Aspects of the grammar of Thulung Rai: an endangered Himalayan language

by

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Abstract

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Thulung Rai is an endangered Tibeto-Burman language of eastern Nepal, currently spoken by approximately one thousand people. It is a member of the Kiranti group in the Himalayish branch of Tibeto-Burman, along with languages characterized principally by their complex pronominalizing verbal inflectional systems.

This dissertation provides an overview of the grammar of the Thulung language, along with selected texts and a glossary. The aspects of the grammar which are discussed are those which are particularly relevant as far as Thulung's heritage as a Tibeto-Burman language is concerned. The chapters discuss the phonological system of the language; the case marking system; the use of discourse particles; nominalization and its etymological and semantic relationship with relativization and genitivization; the finite verbs, with their complex agreement system and stem alternations; the augmentation of verbs with aspect-bearing derivational suffixes; clause-combining by means of converbs and sequencers.

Each of these topics bears a significance to Tibeto-Burman studies as a whole, and these are characteristic features of languages from this area. The areal context for Thulung is another important aspect of this dissertation. The endangered status of Thulung is a result of the inroads of the Indo-Aryan national language of Nepal, Nepali. Each chapter, in addition to describing and analyzing particular grammatical topics, also discusses the equivalent constructions in Nepali in light of whether they constitute the source for the construction in Thulung as it stands today.

The contributions of this dissertation are in providing reliable and up-to-date information on a little-known minority Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. This is an important addition to the field of Himalayan languages and will be useful for efforts towards reconstructing the development of Tibeto-Burman languages in the Himalayas. An important dimension of this dissertation is that it looks at grammatical features in one language in the context of their distribution over the linguistic area, even across language family boundaries. In this way, the materials presented are useful as another case-study of an intense language contact situation.

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Jim Matisoff is the ultimate inspiration behind this work: he introduced me to Tibeto-Burman studies through his classes, mentoring and STEDT project, exposing me to a language family which has changed my outlook on language and the world.

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I am grateful to the Fulbright Commission which sponsored my field research trip to Nepal, and particularly to Mike Gill, the executive officer in Nepal.

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List of glosses

CASE:

ERG	ergative -ka
DAT	dative (ie primary object) -lai
ABL	ablative -lam, -laŋka
LOC	generic locative -ra,-ɖa
hiLOC	high-locative -la
loLOC	low-locative -ju
levLOC	level-locative -nu
COM	comitative -num
INSTR	instrumental -ka
GEN	genitive -ku, -kam

PRAGMATIC:

TOP	topic, ne
FOC	focus, re
CONTR	contrastive, tsahi
EMPH	emphasis -ŋa

SC	simultaneous converb -to
AC	anterior converb -saka
SS	simultaneous sequencer -lo
AS	anterior sequencer ma

NEXP	negative experiential -thi
Npst.PRT	non-past participle -pa
Pst.PRT	part participle -ma
PROG	progressive -saŋa
IRR	irrealis -wa/-a
COND	conditional -la/ mala
N.COND	negative conditional -mela
PURP	purposive -ra/-ɖa
HS	hear-say -ʔe

2IMP	2s imperative suffix a/ra/ka
VN	verbal noun -si
OBL	obligation basi
NEG.OBL	negative obligation myny
N.OBL	loan obligation marker, from Nepali parne, parjo

NOM	nominalizer -m, -mim
NOM.inf	infinitive -mu, -m
NOM.rel	relativizer -m, -mim

L.NOM	locative nominalizer -khop, -khom
PLU	nominal pluralizer, -mim
DU	nominal dualizer, -tsi
NEG	negation, -mi
1POSS	First person possessive pronoun: a, aki, ama, akima
2POSS	Second person possessive pronoun: i, ini, ima, inima
3POSS	Third person possessive pronoun: u, uni, uma, unima

In combination with a person number, pronouns are
s singular
d dual
p plural
de dual exclusive
di dual inclusive
pe plural exclusive
pi plural inclusive
(NB there has been a shift in the pronouns, with the introduction of politeness distinctions. I use the old pronoun labels, because these are what is reflected in the verbal forms)

Aspectivizers:

CAU	causativizer, be
DET	detransitivizer, si
BEN	benefactive, sa
HAB	habitual, thal
STA	stative, ta
DEF	definitive, so
PON	ponent, jɯl
RES	resultative, le
ITF	intensifier, tha
APX	approximative, bal/bhal

N. precedes the gloss of any lexical item which is a loan from Nepali.

INTRODUCTION

Language and people

Thulung Rai is spoken by some thousand people in the Middle Hills of Eastern Nepal, on the Western edge of the Kirant region. The homeland of the Thulung people is considered to be the settlement of Mukli, covering a hillside at the juncture of the Dudh Kosi (a major river in Eastern Nepal, which flows down from the heart of the Everest region) and the Solu Khola rivers. Other Thulung settlements are Tingla, Deusa, Lokhim, Jubu, Kangel, and these are within a few hours' walk from Mukli. The settlements are at a moderate altitude (averaging about 1500 meters), spread out over the hillside. Each house is surrounded by terraced fields, where the main crops are rice, corn and millet. These grains form the basis of the Thulung diet, supplemented by sweet potatoes, oranges, chayote squash and its leaves, and buttermilk from the family buffalo or cow. Chickens and goats are also kept, but their meat is reserved for holidays, such as Dasai (Nepali holiday in October) and the local festivals.

The Thulung people live for the most part in a cashless economy, producing what they need to live. Water comes from nearby rivers, and there is no electricity. There is, however, a weekly market in the village of Nele, two hours above Mukli, where villagers buy cloth, pots and grains (there are often shortages, when locally produced grain is not

sufficient to feed people, and must be imported from other regions of Nepal). The money which Thulung people use at the market is usually sent to them by relatives living in Kathmandu or other urban settings, and it is used exceedingly sparingly. Oftentimes, Thulung will travel to the larger market town of Jiri in order to save money on certain basic purchases, particularly around holiday times when they often need to supplement the food they produce to accommodate visiting relatives.

Traveling from Mukli to Kathmandu is not easy, and the trip is undertaken very infrequently and with much planning and some trepidation. From Mukli one must walk an average of three days to the town of Jiri (which is incidentally the beginning of the Everest trek--it takes a fast walker about ten days to reach Everest basecamp from Jiri), and from there Kathmandu is a twelve hour busride along treacherous mountain roads. The trails from Mukli to Jiri are not in particularly good condition, and become virtually impassable during the monsoon, when landslides along the trails claim the lives of several travelers every year. Within the last couple of years, an airport has been built in Phaplu, a day's walk northwest of Mukli, and there are biweekly flights to Kathmandu (often cancelled due to poor visibility). These flights do not have a large impact on the Thulung, for whom the tickets are expensive and difficult to come by. Nonetheless the improving infrastructure does allow for considerably more mobility with each generation, and Thulung living in Kathmandu frequently receive visits from villagers who come to see the sights.

There is a school in Mukli, but in order to take classes up to the level of the SLC (School Leaving Certificate) students must walk to the market-town of Nele, about two hours in each direction. The curriculum at both the Mukli and Nele schools is in Nepali.

The Nepali constitution states that different groups have a right to education in their own languages (Bandhu, 1999:9), but this is logistically problematic: the lack of a writing system for Thulung makes it an unlikely medium for education, and the population of Mukli includes non-Thulung minorities as well as those whose native language is Nepali.

Pursuing post-secondary education requires heading to Kathmandu, and this is one reason for emigration by young Thulung. The capital and the world beyond provide economic opportunities which are simply unavailable in the Thulung homeland, and for the most part, people do not return to live in Mukli once they have left.

The anthropologist Nicholas J.Allen has written much about the Thulung Rai, and reconstructs a history consisting of four general periods (1997: 305): 1. a first period when the hills of Nepal were densely forested, at which time the population density was very low and hunting played a considerable part in the Thulung economy; 2. "the establishment of the first sedentary village at Mukli… followed by secondary foundation of other sedentary villages"; 3. "the Gorkha conquest of 1770' and the subsequent use of local clan headmen to rule indirectly; 4. "the period since 1950" corresponding to the introduction of education, weekly regional markets and the (limited) influx of cash into the economy.

Allen links these historical periods with the Hinduization of the Thulung people, and shows a progression from jungle-dwellers to farmers dwelling in settlements, with other groups being accepted into these settlements: the Brahmins would have been welcomed for their astrological skills, and accompanied by the untouchable castes with whom they shared a symbiotic relationship, and these immigrations were followed by various others who were either useful in some ways to the Thulung or simply accepted.

(1997: 309-317) The result is a multi-layered community, comprised of not only Thulung, undoubtedly the original settlers, but representatives of all the Indo-Aryan castes (Brahmins, Chetris, and the four untouchable castes) as well as other Tibeto-Burman groups (such as Magar, Gurung, other Rai, Limbu). Thus there is an influx of non-Thulung speaking people[1], as well as the assimilation of the Thulung into a caste-system, which as Allen shows is a necessary result of contact with castes.[2] Interaction with these other groups most probably has had an impact as far as the Thulung language is concerned: the result is that Nepali has become a language of communication, even within the Thulung village.

Classification of Thulung within Tibeto-Burman

Thulung Rai is a Kiranti language. The Kiranti group is relatively well-studied, characterized by complex pronominalizing verbal systems, and includes languages such as Limbu, Belhare, Yamphu, Camling, Athpare, Hayu.

Kiranti languages are considered part of the Bahing-Vayu group of Benedict (1972), but Matisoff (1991) proposes a variation on Benedict's scheme, based on research carried out on the Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus (STEDT) project. The aim of the project is to create an enormous and comprehensive database of as many Sino-Tibetan (but primarily Tibeto-Burman) languages as possible, with the

[1] The non-Thulung speaking people speak Nepali: even Tibeto-Burman ethnic minorities, such as the Gurung, represented in Mukli do not speak their ancestral languages.

intention to use the data to carry out comparative/reconstructive work on the family. As a result of the data he takes into account, Matisoff's scheme is much more up-to-date than previous classificatory schemes[3].

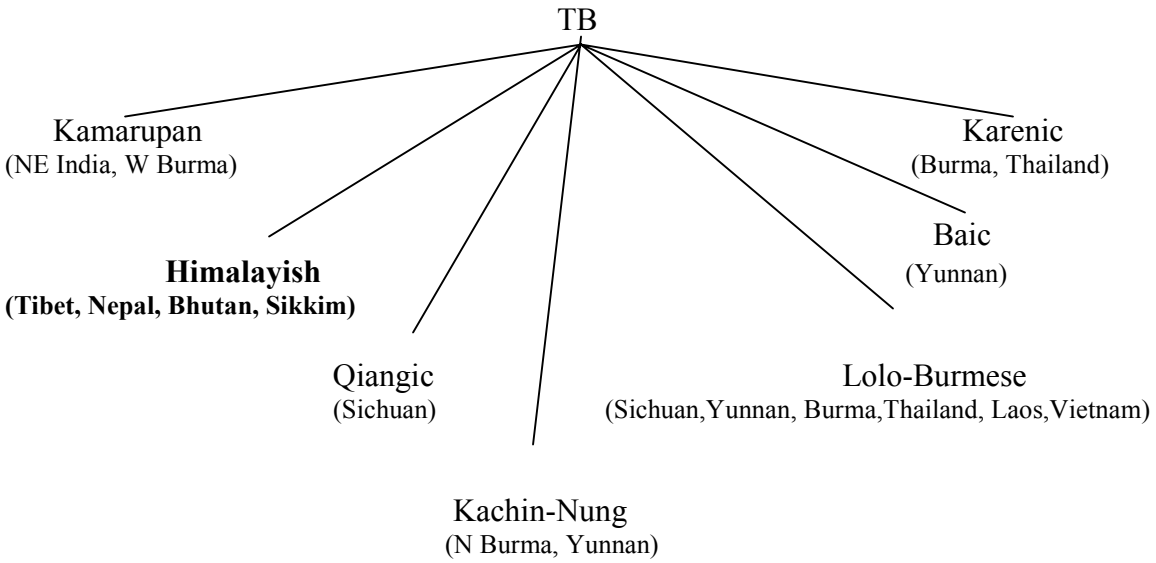


Table 1 The Tibeto-Burman family (according to Matisoff)

Matisoff breaks down the Himalayish branch as in the following table.

[2] One cannot interact with castes without participating in the notion of the hierarchies and levels of purity with which they are associated.

sub-branch	languages	location
West-Himalayish	Kanauri, Thebor, Bunan, Manchati, Chamba Lahuli, Tangkas	Himachal Pradesh, Kashmir, Almora
Bodish	Tibetan and dialects (Amdo, Balti, Derge, Jirel, Kaike, Khams, Lhasa, Purik, Sherpa, Spiti)	Tibet, and also Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Kashmir, Pakistan, Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan
Tamangish ('TGTM')	Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Manang, Narphu	Central Nepal
Chepangish	Chepang, Kham, Magar, Hayu, Sunwar	Central Nepal
Rai (=Kiranti)	Bahing, Dumi, Khambu, Lambichong, Limbu, Lohorong, Todong, Thulung, Waling, Yakha [4]	Eastern Nepal
Newari	Newari	Kathmandu Valley, Dolakha
Lepcha	Lepcha	Sikkim, Eastern Nepal, Western Bhutan

Table 2. Matisoff's Himalayish

Thulung, along with its immediate geographical neighbours, is in the Kiranti branch. Allen (1975: 3) judges that Thulung's closest relationship is with Bahing, in terms of lexical evidence. Having had the opportunity to examine a word list for Bahing provided by Bart de Boer (collected in 1999 in Okhaldunga), I concur with this judgment.

Previous research

The main data on Thulung prior to 1999 is that of Allen. He published a *Sketch of Thulung Grammar* in 1975, which is, as the name implies, a grammatical overview of the

[3] In addition to Benedict's scheme there is also that of Shafer (1974), based on the same data-base as Benedict's but somewhat different in the arrangment of the family.
[4] We can add to this sub-branch: Chulung, Yamphu, Belhare, Camling, Athpare, among others.

language, along with some texts. Texts are also included in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, which Karen Ebert has mined for the Thulung data in her very useful "Structure of the Kiranti languages". Before the Allen publication came a booklet written by Agan Sing Deusa Rai (1944), and before that a vocabulary list by Hodgson (1857.)

Another source is a dictionary compiled by Yelung Kirant, with the assistance of Major Mani Prasad Rai, which is a result of data collection from numerous native speakers of various ages. This is a Thulung-Nepali dictionary, with the Thulung transcribed using devanagari[5], and includes paradigms (mostly incomplete, but still useful) of verbs: it is called Iki Lwa ("our language").

My research was carried out on a Fulbright fellowship and with a Humanities and Social Sciences grant from UCB, during the academic year 1999-2000. I was primarily stationed in Kathmandu, where my principal consultant was Bala Thulung, a 24-year old Thulung woman studying at the university in the capital but who had lived until age 18 in Mukli. I collected materials during field trips to Mukli, where I also did some elicitation, and these materials were analyzed with the assistance of Bala back in Kathmandu.

Goals of this dissertation

This dissertation aims to give an overview of the Thulung language. The reason for the title "Aspects of the grammar of Thulung Rai: an endangered language of the Himalayas" is that I choose not to follow the typical organization for a grammar, but rather to discuss aspects of the grammar in the context of their significance for Thulung

[5] Despite initial misgivings, I realize now that this is as good a transcription tool as any, and in fact probably far superior to IPA in that it is accessible to a generation of younger literate Thulung who are otherwise losing their language.

as a Tibeto-Burman language. The result is quite like a grammar, but the grouping into topics is rather different. Important features of a Kiranti/TB language are: relatively systematic case marking; nominalization and its relationship with relativization and genitivization; the finite verbs, with their complex pronominalizing agreement system; the formation of verb complexes for the expression of aspect and Aktionsart; clause-combining. These are therefore the themes of the several chapters.

These topics are important from a diachronic perspective, in terms of efforts towards reconstructing earlier stages of TB presence in the Himalayas, but also in terms of areal phenomena.

Case marking and the presence of ergativity is a topic which has received a great deal of attention: while it appears that ergativity is an areal feature of languages of South Asia, affecting Indo-European languages of this area as well as Tibeto-Burman languages (Bickel 1999b: 2-3), there is also a debate as to whether to reconstruct ergative case marking to the proto-language or whether it is a feature which arose independently in different branches (LaPolla 1985).

Nominalization and nominalizing strategies are of great interest in the Tibeto-Burman family, and have been treated quite extensively (Matisoff 1972; Noonan 1997; DeLancey 1999; Bickel 1999a): evidence linking the seemingly distinct phenomena of nominalization, relativization and genitivization is being found in language after language of the TB family as the data emerges.

Finite verbs and the agreement system are the subject of a long-standing debate in terms, once again, of whether it is possible to reconstruct a verbal agreement system back to the proto-Tibeto-Burman level (Sun 1985; Nishi 1985; DeLancey 1989.) This issue

bears on that of classification of the whole family, certain scholars proposing different family trees based on where verbal agreement appears.

Aspectivizers are interesting in the areal context of the Himalayas, and are found in many Kiranti languages (vividly described for Limbu and Dumi by Van Driem and for Yamphu by Rutgers) as well as in Nepali (Pokharel 1999) and beyond (Masica 1976, 1991). While they are not a significant topic as far as the larger Tibeto-Burman family is concerned, they are important to the South Asian region.

Clause-combining and the use of converbs is another topic which is interesting from the point of view of areal linguistics: Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia tend to use converbs for clause-chaining, like neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, whereas Tibeto-Burman languages from East and South East Asia instead primarily link clauses by means of verb serialization (Bickel 1999b: 4).

The main topics discussed in this dissertation are significant because they fall into one or more of the following categories:

1) they are the subject of debate for Tibeto-Burman in terms of whether or not they constitute a feature of the proto-language (like case-marking and verbal agreement morphology.)

2) they represent phenomena which are being found to be more and more wide-spread across the entire family (such as nominalization and related functions.)

3) they are important in terms of the areal context of the South Asian region, as features also found in Indo-European languages spoken nearby (like clause-combining and aspectivizers.)

The second part of the title refers to the endangered nature of the language, due to the inroads of the Indo-Aryan national language of Nepal, Nepali. This contact has significantly influenced the structure of Thulung, and thus every chapter deals with its main topic in light of the impact of Nepali and possible resulting effect on Thulung. Particularly fortunate for the study of Thulung is the fact that it was recorded in the 1970's by Nicholas Allen, and this record can be used to document change over the past thirty years. Because of a drive to set up schools throughout rural parts of Nepal, this happens to have been a period of significant increase in language contact.

Inroads of Nepali into Thulung Rai

The inroads of Nepali in Thulung are great, as in most other minority languages of Nepal. The sociopolitical status of Nepali means that it has had considerable influence on Thulung for several hundred years, but this influence has been particularly strong over the last thirty or so years, with better infrastructure allowing for more movement from the villages to the capital (and back), and education becoming better established. At this point, I believe it is accurate to say that all Thulung speakers are bilingual in Nepali, and transmission to future generations seems less and less likely. Education and economy seem to be the two main forces endangering Thulung. Although of course education provides people with opportunities and is a valuable contribution to any community by the State, it certainly seems to be responsible for what in the case of Thulung is most likely to result in language death. Because of the ethnic make-up of villages such as Mukli, education cannot reasonably be carried out in Thulung, or part of the village population of Indo-Aryan background would be left out. Additionally, because of the

fact that Thulung is an unwritten language, using it for the purposes of education would require the creation or adaption of a transcription method: devanagari, the script used for Nepali, can be adapted fairly easily to write Thulung. The Constitution of Nepal officially protects the right of children to be educated in their mother tongue (Bandhu, 1999:9), but the reality is that villages where many tribes cohabit cannot afford to have several schools, and the default language of education is Nepali. Additionally, parents who want to give their children an economic opportunity beyond the confines of the village naturally want those children to be as proficient as possible in Nepali. When combined with attitudes throughout Nepal about ethnic minorities, imperfect Nepali (as a result of favouring Thulung) would be a serious impediment to the advancement of young Thulung people. While there does not seem to be any shame attached to being Thulung, and I have heard Thulung people in Kathmandu using Thulung in public places, rather proud not to be understood, there are definite disadvantages to not mastering Nepali.

Another issue is that of inter-marriage between Thulung and other tribes or castes, which happens quite frequently. If the marriage partner of a Thulung is of Indo-Aryan descent the couple will certainly speak Nepali, and most often even if the partner is another Rai, Nepali will be the intra-family lingua franca. The result of this is that as soon as inter-marriage takes place, the chances of the next generation learning Thulung are very limited.

I believe that the areas in which we see the influence of Nepali result in a situation of moderate to heavy borrowing, according to the scheme drawn up by Thomason and

Kaufman (1988). The situation is one of "heavy contact, including much bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988 : 50). Their stipulation that bilingualism be over a long period of time is one I cannot determine for Thulung: while bilingualism is certainly well-established now, and there has been a long history of contact, the extent of bilingualism one hundred years ago is not known. At the same time, the results predicted from the situation of intensive contact and bilingualism which Thomason and Kaufman describe are met: "much lexical borrowing, moderate to heavy structural borrowing, especially phonology and syntax" (50). Adding to the level of influence is the fact that the languages are typologically close (52), which is itself a result of very long-term contact between the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal and the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages (addressed generally by Masica 1976 in the context of South Asia). The question I wish to address in terms of language contact concerns more recent contact phenomena. It is of course difficult to distinguish this from older contact influence: in this respect I base much of my information on the grammar of Allen, in order to see what evidence of change now exists which did not at the time of his writing.

The area where the influence of Nepali is most clear is, unsurprisingly, the lexicon, including basic vocabulary. In some cases, the native word coexists alongside the loanword. I found that when a speaker was performing a story for me to record, whatever audience there was would routinely interrupt to 'correct' the speaker and feed him a native word when he could only think of the Nepali borrowing. (Michailovsky reports the same scenario in his work with Hayu. 1988: 44)

The borrowing of lexical items from Nepali is manifested in two different ways: the words are either borrowed directly, with no phonological changes, or they are somewhat phonologically modified. In the glossary provided in the appendix, the words marked "(Nepali)" are those which are clearly and undoubtedly borrowed from Nepali, in being directly taken from Nepali with no phonological changes, or with minor phonological changes. When the changes are more significant (such as *birma*, 'cat', where the Nepali is [biralo]) I do not mark these as loanwords: they appear to be derived from the Nepali form, but are different enough that there is some doubt. Words such as these perhaps represent older loans, which have been used in Thulung long enough to be assimilated into the language according to some criteria which is not apparent to me. Other words are only somewhat modified, such as *makai*, 'corn', from Nepali [məkai][6], and I have not been able to determine whether the modifications are consistent across the population, or whether the words are borrowed on the fly, and whether the changes undergone are a matter of how well the speakers knows Nepali. It is interesting that for words which distinctly show phonological properties not found in Thulung, the borrowed form is much more likely to be very close to what the word is in Nepali: Thulung does not have initial /ʈ/, and words which are ʈ-initial are therefore marked in terms of their origin, and not assimilated[7].

[6] Generally, Nepali [ə] is rendered as Thulung [ɔ], yet I never encountered [mɔkai] but always [makai].

[7] *ʈãu* 'place', *ʈel* 'oil' are borrowed as is, whereas a word like *haddhi* 'elephant' is slightly different from the Nepali *hatti*.

Specific lexical changes

Numerals: Matisoff (1997) points out that in many TB languages of Nepal, native numbers are now limited to the first three or four cardinals, with Nepali used elsewhere, despite the difficulty of Nepali numerals past ten[8]. The same is the case in Thulung: no one in Mukli can count past four in Thulung (Allen reports the same phenomenon in the 1970's). The first three numerals are used fairly often in set expressions and are therefore still used, always in an expression with a classifier (*ko-le, nɔ-le, su-le*: 'one', 'two', 'three' with the generic classifier). All other numerals have fallen out of use and have been replaced by Nepali.

Numeral classifiers are a common feature of Sino-Tibetan, and consequently TB, languages. In some languages, there are a large number of classes, such as in Newari. In Thulung, however, there are very few classes left, even at the time of Allen's research. The remaining classifiers are the generic classifier *-le*, used for both animate and inanimate nouns; *-phe* (most often replaced by the general classifier), used for counting generally round objects, such as coins, bananas, bread; *-lem*, used for counting days (but only up to three nowadays: *ko-lem, nɔ-lem, su-lem* being 'one', 'two' and 'three days' respectively). Allen reports the general and the day-counting classifiers, and mentions earlier research during the 19th century which describes separate classes for round (*-bop*), elongated (*-sul*) and flat (*-phe*) objects, the first two of which have fallen out of use.

[8] The following list of numbers 1-30 shows that the patterns are difficult to identify, making the learning of the cardinal numbers a matter of memorization, as opposed to logical deduction.
1.ek, 2.dui, 3.tin, 4.caar, 5.paanc, 6.cha, 7.saat, 8.aaṭh, 9.nau, 10.das, 11.eghaara, 12.baahra, 13.tehra, 14.caudha, 15.pandhra, 16.sohra, 17.satra, 18.aṭhaara, 19.unnais, 20.bis, 21.ekkaais, 22.baais, 23.teis, 24.caubis, 25.paccis, 26.chabbis, 27.sattaais, 28.aṭṭhaais, 29.unantis, 30.tis.

Nepali has a very simple system of numeral classifiers, with one for humans (-*jaanaa*) and another generic (-ʈaa), and the reduction in the system of Thulung looks to be a result of the influence of Nepali. This is an interesting development considering that according to Matisoff (1978: 78) "it seems obvious that the Nepali and Bengali classifier systems are due to TB influence".

There are productive rules for nativizing Nepali verbs into Thulung, and the verb valence is taken into account: the verb is made into a verbal noun, in -*e*. It is followed by *bo-mu* 'to do' for transitive verbs. It appears that *bo-mu* is often elided to -*mu*, the native infinitive suffix.[9] Some examples of both forms include *tshɔle bo-mu* (vt) 'to deceive', *sɔlla bo-mu* (vt) 'to decide', and *pare-mu* (vt) 'to study', *hule-mu* (vt) 'to bring in'. For intransitive verbs, *dym-mu*, 'to become', follows the verbal noun: *sɔre dym-mu (*vi) 'to move houses', *pɔtte dym-mu* (vi) 'to believe'.

For transitives, it seems that the degree of integration into Thulung determines how the borrowed verbs are conjugated, in other words whether or not they are transparently formed from *bo-mu* or not. Thus *hurke bo-mu*, 'to raise a child', is inflected for 1s agent and 3s patient as *hurke be-uto*, whereas other verbs are better integrated, such as *khade-mu*, 'to stuff' (from Nepali *khaḍ-nu*), which for the same person combination is *khade-uto* (stuff-1s/3s.PST). In some cases though, there is variation

[9] The argument for the treatment of certain verbs as forms showing the elision of *bo-mu* is that there are quite a few verbs in the language, which are clearly borrowed from a recognizable Nepali verb, which have an e- final root, following by the Thulung infinitive marker. These forms are sometimes interchangeable with forms root+e *bo-mu*. Additionally, Nepali loan verbs which are borrowed as root-e-mu are exclusively transitive, while the intransitive borrowed verbs always end with *dym-mu*.

between the form with *bo-mu* and the more integrated verb: *pare-mu* and *pare bo-mu* (vt) 'to study' (from Nepali *parau-nu*) are both found, as indicated by the 3s agent/3s patient forms *pary-ry* and *pare by-ry* (study-3s/3s.PST and study do-3s/3s.PST respectively, both uttered by the same speaker). The same is true of *tsae bo-mu* (vt) 'to want, to need', which is variously *tsae be-u* or *tsae-u* (need do-1s/3s or need-1s/3s respectively). This type of flexibility with respect to how the verb is inflected, reflecting *bo-mu* or a more integrated infinitive suffix *-mu*, seems to apply to many borrowed transitive verbs.

Nepali copulas *ho* and *tsha* are borrowed into Thulung, in invariable form, alongside the single native copula, *bu-mu* (in the infinitive). Their use is described in the chapter on finite verbs.

Function words:

Certain Nepali function words are pervasive in Thulung narratives. One is *tsahi*, the contrastive marker, for which there is no native equivalent. Other loanwords which appear frequently in story-telling are *ɔbɔ* 'now', *ɔthɔwa* 'or', *ki* 'or, right?', *ni* 'indeed', *ta* 'indeed', *tɔrɔ* 'but', as well as expressions based on the borrowed copula such as *ho ta ni*, expressing confirmation, and *ho ki*, asking for confirmation. *ki*, which is used sentence finally, is the equivalent of English 'right?', in story-telling--it creates a small pause for the audience to assimilate what is being said. *ki* is also a subordinator, discussed below.

Certain collocations are borrowed from Nepali, and nativized by using Thulung function words while borrowing the content word and the form of the expression. The Nepali expression (NP)-*ko bare-maa*[10] (lit. '(NP)-GEN regards-LOC') is rendered in Thulung as (NP)-*kam bare-ra*, with the native genitive and locative markers inserted into the otherwise unchanged expression. This is also seen with Nepali (NP)-*ko laagi* 'for the sake of (NP)', which in Thulung becomes (NP)-*kam lagi* (with native genitive marker -*kam*), in other words again borrowing the expression but nativizing it somewhat.

Phonological:

Whereas vowel length is contrastive in Thulung according to Allen's study, I found that such contrasts are no longer phonemic or consistent nowadays. In his grammar, Allen lists a number of length-contrastive minimal and near-minimal pairs, but he states that in certain non-verbal forms, long and short vowels are in free variation. This free variation seems to have been taken to its logical end, resulting in the present situation.

Nepali does not make vowel length distinctions[11] and the reduction in the phonological system of Thulung can be seen as a move towards the Nepali system. Phonological reduction is one of the first things to happen across generations in language death/loss situations, with bilingual speakers making fewer phonological distinctions than

[10] Where NP represents whatever Noun Phrase is inserted into the collocation.
[11] It does in the writing system, devanagari, which distinguishes long and short a, u, i, but this is a remnant of distinctions made in Sanskrit which do not apply to modern spoken Nepali. Devanagari long and short a correspond to /a/ and /ə/--as Thulung has no schwa, it renders the schwa as /a/, like in native Thulung words.

fully competent speakers, such as by losing contrastive vowel length (when not in the dominant language) (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 186).

Allen mentions finding certain tonal contrasts in Thulung at the time of his research. The constrasts result in some words having what Allen calls 'tense' tone (1975: 32), but the 'great majority' of words were not marked with this tone. They are generally inconsistent when no minimal pairs are available (even for the same informant), but consistent for minimal pairs (1975: 33). He also notes that the great majority of Thulung words sound equally natural with or without tone. He never encountered difficulties with others understanding his Thulung, even though he never used tones, but tone still seemed to be a contrastive device for some speakers of the language.

I have not found any evidence of tone in Thulung. Allen does mention that it is mostly older speakers who made any tonal distinctions he found, and none of these individuals are alive any longer. Tone loss can be assumed to be another facet of change that comes from bilingual speakers reducing the phonological system of one language to be more like that of another, making fewer phonological distinctions than a fully competent speaker is capable of (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 186). The fact that there is no tone in Nepali makes the loss look convincingly like a contact phenomenon.

The question of tone is quite puzzling, as tonal contrasts are very uncommon among Kiranti languages (Distinctive tone is found in Khaling, according to Ebert 1994: 17; it is also found in Sherpa (Barbara Kelly, pc), which, although not a member of the Kiranti branch, is spoken a few hours by foot away from Mukli). Thulung is considered to form a separate subgroup from the other Kiranti languages (Bradley 1997: 18), and the presence of tone may be responsible for this analysis. It seems that the inconsistency with

which tone is present nowadays hints at a tonal system which faded out before being fully established.

Morphosyntax:

Pronoun system: The seeds of change are already visible in Allen's data, as he notes that there is a beginning of a tendency to use the second plural personal pronoun as an honorific (1975: 40). I found that the pattern is now strongly established, and that the pronoun system has shifted from a fairly simple system:

1s 1de 1di 1pe 1pi[12]

2s 2d 2p

3s 3d 3p

to a more complex system (because of the addition of honorific forms in the second and third person singular):

1s 1de 1di 1pe 1pi

2s 2s-formal 2d 2p

3s 3s-formal 3d 3p

These distinctions are made in the personal pronouns, but not in the verb inflection, which maintains only the pronominal distinctions found in the older system. This means that 2s-formal and 3s-formal take the verbal endings which also apply to 2p and 3p respectively.

Honorific pronominal forms are found in Burmese and Tibetan, as well as in Newari (a TB language of Nepal), but otherwise such an honorific distinction is quite

[12] where s, d, p stand for singular, dual, plural respectively, and i and e stand for inclusive and exclusive.

unusual for TB. Their presence in Thulung is the direct result of the influence of Nepali, which makes such distinctions among its pronouns.

Case-marking: Thulung has a split ergative system, with the split occurring along pronominal lines. According to Allen, the split used to occur between second and third persons, a typologically common position for such a split, with the first and second persons being marked for nominative/accusative and the third person and all other NPs taking ergative/absolutive marking. The split is no longer as simple as it was, as a result of the shifted pronoun system. Ergative/absolutive marking is now applied to second person plural, all third persons and common NPs, whereas the nominative/accusative marking is taken by all first persons, and second singular, singular honorific and dual. While this is not the same split ergative system as we see in Nepali (where the split occurs along the lines of tense, with past tense marked for ergative and non-past for accusative), the shift in the Thulung system is a direct result of a change brought about through contact with Nepali, namely the shift in the pronoun system.

Thulung has a dative[13] case-marker, *-lai*, which has been borrowed from Nepali, where it covers the same roles. Allen claims that traditionally both direct and indirect objects were unmarked (1975: 92), but his comment that "it is very frequent in present day Thulung for one or the other to be marked with the Nepali suffix -lai especially if they are animate" (1975: 92) does not help clarify any rough time frame for the introduction of the marker into Thulung.

[13] The term is used for primary objects: ie direct object of monotransitives, and indirect object of ditransitives. (Bickel and Nichols, 2001 ms.: 93)

The dative marker is used, optionally, in expressions of bodily and mental states: the experiencer receives dative marking, and the verb is in an impersonal 3S form. Example 1 shows the Thulung construction, followed by the direct Nepali equivalent (example 2). In 3 we have another Thulung sentence with the same construction.

1. go-lai kwara ly-ra[14]
   1s-DAT thirst feel-3S.PST
   I am thirsty

2. ma-laai tirkhaa laag-yo
   I-DAT thirst affect-3S.PST
   I am thirsty.

3. go-lai thʃoktʃho bɔk-ta
   1s-DAT anger arise-3S.PST
   I am angry ('anger arose in me')

This shows that the incorporation of the construction into Thulung has gone rather far, to the point that it is even used with verbs different from those in the canonical Nepali expression (which is always *laagnu*).

For some expressions, the 'impersonal' construction coexists with a similar expression of canonical transitive form, with an agent which commands the inflected verb.

4. go-lai bira ŋim ly-ra
   1s-DAT leech fear feel-3s.PST
   I am afraid of leeches.

[14] The use of the past tense form in verbs of emotion and sensation is common to languages of this area, including Nepali. Van Driem says about Limbu that "Verbs of perception are telic statives and take the preterit when their English translation requires a present tense. The choice of tense in Limbu is contingent upon the moment of perception." (1987: 89)

5. go bira-num ŋi-ŋu.
1s leech-with fear-1s
I am afraid of leeches.

6. go-lai Phaplu lɔ-lɔ dwa[15]
1s-DAT Phaplu go-go want.3s
I want to go to Phaplu.

7. go-lai Phaplu lɔ-mu dwa
1s-DAT Phaplu go-NOM.inf want.3s

8. go Phaplu lɔ-mu dwak-pu
1s Phaplu go-NOM.inf want-1s/3s

For expressions of obligation, there is hesitation about the marking of the agent, as in example 9:

9 go/go-lai swar kho-mu basi
1s/1s-DAT bamboo cook-NOM.inf OBL
I must prepare the bamboo (for basket making.)

My informant claimed that the *-lai* form was 'more correct' even though both types of marking are found commonly in speech. The Nepali equivalent of the sentence is seen in 10.

10. ma tʃoja banau-nu par-cha
I bamboo prepare-INF must-3s

It is possible that the *-lai* form for Thulung is prefered by my informant because it is less Nepali-like.

There are therefore certain constructions where the subject is dative-marked and an impersonal form of the inflected verb is used. These expressions coexist alongside

nominative-marked subject sentences. Bickel (1999b) mentions how this is typical of languages "at the border between the South Asian and the South East Asian domain of influence", which typically show patterns of experiencer-marking seen in both areas: with the dative, like the Sino-Tibetan languages of South Asia[16], and with the nominative, like the languages of South-East Asia ("in line with Tai-Kadai, Miao-Yao and Mon-Khmer languages" (ibid: 3). Thulung, then, is behaving according to a pattern also seen in other Tibeto-Burman languages in its same geographical area. The dative marker is almost certainly a borrowing from Nepali, where it marks the same functions, and the use of the dative marker in 'emotive predicates' therefore appears to be a result of long-standing contact with Indo-European languages of the area, broadly, and Nepali, more specifically. For my young informant, the preferred constructions in Thulung were the least Nepali ones, perhaps representing a perception that the construction is borrowed and encroaching upon earlier Thulung constructions.

The purposive is expressed with the locative marker, -ra/-ɖa, which is suffixed to the verb root.

11. gui po-ɖi **breb-ɖa** badzar lɔ-mu basi
1pi chicken-egg buy-PURP market go-NOM.inf OBL
We must go to the market in order to buy eggs.

[15] Reduplication of the verb root before the modal *dwa-mu* 'to want, to like' is seen quite frequently, but by no means necessary. If the verb complement is not reduplicated, then it must be in infinitive form, as in examples 7 and 8.

[16] And like Indo-European languages from South-Asia, which "encode experiencers as the 'goal' or 'receiver'…, ie by using a dative or accusative case." (Bickel 1999: 3)

However, the formula most often used nowadays is a nativized Nepali borrowing, *-kam lagi*, which is affixed to the infinitive form of the verb.

12. gui po-ɖi **bre-mu-kam** **lagi** badzar lɔ-mu basi
1pi chicken-egg buy-NOM.inf-GEN N.sake N.market go-NOM.inf OBL
We must go to the market in order to buy eggs.

The original construction in Nepali is *-ko lagi*, where *-ko* is the genitive marker, which is replaced by the native genitive marker *-kam* in Thulung. Allen does not mention this borrowed construction at all, suggesting that it may be a recent arrival into Thulung.

The causal marker is an instrumental marker, used to subordinate a clause which provides the explanation for the event described in the main clause. The marker *-ka* is suffixed to the nominalized finite verb in the subordinate:

13. ama-bida **bu-mim-ka** go khusi bu-ŋu
1POSS-N.holiday be-NOM-INSTR 1s N.happy be-1s
Because I have a holiday, I am happy.

There is another common construction to express causality:

14. go khusi bu-ŋu **haŋa-bhane** ama-bida bu
1s N.happy be-1s why-N.if 1POSS-N.holiday be.3s
I am happy because I have a holiday.

haŋa-bhane is a calque of Nepali *kinaa bhane*, also used to give an explanation for a certain event: *haŋa* is the Thulung equivalent of Nepali question word 'why', and *bhane*, the conditional/quotative particle, is borrowed as is.

What is interesting about this example is that it causes a shift in word order: whereas the Thulung order was originally causal clause + subordinator *-ka* + main clause, the order with this borrowed subordinator is reversed to main clause + subordinator haŋa *bhane* + causal clause. This is reminiscent of the change in word order seen in Kupwar

Kannada with the introduction of subordinator *-ki* to embed quotes or question sentences (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 88).

The *-ka* construction is still widely used, but the existence of the alternative may eventually gain ground. Interestingly though, Nepali also has an equivalent of the *-ka* construction, using the Nepali instrumental marker *-le* in much the same way as *-ka* in Thulung. It is possible that this is contributing to the maintenance of the construction with *-ka*, despite the presence of a borrowed alternative.

The subordinator *ki* is borrowed to embed quotations, just like in Kupwar Kannada where ki is borrowed for the same purpose from Hindi-Urdu (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 88).

15. ama-wotsy u-sathi-mim-lai rak-ta
1POSS-husband 3POSS-N.friend-PLU-DAT say-3s/3s.PST

ki go mi-brɔpa dzam khok-pu
KI 1s NEG-good food cook-1s/3s

My husband told his friends that I cook terrible food.

This construction with the borrowed subordinator is not terribly frequent, and quotations are more often embedded directly with no subordinating material.[17] However, when it does occur, it also has an effect on the word order (as with causal clauses, seen above), by resulting in matrix clause + subordinator *ki* + subordinate clause order. The Thulung order would be as follows, with the subordinate clause embedded into the matrix and no subordinator present (the translation into English is the same).

[17] This is discussed in the "embedded quotations" section under each of the two converbs and sequencers, in the chapter on clause-combining.

16. ama-wotsy u-sathi-mim-lai
1POSS-husband 3POSS-N.friend-PLU-DAT

go mi-brɔpa dzam khok-pu rakta
1s NEG-good food cook-1s/3s say-3s/3s.PST

Temporal clauses show the influence of Nepali, where borrowed time words are being used to form constructions for which there is a native alternative.

Thulung has a generic temporal marker *-ka* (which appears in some time words: *dika,* 'tomorrow'; *bastaka,* 'yesterday'; *hamsika,* 'when'), which is also used post-nominally, including after nominalized clauses.

17. **tshaubis sal-ka** ghumne pani lɔk-tsoko-m
N.24 N.year-TEMP Ghumne Pani go-1pe.PST-NOM
We went to Ghumne Pani in the year 2024 (Nepali calendar)

There are also converbal suffixes, *-to* and *-saka*, and sequencers, *-lo* and *ma*, [18] which are used to express the temporal sequence of events. The primary functions of these are to express simultaneity and anteriority, respectively, both for the converbs and sequencers.

All five of these native time-related suffixes are commonly used, but alternatives also have a strong presence in the language: *patshi* 'after' and *bela-ka* (lit. N.time-TEMP) 'when' are used post-nominally with great frequency.

The expression *bela-ka* can be substituted for the temporal marker *-ka*. Thus the example above could also be rendered as

18. **tshaubis sal-kam bela-ka** ghumne pani lɔk-tsoko-m
N.24 N.year-GEN N.time-TEMP Ghumne Pani go-1pe.PST-NOM
We went to Ghumne Pani in the year 2024 (Nepali calendar)

The simultaneous converb and sequencer are often replaced by the nominalized clause followed by *bela-ka*, indicating the simultaneity of the two clauses. The following three sentences have the same temporal composition (in 19 we see the borrowed *bela-ka*, in 20, the simultaneous converb, and in 21, the simultaneous sequencer.)

19. mɯ lo **bɔne-mu** **bela-ka**, mɯ deuta rok-ta
that frog prepare-NOM.inf N.time-TEMP that N. god come-3s.PST

20. mɯ lo **bɔnet-to** mɯ deuta rok-ta
that frog prepare-SC that N. god come-3s.PST

21. mɯ lo **bɔne** **by-ry-lo** mɯ deuta rok-ta
that frog prepare do-3s/3s.PST-SS that N. god come-3s.PST

While he was preparing the frog, the god arrived.

The anterior converb (as seen in 23 below) and sequencer (as seen in 24) are often replaced by *patshi* (as in 22), following the nominalized clause, indicating the anteriority of the marked clause with respect to that which follows.

The following three sentences all have the same temporal sequencing between the clauses, and the same translation applies to all three.[19]

22. mari mu **hoʈ-miri-m** **patshi** happa mwasy tshabeʈ-miri
much fire light-3p/3s.PST-NOM N.after much soot spread-3p/3s.PST

23. mari mu **ho-saka** happa mwasy tshabeʈ-miri
much fire light-AC much soot spread-3p/3s.PST

24. mari mu **hoʈ-miri** **ma** mepmam happa mwasy tshabeʈ-miri.
much fire light-3p/3s.PST AS like.that much soot spread-3p/3s.PST

[18] These are the subject of the chapter entitled "Clause-combining".

They lit a huge fire and then spread the soot all over.

The Nepali temporal expressions have by no means replaced the native words, and coexist with them even though they overlap functionally.

Comparative constructions: *-ram*, probably a locative (*-ra*) followed by a relativizer (*-m*), is suffixed to the object of comparison.

25. ama-lwak **go-ram** jepa bu
1POSS-brother 1s-than tall be.3s
My brother is taller than I am.

An alternative means of comparing, now perhaps more common than the Thulung above, is to use the Nepali comparative *bhanda.*

26. ama-lwak **go-bhanda** jepa bu
1POSS-brother 1s-N.than tall be.3s
My brother is taller than I am.

Superlatives also show this alternation between native and borrowed material, in addition to which the very form of the superlative construction is the same across the two languages.

27. ama-del **khotle-ram/bhanda** dzɯpa bu
1POSS-village all-than/N.than beautiful be.3s
My village is the most beautiful.

The Nepali equivalent is:

[19] Only example 22 uses the Nepali loanword *patshi,* whereas examples 23 and 24 are native constructions (discussed at greater length in the chapter on Clause-combining.)

28. mero gaũ sab-bhanda ramro tsha
my village all-than beautiful copula
My village is the most beautiful.

Most clear as far as comparatives and superlatives go is that Nepali is the source of an alternative comparative, with *bhanda*. Also possible, but potentially an areal pattern instead, is the fact that Nepali is the source of the superlative construction using 'all' followed by the comparative.

Conditional clauses are marked with *mala* (sometimes just *-la*), and either one of the clauses can be non-past or past, or irrealis.

The following sentence has non-past verbs in both clauses.

29. go mukli mi-bi-ŋu **mala** ama-mam-ka dykha bo-mi
1s Mukli NEG-come-1s COND 1POSS-mother-ERG N.difficulty do-3p
If I don't come to Mukli, my mother will struggle.

The same sentence, refering to an unrealized past situation, is in the irrealis mode[20].

30. go mukli mi-bi-ŋ-wa-m **mala**
1s Mukli NEG-come-1s-IRR-NOM.rel COND

ama-mam-ka dykha be-m-ba
1POSS-mother-ERG N.difficulty do-3p-IRR

If I had not come to Mukli, my mother would have struggled.

The following two examples show conditional clauses where the condition is expressed in the past tense, while the main verb is non-past.

31. go kwara si-ŋro **mala**, go aimee-num ra-ŋu
1s thirst feel-1s.PST COND 1s Aimee-COM say-1s/3s

[20] "A prototypical irrealis mode makes no [assertion that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened]" (Payne 1998: 244) This definition helps clarify why the irrealis would occur with an unrealized event.

If I am thirsty I will tell Aimee.

32. ama-wa-ka ɖokpu mycy-num bia be-mri **mala**
1POSS-o.sibling-ERG big man-COM N.marriage do-3p/3s.PST COND

ɖokpu neb-ra dym-mi
big house-LOC become-3p

If my big sister marries an important person, she will live in a big house.

The use of the past tense in the conditional clause is reminiscent of its occurrence in the same construction in Nepali. I believe the situation to be as follows: Thulung conditional clauses can be expressed in the non-past or with irrealis, non-past refering to a future situation, and irrealis to a hypothetical past situation. The past tense was probably never used in conditionals (except that the form was the same for irrealis and negative past tenses, obscuring things somewhat[21]), until it came into Thulung under the influence of Nepali. Nepali expresses the conditional clause as either past or non-past, with the past used to make the situation more hypothetical. I believe that the use of the past tense in the first clause of a conditional sentence is a result of the influence of Nepali.

What I have described above are what I consider fairly recent examples of the influence of Nepali on Thulung. These include much lexical borrowing, even of basic vocabulary, with a productive strategy for the borrowing of Nepali verbs. Function words are also borrowed: invariable forms of both Nepali copulas; the contrastive

marker tsahi (along with nasalization, only present in loanwords); sentence-final pragmatic markers *ki, ni, ta, ho ki, ho ta ni, retsha* (evidential marker indicating good probability); subordinators *ki, haŋa bhane, kam lagi*; temporal subordinators *belaka*, *patshi, sɔmma*; comparative *bhanda*. Phonological changes are the loss of contrastive vowel length and tone. Morphosyntactic changes include the creation of a set of formal pronouns; a shift in the ergative split as a result of the introduction of new pronouns; the introduction of the dative marker -lai; the use of the past tense in conditional clauses (which are otherwise non-past or irrealis-marked); the word order change which results from using the loan subordinators *ki* and *haŋa bhane*.

These changes are a result of intensive contact with Nepali, which is a typologically similar language of high sociopolitical status. The phenomena we have seen above fall into the category of moderate interference, which I believe places Thulung on the borderline of categories 3 and 4 of the scale set up by Thomason and Kaufman[22]. Because of the limited number of speakers (my estimate hovers around 1000) and increasing pressure of Nepali (as more and more young Thulung decide to settle permanently in Kathmandu, away from a strong speaker population), the transition to language death could be a very rapid affair.

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[21] The use of irrealis in the formation of negative past tense forms is discussed in the chapter on finite verbs.

[22] This borrowing scale goes from 1 to 5: 1 is casual contact, with lexical borrowing only; 2 is slightly more intense contact (lexical plus slight structural borrowing); 3 is more intense contact (with slightly more structural borrowing than level 2); 4 is strong cultural pressure (with moderate structural borrowing); 5 is very strong cultural pressure (with heavy structural borrowing). The levels of the scale are amply exemplified with data from various languages. I have modeled my brief discussion on the inroads of

Typological overview of the language

Salient typological features of Thulung include the following:

- Extensively suffixing language, with basic S O V order.
- Nouns can be inflected for number, singular, dual or plural.
- Large number of grammatical and local case enclitics, which are all suffixal except for the negation and pronominal prefixes.
- Morphological ergative split, with nominative-dative marking for 1 person and 2 singular and dual; ergative-dative marking for 2 plural,third persons, and all other NPs.
- Verbs can be inflected for tense, aspect, mood; verbs are inflected for person, with up to two suffixal slots, maximally filled by agent and non-third person primary object.

Nepali on their case studies and examples, in trying to cover the same type of range of contact-induced phenomena for Thulung as Thomason and Kaufman use in their book.

Chapter 1

PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes the sound system of the language, as well as the morphophonological rules which affect the grammar.

Syllable structure

(Ci) (G1) (G2) V (Cf)

The syllable structure is simple: Ci represents initial consonants, G represents glides (which are part of the consonant inventory: l, r, w, j), V represents the vowel (including diphthongs: only in loanwords can a string of two vowels occur within the same morpheme), Cf represents the final consonants.

The parentheses mark certain phonemes as optionally part of the basic syllable: a morpheme can minimally be a single vowel, such as *o*, 'this'.

The discussion which follows treats Ci, V and Cf separately, showing what can occur in the slots of the syllable structure. The phonemes which are not discussed separately are the glides. These are l, r, j, w, and can be broken down into G1: l, r, and G2: w, j. Because of the parentheses, marking the optional nature of any of these, a

syllable can begin with any Ci, as well as with any G1 or G2. The logic behind G1 and G2 is that when both glide slots are filled, they will occur in a fixed order: the possibilities for two glides are rw, rj, lw and lj. These combinations of glides are seen in the following words.

G1: r G2: w

rwa	tapeworm
brwa	cliff

G1: r G2: j

rja-mu	to write

G1: l G2: w

lwa-mu	to see, to find
glwa-mu	to win

G1: l G2: j

lju	bamboo

As we will see, the Cf class is more restricted than the Ci: aspirated consonants do not occur here, nor do voiced consonants (unless they are word-internal and followed by a voiced segment.)

Initial consonants

The following table shows consonants which can appear in the initial position, within a morpheme or syllable. This table shows only initial consonants as they appear in native words.

k	kh	g		ŋ
ts	tsh	dz	dzh	
t	th	d	dh	n
		ɖ		
p	ph	b	bh	m
r	l	j	w	
s	h	ʔ		

Table 3 Initial consonants

Nepali loanwords additionally make use of gh, ʈ, ʈh, ɖh.

The symbols in the table have the IPA values. The exceptions are /kh/, /th/, /ph/, /dh/, /bh/ which are IPA [k^h], [t^h], [p^h], [d^h], [b^h] respectively. The other set of exceptions are the affricates: I represent affricates [ts], [ts^h], [dz], [dz^h] as /ts/, /tsh/, /dz/, /dzh/, but it

must be noted that younger speakers used [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [dʒ], [dʒʰ] (the alveo-palatal series), which are the same affricates found in Nepali. This is presumably because of bilingualism with Nepali.

Voicing is phonemic, as is shown by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs.

k, g	*ku* 'water', gu '3s pronoun'; *ke* 'curry/vegetables', *ge* 'he comes up'
ts, dz	*tsamsi-mu* 'to play', *dzam* 'rice (cooked)'
tsh, dzh	*tsha-mu* 'to spread out', *dzham-mu* 'to be able to'
t, d	*ta-mu* 'to fall down', *damu* 'sky'
th, dh	*tha-mu* 'to convince', *dha-mu* 'to dig'
p, b	*pɔ* 'yam', *bɔ* 'he rises', *pun-mu* 'to spring out from the ground', *bu-mu* 'to be'
ph, bh	*phurku* 'dust', *bhur-mu* 'to get angry'
m, n, ŋ	*malom* 'baby', *nalesam-mu* 'to tease', *ŋali* 'appearance'

Aspiration is also phonemic.

kh, k	*khɔle* 'everything', *kɔl* 'face'; *pakha* outside, *lamtsaka* 'door'
ts, tsh	*tse-mu* 'to pick through', *tshe-mu* 'to know'; *noktsho* shaman, *tshoktso* 'anger'
th, t	*tho* 'big pot', *tosi* 'religious festival'; *mamtha* 'last year', *pumta* 'buttocks'

dh, d *dala* ‘fast’, *dhali* ‘above’; *dym-mu* ‘to become’, *dhypa* ‘long;

ph, p *par-mu* ‘to throw away’, *phar* ‘nearby’; *diphu* ‘later’, *pipu* ‘moth’

Aspirated phonemes are not found in syllable-final position. The one exception, *siphsiph*, ‘cricket’, is an onomatope. As mentioned in conjuction with the consonant inventory, gh only appears in loan words and Nepali place names.

Allophony:

s becomes [ʃ] before y, ɯ and is realized as [s] elsewhere.

sy [ʃy]	who
sɯbem [ʃɯbem]	bread
nepsum [nepsum]	sun
si-mu [simu]	to die
ser [ser]	bone

ɖ and ʈ are in complementary distribution in native words: ɖ is devoiced to ʈ in word-final position. Syllable-finally, the voicing is maintained if the following syllable begins with a voiced segment.

ɖu-mu	to drink
hoʈ	bet, contest
seɖ-ɖy	kill-3s/3s.PST

Vowels

Monophthongs

i	y		ɯ	u
e				o
				ɔ
		a		

Table 4 Vowels

Some minimal pairs distinguish these vowels

i, y	li ,‘teeth’; ly, ‘it tastes, it feels’
ɯ, u	mɯ, ‘that’; mu,‘fire’
o, ɔ	lo, ‘frog’; lɔ, ‘he goes’

Diphthongs

I treat the most important falling “diphthongs” (like *ja*, *wa*) as combinations of a glide and vowel, rather than as diphthongs. This is due to the fact that they occur word-initially (which the other diphthongs do not). I sometimes use the notation *ia*, and this is at times when, in loanwords, each vowel carries its own weight: generally these words in Nepali have an h between the vowels, which is not rendered in Thulung.

Diphthongs do not appear very frequently in native words, occurring much more often in Nepali loan words. Some native examples are given below.

ai only found in loanwords (except for one word, paitaŋ ‘copper’)

au bhausa ‘fox’; sau ‘blacksmith (caste)’

ea khlea ‘dog’ (sounds distinct from the glide + vowel, but is the only exemplar of this diphthong, and the only falling diphthong which I have not treated as a glide + vowel)

eu neunem ‘day before yesterday’; Deusa (place name)

ɔi mɔipu ‘quail’

ɔu khɔuluŋ ‘money’

Diphthongs in general in Thulung are not very common within a morpheme, although they are quite likely to be found across morpheme boundaries when a personal ending is added to a verb root.

Nasality

Nasalized vowels are found in loan words, such as tsãhi, ʈãu, as well as ahãʔ,’yeah’, but otherwise are not a distinctive feature in Thulung.

Final consonants

The following table shows the consonants which can occur in morpheme or syllable final position in native words. All symbols have IPA values.

k		ŋ
	(d)	
		n
ʈ	(ɖ)	
p	(b)	m
r	l	(s)

Table 5 Final consonants

The parentheses indicate final consonants which only occur word-internally:

In the case of b, d and ɖ the voiced nature of the consonant is a result of voicing assimilation with the following consonant (eg *suhadda* 'three years ago', *nahadda* 'two years ago', *nebdikebdi* 'place to stay', *subdi* 'forest', *khaɖ-ɖy* 'he drove him out')

s appears word-internally in words such as *basta* 'yesterday', *buskam* 'log'.

Distribution patterns for final consonants

Voiced and aspirated stops are not found word-finally. Voiced segments are found syllable-finally only as a result of assimilative voicing with the following segment.

p and k are found word-finally, t is not.

Words exemplifying final consonants

k lwak ‘y.sibling’

p anep ‘today’, pap ‘father’

t̚ hot̚ ‘bet’

ŋ luŋ ‘stone’

n din ‘pond’

m nem ‘day’

r ser ‘bone’

l del ‘village’

Rhymes

For native Thulung words, the possible combinations of Vowel plus Final Consonant are as follows.

Rhymes with stops are formed exclusively with voiceless unaspirated velar and bilabial stops. The exceptions are *siphsiph*, ‘cricket’, which is an onomatope, and word-internal exceptions consisted of voiced stops where the initial of the following syllable

was voiced, such as *subdi*, 'forest'. This is simple voicing assimilation, and only occurs word-internally.

Rhymes with a voiceless retroflex consonant were found, although these are statistically very infrequent. Examples are bɔʈtsɯ, 'guest'(not found in the Iki Lwa Thulung dictionary.); *hoʈ*, 'bet'. Verbs with an alternating stem in -ɖ[1] can have syllable final -ɖ or -ʈ, depending on the personal ending which follows. This suggests the distribution pattern discussed above, whereby ɖ and ʈ are in complementary distribution: ɖ occurs word-initially and syllable-finally before voiced segments, ʈ occurs syllable- and word-finally.

Rhymes with affricates were not found.

Rhymes with nasals are well-attested: all combinations of vowel plus nasal are possible except for yŋ and ɯŋ

iŋ	in	im
	yn	ym
eŋ	en	em
aŋ	an	am
ɔŋ	ɔn	ɔm
oŋ	on	om
uŋ	un	um
	ɯn	ɯm

[1] See the chapter on Finite verbs for more discussion of the verb classes.

Examples of each rhyme are seen in the following (reflecting the gaps seen above):

kwaktsiŋgel ‘snail’	din ‘pond’	ŋim ‘fear’
	hyn-mu ‘have time’	dym ‘become.3s’
koreŋ ‘dried’	jen-mu ‘to call’	sem ‘hair’
munaŋ ‘spring, well’	bante ‘where’	ham ‘how’
nɔŋ ‘name’	gɔn-mu ‘to sit’	ɔm-mu ‘to sleep’
ghɔrkoŋ ‘second’	on-mu ‘to run’	hom ‘like this’
luŋ ‘rock’	hun-mu ‘to fly’	nunum ‘green’
	thɯn-ɖy	rɯm ‘body’

Noticeable here though is the distribution in word-final and syllable-final position:

Apart from *in* no -n-final rhyme is found in word-final position.

iŋ was not found word-finally.

ɔm was not found word-finally.

The general patterns arising from this are that rhymes with *m* as final consonant are readily available, in combination with all vowels but *ɔ*.

iŋ, uŋ, yŋ were not found word-finally (and of these only iŋ was found word-internally), but the remaining high vowel *u* is used to form what is probably the most common -ŋ-final rhyme in the language: *uŋ*

The laterals are well-represented in rhymes.

Examples with Cf *r*

ir birma ‘cat’

yr thyr-mu ‘to pull’

er ser ‘bone’

ar ɖɯmar ‘torch’

ɯr ɖɯr ‘deer’

ur kur ‘hole’

or sor ‘uncooked rice’

(no ɔr)

The high front vowels do not form rhymes with r which occur word-finally, but only word-internally. *ɔr* is found in neither position.

Examples with Cf *l*

(no il)

yl syl ‘imprint’

el sypel ‘mosquito’

al bhal ‘far off’

ɯl dzɯl-mu ‘to place for someone’

ul khul ‘shade’

ol ol ‘sunlight’

ɔl brɔl ‘seed’

Cf l can occur in many rhymes word-finally. Only *il* does not occur at all, and *ul* is restricted to word-internal positions.

Rhymes with -s were only found syllable-finally (as opposed to word-finally), and were limited to as and us (egs. basta, 'yesterday'; buskam, 'log')

Vowel length

Allen describes the sound system of Thulung as having distinctive vowel length, as well as phonemic tone, neither of which I found at the time of my research. Very occasionally vowels would be long, but this was not phonemic but rather as a result of grammatical constructions, such as verbal inflections on a vowel-final stem which would appear as a long vowel when it was in fact a grammatically constructed geminate. Also vowel length (and similarly, consonant gemination) could sometimes be used for emphasis: *make* ('long ago') could be pronounced *maake* ('very long ago'), but I do not think this makes vowel length s a significant phonemic factor in the language.

I believe that vowel length was indeed an integral part of the language in earlier times. A dictionary compiled over the last decade by some Thulung people marks vowel length. Additionally, the inflectional system is described by Allen as showing compensatory lengthening where a verb stem disappears (in alternating between two stems).

In the cases where I was given pairs of lexical items with different vowel length, these were not consistent, and would sometimes be switched by the next elicitation session. This is similar to the situation described by Allen regarding tone. It suggests

very strongly that this language once had a regular, phonemic vowel length distinction, and that it is in the process of being lost. As mentioned above, it is still used "intonationally" for emphasis.

Tone

Allen also mentioned the existence of tone in Thulung. At the time of his research, tone already was restricted to a small number of infrequently used words, in addition to which the tonal rendition of these words was not consistent (even with the same informant) over the course of time.[2] Additionally, he mentions that in speaking himself he never used tone, and this did not affect his audience's understanding nor did his inability to catch tonal distinctions affect his comprehension of the language. I did not notice any evidence of tone while I was working with informants on Thulung. The tonogenesis Allen mentions is a matter of maintaining tense distinctions in verbs in compensation for the loss of segmental phonemes in those forms. At any rate, it seems that by the time he was working on the language, tone was very inconsistently marked in the few cases where it was marked at all, and he mentioned that the influence of Nepali was eroding even that. Thirty years of ever more intense contact must have taken care of completing the loss, because no sign was left when I was collecting my field data.

As far as vowel length goes, the situation reported by Allen for tone is similar to what I found on phonemic vowel length. Because I was looking for contrastive length, I kept asking for it, and to placate me, the informant would give me minimal pairs of words

[2] The tonal opposition Allen found is one of tense versus lax. Tense is described as being "pronounced faster and in a more fortis manner" (1975: 32) and is marked with an apostrophe preceding the word. Some

where vowel length was supposedly significant. This showed no consistency, and vowel length was not a noticeable factor in fluent speech. I take this to mean that vowel length is no longer phonemic, except for emphasis.

Morphophonological rules

r/ɖ̣ distribution

r and ɖ̣ are two separate phonemes, but they are in an allophonic relationship when they are morpheme-initial in grammatical material.

Lexically, the two are distinct, as shown by the following minimal pairs: *rym-mu*, 'to pick up' vs *ɖymla*, 'culture'; *rum*, 'body', vs *ɖ̣uma*, 'millet paste'; *rokta*, 'he came', vs *ɖ̣okpu*, 'big'.

Grammatically, their distribution is different. They appear in the general locative marker, the past 3s and 1pi forms of some verbs, and in the purposive form of verbs. In such cases, the distribution is as follows.

-ra can appear in any environment :

iskul-ra
N.school-LOC
tukumtsim-ra
dusk-LOC
neb-ra
house-LOC
ʈau-ra
N.place-LOC
sɯbdi-ra

---

pairs are clearly distinguished, such as *saw* 'blacksmith' and '*saw* 'tiger'; other words are inconsistently tonal: *ŋaw* 'important man' and *yaw* 'season' can be either tense or lax. Discussion is on pages 32-37.

forest-LOC
koʈha-ra
N.room-LOC
tsɯtsɯ-ra
child-LOC (during childhood)

-ɖa is blocked postvocalically

*Mukli-ɖa
*koʈha-ɖa
*ku-ɖa *ku-ɖra

and can only appear as -ɖɖa in such positions
ku-ɖɖa
water-LOC
kwa-ɖɖa
mud-LOC

-ɖa is allowed post-consonantally
neb-ɖa
house-LOC
pareb-ɖa
study-PURP
in order to study
peb-ɖa
eat-PURP
in order to eat
grɯm-ɖa
meet-PURP
in order to meet

In sum, r and ɖ are in free variation post-consonantally, but only r occurs post-vocalically. An allomorph -ɖɖa of the locative is used for vowel-final words, as an alternative to -ra.

This distribution does not only concern the locative, and the same distribution is found in combining verb roots and endings (as seen in the next section), and also within endings:

ra-mri, ra-mḍi
say-3p.PST

Personal ending allomorphy

Some personal endings[3] show allomorphy depending on their environment, i.e. depending on the root to which they attach. Most personal ending forms are invariable, but two personal endings show allomorphy. These are the forms which are portmanteau morphemes encoding third person singular (3s) and first person plural inclusive (1pi) subject or agent and past tense.

The verb root environment triggers a different personal ending, but this is the case only with 3s and 1pi agents or subjects in the past, whereas other personal endings are invariable. Examples of this allomorphy are seen below (all examples are of a 3s agent acting on a 3s object in the past). The basic shape of these examples is

verb.root-personal.ending

rjak-ty	'he wrote it'
lwas-ty	'he saw it'
kur-ry	'he carried it'
cai-ry	'he burned it'
mal-ly	'he searched for it'
seḍ-ḍy	'he killed it'
mun-ry/mun-ḍy	'he established it'
plym-ry/plym-ḍy	'he put it in water'
ḍuŋ-ry/ḍuŋ-ḍy	'he drank it'
reb-ry/reb-ḍy	'he watched it'

[3] These are discussed fully in the chapter on Finite verbs.

The allomorphy of the personal endings is conditioned by the phonological environment of the verb root is combines with. The distribution for 3s agent endings is as follows

[ty] is found following a root ending in /k/ or /s/
[ry] is found following a root ending in /r/ or V (any vowel)
[ly] is found following a root ending in /l/
[ɖy] is found following a root ending in /ɖ/
There is free variation [ry] and [ɖy] following roots ending in /n/, /m/, /ŋ/, /b/

The same distribution is found with the personal ending encoding 3s subject past (the allomorphs are ta, ra, la, ɖa and ra/ɖa) and the personal ending encoding 1pi subject or agent for past events (the allomorphs are ti, ri, li, ɖi and ri/ɖi)

I posit a basic form for these person ending which is t-initial. The logic behind the choice is that the environments where these allomorphs are found is the most varied, whereas in the cases of the others, there are assimilative explanations.

The rules conditioning the choice of personal ending for 3s and 1pi agents or subjects for past events are therefore as follows:

/t/ → [r] / r + __, V + __

/t/ → [l] / l + __

/t/ → [ɖ]/ ɖ + __

/t/ → [ɖ] or [r] in free variation / n + __, m + __, ŋ + __, b + __

/t/ remains [t] elsewhere.

