronouns, which have different forms for the ergative and the genitive. In general, the genitive forms have a palatal initial while the ergative forms have a lengthened vowel. The second person plural genitive form, however, may occur with either a voiceless coronal stop or a palatal stop, as \( ninti \) or \( ninci \). The difference between genitive and ergative maintained elsewhere is neutralized for the first person plural inclusive pronoun, which is \( neri \) in both instances. The different genitive and ergative pronouns are illustrated in Table 91.

Table 91. Kurtöp personal ergative and genitive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st})</td>
<td>ngai</td>
<td>ngaci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^{nd})</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>wici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(^{rd})</td>
<td>khî</td>
<td>khici</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the ergative, the Kurtöp genitive also exhibits a \( =li \) allomorph, but rarely, as in (39).
7.3.3.5. Stylistic alternation -ng ~ -ø

Several grammatical suffixes in Kurtöp optionally end with a final velar nasal, though it is not clear, in many instances, that the final velar nasal is historically present for all forms, or whether speakers may choose to add the final velar nasal as a stylistic device. The forms which may have the -ng present are: =na ‘LOC’, =ni ~ =ngi ‘ABL’, =ya ‘also’, =ra ‘EMPH’, and -mo ‘CTM’.

7.4. Phonological Words

There has been much recent work in phonological words, such as Hall and Kleinhenz (1999), (Dixon 2002), *inter alia*. Hall (1999: 3) states ‘the pword derives motivation as the constituent that defines the domain for various phonological generalizations’ and ‘these generalizations can be reduced to three types: a) the domain of phonological rules; b) the domain of phonotactic generalizations; 3) the domain for minimality constraints’. In addition, many authors cite phonological words as the domain for stress assignment and syllabification (Hall 2002:4).
In Kurtöp, phonological words can be identified by first syllable stress and the obligatory presence of tone. Grammatical words, which are often phonological words, may undergo final vowel deletion when consisting of more than one syllable. A phonological word in Kurtöp is a somewhat broader domain, in that it may consist of a grammatical word plus a particle.
This chapter outlines the orthographies used to represent the Kurtöp language, including a discussion of the history of writing in Bhutan and the argumentation used in making decisions regarding Kurtöp’s two orthographies. Because this grammar represents the first in-depth collaborative language documentation in the country, I have had to approach description and conservation issues with a full understanding of the relevant history. §8.1 discusses the history of writing in Bhutan, beginning with purported events in the 8th century A.D. up to recent events I have been involved with. §8.2 outlines the 'Ucen-based Kurtöp orthography and §8.3 outlines the Roman alphabet-based Kurtöp orthography. Note that the remainder of this dissertation will present Kurtöp data using the Roman-based orthography described below.

8.1. History of writing in Bhutan

A discussion of writing in Bhutan begins with the history of འདྲའི་ཅན་<dbu.can> 'Ucen , the script developed to write Tibetan in the 7th century A.D. The general belief is that Thonmi Sambhota was sent from Tibet to India to learn the art of writing and brought back with him a modified North Brahmi73 script designed exclusively for the

73 The origin of the Brahmi script itself is somewhat of a mystery. The first specimens appear on the Ashokan edicts, in the 3rd century BC, with scholars debating four possible origins. The indigenous theory speculates that Brahmi was home-grown in India, independent of the Indus Valley writing, Semitic,
Tibetan language as it was spoken in the 7th century. However, some scholars question the validity of this belief (e.g. van Driem (2001: 835) cites Snellgrove (1987)).

Writing in Bhutan probably has a long history, but it has been difficult to obtain facts. Today, two versions of 'Ucen are in wide use, viz. ཨག་ཡིག་<tshugs.yig> Tshui and འག་ཡིག་<mgyogs.yig> Joyi. General knowledge in Bhutan is that writing was first brought into Bhutan through Padma Sambhava,74 when he visited Bhutan in the 8th century A.D. According to local beliefs, Padma Sambhava was accompanied by ང་མ་%ེ་མང་<lden.ma rtse.mang> Denma Tsenmang, a disciple of his who was also a renowned Tibetan translator. Denma Tsenmang is attributed with the creation of the Joyi, which is a sort of cursive used today for writing Dzongkha in Bhutan.75

Bhutanese children begin to learn to read and write Dzongkha in Bhutan from the beginning of their education. In addition to being able to read and write in the Joyi script, Bhutanese children will also learn to read the Tshui script, but writing of Tshui is generally reserved for monks. As such, children’s books and Dzongkha education materials are all produced in Joyi script.

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74 Padmasambhava, also widely known as ཁུལ་གུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་<o.rgyan.ru.rin.po.che> 'Ugen Guru Rimpoche, or simply Guru, is the 8th century Tantric master who also founded the 'Nyingmapa school in Bhutan (Tshering 2010).

75 Joyi is also known as མོག་ཡིག་<lho.yig> lhoyi or འག་ཡིག་<mon.yig> mönyi (Tshering 2010).
Though Tshui and Joyi have been used for centuries by educated elite, primarily religious figures, to write Dzongkha and Chöke, writing was only adopted by common people with the introduction of western-style education during the reign of the first King, His Majesty ’Ugyen Wangchuck (ruled 1907-1926). Education remained out of reach for the vast majority of Bhutan’s population until the time of the third King, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck (ruled 1952-1972), also called ‘The father of modern Bhutan’, when an attempt was made to make education more accessible. However, many Bhutanese are still illiterate.

Nonetheless, Bhutanese policy has recently placed an increased effort on the promotion of Dzongkha as a written and spoken language. In 1989, the Dzongkha Development Commission was created with the sole expressed purpose of promoting the national language. Since then, countless workshops have been held with the attempt of simplifying and standardizing Dzongkha ’Ucen spellings; yet, despite these efforts, most Bhutanese are still uncomfortable reading and writing Dzongkha. This unfortunate fact is also echoed in (Namgyel 2003: vii).

76 The sources for these difficulties are manifold. Dzongkha spellings are by and large based on their Chöke counterparts. While Dzongkha may be argued to be a dialect of Tibetan (see van Driem (1998) and Tournadre (2008), e.g.), there are enough innovations in Dzongkha that purely Chöke spellings will not work. For example, where Chöke words have <kr, khr, gr, pr, phr, br>, Dzongkha native words have <ky, khy, gy, py, phy, by>. Where Chöke underwent the change ky, khy, gy > c, ɟ, ɟ, Dzongkha native words appeared to have simply lost the palatal offset (these illustrate one of several differences between Dzongkha and Central Tibetan). However, because Dzongkha has been heavily influenced by Chöke for several centuries, and literally thousands of Chöke words have been borrowed into Dzongkha, it is not possible to ascertain whether a given word is a native inheritance or borrowed from Chöke. This fact is compounded by the retention of most elements of Chöke spellings, even if they have no overt phonetic manifestation in modern spoken Dzongkha. A few examples illustrate the fact that, like Mandarin Chinese, the spelling of most words, for the most part, simply has to be memorized: 

\[\text{"byead}\] [gæ] ‘eight’,
8.2. ’Ucen

8.2.1. Introduction to ’Ucen

Before delving into the details of Kurtöp ’Ucen, a brief overview of the ’Ucen orthography and the traditional terminology used to discuss the orthography should be introduced. Like other Brahmi based orthographies, ’Ucen is abugida.77

Figure 40 represents the ’Ucen syllable, with Dzongkha and English names for the various positions within the syllable. Each box represents a particular position in the syllable, where a given subset of available characters may be assigned. The maximal

![Figure 40. The ’Ucen syllable in Bhutanese (left) and English (right) conventions.](image_url)

77 Rogers (2005: 205) defines an abugida writing system as “similar to an alphabet: all vowels are indicated, but normally, vowels are written as diacritics, and one vowel is not written.”
'Ucen syllable will consist minimally of a mingzhi (R) and maximally of a 'nyönju (C₁), mingzhi (R), gocen (C₂), dokcen (C₄), 'yang (V), jêju (C₃), and yangju (C₅). In English terminology, the R represents the ‘root’ (usually a consonant, but can be a vowel if the word is onset-less), C represents a consonant, and V represents a vowel. Lack of any V character signals a low back vowel.

Classical Tibetan, which was toneless, allowed for complex onset and coda consonant clusters. The mingzhi, or root, is the minimum position required in a Classical Tibetan word. A mingzhi by itself represents a simple consonant onset. 'nyönju (C₁), gocen (C₂), and dokcen (C₄) positions could also be filled to represent a complex onset. The vowels /i/, /e/, and /o/ are indicated by symbols in the upper 'yang (V) position while /u/ is indicated with a symbol in the lower 'yang (V) position. If the syllable onset consisted of more than one consonant, a 'nyönju (C₁) would be used. If the syllable was closed with a coda, a jêju (C₄) would be used. In the unusual case that a complex coda was present, a yangju (C₅) could also be present.

Since Classical Tibetan was codified as a written language, several phonological changes have taken place. Complex onsets and codas have simplified, expanding the number of places of articulation and many codas have in fact disappeared, leaving lengthened vowels, tonal splits, nasalized vowel or other vowel changes in their places. Tone has also developed as conditioned by contrasts on syllable onsets. Modern Tibetan is still fairly easy to read, to the extent that one is aware of the sound changes that have taken place since the language was put to writing. However, the current use of Tibetan conventions to represent a language that exhibits nearly 1400 years of phonological
change poses some serious challenges to the application of 'Ucen to Kurtöp in Bhutan (where the literate population is well-schooled in the Chöke conventions). I describe these challenges, and how we have overcome them, below.

8.2.2. Application of Kurtöp to 'Ucen

When I began working in collaboration with the Dzongkha Development Commission in 2007, plans for orthography were an immediate focus of discussion. Bhutanese officials and scholars, as well as Kurtöp community members, agreed that an 'Ucen-based orthography would be integral to the preservation and development of Kurtöp, primarily because 'Ucen still forms an integral part of education in Bhutan, and also 'Ucen has been the writing system with the longest history in Bhutan. In short, the 'Ucen writing system is an important facet of Bhutanese culture.

Between 2007 and 2009, I spoke with several officials, administrators, scholars, teachers, and Kurtöp speakers (both literate and non-literate). I tested several versions of various 'Ucen orthographies with several different Kurtöps and non-Kurtöps in several different communities. Kurtöp speakers who helped test the orthographies were Kuenga Lhendup and Karma Tenzin. High school educators and native Kurtöp speakers Karma Penden (Dzongkha Instructor) and Dorji Wangdi (Principal) at Tangmachu High School also provided feedback to previous versions of the 'Ucen orthography. Tendzin 'Lodrö, former Instructor of Semtokha Rigzhing Institute and Ugen Tenzin at the National Library, a native speaker of Dzala and educated in Classical Tibetan (Simtokha Rigzhung Institute) and Buddhism (Varanasi), offered also offered suggestions and corrections to previous versions.
By January, 2009, the majority of decisions regarding Kurtöp ’Ucen had been made. Rather than use the Tshui script, which was reserved for more formal uses of Dzongkha and also shared with Tibetan, the cursive Joyi script would be used for Kurtöp. This was decided because 1) students mainly read and write Dzongkha in Joyi; 2) it is easier to learn than Tshui (less strokes per symbol); and 3) because it was developed in Bhutan it is uniquely Bhutanese and should be used to represent any Bhutanese language.

In February, 2009 Pema Wangdi (MA Linguistics from Australian National University and native speaker of Tshangla) and Namgay Thinley (MA Linguistics from LaTrobe University and native speaker of Dzongkha), of the DDC arranged a workshop in Thimphu to address the issue of writing Bhutan’s un- and under-documented languages. Scott DeLancey and I gave presentations on topics pertinent to writing Bhutan’s languages, namely the development of Dzongkha from Classical Tibetan and the use of ’Ucen to write both Chöke and Dzongkha, and the development of ’Ucen to write Kurtöp. Amongst the attendees were Lungtang Gyatsho (Principal of the Semtokha Institute for Language and Cultural Studies), Chris Fynn (font developer for the DDC), Karma Tshering (native Dzongkha speaker and Chöke expert), Thakur S. Powdyel (Education Minister), and Dorji Wangdi (Labour Minister). The final decisions regarding the representation of Kurtöp complex onsets and tone was decided upon as a result of the discussion from this workshop.

Meeting participants also stressed the importance of writing Bhutan’s other undocumented languages. In creating the Kurtöp ’Ucen orthography, we were urged to consider other Bhutanese languages and devise a system that could be equally adapted
to any other undocumented language in the country. Thus, in making decisions regarding
Kurtöp orthography, we considered the phonologies of other Tibeto-Burman languages of
Bhutan – to the extent that we had enough data – and made decisions that would also
apply to other TB languages in Bhutan.

In designing an orthography for Tshangla, Andvik (in press) highlights the
importance of learnability and transferability in orthography development. As Andvik
Andvik (in press) articulates, a principle of “one symbol for one sound” makes an
orthography maximally learnable. Following learnability, the principle of transferability
must be taken into consideration. That is, an ideal Kurtöp orthography would help
children transition into the Dzongkha. Thus, in creating the Kurtöp 'Ucen orthography,
we had aimed for a one symbol to one sound correspondance, while also aiming to
minimize the differences from Dzongkha. The remaining sections of §8.2 outline the
decisions that were made and how we reached them.

8.2.2.1. Consonants

With regard to consonants, Kurtöp 'Ucen follows basic Dzongkha conventions for
representing simple syllable onsets, coda consonants, and vowels, as shown in Table 92.
Table 92. Kurtöp Joyi consonant symbols with a one to one relationship which will directly transfer to Dzongkha.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>p, pʰ, b</td>
<td>t, tʰ, d</td>
<td>c, cʰ, j</td>
<td>k, kʰ, g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བ་བ་</td>
<td>ཁ་ བ་</td>
<td>ཉ་ལ་</td>
<td>ཉ། བ་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates</td>
<td>ts, tsʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ཐེན་</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ཤ་ཤ་</td>
<td></td>
<td>ཤ། འ་</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ལ་ན།</td>
<td>འ་ ཞ།</td>
<td>འ། ཞ།</td>
<td>འ། ཞ།</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>l, l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ཅ་ལ།</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotics</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ས།</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>བ་ན།</td>
<td></td>
<td>བ། ད།</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>བ།</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Retroflex consonants are more challenging to represent. When Classical Tibetan was first written down, retroflex consonants were not present. They are now present in Lhasa Tibetan and other Tibetan dialects, having been innovated from a series of stop plus rhotic clusters (e.g. cf. 6.2.1.1.3). Thus, words with retroflex consonants in Dzongkha are generally written as stop plus rhotic clusters, such as in གེ་ད་ <phonyed.kra> [pcʰéʈə] ‘adultery.fine’. With many recent borrowings from Nepali, Hindi, and English, and without a prescribed standard, many Bhutanese are using the same strategy to represent retroflex sounds. Thus, ཁ<kr>, ཀ<khr>, ཇ<gr> are often used to represent [ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ], respectively, in borrowed words.

In theory, there is an alternative to representing retroflex consonants in non-Tibetan words in Bhutan. Throughout the history of Written Tibetan, a special series of lokpa, or reversed characters, has been used to represent sounds in Sanskrit borrowings that were not present when Tibetan was first codified into a written system. Three were used, in particular, to represent retroflex consonants which were present in Sanskrit. These were: ཨ [t], ཀྵ [ʈʰ], and བ[d]. For the Kurtöp ’Ucen orthography, then, we had two choices: 1) use a combination of stop plus rhotic cluster; or 2) use the lokpa series of symbols. When presented with these options, the members of the DDC orthography preferred the former option while tending to disprefer the latter option. The reasons for this dispreference were generally that most Bhutanese were unfamiliar with these symbols.

---

78 Though English does not have retroflex consonants, Bhutanese, like Hindi and other South Asian language speakers, map the English alveolar stops to their retroflex series. Interestingly, then, the English dental fricatives are mapped to the dental series of stops.
symbols in general, and those who were familiar with these symbols associated them with a Sanskritic religious context.

Thus, we opted for the former option. Rather than use the velar series (ㄲ ➌ ➍) or labial series (了一口气) with the rhotic diacritic, we decided to use the dental series with the rhotic diacritic, which, we felt, would be easier to learn than the previous two options (velar or labial). There would no problem with transference, since this combination is also used as one of the strategies to represent retroflex sounds in Dzongkha. Kurtöp retroflex stops are represented in 'Ucen in Table 93.

Table 93. Kurtöp Joyi consonant symbols representing retroflex stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>retroflex stops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḭ ṭ ḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t] [tʰ] [d]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The largest obstacle to overcome when devising the Kurtöp 'Ucen orthography was the complex onset clusters that are present in Kurtöp, but no longer present in Dzongkha. Classical Tibetan has complex onsets which, among other possible options, were represented by combinations of symbols, representing the first member of the cluster, and diacritics, representing the second member of the cluster. Some examples are: བཀ <kr> བྲ <ky> བི <kl>.

Because of sound changes that took place since Tibetan was put into writing, most Tibetan dialects today do not have the same phonemic sequences that these symbols
initially represented. In Bhutan, children studying Dzongkha learn to pronounce ʈ as [t], ʂ as [c], and ɭ as [l] with a high tone on the following vowel. Adopting the same conventions that were used to represent complex onsets in Chöke, then, in Kurtöp, leads to difficulties in transference from Kurtöp to Dzongkha. For example, if Kurtöp children learn to read ʈa ʰ<pra> as [p r̥], the fact that the same combination of characters would be pronounced as [tə] in Dzongkha leads to added difficulty in transference.

We explored several alternatives to the Chöke conventions, and a decision was finalized during the DDC orthography convention in 2009. A known, but rarely used convention in ’Ucen orthography is the ability to combine ‘half’ consonants in vertical arrangements. This convention was historically devised in order to represent other combinations in Sanskrit or other languages. Scholars and administrators decided this would also be the most viable option to represent the complex onsets present in Kurtöp and other Bhutanese languages. Learnability is enhanced by the fact that no new characters are introduced, though a new convention must be learned. Transferability to Dzongkha will not pose too great a problem, since the combination of two full characters in one vertical alignment is not a Dzongkha convention. At the time of the DDC orthography workshop in 2009, the Bhutanese ’Ucen fonts were not equipped to handle this vertical stacking. At the behest of the researchers, Chris Fynn, font developer for the DDC, agreed to revise the Joyi font in order to accommodate these combinations. Anticipating the application of this font to other Bhutanese languages, Chris Fynn has
arranged for a wide selection of complex onsets to be represented. The complex onsets in Kurtöp are represented in Tshui in Table 94.

Table 94. Kurtöp ’Ucen consonant symbols representing complex onsets

Recall (cf. §6.2.1.1.2 and §6.2.3) that Kurtöp labial-initial onset clusters involving a palatal glide as the second member (/pj/, /pj/, /bj/, /mj/) have rapidly undergone change, such that it is only the oldest generation of speakers who have retained the pronunciations with palatal glide offsets. In case of the obstruents, later generations of speakers have fortified the palatal glide into a fricative or stop, with the youngest and most educated speakers having lost the labial altogether and retaining only a palatal stop in lieu of the older cluster. Regarding the sonorant, most speakers today have a palatal nasal /ɲ/ in place of /mj/. Because these sound changes mirror the sound change of Classical Tibetan <pj>, <phy>, <by>, <my> to Lhasa Tibetan /c/, /c/, /j/, /n/, we decided to adopt the Chöke/Dzongkha conventions in these cases. Transference to Dzongkha in these cases is straightforward. The representation of Kurtöp labial-glide onsets is shown in Table 95.
Table 95. Kurtöp Joyi consonant symbols representing complex onsets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pj ~ pc ~ pc ~c]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pʰj ~ pʰc ~ pʰc ~ cʰ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bj ~ bj ~ bj ~ j]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mj ~ n]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.2.2. Representing vowels and tone

Kurtöp vowels would be handled similarly to their Chöke counterparts, so that the vowels /i, e, o, u/ are represented as diacritics attached to the consonant and /ɑ/ is considered an ‘inherent’ vowel; that is, given the lack of any diacritic and evidence of a complete syllable (the ´ tshâ), the vowel is marked as /ɑ/. The Kurtöp vowels represented in Joyi orthography are shown in Table 96.
Table 96. Kurtöp vowels, shown here following the consonant /k/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i མི</td>
<td>u མ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(kiku)</td>
<td>(zh’abju)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e མི</td>
<td>o མ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(drembo)</td>
<td>(naro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a མ་</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A potential problem in transference arises with Kurtöp vowels. Several Dzongkha words have fronted round vowels in pronunciation but are written with either zh’abju or naro. This is usually the case when /a/, /o/ or /u/ was followed by a coda /t/ or /n/ in the Proto-language. As such, children learning to read Dzongkha expect a fronted pronunciation of /a/, /o/ and /u/ when the word is closed by /t/ or /n/ in Chöke. This may be an added difficulty in transference, since children learning Kurtöp will not have learned the front pronunciation in the environment preceding coronal stop and nasal codas. Naro, zh’abju, and no vowel diacritic followed by a coda nasal or stop in Kurtöp will be associated with a back vowel, whereas the same sequence in Dzongkha would usually require a fronted vowel. This issue was presented several times at various stages in orthographic development and all proposed solutions led to more problems than were solved. Further support for the current orthography is the fact that educated speakers pronounce fronted vowels in Kurtöp, anyway, in the described environments. Thus, even if special accommodations were made to orthographically distinguish Kurtöp /-at, -
an, -ot, -on, -ut, -un/ syllable rhymes from their Dzongkha counterparts, it’s not likely that they would entail different pronunciations in the end.

The other aspects of Kurtöp phonology which have been difficult to represent in 'Ucen are tone and vowel length. Neither was present in Classical Tibetan but both have developed in Lhasa Tibetan and other Tibetan dialects. Thus, tone and vowel length can be inferred from Written Tibetan in most modern dialects based on the sound changes (tonogenesis and compensatory lengthening) which have happened since Tibetan was written down. However, since Kurtöp is not a Tibetan dialect, there must be independent ways to mark vowel length and tone. These are discussed in turn below.

To mark high tone following sonorant consonants, Chris Fynn has designed a tone diacritic that appears above the mingzhi in the same space as a 'yang (if present). The Joyi font is still under construction at the time of writing this chapter, but the high tone mark can be seen above all the letters in the top row of Table 94.

Table 97. Kurtöp long vowels represented in Joyi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long</th>
<th>ཁ་ &lt; nâ &gt;</th>
<th>སྒྱོང་ཁ་ &lt; tshî &gt;</th>
<th>སྒྱེ་ &lt; shê &gt;</th>
<th>སྒྱེ་ &lt; tshô &gt;</th>
<th>སོ་ &lt; mû &gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'COP.EXIS .MIR’</td>
<td>‘calculation’</td>
<td>‘glass’</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘NEG.COP.EX IS’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>བྲ་ &lt; na &gt;</td>
<td>སྒྱེ་ &lt; tshi &gt;</td>
<td>སྒྱེ་ &lt; she &gt;</td>
<td>སྒྱེ་ &lt; tsho &gt;</td>
<td>སྒྱེ་ &lt; mu &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>‘sticky’</td>
<td>‘over.pour’</td>
<td>‘lake’</td>
<td>‘mushroom’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To represent the distinction made by vowel length, the letter ཐ is written below the mingzhi as a dokcen, above a vowel diacritic, if one is present. Examples of vowel length indicated in 'Ucen is shown in Table 97.

8.3. Roman-based orthography

The Kurtöp Roman-based orthography is based on the orthography George van Driem and Karma Tshering designed for Dzongkha (van Driem 1991). The Kurtöp Romanization has been simplified somewhat. Dzongkha makes a tonal contrast following voiced obstruents while Kurtöp only has predictably low tone following voiced obstruents. Thus, tone marks are only employed to mark the tone following sonorants. Most academic publications of Kurtöp are written using the Roman orthography and in the remainder of this dissertation I will also represent Kurtöp data using the Roman orthography.

8.3.1. Consonants

Place of articulation, voicing, and manner are represented in the Kurtöp Romanization. Whenever possible, consonants are represented by monographs and digraphs, but there are a few trigraphs as well. Retroflexion is represented by <ɾ> following <t> or <d> (depending on voice quality) and aspiration is represented as <h>. Because tone is predictable for all but one obstruent, tone following the obstruents is not marked.
As I described in §6.2.1.1.4 and §6.4, the voicing contrast amongst the palatal fricatives has recently collapsed in favor of a contrast in tone, so that the voiceless palatal fricative is now voiceless with following high tone and the previously voiced palatal fricative is now voiceless with following low tone. However, because all voiced obstruents are also associated with a following low tone, and speakers do not appear to be aware of the VOT difference in pronunciation of the previously voiced palatal fricative, and the voiced stops, for example, we felt it was suitable to represent the palatal fricative with low tone as <zh>, to contrast with <sh>, the palatal fricative with following high tone. Because the glottal stop can be considered a concomitant feature associated with other contrasts, it is not represented. The Roman representation for each Kurtöp consonant is shown in Table 98.

Recall that Kurtöp has complex onsets and as I illustrated in §6.2.1.1.1, there is tremendous variability with regard to pronunciation of complex onsets involving labial-initial members. For example, /mj-/ is often realized as /p/ and /py/ may be realized as /c/. In such instances, we represent the most conservative spelling, as this is the way the words are also listed in the lexicon.
Table 98. Orthographic representation of Kurtöp consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>p &lt;p&gt;</td>
<td>t &lt;t&gt;</td>
<td>t &lt;tr&gt;</td>
<td>c &lt;c&gt;</td>
<td>k &lt;k&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pʰ &lt;ph&gt;</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>tʰ &lt;th&gt;</td>
<td>cʰ &lt;ch&gt;</td>
<td>kʰ &lt;kh&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;b&gt;</td>
<td>d &lt;d&gt;</td>
<td>d &lt;dr&gt;</td>
<td>j &lt;j&gt;</td>
<td>g &lt;g&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates</td>
<td>ts &lt;ts&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsʰ &lt;tsh&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>s &lt;s&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eʰ &lt;sh&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z &lt;z&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eʰ &lt;zh&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m &lt;m&gt;</td>
<td>n &lt;n&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>n &lt;ny&gt;</td>
<td>η &lt;ng&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>l &lt;l&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l &lt;lh&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotics</td>
<td>r &lt;r&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w &lt;w&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j &lt;y&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h &lt;h&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3.2. Vowels and suprasegmentals

As I described in §6.3.2.1, the Kurtöp vowel inventory varies depending on education and exposure to Dzongkha and Tibetan. Uneducated speakers unfamiliar with received Dzongkha and Tibetan pronunciation have the vowel and dipthong inventory: /a, e, i, o, u, au, iu, oi, ui/ while educated speakers and those who have spent a lot of time outside of the village have /o/ and /y/ as well. For the present proposal we have decided to represent all of these sounds while keeping in mind the possibility that the community may decide to systematize the representation of words where speakers differ with regard to presence or lack of the front rounded vowels. The use of two dots above the vowels to
represent the front-rounded vowels is again based on the representation for the Dzongkha equivalents.

Table 99. Orthographic representation of Kurtöp vowels and dipthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
<th>dipthong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i &lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>u &lt;u&gt;</td>
<td>iu &lt;iu&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y &lt;ü&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>ui &lt;ui&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e &lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>o &lt;o&gt;</td>
<td>oi &lt;oi&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø &lt;õ&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a &lt;a&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>au &lt;au&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kurtöp contrasts vowel length on the five cardinal vowels (§6.3.3) and is represented by the use of a circumflex (^) above the vowel, as in mra /mraː/ ‘paddy’. High versus low tone is contrastive following sonorant consonants and high tone is represented with a an apostrophe (’) preceding the sonorant, as in ’na ‘nose’.
CHAPTER IX
LEXICON

The Kurtöp lexicon consists primarily of monosyllabic verb roots and di- or tri-syllabic nouns that are clearly historically derived from a monosyllabic stem plus a derivational suffix. More details about phonological words can be found in §7.4 and nouns and verbs are discussed in §10.5.2 (as lexical classes), §11.3 (in the grammar) and §10.5.5 (as a lexical class) and §16.1 (in the grammar), respectively. The aim of this chapter is to describe the lexicon in terms phonological shape and etymology.

9.1. Word shape

As I describe in §7.4, phonological words in Kurtöp generally consist of a verb plus suffixal or (rarely) prefixal morphology and are characterized by having stem-initial stress plus tone on the first syllable of the word which is usually, though not necessarily, also the stem. Verbs usually have two or more syllables, based on productive morphology. Nouns usually have two or three syllables -- with the last syllable being historically derived -- but phonological words involving nouns can be longer, depending on nominal suffixes or enclitics.

79 Recent observations, after the defense of this dissertation but before the submission of the final draft suggest that word-level stress and tone can be separated in the case of verbal negation. Stress actually seems to stem-initial on verbs and does not shift to the negative prefix, when present. Tone, however, does shift to the negative prefix.
9.2. Etymologies

The majority of the Kurtöp lexicon is clearly Tibeto-Burman, though it is harder to ascertain the precise Tibeto-Burman origin of given forms, since there has clearly been heavy influence from Dzongkha and Classical Tibetan.

9.2.1. TB Inheritences

A large subset of the Kurtöp lexicon is clearly inherited from Proto-Tibeto-Burman but not obviously borrowed from Dzongkha or Classical Tibetan. I expect these forms to be native Kurtöp.

Table 100. Kurtöp inheritances from Proto-Tibeto-Burman, not shared with Central Bodish, based on reconstructions in Matisoff (2003a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
<th>PTB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bi</em></td>
<td><em>bəy</em></td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mipan</em></td>
<td><em>may</em></td>
<td>‘tail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ju</em></td>
<td><em>dz(y)oːp</em></td>
<td>‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>po</em></td>
<td><em>bəw</em>; <em>rul</em>; <em>wəy</em></td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>byo</em></td>
<td><em>blum</em></td>
<td>‘taro’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>phre</em> (&lt;phral)</td>
<td><em>pral</em></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>brang</em> (be borne of an animal)</td>
<td><em>brang</em></td>
<td>‘give birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zhong</em></td>
<td><em>dyung</em></td>
<td>‘insect/bug’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zhinti</em></td>
<td><em>dzya-n</em></td>
<td>‘blush/red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nin</em> (‘2.PL.’)</td>
<td><em>nang</em></td>
<td>‘2’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2.2. Borrowings

It is not always possible to ascertain borrowings from inherited lexicon and in fact it the distinction is not always clear. In the idealized, perceived world of traditional historical linguistics, a language changes over time, in a relative vacuum without much interaction with other languages, and without much socio-cultural influences. When addressed, the issue of other languages is usually mentioned as borrowing. In this scenario, a language “borrows” a word, usually, but sometimes a phoneme or morpheme, from neighboring languages. Linguists address more intensive contact under the umbrella term of ‘areal influence’ but the details of what this involved have yet to be investigated in rigorous detail. For example, ‘areal influence’ may turn out to involve a complex combination of various stages of creolization, language loss, shift, and replacement, and/or simply borrowing.

Indeed, I expect the true history of Kurtöp is more complex than it has been laid out here, especially given the likely fact that historical tribal conflicts, Buddhism, Chöke, mainstream Bhutanese, and, more recently, Indic languages and English have been heavily influencing Kurtöp speakers for centuries. With this all being said, it is possible to concretely identify several types of borrowings into Kurtöp. The sections below, §9.2.2.1 through §9.2.2.3, represent relatively recent borrowings. It is quite possible that much of Kurtöp’s vocabulary has been borrowed at earlier stages of the language but more research is needed to definitively ascertain older borrowings from native words. Of course, this difficulty is compounded by the fact that possible many source languages for borrowings are likely to also be closely related.
9.2.2.1. Chöke

As the liturgical language, Chöke has a huge influence on Kurtöp, an influence that probably goes back several centuries and the extent of which we probably still underestimate. Nonetheless, a large subset of Kurtöp vocabulary can obviously be identified as being borrowed from Chöke, especially because they violate phonological generalizations made about Kurtöp. Obvious Chöke borrowings come from the domain of religion. Table 101\textsuperscript{80,81} shows some Chöke borrowings into Kurtöp.

Table 101. Kurtöp Chöke borrowings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>káňe</td>
<td>‘difficulty’</td>
<td>Chöke ལ་ངལ་&lt;dkaa.ngal&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kélchen</td>
<td>‘great.eon’</td>
<td>Chöke བལ་ཆེན་&lt;bshal.chen&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gètshul</td>
<td>‘8-vowed.monk’</td>
<td>Chöke &lt;ged.tshul&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.2.2. Indic

Kurtöp has a number of words of obvious Indic etymology. In many instances, however, it is not possible to ascertain whether the ultimate source was Hindi, Nepali, or perhaps an eastern Indo-Aryan language, such as Assamese or Bengali. Some Indic borrowings are illustrated in Table 102.

\textsuperscript{80}The source of káňe is Dhongthong (1988: 109).

\textsuperscript{81}The source of kélchen is the DDC Dictionaries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Indic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>capal</td>
<td>‘sandal; slipper’</td>
<td>Hindi cappal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pariwa</td>
<td>‘pigeon’</td>
<td>Nepali pariwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karkung</td>
<td>‘window’</td>
<td>Hindi kirkiā (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pura</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
<td>Hindi pura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.2.2.3. English

There are also a few English borrowings into Kurtöp, probably via Dzongkha.

Some of these are illustrated in Table 103.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beskop</td>
<td>‘movie’</td>
<td>bioscope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarkan</td>
<td>‘jerry can’</td>
<td>jerry can</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.2.2.4. Unknown etymology

There are a few words of unknown etymology in Kurtöp, some of which are shown in Table 104.\(^{82}\)

---

\(^{82}\) The Khasi obtained were from my personal fieldnotes.
Table 104. Words of unknown etymology in Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Other possible sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘foxtail millet (<em>Setaria Italica</em>)’</td>
<td>ran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘well’</td>
<td>’um</td>
<td>Khasi <em>um</em> ‘water’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.3. Honorific/Phelke

Like Tibetan and Dzongkha, Kurtöp has a subset of honorific vocabulary, all of which is ultimately Chöke in source. Honorific vocabulary, or <phal.skad> phelke as it is referred to in Bhutan, has already been the source of much scholarly study (e.g. DeLancey 1998; Ahga 1998; Beyer 1992). Phelke vocabulary is a subset of lexical items used, in theory, exclusively in situations in which speakers wish to respect, or show honor to their interlocutor or the person about whom they are speaking. In practice, the use of phelke is more varied, as the prescribed rules are usually not followed. Indeed, the actual use of phelke vocabulary in Kurtöp would be an interesting study, but it beyond the scope of this dissertation. Table 105 illustrates some phelke vocabulary in Kurtöp.

Table 105. Phelke vocabulary in Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phelke Form</th>
<th>Normal Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kuzu</em></td>
<td><em>luspu</em></td>
<td>‘body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cen</em></td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kusha</em></td>
<td><em>sha</em></td>
<td>‘flesh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘<em>nang</em>’</td>
<td><em>bi</em></td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ke</em></td>
<td><em>throng</em></td>
<td>‘give.birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>thuk</em></td>
<td>‘<em>neng</em>’</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER X
OVERVIEW OF KURTÖP SYNTAX

The aim of this chapter is to provide a foundation from which the following thirteen chapters can be understood. The first four sections provide a typological overview of syntactic properties of Kurtöp, including word order (§10.1), morphological profile (§10.2), alignment (§10.3), and predicate types (§10.4). The final section, §10.5, describes and defines the major syntactic classes in Kurtöp.

10.1. Word order

Kurtöp, like almost all other Tibeto-Burman languages\(^{83}\) and the languages of South Asia, has verb-final syntax. Core arguments generally precede the verb and in the case of bivalent verbs, the A argument will precede the O argument. However, this SOV order is a generalization; in natural speech speakers may move the S, A and/or O argument to come after the verb, depending on pragmatic factors.

Greenberg (1963) noticed that languages with OV syntax tended to have the correlations illustrated in Table 106.

\(^{83}\) Karen and Chinese languages have SVO word order.
Much of the work in typology subsequent to Greenberg has focused on disproving some of these correlations or attempting to motivate others (e.g. Payne 1985; Dryer 1988; Mithun 1987) and today many of these correlations remain, even if not universally.

The typological patterns often associated with verb-final syntax are also present in Kurtöp. For example, Kurtöp has postpositions,\textsuperscript{84} genitive-head order (as opposed to head-genitive), verbs followed by auxiliaries, sentence final question particles, suffixes and in the comparative construction the standard comes first, followed by the marker of comparison and then the adjective (or verb, as the case may be in Kurtöp; cf. §12.4) and suffixal, rather than prefixal, morphology. Grammatical relations are encoded by case-marker enclitics. The basic word order in noun phrases is: determiner, noun, adjective, numeral.

\textsuperscript{84} Technically, Kurtöp has only one postposition but uses a relator noun construction to encode the locational relations normally encoded by adpositions. See §11.3.7 for a detailed discussion of this topic.
10.2. Morphological typology

Croft (1990: §2.3) provides an overview of the history of morphological typology, beginning with von Schlegel (1808)’s two types of languages: affixal and inflectional. Since then, Greenberg (1954), Keenan and Comrie (1977), and others have expanded the typology to the current terminology. Languages may be analytic, showing a low ratio of morphemes to words, synthetic, with a small ratio of morphemes per word, or polysynthetic, with a large number of morphemes (often including roots) per word. With regard to the morphology itself, languages may be classified as being isolating (with no affixation), agglutinative (simple affixation), or fusional (remarkable morphophonological alterations).

Kurtöp tends toward polysynthetic, with many words consisting of more than one morpheme. Verbs are usually composed of two to three morphemes within three to four syllables and it is not unusual for verbs to consist of five syllables. A clause exhibiting typical morphology is illustrated by (40). The two nouns in this clause disyllabic: the genitive-marked gonpai ‘temple=GEN’ and pangkap ‘roof’. The other disyllabic word is the relator noun jedo’RN:TOP’LOC’, comprised of two morphemes. The only monosyllabic word is the demonstrative yau ‘DEM:UP’ and the verb thrangwalari ‘climb-PFV=HSY’ has three morphemes across its four syllable.
(40)  gonpai yao pangkap jedo thrangwalari
    gonpa=i yau pangkap je=do thrang-wala=ri
    temple=GEN DEM:UP roof RN:TOP=LOC climb-PFV=HSY
    ‘(She) climbed up there on top of the roof (it is said)’
    PS20061206P

On the isolating to fusional cline, Kurtöp is agglutinating, or has simple
affixation/cliticization. There are suffixes/aclitics that attach to nouns, numerals,
adjectives and verbs, so that a large number of words are composed of a stem and at least
one affix. While there is a considerable amount of affixation in Kurtöp, there is little
allomorphophemic alternation

10.3.  Alignment and grammatical relations

    Our understanding of alignment and grammatical relations in Kurtöp is still poor,
due no doubt in part to the fact that grammatical relations are encoded largely by
*semantic* as opposed to *syntactic* factors. For example, even though Kurtöp verbs do not
mark verbal objects morphologically, the rich evidential possibilities (cf.§20) inherently
limit possible referents, depending on the larger context, in any given clause.
Nonetheless, a few observations can be made regarding transitivity, case-marking, and
subject control, which are discussed in §10.3.1, §10.3.2, and §10.3.3, respectively.

10.3.1. Transitivity and core arguments

    In Kurtöp, as in many languages of Asia, core verbal arguments are not obligatory
in the sense they are obligatory in English. For example, a felicitous Kurtöp clause could
consist of a monovalent verb with its argument overt or suppressed. Likewise, a bivalent verb could occur with both of its arguments overt, with only the A argument suppressed, with only the O argument suppressed, or with neither object present. Andvik (2010: §6), describing a similar system in Tshangla, wherein arguments may be omitted if they are recoverable from discourse or even when they are not relevant. In Kurtöp, also, arguments are not overt when they are recoverable from the context, when they are not relevant, and perhaps for other reasons. The factors that predict the suppression of overt arguments in Kurtöp are complicated and beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Kurtöp verbs can be divided into two categories: monovalent and bivalent verbs. Monovalent verbs are those which may take one and only one argument while bivalent verbs may take two arguments. This difference is illustrated by (41–42). The data in (41) show that the verb throng ‘grow’ cannot take a second argument, while the verb ke ‘bear’, illustrated in (42–44), can take two arguments. The verb throng ‘grow’ is therefore monovalent while ke ‘bear’ is bivalent.

Note that (43) shows ke ‘bear’ with only the A argument overt while (44) shows ke ‘bear’ with only the O argument present. The presence of only the relevant argument is typical of Kurtöp discourse. Arguments can be omitted if they are not needed, either because they are recoverable from the context or not relevant.

85 Although the analysis is still ongoing, at present, there is no evidence in Kurtöp for trivalent verbs.

86 Bivalent verbs may be used in discourse with neither argument present, with only the A argument, or only the O argument present. What distinguishes the bivalent verbs from monovalent verbs is the possibility of two overt arguments; one overt argument is possible with bivalent verbs.
(41) \( meto \) \( thro\-\)\(n\)\(t\)\(a \)

\( meto \quad thro\-\)\(n\)\(t\)\(a \)

flower \quad grow-IPFV.MIR

‘The flower is growing

*\( ngai \) \( meto \) \( thro\-\)\(n\)\(t\)\(a \)

(42) \( khî \) \( khit \) \( keshang \)

\( khî \quad khit \quad ke\-\)\(shang \)

3.ERG \quad 3.ABS \quad bear-PFV.EGO

She gave birth to him/her.’

(43) \( khî \) \( keshang \)

\( khî \quad ke\-\)\(shang \)

3.ERG \quad bear-PFV.EGO

She gave birth to him/her.’

(44) \( khit \) \( keshang \)

\( khit \quad ke\-\)\(shang \)

3.ABS \quad bear-PFV.EGO

‘S/he was born.’

10.3.2. Case-marking

This dissertation assumes the semantic-syntactic primitives used by Comrie (1978); Dixon (1979); Dixon (1972) of S, A and O. I use the term S to refer to the sole
core argument of a monovalent verb. The term A is used for the agent-like argument of a bivalent verb while O is used for the patient-like argument of a bivalent verb.

There is no strong evidence in Kurtöp for a particular alignment type. In terms of case-marking, as I describe in §14, Kurtöp can be roughly analyzed as having a split S or active/stative system of case-marking. A arguments tend to be marked with the ergative postposition and those monovalent verbs with agentive S arguments may be optionally marked ergative for a variety of pragmatic factors. S arguments with theme semantics do not allow for this optional ergative marking. However, this description is an oversimplification of the system, as the ergative is optional (the use of it depends on pragmatic factors) for some bivalent verbs while required for others.

10.3.3. Argument control

An important syntactic question that informs alignment and grammatical relations is one of argument control across clause boundaries. For example, given a transitive matrix clause and intransitive embedded clause, which argument (A or O) determines the referent of the S argument in the embedded clause is an interesting question. This is particularly relevant question in a language like Kurtöp, in which core arguments are usually suppressed yet the average sentence consists of several clauses. More work is required to fully understand the factors involved in argument control, but some observations can be made based on elicitation.

In natural speech, the sort of syntactic minimal pairs linguists like to use rarely exist, and speakers tend to disprefer these sorts of examples. Nonetheless, some
interesting observations can be made. Consider the data in (45) and (46), which were offered to me by a speaker based on translation from English.

(45) \textit{Tshewanggi Karma garo khanta}
\begin{align*}
Tshewang & = \text{ERG} \\
Karma & = \text{INF} \\
garo & = \text{how-IPFV.MIR}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
khan & = \text{love}
\end{align*}

‘Tshewang knows how to love Karma’

(46) \textit{Tshewanggi Karmai khitna ga ngak branta}
\begin{align*}
Tshewang & = \text{ERG} \\
Karma & = \text{ERG} \\
khit & = \text{do}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
ga & = \text{like}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
gran & = \text{IPFV.MIR}
\end{align*}

‘Tshewang knows that Karma loves him’

The matrix clause in (45) and (46) consists of an ergative-marked A argument and a verb in imperfective aspect but the embedded clauses are different, causing a difference in the interpretation of the embedded A argument. In (45) there are no overt arguments in the embedded clause and A argument of the matrix clause has control over the S argument in the embedded clause. When the intention is for the O argument in the embedded clause to be controlled by the A argument in the matrix clause, then a different construction is required, as in (46). The fact that \textit{Tshewang} automatically control the A argument in the embedded clause, and overt referents are required to yield control over the O, provides evidence in favor of subject control.

To say that Kurtöp always exhibits subject control, however, is premature. There is potentially some evidence against this. Consider (47) and (48):
The first example, (47), provides evidence for subject control. Although *Karma* is the O argument in the matrix clause, it is used clause-initially, focusing the argument in what could be called a passive. This argument is then co-referential with the S argument in the embedded clause. The following example (48), however, is problematic. Here, the argument *Karma* is clearly the O argument in the matrix clause but still controls the reference of the S argument in the embedded clause.

The finding that the O argument in a matrix clause would determine the co-reference in an embedded clause is surprising given 1) the fact that the A argument controls co-reference in (45); and 2) given that in both Tshangla (Andvik 2010: 120) and Dzongkha,\(^8^7\) the control would be licensed by the first argument in the clause. Future

\(^8^7\) The Dzongkha equivalents are:

*Tshewanggi Karma b’ô-di pehikha jo-di...*

Tshewang=ERG Karma call-NF outside go-NF

‘Tshewang called Karma and ø_i went outside’
work with more speakers examining more contexts is needed, as is more work with the natural texts.

10.4. Sentence constructions

Kurtöp has three primary sentence types: 1) clause ending with finite verb; 2) clause ending with copula (which may or may not also consist of a nominalized clause); 3) wh-question. I illustrate each of these in the subsections below.

10.4.1. Finite verb construction

A predicate in Kurtöp may be identified by a final, finite verb or auxiliary, where a suffix encodes some tense/aspect/evidential value or imperative mode. An example is (49):

(49) dangninya thraksi tap geshang

dangnin-ya thrak-si tap ge-shang

yesterday-also arrive-NF return go-PFV.EGO
‘Yesterday also (they) arrived and returned back.’

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Karma Tshewanggi b’ô-di pchikha jo-di...
Karma Tshewang=ERG call-NF outside go-NF
‘Karma, was called by Tshewang and ø, went outside’
The final verb in this clause is *ge* ‘go’ which receives the suffix -*shang* ‘PFV.EGO’, and marks the clause as finite. I refer to this type of predicate as Type 1 clause structure elsewhere in the dissertation.

### 10.4.2. Copula

Another very common structure of a Kurtőp predicate involves a final copular verb (cf. §18.1 for a definition and discussion of verbal copulas), as opposed to finite-verb. The copula may be used to encode the normal range of copular functions, such as location, existence, or equation, but is more commonly used in conjunction with a nominalized clause, as in (50), where a clause, ending with the verb *thra* ‘arrive’ is nominalized and immediately followed by the mirative equative copula *wenta* ‘COP.EQ.MIR’.

(50) \[ \text{wudi zimcung duimi lhakhanggi meto durmi nanggo tap thrawal wenta} \]
\[ \text{wudi zimcung duimo=}i \text{ lhakhangg=}i \text{ meto durma=}i \]
\[ \text{DEM:DIST palace Demoness=}GEN \text{ temple=}GEN \text{ flower garden=}GEN \]
\[ \text{nang=}ro \text{ tap thra-pala wenta} \]
\[ \text{inside=}LOC \text{ return arrive-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR} \]

‘The returned back to inside the flower garden of that palace Demoness’s Temple.’

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### 10.4.3. Wh-question

*wh*-questions differ from the previous sentence types in that a particle, rather than a finite verb or verbal copula, is required at the the end of the clause. Consider (51):

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In this example there is no verb or verbal copula, simply a demonstrative, question word zhâ ‘what’ and the particle yo. The sentence is ungrammatical without yo. For further argumentation and examples involving the question particle copula yo, see §18.2.

10.5. Word classes

Several major and minor word classes in Kurtöp can be identified by their syntactic properties. Kurtöp syntactically distinguishes nouns from verbs in terms of morphology, while adjectives are distinguished from nouns primarily by their syntax. There is syntactic evidence for a category of determiner as well as numerals, which may also take special numeral morphology. With the category of verbs there is syntactic evidence for auxiliaries and copulas being a distinct class from lexical verbs. Adverbs are distinguished by their syntax as well as tend to have distinct morphological and phonological structures. These word classes are discussed below in greater detail.
10.5.1. Determiners

Determiners in Kurtöp comprise a small, closed class of elements drawn from the categories of possessive pronouns and demonstratives. Determiners are not obligatory to a NP but when present a determiner is always the first element of the NP. Within the NP there is actually room for both a genitive pronoun (first) and a demonstrative (second), suggesting that either there are actually two determiner positions or that a genitive and demonstrative together can form a genitive phrase. More work is needed to ascertain which of these options best captures the Kurtöp syntactic facts.

In (52) I illustrate a NP with one determiner (wosi ‘DEM:PROX’) and in (53) I illustrate a NP with two determiners (ngaci ‘1.GEN’, wosi ‘DEM:PROX’).

(52)  \textit{wosi khwi khepo}

\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\text{wosi} & \text{khwi} & \text{khepo} \\
\text{DEM:PROX} & \text{dog} & \text{FOC} \\
\end{tabular}

‘This dog’

(53)  \textit{ngaci wosi khwi khepo}

\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\text{ngaci} & \text{wosi} & \text{khwi} & \text{khepo} \\
\text{1.GEN} & \text{DEM:PROX} & \text{dog} & \text{FOC} \\
\end{tabular}

‘This dog of mine’

Determiners are discussed in more detail in §11.1.
10.5.2. Nouns

Nouns are defined by the following syntactic criteria: 1) occur in a NP with other nominal constituents (e.g. demonstrative, genitive, modifier, etc.); 2) serve as A, S or O of a verb phrase; 3) receive a nominal suffix (described in §11.4). Nouns on their own (i.e. without determiner or modifier) may constitute a NP. Adjectives and numerals, however, may also serve as a NP, and thus constituting a NP is not a defining character of a noun. There are a number of nominal suffixes, described in §11.4, but these attach to other parts of speech as well.

I describe and illustrate nouns in greater detail in §11.3, including two grammatical offshoots of nouns: relator nouns and light verb nominals. Relator nouns are a functional subset of nouns that, in contrast to general nouns, cannot follow a determiner or precede a modifier. They occur exclusively in the relator noun construction (cf. §11.3.7), following a genitive and preceding a case marker. Light verb nominals are a subset of nouns which exhibit a distribution more restricted than relator nouns. These nominals are noun-like in that they seem to serve as a direct object for verbs and always immediately precede the verb, but are unlike nouns in that they cannot be modified syntactically.

10.5.3. Numerals

Numerals are a constituent of the noun phrase. They follow the noun and, if present, the adjective. Numerals may also function as a NP on their own, serving as A, S, or O of a verb. In addition to their unique syntactic position, numerals in Kurtöp can be defined by the ability to take a small set of numeral suffixes, shown in Table 107.
Table 107. Kurtöp numeral suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-laka</td>
<td>‘both/all’ (Hindi –õ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bakti</td>
<td>‘around’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form -laka, often shortened to -ka can be roughly glossed as ‘all’ or ‘both’ in English. In this way it is more like Mandarin Chinese 都 dōu or Hindi -õ than English ‘all’; that is, it is used with all numerals above one, not just numerals above two. For example, zon-laka ‘two-all’ translates to ‘both’ while sum-laka ‘three-all’ translates to ‘all three’. The suffix -laka has also been found with the quantifier rita ‘all’, as in (54), suggesting that rita is a numeral.

The other numeral suffix -bakti, sometimes shortened to -ba translates roughly into English ‘-ish’, or ‘approximately’. Thus, yanga-bakti means ‘around five’ or ‘five or so’.

(54)   zû ritakanang patma throngzi
      zû     rita-laka=nang patma throng-zi
      body all-ALL=LOC river.weed grow-NF
  ‘River weeds were growing all over
(her) whole body.’

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10.5.4. Adjectives

There are primarily two ways Kurtöp can modify nouns in terms of attributes or property concepts. The first way is via a genitive construction $[N_{MOD} \equiv GEN \ N_{HEAD}]$, which I describe in §11.2. The second way Kurtöp may modify a noun in terms of attribution is with an adjective. The syntactic class of adjectives is characterized by 1) syntactic position between noun and numerals; 2) ability to receive the individuating suffix -la; 3) tendency to be disyllabic with the second syllable being -pa or -ti. Like numerals, adjectives can also function as a NP. Adjectives are like verbs in that they may occur in the comparative construction (cf. §12.4). Chapter 12 is devoted to a discussion of nominal modifiers, including adjectives, which are described in §12.1.

The syntactic position of adjectives is illustrated in (55), where khwi ‘dog’ is the noun, chitpu ‘big’ is the adjective, and ‘nî ‘seven’ is the numeral.

(55)      khwi chitpu 'nî
           khwi            chitpu    'nî
           dog            big      seven
            ‘Seven big dogs’

10.5.5. Verbs

Verb stems in Kurtöp are almost exclusively monosyllabic. In unmarked position they follow their nominal arguments (if any). Kurtöp verbs are identified by their ability to take the negative prefix or any of the wide selection of verbal suffixes described in §16.2.2. However, there are two additional sub-classes of verbs, that is, auxiliaries and
copulas. Each of these categories is syntactically defined, as I describe below. Within these categories there are a few verbs which do not readily fit into the definitions; I describe these as well. (56) illustrates several verbs, including a lexical verb (zut ‘eat’), and auxiliary (ni ‘stay’) and a copula (wenta).

(56) tshe tongphui za sizi zut nisala ngaksi wenta

‘Then it is said that he stayed plucking and eating the pinenuts.’

Lama200812311.2851.770LC

10.5.5.1. Lexical verbs

Lexical verbs constitute the majority of Kurtöp verbs. Syntactically, they take the full range of verbal morphology. They differ from auxiliaries in that, when immediately following a non-final marked verb in a clause chain, the non-final marking is obligatory.

10.5.5.2. Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are a subset of verbs, comprising a small class of verbs with semantics typically associated with grammaticalization (e.g. such as ‘go’, ‘send’, ‘sit’, etc.). When both lexical verbs and auxiliary verbs are present, the auxiliary will follow the lexical verb. Auxiliaries are syntactically identical with main verbs with the one exception that auxiliaries, when used the final verb in a clause-chain, do not require the converb to be
suffixed with non-final marking, as a lexical verb would, resulting in a serial verb construction\(^{88}\) (cf. §21.2.5.5.1).

Compare (57) with (58):

\begin{itemize}
\item[(57)] \textit{mojani pra bjur geshang ngaksi wenta}
\item[(58)] \textit{dangninya thraksi tap geshang}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item moja-ni pra \textit{bjur} ge-shang ngaksi wenta
\item dangnin-ya \textit{thrak} si tap ge-shang
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item woman-CFOC monkey transform go-PFV.EGO QUOT COP.EQ.MIR
\item yesterday-also arrive-NF return go-PFV.EGO
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item ‘The the woman is said to have transformed into a monkey.’
\item ‘Yesterday also (they) arrived and returned back.’
\end{itemize}

Lama200812311. 2896.567.LC

PS20061206.

In (57) the converb \textit{bjur} ‘transform’ is immediately followed by the auxiliary \textit{ge} ‘go’ and thus \textit{bjur} is unmarked; it does not have the non-final suffix. In (58), on the other hand, the converb \textit{thrak} ‘arrive’ is followed by another lexical verb \textit{tap} ‘return’ and thus the converb must receive the non-final suffix. This is the only difference which syntactically separates the auxiliaries from the lexical verbs.

\[^{88}\text{As will be noted in the discussion on clause-chaining and converbs (§21.2.5), I do not analyze verb-auxiliary sequences as serial verb constructions because of the fact that the non-final suffix -}\textit{si} \text{is always recoverable on the converb.}\]
For a full list of Kurtöp auxiliaries, refer to §16.1.4. A thorough analysis of converses and the Kurtöp clause-chaining construction is in §21.2.5.

10.5.5.3. ngak ‘do’

The verb ngak ‘do’ maintains a unique position as a verb in Kurtöp syntax. It may function as a main verb meaning ‘do’, as an auxiliary, or as a quotative. The full form of the quotative is actually ngaksi, or the verb plus non-final morphology, but in comfortable speech and natural discourse the form is often realized simply as ngâ.

10.5.5.4. The quasi-verb mik

The word mik defies classification as a straightforward verb; it cannot receive the negative prefix and may be suffixed only with the non-final verbal suffix. Etymologically, mik derives from the word for ‘eye’ but as a quasi-verb it does not evidence fully nominal behavior. The morphosyntactic behavior of quasi-verb mik is demonstrated in (59), where mik receives the non-final clause-chaining suffix -si.

Despite the seemingly idiosyncratic behavior of this word, it is very common and in fact the only way to translate English ‘see’ into Kurtöp.

(59)  \[ \text{pon mikisra methung} \]
\[ \text{pon mik-si-ra me-thung} \]
king eye-NF-EMPH NEG-do
‘(Some) haven’t seen the king at all’
SPh.TsC20081022.SPh
10.5.5.5. Copul verbs

Copular verbs, often simply referred to as ‘copulas’ and distinguished from the ‘copular particle’ (cf. §18) in this dissertation, are similar to verbs in that they canonically occur at the end of a clause, preceding any nominal or nominalized arguments. Unlike verbs, they cannot be negated; instead there are separate negative forms of each copula. Synchronically, they cannot take any verbal suffix but there are several forms of the copulas, depending on evidential or evidential-like value, which are obviously historically derived from current and former verb suffixes (see §18 for a full treatment of Kurtöp copulas). Copulas are like verbs in that they may occur with any verbal clitic, as in (60) and (61) below.

(60)  
'mantsha wenri
'man-tsha  
medicine-salt

‘(They) say it’s medicinal salt’

DungkarTS20081231.DT

(61)  
'aku Tshewang Tenzin nāmi
'aku  
uncle

‘There’s uncle Tshewan Tenzin, right’

SBC20051127.KW
10.5.5.5.1. The existential copulas

Within the syntactic category of copulas it is possible to identify a sub-category of copulas, consisting of the existential copulas nâ (affirmative) and mû (negative). While existential copulas do not take the range of finite verbal suffixes synchronically, they can be nominalized. This is clearly evidence of their relative recent recruitment into the category of copulas from previous lexical verbs.

The affirmative existential verb is shown nominalized with -khan and -sa in (62) and (63), respectively.

(62) tshemo tshe nâ-khan soso wentami

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{tshemo} & \text{tshe} & \text{nâ-khan} & \text{soso} & \text{wenta-mi} \\
\text{but} & \text{DM} & \text{COP.EXIS.MIR-NMZ:IPFV} & \text{different} & \text{COP.EQ.MIR-TAG} \\
\end{tabular}

‘But the one that is there is different.’

SaT:SW20090917.1359.553.SaT

(63) tshe zasa thungsa naksa thenang yoi kholu ngaksi

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{tshe} & \text{za-sa} & \text{thung-sa} & \text{nak-sa} & \text{the=nang} & \text{yoi} \\
\text{DM} & \text{eat-NMZ} & \text{do-NMZ:LOC} & \text{COP.EXIS-NMZ:LOC} & \text{DEF=LOC} & \text{reach} \\
khor-\text{lu} & \text{ngaksi} \\
\text{take-IMP} & \text{QUOT} \\
\end{tabular}

‘saying “take me a place where there is food and water.”’

Lama200812311. 2818.738-2820.161LC

\footnote{Note that the formally nominalized form of the affirmative copula, nawala, no longer retains any nominal semantics and has grammaticalized as the affirmative, unmarked copula (cf. §18.1.2.1 and §20.2.1.1.1).}
The negative existential copula can also be nominalized with -sa and -khan, as in (64) and (65).

(64) *ta mutkhan gap gepana kerzi*

\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{horse} & \text{COP.EXIS.NEG-NMZ:IPFV} & \text{PL.FOC} & \text{back=LOC} & \text{carry-NF} \\
\text{ta} & \text{mut-khan} & \text{gapo} & \text{gepa=na} & \text{ker-zi} \\
\end{array}\]

‘.. those without horses, carrying (the luggage) on their backs…

SPhTsC20081022.379.483SPh

(65) *gari yam mutsa*

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{car} & \text{road} & \text{COP.EXIS.NEG-NMZ:LOC} \\
gari & \text{yam} & \text{mut-sa} \\
\end{array}\]

‘Where there is no car road’

10.5.5.2. The equational copulas

The affirmative and negative equational copulas are *wen* and *min*, respectively.

These forms can also be nominalized with -khan and -sa, as I show in the elicited examples below; there are no examples of these in the texts. The data in (66-67) illustrate nominalization of the affirmative equational copula and (68-69) show nominalization of the negative equational copula.

(66) *wensa*

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{wen-sa} \\
\text{COP.EQ-NMZ:LOC} \\
\end{array}\]

‘The right place’
(67)  
*wenkhan*

*wen-khan*

COP.EQ-NMZ:IPFV

‘The one which is right’

(68)  
*minsa*

*min-sa*

COP.EQ.NEG-NMZ:LOC

‘The wrong place’

(69)  
*minkhan*

*min-khan*

COP.EQ.NEG-NMZ:IPFV

‘The one that is wrong’

10.5.6. Adverbs

Kurtöp also has a set of adverbs, which are always composed of at least two syllables and are analyzeable diachronically. The second syllable is often -*pa* or -*ba* or a reduplication of the first syllable. Adverbs themselves are often reduplicated as well.
Consider (70):

(70) \textit{net joba joba zur go la}  
\textit{net joba joba zu-ro go la}  
\text{1.PL.ABS quickly quickly eat-INF need POL}  
‘We have to eat very quickly la.’  
KZ200505152.685.754.KZ

As further evidence of adverbs as a distinct syntactic category, elicitation shows that adverbs cannot modify a noun, thereby distinguishing them from adjectives. For example, in (71) I show that \textit{joba} cannot modify a noun.

(71) \textit{*phoja joba}  
\text{phoja joba}  
\text{male quickly}  
KLElicitation201006

Kurtöp adverbs are often formed by reduplication of verbs. An example of this is (72), in which the verb \textit{thrang} ‘be straight’ is reduplicated, giving the sense in English of ‘straight away’ or ‘directly’.
10.5.7. Morphemes smaller than the word

This section discusses morphemes in Kurtöp which are smaller than words and require a stem or word in order to be realized. I make a distinction between affixes, clitics, and particles, as described below.

10.5.7.1. Affixes

I will use the term ‘affix’ for the category of bound morphemes which generally affix to one category of speech. The largest subset of these forms is found as suffix to the verb, though there are nominal suffixes as well. There is one verb prefix in the language.

10.5.7.2. Clitics

Clitics, like affixes, are bound forms that form phonological words with their hosts, though unlike affixes, do not necessarily do so. Kurtöp clitics generally attach at the phrasal level, though there are instances in which it is ambiguous whether the clitic is attaching to a word or a phrase. There are only enlictics in Kurtöp and no proclitics.
10.5.7.3. Particles

Kurtöp particles are primarily defined as the structural category of forms that can join with other lexical items as one phonological word, but have a grammatical, rather than lexical, function. In this way, particles can be contrasted with nouns and verbs, which are their own phonological words. Particles are also separate from affixes and clitics in that they may form their own phonological words and are not necessarily phonologically bound.

The question copula yo is an example of a particle in Kurtöp. In (73) I show how it retains its status as a word in slow, careful speech while in (74) the copula has attached to the previous word phonologically.\(^9\)

(73)  
\textquoteleft au gewala yo? \\
\textquoteleft au ge-pala yo \\
where go-PFV QP.COP \\
\textquoteleft Where did (you) go?\rightquote

(74)  
\textquoteleft au gewalyo? \\
\textquoteleft au ge-pala=yo \\
where go-PFV=QP.COP \\
\textquoteleft Where did (you) go?\rightquote

\(^9\) Note that (74) also illustrates the difference between grammatical and phonological words. The fact that the final -a of gewala is deleted is evidence of gewala's status as a grammatical word. The attachment of the particle yo forms a phonological word composed of the grammatical word gewala plus the particle yo.
Noun phrases in Kurtöp consist of a noun or pronoun, plus optionally a determiner and/or genitive phrase preceding the noun, and optionally an adjective or numeral/numeral phrase following the noun. The noun itself may actually be a nominalized phrase (cf. §15). Case suffixes are clitics which suffix to the right-most boundary of the noun phrase. This chapter first presents the syntactic categories in the noun phrase (immediately below) followed by a more thorough description of each. Determiners are discussed in §11.1; genitive expressions are discussed in §11.2; nouns are discussed in §11.3; Nominal suffixes are described in §11.4; modifiers (adjectives and numerals) are outlined in §11.5; and §11.6 describes the category of phrasal clitics, including case markers. The topics of classifiers (§11.7) and reduplication (§11.8) conclude this chapter.

The order of NP constituents is summarized by Figure 41.

\[
[ (\text{DET}) \quad (\text{GEN P}) \quad \text{N} \quad (\text{ADJ P}) \quad (\text{QUANT}) \ ] \quad (\text{Case Clitic})
\]

Figure 41. The order of nominal constituents in the Kurtöp Noun Phrase.

An example of a NP with a genitive phrase, noun and adjective from natural conversation is shown in (75).
(75)  *khiri jachunggi 'usha jikpa*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khiri} & \quad jachung=gi \quad 'usha \quad jikpa \\
3.\text{REFL.GEN} & \quad \text{garuda}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{hat.HON} \quad \text{big}
\end{align*}
\]

‘his big garuda hat’

SPh.TsC20081022.3162.852SPh

In all text examples where numerals and adjectives co-occur the adjective is affixed with the individualizer as in (76-77).

(76)  *phâ jikpal the khor ngaksi*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phâ} & \quad jikpa-la \quad \text{the} \quad \text{khor} \quad \text{ngaksi} \\
\text{pig} & \quad \text{big-IDZ} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{carry} \quad \text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘taking one big pig…’

SPh.TsC20081022.3162.852SPh

(77)  *wo gor 'lep jikpal the nâ ngaksi*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wo} & \quad \text{gor} \quad 'lep \quad jikpa-la \quad \text{the} \quad \text{nâ} \quad \text{ngaksi} \\
\text{PROX} & \quad \text{stone} \quad \text{flat.one} \quad \text{big-IDZ} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{COP.EXIS.MIR} \quad \text{QUOT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘There is this one big stone slab.’

Lama200812311.1446.182LC

It seems that the concomitant presence of the individuator -\text{-la} suffixed to the adjective with a numeral is due to the pragmatic fact that when addressing a number of a particular noun while also modifying it in terms of an adjectival property the entity being discussed is inherently individuated. Thus, the individuator -\text{-la} is present in all textual
examples. However, in elicitation, speakers agree that a non-individuated adjective may precede a numeral, as in (78). See §11.4.2 for a detailed discussion of individuator -la.

(78)  khwi chitpu 'nî rata
   khwi  chitpu  'nî  ra-ta
dog    big    seven  come-IPFV.MIR
‘Seven big dogs are coming.’
KTElicitation20080218

A demonstrative and genitive can co-occur in a NP, unlike in English. An example is (79), where the demonstrative wo and possessive pronoun ngaci are both present.

(79)  wo ngaci nga
   wo    ngaci    nga
   DEM:PROX  1.GEN   drum
‘this drum of mine’
Lama200812311.2569.938LC

11.1. Determiners

The first position in the Kurtöp NP is the syntactic position of determiner. The position is optional and can be filled by a demonstrative or genitive pronoun, or, more rarely, both a demonstrative and genitive personal pronoun. Demonstrative determiners, though they can function as NPs on their own, should be be confused with other
proforms, such as pro-adverbials (cf. §13.2), which cannot fulfill the syntactic position of
determiner. I illustrate the demonstrative determiners immediately below but reserve a
discussion of genitive pronouns for §13.1.

Demonstratives in Kurtöp comprise a small, closed set of forms that occupy the
first syntactic position of a noun phrase. The four forms demonstrate values of proximity
or topographical deixis, as summarized in Table 108.

Table 108. Kurtöp demonstrative determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wo ~ wozi</td>
<td>PROXIMATE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wudi</td>
<td>DISTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wome</td>
<td>PROXIMATE.DOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woye</td>
<td>PROXIMATE.UP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proximate demonstrative wo is illustrated in (80).

