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Morphosyntax of Adjectives in Gyalsumdo (Nepal)

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Abstract

This article discusses the morphology and syntax of adjectives in Gyalsumdo, a Tibetan variety spoken in the Manang district of Nepal. We also present the derivation of adjectives, compounding of adjectives, and comparative and superlative construction in Gyalsumdo. In addition, we present the syntax of adjectives. A comparison is made with some other Tibetan varieties spoken in close geographical proximity, such as Nubri and Tsum shows that Gyalsumdo has some distinct forms in deriving comparative form.

Keywords: Adjective, Tibetan, Comparative, Superlative

1. Introduction

Gyalsumdo is spoken mainly in three villages in the Manang district of western Nepal. They include Chame, Bagarchap and Thonce. The other village where the languages are spoken are Bagarchap, Tal. There are some preliminary works related to Gyalsumdo. A tonal analysis of Gyalsumdo is found in Joe (2015). Hildebrandt, Dhakal, Bond, and Fyfee (2015) lists the language attitudes, practices and some other sociolinguistic details of Gyalsumdo. There are some works related to their socio-economic conditions, such as (Snellgrove 1981). A detailed list of verb pairs in Gyalsumdo are found in Dhakal (2017b). There are a few other references where the classification of the Gyalsumdo is proposed. Bradley's classification is given in Figure 1.2. He notes that the other languages which are close to Gyalsumdo are Nar, Nubri and Tsum. Although Gyalsumdo shares a number of lexical items with Nubri and Tsum, it is not easy to make genetic link between Gyalsumdo and Nar. Nar shares a number of features with TMT group of languages whereas Gyalsumdo is a Tibetan variety.

Tibeto-Burman
Western TB
Central Bodish/Tibetan
Central
gTsang
Gyalsumdo

Figure 1: Genetic classification of Gyalsumdo (Bradley 1997:5)

Although these are some of the proposed classification, the linguistic features of the language are yet to be investigated. This study will try to point out some features of the Gyalsumdo, which may be genetically related to other languages spoken in the area. In the same way Hildebrandt and Joe (2011) mention that Gyalsumdo is related to Kyirong Tibetan and Nubri in

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its genetic classification¹. Similary, Tournadre (2014:122) includes Gyalsumdo in the 'South-Western Section' of the Tibetic languages².

2. Semantic Properties

This section present the semantic categories of adjectives based on Dixon (2004). The adjectives in Gyalsumdo end in -ma, -mu, -pa, -bu etc. There are other varieites of Tibetan languages spoken in the region, such as Tsum and Nubri which exhibit the same features. As we see in the following examples, a number of adjectives have similar roots in these languages. The adjectives in different forms are typologically attested. For example, Kyirong adjectives also end in $-p\bar{a}$, -bo, $-m\bar{a}$, $-m\bar{o}$ (Huber 2002:93). Phonologically, most adjectives are bisyllabic.

2.1. Dimension

Some dimension adjectives typically end in -ma as shown in (1). There are a number of adjectives belonging to this class in Gyalsumdo (1). A couple of examples follow (2-3).

- (1) tfema 'small', jàŋmu 'lightweight', tøma 'short (length)', ŋeŋpa 'short(height)', ŋèmo 'near, close', ghøbu 'thin', ghjakpa 'fat', kanti 'thick', khadhopdhop 'blunt', khipkhap 'zigzag', kore 'circular', korkkor 'circular', sabu 'flat', thekaŋ 'straight', ŋeŋpa 'short', riŋbu 'long'.
- (2) thakpa riŋbu rope long 'long rope'
- (3) kho-ki nin tʃema du
 he-GEN heart small COP
 'His heart is small.'

2.2. Age

The dimension adjectives typically end in -pa although there are some adjectives which do not end in -pa. Some of them are illustrated in (4).

(4) ke 'aged', khekton 'of young age', ninpa 'old', t/ha 'eldest', sanpa 'new'

2.3. Value

Some dimension adjectives typically end in -pu/-bu. Some adjectives also end in other vowels as well. Some of them are given in (5) and illustrated in (6).

