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The Structure of Kiranti Languages

Comparative Grammar and Texts



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Abbreviations

A	actor; agent
ABL	ablative
ADDR	address term/particle
ALL	allative
AP	active participle
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary verb
CL	classifier
COM	comitative
COMPAR	comparative
COND	conditional
CONT	continuous
CONTV	continuative
CONV	converb (adverbial participle)
d	dual
DAT	dative, animate patient
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direction
ECHO	echo word
EVI	evidential
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
ē	exclusive
EMPH	emphasizing marker
ERG	ergative
f	female
FOC	focus
FUT	future
i	inclusive
IDEO	ideophone
IMPER	imperative
polIMPER	polite imperative
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
INTJ	interjection
INV	inverse
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
hiLOC	at higher location
levLOC	at same level location
loLOC	at lower location
m	male
MOD	modal particle

MOT	motion progressive
N.AG	agentive noun
N.INSTR	instrumental noun
N.PAT	patientive noun
NEG	negation
NML	nominalizer
locNML	locative nominalizer
ns	non-singular
NPT	nonpast
OBL	oblique case marker
OPT	optative
p	plural
P	patient
PART	particle
PCPL	participle
PERF	perfect
POSS	possessive/relational prefix
PP	passive participle
PROG	progressive
PT	past
PURP	purposive
Q	interrogative
QUOTE	quote marker
RELIN	'relinquitive' auxiliary
REP	report particle
RIT	ritual word
s	singular
S	intransitive subject
SEQ	sequential marker
SIM	simultaneous marker
SUB	subordinator
TEL	telicizing auxiliary
TOP	topic
V2	second verb in compound verb construction (apectivizer, vector verb)

other notational conventions:

(N)	Nepali word
-(x)-	inserted vowel or consonant

reference to sources:

TH2.15	capital letters refer to languages, the numbers to text and sentence
*Jh5.15	capital + small letter refer to informants name (here: Jhanaman Rai)
	* - text presented in this volume
LSN	Linguistic survey of Nepal
Allen	Allen 1975
Toba	Toba 1984
v.D.	van Driem 1987

0. Introductory remarks

The Kiranti area stretches over the 'Eastern Hills' of Nepal from the Likhu river in the West to Sikkim in the East. There are approximately 30 languages (cf. map for the more important ones), many of them not even known by name to the linguistic world. The Kiranti people and languages between the river Likhu and the Limbu area are usually referred to as 'Rai', but this is a geographic rather than a genetic grouping. Various subgroupings have been proposed (Hale 1982: 22f, Hansson 1991a), all rather tentative due to the poor documentation of most members of the group. I found it useful for my presentation to refer to the southern languages (here: Athpare, Bantawa, Camling) and Limbu together as SE (i.e. southern and eastern), as opposed to the northern languages (here: Thulung and Khaling). This is not meant to be a genetic grouping.

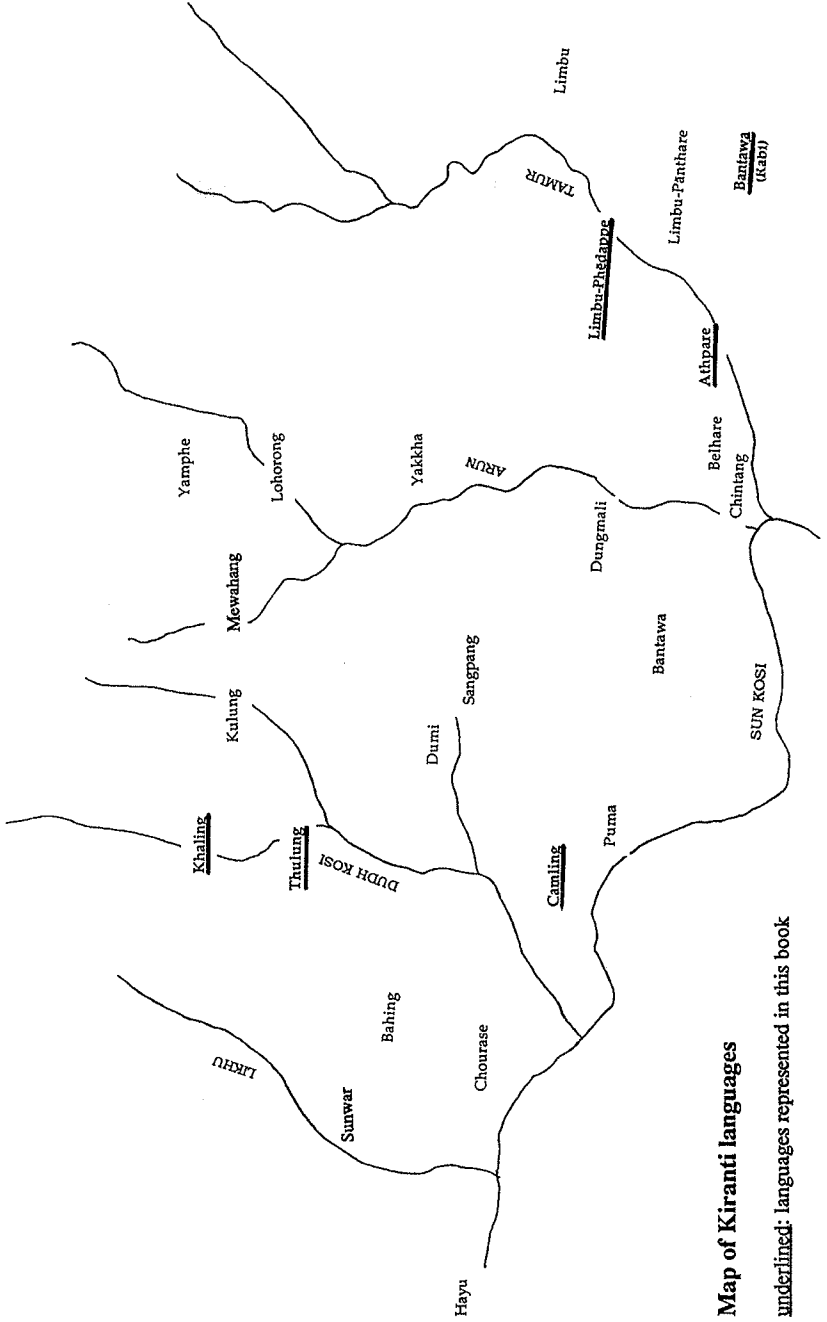
Most Kiranti languages are threatened by extinction. Limbu with nearly 200.000 speakers in Eastern Nepal, Sikkim and Darjeeling is an exception. Some of the bigger languages may have a chance to survive if immediate measures are taken.

During my stay in the Camling area I had great difficulties finding a family where Camling was still used in daily communication. Children and most younger people speak only Nepali. The youngest fully competent speaker I found in a family with a strong language loyalty was 16; the younger children in that family knew only Nepali. The situation was somewhat better for Athpare, although the group is much smaller (2000, as against 15.000 ethnic Camling). In the village of Sangtang as well as on the weekly market in Dhankutta I could hear conversations in Athpare.

When I started my first fieldwork in the Camling area in 1984, practically nothing was known about Kiranti languages. The only existing grammar, Allen's "Sketch of Thulung grammar", was out of print and not available through the library system. Now, ten years later, the situation is rapidly improving. Van Driem wrote a grammar of Limbu (1987) and recently a grammar of Dumi (1993). Michailovsky's grammar of Hayu came out in 1988. N. K. Rai's unpublished dissertation on Bantawa became available in a photocopied form. More grammars or detailed descriptions can be expected soon from the Leiden Project on Himalayan languages.

Kiranti languages are SOV languages with a rather strict order of modifiers before heads. The position of the main constituents can vary according to communicative needs. The SE languages are mainly agglutinative, so that words can easily be split up into morphs. The northern languages have more stem variation and portmanteau forms. For Thulung I have therefore inserted an extra line in the text glosses (appendix B).

MT. EVEREST



Map of Kiranti languages

underlined: languages represented in this book

The Kiranti verb is characterized by a complex system of person and number markers, some of them prefixed, most of them suffixed, and some of them copied. The SE languages tend to build lengthy strings, in which five or six suffixes are not seldom; e.g. in Athpare the negation of a 1pe→3ns configuration has nine suffixes. The northern and western languages have no prefixes (Khaling 2nd person *i-* is an exception) and maximally three suffixes.

The agreement system is sensitive to the pragmatic constellation. Speech act participants, both agent and patient, are usually marked on the verb, whereas for 3rd person there are only nonsingular markers. The 3rd person patient marker *-u* is probably a recent reinterpretation of a direct marker (see 2.2.1.1 and Ebert 1990). The southern languages show traces of an inverse system, but inverse forms, especially with first person patients, tend to be replaced by impersonal constructions (also in Limbu).

The Kiranti languages are morphologically ergative. Some languages exhibit a split between speech act participants and non-participants (Camling, Thulung) or between pronouns and non-pronouns (Limbu). Syntactically there are practically no indicators of an ergative organization.

Gender plays a marginal role, e.g. in Limbu and Bantawa participles. Human and nonhuman nouns can be distinguished in the classifiers, but this distinction is presently abandoned.

A most fascinating part of Kiranti grammar is the coding of space. The vertical dimension - higher, lower and same level - constitutes a grammatical category that pervades the domain of deixis, local adverbs and local case markers, a phenomenon which is unique in the world's languages and which has therefore been given special attention in this presentation.

Unlike other SOV languages, Kiranti languages make little use of converbs and participles in subordination - the northern and western languages somewhat more than the southern languages and Limbu. Hayu, the westernmost language, has only nonfinite forms in subordination; Limbu, the easternmost language, has no converbs, but uses participles more frequently than Athpare and Camling. Most subordinate clauses have fully inflected verbs followed by a case marker (often without an intervening nominalizer) or some other subordinator.

Kiranti languages make extensive use of compound verbs, which fulfill similar functions as compound verbs in Indoaryan and Dravidian languages; i.e. they are mainly telicizing or stativizing. Some of them have been grammaticized as progressives and perfects. Their forms are, however, different from the typical South Asian converb constructions: in Kiranti languages both verbs are inflected, though the forms are reduced to various degrees.

'The structure of Kiranti languages' was originally planned as an introduction to a volume of mythological texts provided with morphemic glosses. As the chapters kept growing, I decided to edit it separately together with some (non-mythological) texts.

When working on grammatical topics of Kiranti languages, I badly felt the need for analyzed text material. Appendix B is a first step towards filling this gap. As will

be obvious from the examples cited, my grammatical description is mainly based on the analysis of these texts (and others to appear), although I could also draw much useful information from the descriptions in Allen (1975), Toba (1984) and Rai (1984).

I have tried to present the data in a systematic way without too much technical terminology. It is obvious that certain domains have been treated in more detail than others. More information would have been desirable on phonology and syntax, but can not be presented at the moment.

The presentation is restricted to six languages in order to keep the data and the tables to a manageable size. Five of them are the languages for which texts are presented in the appendix. For two languages, Athpare and Camling, data are presented here for the first time. I have included Limbu as a reference language, as it is the best documented Kiranti language and most Tibeto-Burmanists will have some familiarity with it. Analysed Limbu texts are easily accessible in van Driem (1987).

A first overview of six languages, two of them (Athpare and Camling) never described before, others hardly known, will necessarily contain a number of errors. As many new data can be expected in the next years, such a presentation will need a revision and supplement soon. I therefore decided to edit a first version of this book in a preliminary form.

1. Phonemes

1.1. Consonants

A striking characteristic in the phoneme inventory of Kiranti languages (see table 1 next page) is the lack of fricatives except for *s*, *h*. **Voiced stops** are rare phonemes in the SE (southeastern) languages. Initial *g*, *gh*, *j*, *jh* are restricted mainly to loanwords. In Limbu voiced stops are allophones of unvoiced consonants after nasal, glottal stop and between vowels; the only voiced phoneme in final position is *b* (la:b moon vs. la:p wing). In the northern languages Thulung and Khaling voiced and voiceless initials are approximately equal in frequency.

Aspiration is phonemic in all Kiranti languages. Minimal pairs are numerous for initial unvoiced stops. Aspiration of voiced consonants is realized as **breathiness**.

Athp.	dhagna	stuck (in throat)	ɖagna	standing straight
	jhom	swelling	jom	much
Bant.	dhat	beats	dat	it sees
	bhuk	covers	buk	stomach
Caml.	dhama	fell	dama	be visible
Thul.	jham	is possible	jam	cooked rice
	dhalti	down	dala	quickly
Khal.	'ghwamnä	block	'gwamnä	go across
	'bhunä	burst, explode	'bunä	give birth
	jhenä	last, endure	jenä	speak, make sound

The oppositions *jh* : *j* and *gh* : *g* in SE-Kiranti usually involve Nepali loanwords, although the aspirated forms appear also in indigenous vocabulary, e.g. Athp. *jha* "younger brother".

Bant.	jhutta	bunch	jutta (Nep.)	shoe
	ghasa (Nep.)	grass	gasa	mouthful

Aspiration is sometimes optional:

Caml.	bhusi/busi	first
Thul.	jhoomu/joomu	plough

Camling seems to be the only language that has breathiness with nasals and liquids.

Caml.	nham-	smell	nam	sun
	lhoma	boil	loma	tell
	rhama	cook millet	rama	divide, separate

Table 1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	dental	retroflex/ apico-alv.	pal.-alveol.	velar	glottal
Limbu						
stops, -voiced	p ph	t th		c[ts] ¹	k kh	ʔ
+voiced	b					
fricatives				s		h
nasal	m	n			ŋ	
continuant	w	l	r	y		
Athpare						
stops, -voiced	p ph		t th	c ch	k kh	
+voiced	b bh		d dh	j jh	g	
fricatives				s		h
nasals	m	n			ŋ	
continuant	w	l	c (ɽh)	y		
Bantawa						
stops, -voiced	p ph	t th		c ch	k kh	
+voiced	b bh	d dh		j	g	
fricatives				s		h
nasals	m	n			ŋ	
continuant	w	l	r	y		
Camling						
stops, -voiced	p ph	t th		c ch	k kh	
+voiced	b bh	d dh		j jh	g	
fricatives				s		h
nasals	m mh	n nh			ŋ ŋh	
continuant	w	l lh	r rh	y		
Thulung						
stops, -voiced	p ph	t th	t th	c ch	k kh	
+voiced	b bh	d dh	d dh	j jh	g gh	
fricatives				s		h
nasals	m	n			ŋ	
continuant	w	l	r	y		
Khaling						
stops, -voiced	p ph	t th		c ch	k kh	
+voiced	b bh	d dh		j jh	g gh	
fricatives				s		h
nasals	m	n			ŋ	
continuant	w	l	r	y		

¹ c and j are affricates. - Limbu *ch* occurs only as an allomorph of *s* after *t, n*.

The opposition **dental : retroflex** is phonemic only in Thulung (although there is some free variation also; cf. Allen 1975:14). Limbu and Camling have retroflex consonants only in loanwords, whereas in Athpare *t, d, r* are always retroflex or apico-alveolar. The case of Bantawa is not clear; N.K.Rai (1985) writes mainly *D/T* (for apico-alveolar), but sometimes *d/t* in the same word (e.g. *UkTa*, *Ukta* "one"). There seem to be no minimal pairs.

Obstruents in syllable final position are **unreleased** in Limbu, Athpare, Bantawa and Thulung. It is sometimes difficult to determine the character of the consonant and to distinguish it from glottal stop, especially if assimilation is optional, e.g. Athpare *khat[̃]ma / khap[̃]ma / kha[̃]ma* "go"; Limbu *ko[̃]ʔyo[̃]* (437) / *ko[̃]ʔyo[̃]* (323) "down here". In Limbu "a non-native speaker of Limbu who has difficulty hearing the difference in any given case can distinguish them easily through observing the allophonic variation of /s/ and /l/ which they condition" (van Driem 1987:10), cf.

Lim. <i>thikmenda[̃]rək</i>	only one goat
<i>thikphak[̃]lok</i>	only one pig
<i>lot-ch-u</i>	they (d) swallowed it
<i>lo[̃]-si</i>	they (d) seem

Glottal stop is phonemic in medial and final position at least in Limbu. Initial vowel phonemes are preceded by glottal stop in all six languages.

Initial consonant clusters are restricted to C + y, w in the eastern part of the Kiranti area, whereas in the western part C + r, l are also frequent. The isogloss that represents the loss of r/l after initial stop runs right through the Camling speaking area.

NW-Cam.,	<i>khli</i>	feces	SE-Cam., Bant.	<i>khi</i>	feces
Thul., Khal.	"	"	Lim., Athp.	<i>hi</i>	"
NW-Cam.	<i>prapd-</i>	scratch	SE-Cam.	<i>papd-</i>	scratch
Thul.	<i>phrap-</i>	"	Athp.	<i>papt-</i>	"
Khal.	<i>präm</i>	"	Bant.	<i>phamt-</i>	grab with claw

Cf. also the mythological name *Khliyama* (NW-Camling), *Khliw* (Thulung), which is *Khiyama* in SE-Camling and Bantawa.

1.2. Vowels

Vowel length is phonemic in Limbu and Thulung. Limbu has both long and short *i*, *u*, *ɛ*, *ɔ* [ʌ] and *a*, whereas *e* and *o* occur only halflong, *ə* only short. Both degrees of lengthening are marked by a raised dot in van Driem (except in suffixes where he writes simply *e*). In the other southeastern languages vowels are usually lengthened in open syllable.

Front rounded vowels (*ü*, *ö*) are found in Thulung and Khaling. Their occurrence is predictable in Thulung verb stems², but on the basis of pairs like the following they have to be regarded as phonemes.

<i>soomu</i>	pay	<i>söömu</i>	be defeated
<i>suumu</i>	push through	<i>sümu</i>	itch

Table 2: Vowel phonemes

	Limbu			Athpare		
	front	back		front	back	
close	<i>i</i> / <i>iː</i>	<i>u</i> / <i>uː</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	
	<i>e</i> [˙]	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i> [˙]	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	
	<i>ɛ</i> / <i>ɛː</i>	<i>ɔ</i> / <i>ɔː</i>			<i>a</i>	
open	<i>a</i> / <i>aː</i>					
	Bantawa			Camling		
	front	back		front	back	
close	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i> [ɯ] <i>u</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	
	<i>e</i>	<i>(ə)</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>(ʌ)</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>			<i>a</i>		
	Thulung			Khaling		
	front	back		front	back	
close	<i>i</i> / <i>iː</i>	<i>ü</i> / <i>üː</i>	<i>u</i> / <i>uː</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>u</i>
	<i>e</i> / <i>eː</i>	<i>ö</i> / <i>öː</i>	<i>ə</i> / <i>əː</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>o</i>
open	<i>a</i> / <i>aː</i>			<i>ä</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>â</i> [ɔ]

Back unrounded vowels: Bantawa *u* (written *ɨ*) and Limbu *ʌ* (written *ɔ*) have phonemic status. For Camling no minimal pair *ʌ* : *o* was found, but in a few cases the informant insisted that we are not dealing with *o*. A contrast *ʌ* : *a* exists only between the topic marker *-na* and the sequential suffix *-nʌ*.

² *u*, *o* > *ü*, *ö* / T_ [-velar], where T stands for 'central consonant' (dental, retroflex, affricate, lateral). Note Camling 3P -*u* > -*yu* in the same environment.

The central vowel ə has phonemic status in Limbu, Thulung, and marginally in Bantawa, where it is considered a 'borrowed phoneme' (N.K.Rai 1985:41).

Lim.	ən	horse	ando:	later	en	today
Thul.	lə	go!	la	if	le	ancient ornament
Bant.	məna	mind	mana	honour	ena	heard (itr)

1.3. Tone

The northern languages have distinctive tone. High tone (Toba) or tense tone (Allen) is marked by a single quote in front of the word. In Thulung the opposition is systematic between certain segmentally identical NPT and PT forms:

Khal.	're-nä	write	re-nä	build
Thul.	'saw	tiger	saw	blacksmith
	'cümḍ-ü	he caught it	cümḍ-ü	he catches it
	'loaa-na	you saw it	loaa-na	you see it

Unfortunately tone is not marked in the Thulung and Khaling source texts.

1.4. Notes on transcription

I have usually adopted the spelling conventions of the sources, but a few changes were made for the sake of comparability, consistency or convenience.

Limbu:

I write the voiced counterpart of the affricate ɟ [tʃ] as ɟ [dz] (van Driem: dz), as is done for the other languages. To mark long or lengthened vowels I use ː instead of van Driem's raised dot.

Bantawa:

N.K.Rai (1985) differentiates between apico-alveolar (D/T) and dental stops (d/t) in his dissertation, but there seem to be no minimal pairs. The dictionary prepared by Winter & Rai (ms) does not distinguish between the two. As the distinction is not always maintained in the texts, I adopt the latter convention.

For the central mid vowel (A in Rai 1985), I use ə. The back unrounded vowel [w] is written ʋ in Rai (1985), ʋ in the lexicon (Winter & Rai, ms.), ɰ in Hansson (1991b) and in the texts by Winter & Rai (ms.); I use ɰ.

Thulung:

Where [d] and [r] are in free variation I write d; e.g. in *-mi-di* 3p-PT it represents the past marker /t/ more closely.

The front rounded vowels (Allen: iu, eo), which are only occasionally heard as diphthongs (Allen 1975:24), are written ü, ö here. I use aa etc. instead of Allen's ā etc. for marking vowel length.

Khaling:

I have replaced Toba's aa ([a], not a long vowel) by a; his a, which is an unrounded back vowel, by â. There are some inconsistencies in the spelling of e and ä [æ] between the various publications on Khaling, e.g. *eci, äci* "you d", which I had to leave as they are.

Nepali:

The presentation of Nepali loanwords in the various sources has not been altered.

Affricates:

The affricates are usually represented in Nepal according to the transcription introduced by the British: **ch** unaspirated, **chh** aspirated (but **j**, **jh** for the voiced counterparts!). This transcription has, as far as I know, never been used in linguistic work. In spite of a great reluctancy on the side of informants literate in English to accept **c** for the unaspirated and **ch** for the aspirated sound I have adopted this convention. (In former publications I kept the traditional spelling in the name *Chamling* as a compromise.)

I have unified the presentation of some elements (case markers, negative markers, short possessives) as affixes, instead of writing them as separate words. The sources are sometimes not consistent in this matter. Some compromise had to be made in the texts because of the inflexibility of the interlinear translation programme, which allows only one font type in a line. It was impossible to change a letter type without going through the whole process of glossing again. In the Bantawa, Camling and Khaling [ŋ] is written *ng*, in Limbu, Athpare and Thulung *ŋ* (as in the sources).

2. The verb

2.1. Stems

2.1.1. Stem variation

Most Kiranti verbs have two different stems. In southeastern Kiranti the first (full) stem is used before vowels, the second (weakened) stem before consonants and word-final. The second stem is often predictable. The transitivizing or causative suffixes *-t/-d* and *-s* are elided in stem II; stems ending in sonorants and some vowel stems remain unchanged. Language specific reduction rules have developed (e.g. *-akl-arŋ* → *-ō*; *-ik* → *yu* in Camling). There are a few verbs with three stems, which I will ignore here. Some typical examples of two-stem verbs are:³

	I (before V)	II (before C/#)	
Lim.	hipt- tha:ps- nis-	hip- tham- ni-	hit show see
Athp.	lems- lis- mett-	lem- li- met-	beat become do
Bant.	dhatt- pen- in-	dhat- pey- in-	beat fly sell
Cam.	pus- khat- tyok-	pu- khai- tō-	go away go see

In Thulung the two stems can appear in the same environment; stem I is typically - though not always - found in the past tense (as a reflex of underlying /t/), stem II in the nonpast. Toba (1984:19) calls stem II the 'infinitive stem'. In fact in all six languages stem II is used in the infinitive, but this is due to the form of the infinitival suffix, which starts in a nasal. Thus in Khaling stem II occurs also before the plural ending *-nu*. I shall not go into the complicated matter of stem alternation in Thulung and Khaling here. For some rules see Allen (1975:61f), Toba (1984:19f).

³ The languages are presented from East to West to North (cf. map in the introduction). Rabi, the place of origin of the Bantawa linguist N.K.Rai, is situated to the east of Athpare, but this is an immigration area, where Bantawa became a lingua franca. The traditional Bantawa area is west of the Arun river, and this is reflected in its close affinity with Camling and Puma.

	I		II	
Thul.	rep-		rem-	look
	set-		se(n)-	kill
	goak-		goaa-	give
laks-	lək-		ləə-	go
Khal.	khös-		khwan-	go
	lu-		lân-	tell
	mâmd-		mäm-	remember
	jaŋ-		ja-	eat

2.1.2. Intransitive, transitive and causative stems

A transitive stem is derived from the intransitive one by suffixing -d / -t or -s. There is a tendency for -s to form causatives, for -d /-t to form applicatives or benefactives, but there are numerous counterexamples (cf. Sprigg 1985, 1992; van Driem 1987:245ff).

	ITR		TR	
Lim.	ha:b-	cry	ha:pt-	mourn
	caks-	get dressed	ha:ps-	cause to cry
	khəŋ-	get hit (with stick)	cakt-	dress so.
			khəks-	hit
Bant.	par-	shout	pays-	make shout
	i-	laugh	patt-	shout at so.
	em-	stand up	is-	make laugh
	ban-	come	itt-	laugh at so.
	chor-	pay	ems-	make stand up
	khik-	be bitter	bays-	bring
	ruk-	be angry	chott-	pay for so.
			khikt-	feel bitter against so.
			rukt-	be angry at so.
Cam.	si	die	set-	kill
	ims-	sleep	seid- (<set)	cause to kill
	ri-	laugh	ibd-	put to sleep
	ban-	come across	rit-	laugh at so.
	them-	perform	baid-	bring across
			theps-	make perform

Causatives and applicatives/benefactives are sometimes formed from transitive verbs in the same way :

	TR		CAUS/APPLIC	
Lim.	nis-	see	ni:r-, ni:t-	read, study
	thɔg-	forge, weld	thɔkt-	make so. work metal
	sub-	shut (tr/itr)	su:pt-	shut off
Cam.	hors-	throw	hord-	throw at so.

Since stem II (the preconsonantal stem) often equals stem I minus final consonant, the transitive stem II may be identical with the intransitive stem I.

In Limbu and Thulung transitivization is sometimes brought about by devoicing or aspiration of the initial consonant, e.g. (for Limbu cf. van Driem 1987:246f., for Thulung cf. Allen 1975:43).

	ITR (stem I)		TR (stem I)	
Lim.	ka:nd-	be wounded	khə:nd-	wound so.
	pa:ks-	become undone	pha:ks-	undo
	po:nd-	be abundant	pho:nd-	generate, produce
	tɛ:ks-	be torn	thɛ:ks-	tear
Thul.	bək-	stand up	phək-	raise
	blam-	be spoiled	phlam-	spoil
	get-	come up	khet-	carry up
	jhar-	fall	car-	fell

In all languages analytic causatives seem to be more frequent (see 2.4.4).

2.2. Finite paradigms

2.2.1. Person and number affixes

The verbal paradigms of Kiranti languages (cf. appendix A1) are characterized by agreement with speech act participants, number agreement (in principle) with both participants, traces of direction marking (in some languages), and a number of idiosyncrasies. I can only draw attention to the basic principles here.

Table 3: person-number markers

	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
1s	-ŋ(a)	-ŋ(a)	-ŋ(a)	-uŋ(a)	-ŋi, -ŋu	-ŋa (S/P)
2	ke-	a-	ti-	ta-	-na	i-
1→2	-ne	-na	-na	-na	-ni (1s→2)	-nā
2p					-ni	-ni
2p(1→2)	-ni	-ni	-(n)in	-ni		
2pS/P	-i	-i	-(n)in	-i		
1pS/P	-i	-i	-in	-i(m)		
1/2pA	-m	-m	-m	-m		
1nsi	a-	a- (P)			-i (S/A) -sa (P)	-ki (1pi)
1nse	-ŋa	-ŋa, -ya	-ka, -a	-ka	-ku (S/A) -ki (P)	-ka (1pe)
3P	-u	-u	-u	-u, -yu	-ü (3s→3) -(p)u (1s→3)	-ü (2/3s→3) -u (1s→3s)
d	/-si/	-ci	-ci	-ci	-ci	-ci, -i, -su
3nsP	/-si/	-ci	-ci	-ci		
P					-mi	-nu
3pA/S	me-	u-	im- (ns)	mi-		
INV/3A		m- (3→2)	i-	pa-		i-
1P(e)	naꞤpmi-	yaꞤ-		kha-		

Kiranti languages are often characterized as pronominalized. Indeed most of the more regular person markers on verbs are also present in the pronouns: -ŋa (1s), -na (2nd), -ni (2p), -i (1p), -ka (e).

In regard to finite verb paradigms Limbu and the southern Rai languages (here: Athpare, Bantawa, Camling) can be treated as one subgroup, which I abbreviate as SE (southern + eastern) Kiranti. No claims for a closer genetic relationship are involved. The verb in Khaling, a northern language, shares some traits of the SE languages.

A characteristic trait of SE Kiranti verbal paradigms are the prefixes, which are not found in the northern and western languages:

- 2nd person is marked by a prefix (also in Khaling⁴);
- 3rd plural S/A (itr. subject and tr. agent) is marked by a prefix *mε-*, *mi-*, *u-*, *im-*;
- an inverse (or 3A) prefix exists in Camling, Bantawa and Athpare (cf. also Khaling *i-*);
- impersonal prefixes are sometimes used in 1st person patient configurations;
- Limbu and Athpare share an inclusive marker *a-*.

Further characteristics of SE Kiranti not shared by the northern and western languages are:

- *-na* indicates the 1→2 configuration (holds also for Khaling *-nä*);
- 1st and 2nd plural are marked identically in A function (*-m*), but in other functions the forms may vary (2p *-i*, *-ni*, *-(n)in*; 1p *-i*, *-in* *im*);
- the dual marker *-ci* is also used for 3rd nonsingular patient, together with a suffix copy.

The grid presentation in appendix A1 shows the principles of person and number marking.

- 1st and 2nd person are marked on the verb, no matter whether they are agent or patient, whereas 3rd person is marked only if it is patient. Cf. the following forms of the verb "see":

	2s→3s		3s→2s	
Lim.	ke-nis-u	you saw him	ke-nis-ε	he saw you
Athp.	a-nis-u-e		<i>m-</i> a-nis-e	
Bant.	ti-khaŋ-u		ti-khaŋ-a	
Cam.	ta-tyok-u		ta-tyoka	
	2-see-3P(-PT)		2-see(-PT)	
Thul.	'loaa-na		'loaa-na	
	see-2		see-2	
	1pe→3s		3s→1pe	
Lim.	nis-u-m-be	we saw him	nis-i-ge	he saw us
			see-1pP/S-e	
Bant.	khaŋ-u-m-ka		i-khaŋ-in-ka	
Cam.	tyok-u-m-ka		pa-tyok-im-ka	
	see-3P-1pA-e		INV-see-1pP/S-e	
Thul.	loaa-ku		loaa-ki-mi	
	see-1nseA		see-1nseP-p	

⁴ According to Toba (1989) Khaling 2→3 has no prefix, but cf. the following text forms: *mang i-jä mang i-tiŋ-ü* What will you eat, what will you drink? (KH2.7).

- If both actants are speech act participants, either both persons are marked on the verb (as in 2→1), or they are indicated by a portmanteau suffix (-*na* signals 1→2 in SE Kiranti, although it is originally a 2nd person suffix; cf. Thulung 2→3 *loaa-na* "you saw him; he saw you").

	1s→2s		2s→1s	
Lim.	ni- ne	I saw you	ke -nis-a- ŋ	you saw me
Athp.	ni- ne		a -nisa- ŋ -e	
Bant.	khaŋ- na		ti -khaŋ- ŋa	
Cam.	tõ- na		ta -tyok- uŋa	
	see-1→2		2-see-1s(:PT)	
Thul.	loaa- ni		loaa- ŋi	
	see-1→2		see-1P	

- The exclusive marker is always the last suffix :

	1pe→3ns	
Lim.	hipt-u-m-si-m- be	we (pe) beat them (d,p)
Cam.	caidh-u-m-c-um- ka	
	beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy-e	

- 3rd person plural subject is marked by *mV-* in SE Kiranti. The Bantawa dialectal variants *im-/mi-* suggest that the prefix is originally bi-morphemic (cf. also 2.2.1.1.) and that Bantawa *i-* and Athpare *u-* might be cognate. The form *mi-* -*u* is rare in Camling; usually 3p→3 is expressed by an inverse form; cf. below.

	3pS		3pA	
Lim.	me -der	they came	me -nis-u	they (d,p) saw it ⁵
Athp.	u -ta-e		u -nis-u-e	they (p) "
Bant.	im -ta		im -khaŋ-u	
Cam.	mi -ta		(mi -tyok-u)	
	3pS/A-come(-PT)		3pS/A-see-3P(-PT)	

- The dual agent and the 3rd person nonsingular patient marker -*ci* (Limbu -*si*; -*tchi* after *e*) are distinguished by their position. The dual suffix is always attached to the (extended) verb stem, whereas the 3nsP marker follows a 3rd patient marker (+ personal suffix), which is/(are) copied after it. As identical markers⁶

⁵ In Limbu several plural forms have been collapsed; thus *me-* is used for both dual and plural 3rd agent. *only with 1/2P*

⁶ The 1/2pA marker -*m* and the 1/2pS/P markers -*in*, -*im* count as identical; -*m* seems to be a variant of both after vowel.

usually do not occur together (also in the northern languages), a 3rd nonsingular patient remains unmarked if the agent is dual. Limbu is an exception.

	1di→3s		1di→3ns
Lim.	a-hip-s-u 1i-beat-d-3P	we (di) beat him	a-hip-s-u-si we (di) beat them 1i-beat-d-3P-3nsP
	1di→3		
Athp.	lem-c-u-e beat-d-3P-PT		we (di) beat him/them
Bant.	dhatt-a-c-u beat-PT-d-3P		
Cam.	caidha-ci beat-d		
	1pi→3ns		
Lim.	a-hipt-u-m-si-m 1i-beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy		we (pi) beat them (d,p)
Athp.	lems-u-m-ci-m-e beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy-PT		
Bant.	dhatt-u-m-ci-m (<ci + -um) beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP:copy		
Cam.	caidh-u-m-c-um beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy		

In nonsingular configurations involving 3rd persons and speech act participants (SAP) the verb agrees with the latter. This principle is immediately understood from the arrows in the grid presentation (A1): vertical arrows indicate agreement with patient only, horizontal arrows agreement with agent only. 3→1/2 configurations mostly have vertical arrows, 1/2→3 configurations horizontal ones (see esp. Kahling). The exceptions are the impersonal forms used for 1st patient configurations, which are constructed like intransitives (Athpare *yap̄-*, Limbu-Pānthare *yap̄mi-*, SE-Camling *kha-* forms; cf. below). It follows that number marking in configurations involving two nonsingular SAPs must be problematic. In 1→2 configurations marking of 2nd person is usually preferred, but for 2→1 no general preference can be made out. I did not get a consistent paradigm here from any Camling informant, as indicated by the two possible principles in table A1:

	NW-Cam.		
2p→1de	ta-tyok-i 2-see-2p	or:	ta-tyoka-c-ka you (p) saw us two 2-see-d-e
2d→1pe	ta-tyoka-ci 2-see-d		ta-tyok-im-ka you (d) saw us (pe) 2-see-1pS/P-e

The situation is similar in Thulung. The forms listed in the appendix are those which Allen elicited from his informant G (cf. table in Allen 1975: 48). Informant Tr follows again a different pattern; in 1d/p→2 his verbs agree only with agent: 1d→2-*cuku*, 1p→2-*ku*. With 2→1 configurations he "preferred to avoid the issue by using the impersonal suffix *-pa*" (Allen 1975: 49), i.e. a participle.⁷ Informant DB uses *-nini* in *TH5.5 and 5.15, a form which does not occur in the table:

	Thul.	
1d→2s	goaa-nini	[who cuts most trees] to you we shall give [our daughter]
	give-1ns→2	(*TH5.5)

2.2.1.1. Inverse configurations

I have earlier proposed an inverse analysis for Camling *pa-* and Bantawa *i-* (Ebert 1990, 1991). A few data and arguments in favor of such an interpretation can be added here. As stated earlier, forms like the following make it problematic to analyse *pa-* and *i-* as 3rd person agent and *-u* as 3rd person patient markers.

	3s→3s		3p→3s
Cam.	tyok-u	he saw him	pa-tyoka they saw him
Bant.	khaŋ-u		i-khaŋ-a

The distribution of the affixes is self-explanatory in a person hierarchy which values 3s higher than 3ns, i.e.: 1 > 2 > 3s > 3ns. *pa-* and *i-* then mark inverse direction, *-u* direct. The forms in the Bantawa texts *BANT5-8, which were not available when I postulated the inverse analysis, confirm this approach. All 3→1 and 3ns→3 configurations are marked by *i-*, whereas, different from Camling, 3ns→3ns counts as direct. In the following example we have two direct forms expressing that a 3rd plural agent acts upon a 3rd nonsingular patient, followed by three inverse forms expressing actions of 3rd plural upon a 3rd singular patient.

(1)	wa	im-caŋs-u-ci-kiya	moko	i-ma-nin	i-cha
Bant.	water	3pA/S-bathe-3P/DIR-3nsP-SEQ	that	3sPOSS-mother-COM	3sPOSS-child

aʔwa-ʔa im-sopt-u-ci-kiya wa i-set-kiya ummak
oil-INST 3pA/S-rub-3P/DIR-3nsP-SEQ chicken INV-kill-SEQ beer

i-ku-kiya kok-nin tato i-pi.
INV-heat-SEQ rice-COM hot INV-give

⁷ Cf. also Limbu 1pe PT *-mʔna*, which is originally a past participle.

They wash them, and they rub mother and child with oil, and they kill a chicken and heat beer and serve it with hot rice. (*BANT 8.8)

(For more inverse forms see text *BANT 8 throughout, *BANT 7.2, 7; for more direct 3ns→3ns forms see BANT 2.101, 135, 136, 138, 141). 3d→3s configurations are marked unsystematically; they can be either direct forms, inverse forms, or a mixture of both.

- 3d→3s
- a. lo-w-a-yakt-a-c-u they (d) kept telling him (BANT 2.9)
tell-(w)-PT-V2:ITER-PT-d-3P/DIR
 - b. i-khaŋ-a they (d) saw it (BANT 2.132)
INV-see-PT
 - c. i-thil-a-c-u they (d) chased it (BANT 2.121)
INV-chase-PT-d-3P/DIR

Forms a) and b) occur with approximately equal frequency, whereas the c) forms are found only in a few sentences (BANT 2.27, 118, 121, 132). In 3p→1 inverse *i-* together with the 3pA/S marker *im-* yields *i-m-*:⁸

- (2) a. moko haŋ-cha-ʔa i-dhir-in bhəne i-ser-in.
Bant. that king-child-ERG INV-find-1pS/P if INV-kill-1pS/P
If that prince (Kiranti man) finds us, he will kill us. (BANT 5.35)
- b. mi-na-ci-ʔa i-m-ʔen-in bhəne-lo i-m-ser-in ye molo.
man-ns-ERG INV-3pA/S-hear-1pS/P if-TOP INV-3pA/S-kill-1pS/P PART PART
If the men hear us, they will surely kill us. (BANT 5.29)

The honorific plural accounts for *i-m-* in:

- (3) a. papa-ʔa ... i-m-cint-a-ŋ-yaŋ.
father-ERG INV-3pA/S-teach-PT-1s-V2:CONT:1s
Father ... used to teach me. (*BANT 7.3)
- b. cama-wo lo i-m-pi-a-ŋ ...
food-GEN PART INV-3pA/S-give-PT-1s
"He (man) gave me food" (the dog thought) (*BANT 5.44)

⁸ That there are two morphemes involved is also corroborated by the fact that in the Wana dialect of South Bhojpur 3p→1 and 3p→3 configurations are marked by *mi-* (Gvozdanovic 1985:121); e.g. 3s→1s i-dhatt-a-ŋ he beat me 3p→1s m-i-dhatt-a-ŋ they beat me
INV-beat-PT-1s 3p-INV-beat-PT-1s
In the light of these data Athpare *ma-* could also be seen as *m-a-* (3A-2).

There are various disturbances in the direction marking system in both Camling and Bantawa, such as the generalisation of *-uŋa* for 1s in Camling, and a one-prefix-restriction, which prevents the inverse marker from occurring together with the 2nd person marker: "he gave to you" is Bant. *ti-pida* (*i-ti-), Cam. *ta-ida* (*pa-ta).

The verbal paradigms of Camling and Bantawa are thus no pure direction systems. The function of the suffix *-u* is ambiguous, it can also be interpreted as a 3rd person patient marker, the only function it has in Limbu and Athpare. For the sake of comparability I shall - somewhat inconsequently - gloss it in the following as 3P also in Camling and Bantawa, although I gloss INV for Camling *pa-* and Bantawa *i-*. The prefixes could be described as 3rd person A markers with a number of restrictions of occurrence (as one will probably do for Athpare *m-3A(→2)*), but the analysis as inverse markers explains the occurrence of *pa-* and *i-*.

In the other languages it is not possible to postulate a direction system. Khaling inverse configurations have the prefix *i-* (identical with the 2nd person marker), but there is no opposition *i-* : *-u*.

Most SE Kiranti languages have **impersonal forms** for some or all 1st patient configurations, either grammaticized and integrated into the paradigm (Athpare, SE-Camling), or as an optional variant (Phedäppe-Limbu). The restructuring of the system towards subject agreement can be seen in the following partial paradigms from two dialects of Camling.⁹ In the northwestern dialect the verb agrees with the 1st person patient. In the southeastern dialect 1st person patient is indicated by the prefix *kha-*. The verb agrees in number with the 3rd or 2nd person as if the verb were intransitive (*mi-* and *-i* mark 3p and 2p S or P, but not A).

NW-Cam.		SE-Cam.	
3→1s	<i>pa-tyok-uŋa</i> s/he,they see/s me	3s→1	<i>kha-tyoka-Ø</i> s/he sees me/us
3→1di	<i>pa-tyoka-ci</i> " " us	3d→1	<i>kha-tyoka-ci</i> they see me/us
3→1de	<i>pa-tyoka-c-ka</i> " " "	3p→1	<i>kha-mi-tyoka</i> " "
3→1pi	<i>pa-tyok-i</i>		1P-see + 3rd pers. number
3→1pe	<i>pa-tyok-im-ka</i>		
	INV-see + 1st pers. marker		
2→1s	<i>ta-tyok-uŋa</i> you see me	2s→1	<i>kha-ta-tyoka-Ø</i> you see me/us
2→1de	<i>ta-tyoka-c-ka</i> you see us	2d→1	<i>kha-ta-tyoka-ci</i> " "
2→1pe	<i>ta-tyok-im-ka</i> "	2p→1	<i>kha-ta-tyok-i</i> " "
	2-see- + 1st pers. marker		1P-2- see + 2nd pers. number

⁹ Occasionally one can hear a *kha-*form in the NW dialect or an inverse form in the SE dialect; cf. from an SE Camling text:

kha-ida-nna 1P-give-pollIMPER (*Bal 6.8) "give me!"
id-uŋ-na give-1s-pollIMPER (*Bal 6.10) "

In Limbu the impersonal forms of 1st person patient configurations have been grammaticized to different degrees in the various dialects. In the Phedäppe dialect *napmi* "man, someone" is an optional variant for 1st person patients in 2→1 only (cf. van Driem 1987:80).

Lim.-Phed.			
2s→1s	ke-hip-ʔε	you will beat me	or: 2→1 napmi ke-hip
	2-beat-1sP:NPT		1P 2-beat
			you will beat
			me/us
2→1ns	a-ge-hip	you will beat us	
	1nsP-2-beat		

In the Pānthare dialect *yapmi* has been grammaticized to a considerable degree, entering the paradigm from the 1nse patient configurations and spreading optionally to 1st person singular; e.g. *yapmi-ke-hip* "you (s) beat me/us". We often find parallel forms in the paradigms provided by Weidert & Subba. (For further information see Ebert 1991).

2.2.2. Basic tenses: past and nonpast

Kiranti languages have two basic tense forms, which may be called past (PT) and nonpast (NPT). Tense can be marked in two positions: a) after the stem, b) after the personal suffixes. In those languages that mark tense after the stem, about 50% of the verb forms are not distinguished in the past and nonpast (Limbu and Bantawa). This situation may have led to the introduction of new tense markers, as in Athpare. Cf. the PT and NPT paradigms in appendix A2.

Table 4: Markers of basic tense-aspect

	NPT		PT	
	after stem	after pers.	after stem	after pers.
Lim., Bant.			-a, -ε	
Cam.		-e /-yo		
Athp.	-yuk	-t + copy	-a	-e
Thul., Khal.			-ta	-t+ copy

|| suffixes do not occur together.

The simplest situation is found in **Limbu** and **Bantawa**, where the NPT is unmarked, the PT is marked by *-a* (Phedäppe Limbu *-ε* before *-si* > *-tchi* and \emptyset)¹⁰ following the stem (cf. appendix A2 for full paradigms).

¹⁰ The past marker *a* appears only before *-ŋ* in Phedäppe Limbu (cf. table A3), and van Driem postulates a portmanteau suffix *-aŋ* for 1sP/S:PT. This is motivated by his attempt to associate suffix

Lim.	NPT		PT	
3s	hiŋ	he lives	hiŋ- e	he lived
1s	nuŋ-ʔe	I return	nuks- a-ŋ	I returned
3s→1pi	a-ni	he sees us	a-nis- e	he saw us
3d→3s	ni-s-u	they see him	nis- e-tch-u	they saw him
3ns→1s	mɛ-huʔ-ʔe	they beat me	mɛ-huʔr- a-ŋ	they beat me

Bant.				
2s→3d	ti-dhat-c-u	you beat them	ti-dhatt- a-c-u	you beat them
3s→1s	i-dhat-ŋa	he beats me	i-dhatt- a-ŋ	he beat me

PT /-a/ is realized only before consonant and zero, but not before 1→2 -na/-ne.

Lim.	PT/NPT	
1s→2s	ni-ne	I see/saw you
3s→3s	nis-u	he sees/saw him
3→2p	kɛ-nis-i	he sees/saw you (p)

Bant.		
2s	khat-na	you go/went
3s→3s	dhatt-u	he beat him
1pi→3s	dhatt-u-m	we beat him

Athpare has markers for both PT and NPT. The old past marker *-a* appears before consonantal suffixes (dual *-ci* and 1s *-ŋa*)¹¹. The new past marker *-e* follows all other endings. It replaces the final vowels of *-ci*, *-ŋa*, *-na*, but not 3rd patient *-u* and 1/2p *-i*. The NPT is marked by the suffix *-t* followed by a copy of the preceding syllable of person marker(s). If there is no person suffix, the nonpast marker is *-yuk*.

	NPT		PT	
3s→3s	pid-u- t-u	he gives him	pid-u- e	he gave him
3s→3ns	pid-u-ci- t-ci	" them	pid-u-c- e	" them
3d→3s	pi-c-u- t-cu	they give him	pid-a-c-u- e	they gave him
1→2s	pi-na-ʔa (< na-t-na)	I give you	pi-n- e	I/we gave you
3s→1s	yaŋ-pi- yuk	he gives me	yaŋ-pid- e	he gave me

slots with semantic roles and by the contrast with *-ʔe* 1sP/S:NPT. I prefer the analysis as *-a-ŋ*, a) because 1sA *-ŋ* and 1sP/S *-ŋ* in past forms are the same element, and b) because *a* is the only form of the past marker in the Pānthare dialect (cf. paradigms in Weidert & Subba).

¹¹ In subordinate constructions, which do not have final tense markers, *a* reappears before subordinators; cf. Athpare examples in 6.2.

Camling has a suffix *-a* which could be interpreted as a PT marker only in 3→3s and in 3→2s (cf. appendix A2). As there is an *a* before the dual suffix *-ci* also in the NPT, *stem + a* forms the base for all Camling tense forms. The PT is then unmarked; NPT has the form: base + personal endings + *-e* (after a vowel sometimes *-ne*). Camling NPT *-e* elides the same final vowels as Athpare PT *-e*.

	NPT		PT	
3s	khat-e	he goes	khata	he went
3d	khata-c-e	they go	khata-ci	they went
3s	dha-e	he falls	dha	he fell
1pi	khat-i-(n)e	we go	khat-i	we went
1s→2s	i-n-e	I give you	i-na	I gave you

In the NPT, 3rd patient *-u/-yu* is replaced by *-yo*. Vowel-stems, for which the 3rd patient marker is *-yo*, add *-yo* in the NPT.

3s→3s	id-yo	he gives him	id-yu	he gave him
	pak-yo	he puts it	pak-u	he put it
3s→3s	c-yo-yo	he eats it	c-yo	he ate it

In **Thulung** the NPT is unmarked. The PT marker */-t/*¹² is attached to the stem with intransitive verbs and in direct transitive configurations. If there is no suffix vowel, the past marker has the default vowel *a*.

	NPT		PT	
3s	roa	he says	roak-ta	he said
3s	hun	he flies up	huḍ-ḍa	he flew up
3s→3	cüm-ü	he catches it	cüm-ḍ-ü	he caught it

In some inverse configurations (3/2→1, 3p→3) the PT marker follows the personal marker, the vowel of which is copied after */t/*.

3p→3	yal-mi	they beat him	yal-mi-r-i/-midḱ	they beat him
3d→1s	yal-ḱi-ci	they beat me	yal-ḱi-r-i-ci/-ḱidḱi	they beat me
3s→1pi	yal-sa	he beat us	yal-sa-ḍ-a	he beat us

Before the suffixes *-na*, *-ku*, *-ci* and before zero, */t/* is reflected only in the non-weakening of the stem.

1/3d	ləə-ci	we/they go	lək-ci	we/they went
1di→3	sen-ci	we kill it/them	sec-ci (<set-ci)	we killed it/them
2s→3s	rem-na	he looks at you	rep-na	he looked at you

¹² The PT marker is realized as *t* after *k,s*, as *ḍr* after other consonants and vowels.

The **Khaling** PT marker is always realized as *t* +V (cf. appendix A2). In most cases /t/ follows the stem; but if the person marker is a vowel or *-ga*, /t/ follows and takes a copy vowel.

	PT	
3d→3s	lü-tä-su tell-PT-d	they told him
3d/itr	bher-i-ti fly-d-PT	they flew away
2s→1s	i-grök-a-ta 2-catch-1sP-PT	you caught me (KH2.35)
1s/itr	mu-ŋ-ta (<mu-ŋa-ta) do-1sS-PT	I did it (KH2.29)

In all languages considered here past is the narrative tense, the nonpast serves as a future and as generic tense. In Limbu, Camling (NW) and in the northern languages the NPT also refers to events in the present, whereas the southern fringe (including South Camling) has grammaticized a periphrastic progressive (cf. 2.2.3.1). In some of the texts I collected the Camling nonpast is used with habitual or iterative meaning in past contexts. Cf. the following passage from the orphan myth:

(4) cāyug raŋ-u-na wahui khata-na am-sa saŋa-ni.
Cam. net take_in_hand-3P-SEQ river go-SEQ throw_net-SIM come_up-PART

demno cāyug ap-yo tinno ito kuny-e-ko luŋto
how_often net throw-3P:NPT that_often one be_beautiful-NPT-NML stone

cāyug-da parba la-e-ni.
net-LOC catch AUX-NPT-PART

He took a net and went to the river and came up again, throwing his net. No matter how often he threw the net, he always caught a certain beautiful stone. (Ha 2.76-77)

2.2.3. Periphrastic tense-aspect forms

Progressive and perfect are expressed periphrastically in Kiranti languages. There are four different types of constructions:

- a) converb or participle + AUX
- b) inflected verb + NML + "be"
- c) inflected verb + sequential/simultaneous subordinator + postural verb/"be"
- d) compound verb

The Thulung and Khaling resultatives are the only periphrastic forms with a participle. The only converb based forms are the Thulung and Khaling progressives. In all other periphrastic tenses both verbs are inflected (cf. however negative forms, 2.2.4).

2.2.3.1. Progressive

The Limbu sequential form in *-aj*, which has functions comparable to converbs in other South Asian languages (cf. 6.2.3. and Ebert 1993a), is used in the formation of both progressive and perfect. The progressive can also be expressed with the simultaneous subordinator *-lo/-ro*. This form is restricted to events that are strictly simultaneous and uninterrupted, whereas the progressive with *-aj* (van Driem's 'temporally defocused continuous') has a looser application. Thus a speaker could utter (c) while sitting in a tea house. Various copulas and postural verbs are used as auxiliaries.

- (5) a. **mɛ-jɔ-ro mɛ-yaik** they are eating
 Lim. 3pA/S-eat-SIM 3pA/S-be
- b. **təkʔ-in lakt-u-ro pətch-ɛ** the rice was boiling
 rice-DEF boil-3P-SIM be(hang)-PT
- c. **him coŋ-u-ŋ-aj yaik-ʔe** I am building a house (v.D. 161)
 house make-3P-1sA-SEQ be-1sS:NPT

The Athpare, Bantawa and Camling progressives are compound verb constructions. All forms are grammaticized to a large degree, which is also reflected in the contraction of the forms. In the northwestern dialect of Camling progressive and perfect are identical. In the southeastern dialects the progressive is contracted to *-uŋs/-ɔs-*.

Athp.	lems-u-gett-u / lems-uettu beat-3P-V2:PROG-3P	he is beating him
Bant.	im-yaŋ sleep-V2:CONT	s/he is sleeping / always sleeps
	sen-in-ya-n-ka ask-1pP/S-V2:CONT-1pP/S-e	we (pe) were asking / always asked
	ti-chapt-a-ŋ-a-nin 2-write-PT-V2:CONT-PT-2p	you (p) were writing / always wrote
Cam-NW	de ta-ŋal-e-ŋas-e what 2-do-NPT-V2:keep-NPT	what are you doing / have you done?
Cam-SE	de ta-ŋal-uŋs-e what 2-do-PROG-NPT	what are you doing?

Converbs are used in the formation of progressives in Thulung and Khaling. As converbs and participles are impersonal, only the auxiliary carries person and tense markers.

Khal. **luŋ khwal-toŋ mu-ŋa.** I am carrying stones.
stone carry-SIM do-1s

Thul. **jam pe-saŋa bu-ŋu.** I am eating rice.
rice eat-SIM be-1sS

Thulung has a second progressive form with a nominalized verb + auxiliary:

Thul. **kam bi-yi-m bu-i** we are working
work do-1p-NML be-1p

The Camling and Thulung (-*m*) progressive forms also serve as continuatives, whereas Limbu, Bantawa and Khaling have special continuative forms (V2 Lim. *nes-*, Bant. *yakt-*, Khal. *ther-*; see p. 66 (24a-b), p. 69 (30b)).

Cam. **pa-luda-ŋasa-ci** they kept telling him
INV-tell-V2:keep-d

Thul. **pe-ni-m ba-ni** go on eating! (Allen 85)
eat-2p-NML be-2P

The Bantawa construction with *yaŋ-* "be" is used not only in the typical progressive contexts, but also for the description of background in narratives (cf. BANT 2.5, 2.15), as an habitual, and with stative verbs (BANT 2.54), i.e. it covers most of the functions of an imperfective aspect. I have glossed it 'continuous' to indicate the broader application. N.K.Rai consistently uses this periphrastic form in the habitual text "our school" (*BANT 7), but not in the generic text "childbirth" (*BANT 8).

