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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the verbal categories tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality of Brokpa, both from a functional and diachronic perspective. Additionally, verb stem alternations in Brokpa are briefly presented and compared with those of Classical Tibetan. Verbal categories in Brokpa are formed both morphologically through suffixes and analytically through syntactically complex constructions. The past tense marker *-pe* is treated in some detail, since it evinces a complex allomorphy which is no longer transparent and only explicable with reference to Classical Tibetan.

KEYWORDS

Brokpa, Tibetic languages, verbal morphology, tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality

Verbal categories in Brokpa*

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1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the categories of tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality of the Brokpa language spoken in eastern Bhutan.[1]

Section 2 presents a general overview of the verb in Brokpa and about stem alternation. Section 3 discusses tense and aspectual categories and is divided into two parts. The first part deals with tense and aspectual categories based on morphological formation whereas the second part focuses on those based on analytical formation. Section 4 deals with mood and evidentiality categories of Brokpa. This paper does not discuss non-finite verbal markers (see Waldis, this issue).

2 The Verb in Brokpa

This introductory section provides a brief overview of the verb in Brokpa. Verbs express an event or an action and form the head of a verbal phrase and the predicate of a clause (cf. Mittaz, this issue [a]). The verb in Brokpa is not inflected for person, gender or number, but certain markers express tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality. Classical Tibetan often distinguishes four different verb stems for present, future, perfect tense and imperative (cf. Hahn 1994: 68). For a few verbs there is also stem alternation in Brokpa, but only three stems are distinguished, namely one for present/future tense, one for past tense and one for the imperative. Several verbs even distinguish only two different verb stems. Most of them exhibit a separate stem for the imperative, but there are also some verbs with a separate past stem. Only one verb, the verb *ter* 'to give', distinguishes between a verb stem for present/future on one side and a stem for past and imperative on the other side. However, most verbs in Brokpa do not exhibit stem alternation (cf. Leki et al., this issue). In the interlinear glossing stem alternation is labelled. Verbs with three different stems

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[1] For general information about the Brokpa language and the Brokpa Documentation and Description Project as well as for the list of abbreviations and the transliteration of Written Tibetan used in this issue, see Gerber & Grollmann (this issue).

take the labels PRS, PST and IMP, whereas at verbs with two different stems only the marked stem is labelled as PRS, PST or IMP. Verbs which do not exhibit stem alternation are not labelled.

Table 1 shows a few verbs with stem alternation in Classical Tibetan (CT) (cf. Jäschke 1881) and in Brokpa.

	Present/Future	**Perfect**	**Imperative**	
CT:	ལྟ་/ བལྟ་	བལྟས་	ལྟོས་	
	lta/blta	bltas	ltos	'to look'
Brokpa:	*tá*	*tê*	*tʰo*	
CT:	འགྲོ་	ཕྱིན་	སོང་	
	'gro	phyin	song	'to go'
Brokpa:	*ʈo*	*ʈɕi*	*soŋ*	
CT:	ཡོང་	ཡོངས་	ཤོག་	
	yong	yongs	shog	'to come'
Brokpa:	*joŋ*	*joŋ*	*ɕó*	
CT:	ཟ་/ བཟའ་	བཟས་	ཟོ་	
	za/bza'	bzas	zo	'to eat'
Brokpa:	*sa*	*se*	*so*	

Table 1. Verb stems with alternation in Classical Tibetan and in Brokpa

The verb stems are marked with finite or non-finite affixes. Tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality are expressed with finite markers. In table 2, all verbal markers are listed. The first column shows the affixes, the second describes their function and the third points out whether the affixes are finite or not. The distinction is not always clear-cut, *-pe* for example is used both as nominalizer and as finite past tense marker.

Affixes	Function	Finiteness
-coʔ	Present tense egophoric	FIN
-cina	Present tense allophoric	FIN
-co (+ Copula)	Future tense	FIN
mi-	Negation of future	FIN
ma-	Negation of past, imperative, adhortative	FIN
-soŋ	Sensory past tense	FIN
-ko	Adhortative	FIN
-ro	Subjunctive	FIN
-pe (+ Copula)	Past tense, past nominalizer	FIN/NFIN
-gin	Agentive nominalizer	NFIN
-mi	Action nominalizer	NFIN
-sa	Location nominalizer	NFIN
-sin	Converb 1	NFIN
-ne	Converb 2	NFIN

Table 2. Verbal markers

3 Tense and Aspect

In this section, all tense and aspectual categories of Brokpa are presented. They can be expressed with morphological and analytical formation. The categories based on morphological formation are explained in section 3.1 and those on analytical formation in section 3.2.

3.1 Morphological Formation

The Brokpa language exhibits five different suffixes to express tense and aspectual categories. These are *-coʔ* and *-cina* for present tense which are explained in section 3.1.1, the future tense suffix *-co* in section 3.1.2, the suffix *-pe* for past tense (section 3.1.3) and the sensory past tense marker *-soŋ* (section 3.1.4).