(80) wo seshu metona khî ’nga butsi

wo seshu meto=na khî ’ngâ but-si
DEM:PROX marigold flower=LOC 3.ERG blessing blow-NF
‘He blew the blessing on the marigold…’
LC200812311.2882.427LC

In (81) the distal demonstrative follows the locative adverb thu as the first
member in the NP wudi kwekpani ‘DEM.DIST crown=ABL’.

282
(81) *thu wudi kwekpani yot gwar cangko khormal ngak*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{thu} & \text{wudi} & \text{kwekpa}=\text{ni} & \text{yoto} & \text{gwar} & \text{cang-to} & \text{khor-male} \\
\text{DIST} & \text{DEM:DIST} & \text{crown}=\text{ABL} & \text{DIR:DN} & \text{turn} & \text{throw-INF} & \text{take-NMZ:IRR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Taking to throw over there from the top…’

PS20061206.1342.577P

The other two demonstratives specify location of a noun as being higher or lower than the deictic center; *woye* is used for referents higher than the deictic center and with *wome* used for referents below the deictic center. These forms are shown in (82) and (83), respectively.

(82) *woye khwei zurna thang pang cingkul the nā*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllll}
\text{woye} & \text{khwe}=\text{gi} & \text{zur}=\text{na} & \text{thang} & \text{pang} & \text{cingu-la} & \text{the} \\
\text{DEM:UP} & \text{water}=\text{GEN} & \text{edge}=\text{LOC} & \text{field} & \text{open.space} & \text{small-IDZ} & \text{DEF} \\
\text{nā} & \text{COP.EXIS.MIR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘At the edge of the water down there there is a small, open plane.’

SBC20051127.7KW

(83) *wome thri ranarang dorti shawalari la*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllll}
\text{wome} & \text{thri}=\text{gi} & \text{ra}=\text{na}=\text{rang} & \text{dorti} & \text{sha-wala}=\text{ri} & \text{la} \\
\text{DEM:DN} & \text{throne}=\text{GEN} & \text{root}=\text{LOC}=\text{EMPH} & \text{once} & \text{die.HON-PFV=HSY} & \text{POL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘At the root of the throne down there he died once (it is said).’

PS20061206. 0486.435P
The form wo also appears as wozi, both in the syntactic position of demonstrative as well as noun. In (84) the demonstrative wozi is used as a pronoun and in (85) is used as a demonstrative.

(84)  wozi nawala
       wozi     nawala
       DEM:PROX COP.EXIS
       ‘We had this.’
       SBC2051127KW

(85)  wozi chōsham nanggo
       wozi     chōsham   nang=go
       DEM:PROX alter.room inside=LOC
       ‘Inside this alter room’
       PS20061206.0342.988P

The alternate wo is also found in texts as a simple (uncliticized) noun as well, as in (86), but in general the form wozi is found much commonly as a simple pronoun. I suspect this may be due to a preference for minimally disyllabic word structure.

(86)  tshe wo nāmi
       tshe    wo     nā=mi
       DM      DEM:PROX COP.EXIS.MIR=TAG
       ‘We have this, right.’
       Rice.Harvest20081022.77.408PS
(87)  *wudi zimcung duimi lhakhanggi meto durmi nanggo tap thrawal wenta*

*wudi*  zimcung  duimo=gi  lhakhangg=gi  meto  durma=gi

DEM:DIST  palace  Demoness=GEN  temple=GEN  flower  garden=GEN

*nang=ro*  tap  thra-wala  wenta

inside=LOC  return  arrive-NMZ:PFV  COP.EQ.MIR

‘The returned back to inside the flower garden of that palace Demoness’s Temple.’

PS20061206.1269.772P

11.2.  Genitive phrases

Genitive phrases in Kurtöp NPs follow demonstratives and precede nouns. An example of a genitive followed by the demonstrative is (88), in which case the proximate demonstrative *wo* is followed by the first person reflexive genitive *ngaragi*.

(88)  *tshe wo ngarigi semna rakhan pong*

*tshe*  *wo*  ngara=gi  sem=na  ra-khan  pong

DM  DEM:PROX  1.REFL=GEN  mind=LOC  come-NMZ:IPFV  PL

‘These things which come to my mind’

PS20061206.1269.772P

There were limited such examples in the texts but it is easy for speakers to create such examples during elicitation. For example, a speaker could contrast (89) with (90) in a context where they had two houses, one located close to the deictic center and one located further away.
(89) \textit{wo ngaci me} \\
\textit{wo} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ngaci} \hspace{1cm} \textit{me} \\
DEM:PROX \hspace{1cm} 1.GEN \hspace{1cm} \text{house} \\
‘This house of mine' \\
Elicitation20100611.KL

(90) \textit{wudi ngaci me} \\
\textit{wudi} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ngaci} \hspace{1cm} \textit{me} \\
DEM:DIST \hspace{1cm} 1.GEN \hspace{1cm} \text{house} \\
‘That house of mine’ \\
Elicitation20100611.KL

Noun phrases involving genitives in Kurtöp usually have the structure: \textsc{posse}ssor=\textsc{gen} possess\textsc{ed}, though occasionally the genitive is simply omitted. The possessor may be a noun or an entire NP; in this sense, the genitive is a clitic (cf. §11.6.6.4). Identifying the form of the genitive is not straightforward, as it appears as though two, or perhaps more, systems have collapsed over time, which I speculate has happened under influence from Dzongkha and Chöke. The general distribution of the Kurtöp genitive forms is summarized in Table 109.

\textbf{Table 109. Kurtöp genitive forms}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=gi</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=li</td>
<td>Following nasal, vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=i</td>
<td>Following vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The forms =gi and =i are identical to ergative forms in Tibetan but =li is not found in Tibetan. While it is tempting to propose that the -gi genitive is a shared innovation with Classical Tibetan, there are some problems with this hypothesis. First, it is not clear that =gi reconstructs throughout East Bodish. There is no evidence for it in Khengkha and though it is found in Bumthap, it co-occurs with the genitive -le. A form *-ku is shared between Chali,91 Dakpa and Dzala, though it is not clear if this form reconstructs to the parent language for all of East Bodish, or if it is unique to an intermediate parent for these three languages.

Speakers will allow =gi in any context and it is commonly found throughout the textual database. Likewise, =i is predictably found in place of a word-final vowel; for example, Pema=GEN > Pemi. The distribution of =li, on the other hand, is impossible to predict and it rarely occurs. I have never witnessed it myself but it does occur on occasion throughout the textual database from a variety of speakers. When asked about the difference between =gi ~ =i and =li, speakers report the forms have the same function. Van Driem (1995a) describes the ergative for Bumthap as -le but also states that the form -gi, under the influence of Dzongkha and Chöke, is also used (1995a: 22). Given that Bumthap and Khengkha are Kurtöps’s sister languages, that there is no evidence of =gi in Khengkha, that =li/le is shared between Kurtöp and Bumthap, and that the presence of =gi in Bumthap is argued to be due to influence from Dzongkha and Chöke, I argue that =gi ~ =i is a borrowing in Kurtöp, and =li is the native Kurtöp form, now

91 The reflex in Chali is -u.
almost completely replaced by the Dzongkha/Chöke \(=gi \sim =i\). This is supported by speakers’ and my observations that the use of \(=gi\) is associated with a higher register.

Examples of the genitive \(=li\) are (91) and (92).

(91) \textit{meli} 'ama
\[
me=li \quad 'ama
\]
house=gen woman

‘Housewife’

SPh.TsC20081022.1190.772TsC

(92) \textit{naspungli} nenma khepo
\[
naspung=li \quad nenma \quad khepo
\]
day.after.tomorrow=GEN day FOC

‘The day of the day after tomorrow’

PS20061206.0562.205P

11.2.1. Possessive pronouns

The combination of the genitive with a pronoun yields a unique form of pronoun. While elsewhere the genitive and ergative formally overlap, there are separate forms for the genitive versus ergative pronouns when not reflexive. For reflexive pronouns the distinction is collapsed and \(=gi \sim =i\) are used instead. Speakers admit that the use of a possessive pronoun with \(=gi\) is not a native construction but influenced from Chöke.

Genitive pronouns are shown in Table 110.
Table 110. Kurtöp genitive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ngaci</td>
<td>ngari/ngaragi</td>
<td>neci</td>
<td>neri/neragi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>wici</td>
<td>weri/weragi</td>
<td>ningi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>khici</td>
<td>khiri/khiragi</td>
<td>boci</td>
<td>bori/boragi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>’eci</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is a brief illustration of the difference of the native versus borrowed pronoun construction. (93) is extracted from a conversation between two friends, residing in the U.S. The entire conversation between these two friends contains very little honorific vocabulary and no use of the honorific particle la. When present, the honorific vocabulary is limited to discussions about Rinpoches.92 The pronoun ngaci ‘1.gen’ in (93) is the expected form.

(93)  

da **ngaci nomi**...

da

now

‘Now my younger sister…’

SBC20051127.KW

92 Rinpoches are highly-respected Buddhist leaders.
(93) contrasts with (94), which is extracted from a narrative by a former lay monk. The narrative was intended to be a formal introduction to the Kurtöp language community and the speaker, KZ, dressed in a g’o (formal Bhutanese attire) for the recording. The narrative is scattered with honorific vocabulary directed at the audience (the author and Karma Tshering), frequently including the honorific particle la. Note that, in addition to the non-native ngara=gi, ‘1.REFL=GEN’, the speaker slips into Dzongkha with the word yū ‘village’, and has to self-correct to the proper Kurtöp form trong.

(94) tshe ngaragi kesa khepo tshe Kurtö geo yū** Tabining wen -- trong khep Tabining wen la
tshe ngara=gi ke-sa khepo tshe Kurtö geo
DM 1.REFL=GEN give.birth-NMZ:LOC FOC DM Kurtö district
'yū**93 Tabi=ning wen trong khepo Tabi=ning
village Tabi=ABL COP.EQ village FOC Tabi=ABL
‘My own birth place, it’s from the Kurtö Geok village Tabi, from the village Tabi.’
KZ200505151.9.137-13.593KZ

11.2.2. Double genitive marking94

Possessive pronouns can also be suffixed with the morpheme -ki, probably an old nominalizer (cf. §15.3 and §16.2.2.14). The general tendency in these ‘doubly-marked’

93 The use of two stars (**) here and throughout the dissertation indicates a borrowed form.

94 My designation of this construction as ‘double genitive’ is due to the assumption that the synchronic genitive pronouns are derived historically from the nominalizer -ki affixed to the pronominal base. However, more work is needed to prove this. It may turn out that the origin of the genitive in the genitive pronouns is not at all related to the nominalizer -ki and therefore ‘double genitive’ would be an infelicitous term.
pronouns is for them to stand in as a full NP, similar to the English forms mine, yours, his, hers, etc. Examples are (95), (96) and (97).

(95) gir thungna dar gewa sho ngaciki
    gir         thung-nani     dar     ge-wa     sho    ngaci-ki
    revolve do-COND fall go-NMZ EMPH 1.GEN=GEN
    ‘Mine fell while it was turning around.’
    SPh.TsC20081022.TsC

(96) wo bank**gi me khapo bociki wentami
    wo          bank**=gi  me   khepo  boci-ki  wenta-mi
    DEM.PROX  bank=GEN  house FOC  3.PL.GEN=GEN COP.EQ.MIR-TAG
    ‘This house of the bank’s was theirs, right.’
    SBC20051127.KW

(97) ner lhuntshiki pong draksho khirakorang
    neri         lhuntshi=gi-ki   pong    draksho    khira=ro=rang
    1.PL.INCL.GEN Lhüntshi=GEN=GEN PL Dr’âsho 3.REFL=LOC=EMPH
    ‘Our Lhuntshi’s (were) for Dr’âsho himself only.’
    SPh.TsC20081022.2997.009.SPh

A doubly-marked genitive, however, may also occur as a modifier to a noun, as the elicited example in (98) illustrates. It is not yet clear what the difference between (98) and boci me ‘their house’ would be.
11.2.3. Lack of genitive marking

There are several examples in the texts in which the genitive marking is lacking from the possessor, despite the fact that the genitive function is understood. The tendency to drop the genitive has led, I believe, to compounds. However, the examples described here are not compounds; they are separate phonological words, rather than one word with compound stress.

(99) bjar mar she dro

bjar     mar     she     dro
summer   butter   cube   six
‘six cubes of butter (made in the) summer’
SPh.TsC20081022.669.897.SPh

11.3. Nouns

Nouns in Kurtöp constitute a rich lexical class and may be monosyllabic, disyllabic or tri-syllabic. As I described in §10.5.2, nouns are defined by the ability to occur in a NP with other nominal constituents (e.g. demonstrative, genitive, modifier,
etc.), serve as the subject or object of a verb phrase and receive a nominal suffix. Nouns follow determiners but precede modifiers.

In this section I describe nouns in terms of word shape (§11.3.1–§11.3.4), gender (§11.3.5), and count/mass distinction (§11.3.6). In §11.3.7 I describe relator nouns, a grammaticalized offshoot of nouns used in specifying locational relationships.

11.3.1. Monosyllabic nouns

Many nouns that denote basic concepts are monosyllabic, some of which are shown in Table 111.

**Table 111. Some monosyllabic nouns in Kurtöp**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>khwe</em></td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khwi</em></td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wa</em></td>
<td>‘trough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>me</em></td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ju</em></td>
<td>‘milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zhong</em></td>
<td>‘insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwa</em></td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yâ</em></td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>seng</em></td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mî</em></td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pheng</em></td>
<td>‘clay pot’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.3.2. Disyllabic nouns

Disyllabic nouns probably consistute the most common shape of nouns. These can be subdivided into three types: compounds, those with a historically analyzeable suffix, and those without historically anlyzeable morphemes. Phonologically, the words illustrated in Table 112 are different. Words which are obvious synchronic compounds, such as phokhwi, have compound stress; while words like khauti, which are not as synchronically transparent, receive normal stress. Table 112 provides examples of disyllabic nominal compounds in Kurtöp.

Table 112. Some disyllabic compound nouns in Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khauti</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
<td>khawa ‘chicken’ + ti ‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phokhwi</td>
<td>‘male dog’</td>
<td>pho ‘male’ + khwi ‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrumkam</td>
<td>‘dried cheese’</td>
<td>phrum ‘cheese’ + kam ‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badu</td>
<td>‘cowherder’</td>
<td>ba ‘female mithun’ + du ‘herd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamar</td>
<td>‘local butter’</td>
<td>ba ‘female mithun’ + mar ‘butter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mikco</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>mik ‘eye’ + co ‘feces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammrâ</td>
<td>‘dry rice’</td>
<td>kam ‘dry’ + mrâ ‘rice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another set of disyllabic nouns in Kurtöp can be analyzed as being composed of a root plus a suffix. While there are still synchronic nominalizers in the language (cf. §15), for most of the nouns of this type, the suffix is no longer synchronically transparent.
Table 113. Disyllabic nouns in Kurtöp, composed of a root + suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tawa</td>
<td>‘leg’</td>
<td>ta ?? + -wa ‘NMZ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwekpa</td>
<td>‘crown’</td>
<td>kwek ?? + pa ‘NMZ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kangu</td>
<td>‘balloon’</td>
<td>kanga ?? + pu ‘NMZ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>‘eagle’</td>
<td>ka ?? + -wa ‘NMZ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitpa</td>
<td>‘ice’</td>
<td>kit ?? + pa ‘NMZ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garba</td>
<td>‘thickness’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garpa</td>
<td>‘personal attendant’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garwa</td>
<td>‘blacksmith’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A third set of disyllabic nouns in Kurtöp is composed of syllables of unknown etymology. Some of these are illustrated in Table 114.

Table 114. Disyllabic nouns in Kurtöp, composed of unknown syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymological notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gami</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>me ‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khauya</td>
<td>‘chick’</td>
<td>khawa ‘hen’+ ya ‘baby’?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bauya</td>
<td>‘calf’</td>
<td>bawa ?? + ya ‘baby’?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guyung</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>gunu ‘head’ (Phobjip), guto ‘head’ (Dzongkha)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.3.3. Trisyllabic nouns

A substantial number of nouns in Kurtöp are trisyllabic, usually containing a final syllable which is historically analyzable. For example, in Table 115, several nouns end with the formative -ling, some with -la, and others with -wa or -ma. The formative -ling
is found most commonly in bird names, and given the fact that it means ‘jump/fly’ synchronically, I suspect the form in the nouns below has its origins as a verb meaning jump or fly. The diachronic trajectory in these instances would be something like ‘jump/fly’ > bird suffix > generic nominalizer, with its current function somewhat akin to a more grammaticalized ‘thing’, ‘thingy’, or ‘thingamajig’ in English.

Table 115. Trisyllabic nouns in Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymological notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khashaling</td>
<td>‘plant used in making curry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cukaling</td>
<td>‘armpit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khukshaling</td>
<td>‘Common Hoope’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khuntula</td>
<td>‘wooden spatula’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khuntola</td>
<td>‘fist’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaziwa</td>
<td>‘centipede’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galingma</td>
<td>‘lizard’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cangmaling</td>
<td>‘plant type’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curcuma</td>
<td>‘spike-throwing game’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banggala</td>
<td>‘chile’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhimbula</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
<td>Dzala zhimu (Genetti 2009)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The history of the formative -la is tied with its use as an individuator (§11.4.2).

While it is clearly still synchronically productive, I believe it has grammaticalized as a syllable in several nouns, such as banggala ‘chile’ and zhimbula ‘cat’. The trajectory here would be one of reanalysis, such that an individuated entity becomes understood to be the entity itself. Presumably, the words ending with -wa or -ma reflect the same old nominalizer described above.
11.3.4. Compounds

Compounds are a productive aspect of Kurtöp grammar. The overall meaning is often greater than the sum of the parts and the same meaning is not present if the order of the two constituents is reversed. This is illustrated in (100) wherein the composition of brangsa ‘shelter’ plus mong ‘woven bamboo’ yields the interpretation ‘woven bamboo shelter’ while reversing the order of the nouns does not.

(100) brangsa-mong

brangsa  mong
shelter  woven.bamboo
‘woven bamboo shelter’
SPh.TsC20081022.1568.900SPh
*mong brangsa

11.3.5. Gender

Kurtöp, as is common amongst Tibeto-Burman languages, does not code gender in the sense of Romance or German nouns, in which each noun receives an obligatory male or female (or neuter in the case of German) gender. Neither is gender in Kurtöp similar to gender in Hindi, in which the verb is obligatorily coded for the gender of the A, S, or O.\(^95\) Rather, a subset of animate nouns may be marked for gender. As I show in

\(^95\) In Hindi, the verb in perfective aspect will agree in gender with the O, while in all other tenses/aspects the verb will agree with the A/S argument.
Table 116 below, forms denoting males often involve a voiceless labial stop while forms for females involve a labial nasal.

**Table 116. Kurtöp “gendered” nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>matsang</td>
<td>patsang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moja</td>
<td>phoja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokhwi</td>
<td>phokhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mochu</td>
<td>phochu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mopzang</td>
<td>phopzang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mopsa</td>
<td>phopsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mopun</td>
<td>phopun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modre</td>
<td>phodre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganmo</td>
<td>gatpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogo</td>
<td>phogo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lexical status of *mo* in the language is somewhat unclear. On the one hand, it occurs mainly in the forms shown in Table 116 and is not generally used productively as a prefix or suffix. However, speakers can understand examples such as *mowam* ‘female.bear’ or *mongiya* ‘female.mouse’, given the appropriate context. Neither *mo* nor *pho* may be used as a noun on its own, as is shown by the negative examples in (101) and (102).
11.3.6. The count/mass distinction

Unlike English, which has a grammaticalized count/mass distinction in nouns, the difference in Kurtöp is not grammaticalized, but nonetheless notable in semantics. When count nouns are pluralized the result is an increase in number of a same type. For example, *mo *gapo ‘dog’ + pong ‘PL’ → ‘many dogs’ or ‘a group of dogs’, while *pho *gapo ‘rice’ + pong ‘PL’ → ‘many varieties of rice’.

11.3.7. Relator nouns and postpositions

The fact that adpositions have a relationship with nouns -- specifically having grammaticalized from nouns -- has been noted in several different language families. For example, Lillehaugen (2004) discusses ‘body part prepositions’ in Zapotec languages, a syntactic category of prepositions which are clearly derived from body parts. This phenomenon is also widespread in Tibeto-Burman languages and Asian languages more broadly. Following Starosta (1985) and DeLancey (1997), I used the term ‘relator noun’ to define the functional subclass of nouns that perform the same function as an adposition.
Kurtöp relator nouns can be envisioned as a subset of nouns in terms of their structural properties. Like nouns, relator nouns may follow a genitive phrase and may be suffixed with a case marker. However, unlike nouns, relator nouns may not be modified or quantified. Nor are relator nouns full-fledged postpositions, as they often (and sometimes necessarily) occur following a genitive-marked noun and preceding a case-marker.

DeLancey (1997) describes the tendency for relator nouns to grammaticalize into postpositions in Tibeto-Burman languages as the result of further reanalysis. This development can be illustrated by the schematization in Figure 42.

\[
[[\text{N-GEN}]_{\text{MOD}} \text{[N]}_{\text{NP}} \text{CASE}] \rightarrow [[\text{N-(GEN)}]_{\text{NP-}}(\text{CASE})] \rightarrow \text{[N-P]}]
\]

**Figure 42. The development of post position from relator nouns, ultimately from a genitive-head-case construction.**

The remainder of this section illustrates the various relator nouns in Kurtöp. The final section, §11.3.7.8, describes the only true postposition *cham* ‘until’.

**11.3.7.1. chan ‘near’**

The relator noun *chan* encodes a sense of nearness and occurs in a range of syntactic possibilities.

In (103) *chan* occurs as a canonical relator noun, following the genitive-marked noun *Zangpo* and followed by the locative case marker *=to*. 

300
An example of *chan ‘RN:NR’* following a genitive construction but lacking the locative is (104).

(104)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{neri } & \text{chan gapo=na wotor} \\
\text{neri} & \text{ chan gapo=na wotor}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1PL.GEN RN:NR PL.FOC=LOC like.this} \\
‘\text{Near us all like this}’
\end{align*}
\]

SaTSW20090917.2194.343.SW

In a distribution more similar to that of a postposition, *chan* occurs immediately following the head noun, without a genitive in (105).

(105)  

\[
\begin{align*}
da & \text{ gari yam chando wenta} \\
da \text{ gari yam } & \text{chan=to wenta}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{now car road near=LOC COP.EQ.MIR} \\
‘\text{Now a car road is nearby.’}
\end{align*}
\]

SPh.TsC20081022.SPh
The relator noun *chan* also occurs in the texts as a full postposition, in the sense that the preceding genitive and following locative may be completely absent. This is exemplified in (106).

(106) \[\text{tshe zong } \text{chan thamo...} \]
\[\text{tshe } \text{dzong } \text{chan } \text{thrak-mo} \]
\[\text{DM dzong near arrive-CTM} \]
‘So when (we) reach near the Dzong…’
SPh.TsC20081022.3108.941.SPh

11.3.7.2. *bar* ‘middle’

The relator noun *bar* ‘RN:MID’ occurs in a range of constructions. The expected distribution, following a genitive phrase and preceding a locative case marker is shown in (107).

(107) \[\text{cala gapgi } \text{bar=to wenta} \]
\[\text{cala gapo=gi } \text{bar=to } \text{wenta} \]
\[\text{thing PL.FOC=GEN RN:MID=LOC COP.EQ.MIR} \]
‘(He) was in the middle of the things.’
SBC20051127.KW

The relator noun *bar* ‘RN:MID’ may also occur with an ablative case marker, rather than with a locative case marker. An example is (108). Note that in this example the
genitive construction is *cala gapgi* ‘thing PL:FOC=GEN’, which is immediately followed by the relator noun *bar* ‘RN:MID’ to which the ablative =i is cliticized.

(108) \[ *cala gapi barni jongzi chutnayang min\text{\textit{ta}} ko* \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{thing} & \text{PL:FOC=GEN} & \text{RN:MID=ABL} & \text{emerge-NF} & \text{close-PFV.MIR=} & \text{also} \\
\text{minta} & \text{ko} \\
\text{COP.EQ.NEG.MIR} & \text{door}
\end{array}
\]

‘Coming out from the luggage, it had been shut; it wasn’t my door.’ (??)

SBC20051127.KW

A relator noun construction involving *bar* may also occur without the genitive, as in (109) and (110).

(109) \[ *yam barto zha thening* \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{road} & \text{RN:MID=} & \text{LOC} & \text{night} & \text{one=ABL} \\
\text{yam} & \text{bar=} & \text{to} & \text{zhà} & \text{the=} & \text{ning}
\end{array}
\]

‘one night on the road’

KZ200505151.1861.096KZ
A relator noun combined with the locative =to can also function as a locative adverbial, as exemplified in (111).

(111) zai ngai jukshang Taktshangngi yoto barto khako yoto
zai ngai juk-shang Taktshang=ngi yoto barto
EXCL 1.ERG run-PFV.EGO Taktshang=ABL DIR:DN RN:MID=LOC
khako yoto
DIR:UP DIR:DN

‘Wow, I ran up and down and everywhere from Taktshang’
SBC2005112.KW

In (111) I have glossed barto as a relator noun with an attached locative suffix. An alternative would be to analyze barto as an adverb apropos the direction adverbs khako ‘DIR:UP’ and yoto ‘DIR:DN’. However, to my knowledge there is no external evidence for barto as a class sepratae from relator noun plus locative while khako and yoto are clearly adjectives and only adjectives. Further, barto was also a relator noun plus locative postposition in Chöke (DeLancey, pc).
That the relator noun *bar* ‘RN:MID’ has its historical source as a noun is supported by the data in (112). Here, *barma* ‘medium’ semantically denotes a property but functions as a noun, as evidenced by the fact that the numeral *thê* ‘one’ follows.

(112)  
\[\text{mapa ringku ni barma... barma thê shiki la}\]

\[\text{originally tall and medium medium one narrate-HORT POL}\]

‘(From) a long and medium one, I will narrate (a) medium (one).’

SPh.TsC20081022.947.194SPh

11.3.7.3. *su* ‘bottom’

The relator noun that translates into ‘below’ or ‘underneath’ in English is *su ~sus*, with the coda -s alternate found in Gangzur. An example of *su* ‘RN:BOT’ is (113), where *su* follows the genitive construction *basgi* ‘bus=GEN’ and is cliticized with the locative case marker.

(113)  
\[\text{basgi suko ge ngaksi dot nisala}\]

\[\text{bas=gi su=ko ge ngak-si dot ni-pala}\]

\[\text{bus=GEN below=LOC go do-NF sleep stay-PFV}\]

‘(I) went under the bus and slept there.’

SBC20051127KW

As is common with relator noun constructions, *su* can also occur without a genitive on the preceding noun, as in (114), in which the demonstrative *wo* functions as the head noun.
Like bar ‘RN:MID’, su ‘RN:BOT’ can also be used in a relator noun construction but with an ablative instead of a locative. The example in (115) comes from Gangzur, and thus note the presence of the -s coda.

(115) yam susning gomale

\[\text{yam} \quad \text{sus=ning} \quad \text{go-male}\]
road \quad \text{bottom}=\text{ABL} \quad \text{go-NMZ:IRR}

‘Walking from the bottom’

ElicitationPL20090114

Like chando ‘RN:NR=LOC’ and barto ‘RN:MID=LOC’, suko ‘RN:BOT=LOC’ is also used as an adverbial. An example is (116).

(116) suko nawal soso la

\[\text{suko} \quad \text{nawala} \quad \text{soso} \quad \text{la}\]
below \quad \text{COP.EXIS} \quad \text{different} \quad \text{POL}

‘There is a different one at the base’

SaT.SW20090917.2417.347SaT
11.3.7.4. *dong* ‘front’

The relator noun *dong* is used to denote the relation ‘in front of’. Etymologically, *dong* ‘RN:FRT’, is probably a borrowing from Dzongkha <<gdoŋ>>>, as the Kurtöp word for face, *ngur* clearly reflects a different root. Further, *dong* is not common used. Nonetheless, it shows the syntactic properties of relator nouns. An example of the canonical use is in (117).

(117)  *perna*... *wici tsawai* *lama khepo wici dong o* *rungzi nanani* ...

> *perna*  *wici*  *tsawa=i*  *lama*  *khepo*  *wici*  *dong-o*
> *perna*  *wici*  *tsawa=i*  *lama*  *khepo*  *wici*  *dong-o*

suppose 2.GEN root=GEN lama FOC 2.GEN RN:FRT-LOC

> *'rung-zi*  *nâ-nani*
> *'rung-zi*  *nâ-nani*

stand-NF COP.EXIS-COND

‘Suppose.. if your root lama were standing in front of you…

KS20061212.71.691KL

While there are fewer instances of *dong* ‘RN:FRT’ than other relator nouns, there is an example suggesting the somewhat grammaticalized nature of *dong*. In (118), *dong* is used as a relator noun, indicating position in front of something else, though the head noun is entirely missing and an ablative case marker is used instead of a locative.
ko dongningthebe

ko

door

dong=ning-the-be

front=ABL-DEF-only

‘Just a door from the front’

SaT.SW20090917.1458.441SaT

11.3.7.5. gang ‘time’

The relator noun gang ‘RN:TIME’ is probably related to Dzongkha གཏོང་<sgaŋ> used with verbs to encode ‘at the time of V-ing’. For example, in Dzongkha is གང་འབད་བཞིའི་<ḥbad.bai.sgan> becomes ‘at the time of doing’. The Kurtöp correspondence is used exclusively as a relator noun, however. Whether the two forms are cognate or whether Kurtöp gang is borrowed from Dzongkha གཏོང་<sgaŋ> remains to be discerned.

Example (119) shows gang ‘RN:TIME’ as a relator noun in the expected syntactic distribution; it follows the genitive-marked focus plural marker gapo and is cliticized with the locative =nang. It is interesting that this is the only example of a relator noun with the locative enclitic =nang; elsewhere the locative =to is used. It is not yet known whether this is an idiosyncratic use, or if in fact there is a grammatical generalization to be drawn.
(119) phama gapi **gangnang** tshe ’namisami kau chut ni-na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phama</th>
<th>gapo=gi</th>
<th><strong>gang</strong>=nang</th>
<th>tshe</th>
<th>’namisami</th>
<th>kau</th>
<th>chut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td>PL.FOC=GEN</td>
<td>time=LOC</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>pillar</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ni-na

stay-PFV.MIR

During (our) parents’ time (they) really had to suffer.’

SPh.TsC20081022.SPh

There is evidence that **gang** is used as a noun meaning ‘time’. Consider (120).

(120) zai... ngat nimota thang chuci **gangbe** wen tshe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zai</th>
<th>ngat</th>
<th>ni-mo-tako</th>
<th>thang</th>
<th>chut=ki</th>
<th><strong>gang-be</strong></th>
<th>wen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wow</td>
<td>1.ABS</td>
<td>stay-CTM-IPFV</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>cut=GEN</td>
<td>time-only</td>
<td>COP.EQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tshe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Wow… (they) were just making the ground when I was staying there.’

SaT.SW20090917.1427.157.SW

There are no examples of **gang** in the texts occurring without a genitive. Perhaps this fact, combined with the observation that =**nang**, rather than =**to**, is support in favor of **gang** being a borrowing from Dzongkha.

11.3.7.6. **korni** ‘about’

There is form in Kurtöp which, on the one hand, has a distribution suggestive of relator nouns, but on the other hand, cannot fully be analyzed as a relator noun. The form **korni** ‘ABT’ usually (but not always) precedes a genitive-marked noun but there are no
examples of it with a locative enclitic. The form itself looks suspiciously as though it is composed of two morphemes: *kor* + *-ni*, but there is little evidence internal to Kurtöp for this. Similar to the ablative enclitic, *korni* evidences a stylistic alternation *korning*. There is also external evidence for the analysis that *korni* is historically composed of *kor* + ABL, as that is the etymology of the cognate form in neighboring languages. For example, the Dzongkha equivalent is *kôle* -- where *-le* is an ablative -- and the use is identical: *gekhapgi kôle* ‘about the country’. I have a suspicion that this construction may be borrowed into Kurtöp from Chöke and/or Dzongkha.

While the origin of *korni* ‘ABT’ may be subject to debate, its presence in the language is undoubtable. The data in (121) and (122) provide two examples of *korni* ‘ABT’. In both instances *korni* follows a genitive-marked noun. It is interesting in (122), however, that the genitive proximate demonstrative *woci* is doubly-marked as a genitive with the addition of *=gi*. It is possible the *=gi* comes as part of the construction, also borrowed from Chöke.

(121)  ‘napanı dasum yampa=korni madrau zha mik thungmo thungu

‘napa-ni     dasum  yampa=ı     korni  ma-drau  zhå  mik
earlier-ABL  today  tomorrow=GEN  ABOUT  NEG-be.like  what  eye
thung-mo      thung-u
do-CTM       do-IMP.FAM

‘Talk about the differences that you see between earlier and nowadays.’
JT
(122)  *tshe wocigi* **korning**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{tshe} & woci=gi & \text{korning} \\
\text{DM} & \text{PROX. GEN=GEN} & \text{about}
\end{array}
\]

‘And about this…’

Lama200812311. 85.843.LC

A third example of *korni* is (123).\(^{96}\) Here, there is no genitive on the previous constituent.

(123)  *nangni... nangsu* **korni** **khit** **pret**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
nangni-nangsu & \text{korni} & \text{khit} & \text{pret}-si \\
\text{internally} & \text{about} & 3.\text{ABS} & \text{fear-\text{NF}}
\end{array}
\]

‘He was internally afraid’

SPh.TsC20081022. 1006.178.SPh

11.3.7.7. *je* ‘above’

The relator noun *je* ‘RN:ABV’ appears to be a typical relator noun but in addition to being used with the locative postposition it is also used with the ablative.

In (124) the head noun is the place *Gelongpho*, which is cliticized with the genitive marker. The relator noun immediately follows and is suffixed with the locative.

\(^{96}\) The expression *nangi nangsu* is borrowed from Chöke and used wildly in Bhutanese languages.
(124)  *Trashigi mik thungkhan yau pokpana nawal minla yau Gelongphogi jedo*

*Trashi*=gi  mik  thung-khan  yau  pokpa=na  nawala  minla

Trashi=ERG  eye  do-NMZ  up  hill=LOC  COP.EXIS  COP.EQ.NEG.MIR

*Gelongpho*=gi  je=to

Gelongpho=GEN  RN:ABV=LOC

‘The one Trashi saw is there on the hill, right, up there on the top of Gelongpho.’

SaT.S20090917.1363.127.SaT

In (125) the genitive is missing:

(125)  *doska jed driksi*

*doska*  je-do  *drik-si*

step  RN:ABV=LOC  arrange-NF

‘arranged on the steps…

SaT.S20090917.1239.021SaT

An example of *je ‘RN:ABV’* preceding the ablative case marker is shown in (126).

(126)  *tshe sako tsho ngakhangi jeni yot gwar cang khormong…*

*tshe*  Sako  *tsho*  ngak-khan=gi  je-ni  yoto

DM  Sako  lake  do-NMZ:IPFV=GEN  RN:ABV=ABL  DIR:DN

*gwa-ro*  cang  *khor-mong*

turn-INF  throw  take-CTM

‘While turning to throw (it) down from (the lake) called Sako Lake…

PS20061206.P
In (127) the relator noun *je* occurs without the genitive and is followed by the ablative case marker.

(127)  
*Phuntsholing jening dangma 'numkhor** bas the*  
*Phuntsholing je=ning dangma 'numkhor** bas the*  
*Phuntsholing top=ABL yesterday bus (< Ch.) bus one*  
‘yesterday a bus\(^97\) from above Phuntsholing…’

SPh.TsC20081022.2632.182.TsC

### 11.3.7.8. cham ‘until’

There is one fully grammaticalized postposition in Kurtöp: *cham* (occasionally pronounced as *tsham*) ‘until’. The evidence in Kurtöp suggests that *cham*, as a full-fledged postposition, is a class separate from the relator nouns. I suspect that *cham* could have historically been part of a relator noun construction and exemplifies, as a post position, the end point in this continuum of grammaticalization. However, more research is needed to confirm this.\(^98\)

Examples of the post position *cham* are shown in (128) and (129).

---

\(^97\) There is no native word for ‘bus’. The of the English borrowing is unsurprising in this instance, but the co-presence of *numkhor*, literally ‘oil-wheel’, borrowed from Chöke here is unusual.

\(^98\) If we found evidence of a form cognate with *cham* as a relator noun or noun with semantics compatible with the more bleached meaning of ‘until’ in on of Kurtöp’s closest neighbors, this would be evidence in support of the claim that *cham* has grammaticalized as a postposition from a relator noun construction.
(128) net gapoya Khanpalung chamta gewala tshe

net       gapo       yau       Khanpalung   cham-ta   ge-wala   tshe
1.PL      PL.FOC-also DEM:UP      Khanpalung  until-EMPH    go-PFV    DM

‘We went up until Khanpalung.’
SaT.SW20090917.37.560SW

(129) woyeni thun deksi pcheka cham dek zatpala

wo-ye-ni     thun   dek-si    pcheka   cham   dek    zat-pala
DEM:PROX-UP=ABL   DIST    enter-NF   half    until enter    finish-PFV

‘From way up there we entered, (we) entered halfway.
SaT.SW20090917.37.560SW

11.4. Nominal suffixes

Nominal suffixes in Kurtöp are phonologically bound and attach to nouns. There are several nominal suffixes in Kurtöp; the definite suffix -the is described in §11.4.1 and the individuator -la is described in §11.4.2. Clitics, which may attach to nouns but also to categories larger than simply the noun, are described in section §11.6.

11.4.1. Definite particle -the

The definite particle -the ~ -te is clearly derived from the numeral ‘one’ -thê, itself from Proto East Bodish *thek. The phonological difference between the definite particle and the numeral ‘one’ is slight and often difficult to discern. Basically, the difference is that the numeral thê is one phonological word and thus receives stress, while suffix -the is bound; it does not receive its own stress but is instead incorporated into the stress pattern of the word it has suffixed to. Note that the numeral thê has a long vowel
while as a suffix it does not. However, as illustrated in §6.3.3, the difference between short and long vowels is slight. It is not a robust contrast in the language, either in terms of functional load or in terms of acoustic correlates. Indeed, many phonemically long vowels often surface as short in natural speech and the speakers rely on the context to distinguish the two.

The example in (130) illustrates the use of thé as a numeral, which can be contrasted with (131), where the is a definite article.

(130) po the razi tshemo tsantsanna trizi gizi…

snake one come-NF HES cypress=LOC creep-NF go-NF

‘One snake came, uh, creeping on the cypress tree…’

Lama200812311.2695.277.LC

(131) drinlenthe je gomal wenta ngaksi

repayment=DEF return need-NMZ:IRR COP.EQ.MIR QUOT

‘Thinking that (they) have to repay…’

Lama200812311. 2795.749.LC
11.4.2. Individuator -la

The suffix -la functions as an individualizer and attaches to adjectives. Examples are (132) and (133).

(132) phusana 'aring nahanla gapo
phu-sa=na 'aring nak-han-la gapo
UP-NMZ=LOC terrace COP.EXIS-NMZ:IPEV-IDZ PL.FOC
‘Those who have terraces up there’
Rice.Harvest20081022.678.597PS

(133) khartilathe, Forestgi
kharti-la-the Forest=gi
white-IDZ-DEF Forest (<ENG.)=GEN
‘The white one, Forest’s’
SBC20051127

11.4.3. Comitative -ni

The comitative suffix -ni translates into English ‘and’, but, unlike in English, joins only nouns, more similar to Mandarin Chinese 跟 gēn. Thus, I believe a better analysis of Kurtöp -ni is as a comitative suffix. Like the ablative =ni but unlike the contrastive focus -ni, the comitative -ni occasionally occurs as -ning, which I expect is an allomorph conditioned by a higher social register.
11.5. Modifiers

Adjectives and quantifiers comprise nominal modifiers in Kurtöp. Syntactically, these forms share the fact that they all occur within the NP and follow the noun while preceding case markers. Nominal modifiers are discussed in detail in §12.

11.6. Phrasal clitics

Phrasal clitics in Kurtöp attach to the edge of nouns or phrases in Kurtöp and are phonologically bound to the preceding word.

11.6.1. Also =yang

The clitic =yang ~ =ya translates into English roughly as ‘also’. An example is in (134).

(134)  
  mrasyang limu rasta
  mras=yang  limu  ras-ta
  paddy=also  good  come-IPFV.MIR
  ‘Paddy also comes well’
  Rice.Harvest20081022.PS

11.6.2. Emphatic =rang

=rang is a clitic in Kurtöp that functions as an emphatic marker is probably related to the Chöke word 55 <rang> ‘self’. =rang may be reduced to =ra in natural speech and the reflexive pronouns (§13.1.1) have undoubtedly developed from a combination the pronominal root plus this clitic.

An example of =rang providing the emphatic function is shown in (135):
(135)  *wera sem 'namtorang malangu ngaksi*

*wera*    *sem*    *'namto=rang*    *ma-lang-u*    *ngaksi*

2.REFL    mind    excitement=EMPH    NEG.be.full-IMP    QUOT

“‘Now you don’t too excited” (she said)’

PS20061206

11.6.3. Only =*be*

The clitic =*be* attaches to nouns as a way to signal the noun as being the only entity from a group of potential entities. This is similar in function to the English word ‘only’ or ‘just’ or perhaps more like Hindi *hii*.

In (136), =*be* follows the ablative-marked place name Raukho.

(136)  **Raukhonibe yau thrawala**

*Raukho-ni=be*    *yau*    *thrak-wala*

Raukho-ABL-only    DEM:UP    arrive-PFV

‘We reached up just from Raukhon.’

SaT.SW20090917.75.076.SW

In (137), =*be* is shown following a numeral.

(137)  **dor sumbe**

*dor*    *sum=be*

ORD    three=only

‘Only three times’

SaT.SW20090917.158.630.SW
The clitic \( =be \) may also follow an adverb, as shown in (138). In this example, \textit{tsamtsam} is an adverb formed by reduplication of the first syllable of the word \textit{tsama} ‘a little; some’.

(138) \textit{tsamstambe wotore brekna}

\textit{tsamtsam}=\textit{be} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{wotor-re} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{blek-na}

\text{partially}=\text{only} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{like.\text{-one}} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{keep-PFV.MIR}

‘(They) have thrown (it) away only partially…’

SaT.SW20090917.525.744.SaT

In the textual database, \( =be \) is shown to also follow what I have analyzed as a discourse marker. For example, see (139), where \( =be \) is cliticized to \textit{tsheni}, a word that occurs very commonly in discourse, and roughly translating to English ‘and then’.

(139) \textit{tshenibe ged chowalik}

\textit{tsheni}=\textit{be} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{ge-ro} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{chok-wala-ki}

\text{then}=\text{only} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{go-INF} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{allow-NMZ:PFV-GEN}

‘Just then (we’re) allowed to go.’

SaT.SW20090917.525.744.SaT

Although I have analyzed \( =be \) as a noun modifier, it can modify verbs as well, as shown in (140-142)
(140)  wo  pcha gap droizibe wen
wopcha gap droi-si=be wen
DEM.PROX  pcha (a bon festival)  PL.FOC  finish-NF=only  COP.EQ
‘It’s only after the Pcha finishes…’
KZ200805151.217.908KZ

(141)  ’lama shakinibe tshe...
'lama    shak-kini=be    tshe
lama       die.HON-FUT=only  DM
‘Only after the lama died…’
Lama200812311.2510.663LC

(142)  yam barto thramobe...
yam  bar=to  trak-mo=be
road    RN:MID=LOC  arrive-CTM=only
‘Just when (they) reached the middle…’
SaT.SW20090917.404.783.SaT

11.6.4. Emphatic  =ta

Kurtöp  =ta emphasizes or highlights a referent. I cannot yet explain how  =ta
differs from contrastive focus  =ni (§11.6.5), or the pragmatic ergative (§14.1.3).

Examples of the emphatic  =ta are (143) and (144).
(143) dortibe ngaita
do-r-ti=be ngai=ta
ORD-one=only 1.ERG=EMPH
‘I (have been) only once.’
SaT.SW20090917.700.489SW

(144) tshe mapa ’èwa ’namisamita zhaya mutna
tshe mapa ’è-wa ’namisami=ta zhâ=ya mutna
DM originally who-COMP very=EMPH what=also COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR
‘Originally there is not much difference between them.’
KZ200505151.KZ

11.6.5. Contrsative focus =ni

The clitic =ni marks contrastive focus on nouns or noun phrases. Unlike the
ablative and comitiative =ni, the contrastive focus =ni does not allow for an allomorph
with a final velar nasal. The use of =ni in (145) singles out the group of people who do
contract work, as opposed to the group of people who do a different type of work.

(145) la wo thrikha thungkhan gaponi mir la wono thungta tshe
la wo thrikha thung-khan gap=ni mira
work DEM:PROX contract do-NMZ:IPFV PL:FOC=CFOC others
la wo=na thung-ta tshe
work DEM:PROX=LOC do-IPFV.MIR DM
‘And those who do contract work, do (their) work here’
SPh.TsC20081022.2466.963SPh
In (146) the contrastive focus particle =ni cliticizes to the nominalized VP

*Thimphuro bjorkhan* ‘what emerges at Thimphu’ and separates that from whatever is found in the village. In this example the speaker is asserting that everything found in Thimphu can also be found in the village. When pressed about the use of =ni in this example, speakers report that the use =ni indicates the speaker’s opinion about those who go to Thimphu for shopping; the speaker believes it is unnecessary -- since whatever they need can be found in the village -- and is trying to convince the interlocutor that /she does not need to go.

(146)  *da thu Thimphuro bjorkhani dangsana wono nyangta tshe zhayang purara*

> da thu Thimphu=ro byong-khan=ni dangsanga
> now DIST Thimphu=LOC emerge-NMZ:IPFV=CFOC everything
> wo=no nyang-ta zha=yang pura=ra
> PROX=LOC receive-IPFV.MIR what=also all=EMPH

‘And everything that is found in Thimphu is found here, whatever, absolutely everything.’

SPh.TsC20081022.2568.7TsC

Like other nominal affixes and clitics, the contrastive focus particle =ni can attach to a cotemporally-marked verb, as way to signal the action out of a set of other actions.

For example, consider (147).
wonong ramoni tshe Mewang Ngada Rimpoche 'lama cham zhayang pura
wonong tshe 'aye cabsu cheu ngaksi pon jonta ngaksi harzi mi gapo la

wo=nang ra-mo-ni tshe Mewang Ngada Rimpoche
DEM:PROX=LOC come-CTM=CFOC DM Mewang Ngada Rimpoche

'lama cham zha=yang pura
Lama dance what=also all
wo=nang tshe 'aye cabsu cheu ngaksi pon
DEM:PROX=LOC DM may.I.be.protected (<Ch.) QUOT king
jon-ta ngaksi har-si mi gapo la
come.HON-IPFV.MIR QUOT feel.happy-NF person PL.FOC POL

‘When (he) comes, His Majesty (Mewang Ngada Rimpoche is the formal name
to refer to the king), lama dances, what-all, everything, well here, with lots of
cherishing, upon saying “may I be protected; the king is coming” the people are
happy.’

SPh.TsC20081022.2592.523-2600.545SPh

The contrastive focus =ni particle follows wonong ramo ‘when coming here’,
underscoring a particular instance of someone coming to the village over other
instances.As the speaker later describes, the event he is signaling is the arrival of the
King.

Elicited examples may make the distinction somewhat clearer. Consider (148) and
(149).
Example (148) would be the unmarked scenario, simply stating a fact about someone’s arrival. The marked situation is (149), with \(=ni\) attaching to the co-temporal marked verb \(ramo\). In this instance \(ramoni\) indicates that there is something unique about this arrival; the speaker is contrasting it with a set of other possible arrivals.

There are several examples in the discourse with the contrastive focus maker \(=ni\) attached to pronouns. For first person, \(=ni\) occurs six times with the ergative form of the pronoun and four times with the absolutive form of the pronoun. (150) illustrates \(=ni\) with an ergative first person pronoun and (151) illustrates \(=ni\) with the absolutive form.

The context for (150) is a conversation between two friends about a third person back in Bhutan. Speaker KW is asserting his understanding of the person, as opposed to someone else’s knowledge.
(150) *ngai*ni kha *brek-wala-i* pholab theyang nā

1.ERG-CFOC mouth separate-NMZ:pfv=GEN talks one=also

COP.EXIS.MIR

‘I heard they were divorced.’

SBC200511277KW

In (151) the context again involves another person, other than the speaker and interlocutor. Speaker SW is telling speaker SaT about a time when he and a friend were exploring a cave. One friend keeps luring SW to go further in the cave, which SW tries. After a few moments, however, SW turns back, exiting the cave, using the contrastive focus marker =ni, showing that he is to be contrasted with the friend who kept going deeper into the cave, without fear.

(151) *wenmal pretchakka razi ngatni*

*wenmale* pretchakka ra-zi ngat=ni

indeed very.scared come-NF 1.ABS=CFOC

‘I was quite scared.’

SaTSW20090917.1003.460SW

11.6.6. Case markers

Case markers in Kurtöp are enclitics. Kurtöp has two locative case markers, a genitive, an ergative and an ablative. These are summarized in Table 117.
In addition to expressing information pertaining to location, the locative case markers are also used in encoding grammatical relations, as discussed in greater detail in §14.

11.6.6.1. Locative =ro

An example of the locative case markers is (152).

(152)  ner lhuntski pong draksho khirakorang

1.PL.INCL GEN  Lhuntsi-GEN  PL Drâsho 3.REFL=LOC=EMPH

‘Our Lhûntsi’s were only for himself.’

SPh.TsC20081022.2997.009.SPh
11.6.6.2. Locative =na

An example of the locative =na is (153).

(153)  

chipna zhed jomale

chip=na  zhe-ro  jom-male
horse.HON=LOC  ride-INF  go.HON-FUT

‘(His Majesty) will come riding on a horse.’
SPh.TsC20081022. 3119.570.SPh

It is not yet clear what the difference is between the locative =na and the locative =ro, though some differences in the case-marking system are discussed in §14.3.

11.6.6.3. Ablative =ning

The ablative =ning~ni encodes relation from something or somewhere. The example (154) is one of hundreds found throughout the textual database.

(154)  

Caksomning?

Caksom=ning
Caksom=ABL
‘From Caksom?’
SaT.SW20090917.675.479SW

11.6.6.4. Genitive =gi

The Kurtöp genitive =gi~i encodes the functions of possession and attribution. There is some evidence in the language that =li, which I analyze here as an allomorph of
=gi, is actually a separate morpheme. =li as a genitive appears rarely throughout the textual database, but frequently enough that I was able to find some examples, as as in (155).

(155)  \textit{naspungli nenma khepo}

\begin{verbatim}
naspung=li
nenma khepo
\end{verbatim}

day.after.tomorrow=GEN day FOC

‘The day of the day after tomorrow’

There may also be possible evidence for a =li genitive in the subordinate clausal morphology. In perfective subordinate clauses nominalized with -pala, I have analyzed the addition of a genitive (yielding -pali) as -pala + =gi. However, a better historical analysis may in fact turn out to be -pa + =li.

11.6.6.5. Ergative =gi--i--li

As with the the genitive, the ergative exhibits a great deal of allomorphy, described in §7.3.3.3. The precise function(s) of the ergative, which goes beyond simple denoting the A argument in bivalent clauses is discussed in greater detail in §14.1.

11.7.  Genesis of classifiers?

Several languages in nearby regions have classifiers, including Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal (such as Kathmandu Newar: Hale and Shrestachrya (1973)), and North East India (such as Galo; Post (2007), Mising Doley and Post (in press), Bodo
(personal field notes), neighboring Indic languages (such as Nepali (personal field notes) and Assamese (Chowdhary (in press); Borah (in press)) and Phake and Aiton Tai (Morey 2005) languages have classifiers, but classifiers are only marginally present in Bhutan in Dzongkha (Thinley 2009) and Nepali. There is some evidence of classifier-genesis in Kurtöp. Consider (156).

(156)  

\[
\text{zedoranggi shiki lep the thung go megosta}
\]

\[
zedro=rang=gi \quad \text{shiki lep the thung go me-gos-ta}
\]

\[
zedro=\text{EMPH=GEN} \quad \text{coin flat.one one do need NEG-need-IPFV.MIR}
\]

‘(We) don’t even need to do (spend) a single coin’

SPh.TsC20081022. 1724.579.SPh

While \textit{lep} is a noun meaning something like ‘flat thing’, its use as a pseudo-classifier seems to be limited to the counting context, as in (156), where it follows the noun and precedes the numeral. It also appears, sometimes, during elicitation of numerals in the context of counting coins. The word \textit{lep} belongs to a subset of words that can be identified as pan-Bhutanese; the are found in many Tibeto-Burman languages and speakers identify the word as not necessarily being unique to a given language. Other words in the category are the cardinal directions \textit{lho, jang, shar, nup}, Chöke borrowings (including honorific terms), greetings, and exclamations, including some swear words.

11.8. Reduplication

Echo formation, well-known in Hindi in the South Asia context, is considered to be a feature of South Asia (Masica 2005) but is not found in Kurtöp. Echo formation is a
particular kind of reduplication in which the reduplicated word shares all but the initial consonant. The resulting echo formation adds ‘and what not’ or ‘and the like’ to the gloss. For example, Hindi cai ‘tea’ becomes cai vai ‘tea and what not’.

Echo formation does not appear to be widely reported in the Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia. Darma, a Tibeto-Burman language of North India does make use of echo formation, but the pattern differs from that in Hindi (Willis 2007: 187). The phenomenon in Kurtöp closest to echo formation is illustrated in (157).

(157)  
\begin{verbatim}
tsheni thiphinni wo gapoyang tongkaling tongkaling ngaksi yamni thundo gwarzi
tsheni  thiphin-ni  wo  gapo=yang  tongkaling  tongkaling
then  tiffin-CMT  DEM:PROX  PL:FOC=also  tongkaling  tongkaling
ngaksi  yam=ni  thundo  gwar-zi
QUOT  road=ABL  DIST:LOC  turn-NF
\end{verbatim}
‘Then the tiffins (were) all ‘tangkaling tongkaling’ turning from the road.’
SBC20051127.KW

In this example the onomatopoetic base is tongkaling, meant to represent the sound a hard, non-spherical object makes rolling down a paved road. The word is reduplicated but the quality of the vowel in the first syllable changes from a to o.
CHAPTER XII
NOMINAL MODIFIERS

This chapter describes those elements which occur as free words in the NP as modifiers to the head noun. I describe adjectives in §12.1 and quantifiers in §12.2. In §12.3 I describe Kurtöp nominal particles, a subclass of words which, though they are their own phonological words, have a clitic-like distribution. The next section, §12.4, describes how comparatives and superlatives are made in Kurtöp. The final section, §12.5, describes words that translate as English ‘like’ or ‘as’.

12.1. Adjectives

There exists a class of words in Kurtöp which I call ‘adjectives’. This class of words is characterized by the syntactic position between a noun and a numeral. Morphologically, adjectives may be suffixed with -la, which provides an individuating function and thus fulfill the sentential role of a N. The majority of Kurtöp adjectives are composed of two morphemes, at least diachronically. Often, the second morpheme is -pa or -ti. Color terms are characteristic of the latter form.

12.1.1. Colors

Kurtöp identifies five basic colors: kharti ‘white’, nyunti ‘black’, zhinti ‘red’, serti ‘yellow’, and ngunti ‘grue’. It is interesting to note that the second syllable in each of these words is -ti, suggesting -ti to have a nominalizing or adjectivalizing function historically. All the color roots, with the exception of zhin ‘red’, have cognates in Written...
Tibetan. Table 118 presents Kurtöp color terms with Written Tibetan and Dzongkha reflexes.

Table 118. Kurtöp color terms with Written Tibetan and Dzongkha reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Written Tibetan</th>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>kharti</td>
<td>འཕྲི་</td>
<td>&lt;dkarpo&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>nyunti</td>
<td>རྒྱ་</td>
<td>&lt;gnakpo&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>zhinti</td>
<td>འཇོ་</td>
<td>&lt;dmarpo&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
<td>serti</td>
<td>འོ་</td>
<td>&lt;gserpo&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘grue’</td>
<td>’ngunti</td>
<td>འི་</td>
<td>&lt;sngonpo&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.1.2. Adjective phrases

The modifying ‘namisami ‘very’ provides evidence for an adjective phrase, as it may occur modifying an adjective, as in (158).

(158) phetse ’namisami gong wenta tshe khwi

phetse ’namisami gong wenta tshe khwi
some very price COP.EQ.MIR DM dog

‘Some dogs are very expensive.’

SBC20051127PC

12.2. Quantifiers

In this section I describe numerals (§12.2.1) and the plural suffix -pong (§12.2.2). Particles with quantifying functions are described in §12.3.2, §12.3.3 and §12.3.4.
12.2.1. Numerals

Kurtöp employs several systems of numerals which can be defined by the ability to take the following suffixes: -laka and -bakti. The numerals systems comprise an older, vigesimal system (§12.2.1.2.1), a newer vigesimal system (§12.2.1.2.2), and a recent decimal system (Dzongkha?) (§12.2.1.2.3). In addition, English numerals are also used. Two special numerals bleng ‘one.ct’ and gwa ‘two.ct’ are used for measurements (§12.2.1.3.1). A separate system of numerals, borrowed from Tibetan but with interesting poetic twists, is used for counting numbers thrown on dice while playing the game parala. Plurality is not obligatorily marked in the NP, but the forms gapo and pong may be optionally used, as described in §12.2.2.

12.2.1.1. Reduplication of numerals

Reduplication of numerals results in a distributive sense; the numeral applies to more than one of a group. An example is (159), where the numeral yanga ‘five’ is reduplicated, distributing the numeral so that each person involved in the context is assigned five of the tiru ‘money’.

(159) net tiru yanga yang bishang

net
tiru 
yanga 
yanga 
bi-shang

1.PL.ABS money five five give-PFV.EGO

‘We gave five bucks (‘ngultram) each’

SBC20051127.KW
### 12.2.1.2. Cardinal numbers

#### Table 119. Kurtöp and Dzongkha numerals ‘one’ to ‘twenty’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Dzongkha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>thê</td>
<td>ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>zon</td>
<td>’nyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td>sum</td>
<td>sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>ble</td>
<td>zhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>yanga</td>
<td>’nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td>dro</td>
<td>dr’û</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td>‘ni’</td>
<td>dün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>jat</td>
<td>gä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nine’</td>
<td>dogo</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>che</td>
<td>cutham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eleven’</td>
<td>chauri</td>
<td>cúci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twelve’</td>
<td>chauni</td>
<td>cúnyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thirteen’</td>
<td>chausum</td>
<td>cúsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fourteen’</td>
<td>cheble</td>
<td>cúzhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fifteen’</td>
<td>chenga</td>
<td>cênga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sixteen’</td>
<td>chedro</td>
<td>cúdru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seventeen’</td>
<td>chitni</td>
<td>cupdü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eighteen’</td>
<td>cherjat</td>
<td>côpge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘nineteen’</td>
<td>chedogo</td>
<td>cúgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td>khedi</td>
<td>kheci/nishu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In practice, Kurtöp uses three variations of the system of cardinal numerals, an older vigesimal system, a newer vigesimal system, and the Dzongkha decimal system.\textsuperscript{99} In all instances, the numerals ‘one’ to ‘twenty-nine’ are identical. The first twenty numerals are illustrated in a comparative light below in Table 119. Table 120 presents Kurtöp numerals twenty to twenty-nine.

Table 120. Kurtöp numerals ‘twenty-one’ to ‘twenty-nine’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-one’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-thê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-two’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-zon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-three’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-four’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-ble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-five’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-yanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-six’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-dro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-seven’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-’nî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-eight’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-jat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty-nine’</td>
<td>khedi-ni-dogo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.2.1.2.1. Older vigesimal system

For counting beyond twenty, the indigenous Kurtöp system is one which is vigesimal based. The word for twenty is \textit{khedi}, probably cognate with PTB \textit{*khal}. Words beyond twenty are formed by combining the first syllable of the word for ‘twenty’, \textit{khe

\textsuperscript{99} The native Dzongkha counting system is also vigesimal. For an unknown reasons, the Dzongkha vigesimal system itself is also being replaced, as most younger generations of speakers do not know it.
with a numeral, as multiplier. For example, ‘40’ is formed by conjunction of *khe* ‘20’ plus *zon* ‘two’ and ‘60’ is *khe* ‘twenty’ + *sum* ‘three’. Numerals that are multiples of ten but with odd initial digits (such as ‘50’, ‘70’, etc.), are formed by the addition of the word *phedang* after *khe* ‘twenty’. For example, the word for ‘30’ can be roughly translated directly into English as ‘twenty multiplied by two minus ten, or 20 X 2 – 10.

Table 121. Kurtöp multiples of ten in the native vigesimal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td><em>khedi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
<td><em>khe phedang zon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘forty’</td>
<td><em>khe zon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
<td><em>khe phedang sum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
<td><em>khe sum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
<td><em>khe phedang ble</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td><em>khe ble</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
<td><em>khe phedang yanga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
<td><em>khe yanga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one hundred twenty’</td>
<td><em>khe dru</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.2.1.2.2. Newer vigesimal system

Beside the older vigesimal system, Kurtöp uses a newer system, which is a combination of the older vigesimal system and a decimal system. The numbers ‘twenty’, ‘forty’, sixty, ‘eighty’ and ‘one hundred’ are the same, but to reach the numbers ‘thirty’, ‘fifty’, etc., *ni che* ‘and ten’ is added to the previous base of twenty. Refer to Table 122 for a full list of these numbers, in multiples of ten, from twenty to one hundred.
Table 122. Kurtöp multiples of ten in the newer vigesimal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td>khide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
<td>khe the ni che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘forty’</td>
<td>khe zon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
<td>khe zon ni che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
<td>khe sum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
<td>khe sum ni che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>khe ble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
<td>khe ble ni che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
<td>khe yanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one hundred ten’</td>
<td>khe yanga ni che</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.2.1.2.3. Decimal system

The third system in Kurtöp is a decimal system, essentially borrowed from Dzongkha. These numerals, in multiples of ten beginning with twenty, are illustrated in Table 123.
Table 123. Kurtöp multiples of ten in the borrowed decimal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘twenty’</td>
<td>nyisho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thirty’</td>
<td>sumcu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘forty’</td>
<td>zhipcu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
<td>'ngapcu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
<td>drukcu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
<td>duncu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eighty’</td>
<td>gepcu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
<td>gupcu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
<td>cikja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one hundred ten’</td>
<td>khe yanga ni che</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.2.1.3. Measurement

12.2.1.3.1. Numerals for measurement

Kurtöp has special terms for counting measurements: bleng ‘one’ and gwa ‘two’. These numbers are used following terms of measurement, such as those terms described in §12.2.1.3.2, which are used exclusively for measurement, as well as terms that may be used in measuring but have other contexts as well.

There are a few examples of bleng and gwa in texts and most of the understanding of these two terms has come from elicitation. Nonetheless, a few examples can illustrate these uses in natural discourse. In (160) the noun guku ‘cup’ is used as a measurement and thus the count numeral bleng ‘one’ is used to quantify the measurement.
(160) \( \text{woci zhor thekthe bishang 'wai, zhor guk breng breng ngawal the} \)
\( \text{woci zhor thek-thek bi-shang 'wai zhor guku} \)
\( \text{DEM:PROX.GEN alcohol one-one give-PFV.EGO EXCL alcohol cup} \)
\( \text{bleng bleng nga-walthe} \)
\( \text{one.CT one.CT do-PFV.IMM} \)

‘(She) gave one of her wines each, hey, (she) only gave one cup of wine each.’
SpHTsC20081022.3042.332SPh

In (161) the term \( \text{zham} \) is a measurement equivalent to approximately one man.

The count numeral \( \text{gwa} \) ‘one’ quantifies the measurement immediately following.

(161) \( \text{zham gwakpaki sumbakti ngawalthena o kā thungzi sai dong nā} \)
\( \text{zham gwak-pakii sum-bakti nga-walthe=na wo kā} \)
\( \text{man.MS one.CT-APRX three-APRX do- PFV.IMM =LOC DEM:PROX ladder} \)
\( \text{thung-zi sa=i dong** nā} \)
\( \text{do-NF earth=GEN hole COP.EXIS.MIR} \)

‘There is a ladder of around one to three man’s lengths beneath the soil.’
SaT.SW20090917.945.527.SaT

Other uses of \( \text{gwa} \) and \( \text{bleng} \) are for counting measurements of grain, using the \( \text{bre} \) measurement, when counting bottles of a substance, when counting points in an archery match, etc. The Kurtöp terms \( \text{bleng} \) and \( \text{gwa} \) appear to have Dzongkha equivalents in \( \text{g’ang} \) and \( \text{d’o} \), which Kurtöp-Dzongkha bilinguals assert to have the same function. It is unclear throughout Tibeto-Burman how common a set of numerals especially reserved for quantifying measurements is. However, the similarity of Kurtöp \( \text{gwa(k)} \) and Dzongkha \( \text{d’o} \) with Mandarin 兩 \( \text{liāng} \) cannot be overlooked.
12.2.1.3.2. Terms of measurement

Kurtöp has traditional terms of measurement that quantify length and volume. The terms *sor*, *tho*, *zham* refer to length while *phui* and *bre* are measurements of volume. The approximate value of each is summarized in Table 124.

Table 124. Terms of measurement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Approximate value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sor</em></td>
<td>the length of the thickness of one finger, approximately an inch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tho</em></td>
<td>the length of the length of one hand, approximately six inches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zham</em></td>
<td>the length of the height of one person, approximately a meter and a half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>phuya</em></td>
<td>the approximate volume of uncooked grain that one person would eat; there are also different, less common <em>phuyas</em> which hold different amounts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bre</em></td>
<td>the volume of approximately 1.5kg of rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When used with numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’, these terms condition the numerals for measurement of *bleng* and *gwa*. As there are no separate measurement numerals beyond ‘two’, there is no way to determine whether a measurement numeral has been conditioned or not. (162) Exemplifies the measurement term *bre*.

(162) *bre* yang yang dro dro de la
*bre* yanga yanga dro dro dek la
*bre* five five six six enter POL
‘(It) fits five or six *bres*.’

SPh.TsC20081022. 2872.952.TsC
12.2.2. Plurality

Plurality, like gender, is something many Tibeto-Burman languages can encode, though not in the same way as many Indo-European languages, such as English, need to. For example, Willis (2007: §6.3) discusses how Darma speakers can encode plurality via numerals, quantifiers, or a plural participle *jen*, a particle probably borrowed from Indo-European, which follows the noun.

Kurtöp has two distinct plural particles: *gapo* and *pong*. The origin of *gapo* is unknown but *pong* is probably derived from a word meaning something like ‘a bunch’ or ‘large number of’ as it also found in Dzala as the numeral ‘400’. Both are used optionally to encode plurality but with slightly different functions. *gapo* also serves to focus the noun in follows while *pong* is neutral; its only function is to indicate plurality.

12.2.2.1. Plural *pong*

The plural particle *pong* is functionally a modifier and cannot occur on its own in a NP. It follows the noun, or adjective or numeral, if present. A quantifier meaning ‘all’, such as *rita* or *pura* may follow *pong*. Some elicited examples below show this distribution. (163) and (164) show the ordering of *pong* with respect to an adjective:

(163)  *khwi* *kharti* *pong*

  *khwi*  
  dog  

  *kharti*  
  white  

  *pong*  
  PL  

  ‘white dogs’  

Elicitation.KL.20100606
Example (165) provides evidence that *pong cannot function as a NP on its own, in the way adjectives can, for example. These negative data support the observation in the texts that *pong cannot occur without a nominal head.

(165)  *pong nà
       intended meaning: ‘there is a group.’

When a numeral is present in the NP, pong will follow it, as in (166). Here, the NP consists of a noun *kau ‘crow’, the numeral *dogo ‘nine’ and finally the plural marker pong.