The Athpare periphrastic form with V2 *gett-* also spreads into the domain of imperfective insofar as it can be found with stative verbs. For generic statements the NPT is used. The southeastern Camling dialects have grammaticized the periphrastic construction with V2 contracted to *-ōs-* as a progressive. In northwestern Camling and in Limbu the progressive is optional. The following table shows the functions of southern Rai progressive markers (for the development from progressive to imperfective in general see Bybee & Dahl 1989).

Table 5: grammaticization of progressives

		ongoing at reference point	temporary states	habitual	generic
Bant.	<i>yaŋ-</i>	+	+	+	-
Athp.	<i>gett-</i>	+	±	-	-
SE-Cam.	<i>-ōs-</i>	+	±	-	-
NW-Cam.	<i>ŋas-</i>	(+)	-	-	-

According to van Driem the Limbu nominalizer *-pa* marks imperfective aspect. Going through Limbu texts I did not find this form where I would expect an imperfective in an aspect language. Often a Limbu *pa*-form corresponds to nominalized forms in other Kiranti languages (cf. 5.4). A closer investigation is needed to determine its exact function.

2.2.3.2. Ambulative¹³

Van Driem lists a third progressive construction for Limbu, the 'spacially defocused continuous'. It is constructed with the simultaneous subordinator *-lo* and the auxiliary *wa:*.¹⁴ The construction implies that the motion is aimless, the actor is 'moving around' (cf. English: *he goes around bragging*). Unlike the Limbu

¹³ I have earlier called this form 'motion progressive', but as it is used also in habitual contexts, it is not really a 'progressive'.

¹⁴ *Wa:*, translated as "be" by van Driem, is a common Tibeto-Burman motion verb root. Cf. Belhare *wa-* "walk"; also Newari *wo-ya* "come", *wo-ne* "go"; Lushai *va* "be in motion", Ao *wa* "go".

progressives treated above it is not restricted to actual contexts, but it typically also characterizes habitual actions.

(6) a. *phak-ʔille nim-ha? cɔ-si-rɔ wa:*
 Lim. pig-ERG termite-p eat:3P-3nsP-SIM be
 The pig is (wandering around) eating termites. (v.D.159)

b. *takɔn-ʔε-rɔ wa:ʔε.*
 Lim. wander-1sNPT-SIM be-1sNPT
 I am wandering around. (it is my habit) (v.D. 160, his translation)

The semantic range of the construction is not clear. In the Limbu texts I found the following example, which does not conform to the typical ambulative indicating that the subject is 'moving around':¹⁵

(7) *mund-ε-ro way-ε-i mem-mun-ʔe way-ε-i?*
 Lim. run-PT-SIM be-PT-Q NEG-run-negCONV be-PT-Q
 Was [the watch] running or was it not? (v.D. 361)

The Athpare ambulative is marked by *gond-*.¹⁶ In the following text passage the speaker uses the progressive with *gett-* to describe his own action of cutting grass, which is not considered an aimless motion, in contrast to the policeman's idling around and whistling at girls.

(8) a. *ghās heg-u-ŋ-pid-u-ŋ-gett-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ-na-ʔm*
 Athp. grass cut-3P-1s-V2:BEN-3P-1s-V2:PROG-3P-1s-3nsP-1s-NML-EMPH

yamba-lamma sipaŋi yapmi soariŋba lo-sa ab-e. "khan te
over_there-from police man whistle say-GER come-PT you PART

pak a-cok-yuk-gon-na? poŋ soariŋba a-lod-yuk-gon-na?"
what 2-do-NPT-MOT-NML why whistle 2-say-NPT-MOT-NML

lod-u-ŋ-na-m.
say-3P-1s-NML-EMPH

¹⁵ The corresponding Belhare construction can also indicate that something is spread over a place, (e.g. wheat over a field), so that 'spatially defocussed' seems to be a good characterization of the form (Bickel, p.c.)

¹⁶ My Athpare informants could not associate any meaning with a verb *kond-*, but it is certainly cognate with Limbu *kɔnd-* "walk, cover on foot"; e.g.

Li. *kerek him kond-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* I covered all the houses (going from house to house)
 all house walk-3P-1s-3nsP-1s

The verb is part of the lexicalized compound *takɔnd-* "wander about, stroll", which corresponds to Camling *yɔ-hod-*.

As I was cutting the grass for them [the cows] a policeman came from over there. "What are you doing? Why are you going around whistling?" I asked him. (Ca1.7-8)

Cf. also the following description of linguistic field work:

- (9) unci-ŋa ani riŋ rai bhasa-lamma nepali bhasa-ŋi ulta o-cog-
 they-OBL our language Rai language-ABL Nepali language-LOC translate 3p-do-
 u-ŋ, unci-ya jastai kitap chapa cok-ma-na o-khol-u-gond-u.
 3P-SEQ they-OBL such book print make-INF-NML 3p-investigate-3P-MOT-3P

They translate our language, from the Rai language into Nepali, and they are investigating (while moving around) in order to publish a book or something.

In Camling an ambulative is formed by suffixing *hod-* to the stem of the verb. (10a) expresses that the hero of the story is preparing food somewhat leisurely, moving about the place. The man himself uses a progressive form to describe what he is doing: *rō m-uŋs-āi*.

- (10) a. ira mina rō mu-hod-yu ...
 Cam. one man rice make-MOT-3P
 A man was preparing food ... (Jh15.5)
- b. m-na-ci-wa kic-nicho-lai pa-lam-hoda-ci-ko raicha.
 3sPOSS-e.sister-d-ERG 3pPOSS-y.brother-DAT INV-search-MOT-d-ko REP
 The elder sisters went around searching for their little brother. (Ha2.8)
- c. sili mu-hoda tyiko Khocilipa.
 dance do-MOT that Khocilipa
 Khocilipa was dancing/kept dancing about the place. (Dib2.16)

In Bantawa, Thulung and Khaling no ambulative construction was found¹⁷, but this may be due to the scarcity of the material analysed.

¹⁷ Cf. however the Dumi compound verb construction with V2 *lid-/lits-* (van Driem's 'frolicsome aspectivizer'): *ham-tsum-liŋ-ta* (3pS-dance-MOT-NPT) "they are dancing all over the place" (van Driem 1993b:210).

2.2.3.3. Perfect and resultative

The Limbu perfect is - like the 'defocused continuous' - formed with the sequential subordinator *-aŋ*; the auxiliary verb is invariably *war-ʔε* (existential "be") and it has the 3rd person singular form.

Lim.	ty-a-ŋ-aŋ	war-ʔε	I have gone
	come-PT-1s-SEQ	be-1sP/S:NPT	
	coŋ-ε-aŋ way-ε		he had done
	do-PT-SEQ	be:PT	

The Athpare perfect probably originates in a compound verb formation, but the origin of the second 'verb' *es-* is not transparent. The only suffix that can appear after V1 is *u*:

Athp.	lems-u-es-u-e	he has beaten him
	beat-3P-(V2:):PERF-3P-PT	
	a-lems-es-i-ŋ-e	you (s) have beaten us (pe)
	2-beat-(V2:):PERF-1/2pA/S-e-PT	

Camling has two different perfect formations: The more common form with the auxiliary *-ŋas* is identical with the progressive in the northwestern dialect. The second Camling perfect is a finite verb + nominalizer + auxiliary. This is also the form of the perfect in Bantawa, Thulung and Khaling.

Cam.	caidh-yu-ŋas-yo	he has beaten him
	beat-3P-V2:keep-3P:NPT	
	caidh-yu-ko hiŋ-e	" "
	beat-3P-NML is	
Bant.	khar-a-ŋ-ko yaʔaŋ	I have gone
	go-PT-1s-NML is	

(11) a. **kā-lyona huilo khim pani m-uŋ-ko hiŋ-e.**
 Cam. I-TOP below house also make-1s-NML be-NPT
 I have built a house further down. (*Lal 3.32)

b. **sopa-wa dhit-yi-ko hiŋ-e, tyiko-lai ŋo a-cha id-e.**
 Cam. who-ERG find-3P-NML be-NPT that-DAT EMPH my-child give-NPT

Whoever finds (will have found it) it, to him I will give my daughter.
 (*Bal 6.3)

- (12) ... lip o, Baginanda-ka u-yuŋ-ka yub-ɖ-ü-m bu
 Thul. pot this (name)-ERG 3POSS-magical_power-INST fabricate-PT-3s→3-NML be
 ko-le sölewap bom wo yub-ɖ-ü-m bu.
 one-CL long+straight gourd also fabricate-PT-3s→3-NML be

This pot, Baginanda has fabricated it with his magical power, he has also fabricated a long, straight gourd. (*TH4.35; the pot and the gourd still exist; the narrator states in 4.37 that he has seen them with his own eyes).

In a chain of events with periphrastic tense the auxiliary appears only in the last clause (similar to English, where it appears only in the first clause):

- (13) a. i-na-ci-ʔa iŋka kuna-da es-a-da-ci iŋka kuna-da
 Bant. 3sPOSS-e.sister-d-ERG one comer-LOC shit-PT-V2:RELIN:PT-d one comer-LOC
 cheys-a-da-ci iŋka kuna-da thukt-a-da-c-u iŋka
 urinate-PT-V2:RELIN:PT-d one comer-LOC spit-PT-V2:RELIN:PT-d-3P one
 kuna-da nabu chint-a-da-c-u-wo yaŋ-a nimang.
 comer-LOC nose strain-PT-V2:RELIN:PT-d-3P-NML be:PT REP

His sisters had shat in one corner, urinated in one corner, spat in one corner and cleared their nose in one corner. (BANT 2.56)

- b. mö yaŋ-mi-ka pe-mɖi-m uni-ser ɖö-ü-r-ü-ma u-sidimo
 Thul. that other-p-ERG eat-3p:PT-NML 3pPOSS pick_up-3P-PT-3P-SEQ 3sPOSS-bag
 goo-nu phik-t-ü-m bay-ra.
 inside-LOC pour-PT-3s→3-NML be:PT

He had picked up the others' bones and put them in his bag. (*TH5.17; this episode is related earlier in 5.4)

At least the Bantawa and Camling perfect forms have also resultative function. The distinction is of course not easy to draw in the case of subjective resultatives (in the absence of test situations). (14) is a clear case of a resultative, as the verb forms can not refer to an act of opening the eyes or mouth.

- (14) i-mik-ci i-do-ci thaw-a-wo yaʔaŋ bhøne
 Bant. 3sPOSS-eye-ns 3sPOSS-mouth-ns open-PT-NML be if

i-khop-pi; i-laŋ-chuk-ci kuŋt-a-wo yaʔaŋ bhəne
 INV-close-V2:BEN 3sPOSS-leg-arm-ns bend-PT-NML be if

i-phe-pi...
 INV-stretch-V2:BEN

If his [the dead body's] eyes and mouth are open, they close them; if his legs and arms are bent, they stretch them (Death 2-3)

Thulung and Khaling have resultatives expressed with participles:

Thul. gul-**ma bu** it is overcast (Allen 60)
 cloud_over-PP is

khlewa bən-thoak-**ma bayra** there was a dog tied up (*TH5.16)
 dog tie-V2:COMPL-PP was

Khal. mün-**pä go-tä** it was prepared (KH2.27)
 make-PCPL be-PT

cänrū-po u-mer hag-**pä** gü.
 bird sp.-GEN 3sPOSS-tail be_forked-PCPL be
 The cälpi bird's tail is forked. (*KH12.60)

2.2.4. Negation of basic and periphrastic tense-aspect forms

Kiranti negative verb forms cannot always be derived from the positive forms in a straightforward way. Further, negation is formed in different ways in the past and nonpast. The most important patterns are presented in table 6. The full Athpare and Bantawa negative PT and NPT paradigms are listed in appendix A3.

Most of the negative affixes seem to originate in **mVn*, which appears in various reduced forms as prefix or as suffix, and often both together. Nominal negation, which is relevant here as some finite verb forms have nominal negative counterparts, has only a prefix (Cf. also negative converbs in 2.3.2; for negative imperative cf. 2.2.5.1).

Table 6: Negation markers

	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
verbal:						
NPT	/men-/ /-nen/	-n	/-min/	pa- /-mna/ pa- -aina	me- /mi- ¹⁸	/mu-/
PT (+IRR)	"	-n-gett -n	man- d-	pa- /-N/	me- (+IRR)	/mu-/
nominal:	men-	mi-	man-	mi-	mi-	/mu-/

Limbu

uses a prefix and a suffix in both NPT and PT. The negative prefix in finite forms is *mε-* if word-initial, *-n* after a personal prefix.

1pe/itr	hiŋ-i-ge live-1pS-e	we(pe) live	NEG mε -hiŋ-i-ge- n NEG-live-1pS-e-NEG
2s→3s	ke-huʔr-u 2-teach-3P	you taught him	ke- n -huʔr-u- n 2-NEG-teach-3P-NEG
3ns→2s	ke- m -huʔr-ε 2-3nsA-teach	they taught you	ke- mε - n -huʔr-ε- n 2-3nsA-NEG-teach-PT-NEG

An infix *-n-* is optional before the 3rd nonsingular patient marker *-si* except in 1s→3ns, where it is obligatory.¹⁹

2s→3ns	ke-huʔr-u-si 2-teach-3P-3nsP	you teach them	NEG ke- n -huʔr-u-(n -)si- n 2-NEG-teach-3P-(NEG-)3nsP-NEG
1s→3ns	huʔr-u-ŋ-si-ŋ teach-3P-1sA-3nsP-copy	I teach them	mε -huʔ-ʔε- n -chi- n NEG-teach-1sS-NEG-3nsP-copy

¹⁸ Thulung *me-* and *mi-* are equally acceptable in most contexts (Allen 54).

¹⁹ It seems more appropriate here to describe the infix as an optional copy of the suffix *-n*, especially as the place of the NEG-marker is after the outer suffixes (cf. **mε**-hiŋ-i-ge-**n** "we do not live"). Backwards copying can probably account for most cases of suffix copying; the question needs detailed treatment elsewhere.

The 1st person exclusive past forms are exceptions. The 1pe past marker *-m?na* is originally a participle, which explains why it is negated like a non-finite form, i.e. with the prefix *mən-* only. 1s→3 past forms also take this negative marker, but their suffix *-baŋ* has no counterpart in the positive paradigm; one can only speculate that the participial suffix *-pa* might be involved.

1pe→3s	huʔ-m?na teach-1peA	we (pe) taught him (= he is taught)	NEG mən-huʔ-m?na NEG-teach-1peA
cf.	ca-m?na-ba ²⁰ eat-PP-NML	eatable, thing to eat	mən-ca-m?na-ba uneatable NEG-eat-PP-NML
1s→3s	huʔr-u-ŋ teach-3P-1s	I taught him	mən-huʔ-baŋ NEG-teach-NEG:1s→3

Athpare

has only suffix negation. Negated forms have no tense markers and are always nominalized (cf. the full paradigm in A3). There is no negated past, but a negative paradigm with the auxiliary *gett-*, which serves as negative counterpart for past, progressive and perfect.

2s→3s	NPT a-nis-u-t-u 2-see-3P-NPT-3P	you will see him	NEG a-nis-u-n-na 2-see-3P-NEG-NML
3s→2s	ma-ni-yuk 3→2-see-NPT	he will see you	ma-ni-ni-na 3→2-see-NEG-NML
1s	PT khad-a-ŋ-e go-PT-1s-PT	I went	NEG khat-ni-ŋ-get-ni-ŋ-na go-NEG-1s-AUX-NEG-1s-NML (> khatnetniŋna)

Bantawa

has suffix negation in the NPT and prefix negation combined with an auxiliary *d-* in the PT.²¹ The order of the prefixes is optional: *man-ti-* or *tī-man-*. Cf. also full paradigm in appendix A3.

²⁰ The nominalizing suffix *-ba* should be optional according to van Driem, but he gives no example of a PP without this suffix.

²¹ Cf. the Bantawa and Camling negative imperatives p.48. A negative auxiliary *dang* is also found in the distantly related Nocte.

1s	NPT im-ŋa sleep-1s	I will sleep	NEG im-n-iŋ sleep-NEG-1s
2s→3s	ti-dhatt-u 2-beat-3P	you'll beat him	ti-dhatt-u-n 2-beat-3P-NEG
2→1pe	ti-dhatt-in-ka 2-beat-1p-e	you'll beat us	ti-dhatt-in-min-ka 2-beat-1p-NEG-e
1s	PT ims-a-ŋ sleep-PT-1s	I slept	NEG man-im -d-a-ŋ NEG-sleep-AUX-PT-1s
2s→3s	ti-dhatt-u 3-beat-3P	you beat him	man-ti-dhat-do NEG-2-beat-AUX:PT:3s =ti-man-dhat-do 2-NEG-beat-AUX:PT:3s

Camling

uses a prefix *pa-* and a nasal suffix in both basic tenses. *pa-* is not realized in forms that already have a prefix.²² The 1st person singular has a NEG-infix. There is no 3rd patient (or direct) marker in negated forms.

1s	PT khat-uŋa go-1s	I went	NEG pa-khai-n-uŋa NEG-go-NEG-1s
2s→3s	ta-tyok-u 2-see-3P	you saw it	ta-tyok-aina 2-see-NEG
3s→3s	tyok-u see-3P	he saw it	pa-tyok-aina NEG-see-NEG

²² Sometimes the prefix can be substituted by a suffix in negation, cf. the following forms, where -c- indicates the plural subject.

CA	mi-ta	they came	NEG:	pa-t-un-c-ai	they did not come
	3pS-come			NEG-come-NEG-ns-NEG	
	pa-dhita	they found it		pa-dhit-ai-c-ai	they did not find it
	INV-find			NEG-find-NEG-ns-NEG	

cf. also the following examples from Bantawa, where *i-* seems to stand for 3P in the negated form.

i-nett-niŋ	I shall not tease him (BANT2.38)
3P?-tease-NEG:1s	
i-sin-niŋ	I do not know her (BANT2.42)
3P?-know-NEG:1s	

3p→3s	pa-tyoka INV-see	they saw it	pa-tyok-aina INV-see-NEG
2d→3s	ta-tyoka-ci 2-see-d	you (d) saw it	ta-tyoka-ci-mna 2-see-d-NEG

In the NPT there are two rivalling paradigms, where the second shows *-mi* forms and some vowel alternations.

1s→3s	NPT c-āi eat-1sNPT	I'll eat it	NEG pa-ca-n-āi NEG-eat-NEG-1sNPT = pa-ca-nō NEG-eat-NEG:1sNPT
2p→3s	ta-ca-m-e 2-eat-1/2pA-NPT	you (p) will eat it	ta-ca-m-n-e 2-eat-1/2pA-NEG-NPT = ta-ca-m-ī 2-eat-1/2pA-NEG

Thulung and Khaling have prefix negation only.

Thul. 1s→3s	NPT cək-pu know-1s→3	I know	NEG me-cək-pu NEG-know-1s→3
2s→3s	thoo-na listen-2s	you listen	me-thoo-na NEG-listen-2s
Khal. 1s→3	câkt-u know-1s→3	I know	mu-câkt-u NEG-know-1s→3
3s→3	m-ü do-3s→3	he does	mā-m-ü NEG-do-3s→3
3s	nü be_good	it is good	mü-nü NEG-be_good

Past negated forms have the irrealis marker */-wa/* instead of the PT-marker. In Thulung */-wa/* follows the person markers, whereas in Khaling it sometimes precedes them. If there is no personal suffix, *-wa* is suffixed to stem + *a*.

Thul.	PT		NEG
3s→3s	loaas-t-ü	she found it	me-loaas-ü-ya
	find-PT-3s→3		NEG-see-3s→3-IRR (TH2.9)
3s→3s	thed-ḍ-ü	he knew	me-thed-ba
	know-PT-3s→3		NEG-know-IRR (TH2.70)
			=me-ther-ü-ya "
			NEG-know-3s→3-IRR (Allen 55)
2s	ləə-na	you went	me-ləə-na-wa
	go-2s		NEG-go-2s-IRR
3s	bay-ra	was	mi-baya-wa
	be-PT		NEG-be-IRR
Khal.			
3s	mu-mon-wä	there is not	
	NEG-be-IRR (KH2.40)		
3d→3s	mu-wöc-i-wi-yi	they did not cut it (KH2.48) ²³	
	NEG-cut-d-IRR-d		

Negation of periphrastic forms is often not a direct negation of the corresponding positive form. The Limbu and Thulung negative perfects are expressed with converbs; Thulung has a special converb with a suffix *-thiŋa* used only in the negative perfect.

Lim.	mən-ni-ʔer ke-wa-i?	Have you not seen it?
	NEG-see-CONV 2-be-Q	
	məŋ-ghar-ʔer waye	He was not satiated.
	NEG-satiate-CONV was	
Thul.	mi-pe-thiŋa bu-ŋa	I have not eaten. (Allen 88)
	NEG-eat-CONV be-1s	

Although the Limbu progressive has a regular negation, a converbal negation of an ambulatory occurs in the texts:

²³ The Khaling negative past forms seem to be intransitive. The positive form corresponding to *mu-wöc-iwiŋi* has the ending *-tə-su*. The dual marker *-yi* is copied after *-wä* (which assimilated to *-wi*).

- (15) mund-ε-rə way-ε-i **mem-mun-ʔei** way-ε-iʔ (v.D. 361)
 Lim. run-PT-SIM be-PT-Q NEG-run-negCONV be-PT-Q
 Was [the watch] running or was it not?

The Bantawa, Camling and Khaling negative perfects consist of the negated verbal stem followed by an inflected copula. (Bantawa and Camling have the nominal negation marker with the stem.)

- (16) **mi-khō ta-hiŋ-eʔ** Have you seen it?
 Cam. NEG-see 2-be-NPT

- Khal. u-hāri **mā-piŋ go-tä** He had not grown up. (KH2.2)
 3sPOSS-growth NEG-come be-PT

The negative perfect is often used to negate a past sentence. The Thulung form cited above *mi-pe-thiŋa buŋa* is the only possible negative answer to the question "Have you eaten?", but the positive answer could well be *pet-to* "I ate" (Allen 1975:88).²⁴ Cf. also the following example from Bantawa, where the negated verb has a nonfinite form:

- (17) **ca nuk-ma ti-ciy-a-nin he man-cin-yuk?**
 Bant. rice crush-INF 2-finish-PT-2p or NEG-finish-V2:COMPL
 Have you finished (PT) crushing the rice or haven't you? (Rai 1985: 241)

Athpare has a negated form that serves as a negative perfect, past and progressive. The negative auxiliary is the same as the V2 of the positive progressive.

- Athp. lems-i-n-gett-in-na-ga > lems-yattin-na-ga
 see-1pS/P-NEG-AUX-copy-e-nsNML
 he is/was not beating us; he has not beaten us; he did not beat us

²⁴ This seems to be a more widespread feature in South Asia. Working with a Kōḍava (South Dravidian) informant we had difficulties in getting a negated past; the informant resorted always to a negated perfect first.

2.2.5. Mood

2.2.5.1. Imperative and hortative

Imperatives tend to be the least marked forms in languages. In some Kiranti languages the singular (2nd person) imperative is identical with the base form and/or 3rd person past intransitive forms; e.g. Cam. *khata* 1. "go!", 2. "he went", *khaidyu* 1. "carry it!", 2. "he carried it".

The Limbu imperative is marked by *-ε?*, the dual imperative carries the dual marker (attached to a past form in the positive!). For the plural *-amm-* is inserted between stem and imperative ending. Transitive verbs carry patient markers, but there is no 3rd person patient marker *-u* in imperatives.

Lim.

2s	phett-ε?	bring it!	mεm-bhεʔl-ε?	don't bring it!
2d	phett-ε-ch-ε?		mεm-bhet-ch-ε?	
2p	phett-amm-ε?		mεm-bhett-amm-ε?	

2s→1s	pir-aŋ-ε?	give it to me!	mεm-bir-aŋ-ε?	don't give it to me!
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The imperative in *-ε?* is according to van Driem (1987:192) used when the person has already started doing something: *men-ye:ʔl-ε?* "don't laugh! stop laughing!"; otherwise the suffix is *-o:*: *men-ye:ʔl-o:* "don't dare to laugh".

Limbu negated first person nonsingular patient forms can only have the impersonal marker *na:pmi*.

a-bir-ε?	give it to us!	na:pmi mε-bir-ε?	don't give it to us!
1P-give-IMPER		someone NEG-give-IMPER	

or:	na:pmi pir-ε?	"
	someone give-IMPER	

Athpare, Bantawa and Camling have no special imperative markers; the singular imperative is identical with the 3rd person singular forms - in Camling and Bantawa with the past, in Athpare with the base form. The suffix *-ak* makes an Athpare imperative somewhat more urgent. The imperative is negated with an auxiliary in Bantawa and Camling (cf. Bantawa past negation with the auxiliary *d-*). In Athpare negation is the same as with asserted forms.

Athp.

2s	khada(-k)	go!	khada-ni	don't go!
2s→3s	co-(ak)	eat!	co-ni	don't eat!
2s→1s	lod-ag	tell me!	lo-ni-ŋ	don't tell me!

Bant.				
2s	ims-a	sleep!	man-im-da	don't sleep!
2d	ims-a-ci		man-im-da-ci	
2p	ims-a-nin		man-im-da-nin	

Cam.				
2s	imsa	sleep!	mi-im-da	don't sleep!
2d	imsa-ci		mi-im-da-ci	
2p	imsa-ni		mi-im-da-ni	

Bantawa and Camling have polite variants of the imperative. Note that the 3rd person patient marker *-u* is absent in these forms.

Bant.				
2s-3s	chaptu	write!	<u>polite</u> chapte	write, please!
2d-3s	chaptacu		chaptace	
2p-3s	chaptanum		chaptane	
2s	man-huk-da	don't bark	man-huk-d-e	please don't bark (*BANT5.13)

Cam. ²⁴				
2s-3	chapyu	write!	[not attested]	
2d-3	chaptaci		chaptacina	
2p-3	chaptum		chaptanna	

The Thulung imperative marker is *-a* (*-qa* after m, n, b) with intransitive verbs and with 3rd person patient configurations. For other patients the imperative equals the nonpast (Allen 55f). Khaling adds *-ey* or *-e* to the nonpast forms. In negation the negative prefix is added.

Thul.				
2s	laks-a	go!	me-laks-a	don't go!
2p	laks-a-mi			
2s-3s	goak-a	give it to her	(*TH5.30)	
2s-1s	goak-rji	give me!		
2d-1s	goak-rjici	"		
2s-1de	goak-ciki	give us!		

²⁴ Camling has a negative imperative variant with *-n*, which I found only for the 1st person patient. I do not know whether this is a polite form.

2s-1s lham-ujā NEG: mi-lham-d-uj / mi-lham-n-uj "don't catch me!"

Khal.				
2s	khöc-ey	go!	mu-khöc-e	don't go! (KH2.4)
2d	khöc-i-ey			
2p	khö-ni-ey			
2s→3s	thükt-ü-ey	touch it!	mu-thükt-ü-ey	don't touch it! (Toba 25)

Hortative

The hortative is in most languages identical with the 1st person dual and plural nonpast forms.

Cam.			
1di	khata-c-e go-d-NPT	let's go! (d) (= we go)	
1pi	tip-i-e meet-1pS/A-NPT	let's meet! (p) (= we will meet)	

Khal.		
1di	khü-ci-na ber-i go-di-SEQ fly-d	let's fly away! (KH2.16)
1pi	mim chuk-ki life become-1pi	may we live! (KH2.16)

Thul.		
1di	ge-sin-ci rest-V2:REFL-di	let's rest!
1di	læə-ci go-d	let's go

Limbu and Athpare drop the 1st person prefix *a-* to form a hortative. In the negative hortative Limbu has the suffix *-men* (cf. NEG *men-*). The Athpare forms follow the rules for negation of finite forms.

Lim.				
1di	nisu	let's see it!	nisu-me:n	let's not see it!
1pi	nisum		nisum-me:n	
Athp.				
1di	yug-aci	let's sit down!	yug-nen-ci-na	let's not sit down!
1pi	yug-i		yug-ni-na	

2.2.5.2. Optative

The optative in Limbu is marked by *-lo/-ro* following the nonpast form (van Driem 1987: 133f).

Lim.	pa:tt-u-ro speak-3P-OPT	may he speak!	mε-ba:tt-u-n-lo NEG-speak-3P-NEG-OPT	may he not speak!
	a-dum-lo 1i-meet-OPT	may we meet		

The Camling optative is expressed by *-nyo* following the person markers, in Thulung-*ni/-nü*. follows the stem. The forms are reminiscent of compound verb constructions with a V2 "be good" (cf. Allen 1975: 57).

Cam.	caidh-i-nyo beat-3P-OPT	let him beat him	pa-caidh-i-nyo	let him not beat him
Thul.	yal-nü beat-OPT	"	mi-yal-nü ²⁶	"

(18)	tyudaka	tyuko	wasep-kuyā	dudh	id-yi-cyi-nyo-nλ	pa-dig -e
Cam.	then	that	(plant)-in	milk	give-3P-3nsP-OPT-SEQ	INV-drink-NPT

hemo tyuda ibd-yi-cyi-nyo.
after there sleep:CAUS-3P-3nsP-OPT

Then let her give them milk in that wasep-plant, and after they drink, let her put them to sleep. (myth of origin; Paruhō tells Kurima, the wind, who is supposed to tell Naima; Nir1.137)

The Bantawa optative, marked by *-ne* Rai (1985: 109), seems to serve also as a hortative and as a polite imperative (see also ex. (3a) p. 95).

Bant.	khat-a-ne go-IMPER-OPT	may you go (BANT2.36) (cf. khar-e please go!)
	khat-ci-ne go-d-OPT	let's go! (BANT 2.34)
	khaj-mett-a-ŋ-ne see-CAUS-IMPER-1s-OPT	please show me! (BANT 2.43)

²⁶ Cf. *yal-si mi-nü* beat-INF:NPT NEG-be_good "you/he shouldn't beat him".

In one example *-ne* is attached to a noun:

- (19) khoko wa-khi bak-khi sat-sat-ne, igka-lo doli-daŋka-ne.
 he chicken-feces pig-feces pull-pull-OPT I-TOP palanquine-ABL-OPT
 May he pull chicken and pig droppings, and may I go in a palanquine.
 (BANT 2.99)

2.2.5.3. Irrealis

There is evidence for an irrealis mood only in Limbu and in the northern languages. Limbu marks irrealis by the suffix *-men* (van Driem's 'conditional'; cf. the neg. prefix *men-*). It is used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals.

- (20) a. way-ε-1le go: kε-jɔ-mεn-ni:?
 exist-PT-INST TOP 2-eat-IRR-Q
 Would you eat it if it were available? (v.D. 135)
- b. a-se-men-ni:ya
 1pi-die:PT-IRR-probably
 We would probably have died. (v.D. 135)

Van Driem's 'irrealis' marker consists of the topic marker *-go:* combined with the particle *-ni* which indicates "contrary to expectation, of all things" (1987: 140). It indicates an irreal wish and is translated "if only" in all sample sentences:

- (21) a. kε-be:ɣ-ε-gɔ:mi-ba.
 2-go-PT-IRR-NML
 If only you had gone! (v.D. 140)
- b. yaŋ kɔtt-u-ŋ-gɔ:ni iŋ-u-ŋ-ba.
 money have-3P-1s-IRR buy-3P-1s-NML
 If only I had the money, I would buy it. (v.D. 141)

In Thulung irrealis past is marked by *-wa*, which takes the position of the past tense marker. This suffix is also used in the negative past of Thulung and Khaling verbs.

- (22) wo yoka-wa-la mücü jara-wa.
 rain fall-IRR:PT-if man fall-IRR:PT
 If it had rained, the man would have fallen. (Allen 55).

2.2.6. Reflexive and reciprocal

The reflexive paradigm is in several languages characterized by frozen forms, which are difficult to analyse. Reflexive and reciprocal are sometimes expressed in the same way.

The Limbu reflexive marker is *-siŋ*, inserted after the verb stem, but before a dual suffix it is *-ne*. If we compare with Bantawa and Camling reflexives below, it seems that originally both suffixes occurred together.

Lim.	warum- siŋ -aŋ wash-REFL-1s:PT	I washed myself
	mε-bi- siŋ -ε 3pA-give-REFL-PT	they (p) gave to each other
	warum- ne -tchi wash-REFL-d	they (d) washed themselves / each other

Bantawa marks the reflexive nonpast by *-na(n)- + -ci*. The 1st person singular marker follows both *-na* and *-ci*; the other persons invariably have the complex suffix *-nancin*. In the past the first person form has only *-ci*, the other persons *-ncin*. It is not clear how the non 1st person forms have to be analyzed, and I have therefore not split them up in the glosses. (Cf. also *BANT6.5, 6.19-12)

Bant.	NPT	PT	
	nop- na -ŋ- ci -ŋ touch-REFL-1s-REFL-1s	nopt-a-ŋ- ci -ŋ touch-PT-1s-REFL-1s	I touch / touched myself
	ti-nop- nancin 2-touch-REFL	ti-nopt-a- ncin 2-touch-PT-REFL	you touch / touched yourself
	nop- nancin touch-REFL	nopt-a- ncin touch-PT-REFL	he touches/ touched himself

In Camling it is again only the first person singular reflexive in which the person marker is copied after *-ci*. In the NW dialect the 2nd and 3rd singular have *-āic*, the plural forms have *-umc*. In the SE Camling dialects the reflexive marker is *-āicl-āit* for all persons.²⁷

Cam.	NW-dialect	SE-dialect	
	hupd- uŋ -c-uŋa wash-1s-REFL-1s	hupd- āic -uŋa wash-REFL-1s	I washed myself

²⁷ It was not possible to elicit a consistent paradigm in any of the dialects.

Cam. NW-dialect	SE-dialect	
dhas- äic -a	=	he descended
bring_down-REFL-PT		

In the infinitive *-nci* follows the infinitive marker. This position and the vowel *-a* before dual markers (characteristic of verbal bases in Camling) are indicators for a verbal origin of the reflexive marker.

ras- umca -c-e	ras- äica -c-e	let's separate
divide-REFL-d-NPT	divide-REFL-d-NPT	
dha- ma-nci	=	to descend
bring_down-INF:REFL		

The Thulung reflexive is a regular compound verb construction with V2 *sit-*.

Thul. pe-pa li-n- siṭ -ni	pretend ²⁸ to be eating! (*TH4.17)
eat-AP lie-2p-REFL-2p	

(23) mücü kho-m- si -m- dj -ma	ko-ko-le lauraa jeṭ-miri-ma yal-mu-kam
Thul. man collect-p-REFL-p-PT-SEQ	one-one-CL stick hold-p:PT-SEQ beat-INF-GEN

laagi tayaar ba-m-**si**-m-**dj** ...
for ready be-p-REFL-p-PT

The men collected (themselves) and each held a stick, and they got ready to beat...(*TH4.26)

In Khaling reflexive *-si* is attached to the stem in the nonpast, but it follows the past marker. In the 2nd and 3rd plural there is no reflexive marker at all (cf. Toba 1984:21).

Khal. sar- si -nä	wash os.	sar-tä- si	he washed himself
wash-REFL-INF		wash-PT-REFL	
		sar-tä-nu	they washed themselves
		wash-PT-3p	
näm- si -nä	dive	näm-tä- si	he dived (*KH5.16)
dive-REFL-INF		dive-PT-REFL	

²⁸ Reflexive forms can be lexicalized, and Allen list *lii-sit-* "pretend" in his glossary. Sometimes the first part alone can be assigned no meaning, e.g. *hii-sit-* "fit (into container)" (cf. Allen 1975:74)

From the forms in the various languages the picture emerges that the reflexive marker was originally a verb. Further investigation is necessary to establish whether *n/m* was part of this verb or is a reflex of the infinitive marker after V1.

Reciprocity is expressed in Athpare and Bantawa in a special way. In Bantawa the main verb takes the form of the active participle and is followed by the inflected verb *mi-* "do". Personal prefixes either precede the auxiliary or the whole complex (cf. also the variable position of prefixes in Bantawa negation, p.43). In Athpare we find stem-AP+stem followed by the inflected verb *ca-* "perform".

Bant.	dhat-pa beat-AP	mi-c-a do-d-e	we two (de) beat each other (NPT)
	dhat-pa beat-AP	ti-mi-a-nin 2-do-PT-2p	you (p) beat each other (PT)
=	ti-dhat-pa 2-beat-AP-do-PT-2p		
Athp.	lem-ga-lem beat-AP-beat	ca-ci-t-ci-ŋa perform-d-NPT-copy-e	we two (de) beat each other (NPT)
	lem-ga-lem beat-AP-beat	a-ca-yi 2-perform(:PT)-2p	you (p) beat each other (PT)

2.3. Nonfinite verb forms

Table 7: Nonfinite verb forms

	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
INFIN	-ma?	-ma	-ma	-ma	-mu -si♥	-nä -si♥
PURP	-se	-(si-)ŋa	-si	-si	-ɕa	-bi
CONV:SIM	[-ni]	-sa	-sa	-sa	-to	-to
CONV					-sa(-ŋa/ka)	-sa
NEG.CONV	mən- ?er	mi- ?e	man- paŋ	[mi- Ø]	me- sa	ma- -sa
AP/N.AG	(kɛ-) -pa/-ma	ka- (-ba)	ka-, -kaba	SE: ka-♠ NW: -pa♠	-pa	-pä
PP/N.PAT	-m?na(-ba)	-balak♠	-kha♠	-kha♠	-ma	-pä

♥ nonpast

♠ attested only as noun

♣ attested only as attribute

2.3.1. Infinitive and Purposive

The infinitive is used

- as a noun:

Cam. m-im-**ma**-da in his sleep
3sPOSS-sleep-INF-LOC

Thul. a-po-**mu** re-pa the one who looks after my food
1sPOSS-eat-INF look_after-AP (TH2.43)

- to express "shall" in questions:

Lim. part-**ma?**-ir? mem-bart-**ma?**-ir? Shall I say it or not? (v.D. 211)
say-INF-Q NEG-say-INF-Q

Athp. pak map-**ma**-na? What shall I/we say?
Cam. de ruŋ-**ma?**
what say-INF(-NML)

Athp.	soariŋba lo-sa ab-e whistle say-SIM come-PT	he came whistling
Cam.	lam-sa khata search-SIM go	he went searching
Thul.	pet-to 1eŋ-pu eat-SIM be_busy-1sNPT	I am busy eating

The Khaling and Thulung negative converbs are negations of the simple converb in *-sa*. Limbu and Athpare *-ʔe* and Bantawa *-paŋ* are not attested in positive forms. No negative converb was found in Camling (but cf. negative perfect tense, 2.2.4).

Lim.	mɛn-ni-ʔe:	without seeing, without having seen
	mɛ1-1ɛi-ʔe:	without knowing; without having learned
Athp.	mi-ni-ʔe	without seeing, without having seen
Bant.	man-cep-paŋ	without speaking, without having spoken
Thul.	me-be-saka	without doing, without having done
Khal.	ma-kö-sa	without eating, without having eaten

2.3.3. Participles

The **active participle (AP)** of a transitive verb codes the agent of the action designated by the verb, the AP of an intransitive verb codes the intransitive subject. There are two AP formatives: *ka-* and *-pa*; some languages use both together. Bantawa sometimes has an additional prefix *kha-* which seems to stand for an indefinite patient.³⁰ The Limbu and Bantawa AP distinguishes natural gender: male *-pa* vs. female *-ma*. Limbu *-pa* is also a general nominalizer. The Limbu AP applies to nonpast activities with transitive verbs, to past or nonpast with intransitives. The Camling forms are used as agentive nouns only; Cam. *ka-dip* /*dip-pa* refers to a person who beats habitually - the blacksmith. For functions that cannot be expressed by a participle nominalized forms are used (see 3.5).

- as a noun (nomen agentis):

Lim.	ke-huʔ-ba AP-teach-AP	teacher
Bant.	cin-kaba teach-AP	teacher

³⁰ Cf. *kha-* in the Camling impersonal forms (2.2.1.1).

	kha-en-kaba kha-man-en-kaba sth.-NEG-hear-AP	listener deaf person
Bant./Cam.	ka-dip AP-beat	blacksmith
NW-Cam.	dip-pa	"
	lam khō-mai-pa road see-make-AP	guide
Khal.	mu-kho-pä NEG-know-PCPL	ignorant person
Thul.	cek-pa know-AP	a knowledgeable person
Lim.	sammyaŋ ke-wa:p-ma-ha? gold AP-wear-AP:f-p	the (women) wearing gold (v.D. 203)
Bant.	cha ka-ca-ma child AP-eat-AP:f	woman, who eats her child (BANT 2.85)
- as attribute:		
Lim.	cuk-pa pi?l cuk-ma pitma ke-de:ŋ-ba te:ʔl AP-tear-AP clothes	small bull small cow torn clothes (< itr. de:ŋ-; v.D. 201)
Bant.	si-kaba mina die-AP person	dead person
Thul.	ser-pa mücü be_numerous-AP man	numerous people (cf. *TH5.2)
Khal.	cārey mâ-si-pä soroli graze do-REFL-PCPL camel	a grazing camel (*KH5.6)

also:
KH5.7

The **passive participle (PP)** refers to the patient of a transitive verb having undergone the process described by the verb.

- as a noun (nomen patientis):

- Lim. **ca-mna-ba**³¹ something to eat
eat-PP-NML
- Khal. **kham-pä** something worked
work-PCPL
- Thul. **hamsüma roaa-ma-la** up there at what's-it-called (Allen 60)
what's_it tell-PP-hiLOC

- as attribute:

- Lim. **khəŋ-gna-ba sa** dried meat
dry-PP-NML meat
- warəŋ-gna-ba te:ʔl** clothes which have been made wet (v.D.207)
wet-PP-NML clothes
- Athp. **kho-balak cece** fried meat
fry-PP meat
- Thul. **khər-ma maakai** parched maize (Allen 59)
parch-PP maize

Limbu AP and PP are not distinguished in negation; the PP ending is used for both.

- Lim. **mən-dhuŋ-gna-ba** one who does not drink
NEG-drink-PCPL-NML
- yum mən-ʔak-gna-ba** unsalted (to which salt has not been added)
salt NEG-add-PCPL-NML

Bantawa and Camling do not have passive participles, but use nominalized forms instead (cf. 3.5). Nouns derived from verb stems with *-kha* have a **patientive, instrumental or local** interpretation and cannot be attributed; e.g. Bant. *im-kha* "bed" (< im- "sleep"), *ca-pak-kha* "basket" (ca pak- "put rice"), Cam. *woi-kha* "clothes" (< woi- "put on, wear"), *khyo-kha* "jewelry" (< khyo- "hang"), *bui-kha* "pounder" (< bui- "pound"), *yug-kha* "living place" (< *yug-* "stay").

³¹ The Limbu PP marker has the variants *-mʔna* / *-mna* and (assimilated to a preceding velar) *-ŋʔna* / *-gna*. According to van Driem the nominalizer *-ba* is optional, but I found no examples of a PP without *-ba*. - Athpare has a suffix *-mana* in a few lexicalized forms, e.g. *wap-mana* "clothes" (= thing to wear).

2.4. Verb combinations

2.4.1. 'Compound verbs'

Under this heading I subsume combinations that correspond in function to the so-called 'compound verbs' in South Asian languages. Their form is, however, different from the most common compound verb formation in South Asian languages, which is converb + finite verb. In a Kiranti compound verb construction both verbs are marked for person, number and tense, but longer forms are usually contracted, so that prefixes and outer suffixes occur only once. Limbu is an exception in combining two full forms³², cf.

Lim. **mε-mɔy-ε mε-gher-ε** they got lost
3pS-get_lost-PT 3pS-V2:go-PT

Cam. **mi-ma-khata** "
3pS-get_lost-V2:go

Thulung has only a few remnants of person markers after the first verb (V1). I list some of these forms here, as in most compound verbs mentioned later or in the texts V2 follows the stem of V1.

Thul. **be-m-sa-m-ɖi** they did for her (*TH5.29)
do-3p-V2:BEN-3p-PT

pe-pa li-n-sit-ni do as if you eat! (*TH4.17)
eat-AP lie-2p-V2:REFL-2p

chal-ü-thaq-ɖ-ü he distracted them (*TH4.19)
direct-3s→3-V2:TEL-PT-3s→3
< dɔle

The auxiliaries in compound verb constructions are mainly verbs of motion, direction or position (cf. also Masica 1976: 146). The first group of auxiliaries in table 8 has a telicizing effect with atelic or actionally neutral verbs, but they give some additional information which derives from the semantics of the full verb. Stative verbs like "sit, lie, stay" have a detelicizing function with telic verbs. They express meanings like progressive, continuative and tend to be grammaticized. Table 8 and the following examples show most of the common CompV formations, but the list is not complete.

³² Van Driem mentions that "in the case of lengthy and unwieldy suffixal strings the endmost suffix or suffixes are omitted from the main verb" (1987: 128), but he gives only one example, in which the first verb does not carry the imperative marker:

noks-aŋ piŋ-aŋ-εŋ? Give me a shave!
shave-1sP V2:give-1sP-IMPER

Table 8: second verbs³³

		Limbu	Athpare	Bantawa	Camling	Thulung
as full V	as V2					
1. go	TEL+DIR	<u>khet-</u>	<u>-har</u>	khat-	khat-	
2. send	TEL+DIR	phench-		khais-	khaid-, chungs-	so(t)-
3. spend	TEL	tess-	tes-			
4. come	TEL,DIR			ban-,ta-		
5. take	TEL,self-BEN			khatt-		<u>thar-</u>
6. (remove??)	TEL		<u>left-</u>		<u>kas-</u>	<u>leat-</u>
7. put	TEL, COMPL	yuks-,potch-			pak-	jöl-
8. -	TEL,RELIN	<u>tha-</u>	<u>tha-</u>	<u>da-</u>	<u>da-</u>	
9. (make) fall	TEL,down	thax(s)-	dhi(s)-	dha(s)-	dha(s)-	
10. Ø / reach	TEL			<u>la-</u>	<u>chud-</u>	
11. come /take out	INCH			lont-, lott-	lond-/lais-	
12. finish	COMPL	cur-		cin-		thoak-
13. die,kill	die,kill	si-/ser-	si-/set-	si-/set-	si-/set-	
14. give	BEN	pir-	pid-	pi-	<u>pid-</u>	saṭ-
15. sit	DUR, PROG	yuj-		#yaṅ-		
16. lie	CONTV	neis-				
17. (walk)	MOT	war-	#gond-		#hod-	
18. stay, keep	PROG, PERF			yakt-	#ṅas-	
	CONTV					
19. perform// eat	enjoy; eat	car-	ca-	ca-		
	Lim:HAB					
20. want	be about to	net(t)-	mit-			

underlined: not attested as V1

grammaticized

1. "go" as V2 indicates movement away from speaker or place of reference, such that the subject disappears; it can often be translated by "away". This V2 combines only with intransitive verbs. Limbu *khet-* is not used as a full verb. The Athpare form is always contracted and the source of the V2 (< khaḍe/khare) is not immediately recognizable. In Thulung the auxiliary "go" does not occur in a compound verb construction as defined here, but is preceded by sequential marker (see 2.4.2).

Lim. iṅ **gheʔ1** it will become known (v.D. 123)
 be_known V2:TEL

³³ Khaling is not included here as too little information is available.

Bant.	mas-a-khat-a be_lost-PT-V2:TEL-PT	it got lost
Athp.	masa-har-e /masa-rhe be-lost-V2:TEL-PT	"
Cam.	pera-khata-ci fly-V2:TEL-d	they (d) flew away

2. "send": The Bantawa and Camling verbs *khais-* and *khaid-* "send so. off" are causative forms of *khat-* "go". As V2 they retain their literal meaning. The other languages have different roots in the same V2 function. As I could find no functional difference between Camling *khaid-* and *chugs-* I have included both verbs here³⁴.

Bant.	i-low-a-khais-a INV-tell-PT-V2:TEL-PT	they told him and sent him away (BANT2.102)
Lim.	mett-u bhench-u tell-3P V2:send-3P	told him and sent him away
Cam.	asikh id-yu-chugs-yu blessing give-3P-V2:send-3P	blessed him and sent him away
Thul.	be-m-so-mdj say-p-V2:send-p:PT	they said and sent him away (*TH5.30)

3. Limbu and Athpare "spend" is used as V2 with a similar meaning as "go, send"; it combines only with transitive verbs.

Lim.	piʒi natt-u-ŋ de:s-u-ŋ cow drive_off-3P-1s V2:TEL-3P-1s	I drove the cow away
Athp.	hitna goru rikt-u-ŋ-des-u-ŋe that ox chase-3P-1s-V2:TEL-3P-1s	I chased away that ox

³⁴ There is a V2 Bant. *chokt-*, Cam. *chod-*, which could be an applicative of *chungs-*. This V2 is attested only in the Khocilipa myth after "throw" as V1, meaning "throw at some goal":

Bant.	wett-u-chokt-u throw-3P-V2:GOAL-3P	threw it at him (BANT 2.62)
Cam.	hord-yu-chod-yu throw-3P-V2:GOAL-3P	" (Jh2.66)

4. "come" is attested as V2 only in Bantawa.

Bant. sit man-la-**ban** the louse did not come back (BANT2.111)
 louse NEG-arrive-V2:come

5. "take" is a frequent V2 in Bantawa. I have put Thulung *that-* tentatively here, as it could originate in the full verb *that-* "take out". Its function is different from Bantawa and Camling "take out", which has inchoative meaning, but resembles that of "go, take".

Bant. dhinara dhir-u-**khatt-u** he found the lion (BANT *5.23)
 lion find-3P-V2:TEL-3P

co-**khatt-u** he ate it up
 eat:3P-V2:TEL-3P

Thul. chal-**ü-thaḍ**-ḍ-**ü** he distracted them (*TH4.19)
 direct-3P-V2:TEL-PT-3P

par-**tha**-mu throw away (Allen 74)
 throw-V2:TEL-INF

6. Athpare *lett-*, Thulung *leat-* and Camling *kas-* are attested only as V2. They indicate completion of an action.

Athp. mund-u-ḡ-**lett**-u-ḡ-e I forgot
 forget-3P-1s-V2:TEL-3P-1s-PT

Cam. muid-uḡ-**kas**-uḡa "
 forget-1s-V2:TEL-1s

Thul. pü-**leaḍ**-ḍ-**ü** he ate it up
 eat:3P-V2:TEL-PT-3P

Thul. si-**leaḍ**-ḍa he died
 die-V2:TEL-PT

Cam. hors-yu-**kas**-yu he threw it away
 throw-3P-V2:TEL-3P

7. "put", a very frequent V2, indicates completion or total affection of the object. The Thulung V2 *jöl-* also fulfills the function of a relinquitive aspectivizer (cf. no.8).

Cam.	cyo-pak-u eat:3P-V2:TEL-3P	he ate it up
Thul.	chim-jül-ma bayra sweep-V2:TEL-PP was	was swept clean (TH 2.42)
	par-jöl-l-ü leave-V2:TEL-PT-3s→3	left her behind (TH2.6)

8. *da-* is attested only in the southeastern languages and it occurs only as V2. It indicates that the object/patient is left behind somewhere (van Driem's 'relinquitive' aspectivizer).

Lim.	yuks-u dho leave-3P V2:RELIN:3P	he left it behind
Bant.	yukt-a-da be_left-PT-V2:RELIN:PT	it was left behind
Bant.	chir-u-do leave-3P-V2:RELIN:3P	he left it behind (BANT 2.89)
Cam.	chit-yu-do leave-3P-V2:RELIN:3P	"

9. "fall, make fall"; both the transitive and the intransitive form occur as V2, indicating a downward movement.

Lim.	luks-u-ŋ dha:s-u-ŋ shake-3P-1s V2:down-3P-1s	I shake it down
Cam.	dhaps-yu-dhas-yu pull-3P-V2:down-3P	she pulled him down. (Jh2.38)
Bant.	chukt-a-dha jump-PT-V2:down:PT	he jumped down

10. "reach" and 11. "finish, be completed" have overlapping functions. Camling *chud-* and Bantawa *la-* are attested only as V2 (and with one Bantawa exception only with the verb *ta-* "come"). Limbu *cur-* and Bantawa *cin-* are full verbs.

Lim. te: cur-ε	he arrived (cf. Nep. ai-pugyo)
Cam. ta- chuda	"
Bant. ta- la	"
Thul. ro-m- pha-mu	arrive
come-INF-V2:reach-INF	
ret- phaq-q-ü	he led him (and arrived) (PH2.90)
lead-V2-reach-PT-3>3	

12. "come out": As V2 this verb is attested only in Bantawa and Camling. It has both an intransitive and a transitive form and expresses inchoative meaning. The intransitive form is sometimes understood literally.

Bant. huk t-a-lont-a	he started to bark (BANT *5.28)
bark-PT-V2:INCH-PT	
poy- a-lont-a	he grew up (BANT 2.59)
grow-PT-V2:come_out-PT	(not: he started to grow up)
butt- u-lott-u-ci	he started calling them (BANT 2.55)
call-3P-V2:INCH-3P-3nsP	
Cam. khru psa-londa	he woke up
wake_up-V2:come out	(not: started to get up)
cit- yi-lais-yi	he started teasing him (Ha2.5)
tease-3P-V2:INCH-3P	

13. "die, kill". This V2 indicates that an act of violence against a living being is carried out to the end, i.e. "to death". If understood in this way the verb fits into the group of telicizing V2s.³⁴ In Limbu the verb is more often constructed with a sequential linker (cf. 2.4.2).

Lim. hipt- u ser-u	beat him to death (v.D. 336)
beat-3P V2:kill-3P	

³⁴ Masica (1976: 145) does not count compounds with "kill" as an instance of compound verb, as it is the first verb that modifies the second. This interpretation is not cogent; cf. also German *tot-schlagen* (dead-beat), *tot-schiessen* (dead-shoot), with *tot-* in the position of telicizing prefixes.

Cam. ap-u-set-yu shot him to death
shoot-3P-V2.kill-3P

14. "give" as V2 indicates benefactive. This compound verb construction is widespread in the world's languages and needs no further comments.

Lim. khu:tt-aŋ pi:r-aŋ he robbed me
rob-1s V2:BEN-1s

Bant. i-yam-saŋ itt-a-ŋ-pi-a-ŋ fry his meat for me. (BANT 2.71)
his-body-flesh fry-IMPER-1s-V2:BEN-IMPER-1s

Cam. hoku-da pak-u-pid³⁶-yu he put it in his bag for him
bag-LOC put-3P-V2:BEN-3P

15.-18. **Stative verbs:** Various stative verbs have been grammaticized as progressive markers (Bantawa *yaŋ*, Camling *gas*; cf. 2.2.3.1). The ambulative markers also belong in this category (2.2.3.2). Limbu *ne:s-* "lie" and Bantawa *yakt-* "stay" express continuative meaning.