3.1.1 Present Tense -coʔ and -cina

The two suffixes *-coʔ* and *-cina* both mark present tense in Brokpa. They are used with the present stem of the verb. Comparable to the copulas (see Funk, this issue [b]) there is a distinction between an egophoric and an allophoric category. The suffix *-coʔ* is the egophoric marker and *-cina* the allophoric one. This means that *-coʔ* is used in first person declaratives and in second person interrogatives when the proposition of the speaker in declaratives or the knowledge of the addressee in interrogatives, respectively, is based on his/her own personal information. The allophoric marker *-cina* in contrast is used in first person interrogatives as well as in third person declaratives and interrogatives. The allophoric marker *-cina* is sometimes only found as *-ci*. These two forms plus the abbreviated one are illustrated in examples (1) – (3).

(1)   *ɲí kaŋɕik brucoʔ*
      ɲí   *kaŋ=ɕik*   *bruk-coʔ*
      1PL.EXCL   hole=INDF   dig-PRS.EGO
      'We are digging a hole.'

(2)   *kʰoe lu ɟəcina*
      kʰoe   *lú*   *ɟap-cina*
      3SG.AGT   song   do-PRS.ALLO
      'He is singing a song.'

(3)   *luŋba ɟəci*
      luŋba   *ɟap-ci*
      wind   do-PRS.ALLO
      'The wind is blowing.'

The two present tense markers *-coʔ* and *-cina* can internally be analysed as a fusion of the morpheme *-ki* and the copulas *joʔ*[2] and *jena*, respectively. The suffix *-ki* merged with the two copulas into *-coʔ* and *-cina*. The Brokpa marker *-ki* possibly descended from Classical Tibetan *-kyin*[3]. In Classical Tibetan *-kyin* forms a periphrastical present tense with the copulas *yod* and *'dug* and has a gerundial function (cf. Jäschke 1881: 7; Simon 1942: 965).[4] In Brokpa the suffix *-ki* only occurs on rare occasions. Its exact function is not clear, but it seems to be similar to *-kyin* in Classical Tibetan. In the examples, *-ki* is glossed as 'non-finite'. In the negated sentences of the allophoric marker the original construction of *-ki* plus copula is still visible as shown in example (4). The negated counterpart of *-ki yena* or *-cina* is *-ki mena* in which *mena* is the negated assimilated copula form (see Funk, this issue [b]).

(4)   *mo jaŋki lapki mɛna*
      mo   *jaŋki*   *lap-ki*   *mena*
      3SG.F   Yangki   say-NFIN   COP.EX.NEG.ASM
      'She is not called Yangki.'

The negated sentences of the egophoric marker are formed with the negated egophoric copula *me* but also with the egophoric marker *-coʔ*.[5] This is illustrated in example (5).

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[2] The underlying form of the existential egophoric copula is *jo,* but is frequently realised as *joʔ* (see Funk, this issue [b]).

[3] There is an agentive nominalizer with the form *-gin* in Brokpa, which also and more obviously seems to descend from Classical Tibetan *-kyin* (see Waldis, this issue). The etymological relation between *-ki* and *-gin*, if there is any at all, is not yet understood.

[4] As one reviewer pointed out, *kyin* does not occur in Old Tibetan and its etymology is unknown.

[5] In Classical Tibetan there is a similar construction but with the "Patient of Preposition" nominalizer *-rgyu* (cf. Beyer 1992: 296-297). Possibly the negated egophoric present tense in Brokpa derived from this construction. However, for the native Brokpa speaker there is no difference between the two *-coʔ* markers in the affirmative and in the negated sentence.

(5)   *ŋa tó saco meʔ*
       ŋa   tó   sa-coʔ   me
       1SG   cooked.rice   eat.PRS-PRS.EGO   COP.EX.NEG.EGO
       'I am not eating rice.'

3.1.2 Future Tense -co

Future tense in Brokpa is expressed by suffixing *-co* to the present stem of the verb. This is to indicate that the action or the event of the sentence is to happen in the future. Examples (6) and (7) illustrate the usage of the suffix *-co*.

(6)   *ɲe kʰe kunma ɟapne kʰimla cʰɔŋco*
       ɲe   kʰe   kunma   ɟap-ne   kʰim=la   cʰoŋ-co
       1SG.AGT   potato   thief   do-CVB2   house=DAT   bring-FUT
       'I will steal potatoes and bring them home. /I want to steal potatoes and bring them home.'

(7)   *ɲe kʰogi ɛam ɛrco*
       ɲe   kʰo=gi   ɛam   er-co
       1SG.AGT   3SG.M=GEN   traditional.brokpa.hat   borrow-FUT
       'I will borrow his hat.'

In third person declaratives and interrogatives, and in first person interrogatives or if the first person does not have any control over the action or the event the equative assimilated copula *na* is used as indicated in example (8).

(8)   *ɟaŋki tiriŋ ɟɔŋco na*
       ɟaŋki   tiriŋ   ɟoŋ-co   na
       Yangki   today   come-FUT   COP.EQ.ASM
       'Yangki will come today.'

