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THE INFORMANT

An interdisciplinary newsletter distributed by the Department of Linguistics at Western Michigan University to provide information about developments in linguistics to students, staff, and friends in the field.

ASPECTS OF TIBETAN SYNTAX

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PREFACE

My immediate goal in this paper is to adapt Chomsky's model of Generative Grammar to a description of Tibetan syntax. In doing so, I have found it necessary to modify the model in certain respects.

- (1) I have chosen to analyze the Noun Phrase as being composed of a Nominal and a Postposition, since all nominals are followed by a postposition in Tibetan sentences. I have chosen to reject the alternative--i.e. regarding all Noun Phrases as Postpositional Phrases--because then there would be no NP's to define the "subject" relation (NP, S = subject).
- (2) I have also modified the "predicate" portion of the model, analyzing Predicate Phrase as being composed of the constituents NP and VP rather than VP and AUX. My reason for this decision is that there is a tradition among some Tibetan Grammarians to regard the Noun Phrase object as being of equal weight with the Verb Phrase, rather than subordinate to it. The consequence of this choice is that the object relation must be defined as (NP, PDP) rather than (NP, VP).*

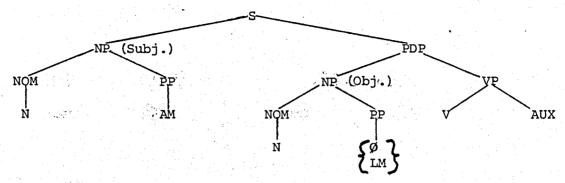
My long-range goal is to complete my description of Tibetan Grammar in the Generative framework. This work began with the article, "Aspects of Tibetan Phonology," which appeared in the Fall 1977 issue of The Informant; continues with the present article; and will end with a paper on "Aspects of Tibetan Morphology," to appear in a future issue.

As my work is still in the formative stage, any comments or criticisms will be gratefully appreciated. $\dot{}$

^{*}Both of these modifications in the Generative model are motivated by the language to one degree or another; but it is interesting to note that they both encourage a Case Grammar approach to the syntax. My future research will explore that kind of analysis, and I hope to develop a paper on "A Case Grammar Approach to Tibetan Syntax."

I. THE BASIC SENTENCE

Tibetan is an "S-O-V" language, at least in its basic structure. The order of phrases in a basic sentence is Subject NP, Object NP, and VP. $^{\rm l}$



A. Object with Zero Postposition (Ø)

N	(<u>Subj.</u>)	AM	N (Obj.)	PP	v (v	P) AUX
/a-ni		gi? 2	ra	ø	nyo	gi-mdug/
'nun!		AM	'goat'	Ø	'buy'	'does'

'The nun does buy/buys/is buying the goat'.

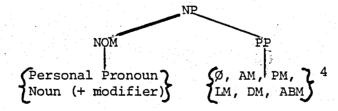
B. Object with Locative Postposition (LM) 3

N	(Subj.)	AM		_ \	Obj.)	LM	V	(VP)	AUX
/a-ni		gi?		ra		la	ta	3.	gi-mdug/
'nun t		AM	1,	goat'		'at'	1100	ok '	'does'

'The nun does look/looks/is looking at the goat'.

II. THE PHRASE STRUCTURE

A. The Noun Phrase. The noun phrase (NP) consists of a nominal (NOM), plus or minus a modifier, plus a postposition (PP).



- 1. The Nominal with Zero Postposition
- a. The Personal Pronoun

```
Plural: 5/nga-ts'o/ 'we'
/ky'ö-rang-ts'o/ 'you'
/k'o-ts'o/ 'they'
```

b. The Noun

Singular: /mi/ 'man, human, person'

/a-ni/ 'nun'

Plural: /mi-ts'o/ 'men, humans'

/a-ni-ts'o/ 'nuns'

2. The Nominal with Postposition

These are five different postpositions: 1. the agent marker (also used for instrumental case), 2. the possessive marker (genitive case), 3. the locative marker, 4. the dative marker, and 5. the ablative marker.

a. The Agent Marker. The agent marker (AM) /gi?/6 is used immediately after a personal pronoun, or a noun plus optional modifier, 7 as "subject" or "instrument."

Ex.: Personal pronoun plus agent marker:

```
/nga gi?/8, /ngä?/9 'by me'
/ky'ö-rang gi?/ 'by you'
/k'ö?/ 'by him'
/mö?/ 'by her'
```

Noun plus agent marker:

/mi?/ 'by man'
/a-ni?/ 'by nun'
/rä?/ 'by goat'
/ra-chö?/10 'by horn'

b. The Possessive Marker. The possessive marker (PM) /gi/ is used immediately after a personal pronoun, or a noun plus optional modifier, which functions as "possessor."

Ex.: Personal pronoun plus possessive marker:

```
/nga gi/ll, /ngä:/l2 'my, mine'
/ky'ö-rang gi/ 'your, yours'
/k'ö:/ 'his'
/mö:/ 'her, hers'
```

Noun plus possessive marker:

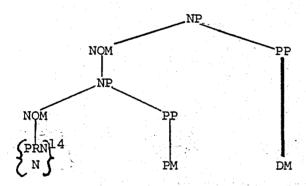
```
/mi:/ 'man's'
/a-ni:/ 'nun's'
/rä:/ 'goat's'
/ra-chd:/ 'horn's'
```

The Locative Marker. The locative marker (LM) /la/ occurs immediately after a personal pronoun, or a noun plus optional modifier, to indicate a "location" or "direction."