(166)  *kau *dogo ponggi mi dogona truizi
       *kawa *dogo pong=gi mi *dogo=na trui-si
       crow nine PL=ERG person nine=LOC transform-NF
       ‘The nine crows transformed into nine humans and..’

Perhaps the most common use of pong is following a pronoun, as in (167), when the speaker wishes to indicate a group of someone or something.
(167) \textit{zai... kau chutshang wona net pong}
\begin{verbatim}
  zai kau chut-shang wo=na net pong
\end{verbatim}
EXCL pillar cut-PFV.EGO DEM:PROX=LOC 1.PL.ABS PL
‘Wow.. what a difficult time we had.’
SBC20051127.KW

The plural marker \textit{pong} is also a convenient means by which to pluralize a noun that it not inherently plural (in the way that \textit{net ‘1.PL’} is, for example). In (168) \textit{rakhan} is a nominalizer form of the verb \textit{ra ‘come’}, allowing the plural particle \textit{pong} to follow it.

(168) \textit{phancha rakhan pong nerira thung}
\begin{verbatim}
  phancha ra-khan pong ner-ri ra thung
\end{verbatim}
gumption come-NMZ:IPFV PL 1.PL.REFL-EMPH do
‘Wow.. what a gumption we used to use!’
SBC20051127.KW

The plural marker \textit{pong} may comprise a NP with only a demonstrative, as in

(169) \textit{wo pong woktibe?}
\begin{verbatim}
  wo pong wokti=be
\end{verbatim}
DEM:PROX PL this.much=only
‘These, only this much?’
Rice.Havest20081022. 400.750.PS
Having transformed all those (beads) down there into insects…’

The plural marker *pong* may also occur with a noun that has been marked as a genitive. In (171) and (172) *lhuntski* ‘Lhüntsi’s’ and *bociki* ‘theirs’ are followed by *pong* which makes the referent understood in *lhuntski* and *bociki* plural.

‘Our Lhüntsi’s were only for himself.’

‘Theirs will be offered to the Kurtöps here and the Tapas here and ours will be offered to the Shaupas over there.’
To equate pong with English plurality would be inaccurate; while its function is often to make a singular concept directly plural, it also often gives the sense of something like English ‘and all’. In other words, pong does necessarily encode plurality per se.

Consider (173).

(173) mem zatkhan pong tapti genami tshe yau

grandfather die-NMZ:PFV PL together return-PFV.MIR-TAG DM DEM:UP

‘The dead grandfather and all had apparently gone together up there.’

SaTSW.373.687.SaT

Here, pong follows meme zatkhan ‘dead grandfather’ but does not mean ‘several dead grandfathers’. Instead, it translates into ‘the dead grandfather and all’, or perhaps more specifically, ‘the dead grandfather and all associated with him’.

In an interesting use, perhaps related to the use of English plural -s with mass nouns, the use of pong with some nouns denotes plurality of type, as in (174). In this example mras pong does not mean ‘grains of rice’ or ‘rice paddies’; instead, it denotes ‘varieties of rice’.
(174)  *mras pongni* lemmla oye lem wangda karmo lem

*mras pong* =ni lem-male-ta o-ye lem

rice PL=ABL be.delicious-NMZ:IRR-EMPH DEM:PROX-UP be.delicious

‘From the rice types, in terms of deliciousness, wangda karmo is delicious.’

Rice.Havest20081022. 434.784.PS

The other plural marker, *gapo*, is discussed immediately below in the category of particles, as it has a different syntactic distribution than *pong*.

12.3. Particles

I use the term ‘particle’ within the nominal domain to refer to those elements which are phonologically free but syntactically bound; that is, they must occur in a NP with other elements.

12.3.1. Focus marker *khepo*

The focus marker *khepo* is the singular counterpart of *gapo*. Like *gapo*, it cannot function as a N and must occur with another element. A typical use is following a noun, as in (175) and (176).

(175)  *'awa kheponi* Karma Temphel

*'awa khepo*-ni Karma Temphel

elder.sister FOC-CMT Karma Temphel

‘The elder sister and Karma Temphel’

SBC20051127KW
(176)  wo khalas khepo
        wo         khalas    khepo
    DEM:PROX  handy.man  FOC
   ‘The handy man’
       SBC20051127.KW

The focus marker khepo may occur following other modifiers. In (177) khepo
‘FOC’ follows an adjective while in (178) khepo follows a numeral.

(177)  tshe khir ‘lam ngoma khep
        tshe    khir    ‘lama ngoma    khepo
    DM   3.REFL  lama original  FOC
   ‘So he (was) the original lama.’
       KS20061212.88.084KL

(178)  thê khepo wona thrâmo zuyu ngak
        thê    khepo    wo=na    thrak-mo    zu-yu    ngak
    one    FOC  PROX=LOC  arrive-CTM  eat-IMP  QUOT
   “Eat one when you get there” (he said).’
       SBC20051127

In a distribution it shares with the plural focus particle gapo, the singular focus particle can also following plural noun phrases, such as NPs with numerals greater than one or plural pronouns. In (179) khepo ‘FOC’ follows the plural pronoun bot ‘3.PL.ABS’ plus the numeral zon ‘two’. This is possible because bot zon is conceived of as a group.
(179)  \textit{tsheni bot zon khep}  \\
\textit{tsheni bot zon khep}  \\
then 3.PL.ABS two FOC  \\
‘Then the two of them’  \\
KZ200805152.219.777KZ

12.3.2. Plural focus \textit{gapo}

The plural focus particle, like the singular focus particle, has a broader distribution than \textit{pong}. As a general rule, \textit{gapo} can follow any element except a verb.

The most common use of \textit{gapo}, similar to \textit{pong} (§12.2.2.1) is immediately following a noun. Here, the function is to pluralize the noun while also focusing the element \textit{gapo} modifies, as in (180)

(180)  \textit{khwi gap tshe}  \\
\textit{khwi gap tshe}  \\
dog PL.FOC  \\
‘The dogs’  \\
SBC20051127PC

In (181) \textit{gapo} immediately follows a determiner and in this sense functions as the head of the noun phrase. Again, this is a similar distribution to \textit{pong} and the difference in function appears to be one of focus.
(181)  tshe wo gap nguitami

    tshe  wo  gapo  ngui-ta=mi
    DM   DEM:PROX   PL.FOC   buy-IPFV.MIR=TAG

‘They buy these things, no’

SBC20051127PC

gapo can also modify a derived noun, as shown in (182).

(182)  zikorna bjonnala gapo

    zikor=na  byon-pala  gapo
    tour=LOC  go-NMZ:PFV   PL.FOC

‘Those who went on a tour and all’

SPhTsC20081022.2637.165.SPh

In (183) gapo ‘PL.FOC’ follows the modifier zhanma ‘other’ but precedes the quantifier pura ‘all’.

(183)  mi zhanma gapo pura zon ngak

    mi   zhanma  gapo  pura  zon  ngak
    person  other   PL.FOC   all    send    QUOT

‘(He) sent all the other people (it is said).’

‘KS20061212.0132.929KL

In (184) gapo ‘PL.FOC’ follows the individuated adjective jikpa ‘big’, which is itself a modifier of the noun ‘yuitshan.’
(184)  
trong  ’yuitshan** jikpa jikpala gapo thamcana thrakshang
trong  ’yuitshan** jikpa jikpa-la gapo thamca=na
village  villages (< Dz.) big big-IDZ PL.FOC all=LOC
thrak-shang

arrive-PFV.EGO

‘(The electricity) arrived in all the big big villages.’
SPh.TsC20081022.2322.967SPh

The plural focus marker gapo may also come between a relator noun and a case
marker, as in (185).

(185)  
neri chan gapona wotor
neri  chan  gapo=na  wotor
1PL.GEN  RN:NR  PL.FOC=LOC  like.this

‘Near us all like this’
SaTSW20090917.2194.343.SW

gapo may also follow a simple pronoun, as in (186). Note in this example the
pronoun nin ‘2.PL’ is already plural, and thus the plural function of gapo is redundant.

(186)  
nin gapi ngato mi tsama zonlare
nin  gapi  ngat=to  mi  tsama  zon-le-’are
2PL  PL.FOC.ERG  1.ABS=LOC  person  some  send-IMP.POL-EXCL

‘You guys send me some people. ’
SBC20051127KW

In (187), gapo ‘PL.FOC’ follows the modifier woksoso.
12.3.3. Quantifiers meaning ‘all’

There are several quantifying modifiers in Kurtöp that translate into English as ‘all’. In this section I outline the syntactic distribution and function of each of these quantifiers.

12.3.3.1. pura

Quantifying pura has its original source in Hindi puraa ‘all’. Whether this word was directly borrowed into Kurtöp from Hindi, or through Dzongkha or Tshangla, is difficult to determine, as it used in each of these languages with a similar functions. Though speakers are generally aware that pura is a borrowed form, it is used readily, regardless of age, gender, and socio-economic status. The native form, rita, is discussed in the next section, §12.3.3.2.

An example of pura following a noun and adjective is found in (188).
(188)  *tshemo khwe ngakpa pura oyeni thundo*

\[
tshemo \quad khwe \quad ngakpa \quad pura \quad o-ye=ni \quad thun=to
\]

and.then water cold all PROX-UP=ABL DIST=LOC

‘And then all the cold water (was diverted) from there to over there.’

SaT.SW20090917.2100.371.SW

Unlike the focus particles, *pura* ‘all’ can stand on its own as a NP, as illustrated in (189).

(189)  *pura teksi ramo*

\[
pura \quad teksi \quad ra-mo
\]

all all.together come-CTM

‘When everybody comes (without any being left behind)’

KZ200805152.411.953.KZ

Like numerals and *rita* ‘all’, *pura* ‘all’ may also be suffixed with -*ka* ‘all’. An example is (190).

(190)  *bjasa thungzi puraka*

\[
bjasa \quad thung-si \quad pura-ka
\]

sand do-NF all-all

‘applied sand in all…’

SaT.SW20090917.1228.102SaT
When *pura* ‘all’ and *khepo* ‘FOC’ or *gapo* ‘PL.FOC’ occur simultaneously in a NP, the tendency is for *pura* to follow *gapo*. This has been illustrated through numerous examples in the texts, one of which is shown in (191).

(191)  *natsha khepo purara daksi oci*

  *natsha  khepo  pura*=ra  dak-si  woci*

  disease  FOC  all=EMPH  improve-NF  DEM:PROX.GEN

  ‘All the diseases being cured by this…’

  SaT.SW20090917.1660.882SW

Despite the word being a borrowing from Hindi, it is widely used throughout the speech community, including by elderly speakers. The example (192) was drawn from a narration by an elderly lama.

(192)  *wome pong pura zhong bjurzi*

  *wo-me  pong  pura  zhong  byur-si*

  DEM:PROX-DN  PL  all  insect  become-NF

  ‘All those down there turned into insects…’

  Lama200812311.723.893.LC

12.3.3.2. *rita*

The quantifier *rita* is a native version of *pura* and appears to have the same distribution. *rita* ‘all’ can also function as a NP, as illustrated in (193).
(193) *rita copsi...*

*rita*  *cop-si*

all  mix-NF

‘Mixing everything...’

Rice.Harvest20081022.178.795.PS

In (194) *rita* modifies the noun *zû* ‘body’.

(194) *zû ritakanang* patma throngzi

*zû*  *rita-ka=nang*  *patma*  *throng-si*

body  all-all=LOC  river.weed  grow-NF

‘River weeds were growing all over (her) whole body.’

PS20061206.1733.549.P

Like *pura*, *rita* follows the plural focus marker *gapo*, if present. This ordering is illustrated in (195).

(195) *dasum phoja gap* *rita* khakto ge

*dasum*  *phoja*  *gap*  *rita*  *khakto*  *ge*

today  males  PL.FOC  all  DIR:UP  go

‘Today all the males went up.’

Rice.Harvest20081022.1070.775.PS

Interestingly, *rita* may co-occur with *pura*, as in (196). This co-occurrence is not common in the texts, but speakers report it is not unusual. The relative order shown in (196) is not fixed; *rita* may also follow *pura*.
(196) *tshe ’ip zumal rita pura yau yoido go*

\[
\textsf{tshe} \quad \textsf{’ipa} \quad \textsf{zu-male} \quad \textsf{rita} \quad \textsf{pura} \quad \textsf{yau} \quad \textsf{yoi-to} \quad \textsf{go}
\]

DM food eat-FUT all all go reach-INF need

‘So all food for eating, everything, we have to reach up.’

SPh.TsC20081022.534.914.SPh

12.3.3.3. *thamca*

*thamca* is ultimately of Chöke origin, though it could have been borrowed into Kurtöp (and Dzongkha) via Tshangla, where it analyzed as a native quantifier. *thamca*, like *pura* and *rita* also translates into English ‘all’. The difference between these three quantifiers is part of ongoing research.

Like *rita* and *pura*, *thamca* ‘all’ may constitute a NP on its own; this is illustrated in (197).

(197) *o cot thungwani jam ... thamcara kitpa jongwa sho la*

\[
\textsf{wo} \quad \textsf{co-to} \quad \textsf{thung-wa=ni} \quad \textsf{jam} \quad \textsf{thamca=ra} \quad \textsf{kitpa}
\]

DEM:PROX make-INF do-NMZ=ABL easy all=EMPH peaceful

\[
\textsf{jong-wa} \quad \textsf{sho} \quad \textsf{la}
\]

elemg-NMZ EMPH POL

‘After making this, it’s easy … everyone became happy!’

SPh.TsC.20081022625.263.TsC

\[100\] Jäschke (2003: 230) lists the definition of *ཐམ་ཅད* `tham.cad` as ‘whole, all’.

355
In (198) *thamca* ‘all’ is a modifier following the noun *khwe* ‘water’.

(198) *khwe thamca* ‘rona nga

*khwe thamca* ‘ro=na ngak
water all ‘ro=LOC do
‘All water being in the valley…’
SPh.TsC20081022.2020.225.SPh

Again like the other particles meaning ‘all’, *thamca* tends to follow the plural focus marker *gapo*, if both are present in the NP.

(199) *trong ‘yuisthan** jikpa jikpala gapo thamcana thrakshang*

*trong ‘yuisthan jikpa jikpa-la gapo thamca=na thrak-shang*
village village (<Dz.) big big-IDZ PL.FOC all=LOC arrive-PFV.EGO
‘(It) arrived in the big, big villages’
SPh.TsC20081022. 2322.967.SPh

12.3.4. Quantifiers meaning ‘some’

12.3.4.1. *phetse*

The quantifier *phetse* is originally a noun meaning ‘half’ though has broadened its syntactic distribution and function to a quantifier which translates into English as ‘some’. An example of *phetse* as a noun meaning ‘half’ is shown in (200).
(200)  'la zonni phetse wenta

month two-and half  COP.EQ.MIR

‘It was two and half months.’

SBC20051127.KW

In (201), however, phetse has a more generalized meaning of ‘some’ but maintains its syntactic status as a noun.

(201)  phetsegı dogo che man ‘mekhor la

some=ERG nine ten unless NEG-take POL

‘Some only take nine or ten.’

SPh20081022.489.835.SPh

In (202) the noun mi ‘person’ is followed by phetse functioning as a quantifier. Note that in addition to the semantics of ‘some’ phetse is in the quantifier slot, syntactically.

(202)  da neri tshô Wennani mi phetseni nornang getakiri yasto getak

now 1.PL.REFL.GEN here COP.EQ-COND person some-CFOC cow=LOC
goto-taki-ri yas=to ge-taki
go-IPFV -HSY work=LOC go-IPFV

‘Now if it’s out here then some for cows and some go for work.’

SPh20081022.1625.310.SPh
12.3.4.2. zhanma

The quantifier zhanma means roughly ‘other’. As a modifier it follows the noun but may also constitute a NP on its own. (203) illustrates zhanma as a modifier and (204) provides an example of zhanma functioning as a NP.

(203) cala zhanma wen na throt thungmal na tshe
      cala    zhanma   wen-nani  throt   thung-male  nā
      thing    other    COP.EQ-COND  wash  do-NMZ:IRR  COP.EXIS.MIR
‘If it’s other things, we can wash (it).’
SPh20081022.1901.510.SPh

(204) zhanmagi pcha gapo
      zhanma=gi   pcha       gapo
      other=GEN    Bon.festival  PL.FOC
‘Other Bon festivals’
KZ20080515.KZ

12.3.4.3. tsama

The form tsama has a broader syntactic distribution than the other quantifiers discussed in this section. Specifically, tsama may act a quantifier and adverb, and as an adverb tsama may modify the action in terms of manner or may be used to soften a request.

An example of tsama as a quantifier is (205).
(205)  *nin gapi ngato mi tsama zonlare*

*nin gapi ngat=to mi tsama zon-le-*'are

2PL PL.FOC.ERG 1.ABS=LOC person some send-IMP.POL-EXCL

‘You guys send me some people.’

SBC20051127KW

Like other quantifiers, *tsama* may function as a NP on its own. The data in (206) may be heard nearly everytime a guest eats a meal in Kurtöp-speaking area.

(206)  *tsama soile*

*tsama soi-le*

some eat.HON-IMP.POL

‘Eat some!’

SBC20051127KW

Examples (207) and (208) illustrate the use of *tsama* as an adverb. The first instance shows *tsama* modifying the manner of the verb, while in (208) the function of *tsama* is to soften the request. The use of a quantifier ‘some’ to soften requests is also found in Dzongkha and Hindi, and likely other languages of the region.
(207)  *khako ngana tsama gorta*

*khako ngak-nani tsama gor-ta*

DIR:UP do-COND some take-IPFV.MIR

‘If it is uphill, it takes a while.’

SBC20051127KW

(208)  *tsama Lhüntshi zongna tsham kadrin cang biye ngak*

*tsama Lhüntshi dzong=na cham kadrin cang bi-ye*

some Lhüntshi Dzong=LOC until gratitude throw give-IMP.POL

ngak

QUOT

‘(I said) “kindly (take us) until Lhüntshi Dzong.”’

SBC20051127KW

### 12.3.4.4. *dakti*

The Kurtöp modifier *dakti* translates into English ‘some’ or ‘a few’, as in *khausti*

*dakti* ‘a few eggs’. Two examples drawn from the texts are shown in (209) and (210).

(209)  *'onga daktigi tshe tsakalinggi shorning thamung thungta ngaksi wenta*

*’onga dakti=gi tshe tsakaling=gi shor=ning thamung thung-ta*

child some=ERG DM hat=GEN reason=ABL fight do-IPFV.MIR

ngaksi wenta

QUOT COP.EQ.MIR

‘Some children were supposed to have been fighting due to a hat.’

Lama200812311 2060.864LC
The morpheme *mira* has a different distribution than the other modifiers discussed in this section and has been the most elusive in terms of function. *Mira* often occurs preceding the noun, in the syntactic position of a determiner, as in (211).

(211)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mira} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft lama gapo} \\
\text{mira} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft lama gapo} \\
\text{mira} & \quad \text{lama} \quad \text{PL.FOC} \\
\text{\textquoteleft Lamas and all…} \\
\text{SPh.TsC20081022.2889.004SPh}
\end{align*}
\]

When *mira* occurs on its own as a NP, it is translated as ‘others’, as in (212). (212)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tshe} & \quad \text{mira} \quad \text{Trashi mithungkhan} \\
\text{tshe} & \quad \text{mira} \quad \text{Trashi=gi} \quad \text{mik-thung-khan} \\
\text{DM} & \quad \text{other} \quad \text{Trashi=ERG} \quad \text{eye-do-NMZ:IPFV} \\
\text{\textquoteleft The one which Trashi saw is another one.} \\
\text{SPh.TsC20081022.2889.004SPh}
\end{align*}
\]
12.4. Comparatives and superlatives

In order to make comparatives and superlatives, Kurtöp employs the construction NP₁-COMP NP₂, in which NP₁ is the base of comparison, COMP is the marker of comparison -wa, probably an old ablative, and NP₂ is the object of comparison.

Comparison in Kurtöp is done by way of suffixation of the comparative suffix -wa to source of comparison, followed by the object of comparison and then an adjective and copula or a verb. This strategy for comparison is typical throughout the region. Hindi and Dzongkha, for example, also make use of a NP NP-COMP V construction.

The use of NP NP-wa can also be used to make a superlative, in which case the first NP is a question word. For example, ‘éwa chitpu ‘who-COMP big’ translates as ‘bigger than anyone’ or ‘biggest’ in English, as (213) illustrates.

(213)  jikpal the mutna ke kwekpa gap zhàwa chesana
     jikpa-la the mutna ke kwekpa gapo zhà-wa
      big-IDZ DEF QP crown PL.FOC what-COMP
     che-sa-na
      be.big-PFV-COP

‘Isn’t there a big one, whose head is bigger than anything?’
SaTSW20090917.673.793-675.479.SaT
12.5. ‘Like’

Kurtöp makes use of two words are translated into English ‘like’ or ‘as’. The first, woktila, is discussed in §12.5.1; the second, shisa, is discussed in §12.5.2.

12.5.1. woktila

When the adverb wokti ‘like.this’ is affixed with the individuator -la, it becomes an adjectival modifier, as in (214).

(214) seng woktilthe thunga

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{seng} & \text{wokti-la-the} & \text{thung-na} \\
\text{tree} & \text{like.this-IDZ-DEF} & \text{do-PFV.MIR} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Wood of this size has been done (laid over)’

(Speaker shows with hand how big)
SaT.SW20090917.556.752SaT

There is also an example in the text of woktikti serving as a modifier, though I am unsure of the function or source of the added material following wokti. (215) provides an example.

(215) gor woktikti

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{gor} & \text{woktikti} \\
\text{stone} & \text{like.this} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(a) stone of this size’ (speaker indicating the size with hands)
SaT.SW20090917. 2192.676SaT
12.5.2. shisa

The form *shisa* is a true adjectival modifier, always following the noun it modifies. For example, *phrengma shisa* translates into English as ‘like prayer beads’, or ‘similar to prayer beads’.
CHAPTER XIII
PROFORMS

This chapter presents a discussion of what I refer to as ‘proforms’, following Post (2007). I use the term proform to capture pronouns, including personal pronouns and deictic demonstratives, deictic adverbs, and question words. These words comprise different syntactic classes (i.e. function as determiner, NP, Adverbial Phrase) but share the ability to function as an entire phrase.

Proforms in Kurtöp are a closed set of forms that share the ability to function as entire phrases. Pronouns, the forms which have the ability to function as a noun phrase, comprise the largest set of forms. Demonstratives, similarly, also have the ability to stand in as a NP. Questions words are proforms as well, though their syntactic categories vary. For example, Kurtöp ’ê ‘who’, functions as a pronoun while ’arwa ‘when’ could be considered a ‘pro-adverbial’. Other pro-adverbials in Kurtöp reflect topographical deixis, more specifically, location or direction to or from upward, downward, toward, or away the deictic center.

The first section, §13.1, describes personal pronouns. In §13.2 I discuss the forms that are involved in topographical deixis, including demonstratives and adverbials. The final section, §13.3, discusses the forms used in making questions. Like pronouns,

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101 Post (in press) introduces the term ‘topographical deixis’ to identify the means in a language to reference the location or trajectory of a referent in terms of a topographically oriented plane, i.e. upward, downward or same level.
demonstratives, and pro-adverbials, question words have the ability to function as a phrase on their own.

13.1. Personal pronouns

Kurtöp uses a set of pronouns to mark 1\textsuperscript{st} person singular, plural exclusive, plural inclusive, 2\textsuperscript{nd} person singular, plural, and third person singular and plural. In addition to these, a separate set of reflexive pronouns is found. The reflexive first plural forms are homophonous with the first plural inclusive forms. Presumably, this is due to the fact that both have developed out of the suffix -rang, cognate with Written Tibetan \textlangle rh\textrangle ‘self’. All pronouns except the second person plural forms have separate absolutive, ergative and genitive forms, though for the reflexive/inclusive forms, the genitive and ergative are homophonous. For second personal plural the same forms are used for reflexive as well as non-reflexive function.

\textbf{Table 125. Kurtöp personal pronouns}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absolutive (EXL)</td>
<td>Absolutive (EXL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>ngat  ngai  ngaci</td>
<td>net  nei  neci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd}</td>
<td>wit  wi  wici</td>
<td>nin  ningi  ninti  ~ninci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd}</td>
<td>khit  khî  khici</td>
<td>bot  boi  boci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 126. Kurtöp personal pronouns: reflexive forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ngar(a)</td>
<td>ngari/gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>wir(a)</td>
<td>wiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>khir(a)</td>
<td>khir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ner(a)</td>
<td>neri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>ningi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bor(a)</td>
<td>bori</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first person pronoun *ngat* is clearly cognate with forms found throughout Tibeto-Burman and descended from the PTB form *nga* (Matisoff 2003a). Forms with the velar nasal initial are found throughout East Bodish languages, with the exception of Black Mountain, which has a velar stop, as in *kö* (Driem 1995b). Jacques (2007) provides convincing evidence in favor of two series of pronouns (one with velar stop; one with velar nasal) for first person at the PTB/PST level and thus the Black Mountain form *kö* could also be reconstructable to PTB.

While the etymology of the first person forms in Kurtöp is relatively straightforward, the etymology of the second and third person forms is less so. Before speculating further on etymology of the second and third person form, I will first review what we know about personal pronouns in other East Bodish languages. In Table 127, I repeat the comparative East Bodish pronouns, originally introduced in §3.5.
### Table 127. Comparative East Bodish pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Kh</th>
<th>Bm</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>Da</th>
<th>Dz</th>
<th>Black Mountain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>ŋat</td>
<td>ŋat</td>
<td>ŋat</td>
<td>ŋa</td>
<td>ŋat</td>
<td>ŋe</td>
<td>ŋe</td>
<td>kō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.PL</td>
<td>ner</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>ȳar</td>
<td>ȳata</td>
<td>ǫŋdat, ǫŋnak</td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td>ŋara</td>
<td>(EXL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>(EXL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.SG</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>wet</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iŋ, andat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.PL</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>win</td>
<td>ir</td>
<td>ita(ŋ)</td>
<td>iŋnak, iŋ</td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td>ira(ŋ)</td>
<td>(EXL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SG</td>
<td>khit</td>
<td>gon</td>
<td>gon/khit</td>
<td>khi</td>
<td>khi</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>hoʔma (M), hoʔmet (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.PL</td>
<td>bot</td>
<td>bot</td>
<td>ber</td>
<td>beta(ŋ)</td>
<td>hoʔon, hoʔnak</td>
<td>(INCL)</td>
<td>bera(ŋ)</td>
<td>(EXL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on these forms I can tentatively reconstruct for Proto East Bodish the forms illustrated in Error! Reference source not found.128.

---

102 The source for the Pre-classical Tibetan form is Wolfenden (1929: 94-95).

103 The source for the Proto-Tani form is Post and Modi (ms.).

104 The source for the Proto-Boro-Garo form is Burling and Joseph (2006).
Table 128. Proposed Proto East Bodish pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>*PEB</th>
<th>Other TB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*ŋa/kV</td>
<td>*ŋa (PTB; (Matisoff 2003); (Jacques 2007) provides convincing evidence in favor of two series of pronouns (one with velar stop; one with velar nasal) for first person at the PTB/PST level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*na, naŋ</td>
<td>PTB *na, naŋ (Matisoff 2003: 639)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*ba; Proto-Tani *bà; Proto-Boro-Garo u¹, bi¹, Turung Singpho khi</td>
<td>Pre-classical Tibetan ba; Proto-Tani *bà; Proto-Boro-Garo u¹, bi¹, Turung Singpho khi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I said above, the first person pronouns in East Bodish, and the Kurtöp reflex in particular, are unremarkable for Tibeto-Burman, seeming to be a reflex of the form reconstructed at the PTB level. The second person forms are more interesting. Kurtöp shows two separate roots for second person, *wi and *nin. The former is widespread within East Bodish (EB) but I am not aware of cognates outside of East Bodish, suggesting it is innovative in EB. The latter, *nin does have cognates outside of EB and infact could be related to the form reconstructed by Matisoff (2003) for PTB, though the vowel shift from *a to *i still needs to be explained.\(^{106}\)

There is also evidence to reconstruct two roots for third person pronouns at the PEB level, both of which potentially have cognates outside of EB. Forms with a labial

\(^{105}\) The source for the Singhpo form is Morey (2010).

\(^{106}\) It is tempting to point to the similarity of Kurtöp *nin with the Mandarin Chinese second person pronouns *ni and *nin.
initial stop are found in older stages of Tibetan, Tani, and Bodo-Garo languages while forms with a velar stop initial are found in Singpho.

Recall from Table that all absolutive pronouns end with the coda -t (ngat, wit, khit) as do absolutive pronouns in Bumthap (van Driem 1995b: 21-22) and the -t is clearly historically innovative. In fact, the obligatory nature of the -t in personal pronouns appears to be limited to Kurtöp and Bumthap and not found in the other East Bodish languages, and thus is a very recent development. The origin of the -t in ngat, and indeed all the ‘absolutive’ forms is perhaps a reanalysis of the form that gave rise to ‘Mangde ergative -t (Fuminobu Nishida, pc.). The actual use of ergative versus absolutive is complicated; §14 is devoted to this topic.

In addition to the above forms, the form for the word ‘here’ tshô can be used also as a polite second person morpheme. This is no doubt related to the same phenomenon in Dzongkha, in which the word na ‘here’ is used as a means to address second person in a polite or honorific way.

The personal pronouns are generally used only for human referents. For third person non-human referents the demonstrative wo ‘DEM.PROX’ is usually used. However,

107 Although a thorough analysis of East Bodish pronouns is yet to be completed, there is some additional evidence in favor of absolutive -t having its origin as an ergative marker. In my field notes, Chali and Khengkha also have pronominal forms with and without the -t though whether or not any functional, semantic or pragmatic difference is encoded by the -t is unknown. There is no evidence in either Dakpa or Dzala for the absolutive -t, though Dzala marks inclusive plural pronouns with a -ta(ŋ) formative (2008-2009 Field Methods class at the University of California Santa Barbara).

108 It might also be historically relevant that there is evidence to reconstruct an ergative case-marker -se to PEB, as I showed in (Hyslop 2010b). First, the ergative case-marker would have had to lose its vowel and attach to pronouns as -s, then then sound change s > t would have had to occur (indeed, coda s > t has happened elsewhere in East Bodish). Then, ergative -t could have expanded in function to being simply a pragmatic marker (cf. arguments made in §14.1.1), after Kurtöp and Bumthap separated from East Bodish.
there are (rare) instances of personal pronouns being used for inanimate referents. An example is (216).

(216)  \textit{khitni tshe...}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{khit-}ni & \textit{tshe} \\
3.ABS-CFOC & DM \\
\end{tabular}

‘As for it...(the water)’

SPh.TsC20081022.SPh

13.1.1. Reflexives

Reflexive pronouns, shown in

Table , are used for reflexive referent (i.e. when an action is directed back at the given argument) but also in broader contexts.

The data in (217) and (218) illustrate the reflexive function of Kurtöp reflexive pronouns:

(217)  \textit{khit khiri khwi tshen} \textit{an phacina}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
khit & \textit{khiri} & \textit{khw}i=\textit{gi} & \textit{tshek-nani} & \textit{phat-kina} \\
3.ABS & 3.REFL.GEN & dog=ERG & bite-COND & be.okay-FUT \\
\end{tabular}

‘If his\textsubscript{i} dog bites himself\textsubscript{i}, that will be okay’

KLEmail20080312
When the reflexive pronoun is used, as in (217), the referent is interpreted as being the same -- that is, the dog owner and the recipient of the dog’s bite are the same. When the non-reflexive form is used, however, as in (218), the referent of the genitive pronoun is interpreted as being different. In this instance, the dog owner and the one bitten by the dog cannot be the same person.

There is some evidence that Kurtöp reflexive pronouns are more formal or polite than non-reflexives. For example, in (219), which is taken from a formal narrative introducing the Kurtöp language area, the speaker begins his self-introduction using reflexive pronouns.

(218)  *khit khici khwi tshen phacina*

`khit`  `khici`  `khwi=gi`  `tshen`  `phacina`

3.ABS  3.GEN  dog=ERG  bite-COND  be.okay-FUT

‘If his dog bites him, that will be okay’

* ‘If his dog bites himself, that will be okay’

KLEmail20080312

(219)  *ngaragi ming khepo Karma Zangpo ngaksi zhuiki la*

`ngara=gi`  `ming`  `khepo`  `Karma`  `Zangpo`  `zhu-ki`  `ngaksi`  `la`

1.REFL=GEN  name  FOC  Karma  Zangpo  say.HON-HORT  QUOT  POL

‘ My own name is called “Karma Zangpo”’

KZ20080515.16.036-19.646
13.1.2. Clusivity

An inclusive/exclusive distinction is made in first person plural pronouns in Kurtöp. The inclusive form is homophonous with the reflexive form and no inclusive/exclusive disintcion in made within the reflexive pronouns. I expect, therefore, that the inclusive first person plural has derived from the reflexive pronoun historically.

Consider (220) and (221):

(220) net zon gewala
net zon ge-pala
1.PL.EXL two go-PFV
‘The two of us went’
SBC20051127.KW

(221) yau neri trongna menyangtami tshe
yau neri trong=na me-nyang-ta-mi tshe
UP 1.PL.INCL.GEN village=LOC NEG-receive-IPFV.MIR-TAG DM
‘We don’t get (dried fish) up there in our village, right.’
SBC20051127.KW

These two examples come from the same speaker within the same minute of a conversation between him and another Kurtöp. The two speakers hadn’t met previously but were introduced in the United States and quickly became friends, sharing stories and getting to know each other. In (220) speaker KW describes a story about himself and another friend of his; thus net refers to the speaker and a third person. Shortly thereafter, KW references the area where he and the interlocutor are from, using neri, the inclusive
pronoun. In this case it is clear that the speaker is including the interlocutor in the first person plural reference.

Clusitivity beyond first person is not unheard of in Tibeto-Burman. For example, Mark Post and Yankee Modi (pc) report a clusive contrast amongst plural pronouns in Milang, including those used for third person. In third person contexts, a contrast in clusivity may indicate whether the referent belongs to the same ‘group’ as the speaker, with ‘group’ being contextual.

There is some contradictory evidence for clusivity at the third person level as well in Kurtöp. The reflexive form of the third person singular pronoun, *khir*, is often used in non-reflexive contexts. It is as of yet unclear what conditions the use of *khit* ‘3.ABS’ versus *khir* ‘3.REFL’ in these contexts though speakers occasionally have the intuition it involves clusive notions.

Consider the minimal pair illustrated by (222) and (223), where the former example has the regular abolsutive third person pronoun and the latter has the reflexive form:

\[(222) \text{ Thimphu gemong khit natpa shorna} \]
\[\text{ Thimphu ge-mong khit natpa shor-na} \]
\[\text{ Thimphu go-CTM 3.ABS sick lose-PFV.MIR} \]
\[\text{ ‘When traveling to Thimphu, she fell ill.’} \]
\[\text{ Elicitation.KL.20080312.email} \]
(223)  *Thimphu gemong khir natpa shorna*

*Thimphu* ge-mong  *khir* natpa  *shor-na*

Thimphu  go-CTM  3.REFL  sick  lose-PFV.MIR

‘When traveling to Thimphu, she fell ill.’
Elicitation.KL.20080312.email

The context in (223) is not a reflexive or emphatic one and this example could be said in an identical context to that of (222). A consultant tells me that (222) is preferable when the referent is present, while the reflexive form, in (223), is used when the referent is absent. In other words, *khit* includes present company while *khir* excludes present company. It is also his opinion that, today, most speakers use the pronouns interchangeably.

A contrast between inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns is common in Tibetan languages. For example, Huber (2005) reports ‘*u* and *orä* as inclusive and *nyi* and *nyirä* as exclusive pronouns in Kyirong Tibetan; Haller (2000) describes *ngari* and *ngaca* as being the inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns, respectively, in Shigatse Tibetan,\(^\text{109}\) and Bielmeier (1985) lists *ngaran* as the inclusive form and *ngaja* as the exclusive form in Balti Tibetan.\(^\text{110}\)

\(^\text{109}\) (Haller 2000) also lists *nga-tsho* and *nga-rang-tsho* as other first personal plural forms.

\(^\text{110}\) I am grateful to Scott DeLancey for bringing these to my attention.
13.2. Demonstrative pronouns and adverbials

Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, Kurtöp has a rich system of demonstrative pronouns and adverbials, many of which denote topographical deixis, or location above, below, or at the same level of the speaker.

Kurtöp has five deictic demonstratives. wo and wozi are used to reference proximity to the deictic center (usually, but not necessarily, the speaker), wudi references relative distance from the deictic center, wome references location below the deictic center, and woye references direction above the deictic center. Deictic demonstratives are illustrated in Table 129.

**Table 129. Kurtöp deictic demonstratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wo</td>
<td>proximal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wozi</td>
<td>proximal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wudi</td>
<td>distal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wome</td>
<td>down demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woye</td>
<td>up demonstrative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives have a prominent position in Kurtöp syntax. In addition to exclusively occupying the syntactic determiner position, they can also be cliticized with case enclitics =na ‘LOC’ or =ni ‘ABL’ (described in §11.6.6), specifying direction of movement from a deictic position. An example of the demonstrative determiner specifying location below the deictic center is (83).
(224)  *khwegi womenata gari yam nāmi tshe*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
thewe=gi \quad \text{wome}=na=ta \quad \text{gari} \quad \text{yam} \quad nā=mi \quad \text{tshe} \\
\text{water=GEN} \quad \text{DEM:DN=LOC=EMPH} \quad \text{car} \quad \text{road} \quad \text{COP.EIXS.MIR}=\text{TAG} \quad \text{DM}
\end{array}
\]

‘There was a car road down near the river, right.’

SBC20051127KW

Locative and ablative-marked proximate and distal demonstratives are also used abstractly for references to time. In (225) the speaker is in the middle of telling a fable about the divine madman, Drukpa Künle. He uses *wudina* as he moves the story line along.

(225)  *tshe wudina*

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{tshe} \quad \text{wudi}=na \\
\text{DM} \quad \text{DEM.DIST}=\text{LOC}
\end{array}
\]

‘And after that…’

KS20061212.0187.737KL

While both *wo* ‘DEM.PROX’ and *wudi* ‘DEM.DIST’ are used with *=na* ‘LOC’ and *=ni* ‘ABL’ and abstractly, the topographically deictic demonstratives do not appear to evidence this function. Further, while *wozi* is used abstractly, including as a hesitancy marker, it is never marked with one of the enclitics.

In the adverb domain Kurtöp uses three forms reflecting deictic relations. *mau* reflects location below the deictic center; *yau* reflects location above the deictic center, and *thu* is the distal deictic adverb. These are illustrated in Table 130.

377
Table 130. Kurtöp deictic locative adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mau</td>
<td>down adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yau</td>
<td>up adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thu</td>
<td>distal adverb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A separate set of forms is used to denote movement toward a location in reference to the deictic center, shown in Table 131.

Table 131. Kurtöp deictic allative adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khako</td>
<td>towards up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoto</td>
<td>towards down (yosto in Gangzur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshondo</td>
<td>toward deictic center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thundo</td>
<td>toward away from deictic center</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The four deictic allative adverbs are clearly composed of a root plus the locative case marker. Of the four roots *khak, yo, tshon*, and *thun*, only *tshon* is found on its own, but without the coda nasal and a slightly elongated vowel: *tshô*. *Thun*- is clearly related to the distal adverb *thu* but *yo-* is derived form an unknown root. I am not aware of any cognates for *khak*.

There is also a set of ablative deictic adverbs, indicating direction from a point in reference to the deictic center. These are shown in Table 132. Again, it is clear by an
examination of the forms that they are diachronically composed of a root plus the ablative case marker.

Table 132. Kurtöp ablative deictic adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yangi</td>
<td>‘from up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangi</td>
<td>‘from down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thungi</td>
<td>‘from away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshongi</td>
<td>‘from here’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For comparative purposes, it is useful to compare the roots used for each function: above the deictic center, below the deictic center, toward the deictic center and away from the deictic center. The forms found in Kurtöp are summarized by function in Table 133.

Table 133. Kurtöp deictic proforms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Up</th>
<th>Down</th>
<th>Toward</th>
<th>Away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>woye</td>
<td>wome</td>
<td>wo ~ wozi</td>
<td>wudi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative adverb</td>
<td>yau</td>
<td>mau</td>
<td></td>
<td>thu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative adverb</td>
<td>khako</td>
<td>yoto~yosto</td>
<td>tshondo</td>
<td>thudo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative adverb</td>
<td>yangi</td>
<td>mangi</td>
<td>tshongi</td>
<td>thungi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For each function there are two roots. The forms referencing location above the deictic center are *yau~ye~ya* and *khak*. Referents below the deictic center are indicated by use of the roots *yo(s)* and *mau~me~me*. The latter root is likely cognate with the form reconstructed for Proto-Tani *bà* (Post m.s.) and the Lepcha forms *mere* ‘that down
there’ *melom* ‘like that down there’, *melon* ‘in that direction down there’, *mebi* ‘there below’, etc. (Plaisier 2007: 70).

The roots indicating proximity to the deictic center are *wo* and *tshon*. I am not aware of any cognacy of the former outside of East Bodish\(^{111}\) for *wo*, but *tshon* has a clear cognate in Written Tibetan *tshon* ‘here’. For indicating relative distance from the deictic center the roots present in Kurtöp are *thun* and *wudi*.

13.3. Question words

Most question words in Kurtöp also fall into the functional category of proforms, as they have the same syntax as personal pronouns. The only exception to this is ‘why’, which, in Kurtöp, is composed of *zhâ* ‘what’ and *ngaksi* ‘do-NF’, perhaps analogous to English ‘how come’. Kurtöp question formatives are shown in Table 134.

**Table 134. Kurtöp question words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurtöp</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ê</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘au</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘akpa</td>
<td>‘how much; how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘arwa</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhâ</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhâ ngaksi</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{111}\) Until more research is done on the East Bodish languages it will be difficult to compare forms and propose reconstructions. However, I can tentatively assume that Kurtöp *wo* is related to the Dakpa proximal demonstrative *ngo* (personal field notes).
The fact that ‘ê ‘who’ is in a paradigmatic relationship with the personal pronouns is underscored by the fact that it takes the same irregular genitive -ci:

(226) \[ \text{Bjasena } \hat{\text{êci dep zumale?}} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bjase=na} & \quad \hat{\text{êci}} & \quad \text{dep} & \quad \text{zu-male} \\
\text{Bjase=LOC} & \quad \text{who.GEN} & \quad \text{place} & \quad \text{eat-FUT} \\
\text{‘At whose place will we in Bjase?’} \\
\text{SaT.SW20090917}
\end{align*}
\]

The remaining question words are illustrated in (227-231).

(227) \[ \text{miksita } \hat{\text{au thungmal?}} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mik-si-ta} & \quad \hat{\text{au}} & \quad \text{thung-male} \\
\text{eye-NF-EMPH} & \quad \text{where} & \quad \text{do-FUT} \\
\text{‘Where would we see?’} \\
\text{SPh.TsC20081022.SPh}
\end{align*}
\]

(228) \[ \text{wi dor } \hat{\text{akpa thrawal yo tshachu?}} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wi} & \quad \text{dor} & \quad \hat{\text{akpa}} & \quad \text{thrak-pal} & \quad \text{yo} & \quad \text{tshachu} \\
2.\text{ERG} & \quad \text{ORD} & \quad \text{how.many} & \quad \text{arrive-PFV} & \quad \text{QP.COP} & \quad \text{hot.springs} \\
\text{‘How many times have you been to the hotsprings?’} \\
\text{SaT.SW20090917SaT}
\end{align*}
\]
(229) da nam bjarni yas 'arwani go tsuktaki yo
da nam byar=ni 'arwa=ni go tsuk-taki yo
now weather summer=ABL when=ABL begin put-IPFV QP.COP
‘Now when do we start working in the summer?’
Rice.Harvest20081022.KeD

(230) yot gapo zhâ zhâ yoktaki
yot gapo zhâ zhâ yoki-taki
manure PL.FOC what what pour-IPFV
‘What all manure you use’
Rice.Harvest20081022.KeD

(231) zhunggi tshe zhari… dazin ngako matshunani zha ngaksi bretak yo ngaksi
zhung-gi tshe zha-ri dazin nga-ko ma-tshu-nani zha
government-ERG DM what-HSY care do-LOC NEG-be.able-COND what
ngak-si blek-taki yo ngaksi
do-NF keep-IPFV QP.COP QUOT
‘So the government what.. (to self) says if you aren’t able to care for (the dog) then
why are you keeping it?’
SBC20051127.KW
Many Tibeto-Burman languages have been described to have systems of ‘optional’ case-marking, wherein a case-marker usually ascribed for a given grammatical function may be used by speakers to connote a particular semantic or pragmatic value, such as focus. This is the situation described, for example, for Tibetan (Tournadre 1991), Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007) and Kinnauri (Saxena 2007) and to some extent Newar (Genetti 1988) and Tibeto-Burman in general (LaPolla 1995). Recent typological work in ergativity (McGregor 2009) shows that ergative systems, in general, are frequently not systematic and the particular variation found within a given language may differ considerably from the variation reported for another language. In this typological light, the Kurtöp system, as I will show, is not terribly unusual.

The remainder of this chapter has the following structure. In §14.1 I describe case marking on A and S arguments;\(^{113}\) that is, I describe the system of pragmatic ergativity in Kurtöp. In §14.3 I describe case-marking on O arguments, which includes an illustration of differential object marking in Kurtöp. I conclude in §14.4 2 with a summary and discussion of the Kurtöp system in a comparative and typological light.

\(^{112}\) Much of the data and analysis here is drawn from Hyslop (2010b).

\(^{113}\) See §10.3.2 for an explanation of what I mean by A, S and O.
14.1. Case-marking on S and A arguments

The majority of Kurtöp verbs allow an S or A argument to be marked with the ergative case enclitic, described in §11.6.6.5. Before delving deeply into the Kurtöp details, I will offer an overview of ergativity in general in §14.1.1. In §14.1.2 I describe the general pattern of syntactic ergativity in Kurtöp while in §14.1.3 I describe the pragmatic ergative. I will show that inherent semantics of a verb dictate whether the ergative case marker will be required, will be allowed for pragmatic purposes, or be disallowed altogether.

14.1.1. Ergativity and Tibeto-Burman

McGregor (2009: 481) cites Fabricius Fabricius (1801/1791), a sketch of Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut, Greenlad) as the first mention of an ergative system. A similar phenomenon was noted for Awabakal (Pama-Nyungan, Australia) in Threlkeld (1834) and then again in the Caucasian languages (Schuchardt 1895). The modern interest in ergativity began with Dixon's (1972) description of Dyirbal and took off especially with Comrie (1978) and (Dixon 1979). A definition of ergativity can be taken from (Dixon 1994: 1) as ‘a grammatical pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause is treated the same way as the object of a transitive clause, and differently from a transitive subject.’

McGregor (2009) clearly shows that, typologically, ergativity is rarely as straightforward as Dixon’s (1994:1) definition (as many others have previously noted). McGregor describes morphological ergativity, lexical-semantic ergativity, syntactic ergativity and discourse ergativity but focuses on morphological ergativity, identifying
several different systems of ‘split-ergativity’. Four main factors condition split ergative patterns: 1) the nature of the verb; 2) the nature of the agent NP; 3) tense/aspect/mood; and 4) construction (McGregor 2009:486). Split ergativity can be contrasted with ‘optional’ ergativity, wherein the ergative marker may be present or not present without affecting the grammaticality of the clause. McGregor himself notes that ‘optional’ in this instance may be misleading as the use of the ergative markers in these instance is not random but is instead conditioned by other factors (2009: 493). This is just the sort of system at play in Kurtöp; however, given the hedge McGregor makes, and the nature of the factors at play in conditioning the presence or absence of the Kurtöp ergative in many instances, I prefer to use the term ‘pragmatic’ ergative.

McGregor (2009) finds ‘optional ergativity’ in at least 10% of morphologically ergative languages, including Nilotic, Circassian, Kawapana, Nyulnyulan and Tibeto-Burman language families. He further identifies several ‘optional ergative’ concentrations in the world, including the India-Nepal-Tibet-Western China region. Bhutan is easily part of this region geographically and I see no reason why it would be remarkable typologically. Indeed, Kurtöp provides another example of ‘optional’ or pragmatic ergativity.

In a comparative survey on ergativity in 151 Tibeto-Burman languages, LaPolla (1995) identifies both ‘systemic’ and ‘non-systemic’ morphological ergativity. The function of ‘non-systemic’ ergativity is to disambiguate two potential agents -- one function of the Kurtöp ergativity. Because of the different function of ‘non-systemic’ ergativity versus ‘systemic’ ergativity, LaPolla (1995) prefers to use the term ‘agentive’
to refer to instances of ‘non-systemic’ ergativity. Given the description of ‘agentive’ marking in recent descriptions of Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Chelliah (1997) for Meithei; Coupe (2007) for Mongsen Ao; Andvik (2010) for Tshangla), one might expect ‘agentive’ to be an appropriate label for the Kurtöp phenomenon. However, I opt to retain using the term ‘ergative’ in order to describe the Kurtöp system. The reasons for this are 1) the grammatical necessity of the ergative for a subset of verbs; and 2) the formal similarity of the Kurtöp ergative with the Tibetan ergative and the ergative in other Bodic languages. For example, Written Tibetan had -gyis ~ -kyis ~ - (i)s, van Driem (1998) describes a -gi ergative for Dzongkha (also with heavy pragmatic functions), and LaPolla (1995: 193) suggests that the Tamang and Gurung ergative morphemes may be palatalized versions of the Tibetan forms. It is important to recall in many instances the ergative is reported to have heavy semantic and pragmatic functions.

14.1.2. Syntactic ergative

As I show in §13.1 Kurtöp has separate pronouns for ergative or ab solutive case and as I show in §11.6.6.5, the Kurtöp ergative has several allomorphs. The ergative and absolutive forms of the personal pronouns are repeated in Table 135 and the ergative allomorphs are repeated in Table 136. Recall from the discussion in §7.3.3.3, it appears that there are actually two sources for the synchronic ergative marker in Kurtöp. The native form is -i ~ -li while the recently borrowed form is -gi. The form -i may occur in place of a word-final vowel while -li may occur following a coronal or velar nasal. Speakers may use -gi in any phonological environment.
Table 135. Kurtöp personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ngat</td>
<td>ngai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>wî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>khit</td>
<td>khî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 136. Allomorphy of ergative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Form of ergative</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>=gi</td>
<td>Kinlegi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel final</td>
<td>=i</td>
<td>Pemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel, -n, -ng</td>
<td>=li</td>
<td>zonli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a subset of verbs for which the ergative is grammatically required on the A argument. The first group I will examine consists of speech, utterance and cognition verbs. In (232) I show an ergative-marked A argument with the verb *dri* ‘ask’.

(232)  *gata Rinzin khîra shamatheni ngai drimotako*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ga-ta} & \quad \text{Rinzin} & \text{khî-ra} & \quad \text{shama-the}=\text{ni} & \quad \text{ngai} \\
\text{laugh-IPFV} & \quad \text{Rinzin} & 3.\text{ERG-EMPH} & \text{sometime-one}=\text{ABL} & \text{1.ERG} \\
\text{dri-mo-tako} & \quad \text{ask-CTM-IPFV} & \text{‘Even Rinzin himself was laughing after I asked.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

SBC20051127.KW
Example (233) illustrates an ergative first person A argument with the honorific form of the verb ‘see’ je.

(233) soithap zon jeshang ngai

soithap   zon    je-shang       ngai
stove.HON  two    see.HON-PFV.EGO 1.ERG
‘I saw two stoves (of the angel).’
SaT.SW20090917.1341.340.SaT

In (234) I illustrate the verb ko ‘hear’, also with a first person ergative-marked A argument.

(234) ’napa soithap ná ngaksi hakoshangna ngai

’napa   soithap             ná        ngaksi    ha
earlier  stove.HON             COP.EXIS.MIR QUOT meaning
ko-shang    ná                ngai
hear-PFV.EGO  COP.EXIS.MIR 1.ERG
‘I understood earlier (someone say) there were two stove.’
SaT.SW20090917.1356.725 SaT

The verb ngak ‘do’ may also be used as a speech act verb and is the diachronic source of the quotative. When used as a speech act verb it also conditions ergative marking on the A argument, as (235).
(235) *tshe ngai ‘amana shê ngawal jed geci*

\[
\text{tshe ngai ‘ama-na shê nga-pala je=to ge-ki}
\]

DM 1.ERG mother=LOC come.IMP do-PFV go.HON=LOC go-HORT

‘I told my mom “come, go and visit (it)”’.

SaT.SW20090917.1370.964SaT

The verb *dран* ‘remember’ is also shown to condition ergativity on its A argument in (236).

(236) *khî drantami*

\[
\text{khî dran-ta=mi}
\]

3.ERG remember-IPFV=TAG

‘He remembers, right.’

SBC20051127.KW

Similarly, the verb *bran* ‘know’, requires an ergative-marker on the A argument. Consider the data in (237-239). In (237) the A argument appears in natural discourse marked with the ergative case. If we try to alter the case in elicitation to absolutive, in (238), the argument is interpreted as being the O argument, but the sentence becomes somewhat unnatural for native speakers. Instead, speakers prefer data like that in (239), in which both the A and O are overly marked.
The verbs described until now fall into the category of perception, cognition, and utterance (PCU) verbs. There are many more such examples in the texts and no exceptions have been found to the generalization that verbs of this semantic category will require the A argument to be ergative.

There is a further subset of verbs for which the ergative is required to disambiguate potential agents. Consider the data in (240) and (241), in which the verb *thrung* ‘bear.HON’, relies on the ergative marker to disambiguate the role of the two potential human verbal arguments. In (240) the verb *thrung* has one core argument,
Drowa Zangmo khepo, which is in absolutive case and therefore interpreted as the S argument. In (241) there are two core arguments: 'Am Sonam ‘Lady Sonam’ and se ‘son.HON’. Ergative case is used in this instance in order to disambiguate the agent ('am Sonam) from the theme (se).

(240)  Drowa Zangmo khepo wo gatpo ganmo zonnang thrungwala wentami

Drowa Zangmo FOC DEM:PROX old.man old.woman thrung-pala wenta=mi
bear.HON-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR=TAG
‘Drowa Zangmo was born to this old man and woman.’
PS20061206.339.468.P

(241)  'Am Sonamgi se thrungwala wenta

'Am Sonam-gi son.HON bear.HON-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR
Lady Sonam son.HON wenta=mi
‘Lady Sonam gave birth to a son.’
(Elicited data)

A similar situation is illustrated in (242) and (243). The verb zon ‘send’ has human A and O arguments, and thus without case marking it would be ambiguous as to which argument is the A and which is the O. In (242) the three referents yum ‘mother.HON’, se ‘son.HON’ and semo ‘daughter.HON’ are together understood to be the O
argument of the clause while the A is unmentioned. If we mark \textit{yum} with ergative case, as in (243), then \textit{yum} must be understood to be the A argument.\footnote{It may be noted that these two examples consist of formally nominalized clauses, rather than verbs exhibiting finite TAME morphology. However, my research shows no difference with regard to ergativity for nominalized or non-nominalized verbs. That is, I would expect the same pattern exemplified here if the verbs consisted only of finite suffixes.}

(242) \textit{yum seni semo yap zhiksana zonpala wenta la}

\begin{verbatim}
yum     se-ni     semo     yap     zhuk-sa=na
mother.HON  son.HON-CMT  daughter.HON  father.HON  sit.HON-NMZ:LOC=LOC
zon-pala   wenta      la
send-NMZ:PFV  COP.EQ.MIR  POL
\end{verbatim}

‘The mother, prince and princess were sent to where the father was’
(Elicited data)

(243) \textit{yumgi seni semo yap zhiksana zonpala wenta la}

\begin{verbatim}
yum=gi    se-ni     semo     yap
mother.HON=ERG  son.HON-CMT  daughter.HON  father.HON
zhuk-sa=na    zon-pala   wenta      la
sit.HON-NMZ:LOC=LOC  send-NMZ:PFV  COP.EQ.MIR  POL
\end{verbatim}

‘The mother sent the prince and princess were sent to where the father was’
PS20061206.961.94.P

Another instance of the ergative distinguishing the A from a potential O argument is illustrated by the data in (244) and (245) with the bivalent verb \textit{phang} ‘feel.pity.for’. In (244) the only overt argument of the clause is in absolutive case and is thus interpreted as the O argument. If the same argument is marked in the ergative case, as in (245), then the
argument is interpreted as the A argument. The data in (245) come from a text in which fishermen were ordered to kill a prince and princess, but in the end they felt pity for the prince and princess and were not able to complete their task. Again, note that both the A and O are human in this case.

(244)  nyarop zon phangzi
       nyarop  zon  phang-si
       fisherman   two  feel.deeply.for-NF
       ‘The two fishermen were pitied…’
       (Elicited data)

(245)  nyarop zongi phangzi
       nyarop=gi  zon  phang-si
       fisherman=ERG  two  feel.deeply.for-NF
       ‘The two fishermen felt pity (for the prince and princess)…’
       PS20061206.1241.501.P

The verbs described in this section consistently use the ergative to mark the A argument. In many instances the verb selectionally restricts for arguments which are high on the animacy scale. The primary exceptions to this were zon ‘send’ and bran ‘know’. While the other verbs in this section would normally have two human arguments, the verb zon ‘send’, can also readily select for one inanimate argument, as can bran. It is not known why these verbs behave differently than other verbs which also typically select for one human and non-human argument.
The data in this section so far illustrate an ergative morpheme with the expected distribution; it has marked the A argument while the S and O are unmarked. However, the situation is more complicated than this. Consider, for example, the data in (246-249), showing bivalent verbs with two overt NPs yet no ergative morphemes.

(246)  **Rinzin gari 'lup**  
\[Rinzin \ gari \ 'lup\]
Rinzip car learn  
‘Rinzin was learning how to drive’  
SBC20051127.KW

(247)  **Tshewang khit threzi otpal wen tshe thu Nu Yorkni**  
\[Tshewang \ khit \ thre-si \ 'ot-pala \ wen \ tshe\]
Tshewang 3.ABS lead-NF bring.NMZ:PFV COP.EQ DM  
Nu York=ni  
New York=ABL  
‘Tshewang brought him along from New York’  
SBC20051127.KW

(248)  **tiru zhip matshuwala net gapo**  
\[tiru \ zhip \ ma-tshuk-pala \ net \ gapo\]
money straighten NEG-be.able-PFV I.PL.ABS PL.FOC  
‘We were not able to straighten out the money’  
SBC20051127.KW
(249) *Rinzin* *tsikpa za*

*Rinzin* tsikpa za

Rinzin anger become

‘Rinzin would become get angry’

SBC20051127.KW

14.1.3. Pragmatic ergative

For a large portion of Kurtöp verbs, the ergative enclitic actually displays a pragmatic function associated with emphasis. More specifically, the Kurtöp ergative often exhibits what can be referred to as ‘contrastive focus’ as defined by Dik (1985: 58). That is, the Kurtöp ergative often references an argument (‘piece of information’) which is opposed to another reference (‘some other piece of information’).

Consider the data in (250) and (251).

(250) *tshe geshang khit*

*tshe* ge-shang *khit*

DM go-PFV.EGO 3.ABS

‘So he left’

SBC20051127.7.KW

(251) *khî geshang*

*khî* ge-shang

3.ERG go-PFV.EGO

‘She went’ (contrary to interlocutor’s assumption)
(250) appeared in a conversation during which the speaker discusses the activities of friends and family members back home in Bhutan. He explains to the interlocutor that a certain person is no longer working at his father’s shop; he found a good job and left. This is unmarked situation. The use of the ergative in (251) with the same verb signals a pragmatic function. The speaker uses the ergative to highlight the S argument, to contrast the S with another possible (the presupposed) referent. The interlocutor had incorrectly thought the speaker had gone back to their home village and the speaker clarifies the issue by using the third person ergative pronoun to signal it was not the speaker who had gone, but a third person referent (the author in this instance).

For another example, consider the data in (252) and (253). The example in (252) describes an event in a story and the S argument occurs in absolutive form.

(252)  
\textit{tshe ozi meme the jongshang}  
\textit{tshe ozi meme the jong-shang}  
DM then grandfather one emerge-PFV.EGO  
‘So then an old man came out’  
SBC20051127.7.KW  

However, (253) is also possible.
(253)  *meme the-ɡi jongshang*

*grandfather one=ERG emerge-PFV.EGO*

‘*An old man came out’*

(elicited data)

A speaker could utter (253) if they wanted to highlight or focus the NP *meme* ‘grandfather’. One possible scenario is one in which a group of people are discussing various people who were able to come to a given event. Perhaps it was difficult for people to come; even a number of strong men were not able to complete the journey. At the end of the discourse, (253) could be uttered, stressing that the old man had managed to come even though those who are younger and stronger did not.

The verb *jong* ‘emerge’ also appears with an ergative-marked S argument in our corpus, as shown in (254). Here, the speaker is again relaying a journey he experienced to his interlocutor. At the beginning of the journey there were about eight or nine people, including the speaker. Along the way, however, the bus broke down and the speaker and his brother decided to continue the journey on foot. By the time the speaker gets to (254) he has relayed most of the tedious journey and concludes with him and his brother reaching their destination. It is not clear, however, in this example that the use of the ergative signals pragmatic focus again, since the remaining passengers in the journey had not been mentioned for several lines previously at this point. Rather, it seems the speaker is stressing the importance of the feat by using the ergative in (254).
Another verb which may mark its S argument as ergative is *thrak* ‘arrive’, as demonstrated in (255) and (256).

(255)  *yau thrakshang net zon

*yau thrak-shang net zon*  
`yau` DEM:UP  `thrak-shang` arrive-PFV.EGO  `net` 1.ABS.PL  `zon` two  
‘The two of us arrived up there’

SBC2005112.KW

(256)  *yang yangsana ngai thrakshang Phuntsholinggo

*yang yang-sa=na ngai thrak-shang Phuntsholing=to*  
`yang` stand  `yang-sa=na` stand-NMZ=LOC  `ngai` 1.ERG  `thrak-shang` arrive-PFV.EGO  `Phuntsholing=to` Phunthsoling=LOC  
‘I reached Phuntsholing standing.’

SBC2005112.KW
In (255) the speaker is again relaying a previous traveling event. The speaker and a friend had great difficulties in reaching their destination. He describes how they struggled to obtain transportation, how they had to run, and then, in the end, how they finally reached their destination. However, in (256) the speaker employs the ergative with the same verb *thrak* ‘arrive’ to highlight or contrast himself from amongst the others in the group. During a separate trip he was on a crowded bus where he and other people had to stand. At one point all of the others who had been standing had fallen to the ground and were sitting in the aisle of the bus. The speaker, however, remained standing throughout the duration of the trip, and thus he uses the ergative to separate or contrast himself from the rest of the group.

Note that in both (250) and (255) the absolutive argument follows the verb, while the ergative-marked argument precedes the verb in (251) and (256). While a potential correlation between word order and pragmatics needs to be researched, there does not appear to be a direct correlation between ergativity and word order. (257) shows the ergative-marked argument appearing before the verb, while (258) shows the ergative argument following the verb. In both instance the verb is *jukshang* ‘run.PFV.EGO’ and the S argument is *ngai* ‘1.ERG’.
(257)  zai ngai jukshang Taktshangngi yoto barto khako yoto
     zai  ngai  juk-shang  Taktshang=ngi  yoto  barto
     EXCL  1.ERG  run-PFV.EGO  Taktshang=ABL  DIR:DN  DIR:MID
     khako  yoto
     DIR:UP  DIR:DN
     ‘Wow, I ran up and down and everywhere from Taktshang’
     SBC2005112.KW

(258)  ong tshe shama jukshang ngai
     ong  tshe  shama  juk-shang  ngai
     AGR  DM  often  run-PFV.EGO  1.ERG
     ‘Yeah I ran often’
     SBC2005112.KW

Note that (257) and (258) also present instances of the pragmatic ergative. These two can be contrasted with the data in (259).

(259)  yamni thundo gorzi thiphin gapo wotor jukta tshe
     yam=ni  thun=to  gor-si  thiphin  gapo  wotor
     road=ABL  DEM:DIST=LOC  go-NF  tiffin  PL.FOC  like.that
     juk-ta  tshe
     run-IPFV.MIR  DM
     ‘The tiffns were all going that way from the road, running like that.’
     SBC2005112.KW

The data in (259) can be considered an unmarked example in which the speaker is describing a scene. In the particular scene addressed in (259), the speaker is describing an
incident in which a car door opened while the vehicle was enroute and cookware and cutlery came out of the car. In (258) and (257), however, the speaker is describing a difficult job he had to do and uses the ergative to emphasize his relationship to the task. Note that the use of the pragmatic ergative in these instances is again not a type of contrastive focus; the speaker is not identifying himself as opposed to someone else. He is emphasizing the difficulty of the task and his involvement; this use is similar to what was illustrated in (254).

Until now we have only seen the pragmatic ergative used with animate arguments. However, the pragmatic ergative may also be used with inanimate arguments. In (260) the pragmatic ergative is cliticized to trak ‘truck’.

(260) trakgi tshe..trak nami gizi gizi, sutla chutshot chaunini 'akpa winimthena yōshang tshe net mau
    trak=gi    tshe    trak    name    gi-si    gi-si    sutla
    truck=ERG    DM    truck    broken    go-NF    go-NF    night
    chutshot    chaunini    'akpa    winim-the=na    yoi-shang
    time    eleven-and    how.much    COP.DBT-DEF=LOC    reach-PFV.EGO
    tshe    net    mau
    DM    1.PL.ABS    DEM:DN

‘As for the truck, there’s a truck, right, it keeps breaking down and gets us there by around 11 at night.’
SBC2005112.KW
Here, the function of the ergative seems to be one of marking definiteness and signaling change of topic. Note that the ergative appears only on the first mention of *trak* ‘truck’ and not on the second mention when immediately preceding the verb.

The unifying factor found in ergative-marked (251), (253), (256), (257), (258), and (260), S arguments compared to the absolutive-marked arguments in (250), (252), (255) and (259) is that the ergative serves to highlight or focus the argument while the absolutive arguments are pragmatically unmarked. The ergative uses in (251), (253), (256) versus the ergative in (257), (258) and (260), however does not appear to represent the same function. In the former three, the ergative is marking contrastive focus (cf. Dik 1981; Chafe 1976) but that is not true of the latter three examples. In fact, it is not clear that focus would be the best analysis for *-gi* in these instances.\(^{115}\)

In at least one instance the choice between the ergative and absolutive also signals a tense difference. In (261) the verb *dot* ‘sleep’ is interpreted as past tense. However, in (262) the S argument appears in ergative case and the verb is interpreted as being in future tense. Here, a time adverbial pointing to a past time is disallowed.

\(^{115}\) Interestingly, (256) begins with a sharp rising intonation. However, this type of intonation is not exclusive to examples like (256); a sharp rising intonation was also associated with (253). Future research will consider the role of intonation, coupled with the pragmatic uses of the ergative and other focal elements in marking discourse-pragmatic functions in Kurtöp in general.
I suspect the possible tense differences evidenced in (261-262) fall out from the combination of the pragmatic ergative with the aspectual/evidential function of the bare verb stem. A bare verb stem may occur in two possible contexts. In one case, a bare verb is a converb missing the non-final suffix -si (cf. §21.2.5) but if the bare verb is the final, finite verb in an utterance, then it signal future tense (cf. §17.3.2). The use of the ergative in these examples may actually also be concomitant with different functions of the bare verb stem. More examples form natural discourse are needed to fully understand the relationship between ergativity and tense.

Until now I have illustrated uses of the pragmatic ergative with monovalent verbs. While the majority of verbs which may employ the pragmatic ergative are monovalent, there are instances of bivalent verbs also employing the pragmatic ergative. Compare (264) and (264).
Example (263) illustrates the unmarked instance for this verb; bi ‘give’ canonically takes an absolutive marked A. This particular example comes from a conversation in which the speaker is relaying events of a journey, with one of the events being that he and a friend paid five ‘ngultram each for a bus ticket. However (264) could be uttered if the speaker wanted to stress that he and a friend had paid (in contrast to some other party). In other words, (264) is another example of the ergative signaling contrastive focus, though this time with a bivalent verb.