(5) amlõ 'without salt', ghumbu 'expensive', khemu 'cheap', thaŋbu 'healthy', jàkbu 'good/beautiful', tsebu 'good', majapu 'bad', matsebu 'ugly', kharal 'incomplete', dʒhuŋ 'false, untrue' etc.

(6) dhi ghoksa jakpu du

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¹ There are two other varieties of Tibetan languages mentioned along with Gyalsumdo in this article. Both Tsum and Nubri are spoken in the Gorkha district, to the east of Manang. Lowa is spoken to the west of Manang. There is not enough documentaion in all of these languages although primary glossary are available. The number of Gyalsumdo speakers are very few in Manang. They say that they came to Manang some six or seven generations back from Manang, and Gorkha. It is therefore look at the linguistic data of Gyalsumdo in the context of these languages (viz. Lowa, Nubri, Tsum, and Kyirong Tibetan) to find out their linguisitc connection with these languages.

² He also mentions that in addition to the genetic basis of classification, he also considers other basis for this classification, such as migration, geographical parameter, and language contact.

this place beautiful COP 'This place is beautiful.'

2.4. Colour

Typically, the colour adjectives end in -bu. However, there are adjectives which also end other sounds as well. An example follows.

- (7) *nonbu* 'blue', *karpu* 'white', *nàkpu* 'black', *márpu* 'red', *ferpu* 'yellow', *tferbu* 'pretty', *dʒaŋku* 'green', *tsemu* 'dark' etc.
- (8) khija nàkpu mindu you black NEG.COP 'You are not black.'

Some adjectives are formed with compound stems. When the suffix -haŋ is added to the adjectives, it adds the meaning 'light', or 'less in brightness of a particular colour' to adjectives to which this is added. For example, már 'red', and márhaŋ 'light red'. Examples follow.

<u>Plain adjectives</u>		<u>Adjectives a</u>	Adjectives affixed with -han		
(9)	попри	'blue'	ŋohaŋ	'light blue'	
	márpu	'red'	márhaŋ	ʻlight'	
	nàkpu	'black'	nàkhaŋ	'light black'	
	serpu	'yellow'	serhan	'light yellow'	

The meaning of excessive is obtained by *thirne* 'much'. The word *thirne* 'much' seems to be like a separate lexical item rather than a suffix. Some examples follow.

(10)	ſerpu	'yellow'	<i>ferthine</i>	'very yellow'
	nàkpu	'black'	nàkthiŋe	'very black'
	márpu	'red'	márthiŋe	'very red'
	ſerpu	'yellow'	ſerphak	'brown, little yellow'
	ŋoŋbu	'blue'	ŋohaŋ	'very blue/dark blue'
	karpu	'white'	kjahaŋ	'very white'

Some adjectives in Tsum, particular the colour adjectives are formed by joining the first parts of each of the words which participate in this word formation process. DeLancey (2003:282) explains this as compounding. He explains 'There is a strong predilection for disyllabic nouns. Thus when compounds are formed from disyllabic constituents, only one syllable of the constituent is used." This is a characteristic of the region. Consider the following example from Tsum, another Tibetan variety spoken in the neighbouring area of Gorkha.

Tsum Compound

(11) <i>karbo</i>	'white'	nakpo	'black'	karna 'white and black'
dzaŋbo	'green'	serbo	'yellow'	dzanser'green and yellow'
marbo	'red'	serbo	'yellow' marser	'red and yellow/orange'
numbo	'blue'	serbo	'vellow' nuser	'blue and vellow'

Like in Gyalsumdo discussed above, intensity of adjectives is shown by morphological means. Generally, the adjectives host the suffix -na to mean 'light colour' to which it is added. And when the morpheme -kja is added, it adds the meaning of 'dark colour'. Let's consider examples from Tsum.