Ex.: Personal pronoun with locative marker:

Noun with locative marker:

d. The Dative Marker. The dative marker (DM) /ch'e?-du/, which occurs only after a possessive noun phrase, indicates "purpose."



Ex.: Personal pronoun with dative marker:

```
/nga yi ch'e?-du/, /ngä: ch'e?-du/
                                            'for me'
 'I' PM
          for
                'I'+PM 'for'
/ky d-rang gi ch!e?-du/
                                             for me
                                                 YOU
  tyou N
          PM
               \for \
/k'o yi ch'e?-du/
                                             'for him'
 'he' PM
           'for'
/mö:
          ch'e?-du/
                                             'for her'
 'she'+PM
            'for'
```

Noun with dative marker:

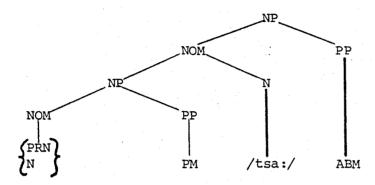
```
/mi:
          ch'e?-du/
                                              'for the human being'
 'man'+PM
            'for'
          ch'e?-du/
                                               'for the nun'
/a-ni:
 'nun'+PM
             'for'
/rä:
           ch'e?-du/
                                              'for the goat'
 'goat'+PM
             'for'
         gi chle?-du/
                                               'for the sheep'
/lug
 'sheep' PM
              'for'
```

e. The Ablative Marker

(1) The ablative marker (ABM) /nä/ occurs immediately after a noun, or a noun plus optional modifier, which does not name or denote a human being. It denotes "source."

```
'from the heart'
Ex.: /nying
                nä/
      'heart' 'from'
                nä/
                                                    'from the earth'
     /sa
       'earth' 'from'
     /t'om
                nä/
                                                    'from the market'
       'market' 'from'
                nä/
                                                    'from the goat'
     /ra
      'goat'
               'from'
```

(2) The ablative marker is preceded by the word /tsa:/15 when it follows a possessive noun phrase containing a personal pronoun or a noun naming or denoting a human being.



Ex.: Personal pronoun with ablative marker:

/ngä:	tsa:	nä/	'from me'
'I'+PM		'from'	
/ky'ö-rang	gi tsa:	nä/	'from you'
'you'	PM	'from'	
/k'o yi	tsa:	nä/	'from him'
'he' PM		'from'	
/mö:	tsa:	nä/	'from her'
she'+PM		'from'	

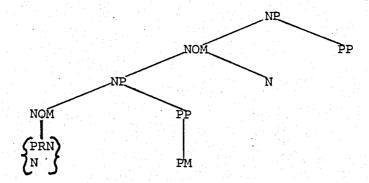
Human noun with ablative marker:

```
/mi: tsa: nä/ 'from the man'
'man'+PM 'from'
/a-ni: tsa: nä/ 'from the nun'
'nun'+PM 'from'
/nor-bü: tsa: nä/ 'from Norbu'
'Norbu'+PM 'from'
```

3. The Nominal with Modifier

There are six modifiers of nouns: 1. the possessive pronoun, 2. possessive noun, 3. the adjective phrase, 4. the number, 5. the indefinite article, and 6. the demonstrative adjective.

a. Noun Modified by Possessive Nominal. The poss. personal pronoun and possessive noun occur before the head noun, followed by the possessive marker (PM).



(1) Possessive Pronoun

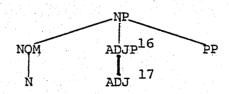
Singular: /ngä: ra/ 'my goat' TI +PM 'goat' /ky'ö-rang gi 'your goat' ra/ 'you' PM 'goat' /k'o yi ra/ 'his goat' 'he' PM 'goat' /mö: 'her goat' ra/ 'she'+PM 'goat' Plural: /nga-ts'ö: ra/ 'our goat' 'I' +pl+PM 'goat' /ky'ö-rang-ts'ö: 'your goat' 'you' +pl+PM 'goat' /k'o-ts'ö: ra/ 'their goat' 'he' +pl+PM 'goat'

(2) Possessive Noun

/a-ni: ra/ 'nun's goat'
'nun'+PM 'goat'
/rä: ra-cho/ 'goat's horn'
'goat'+PM 'horn'
/gam gi gang/ 'box's top'
'box' PM 'top' ('top of the box')

b. Noun Modified by Adjective Phrase. The adjective phrase (ADJP) occurs immediately after the head noun.