Allomorphy of verb stems

Some verbs have alternating stems (this is discussed in the chapter on Finite Verbs). There are two stems for such verbs, a "strong" stem called Stem I and a "weak" stem, Stem II. Two classes of alternating-stem verbs show allomorphy before endings.

ɖ-stem verbs[4]:

The allomorphic distribution of Stem I form verbs in ɖ is as follows:

-ɖ → -ʈ / _ p, _ k, _ nasals

seʈ-pu (1s/3s), seʈ-miri (3p.PST/3s), rembeʈ-ŋini (2p/1s), rembeʈ-kini (2p/1pe), rembeʈ-ni (2p/3s), seʈ-ni (2p/3s), kwaʈ-ma (Pst.PRT)

-ɖ → -t / _ t, _ ts

set-to (1s/3s.PST), set-tsoko (1de/3s.PST), set-tsi (2d/3s.PST), set-toko (1pe/3s.PST)

-ɖ → -r / _ V

ser-i (1pi/3s), ser-y (3s/3s), kwa-ri (1pi/3s)

-ɖ remains -ɖ / _ ɖ

seɖ-ɖi (1pi/3s.PST), seɖ-ɖy (3s/3s.PST), seɖ-ɖa (PURP)

p-stem verbs:

[4] Although the allomorphic distribution suggests that maybe this verb class should have a different label, I chose "ɖ-stem" because of its allomorphic realization as r before vowels. r is in an interesting distribution with ɖ, yet if we posit an r-final version as the underlying form of stem I, it is difficult to see how the allomorphs in ʈ and t arise in certain environments.

Verbs with Stem I in -p generally voice the final before endings beginning with r/ɖ, so the distribution is as follows:

-p → -b / _ r, _ ɖ

-p elsewhere

An example of this is the verb *rem-mu* 'to see'. The forms affected by this allomorphic variation are the purposive form, and 3s/3s past and 1pi/3s past.

reb-ra (PURP), reb-ɖy (3s/3s.PST), reb-ɖi (1pi/3s.PST).

Some examples of other items in the paradigm show the the stem is -p-final elsewhere:

rep-to (1s/3s.PST), rep-miri (3p/3.PST), rep-na (2s/3s.PST), rep-y (3s/3s)

Some of my data does not fit the pattern, such as the purposive for the verb *tsamsi-mu*, 'to play', which is tsamsip-ra and not the expected tsamsib-ra.

Assimilation of bilabial nasal before velars

There is a rule about assimilation of the biliabial nasal to the velar nasal when followed by a velar element. This rule applies at the juncture of tightly bound morphemes, such as with the ergative or instrumental case markers -*ka*, as well as between verb roots and personal endings.

Some examples follow.

ɔm-mu 'to sleep', becomes *ɔŋ-ŋu* (1s non-past), *ɔŋ-ŋoro* (1s past)[5]

[5] This contrasts with *on-mu*, 'to run': *on-ŋu* (1s non-past), *on-ŋoro* (1s past)

kham-mu ‘to be about to’, becomes *khaŋ-ku* (1pe non-past) but the root stays kham- with all non-velar-initial personal endings

mam ‘mother’ in the ergative case becomes *maŋ-ka*

The rule can be formalized as the following.

/m/ → [ŋ]/ ___ + velars

Chapter 2

CASE MARKING

This chapter describes the case marking system in Thulung. The case markers are used to code the semantic roles of participants in a given event, and are "features of the content of the discourse" while the pragmatic markers indicate the speaker's view of the relative significance and prominence of the participants, and "relate the content to the context" (Payne 1997: 261). The case markers are morphologically bound to their heads: morphophonological rules (such as -m > -ŋ/ _ k) generally apply. Also, case markers are suffixed to noun phrases exclusively: nouns and pronouns, although I do have examples of numeral+classifier which are case-marked.

The case marking system of Thulung is interesting in that it reflects the effects of language contact. Thulung has a split system for nominal case marking, where some nominals pattern as nominative and others as ergative. The distribution of the marking is different from that of neighbouring languages, and we will see the diachronic context for the unusual split. The case marking system is also interesting in the marking of objects. In addition, the case system includes locative markers which encode altitudinal information, this being an example of the language reflecting a salient feature of the environment in which it is spoken.

S and A marking

We begin with the marking of S, which is the single participant in intransitive sentences.

33. a-wotsy pakha lɔ-mri.
1POSS-husband outside go-3p
My husband went outside.

The subject of the sentence, *wocy*, shows no overt case marking.

Example 34 exhibits the marking of A, the agent participant in a transitive sentence.

34. jeluŋ-**ka** thulu-lwa si-mu basi.
Yelung-ERG Thulung-language learn-NOM.inf OBL
Yelung must learn Thulung.

We see that A takes ergative marking in this sentence. The ergative marker is *-ka*. Proper nouns and common nouns, such as the A in the sentence above, always receive ergative marking when in the A role in transitive sentences. However the distribution is not so simple, because Thulung has a nominal split in the system, and certain pronouns do not receive ergative marking when acting as A participants. The following examples exemplify the marking for various pronouns.

1s[1] agent

35. go mag djo-uto
1s mug drop-1s/3s[2].PST
I dropped the mug.

[1] In the person glosses, the correspondences will be the following: 1s=1st singular, 1de=1st dual exclusive, 1di=1st dual inclusive, 1pe=1st plural exclusive, 1pi=1st plural inclusive, 2s=2nd singular, 2d=2nd dual, 2p=2nd plural, 3s=3rd singular, 3d=3rd dual, 3p=3rd plural. When necessary I also use 2s.polite to represent the polite form for 2nd singular, and parallelly, 3s.polite for the 3rd singular polite pronoun.

[2] Because subject and object are both marked in verbal endings, I use the following system to show the participants: X/Y, where X is the agent acting on patient Y, as in 1s/3s, which indicates that the ending on the verb stands for a first singular agent acting on a third singular patient.

1pi agent

36. gui pe-pa ʈ̪hal sɯl-mu basi
1pi eat-Npst.PRT N.dish wash-NOM.inf OBL
We must wash the dishes.

2d agent

37. gatsi mam-lai krɯm-ɖ̪a lɔ-mu basi
2d mother-DAT visit-PURP go-NOM.inf OBL
You two must go visit mother.

2p agent

38. ganimim-**ka** dika-m lagi oram kitab pare-mu basi
2p-ERG tomorrow-REL N.sake this N.book read-NOM.inf OBL
You must read this book by tomorrow.

3s agent

39. gu-**ka** thulu-lwa si-mu basi
3s-ERG Thulung-language learn-NOM.inf OBL
She must learn Thulung.

3p agent[3]

40. gumimim-**ka** helolo simsi-mu basi
3p-ERG every.day teach-NOM.inf OBL
They must teach daily.

What we notice from looking at these sentences is that there is a discrepancy in the marking of the A, and it occurs between the second person dual and the second person plural. The second person dual and pronouns "above" it receive no marking when in the A role, while the second person plural and pronouns "below" it are marked with the ergative *-ka*.

[3] This sentence contains no overt object, but does have a transitive verb, 'to teach'. The ergative marking on the agent shows that the transitivity of the sentence is not in doubt.

This constitutes a pronominal split in the marking of A. Such splits are not rare typologically, and in fact a number of the world's languages have pronominal splits between ergative and nominative marking for the A role, in a good number of cases pairing the first and second persons on the one hand, against the third person and other nouns on the other: the classic example is Dyirbal, which has nominative-accusative marking for first and second pronouns, and ergative-absolutive for third person pronouns (Dixon 1994: 86). What is unusual in Thulung is that such a split occurs between the second dual and second plural pronouns, in effect splitting up the second person.

In order to understand how such a situation came to be, we must look at historical data on Thulung as far as A role marking is concerned. We are lucky that such data exist, in the form of a sketch of the language written by Nicholas Allen who carried out research on Thulung in the early 1970's.[4] Allen lists a suffix *-ka*, marking agents of transitive sentences, but in his case the distribution is different. The pattern he describes is of a pronominal split whereby the first and second persons receive no marking in the A role, while the third person and all other nouns receive the ergative marker *-ka*. The difference of course is that in my data the split occurs within the second person. This is Allen's general pattern, but he does report some speaker variation, stating that *-ka* is "rarely suffixed to first or second persons", and listing a few examples where first and second persons are marked with the ergative case.[5] Apart from these examples, A marking is consistent in his grammar following the pattern he describes, as it is in my

[4] The data was collected in the village of Mukli, unless otherwise noted, which is also the provenance of my present-day data.
[5] Of these counterexamples he lists, none involve the second person plural, which, as we will remember, is the shifted pronoun in my data.

data according to the pattern I have described above.[6] This raises the question of how such a complete shift in the system for marking A could have occurred in just thirty years. My only guess at this point is that Allen's principal informants, whom he describes as being school teachers, presented him with a conservative version of the language.

A comparison of the marking of the A role over a period of thirty years reveals a shift in the position of the pronominal split. The second person plural used to be marked in the same way as the other second person pronouns, whereas now it is paired with third persons and common NPs. In order to see how this came about, we must look at the pronoun systems of the language and see where the change operated.

[6] I did find some discrepancy in the main pattern I discuss for modern data, in that one speaker living in Kathmandu exhibits a different ergative split from the villagers. This particular speaker, a woman from the village of Kangel (a three day walk from Mukli, with a much smaller group of speakers) uses the ergative in the same way it appears in Nepali--the split is based on tense (past tense is ergative-absolutive, non-past is nominative-accusative) applying to all persons equally. Considering this particular speaker is married to a non-Thulung speaker, and uses the language very seldom in day-to-day life, it is probably just an example of pronounced contact with Nepali in one particular person's speech, rather than internal Thulung dialectal variation.

Modern Thulung shows a fairly complex pronoun system:

<table>
<tr><td>person</td><td colspan="2">singular</td><td colspan="2">dual</td><td colspan="2">plural</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">first</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">go</td><td>exclusive</td><td>inclusive</td><td>exclusive</td><td>inclusive</td></tr>
<tr><td>gutsuku</td><td>gutsi</td><td>guku</td><td>gui</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">second</td><td>plain</td><td>polite</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">gatsi</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">ganimim</td></tr>
<tr><td>gana</td><td>gani</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">third</td><td>plain</td><td>polite</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">gutsi</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">gumimim</td></tr>
<tr><td>gu</td><td>gumi</td></tr>
</table>

Table 6 Thulung independent pronouns

The system makes dual-plural as well as inclusive-exclusive distinctions, both characteristic of other related languages in the same general region of Nepal. The presence of honorifics, however, is unusual for Tibeto-Burman languages. It is attested in Burmese and Tibetan, both languages with a long literary tradition, and in Newar, which has long been in contact with Nepali as well as being the language of the first kings of the Kathmandu Valley. So while the existence of honorific pronouns is documented for a few TB languages, these tend to be languages spoken in more explicitly hierarchical, urban societies than the smaller, rural ones that make up most of the language family. In other words, the pronoun system of present-day Thulung is typical of

its Kiranti heritage, while containing an unusual element in the existence of polite and plain distinctions for the second and third person singular pronouns[7].

The pronoun system recorded by Allen is presented in the following table:

person	singular	dual		plural	
first	**go**	exclusive	inclusive	exclusive	inclusive
		gutsuku	**gutsi**	**guku**	**gui**
second	**gana**	**gatsi**		**gani**	
third	**gu**	**gutsi**		**gumi**	

Table 7 1975 Thulung independent pronouns (Allen 1975)

This table shows a prototypical Kiranti pronoun system. We can see from a comparison of these two pronoun charts that the change rests in the addition of the honorific pronouns for the modern version of the language. The creation of a new set of polite pronouns for the second and third singular forms resulted in a rearrangement of the system: the old second singular *gana* shifted into being used as a plain second singular, and the former second plural *gani* became the polite second singular. Interestingly this is the same pattern as in many Indo-European languages, where the second plural represents the polite equivalent of the second singular pronoun[8]. In Thulung, the shift of second plural into polite second singular resulted in a gap in the second person plurals. A new form was needed to replace the missing plural, and this was created with the help of the nominal pluralizing suffix, *-mim*, resulting in a new second plural *gani-mim*. The same

[7] The contact which led to the formal/informal distinctions is a result of such changes as the beginning of education for Thulung people, as well as greater mobility and therefore contact due to the improving paths in the area. We will see these in more detail later.

[8] such as in French, where the 2p *vous* is the polite form (even for singular), or Italian, where 2p *voi* can be used as the singular polite form.

situation occurred in the third person, resulting in a parallel shift in the pronouns and creation of a new plural form.

More schematically, where the old second person pronoun system was:

2s *gana* 2d *gatsi* 2p *gani*

it shifted to

2s plain *gana* 2s polite *gani* 2d *gatsi,*

requiring the creation of a new 2p, which was the old 2p *gani* plus the affixation of a pluralizing morpheme, *-mim*, resulting in a new set of second person pronouns:

2s plain *gana* 2s polite *gani* 2d *gatsi* 2p *gani-mim.*

Similarly for the third person:

3s *gu* 3d *gutsi* 3p *gumi*

changed to

3s plain *gu* 3s polite *gumi* 3d *gutsi,*

and the creation of a new 3 plural, from the old 3 plural plus *-mim*, leading to

3s plain *gu* 3s polite *gumi* 3d *gatsi* 3p *gumi-mim.*

The present-day pronoun system is much more similar to Nepali and other Indo-Aryan languages. Nepali makes honorific distinctions, in fact making a three-way formality distinction[9], for both second and third persons. Thulung, then, has copied the

[9] The levels of formality are often called 'low', 'middle' and 'high' in grammars of Nepali: 'low' is used for animals, untouchable castes, and anyone to whom one wishes to express scorn or superiority, and sometimes also for wives and children. 'Middle' is most commonly used to refer to intimates, such as wives and children (although a wife will never refer to her husband by the same form, but rather use 'high'). 'High' is used in addressing strangers, parents and other elders.

concept without achieving exactly the same result. Nepali pronouns are listed in the following table[10].

person\number	singular			plural	
first	**ma**			**hami**	
second	low	middle	high	low/middle	high
	ta	**timi**	**tapaai**	**timiharu**	**tapaaiharu**
third[11]	low	middle	high	low/middle	high
	ta	**u**	**wahaa**	**uniharu**	**wahaaharu**

Table 8 Nepali independent pronouns

The Nepali plural pronouns for second and third person are formed by adding a nominal pluralizing suffix *-haru* to the singular pronouns (except in the case of *u* which becomes *uniharu*, with the addition of an extra syllable *-ni-*). This suffix is productive for pluralizing objects: *manche*, 'person', for example, becomes *mancheharu*, 'people.'

In Thulung, pluralized nouns seem to pattern similarly to the way they do in Nepali. Apparently, overt pluralization of common nouns is an unusual feature for Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff, p.c.), although as Thulung readily dualizes animate objects (*a-khleatsip*, my two dogs; *a-tsysytsip,* my two grandchildren), perhaps dualizing and pluralizing are local to Thulung and its Kiranti relatives. The Thulung suffix for

[10] These pronouns are taken from David Matthews' A Course in Nepali (1998). There are different interpretations for which level the pronouns actually represent--the important thing here is to note that there are honorific distinctions in Nepali, and the plural forms are often singular + haru (nominal pluralizer)

[11] Additionally, Nepali has third person feminine pronouns, with distinct verb paradigms, but these are being used much less frequently nowadays. Dahaal (personal communication) claims this is an effect of the influence of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, none of which have gender-based pronouns, on

formation of plural forms of nominals is *–mim*, and we see how the creation of the new second and third plural pronouns, *gani-mim* and *gumi-mim*, is perfectly analogous to the corresponding plural forms in Nepali.

We have seen how both the ergative marking split and the pronoun system in Thulung have shifted over the last thirty years, and the next issue is to correlate the two. In older Thulung, the ergative splits along a clear first and second person vs third person pattern[12], whereas it now splits within the second person. This is exemplified by the following representation, where // stands for the position of the split in the system:

older system

go	gutsuku	gutsi	guku	gui	gana	gatsi	gani	//	gu	gutsi	gumi
1s	1de		1di	1pe	1pi	2s	2d	2p	//	3s	3d	3p

new system

go	gutsuku	gutsi	guku	gui	gana	gani	gatsi//gani-mim	gu	gumi	gutsi	gumi-mim
1s	1de		1di	1pe	1pi	2s	2s.polite	2d	//	2p	3s	3s.polite	3d	3p

If we look at the pronouns which are to the left of the // split mark, they are identical in form, even if their referents are slightly rearranged.[13] According to this representation, the shift in the split looks quite natural, and its explanation lies in the behavior of the pluralizing suffix, *-mim*. By virtue of being exclusively a nominal pluralizer, before its relatively recent appearance on pronouns, *-mim* was limited to common nouns, which are by nature treated as third persons. Looking at the representation of the new split system above, we see that all pronouns on the right side (and therefore receiving ergative

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Nepali. Some linguists might express skepticism that low-prestige TB languages should be able to have any influence on the language of the high-caste elite.

[12] If we ignore the few examples where first and second person take ergative *-ka* (these cases are not well explained, and more complete data would probably clarify their presence), and consider that the Ribdung dialect is outside the scope of this discussion.

marking) of the // mark are either third persons or marked with the pluralizer associated with common NPs. The formation of the new second person plural pronoun is through suffixation of the nominal pluralizer, which has always been associated with NP's which can receive ergative marking. Through analogy with all other *-mim* marked plural NP's, *gani-mim* takes ergative marking in appropriate contexts.

The above is the explanation for the unusual position of the nominal split in modern Thulung, which divides the second person pronouns in their case marking. I have used historical data on A role marking as well as a comparison of the old and new pronoun systems, and we have seen how ultimately, the shift in the marking is a result of the contact situation with Nepali.

O marking

The O role is that of the less agent-like argument of a transitive clause. For a monotransitive clause, this is the direct object. In Thulung, the case marker applied to such a role is *-lai*. There is an animacy constraint for the use of the marker, as we will see below.

O is marked with *-lai* when human:

41. gu-ka gana-**lai** jal-na
3s-ERG 2s-DAT[14] hit-3s/2s
He hits you

42. *gu-ka gana jal-na

A non-human animate can be either marked or unmarked:

[13] In other words, the second person pronouns to the left of the // are still *gana gatsi* and *gani*, even if the *gani* now represents a formal second singular instead of the plural it used to be.
[14] The use of the term 'dative' for the O marker will be explained later.

43. gu-ka khlea-**lai** jal-y
3s-ERG dog-DAT hit-3s/3s
He hits the dog

44. gu-ka khlea jal-y
3s-ERG dog hit-3s/3s
He hits the dog.

Inanimate objects are unmarked :

45. gu-ka gari thɯr-y
3s-ERG car drive-3s/3s
He drives the car

46. *gu-ka gari-**lai** thɯr-y

Thus there is a correlation between the animacy of the O and its marking with -*lai*, with only animate objects being able to receive the marker[15].

Ditransitive sentences are those with two objects, one of which is the recipient (otherwise known as indirect object) and the other the theme (or direct object). In such sentences, it is the recipient which is marked with -*lai*, while the theme does not get overtly marked.

47. mam-ka u-tsɯ-tsi-**lai** pomuʈhok gwak-ty
mother-ERG her-children-dual-DAT food give-3s/3s.PST
The mother gave her two children food.

When both the indirect and direct object are animate, the direct object still lacks -*lai*:

48. go a-mam-**lai** tsɯtsɯ gwak-tomi
1s my-mother-DAT child give-1s/3p.PST
I gave the child to my mother.

The absence of marking on the direct object in ditransitives is a common phenomenon, and can be explained in terms of the avoidance of potential ambiguity. There is a much

[15] This is a general Tibeto-Burman tendency, and a similar pattern can be seen in Lahu, with marker *thàʔ*, Burmese, with *kou*, Jinghpo with *phéʔ,* among others (Matisoff, pc)

greater possibility of the (animate, usually human) indirect object being an agent-like participant than the (usually inanimate) direct object. In other words, the marking on the indirect object serves to diminish the chances of confusing it with the agent, by tagging it as clearly un-agentive[16]. Thus the marker -*lai* appears on the (most) animate object in ditransitive sentences, in the same way that it was restricted to animate objects for monotransitives. This pairing of transitive direct object and ditransitive indirect object follows a pattern which has been called primary object marking.[17]

We therefore have, as far as objects are concerned, the marker -*lai* applied to the primary object, which is, as we saw above, the term covering direct objects of monotransitives and indirect objects of ditransitives. This patterning means that we cannot apply the label accusative to the marker, as it covers not the accusative but the dative participant of ditransitives. An additional complication concerning the primary object is with respect to the absolutive case. The absolutive is the case of a transitive sentence's object (when the agent is ergative) and of the subject of an intransitive sentence. As a result, these two roles should receive the same case marking, yet in Thulung they do not: The primary object in a sentence will receive the -*lai* marker, whether the agent is marked as ergative or nominative (in other words accusative and "absolutive (as object)" take the same marker, while "absolutive (as intransitive subject)" takes no marking.

[16] This seems to be a universal tendency in participant marking. Lahu uses a similar strategy to clarify the roles of the participants in ditransitives (Matisoff 1991: 388).
[17] I have chosen to label Primary Objects as dative, which is the suggestion in Bickel and Nichols' chapter on Inflectional Morphology (ms).

Comrie offers the solution to this problem, in pointing out that "in most languages that use the … methods above[18] for indicating less natural combinations of A and P[19], the case marking of A and P is determined independently." (1989: 130) In other words, the case of the agent is determined based on the nature of the agent and how it fares in our pronominal hierarchy (so if second dual or higher, it gets the nominative; if second plural or lower, the ergative). This marking is carried out independently of that of the object in the same sentence, which is marked depending on whether it is an animate primary object (in which case it gets -*lai*) or not (in which case it is unmarked.)

So in fact, rather than speaking of a system where nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive are competing, we instead have a simpler system:

S is always unmarked (as we saw above, this is regardless of where it stands within the nominal hierarchy) and considered to be in the nominative case.

A, depending on the type of the NP, will be in the nominative or ergative case. The nominative will apply when the agent is a pronoun from the class {first person, second person singular, second person dual}; elsewhere, it will be in the ergative case, receiving -*ka* marking.

O is determined separately from case marking on the agent. The marker -*lai* will be applied to the most agent-like participant which is not the agent, if it is animate. This will be the direct object for monotransitive verbs, and the indirect object for ditransitives,

[18] The relevant method in this case is the application of -lai only to objects high in animacy. This is considered an unusual situation, because the prototypical scenario for a transitive event will be that the agent is much higher than the object in animacy.
[19] Comrie, like Dixon, uses the term P to refer to the less-agentive participant in a monotransitive event. This corresponds to what I call O.

otherwise known as the primary object. I follow Bickel and Nichols in calling this the dative, which is "sometimes used for primary objects" (2001 ms: 93; Bickel, pc).

We therefore have a system in which there is no place for the absolutive and the accusative. There is no such class as the absolutive in Thulung, because the only time the S of intransitives and the O of transitives receive the same case marker is when O is inanimate and therefore unmarked (and even then this needs to be a scenario where the agent of the sentence needs to be from the class {second person plural, third person, and other nouns}).

Thinking about this situation in historical terms proves useful, although even then it is a matter of speculation, because the primary object marking was much the same at the time of Allen's research. Allen noted the discrepancy in the marking of the "absolutive", noticing that it only received marker *-lai* when it served as the O in a sentence, but never the S. He saw this as indicative of the breakdown of the ergative structure in the language[20]. Furthermore, he mentions that "there can be no doubt at all that traditionally both the direct and indirect objects have been unmarked."(92) I do not see a basis for making such a comment, but it does raise an interesting point. Considering that *-lai* very much appears to be a borrowing from Nepali, where it has the same distribution as well as phonological form[21], it raises the issue of what Thulung was like before the borrowing.

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[20] "Although we have presented Thulung as an ergative language, it is clear … that this is ceasing to be the case." (93)

[21] Examples of Nepali *-laai* in these three case functions follow. Nepali has the same animacy constraints as mentioned for Thulung, so my examples all have an animate participant for the highlighted case. Also noteworthy is that the ergative split in Nepali is based on tense, so the ergative-absolutive only appears in the past tense, and nominative-accusative only in non-past tenses.

Accusative: ma tapaai-laai dekhchu
I you-ACC see-1s_NPST

In theory, for a language with verbal concord coding both A and O, the verb ending provides enough information to identify the roles of the participants in the sentence even if they are unmarked. Sentences such as example 49 are entirely unambiguous:

49. go bwa sɯl-u.
1s pig clean-1s/3s
I clean the pig.

The pig does not receive the primary object marker -*lai*, although as it is a non-human animate primary object, the marking could go either way. Even with no marking, the situation is unambiguous: the most agent-like participant is the de facto agent, and this is reinforced by the verbal suffix which codes a 1s participant acting on a 3s, so that the interpretation cannot be mistaken.

Even a sentence with a human animate does not really need the -*lai* marker. Example 50 is the grammatical version of a certain scenario:

50. go ama-mam-lai hapa mim-pu.
1s 1POSS-mother-DAT much think-1s/3s
I think of my mother a lot.

However we see that there is no reason for a different interpretation to ensue should the -*lai* marker be ommitted (although the sentence is in fact ungrammatical):

51. *go ama-mam hapa mim-pu.

I see you.
Absolutive: mai-le tapaai-laai dekhe
I-erg you-ABS see-1s_PST
I saw you.
Dative: meero aamaa ma-laai khaana dinuhuncha
my mother 1s-DAT food give-3s_NPST
My mother gives me food.

The reason is that the verbal suffix shows the relationship between the participants, indicating that it is, once again, a 1s acting on a 3s.

In fact, the only situation in which there could potentially be confusion is if we had two participants of the same number and person, such as a 3s acting upon a 3s, or a 3p acting upon a 3p. But such cases are not problematic either, even though the verbal suffix is of no assistance in the disambiguation, because for third person agents, the ergative marker *-ka* is applied, making it clear which participant is in the agent role.

52. gu-ka a-lwak-lai sɯɖ-ɖy.
3s-ERG 1POSS-y.brother-DAT bring.down-3s/3s.PST
He brought my brother down.

In example 52 we have two third singular human participants, and predictably the verb simply indicates 3s acting on 3s. The roles of the two participants are made clear by the case marking, so there is no ambiguity, but in fact, the ergative marking alone would be enough.

53. *gu-ka a-lwak sɯɖ-ɖy

Example 53 is not grammatical nowadays. Nevertheless, we see that the language is functionally set up so that even if there were no primary object marking, Thulung could easily distinguish between the participants. Between the verbal endings and the ergative marking scheme, we see that Thulung does not need the marker *-lai* to identify participant roles in a monotransitive sentence with agent and patient slots.

In ditransitive sentences as well, the primary object (which in a ditransitive is the indirect object) is what is coded in the verbal ending. In other words, the verbal suffixes

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The Nepali marker is different only in that is has a long a:, which is the way it is recorded in Allen's Thulung. I found that there was no contrastive vowel length in modern-day Thulung, so the marker has

in ditransitives also make it clear how the various participants are related to the action: the agent and indirect object are coded into the verb, and the direct object is the one which is not (also tending to be the least animate of the three, which again helps the interpretation).

The following two sentences provide an interesting look at how useful the verbal ending is in helping one interpret the action.

54. gu-ka gana-lai sɯbem tsa-be-na
3s-ERG 2s-DAT bread bake-CAU-3s/2s
She makes you bake bread.

This is a straightforward causativized ditransitive: the verb shows a 3s agent acting on a 2s indirect object; thus even if there were no -*lai* marked on the indirect object, the interpretation would be clear.

Example 55 proves this once again, because the indirect object (recipient of the order of the causative verb in this case) is not even present in the sentence. Instead, the recipient of the *product* of the action (the bread) is marked with -*lai*, yet it is still clear from the verb ending that the person instructed to make bread is a 2s.

55. gu-ka mam-lai sɯbem tsa-be-na
3s-ERG mother-DAT bread bake-CAU-3s/2s
She makes you bake bread for mother.

It is interesting how central the verb ending is to the interpretation of the event, independent of any case markers on participants. Because the disambiguation mechanism provided by the verbs is so strong, the dative -*lai* is not functionally necessary for identifying grammatical relations within the sentence.

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been reduced to -*lai*.

There is a possibility that this borrowing was facilitated by a grammatically and phonologically similar native case marker in Sherpa, Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman dialects. Sherpa uses *-la* in much the same way as *-lai* functions in Thulung, and although it seems that *-lai* is indeed a borrowing, the path for the borrowing may have been eased by the presence of a very similar case marker in related and neighbouring languages.

Other case markers

Genitive:

Thulung has two genitive markers, *-ku*[22] and *-kam*, as seen in the following examples.

56. khel-**ku** miksi
leg-GEN eye
ankle

57. po-**ku** ɖi
chicken-GEN egg
hen's eggs

58. je-**ku** rɔŋ
clothes-GEN N.colour
The colour of the clothes

59. po-**ku** u-sɯ
pig-GEN 3POSS-meat
the pig's meat

[22] -ku is reminiscent of the Newari genitive marker *-gu* (DeLancey 2002)
[23] Sometimes the genitive marker is used in conjunction with a possessive pronoun. The doubling of possessive marking occurs with inalienable possession, such as when the possessed are body parts or kin. (But the possessive pronoun is not necessary for a grammatical expression even in these cases)

60. gai-**kam** gunu
N.cown-GEN inside
inside the cow

61. mɯr-tsip-**kam** u-pap
that-DU-GEN 3POSS-father
Their father

62. bwa-**kam** u-bwi
pig-GEN 3POSS-head
The pig's head

63. mɯ-mim-**kam** neb-ɖa
that-PLU-GEN house-LOC

These examples show that both genitive markers occur in the same semantic range (with relational nouns, kin, body parts[24]) and the distribution is not therefore one connected to alienability. However there are some differences in the distribution of the two markers: *-ku* participates more frequently in generic possessive constructions like those seen above. *-kam*, on the other hand, is also involved in possessive-like constructions of different semantics.

One very frequent use of *-kam* is to form a genitive which then stands as a noun in the sentence.

64. po-mu-**kam**
eat-INF-GEN
food

65. o prɔcɯ-**kam** hopmam thupro bu
this Rai-GEN like.this N.plenty be.3s
There are many Rai [stories] like this.

This cannot be done with -ku, which needs to be followed by the possessed.

-*kam* is also used in Nepali loan expressions, such as X-*kam lagi*, "for the purpose of X", and X-*kam bare-ra*, "regarding X". -*ku* is not found in these expressions.

66. gui po-ɖi bre-mu-**kam** lagi badzar lɔ-mu basi
1pi chicken-egg sell-NOM.inf-GEN N.purpose N.market go-NOM.inf OBL
In order to sell the eggs, we must go to the bazaar.

67. pɔribɔrtɔn-**kam** bare-ra tsahi…
N.change-GEN N.regarding-LOC CONTR…
As far as change is concerned…

In other cases where -*kam* has a genitive-like function, it seems that the origin of the marker is perhaps more complex. This is a result of the other functions of -*ka*, which can be a temporal marker, or the instrumental/ergative, and the fact that -*m* is a nominalizer[25].

68. lɔrai-**kam** bela
N.war-GEN N.time
war-time
=N.war-TEMP-NOM N.time ?

69. meraŋ-**kam** ke
that-GEN curry
Curry made from that one (person)
=that-INSTR-NOM curry?

70. pants mahina-**kam** gɔrbɔr-ra
five months-GEN womb
five months pregnant
=five months-TEMP-NOM womb-LOC?

-*m*, which originally is clearly a nominalizer (see the chapter on Nominalization for comparative TB data as well), is now also a relativizer[26], and therefore has attributive functions. It is possible that while the three examples above (of which there are many

[24] These semantic domains are among those which will be marked as inalienable, if such a distinction is made by the genitive marking system of the language (Heine 1997: 10).
[25] For more discussion of the functions of -m, see the chapter on Nominalization.

more) look like they contain genitive markers, in the sense of the prototypical possessive relationship, they may in fact be combinations of other markers and the nominalizer, in an attributive rather than possessive relationship with the head noun.

Comitative:

-num is the case marker used to show that the marked object is being accompanied.

71. go pap-**num** bu-ŋu
1s father-COM live-1s
I live with my father.

72. go Hari-**num** bia bet-to.
1s Hari-COM N.marriage do-1s/3s.PST
I got married with/to Harry.

It is also used to indicate possession when used with the copula.

73. go-**num** wossɯ-tsɯ bu, go-**num** mesem-tsɯ wo bu.
1s-COM male-child be.3s, 1s-COM female-child also be.3s.
I have a son, I also have a daughter.

In yet another use, it marks the object certain actions. Generally these are indirect objects, as in the case of speaking, whispering, begging of someone; in the case of 'to fear' it seems that the object of fear is a direct object.

74. dzukpa-ka haŋ-**num** rak-ta gu-ka
monkey-ERG king-COM say-3s/3s.PST 3s-ERG

gumi-lai khlɯ-pa bu-mi.
3p-DAT help-Npst.PRT be-3p

[26] The relationship between the two functions is seen in the relevant chapter.

The monkey told the king he would help him.

75. oram-ka mɯ-**num** sypilwa by-ry.
this-ERG that-COM whisper do-3s/3s.PST
He whispered to that fellow.

76. basi bihan hunummi nep-nu-m mesem
yesterday N.morning there house-levLOC-NOM woman

go-**num** tsɯm phɔi-ra
1s-COM very be.angry-3s.PST

Yesterday morning the woman from the next house got angry at me.

77. go gani-**num** mi-ŋi-ŋu
1s 2p-COM NEG-fear-1s/3s
I am not afraid of you.

78. go a-sathi-**num** khɔuluŋ bi-uto-m bai-ra.
1s 1POSS-N.friend-COM money beg-1s/3s.PST-NOM be-3s.PST
I begged for money from my friends.

These examples show that the comitative marker is used to express one of the objects present in an action, and generally this is the indirect object. In some cases *-num* can be substituted with *-lai* (in all examples above apart from those where the main verb is 'to be angry' and 'to fear'): this raises the question of whether *-num* was originally an oblique marker, which was displaced to a more marginal status when *-lai* was introduced.

Instrumental

The instrumental, *-ka*, is isomorphic with the ergative marker, as is common in this part of the world (DeLancey, 1984:LTBA 8.1:59-77), not only within Tibeto-Burman languages but as an areal phenomenon.

The function of the instrumental marker is straightforward.

79. gani-mim-ka mɯ mi-hɔnpa betho-**ka** mi-dzhak-ni
2p-PLU-ERG that NEG-sharp knife-INSTR NEG-cut-2p/3s
You should not cut wood with that blunt knife.

Sometimes, of course, the difference between an instrumental and an ergative is not so easily made. For the following sentence, because of the indiscriminate verb marking '3s agent acting on 3s patient', the interpretation could go either way.

80. blyʈ-pa ku-**ka** u-tsɯ-ku lwa glɯs-ta.
hot water-INSTR/ERG 3POSS-child-GEN hand blister-3s.PST
The hot water blistered her child's hand
or
Her child's hand blistered with the hot water.

It is such sentences which hint at the origin of ergative marking, which could have been a matter of reinterpretation of a sentence such as the above to make the water the agent of the action. The reanalysis of instrumentals from oblique arguments into subject arguments is discussed by Garrett (1990) for Anatolian and Gorokan, and proposed as the origin of ergative marking in some systems.

Another use of the instrumental is found in subordinating nominalized clauses in a causal relationship with the main sentence. This is seen in other related languages (such as Belhare, Bickel 1999: 274; Bickel glosses the marker ERG), and the cognitive connection seems to be one of the causal clause being treated as the instrument used to accomplish something.

81. go basi dzam pe-uto-m-**ka** homlo nɯpa bu-ŋu
1s N.leftover rice eat-1s/3s.PST-NOM-INSTR now sick be-1s
Because I ate leftover rice, I am sick now.

82. major kathmandu bu-mi-m-**ka**, asinɖa-m u-je-mim
Major Kathmandu be-3p-NOM-INSTR here-NOM 3POSS-field-PLU

jaŋmim-ka-ŋa bomtha_bo-mi
someome-ERG-EMPH care.for-3p/3s

Because Major is in Kathmandu, someone else takes care of his fields here.

Subordinators are often related to case markers, either directly or through a path of grammaticalization. This is attested cross-linguistically, and particularly in Bodic languages, as discussed by DeLancey (1984). This pattern applies not only with the instrumental which takes on the role of marking causal clauses, but also, as we see below, with the locative case marker being used to create a purposive clause.

Locatives

The generic locative marker is *-ra/ɖa*, and this can be used either to mark the location at which an event takes place, or to mark the allative, the location towards which a motion event is occurring.

83. go iskul-**ra** angredzi si-pu
1s N.school-LOC N.English teach-1s/3s
I teach English at the school.

84. oram sisa kwa-**ɖa** hums-ta-ma bi-ra.
this N.glass floor-LOC fall-3s.PST-AS break-3s.PST
This glass fell onto the floor and broke.

The alternation between the /r/ and the /ɖ/ appears elsewhere in the language, such as within certain verbal paradigms. As seen in the section on phonology, the alternation between *-ra* and *-ɖa* is as follows:

-ra can occur in any environment

-ɖa is blocked post-vocalically, an environment in which it can be realized as *-ɖɖa* instead

Thus we have

neb-ra, neb-ɖa
house-LOC

Mukli-ra, *Mukli-ɖa, but Mukli-ɖɖa
Mukli-LOC

Additionally, the locative can be used to make time words, by combining with a noun with clear temporal connections.

85. tukumtsim-**ra** bi-ŋro
Darkness-LOC come-1s.PST
I will come at dark.

86. tsɯtsɯ-**ra** go ba-ŋro-m del dzɯpa bai-ra.
child-LOC 1s live-1s.PST-REL village beautiful be-3s.PST
The village I lived in when I was a child was beautiful.

As we have seen, this is considered the generic locative, but there are other locatives which are more specific in the reference to location.

The locative marker used to refer to a position higher than the speaker is *-la*, and that for a position lower than the speaker is *-ju*[27]. These markers which encode elevation

[27] Matisoff has pointed out to me that this is probably related to PTB **ʔ-yuk*, 'to descend'

information are called altitudinal terms by Ebert, who has a very good discussion of them, based on data from Allen's Sketch and also data which she extracted from his ethnographic texts. (Ebert 1999)

The two locative markers appear in adverbial form with another syllable, of hV form: huium, meaning 'down below' (this is a nominalized form), and hala, 'above'.

87. gumi-ka bloku-**ju**-m ku khe-saka pem-thal-miri
3p-ERG river-lowLOC-NOM water bring-AC drink-3p-HAB-3p/3s.PST
They brought the water from down in the river and were drinking it.

Sometimes the sentence doubles the locative meaning with a place adverb in order to reinforce it.

88. tsɔŋra, **hui** mɔdes-**ju** lɔs-ta, meram khɔbɔr
later down Tarai-lowLOC go-3s.PST that N.news
Later, that news spread down to the Tarai

As a locative indicating location higher than the speaker, *-la* appears in sentences like the following.

89. Lukla ra-ma ʈau-**la**
Lukla call-Pst.PRT N.place-highLOC
In the place up from here called Lukla

-la also occurs in adverbs, such as *hala* and *ola*, meaning 'above (general)' and 'up here' respectively.

90. gu malo-ŋa o-**la**-m lɔs-ta.
3s just-EMPH here-highLOC-REL go-3s.PST
He just left from here.

It also appears in the spatial postposition *-ɖola,* 'above', with an unknown first morpheme, and *-gola*, 'up inside', where *-gu/-go* is the same morpheme as we see in *-gunu*, 'inside'.

Ebert mentions these same altitudinal locative markers -*la* and -*iu*, as well as another encoding location level with speaker, -*no* (1999:106). This locative marker still exists (with allomorph -*nu*).

91. Deusa-**nu**-m Darim Popnar ra-ma dadzju
Deusa-levelLOC-REL Darim Popnar call-Pst.PRT N.o.brother

bhai noktsho get-tsi.
N.y.brother shaman come.up-3d.PST

A pair of brother magicians, called Darim and Popnar, came up across from Deusa.[28]

-*nu/-no* is also found in other locative expressions. Thus the spatial terms for locations relative to a structure show the morpheme -*nu*, as in the following.

tsɯpnu: outside, as in *nem-ku tsɯpnu*, the outside of the house

-*tsɔŋnu*: -backside, as in *nemtsɔŋnu*, the backside of the house

-*gunu*: -inside, as in *neŋgunu*, the inside of the house

Additionally, the same morpheme is found in some spatial adverbs:

hunu over there

meno there

ano here

There are two interchangeable ablative markers in Thulung. These are -*lam* and -*laŋka*, as in examples 92 and 93.

92. ba-**lam** rok-na-m?
where-ABL come-2s-REL?
Where are you coming from?

93. miksi-**laŋka** philiŋgo luk-ta-m sɔmma
eye-ABL spark emerge-3s.PST-REL N.until

mɯ-kka go-lai jal-ŋiri
that-ERG 1s-DAT hit-3s/1s.PST

He hit me until sparks came out of my eyes.

-lam is reminiscent of a very well-attested Tibeto-Burman etymon: **lam*, 'road' (Benedict 1972: 32), which is also seen in Thulung in *lamdi*, 'road'. The grammaticalization of this etymon into an ablative or path-marker is common in the Kiranti languages: it is found in Limbu (*-lam*), Athpare (*-lamma)*, Camling (*-la*), and Khaling (*-la*) as well, to name but a few languages (Ebert 1994: 81). *-laŋka* appears to be this same *lam* with suffix *-ka*[29], which is probably the instrumental marker. According to this hypothesis, the ablative is grammaticalized from a combination of the morphemes for road and the instrumental, 'by what road'.

Thulung has no distinct allative marker, a function which is covered by the generic locative *-ra/ɖa*, or, one of the altitudinal locative markers, where appropriate.

Another use of the generic locative, *-ra/-ɖa*, is in purposive clauses. The locative marker is suffixed directly to the verb root. This is similar to what we saw with the locatives, which could be grammaticalized into causal markers.

94. grenem theb-**ɖa** lɔs-ta-m bu
nettle pick-PURP go-3s.PST-NOM be.3s
She went to pick nettles.

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[28] The combination of a level locative and the verb 'to come up' looks a little suspicious, but I believe it is plausible. The 'level' locative is used because the village is at the same level as Mukli (where the speaker was), but the path dips, so that the final directional motion is to come up the hill into the village.

95. a-wotsy hellolo tenis tsamsip-**ra** lɔ-mi
1POSS-husband daily tennis play-PURP go-3p
My husband goes to play tennis every day.

96. go-num lɔɖai beb-**ra** geɖ-ɖa-m
1s-COM N.fight do-PURP come.up-3s.PST-NOM
He came to fight with me.

The use of the locative for the creation of purposive clauses is found in other languages of Nepal[30]: the cognitive connection seems to conceptualize the purpose as being a goal, which has a locative connotation.

[29]The velar, where we expect -m, is a result of the assimilation of m to ŋ, a morphophonological rule which applies throughout the language.
[30] The same pattern is found in Chantyal (Noonan 1997: 376), and Khaling (Ebert 1994: 56)

Chapter 3

DISCOURSE MARKERS

There are four particles which serve as pragmatic status markers in Thulung, encoding the notions of topic, focus, contrast and emphasis. These markers can follow nouns which already bear case-markers, and are also found with other parts of speech. This is therefore different from the overlay system of languages such as Japanese, where the pragmatic marker replaces the case marker[1]: the Thulung discourse markers never take the place of case markers, and if both are present, the discourse markers will follow the case-marked noun phrase. They serve to specify how the marked participants function in the discourse as a whole, across the boundary of individual sentences, as opposed to the case markers which indicate the grammatical role within a given sentence: they supplement the case markers within the much larger context of the narrative, indicating whether the marked items are new or old information, whether showing a contrast with another element, or rather emphasizing it for effect. Another important difference between case and pragmatic markers is that the use of the latter is never obligatory for grammaticality, and the choice of whether to use them is up to the individual speaker. Also significant is that these markers hardly make any appearance in elicitation situations, emerging only in narrative. Because the markers are tied to how

[1] An example of this is the following:
Unmarked: Kenji-ga tegami-wo kaita
Kenji-AGENT letter-OBJ write-PST
When the pragmatic marker wa is used to topicalize either the agent or patient, the grammatical case markers disappear:
Agent-topicalized: Kenji-wa tegami-wo kaita
Object-topicalized: Tegami-wa Kenji-ga kaita.

participants fit into whole narratives, beyond the level of single sentences, this is to be expected: a single elicited sentence does not offer the context necessary for their use.

Topic marker *ne*

I use the term topic marker for the marker which highlights given information, which has already come up in the context of the narrative and is present in the mind of the audience. This stands in opposition to the focus marker *re* which marks new information and is discussed later, although a focus marked element need not be present in a sentence where there is a topic marked element. The topic marked item is brought to prominence, and the information contained in the rest of the sentence revolves around it. The marker functions similarly to the way *wa* does in Japanese, translating in English as "As for …".

Generally, *ne* follows noun phrases, which can be case-marked, but it is also found following temporal adverbs, spatial adverbs, infinitive forms of verbs, nominalized finite verbs and sequencer-marked finite verbs. We first look at examples of *ne* following noun phrases.

Example 97 occurs in the context of the description of an intense emotion.

97. a-ŋim-ka go **ne** a-kɔl khrep-to
1POSS-fear-INSTR 1s TOP 1POSS-face cover-1s/3s.PST
I covered my face in fear.

Because of the possessive pronouns on both 'fear' and 'face', as well as the verbal morphology, there is no doubt that we are dealing with a 1s pronoun. Yet the speaker choses to reiterate the pronoun *go*, and to mark it with the topic marker for prominence.

The following sentence, example 98, shows *ne* marking the contextually prominent spatial term *ɔsinɖa*, 'here'.

98. ɔsinɖa **ne** hamsika tsahi ku pu-ry-ma ɖu-mu
here TOP when CONTR water emerge-3s-AS drink-NOM.inf
When water comes out here drink it.

The context for this sentence is a drought: a shaman tells the villagers he will reactivate their well, but they must wait and only drink from the well, not the river. The topic marker has a general constrastive sense because it highlights 'here', in opposition to anywhere else. (The villagers disobey, and disaster strikes.)

The topic marker occurs in certain set expressions and constructions. One of these is *nɔ ne bo-mu*, 'to decide'.

99. mɯkotima hunu-laŋka bik-pa nɔ **ne** by-ry
afterwards there-ABL come-Npst.PRT mind TOP do-3s/3s.PST
After that, he decided to come from there.

An example of a set construction with *ne* is seen in examples 100 and 101.

100. bi-mu **ne** bik-ta.
come-NOM.inf TOP come-3s.PST
As for coming, he came.

101. ro-mu **ne** mi-rok-a-wa
come-NOM.inf TOP NEG-come-2IMP-IRR
As for coming, he didn't come.

The construction consists of an infinitive verb followed by the topic marker and then a finite form of the same verb. This is very similar to a Nepali construction, using the Nepali topic marker *ta*. The construction is used in narrative, and is the resolution of a

build-up, usually of several sentences, where events lead up to the participant's decision to follow through or not on an action.

The topic marker can also be used several times in the same sentence, with the same referent even if it is in different cases (and the word order is rearranged for emphasis, resulting in a sentence-final topic-marker).

102. lu, etha gatsi **ne**, bju-ka re salpo-tsi, gatsi-lai **ne**
N.hey, now 2d TOP eagle-ERG FOC devour-3s/2d, 2d-DAT TOP
Hey you-two, the eagle will devour you.

In this story a mother who has been abducted by an eagle is urging her two children, who have found her, to hide before they become his prey. The second dual pronoun appears twice in the sentence, in different cases (the first as a vocative, the second in the dative). Both instances of the pronoun are topic marked: despite their changing semantic role in the sentence, they are still the most prominent topic, which is why they are marked. This sentence also shows the relationship of the topic marker, *-ne*, with the focus marker *-re*, setting up a contrast between the pronoun (which refers to the children who are already an important and expected part of the story) and the eagle (which has not been mentioned for a while, has to a certain extent faded from the picture, and is thus recalled with the new information marker).

The topic marker can occur on several noun phrases within the same sentence.

103. make **ne** mɯ ghumne pani gele **ne** ba-m-thal-miri ni mɯmim
long.ago TOP that Ghumne Pani up TOP be-3p-HAB-3p.PST N.indeed they

lɯlɯdym ra-ma **ne** thupro ba-m-thal-miri
Lɯlɯdym call-Pst.PRT TOP N.many be-3p-HAB-3p

Long ago, they were living up at Ghumne Pani, there were many of those we call Lɯlɯdym.

This extensive usage within the same sentence suggests that topic marking may sometimes be mechanical rather than indicating what the speaker identifies as the most prominent topic within a sentence. This may be an example of change in the system: the topic marker, which was originally used to indicate the prominence of given information in a sentence, might be seen as punctuating the sentence, following the introduction of each element which was already part of the narrative event.

The topic marker can also be used with a contrastive sense, and in this case overlaps with the loan contrastive marker *tsahi*.

104. go tsahi hellowo miksi-lam mi-lwa-pa mɯ nem **ne** la-uto
1s CONTR always eye-ABL NEG-see-Npst.PRT that day TOP see-1s/3s.PST
I don't usually 'see' (ie the supernatural) but on that day, I saw.

An opposition is set up which contrasts *hellowo*, 'always' with *mu nem,* 'that day'.

The same contrastive sense emerges in the following, which enumerates the strange qualities of a mysterious being.

105. o kurkuttsa **ne** ŋado re bu ta o breptsɯ tsahi tsɔŋ-ra
this N.heel TOP front FOC be.3s N.indeed this toe CONTR back-LOC

ɔkoti dhypa u-sem **ne** tɯlɯlɯ thys-ty…
this.much long 3POSS-hair TOP very.long pull-3s/3s.PST…

His heel was in front and his toes were in back (of his foot) and he pulled his hair this long…

In this sentence we see that *ne* and *tsahi* are both used to make a list of the oddities of the character, contrasting the different body parts and how unusual they are.

Focus marker *re*

I use the label focus marker for *re*[2], which marks new information. Generally this marks information which is being introduced into the discourse for the first time, but can also be used for an element which was previously mentioned but is no longer prominent in the mind of the audience. Generally, *re* is a counterpart to the topic marker (indicating given information) but this is not necessarily the case.

New information often contains an element of surprise, as is seen in the following examples 106 through 108.

106. ɔsinɖa ne mytsy **re** bu-mi tsha
here TOP man FOC be-3p COP.tsha
There's a man here! (indicating surprise, as noone was present before)

107. go ne bia **re** be-uto
1s TOP N.marriage FOC do-1s/3s.PST
I got married (said to someone who hasn't seen me since)

108. anep ne inima **re** palo ne
today TOP 2POSS FOC N.turn TOP
Today it's your turn (unexpected)

In these examples, the topic marker is also present, and this given information sets the context in which the new information appears.

Because questions seek new information, question words are often accompanied by the focus marker.

[2] Matisoff points out that this may be related to the Sino-Tibetan copula *ray*.

109. bju rokphaɖ-ɖa-m patshi bju-ka “bante **re**
eagle arrive.here-3s.PST-NOM N.after eagle-ERG “where FOC

ane mini **re** mur nem bante **re** ham **re**?”
today human FOC smell smell.3s where FOC what FOC?”

After the eagle arrived, the eagle [said] ”Where is the human smell coming from today, where and what?”

Elsewhere, both the topic and focus marker can be applied to the same entity, which has two different referents.

110. mɯpatshi ne “gana **ne** bhɔʈuwa **re**, hunu lɔk-sa”
afterwards TOP 2s TOP N.nomad FOC, there go-2IMP
Afterwards [they said to him] “you, nomad, leave!”

The sentence above is equating the 2s pronoun with the term ‘nomad’. The pronoun is a given (in a pragmatic situation where deictic referents are known) and marked as such, whereas the derogatory appelation ‘nomad’ has the focus marker for new information: this is because the term is used for the first time, and the speaker’s equating the two is a new concept.

Example 111 shows *re* marking elements which have already been introduced into the narrative.

111. “ɔbɔ gani **re** ŋado-m, go **re** ŋado-m?”
Now 2p FOC first-NOM, 1s FOC first- NOM?
So who then was here first, me or you?

This sentence comes from a story of a contest between a boy and a group, legitimacy belonging to the one who arrived first. Both of the referents for the pronouns are known information, as they are clearly identifiable from the narrative. However, the outcome of the contest is not known (arriving *ŋadom*, ‘first’ being equated with winning) so the focus marker is applied to both of them as potential winners in an unknown situation.

We have seen that these two pragmatic status markers are quite consistent in marking given and new information of relevance to the story. There are two other markers as well, the contrastive marker and the emphasis marker. Like the topic and focus markers, both these markers can appear after any part of speech, although statistically they favour nouns[3]. For the contrastive marker the part of speech will make no difference to the meaning, whereas the emphasis marker acts differently when it follows adjectives and adverbs.

Contrastive marker *tsahi*

The contrastive marker in Thulung is used in much the same way as the Nepali equivalent, also *tsahi*, which is the source for the borrowing. It serves to show a contrast between different participants, and typically follows each of the participants for whom a contrast is being established. It can occur following any part of speech, although it generally is seen following nouns, and the position generally favoured is post-nominal (which is largely a matter of nouns being the most commonly appearing part of speech in discourse.)

[3] As these make up a greater percentage of any given text, and are also more likely to be singled out for pragmatic purposes.

112. mɯ waŋmi tsar bhai-ka **tsahi** seʈ-miri-m
those other N.four N.o.brother-ERG CONTR kill-3p/3s.PST-NOM

retsha, tɔrɔ kantsha-ka **tsahi**
N.seem N.but N.ygest.brother-ERG CONTR

seɖ-ɖy-m meʔe retsha.
kill-3s/3s.PST-NOM not N.seem

It seems those other four brothers killed him, but it seems the youngest did not kill him.

This is a clear case of *tsahi* used as a contrastive marker. The sentence makes a contrast between four brothers on the one hand, and the youngest brother on the other, describing how their actions differ. We see that *tsahi* follows the case-marked noun, so that the grammatical roles of the participants are still clear, with the contrastive marker added to show pragmatic status but not to take over the role of grammatical role marking.

It is not necessary that there be two overt parallel participants marked by contrastive *tsahi*, as the following shows.

113. bwa phɔl-pa-ma po phɔl-pa-ma si-pa-lai
pig cut-Nst.PRT-AS chicken cut-Npst.PRT-AS die-Npst.PRT-DAT

gwak-pa tshɔlɔn
give-Npst.PRT N.custom

bai-ra. homlo **tsahi** si-pa-ku nɔŋ
be-3s.PST. now CONTR die-Npst.PRT-GEN name do-AC

be-saka twak-ka pe-pa tshɔlɔn bai-ra
self-ERG eat-Npst.PRT N.custom be-3s.PST

It used to be the custom that a pig and a chicken were killed and given to the dead person. Now, though, the custom is that while the dead person's name is said, the meat is eaten (by the living)

The relevant part of this long sentence is the contrastive marker on the time word *homlo*, which sets up a contrast with the covertly expressed time frame "then" which is summoned by the tense of the verb *baira*.

The following shows the same situation, of a contrast set up with an understood other entity.

114. ɔsinɖa **tsahi** doi-ŋa khaʈ-ɖɔla ɔm-tsi-m retsha.
here CONTR N.two-EMPH N.bed-on sleep-3d-NOM N.seem
And here the two seem to be sleeping in the bed.

The contrastive marker is contrasting the marked element, *ɔsinɖa* 'here' (this is the Frog Story, and *ɔsinɖa* refers to the currently described cartoon picture) with the previously discussed pictures.

The same is true of the following sentence.

115. khlea-ka **tsahi** mɯ bɔʈɔl-gunu u-bwi phik-y.
dog-ERG CONTR that N.bottle-inside 3POSS-head stick.in-3s/3s
The dog sticks his head inside the bottle.

tsahi is used here because there are two main participants in the scene, the boy and the dog, and the dog's actions are highlighted and contrasted with the boy's. There is certainly overlap between *tsahi* and the topic marker *ne*, as was mentioned earlier. *tsahi* here is selecting one participant and his behaviour is seen as contrasting with that of the other, but the *tsahi* also serves to mark the prominent topic of the sentence: the dog is given information (he has been present from the start) and his prominence in the sentence is similar to what we saw with *ne*-marked elements.

Emphasis marker *-ŋa*

The marker *-ŋa* is used for emphasis, and appears after nouns as well as adjectives, adverbs, or verbs. When used with a noun or verb, the emphasis refers to the status of that element within the sentence or event, whereas with an adverb or adjective, it is an intensifier, augmenting the descriptive power of these modifiers. *-ŋa* is different from the other discourse markers in that it is not a particle, but rather a suffix: there are certain morphophonological changes when it combines with bilabial nasal-final elements, and these imply a boundedness greater than seen with other discourse particles. Two examples of this are given: *tsum* 'very, much' sometimes combines with the emphasis marker to give *tsuŋ-ŋa*[4]; *koŋŋa* 'only' appears to be made up of *ko* 'one' and the emphasis marker, and has become lexicalized. The role of *-ŋa* as an intensifier of adjectives and adverbs is different from the role of the other discourse markers which serve to highlight the pragmatic status of certain participants or themes: instead *-ŋa* modifies the modifiers, affecting the semantics of the sentence rather than its information structure. For this reason, I believe *-ŋa* to be different from the other discourse markers, and this is reflected by its nature as a suffix instead of being a particle like the other markers.

116. mɯ tukisale-**ŋa** tsar-saɖ-ɖy-ʔe
that spool-EMPH throw-BEN-3s/3d.PST-RS
She threw the spool to them.

[4] This morphophonological rule is discussed in the section on Phonology. It does not always apply with *tsum*, suggesting that perhaps the boundedness of *-ŋa* is a matter of personal preference.

The spool plays a central role in the beginning of this story, as it is the means through which the children find their mother. Because of its prominence in the story, the emphasis marker is used, and it is used to mark the spool even in simple sequential sentences where there is no doubt about what the spool is: the marker points to the important role of the spool of thread.

117. gumi homlo neb-ra-**ŋa** bu-mi.
3p now home-LOC-EMPH be-3p
She is at home now.

In the context of a question as to the whereabouts of her aunt, the speaker responded with the above sentence, with the emphasis marker on the locative expression. This is in a way similar to the focus marker, highlighting the new information.

118. oram je-ku rɔŋ go-**ŋa** tshen-to-m
this clothes-GEN N.colour 1s-EMPH choose-1s/3s.PST-NOM
I am the one who chose the colour of these clothes.

In example 118 as well, the emphasis marker highlights new information in the context of a question, similarly to the function of the focus marker. Beyond that, it also emphasizes the 1s nature of the answer, also accomplished by the nominalization of the entire sentence[5], so that it can be paraphrased "What's important is that it is I who chose the colour of these clothes".

The above show the emphasis marker in its pragmatic use, pointing to the marked noun to highlight its role in the sentence.

A post-verbal use of the emphasis marker follows in 119.

[5] The use of nominalization for pragmatic purposes is discussed in the chapter on Nominalization, Relativization, Genitivization.

119. ro-mu-**ŋa** mi-rok-a-wa
come-NOM.inf-EMPH NEG-come-2IMP-IRR
As for coming, he did not come.

This sentence appears in the context of a husband abandoning his pregnant wife, and not coming back even when the child was born. The emphasis marker seems to highlight the expectation of his return, which we then find does not occur. This is similar to a sentence we saw with the topic marker, *bimu* ***ne*** *bikta* ('As for coming, he came') with the significant difference that the emphasis marker is followed by a negated verb form. As I do not have further examples of the same type, I cannot judge whether the pattern of topic marker + fulfilled expectations vs emphasis marker + unfulfilled expectations is significant.

When used with modifiers, such as adjectives or adverbs, the emphasis marker serves a semantic function rather than a pragmatic one. In such cases, the semantic force of the modifiers is intensified, but the pragmatic status of any participant is not affected.

120. oram nem ama mala tsɯm-**ŋa** dwak-pu
this house 1POSS COND very-EMPH like-1s/3s
If this house were mine, I would REALLY like it.

121. ɖɯma hir-mu sɔdzilo-**ŋa** bu
millet.paste stir-Nom.inf N.easy-EMPH be.3s
Making ɖɯma is so easy.

It also appears in certain grammatical constructions, such as those indicating obligation or interdiction, and ability. In these instances, the use of *-ŋa* is optional.

122. go resepma mi-khli-u-wa mala a-tsɯ-mim-ka
1s rice.unhusked NEG-plant-1s-IRR COND 1POSS-child-PLU-ERG

po-mu-**ŋa** mi-lwa-mi-ja
eat-NOM.inf-EMPH NEG-able-3p-IRR

If I didn't plant rice, my children would be unable to eat.

123. gumi-ka thululwa si-mu-**ŋa** basi
3p-ERG Thulung.language learn-NOM.inf-EMPH OBL
They must learn Thulung.

124. gumi-lai dzam gwak-tomi-m pesi-**ŋa** myny-ja
3p-DAT rice.cooked give-1s/3p.PST-NOM.rel eat-EMPH NEG.OBL-IRR
They shouldn't have eaten the rice I gave them.

These are three grammatical constructions where the emphasis marker is by no means necessary, but is used with great frequency. Because of the pragmatics of these speech situations the use of an emphasis marker is natural, as they are speech acts of heightened emotional status and as such, emphasis, on the verb in all cases, is entirely reasonable.

In addition to these constructions, the progressive construction requires *-ŋa*.[6] I do not understand the connection between the emphasis marker and the progressive construction, except that it may be highlighting the ongoing aspect of the verb, a state which is of course relevant to progressive events.

125. meram tsɯtsɯ krymsi-ra-m-ka khrap-sa-**ŋa** bu
that child be.hungry-3s.PST-REL-CAUSE cry-AC+EMPH be.3s
The child is crying because it is hungry.

[6] This periphrastic construction involving the emphasis marker is discussed in greater detail in the chapter on clause-combining.

Because of the obligatory nature of *-ŋa* as part of this construction, I do not mark it as a separate morpheme. If it is indeed related to the emphasis marker, and the origin of the construction is, as mentioned, to highlight the *-sa* marker on the verb which indicates an action underway, then the morpheme has since lost its status as a morpheme, as it is an obligatory part of the construction and can no longer be analyzed as an independent morpheme.

Chapter 4

NOMINALIZATION, RELATIVIZATION, GENITIVIZATION

Matisoff (1972) was the first to point out the relationship in several Asian languages between genitivization, relativization, and nominalization. These functions are all conveyed by the same particle in Lahu, *ve*, as seen in the following examples.

Genitive

126. ŋà **ve** mí-chɔ
I shoulder-bag
my shoulder-bag

Relativization

127. vàʔ qhe chu **ve** Pîchɔ-pā ô tê γâ
pig as fat Shan that one person
That Shan over there who's fat as a pig

Nominalization

128. ɔ-šɨ tɔʔ la **ve** thàʔ nɔ mâ γa mɔ lâ
blood emerge come ACC you NEG get see Q
Didn't you see that blood was coming out?

These patterns are well-established in Tibeto-Burman, and have also been found across language family boundaries, indicating the areal nature of the phenomenon.

The Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization[1] pattern is also relevant with respect to Thulung, as the same set of linguistic elements participates, as in Lahu, in relativization, genitivization and nominalization. In contrast to Lahu, then, where a single element covers all the functions, Thulung has a small set of elements, apparently closely related. The set is made up of *-m, -mim, -mu* and *-ma*, and the various functions

are covered either by a single element from the set, or by two in complementary distribution, or by two or more in what appears to be free variation. Where the synchronic picture appears a little chaotic, there is some evidence for a cleaner distribution in earlier stages of the language. In addition to this set of what we will call, generically, nominalizers[2], there are alternative techniques to relativize, genitivize, nominalize, which we shall explore as well.

Nominalization is seen by Noonan to be the core cognitive concept from which a number of different functions radiate. His examples are drawn from Chantyal in his study of the "versatile nominalizations" found in the language, but the patterns are clearly the same as are seen in great number of regional languages. Chantyal has a nominalizer -*wa* (which can be traced to a Proto-Bodic nominalizer, *-pa), used for nominalization, verb complementation, noun complementation, purpose clauses, relative clauses, to form non-relative attributives, agent and patient nominals, attributive nominals, in verbal periphrasis and and the nominalization of main verbs. Examples from Chantyal of these functions follow, most of which are shared by Thulung in their expression with a nominalizer.

Nominalization:

129. pəri-wa gara-wa mu
study-NOM good-NOM be+NPST
Studying is good.

Verb complements:

130. nɦi-sə reysi thu-wa a-kham mu.
we-ERG raksi drink-NOM NEG-be+able be+NPST

[1] As the "morphological convergence of [these] syntactic functions" is called by Bickel (1999)
[2] reflecting what is perceived to be the historical evolution of these markers.

We aren't able to drink raksi

Noun complements

131. na-ra reysi thu-wa mən kha-i
I-DAT raksi drink-NOM desire come-PERF
I want to drink raksi

Purpose clauses[3]:

132. khi ca-wa-ri kha-i.
he eat-NOM-LOC come-PERF
He came to eat.

Relative clauses:

133. gay-ye sya ca-wa mənchi
cow-GEN meat eat-NOM person
the person who is eating beef

Non-relative attributive:

134. təyla-wa saka
yesterday-NOM ancestor
yesterday's ancestors

Attributive nominals:

135. na-sə məŋgəle-ri-wa-ma-ra kwi pin-ji
I-ERG Mangale-LOC-NOM-PL-DAT water give-PERF
I gave water to the people from Mangale.

Agent/patient nominals[4]:

136. ca-wa
eat-NOM
eating or eater

Periphrasic verb :

137. kadmandu-ri ɦiya-si-wa ɦin

[3] In Thulung purpose clauses are formed by directly suffixing the locative marker to the verb root.
[4] Thulung forms agent/patient nominals with the non-past participial marker -pa, which is cognate with Chantyal -wa.

Kathmandu-LOC go-ANT-NOM be+NPST
I've gone to Kathmandu.

Main verb:

138. ci-wa də
sit-NOM fact
I'll stay !

Most of these functions are also expressed with a nominalizer in Thulung, and I divide them into the three main functions of relativization, nominalization, and genitivization. While Chantyal has one neat particle which is used for all of the various functions, Thulung uses a collection of particles, all sharing a bilabial nasal and presumably related, but with their own complex distribution patterns depending on the function they serve. While these functions are all clearly related cognitively and the phonological similarity of the elements implies a historical connection between them, the relationship is much more tentative than in Chantyal. Because they all appear to be derived from nominalizers, like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, I gloss all of these functions with NOM, for nominalizer.

Each function is examined in turn, in light of the distribution of elements from the set of nominalizers, and alternative methods of accomplishing the same function are then examined.

Relativization

Thulung has externally-headed relative clauses, which are most commonly preposed to the nominal head. The relative clause is therefore one from which the head has been removed, the finite verb (which is clause final) taking the relativizing suffix.

139. [go khok-to-m] dzam brɔpa ba-ira
1s cook-1s/3s.PST-NOM rice good be-3s.PST
The food I cooked was good.

The rearrangement brought about by relativization can be seen from comparison with the corresponding simple sentence.

140. go dzam khok-to
1s rice cook-1s/3s.PST
I cooked rice

Relativization can be accomplished on a number of participants, in addition to the transitive patient in the example above.