Tsum

			<u>-na'moi</u>	<u>re degree'</u>	<i>-kja</i> 'less	intense'
(12)	dzaŋgu	'green'	dzaŋna	'dark green'	dzjaŋkja	'light green'
	marbo	'red'	magna	'dark red'	markja '	light red'
	ŋumbo	'blue'	ŋuna	'dark blue'	ŋuŋkja '	light blue'
	serbo	'yellow'	serna	'dark yellow'	serkja	'light yellow'
	nakpo	'black'	-	-	nakkja ''	light black'

2.5. Physical Property

Typically, the adjectives related to physical property end -bu. Some of them are illustrated in (13).

(13) jàkbu 'good', tsibu 'beautiful', nèpa 'sick', bholpu 'soft', dhiktsa 'tight', numpu 'sharp', simbu 'sweet/tasty', dhopla simba 'delicious', marap 'not tasty', masipa 'not tasty', ghjuŋbu 'rough (surface)', jàŋmu 'light(weight)', khakti 'sour', khjabu'cool/cold', kjoŋpu 'tough, strong and flexible', kjurpu 'sour', laŋma 'cold', làraluri 'loose', nompu 'loose', porbu 'soft', tiŋriŋbu 'deep', diŋbu 'deep', top tshimpu 'hard (in taste)', tsenti 'heavy', tshakrpa 'much salty, containing salty element', tshalop 'salty', tshanti 'hot', tsuktu 'warm', simpu 'sweet', ŋarma 'sweet', dhopla tsimpa 'tasty', jàŋmu 'light', kjurpa 'sour', simba 'sweet', tsaŋma 'clean', gharpa 'chilli hot', tsemba 'uncooked',kəndi 'hard', mathaŋpu 'sick/unwell', nesi 'diseased', ləndi 'soft (body)', ŋarmo 'sweet', majapuraŋ 'dim/gloomy', mànakpu 'dim', muna 'cloudy', tshoela matshoe'half-ripen', dzhuŋ 'false, untrue', kjoŋpu'tough, strong and flexible', kjupəru 'rich', nakuŋ 'wild (animal)', praŋpu 'poor', toŋba 'empty', bhəpa 'juicy', topt/hjumpa 'strong'

Some of them are illustrated in (12-16).

(14)	dhi	kərta	numpu	jờ
	this	knife	sharp	COP
T'	his knife is sharp.'			
(15)	t∫hu	dhaŋpu	du	
	water	cold	COP	
T'	he water is cold.'			
(16)	t∫hu	dhaŋpu	du	
	water	cold	COP	
'T	he water is cold.'			

2.6. Human Propensity

Some adjectives related to human propensity end in -pa/-ba. However, there are adjectives which do not follow this pattern. The adjectives are given in (17).

(17) dhetfu 'mischievous', dzhitfəra 'coward', dhaŋbu' simple, straightforward, gullible' khurpa 'enthusiastic', lamakjuntfjo 'sincere', khəmdzu 'quarrelsome', ghøntfjaŋ'deaf', dzjamtiye 'calm', njamtsema 'obedient', meláŋke 'lazy', nìmke 'happy', niŋtse 'virtuous', şanti'strong', sitjaŋ 'angry', tſhjaŋpu 'clever', utsu 'obstinate', hitse 'trusting', kipu 'happy', hōtsa 'shy', raŋdyn 'selfish', senatʃin 'greedy', kheba'skillful', dhoŋsiba 'uncivilized, rustic'

2.7. Similarity

There are some adjectives which show the similarity. They include the adjectives such as *tsokţa* 'like', *raŋsa* 'different' etc.

(18)	nà	khanpa	khe	khanpa	tſokţa	ià
(10)	ija	кнапра	KIIC	кнапра	ιμοκία	Jø

	I 'My l	house house is like you	you ir house.'	house	like	CC)P
(19)	ŋà	khaŋpa	khe	khaŋpa	nena	raŋsa	jè
	I	house	you	house	than	different	COP
	'Mv 1	house is differen	t than yours	,			

2.8. Quantification

Gyalsumdo contains the numeral and non-numeral quantifiers. They are briefly discussed in this section.