The fact that the possibility of using the pragmatic ergative is a feature of a given verb is underscored by the data in (265) and (266), which can be contrasted with (264) and (263).
(265) \textit{nei tiru yanga yang zonshang} \\
\textit{nei} \quad \text{tiru} \quad \text{yanga} \quad \text{yanga} \quad \text{zon-shang} \\
1.PL.\text{ERG} \quad \text{money} \quad \text{five} \quad \text{five} \quad \text{give-PFV.\text{EGO}} \\
‘We sent five bucks (‘ngultram) each’ \hspace{1cm} \text{(elicited data)}

(266) \text{*net tiru yanga yang zonshang} \\
\text{net} \quad \text{gapo}^{=i=ya} \quad \text{dot} \\
1.PL.\text{ABS} \quad \text{PL.\text{FOC}=\text{ERG}=also} \quad \text{sleep}

In (263) and (264) that the verb \textit{bi} ‘give’ takes an absolutive-marked A argument in the unmarked scenario but may employ the pragmatic ergative to mark contrastive focus. In sharp contrast to this are (265) and (266), where the A argument must be ergative and the pragmatic ergative is not allowed. In addition to whatever semantic differences there are between \textit{zon} ‘send’ and \textit{bi} ‘give’, there are two syntactic differences. First, the verb \textit{bi} ‘give’ occurs in many light verb constructions and occurs as a main verb only, while \textit{zon} ‘send’ has not been found in any light verb constructions and, in addition to being a main verb, also occurs as an auxiliary.

Another possibility that could explain the possibility of the pragmatic ergative for \textit{bi} ‘give’ versus the requirement of the ergative for \textit{zon} ‘send’ could be grammaticalization. LaPolla (1995) states that ‘non-systemic’ and ‘systemic’ ergativity are two ends of a diachronic cline. While I believe the direction of the trajectory (i.e. \text{systemic} \rightarrow \text{non-systemic} vs. \text{non-systemic} \rightarrow \text{systemic}) remains to be proven, the idea that ergativity has grammaticalized from a non-systemic source is intriguing. Perhaps
ergativity has grammaticalized on *zon* ‘send’ before going on to grammaticalize for *bi* ‘give’.

14.1.4. Ergative resistant verbs

A subset of Kurtöp monovalent verbs mark their argument in absolutive case and rarely allow for ergative case. These verbs tend to have arguments which are typically patients and lower on the animacy scale. These verbs have been termed ‘unaccusative’ in the literature. Weather verbs and verbs which describe a change of state fall into this category. Consider (267-270).

(267)  meto throngta

    meto    throng-ta
    flower    grow-IPFV.MIR
‘A/the flower is growing’
(elicted data)
*metogi throngta

(268)  mar zhuta

    mar    zhu-ta
    butter    melt-IPFV.MIR
‘(the) butter is melting.’
(elicted data)
*margi zhuta
As illustrated by the data in (267-270), ergative counterparts are not available for the sentences. However, at least two of these verbs can occur with an ergative marked $S$ in another context, as exhibited by the data in (271-272).
The data in (271) and (272) were offered by different speakers during elicitation. In both instances, the ergative can only occur with the added words and an expanded context. The speakers express that in the data in (271) and (272), the S argument is somehow rotting or coming on purpose. In one speaker’s own words, with regard to (272) ‘you want to blame the rain by using -gi’. In both instances the S argument is attributed with a sense of volition. That is, when a context is made explicit, the S argument can take the ergative morpheme as a way to provide the sense that the given S argument is instigating or controlling the event, or force an agent interpretation onto the S argument. (273) and (274), in contrast to those in (271) and (272), show that when the ergative morpheme is removed, the added sense of agency is removed as well.
Examples (273) and (274) could be uttered when the speaker just wishes to articulate an observation and perhaps complain about the situation. However, the complaint can go a step further with (271) and (272) above by using the ergative to attribute an added sense of agency or volition, and blaming the *phrum* ‘cheese’ and *yui* ‘rain’ for the action. The use of the ergative in these instances differs from the uses we have seen previously. Here, the ergative does not signal the A argument nor mark contrastive focus. The function of the ergative in (271) and (272) also appears different than that of (257) or (258).

Another verb which is resistant to the ergative is *shak* ‘die.HON’, as illustrated by the data in (54). While the verb *shak* ‘die.HON’ typically restricts for an argument high on the animacy scale, the argument generally has the semantic role of patient.

(275)  *yum shakshang wu ai*

*yum*  
*shak-shang*  
*wu*  
*ai*

mother.HON  
die.HON-PFV.EGO  
TAG  
EXCL

‘Oh, the mother expired, no?’

SBC20051127.PC

*yumgi shakshang*
To summarize, (271-272) showed that verbs in this category may take the ergative if a non-agent is conceived of as an agent or instigator.

Within the textual database the verbs described in this section have not occurred with ergative marking on their S argument, and in fact I found that the ergative was allowed only in further conversation and elicitation with native speakers. The verbs presented in this section illustrate a small set of verbs which share the semantics of what have been termed ‘unaccusative’ verbs in the literature. These verbs tend to have arguments which are low on the animacy scale. Verbs in this category are monovalent and are unlikely to use the ergative marker. When the ergative marker is employed, instead of providing a sense of contrastive focus, as we have seen prevalent in other instances of the optional ergative, the ergative here adds a sense of agency.

14.2. Locative/dative subjects

While I have not been able to elicit dative subjects, there are a few instances in the texts where the semantic A is marked with the locative. An example is in (276).

(276) **ngarakoya** 'nyen goikina ngak samzi

ngara=ko=ya 'nyen go-ikina sam-si

1.REFL=LOC=also marriage need-FUT think-NF

‘Thinking that “I also need a marriage (wife)”…’

Lama200812311.LC
14.3. Case-marking on O arguments

Kurtöp bivalent verbs can be divided into two sets with regard to case-marking on the O argument. One set of bivalent verbs requires the O argument to be unmarked while a subset of bivalent verbs exhibit differential object marking (DOM). This latter set of verbs marks their O argument with a locative postposition depending on various pragmatic factors. §14.3.1 describes instances in which bivalent verbs leave their O argument unmarked while §14.3.2 illustrates DOM.

14.3.1. Unmarked O

A large set of verbs in Kurtöp require the O arguments to be unmarked. The data in (277-278) below provide an example of a verb which cannot mark its O argument with either the -na or -ro locative.

(277) tiru drangkha thungtaki ngaksi

\begin{verbatim}
tiru      drangkha    thung-taki    ngaksi
money     counting   do-IPFV     QUOT
‘(We were) counting money.’
SBC20051127.13.KW
*tiru-na/ro drangkha thungtaki
\end{verbatim}

(278) ja cozi 'ipa cozi bita

\begin{verbatim}
ja       co-si     'ipa    co-si    bi-ta
tea      make-NF   cooked.rice make-NF give-IPFV.MIR
‘He made tea and food and gave it (to us)’
SBC20051127KW
*ja-na/ro cozi
\end{verbatim}
Although (277) and (278) show verbs with inanimate O arguments, it is not required that verbs in this category have inanimate Os, as shown by the data in (57-58) below.

(279) net zon 'ruzi

net zon 'ru-zi
1.PL.ABS two wake.up-NF
‘(He) woke the two of us up’
SBC20051127KW
*net zon-na/ro 'ruzi

(280) khit domzi tsheni khit tapthi charo

khit dom-si tsheni tapthi charo
3.ABS meet-NF then together friend
‘(I) met him and then befriended him’
SBC20051127KW
*khit-na/ro

Some other verbs that fit this category are: *bja ‘summon’, ker ‘carry’, tup ‘slice’, *lup ‘study’, me thung ‘build.a.house’, zu ‘eat’, *nyang ‘receive’, kim ‘step.over’, ki ‘plant’ and kang ‘fill.with’. It remains unknown how the remainder of these verbs differ from those which may take DOM, described §14.3.2.
14.3.2. Differential object marking

Differential object marking (DOM) is the phenomenon in which verbal O arguments are marked differently under different contexts. Classic examples are Spanish and Hindi, which, to varying degrees, mark animate and topical O arguments with the same forms used to mark dative case. Bossong (1991) describes DOM in Semitic and Romance and its functional motivations, arguing that DOM represents a preferred diachronic development in which arguments that are semantically prototypical, that is, patient-like, are intimately tied to the verb and therefore unmarked. However, objects which are more independent, autonomous, or more likely to be subjects, are positively marked. The situation in Kurtöp appears to be more complex than this. In Kurtöp, one set of verbs may leave its O unmarked or marked with =na or =to depending on pragmatic factors. However, it remains to be seen whether the diachronic motivation described in Bossong (1991) will obtain for Kurtöp.

Before discussing the Kurtöp data in detail, it will be useful to review the locative markers in the language. Recall that Kurtöp employs two enclitics to mark locative case: =na and =ro. Both mark recipients and subjects of possessive predicates, and both locatives can also be used in DOM. Although I note a slight difference in the pragmatics of each, I have not yet discerned the full functional difference between the two locatives. Consider (281-283) below.
The precise pragmatic differences between (282) and (283) compared to (281), and the difference between (282) and (283) require further research, though the consensus between the speakers is that somehow no ‘younger.brother’ becomes more important, or more salient, in (282) and (283).
At least one verb (*bjā* ‘summon’) mentioned in §14.1.4, evidences DOM when it occurs as an auxiliary with a light verb (cf. §16.1.6 for a description of the light verb construction). Consider the data in (284-286). Again, the example without a locative marked O is the unmarked utterance, but (285) and (286) are also possible if the speaker would like to stress the O. However, it remains unclear in which way the O becomes stressed.

(284)  

\[ khî \ ngat \ kha \ shû \ ngak \ bjata \]

\[ khî \ ngat \ kha \ shû \ ngak \ bya-ta \]

3.ERG 1.ABS mouth strength do summon-IPFV.MIR

‘S/he is yelling at me’

(Elicited data)

(285)  

\[ khî \ ngat-na \ kha \ shû \ ngak \ bjata \]

\[ khî \ ngat=na \ kha \ shû \ ngak \ bya-ta \]

3.ERG 1.ABS=LOC mouth strength do summon-IPFV.MIR

‘S/he is yelling at me’

(Elicited data)

(286)  

\[ khî \ ngat-na \ kha \ shû \ ngak \ bjata \]

\[ khî \ ngat=na \ kha \ shû \ ngak \ bya-ta \]

3.ERG 1.ABS=LOC mouth strength do summon-IPFV.MIR

‘S/he is yelling at me’

(Elicited data)
Another example of DOM is illustrated by the data in (287-289). In these data, I was able to obtain a better sense of the pragmatics associated with the use of DOM.

(287) \( khî ngat kha shû 'numshang \)

\[
3.\text{ERG} \quad 1.\text{ABS} \quad \text{mouth} \quad \text{attach-PFV.EGO}
\]

‘S/he kissed me (asserting a fact)

(Elicited data)

(288) \( khî ngatna kha shû 'numshang \)

\[
3.\text{ERG} \quad 1.\text{ABS}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{mouth} \quad \text{attach-PFV.EGO}
\]

‘S/he kissed me (rather than someone else)

(Elicited data)

(289) \( khî ngato kha shû 'numshang \)

\[
3.\text{ERG} \quad 1.\text{ABS}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{mouth} \quad \text{attach-PFV.EGO}
\]

‘S/he kissed me (contrary to someone else)

(Elicited data)

In the unmarked instance (289) the O is unmarked. When the speaker wishes to emphasize the O in terms of contrastive focus, the locative =\( na \) is employed, as in (288). The use of =\( to \) in (289) appears to be marking broad, rather than narrow focus. In the terms of Dik et al. (1981), the data in (288) represent predication focus, where the whole predicate is being focused.
DOM in Kurtöp may occur with a number of other verbs, such as *prin* ‘lick’, *tshoda thung* ‘scold’, *danjali thung* ‘slap’, *dokpi thung* ‘kick’, *jagaling top* ‘tickle’, *tsimbi bra* ‘scratch’, *khuntol thung* ‘punch’, and *ga* ‘enjoy’. What these verbs have in common, in contrast to the verbs described in §14.3.1, remains to understood.

There are some additional verbs in Kurtöp which exhibit a different pattern altogether. Consider the data in (290).

(290) *hapta the khepo trongi mi gapo purana lapsi hapta the khepo o ko khepo phira maphiyere ngaksi*

hapta thek khepo trong=gi mi gapo pura=na lap-si
week one FOC village=GEN person PL.FOC all=LOC say-NF
hapta thek khepo wo ko khepo phi-ra
week one FOC DEM:PROX door FOC open-EMPH
ma-phi-ye re ngaksi
NEG-open-IMP EXCL QUOT
‘(He) said to the villagers that for one week, “you absolutely must not open the door for one week”’
KS20061212.139.719.KL
*trong mi gapo pura lapsi*

These data show that the verb *lap* ‘say’ must mark the perceived O argument with locative case. If we remove the locative =*na* from the putative O *trongi mi gapo pura* ‘all the villagers’, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. We have found the verbs *tsho* ‘order’ and *pco khot* ‘tell lies’ to also exhibit this pattern.
14.4. Summary and conclusion

Kurtöp provides yet another example of a Tibeto-Burman language which employs a system of case marking that is difficult to capture in purely grammatical terms. Verbal semantics and agency play an important role in determining whether Kurtöp verbal arguments may or may not utilize the ergative marker, and further, verbal semantics seem to play a role in deciding what the function of the ergative case marker will be. Specifically, we have seen the Kurtöp ergative to obligatorily mark the A argument in a bivalent clause, to disambiguate two potential agents, to mark contrastive focus, to attribute greater volition to inanimate objects, and to supply further pragmatics, the exact function of which remains to be studied.

Kurtöp also displays differential object marking via the use of two possible locative markers, though the Kurtöp phenomenon differs from what has been described for other languages such as Spanish, Hindi and Semitic (cf. Bossong (1991). In §14.3 I illustrated that a subset of Kurtöp verbs allow for both locative markers to appear on the O argument. This phenomenon in Kurtöp remains the least understood, though it is clear that in at least one instance the use of locative =na was associated with contrastive focus and =to was associated with predication focus. A coherent semantic basis for the group of verbs which allowed for DOM is not obvious.

That semantics contribute to case marking -- and especially ergativity -- in Tibeto-Burman has been noticed by many. Meithei (Chelliah 1997), for example, is argued to encode semantic, rather than syntactic, roles with postpositions. Darma (Willis 2007) appears to have a more or less ergative/absolutive case-marking system, with ergative
appearing on the A argument in all tenses and aspects. The Darma ergative is described as ‘optional’, though it tends to appear more in the past tense. However, based on the data and arguments presented in Willis (2007), it does not appear that the optional ergative in Darma bears any particular pragmatic function, unlike in Kurtöp.

The Kinnauri ergative appears to be closer in function to the Kurtöp form. Saxena (2007) describes the Kinnauri ergative as a form which occurs almost obligatorily with subjects of main clauses introducing direct speech. Saxena (2007) argues that the distribution of the Kinnauri ergative cannot be accounted for unless we take into account such notions as context-shift, and again, contrastive focus. Perhaps the Tibetan ergative as described by Tournarde (1991) is most similar to Kurtöp. Tournarde describes a “rhetorical” ergative in Tibetan, the distribution of which is guided by a combination of verbal semantics and syntax. When optional, the Tibetan ergative takes on a contrastive type of focus. In the Tibetan dialect spoken in Kyirong, the distribution of the ergative is similarly complex. Huber (2005:§ 4.4) shows that in Kyirong Tibetan verb type (control, valency) and aspect condition whether or not the ergative morpheme is possible. When used, the Kyiron Tibetan ergative seems to have an emphatic function. Tshangla (Andvik to appear), another Tibeto-Burman language of Bhutan, provides an additional instance of ergative marking that is impossible to describe without reference to semantics and pragmatics.

In a comparative survey on ergativity in 151 Tibeto-Burman languages, LaPolla (1995) identifies both ‘systemic’ and ‘non-systemic’ morphological marking of ergativity. The function of ‘non-systemic’ ergativity is to disambiguate two potential
agents -- one function of the Kurtöp ergative. Because of the different functions of ‘non-systemic’ ergativity when compared to ‘systemic’ ergativity, LaPolla prefers to use the term ‘agentive’ to refer to this phenomena. Given the description of ‘agentive’ marking in recent descriptions of Tibeto-Burman (e.g. Chelliah 1997 for Meithei; Coupe 2007 for Ao; Andvik 2010 Tshangla), the applicability of ‘agentive’ for the Kurtöp ‘ergative’ may be questionable. Despite this, I opt to maintain the term ‘ergative’ because of its obligatory presence in some instances and its formal similarity to other, ergative markers in closely related languages.

One could argue that the Kurtöp ‘ergative’ system may be more akin to the ‘agentive’ marking described for Tshangla (Andvik 2010) and Meithei (Chelliah 1997) than an ‘optional ergative’ system described, for example, by McGregor (2009). However, the fact remains that the Kurtöp ergative is required in some instances (§14.1.2) and is not possible in others (§14.1.4), as would be expected of a grammaticalized system of case-marking. In terms of McGregor’s typology and in terms of what we know about ergativity in Tibeto-Burman languages, particularly of the Himalayas, the apparent non-systemicity and pragmatic functions of the Kurtöp ergative are less striking. Ergativity, it seems, particularly in the India to western China region, is often intertwined with pragmatic factors. Recently, Poornima (2009) reports similar pragmatic uses of the Hindi ergative, pushing the pragmatic ergative beyond Tibeto-Burman.

Like Bossong (1991) argues, we expect both the system of ergative marking and DOM to represent a point in a diachronic continuum of a preferred development. It
remains unclear at present what, exactly, the history of the case-markers described in this article would be, and it is impossible to speculate on what their future development would be. However, we suspect the current synchronic system of the Kurtöp ergative and DOM are indeed a snapshot of a larger diachronic development, one which we hope future research will elucidate.
As elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman, nominalization is an important aspect of both the synchronic Kurtöp grammar and diachronic development of that grammar. This chapter focuses on the synchronic nominalizations used in Kurtöp, though touches on the development of clausal nominalizations into finite verbal morphology when relevant.

The important role of nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages has been noted at least since Matisoff (1972). Since then, several articles, theses and descriptive grammars have continued to note the central role nominalization has in scores of Tibeto-Burman languages. Among the most influential have been Noonan (1997), DeLancey (2002); (1999), Bickel (1999); (1995), Genetti (1992b), and many others.

Genetti et al. (2008) distinguish between derivational nominalization and clausal nominalization. The former is essentially a derivational syntactic process that creates lexical nouns from other lexical categories. The latter applies to an entire clause, allowing it to function as a NP in a larger syntactic context. Genetti et al. (2008) illustrate this difference with the information in Table 137.

**Table 137. Two types of nominalization (Genetti et al. 2008)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalization</th>
<th>Applies to:</th>
<th>Results in:</th>
<th>Structure:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td>Lexical root</td>
<td>Lexical noun</td>
<td>[V-NOM]noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clausal</td>
<td>Clause</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>[(NP… V-NOM)]NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kurtöp also has derivational and clausal nominalizations. There are only two derivational morphemes, -thang and -sa, which are described in §15.1. More interesting in Kurtöp is the use of several different clausal nominalizers. There are three main clausal nominalizers which occur robustly in the data and are used in Kurtöp both as the head of noun phrases as well as modifiers in a genitive-head construction. Forms based on the nominalizer -pa are used in nominalizations involving perfective aspect, as I describe in §15.2.1. The nominalizer -khan is used for nominalizations involving imperfective aspect, as I describe in §15.2.2 and the nominalizer -male, which denotes irrealis nominalizations, is described in §15.2.4. There is another clausal nominalizer -sang, that is used much less rarely than -pala, -khan, or -male. I describe -sang in §15.2.3.

DeLancey (2002) focuses on the syntax of relativization within the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman, which is accomplished by nominalizing a clause which then occurs in a genitive or appositive relation to the head noun. He identifies several forms and constructions common to Bodic languages as well as forms that are innovative within a given language. As we will see below, Kurtöp shares three of these nominalizers with Central Tibetan and also makes use of the CLAUSE-pa GEN N construction, which DeLancey (2002) reconstructs to the shared ancestor of Tamang and Tibetan.

15.1. Derivational nominalization

15.1.1. Locative -sa

The morpheme -sa is a locative nominalizer, yielding ‘place of V-ing’. Two examples are shown in (291) and (292).
(291) **khiksana ya**

\[
\text{khik-sa}=\text{na} \quad \text{ya}
\]

be.cold-NMZ:LOC=LOC QP

‘In a cold place?’

Rice.Harvest20081022.KeD

(292) **gari yam gosa**

\[
\text{gari} \quad \text{yam} \quad \text{go-sa}
\]

car road need-NMZ:LOC

‘Where car roads are needed’

15.1.2. Manner -thang

The derivational nominalizer -thang changes verbs into nouns that pertain to manner. The form is rare in the texts, but is given relatively frequently in elicitation, especially when presented with Dzongkha or Chöke glosses.

**Table 138. Forms derived from manner nominalizer -thang**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb stem</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zu ‘eat’</td>
<td>zuthang</td>
<td>‘way of eating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni ‘sit’</td>
<td>nithang</td>
<td>‘way of sitting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngak ‘do’</td>
<td>ngakthang</td>
<td>‘way of doing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khor ‘take’</td>
<td>khorthang</td>
<td>‘way of taking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop ‘churn’</td>
<td>dropthang</td>
<td>‘way of churning’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a few examples of the nominalizer -thang in the texts. Several examples come from the narration Karma Zangpo gives about Dungkar. The example in (293)
below comes from a narration by an elderly lama. Note that in his example he switches from Kurtöp to Dzongkha back to Kurtöp.

(293) \textit{ngakthang bethang dangsanga bori 'acigi}

\textit{ngak-thang be**-thang dangsanga bori}

do-NMZ:MNR do (<Dz.-) NMZ:MNR completely 3.PL.REFL.ERG

'aci=gi

elder.brother=ERG

‘The elder brother (learned) all that they do…’

Lama20081231.LC

The fact that \textit{-thang ‘NMZ:MNR’} is limited in the textual database to formal interview situations in which speakers who are highly educated in the monastic tradition are the narrators is suggestive of \textit{-thang ‘NMZ:MNR’} being borrowed from Classical Tibetan. Indeed, there is a form <stangs> ‘style, posture, manner’ listed in Jäschke (2003: 220) which he describes, among other uses, as forming ‘verbal substantives’. The form is also present in Dzongkha with the same function (Thinley 2009).

15.2. Claustral nominalization

Four nominalizers in Kurtöp apply at the clause level, rather than the lexical level. The forms described below are robustly used throughout the Kurtöp nominalization system. In §15.2.1 I describe the perfective \textit{-pa} nominalizers. The form \textit{-pa} by itself is used in forming adverbial clauses, while the form \textit{-pala} is used in forming relative clauses. It may occur on its own, may be marked as a genitive in a $V$-NMZ=$\text{GEN N}$
construction, or may be suffixed with the purposive marker -ki. The nominalizer associated with imperfective aspect is -khan, described in §15.2.2. As with -pala, it may occur on its own, in a genitive modifying construction, or suffixed with -ki as a purposive clause. In §15.2.3 I describe the nominalizer -sang, which has the least frequent distribution of all the clausal nominalizers. The irrealis nominalizer is -male, as I describe in §15.2.4. -male is similar to -pala and -khan in that its nominalized constituent may occurs as the head of a NP or may occur as the modifier of a NP. The perfective nominalizer -pala and the irrealis nominalizer -male share the fact that they are also used as finite suffixes. The imperfective nominalizer -khan and the future nominalizer -sang are not used this way, though, as I illustrate below, they are used with a copula in a construction which I argue is the last nominalized step in becoming finite verbal morphology.

15.2.1. The -pa nominalizers: -pa ~ -wa ~ -sa

Benedict reconstructs a -pa ~ -ba suffix to Proto-Tibeto-Burman which he describes as a ‘verbal noun suffix’ (1972: 96). As DeLancey (2002) points out, this form is undoubtedly related to the Classical Tibetan -pa nominalizer and was also clearly present at the time of Proto-Bodic. The form is also found in Kurtöp.

Nominalizations ultimately derived from a -pa nominalizer are the most pervasive in the Kurtöp. The reflex of the PTB *-pa nominalizer has the following allomorphy: -wa following velar and old -l codas, -sa following historically open stems, and -pa elsewhere. Derivations of nominalizer -pa are found throughout Kurtöp grammar (cf.
§16.2.2.9, §17.1.1.2, §17.1.1.5, §17.1.1.6). This section is devoted to its purely nominalizing functions.

15.2.1.1. Adverbial perfective -pa

-pa on its own is relatively rare in Kurtöp (this is true both of finite and non-finite constructions when compared to -pala, which is described immediately below). As a suffix to verbs, -pa has two functions. In finite grammar, -pa functions as a yes/no perfective question marker (cf. §19.2.2.1.1) while in non-finite grammar -pa still functions as a clausal nominalizer for perfective aspect, creating adverbial clauses.

As a nominalizer -pa encodes perfective aspect and by itself nominalizes clauses which are used adverbially. Consider (294):

(294) 'ngazi nam makharwa dreni gewali

'ngazi nam ma-khar-wa dreni ge-pala=gi
morning sky NEG-rise-NMZ together ge-NMZ=ERG
‘Going early before the run had risesn…’
SBC20051127KW

In this example the function of -pa is to nominalize the clause 'ngazi nam khar ‘early sun rise’, which can then be used as an adverbial for the matrix verb ge ‘go’, which is itself then nominalized via the strategy described in §15.2.1.2.3. A more detailed discussion pertaining to adverbial clauses derived via nominalization with -pa can be found in §21.2.1.
15.2.1.2. Perfective -pala

The most common uses of -pa are in the nominalizer -pala. The allomorphy described above for -pa is also found in -pala; that is, -pala changes to -wala following velar, -r and old -l codas, -sala follows historically open verb stems, and -pala is found elsewhere. The source of -la is unclear and we still cannot know if it has any cognates in the other East Bodish languages. There are few possible candidates for cognacy in related languages. Tshangla (Andvik 2010) has a mirative copula la and in Tamang (Poudel 2006) -la marks non-past on verbs.

15.2.1.2.1. -pala

In its most basic form, -pala serves as clausal nominalizer, resulting in a derived noun which serves as the head of a NP. In other words, nominalizer -pala differs from nominalizer -pa in marking relative clauses, as opposed to adverbial clauses. -pala may be used to relativize an A, S or O argument. The clause in the resulting N is in perfective aspect and can occur in a NP with other constituents. Like other nouns, a noun derived by way of -pala can occur as the head in a NP; it can receive nominal morphology, such as the contrastive focus marker, and it can occur in the syntactic position of other nouns, such as preceding focus markers or following determiners.

A simple example is (295), in which the clause zikorna bjón ‘to go on tour’ is nominalized with -pala and serves as the head noun, preceding the plural focus marker gapo. Here, the relativized argument is the single argument of a monovalent verb.
(295)  zikorna bjonpala gapo
       zikor=na byon-pala gapo
       tour=LOC go.HON-NMZ:PFV PL.FOC
‘Those who went on tour and all’
SPh.TsC20081022

In (295) the nominalized clause is monovalent and the entire NP, for which
bjonpala is the head, appears in the discourse with a copula. The speaker describes those
present at a particular event in Lhüntsi. (296) illustrates -pala nominalizing zat ‘finish’,
an auxiliary to the bivalent verb je ‘see.HON’. The referent of the NP is the O argument.
This example, as in (295), is lacking overt core referents in the clause. In the larger
syntactic context, the NP illustrated in (296) occurs as an argument in an existential
clause.

(296)  mau je mazatpal gap
       mau je ma-zat-pala gapo
       DEM:DOWN see.HON NEG-finish-NMZ:PFV PL.FOC
‘Those which (we) couldn’t visit’
SaT.SW20091017

In (297) the nominalized verb tsosala occurs in a NP with neri ‘1.PL.INCL.ERG’ in
the nominalized clause. Recall that for the inclusive first person plural pronoun there is
no formal distinction between genitive and ergative, thus it is conceivable that neri could
be analyzed as a genitive, rather than ergative pronoun. However, upon further research,
we find that neri ‘1.PL.INCL.ERG’ could be replaced with the exclusive ergative form nei ‘1.PL.ERG’, but not the exclusive genitive form neci ‘1.PL.GEN’. Thus, the form neri ‘1.PL.INCL.ERG’ in (297) is clearly representative of the ergative, rather than the genitive.

(297)  
neri tsosalani boi mebran wu ngaksi

neri  tso-pala-ni  boi  me-bran  wu  ngaksi

1.INCL.GEN  speak-NMZ:PFV-CFOC  3.ERG  NEG-know  TAG  QUOT

‘Saying “they won’t understand what we were talking about”…’
Lama20081231.LC

A similar example is (298). The nominalized verb zhe ‘discover’ occurs with both of its arguments overt; its O argument, terna ‘treasure’ is unmarked while the A argument, khiri ‘3.REFL.ERG’ is again marked as an ergative.\(^{116}\) The same argumentation holds in this instance as it did for (297). That is, when replacing the pronoun khiri ‘3.REFL.ERG’ with a non-reflexive form, we find that genitive forms entail an ungrammatical utterance while the ergative forms do not.

\(^{116}\) The presence of overt nominal referents in a clause nominalized with -pala seems to entail the use of the suffix -ni attached to the nominalized verb, which I have tentatively analyzed as the contrastive focus marker. Speakers I consult say these examples are preferred with the suffix -ni but are unable to articulate why. The true motivation for seemingly obligatory presence of -ni following a clause nominalized with -pala that also contains overt nominal referents is a matter of continuing further investigation.
The data here illustrate that nominalization via -*pala* is a productive means in Kurtöp to derive action nominalizations, allowing a clause to serve as a NP in a broader syntactic context. Another way to look at -*pala* is through the lens of relativization. The nominalizations formed by -*pala* are also examples of relative clauses. The first two examples, (295) and (296), illustrate headless relative clauses, with the former having a referent NP that is the A argument. The third and fourth examples in this section, (297) and (298), illustrate internally headed relative clauses. In both instances the nominal head occurs in genitive case.

**15.2.1.2.2. V-*pali N***

A very common construction is to use -*pala* as a pre-head modifier in a genitive construction: V-NMZ=GEN N. The structure N=GEN N is a common way for Kurtöp to form functional adjectives and Kurtöp nominalized clauses readily fall into this construction. This construction is very widespread in Bodic languages and the data presented here offer further support for DeLancey (2002)’s reconstruction of this construction to a parent language of Tamang and Tibetan. Indeed, the Kurtöp data suggest this construction was present at the parent language for all three languages. I illustrate the use of genitive-marked -*pala* to modifier following nouns below.
In (299) the monovalent verb *lhak* ‘exceed’ is nominalized with the suffix *-pala* and cliticized with the genitive. The verb phrase *trong lhawali* then modifies the head noun *juta* ‘shoes’. The whole NP *trong lhawali juta gapoya* is the O argument to the verb *thung* ‘do’.

(299)  

```
trong lhawali juta gapoya thungta
trong lhak-pala=gi juta gapo=ya thung-ta
```

thousand exceed-NMZ:PFV=GEN shoes PL:FOC=also do-IPFV.MIR

‘Shoes costing more than a thousand are seen’

SPh.TsC20081022

A similar example is (300) but instead of the nominalized verb being monovalent, *drang* ‘offer.HON’ is bivalent. The nominalized verb takes the genitive enclitic and serves as the base for the following relator noun *korni* ‘RN:ABT’.

(300)  

```
jinlapgi ngaksi ‘ai khepo thorina drangwali korni wenta ngak
jinlap=gi ngaksi ‘aya khepo thori=na
blessing=INSTR QUOT grandmother FOC heaven=LOC
drang-pala=gi korni wenta
offer.HON-NMZ:PFV=GEN RN:ABT COP.EQ.MIR
```

‘It’s about how the old woman was sent to heaven by the blessing.’

KS20061212

(301) is a particularly interesting example, structurally. The verb *nawala* is synchronically the unmarked existential copula (§18.1.2.1) but in (301) shows some
evidence that the formative -\textit{wala}, still has nominalizing properties synchronically. Here, it can take the genitive and participate in the N=\text{GEN} N construction.

(301) \textit{khwe nawali 'nemaro}  
\begin{verbatim}
khwe   nawala=gi   'nema=to  
river   COP.EXIS=GEN   side=LOC
\end{verbatim}

‘By the side of the river’

15.2.1.2.3. Clause-final v-\textit{pali}

When a verb nominalized with -\textit{pala} serves as a post-head modifier it is generally marked with -\textit{ki}, though not necessarily. When the verb is bivalent the clause tends to translate into a headed relative clause in English. Consider the examples below.

In (302) the head of the relative clause is \textit{mi} ‘eye’, which is modified by the verbal expression \textit{miksi thung} ‘eye-\textit{NF} do’ (the way to express ‘see’ cf. §10.5.5.4). The verb \textit{thung} ‘do’ is nominalized with -\textit{pala}, takes the genitive =\textit{gi} and then again the nominalizer=\textit{ki}.

(302) \textit{mi kh\textit{h}epo miksirang mathungwaliki}  
\begin{verbatim}
mi      kh\textit{h}epo  mik-si=rang  ma-thung-\textit{pala}=gi=ki  
eye    FOC     eye-\textit{NF}=EMPH    NEG-do-NMZ:IPFV=GEN=NMZ
\end{verbatim}

‘The eyes which couldn’t see at all’

SPh.TsC20081022
In (303) the matrix verb is 'ot ‘bring’ with khî ‘3.ERG’ as the A argument and ting ‘butter.lamp.container’ as the O. ’ngos zapaliki modifies the O argument.

(303)  

\[ \text{ting yangi khî 'ot ra yau 'ngos zatpaliki} \]

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{ting} & \text{ya-ngi} & \text{khî} & \text{'ot} & \text{ra} & \text{yau} \\
\text{butter.lamp.container} & \text{UP=ABL} & \text{3.ERG} & \text{bring} & \text{come} & \text{DEM:UP} \\
\text{'ngos} & \text{zat-pala=gi-ki} \\
\text{religious.favor} & \text{finish-NMZ:PFV=GEN=NMZ} \\
\end{tabular}

‘He brought the butterlamp container from up there which was offered up there.’

SBC20051127KW

In (304) the matrix verb is yitna rata ‘remember-IPFV.MIR’ and the O argument of the clause is the difficult journey or ‘going’. The verb ge ‘go’ is nominalized, marked with the genitive =gi and again nominalized with -ki,

(304)  

\[ \text{yitna rata kau chutsi gewaliki} \]

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{yitna} & \text{ra-ta} & \text{kawa} & \text{chut-si} & \text{ge-pala=gi-ki} \\
\text{memory} & \text{come-IPFV.MIR} & \text{pole} & \text{cut-NF} & \text{GO-NMZ:PFV=GEN=NMZ} \\
\end{tabular}

‘I remember the difficult journey (lit. the memory of the cutting poles’ going comes’)

SBC20051127KW

In (305) the speaker is telling a story involving a long journey and a magical piece of flat bread. The noun that is modified is keptang ‘flat bread’, which comes in the next
couple clauses, and the modifier, occurring here, is a nominalized version of the verb *thak* ‘finish’, marked with the genitive and again nominalized with *-ki*.

\[(305)\quad nen\ zushang\ zut\ methâ\ san\ zushang\ methawaligi\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nen} & \quad \text{zu-shang} & \quad \text{nen} & \quad \text{zu-to} & \quad \text{me-thak} & \quad \text{san} & \quad \text{zu-shang} \\
\text{day} & \quad \text{eat-PFV.ego} & \quad \text{day} & \quad \text{eat-INF} & \quad \text{neg-finish} & \quad \text{night} & \quad \text{eat-PFV.ego} \\
\text{me-thak-wala-ki} & \quad \text{neg-finish-NMZ:PFV-NMZ} \\
\text{‘… which cannot be finished if (you) eat day and night.’} & \quad \text{Lama20081231.877.717LC} &
\end{align*}
\]

Nominalizations with *-pala=gi* or *-pala=gi-ki* may also be used on a clausal level (as opposed to lexical), signaling cause, as in (306).

\[(306)\quad 'lama...\ mi\ mang\ gewali\ tshe\]
\[
\begin{align*}
'lama... & \quad \text{mi} & \quad \text{mang} & \quad \text{ge-wala}=\text{gi} & \quad \text{tshe} \\
\text{Lama} & \quad \text{person} & \quad \text{group} & \quad \text{go-NMZ:PFV=ERG} & \quad \text{DM} \\
\text{‘My god! Due to too many people going…’} & \quad \text{KZ20080515.1.631.017KZ} &
\end{align*}
\]

**15.2.1.2.4. Moving into the finite verbal system**

In a spectrum of finiteness, from clausal nominalization on one end to finite verbal morphology on the other, the Kurtöp form *-pala* clearly evidences both ends, as evidenced in what I refer to as type 1 and type 2 clausal structure (cf. §16 for a more
elaborate discussion and illustration). The previous sections have illustrated the uses of -pala as a clausal nominalizer, but consider example (307).

(307)  ble jurwal wenta
        ble  jur-pala      wenta
        four  become-NMZ:PFV  COP.EQ.MIR
        ‘(it) became four bags’
        SBC20051127.8KW

This example consists of a nominalized verb jur ‘become’ immediately followed by the copula wenta ‘COP.EQ.MIR’. However, there is no sense whatsoever in the semantics of juwala ‘become-NMZ:PFV’ in (307) that would lead one to believe the form is nominalized. On the contrary, the semantics of (307) are identical to a fully finite clause. The formal nominalization present in (307) is now only a historical relic.

DeLancey (in press) shows how Tibeto-Burman languages tend to develop new finite structures by way of clausal nominalizations. Finite structures developed via this pathway begin as clausal nominalizations. When these nominalized clauses co-occur with a copula, the seeds of grammaticalization have been planted and the structure is now in a position to be reanalyzed as a finite clause. (307) above would be a prime example of this situation. Once the clause is interpreted as finite, the copula is free to be omitted, yielding a brand new finite construction, involving an erstwhile nominalized verb and no copula. This is precisely the development of the perfective -pala, described in detail in §17.1.1.2 and §20.1.1.4, and illustrated in (308) immediately below.
In (308) the verb is suffixed with -pala, formally identical to the perfective nominalizer (including allomorphy) and also retaining perfective semantics. However, in this instance there is no copula and indeed no other source for finiteness. The suffix -pala provides the finiteness.

15.2.2. Imperfective -khan

The nominalizer -khan contrasts with -pala in that it encodes imperfective aspect of the nominalized clause. An elicited minimal pair clearly shows this aspectual difference. The example in (309) illustrates the use of the nominalizer -pala conveying perfective aspect, while (310) shows the nominalizer -khan, indicating imperfective aspect. In all other respects these clauses are identical.

(308)  **witya machuptala**

`wit-ya ma-chut-pala`

2.ABS-also NEG-cut-PFV

‘You also didn’t suffer (lit. ‘cut’ (poles))’

KZ20080515.1. 631.017KZ

(309)  **jongwala mutna**

`jong-wala mutna`

emerge-NMZ:PFV COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR

‘There is no one who went’

KLElicitation.Email.20101024
(310)  \textit{jongkhan}  \textit{mutna}  \\
\textit{jong-khan} \hspace{1cm} \textit{mutna}  \\
emerge-NMZ:IPFV COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR  \\
‘There is no one who is going’  \\
KLElicitation.Email.20101024

The ultimate origin of \textit{-khan} seems straightforward. \textit{mkhan} was a nominalizer in Classical Tibetan (DeLancey 2002) and is also found today in Tshangla (Andvik 1999). It is interesting to note, however, that the form is not found in Dzongkha. The possibility that it has been borrowed from Classical Tibetan into Kurtöp and Tshangla cannot be overlooked. The alternative to this, of course, is that \textit{-khan} reconstructs to the parent language shared between Classical Tibetan, the East Bodish languages and Tshangla.  

As with \textit{-pala}, \textit{-khan’s} perfective counterpart, \textit{-khan} can attach to the edge of a verb stem and appear without genitive marking as the nominal head of a NP. Unlike in Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 2002), \textit{-khan} may also be used in the genitive construction, either coming immediately before the noun it modifies, or at the end of the clause. Note that in these instances the form of the genitive is always \textit{-li} (cf. §7.3.3.4).

---

117 There are two reasons why I am not confident of this possibility. First, although Tshangla has been classified as ‘Bodic’, I have yet to see evidence for this beyond what could simply be attributed to areal influence. Phonological innovations are generally taken to be the strongest criteria for subgrouping, but know of no evidence cited inclusion of Tshangla in Bodic. Hill (2010) proposes that the sound change \textit{ng} > \textit{ny} in the word for ‘fish’ could be diagnostic of Bodic. If so, Tshangla fails this test right away as it retains the word \textit{nga} for ‘fish’. Second, Tshangla speakers and most East Bodish language speakers are Buddhist. History tells us that Bhutanese recently converted to Buddhism and an important aspect of this conversion has been the power of Classical Tibetan over the languages of Bhutan. The fact that Kurtöp and Tshangla speakers are Buddhist, and that \textit{-khan} is associated with Buddhist philosophical texts, automatically raises suspicion that the form could be borrowed.
15.2.2.1. -khan

The imperfective nominalizer -khan may be used on the referent of an S argument, as example (311) shows. Here, the nominalized verb is zhuk ‘stay.HON’, which is also marked with the definite suffix the. The nominalized clause ‘awanang zhukhanthe serves as the S argument for the verb thrak ‘arrive’.

(311)  ‘awanang zhukhanthe thrawal wenta

‘Someone came to stay with the sister.’

Example (312) shows the existential copula nominalized with -khan. The nominalized clause torshongthe nâkhan is part of the NP, functioning as the A argument for the verb zhu ‘say.HON’. Like other nouns, nâkhan is followed by the focus marker khepo.

(312)  torshongthe nâkhan khepo yidamo ngaksi zhumale

‘There is a torshong called ‘yidamo’ (torshong is a type of torma, or religious effigy made of dough)

Lama20081231.LC
In (313) the nominalized verb is again the existential copula but the referent of the NP is this time the O argument of the question predicate.

(313) \textit{tsentsen} ngákhan khepo zhå yo?

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{tsentsen} & \textit{ngak-khan} & khepo & zhå & yo \\
cypress.tree & do-NMZ:IPFV & FOC & what & QP.COP
\end{tabular}

‘What is this (thing) called \textit{tsentsen}?’

Lama20081231.JT

Example (314) illustrates a nominalized bivalent verb for which the referent of the NP is the A argument.

(314) sungchot 'nangkhan khepo...

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{sungchot} & \textit{'nang-khan} & khepo \\
ceremony.HON & give.HON-NMZ:IPFV & FOC
\end{tabular}

‘(those) who offer the religious ceremony…’

Lama20081231.LC

Another interesting example is (315), drawn from an interview with a local elder and respected authority on Dungkar history. In this example the nominalized clause consists of the monovalent verb \textit{ge} ‘go’ and its argument \textit{'neng sum’} three years’. What is interesting, however, is the interpretation of this example appears to be for an NP referent that is the A argument, despite \textit{ge} ‘go’ being a monovalent verb.
(315) ‘neng sum gekhan

‘neng sum ge-khan
year three go-NMZ:IPFV
‘The ones which are three years old’…

DungkarTS20080101DT

The nominalized constituent can also receive ergative marking, as I show in (316) and (317).

(316) corkhanli khako ta, ’macorkhanli…
cor-khan=li khako ta ma-cor-khan=li
be.able-NMZ=ERG DIR:UP see NEG-be.able-NMZ=ERG
‘The ones who are able study higher, the ones who are not capable…
TInterview20090106.DT

(317) gari mutkhanli tiru bizi
gari mut-khan=li tiru bi-si
car COP.EXIS.NEG-NMZ:IPFV=ERG money give-NF
‘Those who don’t have a car give money…’
TInterview20090106.DT

15.2.2.2. v-khan=GEN N

As with -pala, when the nominalizer -khan serves as a nominal modifier, it is marked with the genitive and generally precedes the head noun, as in (318) and (319).
(318) \textit{nerayang zukhanli khwi wen ngaksi}

\textit{nera-yang zu-khan=li khwi wen ngaksi}

1.PL.REFL-also eat-NMZ:IPFV=GEN dog COP.EQ QUOT

‘We are also dogs that eat (they said)’

PS20061206

In (318) the matrix verb is the equational copula \textit{wen}, with one argument the pronoun \textit{near ‘1.PL.REFL’} and the other the noun phrase \textit{zukhanli khwi ‘eat-NMZ:IPFV=GEN dog’}. In the second noun phrase the verb \textit{zu ‘eat’} is nominalized with -\textit{khan}, to which the genitive clitic then attaches. The genitive phrase \textit{zukhanli} precedes the head noun \textit{khwi ‘dog’}; recall that the construction \textit{N=GEN N} is a common way in Kurtöp to modify nouns.

Example (319) is similar example, with \textit{moja ‘woman’} serving as the head noun and in the second NP in a copular clause. This time the nominalized clause consists of the bivalent verb \textit{nat ‘leave’} plus auxiliary \textit{blek ‘keep’} and an overt O argument \textit{khit ‘3.ABS’}.

(319) \textit{thrakhan kheponi khit nat brekhanli moja khep wenta}

\textit{thrak-khan khepo-ni khit nat blek-khan=li moja}

arrive-NMZ:IPFV FC-CFOC 3.ABS leave keep-NMZ:IPFV=GEN woman

\textit{khepo wenta}

FOC COP.EQ.MIR

‘The woman who came is said to be the same woman who left him.’

Lama20081231.LC
15.2.2.3. Moving into the finite verbal system

While *-khan* has not yet crossed into the finite grammar in the way *-pala* has (that is, *-khan* cannot be used on its own as a finite suffix), there is some evidence it could be on its way. There are some instances in which a clause nominalized with *-khan* is immediately followed by a copula and the entire nominalized clause + copula construction is interpreted as a single event. I illustrate two examples below.

In (320) the verb *ge* ‘go’ is nominalized with *-khan* and immediately followed by the copula *wenta* ‘COP.EQ.MIR’. The interpretation is of one single event, as the translation indicates.

(320)  *bosaya gekhan wenta ngaksi*

*bosa=ya go-khan wenta ngaksi*

orphan=also go-NMZ:IPFV COP.EQ.MIR QUOT

‘The orphan is also going (they say)’

Lama20081231.1497.613LC

15.2.3. Future –*sang*

The nominalizer *-sang* is used to encode future tense in nominalized clauses. In this way it is very similar to *-male* (§15.2.4), but unlike *-male* cannot be used on its own as a finite marker of future tense. *-sang* is used only rarely in the texts and does not occur in basic elicitation at all. The precise difference between *-sang* and *-male* remains the focus of ongoing research.
In (321) the clause 'langpoche gi yung ra ‘elephant-ERG get come’ is nominalized with -sang ‘NMZ:FUT’ and immediately followed by the equational copula wen. The nominalized clause plus copula is interpreted as an event in the future.

(321)  'langpoche gi yung rasang wen ngaksi
'langpoche=gi yung ra-sang wen ngaksi
elephant=ERG get come-NMZ:PL COP.EQ QUOT
“The elephant will come to get (you)” (the mother) said’
PS20061206P

A similar example is (322), where the nominalized clause contains the verb ra ‘come’ followed by the existential copula wen, which happens to be cliticized with the hearsay marker. Again, the interpretation appears identical to a fully finite clause.

(322)  tshondo thimphuro rasang wenri
tshon=to thimpu=ro ra-sang wen=ri
here=LOC Thimphu=LOC come-NMZ:PL COP.EQ=HSY
‘He said he’s coming here to Thimphu.’
SaT.SW20090917.SW

There are a few examples in the texts in which -sang is not used in immediate conjunction with a copula. Rather, the function of -sang in (323) and (324) appears to be more derivational than clausal. This example comes from a narration with an elderly speaker from Gangzur. He and a friend are discussing life in the village in the past, during which time many items were not available for sale and most objects had to be
made by hand in the village. Containers for eating and storing alcohol were amongst these, as he lists in these two examples.

(323)  *'ipa zusang*

    *'ipa zu-sang*

food eat-NMZ:PL
‘(thing) for eating (i.e. ‘plate’)’
SPh.TsC20081022

(324)  *zhor theksang*

    *zhor thek-sang*

alcohol insert-NMZ:PL
‘(thing) for the alcohol (i.e. ‘alcohol container’)’
SPh.TsC20081022

15.2.4. Irrealis –male

Unlike -sang, which occurs only rarely in the texts and almost never in elicitation, -male is a very productive clausal nominalization. -male contrasts with -pala ‘NMZ:PFV’ and -khan ‘NMZ:IPFV’ in that it encodes irrealis mood. The equivalent form in Bumthang is -mala (Driem 1995a), and I therefore suspect the finale vowel in -male has recently raised from the low vowel /a/ to the mid vowel /e/. If this is the case, then, in terms of etymological source, -male could be composed of -ma plus the same formative -la found in the perfective nominalizer -pala (cf. §15.2.1.2). There is ample
evidence for a separate -ma formative in Kurtöp’s East Bodish sister languages as well as in other Tibeto-Burman languages, as I shown in Table 139.118,119,120,121,122

Table 139. Possible cognates to Kurtöp -ma in -male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khengkha</th>
<th>Dakpa</th>
<th>Dzala</th>
<th>'Olekha</th>
<th>Chantyal</th>
<th>Dimasa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-m ‘FUT’</td>
<td>-m ‘FUT’</td>
<td>-ma ‘FUT’</td>
<td>-m ‘FUT’</td>
<td>-m ‘IPFV’</td>
<td>-ma ‘FUT’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.2.4.1.-male

A verb nominalized with -male may occur as the head of a NP, as in (325), in which the verb ni ‘stay’ is nominalized and the referent NP is the S argument of ni ‘stay’.

(325) *pcha ngaksi nimale khepo*

*phya ngaksi ni-male khepo*

Bon.festival QUOT stay-NMZ:IRR FOC

‘the one that will remain being called pcha…”

KZ20080515KZ

118 In our Dakpa data (Hyslop and Tshering 2010, 16), we found -m to correlate with third person future, while -k appeared to correlate with first person future. Given that the study was preliminary, it is too early to tell whether or not the analysis of -m being a marker of third person future, or something else, such as disjunct future, for example.

119 The source for the Dzala data is Genetti (2009).

120 The source for the 'Olekha data is van Driem (1995b: 239).


122 The source of the Dimasa data is Longmailai (to appear).
In (326) I show a similar example; here, -male as a nominalizer to the verb *se* ‘die’, again referencing the S argument. Again in (327) the nominalized verb *lang* ‘be.sufficient’ is monovalent.

(326) *semal* khepo ’lamagi bran

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
se\text{-}male & khepo \ 'lama=gi \ bran \\
die\text{-}NMZ\text{:IRR} & FOC \ lama=ERG \ know \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The lama knew (she) was going to die…’

KS20061212KL

(327) *basgi* ’la langmalthebe darna tshe

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
bas=gi & 'la \ lang\text{-}male\text{-}the\text{-}be \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ dar\text{-}na \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ tshe \\
bus=GEN & rent \ suffice\text{-}NMZ\text{:IRR\text{-}DEF\text{-}only} \ remain\text{-}PFV\text{.MIR} \ DM \\
\end{array}
\]

‘There was just enough money remaining for the bus fare.’

SBC20051127.KW

An example with -male attaching to a bivalent verb is (328), where the nominalized constituent refers to the O argument. As with the previous examples, the nominalized verb evidence nominal syntax; here *tshuimal* ‘look.for\text{-}NMZ\text{:IRR}’ precedes the plural focus marker.

(328) *sha phâ tshuimal* gapo tshui ngak...

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
sha \ phâ & tshui\text{-}male \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ gapo \ tshui \ \ ngak \\
meat \ pig & look\text{.for\text{-}NMZ\text{:IRR}} \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ PL\text{.FOC} \ \ \ \ \ \look\text{.for} \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ QUOT \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(They) look for the meat pig they are looking for (it is said)…’

KZ20080515.KZ
Constructions involving a verb nominalized with -male can also occur in the genitive construction as a means to modify a noun. In this way, -male is similar to the other clausal nominalizers -pala and -khan and is also a very productive strategy in Kurtöp for forming relative clauses. The first examples I show illustrate clauses nominalized with -male which are cliticized with the genitive and modify the following noun. However, I will also show examples in which the genitive is missing and the nominalized clause stands as an appositive to the head noun.

The example in (329) shows the bivalent verb zu ‘eat’ suffixed with the irrealis nominalizer -male. The clause created by this nominalization is then cliticized with the genitive and serves as a modifier for the head noun rozan ‘last.meal’. The head noun is immediately followed by the focus marker gapo and the particle pura ‘all’.

(329) zumalegi rozan gapo pura

\[
\begin{align*}
zu\text{-male} &= gi \\
rozan & \quad gapo \quad pura \\
\text{eat-NMZ:IRR=GEN} & \quad \text{last.meal} \quad \text{PL.FOC} \quad \text{all}
\end{align*}
\]

‘All the food which is the last meal’

Lama20081231.LC

Another example with the verb zu ‘eat’ as the nominalized verb is shown in (330). Here, the clause ‘mese tsham zu ‘NEG-die until eat’ is nominalized and this phrase receives the genitive clitic and modifies the following nominal head tsampa. The entire
NP, consisting of the noun *tsampa* and its preceding genitive modifier (the nominalized clause) function as the O argument in the matrix clause with A argument *khî* ‘3.ERG’ and verb ‘*ot* ‘bring’.

(330)  
\[\text{’mese tsham zumalegi tsampayang khî ’ot ngaksi} \]
\[\text{me-se tsham zu-male}=\text{gi tsampa-yang khî ’ot} \]
\[\text{NEG-die until eat-NMZ:IRR=GEN roasted.barley-also 3.ERG bring} \]
\[\text{ngaksi} \]
\[\text{quot} \]
\[\text{‘(Saying that) he will also bring food (lit. roasted barley) until they die…’} \]
\[\text{PS20061206} \]

In (331) the nominalized clause consists of a directional adverb plus the verb *phur* ‘fly’ and auxiliary *jon* ‘go.HON’. The clause is then marked as a genitive and modifies its following noun *namza* ‘clothing.HON’.

(331)  
\[\text{khakto phur jonmaligi namza khepo zhezi…} \]
\[\text{khakto phur jon-male-gi namza khepo zhe-si} \]
\[\text{DIR:UP fly go.HON-NMZ:IRR=GEN clothing.HON FOC wear.HON-NF} \]
\[\text{‘Putting on (her) clothing for flying upwards…’} \]
\[\text{PS20061206} \]

In (332) the verb *chong* ‘take.out’ is nominalized and modifying the head noun *charzhi* ‘plans’. In this example -*gi* functions as a genitive.
(332) *gari yam chongmalegi charzhi*

   *gari yam chong-male=gi charzhi*
   car road take.out-NMZ=GEN plans

   ‘Road construction plans’
   SaT.SW20090917.SW

In (333) -*male* nominalize the entire clause and -*gi* is attached to it.

(333) *gari yam chongmaligi nā*

   *gari yam chong-male=gi nā*
   car road take.out-NMZ:IRR=NMZ COP.EXIS.MIR

   ‘There is road construction.’
   SaT.SW20090917.SaT

While the majority of utterances of this type show overt marking of the genitive, there are a few instances in the texts in which the genitive is absent. The example in (334) is drawn from the story of Kala Wangpo. Here two nominalized verbs *zu* ‘eat’ and *gin* ‘wear’ are joined with the comitative marker -*ni*. Together both modify the noun *atsa* ‘clothes’ but are in an appositive relationship. At this point in the narration the speaker had been discussing food to eat and clothes to wear and thus neither of these referents (food to eat or clothes to wear) were new. I suspect the fact that the nominal referents are now old information licenses the omission of the genitive in this instance, though further research is needed to confirm this hypothesis.
(334) yau mayoinani zumaleni ginmale ‘atsa mutle
yau ma-yoi-nani zu-male-ni gin-male ‘atsa
UP NEG-reach-COND eat-NMZ:IRR-CMT wear-NMZ:IRR clothes
mutle
COP.EXIS.NEG.IND
‘If (we) don’t reach (them) up, then there where was nothing to eat and no clothes
to wear.’
SPh.TsC20081022.537.282.SPh

15.2.4.3. Clause-final v-male=GEN

When a nominalized verb is marked as a genitive but does not function as a
modifier, it gives the sense of purpose in the future. A simple example is (335).

(335) zumaliki pura
zu-male=gi pura
eat-NMZ:IRR=GEN all
‘All would be edible…’
SBC20051127KW
Another example is (336):

(336) tshe daning semaleki namungcham nimaleki wenta la
tshe daning se-male-ki namung-cham ni-male-ki
DM this.year di-NMZ:IRR-NMZ next.year-until stay-NMZ:IRR-NMZ
wenta la
COP.EXIS.MIR POL
‘If we were going to die, then we would stay until the next year.’
SaT.SW20090917.SW

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In the example above, the speaker is discussing a hypothetical situation in the past. He and a friend are discussing the hot springs, which are renowned for their magical curative powers. In (336) SW expresses the belief that if one were going to die, the power of the hot springs would give them another year to live.

15.2.4.4. Moving into the finite verbal system

In §15.2.1.2.4 I described how the perfective nominalizer -pala is now also used as part of the finite grammar. In §15.2.2.3 I provided some examples that the imperfective nominalizer -khan occurred in what I call type 2 clause types -- a nominalized clause followed immediately by a copula -- the final step in the nominalization → finite clause grammar continuum before becoming a fully finite construction. As with -pala, the irrealis nominalizer -male is also used as a finite verbal suffix.

The example in (337) illustrates the formally nominalized verb bi ‘give’ immediately followed by the equative copula wen, interpreted as a single event without any semantic evidence of nominalization. In other words, (337) illustrates the nominalizer -male taking part in a clause type 2 construction.
(337) ngai wotor **bimale** wen ngaksi

1.ERG like.this give-NMZ:IRR COP.EQ QUOT

“I will give (you a piece of flat bread) like this’ (he says)…”

Lama20081231.LC

Example (337), which consists of a formally nominalized verb and a copula can be contrasted with (338), in which the copula is absent and **-male** is left to stand alone as the finite verbal morphology.

(338) **tam 'namisami tam shik nimale**

speech very speech narrate stay-FUT

‘Stories, (he) will keep on narrating stories.’

Lama20081231.LC

More details about **-male** as a future tense marker can be found in §16.2.2.4, §17.3.1, and § 20.1.3.1.

15.3. **Purposive** **-ki ~ –gi**

Unlike the other nominalizers discussed in this section, which attach directly to verb stems, **-ki** only attaches to verbs that have already been nominalized. In fact, it is not strictly correct to call **-ki** a nominalizer, as it only occurs on constituents which have already been nominalized. The form **-ki** appears to be in free variation with **-gi**
Etymologically, it is unclear whether or not the nominalizer -ki is related to the genitive/ergative =gi, the horatitive -ki ~ci ~iki, the formative -ki which joins the mirative imperfective -ta in order to mark imperfective with assimilated knowledge. I will provide an overview of its distribution in the nominalization paradigm below, illustrating its semantic function as we go along.

In (339) the verb ni ‘stay’ has been nominalized with -sang and is again suffixed with -ki, giving a sense of purpose to the entire clause.

(339) **phogi saka nisangki**

pho=gi  sa=ko  ni-sang-ki

cave=GEN  earth=LOC  STAY-NMZ:PL-NMZ

‘A place for staying under the cave…’

SaT.SW20090917.SaT

A clause which has been nominalized with -pala ‘NMZ:PFV’ may also be marked with purposive ki, as I show in (340)

(340) **tshe makhanpaliki…**

tshe  ma-khan-pala=gi=ki

DM  NEG-know-NMZ:PFV=GEN=NMZ

‘For (the ones) who do not know…’

Lama20081231LC

The example in (341) was uttered by the author. Toward the beginning of my stay in Kurtö, the woman who was hosting me was not feeling well and reported she had a
headache. I quickly went to my room and returned to main living room, where a group of speakers were also sitting, with a bottle of ibuprofen. I said (341), trying to explain that it would help her headache (i.e. English ‘it’s for your headache’). However, my remark was met with an uproar of laughter, because the only interpretation of (341) was one of purpose or causation.

(341)  
guyung namaleki

guyung na-male=ki
head be.sick-NMZ:IRR=NMZ
‘to make the head hurt’

In one example in the text, a verb nominalized with the place nominalizer -sa takes =ki; this is shown in (342).

(342)  
'napa Khentse khir thrungsaki wentami

'napa Khentse khir thung-sa=ki wenta=mi
earlier Khentse 3.REFL give.birth.HON-NMZ:PL=NMZ COP.EQ.MIR-TAG
Before, where Khentse was born, right…’
SaT.SW20090917.SW

15.4. The role of nominalization in main clause grammar

Much of Kurtöp main clause grammar has come diachronically from nominalizations. The unmarked perfective -pala and certain future -male have both

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recently come from a nominalized verb plus a copula. Over time, the copula ceases to be necessary, leaving the nominalized verb standing alone as the only marker of finiteness. Thus, a new finite construction is born. We can see how this has recently happened with -pala and -male; for both morphemes there are several instances in which -pala or -male is followed by a copula and the construction is translated simply into an English finite clause with one event. In instances where minimal pairs do exist (V-NMZ COP vs. V-NMZ/TAME) the difference between the two constructions is subtle and even native speakers have a difficult time articulating what difference is signalled by the presence or absence of a copula.

-male and -pala are not the only nominalizers that play a role in the finite grammar. While they are the most productive and the only nominalizers which have moved into the realm of finiteness, there is some evidence that -khan and/or -sang could also be moving in that direction. The nominalizer -khan is most commonly used to make relative clauses but there are a few instances in the text in which the result of nominalizing a verb with -khan, when followed by a copula, is the translation of an English finite mono-clausal event. Nominalizations involving -sang are more likely to report this function, but -sang occurs much less commonly than -khan. However, whether the verbal uses of -khan are greater than those of -sang remains a question of future research.
CHAPTER XVI
THE VERBAL COMPLEX

Verb phrases in Kurtöp are broadly of two types: those involving single, finite verbs and those involving a nominalized verb plus a copula. Finiteness in Kurtöp is a property of a clause; a clause which can stand on its own, which is not adverbial, a complement, or in any way subordinate to another clause is finite. Because much of the Kurtöp finite verbal morphology has developed by way of nominalization -- some of the forms quite recently -- some of the forms described here are identical to forms described in the chapter on nominalization (§15).

There are two main types of verbal clauses in Kurtöp -- those which consist of a formally nominalized verb and copula, and those which consist only of a finite verb and no copula. The nominalized type clearly reflects the tendency in Tibeto-Burman to build main clause grammar by way of nominalizations (DeLancey in press). As DeLancey (in press) shows, a verbal stem may be nominalized and followed by a copula as: V-NOM COP. Beginning as a novel and innovative way to create main clause grammar, over time these nominalizations often become the heart of main clause syntax. In Kurtöp, too, nominalizations are an important -- though not exclusive -- means to construct main clauses. Examples from the nominalized type and the non-nominalized type of clause are shown in (343) and (344), respectively. I will refer to a finite clause that consists only of a finite verb as clause type 1, while clauses that formally consist of a nominalized verb plus a copula will be called clause type 2.
In (343), the verb ge ‘go’ is suffixed with the nominalizer -pala\(^{123}\) and is followed the copula wenta. A more literal translation for this sentence in English might be something like ‘his going was’. (344) on the other hand shows the same verb ge ‘go’ suffixed with the egophoric perfective suffix. A literal translation in English for (344) is ‘he went.’

Over time it becomes difficult to draw the line between a nominalized clause and a main clause. For example, with (343) in mind, consider (345).

\(^{123}\) Note that the allomorph of -pala is -wala following old -l coda verb stems (see §7.3.2.2 for a detailed analysis of this morphological alternation).
In this example the verb *ge* ‘go’ is suffixed with the same suffix, *-wala*, as in (343) but this time there is no copula and *-wala* is a fully finite perfective suffix. The meaning is again different and the closest English translation is ‘he went’. In truth, much of Kurtöp main clause grammar is somewhere in the cycle of nominalization > finite clauses and this grammar is a snapshot in of that process in time. Whether to label some suffixes as nominalizers or finite tense/aspect/evidential markers becomes an almost arbitrary decision. In a sense, nominalization and finite clauses in Kurtöp are not always mutually exclusive.

Regardless of whether main clauses in Kurtöp are composed of a nominalizer and copula or exclusively an unambiguously finite verb, a wide range of tense/aspect and evidential/evidential-like values are coded. In order to do this, Kurtöp possesses a rich array of suffixal verbal morphology as well as an impressive set of copulas. To add to this is a smaller set of verbal clitics which attach to the right edge of the verb phrase, encoding a variety of functions. Thus, a simple finite verb phrase may be as short as two syllables in (346) or as long as six syllables as in (347).

124 The actual difference between *khit geshang*, in (344) and *khit gewala*, in (345), is evidential-like and discussed in §20.
(346) *khit geshang*
   
   *khit  ge-shang*
   
   3.ABS  go-PFV.EGO
   
   ‘He went.’

(347) *khit gewala wentari*
   
   *khit  ge-wala  wenta=ri*
   
   3.ABS  go-NMZ:PFV  COP.EQ.MIR=HSY
   
   ‘He went indeed (I heard).’

16.1. Verbs

Unlike other Tibeto-Burman languages which may make a contrast between transitive and intransitive verbs (e.g. Kham) or evidence different stems based on aspectual and modal factors (e.g. Tibetan; Dakpa, Hyslop & Tshering 2010), Kurtöp verb stems are by and large invariant. Only one verb in the language *ge* ‘go’, evidences a different stem type based on tense/aspect. However, there is a small set of verbs which exhibit the lexicalized remnant of the *s*-causative that has been reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman. These are discussed in §16.1.2.

16.1.1. The basic monovalent-bivalent distinction

The terms ‘monovalent’ and ‘bivalent’, rather than ‘transitive’ or ‘intransitive’, are useful designators for Kurtöp verbs. Monovalent verbs are those which may take maximally one core argument (S) and bivalent verbs are those which may take maximally two core arguments (A and O). These categories are lexically determined and there is no
formal way to identify whether a given verb will be monovalent or bivalent. Given the
tendency for NPs to be omitted from discourse in general, it is also often difficult to
ascertain from texts alone whether a verb is monovalent or bivalent. That is, if a verb
appears with two overt core arguments in discourse, it is obviously bivalent. However, if
a verb appears with one or no overt core arguments, there is not evidence that the verb is
not bivalent. Often, elicitation is needed to ascertain the lexical valency of a verb.

Within the categories of monovalent and bivalent, Kurtöp verbs are also
categorized based on the semantic role of the core argument. Monovalent verbs
subcategorize for agent or patient arguments. In the case of the former, the optional
ergative will be allowed while in the case of the latter the ergative enclitic -gi is usually
disallowed (cf §14 for more details on case-marking).

**Table 140. Kurtöp monovalent patient verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boi</td>
<td>‘recover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 141. Kurtöp monovalent agent verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>’ngo</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zak</td>
<td>‘drip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zok</td>
<td>‘grow.tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bap</td>
<td>‘descend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bivalent verbs may also be sub-categorized based on the semantic nature of their arguments. For example, a bivalent verb may selectionally restrict for an agent or theme A argument, and an agent or theme O argument.

16.1.2. Remnants of PTB causative *s-

A handful of Kurtöp verbs are lexicalized examples of the old PTB causative *s-. These are shown in Table 142.