(24) a. kheŋ re:diyo:-n ca:ʔrikʔe: ɔ:kt-ε ne:s-ε.
Lim. that radio-DEF very:EMPH shout-PT V2:CONTV-PT
The radio kept on screaming. (v.D.132)

b. "di ti -ca-yag?" yiŋ-sa sen-u-yakt-u-ŋ-u.
Bant. what 2-eat-V2:CONT say-SIM ask-3P-V2:CONTV-3P-V2:CONT-3P
"What do you eat?" she kept asking him.
(BANT 2.7; cf. also BANT 2.8, 2.18)

19. **ca-:** The etymology of this V2 is somewhat unclear. Limbu *ca:ma?* "perform, play" is distinct from *cama?* "eat", but in Athpare and Bantawa the verbs are identical. One could think of homonymy, but "eat" occurs as V2 in Munda languages and in Lahu with similar function as Kiranti *ca-*, namely indicating pleasure, sometimes connected with the literal meaning.³⁷ The Bantawa auxiliary can also express continuation, Limbu *ca-* habituality.

(25) a. wadin kup-ca-yaŋ-sa yuŋ-aŋ-a-lo...
Bant. egg pick-V2:eat/enjoy-V2:PROG-CONV be-V2:PROG-PT-SIM
While she was picking up and eating the eggs... (BANT 2.89)

³⁶ Camling *pid-* occurs only as V2; "give" is *id-*.

³⁷ Cf. Burrows 1915: 89 for Ho examples, Matisoff 1991: 441 for Lahu.

- b. anchei-ba məna-haʔ sikaŋ-rək mə-joŋ-u mə-jeŋ.
 Lim. before-NML man-p hunting-only 3pS-do-3P 3pS-V2:HAB:PT
 Ancient man used to hunt only. (van Driem 335)

The Bantawa lexicon (Winter & Rai, to appear) lists compounds like:

- Bant. cep- ca- enjoy talking
 mü- ca- enjoy doing
 dott- ca- keep begging
 kon- ca- keep roaming

20. "want": Limbu and Athpare use this verb to express imminential meaning:

- Lim. si nɛʔl he is about to die (v.D. 125)
 die V2:IMM
- seʔr-aŋ nɛtt-aŋ. he almost killed me
 kill-1sPS:PT V2:IMM-1sPS:PT

The inventory of compound verb auxiliaries is rather different from language to language. Also the verbs listed in one line in table 8 do not always correspond exactly in their use, as mentioned in some places, cf.

			V2 in table 8
Athp.	co-lett-ue	eat up	no.6
Bant.	co-khatt-u	"	no.5
Cam.	cyo-pak-u	"	no.7
Thul.	pü-lead-q-ü	"	no.6
Cam.	sya-khata	he died	no.1
Thul.	si-lead-qa	"	no.6

2.4.2. Sequential constructions

In Thulung and Khaling "go" and "kill" are not used as V2 in compound verb constructions in the sense defined here. Instead, the main verb carries a sequential suffix. Cf. the following examples from the orphan myth ((26) relates the episode in which the sisters Tuwama and Khliyama split up; in (27) the two sisters kill the flea sent by their brother).

- (26) huɔ-də-**ma** ləs-ta she flew away (TH2.5)
 Thul. fly-PT-SEQ go-PT
- Khal. bher-iti-**na** Dikdel khös-ti they (d) flew away to Dikdel (KH2.17)
 fly-PT:d-SEQ D. go-PT:d
- Cam. pera-khata-ci they (d) flew away
 fly-V2:go-d
- (27) ... möram wo khrec-ci-**ma** sec-ci.
 Thul. that also bite:PT-d-SEQ kill:PT-d
 that one also they bit to death (TH 2.83)
- Cam. ... tyuko-lai pani pa-hila-seta-ci-ko raicha.
 that-DAT also INV-rub-V2:kill-d-NML REP
 that one also they rubbed to death. (Lal 2.110)

In Limbu the sequential construction is found besides the compound verb forms:

- (28) mə-yups-ε-**yaŋ** mə-de: they came crowding (v.D. 342)
 Lim. 3pS-crowd-PT-SEQ 3pS-come:PT
- ug-u-**waŋ** ser-u he scratched him to death (v.D. 342)
 claw-3P-SEQ kill-3P
- haʔr-u-**waŋ** seʔr-u (sic!) he bit him to death (v.D. 328)
 bite-3P-SEQ kill-3P
- cf. hipt-u ser-u beat him to death (v.D. 336)
 beat-3P V2:kill-3P

Sometimes it is impossible to decide whether we are dealing with a compound or with a true sequential construction referring to two events, e.g.

- (29) hekyəŋ lam-ʔo-dhak ɬo:tt-ε-tch-u-waŋ **ne:s-ε-tch-u.**
 Lim. then road-LOC-until remove-PT-dA-3P-SEQ put-PT-dA-3P
 Then they (removed it and) brought it up as far as the road. (v.D. 328)

2.4.3. Constructions with infinitive or stem

Phasal verbs - with the exception of those mentioned in 2.4.1 - combine with infinitives, e.g.

Lim.	he:k-	start
Athp.	hid-	finish
Bant.	hakt-	be about
Cam.	ruŋs-	be about
	puis-	start
Thul.	khap-	be about

Lim.	pa:p-m?	he:kt-u-ŋ	I started to talk
	talk-INF	start-3P-1s	
Athp.	leŋ-ma	hid-u-es-u-e	she has finished cleaning
	clean-INF	finish-3P-V2:PERF-3P-PT	
Bant.	dhit-ma	hakt-u-ŋ-u	she was about to reach him (BANT 2.90)
	reach-INF	be_about-3P-V2:CONT-3P	
Cam.	si-ma	ruŋsa	he was about to die
	die-INF	be_about	
Cam.	prai-ma	puis-yu	he began to shout
	shout-INF	begin-3P	

A few auxiliaries follow the stem:

Bant.	lapt-	try
Cam.	hod-	ambulative (see 2.2.3.2)
Khal.	ther-	habitual, iterative
	khâ-	finish; completive

(30) a. i-dap-khâ-tä o?

Khal. 2-drink-finish-PT Q
Did you get a taste? (*KH5.17)

b. ... sida taŋa hō-ther-ta

straight only bring-CONTV-PT
He kept bringing straight [beams] only. (*KH12.59)

2.4.4. Analytic Causatives

Analytic causatives appear in three different constructions. In Limbu causativity can be expressed by the verb *co:k*- "do, make", which follows the fully inflected main verb with the suffix *-ɔ*, or by infinitive + *paŋs*- "send". Van Driem (1987: 268) regards the *ɔ*-form as optative (cf. 2.2.5.2), but I think it is the homonymous simultaneous /manner subordinator.³⁸

Lim.	<i>cib-ɛ-rɔ</i> keep_quiet-PT-SIM	<i>co:g-u-ŋ</i> make-3P-1s	I made him keep quiet.
	<i>pim-ma</i> jump-INF	<i>paŋs-u-ŋ</i> send-3P-1sA	I made him jump. (v.D. 270)

In Camling, Bantawa and Khaling, the causal verb "make", which has two forms at least in Camling (*mu-*, *maid-*) and in Khaling (*mu-*, *ma-*) follows the bare stem, whereas in Thulung it is constructed with an infinitive.

Bant.	<i>khəŋ mett-u</i>		he showed it
Cam.	<i>khõ maid-yu</i> see make-3P		
Khal.	<i>uŋ-a in sey-ma-ŋa</i> I-ERG you see-make-1s		I show you
	<i>acha 'kwab-mu-t-a</i> child be_covered-make-PT-1s		I covered the baby
Thul.	<i>je-m ber-i</i> perform-INF make-1pi		let's make him perform (*TH4.10)
	<i>go ora-m ŋoo-si beɿ-pu.</i> I here-NML rise-INF:NPT make-1s→3		I will make him arise (*TH4.21)

³⁸ Camling and Athpare have a similar, though extremely rare, construction, which seems restricted to non-agentive verbs. Cf.

Cam.	<i>beli ... pluidh-e-lo</i>	<i>mu</i>	"he made the oil boil" (Ha 2.54)
	<i>beli ... lodh-e-lo</i>	<i>mu</i>	" (Jh 2.49)
	<i>oil boil-NPT-MAN</i>	<i>make:3P</i>	

Athp.	<i>unci-ya the-lok</i>	<i>a-cog-e</i>	"they have raised us" (Ja1.13)
	<i>they-ERG be_big-MAN</i>	<i>1piP-make-PT</i>	

2.4.5. Obligation

Obligation is expressed in the SE languages by the invariable impersonal form of the verb "become" following the infinitive of the main verb. Khaling uses the 3rd person singular form of the verb "ripen" (Toba 26), whereas Thulung has a reflexive compound verb formation of the verb *ba-* "be": *ba-sit*.³⁹

Lim.	<i>cama?</i> po:ŋ	one has to eat; I/you/he ... must eat
Athp.	<i>cama lise</i>	"
Bant.	<i>cama li</i>	"
Cam.	<i>cama tire</i>	"
Thul.	<i>pemu basi</i>	"
Khal.	<i>jönä mâttü</i>	"

Prohibitive or negative obligation is expressed in various ways;

- with the negation of "become" (Athp., Bantawa)
- with the verb "be bad" (Cam.)
- with the negation of "be good" (Thul., Khal.)

Athp.	<i>tona ca-ma li-ni-na</i>	one must not eat that
	that eat-INF become-NEG-NML	
Bant.	<i>moko ca-ma li-nin</i>	" "
	that eat-INF become-NEG	
Cam.	<i>tyuko ca-ma is-e</i>	" "
	that eat-INF be_bad-NPT	
Thul.	<i>möram pe-mu mi-nü</i>	" "
Khal.	<i>mäm jö-nä mö-nü</i>	" "
	that eat-INF NEG-be_good	

2.4.6. Loans from Nepali

Verbs are borrowed from Nepali into Kiranti languages with the help of auxiliaries. The most common way of adaption is to take the Nepali stem + *-ai* (written *-ai*, *-ai*, *-ey* in the various sources) and add the verb for "do, make" or "become"; e.g.

Bant.	<i>bən-əy mima</i>	make, prepare
	<i>pəd-əy i-mi</i>	they read, study (*BANT7.1)
	<i>chutt-əy mima</i>	separate (*BANT8.4)
	<i>cokh-əy mima</i>	bless (*BANT8.14)

³⁹ That this is a compound verb becomes evident with nasal suffixes, e.g. *he ba-m-sü-m?* (what be-INF-V2:REFL-INF) "What is to be done?" (Allen 191).

Cam.	ban-ai muma	make, prepare
	har-ai muma	lose
	thik-ai muma	make ready
	bis-ai muma	rest
Khal.	jor-ey mänu	they add (*KH 12.27)
	bâc-ey chu	becomes alive (KH 2.16)
	châkk-ey chüktä	became surprised (KH 2.18)

Camling sometimes makes the borrowed verb stem into a quasi noun with the help of a suffix *-ba* (which has no other function in the language); this form is always followed by the auxiliary *la-*.

Cam.	mil-ba lama	agree
	ghum-ba lama	go around
	bhag-ba lama	run away
	cahi-ba lama	need

Thulung integrates Nepali verbs into the verbal system without an auxiliary, treating them like Thulung *e*-stems.⁴⁰ Besides these integrated borrowings combinations with the auxiliary *düs-* "become" can also be found.

Thul.	thune-mđj	they held back (*TH4.12)
	u-sarup bane-cci	they (d) made his effigy (TH2.3)
	jaagüürü /jaage-t-ü/	he woke him up (*TH4.26)
	dhaakürü /dhaake-t-ü/	he won (*TH5.3)
	bobop khijürü /khij-e-t-ü/	she mocked the owl (TH2.7)
	bhule-düs-ta	became distracted (*TH5.18)
	chül lage-düs-ta	a curse fell on them (KarbII.9)

2.4.7. Emotive predicates

Emotions are most often expressed by an abstract noun with a possessive prefix, followed by an auxiliary. The verb sometimes has no other function outside these expressions. Here is a full paradigm for Camling.

1s	a-bulma la-e	1sPOSS-anger AUX-NPT	I am angry
1d	ic-bulma la-e		we are angry
1p	i-bulma la-e		we are angry

⁴⁰ In *e*-stems the stem vowel changes to *ü* before 3s→3 -*ü*; cf. *be-mđj* they did, *büürü* he did it, he said; *pe-mđj* they ate, *püürü* he ate it

2s	kap-bulma la-e	you are angry
2p	khai-bulma la-e	"
3s	m-bulma la-e	s/he is angry
3ns	kic-bulma la-e	they are angry

As the paradigm of possessive prefixes is defective in the SE-languages, either no distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive, or pronominal forms are used; thus: *i-bulma lae* or *amka bulma lae* "we (pe) are angry". Other Camling emotive constructions are:

Cam.	a-sikha lae	I am pleased
	a-kurma lae	I am afraid
	a-ŋaima lae	I am ashamed
	a-caima lae	I dislike
	a-nama lae	I find pleasant

The expressions apparently have an auxiliary cognate with Camling *la-* (for Limbu *leʔr-* less clear than for the others). The verb has no function outside emotive verb complexes.

Lim. kunchi-yak leʔr-e they became angry (v.D. 455)
 3nsPOSS-anger AUX-PT

a-niŋ leʔr-e I am fed up (v.D. 455)
 1sPOSS-mind AUX-PT

Thul. a-ŋim lüü-ra I am afraid
 1sPOSS-fright AUX-PT

a-brem lüü-ra I am lazy
 1sPOSS-laziness AUX-PT

Khal. us-khân lo-tä they became ashamed
 3nsPOSS-shame AUX-PT

Note that in contrast to Camling the auxiliary is in the past tense here. Other common verbs in emotive predicates have basic meanings like "come up/down, rise", for which the past tense explains itself.

Lim. ke-sira dhaŋ-ŋi? Do you like it?
 2sPOSS-pleasure come_up-Q

a-lem yu:s-e I don't have the spunk(v.D. 549)
 1sPOSS-kidney come_down-PT

	ku-ye:p-myaj yu:s-e 3sPOSS-laugh-INF come_down-PT	he couldn't but laugh (v.D. 363)
Athp.	a-lahap kad-e 1sPOSS-need come-PT	I need, I want
Bant.	ij-kima kar-a 1sPOSS-fear come-PT	I am afraid
	am-kima khat 2sPOSS-fear go	you will be afraid (BANT 2.103)
Thul.	uci-chokco bək-ta 3dPOSS-anger rise-PT	they got angry (Karb 13)
Khal.	u-so phük-tä 3sPOSS-hunger rise-PT	he became hungry (KH2.18)

3. Nominals

3.1. Pronouns and possessive prefixes

Table 9: Pronouns and possessive prefixes

<u>personal pronouns</u>						
	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
1s	arga	aṅa	in̄ka	kaṅa	go	uṅ
1de	anchige	anciṅa	in̄kaca	kaṅka	gucuku	ocu
1pe	anige	aniṅa	in̄kanka(ci)	kaika	guku	ok
1di	anchi	anci	in̄kaci	kaici	guci	ici
1pi	ani	ani	in̄kan(ci)	kai(mi)	guy	ik
2s	khene?	khana	khana	khana	gana	in
2d	khENCHI	khanci	khanaci	khaici	gaci	eci
2p	khENI	khani	khananin(ci)	khaini	gani	en
3s	khune?	un	kho(ko)	khu	gu	âm
3d	khunchi	unci	khoci	khuci	guci	âmsu
3p	"	"	"	"	gumi	âmhâm
<u>demonstratives</u>						
this	koṅ	na	o(ko)	oko, uko	o ¹	tâ(m)
d	koṅha?	nagaci	okoci	okoci	orcip	tâsu
p	"	naga	"	"	ormim	tâhâm
that	khEṅ	hitna	mo(ko), mosa	tyuko(pa)	mö	mâ(m)
d	khEṅha?	moci	hitnagaci	tyukoci	möci, mörcip	mâsu
p	"	hitnaga	"	"	mömi, mörmim	mâhâm
<u>possessive prefixes</u>						
1s	a-	a-	in̄-	a-	a-	a-
1de				ac-	aci-	os-
1pe					aki-	ok-
1di			anco-	ic-	ici-	is-
1pi	i-	(copy)		i-	iki-	ik-
2s	ka-	ka-	am-	kap-	i-	i-
2d			amco-		ici-	es-
2p			an-	kai-	ini-	en-
3s	ku-	u-	i-	m-	u-	u-
3d			unco-	kic-	uci-	us-
3p			"	"	uni-	un-

¹ Also *oram* < *o-ḡa-m* this-LOC-NML "the one here" and *möram* "the one there". Thulung has a whole range of terms for "here", "there", e.g. *a-si-n-ḡa* this-place-(n)-LOC "here", *mösinḡa* "there".

Tibeto-Burman scholars will recognize the TB roots **ŋa* for 1st sg. and **na* for 2nd person as well as 1st pl. (*ni*) and 2nd pl. *ni(n)*. All languages except Khaling have an additional prefix *kha-*, *ka-*, *gu-* in at least part of the personal pronouns. The suffix *-ci* is originally a dual marker, but in SE Kiranti it has come to mark also 3rd person plural. (The same double function is found in the verb affixes of those languages; cf. 2.2.1). Bantawa has gone one step further and uses *-ci* optionally also in 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns.

The 3rd person pronouns are restricted to animates; for reference to both animates and inanimates the demonstratives are more common. They consist of a deictic root (cf. table 12 in 4.1) usually followed by a nominalizing suffix. Bantawa *-sa* is a frozen pronominalizer before the ergative-instrumental and sometimes before the genitive case marker. The same suffix appears in some Thulung pronominal forms, whereas Camling has the old nominalizer *-pa* here.

Bant.	mo, mosa ik-ta	"that; s/he" "someone"	mo-sa-wo, mo-so-wo ik-ta-sa-ʔa one-CL-PRONML-ERG	"his/her"
Thul.	he hom	"what" "what"	he-sa-ka, he-ka what-PRONML-ABL hom-sa-ka	"why" "from what"
Cam.	tyuko so	"that, s/he" "who"	tyu-ko-pa-wa (*tyuko-wa) that-NML-NML-ERG so-pa-wa (*so-wa) who-NML-ERG so-pa-mo / so-mo who-NML-GEN	"s/he" (ERG) "who" (ERG) "whose"

Persons older than oneself are addressed with the second person plural pronoun. When talking about an older third person, a honorific plural form is often used (cf. *BANT7.13, (10c) in Ch.6).

The paradigm of **possessive prefixes** is incomplete in the eastern languages and becomes more complete as we move towards west. In Limbu the nonsingular personal pronouns can be used as possessive prefixes: *anchige-him* "our (de) house" (cf. van Driem 1987: 27), whereas the other languages use derived pronominal forms (see below). Limbu and Athpare insert a homorganic nasal (Athpare also *i*) after the possessive prefix with kinship terms that begin in a bilabial or dental obstruent.

Lim.	a-n-jum kɛ-m-ɓɔŋaʔ	my friend your uncle
Athp.	a-n-jha, a-i-jha u-m-cha, u-i-cha	my younger sibling her/his child

Athpare has a special 1st person plural possessive form for some kinship terms; the first syllable of the term is copied as possessive prefix:

jha-n-jha	our younger sibling
bhu-m-bhu	our elder brother
ko-gongba	our maternal uncles
tu-ruba	our grandfathers (< tuba; cf. Limbu theba)

Bantawa² and Camling have more prefixes, but the paradigm is complete only in Thulung and Khaling.

According to Toba the Khaling prefixes are used mainly with kinship terms and body parts. This is not confirmed from other Kiranti languages. Possessive prefixes and pronominal forms both occur - often together - with all sorts of nouns.

Athp.	u-m-pa /un-na-na pa / unnana umpa	her father
	3sPOSS-(m)-father/ she-GEN-NML father	
Bant.	unco-makanchi / moci-wo makanchi / mociwo unco m.	their (d) stepmother
	3dPOSS-stepmother / they(d)-GEN stepmother	
Cam.	m-khim / khu-mo khim / khumo mkhim	her house
	3sPOSS-house / she-GEN house	
	a-khim / aŋa khim / aŋa akhim	my house
	1sPOSS-house / my house	
Thul.	a-nem / a-ma nem / ama anem	" (Allen 103)
	1sPOSS-house / I-NML house	
Khal.	i-beŋmä-häm / inpo ibermäähäm	your sisters (KH2.40)
	2sPOSS-sister-p you-GEN	

In Limbu one sometimes finds the possessive prefixes together with nonsingular pronouns.

anige a-m-ba-nulle	kheni ke-m-ba	kappo:ba coik.
our(pe) 1POSS-(m)-father-COMPAR	your(p) 2POSS-(m)-father	elderly be
Our father is older than your father. (v.D. 27)		

² The list of Bantawa forms in table 9 may not be complete. N.K.Rai (1985) gives a list of possessive pronouns in which prefixes and free forms are mixed. He lists *khosowo* and *khocewo* as 3s and 3ns possessive pronouns respectively, but does not mention the much more frequent forms *i-* (3s) and *moci-wo* (3ns).

This suggests that the Limbu possessive prefixes represent persons without respect to number: *a-* (1e), *i-* (1i), *kə-* (2nd), *ku-* (3rd), just as Thulung *a-* (1e), *i-* (1i, 2nd), *u-* (3rd). Thulung can add nonsingular number markers to the prefixes, whereas Limbu can not.

Possessive prefixes are used with purposives (see 6.1.1), with the active participle (see 6.1.3), and in emotive verb complexes (see 2.4.7).

A few genuine possessive pronouns exist besides the possessive prefixes: Cam. *aya* "my", *amka* "our (pe)", Bant. *amno* "your (p)". 'Possessive pronouns' for other persons are usually genitives of the prefixes; Athpare uses the oblique form of personal pronouns + nominalizer, Thulung possessive prefix + nominalizer *-ma*³; e.g.

Athp.	khan-na-na	you-OBL-NML	your (s)
	ani-ya(-ga)	we-OBL-NML:p	our (pi)
Bant.	khana-wo	you-GEN	your (s)
Cam.	i-mo	1iPOSS-GEN	our (pi)
	khu-mo	s/he-GEN	his, her
Khal.	a-po	1sPOSS-GEN	my
Thul.	a-ma	1sPOSS-NML	my

3.2. Number and gender

Some Kiranti languages distinguish **dual and plural** for nouns and pronouns. Athpare, Bantawa and Camling have generalized the old dual morpheme *-ci* as a nonsingular marker (cf. also the 3rd nonsingular patient marker *-ci* with verbs).

	d	p
Lim.	-si/-chi	-ha? ⁴
Thul.	-si	-mim
Khal.	-s	-häm
Athp., Bant., Cam.	-ci	-ci

Number is usually not marked with inanimates. A plural marker with inanimates indicates an associative plural, e.g. Bant. *yum-ci* "salt and the like" (Rai 1985:67), Thul. *taal-mim* "plates and the like".

Natural gender is distinguished in nouns that refer to persons and some bigger animals. The most widespread markers are *-ma* for female, *-pa* for male. The northern languages have several variants of gender markers. Here *-me* and *-cö* seem to be partly productive. Limbu and Bantawa distinguish gender in participles (cf. 2.3.3).

³ It is not clear whether this suffix is cognate with the nominalizer (*-m*). Cf. also the participial suffix *-ma* and the sequential subordinater *-ma*.

⁴ Note that in Limbu demonstratives *-ha?* indicates also dual (cf. table 12).

Lim.	piʔl	pitma	bull; cow
Cam.	kok-ma	kok-pa	grandmother; grandfather
	wa-ma	wa-pa	hen; rooster
	raichaku-pa	raichaku-ma	orphan
Thul.	soala-me	soala-cö	young girl; young boy
	præ-me	præ-cü	Kiranti
	bəʔ-me	bəc-cö	daughter-in-law; son-in-law
	ŋaa-mi	ŋa-w	old woman; old man
Khal.	hel-me	hel-pö	mother-in-law; father-in-law of own child
	sala-me	sala-cö	young girl; young boy
	del-me	del-cö	daughter-in-law; son-in-law

3.3. Numerals and classifiers

The Kiranti numerals are seldom used. Only the old Tibeto-Burman words for the numbers "one" to "three" are generally known, and even those are most often replaced by Nepali terms.

Table 10: Numerals and classifiers

	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
1	thik	thik	ik-	i-	ko-	tu
2	nə-	ip-	hiwa-	haka-	nə(k)-	sah
3	sum-	sum-	sum-	sim-	süm-/su-	suk
4	li-				ble-	bhäl
5	na-				ŋo-	bhöm
6	tuk-/thuk-				ru-	râ
7	nu-				yat-	tär
8	ye(n)-				let-	ri
9	phaŋ-				gu-	ghu
10	thi-boŋ					ta-dâm
classifiers:						
human	(-phu)	-paŋ	-bop,-pok -paŋ,-phop	-po	-ŋ	-pu,-bâ
non-hum.	-pok	-bok				
round				-li		
general	-si		-ta(t), -tak	-ra	-le	-le

Classifiers do not play a prominent role in Kiranti languages. Even in Camling, where I found three noun classes, *-ra* occurs with all sorts of nouns. Rai (1985:166) mentions that the older generation of Bantawa speakers makes use of the classifiers

-*bop*, -*pok* for human beings, but that they are not used by the younger generation. Thulung lost the old classifiers, like *bop* for round objects, *söl* for long objects (cf. Allen 1975: 113f). Thulung and Khaling numbers as well as Limbu and Athpare *thik* "one" can be used without a classifier.

Athp.	thi-baŋ briten ip- paŋ yapmi-ci sum- bok paŋ / suntala	a British two people three houses / oranges
Bant.	ik-pok / ik-bop mina hia-tat / hia-tak mina	a man two people
Cam.	haka-po mina-ci i-ra khim sim- li suntala	two people one house three oranges
Thul.	ko-ŋ mücü (also ko, ko-le) ko-le nə-le opcö-mim	a man one or two assistants
Khal.	tu hâs-po u-cö suh-pu mo-t-nu one person-GEN 3sPOSS-child three-CL be-PT-3p One man had three children. (KH2.1)	

Measure terms are regularly used as classifiers; terms borrowed from Nepali combine freely with Kiranti numerals.

Bant.	ik-len hiwa-len	one [or] two days
Cam.	i-lei haka-lei	
Thul.	koo-lem nəə-lem one-day two-day	
Cam.	i-rung one-time	once
Thul.	nək-khep su-khep two-times three-times	2 or 3 times (khep <Nep.)
Cam.	i-homa rō / i-mana rō one-mana rice	one 'mana' rice (mana <Nep.)

The numeral "one" serves as an indefinite article. In this function Limbu *thik* can be postposed in analogy with the definite marker *-in*.

(1) a. *anche: anche: mu yaakkha-ʔo: ləkthik⁵ syaʔl-dhik mu way-ε.*
 Lim. before before REP jungle-LOC one jackal-one REP be-PT
 Long ago there lived a jackal in the jungle. (v.D. 345)

b. ... *mənəm ku-səbənba-dhik me-bir-u. mənə-lle ku-sikwa-ʔo-*
 Lim. ... man:DEF 3sPOSS-thigh-one 3nsA-give-3P man-DEF:ERG 3sPOSS-bag-LOC-

lam khəŋ pu-lle ku-səbənbe-n lətt-u-wəŋ ...
 ABL that bird-DEF:GEN 3sPOSS-thigh-DEF take_out-3P-and

(The gods) gave the man a thigh (of the bird). ... (At home) the man took the thigh of that bird out of his bag and ... (v.D. 336)

3.4. Case markers and direction markers

Table 11: Case markers and direction markers

	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
ERG/INST	-le	-ŋa	-a	-wa	-ka	-ä
GEN	"	"	-ko/-wo	-mo	-kam, -ku	-po
DAT		(-lai)		(-lai)	(-laai)	
COM	-nu	-lok	-nin		-nuŋ	-kolo
VOC	-eɪ				-a	
LOC (general)	-ʔo:	-ni	-da	-da	-ɖa	-bi
hiLOC			-du	-dhi /-di	-la	-tū
loLOC			-yu	-i	-yu	-yu
levLOC			-ya	-ya	-no	-yo
ALL	(LOC-thak)	-	LOC-nin	LOC-ni		LOC-tha
ABL	LOC-lam	-lamma	LOC-ŋka	LOC-ka	LOC-m,-lam -laŋka	LOC-ka
PATH	-lam	"	"	", -la(ka)	"	-la, -la(ka)

Ergative and instrumental are marked identically in Kiranti languages. Athpare has an oblique case marker including also the genitive; in Limbu ERG/INST and genitive

⁵ *lək-thik*, lit. "only-one", is often used instead of *thik*.

are largely identical.⁶ In some languages the ergative marker is used with all nouns and pronouns in transitive sentences. Others have a split system, where the ergative marker does not combine with 1st or with 1st and 2nd pronouns (see 5.5.).

The dative marker is probably borrowed from Nepali *-lai*.⁷ It is optional in Athpare, Camling and Thulung with human patients, personified animals (cf. *Pa1.5) or other personified entities. The ergative and dative markers are usually applied only once to coordinated nouns.

- (2) mi-khya-c-e, ninama ra haikhama-lai sena-c-e
 Cam. NEG-quarrel-d-NPT sky and earth-DAT ask-d-NPT
 Let's not quarrel, let's ask the sky and the earth ... (*La13.45)

The comitative is the only means to explicitly coordinate nouns (except with Nepali *ra*, as in (2))⁸. It usually follows the first noun, but it may be repeated after the second and following. Limbu *-nu* can also be an instrumental or path marker.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Lim. | sammyaṅ-nu yu?pa | gold and silver (v.D. 332) |
| Athp. | sosa-lok yusana | rat and jackal (*Pa1.0) |
| Bant. | i-ma-nin i-cha | the mother and her child (*BANT 8.8) |
| Thul. | go-nuṅ Gane | I and Gane |
| Khal. | Grom-kolo Las | Grom and Las (KH2) |

- (3) a. câkâpe-kolo ser-kolo banpö phiṅ-tä-su ...
 Khal. flea -COM louse -COM negotiator send-PT-3→3d
 He sent the flea and the louse as negotiators (KH2.44)

- b. u-ḡhol-nuṅ u-mina-nuṅ u-ṅopcö-nuṅ asinḡa neb-ḡa
 Thul. 3sPOSS-drum-COM 3sPOSS-man-COM 3sPOSS-assistant-COM here house-LOC
 phid-ḡ-ü ...
 bring-PT-3s→3
 He brought his drum, his men and his assistants here to the house... (*TH4.32)

The comitative can be combined with the ergative. In the Thulung sentence (4a) *-nuṅ* ... *-nuṅ* links the two names and the ergative marks the whole noun phrase. Limbu *-nu* combines with the ergative-instrumental case marker in a comparative construction.

⁶ For minor differences in the realization of genitive and ergative/instrumental in Limbu cf. v. Driem 1987: 43f. - In spite of the gloss 'ABS' in van Driem's grammar of Limbu, there is no absolutive case marker in Kiranti languages. The Limbu suffix *-in* is a marker of definiteness (cf. also the description in van Driem 1987).

⁷ A Tibeto-Burman dative marker *-la* exists in Sherpa and some other languages of the area.

⁸ Limbu *-aṅ* "also, and" (identical with the sequential subordinator) can also coordinate nouns.

(4) a. jaw-nuŋ khliw-nuŋ-ka: "ici-ri sen-ci-ma ləə-ci," roa-be-c-ci.
 Thul. J.-COM k.-COM-ERG 1diPOSS-brother kill-d-SEQ go-d say-V2:do-PT-d
 Jaw and Khliw said: "Let's kill our brother and go away." (TH2.2)

b. khene?-nu-lle khune? tum.
 Lim. you-COM-ERG he become_aged
 He is older than you. (v.D. 528)

Vocatives are found only in some of the languages. Limbu has a special vocative form in *-o:* for "mother" and "father" (besides the regular form in *-e:*, cf. van Driem 1987: 48). Thulung *-o*, which Allen (1975: 98) relates to Nepali *ho*, can be added to vocative *-a*. In the plural it takes the form *-nio* / *-neo* (2nd person plural *-ni* + *o*). Camling speakers often use a suffix *-ou* / *-eu* when addressing a person. The same suffix can be combined with an imperative, which in the 2nd person plural or honorific yields *-neu* (*-ni* + *ou*); cf. *mi-khai-d-ou* "don't go!", *hiŋa-neu* "sit down (pl)!" Thulung *-o* and Camling *-ou* are therefore address particles rather than a vocatives.

Lim.	yuma-er amma-er, amm-oi	grandmother! mother!
Thul.	mim-a, mim-a-o a-loak-nio	grandmother! my younger siblings!
Cam.	ama, am-ou ⁹ nana, nan-ou hōch-eu	mother! elder sister! chiefson!

Locatives specifying higher, lower and same-level will be treated in 4.2. together with other terms specifying the vertical dimension.

Allative and ablative follow a locative suffix or a locational adverb or noun. Exceptions are some of the ablatives originating in *-lam* "road" (Athp. *-lamma*, Thul. *-lam/-lajka*, Khal. *-lal/-laka*), which are suffixed directly to a noun.¹⁰ The allative marker is optional.

⁹ *ama* and *nana* are special address forms of *-ma* "mother" and *-na* "elder sister".

¹⁰ The suffixes following */-lam/* are Athp. *-ŋa* OBL, Thul. *-ka* ERG, Khal. *-ka* ABL; the combination with *lam* probably dates from a time when those suffixes had other functions.

Cam.	khim-da-ka ¹¹	house-LOC-ABL	from the house
	khim-da(-ni)	house-LOC-ALL	to the house
	huilo-ka	lower_place-ABL	from below (*huilo-da-ka)
	wahui(-ni)	river-ALL	to the river
Thul.	Biraju-nu-m	B.-levLOC-ABL	from over at Biraju (*TH4.32)
	chörcü-ra-m	basket-LOC-ABL	from the basket (TH 2.40)
	chörcü-laŋka	basket-ABL	" (TH 2.54)
	mö-yu-laŋka	that-loLOC-ABL	from down there (*TH5.29)
Khal.	tä-bi-ka	this-LOC-ABL	from here (KH 2.65)

but *-lam* with a preceding locative marker:

Lim.	ku-sukwa-ʔor-lam	loʔtt-u	he took it out of his bag (v.D. 328)
		3sPOSS-bag-LOC-ABL take-3P	

Some nouns can be used either as locational nouns or as ordinary nouns:

Lim.	cumluj-ʔor-lam, cumluj-lam		from the market
		market-LOC-ABL	
Thul.	cautaara-ɖa, cautaara		at the resting place
		resting_place-LOC	(*TH5.41, 5.45)
Thul.	ku-ʃ-lam	water-ʃ-ABL	from the water
Khal.	ku-ka	water-ABL	from the water
Cam.	wa-da-ka (*wa-ka)	water-LOC-ABL	from the water

The ablative indicates source and path in SE Kiranti; the latter includes expressions for "in" (=via) a language.

Lim.	pemi-bam-lam ¹²		in Nepali (v.D. 51)
		Nepali-language-ABL	
Cam.	suwalim-da-ka	waŋa	he climbed up the ladder
		ladder-LOC-ABL climb	

¹¹ Synchronically *-daka* is often one suffix, which has developed various secondary functions, e.g. in comparatives, in subordination, and in the formation of text connectors. In the texts I have therefore glossed *-daka* as ABL (not as LOC-ABL).

¹² Also with a comitative: *yakthuj-bam-nu* "in the Kiranti language" (van Driem 1987: 49).

i-la-da-ka in our language
1piPOSS-language-LOC-ABL

Thul. **thuluŋ loa-laŋka** in Thulung
Th. language-ABL

jiw-del-laŋka via/from Jubu village (Allen 109)
Jubu-village-ABL

One of my Camling informants used *-la(ka)* for path:

(6) Camliŋ kai hui Sapsu-la khosi-laka Sapsu-laka sar-i
Cam. C. we down Sapsu-PATH river-PATH Sapsu-PATH come_up-1pS
We Camling down along the Sapsu, along the river, along the Sapsu we came
up. (Noc4.2)

In Khaling, ablative *-ka* and path *-la(ka)* are usually kept distinct.

Khal. **ku-ka pakha-bi läs-tä** he came outside from the water
water-ABL outside-LOC come-PT (*KH 5.17)

hoŋkoŋ-laka japan-tha to Japan via Hongkong (Toba 10)
H.-PATH J.-ALL

u-kwam-laka in his language (*KH12.49)
3sPOSS-language-PATH

'ghâr pâyco' khâs bra-la äh-ki.
Chetri language-PATH say-1pi
'Ghar payco' we call it in Nepali. (*KH12.86)

-tha

Limbu *-t* cognate, but they have different functions. Khaling *-tha* is an allative, whereas Limbu *-thak* has the special meaning "as far as".

Khal. **kali-yo-tha** river-loLOC-ALL down to the river
khole-de-tha all-locNML-ALL to all sides
tä-tha mä-tha PROX-ALL DIST-ALL this way and that way

Lim. **cumluŋ-(?or-)thak** market-LOC-until as far as the market

There is also a *-tha* in a few Thulung local and temporal expressions; as it combines with the ablative, it cannot be an allative. Thulung has a further suffix *-thö*, which

Allen translates as "towards" and which could be cognate with *-tha*. The combination *kor-thö* "in one direction" suggests that it is a classifier noun. I have tentatively glossed both *-tha* and *-thö* as DIR for 'direction'.

Thul.	ot- tha rok-a	come here!
	here-DIR come-IMPER	
	ku- tha læksa!	go to fetch water!
	water-DIR go:IMPER	
	ham du- tha-m ɕe bur-na?	Why are you angry? (Allen 203)
	why cause-DIR-ABL PART be_angry-2	
	ha-nu-lam a- thö -lam	from this side and that side
	DIST-levLOC-ABL PROX-DIR-ABL	(*TH4.26; 4.28)

3.5. Nominalization

Nominalization plays an important role in Kiranti languages. Any sentence, verb or adverb can be nominalized and then used as a noun or as an attribute. Limbu, Bantawa and Camling have only one nominalizer¹³. Athpare distinguishes a singular and a nonsingular form. The northern languages have a past or general nominalizer, a special nonpast form (the latter identical with the plural marker in nouns), and a locational nominalizer:

Lim.	- <i>pa</i>		
Bant.	- <i>ko</i>		
Cam.	- <i>ko</i> , (- <i>pa</i>)		
	s	ns	
Athp.	- <i>na</i>	- <i>ga</i>	
	PT, general	NPT	locNML
Thul.	- <i>m</i>	- <i>mim</i>	- <i>khop</i> , - <i>khom</i>
Khal.	- <i>m</i>	- <i>mim</i>	- <i>de</i>

¹³ Camling *-pa* is found only in the formation of pronominals and in temporal clauses.

The nominalizers play a role in the formation of

- adjectives (cf. 3.3)
- pronominals (cf. tables 9 + 12)
- periphrastic tenses (cf. 2.2.3.)
- temporal clauses (cf. 6.2.1.3)
- as a pragmatic sentence closure (cf. 5.6)
- as a focalizer (Cam. *-ko*)

In Athpare all questions and all negated sentences are nominalized. In Camling every sentence followed by the report particles *raicha* or *are* (both from Nepali) is nominalized.

Nominalized verbs are fully inflected for person and tense except in Athpare, where the final tense marker is not realized (cf. also examples in 6.2.1). Nominalized verbs often fulfil the same function as participles. If an attribute or noun cannot be expressed by a participle, a nominalized form is used.

Athp.	PCPL:	lem- balak yapmi beat-PP man	a beaten man
	NML:	khana-ŋa a-nis-u- na yapmi you-ERG 2-see-3P-NML man	the man you see/saw
		khana-ŋa a-nis-u- ga yapmi-ci you-ERG 2-see-3P-NML man-ns	the men you see/saw
Thul.	PCPL:	khər- ma maakai parch-PP maize	parched maize
	NML:	go khər-to- m maakai I parch-PT:1s-NML maize	the maize I parched

Nominalized sentences can be used as nouns (cf. also 6.2.1).

(7) a. anchi a-baŋt-ε-tch-u-**ba** kusŋ-mε-niitt-w-ir?

Lim. we(di) 1pi-speak-PT-d-3P-NML understand-3nsS/A-study-3P-Q
Did they understand what we were saying? (v.D. 196)

b. iŋkan-a paile man-pak-yukt-u-m-c-**im-ko-ci-a**

Bant. we(pi)-ERG earlier NEG-put-ITER-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy-NML-ns-ERG
those to whom we did not give earlier ... (Sangcep 8)

c. mörām go thö-w-t-o-**m**

Thul. that I hear-1s→3-PT-copy-NML
that which I have heard (*TH4.1)

Nominalization of adverbials:

Lim.	anchem- ba inghoŋ yesterday-NML news	yesterday's news (v.D. 193)
Athp.	nahi- ga yapmi-ci here-NML man-ns	the people here (*Ja1.19)
Cam.	turjma- da-ko-ci village-LOC-NML-ns	the villagers
Bant.	ten- da-wo-ci village-LOC-NML-ns	"
Khal.	u-haga- kolo-m 3sPOSS-fork-COM-NML	[bird] with a forked tail (*KH12.62)

The Athpare nominalizer *-ga* is used if the following noun is plural (see examples supra) or, in the case of a nominalized sentence, if the subject is plural (e.g. *Ja1.19-20). The informant Ja. (cf. text *Ja1) uses *-na* and *-ga* also to attribute nouns, where other Athpare speakers (and other Kiranti languages) have a genitive, e.g. *paba mama-na pap* "father and mother's sin". - The Thulung and Khaling nominalizers are specified for tense, but the motivation for using one or the other form is not always clear (see also examples in 5.6. and 6.2.1).

Thul.	hun- mim belaa-ka fly-NML(NPT) time-INST	when it will fly up (*TH4.23)
	ŋo ob- ɖa ləə-na- mim belaa-ka fish hit-PURP go-2-NML(NPT) time-INST	when you go fishing (TH2.51)
	ŋo ob- ɖa 'ləə-na- m belaa-ka fish hit-PURP go:PT-2-NML time-INST	when you went fishing (TH2.58)
	düm-miri- m-pachi finish-3p:PT-NML-after	after they finished (*TH4.25)
	but also: düm-miri- mim-pachi	after they finished (*TH4.11)

As we would expect, *-mim* is not used in the narrative texts *KH5 and KH2, but abounds in the impersonal text *KH12; yet in two generic sentences *-m* is used:

Khal.	kâm ner- mim pâchi house finish-NML(NPT) after	after the house is finished (*KH12.36)
-------	--	--

kwap-ki-m pāchi after we cover [the roof] (*KH12.38)
cover-1pi-NML after

worj-ki-m nöl the day we enter [the house] (*KH12.42)
enter-1pi-NML day

In the formation of Khaling adjectives *-mim* sometimes is intensifying, sometimes neutral. Moreover it occurs in conditional clauses without any apparent function.

Khal. bubu-m white
bubu-mim very white, clean (Toba 1984:31)
cucu-mim pointed (neutral)

(8) urj-kolo biha i-mä-kho urj-a mü-kö-nä, biha mä-mä-
Khal. I-with marriage 2-do-COND I-ERG NEG-eat-1s→2s marriage NEG-do-
kho-mim äyja kö-nä.
COND-NML just eat-1s→2s

If you marry me, I will not eat you; but if you do not marry me, I'll eat you.
(Toba 1983:7)

Thulung *-khop* / *-khom* and Khaling *-de* are locational nominalizers (cf. also adnominal clauses in 6.2.1.1).

Thul.	ba-khop	be-locNML	living place (*TH5.16)
	reaa-khop [əbi]	write-locNML table	writing table (Allen 61)
	ɕeraa-khom	accommodation-locNML	lodgings (< Nep. ɕerā)
Khal.	worja-de	other-locNML	somewhere else (KH 2.24)

What makes those derivations different from Cam./Bant. *im-kha* "place to sleep", *yurj-kha* "living place" (cf. p. 59), Cam. *tō-khuŋ* "pillow" (= head-place) and Limbu *imma-den* "place to sleep" is that a) the nominalizers derive nominals from all sorts of words; b) the Camling and Limbu 'place'-derivations are not attested as attributes. Moreover, Limbu *-den*¹⁴ and Camling *-khuŋ* combine only with nominals.

¹⁴ Cf. the following examples, where the verb is nominalized before the suffix *-den*:
kum-ma-re tok tho:kt-ε-ba-den-ʔo: in the place where his mother used to cook
 his-mother-GEN rice cook-PT-NML-PLACE-LOC (v.D. 228)
nijwa mitch-u-ba-ten-ʔo: in the place where he forgot it (v.D. 237)
 mind forget-3P-NML-PLACE-LOC

4. Deixis and location

4.1. Deixis

Kiranti languages have proximal and distal deictic roots, from which demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are derived (see table 12 next page). Toba (1984:13) mentions a far-distal term *yakam*, but this is a nominalized form of the same-level term, meaning "the one across".

The words for "here" and "there" consist of deictic root + locative case suffix, e.g. (cf. table 12):

Lim.	kɔʔ-ɔ:	PROX-LOC	here
Bant.	o-da	"	"
Khal.	tä-bi	"	"
Lim.	khet-tho:	DIST-hiLOC	up there
Bant.	mo-du	"	"
Khal.	mä-tü	"	"

Thulung has the variants *asi*, *asinɕa* "here", *mösi*, *mösinɕa* "there" (a-/mö- + si(n) "place" + LOC) besides *oɕɕa*, *möɕɕa* and *ottha*, *möttha* (a-/mö + LOC/DIR).

The deictic root alone serves as a demonstrative attribute. The distal demonstratives developed into definite articles (except in Limbu, which has a suffixed definite marker).

(1) a. misari mo soɕbhensa hitt-a-si-a kiya mo lenta-da-ɾjka mo
 Bant. like_that that (wild man) burn-PT-V2:die-PT and that day-LOC-ABL that

gothale nu-lok yuɾ-a-ɾ-a nimaɾ.
 cowherd be_well-MAN live-PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

Like that the wild man burned to death, and from that day on the cowherd lived happily. (*BANT 6.17)

b. mana mä khabo mä-yu läsu-su-lo mä u-cö
 Khal. and that beam that-loLOC withdraw-d-TEMP that 3sPOSS-child

mä-yu-ɾ khlö-tä-na mis-tä.
 that-loLOC-EMPH be_crushed-PT-SEQ die-PT

And when the two withdrew the beam down there, the child was crushed and died down there. (*KH 12.66)

Table 12: Deictic and vertical terms

	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
<i>deictic</i>						
+PROX	<i>kot</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>o / u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>tä</i>
-PROX	<i>khet</i>		<i>mo</i>	<i>tyo / tyu</i>	<i>mö</i>	<i>mä</i>
<u>vertical case</u>						
hiLOC			-du	-dhi / -di	-la	-tü
loLOC			-yu	-i	-yu	-yu, -ü
levLOC			-ya	-ya	-no	-yo
composite:						
<u>ADV: deictic + LOC</u>						
here	<i>kot-o:</i>	<i>na-hĩ</i>	<i>o-da</i>	<i>o-da</i>	<i>o-đja, a-si</i>	<i>tä-bi</i>
there	<i>khe?-o:</i>		<i>mo-da</i>	<i>tyo-da</i>	<i>mö-đja, mö-si</i>	<i>mä-bi</i>
<u>ADV: vertical + x</u>						
above, up	<i>th-o:</i>	thoo	dha(-ni) , dani	dha-lo	(h)a-la	
below, down	<i>y-o:</i>	yoo	yu(-ni)	hu-i(-lo)	(h)a-yu, huyu	dha-yu, ayü
across	(nai)	yaa	ya(-ni)	h-ya(-lo)	(h)a-no, hunu	(yaka)
<u>ADV: deictic + vertical</u>						
up here	<i>kot-tho:</i>		<i>o-du</i>	<i>u-dhi</i>	(?a-la)	<i>tä-tü,</i>
down here	<i>kot-yo:</i>		<i>o-yu</i>	<i>u-kh-i</i>		<i>tä-yü</i>
over here	<i>kot-na</i>		<i>o-ya</i>	<i>u-kh-ya</i>		<i>tä-yo</i>
up there	<i>khet-tho:</i>		<i>mo-du</i>	<i>tyu-dhi</i>	<i>mö-la</i>	<i>mä-tü</i>
down there			<i>mo-yu</i>	<i>tyu-kh-i</i>	<i>mö-yu</i>	<i>mä-yü</i>
over there	<i>khet-na</i>		<i>mo-ya</i>	<i>tyu-kh-ya</i>	<i>mö-no</i>	<i>mä-yo</i>
<u>PRON: deictic + NML/(x)</u>						
this	<i>ko-ŋ</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>o-ko</i>	<i>o-ko, u-ko</i>	<i>o-ra-m</i>	<i>tä-m</i>
that	<i>khe-ŋ</i>	<i>hit-na</i>	<i>mo-ko, mosa</i>	<i>tyu-ko(pa)</i>	<i>mö-ra-m</i>	<i>mä-m</i>
<u>PRON: vertical (+ x) + NML</u>						
the one up	<i>thoma, tho:ba</i>	<i>tho-na</i>	<i>da-ko</i>	dha-ko, dhapa	(h)a-la-m	tu-kum
the one down	<i>yo:na, yo:ba</i>	<i>yo-na</i>	<i>yu-ko</i>	hui-ko, huipa		yu-kum
the one across		<i>ya-na</i>	<i>ya-ko</i>	hya-ko, hyapa	ha-no-m	ya-kam
<u>vertical verbs</u>						
come from below	thaj-	tha-	thaj-	saj-	get-	kho-/khörj-
bring " "	thak-	thend-	thakt-	said-	khet-	khond-
come from above	yu-	unjs-	yi-	i-	yok-/yus-	ye-
bring " "	yu?	ukt-	yitt-	it-	söt-	yed-
come from across	phε?r-	ap-	ban-	ban-	bi(k)-	pi-
bring " "	phett-	apt-	batt-	baid-	phit-	pid-

In pronominal and often also in attributive use a nominalizing or pronominalizing suffix is added, e.g. Lim. *khe-ŋ*, Bant. *mo-ko/mo-sa*, Cam. *tyu-ko*, Khal. *mä-m* "that (one)". Thulung demonstrative pronouns are based on a locative form: *o-ra-m* "this", *mö-ra-m* "that" (PROX/DIST-LOC-NML), *o-r-cip* (PROX-LOC-d) "these two", *mö-r-cip* "those two, they" (also: *mö-ci*; cf. table 9).

Other demonstratives can be derived from vertical adverbs at least in some of the languages (not shown in table 12). The build-up of the Limbu forms differs from that of the other languages, cf.:

Lim.	vertic.+deict.+ŋ thor-gheŋ up-that	Thul.	deict.+vertic.+NML mö-la-m DIST-hiLOC-NML	that one up there
	yoŋ-gheŋ down-that		mö-yu-m DIST-loLOC-NML	that one down there
	naŋ-gheŋ there-that		mö-no-m DIST-levLOC-NML	that one over there

Other terms derived from deictic roots are for example:¹⁵

Bant.	utna / mutna isari / misari	this / that much in this / that manner
Cam.	onno(no) / tyonno oso(no) / tyoso(no) osoko / tyosoko	this much / that much in this / that manner one like this / that
Thul.	hepma / mepma	like this / that
Khal.	thebe(ŋ) / mebe(ŋ) thesa / mesa ¹⁶ thephe / mäphe telo / melo	this much / that much (*KH12.15) in this / that manner (Toba 1984:35, *KH12.83) like this / that now / then

Anaphoric discourse connectors are formed on the basis of the distal roots. These terms have not been split up into morphemes in the text glosses.

¹⁵ The corresponding Limbu terms are formed from a different base, e.g. Lim. *hekker* like that, *hekker-lo?rik* in that way.

¹⁶ The spelling of e/ä is somewhat inconsistent between the various publications of Toba and Toba & Toba.

Athp.	hitnuŋ-na(-m)(-bo)	then, thereafter
Bant.	mun-kiya(-lo), mo-daŋka(-lo)	"
	mun-hida(-lo)	"
Cam.	tyu-daka(-na), tyu-daka-lyo	"
Thul.	mö-ko-ti-ma, mö-sin-ɕa-ma, mö-sim-ma	"
	mö-m-sa-ka, mö-m-lo(-ne)	"
	möɕɕa-mane, möttha-ma(-ne)	"
Khal.	me-be-na, me-lo	"

In spatial reference the proximal terms are used more often than the distal terms. Nevertheless the latter are more frequent in texts, as they also serve as anaphoric pronouns. In oppositions like the following the proximal concept is usually expressed deictically, whereas the distal concept is referred to by non-deictic adverbs (cf. 4.2.2).

Cam.	hya-ni u-kh-ya-ni	to and fro
	across-ALL PROX-place-levLOC-ALL	
	hya-pala u-kh-ya-pala	from this side to that side
	across-side PROX-place-levLOC-side	
Thul.	hanu-lam a-thö-lam	from both sides (TH*4.28)
	across-ABL PROX-DIR-ABL	
	a-thö-hombu hunu-hombu	to this side and that side of the river
	PROX-DIR-bank? across-bank?	(*TH4.29)
but:		
Khal.	tä-tha mä-tha	this way and that way
	PROX-ALL DIST-ALL	

4.2. The vertical dimension

Specification of the vertical dimension is a pervasive trait of Kiranti languages and culture (cf. Allen 1972, Rai 1988, Ebert 1989, Bickel 1994). Whether an object is located at, or moving to or from a higher or lower place is indicated not only in the local adverbs, but also in the local case suffixes. The deictic verbs "come" and "bring" (though not "go" and "take") distinguish the vertical dimension and some of them are clearly related to the vertical specifiers: cf. Lim. *yu-*, Bant. *yi-*, Cam. *i-*, Khal. *ye-* "come from above" and *-yu*, *-i* "lower location"; Lim., Athp., Bant. *tha(ŋ)-* "come from below" and Bant. *dha(ni)*, Cam. *dha-lo* "up, above".

4.2.1. Vertical case

Marking of the vertical dimension in locative case suffixes is a unique feature of Kiranti languages. The vertical case suffixes specify whether a person or object is located at or moves towards a higher, lower or same-level place. The suffixes combine both with nouns and with deictis, e.g.

Cam.	khim-dhi	in the house higher up
	u-dhi	up here ¹⁷
	tyu-dhi	up there
Bant.	khim-yu-ŋka	from the house lower down
	o-yu-ŋka	from down here
	mo-yu-ŋka	from down there

(2) a.	yuni	tokchama-yu	niyanon-papuhon-yu	bhompaluŋ	ŋa	sapai
Bant.	below	(rit.place)-loLOC	earth(rit.)-loLOC	elephant	EMPH	all

bhənda toppaŋ yaʔaŋ.

COMPAR big is

Down on the earth the elephant is the biggest. (*BANT 5.5)

b.	"kaŋa ale	dibuŋ-di	khat-āi, "	lod-yu-ko raicha, "	"dibuŋ-di khatāi,"
Cam.	I	today	mountain-hiLOC	go-1sNPT	say-3P-NML REP

lod-yu-na hui wahui-i khata-ko raicha. tyu-dhi-ni khata-na
 say-3P-SEQ down river-loLOC go-NML REP DIST-hiLOC-ALL go-SEQ

hyuŋsa-ŋasa-ko raicha.

wait-V2:remain-NML REP

"Today I'll go up to the mountains," she said, "I'll go up to the mountains," she said and went down to the river. He went up there and waited.
 (*Bal 5.8-11)

c.	pherile mö chörcü-la	ləs-ta-ma mö-la-ŋa	bay-ra.
Thul.	again	that basket-hiLOC	go-PT-SEQ that-hiLOC-EMPH be-PT

¹⁷ The Camling terms with the low and level suffixes have *-kh* after the deictic morpheme. This suffix could be related to *-kha* in patientive/locative nouns like *yuy-kha* "living-place" (cf. p. 59) and originate in a noun meaning 'place'. *u-kh-i* would then originally be this-place-loLOC (cf. Thul. *a-sin-qa* this-place-LOC). However, at least in present-day Camling *-kha* is semi-productive only with verbs.