Together with modal verbs, especially with *go* 'to want'/'to have to', the future character of the suffix *-co* is no longer visible. Instead the marker *-co* has a necessitative meaning. The speaker has no control over the action or the event with the verb *go*. Therefore, the copula *na* is always used with the verb *go* and the future marker *-co*. This is shown in examples (9) - (11). When the ending vowel of the verb stem is /-o/ the future suffix *-co* is shortened. With the verb *go* 'to want'/ 'to have to' the suffix always becomes a palatal fricative [-ç] as seen in examples (9) - (11). Another verb is *ʈo* 'to go' with which the future marker *-co* becomes completely slurred. This is illustrated in example (12).

(9)   *ŋa sigaŋla ʈogoçna*
       ŋa   sigaŋ=la   ʈo-go-co   na
       1SG   toilet=DAT   go.PRS-have.to-FUT   COP.EQ.ASM
       'I have to go to the toilet.'

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(10) *saŋ pʰruguba ɪskul ʈogoçna*
       saŋ   *pʰrugu=ba*   *eskur*   *ʈo-go-co*   *na*
       tomorrow   child=PL   school   go-have.to-FUT   COP.EQ.ASM
       'The children have to go to school tomorrow.'

(11) *sɛmɛɪnba tsá sagoçna*
       semɛin=ba   *tsá*   *sa-go-co*   *na*
       animal=PL   grass   eat.PRS-have.to-FUT   COP.EQ.ASM
       'The animals have to eat grass.'

(12) *ŋa kʰimla ʈoe*
       ŋa   *kʰim=la*   *ʈo-co*
       1SG   house=DAT   go.PRS-FUT
       'I will go home.'

To negate the future the prefix *mi-* is used as in example (13) and no future marker follows. This is an old construction and was already described for Old Tibetan (cf. Zeisler 2004: 343). The assimilated copula *na* is also used in negated sentences as illustrated in example (14).

(13) *ŋa pʰrugu ɲî miɟə*
       ŋa   *pʰrugu*   *ɲî*   *mi-ɟap*
       1SG   child   two   NEG.FUT-do
       'I will not give birth to two children.'

(14) *kʰo tó misa na*
       kʰo   *tó*   *mi-sa*   *na*
       3SG.M   cooked.rice   NEG.FUT-eat.PRS   COP.EQ.ASM
       'He will not eat rice.'

The future suffix and the egophoric present tense marker only differ in the glottal stop in the suffix of present tense. It was shown above that the present tense marker *-coʔ* derived from the Classical Tibetan suffix *-ki* and the copula *yod* (cf. section 3.1.1, page 4). The origin of the future suffix in Brokpa on the other hand is not clear. Brokpa speakers often use adverbs like *saŋ* 'tomorrow', *tiriŋ* 'today' or *ta* 'now' to specify the tense, because of the similarity of the two suffixes.

3.1.3 Past Tense *-pe*

The suffix *-pe* shows that the action or the event happened and was completed in the past. If available, the past stem of the verb is used. As with the future suffix (cf. section 3.1.2), the equative assimilated copula *na* is used in third person declaratives and interrogatives, and in first person interrogatives or when the first person does not have control over the action. There is a free alternation between /i/ and /e/ in the past suffix. Thus /-pe/ alternates with [-pi]. No condition for this alternation could be found yet. The vowel *e* is assumed as the underlying form (cf. Waldis, this issue).

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In the examples *-pe* is glossed as NMLZ.PST both because it historically derives from a nominalizer and is still used as such synchronically (see Waldis, this issue). However, in the following, only the past tense usage will be discussed.

The past suffix *-pe* has four allomorphs. These are *-pʰe*[6], *-te, -le* and *-e*, respectively. The distribution of these allomorphs can be explained diachronically. Therefore, we have to look at the verb stems of Classical Tibetan. For some verbs Classical Tibetan distinguishes four different verb stems: a present, future, perfect and an imperative stem (see section 2). For the allomorphs of the Brokpa past suffix only the perfect stems of Classical Tibetan are important. There are different formation types of these stems in Classical Tibetan (cf. Hahn 1994: 208-213). Most of them are constituted with <-s> suffix as final sound (cf. Beyer 1992: 164). The form of the past suffix *-pe* in Brokpa is determined by the form of the perfect stem in Classical Tibetan. Table 3 provides an overview about the perfect stems of Classical Tibetan, the past stems of Brokpa and the allomorphs of the past suffix in Brokpa.

