INTERROGATION IN LADAKHI

M.A. DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS, DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the present dissertation **'INTERROGATION IN LADAKHI'** submitted by **Maaz Shaikh**, Centre for Advanced Studies in Linguistics, Department of Linguistics, University of Delhi, Delhi, in partial fulfillment for the award of degree in **Master of Arts in Linguistics**, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or full for any other degree or diploma of any university or institution.

This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of **Master of Arts in Linguistics**.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
CAUS	causative
CNJP	conjunctive participle
DAT	dative
DEF	definite article
DIR	direct
EQ	equative copula
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
GEN	genitive
EX	existential copula
EX.ASSUM	assumptive (factual) existential copula
EX.VIS	existential visual copula
EX.SENS	sensory (non-visual) existential copula
H	honorific
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite article
INF	infinitive
INFR	inferential
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
NARR	narrative
NEG	negation
NEG:EQ	negated equative copula
NEG:EX	negated existential copula
NEG:EX.ASSUM	negated assumptive (factual) existential copula
NEG:EX.VIS	negated visual existential copula
NEG:EX.SENS	sensory (non-visual) existential copula
PL	plural

POT	potential
PFV	perfective aspect
PFV.DIR	perfective directly observed
PROG	progressive aspect
PST	past
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
SENS	sensory
SG	singular
VIS	visual

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 OVERVIEW

Ladakhi (Written Tibetan WT: ལ་དྭགས་སི་སྐད, Wylie Transliteration: la.dwags.si.skat[1]), is a Tibetic language spoken predominantly in the Buddhist-dominated Leh district of the Ladakh region of the Jammu & Kashmir state of India. Ladakhi is mutually unintelligible with Standard Tibetan. Ladakhis also refer to their language as Boṭi (also spelled as Bhoti or Bodhi), meaning Tibetan (WT: བོད, Wylie: bod 'Tibet' ← Sanskrit भोट bhoṭa 'Tibet'). However, this term is also used to refer to Classical Tibetan, a language of high religious esteem and prestige (Koshal 1979:2). According to the 2011 Census of India Report[2], Ladakhi has just 14,952 speakers in India, whereas the 2001 Indian Census reports 1,04,618 speakers. So as per these records, Ladakhi witnessed an 85.71% drop in the number of its speakers in just a span of a decade, which is quite astonishing. On the other hand, Bhotia witnessed its speakers rising from 81,012 in 2001 to 2,29,945 in 2011, a steep rise of 183.85%, so does Tibetan from 85,278 in 2001 to 1,82,685 in 2011, a rise of 114.22%. From these statistics, a conclusion can be drawn that many Ladakhis might have reported their mother tongue to be Bhoti(a)/ Tibetan in the 2011 census. Ethnologue reports the same number of speakers as reported in the 2001 census and 12,000 speakers in the Tibet Autonomous Region of China, mostly in the Qiangtang (Changthang) region[3]. Ladakhi is a non-scheduled language.

[1] The Wylie transliteration system, developed by American Tibetologist Turrell V. Wylie, is a method for transliterating Tibetan script using only the letters available on a typical English language typewriter and subsequently it has become a standard transliteration scheme in Tibetan studies, especially in the United States.
[2] http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/C-16_25062018_NEW.pdf , accessed on 25/4/2018
[3] https://www.ethnologue.com/19/language/lbj/ , accessed on 25/4/2018

1.1 BACKGROUND ON LADAKHI

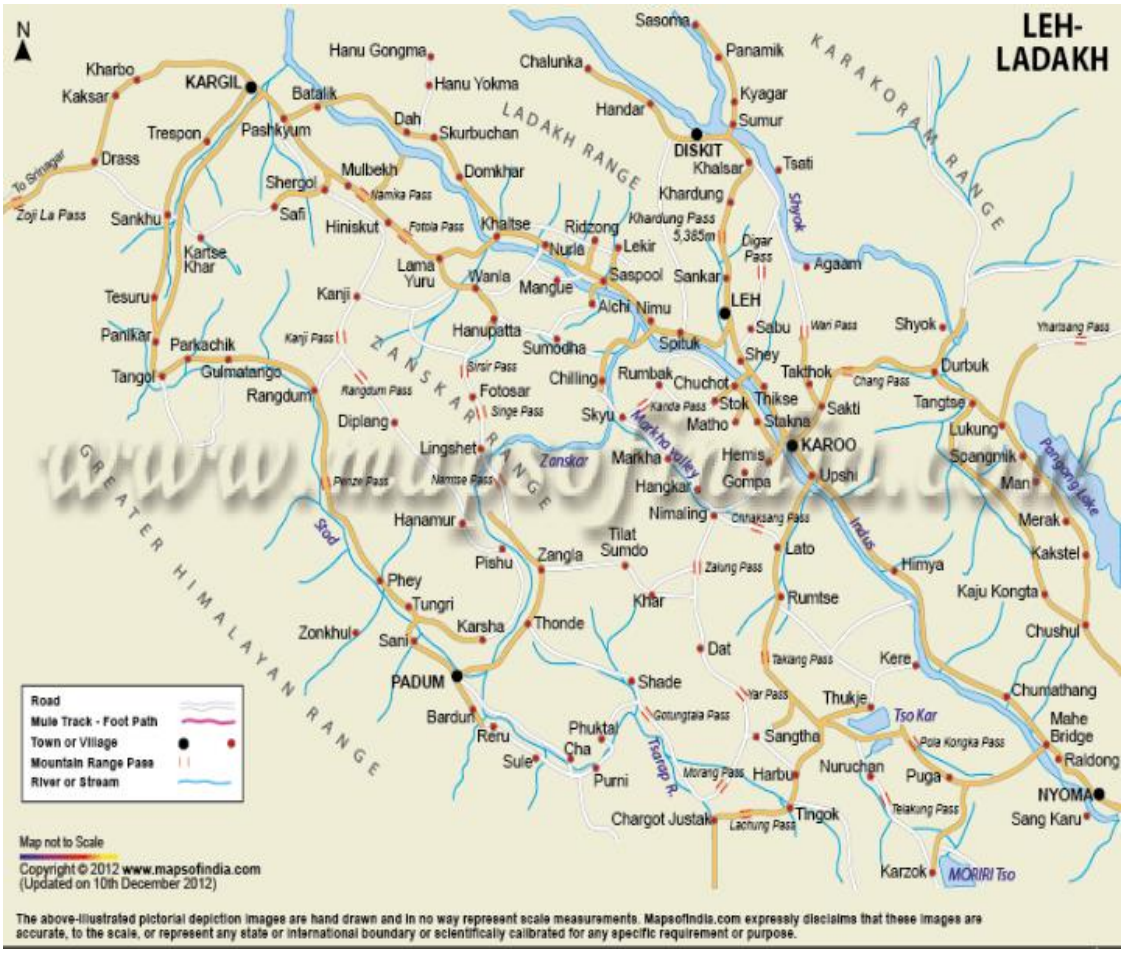
1.1.1 About the Region

Ladakh has been referred to by several names, usually differing in terms of language and association with the ecology around. A common Tibetan name of Ladakh is La-dags (land of high passes), though it is also termed as Mar-yul (red-land) and Kha-chan-pa (snow-land). Some have referred to it as the land of monks and monasteries (Mann 1986:1). The current spelling is the translation of the Persian name for this land- لداخ[*laḍa:x*], probably adopted from Balti. Ladakh is the most north-western part of India and forms a district of Jammu and Kashmir State. Historically, the region included the Baltistan or the Baltiyul valleys (now mostly in Pakistan), the entire upper Indus Valley, the remote Zanskar valley, Lahaul and Spiti to the south, much of Ngari including the Rudok region and Guge in the east, Aksai Chin in the northeast (extending to the Kun Lun Mountains), and the Nubra Valley to the north over the Khardong La (Cunningham 1854). Contemporary Ladakh borders Tibet to the east, the Lahaul and Spiti regions to the south, the Vale of Kashmir, Jammu and Baltiyul regions to the west, and the southwest corner of Xinjiang across the Karakoram Pass in the far north. The Indus taking off at Mansarovar, and entering Ladakh near Demchok, flows diagonally towards the north-west. Principal tributaries of the Indus are Zanskar, Dras, Shyok, and Shigar. Shyok and its tributary Nubra are fed by the glaciers in the Karakoram Range. The prominent ranges in Ladakh are Zanskar, Karakoram and Ladakh. These, running from north-west or west to south-east or east, divide the area laterally into various regions. These all ranges make up the natural boundaries of Ladakh. The important passes in this range are Chang-La and Khardung-La (Mann 1986:1).

Akin to Tibet, Ladakh forms one of the most elevated areas of the world, and there are reported human habitations ranging from 9,000 to about 15,000 feet (2750 to 4500 meters) above sea level. The winter is long and severe. The snowy winds in winter make it very cold. It starts towards the latter half of October and continues till the end of April. The vast arid tracts make the climate hot and dry in summer. Temperature ranges are from 3 to 35 °C in summers, and minimums range from -20 to -35 °C in winters.[4] The ultra-violet rays are fiercely active in high altitudes, and the skin complexion gets darkened with short exposure to sun rays. The

[4] https://www.lehladakhindia.com/climate/ , accessed on 25/4/2018

climate is extremely dry and rigorous. The harsh climate, remoteness, and inaccessibility kept Ladakh isolated, except for traders, for centuries. Lately, however, there is an increase in communication with Ladakh. Except when Zojila is blocked with snow, the rest of the year is marked with regular traffic to and from Ladakh. In normal weather, the regular air services are maintained between Chandigarh and Leh, Pathankot and Leh, Srinagar and Leh. The area has been widely thrown open and connected to outside places, especially after 1960 (Rizvi 1996 and Mann 1986).



Map 1 Map of the Leh District, Ladakh region. Source: www.mapsofindia.com

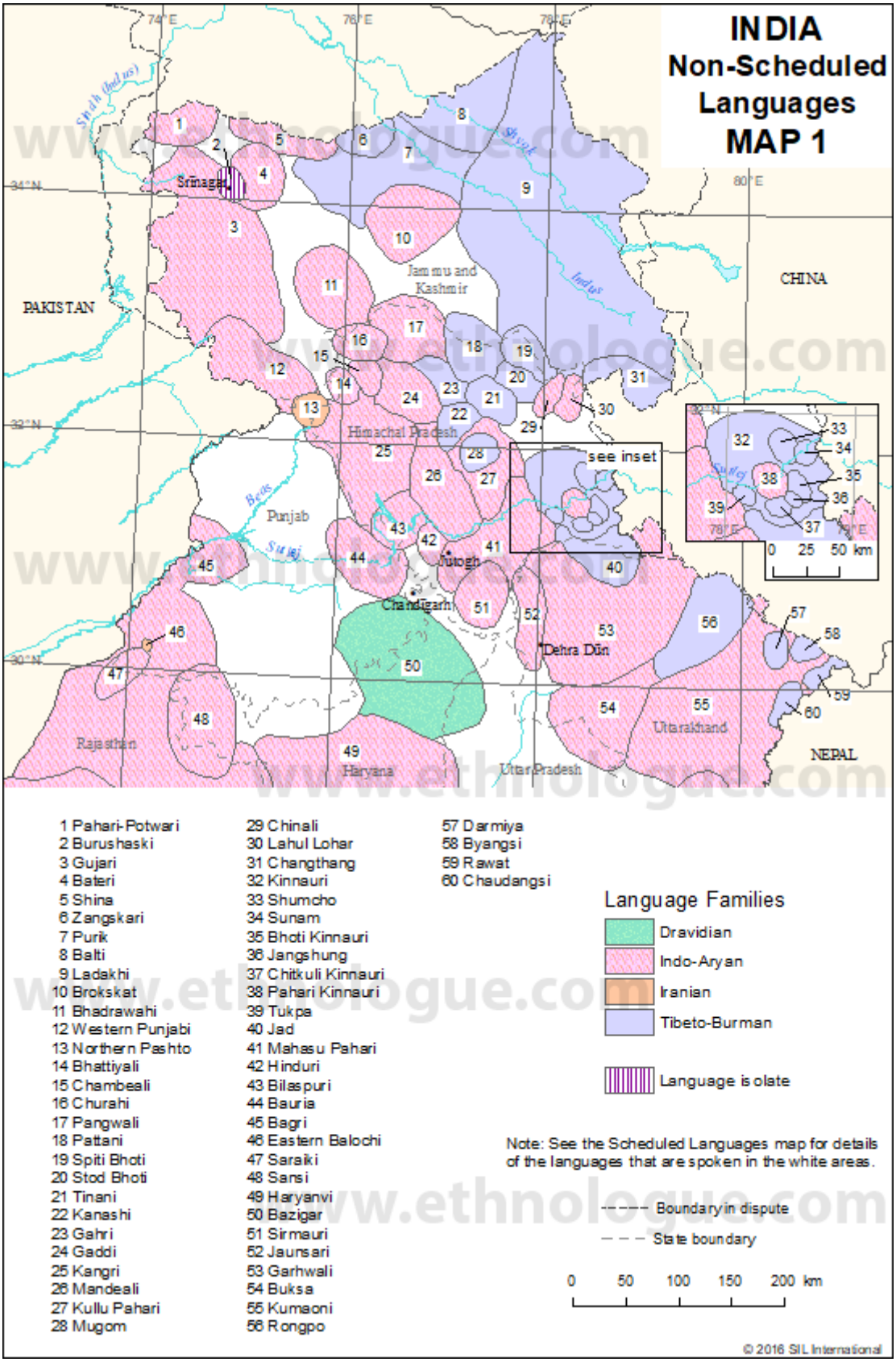
1.1.2 Demographic and Ethnographic Information

For many centuries, in Ladakh, there has been marked instances of linguistic, ethnic, and religious integration. There has been simultaneous existence of Baltis, Ladakhis, Purigpas, Tibetans, Dards, Mons, Kashmiris, Argons, and some others from the different states of India. Likewise, various religions have simultaneously been in existence in Ladakh for centuries.

People belonging to different faiths such as Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity inhabit Ladakh. Certain traits representing linguistic, cultural, and religious fusion among various ethnic groups are also observed (Mann 1986:3). Historically, Ladakh was a Buddhist kingdom that included Baltistan and Aksai Chin which are now administered by Pakistan and China. A majority of Ladakhis are Mahayana Buddhists and the rest are mostly Shia Muslims (Tashi 2003:9). The population of Ladakh is split roughly in half between the districts of Leh and Kargil. The population of Leh is 66.40% Buddhist, with a total population of 133,487[5], while the population of Kargil is 76.87% Muslim (mostly Shia), with a total population of 140,802[6], as per the 2011 census. Shias are mostly found among the Balti and Purik people. There are a few families of Ladakhi Christians who converted in the 19th century. Among descendants of immigrants, there are small numbers of followers of Hinduism, Sikhism, and the Bon religion, in addition to Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity (Tashi 2003:9).

Ladakhi along with its numerous dialects is the primary language of the Leh and Nubra tehsils of the Ladakh region (Koshal 1979), Purik is primarily spoken in the Kargil district and some adjoining areas (Zemp 2018), Balti is spoken in a few scattered villages from the Nubra valley extending to the northern part of Kargil, but it is primarily spoken in Baltistan which is under Pakistani occupation since 1948. Other minority languages reported in Ladakh include Tibetan, Brokskat, Shina, Kashmiri along with the wider lingua francas of the region: Urdu (the official language of the state of Jammu and Kashmir), Hindi (the first official language of the Republic of India) and lately introduced English (the second official language of the Republic of India). The non-scheduled languages of Jammu and Kashmir state, the northern-most state of India, can be seen in Map 2.

[5] http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/621-leh.html , accessed on 25/4/2018
[6] http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/622-kargil.html , accessed on 25/4/2018



Map 2 Map of the Non-Scheduled Languages of North India. Source: Ethnologue.

1.1.3 Language Classification

According to Róna-Tas (1966), phonologically, the living Tibetan dialects can be divided into two broad groups: The "Archaic" dialects, named as the Western Archaic Tibetan (WAT) and North Eastern Archaic Tibetan (NEAT) - spoken at the western and north-eastern extremes of the Tibetan language area respectively - are non-tonal, preserving the onset and coda consonants and the consonant clusters of Old Tibetan. The "Non-Archaic" or the "Innovative" dialects - spoken in the central and southern regions – are tonal in nature and have simplified onsets and codas. Based on geographic and linguistic criteria as well as conceptions of native classification, Bielmeier et al. in the Comparative Dictionary of the Tibetan Dialects (CDTD) (2008:38-47) recognize at least 141 distinct varieties of Tibetan and classify these into seven main dialect groups from west to east: Western Archaic Tibetan (WAT), Western Innovative Tibetan (WIT), Central Tibetan (CT), Southern Tibetan (ST), Hor Tibetan (HT), Kham Tibetan (KT) and Amdo Tibetan (AT).

Tournadre (2014) classifies the Tibetic languages as follows:

- **North-Western**: Ladakhi, Zangskari, Balti, Purki
- **Western**: Spiti, Garzha, Khunu, Jad
- **Central**: Ü, Tsang, Phenpo, Lhokha, Tö, Kongpo
- **South-Western**: Sherpa and Jirel; other languages/dialects along the Sino-Nepalese border: Humla, Mugu, Dolpo, Lo-ke, Nubri, Tsum, Langtang, Kyirong, Yolmo, Gyalsumdo, Kagate, Lhomi, Walung, and Tokpe Gola.
- **Southern**: Dzongkha, Drengjong, Tsamang, Dhromo Lakha, Dur Brokkat, Mera Sakteng Brokpa-ke
- **South-Eastern**: Hor Nagchu, Hor Bachen, Yushu, Pembar, Rongdrak, Minyak, Dzayul, Derong-Jol, Chaktreng, Muli-Dappa, Semkyi Nyida; other Khams dialects
    - 'Northern route' dialects: 'Chamdo (Chab-mdo), Derge (sde-dge), and Kandze (dkar-mdzes)
    - 'Southern route' dialects: Markham (smar-khams), Bathang ('ba'-thang), Lithang (li-thang)
- **Eastern**: Drugchu, Khöpokhok, Thewo, Chone, Baima, Sharkhok, Palkyi [Pashi], and Zhongu; other Khams dialects
- **North-Eastern**: Amdo, gSerpa, Khalong

While Ethnologue classifies Ladakhi into the Sino-Tibetan language family as follows.

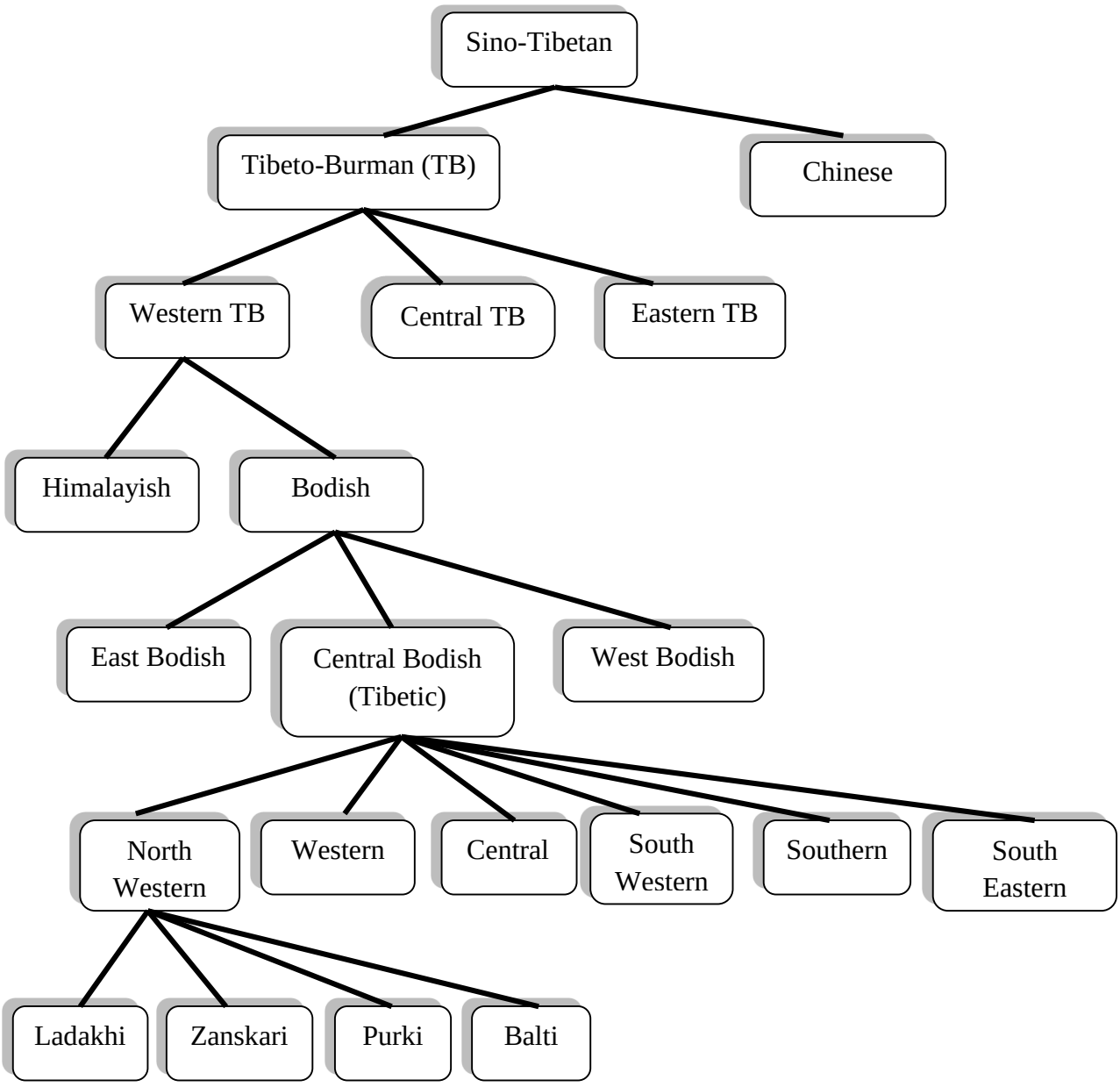
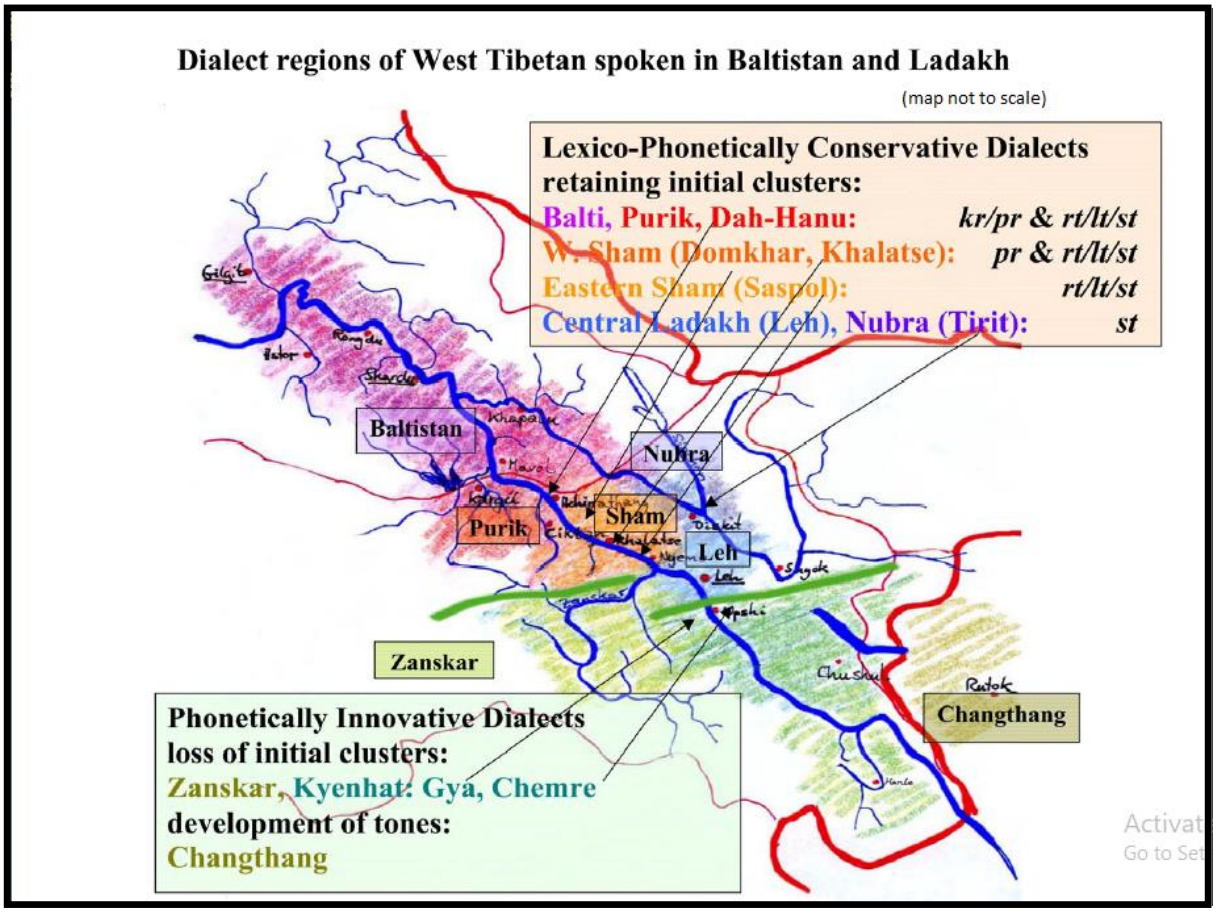


