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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 MORPHOLOGY

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## Introduction

Up to this time, there has been no proper description of Tibetan morphology. This task should have been undertaken much earlier, because the Tibetan language is unique. It is different from European and Chinese languages. Although its word order is basically the same as that of Burmese, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, and Mongolian, the process of word formation differs from that of these other languages. Therefore, this paper on Tibetan morphology is an important part of my work on the Generative Grammar of the Tibetan Language. 1

Contemporary research on morphology is complicated to follow and difficult to understand. The different definitions of 'morpheme' that are used by different linguists are very confusing. In this paper, I will use the term morpheme to mean "the smallest meaningful grammatical unit." Defining the morpheme in this way is very helpful, particularly in the case of the bound morpheme suffixes $/ \mathrm{pa} / \mathrm{po} / \mathrm{po} / \mathrm{ma} / \mathrm{l}^{2} / \mathrm{mo} / 3$, and $/ \mathrm{wa} / \mathrm{mo} /$, which are used in Tibetan words very much as the 'gender markers' are used in French or Spanish.

This study of Tibetan morphology, which is based on the central dialect of modern spoken Tibetan, is the first step forward a complete grammar of the Tibetan language. I hope $I$ will be able to work on this subject continuously, and perhaps in the near future other native Tibetan linguists will be available to make further contributions to this kind of research. I also hope that Western and Asian linguists will find something useful for their own research in this short paper, and I would be grateful to my readers for any comments, suggestions, and criticisms they might have of this study of Tibetan morphology.

[^0]

NOTE: An apostrophe (') is used to indicate aspiration.
A comma $($,$) under a consonant is used to indicate retroflexion.$
A "y" arter a consonant is used to indicate palatalization.
An "m" before a consonant is used to indicate prenasalization.
An " $h$ " before a consonant is used to indicate preaspiration.
An apostrophe above an " $n$ ", $/ n /$, is used to indicate nasalization of the preceding vowel.
A line (-) under a consonant is used to indicate a pitch in the (CV) syllable level that is pronounced "lower" than the normal English pitch, and a line above a consonant is used to indicate a pitch in the (UV) syllable level that is pronounced "higher" than the normal English pitch.

## I. PARTS OF THE NOUN PHRASE

A. Pronouns and Case Inflections

1. Personal Pronouns
a. Singular personal pronouns

There are four singular personal pronouns, each of them consisting of a free morpheme.

Ex. : Morphemes \& Meaning
Phon. 1 \& Translation
Rom. ${ }^{2}$ \& Tibetan

$$
\text { 1st } P^{3} \text { : }
$$

/nga/
I
[nga]
$\therefore$ nga

2nd $P$ :
$/ \mathrm{ky}^{\prime} \mathrm{b} ? /$
you

$/ \mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{o} /$
he
$\left[\mathrm{ky}^{\prime} \mathrm{b}\right.$ ? $]$
'you'
khyod
बड
3rd P:
he
$[k ' 0]$
'he'
$\sqrt{\text { k }}$
kho
$/ \mathrm{mo}$, [mo]
she
'she'
mo
b. Plural personal pronouns

The plural form of the personal pronoun contains two morphemes. It is formed by adding the plural marker (PLM) /ts'o/ to the singular personal pronoun base. The plural marker /ts'o/ is a bound morpheme that occurs only after a pronoun.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning
1st $P: / n g a+t s{ }^{\prime} o /$
$\mathrm{I}+\mathrm{PLM}$
2nd P: /ky' ${ }^{\prime}$ ? + ts'o/
you + PLM
3rd P: /k'o + ts'o/ he + PLM

Phon. \& Translation

'we'
[ky'8n-ts'o]
'you'
[k'on-ts'o]
'they'

Rom. \& Tibetan
nga-tso

khyod-tso

kho-tso
苗家
c. Case Inflections

Both the singular and the plural pronouns can combine with three different case inflections. These inflections are (1) the locative marker (LM)

1 Phon = Phonetic transcription
2 Rom $=$ Romanization
$3 \mathrm{P}=$ Person
4 A vowel adds a nasal consonant, /n/, when it occurs immediately before the plural marker /ts'o/.
or the dative marker（DM）$/ 1 a /$ ，（2）the agentive marker（AM）$/ \mathrm{gi} \%$ ，and （3）the possessive marker（PM）／gi／．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
Singular：
（1）$\quad$／nga $+1 a /$
（2）$\quad \operatorname{lnga}+g i ? / 2$
$I+A M$
（3）／／nga + gi／
$I+P M$
Plural：
（1）／nga + ts＇o $+1 a /$
$I+P L M+D M$
（2）$/$ nga $+t s^{\prime} 0+g i^{2} /$
$I+P L M+A M$
（3）$/$ nga $+t s^{\prime} o+g i /$
$I+P L M+P M$

Phon．\＆Translation

＇me＇
［nga？］
＇by me＇
［nga：］
＇my＇

＇us＇
［ngan－ts＇b？］
＇by us＇
［ngan－ts＇d：］
＇our＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { nga-1a (ngar) } \\
\approx a \quad a)^{\circ}
\end{gathered}
$$

nga－yis ${ }^{2}$（ngas）
बひेस ᄃᄌํ
nga－yi3（nga＇i）
चथे दरे．

> nga-tsor
> $=\cdot \sqrt{5} \times$.
nga－tsos

nga－tso＇i玉安令

2．Demonstrative Pronouns
a．Singular demonstrative pronouns
There are five singular demonstrative pronouns．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
／mdi／
this
／t＇e／
that

Phon．\＆Translation
［mdi］
＇this＇
［t＇e］
＇that＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan
di
مरे
de
है

1 The locative or dative marker $/ 1 \mathrm{a} /$ can be replaced by length $/: /$ when it occurs immediately before a vowe1．See my paper on＂Aspects of Tibetan Phonology＂for an explanation of how／la／is deleted and the final vowel is modified．
$2 / \mathrm{gi} /$（gis）is the basic form of the agentive marker，as in a sub－dialect of Eastern Tibetan［nga－gi？］＇by me＇，and［k＇o－gi＇］＇by him＇．But in other dialects of modern Tibetan，／giv／is used only after a consonant，and the glottal stop／？／（s）or／yi？／（yis）is used after a vowel．

3 The possessive marker／gi／is replaced by length／：／when it occurs im－ mediately after a vowel，and the vowels $/ \mathrm{a} /, / 0 /$ ，and $/ \mathrm{L} / \mathrm{become} / \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{l}, \mathrm{l} / \mathrm{l}$ ，and ／if respectively when they occur immediately before length／：／（except with the locative or dative marker／ $1 \mathrm{a} /$／）．

4 Also pronounced［ngan－ts＇od：］．

b. Plural demonstrative pronouns

The plural form of the demonstrative pronoun contains two morphemes and is formed, in the case of /mai/ 'this' and $/ \mathrm{t}$ 'e/ 'that', by adding the plural marker/ts'o/ to the singular form. The plurals of/ya-gi/, /magi/, and /p' a-gi/ are formed by dropping the second syllable/gi/ and adding the plural marker/ts'o/.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { /mi + ts'o/ } \\
\text { this + PLM } \\
/ t^{\prime} e+t s^{\prime} o / \\
\text { that + PLM } \\
/ y^{d}-g i+t s^{\prime} \circ / \\
\text { up there + PLM } \\
\text { /m ansi + ts'o/ } \\
\text { down there + PLM } \\
\text { /p'a-gi + ts'o/ } \\
\text { over there + PLM }
\end{gathered}
$$