Again she went up into the basket and stayed up there. (TH2.41)

d. **hunu** læks-a toḍka-no reb-ḍa
 Thul. across go-IMPER hole-levLOC look-IMPER
 Go over there and look in the hole! (TH2.12)

e. **mä-yo** saro cänü-pä ghas gö.
 Khal. that-levLOC very be_tasty-PCPL grass be
 There is very tasty grass over there. (*KH4.7)

f. ... us-khan lo-tä-nane dhâm-tü bher-i-t-i e.
 Khal. ... 3dPOSS-shame feel-PT-TEMP ridge-hiLOC fly-d-PT-d REP
 they felt ashamed and flew up to the ridge. (KH2.56)

In mythological space the place of the male gods and ancestors is 'up' in the barren north, that of the females is 'down' in the fertile south. (3a-c) relate the same episode of the orphan myth, where the two sisters of Khocilipa part (there is obviously no consensus as to who goes where; cf. also (6)).

(3) a. "iṅka papa-**du-t-nin** khat-ṅa-ne, nana; khana-nin mama-
 Bant. I father-hiLOC-(t)-ALL go-1s-OPT e.sister:ADDR you-p mother-
yu-t-nin khar-a-ne," yinṅma yinṅ-a nimaṅ.
 loLOC-(t)-ALL go-IMPER-OPT QUOTE say-PT REP

"Let me go up to father's place, elder sister; may you go down to mother's," she said. (BANT 2.36)

b. khuci i-po Madhes-i i-po Himal-**di** waṅa-ci-ko raicha.
 Cam. they one-CL South-loLOC one-CL Himal-hiLOC go_vertically-d-NML REP
 The two went, one down South, one up North. (Jh2.19)

c. wa ṅaddo luwale-ra læs-ta-m bayra; möram pheri mö u-
 Thul. e.sister first L.-LOC go-PT-NML be_PT then again that 3sPOSS-
 loak khliw **ayu** pheri wayecapt-**yu** læs-ta
 y.sibling Kh. down again W.-loLOC go-PT.

The elder sister had earlier gone to Luwale; now the younger sister went down to Wayacapt. (TH2.22-23)

No vertical case markers are attested with nouns in Limbu and Athpare, but Limbu has vertical + deictic adverbs analogous to those in the other languages, cf.

Lim.	kət-yoi, kəʔ-yoi	down here	khet-tho:	up there
Thul.	a-yu	"	mö-la	"
	PROX-loLOC		DIST-hiLOC	

Toba (1984:10) has two examples where the Khaling vertical suffixes are used with a relational meaning. In (4a) no misunderstanding is possible: the fireplace is not 'at a higher place', the place for drying things in Kiranti houses is above the fireplace. Such a use of vertical cases is excluded in the other languages.

(4) a. hulu-tü lujaa dhorj-ma-ŋa.
 Khal. fireplace-hiLOC millet be_dry-make-1s
 I dry the millet **above** the fireplace.

b. kam-yu lujaa u gö.
 house-loLOC millet field be
Below the house is the millet field.

4.2.2. Vertical adverbs

The vertical adverbs indicate generally valid orientations, which are independent of ego's present position. If someone sits in the top of a tree, he is always *dhalo* "up" in Camling.

The terms are composite, but their formation is only partly transparent:

Lim.: vertical roots /th-/ and /y-/ (which do not occur as such) + LOC -oi,

Bant.: vertical root + -ni,¹⁸

Cam.: h- + vertical root + -lo,

Thul.: (h)a-, hu- + vertical root.¹⁹

For Khaling no consistent paradigm could be inferred from the texts.²⁰ The Athpare terms for "up" and "down" are the same as for Limbu, but Athp. *yaa* "across" seems to correspond to *na:* in Limbu.

¹⁸ -ni and -lo form adverbs in Bantawa and Camling (for -lo see also 6.3). As no function is associated with Cam. h-, Thul. (h)a-, hu-, I treat the vertical adverbs as one morpheme.

¹⁹ The Thulung terms listed in the table are those used in the texts by Allen's informants Ph and DB. In other texts we also find *dhayu*, *dhalü*, *dalü*, *dhoara* for "below, down", *gele* for "above, up".

²⁰ It seems that Khal. *tukum*, *yukum* and *yakam* are also used as adverbs. Toba & Toba (1975) translate *tukum* "up there", *yukum* "down there", but *yakam* "that one" (p. 46), "that over there" (p. 69). They also list *udhalu* "down", *udhaayu* "below", *bütü* "on (high above the speaker)", *ukho-tü* "upwards". Only one of these forms occurs in the texts:

tukum hengam haga-kolo-m hötä (across sort fork-COM-NML bring)

Bring a forked one like that one over there (*KH12.61)

- (5) **naɪ** ɔmott-ɛʔ .. anchi **khet-na** pi-tchi-aŋ ca-s-u.
 Lim. there look-IMPER we(d) DIST-levLOC go-d-SEQ eat-d-3P
 Look there! .. Let's go over there and eat. (1987:346)

Van Driem gives "there" as the meaning of *naɪ*, but judging from its use, it fits into the level slot.²¹ In (5) the jackal is referring to a field of sugarcane on the other side of a pond.

The adverbs combine directly, i.e. without an intervening locative, with directional suffixes. Bantawa inserts **t** between a vowel and allative *-nin*:²²

- Lim. **thor-lam** yy-aŋ I came down (v.D.323)
 up-ABL come_down-1sS:PT
- Athp. **yaa** cuwadam-i over at the well (*Pa1.4)
 across well-LOC
- Bant. **dha-t-nin** kara go up! (BANT 2.41)
 up-(t)-ALL go:IMPER
- Cam. **hya** luŋto-dhō-da over there on a stone (Ha2.12)
 across stone-top-LOC

In Camling the ablative, but not the allative, is necessarily preceded by *-lo*.

- Cam. **huilo-ka** (*hui-ka) from below
 huilo, hui-ni (*huilo-ni) down to
 hya-ni ukh-ya-ni here and there , to and fro
- (6) ty-da-ka-ŋo m-na tōwama **hui-ni** ninama-ni waŋa-
 Cam. that-LOC-ABL-EMPH 3sPOSS-e.sister T. down-ALL N.-ALL climb-
 niko, m-nicho khliyama **dha-ni** salapa-ni waŋa-niko.
 PART 3sPOSS-y.sibling Kh. up-ALL S.-ALL climb-PART

Thereafter the elder sister Tōwama went down to Ninama, her younger sister Khliyama climbed up to Salapa. (Ha 2.101; Ninama and Salapa are names of ancestors and of ancestral places)

²¹ Limbu has a relational noun *ya:*, which occurs in *ku-yar-ʔor* "beside him" (cf. 4.3). This may give us a hint as to the origin of the same-level term *ya* in some of the other languages.

²² Cf. also the Thulung infix **ʔ** after nouns ending in a vowel: *ku-ʔ-lam* from the water, *mu-ʔ-no* over at the fire; but *mō-lam* "from there", *mō-no* "over there".

In Thulung no clear case of a near deictic with a vertical suffix occurs in the texts, as the potential forms of this category *ala*, *ayu*, *ano* are also variants of the non-deictic *hala*, *hayu*, *hano*. In (7a) *ayu* is non-deictic (you cannot 'bring up from here'), whereas *ala* in (b) could mean either "up" or "up here" (cf. the parallel construction: *ala gedḑa ... hala gemḑi*).

(7a) **ayu-lam** u-loak-ka Khliw-ka khawa-buḅ masi-buḅ khole-buḅ
 Thul. below-ABL her-y.sibling-ERG Kh.-ERG (sp. flowers)
 khedḑ-ḑ-ü-ma **hanu** Jawaji-no ghröm-ci.
 bring_from_below-PT-3P-SEQ over (place)-levLOC meet-d

From below her younger sister Khliyama brought all sorts of flowers and they met over at Jawaji. (TH2.26)

b. **mö-go-nu-m** mücü-ka laura jeḑ-miri-ma Baginanda khaḑ-miri-
 Thul. that-inside-levLOC-NML man-ERG stick hold-3p:PT-SEQ B. follow-3p:PT

lone huḑ-ḑa-ma **ala** gedḑa. ... u-ḑhole-mim-ka hanu-lam
 TEMP fly-PT-SEQ up come_up-PT 3sPOSS-drummer-p-ERG across-ABL

a-thö-lam mö ḑhol-la ce-m-si-mḑi-lo mö ḑhol-ka
 this-DIR-ABL DEF drum-LOC hang-3p-V2:REFL-3p-PT-TEMP DEF drum-ERG

huḑ-ḑ-ü-ma **hala** mina **ge-mḑi** e. (*TH4.27-28)
 fly-PT-3s>3-SEQ up what's_its_name come_up-3p:PT REP

When those men over there pursued Baginanda, holding sticks, he flew off and came up. When his drummers hung themselves to either side of the drum, the drum flew off and they came up to what's-its-name?

4.3. Relational local nouns

Location relative to an object is expressed by relational terms in a possessive construction with a locative suffix. The relator noun need not be expressed if it is recoverable from the possessive prefix. This construction seems to be especially frequent in Limbu. The other languages have more noun + local noun compounds.

Lim. an-boi-lle ku-sik-ʔoḑ beneath my nose
 my-nose-GEN 3sPOSS-space_beneath-LOC

siboḅ-ille ku-boḅ-ʔoḑ under the tree
 tree-GEN 3sPOSS-base-LOC

	ku-ya:-ʔo: 3sPOSS-side-LOC	beside him
Athp.	kanla u-chik-ni terrace 3sPOSS-space_beneath-LOC	beneath the terrace
Cam.	sugpa-mo m-bhor-da tree-GEN 3sPOSS-root-LOC	under the tree
	pyupa-mo m-dosi cow-GEN 3sPOSS-back	behind the cow
Khal.	u-lüppi-bi 3sPOSS-middle-LOC	in the middle

Some local or relational nouns have become suffixes which are attached directly to a nominal and followed by a locative case marker.

Cam.	m-romma-dhuḡ-da	his-grave-top-LOC	on his grave (Ha2.31)
Thul.	diridin-go-yu	lake-inside-loLOC	down in the primeval lake
	a-sin-ḡa	this-place-LOC	in this place, here
	mö-go-ḡa	that-inside-LOC	inside that
Khal.	mä-go-bi	" "	" "

Such suffixed nouns together with the locative marker tend to develop into postpositions. This is also the origin of the ablative/path suffixes Thul. *-laḡka*, Khal. *-laka* (< *lam* "road" + *-ka*; cf. supra).

Cam.	wa-köya	inside the water" (< <i>kö</i> + <i>-ya</i> ?)
	khim-köya-ka	from inside the house
	khu-töda	near him (< <i>tö</i> "head" + <i>da</i> LOC?)
	hya-pala ukhya-pala	to and fro (< over/this-levLOC-side/slope?) ²³
	hya-pala-ka	from the other side
Thul.	hanu-lam a-thö-lam	from both sides (*TH4.29)
	across-ABL PROX-DIR-ABL	

Postpositions are often borrowed from Nepali, e.g. *samma* until, *dekhi* from, *baḡa* from, *neri* near; e.g. Cam. *khu-neri* (= *khu-töda*) "near him", Athp. *handeḡ-samma* "until tomorrow".

²³ Cf. Bant. *ying-pala* "downward slope".

5. Simple sentences

5.1. Word order

The basic word order of Kiranti languages is SOV, but there is considerable freedom for rearranging constituents. Modifiers normally precede the head. Grammatical and locative-temporal relations are marked by postpositions. This principle is amply demonstrated in the sample sentences and in the texts. In the noun phrase the order is

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DEM + GEN} \\ \text{POSS(pron)} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NUM} + \text{ADJ/ATTR} + \text{POSS(prefix)} + \text{N}$$

- (1) a. tyuko-ci haka-po khain-e-ko maricha-ci
 Cam. that-ns two-CL be_nice-NPT-NML woman-ns
 those two beautiful women
- b. Khocilipa-mo m-na-ci Khocilipa's elder sisters
 Cam. Kh.-GEN 3sPOSS-e.sisters-ns
- c. aŋa a-pa my father
 Cam. my 1sPOSS-father
- d. oram mücü-kam u-nem this man's house
 Thul. this man-GEN 3sPOSS-house
- e. täm 'suk-pu baŋ-pä sathi-häm those three good friends
 Khal. that three-CL be_good-NML friend-p

Topical elements take the initial position. Noun phrases can be focussed by placing them at the end of the sentence, but sometimes the dislocated element presents just an afterthought or a correction.

- (2) a. khaid-yi-ko raicha gai-wa.
 Cam. carry-3P-NML REP cow-ERG
 She carried him, the cow! (*Bal6.72)
- b. khu khata-ko raicha m-yuŋ-kha-di-õ.
 Cam. he go-NML REP 3sPOSS-live-place-hiLOC-EMPH
 He went, up to his living place (it is told). (Jh1.25)

- c. ... poku cahi m-na dhi-si khata-ko raicha, **m-nicho-**
 Cam. 2nd daughter FOC 3sPOSS-e.sister find-PURP go-NML REP 3sPOSS-y.sibling

lai khusya-lai.

DAT y.daughter-DAT

The second daughter went to find her elder sister - her younger sibling, the youngest. (*Jh5.39)

- d. khole-kam miksi chal-ü-thaḍ-ḍ-ü **Baginanda-ka,** pe-pa
 Thul. all-GEN eye distract-(ü)-V2:take-PT-3P B.-ERG eat-AP

li-m-si-m-ḍi **waṅ-ka.**
 lie-3p-V2:REFL-3p-PT other-ERG

Baginanda distracted everybody's eyes, whereas the others pretended to be eating. (*TH4.19)

Subordinate clauses, which usually precede the main clause (cf. examples in section 6.), can also be postposed (3a,b). This happens frequently with purposive clauses, where the clause often contains the most relevant information (cf. also *Jh5.8). Clauses can also be inserted after the subject, as in (4).

- (3) a. kaṅa khat-āi [wa la-si].

Cam. I go-1sNPT water pick-PURP
 I go to fetch water.

- b. ani rochakule pani khō-sa khō-sa khata-ko raicha, [khona chud-yi
 Cam. then orphan also look-SIM look-SIM go-NML REP where reach-3P
 ruṅma].

QUOTE

Then the orphan also went, looking looking, where she arrived. (Jh2.83)

- (4) uko pucho-wa [khana ta-khat-āi-nakho] kã-lai kha-ca-y-e.

Cam. that snake-ERG you 2-go-NEG-negCOND I-DAT 1P-eat-(y)-NPT
 That snake will eat me, if you don't go. (*Jh5.18)

5.2. Interrogative sentences

Limbu and Athpare mark yes-no questions with *-iʔ-i*. Khaling has a question marker *-o*. In the other languages yes-no questions are marked only by a rising intonation. Athpare questions (and negations) are always nominalized.

(5)

Lim.	ke-nis-w-i?	2-see-3P-Q	Did you see it?
Khal.	rem-nä o?	stand-INF Q	Shall I stand?
vs.			
Cam.	ta-tyok-u?	2-see-3P	Did you see it?

Yes-no questions are answered by repeating the verb or negating it.

(6)

	khan biha	a-li-ni-get-ni-na-i?	-	li-ni-ŋ-get-ni-
Athp.	you marriage	2-become-NEG-AUX-NEG-NML-Q	become-NEG-1s-AUX-NEG-	ŋ-na.
		1s- NML		
	Are you not married? - No.			

Information questions can either have the same word order as assertive sentences, or the question word takes the position directly before the verb.

5.3. Copula sentences

Locational and existential copulas are distinguished only in Limbu and Athpare, and even here the distinction is not always carried through (cf. van Driem 62).

		NEG
existential	<i>wa:-</i>	<i>ho:p-</i>
locational	<i>ya:k-</i>	<i>mɛn-ya:k-nɛn</i>

- (7) a. khene? ke-n-sa? wa-i horp-ŋi?
 Lim. you 2sPOSS-(n)-y.sibling exist-Q NEG:exist-Q
 Do you have younger siblings or don't you? (v.D. 61)
- b. kune? yo: ya:k.
 Lim. he below be
 He is below. (v.D. 61)
- c. yum mɛ-ya:k-nɛn
 Lim. salt NEG-be-NEG
 There is no salt in it. (v.D. 62)

There are some other verbs which can be used as copulas in Limbu, for which the reader is referred to van Driem (1987: 161ff).

Athpare also has two copulas; in existential meaning they can occur together.

- NEG
woina, makhak
- locational *wa-*
existential *yuj-, yungwa*
- (8) a. khoni sy-e-n-i wa-yuk-gon-n-i? - wayet, Kathmandu wayet.
Atp. whether die-PT-NML-Q be-NPT-MOT-NML-Q live:PROG
I wonder whether he died or is still around? - He is around, he lives in Kathmandu.
- b. unna u-paŋi yungwa-n-i? - woina.
his 3sPOSS-house exist-NML-Q NEG:be
Does he have a house? - No.
- c. ...dukha khu-ma-na calan woina.
grief carry-INF-NML tradition NEG:be
There is no tradition to carry the grief. (*Ja1.5)
- d. paisa makhak.
money NEG:be
I have no money. (*Pa2.30)
- e. yembecha erok paŋ-ma-na makhak; yembecha paile paŋs-w-ett -
man only send-INF-NML NEG:be man earlier send-3P-PROG-
u-m-ci-m-ga.
3P-1pA-3nsP-copy-NML:ns

It will not do to send men only [to parliament]; we have been sending men earlier. (*Pa2.19)

Camling and Bantawa have only one copula. Negation is irregular in Bantawa; Camling uses the invariable particle *paina* (< pa-hij-aina NEG-be-NEG?).

- NEG
NPT *matniŋ* PT *matniŋa*
paina
- Bant. NPT *ya?aŋ* PT *yaŋ*
Cam. *hij-*
- (9) a. kic-khim-da hiŋa-ci. They stayed/ lived in their house.
Cam. 3pPOSS-house-LOC be-d
- c. mo bela ten-da ikta chaŋ iskula matniŋ-a kiya paday mi-a-wo
Bant. that time village-LOC one also school NEG:be-PT and read do-PT-NML

chaŋ **matniŋ**a. ikta ten-da ikta hisat mina matte citdaŋ
 also NEG:be-PT one village-LOC one two man only little

cithimen-ci paday mi-ma le-kaba mina-ci im-yaŋ-a.
 letter-ns read do-INF know-AP man-ns 3pA/S-be-PT

At that time there was neither a school in the village nor someone who could read. There were only one or two men in a village who knew a little how to read and write. (*BANT 7.1-2)

In Thulung I also found only one copula:

				NEG
Thul.	NPT	<i>bu</i>	(*TH4.34)	<i>mi-bu / mi-w</i> (*TH5.48)
	PT	<i>bayra</i>	(*TH4.2)	

- (10) oçða **bu** rəcha it is round here anyway
 oçða **miw** rəcha it is not round here anyway (Allen 89)

Khaling distinguishes an animate and an inanimate copula. Both are used in existential and locational sentences.

mo- animate *go-* inanimate

- (11) chalakh soroli **mo-tä** there was a clever jackal (*KH5.1)
 Khal. clever jackal be:anim-PT

sâmundra **go-tä** there was an ocean (*KH5.3)
 ocean be:inanim-PT

Assertion or negation of **possession** is expressed by a possessive noun phrase followed by an existential verb, e.g.:

Bant. iŋ kitapa **yaʔaŋ** I have a book
 Cam. aŋa kitap **hiŋe**
 my book be:NPT

Bant. iŋ kitapa **matniŋ** I have no book
 Cam. aŋa kitab **paina**
 my book NEG:be

- (12) inpo i-beŋmä-häm mu-mon-wä, ici thebem hoŋ babcö chük-iti.
 Khal. your 2sPOSS-sister-p NEG-be-IRR our(di) thus king orphan become-d:PT
 There were no sisters of yours, so we became orphan kings. (KH2.40)

Identificational and attributive sentences in the present usually have no copula. They are negated with a negative particle. In the past, however, the copula is necessary if the tense has to be indicated.

(13) a.

Bant. am niŋ di? - iŋ niŋ Dhan. What is your name? - My name is Dhan.
 Cam. khamo nuŋ de? - aŋa nuŋ Dhan.
 your name what my name Dh.

b.

Bant. oko kiwa this is a tiger
 Cam. uko capca
 this tiger

c.

Bant. oko kiwa maʔaŋ this is not a tiger
 Cam. uko capca aina
 this tiger NEG:be

In the Camling example (14a) the first part is a negated existential clause, the second an identificational sentence. In (b) we have a negative identificational sentence. In (c) the copula is necessary in order to mark past tense.

(14) a. kic-cha soruŋ paina-ko, maricha matrai kic-cha.

Cam. 3nsPOSS-child boy not-NML girl only 3nsPOSS-child
 They had no boy, their children were all girls.

b. kaŋa so-mo m-chaikuma pani aina m-cha pani aina.

Cam. I who-GEN his-girl also NEG:be his-child also NEG:be
 I am nobody's daughter and nobody's child. (MS1.5)

c. Saphopte alik isa-mina hiŋa ni.

Cam. S. some be_bad-man was PART
 Saphopte was a somewhat vicious man. (Ha2.3)

The 'suffixal be' used in identificational sentences is a unique phenomenon of Limbu. The suffixes that follow the second noun in (15) are partly identical with the personal suffixes of intransitive verbs (but 1st pers. plural *-si* is not; cf. van Driem 1987: 56f). 'Suffixal be' is negated either by the particle *mem* followed by the personal endings, or by the particle *menduk*.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| (15) | anga menchuma-ʔe | I am a woman |
| | kheneʔ menchuma-ne | you are a woman |
| | khuneʔ menchuma(-Ø) | she is a woman |
| | ani menchuma-si | we (pi) are women |
| | anga menchuma me:n-ʔe / me:nduk | I am not a man |

5.4. Comparative and superlative

Kiranti languages have few basic adjectives. Most words that correspond to adjectives in English are participles or nominalizations. There is no common core of basic adjectives. For Bantawa e.g. we can list:

Bant.	dhiwaŋ	big
	maŋ	undercooked
	ciwaŋ	green (not dried)
	bethem	dull

In Camling I have not come upon a single basic adjective. For Khaling, Toba mentions only *yahki* "small". Both Camling and Khaling have a few frozen participial forms in *-pa /-pā*, the formation of which is no longer transparent, e.g. Camling *bhai-pa* "big", *cicik-pa* "small". In the northern languages attributes frequently have the form of participles (see also relative clause formation), whereas the SE languages prefer nominalized forms of inflected verbs; cf.

Thul.	li-pa (< lis-)	vs. Cam.	lis-e-ko	heavy (be_heavy-NPT-NML)
	khe-pa (< khep-)		khik-e-ko	bitter
	jö-pa (< jöp-)		khain-e-ko	beautiful
Khal.	bu-pä (<bu)		nyo-ko	good

Comparative and superlative are expressed by ablative constructions (Cam., Thul., Khal.) or with the help of Nepali *bhanda* (Athp., Bant.). For the superlative the comparatum is "all" - the total class. The order of elements is:

comparandum + comparatum + ABL/*bhanda* + ADJ

Athp.	aga bhanda theena	bigger than me (*Pa1.4)
	I COMPAR big	
Bant.	birosi bhanda bəddhe suwo	hotter than chili (Rai 1985:177)
	chili COMPAR more hot	

- bompaluŋ **sapai bhənda** toppaŋ yaʔaŋ the elephant is the biggest
 elephant all COMPAR big be:CONT (*BANT 5.5)
- Cam. capca **berama-daka** bhaipa hiŋe the tiger is bigger than the cat
 tiger cat-ABL big be-NPT
- capca **jhara-daka** bhaipa hiŋe the tiger is the biggest
 tiger all-ABL big be-NPT
- Thul. **ama-ram** ɖokpu bigger than mine
 my-ABL big
- khotle-ram** ɖokpu the biggest (Allen 106)
 all-ABL big
- Khal. uŋ-ka in ghwal-pä you are bigger than me
 I-ABL you be_big-PCPL (Toba 1983:17)
- tahtipuŋ **khole-ka** baŋ-pä puŋme.
 rhododendron all-ABL beautiful-NML flower.
 Rhododendron is the most beautiful flower. (Toba 1984:32)

Limbu has a comparative marked by *-nulle* (-nu COM + -lle oblique case marker):

- Lim. kheneʔ-**nulle** khuneʔ tum.
 you-COMPAR he become_aged
 He is older than you. (v.D. 528)

5.5. Ergativity

The Kiranti languages are morphologically ergative, whereas syntactic processes are usually organized according to a nominative-accusative principle. The SE-languages exhibit a pattern of split ergativity based on a person hierarchy.

Table 13: Split ergative marking

	1	>	2	>	3pron	>	3DEM/N
Lim.	-		-		-		+
Athp.	-		+		+		+
Bant.	+		+		+		+
Cam.	-		-		+		+
Thul.	-		-		+		+
Khal.	+		+		+		+

Limbu excludes 3rd person pronouns, but not demonstratives from ergative marking.

(16) "e-lle ku-menda?-in? akdarjba cog-ε?" mett-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ille
 Lim. who-GEN 3sPOSS-goat-DEF what_kind be-PT tell-3P-1s-3nsP-1s-ERG

kheŋ-ha?-re patt-ε-tch-u ... (v.D. 328)
 that-p-ERG say-PT-dA-3P

When I asked them "Whose goat? What kind was it?" they answered: ...

In Camling all third persons, but not 1st and 2nd, are constructed ergatively. ((17) also shows that the use of the optional animate patient marker *-lai* is independent of the ergative construction.) In Bantawa and Khaling all transitive agents are marked ergative.

(17)	kaŋa	pucho(-lai)	set-uŋa.	I	killed the snake.
Cam.	I	snake-DAT	kill-1s		
	khana	"	ta-set-yu.	You	"
	you		2-kill-3P		
	khu-wa	"	set-yu.	He	"
	he/she-ERG		kill-3P		

(18) a. iŋka-a i-net-ni-ŋ.
 Bant. I-ERG INV-tease-NEG-1s
 I shall not tease him. (BANT 2.38)

b. uŋ-a ku pid-u.
 Khal. I-ERG water fetch-1e→3
 I will fetch water. (Toba 1984: 9)

In various languages there is dialectal variation in ergative marking. The Thulung ergative marker is extremely rare with 1st or 2nd person in the Mukli dialect represented in the texts and in Allen's grammar, but the Ribdung dialect has ergative with all persons, e.g.

c. gana-ka qeraa-khom ben-na.
 Thul. you-ERG accommodation-place make:PT-2
 Ribd. You have made lodgings. (Allen 1975: 93)

My Camling informants in Khotang district rejected ergative marking with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, but the Linguistic Survey of Nepal data from Udaypur Camling reveal a different pattern, esp. in the past. The percentages of ergative marking in the LSN material from Udaypur are:

1st	PT 16.2	NPT 3.0
2nd	40.6	15.2
3rd	94.6	40.0

This may be a development towards the Nepali pattern, where ergative marking depends on tense and not on person.

Bantawa two-place verbs can be used non-ergatively if the object is indefinite and non-specific; there is no 3rd patient marker then (Rai, p.c.). Sentences in the continuous aspect are constructed unergatively, as in the first seven backgrounding sentences of *BANT 6. Only when the actual story line begins, the narrator switches to ergative constructions (19b).

- (19) a. *in̩ka kiwa ser-a-ŋ.* I killed a tiger. / I did some tiger-killing.
 Bant. I tiger kill-PT-1s
in̩ka-a kiwa ser-u-ŋ. I killed a (specific) tiger.
 I-ERG tiger kill-3P-1s

- b. *mo soŋbhensa ompiyaŋma khis-a-ca-ŋ-a nimaŋ.*
 that wild_man curd steal-PT-V2:eat-V2:CONT-PT REP
 The wild man ... used to steal curd (*BANT 6.2)

ik-len-talo moko gothale-a aŋmawa tar-u...
 one-day-TEMP that cowherd-ERG pine_resin bring-3P
 One day the cowherd brought pine resin... (*BANT 6.8)

Unmotivated ergative markers are common with the intransitive verb for "say".

- (20) a. "mo-ko khawo-lo dak mi-kaba?" *yiŋma taŋwama-ʔa kha nimaŋ*
 Bant. that-NML which-TOP loom do-AP QUOTE T,-ERG PART REP

talo kiyama-ʔa: "in̩ka-wo ney nana!" yiŋmalo-kiya yiŋ-a nimaŋ.
 then K.-ERG I-FOC EMPH e.sister QUOTE say-PT REP

"Which weaver is that?" Tangwama asked, and Kiyama said: "It's me, sister!"
 (BANT 2.51)

- b. *pucho-wa riŋa-ko raicha: "..."*
 Cam. snake-ERG say-NML REP
 The snake said: "... " (*Jh 5.25)

Ergativity is thus a rather superficial trait of Kiranti morphology. Syntactically there is hardly any sign of ergativity. Participles group actor (A) and intransitive subject (S) together. More than 90% of sequence clauses are based on referential

identity between A and S, but a few examples show indentity of S with a preceding patient (P):²⁴

(21) a. *həkyaŋ nəpmadzaŋ him-lepsaŋ thaɾ-nət-chi kərə kərb-ən hara him-*
 Lim. then both house-towards drop-REFL-d but tiger-DEF quickly house-

ʔo kɛʔr-ɛ-yaŋ ku-ndzum syaʔl-ən idik haŋs-u-waŋ²⁵ lək
 LOC arrive-PT-SEQ his-friend jackal-DEF long_time wait-3P-SEQ only

ando: ando: tei.
 later later come:PT

Then they both headed homeward, but the tiger arrived quickly and waited a long time for his friend the jackal, and he (the jackal) came much later.
 (v.D. 350)

b. *capca-lai pani guleli-wa ap-u-nʌ tupsuŋ-maluŋma-da waŋa.*
 Cam. tiger-DAT also arrow-INSTR shot-3P-SEQ mountain-ECHO-LOC enter
 He shot with his arrow at the tiger and [tiger] ran into the mountains.
 (Lal1.20)

5.6. Nominalized sentences

Nominalized forms often stand as finite verbs, especially in short sentences in a dialogue. Allen (1975:85) reports that some of his informants regularly added *-m* to past tense forms.

Lim. *attho kɛ-bek-pa²⁶* Where are you (s) going?
 where:ALL 2-go-NML

Cam. *kho-ni ta-khat-e-ko?* Where are you (s) going?
 where-ALL 2-go-NPT-NML

Thul. *bante ləə-na-mim?* Where are you (p) going?
 where go-2-NML

²⁴ The most frequent referential identity is between S-S, A-A, and A-S/S-A. I have found a few examples for P-S, but none for S-P or for A-P/P-A.

²⁵ *-yaŋ* in the source, but cf. van Driem (1987:148) for the allomorphs of *-aŋ*.

²⁶ This form is indistinguishable from an AP.

Thul. bante-m bik-na-m? Where have you (s) come from?
 where-ABL come-2-NML

Bant. khana khada ti -yur-ko? Where do you live?
 you(s) where 2-live-NML

(22) "hawma phəl-ni-mim?" roa-mḍi-lo "ora-m a-guru-ka goa-
 Thul. why cut-2p-NML say-3p:PT-TEMP here-NML 1sPOSS-guru-ERG give-

ḡḍi-m ḡhol phəl-la bik-to-ko-m," roak-ta e
 1sP:PT-NML drum cut-PURP come_over-1e:PT-1nse-NML say-PT REP

baganinda-ka.
 B.-ERG

When they asked: "Why do you cut (here)?" Baginanda said: "We have come to cut the drum which my guru gave me." (*TH4.5-6)

The function of nominalized sentences is not well understood. It seems that they are used analogously to participial sentences in other languages, which characterize lively speech (cf. Woodbury 1985; see also (2d), (3b), (4a-c), (13d) in ch. 6). Thulung sometimes uses participial sentences in this function:

Thul. bante lək-pa? Where are you (p) going?
 where go:AP

(cf. Nep. *kahā jā-ne?* where go-futurePCPL).

The fact that the nominalizer sometimes also functions as a focus marker may explain its obligatory use in questions and negations in Athpare.

Athp. a-nis-u-es-u-e-n-i? - ni-ni-ḡ-get-ni-ḡ-na.
 2-see-3P-PERF-3P-PT-NML-Q see-NEG-1s-AUX-NEG-1s-NML
 Have you seen it? - I haven't seen it.

(Note that different from subordinated nominalized clauses the past marker is not elided here. See also e.g. *Ja 1.19-20.)

6. Complex sentences

There are basically two types of clause combining in Kiranti languages according to the degree of reduction:

i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity; cf. negative converb examples (p. 117)).

ii) non-reduced or minimally reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause is finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence. In minimally reduced clauses, which occur only in Athpare, the verb is marked for person and number, but the final tense markers are lacking.

Generally non-finite clauses are more frequent in the western and northern languages; e.g. Hayu seems to have only non-finite clauses.

There is no coordination of sentences. What would be interpreted as coordinated sentences in English is expressed by two independent clauses following each other without a linker. Correlative constructions, in which both clauses are formally complete but semantically interdependent, are rare in Kiranti languages (see 6.2.7. for some examples).

6.1. Nonfinite clauses

6.1.1. Infinitive and purposive clauses

Infinitive clauses constitute complements to modal, evaluative or phasal verbs, or to certain nouns.

(1) a. phup-**maʔ** me-nu-nen.

Lim. mix-INF NEG-good-NEG
It is not good to mix. (v. D. 210)

b. pyupa-mo m-sa ca-**ma** is-e.

Cam. cow-GEN 3sPOSS-meat eat-INF be_bad-NPT
Cow's meat should not be eaten.

c. gaai-ku sö pe-si mi-nü.

Thul. cow-GEN meat eat-INF:NPT NEG-be_good
Cow's meat should not be eaten. (Allen 83)

d. u-nu bhar-po mü-nä máttü.
 Khal. 3sPOSS-mind be_full-GEN do-INF must.
 We must act to his satisfaction. (*KH12.31)

e. ku-bi näm-si-nä a-bani gö
 Khal. water-LOC dive-REFL-INF 1sPOSS-habit is
 It is my habit to dive in the water. (*KH12.16)

f. soaringba lo-ma a-lahap kad-e.
 Athp. whistle say-INF 1sPOSS-wish come_up-PT
 I felt like whistling. (Ca1.8)

The infinitive agrees in number with a nonsingular patient; the agreement markers are the verbal 3rd nonsingular patient suffixes. That they are not the nominal number markers is evident in Thul. and Khal., where dual is *-si* with nouns, *-ci* and *-su* with verbs.

(2) a. sammyaŋ kə-waŋ-ma-ha? ya?-ge-rak-pa-ha? ɔmmop-ma?-si poŋ.
 Lin. gold AP-wear-NML(f)-p paddy-AP-dance-NML-p watch-INF-3nsP must
 We must watch the ladies wearing gold and the rice harvest dancers.
 (v.D. 203)

b. un picha-ci ib-ma-ci khol-es-e
 Athp. she child-ns sleep:CAUS-INF-3nsP must-PERF-PT
 She must put the children to sleep.

c. orcip-laai sii-mu-ci basi.
 Thul. they(d)-DAT teach-INF-d must
 We /one must teach these two. (Allen 51)

d. ... biha bi-n-su äy-ŋa-na bhale lök-bi phi-ŋa-m.
 Khal. marriage give-INF-d say-1s-SEQ rooster find_out-PURP send-1s-NML
 I was thinking to marry you and sent the rooster to find out. (KH2.59)

Thulung can have a possessive prefix with infinitives.

e. a-be-si mi-be.
 Thul. 1sPOSS-do-INF:NPT NEG-do
 Don't copy me! (Allen 84)

Purposive clauses are complements to verbs of motion and are marked by the suffix *-si/-se*.¹

¹ This suffix developed into an irrealis infinitive marker in the northern languages; cf. (1c), (2e).

(3) a. *kheŋ menda?-in carɔm-se yer-aŋ wa-ye.*
 Lim. that goat-DEF graze-PURP come_down:PT-SEQ be-PT
 That goat had come down to graze. (v.D. 327)

b. *iŋka amno sewa-cakara mi-si ta-ŋ-ko.*
 Bant. I your service do:PURP come:PT-1s-NML
 I have come to serve you. (*BANT5.12)

c. *anci khalanŋa khat-ci camakha in-siŋa.*
 Athp. we(d) market go-d food buy-PURP
 Let's go to the market to buy food.

d. *Athpare riŋ sikha li-ŋa yur-e.*
 Athp. A. language learn become-PURP stay-PT
 He stayed here in order to learn Athpare.

e. *yonkhi khâk-bi kôs-t-i e.*
 Khal. spinach hoe-PURP go-PT-d REP
 They (d) went to hoe spinach. (KH2.3)

Purposive clauses can have a possessive prefix to indicate the patient in Limbu, Camling and Thulung. This construction was rejected by Athpare informants and was not found in Bantawa or Khaling.

(4) a. *kɛ-dum-se ty-a-ŋ-ba.* I have come to see you. (v.D. 213)
 Lim. 2sPOSS-meet-PURP come-PT-1s-NML

Cam. *kap-tum-si t-uŋ-ko.* " "
 2sPOSS-meet-PURP come-1s-NML

Thul. *ini-reb-ɕa bi-ŋ-ɕo-m.* " " (Allen 102)
 2pPOSS-meet-PURP come-1sS-PT:1sS-NML

6.1.2. Converb clauses

The simultaneous converbs in *-sa*, *-to* function as adjuncts mainly to verbs of motion and posture, expressing an accompanying action of the same subject. Limbu has no simultaneous converb, its function is taken over by a finite simultaneous clause with the suffix *-lo* (cf. 6.2.2). The simultaneous converb is often reduplicated, indicating duration or iteration of the accompanying action (cf. also BANT2.87, 2.88, 2.124; TH2.6; *TH5.4; *KH5.11, 5.17).

(5) a. yamba-lamma siparj yapmi soarinba lo-sa ab-e.
 Athp. over_there-ABL police man whistle say-SIM come-PT
 From over there a policeman came whistling. (Ca1.7)

b. m-nicho lam-sa lam-sa khata-ko, khō-sa khō-sa wa-da khō-sa
 Cam. her-y.brother search-SIM go-NML look-SIM water-LOC look-SIM

khata "sibeu, sibeu" ruŋ-sa lam-sa lam-sa khata-pana m-nicho
 go IDEO say-SIM search-SIM go-TEMP 3sPOSS-y.brother

pa-dhit-aina.
 NEG-find-NEG

She went searching searching for her younger brother. Looking looking in the water she went, shouting "sibeu! sibeu!" [sound of the sibe-bird], searching searching she went, but did not find her younger brother. (Jh7.8-9)

b. âmsu-ä sâŋ suŋ-to suŋ-to kōs-t-i e.
 Khal. they (d)-ERG firewood collect-SIM go-PT-d REP
 They went, collecting collecting firewood (as they went). (KH2.55)

c. me-la khat-to ge-mđi-lo-ne ...
 Thul. that-hiLOC go_after-SIM come_up-3p:PT-TEMP-TOP
 When they came up here in pursuit ... (*TH4.31)

Different from the simultaneous converb in the other languages, which has a rather restricted occurrence, Bantawa *-sa* can mark all types of simultaneous clauses (temporal, manner, instrumental). It is usually constructed with a continuous form, which can be omitted only in the accompanying function (6a).

(6) a. khana yuni yuni lam-sa lam-sa ti-khat-hida ti-dhir-u ŋa.
 Bant. you below below search-SIM 2-go-TEMP 2-find-3P EMPH
 When you go down, down, searching all the way, you will find him.
 (*BANT5.7)

b. Hecchakuppa thin-yaŋ-sa thin-yaŋ-sa khatt-u nimaŋ.
 H. chase-V2:CONT-SIM go_after-3P REP
 Hecchakuppa went after her, chasing her all the way. (BANT2.87)

c. kəyle lo nampikci-da mi tup-yaŋ-sa laltina oŋ-yaŋ-sa
 sometimes PART sunset-LOC fire blow-V2:CONT-SIM lantern light-V2:CONT

koy bela lo ladipduŋ-ci-da chaŋ pədəy mi-n-ya-n-ka.
 some time PART moonlight-ns-LOC also read do-1pS/P-V2:CONT-1pS/P-e

Sometimes, at night, we would read while blowing the fire or lighting a lantern, sometimes even in the moonlight. (*BANT7.8)

- d. moci-a unco-cheywa Hecchakuppa aṅṅnawa pi-yaṅ-sa kent-a
 they-ERG their-brother H. pine_resin give-V2:CONT-SIM raise-PT
- ṅ-a-c-u nimaṅ.
 V2:CONT-PT-dA-3P REP

They (d) raised their brother Hecchakuppa by giving him pine resin. (BANT2.5)

Toba (1984:27) states that Khaling *-sa* "expresses precedent action closely connected to the following action" and gives one example (=7a); no example for *-sa* was found in the texts. Allen (1975: 59) distinguishes a 'past participle' *-saka* and a 'present participle' *-saṅa*. The forms can probably be split up into converbal *-sa* + ergative/instrumental *-ka* or simultaneous *-ṅa*, which is also used in the formation of the progressive (see 2.2.3.1). *-saka* does not necessarily have an anterior interpretation; cf. *mi-rep-saka ləəra* "go without looking" (*TH5.30). Both the Thulung converb in *-sa* (without further suffixes) and the converb in *-to* are sometimes found in manner adverbials, especially with the verb *be-* "do" (7c,d).²

- (7) a. uṅ-a 'yu khâp-sa ja-ṅa.
 Khal. I-ERG rice cook-CONV eat-1s
 Having cooked the rice I eat it.

- b. jam pe-saka ləks-a.
 Thul. rice eat-CONV go-IMPER
 Have a meal before you go. (Allen 59)

- c. khole hop-sa bo-m basi; duu-sa bi-i-la mi-nū.
 Thul. broth sip-CONV do-INF must drink-CONV do-1pi-COND NEG-be_good
 Broth must be taken in a sipping way; if we take it drinking it is not good.
 (Allen 84)

² Camling has a special nonfinite form in *-sim*, which is attested only in mythological texts and only with the verbs *ṅal-* "do" and *mu-* "do, make".

Cam. rokung-daka pam-sim pam-sim pam-sim ngala-na laida-ki pheri
 rock-ABL crawl-SIM do-SEQ escape-SEQ again
 rochakule-lai nai-mha puis-yi-ko raicha.
 orphan-DAT pursue-INF start-3P-NML REP
 From the rock, crawling, crawling, crawling, she escaped and started to pursue the orphan again. (Jh2.73)

d. ... sö-kam u-ser ramli-ka döt-to sidimo goo-nu phik-to
 Thul. meat-GEN 3sPOSS-bone R.-ERG pick_up-SIM bag inside-LOC pour-SIM

büürü.

do:PT:3s→3

Ramli, picking up the bones, stowed them into his bag. (*TH5.4)

Negative converbs have a wide range of interpretations. The clause in (8a) has a conditional, that in (f) a causal interpretation. Subject identity is not required (a-c).

(8) a. dërta men-dzok-ʔeɪ me-m-bir-u-n-chi-n.
 Lim. registration NEG-do-negCONV 3nsS/A-NEG-give-3P-NEG-3nsP-NEG
 Without having registered they do not give them. (v.D. 181)
 (= if you have not registered)

b. hekyarj üþh-ille wabak-ʔo: syaʔl-en men-hum-ʔeɪ namdhanj
 Lim. then camel-ERG pond-LOC jackal-DEF NEG-sink-CONV far_side

loitt-u.

take_out-3P

Then the camel took the jackal to the far side of the pond without (the jackal) sinking. (v.D.346)

c. ... thik bhale u-khatt-u-na-m, aniya ko-gorjba-ci-ŋa taha
 Ath. ... one rooster 3pA-take-3P-NML-TOP our our-uncle-ns-OBL knowledge

mi-tok-ʔe-ba aniya ko-gorjba-ci paŋ-i hitna bhale
 NEG-join-CONV-? our our-uncle-ns house-LOC that rooster

o-riŋs-u o-sed-u-t-u.
 3pA-strangle-3P 3pA-kill-3P-NPT-3P

When they take the rooster, without our uncles knowing it they strangle that rooster in our uncles' house. (Pa3.4)

d. moko si-kaba mina palo-palo mi-yaŋ-sa khun-ma-kiya
 Bant. that die-AP man turn-turn do-V2:CONT-SIM carry-INF-SEQ

man-nan-paŋ khat-ma li.
 NEG-rest-negCONV go-INF must

The dead person must be carried in turn, without pausing. (death 23)

e. gana cintaa me-be-saka lək-si mi-nü.
Thul. you seance NEG-make-CONV go-INF:NPT NEG-be_good
It is not good for you to go without having made a seance. (*TH4.12)

f. âm ghölä nöl-ka sö ma-kö-sa so-ä khepkhäpä mo-tä e
Khal. he many day-ABL meat NEG-eat-CONV hunger-INST nearly die-PT REP
And not having eaten meat for many days, he was nearly dying.
(*KH5.2)

6.1.3. Participial clauses

Participial clauses are adnominal (relative) clauses. They are frequent in the northern languages, whereas the SE languages prefer adnominal clauses with fully inflected verbs (cf. 6.2.1). In Athpare and Thulung the active participle is attested with a possessive prefix expressing the patient (10b,c).

(9) a. kristyēn dhāma prasara prasara ka-cok yapmi-ci-ya nahi-ga yapmi-ci
Athp. Christian religion spread spread AP-do man-ns-ERG here-NML man-ns

uphaba u-pid-u-ci-t-ci, ...
money 3pA-give-3P-ns-NPT-copy

The people who spread the Christian religion give money to the people here.
(*Ja1.19)

b. mog-balak cuwa elok thur-ma kho-yuk.
Athp. boil-PP water only drink-INF must:NPT
One should drink only boiled water.

c. cin-lu-kaba cha-ci ik-len ha-len im-ta-lott-a ...
Bant. teach-feel-AP child-ns one-day two-day 3pS-come-V2:INCH-PT
The children who felt like being taught started to come for one or two days...
(*BANT7.7)

d. ut sāmundra-po phār-bi cārey māsipā soroli-ā dūm-ta e.
Khal. camel ocean-GEN near-LOC grazing do-REFL-AP jackal-ERG meet-PT REP
The jackal met a camel that was grazing near the lake. (*KH5.6)

without a head noun:

(10) a. pit-cha men-jo-nen, **ke-si-be-re-n** me-ghöks-u.

Lim. cow-meat NEG-eat-NEG AP-die-AP-GEN-DEF 3PA-dry-3P
They don't eat cow's meat, but they dry that of one who has died. (v.D. 201)

b. yo-na-rok **a-ka-ca** khan-ŋa co-ak!

Athp. across-NML-FOC 1sPOSS-AP-eat you-ERG eat:3P-IMPER
[the rabbit said to the tiger:] Eat that one over there who eats me! (*Pa1.8)

c. ima-ne o ŋaami-ne ima i-pep³-saŋ-**pa** koŋŋa; ima
Thul. your-TOP this old woman-TOP your 2sPOSS-eat-V2:BEN-AP only your

i-cape-**ɖu**pe be-**pa**, ima i-krüm-kora re-**pa**,
2sPOSS-food-drink do-AP your 2sPOSS-hunger-thirst look-AP

i-baya-niya i-plan-komsì be-**pa**-ne arko re bu.
2sPOSS-floor-ECHO 2sPOSS-bedding-pillow do-AP-TOP other PART be

This old woman of yours, she only eats from you. The one who prepares your meals, who looks after your hunger and thirst, who cares for your floor and your bed is another one. (TH2.49-50)

³ The stem is *pe-* (3s→3 *püürü*) and one might be tempted to analyse the participle of a compound verb as *pe-pa-saŋ-pa*. However, the verb has an irregular stem variant *pep-*; cf. the purposive *peb-ɖa* "in order to eat".

6.2. Finite clauses

Under this heading I subsume clauses that contain a verb carrying person and tense-aspect markers. Only in one language is the verb reduced: Athpare clauses cannot have the final tense markers *-e* and *-t/-yuk* (cf. table 4, p.29). Nevertheless the *-a* of the past base is present even in cases where it is elided by the past tense marker *-e* in finite position; e.g. *khad-e* (<khada + e) "he went", but: *khada-ʔuŋ* "he went and ...". The Athpare reduced verbs sometimes correspond morpheme by morpheme to the full finite verbs in the other languages (Cam. PT is unmarked, NPT is marked by *-e*); cf.:

Athp.	yusana	rikt-u-ʔuŋ	ap-u-e.	She chased the tiger and shot him.
	tiger	chase-3P-SEQ	shoot-3P-PT	
Cam.	capca	nhais-u-na	ap-u.	
	tiger	chase-3P-SEQ	shoot-3P	

6.2.1. Nominalized clauses

6.2.1.1. Adnominal (relative) clauses

Adnominal clauses are either maximally reduced participial clauses (see 6.1.3), or they contain fully marked verbs followed by a nominalizer, as in:

(11) a. soikt-u-ŋ-ba yambok-ʔin coik-mʔ men-heʔ-bar.

Lim. aim-3P-1s-NML work-DEF do-INF NEG-be_able-1s→3:NEG:PT
I was not able to do the work I had in mind. (v.D. 196)

b. i-ra khopra-da hiŋa-ko wa-na khawa-wa diŋ-u-ko raicha.

Cam. one-CL hole in tree-LOC be-NML water-TOP bird sp.-ERG drink-3P-NML REP
The water that was in the hole of a tree, the khawa bird drank it. (Jh1.32)

c. i-mam-pap-ka riipap-ka thür-saŋ-na-mim i-po-mu

Thul. 2POSS-mother-father-ERG relative-ERG send-V2:BEN-2s-NML 2POSS-eat-INF

me-no bu.
that-levLOC be

Your food, which your parents and relatives send you, is over there.
(*TH5.34)

Relative clauses can also be formed with locational nominalizers:

d. ... *paisa oche-mma sölsib-ḡa læə-khom lamdü.*
 money spread-PP washing_{place}-LOC go-locNML path
 Money was spread all over the path on which you go to the washing place.
 (*TH5.22)

e. *mana mäm bhaya-bi khole-de-tha sāmundra go-tä e. u-*
 Khal. and that place-LOC all-locNML-ALL ocean be-PT REP 3sPOSS-

lüppi-bi bhaya go-tä, khe-pä hās-häm tök-de bhaya go-tä.
 center-LOC place be-PT steal-AP person-p stow-locNML place be-PT

mä bhaya-bi khway-de läm khä-bi-laka yo mu-go-wä.
 that place-LOC go-locNML road which-LOC-PATH even NEG-be-IRR

And in that place there was an ocean towards all sides. In its center there was a piece of land, a place where thieves are stowed away. There was not even a road leading to that place. (*KH5.3-5)

f. *mos yo hopäs-tä soroli-ä khlus jö-toḡ muk-de phär-bi.*
 Khal. bear also arrive-PT fox-ERG (berry) eat-SIM be-locNML vicinity-LOC
 Bear also arrived near where Fox was eating khlus-berries. (Toba 1983:15)

Relative clauses without a head noun:

(12) a. *khan-na ka-paḡ-i taya-ci-ga pak a-pid-u-ci-ga?*
 Athp. you-OBL 2sPOSS-house-LOC come:PT-d-NML:ns what 2-give-3P-d-NML:ns
 What did you give to the two who came to your house?
 (cf. *taya-c-e* they came)

b. *moko bhompaluḡ ims-a-ḡ-a-wo-yu ta-la..*
 Bant. that elephant sleep-PT-V2:CONT-PT-NML-loLOC come:PT-V2:reach:PT
 He arrived down at the place where the elephant was sleeping. (*BANT5.8)

c. *daka tyuda khim-da mi-hiḡ-e-ko-ci-lai rairewa-kukuwa*
 Cam. then there house-LOC 3pA-live-NPT-NML-p-DAT (ritual)

pa-maid-e nochuḡ-wa.
 INV-make-NPT shaman-ERG

Then the shaman (honorific plural) performs the *rairewa-kukuwa* for those who live there in the house. (Jh15.8)

6.2.1.2. Complement clauses

Nonreduced nominalized clauses can be complements to verbs of cognition or sensation:

(13) a. *peig-ε-ba kε-nis-w-i?*

Lim. go-PT-NML 2-see-3P-Q
Did you see her go? / ... that she went away (v.D. 197)

b. ... *yaks-ε-ba mε-nis-u.*

Lim. tremble-PT-NML 3pA-see-3P
They saw that it was trembling. (v.D. 341)

c. *kaŋa a-woini-ci-wa suŋ pa-huida-ŋasa-ko tyok-uŋa.*

Cam. I 1sPOSS-friend-ns-ERG firewood INV-burn-V2:PROG-NML see-1s
I saw that my friends were burning firewood. (LSN)

d. *gumi-ka make-m purkha-mi-ka u-cö-mi-ka cüsi-miŋ-ka*

Thul. they(p)-ERG earlier-NML ancestor-p-ERG 3POSS-child-p-ERG grandchild-p-ERG

roa-mq̄-m go thö-w-to-m ne.
tell-3p:PT-NML I hear-3P-1s→3s-NML PART

I have heard the ancestors of olden times, their children and grandchildren telling it. (*TH4.36)⁴

6.2.1.3. Nominalized temporal clauses

The same type of nonreduced nominalized clauses serve as temporal clauses. If the clause refers to a specific event, it is often followed by a topic marker. In Camling the combination of nominalizer (*-ko, -pa*) + topic marker is so regular, that I have glossed it as one morpheme 'TEMP'.⁵ With non-specific reference there can be no topic marker (cf. (14b+c) vs. (14d); (17a) vs. (17b)).

⁴ This example could also be interpreted as a headless relative clause: "I have heard what the ancestors ... told".

⁵ I thus distinguish temporal clauses from topicalized headless relative clauses in the glosses:
a-ma bo lo-na-ko-na "you whom I called my mother" (*Bal 6.19ff)
1sPOSS-mother PART tell-1→2-NML-TOP

(14) a. yaa-golo lambo_lambo khat-ma-ci puya-ŋ-na-golo, soariŋba lo-ma
Ath. over_there-TOP along_the_road go-INF-ns see-1s-NML-TOP whistle say-INF

a-lahar kad-e.
my-wish come-PT

Over there, when I saw them (the girls) going along the path, I felt like
whistling. (Ca1.9) (cf. *puyaŋ-e* "I saw")

b. ... arko thaŋ mi-khata-kona tyuda hiŋa-ko wa-na chirkucipa diŋ-u.
Cam. other place 3pA/S-go-TEMP there be-NML water-TOP (bird) drink-3P
When they went to some other place, the chirkucipa bird drank the water
which was there. (Jh1.32)

c. ... dhalo m-tõ-di chud-yi-pana pheri halliba la-ko raicha.
Cam. above 3sPOSS-head-hiLOC reach-3P-TEMP again shaking AUX-NML REP
When he reached up to her head, she (the cow) shook herself again.
(*Bal6.83)

d. "... kaŋa bwa! ruŋ-āi-pa a-khori-kõya waŋa, pheri bwa!
Cam. I say-1s-NML my-stomach-inside enter again

ruŋ-āi-pa buyā laida."
say-1s-NML outside come_out

"When I say bwa! crawl into my stomach, when I say again bwa! come
outside." [said the cow to the boy] (*Bal 6.72)

e. mǎ mü-ki-m kām ho-p-po u-nu bhar-po mü-nā
Khal. that do-1p-NML house own-AP-GEN 3sPOSS-mind be_full-GEN do-INF
mâtüi.
must.