Fig. 1.1 Classification of Ladakhi into the Sino-Tibetan family.

The varieties that WAT consists of are the ones in which the initial consonant clusters and syllable-final consonants of the Old/ Classical Tibetan[7] are retained. In contrast, in the WIT varieties, they are simplified or lost with compensatory tonogenesis in some of the varieties. However, the further classification of the Western Tibetan varieties in these two subgroups is still quite rudimentary, and there is no such universally accepted classification. In accordance to phonetic features alone, Zeisler (2011:235) classifies the dialects of the northwestern and central areas of Ladakh - Baltistan, Purik, Lower Ladakh (Sham), Nubra and Leh into WAT group (the non-tonal 'conservative' dialects, showing initial and final consonant clusters) and dialects of the south-eastern areas of Ladakh - Upper Indus, Changthang and Zangskar into WIT group (the 'innovative' dialects where the clusters have been reduced and tonal features can be found). However, morpho-syntactically speaking, Zeisler (2011:236, 2018:78) broadly classifies the Ladakhi dialects into two groups: Shamskatic and Kenhatic. The former constituting the Shamskat dialects of Lower Ladakh in the north-west (Purik, Sham, Nubra), and the latter constituting the Kenhat dialects of Upper Ladakh in the south-east (Leh, Upper Indus, Lalok, the Changthang dialects at the border to China, Gya-Miru, and Zangskar). "One of the main differences between these two groups is that in the Kenhat dialects, no formal distinction is made between an agent and a possessor, whereas in the Shamskat dialects, these two roles are clearly distinguished" Zeisler (2018:78). She asserts that the Tibetan varieties spoken in Himachal Pradesh (languages of Lahaul-Spiti) are closely linked to the Kenhat dialects, whereas the Balti dialects should perhaps be classified as a special subgroup of the Shamskat dialects, as they show significant differences in the use of verbal auxiliaries. The dialects of Purik further form a continuity with western Sham, while the Zangskar dialects pattern with the Upper Indus dialects (Zeisler 2018:78).

[7] There is a good amount of literature available in Old/ Classical Tibetan (like the case of Classical Sanskrit) written in the abugida Tibetan script of Indic origin. The Written Tibetan (WT) form has hardly changed or modified over centuries since the inception of the script in mid of 7th century attributed to Thonmi Sambhoṭa, although enormous changes in pronunciation have occurred in modern Tibetan and its varieties over past several hundreds of years. The spelling of WT reflects the pronunciation of Old Tibetan which is attested by the pronunciation of archaic (Western) Tibetan varieties such as Balti, Purik and Ladakhi. According to Caplow (2016:1), "Balti is one of the most conservative of the modern spoken Archaic varieties of Tibetan, retaining features of the language which may even pre-date those preserved in the writing system developed in the 8th century." In support of which she provides evidences such as the preservation of the initial dorsal fricative in *ʁzor.'ba* (WT *zor.ba*) 'sickle'; similar being the case of Rebkong Amdo Tibetan, a NEAT variety, in which WT zor.ba is attested as *xso.'ra*, Caplow (2016:1).



Map 3 Map of the Dialect regions of West Tibetan spoken in Baltistan and Ladakh. Credits: Bettina Ziesler.

Based on socio-political and ethnic identity, Balti, Purik, and Ladakhi are the contemporary "languages" comprising the Western Tibetan group in the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir, so are the Lahaul-Spiti languages in the state of Himachal Pradesh. CDTD (2008:38) presents three dialect groups of Balti viz. the Western, Eastern and Nubra Balti; Purik (Zemp 2018:3-4) too has three- (Western) Purik, Southern Purik, and the Eastern Purik; whereas Ladakhi, according to Koshal (1979:1, 1990:14) has five regional dialects: Central or Leh Ladakhi or Lehskat, Lower or Sham Ladakhi or Shamskat, Zangskar Ladakhi or Zangskari, Nubra Ladakhi and Upper Ladakhi or Stotpa.

In Figure 1.2, I present a classification of the varieties spoken in Ladakh generalized from many works such as Bielmeier et al. (2008), Zeisler (2011, 2018), Tournadre (2005, 2008, 2014), Róna-Tas (1966), Zemp (2018), Koshal (1979), besides others and form my elicitations of data and personal communication with consultants and speakers hailing from different places of Ladakh.

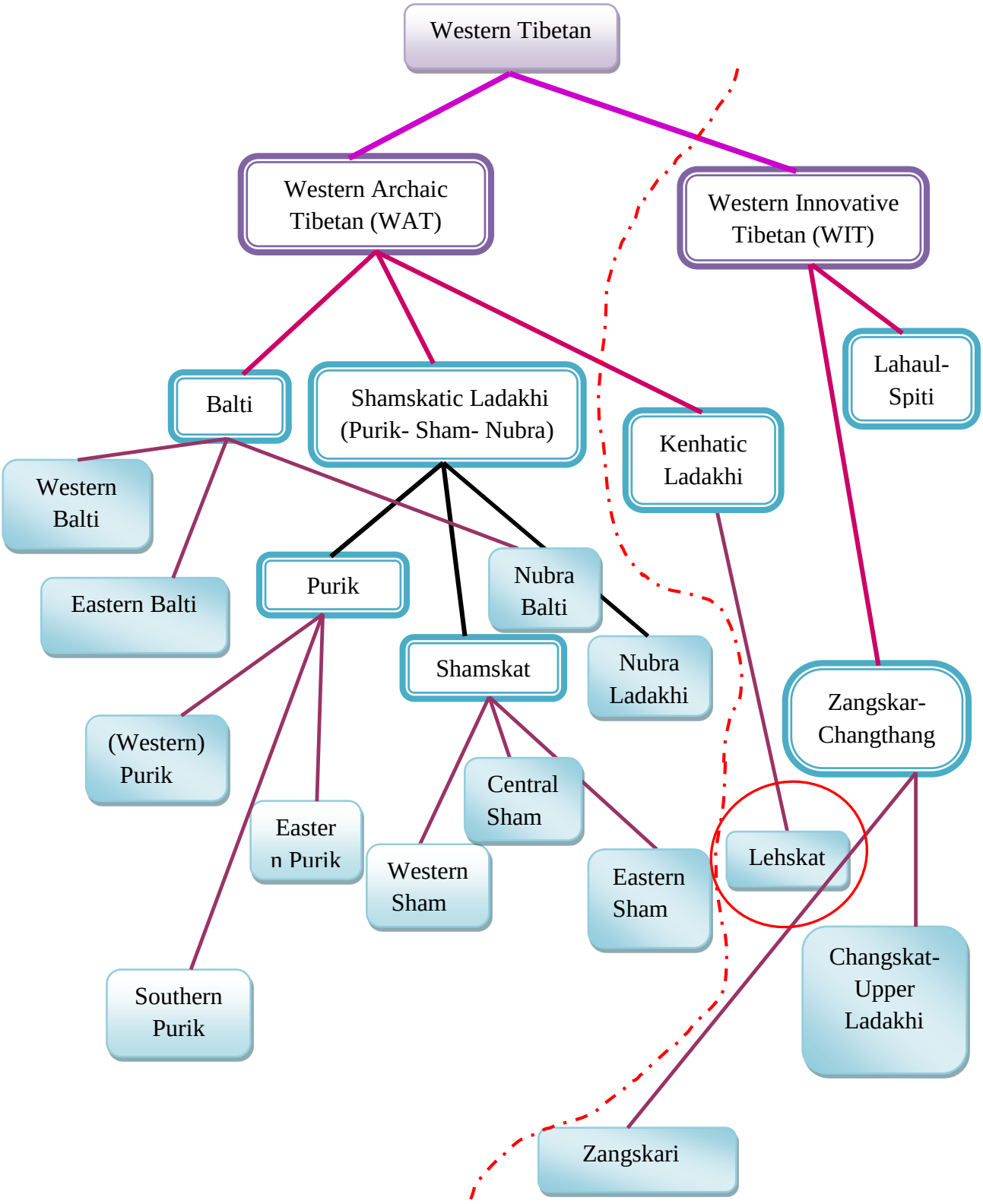


Fig. 1.2 Classification of Leh Ladakhi into the Western Tibetan Group.

In this figure, as mentioned earlier, Western Tibetan is divided into two subgroups based on phonological innovations and retentions- WAT and WIT. WAT subgroup is distributed into three languages Balti, Shamskatic Ladakhi (which contains the varieties spoken in Purik-Sham-Nubra area), and Kenhatic Ladakhi (Leh variety) [8] , as can be seen from Fig. 1. Balti, the language situated at the extreme western expanse of the Tibetic language realm, has the highest occurrence of preservation of word-initial clusters. However, many of the consonants have undergone fricativization, and also in the western Balti dialect, the onset clusters containing rhotic as the postradical have simplified to retroflex affricates due to the influence of surrounding affricate rich languages such as Shina and Burushaski (Nikolaev and Grossman 2018). The next language in this classification is Shamskatic Ladakhi or Purik-Sham-Nubra, which also exhibit a high rate of cluster preservation, especially in the Western Purik variety. The third one in this classification is Kenhatic Ladakhi, which contains the Leh dialect. The Leh dialect has lost and simplified many clusters that its neighboring western varieties such as Shamskat and Nubraskat have preserved but more than its southern and eastern neighboring varieties i.e., Zangskari and Changskat. The WIT subgroup is distributed into two groups of languages- Zangskar-Changthang and Lahaul-Spiti. Zangskar-Changthang has Zangskari and Upper Ladakhi-Changskat. Zangskari has simplified the onset clusters by fricativization, whereas Upper Ladakhi and Changskat have done so by deletion, with compensatory tonogenesis in some varieties (Zeisler 2011). The dotted line separates the groups based on the formal distinction made between an agent and a possessor i.e., Shamskatic varieties on the left and Kenhatic varieties on the right. The data from the circled variety is used for this descriptive work.

1.1.4 Dialects of the 'Ladakhi' language and Linguistic Variations

As mentioned earlier in section 1.1.3, the socio-political and ethnic term 'Ladakhi' language binds five regional varieties to it:

1. Zangskari Ladakhi

2. Nubra Ladakhi

3. Upper Ladakhi or Stotpa

4. Lower or Sham Ladakhi

[8] As previously mentioned, the Kenhatic varieties of Ladakhi, according to Zeisler, also include the dialects of Upper Indus, Changthang and Zangskar when classified on morpho-syntactic basis.

5. Central Ladakhi or Leh Ladakhi

According to our consultant Angmo and also Koshal (1979:2-7, 1990), Zangskari or Zanskar Ladakhi or by the Ladakhi name Zanskarpeskat is spoken in the west of Leh and is spread all over the Zangskar Tehsil of Kargil district nearby the Sham speaking region. Nubra variety of Ladakhi or Nubraskat is spoken in the north of Leh, mostly in Nubra Tehsil, in the Nubra valley, across the Khardung La. Nubra variety also attests differences between its upper sub-variety and lower sub-variety. Upper Ladakhi or Chang Ladakhi or Changskat is spoken in the higher altitude regions, i.e., in the east of Leh—Upshi, Sakti, Chushul etc., and it extends up to the Tibetan border. The speakers of this variety are called as Changpas. This variety shows a marked influence of Tibetan on its phonology. Sham or Lower Ladakhi or Shamskat is spoken in the north-west of Leh, in places like Khaltse, Skyurbucan, Achinathang, Domkhar, Tikmosgang etc. Sham speakers are called Shammas. Upper Ladakhi and lower Ladakhi are much closer to the Leh variety than Zangskar and Nubra varieties. The central Ladakhi is spoken in Leh and neighboring areas is accepted as the standard form and therefore is considered prestigious. The Ladakhi programs at All India Radio (AIR) are aired in this very variety, and it is used in mass media, slogans, posters, election speeches, etc. Ethnologue considers Zangskari to be a separate language[9] but according to Koshal (1979) it is a variety of Ladakhi.

Koshal, in her work (Koshal 1979:9), presents some striking and apparent features of language variation across dialects:

- /s/ as the second member of the final consonant cluster is elided in the Stotpa and Zangskar varieties. (*sems* ‘mind’ in Leh, Shm, and Nbr but *sem* in Stp and Zng)
- Ladakhi attests several syllable-initial consonant clusters. The first member of these clusters is elided in the Stotpa variety and the Sham, Nubra and Leh varieties, this elision is optional. Some initial clusters in the Zangskar variety have been simplified and fricativized.
- Zangskari does not distinguish between the voiced and voiceless lateral approximant, whereas the rest of the four varieties do so. (However, according to Norman (2001), all the varieties except the Shamskat do not distinguish the same.)
- Perfect marker /-*s*/ is elided in the Zangskar variety, and the infinitive marker /*ʧas*/ is /*ʧa*/.

[9] https://www.ethnologue.com/19/language/zau/ , accessed on 25/4/2018

- The ergative case in Sham and Nubra varieties is marked by the suffix /-*s*/. Hence *ɲe* and *kʰoe* are attested as *ŋas* and *kʰos*. (The /-s/ is the ergative marker in Purik and Balti too, which are the neighboring languages of these two dialects, see Zemp: 2018)

Koshal (1979:8) further talks about language variation, correlating it with social class and education. She mentions, "Ladakhi speakers of any variety if educated in Tibet, elide the second member /s/ of the final consonant clusters and also the perfect marker /-s/. This has further dependent relationship with age since the Tibet-educated Ladakhis are of older age group as the Ladakhis going to Tibet for education has ceased since 1951 due to political reasons." This statement also has significant concern for this description since our primary consultant's speech verified it significantly.

According to Koshal (1979:2), Ladakhi speakers are predominantly Buddhists. Muslim native speakers of Ladakhi mostly reside in Leh, although some speakers are scattered in the neighboring villages. The Muslim variety differs from the standard one in terms of phonology and lexicon, showing a higher incidence of Perso-Arabic borrowings due to religious and cultural reasons, a widely observed phenomenon in many other parts of the subcontinent.

1.1.5 Diglossic Situation, Script, and Literary Tradition

Koshal (1979) reports the presence of a diglossic situation in the Ladakhi speech community. Ladakhis use Classical Tibetan (Bhoti) for literary compositions. The Ladakhi vernacular is acquired at home as a mother tongue, and the Classical Tibetan language is formally learnt at schools, monasteries or home with special tutoring. The religious writings of Buddhists, including the Tripitaka, are in Classical Tibetan, and all the religious rituals are done in this language (Tashi 2003:6-7).

Ladakhi is written in Tibetan (Bhoti) script invented by Thonmi Sambhota, which is ultimately derived from the Brahmi script, which had made its way into Tibet in the 7th Century A.D. In Ladakh, this script is called *yige*. Being a Brahmi derivative, it is syllabic in nature. It has thirty letters (twenty-eight consonant symbols and two vowel symbols) called ka-na-sum-chu 'from *ka* thirty'. Besides these symbols, there are four *matras* (Koshal 1979:3). Buddhist Ladakhis feel a strong attachment towards this script as they consider it a marker of their cultural and religious identity. The same is not true of non-Buddhist Ladakhis. Muslim Ladakhis do not write in this script. If ever they must do so, they use Perso-Arabic for the same (Koshal 1979:4 and p.c. Ilyas). Ladakhi has hardly developed its own literary tradition, as the

literary and religious writings have all along the history been done in the Classical Tibetan. Nowadays, some poems and songs are being written in Ladakhi. However, Ladakhi has a rich folk literature that is handed down to people by oral tradition (Koshal 1979:4).

1.1.6 Available literature

Previous linguistic studies of Ladakhi include works by Grierson (1909), Koshal (1976, 1979, 1990), Norman (2001), Tashi (2003) and Zeisler (2004, 2005, 2018), among others. George Grierson has given a short introduction on Ladakhi in 'Linguistics Survey of India'. Grierson's survey devoted around 20 pages (Vol-III, Part-I, p. 51- 70) to Ladakhi language. He considered Ladakhi as a dialect of Tibetan under the Tibeto-Burman language family, having three sub-dialects (Sham, Leh, & Rong). Similarly, studies on the neighboring language Purik include Rangan's works (1975, 1979) and Zemp (2018). Since my discussion here primarily addresses a preliminary description of (Leh) Ladakhi, hence the works of Koshal (1976, 1979, 1990), Norman (2001) and Zeisler (2005,2018) remain significant than others.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE CONSULTANTS AND THE RESEARCHER

1.2.1 Background of the Consultants

The consultant, Rigzen Gurmet [*ɹɪgʑɛn gjʉɾmɛʈ*] (the name given by parents), hails from Basgo, a town situated on the bank of the Indus River in Leh district, Ladakh. He is a 30-year-old male, a native speaker of the Sham dialect of Ladakhi, and an adherent of Buddhism. In his community, it is a tradition for a child to have two names, one given by parents and the other given by a spiritual guru. So the name given by his guru is Jigmet Wangyil Dorje [*dʒɪgmɛʈ wɐŋgjɨl dɔɾdʒe*], and he prefers him to be called by this name, especially the Tibetan pronunciation of this first name, that is, Jigme [*dʒɪgme*].

Gurmet speaks his native language Ladakhi at home, in which he considers himself to be fluent and the only language to be used by the age of seven. He can read and write Ladakhi, which shares its script with Tibetan. At the age of 7, he joined a Tibetan boarding school heaving medium of instruction as Tibetan, in Darjeeling, the northern hill city of the state of West Bengal where he was exposed to Classical Tibetan. He considers himself fluent in this language and the one in which he feels most comfortable speaking. He has studied in this language till graduation, which he did from Tibetan University in Benaras, Uttar Pradesh, and therefore has a level of proficiency in reading and writing. He uses the colloquial variety of

Tibetan to communicate with people from the surrounding community and the Tibetan community in India. Due to his stay at Darjeeling, he was also exposed to Nepali and Dzongkha (Bhutanese). He picked up Nepali from his Nepali speaking friends in Darjeeling and can speak fluently, and the same goes with Dzongkha. Since Dzongkha uses the Tibetan script, Jigmet can read and write fluently while also reading and writing Nepali, which uses the Devanagari script (also used for Hindi and Sanskrit) but with some difficulty. After Class 8th, Jigmet enrolled at the Tibetan University, Banaras, and successfully graduated from the same institution. He mentioned that before moving to Darjeeling, he had enrolled in a local convent school where he had Urdu (the official language of his state J&K) as a subject and had learned its alphabet. He learned basic Hindi-Urdu there and interacted with the non-local shopkeepers and tourists in Ladakh using this language. Staying in Banaras enhanced his knowledge of Hindi, and after moving to Delhi in 2013 for his master's program in Buddhist Studies at the University of Delhi, he finds a significant increase in the usage of Hindi. He has good reading and basic writing skills in Hindi but does not consider himself very fluent. He also spent a brief period studying Sanskrit. Jigmet learned English in Darjeeling, where the language was taught as a second language but reports that he was not quite well versed at it at that time. Moving to Delhi helped increase his usage and command over the language. Currently, Jigmet is pursuing his PhD from the Department of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi, where his instruction and research medium is English. He worked with an NGO in Delhi named 'Secular Ethics Curriculum'. Since Jigmet spent only his first eight years in Ladakh and thereafter had extensive education and interaction in Classical and colloquial Tibetan, his Ladakhi speech marks quite some Tibetan influence. He reported that his parents resided just in one place and can speak different dialects.