-transitive agent of the relativized clause:

141. wa-lwak-mim-ka [makai py-ry-m] bwa brem-ri.
o.brother-y.brother-PLU-ERG N.corn eat-3s/3s.PST-REL pig buy-3p/3s.PST
my brothers bought a pig that ate corn.

-intransitive subject:

142. [go bu-ŋu-m] dhwagui koŋmi mytsy bu.
1s live-1s-REL beneath other person be.3s
There's another person below where I'm living.

-locative:

143. [go ɔŋ-ŋu-m] otshen helolo krokpa dym
1s sleep-1s-REL N.bed every.day hard become.3s
The bed I sleep in is always hard.

-instrument:

144. [go korok-ɖa phul hik-to-m] a-lwa phoka bɔk-ta-ma
1s mill-LOC flour mill-1s/3sPST-REL 1POSS-hand blister rise-3sPST-AS

nɯ-ra-m bu
hurt-3s.PST-NOM be.3s

A blister rose up on the hand I milled flour with and is painful.

The examples above show that the relativizer is *-m*, suffixed to the finite verb of the relative clause.

There is also a relativizer *-mim*, however this relativizer is limited to non-past relativization.

145. [go pare-u-mim] kitab tsɯm dhypa bu.
1s read-1s/3s-REL N.book very long be.3s.
The book I am reading is very long.

146. [go ɔŋ-ŋu-mim] plan hapa krokpa bu
1s sleep-1s-REL N.bed very hard be.3s
The bed I sleep on is very hard.

147. oram je [go phɔŋtasi-ŋu-mim] hapa dzɯpa bu.[5]
this clothes 1s wear-1s-REL very nice be.3s
these clothes I am wearing are very nice.

These examples all use *-mim* as the relativizer, although in all cases, *-m* could be used equally well. *-mim* cannot however be used to relativize past clauses.

There are also instances in which only *-m* can be used to relativize. What is relevant in these cases is the syllable length of the finite verb.

148. gui si-mim din
1pi die-1pi-REL N.day

[5] This is an unusual example of a post-posed relative clause: still externally-headed, but the relative clause follows the noun is modifies.

the day we die

but *gui si-m din

149. gui pi-mim bela
1pi eat-1p/3s-REL N.time
After we eat

but *gui pi-m bela

150. gu-ka ra-mim bela
3s-ERG say.3s-REL N.time
At the time when he says

but *gu-ka ra-m bela

Thus finite single-syllable verbs cannot be relativized with *-m*, but need *-mim*, presumably to give them more weight phonologically. It is interesting to note that only non-past forms (and only 1s, 3s and 1pi forms at that) are mono-syllabic.

The synchronic distribution of the relativizers is a little messy:

-m is the general relativizer, regardless of aspect or grammatical relation/semantic role, provided the finite verb to which is it suffixed has at least two syllables.

-mim must be used with monosyllabic finite verbs, and can be used anytime we have non-past verb form being relativized.

This distribution favours *-m*, which is the predominant relativizer found in modern Thulung. Historically, though, the distribution appears to have been rather different. Allen states that "it would seem that *mim* is to present tense forms what *-m* is to past tense ones"[6] (1975: 88). Thus the distribution was made along tense lines. What is

[6] This clear-cut analysis is undermined by one example where *-m* is used to relativize a non-past form
mi theTpum loa koŋŋa reakpu
not I-understand+m words only I-write

interesting about this is that we can see the path of change in the current distribution: -mim was originally used to relativize non-past clauses. Some non-past forms of verbs (3s intransitive, 1s and 1pi transitive) are mono-syllabic, and at some point there was a reanalysis of the salient factor in determining the choice of relativizer from being tense to being syllable length. The fact that any non-past form may still be relativized optionally with -mim shows that this process of change is still underway.

Genetti (1992) points out, in her comparative study of relativization in various languages of Nepal, that there are three general patterns which emerge as relativization strategies. Some languages (such as Kham, Limbu, Dolakha Newari) have distinct relativizers to indicate the grammatical relations of the relativized head with respect to the sentence (generally, these languages will have one relativizer for the subject, and another for non-subject). Other languages (like Nepali) use the tense/aspect of the clause to determine which relativizer to use, and often times this falls along the lines of perfective/imperfective. Yet other languages have mixed systems, involving a combination of grammatical relation and tense/aspect (Hayu, Tibetan), or taking into account animacy and plurality of the head noun.

None of these scenarios apply to Thulung, which has a synchronically unusual distribution of relativizers, reflecting, as we have seen, an original distribution according to more typologically and areally plausible lines.

I'll only write down the things I can't understand
theTpu (+theʈpu) is the non-past form of the verb.

Alternative relativization with participial forms

Thulung has other means of forming relatives as well, involving participial forms, which directly parallel to the situation in Nepali. Nepali takes into account the aspect of the clause being relativized, and like Thulung at an earlier stage, has two distinct relativizers: perfective clauses use *-eko*, and imperfective, *-ne* (J.Peterson 1999). The aspectual suffixes for relativization in Nepali are used with the verb root rather than a finite verb form, and they are used fairly consistently according to aspect.

Thulung has two such participles at its disposal, a past and a non-past participle, in *-ma* and *-pa* respectively. The difference between participial relativization and that seen above is that the participles are not finite, and therefore do not encode participant information unless it is specified by a pronoun.

151. [nem bane-pa] a-lwak khɔle-num dzɯpa dze.
house make-Npst.PRT[7] 1POSS-y.brother all-COM nice speak-3s
My brother who builds houses speaks nicely with everyone.

152. [gu-ka tsa-pa] mambatti
3s-ERG light-Npst.PRT N.candle
The candle he lights.

The last example shows that specification of the agent is possible, through the use of a personal pronoun, even though the verb does not convey such participant information.

153. khok-ma dzam
cook-Pst.PRT rice
Cooked rice (by anyone)

154. go khok-to-m dzam
1s cook-1s/3s.PST-REL rice
Rice I cooked

[7] This is the gloss I use for the non-past participial form.

155. khok-pa dzam
cook-Npst.PRT rice
Rice ready to be cooked

156. go khok-pu-m dzam
1s cook-1s/3s-REL rice
Rice I will cook/I am cooking

The participial form can therefore be used when one choses to be less specific about the action being described, in contrast to the *-m*-relativized forms where the verbal ending unmistakenly identifies the participants.

It is possible that this relativization strategy, with its direct equivalence in Nepali, is on the rise in Thulung. One possibility is that the two types of relativization complement each other: when it is crucial to identify the participants in the clause being relativized, the *-m/-mim* type is used, as it is highly specific about subject (and object, where relevant). When instead it is aspect which is the feature which must be highlighted, then the speaker has the option to use the *-ma/-pa* type of relativization. Of course, specification of aspect is still clear in *-m/-mim* clauses, and participant identification is possible in *-ma/-pa* types, but this may be the beginning of a trend of separate types of relative clause usage depending on what is most important to the speaker.[8]

[8] Interestingly, it is these forms (the imperfective form in particular) which looks to be cognate to other relativizers around Nepal, particularly those of the Bodic languages. It corresponds to what is -wa in Chantyal, -pa in Tibetan, -ba in Gurung, these being languages which do not inflect verbs for person, so that this alternative relativization in Thulung looks more like that of its neighbours than the finite + -m/-mim variety I have described above. Perhaps in fact, this alternative construction is gaining ground as a result of contact influence, which may explain the fact that what was probably at one time a clear-cut aspectual distinction using different relativizers has become more blurred.

Nominalization

Noonan lists certain types of nominalization as so well-attested as to be protoypical, needing to further explanation on their nominal status. Of these, Thulung has the following.

Citation form of verbs, -mu

The citation form of verbs is the form used when the verb root functions as a nominal element. Matisoff states that "as a general rule of thumb applicable throughout the Tibeto-Burman family, whenever one discovers the particle used in verb citation, one can be sure of having discovered the most important nominalizer of the language." (1972: 248) Noonan explains that nominalized verbal forms "are used in discourse as names of activities or states." (1997:375)

The following examples illustrate the nominal status of verbs in citation form.

157. make sinben-mu hapa kam bo-mu basi.
grain plant-NOM much N.work make-NOM OBL
Planting grains requires a lot of work.

158. on-mu-lai tsapa bane-mu basi
run-NOM-DAT strong make-NOM OBL
To run, one must make onesself strong.

159. khomu-kam lagi[9]…
cook-NOM-GEN N.sake
In order to cook,

[9] In addition to this more predictable form, with the nominalized verb taking genitive case marking, I also have an example of the infinitive directly followed by the noun it modifies.
ɖɯma khomu lagi ŋado lama banem basi
ɖɯma cook-NOM N.sake first ingredients prepare OBL
In order to cook ɖɯma, one must first prepare the ingredients.

160. “lamdi-mu bhanda-ne plen-ra lɔ-mu ʈhik” raŋ-ro
walk-NOM N.than-TOP E.plane-LOC go-NOM N.fine” say-1s/3sPST
I said “going by plane is better than walking”

The fact that the nominalized verbal element takes case marking is a good indication of its nominal status.

Verb complementation, mu

With verb complementation, a nominalized clause is the complement of the verb, taking on the role of participant in the event.

161. go dika [mukli lɔ-mu] tsahebe-u.
1s tomorrow Mukli go-INF N.need-1s/3s
I must go to Mukli tomorrow.

162. go [dzɯdzɯluŋ ho-mu] dwak-pu.[10]
1s mountain climb-INF like-1s/3s
I like to climb mountains.

Less prototypical kinds of nominalization are discussed below.

Clause nominalization, -m, -mim

Causal clauses are all nominalized before the cause-marking element -ka. As seen in the chapter on case marking, -ka is the instrumental case marker, thus the nominalization of the clause preceding this marker is to be expected.[11]

This is unusual in that the nominalized form is directly followed by the noun being modified. This is in fact noun complementation, seen under the topic of genitivization. This sort of minimal pair just shows how interconnected all of these various functions are.

[10] Another means of making complement clauses is through reduplication of the verb root, as in the following:

golai iskul lɔlɔ midwa
1s-DAT N.school go-go NEG-like-3s/3s
I don’t like going to school.
This raises the issue of the nature of the reduplicated verb root as a nominal.

163. go po-mu-ʈhok mi-pe-wa-**m**-ka krym si-ŋro.
1s eat-NOM-N.stuff NEG-eat-1s/3s-NOM-INSTR hunger feel-1sPST
Because I didn't eat, I felt hungry.

164. meram tsɯtsɯ krym si-ra-**m**-ka khrap-saŋa bu
that child hunger feel-3sPST-NOM-INSTR cry-AC+EMPH be.3s
Because that child is hungry, he is crying.

165. gu-ka mukli-ra-m mesem bia by-ry-**m**-ka
3s-ERG Mukli-LOC-NOM woman N.marriage do-3s/3sPST-NOM-INSTR

go kusi dwaŋ-ro
1s N.happy like-1s/3sPST
Because he married a girl from Mukli, I feel happy.

Temporal clauses marked with the Nepali loan *patshi* (after) and *sɔmma* (until) are also consistently nominalized.[12]

166. burkum-ra mwasy tsha-beʈ-miri-**m** **patshi** ethama
cave-LOC soot spread-CAU-3p/3sPST-NOM N.after there

wo waŋmim pɔtte dym-miri-ʔe
also other N.believe become-3pPST-HS

After the Thulung spread the soot in the cave, others believed it.

167. bju-ka lɔ-ry-**m** **patshi** mɯ u-tsɯ-tsip-ka
eagle-ERG carry-3s/3sPST-NOM N.after that 3POSS-child-DU-ERG

mal-to mal-to lɔk-tsi-ʔe
search-SC search-SC go-3dPST-HS

After the eagle carried her off, her two children went searching.

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[11] This being said, I must mention that the purposive construction is formed with a non-finite verb root, followed by the locative marker: this suggests that verb roots are themselves nominal elements, if they can cooccur with case markers.

[12] Temporal clauses which are complements to the Nepali loan noun *bela*, 'time', also have the same format, but in that case it appears that a better label is relativization, as the temporal element is brought in by the head noun.

168. swar kho-ki-**m** **patshi** tsahi hepmam khal-kam
bamboo prepare-1pe-NOM N.after CONTR that N.kind-GEN

krɔ bɔne-m basi
basket make-NOM OBL

After preparing the bamboo, we must make that kind of basket.

169. meno roŋpha-ŋu-ma ɖhol kuk-pu-**m** **sɔmma**…
there arrive-1s-AS drum beat-1s/3s-REL N.until…
Until I arrive there and beat the drum…

The same distribution is found as with relativization, with monosyllabic verbs requiring nominalization with -mim.

168. meram si-mim patshi
that die.3s-NOM N.after
After she dies

Verbal periphrasis, -m

Verbal periphrasis is the means of expressing perfect aspect: the finite verb is nominalized and followed by an inflected copula. This construction also appears in a number of TB languages of Nepal such as Hayu, Chantyal, Limbu, Yamphu (among others.)

169. dzetha-mim tsahi waŋthɯ babante **lɔm-ri-m** **bu**.
older.brother-PLU CONTR other where go-3p-NOM be.3s
The older ones went somewhere else.

170. maŋka-ne "hopmam mi-dzɯpa lamdi khrekhreja be-pa
mother-TOP "like.this NEG-good road bumpy made-Npst.PRT

lamdi lɔk-tsi" **rak-ta-m** **bu-mi**
road go-2d" say-3s/3s-NOM be-3p

Mother said “Go on a bad, bumpy road like this.”

171. hu grenem-ra **lɔs-ta-m** **bu**
there nettle-LOC go-3s.PST-NOM be.3s
She went out for nettles.

Thus -m is used to nominalized the finite verb which is then combined with the inflected copula. Because this periphrastic construction is always based on a past form of the finite input verb, there is never a situation in which a monosyllabic verb could occur. The result is that -m is always used as the nominalizer.

There is an alternative means of forming the periphrastic construction to express the perfect. This is to use a past participial form of the relevant verb followed by the inflected copula. This is the same pattern as used in Nepali, and is reminiscent of the alternative means of relativizing (also using the participle) which we saw earlier.

172. twak-ku ɖymla-laŋka tsahi phɔl-mu pɔrne ho
self-GEN culture-ABL CONTR cut-NOM N.must COP.ho

tɔra phɔl-mu **ɖiɖ-ma** **bu**
N.but cut-INF abandon-Pst.PRT be.3s

According to our own culture we must slaughter [the pig and chicken] but we have stopped slaughtering [them]

173. u-dikam-ne bante hunu kerao **phoʈ-ma** **bai-ra**
3POSS-tomorrow-TOP where there N.peas plant-Pst.PRT be-3s.PAST
The next day she had planted peas off somewhere.

Sentence nominalization, -m

The nominalization of entire sentences is common in Thulung, both in conversational exchange, as well as in narrative. Matisoff terms this "reification", and it is often translated with "it is a fact that…"

Nominalized sentences punctuate narrative, and are very frequently found in combination with hearsay markers. What is interesting is that these nominalized sentences are not pragmatically marked: there are very frequent, and sometimes there is a run of nominalized sentences, and sometimes instead they are sprinkled throughout. Because of the semantic content of the nominalized sentences, I believe they cannot be pragmatically marked: sometimes the marked sentences are crucial to the narrative, and sometimes they are not at all. This situation is similar to that in Lahu, where a nominalized sentence is the most unmarked way in which it can occur (Matisoff 1972 and pc).

Some nominalized sentences follow.

174. memma meram badzi-laŋka iki-beppap-mim glwa-mri-ma
then that N.bet-ABL 1POSS-ancestor-PLU win-3p/3sPST-AS

tsahi gui thuluŋ dys-ti-ʔe-**m**.
CONTR 1pi Thulung become-1pi-HS-NOM

After our ancestors won that bet, we became Thulung.

175. ikima-laŋka make phwamsi-mri-ma lɔm-ri-m.
1POSS-ABL long.ago separate-3pPST-AS go-3p.PST-NOM
They separated from our [people] long ago and left.

176. aki-pap-nuŋ badze-ka nɔk-koʈha
1POSS-father-COM N.grandfather-ERG two-N.room

tseuga-ra pi-mri-ʔe-m.
N.farthest.field-LOC break-3s.pol/3sPST-HS-NOM

My grandfather, with my father, destroyed two rooms [of the old palace] in the farthest field.

177. memiŋ-ka koreŋ be-mri-ma seʈ-miri-m.
those-ERG dry do-3p/3sPST-AS kill-3p/3s.PST-NOM
They dried him [on a fire] and killed him.

Nominalization of sentences is a means of marking them pragmatically in other languages related to Thulung. Bickel reports that for Belhare, nominalized sentences are related to focus constructions: they can "fill a presumed gap in the addressee's knowledge" (completive focus), "reject what is perceived to be a wrong variable instantiation (as in contrastive focus)", or can be used in narrative "not only … when a speaker corrects himself…, but also when s/he is not sure whether a previous instantiation of a core variable is enough well-established to continue a narration" (1999: 280-287). According to Noonan, nominalized sentences in Chantyal as well are pragmatically marked, indicating that "the situation in the clause is contrary to expectation or somehow exasperating" (1997: 381).

Noonan also says that "there is little doubt that [sentence nominalization] derived historically from the use of -wa [the nominalizer] in verbal periphrasis where the syntactic main verb had undergone elipsis" (1997: 381), even though the nominalization of sentences has now taken on a pragmatically marked meaning. It is possible that Thulung represents an earlier stage of development than Chantyal: nominalized sentences represent what is a periphrastic construction (the perfect) from which the inflected copula has been elided, resulting in no pragmatic difference between the two.

If this is indeed the case for Thulung, then we would expect to find nominalized sentences only where the verb is a past form. This is almost universally true (but then most stories are told in the past tense, and it is mostly in stories that we see sentence nominalization, so it is difficult to disentangle the two), and in this context it is useful to look at a conversational exchange.

178. A : gumi bante bu-mi?
3p where live-3p
Where does she live ?

B : gumi basbari-ra bu-mi.
3p basbari-LOC live-3p
She lives in Basbari.

A: gumi ba-laŋka rom-ri-m?
3p where-ABL come-3p.PST-NOM
Where is she from?

B : gumi mukli-laŋka rom-ri-m.
3p mukli-ABL come-3p.PST-NOM
She is from Mukli.

What is significant here is that in this exchange, the first question and answer are non-past and not nominalized, whereas the second are past and nominalized as well. This suggests that nominalized sentences are indeed related to the periphrastic forms, whereas the non-past is not nominalized because it does not participate in this type of periphrasis.

Genitivization

A genitive relationship between two nouns is usually with the case markers *-ku* or *-kam*, as was seen in the chapter on case marking. Thus Thulung is already different

from Lahu in that genitivization is most commonly expressed using these case markers, whereas in Lahu, a genitive relationship is marked by ve or apposition. (Matisoff 1972)

However there are certain situations in which Thulung uses a genitive marker which is related to the nominalizers we have been discussing. These are the genitivization of time words and locatives, as well as two other cases which seem to be cross-overs between several functions (possessive pronouns and noun complementation)

Genitivization of time words, -m, -mim

An attributive relationship between two nouns is expressed with *-m* and *-mim* when the possessor is a time word (either native or borrowed from Nepali)

179. nemtha-m dzam
evening-NOM[13] rice
the evening meal

180. dika-m lagi
tomorrow-NOM N.sake
tomorrow's sake, ie. for tomorrow

but *dika-mim lagi

181. aneb-mim din
today-NOM N.day
today's day, ie these days

The distribution of -m and -mim is phonological: -m is used postvocalically and -mim post-consonantally.

[13] I have chosen to gloss these specified genitivizers as NOM, for nominalizer. This is because these are not general genitivizers, that role being filled by -ku and -kam, as we have already seen. DeLancey, like

There are also instances in which the same construction is made but the head is elided. These genitivized time words are used to refer to a person or animal by the day of birth (this is surprisingly common in Thulung). In all cases we can assume an elided head such as nani (Nepali loan for child)

182. buddhabar-mim
Wednesday-NOM
[The child] born on Wednesday

183. bam-din-mim
which-N.day-NOM
the one from which day (N.*kun din-ko*)

184. neonem-mim
other.day-NOM
the one born the other day

185. sunem-mim
three.days.ago-NOM
the one born three days ago

186. basta-m
yesterday-NOM
the one born yesterday

but *basta-mim

The same phonologically based distribution applies as seen above, with -mim occurring post-consonantally and -m post-vocalically.

Genitivization of locative-marked elements, -m

Following a locative case marked noun, -m is used to express an attributive relationship with the possessed head noun.

Noonan, sees nominalization as the core concept connecting these functions, with an interpretation of genitives as sequences of nominals in apposition.

187. mukli-ra-m mesem
mukli-LOC-NOM woman
A woman from Mukli.

188. dzɔŋgɔl-ra-m soŋ
N.forest-LOC-NOM wood
Wood from the forest

189. pokhari-ra-m deuta
N.pond-LOC-NOM N.god
The god of the pond

Examples 187-189 above are of the genitivized generic locative-marked place noun, but other locatives are found as well, as in 190, 191.

190. bloku-ju-m ku
river-loLOC-NOM water
water from down in the river

191. deusa-nu-m darim popnar
Deusa-levLOC-NOM Darim Popnar
Darim and Popnar from across in Deusa

The distribution of nominalizers is presumably the same here as with time word genitivization, but because the locatives are all vowel-final, only the postvocalic form -m arises.

I believe the demonstratives to also have the same format, although it is difficult to analyze something presumably as grammaticalized as a demonstrative. *oram* and *meram* are the proximal and distal demonstratives, also used as substantives. Yet if we look at their structure, these can be analyzed as containing the locative and -*m*, with the original elements, *o* and *me*, possibly refering to locations, here and there respectively. Their structure would then be the following

192. o-ra-m
here-LOC-NOM
here's, ie this

which functions in the same way as the other locative genitives we have seen. The only problem with this interpretation is establishing whether the *o* and *me* originally refer to locations or are demonstratives at their core.[14]

DeLancey (1989) offers a useful interpretation of the possible development of the genitivization function of what are otherwise primarily nominalizers. He suggests that apposition of two nominal elements might have been reanalyzed as expressing a genitive relationship, and nominalizing marking on the first nominal element would have reinterpreted as genitive marking. As far as our first example of genitivization above is concerned, this would be as follows.

193. nemtha-m dzam
evening-NOM rice
the evening meal

could originally arise from the apposition of two nominal elements, with the following interpretation

"the evening thing, the meal"

The nominalizing element -m would then be reinterpreted as a genitive, creating an attributive relationship between the two nouns.

Thus we get an interesting interpretation whereby an original nominalizer is reinterpreted to have a genitivizing function. The genitive-marked noun can then appear without the possessed head, which can be elided in some cases, to function as a nominal element in its own right.

[14] If so, then these deictics correspond to "spatial demonstratives" found in Lahu.

We can see the evolution as follows:

two nominal elements are in apposition

194. bhudabar-mim, nani
Wednesday-NOM, child
Wednesday's thing, the child

the nominalizer on the first element is reinterpreted as being a genitive marker

195. bhudabar-mim nani
Wednesday-NOM child
Wednesday's child

And finally, the head noun can be elided, so that the genitivized possessor noun functions as a nominal element again.

196. Bhudabar-mim
Wednesday-NOM
Wednesday's, ie the one from Wednesday

Thus in this case we appear to have come full circle, but the use of -mim/-m in cases where the head cannot be elided shows that the genitivizing function is currently robust.

Pronominal nominalization, -ma

Possessive pronouns are another area where there is overlap between nominalization and genitivization. Thulung has four sets of possessive pronouns, clearly related, and interchangeable when used prenominally.

1 person		2 person		3 person	
a	aki[15]	i	ini	u	uni
ama	akima	ima	inima	uma	unima

Table 9 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns do not take into account number (or, therefore, politeness[16]). We can see from the above that the first column contains the information that clearly identifies the pronoun as belonging to a specific person, and represents the pronouns at their most basic. As I have mentioned, all of these are interchangeable in a prenominal position.

In other words, "my dog" could be rendered as any of the following:

a-khlea

ama-khlea

aki-khlea

akima-khlea

There is, however, a difference between the possessive pronouns when not in a prenominal position.

197. a-tsɯ uma ram wo ɖokpu bu
1POSS-child 2POSS COMP even big be.3s
My child is bigger than yours.

[15] I also find iki and ikima here, which is used for inclusive forms for first plural (these are not used for non-plural).

[16] These possessive pronouns seem to have originally shown number distinctions, according to the table given in Allen (1975: 101): he lists a i u for singular, aci, ici, uci for dual, and aki, ini, uni for plural (all in order of 1,2,3 persons)

As the example shows, the last two columns in the table represent the possessive pronouns that can stand in for the noun, whereas the first two cannot. Thus the -ma which is common to all pronouns which can function as independent nouns has a nominalizing function.

We therefore have a set of pronouns which can be used genitivally as well as nominally, suggesting that -ma as it appears with these possessive pronouns synchronically marks both functions. It seems that the evolution of the genitivizing function must have followed the same lines as discussed above with genitive-marking -m/-mim, namely from a situation where two nouns were in apposition and the nominalizer was reinterpreted as being a genitivizer. Here, it maintains the nominalizing function while also taking on the genitivizing.

It is interesting to note that -ma is also seen elsewhere in connection with nominalization and relativization: it is used to form the past participle, which can be used to relativize and for verbal periphrasis (which is nominalization of a finite verb, followed by a copula.). DeLancey (2002: 13) relates -ma, along with -pa, to the gender suffixes found in Tibetan nouns and adjectives, suggesting that the relationship of -ma to nominal elements goes back to the proto-level for Bodic.

Noun complementation, -mu

Another instance of attribution is found in what Noonan calls noun complementation (1995: 376). This name is in parallel with verb complementation: a clause is complement to a noun, and this clause has a non-finite verb marked with -*mu*.

198. pare-mu iskul
learn-NOM N.school
a learning school, a school to learn in

199. kho-mu lagi
cook-NOM N.sake
In order to cook

200. mɯ lo bɔne-mu bela-ka
that frog prepare-NOM N.time-TEMP
When it was time to prepare the frog

201. si-mu nem
die-NOM day
Death day/the day one die

We note that *-mu* was also seen as a nominalizer in verb citation forms and verb complemention. The examples above show noun complementation, which is an attributive relationship between the clause and the noun it modifies. Noonan (1995: 388) suggests as a path of development whereby the genitive (which can be considered a non-relative attributive) evolves from a reinterpretation of the attributive function once it becomes established in relative clauses. The problem with such as interpretation as far as the Thulung data is concerned is that -mu is not used for relativizing, so that the input for the path of development suggested is missing.

I propose a different interpretation. I suggest that "noun complementation" is a subset of relativization. It seems that the use of -mu, which marks the verb citation form (infinitive) of verbs, is used in analogy to the alternative relativization using participials. The participials encode tense (past for -ma, non-past for pa), and the -mu form of the verb is considered the equivalent minus any coding of tense. The result is an irrealis reading to the clause which modifies the head noun. I suggest that the use of -mu here then stems, not from its independent nominalizing function, which might be reinterpreted as

attributive, but rather from an analogy drawn between the tense-marked participials and the tense-void infinitive (which happens to be marked with the nominalizer, but this is not related to the motivation for its use here.)

The following table gives brief summary of the findings related to the interconnectedness of nominalization, relativization and genitivization in Thulung:

function	**relativization**	**genitivization**	**nominalization**
-m	• general relativizer (blocked with mono-syllabic inflected verb)	• of time words (vowel-final) • with locative-marked nouns	• verbal periphrasis • temporal, causal clauses (with non-mono-syllabic finite verb) • sentence-final
-mim	• relativizer with mono-syllabic finite verbs; can be used with any non-past finite verb	• of time words (consonant-final)	• temporal, causal clauses (with mono-syllabic finite verb)
-mu	• noun complementation (irrealis relativization)	• noun complementation	• citation form of verbs • verb complementation
-ma	(alternative past relativization on non-finite forms)	• possessive pronouns	• possessive pronouns (• alternative verbal periphrasis) possessive substantives

Table 10 Compared functions and forms of relativizers, genitivizers and nominalizers

As we saw, genitivization was the function which was least clear-cut, often overlapping with other functions. I list such cases under both functions (such as verb complementation, which can be seen as genitivization, but also as irrealis relativization; possessive pronouns, where those ending in -ma are used both as modifiers but also as nominals).

The ideas of DeLancey (1989, 2002) and Noonan (1995) are very helpful in sorting out the inter-relationship of these functions in Thulung. They show that the nominalizing function is at the heart (both cognitively and etymologically) of these three

functions, and suggest very convincing paths of grammaticalization for the nominalizer into the other functions. A brief overview of their ideas has relativization deriving quite naturally from nominalization, through the eventual erosion of the genitive marker which was originally present between the relative clause and the head noun (this genitive marker is still present, and obligatory, in many languages). The evolution of the nominalizer into the genitive function is a matter of analogy with the use of the nominalizer in relative functions, which is extended to use with non-relative attribution.

The complication as far as Thulung goes is that fact that four different markers are variously used to express these related functions. At present there is not enough historical or comparative data to understand the path of evolution, but the different distributions (of m and mim say, which are sometimes in phonological complementary distribution, and sometimes in a vaguer distribution, such as with relativization) suggest that these nominalizers are undergoing change and moving in different directions. Whatever their current distribution, the picture presented by Noonan and DeLancey is convincing one, and I believe all of these roles to have evolved from an original nominalizer, which has taken on different phonological colourings and distributions over time.

There are other nominalizers in Thulung which I shall discuss in closing this chapter. There are three further nominalizers, used to create agent/patient nominals (this is accomplished with the same nominalizer as for the other functions in Chantyal, and in fact the Thulung form does appear to be that cognate form, -pa, which is also used for alternative relativization, showing a further connection), locative nominals, with -khop/-

khom, and a very limited set of nominals in -la, the class of which also seems to include conditional clauses.

Agent/patient nominals, in *-pa*.

The non-past participle, formed with suffix *-pa*, results in a nominalized form. This is probably the result of a participle being used as an attributive with the noun it qualifies. When the noun is later dropped, the participial form carries the full substantive weight: thus *sisipa tsu*, 'a learning child', becomes, when *tsu* is dropped, *sisipa*, which takes on the full status of the noun it used to modify, meaning 'student'.

Nouns in *-pa* derived from transitive verbs result in agent or patient nominals (in other words in an agentive or in an instrumental). I have not managed to determine how to predict whether the result of nominalization of any given verb will be exclusively an agent nominal, both an agent and patient nominal, or exclusively a patient nominal, all of which are attested. Stative verbs will result in a nominal which represents a certain class of elements with a given characteristic.

Examples of the first scenario, where the nominalized form is exclusively an agent, include the following.

phirmu: to sew *phirpa*: tailor (this word is used to denote the caste of tailors)

kam bomu: to do work *kambepa*: worker

bimu: to beg bipa: beggar

bremu: to sell *bretpa*: salesman, shopkeeper

simu: to teach *sipa*: teacher

203. a-tsɯ sipa bu
1POSS-child teacher be.3s
My child is a teacher.

dzhomu: to plow *dzhopa*: plower

204. dzhopa-lai khadza lɔk-sara
plower-DAT N.snack bring-2s.IMP
Bring a snack to the plower.

Then there is the category of verbs which produces both agent and patient nominals when nominalized with *-pa*.

rjamu: to write *rjakpa*: pen; writer

205. meram mytsy rjakpa retsha
that person write-NOM appear
He is a writer/scribe.

206. go-lai ko-le rjakpa ren-sakŋi
1s-DAT one-CL write-NOM bring-2s/1s
Bring me a pen.

khomu: to cook *khokpa*: cook; pot

Some verbs block the agentive reading and produce exclusively patient nominals.

tshimu: to sweep *tshipa*: broom; *sweeper

khlysimu: to wear shoes *khlysipa*: shoes, *shoe-wearer

phɔlmu, to cut *phɔlpa*: knife, *cutter

Perhaps it is the case that in the situations such as the above, where the agentive reading is blocked, it is a matter of there not being enough of a niche for that job description. The verbs which allow an agentive reading, some of which we saw above, share that they are significant enough activities that they are principal occupations within

the society (something which is the not the case for 'sweeper', given that sweeping is a minor chore, carried out by any given individual)

Intransitive and stative verbs are quite different. The noun resulting from nominalization with -pa is usually a term which describes a main characteristic of the item or group of items it refers to. Some examples follow.

dzhyrmu: to be sour *dzhyrpa*: sour-tasting fruits (lemons, limes).

dumu: to be spicy *dukpa*: chili

dzhumu: to jump down *dzhukpa*: monkey (transparent nickname, apparently: he who jumps down. Real word is *sokse*)

simu: to die *sipa*: corpse

207. mɯ sipa phar-ra mi-lɔk-sa
that die-NOM near-LOC NEG-go-2s.IMP
Don't go near that corpse.

Locative nominals, in -*khop*/-*khom*

Two nominalizers, -*khom* and -*khop*, are used to create nominals refering to locations where certain activities take place. The difference between the two is to be the nature of the input: when formed from a noun, the locative nominal ends in -*khom*, whereas a verbal input is nominalized with -*khop*.

From nouns:

tosi-khom--place for the tosi festival

bia-khom--place for the wedding (from N.*biha*, 'wedding')

khɔtser-khom--kitchen for preparation of wedding feast

From verbs:

ba-khop pe-khop: living space *bamu*: to be, *pomu* (*pe-* in compounds): to eat

ɔm-khop: bed *ɔmmu*: to sleep

khlysi-khop: shoes *khlymsimu*: to wear on feet.

This last example is unusual in that it does not refer to a location, but rather to a patient (we also saw above how *khlysipa*, the patient nominal, meant shoes as well). Another instance of a *-khop* nominal functioning somewhat differently from those above is found in the following examples.

208. taro bai-ra-ʔe, **lɔ-khop** ʈau wo
N. far be-3s.PST-HS, go-L.NOM N.place also
The place he was going was far as well.

209. nia **be-khop** ʈau
N.justice do-L.NOM N.place
A place to do justice

Here the locational nominal is, in both cases, followed by a Nepali loan word meaning 'place'. One possible explanation for these two back to back nominals could be a phenomenon I found in other situations: in stories, a speaker uses a Thulung word, then following it with the Nepali word, for clarification (to an audience which perhaps understands less and less, as the better speakers die). However, the fact that in both cases the following word is merely *ʈau,* 'place', without specification of what kind of place (which the Thulung gives), it seems that the speakers of these sentences did not have a strong sense of the locative meaning which the *-khop/khom* carries. This implies that the usefulness of these suffixes as productive nominalizers in the language is shifting.

This nominalizer does appear in various place names, but I have no information about its origins.

Nouns in -*la*

I cannot call this a nominalizing suffix as it not found frequently and is not at all productive. However its presence on certain nouns hints at a nominalizing quality to the suffix, suggests that perhaps it was originally a nominalizing method, now obsolete.

Most centrally to Thulung culture, it appears in the word *ɖymla*, culture. It also features in two verbs, the second element of which is *bo-mu*, to do (this type of verb is usually made up of a nominal element followed by bomu): *hila bo-mu* 'to ask a question', and *soila bo-mu* 'to whistle'.

There are a few animal names ending in -*la*:

uaciphula, earthworm; *ɖɔla*, deer; *syntila*, cockroach; *nɔmula*, sheep; *bobla*, tadpole.

Other words are *nophla*, ear; *jula*, mist; and *swala*, youth

The small number of animal names where -*la* appears indicates that this is not an animal suffix of any kind. The animals found on the list do, however, have fairly distinctive ways of moving, so perhaps the names in -*la* are an indication of an agentive nominal form derived from a verb which describes a distinctive characteristic of these animals. The suffix, as we can see, is not remotely productive at this point, but I believe it worthy of mention because it does give indications of having been a nominalizer at some earlier stage.

One other possible connection worth mentioning here is that the conditional is formed by suffixing -*la* to the finite verb of the conditional clause. This too may indicate some nominalizing power of -*la*, which was later grammaticalized into forming conditional clauses.

Chapter 5

FINITE VERBS

The inflectional system for Thulung, known as 'pronominalized'[1] like its other Rai relatives, is quite complex: both the agent and one other participant (generally patient, but in three-person verbs this is the indirect object instead, according to primary object patterns: see the chapter on Thulung's case-marking system) are encoded into the verbal ending.

This chapter examines the finite verb system of Thulung, through the following issues: verb paradigms for personal endings, stem alternation, tense-aspect-mood, evidentiality, negation, and adjective formation.

Stems with alternating initials: morphological causatives.

Thulung, like most other Tibeto-Burman languages[2], has pairs of verbs which differ in their initial consonant and are semantically linked. These pairs are made up of simplex/causative verbs or transitive/intransitive verbs, and they are etymologically related. Generally, the causative or transitive member of the pair differs from its counterpart (simplex or intransitive, respectively) by having the corresponding aspirated

[1] Grierson, in the Linguistic Survey of India, divides Himalayan languages into the two categories of 'pronomalizing' and 'non-pronominalizing', based on the inflectional morphology, and Thulung falls into the group known as 'pronominalizing'.

[2] This pattern is much more widespread than just Tibetan and other languages in the Himalayas, and can be found in TB languages as far away as China and Thailand, such as those in the Lolo-Burmese family

or devoiced initial consonant. This is a reflection of a proto-Tibeto-Burman prefix, *s-, which indicated causativity. The process is no longer productive, but the verb pairs remain, coexisting alonside a causative construction based on an aspectivizer which augments the verb by increasing its valence (discussed in the chapter on aspectivizers).

The pairs I have identified are the following:

SIMPLEX		CAUSATIVE/TRANSITIVE	
bɔ-mu	to wake; to get up	phɔ-mu	to raise
bi-mu	to break (vi)	pi-mu	to break (vt)
bi-mu	to come here	phin-mu	to bring here
dzham-mu	to be possible	tsam-mu	to be able to
dzhar-mu	to fall	tsar-mu	to fell
gen-mu	to come up	khen-mu	to bring up
gɔ-mu	to be born	kɔ-mu	to give birth

These are all mentioned by Allen as well, but some others of his pairs are no longer in use. This is possibly a result of the causativizing auxiliary, which may have taken over some of the earlier causatives.[3] At the same time there are other pairs which he did not list which I found to have the same relationship.

gle-mu	to be left over	klen-mu	to have leftovers
bram-mu	to scratch (animals)	phram-mu	to scratch
ɖu-mu	to drink	thɯ-mu	to feed a drink

Inflectional system of the language

Inflection in Thulung is expressed through personal endings which are suffixed to a verb root. For transitive verbs, two endings are suffixed to the root, encoding two participants in the event. Additionally, certain verbs show stem alternation of a fairly

complex nature. I will first discuss the inflectional system of the language looking at the personal endings, followed by a discussion of the stem alternation. I also use the data on the inflectional system from Allen for comparison with modern Thulung, which notably shows very little change over the thirty years.

One of the biggest changes which concerns the verbs is that the pronoun system has changed over this thirty year period. We saw in the chapter on case-marking that a politeness distinction is now made, under the influence of Nepali, with a resulting shift in the pronouns. However, the rearrangement of the pronominal system has not affected the inflectional system. I therefore discuss the verbal paradigm using the same labels for pronouns as appear in Allen's treatment: thus I call gani 2p and gumi 3p, even though these are now the equivalent singular polite forms, with the new plural pronouns formed with the addition of the plural nominalizer (ie ganimim and gumimim respectively). My reasoning for using the old labels is that the inflectional system, as 'complex pronominalizing', develops the personal endings from the original independent pronouns. Additionally, the inflectional system has not caught up, so that second singular polite and second plural agents receive the same marking. Using the same labels also simplifies comparison with Allen.

[3] In some cases, as we see in Chapter 6, both the old form and the new productive construction occur, with slight differentiations of meaning.

Intransitive paradigm

The following is the inflectional paradigm of the verb *onmu*, 'to run'.[4] The person endings (indicating the nature of the subject) are indicated in bold, for non-past (middle column) and past (right-most column).

on-mu, 'to run'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s	oŋ-**ŋu**	oŋ-**ŋoro**
1de	on-**tsuku**	on-**tsoko**
1di	on-**tsi**	on-**tsi**
1pe	on-**ku**	on-**toko**
1pi	on-**ɖi**	on-**ɖi**
2s	on-**na**	on-**na**
2d	on-**tsi**	on-**tsi**
2p	on-**ni**	on-**ni**
3s	on	on-**ɖa**
3d	on-**tsi**	on-**tsi**
3p	on-**mi**	on-**miri**

Table 11 Intransitive verb paradigm (with personal ending in bold)

We see a consistent root *on-* in both tenses, with assimilation to the velar nasal for the 1s forms. There are also fairly distinct endings associated with different participants, shown in bold in the table. We also notice that some of these endings are portmanteau morphemes, encoding both person/number and tense, whereas in other cases only person is marked and there is no tense distinction for the forms.

Based on this, the personal endings for single participant events are the following.

[4] The tables in this chapter all follow the same format: The persons listed in the left-most column represent the subject/agent, with a 3s object when relevant. The next column lists, for each of those persons, the relevant verb form for the non-past: in this case, on (or oŋ-) is the stem, and the following morpheme is the inflectional ending. The third column gives the past forms of the verb for each person.
The inflectional endings, which identify the combination of participants in any event, are in bold.

	Non-past	*Past*
1s	**-ŋu**	**-ŋoro**
1de	**-tsuku**	**-tsoko**
1di	**-tsi**	**-tsi**
1pe	**-ku**	**-toko**
1pi	**-ɖi**	**-ɖi**
2s	**-na**	**-na**
2d	**-tsi**	**-tsi**
2p	**-ni**	**-ni**
3s	**-Ø**	**-ɖa**
3d	**-tsi**	**-tsi**
3p	**-mi**	**-miri**

Table 12 Intransitive personal endings

These are the endings found in intransitive paradigms, with a few variations:

1) in verbal paradigms, there are several allomorphs for the 1pi (non-past and past) and 3s (past) endings: -ɖi is in allomorphic variation with -ri and -ti, and -ɖa with -ra and -ta[5]. There is assimilation with liquids: if the verb root is -l-final, these same endings will be -l-initial (ie li and la)

2) 1pi non-past is sometimes -i instead of one of the allomorphs of -ɖi.

3) epenthesis occurs for past 1s and 3p forms when the stem is consonant-final: this is to prevent a sequence of three consonants. The epenthetic vowel is the same as the final vowel for these endings, in other words -o- for 1s and -i- for 3p[6]. Epenthesized forms are seen with the verb *on-mu*, 'to run':

1s past oŋ-ŋoro

3p past on-miri

[5] The variation between ɖi and ri, and ɖa and ra is the same as elsewhere in the language: post-vocalically, only the r variant appears; following -ɖ (eg, a stem which is -ɖ final), the ɖ allomorph is used; post-consonantally (except after ɖ), ɖ and r and in free variation.

[6] Ebert's analysis of the 1s form with epenthesis is -ŋu-to/ʈo. This has the advantage of breaking the intransitive 1s past down into the non-past intransitive ending -ŋu and the transitive past 1s ending -to.

The non-epenthesized endings are -ŋro (1s past) and -mri (3p past), in post-vocalic position. These are seen with the vowel-final verb *si-mu*, 'to die':

1s past si-ŋro

3p past si-mri

Transitive paradigm

The transitive paradigm is more involved, considering that it encodes two participants on each verb. The following chart shows, in the left-hand column, the agent participant, and in the top-most row, the other marked participant (the primary object: by default the patient, but otherwise the indirect object if present). The endings in the following paradigm are those for the verb *jal-mu*, 'to hit', because it is a stereotypical transitive verb but also because it is the verb used by Allen for the main paradigm (and comparison between his paradigm and mine is relevant.) This verb has the additional advantage of having a non-alternating root, clarifying the morpheme break between root and ending.

Inflectional endings for various person combinations[7] are seen in the following table.

[7] In the following two tables, the first of which exemplifies non-past endings, and the second past endings, the left-most column shows the various agent-role persons, while the top-most row shows that various patient-role persons. In order to find the appropriate ending for a 2s agent acting on a 3d patient, for example, we must find the 2s in the left-most column, and follow that row across to the intersection with the 3d column. The ending is -na, which is added to the verb root.

Patient► Agent▼	1s	1de	1di	1pe	1pi	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s						-ni	-nici	-nini	-u	-utsi	-umi
1de						-tsuku	-tsuku	-tsuku	-tsuku	-tsuku	-tsuku
1di									-tsi	-tsi	-tsi
1pe						-ku	-ku	-ku	-ku	-ku	-ku
1pi									-i	-itsi	-i
2s	-ŋi	-ŋitsi/ -tsiki		-ki					-na	-na	-na
2d	-ŋitsi	-tsiki		-tsiki					-tsi	-tsi	-tsi
2p	-ŋini	-kini		-kini					-ni	-ni	-ni
3s	-ŋi	-ŋitsi/ -tsiki	-tsiki	-ki	-sa	-na	-natsi	-nimi	-y	-ytsi	-ymi
3d	-ŋitsi	-ŋitsi/ -tsiki	-sa	-sa/ -kini	-sami	-natsi	-natsi	-nimi/ -nitsi	-ytsi	-ytsi	-ytsi
3p	-ŋimi	-tsiki	-sami	-sami/ -kimi	-sami	-nami	-nitsi/ -natsimi	-nimi	-mi	-ytsi/ -mi	-mi

Table 13 Non-past personal endings for transitive verbs

Pat► Ag▼	1s	1de	1di	1pe	1pi	3p	2d	2p	3s	3d	
1s						-ni	-nitsi	-nini	-to	-totsi	-tomi
1de						-tsoko	-tsoko	-tsoko	-tsoko	-tsoko	-tsoko
1di									-tsi	-tsi	-tsi
1pe						-toko	-toko	-toko	-toko	-toko	-toko
1pi									-li	-li	-li
2s	-ŋiri	-tsiki		-tiki					-na	-natsi	-nami
2d	-ŋiritsi	-tsiki		-tiki					-tsi	-tsi	-tsi
2p	-ŋirini	-tiki/ -tsiki		-tiki					-ni	-nitsi	-nimi
3s	-ŋiri	-tsiki	-tsiki/ -saɖɖatsi	-tiki	-saɖɖa	-na	-natsi	-nimi	-ly	-lytsi	-lymi
3d	-ŋiritsi	-tsiki	-saɖɖatsi	-tiki	-saɖɖa	-natsi	-natsi	-nimi	-lytsi	-lytsi	-lymi
3p	-ŋirimi	-tsikimi	-saɖɖami	-tikimi	-saɖɖami	-nami	-natsimi	-nimi	-miri	-miri	-miri

Table 14 Past personal endings for transitive verbs

I must preface this discussion of transitive endings with the caveat that it is rather difficult to elicit a complete transitive paradigm. This is partly because some of the combinations come up very infrequently in narrative, and people are quite resistant to the idea of listing sequences of verbs if a paradigm is elicited directly (in addition to which this method may lead to erroneous forms, considering they are out of any context where

the appropriate ending is natural to the speaker). In sum, I was able to get only one complete paradigm, of all possible person combinations, for a transitive verb.

Verbal suffixes: chart and comparison with related pronouns

The inflectional endings seen in the two tables above are in fact combinations of suffixes: they are made up of an ending representing the agent and an ending representing the patient. These endings are phonologically related to the independent pronouns they reference (which is why these languages are sometimes called pronominalizing), as is seen when we compare a list of pronouns with the endings which represent them.

The following table is a breakdown of the verb endings seen above into two suffixes, one for the agent and one for the patient[8]. The person is listed in the left-most column. The next column to the right is a list of the full pronouns, as they appear independently (for comparison with the person endings). The person endings are then separated according to grammatical role (agent or patient), and within these two categories, according to non-past or past. The function of the table is to maximally break down the inflectional endings seen on verbs into their various parameters: grammatical role, person, tense. The purpose is to see how these endings compare to the independent pronouns, as well as to see which endings are portmanteau morphemes combining tense and person.

		agent role		patient role	
	pronoun	*non-past*	*past*	*non-past*	*past*
1s	go	**-u, -ni**	**-to, -ni**	**-ŋi**	**-ŋiri**
1de	gutsuku	**-tsuku**	**-tsoko**	**-tsi, -ki**	**-tsiki**
1di	gutsi	**-tsi**	**-tsi**	**-sa**	**-saɖɖa**
1pe	guku	**-ku**	**-toko**	**-ki**	**-tiki**
1pi	gui	**-i**	**-li**	**-sa**	**-saɖɖa**
2s	gana	**-na**	**-na**	**-na**	**-na**
2d	gatsi	**-tsi**	**-tsi**	**-natsi**	**-natsi**
2p	gani	**-ni**	**-ni**	**-ni**	**-ni**
3s	gu	**-y**	**-ly**		
3d	gutsi	**-tsi**	**-tsi**	**-tsi**	**-tsi**
3p	gumi	**-mi**	**-miri**	**-mi**	**-mi**

Table 15 Independent pronouns compared to agent and patient personal markers

We see several things from looking at this table:

1) Only some of the persons are differentiated for grammatical role by the endings, as witnessed by the similarity/dissimilarity of the agent vs patient columns.

2) Just as in the intransitive ending paradigm, some suffixes are portmanteau morphemes, encoding person as well as tense. These occur with 1s, 1de, 1pe, 1pi, 3s, and 3p, whereas the other persons have the same marker for past and non-past. The markers for 1pi and 3s do not always distinguish tense: in combination with some verbs, there is a tense distinction, with the past personal endings being the allomorphs -ry/-ly/-ty/-ɖy (for 3s) or -ri/-li/-ti/-ɖi (for 1pi).[9] For some verbs, these past personal endings are used for the non-past as well, in which case the tense distinction is neutralized.

[8] Where the combined inflectional ending actually is comprised of two suffixes. Sometimes it is not, as is the case with some combinations of third persons.

[9] This allomorphy of 3s and 1pi past personal endings is discussed in the Phonology chapter. In the table above, I give the allomorph is [l] for the 1pi and 3s past personal endings. This is because these endings are derived from the conjugation of the verb jal-mu, where the root-final l- provides the environment for the allomorph in [l]

3) The ending for some persons is the number marker rather than an intrinsic person marker. Thus 1di, 2d, and 3d receive the same marking in agent role, namely *-tsi*, which indicates their dual number rather than the person involved.[10] This number marker is also seen in the equivalent pronouns, which are *gutsi*, *gatsi*, and *gutsi*, respectively.

Transitive verbs have two suffixal slots for the person markers, and the order in which these suffixes are organized is significant. Where one might expect that the ordering might be dictated by a hierarchy placing the agent ending closer to the root than the patient, this is not the case in Thulung. The ordering of suffixes is based exclusively on a person hierarchy, whereby persons are ranked according to 1>2>3. The result is that the endings marking a person higher on the hierarchy is in the first of two slots, regardless of its grammatical role. Although paradigms, such as the ones above, show distinct endings for each combination of agent/patient, as we see from the table comparing the independent pronouns with their affixal forms, these can be broken down into endings representing each participant involved in the action.

The result of the hierarchy is that there can sometimes be confusion about participant roles, given that the ordering of the suffixes does not indicate anything more than where in the hierarchy the persons stand relative to each other. This is presumably why there is some differentiation with regard to agent and patient endings for some of the persons. Some examples clarify this somewhat.

[10] The unclear line separating person and number is interesting. The number markers reappear with nominals as well: -ci or -cip for duals and -mim for plurals. Thus the number markers for persons are -ci and -mi for dual and plural respectively. Yet 2p's ending is -ni (which derives from *g-nyis, 'two').

The verb form jal-na (based on root jal-, 'to hit') could be one of several forms, because the second suffixal slot is not filled. It could be jal-2s/3s or it could also represent jal-3s/2s, in other words 'You hit him' or 'He hit you'.

At the same time, even in situations, such as that above as well, where the hierarchy results in a single dominant suffix, the existence of patient endings can sometimes clarify a situation. Thus

jal-ni (hit-1s/2s) and jal-ŋi (hit-2s/1s), I hit you and You hit me respectively, are differentiated, by virtue of 1s being manifested differently as an agent or patient.

The dominance of this hierarchy in the ordering of suffixes is seen when we look at combinations of persons. We begin by looking at inflections involving first persons, and then work our way down the hierarchy.

The **first person** is the highest in the hierarchy, and takes precedence either by being the first of two suffixes (whether it is in a patient or agent role) or by being the only suffix.

Agent:

There is a difference between the behaviour of the first person singular as agent and the rest of the first person: while all first person agent endings are in the first suffixal slot, the second suffixal slot, for patient marking, in generally only available when the agent is the first person singular. With other first person agents, the second suffixal slot is (mostly) blocked.

First person singular agent, with various patients:

1s/2s non-past[11] is -ni (=1sAgent), eg *jalni*, 'I hit you';

[11] While the examples I give are all non-past, the same patterns apply to past endings as well.

1s/2d non-past is -nitsi (=1sAgent+2dPatient), as in jalnitsi, ‘I hit you two’;

1s/2p non-past is -nini (=1sAgent+2pPatient), as in jalnini, ‘I hit you all’;

1s/3s non-past is -u (=1sAgent), as in jalu, ‘I hit him’;

1s/3d non-past is -utsi (=1sAgent+3dPatient), as in jalutsi, ‘I hit them both’;

1s/3p non-past is -umi (=1sAgent+3pPatient), as in jalumi, ‘I hit them’.

The rest of the first person, when in agent role, appears alone, with no slots available for the patient: The 1de, 1di, 1pe agents are represently exclusively on the verb endings for all patients:

1de agent with any of 2s, 2d, 2p, 3s, 3d, 3p patients for non-past is always -tsuku, as in jaltsuku, ‘We two hit you/you two/you all/him/them two/them all’;

1di agent with any of 2s, 2d, 2p, 3s, 3d, 3p patients for non-past is always -tsi, as in jaltsi, ‘We two hit you/you two/you all/him/them two/them all’ ;

1pe agent with any of 2s, 2d, 2p, 3s, 3d, 3p patients for non-past is always -ku, as in jalku, ‘We hit you/you two/you all/him/them two/them all’.

1pi agent is generally the exclusively marked participant (like 1de, 1di, 1pe seen above), with ending -i for non-past, as in jali, ‘We hit you/you two/you all/him/them all’. The exception is with 3d patients, which are represented: 1pi/3d non-past -itsi, as in jalitsi, ‘We hit them two’.

Patient:

The 1s patient suffix, -ŋi, is always present in combinations involving a 1s patient, but the presence of the agent suffix is not consistent: when the agent is a singular form,

there is no suffix to represent it; when the agent is dual or plural in form, it is represented by a suffix in second position:

2s/1s non-past is -ŋi, as in jalŋi, ‘You hit me’

2d/1s non-past is -ŋitsi, as in jalŋitsi, ‘You two hit me’

2p/1s non-past is -ŋini, as in jalŋini, ‘You all hit me’

3s/1s non-past is -ŋi, as in jalŋi, ‘He hit me’

3d/1s non-past is -ŋitsi, as in jalŋitsi, ‘They two hit me’

3p/1s non-past is -ŋimi, as in jalŋimi, ‘They hit me’

What we see from these person combinations is that the suffix representing 1s, even as a patient, is in the first suffixal slot. When the patient is dual and plural, an appropriate suffix appears to mark this patient in the second suffixal slot.

The1de patient is represented by either of two suffixes: -ŋitsi or -tsiki[12]. Either suffix fills the suffixal slot, with no patient suffix represented in almost all cases. There is one exception to this (in the non-past only; for past, there is perfect consistency), with the 2p agent.

2s/1de non-past is -ŋitsi or -tsiki, as in jalŋitsi or jaltsiki, ‘You hit us two’

2d/1de non-past is -tsiki, as in jaltsiki, ‘You two hit us two’

2p/1de non-past is -kini, as in jalŋitsi or jaltsiki, ‘You hit us two’

3s/1de non-past is -ŋitsi or -tsiki, as in jalŋitsi or jaltsiki, ‘He hit us two’

3d/1de non-past is -ŋitsi or -tsiki, as in jalŋitsi or jaltsiki, ‘They two hit us two’

3p/1de non-past is -tsiki, as in jaltsiki, ‘They all hit us two’

These examples show that the 1de patient suffix is the exclusive ending, with no slot for the agent, except in the case of a 2p agent. The 2p agent, with its characteristic suffix -ni, is represented in the second suffixal slot. The first slot is occupied by -ki, which is typically the 1pe marker.

The 1pe patient is represented by suffix -ki. It is consistently present[13], but the ordering of suffixes shows less consistency than elsewhere. One consistent factor is that with singular agents, only the 1pe patient is represented in the suffixal slot, whereas with dual and plural agents, the agent is represented as well.

2s/1pe non-past is -ki, as in jalki, 'You hit us'

2d/1pe non-past is -tsiki, as in jaltsiki, 'You two hit us'

2p/1pe non-past is -kini, as in jalkini, 'You all hit us'

3s/1pe non-past is -ki, as in jalki, 'He hit us'

3d/1pe non-past is -kini or -sa, as in jalkini or jalsa, 'They two hit us'

3p/1pe non-past is -kimi or -sami, as in jalkimi or jalsami, 'They all hit us'

What is notable about this set of ending combinations is the inconsistency of the ordering. With singular agents, the agent ending is not present. With dual and plural agents, there is a suffixal slot available for agent marking. We would expect, according to how the hierarchy seems to be of primary importance in suffixal ordering, for the agent suffixes to always follow the 1pe patient suffix, but this is not always the case. With a 2d agent, the 1pe patient suffix comes in second position: -tsi-ki is the ordering, with -tsi representing the 2d agent and -ki representing the 1pe patient.

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[12] -ŋitsi is a dualized form of the 1s patient ending, -tsiki is a combination of the dual marker tsi with the 1pe patient marker -ki.

[13] Apart from two alternative forms, which show no -ki.

One other surprise in this set is the 3d/1pe combination, which results in ending -kini. Broken down into separate suffixes this is -ki-ni, which appear to be the 1pe patient and 2p agent endings respectively. The appearance of the 2p agent ending instead of the 3d ending may simply be a matter of contamination.

The inclusive first persons appear with fewer combinations[14]. As patients, in combination with third person agents, they show considerably less transparency than other combinations.

3s/1di non-past is -tsiki, as in jaltsiki, 'He hit us two'

3d/1di non-past is -sa, as in jalsa, 'They two hit us two'

3p/1di non-past is -sami, as in jalsami, 'They hit us two'

3s/1pi non-past is -sa, as in jalsa, 'He hit us'

3d/1pi non-past is -sami, as in jalsami, 'They two hit us'

3p/1pi non-past is -sami, as in jalsami, 'They hit us'

-sa seems to be the marker of an exclusive patient, appearing in the past forms as well. With 3p agents, the typical ending -mi appears in the second suffixal slot. Its appearance in the second slot for the 3d/1pi combination seems to be a matter of contamination, where we would expect a dual marker -tsi. Nonetheless, this set of combinations of endings shows that the first person, even as patient, is generally in the first suffixal slot.

The first person is clearly dominant in the hierarchy. Next, we see the interaction of second and third persons.

[14] Because of their inclusiveness, inclusive first persons do not occur in combination with second persons.

The **second person** is next along in the person hierarchy.

Agent

With non-first person patients (discussed in the previous section), the second person agent is exclusively marked, making unavailable the second suffixal slot. This is seen in the following person combinations.

2s/3s non-past is -na, as jalna, 'You hit him'

2s/3d non-past is -na, as jalna, 'You hit them two'

2s/3p non-past is -na, as jalna, 'You hit them'

2d/3s non-past is -tsi, as jaltsi, 'You two hit him '

2d/3d non-past is -tsi, as jaltsi, 'You two hit them two'

2d/3p non-past is -tsi, as jaltsi, 'You two hit them'

2p/3s non-past is -ni, as jalni, 'You all hit him'

2p/3d non-past is -ni, as jalni, 'You all hit them two'

2p/3p non-past is -ni, as jalni, 'You all hit them'

There is perfect consistency in the combinations seen: only the agent, which is a second person, is marked in the verb ending, blocking the second suffixal slot.

Patient:

As a patient as well, the second person (with non-first person agents) occupies the first suffixal slot. With a singular agent, the second person patient occupies the only suffixal slot, whereas with dual and plural agents, the second slot is occupied by a suffix representing the agent.

3s/2s non-past is -na, as in jalna, 'He hit you'

3d/2s non-past is -natsi, as in jalnatsi, ‘They two hit you’

3p/2s non-past is -nami, as in jalnami, ‘They hit you’

3s/2d non-past is -natsi, as in jalnatsi, ‘He hit you two’

3d/2d non-past is -natsi, as in jalnatsi, ‘They two hit you two’

3p/2d non-past is -nitsi or -natsimi, as in jalnitsi or jalnatsimi, ‘They hit you two’

3s/2p non-past is -nimi, as in jalnimi, ‘He hit you all’

3d/2p non-past is -nimi or -nitsi, as in jalnimi or jalnitsi, ‘They two hit you all’

3p/2p non-past is -nimi, as in jalnimi, ‘They hit you all’

The combinations involving singular agents have an ending which represents only the second person patient: with the 2s patient, this is the simple -na, with the 2d patient, this is -na with a dual suffix -tsi, resulting in -natsi, with the 2p patient, the ending is -nimi, which is a combination of the 2p suffix -ni as well as a pluralizing suffix -mi.

Dual and plural agents are reprensented in the second suffixal slot, some of which are somewhat opaque. 3d/2s is -na-tsi, the second suffix representing the 3d agent; 3p/2s is -na-mi, the second suffix representing the 3p agent; 3d/2d is -na-tsi: the second suffix -tsi, and probably represents the 3d agent (although the fact that both agent and patient are dual makes this less transparent); 3p/2d is either -ni-tsi or -natsi-mi: the second of these is more transparent, with the second suffix representing the 3p agent. The variant -ni-tsi is more opaque: -ni is the 2p marker, but it is possible that -ni is used as an indication of the pluralness of the agent. 3d/2p is -ni-mi or -ni-tsi: in the second variant, the second suffix -tsi represents the 3d agent, whereas the first variant -ni-mi appears to give no indication of the nature of the agent. 3p/2p is -nimi, which could be

the same suffix as for 3d/2p or could be a combination where the second slot is filled with the 3p suffix.

The least marked person is the **third person**. Whether in agent or patient role, third persons are either unmarked or in the second suffixal slot. The paradigm shows that a singular third person will show a distinctive marking only when both participants are third persons:

3s/3s non-past is -y, as in jaly, 'He hit him'

3s/3d non-past is -ytsi, as in jalytsi, 'He hit them two'

3s/3p non-past is -ymi, as in jalymi, 'He hit them'

3d/3s non-past is -ytsi, as in jalytsi, 'They two hit him'

3d/3d non-past is -ytsi, as in jalytsi, 'They two hit them two'

3d/3p non-past is -ytsi, as in jalytsi, 'They two hit them'

3p/3s non-past is -mi, as in jalmi, 'They hit him'

3p/3d non-past is -ytsi or -mi, as in jalytsi or jalmi, 'They hit them two'

3p/3p non-past is -mi, as in jalmi, 'They hit them'

What this set of combinations shows is that in a situation where the agent and patient are the same person (with number as the only variable), it is the agent role which takes precedence over the patient: the dual and plural agents are exclusively marked in the suffixal slot.

The overwhelming pattern which is clear from this discussion is that there is a person hierarchy which ranks the persons in the order 1>2>3. This is manifested by the fact that whether in the agent or patient role, the person higher in the hierarchy will either be the only one represented by a suffix, or will appear in the first of two suffixal slots. Where the paradigms show that a certain combination of participants results in a suffix which is not related to either participant, suggesting contamination from neighbouring participants.

The hierarchy which places person above participant role in terms of position of representation on the verb ending results in some scholars labelling languages such as these as *ergative* from the point of view of their verbal paradigms. DeLancey calls this type of person hierarchy-based verbal marking an example of split ergativity (1989), while others (such as La Polla, 82: see Nishi 85 for ref) disagree and claim that such a definition of ergativity is not standard.[15]

Change in the paradigm: comparison with Allen.

Considering that we have older data with which to compare these more recent forms, it is important to address the issue of change. Many aspects of the grammar have subtly (or not so subtly) changed in the thirty years since Allen's work. What is surprising about the verb paradigms is how little things have changed. As mentioned above, Allen makes note of some variant forms, by an informant "whose knowledge of the language, certainly as regards vocabulary, was less than G's [principal informant]". These variant forms are the same I was given, concerning the 1de and 1pe agent with a

second person patient.[16] In Allen's case, the variant forms are only for the non-past forms of the verbs, whereas in my case, this 'simplification' had stretched to include the past-forms as well. The variant forms are an analogy of the 3 person patient forms into the 2 person patients as well, so that the forms are all leveled to only show the influence of the 1de and 1pe agents. I believe this could be the influence of Nepali, in that Indo-Aryan languages only inflect for the agent, and the paradigm, as far as the present change is concerned, shows a leveling to give greater influence to the agent.

One other change I notice, which is also probably indicative of change, is that often only the agent will be encoded, with an assumed 3s patient, even when the narrative (and other verb forms) make clear that the patient is 3d. This too seems to be a simplification of the system, which is a move towards that of Nepali, whether or not that is the stimulus.

Specific differences between Allen's reported paradigm and my own are the following:

Non-past:

1s/2p: my form is -nini, whereas Allen's is -ni. In order to see the pattern, I list the other related forms: 1s/2s: -ni, 1s/2d: -nitsi. Thus the -ni marker we see in all three dual patient forms is related to the 1s agent, which also happens to look like the suffix which typically represents the 2d, also -ni. The 1s/2p form which I was given, -nini, thus consistently marks both participants, similarly to the way this has been done for 2s and 2d patients. Thus it is Allen's form which appears to be inconsistent with the endings, and he

[15] This is all part of the debate on whether or not ergativity is a feature of PTB (and as a result, the definition of ergativity seems particularly important!)

mentions -nini as a variant which "is sometimes heard in place of -ni and is perhaps the older form" (50). This is the case in both non-past and past forms, as they share the same endings.

2s/1pe: the non-past suffix I collected is -ki, whereas Allen has -kimi. Allen's appears to be the unusual form, in that -mi is a 3p suffix (admittedly sometimes used, in both modern and 1970's paradigms, to reaffirm the plural number of forms where it is already obvious). Allen's table actually has -kimi all the way down for the 1pe object, whereas the forms I have are more diversified in that column.

2p/1de: whereas Allen has -tsiki here (the same as the entire column for 1de patient), I have -kini, the -ni reflecting the nature of the 2p agent

Past

There are fewer differences between the past paradigms collected by Allen and myself. The most notable difference which was found in the non-past is also found in the past:

where Allen has

1de/2s -natsi 1de/2d -natsi 1de/2p -nitsimi 1de/3s -tsoko 1de/3d -tsoko 1de/3p -tsoko

1pe/2s -nami 1pe/2d -natsimi 1pe/2p -nimi 1pe/3s -toko 1pe/3d -toko 1pe/3p -toko

these have been leveled in my data to

1de/2s -tsoko 1de/2d -tsoko 1de/2p -tsoko 1de/3s -tsoko 1de/3d -tsoko 1de/3p -tsoko

1pe/2s -toko 1pe/2d -toko 1pe/2p -toko 1pe/3s -toko 1pe/3d -toko 1pe/3p -toko

[16] ie -tsuku and -ku (past -tsoko and -toko) with all patients, whereas Allen had 1de/2s naci, 1de/2d naci, 1de/2p nicimi, 1pe/2s nami, 1pe/2d nacimi, 1pe/2p nimi (identical forms in past)

showing that the agent marker is becoming more dominant, and is the only person being encoded, where before the combination of 1de or 1pe agent with 2 objects resulted in some marking of the 2object on the verb.