Table 142. Lexicalized examples of the PTB causative *s-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monovalent</th>
<th>Bivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dar</em> ‘fall.to.lower.level’</td>
<td><em>thar</em> ‘release; make.fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bap</em> ‘descend’</td>
<td><em>phap</em> ‘bring.down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dek</em> ‘enter’</td>
<td><em>thek</em> ‘insert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dor</em> ‘be.broken’</td>
<td><em>thor</em> ‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jong</em> ‘emerge’</td>
<td><em>chong</em> ‘take out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.1.3. Stem alternations

The verb *ge ~ gi* ‘go’ is the only verb to exhibit any alternation in the stem that is not conditioned phonology (for example, the voicing of final non-coronal consonants or loss of coda -k described in §7.3.1). The allomorph *gi* is found in the imperative and when suffixed with the indirect evidence perfective suffix. In other times the form is *ge*. In Gangzur, they also have allomorph *ga*, at least in the imperative, if not in other contexts. Presumably the *ga* allomorph is the result of a different diachronic development than what Dungkar Kurtöp underwent. The form for ‘go’ reconstructs to *gai*, from older
*gal. The form gai is still readily found amongst the languages of the wider Bumthang group, including in the Tangmachu dialect of Kurtöp. It is easy to see the different paths of development possible.

16.1.4. Auxiliaries

The primary defining quality of Kurtöp auxiliaries is that they can occur directly following a lexical verb without interceding material in the clause-chaining construction (described in detail in §21.2.5). All of the auxiliaries are also lexical verbs with semantics typically associated with auxiliarization (Anderson 2006). These are shown in Table 143.

Table 143. Kurtöp auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zon</td>
<td>‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zat</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blek</td>
<td>‘keep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>‘stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thung</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngak</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.1.5. Copulas

Copulas, which may be the only verbal element of the clause or which may accompany a formally nominalized verb, are themselves a sub-category of verbs. Unlike the lexical and auxiliary verbs, copulas do not synchronically take any of the verbal
prefixes or suffixes, though they can be cliticized with the full gamut of clitics described in §16.2.3 and vary to reflect evidential and evidential-like values. As I describe in §18 in detail, there is a rich set of negative and affirmative existential and equational copulas which, at least diachronically, share much of the verbal suffixes described below. However, in the case of the copulas, the function of the apparent suffixes are not necessarily predictable from the functions described below. The reconstructed forms of the copulas are summarized in Table 144.

**Table 144. Proto-Kurtöp copulas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*wen</td>
<td>affirmative equational copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*min</td>
<td>negative equational copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nak</td>
<td>affirmative existential copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mut</td>
<td>negative existential copula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DeLancey (2008) speculates that the affirmative equational copula *wen* has its origin at least in part in the TB copular etymon *way* (Matisoff 1985; Matisoff 2003a) with the nasal final probably attributed to a fusion of *way* with PTB *(g-)*na(-s) ‘be/live/stay/rest/perch’. I will also tentatively assume this hypothesis. The negative equational copula is descended from a composition of *mV-wen*. The affirmative existential copula may be descended from PTB *(g-)*na(-s), which is cognate with many forms throughout Bodic (DeLancey 1992). Interestingly, this form is still a lexical verb in Kurtöp’s closest neighbor Bumthap, suggesting it has grammaticalized as a copula only recently in Kurtöp. The etymology of the negative existential *mut* is not an obvious
collocation of \( mV \)- plus \( nak \) and instead probably represents a historical combination of 
\( mV\)-\( yut \), cognate with Tibetan \( yod \).

In addition to performing the expected copular functions described in §18, the 
copulas are an integral part of the finite verbal system. The equational copulas (\( wen \), \( min \))
follow verbs nominalized with -\( pala \), and -\( male \) and the existential copulas (\( nà \), \( mû \))
follow non-final marking.

16.1.6. Light verbs in verbo-nominal predicates

In South Asian languages complex predicates involving what is referred to as a
‘light’ verb plus a nominal are common. Mohanan (1994: §8) describes ‘complex
predicates’ in Hindi as a N+V sequence in which the N is referred to as the ‘host’ and the
verb V is referred to as a ‘light verb’. Mohanan (1994) points out that complex predicates
of this nature have been of interest in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian linguists for over two
centuries, with (Gilchrist 1796; Kellogg 1875; Platts 1898; Sharma 1958; Verma 1971)
being just a few well-known examples. Rather than use the term ‘complex predicate’,
which may denote any number of predicates involving more than a simple verb, I use the
term ‘verbo-nominal predicate’ following (Montaut 2004). Following Mohanana (1994)
and (Butt 1995), and the tradition before them, I use the term ‘light verb’ to designate the
verbal element in the Kurtöp equivalents of this type of complex predicates but use the
more generic term ‘nominal’ to designate the nominal element of the predicate.
Unlike Hindi, which has different formal types of verb-nominal predicates (e.g. Montaut (2004: §174-179)), verbo-nominal predicates in Kurtöp consist only of one type, formally: a nominal element and light verb, as shown in (348).

(348) \textit{ce thung}  
\textquoteleft{swim}\textquoteright

In (348) the nominal element is \textit{ce} \textquoteleft{swimming} and the light verb is \textit{thung} \textquoteleft{do}. \textit{ce} is noun-like in that appears to be an argument of the verb on the surface, but is not noun-like in that it cannot occur on its own in a NP in another context. In this sense, nominals and light verbs comprise a small, closed set of elements not found outside of this construction.

16.1.7. Complement types

Some verbs can also be described based on what type of complement they take. Generally, speech and cognition verbs can take fully finite complements.

16.1.7.1. Infinitival complement-taking verbs

A small set of verbs may take an infinitival verbal complement (cf. §21.1.1 for a discussion of complementation involving the infinitive -\textit{ro}). Table 145 shows some examples of these.

\footnote{For one example, Hindi verbo-nominal predicates differ in whether there is obligatory genitive marking, as in the following example: merii madad kijie vs. mujhe yah pasand nahi hai.}
Table 145. Verbs which take infinitival complements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ge</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshuk</td>
<td>‘be.able’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>‘stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’lot</td>
<td>‘be.able (contra-expectation)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>‘need’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yok</td>
<td>‘pour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khor</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example is:

(349) \textit{zhungnang phuido go dratshangna}  
\textit{zhung=nang \ phui-to \ go \ dratshang=na}  
government=LOC offer-INF need monastic.body=LOC  
‘(We) have to offer to the government, the monastic body.’  
SPh.TsC20081022.2901.970.SPh

16.1.7.2. Fully finite complement-taking verbs

Another set of verbs may take fully finite verbal complements, some of which are shown in Table 146.

Table 146. Verbs which take fully finite complements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bran</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khan</td>
<td>‘know how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngak</td>
<td>‘do; say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16.2. Verbal morphology

This section discusses the various morphological structures the lexical and auxiliary verbs can take. In §16.2.1 I discuss the only true prefix in Kurtöp, the negative prefix. §16.2.2 provides a structural analysis of all the suffixes a verb may take; §16.2.3 presents the verbal clitics; and §16.2.4 presents the verbal particles. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define affixes in Kurtöp as those bound grammatical forms which attach to a word, while clitics attach to phrases. Both tend to be included in a phonological word with the forms to which they have attached. Particles, on the other hand, tend to comprise their own phonological word.

16.2.1. Prefixes

Kurtöp has only one prefix, negative -me/-me/-mi, a reflex of the PTB *ma-y negative (Matisoff 2003a: 601). This form occurs as a prefix to verbs to negate the action, as in:

(350) *ngaita mebran
    *ngai-ta me-bran
    1.ERG-EMPH NEG-know
    ‘I didn’t know.’
    SBC20051127.KW

The prefix takes on the tone of the verb stem, so that if the verb stem has a high tone the prefix will have a high tone while if the verb stem has a low tone, the prefix will have a low tone (cf. §7.3.2.1 for a more elaborate discussion). The vowel quality of the
negative changes as a means to indicate tense differences. Refer to §19.1 for a more thorough discussion of negation in Kurtöp.

16.2.2. Suffixes

Table 147. Structural analysis of Kurtöp verbal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Conditions stem-final -k</th>
<th>May be negated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-khan</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sang</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-male</td>
<td>Nominalizer/TAME</td>
<td>Noun?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa*</td>
<td>Nominalizer/TAME</td>
<td>Noun?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mo</td>
<td>Subordinator</td>
<td>Noun?</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nani</td>
<td>Subordinator</td>
<td>COP=ABL</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si</td>
<td>Converb</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shang</td>
<td>TAME</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>TAME</td>
<td>Verb?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>TAME</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>TAME</td>
<td>COP (&lt;VERB)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>TAME</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-le</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbal suffixes in Kurtöp attach exclusively to the end of verbs. This syntactic category is for the most part straightforward, except in a few cases where suffixes have
clearly had a broader distribution diachronically, making the synchronic picture somewhat muddier. Table 147 shows a structural summary of the verbal suffixes.\(^{126}\)

### 16.2.2.1. Nominalizer \(-khan\)

The nominalizer \(-khan\) is found in Written Tibetan as \(\text{མཁན} \text{<mkhan>}\) as an agentive nominalizer (Jäshke 1881) and is no doubt related to the Kurtöp verb \(khan\) ‘know’. In Kurtöp, the nominalizer \(-khan\) falls into the syntactic slot of verbal suffixes immediately following the verb stem and though it still function as as a nominalizer, it has a much broader has a semantic function than WT \(\text{མཁན} \text{<mkhan>}\) (cf §15.2.2).

\(^{351}\) **Drukpa Künle ngak\(\text{-}khan\) khepo mejena jemalta**

\(\text{Drukpa Künle} \quad \text{ngak-\(khan\)} \quad \text{me-je-na} \quad \text{je-male-ta}\)

\(\text{Drukpa Künle do-NMZ:IPFV} \quad \text{NEG-see.HON-PFV.MIR} \quad \text{see.HON-FUT-EMPH}\)

‘(She) had never even seen (this guy) called Drukpa Künle.’

SBC20051127.KW

### 16.2.2.2. Nominalizer \(-sa\)

The nominalizer \(-sa\) is also an old formative that reconstructs back to Proto-Tibeto-Burman \(*sa\) ‘earth/ground/soil’ (Matisoff 2003a: 612). In Kurtöp, \(-sa\) is a verbal

\(^{126}\) In Dungkar Kurtöp, the focus of this dissertation, stem-final \(-k\) is lost preceding the \(-pa\) suffix and conditions a \(-\text{wa}\) allomorph (cf. §7.3.2.2). However, in Tangmachu Kurtöp the \(-k\) is still present and \(-pa\) has no allomorphy.
nominalizing suffix that denotes location. The function of -sa is discussed in greater
detailed in §15.1.1 but illustrated as a verbal suffix in (352).

(352)  
\begin{verbatim}
  tshe darung yau jepo zhuxsana thrâmo tshe jepoi shakhwi ngâmo tshe shakhwi mû
  ngaksi zhusal wenta
\end{verbatim}

\texttt{tshe
darung
yau
jepo
zhuk-sa=na
thrâ-mo
tshe}

\texttt{DM
again
DEM:UP
king
stay.HON-NMZ:PL=LOC
arrive-CTM
DM}

\texttt{jepo-i
shakhwi
ngâ-mo
tshe
shakhwi
mû}

\texttt{king-ERG
hunting.dog
do-CTM
DM
hunting.dog
COP.EXIS.NEG}

\texttt{ngaksi
zhu-sala
wenta}

\texttt{QUOT
say.HON-NMZ:PFV
COP.EQ.MIR}

`And again when they reached where the king was staying, the king said ‘is the
hunting dog (there)?’ and (they) said the hunting dog wasn’t.’

`PS20061206.389.465.P`

16.2.2.3. Nominalizer -sang

The form -sang is also a nominalizer but with a different function than -sa (see
§15.2.3 for more details). The source of -sang is unclear though it worth pointing out that
Lepcha has an infinitive -shang that may or may not be cognate. Whatever the source, its
grammaticalization precedes the loss of word-final -k historically, as it conditions verbal
allomorphs with coda -k as opposed to those with a long vowel in its place.
(353) 'ai khepo tshe thrim khepo tshe khweni gamina thungsang wen ngaksi

'aiya khepo tshe thrim khepo tshe khwe-ni

grandmother FOC DM punishment FOC DM water-CMT
gami=na thung-sang wen ngaksi
fire=LOC do-NMZ:PL COP.EQ QUOT

‘The old lady will be punished in the fire and water (they said).’

PS20061206.658.723.P

16.2.2.4. Nominalizer/future -male

The suffix -male functions both as a nominalizer and as finite morphology; its position as a suffix to a verb is shown in (354). See §15.2.4 for more details about -male as a nominalizer and §17.3.1 for more details about -male as a marker of future tense.

(354) zhor khepoyang drang, khauti drangzi tshe, 'ai 'namisami sem gazi, 'enji ngâma

wen mabranpal depagi

zhor khepo-yang drang khauti drang-zi tshe 'ai
alcohol FOC-also offer egg offer-NF DM grandmother

'namisami sem ga-si 'enji ngak-male wen ma-bran-pala
very mind enjoy-NF how do-NMZ:IRR COP.EQ NEG-know-PFV
depa=gi
devotion=INSTR

‘After offering the alcohol and eggs, the old woman was so happy and didn’t know what to say out of devotion’

KS20061212.104.909KL
16.2.2.5. Co-temporal -mo(ng)

The verb suffix -mong alternates with -mo in a stylistic pattern. The form -mo is used most commonly while -mong is reserved for more stylistic or formal occasions, such as narration of stories or more formal interviews. As I describe in §7.3.3.5, there are several forms which exhibit the alternation -ø ~ -ng and thus in the case of -mong ~ -mo, it is not clear if the nasal coda is representative of a form that would reconstruct to a proto stage of the language, or if it simply added synchronically as a means to encode a more formal register.

Busch (2007) hypothesizes that -mo is derived from the PTB nominalizer -ma, though more external evidence is needed to support this. In support of Busch (2007) is the fact that verbs suffixed with -mo receive small subset of nominal morphology, including the focus particles gapo and khepo and the contrastive focus marker -ni. If -mo is derived from the PTB nominalizer -ma, then either a separate source would be needed to account for the presence of the synchronic form -ma or a secondary grammaticalization and sound change would have to be posited. Of course, the sound change -ma > -mo is plausible indeed. In any case, both -mo and -ma are relatively recent; they grammaticalized after monosyllabic words lost coda -k.

The function of -mo is to mark co-temporal subordinate clauses, which I describe in greater detail in §21.2.4. (355) is an example of -mo as a verbal suffix.
16.2.2.6. Conditional -nani

Like the suffixes -mo and -ma, -nani conditions the open syllable version of verbs with coda -k and therefore is a relatively recent grammaticalization. The form itself is probably composed of the suffix -na ‘LOC’ + -ni ‘ABL’ so the diachronic trajectory can be imagined as ‘from being at Ving’ > ‘if Ving’. The fact that -nani is no longer simply composed of a locative plus ablative suffix is shown by the common tendency for the final vowel -i to drop off in connected speech, so that -nani is often realized as -nan. The ablative morpheme itself does not evidence this alternation.

An example of the conditional suffix -nani is (356). Note the suffix conditions the form of the verb stem with a long vowel in place of coda -k and the final vowel of -nani is lost, which is a common phenomenon in phonological words longer than one syllable.
(356) *nguis khorci ngânan rui bre dirdir ngakta tshe*

    ngui-si  khor-ci  ngak-nani  rui  dirdir  ngak-ta  tshe
    buy-NF  take-FUT  do-COND  rot  yucky.smell  do-IPFV.MIR  DM

    ‘We though of buying and taking but there was a rotten smell.’

    SaTSW20090917. 618.619.SaT

(357) *tshe cala matshutnan tsama the da thu ‘lu ’nangu, tshama zhugu ngak*

    tshe  cala  ma-tshut-nani  tsama-the  da  thu  ‘lu
    DM  stuff  NEG-be.ready-COND  some-DEF  now  DIST  convince
    ’nang-lu
    do.HON-IMP

    ‘So if it’s not ready, (we will) tell them to wait.’

    SaTSW20090917. 618.619.SaT

16.2.2.7. Infinitive -to

    Diacronically, the suffix -to is clearly derived from the locative -to as it shares
    the same allomorphy (cf. §7.3.3.1). The allomorph -ro is found following old open
    stems; -do is found following -n and -m final stems, -ko is found following -k final
    stems; -go or -o followes -ng stems, and -to occurs elsewhere. Unlike the locative, which
    also has a -ko allomorph possible in contexts where a different allomorph would be
    expected, the infinitive strictly follows this allomorphy.

    The trajectory of a locative being reanalyzed as infinitival is not unlike English to,
    which is also used both for indicating direction toward a location and the verbal infinitive
    form. The vowel of the infinitive is often lost, leaving only the consonant. I discuss the
function of the infinitive in greater detail in §21.1.1 though (358) provides an example, showing the distribution of -to as a suffix.

(358)  
\[ \text{tshe yau 'né korno gewala 'napa yau} \]
\[ \text{DM DEM:UP sacred.site wander-INF go-PFV earlier DEM:UP} \]
\[ \text{‘So we went up there to visit the sacred site up there first.’} \]
\[ \text{SaTSW20090917.842.707SW} \]

When the infinitive-affixed verb is negated, the negation has scope only over the subordinate verb. Consider the following elicited examples.

(359)  
\[ \text{mizuro gemale} \]
\[ \text{mi-zu-to ge-male} \]
\[ \text{NEG-eat-INF go-FUT} \]
\[ \text{‘(I) will go without eating.’} \]
\[ \text{Elicitation.KL20100607} \]

(360)  
\[ \text{metaro gemale} \]
\[ \text{me-ta-to ge-male} \]
\[ \text{NEG-look-INF go-FUT} \]
\[ \text{‘(I) will go without looking.’} \]
\[ \text{Elicitation.KL20100607} \]

In (359) and (360) the infinitive verbs zuro ‘to eat’ and taro ‘to see’, respectively, are negated with the negative prefix and followed by the future form of the verb ge ‘go’.

In both instances, the speaker still intends to go, but will not conduct the activity.
described in the infinitive clause. This function is similar to what is found with the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction (which cannot be negated), described in detail in §21.2.5. In other words, negating the infinitive might be a strategy speakers resort to when they would like to negate the first in a series of actions.

(361)  
\[\text{metaro gemale}\]  
\[me-ta-to \quad ge-male\]  
\[\text{NEG-look-INF} \quad \text{go-FUT}\]  
‘(I) will go without looking.’  
\[\text{Elicitation.KL20100607}\]

(362)  
\[\text{metaro gemale}\]  
\[me-ta-to \quad ge-male\]  
\[\text{NEG-look-INF} \quad \text{go-FUT}\]  
‘(I) will go without looking.’  
\[\text{Elicitation.KL20100607}\]

Further details on negation, including scope, can be found in §19.1.

\textbf{16.2.2.8. Perfective -sa \textasciitilde -s}

Some speakers occasionally use a simple -s suffix in what speakers report is an alternate form of -\textit{shang} (cf. §16.2.2.10). It is not yet clear whether -s is actually a very reduced form of -\textit{shang} or another form entirely. In support of -s being a separate morpheme is 1) the fact that -\textit{shang} does not exhibit any reduction in conversation or
anywhere in the textual database; that is, -sha or -sh are never found in place of -shang, which is always found in its full form; and 2) there is comparative evidence that -s could itself be a perfective marker. Also, speakers tell me that in communities where -s is used productively (lower Kurtöp region and in Khengkha), -s alternates with -sa. Evidence in favor of -s being an allomorph of -shang is the fact that they appear to mark the same function. Whatever the relationship, the fact is that -s is very rare in the Dungkar variety of Kurtöp.

An example of perfective -s is below, which was told to me by speaker TT in Jasabi. She had kindly housed me as her guest for a few days and, upon my departure when I thanked her for her hospitality, she said (363) to me in return.

(363)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sem gas} \\
\text{sem} & \text{ga-s} \\
\text{mind} & \text{enjoy-PFV} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(I) enjoyed (your visit).’

20080517.TT

16.2.2.9. Nominalizer/perfective -pa

The verbal suffix -pa is another example of Kurtöp morphology that is found widely throughout the family. As a verbal suffix the Kurtöp form -pa has the following allomorphy: -wa following velars, -r and old -l codas, -sa following open stems, and -pa elsewhere (see §7.3.2.2 for examples and more detailed discussion). This allomorphy has been used as evidence for Kurtöp’s close relationship with Tibetan (DeLancey 2008) but a potential problem for this is the fact that the allomorphy is not uniform throughout all
dialects of Kurtöp. In Tangmachu Kurtöp, the same -pa, does not evidence any allomorphy; it is -pa all phonological environments, as is the cognate in Khengkha. In other words, it appears the allomorphy associated with perfective -pa described here is a recent innovation and therefore not shared with Tibetan.

The suffix -pa is involved in several non-finite and finite constructions in Kurtöp. Nominalizing functions involving -pa are described in §15.2.1; -pa as a formative in finite verbal morphology is discussed in §17.1.1.2 and §17.1.1.5; the function of -pa in marking perfective questions is illustrated in §19.2.1.4 and §21.2.1 discusses adverbial clauses involving -pa.

(364) illustrates the syntactic status of -pa as verbal suffix.

(364) nyarop zongi yâko totpal wenta
nyarop zon=gi yâ=ko tot-pala wenta
fisherman two=GEN hand=LOC hand.over-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR
‘(The children) were handed over to the two fishermen.’
PS20061206.1075.673P

In an interesting, recent innovation, the use of the nominalizer -pa on its own has grammaticalized into a perfective yes/no question marker. For example, yes/no questions are typically posed as in (365).
(365)  
thingpuro  thrawa  

\textit{Thingphu}=to  \textit{thrak-pa}  

Thimphu-LOC  arrive-QP.PFV  

‘Have you been to Thimphu?’

However, such questions are obligatorily followed by the question particle \textit{ya} (cf. §16.2.4.3) in Khengkha and still occur as such, though rarely, in natural conversations. (366) provides an example of \textit{ya} used following a verb suffixed with \textit{-pa}, drawn from a casual conversation between two friends.

(366)  
trak khirira  nguisa  ya  

\textit{trak}  \textit{khiri-ra}  \textit{ngui-pa}  \textit{ya}  

truck  3.REFL.ERG-EMPH  BUY-QP.PFV  QP  

‘Did he buy the truck by himself?’  

SaTSW20090917.1081.019.SW

It is easy to see the development of the nominalizer \textit{-pa} into a perfective question marker. After the point in which \textit{-pa} began to be used in perfective statements it was used with the question marker \textit{ya} as a default means for asking yes/no questions. Once the perfective \textit{-pa} had grammaticalized with other morphology into the subordinate and finite verbal system, the bare form alone was followed by the question particle; elsewhere the perfective \textit{-pa} was already grammaticalized with other suffixal material. Now the question marker \textit{ya} was free to drop off, leaving simply the suffix \textit{-pa} to mark perfective yes/no questions. The diachronic trajectory can be illustrated as follows: V-PFV QP > V-PFV.QP.
A verb suffixed with the -pa nominalizer/perfective can be negated, as in the question shown in (367).

(367) Jamyang Khentse jonzi drupchen 'manangwa?

Jamyang Khentse jon-si drupchen ma-ʼnang-pa

Jamyang Khentse come-NF ritual NEG-give.HON-QP.PFV

‘Didn’t Jamyang Khentse come to offer the ritual?’

SaTSW20090917.174.025.SW

A statement from elicitation shows when -pa is followed by -la as part of perfective statement morphology, it can also be negated.

(368) matasala

ma-ta-pala

NEG-look-PFV

‘(I) didn’t look.’

KLElicitation20100607

16.2.2.10. Egophoric perfective -shang

The form -shang is of unknown etymology. Unlike other forms found in the texts, it never immediately precedes a copula, suggesting that either it came from a verb or its source as a nominlizer is quite old.\textsuperscript{127} A potential cognate may be found in Lepcha

\textsuperscript{127} See, however, (374) for a potential counter to this observation.
infinitive -shang (Plaisier 2007:115-117) but more reconstructive work is needed within East Bodish and Lecpha to support this. Whatever the source of -shang, it is obviously a relatively old morpheme as it suffixes to verb stems with coda -k still present.

Kurtöp -shang is used to encode perfective aspect with direct evidential value when the speaker has direct evidence of the experience and there is no expectation that a speech-act participant would have direct evidence. Speakers tell me that “you are reporting because you know; you are reporting on behalf of yourself” with the use of -shang, which can be contrasted with the use of -pala (§17.1.1.2) when “you are reporting on behalf of someone else.” The use of -shang translates directly into -ci ~ -i in Dzongkha.

An example of -shang is:

(369) \[ darung rospa zon domshang \]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{darung} & \text{rospa} & \text{zon} & \text{dom-shang} \\
\text{again} & \text{bone} & \text{two} & \text{meet-PFV.EGO} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘And again (she) found two bones’

PS20061206. 1711.858P

16.2.2.11. Inferential perfective -mu

The verbal suffix -mu encodes perfective aspect with inferential evidential value. It does not co-occur with a copula, suggesting its origin is an auxiliary verb rather than a nominalizer. Again, -mu is likely a relatively old morpheme as it suffixes to verb stems still evidencing coda -k. An interesting possible cognate is found in Marphatan Thakali.
Georg (1996: 118-122) describes a ‘copula’ *mu* with an interesting extension. Georg states:

> Die Erweiterung des präteritalen -ci durch das Hilfverb mu\(^1\) kodiert ein in der Vergangenheit lokalisiertes Ereignis mit gegenwärtiger Relevanz, d.h. ein Ereignis, dessen Ergebnis in der Gegenwart spürbare Wirkungen hat. Diese Form findet auch dann Anwendung, wenn der Sprecher nur aufgrund des Vorliegens eines gegenwärtigen Sachverhaltes auf ein früheres Ereignis schließt, das er nicht beobachten konnte.

The extension of the preterite –ci with the auxiliary mu\(^1\) encodes an event located in the past with present relevance, i.e. an event, the result of which has perceptible effects in the present. This form is also used when the speaker infers a previous event which he could not have witnessed on the basis of a present situation (Georg 1996:118-119).\(^{128}\)

Other possible cognates are the Nar-Phu copula *mu* (Noonan 2003), Chantyal stative copula *mu* (Noonan 2003b), Thulung-Rai equative copula *bumu* (Lahaussois 2002) and perhaps Caodeng rGyalrong sentence final particle *mu* (Sun 2003).

\(^{128}\) I am grateful to Scott DeLancey for this translation.
In (370) I show \(-mu\) as a verbal suffix. A detailed discussion of \(-mu\) as encoding perfective aspect and inferential evidential value is found in §17.1.1.3 and §20.1.1.3, respectively.

(370) \(tshe\ khit \ pret\mu\ da\)

\(tshe\)  \(khit\)  \(pret\-\mu\)  \(da\)

DM  3.ABS  fear-PFV.IND  now

‘Now he was afraid.’

PS20061206. 1711.858P

Perhaps not surprisingly, this form of the verb cannot be negated.

16.2.2.12. Mirative imperfective \(-ta\)

Like \(-mu\), the suffix \(-ta\) is part of the Kurtöp finite verbal paradigm and also likely has its historic origins as an auxiliary, as it does not precede a copula in the same clause. A synchronic verb \(tak\) ‘become’ still exists in Kurtöp and is a possible, plausible source for \(-ta\). The form \(tak\) ‘become’ and \(-ta\ ‘PFV.MIR’ are probably related to the copula \(ta\) in Kham (Watters 2002: 219) and Tamang (Poudel 2006: 136). Kurtöp \(-ta\) probably grammaticalized prior to the loss of coda \(-k\) word-finally, as the coda \(-k\) is in tact stem-finally when \(-ta\) is present. (371) below illustrates \(-ta\) as a verbal suffix while a more thorough discussion of \(-ta\) as a mirative imperfective suffix is in §17.2.1.1 and §20.1.2.1.
A verb suffixed with -ta may also be negated, as in (372).

(372) **mebranta ngai drupchen**  
*me-bran-ta ngai drupchen*  
NEG-know-IPFV.MIR 1.ERG ritual  
‘I don’t know about the ritual.’  
SaT.SW20090917.181.223.SaT

The suffix -ta can also be cliticized with the nominalizer -ki, creating the non-mirative reading of the perfective.

16.2.2.13. Mirative perfective/copula -na

Another verbal suffix to interlace with the aspectual and evidential paradigm is -na, which encodes perfective aspect and mirativity. These functions are discussed in greater detail in §17.1.1.4 and §20.1.1.2.

The mirative perfective suffix -na is a recent grammaticalization from the copula *ná*, itself also a recent grammaticalization from a main verb *nak* ‘to be at’, which is reconstructed to the proto-Bumthang group (cf. §3.5.2.3). Syntactic evidence for this diachronic analysis is again the fact that V-na does not precede a copula and
therefore -na does not have its direct origins in a nominalizer. An example of -na as a verbal suffix is (373):

(373)  *sati bjongna*

* sati  
  oil.lamp

* byong-na  
  emerge-PFV.MIR

‘The oil lamp emerged.’
SPh.TsC20081022.2215.544.SPh

While -na most often is used as a suffix, there are a few instances in the texts where -na has a different distribution. In (374) below, -na is shown to follow the suffix -shang. The precise function of the use of -na following -shang in this instance is unclear, but structurally I take it as evidence that -na still retains some of its copula properties, allowing it to attach to the end of a phrase, not solely a bare verb stem.

(374)  *megen*na

* me-ge-na  
  NEG-go-PFV.MIR

‘(S/he) is not gone.’
KLElicitation20100607

16.2.2.14. Immediate future -*ki*

As described in detail in §7.3.2.4, the suffix -ki has allomorphs -iki following historically open stems, -ki following velar final stems, and -ci elsewhere. -ki is of
uncertain origin, and it is not even clear if the hortative -ki is related historically to the nominalizer -ki the ergative/genitive -gi (§7.3.3.3, §7.3.3.4 )

However, there is strong evidence that the hortative -ki is historically a nominalizer, as it also occurs in Kurtöp preceding a copula.¹²⁹ (375) shows -ki as a verbal suffix.

(375) zumal zuiki ngak-shang
zu-male zu-ki ngak-shang
eat-NMZ:IRR eat-HORT do-PFV.EGO
““(She) was the food to eat”, (they) said.’
PS20061206.519.663.P

This form can also be negated, as the elicited example below shows.

376) megeci
me-ge-ki
NEG-go-HORT
‘let’s not go.’
KLElicitation 20100607

¹²⁹ The presence of a copula with the hortative suffix actually distinguishes the hortative function from a future tense. §17.3.4 describes the future tense using -kina in greater detail and §17.3.3 describes the hortative in greater detail.
16.2.2.15. Non-final -si

The suffix -si is of unknown etymology but an interesting candidate is the Dakpa ergative -si (Hyslop and Tshering 2010). If these forms are related, a possible scenario is one in which an agentive suffix *-si was used in the proto-language common to Dakpa and Kurtöp (such as Proto-East Bodish). In Dakpa, the morpheme was recruited exclusively for noun phrases and eventually was reanalyzed as an ergative morpheme. In Kurtöp, the same form could have developed exclusively into a form used on verbs.130

Perhaps more likely is the suggestion that Kurtöp -si is related to the similar forms found as verbal morphology throughout the Himalayas. For example Jero has a middle suffix -si (Opfenort 2004: 164), Darma has a middle suffix -çi (Willis 2007) and Karbi has a non-final suffix -si with a similar function (Linda Konnerth, pc).

Any speculation regarding the etymology of the Kurtöp converb suffix will have to remain as such at this point, though future research on the development of this morpheme, and its potential cognates in Tibeto-Burman would be interesting, particularly give the potential relationship with the PTB suffix *-s, (Benedict 1972:97-99, (Matisoff 2003a: 465-468).

The Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction, characterized by the possible presence of the non-final suffix -si, is discussed in detail in Hyslop (to appear) and §21.2.5 of this dissertation. A simple example of -si as a verbal suffix is illustrated in (377).

130 Nominal morphology used on verbs to combine clauses common through the Bodic languages. Many of Kurtöp’s synchronic subordinators are homophonous with synchronic case-markers.
(377) \(\text{lungtennang} \text{ bapsi tshe} \)

\(\text{lungten}=\text{nang} \quad \text{bap-si} \quad \text{tshe} \)

\(\text{lungten}=\text{LOC} \quad \text{descend-NF} \quad \text{DM} \)

‘According to the prophesy…’

PS20061206.603.103.P

The non-final suffix is one of the few verbal morphemes that cannot be negated. Instead, speakers may negate the perfective -pala or the infinitive -to for a similar function. I describe these possibilities in greater detail in the sections on clause-changing (§21.2.5) and negation (§19.1).

16.2.2.16. Polite imperative -le

There are three imperative suffixes in Kurtöp, the first of which, -le, is used as a polite imperative. All three imperatives share the same initial consonant, including the associated allomorphy (-le \(\rightarrow\) -e following non-coronal consonants with stop codas voicing and -le \(\rightarrow\) -ye following historically open stems; see §7.3.2.3 for discussion and evidence). The only only formal difference between the forms is the shape of the vowel. The function of all three imperatives is discussed in greater detail in §19.2.

The polite imperative suffix is demonstrated in (378).
(378) duimo Hacangmi tshe ninta zongi 'neng yung gile ngak zonpal wen ngak
duimo Hacangmo=gi tshe nin-ta zon=gi 'neng yung gi-le
demoness Hacangmo=ERG DM 2.PL-EMPH two=GEN heart get go-IMP
zon-pala wen ngak
send-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ QUOT
‘(the hunters said) “the demoness was sent to go get your two’s hearts.”’
PS20061206.1113.117P

16.2.2.17. Informal imperative -lu

The imperative -lu contrasts with -le in that -lu is used more informally, or less politely. The etymological source of -lu is also uncertain. Van Driem (1995:239-240) identifies a -lu imperative in Black Mountain Mönpa which could easily be cognate. However, the future imperative -lo (§16.2.2.18) could also be cognate; more comparative work is needed within East Bodish in order to make out the regular sound changes and thus determine whether Kurtöp -lu or -lo would correspond to Black Mountain Mönpa -lu.

(379) wera suka nilu ngak wenta
wera suka ni-lu ngak wenta
2.REFL quiet stay-IMP QUOT COP.EQ.MIR
‘”You keep quiet”, (he) said.’
SBC20051127.KW
16.2.2.18. Irrealis imperative -lo

The third imperfective in Kurtöp is used in irrealis condition. Like with -lu, there are several possible etymologies for -lo and until more work is done on Kurtöp’s East Bodish neighbors it will be impossible to ascertain the etymology of these imperatives with any assurance. A more detailed illustration of -lo as an irrealis imperative is given in §19.2.1.3 but the form is illustrated as a verbal suffix in (380).

(380) *tsheni yamnang ipa zuyo ngaksi*

\[tsheni \text{ yam}=\text{nang} \quad 'ipa \quad zu-lo \quad \text{ngaksi}\]

then path=LOC cooked.rice eat-IMP.IRR QUOT

“Then (you) must eat along the road” (he) said.’
SBC20051127.KW

16.2.3. Clitics

Verbal clitics in Kurtöp are defined as such because of 1) their ability to affix (cliticize) to phrases, or least categories broader than simply a given lexical type; and 2) their tendency to form phonological words with their host words. Generally, clitics are not given the status of phonological words, unlike particles.

Table 148. Distribution of Kurtöp verbal clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Following tensed verb</th>
<th>Following other clitics or particles?</th>
<th>Following NPs</th>
<th>Following word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=ri</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=mi</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=sa</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16.2.3.1. Hearsay =\textit{ri}

The Kurtöp hearsay marker presumably comes from an old verb ‘to say’ but there is little comparative evidence in support of this. Generally, the hearsay enclitic attaches to the edge of a finite clause, but in practice its distribution is wider. The hearsay marker has the widest distribution of all the clitics. It may occur following a tensed verb, as in (381).

(381) \textit{semchanggi pura nyangtari udinang}

\begin{verbatim}
semchang=gi pura nyang-ta=ri udi=nang
animal=GEN all receive-IPFV.MIR=HSY DEM:DIST=LOC
\end{verbatim}

‘(They) get everything for animals up there.’

SBC20051127.KW

In clauses involving copulas, the hearsay clitic will cliticize to the right edge of the copula, as in (382).

(382) \textit{ne tshasal pita yoebazi nāri}

\begin{verbatim}
ne tsha-pala pita yö bar-si nā=ri
sun burn-NMZ:PFV as shine burn-NF COP.EXIS.MIR=HSY
\end{verbatim}

‘It was like the sun was shining (it is said).’

KS20061212.186.035.KL

In sentences involving particles, the hearsay marker will clitize to the right edge of the particle, as in (383).
(383)  *Rimpoche gi sungta  ’ator ngawal draki shuri*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rimpoche=gi} & \quad \text{sung-ta} & \quad \text{’ator} & \quad \text{ngak-pala} & \quad \text{drak-ki} \\
\text{Rimpoche=ERG} & \quad \text{say.HON-IPFV.MIR} & \quad \text{how} & \quad \text{do-PVF} & \quad \text{be.good-HORT} \\
shu & = ri \\
\text{DBT} & = \text{HSY} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Rimpoche asked what would be a good thing to do.’

SBC20051127.KW

The hearsay particle is not restricted to only verbs or particles. A very common use of the hearsay particle is with the word zhā ‘what’, which is most often used when speakers are in the middle of a discourse and are trying to recollect the correct word or what they were going to say.

(384)  *zhāri*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zhā} & = ri \\
\text{what} & = \text{HSY} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘What (said to self)?’

Another simple English translation for (384) might be something like ‘what was it..?’. Kurtōp zhāri appears to translate directly into g’acilo in Dzongkha.

The hearsay clitic may also cliticize to a noun, itself followed by a verb, as in (385). In this example the speaker seems to be searching for the word *thrim* ‘fine’. A more literal translation of *thrimri* here might be something like ‘it’s called ‘fine’’.  

493
(385) **wo minani yangna thrimri kutta sho**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wo} & \quad \text{min-nani} & \quad \text{yang-nani} & \quad \text{thrim}=& \text{ri} & \quad \text{kut-ta} \\
\text{PROX} & \quad \text{COP.EQ.NEG-COND} & \quad \text{stand.up-COND} & \quad \text{fine}=& \text{HSY} & \quad \text{assign-IPFV.MIR} \\
\text{sho} & \quad \text{EMPH} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘If not this, then they will fine you!’

SBC20051127.KW

In a particularly interesting case, the hearsay marker appears on almost every element inside a NP, in (386).

(386) **tru drolarsri 'akpari theri ngakna**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tru} & \quad \text{drolars}=& \text{ri} & \quad \text{'akpa}=& \text{ri} & \quad \text{the}=& \text{ri} & \quad \text{ngak-na} \\
\text{two (<Eng)} & \quad \text{dollars (<Eng)}=& \text{HSY} & \quad \text{how.much}=& \text{HSY} & \quad \text{one}=& \text{HSY} & \quad \text{do-PFV.MIR} \\
\text{‘(They) said it was around two dollars.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

**16.2.3.2.** Inclusive tag =mi

The clitic =mi is of unknown origin and it is not yet clear if it has any cognates in neighboring languages. The form is similar in distribution and function to Dzongkha -ba.

The Kurtöp inclusive tag clitic -mi only attaches to finite verbs or copulas, as I demonstrate below. Example (387) shows =mi following a tensed verb.
(387) da nam bjar yas ngaktami tshe wu
    now season summer work do-IPFV.MIR=TAG DM TAG
    ‘Now we do work in the summer, right.’
Rice.Harvest.3.804.KeD

When the finite clause consists of a nominalized or non-final verb plus a copula,
the clitic =mi attaches to the edge of copula, as in (388) and (389).

(388) Khandro thrungwal wentami
    Khandro thung-pala wenta=mi
    Khandro be.born.HON-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR=TAG
    ‘Khandro was born, right..’
    PS20061206.721.713.P

(389) tshe ting-ting bangka dungzi nâmi
    tshe ting-ting bangka dung-si nâ=mi
    DM beating.sound drum.type beat-NF COP.EXIS.MIR=TAG
    ‘The Bangka drums were being beaten, ting-ting’
    PS20061206.795.889.P

16.2.3.3. Counter expectation =sa

    The clitic =sa has the same distribution as =mi; it attaches to tensed verbs or
copulas. Like =mi, =sa is also of unknown etymology, though it is similar in function to
Dzongkha -sa. In Kurtöp, =sa encodes that the action or the result of the action was
counter to expectation.
Example of =sa attaching to a tensed verb are (390) and (391).

(390) *osor nimota ... ’Autshorota tshongpa zha winim laptasa*

like.this stay-CTM-EMPH ’Autsho=LOC=EMPH shop keeper what

COP.EQ.DBT say-IPFV.MIR=CEXP

‘While (we) were there like that, the shopkeeper in ’Autsho, what was (he) called…?*

SBC20051127.KW

(391) *’au nawori ... ngai koshangsa*

where COP.EQ-QP=HSY 1.ERG hear-PFV.EGO=CEXP

‘Where (did I hear) (he) was? I thought I heard (to self).’*

SBC20051127.KW

In (392) I show an example of =sa attaching to a copula. The function of =sa is difficult to understand fully. In this particular example a speaker tells me that there is something incomplete about this, or perhaps the speaker is sad that the dog is not his.

(392) *khwi mira gatokalthe nawalsa*

dog others friendly-DEF COP.EXIS=CEXP

‘It's a good dog.’

SBC20051127.PC
There are seven verbal particles in Kurtöp, the distribution of which is summarized in Table 149.

Table 149. Distribution of Kurtöp verbal particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Following tensed verb</th>
<th>Following other clitic/ptc?</th>
<th>Following NPs</th>
<th>Following word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wu</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sho</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y (wh-words)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shu</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaksi</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next sections provide an overview of each particle.

16.2.4.1. Tag wu

The particle wu is free-standing; it does not join to another word or element in a phonological word. The function of wu is similar to that of =mi in that it is used a tag.
when the speaker would like to bring the interlocutor into the context, knowing that the interlocutor shared the experience with the speaker.

There is no obvious etymology for *wu*, but it is important to note its realization varies among the Kurtöp dialects. In Gangzur, for example, it is *wa*, while in Tangmachu it is *au*. The form in Dzongkha equated with the same function as Kurtöp *wu* is *mo*. In terms of syntactic distribution, *wu* may occur in a much broader context than *=mi*, which is limited to verbs. *wu* may occur following a constituent, nominal or verbal.

A very common use is following a copula, as in (394) and (395).

(394)  
\[
\text{Ugen Tenzin wen } \textbf{wu} \\
\text{Ugen} \quad \text{Tenzin} \quad \text{wen} \quad \textbf{wu} \\
\text{Ugen} \quad \text{Tenzin} \quad \text{COP.EQ} \quad \text{TAG}
\]

‘He was Ugen Tenzin, right?’

SBC20051127.PC

(395)  
\[
\text{Monggar Samdrup Jongkhargi yam } \text{'ator naki } \textbf{wu} \\
\text{Monggar Samdrup Jongkhar=gi} \quad \text{yam} \quad \text{'ator naki} \quad \textbf{wu} \\
\text{Monggar Samdrup-Jongkhar=GEN road how COP.EXIS.DBT TAG}
\]

‘How the Monggar-Samdrup Jongkha road used to be, right?!’

SBC20051127.PC

In (396) the particle *wu* follows the tensed verb *nyang-shang* ‘receive-PFV.EGO’.
(396)  *darung gar theni nyangshang wu*

*darung gari the-ni nyang-shang wu*

again car DEF-CFOC receive-PFV.EGO TAG

‘Again we got a car, right?’

SBC20051127.KW

The distribution of the particle is not limited to following a finite clause. In (397) the particle *wu* follows the adverbial *da* ‘now’.

(397)  *khwi gap le dakmi da wu*

*khwi gapo le dak-mi da wu*

dog PL.FOC sins cleanse now TAG

‘These dogs are cleansed of their sins, right?’

SBC20051127.PC

An elicited example shows that *wu* may also follow a noun in (398).

(398)  *gor wu*

*gor wu*

rock TAG

‘(the) rock, right.’

KLEeilictation20100607
16.2.4.2. Emphatic *sho*

The emphatic particle *sho* has a cognate in Dakpa *sho*, a form which Hyslop and Tshering (2010) analyze as potentially being an old copula, based on the tendency to occur sentence-finally without any obviously discernable change in the meaning. As I will show below, the syntactic distribution of *sho* in Kurtöp today is suggestive of its status as an old copula.

There are other possible cognates for Kurtöp *sho* in several Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, the Pattani copula root seems to be *fu*-. Sharma (1989b) glosses *fubi* as ‘to be’ and *fucl* as ‘to be’ and ‘to become’. In Tinani *fupi* is a copula with a general ‘capulative’ sense (Sharma 1989b: 154). In Lepcha *sho* marks present tense (Plaisier 2003).

Another small group of forms that could be related to Kurtöp *sho* is represented by the Tshangla copula, *chho*, which appears in *chhole*, the past time copula for attributive, locative, existential and possessive predications. Tutsa, a language nearby in Arunachal Pradesh reports that *take-choh* is the form used for ‘to be’ and ‘to have’.

---

131 In Hyslop and Tshering (2010) we analyzed *ço* as a sentence-final particle in Dakpa, which optionally occurred at the end of most of the elicited examples. For example, of the following examples, with and without the sentence-final particle, were acceptable to native speakers:

```
jop namnum-na hur-dir  ço  jop namnum-na hur-dir
bird sky-in  fly  SFP  bird sky-in  fly
‘Birds are flying in the sky’  ‘Birds are flying in the sky’
```

If the suffix *-dir* in Dakpa is shown to have its origin as a nominalization, as much of Tibeto-Burman main clause grammar (cf. Delancey to appear), then *ço* could very well have its origin as a copula.

132 Mainwaring (1876) calls this form ‘future’, rather than ‘present’.
though I could find no data to support this in Rekhung (1992). Perhaps related may also be the Tangut form $tfju'$, which meant ‘have’.

The most common position for Kurtöp sho is following a finite clause, either a copula, as in (399), or a verb as in (400).

(399)  *gari mutle ʼnamsam wenta sho zai*

*gari  mutle   ʼnamisami wenta sho zai*

car COP.EXIS.NEG.IND very COP.EQ.MIR EMPH EXCL

‘Without a car it’s very (difficult), wow.’

SBC20051127.KW

(400)  *Phuntsholinggo thrâmo ngâna zai ... yampa pitalana yangko matshuwalā jurna sho wai*

*Phuntsholing-go thrak-mo ngak-nani zai yangpa*

Phuntsholing-LOC arrive-CTM do-COND EXCL tomorrow

*pitalana  yang-ko ma-tshuk-wala jurna sho*

like stand-INF NEG-be.able-NMZ:PFV become-PFV.MIR EMPH wai

EXCL

‘I got to Phuntsholing and the next day I couldn’t even get up.’

SBC20051127.KW

The particle sho also has a distribution suggestive of its former status as a copula. For example, in (401), the most commonly said expression upon departure, sho follows a nominalized verb.
(401) gewa sho
gewa sho
go-NMZ EMPH
‘I’m gone! (i.e. goodbye, see you later)’

In (402) and (403) sho appears to be functioning as a copula.

(402) Zongsar Khentse sho oning sharchokpi tronga jonmi tshe ona cha zhuzi gewala ngat sho
Zongsar Khentse sho wo=ning sharchokpa=i trong=na
Dzongsar Khentse EMPH DEM:PROX=ABL easterner=GEN village=LOC
jon=mi tshe o-na cha zhu-si ge-wala ngat
go.HON=TAG DM PROX=LOC hand.HON do.HON-FN go-NMZ:PFV 1.ABS
sho EMPH
‘From this (time) onward it was Dzongsar Khentse who went to the easterners’ villages and going serving him was me.’
SBC20051127.KW

(403) khira sho Hâpa, ’nesang sho Naleng wentami
khira sho Hâ-pa ’nesang sho Naleng wenta=mi
3.REFL EMPH Hâ-DZ wife EMPH Naleng COP.EQ.MIR=TAG
‘It was him who was a Hâpa, and his wife is (from) Naleng.’
SBC20051127KW
16.2.4.3. Yes/no particle *ya

Like the tag particle *wu, the Kurtöp yes/no particle can follow any constituent, depending on what the speaker is questioning. In terms of diachronic development of *ya, there is so far no definitive source, but it worth noting the question particles *la in both Newar and Lahu. Given that *l > *y has happened in other contexts in Kurtöp, it is possible that *ya reconstructs to *la, making a diachronic relationship to the PTB form *la even more likely.

Examples of *ya following tensed verbs are shown in (404) and (405).

(404) *tshe yumya tapsirang jonpal *ya

*tshe yum-ya tap-si-rang jon-pala *ya

DM mother.HON-also return-NF-REFL go.HON-PFV QP

‘Did (Rimpoche’s) mother also come back?’

SBC20051127.KW

(405) yampa jepo jonmo bot khepo *tshe gatpo ganmo zon thrim khwening gaminang thungmo *tshe wit thu *enjiya mera *ya ngaksi

*yampa jepo jon-mo bot khepo *tshe gatpo ganmo zon thrim khwening gaminang thungmo *tshe wit thu *enjiya mera *ya ngaksi

yangpa jepo jon-mo bot khepo *tshe gatpo tomorrow king go.HON-CTM 3.PL.ABS FOC DM old.man

ganmo zon thrim khwe-ning gami=nang thung-mo old.woman two punishment water-CMT fire=LOC do-CTM

*tshe wit thu *enji-ya me-ra *ya ngaksi

DM 2.ABS DIST how-also NEG-come QP QUOT

‘’’When the king comes tomorrow will you not feel anything when they punish us two old man and woman in the fire and water?’

PS20061206.668.126.P
The question particle is shown following a copula in (406) and (407).

(406)  
\[ \text{\textit{lota druirang wen ya}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{lota}} \quad \text{\textit{drui=rang}} \quad \text{\textit{wen}} \quad \text{\textit{ya}} \]
\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{zodiac.year} & \text{snake=REFL} & \text{COP.EQ} & \text{QP} \\
\end{array} \]
\[ \text{‘Is (your) zodiac year also the snake?’} \]
\[ \text{SPhTsC20081022. 3298.291SPh} \]

(407)  
\[ \text{\textit{\textquotesingle mâmi mutle ya}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\textquotesingle mâmi}} \quad \text{\textit{mutle}} \quad \text{\textit{ya}} \]
\[ \text{soldier} \quad \text{COP.EQ.NEG.IND} \quad \text{QP} \]
\[ \text{‘Are there no soldiers?’} \]
\[ \text{SaT.SW20090917} \]

It is not necessary, however, that the question particle \textit{ya} follows a verbal element. There are several instances of \textit{ya} following nominal elements, such as the ablative-marked argument in (408), the verb \textit{zam} ‘bridge’ in (409), or the adjective suffixed with \textit{be} ‘only’, in (410).

(408)  
\[ \text{\textit{tshachuni ya}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{tsachu=ni}} \quad \text{\textit{ya}} \]
\[ \text{hotsprings=ABL} \quad \text{QP} \]
\[ \text{‘From the hotsprings?’} \]
\[ \text{SaT.SW20090917. 487.098SW} \]
(409)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{zam ya} \\
\text{zam} & \text{ya} \\
\text{bridge} & \text{QP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘The bridge?’
SaT.SW20090917.558.990.SW

(410)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{woktibe ya} \\
\text{wokti-be} & \text{ya} \\
\text{this.much-only} & \text{QP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Only this much?’
Rice.Harvest20081022.400.750KeD

16.2.4.4. Content question copula \textit{yo}

A special form, \textit{yo}, is used as question particle for \textit{wh}-questions. Unlike the yes/no question particle, which has a very broad syntactic distribution, the content question particle \textit{yo} is limited to clause-final position in content questions. In some cases it also serves the function of a copula, as in (411) and (412).

(411)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{'ê yo} \\
\text{'ê} & \text{yo} \\
\text{who} & \text{QP.COP} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Who is it?’
In clauses where the speaker is questioning an action, the content question particle will follow the tensed verb, as in (413) where yo ‘QP.WH’ follows getak ‘go-IPFV’.

(413) wo mi nguntila ‘wai’ au getak yo ngâmo
wo mi nguntila=gi ‘wai’ au ge-taki yo ngâk-mo
PROC person black=ERG hey where go-IPFV QP.COP do-CTM
‘When this black person says “hey, where are you going?”…’
SaT.SW20090917.2283.623SaT

(414) zhunggi tshe zhari... dazin ngako matshunani zha ngaksi bretak yo ngaksi
zhung-gi tshe zha=ri dazin ngak=ko ma-tshuk-nani zhâ
government-ERG DM what=HSY care do=LOC NEG-be.able-COND what
ngak-si blek-taki yo ngaksi
do-NF keep-IPFV QP QUOT
‘So the government what.. (to self) says if you aren’t able to care for (the dog) then why are you keeping it?’
SBC20051127.KW

16.2.4.5. Imperfective question particle ke

The question particle ke is used to indicate yes/no questions in imperfective aspect.
(415)  \textit{tshachuna geta ke}
\begin{align*}
tshachu= & na & \text{ge-ta} & \text{ke} \\
\text{hot.springs} = & \text{LOC} & \text{go-IPFV.MIR} & \text{QP.IPFW}
\end{align*}
‘Do (you all) go to the hot springs?’

16.2.4.6. Imperfective \textit{wh-} question marker \textit{ko}

The question particle \textit{ko} is used to mark content questions in imperfective aspect. \textit{ko} is diachronically a recent development from \textit{ke} ‘QP.IPFW’ + \textit{wo}. This form is heard most commonly in the question shown in (416), which I overheard throughout my stay in Kurtö.

(416)  \textit{zha ngakta ko}
\begin{align*}
z\text{ha} & \text{ ngak-ta} & \text{ko} \\
\text{what} & \text{ do-IPFV.MIR} & \text{QP.WH.IPFW}
\end{align*}
‘What are (you) doing?’

16.2.4.7. Dubitative \textit{shu}

The Kurtöp dubitative particle \textit{shu} can replace \textit{yo} but also has a wider distribution. There is no immediate obvious source for \textit{shu}, other than the possible forms mentioned above for \textit{sho} in §16.2.4.2. The function of \textit{shu}, roughly, is to add doubt to the sentence, either because the speaker doubts the interlocutor would have the answer to the question or because the speaker is not sure about the facts s/he is reporting.
In (417) *shu* immediately follows a verb in a content question phrase, filling the slot where *yo* would otherwise appear and in (418) *shu* immediately follow the content question word ’ê ‘who’.

(417)  

```
ngaita zhâ lapmal shu da
ngai-ta            zhâ lap-male shu da
1.ERG-EMPH          what say-FUT DBT now
```

‘Now what should I say?’

SPh.TsC20081022.311.002TsC

(418)  

```
’ê shu
’ê shu
who DBT
```

‘Who might it be?’

SaT.SW20090917.94.282SW

The particle *shu* can also follow whatever lexical element the speaker would like to emphasize as doubtful. In (419) the speaker is doubtful about an amount of time. He guesses two weeks, but follows the numeral *zon* ‘two’ with *shu*.

(419)  

```
hapte zon shu winimthe wen tshe
hapta zon shu winim-the wen tshe
week two DBT COP.DBT-DEF COP DM
```

‘It’s for around two weeks (I guess).’
16.2.4.8. Polite la

The polite particle la is etymologically derived from <lags>, though it was probably borrowed into Kurtöp from Dzongkha, as it used in other languages of Bhutan, and commonly throughout Tibetan. In Kurtöp the particle la is used to make a statement more polite. It is used commonly in story-telling and when speaking to people of a higher rank than the speaker. During the introduction and first conversation between two educated people, both speakers often use la throughout the conversation. But as time passes and a personal relationship grows between the two, the use of la diminishes.

Example (420) illustrates a very common use of la, at the introduction of a story. Throughout this story the speaker continues to la with great frequency, usually after a copula.

(420) lungpathena jepothe nawal wenta la
lungpa-the=na jepo-the nawal wenta la
lungpa-DEF=LOC king-DEF COP.EXIS COP.EQ.MIR POL
‘In a valley there was a village.’
PS20061206.22.625P

In the same story, the speaker also uses la following NPs, as in (421).
Example (422) was drawn from an interview between a native Kurtöp speaker and a native Dzongkha-speaking recorder. This example is from the beginning of the interview, where the speaker uses la in conjunction with zhu, the honorific form of the verb ‘say’.

```
(422)  cingkui gangna 'namlo ngaksi zhumal zhâya mutna da nei yitnaya mû la
  cingku=gi gang=na 'namlo ngaksi zhu=male zhâ=yang da
  small=GEN time=LOC year QUOT say.HON-FUT what=also now
  yitna=yang mû la
  memory=also COP.EXIS.NEG POL
  “(about) the time, year, when we were small”, there is nothing to say; (I)
  don’t remember anything.’
```

SPhTsC20081022.2.234SPh

16.2.4.9. Quotative ngaksi

The Kurtöp quotative is composed of the verb ngak ‘do’ plus the non-final suffix -si (cf. §16.2.4.9). The main verb ngak ‘do’ still retains its original meaning in some contexts but is also used as a verb ‘say’, perhaps in a way similar to the verb ‘like’ in English being also used as speech verb in ‘and she was like “I don’t want him to go”,

```
(421)  wo shakhwi tshuikhan gapi la
  wo shakhwi tshui-khan gapo=gi la
  PROX hunting.dog look.for-NMZ:IPFV PL.FOC=ERG POL
  ‘The ones looking for the hunting dog.’
```

PS20061206.
for example. In its full form, both syllables of ngaksi are audible, however in connected speech, the form may be reduced to ngak, ngak, or simply nga.

ngaksi is used obligatorily following direct speech. The direct speech itself may be any constituent, as small as a single word or as large as a finite clause. An example of ngaksi with a single word is (423), extracted from carrier phrase for the acoustic study examining stress, described in §7.2.1.

(423) ngai kwa ngaksi lapmale

ngai kwa ngaksi lap-male

1.ERG tooth QUOT say-FUT

‘I will say “tooth”’.

Example (424) provides an example of the quotative ngaksi with scope over two clauses net thramal mû ‘we were not arriving’ and tar gile ‘go and look (for them)’. The main clause in this example is shamatheni Rimpochegi gari the zonna ‘Rimpoche sends one car.’

(424) shamatheni Rimpochegi gari the tap zonna .. net thramal mû tar gile ngaksi

shamathe-ni Rimpoche-gi gari the tap zon-na net
awhile-ABL Rimpoche-ERG car one return send-PFV.MIR 1.PL.ABS
thrak-male mû ta-ro gi-le ngaksi

arrive-NMZ:IRR COP.EXIS.NEG see-INF go-IMP.POL QUOT

‘After awhile Rimpoche had sent one car back, saying “we were not coming back, go and look (for us)”’.

SBC20051127.KW
As well as quoting direct speech, the quotative *ngaksi* can be used to quote a direct sound. In (425), the speaker KW is relaying a traveling event in which the car had died and upon trying to start the car, it made a *bor bor* sound.

(425)  *net woni khako wotor ngak gemotako neci gari stop geshang .. bor bor bor bor bor*  
*ngaksi*

‘When we went up like this our car stopped; it went “bor bor bor bor bor”.’  
SBC20051127.KW

At times *ngaksi* acts more like a hearsay marker than a quotative. It often occurs during story-telling, as in (426), which was drawn from a story in which the speaker is not quoting the words of someone else *per se*. Here, the function seems to be to indicate that the speaker gained the knowledge by hearing of it from someone else.

(426)  *khwe yungkhan moja the thrakshang ngaksi wenta*  

‘A woman is said to have come to get water.’  
Lama200812311.
The Kurtöp tense/aspect system is marked primarily in main clause and finite clause grammar, but there are a few instances in which these differences are marked in subordinate grammar as well. In main clause finite grammar, a broad three-way distinction is made between perfective aspect, imperfective aspect, and future tense. Within perfective aspect there are five contrasts made, depending on evidential or evidential-like contrasts. Within imperfective aspect a two-way contrast is made with regard to mirativity, and an additional construction is available that denotes durative aspect. In nominalized subordinate clauses, a distinction is made between perfective aspect, imperfective aspect, and irrealis mood. The distinction between perfective and imperfective is also encoded in co-temporal subordinate clauses and a subset of adverbial clauses. There are are four constructions used to indicate future tense, which indicate different degrees of certainty or mode.

This chapter is organized according the tense/aspectual categories found in Kurtöp. Thus, there are four major sections. §17.1 addresses perfective aspect; §17.2 addresses imperfective aspects; §17.3 presents the forms used in encoding future tense; and §0 presents irrealis mode. Within §17.1 and §17.2 there are additional sub-sections for main-clause versus subordinate grammar.
17.1. Perfective aspect

17.1.1. Perfective aspect in main clause grammar

There are five separate morphemes which suffix directly to a verb stem in order to mark perfective aspect. In addition to perfective aspect, the forms encode a variety of evidential or evidential-like functions, briefly outlined in §17.1.1.1 - §17.1.1.6 and illustrated in greater detail in §20. In the examples immediately below I illustrate all five forms with a future time adverb. If the forms were marking past tense, the future time adverb would not be allowed. In each example, the interpretation is one in which completion of the event is the relevant aspect.

(427) yampa geshang
      yampa ge-shang
      tomorrow go-PFV.EGO
      ‘Tomorrow (I) will have gone’

(428) yampa gewala
      yampa ge-pala
      tomorrow go-PFV
      ‘Tomorrow (s/he) will have gone’

(429) yampa gena
      yampa ge-na
      tomorrow go-PFV.MIR
      ‘Tomorrow (s/he) will have gone’
(430) *yampa gewara*
  *yampa ge-para*
  tomorrow go-PFV.PRES
  ‘Tomorrow (s/he) will have gone’

(431) *yampa gimu*
  *yampa ge-mu*
  tomorrow go-PFV.IND
  ‘Tomorrow (s/he) will have gone’

The particular semantic and pragmatic differences between these forms is outlined immediately below.

**17.1.1.1. Egophoric -shang**

The egophoric perfective is used in perfective contexts when the speaker has direct, first-hand knowledge of an event. This perfective is often (though not exclusively) when reporting on first person experience to an interlocutor who did not share the experience, as in (432).

(432) *tsheni trak the razi traknang thek zonshang net*

  *tsheni trak the ra-si trak-nang thek zon-shang*
  then truck one come-NF truck-LOC insert send-PFV:EGO
  3.PL.ABS
  ‘Then the truck came and we were also put in the truck’
  SBC20051127.KW
17.1.1.2. Unmarked -pala

The perfective -pala is derived from the nominalizer -pa (§15.2.1) plus la, which is likely either an old nominalizer or copula. The observation that the -pa described here as being diachronically identical to the old nominalizer -pa described elsewhere in this dissertation is supported by the fact that -pa in -pala shares the same allomorphy described for -pa in §7.3.2.2; that is, it has allomorph -wala following velar-final stems, -r final stems and stems that were closed by -l historically, -sala following historically open stems and -pala elsewhere. As I describe in §21.2.1.2, the form -pala also occurs in adverbial clauses as -palthe (< -pa + la + the ‘one’). In main clause grammar, -pala often, though not necessarily, co-occurs with a copula, which I assume to be evidence that the form is a recent recruit into main clause grammar from subordinate morphology. While the origin of -pa as a nominalizer is straightforward, the source of la is less clear. Tshangla has a mirative copula la (Andvik to appear) and Tamang has the suffix -la with marks non-past aspet on verbs (Poudel 2006). Without -la, the Kurtöp verbal -pa forms perfective questions.

Kurtöp -pala can be contrasted with -shang in that it encodes non-personal experience. When the speaker uses -pala they are speaking on behalf of someone else; the speaker expects someone else to have first-hand knowledge of the event but does not have doubt if the event occurred and the source and expectation of knowledge are irrelevant.

The most common use of perfective -pala is with second person statements, as in (433) or third person referents, as in (434).
(433) *witya machtpala*

\[\text{wit-ya ma-chut-pala}\]

2.Abs-also neg-cut-PFV

‘You didn’t suffer, either’

SPh.TsC20081022.918.843.SPh

(434) *Nyakoya me theta druppala*

\[\text{Nya=ko=ya me the-ta drup-pala}\]

Nya=LOC=also house one-emph be.complete-PFV

‘At Nya also one house is completed.’

SaT.SW20090917.1467.067.SaT

The form *-pala* also marks perfective aspect in subordinate clauses (see §15.2.1 for more information on *-pala* as a nominalizer), as in (435):

(435) *barphela se tayo ngak lappala ngawal wenta*

\[\text{barphela se talo ngak lap-pala ngak-pala wenta}\]

frog lice see-IMP.FUT QUOT say-PFV do-PFV COP.EQ.MIR

‘(Tiger) said “I told frog to look for lice.”’

SPh.TsC20081022.737.864.SPh

17.1.1.3. Indirect *-mu*

The perfective suffix *-mu* encodes indirect evidence value; the speaker is reporting on indirect evidence that the event took place. The evidence could be a variety
of sources, though hearsay (oral source) is usually coded by means of the hearsay clitic 
§20.3.1.

In (436) the speaker is narrating a story about Drukpa Künle, the Divine Madman. In the story, he comes out of nowhere and enters into an old woman’s life. Villagers make offerings to him and he makes quite a fuss, locking the old woman in a room and turning her into rays. At the end of the story, the narrator says (436) because no one saw him leave. Instead, the villagers in the story noticed his absence, and his absence was indirect evidence that he had left.

(436)  \textit{tshe khit gimu}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{tshe} & \textit{khit} & \textit{gimu} \\
DM & 3.ABS & go-PFV.IND \\
\end{tabular}
‘Then he left’
KS20061212.144.966.KL

17.1.1.4. Mirative -\textit{na}

The fourth perfective suffix in Kurtöp encodes mirativity (‘linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker’ DeLancey 2001:371). The diachronic source of the perfective mirative is the copula \textit{nà} (itself a recent grammaticalization from *\textit{nak}; cf. §18.1.3.1 for a discussion of the etymology of \textit{nà}), which is now the mirative existential copula, synchronically.

An example of the mirative perfective is (437).
(437) tshe darung duimot mik thung ... tshe darung 'misutna ngaksi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tshe</th>
<th>darung</th>
<th>duimo=gi</th>
<th>mik</th>
<th>thung</th>
<th>tshe</th>
<th>darung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>demoness=ERG</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mi-sut-na ngaksi

NEG-kill-PFV.MIR QUOT

‘And again the Demoness saw ... and again (she) said (they) did not kill (them)!’
PS20061206.1201.854.P

17.1.1.5. Presumptive -para

The fifth perfective suffix in Kurtöp, -para, is derived from the nominalizer -pa + -ra. The origin of -pa is obviously the old TB nominalizer found elsewhere in Kurtöp (cf. §15.2.1) as it shares the same allomorphy: -wa following velar and old -l codas, -sa following diachronically open syllables, and -pa elsewhere (see §7.3.2.2 for more details). The source of -ra is less clear, though one possibility could be a grammaticalization of the verb ra ‘come’. This hypothesis receives support from Anderson’s (2006: 351) observation that the verb ‘come’ tends to grammaticalize into a ‘potential’ construction. On the other hand, the formative -ra may be related to the form -la which occurs on the presumptive form of both the existential and equational copula (§18.1.2.2 and 18.1.3.2.)

-para is used when the speaker is uncertain of the knowledge, as in (438):
(438)  \textit{daning sorwara}

\begin{align*}
\text{daning} & \quad \text{sor-wara} \\
\text{this.year} & \quad \text{change-PFV.PRES}
\end{align*}

‘This year it might have changed.’

SaT.SW20090917.1254.692.SaT

The form \textit{-para} may be negated, as in:

(439)  \textit{miksira mathungwara phetseita}

\begin{align*}
mik-si=ra & \quad ma-thung-wara \quad phetse=gi-ta \\
\text{eye-NF=EMPH} & \quad \text{NEG-do-PFV.PRES} \quad \text{half=ERG-EMPH}
\end{align*}

‘Half might not have even seen (His Majesty)’

SPh.TsC200801022.1487

17.1.1.6. \textit{-pana}

There are very limited examples of the suffix \textit{-pana}, which appears to be

perfective aspect but with doubt. How this differs from \textit{-para} remains to be seen. An

example is \textit{gewana}, which has been translated as ‘maybe gone now’.