Phon. \& Translation
[mdin-ts'o],
'these'
[t'en-ts'o]
[yán-ts!o]
'those up there'
[mản-ts'o]
'those down there'
[ $p^{\prime}$ án-ts'o]
'those over there'

Rom. \& Tibetan

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { di-tso } \\
& \text { Rn. } \\
& \text { de-tso } \\
& \text { ₹. }
\end{aligned}
$$

ya-tso

$$
24
$$

ma-tso ※学
pha-tso

$$
\pi \cdot \frac{\pi}{\infty}
$$

## c. Case inflections

The singular and plural demonstrative pronouns combine with case inflections as follows:

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning
Singular: /di + la/

$$
\text { this }+L M
$$

$$
/ \mathrm{mdi}+\mathrm{gi} \eta
$$

$$
\text { this }+\mathrm{AM}
$$

$$
/ \mathrm{mdi}+g i /
$$

$$
\text { this }+P M
$$

Plural: $/ \mathrm{mdi}+t s^{\prime} o+1 \mathrm{a} /$ this + PLY $+D M$

Phon. \& Translation
[m da:]
'to this'
[mai']
'by this'
[mai:]
'of this'
[mdin-ts'o:]
'to these'

Rom. \& Tibetan

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 'di-la ('dir) } \\
& \text { Rर्ต Aux. } \\
& \text { 'di-yis ('dis) } \\
& \text { रू्येस रूस } \\
& \text { 'di-yi ('di'i) } \\
& \text { बस्ये शूरे } \\
& \text { 'di-tso-la ('di-tsor) }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& / \mathrm{mdi}+\mathrm{ts}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{o}+\mathrm{gi} 1 / \quad \text { [mdin-ts: } 8^{\prime} \text { ] } \\
& \text { this + PLM + AM 'by these' } \\
& \text { /mdi + ts'o + gi/ [mdin-ts'b:] } \\
& \text { this + PLM + PM 'of these' } \\
& \text { 'di-tsos } \\
& \text { 25. } \\
& \text { 'di-tso'i } \\
& \text { बर्करे. }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 3．Interrogative Pronouns

a．Singular interrogative pronouns
There are eight singular interrogative pronouns．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
／su／
who
／k＇a－re／ what
／k＇a－k＇i／ which

$$
/ k^{\prime} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{re}+t^{\prime}|\mathrm{H}\rangle /
$$

$$
\text { what }+ \text { time }
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& / \mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{re}+\mathrm{par} / \\
& \text { what }+\mathrm{LM}
\end{aligned}
$$

／k＇a－re＋n멱／ what + ABM
／k＇a－re＋mģa／ what＋like
$/ \underline{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{re}+\mathrm{ts}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{2} / 1$
what + limitation

Phon．\＆Translation
［su］
who＇
$\left[k^{\prime} a-r e\right]$

what $\quad$| ga－re |
| ---: |
| GI． |

［k＇a－k＇i］ga－gi
＇which＇

［k＇a－pa：］
＇where＇
［ ${ }^{[\mathrm{k} \text {＇a－nä？}]}$ ，
［k＇an－mpla
＇how＇
［k＇a－ts＇a？$]$
＇how much＇
＇how many＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { su } \\
& \text { 太心 } \\
& \text { ga-re } \\
& 4 . \\
& \text { ga-gi } \\
& 4 . \\
& \text { ga-dus } \\
& 4 \operatorname{Tr}^{\circ}{ }^{-3} \\
& \text { ga-par } \\
& \text { 4.ax. } \\
& \text { ga-nas } \\
& \text { ज1.2स: } \\
& \text { ga-'dra } \\
& \text { 井「マジ } \\
& \text { ga-tsad } \\
& 4 \text { 4が }
\end{aligned}
$$

## b．Plural interrogative pronouns

The plural interrogative pronoun is formed by doubling the singular form of the pronoun．There is no exact English equivalent for this dupli－ cation．The pronouns are used doubly when referring to many different things，places，actions，and times．For example，if one has many books on a shelf，along with another＇s books，and is not sure which of the books are his，the question is［ngd：t＇eb $\underline{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}-\underline{k}^{\prime} i \underline{k}^{\prime} \dot{a}-\underline{k}^{\prime} i \quad r e$ ？］＇Which books are mine？＇

1 Also pronounced［k＇a－ts＇b？］（ga－tsod）．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

$$
\begin{aligned}
& / \text { su }+ \text { suI } \\
& \text { who + who } \\
& / \underline{k}^{\prime} a-r e+k^{\prime} a-r e / \\
& \text { what + what }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
/ k^{\prime} a-k^{\prime} i+k^{\prime} a-k^{\prime} i /
$$

which + which

$$
/ \underline{k}^{\prime} a^{\prime} \underline{t}^{\prime} u ?+\underline{k}^{\prime} a^{\prime}-\underline{t}^{\prime}(\mathrm{l}) /
$$

$$
\text { when }+ \text { when }
$$

$$
/ \underline{k}^{\prime} a-p a r+k^{\prime} a-p a r /
$$

$$
\text { where }+ \text { where }
$$

$$
/ \underline{k}^{\prime} a-n 4 ?+\underline{k}^{\prime} a-n a ? /
$$

$$
\text { from where }+ \text { from where }
$$

$$
\frac{/ \mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}-\text { ga }}{\text { how }}+\frac{\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{m} \mathrm{hal}}{}
$$

$$
/ k^{\prime} a-t s^{\prime} h p+k^{\prime} a-t s^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} /
$$

how much + how much

Phon．\＆Translation
［su－su］${ }^{\text {who }}{ }^{1}{ }^{1}$＇
［ ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ what $\mathrm{p} \mathrm{I}^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ a－re］
［ $\left.k^{\prime} d-k^{\prime} i-k^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}-k^{\prime} i\right]$

［ $k^{\prime}$ where wa：$-k^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ a－pa：］
［k＇an＂？$-k^{\prime} a-n{ }^{\prime} ?$ ？$]$
＇from where pl＇



Rom．\＆Tibetan

ga－re－ga－re
बत्रे•4추
ga－gi－ga－gi

ga－dus－ga－dus AnN． $\operatorname{cin}^{2 N}$
ga－par－ga－par

ga－nas－ga－nas

ga－＇dra－ga－＇dra 4になの『゙か
ga－tsad－ga－tsad 4・お゙られでが

## c．Case inflections

The singular and plural interrogative pronouns can also combine with case inflections．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

```
Singular: /su + la/
        who + DM
        /su + gil/
        who + AM
        /su + gi/
        who + PM
Plural: /su + su + la/
        who + who + DM
        /su +su + gi`/
        who + who + AM
        /su +su + gi/
        who + who + PM
```

Phon．\＆Translation
［sol：］${ }^{2}$
＇to whom＇
［sui？］
＇by whom＇
［si：］
＇of whom，whose＇
［su－só：］
＇to whom pl＇
［sums？］
＇by whom pl＇
［su－su：］
＇of whom pl＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

su－su－1a（su－sur）

su－su－yis（su－sus） 정정
su－su－yi（su－su＇i） स్खु정．
${ }_{2}^{1} \mathrm{pl}=$ plural
2 Also pronounced［sudd：］in spoken Tibetan．

## B．Nouns and Case Inflections

1．Nouns
a．Basic nouns formed with Bound Base（BB）and Gender Marker（GM） 1
The majority of basic nouns consist of a bound base and a gender marker，as in Spanish．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
／mjing－pa／
BB GM
neck
／t＇o－po／
BB GM
／nyung－ma／
BB GM
tumip
／ri－mol
BB GM picture
／ka－wa｜
BB GM
pillar
／5＇a－wol
BB GM buckwheat