The main thing to note in comparing the paradigms I collected and those described by Allen is that they are remarkably similar, considering that other parts of the grammar have changed so much more significantly over the same period of time. Very generally, one could say that the changes we do see in the paradigms appear to give more weight to the agent participant, even in cases where traditionally the person hierarchy would have resulted in a different arrangement of suffixes. The main example of this, which Allen had already noted as being used by the weaker informant, is the 1de and 1pe agent with second person patient. Interestingly these are also the persons involved in the other notable change: whereas 1de and 1pe patients used to result in the same suffix regardless of agent (tsiki for 1de, and kimi/tiki -- for non-past/past-- for 1pe), those patients now show less consistent suffixal marking, and the agent is participating more in the suffix: in the past forms, this is apparent with a 3p agent, which manifests itself with a -mi suffix in second slot (whereas it used to be completely absent); in the non-past, there is an interesting change in the 1de suffix: the older form is -tsiki, which is acceptable now as well and appears to be a combination of the dual -tsi and the pe -ki, whereas the new suffix is -ŋitsi which is the 1s suffix and the dual -tsi. Apart from this the only noticeable difference in the 1de patient column is the fact that with a 2p agent, the suffix is -kini, with the -ni being the 2p ending. The same occurs with the 1pe patient with 2p agent, again with the same suffix -kini. Another possible sign of change is that the

2d/1pe non-past suffix is -tsiki, whereas it was formerly -kimi. This is either a copy of the 2s/1de suffix (both columns are growing to look more and more similar), or an acknowledgement of the dual component of the agent (not very likely considering the person hierarchy).

In conclusion, change over the last thirty years is minimal as far as the inflectional paradigm is concerned. The few changes which are seen are consistent: they result in greater prominence for the agent (relative to the earlier paradigm, not relative to the patient--the person hierarchy is still important), even in situations where the person hierarchy would have erased all trace of the agent. This is likely a result of influence from Nepali, which has the typical Indo-Aryan verbal inflection system which only encodes the agent. At the same time, it may merely be the result of natural shifts through what is a fairly complex paradigm which combines person hierarchies with the potential for marking both participants (in a system which has eleven pronouns, including the presence of duals and inclusive/exclusive distinctions.)

Stem alternations

Thulung shows stem alternation in verbs. There is a three-way division in the behaviour of verbs in the language, as far as alternation goes. Some verbs have alternating stems, and these more or less map onto tense, with one stem appearing mostly with non-past and another mostly with past forms. Another group has an underlying stem, which surfaces with certain person combinations, but has nothing to do with tense. This group distinguishes the tenses through the portmanteau person endings which

encode tense, and where this is not the case, through reduplication of the ending initial. There is a third group which has no alternation whatsoever.

Thulung is not alone is showing stem alternation, and this is in fact quite common among Kiranti languages. For most Kiranti languages, the alternation is between two stems and is a matter of the nature of the initial of the following suffix: Stem I is the ante-vocalic stem, and Stem II is the ante-consonantal. As a result, the infinitive form of verbs is made from Stem II, the infinitive marker being nasal-initial in all these languages.

The alternation is not phonologically based in Thulung, as the same ending will occur with both stems. Allen's treatment of the alternations is to divide all verbs into stem-classes, of which there are ten. He provides a table which is then used, once one knows the stem-class of a given verb, to arrive at the proper stem for combination with various endings. (1975: 61) While this system is ingenious, it is also terribly cumbersome, and fails, I believe, to see simpler patterns which emerge from the data. It also does not mention some very frequent variant forms I found (perhaps because they were not commonly used at the time.)

The simplest way to look at the situation is to treat each of the three categories of verb separately.

1) Verbs with "tense-based" alternating stems

These verbs have two alternating stems, which I label Stem I (more complex phonologically, generally manifested in past) and Stem II (phonologically simpler, generally seen in non-past)[17].

There are three types of "tense-based" alternating stem verb:

Stem I	Stem II
-k	-ø
-p	-m
-ɖ	-ø/-n[18]

Certain patterns emerge when we look at paradigms involving these verbs.

--1s transitive always uses Stem I (even in non-past) and 1s intransitive always uses Stem II (even in the past)

--3s transitive always uses Stem I (even in non-past)

--1pi always uses Stem I (even in non-past)

--3p almost always uses Stem II (even in past)

Thus 1s, 3s, 1pi and 3p are the persons which disrupt the assignment of the stems to particular tenses. It is interesting that these are some of the pronouns whose endings are portmanteau morphemes, encoding both person and tense. (The other two persons which have such portmanteau morphemes are 1de and 1pe).

[17] The logic behind using these somewhat arbitrary labels, Stem I and Stem II, is so that Thulung, like the other Kiranti languages, has Stem II used for the infinitive form of the verb.

What we have for alternating stem verbs then is the following quite consistent pattern.[19]

Stem used for specific person for transitive and intransitive verbs in non-past and past:

	transitive		intransitive	
	Non-past	Past	Non-past	Past
1s	I	I	II	II
1de	II	I	II	I
1di	II	I	II	I
1pe	II	I	II	I
1pi	I	I	I	I
2s	II	I	II	I
2d	II	I	II	I
2p	II	I	II	I
3s	I	I	II	I
3d	II	I	II	I
3p	II	II~I	II	II

Table 16 Distribution of Stem I and Stem II for various person/tense combinations

The personal endings which we discussed in the previous sections are those I am considering basic. They occur with a non-alternating stem verb. In order to combine them with the verb roots of alternating-stem verbs, some changes must be applied.[20] These are as follows.

Stem I in -k

The stem alternation is as follows:

Stem I :-k Stem II: -ø

[18] This class is made up of some verbs which take -n in Stem II form, and some which do not. This appears most obviously in the infinitive forms of verbs: both sen-mu 'to kill' and tsɔ-mu 'to close' are in this class, yet sen-mu cannot be se-mu ('to fart') and tsɔ-mu cannot be tsɔn-mu.

[19] The exceptions are for 3p past: while this is usually formed based on Stem II, there are some cases where Stem I is used. Sometimes, this is dependent on the speaker, other times, certain verbs seem to favour one stem in this position.

[20] Those changes which are a matter of allophonic variation within the r, t, d, ɖ, ʈ class are not mentioned. These are explained in the chapter on phonology.

For transitive verbs, the non-past 1s/3s is -pu (instead of -u) [21]. All other personal endings are as in the table of transitive personal endings.

I exemplify this with a 3s patient paradigm for the transitive *rja-mu* 'to write'[22]. The verb stem is in bold, showing the alternation between two stems depending on the person combination (given in the left-most column) and the tense (the middle column illustrates non-past forms, while the right-most column illustrates past forms).

rja-mu, 'to write'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**rjak-**pu	**rjak-**to
1de/3s	**rja-**tsuku	**rjak-**tsoko
1di/3s	**rja-**tsi	**rjak-**tsi
1pe/3s	**rja-**ku	**rjak-**toko
1pi/3s	**rjak-**i	**rjak-**ti
2s/3s	**rja-**na	**rjak-**na
2d/3s	**rja-**tsi	**rjak-**tsi
2p/3s	**rja-**ni	**rjak-**ni
3s/3s	**rjak-**y	**rjak-**ty
3d/3s	**rja-**tsi	**rjak-**tsi
3p/3s	**rja-**mi	**rja-**mri

Table 17 Stem in -k paradigm

Stem I in -p

The alternation is as follows:

Stem I: -p Stem II: -m

The personal endings apply as in the tables of intransitive and transitive personal endings.

[21] For 3d and 3p objects, the number markers are added, just as they are in the original chart of endings.

[22] Other example verbs from this class are phɔ-mu 'to raise', mo-mu 'to hold', thɔ-mu 'to hide', gwa-mu 'to give'.

I exemplify this with a 3s patient paradigm for the transitive *rem-mu*, 'to look'.[23] The verb stems are in bold, to show how they contrast according to tense and person combination.

rem-mu, 'to look'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**rep-**u	**rep-**to
1de/3s	**rem-**tsuku	**rep-**tsoko
1di/3s	**rem-**tsi	**rep-**tsi
1pe/3s	**rem-**ku	**rep-**ku
1pi/3s	**rep-**i	**rep-**ḍi
2s/3s	**rem-**na	**rep-**na
2d/3s	**rem-**tsi	**rep-**tsi
2p/3s	**rem-**ni	**rep-**ni
3s/3s	**rep-**y	**rep-**ḍy
3d/3s	**rem-**tsi	**rep-**tsi
3p/3s	**rem-**mi	**rep-**miri

Table 18 Stem in -p paradigm

This class uses Stem I for past 3p forms.

Stem I in -ḍ

This class of verbs has two possible forms for Stem II, one with a stem-final -n, and another without the stem-final -n. The presence of the -n seems to be lexically determined, appearing in some verbs and not in others.[24]

[23] Other verbs in this class include *phram-mu* 'to scratch', *rym-mu* 'to pick up', *om-mu* 'to throw', *mum-mu* 'to bury'.

[24] Matisoff points out (p.c.) that many PTB languages have a reconstructed -r or -l where the daughter languages now have -n, possibly reflecting the same relationship we see in some of the verbs of this class, which have a Stem I with -ḍ (which is often a variant of -r in Thulung) and Stem II with -n.

For transitive verbs, 1s/3s non-past is -pu (instead of -u as given in Tables 14 and 15)[25]. The other forms take the personal endings as given in the relevant tables of intransitive and transitive personal endings.

Additionally, the Stem I final manifests itself as -t-, -ʈ, -r or -ɖ-, depending on the initial of the ending.[26]

It appears variable whether the 3p past form uses Stem I or Stem II. Examples: thɯtmiri (to hear). It also appears variable whether the 1s non-past is based on Stem I or Stem II: thɯpu (ie Stem II) vs. seʈpu (Stem I). This perhaps correlates with the infinitive form, and whether it has a Stem II which ends in -n or not (eg sen-mu vs thɯ-mu).

The following paradigm shows the inflection of the verb senmu, 'to kill', with a 3s patient[27]. The verb stem is in bold, illustrating the alternation in the stem ending according to tense and agent/patient combination.

[25] Very occasionally, the 1s forms of transitives are built on Stem II instead of I: eg plymsynmu, to flee, is plynsypu (1s/3s) instead of the expected plynsyʈpu; thɯmu, to feed water, is thɯpu (1s/3s) and not the expected thɯʈpu.

[26] This allomorphy is discussed in the chapter on Phonology.

senmu, 'to kill'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**seɖ**-pu	**set**-to
1de/3s	**sen**-tsuku	**set**-tsoko
1di/3s	**sen**-tsi	**set**-tsi
1pe/3s	**sen**-ku	**set**-toko
1pi/3s	**ser**-i	**seɖ**-ɖi
2s/3s	**sen**-na	**seɖ**-na
2d/3s	**sen**-tsi	**set**-tsi
2p/3s	**sen**-ni	**seɖ**-ni
3s/3s	**ser**-y	**seɖ**-ɖy
3d/3s	**sen**-tsi	**set**-tsi
3p/3s	**sen**-mi	**seɖ**-miri

Table 19 Stem in -ɖ paradigm

Many verbs in this class use Stem I for the past 3p form, but there is an interesting correlation between the infinitive form of the verbs showing a stem final -n (for Stem II) and the appearance of Stem I in past 3p forms. We will remember that this class of verbs is made up of two subgroups: those which have Stem II in -n (like the paradigm above) and those which do not. It is those which do have Stem II in -n which use Stem I (in -ɖ) for the past 3p. The others do not. Described above are the two extreme scenarios, and there are others in between: for infinitives which use a non-n Stem II, the -n sometimes emerges elsewhere (eg phɔmsi-mu 'to wear', is one of these: generally, Stem I is in -ɖ and Stem II in -ø, but for non-past 1pe, the form is phɔsin-ku, with the -n emerging stem-finally. It is evident in no other form.)

Verbs I have found with past 3p using Stem I are:

[27] Other verbs in this class include *dzen-mu* 'to grab', *blan-mu* 'to dry (vt)', *bɔn-mu* 'to tie up', *un-mu* 'to push', *tsɔ-mu* 'to close', *ro-mu* 'to take by force', *tshe-mu* 'to know someone'.

ɖin-mu ‘to leave’, beben-mu ‘to cause’, phin-mu ‘to bring’, taben-mu ‘to make fall’, tshaben-mu ‘to spread out’, hon-mu ‘to light’, sen-mu ‘to kill’.

Verbs of this class I find to use Stem II are:

romthi-mu ‘to arrive’, khanso-mu ‘to drive out’

but thɯ-mu ‘to hear’, shows no Stem II-final -n, yet the past 3p is *thuʈ-miri*.

It is possible that this class was originally two separate classes, according to the distinctions noted above: both classes have the same Stem I (in -ɖ) but Stem II is, for one group, -n final, and for another, ---final. Both may have merged, due to the identical Stem I, and the -n from the group where it originally appeared for Stem II sometimes made its way into the other subgroup.

2) Verbs with restricted person-based stem alternation.

There are three classes of verb within this category: those which have an underlying -ŋ, those with an underlying -s and those with underlying -i, the underlying phoneme emerging specifically in combination with certain persons[28].

These verbs are different from those with alternating stems seen above, because of the restricted environment in which the underlying phoneme emerges: it only emerges in 1pi and 3s forms, for both past and non-past. If the verb is an intransitive, the 3s non-past form is truncated, and the underlying phoneme does not appear there.

Stem with underlying -ŋ:

The endings are the same as those in the ending paradigm, the only changes being that all l- initial endings become r-initial[29], and the 1s past is -uto rather than -to as predicted by the personal ending table.

The following paradigm illustrates the inflection of the verb *ɖumu*, 'to drink', with a 3s patient.[30] The verb stem is in bold, and the forms with underlying -ŋ are shaded.

ɖumu, 'to drink'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**ɖu**-u	**ɖu**-uto
1de/3s	**ɖu**-tsuku	**ɖut**-tsoko
1di/3s	**ɖu**-tsi	**ɖut**-tsi
1pe/3s	**ɖu**-ku	**ɖut**-toko
1pi/3s	**ɖuŋ**-i	**ɖuŋ**-ri
2s/3s	**ɖu**-na	**ɖun**-na
2d/3s	**ɖu**-tsi	**ɖut**-tsi
2p/3s	**ɖu**-ni	**ɖun**-ni
3s/3s	**ɖuŋ**-y	**ɖuŋ**-ry
3d/3s	**ɖu**-tsi	**ɖut**-tsi
3p/3s	**ɖu**-mi	**ɖu**-mri

Table 20 Stem in underlying -ŋ paradigm

What we see from the above table is that -ŋ emerges on the root for 1pi and 3s forms, both past and non-past. The underlying phoneme seems to have a historical basis: the

[28] The choice of the term 'underlying' is because the phoneme seems to be etymologically relevant, as discussed later. The general term for this category of verb class "restricted person-based stem alternation" is a matter of the limited environment in which the underlying phonemes emerge.
[29] The appearance of -l allomorphs in the transitive personal ending tables is a result of assimilation that occurs as the verb used to elicit these endings was jal-mu, with a root ending in l.
[30] Some other verbs from this class are *swa-mu* 'to escape', *hu-mu* 'to enter'.

proto-Tibeto-Burman form of 'to drink' is reconstructed as *taŋ (Matisoff 1988:720. The reconstruction predates any information on Thulung).

Another difference shows up between the non-past and past root for other persons: the past root manifests itself by (anticipatory) reduplication of the ending-initial. Interestingly, a similar pattern emerges here as with the alternating stem verbs: 1s, 3p, 1pi and 3s distinguish themselves from the other persons. 1pi and 3s are different in that they show the underlying -ŋ; 1s and 3p are different in that they alone, for the past forms, do not use reduplication to distinguish past from non-past forms.

I believe that the reduplication must be a reflection of a past marker which was presumably suffixed to the verb root before the endings. This past marker is -ta (derived from intransitive 3s past forms: the 3s is maximally unmarked for the intransitive, with the non-past 3s form being the verb root alone, while in the past, there is a marker -ta on the verb root; this is also suggested by comparative data from other Kiranti languages).

According to Allen, the -ŋ also appears in the 1s non-past, but this was not the case in my data. It is interesting that -ŋu/-ŋoro are the endings for 1s non-past/past for intransitive verbs. For the alternating-stem verbs, the strong stem (Stem I) was used for 1s forms as well, both past and non-past. For the underlying stems, the 1s is excluded from showing the strong stem: one can imagine a scenario where the 1s intransitive endings are in fact those originally associated with underlying -ŋ verbs, subsequently analogized to all verbs.

Stem I with underlying -s

One peculiarity of this class is that those members which have an infinitive root with a -wa- mark the 1s forms with -a- instead.

The personal endings which apply to this verb class are the same as those in the personal ending tables for transitive and intransitive verbs, with the difference that 1s/3s past is -uto (rather than -to.)

The following table shows the paradigm for the transitive verb *lwamu*, 'to see', with a 3s object.[31] The verb stem is shown in bold, and the forms with underlying -s are shaded.

lwamu, 'to see'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**la**-u	**la**-uto
1de/3s	**lwa**-tsuku	**lwat**-tsoko
1di/3s	**lwa**-tsi	**lwat**-tsi
1pe/3s	**lwa**-ku	**lwat**-toko
1pi/3s	**lwas**-i	**lwas**-ti
2s/3s	**lwa**-na	**lwan**-na
2d/3s	**lwa**-tsi	**lwat**-tsi
2p/3s	**lwa**-ni	**lwan**-ni
3s/3s	**lwas**-y	**lwas**-ty
3d/3s	**lwa**-tsi	**lwat**-tsi
3p/3s	**lwa**-mi	**lwa**-mri

Table 21 Stem in underlying -s paradigm

Like with verbs with underlying -ŋ, the only forms in which the underlying stem phoneme emerges is the 1pi and 3s forms, both non-past and past. Additionally, the past forms (except for the 1s and 3p) all use a stem which is enhanced by a presumed past marker which manifests itself as reduplication of the initial of the ending.

Like with the class of underlying -ŋ verbs there seems to be a historical basis for the presence of -s in these verbs: the verb thɯ-mu 'to hear' which is a member of this class is given in Benedict's Conspectus as *ta-s in its proto-Tibeto-Burman form (Benedict 1972: 99 (415))

Another very interesting thing about this underlying -s class of verbs is that the distinctive 3s past forms (-sty for transitive, -sta for intransitive) are borrowed as variants for other verbs as well. Very often these are verbs from the alternative stems class with Stem I in -k. Depending on the idiosyncracies of the verb, both the expected form and the 'contaminated' s-version are found, or sometimes only the variant form exists. The examples I have found of this phenomenon follow:

khlo-mu 'to return' khlosty or khlokty 'he returned it'

ɖɔ-mu 'to drop' ɖɔsty or ɖokty 'he dropped it'

thɔ-mu 'to hide' thɔsta 'he hid', no thɔkta (the expected form for the intransitive verb; cf thɔkty 'he hid it' for the transitive version of the verb)

gɔ-mu 'to be born' gɔsta 'he was born', no gɔkta (the expected form: cf gɔkti, 1pi past)

lɔ-mu, to go lɔsta 'he went', no lɔkta (the expected form)

kro-mu, to plant krosty 'he planted', no krokty (the expected form)

[31] Other verbs from this class are *glwamu* 'to win', *lwamu* 'to see/to be available', *plwamu* 'to forget', *bwamu* 'to boil (food)', *thuumu* 'to hear', *rimu* 'to laugh', *phomu* 'to vomit', these can also have a final -m in Stem II but -s, as well, in Stem I: *ɔmmu* 'to sleep', *dymmu* 'to finish/become', *hummu* 'to make fall'.

Stems with an underlying -i (egs.ɖɯmu, to pick up, tsamu, to burn, thamu, to convince, phɔmu, to be angry with, khlɯmu, to help, khremu, to hit, simu, to die)

The class of verbs with underlying -i emerging in 1pi and 3s person combinations is large: it is made up of all verbs with a vowel-final stem, which are not part of 'tense-based' or restricted 'person based' alternating stem classes[32]. The verbs in this class have an underlying -i which emerges in two specific person combinations: when 1pi or 3s are agent or subject. The difference between this class of person-based alternating stems, the underlying phoneme only emerges in past forms, and not in the non-past forms. Other persons in the past (except for 1s and 3p) show reduplication of their ending-initial

A transitive paradigm for *tsa-mu*, 'to burn', with a 3s patient, follows. The verb stem is in bold, showing the alternation.

tsamu, 'to burn'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**tsa**-u	**tsa**-uto
1de/3s	**tsa**-tsuku	**tsat**-tsoko
1di/3s	**tsa**-tsi	**tsat**-tsi
1pe/3s	**tsa**-ku	**tsat**-toko
1pi/3s	**tsa**-i	**tsai**-ri
2s/3s	**tsa**-na	**tsan**-na
2d/3s	**tsa**-tsi	**tsat**-tsi
2p/3s	**tsa**-ni	**tsan**-ni
3s/3s	**tsa**-y	**tsai**-ry
3d/3s	**tsa**-tsi	**tsat**-tsi
3p/3s	**tsa**-mi	**tsa**-mri

Table 22 Stem in underlying -i paradigm

[32] We saw that for Stem I in -k and in -ɖ, Stem II is sometimes vowel-final; also this class of verbs is mutually exclusive with the classes with 'person-based' underlying stem phonemes, which are also vowel-final when the underlying phoneme is not present.

It seems possible that the underlying -i is not seen in non-past forms because the personal endings for 1pi and 3s in the non-past are high vowels, and the underlying -i and the personal endings have merged, or simply go unnoticed.[33]

Like with other restricted person based alternating stem verbs in this category, the past forms show reduplication of the personal-ending-initial phoneme, suggesting, as for other verbs in the language, the presence of an original past morpheme -ta.

3) non-alternating stem verbs:

The last class of verbs is those for which there is no alternation in the stem. There is a single root, and non-past/past distinctions are expressed through the portmanteau person endings where these encode past, and are otherwise unexpressed. The possibilities for non-alternating stems are those which end in consonants -l, -r, -n, -m.

In combination with the endings listed above, only a few changes must be made, and these are given below.

l-final

The transitive paradigm of the verb *mal-mu*, to search, is given below, with a 3s patient.[34] The verb root is given in bold (it does not alternate.)

[33] While the past endings for these forms also have high vowels, as -ri and ry for 1pi and 3s past respectively, these are separated from the stem with -r-.

[34] Other verbs in this class include *phɔlmu* 'to cut', *salmu* 'to pick through', *holmu* 'to open'.

mal-mu, 'to search'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**mal**-u	**mal**-to
1de/3s	**mal**-tsuku	**mal**-tsoko
1di/3s	**mal**-tsi	**mal**-tsi
1pe/3s	**mal**-ku	**mal**-toko
1pi/3s	**mal**-i	**mal**-li
2s/3s	**mal**-na	**mal**-na
2d/3s	**mal**-tsi	**mal**-tsi
2p/3s	**mal**-ni	**mal**-ni
3s/3s	**mal**-y	**mal**-ly
3d/3s	**mal**-tsi	**mal**-tsi
3p/3s	**mal**-mi	**mal**-miri

Table 23 Stem in -l paradigm

r-final

The following table is the paradigm for the transitive verb *kurmu*, to carry, with a 3s object.[35]The root is in bold, and does not alternate.

kurmu, 'to carry'	*Non-past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**kur**-u	**kur**-to
1de/3s	**kur**-tsuku	**kur**-tsoko
1di/3s	**kur**-tsi	**kur**-tsi
1pe/3s	**kur**-ku	**kur**-toko
1pi/3s	**kur**-i	**kur**-ri
2s/3s	**kur**-na	**kur**-na
2d/3s	**kur**-tsi	**kur**-tsi
2p/3s	**kur**-ni	**kur**-ni
3s/3s	**kur**-y	**kur**-ry
3d/3s	**kur**-tsi	**kur**-tsi
3p/3s	**kur**-mi	**kur**-miri

Table 24 Stem in -r paradigm

The only change in the personal endings used is that the endings which are l-initial in the tables of transitive and intransitive personal endings are r-initial instead.[36]

[35] Another such verb is *phir-mu* 'to sew.'

m-final/n-final

The following two paradigms show the transitive verbs *plym-mu* 'to put in water' and *mun-mu* 'to establish' with a 3s object.[37] The verb roots, which are invariable, are in bold.

plymmu, 'to soak'	*Non-Past*	*Past*	*munmu*, 'to establish'	*Non-Past*	*Past*
1s/3s	**plym**-pu	**plym**-to	1s/3s	**mun**-pu	**mun**-to
1de/3s	**plym**-tsuku	**plym**-tsoko	1de/3s	**mun**-tsuku	**mun**-tsoko
1di/3s	**plym**-tsi	**plym**-tsi	1di/3s	**mun**-tsi	**mun**-tsi
1pe/3s	**plym**-ku	**plym**-toko	1pe/3s	**mun**-ku	**mun**-toko
1pi/3s	**plym**-i	**plym**-ri	1pi/3s	**mun**-i	**mun**-ri
2s/3s	**plym**-na	**plym**-na	2s/3s	**mun**-na	**mun**-na
2d/3s	**plym**-tsi	**plym**-tsi	2d/3s	**mun**-tsi	**mun**-tsi
2p/3s	**plym**-ni	**plym**-ni	2p/3s	**mun**-ni	**mun**-ni
3s/3s	**plym**-y	**plym**-ry	3s/3s	**mun**-y	**mun**-ry
3d/3s	**plym**-tsi	**plym**-tsi	3d/3s	**mun**-tsi	**mun**-tsi
3p/3s	**plym**-mi	**plym**-miri	3p/3s	**mun**-mi	**mun**-miri

Table 25 Stem in -m and stem in -n paradigms

The changes in the endings from the person ending paradigm are all for non-past forms. In all cases, the change applies to 3d and 3p patients, in addition to the 3s patient forms which I list.

1s/3s non-past is -pu (instead of -u)

For past forms, assimilation occurs, and all the endings which are -l-initial change to -r.

All of the paradigms we have seen in this section on stem alternation are transitive paradigms, with a 3s (because unmarked) object.[38] The entire discussion applies equally

[36] Progressive assimilation is responsible for this, with the quality of the root final affecting the ending initial consonant.

[37] Other such verbs include, for -m: *tsymmu* 'to catch', *mimmu* 'to think of'.

to intransitives: they too are divided into the three categories (alternating stems, underlying stems, non-alternating stems). The only difference is in certain endings, which are different depending on the transitivity of the verb: 1s and 3s use different endings, as is shown in the following table.

	1s	Non-past	Past	3s	Non-past	Past
Transitive[39]		-u, -pu	-to		-y	-ry[40]
Intransitive		-ŋu	-ŋro		--	-ta

Table 26 Differences between transitive and intransitive personal endings

Another difference, which was mentioned above, concerns alternating stems:

For transitive verbs, 1s forms, both non-past and past, are based on Stem I. For intransitive verbs, the 1s forms are based on Stem II, both in the non-past and past.

An example of this is found in the verb lɔmu, as it can be either transitive or intransitive, and shows stem alternation between Stem I in -k and Stem II without the -k. The 1s forms for these verbs are as follows:

	Non-past	Past
lɔmu, vt, 'to carry off'	lɔk-pu	lɔk-to
lɔmu, vi, 'to go'	lɔ-ŋu	lɔ-ŋro

[38] I discuss earlier the difficulty is eliciting full paradigms of all possible combinations of persons. As such, most of my data on verbs is with a neutral 3s object, by far the most commonly seen object in the language for transitive verbs. Because of the stability of the verb forms, the personal endings I list in the table of transitive and intransitive personal endings apply almost without change to all verbs, and the reader can apply these endings to verbs to get forms with non-3s objects.

[39] A 3s object is understood here.

Irregular verbs

There are three irregular verbs in Thulung, *bomu*, 'to do', *pomu*, 'to eat' and *bumu*, 'to be' (which is the copula, discussed in the following section). These verbs show vowel alternation within the stem, something which happens in no other verbs in Thulung. It is presumably related to their extensive use.

	pomu, 'to eat'		*bomu*, 'to do'	
	non-past	*past*	*non-past*	*past*
1s/3s	**pe-u**	**pe-uto**	**be-u**	**be-uto**
1de/3s	**po-tsuku**	**pet-tsoko**	**bo-tsuku**	**bet-tsoko**
1di/3s	**po-tsi**	**pet-tsi**	**bo-tsi**	**bet-tsi**
1pe/3s	**po-ku**	**pet-toko**	**bo-ku**	**bet-toko**
1pi/3s	**pi**	**pi-ri**	**bi**	**bi-ri**
2s/3s	**po-na**	**pen-na**	**bo-na**	**ben-na**
2d/3s	**po-tsi**	**pet-tsi**	**bo-tsi**	**bet-tsi**
2p/3s	**po-ni**	**pen-ni**	**bo-ni**	**ben-ni**
3s/3s	**py**	**py-ry**	**by**	**by-ry**
3d/3s	**po-tsi**	**pet-tsi**	**bo-tsi**	**bet-tsi**
3p/3s	**po-mi**	**pe-mri**	**bo-mi**	**be-mri**

Table 29 Verbs po-mu and bo-mu

[40] The -r is replaced by the appropriate member of the class -r, -t, -ɖ.

	bumu, 'to be'	
	Non-Past	*Past*
1s	**bu-ŋu**	**ba-ŋro**
1di	**bu-tsi**	**bat-tsi**
1de	**bu-tsuku**	**bat-tsoko**
1pi	**bu-i**	**bai-ri**
1pe	**bu-ku**	**bat-toko**
2s	**bu-na**	**ban-na**
2d	**bu-tsi**	**bat-tsi**
2p	**bu-ni**	**ban-ni**
3s	**bu**	**bai-ra**
3d	**bu-tsi**	**bat-tsi**
3p	**bu-mi**	**ba-mri**

Table 28 Verb bu-mu

Both *bomu* and *pomu* exhibit the same vowel alternations across their forms : -o is the stem vowel in the non-past and -e in the past, apart from the exceptions of 1pi and 3s, which, in the non-past, have a stem consisting solely of the consonant, with the vowel representing the person ending (in the past the stem vowel appears to harmonize with the ending vowel).

The verb *bumu* also shows root vowel alternation: its root is ba- for past forms. Otherwise, the verb root functions much like verbs with underlying -i: in the past, the 1pi and 3s forms show an emergent -i on the verb stem, and the past is otherwise expressed with a stem-final -t (which assimilates to the nasal before nasal endings).

Copulas

Thulung has one native copula, *bumu* (glossed 'to be') serving equative, locational, existential and possessive functions. Examples of each type of predication follow:

Equative predication

209. mɯ mytsy a-pap-ku ŋopsɯ bu
that man 1POSS-father-GEN friend be.3s
that man is my father's friend.

210. go dzɔŋgɔli bu-ŋu
1s N.forest-man be-1s
I am a forest-man.

Locational predication

211. gumi neb-ra-ŋa bu-mi
3p house-LOC-EMPH be-3p
She is at home.

212. dzubu bloku hombu-nu bu
Jubu river across-levLOC be.3s
Jubu is across the river.

Existential predication

213. go bu-ŋu-m dhwagwi koŋmi mytsy bu
1s sit-1s-NOM.rel under another person be.3s
There is another person under where I am sitting.

214. dher prɔtsɯ sama bu, oɖɖa.
N.many Rai caste be.3s, here.
There are many Rai castes here.

Possessive predication

215. go-nuŋ ɖokpu dzahan bu
1s-COM big N.family be.3s
I have a big family

216. uni-wotsy, uni-tsɯ-mim bu-mi
3POSS-husband 3POSS-child-PLU be-3p
She has a husband and children

The copula is also used with adjectives.

217. inima-del dzɯpa bu.
2POSS-village beautiful be.3s
Your village is beautiful.

Most adjectives appear to be derived, for the most part, from participial forms of verbs. These are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Apart from these predicative functions, the verb *bumu* is used as an auxiliary to form aspectual constructions.

1) It is used with converbs to form progressives.

Two examples of this follow, the first with the simultaneous converb, and the second with the anterior converb.

218. mɯr-tsip khusi dwak-to bu-mu tsɯm-tsi-ʔe
that-DU N.happy like-SC be-INF begin-3d-HS
They started feeling happy.

219. mɯ-llai[41] rep-saŋa bu-tsi
that-DAT watch-AC+EMPH be-3d
They are watching him.

2) It is used with past participles or nominalized past forms of verbs to form the perfect (the same is the case in Nepali, with past participles).

In the examples below, the first shows the relativized past form followed by the copula, and the second illustrates the past participle followed by the copula, both with perfect readings.

220. khrekhreja be-pa lamdi lɔk-tsi rak-ta-m bu-mi
bumpy do-Npst.PRT road go-2d.IMP say-3s/3.PST-NOM be-3p
She said " Take the bumpy road"

[41] The case markers take on a peculiar form with mɯ 'that': dative marker -lai becomes -llai and genitive marker -ku becomes -kku. I am unable to explain this phenomenon.

221. homlo ne nemnem-ra ku-ku paip-mim
now TOP house.house-LOC water-GEN E.pipe-PLU

luk-ta-m bu, khlu-ma bu
remove.vi-3s.PST-NOM be.3s, remove.vt-Pst.PRT be.3s

But now, water pipes are brought into every house. [ie removed from the market]

3) It is occasionally seen with nominalized non-past verbs in forming progressives.

222. dhewan-ku tsɯ-re hɔlle-u-mim bu-ŋu retsha.
Dhewan-GEN child-FOC move-1s-NOM be-1s N.seem
I am rocking Dhewan's child.

The progressive used here is non-past but only in the context of the narrative, where it is actually describing a past event, which is being recounted in actual time to make it more vivid. Perhaps this accounts for the unusual combination of tenses.

The same is found elsewhere.

223. mim-pu-m bu-ŋu.
remember-1s/3s-NOM be-1s
I remember.

224. mɯ bɔʈɔl-gui-m boro-lai mɔdza-ka rem-tsi-m bu-tsi
that E.bottle-down-NOM.rel frog-DAT N.fun-INSTR look-3d-NOM be-3d
For fun, they are looking at the frog down in the bottle.

These are unusual progressive forms for Thulung, which typically uses the progressive construction seen in 1). The Nepali equivalent of this construction, combining a non-past relativized verb with the copula, results in a future, which is not the case here, showing that the Thulung construction is not borrowed from Nepali.

The verb *bumu* is also used as an auxiliary with a Nepali borrowing: Nepali *thahaa hunu* 'to know' (where hunu is the infinitive form of both copulas in Nepali) becomes *taa bumu* in Thulung.

Thulung also uses two other copulas, which are borrowings from Nepali. These are *tsha* and *ho*, both borrowed in 3s non-past form, and invariable in their use in Thulung. *tsha* in Nepali is the copula used for existential, locational and possessive predication, whereas *ho* is used for equative predication. While Thulung's single native copula covers all these forms of predication, we see some evidence of a distinction being made in the use of the borrowed copulas.

Borrowed copula tsha

This borrowed copula, like the native one, is also used in an aspectual construction, resulting in the perfect. In this case, however, the past finite verb form is not nominalized before the copula.

225. prɔtsɯ lɔ-sta-ma nɔ-lem su-lem ŋado bai-ra tsha.
Rai go-3s.PST-AS two-CL:day three-CL:day early be-3s.PST COP.tsha
The Rai went and was there two, three days earlier.

226. ɔni tsɔŋra thuluŋ tsahi lɔ-sta tsha.
N.and later Thulung CONTR go-3s.PST COP.tsha
And later the Thulung left.

Just about as frequent as *tsha* after a past-tense inflected verb is *retsha*. This is somewhat puzzling because *retsha* is borrowed[42], yet the similarity between *tsha* and

[42] The following two sentences contain this Nepali evidential marker, which is variously translated as 'It seems…', 'maybe', 'probably'. While it is often accompanied by the hearsay marker, that is not necessarily the case: in other words, it has its own evidential value, independent of the hearsay marker.

mɯ-kku des-ra rokthit-tsi retsha-ʔe.
that-GEN N.country-LOC arrive-3d.PST N.seem-HS
When they went, they arrived in the country of the cannibal called Lamkane.

mɯ leb-ɖy-m bela-ka-ne khes-ta retsha-ʔe.
that lick-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.time-TEMP-TOP be.bitter-3s.PST N.seem-HS
When she licked it, it tasted bitter

retsha might have resulted in some merging of the two. Interestingly, this correlates with a similar problem in the interpretation of some of the sentences with the other borrowed copula, *ho*, because of the presence of another borrowed evidential marker, *hola*, which is also used in Thulung. It is not always clear which is meant, and it seems that sometimes the copula and the evidential markers have merged in Thulung.

The borrowed copula *tsha* is blocked with question words, which are only found with the native copula, or with *ho*[43].

227. *gani-lai thaa bu bala-ku nem bam tsha?
2p-DAT N.know be.3s Bala-GEN house which COP.tsha
Do you know which house is Bala's?

This is interesting because it shows that although Thulung does not distinguish any functions in its own native copula, there is an awareness that Nepali does separate various predicational functions for its copulas. The result is that question words can only accompany the borrowed copula, which is originally the equational copula in Nepali.

Borrowed copula ho

As we saw at the end of the previous section, there is an awareness of the functional load which the loan copulas have in their original language. This sometimes results in a certain amount of confusion in Thulung.

I was told that in the following sentence only *ho* could be used, whereas both *bumu* and *tsha* were ungrammatical.

228. gani-lai thaa bu bala-ku nem bam ho?
2p-DAT N.know be.3s Bala-GEN house which COP.ho

[43] The grammatical version, with *ho*, is seen in the next section.

Do you know which house is Bala's?

This directly contrasts with the grammaticality of the following sentence, uttered by the same speaker:

229. nepal-ra khɔtle-ra-m wo dzɯpa del bam bu?
Nepal-LOC all-LOC-NOM even beautiful village which be.3s
Which is the nicest village in Nepal?

Other situations in which we get grammaticality judgments which restrict the use of the native copula are the following:

230. go solu tingla-ra gɔ-ŋro-m ho
1s Solu Tingla-LOC be.born-1s.PST-NOM COP.ho
I was born in Tingla, in Solu district.

The reason given for this interdiction was that there is no time phrase in the sentence. The following, because of the specified time frame, could use either *ho* or *bumu*.

231. 1994 sal dzeth mɔhina-ka gɔ-ŋgro-m ho.
1994 N.year N.May/June N.month-TEMP be.born-1s.PST-NOM COP.ho
I was born in the month of Jeth in 1994 (Nepali calendar).

My interpretation of these inconsistent usages and unsatisfactory explanations is that there is an awareness, if somewhat blurred, that the two loan copulas have a certain distribution. Because borrowed copula *tsha* has a wider range of predicative functions (existential, possessive, locational), perhaps it is felt instinctively to be closer to the native *bumu* than is the borrowed copula *ho*. This could then result in an alignment of *bumu* and *tsha* versus *ho*, which causes speakers to judge *bumu* (which really covers all predicative functions) as being blocked in certain situations (seen above) where *tsha* is blocked.

Ho does not otherwise seem to participate in the same range of functions as the other copulas. It appears before certain Nepali borrowings, such as *ki* 'or', *ta* 'topic

marker', and also before *bhane*, resulting in a conditional clause. *Ho ki* 'right?' and *ho ta* 'indeed' are extremely common expressions in Nepali, which probably accounts for their being borrowed whole.

232. khole-ka bre-mu mal-pa ho ki.
All-ERG buy-NOM.inf search-Npst.PRT COP.ho N.or
Everyone wants to buy it, right?

233. mɯ-gwi mari ham phik-ty ho ta
that-inside much what put.in-3s/3s.PST COP.ho N.TOP

bikh phik-ty ki.
N.poison put.in-3s/3s.PST N.or

That which he put lots of inside, it was poison, right?

234. meram tsahi deuta ho ni ta.
that CONTR N.god COP.ho N.indeed N.TOP
That was indeed a god.

The Nepali conditional construction is borrowed, as seen in the following examples:

235. mytsy-ku bhɔr-ra par-dzɯl-mu
person-GEN N.trust-LOC leave-PON-NOM.inf

ho bhane mi-tsa-pu.
COP.ho N.COND NEG-be.able-1s

If it's leaving her in someone's trust, I cannot.

236. bia-ka **ho bhane**…
N.wedding-TEMP COP.ho N.COND
If it's when there's a wedding…

In both of these examples, the 'ho bhane' could be replaced with the native *baja mala*.

This copula is also often associated with commands, following the appropriate imperative form.

237. “lɔhai a-tsysy rem-sa-ŋni **ho**”
N.Hey 1POSS-grandchild look-BEN-2p/1s COP.ho
Hey, look at my grandchild for me.

238. “mima lɔhai tsɔŋkha ba-ni **ho**. mɯ thɔŋki phiʈ-ni **ho**”
Grandmother-VOC N.hey N.clever be-2p COP.ho. that resin bring-2p COP.ho
Hey, grandmother, be clever. Bring that resin here.

After question words:

239. “ane **ham ho** ko-le mesem u-breptsɯ
today what COP.ho one-CL woman 3POSS-finger

wo ɔnu hik-ty ma tɯlɯmram gele lɔ-sta”
also this.way turn-3s/3s.PST AS quickly up go-3s.PST

Today, what is it, a woman turned her fingers this way [backwards] and went away uphill, quicly.

240. meram ʈau tsahi mesinɖa bɔrkhu-ɖɔla badzi dzyl-pa
that N.place CONTR there Borkhu-above N.bet place-Npst.PRT

tsahi tɔrɔ ɔbɔ bu-m parne ʈau tsahi **bante ho**
CONTR N.but N.well be-NOM.inf N.must N.place CONTR where COP.ho

That place is there above Borkhu, where the bet is placed, but the place where people must live, where is that?

241. etha wo **ham ho** **ham ho** rak-pa…
now also what COP.ho what COP.ho say-Npst.PRT
Even now, saying “what is it, what is it”…

What is interesting is that this copula does not appear in perfect constructions, except for *gɔŋgrom ho* which appears to be a perfect form, as can be made from a nominalized past form followed by the other copulas. In Nepali as well, the perfect is made from cha and not ho, so here too the speakers seem to have maintained some of the restrictions on functions of these borrowed copulas, even though the native copula covers all functions (being the only copula).

Tense-aspect-mood

Tense

The main tense distinction which is marked on all verbs is one of non-past versus past, and it is the past forms which are marked[44]. The reason for calling this a tense distinction rather than an aspectual one is that the past tense can cooccur with aspects which are considered non-perfective, such as the habitual.

242. u-tsɯ-tsi-kam dherai maja **ly-thal-la**-ʔe.
3POSS-child-DU-GEN N.much N.love feel-HAB-3s.PST-HS
When they arrived the father was very happy because he felt great love for this children.

243. gu-ka sɔndai dzam khok-to, kamso **by-thal-y**
3s-ERG N.always rice cook-SC song do.3s-HAB-3s
He always sings while he is cooking.

Aspect

Aspect is manifested in several different ways in Thulung:

1) There is a class of compound verbs where the second element has aspectual meaning. These are discussed in the chapter called *Aspectivizers*.

Aspectual distinctions are marked by a number of aspectivizers which are suffixed to verb roots. Of these several show aspectual distinctions, such as the progressive, the habitual, etc. The following example shows the habitual marked in this way.

244. go athal iskul lɔŋ-**thal-**ŋu

[44] Because of the marked nature of the past forms, in glosses, I only mark those verbal endings which are past (with .PST following the person combination). The non-past forms only indicate the person agreement.

1s nowadays N.school go-HAB-1s
I go to school regularly these days.

2) Thulung has a perfect construction, made of a past-form which is nominalized and followed by the copula. Some examples of this were shown above, in the discussion of the copula[45]. The pluperfect is made by combining a past form of the copula with this perfect construction. This contruction is reminiscent of an identical Nepali construction, called the First Perfect Tense by Matthews (1998)[46].

245. bante **lɔm-ri-m bu-mi**.
where go-3p-NOM be-3p
Where did they go?

3) There are progressives, which are formed from converbs followed by the copula. These are discussed in the chapter on Clause-combining, because of the use of the converb.

246. boro pakhara lu-mu mal-saŋa bu
frog outside go.out-NOM.inf search-AC+EMPH be-3s
The frog is trying to get outside.

The primary means of expressing aspect is through the suffixing of aspectivizers to verbs.

Mood

Grammaticalized mood in Thulung expresses irrealis, imperative, and obligation.

[45] The perfect construction is also seen in the chapter on Nominalization.
[46] The equivalent in Nepali would be:
kahaa ga-eko chan?
where go-perfective.participle be.3p

Irrealis

The irrealis marker has two allophones, which are -wa and -ja. The distribution appears to be fairly straightforward: generally, *-wa* follows vowels *a* and *u*, while *-ja* follows vowels *y* and *i*. There are no instances where *e* appears before the irrealis marker. In instances of consonants appearing in pre-marker position, generally these are forms in which the original vowel has been elided, and the original vowel determines the allophone choice: *lɔŋ-wa* takes *-wa* because the form is originally (and still transparently) *lɔ-ŋu*.

The one exception to this (and it may be an error, because of the misfit it shows with the pattern) is the negative past 1pi form of *tsam-mu* 'to be able to': instead of the expected *mi-tsap-si-ja* I was given the form *mi-tsap-si-wa.*

Sometimes *-wa* becomes *-ba*, as in seen a number of times with *lɔŋ-ba*.

The irrealis appears in the following contexts:

1) in conditional clauses: either in both clauses, or in the protasis marked with *mala* (or in neither)

In both:

247. mɯ nem ɖi-sɔʈ-pu-wa mala
that day leave-DEF-1s/3s-IRR COND

dzhjal-laŋka bɔtse-ŋa mi-dyp-sa-wa
N.window-ABL N.survive-EMPH NEG-become-2IMP[47]-IRR

If I had left her that day, she would not have survived the window (ie when she climbed out and fell)

In the protasis:

[47] This gloss stands for second person imperative form: the connection between this and the negative past form of 3s verbs is explained later.

248. mi-tsap-sy-ja mala kitsɯ phul kam-mu basi
NEG-able-3s/3s-IRR COND little flour add-NOM.inf OBL
If he is not able [to guess the right amount], he must add a little flour.

2) in the past tense of negative transitive verbs: these are unchanged from their non-negative past forms but for the irrealis marker, which is suffixed after the regular person ending.

Examples:

mi-lwa-ku-wa	vs.	lwat-toko
NEG-see-1pe/3s-IRR		see-1pe/3s.PST
We did not see it.		We saw it.

mi-by-ja	vs.	by-ry
NEG-do.3s/3s-IRR		do-3s/3s.PST
He did not do it.		He did it.

mi-sɯ-u-wa	vs.	sɯ-uto
NEG-tell-1s/3s-IRR		tell-1s/3s.PST
I did not tell it.		I told it.

Occasionally, non-negative past forms of transitive verbs are composed of a non-past form and an irrealis suffix.

3) in the past tense of negative intransitive verbs. For most persons, the non-past form of the verb has a negative prefix and an irrealis suffix, in addition to the appropriate person ending.

Examples.

mi-lɔ-ŋ-wa	vs	lɔ-ŋro
NEG-go-1s-IRR		go-1s.PST
I did not go.		I went.

mi-ba-mi-ja	vs	ba-mri
NEG-be-3p-IRR		be-3p.PST

They were not. They were.

The negative form of past intransitive 3s includes an extra element, either *-a* or *-sa*, as well as the irrealis marker.

Examples

mi-bik-a-wa	vs	bik-ta
NEG-come-2IMP-IRR		come-3s.PST
He did not come.		He came.

mi-lɔk-sa-wa	vs.	lɔ-sta
NEG-go-2IMP-IRR		go-3s.PST
He did not go.		He went.

This form which is used to make the 3s negative past intransitive is based on Stem I (where this is relevant, for alternating-stem verbs), followed by -a or -sa before the irrealis marker is added. This is the same pattern as for the formation of 2s imperative forms.

This section has served to show the functions of the irrealis marker, giving examples of where it occurs. The notion of irrealis is grammaticalized, as a marker exists in the language, which can be used in constructions which do typically use irrealis.

Imperative

For alternating-stem verbs, the imperative forms are based on Stem I. For single-stem verbs, the imperative is formed from the simple root (ie infinitive less -mu) For 2s

forms, -a is suffixed to this stem, for 2d and 2p forms, the typical endings, -tsi and -ni respectively, are suffixed to the stem.

Examples.

Non-alternating stems:

jal-mu, to hit	2s jala	2d jaltsi	2p jalni
thel-mu, to peel	2s thela	2d theltsi	2p thelni

Stem I in -k:

ro-mu, to come	2s roka	2d roktsi	2p rokni
ra-mu, to say	2s raka	2d raktsi	2p rakni
gwa-mu, to give	2s gwaka	2d gwaktsi	2p gwakni
bi-mu, to come	2s bika	2d biktsi	2p bikni

Stem I in -ɖ (with -r or -ɖ, in free variation, before -a, and devoicing before -tsi):

si-mu, to teach	2s sira	2d sittsi	2p siɖni
bre-mu, to buy	2s brera	2d brettsi	2p breɖni

Verbs which are part of the class for which Stem I is in -p use a 2s imperative marker *-ra* instead of the *-a* seen elsewhere.

Stem I in -p:

rem-mu, to see	2s repra	2p repni
lym-mu, to touch	2s lypra	2p lypni
khram-mu, to cry	2s mikhrapra	2p mikhrapni
khrem-mu, to cover	2s khrepra	2p khrepni
krim-mu, to cut	2s khripra	2p khripni

For verbs with underlying alternating stems, the emerging phoneme is only seen with 2s:

Stem I in -ŋ:

ɖu-mu, to drink	2s ɖuŋa	2d ɖutsi	2p ɖuni

Stem I in -s:

thɯ-mu, to hear	2s thɯsa	2p thɯni
dzen-mu, to speak	2s dzesa	2p dzeni

When there is a third participant involved (the indirect object), Stem I is still used, and the usual verbal endings for non-past, for the appropriate person combination, are applied (which maintains the distinction between imperative and past forms[48])

PO: 1s, eg show me your face

rem-ben-mu	2s rem-beʈ-ŋi	2d rem-beʈ-ŋitsi	2p rem-beʈ-ŋini

PO: 1pe, eg give us something

gwa-mu	2s gwak-ki	2d gwak-kitsi	2p gwak-kini

Some verbs instead form 2s imperatives by using the 1pi non-past, and substituting -a for the final -i. The following pair of verbs shows this, with *lɔmu*, which as a transitive verb is 'to carry away' and as an intransitive verb, 'to go'. I believe this unusual imperative formation may be due to the need for a means of distinguishing the transitive from the intransitive. The 2d and 2p imperatives are formed as usual, with Stem I plus 2d or 2p ending (-tsi or -ni), making them indistinguishable.

lɔ-mu (vt)	2s lɔ-ra	2p lɔk-ni
lɔ-mu (vi)	2s lɔk-sa	2p lɔk-ni

Irregular verbs have their own imperative forms as well.

bu-mu, to be	2s ba-ja	2p ba-ni
po-mu, to eat	2s pe	2p pe-ni
bo-mu, to do	2s be	2p be-ni

[48] Because usually Stem II combines with the non-past and Stem I with past endings.

Obligation

The typical pattern for obligation marking is an infinitive verb form followed by basi, with an experiencer either in the nominative or ergative case, depending on the transitivity of the main event.

249. gu-ka sɯ po-mu basi
3s-ERG meat eat-NOM.inf OBL
He must eat meat.

250. gu mukli-ra lɔ-mu basi
3s Mukli-LOC go-NOM.inf OBL
He must go to Mukli.

There are two degrees of strength of obligation, the stronger being marked with an emphatic marker suffixed to the infinitive of the verb. Thus *po-mu-ŋa basi* ([We] really must eat) is stronger than *po-mu basi*.

There is also a means of marking impersonal obligation, and accomplished by means of a non-past participle followed by a 3s copula.

251. po-mu basiʈ-pa bu
eat-NOM.inf OBL-Npst.PRT be.3s
Eating must be done.

The fact that it can be used to form a participle leads us to speculate about what form *basi* represents. One possibility is that it is an independent verb. Based on the forms *basi* and *basiʈpa*, it would probably be *basimu*, an intransitive verb meaning "there is a need", where the most common form of the obligation marker, *basi*, represents a 3s non-past form.

The following sentence shows yet another form of the underlying verb.

252. rembeŋ-mu-ŋa **bas-ta** koi koi
watch-NOM.inf-EMPH OBL-PST N.some N.some

bela par-dzɯl-mu ma lamdi-mu-ŋa basi.
N.time abandon-PON-NOM.inf AS walk-NOM.inf-EMPH OBL

I had to watch him sometimes, and sometimes I had to leave him behind and walk.

If we assume that this form is the past form of the source verb, then *basi-mu*, suggested above, is not very convincing. Perhaps the hypothetical *basi-mu* represents a form enhanced by the detransitiving aspectivizer (discussed in chatper 7): *basiɻpa* is the participial form of the aspectivized verb, and *basta* represents the 3s past tense of the input to the detransitivizing process.

Negative obligation

Negative obligation is expressed by combining the main verb, in the infinitive or in *-si* (the related verbal noun) and *myny*.

253. gani dika khok-si myny
2p tomorrow cook-VN NEG.OBL
Tomorrow, you must not cook.

The strength of interdiction can be increased by suffixing the emphasis marker to the verbal form.

The above becomes

254. gani dika khok-si-ŋa myny
2p tomorrow cook-VN-EMPH NEG.OBL
You absolutely must not cook tomorrow.

In addition to the infinitive and verbal noun forms, I found one case of a converb preceding *myny*.

255. gani mi-bik-saka myny-ja
2p NEG-come-AC NEG.OBL-IRR
You must not not come.[49]

Because of the presence of the anterior converb, the translation is probably best expressed as "not having come, that would not do". This leads us to examine the nature of the form myny, because its appearance with the converb suggests it can function as its own clause. On closer examination, *myny* appears to be the negative form of the verb 3s non-past *nymu*, 'to become, to occur', with vowel harmony rounding the original vowel in the negative prefix: *mi-ny*, with transparent negative prefix, is thus changed to *myny*. The verbal nature of *myny* then allows us to analyze a frequent variant, *myny-ja*, as *myny* followed by the irrealis marker, the combination being a past form of the negative intransitive.

I also found an instance of *mynypa*.

256. mɯ orar-ra tsahi tsɯtsɯ-mim lɔ-mu ma
that N.cave-LOC CONTR child.child-PLU bring-NOM.inf AS

ɖi̯-si myny-pa bai-ra-ʔe
leave-VN NEG.OBL-Npst.PRT be-3s.PST-HS

Children should not be brought to that cave and left.

I am not sure how to interpret the resulting combination of forms, but what is important is that myny is seen to act similarly to other verbs, in being able to form participles and take the irrealis marker.

Evidentiality

Thulung has a hearsay evidential marker, used with great frequency in narratives to relate an event not personally witnessed. This particle is -ʔe, and I label it HS in glosses.

257. meram khram-lo mɔni lɔ-mi-ʔe
that cry.3s-SS N.good.man go-3p-HS
Apparently, when he cries, good people die.

This marker identifies events which have been related, rather than directly witnessed, and in the context of story-telling, this constitutes the majority of the narrative. It is not unusual to see every sentence in a story marked with *-ʔe*.

It is interesting to note the contexts in which *-ʔe* does not occur. I elicited the frog story (told from drawings), and it did not arise at all during the course of the narration. This is because the relating of the story is not based on what the speaker had heard, but what she was experiencing directly (even though she was imposing her interpretation on events that may seem somewhat puzzling in their relevance). The marker also does not occur when people relate personal stories which they have experienced themselves.[50] Thus the hearsay marker is exactly that: it marks information which people have attained by being told, as opposed to having witnessed the events personally.

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[49] This is reminiscent of the Japanese equivalent: *konakereba naranai*, the similarity extending to *naranai* being a negative form of *naru* 'to become'.

[50] The one time in occurred during a "life story" was when one speaker mentioned the day of his birth:
bar-cahi budhabar-kam-ʔe
N.day-CONTR N.Wednesday-GEN-HS
As for the day, it was apparently a Wednesday.
Of course the use of the hearsay marker is because he has no direct experience of this fact, which has been related to him.

Also used is the Nepali loan *hola*, which in Nepali means 'maybe', and is most likely related to the Nepali copula *ho*. This relationship with the borrowed copula is difficult to tease apart, and sometimes *hola* occurs in Thulung as a sort of copula, whereas other times, it clearly follows a verb and has no verbal content.

There is another evidential marker borrowed from Nepali, and that is *retsha*. Whereas it was originally *rahecha* ('it seems') in Nepali, it has been somewhat nativized. As with *hola*, I believe that there is a certain amount of overlap in the use of *retsha* and the borrowed copula *tsha*, because of their phonological similarity.

Negation

Negation is treated differently according to tense, and transitivity also sometimes plays a role in determining the form of the negative expression. This was discussed briefly in the section on irrealis above.

For both transitive and intransitive verbs, the non-past negative paradigms are identical with the affirmative paradigms, but for the presence of the negative prefix, *mi-*, on the verb.

Thus,

258. mukli-ra lɔ-na
mukli-LOC go-2s
You are going to Mukli.

259. mukli-ra mi-lɔ-na
mukli-LOC NEG-go-2s
You are not going to Mukli.

and

260. khlea-ku sɯ po-ku
dog-GEN meat eat-1pe
We eat dog meat.

261. khlea-ku sɯ mi-po-ku
dog-GEN meat NEG-eat-1pe
We do not eat dog meat.

show verb forms unchanged but for the negative prefix.

Past paradigms, however, are different, and feature the irrealis marker[51]:

For transitive verbs, the negative past paradigms are based on the negative non-past with the addition of the irrealis marker.[52] The following chart shows the range of possibilities involving non-past/past and affirmative/negative for a few transitive verbs.

verb person	*non-past affirmative*	*past affirmative*	*non-past negative*	*past negative*
krimmu, to cut 1pe/3s	krip-ku	krip-toko	mi-krip-ku	mi-krip-ku-wa
tsɔmu, to know 1s/3s	tsɔk-pu	tsɔk-to	mi-tsɔk-pu	mi-tsɔk-pu-wa
hunbenmu, to fly (vt) 3s/1pi	hunbeʈ-ki	hunbeʈ-tiki	mi-hunbeʈ-ki	mi-hunbeʈ-ki-ja
gwamu, to give 3s/3s	gwak-y	gwak-ty	mi-gwak-y	mi-gwak-y-ja
pomu, to eat 3s/3s	py	py-ry	mi-py	mi-py-ja

Table 29 Examples of transitive verbs showing non-past/past and affirmative/negative morphology

From this table we see that the affirmative past is the only combination which is based on a past form, all the others being built on non-past forms. The negative past is distinguished from negative non-past by the irrealis suffix.

For intransitive verbs, the situation is mostly similar to that for transitive verbs, with the exception of some 3s subject forms: in addition to the negative prefix and

[51] In all my data, I found one negative past form which did not include the irrealis marker: mileʈtsi ma biktsi. I believe this could be due to the anterior sequencer's presence on the verb form.
[52] Although matters of stem alternation here are somewhat confusing, with Stem I sometimes appearing even though this is supposedly non-past in essence.

irrealis suffix, these forms have an extra morpheme. These have the same base as 2s imperative forms.

The following table shows some examples of intransitive verbs with non-3s subjects, followed by some examples of 3s-subject forms.

verb person	*non-past affirmative*	*past affirmative*	*non-past negative*	*past negative*
lɔmu, to go 1s	lɔ-ŋu	lɔ-ŋro	mi-lɔ-ŋu	mi-lɔ-ŋ-wa
bimu, to come 1s	bi-ŋu	bi-ŋro	mi-bi-ŋu	mi-bi-ŋ-wa
bumu, to be 1s	bu-ŋu	ba-ŋro	mi-bu-ŋu	mi-ba-ŋ-wa
romu, to come 2d	ro-tsi	rok-tsi	mi-ro-tsi	mo-rok-tsi-ja
bumu, to be 3p	bu-mi	ba-mri	mi-bu-mi	mi-ba-mi-ja
bimu, to come 3s	bi	bik-ta	mi-bi	mi-bik-**a**-wa
romu, to come 3s	ro	rok-ta	mi-ro	mi-rok-**a**-wa
lɔmu, to go 3s	lɔ	lɔ-sta	mi-lɔ	mi-lɔk-**sa**-wa
lumu, to leave 3s	lu	luk-ta	mi-lu	mi-luk-**a**-wa
dymmu, to become 3s	dym	dy-sta	mi-dym	mi-dym-**sa**-wa

Table 30 Examples of intransitive verbs showing non-past/past and affirmative/negative morphology

We see that the negative past forms use Stem I (apart from 1s subject, which never uses Stem I, past or non-past, for intransitive verbs), which is typical of past forms. Apart from this it appears that the non-past endings are suffixed to Stem I for the past negative paradigm, followed by the irrealis suffix.

3s forms differ in that, inserted into the sequence negative prefix-Stem II-irrealis there is an extra element, either -a or -sa. The result is that past negative 3s forms look just like 2s imperative forms with the negative prefix and the irrealis marker. For the above 3s subject forms, the corresponding 2s imperatives are the following: *bika, roka, lɔksa, luka, dymsa.*

The result of this similarity between 2s imperatives and negative past 3s intransitives is that the only difference between them, when the imperatives are negative, is the irrealis marker. This is interesting in light of the function of the irrealis. T. Payne says that "if a language grammaticalizes the notion of irrealis, chances are that interrogative and/or imperative clauses will fall into the irrealis category" (1997: 245), yet the imperative here is precisely distinguished from the past negative forms by virtue of NOT having an irrealis marker, where the latter does.

The negative prefix is almost always *mi-* in the data I collected, although occasionally it may be found as me-. Negation is the only productive verbal operation which is prefixal in Thulung.

While the copulas are negated predictably for non-past, there are some variant forms. These are *me-ʔe* and *mi-u*, both used as negative 3s copulas, interchangeably with *mi-bu*. I do not have any insights as to the origin of these forms, but considering the frequency of such utterances, it is not surprising that they should be unusual.

Adjectives

Adjectives are discussed in this chapter because, apart from a small set which seems to be archaic, adjectives are deverbal in Thulung. In combination with the copula, they form predicates.

The older set of adjectives follows. There is nothing about their morphology that indicates that they form a set, unlike the newer deverbal adjectives.

khrekhreja, bumpy, rough
plɔplɔja, smooth
ɖokpu, big
jakke, small
dala, fast
wakha, slow
ŋado, early
ŋatsɯ, old
malomtsɯ, young

Colour terms are also adjectival in nature, and this set is based on a phonological pattern.

lalam red
gigim green
kekem black (<N.kaalo?)
ʔoʔom yellow
bubum white
nunum blue

When comparing this data with Bahing (collected by de Boer in 1999), I noticed an almost identical list of colour terms for that language. It is interesting to note that they all share the same form: they all consist of a reduplicated element, and are nominalized in form.

All other adjectival forms I have found in the language are derived from verbs, some of which have transparent sources. These are non-past participial forms, based on the source verb root and the non-past participial suffix *-pa*.

jepa, high
dhypa, long
teʈpa, smart
tsapa, strong <tsammu, able
dzɯpa, good
tshɔkpa, cold
dzalpa, hot
tsisiʈpa, wet[53]
saʈpa, dry <samu, to dry
khepa, sour
brɔpa, tasty <brɔmu, to have taste
lempa, sweet <lemmu, to lick
dukpa spicy
dzyrpa bitter

[53] There is a verb *dzhinmu*, to make wet. This looks like the intransitive equivalent, with the detransitivizing -si-. The adjective also seems to be based on a verb which has a voiceless initial in relation to the related causative verb: this could be the work of the PTB causativizing prefix *-s, except that the voicing distinction between *dzhinmu* and the presumed *tsinmu* is the opposite of what one would expect.

Chapter 6

ASPECTIVIZERS

Aspectivizer[1] is the name given to the derivational suffixes which are used in Thulung to semantically augment verbs. The import of the derivational suffixes tends to be aspectual in nature, but they are also involved in valence changes. It is quite clear that these *aspectivizers* are derived from original aspectivizers, like for other Kiranti languages (where the corresponding aspectivizers are used to make aspectual and other semantic distinctions, and are still independent verbs in the modern languages.[2]) The term 'compound verb' is used commonly for South Asian languages: usually it refers to a "close union" of two verbs, which can be represented as Vv, where "the second verb (v) is drawn from a small set of special aspectivizers." (Masica 1991: 326). These aspectivizers serve to enhance the aspectivized verb, in what Masica calls "manner-specification", otherwise known as Aktionsart.[3]

[1] I borrow this term from van Driem, who uses the term for languages (Dumi and Limbu) for which the aspectivizers appear to be verbs as opposed to derivational affixes. According to van Driem, "aspectivizers are verbs which express Aktionsart and, as such, can add semantic dimension… to the meaning of the verb they modify."

[2] see Ebert 1994: 61. Table 8 compares the aspectivizers for four Kiranti languages (in addition to Thulung), and the majority of them (according to her data) are still independently attested verbs.

[3] The main difference between the typical South Asian compound verb and the Kiranti compound verb is the form: in South Asian languages, the first verb (V) is in the form of a conjunctive participle, whereas for Kiranti it is instead a minimally inflected verb, with the main person concord and tense-aspect-mood marking on the aspectivizer. The second verb is called an aspectivizer for Kiranti languages as well (see Ebert 1994: 60 ff) because, like with the typical South Asian construction, it is drawn from a limited set of verbs, and has been semantically bleached.

Thulung is different from its Kiranti relatives: where other languages have aspectivizers as the second verb (v), in Thulung these verbs generally no longer exist as independent verbs, and are only present in the language as derivational suffixes. The verbal nature of these derivational suffixes is clear from the fact that some show alternation between two stems, similar to main verbs, and the endings show appropriate allomorphy in combining with the aspectivizer suffixes. While the majority of the aspectivizers are suffixal in nature, there is one class of verbal affixes which are prefixal: the class is unusual in that the semantic import of the prefixes is highly specific (they all denote suddenness) and each prefix is limited to appearing with a specific main verb.

The terms used for the aspectivizers is a combination of traditional aspect terms (such as habitual), terms I have borrowed from other linguists working on Kiranti languages (such as *ponent*, borrowed from van Driem 1993), and others which I have invented or adapted (such as *definitive*). The use of semantically 'augmented' verbs in Kiranti languages is extremely frequent, and covers a unique combination of aspect with other manner-specification (using Masica's label) which is particular to each language. The result is that traditional terminology does not cover the semantic range of possibilities, and terms must be borrowed, adapted and invented.

One particularity of aspectivized verbs is the presence of truncated person inflection on the main verb, preceding the aspectivizer, which in turn takes full person and tense-mood marking. This is discussed below. The aspectivizers are suffixes to the verb root, but as we saw, certain Thulung verbs have alternating stems. In such cases, the stem which is used to form an aspectivized verb is the same as would have been chosen (for the particular tense/person combination) had there been no derivational suffix.