17.2.  Imperfective aspect

In finite clauses Kurtöp makes use of three contrastive constructions: \textit{-ta, -taki}

and \textit{-si nà}. In addition, a contrast is made in co-temporal subordinate clauses: \textit{-tako}

suffixed to the co-temporal subordinator \textit{-mo} also encodes imperfective aspect. I discuss

these forms below in terms of aspect, beginning with the finite contrasts.
17.2.1. Main clauses

Of the constructions used for marking imperfective aspect in main clause grammar, two forms, -ta and -taki, are also intertwined in the the evidential system and the last construction -si nā is intertwined with the Clause-chaining construction. The current section describes the form and outlines the function of these constructions. More details on the function of -ta and -taki are in §20 and -si nā is also described in §21.2.5.5.4.

17.2.1.1. Mirative -ta

In a discussion of subordinate morphology in Kurtöp, Busch (2007: 47-48) mentions Proto-Tamangic *ta ‘become’ as evidence for a possible source for -ta, but misses the fact that tak still exists as the synchronic verb ‘become’ in Kurtöp, further support in favor of his analysis. Anderson (2006: 359) identifies the auxiliary verb ‘become’ as one of the most common and important auxiliaries throughout languages of the world. The fact that it does not occur preceding a copula in semi-nominalization is further evidence that the source of -ta is an erstwhile verb.

The imperfective -ta can be negated, as in:

(440) da ngai tshangto mebranta
da ngai tshangto me-bran-ta
now 1.ERG complete NEG-know-IPFV.MIR
‘Now I don’t know (it) completely’
PS20061206.1552.61.P
The mirative imperfective -ta is used for imperfective events which the speaker was not expecting, such as most observations about third person. Only aspect, and not time, is relevant to -ta so -ta can be used in past, present, or future time. (441) and (442) are examples of the imperfective -ta used with past time.

(441) chorten-the kora thung ngamo mithe ratari
   chorten-the  kora  thung  ngak-mo  mi-the
   chorten-DEF  circumambulation do  do-CTM  man-DEF
   ra-ta=ri
   come-IPFV.MIR=HSY
   ‘While (she was) circumambulating the chorten, a man came (it is said).’
   KS20061206.55.638- 57.321.KL

(442) shakhwi Ujen Guru Rimpoche gi terna bewal wentamila, jepoi shakhwigi sha
   'ngam sutta ngaksi
   shakhwi  Ujen  Guru  Rimpoche  terna  be-wala
   hunting.dog  Ujen  Guru  Rimpoche  treasure  hide-PFV
   wenta=mi  la  jepo=gi  shakhwi  sha  'ngam
   COP.EQ.MIR=TAG  POL  king=GEN  hunting.dog  meat  much
   sut-ta  ngaksi
   kill-IPFV.MIR  QUOT
   ‘The hunting dog was hidden as a treasure by Ujen Guru Rimpoche, (thinking) it was killing a lot of meat (animals) (they) said.’
   PS20061206.53.821.P

In (443) the imperfective is used with a present time interpretation:
(443) 'ac sharpo wit mik thungmo khepo tshe net pretta

aci sharop wit mik thung-mo khepo tshe net
elder.brother hunter 2.ABS eye do-CTM FOC DM I.PL.ABS
pret-ta

fear-IPFV.MIR

‘When (we) see you, brother hunters, we are frightened.’
KS20061206.55.638- 57.321.KL

(444) jepi 'napara phatta mephatta

jepi 'napa-ra phat-ta me-phat-ta
8TH.GEN earlier-EMPH be.okay-IPFV.MIR NEG-be.okay-IPFV.MIR

‘Even before (the) eighth (month) it will be okay.’
Rice.Harvest20081022.93.890.PS

17.2.1.2. Non-mirative -taki

The imperfective, non-mirative -taki, often shortened to -tak, has almost the same
distribution as the form -ta, except that -taki may also occur preceding a copula. -taki is
derived from a combination of -ta plus the nominalizer -ki, and this diachronic
relationship with the nominalizer allows it to co-occur with copulas in a semi-
nominalized structure.

(445) shows -taki occurring as a nominalized clause with a copula:
When you guys come we are happy.

However, -taki may also occur on its own as a fully finite clause, as in (446-448):

(445)  `tshe nin ramo net sem gatak wen`
       `tshe nin ra-mo net sem ga-taki wen`
       DM  2.PL  come-CTM  1.PL.ABS mind enjoy-IPFV COP.EQ
       ‘When you guys come we are happy.’
       PS20061206.1312.925.P

(446)  `da neri tshô wennanimi mi phetseni normang getakiri`
       `da neri tshô wen-nani=mi mi pheste-ni nor=nang`
       now  1.PL.INC.GEN here COP.EQ-COND=TAG person half-CFOC cow=ABL
       `ge-taki-ri`
       ge-IPFV-HSY
       ‘Now, if it’s our place half the people have to go to the cows (it is said).’
       SPh.TsC20081022.953.SPh

(447)  `yosto getak`
       `yos-to ge-taki`
       work-LOC go-IPFV
       ‘(They) go to work.’
       SPh.TsC20081022.953.SPh

(448)  `nin ’angi rastak yo`
       `nin ’a-ngi ras-taki yo`
       2.PL  where-ABL come-IPFV QP.COP
       ‘Where are you guys coming from?’
       PS20061206.168.115
Like its counterpart -ta, -taki can also be negated, as in:

(449) \textit{wici mini yot gor tancang kâ mezaktak wen ngaksi}  
\textit{wici mi-ni yo-to gor tancang kâ me-zak-taki}  
\textit{2.PL where-ABL down-LOC turn always blood NEG-drip-IPFV}  
‘Blood doesn’t always flow down from your eyes (she said)’.
PS20061206.1447.408.P

The form -taki has the same aspectual value as -ta but a different evidential interpretation. As I describe in greater detail in §20.1.2.2, -taki is used when the speaker has old or intrinsic knowledge about an event.

17.2.1.3. Durative -si nâ

The Durative -si nâ construction is a recent grammaticalization of durative aspect from the Clause-chaining Construction (described in §21), consisting of \textbf{VERB-NF COP}. Evidence that -si nâ has grammaticalized into an aspectual category from a chain is in semantic interpretation; while the clause-chains in Kurtôp involving final verbs other than nâ may be interpreted as two events (see §21.2.5 and immediately below for more details), \textit{VERB-si nâ} is only interpreted as one event with durative aspect.

In contrast to -ta or -taki, the use of -si nâ entails that the action went on for a considerable period of time, similar to the sense of of \textit{keep on V-ing} in English. An example is (450).
Like the imperfective suffixes described previously, the -si nâ durative is also interlaced with the evidential system. As I describe in §18.1.2 and especially in §20.2.1, there is a set of existential copulas which code a wide range of evidential and evidential-like categories. For example, the copula nâ also inherently encodes mirativity in (450) while nawala in (451) encodes old or intrinsic knowledge.

(450) *omenang net gapo thapsi nâ ngaksi yau 'napani lapna*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wo-me=nang</th>
<th>net</th>
<th>gapo</th>
<th>thap**-si</th>
<th>nâ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM:PROX-DN=LOC</td>
<td>1.PL.ABS</td>
<td>PL.FOC</td>
<td>quarrel (&gt;Dz)-NF</td>
<td>COP.EXIS.MIR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ngaksi yau 'napa=ni lap-na

QUOT DEM:UP earlier=ABL tell-PFV.MIR

‘(Somebody) up there had already said we were fighting down there.’

SBC20051127.KW

Also like the previously described imperfective suffixes, -si nâ can be used in past, present, or future time. (451) provides an example of -si nâ encoding durative aspect in past time while (452) is an example of -si nâ in present time.

(451) *ngat calai barto wotor deksi nawal*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngat</th>
<th>cala=gi</th>
<th>bar=to</th>
<th>wotor</th>
<th>dek-si</th>
<th>nawala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.ABS</td>
<td>luggage=GEN</td>
<td>middle=LOC</td>
<td>like.this</td>
<td>insert-NF</td>
<td>COP.EXIS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I was kept in the middle of the luggage like this.’

SBC20051127.KW
(452)  *khit chorten kora thungzi nā*

*khit  chorten  kora  thung-si  nā*

3.ABS  chorten  circumambulation  do-NF  COP.EXIS.MIR

‘He is (continuing to) circumambulate the chorten.’

Elicitied data.KL

As I mentioned previously, to negate the *-si nā* construction, a negative existential copula must be used in place of the affirmative copula. (453) provides an example of durative aspect with negative polarity.

(453)  *'ipa zuzi mû*

*'ipa  zu-si  mû*

cooked.rice  eat-NF  COP.EXIS.NEG

‘(S/he) is not eating food (continuously).’

Elicitied data.KL

Recall that -*si nā* has grammaticalized into durative aspect from a derivation of the Clause-chaining construction. The Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction has not completely grammaticalized with the negative copula, however. Thus, (453) can also mean ‘Having been eating, the food is no more.’

17.2.2. Subordinate clauses

In cotemporal subordinate clauses, characterized by the suffix *-mo*, a contrast between perfective and imperfective clauses is possible. As I describe in greater detail in §21.2.4, the subordinator *-mo* encodes cotemporal subordinate clauses while
suffixing -tako to -mo changes the aspect to imperfective. The difference between -mo and -motako can be roughly translated into the difference between the adverbs ‘when’ and ‘while’ in English. (454) provides an example of perfective aspect in cotemporal subordination, which contrasts with (455), evidencing imperfective aspect.

(454)  *udina Bidung thrâmo tshe nei ’lupshang*

wudi=na  Bidung  thrak-mo  tshe  nei  ’lup-shang
DIST=LOC  Bidung  arrive-CTM  DM  1.PL.ERG  catch-PFV.EGO
‘When (they) arrived over there (in) Bidung we caught (up with them).’
SPB20051127.KW

(455)  *tshe thu Trongsa thrâmotak Rimpoche na zhu-shang yum wotor geshang ngaksi zhushang*

tshe thu  Trongsa  thrâ-mo-tako  Rimpoche=na  zhu-shang
DM  DIST  Trongsa  arrive-CTM-IPFV  Rimpoche=LOC  tell.HON-PFV.EGO
yum  wotor  ge-shang  ngaksi  zhu-shang
mother.HON  like.this  go-PFV.EGO  QUOT  tell.HON-PFV.EGO
‘While we arriving over there (in) Trongsa, we told Rimpoche, we told (him) that the mother had gone like this.’
SPB20051127.KW

17.3. Future tense

As the previous sections demonstrate, most of the finite verbal morphology is associated with aspectual, rather than tense differences. Nonetheless, Kurtöp also marks future tense. As with aspectual values, there are different evidential-like values in future
tense as well. Below I describe the suffix -male, used to encode future tense with speaker certainty, and unmarked verbs which encode future tense with speaker uncertainty.

17.3.1. -male

The suffix -male, often shortened to -mal, still regularly occurs as a nominalizer in subordinate clauses (cf. §15.2.4) and in main clauses -male still often co-occurs with a following copula.

An example of -male preceding a copula is:

(456) \textit{da semal} wenta ngak ai khepo

\begin{verbatim}
dat se-male wenta ngak 'ai khepo
\end{verbatim}

\begin{center}
\text{now die-NMZ:IRR COP.EQ.MIR QUOT grandmother FOC}
\end{center}

‘Now (he) knew the old woman was going to die.’

KS20061206.130.335.KL

To negate -male a negative copula must be used, as in:

(457) \textit{tshe 'ai jongmal mutle}

\begin{verbatim}
stshe 'ai jong-male mutle
\end{verbatim}

\begin{center}
\text{DM grandmother emerge-FUT COP.EXIS.NEG.IND}
\end{center}

‘Then the old woman didn’t come out.’

KS20061206.146.829.KL
It is not required for -male to occur preceding a copula; it can occur as the end of a finite clause, as in (458), however the only way to negate -male is to follow it with a negative copula.

(458) yung ramal ngaksi
    yung ra-male ngaksi
    get come-FUT QUOT
    ‘(They) will come get (her), (they) said.’
    PS20061206.555.255.P

17.3.2. Bare verb stem

A bare verb can be contrasted with -male in terms of epistemic modality, or speaker certainty. As with other finite forms, such as -pala and -male, bare verbs may be finite or subordinate. When finite, the bare verb yields future tense with uncertain epistemic modality.

(459) khî ĝê
    khî gê-o
    3.ERG go-FUT.DBT
    ‘He will go’(I think)’
    Elicited data.KL
17.3.3. Hortatitve -ki

The hortative -ki affix is used to suggest immediate future, which can also be interpreted as suggestion or slight command. In (460) I show the hortative used with first person.

(460) *mapa ringku ni barma... barma the shiki la*
mapa ringku ni barma barma the shi-ki la
originally tall CMT medium medium one narrate-HORT POL
‘(From) a long and medium one, I will narrate (a) medium (one).’
SPh.TsC20081022.

Examples with third person are in (461) and (462).

(461) *wangda-karmo lemci ke*
wangda-karmo lem-ci ke
wangda-karmo be.tasty-HORT QP
‘Is wangda-karmo (a variety of rice) is tastier?’
Rice.Harvest20081022.438.321.KD

(462) *khiri po gap pizi theki mebranta*
khiri po gapo pi-si the-ki me-bran-ta
3.REFL.GEN fur PL.FOC pull-NF insert-HORT NEG-know-IPFV.MIR
‘He didn’t know his fur was going to be inserted by pulling.’
SPh.TsC20081022.992.960.TsC
17.3.4. Uncertain *-kina*

The morpheme *-kina* encodes future but compared to *-ki*, there seems to be more hesitancy. There are several examples below.

(463)  'napanira wakso *goikina* ngak laptaki ngai

'napa=ni=ra  wakso   go-*kina*  ngak  lap-taki  ngai
earlier=ABL=EMPH  this.much  need-FUT  QUOT  tell-IPFV  1.ERG

‘I tell them how much I want from the beginning.’
SBC20051127.KW

(464)  *ngaita mekhancina*

ngai-ta  me-khan-*kina*
1.ERG  NEG-know-FUT

‘I think I don’t know.’
SPh.TsC20081022.1159.539.TsC

(465)  *tsam chapsang ge *goikina* da ngat*

tsama  chapsang  ge  go-*kina*  da  ngat
little  bathroom  go  need-FUT  now  1.ABS

‘Now a have to go to the bathroom for a while.’
SaT.SW20090917.3164.105.SW

The above examples were with first person, but there are several examples in third person in the data as well. These are shown immediately below.
(466)  
\[ \text{bot khwe ning gaminang thungkina ngaksi} \]
\[ \text{bot khwe ning gami-nang thung-kina ngaksi} \]
3.PL.ABS water and fire-LOC do-FUT QUOT
‘(She said) that they will be thrown into the water and fire.’
PS20061206.676.578.P

(467)  
\[ \text{mangi duimo mik thungkina ngaksi} \]
\[ ma-ngi duimo mik thung-kina ngaksi \]
down=ABL demoness eye do-FUT QUOT
‘(She said) that the demoness will see from down there.’
PS20061206.888.969.P

(468)  
\[ \text{cikja the lhakina tshe} \]
\[ cikja the lha-kina tshe \]
hundred one exceed-FUT DM
‘It would be more than one hundred.
SaT.SW20090917.1076.547.SaT

17.4. Irrealis

While irrealis is generally not considered a tense or aspectual category, in subordinate grammar it is coded in a way similar to aspect. Several examples follow.
(469) \( \text{tshe wo Hâpaya 'namisami the lapmal zhaya mutna} \)
\( \text{tshe w} \)o Ha-pa-ya 'namisami the lap-male
\( \text{DM DEM:PROX Há-dz-also very one tell-NMZ:IRR} \)
\( \text{mutna} \)
\( \text{COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR} \)
‘So this Hapa also didn’t have anything at all to say.’
SBC20051127.KW

(470) \( \text{'ipa net zonli kermal otshang, bek cingkul thenang} \)
\( \text{'ipa net zon=li ker-male ot-shang bek} \)
\( \text{food 1.PL two=ERG carry-NMZ:IRR bring-PFV.EGO bag} \)
\( \text{cingku-la the-nang} \)
\( \text{small-IDZ one=LOC} \)
‘We brought food carried in a small bag.’
SBC20051127.KW

(471) \( \text{basgi 'la langmal thebe darna tshe} \)
\( \text{bas=gi 'la lang-male the-be dar-na tshe} \)
\( \text{bus=GEN rent be.enough-NMZ:IRR one-only remain-PFV.MIR DM} \)
‘There was just enough money for the bus fare.’
SBC20051127.KW

(472) \( \text{thrâmâl mutle} \)
\( \text{thrak-male mutle} \)
\( \text{arrive-NMZ:IRR COP.EXIS.NEG.IND} \)
‘We would never arrive’
SBC20051127.KW
(473) *tshe ngat cala 'ngam 'otmal námotako ngai mau sang thungmal sho*

tshe ngat cala 'ngam 'ot-male ná-mo-tako

DM 1.ABS stuff many bring-NMZ:IRR COP.EXIS.MIR-CTM-IPFV

ngai mau sang thung-**male** sho

1.ERG DEM:DN incense do-FUT EMPH

‘If I have many things to bring, then I would light up some incense down there.’

SBC20051127.KW
CHAPTER XVIII
COPULAS AND NON-VERBAL PREDICATION

Copulas make up an integral part of the Kurtöp verbal system, as much of main clause grammar is composed of formally nominalized clauses completed with a final copula. There is sufficient evidence in the language to show that much of the synchronic main clause grammar has recently, and is still currently, developing via nominalization strategies. Indeed, in this way, Kurtöp is a prime example of a language which has developed, and continues to develop, main clause grammar via nominalizations, exemplifying DeLancey's (in press) conclusions about nominalizations in Tibeto-Burman.

The role of copulas in nominalization and main clause grammar is discussed in §15 while this chapter present the structural and functional properties of the copulas. There are three basic forms which I consider to be copulas. Structurally, copulas occur at the end of clause, in place of a verb. Functionally, copulas predicate the functions of proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence, and possession (cf. Payne (1997)). This chapter begins with a structural organization; §18.1 presents a category of forms which are formally a sub-category of verbs and therefore referred to here as ‘verbal copulas’; §18.2 describes ‘copular particles’, or forms that fulfill the same predicative function as the copular verbs but cannot be considered a subclass of verbs in similar to the verbal copulas. The third section, §18.3, summarizes the functional properties of the
copulas, showing how the various forms divide the functional copular space. Included in this last section is a brief discussion about the role of copulas in main clause grammar.

18.1. Verbal copulas

Kurtöp has four basic forms which function as copulas and yet can also be considered a subclass of verb, structurally. These forms are nak~nâ ‘COP.EXIS’, mut~ mù ‘COP.EXIS.NEG’, wen ‘COP.EQ’, and min ‘COP.EQ.NEG’. In §18.1 I offer the structural definition of a verbal copula, in §18.1.2 I present the existential copulas nak~nâ ‘COP.EXIS’ and mut~ mù ‘COP.EXIS.NEG’, and in §18.1.3 I present the equational copulas wen ‘COP.EQ’, and min ‘COP.EQ.NEG’.

18.1.1. Structural definition

I use the term ‘verbal copula’ to designate a subclass of verb-like elements, which are neither fully verbal nor nominal. Unlike verbs, which may take the negative prefix and a host of verbal suffixes (cf. §16 for a full structural analysis of Kurtöp verbs and the VP), copulas take only a limited set of verbal affixes. They cannot be negated but instead there are separate forms for affirmative and negative values. Copulas, however, can receive a subset of nominalizing suffixes and the full set of verbal particles. More specifically, copulas may be nominalized with -khan or -sa and suffixed with -male. Other forms that appear ‘attached’ to a copula do not share the same synchronic function as when they are are affixed to lexical and auxiliary verbs. The nature of these forms will become clearer as I proceed below.
Before getting into the functional details of the copulas, I will briefly illustrate the ability of the copulas to receive a subset of verbal morphology. In (474) the existential copula *nā* is shown to be suffixed with the nominalizer -*khan*. The nominalized existential copula then is translated roughly into English ‘those who have’. In another context, *na-khan* ‘COP.EXIS-NMZ’ can be translated as ‘one who is’, with the predicate referring to a temporary property (cf. §18.1.2 below).

(474) *phusana* 'aring *nakhanla* gapo

`phu-sa=na                         'aring  nak-khan-la       gapo`

UP-NMZ:LOC=LOC   terrace  COP.EXIS-NMZ:IPFV-IDZ  PL.FOC

‘those who have terraces up there’

Rice.Harvest20081022.678.597PS

The place nominalizer -*sa* can also be suffixed to a copula, as in (475). The resulting translation is roughly equivalent to ‘place where X is’. Note in this case the copula clearly retains its coda -*k*, which is otherwise lost word-finally.

(475) *wo dui naksana* razi

`wo             dui           nak-sa=na           ra-si`

PROX   demon  COP.EXIS-NMZ:PL=LOC  come-NF

‘(he) came to where the demon was…’

SaT.SW20081022.1938.709SaT

The use of -*male* with a copula yields a slightly idiosyncratic result. While -*male* encodes future tense in main clauses (cf. §17.3.1) with lexical and auxiliary verbs, with
copulas it adds a sort of emphasis, or assertion. In (476) *wenmale*, clearly composed of the equational copula *wen* plus the future tense marker -*male*, is understood as ‘indeed’, or perhaps ‘it is true that’ in English.

(476)  
\[wenmal\ prevchaka\ razi\ ngatni\]
\[wenmale\ prevchaka\ rasi\ ngatni\]
indeed\ very.scared\ come-NF\ 1.ABS-CFOC

‘I was quite scared.’
SaTSW20090917.1003.460SW

18.1.2. Existential

Kurtöp has a set of existential copulas whose primary function is to mark attribution, location, existence, and possession. Though much of the form of several of the existential copulas appears to be similar to verbal forms (e.g. -*wala* in *nawala*, which is a perfective marker, as I describe in §16.2.2.9 and §17.1.1.2), it is not always possible to understand the meaning of the copula as a composite of the copula plus verbal morphology. For example, take the form *nawala*, which is the basic, non-mirative, certain, unmarked, affirmative existential copula. -*wala* by itself on a lexical or auxiliary verb encodes perfective aspect, a meaning which is clearly not present in the case of the copula.

There are separate forms for affirmative and negative existential copulas. As I describe in §16.1.5, the affirmative form *nak~nâ* may be related the PTB form *(g)na(s)* (Matisoff 2003a: 603) and the negative form *mü – mut* is a likely combination of *ma-*
\textit{yod}, with \textit{yod} being cognate with Tibetan \textit{yod}\textsuperscript{133}. In the discussion below, it will become obvious that each copular base has several variations, depending on a wide variety of evidential or evidential-like factors, leading to the question of a basic form. In a structural sense, the ‘basic’ affirmative existential copulas is \textit{nâ} and the basic negative existential copula is \textit{mû}; that is, structurally the other existential copulas can be seen as composed of the basic root (\textit{nâ} or \textit{mû}) plus a suffix. However, for reasons speculated below, the ‘basic’ existential affirmative copula is actually semantically or pragmatically marked. Therefore, I begin my discussion of the affirmative existential copula with the morphologically marked but semantically unmarked \textit{nawala ‘COP.EXIS’}.

18.1.2.1. Affirmative

The affirmative existential copula is used to ascribe a description, as in (477). The construction is one of existence; as evidenced by the literal translation below. However, the function is one of attribution, where the speaker attributes a great amount of holiness to a particular place.

(477) \textit{bjinlap chetoka nawala}

\textit{bjinlap chetoka ngak nawala}

holiness very.big QUOT COP.EXIS

‘The (place) is very holy (lit. the holiness is very big)’

SaT.SW20090917.1211.409SaT

\textsuperscript{133} Jaschke (1954: 51-52) describes Written Tibetan <yod-pa> as a verb meaning ‘to be’, or more specifically ‘to exist’, ‘to be present’ or ‘to be found at a place’.
The existential copula also fulfills the function of predicating location. In (478) the copula *nawala* locates *yum* ‘mother.HON’ in her car.

(478)  
\begin{align*}
\text{*yum khira nawala*} \\
\text{yum} & \quad \text{khira} & \quad \text{nawala} \\
\text{mother.HON} & \quad \text{3.REFL} & \quad \text{COP.EXIS} \\
\text{‘The mother was in hers’} \\
\text{SBC20051127.KW}
\end{align*}

The existential copula is also used to predicate existence of tangible and intangible entities. For example, in (479) the existential copula is used to assert the existence of a palace while in (480) the copula *nawala* predicates the existence of a problem.

(479)  
\begin{align*}
\text{*zhabgi zimcung ngak nawala*} \\
\text{zhap=gi} & \quad \text{zimcung} & \quad \text{ngak} & \quad \text{nawala} \\
\text{king=GEN} & \quad \text{palace} & \quad \text{QUOT} & \quad \text{COP.EXIS} \\
\text{‘There is a (so-called) king’s palace’} \\
\text{SPh.TsC20081022.3182.357SPh}
\end{align*}

(480)  
\begin{align*}
\text{*tshe osi kanyel nawala la*} \\
\text{tshe} & \quad \text{wosi} & \quad \text{kanyel} & \quad \text{nawala} & \quad \text{la} \\
\text{DM} & \quad \text{DEM:PROX} & \quad \text{problem} & \quad \text{COP.EXIS} & \quad \text{pol} \\
\text{‘So there was this problem’} \\
\text{SPh.TsC20081022.2024.776SPh}
\end{align*}
The existential copula is also used to assert possession, of an object (a car) in (481) and of a human in (482).

(481) \textit{netna gari sum nawala}  
\textit{net=na \quad gari \quad sum \quad nawala}  
\text{1.PL.ABS=LOC \quad car \quad three \quad COP.EXIS}  
‘We have three crs’  
SBC20051127.KW

(482) \textit{neci ’amthe nawal la yau}  
\textit{neci \quad ’ama-the \quad nawala \quad la \quad yau}  
\text{1.PL.GEN \quad mother-DEF \quad COP.EXIS \quad POL \quad UP}  
‘We have a woman up there.’  
SaT.SW20090917.3126.817SaT

\textbf{18.1.2.1.1.} Semantically/pragmatically marked derivations of the affirmative existential copula

Each verbal copular root has several forms -- clearly derived from a combination of the root plus synchronic verbal suffixes or particles -- which encodes an evidential, mirative, or related value.

The mirative form of the affirmative existential copula is \textit{nà}. In (483) the speaker is conversing with a friend about people in Bhutan and shared experiences there. He mentions the husband of a person from Naleng, a Kurtöp-speaking village, using the mirative form of the copula to assert the person belongs to a category of people from the
Hā region in western Bhutan (Dzongkha-speaking). The use of the mirative here signals that the it was unexpected for the husband to be from Hā. In this particular context, the Hā identity was unexpected because the person actually spoke Kurtöp; people from Hā usually do not speak Kurtöp.

(483) *Hapathe nā*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hapa-the</th>
<th>nā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hapa- DEF</td>
<td>COP.EXIS.MIR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(He) was a Hapa (from Hā)’

SBC20051127.KW

The fact that semantically marked form nā is morphologically unmarked compared to the semantically unmarked nawala is suprising. That is, we generally expect isomorphism between form and function -- that the semantically unmarked form would be morphologically unmarked, and that the semantically marked form would be morphologically marked. The converse of this is true, however, for nawala and nā; this is the result of recent grammaticalization. The mirative affirmative existential nā is a recent grammaticalization of the former verb *nak ‘to be at’; as the form grammaticalized into a copula in Kurtöp, the mirative semantics associated with its use grammaticalized as well. Although the form nawala is diachronically three syllables (root *nak plus nominalizer/perfective -pala), in natural speech the form is usually uttered as two syllables (*nāla*) or even shortened to one (*nāl*).
When the speaker is doubtful about the existence of an entity, there are two forms s/he may chose from. The form *nawara* is used when the speaker is speculating, or presuming that something would be the case. An example is (484), drawn from the story of Kala Wangpo. In this part of the story the king had lost its hunting dog and had sent his servants to look for the dog throughout the kingdom. The servants come across a home and expect that they will find the dog there. The are not *certain* but *assume* that they will find the dog there.

(484) *tshe womenang shakhwi nawara ngaksi tshui gewal wentami*

*tshe*  
*wome=nang*  
*shakhwi*  
*nawara*  
*ngaksi*  
*tshui*  
*ge-pala*  
*wenta=mi*  

‘Saying “the hunting dog must be down there”, (they) went to look for (it).’

PS20061212.P

The copula *nawara* ‘COP.EXIS.PRES’ can be contrasted with the copula *naki* in that the speaker has less certainty when using *naki* ‘COP.EXIS.DBT’. Consider (485).

(485) *chortenthe naki la*

*chorten-the*  
*naki*  
*la*  

‘There may be a chorten’

KZ200805151
The example above comes from a narration about the Kurtöp-speaking area. The speaker in this instance thinks there could be a chorten in a certain area in the region, but is not sure. Perhaps he had seen one once, but later heard it was demolished and has not been able to verify himself. When using naki ‘COP.EXIS.DBT’, the speaker has some sense that the entity in question may not be existence at the time of the utterance.

18.1.2.2. Negative

The negative existential mut ~ mû is the negative version of nawala, predicating the semantically/pragmatically unmarked negative occurrences of description, location, existence, and possession. Like the affirmative, there are several versions of the negative existential copula, depending on evidential or evidential-like values. First, I will illustrate the copular functions of the negative existential, and then in 18.1.2.2.1 I will present the marked forms of the negative, existential copulas. Note that in some of the examples immediately below a marked form of the copula is used; this was so I could use examples from the textual database, rather than elicited data.

In (486) the negative existential copula is used to predicate description.

(486)  
yam lektokara mutna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yam</th>
<th>lektok=ra</th>
<th>mutna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>path</td>
<td>good=EMPH</td>
<td>COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The path wasn’t good at all’

SaTSW20090919.SaT
Negative location is also indicated with the negative existential copula, as in (487) and (488).

(487) bö Khenpajongo trong mú

bö Khenpajon=go trong mú

holy.place Khenpajon=LOC village COP.EXIS.NEG

‘There is no village in the holy place Khenpajon’
SaTSW20090919.SW

(488) yum Drowa Zangmo muci kapni khepo

yum Drowa Zangmo mut=gi kapni khepo

mother.HON Drowa Zangmo COP.EXIS.NEG=GEN time FOC

‘the time when Mother Drowa Zangmo was not there’
PS20061206P

Examples of the negative existential mú predicating the lack of existence of an human entity is in while in (489).

(489) 'apayang tapti nikhan mú

'apa=yang tapti ni-khan mú

father=also together stay-NMZ.IPFV COP.EXIS.NEG

‘There was no one staying (up there) with the father’
SBC20051127KW

In (492) and (491) possession is illustrated. In the first example, the possessor is not mentioned in the clause, but is understood to be a third person plural referent, who the
speakers had been discussing. In the second example, however, the possessor (wo Hapaya) is overt, together with the object of possession (the nominalized clause 'namisamithe lapmal). Here, the mirative form of the negative existential copula is used; this form and the other semantic/pragmatic derivations are discussed in §18.1.2.2.1.

(490) chuti mú

chuti mú
vacation COP.EXIS.NEG
‘(They) had no vacation.’
SBC20051127KW

(491) tshe wo Hapaya 'namisamithe lapmal zhaya mutna

tshe wo Ha-pa=ya 'namisam-the lap-male
DM DEM:ROX Ha-DZ =also very-DEF tell-NMZ.IRR
zhā=ya mutna
what=also COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR
‘So even this Hapa (person from Ha) had nothing at all to say’
SBC20051127KW

18.1.2.2.1. Semantically/pragmatically marked derivations of the negative existential copula

In addition to unmarked mut ~ mú, Kurtöp has three derivations of the negative existential copula. The form mutna is used for mirative value; mutle is used for indirect evidence, or inference, and the form mutla is used when the speaker is not sure. These are each illustrated below.
The example in (492) exemplifies the mirative negative existential copula:

(492)  *Monggarni tsheni tshe gari mutnami tshe khako da*

*Monggar=ni  tsheni  tshe  gari  mutna=mi  tshe*
*Monggar=ABL  then  DM  car  COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR=TAG  DM*

*khako  da*
*DIR:UP  now*

‘Then from Monggar there was no vehicle (going) up’

SBC20051127KW

Use of the negative inferential existential is illustrated in (493) and (494). In the first example the speaker is reporting something said to a third person (*khiti*). The woman who said the clause which is indicated by the quotative (*khiti phoja mutle*) had indirect evidence of the woman’s (*khiti*) lack of a husband. It was not her own husband who was non-existent, and because it was someone else’s (non-existent) husband she was referring to, she had to use the inferential form of the negative copula.

(493)  *khiti phoja mutle ngak*

*khiti  phoja  mutle  ngak*
*3.ABS  male  COP.EXIS.NEG.INF  QUOT*

‘(Shei) says “shei doesn’t have a husband”

SaT.SW20090917

The second example illustrates the inferential negative existential copula, again when the speaker has indirect evidence for the statement. The speaker here is not
intrinsically tied to the area he and the others are discussing. He cannot speak with old, ingrained knowledge about the lack of villages there; thus he uses the inferential form of the copula.

(494) **trong mutle la**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Mutle</th>
<th>La</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Cop.Exis.Neg.Inf</td>
<td>Pol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There is no village (there)’

SaT.SW20090917

If the speaker is not certain about the lack of existence, possession, description, or location of something, the form *mutla* will be used. In (495) the speaker is not certain about his assertion regarding the lack of tragopans, and thus uses the form of the copula *mutla*.

(495) **bapja gapoya mutla**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bapja</th>
<th>Gapo=ya</th>
<th>Mutla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tragopan</td>
<td>Pl.Foc=also</td>
<td>Cop.Exis.Neg.Dbt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘There aren’t tragopans and all (I don’t think…)

SaT.SW20090917SaT

18.1.3. Equational

Payne (1997:114) defines proper inclusion as being when ‘a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified’ and equative clauses as asserting ‘that a
particular entity … is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal’. Kurtöp has a set of equational copulas which are used to express these functions. *wen* is the root for the positive equational copulas and *min* is the root for the negative set. I discuss the affirmative equational copula and its related forms in §18.1.3.1 and the negative *min* and its related forms in §18.1.3.2

**18.1.3.1.** Affirmative

The copula *wen* is shown illustrating the equative function in (496) and (497). The first example has two NPs which are linked with the copula *wen* (occurring in a marked position, between the NPs, rather than at the end of the clause) and the second has only one overt NP, with the other being recoverable from discourse.

(496)  
\[ \text{Ugen Tenzin } \textit{wen } \textit{khici ming} \]
\[ Ugen \quad \textit{Tenzin} \quad \textit{wen} \quad \textit{khici} \quad \textit{ming} \]
\[ Ugen \quad \textit{Tenzin} \quad \text{COP.EQ} \quad 3.\text{GEN} \quad \textit{name} \]

‘Ugen Tenzin is his name.’
SBC20051127.KW

(497)  
\[ \text{’awa } \textit{wen } \textit{ngaksi} \]
\[ \text{’awa } \quad \textit{wen} \quad \textit{ngaksi} \]
\[ \textit{elder.sister} \quad \text{COP.EQ} \quad \text{QUOT} \]

‘She is (his) elder sister’
SBC20051127.KW

Examples of *wen* carrying out the functions of proper inclusion are in (498) and (499). In (498) the speaker is placing herself in the category of those from the village of
Naleng. Similarly, in (499), the speaker is placing himself in the category of guests. Note that this last example shows the mirative form of the copula; this and others will be discussed in greater detail in §18.1.3.1.1.

(498)  *Chusani wen*  
*Chusa=ni wen*  
*Chusa=ABL COP.EQ.MIR*  
‘(I) am from Naleng’  
SBC20051127.KW

(499)  *dronpo wenta wu tsheni ngat*  
*dronpo wenta wu tsheni ngat*  
*guest COP.EQ.MIR TAG then 1.ABS*  
‘Then I was a guest, right!’  
SBC20051127.KW

18.1.3.1.1. Semantically/pragmatically marked derivations of the affirmative equational copula

In order to encode the functions of proper inclusion and equation together with mirativity or epistemic modality, Kurtöp has a set of equational copulas to draw from. I discuss the mirative form *wenta*, the dubitative *winim*, and the presumptive *wenpara* immediately below.

The mirative form of the affirmative equational copula *wenta* is used when the speaker does not expect something to be the case. In (500), for example, the speaker is
discussing people he knows in Bhutan with another Bhutanese friend living in the U.S. In the discourse immediately preceding this example he mentions a person from Ha, a village in the far western corner of Bhutan. Next, he discusses the person’s wife, who happens to be from Naleng, a village in the Kurtöp-speaking region. The fact that a person from Ha would have a wife who is from Kurtö is surprising; thus, the mirative form of the copula is used here.

(500)  
Nalengni wenta
Naleng=ni wenta
Naleng=ABL COP.EQ.MIR
‘(She) is from Naleng.’
SBC20051127.KW

A separate form of the copula is reserved for contexts in which the speaker is unsure. For example, in (501), the speaker is stating that he does not know if a particular place is Pasalung or Yonten Kunjung. Since he is not sure, he uses the dubitative form of the copula wenim.

(501)  
Pasalung wenim Yonten Kunjung wenim mabran
Pasalung wenim Yonten Kunjung wenim ma-bran
Pasalung COP.EQ.DBT Yonten Kunjung COP.EQ.DBT NEG-know
‘(I) don’t know whether it is Pasalung or Yonten Kunjung.’
SaT.SW20090919SW
There is also an affirmative equational copula form for instances in which the speaker is presuming something to be the case. In the portion of the text from which (502) is drawn, two speakers are discussing the whereabouts of a Rinpoche and his family. Speaker KW asks whether a particular person is looking after the Rinpoche’s family. Speaker PC responds with (502); he assumes that this is the case, but cannot speak with authority.

(502)  \textit{wenpara}

\begin{verbatim}
wenpara
COP.EQ.PRES
‘It must be’
SBC20051127.PC
\end{verbatim}

The difference between \textit{wenim} and \textit{wenpara} is similar to the difference between \textit{naki} and \textit{nawara}, described in §18.1.2.1.1. That is, in the case of \textit{wenim} and \textit{naki}, the speaker is simply uncertain about the truth value of the assertion. However, in the case of \textit{wenpara} and \textit{nawara}, the speaker, though still uncertain, has some external reason to assume or presume that the assertion is true.

18.1.3.2. Negative

Kurtöp also has a unique root to denote negative equational copular contexts. Like the affirmative \textit{wen}, the negative equational copula \textit{min} is used to denote (negative) proper inclusion and equative functions. I illustrate the use of the negative equational copula to fulfill these two functions immediately below, followed by a discussion of the
derived forms which encode these functions together with a variety of evidential or evidential-like values (§18.1.3.2.1).

The negative equational copula min is illustrated in (503), expressing the function of proper inclusion. This example is drawn from a conversation about rice types grown in Gangzur village. The speaker goes through the eight different varieties grown in the village, and at the end of the list, another speaker asks if the Dakpa variety of rice is grown in the village. PS answers as in (503), communicating that the rice in their village does not belong in the same category as the Dakpa rice.

(503) \( \text{neri min} \)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{neri} & \text{min} \\
1.\text{PL.INCL.GEN} & \text{COP.EQ.NEG} \\
\end{array}
\]
‘Ours isn’t (Dakpa)’
Rice20081022.PS

An example of min conveying the equative function is (504). This example comes from a conversation between two speakers about an event in the past. At one point speaker TsC mentions a vehicle that had gone off the road, mistakenly asserting it was a bus. Speaker SPh corrects her, stating that it wasn’t a bus, using the negative equational copula.
‘(It) wasn’t a bus’

SPh.TsC20081022.SPh

18.1.3.2.1. Semantically/pragmatically marked derivations of the negative equational copula

The negative equational copula min has three additional forms, depending on evidential or evidential-like values. As I illustrate immediately below, the form minta is used for mirative contexts, the form minle is used when the speaker does not have direct evidence, and the form minla is dubitative, when the speaker is uncertain.

The example in (505) comes from a portion of a conversation between two friends. The speaker is narrating an experience he had with some other villagers and starts by introducing two people (himself and another) but immediately realizes that it wasn’t two people, but three. The mirative realization that he was wrong is coded by the mirative negative affirmitative equational copula minta.

(505)  

\begin{verbatim}
net zon ... net zon minta
net  zon  net  zon  minta
1.PL.ABS two 1.PL.ABS two COP.EQ.NEG.MIR
\end{verbatim}

‘The two of us … no, not the two of us’

SaTSW20090919SaT
An example of the inferential negative equational copula is (506). Here, the speaker has inferred from the previous context that a particular tax called wangtho is not the tax another speaker is discussing. The inference and the negative proper inclusion function is encoded here by the form of the copula minle.

(506) wangtho ngaksisa minle ya?

wangtho  ngaksi=sa  minle  ya

wangtho  QUOT=CEXP  COP.EQ.NEG.IND  QP

‘It’s not the one called wangtho, right?’

DungkarTS20081231.JT

When the speaker is not sure, s/he will use the dubitative form of the negative equational copula, minla. The example in (507) comes from a conversation between two older speakers, remembering a time when the former king visited their area. At this point in the conversation they are discussing the location of a particular person. Speaker TsC thinks the other speaker might be wrong, but is not sure, and so uses the form minla.

(507) khit minla nanggo

khit  minla  nang=go

3.ABS  COP.EQ.NEG.DBT  inside=LOC

‘It wasn’t him inside (?)’

SPh.TsC20081022.TsC
18.2. Copular particles

In addition to a set of copulas which are structurally a subset of verbs, Kurtöp has particles which can also be considered copulas. In *wh*- questions, a question particle is required at the end of the clause. The particle *yo* is used when the speaker expects the hearer to have the answer (as is the case in most information questions), while the particle *shu* is used when the speaker does not expect the hearer to have the answer (as in rhetorical questions). The syntax of *yo* and *shu* is actually different; *yo* occurs exclusively as the predating element in *wh*- questions while *shu* occurs in this position as well as others (cf. §16.2.4.4 and §16.2.4.7 for a discussion of the syntactic distribution of *yo* and *shu*).

The question particle *yo* is shown in the elicited examples (508) and (509), fulfilling the functions of verbal copulas *nawala* and *wen*, but in syntactic *wh*- question contexts. The first examples shows a speaker question the location of a given entity, a function encoded by the existential copula *nawala* in non-question contexts. The second example has a speaker question the proper inclusive or equative function of an entity; here again the question particle *yo* is used.

(508)  
*banggala 'au yo*  

*banggala 'au yo*  

*chiles where QP.COP*  

*‘Where are the chiles?’*  

*banggala 'au*
The question particle *yo* is replaced with *shu* when the speaker is not sure that the interlocutor will have the answer, as in (510) and (511), showing the same questions as (508) and (509) above, but in a rhetorical context.

(509)  
\[ *khit \ 'ê \ yo \]
3.ABS who QP.COP

‘Who is he?’

*\[nhit \ 'ê\]

The copula particles described in this section differ somewhat from the copular verbs described in §18.1. It is clear from numerous examples and contexts that the verbal
copulas play a primary role in denoting the traditional copular functions of proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence and possession (however, see §15.4 and §18.4 for a discussion of copulas in the finite verbal system). The copula particles fulfill this function in the contexts I described immediately above, but it is not their only function. Here, I have shown how they share a function with the verbal copulas and how they participate in the same paradigm. However, both particles also have functions and syntactic distributions beyond those associated with the copulas (cf. §16.2.4.4 and §16.2.4.7). Nonetheless, I argue that yo and shu are a subset of copulas because they are the only way to predicate traditional copular functions in wh- question contexts.

18.3. Functional properties of the copulas

In the previous sections I have illustrated the wide range of verbal copulas and copular particles used in Kurtöp. §18.1 focused on the verbal copulas, illustrating the affirmative and negative existential and equational forms, along with their corresponding mirative, inferential, dubitative or presumptive forms. §18.2 presented the particles used in copular contexts unique to wh- questions.

The following three tables summarize the constructions involved in non-verbal predication. The use of the affirmative existential and equational copulas is summarized in Table 150. Non-verbal predication involving negative existential and equational copulas is summarized in Table 151. Table 152 summarizes the constructions involved in non-verbal predication in the context of wh- questions. For a full treatment of question formation (including polar questions and wh- questions in verbal contexts), see §19.2.2.
### Table 150. Non-verbal predication in affirmative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Declarative</th>
<th>Mirative</th>
<th>Presumptive</th>
<th>Dubitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>NP NP <em>wen</em></td>
<td><em>wenta</em></td>
<td><em>wenpara</em></td>
<td><em>wenim</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>NP NP <em>wen</em></td>
<td><em>wenta</em></td>
<td><em>wenpara</em></td>
<td><em>wenim</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>NP Adj. <em>nawala</em></td>
<td><em>nâ</em></td>
<td><em>nawara</em></td>
<td><em>naki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>NP NP=LOC <em>nawala</em></td>
<td><em>nâ</em></td>
<td><em>nawara</em></td>
<td><em>naki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) <em>nawala</em></td>
<td><em>nâ</em></td>
<td><em>nawara</em></td>
<td><em>naki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) <em>nawala</em> / NP=GEN <em>nawala</em></td>
<td><em>nâ</em></td>
<td><em>nawara</em></td>
<td><em>naki</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 151. Non-verbal predication in negative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Declarative</th>
<th>Mirative</th>
<th>Dubitive</th>
<th>Inferential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>NP NP <em>min</em></td>
<td><em>minta</em></td>
<td><em>minla</em></td>
<td><em>minle</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>NP NP <em>min</em></td>
<td><em>minta</em></td>
<td><em>minla</em></td>
<td><em>minle</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>NP Adj. <em>mû</em></td>
<td><em>mutna</em></td>
<td><em>mutla</em></td>
<td><em>mutle</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>NP NP=LOC <em>mû</em></td>
<td><em>mutna</em></td>
<td><em>mutla</em></td>
<td><em>mutle</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) <em>mû</em></td>
<td><em>mutna</em></td>
<td><em>mutla</em></td>
<td><em>mutle</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) <em>mû</em> / NP=GEN NP <em>mû</em></td>
<td><em>mutna</em></td>
<td><em>mutla</em></td>
<td><em>mutle</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 152. Non-verbal predication in *wh*- questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th><em>wh</em>- Question</th>
<th>Rhetorical <em>wh</em>- question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>NP NP Q yo</td>
<td>NP NP Q shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Inclusion</td>
<td>NP NP Q yo</td>
<td>NP NP Q shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>NP Adj. Q yo</td>
<td>NP Adj. Q shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>NP NP=LOC Q yo</td>
<td>NP NP=LOC Q shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) Q yo</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) Q shu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) Q yo</td>
<td>NP NP(=LOC) Q shu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.4. The role of copulas in main clause grammar

In addition to the basic existential and equational functions outlined above, the copulas play a large role in Kurtöp grammar. Copulas often combine with nominalized clauses and, over time, are omitted from the construction, yielding new main clause grammar. This diachronic reanalysis can be summarized as: 

\[(NP) (NP) \text{V-NMZ} \text{COP} \rightarrow (NP) (NP) \text{V-TAME}\]

and is discussed in greater detail in §15.4. In this section I will briefly provide some examples of copulas involved in main clause grammar, beginning with equational copula, followed by the existential copula. The copular particles are not integrated into main clause grammar in the same way the verbal copulas are.

The equational copula may combine with *-male, -pala, -taki,* and *-si:*
(512) ngai wotor bimale wen ngaksi
ngai wotor bi-male wen ngaksi
1.ERG like.this give-NMZ:IRR COP.EQ QUOT
‘I will give (you a piece of flat bread) like this’ (he says)…’
Lama20081231.LC

(513) khitya Kurtötpa jur zatpala wenta
khit-ya jur zat-pala wenta
3.ABS-also become finish-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR
‘He had also turned into a Kurtöp’
SBC20051127.7.229KW

(514) 'nau-gangsha rastaki wentami
'nau-gangsha ras-taki wenta=mi
random.thought come-IPFV COP.EQ.MIR=TAG
‘(they) must have been shocked (lit. random thoughts were coming)!’
SPh.TsC20081022. 2942.823.SPh

(515) tshe Pasalung ngakhan Guru khirawa lhaksi wen ngaksi jinlap chitpu
tshe Pasalung ngak-khan Guru khira-wa wen
DM Pasalung do-NMZ:PFV Guru 3.REFL-COMP COP.EQ
ngaksi jinlap chitpu
QUOT blessing large
‘The one called Pasalung is said to have more blessings than Guru himself’
SaT.SW20090919.SaT
The existential copula combines only with -si, as in (516).

(516) ngat calai barto wotor deksi nawa1
    1.ABS luggage=GEN middle=LOC LIKE.THIS insert-NF COP.EXIS
    ‘I was kept in the middle of the luggage like this.’
CHAPTER XIX
NEGATION AND NON-DECLARATIVE SPEECH ACTS

Until now, this dissertation has focused on declarative speech acts, including aspect, clause-combining, and other topics. The aim of this chapter is to present grammatical topics typically contributed to other modes or moods. More specifically, this chapter presents negation (§19.1), imperative constructions (§19.2) and question formation (§19.2.2).

19.1. Negation

The only means for negation in Kurtöp is by way of a verbal prefix *ma*, as in (517).

(517) *wai co* *makhole* *ngawal wenta*

| SPh.TsC20081022. 1073.514SPh |

“Hey, don’t lie” (he) said.’

The vowel in the prefix changes depending on tense of the verb combined with the height of the verb root. In non-future contexts the vowel /a/ is used regardless of the vowel in the verb stem. In future contexts, the vowel changes to /e/, and if the vowel in the root is a high vowel the vowel of the negative prefix will change to /i/.
19.1.1. Tense

The vowel of the negative remains a low vowel in imperatives, as in (518).

(518) **machage**

`ma-chak-e`

NEG-step-IMP.POL

‘Don’t step.’

SPh.TsC20081022.1097.535TsC

The same form of the negative prefix is used for perfective aspect. An example is (519).

(519) **ged maphatpal nera**

`ge-to   ma-phat-pala   nera`

go-INF   NEG-be.okay-PFV 1.PL.INCL

‘It’s not okay for us to go.’

SaT.SW20090917.2231.234SaT

In imperfective and future contexts that negative prefix changes to *me-*., as illustrated below.

(520) **mebranta ngai drupchen**

`me-bran-ta   ngai   drupchen`

NEG-know-IPFV.MIR 1.ERG ritual

‘I don’t know about the ritual.’

SaT.SW20090917.181.223.SaT
(521)  ngaita mekhancina
    ngai=ta               me-khan-kina
    1.ERG=EMPH    NEG-know-FUT
    ‘I don’t know.’
    SPh.TsC20081022.1159.539TsC

(522)  khiri po gap pizi theki mebranta
    khiri        po     gapo     pi-si     thek-ki      me-bran-ta
    3.REFL.GEN fur   PL.FOC pull-NF   insert-HORT NEG-know-IPFV.MIR
    ‘He didn’t know his fur was going to be inserted by pulling.’
    SPh.TsC20081022.992.960.TsC

19.1.2. Vowel assimilation

In non-perfective contexts when the vowel of the verb root is high, the negative
prefix changes from me- to -mi-, as exemplified below.

(523)  tshemo net sutya misut ngaksi
    tshemo    net   sut=ya    mi-sut    ngaksi
    then     1PL.ABS kill=also   NEG-kill QUOT
    ‘Then (the hunter says) “we are definitely not going to kill (you)”.’
    PS20061206
19.1.3. Scope

Scope of negation is tied to the level of clause integration between two verbs. In (524) the negative has scope only the subordinate clause, as would be expected in contexts involving two clauses.

(524) \textit{metaro} \textit{gemale}

\begin{verbatim}
me-ta-to \hspace{2cm} ge-male
NEG-look-INF \hspace{2cm} go-FUT
\end{verbatim}

‘(I) will go without looking.’

Elicitation.KL20100607

In (525), however, negation has scope over the entire series of events. Note also that here the negation occurs on the second verb while in (360) negation occurs on the first verb.

(525) \textit{\textquoteleft neng chongzi mibina ngaksi}

\begin{verbatim}
\textquoteleft neng chong-si \hspace{2cm} mi-bi-na \hspace{2cm} ngaksi
heart \hspace{2cm} take.out-NF \hspace{2cm} NEG-give-PFV.MIR \hspace{2cm} QUOT
\end{verbatim}

‘(said that they) had not taken out the heart and given it (to her)…’

PS20061206.1286.016P
19.2. Non-declarative speech acts

19.2.1. Imperatives

Imperative mood in Kurtöp is achieved by way of suffixation and there are three formally similar but functionally distinct suffixes Kurtöp speakers may choose from: polite -le, informal -lu, and irrealis -lo. I describe these in turn below.

19.2.1.1. Polite -le

As I stated in §16.2.2.16, the polite imperative suffix -le is of unknown etymology but is probably an old morpheme as it conditions allomorphological alternations rich for Kurtöp. I describe the allomorphy in §7.3.2.3 but also summarize the alternations here, including a repetition of the table summarizing the forms, shown as Table 153.

Table 153. Allomorph of polite imperative -le suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Type</th>
<th>Example Bare Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>kuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
<td>kug-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>thong</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>thong-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td>phap</td>
<td>‘bring down’</td>
<td>phab-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>ngom</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
<td>ngom-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>chir</td>
<td>‘chop’</td>
<td>chir-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical -l</td>
<td>phre</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td>phre-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>dot-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>‘put on’</td>
<td>gin-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open syllable</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>se-y-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the alternation of -le with -ye or -e, the polite imperative suffix also conditions different forms of stem-final consonants. When imperative -le is suffixed to non-coronal stop final stems, the final consonants become voiced. Thus, in the examples in Table, the final consonant in *kuk* ‘gather’ voices to /g/ and the final consonant in *phap* ‘bring down’ voices to /b/. It is important to point out that this voicing alternation is not simply intervocalic voicing, as it does not happen in other intervocalic environments and is restricted to the context of the polite imperative.

The polite imperative -le is used to make imperatives but when one is making a command to someone of a higher status, or when one simply wants to convey an added sense of respect. In this way, the Kurtöp polite imperative is very similar to the Hindi imperative -ie.

An example of the polite imperative is shown in (526), extracted from part of a conversation in which one speaker is reporting something the mother of a Rimpoche had said to him. Note the use of *tsama* ‘some’ as a way to further soften the request.

(526)  

| wici tsama ngaksi thu thegeri |
| wici   tsama   ngaksi   thu   thek-le=ri |
| 2 GEN   some   QUOT   DIST   insert-IMP.POL=HSY |

‘(she) told (me) to put (her) there.’

SBC20051127KW
A similar example is (527). In this example someone is making a request of a Rimpoche that the Rimpoche come and visit their place. The honorific form of the verb ‘go’, jon, is used, and the speaker also uses the polite form the imperative.

(527)  
Khentse Rimpoche zhuro rana Zongsar Khentse zhuro thu nen the jonle ngaksi  
Khenste  Rimpoche  zhu-to  ra-na  Zongsar  
Khentse  Rimpoche  request,HON-INF  come,PVF.MIR  Zongsar  
Khenste  zhu-to  thu  nen  the  jon-le  
Khentse  request,HON-INF  DIST  day  one  go,HON-IMP.POL  
‘(They) had come to request Khentse Rimpoche, Request Dzongsar Khent, to come over there for one day.’  
SBC20051127KW

19.2.1.2. Informal -lu

As I describe in §16.2.2.17 and 16.2.2.18, both the informal imperative -lu and irrealis imperative -lo are potentially related to the Black Mountain imperative -lu. Other than this, there is no obvious etymology for -lu. There is one irregularity involving -lu; the verb khor ‘take’ loses its final -r when suffixed with -lu for a form of kholu ‘take-IMP’. This is surprising given the fact that khor does not lose the final -r when suffixed with the polite imperative -le, yielding khorle ‘take-IMP.POL’.

The difference between -le and -lu is one of politeness or formality. -lu is used most commonly amongst friends or people of the same status. In this way it translates well into the Hindi imperative -o.
The example in (528) is drawn from the tale of Kala Wangpo. At this point in the story the mother is ordering her two children to go to their father for blessings.

Commands to children, by default, take the -*lu* imperative, as in this instance.

(528)  
\[
\text{tshe ninta zon tshe yapgi chawangnang } \text{gilu ngaksi}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{tshe} & \text{nin-ta} & \text{zon} & \text{tshe} & \text{yap=gi} & \text{chawang=nang} \\
\text{DM} & \text{2.PL-EMPH} & \text{two} & \text{DM} & \text{father.HON=GEN} & \text{blessing.HON=LOC} \\
\text{gi-lu} & \text{ngaksi} & \\
\text{go-IMP} & \text{QUOT} \\
\end{array}
\]

“Then the two of you go for (your) father’s blessing” (she said).

(529)  
\[
\text{khit pra jurlu ngaksi ’molam tapsi}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{khit} & \text{pra} & \text{jur-lu} & \text{ngaksi} & \text{’molam tap-si} \\
\text{3.ABS} & \text{monkey} & \text{become-IMP} & \text{QUOT} & \text{pray-NF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘praying “that she become a monkey”…’

In (529) the speaker is narrating a story in which one character is wishing for a girl to become a monkey. Here, we also see the informal imperative used.

19.2.1.3. Irrealis -*lo*

Kurtöp has a third imperative, but rather than make a third contrast along the lines of politeness or formality, the third imperative is used in irrealis contexts, usually when the speaker is telling the second person to follow a particular action in the future, should
another action take place. A speaker explained this to me in the context when, for example, you are leaving your younger sister alone in the house for a few hours to run errands in town. Right before leaving, you might tell your sister, ko maphiyo ‘do not open the door’, using the form -lo because a context in which the sister might open the door is may or may not come about.

An example of the irrealis imperfective -lo is shown in (530). This example was taken from a conversation between two speakers. Speaker KW is relaying part of a previous journey when he encountered an old family friend who put him and his traveling companions up for the night. At their departure the following morning, the family friend handed them some food and said (530).

(530)  
\[
tsheni yamnang 'ipa zu\text{o} ngaksi  
\]
\[
tsheni \quad yam=nang \quad 'ipa \quad zu-\text{lo}  
\]
\[
\text{then \quad path=LOC \quad cooked.rice \quad eat-IMP.IRR}  
\]
\[
\text{‘Then eat (some) food along the way.’}  
\]
\[
\text{SBC20051127}  
\]

Another example is (531):

(531)  
\[
\text{tara zi wai 'ap barphela se tsam } \text{tayo } \text{ngawal wenta} \]  
\[
ta \quad ra-zi \quad wai \quad 'ap \quad barphela \quad se \quad tsama \quad ta-\text{lo}  
\]
\[
horse \quad came-NF \quad hey \quad Mr. \quad frog \quad lice \quad some \quad look-IMP.IRR  
\]
\[
gak-wala \quad \text{wenta} \quad \text{do-NMZ:PFV \quad COP.EQ.MIR}  
\]
\[
\text{‘Tiger came and (said) “hey Mr. Frog, look for some lice”.’}  
\]
\[
\text{SPh.TsC20081022.965.402.SPh}  
\]
19.2.1.4. Hortative -ki

The hortative -ki, described in §17.3.3, also conveys a sense of command, though in a less direct manner than either -lu or -lo. As I described in §7.3.2.4, the hortative -ki has the following allomorphy: -ki following velars, -iki following historically open stems, and -ci elsewhere.

The example in (532) shows -ki used with first person; here, the use is clearly in line with what we would expect of a hortative.

(532)  ngai mau tar raiki.  
     ngai   mau   ta-to   ra-ki  
     1.ERG   DEM:DN   see-INF   come-HORT

‘Let me come down and see’
Lama20081231.LC

The same construction is used with second person in (533), where it follows a polite command. The function of the hortative here is similar to that of the imperative, although speakers report that it is more polite than the polite command.

(533)  da Pema Lingpa wit jonle ngaksi wit jonci ranshang ngak  
     da   Pema Lingpa   wit   jon-le   ngaksi   wit  
     now   Pema Lingpa   2.ABS   COME.HON-IMP.POL   QUOT   2.ABS  
     jon-ki   ran-shang   ngak  
     come.HON-HORT   become.time.to-PFV. EGO   QUOT

‘Now Pema Lingpa, you please come (they said), it’s time for you to come.’
DungkarTS20081231.DT
19.2.2. Question formation

Question formation in Kurtöp can be divided into two syntactic sub-types: yes/no or polar questions and information questions. The latter requires a particular sentence-final particle, while for the former a sentence-final particle is only required in some contexts. I discuss yes/no questions in §19.2.2.1 and information questions in §19.2.2.2.

19.2.2.1. Yes/no questions

There are different strategies for formulating yes/no questions in Kurtöp depending on the aspect or tense of the clause. Perfective questions are encoded by a unique, recent grammaticalization of the nominalizer -pa (§19.2.2.1.1). Yes/no questions in imperfective aspect involve the addition of the final particle ke at the end of the clause ($) and future questions are marked by the addition of sentence final particle ya.

19.2.2.1.1. Perfective yes/no questions

Yes/no questions in perfective aspect are marked simply by the presence of the historical nominalizer -pa the finite verbal morphology. Etymologically, the perfective question marker -pa is the same as the -pa that occurs in nominalization (§15.2.1) and in various forms of perfective aspect (cf. §17.1.1.2, §17.1.1.5, §17.1.1.6, §20.1.1.4, §20.1.1.5).

Examples of the perfective question marker -pa drawn from the texts are illustrated in (534) and (535). Note that both of these examples show the question
occurring in a negative context. The perfective question marker is also used in positive contexts, as I show in (536).

(534) \textit{brânita magewa daru?}
def 	extit{brâ}=ni-ta me-\textit{ge}-\textit{wa} daru
cliff=ABL-EMPH NEG-go-QP.PFV again

‘Didn’t he fall again?’
SaT.SW20090917.SaT

(535) \textit{tshe Gangte Trülku yau mabjonpa?}
def 	extit{tshe} Gangte Trüku yau ma-byon-\textit{pa}
DM Gangte Trüku DEM:UP NEG-come.HON-QP.PFV

‘And didn’t Gangte Trüku come up there?’
SaT.SW20090917.SW

(536) \textit{wî nya ’ngam nguisa?}
2.ERG nya ’ngam ngui-sa

fish a lot buy-QP.PFV

‘Did you buy a lot of fish?’
PCElicitation.Book1.123.022

The etymology of the -\textit{pa} perfective question marker is clear. In Khengkha and Bumthap yes/no perfective questions are formed by use of the perfective nominalizer -\textit{pa} plus the question marker \textit{ya} (cf. §19.2.2.1.3). In Kurtöp, the \textit{ya} has simply disappeared, allowing finite -\textit{pa} to grammaticalize into a perfective yes/no question marker. There is occasional evidence for the presence of \textit{ya} in Kurtöp as well. Though speakers prefer
perfective questions without a sentence final *ya*, questions with it are occasionally found in the discourse, such as in the example in (537).

(537)  
\[ \text{trak khirira } \text{nguisa ya} \]
\[ \text{trak} \quad \text{khiri}=\text{ra} \quad \text{ngui-sa} \quad \text{ya} \]
\[ \text{truck} \quad 3.\text{REFL.ERG}=\text{EMPH} \quad \text{buy-QP:PFV} \quad \text{QP} \]
‘Did he buy the truck himself?’
SaTSW20090917.SW

19.2.2.1.2. Yes/no question marker *ke*

In imperfective and hortative contexts, the question particle *ke* as added to the end of the clause to denote a yes/no question. An example I heard quite frequently is in (538).

(538)  
\[ \text{kurtotpai kha khanci ke?} \]
\[ \text{kurtot-pa}=\text{gi} \quad \text{kha} \quad \text{khan-ki} \quad \text{ke} \]
\[ \text{Kurtot-DZ}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{language} \quad \text{know-HORT} \quad \text{QP} \]
‘Do you know the Kurtöp language?’

A similar example, also showing the *ke* question marker concomitant with a hortative-marked verb, is drawn from the texts in (539).
Example (540) shows the question marker *ke* used with an imperfective-marked verb, drawn from an interview conducted in the village of Gangzur. The speaker is the interviewer, asking the interviewee about the number of varieties of rice grown in the village. Note here also the interesting use of *ra* ‘come’ to convey an existential meaning.

19.2.2.1.3. Yes/no question marker *ya*

The question marker *ya* is used in all contexts except imperfective and hortitative. That is, the question marker *ya* is used in future tense, to clarify a particular nominal entity, or, more rarely, as a residual relic in yes/no perfective questions (cf. §19.2.2.1.1 and example (537)). I will illustrate the use and distribution of *ya* below.
The question particle *ya* may follow any finite clause (except as those described above, where *-pa* or *ke* would be required). (541) illustrates question particle *ya* following a copular clause using the inferential negative existential copula.

(541)  

′mâmi mutle *ya*?

′mâmi  mutle  *ya*
soldier  COP.EXIS.NEG.IND  QP

‘Are there no soldiers?’

SaT.SW20090917.SaT

However, it is not required that the clause be finite. In (542) the question particle *ya* is used with a verb marked by the co-temporal suffix *-mo*, which only occurs in subordinate clauses.

(542)  

*tap ramo* *ya*?

tap  ra-*mo*  *ya*
return  come-CTM  QP

‘While coming back?’

SaT.SW20090917.SW

The question particle *ya* can also be used to question phrases, not only clauses. In (543) *ya* follows a nominalized clause, while in (544) and (545) *ya* is used to question a location, and NP, respectively.
(543)  *tshongi khak khorwalik ya?*

*tshongi  khak  khor-wala=gi-ki  ya*

here.ABL  DIR:UP  take-NMZ-INSTR-NMZ  QP

‘So it was taken up from here?’

SaT.SW20090917.W

(544)  *khanpalung tshachu jeni ya?*

*khanpalung  tshachu  jeni  ya*

Khanpalung  hot.springs  RN:ABV  QP

‘Above the Khanpalung hotsprings?’

SaT.SW20090917.SaT

(545)  *thoksungpa ya*

*thoksungpa  ya*

field.guard  QP

‘The field guard?’

SaT.SW20090917.SW

It is interesting to note that *ya* also occurs with perfective aspect questions, even when the verb is marked fully as perfective, as in (546) (as opposed to -pa marking both perfective aspect as well as a polar question). Examples like this are uncommon in natural discourse, but present nonetheless. The difference between the use of *ya* ‘QP’ with a -pala perfective versus the use of solely the -pa perfective question marker remains the focus on ongoing research.
As with the yes/no questions, a sentence final particle is used to encode information questions. Generally, information questions follow the same pattern as yes/no questions, with the exception of information questions in the future, which require no sentence final particle.

Historically, there was one information question marker for Proto-Kurtöp which I reconstruct as *yo*. However, *yo* has combined with the various yes/no question markers forming today a synchronic three-way contrast between *-po ~ -wo ~ -so*, for perfective information questions, *ko* for information questions in imperfective aspect and hortative mood, and *yo* for copular contexts. These are illustrated in §19.2.2.2.1, §19.2.2.2.2 and §19.2.2.2.3, respectively. Information questions for which no sentence final particle is required are discussed in §19.2.2.2.4.

### 19.2.2.1. Perfective information questions *-po ~ -wo ~ -so*

The presence of a question word in a perfective question triggers the change of *-pa ~ -wa ~ -sa* to *-po ~ -wo ~ -so*. For example, in (547) the verb *thrak* ‘arrive’ is suffixed with *-yo*, the morpho-phonologically conditioned variant of the perfective
information question marker. The fact that -po 'QP:IF.PFV' is historically composed of -pa 'QP:PFV' plus yo 'QP:IF' can be evident in hyper-speech. For example, when speaking to foreigners or when speakers are asked to speak very slowly and precisely, they will sometimes utter thrâwo as thrâwa-yo, drawing out the last two syllables.