Phon．\＆Translation
［mjing－pa］
＇neck＇
［t＇o－po］
［nyung－ma］
＇turnip＇
［ri－mo］
＇picture＇
$[\mathrm{ka}:]^{2}$
＇pillar＇
$\left[\xi^{\prime} \mathrm{ao}:\right]^{3}$
＇buckwheat＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

> mjing-pa
> ジズは'
do－po
$\underset{\sim}{x}$
nyung－ma
$35^{2}$
ri－mo
气㐅⿸厂
ka－ba
$\pi \cdot a \cdot$
bra－bo
g．${ }^{-}$
b．Basic nouns without Gender Marker
Some basic nouns are composed of a free base without a gender marker．${ }^{4}$－

1 There are six gender markers：／pa／／po／（masculine）；／ma／／mo／（fem－ inine）；and／wa／／wo／（neuter，sometimes also used for masculine）．For details on the gender marker，see my forthcoming paper，＂Gender Markers in Tibetan，＂to be published in the Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies at Oxford University， 1979.
${ }^{2}$ In spoken Tibetan，／w／is deleted，and the final vowel／a／becomes lengthened，／a：／．

3 The $/ \mathrm{w} /$ is deleted and the final vowel $/ 0 /$ becomes lengthened，$/ 0: /$ ．
4 My hypothesis is that these monosyllabic nouns have lost their gender markers or have fused with them．For example，the／po／in［tampo］（rta－po） ＇horse＇in classical Tibetan has now been lost，and only［ta］（rta）is used to mean＇horse＇．Such examples can easily be found in folk songs and proverbs．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
／yi－ge／
letter
／shi：－ka／
character
／k＇a－ta／
crow
／k＇a／
mouth
／ky＇i／
dog
／sa／
earth

Phon．\＆Translation
［yi－ge］
＇letter＇
［shi：－kả］
＇character＇
［ $k^{\prime} a-t a$ ］
＇crow＇
［ $k^{\prime} a$ ］
＇mouth＇
［ky＇i］
＇dog＇
［sa］
＇earth＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { yi-ge } \\
& \text { شेंते }
\end{aligned}
$$

gshis－ka

khva－ta
雨 $5^{\circ}$
kia

khyi
家
sa
स＇
c．Case inflections
All nouns ending in vowels（including compound and complex nouns－－See
I．B． $2 \& 3$ ）can combine with three different inflectional postpositions． They are formed in the same way as the pronoun inflections．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

$$
\begin{gathered}
/ k^{\prime} a-t a+1 a / \\
\text { crow }+D M \\
/ k^{\prime} a-t a+g i \eta / \\
\text { crow }+A M \\
/ k^{\prime} a-t a+g i / \\
\text { crow }+P M
\end{gathered}
$$

Phon．\＆Translation
［k＇a－ta：］
＇to the crow＇
［k＇a－th？］
＇by the crow＇
［k＇a－tal：］
＇of the crow＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan
khva－ta－la（khva－tar）
你ち゚・
园「5
khva－ta－yis（khva－tas）

khva－ta－yi（khva－ta＇i）
四多
国 5 रे

2．Compound Nouns
There are ten different ways to form compound nouns．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
$\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{N}: / \mathrm{go}+$ chat／ door＋iron

V＋V／Lob＋jon／ learn＋practice

Phon．\＆Translation
［gotcha？］
＇lock（N）＇
［1̄ob－jo＊ri］${ }^{1}$
＇study（N）＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { sgo-1cags }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { slob-sbyong } \\
& \text { स्बें 설 }
\end{aligned}
$$

1 A star（＊）signifies＇accent＇．

| $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{N}:$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { /kye? }+ \text { kar-ma/ } \\ \text { born }+ \text { star } \end{gathered}$ | ［kye：－ka：］ <br> ＇birthday＇ | skyes－skar <br> 츌저우다 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $N+A J^{1}:$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /ngo + ts'a-po/ } \\ & \text { face + hot } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & {[\text { ngo-ts'a] }} \\ & \text { shame' } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ngo-tsa } \\ & \tilde{\sigma} \cdot \end{aligned}$ |
| $A \cdot J+N:$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Ina }+\mathrm{ma}^{2} / \\ & \text { supreme }+ \text { mother } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & {[\text { [1a-ma] }} \\ & \text { 'lama, guru' } \end{aligned}$ | bla－ma ล＂ํ |
| $A J+V:$ | $\begin{aligned} & / 1 \mathrm{eg}-\mathrm{po}+\text { shal } / \\ & \text { good }+ \text { said } \end{aligned}$ | $\left[1 \mathrm{eg}-\operatorname{sh}{ }^{2}\right]$ <br> ＇moral lesson＇ | legs－bshad शेनसबप5 |
| $A J+A J:$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /kyi-po }+ \text { dug-po/ } \\ & \text { pleasant }+ \text { sorrowful } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & {[\text { kyi-du?] }} \\ & \text { association' } \end{aligned}$ | skyid－sdug脐俞 |
| PRN＋V： | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /nga }+ \text { gyall/ } \\ & I+\text { conquer } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} {[\text { ngar-gyd:] }} \\ \text { pride' } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { nga-rgyal } \\ & \text { Egg } \end{aligned}$ |
| $N+N E G+N:$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /sa-shing }+ \text { ma }+ \text { mdóg-pa/ } \\ & \text { farm }+ \text { NEG }+ \text { nomad } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { [sa-ma-mф̣?] } \\ & \text { 'nomadic farm' } \end{aligned}$ |  |
| $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{V}:$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { /mgo }+t^{\prime} i ? / \\ \text { head }+ \text { lead } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & {\left[\text { mgo- } \xi^{\prime} i ?\right]} \\ & \text { 1eader' } \end{aligned}$ |  |

## 3．Complex Nouns

a．Nouns derived by means of Gender Marker（GM）as Nominalizer
Many nouns are complex，formed by the adding of $/ \mathrm{pa} / / \mathrm{po} /, / \mathrm{ma} / / \mathrm{mo} /$ ， or／wa／／wo／to a free noun base or to a compound noun，verb，or adjective．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning Phon．\＆Translation Rom．\＆Tibetan

| $\mathrm{N}+$／pa／： | ／k＇am $+\mathrm{pa} /$ <br> Kham，eastern <br> Tibet $+G M$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{N}+$／mol： | ／k！am－mo／ Kham，eastern Tibet $+G M$ |
| $\mathrm{N}+/ \mathrm{mo} / \mathrm{l}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { /sha-ts'a }+ \text { mo/ } \\ \text { affection }+G M \end{gathered}$ |
| N＋／wo／： | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /sha-ts'a }+ \text { wo/ } \\ & \text { affection }+G M \end{aligned}$ |


| ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\prime} \mathrm{am}$－pa］ | khams－pa |
| :---: | :---: |
| ＇a man who was born in Kham＇ | 『スस品 |
| ［ $k^{\prime}$ am＇mo］ | khams－mo |
| ＇a woman who was born in Kham＇ | तबस्स ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & {\left[t s^{\prime} a^{3}-\mathrm{mo}\right]} \\ & \text { 'niece' } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tsa-mo } \\ & \text { お. } \end{aligned}$ |
| $\underset{\text { nephew }^{\prime}}{[\text { noo: }}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { tsa-bo } \\ & \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\omega} \cdot \vec{n}^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ |

1 AJ＝Adjective
2 This／ma／is homophonous with the feminine Gender Marker／ma／，but in this case it is a free morpheme meaning＇mother＇．There are several other in－ stances of［ma］being used for＇mother＇and［mo］for＇she＇or＇female＇．

3 The use of the second syllable in a complex or compound word is unusual．
4 In spoken Tibetan，$/ \mathrm{w} /$ is deleted and the final vowel／／becomes lengthened，$/ 0: /$ ．

| $\mathrm{V}+/ \mathrm{pa} /:$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /tsun + pa/ } \\ & \text { discipline (V)+GM } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { [tsum-pa] } \\ \text { 'monk' } \end{gathered}$ | btzun－pa の古ぎ． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| V＋／ma／： | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /tsun }+ \text { ma/ } \\ & \text { discipline (V) }+G M \end{aligned}$ | [tsim-ma] | bztun－ma ब合ずみ |
| AJ＋／po／： | $\begin{aligned} & / \text { chen }+\mathrm{po} / \\ & \text { elder }+G M \end{aligned}$ | ```[chem-po] 'elder brother'``` | gcen-po बनेवेते |
| $\mathrm{AJ}+/ \mathrm{mo} /$ ： | $\begin{gathered} \text { /chen }+\mathrm{mo} / \\ \text { elder }+\mathrm{GM} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & {[\text { chem-mo] }} \\ & \text { 'elder sister' } \end{aligned}$ |  |

b．Nouns derived by means of other Nominalizers
1）The Agent Nominalizer（AN）$/ \mathrm{ng} \mathrm{An}^{1}$
／ngln／is an agent nominalizer．It is a bound morpheme suffix like ＇or＇in＇doctor＇or＇er＇in＇teacher＇，used only in the spoken language． The／ngan／is added to a present tense verb to form a derived noun which indicates＇doer＇．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

$$
\begin{array}{lc}
\text { /nyo }+ \text { ngan } / & \text { [nyo-ngh:n] } \\
\text { buy }+ \text { AN } & \text { 'buyer }
\end{array}
$$

Phon．\＆Translation

Rom．\＆Tibetan
nyo－mkhan！ ऊิみくฟ：

2）The Patient Nominalizer（PN）／yag／
／yag／is a patient nominalizer．It is a bound morpheme suffix used only in modern spoken and written Tibetan，${ }^{2}$ The／yag／is added to a present tense verb to form a derived noun．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
／nyo＋yag／
buy＋PN

Phon．\＆Translation

| ［nyo－ya？］ | nyo－yag ${ }^{2}$ |
| :---: | ---: |
| something | त्धैu्यक् |

＇something to buy＇

3）Other Nominalizers ${ }^{3}$
There are other nominalizers which are used in the same way as／yag／．

1 The／nglin／is only one example．There are other nominalizers which are added to verbs to form agentive nouns．$/ k^{\prime} \mathrm{hn}^{\prime} /$（mkhan）is used in the written language for the agent nominalizer／ngln／．

2 In the classical language，／ch＇e？／（byed）＇to do＇is used for this purpose．
3 I am including these nouns as complex nouns even though they may appear to be compound，because the nominalizers cannot be used as free morphemes，but can only occur after a free morpheme to form a word．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

Phon．\＆Translation
［nyo－ta＊n＇］
＇the way to buy＇
［nyo－10：in］
＇the time to buy＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { nyo-stangs } \\
& \text { 个ิ주두ํ } \\
& \text { nyo-1ong } \\
& \text { ऊैलेス }
\end{aligned}
$$

C．Adjectives

1．Basic adjectives
a．Adjectives with arbitrary gender association

Most adjectives contain a base morpheme plus a gender marker：／pa／ ／po／，／ma／／mo／，or／wa／／wo／．These gender markers serve only to classify the adjective as a masculine，feminine；or neuter word，and are assigned ar－ bitrarily．${ }^{1}$

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

new
／k＇ag－po／
BB．GM difficult
／tsang－ma／
BB GM clean
／5＇ang－mo／
BB GM
cold
／tse－wa／
BB GM
love
$/ 5^{\prime}$ o－wo／
BB GM fearful

Phon．\＆Translation

```
[sa:-pa] \({ }^{2}\)
    'new'
```

$\left[k^{1} \text { ag－go }\right]^{3}$
＇difficult＇
［tsang－ma］
＇clean＇
$\left[5^{\prime} \text { ang－ngu }\right]^{4}$
cold＇
［tse－wa］
＇love＇
$\left[5^{\prime} 0:\right]^{5}$
＇fearful（face）＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan
gsar-pa

$$
\triangle \angle A=10
$$

khag－po
बता से
gtzang－ma のちだめ
grang－mo
जa．
brtze－ba ム五の。
khro－bo
国畐

1 See p．8，B．1．a．Basic nouns formed with BB and GM．
2 The final consonant／r／becomes length＇／：／in spoken Tibetan except for ［tar］＇telegram＇and a other few words．
$3 / \mathrm{p} /$ becomes $/ \mathrm{g} /$ when it occurs immediately after the final consonant $/ \mathrm{g} /$ ．
$4 / \mathrm{mo} /$ becomes／ngu／after the final consonant／ng／，and the vowel／a／be－ comes／a／when it occurs before the vowel／u／or／i／in the following syllable．

5 In spoken Tibetan，the $/ \mathrm{w} /$ is deleted and the／／／becomes lenthened，／o：／．
b．Adjectives with clear gender association（as in French and Spanish）
Only the gender markers $/ \mathrm{ma} /$ and $/ \mathrm{mo} /$ show that the adjective is used to modify an animate being of a particular gender（female）－－for example： ［ $p^{\prime}$ u－mo（girl）mdze：ma（beautiful）chi（a）］＇a beautiful girl＇，and［p＇u （boy）mdze：－po（beautiful）chi（a）］＇a beautiful boy＇．An adjective con－ taining a gender marker／ma／or／mo／is never used to describe a male ani－ mate being．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
／kug－ma／ BB GM stupid
／mdze：－ma／
BB GM beautiful
／geg－mo／
BB GM charming

Phon．\＆Translation
${ }^{[\text {kug－ma }]^{1}}$（ftupid（female）＇
［mdze：－ma］
＇beautiful（female）＇ॠださ・み＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan
$1 \mathrm{kug}-\mathrm{ma}$
쥭․
mdzes－ma
［geg－mo］
＇charming（female）＇
sgeg－mo
त्रोवार्थे

2．Compound Adjectives
Compound adjectives are formed in several ways．
Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
N＋AJ：／gya＋ch＇en－po／ width＋big

N＋AJ：／ting＋ring－po／ depth + long
$\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{GM}: /$ Iung + lang $+\mathrm{po} /$ air＋arise＋GM

N＋LM＋V＋GM：$/ k^{\prime} a+1 a+n y{ }^{\prime} n+p o /$
Phon．\＆Translation
Rom．\＆Tibetan

| ［gya－ch＇em－po］ | rgya－chen－po |
| :---: | :---: |
| ＇wide，broad＇ |  |
| $\text { [ting-ring-gu] }_{\text {'deep' }}{ }^{2}$ |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & {[\text { İung-lang-go] }} \end{aligned}{ }^{3}$ | rlung-lang-po 可だふた家 |
| $\left[\begin{array}{c} {\left[k^{\prime} \mathrm{a}-1 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{ny} \mathrm{~A}_{\mathrm{A}} \mathrm{~m}-\mathrm{po}\right]} \\ \text { 'obedient } \end{array}\right.$ | kha－1a－nyan－po <br>  |
| $\begin{gathered} {[14 ?-1 a-p o]} \\ \text { easy } \end{gathered}$ |  |
| ［d8？－ts＇ug－gu］ | sdod－tsugs－po |
| ＇disciplined＇ |  |