Classical Tibetan		Brokpa	Past suffix	Translation
བསྡད་	*bsdad*	*te*	*-te*	'to stay'/ 'to sit'
འཆོས་/བཅོས་	*'chos/bcos*	*tɕo*	*-pʰe*[*-ɸe*]	'to make'
བཟས་	*bzas*	*se*	*-pʰe* [*-ɸe*]	'to eat'
ཡོངས་	*yongs*	*joŋ*	*-pʰe* [*-ɸe*]	'to come'
དགོས་	*dgos*	*go*	*-pʰe* [*-ɸe*]	'to want'/ 'to have to'
ཉལ་	*nyal*	*ɲa*	*-le*	'to sleep'
ཤི་	*shi*	*ɕi*	*-le*	'to die'
བྱིན་	*byin*	*tɕin*	*-e*	'to give'
ཐུབ་	*thub*	*tʰop*	*-pe*	'to can'
བཞག་	*bzhag*	*ɕak*	*-pe*	'to put'

Table 3. Perfect and past stems of Classical Tibetan and Brokpa

We can observe from table 3 that the allomorph *-pʰe* is used when the Classical Tibetan perfect stem ends in <-s>. Because most of the perfect stems have a <-s> as final sound the *-pʰe* suffix is the most commonly used past allomorph in Brokpa. The sentence in (15) provides an example for this allomorph. If the final sound in Classical Tibetan was <-d>, Brokpa takes the *-te* past suffix. The allomorph *-le* is used when the final sound of the verb stem in Classical Tibetan was <-l>. The original final sound of the verb stem is thereby still preserved in the past suffix, even though synchronically these final sounds are no longer part of the verb stem. The use of these two suffixes can be seen in (16) and (17). The sentence in (18) is an example of the verb *ɲa-* 'to sleep' with the sensory past tense suffix *-soŋ* (see section 3.1.4) to show that the /l/ sound in the past suffix in Brokpa does not belong to the verb stem anymore. It would also be possible to say that the Classical Tibetan final sounds <-d> and <-l> of the verb stem are still preserved in the Brokpa language with the past suffix and therefore the allomorph of the past marker is *-e*. However,

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[6] There is a free alternation in Brokpa between /pʰ/ and [ɸ] (see Funk, this issue [a]). The allomorph *-pʰe* is always pronounced as [*-ɸe*], but /*-pʰe*/ is the underlying form.

because these two sounds no longer exist synchronically in the Brokpa verb stems, it is preferred to take *-te* and *-le*, respectively as allomorphs for the past suffix.

(15) *one kat kandaŋ pʰrugubadi tsul lo lokɸenas*
      one   katpo   kanmo   daŋ   pʰrugu=ba=di   tsu=la   lo
      and.then old.man   old.woman and   child=PL=DEF   here=DAT   again
      lok-pe   *na=se*
      return.PST–NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM=REP
      'The old people and the children turned back.' [BO]

(16) *sara ɖukla brokpkî lapteti na*
      sara   ɖuk=la   brokpa-kî   lap-te-pe   na
      Sara   Bhutan=DAT Brokpa-language   speak-stay.PST–NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM
      'Sara was in Bhutan for learning Brokpa.'

(17) *ɲeraŋ ɲale na*
      ɲeraŋ   ɲa-pe   na
      1PL.INCL   sleep–NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM
      'We slept.'

(18) *ŋa ɲasɔŋ ə*
      ŋa   ɲa-soŋ   e
      1SG   sleep-PST.SEN   Q
      'Did I sleep?'

After the Classical Tibetan final sounds <-n>, <-ng> and <-r> the past allomorph *-e* is used. In the Brokpa language, these final sounds are still preserved. An example for the allomorph *-e* can be seen in (19).

(19) *ɲe cʰola ɲéː tɕini*
      ɲe   cʰo=la   ɲéː   tɕin-pe
      1SG.AGT   2SG=DAT   thresher   give–NMLZ.PST
      'I gave the thresher to you.'

With the verb stems ending in a <-b> in Classical Tibetan the past allomorph could be as likely *-e* as *-pe* because of the preservation and devoicing of the final sound <-b>. There seems to be no noticeable difference, so it was decided to take the underlying morpheme *-pe* as allomorph for the <-b> verb stems. This is visualized in example (20).

(20) *kʰɔŋ ɲîɟe ɟape na*
      kʰoŋ   ɲî=ɟe   ɟap-pe   na
      3PL   two=AGT   do–NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM
      'These two did it!'

Classical Tibetan verb stems ending in a <-g> have the correspondence *-pe* in Brokpa. The final sound <-g> is still preserved in Brokpa but devoiced. This can be seen in example (21) with the verb *ɕak* which derived from Classical Tibetan བཞག *bzhag* (cf. Jäschke 1881: 179, 482).

(21) *ɲe ŋa muktaŋgin kí dɪː tâɕakpe*

ɲe	*ŋa*	*muk-taŋ-gin*	*kí=di*	*tâ-ɕak-pe*
1SG.AGT	1SG	bite-do-NMLZ.AGT	dog=DEF	tie-put.PST-NMLZ.PST

'I tied up the dog who bit me.'

There are also Classical Tibetan verb stems which end in a vowel. Yet we have found only one equivalent stem in Brokpa, namely *ɕi* 'to die'. With the verb "to die" the past allomorph *-le* is used. This is illustrated in example (22). The Classical Tibetan etymology is ཤི *shi* (cf. Jäschke 1881: 557), as illustrated in table 3. It seems that after a vowel or after the vowel /i/ the allomorph *-le* is used. But because it is the only verb stem ending in a vowel in the existing corpus this cannot be said with certainty.