(547)  
\textit{wî 'akpa thrâwo?}  
\textit{wî} \quad \textit{'akpa} \quad \textit{thrak-po}  
\text{\small lunch} \quad \text{\small NEG-take-PFV} \quad \text{\small arrive-QP:IF.PFV}  
\text{\small ‘How many times have you been (to the hotsprings)?’}  
\text{SaT.SW20090917.SaT}  

The question marker -po ‘QP:IF.PFV’ is also used with verbs which are historically derived via the perfective -pala, even if the synchronic use has since deviated. For example, consider (548).

(548)  
\textit{Sambata jikpa 'akpa nâwo?}  
\textit{Samba-ta} \quad \textit{jikpa} \quad \textit{'akpa} \quad \textit{nâ-po}  
\text{\small Samba-EMPH} \quad \text{\small big} \quad \text{\small how} \quad \text{\small COP.EXIS-QP:IF.PFV}  
\text{\small ‘How big is Samba?’}  
\text{SaT.SW20090917.SaT}  

The existential copula nawa or nawala, though diachronically comprised of a copular stem plus the perfective suffix -pa or -pala, no longer retains any sense of perfective aspect. However, the form associated with the perfective morphology, with a -\textit{w} onset, is still used.
19.2.2.2. Information question marker *ko*

As with yes/no questions, information questions involving imperfect aspect or hortative mood, information questions require a *k*- initial sentence-final particle, historically composed of *ke* plus *yo*. (549) illustrates the use of *ko* when a wh- word is present.

(549)  *

```
(549)  da zhâ nyangta *ko*  
da  zhâ  nyang-ta  ko  
now  what  receive-IPFV.MIR  QP.IF  
‘Now what do (you) receive?’  
SPh.TsC20081022.SPh
```

As we saw above with the existential copula, a copula that is historically derived from the same morpheme used to mark imperfective aspect or hortative mood in lexical verbs will take the question marker *ko*, as in (550).

(550)  ‘*akpa wenta ko bjasa trip the nâ?’

```
(550)  ‘*akpa  wenta  ko  bjasa  trip  the  nâ’  
how.much  COP.EQ.MIR  QP:.F  sand  trip  one  COP.EXIS.MIR  
‘Much is it for one trip of sand?’  
SaT.SW20090917.SW
```
19.2.2.2.3. Information question copula *yo*

In copular grammatical contexts, the question marker *yo* replaces the copula in information questions. There appear to be several cognates for Kurtöp *yo* throughout the East Bodish languages. Table 154 illustrates information question copulas in seven East Bodish languages. Based on this distribution, and the fact that $l > y$ is a sound change that occurred in Kurtöp, Bumthap and Khengkha, I think it is safe to reconstruct a copula question marker *lo* to proto East Bodish.

**Table 154. East Bodish information question copulas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Krt</th>
<th>Bum</th>
<th>Kh</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>Ph</th>
<th>Da</th>
<th>Dz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QP.COP</td>
<td><em>jo</em></td>
<td><em>jo</em></td>
<td><em>jo</em></td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common uses in Kurtöp occur in equative clauses with a question word. For example, a question I commonly asked in the village is shown in (551).

(551)  

```
wo zhâ *yo*

wo          zhâ   *yo*
DEM:PROX    what   QP:COP

‘What is this?’
```

Another common example is (552), which is uttered when someone enters a house and the person inside the house is not close enough to the entrance to see who it is.
However, the distribution of the copula question marker is not limited to
equational clauses, making the analysis of it as a copula somewhat problematic. For
example, consider (553).

(553) \text{\textit{wi dor 'akpa thrawal yo tshachu?}}

\text{\textit{wi dor 'akpa thrak-pala yo tshachu}}

\text{2.ERG times how.many arrive-PFV QP.COP hot.springs}

‘How many times have you been to the hotsprings?’

SaT.SW20090917.SW

In this example the function of \textit{yo} is clearly less-copula like and more like a
question particle. Further, the difference \textit{thrawal yo} and \textit{thrawo} is still uncertain. Like the
difference between \textit{thrawa} and \textit{thawal ya}, this question continues to be an area of further
investigation.

19.2.2.2.4. Bare information questions

The information question copula \textit{yo} also differs from the yes/no question marker
\textit{ya} in that is not used in future tense. Consider (554).
(554)  'au gemale?

‘au  ge-male
where  go-FUT

‘Where are you going?’

Here, the presence of 'au ‘where’ indicates an information question and in any other grammatical context would condition the use of an information question particle (-po, ko or yo).

19.2.2.3. Interlocutor’s expectation

Finally, the above description of question formation in Kurtöp can be paradigmatically contrasted with instances in which the speaker does not expect the hearer to know the answer. In all of the above examples the speaker asked the question intending the hearer to have the answer. If the speaker does not expect the hearer to know the answer, for example if the question is about a third person with whom the interlocutor is not intimately connected, a separate construction is used. The discussion below concerns the use of shu versus yo as a way to encode speaker expectation.

The example in (555) is drawn from a conversation between two friends who are discussing hot springs in Lhüntse. The speaker SW asks SaT how many times he had been to the hot springs. Since the speaker is asking about personal experience of the interlocutor, he (SW) expects the interlocutor (SaT) to have the answer.
(555)  
\[ \text{wî dor 'akpa thrwal yo tshachu} \]
\[ \text{2.ERG ORD how.many arrive-PFV QP hot.springs} \]

‘How many times have you been to the hot springs?’

SaT.SW20090917.150.129.SW

The use of \text{yo} above can be contrasted with \text{shu} below. In (555) the speaker is telling the story of a demon whose palace had been destroyed by Guru Rimpoche. Upon returning to his palace he noticed the destruction and think aloud to himself, \text{'angi nawa shu ‘from where shu’}. Since the demon is not speaking to anyone in particular, there is not an interlocutor \textit{per se} and thus does not expect a potential interlocutor to know the answer; thus \text{shu} is used.

(556)  
\[ \text{tshe duigi da khici phodrang ozi me 'angi nawa shu ngak wotor tamotakona} \]
\[ \text{DM demon=ERG now 3.GEN palace PROX house where=ABL} \]
\[ \text{nawa shu ngak wotor ta-mo-tako-na} \]
\[ \text{COP.PFV QP.DBT QUOT LIKE.THAT see-CTM-IPV-COP} \]

‘And when the demon was looking at his palace, he was like “where did this house come from”?'

SaT.SW20090917.2023.134-2025.591.SaT

\textit{Shu} has a broader syntactic distribution than \text{yo} (cf. §16.2.4.4) and can also be used in yes/no questions. In (557) the speaker is asking his interlocutor a question about a third person (Dungse), and does not know if the interlocutor and Dungse are close. Since he is not sure that his interlocutor would know the answer. In a similar instance, the speaker in
(558) is wondering if the recording if the recorder has finished; he asks with *shu* because he does not expect the interlocutor -- not one of the linguists conducting the recording -- to know the answer.

(557)  *Dungsegi ziktak shu*

*Dungse-gi  zik-taki  shu*

Dungse-ERG  care.for.HON-IPFV  DBT

‘Is Dungse caring for (them)?’

SBC20051127.KW

(558)  *zatpa shu da*

*zat-pa  shu  da*

finish-NOM  DBT  now

‘Is it finished now?’

SBC20051127.PC
Evidential and related categories are obligatorily encoded in most finite clauses in Kurtöp, including all affirmative statements -- copular clauses and in verbal predication -- and questions. These categories are not encoded in negative statements or imperatives. Evidentiality has been widely researched and a common definition can be taken from Aikhenvald (2004: 14) as ‘grammaticalized information source’. Some related categories have also been described, such as the mirative, which DeLancey (2001) defines as ‘linguistic marking of an utterance as conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker’. For Tibetan, Tournadre (2008a: 295) defines the term egophoric as expressing ‘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 spaker.’ The Kurtöp verbal system encodes a combination of all these categories. I argue for three categories pertaining to knowledge in Kurtöp: source of knowledge (evidentiality), expectation of knowledge (including but not limited to mirativity) and certainty of knowledge.

20.1. Evidential categories encoded as part of the tense/aspect paradigm

20.1.1. Perfective aspect

As described in §17.1, Kurtöp makes a five-way distinction in perfective aspect with regard to evidential and evidential-like categories. Of the five forms, only -mu,
which encodes indirect evidence, would be considered a ‘true’ evidential in the sense of Aikhenveld. Another form -shang expresses a category similar, but not identical to the category ‘egophoric’ described by Tournadre (2008a) or ‘ego’ described by Garrett (2001). Kurtöp -shang also encodes expectation on part of the speaker that the interlocutor does not have personal knowledge of the event. The form -na marks mirativity combined with perfective aspect. For instances in which the speaker is not certain that a given event has taken place -- in other words that they are presuming an event has taken place -- the form -para is used. Finally, the form -pala is unmarked for mirative, ‘egophoric’ or indirect evidence. As such, it encodes certainty, a sense that the knowledge is not new or gained by inference, and does not encode a sense that the interlocutor does not have direct knowledge of the event.

20.1.1.1. Egophoric -shang

The use of the perfective suffix -shang encodes certainty on behalf of the speaker and the expectation that the interlocutor does not share the knowledge. As such, this form is used most often with first person, but it is not necessarily used so. The verbal suffix -shang may be used with third person forms as well, if the speaker has direct, personal evidence of a given event involving third person and does not expect the interlocutor to share the information. -shang can also be used with second person, but given the pragmatic rarity of second person statements in the first place, these are less common.

Due to the semantics inherent to -shang, when used by itself the default understanding is that first person is the S/A argument, as in (560):
A typical example with first person is shown in (559) and (560).

(559)  
\[dor\ zon\ thrakshang\ ngai\]
ord two arrive-pfv.ego 1.erg
‘I have been there twice’
SPh.TsC20081022.2927.186.TsC

(560)  
\[khici\ mengya\ zhit\ geshang\ da\]
3.gen name-also forget go-pfv.ego
‘(I) also forgot his name’
SBC20051127.KW

First person could also be understood to be the O, as in (561):

(561)  
\[daru\ bot\ gapo\ theksi\ woyenatsham\ thek\ zonshang\]
again 3.pl.abs pl.fo=p=erg insert-nf dem:prox-up=loc=until
thek zon-shang
insert send-pfv.ego
‘Again having put us in (the truck) they sent (us) up there.’
SBC20051127.KW

In (562), the speaker uses a first personal plural exclusive pronoun, speaking to outsiders about what life was like in his village. He is discussing knowledge that is shared
between him and the people from his village but is not shared by the interlocutors. Thus, the form -shang is employed.

(562)  sijū-ta 'lupshang neiyang la  

sijū-ta 'lup-shang neiyang la  
\textit{politics-EMPH catch-PFV.EGO 1.PL.ERG-also POL} 

‘We have also caught the politics’  
SPh.TsC20081022.2078.400.SPh

An example with third person is (563), which was drawn from a narrated story about Kala Wangpo. This comes from the beginning of the story in which the storyteller is setting the stage; the king lost his hunting dog and has sent his assistants out to look for it. In this sort of story, especially as told to outsiders, the interlocutors do not share the knowledge and thus the speaker uses the perfective -shang.

(563)  tshe oning 'aurang shakhwi tshui geshang  

tshe o-ning 'au-rang shakhwi tshui ge-shang  
\textit{DM 3.PROX-ABL where-EMPH hunting.dog look.for go-PFV.EGO} 

‘And then (they) went everywhere looking for the hunting dog’  
PS20061206.48.553P

Another example of -shang comes from a conversation between two people whomet only recently. In (564) the speaker is relaying information about a third person both speakers knew of. The speaker has first-hand knowledge of the event and does not expect his interlocutor to share this knowledge.
zhing phepshang

zhing phep-shang

heaven arrive.HON-PFV.EGO

‘(The lama) passed away’

SBC20051127.268.649KW

20.1.1.2. Mirative -na

To encode that knowledge is new and not unexpected in perfective aspect the form -na, a recent grammaticalization of the existential copula nā, is used. A simple example is (565), which was uttered by children who had been watching paragliders take off from the top of a hill. They would watch the paraglider circle around in the sky and slowly rise and fall. He disappeared out of the children’s view for a few minutes and then they saw that he had landed.

chakna

chak-na

land-PFV.MIR

‘It landed!’

A more colorful example comes from a short story about an old woman and Drukpa Künle. At the end of the story the woman was locked inside a room and the villagers were instructed not to open the door for seven days. However, upon the sixth day her son opened the door and discovered there was nothing but her toe remaining. As
an event clearly not expected in the discourse it is encoded with the mirative form of the perfective, as shown in (566).

(566)  _palanggi jedo thila the darnari_

\begin{verbatim}
palang=gi  je=to  thila  the  dar-na=ri
bed=GEN  top=LOC  thumb/big.toe  one  remain-PFV.MIR=SHSY
\end{verbatim}

‘On the bed remained a toe! (it is said)’

KS20061212.188.829-191.112KL

Similar examples are shown in (567) and (568). The first example, (567), comes from a part of a conversation in which one speaker is relaying a traveling event. During this portion in the journey he had reached Trashigang and from the top of a hill was looking down on a temple. There was an important event that day and many people had come; there were so many people, in fact, that a line had formed from the door snaking outside the temple. The speaker was not expecting a line of people coming from the door and thus uses the form -na.

(567)  _koni yoto jong gina_

\begin{verbatim}
ko=ni  yoto  jong  gi-na
door=ABL  DIR:DN  emerge  go-PFV.MIR
\end{verbatim}

‘(they) had come out of the door down there!’

SBC20051127.8.052.KW

Example (568) comes from the same conversation but this time the speaker had reached a house of someone who turned out to be an old relative. The portion in (568),
drawn from a longer clause, quotes the relative speaking to the speaker. The relative hadn’t seen the speaker since the speaker was a child and now, suddenly, the speaker arrives completely unexpected, as an adult.

(568) \( yala.. o onga tshô \text{thrakna} \text{ wai} \)

\[
yala... \quad wo \quad onga \quad tshô \quad \text{thrak-na} \quad \text{wai}
\]

\[
god.. \quad \text{DEM:PROX} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{arrive-PFV.MIR} \quad \text{wow}
\]

‘God.. this child has arrived! Wow

SBC20051127.KW

20.1.1.3. Inferential -\text{mu}

Perfective aspect with inferential evidence is encoded by suffixation of -\text{mu} to the verb stem. This form can be used if the speaker wishes to encode that the knowledge was gained by inference, such as when one goes looking for another in the house, and sees that the person is not in the house. The one who was looking then infers that the person in the house is gone and would relay this knowledge using the form -\text{mu}.

Examples (569) and (570) are both from personal experiences; (569) comes from a narrative in which two elderly speakers are discussing life in a village to the researchers and (570) comes from a conversation between two younger speakers. Example (570), which is used in a question, provides a clear illustration of the use of -\text{mu} to code indirect evidence. The interlocutor had gone to the hot springs but would not have been there while the hot springs were being washed away; he would have only seen evidence that the hot springs had been washed away, thus the speaker uses -\text{mu}.
(569) dangponira **comu** la ozi pheng sho

*dangpo=ni=ra* **co-mu** *la* wozi *pheng*

long.ago=ABL=EMPH make-PFV.IND POL DEM:PROX clay.pot

*sho*

EMPH

‘(they) have been made since a long back, these clay pots.’

SPh.TsC20081022.2683.631.SPh

(570) tshachu tang gap roi **khormu** ke roizi

*tshachu* tang gapo roi **khor-mu** ke roi-zi

hot.springs pond PL.FOC ROI take-PFV.INF QP ROI-NF

‘Were the hot spring ponds washed away?’

SaT.SW20090917.513.006.SW

A similar example is (571), also drawn from a story. In this example, no one in the story actually witnessed the tiger dragging the bear, but the evidence of the bear being drug was present.

(571) tâ pretsi juk gemo wam rui **khormu**

*tâ* pretsi juk ge-mo wam rui **khor-mu**

tiger fear-NF run go-CTM bear drag take-PFV.INF

‘When Tiger ran out of fear, he took the bear dragging’

SPh.TsC20081022.1112.999.SPh
The inferential perfective suffix can also be used with first person, as in (572). This example is drawn from the beginning of a recording session with two elderly speakers who were meeting the researchers for the first time. They were discussing between the two of them who was going to speak. The female speaker was insisting that she was not a capable story-teller and that the man should begin; in her utterance immediately prior to (572) she says ngai ta ’rung mekhan ni ‘In my opinion I am not a story-teller’. Her use of indirect evidentiality here may be means by which she would not give the man any room to challenge her assertion.

(572)  da ngari zut thungmu
  da  ngara=gi  zu-ro  thung-mu
  now   1.REFL=ERG  eat-INF  do-PFV.INF
  ‘Now I’ve eaten (the story)’
  SPh.TsC20081022.1170.670.TsC

20.1.1.4. Unmarked -pala

Like the forms -shang, -na and -mu the Kurtöp form -pala encodes certainty on behalf of the speaker. In another sense, however, it is unmarked for each value encoded by the previous three morphemes. It does not code inferential knowledge, it does not code that the knowledge was unexpected, and it does not encode that the speakers expects the interlocutor to share the knowledge. As such, as a default, the form -pala encodes third person referents that are unremarkable with regard to mirativity or evidentiality.
The clearest use of *-pala* is with second person statements, as in (573). This example comes from part of a two-person narrative about how life used to be in the village in Kurtö. Immediately prior to (573), TsC states that she did not suffer; SPh immediately agrees with her, saying:

(573) \textit{witya machtpala}\\
\textit{wit-ya} \textit{ma-chut-pala}\\
\textit{2.ABS-also NEG-cut-PFV}\\
‘You didn’t suffer, either’\\
SPh.TsC20081022.918.843.SPh

Kurtöp *-pala* is not limited to second person statements, however. In (574) the speaker is describing what life was like in the village when he was younger, before electricity, roads, and regular trade with India and China brought plastic and other goods to the village. He is narrating based on his previous experience as a child growing up in the village, but does not use *-shang*, despite his personal experience. Instead, he uses *-pala* because he expects others to have first-hand knowledge.

(574) \textit{neci gangna oso kau chutpala}\\
\textit{neci} \textit{gang=na oso kau chut-pala}\\
\textit{1.PL.GEN time=LOC how pillar cut-PFV}\\
‘How (we) suffered in our time (lit. cut pillars)’\\
SPh.TsC20081022.1657.242.SPh
An example of *-pala* with an overt first person pronoun is in (575). Here again, the speaker expects speech-act participants to have knowledge of the event.

(575)  *tshachu bang niye yaura drâ ngâk lappâla ngâi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tshachu</th>
<th>bang</th>
<th>ni-ye</th>
<th>yau-ra</th>
<th>drak</th>
<th>ngâk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hot.springs</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>stay-IMP</td>
<td>DEM:UP-emph</td>
<td>be.good</td>
<td>QUOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap-pala</td>
<td>ngâi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell-PFV</td>
<td>1.ERG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘”stay in the hot springs up there; it is good”, I said.’
SaTSW20090917.141.517.SW

Example (575) was uttered during a conversation between two old friends. They were raised in the same village together and were intricately involved in the details of each other’s lives. The speaker in this example expects that his interlocutor already knows this part of the story he is relaying and thus cannot use the perfective suffix *-shang*. Because he does not need to encode anything with regard to mirativity or evidentiality here, he uses the form *-pala*.

When used with third-person referents, *-pala* often precedes the equative copula, usually in its mirative form, as in (576):

(576)  *tap tap rasal wentami*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tap</th>
<th>tap</th>
<th>ra-sala</th>
<th>wenta-mi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>return</td>
<td>return</td>
<td>come-NMZ:PFV</td>
<td>COP.EQ.MIR=TAG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They came back, right?’
PS20061206.52.198P
The use of -pala plus wenta ‘COP.EQ.MIR’ adds a dimension of mirativity to third person statements.

However, -pala may also be used on its own for third person referents, as in (577):

(577)  
Nyakoya me theta **druppala**  

\[Nyak=a=theta \quad druppala\]  

ˈAt Nya also one house is completed.’

SaT.SW20090917.1467.067.SaT

20.1.1.5. Presumptive -para

The previous four perfective suffixes encode speaker certainty as default. The fifth perfective suffix contrasts with these four in that it encodes uncertainty on behalf of the speaker, or that the speaker is presuming something to be true.

An example is (578):

(578)  
**yangna oyenang gewara ngaksi**  

\[yangna \quad wo-ye=nang \quad gewara \quad ngaksi\]  

ˈPerhaps (the hunting dog) has gone up there (they) said’

PS200612106.95.0.P
In this example, drawn from the story of Kala Wangpo, the assistants of a king are looking for the king’s hunting dog, which has disappeared. They make conjectures about where the dog could have gone, and while postulating that the dog could have gone to a certain location, they use the form -para, as they are not certain they dog had gone there.

Another example comes from a narration about life in the village. In (579) the speaker is discussing the experience of the villagers and how isolated they had been. One of the points he makes is:

(579)  miksira mathungwara phetseita
mik-si=ra ma-thung-wara phetse=i=ta
eye-NF-EMPH NEG-do-PFV.PRES half=ERG=EMPH
‘Half might not have even seen (His Majesty)’
SPh.TsC200801022.1487

Because the speaker does not know exactly how many people from his village have actually seen or not seen the King, he uses the form -para.

20.1.1.6. Summary

The forms -shang, -na, -mu and -pala express certainty of knowledge, which contrast with -para, the only form to express uncertainty. The form -shang contrasts with the others in that it encodes intrinsically first-hand knowledge that the speaker does not expect the interlocutor to share. The form -na marks mirativity in perfective aspect, or that the knowledge was not expected. This contrasts with the other four forms which do not encode that the knowledge was not expected (note that this is different than saying
the other four forms encode expectation of knowledge, which is not the case). The only form which is truly evidential by a typical definition such as that of Aikhenveld (2004) is -mu, which encodes indirect evidence, or that the speaker has inferred the knowledge from other events. Finally, the form -pala expresses certainty but not based on intrinsic knowledge unshared with the interlocutor.

20.1.2. Imperfective aspect

The grammatical distinction made in imperfective aspect in Kurtöp is one of mirativity versus non-mirativity. When speakers report on knowledge in imperfective aspect they chose between whether to encode the information as unexpected (and therefore new information) or not unexpected (and therefore old information). If the knowledge not expected (mirative) the form -ta will be used. If the knowledge was not unexpected the form -taki will be used. As one consultant explains to me succinctly, ‘the form -ta is used when you just found out about something; then if you are telling that to someone else you use the form -taki.’ These are discussed in more detail below.

20.1.2.1. Mirative -ta

In Kurtöp the form -ta encodes imperfective aspect with mirative value. This form is thus usually used when the speaker acquires knowledge for the first time. Mirativity encodes knowledge that was not expected. In elicitation, the form -ta most often occurs with third person.

An example of -ta from discourse is (580), where one speaker is describing an event to another speaker. There are two verbs marked as mirative imperfectives (tun-ta
‘show-IPFV.MIR’ and *bran-ta* ‘know-IPFV.MIR’) and in both instances the event was new, or not expected, in the discourse.’ The speaker did not know the other people were going to show photographs to the Rimpoche and likewise had no expectation of the Rimpoche’s knowledge.

(580)  
Rimpoche-nang  *tun-ta*  tshe  *khi-ra-ya*  me-*bran-ta*  
Rimpoche-LOC  show-IPFV.MIR  DM  3-REFL-also  NEG-know-IPFV.MIR  
‘They showed (the pictures) to Rimpoche and even he (Rimpoche) didn’t know (the pictures)’  
SBC20051127.142.517KL

A similar example in (581) comes from an interview between two Kurtöp speakers. One speaker is asking the other to give an account of rice and rice processes in the village. At this point in the narrative she is discussing the varieties of rice given by the government to the village for planting. The fact that outsiders are so involved in the process that they would be giving several varieties of rice for cultivation is not expected, and thus the speaker uses the form *-ta*.

(581)  
*lhampa sum bleyang bista miri*  
lhampa  sum  *ble-yang*  *bis-ta*  miri  
type  three  four-also  give-IPFV.MIR  others.ERG  
‘Three or four types were also being given by the others.’  
Rice.Harvest20081022.159.064.PS
20.1.2.2. Non-mirative -taki

The non-mirative imperfective is -taki, a form which is probably historically a variation on the form -ta. While one might expect mirativity to be the marked form, the fact that the form that seems semantically unmarked is morphologically marked has perhaps a straightforward historical explanation. I suspect the form -ta to be a recent grammaticalization from the verb tak ‘become’, which brought with it a grammaticalization of mirative semantics. Thus, the unmarked imperfective aspect carries with it a mirative function. The counter to this is the marked form, -taki, which has likely been derived by the addition of the nominalizer -ki (cf. §15).

In elicitation, the form -taki normally occurs with first person referents or third person referents if the relationship between the speaker and the referent is very close. For example, a speaker reporting on a spouse or child would likely use the form -taki in response to a question asking what the spouse or child was doing.

If the event is not new knowledge, for example if the speaker is self-reporting or reporting knowledge they previously acquired, the form -taki is used. In (582) the speaker is reporting on previous knowledge. She and her husband live in a very remote region and their previous experience living there has shown them that they do not normally get visitors. The knowledge is not new or unexpected and thus the form -taki is used.
As I mentioned, the form -taki is often used when self-reporting, including when a third person referent is self-reporting. (583) shows the use of -taki inside a quoted clause, where a third person referent is reporting that she herself is sick and dying. Because the self-knowledge is (usually) intrinsically not unexpected, the form -taki is used.

(583)  

\textit{tshe darung khit nataki ngaksi, khit setaki ngaksi}  
\begin{align*}  
\text{tshe} & \quad \text{darung} & \quad \text{khit} & \quad \text{na-taki} & \quad \text{ngaksi} & \quad \text{khit} & \quad \text{se-taki} & \quad \text{ngaksi}  
\end{align*}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}  
DM & 3.ABS & be.sick-IPFV & QUOT & 3.ABS & die-IPFV & QUOT  
\end{tabular}  
\begin{align*}  
\text{‘And again she said that she was sick, that she was dying…’}  
\end{align*}  

(582)  

\textit{neci tsho khep miyang methraktaki}  
\begin{align*}  
neci & \quad \text{khepo} & \quad \text{tsho} & \quad \text{mi-yang} & \quad \text{me-thra-k-taki}  
\end{align*}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}  
3.PL.GEN & FOC & here & people-also & NEG-arrive-IPFV  
\end{tabular}  
\begin{align*}  
\text{‘No one comes to our place’}  
\end{align*}  

\textbf{20.1.2.3. Summary}  

While in perfective aspect there are five distinctions made, imperfective only grammatically distinguishes between mirative and non-mirative values. However, this is not to say that further evidential or evidential-like categories are not available to speakers in imperfective aspect. If the speaker wishes to add further evidential or modal information, the speaker may choose from a set of particles to attach to the end of the verb phrase, as I describe in §19.2.2. In durative aspect, which is encoded using a clause chain
ending with a copula (§21.2.5.5.4), the choice of copula (§18.1.2) dictates the evidential or evidential-like value.

20.1.3. Future tense

In future tense Kurtöp obligatorily marks a difference between certainty and uncertainty. The certain form -male encodes certainty and thus is used most often with first statements and second person questions, though it is also used with third person statements if the speaker has previous or intimate knowledge that enables him/her to speak on the other’s behalf. An unmarked, finite verb encodes future tense but without certainty, such as when the speaker is speaking on behalf of third person but does not have the previous or intimate knowledge to be certain the event will take place.

20.1.3.1. Certain -male

As I described in §15.2.4, and §17.3.1, the form -male is a recent recruit into finite verbal morphology, still most often occurring as a nominalized/non-finite form. Nonetheless, when functioning alone as finite verbal morphology, the form -male encodes future tense with certainty on behalf of the speaker. The most common use of -male is heard in the question shown in (584):

(584)  'au gemale
      'au ge-male
where  go-FUT
‘Where are you going?’
The question shown in (584) is used as a greeting when villagers see others approach. In fact, the use of the question ‘where are you going?’ as a greeting\textsuperscript{134} is so common throughout Bhutan that languages are often locally named by the way a speech community asks this question. As I described earlier, ‘au gemale can also be understood as another name for Kurtöp.

The form -male can be used with third person if the speaker is reporting on behalf of third person (e.g. ‘he said he’s going to the store’) or if the speaker has previous experience that the event will take place, as in (585).

\begin{verbatim}
net zumo tshe bot .. 'miser .. mi gap dangsa nga tatemung tazi nimale
net zu-mo tshe bot 'miser mi gapo
1.PL eat-CTM DM 3.PL citizen person PL.FOC

dangsa nga tatemung ta-si ni-male
all do show watch-NF stay-FUT

'When we eat, the citizens.. all the people will be watching the show. '
KZ200805152.653.617-656.149.KZ
\end{verbatim}

The example in (585) comes from a narrative where a speaker is talking about the history and local culture in Dungkar. He describes an event that happens every year, and based on this previous knowledge he can predict how the event will happen in the future; thus, he uses the form -male.

\textsuperscript{134} A common interaction in the Kurtö region would be something as follows. Upon seeing someone approaching, speaker A says ‘au gemale and speaker B responds with their destination, for example: Lhünshi shiro gemale ‘(I) am going to Lhünshi’. Speaker A and B might continue their conversation for a few minutes and as speaker B departs, s/he would utter gewa sho ‘(I’m) gone now!’.
20.1.3.2. Presumptive -Ø

The form -male can be contrasted with -Ø, which encodes future tense but with doubt, or simply presumption, rather than certainty, that the event will take place. An example from elicitation is:

(586) \textit{khì ge}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
khì & gê \\
3.ERG & go
\end{tabular}

‘(I presume) he will go’

Elicited data.KL.

20.2. Copulas

As I described in §16 and §18, copulas are an important part of Kurtöp grammar. In addition to encoding a range of copular functions, such as proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location, existence and possession, copulas in Kurtöp are also interwined with main clause tense/aspectual/evidential grammar as subordinate grammar becomes finite. Here, I will focus on the evidential and evidential-like functions of the copulas. These are discussed in terms of form; §20.2.1 describes existential forms and §20.2.2 describes the equational forms. The categories previously seen -- source of evidence, expectation of evidence, and certainty of evidence will be discussed again.

20.2.1. Existential copulas

In addition to making a formal distinction between equational and existential copulas, Kurtöp makes a distinction between affirmative negative copulas. The
affirmative existential copula in Kurtöp can be internally reconstructed as a verb *nak and the negative existential copula can be reconstructed as *mut; there is less evidence that *mut was verb in recent stages of Kurtöp.

20.2.1.1. Affirmative forms

There are four contrasts made amongst the affirmative, existential copulas; nā encodes mirative value, nawala is the non-mirative form, and nawara is the presumptive form and naki encodes speaker doubt.

20.2.1.1.1. Non-mirative nawala

The copula nawala is used when the speaker is certain of the knowledge but the knowledge is not new and unexpected. (587) is drawn from a recording in which a speaker is narrating the history and culture of Dungkar. He is relaying knowledge he has based on his previous experience growing up in Dungkar as a Kurtöp. Thus, the form nawala is used.

(587) mau zangu ngak nawala

 mau zangu ngak nawala
DEM:DN zangu QUOT COP.EXIS
‘There is this (thing) down there called “zangu”.’
KZ20080515.751.325.KZ
20.2.1.1.2. Mirative nā

Similarly to -ta in imperfective aspect, the mirative existential copula is the most unmarked amongst a category of forms. Likewise, a historical analysis accounts for this. There is strong comparative evidence that nā is a recently grammaticalized copula from an older verb *nak ‘to be at’. As the form grammaticalized into a copula in Kurtöp, it retained the immediate sense of location. The marked forms, then, are deviations from the semantics inherent to this.

The form nā is used when the speaker reports knowledge that was not expected, as in (588):

(588)    Hāpa the nā
         Hā-pa       the    nā
         Hā-DZ   one    COP.EXIS.MIR
         ‘He is a Hāpa (from Hā).’
         SBC20051127.KW

Example (588) comes from a conversation between two speakers. While relaying events of a particular journey, he describes meeting various people along the way. The referent in (588) is married to a Kurtöp speaker and thus speaks Kurtöp fluently (though with an acent). The speaker did not expect that the referent was from Hā and thus uses the mirative form of existential affirmative copula.
20.2.1.1.3. Presumptive navara

The form navara contrasts with both nawala and nå in the speaker is unsure of the given knowledge. In (589) the speaker, having listened to another speaker relay difficult events of a journey, proposes an alternative to walking on foot. Because he is not sure if there would have been a horse or not, the uses navara.

(589) chipta drau navara tshe

chipta   drau    navara    tshe
riding.horse.HON LIKE COP.EX.PRES DM
‘There might have been a riding horse (of the king) or something.’
SBC20051127.PC

A similar example is shown in (590), which is extracted from a story about the king Kala Wangpo. (590) is said at the beginning of the story when the assistants are postulating where the king’s missing hunting dog could have gone and begin their search. Because they speculate about the location of the dog, they use the form navara.

(590) tshe omenang shakhwi navara ngaksi tshui gewal wentami

tshe   o-me-nang    shakhwi    navara    ngaksi    tshui
dm   dem-down=loc    hunting.dog    cop.exis.pres    quot    look.for
ge-wala    wenta=mi
go-pfv    cop.eq.mir=tag
‘Having said ‘the hunting dog might be down there’, (they) went to look for it.’
PS20061206.0127.397.P
20.2.1.1.4. Dubitative naki

The form naki is used when the speaker is not sure about the truth value of statement. For example, in (591) the speaker uses naki because he is not certain that the place Pali Gonpa exists. This differs from nawara, which is is used when the speaker presumes something to the case; naki simply indicates the speaker is uncertain.

(591) Pali Gonpa ngaksi pangthe naki
Pali  Gonpa ngaksi pang-the naki
Pali  Gonpa QUOT field-DEF COP.EXIS.DBT
‘There might be a field called Pali Gonpa’
KZ200805151KZ

20.2.1.2. Negative forms

20.2.1.2.1. Non-mirative mû

The negative counterpart to nawala is mû, encoding certainty, based on previous experience or intrinsic knowledge. For example, in (592), extracted from the tale of Kala Wangpo, the speaker in the story is telling the king’s assistant that the hunting dog is not her house. She knows this intimately, as she is familiar with all the objects in her home.
(592) **ko phis thungmo tshe shakhwi mû ngaksi**

ko phis thung-mo tshe shakhwi mû ngaksi
door open do-CTM DM hunting.dog COP.EXIS.NEG QUOT
‘When (she) opened the door, she said “the hunting dog’s not (here)”’
PS20061212. 218.427.P

20.2.1.2.2. Mirative *mutna*

The form *mutna* can be contrasted with *mû* in that the speaker recently acquired the information and it was unexpected. This form is used, for example, when the speaker suddenly notices something is not present, for example when looking in his/her wallet and realizing there is no money.

Example (593) is extracted from a narration of an older villager about what life was like during his childhood. He describes a time when there was poor yield and the living conditions were particularly bad. By using the mirative form of the copula in (593), the speaker paints a picture wherein participants suddenly notice they don’t even have a piece of meat to eat. This was an unexpected turn of events.

(593) **shathe zu oto zumal *mutna***

sha-the zu wotor zu-male *mutna*
meat-INDEF eat like.this eat-NMZ:IRR COP.EXIS.NEG.MIR
‘(We) didn’t have a piece of meat to eat’
SPh.TsC20081022.1608.669SPh
20.2.1.2.3. Inferential mutle

Whereas the previous forms mú and mutna encode direct knowledge, the form mutle encodes indirect knowledge, or that the speaker gained the knowledge through inference. Example (594) is extracted from the same narrative as (593), where an elderly speaker is describing the difficulties of village life during his childhood. In (594) he is commenting on the lack of western hospitals and medicine. This situation contrasts with that of the meat in (593) in that the speaker would not notice the absence of western medicine. It wasn’t part of his experience growing up; it wasn’t something that had existed and was taken away. His knowledge of the lack of western medicine during is childhood is gained through indirect evidence based on his knowledge of present-day village life, where there is (limited) access to western medicine.

(594)  ‘mankang mutle, zumale ‘manyang mutle

‘mankhang mutle zu-male ‘man-yang mutle

hospital COP.EXIS.NEG.IND eat-NMZ:IRR medicine-also COP.EXIS.NEG.IND

‘There were no hospitals, no medicine to take (lit. eat)’

SPh.TsC20081022.1371.001.SPh

20.2.1.2.4. Dubitative mutla

The fourth negative existential form contrasts with the preceding three in that the speaker is not certain or presumes the knowledge to be true. In (595), king’s assistants from the tale of Kala Wangpo have arrived in the house of an elderly couple looking for the king’s hunting dog. The assistants do not have evidence of any kind that the dog
would be with the couple and are not certain; thus the form *mutla* is used to represent their doubt.

(595) *tshe neci khwi mutla ngak drir rasal*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tshe</th>
<th>neci</th>
<th>khwi</th>
<th>mutla</th>
<th>ngak</th>
<th>dri-ro</th>
<th>ra-sala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>1.PL.GEN</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>COP.EXIS.NEG.DBT</td>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>ask-INF</td>
<td>come-PFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(They said) they have to ask if our dog is not (here).’

PS20061206 .187.613.P

20.2.2. Equational copulas

As with the existential copulas, there are separate forms for affirmative and negative copulas, and within these categories there are separate forms to mark a variety of evidential and evidential-like functions. I discuss the affirmative forms first and the negative forms. As I show, the categories of unexpectedness (mirativity), indirect evidence (evidentiality) and certainty (epistemic modality) are coded throughout these paradigms as well.

20.2.2.1. Affirmative forms

There are four separate affirmative equational copulas. The form *wenta* marks mirative value; *wen* is the non-mirative, *winim* is the uncertain form and *wenpara* is used for presumption. I discuss these in turn below.
20.2.2.1.1. Non-mirative wen

In marking certainty of knowledge, based on previous knowledge or non-mirative contexts, the form wen is used. This form is frequently used during interviews when speakers respond to questions about personal information, and also occurs frequently during elicitation when speakers are asked to name various objects.

A typical example is shown in (596), which is used by a speaker to tell the audience how life was like in the village based on his previous knowledge.

(596)  

\[ \text{tshe 'napata zhe oso wen} \]
\[ \text{tshe 'napa-ta zhe woso wen} \]
DM before-EMPH what like.this COP.EQ

‘Earlier this is how it was’
SPh.TsC20081022.335.398.TsC

20.2.2.1.2. Mirative wenta

As a contrast to wen, the mirative copula marks that the information is newly acquired and unexpected. As such, this form is commonly used as a story-telling device to ‘make the story more interesting’, as speakers report to me.

(597)  

\[ \text{lungpa-the-na jepothe nawal wenta la} \]
\[ \text{lungpa-the=na jepo-the nawala wenta la} \]
valley-DEF=LOC king-DEF COP.EXIS COP.EQ.MIR POL

‘In a village there was a King’
PS20061212.22.625P
Another example comes from part of a narrative where an elderly speaker is describing life in the past. At this point in the narration he is describing a period of time in the distant past when Bhutanese were required to pay taxes to the King in the form of goods, such as rice, pottery, and stones for use as catapults. He deviates from the description some, describing how people used to play with the catapults, and utters \textit{wentami} to invoke the sudden surprise that would have entailed when one was hit.

(598) \textit{'nau-gangsha rastaki wentami} \\
\textit{'nau-gangsha} \quad \textit{ras-taki} \quad \textit{wenta}=\textit{mi} \\
\text{random.thought} \quad \text{come-IPFV} \quad \text{COP.EQ.MIR}=\text{TAG} \\
‘(they) must have been shocked (lit. random thoughts were coming)!’

SPh.TsC20081022. 2942.823.SPh

20.2.2.1.3. Dubitative \textit{winim}

When the speaker has doubt about the certainty of the event, s/he will use form \textit{winim}. (599) exemplifies typical use of the form; here, the speaker is not sure about the amount of time that had passed, but thinks it may have been around a month and a half. The copula \textit{winim} expresses this doubt:
‘la phedang zon winim
‘la phedang zon winim
month half two COP.EQ.DBT
‘It was maybe a month and a half.’
SBC20051127.KW

A separate form, wenpara is used to mark presumption, described in §18.1.3.1.1.

20.2.2.2. Negative forms

The negative equational copulas mark a four-way contrast among evidential and evidential-like categories. This is exactly the same pattern as shown for the existential copulas, with min being the non-mirative, mina as the miraitve, minle as the inferential and minla as the form that marks uncertainty. I discuss these in turn below.

20.2.2.2.1. Non-mirative min

The form min is the negative counterpart of wen. As expected, min is used when the speaker is certain of the knowledge and acquired the knowledge through personal experience and the information is not unexpected A typical example is in (600):

(600)  bas min, D.C.M.the
    bas     min         D.C.M-the
    bus COP.EQ.NEG D.C.M-DEF
‘(It) wasn’t bus, (it was) a D.C.M (small truck type)’
SPh.TsC20081022.2635.176.SPh

This form is also used similarly to English ‘no’, as in (601):
(601)  \textit{min}, \textit{ngari} cenggam\textit{the} n\text{à} kwana \textit{the}k\textit{na}  \\
\textit{min} \quad \textit{ngari} \quad \text{cenggam-the}  \\
\textsc{COP.EXIS.NEG} \quad \textsc{1.SG.EMPH.GEN} \quad \text{chewing.gum-DEF}  \\
\textit{n\text{à}} \quad \textit{kwa-na} \quad \textit{thek-na}  \\
\textsc{COP.EXIS.MIR} \quad \text{tooth=LOC} \quad \text{insert-PFV.MIR}  \\

\text{‘No, that chewing gum I had, it’s put in my teeth (mouth)’}  \\
\text{SPh.TsC20081022.1174.862.TsC}  \\

\textbf{20.2.2.2.} Mirative \textit{minta}  \\

The form \textit{minta} contrasts with \textit{min} in marking mirativity and is the negative counterpart to \textit{wenta}. A typical example is when someone self-corrects, as in (602).  \\

(602) \textit{net zon minta} \ldots \textit{net sum, Pema Drakpa, net sum}  \\
\textit{net} \quad \textit{zon} \quad \textit{minta} \quad \textit{net} \quad \textit{sum} \quad \textit{Pema} \quad \textit{Drakpa} \quad \textit{net} \quad \textit{sum}  \\
\textsc{1.PL} \quad \textsc{two} \quad \textsc{COP.EQ.NEG.MIR} \quad \textsc{1.PL.ABS} \quad \textsc{three} \quad \textit{Pema} \quad \textit{Drakpa} \quad \textsc{1.PL.ABS} \quad \textsc{three}  \\

\text{‘Not the two of us… three of us, (with) Pema Drakpa (there were) three of us’}  \\
\text{SaT.SW20090917.1120.559.SaT}  \\

\textbf{20.2.2.3.} Inferential \textit{minle}  \\

\textit{minle} is the negative equative copula with inferential evidential value. Two examples follow below. In (603) the speaker is reporting on knowledge he has inferred from previous experience, and not based on direct evidence. The same is true of (604).
(603) **Bartshamna minle**

*Bartsham-na minle*

Bartsham=LOC COP.EQ.NEG.IND

‘(Apparently) not at Bartsham.’

SBC20051127.KW

(604) **yarje drangsuya minle**

*yarje drangsu=ya minle*

development category-also COP.EQ.NEG.INF

‘It’s also not (in) the category (of) development (apparently).’

SPh.TsC20081022.536SPh

**20.2.2.4. Presumptive minla**

The negative counter part to the presumptive equational copula is *minla*, used when the speaker is not certain about the knowledge. (605) was extracted from the story about Kala Wangpo. In this example the elderly couple tells the king’s assistants they suspect they have arrived to loot and kill them.

(605) **dasum tshe net gatpo ganmo gap comzi sutkhandi minla ngak**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dasum</th>
<th>tshe</th>
<th>net</th>
<th>gatpo</th>
<th>ganmo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>1.PL.ABS</td>
<td>old.man</td>
<td>old.woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com-zi</td>
<td>sut-khan-di**</td>
<td>minla</td>
<td>ngak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loot-NF</td>
<td>kill-NMZ:IPFV-DEF (&lt;Dz)</td>
<td>COP.NEG.DBT</td>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Today you must be here to loot and kill us old folks (they said)’

PS20061212.174.344.P
20.3. Evidential and evidential-like clitics

In addition to the categories obligatorily coded as part of tense/aspect or copulas, Kurtöp has other evidential or evidential-like categories available to speakers. In this section I discuss the hearsay enclitic =ri and counter-expectation enclitic =sa.

20.3.1. Hearsay =ri

If the source of knowledge for a given event is auditory; that is, if the speaker acquired the knowledge s/he is relaying by hearing it from someone else; the speaker may cliticize =ri to the right edge of a verb phrase. Kurtöp =ri appears to translate directly into Dzongkha =lo or Nepali -re. In addition to the contexts below, the Kurtöp hearsay particle =ri may also be suffixed to the word zha ‘what’ to make zhari, which a speaker might utter when trying to recollect the name for something. In this instance Kurtöp zhari translated directly into Dzongkha g’acilo.

Evidentials may be used during storytelling, as in (606):

(606) palanggi jedo thilathe darnari

| palang=gi  | jedo  | thila-the | dar-na=ri |
| bed=GEN  | TOP  | thumb-DEF | remain-PFV.MIR=HSY |

‘On the bed remained a big toe’

KS20061212.188.829.KL

Another example comes from a conversation in which one speaker is sharing a previous experience, relaying what people said to him. The function of the hearsay marker in (607) is similar to the quotative (cf.§21.2.5.4.3).
(607) *nin ‘angi ratak yori*

\[
nin 'a=ngi ra-tak yo=ri
\]

2.PL where=ABL come-IPFV QP=HSY

‘Where are you guys coming from (they said)?’

SBC20051127.KW

An interesting example is (608). The speaker in this example is describing life in his village, talking about others’ actions. He uses the verb form -taki, which, when used with third person, indicates that the speaker has intrinsic or integrated knowledge. However, in the case of (608) the speaker has the hearsay marker -ri cliticized to the end, showing that it’s not really his personal knowledge he is reporting on, but knowledge he has heard from other people.

(608) *da neri tshô wennani mi phetseni nornang getakiri*

\[
da neri tshô wen-nani mi phetse-ni
gor=nang ge-taki=ri
cow=LOC go-IPFV=HSY
\]

‘Now if it’s our place some people go to (take care of) the cows’

SPh.TsC20081022.1625.310.SPh
20.3.2. Counter-expectation =sa

The clitic =sa indicates an event or outcome counter to the speaker’s expectation. In (609) the speaker adds =sa to the tensed verb koshang ‘hear-PFV.EGO’, indicating the result of the action was counter to expectation. More specifically, the speaker heard about the location of a given person, but at the time of speaking cannot remember what that location is. Thus, though he heard, he does not know; the result of the event is counter to expectation.

(609) 'au nawori ... ngai koshangsa

'au na-wo-ri ngai ko-shang=sa

where COP.EQ.QP=HSY 1.ERG hear-PFV.EGO=CEXP

‘Where (did I hear) (he) was? I thought I heard (to self)..’

SBC20051127.KW

Another example is (610), drawn from a conversation between two friends living in the U.S. During their conversation, which took place on a patio outside a home in Santa Barbara, CA, a dog comes up to the speakers. One speaker, PC, utters (610) below upon seeing the dog and begins to pet the dog. Dogs in Bhutan maintain a low status; dogs are usually stray, a nuisance, and sometimes carry rabies. They are not considered loveable creatures and, previously in the conversation, the two friends were commenting on the difference between a dog’s life in Bhutan and a dog’s life in the U.S. The fact that
PC would actually like dogs is counter to expectation, and thus he uses the morpheme 
=sa.

(610) **gatasa khwi gap**

*ga-ta-*sa  khwi  gapo*

enjoy-IPFV.MIR=CEXP  dog  FOC.PL

‘I like dogs.’

SBC20051127.PC

20.4. Question formation

Kurtöp speakers must take into account their interlocutor’s knowledge when 
asking questions. Recall that content questions in Kurtöp require a sentence final particle. 
There are two of these question particles; **yo** is used if the speaker expects the hearer to 
know the answer and **shu** is used if you do not expect the hearer to have the answer.

Below I illustrate uses of **yo** followed by uses of **shu**.

In (611) the speaker is enacting a scenario in which the U.S. government is 
intervening on behalf of an abused dog, saying to the dog owner *dazin ngako matshunani 
zha ngaksi bretak yo* ‘if you can’t take care (of it) why keep (it)? The use of **yo** in this 
instance reflects the fact that the speaker (the government in this case) expects the hearer 
(the dog owner) to have the answer.
(611)  zhunggi tshe zhari... dazin ngako matshunani zha ngaksi bre tak yo ngaksi

zhung=gi  tshe  zha=ri  dazin  nga=ko  ma-tshuk-nani  zha
government=ERG  DM  what=HSY  care  do=LOC  NEG-be.able-COND  what
ngak-si  blek-taki  yo  ngaksi
do-NF  keep-IPFV  QP  QUOT

‘So the government what.. (to self) says if you aren’t able to care for (the dog) then
why are you keeping it?’
SBC20051127.KW

This example can be contrasted with the following examples where yo is replaced
with shu. In (612) the speaker is unsure of what to talk about. She asks out loud what she
should say, but because the question is about her, she does not expect any interlocutor to
have the answer, and thus uses shu instead of yo.

(612)  ngaita zha lapmal shu da

ngai-ta  zha  lap-male  shu  da
1.ERG-EMPH  what  say-FUT  QP.DBT  now

‘Now what should I say?’
SPh.TsC20081022.311.002.TsC

Shu has a broader syntactic distribution than yo and can also be used in yes/no
questions. In (612) the speaker is asking his interlocutor a question about a third person
(Dungse), and does not know if the interlocutor and Dungse are close. Since he is not
sure that his interlocutor would know the answer.
20.5. Summary

The ‘evidential’ system described for Kurtöp in this chapter actually consists of forms that encode source of knowledge alongside expectations of knowledge and certainty of knowledge. Consider Table 155.

Table 155. Summary of evidential and evidential-like markers in Kurtöp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Knowledge</th>
<th>Expectation of Knowledge</th>
<th>Certainty of Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tense/Aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>-shang (hearer unexpected to share knowledge)</td>
<td>-para (presumed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inferred)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pala</td>
<td>-male (certain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na (unexpected)</td>
<td>-o (uncertain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta (unexpected)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ri (heard)</td>
<td>shu (hearer unexpected to have knowledge)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=sa (contra-expectation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copulas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutle</td>
<td>mutla (uncertain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inferred)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minle</td>
<td>nawala</td>
<td>naki (uncertain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(inferred)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mû</td>
<td>mutla (uncertain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutna (unexpected)</td>
<td>wenim (uncertain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wen</td>
<td>wenpara (presumed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wenta (unexpected)</td>
<td>minla (uncertain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The verbal morphology and copulas which play a role in the evidential/evidential-like system are illustrated in Table 155, according to three columns. The first column shows the forms which encode source of knowledge. One verbal clitic, =ri, encodes hearsay, or oral source of information; and one suffix and two copulas encode that knowledge was gained through inference. These forms would be considered true evidentials, according to Aikhenvald’s (2004) definition. The largest number of forms, shown in the second column, convey information regarding expectations of knowledge. Several of these forms -- but not all -- encode that information is unexpected, and thus can be considered to encode mirativity, according to the definition given in DeLancey (1997). Other forms convey functions that are less well-described in the literature, such as expectation of interlocutor’s knowledge and whether information is counter expectation. Note that Kurtöp treats unexpected information differently from information that goes against expectation. The third column consists of verbal suffixes and copulas which are used to encode various degrees of certainty. Within future tense a two-way contrast is made with regard to certainty, while among the affirmative existential copulas a three-way contrast is actually maintained (certain, presumed, or uncertain).
CHAPTER XXI
CLAUSE COMBINING

There are two ways in which Kurtöp may combine clauses into one larger structure. In the case of complement clauses one clause serves as an argument of a verb in a matrix clause; these are discussed in §21.1. Adverbial clauses differ from complement clauses in that the subordinate clause is not an argument of a matrix verb clause but is subordinate in the way an adverb is subordinate to a verb. §21.2 provides a discussion of adverbial clauses in Kurtöp, including the clause-chaining construction (§21.2.5).

21.1. Complement clauses

21.1.1. Infinitive -to

Diacronically, the infinitival suffix -to is derived from the locative =to; this is evidenced by the fact that infinitival -to and locative =to share the same allomorphy (cf. §7.3.3.1). Below I illustrate several examples of infinitival -to drawn from the textual database.

In (613) several clauses are strung together in a clause-chain. Toward the end of the chain the verb ra ‘come’ appears twice, both times with an infinitival complement. The first occurrence has com ‘loot’ suffixed with -to and the second occurrence has sut ‘kill’ suffixed with -to, both as infinitival complements to the verb ra ‘come’. In both instances the verbal participant khit khepo (referring to Khando Drowa Zangmo,
mentioned previously in the discourse) is an argument of both the infinitival verb and the matrix verb. In the case of the first occurrence of ra ‘come’, khit khepo ‘3.ABS FOC’ is the O of com and the S of ra ‘come.’ Likewise in the second occurrence, khit khepo is the O argument of sut ‘kill’ and the S of ra ‘come.’

(613) se wera khepo tshe yapning zhuyu ngaksi tshe khit khepo Duimo Hacangmai tshe comdo rata ngaksi ya suto rata ngaksi

se wera khepo tshe yap=ning zhu-lu
son.HON 2.ABS.REFL FOC DM father.HON=ABL request.HON-IMP
ngaksi tshe khit khepo Duimo Hacangma=gi tshe
QUOT DM 3.ABS FOC demoness Hacang=ERG DM
com-to ra-ta ngaksi ya sut-to ra-ta
loot-INF come-IPFV QUOT HES kill-INF come-IPFV.MIR
ngaksi
QUOT
‘(Khando Drowa Zangmo) said to her son, “request from your father” and that “Demoness Hacangma was coming to loot her”, oops, “coming to kill (her).”

The data in (614) provide a relatively simple example of the infinitival -to construction. Here, the verb tshuk ‘be.able’ is the matrix verb and ta-r ‘see-INF’ is the infinitival complement. The O argument of ta ‘see’ is the A argument of tshuk ‘be.able.’

628
(614)  thé sutmo the tar mitshu ngaksi

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
the & sut-mo & the & ta-to \\
one & kill-CTM & one & see-INF \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
mi-tshu & neg-be.able & QUOT \\
\end{array}
\]

‘When one is killed one cannot look (the said)’

PS20061206.1135.162.P

In (615) I show another example in which the S argument of the matrix verb (\textit{ni} ‘sit’) is shared with the A argument of the infinitival verb (\textit{pret} ‘fear’).

(615)  tshemo khepo tshe weri tsamarang \textit{mepreto} nilu ngaksi

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
tshemo & khepo & tshe & weri \\
but & FOC.SG & DM & 2.EMPH.ERG \\
tsama-rang & little-EMPH \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
me-pret-to & ni-lu & ngaksi \\
NEG-fear-INF & sit-IMP & QUOT \\
\end{array}
\]

‘But don’t be afraid at all (they said).’

PS20061206.1596.404P

An example of a shared A argument is shown in (616); the A argument of both \textit{sut} ‘kill’ and \textit{lot} ‘be.able’ is understood to be \textit{nyarop zon} ‘the two fishermen’ based on the preceding discourse.

(616)  tshe suto \textit{melot}

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{tshe} & sut-to & me-\text{’}lot \\
DM & kill-INF & neg-be.able \\
\end{array}
\]

‘And then (they) couldn’t kill (the children).’

PS20061206.1251.475P
The data in (617) provide another example of an A argument shared between the infinitival verb *lap* ‘say’ and *go* ‘need’.

(617)  

\[
\text{neri mras sho zha yo meng lap} \text{to go tshe}
\]

\[
1.\text{PL.INCL.GEN} \quad \text{paddy} \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{QP} \quad \text{say-INF} \quad \text{need} \quad \text{DM}
\]

‘(You) need to say what our rice paddies are.’

In at least one instance we see that the equational copula *wen* serves as the matrix verb. In (618) the matrix verb *wen* is directly preceded by the infinitival form of the verb *sut* ‘kill.’ The O argument of the verb *sut* ‘kill’ is understood to be *ninta zon* ‘you two’ and it appears that the A argument of *sut* (*nyarpo zon* ‘the two fishermen’) is also the A argument of *wen* ‘COP.EQ’

(618)  

\[
\text{ngâmo tshemong darung tshe ninta zon suto wen ngaksi zhusal wenta wozi nyarop}
\]

\[
zongi
dom实业 tshemong darung tshe nin-ta zon sut-to
\]

\[
do-CTM \quad \text{when} \quad \text{again} \quad \text{DM} \quad 2.\text{PL-EMPH} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{kill-INF}
\]

\[
\text{wen} \quad \text{ngaksi} \quad \text{zhu-pala} \quad \text{wenta} \quad \text{wozi} \quad \text{nyarop}
\]

\[
\text{COP.EQ} \quad \text{QUOT} \quad \text{say.hon-NMZ:P} \quad \text{COP.EQ.MIR} \quad \text{DEM:PROX} \quad \text{fisherman}
\]

\[
zon=\text{gi}
\]

\[
two=\text{ERG}
\]

‘When (the children) said (this), again (the two fishermen) said “(they) were going to kill the two of them” said the two fishermen.’

PS20061206.1237.295P
In (619) I provide an example of a complement clause inside a complement clause. The matrix verb in this example is *tshuk* ‘be.able’ and its infinitival complement is *yok* ‘to pour’, which itself has an infinitival complement *ngui* ‘buy’.

(619)  *nguir yoko metshukta*

ngui-ro  yok-to  me-tshuk-ta
buy-INF  pour-INF  NEG-be.able-IPFV.MIR

‘(We are) unable to buy in order to pour.’

riceharvest20081022.PS

(620)  *tshe ker khorzi .. brâ ... ’Yangridrak ngakhanli gen .. tshe udi kwekpani yot gwar cangko khormal ngak*

tshe  ker  khor-si  brâ  ’Yangridrak  ngak-khan=li
tshe  udi  kwekpa=ni  yot  gwar  cang-to
gem:dist  crown=ABL  DIR:DN  turn  throw-INF

‘Then (they) were carried and taken to a cliff, a cliff called “’Yangidrak” to be thrown from the top (they said).’

PS20061206.1377.548-1380.692.P
21.2. Adverbial clauses

21.2.1. Perfective -pa

The old PTB nominalizer *pa, in addition to showing up in finite clauses as part of the perfective suffix in finite verbal morphology, occurs readily in subordinate clause grammar as well. The fact that the -pa nominalizer described in this section is etymologically the same as the perfective suffix in §17.1.1.2 is evidenced by the shared allomorphy. Like in the perfective suffix, the -pa used in making subordinate clauses has allomorph -wa following velar and etymologically -l final stems, allomorph -sa following open stems, and -pa elsewhere. For more details on this morpheme, please refer to a discussion of its allomorphy in §7.3.2.2 and its function as a nominalizer in §15.2.1.

21.2.1.1. -pani

The nominalizer -pa plus ablative =ni yields an adverbial clause which may translate roughly in English ‘before V’ or ‘since V’.

In (621) the clause cingukni dompani is an adverbial clause that can be translated into something like English ‘having met since (being) small’.
(621)  lama cheno! Da domra madom cingkuni dompani nango she nango she ngaksi zai dronpo wenta wa tsheni ngat

My god! now meet-EMPH NEG-meet small=ABL meet-NMZ=ABL she nang=to she ngaksi zai dronpo wenta come.IMP inside=LOC come.IMP QUOT wow guest COP.EQ.MIR wai tsheni ngat EXCL then 1.ABS

‘My god! (I) haven’t met (you) since (you) were small, “come inside, come inside” she said and then I was a guest.’

SBC20051127.KW

This construction can be negated by prefixation of ma-, as (622). Note the perfective sense of zat ‘finished’ is still maintained. Note the arguments are shared across the adverbial clause and the main clause; gomchen ‘monks’ is the A argument of the adverbial clause and the S argument of the main clause thraktati ‘arrive.IPV’

(622)  o pholap tsozi mazatpani gomchen thraktaki omena

wo pholap tso-si ma-zat-pa=ni gomchen PROX chat tell-NF NEG-finish-NMZ=ABL monk thrak-taki ome=na arrive-IPFV PROX:DN=LOC

‘Before finishing the chat, the monks arrive down there.’

SBC20051127.KW

A similar example is shown in (623).
As would be expected from adverbial clauses, it is not required for an argument of the adverbial clause to be the same as an argument of the main clause. This is illustrated by (624), in which ‘ngazi makhwarwaning ‘the sun not rising’ is adverbial to net gap yang bapshang ‘we had to get up’.

(624)  'lama ‘ngazi nam makharwaning net gap yang bapshang

lama  ‘ngazi  nam ma-khar-wa=ning  net  gapo

god morning sun  NEG-rise-NMZ=ABL  1.PL.ABS  PL.FOC

yang  bap-shang

stand.up  must-PFV.EGO

‘God! Before the sun rose we had to get up.’

SBC20051127.KW
21.2.1.2. -palthe

The Kurtöp -palthe construction is etymologically composed of the perfective suffix -pala plus the numeral thê, yielding the sense of immediacy following the completion of a given action. In short, the construction V-palthe can be translated into English as ‘Once Ved’. Some examples are shown below.

In (625) the finite clause darung yau thrawala ‘again (I) reached up there’ is suffixed with -the ‘one’ to yield an adverbial clause ‘Once I reached up there again…’

Example (626) shows the verb dek ‘enter’ as part of an adverbial clause before the main clause with the main verb ge ‘go’.

(625) barbarto 'ngazi yoto ge darung yau thrawalthe yangi yoto darung tapsi mau sutle mau yoto ge go

sometimes=LOC morning DIR:DN go again DEM:UP

threk-palthe ya=ngi yo-to darung

arrive-PFV.IMM UP=ABL DIR:DN again

tap-si mau sutle mau yoto ge go

return-NF DEM:DN night DEM:DN DIR:DN go need

‘Sometimes in the morning I go down and again as once I arrive up then again I have to go back down.’

SBC20051127.KW

Example (626) shows the verb dek ‘enter’ as part of an adverbial clause before the main clause with the main verb ge ‘go’.

635
(626) cakhari sana dewalthe gari yam thang wotor ngaksi daro wotor ngaksi tsama getami wotor ngak
cakharp=g sa=na dek-palthe gari yam thang
India=GEN place=LOC enter-PFV.IMM car path flat
wotor ngak-si daro wotor ngak-si tsama ge-ta=mi
like.this do-NF now like.this do- NF little go-IPFV.MIR=TAG wotor ngak
like.this
‘Once (we) entered the Indian land, the car went like this and likt this for some time.’
SBC20051127.KW

A similar example is in (627), where the finite clause ‘wang juduwala is suffixed with -the to yield ‘Once the blessing was over…’

(627) ‘wang juduwalthe juduzi tapsi khako majonpal
‘wang judu-palthe judu-si tap-si khako
blessing exhaust-PFV.IMM exhaust-NF return-NF DIR:UP ma-jon-pala
NEG-come.HON-PFV
‘Once the blessing was over, after finishing he didn’t return up.’
SBC20051127.KW

A similar example is shown in (628).
(628)  *ko phisalthe wak .. ka .. ka ngawalthe mira yum jong ge tshe*

ko  phi-palthe  wak   ka   ka   ngak-palthe

doors  open-PFV.IMM  wak  ka  ka  do-PFV.IMM

mira  yum    jong   ge   tshe

others  mother.HON  emerge  go  DM

‘Once the door was opened, there was a *wak ka ka* and then the mother came out.’

SBC20051127.KW

21.2.2. Imperfective -*kini*

Another way of forming adverbial clauses is by way of suffixing the nominalizer -*ki* plus the ablative =*ni*. Like in its nominalizing (cf. §15.3) and finite sense, the form -*ki* has allomorph -*ci* following coda -*r*, -*p*, -*n*, -*m* and old -*l* codas, the form -*iki* following open syllables, and -*ki* following -*ng* and -*k* codas. This construction is very similar to -*pani* in that the adverbial clause is understood to be chronologically prior to the main clause.

In (629) the adverbial clause *oci ngakini* is followed by the main clause *tshe geshang khit* ‘then he left’. In the adverbial clause *khit* is understood to be the A argument, which is shared as the S argument in the main clause. Note the shared argument is mentioned only once at the end of the main clause.
(629) \textit{tshe woci ngakini tshe geshang khit}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{tshe}	& \textit{woci}	& \textit{nga-kini}	& \textit{tshe}	& \textit{ge-shang}	& \textit{khit} \\
DM	& then	& do-IPFV.IMM	& DM	& go-PFV.EGO	& 3.ABS
\end{tabular}
\begin{flushleft}
‘After doing that then he left.
\end{flushleft}
SBC20051127.KW

Example (630) provides another example of an adverbial clause with the verb \textit{ngak ‘do’} and the A argument of the adverbial clause being the same as the S of the main clause.

(630) \textit{lama... tshe tongpa ngakini cota cota gizi net zon wudukshang zai}
\begin{tabular}{l}
lama	& tshe	& tongpa	& \textit{nga-kini}	& cota	& cota	& gi-zi \\
god!	& DM	& empty	& do-IPFV.IMM	& fast	& fast	& go-NF \\
et	& zon	& wuduk-shang	& zai \\
1.PL.ABS	& two	& exhaust-PFV.EGO	& EXCL
\end{tabular}
\begin{flushleft}
‘God! We were empty so we walked quickly and the of us were exhausted
\end{flushleft}
SBC20051127.KW

A similar example is shown in (631).
Sometimes the construction V-kini yields a sense of causation, as in (632). The action tsokpa tong ‘drink dirty (water)’ is understood to be the cause of sestami ‘die-IPFV-TAG’.

(632) tshe ome tsokpa thongkini ochi wentami tshe miyang shama lo gepcuyang methupnami sestami tshe la

‘And it’s because of drinking that dirty water down there that many people do not even reach the age of eighty and die’

SPh.TsC20081022.1965.057.SPh
In (633) the adverbial clause consists of the verb ge ‘go’, its verbal complement natpa taro ‘to see a sick person’ and the auxiliary ngak ‘do’, which receives the subordinate morphology -kini. The finite clause is characterized by the nominalized verb plus copula khormale mû.

(633) da net daru natpa taro getak ngakini, da chomani o gapo ‘namisami khormal mû treshharang

now 1.PL now sick.person see-INF go-IPFV do-IPFV.IMM

da choma o gapo ‘namisami khor-male

now gift PROX PL.FOC very take-NMZ:IRR

mû COP.EXIS.NEG

‘Now because we were going to see a sick person, we didn’t take many gifts.’

SBC20051127.KW

It is not a requirement of the V-kini construction for any arguments to be shared between the adverbial clause and the main clause. Example (634) illustrates a subordinate clause bijili thrakini ‘since electricity arrived’ which does not share an argument with the monovalent main clause verb ge ‘go’.

(634) bijil thrakini ‘neng jat geshang

bijil thrak-kini ‘neng jat ge-shang

electricity arrive-IPFV.IMM year eight go-PFV.EGO

‘Since the electricity arrived eight years have gone’

SPh.TsC20081022.2194.279.Ch
The difference between -\textit{pani} and -\textit{kini} appears to be one of aspect. In (635) the subordinate verb is translated in perfective aspect while in (636) the subordinate verb receives an imperfective translation.

(635) \textbf{thrawani}  
\textit{thrak-pa}=ni  
arrive-\textsc{nmz}=\textsc{abl}  
‘after having arrived…’  
SPh.TsC20081022.2192.945.SPh

(636) \textbf{gun bjongkini}  
\textit{gun} \textit{byong-kini}  
winter \textsc{emerge-\textsc{ipfvi}}\textsc{imm}  
‘When winter comes…’  
SPh.TsC20081022.2192.945.SPh

21.2.3. Conditional -\textit{nani}  

The Kurtöp morpheme -\textit{nani} attaches to bare or negated verbs to make an adverbial conditional clause. Kurtöp -\textit{nani} translates into \texttt{བད་བ་ཅིན-} \texttt{-bewacin} in Dzongkha though it would premature at this point to simply equate their functions. I describe some uses of the Kurtöp -\textit{nani} below.