This is seen in the following:

ɖiɖ-dzɯl-to
leave-PON-1s/3s.PST (cf ɖit-to: 1s/3s past)

grok-sot-to
throw-DEF-1s/3s.PST (cf grok-to: 1s/3s past)

rjak-dzɯl-to
write-PON-1s/3s.PST (cf rjak-to: 1s/3s past)

lɔt-thaɖ-ɖy
wait-ITF-3s.PST (cf lɔɖ-ɖy : 3s past)

gwag-bhal-ly
give-APX-3s/3s.PST (cf gwak-ty: 3s/3s past)

lɔk-let-tsi
go-RES-3d (cf lɔk-tsi: 3s past)

sɯi-thaɖ-ɖy
tell-ITF-3s.PST (cf sɯi-ry: 3s past; underlying -i stem type)

bai-thal-la
be-HAB-3s.PST (cf bai-ra : 3s past ; underlying -i stem type)

In cases where an alternative form is used (in other words unrelated to the verb stem alternation, and probably a result of contamination) for the unaspectivized verb, the same stem is used for the aspectivized verb.

lɔs-leɖ-ɖa
go-RES-3s.PST (cf 3s past form is lɔsta, even though lɔmu has an alternating stem I in -k, cf 2p is lɔk-ni.)

The verb stem used as the input for the derivational process involving the aspectivizer is therefore the same as it would be, for a given tense/person combination, if

the verb were unaspectivized. In cases of alternating stems, the appropriate stem is used, and following by the aspectivizer and then full person and tense endings.

The above cases (apart from those with underlying -i stems) result in a consonant final verb stem before the aspectivizer is suffixed. These verbs, along with verbs whose root does not alternate or show an emergent phoneme (in other words verbs with root-final -m, -n, -r, -l), are aspectivized by straightforward suffixing.

Other verbs, however, are more complex: if the verb and person combination results in a main verb stem which is vowel-final, then truncated inflectional endings appear.

ra-m-thal-miri
say-3p-HAB-3p/3s.PST (cf ra-mri, 3p/3s past)

lɔ-ŋ-thal-ŋu
come-1s-HAB-1s (cf lɔ-ŋu, 1s non-past)

bu-ŋ-thal-ŋu
be-1s-HAB-1s (cf bu-ŋu, 1s non-past)

bi-ŋ-le-ŋro
come-1s-RES-1s.PST (cf bi-ŋro, 1s past)

phɔ-ŋ-si-ŋro
wear-1s-DET-1s.PST

bu-m-sa-mri
collect-3p-BEN-3p/3s.PST (cf bu-mri, 3p past)

si-m-le-mri
die-3p-RES-3p.PST (cf si-mri, 3p past)

ɖu-m-le-mri
drink-3p-RES-3p.PST (cf ɖu-mri, 3p past)

be-u-dzɯl-u
do-1s/3s-PON-1s/3s (cf be-u: 1s non-past)

pe-u-leʈ-pu
eat-1s/3s-RES-1s/3s (cf pe-u: 1s non-past)

la-u-thal-u
see-1s/3s-HAB-1s/3s (cf la-u: 1s non-past)

dha-u-dzɯl-to
dig-1s-PON-1s/3s.PST (cf dha-uto: 1s past)

be-u-bal-to
do-1s/3s-APX-1s/3s.PST (cf be-uto: 1s past)

The truncated inflectional material is consistent in being a single phoneme, namely the first of the expected full person/tense ending. Exceptionally, for 3s non-past forms (where the stem and person ending are often fused), no extra material is inserted, but the stem vowel is altered to what it would be for the non-aspectivized form.

lu-le
exit.3s-RES.3s (cf lu: 3s past)

by-dzɯl-ly
do.3s-PON-3s/3s.PST (cf by-ry: 3s/3s past)

py-leɖ-ɖy
eat.3s-RES-3s.PST (cf py-ry: 3s past)

This brief discussion of the formation of the aspectivized verbs serves to recognize the forms encountered in this chapter.

The organization of this chapter will be to treat each aspectivizer in turn and see what it contributes to the main verbs when suffixed. The aspectivizers that group together through a shared feature are treated sequentially, under a broad heading naming the relevant feature (this will apply to valence-changing suffixes, and to two aspectual categories, duratives and completives.) Other aspectivizers will be treated independently.

We also see a class of directional verbs which are compound verbs: while quite similar to aspectivized verbs, they are distinct in that both elements are independently attested in modern Thulung. We end with a discussion of a set of verbs which connote suddenness when augmented by a particular aspectivizer.

Valence-changers

Causativizer -*be*-

-*be*- is a valence-increaser, adding another grammatical role to the frame of the verb it is modifying: intransitive verbs become transitive, monotransitive verbs become ditransitive. It is used productively for verbs for which no corresponding lexical causative exists, but we will see that it is sometimes also used when an existing lexical causative does not cover the full range of semantic possibilities of the verb.

A few pairs of sentences follow, illustrating the valence-increasing function of -*be*- with both intransitive and transitive verbs. I label -*be*- CAU in the glosses, for causativizer.

262. u-po-mim tsɯm tsha-mri
3POSS-chicken-PLU much spread-3p.PST
His chickens spread out all over.

263. go buŋma-ku brol hapa tsha-**beʈ**-pu
1s flower-GEN seed much spread-CAU-1s
I spread many flower seeds.

264. gu-ka a-je phiɖ-ɖy
3s-ERG 1POSS-clothes bring-3s/3s.PST
He brought my clothes.

265. go mɯ-llai po-ku ɖi phin-**bet**-to
1s that-DAT chicken-GEN egg bring-CAU-1s/3s.PST
I made him bring eggs.

While the intransitive verbs are changed to transitives, the transitive verbs are changed to ditransitives, as the term valence-increase implies. The above pairs of sentences show verbs for which no lexical version of the valence-increased verb exists, and it is therefore generated with -*be*-. This is the most common use of the aspectivizer, namely to supplement the lexicon with verbs of increased valence.

Additionally, -*be*- is used even where the intransitive-transitive or transitive-bitransitive pair already exists, and in such cases, the aspectivized verb fills a different semantic space from the lexical equivalent.

The intransitive verb *ɖun-mu*, 'to drink', has a causative equivalent, which is *thun-mu*. I also came across the aspectivized verb *ɖu-ben-mu* (intransitive plus -*be*-) in my data, and context revealed that there is indeed a semantic difference between the morphological causative (that in -*be*-) and the other causative[4].

266. gu-ka mɯ-llai ɖy ɖu-**beɖ**-ɖy
3s-ERG that-DAT alcohol drink-CAU-3s/3s.PST
He made him drink alcohol.

267. gu-ka mɯ-llai ɖy thɯɖ-ɖy
3s-ERG that-DAT alcohol feed.drink-3s/3s.PST
He fed him alcohol to drink.

The difference is that the non-*be* causative is reserved for making someone drink who is incapable of doing it for himself, such as a child or an animal (or an incapacitated adult). The morphological causative proved to be used for people who are usually considered

[4] It is tempting to call this "other" causative a lexical causative. The problem with such an approach, as pointed out by Matisoff, is that these causatives are in fact originally morphological: they arise from an original s- prefix at the Tibeto-Burman level, which signalled causation, leading to verb pairs of causative/non-causative, which are distinguished, in many modern languages, by aspiration (the reflex of the original proto-prefix). In order to avoid confusion, then, I call these descendants of *s-causatives "non-*be* causatives" (quite awkwardly, admittedly)

capable of feeding themselves, and therefore carried a strong sense of compulsion, of causation, which was not present in the lexical version of the verb.

Similarly, the verb *sin-mu* 'to die,' had both a lexical causative and a morphological version, each with different semantics.

268. gu-ka mɯ-llai si-**beɖ-**ɖy
3s-ERG that-DAT die-CAU-3s/3s.PST
He ordered her to die.

269. gu-ka mɯ-llai seɖ-ɖy
3s-ERG that-DAT kill-3s/3s.PST
He killed her.

While the transitive, *sen-mu*, is more straightforward semantically, being the simple equivalent of intransitive 'to die,' the morphological verb again has more convoluted semantics. It conveys a stronger causational relationship than the does non-*be* version, with much more volitionality encoded.

Sometimes, however, there seems to be no difference between the lexical and morphological forms of the verb. I was told that the following two sentences (exs 270 and 271) have exactly the same meaning.

270. oraŋ-ka sisa bi-**beɖ-**ɖy.
this-ERG N.bottle break(vi)-CAU-3s/3s.PST

271. oraŋ-ka sisa pi-ry.
this-ERG N.bottle break(vt)-3s/3s.PST

She broke the bottle. (both sentences)

Although we might well imagine a distinction between the two versions based on the distinctions we have seen above, with the morphological causative carrying more volitionality, I was informed that such was not the case with these sentences. This could be related to the fact that the object in this sentence is inanimate, and the notion of control

usually associated with the suffixed causative (the one with *-be-*) is brought out by having two animate participants (because in such a case, a power hierarchy must be established between the two participants.)

I was struck with the similarities between the form of the morphological causative and the reciprocal. The construction is in fact rather different, the reciprocal being formed through the affixation of the verb *bomu*, 'to do,' to the stem of the main verb. Thus the verb in example 272 below

272. mɯ-miŋ-ka uni-lwa sɯ-be-mri
that-PLU-ERG 3POSS-story tell-do-3p.PST
They told each other their news.

is the reciprocal while the morphological causative equivalent would be *sɯbemmiri*.

One thing we notice from these examples is that the aspectivizer is a verb with Stem I in -ɖ: in other words past forms of the aspectivized verb show Stem I allomorphs (ie *beɖ-, bet-, beʈ-)* in combination with person endings. Non-past forms use *-be-* in combination with the relevant endings (except for 3s and 1pi subjects, which, as seen in the chapter on finite verbs, use Stem I). As the phonologically simplest form of the aspectivizer, this is the default form I use when refering to the causativizer.

One can speculate about the origin of *-be-*, which is most probably grammaticalized from a previously full verb in the language. The best candidate for a valence-increaser would logically be a prototypical transitive verb, such as 'to make'. This verb is *bɔne-mu* in Thulung, a verb which is thought by locals to be borrowed from the Nepali *banaau-nu*, implying that perhaps the original Thulung (and source for the aspectivizer) has been lost. *Bo-mu* 'to do', could originally, before the borrowing of

banemu, have covered both meanings of doing and making, and lost the latter once a distinct verb was borrowed from Nepali. In sum, there is no way to ascertain what the source of the causativizer is in this case.

Detransitivizer -*si*-

Parallel with the function of the causativizer -*be*-, -*si*- is an aspectivizer which decreases valence. I call it detransitivizer because it primarily reduces transitive verbs to intransitives, in other words reducing the number of participants by one. (It occurs in glosses with the label -DET.)

The function of aspectivizer -*si*- is to form intransitives in form, but the verbs which incorporate this aspectivizer turn out to be semantically middle verbs. Kemmer (1993) has a taxonomy of uses of the middle voice, which delineates the semantic range which can be covered by the middle marker in different languages. All Thulung verbs with marker -*si*- fit into her classification, which includes the following categories: grooming/body care (*sulsi-mu*, 'to wash onesself', *khlysi-mu*, 'to wear on feet', *khremsi-mu* 'to dress onesself', *khumsi-mu* 'to wear on head'); change in body posture (*jemsi-mu* 'to stand up'); self-benefactive (*khirsi-mu* 'to walk around'[5], *sisi-mu* 'to learn'); naturally-reciprocal (*tsamsi-mu* 'to play with each other'); emotion (*gramsi-mu* 'to be disgusted', *bisi-mu* 'to respect'); cognition (*mimsi-mu* 'to think'); translational motion (*khlomsi-mu* 'to return'); spontaneous events (*krymsi-mu* 'to become hungry', *kwarasi-mu* 'to grow thirsty', *ŋosi-mu* 'to wake up', *holsi-mu* 'to open', *tsharsi-mu* 'to burn', *hasi-*

[5] This is within the context of the culture, and will be explained below.

mu 'to spill', *dzhimsi-mu* 'to get wet'); reflexive (*thɔsi-mu* 'to hide', *tsemsi-mu* 'to hang oneself'). All of these categories radiate out from a core semantic notion summed up by Lyons' characterization: "the action or state affects the subject of the verb or his interests" (cited in Kemmer 1993:1). This accounts for those verbs which are not intransitive in form, such as verbs concerning the wearing of certain articles of clothing: because such verbs specify where the article is to be worn (head, feet, etc) they in effect greatly reduce the role of that object (as it already more or less known what it is: hat, shoes, etc) and really function more as intransitives, with the main participant focus being on the subject. All verbs in *-si-* can therefore be seen as intransitive in nature, by virtue of sharing the middle semantics, and there is no inconsistency in calling *-si-* a detransitivizer when some of the resulting aspectivized verbs look more like transitives grammatically.

Some of the middle verbs are so for cultural reasons, and this context is essential for proper interpretation. One interesting example is the verb *khirsi-mu*, which fits into the middle category of self-benefactive.

273. gu mandir-ra khir-**si**
3s N.temple-LOC circle-DET.3s
He circled around at the temple

274. gu-ka mandir-lai khi-ry
3s-ERG N.temple-DAT circle-3s/3s.PST
He circled around the temple.

In example 274, the verb is a basic transitive with two participants, agent and patient. The agent, *gu*, is in the ergative case, and the patient, *mandir*, in the dative and is a direct object. In 273 on the other hand, the verb is intransitive in form, now governing only the subject, while the temple has been shifted into the locative case (marked with *-ra*), no

longer one of the central participants in the action. This may look like a simple scenario of a transitive verb and its intransitive equivalent, but the semantics are what point to something less clear-cut. In the context of Nepal, circling around at a temple is a way of ingratiating oneself with the gods and generating better karma. Self-benefaction is one of the semantic categories which is part of the middle voice, and *khirsi-mu*, while intransitive in form, is therefore semantically a middle verb.

Another interesting situation is the question of the formation of these aspectivized verbs. There is an assumption that the detransitivized verbs are formed from basic transitive verbs, but such is not always the case. The verb *jemsi-mu,* 'to stand up', seems to be the base form itself, with *-si-* signifying its intransitive/middle nature, but there is not, synchronically at least, a verb *jemu* with an appropriate meaning. Furthermore, *jemsi-mu* is used as the input for the formation of the corresponding transitive verb. *jemsi-ben-mu*, 'to stand something/someone up', is formed with the causativizer *-be-* from *jemsi-mu*. Most of the middle verbs seem to have a corresponding transitive which is the input for the detransitivization (such as *khir-mu*, 'to walk around', vt, being the input for *khir-si-mu*, 'to walk around', vi), but the example of *jemsi-mu* proves that this is not always the case.

The aspectivizer used for detransitiving has a Stem I in -ɖ, and this is mostly seen in past forms where the stem appears: lwasiɖɖa, holsiʈpa. Thus, predictably, si is the default form of the aspectivizer which is used for non-past forms (except for 1pi and 3s subjects/agents), and the appropriate allomorph is used in the past.

Benefactive -sa-

The aspectivizer -*sa*- is used to form verbs which are benefactive, in other words bringing in a recipient participant (not necessarily otherwise overtly expressed). This aspectivizer is a verb with Stem I in -ɖ, which means that allomorphs -*saɖ-, -saʈ-, -sat-* will be used. The default non-past allomorph is -*sa*-. (The gloss for this aspectivizer is BEN)

274. mɯ tukisale-ŋa tsar-**saɖ-**ɖy.
that spool-EMPH throw-BEN-3s/3s.PST
She threw the spool of thread to them.

The verb, even in the absence of an overt beneficiary in the sentence, is signifying that the action is a benefactive. If the sentence were non-benefactive, with no implication of a beneficiary of the action, then it would be the following.

275. mɯ tukisale-ŋa tsar-ry.
that spool-EMPH throw-3s/3s.PST
She threw the spool of thread (at no-one in particular).

In both cases, the verb shows concord for the subject and direct object (in other words, 3s subject--she-- and 3s object--the spool), while the beneficiary, which is a 3d (they are a sister and brother gone in search of their mother), does not get encoded into the verb ending. Thus the benefactive -*sa*- is crucial in showing that there are other participants than just the overt subject and object, bringing the beneficiaries to the attention of the audience.

Similarly, example 276 does not overtly mention the beneficiary of the action, and it participates in the sentence through the benefactive aspectivizer -*sa*-.

276. khɔtle gɔlaitsa bum-**sa-**mri-ʔe.
all N.carpet heap-SA-3p.PST-RS
They piled up the carpets for them, they said.

When the beneficiary is mentioned overtly in the sentence, it is with the dative case-marker -lai,[6] but the verb still only encodes the beneficiary through the aspectivizer -*sa*-, rather than with any agreement marking, as in the following sentence.

277. go oram nem a-lwak-lai ɖi-**saʈ**-pu[7]
1s this house 1POSS-y.brother-DAT leave-BEN-1s/3s
I leave this house to my brother

Van Driem (1993: 205) calls a similar aspectivizer in Dumi the "profferative", because there is not necessarily a positive outcome attached with the action (the term benefactive implying profit). I have not found any such examples in Thulung, but certainly there are instances of -*sa*- verbs where the reading is not the prototypical benefactive, thus it is probably similar to the situation in Dumi. For example in the first example above, the woman who throws the spool of thread is helping the children, but the sentence translates as 'she threw the spool to them', so that the emphasis seems to be on a recipient dative rather than a beneficiary.

The origin for the -*sa*- is not clear synchronically. Allen lists *samu* as 'to give' in his lexicon of Thulung[8] but I did not find *samu* as a full verb. Ebert shows that the benefactive in other Kiranti languages (Limbu, Athpare, Bantawa in this case) is derived from an existing full-verb meaning 'to give.' (While these verbs are all clear cognates

[6] See the chapter on case-marking. This has to do with a recipient inevitably being higher on the animacy scale than the direct object within a ditransitive sentence.
[7] This can be contrasted with the non-benefactive
go oram nem ɖiʈ-pu
I leave this house

amongst themselves, as well as cognate with the Camling benefactive aspectivizer which is not attested as a full verb[9], the Thulung is not cognate to the form.) A common source verb for benefactives tends to be the verb 'to give' cross-linguistically, and this is also the case in Nepali, which uses the aspectivizer *di-nu* ('to give' as a full verb.) With the strong connection between 'to give' and benefactive both among the Kiranti languages and Nepali, as well as the cross-linguistic tendency for such a grammaticalization resulting in the benefactive, the absence of such a full verb in my data is not troublesome. This is especially true if *sa-mu* was indeed 'to give' as an independently attested verb in the 1970's and its disappearance is a result of attrition.

The aspectivizers we have seen above, *-be-, -si-,* and *-sa-* are somewhat at odds with the rest of the Aktionsart aspectivizers treated in this chapter. As causativizer, detransitivizer, benefactive, they are involved in valence-changing operations. They serve a grammatical function whereas the other aspectivizers discussed here are of a semantic nature, affecting the Aktionsart of the sentence but not the subcategorization frames of the verb. According to Masica, a distinction must be made between things that have a grammatical versus a semantic role, and he says about Aktionsarten that "however ubiquitous and productive, they are not predictably the same for all verbs, and they do modify the meaning of the verb itself, however subtly and in many cases untranslatably, which purely grammatical elements should not do." (1991:268). The valence changers

[8] Allen could perhaps have been extracting 'to give' from the beneficial aspectivizer, and making the connection with the Nepali form. He lists sat- as 'to give' but this definition is followed by "(in a few idioms)", leaving it questionable whether the independent verb was attested.

on the other hand, have a predictable, grammatical function, but as we have seen with the detransitivizer, the lines are somewhat blurred between purely grammatical and purely semantic functions. I have chosen to treat them together, because they are changes to the verb brought about by suffixing an aspectivizer from a specific subset of verbs, and because I see the line between grammatical and semantic as being less clear-cut than Masica implies.

Habitual -*thal*-

The aspectivizer used to express habitual aspect is -*thal*-. This aspectivizer, like other verbs with a root ending in -l, is non-alternating, and thus is of a single form, -*thal*-. (The gloss used for the aspectivizer is HAB)

278. make ne mɯ ghumnepani gele ne bam-**thal-**miri
long.ago TOP that Ghumnepani up TOP live-HAB-3p.PST
Long ago they used to live up from Ghumne Pani

279. go athal iskul lɔ-ŋ-**thal-**ŋu
1s nowadays N.school go-1s-HAB-1s
I go to school regularly these days.

280. gu-ka sɔndai dzam khok-to, kamso by-**thal-**y
3s-ERG N.always rice cook-SC song do.3s-HAB-3s
He always sings while he is cooking.

281. go mɯ-llai hellolo wo ŋima-ra la-u-**thal-**u.
1s that-DAT daily also dream-LOC see-1s-HAB-1s/3s
I dream of him every day.

[9] they all share a basic root *pi*

As can be seen in the above examples, *-thal-* adds habitual Aktionsart. All of these examples have some reference to regular (either current or past) occurrence, with words such as *athal*[10], 'regularly', *sɔndai*, 'always', *hellolowo*, 'everyday'. When punctual time words are substituted for these adverbs in the above sentences, the resulting sentences are all ungrammatical. The reason is that *-thal-* contributes a habitual feature to the verbs and this cannot cooccur with punctual time words, because the habitual by nature does not refer to specific events but rather to the occasional occurrence of an event.

282. *ko khep ra-m-**thal**-miri
one N.time say-3p-HAB-3p.PST
they were saying it once….

As per traditional terminology, the habitual is used to "describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period." (Comrie 1976: 28). The habitual can cooccur with past or non-past tense. Examples above show non-past forms, and the following show past tense forms.

283. meram akima-ra hellolo wo rok-**thal**-la
that 1POSS-LOC daily also come-HAB-3s.PST

athaldika ne bante lɔs-ta?
nowadays TOP where go-3s.PST

He used to come to my house everyday, where is he now?

284. make ne mɯ ghumnepani gele ne ba-m-**thal**-miri.
long.ago TOP that Ghumnepani up TOP be-3p-HAB-3p
Long ago, they used to live up from Ghumnepani.

[10] I believe that the similarity of form between this adverb and the habitual marked is not coincidental.

Stative *-ta-*

Aspectivizer *-ta-* is found with intransitive verbs, focussing these verbs into statives: *gɔn-mu* 'to sit' becomes *gɔntasi-mu* 'to keep sitting, to be sitting'; *phɔmsi-mu* 'to wear' becomes *phɔmtasi-mu* 'to keep wearing, to be wearing'. These verbs point to the continuation and maintenance of the state they describe. (This aspectivizer is glossed STA.)

The stative is distinct from the habitual in that the habitual is a non-continuous aspect, whereas the stative refers to a durative event. This is consistent with Comrie's classification of aspect, as he separates imperfectives into habitual on the one hand, and continuous (also known as durative) on the other (table I, 1976: 25). According to this taxonomy, what I call the stative aspectivizer corresponds to the non-progressive aspect within the continuous (the other branch being the progressive). Comrie says that in many languages, there is a clear distinction between progressive and non-progressive, in that progressive aspect and stativity cannot cooccur (1976: 35). Interestingly, this is what we find in Thulung as well. Thulung also has a progressive, which is formed by means of a periphrastic construction combining a converbal form with the copula[11]. The stative class discussed here is distinct from the progressive: although the progressive can be formed with intransitive verbs, these are never stative verbs, and there is always a clear action implicit in them.

[11] This is discussed in the chapter on clause-combining.

If we compare the verb 'to sit' in its stative and progressive forms, *gɔntasimu* and *gɔnsaŋa bumu* respectively, the readings are rather different: the stative marks the maintenance of the sitting down state, whereas the progressive refers to the process of getting into a sitting position, in other words it is the dynamic dimension of the verb which is brought out.

The Nepali equivalent of verbs aspectivized with *-ta-* is consistently formed with the aspectivizer *rahanu*, 'to remain.' I have not found a source verb for *-ta-* in Thulung, but it is noteworthy that the PTB for *s-ta means 'to put, to place', which has the right semantic properties for grammaticalization into a durative/continuous (of which the statives form one category).[12]

Completives

The three following aspectivizers we will see share the feature of completive aspect. This aspect, as its name implies, expresses the completion of an event, and can be translated into English with expressions such as 'to be done with', 'to finish'. Additionally, the three aspectivizers add their own nuances to the verbs to which they are suffixed, and the labels I have given them refer to these distinctive features.

Definitive *-so-*

The salient feature of verbs in *-so-* is their emphasis on completion. In addition to a completive aspect which is present in all the *-so-* verbs, there is also a focus on another feature of completedness, which is most often the definitiveness of the action. The

[12] Lahu in fact has *tā* as a durative.

aspectivizer is of the alternating stem class of stem I in -ɖ. Thus allomorphs -soɖ-, -soʈ-, -sot- are found in appropriate contexts for past forms, while -so- is used as the default non-past. The aspectivizer appears in glosses as DEF.

The following pair of sentences (exs 285 and 286) shows the strong element of permanence which distinguishes the verb in *-so-* from the simple verb.

285. gu-ka surti ɖu-mu ɖi-**soɖ**-ɖy
3s-ERG N.tobacco drink abandon-DEF-3s/3.PST
He gave up smoking (for good).

286. gu-ka surti ɖu-mu ɖiɖ-ɖy.
3s-ERG N.tobacco smoke-NOM.inf abandon-3s/3.PST
He gave up smoking (but might start up again any time)

Another similar pair is the following (exs 287 and 288).

287. mɯ-kka a-kitab grok-**soɖ**-ɖy.
that-ERG 3POSS-N.book throw-DEF-3s/3.PST
He threw away my book (permanently).

288. mɯ-kka a-kitab grok-ty.
that-ERG 3POSS-N.book throw-3s/3.PST
He threw away my book (but the trash hasn't been destroyed and I could get it back).

The context shows that the feature imparted to the sentence by the aspectivizer *-so-* is a sense of definitiveness: an event in *-so-* cannot be undone once it has taken place.

There are three ways in which verbs in *-so-* are rendered in their Nepali equivalent, and these are with the verbs *saknu* (to finish), *halnu* (to throw), and *paThaunu* (to send), the last two carrying the same sense we have mentioned of permanence, whereas the first has a clear completive sense.

In her comparative study of Kiranti languages, Ebert relates -*so*- to aspectivizers in other Kiranti languages which can be traced to the source verb "to send"[13]. While *so-mu* does not mean 'to send' in my Thulung data (nor in that of Allen), there is a metaphorical connection between sending and the notion of permanently being finished with something.

289. gu-ka homsaka hon-mu basi ra-mim
3s-ERG like.this light-NOM.inf OBL say-3s/3-NOM

bela-ka u-**so-**ra
N.time-TEMP push-DEF-2s.IMP

When she says "light it like this" give her a good shove.

This sentence, taken from a Thulung recounting of Hansel and Gretel, describes Hansel's instructions to his sister to push the witch into the fire while Gretel is lighting it. The context certainly calls for a definitive interpretation of the verb: the push is meant to permanently deal with the situation and put the witch out of commission.

If the aspectivizer is indeed grammaticalized from a now-lost verb 'to send', the semantics fit very nicely with the verbs which we see in -so-. 'To send' implies that an action is dispatched, dispensed with. This is directly connected with the main feature we see emerging from verbs in -*so*-. They refer to the completion of an action in such a way that it is definitively done with, and as such I have labeled -*so*- the definitive marker.

Ponent -dzɯl-

This aspectivizer, like the previous one, adds completive aspect. (It is glossed PON.) In addition to this, there are three main features that emerge from looking at all

[13] None of which are cognate to the Thulung.

the examples I found containing *-dzɯl-*. The aspectivized verbs break up into the following three classes:

a) Actions involving the placement of something somewhere, and the extension of this to actions carried out at a specific location.

290. hamsika oram gɔn-pa dym-ma gɔd-**dzɯl-**u
when this sit-Npst.PRT become-Pst.PRT sit(vt)-PON-1s/3
When she became able to sit, I set her down in a sitting position.

In example 290, a baby is set down to sit so that her mother can carry on with her own work. The *-dzɯl-* conveys both the completive aspect of the action ('I finished setting her down') and the fact that the child is set down in one place: she is not only made to sit, but placed in a particular location to do her sitting.

291. go nem-laŋka khadza kur-to-m bai-ra,
1s house-ABL N.snack carry-1s/3.PST-NOM be-3s.PST

dzhims-ta retsha lamdi-ra-ŋa
rot-3s.PST N.seem road-LOC-EMPH

grok-**dzɯl-**to.
throw-PON-1s/3.PST

I brought a snack from home, it seemed to have gone bad and I threw it down along the road.

The verb in example 290 leads to the reading that the snack is abandoned in one specific place, while the person is sitting perhaps. This is in contrast to the same sentence where the verb is *groksotto*, in which case the reading is one of the snack being tossed rather than set down, perhaps even while walking. The point is that with *-dzɯl-* the snack ends up somewhere specific and identifiable, whereas with *-so-* it is either more spread out or

further from the path, but at any rate, the location where it ends up cannot be found easily.

b) Things done temporarily, where the action can be undone. This is the non-permanence of action scenario (which makes it the opposite of the definitive -*so*-).

292. go mamtha-ka a-nem mɯ-llai ɖiɖ-**dzɯl-**to
1s last.year-TEM 1POSS-house that-DAT abandon-PON-1s/3.PST
Last year I left my house to him (but I can take it back later).

The use of -*dzul*- here conveys the non-permanence of the action, and the ability for the speaker to change her mind. This contrasts with the same sentence with the simple verb *ɖin-mu* (in other words the - *dzul*-less version), 'to abandon' where the reading is necessarily one of permanence: the action is for good.

c) Things done ahead of time, such as eating for the next day, doing work in advance. This is the preparation for second event scenario.

293. go beno-lai ghas phɔl-**dzɯl-**to-m bu.
1s ox-DAT N.grass cut-PON-1s/3.PST-NOM be.3s
I have cut the grass for the ox (but will give it to him later)

This is an example of an action being carried out as preparation for future actions. The grass is cut ahead of time for the animal's feed. The same scenario is seen in 294.

294. dika lamdi-ra krymsi-na, homlo hapa pe-**dzɯl-**a.
tomorrow road-LOC be.hungry-2s now much eat-PON-2IMP
Eat lots now for tomorrow when you're hungry on the road.

Today's eating is done in anticipation of tomorrow's hunger, and to compensate for the situation by stocking up on food. Another version of the same scenario is seen in 295.

295. go bi-ŋu-m bela-ka muhan sjaŋ-**dzɯl-**a

1s come-1s-NOM N.time-TEMP N.well clean-PON-2sIMP
At the time I come, have the well clean.

The non *-dzul-* equivalent of this sentence would have the action of cleaning carried out after the arrival of the speaker, whereas here it must precede the arrival. This too is an example of one action, signalled by the verb, being carried out in anticipation of another, which can either be explicit, as in these last two examples, or implicit, as in the example about cutting the grass (where the fact that it is cut in anticipation of feeding the ox is understood but not stated).

We have seen the three main scenarios which emerge from the use of verbs in *-dzul-*, and I believe they are all very much related semantically. It is useful to think about the path of grammaticalization of the aspectivizer. A strong candidate for the source verb should be the verb 'to place', but here we run into a little trouble: the closest candidate phonologically (with the same vowel) is *dzul-mu,* which means 'to put aside for someone', whereas the best semantic match would be the verb 'to place, to put', which is *dzyl-mu*. The two verbs are clearly very close, both phonologically and semantically, and the scenarios for *-dzul-* can be seen to be related to both verbs, with 'to put aside for someone' leading to the preparation for a second event scenario, while 'to place' leads to our main reading.

We will assume that the core notion conveyed by the aspectivizer is indeed that of placing something somewhere. This is a basic notion, and the other readings are natural extensions of this concept. The centrality of object placement is the reason I have chosen

to call this aspectivizer the 'ponent'. The preparation for another event scenario[14] comes out of the frame through which placing something somewhere is a deliberate, thought-out gesture, and as such can serve as the stage upon which another action is set. The non-permanence scenario, instead, comes from the fact that when an object is placed somewhere (rather than thrown or scattered) then it is somewhere specific where it can be found. If it can be found, it can also be picked up again, and the action is reversible.

This last scenario of reversibility of action is particularly pleasing in the light of our analysis of *-so-* in the preceding section. *-So-*, also a completive, is interpreted as adding a definitive, 'for good' reading to the aspectivized verbs, which is precisely the opposite of the non-permanent reading which emerges from some of the *-dzul-* examples. This provides a nice symmetry in the potential for expression of the completives.

Resultative *-le-*

Verbs formed with *-le-* are also completive, but have the added feature of resultativeness. By this, I mean that the event has been carried through to its logical conclusion, which is the attainment of the state implicit within the action. (This aspectivizer is of an alternating stem class, with stem I in -ɖ. Thus allomorphs which appear are *-leɖ-, -leţ-, -leɖ-* where appropriate, whereas the default non-past form is -le-. The gloss used is RES)

An example makes this clearer:

[14] Assuming that this is indeed derived from the central concept of 'placing something somewhere', rather

296. hilam pe-uto-mala bɔllɔ dym-**le-**ŋu ni
ghee eat-1s/3.PST-COND N.finally become-RES-1s N.indeed
If I eat lots of ghee, I'll be fat.

This example is constrasted with the unaugmented version which would be the verb *bɔllɔ dymmu*, 'to become fat'. Instead the resultative version points to the state which is a result of the action, namely, to be fat (or to have become fat).

Other examples reinforce this interpretation.

297. kwara-ka lele dym-**leʈ-**pa mytsy
thirst-INST be.engaged[15] become-RES-Npst.PRT person
a very thirsty person (ie a person having reached an incredible state of thirst)

The element of reaching a certain state is important because it is the main distinguishing feature between verbs in *-le-* and verbs without. There is a significant difference between becoming thirsty (*kwaraka lele dym-mu*) and having become thirsty (*kwaraka lele dym-**len**-mu*).

Another expression for which a verb in *-le-* is very commonly used is *nɔ tshem-len-mu* 'to become mature' (literally 'to develop in the brain'), as in the following.

298. athambili-m tsɯtsɯ-mim-ku nɔ haŋko tsito tshes-**leɖ-**ɖa
nowadays-NOM.rel child-PLU-GEN brain how N.fast develop-RES-3s.PST
How fast children these days become mature.

Here too, maturity is a state which is achieved, and indeed, the process of becoming mature is the expression *nɔ tshem-mu*, without the *-le-*. Another such expression is that

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than a parallel grammaticalization from *dzulmu*, 'to put aside for someone'

[15] This is a mysterious verb which seems to be *lenmu*, in infinitive form, and which does not exist nowadays as an independent verb. In appears in periphrastic constructions expressing progressive (see Clause-combining) and as the possible source for the resultative aspectivizer discussed in this section.

for being drunk, *ɖy-ka sen-len-mu*, which stands in opposition to *ɖy-ka sen-mu*, 'to get drunk'.

Thus we have a good number of examples of verbs which describe an action, and when they are formed into verbs with *-le-*, the reading becomes the attainment of the state which is the result of the action.

One very common use of *-le-* is with *si-mu*, 'to die'. In fact, most references to dying in my texts were as verbs with *-le-*.

299. go mi-gɔk-thi-ŋa a-bep sim-**le-**mri
1s NEG-be.born-NEXP-EMPH 1POSS-grandfather die-RES-3p.PST
I wasn't born yet when my grandfather was already dead/had already died.

300. go gɔ-mu bhanda ŋado a-bep si-mri.
1s be.born-NOM N.comp early 1POSS-grandfather die-3p.PST
Before I was born my grandfather died.

When first noticing examples of *sim-len-mu*, I thought it was a matter of the sequencing of the death to the other events being narrated, but it turns out that it is instead the simplest interpretation which fits best: *-le-* contributes the same resultative feature, and *si-mu*, which focuses on the process of dying, becomes *sin-len-mu*, where the key feature is the resulting state.

This resultative feature is the main one we see in addition to completiveness, but there is also another dimension present, which follows fairly naturally from the focus on resulting state. Certain examples, mostly concerning the consumption of food or drink, must be interpreted in terms of a scenario where it is the amount consumed which is surprising to the participants.

301. mɯ-kka mɯk-kom dzam u-twak-ka-ŋa py-**leɖ-**ɖy retsha.
that-ERG that-much rice 3POSS-self-ERG-EMPH eat-RES-3s/3.PST N.seem

He ate that much rice on his own!

I believe these can be seen as an extension of the attainment of a state scenario. *Mukom dzam*, the amount of food found surprising by the speaker of the sentence, can be seen as the bar which is cleared, leading to the eater's being propelled into the exalted state. The same applies to examples with drink, such as the following.

302. mɯ-mim-ka mɯk-kom ɖy ɖum-**le**-mri ma
that-PLU-ERG that-much alcohol drink-RES-3p/3.PST AS

wo pheri bi-saŋa ba-mri
also N.again beg-AC+EMPH be-3p.PST

They drank that much alcohol and they were begging for more.

303. a-beno-lai ko bhaɖa ku gwak-to-m
1POSS-ox-DAT one N.pot water give-1s/3.PST-NOM

ne khotle ɖu-**leɖ**-ɖy retsha
TOP all drink-RES-3s/3.PST N.seem

I gave a pot of water to my ox and he drank up the whole thing.

Managing to accomplish something seen as surprising in all three examples concerned with consumption can be seen to be parallel to the attainment of a state scenario which I am claiming is the main distinctive feature of verbs in *-le-*.

Yet another use of *-le-*, but which I believe can be explained simply, is with verbs of motion.

304. go bia-ɖa lɔ-ŋro-m bai-ra gharkoŋ
1s N.wedding-LOC go-1s.PST-NOM be-3s.PST N.second

ba-ŋro ma bi-ŋ-**le**-ŋro.
be-1s.PST AS come-1s-RES-1s.PST

I went to the wedding, stayed a second, and came back.

305. mɯr-tsip mesi bu-tsi re ra-ŋro ma joŋ-ro-m
that-DU there be-3d FOC say-1s/3.PST AS come.down-1s.PST-NOM
ne lɔk-**leʈ**-tsi retsha.
TOP go-RES-3d.PST N.seem

I thought they would be there and when I came down they were already gone.

Again my first encounter with such sentences left me confused as to how *-le-* was functioning with these motion verbs, and what could possibly be the resulting state. But again, we can interpret the result of the action as the present location of the participant, and this is equivalent to a state: the state of being gone from the party in the first case, and the state of being gone in the second.

We have seen in the above section how *-le-*, while being a completive (like *-so-* and *-dzul*), distinguishes itself by having a resultative focus. The main function is to render actions into the resulting states. This is extended, quite naturally, into a 'managing to accomplish something' scenario, where the accomplishment of something surprising leads to a new state for the performer. The resultative interpretation also accounts for motion verbs, which, in their aspectivized form, describe the state of presence or absence of the agent.

Intensifier -tha-

The role of aspectivizer *-tha-* is initially fairly difficult to see, because the verbs to which it is suffixed have quite varied semantic ranges. The following sentences show some of the range covered by these verbs, with the aspectivizer labeled ITF in the glosses.

306. oram dzam pom-**tha-**mu ni, etha mytsy-ka ɖar-sa-mi
this rice eat-ITF-NOM N.indeed now person-ERG meet-BEN-3p
Eat up this food quickly, someone has arrived for us.

307. go mɯ-llai thama sɔmma lɔ-**thaʈ-**pu
1s that-DAT later N.until wait-ITF-1s/3
I'll wait on for him, until later.

In the first example, *-tha-* highlights the speed of accomplishment of the action. In the second example, on the other hand, the emphasis seems to be on the duration of the waiting.

In yet another sentence, another sense is brought out by *-tha-*.

308. meram-lai mi-sɯ-ja ra-ŋro-m ne sɯi-**thaɖ-**ɖy retsha
that-DAT NEG-tell-IRR say-1s/3.PST-NOM TOP tell-ITF-3s/3s.PST N.seem
I told him not to tell but he said it anyway.

An examination of a number of further examples reveals that the function of *-tha-* is to emphasize the maximum potential of the action it modifies: the verb is one which exaggerates the action, taking it to an extreme. Ebert (1994: 63) points out the possibility of *-tha-* in Thulung coming from the verb *than-mu* 'to take out, remove'. This source verb fits both phonologically and cognitively, and there is in fact a parallel grammaticalization in English, seen in expressions such as 'eat away', 'hide away', 'waste away'. The use of 'away' presumably derives from the concept of removal, but has grammaticalized into a sense of doing something maximally, in other words either focussing on the extent of time (as with 'to wait'), or the speed/amount (as in 'to eat away'), or the efficiency of the action (as in 'to hide away').

An extension of the maximal performance of an action can be, for certain verbs, the suddenness and speed with which it is carried out, as in the following.

309. haŋko tsito ku pu-**thaɖ-**ɖy
how N.fast water emerge-ITF-3s.PST
How fast the water came gushing out!

310. go mi-tsobe-mu ra-ŋro-m ne oraŋ-ka
1s NEG-dip-NOM.inf say-1s/3.PST-NOM TOP this-ERG

tsoby-**thaɖ-**ɖy retsha
dip.3s-ITF-3s/3.PST N.seem

I said I wouldn't dip it in but he dunked it all of a sudden

311. ghume bo-mu thale-**thaɖ-**ɖy
walk do-NOM.inf start-ITF-3s.PST
He started all of a sudden to leave.

In example 311, the verb is in an odd form, as the root is a Nepali verb. Thulung has a fairly productive process for borrowing verbs from Nepali: -e is suffixed to the borrowed root, which is followed with a Thulung infinitive. This is most often *bo-mu* 'to do' to form analytic causatives from borrowed verbs. This is the only instance I have seen where *than-mu* ('to remove') is used as the infinitive in such a structure, and the result is a maximal reading of the borrowed verb, similar to those that use *-tha-* as an aspectivizer.

312. mɯ-llai dzam gwak-**tha-**ra, hɔʈar by-mim bu
that-DAT rice give-ITF-2sIMP N.hurry do.3s-NOM be.3s
Hurry up and give him food, he's in a hurry.

313. ham ra-mu khap-na-m bai-ra rak-**tha-**ra ŋado
what say-NOM.inf be.about.to-2s-NOM be-3s.PST say-ITF-2sIMP fast
Quickly say what you were about to say!

The patterns we see in verbs with *-tha-* do hold together quite well: there are those verbs which emphasize the speed of the action, as with the last two examples (312 and 313). There are those where it is the suddenness which is relevant, as we saw above. There is also the long duration of the action, as with examples where the main verb is 'to

wait', and indeed for stative verbs such as waiting, we could not very well have speed of action, so it is the 'maximal action' scenario which is useful in these cases.

314. mesinɖa khou dzy-tto-m bai-ra, o-kka
there money place-1s/3.PST-NOM be-3s.PST this-ERG

bante thɔ-**thaɖ̣-**ɖy retsha
where hide-ITF-3s/3.PST N.seem

I put the money there, someone must have hidden it away somewhere.

315. meram-lai mi-sɯ-ja ra-ŋro-m ne sɯi-**thaɖ̣-**ɖy retsha
that-DAT NEG-tell-IRR say-1s/3.PST-NOM TOP tell-ITF-3s/3.PST N.seem
I told him not to tell but he said it anyway.

Examples such as these are hard to fit into the scenario, but if we take the speed/suddenness aspects of the aspectivizer, we can see how they might apply in these cases: perhaps the speed with which the money was hidden which results in the speaker being unable to find it or account for it. And in the second example, the speed or suddenness of utterance could account for the lack of control on the part of the person trying to prevent the other from saying certain things.

We have seen that speed and suddenness are key features of *-tha-*, fitting into many of the scenarios where the verbs appear and useful even to explain some examples which initially look aberrant. However, because of other examples such as with stative verbs like 'to wait', the most comprehensive interpretation of *-tha-* is as an aspectivizer which brings out the maximal performance scenario of the action being carried out.

The aspectivizer used here is an alternating stem verb, with stem I in -ɖ̣. Allomorphs for past forms are -thaɖ̣-, -that-, -thaʈ̣-, with -tha- considered the default for appropriate non-past forms.

Approximative -*bal*-

This aspectivizer is not very common, and I found it concentrated in the speech of a few individuals, not appearing at all in that of most others. There is in fact a certain amount of confusion surrounding -*bal*- and -*bhal*-, both in terms of what it really adds to the sentence and its distribution. My principal informant feels that -*bal*- is the aspectivizer, and that the form *bhal* only occurs as a spatial term, its use as an aspectivizer being ungrammatical and merely a matter of confusion with the spatial term. Her cousin, from the same village and of the same age, believes instead -*bal*- and -*bhal*- are interchangeable as aspectivizers, and offered the possibility that some villages use only -*bhal*- as an aspectivizer. I collected instances of both -*bal*- and -*bhal*- being used as aspectivizers (but only *bhal* as a spatial term), seemingly contributing the same semantics: these verbs share an approximativeness about the action, manifested either through the lack of a clear direction of action, lack of a specific object, or lack of specific time frame. The aspectivizer is glossed APX, and -bal- has a non-alternating stem.

316. mamtha nɔna be-u-**bal-**to
last.year last.last.year do-1s-APX-1s/3.PST
I did (these things) last year and the previous year.

317. *mamtha be-u-**bal-**to
last.year do-1s-APX-1s/3.PST
I did (these things) last year.

In looking at this pair, it seems that the second is considered ungrammatical because the time frame was reduced and therefore perhaps made too precise. In order for -*bal*- to be permissible, there had to be more vagueness with respect to the time frame of the action.

This contrasts, however, with other sentences in which a time word such as *mamtha* and aspectivizer *-bal-* are able to coexist.

318. mɯ-miŋ-ka mamtha-ka akima bhɔre wo deusi bi-m-**bal-**miri.
that-PLU-ERG last.year-TEMP 1POSS near also festival beg-3p-APX-3p.PST
They begged around near our house as well last year at the festival.

Perhaps the time word becomes permissible because of the vagueness both of the location ('near our house') and the general directionlessness of the action. On the other hand it may be grammatical here simply because *-bal-*, not being a commonly used aspectivizer, has led to some idiosyncratic usages.

Generally though, the examples all point to a lack of focus either in the direction of the action (for verbs of motion), such as in the following.

319. oraŋ-ka bante meno si-**bhal-**ly retsha
this-ERG where there teach.3s-APX-3s/3.PST N.seem
That one has taught around everywhere.

320. go mukli bhɔre ghume dym-**bhal-**ŋoro
1s Mukli near N.walk become-APX-1s.PST
I wandered everywhere around Mukli.

321. a-so bai-ra-lo bante meno kam be-u-**bal-**to,
1POSS-strength be-3s.PST-SS where there N.work do-1s-APX-1s/3.PST

atha ne so
now TOP strength

huk-ta mi-tsha-pu
finish-3s.PST NEG-be.able-1s

When I was strong I did work everywhere, now my strength is gone and I cannot.

Another possibility is the lack of purpose and goal, such as

322. mɯ tsɯtsɯ, sy lwa-sy, mɯ-nu-m-ŋa do-**bal**.
that child who see-3s/3 that-levLOC-NOM.rel-EMPH move-APX.3s
That child, whoever she sees, she moves towards.

323. mɯ khlea-ka a-je thys-**bal-**ly-m
that dog-ERG 1POSS-clothes pull-APX-3s/3.PST-NOM

bai-ra bante lɔ dzɯl-ly
be-3s.PST where go-3s place-3s/3.PST

That dog was pulling around at my clothes, where did he go put them?

The child is an aimless creature, attempting to go, perhaps not very successfully, in the direction of anything that moves. The dog is similarly unfocussed in terms of a goal, and pulls at the clothes playfully but without true aim.

Some examples are less straightforward:

324. go mɯ-llai mamtha-m-bili ne tsɯsɯ khou
1s that-DAT last.year-NOM.rel-time TOP little money

gwak-**bal-**to, atha ne gwa-mu
give-APX-1s/3.PST now TOP give-NOM.inf

ɖiɖ-to
abandon-1s/3.PST

I gave him a little money last year, and now I stopped giving.

In this case, the recipient of the money is specified, and *-bal-* is perhaps used to maintain the vagueness about the amount given, with the aspectivizer serving to downplay her contribution to this person.[16]

In the examples we have seen, and indeed all those I have collected, the general function of *-bal-* and *-bhal-* appears to be the same. Verbs with this aspectivizer lack focus, having some usually important notion unspecified, be this the location of action, the patient, the time.

[16] This sentence is peculiar to begin with, complicated by different notions of the meaning of charity from those in the West.

The other use of *bhal* is with spatial terms, and this appeared much more commonly than as an aspectivizer. It tends to be used with a nominal, and modifies it spatially, making the location more approximate, more vague.

325. ini-delphu **bhal** bi-ŋro-m bai-ra, khlea retsha.
2POSS-house.front near come-1s.PST-NOM be-3s.PST dog N.seem
I went near the front of your house, and a dog was there.

326. ɔthɔtse inima **bhal** ma haŋko ny-ra.
this.year 2POSS near grain how.much be.ripe-3s.PST
So much of the grain nearby your house got ripe this year!

In both of these examples, *bhal* follows place nouns, but it can also occur independently as a spatial term.

327. **bhal** lɔk-sa
near go-2IMP
Go off a little (but not too far)

Spatial terms in Thulung deserve much longer treatment (as is predictable considering the language is spoken in the Himalayas!), and I give these few examples of *bhal* because they show the terms used for designating space, but there too has the same property as the aspectivizer of keeping the location vague. If this is indeed the source for our aspectivizer, it would have been extended from spatial vagueness to lack of focus on other levels as well.[17]

Directional verbs

Thulung, as a good Himalayan language, has a certain number of directional verbs, which encode vertical as well as horizontal direction.[18] I include these directional verbs in this chapter because they are compound verbs, with the first verb being the main one and the auxiliary adding semantics which make the compound more precise. The list of directional compounds in Thulung is as follows:

rojomu--to arrive here from up above

rogemu--to arrive here from down below

rothimu--to arrive there (from either up, down or across)

rophamu--to arrive here (from any direction)

robimu--to arrive here (from any direction)

Some sentences illustrate their use.

328. paphlu-ku ɖil-ra **roget-toko**
Paphlu-GEN N.hill-LOC arrive.up-1pe.PST
We arrived up at the hill in Paphlu.

329. mal-to mal-to hapa hunu bhal lɔ-tsi, sɯbdi-ku lamdi-ra **rothin-tsi**
search-SC search-SC much far near go-3d, forest-GEN path-LOC arrive-3d
Searching and searching, they go very far, and arrive at the path for the forest.

The verb *ro-mu* is 'to come', and we can see that it is still the main verb in all of the above directional compounds. The verbs *jo-mu*, *ge-mu* and *bi-mu* all exist synchronically, meaning 'to come down', 'to come up', and 'to come, to get closer' respectively. *-Pha-* and *-thi-* are the two auxiliaries which I cannot identify, although Allen (1975: 74) lists both roots *-pha-* and *-thi-* as meaning "to give".

[17] This is reminiscent of English 'around' which combines with verbs to create the likes of 'fool around', 'hang around', 'beat around (the bush)'.

Aspectivizers denoting suddenness:

There is also a class of aspectivized verbs of the shape vV, where the main verb appears after the aspectivizer. All the aspectivized verbs seen above have postverbal aspectivizers, but there is a small class of aspectivizers which is made up of a preverbal aspectivizer and a main verb. They are also unusual in that these preverbal aspectivizers are limited to a single lexical item in their occurrence, never appearing (at least synchronically) with any other verb. Additionally, they all seem to add the same Aktionsart to the verbs they modify: in all cases, the preverb adds a dimension of suddenness to the aspectivized verb.

The list is as follows:

pulitsharmu--to make something fall quickly (cf tsharmu--to make fall)

lathanmu--to pull out suddenly (cf. thanmu--to pull out, vt)

tshagromu--to throw immediately (cf. gromu--to throw)

buŋswamu--to flee quickly (cf. swamu--to flee, vi)

tsɯkrwamu--to push in violently, suddenly (cf. krwamu--to push into, vt)

lebbomu--to throw someone down violently during a fight (cf. bomu--to throw in anger)

thoŋkonmu--to drench all of a sudden (cf. konmu--to make wet)

My attempts at finding any remnants of lexical items which might elucidate the preverbs were unsuccessful, although the main verb exists independently in each case. The difference in meaning between the aspectivized verb and the main verb is always one of the suddenness with which the action is carried out.

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[18] An entire book is devoted to this theme: Himalayan Space: cultural horizons and practices (edited by Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle, 1999, Voelkerkundmuseum Zuerich)

It is interesting that this language should have a number of productive aspectivizers, seen above, and then a set of completely unproductive ones as well. There is a certain inefficiency to having a number of different preverbs, in each case limited to a single lexical item, to express the same Aktionsart of suddenness. One explanation is that these are in fact onomatopeia, where the aspectivizer is in fact the rendition of the sound made when the action is carried out suddenly. This sound symbolism idea is quite appealing: the aspectivizers are perhaps not verbal at all, but rather adverbial accompaniments to better describe the swiftness of the action. This would in fact account for their position in front of the verb, as that is the position of adverbs in Thulung, as distinct from the postverbal elements which are so different in nature.

Chapter 7

CLAUSE-COMBINING

In this chapter I discuss four clause-combining strategies, two of which are based on *converbs* and another two on morphemes combining with finite verbs, which I label *sequencers*. The converb is defined as "a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination" (Haspelmath 1995: 3), and two such forms exist in Thulung for the purposes of the building of multi-clause complex sentences. Converbs are considered to be part of the inflectional paradigm by some scholars (Haspelmath 1995), yet do not contain any information about inflection, aspect, or tense. It is for this reason that they are considered non-finite (although Ebert suggests, 1999, that finiteness is scalar rather than absolute in this part of the world).

The sequencers primcombine with finite verb forms, and the verb's inflectional and tense/aspect material is therefore present (although other degrees of finiteness, such as participial forms, are sometimes seen). *-lo*, which is used in temporal subordination, is restricted to verbs, but *ma* appears with nouns as well as sentence-finally, apparently also in a conjoining function.

-to, *-saka*, *-lo*, *ma*, comprise the main mechanisms for combining clauses in Thulung[1]. They are discussed below as they appear in natural discourse situations, most of the data being taken from conversation and story narration. In my analysis of these clause-combining techniques, I conclude that both the converbs and sequencers can be used for the same, rather varied functions. In order to distinguish the clause-combining material, I use the terms anterior and simultaneous: *-saka* and *ma* fall into the anterior category, and *-to* and *-lo* are considered primarily simultaneous. What is important about these labels is that they concern the primary but not unique functions of the clause-combining suffixes and particles: the main function (in terms of frequency, but possibly also in terms of the original use of the material) of *-saka* and *ma* is to establish an anterior relationship between the marked material and that in the main clause, while the primary function of *-to* and *-lo* is to mark simultaneity between the marked clause and the main clause. These labels then serve as an indication of the most frequent function of these clause-combining materials, but what is interesting about the language in its current state is that all functions can be covered by any of these suffixes or particles. To illustrate the similarity in the range of functions of both the converbs and the sequencers, the discussion is ordered in the same way for each clause-combiner (only the categories which apply in each case are present in the relevant section): adverbial use, expression of manner, simultaneous clauses, sequential clauses, embedded quotation, periphrastic construction, recapitulation

[1] Other clause-combining phenomena include relativization, complementation, and these are treated in a

Converbs

The converbs are forms which are used in clause-chaining, indicating an asymmetrical, dependent relationship with the main clause. They are non-finite forms, with no indication of tense/aspect or verbal inflection, and their subordinate status hinges on the fact that converbal clauses cannot stand alone. Converbal forms are used for subordination of the converbal clause to the main clause of the sentence. Generally, the functions conveyed by such subordinate clauses are of manner or sequential relationship, and this is what we see in Thulung as well. Haspelmath discusses the nature of converbs in relation to *medial verbs*, and decides that these terms apply to what is most probably the same category, *converb* being the term used for languages of South Asia, while *medial verb* is used for Papuan languages.

Thulung has two converbal forms, formed from the suffixes *-to* and *-saka*. In describing their functions, our main goal will be to determine what distinguishes them.

Converb in *-to*

Converbal forms in *-to* are used primarily to encode the simultaneity of the converbal clause with the main event, but other functions include manner adverbials, sequential linking of clauses, as well as occasional use for the embedding of quotes and a periphrastic construction expressing progressive aspect. Reflecting its predominant function, I label this converb the Simultaneous Converb (which appears in glosses as SC.)

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separate chapter (Nominalization etc)

The converb in *-to* is formed by suffixing *-to* to the Stem I of alternating verbs, with the appropriate morphophonological changes on the stem to accommodate the ending. Verbs with underlying stems use the stem without the emergent phoneme but with the reduplication of the initial of the ending, as with inflected past forms. Non-alternating verbs use their single root to form the converb.

A chart shows the infinitival and converbal in *-to* forms for verbs from each stem class:

Verb type	infinitive	converb in -to[2]
Stem I in -k	rja-mu, to write	rjak-to
Stem I in -p	rem-mu, to see	rep-to
Stem I in -ɖ	sen-mu, to kill	set-to
underlying -ŋ	ɖu-mu, to drink	ɖut-to
underlying -s	lwa-mu, to see	lwat-to
underlying -i	tsa-mu, to burn	tsat-to
non-alternating in -l	mal-mu, to search	mal-to
non-alternating in -r	kur-mu, to carry	kur-to
non-alternating in -m	plym-mu, to put in water	plym-to
non-alternating in -n	mun-mu, to establish	mun-to

Table 31 Formation of converbal form in -to for various verb classes

Expression of manner

Converbs are considered to be adverbial modifiers, and the function of expressing manner is aligned with this definition. Converbal clauses with this function describe the manner in which the main event (of the clause to which the converbal clause is subordinate) is carried out. The alignment of what is primarily a simultaneous converb with the expression of manner is not limited to Thulung, and found in Chantyal (Noonan

[2] Interestingly all except for the verb types with underlying phonemes have the same form for the converb in -to and the 1s/3s past form.

1999: 405[3]), Burushaski (Tikkanen 1995: 492[4]), Bantawa (Ebert 1994: 115). In fact, the interpretation of simultaneous clauses as potentially involved in the expression of manner appears to be well-established.

330. thɯrsi **dwak-to** po-mu gwak-tytsi-ʔe
happy like-SC food-NOM.inf give-3s/3d.PST-HS
She happily fed the two of them.

331. **mi-tsap-to** wo sathi-num lɔs-ta
NEG-able-SC even N.friend-COM go-3s.PST
Even though she was (hardly) able (to follow them), she went with her friends.

A subset of the converbal manner clauses is a type of construction which involves a converbal clause followed by a main finite motion verb. In such cases, the relationship between the converbal and main clauses is very close: the same combinations of converb and motion verb are seen quite often, generally there is no lexical material inserted, and the converb is sometimes reduplicated. The motion verb behaves like an auxiliary, indicating general aspectual information about the verb which carries the semantic weight, which happens to be converbal in form. The fact that lexical material can sometimes be inserted between the clauses suggests that the grammaticalization process has not yet been carried out fully in this construction.

The motion verbs involved in this construction are the following:

-to + lɔmu (to go)

-to + romu (to come)

-to + bimu (to come)

-to + genmu (to come up)

[3] "The basic meaning of the progressive [=simultaneous] converb allows for a range of interpretations which includes the expression of manner…]

By far the most common of these constructions is that with *lɔmu*, and a few examples are shown here.

332. meram tsahi wakha wakha **mal-to** **lɔk-si**
that CONTR slowly slowly search-SC go-1pi
We're going to go search for it (ie whether the story is true) slowly.

333. **paret-to** **paret-to** **lɔs-ta-m** patshi, …
N.learn-SC N.learn-SC go-3s.PST-NOM N.after
After she went off to study, …

334. homlo tsahi meram ham dys-ta bhane
now CONTR that what become-3s.PST N.QUOT

khɔle-ka bitsar **bet-to** **lɔ-ma**-lo…
all-ERG N.think do-SC go-PST.PRT-SS

Now, though, when everyone went and thought about how that was, …

The motion verb *lɔ-mu,* 'to go' indicates the initiation of an action or even a thought process.

The verb *ro-mu*, 'to come', can sometimes imply a purposive sense to the sentence, as in the first example.

335. lo **bit-to** **rok-ta**
frog beg-SC come-3s.PST
He came begging for frogs.

In other cases, it does not add any aspectual meaning.

336. dzɔŋgɔl **dym-to** **ro-tsi**-lo
N.forest finish-SC come-3d-SS
When they come out of the forest…

337. meram wak-pa luŋ **khlɔk-to** **khlɔk-to** **bik-tsi**-lo
that shine-Npst.PRT stone follow-SC follow-SC come-3d-SS

[4] Where one set of converbs is referred to as "simultaneous same-subject temporal/manner converbs."

ʈhikɔi neb-ra luk-tsi-ʔe
N.correct house-LOC come.out-3d-HS

When they follow the shining stones they arrive home correctly.

In this example, the converb *khlɔ-mu*, 'to follow', already indicates motion. The motion verb *bimu* contributes to the sentence the directional sense of "coming", which implies a return to the point of departure, appropriately, as the children are heading home.

The verb *gen-mu* does not appear to impart any aspectual meaning.

338. u-ʈɔrbɔr khjarere **thyt-to geɖ-ɖa**-ʔe
3POSS-N.machete (onomatopeia) pull-SC come.up-3s.PST-HS
Dragging his machete along noisily, he came up.

When lexical material is inserted, there is still a sense that the construction is to be interpreted as one event rather than two separate clauses. In my data, the inserted lexical material is adverbial.

339. **mal-to mal-to** hapa hunubhal **lɔ-tsi**
search-SC search-SC much far.away go-3d
They go search very far away.

340. mɯ khlea tsɯtsɯ-num dzɔraio-lai **khlɔk-to** ŋado ŋado **lɔ**
that dog child-COM N.deer-DAT follow-SC fast fast go.3s
The dog, following the deer with the boy, goes ahead.

There are no instances of new arguments being introduced between the clauses in this type of construction.

The connection between this construction and manner is in the converb's modification of the motion verb event, to the point that the semantically fuller verb aquires the converbal form.

Simultaneous clauses

Converbal phrases can also be used to describe an event occurring at the same time as that of the main verb, describing two simultaneously occurring events.

341. mepma mepmam dykha **bet-to**, bɔlla kitsɯ
like.that like.that N.difficulty do-SC , N.finally a.little

neŋ-gunu tsɯpnu be-pa dys-ta.
house-inside ouside do-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST

While I was struggling, she finally grew to be able to do a little [work] inside and outside the house.

342. go tsahi ɔnek **mal-to**, mebɔre bante
1s CONTR N.everywhere search-SC , all.around where

sɯl-ka djak-ty
leave-INSTR cover-3s.PST

As I looked around, everywhere leaves covered [the ground].

343. "…" rak-to baikhere **bet-to** kwa ɖeb-ry-ʔe- lo
say-SC mutter do-SC mud pound-3s.PST-HS-SS

"tsjartsjar" rak-ta-ʔe
[onomatopeia] say-3s.PST-HS

When, muttering "…", he pounded the mud, the sound "ciarciar" came out.

344. u-bahini **khrap-to** u-dadzju-lai sɯi-ry-ʔe
3POSS-N.sister cry-SC 3POSS-N.o.brother-DAT tell-3s/3s.PST-HS

"hom hom rak-ta ŋami-ka gana-lai"
"like.this like.this say-3s.PST hag-ERG 2s-DAT"

His sister, crying, told her brother "the hag said these kinds of things about you…"

These examples are just a few which illustrate the use of the converb in *-to* to express simultaneously occurring events. The difference with converbal manner clauses is that with a manner situation, the arguments are the same across both clauses, a requirement which is not made of simultaneous clauses. Simultaneous clauses usually refer to completely distinct events in each clause.

Sequential clauses

Converbal clauses can also chain events into a sequence.[5] This is significantly different from the relationship brought about by a converb used to express manner or simultaneity. A similar relationship between a primarily simultaneous converb and the expression of sequence is seen in Chantyal (Noonan 1999: 407-8[6])

345. krisi kam **bet-to**, 'british army' lɔ-ŋro
N.farmer N.work do-SC, British Army go-1s.PST
I did farmer's work, and then went to the British Army.

346. mɯ tsɯtsɯ-mim ne khɔtle **lɔk-to,** **pet-to**, mɯ u-bala-mim
those child-PLU TOP all bring-SC eat-SC that 3POSS-N.bracelet-PLU

tsɔŋra orar-ra ba-i-thal-la-ʔe
after N.cave-LOC stay-3s-HAB-3s.PST-HS

The children were brought to the cave, eaten, and their bracelets remained in the cave afterwards.

347. a-tsɔŋtsɔŋ bi, koibela ne, pɔrke be-u-mim ni,
1POSS-back come.3s N.sometimes TOP N.hit do-1s/3s-NOM N.well,

neholo **pɔrke bet-to**-m u-pap-ka dzɔndai seʈ-ŋiri
once N. hit do-SC-NOM.rel 3POSS-father-ERG N.nearly kill-3s/1s.PST

[5] This is similar to the use of the -te form in Japanese.
[6] The progressive converb -kəy can sometimes be used to express a sequence of events.

She comes on my back, and sometimes I hit her, and once I hit her and her father nearly killed me.

The above three examples cannot be interpreted in any way but as sequential clauses. In the first example, being a farmer and joining the army cannot cooccur, and must therefore be sequentially related. The third example shows an action (hitting the child) which brings on another, a causal relationship which must also be sequential.

In some cases of sequential events, a certain amount of ambiguity exists as to whether we have a converb or otherwise inflected verb, because the ending for the 1s/3s.PST form of transitive verbs is also *-to*. Examples such as the following are ambiguous as to whether or not the verbs are inflected and the clauses are apposed, or whether instead it is converbs which are chained.

348. hɔʈɔr be-utoma rukh-ɖola hu-ŋro ma, ghas **phɔl-to**
N.hurry do-1s/3s.PST-AS N.tree-above climb-1s AS, N.grass cut-SC?

nɔl **hip-to** ɖale phɔl-to.
N.millet cut-SC? N. leaves cut-1s/3s.PST.

I hurried and climbed into the tree, and cut grass, and cut millet, and cut leaves.

Because the converb in *-to* has the function of chaining sequentially, as well as simultaneously, the ambiguity is unimportant, as the interpretation of the sentence remains the same either way. The sequential function is interesting for a converb, which, as an adverbial modifier, seems like it is more natural for adverbial modifiers to express manner than simultaneity. It is conceivable that the ambiguity described above, with the similarity of the converb in *-to* to the very commonly recurring 1s/3s.PST inflection, could have resulted in the extension of the converb in *-to* to sequential use.

Embedded quotations

The "double say" construction is fairly common in South Asian languages for the embedding of direct quotation: a special form of the verb functions as the quotative, signalling the embedding of what precedes, and it is followed by a finite form of another verb of utterance. This type of construction occurs in Thulung, with the converb *rakto* as the quotative marker, but it occurs very infrequently. Direct speech is much more often embedded with no quotative marker at all. One possibility for the cases where the quotative does appear is that it is due to contact influence of Nepali, which always uses a quotative.

349. "subupoka tɔ-ŋi pari ku-ka dɔ-ŋi" **rak-to**
cock crow-3s/1s heaven water-INSTR wet-3s/1s" say-SC

baikhere bet-to kwa ɖeb-ry-lo….
mutter do-SC mud pound-3s/3s.PST-SS…

When, muttering "the cock will crow for me, and the heavens will wet me", he pounded the ground….

However, this quotative construction does not occur with any great consistency, and more often, the embedded quote is merely inserted directly into the text unmarked.

A simple example shows this, and any number of examples could illustrate the lack of a quotative marker equally well.

350. mɯpatshi ne « gana ne bhɔʈuwa re hunu lɔk-sa »
after TOP « 2s TOP N.nomad FOC there go-2IMP »

bem-ri ma, mɯɖɖam-ka
do-3p.PST AS, they-ERG

khaʈ-pa dym-miri.
chase-Npst.PRT become-3p.PST

After that, « you, nomad, leave », they said, and they prepared to chase him away.