The information provided by Jigmet on Ladakhi was that there are majorly three dialects of Ladakhi: Lower, Middle and Upper; and he speaks the lower variety that is Sham. He mentioned that Ladakh is home to the majority of Buddhists and Muslims who mostly reside in the Kargil district. He also said that there might be a few Christian families and very few Hindus, but nobody he knows. According to him, there are popular folk songs in Ladakhi, and religious texts are mostly in Tibetan, but a few in Ladakhi too. Translated versions of the Quran and Bible are available in Ladakhi.

We had elicited data with Jigmet for nearly two months after that we could not continue with him due to some unfortunate reasons. Our second consultant was Nilza Angmo [*ɲilʐa: aŋmo*], who hails from Wakha village from her mother's side (approximately 30 km from

Kargil city) and Zangskar tehsil from her father's side. Nilza is pursuing her master's degree in Buddhist studies from the University of Delhi, and she already has a master's degree specializing in Modern Indian History from Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi. She said that her family members speak the (Western) Sham variety at her home, and with her father's family, she speaks in the Zangskari variety. She feels comfortable speaking both the dialects with the same fluency. She lived in Zangskar region for a short time and then was schooled in Leh at Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, where the medium of instruction was Hindi, which she is quite fluent in, and used the Leh dialect there for social interactions[10]. In addition to this she understands the Purik dialect of Kargil. She came to Delhi for her higher studies and thereby knows good English too. Since Nilza grew up being exposed to so many dialects, she is well aware of the dialectal differences in Ladakhi, and this proved useful to us as she also pointed out the reasons behind the phonological differences in her speech and the previous consultant's speech. She gave nearly the same information about the Ladakhi language and its speakers, the way it was described by Koshal (1979).

1.2.2 Background of the Researcher

I hail from Mumbai city, Maharashtra, and I natively belong to the Azamgarh district of the state of Uttar Pradesh. Born and brought up all my life in Mumbai. My mother tongue is Urdu and I speak in this language with my family members, relatives, and perhaps with everyone else since at the colloquial level, Urdu shares the same form with Hindi with minimal divergence. With regards to Standard Urdu, especially the written language, I did not had any formal schooling in the language, but was taught basic reading and writing by the *Maulana*

[10] Since we could not continue with Jigmet after the initial two months due to some unavoidable circumstances, our supervisor had asked us to find another ('Sham' dialect) Ladakhi speaker or content ourselves with whatever data we had collected by that time. So, as we started hunting for such a consultant, some of our colleagues contacted Nilza and she informed them that she is a 'Sham' Ladakhi speaker from her mother's side. For this dissertation work, we asked Nilza to speak in the Sham dialect, that is the way she would speak 'normally' with her mother and the maternal side of her family. We began with some prompts in sentential elicitation to give her an idea of what we had elicited with the first consultant so that we could carry forward the work from where we left. By listening to data provided by Jigmet and by the phrase 'in a speech that you would normally speak', Nilza (p.c.) told that she thought that we desired the Leh variety in which she used to usually speak when she spent her most of her years of childhood at her school and later at her residence in Leh. Albeit, Nilza pointed out several times that what phrases and sentences we had got from the previous consultant was very akin to the Leh variety, besides on listening to the pronunciation of lexical words of the previous consultant, she commented that he pronounces like Changpas or might have studied in a Tibetan school or a Buddhist monastery.

who used to come to teach the Quran, Islamic studies and basic Arabic language. After that, I increased my fluency in reading and writing by regular self-practice and achieved a high level of fluency once I started learning Farsi (since Farsi and Urdu share the same script and there is a huge number of borrowings from Farsi into Urdu, a relationship comparable with French to English) in a certificate course at the Department of Persian, University of Delhi. I was schooled in a convent school where English was the medium of instruction and had Hindi and Marathi as language subjects. I consider myself very much fluent in Hindi as I had studied this language till standard 12^{th}. I have a good knowledge of Marathi too as I had studied this language till class $10^{th,}$ but I do not consider myself that fluent. I am a semi-speaker of my heritage language- the Far-Eastern dialect of Awadhi spoken in Azamgarh. Plus, I can understand neighboring languages such as Bhojpuri and Magahi because they are linguistically close to Awadhi. I graduated in Mechanical Engineering from the University of Mumbai in the year 2017. In the same year, I shifted to Delhi and enrolled in the master's course in Linguistics at the University of Delhi.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

1.3.1 Data and Methodology

The data for the study was mainly collected in two sessions a week with one and a half hours duration each over a period of three months in a formal classroom setting. Also, four more hours in two targeted group sessions dealing with chapter 3 specific topics and a few extra sessions were also utilized to get an insight into the evidentiality issues in the language. Time spent collecting data was approximately 50 hours. Sessions were held in the Department of Linguistics, University of Delhi. Data collection in class was supervised by our instructor Dr. Gail Coelho while the group sessions were unsupervised. Initially, we gathered the preliminary information about the consultant (Jigmet) and related matters which were described in the above sections. Data elicitation began by using the 200-word modified Swadesh List (Swadesh, 1952). We elicited all the 200 words in two classroom sitting. We then made index cards with words for phonemic analysis. After figuring out phonemes and allophones, we began working on issues in morphosyntax. We worked with Jigmet roughly for the first two months but could not continue with him due to some unfortunate reasons. In the remaining month, we worked with Nilza, our second consultant. Since Nilza came to work with us in the later part of data collection, we could not do a phonemic analysis of her speech due to severe time constraints; however, we did notice some phonetic differences, which will be elaborated in the next chapter.

The medium of communication during the elicitation with both the consultant was primarily English. We gave English sentences and asked for their equivalents in Ladakhi. Care was taken to ensure that sentences produced were natural and not just word to word translations. Since both of our consultants knew Hindi, we used it when it was easier to elicit using Hindi sentences. We also gave our consultants a variety of constructed contexts to elicit data for issues concerning evidentiality as the language is extremely sensitive to pragmatics. In the later stages of data collection, we also asked for grammaticality judgments. We collected data on the following topics with Jigmet: Nouns, Adjectives, Negation, Interrogation, and Valency Change. Jigmet also worked with targeted groups for their first session. With Nilza, we worked on Copulas, Tense, Aspect and Mood. She worked with targeted groups for their second session. This dissertation focuses on Interrogation. We prepared a questionnaire for eliciting data, which was approved by our supervisor. Our group worked with Jigmet for Yes/No Questions, Wh-Questions, Multiple Wh-Questions and Alternate Questions, which we elicited based on sentences that we had previously collected in classroom sessions. Our group worked

with Nilza to get the declarative sentences of the question sentences we had collected earlier. I had some personal conversations and a data- verification session with Dr. Tshering Phunsthok, Assistant Professor, Kalindi College, DU, and a Sham Ladakhi speaker from Skyurbuchan village dialectal issues especially pertaining to phonology. Plus, some more personal conversation with Mohammad Ilyas and Muzaffar Abbas Wazir, two Purik language speakers from Kargil district, provided me some information on their community's linguistic and socio-religious background.

Because of the significant Tibetan influence in the speech of our first consultant Jigmet, I try to correct some words as how they were pointed out by our second consultant Nilza, by Dr. Phuntshok, and also from some works significant to it such as that by Koshal (1979) and Norman (2001) with a view to represent the Ladakhi community's speech at large.

1.3.2 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into three chapters: Chapter One introduces the language, discussing its background, the Ladakh region and the Ladakhi community, along with the classification of the language and dialectal variations. It also discusses the methods adopted for the purpose of this work. Chapter Two describes the phonology of Ladakhi, its linguistic typology and analyzes the various aspects of the morpho-syntax of the language which are basically necessary for the better knowledge of the interrogatives in Ladakhi which is discussed in detail in the following chapter. Chapter Three is a detailed analysis of interrogation in Ladakhi, the topic of this dissertation.

1.3.3 Constraints and Delimitations

The Field Methods Course that formed the basis of this dissertation was very much limited in time and resources and plus a few other constraints, due to which the data collected is not extensive. Analysis of data on some topics is also not very conclusive and any uncertainty in the analysis is reported. In this dissertation, I present the analysis that I am sure of any kind of uncertainty shall be appropriately mentioned. There were many issues that we wanted to work upon but could not due to severe time constraints. Many of the topics covered in this dissertation require further research and detailed investigation. The research delimits itself to just the significant types of question forms (i.e. Wh-Questions, Yes-No Questions, Alternative Questions and Multiple interrogatives), leaving behind Tag Questions and a few other types of interrogatives present in the language because of time constraints. We want to take up these

issues (if possible) in detail sometime in the future. If any discrepancies arise in the elicited data, it is most like to be because of the differences between the consultant's speech, as mentioned earlier.

Chapter 2: Phonology and Morpho-Syntax

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the phonology of Ladakhi, its linguistic typology and analyzes the various aspects of the morpho-syntax of the language- specifically, the class of nouns and adjectives, pronouns, negation and valency change in the language, which are basically necessary for the better knowledge of the interrogatives in Ladakhi which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The phonemic analysis presented in the following section focuses on describing sound contrasts based on the distribution of phonemes and allophones in Ladakhi.

2.1.1 Consonants

Ladakhi seems to be quite rich in consonants. Table 2.1 contains all the consonantal phonemes of Ladakhi.

Table 2.1 The consonantal phonemes of Ladakhi.

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar		Palatal	Velar	Glottal
					Laminal	Apical			
Plosive	vl.	*p*	*t*			*ʈ*		*k*	
	asp.	*pʰ*	*tʰ*			*ʈʰ*		*kʰ*	
	vd.	*b*	*d*			*ɖ*		*g*	
Affricate	vl.		*ts*		*tʃ*				
	asp.		*tsʰ*		*tʃʰ*				
	vd.		*dz*		*dʒ*				
Fricative	vl.		*s*		*ʃ*	*ɾ̥*			*h*
	vd.		*z*		*ʒ*				
Nasal	vd.	*m*		*n*			*ɲ*	*ŋ*	
Flap	vd.					[*ɽ*]			
Lateral	vl.			(*l̥*)					
approx.	vd.			*l*					
Approx.	vl.					*r*	(*j̊*)		
	vd.	*w*					*j*		

The phonemes placed in the circular brackets are non-universal phonemes whereas the one placed in square brackets is a marginal (borrowed) phoneme. Most of these phonemes' articulation is clear from the features shown in the table, but a few need further clarification. The fricatives *s* and *z* and their corresponding affricatives *ts*, *tsʰ* and *dz* are dentalized laminal alveolar fricatives and affricates which means that they are articulated with the tongue blade very close to the upper front teeth, with the tongue tip resting behind lower front teeth. The appropriate IPA symbols for them are [s̪], [z̪], [t͡s̪], [t͡s̪ʰ] and [d̪͡z̪]).

Some of the phonemic contrasts that are described in this section are neutralized in specific environments, especially at the syllable coda position where both voicing and aspiration contrasts collapse. These all phonotactics placed by the Ladakhi will be discussed in §2.2.

In the following sections a detailed description and classification of the Ladakhi consonantal system is provided with illustrated distribution of phonemes and phonemic contrasts with minimal or near-minimal pairs.

2.1.1.1 Stops

The primary stop positions in Ladakhi can be described as labial, dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, and velar positions. The uvular stops (given in bracket) are allophones of the velar stops after back vowels. The Ladakhi stops along with affricates display a three-way phonemic contrast: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced unaspirated. A classification of Ladakhi stop consonants is given in Table 2.2 as follows:

Table 2.2 Ladakhi Stop Consonants

	Voiceless Unaspirated	**Voiceless Aspirated**	**Voiced**
Labial	*p*	*pʰ*	*b*
Dental	*t*	*tʰ*	*d*
Post-alveolar	*ʈ*	*ʈʰ*	*ɖ*
Velar	*k*	*kʰ*	*g*
Uvular	(*q*)	-	(*ɢ*)

Among the stops, labials are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /*p*/, and voiceless aspirated /*pʰ*/ and voiced unaspirated /*b*/. Consider examples in (1) illustrating /*p*/, /*pʰ*/ and /*b*/ contrasts as follows:[11]

[11] Note that the contrasts in (1) above are shown in analogous environments, i.e., minimal and near minimal pairs. The same is true of other phonemic contrasts which follow in this chapter. Also note that the contrasts shown are only valid for syllable onset position, since the contrasts of voicing and aspiration get neutralized at the syllable coda position, as mentioned earlier.

(1) Labial stops: /*p*/, /*pʰ*/ and /*b*/

paŋ ‘lap’ : *pʰaŋ*- ‘throw’ : *baŋ* ‘run/race’

Dental stops are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /*t*/, voiceless aspirated /*tʰ*/ and voiced unaspirated /*d*/. Consider examples in (2) illustrating /*t*/, /*tʰ*/ and /*d*/ contrasts as follows:

(2) Dental stops: /*t*/, /*tʰ*/ and /*d*/

taŋ- ‘give’ : *tʰaŋ* ‘plain/ground’ : *daŋ* ‘yesterday’

Post-alveolar stops in Ladakhi are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /*ʈ*/, voiceless aspirated /*ʈʰ*/ and voiced unaspirated /*ɖ*/. Consider examples in (3) illustrating /*ʈ*/, /*ʈʰ*/ and /*ɖ*/ contrasts as follows:

(3) Post-alveolar stops: /*t*/, /*ʈʰ*/ and /*d*/

ʈuk ‘six’ : *ʈʰul* ‘egg’ : *ɖul* ‘walk!’

For Dental versus Post-alveolar contrast in Sham Ladakhi, consider examples in (4) as follows:

(4) Dental vs. Post-alveolar contrast

taŋ- ‘give’ : *ʈaŋkuŋ* ‘bow/ catapult’

tʰu ‘spit’ : *ʈʰu* ‘wash!’

dʊktʃas ‘to stay’ : *ɖʊltʃas* ‘to walk’

Velar stops are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /*k*/, voiceless aspirated /*kʰ*/ and voiced unaspirated /*g*/. For illustration of contrasts among velar stop consonants /*k*/, /*kʰ*/ and /*g*/, consider examples in (5) as follows:

(5) Velar stops: /*k*/, /*kʰ*/ and /*g*/

ka ‘pillar’ : *kʰara* ‘sugar/ sweet’ : *gara* ‘blacksmith’

kaŋma ‘leg’ : *kʰaŋpa* ‘house’ : *gaŋ*- ‘be full’

The uvular stop [*q*] is an allophone of /*k*/ after non-high back vowels *o* and *a* in the syllable coda. It is phonetically voiced [ɢ] when followed by a voiced consonant cf. *tʃak*- [*tʃɐq*-] ‘break’ but *tʃagduk* [*tʃɐɢdʊk*] ‘(S)he breaks’ or when follwed by a vowel cf. *tʃaget* [*tʃaɢɛt*] ‘I break’. The complementary distribution of the uvular stop [*q*] and the velar stop [*k*] (in the syllable coda) is illustrated in (6) below:

(6) Allophonic relation (in complementary distribution at the syllable coda): [*q*] and [*k*]
ʧakʧas [*ʧɐqtʧɐs*] ‘to break’ , *ʧok* [*ʧɔq*] ‘break!’
ʧuktʧas [*ʧʊktʧɐs*] ‘to close’ , *ʧik* [*ʧik*] ‘one’.

2.1.1.2 Affricates

Ladakhi distinguishes dental and post-alveolar affricates. A classification of Ladakhi affricate consonants is given in Table 2.3 as follows:

Table 2.3 Ladakhi Affricates Consonants

	Voiceless Unaspirated	**Voiceless Aspirated**	**Voiced**
Dental	*ts*	*tsʰ*	*dz*
Post-alveolar	*ʧ*	*ʧʰ*	*dʒ*

As is the case with plosives, phonemic contrasts in affricates too are observed with respect to voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced unaspirated.

Dental affricates are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /*ts*/, voiceless aspirated /*tsʰ*/ and voiced unaspirated /*dz*/. Examples in (7-a) illustrate contrasts for dental affricates at the syllable onset position and examples in (7-b) illustrate contrasts for voicing in dental affricates after an *r*- preradical:

(7) Dental affricates: /*ts*/, /*tsʰ*/ and /*dz*/ contrast
a. *tsa* ‘rust’ : *tsʰa* ‘salt’ : *dzaw* ‘friend’
b. *r̥tsa* ‘vein’ : *rdza* ‘stony ground’

Post-alveolar affricates in Ladakhi are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /*ʧ*/, voiceless aspirated /*ʧʰ*/ and voiced unaspirated /*dʒ*/. Examples in (8-a) illustrate contrasts for post-alveolar affricates at the syllable onset position and examples in (8-b) illustrate contrasts for voicing in post-alveolar affricates after an *l*- preradical:

(8) Post-alveolar affricates: /*ʧ*/, /*ʧʰ*/ and /*dʒ*/ contrast
a. *ʧa* ‘tea’ : *ʧʰa-* ‘go’ : *dʒa* ‘rainbow’
b. *l̥tʃaŋma* ‘tree’ : *ldʒaŋpa* ‘sprout’

Examples in (9-a), (9-b) and (9-c) below illustrate phonemic contrasts for voiceless unaspirated (at syllable onset position and after a liquid preradical), voiceless aspirated and voiced (at syllable onset position and after a liquid preradical) affricates respectively in terms of different places of articulation:

(9) Affricates: Dental vs. Post-alveolar contrasts

a. *tsik-* 'burn/ envy' : *ʧik* 'one' ; *l̥tsaŋkʰan* 'beggar' : *l̥ʧaŋma* 'tree'

b. *tsʰa* 'salt' : *ʧʰa-* 'go' ; -

c. *dze* 'leprosy' : *ʤe* 'penis' ; *ldzawa* 'moon' : *ldʒaŋku* 'green'

2.1.1.3 Fricatives

Ladakhi possesses at least six fricative consonants. There are two pairs of coronal fricatives- *s : z, ʃ : ʒ* and a voiceless post-alveolar apical rhotic fricative *r̥* along with a voiceless glottal fricative *h*. The voiced post-alveolar apical rhotic approximant *r* is often fricativized, especially when immediately before a high vowel. It is optionally pronounced as a rhotic post-alveolar approximant [ɻ̠] in unstressed onsets. *r̥* is voiceless post-alveolar apical rhotic fricative (appropraite IPA symbol: [ɻ̠̊]) i.e. the voiceless counterpart of fricativized *r* [ɻ̠]. Both /*r̥*/ and [ɻ̠] contrast the laminal post-alveolar fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. The contact of the tongue with the passive articulator in the latter is laminal (ie. with the blade of the tongue) and hence are also called as sibilant fricatives, whereas that in the case of the former fricatives is apical (ie. with the help of the tip of the tongue) and hence are termed as non-sibilant fricatives since they do not have a grooved tongue and directed airflow, or the high frequencies of a sibilant. Table 2.4 presents all the fricatives of Ladakhi.

Table 2.4 Ladakhi Fricative Consonants

	Voiceless	**Voiced**
Dental	*s*	*z*
Post-alveolar (laminal)	*ʃ*	*ʒ*
Post-alveolar rhotic (apical)	*r̥*	[*r̠*]
Glottal	*h*	-

Examples to illustrate phonemic voicing contrast of different fricatives are given in (10) below:

(10) Phonemic voicing contrasts in fricatives

a. Voicing contrasts in dental fricatives: /*s*/ & /*z*/

sum ‘three’ : *zum* ‘hold!’

ser̥ ‘gold’ : *zer̥* ‘say!’

b. Voicing contrasts in post-alveolar laminal fricatives: /*ʃ*/ & /*ʒ*/

ʃi- ‘to die’ : *ʒi* ‘four’

Examples to illustrate phonemic voicing contrast of different fricatives and affricates are given in (11) below:

(11) Phonemic voicing contrasts in fricatives

a. Place of articulation contrasts in voiceless coronal affricates and fricatives:

tsa ‘rust’ : *ts^{h}a* ‘salt’ : *sa* ‘earth/ soil’ : *tʃa* ‘tea’ : *tʃ^{h}a-* ‘go’ : *ʃa* ‘meat’ : *ʂ̥a* ‘hair’

b. Place of articulation contrasts in voiced coronal affricates and fricatives:

dzaŋs ‘polite refusal’ : *zaŋs* ‘copper’ : *dʒaŋ* ‘inner thighs/ groin area’ : *ʒak* ‘day’

2.1.1.4 Nasals

Ladakhi has four nasals: bilabial /*m*/, dental /*n*/, palatal /*ɲ*/ and velar /*ŋ*/, all of which are distinctive at the absolute initial position and after an *r̥-* preradical. Consider data in (13) as follows for illustration:

(12) Phonemic contrast of nasals at different positions

a. At the absolute initial position: /*m*/, /*n*/, /*ɲ*/ and /*ŋ*/ contrasts

ma ‘negative particle’ : *nama* ‘wife/ bride’ : *ɲa* ‘fish’ : *ŋa* ‘I’

b. After an *ʂ̥-* preradical: /*m*/, /*n*/, /*ɲ*/ and /*ŋ*/ contrasts

ʂ̥ma ‘low’ : *ʂ̥na* ‘ear’ : *ʂ̥ɲiŋpa* ‘old’ : *ʂ̥ŋa* ‘five’

The distinction between the palatal and the velar nasals at the syllable-initial position when followed by a front vowel /*i*/ or /*e*/ is neutralized. Consider data in (14):

(13) *ŋa* ‘I’ ; /*ŋ-je*/ ~ [*ɲe*] ‘I-GEN, my/ I-ERG’

While the bilabial nasal /*m*/, dental nasal /*n*/ and velar nasal /*ŋ*/ occur in different positions, the occurrence of the palatal nasal /*ɲ*/ is restricted to the syllable initial position (see §2.2.1).