When we have done that, we should do everything to the satisfaction of the
house-owner. (*KH12.31)

Anteriority is sometimes expressed by a nominalized clause followed by the Nepali
postposition *-pachi* "after" (for other anterior clauses see examples (19a,b)). Bantawa
uses *pachi* without a nominalizer: *i-butat pachi* "after they call her" (*BANT8.2).

(15) a. po-mu düm-mi-ri-m-pachi cintaa bay-ra. cintaa bay-ra-m-pachi-ne ...
Thul. eat-INF finish-3p-PT-NML-after seance be-PT seance be-PT-NML-after-TOP
After they finished eating, the seance took place. After the seance took place
... (*TH4.25-26)

- b. ghareri phuk-ki-**m-pâchi** ghara be-nä mâttü.
 Khal. site mark-1p-NML-after house make-INF must
 After we mark the site we must build the house. (*KH 12.18;
 cf. also *KH12.36,39,47,92)

In Athpare and Thulung a nominalizer can be followed by the ergative-instrumental case suffix.

- c. yembecha **si-na-ŋa** menchema sati khat-ga; menchema **si-na-ŋa**
 Athp. man die-NML-OBL woman sati go-NML:ns woman die-NML-OBL
 yembecha sati khat-ni-ga.
 man sati go-NEG-NML:ns

When the man dies, the women are burnt; when the woman dies, the men are not burnt. (cf. finite *si-yuk* "he dies, he will die") (*Pa2.6)

- d. gullüü-**ŋ-ka** mi-jöpa lu photo.
 Thul. cloud_over-NML-INST NEG-nice come_out photo
 Now that it has clouded over, the photo will not come out nice. (Allen 109)
- e. mö ceya-ka yo goa-mđi-**ŋ-ka**
 Thul. that Sherpa-ERG salt give-3p:PT-NML-INST
 Because the Sherpas gave salt (Allen 159)

Another type of temporal clause is nominalized and attributed to the Nepali noun *belā* "time". *belā* is followed by a case marker in Athpare and Thulung, but not in Bantawa and Camling.

- Bant. nam man-dat-ko bela when the sun did not appear
 sun NEG-appear-NML time (*BANT7.12)
- Cam. chu-ma riŋ-e-ko bela when he almost reached (*Bal6.81)
 reach-INF be_about-NPT-NML time
- Ath. khad-a-ŋ-na bela-ŋa when I was going (*Pa2.1)
 go-PT-1s-NML time-OBL
- Thul. hun-mim belaa-ka at the time it will fly up (*T5.23)
 fly-NML time-INST

6.2.2. Other temporal clauses

In Limbu temporal clauses the ergative-instrumental case marker follows the fully marked verb without an intervening nominalizer.

- (16) *kε-ips-ε-lle lɔkthik mənə-lle kε-gaiks-ε.*
 Lim. 2-sleep-PT-OBL one person-ERG 2-step_over-PT.
 Someone stepped over you when you were asleep. (van Driem 233)

Bantawa has a temporal subordinator *-hida* (of unknown origin), which is often followed by the topic marker *-lo* in specific contexts. In Thulung and Khaling *-lo* is a temporal subordinator often combined with the topic marker *-ne*.⁶ (for the function of /lo/ in various languages cf. 6.2.7).

- (17) a. *unco-kopa samphokdiwa sen-u nimaŋ-hida-lo mosa-ʔa 'i-*
 Bant. 3dPOSS-grandfather s. ask-3P REP-TEMP-TOP that-ERG 3P(NEG)-
sin-niŋ" yiŋ-a-yakt-a nimaŋ.
 know-NEG:1s say-PT-V2:CONTV-PT REP

When she asked their grandfather Samphokdiwa he kept saying "I do not know her." (BANT2.42)

- b. *gothale mi bukt-a-hida mo chaŋ mi ŋa bukt-a-ŋ-a.*
 Bant. cowherd fire warm-PT-TEMP that also fire EMPH warm-PT-V2:CONT-PT
 Whenever the cowherd warmed himself by the fire, that man also warmed himself. (*BANT6.4)

- c. *mana pheri mesəŋ khös-tä-na ho-tä-lone u-kām-bi-ne*
 Khal. and again thus go-PT-SEQ come-PT-TEMP his-house-LOC-TOP
yu kway mün-pä go-tä e.
 rice curry make-AP be-PT REP

And when he again went out and came back, there was rice and curry prepared in his house. (KH2.27)

⁶ I have treated Khaling *-lone* as one morpheme in the glosses. In Thulung *-lone* is used less often than *-lo* even in specific contexts (cf. e.g. *TH 4.3, 4.28, *TH 5.3, 5.18, 5.25 for simple *-lo*) and is therefore treated as two morphemes. There does not seem to be a semantic or pragmatic difference between Thulung *-lo* and *-lone*. E.g. in tail-head linkage, where the repeated information is necessarily presupposed, we find both *-lo* (*TH5.3, 5.25) and *-lone* (*TH5.14, 5.44).

Moreover Thulung *lo* and *lone* appear as independent discourse connectors (*TH5.16, 5.17, 5.27, 5.29). These are possibly abbreviations of *mömlo(ne)* "after that, then"; in Camling we find the ablative suffix *daka* (< *tyudaka*) used in the same way.

- d. mane u-philaa-ra u-nayme-kam u-buy jüll-ü-ma ser
 Thul. then 3sPOSS-leg-LOC 3sPOSS-wife-GEN 3sPOSS-head put:PT-3s→3-SEQ louse
 keak-saq-ɕ-ü. ser keak-t-ü-lo-ne masakka əms-
 crack-V2:BEN-PT-3s→3 louse crack-PT-3s→3-TEMP-TOP fast sleep-
 leaɕ-ɕa u-nayme.
 V2:COMPL-PT 3sPOSS-wife

He put his wife's head on his leg and cracked lice for her. When he cracked the lice, she fell asleep fast. (*TH5.43-44)

Simultaneous events are mostly expressed by converbs (see 6.1.2). Limbu has no simultaneous converb and expresses all types of simultaneity with the help of *-lo* (cf. also manner clauses in 6.2.4). In Thulung a 'while'-clause can be formed with the suffix *-honna* (see also *TH5.36, 5.40).

- (18) a. khene? ke-im-lo anga ta-ʔe-ŋ phom-ŋe.
 Lim. you 2-sleep-SIM I come-1sNPT-SEQ wake-1→2
 While you are sleeping, I shall come and wake you up. (v.D.149)

- b. khikwa ca:ɾə yu-waŋ pəʔl.
 Lim. whistle perform-SIM come_down-SEQ be
 He is coming down, whistling. (v.D.148)

- c. piy-honna jhari yo.
 Thul. eat:1p-while rain come_down
 While we are eating, rain will come. (Allen 82)

Anterior clauses are often expressed by a nominalized clause followed by *pachi* (see 6.2.1.3). In Camling anteriority can be indicated by the ablative. Depending on the context, such clauses can also be interpreted as reason clauses.

- (19) a. dhalo chud-yi-daka m-tõ-di chu-ma riŋ-e-ko bela
 Cam. above reach-3P-ABL 3sPOSS-head-hiLOC reach-INF be_about-NPT-NML time
 halliba la-ko raicha.
 shaking AUX-NML REP

After he reached the upper side, when he was about to reach the head, she (the cow) shook her body. (*Bal6.81)

- b. uileko tyiso mi-riŋa-daka i-ma-ŋo parne khu-lai-ŋo.
 Cam. earlier thus 3pS-say-ABL give-INF-EMPH must he-DAT-EMPH
 As they had said so before, they had to give her to him. (*Bal6.4)

6.2.3. Sequence clauses

The function of verb + sequential marker is equivalent to that of converbs ('conjunctive participles', e.g. Nepali *-era*) in other Southasian languages.⁷ The connection between sequence clauses is best translated by "and (then)", but often a temporal interpretation ("when", "after") is just as adequate. Most often conjoined clauses have an identical subject, but this is not a necessary condition (cf. (21a-c) p. 110). Lengthy chains with more than two clauses are not frequent; the longest ones I found are (see also Bant. (1), p. 26):

(20) a. aghi imo Sikhaman-wa bunduk-wa mina ap-u-set-yu-na
 Cam. earlier our S.-ERG gun-INST man shoot-3P-V2:kill-3P-SEQ

Kathmandu pa-doda-na koku Khersungma KΛharsiq-mo
 K. INV-close_up-SEQ grandmother Kh. K.-GEN

celi pusa-na jitbaji mu-na hya Torke-daka paisa chara
 rit.sister go-SEQ victory make:3P-SEQ across T.-ABL money throw(Nep)

mai-sa rō-sa 'jhai-jhai bajagaja' ayo Sikhaman.
 do-SIM distribute-SIM IDEO came(Nep.) S.

Earlier our Sikhaman shot a man, and they imprisoned him in Kathmandu, and his grandmother Khersungma, Kaharsing's sister, went and won (the case), and he came over there from Torke, throwing money about him, Sikhaman. (Dib 4.9)

b. "hunu ləks-a-ma ʈoɖkaa-no rebɖa," büürü-ma mal-to mal-to
 Thul. across go-IMP-SEQ hole-levLOC look:IMP said-SEQ search-SIM

ləs-ta-lo-ne bobok-ka kək-t-ü-ma seɖ-ɖ-ü-ma u-sö
 go-PT-TEMP-TOP owl-ERG peck-PT-3s→3-SEQ kill-PT-3s→3-SEQ 3sPOSS-flesh

⁷ It therefore seems justified if van Driem describes the Limbu inflected verb + *-aŋ* as a 'gerund', especially as it shares certain other functions with converbs, e.g. in periphrastic tense formation. However, Limbu *-aŋ* can also connect nouns!

Moreover, I found one example where the Bant. sequential *kiya* coordinates noun phrases: *ik yaŋ hiwa yaŋ kiya ik mana hiwa mana cayij* "one or two rupees and one mana or two mana husked rice" (*BANT 7.9). Camling *na*, Bantawa *kiya*, and Thulung *ma* occur also sentence initially. (*BANT 2.25, *Lal 3.10, 3.17, 3.18, TH 2.15, 2.21). It seems that the subordinators developed from an independent particle, which still exists as such in some of the languages.

jati pü-leaḏ-ḏ-ü, u-ser koŋŋa bayra.
 all ear:3s→3-V2:COMPL-PT-3s→3 3sPOSS-bones only be:PT

He told her: "Go over there and look in the hole," and when she went searching-searching, as the owl had pecked [her sister] to death and eaten her flesh, only the bones were there. (TH 2.6)

The sequential marker *can*, like the temporal subordinators, be followed by a topic marker in some languages. In Khaling there seems to be no functional difference between *-lone* (TEMP+TOP) and *-nane* (SEQ+TOP); I have therefore glossed both as TEMP in the texts.

(21) a. moko ser-a-kiya-lo mo unco-makanchi-lo nuw-a-lont-
 Bant. that kill-PT-SEQ-TOP that 3pPOSS-stepmother-TOP be_well-PT-V2:INCH-

 a-wo isa ci-a-lott-a nimaŋ.
 PT-NML like act-PT-V2:INCH-PT REP

When it was killed, their stepmother began to act as if she got better.
 (BANT 2.23)

b. ...us-celpä-po u-kâm hopäs-tä-nu-nane us-celpä thö-t-
 Khal. 3dPOSS-rit.brother-GEN 3sPOSS-house reach-PT-3p-TEMP 3dPOSS-rit.br. see-PT-

 su-lone us-khan lo-tä-nane dhâm-tü bher-i-t-i e.
 d-TEMP 3dPOSS-shyness feel-PT-TEMP ridge-hiLOC fly-d-PT-d REP

They reached their brother's house, and when they saw their brother, they became shy and flew to the ridge. (KH2.56)

Temporal and sequence clauses are both used in tail-head linkage, a typical means of text connection in Kiranti narratives. The verb or verb phrase of the previous sentence is repeated as an initial subordinate clause (see (15a, 17d)). Numerous examples of tail-head linkage can be found in the texts, e.g. for Cam. *Bal6.1-4, 6.42-43, 6.46-47, 6.72-75, *Lal3.34-35, 3.39-40, 3.48-49; for Thul. * TH4.11-12, 4.14-15, 4.25-26.

6.2.4. Ad-verbal (manner) clauses

Ad-verbal clauses specify the manner in which the action the verb describes is carried out. In SE Kiranti they are full sentences subordinated to and usually inserted immediately before the verb. Reference identity is not required. Athpare *-lok* is a comitative case marker and obviously cogante with Bantawa *-lok*, Camling *-lo*, but

the latter are exclusively manner subordinators. Limbu *-lo* is a general simultaneous subordinator (p. 126). Thulung manner clauses are expressed by a converb (cf. (7c), p. 115).

(22) a. *kusanur-e-ro yambok-ha? su?-m?na.*

Lim. be_easy-PT-SIM work-p finish-PP
We finished the work with ease/easily. (v.D.150)

b. *ā liŋgetwa unna-na o-tokwari eg-lok lept-u-ŋ-t-uŋ.*

Athp. I stone he-NML 3sPOSS-neck break-MAN(=COM) throw-3P-1s-NPT-copy
I will throw the stone in such a way that his neck breaks.
(cf. *eg-yuk* "it breaks")

c. *kaŋa m-dhar wot-e-lo dhaid-āi.*

Cam. I 3sPOSS-neck break-NPT-MAN throw-1sNPT
I will throw in such a way that his neck breaks. (Jh11.11)

d. *misari mo songbhensa hitt-a-si-a kiya mo lenta-da-ŋka mo*
Bant. like_that that s. burn-PT-V2:die-PT and that day-LOC-ABL that

gothale nu-lok yuŋ-a-ŋ-a nimaŋ.
cowherd be_well-MAN live-PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

Like that the songbhensa burned to death and from that day on the cowherd lived happily. (*BANT6.17)

6.2.5. Conditional and concessive clauses

Limbu conditional clauses can be expressed with the help of a topic marker, with the oblique case suffix optionally followed by a topic marker, or with a quote particle (see 6.2.6).

(23) a. *mε-bi-ʔε goŋo thuŋ-u-ŋ.*

Lim. 3pA-give-1sP/S:NPT TOP drink-3P-1s
If they give it to me, I'll drink it. (v.D. 235)

b. *mε-lε:s-u-lle goŋ me-dzo:ŋ-u-men.*

3pA-know-3P-OBL TOP 3pA-do-3P-IRR
They would do it, if they knew how. (v.D. 136)

c. *hem boŋ bhelle kheŋ ke-daʔr-u-ba menchuma-in narpmi-re*

what be QUOTE that 2-bring-3P-NML girl-DEF someone-ERG

me-n-deiʔr-u-n-ille ɡoɪ mɛ-da-nen yaŋ.
 3pA-NEG-take-NEG-OBL TOP NEG-come-NEG money

What can happen is this: if no one will take the girl you brought, you won't get any money. (v.D. 229)

Camling and Khaling share the conditional subordinator *-kho* (SE-Camling also *-kha*), which can also be attached to nouns or particles. A negative conditional is sometimes marked by *-nakho*.

(24) a. kaŋa-lai kaliya ta-tir-e-nɔ ta-khat-e-kho, Naima kha-ta-khud-
 Cam. I-DAT negotiator 2-become-NPT-SEQ 2-go-NPT-COND N. 1P-2-bring

āi-nakho, i-patti-ko kap-labetuŋ wot-āi.
 NEG-negCOND one-side-NML 2sPOSS-wing break-1sNPT

If you go as marriage negotiator for me, and if you do not bring me Naima, I will break one of your wings [Paruho says to the wind; myth of origin]. (Jh1.13)

b. kap-bhai-kha-na ... kap-sinyo dhas-yi thala, lyok-u-
 Cam. 2sPOSS-brother-COND-TOP 2sPOSS-saliva lower-3P PART lick-3P-

c-yoyo-kha kap-bhai; aina-kha aina.
 V2:eat-3P:NPT-COND 2sPOSS-brother not-COND not.

If he is your brother, let down your spittle, if he licks it, he is your brother; if not he is not. (*Bal 6.89)

In Khaling *-kho* is sometimes followed by *-mim*, a nonpast nominalizer, which seems to be frozen in an older function here (see also *KH12.52, 79, 80).

(25) a. mā pujeɲ mü-ka-nakho ...
 Khal. that worship do-1pe-negCOND
 If we do not do that worship ... (KH13.32)

b. uŋ-kolo biha i-mä-kho uŋ-a mü-kö-nä, biha mä-mä-
 Khal. I-with marriage 2-do-COND I-ERG NEG-eat-1s→2s marriage NEG-do-

kho-mim äyŋa kö-nä.
 COND-NML just eat-1s→2s

If you marry me, I will not eat you; if you will not marry me, I'll eat you.
(Toba 1983:7)

Thulung *-la* seems to originate in a locative marker (now *-la* stands for "high LOC", but it probably had a different function earlier; cf. the path marker *-la(m)*):

- (26) wo yoka-wa-la mıcıü jara-wa.
Thul. rain come_down-IRR-COND man fall-IRR
If it had rained, the man would have fallen. (Allen 55)

Bantawa and Athpare have borrowed the Nepali conditional marker *bhane* (a conditional converb of the verb *bhan-* "say"; cf. 6.2.6). Concessive clauses are marked by COND + "also, even". (Cf. also Limbu *bhaʔ-saŋ* QUOTE-even).

- (27) also jhara i-la-daka mi-pis-e-kho pani liŋla
Cam. nowadays all 1pPOSS-language-ABL 3pS-speak-NPT-COND also Nepali
pa-hol-e.
INV-mix-NPT
Nowadays all, even if they speak our language, mix with Nepali.

6.2.6. Quote clauses

Reported speech or thought is embedded by a quote particle, which most often has the form: "say" + SEQ. The verb "say" may appear as infinitive or in a finite form before the SEQ-suffix and is followed by a finite speech act verb.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------|
| Athp. | piga-uŋ pige | also: piga-lok ... |
| Bant. | yiŋma(-kiya) yiŋa | |
| Cam. | ruŋa-na ruŋa | |
| | ruŋma(-na) ruŋa | also: ruŋma-pa ... |
| Khal. | ästä-na ästä | |
| Thul. | roakta-ma roakta / bütirü ⁸ | also roak-saka ... |
| | said/say-SEQ said | |
- (cf. Nep. bhan-era bhanyo)

The Limbu quote particle *phaʔaŋ* (< Nepali *bhan-* + Limbu SEQ *-aŋʔ*), is seldom used with a speech act verb following it.

⁸ *bütürü* /be-t-ü/ (make-PT-3s→3) is used more often for "said" than *roakta*.

Reported thought is usually presented as if it were direct speech; i.e. pronouns and other deictic elements are not shifted (see also 29b).

(28) a-kururpa **ruṃma** pa-chait-aina, Saphopte-wa pani a-cyodum-ci
Cam. 1sPOSS-mat.uncle QUOTE NEG-know-NEG S.-ERG also 1sPOSS-niece-ns

ruṃma pa-chait-aina.
QUOTE NEG-know-NEG

She did not know that he was her maternal uncle, and Saphopte also did not know that they (sic!) were his nieces. (Lal2.55)

The Limbu quote particle *-phaʔaŋ* can mark causal and conditional clauses. A second Limbu quote particle *phelle*, which seems to be a combination of the same root with the case marker/subordinator *-lle*, has largely the same functions⁹.

(29) a. anige saʔ-dhik-nu cum co:k-ne-tchi-ge **phaʔaŋ** i:tt-u-m-be.
Lim. we(pe) child-one-COM friend make-1→2-d-e QUOTE think-3P-1pA-e
We thought that we shall make friends with you child. (v.D. 322; phaʔaŋ is written as a separate word here)

b. maŋdɔk me-bir-a-ŋ-**bhaʔaŋ** ke-ha:rb-e-i:ʔ¹⁰
Lim. mangdok 3nsS/A-give-PT-1s-QUOTE 2-cry-PT-Q
Are you crying because they gave you *mangdok* (to eat)? (v.D. 225)
(= saying "they gave me mangdok")

c. mi-in sei-**bhaʔaŋ** yammu mup-ma: me-nu-nen.
Lim. fire-DEF die:PT-QUOTE again blow-INF NEG-good-NEG
If the fire dies out, it is not permitted to fan it back to life. (v.D. 227)

Athpare and Bantawa speakers use Nepali *bhane* to mark conditional clauses (see also *Pa 2.21, 2.29; *Ja 1.7, 1.16; *BANT 8.3, 8.12).

(30) a. paŋ-bhitra u-lig-e **bhane** ani-ya rai-ci-ga sammaŋ
Athp. house-inside 3pA/S-enter-PT if our(e) Rai-ns-ATTR deity

⁹ *phelle* is also used like Nepali *bhaneko* "called, means" (past participle of *bhannu*). Corresponding forms in other languages are: Cam. *ruṃmako*, Thul. *roaa-ma*.

Lim. myaŋluŋ *bhelle* hem *bhelle?* myaŋ *bhelle* pe:ni-ba:n-nu bira:lo; luŋ *bhelle* dhuŋgā
M. called what means m. means Nepali-LOC b. stone means dh.
What does the name *Myanglung* mean? *Myang* means in Nepali *biralo* (cat) and *lung* means dhuŋgā (stone). v.D.230

¹⁰ The past form is explained by the actional character of the verb, which is initio-transformative: *ha:rb* "cry out, start crying, cry"; (cf. Ebert 1995 for some discussion).

nas li-yuk, aniya kharca lahap lis-i-t-i-ga.
 damage become-NPT our(e) expense need become-1p-NPT-copy-NML:ns

If they (i.e. the Christians) enter into the house, our Rai deity will be insulted, we will have great expenses. (*Ja 1.22)

Reason clauses are sometimes marked by "why" + *bhane* - following again the Indoaryan model (also *Ja 1.1, 1.15, 1.19; cf. Khaling *maŋ* "what" + *bhane* in *KH5.7).

(31) barəŋ o-cog-u-n-na, paba mama-na paap kataŋ cok-ma
 Athp. fast 3pA/S-make-3P-NEG-NML father mother-ATTR sin cut make-INF
 u-hid-u-na, poŋ bhane unci-ya a-tog-e the-lok a-cog-e.
 3pA-can-3P-NML why QUOTE they-ERG 1piP-support-PT big-ADV 1piP-make-PT

As they do not fast, they can not cut off their father and mother's sin, because they have supported us, they have raised us. (*Ja 1.6)

In dialogues a question is often repeated as a quote clause in the answer:

(32) - khene? aikkyeŋ ke-le:s-u?
 Lim. you how 2-know-3P
 - aŋga aikkhyeŋ le:s-u-ŋ phelle netchi mənə-re ande: sya?l-ille
 I how know-3P-1s QUOTE two man-ERG earlier jackal-ERG
 ha?r-aŋ yaŋ-e-lle nis-ε-tch-u.
 bite-SEQ be-PT-OBL see-PT-dA-3P
 - How do you know?
 - How I know is that earlier two men saw the jackal biting it. (v.D. 327-8)

6.2.7. Correlative clauses

Correlative clauses are rare in Kiranti languages; most often they occur with question words, expressing 'WH-ever ... that/then... '.

(33) a. tara unci handeŋ-samma kristyen-lok li-ma u-hi-ni-ga,
 Athp. but they tomorrow-until Christian-COM become-INF 3pA/S-can-NEG-NML

poŋ bhane **jun** yapmi-ci kristyēn lis-e, **hitna** yapmi-ci aniya
 why QUOTE which person-ns Christian become-PT that person-ns our

samaj-ni unci cimma u-phut-u-ci-ga.
 society-LOC they despision 3pA/S-AUX-3P-ns-NML

But they cannot be Christians for long, because the people who became
 Christians are despised in our society. (*Ja1.20)

b. **khadda** am-kima **khat-ko khodda** nant-u oko
 Bant. where 2sPOSS-fear go-NML there put_down_basket-3P this

am-ca-ma-wo co.
 2sPOSS-eat-INF-NML eat:3P

Wherever you feel afraid, there put down your basket and eat this food.
 (BANT 2.103)

c. **mosa-ʔa di** dor-u-m-ko **khusko** ŋa pi-ŋ-u-
 Bant. he-ERG what ask-3P-1pA-NML such EMPH give:3P-V2:CONT-3P-

ci-wo nimaŋ.
 3nsP-NML REP

He would give whatever we ask for. (BANT 2.15)

aidi: 2.17

d. **kaŋa kho-ni kho-ni** khat-āi, **tyuda tyuda** kha-nhai-hoda!
 Cam. I where-ALL where-ALL go-1sNPT there there 1P-follow-MOT
 Wherever I go, follow me there! (*Jh5.25)

e. **hebe** keh-p-tā **mebe** sūt-khā-tā-na ro phār-bi
 Khal. how_much climb-PT that_much slip-CONTV-PT-SEQ cliff low_side-LOC

hūm-tā.
 fall_over-PT

edge ?

As much as she climbed, that much she slipped again and finally she fell over
 the edge of the cliff. (Toba 1983: 9)

6.3. The origin of subordinators

Many Kiranti subordinators are or go back to case markers. This is not surprising, as the path of grammaticization from case marker to subordinator is widely attested in the world's languages and especially in Bodic languages (DeLancey 1984, Genetti 1986, 1991). In table 14 only the subordinators which function as case markers in the same language are marked by italics. Often subordinators represent old case markers, that have been replaced by others. Interlanguage comparison can sometimes give a clue as to the direction of development. Thus Thulung and Khaling *-si* obviously changed from a purposive to an infinitive, a common path of grammaticization, as Haspelmath (1989) has shown. The place of the infinitive was taken over by the locative case markers *-ɕa* and *-bi*.

Table 14: The origin of subordinators

	Lim.	Athp.	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
<i>nonfinite</i>						
INF:NPT					<i>-si</i>	<i>-si</i>
PURP	<i>-se</i>	<i>-(si)-ŋa</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>-ɕa</i>	<i>-bi</i>
CONV:SIM	<i>(-ni)</i>	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-to</i>
CONV					<i>-sa(-ŋa/ka)</i>	<i>-sa</i>
<i>finite</i>						
SIM, MAN	<i>-lo</i>	<i>-lok</i>	<i>-lo(k)</i>	<u><i>-lo</i></u>	<i>-hoŋŋa</i>	
COND	<i>-ille</i>			<i>-kho/-kha</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>-kho</i>
ANTER, CAUS	<i>-ille</i>			<i>-daka</i>	<i>-ŋka</i>	
SEQ	<i>-aŋ</i>	<i>-uŋ</i>	<i>-kiya</i>	<i>-nɛ, -ki</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-na</i>
REL	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-na,-ga</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<u><i>-kɔ</i></u>	<i>-m,-mim</i>	<i>-m,-mim,</i> <i>-de</i>
TEMP	<i>-ille</i>	<i>-na(-golo)</i> <i>-ŋa</i>	<i>-hida(lo)</i>	<u><i>-kɔ/-pa(-na)</i></u>	<i>-m</i> <i>-lo(ne)</i>	<i>-m</i> <i>-lo(ne)</i>

italic: case markers

bold: nominalizers

underlined: topic or focus markers

Subordinators also draw from the domain of pragmatic particles, e.g. topic markers develop into conditional subordinators (cf. Haiman 1978). The following developments can be concluded from the synchronic state of single languages:

<u>case/particle</u>	->	<u>subordinator</u>	
LOC	->	PURP	Thul. <i>-ɕa</i> , Khal. <i>-bi</i>
COM	->	MAN	Athp. <i>-lok</i>
ERG/INST	->	TEMP, CAUS	Lim. <i>-ille</i>
	->	ANTER, CAUS	Thul. <i>-ka</i>
ABL	->	ANTER, CAUS	Cam. <i>-daka</i>
?PATH	->	COND	Thul. <i>-la</i>

TOP/FOC	-> COND	Lim. ɣə, ɣəɔ
FOC	-> ATTR	Cam. -ko

Cross language comparison of the closely related Kiranti languages suggests that case markers are constantly replaced by new material from the domain of local nouns and postpositions. An obvious case is the ablative-path marker *-lam*, which originates in the common Tibeto-Burman word *lam* "road, way". We can assume that the Camling and Khaling conditional marker *-khol-kha* is related to the Thulung local nominalizer *-khop* and to Camling and Bantawa *-kha* "place". The suffix *-sa* is widespread in Tibeto-Burman languages of the area, mainly with locative functions (cf. Genetti 1986, 1991). The suffix *-si* probably has a cognate in the Thulung *-si* "place"¹¹ and in the obsolete Camling manner suffix *-sim*, which was found only in mythological texts (cf. fn. 2 of this chapter).

<u>local noun</u>	->	<u>case</u>	->	<u>subordinator</u>
TB *lam	->	ABL, PATH		
	?->	hiLOC	->	COND (Thul. -la)
TB *sa			->	CONV (-sa)
*si	->	PURP -> INF		
-kha, -khop			->	COND(Cam., Khal. -kho, -kha)

We can also draw certain conclusions from the comparison of the synchronic stage of several languages about changes in the function of case markers, mainly from locative to social:

<u>local</u>		<u>social</u>
SOURCE Bant., Cam, Khal. -ka		ERG,INST Thul. -ka
LOC Athp. -ni		?COM Lim., Thul. -nu(ŋ)
ALL Cam., Bant. -ni(n)		COM Bant. -nin

A suffix *-ni* is further found in a simultaneous converb in Panthare Limbu (cf. fn. 28, p. 56) and in the formation of Bantawa adverbials (e.g. *yu-ni* "below", *ciruk-ni* "angrily", cf. Rai 1985: 148).

An especially interesting case is the suffix */-lo/*. It is a comitative case marker in Athpare (*-lok*, with the typical addition of an unreleased stop), where it also functions as a subordinator of manner adverbials. Bantawa *-lok/-lo* and Camling *-lo* are topic markers and manner subordinators (cf. 6.2.2). It is a general temporal subordinator in Thulung and Khaling, and a simultaneous subordinator, fulfilling also the function of the missing converb, in Limbu. Moreover, Camling has a non-productive suffix *-lo* in local adverbs (cf. table 12, p. 91), which suggests an earlier locative function; in Khaling the suffix appears in some temporal adverbs, e.g. *te-lo* "now (this time)", *me-lo* "then (that time)". The same suffix seems to appear as part of the Khaling

¹¹ As in *a-si-n-ɕi* (this-PLACE-(n)-LOC) "here".

comitative *-kolo*, and as part of the Limbu and Athpare focus (?) markers *gorɔ* and *-kolo*. *-ko* is a focus marker and nominalizer in Camling.

Table 15: functions of /-lo/

Lim.	Athp. COM	Bant.	Cam.	Thul.	Khal.
MAN	MAN	TOP MAN	TOP MAN		
SIM			(loc. ADV)	TEMP	TEMP (temp.ADV)

The suffix *-na* is a topic marker in Camling, a nominalizer in Athpare, a sequential suffix in Khaling, and it may ultimately be identical with the Camling sequential suffix *-na* (but cf. also the Thulung/Khaling topic marker *-ne*). Temporal clauses are in most cases marked by an additional topic marker, so that we have nominalizers (from an old topic marker) or temporal *-lo* + (new) topicalizer (Athp. *-na-m*, Thul./Khal. *-lo-ne*). In Camling we even find old and new topic marker together: *-pa-na*, *-pa-lo-na*. Thus cross linguistic comparison reveals a constant weakening of emphatic and topic/focus markers, grammaticization of new case suffixes, and introduction of new or additional markers.

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3. CAMLING

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5. KHALING

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Appendix A1: Person and number affixes

1. LIMBU (Phedäppe)

	->1s	->1de	->1pe	->1di	->1pi	->2s	->2d	->2p	->3s	->3ns	ITR
1s						-ne	-ne-tchi-ŋ	-ni	-u-ŋ	-u-ŋ-si-ŋ	-ŋe
1de						-ne-tchi-ge	→		-s-u-ge	-s-u-si-ge	-si-ge
1pe						↓	→		-um-be	-um-s-i-m-be	-i-ge
1di									a-s-u	a-s-u-si	a-si
1pi									a-um	a-um-si-m	a-
2s	ke-ŋe	a-ge-							ke-u	ke-u-si	ke-
2d	a-ge-								ke-s-u	ke-s-u-si	ke-si
2p	↓								ke-um	ke-um-si-m	ke-i
3s	-ŋe	-si-ge	-i-ge			ke-	ke-si	ke-i	-u	-u-si	-
3d	me-ŋe	me-si-ge	me-i-ge	a-si	a-	ke-m-	ke-m-si	ke-m-i	-s-u	-s-u-si	-si
3p	↓	↓	↓	a-m-si	a-m-	↓	↓	↓	me-u	me-u-si	me-

LIMBU (Pānthare)

	->1s	->1de	->1pe
2s	ke-ŋe	yapmi-ke-	→
2p	yapmi-ke-	→	→
2d	yapmi-ke-si	→	→
3s	-ŋe	yapmi-	→
3p	me-ŋe	yapmi-me-	→

2. ATHFARE

	->1	->1de	->1pe	->1di	->1pi	->2s	->2d	->2p	->3s	->3ns	UTR
1s						-na ↓	-na-ci ↓	-na-ni ↓	-nja -C-u-nja -um-ma -um a-u a-C-u a-urn	-uj-ci-nja → -um-ci-m-ma → -um-ci-m → a-u-ci → a-C-u → a-urn → -u-ci → -C-u-ci → u-u → u-u-ci	-nja -ci-nja -i-nja -ci -i a- a-Ci a-i
2s	a-nja	a-ci-nja	a-i-nja								
2d	a-ci-nja	→									
2p	a-i-nja	→									
3s	yaj-nja	→		a-ci	a-ci	m-a ↓	m-a-ci ↓	m-a-i ↓			
3d	yaj-ci	→		a-ci	a-ci						
3p	yaj-u-	→		a-	a-						- -ci u-

3. BANTAWA (Rabi)

	->1s	->1de	->1pe	->1di	->1pi	->2s	->2d	->2p	->3s	->3ns	UTR
1s						-na -na-ca im-	-na-ci → im-ci	-na-nin im-in ↓	-u-nj -C-a (-u-m-ka) -C-u -u-m	-u-nj-C-hj → -um-C-um-ka → -um-C-im	-nja -C-a -i-ka -ci -in
2s	t-t-nja	t-ca	t-in-ka								
2d	t-t-nja-C-hj	↓	↓								
2p	t-t-nja-n-hj	t-ni-ci	↓								
3s	i-nja	i-C-a	i-in-ka	ci	im-in	t-	t-ci	t-in	-u	t-u-ci	t-
3d	im-nja	im-C-a	im-in-ka	im-ci	im-in	im-	im-ci	im-in	i(m)-C-u	→	-ci
3p	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	i-	im-u-ci	im-

4. CAMLING (Northwest)

	->1s	->1de	->1pe	->1di	->1pi	->2s	->2d	->2p	->3s	->3ns	I TR
1s						-na	-na-ci	-na-i	-uŋa	-uŋ-c-uŋa	-uŋa
1de						-na-c-ka	↓	↓	-c-ka	→	-c-ka
1pe						-n-um-ka			-um-ka	-um-c-um-ka	-i(m)-ka
1di									-ci	→	-ci
1pi									-u-m	-um-c-um	-i
2s	ta-uŋa	ta-c-ka	ta-ŋim-ka						ta-u	ta-u-c-yu	ta-
2d	↓/ta-ci	↓	→↓						ta-ci	→	ta-ci
2p	↓/ta-i	→	→↓						ta-um	ta-um-c-um	ta-i
3s	pa-uŋa	pa-c-ka	pa-um-ka	pa-ci	pa-i	ta-	ta-ci	ta-i	-u	-u-cy-u	-
3d	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	pa-ci	→	-ci
3p									pa-	→	mi-

CAMLING (Southeast)

2s	kha-ta	→
2d	kha-ta-ci	→
2p	kha-ta-i	→
3s	kha-	→
3d	kha-ci	→
3p	kha-mi-	→

5. THULUNG

	->1s	->1de	->1pe	->1di	->1pi	->2s	->2d	->2p	->3s	->3d	->3p	ITR
1s						-ni	-ni-ci	-ni	(p)u	(p)u-ci	(p)u-mi	-nu
1de						-na-ci	→	ni-ci-mi	-cu-ku	→	→	-cu-ku
1pe						-na-mi	-na-ci-mi	-ni-mi	-ku	→	→	-ku
1di									ci	→	i(-mi)	-ci
1pi									i	→	i(-mi)	i
2s	-pi	-ci-ki	-ki-mi						-na	-na(-ci)	-na(-mi)	-na
2d	-pi-ci	↓	↓						-ci	→	→	-ci
2p	-pi-mi								-ni	-ni(-ci)	-ni(-mi)	-ni
3s	-pi	↓	↓		-sa	-na	-na-ci	-ni-mi	-ü	-ü(-ci)	-ü(-mi)	-
3d	-pi-ci				→	-na-ci	↓	↓	-ci	→	-ci(-mi)	-ci
3p	-pi-mi				→	-na-mi	-na-ci-mi	→	-mi	-mi(-ci)	-mi(-mi)	-mi

6. KHALING

	->1s	->1de	->1pe	->1di	->1pi	->2s	->2d	->2p	->3s	->3d	->3p	ITR
1s						-nä	-su	-nu	-u	-su	-nu	-ja
1de						i-	i-i	i-ni	-u	[-yu]	→	-cu
1pe						↓	↓	↓	-ka	→	→	-su]
1di									-i	[-yi]	→	-ci
1pi									-ki	→	→	-ki
2s	i-ja	i-u	i-ka						i-ü	i-su	i-nu	i-
2d	i-ja-su	↓	↓						i-i	[-yi]	→	i-ci
2p	i-ja-nu								i-mi	→	→	i-mi
3s	i-ja	↓	↓		i-i	i-	i-i	i-ni	-ü	-su	-nu	-
3d	i-ja-su				↓	↓	↓	↓	-su	→	↓	-ci
3p	i-ja-nu				↓	↓	↓	↓	-nu	→	↓	-nu

A2: BASIC TENSE

LIMBU (Phedäppe)

	NPT	PT
1(s)-2s	-ne	
-2d	-ne-chi-ŋ	
-2p	-ni	
1de-2s	-ne-chi-ge	
-2p	"	
1pe-2s	"	
-2d	"	
-2p	"	
1s -3s	-u-ŋ	
-3ns	-u-ŋ-si-ŋ	
1de-3s	-s-u-ge	-e-tch-u-ge
-3ns	-s-u-si-ge	-e-tch-u-si-ge
1di-3s	-s-u	-e-tch-u
-3ns	-s-u-si	-e-tch-u-si
1pe-3s	-u-m-be	-m/na
-3ns	-u-m-si-m-be	-m/na-si
1pi-3s	-u-m	
-3ns	-u-m-si-m	
2 -1	ke- /e	ke- -a-ŋ
-1de	a-ge-	a-ge- e
2s -3s	ke- -u	
-3ns	ke- -u-si	
2d -3s	ke- -s-u	
-3ns	ke- -s-u-si	
2p -3s	ke- -u-m	
-3ns	ke- -u-m-si-m	

BANTAWA (Rabi)

	NPT	PT
	-na	=
	-na-ci	=
	-na-nin	=
	-na-C-a	=
	-in	=
	im-	im- -a
	im-	im- -a-ci
	im-	=
	-u-ŋ	=
	-u-ŋ-C-iŋ	=
	-C-a	-a-C-a
	"	"
	-C-u	-a-C-u
	"	"
	-u-m-ka	=
	-u-m-C-im-ka	=
	-u-m	=
	-u-m-C-im	=
2s-1s	ti-	ti- -a-ŋ
2d-1s	ti- -ŋa-C-iŋ	ti- -a-ŋ-C-im
2p-1s	ti- -ŋa-n-iŋ	ti- -a-ŋ-n-iŋ
2sd-1de	ti- -C-a	ti- -a-C-a
2p-1de	ti- -ni-ci	=
2-1pe	ti- -in-ka	=
	ti- -u	=
	ti- -u-ci	=
	ti- -C-u	ti- -a-C-u
	"	"
	ti- -um	ti- -a-ŋ
	ti- -um-C-im	ti- -a-ŋ-n-um[-C-im]

3s -1s	-ʔe	-a-ŋ	i	ŋa	i	-a-ŋ
3ns-1s	-ʔe	-a-ŋ	i	ŋa	i	im- -a-ŋ
3s-1de	-si-ge	-e-tchi-ge	i	-c-a	i	im- -a-c-a
3ns-1de	-si-ge	-e-tchi-ge	i	-c-a	i	im- -a-c-a
3s-1di	-si	-e-tchi	i	-ci	i	im- -a-ci
3ns-1di	-si	-e-tchi	i	-ci	i	im- -a-ci
3s-1pe	i-ge	a-me- -e-tchi	i	-in-ka	i	=
3ns-1pe	i-ge	a-me- -e-tchi	i	-in-ka	i	=
3s-1pi	-i-ge	a- -e	i	-in	i	=
3ns-1pi	-i-ge	a-me- -e	i	-in	i	=
3s -2s	ke-	ke- -e	i	-in	i	ti- -a
3ns-2s	ke-me-	ke-me- -e	i	-in	i	im- -a
3s-2d	ke- -si	ke- -e-tchi	i	-ci	i	ti- -a-ci
3ns-2d	ke-me- -si	ke-me- -e-tchi	i	-ci	i	im- -a-ci
3s-2p	ke- -i	ke- -e-tchi	i	-in	i	ti- -a-nin
3ns-2p	ke-me- -i	ke-me- -e-tchi	i	-in	i	im- -a-nin
3s -3s	-u	=	=	-u	=	=
-3ns	-u-si	=	=	-u-ci	=	(i) -a-c-u
3d-3s	-s-u	-e-tch-u	(i)	-c-u	(i)	i- -a
-3ns	-s-u-si	-e-tch-u-si	i	-u-ci	i	=
3p-3s	-u	=	i	-u-ci	i	=
-3ns	-u-si	=	i	-u-ci	i	=
Intransitive	-ʔe	-a-ŋ		ŋa		-a-ŋ
1s	-si-ge	-e-tchi-ge		-c-a		-a-c-a
1de	-si	-e-tchi		-ci		-a-ci
1di	-i-ge	-m/na		-in		=
1pe	a-	-e				=
1pi	ke-	ke- -e				ti- -a
2s	ke- -si	ke- -e-tchi				ti- -a-ci
2d	ke- -i	ke- -e-tchi				ti- -a-nin
2p	ke-	-e				-a
3s	-si	-e-tchi				-a-ci
3d	me-	-e				im- -a
3p		-e				

A2 Basic Tenses (contin.)

ATHPARE		CAMLING (NW)	
NPT	PT	NPT	PT
1(s)-2s	-na-ʔa	-n-e	-na
-2d	-na-ʔa-ci	-na-c-e	-na-ci
-2p	-na-ʔa-mi	-na-n-e	-na-ni
1s-3s	u-ʔ-t-uʃ	-ʔi	-uʃa
-3ns	u-ʔ-ci-ʔ-t-ciŋ	u-ʔ-c-u-ʃ-e	u-ʔ-c-u-ʃa
1de-3	c-u-t-cu-ʔa	-a-c-k-e	-a-c-k-a
1di-3	c-u-t-cu	-a-c-e	-a-ci
1pe-3s	u-m-t-um-ma	u-m-k-e	u-m-ka
-3ns	u-m-ci-m-t-cim-ma	u-m-c-um-k-e	u-m-c-um-ka
1pi-3	u-m-t-um	u-m-e	u-m
	u-m-ci-m-t-cim	u-m-c-um-e	u-m-c-um
2s-1s	-ʔa-ʔa	-ʔi	ʔa
2s-1de	u-t-ci-t-ci-ʔa	-a-c-k-e	ʔa
2d-1	a-		
2s-1pe	-i-t-ʔa	-im-k-e	ʔa
2p-1	"		
2s-3s	u-t-u	ʔa	ʔa
-3ns	u-t-u-ci	-yo	ʔa
2d-3s	-c-u-t-c-u	-yo-c-yo	ʔa
-3ns	"	-a-c-e	"
2p-3s	u-m-t-um	ʔa	ʔa
-3ns	u-m-ci-m-t-cim	u-m-e	ʔa
		u-c-um-e	ʔa
3s-1e	ʔaŋ- -yuk	-ʔi	pa-
3d-1e	ʔaŋ- -ci-t-ci	pa-	pa-
3p-1e	ʔaŋ-u- -yuk	-a-c-k-e	pa-
3-1di	a- -ci-t-ci	pa-	pa-
3d-1pi	"	-a-c-e	pa-
3sp-1pi	a- -yuk	pa- -i(m)-k-e	pa- -i(m)-ka
		pa- -i-e	pa- -i

3-2s	m-a	-yuk	m-a	-e	ta	-e	ta	-a	
3-2d	m-a	-ci-t-ci	m-a	-a-c-e	ta	-a-c-e	ta	-a-ci	
3-2p	m-a	-i-t-i	m-a	-i-e	ta	-i-e	ta	-i	
3s-3s		u-t-u		-u-e		-yo		-u	
-3ns		u-ci-t-ci		-u-c-e		-yo-c-yo		-u-c-yu	
3d-3s		"		-a-c-u-e	pa	-a-c-e	pa	-a-ci	
-3ns		"		-a-c-u-c-e	pa	-e	pa	-a	
3p-3s	u	u-t-u	u	-u-e					
-3ns	u	u-ci-t-ci	u	-u-c-e					
Intransitive									
1s		-ŋa-ʔa		-a-ŋ-e		-uŋ-e		-uŋa	
1de		-ci-t-ci-ŋa		-a-ci-ŋ-e		-a-c-k-e		-a-c-ka	
1pe		-i-t-i-ŋa		-i-ŋ-e		-im-k-e		-im-ka	
1di		-ci-t-ci		-a-c-e		-a-c-e		-a-ci	
1pi		-i-t-i		-i-e		-i-e		-i	
2s	a	-yuk	a	-e	ta	-e	ta	-a	
2d	a	-ci-t-ci	a	-a-c-e	ta	-c-e	ta	-a-ci	
2p	a	-i-t-i	a	-i-e	ta	-i-e	ta	-i	
3s		-		-e		-e		-a	
3d		-ci		-a-c-e		-a-c-e		-a-ci	
3p	u		u	-e		-e		-a	
-a	Athpare PT stem suffix								
-a	Camling extended stem suffix								

A2 Basic Tenses (contin.)

THULUNG

	NPT	PT
1s-2s	-ni	
-2d	-ni-ci	
-2p	-ni	
1d-2s	-na-ci	
-2d	"	
-2p	-ni-ci-mi	
1p-2s	-na-mi	
-2d	-na-ci-mi	
-2p	-ni-mi	
1s-3s	-u	-to
-3d	-u-ci	-to-ci
-3p	-u-mi	-to-mi
1de-3	-c-u-ku	-co-ko
1di-3	-ci	
1pe-3	-ku	-to-ko
1pi-3s	-i	-T-i
-3d	-i-ci	-T-(ci)
-3p	-i-(mi)	-T-i-(mi)
2s-1s	-ŋj	-ŋj-ŋj
2d-1s	-ŋj-ci	-ŋj-ŋj-ci
2p-1s	-ŋj-mi	-ŋj-ŋj-mi
2-1de	-ci-ki	
2-1pe	-ki-mi	-t-i-ki
2s-3s	-na	
-3d	-na-(ci)	
-3p	-na-(mi)	
2d-3	-ci	
2p-3s	-ni	
-3d	-ni-(ci)	
-3p	-ni-(mi)	

KHALING

	NPT	PT
	-nä	-tä-ni
	-su	-tä-su
	-nu	-tä-nu
	i-	-tä
	i-	-i-t-i
	i-	-tä-nu
	=1d-2	
	-u	-ta
	-su	-ta-su
	-nu	-ta-nu
	-u	-u-t-u
	-i	-i-t-i
	-ka	-ta-ka
	-ki	-t-i-ki
	"	"
	"	"
	-ŋa	-ä-ta
	-ŋa-su	-ä-ta-su
	-ŋa-mu	-ä-ta-nu
	-u	-u-t-u
	-ka	-ta-ka
	-ü	-tä
	-su	-tä-su
	-nu	-tä-nu
	-i	-i-t-i
	-ni	-tä-nu
	"	"
	"	"

ea, 2.35

3-1e=2-1									
3-1di	-sa-ci	-sa- q -a-ci	3-1di	i-	-i-	-tā-i			
3s(d-1)pi	-sa	-sa- q -a	-1pi	i-	-ki	-t-i-ki			
3p-1nsi	-sa-mi	-sa- q -a-mi							
3s(d-2s	-na		3-2s	i-		-tā			
-2d	-na-ci		-2d	i-	-i-	-t-i-i			
-2p	-ni-mi		-2p	i-	-ni	-tā-nu			
3p-2s	-na-mi								
-2d	-na-ci-mi								
-2p	-ni-mi								
3s-3s	-ü	-T-ü			-ü	-tā			
-3d	-ü-(ci)	-T-ü-(ci)			-su	-tā-su			
-3p	-ü-(mi)	-T-ü-(mi)			-nu	-tā-nu			
3d-3s/d	-ci				-su	-tā-su			
3d-3p	-ci-(mi)				-nu	-tā-nu			
3p-3s/p	-mi	-mi- q -i			"	"			
3p-3d	-mi-(ci)	-mi- q -i-(ci)			"	"			
Intransitive									
1s	-ju	-ju- q			-pa	?			
1de	-cu-ku	-cu-ko			-cu	?			
1pe	-ku	-to-ko			-ka	-ta-ka			
1di	-ci				-ci	?			
1pi	-i	- q -i			-ki	-t-i-ki			
2s	-na								
2d	-ci				-ci	-tā			
2p	-ni				-ni	-tā-ni			
3s	-	-ta			-	-tā			
3d	-ci				-ci	-t-i			
3p	-mi	-mi- q -i			-nu	-tā-nu			

A3: negative paradigms

ATHPARE
negNPT

1 +2s -ne-n-na
-2d -ne-n-ci-n-ga
-2p -ne-n-nin-ga

or:

1 -2s -ni-n-na
-2d -ni-n-ci-n-ga
-2p -ni-n-nin-ga

1s -3s -ni-n-na
-3ns -ni-n-c-i-p-ga
1dc-3 -c-u-n-na-na
-3ns -c-u-n-na-ga
1di-3 -c-u-n-na
-3ns -c-u-n-ga
1pe-3s -ni-m-ma-na
-3ns -ni-m-ci-m-ma-ga
1pi-3s -ni-m-na
-3ns -ni-m-ci-m-ga

2s-1 a -ni-n-na
2d-1 a -ci-n-na-ga
2p-1 a -i-n-t-i-n-na-ga

2-3s a -u-n-na
-3ns a -u-n-ci-n-ga
2d-3s a -u-n-c-un-na
-3ns a -u-n-c-un-ga
2p-3s a -ni-m-na
-3ns a -ni-m-ci-m-ga

negPT / neg PROG

-ne-n-get-ne-n-na
-ne-n-get-ne-n-ci-n-ga
-ne-n-get-ne-n-nin-ga

-ni-n-get-ni-n-na
-ni-n-get-ni-n-ci-n-ga
-ni-n-get-ni-n-in-n-ga

-ni-n-get-ni-n-na
-ni-n-get-ni-n-c-i-p-ga
-u-n-get-a-ci-m-na-na
-u-n-get-a-ci-m-na-ga
-u-n-get-a-c-u-n-na
-u-n-get-a-c-u-n-ga
-ni-m-get-ni-m-na
-ni-m-get-ni-m-ci-m-ma-ga
-ni-m-get-ni-m-na
-ni-m-get-ni-m-ci-m-ga

a -ni-n-get-ni-n-na
a -ci-n-get-ci-n-na-ga
a -i-n-get-i-n-na-ga

a -u-n-get-u-n-na
a -u-n-get-u-n-ci-n-ga
a -c-u-n-get-c-u-n-na
a -c-u-n-get-c-u-n-ga
a -ni-m-get-ni-m-na
a -ni-m-get-ni-m-ci-m-ga

3s-1e	yaj-	-ni-na	yaj-	-ni-get-ni-na
3d-1e	yaj-	-ci-n-ga	yaj-	-ci-n-get-ci-n-ga
3p-1e	yaj-u-	-ni-N-ga	yaj-u-	-ni-get-ni-ga
3-1di	a-	-ni-ci-n-ga	a-	-ci-n-get-ci-n-ga
3-1pi	a-	-n-i-na	a-	-ni-get-ni-ga
3-2s	m-a-	-ni-na	m-a-	-ni-get-ni-na
3-2d	m-a-	-ci-n-ga	m-a-	-ci-n-get-ci-n-ga
3-2p	m-a-	-i-n-ga	m-a-	-i-n-gett-i-n-ga
3s-3s		-ni-na	u-n-	gett-u-n-na
-3ns		-ni-ci-n-ga	u-n-	gett-u-n-ci-n-ga
3d-3		-c-u-n-na	c-u-n-	get-c-u-n-na
-3ns		-c-u-n-ga	c-u-n-	get-c-u-n-ga
3p-3s	u-	-ni-na	u-	gett-u-n-na
-3ns	u-	-ni-ci-n-ga	u-	gett-u-n-ci-n-ga
Intransitive				
1s		-ni-n-na		-ni-n-get-ni-n-na
1de		-ci-n-na-ga		-ci-n-get-ci-n-na-ga
1di		-ci-n-ga		-ci-n-get-ci-n-ga
1pe		-i-n-na-ga		-i-n-gett-i-n-na-ga
1pi		-i-n-ga		-i-n-gett-i-n-ga
2s	a-	-ni-na	a-	-ni-get-ni-na
2d	a-	-ci-n-ga	a-	-ci-n-get-ci-n-ga
2p	a-	-i-n-ga	a-	-i-n-gett-i-n-ga
3s		-ni-na		-ni-get-ni-na
3d		-ci-n-ga		-ci-n-get-ci-n-ga
3p	u-	-ni-ga	u-	-ni-get-ni-na

A3: (contin.):

BANTAWA

	neg. NPT	neg. PT	
1s-2s	-na-n	man-	-da-na
-2d	-na-n-c-a-n	man-	-da-na-ca
-2p	-na-n-min	man-	-da-na-nin
1de-2s/d	-nancan	man-	-da-na-ca
-2p	-i(n)-min	im-man-	-da-nin (or man-im-)
1pe-2s	-n-in	im-man-	
-2d	-ci-n	im-man-	-da-ci
-2p	-i(n)-min	im-man-	-da-nin
1s-3s	-n-i-ŋ	man-	-do-ŋ
-3ns	-n-i-ŋ-ci-ŋ	man-	-do-ŋ-c-i-ŋ
1di-3	-c-u-n	man-	-da-c-u
1de-3	-c-a-n	man-	-da-c-a
1pi-3	-i(n)-min(-ci-n)	man-	-do-m(-c-im)
1pe-3	-i(n)-min(-ci-n)-ka	man-	-do-m(-c-im)-ka
2s-1s	-n-i-ŋ	ti-man-	-da-ŋ
2s/d-1de	-c-a-n	ti-man-	-da-c-a
2d-1s	-n-i-ŋ-c-i-ŋ	ti-man-	-da-ŋ-c-i-ŋ
2p-1s	-n-i-ŋ-n-i-ŋ	ti-man-	-da-ŋ-n-i-ŋ
2p-1de	-ni(n)-min-ci-n	?	
2-1pe	-i(n)-min-ka	ti-man-	-d-in-ka
2s-3s	-u-n	ti-man-	-do
-3ns	-u-n-ci-n	ti-man-	-do-ci
2d-3	-c-u-n	ti-man-	-da-c-u
2p-3s	-i(n)-min	ti-man-	-da-num
-3ns	-i(n)-min-ci-n	ti-man-	-da-num
3s-1s	-n-i-ŋ	man-	-da-ŋ

-lde	-c-a-n	man-	-da-c-a	
-ldi	-ci-n	man-	-da-ci	
-lpe	-i(n)-min-ka	i-man-	-d-in-ka	(or: man-i)
-lpi	-i(n)-min	i-man-	-d-in	
3ns-1s	-n-aj	im-man-	-da-ŋ	(or: man-im-)
-lde	-c-a-n	im-man-	-da-c-a	
-ldi	-ci-n	im-man-	-da-ci	
-lpe	-i(n)-min-ka	im-man-	-d-in-ka	
-lpi	-i(n)-min	im-man-	-d-in	
3s-2s	-nin	ti-man-	-da	(or: man-ti)
-2d	-ci-n	ti-man-	-da-ci	
-2p	-i(n)-min	ti-man-	-da-nin	
3ns-2s	-nin	im-man-	-da	(or: man-im-)
-2d	-ci-n	im-man-	-da-ci	
-2p	-i(n)-min	im-man-	-da-nin	
3s-3s	-u-n	man-	-do	
-3ns	-u-n-ci-n	man-	-do-ci	
3d-3	-c-u-n	(i-)man-	-da-c-u	(or: man-i)
3p-3s	-nin	i-man-	-(da)	
3p-3ns	-u-n-ci-n	im-man-	-do-ci	(or: man-im-)

Appendix B: Texts

Sources of the texts

The Bantawa text *kutiwa-nin mina* (BANT 5) is taken from Rai (1985: 231ff). The other Bantawa texts are from unpublished manuscripts by Rai & Winter.