The verb of utterance is simply *bomu*, 'to do', but the reading as direct quotation is clear from the use of the pronoun (in a story where participants are otherwise all third persons) and context.

Periphrastic construction

Converbs are often used in periphrastic constructions, with a locative or existential copula (Haspelmath 1995: 43). The converb in *-to* is used in such a construction with an auxiliary, *lenmu*, rather than with a copula. This verb does not, as far as I was able to determine, have any meaning synchronically and is limited to two constructions: the periphrastic construction with the converb in *-to* (discussed presently), and also as an aspectivizer, -le[7], inserted into verbs to form aspectivized constructions, with a resultative reading.

In the construction with the converb, no lexical material[8] can be inserted between the converbal form and *lenmu*, which implies the monoclausal nature of the combination and suggests a process of grammaticalization.

351. liser **sit-to le-ry**
millet bear-SC aux-3s.PST
The millet is bearing fruit.

[7] This is discussed in the chapter on Aspectivizers: -le- is the auxiliary *lenmu,* which is the same verb we see here.
[8] Except, in one instance, for an emphasis marker *ŋa*. This has parallels to the other converb also used in a periphrastic construction, -saŋa bumu, to form the progressive.

352. tɔrɔ homlo tsahi **manet-to leɖ-ma** tsahi pɔrɔmpɔra
N.but now CONTR respect-SC aux-Pst.PART CONTR N.tradition

ɔnusar-ka bia bi-lo….
N.according-INSTR N.marriage do.1pi-SS

But now when those of us who believe [in Hindu religion] get married…

353. kirati-ka homlo sɔmma ʈika sadharan **bat-to len-mi**
Kiranti-ERG now N.until N.tika N.simple wear-SC aux-3p
Kirantis until now are wearing simple tikas.

This construction conveys a progressive aspectual meaning. However, the most common means of forming the progressive is another periphrastic construction, involving the other converb, in *-saka*. Although the *lenmu* construction also appears to be progressive, it is used much less frequently. This comes across most noticeably in the following excerpt (taken from a discussion on the improvement of society)

354. meram wo kɔrmɔsa sɔrkɔr-ka **be-saŋa le-ry**.
that also N.gradually N.government-ERG do-AC+EMPH aux-3s.PST.

ɔthɔwa mɔntri-miŋ- ka **bet-to-ŋa len-mi**. dzɔnta-ka
N.or N.minister-PLU-ERG do-SC-EMPH aux-3p. N.people-ERG

wo mag **bet-to-ŋa len-mi**. tɔrɔ
also N.demand do-SC-EMPH aux-3p. N.but

homlo-m ama udes tsahi ku-kam sɔmɔsja
now-REL 1POSS N.aim CONTR water-GEN N.problem

wo sɔmadhan **dym-saŋa le-ry**
also N.solution finish-AC+EMPH aux-3s.PST

That too the government is doing gradually. Or the ministers are doing it. Also, the people are making this demand. But my current goal is getting a solution to our water problem.

Throughout this excerpt, the speaker is using the progressive, and keeps alternating between the constructions in -*to* and in -*saŋa*, both followed by the auxiliary *lenmu*.

Thus the converb in -*to* can be used to form a periphrastic construction which signals progressive aspect. It appears to be completely equivalent to another converb-based progressive which we will see at the end of the next section on the converb in -*saka*.

Converb in -*saka*

The second converb in Thulung is a form in -*saka*. Ebert, using other Kiranti data (1999: 375), has the converbal suffix for Thulung as -*sa*, which she calls the 'non-specialized[9]', and suggests that where -*saka* is found, it is most probably a combination of -*sa* and a temporal marker, -*ka* (Ebert 1994: 116). However, I chose to say that synchronically the converb is of the form -*saka*: regardless of the origin of the -ka, it has become absorbed into the construction to the point of no longer maintaining separate semantics: the converb in -*saka* covers a range of functions, not just temporal (as would be implied if -*ka* were treated as a separate morpheme) and should now be considered to be of the form -*saka* rather than just -*sa*. There is a remnant of the converbal form being -*sa*, and that is found in a periphrastic expression to convey progressive aspectual meaning, which we will discuss below.

The following paragraphs explore the various functions of -*saka*. For the purpose of comparison, the order in which these functions are presented is the same as with the simultaneous converb, in -*to*, and is not an expression of relative prominence as a

function. After carefully reviewing the evidence, I feel that the converb in -*saka* is predominantly used for sequential clause-combining. When I asked my informant for a simple, example sentence with the converb in -*saka*, I got the following.

355. go bian **pe-saka**, bi-ŋro.
1s N.morning eat-AC come-1s.PST
Having eaten in the morning, I came.

I interpret this as indicating that although this converb can be found in a number of functions, as we see below, its primary function is to sequence clauses by marking one event as anterior to the other. I therefore call this converb the anterior converb (labelled AC in glosses).

The converb in -*saka* is formed by suffixing -*saka* to the Stem I of alternating verbs when these are in -k or in -p. Verbs with Stem I in -ɖ use Stem II instead for this converbal form. Verbs with underlying stems use the stem without the emergent phoneme and with no reduplication (such as is found in past forms): the same stem is used as is found in the infinitive. Non-alternating verbs use their single root to form the converb.

A chart shows the infinitival and converbal in -*saka* forms for verbs from each stem class:

[9] The fact that both converbal forms are found in a number of similar functions implies that they are both 'contextual' (as per Nedjalkov 1995), and therefore non-specialized.

Verb type	Infinitive	converb in -saka
Stem I in -k	rja-mu, to write	rjak-saka
Stem I in -p	rem-mu, to see	rep-saka
Stem I in -ɖ	sen-mu, to kill	se-saka
underlying -ŋ	ɖu-mu, to drink	ɖu-saka
underlying -s	lwa-mu, to see	lwa-saka
underlying -i	tsa-mu, to burn	tsa-saka
non-alternating in -l	mal-mu, to search	mal-saka
non-alternating in -r	kur-mu, to carry	kur-saka
non-alternating in -m	plym-mu, to put in water	plym-saka
non-alternating in -n	mun-mu, to establish	mun-saka

Table 32 Formation of converbal form in -saka for various verb classes

Thus the only verb types which use their more phonologically complex stem to form this converb are verbs with Stem I in -k or -p. All others use the simpler stem (for those verb types where there are more than one.)

Expression of manner

The following examples show the converb in *-saka* when it participates in a manner clause, modifying the event in the main clause. The participation of what is primarily an anterior converb in the expression of manner is also found in Chantyal (Noonan 1999: 410[10].)

356. **lamdi-saka** lɔk-si
walk-AC go-1pi
Let's go by walking.

357. **lamdi-saka** rem-mu basi-ʔe
walk-AC look-NOM.inf OBL-HS
They say we must look on foot. (in the context of looking meaning sightseeing)

358. **bamakor be-saka** lamdi-ra-m
crawl do- AC walk-3s.PST-NOM
He got there by crawling.

359. brɔpa po-mu **gwak-saka** posen-mu tsɯm-ry-ʔe
good eat-NOM.inf give-AC fatten-NOM.inf begin-3s/3s.PST
By feeding him good food she began to fatten him up.[11]

The sentences where the converbal clause is indicating manner cannot have different subject arguments across the clauses: manner describes how an action is carried out, and subject coreference is a requirement in this type of situation.

The above examples are all cases of manner converbal clauses, yet I found that statistically, converbal manner clauses in *-saka* are not as frequent as those in *-to*. There is however a class of manner adverbs which are formed with this morpheme. They differ from converbs in that the suffix does not attach to a verb root, but rather to a deictic marker or question word. Thus we have the following forms.

hesaka, 'how'

homsaka, 'like this'

memsaka, 'like that'

Examples of these in sentences follow.

360. make oram nani gɔs-ta-m bela-ka homsaka
long.ago this N.child be.born-3s.PST-NOM N.time-TEMP like.this

ko-le mam-num guku bat-toko.
one-CL mother-COM 1pe live-1pe.PST

Long ago, when this child was born, we lived like this, with one mother (ie grandmother).

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[10] Noonan uses the term 'sequential' converb where I use 'anterior', and gives examples where this converb is used to describe manner.

[11] This sentence could be interpreted as sequential as well, but it seems to me that the logic of the situation makes the converbal clause expressive of the manner with which the second event is carried out.

361. “o ne ma… go-ŋa mini, hesaka mur mi-neŋ-ŋu? »
this TOP AS… 1s-EMPH human, how odor NEG-smell-1s
This, well, I am human, how can I not emit [such a] smell ? »

362. u-miksi-ra memsaka-ŋa suk-ty-ʔe
3POSS-eye-LOC like.that stick.in-3s/3.PST-HS
She stuck it into his eye like that.

These adverbs, with their irregular form combining a nominal element with the converbal ending, are most probably derived from a contraction of *he besaka*, how do-AC, *hopmam besaka*, like-this do-AC, *mepmam besaka*, like-that do-AC. This is a possible explanation for the presence of the converbal ending on deictics and question words, and the fact that the resulting words are manner adverbials fits with one of the functions of the converb in *-saka* (although manner is not the prototypical function for this converb).

Sequential clauses

The marking of an element within a sequence is another function of the converb in *-saka*. The frequency of its occurrence in this function convinces me that this is its primary role.

363. homlo tsahi **sipa-ku nɔŋ be-saka** twak-ka
Now CONTR dead-GEN name do-AC self-ERG

pe-pa tshɔlɔn bai-ra.
eat-Npst.PRT N.habit be-3s.PST

Now (at that time) there was a custom of calling the dead’s name and then eating the meat oneself.

364. **hunulam athɯlam je-ka bop-saka**
that.side this.side clothes-INSTR stuff-AC

gɔt-to ma kam be-uto
set-1s/3s.PST AS N.work do-1s/3s.PST

I stuffed clothes all around here, set her down, and did my work.

These two examples are fairly straightforward, in that they chain two actions, the first of which is converbal in form. It is also possible to have a sequence of more than one converb, resulting in a more involved chain of events.

365. make sɔlla **dzak-saka**
long.ago N.tree cut-AC

khoteghar **bɔne-saka**
N.torch make-AC

meraŋ-ka rako-kam bɔtti tsa-saka baʈ-pa
that-INSTR N.flame-GEN N.candle burn-AC be-Npst.PRT

tshɔlɔn wo bai-ra
N.custom even be-3s.PST

Long ago, there was even a custom of cutting a tree, making a torch, and burning it.

It is also possible to have sequential converbal clauses with different arguments, as the following example shows.

366. bloku-ju-m ku **khe-saka**, pe-m-thal-miri
river-lowLOC-NOM water emerge-AC, drink-3p-HAB-3p/3s.PST
When the water had come up from out of the river, they drank it.

367. memma meram tsahi ɔsinɖa **bik-saka**, gu-ka mɯ khlambe
then that CONTR here come-SC 3s-ERG that spell

kwiba han-saka ɔbɔ mina **se-saka** ɖu-m parne.
bad.spirits throw-AC N.now thing kill-AC drink-NOM N.OBL

After that, that one would have come here and thrown out the bad spirits and killed them, and then they were to drink.

The sentence above shows that converbal clauses in sequence can combine transitive and intransitive verbs. The subject in all clauses is the same, but because the first converb is intransitive, whereas the next two are transitive, the agent must be restated for the second clause and given the appropriate ergative marker.

One interesting difference between the two converbs which arises out of this is that the anterior converb can be used to string quite a few clauses together, something which occurs less frequently with the simultaneous converb. It seems to me that this is a matter of the primary functions the two converbs convey: events which are sequential can form much longer chains of clauses than can simultaneous clauses, which are limited by how many events can cooccur (while contextually close enough to merit discussion in the same sentence.)

Embedded quotations

As was the case with -*to*, the use of -*saka* in quotational contexts is occasional and not at all consistent, and the quotes are most often embedded without the use of a quotation marker. Two instances of the quotative were with the verbs 'to know' and 'to make a bet', both marginally verbs which can use a quotative, the first, as a verb of cognition and the second as a verb of utterance. The problem with interpreting *raksaka* as a quotative in these cases is that it would imply the grammaticalization of *raksaka* into a full quotational which does not retain its semantics as a converb. What makes this seem unlikely is precisely the fact that the use of *raksaka* (or *rakto*) is not obligatory and even fairly infrequent, even with simple utterance verbs such as 'to say'.

368. thuluŋ-ka tha lwas-ty pɔila-ŋa oram rok-ta ma
Thulung-ERG N.know see-3s/3.PST N.first-EMPH this come-3s/3.PST AS

bu-mim **rak-saka** tha lwas-ty.
stay.3s-NOM.rel say-AC N.know see-3s/s.PST

The Thulung understood, he understood that this one came first and would stay.

While the grammaticalization of *raksaka* into a full quotational seems unlikely because of its infrequency of occurrence, the above sentence does seem to show a fairly abstract quotative in *raksaka*, as the verb 'to say' as a full verb does not have a place in the sentence. Likewise with the use of *raksaka* in the next sentence.

369. uhem ŋado rothi meraŋ-ka tsahi oram ʈau-ra
he.who first come.3s that-ERG CONTR this place-LOC

baʈ-pa **rak-saka** hoʈ be-mri
stay-Npst.PRT say-AC bet do-3p/3.PST

They bet that he who came first, he would stay in this place.

Periphrastic progressive construction

The converb is also involved in a periphrastic construction with progressive aspectual meaning. In this construction, the form of the converb is in *-sa*, augmented with an emphasis marker *-ŋa*, and followed by an inflected copula. The use of a converb as the main verb in a periphrastic construction to express aspectual meaning is common (Haspelmath 1995: 43[12]).

370. or-tsip ɔm-tsi-m bela-ka boro pakhara
this-DU sleep-3d-NOM.rel N.time-TEMP frog outside

lu-mu **mal-saŋa** **bu**.
go.out-NOM.inf search-AC+EMPH be-3s

While the two sleep, the frog is trying to get outside.

371. anebdika pare-pa-ka ʈau-ŋa **mi-lwa-saŋa** **bu-mi**.
nowadays study-Npst.PRT-ERG N.place-EMPH NEG-find-AC+EMPH be-3p
Nowadays people who study are not finding jobs.

The auxiliary *lenmu* can also replace the copula, with the same aspectual meaning.[13]

372. homlo dasai **mane-saŋa** **len-ku**.
now Dasai N.respect-AC+EMPH aux-1pe
Now, we are celebrating Dasai.

373. sintsai-kam subidha wo **dym-saŋa** **le-ry**.
N.irrigation-GEN N.facilities also become-AC+EMPH aux-3s
Irrigation facilities are also coming into being.

As discussed above, in the section on periphrastic constructions from the converb in *-to*, *lenmu* is currently bleached of meaning, which allows it to appear in this construction functioning as an auxiliary.

Summary of converbs

The two converbal forms share the same range of possible functions (except that *-to* can additionally express simultaneity), and as such appear to be *contextual*, in the sense of Nedjalkov (1995), whose typology of converbs divides them into *specialized* (with one or two meanings), *contextual* (with "three or more adverbial meanings, realized

[12] Haspelmath gives examples of the converb used to make periphrastic progressives in Spanish, Limbu and Tamil, showing that this is a cross-linguistic pattern.

under certain conditions" (106)) and *narrative* (which "express a coordinative connection that advances the narrative" (106)). Despite being contextual, these two converbs do appear to favour one particular function, and the terms I use for them, 'anterior' and 'simultaneous', reflect that primary function.

Sequencers

What I call the sequencers, *-lo* and *ma*, are in many ways equivalent to the converbs, pairing with them well: in the same way that *-to* was the simultaneous converb and *-saka* the anterior, the sequencers also pattern into what is primarily simultaneous clause chaining, achieved with suffix *-lo*, and primarily sequential chaining, with *ma*.

The main difference between the converbs and sequencers, given that they pattern similarly, is one of finiteness: the converbal constructions are non-finite, whereas the sequencers follow finite forms of verbs.[14] The issue of finiteness is significant in that whereas converbal clauses have an asymmetrical, dependent relationship to the main inflected verb, the clauses marked by sequencers could stand independently as main clauses (minus the sequencers of course).

The sequencers are used to create clauses which have the same functions as the converbal clauses: they too are used to express manner, simultaneity of events, sequences of events, as well as, in a limited capacity, to embed quotations. Additionally,

[13] It seems highly significant that lenmu appears in the periphrastic construction with the converb in *-to* (but in that case, the copula was not a possibility.)

[14] It is interesting to note the parallel between the pairing of finite and non-finite clause-combining forms, on the one hand, and the pairing of finite and non-finite relativizing techniques on the other. In both cases, there seems to be very little difference between the techniques apart from their finiteness.

the sequencers are both used for recapitulation, something which the converbs cannot do in Thulung but commonly do in other related languages (such as Dolakha Newar: Genetti, pc).

As to the nature of the sequencer clauses, they appear to be different. One of the tests for coordinate versus subordinate clauses is that the coordinate cannot have their order reversed, as the tense iconicity involved would result in a different scenario (Haspelmath 1995: 13). Clauses with *-lo* can be postposed to the other clause, while those in *ma* cannot, so there is a discrepancy between them in this respect. Adding to the evidence that *ma* is used to form coordinate clauses, while *-lo* forms subordinate clauses, are restrictiveness and focusability, both of which are characteristics of subordinate but not coordinate clauses. Only subordinates may be interpreted restrictively, narrowing the reference of the main clause, with the use of restrictive markers such as 'also', 'only', 'even', and focus markers (Haspelmath 1995: 15). While clauses in *ma* are not restricted in this way, *-lo* clauses are often followed by the topic marker *ne*, or by *wo*, 'also', leading to the interpretation that *-lo* clauses are subordinate, while *ma* clauses are coordinate.

There is also a difference in the morphological nature of the two: -lo is a suffix, which is affixed to the verb forms it modifies. There are morphophonological changes at the boundaries of affixation: the combination of ra-ŋu (say-1s) and -lo results in elipsis of the verb-ending final -u, giving raŋlo. The boundedness of -lo to the verb form is probably also what allows the -lo marked clause to be restricted with *wo,* 'also' and the topic marker. ma on the other hand appears to be a particle: there are no morphophonological changes operating on the preceding word, and the class of words it

follows is much wider than that for -lo. ma can occur sentence-initially, and also following NPs (in cases of rearranged word order).

Yet because of the shared functions of these clauses, and the fact that in post-verbal position, there is characteristic finiteness of the verb, I categorize -lo and ma together, with the label *sequencers*. The choice of this term is intended to be more neutral than *conjunctions*, which because of their presence in Indo-European languages, are subject to a certain number of preconceptions. 'Sequencer' is intended to be neutral enough to cover particles used in the formation of coordinate clauses, on the one hand, and subordinate on the other. Yet it is also intended to convey the idea that these particles are involved in clause-combining operations, joining clauses together with a number of different semantic results.

Sequencer *-lo*

The simultaneous sequencer is -lo, as the term described its primary function. It follows finite forms of verbs. I gloss *-lo* : SS (Simultaneous Sequencer).

Temporal adverbs

We saw that the converb in *-saka* was used in the formation of manner adverbs, probably arising from a contraction of a deictic or question word and the converbal form of the verb 'to do'. The same is true for *lo*, which can also be combined with deictics to form adverbs. Unlike those in *-saka*, these adverbs are temporal in nature, in keeping with the nature of *-lo* as temporally-relevant subordinator. While only the first two in the

list are transparent, the fact that *-lo* is present in other temporal adverbs is significant, even if the individual morphemes can no longer be identified.

memlo, at that time <like that

homlo, at this time, now <like this

hellolo, daily

malo, just

jaŋlo, sometimes

These adverbs are used with great frequency in story-telling, often occurring at the beginning of sentences, connecting them with the continuation of the narrative.

Interestingly, I have found some of these adverbs supplemented with the temporal marker *-ka*, such as *memloka*. The speakers who add *-ka* to *memlo* must feel that there is a need to reinforce the temporal nature of the adverb.

Simultaneous clauses

The following examples show *-lo* clauses in a simultaneous relationship with the event of the main clause. This is the primary function of *-lo* clauses

374. memlo tsahi **khirsi-m-thal-miri-lo** waŋmim
then CONTR walk.around-3p-HAB-3p.PST-SS someone

waŋmim prɔtsɯ-num tsahi unima gumi grɯm-miri-ʔe
someone Rai-COM CONTR 3POSS 3p meet-3p/3p.PST-HS

At that time, while they were walking, they met other Rais.

375. **ɔm-miri-lo** **ne** wossɯ u-tsysy-lai hala
sleep-3p.PST-SS TOP male 3POSS-grandchild-DAT above

bhar-ɖola am-ry-ʔe.
N.rack-above sleep-3s/3s.PST-HS

While they slept, she put her male grandchild to sleep up above on top of the rack (above the hearth).

Both examples involve a non-punctual verb in the *-lo* clause, creating a time frame within which another event can occur leading to two events taking place at the same time.

376. ɔbɔ bia bi-**lo** prɔtsɯ-kam ɔthɔwa kirati-kam wo
N.and N.marriage do-1pi-SS Rai-GEN N.or Kiranti-GEN also

phalʈo-ŋa ɖymla dys-thal-la, si-lo
N.different-EMPH culture become-HAB-3s.PST die-1pi -SS

ɖymla phalʈo-ŋa.
culture N.different-EMPH

When we have a marriage, of a Rai or even of a Kiranti, the culture was carried out differently, when we die, the culture is different.

This example leads to an interesting situation, because of the different nature of the verbs appearing in the two *-lo* clauses. The first clause, concerning marriage, is about a non-punctual event, which allows the interpretation of the following clause (‘doing the culture’) to be simultaneous. The second *-lo* clause though is about dying, which is, in Thulung, a liminal verb--in other words it cannot be interpreted as a process. ‘Doing the culture’ in this context cannot occur at the same time, but must follow the death instead, because the nature of the verb ‘to die’ in Thulung does not allow for a durative reading (which would in turn allow the following clause to be interpreted as simultaneous.)

The result of this situation is that the *-lo* clauses in this sentence must be analyzed differently, with the first, regarding marriage, as cooccurrent with the appropriate cultural activities , and the second, regarding death , as in a sequential relationship with the

following description of cultural events. What this does is redefine the term *simultaneous* which is being applied to these *-lo* clauses: by *simultaneous*, what is meant is that the events occur within the same overall time frame, which is contextually defined, and might receive the English translation 'at the time of X'. This is, in fact, the alternative which Thulung speakers use, namely the loan expression from Nepali, *bela-ka*, meaning 'at the time of', which often appears where one might expect a clause in *-lo*.

This redefinition enables us to apply the term *simultaneous* to almost all examples of *-lo* clauses (apart from the other categories, namely embedded quotation and recapitulation). If we try to distinguish between events occurring simultaneously and sequentially, in *-lo* clauses, it turns out that such makes no sense: *-lo* is used to create clauses which can be chained to others in order to express the temporal relevance of the events. This temporal relevance is a matter of either exact simultaneity or temporal proximity of such a nature as to occur within the same time frame.

The following examples show events which are sequentially linked, but so closely temporally that it makes sense in the context of the sentence to call the events simultaneous (as per the definition above.)

377. gumi-ka happa mu **hoʈ-miri-lo** mɯ luŋ-ra mwasy
3p-ERG much fire blow-3p.PST-SS that stone-LOC soot

kems-ta ma ɔkoko jepa dys-ta-m bai-ra.
cover-3s.PST AS that.much high become-3s.PST-NOM be.PST

When they started a lot of fire, the soot covered that stone and went high up.

While the fire must be started and burn for a while before the soot accumulates on the wall; in the context of the general story, these events are temporally linked in such a way

as to be considered simultaneous, as signalled by the choice of *-lo* to join the clauses together.

378. noktsho **get-tsi-lo** mɯ-gora-m mɯ
shaman come.up-3d.PST-SS that-around-NOM.rel that

pokhari-ra-m deuta-ka thunyry-tsi-ʔe…
N.pond-LOC-NOM N.god-ERG stop-3s/3d.PST-HS

Once the shamans came up, the god from the pond around there stopped them [from going to the water]

This example as well describes what is actually a sequence of two events, the god stopping the shamans only after their arrival in the area. But *-lo* indicates that what is relevant about the connection between the clauses is that they are combined into what is seen as one continuous event, and can therefore be thought of as simultaneous.

Every example of *-lo* used for clause-chaining, other than examples which fit into the following two categories, can be seen to fit into this same pattern. Regardless of the exact nature of the connection between the events (dictated by logic and nature), *-lo* indicates that the relationship between them is for all intents and purposes simultaneous temporally, and the sencond clause is to be interpreted in the context of the time frame of the first, *-lo*-marked, clause.

Embedded quotations

As we saw with the two converbs, Thulung does not usually resort to the use of a quotative, although the 'double-say' construction is a typical means of embedding quotes in South Asian languages. What we find with *-lo* is that it is not used as a quotative per se but as a means of marking conversational exchange. This follows from the function

we saw in the last section, which is the labeling of the clauses as temporally tightly connected. The following exemplifies the use of *-lo* in showing dialogue exchange.

379. "gana haŋa homsaka ɔno ne meʔe ɔno lɔ-tsi" rak-ta-**lo**,
2s why like.this this.way TOP no this.way go-1d say-3s.PST-SS

u-ritsikuma-ka "meʔe…" rak-ta-ʔe ma meno lɔk-tsi-ʔe
3POSS-sister-ERG no… say-3s.PST-HS AS that.way go-3d-HS

When he said "Why do you [do] this? It's not this way, let's go this way", his sister said "No,…" and they went that (other) way.

This example is absolutely typical of conversational exchanges, with *-lo* on the verb of utterance signaling a response that follows the first statement, establishing a dialogue.

Another similar example is the following.

380. "ane ham ho ko-le mesem u-breptsɯ wo ɔnu hik-ty ma
today what N.be one-CL woman 3POSS-finger also this.way return-3s.PST AS

tɯlɯmram gele lɔs-ta" **raŋ-ro-lo** "ʔe, lwan-na gana wo"
quickly up go-3s.PST say-1s.PST-SS oh see-2s/3s.PST 2s also

ra-mri sɔsura-ka
say-3p.PST N.father.in.law-ERG

When I said "What is it today, a woman whose fingers pointed this way returned and quickly went uphill." my father-in-law said "Oh, you saw her as well…"

And again the same exchange of dialogue is signalled by *-lo* in the following.

381. "ɔgora go re dzogeb-ra dzogeb-ra" **ra-ŋ-lo ne**
this.inside 1s FOC N.preserve-PURP preserve-PURP say-1s/3s-SS TOP

"maimpi, a-tsysy re" rwa.
Auntie 1POSS-grandchild FOC say.3s

"I'll be protecting him inside here" I say, and she says " Auntie, it's my grandchild"

This is seen again and again in the embedding of direct quotes that are part of an exchange. Although this section is entitled 'embedded quotation', *-lo* clauses are not used in a quotative function: as with the converbs, the quote is most often directly embedded without the use of a subordinate form of the utterance verb. Embedded quotation does however get marked by *-lo* suffixed to the verb of utterance to signal an exchange of information, involving an interaction between several speakers.

Recapitulation

Recapitulation is often accomplished by means of a loan construction, in which the main verb of the preceding clause is nominalized and loan word *-patshi* ('after') is added. Whereas *patshi*, 'after', implies that the recapitulated action is completed, the Tibeto-Burman recapitulation technique does not, restating the action without necessarily implying the degree of completion. Nevertheless, it appears that the reason for the decrease in the use of native recapitulation strategies is a result of the increasing presence of the loan structure.

382. Deusa-nu-m darim popnar ra-ma dadzju
deusa-levelLOC-NOM.rel Darim Popnar say-Pst.PRT N.o.brother

bhai noktsho get-tsi. noktsho **get-tsi-lo**…
N.y.brother shaman go.up-3d.PST. shaman go.up-3d.PST-SS …

A pair of brother magicians called Darim and Popnar came across from Deusa. When the magicians came up…

383. sintha dys-ta-m patshi, u-lwak khrab-ra-ʔe.
night become-3s.PST-NOM N.after 3POSS-y.sister cry-3s.PST-HS.

ɔni u-lwak
N.and 3POSS-y.sister

khrab-ɖa-lo wa-ka rak-ta-ʔe: mi-khrab-ɖa
cry-3s.PST-SS o.brother-ERG say-3s/3s.PST-HS: NEG-cry-2IMP

After it became night, his younger sister cried. And when his younger sister cried, the brother said "Don't cry"

This is a classic Tibeto-Burman pattern, of recapitulating the previous sentence at the beginning of the next, and it gives a cohesion to the narrative. While this is done with converbs in some languages (such as Dolakha Newari, Genetti, pc), in this case, the converbs cannot perform this function and a *-lo* clause is used instead. It does not, however, occur with the frequency that it does in languages such as Lahu (Matisoff, trickster paper), but rather in fairly isolated instances.

Sometimes recapitulation involves some manipulation of the form in which the material last appeared.

384. ŋo-ka ne mɯ u-khel khreɖ-ɖa geɖ-ɖa-recha-ʔe.
fish-ERG TOP that 3POSS-leg bite-PURP come-3s.PST-N.seem-HS.

u-khel **khreɖ-ɖy-lo ne**…
3POSS-leg bite-3s/3s.PST-SS TOP

A fish came to bite his leg. When it bit his leg…

In this case the use of *-lo* is a little different from mere recapitulation: while the previous sentence has 'to bite' in a purposive form, the recapitulation instead changes the form of the verb to a past form which no purposive.

Elsewhere, a verb form is changed from a present participle into a past form for recapitulation.

385. "…" rak-saka, gu-ka nia be-pa dys-ta. nia
say-AC 3s-ERG N.justice do-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST. N.justice

by-ry-lo, ham by-ry-ʔe bhane…
do-3s/3s.PST-SS, what do-3s/3s.PST-HS N.if

Saying "…", he prepared to do justice. When he did justice, when you ask how he did it,…

The recapitulation therefore not only sums up the action of the last sentence but places it into the form which is most natural for narrative flow into what follows. Recapitulation becomes a process of reworking the grammatical choices so they are available in a tangible form to the audience.

Sometimes, new information is worked into the recapitulative clause.

386. ɔni mɔdes-laŋka mɔdise geɖ-ɖa gupsy dys-ta ma,
N.and Tarai-ABL Tarai.person come-3s.PST tiger become-3s.PST AS

mɔdise gupsy dys-ta ma hui tserkhu gele
tara.person tiger become-3s.PST AS down Cerkhu up

geɖ-ɖa-ʔe-lo ne
come.up-3s.PST-HS-SS TOP …

Then a Tarai person came up from the Tarai, he changed into a tiger, the Tarai person changed into a tiger and when he came up from down at Cerkhu…

Whereas the information was initially just 'come up from the Tarai', when it is recapitulated more specific information is added (such as the town of origin). Thus recapitulation also provides a way of enhancing the narrative as it is being produced, of adding information that is deemed to be relevant during the course of the story.

Sequencer *ma*

As a clause-coordinator, *ma* is particle which is in clause-final position in a clause which is followed by another clause. The result is two (or more) temporally conjoined clauses, the order of which is important is understanding their temporal relationship. I call *ma* the anterior sequencer (AS in glosses), for the reason that I believe its primary function is to create a relationship between two clauses whereby the marked clause is temporally anterior to the following. The result of this is that *ma* is most often seen to link clauses sequentially.

In some rare instances of unusual clause word order, *ma* follows a noun. This is what suggests that its nature is different from that of -lo, which suffixes directly to verbal forms.

387. gagri kur-pa krɔ-lai "pani ɖoko"
N.pot carry-Npst.PRT long.basket-DAT "N.water N.long.basket"

ra-m-thal-miri
call-3p-HAB-3p/3.PST

purkha-miŋ-ka ma "pani ɖoko" ra-ki
ancestor-PL-ERG AS "N.water N.long.basket" call-1pi/3s

The ancestors used to call the Kurpa Krɔ pot "pani ɖoko" and we call it "pani ɖoko".

Sometimes *ma* is found at the beginning of a sentence. Within a narrative sequence, this is analyzable as the conjoining of two clauses: the ma intial utterance is the continuation of the previous sentence. However *ma* in initial position is also found in conversation, with a change of speakers between the two clauses, signalling interruption or the completion of the previous thought.

388. C : “didi brɔ-re-retsha” raŋ-ro-m ne
N.o.sister taste.good-3s-FOC-N.seem say-1s/3s.PST-NOM TOP

didi **ri-mri** **ma** mi-dwak-pa meno ne’’
N.o.sister laugh-3p.PST AS NEG-like-Npst.PRT there TOP

D: “**ma** atha ne dwa-ni ɖɯma?”
AS now TOP like-2s/3s millet.past

C : “Sister, it tastes good” I said, and my sister laughed, and I didn’t like it there [at home, before]”

D: “ And now you like ɖɯma?”

The relevant sequencer is that initiating the response from D. I suggest that this be seen as a means of expressing continuation of a thought, with the chaining *ma* almost functioning resumptively, tying the statement into the fabric of the previous utterance.

Parallel to this is the fact that it appears sentence-finally sometimes, particularly in conversations. This could be a result of a broken thought, left off midway, even though the speaker has already used the chaining mechanism to signal that the clause is part of a complex sentence.

389. ane basta-ka he-ka romthi-mri **ra-mi** **ma**
today yesterday-TEMP how-INSTR arrive-3p say-3p AS
They say :today, tomorrow, how did they arrive?

390. bante **lɔk-ni-m** **ma**
where go-2p-NOM AS
where is it you went ?

The interpretations of these unusual occurrences of *ma* are in the context of its usual clause-final position. These examples then are taken as indicators of an incomplete expression, either because they are at the beginning of an utterance, impying that the

previous sentence was incomplete, or they are utterance-final, implying an unfinished thought.

Whereas *ma* generally marks finite clauses, this is not always the case. *ma* can combine two infinitive forms.

391. ɖɯma **kho-mu** **ma** **po-m** parjo.
millet.paste cook-NOM.inf AS eat-NOM.inf N.OBL
One cooks the paste and must eat it.

There are two interpretations of the combining of the clauses in this sentence. The first is that it consists of two clauses, conjoined by *ma*. Because this sentence is from a recipe (for a traditional millet-based dish), the generic nature of the narrative form accounts for the neutral, infinitive form in the first clause.

The second interpretation is that *ma* conjoins the two infinitives, which together form a unit then modified by the borrowed obligation marker, *parjo*. Another similar example, where *ma* marks an infinitive, follows.

392. mɯ orar-ra tsahi tsɯtsɯ-mim **lɔ-mu** **ma** **ɖi-si**
that cave-LOC CONTR child-PL bring-NOM.inf AS abandon-VN

myny-pa bai-ra-ʔe
NEG.OBL-Npst.Prt be-3s.PST-HS

Children were brought to the cave and were not to be left there /Children were not to be brought into that cave and left.

Again there are two interpretations, depending on whether we consider *ma* to conjoin both verb forms together, with the obligation (here negative obligation) marker applied to the resulting unit, or whether we interpret the first clause as having an infinitive as its main verb. (The alternative translations show the difference, respectively.)

If the interpretation is [lɔmu ma disi]-myny, with the negative obligation marker applying to both verbs, then there is a discrepancy in the verb forms: both the infinitive in -mu and the form in -si can be used with the negative obligation , but it seems that a speaker would want to ensure the application of -myny to both verbs by showing their parallelness through the choice of a similar form.

The above shows that finiteness is not a requirement for the use of sequencer *ma*. In fact, I found one example of *ma* used to conjoin two nouns.

393. **nemphu ma sintha ma** saro-ŋa dykha dys-ta.
day AS night AS N.many-EMPH N.difficulty be-3s.PST
Even during the day and even during the night, there were great difficulties [for me].

I do not understand how this is to be interpreted, in light of the other more typical functions of the sequencer. The nouns are conjoined equally (something which renders confusing the label, which works well elsewhere, of *anterior* sequencer). This is the only such example in my data, and could be an on-the-fly innovation, or could instead represent an idiomatic expression.

Temporal adverbs

As with *-saka* and *-lo*, *ma* is also used to create adverbs, all of which are temporal.

mekotima

mesimma

mettamma

all indicate that what follows comes after the previously recounted event. The only piece of these adverbs which is transparent is the first syllable, *me*, which means 'there', and is found in a number of deictic expressions (meram, that, mesinɖa, there,…). These adverbs are common occurrences in narratives, summing up the previous event, and using it as the departure point for what follows. As with the other adverbs, we can imagine a derivation which would originally have come from an expression along the lines of "that having been done", but with opaque morphemes in the adverbs, it is difficult to tell.

Expression of manner

The sequencer can be used to form clauses which specify the manner in which the action of the other clause is carried out. This is unusual for a sequencer which expresses anteriority, but we see the same thing with the converb in *-saka*: both the converb and the sequencer primarily express anteriority, which is used to form chains of sequenced events, yet they can also be used for the expression of manner as well.

394. u-maŋ-ka dhawa dhawa **by-ry** **ma** po-mu
3POSS-mother-ERG N.hurry hurry do-3s/3s.PST AS eat-NOM

bɔne by-ry ma gwak-tytsi.
N.make do-3s/3s.PST AS give-3s/3d.PST.

Their mother hurried to make food and gave it to them.

There are two *ma* sequencers in this sentence, of which the relevant one for manner is the first. The adverb in the clause would suffice to give a manner reading, and the fact that no other lexical material is present, apart from the verb 'to do' makes it into a manner clause. The second *ma* clause has a sequential reading, so that the literal translation of the sentence is "the mother did in a hurry and made food and gave it to them." Thus the

manner reading is in reference to the second *ma* clause, modifying the action of preparing the food.

Another *ma* manner clause is found in the following.

395. “lu etha lɔk-si-lo ne **lamdi-mu ma** lɔ-mu basi” ra-mi
N.hey now go-1pi-SS TOP walk-NOM.inf AS go-NOM.inf OBL say-3p
Hey, when we go now, we must go by walking, he says.

There is a certain ambiguity to the reading of the clauses conjoined by *ma*. This looks similar to an example we saw earlier of combining infinitives into a unit to which the obligation marker was applied. The problem with such an interpretation in this case is logic: because lamdimu,

‘to walk’, is within the semantic subset of lɔmu, ‘to go’, the two cannot be combined in parallel. The default reading is one of manner, a fact which is supported by the rest of the conversation, in which the speaker explains that she isn’t feeling well but that her family is forcing her to walk (rather than ride the bus).

Yet another example concerning sight-seeing in Kathmandu[15] is the following.

396. aki-mam ne mari lamdi-lo wo khel-ka khirsi-m
1POSS-mother TOP much walk-3s-SS also leg-INSTR walk-NOM.inf

basi are **bo-mi ma** rem-mi.
OBL. like.this do-3p AS see-3p

When my mother is walking a lot she must go around on foot. Doing this, she looks [around].

[15] This is a frequent topic of conversation: Thulung living in Kathmandu quickly lose their ability to walk great distances, and are much teased about this when Thulung come visit them in the capital from the village.

The relevant *ma* clause in this sentence is that connecting *bomi* with *remmi*, resulting in a reading of manner, as the mother does her sight-seeing by going around on foot, indicating the way in which she does her visiting.

Another example which I interpret as expressing manner follows.

397. kɔtsja kur-to **ma** sokmu lɔ-ŋro.
long.basket carry-1s/3s.PST AS forest go-1s.PST
Carrying a basket, I went into the forest.

The reason I consider this an expression of manner is that the sequencer does not link the events sequentially (as the woman enters the forest with the basket, the two events are clearly cooccurring). Instead the clause with *ma*, 'carrying the basket', modifies the action described in the second clause, showing the way in which the action is carried out.

These manner clauses are unusual for *ma*, which primarily links clauses together sequentially. We see examples of this most typical usage in the next section.

Sequential clauses

398. sɔsura-ka "nuhemu **ma** koŋŋa po-mu »
N.father.in.law-ERG N.bathe-NOM.inf AS only eat-NOM.inf

ra-mri ma…
say-3p/3s.PST AS

My father in law said "Bathe and only then, eat", and…

What is interesting about the *ma* found within the quote is that its role has a strong temporal factor : the presence of koŋŋa reinforces the fact that *ma* establishes a sequence to the events, with one action taking place after the other. This is related to the iconicity

of conjunction (vs converbs), where whatever event is mentioned first is assumed to also occur first. Whereas MA sometimes seems neutral, merely listing various events, it is clear in this example that the sequential reading is intentional.

In one instance the meaning seems to be offering an alternative to the first clause.

399. sy-ka gwak-y ma gwa-mu tsap-sy **ma** mɯ kom
who-ERG give-3s/3s AS give-NOM.inf be.able-3s AS that much
Who gives or is able to give that much? (in the context of the price of an airplane ticket)

This use is certainly different from others seen so far, as the connection between the clauses is neither one of manner or sequence, and is instead a presentation of two alternatives. This is the diametrical opposite of the conjoining of time words which we saw above, with *nemphuma sinthama*, where the understanding is that these are alternative states, and that both apply.

Several *ma* clauses can be strung together (which is awkward with *-lo*, because it confuses the interpretation if too many events are brought in to what is, in theory, a simultaneous linking of events)

400. thuluŋ-mim-ka tsahi mina **lɔ-mri-ʔe** **ma** kiʈɔni
Thulung-PL-ERG CONTR thing go-3p.PST-HS AS N.establish

be-mri-ʔe **ma** dui tin rat-ka mari mu
do-3p/3s.PST-HS AS N.two N.three N.night-TEMP much fire
hoʈ-miri-ʔe **ma**
blow-3p/3s.PST-HS AS

ɔbɔ mepmam happa mwasy tsha-beʈ-miri-ʔe
N.now like.that much soot spread-CAUS-3p/3s.PST-HS.

The Thulung went and set up and for two, three nights, made fire and spread lots of soot.

Embedded quotations

As with the other converbs and with *-lo*, there are examples of *ma* being used to embed direct quotes into the narrative.

401. memma "mima, a-lwak ne ba re lɔs-ta"
then Grandmother 3POSS-y.sibling-TOP where-FOC go-3s.PST

ra ma hilaby-ʔe.
say AS ask.3s/3s-HS

After that, "Grandmother, where did my little sister go?", he asks.

Interestingly, there is ambiguity about the nature of *ma* in this sentence. It could be, in addition to the sequencer, the past participial form of the verb (here with *ramu*, 'to say'). Both these possibilities have Nepali equivalents. With the sequencer *ma*, *rama* in the sentence above would be equivalent to Nepali quotative *bhanera*, which is the verb 'to say' in converbal form. As a past participial form, there is again a parallel with Nepali, which uses the past participle to give explanations of terms, as in English "that is". The following Thulung excerpt shows such a borrowed usage.

402. thu **ra-ma** mwasy, luŋ **ra-ma**, luŋ dys-ta,
Thu say-Pst.PRT soot, stone say-Pst.PRT, stone become-3s.PST

thuluŋ **ra-ma** mwasy-ku poka retsha
Thulung say-Pst.PRT soot-GEN ash N.seem

"thu" means soot, "luŋ" means, well, stone, "thulung" probably means the ash of the soot.

This use is different from the quotative, as it is not followed by any verb of utterance, and its purpose is explicative. Yet I include this example to show that there are two possible calques of the Nepali, both of which use the verb 'to say' as a base and both

with the form *rama*. The past participial form and the quotative are therefore difficult to disambiguate.

Recapitulation

ma, like *-lo*, can be used for recapitulative purposes, to link the sentences of a narrative.

403. dzho-si myny kɔk-si myny meram ham-ʔe ra-ki-lo
Plow-VN NEG-OBL dig-VN NEG-OBL that what-HS say-1pi/3s-SS

bari si-ʔe. bari **si-ʔe** **ma** mi-kɔ-ki mi-dzho-ri
N.field die-3s-HS. N.field die.3s-HS AS NEG-dig-1pi NEG-plow-1pi

mɯ nem tsahi ŋemsi-m basi.
that day CONTR rest-NOM OBL.

Plowing, digging are not allowed, we say this is because that the fields will die. The fields will die and [so] we do not dig or plow on that day and we must rest.

404. mɯkotima mari mu hoɖ-ɖy tsha. **mu hoɖ-ɖy** **ma** ...
afterwards much fire blow-3s/3.PST COP.tsha. fire blow-3s/3.PST AS
Afterwards, he built a big fire. He started a fire and …

The repetition of the last clause in the previous sentence, with particle *ma*, ensures that the events are well-woven into the narrative as it unfolds. It is interesting that recapitulation is accomplished through sequencers but that no examples of converbs have been found in this capacity: the converbs cover the same general functions as the sequencers, in terms of linking clauses together in simultaneous- or sequence-dominant chains of events, yet it is a peculiarity of Thulung that it makes this functional distinction between the two types of clause-chaining mechanisms.

Summary of sequencers

Both sequencers are used in a predominantly temporal role, linking clauses with reference to the temporal connection between them. They can both cover the same range of functions in this respect, as we saw in the sections discussing them individually. The main difference is that *-lo* is primarily used for linking clauses in a simultaneous temporal relationship, whereas *ma* is used for clauses where the sequential nature of the events dominates.

A simple example illustrates this.

405. go dzam **pe-uto-lo** ke dher duk-ta
1s rice eat-1s/3s.PST-SS curry much be.spicy-3s.PST
As I ate the food, the curry was very spicy.

406. go dzam **pe-uto** **ma** kam-ra lɔ-ŋro.
1s rice eat-1s/3s.PST AS work-LOC go-1s.PST
After I ate the food, I went to work.

These sentences were given in elicitation when I asked for simple sentences exemplifying the uses of *-lo* and *ma*. This shows that the main function of *-lo* is to combine clauses with a simultaneous temporal connection, while *ma* joins those clauses which are temporally sequential. These sentences also suggest that the other functions discussed, namely use of sequencers for recapitulation and the embedding of quotation, as well as the expression of manner in the case of *ma*, are all fairly marginal, compared to the main function.

It is interesting to note that the nature of these sequencers does not play much of a role in distinguishing them: it seems irrelevant, as far as their functions are concerned,

that -*lo* is part of a subordinate clause while *ma* clauses are coordinate with other sentential material.

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Appendix I

Selected Stories

Bala's Life

oram nani gɔs-ta-m bela-ka hom-saka
this N.child be.born-3s.PST-NOM N.time-TEMP this-AC

ko-le mam-num guku bat-toko.
one-CL mother-COM 1pe be-1pe.PST

When this child was born, we lived like this with Mother.

nɔ-le koŋŋa bat-toko.
two-CL only be-1pe.PST
There were only two of us.

mam, go bat-toko-m bela-ka hepmam bai-ra neb-ɖa?
mother, 1s be-1pe.PST-NOM N.time-TEMP how be-3s.PST house-LOC
At the time when Mother and I were together, how were things at home?

khɔle-m ʈhok-kam dykha bai-ra.
all-NOM N.thing-GEN N.difficulty be-3s.PST
Everything was difficult.

akheri-ka hoŋka oram gɔs-ta-m patshi
N.finally-TEMP like.this this be.born-3s.PST-NOM N.after

tsɯŋ-ŋa dykha be-uto.
much-EMPH N.difficulty do-1s/3s.PST

Finally after this one was born like this, I struggled a lot.

nemphu ma sintha ma saro-ŋa dykha dys-ta.
daytime AS nighttime AS N.much-EMPH N.difficulty become-3s.PST
All day and all night, there were great difficulties.

meram dykha-ra-ŋa oram hurke be-uto.
that N.difficulty-LOC-EMPH this N.raise do-1s/3s.PST
Through those difficulties, I raised this one.

kur-to, jaŋlo a-tsɔŋ-ra kur-to, jaŋlo kokro-ra
carry-1s/3s.PST sometimes 1POSS-back-LOC carry-1s/3s.PST sometimes basket-LOC

kur-to, jaŋlo "hamsika oram gɔn-pa dym-ma gɔd-dzɯl-u
carry-1s/3s.PST sometimes when this sit-Npst.PRT become-Pst.PRT set-PON-1s/3s

ma a-kam be-u" ra-ŋro ma haŋko hɔtar be-uto.
AS 1POSS-N.work do-1s/3s say-1s.PST AS how.much N.hurry do-1s/3s.PST

I carried her, sometimes on my back, sometimes in a basket, sometimes I said "when this one becomes able to sit, I will set her down and do my work" and how I hurried.

mɯkotima gɔn-pa dys-ta-m patshi kitsɯ
then sit-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST-NOM N.after a.little

a-sam rok-ta.
1POSS-breath come-3s.PST

Then after she became able to sit, I breathed a little better.

gɔn-pa dys-ta, a-sam rok-ta.
sit-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST 1POSS-breath come-3s.PST
She became able to sit, and I breathed.

mesimma pheri " hamsika lamdi-pa dym" ra-ŋro ma lɔt-to.
then N.again when walk-Npst.PRT become.3s say-1s.PST AS wait-1s/3s.PST
Then again, "when will she walk" I said, and waited.

bɔlla bɔlla kiki lamdi-pa, jemsi-pa, lamdi-pa
N.finally a.little walk-Npst.PRT, stand-Npst.PRT, walk-Npst.PRT

dys-ta-m patshi, kiki a-sam rok-ta.
become-3s.PST-NOM N.after a.little 1POSS-breath come-3s.PST

Finally, she walked, she stood, after she was able to walk, I breathed.

mesimma mɯkotima o krɔ, kɔtsa kur-to ma sokmu lɔ-ŋro.
then then this basket, scythe carry-1s/3s.PST AS forest go-1s.PST
Then carrying this basket and sickle, I went to the forest.

krɔ kodali ghum kur-to ma lɔ-ŋro.
basket N.spade N.straw.raincoat carry-1s/3s.PST AS go-1s.PST
Carrying the basket, spade and raincoat I went.

dɔ-ra kokro-ra hunulam athɯlam je-ka bop-saka
field-LOC basket-LOC that.way this.way cloth-INSTR stuff-AC

gɔt-to ma kam be-uto.
set-1s/3s.PST AS N.work do-1s/3s.PST

In the field, having stuffed the basket with cloth all around, I set her down and worked.

bɔstu-mim ba-mri, a-gai-mim ba-mri, batsa bai-ra.
N.cattle-PLU be-3p.PST, 1POSS-N.cow-PLU be-3p.PST N.baby be-3s.PST
I had cattle, cows, a baby.

dydy nam-mu parne.
milk milk-NOM.inf N.OBL
I had milking to do.

nani-lai kokro-ra kur-to ma lɔk-to ma rukh-ku
N.child-DAT basket-LOC carry-1s/3s.PST AS bring-1s/3s.PST AS N.tree-GEN

tshahari-gwi gɔt-to ma hunulam athɯlam.
N.shadow-under set-1s/3s.PST AS that.way this.way.

I carried the child in the basket and brought her and set her in the shade of a tree, this way and that.

gɔn-pa mi-ba-ja malom balɔkɔ, ŋjalduŋ bai-ra.
sit-Npst.PRT NEG-be-IRR baby N.child infant be-3s.PST
She wasn't sitting, she was just a baby.

kokro-ra mari je-ka hunulam athɯlam khade-uto ma
basket-LOC much cloth-INSTR that.way this.way N.stuff-1s/3s.PST AS

gɔt-to ma rukh-ɖola ghas hib-to.
set-1s/3s.PST AS N.tree-above N.leaf cut-1s/3s.PST

I stuffed lots of cloth in the basket this way and that, set her down and cut leaves in the trees.

oram ghɔrtshin ɔms-ta-m bela-ka hɔtarhɔtar be-uto ma
this N.second sleep-3s.PST-NOM N.time-TEMP N.hurry do-1s/3s.PST AS

rukh-ɖola hu-ŋro ma ghas phɔl-to nɔl hib-to, ɖale
N.tree-above climb-1s.PST AS N.leaf cut-1s/3s.PST N.millet cut-1s/3s.PST N.leaf

phɔl-to.
cut-1s/3s.PST

When she slept for a second, I hurried and climbed the tree and cut leaves, millet and leaf.

a-kam wo hɔtar be-uto ma-ŋa tsito tsito ba-ŋ-si-ŋro,
1POSS-N.work also N.hurry do-1s/3s.PST AS-EMPH N.quickly do-1s-DET-1s.PST

dala dala ba-ŋ-si-ŋro.
quickly do-1s-DET-1s.PST

I did my work hurriedly.

mesimma mem bet-to bet-to kur-saka,
then like.that do-SC do-SC carry-AC

thy-saka ɔnek be-uto ma memsaka dykha
pull-AC N.several do-1s/3s.PST AS like.that N.difficulty

be-uto ma kitsɯ ɖokpu dys-ta ma bame sɔre dym-pa
do-1s/3s.PST AS a.little big become-3s.PST AS N.crawl N.move become-Npst.PRT

ʈukuʈuku lamdi-pa dys-ta ma kitsɯ a-sam geɖ-ɖa.
N.toddling walk-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST AS a.little 1POSS-breath come-3s.PST

Then, doing things like carrying, pulling, and various other difficulties, she grew bigger and able to crawl, and able to walk, and I breathed.

mepmamepmam dykha bet-to, bɔlla kitsɯ
like.that N.difficulty do-SC N.finally a.little

neŋ-gunu tsɯpnu be-pa dys-ta.
house-inside outside do-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST

After all these difficulties, she finally was able to do things inside and out.

“sɔŋ phi-ra, ku phi-ra, mu ho-ra” rak-pa dys-ta.
wood bring-2IMP water bring-2IMP fire light-2IMP say-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST
She was able to be told “Fetch wood, fetch water, light the fire”

mɯkoti dys-ta-m patshi kitsɯ a-sam geɖ-ɖa
then become-3s.PST-NOM N.after a.little 1POSS-breath come-3s.PST

mɯkotima pants barsa liɖ-ɖy-m patshi dherai a-sam geɖ-ɖa.
then N.five year reach-3s.PST-NOM N.after N.much 1POSS-breath come-3s.PST

After this, I was a little relieved, and when she became five, I was very relieved.

mettamma tsahi, hunu-ra athɯ by-ry, ghas pat by-ry,
then CONTR there-LOC here do-3s.PST N.leaf N.grass do-3s/3s.PST

mi-tsap-to wo sathi-num lɔs-ta.
NEG-be.able-SC even N.friend-COM go-3s.PST

Then she went here and there, cut grass and leaves, went with her friends even when she couldn't.

lɔk-to ma homsaka iskul-ra phik-to.
bring-1s/3s.PST AS like.this N.school-LOC place-1s/3s.PST
I took her and placed her in school.

phik-to-m patshi, paret-to paret-to lɔs-ta-m patshi,
place-1s/3s.PST-NOM N.after N.study-SC N.study-SC go-3s.PST-NOM N.after

go neb-ɖa a-twak-ŋa u-mam tsahi ba-mri,
1s house-LOC 1POSS-self-EMPH 3POSS-mother CONTR be-3p.PST

ko-le a-sathi.
one-CL 1POSS-N.friend

After I placed her in school, after she went to study, I was alone at home with my only friend, his [=husband's] mother.

pap tsahi lamdiɖ-ɖa-m, u-nani pants mahina-kam gɔrbɔr-ra
father CONTR walk-3s.PST-NOM 3POSS-N.child N.five N.month-GEN womb-LOC

par-dzɯl-ly ma ro-mu-ŋa mi-ro-ka-wa khlos-ta
leave-PON-3s/3s.PST AS come-NOM.inf-EMPH NEG-come-2IMP-IRR return-3s.PST

ma tsɯmka dykha be-uto ma hurke-uto ma ɔkɔti
AS lots N.difficulty do-1s/3s.PST AS N.raise-1s/3s.PST AS this.much

pary-ry.
study-3s/3s.PST

As for her father, he left, he abandoned his child when I was five months pregnant, and never came back, and as much as I struggled, she studied that hard.

ɔkɔti pare by-ry ma SLC gwak-ty-m patshi
this.much N.study do-3s/3s.PST AS SLC give-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after

Kathamandu-gunu lɔs-ta ma
Kathmandu-inside go-3s.PST AS

dykha-ka-ŋa oram-ka pare by-ry sukha
N.difficulty-INSTR-EMPH this-ERG N.study do-3s/3s.PST N.ease

mi-dyp-sa-wa.
NEG-become-2IMP-IRR

After studying this much and passing her School Leaving Certificate exams, she went to Kathmandu, and studied surrounded by challenge.

hellolo atha ne khel-ra lamdi-pa dys-ta-ŋ-ka
today now TOP leg-LOC walk-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST-NOM-INSTR

dherai go-lai wo dykhai bu.
N.much 1s-DAT also N.difficulty be.3s

Now that she walks on her own legs, there are still great difficulties for me.

etha wo ham ho ham ho rak-pa
now also what COP.ho what COP.ho say-Npst.PRT

oram ɖokpu dys-ta-lo wo go-lai tsɯtsɯ-ŋa bu hopmam ni.
this big become-3s.PST-SS even 1s-DAT child-EMPH be.3s like.this N.indeed

Even now I wonder how she is, and even though she is big, she is like a child to me.

huk-ta mɔkoti-ŋa hola.
finish-3s.PST that.much-EMPH N.maybe
That's it.

Millet paste recipe

ɖɯma kho-mu lagi ŋado lama bɔne-m basi.
ɖɯma cook-NOM.inf N.sake first ingredients prepare-NOM.inf OBL
In order to make ɖɯma, one must first prepare the ingredients.

khuruk-ra phul hi-mu basi.
mill-LOC flour grind-NOM.inf OBL
One must grind the flour on the mill.

phul hi-mu ma khɔtsa-ra phul rym-mu basi.
flour grind-NOM.inf AS basket-LOC flour collect-NOM.inf OBL
After grinding the flour, one must collect it in a basket.

phul ryp-ma patshi ke khomu basi.
flour collect-Pst.PRT N.after curry cook-NOM.inf OBL
After collecting the flour, one must cook the curry.

ke kho-mu ma gɔn-mu basi.
curry cook-NOM.inf AS remove-NOM.inf OBL
After cooking the curry, one must remove it [from the fire].

mesimma ku kwa-mu basi.
then water boil-NOM.inf OBL
Then one must boil the water.

ɖɯma hi-mu-lai mɯ ɖɯmakap kwa-ri-m patshi phul-ka
ɖɯma cook-NOM.inf-DAT that ɖɯma.water boil-1pi-NOM N.after flour-INSTR

rim-mu basi
twist-NOM.inf OBL

In order to cook the ɖɯma, after you boil that ɖɯma water, one must "twist" it with flour.

dhule phon-mu basi.
N.stir sprinkle-NOM.inf OBL
One must stir and sprinkle.

mɯttamma bly-ry, ɖɯmakap bly-ry-m patshi
then boil-3s.PST ɖɯma.water boil-3s.PST-NOM N.after

ʈhikkɔ mɯtta ɔkɔtika ku per-y-m,
N.correct there how.much water be.appropriate-3s-NOM

ku per-y-m rak-pa minaka phul phi-mu basi.
water be.appropriate-3s-NOM say-Npst.PRT thing flour pour-NOM.inf OBL

Then it boils, and after the ɖɯma water boils, one must pour the correct amount of flour which is appropriate for the water.

phul phi-mu ma kortsɯm-ka phol-mu basi.
flour pour-NOM.inf AS wood.spoon-INSTR mix-NOM.inf OBL
After pouring the flour in, one must mix with a wooden spoon.

phol-ma patshi thama mɯtta mi-tsaps-y-ja mala kitsɯ
mix-Pst.PRT N.after later there NEG-be.able-3s-IRR COND a.little

phul kam-mu basi
flour add-NOM.inf OBL

After mixing, later, if one was unable [to guess the amount of flour] one must add a little flour.

kam-mu ma kortsɯm-ka mɔske-m basi mari
add-NOM.inf AS wood.spoon-INSTR N.stir-NOM.inf OBL much

mɔddzaka hir-mu basi.
N.much stir-NOM.inf OBL

After adding [more flour], one must stir with the spoon, one must stir lots.

mesimma gɔn-mu ma phen-mu ma ʈhal-ra phi-mu ma
then remove-NOM.inf AS serve-NOM.inf AS N.plate-LOC put-NOM.inf AS

gwa-m-mi ma po-m basi. mɯkɔti-ŋa.
give-NOM.inf-3p AS eat-NOM.inf OBL. that.much-EMPH

Then after removing it [from fire] and serving it, one must put it in a plate and hand it out and eat it. That's it.

Eagle story

make ko-le mim-num tsysy bat-tsi-ʔe.
long.ago one-CL grandmother-COM grandchild be-3d.PST-HS.
Long ago, there was a grandmother with her grandchildren.

nɔ-le u-tsɯ-num u-mam bai-ra-ʔe.
two-CL 3POSS-child-COM 3POSS-mother be-3s.PST-HS
There were two children with their mother.

mɯ ne u-mam tsahi bju-ka lɔ-ry-ʔe.
that TOP 3POSS-mother CONTR eagle-ERG carry.away-3s/3s.PST-HS
An eagle carried her, their mother, away.

bju-ka lɔ-ry-m patshi mɯ u-tsɯ-tsip-ka
eagle-ERG carry.away-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after that 3POSS-child-DU-ERG

mal-to mal-to lɔk-tsi-ʔe.
search-SC search-SC go-3d.PST-HS

After the eagle carried her away, her children went looking for her.

hilabet-to hilabet-to lɔk-tsi-lo, lamdi-ra ko-le
ask-SC ask-SC go-3d.PST-SS road-LOC one-CL

mesem-ka tukisale gwak-ty-ʔe.
woman-ERG spool.of.thread give-3s/3s.PST-HS

When they went asking, a woman on the road gave them a spool of thread.

tukisale gwak-ty-m patshi “lu oram tsar-to tsar-to
spool.of.thread give-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after “N.hey this throw-SC throw-SC

lɔk-tsi, bante tsahi ɔrke dym mesi-ŋa
go-3d.PST where CONTR N.stop become.3s there-EMPH

itsi-mam bu” rak-ta ma gwak-ty-m patshi

2POSS-mother be.3s say-3s/3s.PST AS give-3s/3s-NOM N.after

sale tsar-to tsar-to lɔk-tsi-lo
spool throw-SC throw-SC go-3d.PST-SS

ko-dep ɖokpu rukh-ra ɔldzhe dys-ta-ʔe mɯ tukisale.
one-place big N.tree-LOC N.be.tangled become-3s.PST-HS that spool.of.thread

After giving them the spool, she said « throw this as you go, and where it stops will be where your mother is » and they threw the spool as they went and it got tangled in a big tree.

mesimpatshi meɖɖa u-mam-lai bju-ka lɔ-ry ma
after there 3POSS-mother-DAT eagle-ERG carry.away-3s/3s.PST AS

rukh-ɖola nem bɔnem-ry-m bai-ra-ʔe.
N.tree-above house N.build-3s/3s.PST-NOM be-3s.PST-HS

The eagle had carried their mother away to there and built a house in the tree.

mɯ-ɖola ɔldzhe dys-ta-m patshi huju-m-laŋka
that-above N.be.tangled become-3s.PST-NOM N.after down-NOM-ABL

“maʔa, maʔa” rak-tsi-ʔe u-tsɯ-tsi-ka “maʔa maʔa”
Mother Mother say-3d/3s.PST-HS 3POSS-child-DU-ERG “Mother Mother”

rak-tsi-lo hal-laŋka u-mam dzes-ta-ʔe “ lu
say-3d/3s.PST-SS up-ABL 3POSS-mother speak-3s.PST-HS « N.hey

ge-tsi ge-tsi” by-ry-ʔe ma mɯ
come.up-2d come.up-2d » do-3s/3s.PST-HS AS that

tukisale-ŋa tsar-saɖ-ɖy-ʔe.
spool.of.thread-EMPH throw-BEN-3s/3s.PST-HS

After the spool got tangled up there, they called from below « mother mother » and their mother spoke from above « come » and she threw them the spool.

mɯ tukisale-ŋa dzet-tsi ma lɔk-tsi-ʔe.
that spool.of.thread-EMPH catch-3d/3s.PST AS go-3d.PST-HS

They caught the spool and went.
mesimma mɯ-ɖola lɔk-tsi-m patshi ɖokpu nem bai-ra-ʔe.
then that-above go-3d.PST-NOM N.after big house be-3s.PST-HS
They went there and it was a big house.

« lu etha gatsi ne bju-ka re salpo-tsi, gatsi-lai ne »
N.hey now 2d TOP eagle-ERG FOC devour-3s/2d 2d-DAT TOP

rak-ta ma u-maŋ-ka dhawa dhawa by-ry ma
say-3s/3s.PST AS 3POSS-mother-ERG N.hurry N.hurry do-3s/3s.PST AS

po-mu bɔne by-ry ma gwak-tytsi.
eat-NOM.inf N.prepare do-3s/3s.PST AS give-3s/3d.PST

"Now the eagle is going to devour you two" said the mother and hurried prepared some food and gave it to them.

mesimma pet-tsi-m patshi thɔk-tytsi lɔ-ry ma
then eat-3d/3s.PST-NOM N.after hide-3s/3d.PST carry.away-3s.PST AS

thɔk-ty ma
hide-3s/3s.PST AS

phoka-ka ŋjak-tytsi-ʔe.
ash-INSTR cover-3s/3d.PST-HS

After they ate, she hid them and carried them away and hid them, covering them with ash.

ŋjak-ty ma thɔk-tytsi-m patshi thama bju ne rok-ta.
cover-3s/3s.PST AS hide-3s/3d.PST-NOM N.after later eagle TOP come-3s.PST
After she covered them and hid them the eagle returned.

bju rokphaɖ-ɖa-m patshi bju-ka "bante re ane
eagle arrive-3s.PST-NOM N.after eagle-ERG « where FOC today

mini re mur nem bante re ham re" rwa-ʔe, bju-ka
human FOC odor smell.3s where FOC what FOC » say.3s-HS eagle-ERG

memloka u-maŋ-ka "o ne go-ŋa mini,

then 3POSS-mother-ERG « this TOP 1s-EMPH human

hesaka mur mi-neŋ-gu tɔ" rak-ta ma tshɔle by-ry ma,
how odor NEG-smell-1s N.indeed say-3s/3s.PST AS N.deceive do-3s/3s.PST AS

limatheɖ-ɖy ma dzyl-ly-ʔe.
lie-3s.PST AS put-3s/3s.PST-HS

After the eagle arrived, he said "where and what is the human smell today?" and the mother replied "I am human, how should I smell?", telling him a lie and deceiving him.

mesim udikam bju lamdiɖ-ɖa-m patshi pheri rok-ta ma
then next.day eagle walk-3s.PST-NOM N.after N.again come-3s.PST AS

u-tsɯ-tsi-lai dhawa dhawa po-mu ʈhok
3POSS-child-DU-DAT N.hurry N.hurry eat-NOM.inf N.thing

bɔn-yry ma gwak-ty ma "lu lɔk-tsi otta ne o bju-ka pe-sa,
prepare-3s/3s.PST AS give-3s/3s.PST AS « N.hey go-2d here TOP this eagle-ERG eat

lɔk-tsi khuru khuru mi-dzɯpa labdi mi-lɔk-tsi,
go-2d N.no.stopping NEG-good road NEG-go-2d

dzɯpa labdi lɔk-tsi, khrekhreja be-pa lad-bi mi-lɔk-tsi, plɔplɔja
good road go-2d bumpy do-Npst.PRT road NEG-go-2d smooth

be-pa labdi lɔk-tsi » by-ry ma thyr-sok-tytsi-m-ʔe ne
do-Npst.PRT road go-2d » do-3s/3s.PST AS send-DEF-3s/3d.PST-NOM-HS TOP

bi-pa khrekhreja beʈ-leʈ-pa tsahi labdi lɔk-tsi-ʔe.
rough bumpy do-RES-Npst.PRT CONTR road go-3d-HS

After the eagle left the next day, she came and hurriedly made her children food and gave it to them :go, the eagle will eat you here, leave without stopping. Do not take the bad tood, take the good road, do not go on the bumpy road, go on the smooth road" she said and set them away, and they went on the rough, bumpy road.

memiŋ-ka o guku mesem tsahi dziddiwal dym-ku-ʔe.
that.way-INSTR this 1pe womam CONTR N.insistent become-1pe-HS
In that way, we women are insistent.

wossɯ wa-ka rak-ta-ʔe « gutsi ne a-tsi-maŋ-ka
male o.sibling-ERG say-3s/3s.PST-HS « 1di TOP 1POSS-DU-mother-ERG

« hopmam labdi re lɔk-tsi » rak-ta-m ta « gana haŋa
“like.this road FOC go-2d » say-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.indeed « 2s why

homsaka ɔno ne meʔe ɔno lɔ-tsi »
like.this this.way TOP not this.way go-1di »

rak-ta-lo u-ritsikuma-ka « meʔe maŋ-ka ne hopmam
say-3s/3s.PST-SS 3POSS-sister-ERG « not mother-ERG TOP like.this

mi-dzɯpa lamdi khrekhreja be-pa lamdi lɔk-tsi
NEG-good road bumpy do-Npst.PRT road go-2d

rak-ta-m bu-mi » rak-ta-ʔe ma meno lɔk-tsi-ʔe.
say-3s/3s.PST-NOM be-3p” say-3s/3s.PST-HS AS there go-3d-HS.