2.1.1.5 Approximants (Liquids and Semivowels/ Glides)

Ladakhi has a rhotic and a lateral approximant. As mentioned in section 2.1.1.3, the voiced post-alveolar apical rhotic approximant *r* is often fricativized, especially when stressed and immediately before a high vowel, cf. *ri* [ɻˠiː] 'hill', *rul* [ɻˠʊl] 'snake'. It is pronounced as an alveolar tap [ɾ] when occurring as syllable coda and immediately before a [-cont] consonant, cf. *berga* [*bɛɾga*] 'stick', *skarma* [*skɐrma*] 'star'. It is devoiced word-finally to voiceless post-alveolar apical rhotic fricative *r̥* (ɻ̊ˠ) i.e., the voiceless counterpart of fricativized *r* [ɻˠ], cf. *kirkir̥* [*kɪɾkɪɻ̊ˠ*] 'round'. Both *r̥* and *r* phonemically contrast each other in voicing only at the syllable onset position, which can be seen in the data presented in (14).

(14) Voicing contrasts: /r̥/ & /r/

r̥a 'hair' : *ra* 'goat/ capra'

r̥iŋmo 'sister/ female cousin' : *riŋmo* 'long/ tall'

The post-alveolar flap occurs only in loanwords from Hindi-Urdu, cf. *gaɽi* 'watch/ clock'. Semivowels or glides in Ladakhi are classified as bilabial /*w*/ and palatal /*j*/. Consider data in (15) for illustration of contrasts between these semivowels:

(15) Glides: Bilabial vs. Palatal contrast

waŋ 'power/ dominance' *:* *jaŋ* 'again'

In the Sham variety of Ladakhi, there is a pair of lateral approximants contrasted by voicing i.e. the voiced alveolar lateral *l* and the voiceless alveolar lateral *l̥*, both of which are distinctive at the absolute initial position and before the radical consonants (i.e. as preradicals). Consider data in (16) as follows for illustration:

(16) Phonemic contrast of voicing in laterals at different positions:

a. At the absolute initial position: /*l*/, and /*l̥*/ contrast

la 'mountain pass' : *l̥a* 'deity'

luŋba 'valley' : *l̥uŋspo* 'air/ wind'

b. Before a radical consonant: /*l*/, and /*l̥*/ contrast

ldzawa 'moon' : *l̥tsaŋspa* 'lizard'

ldatpa 'brain' : *l̥tanmo* 'festival/ show'

Similarly, the palatal approximant has an unvoiced counterpart- the voiceless palatal approximant *j̥* (whereas the bilabial approximant lacks one). Consider data in (17) for illustration of contrasts between these semivowels:

(17) Voicing contrasts in palatal approximants: /j/ & /j̥/

jar̥- 'to borrow' : *j̥ar̥-* 'to get lost/ die (pej.)'

jaŋmo 'light (in weight)' : *j̥aŋspa* 'game/ fun'

The voicing contrast in the case of lateral and palatal approximants is absent in other varieties of Ladakhi, including the Lehskat.

2.1.2 Vowels

Ladakhi has 5 vowel phonemes viz /*i, e, u, o, a*/. These vowel phonemes, along with allophones, are given in Table 2.5. Note that the allophones are placed in square brackets and are encircled along with their constituent phonemes.

Table 2.5 Ladakhi Vowel Phonemes

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
Close	*i* [*iː*]	[*ʉ*]	*u*
Near Close	[*ɪ*]		[*ʊ*]
Close-mid	*e* [*eː*]	[*ɵ*]	*o*
Open-mid	[*ɛ*]		[*ɔ*]
Near open		[*ɐ*]	
Open		*a* [*aː*]	

Table 2.6 provides an illustration of the distribution of vowel phonemes of Ladakhi along with their respective allophones at various positions given with glossed examples.

Table 2.6 Distribution of Vowel Phonemes of Ladakhi

/V/	[V]	Environmental constraint	Example	Gloss
	[*iː*]	Stressed open syllable	*ʒi* [*ʒiː*] *kʰi* [*kʰiː*]	four dog
/*i*/	[*ɪ*]	Closed syllable occuring immediately after a non-palatal C	*miŋ* [*mɪŋ*] *riks* [*rɪks*]	name kind/ species
	[*i*]	Elsewhere	*bila* [*bɪla*] *ʃik* [*ʃik*]	cat louse
	[*eː*]	Stressed open syllable	*l̥tʃe* [*l̥tʃeː*] *kʰi* [*kʰiː*]	tongue dog
/*e*/	[*ɛ*]	Closed syllable occuring immediately after a non-palatal C	*met* [*mɛt*] *zer* [*zɛr*]	is not say
	[*e*]	Elsewhere	*r̥tsetʃas* [*r̥tsetʃɐs*] *ɲeraŋ* [*ɲerɐŋ*]	to play you (hon.)
	[*aː*]	Open final syllable	*ʃa* [*ʃaː*] *r̥tswa* [*r̥tswaː*]	meat grass
/*a*/	[*ɐ*]	Closed syllable	*hɐnɖɐŋ* [*hɐnɖɐŋ*] *r̥kjal* [*r̥kjɐl*]	dumb/ stupid swim!
	[*a*]	Elsewhere	*mamun* [*mamʊn*] *ldawa* [*ldawa*]	fog moon
	[*ɔ̣*]	Unstressed closed syllable	*sŋonpo* [*sŋɔ̣npo*] *tsʰos* [*tsʰɔ̣s*]	blue dye
/*o*/	[*ɵ*]	Immediately after a palatal C	*ɲoʈʃas* [*ɲɵʈʃɐs*] *gjokspa* [*gjɵqspa*]	name canal/ drain
	[*o*(*ː*)]	Elsewhere	*tʰepo* [*tʰepo*] *laŋʈo* [*lɐŋʈo*]	thumb bull

	[ʊ]	Unstressed closed syllable	*ɖʊl* [*ɖʊl*] *mul* [*mul*]	walk! silver
/u/	[ʉ]	Immediately after a palatal C	*ʒu* [*ʒʉ*] *jurba* [*jʉrba*]	name canal/ drain
	[u(ː)]	Elsewhere	*ʧʰu* [*ʧʰu*] *tʃʰʊŋun* [*tʃʰʊŋ̟un*]	wash! little/ few

Examples in (18) below illustrate phonemic contrasts for vowels in terms of vowel height:

(18) Vowel height contrast: High vs. high-mid

a. Front vowels: /*i*/ & /*e*/ contrast

mi ‘human/ man’ : *me* ‘fire’

b. Back vowels: /*u*/ & /*o*/ contrast

su ‘who’ *:* *so* ‘tooth’

2.2 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE AND PHONOTACTICS

This section describes the phonotactic constraints and syllable structure within uncompounded words; consonant clusters created at the juncture of words within a compound are relatively free of the restrictions that hold within simple words. A brief description of stress in simple and compound words is also included in this section. Both open and closed syllables are permitted in Ladakhi. It allows complex syllable initial clusters such as the ones containing up to three consonants are possible, whereas the syllable-final position restricts it to just two. The syllable-final or coda position will be discussed first in §2.2.1 since it is very particular due to strict phonotactics placed by Ladakhi, which will be followed by the syllable initial or onset position in §2.2.2.

2.2.1 The Syllable Coda

Ladakhi places no restrictions on open syllables. All five vowels can be the coda, but for a closed syllable in a native Ladakhi word, the consonant cannot occur in the coda position if it agrees to any one of the following set of distinctive features given below:

a. [-cont. ; -ant.] (i.e. no post-alveolar stops, e.g. *ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ*)

b. [-cont. ; +del. rel.] (i.e. no affricates, e.g. *ts, tsʰ, dz, tʃ, tʃʰ, dʒ*)

c. [-back] (i.e. no palatal C, e.g. *tʃ, tʃʰ, dʒ, ʃ, ʒ, ɲ, j*)

d. [+cont. ; -cor.] (i.e. no glottal fricative, e.g. *h*)

e. [-apprx. ; -nas. ; +voice] (i.e. no voiced oral stops or fricatives, e.g. *b, d, ɖ, g, z, ʒ*)

f. [+sg.] (i.e. no aspirated C, e.g. *pʰ, tʰ, ʈʰ, kʰ, tsʰ, tʃʰ*)

Therefore, only the following consonants can be permitted to occur at the coda position: the plosives- /*p*/, /*t*/, and /*k*/ (as well as [*q*] which is an allophone of /*k*/ after the [+back] [-high] vowels /*o*/ or /*a*/), the nasals- /*m*/, /*n*/ and /*ŋ*/, the fricatives- /*s*/ and /*r̥*/ and the approximants- /*l*/ and /*w*/. Except for /*s*/ and /*w*/, all these consonants can be followed by a postfinal /s/. Examples of possible coda clusters in Ladakhi are provided in Table 2.7 as follows.

Table 2.7 Distribution of Vowel Phonemes of Ladakhi

Consonant Class	Coda Cluster	Example	Gloss
Plosives	*-ps*	*rָ̥kaŋʃups*	Socks
	-ts	*buts*	(S)he fell
	-ks	*ltʃaks*	Iron
Nasals	*-ms*	*zums*	(S)he smiled
	-ns	*ʒons*	(S)he climbed
	-ŋs	*naŋs*	day after tomorrow
Approximant	*-rs*	*kʰjers*	(S)he took away
	-ls	*kals*	(S)he sent

2.2.2 The Syllable Onset

Ladakhi, like its sister WAT varieties Balti and Purik, has complex onsets consisting of up to three consonants. Table 2.8 contains the possible onset clusters in Ladakhi. [12] The column on the left is of radicals (i.e., the root consonant), the first row contains the preradicals (i.e., the consonant before the root consonant), and the second row is of postradicals (i.e., the consonant after the root consonant). The clusters are the combinations of these radicals with the pre-and/or post-radicals.

[12] Note that more clusters are many onset clusters are attested in the Sham variety which are not given in the above table. Also, since in Shamskat, the voiceless lateral *l̥* is a distinctive phoneme, it serves as preradical when the radical consonant is too a voiceless one due to the voicing agreement feature exhibited by Ladakhi cf. *l̥tʃaŋma* 'tree', *l̥tsaŋkʰan* 'beggar', etc.

Table 2.8 The initial clusters attested in Ladakhi.

	s/z-			ɻ-/r-			l-			ø	
	-ø	-j	-w	-ø	-j	-w	-ø	-j	-w	-j	-w
p	sp	-	-	rp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
p^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p^hw
b	zb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	lbw	-	-
t	st	-	-	ɻt	-	-	lt	ltj	-	-	-
t^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t^hw
d	-	-	-	rd	-	rdw	ld	-	-	-	-
ʈ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ʈw
$ʈ^h$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɖ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k	sk	skj	-	ɻk	ɻkj	-	-	-	-	kj	kw
k^h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	k^hj	-
g	-	-	-	rg	-	-	-	-	-	gy	-
ts	-	-	-	ɻts	-	-	lts	-	-	-	-
dz	-	-	-	rdz	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
tʃ	-	-	-	ɻtʃ	-	-	ltʃ	-	-	-	-
dʒ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	sj	sw
z	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʃ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʒ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɻ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
h	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m	-	-	-	ɻm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
n	-	-	-	ɻn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ɲ	-	-	-	ɻɲ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ	-	-	-	ɻŋ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	lw
w	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
j	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Some of the clusters which are lost historically are preserved as medial clusters in compound words as in e.g., *kʰalpaks* ‘lip’ and *golpaks* ‘skin of head’ (*kʰa* ‘mouth’, *go* ‘head’ and *pakspa* ‘skin’). Similar examples are *ʧʰumʧʰar* ‘waterfall’ (*ʧʰu* ‘water’ + *ʧʰar-* ‘spurt/ gush’), *saŋgul* ‘earthquake’ (*sa* ‘earth’ + *gul-* ‘shake’). In morphologically derived forms, many more clusters are possible, since a stem final vowel is often turned into a glide at that position, cf. [*gwa*] (< *go-a*) ‘to the door’, [*kʰwa*] (< *kʰo-a*) ‘to him/ her’ etc.

2.2.3 Voicing Agreement

Consonant clusters in Ladakhi exhibit strong voicing agreement which is apparently evident from the choice of preradicals (and/or postradicals) by the radicals. For illustration, refer to (25) above and also Table 2.8. Phonemic voicing contrast among the nasals is absent. However, the nasals take only voiceless fricatives as preradicals, as evident from (19):

(19) Nasals with only voiceless preradicals

a. *sman* ‘medicine’, *snap* ‘nasal mucus’, *sɲas* ‘pillow’, *sɲamo* ‘morning’ (only in the Sham variety) but no *zm-*, *zn-*, *zɲ-* and *zŋ-* ;

b. *r̥mamo* ‘low’, *r̥na* ‘ear’, *r̥ɲiŋma* ‘old’, *r̥ŋa* ‘drum’ but no *rm-*, *rn-*, *rɲ-* and *rŋ-*.

Ladakhi radicals can only take the phonemes /*w*/, /*j*/, /*r*/ and /*r̥*/ (3 approximants and a fricatives) as postradicals in a typical consonant cluster which can be seen from Table 6. The postradicals, which constitute the transition between the consonantal onset and the vocalic core of the syllable, are always voiced if they are approximants such as /*w*/, /*j*/ and /*r*/. Voicing agreement is not just restricted to onset clusters but also to medial cluster and between the coda and the pausa. In these cases, voicing agreement can be viewed as instances of regressive assimilation since the syllable-final consonants are almost always assimilated to the following sound in terms of voicing. For word-final consonants, since voicing is absent from the pausa, the devoicing of plosives (except post-alveolar) and the rhotic approximant *r* can also be said to be a case of regressive assimilation[13]. These word-final consonants can be said as underlyingly voiced and surfacing as voiceless because of the regressive voicing assimilation exerted by the (voiceless) pausa. They regain their voicing when followed by a voiced segment (a vowel or a voiced consonant). Refer Table 2.9 below for examples in which this phenomenon of regressive assimilation is illustrated:

[13] As previously mentioned in §2.2.1 that post-alveolar stops, affricates, [+pal] fricatives and voiceless approximants are strictly not allowed as codas. Also, the presence of voiced alveolar fricative *z* is banned at the coda (see §2.2.1).

Table 2.9 Instances of regressive assimilation attested in Ladakhi[14]

/C/	__#	__# + V	__σC[-voice]	__σC[+voice]
/b/	*tʰap* 'stove'	*tʰabi* 'of the stove'	*tʰapsaŋ* 'kitchen'	*tʰabla* 'to the stove'
/d/	*jot* 'is'	*joda* 'is it?'	*jotpin* 'I was'	*jodlo* 'it is (hearsay)'
/g/	*mik* 'eye'	*migi* 'of the eye'	*mikʃoq* 'eyelash'	*migra* 'spectacles'
/r/	*pʰuɻ* 'fly!'	*pʰura* 'Should (I) fly?'	*pʰurtʃas* 'to fly'	*pʰurduk* '(S)he flies'

2.3 TYPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

The morphological typology of Ladakhi based on the internal structure of words can be identified as 'agglutinating' as we find one to one correspondence of morphemes and their meaning.

2.3.1 Constituent Order Typology

A Ladakhi clause can have, at the most, three NPs, designated as "Ergative", "Absolutive", and "Oblique". All NPs precede the verb in an unmarked clause. A simplified account of Ladakhi Phrase Structure in terms of syntactic constituents within the clause is given in the form of Phrase Structure Rules in (20) as follows (parentheses represent optionality):

(20) Phrase Structure Rules

Sentence = ([Ergative NP]) ([Oblique NP]) [Absolutive/ Unmarked NP] [V]

[V] = V (AUX)

V = (Negative Prefix)-Verb Stem-(Negative Suffix)-(TAM)

AUX = Auxiliary Verb-TAM

[NP] = (Set 1 Determiner) [N] (Modifier/Adjective) (Set 2 Determiner)

[N] = Noun-Number-Case(or Indefinite Article)

In (20) above, "Ergative" represents the most Agent-like argument of a transitive clause, and "Absolutive" the only argument of an intransitive or the least agent-like (inanimate theme

[14] The column headers from left to right are word-final, word-final followed by a vowel, syllable-final followed by voiceless consonant and syllable-final followed by voiced consonant.

in case of a transitive verb and both animate and inanimate theme in case of a ditransitive verb) argument of a transitive clause. An "Oblique" NP may be represented by a "Dative" argument or a Postpositional Phrase. A sentence contains at least one NP that precedes the inflected verb. The category designated as "[V]" is the derived verb component and "V" is the main verb.

2.3.2 Word Order Typology

Basic constituent order in a Ladakhi clause is S-V in an intransitive and A-P-V in a transitive clause, where "S" is the only argument of an intransitive clause, "A" is the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause, and "P" is the other argument of a transitive clause. Consider data in (21) and (22) for illustration as follows:

(21) Typology of an intransitive clause

a.	*ʧipa*	*buts*		(S-V)
	tʃipa-Ø	bud-s		
	bird-ABS	fall-PFV.DIR		
	'The bird fell.'			
b.	*kʰo*	*daŋ*	*rgots*	(S-V)
	kʰo-Ø	daŋ	rgod-s	
	3.SG-ABS	yesterday	laugh-PFV.DIR	
	'(S)he laughed yesterday.'			

(22) Typology of a transitive clause

a.	*jage*	*rtsa*	*zostok*	(A-P-V)
	jag-e	rtsa-Ø	zo-s-tog	
	yak-ERG	grass-ABS	eat-PFV-INFR	
	'The yak ate grass.'			
b.	*ame*	*ʈʰugua*	*rduŋstok*	(A-P-V)
	ama-e	ʈʰugu-a	rduŋ-s-tog	
	mother-ERG	child-DAT	hit-PFV-INFR	
	'The mother hit the child.'			

2.4 NOUN AND NOUN PHRASE

The lexical categories discussed in this section are nouns, pronouns and determiners. Nouns in Ladakhi are an open set of words that can function syntactically as the subject or object in a sentence. They take number suffixes as well as case suffixes along with the definiteness marker *–bo* and indefiniteness marker *-ʒik* used to indicate defineteness and indefiniteness respectively as described below. Pronouns are a closed set of words that function like nouns and take the same range of suffixes as nouns; i.e., number and case except the definiteness /indefiniteness marker.

2.4.1 Typology of the Noun Phrase

Numerals and Quantifiers succede the Noun (head of the phrase) occupying the "Specifier/Determiner" position of the Noun Phrase. The immediate constituents of the Noun Phrase are represented in Figure 2.1 as follows:

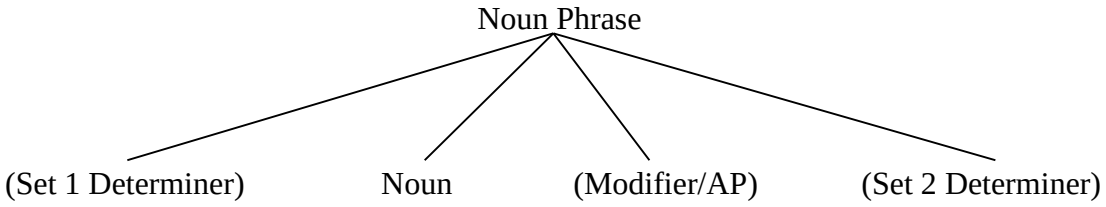


Fig. 2.1 Structure of Noun Phrase

In Ladakhi, there are two sets of Determiners. Set 1 Determiners are the ones which precede the Noun and Set 2 Determiners being those which succede the Noun as well as the AP. A list of these sets of determiners is provided in Table 2.10.

Table 2.10 Determiners in Ladakhi.

Set 1 Determiners	**Set 2 Determiners**
Demonstratives	Quantifiers
Possessive Determiners	Cardinal Numbers
Interrogative Determiner *ka* 'which'	Distributive Determiners

The “Modifier” (or AP-Adjectival Phrase) position may be occupied by one or more modifier(s). Some examples to illustrate Ladakhi Noun Phrase are given in (23), (24), and (25) as follows:

(23) Noun Phrase: Set 1 Determiner + Noun

a. *ʈʰugu*
boy
‘(The) boy’

b. *i* *ʈʰugu*
this boy
‘This boy’

c. *ɲe* *ʈʰugu*
my boy
‘My boy’

(24) Noun Phrase: Noun + Set 2 Determiner

a. *ʈʰugu* *maŋpo*
boy many
‘Many boys’

b. *ʈʰugu* *ɲis*
boy two
‘Two boys’

c. *ʈʰugu* *rere*
boy each
‘Each boy’

(25) Noun Phrase: Noun + Adjective

a. *ʈʰugu* *skjitpo*
boy happy
‘Happy boy’

b. *nam* *ŋonpo*
sky blue
'Blue sky'

Within the AP (Adjectival Phrase), there may be one or more adjectives which may be preceeded or succeeded by a Specifier/Determiner. Consider examples in (38) as follows:

(26) NP: Set 1 Determiner(s) + Noun + Adjective(s)/Modifier(s) + Set 2 Determiner(s)

a. *ɲe* *pomo* *riŋmo* *sum*
my girl tall three
'My three tall girls'

b. *i* *ʧʰugu* *ma* *rompo* *ladakspa* *ɲis*
this boy very fat Ladakhi two
'These two very fat Ladakhi boys'

2.4.2 Nominal Morphology

The head of the NP, "Noun", is composed of the following components (hyphen represents the morpheme boundary):

Noun = Noun Stem-Number-Case (or Indefinite Article)

This is schematically represented in Figure 2.2 as follows:

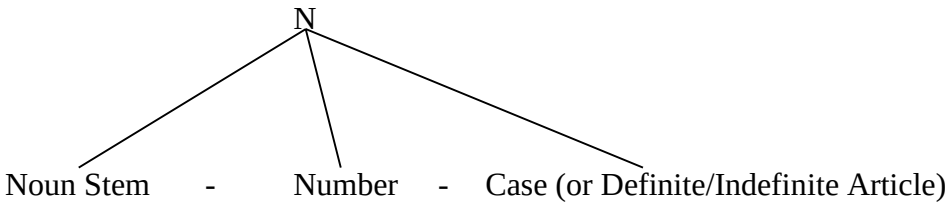


Fig. 2.2 Structure of Noun

2.4.2.1 Derived Noun Stem and Nominalization

Derived noun stems are formed by adding derivational suffixes to a noun or verb stem. The following are the categories of derived noun stems:

A. Noun stem + Derivational suffix:

Noun stems in Ladakhi are formed by adding derivational suffix *-pa* (~ *-ma* following a stem ending in m) to nouns. This suffix expresses the meaning 'connected/related with the Noun Stem'. Consider examples in (27) below:

(27)	Noun Stem	Gloss	Derived Noun Stem	Gloss
	ladaks	Ladakh	*ladaks-pa*	Ladakhi
	ʃam	Sham(region)	*ʃam-ma*	Shamma person
	liŋs	hunt	*liŋs-pa*	hunter
	ts^{h}on	color	*ts^{h}on-pa*	painter

B. Noun stem + Agentive suffix *-kan ~ -k^{h}an*

Agentive suffix *-kan ~ -k^{h}an* is added to noun stems to form derived noun which form occupational associates with the noun stems. Consider example in (28) below:

(28)	Noun Stem	Gloss	Derived Noun Stem	Gloss
	ʃiŋ	wood	*ʃiŋkan*	carpenter

C. Verb stem + Agentive suffix *-kan ~ -k^{h}an*:

Agentive suffix or nominalizer *-kan ~ -k^{h}an* is added to verb stems to form an agent noun associating the person with the verb. Consider example in (29) below:

(29)	Noun Stem	Gloss	Derived Noun Stem	Gloss
	ʧo	do work	*ʧokan*	worker

2.4.2.2 Gender

In Ladakhi, there is no grammatical gender. Animate nouns are referred to as masculine or feminine based on natural gender. The agentive nouns formed by suffixing the agentive marker *-kan* either to a noun or a verb stem do not mark gender (Koshal 1979:56). Ladakhi noun stems are generally masculine, and their corresponding feminines are usually formed by adding the feminine suffix *-mo* after them. Consider the examples given below in (30):

(30)	Noun Stem	Gloss	Feminine Noun	Gloss
	ladakspa	Ladakhi (man)	*ladakspa-mo*	Ladakhi woman
	liŋspa	male hunter	*liŋspa-mo*	female hunter
	ts^{h}onpa	male painter	*ts^{h}onpa-mo*	female painter

2.4.2.3 Number

Ladakhi nouns possess two numbers: Singular and Plural. Plurals are formed by either adding the plural suffix *-kun* (~ *-gun*) to the singular noun or by placing specifiers such as quantifiers/ cardinal numbers (except one) after the noun, but not both. Consider the examples in (31) for illustration.