(22) *ɲiɟe kʰaɕ mɛmsa taŋtɕinisɔŋ kʰaɕ ɕíli na*

ɲi=ɟe	*kʰaɕ*	*mɛmsa*	*taŋ-tɕin-pe=soŋ*	*kʰaɕ*
1PL.EXCL=AGT	deer	gun	do-give-PST=CVB.CAUS	deer

ɕí-pe	*na*
die-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'We shot the deer with the gun, that's why it is dead.'

To summarise there are five allomorphs of the past suffix: *-pe, -pʰe, -te, -le, -e*. It has already been mentioned that the underlying form is *-pe*. The reasons are straightforward. First, only *-pe* or *-pʰe* could be the underlying form, because both have a bilabial initial sound and this sound does not derive from the verb stem endings as the allomorphs *-te* and *-le* do. Second, the allomorph *-pʰe*, pronounced as [*-ɸe*], always follows the Classical Tibetan final sound and fricative <-s>, therefore it is plausible to suppose an aspiration caused by the final <-s>. *-pʰe* is the only allomorph where the original Classical Tibetan final sound of the verb stem is not clearly preserved in the verb stem or in the past allomorph. So probably the final sound <-s> and the past suffix *-pe* merged into *-pʰe* or [*-ɸe*] respectively. There are a few verb stems that are not explained by these rules. One is *ɖi* 'to write', which is བྲིས *bris* in Classical Tibetan (Jäschke 1881: 400). The verb "to write" takes the past allomorph *-le* instead of *-pʰe* as usual with a <-s> final sound. Probably the verb *ɖi* 'to write' is a loan word. Normally the consonant cluster /br/ is still preserved in Brokpa as in the name of the language or for example in the words *bruk* 'dragon', *bris* 'thunder' and *bra* 'cliff' (see Rüfenacht & Waldis, this issue). This is not the case in the word for "to write". Therefore, we can assume that *ɖi* 'to write' is a loan word, perhaps from Dzongkha. Maybe it takes the allomorph *-le* due to the final vowel as in the verb *ɕi* 'to die'.

Another irregularity is the verb *tɕi* 'to go' which takes the allomorph *-te* although the Classical Tibetan equivalence is ཕྱིན *phyin* (Jäschke 1881: 350) and therefore the past allomorph should be *-e*. A possible explanation for this is the past marker *-d* in Old Tibetan (cf. Beyer 1992: 168-169). This past marker occurred after an acute final consonant, which holds true for the verb ཕྱིན *phyin* 'to go'.

The verb *cʰoŋ* 'to bring' is ཁྱོང་ *khyong* (cf. Jäschke 1881: 61) in Classical Tibetan. With it the allomorph *-pʰe* is used instead of *-e*. Maybe this can be explained if we look at archaic Tibetan dialects such as Purik. In Purik the verb *kʰjoŋ* 'to bring' has a final *-s* in the simple past (cf. Zemp 2018: 187).

The last verb stem to differ from the rules is *lap* 'to say'. This takes the suffix *-pʰe* although it has no <-s> as final sound in Classical Tibetan, because the stem is ལབ་ *lab* (Jäschke 1881: 544). There is a free alternation between /pʰ/ and [ɸ] in Brokpa (see Funk, this issue [a]). But sometimes also /p/ tends to become the bilabial fricative [ɸ] as in the imperative form of the verb *lap* 'to say' which is /lop/ and becomes [loɸ]. There is probably the same process in the past verb stem of the same verb.

To negate past sentences the prefix *ma-* is added. This can be seen in example (23).

(23) *kʰɔŋɟe kaŋ mabruxɸe nase*
     kʰoŋ=ɟe   *kaŋ*   *ma-bruk-pe*   *na=se*
     3PL=AGT   hole   NEG-dig-NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM=REP
     'It was told that they didn't dig a hole.'

Interrogative sentences in the past are formed regularly with the past suffix and the question marker *e*. But there is one exception: Interrogative sentences with the first person singular and first person plural exclusive never take the past suffix *-pe* but the sensory past suffix *-soŋ*. For more explanation see section 3.1.4.

3.1.4 *Sensory Past Tense -soŋ*

The suffix *-soŋ* has the function of a sensory past tense and therefore includes that the speaker witnessed the event. The suffix *-soŋ* is attached to the past stem of the verb. In (24) and (25)[7] are two examples, the first with the past suffix *-pe* and the second with the sensory past suffix *-soŋ*.

(24) *kʰɔŋ ɪskur tɕiti na*
     kʰoŋ   *eskur*   *tɕi-pe*   *na*
     3PL   school   go.PST-NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM
     'They went to school.'

(25) *kʰɔŋ ɪskul gasɔŋ*
     kʰoŋ   *eskur*   *ga-soŋ*
     3PL   school   leave- PST.SEN
     'They have gone to school.'