(1) Adjective Without Intensifier



Ex: /mi yag-po/ 'good man'

'man' 'good'

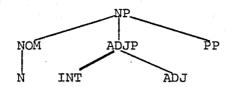
/ra. kar-po/ 'white goat'

'goat' 'white'

/gam sar-pa/ 'new box'

'box' 'new'

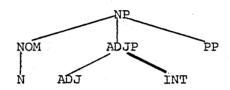
- (2) Adjective with Intensifier. The intensifier (INT) occurs immediately before the adjective in the classical language and in all dialects of modern Tibetan. But in the central dialect, it can occur either before or after the adjective.
- (a) Intensifier occurring before the adjective:



Ex.: /mi she-dagl8 yag-po/ 'very good man'
'man' 'very' 'good'

/gam she-dag sar-pa/ 'very new box'
'box' 'very' 'new'

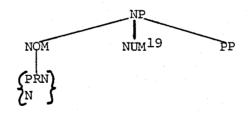
(b) Intensifier occurring after the adjective:



Ex.: /mi yag-po she-dag/ 'very good man' 'man' 'good' 'very'

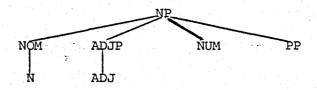
/gam sar-pa she-dag/ 'very new box' 'box' 'new' 'very'

- c. Nominal Modified by Number. The number (NUM) occurs immediately after a personal pronoun, a noun, or a noun plus adjective.
- (1) Number occurring after a nominal:



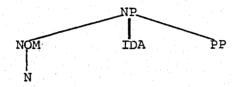
nyi?/ 'we two' Ex.: /nqa 'two' 'I' /nga-ts'o²⁰ sum/ 'we three' 'I'+pl 'three' 'one person; one man' /mi chig/ 'man' 'one' nyi:/ 'two goats' /ra 'goat' 'two'

(2) Number occurring after a noun plus adjective:

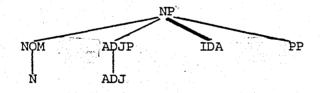


```
Ex.: /mi
             yag-po chig/
                                                   'one good man'
      'man'
             'good'
                      'one'
             kar-po
                                                   'two white goats'
     /ra
                     nyi:/
      'goat' 'white' 'two'
                                                   'three new boxes'
     /gam
             sar-pa
                      sum/
      'box'
             'new'
                      'three'
```

- d. Noun Modified by Indefinite Article. The indefinite article (IDA) /chi/ takes the same place as the number. It occurs immediately after a noun or a noun plus adjective.
- (1) Indefinite article occurring after a noun:



(2) Indefinite article occurring after a noun plus adjective:

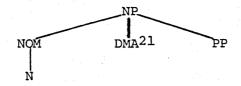


```
Ex.: /mi yag-po chi/ 'a good man'
'man' 'good' 'a'

/ra kar-po chi/ 'a white goat'
'goat' 'white' 'a'

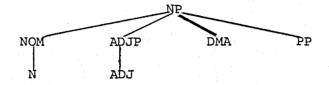
/ra-cho ring-po chi/ 'a long horn'
'horn 'long' 'a'
```

- e. Noun Modified by Demonstrative Adjective. The demonstrative adjectives (DMA) /mdi/ 'this', /t'e/ 'that', /mdi-ts'o/ 'these', and /t'e-ts'o/ 'those' occur immediately after a noun, or a noun plus adjective, and either before or after a number.
- (1) Demonstrative adjective occurring after a noun:



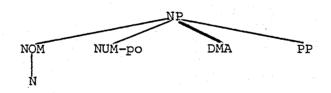
Ex.: /mi t'e/ 'that man' 'man' Tthat' /ra mdi/ 'this goat' 'goat' 'this' t'e-ts'o/22/ra-cho 'those horns' 'horn' 'that'+pl /a-ni mdi-ts'o/ 'these nuns' 'nun' 'this'+pl

(2) Demonstrative adjective occurring after a noun plus adjective:



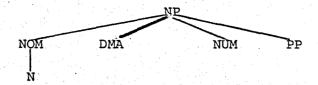
t'e/ Ex.: /mi · yag-po 'that good man' 'man' 'good' 'that' /ra kar-po mdi/ 'this white goat' 'white' 'this' 'goat' ring-po t'e-ts'o/ /ra-cho 'those long horns' 'ham' 'long' 'that'+pl /a-ni sar-pa mdi-ts'o/ 'these new nuns' 'nun' 'new 'this'+pl

(3) Demonstrative adjective occurring <u>after</u> a number: (The morpheme /po/ is suffixed to the number to indicate one individual or a group of individuals considered as one.)



Ex.: /mi chig-po t'e/ 'that single man' 'man' 'that' one' ('the one man') mdi/ 'the two goats' nyi:-po /ra 'two' (as a group) 'goat' 'this' 'the three nuns' /a-ni sum-po mdi/ 'nun' 'three' 'this' (as a group)

(4) Demonstrative adjective occurring before a number: (When the DMA occurs before the number, other than "one," without a suffixed /po/, it indicates that the members of the group are to be considered individually, as individuals.)

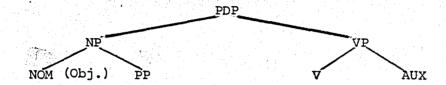


Ex.: /mi te nyi?/ 'those two men'
'man' that' 'two' (individually)

/ra mdi-ts'o²³sum/ 'these three goats'
'goat' 'this'+pl 'three' (individually)

B. The Predicate Phrase

The predicate phrase (PDP) consists of a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP).