(31) *ʈʰugu* 'child' *ʈʰugu (*ʈʰugukun) ɲis* 'two children'
ʈʰugukun 'children' *ʈʰugu (*ʈʰugukun) maŋpo* 'many children'

Many Ladakhi speakers, especially in informal contexts, do not use the plural suffix *-kun.* Plurality is marked either by using the appropriate specifiers such as numerals or quantifiers and many a time, it is left unmarked and is understood only from contexts. This is illustrated in example (32) below:

(32)

a. *ʈʰugui* *laga* *pʰaʈiŋ* *duk*
ʈʰugu-i lag-a pʰaʈiŋ dug
child-GEN hand-DAT . apricot EX.VIS
'The child has apricots.'

b. *ʈʰugui* *laga* *maŋpo* *pʰaʈiŋ* *duk*
ʈʰugu-i lag-a maŋpo pʰaʈiŋ dug
child-GEN hand-DAT lot apricot EX.VIS
'The child has lots of apricots.'

In Adjectival phrases, the plural marking however, appears on the adjective rather than on the noun in as evident from (33)

(33) *i* *ʈʰugu* *ma* *rompo-kun*
this boy very fat-PL
'These very fat boys'

2.4.2.4 Definiteness

When the NP is not specified, a suffix *-ʒik* for the expression of indefiniteness may be attached to the noun stem. *-ʒik* is phonetically conditioned and occurs after sonorants whereas after plosives it is conditioned to *-ʈʃik* and to *-ʃik* after s. It reduces to *-ik* after high vowels /*u*/ and /*i*/. Consider examples in (34) as follows:

(34) Indefinite Article

a. *pomo-ʒik*
girl-INDEF
'a/some girl'

b. *migunʒik*
mi-gun-ʒik
man-PL-INDEF
'some people'

c. *kuʃik*
kuʃu-ʒik
apple-INDEF
'an/some apple'

On the contrary, when an NP is specified, a suffix *-bo~ -po* for the expression of definiteness may be attached to the noun stem. Consider examples in (35) as follows:

(35) Definite Article

a. *pomo-bo*
girl-DEF
'The girl'

b. *migunbo*
mi-gun-bo
man-PL-DEF
'The people'

c. *kuʃu-bo*
apple-DEF
'The apple'

2.4.2.5 Case

The "Case" position (in Fig. 2.2) is occupied by grammatical Case, which may or may not be overtly realized depending on the grammatical relations of the NPs within the clause. Consider examples in (36) as follows:

(36) Case syntax

a. *i* *ama*
i ama-Ø
this mother-ABS
'this mother (A/P)'

b. *ame*
ama-e
mother-ERG
'(the) mother (A)'

c. *amaa*
ama-a
mother-DAT
'to the mother'

2.4.2.6 Pronouns

Ladakhi Personal Pronouns, their corresponding Personal Possessor Pronouns (or Possessive Adjective), and their corresponding Subject Pronouns (marked by ergative case marker *-e*) are listed in the following Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 Personal Pronouns, Possessor Pronouns and Subject Pronouns in Ladakhi.

Person	Number		Personal Pronoun	Possessive Pronoun	Subject Pronoun (Erg.)
I	Sg.		*ŋa*	*ɲe*	*ɲe*
	Pl.	excl.	*ŋaʒa ~ ŋadʒa*	*ŋe*	*ŋaʒe ~ ŋadʒe*
		incl.	*ŋataŋ*	*ŋataŋe~ ŋatie*[15]	*ŋataŋe*
II	Sg.	intimate	*raŋ*[16]	*raŋe*	*raŋe*
		familiar	*kʰeraŋ*	*kʰeraŋe*	*kʰeraŋe*
		polite	*ɲeraŋ*	*ɲeraŋe*	*ɲeraŋe*
	Pl.	intimate	*raŋkun*	*raŋkune*	*raŋkune*
		familiar	*kʰeraŋkun~ kʰentaŋ*	*kʰeraŋkune~ kʰentaŋ*	*kʰeraŋkune~ kʰentaŋ*
		polite	*ɲeraŋkun*	*ɲeraŋkune*	*ɲeraŋkune*
III	Sg.	intimate	*kʰo*	*kʰoe*	*kʰoe*
		polite	*kʰoŋ*	*kʰoŋe*	*kʰoŋe*
	Pl.	intimate	*kʰokun*	*kʰokune*	*kʰokune*
		polite	*kʰoŋgun*	*kʰoŋgune*	*kʰoŋgune*

Possession is marked by adding the possessor suffix *-i* on the possessor noun or pronoun designated as "Genitive". It seems that the vowel in the possessor suffix *-i* seems to be lowered when attached to the 1Sg. Pronoun *ŋa* due to the vowel in the pronoun being low. This lowering (*a* → *e*) is also observed when a noun ending in *a* is marked by the genitive case marker *–i,* cf. *ltʃaŋma* 'tree' *+i* → *ltʃaŋme* 'of the tree'. So possibly, it seems that this *i* to *e* change in the final vowel of the 1Sg. Pronoun spread to other forms, and now all the pronouns are marked by the marker *-e* (which is also an ergative marker) rather than the genitive marker on full nouns *-i.* Plurality on pronouns is marked by the plural suffix *-kun ~ -gun*, except for the first person.

[15] *ŋatie* is a dual inclusive possessive pronoun, that is, the speaker will use this form to refer to his/her and the addressee's shared possession.

[16] According to Angmo, *raŋ* is mostly used in Leh dialect of Ladakhi while in Sham *kʰeraŋ* and *ɲeraŋ* are used.

2.4.3 Adjectives

As discussed in section 2.4.1, adjectives always succeed the modified noun in Ladakhi. Adjectives are not marked for Gender but are optionally marked for Number, especially when the speaker must be specific for the expression of a plural entity. If the adjective is marked for number, then the modified noun cannot take the plural marker *-kun.* Consider examples in (37) as follows, and for predicate adjectival constructions, consider examples in (38):

(37)

Singular		Plural		Gloss
ʈʰugu	*rompo*	*ʈʰugu(*-kun)*	*rompokun*	'fat child/children'
pomo	*skitpo*	*pomo(*-kun)*	*skitpokun*	'happy girl/girls'
pʰaʈiŋ	*tʃʰenmo*	*pʰaʈiŋ(*-kun)*	*ʈʃʰenmokun*	'big apricot/apricots'
dzaw	*gjala*	*dzaw(*-kun)*	*gjalakun*	'good friend/friends'

(38) Predicate Adjectives

a. *i dʒola marpo duk*
i dʒola marpo dug
this bag red EX.VIS
'This bag is red.'

b. *spaŋ ŋonpo jotkjak*
spaŋ ŋonpo jod-kjag
grass green EX.ASSUM-NARR
'Grasses are green.'

c. *i rdwa lʈʃinte rak*
i rdwa lʈʃinte rag
this stone heavy EX.SENS
'This stone is heavy.'

The predicate adjectives will be discussed briefly in section 2.8.3 as the copulas in the predicate adjectival constructions take different evidential markers. Ladakhi seems to differentiate adjectives from verbs as the adjectives do not take TAM suffixes, as evident from (38). Adjectives are also distinguished from nouns as the definite article *-bo* (~ *-po*) is regularly used with nouns. The locative and genitive cases are almost exclusively formed from nouns.

However, the distinction between nouns and adjectives are a bit blurred when we come across the case of copula construction, which will be discussed later in section 2.8.3.

2.4.4 Case Morphology

Nouns or noun phrases in any language are marked with various Semantic or Thematic roles such as agent, patient, experiencer, beneficiary, instrument and so on. In Ladakhi, the nouns are marked for various semantic roles by certain case markers (which will be discussed in this section) as well as by certain postpositions (which will be discussed in section 2.5.2). Apart from semantic roles, these markers also describe the grammatical relations of a noun phrase in a sentence. A list of various such case markers along with the semantic role associated with them is given in Table 2.12 below.

Table 2.12 Ladakhi case markers along with the associated semantic roles.

Case assigned on N or NP	**Case marker**	**Associated Semantic Role**
Absolutive/ Unmarked[17]	*-ø*	a. Theme (as an intransitive subject) b. Agent (of an intransitive verb) c. Theme (as an argument of a di-transitive or an experiencer verb)
Ergative	*-e*	Agent (of transitive clause)
Dative (Non-Agentive)	*-a*	a. Patient (as an argument of a transitive verb) b. Recipient (as an argument of a di-transitive verb) c. Beneficiary d. Destination (as an argument of a motion verb) e. Experiencer (as the subject of an experiencer verb) f. Possessor of inalienable possession
Locative	*-la*	Location and Destination
Ablative	*-na*	Source
Genitive	*-i*	Possessor

[17] The absolutive case, since it being unmarked, will not be shown in the henceforth examples.

(39) contains examples having the noun in the noun phrase present in the subject position marked by **absolutive** case. (39-a) is an example of intransitive subject not involving any kind of volition, bearing the **theme** (here, animate) semantic role, whereas (39-b) is an example of animate intransitive subject involving some kind of volition, bearing the **agent** semantic role. (39-c), (39-d) and (39-e) are similar to (39-b) in which the subjects bear the agent semantic role, but apart from that, they possess one more argument, which is **dative case marked** bearing the **destination** semantic role in the case of (39-c); in the case of (39-d) it is **locative case marked** bearing the **location** semantic role and whereas in the case of (51-e) it is **ablative case marked** bearing the **source** semantic role.

(39) Absolutive/ Null case marked nouns.

a. *daŋ* *ʈʰugu* *buts*
daŋ ʈʰugu-Ø bud-s
yesterday child fall-PFV.DIR
'The child fell yesterday'

b. *daŋ* *ʈʰugu* *rgots*
daŋ ʈʰugu-Ø rgod-s
yesterday child laugh-PFV.DIR
'The child laughed yesterday'

c. *ama* *ʃiŋnaksa* *soŋstok*
ama ʃiŋnaks-a soŋ-s-tog
mother forest-DAT went-PFV-INFR
'The mother went to the forest.'

d. *ŋa* *bazarla* *soŋpin*
ŋa bazar-la soŋ-pin
I market-LOC went-PST
'I went to the market.'

e. *ŋa* *lena* *joŋse* *in*
ŋa le-na joŋ-se in
I Leh-ABL come-CNJP EQ
'I am coming from Leh.'

Ladakhi has experiencer subjects marked by dative case, a feature typical to South Asian typology. (40a-e) are examples having the nouns in the noun phrase at the subject position marked by **dative case marker** and (40a-d) associated with the **experiencer** semantic role while (40-e) is associated with **possessor** semantic role but all of which require a single unmarked argument.

(40) Dative case marked subjects

a. *ʈʰugua ʈonmo soŋstok*
ʈʰugu-a ʈonmo soŋ-s-tok
child-DAT hot went-PFV-INFR
'The child felt hot'

(2) *dʒigmeda pʰaʈiŋ tʰoŋstok*
dʒigmed-a pʰaʈiŋ tʰoŋ-s-tog
Jigmet-DAT apricot see.INTR-PFV-INFR
'Jigmet saw an apricot/ An apricot appeared to Jigmet.'

(3) *kʰoa dʒigmet gjus jot*
kʰo-a dʒigmed gjus jod
He-DAT Jigmet remember EX.ASSUM
'He remembers Jigmet.'

(4) *kʰoa ɖi ʃesanok*
kʰo-a ɖi ʃes-(a)-nog
He-DAT writing know-POT
'He knows to write.'

(5) *ʈʰugua lakpa duk*
ʈʰugu-a lagpa dug
child-DAT hand EX.VIS
'The child has hands'

(41) contains all of the examples having transitive verbs which require one most agent-like argument at the subject position, designated as "**Ergative**". (41-a) is an example in which the other argument is an unmarked noun, associated with the **theme** (here, inanimate) semantic

role, whereas (41-b) in which the other argument is dative case marked noun, bearing the **patient** semantic role. (41-c) also is marked by the ergative case; apart from that, there are two arguments.

(41) Ergative case marked subjects of transitive verbs

a. *ɲe* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zospin*
ŋa-e pʰaʈiŋ zo-s-pin
I-ERG apricot eat\PFV-PFV-PST
'The child ate the apricot.'

b. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *rduŋstok*
ama-e ʈʰugu-a rduŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG child-DAT hit-PFV-INFR
'The mother hit the child.'

c. *kʰoe* *ŋa* *kʰeraŋe* *ʧʰoksla* *pʰuls*
kʰo-e ŋa-a kʰeraŋ-i ʧʰoks-la pʰul-s
He-ERG I-DAT you-GEN direction-LOC push-PFV.DIR
'He pushed me towards you.'

(42) contains three examples having ditransitive verbs which require one most agent-like argument at the subject position, designated as "**Ergative**". (42-a) and (42-b) are examples in which one argument is a dative case marked noun, bearing the recipient semantic role and the other argument is an unmarked noun, associated with the theme (inanimate in the case of (42-a) while animate in that of (42-b) semantic role. (42-c) is also an example of a case in which one argument is also a dative case marked noun, but bearing the beneficiary semantic role and similar to (42-a) and (42-b), the other argument being an unmarked noun, associated with the theme (here inanimate) semantic role.

(42) Ergative case marked subjects of ditransitive verbs

a. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *taŋstok*
ama-e ʈʰugu-a pʰaʈiŋ taŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG child-DAT apricot give-PFV-INFR
'The mother gave the apricot to the child.'

b. *ɲe* *ʈʰugu* *pomoa* *stanspin*
ŋa-e ʈʰugu pomo-a stan-s-pin
I-ERG child woman-DAT show-PFV-PST
'I showed the child to the woman.'

c. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *ɲostok*
ama-e ʈʰugu-a pʰaʈiŋ ɲo-s-tog
mother-ERG child-DAT apricot buy-PFV-INFR
'The mother bought the apricot for the child.'

Possession in Ladakhi is expressed by the genitive case marker *-i* on the possessor as in example (43)

(43) Genitive case marked subjects

a. *ridaksi* *go*
ridaks-i go
deer-GEN head
'The deer's head'

b. *kʰoe* *ʈʰugu* *rgots*
kʰo-e ʈʰugu rgod-s
3.SG-GEN child laugh-PFV.DIR
'His/her child laughed.'

2.5 POSTPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Like most of the South Asian languages having default SOV word order, Ladakhi has only postpositions. Some of the typical postpositions used in the adverbials of time and space are: *nepʰala* 'since' (Time), *naŋa* 'in' (Location), *kane* 'from', *laga* 'in posssession of', *dunla* 'in front', *rgjabla* 'at the back of' etc.

2.5.1 Structure of the Postpositional Phrase

In Ladakhi, as can be inferred from their name, postpositions in a postpositional phrase follow a noun or a noun phrase. The structure of a Postpositional Phrase (PP) is schematically represented in Figure 2.3 as follows.

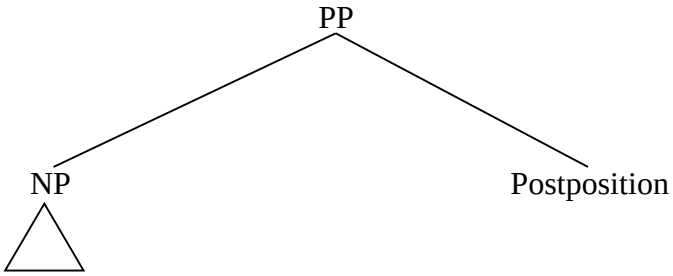


Fig. 2.3 Structure of Postpositional Phrase

2.5.2 Sematic roles associated with postpositions

Postpositions are independent words that perform the function of case markers. In Ladakhi, the postpositions in a postpositional phrase follow a noun phrase that may or may not be case marked. Consider data provided in Table 2.13 (some of the postpositions in given in the table are themselves marked by case markers which were earlier dicussed in section 2.4.1.5) and also in examples (44), (45) and (46) for illustration.

Table 2.13 Ladakhi postpositions along with the associated semantic roles.

Postposition	**Case marking on the argument N or NP**	**Associated Semantic Role**
pʰia	Unmarked	Beneficiary
ɲampo	Unmarked	Accompaniment
ʒaste	Genitive	Reason
dun-la	Genitive	Goal
rgjab-la	Genitive	Location
naŋ-a	Genitive	Innerlocation
laga	Genitive	Possession
ka	Genitive	Location
ka-na	Genitive	Source
ɲampo	Ablative	Instrumental

(44) Postpositional Phrases containing postpositions succeeding unmarked NP (in angled brackets "[PP]")

a. *ame* *[PPʈʰugu* *pʰia]* *pʰaʈiŋ* *ɲose* *taŋs*
ama-e [PPʈʰugu pʰia] pʰaʈiŋ ɲo-ste taŋ-s
mother-ERG child for apricot buy-CNJP give-PFV.DIR
'The mother bought the apricot for the child.'

b. *ame* *tsʰon* *[PPrtsikpaa* *skutʃas* *pʰia]* *tʃʰoŋse* *inok*
ama-e tsʰon [PPrtsikpa-a sku-tʃas pʰia] tʃʰoŋ-ste in-og
mother-ERG paint wall-DAT apply-INF for bring-CNJP EQ-INFR
'The mother brought the paint for the wall.'

c. *ama* *[PPaba* *ɲampo]* *ʈʰoma* *soŋstok*
ama [PPaba ɲampo] ʈʰom-a soŋ-s-tog
mother father with market-DAT went-PFV-INFR
'The mother went to the market with the father.'

(45) Postpositional Phrases containing postpositions succeeding genitive case marked NP

a. *[PPmej* *ʒaste]* *lam* *gakstok*
[PPme-i ʒaste] lam gag-s-tog
fire-GEN because road block.INTR-PST-INFR
'The road was blocked because of the fire.'

b. *[PPstenzini* *ʒaste]* *ʈʰugu* *ʃistok*
[PPstenzin-i ʒaste] ʈʰugu ʃi-s-tog
Stenzin-GEN because child die-PFV-INFR
'Because of Stenzin, the child died.'

c. *ama* *[PPʈʰuguj* *dunla]* *soŋ*
ama [PPʈʰugu-i dun-la] soŋ
mother child-GEN front-LOC went
'The mother went to the child.'

d. *[PPk^haŋpe rgjabla] ts^has duk*
[PPk^haŋpa-i rgjab-la] ts^has dug
house-GEN back-LOC garden EX.VIS
'There is a garden behind the house.'

e. *$ʈ^h$ugu [PPk^haŋpe naŋa] jot*
$ʈ^h$ugu [PPk^haŋpa-i naŋ-a] jod
child house-GEN inside-DAT EX.ASSUM
'The child is in the house.'

f. *[PP$ʈ^h$ugui laga] p^haʈiŋ jot*
[PP$ʈ^h$ugu-i lag-a] p^haʈiŋ jot
child-GEN hand-DAT apricot EX.ASSUM
'The child has an apricot.'

g. *ʧipa [PPlʧaŋme ka] duk*
ʧipa [PPlʧaŋma-i ka] dug
bird tree-GEN on EX.VIS
'The bird is on the tree.'

h. *p^haʈiŋ [PPlʧaŋme kane] buts*
p^haʈiŋ [PPlʧaŋma-i ka-ne] bud-s
apricot tree-GEN on-ABL fall-PFV.DIR
'The apricot fell from the tree.'

i. *ame [PPabe kana] p^haʈiŋ k^hertok*
ama-e [PPaba-i ka-na] p^haʈiŋ k^her-s-tog
mother-ERG father-GEN on-ABL apricot take-PFV-INFR
'The mother took the apricot from the father.'

(46) Postpositional Phrases containing postpositions succeeding ablative case marked NP

a. *ʈʰugue pʰaʈiŋ [PPɖina ɲampo] ʧattok*
ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ [PPɖi-na ɲampo] ʧat-s-tog
child-ERG apricot knife-ABL with cut-PFV-INFR
'The child cut the apricot with the knife.'

b. *ɲe a [PPɲuguna ɲampo] ige ɖispin*
ŋa-e a [PPɲugu-na ɲampo] ige ɖi-s-pin
1.SG-ERG that pen-ABL with letter write-PFV-PST
'I wrote the letter with that pen.'