The people in the sentence (26) went to school and are now back. In example (27), the speaker saw that the people in question have gone to school. The direct evidence is important for the predication and this is expressed with the suffix *-soŋ*. The sensory past marker *-soŋ* is also used,

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[7] The verb *ga* 'to leave' can act both as an auxiliary verb and as a main verb. As main verb *ga* only occurs with the suffix *-soŋ*.

when the speaker tells something he heard or witnessed form someone else. This can be seen in the examples (26) – (29). The suffix *-soŋ* in the examples (28) and (30) means, that the speaker has the information from an external source, but with direct evidence.

(26)   *one: professor dzoʤe cʰo ɖuk kane jin lasɔŋ*

one	professor	tɕoɕ=ɟe	cʰo	ɖuk	ka=ne	jin
and.then	professor	George=AGT	2SG	Bhutan	where=ABL	COP.EQ.EGO

lap-soŋ
say-PST.SEN
'The Professor said "Which part of Bhutan are you from?"' [MP]

(27)   *on ŋa ɖuk ɕer tɕon jin laɸi*

one	ŋa	ɖuk	ɕer	tɕo=ne	jin	lap-pe
and.then	1SG	Bhutan	east	side=ABL	COP.EQ.EGO	say-NMLZ.PST

'I said "I am from the eastern part of Bhutan".' [MP]

(28)   *ɕertɕo kans lasɔŋ*

ɕertɕo	ka=ne=se	lap-soŋ
east.side	where=ABL=REP	say-PST.SEN

'"Which part of the east?" he said.' [MP]

(29)   *on ŋa sateaŋne jins laɸi*

one	ŋa	sakteŋ=ne	jin=se	lap-pe
and.then	1SG	Sakteng=ABL	COP.EQ.EGO=REP	say-NMLZ.PST

'I said "I am from Sakteng".' [MP]

In section 3.1.3, it has been observed that interrogative sentences in the past with the first person singular and first person plural exclusive never take the past suffix *-pe* but the sensory past tense suffix *-soŋ*. The reason is that the subject did not witness the action, but the addressee did. Interrogative sentences with the first person plural inclusive always take the past suffix *-pe*. The speaker as well as the addressee are included in the action and therefore, regardless of whether it is a declarative or an interrogative sentence someone witnessed the action. This is illustrated in examples (30) and (31).

(30)   *ŋa/ɲí ɲasɔŋ ə*

ŋa/ɲí	ɲa-soŋ	e
1SG/1PL.EXCL	sleep-PST.SEN	Q

'Did I/we sleep?'

(31)   *ɲeraŋ ɲale na ə*

ɲeraŋ	ɲa-pe	na	e
1PL.INCL	sleep-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM	Q

'Did we all sleep?'

With the first person, the suffix *-soŋ* seems to have a non-volitional meaning. This is an epiphenomenal effect, caused by the function as direct evidence marker. It is represented in examples (32) and (33). The speaker in (33) witnessed his own action, but based on the fact, that he did not want to cut his finger off, the source of knowledge was external and not assimilated as in the example (32).

(32)   *ŋa lakpa tuptaŋe*
     ŋa   *lakpa*   *tup-taŋ-pe*
     1SG   hand   cut-do-NMLZ.PST
     'I cut my finger off.'

(33)   *ŋa lakpa tugasɔŋ*
     ŋa   *lakpa*   *tup-ga-soŋ*
     1SG   hand   cut-go-PST.SEN
     'I cut my finger off.' (by accident)

3.2   Analytical Formation

Generally, in Brokpa it is possible to concatenated two verbs whereby the second verb modifies the meaning. Three of these verbs provide tense and aspectual meaning to the sentence. The imperfective aspect with *to* 'to stay' is explained in section 3.2.1. With the verb *je* 'to exist' both habitual and past progressive aspect can be expressed. This is commented upon in section 3.2.2. The last analytical aspectual category is the completive aspect with the verb *sin* 'to finish' which is examined in section 3.2.3.

3.2.1   Imperfective Aspect with to- 'to stay'

Normally, verbs in the past tense take the copula *na* if the speaker has no control over the action. However, the verb *to* 'to stay' with the past tense marker can also be combined with the copula *jo* and *jena*. Together with these two copulas, the verb *to* gets an aspectual function. It describes imperfective aspect, thus an ongoing action. In this construction, the verb *to* can be used as main verb or as auxiliary verb.

If *to* is combined with the past suffix *-pe* and the copula *na* or no copula, a completed action is expressed. With the copula *jo* or *jena* imperfective aspect is expressed. This distinction is shown in the examples (34) and (35). In example (36) the verb *to* can be seen as an auxiliary verb.

(34)   *ɲegi au kʰimla tete na*
     ɲe=gi   *au*   *kʰim=la*   *te-pe*   *na*
     1SG.GEN=GEN   older.brother house=DAT   stay.PST-NMLZ.PST COP.EQ.ASM
     'My older brother was at home.'

(35) *ɲegi au kʰimla tete jɛna*

ɲe=gi	*au*	*kʰim=la*	*te-pe*	*jena*
1SG.GEN=GEN	older.brother	house=DAT	stay.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EX.ASM

'Right now, my older brother is at home.'