The Khaling text *Soroli-kolo ut-kolo* is no. 2 of Toba's collection (1983), *kampo braahäm* is his no. 12. I have changed the number of the first story, as I have reserved the numbers 1-4 for the four main episodes of Rai mythology, which will be published in a separate volume.

From Thulung only mythological texts and legends are available. I therefore included *Baginanda* (TH 4) and the story about *Ramli* (TH 5), which were published with a word by word translation in Allen (1975: 140ff, 148ff).

The Athpare and Camling materials were collected during my own fieldwork in Nepal. The Athpare stories were told by Pabhitri Rai (Pa 1, Pa 2) and Jaya Rai (Ja 1). As Athpare does not share the Rai mythology, I have kept the numbers of the texts I used in other publications. The Camling stories were told by Baldhar Rai (Bal 5, Bal 6) and Jhanaman Rai (Jh 5) from Khamla village and represent the southeastern dialect. Due to the lack of other material from the northwestern dialect I have included a mythological text told by Lal Bahadur Rai from Bamrang (Lal 3).

Thanks to all those who allowed me to use their material! I alone am responsible for the glossings and for the mistakes they will inevitably contain.

For the glossing of the texts (except for Athpare) I used the interlinear translation (IT) program developed by the SIL (1989 version).

In the Athpare texts I have marked loanwords from Nepali by italics. In the other texts this was not possible, as the IT-program does not allow different fonts or character types in one line. Loans from Nepali are therefore indicated by (N) in the glosses.

Pa1 (Athpare)
sosa-lok yusana
rabbit and tiger

1. **achoo bo thik sosa bo thik jangalda-ni yuṅa-na, yusana-ṅa**
 earlier REP one rabbit REP one jungle-LOC exist:PT-NML tiger-ERG

nis-u-e.
 see-3P-PT

Long time ago there lived a rabbit in a jungle, a tiger saw it.

2. **sosa-lai bo yusana-ṅa "khan ca-naʔa, khan ca-naʔa, khan ca-**
 rabbit-DAT REP tiger-ERG you eat-1>2:NPT [rep.]

naʔa," lod-u-e.
 tell-3P-PT

The tiger said to the rabbit: "I'll eat you, I'll eat you, I'll eat you."

3. **hitnuṅnam bo sosa-m bo pig-e: 'aṅa-na tyuṅa-na, ca-ni-**
 then REP rabbit-TOP REP say-PT I-FOC be_small-NML eat-NEG-

ṅ, aṅa-na tyuṅa-na.
 1s [rep.]

Thereupon the rabbit said: "I am so small; don't eat me, I am so small.

4. **aṅa bhandā the-na khan gadde niṅ-na ka-tak**
 I COMPAR be_big-NML you like be_similar-NML your-friend

yaa cuwadam-i yuṅwa.
 over_there well-LOC exists

There is one bigger than me over there in the well, your friend similar to you.

5. **cuwadam-i khat-ci hitna cuwadam puy-u hitna golo khan-ṅa**
 well-LOC go-d that well look-3P that FOC you-ERG

co,' lod-u-e bo hitna sosa-ṅa yusana-lai.
 eat:3P tell-3P-PT REP that rabbit-ERG tiger-DAT

Let's go to the pond, look into the pond, and that you eat!" said the rabbit to the tiger.

6. **hitnuṅnam bo khada-c-e bo khadace bo, hitnuṅnam bo pu-**
 then REP go:PT-d-PT REP [rep.] then REP look-

mett-u-e cuwadam the-na cuwadam bo cuwadam-i bo
 CAUS-3P-PT pond big-NML pond REP pond-LOC REP

yusana-ŋa ape u-chaya nis-u-e.
tiger-ERG own his-shadow see-3P-PT

Thereupon the two went to the pond, [the rabbit] showed him the pond, a big pond, and in the pond the tiger saw his own shadow.

7. hitna nis-u-na-m bo 'yo-na rok khanna ka-tak.
that see-3P-NML-TOP REP below-NML PART your your-friend

When he saw it, [rabbit said]: "the one down there is your friend.

8. lu yo-na rok a-ka-ca khan-ŋa co-ak!'
well below-NML PART my-AP-eat you-ERG eat:3P-FUT:EMPH

Well, that one down there, eat that one who eats me!"

9. hitna the-masum the-na khan gadde niŋ-na khan ka-ca
that be_big-? be_big-NML you like seem-NML you AP-eat

yungwa, hitna khan gadde-na yusana hitna ka-tak bo co!"
exists that you like-NML tiger that your-friend REP eat:3P

lod-u-e bo.
tell-3P-PT REP

That huge one looking like you, that friend of yours that looks like a tiger, that one eat!" he said to him.

10. 'hatlem de khan ca-naʔa, hatlem de khan ca-naʔa, hatlem de
now what you eat-1>2:NPT [rep.]

khan ca- naʔa,' lod-u-na-m bo garo-lamma cuwadam o-tuŋ-
tell-3P-NML-TOP REP mud_wall-ABL well its-top-

lamma phood amsa-na-m bo yusana-m bo cubluk! cuwa-ŋi
ABL IDEO jump-NML-TOP REP tiger-TOP REP IDEO water-LOC

bo liga-rh-e.
REP sink:PT-V2:away-PT

"Now I will eat you, now I will eat you, now I will eat you," he said and when he jumped up the mud wall and over the well, 'cublik!' the tiger sank into the water.

11. cuwa-ŋi liga-uŋ hitnuŋnam bo sosa-m bo khusi lis-e
water-LOC sink:PT-SEQ then REP rabbit-TOP REP happy become-PT

bo.
REP

When he sank into the water, the rabbit rejoiced.

12. **hatlem a-ca-y-a-ŋ-e, hatlem acayaje, piga-lok bo ams-e.**
 now 2-eat-(y)-PT-1s-PT [rep.] say:PT-MAN REP jump-PT

Saying "now you have eaten me, now you have eaten me," it jumped about.

13. **hitnugnām bo hitna kharan-na ani bhandā the-na-lai**
 then REP that reason-INST we COMPAR be_big-NML-DAT

u-caphen-lok lod-ni-m-na, ani bhandā cicik-na-lai
 its-badness-COM speak-NEG-1pA-NML we COMPAR small-NML-DAT

hela mett-ni-m-na, ani bhandā the-na-lai
 contempt do-NEG-1pA-NML we COMPAR be_big-NML-DAT

kit-ni-m-na;
 fear-NEG-1pA-NML

Therefore let's not speak badly to those bigger than us, let's not despise those lower than us, let's not fear those above us.

14. **the-na yapmi-ŋa ca cicik-na yapmi-lai met-ma-set-ma**
 be_big-NML person-ERG also small-NML person-DAT do-INF-V2:kill-INF

li-ni-na, cicik-na yapmi-ŋa the-na yapmi-lai u-
 must-NEG-NML be_small-NML person-ERG be_big-NML person-DAT its-

caphen-lok riŋ lo-ma li-ni-na moja lo-ma kho-yuk.
 badness-COM speech speak-INF must-NEG-NML nicely speak-INF must-NPT

A person of higher status must not dominate a person of lower status, a person of lower status must not speak badly about a person of higher status, he must speak nicely.

15. **hitna-ŋa sosa-ŋa yusana sed-u-e.**
 that-INST rabbit-ERG tiger kill-3P-PT

Thus the rabbit killed the tiger.

Pa2 (Athpare)
cunau - elections

1. **aṅa sob-bhanda paile, sanango ath number wari-ni**
 I all-COMPAR first S. eight number ward-LOC

khada-ṅ-na bela-ṅa sobbe gaũ-ṅi dula lisa-ṅ-e.
 go:PT-1s-NML time-OBL all village-LOC walk become:PT-1s-PT

First, when I went to Sangtang ward number eight, I visited (in) all the village.

2. **dula lisa-ṅ-na bela-ṅa klab-mi-ga picha-ci-ṅa aṅa-lai**
 (rep.) -NML time-OBL club-LOC-NML youngster-ns-ERG I-DAT

rok bhot pi-naʔa', yaṅ-lod-e.
 PART vote give-1>2:NPT 1eP-tell-PT

At the time of my visit the youngsters of the club told me: "We'll give you the vote."

3. **tara iskul-dāda u-chik-ṅi-na dhumke budha-ṅa**
 but school-hill its-below-LOC-NML Dh. old_man-ERG

hitna unna-ga u-gaũ-i-ga chimeki-ci-lai sobbe-lair
 that his-NML his-village-LOC-NML neighbor-ns-DAT all-DAT

But the old Dhumke below the school hill (said to) all his village neighbors:

4. **'na pabhiri-lai bhot pi-ni-m-na, un menchema, yembecha**
 this P.-DAT vote give-NEG-1pA-NML she woman man

kolo bhot pid-u-m-t-um.
 FOC vote give-3P-1pA-NPT-copy

We will not give our vote to this Pabhiri, she is a woman, we give it to a man.

5. **menchema pak cog-u-t-u-ga.**
 woman what do-3P-NPT-copy-NML

What will a woman do?

6. **yembecha si-na-ṅa menchema sati khat-ga; menchema si-**
 man die-NML-OBL woman 'sati' go-NML woman die-

na-ṅa yembecha sati khat-ni-ga.
 NML-OBL man 'sati' go-NEG-NML

When the man dies the woman is burnt; when the woman dies, the man is not burnt.

7. hitna karan-na ani yembecha-na sobbe cunau-ŋi
that reason-INST we man-TOP all election-LOC

kursi-ŋi yuŋa-da-ga.
chair-LOC sit:PT-V2:RELIN-NML

Therefore in all elections we men kept the seats.

8. yembecha-na ani pid-u-m-na yembecha jati-ŋa.
man-TOP we give-3P-1pA-NML man all-ERG

We will give (our vote) to a man, all men (will).

9. menchema ca pi-met-ni-m-na, menchema-lai
woman also give-CAUS-NEG-1pA-NML woman-DAT

pi-ni-m-na.
give-NEG-1pA-NML

We will also make the women not to give (their vote); we will not vote for a woman.

10. ani jha-n-jha-ci, ani mama-ci, ani budhi sobbe ani
our y.sibling-(n) -y.sibling-ns our maternal_uncle-ns our wife all we

lod-u-m-ci-m-ga ani-leŋ nok-ma-ci kho-yuk,⁷
tell-3P-1pA-3nsP-copy-NML we-towards turn-INF-ns must-NPT

piga-lok un-na lod-u-c-e.
say-COM he-ERG tell-3P-3nsP-PT

Our younger relatives, our uncles, our wives, we will tell them all we must turn (the votes) toward us," he told them.

11. hitnungnam ā-m khodde lod-u-ŋ-e bhane, pheri handeŋ
then I-TOP how tell-3P-1s-PT QUOTE again next_day

lemba gadde khada-ŋ-e dui baje-leŋ khada-ŋ-e a-tak-ci-lok.
day like go:PT-1s-PT two hour-towards go:PT-1s-PT my-friend-ns-COM

Then, what did I say - the next day I went, towards two o'clock I went with my friends.

12. khada-ŋ-na 'hitna gaū-i-ga hitna burha-ŋa jamma
(rep.)-NML that village-LOC-NML that old_man-ERG all

nas cog-u-es-u-e,⁷ yaŋ-o-lod-e aru-ŋa.
damage make-3P-PERF-3P-PT 1eP-3pA/S-tell-PT other-ERG

As I went others told me: "As for those villagers, that old man has messed up everything."

13. **yaŋ-o-loda-ŋ** **ā-m** **khadde** **lod-u-ŋ-e** **bhaner** **'a-ruba,**
 (rep.) -SEQ I-TOP what tell-3P-1s-PT QUOTE my-grandfather

ā-m **khan** **kon-sa** **ta-ŋa-get-ŋa'**, **lod-u-ŋ-e.**
 I-EMPH you search-SIM come-1s-V2:PROG-1s tell-3P-1s-PT

When they told me, what did I say? - "My grandfather, I am coming in search of you," I said.

14. **lod-u-ŋ-na** **'poŋ** **te** **a-yaŋmen** **a-ta-e-na'** **yaŋ-lod-e.**
 (rep.) -NML why PART my-granddaughter 2-come-PT-NML 1eP-tell-PT

"Why did you come, my granddaughter?" he asked me.

15. **ā-m** **nadde** **kolo** **'na** **pali** **bhot** **cunau-ŋi** **koba-sa-ŋ-e**
 I-TOP thus PART this turn vote election-LOC stand:PT-PERF:PT-1s-PT

upapradhan **panchaye,**
 vice-P.

I then [answered] like this: "In this election I have stood up for Vice-Pradhan.

16. **aŋa** **ca** **kolo** **kha-ni-ŋa** **thik** **sobbe-ŋa** **bhot** **a-thett-i-ŋa-uŋ**
 I PART PART you-p-ERG one all-ERG vote 2-put-2pA-1s-SEQ

jita **yaŋ-cog-a-n-i,**
 win 1eP-make-PT-NML-Q

As for me, will you all vote for me and make me win?

17. **aŋa** **ca** **a-lahar** **kad-e** **na** **pali,** **hitna** **karan-na** **amtepmā**
 I PART my-wish come-PT this turn that reason-INST how_many

yembecha **o-gob-yuk-ga** **menchema** **u-palo.**
 man 3pA/S-stand-NPT-NML woman her-turn

I want [to win] this time, therefore [no matter] how many men stand up, it is woman's turn.

18. **menchema-ci-ŋa** **cahi** **yembecha-ci-ŋa** **gadde-na** **adikar** **yungwa,**
 woman-ns-OBL FOC man-ns-OBL like-NML right is

hitna **karan-na** **menchema** **yembecha** **ekkeu-na.**
 that reason-INST woman man same-NML

The women's right is the same as the men's, therefore woman and man are the same.

19. **yembecha** **erok** **paŋ-ma-na** **makhak;** **yembecha** **paile**
 man only send-INF-NML NEG:exist man earlier

paɲs-w-ett -u-m-ci-m-ga,
send-3P-PROG-3P-1pA-3nsP-copy-NML

We should not only send men; we have been sending men earlier.

20. menchema-ci hatlem khap-ma kol-e.
woman-ns now go-INF become_necessary-PT

Now women must go.

21. menchema ca kursi yuŋ-e bhane menchema-ci o-mon-ni-
woman also seat be-PT QUOTE/if woman-ns 3pA/S-be_shy-NEG
si-ni u-kit-ni.
V2:die-NEG 3p-fear-NEG

If there were also a woman's seat, the women would not be shy, they would not be intimidated (as they will in a man's office).

22. 'ani gadde-na menchema rok yuŋgwa-na rahecha,' u-mit-yuk,
we like-NML woman PART is-NML turned_out 3pA/S-think-NPT

hitna karan-na sobbe-lai sojilo li-yuk.
that reason-INST all-DAT easy become-NPT

"It turned out to be a woman like us," they will think, therefore it will become easy for everyone.

23. ofis-ni kam cok-ma ca unciga nagarikta lis-e, dhanipurja
office-LOC work do-INF also their citizenship become-NPT land_rights

lis-e, sobbe kam cahine menchema muk-lamma
become-NPT all work FOC woman hand-ABL

menchema-ci o-mon-ni-si-ni.
woman-ns 3pA/S-shy-NEG-V2:die-NEG

They have work in the office, they have citizenship and land-rights, whatever problem there is, from a woman's hand the women will not shy away.

24. yembecha-ci erok amtepma a-hond-i-t-i-ga, menchema-
man-ns only how_much 2-come_out-2p-NPT-2p-NML woman-

ci-ŋa ca kam u-tub-u-t-u,' lod-u-ŋ-e.
ns-ERG also work 3pA/S-find-3P-NPT-copy tell-3P-1s-PT

No matter how many men will come out, the women will also find their work," I said.

25. hitnuŋnam khodde hitna-m budha-ŋa yaŋ-lod-e bhane, 'aha?,
then what that-TOP old_man-ERG 1P-tell-PT QUOTE INTJ

li-ni-ga.
become-NEG-NML

Then what? That old man told me: "No, this will not happen.

26. **ā-m lo-ma hi-ni-n-n-e, a-yaṅmen.**
I-EMPH tell-INF can-NEG-1>2-NML-EMPH my-granddaughter

I can't tell you, my granddaughter.

27. **aniya-lamma -m thik bhot ca khani khat-ni-na,**
our(e)-ABL-EMPH one vote even you(p) go-NEG-NML

sobbe bhot ghoda-ṅi khat-yuk," yaṅ-lod-e.
all vote horse-LOC go-NPT 1P-tell-PT

From our side not a single vote will go to you, all our votes will go to the 'horse'-party.

28. **natepma gaū-leṅ hum-ma-na lahap-ma-na, sobbe paisa**
so_much village-towards wear-INF-NML wish-INF-NML all money

cahap lis-es-e.
need become-PERF-PT

The village wants clothes, and everybody needs money.

29. **hitnuṅna paisa a-hott-u-e bhane bhot pi-naṅa,**
then money 2-take_out-3P-PT QUOTE/if vote give-1>2:NPT

a-hott-u-att-u-n bhane bhot pi-ne-n-na,' pig-e.
2-take_out-3P-AUX-3P-NEG QUOTE/if vote give-NEG-1>2-NEG say-PT

Now, if you offer us money, we will give you the vote, if you don't, we will not give you the vote.

30. **hitnuṅnam 'paisa-m makhak, a-ruba, nadde-ga iṅa**
then money-TOP NEG:exist my-grandfather, like-NML beer

raksi pi-naṅa,' lod-u-ṅ-na.
raksi give-1>2NPT tell-3P-1s-NML

Then I told him: "I have no money, my grandfather, I will give you things like beer and raksi."

31. **'mh?' ten-n-et-ni.**
INTJ agree-NEG-AUX-NEG

"M'm," he was not content.

32. *iṅa ca pid-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ-e, raksi ca pid-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ-e.*
 beer also give-3P-1s-3nsP-copy-PT raksi also give-3P-1s-3nsP-copy-PT

I gave them beer and I gave them raksi.

33. *sobbe sanango-e-ga chums-u-ŋ-ci-u-ŋ raksi ca pid-u-*
 all Sangtang-LOC-NML gather-3P-1s-3nsP-3P-copy raksi also give-3P-
ŋ-ci-ŋ-e iṅa raksi -m u-thuŋ-o-coḡ-u-ŋ latt-e.
 1s-3nsP-copy-PT beer raksi-TOP 3pA/S-drink-3pA/S-V2:do-3P-SEQ finish-PT

I gathered all the Sangtang people and gave them raksi, they drank beer and raksi, finished.

34. *handeŋ pheri cunaī bela paisa u-nakt-e.*
 next_day again election time money 3pA/S-beg-PT

The next day again at election time they asked for money.

35. *paisa u-nakta-na-m klab-mi-ga picha-ci iṅa erok*
 money 3pA/S-beg:PT-NML-TOP club-LOC-NML child-ns beer only

thuk-mett-u-ŋ-ci-u-ŋ, pāc pathi thuk-mett-u-ŋ-ci-u-ŋ,
 prepare-CAUS-3P-1s-3nsP-3P-1s five p. (rep.)

When they asked for money, I made the club people brew beer only, five pathi I made them prepare.

36. // *satthi bhot klab-mi-ga picha-ci-lamma tay-e, yembecha-ci-*
 60 vote club-LOC-NML child-ns-ABL come-PT man-ns-

lamma aphantā aphantā-lamma thik thik tay-e.
 ABL relative-ABL one one come-PT

60 votes came from the young people of the club; from the men and one or the other relative there came one vote here, one vote there.

37. *pheri handeŋ lembā dui baje yusana kada-uŋ un-lai*
 again next_day day two hour morning go:PT-SEQ he-DAT

paisa pid-u-ŋ-e hitna budha-lai.
 money give-3P-1s-PT that old_man-DAT

The next day again I went at two in the morning and I gave money to that old man.

38. *paisa piduṅe hitna budhalai, paisa piduŋ-uŋ, 'lo, mamō,*
 [rep.] SEQ okay child(ADDR)

handeŋ-na ka-bhot sobbe khana-lai rok pi-ne, lo, khana-lai
 next_day-NML your-vote all you-DAT PART give-1>2 okay you-DAT

rok lis-e,' piga-uŋ un *khusi* lisa-uŋ kada-ŋ-e.
 PART become-PT say:PT-SEQ he happy become:PT-SEQ go:PT-1s-PT

When I gave the money to the old man he said. "O.k., child, tomorrow we will vote for you, o.k., it became your's," and he was happy and I went.

39. hitnuŋ handeŋ lemba gadde un-na *bhot* ka-thet-ci yapmi-ci
 then next-day daylight like he-ERG vote AP-put-ns people-ns

un-na *bithalya* cog-u-att-u-n-ci-n. //
 he-ERG disturbance make-3P-AUX-3P-NEG-3nsP-copy

Then the next day he did not disturb the voters.

40. aŋa *jita-ŋa* rok cog-u-ŋ-e.
 I win-EMPH PART make-3P-1s-PT

I really won the elections.

Jal (Athpare) dharma - religion

1. J: *khristyēn dharma aṅa a-niṅwa ta-sa-na, poṅ bhane*
 Christian religion my my-liking come:PT-PERF:PT-NML why QUOTE

hitna dharma-i sammaṅ cok-ma-na phak-ci-let, waji-let
 that religion-LOC ancestor_worship do-INF-NML pig-ns-DIM chicken:ns-DIM

set-ma ko-ni-na; sammaṅ ca cok-ma
 kill-INF be_necessary-NEG-NML ancestor_worship also do-INF

ko-ni-na.
 be_necessary-NEG-NML

I like the Christian religion, because in that religion in order to do worship it is not necessary to kill piglets and chicken; also it is not necessary to do the ancestor worship.

2. *poṅs-i-na si-i-na, biha lis-i-na*
 be_born-1pP/S-NML die-1pP/S-NML marriage become-1pP/S-NML

bela ca bo kharca li-ni-na.
 time also much expense become-NEG-NML

When we are born, when we die, when we get married, no big expenses will come up.

3. *phak-ci-let waji-let sed-u-m-na ubho lahap lis-i-na,*
 pig-ns-DIM chicken:ns-DIM kill-3P-1pA-NML high(?) afflict AUX-1pS-NML

hitna-ṅa kristyēn dharma-lok nu-na.
 that-INST Chr. religion-COM be_good-NML

As we (always) kill piglets and chicken, we have high costs, therefore it is good to be with the Christian religion.

4. K: *poṅ kristyēn dharma manā a-cog-u-n-na?*
 why Chr. religion meditation 2-make-3P-NEG-NML

K: Why do you not follow the Christian religion?

5. J: *poṅ bhane kristyēn dharma-na aru sobbe kam očetnu-na,*
 why QUOTE Chr. religion -ATTR other all work nice-NML

tara ani paba mama si-na bela, paba mama-na pap kata
 but our father mother die-NML time father mother-ATTR sin cut

cok-ma dukha khu-ma-na calan woina.
 make-INF grief carry-INF-NML tradition exists_not

Because, concerning the Christian religion, all other things are nice, but when our father and mother die, there is no tradition to cut father and mother's sin, to carry the grief.

6. **barā o-cog-u-n-na, paba mama-na pap katā cok-ma**
fast(?) 3pA/S-make-3P-NEG-NML father mother-ATTR sin cut make-INF

u-hid-u-na, poŋ bhane unci-ya a-tog-e the-lok
3pA/S-can-3P-NML why QUOTE they-ERG 1piP-support-PT be_big-MAN

a-cog-e.
1piP-make-PT

As they do not fast, they can not cut off their father and mother's sin, because they have supported us, they have raised us.

7. **tara unci u-si-na bela dukha khu-n-et-ni-m**
but they 3pA/S-die-NML time grief carry-NEG-AUX-NEG-1pA

bhane ani ui-cha-ci-ya pap katā cok-ma hi-ni-m-na.
QUOTE/if we their-child-ns-ERG sin cut make can-NEG-1pA-NML

But if we don't carry grief when they die, we their children can not cut their sin.

8. **K: Dhankutta-i bo kristyēn dharmā-na ka-cok yapmi-ci u-yungwa?**
Dh.-LOC much Christian religion-ATTR AP-do person-ns 3pP/S-be

K: Are there many followers of the Christian religion in Dhankutta?

9. **J: nahī kristyēn dharmā-na ka-cok-ci pāc ghar u-yungwa.**
here Christian religion-GEN AP-do-ns five house 3pA/S-be

J: Five houses here are followers of the Christian religion.

10. **aniya gaŋ-i thi-baŋ briten yapmi u-niŋ Jilko.**
our(e) village-LOC one-CL British person her-name J.

In our village there is one British, her name is Jilko.

11. **Jilko-ŋa paŋ in-u-es-u-e.**
J.-ERG house buy-3P-PERF-3P-PT

Jilko has bought a house.

12. **un-na tuhura picha-ci /.../ omd-u-ci-uŋ podaŋ ca**
she-ERG orphan child-ns care-3P-3nsP-SEQ learn also

cog-u-ci-ga.
make-3P-3nsP-NML

She takes care of orphans and teaches them.

13. **Jilko-na u-paŋ-i unna-ga u-tak-ci hatle ca u-yungwa.**
 J.-ATTR her-house-LOC her-ATTR her-friend-ns now also 3pA/S-be

In Jilko's house there are also friends of her's now.

14. **unci-ya ca kristyēn dharmā-lok pracār cok-siŋa u-yungwa.**
 they-ERG also Christian religion -COM preaching make-PURP 3pA/S-be

They also stay here in order to missionize according to the Christian religion.

15. **aniya Rai-ci-ŋa ca na dharmā manā o-cog-u-ett-u,**
 our(e) Rai-ns-ERG also this religion meditation 3pA/S-make-3P-PROG-3P

poŋ bhane aŋa-na bicar-ni aniya Rai-ci-na ritiriwaj
 why QUOTE my-ATTR opinion -LOC our(e) Rai-ns-GEN custom

bo kharca lahap li-na janai piche sammaŋ
 much expense need become-NML everybody ancestor_worship

e sammaŋ cok-ma-yak-ma-na;
 EMPH ancestor_worship make-INF-V2:x-INF-NML

[Some of] our Rai people are also practicing this religion, because in my opinion our Rai customs need too much expenses, everyone makes worship after worship.

16. **yapmi-ci birami u-lis-e bhane, phapu ka-cok-ci**
 man-ns ill 3pA/S-become-PT QUOTE/if divination AP-make-ns

yapmi-ci u-tad-u-c-e bhane, thik-thik sammaŋ-na dos
 man-ns 3pA/S-bring-3P-3nsP-PT QUOTE/if one-one ancestor-ATTR blame

u-pu-mett-u-ci-ga,
 3pA/S-speak-make-3P-3nsP-NML

If a man has fallen ill, and if they bring the diviners, they make them accuse one or the other ancestor:

17. **"kohi rimet-na ma-had-e, kohi hoŋ-i-na ma-yaŋs-e, kohi**
 some spirit-ERG 3>2-bite-PT some river-LOC-NML/ERG 3>2-hit-PT some

khaniya sammaŋ nās lis-e, kohi aru-ŋa ban lahap
 your(p) ancestor damage become-PT some other -ERG arrow afflict

ma-cog-e," pik-sa sammaŋ cok-muŋ-sa bo phak-ci-let
 3>2-make-PT speak-SIM ancestor_worship make-?-SIM much pig-ns-DIM

waji-let, yumaliŋ, iŋa thuk-ma-cok-ma-uŋ
 chicken:ns-DIM raksi beer distill-INF-V2:make-INF-SEQ

pi-ma-ci-ga bo kharca lahap li-na
 give-INF-ns-NML much expense afflict AUX-NML.

"Such-and-such bad spirit bit you, such-and-such river-ghost hit you, such-and-such of your ancestors became annoyed, such-and-such other shot at you," [he] speaking and performing like this, we have to give many pigs, chicken, raksi - we have to prepare millet beer and give all these things to them, we have huge expenses.

18. **D: kristyən dharma prasar prasar ka-cok yapmi-ci-ya nahi-ga**
 Christian religion preaching AP-do man-ns-ERG here-NML

yapmi-ci uphaba u-pid-u-ci-t-ci, unci cha-ci
 man-ns money 3pA/S-give-3P-3nsP-NPT-copy they child-ns

poda li-ŋa u-paŋs-u-ci-t-ci.
 learning become-PURP 3pA/S-send-3P-3nsP-NPT-copy

D: The Christian missionaries give money to the people here, they send their children to learn.

19. **J: tara unci handeŋ-samma kristyən-lok li-ma u-hi-**
 but they tomorrow-until Christian-COM become-INF 3pA/S-can-

ni-ga poŋ bhane jun yapmi-ci kristyən lis-e
 NEG-NML why QUOTE which man-ns Christian become-PT

hitna yapmi-ci aniya samaj-ni unci cimma u-phut-u-ci-ga.
 that man-ns our(e) society -LOC they despision 3pA-?-3P-3nsP-NML

J: But they cannot be Christians for long, because the people who became Christian are despised in our society.

20. **unci paŋ-bhitra hutluŋ-i lik-ma u-pid-u-n-ci-n-**
 they house-inside fireplace-LOC enter-INF 3pA/S-give-3P-NEG-3nsP-NEG-

ga, unci-ya u-thukt-u-ga o-co-n-ga,
 NML they-ERG 3pA/S-cook-3P-3nsPNML 3pA/S-eat:3P-NEG-NML

unci u-cicik-ga choŋ o-lod-u-ci-ga.
 they 3sPOSS-small-NML caste 3pA-say-3P-3nsP-NML

They do not let them enter to the fireplace inside the house, they do not eat what they have cooked, they tell them that they are of low caste.

21. **paŋ-bhitra lik-ma nu-ni-na o-lod-u-ci-ga.**
 house-inside enter-INF be_good-NEG-NML 3pA/S-say-3P-3nsP-NML

They tell them that they must not enter their house.

22. **paŋ-bhitra u-lig-e bhane aniya rai-ci-ga sammaŋ**
 house-inside 3pA/S-enter-PT QUOTE our(e) Rai-ns-ATTR deity

nas *li-yuk,* *aniya kharca lahap lis-i-t-i-ga.*
 damage become-NPT our(e) expense afflict AUX-1p-NPT-copy-NML

If they enter into the house, our Rai deity will be insulted, we will have great expenses.

23. "*khani golo samman a-cog-en-ga, khaniga pak*
 you:p FOC ancestor_worship 2-do-NEG-NML your(p) what

ca nas li-ni-ga,' o-lod-u-ci-t-ci.
 also damage become-NEG-NML 3pA/S-say-3P-3nsP-NPT-copy

"You do not worship [like us], so what damage could you have," they tell them.

25. *hitnuḡa kristyēn dharmā-na ka-cok-ci-ga ca niḡwa nas*
 now Christian religion -ATTR AP-do-ns-NML also mind damage

li-yuk, mana cok-ma-ni mana mi-cok-ma-ni dodhār
 become-NPT meditation do-INF-Q meditation NEG-do-INF-Q dilemma

u-li-yuk.
 3pA/S-become-NPT

The mind of those who practice the Christian religion will be in trouble; whether they worship or not, they are in a dilemma.

sp **BANT 5 (Bantawa)**
sp **kutiwa-nin mina - dog and man**

ref BANT 5.1

tx **uile sibathəli bona-da buwaso -dangka kutiwa jənməi lis -a**
gl earlier(N) S. forest-LOC wild_dog-ABL dog birth(N) become-PT

tx **nimang.**
gl REP

tr *Once a dog was born by a wild dog in the Sibathali forest.*

ref BANT 5.2

tx **'o sənsara-da sang toppang yaʔang khoso nga ingka-ʔa sewa**
gl this world(N)-LOC who big be his EMPH I -ERG service(N)

tx **-cakara mi-nga' ying-a nimang.**
gl -x do-1s say -PT REP

tr *"Who is the biggest in this world, I shall do his service," he thought.*

ref BANT 5.3

tx **khunkiya moko kutiwa yuni yuni chongga-ci sen-yang -sa dhant**
gl so that dog below below bird -ns ask -V2:CONT-SIM bring_down

tx **-u -ci nimang.**
gl -3P-3nsP REP

tr *So the dog, asking the birds, came down with them.*

ref BANT 5.4

tx **'oko sənsara-da sang toppang yaʔang,' yingma sen-u -ci nimang.**
gl this world(N)-LOC who big be QUOTE ask -3P-3nsP REP

tr *"Who is the biggest in this world?" he asked them.*

ref BANT 5.5

tx **'yuni tokchama-yu niyanon papuhon-yu bhompalung nga səpəi**
gl below (rit. place) -loLOC earth(rit.) ECHO -loLOC elephant EMPH all(N)

tx **bhənda toppang yaʔang,' yingma chongga-ci-ʔa i -lo-w -a nimang.**
gl COMPAR big be QUOTE bird -ns-ERG INV-tell-(w)-PT REP

tr *"Down on the earth the elephant is the biggest," the birds told him.*

ref BANT 5.6

tx **'e moko lam-si khat-nga bhəne demkha ingka-ʔa dhir-u -ng**
gl INTJ that seek-PURP go -1s QUOTE/if(N) ever I -ERG find -3P-1s

tx hola he i -dhit -ning?' yingma sen-u -ci nimang.
gl MOD (N) or 3P/NEG-find -NEG:1s QUOTE ask -3P-3nsP REP

tr "When I go to look for him, will I find him or will I not find him?" he asked.

ref BANT 5.7

tx 'khana yuni yuni lam-sa lam-sa ti-khat-hida ti-dhir-u nga' yingma
gl you below below seek-SIM seek-SIM 2-go -TEMP 2-find -3P EMPH QUOTE

tx chongga-ci-?a i -lo -w -a -khais -a nimang.
gl bird -ns-ERG INV-tell-(w)-PT -V2:send_off-PT REP

tr "If you go down searching for him you will find him," the birds said and sent him away.

ref BANT 5.8

tx khunkiyalo moko kutiwa khar-a -ng -a kharanga kharanga-lo
gl then that dog go -PT-V2:CONT-PT [rep.] [rep.] -TOP

tx moko bhompalung ims -a -ng -a -wo -yu ta -la nimang.
gl that elephant sleep-PT -V2:CONT-PT-NML-loLOC come-V2.reach REP

tr The dog went and went and went and finally he reached the place where the elephant was sleeping.

ref BANT 5.9

tx 'həyna khana-lo demkha chang man -khang-na -wo jənuwara e
gl INTJ you -TOP ever also NEG-see -1s>2-NML animal INTJ

AMLE
Red cl.

tx khada-ngka khana ti-ta -yang dena ti-ta -wo' yingma moko
gl where -ABL you 2-come -V2:CONT why 2-come-NML QUOTE that

tx bhompalung-?a sen-u nimang.
gl elephant -ERG ask -3P REP

tr "Hi, you animal which I have never seen, where do you come from and why have you come," asked the elephant.

ref BANT 5.10

tx 'am -ning disumpa' yingma mosa-?a sen-u nimang.
gl 2sPOSS-name what QUOTE that -ERG ask -3P REP

tr "What's your name?" he asked him.

ref BANT 5.11

tx mo kutiwa-?a 'ingka makong' ying-a nimang.
gl that dog -ERG I M. say -PT REP

tr The dog replied: "I am Makong."

ref BANT 5.12

tx **mosa-ʔa** 'ingka amno sewa -cakara mi-si ta -ng-ko' yingmalo
gl that -ERG I your service(N)-x do -PURP come-1s -NML QUOTE

tx **nimang.**

gl REP

tr *"I have come from afar to serve you," he said.*

ref BANT 5.13

tx **moko bhompalung-ʔa** 'e khun bhone yung -e molo'
gl that elephant -ERG INTJ that QUOTE/if(N) remain-polIMPER PART

tx **yingmalo kiya khoko ims -a -yakt -a nimang.**

gl QUOTE and that_one sleep-PT -V2:CONTV-PT REP

tr *The elephant said: "Oh, if that's so, you may stay," and he went back to sleep.*

ref BANT 5.14

tx **moko kutiwa chang man-ca misa nga yung-a -yakt -a ng**
gl that dog also NEG-eat like_that EMPH stay -PT-V2:CONTV-PT-V2:CONT

tx **-a nimang.**

gl -PT REP

tr *The dog stayed without having eaten..*

ref BANT 5.15

tx **hanin nampik adharati -da -lo moko kutiwa 'honghong**
gl after_few_hours night midnight(N)-LOC-TOP that dog ONOM

tx **honghong honghong' ying-sa hukt -a nimang.**

gl ONOM ONOM say -SIM bark -PT REP

tr *After a few hours, at midnight, the dog barked "honghong, honghong, honghong".*

ref BANT 5.16

tx **khunkiyalo mo bhompalung-ʔa lo 'e man-huk-d -e**
gl then that elephant -ERG tell:3P INTJ NEG-bark-negAUX-polIMPER

tx **man-huk-d -e' yingmalo nimang.**

gl NEG-bark-negAUX-polIMPER QUOTE REP

tr *Then the elephant said: "Oh, don't bark, don't bark!"*

ref BANT 5.17

tx **kutiwa-ʔa 'dena i bhompalung a -hang-wol' yingma sen-u nimang.**
gl dog -ERG why PART elephant my-king -VOC QUOTE ask -3P REP

tr *The dog asked: "Why, my king?"*

ref BANT 5.18

tx 'dhinara-ʔa i -ʔen-in bhəne -lo molo i -ca-n ye
gl lion(N) -ERG INV-hear-1pS/P QUOTE/if(N)-TOP PART INV-eat-1pS/P PART

tx molo' yingma mosa-ʔa ying-a nimang.
gl PART QUOTE that -ERG say -PT REP

tr *"If the lion hears us, he will surely eat us," he said.*

ref BANT 5.19

tx moko kutiwa-ʔa lo 'e oko bhənda chang moko dhinara ye
gl that dog -ERG PART INTJ this COMPAR also that lion(N) PART

tx toppang rəchə' yingma min -a nimang.
gl big PART(N) QUOTE think-PT REP

tr *The dog thought: "Oh, the lion must be bigger than this one."*

ref BANT 5.20

tx munkiyalo moko mangkolen bhəni nga 'ingka-lo bida dot-ma
gl so that next_day morning(N) EMPH I -TOP leave(N) beg-INF

tx li -yang' yingma kiya bida dor-a nimang.
gl must-V2:CONT QUOTE and leave(N) ask -PT REP

tr *Next morning: "I have to ask for leave," he thought and he asked for leave.*

ref BANT 5.21

tx moko bhompalung chang 'ləu moloko ti-khat bhəne khar-e
gl that elephant also o.k. PART 2-go QUOTE/if(N) go -polIMPER

tx molo' yingma kiya bida pi nimang.
gl PART QUOTE and leave(N) give:3P REP

tr *The elephant said: "o.k., if you go, all right, then go," and he let him go.*

ref BANT 5.22

tx mosa-ʔa khunkiya moko dhinara lam-yang -sa lamyangsa khatt -u
gl that -ERG so that lion(N) seek-V2:CONT-SIM [rep.] go_after-3P

tx nimang.
gl REP

tr *So he went for the lion, seeking, seeking.*

ref BANT 5.23

tx **khar-a -ng -a kharanga-lo mosa-ʔa ikta buktang-da moko**
 gl go -PT-V2:CONT-PT [rep.] -TOP that -ERG one cave -LOC that

tx **dhinara dhir-u -khatt -u nimang.**
 gl lion(N) find -3P-V2:COMPL-3P REP

tr *He went and went and he discovered the lion in a cave.*

ref BANT 5.24

tx **'hona khana-lo ing-cama-singsi isa ye ti-kat -yang khana**
 gl oh! you -TOP my-food -stuff like PART 2-look_like-V2:CONT you

tx **khada ti-yung-ko' yingma mo dhinara-ʔa sen-u nimang.**
 gl where 2-stay -NML QUOTE that lion(N) -ERG ask -3P REP

tr *"Oh you, you look like my food, where do you live?" the lion asked.*

ref BANT 5.25

tx **'a -hang-wo ingka-lo oda səbəy amno sewa təhəla mi-ma**
 gl my-king -VOC I -TOP here all(N) your service(N) attendance(N) do-INF

tx **kiya amno achapicha-da yung -ma min -a -ng kiya ye ta -ng-ko'**
 gl and your protection -LOC stay -INF think-PT-1s and PART come-1s -NML

tx **yingma moko kutiwa-ʔa lo nimang.**
 gl QUOTE that dog -ERG tell:3P REP

tr *"My king, I am here to serve you, I thought to remain under your protection, and so I have come," the dog said.*

ref BANT 5.26

tx **'e dhənne khana picha ti-dor-a maʔang delo khana-lo ing-cama**
 gl INTJ well_done you shelter 2-ask -PT not_be PART you -TOP my-food

tx **-singsi isa ti-kat -yang molo' yingma dhinara-ʔa kutiwa lo**
 gl -stuff like 2-look_like-V2:CONT PART QUOTE lion(N) -ERG dog tell:3P

tx **nimang.**
 gl REP

tr *"Oh, well done, you ask for shelter, nevertheless you look like my food stuff," the lion told the dog.*

ref BANT 5.27

tx **khunkiya mo dhinara ims -a -yakt -a nimang; mo-da -ngka moko**
 gl so that.lion(N) sleep-PT-V2:CONTV-PT REP that-LOC-ABL that

tx **kutiwa chang moso-wo i -cik -da nga yung-a -yakt -a nimang.**
 gl dog also that -GEN his -near-LOC EMPH stay -PT-V2:CONTV-PT REP

tr *The lion went back to sleep, the dog stayed in his vicinity from then on.*

ref BANT 5.28

tx **mo kutiwa-ʔa 'o dhinara bhonda sang toppang yaʔang he mat -ning'**
 gl that dog -ERG this lion(N) COMPAR who big be or NEG-be

tx **yingma kiya adharati -da pheri 'hwang hwang hwang hwang' hukt-a**
 gl QUOTE and midnight(N)-LOC again(N) ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM bark -PT

tx **-lont -a nimang.**
 gl -V2:INCH-PT REP

tr *The dog thought: "Is there someone even bigger than the lion or not," and at midnight he started barking again: honghong! honghong!*

ref BANT 5.29

tx **'e khana man -huk-d -e man -huk-d -e mina-ci**
 gl INTJ you NEG-bark-negAUX-polIMPER NEG-bark-negAUX-polIMPER man -ns

tx **-ʔa im -ʔen-in bhone -lo im -ser-in ye**
 gl -ERG INV;pA(hon.)-hear-1pS/P QUOTE/if(N)-TOP INV;pA(hon.)-kill -1pS/P PART

tx **molo' yingma dhinara-ʔa kutiwa lo nimang.**
 gl PART QUOTE lion(N) -ERG dog tell:3P REP

tr *"Oh, don't bark, don't bark! Men will kill us if they hear us!" the lion told the dog.*

ref BANT 5.30

tx **'molo moko mina khada dhir-u -m khaysa kat' yingma kutiwa**
 gl PART that man where find -3P-1/2pA how look_like QUOTE dog

tx **-ʔa sen-u nimang.**
 gl -ERG ask -3P REP

tr *"If we find that man, what does he look like?" the dog asked.*

ref BANT 5.31

tx **'moko hang-cha mina ying-ma -wo dhit-ma muskila yaʔang.**
 gl that king -child man say -INF-NML find -INF difficult(Arab.) be

tr *"To find that man called 'king's child' is difficult.*

ref BANT 5.32

tx **moko deuta isa kat.**
 gl that god(N) like look_like

tr *He looks like a god.*

ref BANT 5.33

tx **moko ingkan isa jətabhabi yung-nin.**
gl that we(pe) like here_and_there(N) live -NEG

tr *He does not live here and there like us (he is sedentary).*

ref BANT 5.34

tx **moko hiwa-lang-ʔa bi' yingma dhinara-ʔa ying-a nimang.**
gl that two -foot -INST walk QUOTE lion(N) -ERG say -PT REP

tr *He walks on two legs," said the lion.*

ref BANT 5.35

tx **moko hang-cha-ʔa i -dhir-in bhəne i -ser-in' yingma mosa**
gl that king -child-ERG INV-find -1pS/P QUOTE/if(N) INV-kill -1pS/P QUOTE that

tx **-ʔa ying-a nimang.**
gl -ERG say -PT REP

tr *"If he finds us, he will kill us," he [the lion] said.*

ref BANT 5.36

tx **munkiyalo moko kutiwa-ʔa lo 'e moko hang-cha ye dhiwang**
gl so that dog -ERG PART INTJ that king -child PART big

tx **roçə' yingma min -a nimang.**
gl PART(N) QUOTE think-PT REP

tr *So the dog thought: "Oh that king's child is big".*

ref BANT 5.37

tx **mangkolen bhəni moko kutiwa bida dor-a kiya mina lam-si**
gl next_day morning(N) that dog leave(N) ask -PT and man seek-PURP

tx **khar-a nimang.**
gl go -PT REP

tr *The next morning the dog asked for dismissal, and he went to seek man.*

ref BANT 5.38

tx **khar-a -ng -a kharanga kharanga-lo moko kutiwa-ʔa ikta mina**
gl go -PT-V2:CONT-PT [rep.] [rep.] -TOP that dog -ERG one man

tx **kətero bənəi mi-yang -sa yung-a -ng -a -wo dhir-u**
gl shed(N) make(N) do-V2:CONT -SIM sit -PT-V2:CONT-PT-NML find -3P

tx **-khatt -u nimang.**
gl -V2:COMPL-3P REP

tr *He went and went and went, and the dog finally found a man, who was building a shed.*

ref BANT 5.39

tx **moko mina-ʔa 'hona khana-lo sang e lo khana-lo kama -wo**
gl that man -ERG oh! you -TOP who INTJ PART you -TOP work(N)-GEN

tx **cija isa ti-kat -yang' yingmalo nimang.**
gl thing like 2-look_like-V2:CONT QUOTE REP

tr *The man said: "Oh who are you, you look like a useful thing."*

ref BANT 5.40

tx **'hona hang-cha ying-ma -wo khana-nin nga he lo' yingma sen-u**
gl oh! king -child say -INF-NML you -p EMPH or PART QUOTE ask -3P

tx **nimang.**
gl REP

tr *"Oh, you are the one called 'king's child', aren't you?" he asked.*

ref BANT 5.41

tx **mosa-ʔa 'ingka nga molo hang-cha dena' yingma lo nimang.**
gl that -ERG I EMPH PART king -child why QUOTE tell:3P REP

tr *He said: "Why would I be a king's child?"*

ref BANT 5.42

tx **'ingka amno sewa təhəla mi-ma kiya amno achapicha-da yung**
gl I your service(N) attendance(N) do-INF and your protection -LOC live

tx **-ma li -yang' yingma lo nimang.**
gl -INF must-V2:CONT QUOTE tell:3P REP

tr *"I must serve you and live under your protection," the dog said.*

ref BANT 5.43

tx **'iə iə yung-e moloko' yingma kiya mo mina-ʔa kok**
gl o.k. o.k. stay -polIMPER PART QUOTE and that man -ERG boiled_rice

tx **chang pi nimang kiya i -buk khas -a kiya mo kutiwa məjəli yung**
gl also give:3P REP and his-belly be_sated-PT and that dog nicely stay

tx **-a nimang.**
gl -PT REP

tr *"O.k., stay if you like," the man said, and he gave him also boiled rice, and his belly was satiated and the dog stayed with him happily.*

ref BANT 5.44

tx 'e baba! cama-wo lo im -pi -a -ng tərə oko bhōnda
gl INTJ INTJ food -GEN PART INV:pA(hon.)-give-PT-1s but(N) this COMPAR

tx chang dhiwang sang ya?ang he mat -ning hola' yingma min -a kiya
gl also big who be or NEG-be MOD (N) QUOTE think-PT and

tx adharati -da 'hwang hwang hwang hwang' ying-sa hukt-a nimang.
gl midnight(N)-LOC ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM say -SIM bark -PT REP

tr *"Oh father! He gave me from his food, but is there one even bigger or is there not?" he thought and at midnight he barked: hwang! hwang!*

ref BANT 5.45

tx munkiyalo moko mina-ʔa lo 'lohəy sebas hukt-e i nu
gl so that man -ERG tell:3P INTJ well_done(N) bark -OPT PART be_well

tx -lok khana-lo ing -gothale -wo nei' yingma sebase pi nimang.
gl -MAN you -TOP my -herdsman(N)-? PART QUOTE thanks(N) give:3P REP

tr *And then, the man said: "Oh, well done, bark well, you shall be my guard!" and he thanked him.*

ref BANT 5.46

tx mo kutiwa-ʔa 'e oko hang-cha nga səpəy bhōnda toppang
gl that dog -ERG INTJ this king -child EMPH all(N) COMPAR big

tx rəchə' yingma min -a kiya aymit chang kutiwa mina-ci-nin nga yung
gl PART(N) QUOTE think-PT and today also dog man -ns-COM EMPH live

tx nimang; mina-ci-wo nga sewa mi nimang.
gl REP man -ns-GEN EMPH service(N) do REP

tr *The dog thought: "Oh, this king's child is the biggest," and even today the dog stays with men, he is in man's service.*

sp BANT 6 (Bantawa)

sp gothale-nin songbhensa - cowerd and songbhensa

ref BANT 6.1

tx ikta gothale -wo gotha -da ikta songbhensa ta -yungs -a
gl one cowerd(N)-GEN cowshed(N)-LOC one S. come-V2:HAB-PT

tx -ng -a nimang.
gl -V2:CONT-PT REP

tr *Once there lived one Songbhensa, who used to come to a cowerd's shed.*

ref BANT 6.2

tx mo songbhensa narik mi-a -yang -sa gotha -da ompiyangma
gl that S. trouble do-PT-V2:CONT-SIM cowshed(N)-LOC curd

tx khis-a -ca -ng -a nimang.
gl steal-PT -V2:consume:PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

tr *This Songbhensa used to steal curd, thus making trouble.*

ref BANT 6.3

tx moko gothale khaysa khaysa ci khuysa khuysa nga ci -yang -sa
gl that cowerd(N) how how act thus thus EMPH act-V2:CONT-SIM

tx pham -yang -sa narik mi-a -ng -a nimang.
gl imitate -V2:CONT-SIM trouble do-PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

tr *He made trouble by imitating the cowerd, acting like the cowerd acted, imitating him.*

ref BANT 6.4

tx gothale mi-bukt -a -hida mo chang mi nga bukt -a -ng
gl cowerd(N) fire-warm os.-PT-TEMP that also fire EMPH warm os.-PT-V2:CONT

tx -a nimang.
gl -PT REP

tr *Whenever the cowerd warmed himself, then he also warmed himself.*

ref BANT 6.5

tx gothale ghiu-7a sopt -a -n -ya -ncin -hida kho chang ghiu
gl cowerd(N) ghee -INST apply-PT-REFL-V2:CONT-REFL-TEMP he also ghee

tx po? -yang -sa sopt -a -n -ya -ncin nimang.
gl take_out -V2:CONT-SIM apply-PT-REFL-V2:CONT-REFL REP

tr *Whenever the cowerd rubbed himself with ghee, he also rubbed himself, taking out ghee.*

ref BANT 6.6

tx misari gothale pham-yang -sa narik mi-a -yakt -a -ng
gl like_that cowherd(N) imitate-V2:CONT-SIM trouble do -PT-V2:CONTV-PT-V2:CONT

tx -a lo moko gothale -wo i -sa khikt -a kiya i -cirukma
gl -PT PART that cowherd(N)-GEN his-flesh feel_bitter_at-PT and his-anger

tx -?a rukt -u -ng -u nimang.
gl -INST get_angry_at-3P -V2:CONT-3P REP

tr *As he continued to make trouble like this by imitating the cowherd, the cowherd became embittered and angry at him.*

ref BANT 6.7

tx mo gothale min -a nimang.
gl that cowherd(N) think-PT REP

tr *The cowherd reflected.*

ref BANT 6.8

tx kiya khaysari moko songbhensa thinma khan -ma-wo jukti mi-a
gl and how that S. chasing go_after-INF-GEN plan do-PT

tx nimang.
gl REP

tr *and he made a plan how to chase Songbhensa.*

ref BANT 6.9

tx munkiya ik -len-ta-lo moko gothale -?a angmawa tar -u kiya mi
gl then one-day-x -TOP that cowherd(N)-ERG pine_resin take-3P and fire

tx cik -da yung-a kiya sop-ma -ncin ning mi-yang -sa a?wa kums-u
gl vicinity-LOC sit -PT and rub -INF-REFL name do -V2:CONT-SIM oil hide -3P

tx kiya sopt -a -n -ya -ncin nimang.
gl and apply-PT-REFL -V2:CONT-REFL REP

tr *One day the cowherd fetched pine resin and sat in the vicinity of the fire, and pretending to rub himself he hid the oil, and he rubbed himself.*