The boy said “our mother told us “go on this kind of road” he said “why do you go here like this, let’s go this way” he said and his sister said “no, our mother said to go on this kind of bad, bumpy road”, and they went there.

lɔk-tsi-lo ne mytsy pe-pa Lamkane ra-ki-m
go-3d.PST-SS TOP person eat-Npst.PRT Lamkane say-1pi-NOM

mɯ-kku des-ra rokthit-tsi retsha-ʔe.
that-GEN N.country-LOC arrive-3d.PST N.seem-HS

When they went, they arrived in the country of the cannibal called Lamkane.

meɖɖa ko-le minamim bai-ra-ʔe.
there one-CL « man-eating female » be-3s.PST-HS
There was a man-eating female there.

« a-tsysy-tsip ne bante-m re rok-tsi, rokpha-tsi bante-m
1POSS-grandchild-DU TOP where-NOM FOC come-3d.PST, arrive-3d where-NOM

re ?
FOC?

“Grandchildren, where are you coming, where are you arriving?

lu bik-tsi neŋ-gunu bik-tsi » rak-ta ma huly-rytsi-ʔe
N.hey come-2d house-inside come-2d” say-3s/3s.PST AS N.bring.in-3s/3d.PST-HS

neŋ-gunu.
house-inside

Come inside the house” she said, and brought them inside.

thɯrsi dwak-to po-mu gwak-tytsi-ʔe.
happy like-SC eat-NOM.inf give-3s/3d.PST-HS
She happily gave them food.

mettamma nemtha-ka ɔm-miri-ʔe.
then evening-TEMP sleep-3p.PST-HS
Then when it was evening, they slept.

ɔm-miri-lo ne wossɯ u-tsysy-lai hala
sleep-3p.PST-SS TOP male 3POSS-grandchild-DAT above

bhar-ɖola am-ry-ʔe.
N.rack-above make.sleep-3s/3s.PST-HS

When they were sleeping, she put the male grandchild to sleep above the rack.

mesem u-tsysy tsahi u-godzy-ra am-ry-ʔe.
female 3POSS-grandchild CONTR 3POSS-lap-LOC make.sleep-3s/3s.PST-HS
She put the female grandchild in her lap to sleep.

ɖokpu ɖokpu sɔŋ tsai-ry-m bai-ra-ʔe.
big big wood burn-3s/3s.PST-NOM be-3s.PST-HS
She made a big big fire.

mɯ ne sintha happa mu hoɖ-ɖy-ʔe ma mu u-mesem
that TOP night much fire light-3s/3s.PST-HS AS fire 3POSS-female

tsysy-tsahi-lai ne mari pepertsɯ, tsimʈa,
grandchild-CONTR-DAT TOP much wooden.tongs, N. wooden.tongs,

tsai-ry-ʔe ma
burn-3s/3s.PST-HS AS

meraŋ-ka marikana miksi-ra brwassai tsai-ry-ʔe ma
that-INSTR N.powerfully eye-LOC N.hissing.sound burn-3s/3s.PST-HS AS

gidi luk-ta-ʔe.
N.brain come.out-3s.PST-HS

At night, she light a lot of fire and heated the wooden tongs for the female grandchild, and burned her eye and the brain came out.

leb-ɖy-ʔe neptsy leb-ɖy-ʔe.
lick-3s/3s.PST-HS brain lick-3s/3s.PST-HS
She licked the brain.

mesem seɖ-ɖy ma goɖ-ɖy, ter-ry besari koreŋ-ŋa
female kill-3s/3s.PST AS dry-3s/3s.PST, turn-3s/3s.PST N.strongly dry-EMPH

bɔny-ry ma thɔk-thaɖ-ɖy.
make-3s/3s.PST AS hide-ACM-3s/3s.PST

After she killed the girl, she dried her, turning her, and made her very dry and hid her.

mekɔtima udikam wa-lai meraŋ-kam-ŋa ke gwak-ty-ʔe.
then next.day o.sibling-DAT that-GEN-EMPH curry give-3s/3s.PST-HS
Then the next day she fed the boy curry from her.

memma “ mima, a-lwak ne, ba re
then grandmother, 1POSS-y.sibling TOP where FOC

lɔs-ta” ra-ma hilaby-ʔe.
go-3s.PST say-Pst.PRT ask.3s.PST-HS

“grandmother, where did my sister go” he asked.

“hunu grenem-ra lɔs-ta-m bu” by-ry-ʔe.
there nettles-LOC go-3s.PST-NOM be.3s do-3s/3s.PST-HS
She went to the nettles” she replied.

lwak-ku sɯ-ku ke-num dzam gwak-ty-lo
y.sibling-GEN meat-GEN curry-COM rice give-3s/3s.PST-SS

wa-ka mi-py-ja-ʔe.
o.sibling-ERG NEG-eat.3s-IRR-HS

The boy did not eat the rice with curry from his sister’s meat.

pe-pa lis-ta ma thɔk-ty-ʔe.
eat-Npst.PRT pretend-3s.PST AS hide-3s/3s.PST-HS
He pretended, and hid it.

mesimma “mima ane a-lwak ba lɔs-ta” by-ʔe.
then grandmother today 1POSS-y.sibling where go-3s.PST do.3s-HS
Then he asked “grandmother, where did my sister go?”

“hunu bwa dzam-ra lɔs-ta-m bu, grenem
there pig rice-LOC go-3s.PST-NOM be.3s nettles

theb-ɖa re lɔs-ta-m bu etha ro” by-ry-ʔe.
pick-PURP FOC go-3s.PST-NOM be.3s now come.3s do-3s/3s.PST-HS.

“She went there for the pig’s meel, she went to pick nettles, she’s coming soon”, she replied.

mekɔtiŋa nem tan-ɖa-ʔe.
then day fall-3s.PST-HS
Then the day ended.

nemtha-ka pheri mɯ wossɯ tsysy-lai nemtha-ka
evening-TEMP N.again that male grandchild-DAT evening-TEMP

po-mu-kam-ʔe “mima go ne aneb ne o tshɔkɔr-ra re

eat-NOM.inf-GEN-HS grandmother 1s TOP today TOP this N.wood.rack-LOC FOC

ɔŋ-ŋu,
sleep-1s

dape-ɖola re ɔŋ-ŋu" rak-ta-ʔe ma ɔms-ta-ʔe-m ne.
N.rack-above FOC sleep-1s say-3s/3s.PST-HS AS sleep-3s.PST-HS-NOM TOP

In the evening, she [fed] the male grandchild a meals, and he said " grandmother, today, I will sleep on this rack" he said and slept.

u-twap tsahi thɔs-ta-ʔe.
3POSS-self CONTR hide-3s.PST-HS
He hid himself.

dape-ra bom am-ɖy-ʔe bom am-ry-m patshi
N.rack-LOC gourd make.sleep-3s/3s.PST-HS gourd make.sleep-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after

thama u-bɔdzɔi-ku palo bɔk-ta-ʔe ma
later 3POSS-N.grandmother-GEN N.turn rise-3s.PST-HS AS

meŋka-ŋa tsimʈa tsai-ry.
that.way-EMPH N.wooden.tongs burn-3s/3s.PST

He put a gourd to sleep on the rack, and then when the grandmother's turn came up, she heated the wooden tongs.

tsimʈa tsai-ry ma ratonarato by-ry
N.wooden.tongs burn-3s/3s.PST AS N.very.red do-3s/3s.PST

ma u-miksi-ra memsaka-ŋa suk-ty-ʔe.
AS 3POSS-eye-LOC like.that-EMPH stick.in-3s/3s.PST-HS

After she heated the tongs bright red, and stuck them into his eyes like that.

grappai suk-ty-ʔe ma lathas-ty ma leb-ɖy retsha-ʔe.
N.forcefully stick.in-3s/3s.PST-HS AS pull-3s/3s.PST AS lick-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS
She stuck them in forcefully and pulled them out and licked them

mɯ leb-ɖy-m bela-ka ne khes-ta retsha-ʔe
that lick-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.time-TEMP TOP be.bitter-3s.PST N.seem-HS

(bom-ra suk-ty-m o re mi-khe).
gourd-LOC stick.in-3s/3s.PST-NOM this FOC NEG-be.bitter

When she licked them, it tasted bitter (she stuck them in the gourd, why wouldn't it be bitter?)

"ritsikuma ne brɔ-ta brɔ-ta, ritsikuwa
girl TOP be.delicious-3s.PST be.delicious-3s.PST, boy

ne khe-ta khe-ta » rak-ta-ʔe ma
TOP be.bitter-3s.PST be.bitter-3s.PST say-3s/3s.PST-HS AS

mesimma memsaka mina by-ry.
then like.that thing do-3s/3s.PST

"The girl tasted good, the boy is bitter", she said.

udikam ne bante hunu kerao phot-ma bai-ra retsha-ʔe.
next.day TOP where there pea plant-Pst.PRT be-3s.PST N.seem-HS
The next day, he went there to plant peas.

lɔs-ta ma mari kerao py-ry retsha-ʔe.
go-3s.PST AS much pea eat-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS
He went and ate many peas.

ma ne "bɔdzɔi, mima aneb ne hunu iki-kerao ne
AS TOP N.Grandmother, grandmother today TOP there 1POSS-pea TOP

khɔtle sɯbdibwa rok-ta ma py-ry retsha khɔle-ŋa"
all boar come-3s.PST AS eat-3s/3s.PST N.seem all-EMPH

rak-ta retsha-ʔe.
say-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS

Then he said "grandmother, today,a boar came and ate all our peas"

kerao-ku khosta kokokoko thupary-ry retsha-ʔe.
N.pea-GEN N.peel all.in.one N.collect-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS
He piled the pea skins into a heap.

mesimma "lu sɯbdibwa-ka ne kerao ne khɔtle-ŋa py-ry retsha,
then N.hey boar-ERG TOP N.peas TOP all-EMPH eat-3s/3s.PST N.seem

aba go sɯbdibwa seʈ-pu.
N.now 1s boar kill-1s/3s

Then " the boar ate all our peas, and I'll kill him.

mima gani tsɔŋkha ba-ni ho" by-ry retsha-ʔe.
grandmother 2p N.good be-2p COP.ho do-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS
Grandmother, be wise and stay here" he said.

ma « lu, se-ra ta » by-ry ma « sɯbdibwa seʈ-pa
AS N.hey kill-2IMP N.indeed do-3s/3s.PST AS boar kill-Npst.PRT

bela-ka
N.time-TEMP

kɔrai-ra mari khoʈo kharen-dzɯl-ni hai » rak-ta-ʔe
pot-LOC much N.resin N.cook.long-PON-2p N.right say-3s/3s.PST-HS

Then she said "kill him" and he said "when it's time to kill the boar, heat up some resin in a pot."

mesimma « bep ɔsinɖa ba-ni, mim ɔ-gunu, neŋ-gunu ba-ni »
then grandfather here be-2p grandmother this-inside house-inside be-2p

by-ry ma u-twap tsahi lɔs-ta-ʔe.
do-3s/3s.PST AS 3POSS-self CONTR go-3s.PST-HS

Then he said "grandfather, stay here inside the house" and left.

« bik-ta hai bik-ta hai »
come-3s.PST N.right come-3s.PST N.right

rak-to u-badze-lai bɔnduk
say-SC 3POSS-N.grandfather-DAT N.gun

ʈhika be-beɖ-ɖy-m bai-ra-ʔe.
N.correct do-CAU-3s/3s.PST-NOM be-3s.PST-HS

Saying "[the boar] came, it came" he made his grandfather prepare the gun.

« bik-ta hai, bik-ta hai, bebeo, tsɔŋkha
come-3s.PST N.right come-3s.PST N.right grandfather N.good

ba-ni hai, bik-ta hai » by-ry-ʔe.
be-2p N.right come-3s.PST N.right do-3s/3s.PST-HS

"It came, it came, grandfather, be good, it came" he said.

mem rak-to rak-to bik-ta ma, thama mɯ u-bep-lai
that say-SC say-SC come-3s.PST AS later that 3POSS-grandfather-DAT

tsahi bɔnduk-ka ob-ɖy ma seɖ-ɖy-ʔe.
CONTR N.gun-INSTR shoot-3s/3s.PST AS kill-3s/3s.PST-HS

Saying that, he came and shot and killed his grandfather with the gun.

mesimma « mima lɔhai tsɔŋkha ba-ni ho.
then grandmother N.hey N.good be-2p COP.ho
Then he said "grandmother, be good.

sɯbdibwa ne go ne set-to » by-ry-ʔe ma mɯ
boar TOP 1s TOP kill-1s/3s.PST do-3s/3s.PST-HS AS that

u-mim-lai
3POSS-grandmother-DAT

"khoʈo phiʈ-ni, khoʈo" by-ry-ʔe ma "thɔŋki, mɯ thɔŋki phiʈ-ni ho"
N.resin bring-2p N.resin do-3s/3s.PST-HS AS resin that resin bring-2p COP.ho

rak-ta-ʔe ma mɯ thɔŋki khare dym-pa thɔŋki

say-3s/3s.PST-HS AS that resin N.cook.long become-Npst.PRT resin
phin-beɖ-ɖy-ʔe,
bring-CAU-3s/3s.PST-HS

u-bɔdzɔi-lai memma mɯ thɔŋki-ka-ŋa
3POSS-N.grandmother-DAT then that resin-INSTR-EMPH

u-bɔdzɔi-lai thoŋkoɖ-ɖy-ʔe kɔl bhɔri.
3POSS-N.grandmother-DAT wet.suddenly-3s/3s.PST-HS face N.all.over

I killed the boar" and told his grandmother "bring the resin" and she brought the hot resin and he threw it all over his grandmother's face.

mesimma khat-to khat-to lɔs-ta-ʔe u-bɔdzɔi.
then pursue-SC pursue-SC go-3s.PST-HS 3POSS-N.grandmother
Then his grandmother went chasing him.

gu swaŋ-ɖa-ʔe.
3s flee-3s.PST-HS
He fled.

swaŋ-ɖa-m patshi nɔ-le po-ku ɖi kur-ry-m
flee-3s.PST-NOM N.after two-CL hen-GEN egg carry-3s/3s.PST-NOM

bai-ra-ʔe taro bai-ra-ʔe, lɔ-khop ʈau wo.
be-3s.PST-HS N.far be-3s.PST-HS go-NOM.loc N.place even

After he fled, he had carried two eggs. It was far, the place he was going.

mesimma nardu rokthiɖ-ɖa-ʔe.
then bamboo.grove arrive-3s.PST-HS
Then he arrived at a bamboo grove.

ɖar-mu ɖar-mu khap-ɖy-m patshi
meet-NOM.inf meet-NOM.inf be.about.to-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after

ko-le po-ku ɖi tshagrok-ty retsha-ʔe.
one-CL hen-GEN egg throw.suddenly-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS

After she was about to catch up with him, he threw an egg.
“nardu bɔne dym-sa” by-ry ma po-ku ɖi
bamboo.grove N.made become-2IMP do-3s/3s.PST AS hen-GEN egg

grok-ty-m patshi nardu bɔne dys-ta-ʔe.
throw-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after bamboo.grove N.make become-3s.PST-HS

“Become a bamboo grove” he said, and threw the egg, and it did.

lɔs-ta ma u-miŋ-ka ɖar-mu ɖar-mu
go-3s.PST AS 3POSS-grandmother-ERG meet-NOM.inf meet-NOM.inf

khap-ɖy-m bela-ka
be.about.to-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.time-TEMP

kaŋgjo-num thaggro tshagrok-ty-ʔe ma nardu
N.comb-COM N.bamboo.brush throw.suddenly-3s/3s.PST-HS AS bamboo.grove

dys-ta ma mɯtta ɔlmɔle dys-ta-ʔe.
become-3s.PST AS there N.be.stuck become-3s.PST-HS

He left and when his grandmother was about to reach him, he threw a cook and brush, and the grove appeared and she got stuck.

pheri wo mɯtta ɔlmɔle dys-ta.
N.again even there N.be.stuck become-3s.PST

lɔs-ta lɔs-ta, pheri wo ɖar-mu khap-ɖy-ʔe.
go-3s.PST go-3s.PST N.again even meet-NOM.inf be.about.to-3s/3s.PST-HS

She got stuck there, and he went, and again she was about to catch him.

mekɔtima ko-le khola bai-ra retsha-ʔe.
then one-CL N.river be-3s.PST N.seem-HS

ɖokpu, tɔre dym-mu-ŋa mi-dzha-pa.
big N.cross become-NOM.inf-EMPH NEG-be.able-Npst.PRT

Then there was a river. It was big, and uncrossable.

meram-ɖa mɯ po-ku ɖi tshagrok-ty-m ne pul
that-LOC that hen-GEN egg throw.suddenly-3s/3s.PST-NOM TOP N.bridge

bɔne dys-ta retsha-ʔe.
N.make become-3s.PST N.seem-HS

He threw the egg in there and a bridge appeared.

mekɔtima, mɯ pul-laŋka hunuhombu luk-ta ma gɔn-ɖa.
then that N.bridge-ABL opposite.side come.out-3s.PST AS sit-3s.PST
Then he came out on the other side of the bridge and sat.

pul wo khotsɯjub-ɖy retsha-ʔe.
N.bridge also suck.away-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS
[the water] sucked away the bridge.

hunuhombu luk-ta ma gɔn-ɖa ma "mimao,
opposite.side come.out-3s.PST AS sit-3s.PST AS grandmother

bik-ni hai" rak-ta-ʔe
come-2p N.right say-3s/3s.PST-HS

He came out on the other side and sat and said "grandmother, come"

"ritsikuwa, gana ne hesaka re luk-na.
boy 2s TOP how FOC come.out-2s

go wo si-ŋi-ka.
1s also teach-2s/1s-2IMP

"Boy, how did you come out over there? Teach me.

go wo bi-ŋu" by-ry retsha-ʔe "o ne lu go ne
1s also come-1s do-3s/3s.NOM N.seem-HS this TOP N.hey 1s TOP

a-katsi re mina be-uto ma hɔm-to ma bi-ŋro.
1POSS-sarong FOC thing be-1s/3s.PST AS spread.out-1s/3s.PST AS come-1s.PST

I am also coming" she said. "I spread out my sarong and came.

mima gani wo mɯ ini-gunɯ hɔm-ni ma bik-ni,
grandmother 2p also that 2POSS-sarong spread.out-2p AS come-2p

thɔkpuri hɔm-ni ma bik-ni"
cloth.belt spread.out-2p AS come-2p

by-ry retsha-lo ne thɔkpuri hɔm-ry ma
do-3s/3s.NOM N.seem-SS TOP cloth.belt spread,out-3s/3s.PST AS

luk-ta-lo ne
come.out-3s.PST-SS TOP

khola-ka khotsɯjub-ɖy-ʔe lɔ-ry-ʔe.
N.river suck.in-3s/3s.PST-HS carry.away-3s/3s.PST-HS

"Grandmother, you too spread out your sarong and come, spread out your belt and come": he said and she spread her belt and when she came out, and river sucked her in and carried her away.

mɯ wossɯ tsahi nem lɔs-ta-ʔe. huk-ta.
that male CONTR house go-3s.PST-HS. finish-3s.PST
The boy went home. The end.

Dilwar

make deusa-kam tsahi ham bai-ra-ʔe bhane
long.ago Deusa-GEN CONTR what be-3s.PST-HS N.QUOT

o waetsɯ bante bai-ra.
this child.from.below where be-3s.PST

Long ago there was a story from Deusa about a child from down below.

u-sɔsural tsahi mela retsha.
3POSS-father.in.law.home CONTR there N.seem
His father in law's home was there.

u-badze bɔdzɔi koŋŋa bat-tsi.
3POSS-N.grandfather N.grandmother only be-3d.PST
He only had his grandparents.

dilwar ra-ma tsahi utsi-tsysy bai-ra tsha.
Dilwar call-Pst.PRT CONTR 3POSS-grandchild be-3s.PST COP.tsha
They had a grandchild named Dilwar.

meraŋ-kam waethɯm ba deu bai-ra ba ham bai-ra ni
that-GEN Waethem or Deu be-3s.PST or what be-3s.PST N.indeed.
He was from the Waethem or Deu or something [caste].

badze bɔdzɔi-num meram bai-ra tsha.
N.grandfather N.grandmother-COM that be-3s.PST COP.tsha
He lived with his grandparents.

diphu ɖokpu dys-ta.
later big become-3s.PST
Then he grew.

kam tsahi mi-be-pa-ʔe.
N.work CONTR NEG-do-Npst.PRT-HS
He didn't work.

badze bɔdzɔi-ka « gana bre-pa, lɔk-sa hai i-nem »
N.grandfather N.grandmother-ERG 2s lazy go-2IMP N.right 2POSS-house

bet-tsi-ʔe ma thyr-tsi-ʔe.
do-3d/3s.PST-HS AS send-3d/3s-HS

His grandparents said to him “You lazy, go on home!” and sent him off.

hui bloku-ju lɔs-ta-ʔe ma u-khel tsahi hoŋka
down river-loLOC go-3s.PST-HS AS 3POSS-leg CONTR like.this

ɖɔs-ty-ʔe mɯ khola-gwi tsobe-thaɖ-ɖy-ʔe.
drop-3s/3s.PST-HS that N.river-under N.dip.in.liquid-ITF-3s/3s.PST-HS

He went down to the river and put his legs in the water, into the river.

ŋo-ka ne mɯ u-khel khreɖ-ɖa geɖ-ɖa retsha-ʔe.
fish-ERG TOP that 3POSS-leg bite-3s/3s.PST come.up-3s.PST N.seem-HS
A fish came and bit his leg.

u-khel khreɖ-ɖy-lo ne phuttai tshagrok-ty retsha-ʔe.
3POSS-leg bite-3s/3s.PST-SS TOP N.suddenly throw.suddenly-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS
When it bit his leg, he threw it suddenly.

pakhanu lebbok-ty.
outside throw.down-3s/3s.PST
He threw it down outside [the water] suddenly.

khel khreɖ-ɖa geɖ-ɖa, khel khreɖ-ɖy-lo mɯ ŋo-ŋa
leg bite-3s/3s.PST come.up-3s.PST leg bite-3s/3s.PST-SS that fish-EMPH

grok-ty.
throw-3s/3s.PST

When the fish came and bit his leg, he threw it.

grok-ty-lo ne ŋo ne seɖ-ɖy ni ta.
throw-3s/3s.PST-SS TOP fish TOP kill-3s/3s.PST N.indeed
When he threw it, he killed the fish.

mɯ ŋo kheɖ-ɖy ma ne thama ne
that fish bring.up-3s/3s.PST AS TOP later TOP

mela-ŋa rok-ta retsha-ʔe.
there-EMPH come-3s.PST N.seem-HS

He brought the fish and later came there [to grandparents'].

melo mɯ ŋo wo pe-si mi-theʈ-pa ba-mri
then that fish also eat-VN NEG-be.able-Npst.PRT be-3p.PST

retsha-ʔe u-badze bɔdzɔi tsahi.
N.seem-HS 3POSS-N.grandfather N.grandmother CONTR

His grandparents were unable to eat the fish.

mesimma ne kheɖ-ɖy-ʔe-lo ne "a-bwi ham
then TOP bring.up-3s/3s.PST-HS-SS TOP 1POSS-head what

re kheɖ-ɖy oram-ka ne" rak-tsi-ʔe.
FOC bring.up-3s/3s.PST this-ERG TOP say-3d/3s.PST-HS

When he brought it up they said "Oh my, what has he brought?"

"a-bwi, o ne ma mima beba, mabo re ma, mabo »
1POSS-head this TOP AS grandmother grandfather fish FOC AS, fish

rak-ta-ʔe ma « pi-mim re o ne »
say-3s/3s.PST-HS AS eat.1pi-NOM.rel FOC this TOP

"Oh my, this, Grandmother and Grandfather, is a fish, a fish", he said "this is for us to eat."

rak-ta ma bɔny-ry ma gwak-ty-ʔe.
say-3s/3s.PST AS do-3s/3s.PST AS give-3s/3s.PST-HS
He said this, prepared it and gave it to them.

diphu tsɔŋra u-badzebɔdzɔi wo si-mri.
later later 3POSS-N.grandparents also die-3p.PST
Later on, his grandparents died.

u-badzebɔdzɔi wo siʈ-leʈ-tsi.
3POSS-N.grandparents also die-RES-3d.PST
His grandparents died.

mɯpatshi ne « gana ne bhɔʈuwa re, hunu lɔk-sa »
then TOP 2s TOP N.nomad FOC that.way go-2IMP

be-mri ma, mɯɖɖa-m-ka khaʈ-pa dym-miri.
do-3p/3s.PST AS there-NOM-ERG drive.away-Npst.PRT become-3p.PST

After that, [the villagers] said “hey you, nomad, get out of here”, and they prepared to drive him away.

memlo meram-ka « ɔbɔ gani re ŋado-m go re
then this-ERG N.now 2p FOC first-NOM 1s FOC

ŋado-m » rak-saka gu-ka nija be-pa dys-ta.
first-NOM say-AC 3s-ERG N.justice do-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST

Then he said to them “Which of us was here first?” and prepared to do justice.

nija by-ry-lo ham by-ry-ʔe bhane o tsemphra
N.justice do-3s/3s.PST-SS what do-3s/3s.PST-HS N.QUOT this bird.type

ra-ma tsɔkpu tsym-ry ma kwa-gwi ko-le
call-Pst.PRT bird catch-3s/3s AS mud-under one-CL

khaɖɔl dhai-ry ma mɯ-gwi dzyl-ly-ʔe mub-ɖy-ʔe.
N.hole dig-3s/3s.PST AS that-under put-3s/3s.PST-HS cover-3s/3s.PST-HS

When it was time to do justice, what he did is catch a bird called a Cemphra, dig a hole in the mud and bury the bird in there.

nija be-khop ʈau bɔny-ry ni ta.
N.justice do-L.NOM N.place prepare-3s/3s.PST N.indeed
He prepared the place of justice.

me-kka ko-le tharsaŋ kros-ty.
that-ERG one-CL long.bamboo.pole plant-3s/3s.PST
He planted a long bamboo pole.

lju-kam tshɔrke by-ry ma mela mɯ nija be-pa
bamboo-GEN N.diagonal.cut do-3s/3s.PST AS there that N.justice do-Npst.PRT

ʈau-ra kros-ty ma ku phik-ty ma mela bɔɖ-ɖy.
N.place-LOC plant-3s/3s.PST AS water pour-3s/3s.PST AS there join-3s/3s.PST

He cut a diagonal piece of bamboo and planted it in the place of justice and poured water on it and tied it up.

mesimma nija be-pa dys-ta, sintha sintha uni-bwa khli
then N.justice do-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST night night 3POSS-pig shit

dzɔtti tsahi u-bwa khor-ra buk-ty-ʔe ma nija be-pa
N.all CONTR 3POSS-pig N.pig.sty-LOC heap-3s/3s.PST-HS AS N.justice do-Npst.PRT

dys-ta.
become-3s.PST

Then he prepared to do justice, at night he gathered all the pig shit in his pig's styf and prepared to do justice.

nija by-ry.
N.justice do-3s/3s.PST
He did justice.

« lu, gani ŋado-m retsha mala subupo-ka tɔ-ni
N.hey 2p first-NOM N.seem COND cock-ERG crow-3s/2p

pari-kam ku-ka dɔni , go ŋado-m retsha mala
heaven-GEN water-ERG wet-3s/2p 1s first-NOM N.seem COND

subupo-ka tɔŋi pari ku-ka dɔŋi. »
cock-ERG crow-3s/1s heaven water-ERG wet-3s/1s

rak-to baikhere bet-to kwa ɖeb-ry-ʔe-lo
say-SC mutter do-SC group pound-3s/3s.PST-HS-SS

« tsjar tsjar » rak-ta-ʔe ɔni pheri baikhere
(onomatopeia) say-3s/3s.PST-HS N.and N.again mutter

bet-to mɯ tharsaŋ-ra hol-lyry-lo ne mɯ
do-SC that bamboo.pole-LOC N.shake-3s/3s.PST-HS TOP that

ku dɔk-ta ni ta.
water wet-3s/3s.PST N.indeed

“Hey, if you were here first, the cock will crow for you and water from heaven will wet you, if I was first, the cock will crow for me and the water from heaven will wet me” he said and muttered and when he pounded the ground [the bird] said “chiar chiar” and he muttered again and when he shook the bamboo pole, the water wet him.

ku-ka dɔk-ty ni ta.
water-ERG wet-3s/3s.PST N.indeed
The water wet him.

mettamma nija-ra glwas-ta.
then N.justice-LOC win-3s/3s.PST
Then he had won justice.

jaŋ hɔre dym-miri.
other N.lose become-3p.PST
The others lost.

memma meram dilwar ra-ma ɖokpu dys-ta.
then that Dilwar call-Pst.PRT big become-3s.PST
Then Dilwar grew bigger.

ɖokpu dys-ta-m patshi, tsɔŋra hui mɔdes-ju
big become-3s.PST-NOM N.after later down Tarai-lo.LOC

lɔs-ta meram khɔbɔr, hopmam mi-dzha-pa ra-mu.
go-3s.PST that N.news like.this NEG-able-Npst.PRT tell-NOM.inf

After he grew bigger, he went down to the Tarai, but I cannot tell that story.

ɔni mɔdes-laŋka mɔdise geɖ-ɖa gupsy dys-ta ma,
N.and Tarai-ABL Tarai.dweller come.up-3s.PST tiger become-3s.PST AS

mɔdise gupsy dys-ta ma hui tserkhu gele geɖ-ɖa-ʔe-lo
Tarai.person tiger become-3s.PST AS down Cerkhu up come.up-3s.PST-HS-SS

ne mɯ dilwar-ku nepsuŋ u-tap-ka ne ge-mu-ŋa
TOP that Dilwar-GEN sun 3POSS-self-ERG TOP come.up-NOM.inf-EMPH

mi-tsap-sy-ʔe.
NEG-able-3s-HS

A Tarai person changed into a tiger and came up, and when this Tarai tiger came up from Cerkhu, he was unable to come up on account of the heat from Dilwar.

phɔrke dym-ma lɔ bloku-ju-ŋa.
N.return become-Pst.PRT go.3s river-loLOC-EMPH
He returned and went down to the river.

ku ɖuŋ-y-ʔe, pheri ge, pheri ge-mu-ŋa
water drink-3s-HS N.again come.up.3s N.again come.up-NOM.inf-EMPH

mi-tsaps-y-ja.
NEG-able-3s-IRR

He drinks water, again comes up, again is unable to come up.

hɔiran dys-ta ma ge-mu mi-tsaps-y-ja-ŋa.
N.tired become-3s.PST AS come.up-NOM.inf NEG-able-3s-IRR-EMPH
He gets tired and is unable to come up.

mi-tsaps-y-ja, bloku-ju ku ɖuŋ-ry by-ry ma
NEG-able-3s-IRR river-loLOC water drink-3s/3s.PST do-3s/3s.PST AS

athɯhombu-laŋka gelaksi gele geɖ-ɖa
this.way.that.way-ABL Gelaksi above come.up-3s.PST

ma dzhɔreni lɔs-ta-ʔe.
AS Jhoreni go-3s.PST-HS

He was unable, drank water from the river, went up to Gelaksi from various sides and went to Jhoreni.

ɔni dzhɔreni-gola lɔs-ta ma ŋur-ra-ʔe.
N.and Jhoreni-inside.above go-3s.PST AS roar-3s.PST-HS
He went up into Jhoreni and roared.

ŋur-ra-m patshi, tha bu ni dilwar-lai.
roar-3s.PST-NOM N.after N.know be.3s N.indeed Dilwar-DAT
After he roared, Dilwar knew:

« go-num lɔɖai beb-ra geɖ-ɖa-m » rak-saka
1s-COM N.war do-PURP come.up-3s.PST-NOM say-AC

meram-ka sani tam-ry bini tam-ry
this-ERG [ritual word] collect-3s/3s [ritual word] make.liquor-3s/3s

ra-ma ɖy khok-ty ɖy tam-ry.
call-Pst.PRT alcohol cook-3s/3s.PST alcohol make.liquor-3s/3s

He collected various things and made alcohol, that it he cooked and prepared alcohol.

bini ra-ma bom-ra phik-ty.
bini call-Pst.PRT gourd-LOC pour-3s/3s.PST
“Bini” means ‘He poured into a gourd”

mɯ-gwi mari ham phik-ty ho ta bikh phik-ty
that-under lots what pour-3s/3s.PST COP.ho N.indeed N.poison pour-3s/3s.PST

ki ham phik-ty ma meɖɖa dzyl-dzɯl-ly.
N.right what pour-3s/3s.PST AS there put-PON-3s/3s.PST

What he poured in there is lots of poison.

“thama akima dzit dys-ta-la sɔŋlo ku
later 1POSS N.victory become-3s.PST-COND N.clear water

lu uma dzit dys-ta mala dhɔmilo lu hɔi”
come.out. 3s 3POSS N.victory become-3s.PST COND N.cloudy come.out.3s N.right

rak-ta-ʔe ma lɔs-ta-ʔe.
say-3s/3s.PST-HS AS go-3s.PST-HS

“Later, if the victory is ours, clear water will come out, if the victory is his, cloudy water will come out” he said and left.

me-kkam dui bhai u-tsɯ bat-tsi.
that-GEN N.two N.Y.brother 3POSS-child be-3d.PST
Dilwar had two young sons.

hunulam athɯlam u-tsɯ lɔk-tsi.
that.way this.way 3POSS-child go-3d.PST
His children went this way and that.

gu-ka tsahi ek than kam je-kam u-nari
3-ERG COND N.one N.whole.piece-GEN cloth-GEN 3POSS-N.wrist

bery-ry
N.wind.round-3s/3s.PST

ma bom kur-ry ma lamdi-ra.
AS gourd carry-3s/3s.PST AS walk-3s.PST

He wound a whole piece of cloth around his wrist and carried the gourd and walked.

u-tsɯ-tsi dzetha-num kantsha bat-tsi.
3POSS-child-DU N.o.brother-COM N.y.brother be-3d
He had an older and a younger son.

mɯrtsip-ka dhɔnukar kur-tsi ma lɔk-tsi.
they.two-ERG N.bow carry-3d AS go-3d.PST
They went around with bows.

lɔ-mri-m patshi mela-laŋka gupsy “ʔa” by-ry
go-3p.PST-NOM N.after there-ABL tiger aha do-3s/3s.PST

ma u-si whak-ty ma pep-ra jok-ta.
AS 3POSS-mouth open-3s/3s.PST AS eat-PURP come.down-3s.PST

After they went, the tiger from there went “aha” and opened his mouth and came down to eat them.

melo ek than je-ka bery-ry-m
then N.one N.whole.piece cloth-INSTR N.wind.around-3s/3s.PST-NOM

u-nari-ka
3POSS-N.wrist-INSTR

mɯ bom u-si-gunu tsɯkrwak-ty-ʔe.
that gourd 3POSS-mouth-inside shove.inside-3s/3s.PST-HS

Then with the wrist wrapped in cloth, he shoved the gourd into his mouth.

u-si-gunu khady-ry-lo u-dzydzyli-ka
3POSS-mouth-inside N.push-3s/3s.PST-SS 3POSS-incisor-ERG

kɔtikɔlɔŋ u-kantshi aula-ra ɖar-ry retsha-ʔe.
a.little 3POSS-N.baby finger-LOC meet-3s/3s N.seem-HS

When he pushed it into his mouth, the incisors came in contact with his baby finger.

memlo u-dzetha tshora-ka ban ob-ɖy retsha-ʔe
then 3POSS-N.older N.son-ERG N.arrow shoot-3s/3s.PST N.seem-HS

tɔrɔ mi-khres-y-ja-ʔe.
N.but NEG-strike-3s-IRR-HS

Then his older son shot an arrow, but it did not strike.

meram-ku u-nam lannatsɯ by-ry.
that-GEN 3POSS-N.name Lannacho do-3s/3s.PST
His name was Lannacho.

u-kantsha-ka ob-ɖy-ʔe-lo khres-ty-ʔe ma
3POSS-y.brother-ERG shoot-3s/3s.PST-HS-SS strike-3s/3s.PST-HS AS

seldzaŋ by-ry.
Seljang make-3s/3s.PST

When the younger son shot, he struck, and his name was Seljang.

u-dui bhai u-tsɯ-tsi-kam nam ba-beɖ-ɖytsi.
3POSS-N.two N.y.brother 3POSS-child-DU-GEN N.name wear-CAU-3s/3d.PST
He made his two sons keep their names.

deptsinɔŋ ba-beɖ-ɖytsi, lannatsɯ u-dzetha, seldzaŋ u-kantsha.
nickname wear-CAU-3s/3d.PST lannacho 3POSS-o.brother, Seljang 3POSS-y.brother
He made them take the nicknames, Lannacho for the elder, Seljang for the younger.

mɯ u-kantsha-kam ban-ka khrei-ry-ʔe ma seldzaŋ-ʔe.
that 3POSS-y.brother-GEN N.arrow-ERG strike-3s/3s.PST-HS AS Seljang-HS
The younger son's arrow struck and he is Seljang.

ɔni meŋka jo-mri-ʔe.
N.and like.that come.down-3p.PST-HS
And they came down like that.

dhali tsahi kitsɯ dhɔmilo dhɔmilo ku luk-ta-ʔe.
down CONTR a.little N.cloudy N.cloudy water come.out-3s.PST-HS
Down below, cloudy water was emerging.

meram tsahi kitsɯ u-kantshi aula-ra
that CONTR a.little 3POSS-N.baby N.finger-LOC

ɖar-ry-m-ka dhɔmilo luk-ta-m-ʔe.
meet-3s/3s.PST-NOM-INSTR N.cloudy come.out-3s.PST-NOM-HS

It was coming out cloudy because his little finger was injured.

mɯpatshi tsɔŋra dodi-ra wo oram khɔbɔr rothiɖ-ɖa.
then later Dodi-LOC also this N.news arrive-3s.PST
Then news came from Dodi.

mepatshi dodi-ra-m tsija-ka wo lɔre dym-pa dys-ta
then Dodi-LOC-NOM Sherpa-ERG also N.fight become-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST

ma pheri dodi-laŋka khɔbɔr be-mri.
AS N.again Dodi-ABL N.news do-3p/3s.PST

Then the Sherpas from Dodi were also preparing to fight, and again they sent news from Dodi.

meram dodi lɔk-pa dys-ta.
that Dodi go-Npst.PRT become-3s.PST
He prepared to go to Dodi.

ɔni dodi lɔs-ta-m patshi ghora thyr-miri-ʔe.
N.and Dodi go-3s.PST-NOM N.after N.horse send-3p/3s.PST-HS
And after he went to Dodi, they sent a horse against him.

ghora-num lɔɖai be-beʈ-miri-ʔe.
N.horse-COM N.war do-CAU-3p/3s.PST-HS
They made him fight against the horse.

ghora-ka ne “ɔnɔ latti-ka hoŋka gwak-pu”
N.horse-ERG TOP like.this N.leg-INSTR this.way give-1s/3s

ra-ma ob-ry-lo hui-laŋka lu-le-ʔe.
say-Pst.PRT shoot-3s/3s.PST-SS down-ABL exit-RES.3s-HS

The horse thought “I’ll give him a kick like this” and when he aimed, [Dilwar] came out from below.

“ɔnu prɔ-ŋu ma gwak-pu” ra-lo hui-laŋka lu-le-ʔe.
here jump-1s AS give-1s/3s say.3s/3s-SS down-ABL exit-RES.3s-HS
When he said “I’ll jump here and give him [a kick] [Dilwar] came out.

dui-khep tin-khep-kam bela-ka ne ghora-ŋa
N.two-N.times N.three-N.times-GEN N.time-TEMP TOP N.horse-EMPH

tswaʈʈai waɖ-ɖy-ʔe ma pulitshas-ty-ʔe ghora.
N.abruptly cut-3s/3s.PST-HS AS push.suddenly-3s/3s.PST-HS N.horse

This happened two, three times, and then Dilwar abruptly killed the horse, making it fall.

ma « lu mi-dzha-pa retsha » be-mri-ʔe ma
AS N.hey NEG-able-Npst.PRT N.seem do-3p/3s.PST-HS AS

« khɔtle golaitsa, khɔtle ham lɔ-na » ra-mri ma
all N.carpet all what carry.away-2s/3s say-3p/3s.PST AS

bum-sa-mri-ʔe.
heap-BEN-3p/3s.PST-HS

And they said “this is impossible; take all the carpets, take everything” and heaped them up.

“ima-dzit dys-ta” be-mri ma thama ne ko-le
2POSS-N.victory become-3s.PST do-3p/3s.PST AS later TOP one-CL

raksaŋ re khumsi-mu-ʔe ma u-ʈɔrbar
copper.pot FOC wear.on.head-NOM.inf-HS AS 3POSS-N.machete

khjarerere thyt-to geɖ-ɖa-ʔe.
scraping.sound pull-SC come.up-3s.PST-HS

They said “it was your victory” and later, wearing a copper pot and scraping his machete, he went up.

memsaka dilwar ra-ma-kam u-jum tsahi bai-ra retsha-ʔe.
like.that Dilwar call-Pst.PRT-GEN 3POSS-power CONTR be-3s.PST N.seem-HS
He who was called Dilwar had such power.

memma seldzaŋ-num lannatsɯ tsahi dadzju bhai retsha.
then Seljang-COM Lannacho CONTR N.o.brother N.y.brother N.seem
Then there were the brothers, Lannacho and Seljang.

athambili wo o deusa-gunu krisnesormim tsahi seldzaŋ tsɯ retsha.
nowadays also this Deusa-inside Krisnesor-PLU CONTR Seljang child N.seem.
And nowadays in Deusa the family of Krisnesor are the kin of Seljang.

Ghumne Pani

make mɯ ghumne pani pokhari bai-ra-ʔe.
long.ago that Ghumne Pani N.pond be-3s.PST-HS
Long ago there was a pond called Ghumne Pani

deusa-nu-m darim popnar ra-ma
Deusa-levLOC-NOM.rel Darim Popnar call-Pst.PRT

dadzju bhai noktsho get-tsi.
N.o.brother N.y.brother shaman come.up-3d.PST

Two shaman brothers from Deusa, called Darim and Popnar, came up there.

noktsho get-tsi-lo mɯ-gora-m mɯ
shaman come.up-3d.PST-SS that-around-NOM.rel that

pokhari-ra-m deuta-ka
N.pond-LOC-NOM.rel N.god-ERG

thuny-rytsi-ʔe ma utsi-biddhja-ka mɯr-tsip-ka
stop.3s-3s/3d.PST-HS AS 3POSS-N.power-INSTR that-DU-ERG

ham bet-tsi-ʔe bhandakheri parbum-ka
what do-3d/3s.PST-HS N.QUOT headdress-INSTR

pokhari op-tsi ma kholet-tsi-ʔe.
N.pond shoot-3d.PST AS N.open-3d/3s.PST-HS

When the shamans went up there, the god from around that pond stopped them, but with their power they did what they wanted and threw a headdress into the pond and opened it.

kholet-tsi-m patshi mɯ ku lɔs-ta-ʔe.
N.open-3d/3s.PST-NOM N.after that water go-3s.PST-HS
After they opened it, all the water flowed out.

mɯ ku lɔs-ta-m patshi mɯtta-m lo dzɔtti dzɔmmai
that water go-3s.PST-NOM N.after there-NOM frog N.all N.all

tsym-tsi ma sɯt-tsi-ʔe.
catch-3d/3s AS bring.down-3d/3s.PST-HS

After the water was gone, they caught all the frogs from there and brought them down.

bhari phik-tsi ma sɯt-tsi.
N.load place.in-3d/3s.PST AS bring.down-3d/3s.PST
They placed them in their load and brought them down.

bhari phik-tsi ma sut-tsi-m patshi ham bet-tsi
N .load place.in-3d/3s.PST AS bring.down-3d/3s.PST-NOM N.after what do-3d/3s.PST

bhane dekhi mari neŋ-gunu buk-tsi.
N.QUOT N.since lots house-inside put.down-3d/3s.PST

After they placed them in their load and brought them down, what they did is put them down inside the house.

buk-tsi-m patshi lam tsɔk-tsi.
put.down-3d/3s.PST-NOM N.after door close-3d/3s.PST
After they put them down, they closed the door.

mɯ lo bɔne-mu bela-ka mɯ deuta rok-ta ni pheri,
that frog N.prepare-NOM N.time-TEMP that N.god come-3s.PST N.indeed N.again,

lɯlɯdym.
Lɯlɯdym.

When it was time to prepare the frogs, the god Leledym came again.

lo bit-to rok-ta.
frog beg-SC come-3s.PST
He came to beg for the frogs.

memlo-ka mɯ bɔne-mu tsahi pala-ka bɔnet-tsi-ʔe .
then-TEMP that N.prepare-NOM.inf CONTR N.turn-INSTR prepare-3d/3s.PST-HS
At that time, they were prepare them in turns.

ɔni khali pala-ka bɔnet-tsi ko-le-ka tɔmakhu
N.and N.always N.turn-INSTR N.prepare-3d/3s.PST one-CL-ERG N.pipe

bɔnet-tsi
N.prepare-3d/3s.PST

katsopat-kam tɔmakhu bɔnet-tsi ma mɯ
N.marijuana-GEN N.pipe N.prepare-3d/3s.PSRT AS that

ho-ri-lo mɯ deuta swa-pa-ʔe.
blow-1pi-SS that N.god flee-Npst.PRT-HS

And they prepared them in turns, one of them prepared a pipe of marijuana and when they lit it, the god disappeared.

ko-le-ka lam-ku ʈoʈa-laŋka hoɖ-ɖy-lo hunu lɔ-ʔe.
one-CL-ERG door-GEN N.small.hole-ABL blow-3s/3s.PST-SS there go.3s-HS
When one of them blew through a small hole in the door, he left.

mɯ bela-ka pala-ka bɔnet-tsi rat bhɔri meŋka
that N.time-ERG N.turn-INSTR N.prepare-3d/3s.PST N.night N.throughout like.this

banet-tsi
do-3d/3s.PST

At that time, as they prepared [the frogs] in turns, they spent the whole night like this.

rat bhɔri nemsoŋ-ram patshi ɖiʈ-miri ma lɔ-mɖi-ʔe.
N.night N.throughout dawn-GEN N.after abandon-3p/3s.PST AS go-3p.PST-HS
All night, and after dawn they stopped and left.

bante ʔo.
where
Where to?

mɯmim dip re ham rɔbuʈkhom-ra bi-mri-ʔe
they Dip FOC what Robutkhom-LOC come-3p.PST-HS

They came to Dip, to what was Robutkhom.
rambokhom-ra bi-mri ma mɯmiŋ-ka rɔŋma be-mri-ʔe.
Rambokhom-LOC come-3p.PST AS they-ERG prayer do-3p/3s.PST-HS
They came to Rambokhom and they prayed.

rɔŋma ra-ma khrapsyly hopmam " dym-na, gana
prayer say-Pst.PRT cry like.this become-2s 2s

mepmam dym-na" ra-ma.
like.that become-2s say-Pst.PRT

"Rɔŋma" means saying "Become this" in a crying manner.

rɔŋma be-mri-m patshi mɯrtsip-ka pheri hala-laŋka
prayer do-3p/3s.PST-NOM N.after they.2-ERG N.again above-ABL

mɯ luŋ dzɔpet-tsi ma op-tsi-ʔe.
that stone cast.spell-3d.PST AS shoot-3d.PST-HS

After they prayed, they put a spell on the rock and threw it.

mɯpatshi mɯmiŋ-ka ɖiʈ-miri-ʔe ma lɔ-mri-ʔe.
then they-ERG abandon-3p/3s.PST-HS AS go-3p.PST-HS
Then they gave stopped and left.

mettamma mesinɖa pokhari khole dys-ta.
then there N.pond N.open become-3s.PST
Then the pond opened there.

mesinɖa ko-le nag bai-ra-ʔe.
there one-CL N.cobra be-3s.PST-HS
They was a cobra there.

meram nag swa-ŋra-ʔe ma baŋge dys-ta-m-ʔe meram ʈau
that N.cobra flee-3s.PST-HS AS N.crooked become-3s.PST-NOM-HS that N.place

ghumne pani ra-mi-m-ʔe.
Ghumne Pani call-3p-NOM-HS

That cobra fled and they call the place that became crooked Ghumne Pani.

meram nag mɯ-laŋka hunu munaŋdin ra-ma-nu lɔs-ta-ʔe
that N.cobra that-ABL there Munangdin call-Pst.PRT-levLOC go-3s.PST-HS
That cobra went to a place called Munangdin from there.

munaŋdin ra-ma o tshaga-ku sir ber-y, nagdɔhɔ ra-mi
Munangdin call-Pst.PRT this Chaga-GEN N.top occur-3s.PST Nagdoho call-3p/3s

athambili,
nowadays

meno lɔ-mri-ʔe rak-pa lwa be-m-thal-miri.
there go-3p.PST-HS say-Npst.PRT talk do-3p-HAB-3p/3s.PST

Munangdin is located above Chaga, what we now call Nagdaha, and the story is that [the cobra' went there.

meram nag baŋge dys-ta-m tsahi mɯ-laŋka
that N.cobra N.crooked become-3s.PST-NOM CONTR that-ABL

swa-ŋra-m-ʔe.
flee-3s.PST-NOM-HS

That cobra fled from the crooked place.

ʈau mal-ly ma lɔs-ta-m ni mɯ tsahi mɯɖɖa-m,
N.place search-3s/3s.PST AS go-3s.PST-NOM N.indeed that CONTR there-NOM

pokhari-ra-m
N.pond-LOC-NOM.rel

lo dzɔtti tsahi noktsho-ka lɔk-tsi.
frog N.all CONTR shaman carry.away-3d.PST

He searched for a place and went, the shamans had carried off all that frogs from the pond.

nag tsahi swa-ŋɖa-ʔe ma baŋge dym-pa bu-mim.
N.cobra CONTR flee-3s.PST-HS AS N.crooked become-Npst.PRT be-NOM
The cobra fled and [the place] became crooked.

« a-lo-je a-lo-je » rak-thal-la-ʔe.
1POSS-frog-VOC 1POSS-frog-VOC say-HAB-3s/3s.PST-HS
“My frogs, my frogs” he called.

lɯlɯdym ra-ma tsahi bajehop rak-i iki-lwa-laŋka,
Leledym call-Pst.PRT CONTR Bayehop call-1pi 1POSS-language-ABL

badzi-lwa-laŋka dzhakri ra-mi.
Chetri-language-ABL Jhakri call-3p

meram tsahi deuta ho ni ta.
that CONTR N.god COP.ho N.indeed

We call the one called Leledym Bayehop in our language, and the Chetris call him Jhakri in their language, he is indeed a god.

mɯrmiŋ-ka mem ra-mri-ʔe
they-ERG like.that call-3p/3s.PST-HS
They [the Nepalis] call him that [ie a god].

noktsho-tsip tsahi make kunɖo re bante lɔk-tsi-lo
shaman-DU CONTR long.ago Kundo FOC where go-3d.PST-SS

mɯɖɖa-m bajehop-ka thuny-rytsi retsha-ʔe.
there-NOM Bayehop-ERG N.stop-3s/3d.PST N.seem-HS

When the shamans went to Kundo or so, Bayehop stopped them.

mɯ-kku u-tshoktso-ka mem bet-tsi-m-ʔe.
that-GEN 3POSS-anger-INSTR like.that do-3d/3s.PST-NOM-HS
They did that out of anger.

mesinɖa twak-ŋa dym-si-lo dam-si-ʔe ra-mi.
there self-EMPH become-1pi-SS disappear-1pi-HS say-3p
It is said that when we are there on our own, we get lost there.

make ko-le tamaŋ-ku tsɯ dordze ra-ma dams-ta
long.ago one-CL Tamang-GEN child Dorje call-Pst.PRT disappear-3s.PST

tɔrɔ athal ne ham dam.
N.but now TOP what disappear.3s

Long ago a Tamang boy called Dorje disappeared but now noone disappears.

ko-le, kɔti sal dys-ta athaldika dherai sal-ŋa
one-CL N.how.many N.year become-3s.PST nowadays N.many N.year-EMPH

dym
become.3s

hola aʈh, nau barsa-kam, goʈhala bai-ra-m-ʔe.
N.maybe N.eight, N.nine N.year-GEN N.herder be-3s.PST-NOM-HS

There was a herder, maybe eight or nine years old.

mɯ ghumne pani-ku tsheubare-ŋa
that Ghumne Pani-GEN N.environs-EMPH

bai-ra-m-ʔe.
be-3s.PST-NOM-HS

He was near Ghumne Pani.

mɯkotiŋa bepɔʈʈa dys-ta-ʔe.
then N.vanish become-3s.PST-HS
Then he vanished.

make ne mɯ ghumne pani gele ne ba-m-thal-miri ni,
long.ago TOP that Ghumne Pani above TOP be-3p-HAB-3p.PST N.indeed

mɯmim lɯlɯdym ra-ma ne thupro ba-m-thal-miri ni.
they Leledym call-Pst.PRT TOP N.many be-3p-HAB-3p.PST N.indeed

Long ago they were living up above Ghumne Pani, those called the Leledym.

mɯ orar-ra tsahi tsɯtsɯ-mim lɔ-mu ma ɖʒisi
that N.cave-LOC CONTR child-PLU carry.off-NOM.inf AS abandon-VN

myny-pa bai-ra-ʔe.
NEG.OBL-Npst.PRT be-3s.PST-HS

Children were not to be brought to the cave and left.

make mɯ tsɯtsɯ-mim ne khɔtle lɔk-to pet-to mɯ
long.ago that child-PLU TOP all carry.off-SC eat-SC that

u-bala-mim tsɔŋra orar-ra bai-thal-la-ʔe
3POSS-N.bracelet-PLU later N.cave-LOC be-HAB-3s.PST-HS

ra-m-thal-miri.
say-3p-HAB-3p/3s.PST

Long ago, those children brought to the cave and eaten, their bracelets were still in the cave later.

make ne ro-m-thal-miri-ʔe ni, memkaŋa.
long.ago TOP come-3p-HAB-3p.PST-HS N.indeed like.this
Long ago, they came like this.

go la-uto-m bu lɯlɯdym.
1s see-1s/3s.PST-NOM be.3s Leledym
I saw a Leledym.

mɯ thɔtse sano mi-dym-thi-m la-uto.
that time N.small NEG-become-NEXP-NOM see-1s/3s.PST
At that time, when my child was not born yet, I saw him.

tshaubis sal-ka ghumne pani lɔk-tsoko-m bai-ra
N.twenty-four N.year-TEMP Ghumne Pani go-1de.PST-NOM be-3s.PST
We went to Ghumne Pani in the year 24.

mela-ŋa ɔm-ra lɔk-tsoko-m, bau tshora tsahi
there-EMPH sleep-PURP go-1de.PST-NOM, N.father N.son CONTR

tshɯ-tsi ma bhansa bo-tsi.
do.quickly-3d AS N.food do-3d

We went there to sleep, and father and son worked quickly and prepared food.

ko-le pitsɔm ra-ma thokor-ku tsɯ bai-ra.
one-CL Pichom call-Pst.PRT Thokor-GEN child be-3s.PST
There was a child called Pichom, the son of Thokor.

mɯ wo khan-so-mri tsha, omim-ka.
that also drive.out-DEF-3p/3s.PST COP.tsha these-ERG
They chased him away, these two.

dɔhi khui-ry ma mɯ ne hunuthɯ gai-kam gunu
N.curd steal-3s/3s AS that TOP over.there N.cow-GEN inside

hu-ŋra ma ɔms-ta retsha.
enter-3s.PST AS sleep-3s.PST N.seem

He stole curd and went into the cow's shed and slept.

go tsahi hellowo miksi-lam mi-lwa-pa mɯ nem ne la-uto.
1s CONTR today eye-ABL NEG-see-Npst.PRT that day TOP see-1s/3s.PST
I never have special sight, but that day I did.

o kurkutstsa ne ŋado re bu ta.
this N.heel TOP first FOC be.3s N.indeed
This heel was in front.

o breptsɯ tsahi tsɔŋ-ra
this finger CONTR backside-LOC

ɔkoti dhypa u-sem ne tɯlɯlɯ thys-ty
this.much long 3POSS-hair TOP very.long pull-3s/3s.PST

ma goʈha ek phɔnko by-ry ma lɔs-ta.
AS N.cattle.shed N.one N.round do-3s/3s.PST AS go-3s.PST

This toe was backwards, and he pulled his hair this long.

mɯ khɔs-ka goʈha-ra dɔhi khui-ry-m-ka dzuʈho
that Chetri-ERG N.shed-LOC N.curd steal-3s/3s-NOM-CAUS N.polluted

dys-ta-m hola ni.
become-3s.PST-NOM N.maybe N.indeed

Because that Chetri stole curd in the shed, it became ritually polluted.

memma mem bas-ta-m hola.
then like.that do-3s.PST-NOM N.maybe
Maybe that's why he did it [ie why Leledym came out]

a-ŋim-ka go ne a-kɔl krep-to sɯ-mu tsahi
1POSS-fear-INSTR 1s TOP 1POSS-face cover-1s/3s.PST tell-NOM.inf CONTR

mi-sɯ-u-wa.
NEG-tell-1s/3s-IRR

I covered my face in fear, and said nothing.

mɯɖɖamma ghumne pani-ra go bas-ra wo mi-lɔ-ŋ-wa.
after.that Ghumne Pani-LOC 1s N.sleep-LOC also NEG-go-1s-IRR
After that, I wouldn't go sleep in Ghumne Pani.

mɯ ne dym-ŋa ni ɔbɔ noktsho-ka mina bo-mi.
that TOP become.3s-EMPH N.indeed N.now shaman-ERG thing do-3p
[Leledym] is there, so the shaman performs a ritual.

mɯ ne ɔbɔ ghume dym-bhal-ŋa ni.
that TOP N.now N.walk become.3s-APX-EMPH N.indeed
He [Leledym god] is always wandering.

atha wo lwala sɯs-i, lwa-pa-ka lwa-mi, mi-lwa-pa-ka
now also see see-Npst.PRT-ERG see-3p NEG- see-Npst.PRT-ERG

mi-lwa-mi.
NEG-see-3p

Now he appears, and those who can see him do, and those who cannot do not.

noktsho-ka je-ry ni.
shaman-ERG call-3s N.indeed
The shaman calls him.

dzhakri dzhakri ni ra-ma mere.
Jhakri Jhakri N.indeed call-Pst.PRT not
He doesn't call him Jhakri.

dzhakri ra-ma ne make mepma-ŋa utpɔti dys-ta-m.
Jhakri call-Pst.PRT TOP long.ago like.that-EMPH N.establish become-3s.PST-NOM
The one called Jhakri became settled long ago.

mɯ dzɔŋgɔli-mytsy hopmam-ŋa
that N.forest-man like.this-EMPH

tɔrɔ gui murkhɔ-ka mi-lwas-i.
N.but 1pi normal.sighted-ERG NEG-see-1pi
He is like a forest dweller, but we normal-sighted ones cannot see him.

mepmam miksi-lam lwa-pa-ka lwas-i.
like.that eye-ABL see-Npst.PRT-ERG see-1pi
Those can see him with their eyes do.

meram khrab-ɖa-la mi-dzɯpa dym.
that cry-3s.PST-COND NEG-good become.3s
If he cries, things go wrong.

mɯ-kka tsinta wo by.
that-ERG N.magic also do.3s
He does magic too.

guku ne mi-lwa-ku, lwa-pa-ka bu retsha ra-mi.
1pe TOP NEG-see-1pe see-Npst.PRT-ERG be.3s N.seem say-3p
We can't see him, but they say there are those who do.

go tsahi la-uto, tsɯtsɯ mi-dym-thi-ŋa.
1s CONTR see-1s/3s.PST child NEG-become-NEXP-EMPH
I saw him, before my child was born.

dhara phar-nu, mela wo la-uto, ɔsi wo la-uto.
N.tap near-levLOC there also see-1s/3s.PST, here also see-1s/3s.PST
Near the water tap, I saw him there, and I also saw him here.

mɯ nem grɔhɔn bai-ra.
that day N.eclipse be-3s.PST
There was an eclipse that day.

sɔsur-ka "nuhe-mu ma koŋŋa po-mu" ra-mri
N.father.in.law-ERG N.bathe-NOM.inf AS only eat-NOM.inf say-3p/3s.PST

ma sɯlsib-ra lɔ-ŋro.
AS bathe-PURP go-1s.PST

My father in law said "We can only bathe and eat [on this day]", and I went to bathe.

"dala nuhe-ni grɔhɔn lɔs-ta, po-m basi" ra-mri.
fast N.bathe-2p N.eclipse go-3s.PST eat-NOM.inf OBL say-3p.PST
"Bathe quickly, the eclipse is gone, we must eat" he said.

memlo sano retsha mina-ra.
then N.child N.seem thing-LOC
At that time I was pregnant.

lɔ-ŋro-m ne «he bo-mu » ra-ŋro ma « bwi-laŋka-ŋa
go-1s.PST-NOM TOP what do-NOM.inf say-1s/3s.PST AS head-ABL-EMPH

sɯlsi-m parjo » ra-ŋro ma je-mim plyt-to ma
wash-NOM.inf N.OBL say-1s/3s.PST AS clothes-PLU put.in.water-1s/3s.PST AS

sɯb-to.
wash-1s/3s.PST

I went, and said "what shall I do: I must start by washing my head" and I put my clothes in the water and washed them.

memma bwi hur-to be-uto ma a-rɯm sɯl-to ma pakha
then head wash-SC do-1s/3s.PST AS 1POSS-body wash-1s/3s.PST AS outside

lu-ŋro ma a-je phɔ-ŋ-si-ŋro-lo ne gele
exit-1s.PST AS 1POSS-clothes put.on-1s-DET-1s.PST-SS TOP above

lɔk-pa lamdi-ra ne
go-Npst.PRT road-LOC TOP

tɯlɯmram lɔs-ta.
flash go-3s.PST

Then I washed my head and body and went outside, and as I put on my clothes, he went by in a flash on the road above.

go ne a-ŋim wo mi-ly-ja.
1s TOP 1POSS-fear also NEG-feel-IRR
I didn't even feel afraid.

neb-ra bi-ŋro ma "ane ham ho ko-le mesem u-breptsɯ
house-LOC come-1s.PST AS today what COP.ho one-CL woman 3POSS-toe

wo ɔnu hik-ty ma tɯlɯmram gele lɔs-ta"
also this.way return-3s.PST AS flash above go-3s.PST

ra-ŋro-lo “ʔe, lwan-na gana wo” ra-mri sɔsura-ka.
say-1s/3s.PST-SS ah see-2s/3s.PST 2s also say-3p.PST N.father.in.law-ERG

I went home and when I said “what is that woman with her toes backwards who ran away in a flash” my father in law said “oh, you saw her also?”

mɯkoti nɔ-khep tsahi go la-uto.
then two-N.times CONTR 1s see-1s/3s.PST
Then I saw her twice.

athaldika ne go mi-la-u.
nowadays TOP 1s NEG-see-1s/3s.
Now, I don’t see her.

do-mu tsahi do, luŋ-ka ob-ry-ʔe.
move-NOM.inf CONTR move.3s stone-INSTR shoot-3s/3s.PST-HS
As for moving, [the god] moves, and throws stones.

noktsho-ka ne tsinta bo-mi-lo wo ro.
shaman-ERG TOP N.magic do-3p-SS also come.3s
When the shaman does magic [the god] comes.

lamdi-mi-lo wo nalesa-rymi, noktsho-lai ne.
walk-3p-SS also tease-3s/3p shaman-DAT TOP
When he walks, [the god] teases the shaman.

koptse pap hunu, dhara phar rothi-saka phɔrke dys-thal-la
Kopce father there N.tap near arrive-AC N.return become-HAB-3s.PST
Kopce, the shaman, arrived near the water tap and left again.

jaŋlo mɯ khrab-ɖa bhane tsahi mytsy si-mi.
sometimes that cry-3s.PST N.if CONTR man die-3p
Sometimes if [the god] cries, people die.

meram khram-mim-ku u-jum plwas-i-ka mytsy si-mi.
that cry.3s-NOM.rel-GEN 3POSS-power forget-1pi-TEMP man die-3p
When we forget the power of his crying, men die.

tɔrɔ meram khram-lo mɔni lɔ-mi-ʔe.
N.but that cry.3s-SS N.good.man go-3p-HS
But when he cries good men go.

hapa nypa dzɯpa-ŋa dɔrmati si-mi-ʔe.
much kind good-EMPH N.pious die-3p-HS
Very kind, good pious men die.

Frog story

ɔsinɖa ko-le nem-ku koʈha bu.
here one-CL house-GEN N.room be.3s
Here is a room in a house.

o nem-ku koʈha-gunu ko-le wosswɯ tswɯtswɯ-num khlea bu-tsi.
this house-GEN N.room-inside one-CL male child-COM dog be-3d
Inside the room in this house are a boy and a dog.

o-tsip-ka ɔsinɖa o bɔʈɔl-gunu ko-le boro dzyl-tsi-m retsha.
this-DU-ERG here this N.bottle-inside one-CL frog put-3d/3s-NOM N.seem
Here, these two have put a frog inside this bottle.

mɯ-llai rep-saŋa bu-tsi.
that-DAT watch-AC+EMPH be-3d
They are watching it.

mɯ-kku hunum-pɔʈʈi-tsheu-ra ko-le tsɔkpu hopmam lwas-i.
that-GEN that.way-NOM-N.side-N.edge-LOC one-CL bird like.this see-1pi
Around the other side of the bottle, we see a bird.