(36) *ŋa kitpo ɟapne ɲa tete jo?*

ŋa	*kitpo*	*ɟap-ne*	*ɲa*	*te-pe*	*jo*
1SG	comfortable	do.PST-CVB2	sleep	stay-NMLZ.PST	COP.EX.EGO

'I am lying comfortably.'

3.2.2 Habitual and Past Progressive Aspect with je- 'to exist'

When the verb *je* 'to exist' is employed as auxiliary verb in the past, a habitual aspect is expressed meaning a general event which happens regularly. This can be seen in the examples (37) and (38).

(37) *mo tó sakjeti na*

mo	*tó*	*sa-ki*	*je-pe*	*na*
3SG.F	cooked.rice	eat-NFIN	exist-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM

'She eats rice.'

(38) *mo ɪskur ʈokjeti na ə*

mo	*eskur*	*ʈo-ki*	*je-pe*	*na*	*e*
3SG.F	school	go. PRS-NFIN	exist.PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EQ.ASM	Q

'Does she go to school?'

Between the verb stem of the main verb and the auxiliary verb *je* there is always a /k/. Probably it is the suffix *-ki* as in the present tense (see section 3.1.1).

When the verb *je* 'to exist' and the past marker *-pe* are used with the past copula *tuŋ* instead of *na*, the aspectual function is a different one. With *tuŋ* a progressive aspect in the past is expressed as in example (39).

(39) *mo tó sakjeti tuŋ*

mo	*tó*	*sa-ki*	*je-pe*	*tuŋ*
3SG.F	cooked.rice	eat. PRS-NFIN	exist. PST-NMLZ.PST	COP.EX.PST

'She was eating rice.'

3.2.3 Completive Aspect with sin- 'to finish'

With the verb *sin* 'to finish' a completive aspect is expressed. This means that the event was completed. In this case the verb *sin* is marked with the past suffix *-pe*. The usage of *sin* is shown in the examples (40) and (41).

(40) *tɕə tɕosɪni*
      tɕa   tɕo-sin-pe
      tea   make-finish–NMLZ.PST
      'I made tea./The tea is ready.'

(41) *tɕə tʰuŋsɪni daŋ gɔme tó seɸe*
      tɕa   tʰuŋ-sin-pe   daŋ gom   tó   se-pe
      tea   drink-finish–PST   and evening cooked.rice eat. PST–NMLZ.PST
      'After drinking tea, we ate dinner.'

4 Mood and Evidentiality

This section investigates mood and evidentiality in Brokpa. The adhortative *-ko* is explained in section 4.1, the subjunctive *-ro* and the imperative in sections 4.2 and 4.3, respectively, and the visual evidentiality with the verb *tʰoŋ* is discussed in section 4.4.

4.1 Adhortative *-ko*

In Brokpa, the adhortative is formed with the suffix *-ko* following the present stem of the verb. It expresses a request and is directed to the first person plural inclusive as in example (42).

(42) *ɲeraŋ sako*
      ɲeraŋ   sa-ko
      1PL.INCL   eat. PRS–ADH
      'Let's eat!'

We find three allomorphs of the adhortative suffix *-ko*. When the vowel in the verb stem is /u/ the adhortative marker is *-ku* and when the final sound of the verb stem is a consonant the suffix is shortened to *-o* and *-u*, respectively. This is illustrated in examples (43), (44) and (45).

(43) *ta ŋuku*
      ta   ŋu-ko
      now   cry–ADH
      'Let's cry now.'

(44) *ɔt ɕiŋ tupu*
      oti   ɕiŋ   tup-ko
      DEM.PROX   tree   cut–ADH
      'Let's cut this tree.'

(45) *ɲeraɲe ɔt jâ kuikʰero*
      ɲeraŋ=ɟe   oti   jâ   kui-kʰer-ko
      1PL.INCL=AGT   DEM.PROX   yak   steal-take–ADH
      'Let's steal this yak.'

As demonstrated in example (46), the adhortative is negated with the prefix *ma-*.

(46)   *ɲeraŋ mɛral maʈoko*
      ɲeraŋ   *merak=la*   *ma-ʈo-ko*
      1PL.INCL   Merak=DAT NEG-go.PRS-ADH
      'Let's not go to Merak.'

4.2   Subjunctive *-ro*

The suffix *-ro* expresses subjunctive mood, i.e. a potential event that may take place in the near future, but is not realised or certain. A communicative situation where it is commonly attested in the text corpus are astrological predictions. In English, it can be translated as 'shall' or 'may'. Examples (47) and (48) illustrate the use of the subjunctive *-ro*.