2.6 VERBS, VERB MORPHOLOGY AND THE EVIDENTIAL SYSTEM

Verbs in Ladakhi are those words that take verbal suffixes such as tense/aspect, mood, and certain non-finite verb markers. The morphology of the verb component is discussed in the following subsection, whereas the copulas and main verbs in Ladakhi will be elaborated in section 2.8, as the verbs in Ladakhi lack agreement but possess a sophisticated evidential system.

2.6.1 Morphology of the Verb Component

In Ladakhi, the inflected verb component (designated as "[V]" in (20) above) always occurs at the sentence-final position in unmarked utterances. The verb carries the inflectional information for Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) features. The structure of the Ladakhi verb component is given in Figure 2.4 as follows (hyphen represents the morpheme boundary and parentheses represent optionality):

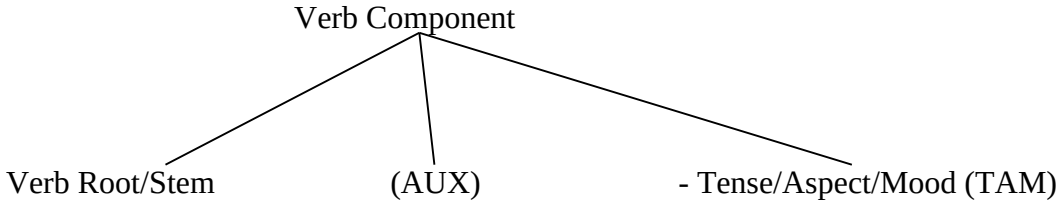


Fig. 2.4 Structure of the Verb Component

The inflected verb consists of a verb root and one or more suffixes bearing information on Tense, Aspect and Mood. The auxiliary verb (AUX) is present if the main verb is in the non-finite or infinitive form. The non-finite form of the main verb consists of a verb root followed by a conjunctive participle *-ste ~ -se ~ -te* , whereas the infinitive is constructed by suffixing the infinitive marker *-ʧas ~ -ʧes.* The auxiliary follows the main verb and is inflected for Tense, Aspect and Mood. There is a complete lack of agreement of the verb either with the subject or the object, except in the imperative form where a number distinction is maintained. Consider example (47) for illustration of the structure of the verb component:

(47)

a.	*daŋ*	*kʰo*	*rgoddukpin*
	daŋ	kʰo	rgod-duk-pin
	yesterday	3SG	laugh-PROG.VIS-PST
	‘(S)he was laughing yesterday.’		

b.	*ŋa*	*lena*	*joŋse*	*in*
	ŋa	le-na	joŋ-se	in
	1SG	Leh-ABL	come-CNJP	EQ
	‘I am coming from Leh.’			

2.6.2 Composition of Verb Stem

The verb component may be composed of a main verb (simple verbs), or a noun plus verb (complex verbs). This is consistent with the areal typology of the language.

2.6.2.1 Simple Verbal Stem

Simple verbal stems are monosyllabic roots. They may consist of an open syllable like *pʰi-* ‘(to) wipe’, *ɖi-* ‘(to) write’, *ʈʰu-* ‘(to) wash’ etc. or of a closed syllable like *zum-* ‘(to) hold’, *joŋ-* ‘(to) come’, *dug-* ‘(to) sit/stay’ etc.

2.6.2.2 Complex Verbal Stem

Complex verbal stems are composed of two elements. The first element may be a noun or adjective and the second one a verbal root. Examples of Noun+Verb stem are given in (60) and that of Adjectives+Verb stems are provided in (61) below:

(48) Noun + Verb

a. *lu* *taŋ-*
song give
‘(To) sing’

b. *uks* *len-*
breath take
‘(To) breathe’

c. *so* *tap-*
tooth cast
‘(To) bite’

d. *ɲit* *taŋ-*
sleep give
‘(To) sleep’

e. *las* *ʧo-*
work do
‘(To) work’

(49) Adjective + Verb

a. *rtsokpo* *ʧo-*
bad do
‘(To) spoil’

b. *gjala* *ʧo-*
good do
‘(To) make better’

c. *nakpo* *ʧo-*
black do
‘(To) blacken’

2.6.3 Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM)

According to Payne (1997:233), "Tense, Aspect and mood (TAM for short) are operations that anchor the information expressed in a clause according to its sequential, temporal, or epistemological orientation. Tense is associated with the sequence of events in real-time, aspect with the internal temporal 'structure' of a situation, while mood relates the speaker's attitude towards the situation or the speaker's commitment to the probability that the situation is true." TAM in Ladakhi are discussed in detail in the subsection provided below.

2.6.3.1 Tense

Ladakhi primarily distinguishes two tense forms, the past and non-past. Past tense is marked by the suffix *-pin* while the non-past is unmarked. Present and future are distinguished either by mood markers or by the use of adverbials. Consider the examples in (50) with a copula construction and (51) with a main verb construction to illustrate the two tenses in Ladakhi:

(50) Copula constructions.

a.	*ŋa*	*liŋspa*	*in*
	ŋa	liŋspa	in
	1SG	hunter	EQ
	'I am a hunter.'		

b.	*ŋa*	*liŋspa*	*inpin*
	ŋa	liŋspa	in-pin
	1SG	hunter	EQ-PST
	'I was a hunter.'		

(51) Full verb constructions.

a.	kʰo	daksa	rgodduk
	kʰo	daksa	rgod-dug
	3SG	now	laugh-IPFV.VIS
	'(S)he is laughing now.'		

b.	kʰo	daŋ	rgoddukpin
	kʰo	daŋ	rgod-dug-pin
	3SG	yesterday	laugh-IPFV.VIS-PST
	'(S)he was laughing yesterday.'		

2.6.3.2 Aspect

Ladakhi possesses several aspects forms. Some of these forms are discussed below:

Perfective aspect:

Perfective aspect is marked by the suffix *-s* to the verb stem.[18] The perfect form of the verb root *tʃʰa-* 'go' is *soŋ-*, a case of suppletion seen in many languages of the word for this very commonly used verb. The perfective marker *-s* does not appear with the verb root *tʃʰa-* except when followed by an inferred evidential mood form *-tok* as can be noticed from example (54). Another example in which the perfective verb stem differs from its non- perfective counterpart is the verb *za-tʃas* 'to eat', which is not a case of suppletion. The verb root *za-* changes to *zo-* in the perfective aspect. Consider the examples in (52)- (54) to illustrate the distinction between the perfective and non- perfective aspects in the past tense in Ladakhi:

(52) Verb root *got-*

a.	*kʰo*	*daŋ*	*rgots*
	kʰo	daŋ	rgod-s
	3SG	yesterday	laugh-PFV.DIR
	'(S)he laughed yesterday.'		

b.	*kʰo*	*daŋ*	*rgoddukpin*
	kʰo	daŋ	rgod-dug-pin
	3SG	yesterday	laugh-IPFV.VIS-PST
	'(S)he was laughing yesterday.'		

(53) Verb root *za-*

a.	*kʰeraŋ*	*daŋ*	*pʰaʈiŋ*	*zos*
	kʰeraŋ	daŋ	pʰaʈiŋ	zo-s
	2SG	yesterday	apricot	eat.PFV-PFV
	'You ate an apricot yesterday.'			

[18] In Gurmet's speech, this suffix always deletes after the stems ending in [+coronal,+anterior] consonants i.e. *r, l, t* and *n*. This phenomenon is also verified by Koshal's (1979:200) remarks on this deletion issue in which she mentions that the suffix *–s* is optional after stems ending the above mentioned consonants. However, in Angmo's speech we did not report any case of such deletion and according to her this case is observed in people speaking Leh dialect, the one in which Koshal elicited her data. This resonates with the fact that even though Gurmet reports himself as a Shamma, the town he hails from, Basgo, is very close to Leh city (roughly 30 kilometers). So, his Sham dialect (Eastern Sham) seems to be linguistically very close to the Leh dialect whereas Angmo belongs to the far western part of the Sham speaking region, around 30 kilometers from Kargil city, the center of Purik language.

b. *kʰeraŋe* *daŋ* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zarukpin*
kʰeraŋe daŋ pʰaʈiŋ za-dug-pin
2SG-ERG yesterday apricot eat-IPFV.VIS-PST
'You were eating an apricot yesterday.'

(54) Verb root *kʰa-*

a. *ama* *le* *ʈʰoma* *soŋ*
ama le ʈʰom-a soŋ
mother h market-DAT went
'Mother went to the market.'

b. *ama* *le* *ʈʰoma* *tʃʰarukpin*
ama le ʈʰom-a tʃʰa-dug-pin
mother h market-DAT go-IPFV.VIS-PST
'Mother was going to the market.'

Imperfective aspect:

Imperfective aspect in Ladakhi is marked by the suffix *-duk* or *-at~ -et* to the verb stem. The suffix *-duk* is a grammaticalized form of the verb *-duk* '(to) stay/sit', also *duk* is a copula too in Ladakhi which will be discussed in the section of copulas; whereas the suffix *-at~ -et* is a grammaticalized form of the existential copula *jot.* The use of two different suffixes for the same aspect marking is because of the phenomenon of evidentiality found in Ladakhi, which will be discussed in detail in the section of 'Evidential System in Ladakhi'. In Sham variety, the progressive aspect is marked by the *-in ~ -en* marker (which distinguishes the imperfective markers), which directly attaches to the verb root and is followed by mood and markers. Consider the examples in (55), (56) and (57) in the past tense and (58) in the non-past tense as illustrations of the imperfective aspect in Ladakhi:

(55) Verb root *rgod-* marked by the imperfective marker *-duk* in the Past tense.

a. *kʰo* *daŋ* *rgots*
kʰo daŋ rgod-s
3SG yesterday laugh-PFV.DIR
'(S)he laughed yesterday.'

b. *kʰo* *daŋ* *rgoddukpin*
kʰo daŋ rgod-dug-pin
3SG yesterday laugh-IPFV.VIS-PST
‘(S)he was laughing yesterday.’

(56) Verb root *rgod-* marked by the imperfective marker *-at* in the Past tense.

a. *ŋa* *daŋ* *rgotspin*
ŋa daŋ rgod-s-pin
1SG yesterday laugh-PFV-PST
‘I laughed yesterday.’

b. *ŋa* *daŋ* *rgodatpin*
ŋa daŋ rgod-ad-pin
1SG yesterday laugh-IPFV.PST-PST
‘I was laughing yesterday.’

(57) Verb root *rgot-* marked by the imperfective marker *–in* in the Past tense.

a. *kʰo* *daŋ* *rgodin* *dukpin*
kʰo daŋ rgod-in dug-pin
3SG yesterday laugh-PROG EX.VIS-PST
‘(S)he was laughing yesterday.’

b. *ŋa* *daŋ* *rgodin* *jotpin*
ŋa daŋ rgod-in jod-pin
1SG yesterday laugh-PROG EX.ASSUM-PST
‘I was laughing yesterday.’

(58) Verb root *rgot-* marked by the imperfective markers *-in* in the Present tense.

a. *kʰo* *rgodduk*
kʰo rgod-dug
3SG laugh-VIS
‘(S)he laughs.’

b. *kʰo* *daksa* *rgodin* *duk*
kʰo daksa rgod-in dug
3SG now laugh-PROG EX.VIS
'(S)he is laughing now.'

c. *ŋa* *rgodat*
ŋa rgodat
1SG laugh-PST.EGO
'I laugh.'

d. *ŋa* *daksa* *rgodin* *jot*
ŋa daksa rgod-in jod
1SG now laugh-PROG EX.ASSUM
'I am laughing now.'

2.6.3.3 Mood

Ladakhi has several mood forms. As mentioned by Payne (1997:245), mood interacts signifiacntly with aspect and tense, we find similar interactions in Ladakhi. In this section of mood, only the imperative mood will be discussed as it does not interfere with the evidential system, whereas the other mood forms are tightly wrapped up with evidentiality and will be discussed in the next section.

Imperatives:

In Ladakhi, imperatives are formed by adding the imperative suffix *-s* to most of the vowel ending verb stem, while a zero allomorph is added to the consonant ending stems. For a small number of vowel ending stems like *za-* 'eat' etc., the verb root vowel *a* is changed to *o.* Consider data in (59) as follows:

(59)

a. *ʈʃoktse* *pʰis*
ʈʃoktse pʰi-s
table wipe-IMP
'Wipe the table.'

b. *ʧʰu* *tsapik* *tʰuŋ*
water little drink\IMP
'Drink little water.'

c. *soŋ* *kʰo* *ɲampo* *jaŋspa* *rtses*
soŋ kʰo ɲampo jaŋspa rtse-s
go\IMP 3.SG with game play-IMP
'Go, play a game with her.'

d. *pʰaʈiŋ* *zos*
pʰaʈiŋ zo-s
apricot eat-IMP.
'Eat the apricot.'

e. *ibo* *zumste* *duk*
i-bo zum-ste dug
this-DEF hold-CNJP stay\IMP
'Keep on holding this.'

f. *kuʃik* *toŋ*
kuʃu-ʒik toŋ
apple-INDEF eat\IMP
'Give some apples.'

Prohibitives or Negative Imperatives:

Negative Imperatives (Imperatives of Prohibition) follow the same pattern, except for the fact that the imperative suffix *-s* which attaches to most of the vowel ending verb stems is absent and only the negative prefix *ma-* is attached to the verb stem. Consider data in (60) as follows:

(60)

a. *ʈʃoktse* *mapʰi*
ʈʃoktse ma-pʰi
table NEG-wipe\IMP
'Do not wipe the table.'

b. *tʃʰu* *matʰuŋ*
tʃʰu ma-tʰuŋ
water NEG-drink\IMP
'Don't drink water.'

c. *kʰo* *ɲampo* *jaŋspa* *martse*
kʰo ɲampo jaŋspa ma-rtse-Ø
3.SG with game NEG-play\IMP
'Don't play a game with her.'

d. *pʰaʈiŋ* *maza*
pʰaʈiŋ ma-za
apricot NEG-eat\IMP
'Do not eat the apricot.'

2.6.4 Valency Changing Operations

Every language has operations that adjust the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations in clauses. Ladakhi too evidences valency change operations. Valency adjusting operations are grouped into Valency increasing operations and Valency decreasing operations. Valency increasing operations include causatives, applicatives, possessor raising. Valency decreasing operations include reflexives, reciprocals, middles, subject omission, passives, inverses, object omission, antipassives, object demotion, object incorporation. Out of all these operations, we were able to discover few valency adjusting operations in the Ladakhi language.

2.6.4.1 Causatives

Causatives increase the valency of non-causative verbs by one. Two types of causatives have been observed in Ladakhi language data.

A. Lexical Causatives

Lexical causatives are the verbs that possess the notion of cause in itself. In example (61)-a, *za-ʧas* is a non-causative verb meaning 'to eat'. The causative form *of za-ʧas* has been expressed with a completely different verb *ster-ʧas,* which means 'feed' (see example (61-b).

(61)

a. *ʈʰugue* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zos* (Valency:2)
ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ za-s
child-ERG apricot eat-PFV.DIR
'The child ate the apricot.'

b. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *sters* (Valency:3)
ama-e ʈʰugu-a pʰaʈiŋ ster-s
mother-ERG child-DAT apricot feed-PFV.DIR
'The mother fed the child an apricot.'

B. Morphological Causatives

Morphological causatives involve a productive change in the form of the verb. It is rule-based causation where a morpheme can be added/removed to change a non-causative verb into a causative verb. In Ladakhi, we came across one such morpheme that seems responsible for changing non-causative verbs into causative verbs. There is a possibility of finding more such morphemes; however, we need more insight into the language to discover that. In Ladakhi -*ʈʃuk* is marked as a causativizer. Examples of morphological causatives are given in (62)-(64).

(62)

a. *ʈʰugue* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zos* (Valency:2)
ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ za-s
child-ERG apricot eat-PFV.DIR
'The child ate the apricot.'

b. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zatʃuks* (Valency:3)
ama-e ʈʰugu-a pʰaʈiŋ zatʃuk-s
mother-ERG child-DAT apricot eat-CAUS-PFV.DIR
'The mother made the child eat the apricot.'

(63)

a. *ɲe* *ɻa* *skamstok* (Valency:1)
ɲa-i ɻa skam-s-tog
1SG-GEN hair dry-PFV-INFR
'My hair dried.'

b.	*stenzine*	*ɲe*	*r̥a*	*skamtʃuks*	(Valency:2)
	stenzin-e	ɲa-i	r̥a	skam-tʃuk-s	
	Stenzin-ERG	1SG-GEN	hair	dry-CAUS-PFV.DIR	
	‘Stenzin dried my hair.’				

(64)

a.	*ʈʰugu*	*rgots*	(Valency:1)
	ʈʰugu	rgod-s	
	child	laugh-PFV.DIR	
	‘The child laughed.’		

b.	*ɲe*	*ʈʰugua*	*rgottʃukspin*	(Valency:2)
	ɲa-e	ʈʰugu-a	rgod-tʃuk-s-pin	
	1SG-ERG	child-DAT	laugh-CAUS-PFV-PST	
	‘I made the child laugh’			

2.6.4.2 Reflexives and Reciprocals

Reflexives and reciprocals are valency decreasing operations.

A. Reflexives

Ladakhi has analytical reflexives, which are indicated by the reflexive suffix *-raŋ*. This suffix attaches to the pronoun to convert it into a reflexive pronoun, but the original pronoun remains at the subject position taking the ergative case, whereas the reflexive pronoun takes the object position. The verb still remains transitive. This is illustrated in examples provided in (65). In the case of plural pronouns, as evident from (65-b), the reflexive suffix *-raŋ* attaches to the object NP before the plural suffix. The reflexive pronoun is homophonous to the second person intimate pronoun. In all forms of the second person pronoun, *raŋ* being part of those forms (e.g., *raŋ*, *kʰeraŋ* and *ɲeraŋ*) when the second person pronoun is used in the reflexive construction, the reflexive suffix deleted, as can be observed from (65-e), while (65-f) is ungrammatical.

(65)

a.	*kʰoe*	*kʰoraŋa*	*meloŋe*	*naŋa*	*ltastok*
	kʰo-e	kʰo-raŋ-a	meloŋ-i	naŋ-a	lta-s-tog
	1SG-ERG	3SG.-REFL-DAT	mirror-GEN	inside-DAT	look-PFV-INFR
	‘He saw himself in the mirror.’				

b.	*kʰokune*	*kʰoraŋkuna*	*meloŋe*	*naŋa*	*ltastok*
	kʰo-kun-e	kʰo-raŋ-kun-a	meloŋ-i	naŋ-a	lta-s-tog
	3-PL-ERG	3-PL-REFL-DAT	mirror-GEN	inside-DAT	look-PFV-INFR
	‘They saw themselves in the mirror.’				

c.	*ɲe*	*ŋaraŋa*	*meloŋe*	*naŋa*	*ltaspin*
	ŋa-e	ŋa-raŋ-a	meloŋ-i	naŋ-a	lta-s-pin
	1SG-ERG	1SG-REFL-DAT	mirror-GEN	inside-DAT	look-PFV-PST
	‘I saw myself in the mirror.’				

d.	*ŋataŋ*	*ŋataŋraŋa*	*meloŋe*	*naŋa*	*ltaskjak*
	ŋataŋ-e	ŋataŋ-raŋ-a	meloŋ-i	naŋ-a	lta-s-kjak
	1PL.INCL-ERG	1PL-REFL-DAT	mirror-GEN	inside-DAT	look-PFV-NARR
	‘We (incl.) saw ourselves in the mirror.’				

e.	*raŋe*	*raŋa*	*meloŋe*	*naŋa*	*ltastoglo*
	raŋ-e	raŋ-a	meloŋ-i	naŋ-a	lta-s-tog-lo
	2SG-ERG	2SG-DAT	mirror-GEN	inside-DAT	look-PFV-INFR-QUOT
	‘(It was said that) You saw yourself in the mirror.’				

f.	**raŋe*	*raŋraŋa*	*meloŋe*	*naŋa*	*ltastoglo*
	raŋ-e	raŋ-raŋ-a	meloŋ-i	naŋ-a	lta-s-tog-lo
	2SG-ERG	2SG-REFL-DAT	mirror-GEN	inside-DAT	look-PFV-INFR-QUOT
	‘(It was said that) You saw yourself in the mirror.’				

g.	*raŋkune*	*raŋkuna*	*meloŋe*	*naŋa*	*ltastoglo*
	raŋ-kun-e	raŋ-kun-a	meloŋ-i	naŋ-a	lta-s-tog-lo
	2-PL-ERG	2-PL-DAT	mirror-GEN	inside-DAT	look-PFV-INFR-QUOT
	‘(It was said that) You all saw yourself in the mirror.’				

B. Reciprocals

There is a slight difference between reflexives and reciprocals. In reflexives, there is only one participant involved in action; however, two participants function in the same way upon each other in reciprocals. Ladakhi has an analytical reciprocal *ɲiska*, see example (66):

(66) *stanzin* *naŋ* *dʒigmet* *ɲiska* *dillia* *tʰukstok*
stanzin naŋ dʒigmed ɲiska dilli-a tʰug-s-tog
Stanzin and Jigmet both Delhi-LOC meet-PFV-INFR
'Stanzin and Jigmet met each other in Delhi.' (Lit.: S and J both met in Delhi.)

2.6.4.3 Passives

Passivization is a valency decreasing operation that reduces the valency of a verb by one converting a transitive verb into intransitive or a ditransitive verb into transitive. Ladakhi has no true passives. Here in example (67) passivization is actually scrambling/topicalization as the subject is still getting ergative case *-e* on it, whereas the object gets marked with the definiteness marker *-bo.* The verb does not lose any of its transitive features.

(67) *pʰaʈiŋbo* *ʈʰugue* *zostok*
pʰaʈiŋ-bo ʈʰugu-e za-s-tog
apricot-DEF child-ERG eat-PFV-INFR
'An apricot was eaten by the child.'

2.6.5 The Evidential System of Ladakhi

As mentioned earlier, there is a complete lack of agreement of any kind in Ladakhi. Unlike most of the world's languages and like other Tibetic languages, Ladakhi verb does not inflect either for Person, Number, or Gender. Rather it inflects for a category which scholars have recently called 'evidentiality'.