$\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{AD}: \quad / 1 \mathrm{l}:-\mathrm{ka}+\overline{1} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{po} /$
work＋light
［d ${ }^{n}$ ？－ts＇ug－gu］
V＋AJ：／dB？+ ts＇ug－po／
＇disciplined＇

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { rgya-chen-po } \\
& \text { 兩彥気 } \\
& \text { gting-ring-po }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { rlung-lang-po } \\
& \text { ふだふだど } \\
& \text { kha-1a-nyan-po }
\end{aligned}
$$

> las-sla-po आसात్న' స్
> sdod-tsugs-po

1 Also pronounced［kung－má］
2 ／po／becomes／gu／after the final consonant／ng／preceded by the vowel ／i／or $/ \mathrm{u} /$ ．
$3 / \mathrm{p} /$ becomes $/ \mathrm{g} /$ when it occurs immediately after the final consonant $/ \mathrm{ng} /$ or $/ \mathrm{g} /$ ．

3．Reduplicative Adjectives
Adjectives are also formed by doubling the base morpheme．A few of these reduplicative adjectives are used to indicate diminutiveness，similar to the English＇teeny－weeny＇．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

Phon．\＆Translation
$\left[\begin{array}{c}\text {［ch＇ung－ch＇u：＇}]^{1} \\ \text {＇small＇}\end{array}\right.$
［nyung－nyu： n ］
＇few．
［t＇ung－t＇u： h ］
＇short＇
［kong－ko：in］
＇hollow＇
［dog－do＇］
＇Iumpy＇
［gó：－gó：］
＇round＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan
chung－chung

nyung－nyung $2=\sigma^{2}$
thung－thung ge，घ⿱二小欠
kong－kong ग्रेटर्गोन
rdog－rdog齐気気可
sgor－sgor


4．Comparison of Adjectives
a．Comparative degree
Comparative adjectives are formed by deleting the second syllable of the basic adjective and adding the Comparative Marker（CM）／wa／or／pa／．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { /ch'en-po } & +w a / \\
\text { big } & +c M
\end{array}
$$

／ch＇ung－ch＇ung＋wa／ small $+C M$
／mdze：－po＋pa／ beautiful＋CM

Phon．\＆Translation
$\left[\right.$［ch＇e＊h？${ }^{2}{ }^{2}$ bigger
＇bigger＇
［ch＇u＊ng－nga］${ }^{3}$
＇smaller＇
［mdze＊－pa］
＇more beautiful＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { che-ba } \\
\AA .{ }^{2}
\end{gathered}
$$

1 Pronounced［ch＇dn－ch＇Un＇i］in the central dialect．
$2 /$ wa／becomes／／$/$／when it occurs after the vowel／e／in comparative ad－ jectives．
$3 / \mathrm{w} /$ becomes／ng／when it occurs after the final consonant／ng／in com－ parative adjectives．
|yag-po + pal
$[\mathrm{ya*g}-\mathrm{ga}]^{1}$
yag-pa ${ }^{2}$
good + CM 'better' $\quad$ esq.a'
b. Superlative degree

Superlative adjectives are formed by deleting the second syllable of the basic adjective and adding the Superlative Marker (SM) /shd?/.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning

$$
\begin{gathered}
/ \text { ch' }^{\prime} \text { en-po }+ \text { sh } 8 ? / \\
\text { big }+S M
\end{gathered}
$$

/ch'ung-ch'ung + shb?/

$$
\text { small }+ \text { SM }
$$

/mdze:-po + sh8?/

$$
\text { beautiful }+ \text { SM }
$$

$$
\mid \text { yag-po }+ \text { sh } 8 ? \mid
$$ good + SM

Phon. \& Translation
[ch'e-shö ${ }^{7}$ ]
'biggest'
[ch'ung-shb?] 'smallest'
[mdze:-shb?]
'most beautiful'
[yag-sh8?]
'best'

Rom. \& Tibetan
che-shos केश्नेख.
chung-shos

mdzes-shos सहीN:둦.
yag-shos यन领
II. PARTS OF THE VERB PHRASE
A. Adverbs

1. Derivation of Adverbs

Adverbs are formed by adding the Adverb Marker (AVM)/ch'y? / to an adjective, a noun, or a verb. ${ }^{3}$

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning

N+AVM: /shug + ch'H?/ strength + AVM
 shouted $+\overline{A M}$

Phon. \& Translation

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [yag-go-ch'H?] } \\
& \text { 'well' } \\
& \text { [shug-ch'ㅂㅇ] } \\
& \text { 'strongly' } \\
& \text { [kHa?-gyabb-ch'벽] } \\
& \text { 'loudly' }
\end{aligned}
$$

Rom. \& Tibetan

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { yag-po-byas } \\
\text { axatiget }
\end{gathered}
$$

shugs-byas
M 478.
skad-brgyab-byas

$1 / \mathrm{p} /$ becomes $/ \mathrm{g} /$ when it occurs after the final consonant $/ \mathrm{g} /$.
2 [leg-po] (legs-po) is used in classical Tibetan for [yag-po] 'good'. Its comparative form is [le*g-pa] (legs-pa) 'better', and the superlative form is [leg-shb?] (legs-shos) 'best'.

3 There are other forms of adverbs, such as [k'd-1i:-lád (ga-ler-1a) 'slowly' and the phrasal adverbs [rang-wa: n mdam-pH: go-ny 7 ] (rang-dbang-1dan-pa'i-sgo-nas) 'freely' or 'with freedom', and so on.
2. Comparison of Adverbs

Comparative and superlative adverbs are formed in the same way as adjectives. 1

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning Phon. \& Translation Rom. \& Tibetan
Compar-
ative: /mgdr-po + wa/
${ }_{[\mathrm{mgd*r} \text { ra] }}{ }^{2}$
'gor-ba
rỡa.
Super-
lative: /mgor-po + sh8?/
[mgdr-shö?]
'slowest'
'gor-shos

B. Verbs and Tenses

1. Basic verbs and tenses
a. Same allomorph of base for all three tenses

Some verbs have the same allomorph for all three tenses, as in English 'push, will push, pushed'. 3

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning
Phon. \& Translation
Rom. \& Tibetan
[t'o:n] nthong
Present: see
Future: (will) see
Past: saw
'(will) see'
'saw'
b. Same allomorph of base for present and future but different allomorph for past

Many verbs are formed using the same allomorph of the base for present and future, but changing the vowel of the base for past tense, as in Eng1ish 'come, will come, came'.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning
Phon. \& Translation
Rom. \& Tibetan

$$
/ \mathrm{dB} ? /
$$

Present: sit, stay
[dy 1$]^{4}$
'sit, stay'
'(will) sit, stay'
sdod
Future: (will) sit, stay
'(will) sit, stay'

1 See p. 14, 4.a. Comparative degree and p. 15, 4.b. Superlative degree.
$2 / \mathrm{w} /$ becomes $/ \mathrm{r} /$ when it occurs after the final consonant $/ \mathrm{r} /$ in the comparative adverb and adjective.

3 In Tibetan, the verb base is not inflected. Instead, the auxiliary changes to indicate past tense.

4 In recent years, the present and future verb forms have been lost in the central Tibetan dialect. For example, the past tense verb form [da'] 'sat, stayed' is now used for all three tenses: [nga nang-la da: -gi-yb'] 'I am staying at home' and [nga nang-la dy: -gi-yin'] 'I will stay at home'.