ɔsinɖa ko-le ɔm-khop khaʈ-num hunu-m-pɔʈʈi
here one-CL sleep-NOM.loc N.bed-COM that.way-NOM-N.side

dzhjal wo lwas-i.
N.window also see-1pi

Here we see a bed and a window on the far side.

dzhjal-ku pakha-laŋka ko-le khlɯmu wo lwas-i.
N.window-GEN outside-ABL one-CL moon also see-1pi
We also see the moon outside the window.

memma or-tsip ɔsinɖa mɯ bɔʈɔl-gwi-m boro-lai
then this-DU here that N.bottle-down-NOM frog-DAT

mɔdza-ka rem-tsi-m bu-tsi.
fun-INSTR watch-3d-NOM be-3d

Then here these two are looking at the frog in the bottle for fun.

ɔsinɖa tsahi doi-ŋa khaʈ-ɖɔla ɔm-tsi-m retsha.
here CONTR N.two-EMPH N.bed-on sleep-3d-NOM N.seem
And here the two seem to be sleeping in the bed.

or-tsip ɔm-tsi-m bela-ka boro pakhara
this-DU sleep-3d-NOM N.time-TEMP frog outside

lu-mu mal-saŋa bu.
exit-NOM.inf search-AC+EMPH be.3s

While they sleep, the frog is trying to get out.

mesinɖa khaʈ-ku phar-ra ko-le gɔn-khop bu,
there N.bed-GEN near-LOC one-CL sit-NOM.loc be.3s

ko-dzor dzuta bu, khlysi-khop.
one-N.pair N.shoes be.3s wear.on.feet-NOM.loc

There, near the bed, are a chair and a pair of shoes.

ɔthɯ-laŋka ko-dzor tsɔkpɔl wo lwas-i.
this.side-ABL one-N.pair N.sandals also see-1pi
From here, we also see a pair of sandals.

memma ɔrkɔ-ra mɯ khlea-num wossɯ
then N.other-LOC that dog-COM male

bɔ-tsi ma mɯ boro-lai rep-saŋa bu-tsi.
rise-3d AS that frog-DAT look-AC+EMPH be-3d

Then in another [picture] the dog and boy wake up and are looking at the frog.

tɔrɔ mesinɖa boro-ŋa mi-bu.
N.but there frog-EMPH NEG-be.3s
But the frog isn't there.

ɔni or-tsip-ka koʈha-bhɔri mal-tsi.
N.and this-DU-ERG N.room-N.around search-3d
They search all over the room.

"bante lɔs-ta boro" ra-tsi ma khɔtle thɯ mal-tsi.
where go-3s.PST frog say-3d/3s AS all there search-3d

“Where did the frog go?” they say, and search everywhere.
khlea-ka tsahi mɯ bɔʈɔl-gunu u-bwi phik-y.
dog-ERG CONTR that N.bottle-inside 3POSS-head stick.in-3s/3s
The dog sticks his head inside the bottle.

u-bwi mɯ-gunu-ŋa ɔrke dym.
3POSS-head that-inside-EMPH N.be.stuck become.3s
His head gets stuck in there.

dzhjal-laŋka doi-ka rem-tsi pakhara.
N.window-ABL N.two-ERG look-3d/3s outside
The two look out from the window.

khlea tsahi dzhjal-laŋka mɯ bɔʈɔl-nuŋ-ŋa dhali hum pakhara lɔ
dog CONTR N.window-ABL that N.bottle-COM-EMPH down fall.3s outside go.3s
The dog falls out the window with the bottle.

memma mɯ wossɯ hɔʈar hɔʈar lɔ ma
then that male N.quickly N.quickly go.3s AS

mɯ khlea-lai tsym-ry.
that dog-DAT catch-3s/3s

Then the boy hurries over and catches the dog.

mɯ patshi mɯr-tsip boro-lai mal-to mal-to lɔ-tsi.
that N.after that-DU frog-DAT search-SC search-SC go-3d
Then they go off looking for the frog.

mal-to mal-to hapa hunubhal lɔ-tsi, sɯbdi-ku lamdi-ra rothin-tsi.
search-SC search-SC much far.away go-3d forest-GEN road-LOC arrive-3d
Searching and searching, they go very far and arrive at a path in the forest.

sɯbdi-ra rothin-tsi-m patshi tsɯtsɯ-ka tsahi
forest-LOC arrive-3d-NOM N.after child-ERG CONTR

ko-le dulo lwas-y mɯ lamdi-ra.
one-CL N.hole see-3s/3s that road-LOC

After the arrive in the forest, the child sees a hole in the path.

“mɯ-gwi boro huŋ-ra-m bu re” rak-saka rep-saŋa bu.
that-down frog fall-3s.PST-NOM be.3s FOC say-AC look-AC+EMPH be.3s
“Maybe the frog fell down there” he says, looking.

khlea-ka mɯ rukh-ra plym-ku nem lwas-y.
dog-ERG that N.tree.LOC wasp-GEN house see-3s/3s
The dog sees a wasp’s nest in a tree.

boro tsahi mɯ dulo-laŋka lu ma wossɯ-ku miksi-ra khre-ry.
frog CONTR that N.hole-ABL exit.3s AS male-GEN eye-LOC bite-3s/3s.PST
A frog comes out of the hols and bites the boy in the eye.

khlea tsahi mɯ rukh-ra hu ma plym-ku nem hums-y.
dog CONTR that N.tree-LOC go.up.3s AS wasp-GEN house make.fall-3s/3s
The dog goes up into the tree and makes the wasp nest fall.

ɔsinɖa tsahi khlea-lai plym-ka khren-mu-kam lagi
here CONTR dog-DAT wasp-ERG sting-NOM.inf-GEN N.sake

plym-ku gola khlea-ɖɔla lɔ-mi.
wasp-GEN N.group dog-above go-3p

Here in order to sting the dog, the group of wasps come after the dog.

khlea u-ŋim-ka swa.
dog 3POSS-fear-INSTR flee.3s
The dog flees in fear.

wossɯ tsahi rukh-ra hu ma mɯ rukh-ku pwal-ra reb-ry.
male CONTR N.tree-LOC go.up.3s AS that N.tree-GEN N.hole look-3s/3s.PST
The boy goes up into the tree and looks into the hole.

mesinɖa ko-le bobop lu ma mɯ tsɯtsɯ-lai kɔk-y.
there one-CL owl exit.3s AS that child-DAT peck-3s/3s
There an owl comes out and pecks at the child.

tsɯtsɯ ta-ma kwa-ɖa hum.
child fall-Pst.PRT ground-LOC fall.3s
The boy falls and lands on the ground.

khlea-lai plym-ka kha-saŋa bu-mi.
dog-DAT wasp-ERG chase-AC+EMPH be-3p
The wasps are chasing the dog.

khlea on-saŋa bu.
dog run-AC+EMPH be.3s
The dog is running.

ɔsinɖa tsɯtsɯ-lai bobop-ka kha-saŋa bu.
here child-DAT owl-ERG chase-AC+EMPH be.3s
Here the owl is chasing the boy.

memma ɔsinɖa ko-le luŋ-ra khlea-num tsɯtsɯ swa-saŋa bu-tsi.
then here one-CL rock-LOC dog-COM child flee-AC+EMPH be-3d
Then here the dog and child are fleeing onto a rock.

wossɯ tsɯtsɯ tsahi luŋ-ɖɔla hu.
male child CONTR rock-above go.up.3s
The boy climbs onto the rock.

mesinɖa ko-le dzɔrajo dym.
there one-CL N.deer become.3s
There there is a deer.

dzɔrajo-ku bwi-ɖɔla tsɯtsɯ dym
N.deer-GEN head-above child become.3s
The child is on the deer's head.

dzɔrajo-ka mɯ tsɯtsɯ-lai on-ber-y.
N.deer-ERG that child-DAT run-CAU-3s/3s
The deer makes the boy run.

mɯ khlea tsɯtsɯ-num dzɔrajo-lai khlɔk-to ŋado ŋado lɔ.
that dog child-COM N.deer-DAT follow-SC first first go.3s
The dog, following the deer with the child, goes in front.

ko-le ɖaɖa-ra dzɔrajo rothi.
one-CL N.ridge-LOC N.deer arrive.3s
The deer arrives at a ridge.

mɯ-gwi ko-le ɖokpu ku baʈ-pa pokhari-ra dzɔrajo-ka
that-under one-CL big water be-Npst.PRT N.pond-LOC N.deer-ERG

mɯ tsɯtsɯ-lai grok-y, khlea-lai wo grok-y
that child-DAT throw-3s/3s dog-DAT also throw-3s/3s

The deer throws the child and the dog into a pond full of water below the ridge.

memma mɯ tsɯtsɯ-num khlea ku-gui ɖub-e dym-tsi.
then that child-COM dog water-under N.drown become-3d
Then the child and the dog go under the water.

pɔur-e dym-to thama pakhara lu-mu mal-tsi.
N.swim become-SC later outside exit-NOM.inf search-3d
Swimming they try to get out.

hunummitsheu-ra ko-le mura lwa-tsi.
there.around-LOC one-CL N.trunk see-3d
Around there they see a trunk.

mesinɖa lɔ-tsi ma lu-mu mal-tsi doi-ŋa.
there go-3d AS exit-NOM.inf search-3d N.two-EMPH
They go there are try to get out.

memma ŋado tsɯtsɯ-ka khlea-lai mura-ɖɔla sɔŋ-ku
then first child-ERG DOG-DAT N.trunk-above wood-GEN

mura-ɖɔla khluk-y.
N.trunk-above pull.out-3s/3s

Then first the child pulls the dog out onto the wooden trunk.

memma u-twab wo lu tɔrɔ mura-ku hunumlampɔʈʈi
then 3POSS-self also exit.3s N.but N.log-GEN far.side

happa boro-mim lwa-tsi.
many frog-DAT see-3s/3p

Then he pulls himself out, but on the other side of the trunk they see many frogs.

boro-mim lwa-tsi ma tɔrs-e dym-tsi.
frog-PLU see-3d/3p AS N.be.frightened become-3d
They see the frogs and are frightened.

memma pheri bhal-ŋa khlosin-tsi.
then N.again there-EMPH return-3d
Then they return there.

ɔni ku-gwi hu-tsi ma pɔur-e_dym-to bhal lu-tsi-lo
N.and water-inside fall-3d AS swim-SC there exit-3d-SS
mesinɖa mɯ utsima ŋado-m boro ɖar-tsi
there that 3POSS first-NOM frog meet-3d/3s
They when they fall in the water, swim over there and get out, they meet their frog from before.

boro-lai lwa-ɖɖa tsym-ry mɯ tsɯtsɯ-ka.
frog-DAT hand-LOC catch-3s/3s that child-ERG
The child catches the frog in his hand.

mɯ bhal-mim boro-mim tsahi mura-ɖɔla gen-mu ɔni mɯ
that there-NOM frog-PLU CONTR N.trunk-above go.up-NOM.inf N.and that

boro-mim-ka mɯ tsɯtsɯ-num khlea-lai rem-mi.
frog-PLU-ERG that child-COM dog-DAT watch-3p
The other frogs from there get up on the trunk and watch the dog and child.

tsɯtsɯ-num khlea-ka wo mɯ boro-mim-lai rem-tsi ma bhal lu-tsi ma lɔ-tsi.
child-COM dog-ERG also that frog-PLU-DAT look-3d/3p AS there exit-3d AS go-3d
The dog and child also look at the frogs and leave from there.

Hansel and Gretel

make ko-le neb-ɖa nua-le tsɯtsɯ-tsip bat-tsi-ʔe, hensel-num grethel.
long.ago one-CL house-LOC two-CL child-DU be-3d.PST-HS, Hansel-COM Gretel.
Long ago two children, Hansel and Gretel, lived in a house.

mɯr-tsip-kam u-pap-num maŋkantshi wo bat-tsi-ʔe.
that-DU-GEN 3POSS-father-COM N.stepmother also be-3d.PST-HS
They lived with their father and stepmother.

mɯ-mim-kam dzɔmma tsar dzana pɔriwar ba-mri-ʔe.
that-PLU-GEN N.together N.four N.person N.family be-3p.PST-HS
Together they were a family of four people.

mɯ-mim-kam neb-ɖa pomukam tsɯm dykha bai-ra-ʔe.
that-PLU-GEN house-LOC food much N.struggle be-3s.PST-HS
There wasn't much food at their house.

pomukam dykha bai-ra-ŋ-ka maŋkantshi-lai
food N.struggle be-3s.PST-NOM-INSTR N.stepmother-DAT

pir dys-thal-la-ʔe.
N.worry become-HAB-3s.PST-HS

The lack of food worried the stepmother greatly.

ɔni ko din u-maŋkantshi-ka dzukti khjai-ry-lo
N.and N.one N.day 3POSS-N.stepmother-ERG N.idea N.make-3s/3s.PST-SS

sokmu-ra sɔŋ-ra lɔk-pa nju-ka mɯ tsɯtsɯ-tsip-lai
forest-LOC wood-PURP go-Npst.PRT N.pretext-INSTR that child-DU-DAT

sokmu-ra pardzɯl-pa sɔlla by-ry-ʔe, u-pap-num.
forest-LOC abandon-Npst.PRT N.counsel do-3s/3s.PST-HS 3POSS-father-COM

And one day the stepmother had an idea: she decided, with their father, to take the children into the woods under the pretext of fetching wood, and abandoning them in the forest.

ɔni sintha sɔlla by-ry-m u-ɖokpu tsɯ-ka
N.and night N.cousel do-3s/3s.PST-NOM 3POSS-big child-ERG

thɯs-ty-m-ka
hear-3s/3s.PST-NOM-INSTR

sintha khlɯmu-ra wak-pa luŋ bɔksiluŋ ɖɯi-ry ma
night moon-LOC shine-Npst.PRT stone flintstone pick.up-3s/3s.PST AS

ko godzi by-dzɯl-ly-ʔe.
one N.pocket do-PON-3s/3s.PST-HS

The night they decided [on the plan], because the older child heard, he picked up stones that shone in the evening moonlight, and picked a pocketful.

udikam maŋkantshi-ka ko ko-phe sɯbem gwak-tytsi ma
next.day N.stepmother-ERG one one-CL.round bread give-3s/3d.PST AS

“ane gui sɔŋ-ra lɔ-m basi” rak-ta ma u-tsɯ-tsi-lai,
today 1pi wood-PURP go-NOM OBL say-3s/3s.PST AS 3POSS-child-DU-DAT

u-pap-num dzɔŋgɔl-ra lɔk-tsi-ʔe.
3POSS-father-COM N.forest-LOC go-3d.PST-HS

The next day the stepmother gave them one piece of bread each and say to the children “Today we are going to fetch wood” and they went to the forest with their father.

ɔni sokmu-ku thete-ra « thama gutsuku sɔŋ
N.and forest-GEN middle-LOC later 1de wood

mal-tsuku ma ro-tsuku, gatsi ɔsi-ŋa ɔm-tsi ma ba-tsi »
search-1de AS come-1de 2d here-EMPH sleep-2d AS be-2d

rak-saka mu hoɖ-dzɯl-tsi ma lɔk-tsi-ʔe.
say-AC fire light-PON-3d AS go-3d.PST-HS

In the middle of the forest they said “we’ll go search for wood and return, you two stay here and sleep” and they lit a fire and left.

ɔni mɯ tsɯtsɯ-tsi ɔm-tsi-ʔe.
N.and that child-DU sleep-3d-HS
And the children slept.

thama duŋma_rjak-ta-m patshi
later get.dark-3s.PST-NOM N.after

ŋosit-tsi-lo utsi-mampap mi-rok-tsi-ja-ʔe.
wake.up-3d.PST-SS 3POSS-mother.father NEG-come-3d.PST-IRR-HS

Later, after it had become dark, they woke up, and their parents did not come.

sintha dys-ta-m patshi u-lwak khrab-ɖa-ʔe ɔni
night become-3s.PST-NOM N.after 3POSS-y.sibling cry-3s.PST-HS N.and

u-lwak
3POSS-y.sibling

khrab-ɖa-lo wa-ka rak-ta-ʔe “mi-khrab-ɖa ko-tshin-ka
cry-3s.PST-SS o.sibling-ERG say-3s/3s.PST-HS “NEG-cry-2IMP one-N.second-TEMP

khlɯmu
moon

ob-ɖy-m patshi gutsi lɔ-tsi” rak-ta-ʔe ek-tshin-ka
rise-3s.PST-NOM N.after 1di go-1di” say-3s/3s.PST-HS N.one-N.second-TEMP

khlɯmu ob-ɖy-m patshi ŋado ɖɔs-ty-m luŋ khlɯmu-ra
moon rise-3s.PST-NOM N.after first drop-3s/3s.PST-NOM stone moon-LOC

wak-ta-ʔe meram wak-pa luŋ khlɔk-to khlɔk-to bik-tsi-lo
shine-3s.PST-HS this shine-Npst.PRT stone follow-SC follow-SC come-3d.PST-SS

ʈhjakɔi neb-ra luk-tsi-ʔe.
N.correctly house-LOC come.out-3d.PST-HS

When it became night, the younger child cried and the older child said to her "Don't cry, in one second, after the moon rises, we will go" and when the moon rose, the stones thrown earlier shone and following these shining stones they arrived home safely.

neb-ra roget-tsi-lo maŋkantshi-num pap tsahi ŋado-ŋa
house-LOC arrive-3d.PST-SS N.stepmother-COM father CONTR first-EMPH

rok-tsi ma ɔm-mu dym-tsi-m bai-ra-ʔe.
come-3d.PST AS sleep-NOM.inf finish-3d-NOM be-3s.PST-HS

When they got home, their father and stepmother had arrived before and finished sleeping.

meŋka rok-tsi-lo u-pap-lai tsahi tsɯm khusi ly-ra-ʔe
like.that come-3d.PST-SS 3POSS-father-DAT CONTR very N.happy feel-3s.PST-HS,

haŋa bhane u-tsɯ-tsi-kam dherai maja ly-thal-la-ʔe.
why N.if 3POSS-child-DU-GEN N.much N.love feel-HAB-3s.PST-HS

When they arrived the father was very happy because he felt great love for this children.

ɔni mɯ u-tsɯ-tsi-lai meŋka pardzɯl-ma-lo meŋka ro-mu
N.and that 3POSS-child-DU-DAT like.that abandon-Pst PRT-SS like.that come-NOM.inf

tsap-tsi-lo dherai khusi dys-ta-ʔe.
be.able-3d.PST-SS N.much N.happy become-3s.PST-HS

After abandoning his children like that, when they were able to find their way home, he was very happy.

tɔrɔ utsi-maŋkantshi-lai tsahi u-tshoktso bɔk-ta-ʔe ɔni pheri
N.but 3POSS-N.stepmother-DAT CONTR 3POSS-anger rise-3s.PST-HS N.and N.again

udikam tsahi pakha lu-mu wo mi-gwak-y-ja-ʔe.
next.day CONTR outside exit-NOM.inf also NEG-give-3s/3s-IRR-HS

But their stepmother was furious, and did not allow them outside the next day.

neŋ-gunu-ŋa tsɔk-thaɖ-ɖy-ʔe.
house-inside-EMP close-ACM-3s/3s.PST-HS
She locked them inside.

mettamma ɔrko din pheri sɔŋ-ra lɔ-mri-ʔe.
then N.other N.day N.again wood-PURP go-3p.PST-HS
Then again they went for wood.

« sɔŋ-ra lɔ-m basi » rak-saka pheri meram sokmu-ra-ŋa
wood-PURP go-NOM.inf OBL say-AC N.again that forest-LOC-EMPH

memsaka pardzɯl-tsi retsha-ʔe
like.that abandon-3d N.seem-HS

“We must go for wood” she said and again they abandoned them in the forest.

sokmu thete-ra ɔni khlosiʈ-pa bela-ka duŋma_rjak-ta-ʔe.
forest middle-LOC N.and return-Npst.PRT N.time-TEMP become.dark-3s.PST-HS
In the middle of the forest, when it was time to return, it got dark.

mampap nem bik-tsi-lo u-tsɯ-tsip tsahi mɯ nem tsahi
mother.father house come-3d.PST-SS 3POSS-child-DU CONTR that day CONTR

ham wo luŋ ɖɯ-mu mi-lwas-wa-ka pe-pa mɯ khadza
what also stone pick.up-NOM.inf NEG-find-IRR-INSTR eat-Npst.PRT that N.snack

sɯbem-ŋa ɖɔk-to lɔ-ry-m bai-ra-ʔe
bread-EMPH drop-SC carry-3s/3s.PST be-3s.PST-HS

When the mother and father came, the children had not been able to collect stones that day and had brought and dropped their snack.

ɔni mɯ sɯbem tsahi phutsy-roktsy-ka py-ry mɯ khlɯmu-ra
N.and that bread CONTR insect-various-ERG eat-3s/3s.PST that moon-LOC

wo mi-wa-ka-wa-m-ka mɯr-tsip mɯ nem tham-tsi ma
also NEG-shine-2IMP-IRR-NOM-INSTR that-DU that day get.lost AS

waŋthɯ lɔk-tsi-ʔe

other go-3d.PST-HS

Various insects ate that bread and because it didn't shine in the moon, the two got lost that day and went elsewhere.

dzhɔn ɖokpu sokmu-gunu lɔk-tsi-ʔe
N.more big forest-inside go-3d.PST-HS
They went into an even bigger forest.

mɯttamma meŋka lɔk-tsi hoŋŋa, pakha mi-lu-ka-wa-ʔe.
then like.that go-3d.PST only, outside NEG-exit-2IMP-IRR-HS
They went like that, and couldn't get out.

dzhɔn sokmu koŋŋa ɖar-tsi-ʔe-lo udzjalo dys-ta-ʔe.
N.more forest only meet-3d-HS N.light become-3s.PST-HS
They only found more forest, when it got light.

udzjalo dys-ta-m patshi ko-le tsɔkpu rok-ta ma mɯr-tsip-ku
N.light become-3s.PST-NOM N.after one-CL bird come-3s.PST AS that-DU-GEN

utsi-ŋado ŋado prok-to lɔs-ta-ʔe.
3POSS-front front jump-SC go-3s.PST-HS

After it became light, a bird came and jumped in front of them.

prok-to lɔs-ta-lo ko-le khɔtle pepaʈhok-ka bhɔre_dym-leʈ-pa
jump-SC go-3s.PST-SS one-CL all food-INSTR N.be.full-RES-Npst.PRT

brɔpa brɔpa pepaʈhok-ka bhɔre_dym-leʈ-pa pɔsɔl-ra rokthit-tsi-ʔe.
delicious delicious food-INSTR N.be.full-RES-Npst.PRT N.shop-LOC arrive-3d.PST-HS

When the bird jumped, they arrived at a shop full of delicious delicious food.

ɔni meram nem-kam tsahi khɔtle u-tshana-mare
N.and that house-GEN CONTR all 3POSS-N.roof-around

u-dzhjal-mare pepaʈhok bai-ra-ʔe.
3POSS-N.window-around food be-3s.PST-HS

And all around that house's windows and roofs was food.

ɔni mɯ-tsip-ka meŋka brɔpa pepaʈhok kek-mim
N.and that-DU-ERG like.that delicious food N.cake-PLU

ɖar-tsi-lo krym-ku tsɔk-ra khusi_dwak-to pet-tsi-ʔe.
meet-3d-SS hunger-GEN N.rage-LOC N.be.happy-SC eat-3d/3s.PST-HS

And when they saw the delicious food and cakes, they ate happily in a fit of hunger.

ɔni meram nem-laŋka ko-le ŋami mytsy luk-ta-ʔe.
N.and that house-ABL one-CL old.woman person exit-3s.PST-HS
And an old woman came out of the house.

meram ŋami khrepa boksi bai-ra-ʔe.
that old.woman witch N.witch be-3s.PST-HS
That woman was a witch.

ɔni meram ŋami luk-ta ma thɯrsi_dwak-to
N. and that old.woman come.out-3s.PST AS be.happy-SC

“ɔnu bik-tsi” rak-ta ma jeɖ-ɖytsi-ʔe.
“here come-3d” say-3s/3s.PST AS call-3s/3d.PST-HS

And the old woman came out and happily said “Come here” and called to them.

ɔni mɯr-tsip khusi_dwak-to lɔk-tsi-ʔe.
N.and that-DU N.be.happy-SC go-3d.PST-HS
And those two happily went.

mɯ ŋami-ka « gatsi ɔsi-ŋa ba-tsi » rak-ta-m patshi
that old.woman-ERG 2d here-EMPH be-2d say-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after

mɯr-tsip khusi_dwak-to bu-mu tsɯm-tsi-ʔe.
that-DU N.be.happy-SC be-NOM.inf start-3d/3s-HS

After the old woman said “you two stay here” they began to feel happy.

ŋami-ka mɯr-tsip-lai pomu-lai posen-mu tsɯm-ry-ʔe.
old.woman-ERG that-DU-DAT eat-DAT N.stuff-NOM.inf begin-3s/3s.PST-HS

And the old woman started to feed the children in order to eat them.

u-dadzju-lai tsahi khor-ra dzyl-ly ma brɔpa brɔpa
3POSS-N.y.brother-DAT CONTR N.cage-LOC place-3s/3s.PST AS good good

po-mu gwak-saka posen-mu tsɯm-ry-ʔe.
eat-NOM.inf give-AC N.fatten-NOM.inf begin-3s/3s.PST-HS

She placed the brother into a cage and giving him delicious food, began to fatten him up.

u-dadzju nɔ tshepleʈ-pa, ɖokpu miŋka, kitsɯ tsɔlakh-ŋa
3POSS-y.brother brain develop-Npst.PRT big because little N.clever-EMPH

bai-ra-ʔe ma hellolo wo pe-pa bela-ka
be-3s.PST-HS AS daily even eat-Npst.PRT N.time-TEMP

"i-lwa pi-ra ta haŋko bɔllɯ dym-na?"
2POSS-hand bring-2IMP N.indeed how.much N.fat become-2s

rak-ta ma mɯ ŋami-ka bi-ry-lo meraŋ-ka tsahi
say-3s/3s.PST AS that old.woman-ERG beg-3s/3s.PST-SS that-ERG CONTR

mɯ waŋmim po-mu dys-ty-m nɔlikhuʈʇa
that other eat-NOM.inf finish-3s/3s.PST-NOM.rel N.calf

tersy-thal-ly-ʔe-lo "oram ne bɔllɯ-ŋa dys-ta-m
N.put.straight-3s-HAB-3s/3s.PST-HS-SS this TOP N.fat-EMPH become-3s.PST-NOM

miju tsha"
not COP.tsha

rak-to ŋami-ka pose-thal-ly-ʔe.
say-SC old.woman-ERG N.fatten-HAB-3s/3s.PST-HS

The brother being mature, because he was big, was quite clever, and everyday when it was time to eat, the hag would say "give me your arm, how fat have you gotten?" and he stuck out another already eaten calf-bone and she said "He isn't getting fat" and she fed him more.

u-bahini-ka tsahi khanapina by-thal-ly-ʔe.
3POSS-N.y.sister-ERG CONTR N.food do-3s-HAB-3s/3s.PST-HS

His sister kept making the food.

ɔni ko din ɔbɔ « i-dadzju bɔlltɯ mi-dym-pa retsha,
N.and one N.day N.now 2POSS-y.brother N.fat NEG-become-Npst.PRT N.seem
go o-llai anep tsahi hopmam-ŋa-lo wo pe-u » rak-ta tsha.
1s this-DAT today CONTR like.this-EMPH-SS also eat-1s/3s say-3s/3s.PST COP.tsha

Then one day she said "your brother is not becoming fat, today I will eat him as he is anyway".

u-dadzju-ka wo thɯs-ty-ʔe, ɔni bahini khrap-to
3POSS-N.y.brother-ERG also hear-3s/3s.PST-HS, N.and N.y.sister cry-SC

u-dadzju-lai sɯi-ry-ʔe « hom hom rak-ta ŋami-ka
3POSS-Y.brother-DAT tell-3s/3s.PST-HS "this this say-3s/3s.PST old.woman-ERG

gana-lai »
2s-DAT"

rak-ta-ʔe « ɔbɔ thama gana-lai sɯbem tsa-be-na hola
say-3s/3s.PST-HS "N.now later 2s-DAT bread cook-CAU-3s/2s N.maybe

melo-ka « go mi-theʈ-pu » ra-ka mu hon-be-na
then-TEMP 1s NEG-be.able-1s/3s say-2IMP fire light-CAU-3s/2s

hola melo-ka "mi-theʈ-pu" ra-ka gu-ka "homsaka
N.maybe then-TEMP NEG-be.able-1s/3s say-2s 3s-ERG like.this

hon-mu basi" ra-mim bela-ka u-so-ra" ra-mim dym.
light-NOM.inf OBL say-NOM N.time-TEMP push-DEF-2IMP say-NOM become.3s

The brother heard too, and the younger sister, crying, told her brother "The hag said this and this about you" and he said "Now later she will probably have you cook bread, at that time, tell her "I can't" and she will probably have you light the fire, and at that time tell her "I can't" and she will say "This is how you light it" and at that time, push her in.

mem ra-ma sɯi-ry-m patshi, thama u-bahini-lai sɯbem
that say-Pst.PRT tell-3s/3s.PST-NOM N.after later 3POSS-N.y.sister-DAT bread

tsa-mu-lai mu hon-ber-y ʈel bessari khar-y-mim dym
cook-NOM.inf-DAT fire light-CAU-3s/3s.PST oil very heat.up-3s/3s-NOM become.3s

melo-ka u-bahini-ka ra “go ne mi-theʈ-pu”.
then-TEMP 3POSS-y.sister-ERG say.3s/3s “1s TOP NEG-be.able-1s/3s”

After he had told her these things, later she made the sister light the fire to cook bread, and when the old was very hot, then the sister say “I can’t”.

“homsaka hon-mu basi” ra ma mɯ ŋami-ka
like.this light-NOM.inf OBL say.3s/3s AS that old.woman-ERG

tsulo-gunu u-bwi phik-y ma rem-ber-y-lo
N.oven-inside 3POSS-head stick-3s/3s.PST AS look-CAU-3s/3s.PST-SS

u-bahini-ka u-ry ma me-gunu-ŋa mɯ boksi khja.
3POSS-N.y.sister-ERG push-3s/3s.PST AS that-inside-EMPH that witch blacken.3s

“You must light it like this”, said the old woman, and stuck her head into the oven and demonstrated, and the sister pushed her and the witch burned up in there.

meram si-mim patshi khja ma si-mim patshi
that die.3s-NOM N.after blacken.3s AS die.3s-NOM N.after

u-dadzju hol-y u-bahini-ka mettamma
3POSS-N.y.brother open-3s/3s 3POSS-N.y.sister-ERG then

nua-le-ŋa lu-tsi ma
two-CL-EMPH exit-3d AS

meram ŋami-kam baʈ-pa dzɯtti sɔmpɔtti khɔtle
that old.woman-GEN be-Npst.PRT N.all N.riches everything

khom-tsi ma nem khlomsi-tsi.
gather-3s/3s AS house return-3d

After she had died the sister freed her brother and then the two went out and gathered all the hag’s riches and returned home.

nem ro-tsi-lo dzɔŋgɔl dym-to ro-tsi-lo ko-le ɖokpu pokhari
house come-3d-SS N.forest finish-SC come-3d-SS one-CL big N.pond

lu ɔni mɯ pokhari-ra hunuhombu lu-mu pɔrne

come.out.3s N.and that N.pond-LOC opposite.side come.out-NOM.inf N.OBL

dym
become.3s
When the were going home, they finished crossing the forest, and then a big pond emerged, and they must come out on the other side of the pond.

mɯtta mɯr-tsip lu-mu mi-tsam-tsi ɔni mesinɖa ko-le pani has
there that-DU exit-NOM.inf NEG-be.able-3d N.and there one-CL N.water N.duck

dym
become.3s

They can't come out there, and they see a duck.

ɔni mɯ has-ka tsahi mɯ nua-le-lai palai-ka
N.then that N.duck-ERG CONTR that two-CL-DAT N.turn.by.turn-INSTR

hunummitsheu khluk-ytsi, hunummitsheu khluk-ytsi-m patshi
opposite remove-3s/3d.PST opposite remove-3s/3d.PST-NOM N.after

ʈhika del lu.
N.clear emerge.3s

Then the duck takes the two one at a time and brings them to the opposite side, and when he brings them there they see their village clearly.

mɯr-tsip lɔ-tsi hoŋŋa neb-ra rothiŋ-tsi neb-ra rothiŋ-tsi-lo
that-DU go-3d only house-LOC arrive-3d house-LOC arrive-3d-SS

utsi-maŋkantshi
3POSS-N.stepmother

si-mu dym sy-m dym.
die-NOM.inf become.3s die-NOM.inf become.3s

When they arrive home, their stepmother has died.

u-pap tsɯm khusi_dwa utsi-pap-lai khɔtle sɔmpɔti
3POSS-father very N.be.happy.3s 3POSS-father-DAT all N.riches

gwa-tsi-m patshi pheri dhɔni dym-mi ma sukhi dym-mi ma
give-3d/3s-NOM N.after again N.rich become-3p AS easy become-3p AS

mɯ-mim tin dzana koŋŋa bu-mi.
that-PLU N.three N.person only be-3p

Their father is very happy and they give him all the riches and they are rich again and their life becomes easy and they live together, just the tree of them.

Appendix 2

Glossary

ɖɔla	deer
ɖɯma	paste made from millet flour, eaten warm
ɖɯmakap	water for making ɖɯma
ɖɯmar	torch
ɖɔ-mu	vt. to drop; lose; sow
ɖɯ-mu	vt. to pick up; count
ɖɯr	deer
ɖaɖa	(Nepali) ridge
ɖale	(Nepali) lead
ɖar-mu	vt. to meet
ʈau	(Nepali) place
ʈel	(Nepali) oil
ɖem-mu	vt. to pound, beat
ʈhal	(Nepali) plate
ʈhikkɔ, ʈhikɔi	(Nepali) correct, correctly
ʈhok	(Nepali) thing
ɖi	egg
ɖi-mu	vt. to lay an egg
ɖin-mu	vt. to leave
ɔkɔti, ɔkoko	this much
ɔldzhe dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to be tangled
ɔlmɔle dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to be confused
ɔm-mu	vi.to sleep
ɔnek	(Nepali) various
ɔni	(Nepali) and then
ɔno	here
ʈoʈa	(Nepali) small hole
ʔoʔom	yellow
ɖokpu	big
ɖor	fat bamboo

ɔrkɔ	(Nepali) other
ɔrke dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to be stuck
ɔsinɖa	here
ɔthɯ	this side
ɔthɔtse	this year
ɖube dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to drown
ʈukuʈuku	(Nepali) onomatopeia for unsteady walking
ɖy	alcohol made from millet and corn
ɖymluŋ	mortar and pestle
ɖym-mu	vt. to grind and mix
akheri	(Nepali) finally
am-mu	vt. to put to sleep
anep, ane	today
athɯ, athɯlam	this way
atha	now, today
athaldika	these days
athambili	these days
bɔɖ	ritual food offering
bɔʈɔl	(Nepali < English) glass bottle
bɔʈtsɯ	guest
bɔdzɔi	(Nepali) grandmother
bɔdze	(Nepali) grandfather
bɔksiluŋ	flintstone
bɔllɯ	(Nepali) fat
bɔlla	(Nepali) finally
bɔ-mu	vi. to rise, wake up
bɔ-mu	vt. to wipe
bɔnduk	(Nepali) gun
bɔne-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to prepare
bɔn-mu	vt. to tie up, bind
bɔntsɯ	small scythe
bɔpherma	butterfly
bɔstu	(Nepali) cattle
badzi	Chetri caste
badzilwa	Chetri language
bahini	(Nepali) younger sister
balɔkɔ	(Nepali) child
balam	shoulder-blade
bam	which

bamesor	(Nepali) crawl
bamsi-mu	vi. to do things, to be busy
ba-mu	vt. to wear
bante, ba	where
baŋge dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to be crooked
barsa	(Nepali) year
basi	OBL
basta	yesterday
batsa	(Nepali) baby
beben-mu	vt. to cause, make someone do something
bela	(Nepali) time
bem	slug
ben-mu	vi. to occur
beno	ox
bep	grandfather
beppap	ancestor
bere-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to wind around
besari	(Nepali) strongly
betho	knife
bhɔre dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. be full of, be filled with
bhɔri	(Nepali) around, all over
bhal	there, over there
bhansa	(Nepali) food
bhar	(Nepali) rack
bhari	(Nepali) load
bhausa	fox
bhur-mu	vt. to get angry with
biddhja	(Nepali) power
bikh	(Nepali) poison
bi-mu	vi. to break
bi-mu	vi. to come
bi-mu	vt. to beg
bira	land leech
birma	cat
bisi-mu	vt. to obey, respect
bjaŋsi	irrigated field
bju	eagle
blaktsi	lightning
blan-mu	vt. to dry
ble	penis
blo	snake
blodzy	wind
bloku	river
blu	four years from now
bluhaḍḍa	three days from now

bluna	four years ago
blunem	three days ago
blyn-mu	vi. to boil
bobla	tadpole
bobop	owl
bokoli	hearth
boksi	(Nepali) witch
bom	gourd
bom-mu	vt. to stuff around with cloth
bo-mu	vt. to do
bo-mu	vt. to shove, to push onto ground
boro	frog
brɔksy	antelope
brɔl	seed
brɔ-mu	vi. to taste good, be delicious
brɔ-mu	vt. to weed around plants
brɯ-mu	vi. to become worn
bram-mu	vt. to scratch with nails
bramu	buckwheat
brem ly-mu	vi. to be lazy
bre-mu	vt. to buy
brepa	lazy
breptsɯ	finger; toe
breptsɯsyl	fingerprint
brwa	cliff
brwassai	(Nepali) hissing sound (onomatope)
brymsi	mole (animal)
bubum	white
budym	monkey
bulylym	thunder
bu-mu	copula; to be, to live, to stay
bu-mu	vt. to make a pile, heap
buŋma	flour
buplo	chick
burba	grasshopper
burkhum	cave
buskam	log
bwa	pig
bwa-mu	vt. to boil (for solids)
bwi	head
byrym	belly-button
dɔ	field
dɔhi	(Nepali) curd

dɔktsi	bosom
dɯm-mu	vt. to taste
dɯ-mu	vt. to share
dɔ-mu	vt. to wet
dɔrmati	(Nepali) pious person
dɔsi-mu	vi. be trapped
dala	fast, quickly
dam-mu	vi disappear
dam-mu	vt. to lose
damu	sky
dape	(Nepali) rack
dekal	light
del	village
delpa	villager
dem-mu	vt. to step over
dep	classifier for place
deptsinɔŋ	nickname; ritual name
der	nail (eg finger)
des	(Nepali) country
deuta	(Nepali) god
dhɔmilo	(Nepali) cloudy, dim
dhɔni	(Nepali) rich
dhɔnukar	(Nepali) bow and arrow
dhali	down, below; less
dha-mu	vt. to dig
dhara	(Nepali) water tap
dhawa	(Nepali) quick
dherai	(Nepali) lots
dhjandra	lion
dhule-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to stir
dhypa	long
didimɔ	termite
dika	tomorrow
din	pond
dindiri	heel
diphu	later
dipluŋ	boulder
dja-mu	vt. to cover, block
doi	(Nepali) two
do-mu	vi. to move
dukpa	spicy; chili pepper
dulo	(Nepali) hole
duŋ	liver

duŋma rja-mu	vi get dark
dwa-mu	vt. to love, to like
dydy	breast
dydy	milk
dykha	(Nepali) difficulty
dym-mu	vi. to become
dym-mu	vt. to finish
dzɯdzɯluŋ	mountain
dzɯl-mu	vt. to put aside for someone
dzɔŋgɔl	(Nepali) forest
dzɔpen-mu	vt. to put a spell on something
dzɔrajo	(Nepali) deer
dzɔtti	(Nepali) all
dzɯtti	(Nepali) all
dzaba	peacock
dzal	mouse
dzalpa	hot (for liquids and solids)
dza-mu	vt. to graze
dzana	(Nepali) person classifier
dzedze ri-mu	vi. to smile
dzem	weed
dze-mu	vi. to live, be alive
dze-mu	vt. to speak
dze-mu, dzen-mu	vt. to catch
dzepser	wheat
dzham-mu	vi to be able to
dzha-mu	vt. to cut
dzhera	chameleon
dzherem	rib
dzhim-mu	vi. to rot, go bad
dzhin-mu	vt. to make wet
dzhjal	(Nepali) window
dzho-mu	vt. to plow
dzhukpa	monkey
dzhu-mu	vi. to jump down
dziddiwal	(Nepali) insistent
dzu	cold (ambient)
dzuʈho	(Nepali) ritually polluted
dzugujum	hawk
dzukti khja-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to make a plan
dzuta	(Nepali) shoes
dzydzyli	incisor
dzyl-mu	vt. to put, place
dzyrpa	bitter

ɛktshin	(Nepali) one second (time)
ɛ-mu	vi. to defecate
ɛtha	now
gɔd-dzɯl-mu	vt. to set down
gɔ-mu	vi. to be born
gɔn-khop	chair, place to sit
gɔn-mu	vt. to remove (from fire)
gɔn-mu	vi.to sit/ vt. to set down
gɔrbɔr	womb
gai	(Nepali) cow
gam-mu	vi. to set (sun)
gana	2s
gani	2p (now used for polite form of 2s)
gapu	crow
gele	up; more
geluŋ	ember, coal
ge-mu, gen-mu	vi. to come up
ghɔrkoŋ	second [time]
ghɔrtshin	(Nepali) second [time]
ghas	(Nepali) leaf
ghaspat	(Nepali) leaves and grass
ghora	(Nepali) horse
ghum	(Nepali) straw mat used as rain protection
gidi	(Nepali) brain
gigim	green
giligili	quicksand
gjumo	big green fly
glɯm-mu	vt. to sit on eggs
glɯ-mu	vi. to blister from hot liquids
gle-mu	vi. to be leftover
glwa-mu	vt. to win
go	1s
godzy	lap
-gola	inside and above
gon-mu	vt. to dry
goso	knee
gososer	kneecap
grɔhɔn	(Nepali) eclipse
grɔktaluŋ	boulder, large rock
grɯm-mu	vt. to meet
gramsi-mu	vi. to feel disgusted
grappai	(Nepali) forcefully
grawa	crab

grenem	nettles
gro-mu	vt. to throw
gruksi	silk cotton tree
gry-mu	vi. to blister from fire or heat from solids
gu	3s
guɖy	hunchback
gui	1pi
guku	1pe
guntɯ	sarong, woman's skirt
gundyry	throat
gunu	inside
gupsy	tiger
gupsyli	bicuspid; tusk
gutha	society
gwal	alcohol
gwal	sweat
gwa-mu	vt. to give
-gwi	under
hɔiran dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to become tired
hɔm-mu	vt. to spread out
hɔre dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to lose
hɔtar	(Nepali) hurry
haɻma	alcohol
haddhi	(Nepali) elephant
hadi	earthquake
hakama bo-mu	vt. to yawn
hala	up, above
ham	what
hamsika	when
han-mu	vt. to spill
haŋko	how much
happa, hapa	much
has	(Nepali) duck
hellolo	daily
hem-mu	vi. to disappear from view
hepmam	how
hesaka	like that
hidima bo-mu	vi. to hiccough
hilabo-mu	vt. to ask a question
hilahisibo-mu	vt. to ask about a situation or person
him-mu	vt. to cut
hi-mu	vt. to grind
hi-mu	vt. to cook
hi-mu	vt. to return

hir-mu	vt. to stir
ho	(Nepali) copula, invariable in Thulung
hoʈ	bet
hola	(Nepali) maybe, probably; evidential marker
holle-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to shake
hol-mu	vt. to open
hom	this
homlo	now
homsaka	like this
homu	bear
ho-mu	vt. to peel off
hon-mu	vt. to light (fire, lamp); to blow
hoŋka	like this
hopmam	like this
hotoŋma	older sister
hubɔ-mu	vi. to rise suddenly
huju	down, below
hule-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to bring in
hum-mu	vi. to fall/vt. to make fall
hu-mu	vi. to bark (only dogs)
hu-mu	vi. to enter
hu-mu	vi. to go up, to climb
hu-mu	vi. to be finished
hu-mu	vt. to make fall
hun-mu	vi. to fly
hunu, hunulam	that way
hunubhal	far away
hunuhombu	over there, opposite side
hunumlampɔʈʈi	around on the other side (that.way-ABL-N.side)
hunummitsheu	around there
hunumpɔʈʈi	that side (that.way-NOM-N.side), the other side
hunumpɔʈʈitsheu	around that side, around the other side
hurke-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to raise a child
hur-mu	vt. to wash head, hair
hyn-mu	vi. to have time
ini	2POSS
iskul	(Nepali) school
jadzi	chin
jakapta	jaw
jakke	small
jal-mu	vt. to hit
jam ly-mu	vi. to tickle
ja-mu	vi. to pucker from sour
jaŋlo	sometimes

je	clothes, cloth
je	non-irrigated field
jemsi-mu	vi. to stand
je-mu	vi. to make characteristic animal sound
jen-mu	vt. to call to
jepa	high, tall
jo	salt
joku	salt water
jo-mu	vi. to come down
jula	mist, haze
jum	power
kɔkhrim	bamboo ladder
kɔksa	squirrel
kɔl	face
kɔm-mu	vt. to make or repair thatch of roof
kɔ-mu	vt. to give birth
kɔ-mu	vt. to peck at
kɔn	pus
kɔŋkɔ	hill
kɔŋkɔ	shin
kɔrai	(Nepali) pot
kal-mu	vt. to mix, stir with spoon
kam	(Nepali) work
kamli	molar
kam-mu	vt. to add
kam-mu	vt. to chew
kamso	song
kanapeper	centipede
kaŋgjo	(Nepali) comb
katsi	sarong for men
katsopat	(Nepali) marijuana-like herb
ke	rice accompaniment (curry; vegetables)
kek	(Nepali<English)
kekem	black
kekuwa	hawk
kem-mu	vt. to bite
kem-mu	vt. to stick onto, to cover
kerao	pea
khɔ	husband (colloquial)
khɔbɔr	(Nepali) news, information
khɔle, khole	all, everything, everyone
khɔs	(Nepali) Chetri

khɔtsa	basket
khɔuluŋ	money
khaʈ	(Nepali) bed
khaɖɔl	(Nepali) hole
khade-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to stuff, to push inside
khadza	(Nepali) snack
khalamba	cold
khalem	ant
khali	(Nepali) always
khal-mu	vt. to make oil
kham-mu	vi. to be about to, to begin
khanapina	(Nepali) food
khan-mu	vt. to pursue; to drive out; to chase
khare-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to cook for a long time, to make very hot
khase	cloud, fog
khel	leg, foot
khel-ku breptsɯ	toe
khel-ku miksi	foot knuckle
khel-ku syl	footprint
khelsɯm	leg hair
khe-mu	vi. to be bitter
khen-mu	vt. to bring up
khepa	sour
khilam	ghee
khirsi-mu	vi. to walk around
khja-mu	vi. to turn black from burning
khlɯmu	moon
khlɔ-mu	vi. to follow
khlɯ-mu	vt. to help
khlambe	spell
khlea	dog
khleali	canine tooth
khlep	hornbill
khli bundija	beetle
khli	excrement
khli-mu	vt. to plant
khlomsi-mu, khlosi-mu	vi. to return
khlo-mu	vt. to return
khlu-mu	vt. to pull out, remove from; to send away
khlysikhop	shoes
khlysi-mu	vt . to wear on feet
kho	axe
khoʈo	(Nepali) resin

khodybi	mongoose
khokhoma	silkworm
khola	(Nepali) river
khole-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to open
khomdzɯl	goiter
khom-mu	vt. to collect, gather (dry things)
kho-mu	vt. to cook
kho-mu	vi. to be full, be satiated
khor	(Nepali) cage
khor-mu	vi. to snore
khor-mu	vt. to attend to soil around a plant
khosta	(Nepali) peel, eg of fruit
khotsɯjum-mu	vt. to suck away suddenly
khram-mu	vi. to cry
khrapsyly	crying sound (cry+?)
khrekhreja	rough, bumpy
khrem-mu	vt. to cover
khremsi-mu	vi. to dress onesself
khre-mu	vt. to hit, strike
khren-mu	vt. to bite, sting
khrepa	witch
khudo	honey
khul	shade
khumsi-mu	vt. to wear on or over head
khu-mu	vt. to steal
khuru	(Nepali) without stopping
khuruk	mill
khusi dwa-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to be happy
khwatsep	stomach
kiki, kitsɯ	a little
kjaksi	soy bean
klɔ-mu	vt. to paint floor with mud
klen-mu	vt. to leave
ko din	(Nepali) one day
ko godzi	(<Nepali) one pocketful
ko tshin	(<Nepali) one second
ko	one
koʈha	(Nepali) room
kodali	(Nepali) spade
ko-dzor	(Nepali) one pair
kokokoko	all in one
kokro	basket
kokso	scab
kokte	skin

kol-mu	vi. to get big
kol-mu	vt. to drive out
ko-mu	vt. to crush (fingers)
ko-mu	vt. to lift
kon-mu	vt. to make wet, paint
koŋmi	other
koŋŋa	only
koreŋ	dry
korku	stream
kor-mu	vt. to bring somewhere
koro	landslide
kortsɯm	wooden spoon, paddle
koti	about, circa
krɔ	basket, long
krɯmsi	tick
krim-mu	vt. to cut
kro-mu	vt. to plant upright
krori	maggot
krym si-mu	vi. to be hungry
ku	water
kubi	sparrowhawk (kind of eagle)
kubirma	dragonfly (=water-cat)
kujum	darkness
ku-mu	vt. to build (ritual: making or using wooden shaman tools)
kuppi	forehead
kuppitawa	lucky
kur	hole
kuri	porcupine
kurkuttsa	(Nepali) heel
kurmisem	eyebrow
kur-mu	vt. to carry
kurpa	porter
kwa	mud, ground
kwakmo	phlegm
kwaktsiŋgel	snail
kwa-mu	vt. to place on fire (for cooking)
kwa-mu	vt. to boil
kwara si-mu	vi. to be thirsty
kwiku	smoke
lɔ	water leech
lɔhai	(Nepali) hey
lɔktsa	neck
lɯlam	voice
lɔ-mu	vi. to go

lɔ-mu	vt. to bring
lɔ-mu	vt. to carry away
lɔn-mu	vi. to wait
laʈamugli	kind of eagle
lagi	(Nepali) sake
lalam	red
lalaper, lapter	wing
lamʈa	nipple
lama	ingredients
lambɔ-mu	vi. to go ahead
lamdi	road
lamdi-mu	vi. to walk
lampa	freckle
lamtsaka	door
-laŋka	ABL
latha-mu	vt. to pull
latti	(Nepali) leg, kick
lebbo-mu	vt. to throw down suddenly
lele dym-mu	vi to be very thirsty
lem	tongue
lem-mu	vt. to lick
lempa	sweet; sugar
li	tooth
liben-mu	vt. to make last, make suffice
lima then-mu	vt. to tell a lie
li-mu	vt. to pretend
lin-mu	vi. to reach (for age changes)
lin-mu	vi. to suffice, be enough
liser	millet
lju	bamboo
lo	frog
losy	hail
lu-mu	vi. to exit, come out, leave
luŋ	stone, rock
lwa bo-mu	vt. to talk
lwa	hand, arm
lwak	younger sibling
lwakhel	limb (=arm-leg)
lwa-ku miksi	knuckle
lwa-mu	vt. to find; to get, receive
lwa-mu	vt. to see
lym-mu	vt. to touch
ly-mu	vi. to feel
mɯ	that

mɔddzaka	(Nepali) lots
mɔdza	(Nepali) fun
mɯi-ŋa	down there
mɔipu	quail
mɯkoti	that much
mɯkotila	then, at that time
mɯkotima	then
mɔske-mu	(<Nepali) to stir
mɯtta, medɖa	there
mɯttamma	then
ma	grain
maʔa	mother (vocative)
mabo	fish (archaic word)
mahina	(Nepali) month
maja	(Nepali) love
makai	(Nepali) corn
make	long ago
mala, -la	COND
mal-mu	vt. to search
malom	baby
malo-ŋa	just
mam	mother
mamtha	last year
manthi	without
maŋkantshi	(Nepali) stepmother
mapakaŋku	magpie
-mare	around
mari	lots
mela-ŋa	up there
mem	like that
memiŋka	therefore
memlo	then, at that time
memma	then, after that
meno	there
mepmam	like that
mer	tail
meram	that
merser	tailbone
mesem	woman, female
mesimma	then
mesinɖa	there
mettamma	then, after that
miksi	eye

miksi dzhimke-mu	(<Nepali) blink
miksi milwapa	blind
miksikokte	eyelid
mile-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to adjust, arrange properly
milypa	menstruating woman (=untouchable)
mim	moth
mim, mima	grandmother
mim-mu	vt. to think of
mimsi-mu	vi. to think
mina, minaka	“thing” (used when word is not found)
mini	human
miŋka	because, as
miski-ku gera	pupil (of eye)
mo-mu	vt. to hold, receive, take
mu	fire
mu sen-mu	vt. to extinguish a fire
mum	shell
mum-mu	vt. to bury, cover over
munaŋ	ghost
mun-mu	vi. to become established (for society), be conceived
mur	odor
mur nem-mu	vi. to give off smell, vt. to smell
mura	(Nepali) tree trunk
murkhɔ	one not gifted with special sight
mursɯm	facial hair
mwasy	soot
mysy	buffalo
mytsy	human, man
nɯ bɔ-my	vt. to blow nose
nɔ tshemlen-mu	vi. to mature (=mind develop)
nɔ	brain (locus of thoughts)
nɯ	nose, snout
nɔ	two
nɯbli	arrow
nɔl	(Nepali) millet
nɔlikhuʈʈa	(Nepali) calf bone
nɯ-mu	vi. to be ill; hurt
nɔ-mu	vi. to burp, belch
nɔmula	sheep
nɔna	year before last
nɔŋ	name
nɯpa	sick

nɯsem	nose hair
nag	(Nepali) cobra (representation of god)
nahadda	day after tomorrow
nakhli	snot
nalesam-mu	vt. to tease, taunt
nam-mu	vt. to milk
namtshema	light
nani	(Nepali) child
naŋgum	rainbow
nardu	small bamboo grove
nari	(Nepali) wrist
nathepma	caterpillar
nebdikebdi	place, field, space
neho	before
nem	day
nem	house
nem-mu	vi. to smell
nemphu	daytime
nemsoso, nemsoŋ	dawn
nemtha	evening, dusk
nepsuŋ	sun; heat
neptsy	brain
neunem	day before yesterday
nija	(Nepali) justice
njalduŋ	infant
nju	(Nepali) pretext
noktsho	shaman
noktsy	earwax
noktsy	monkey
nophla mithɯpa	deaf
nophla	ear
nou	two years from now
nunum	green-blue
ny-mu	vi. to become, be
nypa	kind, gentle
ŋado	first, early; front side of body
ŋajem	crown of head
ŋali	appearance, face
ŋami	hag, old woman
ŋatsɯ	older
ŋim	fear
ŋima lwa-mu	vt. to dream
ŋi-mu	vi. to fear
ŋja-mu	vt. to cover
ŋjemsi-mu	vi. to rest

ŋo	fish
ŋome	wart
ŋopsɯ	friend
ŋosi-mu	vi. to wake up
ŋur-mu	vi. to roar
ol	sunlight
om-mu	vt. to shoot
on-ben-mu	vt. to make run
on-mu	vi. to run
oram	this
ortsip	these two
othɯr	idiot
pɔ	yam, taro
pɔriwar	(Nepali) family
pɔrne dym-mu	(<Nepali) to have to
pɔsɔl	(Nepali) shop
pɔtte dym-mu	(< Nepali) vi. to believe
pɔure dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to swim
paʔa	(vocative) father
paitaŋ	copper
pakha, pakha-ra	outside
pala, palo	(Nepali) turn (as in 'to do something in turns')
palai	(Nepali) one at a time
pali	next year
palsɯ	calf or thigh (?)
pants	(Nepali) five
pap	father
parbum	shaman's headdress
par-dzɯl-mu	vt.to abandon
pare-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to study
pari	heaven
par-mu	vt. to throw away
parne	(Nepali) obligation
patshi	(Nepali) after
pel	shadow, shade
pepaʈhok	(<Nepali) food (eat-Npst.PRT-N.thing)
pepertsɯ	wooden tongs
phɔl-mu	vt. to cut; by extension, to kill
phɔ-mu	vi. to be angry with
phɔ-mu	vt. to raise; collect
phɔrke dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to return
phar	nearby

phatso	udder
phe	classifier for (some) round things: money, bread, bananas
phemto	lap
phen-mu	vi. to be the right amount (only in the context of cooking)
phen-mu	vt. to serve food
pheri	(Nepali) again
philɔkpu	swallow
philiŋgo	spark from fire
phim-mu	vt. to suck
phi-mu	vt. to pour, put in; to stick in; to place
phi-mu	vi. to become stale, go bad
phin-mu	vt. to bring here, fetch
phipa	stale food
phir-mu	vt. to sew
phirpa	tailor
phoka	ash
phol-mu	vt. to mix
phom, phomku	vomit
phomu	snow
pho-mu	vi. to vomit
phon-mu	vt. to sprinkle, sow
phon-mu	vt. to plant
phosyp	cheek
phram-mu	vt. to scratch
phro-mu	vt. to untie
phul	flour
phurku	dust
phursy	frost
phutsy roktsy	various insects
phutsy	insect; small snake
phuttai	(Nepali) suddenly, vigorously
phwamsi-mu	vi. to be separated
phwa-mu	vt. to separate
phyrym	ginger
pi-mu	vt. to break
pipu	moth
pir dym-mu	(Nepali)vi. to feel worried
plɔ	tear (of eye)
plɔplɔja	smooth
plapsy	eye-sand
plemtsi	brown lentil
plwa-mu	vt. to forget
plym	wasp
plym-mu	vt. to dip in water
po	chicken

pokhari	(Nepali) pond, pool
poktsɯm	hillock
po-ku mam	hen
po-mu	vt. to eat
pomukam	food
posem-mu, posen-mu	(<Nepali) vt stuff, feed
prɔ-mu	vt create, invent
prɔtsɯ	Rai
pro-mu	vi. to jump
proŋdzy	spider
proŋdzy-ku nem	spider web (=spider's house)
puʈpa ku	spring water
pul	(Nepali) bridge
pulitsha-mu	vt to push suddenly
pumta	buttocks
pun-mu	vi. to spring out from underground
pwakti	bat (animal)
pwal	(Nepali) hole
rɯm	body
rɯmsɯm	body hair
rɔŋ	horn, antler
rɔŋli	starvation, destitution
rɔŋma	type of plaintive prayer, incantation
rɯpram ro-mu	vi. to menstruate
raksaŋ	copper pot
ramma	from (temporal)
ra-mu	vt. to say, tell, call
rat	(Nepali) night
remben-mu	vt. to watch, look after
rembo-mu	vi. to look at each other
rem-mu	vt. to look at
re-mu	vt. to reach for something
ren-mu	vt. to bring here
resepma	unhusked rice
rigirigi	alright
rikmo	small fish
rim-mu	vt. to block sunlight or view
rim-mu	vt. to twist, stir
ri-mu	vi. to laugh
ripap	male sibling
ritsɯ	female sibling
ritsikuma	female sibling
ritsikuwa	male sibling

rjakpa	pen
rja-mu	vt write
ro-mu	vi. to come
ron-mu	vt take by force
ropha-mu, rompha-mu	vi. to arrive here
rothi-mu	vi. to arrive there
rukh	(Nepali) tree
ruku lɔ-mu	vi. to blaze
ruku	bonfire
runben-mu	vt shake someone
run-mu	vi. to tremble, shake
rwa	tapeworm
ry	wood handle, on knife, shovel
rym-mu	vt. to collect, to gather
sɯ	meat
sɯbdi	forest
sɯbdibwa	wild boar (“forest pig”)
sɯbem	bread
sɯki	cough
sɔlla bo-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to decide
sɯl-mu	vt. to wash hands, pots, face, body
sɯlsi-mu	vi. to wash onesself
sɯm-mu	vt. to wash (eg clothes)
sɔmpɔti, sɔmpɔtti	(Nepali) riches
sɯmu	fly
sɔ-mu	vi. to be healthy
sɯ-mu	vi. to lose
sɯ-mu	vt. to say
sɔ-mu	vt. to string beads or flowers
sɯn-mu	bring down
sɔŋ	wood
sɔŋlo	(Nepali) clear
sɯr	bee
sɔsur	(Nepali) father in law
sale	thread
sal-mu	vt. to pick out bad items
salpo-mu	vt. to devour
sam	breath
sam khen-mu	vi. to breathe
sama	caste, tribe
sam-mu	vt. to ripen; make warm

sa-mu	vi. to dry
sarki	urine
sar-mu	vi. to urinate
saro	(Nepali) much
sathi	(Nepali) friend
sau	blacksmith (caste)
segre	sand
selam	leaf; paper
sem	hair, feather, fur
se-mu	vi. to fart
sen-mu	vt. to kill
si midzepa	mute, dumb
si	mouth
sikokte	lip
sili	traditional dance
si-mu	vi. to die
si-mu	vt. to teach
sin-mu	vi. to bear fruit ; be ready (for grain, fruit)
sintha	nighttime
sipa rɯm	corpse
siphsiph	cricket
sir	(Nepali) top, above
sisi lɔ-mu	vi. to bleed
sisi	blood
sisi-mu	vi. to learn
so	power, energy
soila bo-mu	vt. to whistle
sokmu	forest
sokmubwa	boar (=forest pig)
sokse	monkey
so-mu	vt. to pay
sor	uncooked rice
sorip	vein
sorluŋ	star
su	three years from now
subupo	cock
suhadda	two days from now
sukha	(Nepali) ease
sukhi	(Nepali) one with a life without struggle
suktym	shoulder blade
su-mu	vt. to stick in
suna	three years ago
sunem	two days ago
swala	young boy
swalame	young girl

swa-mu	vi. to choke
swa-mu	vi. to flee
swar ko-mu	vt. to prepare bamboo for basket making
sy	who
syl	imprint
symburma	caterpillar
sy-mu	vi. to itch
syntila	cockroach
sypel	mosquito
sypilwa bo-mu	vt. to whisper
tɔmakhu	(Nepali) pipe
tɔ-mu	vi. to crow or vt. to crow at someone
tɔrɔ	(Nepali) but
tɔre dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to be crossable, eg a river
tɔrse dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to be frightened
tam-mu	vt. to mix with water: part of alcohol-making process
tan-mu	vt. to pick at something
tan-mu, ta-mu	vi. to fall
taro	(Nepali) far
ten-mu	vt. to turn
terse-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to put straight, stick straight out
thɔ	evil ghost
thɔkpuri	cloth belt
thɔksi ben-mu	vt. to spit on someone/something
thɔksi bo-mu	vt. to spit
thɔksilele	freckle
thɯmbok	stomach; locus of emotions
thɔ-mu	vt./vi. to hide
thɯ-mu	vt. to drive
thɯ-mu	vt. to hear
thɯ-mu	vt. to make drink, feed liquids
thɔŋki ɖo-mu	vt. to swallow
thɔŋki	resin
thɔŋki	saliva
thɯrsi dwa-mu	vi. to feel happy
thɔsi-mu	vi. to hide
thɔtse	time
tha bo-mu	vt. to know
thaggro	(Nepali) bamboo brush
thama	later
tham-mu	vi. to take the wrong road

tha-mu	vt. to convince
than-mu	vt. to pull out
tharsaŋ	bamboo pole
thel-mu	vt. to peel (fruit, potatoes)
them-mu	vt. to pick, gather
then-mu	vt be able to
thete	middle
thi-mu	vi. to ripen
tho	big pot
thoksi	spit
thoŋko-mu	vt. to make wet suddenly
thu	soot (archaic)
thunemu	(<Nepali) vt. to stop
thupar-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to collect
thupro	(Nepali) lots, many
thy-mu, thyn-mu	vt. to pull
thyr-mu	vt. to send
tophrim	big round basket
tosi	religious ceremony (six times a year)
tsɔk	(Nepali) rage
tsɔkpəl	(Nepali) sandals
tsɔkpu	bird
tsɔkpu-ku nem	nest (=bird's house)
tsɔkpusɯm	feather (=bird hair)
tsɯkrwa-mu	vt. to shove something inside violently
tsɔlakh	(Nepali) clever
tsɔlni	temple (body part)
tsɯm	very
tsɯm-mu	vt. to gather things together (just cut or fallen, not dried)
tsɯm-mu	vt. to start
tsɔ-mu	vi. to break (long things: bones, sticks)
tsɔ-mu	vi. to mature (food, also humans)
tsɔ-mu	vt. to close
tsɔ-mu	vt. to know, understand
tsɔŋ	back (body part, also relational noun)
tsɔŋkha	(Nepali) good, clever
tsɔŋnu	backside of
tsɔŋra	later
tsɯpnu	outside
tsɔra	rat

tsɯtsɯ	child
tsɯtsɯ-ku li	baby tooth
tsae dym-mu	(<Nepali) vi. to need
tsam-mu	vt. to be able to
tsamsi-mu	vt. to play
tsa-mu	vt. to burn, heat up, cook
tsar-mu	vt. to throw
tsekhra	small green bamboo (grass-like)
tsemphra	type of small bird
tsemsi-mu	vi. to hang oneself
tse-mu	vt. to pick through
tsen-mu	vt. to hang
tser	comb of rooster
tshɔba	stinkbug
tshɔkɔr	(Nepali) wooden rack
tshɔkpa	cold (solids, liquids; not ambient)
tshɔktso bɔ-mu	vi. to get angry
tshɔle bomu	(<Nepali) vt. to deceive
tshɯmben-mu	vt. to make dance
tshɯm-mu	vi. to dance
tshɯ-mu	vi. to work quickly
tshɯnija	wasp
tshaben-mu	vt. to spread out
tshagro-mu	vt. to throw suddenly
tshahari	(Nepali) shadow, shade
tsha-mu	vi. to spread out
tshana	(Nepali) roof
tshari	younger
tshe-mu	vt. to know someone
tshen-mu	vt. to rinse
tshoktso bɔ-mu	vi. to get angry
tshwa	heat
tshwara	goat
tshyryp tshyryp ly-mu	vi. to feel rushed, worried
tsija	Sherpa
tsikhli	intestines
tsimʈa	(Nepali) wooden tongs
tsinta	(Nepali) magic
tsirbju	swallow (bird)
tsito	(Nepali) fast
tsobe-mu	(<Nepali) vt. to dip in liquid
tsulo	(Nepali) oven
tsuppa bo-mu	vt. to kiss

tsy	kind of tree
tsym-mu	vt. to catch
tsyr-mu	vi. to wrinkle
tsysy	grandchild
tukisale	spool and thread
tuktukur	dove
tuku	pineapple
tukumtsim	darkness
twak, twap	self
twakpa	wooden container
udikam	the next day
udzjalo	(Nepali) light (vs. dark)
un-mu	vt. to push
wa	older sibling
waʔa	(vocative) older sibling
waben-mu	vt. to light
wadzi bo-mu	vt. to tease, joke
wakha	slow
wakpa	twinkling
walikheli	place, space to play
wam	afterbirth
wam-mu	vt. to scoop out (rice, water, flour, mud, etc)
wa-mu	vi. to shine
wan-mu	vt. to cut (object is animate and alive)
waŋmi	other, someone
waŋthɯ	somewhere else
watsiphula	earthworm
wer	louse, flea
wha-mu	vt. to open
wo	also
wo	rain
wossɯ	male