2.6.5.1 Evidentiality: An Overview

Aikhenvald (2005:1) defines evidentiality as "In about a quarter of the world's languages, every statement must specify the type of source on which it is based—for example, whether the speaker saw it, or heard it, or inferred it from indirect evidence, or learned it from someone else. This grammatical category, whose primary meaning is an information source, is called 'evidentiality'". Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) suggest the inclusion of the speaker's 'access to information' in addition to its 'source'. According to them, evidentiality is "representation of the source and access to information according to the speaker's perspective and strategy" (Tournadre and LaPolla 2014:240).

DeLancey (2018:2), discussing the origin and establishment of the evidential system in modern Tibetic languages, says, "Evidentiality is not a feature of Classical Tibetan grammar. All the modern languages have some grammaticalized evidential constructions, and almost all

(except for Balti) have a complicated system in which typical evidential categories such as inferential interact with the very unusual system of grammaticalized knowledge category. But forms in these systems are often not cognate, and combined with the lack of evidence for evidentiality in older stages of the written language; this tells us that the modern systems represent a recent development, so that its prevalence across the family represents horizontal spread rather than common inheritance." Koshal (1979:184) in her work on Ladakhi grammar, terms this phenomenon as 'orientation' and opines, "A Ladakhi speaker's world view is different from that of the speakers of the other major Indian languages. He categorizes his experience and the world around him in a manner which is different from that of other Indian language speakers and also expresses it differently. A Ladakhi verb form thus expresses several features of his orientation towards an action." Further, she discusses the speaker's commitment or involvement in the action being an important semantic component. "Thus, the speaker's witnessing the action or not, his knowledge of the same or otherwise (direct, indirect etc.), his uncertainty or otherwise about the veracity of the action etc. are also conveyed by the verb forms…The fact that the speaker himself feels or experiences something or reports on someone else's action is also distinguished in Ladakhi, so is the fact that something appears to be 'X' is marked explicitly and differently in Ladakhi verbs. This semantic distinction is termed as 'orientation' in this study." (Koshal 1979:184,185)

2.6.5.2 Evidentiality: The System and its Functioning in Ladakhi

Evidentiality systems vary in terms of the number of information sources encoded and how they are marked. Aikhenvald (2005:63-64) discusses that the semantic parameters employed in languages with grammatical evidentiality cover physical senses and several inference types and reports. The recurrent semantic parameters relevant to and adapted by Ladakhi include:

I. VISUAL which covers evidence acquired through seeing;

II. SENSORY which covers evidence through touch, and is typically extended to hearing, and seldom also to smell and taste;

III. INFERENCE based on visible or tangible evidence or result;

IV. ASSUMPTION based on evidence other than testimonial results: this may include logical reasoning, assumption, or merely general knowledge;

V. PERFORMATIVE based on the thorough knowledge of the performance of an act by the speaker himself;

VI. QUOTATIVE, for reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source.

In the next sections of copulas and main verbs in Ladakhi, I will discuss how this set of evidentials function in the language.

2.6.5.3 The Copulas of Ladakhi

Ladakhi is exceptionally rich in copulas and has four different copulas, out of which one is an equative copula while the rest three are existential copulas. The three existential copulas *jot, duk* and *rak* differ in their evidential encodings, while the single equative copula does not convey any evidential notion.

A. The Existential Copulas *jot, duk* and *rak*

The three existential copulas *jot, duk* and *rak* consistently exhibit the assumptive (factual), visual testimonial and sensory (non-visual) testimonial functions respectively to reflect generalized inductive and deductive inferences. All of the three existentials *jot, duk* and *rak* as well as the suffixes containing them, are construed from the perspective of an 'informant' that corresponds to the speaker in a statement, the addressee in a question, and any reported speaker (or thinker).

Now, I will discuss the use of these copulas in copula constructions such as predicate adjectives and predicate locatives. The essential syntactic functions of these existential copulas are: in (69) below to locate entity/entities at a particular place or to indicate their existence (*oma* 'milk', here specifying its quantity by *maŋpo* 'a lot') at a specific place (*zaŋbui naŋa* 'in the pot'), and in (68), they attribute a quality (*rompo* 'fat') to an entity (*kʰo* '(S)he').

(68) is an example of predicate adjective construction with the three different copulas *jot, duk* and *rak.* Here, the speaker wishes to describe a third person's physical appearance/ characteristics to an addressee. *jot* is used when the speaker beforehand knows that the person is fat, or we can say the speaker's personal knowledge about the referred person is expressed. *duk* on the other hand, is used by the speaker when he/she has directly witnessed the referred person by his/her eyes and then reports about him/her being fat. *rak,* interestingly, is used by the speaker when he/she has directly witnessed the referred person not by visual means but by sensory means. Like suppose a blind person who cannot see touches and feels his daughter and then reports to someone about her being fat, he will use the copula *rak.* It can also be used in a

dark room where there is no scope of vision, and the speaker touches or feels a person or an animal and then expresses his/her views about his/her/its physical characteristics (here fatness).

(68)	*kʰo*	*rompo*	*jot*	/	*duk*	/	*rak*
	kʰo	rompo	jod	/	dug	/	rag
	3.SG	fat	EX.ASSUM	/	EX.VIS	/	EX.SENS

'(I know/ saw/ feel that) (S)he is fat.'

Likewise, consider example (69), an example of a predicate locative construction with the three different copulas *jot, duk* and *rak* used. In this case, the speaker informs the addressee about the quantity of milk present in a pot with a lid. *jot* is used when the speaker beforehand knows that there is much milk in the pot, or we can say the speaker's personal knowledge about the quantity of milk contained in the pot is expressed. The speaker uses *rak* if he/she has lifts the pot (suppose the lid is intact for some reason or in a dark room where the level of the milk is not visible, or simply when a blind person reports) directly witnessing its physical property (in this case the weight of the pot) by sensory means rather than visual and reports to someone about the pot containing a lot of milk because it being heavy. *duk*, on the other hand, is used by the speaker when he/she lifts the lid (or switches on the light in case of a dark room scenario) and sees the level of milk in the pot thereby reports about the pot containing a lot of milk.

(69)	*zaŋbui*	*naŋa*	*oma*	*maŋpo*	*jot*	/	*duk*	/	rak
	zaŋbu-i	naŋ-a	oma	maŋpo	jod	/	dug	/	rag
	pot-GEN	inside-LOC	milk	lot	EX.ASSUM	/	EX.VIS	/	EX.SENS

'There is a lot of milk in the pot (I know/ I saw/ I can feel).'

From the above examples (68) and (69), it is clearly evident that *jot* indicates that the informant, who is a speaker in both of these cases, is aware of the profiled present state and does not depend on recent direct evidence. On the other hand, *duk* and *rak* indicate that the informant/speaker recently directly witnessed the profiled present state where *duk* indicates direct visual witness and *rak* indicating direct sensory witness.

B. The Equative Copula *in*

The equative copula *in* of Ladakhi expresses the notions of proper inclusion as well as equation. Consider example (70) for proper inclusion and example (71) for equation:

(70) *ŋa* *liŋspa* *in*
1SG hunter EQ
‘I am a hunter.’

(71) *kʰoŋ* *ɲe* *aba* *in*
kʰoŋ ŋa-i aba in
3SG.HON 1SG-GEN father EQ
‘He is my father.’

Chapter 3: Interrogation

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with interrogation in Ladakhi. Question formation in Ladakhi is representative of its areal typology in the sense that the Wh-questions are formed *in situ,* and no word order changes or inversions are involved either in the formation of yes/no-questions or in that of Wh-questions.

3.1 TYPES OF INTERROGATIVES

Interrogatives or question forms basically fall into two major classes depending on their syntactic and semantic properties. Those two categories can be identified as Yes/No type of questions and descriptive questions. Yes/no questions expect answers to be either yes or no, and on the other hand, descriptive questions seek an answer more than yes or no. Generally, the answer to such a question is in the form of declarative sentences. We will discuss both the interrogative forms and some others in this chapter.

3.1.1 Wh-questions

As mentioned earlier, Ladakhi is a Wh *in situ* language. No interrogation marking is present on the verb, and the question word is the only bearer of interrogation. Following are the Wh-questions sentences observed in Ladakhi language with analysis along with their assertive sentences provided first. The sentences are arranged and classified by the question words they use along with the respective case markers (and/or postpositions if any) as follows:

3.1.1.1 Question Word: *ʧi*

ʧi in Ladakhi means 'what', and it is used to question the inanimate theme. To question the plural subject, the question word *ʧi* is reduplicated, a shared areal feature of the South-Asian languages. Refer to Table 3.1 given below for illustration:

Table 3.1 Question word ***ʧi***

Sg. Q-form	**Used to question**	**Case assigned**	**English gloss**	**Plural Q-form**	**English gloss**
ʧi	Inanimate theme	Unmarked	what	*ʧi*	what all
ʧi-a	Reason of an event/action	Accusative	why	-	-
ʧi pʰia	Reason of an event/action as well as inanimate beneficiary	Unmarked + PP	why (Lit. 'what for')	-	-
ʧi-i naŋa	Location of containment or presence	Genitive + PP	where (Lit. 'what in')	*ʧi naŋ-a*	where all
ʧi-na ɲampo	Instrument	Ablative + PP	with what	*ʧi ʧi-na ɲampo*	with what all

This question word is used in the language to question the inanimate theme as in (1), (2) and (3):

(1)

a. *pʰaʈiŋ* *buts*
pʰaʈiŋ bud-s
apricot fall-PFV.DIR
'The apricot fell.

b. *ʧi* *buts*
tʃi bud-s
what fall-PFV.DIR
'What fell?'

c. *ʧi* *ʧi* *buts*

ʧi ʧi bud-s

what what fall-PFV.DIR

‘What all fell?’

(2)

a. *ɲe* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zospin*

ŋa-e pʰaʈiŋ zo-s-pin

I-ERG apricot eat.PFV-PFV.PST

‘I ate the apricot.’

b. *ɲe* *ʧi* *zospin*

ŋa-e ʧi zo-s-pin

I-ERG what eat.PFV-PFV.PST

‘What did I eat?

c. *ɲe* *ʧi* *ʧi* *zospin*

ŋa-e ʧi ʧi zo-s-pin

I-ERG what what eat.PFV-PFV.PST

‘What all did I eat?

(3)

a. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *taŋstok*

ama-e ʈʰugu-a pʰaʈiŋ taŋ-s-tog

mother-ERG child-DAT apricot give-PFV-INFR

‘The mother gave the apricot to the child.’

b. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *ʧi* *taŋstok*

ama-e ʈʰugu-a ʧi taŋ-s-tog

mother-ERG child-DAT what give-PFV-INFR

‘What did the mother give the child?’

c.	*ame*	*ʈʰugua*	*ʧi*	*ʧi*	*taŋstok*
	ama-e	ʈʰugu-a	ʧi	ʧi	taŋ-s-tog
	mother-ERG	child-DAT	what	what	give-PFV-INFR

'What all did the mother give the child?'

This question word is used to question the reason of an event or an action as in (4) in which the dative (non-agentive) marker *-a* is attached to the question word *ʧi* which gives the sense of 'why' to the resultant form.

(4)	*ʈʰugue*	*ʧia*	*pʰaʈiŋ*	*zostok*
	ʈʰugu-e	ʧi-a	pʰaʈiŋ	za-s-tog
	child-ERG	what-DAT	apricot	eat-PFV-INFR

'Why did the child eat the apricot?'

In Ladakhi, the question word *ʧi* followed by *pʰia* literally 'for what (reason/purpose)' is also used to question the reason of an event or an action as represented in example (5):

(5)	*ʤigmet*	*ʧi*	*pʰia*	*tʰatte*	*duk*
	ʤigmed	ʧi	pʰia	tʰat-te	dug
	Jigmet	what	for	please.INTR-CNJP	EX.VIS

'Why is Jigmet pleased/ happy?'

However, this question form *ʧi + pʰia* is only used to question the reason, as we can infer from (6-c) since it is grammatical, rather than the inanimate theme, (6-b) being ungrammatical.

(6)

a.	*ame*	*tsʰon*	*ʧi*	*pʰia*	*ʧʰoŋse*	*inok*
	ama-e	tsʰon	ʧi	pʰia	ʧʰoŋ-se	in-og
	mother-ERG	paint	what	for	bring-CNJP	EQ-INFR

'What did the mother bring the paint for?'

b.	**ame*	*tsʰon*	*rtsikpaa*	*pʰia*	*ʧʰoŋse*	*inok*
	ama-e	tsʰon	rtsikpa-a	pʰia	ʧʰoŋ-se	in-og
	mother-ERG	paint	wall-LOC	for	bring-CNJP	EQ-INFR

'The mother brought the paint for the wall.'

c.	*ame*	*tsʰon*	*tsikpaa*	*skutʃas*	*pʰia*	*tʃʰoŋse*	*inok*
	ama-e	tsʰon	tsikpa-a	sku-tʃas	pʰia	tʃʰoŋ-se	in-og
	mother-ERG	paint	wall-LOC	paint-INF	for	bring-CNJP	EQ-INFR

‘The mother brought the paint to paint the wall (/for the wall).’

The question word *tʃi-* when case marked by the genitive case marker followed by the postposition *naŋ-a* is used to question the location of containment or presence of the theme as shown in (7):

(7)

d.	*zaŋbui*	*naŋa*	*oma*	*duk*
	zaŋbu-i	naŋ-a	oma	dug
	pot-GEN	inside-DAT	milk	EX.VIS

‘There is milk in the pot.’

e.	*tʃii*	*naŋa*	*oma*	*duk*
	tʃi-i	naŋ-a	oma	dug
	what-GEN	inside-DAT	milk	EX.VIS

‘Where is the milk?’ (Lit.: In what is the milk?)

f.	*tʃi*	*tʃii*	*naŋa*	*oma*	*duk*
	tʃi	tʃi-i	naŋ-a	oma	dug
	what	what-GEN	inside-DAT	milk	EX.VIS

‘Where (all) is the milk?’ (Lit.: In what all is the milk?)

The question word *tʃi-* when case marked by the ablative case marker *-na* followed by the postposition *ɲampo* is used to question the instrument as can be seen in (8):

(8)

g.	*ʈʰugue*	*pʰaʈiŋ*	*ɖina*	*ɲampo*	*tʃattok*
	ʈʰugu-e	pʰaʈiŋ	ɖi-na	ɲampo	tʃat-s-tog
	child-ERG	apricot	knife-ABL	with	cut-PFV-INFR

‘The child cut the apricot with the knife.’

h. *ʈʰugue pʰaʈiŋ ʈʃina ɲampo ʈʃattok*
ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ tʃi-na ɲampo tʃat-s-tog
child-ERG apricot what-ABL with cut-PFV-INFR
'What did the child cut the apricot with?'

i. *ʈʰugue pʰaʈiŋ tʃi ʈʃina ɲampo ʈʃattok*
ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ tʃi tʃi-na ɲampo tʃat-s-tog
child-ERG apricot what what-ABL with cut-PFV-INFR
'With what all did the child cut the apricot?'

3.1.1.2 Question Word: *su*

su has the meaning 'who' in Ladakhi, and it is used to question only animate theme or subject. To question the plural subject, the question word *su* is often reduplicated or otherwise marked by the plural marker *-kun*. Refer to Table 3.2 given below for illustration:

Table 3.2 Question word ***su***

Sg. Q-form	Used to question	Case assigned	English gloss	Plural Q-form	English gloss
su	Animate theme or agent of intr. verb	Unmarked	who	*su su/ sukun*	who all
su pʰia	Beneficiary	Unmarked + PP	for whom	*su pʰia*	for whom all
su ɲampo	Accompaniment	Unmarked + PP	with whom	*su ɲampo*	with who(m) all
sue	Agent (Erg. Subject)	Ergative	who	*su suj/ sukune*	who all
sui	Possessor	Genitive	whose	*sukuni*	whose all
sua	Patient Recipient	Accusative Dative	whom to whom	*sukuna/susua*	whom all to who all
	Experiencer Possessor in a dative subject	Dative Dative	who who (has)		who all who all (have)
sui kana	Animate source	Genitive + PP	from whom	*su sui kana*	from whom all
sui dunla	Goal or animate destination	Genitive + PP	to whom	*su sui dunla*	to whom all
sui laga	Possessor	Genitive	who (has)	*su sui laga*	who all (have)

This question word is used in the language to question the animate theme as in (9).

(9)

a. *ʈʰugu* *buts*
ʈʰugu bud-s
child fall-PFV.VIS
'The child fell.'

b. *su* *buts*
su bud-s
who fall-PFV.VIS
'Who fell?'

c. *su* *su* *buts*
su su bud-s
who who fall-PFV.VIS
'Who all fell?'

It is also used to question the agent or subject of the intransitive verb such as 'to laugh' in (10):

(10)

a. *dʒigmet* *rgots*
dʒigmed rgod-s
Jigmet laugh-PFV.DIR
'Jigmet laughed.'

b. *su* *rgots*
su rgod-s
who laugh-PFV.DIR
'Who laughed?'

c. *dʒigmet* *naŋ* *stenzin* *rgots*
dʒigmed naŋ stenzin *r*god-s
Jigmet and Stenzin laugh-PFV.DIR
'Jigmet and Stenzin laughed.'

d.

i. *su su rgots*
su su rgod-s
who who laugh-PFV.DIR
'Who all laughed?'

ii. *sukun rgots*
su-kun rgod-s
who-PL laugh-PFV.DIR
'Who all laughed?'

The question word is used to question the beneficiary when followed by the postposition *pʰia* as in (11):

(11)

a. *ame ʈʰugu pʰia pʰaʈiŋ ɲose taŋs*
ama-e ʈʰugu pʰia pʰaʈiŋ ɲo-se taŋ-s
mother-ERG child for apricot buy-CNJP give- PFV.DIR
'The mother bought the apricot for the child.'

b. *ame su pʰia pʰaʈiŋ ɲose taŋs*
ama-e su pʰia pʰaʈiŋ ɲo-se taŋ-s
mother-ERG who for apricot buy-CNJP give-PFV.DIR
'Who did mother buy the apricot for?'

c. *ame su su pʰia pʰaʈiŋ ɲose taŋs*
ama-e su su pʰia pʰaʈiŋ ɲo-se taŋ-s
mother-ERG who who for apricot buy-CNJP give-PFV.DIR
'For whom all did mother buy the apricot?'

The question word is also brought in use to question the accompaniment as in (12) with the unmarked question word *su* followed by the postposition *ɲampo*:

(12)

a. *ama* *aba* *ɲampo* *ʈʰoma* *soŋstok*
ama aba ɲampo ʈʰom-a soŋ-s-tog
mother father with market-LOC went-PFV-INFR
'The mother went to the market with the father.'

b. *ama* *su* *ɲampo* *ʈʰoma* *soŋstok*
ama su ɲampo ʈʰom-a soŋ-s-tog
mother who with market-DAT went-PFV-INFR
'Who did the mother go to the market with?

c. *ama* *su* *su* *ɲampo* *ʈʰoma* *soŋstok*
ama su su ɲampo ʈʰom-a soŋ-s-tog
mother who who with market-DAT went-PFV-INFR
'With whom all did the mother go to the market?

The question word is also brought in use to question the agent or the ergative subject of the transitive verb such as 'to eat' in example (13). [19]

(13)

a. *ʈʰugue* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ za-s-tog
child-ERG apricot eat-PFV-INFR
'The child ate the apricot.'

b. *suj* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
su-e pʰaʈiŋ za-s-tog
who-ERG apricot eat-PFV-INFR
'Who ate the apricot?'

[19] The question word *su* being the subject is marked with the ergative marker *–e*, but due to the vowel of the question word being [+high], it surfaces as *-j* (*suj)*.

c.

i. *su* *suj* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
su su-e pʰaʈiŋ za-s-tog
who who-ERG apricot eat-PFV-INFR
'Who all ate the apricot?'

ii. *sukuni* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
su-kun-e pʰaʈiŋ za-s-tog
who-PL-ERG apricot eat-PFV-INFR
'Who all ate the apricot(s)?'

The question word *su* is also utilized to question the possessor as in (14) with the question word followed by the genitive marker *–i*:

(14)

a. *a* *ʈʰugu* *ɲe* *in*
a ʈʰugu ŋa-i in
that child 1SG-GEN EQ
'That child is mine.'

b. *a* *ʈʰugu* *sui* *in*
a ʈʰugu su-i in
that child who-GEN EQ
'Whose child is that?'

c. *a* *ʈʰugukun* *sukuni* *in*
a ʈʰugu-kun su-kun-i in
that child-PL who-PL-GEN EQ
'Whose (pl.) children are they?'

This question word is used to question the patient as in (15) with the question word marked by the dative (non-agentive) marker *-a*:

(15)

a. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *rduŋstok*
ama-e ʈʰugu-a rduŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG child-DAT hit-PFV-INFR
'The mother hit the child.'

b. *ame* *sua* *rduŋstok*
ama-e su-a rduŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG who-DAT hit-PFV-INFR
'Whom did the mother hit?'

c. *ame* *su* *sua* *rduŋstok*
ama-e su su-a rduŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG who who-DAT hit-PFV-INFR
'Who all/ whom (pl.) did the mother hit?'

d. *ame* *sukuna* *rduŋstok*
ama-e su-kun-a rduŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG who-PL-DAT hit-PFV-INFR
'Who all/ whom (pl.) did the mother hit?'

The question word is also used to question the recipient of a ditransitive verb such as 'to give' in (16) with the question word followed by the dative (non-agentive) marker *-a*:

(16)

e. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *taŋstok*
ama-e ʈʰugu-a pʰaʈiŋ taŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG child-DAT apricot give-PFV-INFR
'The mother gave the apricot to the child.'

f. *ame* *sua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *taŋstok*
ama-e su-a pʰaʈiŋ taŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG who-DAT apricot give-PFV-INFR
'Who did mother give the apricot to?'

The question word -*su* is also used to question the experiencer as in (17) and (18), the same as that of a recipient, with the question word followed by the dative (non-agentive) marker -*a*:

(17)

a. *ʈʰugua ʈonmo soŋstok*
ʈʰugu-a ʈonmo soŋ-s-tok
child-DAT hot went-PFV-INFR
'The child felt hot'

b. *sua ʈonmo soŋstok*
su-a ʈonmo soŋ-s-tok
who-DAT hot went-PFV-INFR
'Who felt hot?'