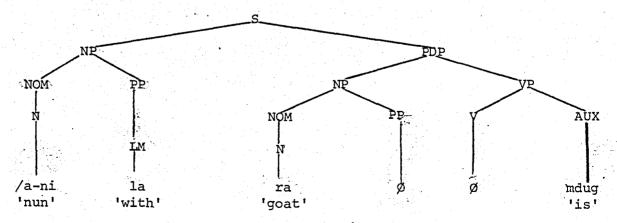


C. The Verb Phrase

There are two types of verb phrases: 1. active, and 2. non-active.

- 1. Active Verb Phrase. The active verb phrase consists of a verb and a full auxiliary. The subject may or may not have an agent marker. 24
- 2. Non-Active Verb Phrase. The non-active verb phrase consists only of an abbreviated auxiliary, which connects the subject with a predicate noun phrase (or adjective phrase) in either an "existential" relationship (with /mdug/ and locative marker (LM)) or in a "linking" relationship (with /re?/ alone).
- a. The Existential Verb Phrase. The "existential" verb phrase indicates that something is 'with', 'at', 'on', or 'in' something else; i.e. it patterns with a locative noun phrase. The existential VP can translate alternatively as "NP1 has a NP2."

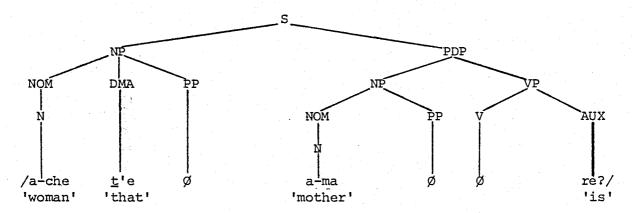
Ex.: /a-ni la ra mdug/



- 1. 'The goat is with the nun'.
- 2. 'The nun has a goat'.

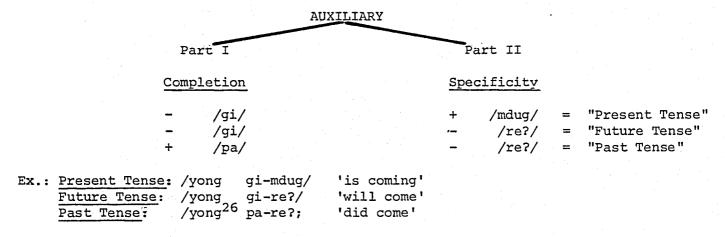
b. The Linking Verb Phrase. The "linking" verb phrase links the subject and a description or qualification of the subject, without the use of a postposition.

Ex.: /a-che t'e a-ma re?/



'That woman is (a) mother'.

3. The Auxiliary. The auxiliary always occurs last in the sentence. With an active verb, it consists of a single word, containing two morphemes. The first morpheme indicates "plus or minus completion," and the second one indicates "plus or minus specificity." These two morphemes together define the tense of the sentence, as in the following illustration.²⁵

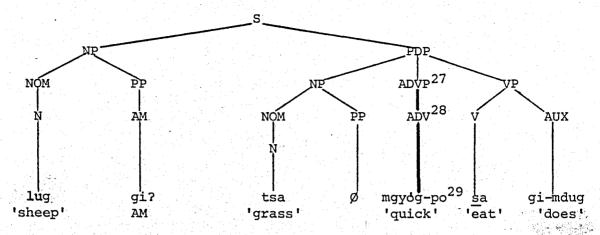


D. The Adverb Phrase:

The adverb phrase (ADVP) consists of an adverb (ADV) or an adverb plus intensifier (INT). The ADVP normally occurs immediately before the active verb phrase, but the TIME adverb can occur in any of the possible positions except sentence final.

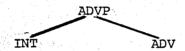
1. Adverb Without Intensifier

Ex.: /lug gi? tsa mgyog-po sa gi-mdug/



'The sheep does eat/eats/is eating the grass quickly'.

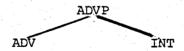
- 2. Adverb with Intensifier. The intensifier can occur either before or after the adverb.
- a. Intensifier occurring before the adverb:



Ex.: /lug gi? --tsa she-dag mgyog-po sa gi-mdug/ 'sheep' AM /grass' 'very' 'quick' 'eat' 'does'

'The sheep does eat/eats/is eating the grass very quickly.'

b. Intensifier occurring after the adverb:

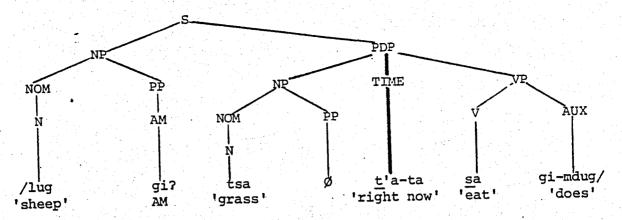


Ex.: /lug gi? tsa mgyog-po she-dag sa gi-mdug/ 'sheep' AM 'grass' 'quick' 'very' 'eat' 'does'

'The sheep does eat/eats/is eating the grass very quickly'.