Past： $\begin{gathered}\text {／dH？／stayed } \\ \text { sat，stay } \\ \text {［dH2］sat，stayed }\end{gathered}$
c．Same allomorph of base for present and future but suppletive base for past
A few verbs undergo suppletion of the base for past tense，as in English ＇go，will go，went＇．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning

Phon．\＆Translation
［mạo］
＇go＇
＇（will）go＇
［ch＇i＊h］
＇went＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan
＇gro
々気
Present：$\quad g o$
Future：$\quad(w i l l)$ go
／ch＇in／
Past：went
phyin
ब्㐅ें

2．Compound Verbs
Compound verbs are formed by preposing a noun or an adjective to a verb base．The tenses for the compound verbs are the same as for the basic verbs． For instance，the basic verb［tong］＇send＇in the following examples is in the present tense， 1 Its future tense is also［tong］，and the past tense is ［tang］＇sent＇． 2
a．Noun plus verb base

| Ex．： | Morphemes \＆Meaning | Phon．\＆Translation | Rom，\＆Tibetan |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{V}$ ： | $\begin{aligned} \text { /gong-nga } & + \text { tong } / \\ \text { egg } & + \text { send } \end{aligned}$ | ［gong－nga－tong］ <br> ＇lay（an）egg＇ | sgong-nga-gtong $\tilde{2} \approx=.4 \frac{1}{5}=$ |
| $\frac{N+N+V:}{N}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /go }+ \text { chag }+ \text { gyag } / \\ & \text { door }+ \text { iron }+ \text { beat } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { [go-cha?-gya?] } \\ & \text { Iock (V) } \end{aligned}$ | sgo－1cags－rgyag <br>  |
| $\frac{N+V+V}{N}:$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { /mgo }+ \text { kor }+ \text { tong } / \\ \text { head }+ \text { turn }+ \text { send } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { [mgo-kd:-tong] } \\ \text { 'cheat } \end{gathered}$ | mgo－skor－gtong <br>  |
| $\frac{\mathrm{A} T+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{V}}{\mathrm{~N}}:$ | $\frac{/ \text { shib }-m o+c h}{\text { detailed } ~}+\text { made }+ \text { ch' } \mathrm{do} ? /$ | $\text { [shib-ch }{ }^{7} \text { 'ch'ch'e?] }$ | zhib－bcos－byed <br>  |
| $\frac{A U X+N+V}{N}:$ | $\begin{aligned} & / t^{\prime} u b+\text { ts'br }+ \text { tong } / \\ & \text { can }+ \text { moderation }+ \text { send } \end{aligned}$ | $\text { [ } t^{\prime} \text { ub-ts' } y^{\prime} \text {-tong] }$ ＇overpower＇ | thub－tsod－gtong <br>  |

1 If you ask for the word for a verb，such as＂lay an egg，＂a Tibetan will always give the past tense form：e，g，［gong－nga－tang］＇laid（an）egg＇． 2．See P．16，B．I．b．

| $\frac{V+N+V}{N}:$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { /sam }+10 \text { + tong/ } \\ & \text { think }+ \text { thought }(N)+\text { send } \end{aligned}$ | [sam-10-tong] <br> ＇think＇ | bsam－blo－gtong <br>  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| V＋GM + V： | ／jin $+\mathrm{pa}+$ tong］ | ［jim－pa－tong］ | yin－pa－gtong |
| N | give $+\mathrm{GM}+$ send | ＇give（a）gift＇ |  |
| $\underline{V}+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{V}$ ： | İob＋jong＋ch＇e？ | ［Iob－jong－ch＇e？］ | slob－sbyong－byed |
| N | learn＋practice＋do | ＇study（V）＇， |  |
| PRN＋V＋V： | ／nga + gyal + ch ${ }^{\text {e }}$／／ | ［ngar－gyal－ch＇e？］ | nga－rgyal－byed |
| N | $I+$ conquer + do | ＇show pride＇ |  |

b．Adjective base plus verb base
Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
Phon．\＆Translation
Rom．\＆Tibetan
AJ＋V：／kyi－po＋tong／ happy + send
［kyi－po－tong］ skyid－po－gtong ＇enjoy＇

$\frac{\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{AJ}+\mathrm{V}:}{\mathrm{AJ}} \quad \frac{\mathrm{d}}{\mathrm{d}} ? \mathrm{t}+\mathrm{ts} \mathrm{s}^{\prime} \mathrm{ug}-\mathrm{po}+\mathrm{ch}^{\prime} \mathrm{e}^{?} /$
［d8？－ts＇ug－po－ch＇，e？］
＇make discipline（V）
sdod－tsugs－po－byed


C．Auxiliaries

## 1．Modal Auxiliaries

There are five modal auxiliaries．Each of them can occur immediately after a main verb and before a final auxiliary．

Ex．：Morphemes \＆Meaning
$/ \mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{ub} /$
can
$/ \mathrm{ch}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{dg} /$
may
／gb？／
want
／she？／
know
／nying＋md४－pa／
heart＋desire
／t＇ub／ can
／ch＇og／
｜g8？
／she？／
know
／nying＋mdb－pa／
heart＋desire

Phon．\＆Translation

［ch＇d？］
＇may＇
$\left.{ }^{[\mathrm{go}}\right]^{2}$
＇want＇
［she＊n］
＇know（how）＇
［nying－mdy？］
＇wish＇

Rom．\＆Tibetan
thub
島口
chog だ円
dgos
दतोस．
shes
คึख
snying－＇dod


1 Pronounced［ $t$＇ub］（thub）when reading aloud．
${ }^{2}$ Pronounced［gb？］（dgos）when reading aloud．

## Examples of the use of the modal auxiliaries

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [t'u?]: [m8? p'b:-yi? İ? } t^{\prime} u:^{1} \text {-gi-mdu?] } \\
& \text { she+AM Tibetan-letter read can }-C^{2}+S^{3} 3 \\
& \text { 'She can read a Tibetan letter.' } \\
& \text { [ch'd?]: [mo } \mathrm{g}^{\prime}{ }^{\prime \prime} \text { ? -la ch'i*h ch'd: -gi-re?] } \\
& \text { she Tibet LM went may }-C+S C \\
& \text { 'She may go to Tibet.' } \\
& \text { [go]: [mo } p^{\prime} \text { b? -la mgo go -gi-mdu] } \\
& \text { she Tibet LM go want }-C+S C \\
& \text { 'She wants to go to Tibet.' } \\
& \text { [she*h]: [mb? } \left.p^{\prime} \text { b:-shal tong shen }{ }^{4}-g i-m d u ?\right] \\
& \text { she }+ \text { AM Tibetan-song sing know - } \mathrm{C}+\mathrm{SC} \\
& \text { 'She knows how to sing a Tibetan song.' } \\
& \text { [nying-md }{ }^{2} \text { ]: [mo } \mathrm{p}^{\prime} \text { '? -1a mdo -nying -md8? -sha?] } \\
& \text { she Tibet LM go heart desire + C } \\
& +\mathrm{SC} \\
& \text { 'She wishes to go to Tibet.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

2. Final Auxiliaries

There are two different types of final auxiliaries: combined derived final auxiliaries and non-combined derived final auxiliaries.
a. Combined final auxiliaries

There are eight combined derived final auxiliaries. Each of them consists of a word containing a bound morpheme specifying "plus or minus completion of an action" and a free morpheme specifying "person of the subject" and "plus or minus speaker certainty." These bound and free morphemes together define the tenses of the verb phrase.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning Phon. \& Translation $\quad$ Rom. \& Tibetan
Tense


1 The glottal stop /?/ becomes lengthened /:/ when it occurs before /gi/, the first part of the final auxiliary.
$2 \mathrm{C}=$ Completion
3 SC = Speaker Certainty
4 The partial nasal with accent / $\% \mathrm{~h} /$ in [she*h] becomes a full nasal sound $/ \mathrm{n} /$ when it occurs before $/ \mathrm{si} /$, the first part of the final auxiliary. It is pronounced [she?] (shes) when reading aloud.