2.8.1. Quantifiers

Some quantifiers in Gyalsumdo are discussed in this section.

- (20) *tfaktfa* 'some', *dhom* 'total', *hòtse* 'that much', *tfha* 'less', *nune* 'little', *manbu* 'much', *tse* 'what much' etc.
- (21) ara maŋpu liquor much 'too much alcohol'
- (22) tʃhjaŋ nune liquor much 'a little alcohol'
- (23) jàmpu-la bhø-pa maŋbu jờ Kathmandu-LOC Tibet-NMLZ many COP 'There are many Tibetan in Kathmandu.'

2.8.2. Numerals

Most of the numerals in Gyalsumdo are similar to that of Kyirong Tibetan numearls. They are discussed in this section.

(i) Ordinals

Some ordinal numerals are given in (24). There are Tibetan languages of the region which are similar more or less in the numerical system. Some numerals are given in (24).

(24) tʃik 'one', ni 'two', sum 'three', ʃhi 'four', ŋá 'five', thuk 'six', trn 'seven', khje 'eight', khu 'nine', tʃu 'ten', tʃuptʃi 'eleven', tʃupti 'twelve', tʃuksum 'thirteen',tʃuptʃi 'fourteen', tʃuŋa 'fifteen', tʃuptuk 'sixteen', tʃjutrn 'seventeen', tʃapke 'eighteen',tʃurku 'nineteen', niʃu 'twenty', tʃuptʃi 'thirty', tʃuni 'forty', tʃuksum 'fifty', tʃuptʃi 'sixty', tʃuŋa 'seventy', tʃuptuk 'eighty', tʃjutrn 'ninety', tʃapke 'hundred', tʃurku 'thousand'

The numerals from one to five in Lowa, Gyalsumdo, Tsum, and Nubri are given in Table (1).

Table 1: Numerals in Lowa, Gyalsumuo, 1sum and Nubri							
	one	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	
Lowa	tsjik	лi	sum	si	ŋá	tuk	
Gyalsumdo	t∫ik	лi	sum	∫hi	ŋá	thuk	
Tsum	t∫ik	лi	sum	dʒi	ŋá	ţu	
Nubri	tſik	ni	sum	sì	ηá	duk	

Table 1: Numerals in Lowa, Gyalsumdo, Tsum and Nubri

When we look at the numerical system in these languages, we find striking similarities. It is also known from this table that the numerical system is very similar in other languages of the region as well.

(ii) Cardinals

The cardinal numerals generally end in -pa. We see that the ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix -pa, or -pu in Gyalsumdo, and -pa/-ba in Tsum. The suffix -pa is used in some Tibetan varieites to derive the ordinal numerals (Koshal 1979: 168 for Ladakhi). Kyirong Tibetan also have the suffix -pa for marking the ordinal numeral except for one which has $-b\bar{o}$ (Huber 2002: 92). The cardinals in Gyalsumdo are given below.

(25) taŋpu 'first', nipa 'second', sumpa 'third', ſipa 'fourth', ŋapa 'fifth', tukpa 'sixth', dynpa 'seventh', ghepa 'eighth', ghupa 'ninth', tſhupa'tenth' etc.

It is interesting to note that the numerals have strikingly similar forms in both Gyalsumdo, Tsum, and Nubri. The cardinal numerals have the numbers, such as nats = nats

2.9. Position

The adjectives related to position are given in (26-27). The adjectives related to position are derived from the direction.

(26)	jènla	'left'	jờnlàk	'left-handed'
	jǿpa	'right'	jǿlàk	'right'
(27)	ſar	'east'	farpa	'eastern'
	пир	'west'	пирра	'western'
	dzaŋ	'north'	dʒhaŋpa	'northern'
	ļo	'south'	loba	'southern'

2.10. Demonstratives as Determiners

Demonstrataive pronouns modify the nouns or noun phrases in Gyalsumdo. Syntactically, they modify the nouns or NPs. Examples follow.