The following example comes from a conversation between two Bhutanese living in the United States. They are discussing the role of dogs in the U.S. compared to in
Bhutan. In (637) one speaker is taking on the voice of the government, which could come and fine a person for not taking care of their dog. Here, the verb tshu is negated and suffixed with -nani, so that the whole clause dazin ngako matshu ‘unable to care for’ is a condition to the main clause zhangaksi bletak yo ‘why are (you) keeping (it)?’.

(637)  
dazin ngako matshunanani zhangaksi bretak yo ngaksi  
dazin ngak-to ma-tshu-nani zhangaksi blek-taki yo  
care do-INF NEG-be.able-COND why keep-IPFV QP  
ngaksi  
QUOT  
‘(The government) says “if you can’t take care of (the dog) why keep (it)”?’  
SBC20051127.KW

(638)  
tsheni khwi woni tshe darung tsama nyamya mutle tsheni cotra gizi 'atorti ngak tsokpa brenani khwi zhunggi -- ozi zhari darung boci khwi ples nâmi -- onang khor geta  
tsheni khwi woni tshe darung tsama nyam-ya mutle  
them dog then DM again little fat-also COP.EXIS.NEG.INF  
tsheni cotra gi-si 'atorti ngak tsokpa blek-nani  
them weak go-NF how dirty keep-COND  
khsi zhung=gi wozi zha=ri darung boci  
dog government=ERG PDEM:ROX what=HSY again 3.PL.GEN  
khsi ples** nâ=mi wo=nang khor ge-ta  
dog place COP.EXIS.MIR=TAG DEM:PROX=LOC take go-IPFV.MIR  
‘Then if the dog is again a little underweight and then gets weak and is kept dirty the government takes the dog to -- what’s it called the dog place -- there.’  
SBC20051127.KW

Similar examples are in (638) and (639).
(639)  'macornani thrim drau kutta sho

ma-cor-nani thrim drau kut-ta sho
NEG-be.able-COND fine like levy-IPFV.MIR EMPH

‘If you are not able, they will fine you’
SBC20051127.KW

The example in (640) suggests that the translation of -nani to the English
condition ‘if … then’ is not entirely accurate. The conditional clause in (640) zhâ the ni
‘stay one night’ does not entail tiru mù ‘not having money’.

(640)  da zhâ the ninani tiru mù tshe

da zhâ the ni-nani tiru mù tshe
now night one stay-COND money COP.EXIS.NEG DM

‘If we stayed for another night we had no money.’
SBC20051127.KW

Until now all the examples I have presented of -nani involve a verb which may be
an auxiliary or verb of ability. However -nani may be suffixed to lexical verbs as well, as
in (641).
(641) da trongna ngaci medo ‘onga kenani tshe wai ‘ong nana wai ngâna tshe thamce yangi ramale tshe

da  trong-na  ngaci  me=to  ‘ong  ke-nani  tshe
now  village-LOC  1.GEN  house=LOC  child  bear-COND  DM
tshe  wai  ‘ong  nâ-nani  wai  ngak-na  tshe
DM  EXCL  child  COP-COND  EXCL  do-PFV.MIR  DM
thamce  ya=ngi  ra-male  tshe
all  up=ABL  come-FUT  DM
‘Now in the village if a child is born in our house then it is said “hey, there is a child, hey” and everyone comes from up there.’
SPh.TsC20081022.1402.946.SPh

21.2.4. Cotemporal -mo

Kurtöp may conjoin two co-temporal events by suffixing -mo to the end a bare verb stem. Aspect (perfective/imperfective) is also encoded in the subordinate clause; -mo by itself entails perfective aspect while -motako encodes imperfective aspect.

§21.2.4.1 describes the uses of perfective subordination with -mo while §21.2.4.2 describes imperfective co-temporal subordination using -motako.

21.2.4.1. Perfective -mo

The Kurtöp -mo construction, on its own, is a perfective co-temporal adverbial structure. The -mo construction is structurally similar to the clause-chaning -si construction (see §21.2.5) in that the suffix may attach to a main verb or auxiliary and the verb must be affirmative. Also like clause-chaining, the -mo construction, though subordinate to the main verb, does not function as an argument of the main clause verb.
Unlike -si, however, -mo attaches to main verbs or auxiliaries only; it does not attach to the copula nā. Neither do we see evidence of the -mo construction creating converbs or clause-chains; the -mo construction is noticeably more adverbial in structure and function when compared to the -si construction.

Busch (2007: 47) suggests -mo originates as a nominzalier diachronically, an intriguing idea which merits further research. There has not been sufficient research on the other East Bodish languages to indicate whether there is comparative evidence in Kurtöp’s closest neighbors to support this, but following Busch’s suggestion, one obvious source for a -mo nominalizer could be the PTB form *ma ‘woman/female’ which shows up as a nominalizer in several branches throughout the family.

The Kurtöp form -mo alternates with -mong but the difference is not based on phonological or morphonological rules but rather is stylistic, with the form -mong appearing more formal or eloquent; see §7.3.3.5 for more details on the stylistic alternation between suffixes and clitics that alternate an open syllable with one closed by a velar nasal.

In (642) I show a typical use of the co-temporal subordinating construction. -mo is suffixed to the end of the verb thung, itself the main verb in the subordinate clause khit nya thung to give the translation to give the rough translation ‘while he played archery…’ The main clause in (642) is nya zhiknami oni thundo ‘(he) was hit by an arrow’. Note that in this example although the referent ‘he’ is not overtly mentioned in the main clause, it is present and nya thungmo is clearly not filling the role of either verbal argument of zhik
‘be.hit.’ In this example the subordinate clause appears temporally before the main clause.

(642)  \( tshe \ khit \ nya \ \text{thungmo} \ nya \ zhiknami \ oni \ thundo \)

\( tshe \ khit \ \text{mya} \ \text{thung-mo} \ nya \ zhik-na=mi \)

DM  3.ABS  arrow  do-CTM  arrow  be.hit-PFV.MIR=TAG  
\( wo=ni \)  thun=to  

DEM:PROX=ABL  DIST=LOC  

‘While he played archery, he was hit by an arrow here’

SBC20051127.KW

Below is another example of -mo of creating an adverbial clause which precedes the main clause.

(643)  \( dam \ breksi \ dasum \ ngâmo \ nen \ drô \ geshang \ da \)

\( dam \ blek-si \ dasum \ ngak-mo \ nen \ drô \ ge-shang \ da \)

lock  keep-NF  today  do-CTM  day  six  go-PFV.EGO  now  

‘Since locking, now today six days have gone’

KS20061212.168.75KL

In another example of the -mo construction (644), the adverbial clause \textit{wona thrâmo} ‘when arrive here’ the adverbial clause interrupts the main clause, appearing between the \textit{O thê khepo} ‘one FOC’ and the main verb \textit{zuyu} ‘eat.IMP’.
(644) theê khepo ona thrâmo zuyu ngak
    thek  khepo  wo=na     thrak-mo   ngak
one     FOC      DEM:PROX=LOC  arrive-CTM  QUOT

‘Eat one when you arrive there (he) says’
SBC20051127.KW

In (645) the co-temporal subordinator -mo is attached to an auxiliary; bo is the S argument of the main verb lok ‘return’ and ra ‘come’ is the auxiliary. The main verb here is brek ‘keep’ and two clause chains also occur between the adverbial clause bo lok ramo and the main clause mê nango dam brekshang.

(645) bo lok ramo tshe trongi mi gapi wici ’aiya wotor mi the razi co khotsi ’lam
Drukpa Künle wen ngak lapsi tshe wotor mê nango dam brekshang
    bo   lok       ra-mo     tshe  trongi  mi      gapo=gi
son  return     come-CTM  DM  village-GEN  person  PL.FOC=ERG
    Drukpa  Künle  wen    ngak   lap-si  tshe  wotor
Drukpa  Künle  COP.EQ QUOT tell-NF  DM  like.that
    mê   nang=to   dam  blek-shang
house  inside=LOC  lock  keep-PFV.EGO

‘When the son came back then the people from the village said “your grandmother, a man like that came, telling lies, saying “I am Drukpa Künle” and like that she was locked inside the house.’
KS20061212.162.882-167.168KL

The suffix -mo may occur on the verb ngak ‘do’ when used as a speech-act verb, as in (646).
(646)  *thrê ngâmo koktongra oksoso*

\[
\text{thrê} \quad \text{ngak-mo} \quad \text{koktong=ra} \quad \text{oksoso}
\]

\[
\text{finger.millet} \quad \text{do-CTM} \quad \text{ball=EMPH} \quad \text{like.this}
\]

‘When we say millet, it would be a ball of about this size’

riceharvest20081022.859.681.PS

A very common usage of this construction is in the expression *ngai tamo ‘1.ERG see-CTM’*, which can roughly be translated into English ‘in my opinion’ or, more colloquially, ‘I guess’. An example of *ngai tamo* is in (647).

(647)  *’aci ’yô lim nawal wentami ngai tamo*

\[
\text{’aci} \quad \text{’yô} \quad \text{limu} \quad \text{nawala} \quad \text{wenta=mi}
\]

\[
\text{elder.brother} \quad \text{job} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{COP.EXIS} \quad \text{COP.EQ.MIR=TAG}
\]

\[
\text{ngai} \quad \text{ta-mo}
\]

\[
\text{1.ERG} \quad \text{see-CTM}
\]

‘I guess the brother got a good job.’

SBC20051127.KW

21.2.4.2. Imperfective –*motako*

With the exception of (647), illustrating a grammaticalized use of the co-temporal subordinator, all the examples of -mo co-occur with perfective aspect in the adverbial clause. An imperfective version of the co-temporal subordinating -mo construction is also available with the form -tako suffixed following -mo.
Busch (2007:§3.3.1) analyzes -tako to be diachronically composed of the imperfective -ta and locative -ko, with -ta being grammaticalized from the verb ‘become.’ Busch (2007:47-48) mentions Proto-Tamangic *ta ‘become’ as evidence for a possible source but misses the fact that tak still exists as the synchronic verb ‘become’ in Kurtöp, further support in favor of his analysis. Indeed, the source for -motako is likely to be -nominalizer-imperfective-locative, as the semantics ‘to be at V-ing’ link intuitively to the semantics of -motako in use.

The use of -motako is formally equivalent to -mo on its own; it suffixes to bare lexical verbs or auxiliaries and forms a co-temporal subordinate adverbial clause. The only difference is one of aspect of the adverbial clause; -motako entails the co-temporal adverbial clause is in imperfective aspect.

In (648) the main verb domshang ‘meet.PFV.EGO’ has one argument mi ’ngunti ‘black man’ and the adverbial clause yao gemotako nâ is subordinate. Note the presence of the copula nâ here, perhaps further evidence of -tako being derived from aspectual morphology plus locative case.

(648)  
yau gemotako nâ tshemo yam barto mi ’ngunti the domshangri
yau  ge-mo-tako  nâ  tshemo  yam  bar=to  mi
DEM:UP  go-CTM-IPFV  COP.EXIS.MIR  while  path  RN:MID=LOC  person
’ngunti-la  the  dom-shang=ri
black-IDZ  one  meet-PFV.EGO=HSY
‘While (they) were going up there, while on the path, (they) met a black person.’
SaT.SW20090917.2133.597-2137.116.SaT
A typical example of the co-temporal imperfective subordinating construction is shown in (649). The main verb in this example is *nan* ‘be full’ and its S argument is *mi* ‘person’. The adverbial clause *nam kharmotako* ‘while the sun is rising’ appears preceding the main clause.

(649) *nam kharmotako wo thangna mi nanna tshe darung*

*nam khar-mo-tako wo thang=na mi nan-na*

sun rise-CTM-IPFV Dem:PROX plane=LOC person be.full-PFV.MIR
tshe darung
DM again

‘While the sun was rising the ground was filled with people.’

SBC20051127.KW

There are several examples of the co-temporal imperfective subordinating construction occurring with auxiliaries. In (650) I show the auxiliary verb *ge* ‘go’ suffixed with *-motako* while in (651) the subordinate clause has *ni* ‘sit’ was the auxiliary verb.

(650) *net woni khako wotor ngak gemotako neci gari stop geshang*

*net wo=ni khako wotor ngak ge-mo-tako*

1.PL.ABS Dem:PROX=ABL Dir:UP like,this do go-CTM-IPFV
*neci gari stop** ge-shang do*

1.PL Gen car stop go-PFV.EGO

‘When we went up like this our car stopped.’

SBC20051127.KW
(651) *tshe thundo jongzi bot 'ip zuzi nimotako tshemo ngaktari khî 'ama te te 'oyeni khak mi cepal ngam geta ngaktari 'amana*

*tshe thun=to jong-si bot ni-mo-tako zu-si*

*DM DIST=LOC emerge-NF 3.PL sit-CTM-IPFV eat-NF*

*ni-mo-tako tshemo ngak-ta=ri khî 'ama ta-le*

*sit-CTM-IPFV while do-IPFV.MIR=HSY 3.ERG mother see-IMP*

*ta-ye ta-ye 'o-ye-ni khak mi cepa-la 'ngam*

*see-IMP see-IMP PROX-UP=ABL up person naked-IDZ many*

*ge-ta ngak-ta=ri 'ama=na*

*go-IMP do-IPFV=HSY mother=LOC*

‘While eating food after coming out (he) said “mother, look, look, there are so many naked people up there going from up there”, (he) said to his mother.’

21.2.5. The clause-chaining construction -si

A very common construction in Kurtöp, referred to here as the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction, is characterized by the presence of at least one converb (and indeed usually many more), suffixed with -si, followed by a final and finite verb. The converb does not receive any of the finite morphology which would otherwise obligatorily encode tense, aspect, and evidentiality. Its occurrence in discourse requires a finite verb, at the end of the chain, which determines the tense, aspect and evidentiality for the event(s) encoded by the converb(s). In other words, converses are not finite and are subordinate to the finite clause. The converb, however, like in other adverbial clauses, does not fulfill a semantic or grammatical role of the finite verb (see §21.2.5.1 for more details). Thus, the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction is treated in this section.

The Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction is used for a very wide variety of functions, including adverbial, temporal sequence, sequential events, and causation of
multiple clauses, as well as aspectual and modal information in monoclausal constructions. When encoding adverbial, temporal sequence, and causation of multiple clauses, the converb suffix -si is required and verbal arguments are not necessarily shared between the converb(s) and the final, finite verb. That is, a clause-chain in Kurtöp may consist of one or more converbal clauses, in which verbal arguments may or may not be shared between converbal clauses and the finite verb.

The adverbial, temporal sequence and causation functions are typical of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction when the finite verb is a main verb (not auxiliary or copula). A converb may also be used with an auxiliary (see §10.5.5.2 and §16.1.4 for detailed definitions of auxiliaries) or copula (see §10.5.5.5 for detailed definitions of copulas), in which case the converbal suffix -si is optionally omitted. In these instances the function encoded by the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction is one of aspect or modality (described in §13.7.4), as opposed to sequencing of events, or a function more typically associated with clause-chaining.

21.2.5.1. Definition of ‘converb’

Before turning to the analysis of the Kurtöp data and description of clause-chaining in Kurtöp, some background on the terms converb and clause-chaining are in order. The interest in converbs and related phenomena appear to go back at least 100 years, to work done by Gustaf John Ramsted on Mongolian (Bickel 1998: 389). The term ‘converb’ has since been used widely in Altaic linguistics to describe the sort of
subordinate verb described in this section for Kurtöp. The term ‘Clause-chaining’ has been in use for at least the past four decades, describing phenomena in languages of Papua New Guinea (e.g. Elson (1964); McCarthy (1965) for Kanite; Lawrence (1972) for Oksapmin), Australia (e.g. Dixon (1972) for Dyirbal), the Americas (e.g. Payne (1991) for Panare) and the Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Andvik (1999) for Tshangla; Post (2007) for Galo).

Perhaps the most influential and controversial work to date on conversbs has been the edited volume *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective* (Haspelmath and König 1995), which examines the validity of a typological, cross-linguistic category of *converb*. A review of the work finds two senses of the term *converb*. One sense, rigorously defined by (Haspelmath 1995: 3) is that of a subordinate verb which has the primary function of marking adverbial subordination. A broader, looser definition of the term *converb* is proposed by V. Nedjalkov (Nedjalkov 1995: 97) to be ‘a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactant actant; i.e. does not realize its semantic valencies’. Problems with Haspelmath’s definition have been noted by many, including Bickel (1998), Genetti (2005), and Coupe (2007). One of these issues, acknowledged by Haslepmath himself, is that of finiteness. Finiteness is often a continuum, and designating a particular form as finite or non-finite is not always straightforward.

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135 Or other derivations thereof, such as ‘topic chain’, or ‘chain of medial clauses’, ‘clause-linking’ device, amongst others.
One may contrast Haspelmath’s (1995) notion of *converb* with the notion of *medial verb*, a term defined by (Longacre 1985: 263) to refer to a verb of a clause with reduced finite possibilities, usually specifying a subject, and usually expressing a temporal relationship between clauses. Haspelmath (1995:23) makes a distinction between converbs and medial verbs; he states ‘the key difference lies in the fact that prototypical converbal clauses are *subordinate* (in the sense of ‘embedded’) while prototypical medial clauses … are not subordinate but are *cosubordinate*.’

According to Haspelmath (2005: 12), a converb can be considered to be subordinate based on the following criteria: 1) clause-internal word order; 2) variable position; 3) possibility of cataphoric reference; 4) semantic restrictiveness; 5) possibility of extraction. Natural discourse provides no evidence of (1), (2) or (5) in Kurtöp and though (4) is possible, it is not the only function of the Kurtöp Clause-chain. However, the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction does adhere to the definition of V. Nedjalkov (1995) in that it is dependent on a final, finite verb and does not satisfy any syntactic or semantic requirement of the final verb. As it turns out, Kurtöp converbs are not unique in this regard. Converbs described in Newar (Genetti 2005), Ao (Coupe 2007), and Darma (Willis 2007) are similarly subordinate. As I show below, Kurtöp converbs exhibit a wide range of functions, including expressing both adverbial and temporal sequencing of events. While these functions are not subsumed under Haspelmath’s (1995) sense of *converb*, they are endemic of Asian converbs in general (e.g. Bickel 1998). I follow Genetti (2005), Coupe (2007) and Willis (2007) in using the term *converb* to describe the form the verb takes in a clause-chaining construction. In doing so, I hope to link the
Kurtöp data to the similar findings reported in these other Tibeto-Burman languages, and at the same time retain the word ‘clause-chain’ in order to tie the Kurtöp data into the areal phenomenon noted by (Masica 2005), namely that clause-chaining is an areal feature of South Asia.

21.2.5.2. Introduction to the Kurtöp clause-chaining construction

The Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction is amongst the most productive syntactic constructions in the language, with of clauses employing the construction. Kurtöp finite sentences are often very long and complex, consisting of several chained clauses within one finite sentence. Prototypically, the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction consists of at least two verbs. The first verb is a converb suffixed with the converb marker -\textit{si} and the second verb will be finite. Both verbs may have separate arguments or the arguments may be shared between the verbs. An example of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction is shown in (652) below, with the converb in bold font.

\begin{verbatim}
(652) \textit{depa kutsi} tsawai 'lama ngak tanpal wenta
\textit{depa} \textit{kut-si} tsawa=gi 'lama ngak tan-pala wenta
devotion send-NF root=GEN DM do adhere-PFV COP.EQ.MIR

‘Being very devoted, (she) made (him her) root lama’
KS20061212.31.734KL
\end{verbatim}

However, in some instances (see mainly §21.2.5.5) the -\textit{si} suffix may be omitted. It is the possible presence of the converbal morphology that characterizes the construction.
21.2.5.3. Form

The Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction consists of at least two verbs, in which the first verb is a converb suffixed with -si, and a clause-final verb which is finite. The converbs in the construction are usually bare, other than for the suffix. It cannot be marked for tense, aspect or evidentiality, cannot be nominalized, and cannot be negated. It does share some noun-like properties in that the converb may also be cliticized with the emphatic morpheme =ra.

The final verb in the chain is usually fully finite, marked for tense/aspect/evidentiality, but may also be a nominalized verb (followed by a copula), which itself is part of a nominalization construction (see §15). The final verb may be a lexical verb, an auxiliary, or a copula. In the case that the final verb of the Clause-chaining Construction is a lexical verb, the suffix -si is required on the converb (unless the verb is ngak ‘do’; see below) and the construction canonically encodes two separate events (see §21.2.5.4). When the final verb is an auxiliary, the converb suffix may be omitted and one event is canonically encoded (see §21.2.5.1). In addition, the final verb may be a copula, in which case the Clause-chaining Construction is encoding imperfective aspect (see §21.2.5.5.4 and §17.2).

As I describe in §16.2.2.15, the non-final suffix -si is of unknown direct etymology but is likely related to similar forms found throughout TB, including Jero and Karbi, and may be related the form * -s reconstructed for PTB.
The Kurtöp verb suffix -si has allomorph -zi following vowels (i.e. open stems), and voiced consonants (i.e. -m, -n, -r, -ng). Table 156 illustrates the allomorphy of -si based on the verb stem type.

### Table 156. Allomorphy of Kurtöp verb -si

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Type</th>
<th>Example Bare Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Stem with –si</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-p</td>
<td>phap</td>
<td>‘bring down’</td>
<td>phap-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>dot-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-k</td>
<td>kuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
<td>kuk-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>‘put on’</td>
<td>gin-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>ngom</td>
<td>‘become drunk’</td>
<td>ngom-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>thong</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>thong-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>chir</td>
<td>‘chop’</td>
<td>chir-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical -l</td>
<td>phre</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td>phre-zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open syllable</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>se-zi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the alternation between -si and -zi, both forms may be shortened to -s or -z. Not surprisingly, the reduction of the verb suffix often correlates with the reduction of multiple clauses to one.

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136 With reference to open syllables, because synchronic open syllables in verbs may come from at least two different sources (i.e. open syllable remains open or coda -l is lost and sometimes fronts the vowel) a verbal stem in it of itself does not show whether or not a coda -l was present historically. Thus, comparative data is used to discern whether or not the stem had a -l coda historically. For example, with regard to the present data, comparison with Classical Tibetan <spralba> supports the hypothesis that this form had a historically present -l final stem. Kurtöp synchronic allomorphy also exhibits this distinction elsewhere. See §7.3.2.2, §7.3.2.3 and §7.3.3.1 for more explanation.
21.2.5.4. Different events

The most common usage of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction is to denote separate events. In this section I describe first the form, and then some functions of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction when marking separate events. Note that there will be some instances in which the boundary between two and one events is fuzzy.

21.2.5.4.1. Form of different event clause-chaining construction

The canonical use of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction is as follows. In natural discourse, the Clause-chaining Construction is often used to join multiple events, using multiple verbs. For example, consider the data in (653), a typically complex sentence in Kurtöp.

(653) bo lok ramo tshe, trongi mi gapoi wici 'aiya wotor mi the razi, co khotsi 'lam Drukpa Künle wen ngak lapsi, tshe wotor me nango dam brekshang

When the son came back, the villagers said ‘your grandmother... how... a man came, lying, saying “I am Drukpa Künle” and then like that she was locked inside
the room’
KS20061212.162.882-167.168KL

In (653), the first clause to be marked with the clause-chaining suffix consists of the verb ra ‘come’ plus its S argument mi the ‘a man’. The second and third clauses consist of a bivalent verb in which mi the ‘a man’ is the A argument; in the second clause the verb khot ‘lie’ has the O argument co ‘lie’ and the verb lap ‘say’ takes the whole phrase 'lam Drukpa Künle wen ‘I am Drukpa Künle’ as the second argument. The final verb in the chain is brekshang ‘keep.PFV.EGO’, which is fully finite and thus marked for aspect and evidentiality.

In example (653) it could be argued that the same subject is maintained throughout the entire utterance. However, this need not be the case. The subject in the chained clause may be different than that in the final verb, as exemplified by the data in (654).

(654) tshe darung boi phiyeni phiye ngak ‘urzi tshe nanggi koyang phizi ngamo tshe..
tshe shakhwi mú ngak lapsi tshe oning tshe darung ’aini mem zongi tshe nangi norbu mego ngak boi jiku thungzi tshe ko phir tuzi tshe oning ko phis thungmo Khando khepo yau thriye jedo jemo tshe jepo khepo drenmi gizi tshe ome thriyi ranarang dorti shawalari la

tshe  darung  boi  phi-ye-ni  ngak  'ur-si
DM  again  3.PL.ERG  open-IMP-CMT  QUOT  pressure-NF

ntshe  nang=gi  ko-yang  phi-si  nga-mo  tshe  tshe
DM  inside=GEN  door-also  open-NF  do-CTM  DM  DM

shakwhi  mú  ngak  lap-si  tshe  wo=ning
‘And again they insisted “open the door” and when they said “open the door” (the couple) said “there is no hunting dog” and then they (the king’s assistants) deceived (the couple), saying “(we) don’t want your jewel inside” and then they forced (the couple) to open the door and then when the door opened and they saw Khando up there on the throne, then the king fainted; it is said he died once at the base of that throne’

Example (654) is a section from the tale of Kala Wangpo, a legend found throughout Bhutan and Tawang, Arunachal Pradesh, if not in a wider distribution. This section of the text is from the beginning of the story. The king had lost his hunting dogs and has set out a few assistants to look for it. They travel widely throughout the region, finally turning up at the remote home of an elderly man and women, where they insist on looking inside for the King’s hunting dog. The point in the story where this chain is
drawn from is one in which the assistants are at the home of the elderly couple and are insisting on opening a door in their home.

Ignoring the other subordinate clauses in this selection of discourse, we have seven converbs and one finite verb at the end of the section. The first converb is ‘ur ‘pressure’. The A argument of this clause is clearly marked in the text: boi is the third person plural morpheme, inflected for ergative case. The O argument in this clause is the direct quote phiyeni ‘open’. The next converb in this example is phi ‘open’, itself subordinate to the following verb ngak ‘do’. The verb ngak itself is also a converb, though it is unmarked, which is common (see §21.2.5.4.3). In the next clauses, the A argument is switched to the elderly couple, who reply to the assistants, with the verb lap marked with the clause-chaining suffix. Note that even though the participant has switched, the new A argument is still not overtly mentioned. In the next clause, however, the A switches back to the King’s assistants and is overtly mentioned as boi ‘3.PL.ERG’ for the verb thung ‘do’ and is assumed for the next verb tun ‘force’. The following clause consists of the verb phis ‘open’, followed by a subordinately-marked auxiliary thung ‘do’. By the next clause-chaining-marked verb drenmi ge ‘faint’, a new S argument is introduced: jepo ‘king’. Note that this argument is marked with the focus particle khepo. Finally, the final verb in this chain appears, shak ‘die.HON’, which is marked with the finite verbal morphology -pala ‘PFV’.

Only the final verb in the construction may be negated, in which case negation will usually have scope only over the clause to which it is attached. Consider (655-656) below:
(655)  
\textit{tsheni igu-the cozi boi bishang}

\begin{align*}
\text{tsheni} & \quad \text{igu-the} & \quad \text{co-si} & \quad \text{boi} & \quad \text{bi-shang} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{letter-DEF} & \quad \text{make-NF} & \quad 3.\text{ERG} & \quad \text{give-PFV:EGO}
\end{align*}

‘So after making the letter, they gave (it)’

SBC200511275.83.02-86.595KW

(656)  
\textit{tsheni igu the cozi boi mabishang}

\begin{align*}
\text{tsheni} & \quad \text{igu-the} & \quad \text{co-si} & \quad \text{boi} & \quad \text{ma-bi-shang} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{letter-DEF} & \quad \text{make-NF} & \quad 3.\text{ERG} & \quad \text{neg-give-PFV:EGO}
\end{align*}

‘So after making the letter, they didn’t give (it)’

Elicited data

Example (655) shows the Clause-chaining Construction used to communicate two separate events. The first clause consists of the O argument \textit{igu} ‘letter’ and the converb \textit{co} ‘make’; the A is understood as being people working at an embassy, mentioned previously in the conversation from which these data were extracted. The second clause consists of the verb \textit{bi} ‘give’ and the A argument, now overtly mentioned \textit{s boi 3.PL\text{.ERG}} (the O is omitted). When the finite verb \textit{bi} ‘give’ is negated, the scope of negation is restricted to that clause alone, as shown in (656).

There are some problems, however, with the generalization that negation always has scope over only the verb to which it is attached. Other times negation has been shown to have scope over the entire construction, as in (657) below:
This utterance can only be understood with the translation provided, in which the speaker neither cooked nor ate the fish curry.

The Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction is frequently used as in the above instances, in which the construction chains one or more clauses, which may or may not share verbal arguments, which themselves may or may not be overtly marked. Main verbs (as opposed to auxiliaries or copulas) are used most frequently when two or more clauses are denoted. When the second verb in the construction is an auxiliary (as in §21.2.5.5.1) or a copula (as in §21.2.5.5.4) then one clause is most often denoted.

21.2.5.4.2. Functions

The typical function of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction is to link two events that are related temporarily. In this case, the first clause in the clause-chain occurs temporally before clauses that come in following chains. An example is as follows:

(657)  *ngai nya tshotma cozi mazu*

1.ERG fish curry make-NF NEG-eat

‘I didn’t cook (and therefore) eat fish curry’

Elicited data

(658)  *tshe tshongna ge ngaksi, tshe lok ratak wenta*

DM business=LOC go do-NF DM return come-IPFV COP.MIR

‘So (he) had gone for business and then was coming back’

KS20061212. 160.789KL
In (658), the first clause involves a third person referent which has previously been the topic of discourse in a story narrated by one speaker. This clause shows the verb *ngak* ‘do’ marked as a converb morphology. The following clause shows a finite-marked verb *rataki* ‘come’, and expresses an event sequential to the first event in the chain. After the referent had left for business, then he was coming back.

Not surprisingly, the Kurtöp Clause-chaining expression also often denotes a sense of causation, in which the first clause (also first in a sequence), is the cause of the second event. Consider (659):

(659)  *mau chötshok boragi ngaksi dethroni nyangna*

*mau  chötshok  ngak-si  dethrone  nyang-na*

*down  religious.office  do-NF  immediately  receive-PFV.MIR*

‘Their religious office down there so we got (it) immediately’

SBC200511275.96.039KW

The first event shows the verb *ngak* ‘do’ suffixed as a converb. The second event in the clause, *nyang* ‘receive’ is finite and ends the sentence. The first clause, indicating an event that took place before the second clause, is interpreted as being the cause of the second event.

Another common use of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction is in expressing adverbial ideas. An example of a converb used adverbially is shown below in (660-661).
(660) *wona cha žuži gewala ngat sho*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{wo} & \text{na} & \text{chā} & \text{žu-si} & \text{ge-pala} & \text{ngat} & \text{sho} \\
\text{DEM:PRX=LOC} & \text{arm.HON} & \text{submit-NF} & \text{go-PVF} & 1.ABS & \text{EMPH} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I went down there helping (Dzongsar Rinpoche)’

SBC20051127.

(661) *’enji pret-si getaki yo ngawal*

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{’enji} & \text{pret-si} & \text{ge-taki} & \text{yo} & \text{ngak-pala} \\
\text{how} & \text{fear-NF} & \text{go-IPVF} & \text{QP} & \text{do-PVF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘How scared (I) was going there’

SPh.TsC20081022SP

In (660), the first clause, *chā žuži ‘assist.HON’* is the first clause, followed immediately by the second, finite clause *gewala ‘go.PVF’*. The interpretation in this instance is one in which the first clause is a sort of purpose adverbial, perhaps comparable to adverbial clauses in English beginning with ‘in order to’. The second clause consists of the clause-chain-marked verb *pret ‘fear’*, again immediately followed by a finite form of the verb *ge ‘go’*. Here, the clause-chain is expressing an adverbial function of manner; the speaker of this sentence is describing a time when he went somewhere in a lot of fear. It is interesting in both these instances that there is no interceding material between the converb and the finite verb, other than the clause-chain morphology.

Another, less common, function of the clause-chain construction is one in which the converb is interpreted with an adjective-like function. An example is illustrated in (662):
In (662), the two converbs *bor* ‘fry’ and *tshok* ‘cook’, are understood to be modifying the nouns *khauti* ‘egg’ and *sha* ‘meat’, respectively. These clauses are translated, then, as though they are dependent to the finite verb *bi* ‘give’, similar to a relative clause. However, there is no syntactic evidence that either *bor* ‘fry’ or *tshok* ‘cook’ are dependent to the verb *bi*. Syntactically, this looks identical to the other instances described above of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction.

21.2.5.4.3. Direct quotative

As will probably have been noticed by now, a very common usage of the clause-chaining expression is in making the Kurtöp quotative morpheme, a combination of the verb *ngak* plus the converb suffix *-si*. Like in Dzongkha, the quotative *ngaksi* is required following a direct quote, often to be followed by the main speech-act verb. A simple example is shown below in (663), which was offered to me as a translation of English “I will say ‘tooth’” and based on the frame used in the acoustic studies described in §7.2.1.1.
Elicited data

The Kurtöp quotative *ngaksi* has a wide range of realizations. In slower, controlled speech, the full form *ngaksi* is clearly audible. However, in faster, more casual speech, *ngaksi* is often reduced to *ngak* or even *nga*. An example of the reduced form of the quotative is shown in (664), which is extracted from part of a conversation taking place between two friends.

(664)  *wenpa ngak* gata Rinzin khîra shamatheni ngai drimotak 'ator branpo 'ator branpo ngakta ngatna

"Really?" Rinzin laughs, after awhile he’s asking me “how do (I) know?”, how do (I) know?".

Note also that (664) also illustrates *ngak*, still functioning as a quotative, also still clearly a main verb, as it takes finite verbal morphology (*-ta*) at the end of the clause.
(665)  *gundra rana ngaksi*

`gundra    ra-na    ngaksi`

crook   come-PFV.MIR   QUOT

“‘A crook has some” (he says)’

SBC20051127.8KW

21.2.5.5. Same event

In addition to being used to denote separate events, the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction may also be used to denote one event, in which case no material is allowed to intercede between the clause-chaining-marked verb and the finite verb. In the case when the finite verb is an auxiliary, the clause-chaining suffix may be omitted. One may be tempted to argue for a separate construction in these instances, and in particular in the case of when no interceding material appears between the two verbs, it is tempting to analyze the construction as a serial verb construction. However, the fact remains in these instances that, upon elicitation, the -si is always recoverable. The possibility of having interceding material is not part of the canonical definition of a serial verb construction.

21.2.5.5.1. Auxiliaries as the final verb in a clause chain

This section describes the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction when the second verb is an auxiliary. As I describe below, although this version of the construction differs formally somewhat from instances in which the finite verb is a lexical verb, I consider it to be a variation on the same construction based on the possible presence of -si.
21.2.5.5.2. Form of single event clause-chaining construction

Another very productive use of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction is one in which the second verb belongs to a class of auxiliaries, rather than main verbs, as in §21.2.5.4. When the second verb is an auxiliary, the converb suffix is canonically omitted, no interceding material is allowed, and one clause is interpreted. An example is in (666) below.

(666)  
\[
\text{chutshot \ yanga \ winimthena} \quad \text{jong} \quad \text{geshang} \\
\quad \text{chutshot} \quad \text{yanga} \quad \text{winim-the=} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{jong} \quad \text{ge-shang} \\
\quad \text{time} \quad \text{five} \quad \text{COP.EQ.DBT-DEF=} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{emerge} \quad \text{go-PFV.EGO} \\
\quad \text{‘(the two of us) got there about five’} \\
\quad \text{SBC20051127.7.292.KW}
\]

The same utterance could be pronounced with the clause-chaining suffix present, as in (667), in which no difference in meaning is reported to be present.

(667)  
\[
\text{chutshot \ yanga \ winimthena} \quad \text{jongzi} \quad \text{geshang} \\
\quad \text{chutshot} \quad \text{yanga} \quad \text{winim-the=} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{jong-si} \quad \text{ge-shang} \\
\quad \text{time} \quad \text{five} \quad \text{COP-DEF=} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{emerge-NF} \quad \text{go-PFV.EGO} \\
\quad \text{‘(the two of us) got there about five’} \\
\quad \text{Elicited data}
\]

Despite the fact that the presence of -
\text{si} is possible for a single event interpretation in elicited data, in natural discourse it is usually not found as such. For example, in my entire corpus I found only a few examples, shown in (668-669) below.
Like Clause-chaining constructions involving separate events with multiple clause-chain-marked verbs, the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction may use multiple verbs marking only one event. (670) illustrates such an example:

(670) yum.. yum. j ong yar gewala tshe koni
    yum yum j ong yar ge-pala tshe ko=ni
    mother.HON mother.HON emerge go go-PFV DM door=ABL
    ‘So the mother, the mother fell out of the car’
    SBC20051127.KW
In (670), the verb *jong* ‘emerge’ and *yar* ‘go’ are both participating in the clause-chaining construction with the finite verb *gewala* ‘go.PFV’ ending the clause chain. Neither *jong* nor *yar* receive the converb suffix -si and the event is interpreted as one event. Note, importantly, that the data in (671) would be a possible Kurtöp utterance, with the same meaning as (670).

(671)  
\[\text{yum.. yum.. } \text{jongzi yarzi gewala tshe koni} \]

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{yum} & \text{yum} & \text{jong-si} & \text{yar-si} & \text{ge-pala} & \text{tshe} \\
\text{mother.HON} & \text{mother.HON} & \text{emerge-NF} & \text{go-NF} & \text{go-PFV} & \text{DM} \\
\text{ko=ni} \\
\text{door=ABL} \\
\text{‘So the mother, the mother fell out of the car’} \\
\end{tabular}

Elicited data

21.2.5.5.3. Function of clause-chaining with final auxiliary

When used to denote one event, the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction provides an added aspectual dimension to the clause. These added senses are often vague and difficult to articulate. For example, the auxiliary *ge* ‘go’ denotes an added sense of completion to the event. Speakers often tell me there is no difference in meaning between the use of *ge-shang* ‘go-PFV’ as the second verb in monoclausal clause chain, and the finite suffix *-shang* ‘PFV’. In this sense, monoclausal constructions involving converbs in Kurtöp are similar to compound verbs in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages (Hook
1974, 1977, 1991, *inter alia*). An example of the construction with the auxiliary verb *ge* is shown below in (672).

(672)  *khici mingya zhit geshang da*

    3.*GEN* name-also *forget*  *go-PFV.EGO*

    ‘(I) also forgot his name now.’

SBC20051127.KW

A similar instance is found with the use of the auxiliary verb *zat* ‘finish’. When *zat* is used as an auxiliary in a monoclausal clause-chain, the event is interpreted as being completed, or that a change that was taking place has finished. Consider the example in (673).

(673)  *khitya Kurtötpa jur zatpala wonta*

    3.*ABS-also* become  *finish-NMZ:PFV*  *COP.EQ.MIR*

    ‘He had also turned into a Kurtöp’

SBC20051127.7.229KW

---

137 The major difference between Kurtöp monoclausal clausechains and Compound verbs in Indo-Aryan languages is the obligatory lack of interceding material in the Indo-Aryan languages. For example, whereas in Kurtöp -si may be present in the monoclausal instances of the clause-chain, -kar is not permitted between Hindi compound verbs.
The use of *zatpala* ‘finish.PFV’ as the finite verb in the clause-chain provides an added sense of completion to the event. The verb *jur* ‘become’ implies a process was taking place while *zatpala* indicates the process has completed.

Another very common auxiliary is *ni* ‘sit’, which, when used in the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction provides an added sense of time stability. In (674) below, *nisala* ‘stay.PFV’, indicating that the action, though completed, went on for an extended period of time.

(674)  *basgi suko ge ngaksi dot nisala*

`bas=gi suko ge ngak-si dot ni-pala`

bus=GEN underneath go do-NF sleep sit-PFV

‘(I) went under the bus and was sleeping (there)’

SBC20051127.7.326KW

A similar example is in (675). However, note this time the conversbial suffix -*si* does appear on the verb *pup* ‘be.covered’.
While the auxiliary *ni* ‘sit’ is used with intransitive verbs in single event constructions, the auxiliary *blek* ‘keep’, is used for a similar semantic function with transitive verbs. Consider the example in (676).

\[(676) \quad \text{F.C.B. garithena theksi woci Trashigang yö brê} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{F.C.B.} & \quad \text{gari-the}=\text{na} & \text{thek-si} & \text{woci} & \text{Trashigang} & \text{ yö} \\
\text{F.C.B.} & \quad \text{car-DEF}=\text{LOC} & \text{insert-NF} & \text{DEM:PROX.GEN} & \text{Trashigang} & \text{ reach} \\
\text{blek} & \quad \text{keep} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(We were) put in an F.C.B. (Food Corporation of Bhutan) car and that brought us to Trashigang’

SBC20051127.7.310KW

The use of the auxiliary *blek* ‘keep’ appears to perform the same function as the intransitive auxiliary *ni* ‘sit’. It implies that event happened over an extended period of time. Specifically, in (676), *blek* provides the sense that the participants of the event
stayed some time in Trashigang. Here, Trashigang is conceived of as a destination, and the participants in this example reach Trashigang and stay for a period of time.

21.2.5.5.4. Copulas as the final verb in a clause chain

A sub-type of the single event variant of the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction is one in which the finite verb is a copula. This subtype of the construction differs from that described with the auxiliaries in two important ways. First, the converb morpheme -si is usually, though not obligatorily, present. Second, whereas a clause-chain involving a final auxiliary has two potential interpretations (one event when the final verb is interpreted as an auxiliary and two events when it is interpreted as a main verb), there is only interpretation when the final verb in the chain is a copula and that is as a single event.

The only copula to regularly participate in this construction is nâ, which, as described in §10.5.5.5, has recently moved into the category of copulas from lexical verbs. As part of its defining characteristics as a copula, it does not take the full range of tense/aspect/evidentiality morphology (unlike auxiliaries) but nonetheless occurs in the Kurtöp Clause-chaining construction in a variety of different forms.

When a copula is used in the Kurtöp Clause-chaining Construction, the result is one of aspect. Much like the suffix -ta, a copula ending the clause chain denotes imperfective aspect. The semantic/pragmatic differences between -ta and V-si COP are slight and the exact nature of the difference is unclear. Generally, -ta offers imperfective aspect to the verb, with a possible interpretation of progressive aspect, or the sense that the speaker is engaged in the event at the particular moment. On the other hand, V-si COP
is not as likely to be interpreted as progressive aspect, and could even be uttered if the person were not engaged in the activity at the time of utterance (see §17.2 for more details regarding the tense/aspect/evidential value of this construction).

Examples of the clause-chaining construction used with a copula are shown in (677-678) below. In (677) the verb ‘rung ‘stand’ receives the converbal suffix and is immediately followed by the copula nà, which is itself marked as conditional adverbial to the main clause characterized by the verb ngak ‘do’.

(677)  
\[ \text{dara... perna... wici tsawai 'lama khepo wici donggo ‘rungzi nanani, wî zha ngâ ko ngawal wenta tshe} \]
\[ \text{dara perna wici tsawa=gi ‘lama khepo wici donggo} \]
\[ \text{now for.example 2.GEN root=GEN lama FOC 2.GEN front} \]
\[ ‘rung-zi nâ-nani wî zha ngak ko ngak-pala} \]
\[ \text{stand-NF COP.EXIS-COND 2.ERG what do QP do-NMZ:PFV} \]
\[ \text{wenta} \]
\[ \text{COP.EQ.MIR} \]
\[ \text{‘Now, suppose if your root lama were standing in front of you, what would you do?’} \]
\[ \text{KS20061212.71.691KL} \]

In (678), the verb bar ‘burn’ is suffixed with -si immediately preceding the copula nà. As I articulated earlier, the added sense is durative in nature.
It is said that when he opened the door inside a smell like saffron milk, a burning-incense like smell, delicious, came out and it was like the sun was shining’
CHAPTER XXII
RHETORICAL DEVICES

The aim in this chapter is to present a description of rhetorical devices in Kurtöp, or the structures and the way they are used in order to create structures that encode expression beyond the basic grammar. I group these into three categories: hesitations, exclaimations, and syntactic constructions. The first, hesitations, is discussed in §22.1; the second, exclaimations, is discussed in §22.2, and in §22.3 I discuss the various syntactic devices used for rhetorical purposes in Kurtöp.

22.1. Hesitations

In narration and story-telling, tshe is used to move the story along and often serves as a break between clauses. Consider (679).

(679) \textit{tshe da wo khep ner ‘ngar-zhindu soimalegi tshe ‘ong gapi trowathe kutni ngaksi tshe ngaiyang...}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{tshe} & \textit{da} & \textit{wo} & \textit{khep} & \textit{ner} & ‘\textit{ngar-zhindu} \\
DM & DEM & FOC & 1.PL.INCL & times.of.yore \\
\textit{soi-male=gi} & \textit{tshe} & ‘\textit{ong} & \textit{gapo=gi} & \textit{kut} & \textit{ni} \\
eat.HON-NMZ.IRR=INST & DM & child & PL.FOC=GEN & keep.on & stay \\
\textit{trowa-the} & \textit{ngak-si} & \textit{tshe} & \textit{ngai=yang} \\
fun-DEF & do-NF & DM & 1.ERG=also \\
\end{tabular}

‘And now our consumption in times of yore, well, so that the children have some fun, well, I also...’

KS200805152.KZ
The data in (679) are drawn from a formal narration by a highly educated speaker. He consistently inserts *tshe* throughout the 75-minute long narration, nearly between every verb phrase. The story, however, is fluent; the function of *tshe* is not a marker of hesitancy.

When *tshe* occurs with *wu* it signals hesitation, as in (680), where the speaker momentarily pauses, utters *tshewu* and continues with his sentence.

(680)  
\[ \text{yam .. 'mangira ge go} \text{ tshewu mau .. khwei womeni khako} \]
\[ \text{yam} \quad \text{ma-ngi-ra} \quad \text{ge} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{tshewu} \quad \text{mau} \quad \text{khwe=gi} \]
\[ \text{road} \quad \text{DN=ABL-EMPH} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{need} \quad \text{HES} \quad \text{DOWN} \quad \text{water=GEN} \]
\[ \text{wo-me=ni} \quad \text{khako} \]
\[ \text{DEM:PROX-DOWN=ABL} \quad \text{DIR:UP} \]
\[ \text{‘the path... (we) have to go from all the way down there -- umm, down there by the river -- and up’} \]
\[ \text{SBC20051127.PC} \]

22.2. Exclamations

Exclamations in Kurtöp are defined as those items which have little lexical function except to get the hearer’s attention, similar to ‘wow!’, or ‘hey!’ in English. Interestingly, the forms found in Kurtöp are also found in Dzongkha. Three common forms are *zai*, ‘*lama cheno*, and *wai*, illustrated below.

The form *zai*, shown in (681), is used as a way to draw the interlocutor into the event and express surprise or emotion.
Another form common throughout Bhutan and Tibetan is 'lama cheno, literally Tibetan for ‘The lama knows…’. It is of particular historical interest that the Kurtöp form is identical to the Tibetan expression, as opposed to Dzongkha, which is 'lama kheno, without the palatalization of the initial. In both Dzongkha and Kurtöp it is common to reduce the expression to simply 'lama ‘my god!’, as in (682).

(682)  

'lama! yarje gina wai data  

my.god! development go-PFV.MIR gosh now  

‘My god! Gosh, how it’s developed.’  

DungkarTS20081231.DT

(682) also serves to illustrate the use of wai ‘gosh’, which occurs together with 'lama. However, wai often comes by itself, usually at the introduction of surprising information.

22.3. Syntactic constructions

This section describes two syntactic constructions which are used to provide extra poetic flare to the utterance. Both involve repetition of a verb. The first construction
consists of a verb suffixed with the emphatic suffix, followed by a verb that is marked as a negative. The second, in §22.3.2, consists of a verb nominalized with -male, suffixed with the emphatic suffix -ta, and followed with another verb.

22.3.1. $V=ra \text{ ma-}V$

The structure $V=\text{EMPH NEG-}V$ stresses the existence, or rarity of existence, of a particular event. The function is similar to English ‘even’ as an adverb, ‘at all’ or ‘anymore’. I illustrate this construction with two examples below. The first example, (683) comes from a story about Drukpa Künle, the mad monk. In the story he commands the villages not to open the door, under any circumstances. In order to further importance of following the request, he uses the $V=\text{EMPH NEG-}V$ construction, with the first verb unmarked, other than for the emphatic suffix, and the second verb marked finite -- this case as an imperative.

(683) hapta the khepo ko phira maphiyo ngaksi

\[
\text{hapta the khepo ko phi=} ra \quad \text{ma-phi-lo} \quad \text{ngaksi}
\]

week one FOC door open=EMPH NEG-open-IMP.FUT QUOT

‘Don’t open the door \textit{at all} for one week (he said).’

KS20061212.KL

The second example, (684), comes from a conversation between two people. The speaker in this example is younger than the interlocutor by approximately ten years. They are discussing a time in the past, a time, the speaker realizes, that was probably before he was born. He uses the $V=\text{EMPH NEG-}V$ construction to emphasize the non-existance of his
birth. Again, the first verb is unmarked except for the emphatic suffix, and the second
verb is negative and here also marked perfective.

(684)  \textit{ngatta kera 'makesa nami minla}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{ngat-ta} & \textit{ke=ra} & \textit{ma-ke-sa} & \textit{nâ=mi} \\
\text{ngat-EMPH} & \text{be.born=EMPH} & \text{NEG-be.born-QP.PFV} & \text{COP.EXIS=TAG} \\
\text{minla} & \text{COP.EQ.NEG.DBT} & & \\
\text{‘I wasn’t even born, isn’t it?’} \\
\end{tabular}

SaT.SW20090917.SaT

22.3.2. \textit{V-male-ta V}

A verb suffixed with the nominalizer -\textit{male} and then the emphatic suffix -\textit{ta},
followed by another verb conveys a sense of clarification. For example, in (685) and
(686), the speaker uses this construction to ask the speaker if something would \textit{really}
be finished or if the interlocutor had \textit{really} been a given location.

(685)  \textit{zatmaleta zatpa?}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{zat-male-ta} & \textit{zat-pa} \\
\text{finish-NMZ:IRR-EMPH} & \text{finish-QP.PFV} \\
\text{‘ Will it really be finished?’} \\
\end{tabular}
(686)  thramaleta thrawa?

thra-male-ta   thra-pa
arrive-NMZ-EMPH  arrive-QP:PFV

‘ Have you really been there?’
Chapter XXIII
Conclusions

This dissertation is the first grammatical description of Kurtöp, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by approximately 15,000 people in eastern Bhutan. The first five chapters introduced the methodology used for the study and the speech community while also placing Kurtöp speakers and the Kurtöp language in the ethnolinguistic history of Bhutan and the Tibeto-Burman language family, respectively. The methodology argued for in chapter two, and in some ways exemplified through a discussion of orthography development in chapter eight, conceives of linguistic documentation as a collaborative process.

Chapters five and six focused on Kurtöp contrastive and non-contrastive phonology, respectively. Phonologically, Kurtöp is very similar to other languages of the region. As I reported in §6.4.2, Kurtöp is undergoing tonogenesis, proving an ideal situation to examine the tonogenetic details. The findings, that tonogenesis began in a sonorant context, spread to the palatal fricative, and is now spreading to the remainder of the obstruents is potentially typologically important and could impact our theories of tonogenesis.

The aim of chapters nine and ten, on lexicon and grammatical overview, was to provide the necessary background to understand the remaining chapters of the dissertation. Typologically, Kurtöp can be classified as having agglutinative morphology with monosyllabic verb stems but mono-, di- and trisyllabic noun stems. As is typical of
languages of South Asia, Kurtöp has verb-final syntax and many of the associated
typological features, including auxiliaries, genitive-noun word order, and postpositions.

Chapters 11 and 12 examined constituents of the noun phrase, showing the
expected syntactic properties of a Tibeto-Burman language. Chapter 13 discussed
proforms, a group of forms that comprises pronouns, demonstratives and pro-adverbs.
The discussion of topographical deictic in §13.2 could be of interest to comparative
Tibeto-Burmanists interested in the reconstruction of topographical deictic to Proto
Tibeto-Burman, a question which would impinge on the placement of a homeland for the
speakers of the proto language.

The next chapter, chapter 14, was devoted to a discussion of case-marking in
Kurtöp, a typologically interesting and unusual system. Kurtöp uses an ergative marker
obligatorily in some bivalent verbs but in others its presence signals various pragmatic
effects. In addition, the ergative marker can be used with some monovalent verbs,
signaling various semantic and pragmatic factors. This sort of system, though
typologically unusual and interesting, is found elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman languages of
the Himalayas.

Chapter 15 also reported on phenomena well-known among Tibeto-Burman
languages. Nominalization is used widely in Tibeto-Burman as a device to combine
clauses and, historically, to innovate main clause grammar. The nominalization system
described for Kurtöp is remarkably similar to that of Tibetan and has clearly been used
historically to generate much the main finite grammar and adverbial clauses.
Chapters 16 through 18 reported on various aspect of the Kurtröp verb, including a syntactic analysis of the verb phrase, discussion of tense/aspect and discussion of the copular system. The next chapter, 19, described negation, imperative forms, and question formation. The categories of evidentiality, mirativity, and epistemic modality are drawn out from these four chapters and discussed in chapter 20. Typologically, Kurtöp reports an unusually high number of evidential and related categories encoded throughout the verbal system.

The next two chapters present a discussion of clause-combining and rhetorical devices, respectively. An important aspect of §21 is the discussion of the clause-chaining construction in §21.2.5 which, together with nominalization, is at the heart of Kurtöp syntax. I show in §22 that rhetorical devices in Kurtöp are largely syntactic constructions.

Throughout the dissertation, an effort was also made to advance our knowledge on the placement of Kurtöp and the East Bodish languages (Kurtöp’s sister languages) in general. There is a great deal of evidence supporting the notion that Kurtöp and the East Bodish languages are closely related to Classical Tibetan, perhaps as a sister language, making the modern Tibetan dialects cousins to Kurtöp. However, I also presented evidence throughout the dissertation that some of the similarities with Tibetan also appear to have been borrowed, suggesting that the placement of Kurtöp and the East Bodish languages within Tibeto-Burman cannot be handled by solely assuming the model of direct descent from a parent to a daughter language.
### APPENDIX A

**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1st person</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2nd person</td>
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<td>Contrastive focus</td>
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<td>Copula</td>
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<td>TAG</td>
<td>Tag particle</td>
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APPENDIX B

TEXTS

KS20061212.KL

"ator mapa wo sung khepo aaa ner..."
how originally DEM:PROX story FOC HES 3.PL.INCL.GEN

nangpa=gi
insider(Buddhist)=GEN

"lama 'lam Drukpa Künle nga-pala=gi gang=ki wenta"
lama lama Drukpa Künle do-NMZ:PFV=GEN time=GEN COP.EQ.MIR

'This story is about how, originally, our ... it's during the time of our Buddhist lama Lama Drukpa Künle'

"napa 'ama the-gi 'namisami khit=na depa"
earlier woman one-ERG very 3.ABS=LOC devotion

nawala=gi korni
COP.EXIS=GEN RN:ABT

'It's about a woman in the past who was very devoted to him'

woci korni wen sung khepo mapa
DEM:PROX.GEN RN:ABT COP.EQ story FOC originally

'This is what the story is about originally'

"napa 'napa tshe trong the=na 'ai"
earlier earlier DM village one=LOC grandmother

the nawal wenta
one COP.EXIS COP.MIR

'A long time ago in a village there was an old woman'
'ai khepo tshe mapa 'lam Drukpa grandmother FOC DM originally lama Drukpa

Künle nga-khan khepo Künle do-NMZ:IPFV FOC

me-je-na je-mal-ta tshe NEG-see.HON-PFV.MIR see.HON-NMZ:IRR-EMPH DM

shara khir thun tshon=do pholap continuously 3.SG DIST here=LOC talks

hago-zi 'lam=gi korni tshe understand-NF lama=GEN RN:ABT DM

‘Even though the old woman had never seen this man called Drukpa Künle she’d heard about him continuous through the talks’

ne thu-sa=ning 'namisami depa kut-si 'lama=nang ear hear-NMZ:LOC=ABL very devotion bow-NF lama=LOC

‘After hearing about him she was very devoted to the lama.’

da ngaci tsawa=i 'lama wen ngak nang=i khira now 1.GEN root=GEN lama COP.EQ QUOT inside=GEN 3.REFL

sem=gi mind=GEN

nang=i tshe 'namisami depa kut-si tsawa=i 'lama ngak inside=GEN DM very devotion bow-NF root=GEN lama do
tan-pal wenta tshe dedicate-NMZ:PFV COP.MIR DM

‘“Now he’s my root lama” she said. Inside, inside her mind she became very devoted to him as her root lama and dedicated herself to him.’

wo 'lam Drukpa Künle khepo DEM:PROX lama Drukpa Künle FOC
da mapa 'napa mapa 'ai khepo=gi now originally earlier originally grandmother FOC=ERG
'The lama Drukpa Künle, now the women had never ever seen the lama Drukpa Khépo earlier but she being continuously devoted to him said “now he is my root lama.”'

‘Every day she would prostrate’

‘With Lama Drukpa Künle in her mind should prostrate’

‘That’s how devoted she was’

‘The lama Drukpa Künle, now the women had never ever seen the lama Drukpa Khépo earlier but she being continuously devoted to him said “now he is my root lama.”’

‘Every day she would prostrate’

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‘The lama Drukpa Künle, now the women had never ever seen the lama Drukpa Khépo earlier but she being continuously devoted to him said “now he is my root lama.”’

‘Every day she would prostrate’

‘With Lama Drukpa Künle in her mind should prostrate’

‘That’s how devoted she was’
‘So one day, a chorten, she was circumambulating the chorten, she was
circumambulating the chorten saying “om mani pemi hung, mani pemi hung”, so while
circumambulating the chorten a man came, a man she had never seen.’

‘When the lama asked "hey old woman, what are you doing" she said: "well I am
circumambulating a chorten"'

‘When he asked “who is your lama”, she said “well it’s Lama Drukpa Künle”.’

‘Um, ‘Hey, your root lama, Lama Drukpa Künle is coming now.’
“Now, suppose, if your root lama were standing in front of you, what would you do?”

‘Now what would I do… I am very devoted indeed, but I am not rich, so at my house there is alcohol, a bed, and a few eggs.’

‘So the lama, the original lama, earlier he had come as a different person’
‘In the end, the lama showed himself and when he said “Drukpa Künké am I”, the old woman became very overcome with devotion and she prostrated right there on the ground outside.’

‘And then she lead him to her house, lead him to house, and now my alcohol, alcohol, bed and… the lama was very interested in the alcohol.’

‘After also offering the alcohol and eggs the woman was so happy and she didn't know what to say out of devotion.’
 Ganmo khiri charo gap pura ja-zi tshe
old.woman 3.REFL.GEN friend PL.FOC all call-NF DM

'lam Drukpa Künle jon-zi nawal share ngaksi
Lama Drukpa Künle come.go.HON-NF COP.EXIS EXCL QUOT

'So she called all the villagers, the old folks - her friends - she called, "Lama Drukpa Künle has come, hey."

tshe mi zhanma gapoi=yang 'napa-ni=ra 'lama=i korni
then person another PL.FOC.ERG=also earlier=ABL=EMPH lama= RN:ABT

ne thu-zi nawal=i tshe depa=i ngak-si
ear.HON hear.HON-NF COP.EXIS=GEN DM devotion=INSTR do-NF

pura=gi zhor 'ot-si pura=gi zhor gapo=ya
all=ERG alcohol bring-NF all=ERG alcohol PL.FOC=also

'lama=ro drang ngak ni-sal wenta tshe ..
lama-LOC give.HON do stay-NMZ:PFV COP.MIR DM

'And then the other people also, having heard earlier about the lama, respected him and all brought alcohol, all brough the alcohol and all and were offering it to the lama.'

shama-the=ni tshe ... 'lama=gi mir khiri=gi
sometime-one=ABL DM lama=ERG others 3.REFL=GEN

'ngöshü=gi ngaksi 'ai khepo da se=gi
Omniscience=INSTR do-NF grandmother FOC now die=GEN

ran-pal wen-ci bran-pal wenta
time.to-NMZ:PFV COP=GEN know-NMZ:PFV COP.EQ.MIR

'After a while, then the lama, due to his omniscience, knew that the old woman’s time to die had come'

da se-mal wenta ngak 'ai khepo
now die-NMZ:IRR COP.EQ.MIR do grandmother FOC

'Now the old woman is going to die.'

da se-mal wenta ngak bran-zi
now die-NMZ:IRR COP.EQ.MIR do know-NF
‘Now, knowing she is going to die, the old woman, then the lama send out all the other people and locked the woman in the alter room over there, he locked her up.’

‘He locked the door and said “For one week you absolutely cannot open the door”, he told the villagers, don’t let anyone open the door for one week, “For one week you absolutely cannot open the door, okay”, he said “shut it and keep it that way” he said left’. 
‘Then, then even after one week the old woman didn’t emerge.’

‘Then, so, others, inside there was no food, there was nothing, the old woman didn’t come out and the people were so shocked, “hey, now, that man who is nothing, the lie-telling man came lying saying “I am a lama” and now he killed the old woman”, they said.’

‘Then, that grandmother had a son, that son had gone for trade.’
‘But he had gone for trade and so he was coming back.’

‘When the son came back then the people from the village said “your grandmother, a man like that came, telling lies, saying “I am Drukpa Künle” and like that she was locked inside the house.’

‘Since being locked to today six days have gone.’

‘Now, we, for one week, say “do not open the door at all”. Now six days are gone.’
who COP.EQ NEG.EXIS.COP come-NF

like.that 1.GEN grandmother kill-NMZ:PFV

COP.EQ.MIR QUOT DM

‘The boy, becoming very angry says “grr.. a crazy man, who is no one, comes like that and killed my grandmother.’

DM alter.room FOC week one door

NEG-open-IMP do-NMZ:IPFV FOC 3.ERG

door open do-NMZ:PFV COP.MIR

‘So this alter room door that was said not be opened, he opened this door.’

door open do go-CTM inside=LOC

very then saffron.milk=GEN aroma incense.type

like aroma sweet

ne sun shine=NMZ:PFV like shine burn-NF COP.EXIS.MIR=HSY

‘When he opened the door inside then there was a very sweet smell like saffron-milk incense coming out.’

DM DEM:DIST=LOC
And then, the bed’s … there was a bed. On the top of the bed there was a thumb, a thumb of a foot (big toe).’

So the lama knew that the old woman was actually going to die, and knowing she was going to die, the lama offered her up to heaven.’

‘At the time of being offered to heaven, the time hadn’t completed.’
'Then the time “do not open the door for one week”, while the time hadn’t completed, in opening the door the big toe, aaaa, the bog toe didn’t disappear into demon rays; it remained.’

dshe  wotor=rang
DM  like.this=EMPH

dshe  wo  khepo  mira  'lam  Drukpa  Künle
DM  DEM:PROX  FOC  others  lama  Drukpa  Künle

jinlap=gi  ngaksi  'ai
blessing=GEN  QUOT  grandmother

khepo  thori=na  drang-wal=i  korni
FOC  godly.realm=LOC  give.hon-NMZ=GEN  RN:ABT

wenta  ngak  wo  sung  khepo  mapa
COP.EQ.MIR  do  DEM:PROX  story  FOC  originally

wakti  wenta
this.much  COP.EQ.MIR

‘And so just like this, all this, this story is about the blessing of Drukpa Künle offering the old woman up to the Godly realm; it’s just this much.’
‘I was standing, there were about three of us who were standing’

‘There was no one who got off along the way’

‘The three of us were there standing’

‘While standing I arrived at Phuntsholing’

‘(My) three friends fell down in the middle of that bus, going like they had died; (but) standing, I arrived at Phuntsholing’
# APPENDIX C

## META-DATA

### Table 158. Kurtöp consultants

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introducing Kurtö, talking about Rinchen Bumpa, hot springs and Khempa Jong

Lama200812311 Lam Cung narrates a story about 3 Zangpos JT .wav 20081231 LC

Lama200812312 Lam Cung discusses torma JT 20081231 DC

lock20081022 KeD names parts of door & lock .mpg 20081022 KTsh

loom20081022 KeD names loom parts and others .mpg 20081022 GH

marsang20090111 JT narrates the story 'Marsang Cage Phurpa' (check name!!) GH .wav 20090111

MG200605 Meme Gyeltshen's narrative about his journey on foot to Thimphu to join the army KL 200 705 MG KL

mill20081022 KeD names objects in mill .mpg 20081022 GH

MT20080530 Meme Tshipa discussing Tangmachu GH & KTsh 30 MT

phrummaking2008102 phrummaking2008102 phrummaking2008102 phrummaking2008102 phrummaking2008102 .mpg 20081022 GH

PLanimals20080824 Recording the animal names PL collected GH .wav 20080824 PL JT

plants200810221 KeD naming plants in Gangzur .mpg 20081022 KTsh

plants200810221 GH, KeD & KTsh getting plant names .wav 20081022 GH

plants2008102214 KeD naming plants in Gangzur .mpg 20081022 KTsh

plants2008102218 KeD naming plants in Gangzur .mpg 20081022 KTsh

plants2008102219 KeD naming plants in .mpg 20081022 KTsh
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<td>SaT.SW20090917</td>
<td>SaT and SW engaged in conversation in Wangdi</td>
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<td>SBC820051127</td>
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<td>shelters20081022</td>
<td>KeD names 2 shelters in Gangzur</td>
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<td>shingchen20090111</td>
<td>JT narrates the story 'Shingchen Tali Dongpo'</td>
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<td>Seldon's Interview about village vs. city life</td>
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<td>song20090913.1</td>
<td>Ch, SL and UT sing a Kurtöp song (same as song20090913.1SL)</td>
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<td>song20090913.1SL</td>
<td>Ch, SL and UT sing a Kurtöp song, with the mic mounted on SL (same as song20090913.1)</td>
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<td>Ch, SL and UT sing a Kurtöp song (same as song20090913.2SL)</td>
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<td>Ch, SL and UT sing a Kurtöp song, with the mic mounted on SL (same as song20090913.2)</td>
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<td>SL, UT and Ch sing a song</td>
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<td>SL, UT and Ch sing a Kurtöp song, with the mic mounted on SL (same as song20090913.2)</td>
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<td>JT narrates the story 'Sormi Threngwa'</td>
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<td>SPb &amp; TsC discuss life in the village &amp; SPh tells a story</td>
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<td>Thimphu20090913.1</td>
<td>YD and Ch engaged in normal household conversation</td>
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<td>Thimphu20090913.1M</td>
<td>Conversation in Thimphu</td>
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<td>Conversation at a Kurtöp's home in Thimphu</td>
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<td>Conversation in Thimphu</td>
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<td>Thimphu20090913.3</td>
<td>Conversation at a Kurtöp's home in Thimphu, some English and Dzongkha in background</td>
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<td>Thimphu20090913.4</td>
<td>Short conversation about Karma's camera</td>
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<td>Thimphu20090913.5</td>
<td>Conversation while I am preparing to record</td>
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<td>Thimphu20090913.6</td>
<td>Conversation about my Kurtöp research, including Dzongkha conversation between KTsh &amp; KT</td>
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<td>Thimphu20090913.7</td>
<td>SL, UT and Ch give lyrics for their songs. There is a short explanation in Dzongkha and then KT and YD continue on in Kurtöp conversation</td>
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<td>Interview20090106</td>
<td>JT interviews To about himself and Dungkar</td>
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<td>Tshering Tshomo talking about Jasabi Priu</td>
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<td>KTsh interviewing Ph about his work</td>
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<td>KTsh interviewing SP about his work GH .mpg 20080219</td>
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<td>SL, UT, and Ch engaged in conversation, first about history of singing in Dungkar before moving on to other topics GH .wav 20090913</td>
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<td>words20090913.1</td>
<td>Ch, UT and SL say the lyrics of the first song they sang (song20090913.1) .wav 20090913 KT, Ch, UT, SL</td>
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<td>words20090913.2</td>
<td>Ch, UT and SL say the lyrics of the second song they sang (song20090913.2) .wav 20090913 SL GH</td>
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