5 PS $=$ Person of the Subject.

|  | $/ \mathrm{gi}+(2 \mathrm{nd} / 3 \mathrm{rd}$ PS $)$ mdug | ［gi－mdu？］ | gi－＇dug |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $-\mathrm{C} \quad+\mathrm{SC}$ | ＇is（V）－ing＇ | बोरूुण |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \operatorname{lgi}+(2 \mathrm{nd} / 3 \mathrm{rdPS}) \mathrm{yd}-\mathrm{re} / / \\ & -\mathrm{SC} \end{aligned}$ | ［gi－yo－re？］ | gi-yog-redl <br> बो च्याण |
| Future： | $\begin{aligned} & \operatorname{lgi}+(1 \mathrm{st} \mathrm{PS}) \text { yin/ } \\ & -\mathrm{CDC} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { [gi-yin]] } \\ \text { 'will' } \end{gathered}$ | gi-yin <br> Aी सेख |
|  | $\begin{array}{ll} \operatorname{lgi}_{-C}+(2 n d / 3 \mathrm{rd} P S) & \mathrm{re} ? / \\ +S C \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} {[g i-r e ?]} \\ \text { will } \end{gathered}$ | gi－red <br> 이․ㅗㄷ․ |
|  | $\begin{array}{\|cc} \mathrm{gi}_{\mathrm{C}}+(2 \mathrm{nd} / 3 \mathrm{rd} \text { PS }) \text { yd }-\mathrm{re} ? / \\ -\mathrm{SC} \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { [gi-yo? }-\mathrm{re} \text { ? }] \\ \text { will }^{\prime} \end{gathered}$ | gi－yog－red 4ो चयन シャッ |
| Past： | $\begin{aligned} & / \mathrm{pa}+(1 \mathrm{stPS}) \text { yin/ } \\ & +\mathrm{SC} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} {[\text { pa-yiń }]} \\ \text { did } \end{gathered}$ | pa－yin <br> सणेश |
|  | $1 \emptyset(2 \mathrm{nd} / 3 \mathrm{rd} P S)--12$ | $[-\ldots-]^{2}$ | －．－．${ }^{2}$ |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & / \mathrm{pa}+(2 \mathrm{nd} / 3 \mathrm{rd} \mathrm{PS}) \mathrm{re} ? / \\ & -\mathrm{SC} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} {[\text { pa-re }]} \\ \text { 'did! } \end{gathered}$ |  |

Examples of the use of the combined final auxiliaries
1st person
Present：［nga $p^{\prime}$ br $^{\prime}-1 \mathrm{a}$ mgo $-\mathrm{gi}-\mathrm{yb}^{\prime}$ ］
I Tibet LM go－$\quad$＋SC
＇I am going to Tibet．＇
Future：［nga $\mathrm{p}^{\prime} \mathrm{b}^{2}-1 a$ mdo $\left.-\mathrm{g}^{2}-\mathrm{yin}\right]$
I Tibet LM go－C＋SC
＇I will go to Tibet．＇
Past：［nga $p^{\prime 4 ?-1 a} c^{\prime} i^{*}$ m－pa－yin］
I Tibet LM went＋C＋SC
＇I did go（went）to Tibet．＇
2nd person ${ }^{3}$
Present：$\left[k y^{\prime} 8-a^{4} p^{\prime} y^{?} ?-1 a\right.$ mgo $-g_{i-m d u}$ ？$]$ you Tibet LM go $\quad-\mathrm{C}+\mathrm{SC}$
＇You are going to Tibet．＇

[^1]Future: [ky'b-ra $p^{\prime 8 ?}-1 a$ mgo -gi-re?]
you Tibet LM go -C +SC
'You will go to Tibet.'
 you Tibet LM went $+C-S C$
'You did go (went) to Tibet.'
b. Non-combined final auxiliaries

There are three non-combined derived final auxiliaries, Each of them contains one free morpheme specifying "plus speaker certainty," "past tense," and "second or third person subject."

1) The final auxiliary /ch'ung/ indicates that the action went from a second or third person subject to a first person object.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning Phon. \& Translation Rom. \& Tibetan

| /ch'ung/ | [ch'u:í] |
| :--- | ---: |
| +completion | 'did'1 |
| +speaker certainty | '2nd/3rd person subject |
| +1st person object | got ${ }^{\prime 2}$ |

byung⿹ㅝㄴ
2) The final auxiliary / song/ indicates that the action went from a second or third person subject to a second or third person object and that the speaker is aware of the circumstances that led up to the event.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning

```
/song/
    +completion
    +speaker certainty
    +2nd/3rd person subject
    -1st person object
    +speaker awareness
```

Phon. \& Translation
[so: i ]
'did'
'has'
3) The final auxiliary / shag/ indicates that the action went from a second or third person subject to a second or third person object, and that the speaker is not aware of the circumstances that led up to the event.

Ex.: Morphemes \& Meaning
Phon. \& Translation
Rom. \& Tibetan
[sha?] ${ }^{3}$
shag

1 As in "He did say to me." (He said it to me.)
2 As in "I got sick."
3 [sha?] is the allomorph of the existential verb [mdu?] 'is, has, was, were'. But the [sha?] is used as a positive final auxiliary only. The negative form of [sha?] is [mi-mdu?] 'isn't, hasn't, wasn't, weren't'.

```
+completion , did!,
+2nd/3rd person subject 'has'
-1st person object
-speaker awareness
```

Examples of the use of the non-combined final auxiliaries in sentences


## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Robert A. Palmatier, Chairman of the Department of Linguistics at Western Michigan University (WMU), for his great patience and invaluable supervision of my research work and study. I would also like to thank the College of Arts and Sciences for giving a Dean's Research Assistantship to my graduate student, Carol Savvas Bennett, to assist me in completing my four books on the Tibetan language. My thanks also go to Carol for her excellent work and her generous help. I am indebted to The Graduate College and the Department of Linguistics, WM, which supported my trip to England to present an invited paper at the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies at Oxford University last Summer. It gave me a great opportunity to meet scholars from many different countries, and a chance to do some important research work on historical linguistics at Oxford, the University of London, Paris, and Zurich. I also feel indebted to the WMU Development Fund Office which supported me to continue my research work here at Western. Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Robert J. Dlouhy, Dr. Robert L. Shafer, and the Secretary of the Department of Linguistics, Ms. Sue Hampton, for their very kind and.prompt assistance.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { bkra-shis-bde-legs } \\
& \text { /tra-shi-de-1eg/ } \\
& \text { [f̧à-shi?-de-1e?] } \\
& \text { GOOD LUCK }
\end{aligned}
$$

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS PAPER

| AJ | $=$ Adjective | P | Person |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| AM | = Agentive Marker | Phon. | $=$ Phonetic transcription |
| AN | = Agent Nominalizer | p1 | = plural |
| AUX | = Auxiliary | PLM | = Plural Marker |
| AVM | = Adverb Marker | PM | = Possessive Marker |
| BB | = Bound Base | PN | = Patient Nominalizer |
| C | = Completion | PRN | = Pronoun |
| DM | = Dative Marker | PS | = Person of Subject |
| GM | = Gender Marker | Rom | = Romanization |
| LM | = Locative Marker | SC | = Speaker Certainty |
| N | = Noun | V | = Verb |
| NEG | = Negative | * | = signifies 'accent' |

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Fall 1980
GENERAL LINGUISTICS CLASSES

*To be arranged

[^2]
## LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS FORUM

Dr. D.P.S. Dwarikesh, Associate Professor of Linguistics at WMU, lectured on "A Discovery of Cave Paintings at Pahargarh, India" for the Language and Linguistics Forum on Thursday, January 24 in the International Room of the Student Center. Dr. Dwarikesh illustrated his lecture with many slide-photos of some of the pictograms on the walls and ceilings of these 62 caves. Refreshments were served.