(18)

a. *dʒigmeda pʰaʈiŋ tʰoŋstok*
dʒigmed-a pʰaʈiŋ tʰoŋ-s-tog
Jigmet-DAT …apricot see.INTR-PFV-INFR
'Jigmet saw an apricot/ An apricot appeared to Jigmet.'

b. *sua pʰaʈiŋ tʰoŋstok*
su-a pʰaʈiŋ tʰoŋ-s-tog
who-DAT apricot see.INTR-PFV-INFR
'Who saw an apricot/ An apricot appeared to whom?'

The same question word is also brought in use to question the possessor in the dative subject case (a case of inalienable possession) in (19) with the question word followed by the dative (non-agentive) marker -*a*:

(19)

a. *ʈʰugua lakpa duk*
ʈʰugu-a lagpa dug
child-DAT hand EX.VIS
'The child has hands.'

b. *sua* *lakpa* *duk*
su-a lagpa dug
who-DAT hand EX.VIS
'Who has hands?'

Also, the question word *su* is used to question the possessor in the genitive case followed by the postposition lag-a (a case of alienable possession) as in example (20):

(20)

a. *ʈʰugui* *laga* *pʰaʈiŋkun* *duk*
ʈʰugu-i lag-a pʰaʈiŋ-kun dug
child-GEN hand-DAT apricot-PL EX.VIS
'The child has apricots.'

b. *sui* *laga* *pʰaʈiŋkun* *duk*
su-i lag-a pʰaʈiŋ-kun dug
who-GEN hand-DAT apricot-PL EX.VIS
'Who has apricots?'

c. *su* *sui* *laga* *pʰaʈiŋkun* *duk*
su su-i laga pʰaʈiŋ-kun dug
who who-GEN hand-DAT apricot-PL EX.VIS
'Who all have apricots?'

The same question word is used to question the animate source in the genitive case followed by the postposition *kana* as in example (21):

(21)

a. *ame* *ʈʰugui* *kana* *pʰaʈiŋ* *kʰjertok*
ama-e ʈʰugu-i ka-na pʰaʈiŋ kʰjer-s-tog
mother-ERG child-GEN on-ABL apricot take-PFV-INFR
'The mother took the apricot from the child.'

b. *ame* *sui* *kana* *pʰaʈiŋ* *kʰjertok*
ama-e su-i ka-na pʰaʈiŋ kʰjer-s-tog
mother-ERG who-GEN on-ABL apricot take-PFV-INFR
'From whom did the mother take the apricot?

c. *ame* *su* *sui* *kana* *pʰaʈiŋ* *kʰjertok*
ama-e su su-i ka-na pʰaʈiŋ kʰjer-s-tog
mother-ERG who who-GEN on-ABL apricot take-PFV-INFR
'From whom all did the mother take the apricot?

It is used to question the goal or the animate destination in the genitive case followed by the postposition *dun-la* as in example (22):

(22)

a. *ama* *ʈʰugui* *dunla* *soŋstok*
ama ʈʰugu-i dun-la soŋ-s-tog
mother child-GEN front-LOC went-PFV-INFR
'The mother went to the child.'

b. *ama* *sui* *dunla* *soŋstok*
ama su-i dun-la soŋ-s-tog
mother who-GEN near-LOC went-PFV-INFR
'To whom did the mother go?'

c. *ama* *su* *sui* *dunla* *soŋstok*
ama su su-i dun-la soŋ-s-tog
mother who who-GEN front-LOC wen-PFV-INFR
'To who all did the mother go?'

3.1.1.3 Question Word: *ka*

ka has the meaning 'which' in Ladakhi and it functions as the interrogative determiner in the language. Refer Table 3.3 given below for illustration.

Table 3.3 Question word ***ka***

Sg. Q-form	Used to question	Case assigned	English gloss	Plural Q-form	English gloss
ka	Demonstrative	Unmarked	which	ka	which all
karu(-a)	Destination	Terminative (+Dative)	where	ka karu(-a)	where all
ka kana	Source location	PP + Ablative	from where	kane kana	from where all

The question word is used in the language to question the demonstrative or other determiners. The interrogative determiner in Ladakhi always remains in the singular form even when required to interrogate plural subjects. Consider data in (23) and (24) for illustration.

(23)

a. *a* *ʈʰugue* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
a ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ zo-s-tog
that child-ERG apricot eat.PFV-PFV-INFR
'That child ate the apricot.'

b. *ka* *ʈʰugue* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
ka ʈʰugu-e pʰaʈiŋ zo-s-tog
which child-ERG apricot eat.PFV-PFV-INFR
'Which child ate the apricot?'

c. *ka* *ʈʰugukuni* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
ka ʈʰugu-kun-e pʰaʈiŋ zo-s-tog
which child-PL-ERG apricot eat.PFV-PFV-INFR
'Which children ate the apricot?'

d. **kakun* *ʈʰugukuni* *pʰaʈiŋ* *zostok*
ka-kun ʈʰugu-kun-e pʰaʈiŋ zo-s-tog
which-PL child-PL-ERG apricot eat.PFV-PFV-INFR
'Which all children ate the apricot?'

(24)

a. *i* *dʒola* *marpo* *duk*
i dʒola marpo dug
this bag red EX.VIS
'This bag is red.'

b. *ka* *dʒola* *marpo* *inok*
ka dʒola marpo inog
which bag red EQ.INFR
'Which bag is red?'

c. *ka* *dʒolakun* *marpo* *inok*
ka dʒola-kun marpo inog
which bag-PL red EQ.INFR
'Which bags are red?'

The interrogative determiner *ka* can take the definiteness marker *-bo* as evident from the examples presented in (25):

(25)

a. *ibo* *dʒola* *marpo* *duk*
i-bo dʒola marpo dug
this-DEF bag red EX.VIS
'This (one) bag is red.'

b. *kabo* *dʒola* *marpo* *inok*
ka-bo dʒola marpo inog
which-DEF bag red EQ.INFR
'Which (one) bag is red?'

c. *i* *dʒolabo* *marpo* *duk*
i dʒola-bo marpo dug
this bag-DEF red EX.VIS
'This 'bag' is red.'

d. *ka* *dʒolabo* *marpo* *inok*
ka dʒola-bo marpo in-og
which bag-DEF red EQ-INFR
'Which 'bag' is red?'

The question word or the interrogative determiner *ka* is also used to question the location as in (26) below:

(26)

a. *ama* *ʃiŋnaksa* *soŋstok*
ama ʃiŋnaks-a soŋ-s-tog
mother forest-LOC went-PFV-INFR
'The mother went to the forest.'

b. *ama* *karu(a)* *soŋstok*
ama ka-ru(-a) soŋ-s-tog
mother which-TERM(-DAT) went-PFV-INFR
'Where did mother go (to)?'

c. *ama* *ka* *karu(a)* *soŋstok*
ama ka ka-ru(-a) soŋ-s-tog
mother which which-TERM(-DAT) went-PFV-INFR
'Where all did mother go (to)?'

The question word or the interrogative determiner ka is also employed to question the source location when marked by the ablative marker *-na,* as can be seen in examples of (27) and (28) below:

(27)

a.	*ŋa*	*lena*	*joŋse*	*in*
	ŋa	le-na	joŋse	in
	1SG	Leh-ABL	come-CNJP	EQ

'I am coming from Leh.'

b.	*raŋ*	*kana*	*joŋse*	*in*
	raŋ	ka-na	joŋ-se	in
	2SG	which-ABL	come-CNJP	EQ

'Where are you coming from?'

(28)

c.	*rul*	*kark^{h}uŋna*	*joŋstok*
	rul	kark^{h}uŋ-na	joŋ-s-tog
	snake	window-ABL	come-PFV-INFR

'The snake came from the window.'

d.	*rul*	*ka*	*kana*	*joŋstok*
	rul	ka	ka-na	joŋ-s-tog
	snake	which	on-ABL	come-PFV-INFR

'Where did the snake come from?'

e.	*rul*	*kane*	*kana*	*joŋstok*
	rul	ka-na-i	ka-na	joŋ-s-tog
	snake	which-ABL-GEN	on-ABL	come-PFV-INFR

'From where all did the snake come?'

3.1.1.4 Question Word: *kazug*

kazuga ~ kazugi in Ladakhi has the English equivalent meaning 'how'. Refer Table 3.4 given below for illustration.

Table 3.4 Question word *kazuga*

Sg. Q-form	**Used to question**	**Case assigned**	**English gloss**	**Plural Q-form**	**English gloss**
kazug	Manner of an activity/event	Unmarked	how	kazuk kazug	?how all

This question word is used in the language to question the manner of the activity or event as can be seen from examples (29) and (30):

(29)

a. *dʒigmet* *ʃetna* *rgots*
dʒigmed ʃet-na rgod-s
Jigmet power-ABL laugh-PFV.DIR
'Jigmet laughed loudly.'

b. *dʒigmet* *kazugi* *rgots*
dʒigmed kazugi rgod-s
Jigmet how laugh- PFV.DIR
'How did Jigmet laugh?'

(30)

a. *ŋa* *baŋ* *taŋste* *bazarla* *soŋpin*
ŋa baŋ taŋ-ste bazar-la soŋ-pin
1SG run give-CNJP market-LOC went-PST
'I went to the market running.'

b. *kʰeraŋ* *bazarla* *kazuga* *soŋpin*
kʰeraŋ bazar-la kazug-a soŋ-pin
2SG market-LOC how-DAT went-PST
'How did you go to the market?'

c. *kʰeraŋ* *bazarla* *kazu* *kazuga* *soŋpin*

kʰeraŋ bazar-la kazug kazug-a soŋ-pin

2SG market-LOC how how-DAT went-PST

'How/ By what all means did you go to the market?'

3.1.1.5 Question Word: *tsam*

tsam means 'how much/many' in Ladakhi. By its lexical existence does not distinguish countable and uncountable entities. Refer Table 3.5 given below for illustration:

Table 3.5 Question word ***tsam***

Sg. Q-form	Used to question	Case assigned	English gloss	Pl. Q-form	English gloss
tsam	Number	Unmarked	how many	-	-
	Quantity	Unmarked	how much	-	-
	Distance	Unmarked	how far	-	-

This question word is used to question the number, quantity, distance etc. of entity/entities as in examples (31), (32) and (33):

(31)

a. *ŋaa* *ʈʰugu* *ɲis* *jot*

ŋa-a ʈʰugu ɲis jod

1SG-DAT child two EX.ASSUM

'I have two children.'

b. *raŋa* *ʈʰugu* *tsam* *jot*

raŋ-a ʈʰugu tsam jod

2SG-DAT child how many/much EX.ASSUM

'How many children do you have?'

(32)

a.	*zaŋbui*	*naŋa*	*oma*	*maŋpo*	*duk*
	zaŋbu-i	naŋ-a	oma	maŋpo	dug
	pot-GEN	inside-LOC	milk	lot	EX.VIS
	‘There is a lot of milk in the pot.’				

b.	*zaŋbui*	*naŋa*	*oma*	*tsam*	*duk*
	zangu-i	naŋ-a	oma	tsam	dug
	pot-GEN	inside-LOC	milk	how much/many	EX.VIS
	‘How much milk is in the pot?’				

(33)

a.	*le*	*ina*	*ma*	*ʈʰagriŋ*	*jotkjak*
	le	i-na	ma	ʈʰagriŋ	jod-kjag
	Leh	this-ABL	very	far	EX.ASSUM-NARR
	‘Leh is very far from here.’				

b.	*le*	*ina*	*tsamʒik*	*ʈʰagriŋ*	*jotkjak*
	le	i-na	tsam-ʒik	ʈʰagriŋ	jod-kjag
	Leh	this-ABL	how many/much-INDEF	far	EX.ASSUM-NARR
	‘How far is Leh from here?’				

3.1.1.6 Question Word: *nam*

In Ladakhi, ‘*nam*’ means ‘when’ and it is used to make temporal or durational question as in examples (34), (35) and (36):

(34)	*dʒigmet*	*nam*	*rgots*
	dʒigmed	nam	rgod-s
	Jigmet	when	laugh-PFV.DIR
	‘When did Jigme laugh?’		

(35)

a.	*duʃesbo*	*ganʈa*	*ɲis*	*ɖulanok*
	duʃes-bo	ganʈa	ɲis	ɖul-(a)-nog
	meeting-DEF	hour	two	walk-POT

'The meeting is for two hours.'

b.	*tsʰogdus*	*nam*	*duʃesbo*	*ɖulanok*
	tsʰogdus	nam	duʃes-bo	ɖul-(a)-nog
	till	when	meeting-DEF	walk-POT

'How long is the meeting?'

(36)

a.	*kʰo*	*dillia*	*lo*	*ɲis*	*nepʰala*	*dukste*	*inok*
	kʰo	dilli-a	lo	ɲis	nepʰala	dug-ste	inog
	he	Delhi-DAT	year	two	since	stay-CNJP	EQ.INFR

'He is staying in Delhi since two years.'

b.	*kʰo*	*dillia*	*nam*	*nepʰala*	*dukste*	*inok*
	kʰo	dilli-a	nam	nepʰala	dug-ste	inog
	he	Delhi-DAT	when	since	stay- CNJP	EQ.INFR

'Since when/ how long is he staying in Delhi?'

3.1.2 Multiple Interrogatives:

As mentioned before, Ladakhi is a Wh *in situ* language; therefore no Wh element goes through overt movement. Question words stay in the same position as the arguments or the adjuncts they correspond to. Examples (37) to (40) illustrate the multiple interrogatives:

(37)

a.	*ʈʰuguj*	*pʰaʈiŋ*	*zos*
	ʈʰugu-i	pʰaʈiŋ	zo-s
	child-ERG	apricot	eat.PFV-PFV.DIR

'The child ate an apricot.'

b. *sue* *ʧi* *zos*
su-e tʃi zo-s
who-ERG what eat.PFV-PFV.DIR
'Who ate what?'

(38)

a. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *rduŋs*
ama-e ʈʰugu-a rduŋ-s
mother-ERG child-DAT hit-PFV.DIR
'The mother hit the child.'

b. *sue* *sua* *rduŋs*
su-e su-a rduŋ-s
who-ERG who-DAT hit-PFV.DIR
'Who hit whom?'

(39)

a. *ame* *ʈʰugua* *pʰaʈiŋ* *taŋstok*
ama-e ʈʰugu-a pʰaʈiŋ taŋ-s-tog
mother-ERG child-DAT apricot give-PFV-INFR
'The mother gave the apricot to the child.'

b. *sui* *sua* *ʧi* *taŋs*
su-e su-a tʃi taŋ-s
who-ERG who-DAT what give-PFV.DIR
'Who gave what to whom?'

(40)

a. *ʈʰugue* *daŋ* *pʰaʈiŋ* *ɖina* *ɲampo* *ʧattok*
ʈʰugu-e daŋ pʰaʈiŋ ɖi-na ɲampo tʃat-s-tog
child-ERG yesterday apricot knife-ABL with cut-PFV-INFR
'The child cut the apricot with the knife yesterday.'

b.	*sue*	*nam*	*ʧina*	*ɲampo*	*ʧi*	*ʧattok*
	su-e	nam	ʧi-na	ɲampo	ʧi	ʧat-s-tog
	who-ERG	when	what-ABL	with	what	cut-PFV-INFR

'When did who cut what with what?'

3.1.3 Yes-No Questions

In Ladakhi, yes/no questions are formed by suffixing the interrogative marker *-a* to the verb in phrase-final position. The general formula that can be employed in this case is **[(NEG-)verb root(-NEG)-TAM-Q**] where for a negative sentence, the negative particle is a prefix (*ma-)* in the past tense while it is a suffix (*mi-)* in the non-past tense. Consider example (41) for Yes-No Questions where the interrogative suffix *-a* is added with the verb root *rgod-* followed by the TAM marker (here '-s') to make it a yes/no type interrogative. However, when we consider examples (41-d) and (41-e), we notice that the Performative Evidentiality marker *–pin* switches between the speaker and the addressee in the questions. As mentioned earlier in section 2.6.5.3, the suffixes containing the evidential markers derived from copulas are construed from the perspective of an 'informant' that corresponds to the speaker in a statement, the addressee in a question. The same is observed for verbal paradigms in the present and future timeframes.

(41) Yes/No Questions

a.	*daŋ*	*kʰo*	*rgots*	(Statement)
	daŋ	kʰo	rgod-s	
	yesterday	3SG	laugh-PFV.DIR	

'He/She laughed yesterday.'

daŋ	*kʰo*	*rgotsa*	(Y/N Question)
daŋ	kʰo	rgod-s-a	
yesterday	3SG	laugh-PFV.DIR-Q	

'Did he/she laugh yesterday?'

b.	*daksa*	*kʰokun*	*kʰardʒi*	*zarug*	(Statement)
	daksa	kʰo-kun	kʰardʒi	za-dug	
	now	3-PL	food	eat-IPFV	

'They are eating food now.'

daksa	*kʰokun*	*kʰardʒi*	*zaruga*	(Y/N Question)
daksa	kʰo-kun	kʰardʒi	za-dug-a	
now	3-PL	food	eat-IPFV-Q	

'Aren't they eating food now?'

c.

tʰoras	*ŋataŋ*	*tʃʰen*	(Statement)
tʰoras	ŋataŋ	tʃʰa-in	
tomorrow	1PL.INCL	go-EQ	

'We (incl.) will go tomorrow.'

tʰoras	*ŋataŋ*	*tʃʰena*	(Y/N Question)
tʰoras	ŋataŋ	tʃʰa-in-a	
tomorrow	1.PL.INCL	go-EQ-Q	

'Will we (incl.) go tomorrow?'

d.

daŋ	*ŋa*	*rgotspin*	(Statement)
daŋ	ŋa	rgod-s-pin	
yesterday	1SG	laugh-PFV-PST.PST	

'I laughed yesterday.'

daŋ	*ŋa*	*rgotsa (*rgotspina)*	(Y/N Question)
daŋ	ŋa	rgod-s-a	
yesterday	1SG	laugh-PFV.DIR-Q	

'Did I laugh yesterday?'

e.

daŋ	*raŋ*	*rgots*	(Statement)
daŋ	raŋ	rgod-s	
yesterday	2SG	laugh-PFV.DIR	

'You laughed yesterday.'

daŋ	*raŋ*	*rgotspina (*rgotsa)*	(Y/N Question)
daŋ	raŋ	rgod-s-pin-a	
yesterday	2SG	laugh-PFV- PST.PST-Q	

'Did you laugh yesterday?

3.1.4 Alternative Questions

Alternative questions, also called 'choice questions', unlike the typical yes-no type of questions, do not have a yes-no response, and they ask about the choice provided. In Ladakhi, such types of questions are constructed with two clauses that show an absence of conjunction or a conjunctive participle. The structure of the alternate question is illustrated in (42) below:

(42) Structure of an alternate question

[CLAUSE 1 subject (object) verb-TAM-Q] [CLAUSE 2 subject (object) verb-TAM]

The first clause with one choice is in the yes-no interrogative form, whereas the second clause with another choice is in the declarative form as evident from the examples (43) to (46) given below:

(43) Questioning the noun

a.

i.	*raŋa*	*pʰaʈiŋ*	*gjala*	*tsʰoraraga*	*kuʃu*	*gjala*	*tsʰorarak*
	raŋ-a	pʰaʈiŋ	gjala	tsʰor-(a)-rag-a	kuʃu	gjala	tsʰor-(a)-rag
	2SG-DAT	apricot	good	feel-EX.SENS-Q	apple	good	feel-EX.SENS

'Do you like apricot or apple?'

ii.	*raŋa*	*pʰaʈiŋ*	*gjala*	*tsʰoraraga*	*tsʰoramerak*
	raŋ-a	pʰaʈiŋ	gjala	tsʰor-(a)-rag-a	tsʰor-(a)-mi-rag
	2SG-DAT	apricot	good	feel-EX.SENS-Q	feel-NEG-EX.SENS

'Do you like apricot or not?'

b.

i.	*kʰo*	*liŋspa*	*inoga*	*gergan*	*in*ok
	kʰo	liŋspa	inog-a	gergan	inog
	he	hunter	EQ.INFR-Q	teacher	EQ.INFR

'Is he a hunter or a teacher?'

ii.	*kʰo*	*liŋspa*	*inoga*	*man*ok
	kʰo	liŋspa	inog-a	manog
	he	hunter	EQ.INFR-Q	NEG:EQ.INFR

'Is he a hunter or not?'

(44) Questioning the adjective

a.	*kʰo*	*rompo*	*duga*	*ɻ̥ramo*	*duk*
	kʰo	*rompo*	dug-a	ɻ̥amo	dug
	3SG	fat	EX.VIS-Q	thin	EX.VIS
	‘Is she fat or thin?’				

b.	*kʰomo*	*rompo*	*duga*	*minuk*
	kʰo-mo	*rompo*	dug-a	mi-dug
	3SG-FEM	fat	EX.VIS-Q	NEG-EX.VIS
	‘Is she fat or not?’			

(45) Questioning the verb

c.	*kʰo*	*zaruga*	*tʰuŋduk*
	kʰo	za-dug-a	tʰuŋ-dug
	3SG	eat-IPFV.VIS-Q	drink- IPFV.VIS
	‘Is he eating or drinking?’		

d.	*kʰo*	*zaruga*	*zamiruk*
	kʰo	za-dug-a	za-mi-dug
	3SG	eat- IPFV.VIS-Q	eat-NEG- IPFV.VIS
	‘Is he eating or not?’		

(46) Questioning the adverb

a.	*a*	*ɻ̥tabo*	*kulea*	*ɖulanoga*	*gjokspa*	*ɖulanok*
	a	ɻ̥ta-bo	kulea	ɖul-(a)-nog-a	gjokspa	ɖul-(a)-nog
	that	horse-DEF	slow	walk-POT-Q	fast	walk-POT
	‘Does that horse run fast or slow?’					

b.	*a*	*ɻ̥tabo*	*gjokspa*	*ɖulanoga*	*ɖulamanok*
	a	ɻ̥ta-bo	gjokspa	ɖul-(a)-nog-a	ɖul-(a)-ma-nog
	that	horse-DEF	fast	walk-POT-Q	walk-NEG-POT
	‘Does that horse run fast or not?’				

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