(28) dhi usu
this apple
'this apple'
(29) hòti kjupu
that dog
'that dog'

3. Comparative Construction

The comparative form is formed with the derivational suffix -ro. Some adjectives with comparative forms of adjectives are mentioned in (30)³. Although the list can in fact be longer, only some adjectives are included in this list.

Comparative forms

(30)	ghjakpa	'fat'	ghjakro	'fatter'
	tsebu	'good'	tsero	'better'
	jàŋmo	'light'	jàŋro	'lighter'
	dhompu	'hot'	dhomru	'hotter'

³ The comparative suffix *-ro* is the same as in Kyirong Tibetan (Huber 2002:99). However, Bartee (2007:161) notes that the suffix *-ra* in Dongwang Tibetan refers only to the 'change of state'. On the other hand, Denwood (1999:181) mentions the derivational suffix *-ru* among three other suffixes in Tibetan.

tøma	'short'	taŋru	'shorter'
tſema	'small'	tſuŋro	'smaller'
høma	'little'	hjuŋr o	'less'
dhokpu	'narrow'	dhokro	'thinner'
sampu	'new'	samro	'newer'
thekaŋ	'flat'	thero	'flatter'
polpu	'soft'	polro	'softer'
ghulbu	'slow'	ghulro	'slower'
khjabu	'cool'	khjaro	'cooler'
ŋarmo	'sweet'	ŋarro	'sweeter'

The comparative form is formed with the derivational suffix -ro. Some adjectives with comparative forms of adjectives are mentioned in (31-32). The comparative constructions are mainly limited to if somebody/something is growing, keeps changing. Examples follow.

(31)	khe	ŋà	nena	ghjok-	ro dho	du
	He	I	than	fat-CM	IPRgo	COP
'Y	ou are g	rowing fat	ter than	me.'		
(32)	dhi	khurpu		tsja-ro	фhо	du
	This	load		heavy-CMPR	go	COP
'This load is going/growing heavier.'						

By contrast, the speakers do not use the comparative form of adjectives in all contexts. For example, the following sentences are also common when the speakers use the comparative constructions. It is not obvious why the speakers use one kind of structures as in (31-32) in contrast to (33-34).

(33)	phut∫i	ghuri	nena	t∫ema	du/jờ
	mouse	cat	than	small	COP
"]	The mouse is s	maller than the cat	t.'		
(34)	phut∫i	ghuri	nena	t∫ema	du/jờ
	mouse	cat	than	small	COP

'The mouse is smaller than the cat.'

When we look at the comparative form of adjectives in some Tibetan languages, we find variations. While the comparative forms are derived by using the suffix -ro, the forms are slightly different in Tsum. The comparative form of adjectives in Tsum end in -a, and the adjectives are shortened, such as tsaŋma 'clean': tsã 'cleaner', ghorkkor 'thick': ghora 'thicker', hjoŋpa 'light': hjaŋa 'lighter' etc. We find similar structurein Nubri, another Tibetan variety, such as ghjawa 'fat': ghja 'fatter', ghoŋ 'good': ghaa 'better', tsaŋma 'clean': tsaŋa 'cleaner' etc. The comparison shows that the comparative form is distinctin Gyalsumdo compared to other two Tibetan varieties spoken in the same territories.

4. Superlative Construction

The superlative is formed with the derivational suffix -fo. Some adjectives with superlative forms of adjectives are given in (35).

(35)	Superlative forms					
	khjapu	'cool'	kjabufo	'coolest'		
	səmpa	'new'	səmfo	'newest'		
	кәтри	'thin'	kəmfo	'thinnest'		
	thompu	'tall'	thofo	'tallest'		
	ghjakpu	'fat'	ghjakfo	'fatest'		

tsema 'small' tshunfo 'smallest'