3. The TIME Adverb. The TIME adverb occurs before the verb phrase in a basic sentence. 30

Ex.: /lug gi? tsa t'a-ta sa gi-mdug/

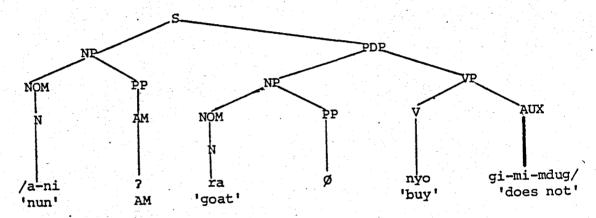


'The sheep does eat/eats/is eating the grass right now'.

III. THE TRANSFORMED SENTENCE

- A. The Transformed Simple Sentence
- 1. The Negative Sentence. (Infix /mi/ in the auxiliary.)

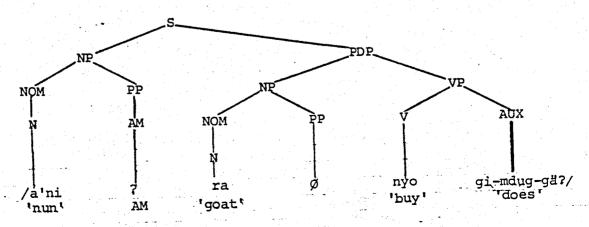
Ex.: /a-ni? ra nyo gi-mi-mdug/



'The nun does not buy/is not buying the goat'.

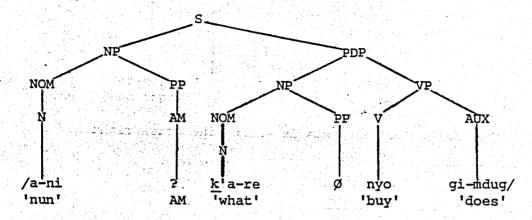
- 2. The Interrogative Sentence
- a. Entire Sentence Questioned. (Suffix /gd?/ to the auxiliary.)

Ex.: /a-ni? ra nyo gi-mdug-gä?/



- b. Noun Phrase Questioned.
- (1) The "What" Question. (/k'a-re/ replaces NP.)

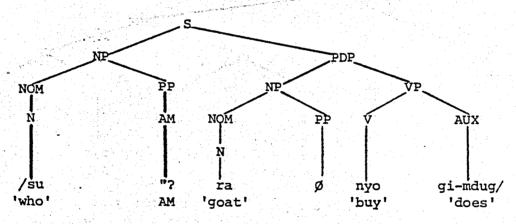
Ex.: /a-ni? k'a-re nyo-gi-mdug/



'What does the nun buy/what is the nun buying?'

(2) The "Who" Question. (/su/ replaces NP.)

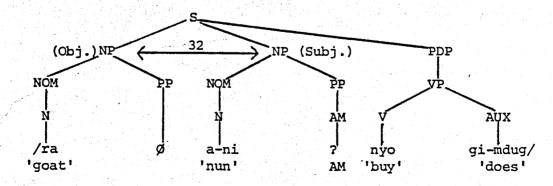
Ex.: /su? ra nyo gi-mdug/



'Who buys/who is buying the goat?'

3. The "Passive" Sentence. (Invert subject and object.) 31

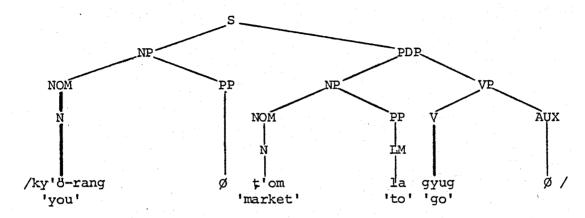
Ex.: /ra a-ni? nyo gi-mdug/ (surface sentence)



'The goat is being bought by the nun'.

- 4. The Imperative Sentence. (Retain or delete the "vocative" NP; change verb to imperative form; 33 delete auxiliary.)
- a. Retain the vocative second person pronoun:

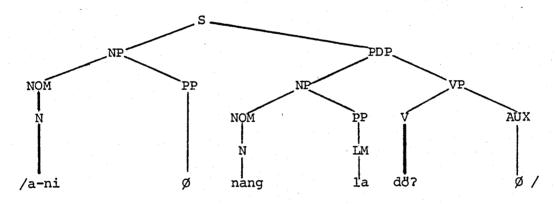
Ex.: /ky'ö-rang ţ'om la gyug/



'You, go to the market!'

b. Retain the vocative noun:

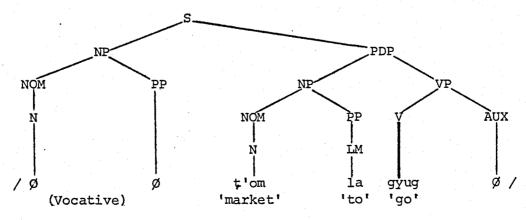
Ex.: /a-ni nang la dö?/



'Nun, stay at home!'

c. Delete the vocative NP:

Examples: /t'om la gyug/, /nang la do?/

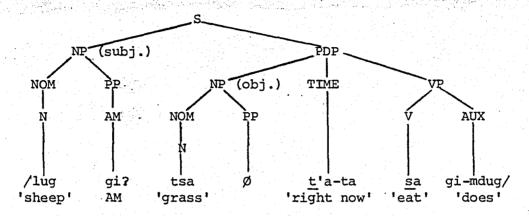


'Go to the market!'