Dr. Johannes A. Kissel, Associate Professor of German, gave a Forum lecture on Monday, February 25 in the Martin Luther King, Jr. Room of the Student Center. Dr. Kissel's talk was entitled "Standards and Dialects in the Germanic Languages: A Historical and Present-Day Perspective." Refreshments were served.

Mr. Robert J. Dlouhy, Part-Time Instructor of Linguistics, is Coordinator of the Language and Linguistics Forum.

## STUDENT NEWS

Caroline (Houston) VanAntwerp (B.A. in Linguistics; Dec. 1972; M.A.-Teaching Linguistics in the Community College, June 1976) completed her second M.A., in General Linguistics, at Penn State University in August 1979 and has started work on a Ph.D. in Linguistics at Georgetown University, where she has a Graduate Fellowship. Caroline recently broke into print in the Preface to a book by Philip Baldi and Ronald N. Werth, editors, entitled Readings in Historical Phonology: Chapters in the Theary of Sound Change (Penn State Univ. Press, 1978): "We would also like to thank Caroline van Antwerp and Dennis Dompert of Penn State University for their invaluable editorial assistance..."

John Mackenzie (B.A. in Linguistics, April 1979) will open a new bakery in Kalamazoo at the Westwood Plaza, 4606 West Main St., early in April. John's bakery will specialize in breads (French, Italian, German) but will offer all of the other customary baked goods as well (cookies, rolls, cakes, other pastries). John is apparently taking the advice of Prof. Kenneth L. Pike, who states in Chapter 4 of Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing (Univ. of Mich. Press, 1947): "Phonetics gathers raw material. Phonemics cooks it" (p. 57). John must be "cooking" the raw material that he gathered during his undergraduate education.

Three undergraduate Linguistics majors are assisting Dr. Dwarikesh this semester with his research on "The Cave Paintings of Pahargarh, India." Dale Goodwin has a Russell H. Seibert Award which will earn him Honors College credit for helping prepare a booklet to describe the caves and paintings. Jim Cogswell has a Seibert financial award for collecting articles to include in an anthology on "Archeological Linguistics." Ken Orr has been working directly with the photographs of the cave paintings, sequencing them, tracing them, and preparing captions for them.

Two Linguistics majors has been invited to serve on the Linguistics Department Advisory Committee during the Winter semester. Starla Schwartz, M.A. candidate in Teaching Linguistics in the Community College, will represent the

Graduate students on the Committee, James Cogswell, Undergraduate major transfer from Shimer College and the University of Illinois, will represent the undergraduates. Jim is also one of two students to submit applications for a College of Arts and Sciences Merit Scholarship. The other is Jean Ogilvie, who spent last year in Taiwan.

Lalita Muiznieks (M.A.-Teaching in the Community College, August 1970) is currently in Washington, D.C. conducting research for her Ph.D. dissertation. Over Christmas vacation (Dec. 27 to Jan. 2) she participated in a Latvian Community School Teachers Seminar in Seattle, Wash., where she was Program Director and one of several lecturers. (Another lecturer was Anda Liberis, B.A. in Linguistics, August 1972.) Lalita gave a poetry reading there on Dec. 27 and another one in Los Altos, California on Jan. 4. The latter event, at which she also read from her prose manuscript, "Melita's Encounters in Riga," was organized by the Latvian Literary Society of Northern California. Lalita and Anda will both be teaching in the Latvian Studies Program at WM this summer.

## NEW LINGUISTICS STUDENTS

Graduate Majors (MA-TCC) (3)
Abdullaziz Abu-Mansour (B.A. in English, Saudi Arabia)
Tsi-yin Lee (M.A. in Anthropology)
Yoko Nimi (B.A. in Linguistics)

Undergraduate Majors (7)
James Cogswell (Senior, A \& S)
*Sharon Holliday (Senior, A \& S)
*Hayami Kobayashi (Soph., A \& S)
*Akbar Massah (Junior, A \& S) Jean Ogilvie (Junior, Sec. Ed.) Kenneth Orr (Sophomore, A \& S) Kayellen Zimmerman (Frosh, A \& S)

* = Not yet counseled.

Undergraduate Minors (7)
Joan Heath (Frosh, Ele, Ed.) Sharon Locey (Junior, Sec. Ed.) Hisako Miyaji (Senior, A\&S) Sally-Jo Schmid (Frosh, Art) Tamara Smith (Frosh, Spec. Ed.) Carlos Urtubey (Soph., A\&S) Takako Uto (Junior, A \& S)

Critical Language Minors (8)
Mohammad Haron (Senior, Arabic) Chigusa Kondo (Senior, Chinese) Faridah Marof (Junior, Arabic) Rohaizah Muhammed (Frosh, Arabic) Kenneth Orr (Soph., Hebrew) Eddie Parach (Junior, Hebrew) Lee Pfeiffer (Soph., Portuguese Stephen Snyder (Frosh, Japanese)

DECEMBER 1979 GRADUATES

## Graduate Majors

Khalid Hassanain (Saudi Arabia) Naovarat Wongsethanoonoi (Thailand)

Uncergraduate Students

Former STA'S
Nadhim Al-Bakri (M.A., Educ.-Arabic)
Tsi-yin Lee (M.A., Anthropology-Chinese)

Zintis Muiznieks (cum laude, Latvian minor)
Yoko Niimi (Major)

## Call for Papers

Hey papers' The Editor invites students, faculty, and other readers to submit papers on language topics for inclusion in the $1980-81$ issues of THE INFORMANT. The call is directed not only to persons associated with the Linguistics Department at Western but to any of our readers who are working or studying in a linguistically related area. These areas include Anthropology, Area Studies, Biology, Comunication, English, History, Librarianship, Medieval Studies, Modern and Classical Languages, Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology, Social Work, Speech Pathology, and many others. Simply mail a typed (double-spaced) copy of your paper to:

Editor, THE INFORMANT
Department of Linguistics
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008



[^0]:    1 See my forthcoming book with this title.
    2, $3 / \mathrm{ma}$ and /mo/ can also be free morphemes: [ma] meaning 'mother' and [mo] meaning 'she' or 'female'.

[^1]:    1 The classical spelling is＇gi－yod－pa－red＇，pronounced［gi－yb－pa－re？］．
    2 See p．21，b．2）The final auxiliary／song／and b．3）The final auxiliary ／shag／．

    3 Auxiliaries for the 3 rd person are the same as those for the 2 nd person．
    4 Pronounced［ky＇$\forall$－rang］（khyod－rang）when reading aloud．

[^2]:    Western Michigan University is committed to a policy of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, color, national origin, religion, or handicap in its educational programs, activities, admissions, or employment policies as required by Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments, Executive Order 11246 and Executive Order 11375 ,