ref BANT 6.10

tx moko songbhensa chang moda ta kiya moko angmawa lat -yang
gl that S. also there come and that pine_resin take_out-V2:CONT

tx -sa sopt -a -n -ya -ncin nimang.
gl -SIM apply-PT -REFL-V2:CONT-REFL REP

tr *Songbhensa also came and, taking pine resin, he rubbed himself.*

ref BANT 6.11

tx gothale i -lang-chuk-ci i -yam-ci i -tang-ci-da -t -nin a?wa-?a
gl cowherd(N) his-foot -arm -ns his-body-ns his-head -ns-LOC-(t)-ALL oil -INST his

tx sopt -a -ncin -hida songbhensa chang misari nga angmawa-?a i
gl apply-PT-REFL -TEMP S. also like_that EMPH pine_resin -INST his

tx -lang-chuk i -yam-ci-da -wo i -miwa lapt-u -khatt -u lo
gl -foot -arm his-body-ns-LOC -NML his-body_hair catch-3P-V2:COMPL-3P PART

tx sopt -a -ncin nimang.
gl apply-PT-REFL REP

tr *When the cowherd applied oil to his limbs, his body, his head, Songbhensa did the same with the pine resin, and the hair on his limbs, his body etc. stuck together, yet he rubbed himself.*

ref BANT 6.12

tx gothale angma-sing yukt -a -ncin kiya ong-yang -sa kang -ma
gl cowherd(N) pine -wood keep_for-PT-REFL and light-V2:CONT-SIM be_hot-INF

tx -ncin ning mi -a -ng -a nimang;
gl -REFL name do -PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

tr *The cowherd kept pinewood for himself and, lightening it, he pretended to warm himself.*

ref BANT 6.13

tx lo songbhensa chang misa nga ci -a -ng -a nimang.
gl PART S. also like_that EMPH act-PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

tr *Songbhensa also did the same.*

ref BANT 6.14

tx angma-sing -ko i -mi-?a mo-so -wo i -miwa kuw -u -lott
gl pine -wood-GEN his-fire-ERG that-EXP-GEN his-body_hair pick_up-3P-V2:INCH

tx -u -hida 'attho ki attho' ying-yang -sa moko songbhensa phint-a
gl -3P-TEMP IDEO and IDEO say -V2:CONT-SIM that S. jump -PT

tx -lont -a nimang.
gl -V2:INCH-PT REP

tr *The fire of the pinewood caught his hair, when Songbhensa jumped up, shouting "attho attho".*

ref BANT 6.15

tx mi-?a hitt -u -lott -u kiya loy-a -lont -a nimang;
gl fire-ERG burn-3P-V2:INCH-3P and run -PT-V2:INCH-PT REP

tr *The fire caught him and he ran away.*

ref BANT 6.16

tx **kiya bhiri kipti -khatt -u lo lo -yang -a nimang.**
 gl and hill cross_over-V2:COMPL-3P PART run-V2:CONT-PT REP

tr *And he crossed the hill, he was running away.*

ref BANT 6.17

tx **misari mo songbhensa hitt -a -si -a kiya mo len-ta-da -ngka mo**
 gl like_that that S. burn-PT-V2:die-PT and that day-x -LOC-ABL that

tx **gothale nu -lok yung-a -ng -a nimang.**
 gl cowherd(N) be_well -MAN live -PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

tr *Thus Songbhensa burned to death, and from that day the cowherd lived in piece.*

sp BANT 7 (Bantawa)
 sp ankawo iskula - our school

ref BANT 7.1
 tx mo bela ten -da ikta chang iskula matning -a kiya pədəy mi
 gl that time(N) village-LOC one also school NEG:exist-PT and read(N) do

tx -a -wo mina chang matning -a.
 gl -PT-NML man also NEG:exist-PT

tr *In former times in our village, there was neither a school nor a man, who knew how to read.*

ref BANT 7.2
 tx ikta ten -da ikta hisat mina matte citdang cithi -men-ci pədəy
 gl one village-LOC one two man only(N) little letter(N)-? -ns read(N)

tx mi-ma le -kaba mina-ci im -yang-a.
 gl do-INF know-AP man -ns 3pA/S -be -PT

tr *There were only one or two men in a village, who knew a little how to read and to write.*

ref BANT 7.3
 tx khim-da nga papa-ʔa ci -cirdang ingka chap-ma pədəy mi-ma
 gl house-LOC EMPH father-ERG little-little I write-INF read(N) do-INF

tx im -cint -a -ng-yang.
 gl INV:pA(hon.)-teach-PT-1s -V2:CONT:1s

tr *At home my father used to teach me a little how to read and write.*

ref BANT 7.4
 tx ten -da kəyle ikta hisat pəltəne -ci-ʔa ikta hisat pulisa-ci
 gl village-LOC sometimes(N) one two soldier(N)-ns-ERG one two police -ns

tx -ʔa chang ik -len ha -len im -cint-in -ya -n -ka.
 gl -ERG also one-day two-day INV:pA-teach-1pS/P-V2:CONT-1pS/P-e

tr *In the village, sometimes one or two soldiers or one or two policemen taught us for one or two days.*

ref BANT 7.5
 tx ikta-sa -ʔa ik -len ha -len khaci -da arko-sa -ʔa
 gl one -PRONML-ERG one-day two-day somewhere-LOC other -PRONML-ERG

tx ik -len ha -len khaci -da mi-yang -sa kholma yaksa kətero
 gl one-day two-day somewhere-LOC do-V2:CONT-SIM annex shed shed(N)

tx **-ci-da im -cint-in -ya -n -ka.**
gl -ns-LOC 3pA/S-teach-1pS/P-V2:CONT -1pS/P-e

tr *One was teaching us for one or two days somewhere, another one somewhere else, in an annex, in a shed, or in a cowshed.*

ref BANT 7.6

tx **iskula-khim chang matning -a cin -kaba chang matning -a.**
gl school -house also NEG:exist-PT teach-N.AG also NEG:exist-PT

tr *There was neither a school building nor a teacher.*

ref BANT 7.7

tx **cin -lu -kaba cha -ci ik -len ha -len im -ta -lott -a kiya**
gl teach-feel-AP child-ns one-day two-day 3pA/S-come-PT-V2:INCH-PT and

tx **moci chang im -mas -a -khar -a -ng -a.**
gl they also 3pA/S-disappear-PT-V2:go-PT-V2:CONT-PT

tr *Children who wanted to be taught would start coming for one or two days and disappear again.*

ref BANT 7.8

tx **køyle lo nampikci-da mi tup -yang -sa laltina ong**
gl sometimes(N) PART sun_set -LOC fire blow-V2:CONT-SIM lantern light

tx **-yang -sa koy bela lo ladipdung-ci-da chang pədəy mi**
gl -V2:CONT -SIM some(N) time(N) PART moonlight -ns-LOC also read(N) do

tx **-n -ya -n -ka.**
gl -(n)-V2:CONT -1pS/P-e

tr *Sometimes, at night, we would read, blowing the fire or lighting a lantern, sometimes even in the moonlight.*

ref BANT 7.9

tx **cin -lu -kaba -ci-ʔa cin -kaba ik yang hiwa yang kiya ik mana**
gl teach-feel-N.AG-ns-ERG teach-N.AG one rupee two rupee and one mana(N)

tx **hiwa mana caying khut -ma lis -a -ng -a.**
gl two mana(N) husked_rice bring_for-INF become-PT-V2:CONT-PT

tr *Those, who wanted to be taught had to bring one or two rupees and one or two mana of husked rice to the teacher.*

ref BANT 7.10

tx **khim-da kama mi-ma lis -a -hida iskula khat-ma man-tok**
gl house-LOC work(N) do -INF become-PT-TEMP school go -INF NEG-get

tx **-d -in -ya -n -ka; khunkiya kəyle lo**
 gl -negAUX -1pS/P-V2:CONT-1pS/P-e then sometimes(N) PART

tx **mastara-ʔa chang i -khim-da kama im -mi-mett**
 gl teacher -ERG also his -house-LOC work(N) INV:pA(hon.)-do -CAUS

tx **-in -ya -n -ka.**
 gl -1pS/P-V2:CONT-1pS/P-e

tr *When there was work to do at home, we could not go to school, then sometimes the teacher also made us work in his house.*

ref BANT 7.11

tx **ghədi matning -a kiya nam khang-yang -sa iskula khar**
 gl watch(N) NEG:exist-PT and sun see -V2:CONT-SIM school go

tx **-yang -ka; haninmak chutti chang misari nga nam khang**
 gl -V2:CONT-e later leave also like_that EMPH sun see

tx **-yang -sa lis -a -ng -a.**
 gl -V2:CONT-SIM become-PT -V2:CONT-PT

tr *There was no watch and we went to school watching the sun; later we had to leave also watching the sun.*

ref BANT 7.12

tx **nam man -dat -ko bela kəyle khakhutt-da? khar-a**
 gl sun NEG-appear-NML time(N) sometimes(N) night -LOC go -PT

tx **-ng -a kəyle lo kholen nga chutti im -pi -n**
 gl -V2:CONT-PT sometimes(N) PART daytime EMPH leave INV:pA-give-1pS/P

tx **-ya -n -ka.**
 gl -V2:CONT-1pS/P-e

tr *When the the sun did not appear, we where sent home sometimes at dark, sometimes at daytime.*

ref BANT 7.13

tx **khaci -da -ngka ikta hisat kitapa -ci mastara-ʔa lam**
 gl somewhere-LOC-ABL one two book(Arab.)-ns teacher -ERG seek

tx **-tat -yang -sa im -cint-in -ya -n -ka.**
 gl -V2:bring -V2:CONT-SIM INV:pA-teach-1pS/P-V2:CONT-1pS/P-e

tr *The teacher taught us by bringing one or two books from somewhere.*

ref BANT 7.14

tx **kayle -lo kitapa chang matning misa nga im -cint**
 gl sometimes(N)-TOP book(Arab.) also NEG:exist like_that EMPH INV:pA-teach

tx **-in -ya -n -ka.**
 gl -1pS/P -V2:CONT-1pS/P-e

tr *Sometimes there was not even a book, and he would teach us just like that.*

sp **BANT 8 (Bantawa)**
 sp **cha jânmay - childbirth**

ref BANT 8.1

tx **cha jânmay li -ma bhonda pøyle i -ma betha -ʔa**
 gl child birth(N) become-INF than(N) first(N) 3sPOSS-mother pain(N)-INST

tx **lott -u -lott -u pøchi ten -da səbøy le -wo sin -ko**
 gl take_out-3P-V2:INCH-3P after(N) village -LOC all(N) know-NML know-NML

tx **mechacha nga yak khoko i -but-tat.**
 gl woman EMPH be that_one INV-call -V2:bring

tr *Before a child is born, after the mother's pain started, they call a knowledgeable woman from the village.*

ref BANT 8.2

tx **ibuttat pøchi mosa-ʔa di mi-ma-wo, khosa-ʔa nga i**
 gl [rep.] after(N) that -ERG what do -INF-NML she -ERG EMPH 3sPOSS

tx **-yangkha-ci tongs-u -pi -ci.**
 gl -bed -ns match -3P-V2:BEN:3P-3nsP

tr *After they call her, what to do? she prepares the bed and everything else.*

ref BANT 8.3

tx **mosa-ʔa misa mutna mi-ment-u nga -hida nani chang**
 gl that -ERG like_that so_much do -V2:? -3P EMPH-TEMP baby(N) also

tx **jânmay li -dha maʔang bhøne chuk chang pakt-u.**
 gl birth(N) become-V2:down not_be QUOTE/if(N) hand also place-3P

tr *When she does everything in this way, if the baby is not born, she will give a helping hand.*

ref BANT 8.4

tx **mo nani jânmay li -cin kiya mo i -yawa -nin**
 gl that baby(N) birth(N) must-V2:finish and that 3sPOSS-umbilical_cord-COM

tx **chuttøy mi-ma li.**
 gl separate(N) do -INF must

tr *When the child's birth is finished, it must be separated from its umbilical cord.*

ref BANT 8.5

tx **mo cha chuttøy i -mi kiya wa i -cang.**
 gl that child separate(N) INV-do:3P and water INV-bathe

tr *They separate the child and bathe it.*

ref BANT 8.6

tx **i -ma chang wa i -cang kiya nu -wak tit -ci i**
 gl 3sPOSS-mother also water INV-bathe and be_good-ADJ cloth-ns INV

tx **-hum -met.**
 gl -put_on-CAUS

tr *They bathe the mother, too, and they make her wear good clothes.*

ref BANT 8.7

tx **moko cha -wo i -yawa -ci dhungro-da i -pak**
 gl that child-GEN 3sPOSS-umbilical_cord-ns vessel(N)-LOC INV-put_inside

tx **kiya sing -tang-da -ni chang buktang-da -ni chang i -pak**
 gl and wood-stem-LOC-ALL also cave -LOC-ALL also INV-put_inside

tx **-da.**
 gl -V2:leave:PT

tr *They put the umbilical cord in a vessel and put it in a tree or a cave.*

ref BANT 8.8

tx **wa im -cangs-u -ci kiya moko i -ma -nin i -cha**
 gl water 3pA/S-bathe -3P-3nsP and that 3sPOSS-mother-COM 3sPOSS-child

tx **a?wa-?a im -sopt-u -ci kiya wa i -set kiya ummak i**
 gl oil -INST 3pA/S-rub -3P-3nsP and chicken INV-kill and beer INV

tx **-ku kiya kok -nin tato i -pi.**
 gl -heat and boiled_rice-COM hot(N) INV-give:3P

tr *They bathe them and they rub mother and child with oil and they kill a chicken and heat beer and they serve it with hot rice.*

ref BANT 8.9

tx **mo cha -wo i -ma betha mi-nin -ko bhone muntika**
 gl that child-GEN 3sPOSS-mother pain(N) do -NEG-NML QUOTE/if(N) so_much

tx **nga i -chit -da.**
 gl EMPH INV-leave-V2:leave:PT

tr *If the child's mother feels no pain, that's it, they leave her.*

ref BANT 8.10

tx **i -ma betha mi-wo bhone mo-da dici chang met**
 gl 3sPOSS-mother pain(N) do -NML QUOTE/if(N) that-LOC treatment also make

tx **-ma li.**
gl -INF must

tr *If the mother feels pain, she has to undergo a treatment.*

ref BANT 8.11

tx **mo cha jənməy li -wo pan -dini athaba chə -dini -da**
gl that child birth(N) become-NML five(N)-day(N) or(N) six(N)-day(N)-LOC

tx **i -nəurana met -ma li.**
gl 3sPOSS-naming_ceremony(N) make-INF must

tr *The fifth or the sixth day after the child's birth they must perform the naming ceremony.*

ref BANT 8.12

tx **mechacha-wo bhəne pan -dini -da nga moko i**
gl woman -NML QUOTE/if(N) five(N)-day(N)-LOC EMPH that 3sPOSS

tx **-ma sehara mi-kaba ma i -but-tat kiya i -ma**
gl -mother care(N) do -AP woman INV -call -V2:bring and 3sPOSS-mother

tx **-cha hiwang nga wa i -cang.**
gl -child both EMPH water INV-bathe

tr *If it is a girl, they call the woman who took care of the mother at the fifth day and they bathe the two of them, mother and child.*

ref BANT 8.13

tx **moko mechacha cha huuya nam-da i -lot kiya lupmi-ʔa**
gl that woman child outside sun -LOC INV-bring_out and needle-INST

tx **i -nabak i -thok -pi.**
gl 3sPOSS-ear INV-pierce-V2:BEN

tr *They bring the girl out in the sun and they pierce her ears with a needle.*

ref BANT 8.14

tx **mo bela nga mutli wa -ʔa i -rep kiya i -ma -cha**
gl that time(N) EMPH holy water-INST INV-sprinkle and 3sPOSS-mother-child

tx **cokhəy i -mi.**
gl blessing(N) INV-do

tr *At that time they sprinkle holy water and bless mother and child.*

ref BANT 8.15

tx ten -da -wo budhi -ci im -ta kiya mo bela mo cha
gl village-LOC-NML old_woman(N)-ns 3pA/S-come and that time(N) that child

tx -wo i -ning wat.
gl -GEN her-name wear

tr *The old women of the village come and then the child's name is worn.*

ref BANT 8.16

tx duwacha bhəne chə -dini -da cəkhəy i -mi kiya i
gl boy QUOTE/If(N) six(N)-day(N)-LOC blessing(N) INV-do and 3sPOSS

tx -ning wat i -nabak chang i -thok.
gl -name wear 3sPOSS-ear also INV-pierce

tr *If it is a boy, they bless it on the sixth day and his name is given and his ears are pierced.*

ref BANT 8.17

tx ikta khung-da ca?wa i -yung kiya tangka-ba?wa-?a ca?wa
gl one vessel -LOC water INV-set_down and t. -leaf -INST water

tx rem -yang -sa khim i -rep kiya cəkhəy i -mi.
gl sprinkle-V2:CONT-SIM house INV -sprinkle and blessing(N) INV-do

tr *Water is put in a vessel, and they sprinkle the house water with leaves from the tangka-tree and they bless it.*

sp **Bal 5 (SE-Camling)**

sp **wama tippasa - hen and jackal**

ref Bal 5.1

tx **i -ra wama ra tippasa mi -tipa-ci-ko raicha.**
gl one-CL hen and(N) jackal 3pS-meet-d -NML REP

tr *A hen and a jackal met, it is told.*

ref Bal 5.2

tx **dakalyona tesai yōhoda-ci, dakana tippasa m -khim-i khata,**
gl then so(N) wander -d then jackal 3sPOSS-house-loLOC go

tx **wama m -dāi wanga-ko raicha.**
gl hen 3sPOSS-nest enter -NML REP

tr *They roamed about, and then the jackal went down to his home, the hen went into her nest.*

ref Bal 5.3

tx **dakana pheri tippasa ta -ko raicha.**
gl then again(N) jackal come-NML REP

tr *Then the jackal came again.*

ref Bal 5.4

tx **ta -ko raicha, 'aina de po aso i -ma?' runga-ko raicha.**
gl come-NML REP PART what PART now give-INF say -NML REP

tr *"Look, he came to my house! What shall I offer him now?" she thought.*

ref Bal 5.5

tx **'uko wadaima bo i -ma paryo,' runga-na id -yu-ko raicha.**
gl this egg PART give-INF must (N) say -SEQ give-3P -NML REP

tr *"I must give him this egg," she thought and gave it to him.*

ref Bal 5.6

tx **idyuko-lyona, 'ohou uko m -dai ta ono canyo, m -sa**
gl [rep.] -TOP INTJ this 3sPOSS-egg PART this_much sweet 3sPOSS-meat

tx **jhan demno canyo-ko hola,' lod-yu-ko raicha.**
gl which(N) how sweet -FOC MOD(N) tell -3P -NML REP

tr *Having given it, "oh, this egg is delicious, how delicious would her flesh be!" he thought.*

ref Bal 5.7

tx **tyudakana 'aso ca-ma bo paryo uko-lai pani,' runga-ko raicha.**
 gl then now eat-INF PART must (N) this -DAT(N) also(N) say -NML REP

tr *"I should eat her also," he thought.*

ref Bal 5.8

tx **daka 'ale cai -si kho -ni ta-khat-in-e?' lod-yu-ko.**
 gl then today graze-PURP where-ALL 2 -go -2p-NPT tell -3P-NML

tr *Then he asked: "Where will you go today to pick food?"*

ref Bal 5.9

tx **'kanga ale dibung -di khat-āi,' lod-yu-ko raicha.**
 gl I today mountain-hiLOC go -1sNPT tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"Today I'll go up into the mountains," she said.*

ref Bal 5.10

tx **'dibung -di khat-āi,' lod-yu-na hui wahui-i khata-ko raicha.**
 gl mountain-hiLOC go -1sNPT tell -3P-SEQ down river -loLOC go -NML REP

tr *"I'll go up into the mountains," she said and went down to the river.*

ref Bal 5.11

tx **tyu-dhi -ni khata-na hyungsa-ngasa -ko raicha, pa -yena-ko**
 gl that-hiLOC-ALL go -SEQ wait -V2:PROG-NML REP NEG-hear -NML

tx **raicha.**

gl REP

tr *He went up there and stayed there waiting, but he did not hear her.*

ref Bal 5.12

tx **pheri m -selama 'ale kho -ni ta-khat-in-e?'**
 gl again(N) 3sPOSS-next_day today where-ALL 2 -go -2p-NPT

tr *Then again the next day: "Where will you go?"*

ref Bal 5.13

tx 'ale wahui-ni khat-āi,' dha -ni khata-ko raicha, pa -dhit-aina.
gl today river -ALL go -1sNPT above-ALL go -NML REP NEG-find -NEG

tr *"Today I will go down to the river," and she went up, he did not find her.*

ref Bal 5.14

tx // i -lai -na tipa-ci-ko raicha wahui-ni, lhap-u -ko raicha.
gl one-day-TOP meet-d -NML REP river -ALL catch-3P-NML REP

tr *Then one day they met again down by the river, he caught her.*

ref Bal 5.15

tx dakana 'aso ca-n -e,' lod-yu-ko raicha.
gl then now eat-1>2-NPT tell -3P -NML REP

tr *"Now I'll eat you," he said.*

ref Bal 5.16

tx 'aso ta-c -āi -kha kanga wa -cheu -da khaid-ung-na baluwa-a
gl now 2 -eat-1sNPT-if I water-side(N)-LOC take -1s -SEQ sand(N) -INST

tx map-unga ani i -rung kha-leta -khaisa,' lod-yu-pana,
gl rub -1s then(N) one-CL 1P -let_loose-V2:send tell -3P-TEMP

tr *"If you will eat me, carry me to the waterside and rub me with sand, then let me loose once," she said,*

ref Bal 5.17

tx map-u -na let -yu-ko -na rhōs -āica -ko -lyona m -muk bhari
gl rub -3P-SEQ revive-3P -NML-TOP shake-REFL-NML-TOP 3sPOSS-eye full(N)

tx wanga-ko raicha baluwa -a.
gl enter -NML REP sand(N) -INST

tr *and when he rubbed her and let her loose she shook herself and his eyes became full of sand.*

ref Bal 5.18

tx khu-lyona hyapparhe pera-na laida -ko raicha.
gl she -TOP opposite_bank fly -SEQ come_out-NML REP

tr *She flew to the other side of the river and escaped - so it is told.*

sp Bal 6 (Camling)

sp Sunkesari Rani - the gold-haired queen

ref Bal 6.1

tx i -ra sun -kesari rani hums-āinci khata are, i -ra
gl one-CL gold(N)-haired(N) queen(N) wash -REFL:PURP go REP(N) one-CL

tx sun -mo m -tō dha-ko raicha.

gl gold(N)-GEN 3sPOSS-hair fall -NML REP

tr *A gold-haired queen went to take a bath and one of her golden hairs fell out.*

ref Bal 6.2

tx dha-ko raicha-kona, m -khim-da bana-na 'a -pa a
gl fall -NML REP -TEMP 3sPOSS-house-LOC come -SEQ 1sPOSS-father 1sPOSS

tx -tō -na i -ra ma sun -mo, 'lod-yi -ko raicha.

gl -hair-TOP one-CL be_lost gold(N)-GEN tell -3P-NML REP

tr *When it fell out she came home and said: "Father, one of my golden hairs was lost."*

ref Bal 6.3

tx lod-yi -ko raicha dakana 'lou thala aso uko sopa-wa dhit-yi
gl tell -3P-NML REP then INTJ(N) PART(N) now this who -ERG find -3P

tx -ko hing-e, tyiko-lai ngo a -cha id -āi, 'rungmana runga.

gl -NML be -NPT that -DAT(N) EMPH 1sPOSS-child give-1sNPT QUOTE say

tr *"Well then, whoever finds it, to him I will give my daughter," he said.*

ref Bal 6.4

tx runga-daka-na tyiko-lyona m -cha jetha -wa bo dhit-yi
gl say -ABL -TOP that -TOP 3sPOSS-child eldest_son (N)-ERG PART find -3P

tx -ko raicha.

gl -NML REP

tr *It was his eldest son who found it.*

ref Bal 6.5

tx uile -ko tyiso mi -ringa-daka i -ma ō parne khu-lai
gl earlier(N)-NML like_that 3pS-say -ABL give-INF EMPH must(N) he -DAT(N)

tx ngo.
gl EMPH

tr *As they had said so earlier, they had to give her to him.*

ref Bal 6.6

tx tyudakana phophoci pa -bhuida-ko raicha, carung -ci pa -ma-ko
gl then paddy INV-pound -NML REP pounded_rice-ns INV-do -NML

tx raicha, daka cyura pa -dhasa -ko raicha.
gl REP then cyura(N) INV-bring_down-NML REP

tr *Then they pounded paddy, prepared rice and baked cyura (round pastry).*

ref Bal 6.7

tx cyura padhasa-daka-na i -ra kage wasa ta -na 'kokō' ringa.
gl [rep] -ABL -TOP one-CL crow bird come-SEQ IDEO say

tr *When they baked the chyore a crow came along saying 'kokō'.*

ref Bal 6.8

tx 'i -cheska cyura kha-ida -nna.' ringa 'kanga i -ra dum mai -n -e.'
gl one-piece(N) cyura(N) 1P -give-IMPER say I one-CL speech make-1>2-NPT

tr *"Please give me a chyore," he said, "I am going to tell you something."*

ref Bal 6.9

tx 'pa -i -na -n -e, anga dajai -mo m -biha -lai mu
gl NEG-give-1>2-2p-NPT my e.brother(N)-GEN 3sPOSS-marriage(N)-DAT(N) make

tx -ko khana -lai pa -i -na -n -e,' lod-yi.
gl -NML you -DAT(N) NEG-give-1>2-2p-NPT tell -3P

tr *"I won't; what is made for my elder brother's marriage I won't give you," she said.*

ref Bal 6.10

tx tyudakana pheri i -chin po 'anini-na id -ung-na! kanga i
gl then again(N) one-moment(N) PART little -TOP give-1s -IMPER I one

tx -ra dum mai -n -e,' lod-yi -ko raicha.
gl -CL speech make-1>2-NPT tell -3P-NML REP

tr *After a while again he said: "Give me a little! I will tell you something."*

ref Bal 6.11

tx 'pa -i -na -n -e,' lod-yi -ko raicha, pheri pani ta -na tyoso
gl NEG-give-1>2-2p-NPT tell -3P-NML REP again(N) also(N) come-SEQ like_that

tx -ngo lod-yi -ko raicha.

gl -EMPH tell -3P -NML REP

tr "I won't," she said, but he came again and spoke like this.

ref Bal 6.12

tx dakana 'saro -ngo ta-runga thala' runga-na anini wot -yi -na hord
gl then hard(N)-EMPH 2 -say PART(N) say -SEQ little break-3P-SEQ throw

tx -yi -chod-yi -ko raicha.

gl -3P-V2 -3P -NML REP

tr "You are really insisting," she said, and broke off a little and threw it at him.

ref Bal 6.13

tx dakana c -yo-ko raicha.

gl then eat-3P -NML REP

tr So he ate.

ref Bal 6.14

tx c -yo-daka-na 'uko-lyona khamo ra kap -dajai -mo
gl eat-3P -ABL -TOP this -TOP your and(N) 2sPOSS-e.brother(N)-GEN

tx biha mu -ma -lai bo thala,' lod-yi -ko raicha.

gl marriage(N) make-INF -DAT(N) PART PART(N) tell -3P-NML REP

tr After he had eaten he said: "This is prepared for your and your brother's marriage, it seems."

ref Bal 6.15

tx tyudakana 'ee, so -na khana lou thala,' rungman_A jhara hord -yi
gl then ee who-TOP you INTJ(N) PART(N) QUOTE all throw-3P

tx -chod -yi -ko raicha.

gl -V2:GOAL-3P -NML REP

tr "Who are you then?" she asked and threw everything to him.

ref Bal 6.16

tx **jammai hord -yi -chod -yi -daka khata-ko raicha.**
gl all throw-3P-V2:GOAL-3P-ABL go -NML REP

tr *After throwing everything she went away.*

ref Bal 6.17

tx **i -ra dhagolari khaid-yi, satabiu palabiu cipd-yi -nḷ khata-nḷ thulo**
gl one-CL rope(N) take -3P (grain sp.) ECHO tie -3P-SEQ go -SEQ big(N)

tx **sungpuwa -da wanga-nḷ m -tuppo-di hinga-ko raicha.**
gl tree -LOC climb -SEQ 3sPOSS-top(N)-hiLOC sit -NML REP

tr *She took a rope, tied grains up in a bundle and climbed a big tree and sat there.*

ref Bal 6.18

tx **hinga-daka m -pa khata-ko raicha 'ee nani dhas-āica, uda**
gl sit -ABL 3sPOSS-father go -NML REP ee child lower-REFL here

tx **kāp - dajai -mo biha mu -ma parne,' runga-pana**
gl 2sPOSS e.brother(N) -GEN marriage(N) make-INF must(N) say -TEMP

tr *Her father came and said, "Come down child, we must celebrate your brother's marriage."*

ref Bal 6.19

tx **'anga-na a -pa bo lo -na -ko -na a -chadipa bo ta**
gl my -TOP 1sPOSS-father PART tell-1>2-NML-TOP 1sPOSS-father-in-law PART 2

tx **-tira; thukka! sya-khata,' lod-yi -kona sya-khata-ko raicha.**
gl -become INTJ(N) die -V2:go tell -3P-TEMP die -V2:go -NML REP

tr *She said "You whom I called my father have become my father-in-law; thukka! may you die," and he died.*

ref Bal 6.20

tx **tyakana pheri m -ma khata-ko raicha 'ee nani dhas-āica,' lod**
gl then again(N) 3sPOSS-mother go -NML REP ee child lower-REFL tell

tx **-yi -ko raicha.**
gl -3P-NML REP

tr *Then the mother went and said, "Come down my child."*

ref Bal 6.21

tx **dakana 'a -ma bo lo-na-ko -na a -chadimma ta-tira**
gl then 1sPOSS-mother PART tell-1>2-NML-TOP 1sPOSS-mother-in-law 2 -become

tx **-ko raicha; thukka! sya-khata,' lod-yi-ko raicha, tyiko pani sya**
gl -NML REP INTJ(N) die -V2:go tell -3P-NML REP that also(N) die

tx **-khata.**
gl -V2:go

tr *"You whom I called my mother have become my mother-in-law; thukka! may you die," she said, and she also died.*

ref Bal 6.22

tx **tyudakana m -dajai khata-ko raicha.**
gl then 3sPOSS-e.brother(N) go -NML REP

tr *Then her elder brother went.*

ref Bal 6.23

tx **m -dajai, 'ee nani dhas-āica,' lod-yi-ko raicha.**
gl 3sPOSS-e.brother(N) ee child lower-REFL tell -3P-NML REP

tr *The elder brother said: "Come down child."*

ref Bal 6.24

tx **'a -dajai bo lo-na-ko -na a -burha ta-tira -ko**
gl 1sPOSS-e.brother(N) PART tell-1>2-NML-TOP 1sPOSS-husband(N) 2 -become-NML

tx **raicha; thukka! sya-khata,' lod-yi-ko, tyiko pani sya-khata-ko**
gl REP INTJ(N) die -V2:go tell -3P-NML that also(N) die -V2:go -NML

tx **raicha.**
gl REP

tr *"You whom I called my elder brother became my husband; thukka! may you die," she said, and he also fell down dead.*

ref Bal 6.25

tx **dakana pheri m -bhai khata-ko raicha 'ee nana**
gl then again(N) 3sPOSS-y.brother(N) go -NML REP ee e.sister(ADDR)

tx **dhas-āica -ca, biha mu -ma tire,' lod-yi-ko raicha.**
gl lower-REFL -V2:eat marriage(N) make-INF must tell -3P-NML REP

tr *Then her younger brother went, "ee elder sister, come down, you must marry," he said.*

ref Bal 6.26

tx 'a -bhai lo -na -ko -na a -dewar ta-tira;
gl 1sPOSS-y.brother(N) tell-1>2-NML-TOP 1sPOSS-brother-in-law(N) 2 -become

tx **thukka! sya -khata,' tyiko pani sya-khata-ko raicha.**
gl INTJ(N) die -V2:go that also(N) die -V2:go -NML REP

tr *"You whom I called my younger brother have become my brother-in-law; thukka! may you die." He also fell down dead.*

ref Bal 6.27

tx **tyudakana pheri kancha cahi khata-ko raicha.**
gl then again(N) y.son FOC(N) go -NML REP

tr *Then finally the youngest son went.*

ref Bal 6.28

tx 'nan -ou nan -ou, kanga pani wang-āi, kanga pani wang
gl e.sister-ADDR e.sister-ADDR I also(N) climb -1sNPT I also(N) climb

tx **-āi, kanga pani wang-āi,' ringa-ko raicha.**
gl -1sNPT I also(N) climb -1sNPT say -NML REP

tr *"Elder sister! Elder sister! I come up also, I come up also," he said.*

ref Bal 6.29

tx **dakana 'mi -wō -da! khana haima uda ta-wang-e -daka saka ta**
gl then NEG-climb-negAUX you later here 2 -climb -NPT-ABL hunger 2

tx **-ring-e waīma ta-ring-e.'**
gl -say -NPT thirst 2 -say -NPT

tr *"Don't come up! After coming up you will suffer from hunger, you will suffer from thirst."*

ref Bal 6.30

tx **'kanga pa -rung-n -āi,' ringa-na lod-yi-ko raicha-pana tyiko**
gl I NEG-say -NEG-1sNPT say -SEQ tell -3P-NML REP -TEMP that

tx **dhagolari dhis -yi-dhas -yu-pana suwalim tira -ko raicha.**
gl rope(N) lay_down-3P-V2:down-3P-TEMP ladder become-NML REP

tr *"I won't suffer," he said, and so she let down the rope and it became a ladder.*

ref Bal 6.31

tx **daka tyiko suwalim-daka wanga-ko raicha.**
gl then that ladder -ABL climb -NML REP

tr *He climbed up that ladder.*

ref Bal 6.32

tx **wanga-na daka hinga-ci-ko raicha.**
gl climb -SEQ then sit -d -NML REP

tr *He climbed up and then the two stayed there together.*

ref Bal 6.33

tx **hinga-ci-daka-na saka pani tira -ko raicha, wafma pani tira**
gl sit -d -ABL -TOP hunger also(N) become-NML REP thirst also(N) become

tx **-ko raicha.**
gl -NML REP

tr *Later he became hungry, he became thirsty.*

ref Bal 6.34

tx **'nan -ou, kanga-na wafma wafma lod-yi -ko raicha.**
gl e.sister-ADDR I -TOP thirst thirst tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"Sister, I am thirsty, I am thirsty!" he said.*

ref Bal 6.35

tx **'tyo thala, mi -wō -d -ou lo-na -ko, wafma-i ta-ring**
gl that PART(N) NEG-climb-negAUX-ADDR tell-1>2-NML thirst -EMPH(N) 2 -say

tx **-e saka -i ta-ring-e, aso ta-wanga do ngal-ma thala,' lod**
gl -NPT hunger -EMPH(N) 2 -say -NPT now 2 -climb how do -INF PART(N) tell

tx **-yi.**
gl -3P

tr *"That's it! I told you: don't come up, you will suffer from thirst, you will suffer from hunger. Now that you came up, what to do?" she said.*

ref Bal 6.36

tx 'nan -ou wafma, nan -ou wafma!'

gl e.sister-ADDR thirst e.sister-ADDR thirst

tr "Sister I am thirsty, Sister, I am thirsty!"

ref Bal 6.37

tx 'lou uda hinga-ngasa thala! uko poka mi -pho -d -yo,

gl INTJ(N) here sit -V2:stay PART(N) this bundle(N) NEG-loosen-negAUX-3P

tx wafwaf hinga -ngasa! lod-yi -ko raicha.

gl quiet sit -V2:stay tell -3P-NML REP

tr "Well, stay here now. Don't untie this bundle, stay quiet," she said.

ref Bal 6.38

tx dakana m -na wa lam -si khata-ko raicha.

gl then 3sPOSS-e.sister water look_for-PURP go -NML REP

tr The elder sister went to search water.

ref Bal 6.39

tx wa lam -si khata-pana, saka sya-ngasa -ko, de rungmana,

gl water look_for-PURP go -TEMP hunger die -V2:stay-NML what QUOTE

tx tyiko poka phongs- yi -ko raicha.

gl that bundle(N) untie 3P-NML REP

tr When she had gone, he was dying from hunger, so what, he untied the bundle.

ref Bal 6.40

tx phongs-yi -kona satabiu palabiu hinga-ko raicha.

gl untie -3P-TEMP (grain sp.) ECHO be -NML REP

tr Having untied it, there were seeds.

ref Bal 6.41

tx haka-li sim-li dha-ko raicha-kona huilo-na gai maisi bo

gl two -CL three-CL fall -NML REP -TEMP below-TOP cow(N) buffalo(N) PART

tx tira -ngasa.

gl become-V2:stay

tr Two-three seeds fell down and below they turned into cows and buffaloes.

ref Bal 6.42

tx **m -na ta -na wa khuid-yi -na ding-u -ko raicha.**
 gl 3sPOSS-e.sister come-SEQ water carry -3P-SEQ drink-3P-NML REP

tr *The elder sister came carrying water and he drank.*

ref Bal 6.43

tx **ding-u -daka-na oso m -poka khang-u -kona phō -ma -ko**
 gl drink-3P-ABL -TOP like 3sPOSS-bundle(N) look -3P-TEMP loosen-INF-NML

tx **bo hinga-ko.**
 gl PART be -NML

tr *When she looked at her bundle she saw that it was untied.*

ref Bal 6.44

tx **'uko-na mi -khō-d -eu lo -na -kona, doso ta-phongs-yi -ko**
 gl this -TOP NEG-look-negAUX-VOC tell-1>2-TEMP how 2 -untie -3P-NML

tx **raicha,' lod-yi.**
 gl REP tell -3P

tr *"As I told you not to look into this, how could you untie it," she said.*

ref Bal 6.45

tx **tyudakana 'nan - ou, phongs-ung-kona huilo gai maisi bo**
 gl then e.sister ADDR untie -1s -TEMP below cow(N) buffalo(N) PART

tx **tira,' lod-yi.**
 gl become tell -3P

tr *"Sister, but when I untied it, it became cows and buffaloes down there," he said.*

ref Bal 6.46

tx **'lou' thala jhara pa -tapsa-kasa -ci-ko -na gai maisi**
 gl INTJ(N) PART(N) all INV-spill -V2:away-ns-NML-TOP cow(N) buffalo(N)

tx **jhara mi -tira.**
 gl all 3pS-become

tr *Well, everything that was spilled turned into cows and buffaloes.*

ref Bal 6.47

tx **mi -tira -daka-na dhalo-ka dhas-ñica -ci-na tyoko gai maisi**
 gl 3pS-become-ABL -TOP above -ABL lower-REFL-d -SEQ that cow(N) buffalo(N)

tx **pa -khanga -ci.**
 gl NEG-look -d

tr *Therefore they descended from up there and looked after those cows and buffaloes.*

ref Bal 6.48

tx **khim banai pa -maida-ci-ko raicha.**
 gl house ready(N) INV-make -d -NML REP

tr *They built a house.*

ref Bal 6.49

tx **dakana khim-da m -na hinga-ko raicha, khu gothala khata-ko**
 gl then house-LOC 3sPOSS-e.sister be -NML REP he herding go -NML

tx **raicha. //**
 gl REP

tr *The sister stayed in the house and he went to herd.*

ref Bal 6.50

tx **dakana muisa 'lou nana damla -ci banai maid-yi -ngas**
 gl then what's_it INTJ(N) e.sister(ADDR) leash(N)-ns ready(N) make -3P-V2:keep

tx **-yi khir reps-yi -ngas -yi,' rung-sa ta -na damla -ci banai**
 gl -3P milk_rice(N) stand-3P-V2:keep-3P say -SIM come-SEQ leash(N)-ns ready(N)

tx **maid-yi -ko gai -ci pa -chya-ci-na daka tyo khir c -yo-ko**
 gl make -3P-NML cow(N)-ns INV -tie -d -SEQ then that milk_rice(N) eat-3P-NML

tx **raicha hinga-ci-ko raicha. //**
 gl REP sit -d -NML REP

tr *He came back saying: "Sister keep ready a leash, put milk rice on the fire," and he tied the cows to the tethers that were ready, he ate the milk rice; so they stayed together.*

ref Bal 6.51

tx **tyudakana i -lai-na haka-po mina-ci bo ta -ci-ko raicha.**
 gl then one-day-TOP two -CL man -ns PART come-d -NML REP

tr *One day two men came along.*

ref Bal 6.52

tx **gai -ci khang-ungs -yi-ko thau -da, dakana 'uko khamo-na**
gl cow(N)-ns look -PROGR-3P-NML place(N)-LOC then this your -TOP

tx **kap -gai demno khaine -ko uko khamo gai,' lod-yi -ko raicha.**
gl 2sPOSS-cow(N) how beautiful-NML this your cow(N) tell -3P-NML REP

tr *Looking at the cows in the place they said. "This cow of yours, how beautiful she is."*

ref Bal 6.53

tx **'uko anga gai -na de khaine,' lod-yi -ko raicha; //**
gl this my cow(N)-TOP what beautiful tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"What is beautiful about my cow?" he said,*

ref Bal 6.54

tx **'anga nana bo khaine,' lod-yi -ko raicha.**
gl my e.sister PART beautiful tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"My sister is really beautiful!"*

ref Bal 6.55

tx **dakana 'oho nana khona hing-e?'**
gl then INTJ e.sister where be -NPT

tr *"Where is your sister then?"*

ref Bal 6.56

tx **'dhalo khim-di hing-e,' lod-yi -pana tyuko-ci-na sanga -ci-ko**
gl above house-hiLOC be -NPT tell -3P-TEMP that -ns-TOP come_up-d -NML

tx **raicha m -na -tōda.**
gl REP 3sPOSS -e.sister-near(person)

tr *"Up there in the house," he said, and the two went up to the elder sister.*

ref Bal 6.57

tx **m -na -wa chaid-yi -ko raicha.**
gl 3sPOSS-e.sister-ERG refuse -3P-NML REP

tr *The sister refused.*

ref Bal 6.58

tx **chaid-yi -na museppa marmaca m -ngalung-da map-u -ngas -yi**
 gl refuse-3P-SEQ black_ashes quickly(?) 3sPOSS-face -LOC rub -3P-V2:keep-3P

tx **-ko raicha.**

gl -NML REP

tr *She had rubbed her face with black ashes.*

ref Bal 6.59

tx **'ee nani, ee nani, wa dung-ma kha-ida -nna,' lod-yi -ko.**
 gl ee child ee child water drink -INF 1P -give-IMPER tell -3P-NML

tr *"Hello child, give us water to drink," [one] said.*

ref Bal 6.60

tx **dakana m -na -wa chaid-yi -ngas -yi -ko, 'wa paina,' lod-yi**
 gl then 3sPOSS-e.sister-ERG refuse -3P-V2:stay-3P-NML water not_be tell -3P

tx **-ko.**

gl -NML

tr *The sister kept refusing: "There is no water," she said.*

ref Bal 6.61

tx **'hing-e, kha-ida -nna! saro waīma tira -na bo thala,' ringa**
 gl be -NPT 1P -give-IMPER hard(N) thirst become-SEQ PART PART(N) say

tx **-ko raicha.**

gl -NML REP

tr *"There is, give me! I am so thirsty," he said.*

ref Bal 6.62

tx **dakana khim-kōya-ka ŋo oso id -yi -c -yi -ko raicha.**
 gl then house-inside-ABL EMPH like give-3P-3nsP-3P-NML REP

tr *Finally she gave them from inside the house.*

ref Bal 6.63

tx **'khim-kōya-ka -na ise,' lod-yi -ko raicha.**
 gl house-inside-ABL-TOP bad tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"It is not good to give from inside the house," he said.*

ref Bal 6.64

tx **dakana 'kanga-na pa -lai -n -āi.'**
 gl then I -TOP NEG-come_out-NEG-1sNPT

tr *"I don't come out."*

ref Bal 6.65

tx **pa -lhapa-ci-na tyiko wa ō m -ngalung pa -khuida-choda -ci**
 gl INV-catch -d -SEQ that water EMPH 3sPOSS-face INV-pour -V2:GOAL-d

tx **-pana sun -mo bo.**
 gl -TEMP gold(N)-GEN PART

tr *They caught her, and when they poured that water in her face, it was golden.*

ref Bal 6.66

tx **tyudakana pa -khaida-ci-ko raicha, daka kic -khim-da pa -chuda**
 gl then INV-take -d -NML REP then 3nsPOSS-house-LOC INV-reach

tx **-ci-ko raicha.**
 gl -d -NML REP

tr *They carried her away and brought her to their house.*

ref Bal 6.67

tx **tyiko dakana m -bhai -wa -na 'damla -ci banai maid-yi**
 gl that then 3sPOSS-y.brother(N)-ERG-TOP leash(N)-ns ready(N) make -3P

tx **-ngas -yi, khir reps-yi -ngas -yi,' rung-sa ta -ko -lyona,**
 gl -V2:keep-3P milk_rice(N) stand-3P-V2:keep-3P say -SIM come-NML-TOP

tx **m -na -lyona paina.**
 gl 3sPOSS-e.sister-TOP not_be

tr *Then when her brother came, saying "make the tethers ready, serve the milkpudding," his sister was not there.*

ref Bal 6.68

tx **'khana hyani nan -ou, ukhyani nan -ou? hyani nan-ou, ukhyani**
 gl you over_there e.sister-ADDR over_here e.sister-ADDR

tx **nan-ou?' runga, m -na paina-kona i -ra m -khi bo**
 gl say 3sPOSS-e.sister not_be-TEMP one-CL 3sPOSS-excrement PART

tx laida -ko raicha.
gl come_out-NML REP

tr *"Are you there, sister, are you here, sister? Are you there, sister, are you here, sister?" he shouted; as his sister was not there, one of her excrements appeared.*

ref Bal 6.69

tx 'nan -ou hyani?' lod-yo -ko raicha tyoko m -khi bo
gl e.sister-ADDR over_there tell -3P:NPT-NML REP that 3sPOSS-excrement PART

tx 'hai' ring -e -ko raicha.
gl hai say -NPT-NML REP

tr *Whenever he shouted "are you there sister?" that excrement would say "hai!"*

ref Bal 6.70

tx 'ukhyani nan -ou?' lod-yo tyiko m -khi bo 'hai' lod-yo
gl over_here e.sister-ADDR tell -3P that 3sPOSS-excrement PART hai tell -3P:NPT

tx -ko raicha.
gl -NML REP

tr *When he shouted "are you here sister?" that excrement would say "hai!"*

ref Bal 6.71

tx dakana khumo m -gai -wa bo chaid-yi -na 'dono saro ta-pat
gl then his 3sPOSS-cow(N)-ERG PART know -3P-SEQ why hard(N) 2 -shout

tx -e? kanga -mna-tōda chungs-yi,' lod-yi -na daka khata-ko
gl -NPT I -FOC -near(person) bring -3P tell -3P-SEQ then go -NML

tx raicha gai -tōda.
gl REP cow(N)-near(person)

tr *His cow knew [what had happened] and said: "Why do you shout so hard? Bring it (?) to me," and so he went to the cow.*

ref Bal 6.72

tx 'lou aso kanga 'bwa!' rung-āi -pa a -khori -kōya wanga,
gl INTJ(N) now I bwa say -1sNPT-TEMP 1sPOSS-stomach-inside enter

tx pheri 'bwa!' rung-āi -pa buyā laidal' lod-yi -ko raicha-na
gl again(N) bwa say -1sNPT-TEMP outside come_out tell -3P-NML REP -SEQ

tx **khata-ci-ko raicha, khaid-yi -ko raicha gai -wa.**
 gl go -d -NML REP take -3P -NML REP cow(N)-ERG

tr *"Look, when I say bwa! climb into my stomach, when I say bwa! again, come outside," she said and they went, she carried him, that cow.*

ref Bal 6.73

tx **khaid-yi khaid-yi -pana khosai tira -ko raicha.**
 gl take -3P take -3P-TEMP night become-NML REP

tr *She carried and carried and then it became dark.*

ref Bal 6.74

tx **khosai tira -daka-na sungpa-mo m -bhor-da yōda -ci-ko**
 gl night become-ABL -TOP tree -GEN 3sPOSS-root -LOC spend_night-d -NML

tx **raicha.**

gl REP

tr *After it became dark they spent the night at the foot of a tree.*

ref Bal 6.75

tx **yōda -ci-daka-na dangtye rungmake ta -ko raichar**
 gl spend_night-d -ABL -TOP D. QUOTE come-NML REP

tr *[A demon] called Dangtye came along.*

ref Bal 6.76

tx **'khana mina bo ta-khus-yi -ngas -yo?' lod-yi-ko raicha, 'ta-khus**
 gl you man PART 2 -hide -3P-V2:keep-3P:NPT tell -3P-NML REP 2 -hide

tx **-yi -ngas -yo.'**

gl -3P-V2:keep -3P:NPT

tr *"Are you hiding a man," he said, "are you hiding someone?"*

ref Bal 6.77

tx **'kanga aina,' lod-yo -ko raicha.**

gl I NEG tell -3P:NPT-NML REP

tr *"Not me," she kept saying.*

ref Bal 6.78

tx 'ta-khus-yi -ngas -yo,' lod-yi -ko raicha.

gl 2 -hide -3P-V2:keep-3P:NPT tell -3P-NML REP

tr "You are hiding someone," he said.

ref Bal 6.79

tx 'lo thala, a -meri-ka a -takhlo-di -samma khips-yi!

gl INTJ(N) PART(N) 1sPOSS-tail -ABL 1sPOSS-head -hiLOC-until(N) count -3P

tr "O.k.", the cow said, "count [the hair] from my tail up to my head.

ref Bal 6.80

tx jor hing-e -kha uda kus-äi -ngas -äi, bijor hing-e -kha

gl even(N) be -NPT-if here hide-1sNPT-V2:keep-1sNPT odd(N) be -NPT-if

tx aina,' lod -yo -ko, huilo-ka khim-sa khim-sa khaid-yo -ko

gl no tell -3P:NPT-NML below-ABL count -SIM count -SIM take -3P:NPT-NML

tx raicha.

gl REP

tr If it is an even number I am hiding someone; if it is an odd number not," she said, and he took up counting from the bottom.

ref Bal 6.81

tx dakana dhalo chud-yi -daka m -tö -di chu -ma ring -e -ko

gl then above reach -3P-ABL 3sPOSS-head-hiLOC reach-INF be_about-NPT-NML

tx bela halliba la -ko raicha.

gl time(N) shake(N) AUX-NML REP

tr Whenever he reached the upper part, whenever he almost reached her head she shook her body.

ref Bal 6.82

tx 'ta-muid-yi -kas -yi, ta-muid-yi -kas -yi! pheri huilo-ka sod

gl 2 -forget-3P-V2:away-3P 2 -forget-3P-V2:away-3P again(N) below-ABL bring_up

tx -yi, huilo-ka sod -yi!' lod-yi -ko raicha-na huilo-ka pheri khim

gl -3P below-ABL bring_up-3P tell -3P-NML REP -SEQ below-ABL again(N) count

tx -sa sod -yo -ko raicha.

gl -SIM bring_up-3P:NPT-NML REP

tr *"You missed it, you missed it, take up again from below," she said, and again from below he counted upwards.*

ref Bal 6.83

tx **dhalo pheri dhalo m -tɔ̃ -di chud-yi -pana pheri halliba la**
gl above again(N) above 3sPOSS-head-hiLOC reach -3P-TEMP again(N) shake(N) AUX

tx **-ko raicha, lhos -ɕica -ko raicha.**

gl -NML REP shake-REFL-NML REP

tr *When again he reached the head she shook herself.*

ref Bal 6.84

tx **'ta-muid-yi -kas -yi, huilo-ka ɔ̃ sod -yi,' lod-yi -ko raicha.**
gl 2 -forget-3P-V2:away-3P below-ABL EMPH bring_up-3P tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"You missed it, count up again from below," she said.*

ref Bal 6.85

tx **dakana huilo-ka sod -yi runga -pa ujhyalo tira -daka khata**
gl then below-ABL bring_up-3P be_about-TEMP clear(N) become-ABL go

tx **tyuko dangtye.**

gl that D.

tr *When again he almost reached from below it became light and that Dangtye went away.*

ref Bal 6.86

tx **daka pheri khata-ci-ko raicha-na m -na -tɔ̃da chud-yi**
gl then again(N) go -d -NML REP -SEQ 3sPOSS-e.sister-near(person) bring -3P

tx **-ko raicha gai -wa.**

gl -NML REP cow(N)-ERG

tr *Then the two went on, and the cow brought him to his sister's place.*

ref Bal 6.87

tx **chud-yi -daka-na dhalo tala -dhodi hinga-ko.**

gl reach -3P-ABL -TOP above upper_storey(N)-on_top sit -NML

tr *When they arrived, she sat up on the loft.*

ref Bal 6.88

tx 'lou a -bhai ta -chuda, a -bhai ta -chuda,'
gl INTJ(N) 1sPOSS-y.brother(N) come-V2:reach 1sPOSS-y.brother(N) come-V2:reach

tx ringa-ko raicha.

gl say -NML REP

tr "My brother came! My brother came!" she said.

ref Bal 6.89

tx 'kap -bhai -kha-na, lo thala, kap -sinyo dhas-yi
gl 2sPOSS-y.brother(N)-if -TOP INTJ(N) PART(N) 2sPOSS-saliva lower-3P

tx thala! lyok-u -c -yoyo -kha kap -bhai, aina-kha aina.'
gl PART(N) lick -3P -V2:eat-3P:NPT-if 2sPOSS-y.brother(N) not -if not

tr "If he is your brother, well then, let down your spittle. If he licks it up, he is your brother, if not he is not." [one of the men who had taken her away said].

ref Bal 6.90

tx daka m -sinye tik-u -dhas -yu-ko lyok-u -c -yo-ko raicha.
gl then 3sPOSS-saliva spit-3P-V2:down-3P-NML lick -3P-V2:eat-3P-NML REP

tr Then, when she spit, he licked it up.

ref Bal 6.91

tx daka pheri 'lou thala, chuchui hors -yi-dhas -yi thala! tyiko
gl then again(N) INTJ(N) PART(N) needle throw-3P-V2:down-3P PART(N) that

tx kup -yo -na ta-id -e -kha kap -bhai, aina-kha aina.'
gl pick_up -3P:NPT-SEQ 2 -give-NPT-if 2sPOSS-y.brother(N) not -if not

tr Then again: "Throw down a needle; if he picks it up and gives it to you he is your brother, if not he is not."

ref Bal 6.92

tx tyiko kup -u -na id -yi-ko raicha.
gl that pick_up-3P-SEQ give-3P-NML REP

tr He picked it up and gave it to her.

ref Bal 6.93

tx tyudakana id -yi-ko raicha-na 'lou kap -bhai ɔ
gl then give-3P-NML REP -SEQ INTJ(N) 2sPOSS-y.brother(N) EMPH

tx raicha -na kap -bhai õ raicha.
gl turned_out(N)-TOP 2sPOSS-y.brother(N) EMPH turned_out(N)

tr "Well, he really turned out to be your brother, he really is."