'Stay at home!'

5. Focus Transformation. (Move object and/or TIME adverb to front of sentence.)

Ex.: /lug gi? tsa t'a-ta sa gi-mdug/ [basic sentence)



'The sheep does eat/is eating the grass right now'.

a. TIME Fronting. 34 (Move TIME adverb to front of sentence.)

Ex.: /t'a-ta lug gi? tsa sa gi-mdug/ 'right now' 'sheep' AM 'grass' 'eat' 'does'

Right now the sheep does eat/is eating the grass!.

b. Object Fronting. 35 (Move object NP to front of sentence.)

Ex.: /tsa lug gi? <u>t'a-ta sa gi-mdug/</u>
'grass' 'sheep' AM 'right now' 'eat' 'does'

'The grass is being eaten by the sheep right now'.

c. Object Fronting Followed by TIME Fronting.

Ex.: /t'a-ta tsa lug gi? sa gi-mdug/ 'right now' 'grass' 'sheep' AM 'eat' 'does'

'Right now the grass is being eaten by the sheep'.

d. TIME Fronting Followed by Object Fronting.

Ex.: /tsa <u>t</u>'a-ta lug gi? <u>sa</u> gi-mdug/ 'grass' 'right now' 'sheep' AM 'eat' 'does'

'The grass is being eaten right now by the sheep'.

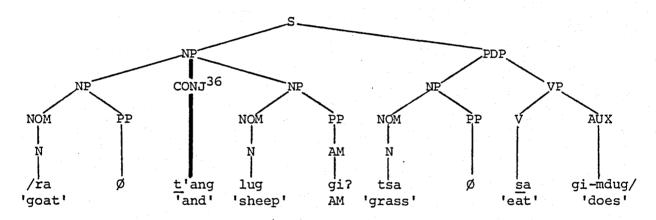
SUMMARY OF FOCUS TRANSFORMS

		1	2	3	4
	Basic Structure:	lug gi?	tsa	<u>t</u> 'a-ta	sa gi-mdug
a.	TIME Fronting:	3 <u>t'</u> a-ta	lug gi?	2 tsa	4 <u>s</u> a gi-mdug
b.	Object Fronting:	tsa	lug gi?	3 <u>t'a-ta</u>	4 sa gi-mdug
c.	Object Fronting + TIME Fronting:	3 _t'a-ta	2 tsa	lug gi?	4 sa gi-mdug
đ.	TIME Fronting + Object Fronting:	2 tsa	3 <u>t'a-ta</u>	lug gi?	4 sa gi-mdug

B. The Compound Sentence

1. Compound Noun Phrase. (Conjoin with /t'ang/'and'.)

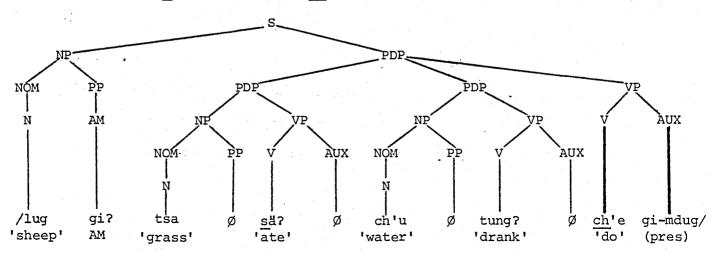
Ex.: /ra t'ang lug gi? tsa sa gi-mdug/



'The goat and the sheep do eat/are eating the grass'.

2. Compound Predicate. (Delete auxiliaries; add /ch'e gi-mdug/.)

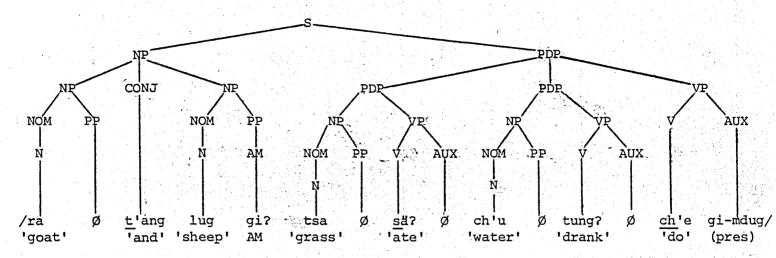
Ex.: /lug gi? tsa sä? ch'u tung? ch'e³⁷ gi-mdug/



'The sheep does eat/is eating the grass (and) drink(ing) the water'.

3. Compound Subject and Compound Predicate.

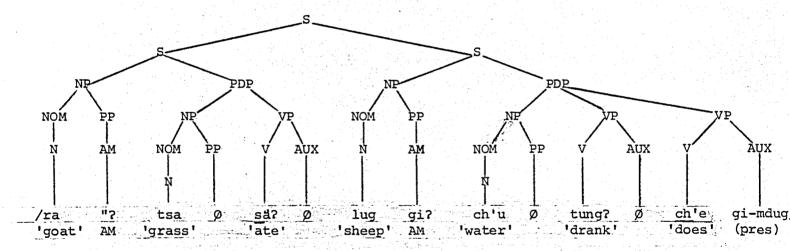
Ex.: /ra t'ang lug gi? tsa sä? ch'u tung? ch'e gi-mdug/



'The goat and the sheep do eat/are eating the grass (and) drink(ing) the water'.