The derivational suffix -fo found in Gyalsumdo can be regarded as an areal suffix. This is found in two of the other languages, such as Nubri and Tsum. Nubri also makes use of the derivational suffix -fo while deriving adjectives, such as ghjawa 'fat': ghjafo 'fattest', ghoŋ 'good' ghafo 'best', tsaŋma 'clean': tsaŋo 'cleanest', hjaŋmo 'light': hjaŋfo 'lightest', tfande 'heavy', tfafo 'heaviest', toma 'short', tuŋfo 'shortest' etc. Tsum, another Tibetan variety spoken to the east of Gyalsumdo also makes use of the same suffix -fo to derive the superlative forms. Tsum has the superlative forms of adjectives, such as kole 'slow': kulfo 'slowest', kumbo 'expensive': kunfo 'most expensive', kjapo 'cool': kjapfo 'coolest', dhokpo 'narrow': dhokfo 'thinest', samba 'new': samfo 'newest', tshembo 'big', tshefo 'biggest'.

5. Syntactic Function

Syntactically, they modify the nouns. Some adjectives follow the head nouns others precede them.

5.1. Nominal Modifiers

Adjectives typically follow the head nouns. Examples follow. The demonstratives, on the other hand, precede the head nouns. There are also contexts when the demonstratives follow the head nouns as can be seen in (36-37).

(36) dhi jànmu tshwe-ko ghumpu du These light book-DEF expensive COP 'These light books are expensive.' (37)mì dhija these man 'those men.'

5.2. Copula Complements

The adjectives also occur to function as copula complements. For example, the adjectives *ghjapa* 'fat' and *lompa* 'cold' function as copula complements in (38) and (39) respectively. Similar uses of adjectives can be seen in (40-41).

(38)ŋà ghjakpa jà fat COP 'I am thin/fat. ' (39)ηà-ki ghoila lompa jè I-GEN cloth cold COP 'My clothes are wet.' (40)nìmke ηà du I happy COP 'I am happy.' (41) dhəru-ki tshu dhanbo du Tap-GEN water cold COP 'The tap water is cold.'

⁴ Denwood (1997:184) mentions that the superlative suffix -tso is used in Tibetan. Huber (2002:96) also mentions the suffix used as a superlative degree marker in Kyirong Tibetan.

The modifiers of adjectives precede them when they co-occur. We see that the word *tsatsa* 'very' modifies the adjective 'red'.

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(42)
         tsatsa
                           márpu
         Little
                           red
     'Little red (as opposed to bright red)'
(43)
         ŋà
                  jàŋdi
                                    kha
                                              kom
                                                       du
                                    mouth
                                             thirsty
                                                       COP
                  very
         'I am very thirsty.'
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Gyalsumdo shares a number of features with SOV languages in its constituent correlations. DeLancey's observation (2003b:273) about Lhasa Tibetan is close to Gyalsumdo as well:

Although constituent order in Tibetan is otherwise consistent with the SOV stereotype, order within the NP is unusual. Genitive modifiers (including one variety of relative clause) precede the head noun; all other NP elements follow.

The intransitive clauses have end in verb with SV constituent order. The discussion above shows that some modifiers precede the head nouns whereas others follow them. This can be summarized as:

(44) Demonstrative/ Relative clause NOUN Adjective / Quantifiers/ Numeral

While the demonstrative and relative clause precede the head noun other modifiers, such as adjective, quantifiers and numerals follow the nouns.

6. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the adjectives in Gyalsumdo. Gyalsumdo possesses a wide range of adjectives in terms of semantic categories. Although there are a very few monosyllabic adjectives, most adjectives are polysyllabic. Like other Tibetan dialects, a number of adjectives end in -pa. The Gyalsumdo numerals typically resemble with Kyirong Tibetan. Cardinal numerals are typically formed by the suffix -pa. The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are formed by making use of the suffix -ro and -fo respectively. The suffix to derive the superlative construction -fo is also found in other languages, such as Tsum, and Nubri, the morpeheme -ro found is distinct compared to these languages. Adjectives typically follow the noun in noun phrase construction.

Abbreviations

COP: copula; CMPR: comparative derivational suffix; DEF: definite clitic; GEN: genitive; LOC: locative; NEG: negative; NMLZ: nominalizer; PL: plural marker.

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