(47)   *lambal tʰuta ɛy ɟasin lamaɕiɟe kʰeraŋ ɟoɸitsel tɕin kʰo po tuŋ ɟaliŋ taŋna semɕinɕik dokros*

      lama=ba=la   *tʰuta*   *ɛy*   *ɟap-sin*   *lama=ɕik=ɟe*
      lama=PL=DAT astrologer.HON advise.HON do-CVB1   lama=INDF=AGT
      kʰe=raŋ   *ɟopʰitse=la*   *tɕi-ne*   *kʰo*   *po*
      2SG.AGT=REFL ɟopʰitse=DAT go.PST-CVB2 3SG.M   call
      tuŋ   *ɟaliŋ*   *taŋ*   *na*
      Himalayan.horn type.of.flute   do   COP.EQ.ASM
      semɕin=ɕik   *dok-ro=se*
      animal= INDF   arrive-SBJ=REP
      'The lamas gave astrological advice, doing so, one lama said "You yourself have to go to ɟophitse, call him, blow the horns, and an animal will arrive".' [VD]

(48)   *unla tɕaŋgi luŋba dã ɲima ɲi sú ɕuxɕeɕ jenamgi korn lapro taŋena*
      unla   *tɕaŋ=gi*   *luŋba* *daŋ*   *ɲima* *ɲî*   *sú*   *ɕuk*
      before north=GEN   wind   and   sun   two   who   strength
      tɕe-ɕo   *jena-mi=gi*   *kor=ne*   *lap-ro*
      old-COMPR   COP.EX.ASM-NMLZ.ACT=GEN   about=ABL say-SBJ
      taŋ-pe   *na*
      do-NMLZ.PST   COP.EQ.ASM
      'Once the north wind and the sun were arguing about who of the two was the stronger.' [NS]

4.3   Imperative with Stem Alternation

As explained in section 2, a few Brokpa verbs exhibit stem alternation. There are verb stems for the present and past tense and for the imperative. To form the imperative the bare imperative stem is used without any affixes or other markers. If the verb has only one stem and no alternation this stem too is used for the imperative. The imperative is directed to the second person, but the personal pronoun does not have to be mentioned. Examples with the imperative are demonstrated in (49) and (50).

(49) *lɔ ɕo*
      lo   ɕo
      again   come.IMP
      'Come again!'

(50) *pʰal sɔŋ*
      pʰa=la   soŋ
      away=DAT   go.IMP
      'Go away!'

The prohibitive is formed with the prefix *ma-*, as illustrated in example (51). Verbs which have separate imperative stems use them only in affirmative but not in negative orders. For example, the verb *joŋ* 'to come' has the imperative stem *ɕo* but this stem is not used in the prohibitive, as example (52) indicates. As examples (53) and (54) show it is the same with the verb "to eat" and "to go".

(51) *pʰrugu makʰur*
      pʰrugu   ma-kʰur
      child   NEG-carry
      'Don't carry the baby!'

(52) *majɔŋ*
      ma-joŋ
      NEG-come
      'Don't come!'

(53) *prɛ masa*
      preː   ma-sa
      uncooked.rice   NEG-eat.PRS
      'Don't eat the rice!'

(54) *maʈo*
      ma-ʈo
      NEG-go.PRS
      'Don't go!'

To express a polite command, special honorific forms are used. For example, the imperative stem of the verb "to go" is *soŋ* but the honorific form is *pʰe*. In colloquial speech with friends, a polite imperative is formed with the personal pronoun *cʰo* in front of the imperative verb stem form. This is indicated in example (55).

(55) *cʰo sɔŋ*
      cʰo   soŋ
      2SG   go.IMP
      'Please go!'

4.4 Visual Evidentiality *tʰoŋ 'to see'*

To express visual evidentiality, the verb stem *tʰoŋ* 'to see' follows the inflected main verb of the sentence. The verb *tʰoŋ* 'to see' itself is not inflected. This construction is special, because formally the verb stem *tʰoŋ* looks like the copulas in (present), future and past tense. Therefore, *tʰoŋ* is analysed as indicating visual evidentiality and not as main verb. The construction with the verb *tʰoŋ* is illustrated in example (56).

(56)   *cʰo ʈoci tʰɔŋ*

   cʰo   *ʈo-ci*   *tʰoŋ*
   2SG   go.PRS–PRS.ALLO   see
   'I saw you going.'

5   Conclusion

This paper dealt with verbal categories in Brokpa. We find four tense and aspectual categories in Brokpa based on morphological formation. The present tense consists of two suffixes namely *-coʔ* and *-cina*. Brokpa exhibits future and past tense marked with *-co* and *-pe*, respectively. There are five different allomorphs for the past tense depending on the ancestral verb stem in Classical Tibetan. The last tense suffix is *-soŋ* which expresses a sensory past tense. Four more tense and aspectual categories can be formed analytically. These are an imperfective aspect with *to* 'to stay', habitual and past progressive aspect with *je* 'to exist' and completive aspect with the verb *sin* 'to finish'. Brokpa exhibits three categories of mood; the adhortative indicated with the suffix *-ko,* the subjunctive *-ro* and the imperative expressed with the bare verb stem and stem alternation. Visual evidentiality can be expressed with the verb stem *tʰoŋ* 'to see' at the end of a sentence. A topic for future research is the combination of a non-inflected verb stem and a copula, e.g. *tuk*. This construction is attested in our data corpus, but not yet completely understood.

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