4. The Full Compound Sentence. (Delete the auxiliaries; add a final VP containing /ch'e/ and auxiliary.)

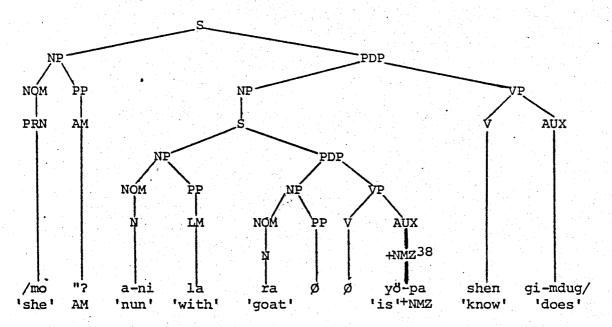
Ex.: /rä? tsa sä? lug gi? ch'u tung? ch'e gi-mdug/



'The goat does eat/is eating the grass (and) the sheep does drink/is drinking the water'.

C. The Complex Sentence

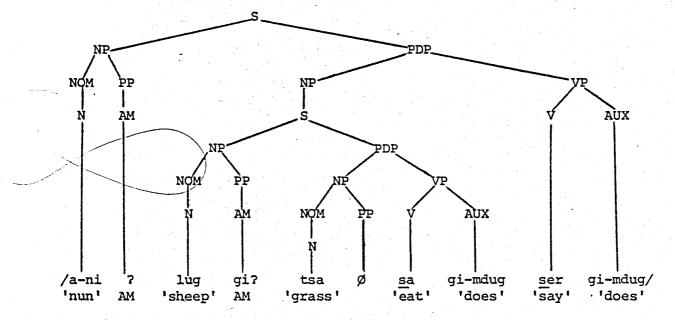
1. Complementation (normal focus)



'She does know/knows (that) with the nun is a goat/the nun has a goat (with her)'.

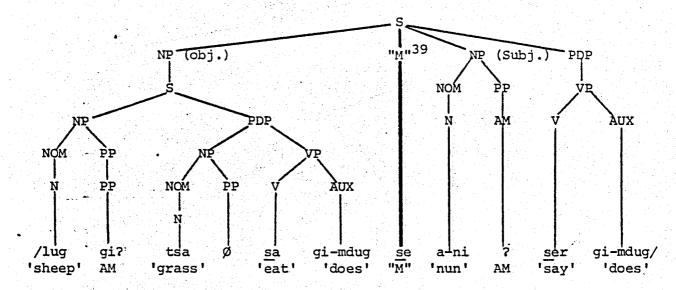
2. Quotation

a. Indirect Quotation (normal focus)



'The nun does say/says (that) the sheep eats/is eating the grass'.

b. <u>Direct Quotation</u> (object focus). (Move object NP to front of sentence, followed by the Direct Quotation Marker "M" /se/.)

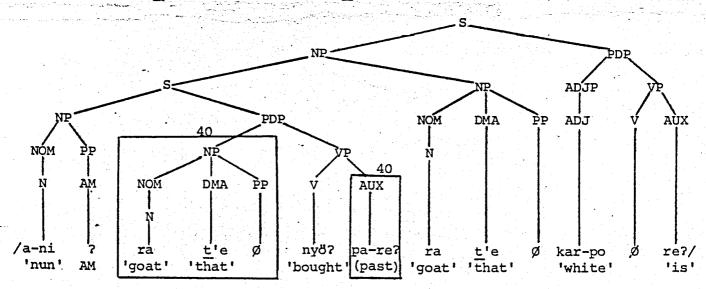


'The nun does say/says/is saying: "The sheep does eat/eats/is eating the grass" '.

3. Relativization

a. Underlying Syntactic Structure.

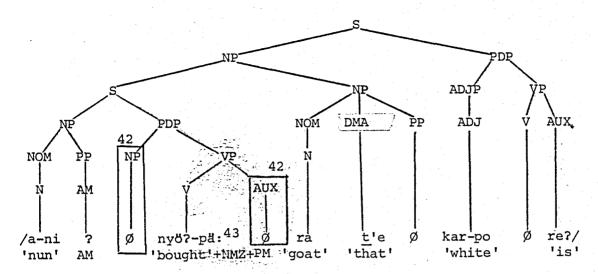
Ex.: /a-ni? ra t'e nyo? pa-re? ra t'e kar-po re?/



'(The nun bought that goat) that goat is white'.

b. Surface Syntactic Structure. (Delete the identical NP and the AUX in the relative S; suffix /pä:/(nominalizer /pa/ plus possessive marker /":/) to the verb in the relative S.

Ex.; /a-ni? nyő?-pä; ra t'e kar-po re?/



'That nun-bought goat is white'.

FOOTNOTES

1 Abbreviations:

S = Sentence $\emptyset = Zero Morpheme$ NP = Noun Phrase LM = Locative Marker

NOM = Nominal PDP = Predicate Phrase

N = Noun VP = Verb Phrase

PP = Postposition V = Verb

AM = Agent Marker AUX = Auxialiary

² See section II. A. 2. a. and footnote.

3 LM = Locative Marker, see II. A. 2. c. For a discussion of other postpositions, see section II. A. 2. a-e.

4 Abbreviations:

PM = Possessive Marker

DM = Dative Marker

ABM = Ablative Marker

- ⁵ There is no plural in the Tibetan language except with the personal pronoun, the noun devoting humans, and the demonstrative pronoun. Any one of these can form a plural by adding the morpheme /ts'o/.
- 6 /gi?/ is the basic form of the agent marker, as in the sub-dialect of Eastern Tibetan: /ky'ö-rang gi?/'by you', /k'o gi?/'by him', and /nga gi?/'by me'. But in other dialects of modern Tibetan, /gi?/ is used only after a consonant, and /yi?/ or the glottal stop /?/ is used after a vowel: e.g. /ky'ö-rang gi?/'by you' and /k'o yi?/ or /k'ö?/'by him'. The selection of /yi?/ or /?/ after a word ending in a vowel is partly dialectal and partly a matter of free variation. (I.e., in a dialect using /yi?/, /?/ is a free variant.)
 - 7 See II. A. 3., "The nominal with modifiers."
 - 8 In a sub-dialect of Eastern Tibetan.
- ⁹ The vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/ become /ä/, /ö/, and /ü/ respectively when they occur immediately before /gi?/, after which /gi/ deletes, leaving only the glottal stop /?/; but all other vowels remain the same, without change.
 - 10 Instrumental case with an inanimate noun.
 - 11 In a sub-dialect of Eastern Tibetan.

- 12 The vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/ become / \ddot{a} /, / \ddot{o} /, and / \ddot{u} / respectively when they occur immediately before /gi/, after which /gi/ is replaced by length /:/, except in a subdialect of Eastern Tibetan.
- 13 In all dialects, /la/ can optionally be replaced by length /:/ when it occurs immediately after a vowel.
 - 14 PRN = Personal Pronoun
- 15 /tsa:/ can also optionally be used immediately before a possessive marker or a locative marker.
 - 16 ADJP = Adjective Phrase
 - 17 ADJ = Adjective
- 18 There are more intensifiers, such as /she-po-chig/, /ha-chang/, /shin-tu/, /ha läpä:/, /pe ma-si-pä:/, and /gang mi-mdzä/.
 - 19 NUM = Number
- 20 The personal pronoun must be in the plural form when it occurs before any plural number except the number "two."
 - 21 DMA = Demonstrative Adjective
- 22 Plural is a feature of the entire noun phrase, not of the individual items in it, such
- 23 The demonstrative adjective must be in the plural form when it occurs before any plural number except "two."
 - 24 See I.A. for examples.
- 25 In this paper, only the present tense auxiliary is used. More detailed information about auxiliaries will appear in my forthcoming paper on Tibetan morphology.
- 26 Some other verbs change their basic form before the past tense auxiliary. (See my forthcoming paper on Tibetan morphology.)
 - 27 ADVP = Adverb Phrase
 - 28 ADV = Adverb
- 29 An adverb can also be derived from an adjective by suffixing the morpheme /ch'd/. There are other morphemes for deriving adverbs from adjectives in both modern and classical Tibetan.
- 30 See III. A. 5., "Focus Transformation," for other possible locations of the TIME adverb.
 - 31 See also III. A. 5., "Focus Transformation."
 - $32 \leftarrow \rightarrow$ = Inversion Transformation.
 - 33 See my forthcoming paper on Tibetan morphology.

 - 34 See also II. D. 3., "Time Adverb."
 35 See also III. A. 3., "Passive Sentence."
 - 36 CONJ = Conjunction
- 37 The "Conclusion Verb" /ch'e/ occurs when there are two or more conjoined predicate phrases or full sentences in one compound sentence. The /ch'e/ plus auxiliary occurs immediately after the last predicate phrase. All predicate phrases must delete their auxiliaries when they occur before the conclusion verb /ch'e/, and their verbs must be in the past tense form. (See my forthcoming paper on Tibetan morphology.)
- 38 NMZ = Nominalizer. When the nominalizer /pa/ is suffixed to the verb phrase (auxiliary) of an embedded non-active sentence, it converts the auxiliary /mdug/ (existential) to /yö?/ and the auxiliary /re?/ (linking) to /yin/. See II. C. 2. and my forthcoming paper on Tibetan morphology.
 - 39 "M" = Direct Quotation Marker
 - 40 = structure to be deleted.
- 41 The embedded /pa/ is suffixed to the verb phrase (verb) of an active relative sentence, and the auxiliary is deleted.
 - 42 Deleted structure.
- 43 /pä:/ = the nominalizer /pa/ plus the possessive marker /":/. A possessive marker always separates a modifier, such as /a-ni? nyö?-pa/ 'nun-bought', from a following head noun, such as /ra t'e/ 'that goat'. In Tibetan, all modifiers of the noun occur before

the noun head except for the adjective, the number, and the demonstrative. The order of the modifiers in relation to the head is exactly the opposite of that of English.

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