ref Bal 6.94

tx // - kanga rodung la -daka i -ra i -ra muid-ung-kas -unga
gl // I Kiranti language-ABL one-CL one-CL forget-1s -V2:away-1s

tx bo - aina rodung la -daka lo -ma parcha, // tyudakana m
gl PART PART Kiranti language-ABL tell-INF must(N) // then 3sPOSS

tx -bhena -wa dhagolari hors -yu-dhas -yu-na suwalim tira
gl -sister's_husband(N)-ERG rope(N) throw-3P -V2:down-3P -SEQ ladder become

tx -na wanga.
gl -SEQ climb

tr // (speaker wants to continue in Nepali:) I forgot things in Chamling - No, you must tell it in Chamling. -// Then his sisters 'husband' threw down a rope and it became a ladder and he climbed up.

ref Bal 6.95

tx wanga-daka 'lou aso dhalo sikar mai-si khata-c-e!' lod-yi -na
gl climb -ABL INTJ(N) now above hunter(N) do -PURP go -d-NPT tell -3P-SEQ

tx khata-ci -kona m -sala -lai ngo bo set-yi.
gl go -ns -TEMP 3sPOSS-wife's_y.brother(N)-DAT(N) EMPH PART kill -3P

tr "Let's go up to hunt," he said, and the two went and he killed his wife's younger brother.

ref Bal 6.96

tx set-yi -ki -na m -lui -ci m -kung-sa -ci tat -yi -na 'lo
gl kill -3P-SEQ-SEQ 3sPOSS-liver-ns 3sPOSS-heart -meat-ns bring-3P-SEQ INTJ(N)

tx mu!' lod-yi -na m -na -lai id -yi.
gl make tell -3P-SEQ 3sPOSS-e.sister-DAT(N) give-3P

tr He brought his liver and heart and said "prepare it!" and gave it to the sister.

ref Bal 6.97

tx tyudaka khod-yi -kona 'akka nana! akka nana!' ring-e.
gl then cut -3P-TEMP INTJ e.sister INTJ e.sister say -NPT

tr *When she cut it, it said "Akka, sister, akka, sister!"*

ref Bal 6.98

tx **tyudaka beli -ci pak-u -na bhutba mu -kona 'attho!' runga.**
 gl then oil(N)-ns put -3P-SEQ fry(N) make-TEMP INTJ say

tr *Then when she put the oil and fried it, it said "attho!"*

ref Bal 6.99

tx **'attho' runga-daka m -wa pod-yi -kona khupsa-laida m**
 gl INTJ say -ABL 3sPOSS-water put -3P-TEMP get_up -V2:come_out 3sPOSS

tx **-bhai bo.**
 gl -y.brother(N) PART

tr *When she put the broth he stood up, it was her brother!*

ref Bal 6.100

tx **khupsa-laida -daka m -bhai khus-āi -ngas -āica,**
 gl get_up -V2:come_out-ABL 3sPOSS-y.brother(N) hide -[REFL]-V2:stay-REFL

tx **tyudaka m -bhena -lai haka-po pa -seta-ci.**
 gl then 3sPOSS -sister's_husband(N)-DAT(N) two -CL INV-kill -d

tr *After he stood up, her brother hid himself, and then they killed the sister's man.*

ref Bal 6.101

tx **pasetaci-na tyudaka pheri khata-ci kic -khim-da.**
 gl [rep.] -SEQ then again(N) go -d 3nsPOSS-house-LOC

tr *Then they went to their house.*

ref Bal 6.102

tx **khataci-na tyukhi ǿ pheri hinga-ci-na tyuko kic -gai -ci**
 gl [rep.] -SEQ down_there EMPH again(N) be -d -SEQ that 3nsPOSS-cow(N)-ns

tx **kic -maisi -ci pa -khanga-ci-na, m -bhai -lai pani**
 gl 3nsPOSS -buffalo(N)-ns INV-look -d -SEQ 3sPOSS-y.brother(N)-DAT(N) also(N)

tx **biha maid-yi -na tyuda ngo kuci hinga-ci.**
 gl marriage(N) make -3P -SEQ there EMPH they sit -d

tr *They lived down there again and looked after their cows and buffaloes, and she gave her brother in marriage and they lived there.*

ref Bal 6.103

tx **tyinnom aso anga kotha rupa.**

gl that_much now my story(N) finish

tr *This much, my story is finished.*

sp **Jh 5 (SE-Camling)**

sp **khusya pucho - snake and youngest daughter**

ref Jh 5.1

tx nyamchaimanungma i -tungma-da i -ra masungma ra pasung
gl olden_times 1piPOSS-village -LOC one-CL old_woman and(N) old_man

tx hinga-ci-ko raicha, tyiko -ci-mo kic -cha -ci maricha maricha mi -
gl be -d -NML REP that -ns-GEN 3nsPOSS-child-ns girl girl 3pS

tx hinga-ko raicha sat bhaini.
gl be -NML REP seven(N) y.sister(N)

tr *Long time ago in our village there lived an old man and an old woman; they had only daughters, seven sisters.*

ref Jh 5.2

tx tyudakana masungma cahi sya-khata-ko raicha, pasung matrai tira.
gl then old_woman FOC(N) die -V2:go -NML REP old_man only(N) become

tr *Then the old woman died, only the old man was left.*

ref Jh 5.3

tx kic -cha sorung paina-ko maricha matrai kic -cha.
gl 3nsPOSS-child boy not_be-NML girl only(N) 3nsPOSS-child

tr *They had no boy, their children were all girls.*

ref Jh 5.4

tx ani kic -cha mari-lai m -pa -wa 'lou khana
gl then(N) 3nsPOSS-child girl -DAT(N) 3sPOSS-father-ERG INTJ(N) you

tx thuli aso khata sung khom -si,' sung paina-ko raicha-na
gl e.daughter(N) now go firewood cut -PURP firewood not_be-NML REP -SEQ

tx khom-si chuid-yi -ko -na
gl cut -PURP send -3P-NML-SEQ

tr *The father said to his daughter: "You eldest daughter, go to cut firewood," there was no firewood and he sent her to cut some.*

ref Jh 5.5

tx 'kã-na pa -khai-n -ãi,' ringa-ko raicha thuli.
gl I -TOP NEG-go -NEG-1sNPT say -NML REP e.daughter(N)

tr *"I don't go," the eldest daughter said.*

ref Jh 5.6

tx **poku -lai pani tyiso -ngo lod-yi -ko raicha, khu pani**
gl 2nd daughter-DAT(N) also(N) like_that-EMPH tell -3P-NML REP she also(N)

tx **'pa -khai-n -āi,' ringa.**
gl NEG-go -NEG-1sNPT say

tr *He asked the second daughter the same, she also said: "I don't go."*

ref Jh 5.7

tx **limde jhara tyiso lod-yi -ko raicha, jhara mi -chaida-ko raicha,**
gl 3rd daughter all like_that tell -3P-NML REP all 3pS-refuse -NML REP

tx **khusya -samma mi -chaida-ko raicha.**
gl youngest_daughter-until(N) 3pS -refuse -NML REP

tr *The third daughter, all the others spoke like this, they all refused, down to the youngest daughter they refused.*

ref Jh 5.8

tx **tyakana 'lou ta-khat-umn -e -kha kanga khat-āi,' ringa-na**
gl then INTJ(N) 2 -go -2p:NEG-NPT-if I go -1sNPT say -SEQ

tx **pasung khata -ko raicha sung khom-si.**
gl old_man go -NML REP firewood cut -PURP

tr *"Well, if you don't go, I will go," the father said and went to cut firewood.*

ref Jh 5.9

tx **sung khom-si khata-kona kholi-di khata-ki sung khop-hod**
gl firewood cut -PURP go -TEMP jungle-hiLOC go -SEQ firewood cut -MOT

tx **-yi-pana, de doso?**
gl -3P-TEMP what how

tr *When he went to cut firewood, when he went up into the jungle and cut firewood here and there, what happened?*

ref Jh 5.10

tx **oso khang-u -ko raicha i -ra bungwa tod-yi -ko raicha.**
gl as look -3P-NML REP one-CL flower see -3P-NML REP

tr *As he looked around, he discovered a flower.*

ref Jh 5.11

tx 'uko bungwa-na a -cha -ci-lai khaid-āi -na pa -wat -e,'
gl this flower -TOP 1sPOSS-child-ns-DAT(N) take -1sNPT-SEQ INV-wear-NPT

tx rungmana

gl QUOTE

tr *"I will take this flower and my children will wear it," he thought,*

ref Jh 5.12

tx tyuko bungwa bo lyo -kona i -ra pucho bo laida -kina
gl that flower PART pluck:3P-TEMP one-CL snake PART come_out-SEQ

tx 'kap -cha -ci ta -id -e he khana-lai ca-n -e,' rungmana lod-yi
gl 2sPOSS-child-ns 2 -give-NPT or you -DAT(N) eat-1>2-NPT QUOTE tell -3P

tx -ko raicha pucho-wa.

gl -NML REP snake -ERG

tr *and when he plucked the flower, a snake came out and said: "You will give me your children or I will eat you," the snake told him.*

ref Jh 5.13

tx 'aina, kā-lai mi -ca-n -unga, khana-lai pucho-ou a
gl no I -DAT(N) NEG-eat-NEG-1s you -DAT(N) snake -ADDR 1sPOSS

tx -cha i -n -e,' rungmana lod-yi -ko raicha.

gl -child give-1>2 -NPT QUOTE tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"No, don't eat me, I will give my child to you, snake," he said.*

ref Jh 5.14

tx dakana pasung -wa sung khop-u -ki, kho -ni kho -ni lamt-e
gl then old_man-ERG firewood cut -3P-SEQ where-ALL where-ALL walk -NPT

tx tyuda-ni tyuda-ni nhai -sa nhai -sa uko pucho pani ta -ko
gl there -ALL there -ALL follow-SIM follow-SIM this snake also(N) come-NML

tx raicha.

gl REP

tr *The old man cut firewood, and wherever he went, the snake came following following him.*

ref Jh 5.15

tx m -**khim-da** pasung ta -**chuda -ko raicha.**
gl 3sPOSS-house-LOC old_man come-V2:reach-NML REP

tr *The old man came home.*

ref Jh 5.16

tx **daka m -cha -ci-lai lo-ma puis -yi-ko raichar**
gl then 3sPOSS-child-ns-DAT(N) tell-INF begin-3P-NML REP

tr *He began to tell his children:*

ref Jh 5.17

tx 'lou aso thuli, khana khat-ou!
gl INTJ(N) now e.daughter(N) you go -ADDR

tr *"Now, eldest daughter, you go!*

ref Jh 5.18

tx **uko pucho-wa khana ta-khat-āi nakhō kā-lai kha-ca-e.'**
gl this snake -ERG you 2 -go -NEG if I -DAT(N) IP -eat-NPT

tr *That snake will eat me if you don't go."*

ref Jh 5.19

tx 'ta-ca-e nakhō, ta-ca-e ap -ou, kanga pa -khai-n -āi,' lod-yi
gl 2 -eat-NPT if 2 -eat-NPT father-ADDR I NEG-go -NEG-1sNPT tell -3P

tx -**ko raicha. //**
gl -NML REP //

tr *"If he will eat you, let him eat you, father, I don't go," she said.*

ref Jh 5.20

tx **poku pani tyoso -ngo ringa-ko raicha.**
gl 2nd daughter also(N) like_that-EMPH say -NML REP

tr *The second daughter said the same.*

ref Jh 5.21

tx **jhara mi -chaida-ko raicha.**

gl all 3pS-refuse -NML REP

tr *They all refused.*

ref Jh 5.22

tx **'khaini ta-khat-umn -e nakhõ kã-lai kha-ca-e, kanga õ khai**

gl you (p) 2 -go -2p:NEG-NPT if_not I -DAT(N) 1P -eat-NPT I EMPH go

tx **-ma paryo,' rungmana pasung lamta-pana khusya cahi -wa lod**

gl -INF must (N) QUOTE old_man walk -TEMP youngest_daughter FOC(N)-ERG tell

tx **-yi-ko raichar**

gl -3P-NML REP

tr *"If you don't go, he will eat me, I must go then," the old man said, and when he set off, it was the youngest daughter who said:*

ref Jh 5.23

tx **'aina a -pa kanga khat-ãi hoi thala,' khusya cahi**

gl no 1sPOSS-father I go -1sNPT INTJ PART(N) youngest_daughter FOC(N)

tx **ringa-ko raicha-na khusya khata-ko raicha.**

gl say -NML REP -SEQ youngest_daughter go -NML REP

tr *"No, father, I will go then," the youngest daughter said, and she went.*

ref Jh 5.24

tx **ani 'aso dosona khai-ma,' runga-ko raicha.**

gl then(N) now how go -INF say -NML REP

tr *"How shall I go?" she asked.*

ref Jh 5.25

tx **pucho-wa ringa-ko raichar: 'kã kho -ni kho -ni khat-ãi tyuda**

gl snake -ERG say -NML REP I where-ALL where-ALL go -1sNPT there

tx **tyuda kha -nhai -hoda', lod-yi-ko raicha.**

gl there 1P -follow-MOT tell -3P-NML REP

tr *The snake said: "Wherever I go, keep following me," he said to her.*

ref Jh 5.26

tx **daka khata-ci, pucho kho -ni kho -ni yōhod-e tyuda-ni tyuda-ni**
 gl then go -d snake where-ALL where-ALL roam -NPT there -ALL there -ALL

tx **m -meri m -meri nhai -hod -yi-ko raicha.**
 gl 3sPOSS -tail 3sPOSS-tail follow-MOT-3P-NML REP

tr *Then they went, wherever the snake went, there she went following his tail.*

ref Jh 5.27

tx **nhai -sa nhai -sa khata-ci-ki i -ra thulo wahui-da chuda-ci-ko**
 gl follow-SIM follow-SIM go -d -SEQ one-CL big(N) river -LOC reach -d -NML

tx **raicha.**
 gl REP

tr *While she followed him they went and came to a big river.*

ref Jh 5.28

tx **wahui-da chuda-ci hemo 'lou uda repa-ngasa, kanga uda wang**
 gl river -LOC reach -d after INTJ(N) here stand-V2:remain I here enter

tx **-āi -na kanga mina tir -āi -na laid -āi.**
 gl -1sNPT-SEQ I man become-1sNPT-SEQ come_out-1sNPT

tr *After they came to the river he said: "Remain here, I will enter here and turn into a man and come out again.*

ref Jh 5.29

tx **ani so -sopa-wa 'khat-ine, syo khata-c-e,' ta-lod-e -kha,**
 gl then(N) who-who -ERG go -2pIMPER come_on! go -d-NPT 2 -tell -NPT-if

tx **'kā-na pucho-mo m -burhi bo,' lod-yi-ki mi -khai-d**
 gl I -TOP snake -GEN 3sPOSS -wife(N) PART tell -3P-SEQ NEG-go -negAUX

tx **-ou, chaida,' lod-yi -ko raicha.**
 gl -ADDR refuse tell -3P-NML REP

tr *If anyone says to you 'Go! Come on, let's go!' tell him: 'I am the snake's wife, don't go, refuse,' he told her.*

ref Jh 5.30

tx **'lou', ringa-ki tyuda repa-ngasa -ko raicha, pucho cahi wa**
 gl INTJ(N) say -SEQ there stand-V2:remain-NML REP snake FOC(N) water

tx **-da wanga-ko raicha.**
gl -LOC enter -NML REP

tr *"O.k." she said and remained standing there, the snake entered the water.*

ref Jh 5.31

tx **bhaipa wa -da wanga-ko raicha-ki mina tira -na laida -ko**
gl big water-LOC enter -NML REP -SEQ man become-SEQ come_out-NML

tx **raicha-ki 'lo syo jaul' ringa.**
gl REP -SEQ INTJ(N) come_on! INTJ say

tr *He entered the big water and became a man and came up: "Come on, let's go!" he said.*

ref Jh 5.32

tx **'kã-na pucho-mo m -burhi bo pa -khai-n -ãi,' ringa-ko**
gl I -TOP snake -GEN 3sPOSS-wife(N) PART NEG-go -NEG-1sNPT say -NML

tx **raicha.**
gl REP

tr *"I am the snake's wife, I don't go," she said.*

ref Jh 5.33

tx **'kã-mna -ko thala, kanga õ mina tir -unga-na laid -ung**
gl I -EMPH-FOC PART(N) I EMPH man become-1s -SEQ come_out-1s

tx **-ko,' lod-yi -ki khata-ci-ko raicha.**
gl -NML tell -3P-SEQ go -d -NML REP

tr *"But it's me! I became a man and came out," he said, and they went.*

ref Jh 5.34

tx **tyudaka 'uda-ngo yung-ma tir -e,' rungmana bokhama-da -ngo**
gl then here-EMPH live -INF become-NPT QUOTE earth -LOC-EMPH

tx **laida -ci-ki hinga-ci-ko raicha.**
gl come_out-d -SEQ sit -d -NML REP

tr *Then he said: "Here we must live," and they went up to the earth and lived there.*

ref Jh 5.35

tx **hinga-ci hemo-na tyiko pucho-na mina pucho tira -na sanga -ko**
 gl sit -d after -TOP that snake -TOP man snake become-SEQ come_up-NML

tx **mina-ō raicha.**
 gl man -EMPH turned_out(N)

tr *They stayed there, that snake became a human being, turned out to be a man.*

ref Jh 5.36

tx **daka khu-lai wat -yu-ko jhara woi -kha ca-kha jhara jhara**
 gl then he -DAT(N) put_on-3P-NML all wear-N.PAT eat-N.PAT all all

tx **tat -yi-ko raicha-na khu -lai -na m -woi-kha -na m**
 gl bring-3P-NML REP -SEQ she -DAT(N)-TOP 3sPOSS-wear-N.PAT-TOP 3sPOSS

tx **-nabro-da -ni m -nadipung-da -ni m -ghicro -da -ni khyo**
 gl -ear -LOC-ALL 3sPOSS-nose -LOC-ALL 3sPOSS-throat(N) -LOC-ALL hang

tx **-kha -ci pani jhara woid -yi-ko raicha.**
 gl -N.PAT-ns also(N) all put_on-3P-NML REP

tr *Then he gave her everything, clothes, plates, everything he brought, and he put the clothes on her body and the jewelry on her ears, her nose and her neck.*

ref Jh 5.37

tx **daka hinga-ci, i -ra khain -e -ko i -ra khim pa -ma -ci-ko**
 gl then sit -d one-CL be_beautiful-NPT-NML one-CL house INV-make-d -NML

tx **raicha.**
 gl REP

tr *Then they lived together and they built a beautiful house.*

ref Jh 5.38

tx **hinga-ci.**
 gl sit -d

tr *They lived there.*

ref Jh 5.39

tx **tyudakana m -selam suspalai -na poku cahi m**
 gl then 3sPOSS-next_day day_after_next-TOP 2nd daughter FOC(N) 3sPOSS

tx **-na dhi-si khata-ko raicha m -nicho -lai, khusya**
 gl **-e.sister find-PURP go -NML REP 3sPOSS-y.sibling-DAT(N) youngest_daughter**

tx **-lai.**
 gl **-DAT(N)**

tr *After some time the second daughter, the elder sister went to find her younger sibling, the youngest daughter.*

ref Jh 5.40

tx **oso khang-u -kona tyiso -na tyiso -na hinga-ngasa -ko tod-yi,**
 gl **as look -3P-TEMP like_that-TOP like_that-TOP sit -V2:remain-NML see -3P**

tx **tyudaka 'lou, khusya syo -na hums- āinci khata-c**
 gl **then INTJ(N) youngest_daughter come_on!-SEQ wash REFL:PURP go -d**

tx **-e,' rungmana khata-ci-ko raicha.**
 gl **-NPT QUOTE go -d -NML REP**

tr *As she looked around and saw how she lived, she said: "Come on, youngest, let's go to bathe," and they set off.*

ref Jh 5.41

tx **hums-āinci -kona wahui- mo m -cheu -da khata-ci-kona**
 gl **wash -REFL:PURP-TEMP river GEN 3sPOSS-side(N)-LOC go -d -TEMP**

tx **ping pa -paka -ngasa -ko raicha.**
 gl **ferris_wheel(N) INV-put -V2:remain-NML REP**

tr *When they went along the bank, there was a ferris wheel, which had been put up.*

ref Jh 5.42

tx **'lou uda ping maida-c-e, kanga m -bhusi maid-āi,'**
 gl **INTJ(N) here ferris_wheel(N) make -d-NPT I 3sPOSS-front make -1sNPT**

tx **ringa-na poku wanga -ko raicha, hallyai maid-yi -ko raicha.**
 gl **say -SEQ 2nd daughter enter -NML REP swing(N) make -3P-NML REP**

tr *"Let's swing here, I'll go first," she said, and second daughter climbed up, and she swung.*

ref Jh 5.43

tx **ani 'lu kanga dhas -aic -āi,' lod-yi ra dhas -aica.**
 gl then(N) INTJ I descend-REFL-1sNPT tell -3P and(N) descend-REFL

tr *"Then she said: "I'll come down now," and she came down.*

ref Jh 5.44

tx **'aso khana ta-wang-e, uko khamo woi -kha -ci jhara lais -yi ra**
 gl now you 2 -enter -NPT this your wear-N.PAT-ns all take_off-3P and(N)

tx **wanga.**

gl enter

tr *"Now you will go up, take off all your clothes and get up.*

ref Jh 5.45

tx **ping -da wang-in-e -pa dha -ni bo hapt -e,'**
 gl ferris_wheel(N)-LOC enter -2p-NPT-TEMP above-ALL PART get_stuck-NPT

tx **rungmana lod-yi -ko.**

gl QUOTE tell -3P -NML

tr *When you get into the wheel they might get stuck up there," she said.*

ref Jh 5.46

tx **oso m -na -wa lod-yi -ko, // lais -yi -ki bhungs-yi -dyo**
 gl as 3sPOSS-e.sister-ERG tell -3P-NML // take_off-3P-SEQ dump -3P-V2:RELIN:3P

tx **-ko raicha.**

gl -NML REP

tr *As the elder said this, she took off [her clothes] and dumped them.*

ref Jh 5.47

tx **wanga-kina m -na -wa hallyai mai -ma puis -yi -ko raicha**
 gl enter -SEQ 3sPOSS-e.sister-ERG swing(N) make-INF begin-3P-NML REP

tx **-pana m -kurma la -ko raicha.**

gl -TEMP 3sPOSS-fear AUX-NML REP

tr *She got up [on the wheel], but when her elder sister started to push she became afraid.*

ref Jh 5.48

tx 'nana bhayo -bhayo kanga onno -ō'.

gl e.sister(ADDR) enough(N)-enough(N) I this_much-EMPH

tr *"Enough, enough, sister, I have enough."*

ref Jh 5.49

tx besari ngos-yi ngos-yi -ki ngos-yi -pak -u -ko raicha.

gl very_much(N) push -3P push -3P-SEQ push -3P-V2:COMPL-3P-NML REP

tr *She pushed her very hard, she pushed her to the very end.*

ref Jh 5.50

tx khola -da wang-khata-ko raicha sya-kinā tyiko-na jhara cyo

gl river(N)-LOC enter -V2:go -NML REP die -SEQ that -TOP all eat:3P

tx -pak -u -nā.

gl -V2:COMPL-3P-SEQ

tr *She fell into the river, she died and the other one took everything.*

ref Jh 5.51

tx cyo -paku cyo-paku dakana aso de ngal-ma?

gl [rep.] then now what do -INF

tr *After she took everything - what to do now?*

ref Jh 5.52

tx daka tyiko woi -kha -ci m -tei -ci jhara m -bhaini -mo,

gl then that wear-N.PAT-ns 3sPOSS-cloth-ns all 3sPOSS-y.sister(N)-GEN

tx m -nicho -mo khu-wa wat -yi-ki ta -ko raicha.

gl 3sPOSS-y.sibling-GEN she -ERG put_on-3P-SEQ come-NML REP

tr *She put on all her sister's ornaments and clothes and came back.*

ref Jh 5.53

tx ta -kinā i -ra yaya pani tira -ngasa -ko.

gl come-SEQ one-CL child(N) also(N) become-V2:PERF-NML

tr *A child had been born also.*

ref Jh 5.54

tx // **yaya -mo m -nung bhoptale pa -woida-ngasa -ko raicha.**
 gl child(N)-GEN 3sPOSS-name Bh. INV-put_on -V2:PERF-NML REP

tr *The child was named Bhoptale.*

ref Jh 5.55

tx **ta -ko raicha dakana yaya khap-e -ko raicha.**
 gl come-NML REP then child(N) weep -NPT-NML REP

tr *After she came back the child always cried.*

ref Jh 5.56

tx **'aina a -n -eu, khai thala kai -nicho,' lomana lod-yi**
 gl INTJ 1sPOSS-e.sister-ADDR where PART(N) 2pPOSS-y.sibling QUOTE tell -3P

tx **-ko raicha tyiko pucho-wa.**
 gl -NML REP that snake -ERG

tr *"Now, elder sister, where is your younger sister?" the snake asked.*

ref Jh 5.57

tx **'aina uko de tir -e, kanga-mna -ko,' ringa-ko raicha.**
 gl INTJ this what become-NPT I -EMPH-FOC say -NML REP

tr *"What's the matter, it's me!" she said.*

ref Jh 5.58

tx **'aina-ko, khaini-na anga a -na po thala'.**
 gl no -FOC you (p)-TOP my 1sPOSS-e.sister PART PART(N)

tr *"No, you are my elder sister, for sure."*

ref Jh 5.59

tx **'aina uko de tir -e uko mina, kanga-mna -ko,' rungmana lod-yi**
 gl no this what become-NPT this man I -EMPH-FOC QUOTE tell -3P

tx **-ko raicha.**
 gl -NML REP

tr *"No, what's the matter with this man, it's me!" she said.*

ref Jh 5.60

tx **tyiko yaya -lai dudh id -yo, depamo ding -yo dudh.**
 gl that child(N)-DAT(N) milk(N) give-3P:NPT never drink-3P:NPT milk(N)

tr *She used to give milk to the baby, but it never drank the milk.*

ref Jh 5.61

tx **m -ma cahi huilo ngos-yi -pak -u wa -da -na sya-ngas**
 gl 3sPOSS-mother FOC(N) below push -3P-V2:COMPL-3P water-LOC-TOP die -V2:stay

tx **-e.**

gl -NPT

tr *Its mother, pushed down into the water, was dying.*

ref Jh 5.62

tx **yaya si -ma rungs -e -ko raicha.**
 gl child(N) die-INF be_about-NPT-NML REP

tr *The baby was almost starving.*

ref Jh 5.63

tx **m -yaya khapa-ko isa isa ta -e -ko raicha.**
 gl 3sPOSS-child(N) weep -NML quietly quietly come-NPT-NML REP

tr *When the baby cried [the mother] used to come secretly.*

ref Jh 5.64

tx **- uile -na mi -leta -ko pani tyoso -ram mi -ta -ko**
 gl earlier(N)-TOP 3pS-become_alife-NML also(N) like_that-PART 3pS-come-NML

tx **are. -**

gl REP(N)

tr *- They say that in former times people became alive again and came back. -*

ref Jh 5.65

tx **dudh ding maid-yo -ko raicha, ding-u -ko raicha yaya pani.**
 gl milk(N) drink make -3P:NPT-NML REP drink-3P-NML REP child(N) also(N)

tr *She made him drink milk, and it drank, the child.*

ref Jh 5.66

tx i -lai-na m -hopa lod-yi-ko raicha, 'lu aso, kanga uda
gl one-day-TOP 3sPOSS-husband tell -3P-NML REP INTJ now I here

tx carung la -si chuid-āi.

gl pounded_rice fetch-PURP send -1sNPT

tr *One day the husband said [to his dead wife]: "I will send her to fetch rice.*

ref Jh 5.67

tx tola-da hinga-ngasa, sakho-bhaiti, dilung-bhaiti rang-u -na hinga
gl loft -LOC sit -V2:remain axe sp.-axe axe sp.-axe grab -3P-SEQ sit

tx -ngasa.

gl -V2:remain

tr *Stay on the loft, take an axe and stay there.*

ref Jh 5.68

tx uda wang-e -pa hui -ni chyod-yi-dhas -yi,' lod-yi-ko raicha.
gl here enter -NPT-TEMP down-ALL hew -3P-V2:down-3P tell -3P-NML REP

tr *"When she comes up here, hew her down," he said.*

ref Jh 5.69

tx 'lo,' rungmana hinga-ngasa -ko raicha tola-da.
gl INTJ(N) QUOTE sit -V2:remain-NML REP loft -LOC

tr *"Okay," she said and remained sitting on the loft.*

ref Jh 5.70

tx huilo-ka carung la -si chuid-yi-ko raicha, daka dhalo-ka
gl below-ABL pounded_rice fetch-PURP send -3P-NML REP then above -ABL

tx -ō chyod-yi - dhas -yi-ko raicha sakho bhaiti-wa //.
gl -EMPH hew -3P V2:down-3P -NML REP axe sp. axe -INST //

tr *He sent [the other one] up to fetch rice, and she hew her down with the axe.*

ref Jh 5.71

tx tyudaka huilo pa -horsako raicha ghurya-ni -kona syiraha po
gl then below INV-throw -NML REP rubbish -ALL-TEMP lemon PART

tx tira -ko raicha.
gl become-NML REP

tr *Then, down there, they threw her on the rubbish heap and she grew into a lemon tree.*

ref Jh 5.72

tx tyiko-na kic -na poke -na tyakana eee.. okona -ko pora
gl that -TOP 3nsPOSS-e.sister 2nd daughter-TOP then INTJ this_much-FOC grow

tx -ko raicha.
gl -NML REP

tr *The elder sister, the second daughter eee, she grew big like this.*

ref Jh 5.73

tx okona -ko pora-ko raicha.
gl this_much-FOC grow-NML REP

tr *She grew this big!*

ref Jh 5.74

tx tyoko yaya -wa nikai mhaipa-ko tira hemo syiraha ngod -yi -ko
gl that child(N)-ERG much big -NML become after lemon ask_for-3P-NML

tx raicha.
gl REP

tr *That child, after it became big, asked them for a lemon.*

ref Jh 5.75

tx 'a -ma a -pa kanga syiraha c -fi'.
gl 1sPOSS-mother 1sPOSS-father I lemon eat-1sNPT

tr *"Mother, Father, I am going to eat a lemon."*

ref Jh 5.76

tx 'aina lou ca-ma is -e.' //
gl no INTJ(N) eat-INF be_bad-NPT //

tr *"No, you must not eat it."*

ref Jh 5.77

tx 'lou khana- δ khata-na l -yo,' lod-yi-ki pa -chuida-ko
gl INTJ(N) you -EMPH go -SEQ pluck-3P tell -3P-SEQ INV-send -NML

tx -na, khata-kin Δ khu-na la -si khata-kona ngyabd-yi-pak -u
gl -TOP go -SEQ he -TOP pluck -PURP go -TEMP stick_to -3P-V2:COMPL-3P

tx -ko raicha.
gl -NML REP

tr [*Later:*] "Okay, go yourself and pluck it," he said and they sent him and when he went to pluck it, he stuck to it.

ref Jh 5.78

tx 'lou a -cha-na ngyabda,' ringa-na m -ma khata-kona
gl INTJ(N) 1sPOSS-child-TOP stick_to say -SEQ 3sPOSS-mother go -TEMP

tx m -ma pani ngyabda -ko raicha.
gl 3sPOSS-mother also(N) stick_to -NML REP

tr "Our child got stuck," his mother said and she went, and the mother also stuck to the tree.

ref Jh 5.79

tx m -pa pani dhel -si khata-ko, m -pa pani ngyabda
gl 3sPOSS-father also(N) pull_out-PURP go -NML 3sPOSS-father also(N) stick_to

tx -paka -ki jhara mi -ngyabda-paka -ki mi -sya-ko raicha.
gl -V2:COMPL-SEQ all 3pS -stick_to -V2:COMPL-SEQ 3pS-die -NML REP

tr His father went to pull out the tree, but the father also got stuck, all got stuck and died.

ref Jh 5.80

tx tyoko-ci-mo tyonno.
gl that -ns-GEN that_much

tr This much for them.

sp Lal 3 (NW-Camling)
 sp Wachapa Busiri - the Camling and Thulung ancestor

ref Lal 3.1

tx - ase khaini camling khopala muni -ko? -
 gl earlier you (p) camling which_side originate-NML

tr - From where did you Camling originate in earlier times? -

ref Lal 3.2

tx ase kai hō -cha khopala muni niko rungmapana, m -bhusi
 gl earlier we(pi) king-child which_side originate PART QUOTE 3sPOSS-front

tx -na salapa ra naima hinga-ci niko.
 gl -TOP S. and(N) N. be -d PART

tr From where we Camling originated - in the beginnig there where Salapa and Naima.

ref Lal 3.3

tx oko haikhama salapa ra naima-wa pa -laida -ci niko.
 gl this earth S. and(N) N. -ERG INV-bring_out-d PART

tr Salapa and Naima created the earth.

ref Lal 3.4

tx naima-mo m -cha phromo hinga niko.
 gl N. -GEN 3sPOSS-child Ph. be PART

tr Naima's child was Phromoma.

ref Lal 3.5

tx phromo-mo m -cha kaini.
 gl Ph. -GEN 3sPOSS-child we(pi)

tr We are Phromo's children.

ref Lal 3.6

tx ase phromo-mo m -cha so rungmapa, sungpana ni.
 gl yesterday Ph. -GEN 3sPOSS-child who QUOTE S. PART

tr Who then was Phromo's child? Sungpana.

Uni
 2p

ref Lal 3.7

tx **sungpana-mo m -cha wachapa busiri mi -hinga niko.**
gl S. -GEN 3sPOSS-child W. B. 3pS-be PART

tr *Sungpana's children were Wachapa and Busiri.*

ref Lal 3.8

tx **khoda mi -tira niko tharu-hõ - baju-hõ -da ni. /.../**
gl where 3pS-become PART Th. -king B. -king-LOC PART

tr *Where they were born? in the Terai (the land of the Tharu and Bajju kings).*

ref Lal 3.9

tx **jhara tharu-hõ -baju-hõ -dekhi mi -ras -umca ni mi -pharaka ni**
gl all Th. -king-B. -king-from(N) 3pS-divide-REFL PART 3pS-separate PART

tr *They all separated from the Tharu and Bajju land.*

ref Lal 3.10

tx **na, salapa naima-wa doso-mu-sa kai hõ -cha muni niko rungmapa,**
gl and S. N. -ERG how -do -SIM we(pi) king-child originate PART QUOTE

tr *Now, how Salapa and Naima created us chief-sons, that is,*

ref Lal 3.11

tx **oko haikhama paila muni.**
gl this earth first(N) originate

tr *First they created the earth.*

ref Lal 3.12

tx **haikhama-da rungkhama bo muni -ko raicha ni.**
gl earth -LOC white ant PART originate-NML REP PART

tr *In the earth the white ant originated.*

ref Lal 3.13

tx **ani rungkhama-wa bokhaphopi muni, bokhaphopi-dekhi kai**
gl then(N) white ant -ERG anthill originate anthill -from(N) we(pi)

tx **rodung hõ -cha muni niko. /.../**
gl Kiranti king-child originate PART

tr *The white ant created the anthill; from the anthill we Rodung people (=chief-sons) originated.*

ref Lal 3.14

tx tyoso -mu-sa jhara-maiya car -bhai mi -hinga niko, tharu,
gl like_that-do -SIM all -xx four(N)-y.brother(N) 3pS-be PART Th.

tx khambu, limbu, na kai uko camling wachapa-cahi m -santani,
gl Kh. L. and we(pi) this camling W. -FOC(N) 3sPOSS-heir(N)

tx m -cyodum-ci
gl 3sPOSS-heir -ns

tr *Thus there were altogether 4 brothers: Tharu, Khambu, Limbu, and we, the Chamling, Wachapa's heirs, his descendents.*

ref Lal 3.15

tx ase tharu-hõ baju-hõ -dekhi sang-i niko.
gl earlier Th. -king B. -king-from(N) come-1/2p PART

tr *We came up in former times from Tharu and Baju land.*

ref Lal 3.16

tx na, tharu-hõ baju-hõ -daka /.../ wailung tom-sa sang-i niko.
gl INTJ Th. -king B. -king-ABL obstacle clear-SIM come-1/2p PART

tr *We came up from Tharu and Bahu land, clearing away the obstacles.*

ref Lal 3.17

tx na, ase uko diktel-ko yapsungma-da ta -i niko.
gl INTJ earlier this D. -NML y. -LOC come-1/2p PART

tr *We came to the Diktel Yapsungma.*

ref Lal 3.18

tx na, oda-ko cari syol-sa buto syol-sa imo wachapa
gl PART here-NML ancestral_territory claim-SIM RIT claim-SIM our(pi) W.

tx i -chappa hinga niko.
gl 1pPOSS-rit.brother live PART

tr *Here our grandfather Wachapa settled, claiming the ancestral territory (cari).*

ref Lal 3.19

tx **na, khu-wa oda hinga-na rungrisaka mu buwariwari mu-na jhara**
 gl PART he -ERG here be -SEQ (ritual) do (ritual) do -SEQ all

tx **kai phak -i niko.**
 gl we(pi) separate-1/2p PART

tr *He settled here and performed the rituals and we all separated.*

ref Lal 3.20

tx **uko-na diktel-ko yapsungma-da ta -ci-palona busiri-wa paila ta**
 gl this -TOP D. -NML y. -LOC come-d -TEMP B. -ERG first(N) come

tx **-ko hinga niko.**
 gl -NML be PART

tr *When they (Wachapa and Busiri) came to the Diktel Yapsungma, Busiri arrived first*

ref Lal 3.21

tx **anta busiri-wa pani bo oda khang-u -ko /.../**
 gl then(N) B. -ERG also(N) PART here look -3P-NML

tr *Busiri chose this place (...)*

ref Lal 3.22

tx **khu pani cari -buto syol -yi -na hinga-ko raicha.**
 gl he also(N) ancestral_territory-RIT claim-3P-SEQ be -NML REP

tr *He cleared the ancestral land and settled down.*

ref Lal 3.23

tx **wachapa-na m -dosi bo ta -ko raicha, busiri m -bhusi ta**
 gl W. -TOP 3sPOSS-back PART come-NML REP B. 3sPOSS-before come

tx **-ko raicha.**
 gl -NML REP

tr *Wachapa is said to have arrived after him, Busiri came first.*

ref Lal 3.24

tx **khu pani oda cari syol -ma -lai m -sikha la -ko**
 gl he also(N) here ancestral_territory claim-INF-DAT(N) 3sPOSS-liking AUX-NML

tx **raicha.**
gl REP

tr *He (Wachapa) also wanted to claim his cari.*

ref Lal 3.25

tx **wachapa-wa khang-u -palona busiri bo ta -ko raicha.**
gl W. -ERG look -3P-TEMP B. PART come-NML REP

tr *When Wachapa looked around Busiri had already arrived.*

ref Lal 3.26

tx **ani 'oko busiri-lai aso tur -ma do ngal-ma thala' runga-na**
gl then(N) this B. -DAT(N) now chase-INF how do -INF PART(N) say -SEQ

tr *He thought: "what to do to chase away Busiri?"*

ref Lal 3.27

tx **khu pani 'aso cari syol -āi' runga-na cari syol**
gl he also(N) now ancestral_territory claim-1sNPT say -SEQ ancestral_territory claim

tx **-yi buto syol -yi -ko raicha, rungmapa.**
gl -3P RIT claim-3P-NML REP QUOTE

tr *...and he also thought "I'll claim a cari now," and he claimed his cari.*

ref Lal 3.28

tx **rōho pani tat -yi -ko raicha.**
gl boar also(N) bring-3P-NML REP

tr *He brought a wild boar.*

ref Lal 3.29

tx **rōho-mo m -khli tat -yi -na kebha mu-na ngas-yi -ko raicha,**
gl boar -GEN 3sPOSS-shit bring-3P-SEQ much do -SEQ keep -3P-NML REP

tr *He brought a wild boar's dung, made a big heap and kept it.*

ref Lal 3.30

tx **hemaka busiri-neri pusa-ko raicha.**
gl after B. -near(N) go -NML REP

tr *After that he went to Busiri.*

ref Lal 3.31

tx pusa-na 'hõ -b -ou, dosoko khana oda ta-hinga-ko thala.
gl go -SEQ king-brother-ADDR how you here 2 -be -NML PART(N)

tr *He said: "Brother, how come you are here?"*

ref Lal 3.32

tx kã-lyona huilo khim pani m-ung-ko hing-e, rõho pani kot-ung
gl I -TOP below house also(N) do-1s -NML be -NPT boar also(N) tame-1s

tx -ko hing-e.
gl -NML be -NPT

tr *I myself have built a house down there, I have domesticated the wild boar.*

ref Lal 3.33

tx lou, oda-na is -e, oko-na anga bo.
gl INTJ(N) here-TOP be_bad-NPT this -TOP my PART

tr *Well, you can't stay here, this is mine.*

ref Lal 3.34

tx khana-na khoda ta-pus-e pusa, lud-yi-ko raicha.
gl you -TOP where 2 -go -NPT go tell -3P-NML REP

tr *You go where you'll go!"*

ref Lal 3.35

tx lud-yi -pana busiri lud-yi-ko raicha: 'delo, kanga bo m -bhusi
gl tell -3P-TEMP B. tell -3P-NML REP INTJ I PART 3sPOSS-before

tx t -ung-ko.
gl come-1s -NML

tr *When he said this Busiri answered: "No, I have come first.*

ref Lal 3.36

tx anga a -khim khang-u -n -eu, cari syol-ung-ko hing
gl my 1sPOSS-house look -3P-2p-ADDR ancestral_territory claim-1s -NML be

tx -e, cari lhap-ung-ko hing-e' runga-ko raicha.
gl -NPT ancestral_territory catch -1s -NML be -NPT say -NML REP

tr *Please, look at my house! I have claimed my cari, I have conquered the place."*

ref Lal 3.37

tx 'aina' wachapa, 'kanga bo m -bhusi t -ung-ko.
gl no W. I PART 3sPOSS-before come-1s -NML

tr "No" Wachapa said, "I came earlier.

ref Lal 3.38

tx lou, anga khõ-si pusa, a -khim khang-u lou thala.'
gl INTJ(N) my look-PURP go 1sPOSS-house look -3P INTJ(N) PART(N)

tr Well, go to see my (place)! look at my house then!"

ref Lal 3.39

tx busiri-lai dhas -yi-ko raicha.
gl B. -DAT(N) take_down-3P-NML REP

tr He took Busiri down,

ref Lal 3.40

tx dhas -yi-na khang-u -ko raicha.
gl take_down-3P-SEQ look -3P-NML REP

tr He looked around.

ref Lal 3.41

tx rõho-mo m -khli pani khõ-maid-yi -ko raicha.
gl boar -GEN 3sPOSS-shit also(N) look-make -3P-NML REP

tr He also showed him the wild boar's dung.

ref Lal 3.42

tx busiri-mo m -kung pa -lyok -aina-ko raicha.
gl B. -GEN 3sPOSS-heart NEG-arrange-NEG-NML REP

tr Busiri's heart did not agree.

ref Lal 3.43

tx 'aina kanga-õ m -bhusi t -ung-ko', runga-pa
gl no I -EMPH 3sPOSS-before come-1s -NML say -TEMP

tr "No, I came earlier," he said.

ref Lal 3.44

tx **wachapa 'lou, tyoso -na -khõ aso kai -ci deno khya -c-e.**
 gl W. INTJ(N) like_that-TOP-if now we(pi)-d why quarrel-d-NPT

tr (*Wachapa said:*) "Well, if it is so, why do we quarrel.

ref Lal 3.45

tx **mi -khya -c-e, ninama ra haikhama-lai sena-c-e thala**
 gl NEG-quarrel-d-NPT sky(rit) and(N) earth -DAT(N) ask -d-NPT PART(N)

tx **aso so m -bhusi ta -ci-ko raicha; ninama ra haikhama**
 gl now who 3sPOSS-before come -d -NML REP sky(rit) and(N) earth

tx **-lai sena-c-e,' runga-pa,**
 gl -DAT(N) ask -d-NPT say -TEMP

tr *Let's not quarrel, let's ask the sky and the earth, who arrived earlier. Let's ask the sky and the earth."*

ref Lal 3.46

tx **'lou, thala', ringa-na, busiri pani krõsa-ko raicha.**
 gl INTJ(N) PART(N) say -SEQ B. also(N) agree -NML REP

tr "Alright then," Busiri agreed.

ref Lal 3.47

tx **krõsa hemaka, wachapa-na kholi-da pusa-na i -to halace wasa-mo**
 gl agree after W. -TOP jungle-LOC go -SEQ one-CL bird(sp) bird -GEN

tx **m -cha tat -yi-ko raicha-na haikhama-da khoppi mu-na tyoda**
 gl 3sPOSS-child bring-3P-NML REP -SEQ earth -LOC hole do -SEQ there

tx **-ngo pak-u -na ngas-yi -ko raicha rungmapa.**
 gl -EMPH put -3P-SEQ keep -3P-NML REP QUOTE

tr *After that Wachapa went to the forest, brought home a young bird, made a hole in the earth and put it and kept it there.*

ref Lal 3.48

tx **gope rukhma-mo borchha maid-umca-ko raicha-na tyoda-ngo**
 gl bamboo(sp) bamboo -GEN pillar make -REFL -NML REP -TOP there -EMPH

tx **wa pak-u -ko raicha.**
 gl water put -3P-NML REP

tr *He made a pillar from a gope bamboo, and there he put water.*

ref Lal 3.49

tx **wa pak-u -na ngas-yi hemaka busiri-lai lud-yi -ko raicha' lo**
gl water put -3P-SEQ keep -3P after B. -DAT(N) tell -3P-NML REP INTJ(N)

tx **thala hõ -b -ou, khana ninama-lai pani haw maid-yu**
gl PART(N) king-brother -ADDR you sky(rit) -DAT(N) also(N) prayer make -3P

tx **haikhama-lai pani haw lud-yi thala,' lud-yi -ko raicha.**
gl earth -DAT(N) also(N) prayer tell -3P PART(N) tell -3P-NML REP

tr *After that he said to Busiri: "Princely brother, you go on and speak your prayer to the sky and to the earth."*

ref Lal 3.50

tx **ani busiri khrupsa-na ninama-lai haw lud-yi haikhama- lai**
gl then(N) B. get_up -SEQ sky(rit) -DAT(N) prayer tell -3P earth DAT(N)

tx **haw lud-yi -palona ninama-dekhi -na wa /.../ tayar mu-ko raicha.**
gl prayer tell -3P-TEMP sky(rit) -from(N)-TOP water ready (N) do -NML REP

tr *When Busiri stood up and spoke his prayer to the sky and to the earth, he (=Wachapa) made ready the water [to rain] from the sky.*

ref Lal 3.51

tx **anta wachapa-wa 'aina, hõ -ou, aso khamo-na tyonno -õ**
gl finally(N) W. -ERG no king-ADDR now your -TOP that_much-EMPH

tx **kuneu; kanga rung-äi,' runga-na busiri-lai.**
gl INTJ I say -1sNPT say -SEQ B. -DAT(N)

tr *Then Wachapa said: "No, brother, now this much was your's. Now I'll speak," he said to Busiri.*

ref Lal 3.52

tx **haikhama-lai haw lud-yi -ko raicha; haw lud-yi -palona wasa-mo**
gl earth -DAT(N) prayer tell -3P-NML REP prayer tell -3P-TEMP bird -GEN

tx **m -cha -neri phunda-ko raicha.**
gl 3sPOSS-child-near(N) jump -NML REP

tr *He said his prayer to the earth, and when he prayed he jumped near the young bird.*

ref Lal 3.53

tx **tyoko bela wasa-mo m -cha cyacya runga-na prata ni.**
 gl that time(N) bird -GEN 3sPOSS-child IDEO say -SEQ shout PART

tr *In that moment the young bird cried "cya! cya!"*

ref Lal 3.54

tx **'ta-en -yu hō -ou', runga-pa,**
 gl 2 -hear-3P king-ADDR say -TEMP

tr *"You hear it, brother?" he said.*

ref Lal 3.55

tx **ninama haw lud-yi -palona tyoko ase pak-u -ngas -yi -ko wa**
 gl sky(rit) prayer tell -3P-TEMP that yesterday put -3P-V2:PERF-3P NML water

tx **borcha hallai maid-yu -palona 'ta-khang-o hō -ou,' lud-yi -na.**
 gl pillar shake(N) make -3P -TEMP 2 -look -3P:NPT king-ADDR tell -3P-SEQ

tr *When he said his prayer to the sky he shook the pillar where he had put water before.
 "You see, chief?" he said.*

ref Lal 3.56

tx **'ho, khang-unga,' ringa-na busiri /.../**
 gl yes look -1s say -SEQ B.

tr *"Yes, I see," Busiri said.*

ref Lal 3.57

tx **oda amka wachapa i -chappa -wa cari lhap-u -na**
 gl here our(pe) W. 1piPOSS-rit.brother-ERG ancestral_territory catch-3P SEQ

tx **hinga niko.**
 gl live PART

tr *Here our grandfather Wachapa conquered the cari and settled down.*

sp TH4 (Thulung)
sp Baginanda - the flying shaman

ref TH 4.1

tx baginandakam go thenmune mithetpu kiki thötöwa loa
mr baginanda-kam go thet -mu -ne mi -thet -pu kiki thötöwa loa
gl Baginanda-GEN I know-INF-TOP NEG-know-1s>3:NPT little hearsay words

tx mätraí go thetpu, möram go thöwtom jati go
mr mätraí go thet -pu möram go thös-u -to -m jati go
gl only(N) I know-1s>3:NPT that I hear-1s>3-1e:PT-NML so_much(N) I

tx söw.
mr sö -u
gl tell-1s>3

tr *What knowledge I have of Baginanda, I know only a little from hearsay; what I have heard, that much I will tell.*

ref TH 4.2

tx baginanda make nokcho bayra.
mr baginanda make nokcho bay-ta
gl Baginanda long_ago shaman be -PT

tr *Baginanda was a shaman of long ago.*

ref TH 4.3

tx mö nokcho bayram beläka phlustalo, u -mina (dela)
mr mö nokcho bay-ta -m belä -ka phlus -ta -lo u -mina
gl that shaman be -PT-NML time(N)-INST initiate-PT-TEMP 3sPOSS-what's_it .

tx dhol phəlmukam lägi u -deutämim yeççülo, u
mr dhol phəl-mu -kam lägi u -deutä -mim yet-t -ü -lo u
gl drum (N) cut -INF-GEN for(N) 3sPOSS-god(N)-p call-PT-3s>3-TEMP 3sPOSS

tx -deutäka anu baᅇdel roaamano mö dholku u -səᅇ
mr -deutä -ka anu baᅇdel roak-ma-no mö dhol -ku u -səᅇ
gl -god(N)-ERG across Bangdel say -PP-levLOC that drum (N)-GEN 3sPOSS-wood

tx goaktü röcha e.
mr goak-t -ü röcha e
gl give -PT-3s>3 PART(N) REP

tr *During his initiatory period when he needed to make his drum, he called his gods, and his god gave him the tree for his drum over at a place called Bangdel.*

ref TH 4.4

tx hama ottha u -dholemi kole nōle opcōmim
 mr hama o -tha u -dhole -mi ko -le nō -le opcō -mim
 gl and_so this-DIR 3sPOSS-drummer-p one-CL two-CL assistant-p

tx khobd̄jima, mō d̄hol phəlla ləmd̄j.
 mr khop -t -ū -ma mō d̄hol phəl-ḍa ləks-mi-t[i]
 gl collect-PT-3s>3-SEQ that drum (N) cut -PURP go -p -PT

tr *And so he brought one or two drummers together, his assistants and they went to cut the drum.*

ref TH 4.5

tx mōnom baḍdileku u -bārira rəcha phəlla
 mr mō-no -m baḍdile -ku u -bāri -ḍa rəcha phəl-ḍa
 gl that-levLOC-NML Bangdile-GEN 3sPOSS-garden(N)-LOC PART(N) cut -PURP

tx ləmd̄jilo, baḍdileka, 'hawma phəlnimim' roamd̄jilo,
 mr ləks-mi-t[i]-lo baḍdile-ka hawma phəl-ni -mim roak-mi-t[i]-lo
 gl go -p -PT-TEMP (place) -ERG why cut -2p-NML say -p -PT-TEMP

tr *It turned out to be over there in a garden of Bangdile, and when they went to cut and they (the Bangdile people) said: "Why do you cut here?"*

ref TH 4.6

tx 'oram a -guruka goaḍḍim d̄hol phəlla
 mr oram a -guru -ka goak-ḅi -t[i]-m d̄hol phəl-ḍa
 gl this 1sPOSS-tutulary_spirit(N)-ERG give -1sP-PT-NML drum (N) cut -PURP

tx biktokom' roakta e baginandaka.
 mr bik -to -ku -m roak-ta e baginanda-ka.
 gl come_over-1e:PT-1nse-NML say -PT REP Baginanda-ERG

tr *"My tutelary spirit gave me the drum which we have come over to cut," Baginanda said.*

ref TH 4.7

tx hama -thama phəlmirima, mō d̄hol kimd̄j.
 mr hama -thama phəl-mi-t[i]-ma mō d̄hol kik -mi-t[i]
 gl and_so-later cut -p -PT-SEQ that drum (N) stretch-p -PT

tr *So they cut it and covered the drum (stretched hide over the ends).*

ref TH 4.8

tx d̄hol kimd̄jima thama (mō) mōnom baḍdileka mat
 mr d̄hol kik -mi-t[i]-ma thama (mō) mō-no -m baḍdile -ka mat
 gl drum (N) stretch-p -PT-SEQ later that that-levLOC-NML Bangdile-ERG plan

tx beḅd̄jima,
 mr be-mi-t[i]-ma
 gl do-p -PT-SEQ

tr *After they covered the drum, the Bangdiles over there made a plan.*

ref TH 4.9

tx 'oram nokcho hamkokam rəcha, iki -bārira səŋ
 mr oram nokcho hamko -kam rəcha iki -bāri -d̪a səŋ
 gl this shaman how much-GEN PART(N) 1piPOSS-garden(N)-LOC wood

tx phəlla bikpa, thama iki -neb̪d̪a.
 mr phəl-d̪a bik -pa thama iki -neb̪ -d̪a
 gl cut -PURP come_over-AP later 1piPOSS -house-LOC

tr *"How much of a shaman is he, the one who comes to cut wood in our garden? Later (he will come) to our house.*

ref TH 4.10

tx oram nokcho jem -beri , jem -berima mārikana yalsi,
 mr oram nokcho jem -bet -i jem -bet -i -ma mārikana yals-i
 gl this shaman perform-make-1pi perform-make-1pi-SEQ murderously(N) beat-1pi

tx roam̪d̪i e.
 mr roak-mi-t[i] e
 gl say -p -PT REP

tr *Let's make this shaman perform, let's make him perform, and then we'll give him a thorough beating."*

ref TH 4.11

tx ma thama d̪hol kiimu d̪m̪mirimimpachi 'lu (akima) ama
 mr ma thama d̪hol kik -mu d̪m̪ -mi-t[i]-mim -pachi lu akima ama
 gl and later drum (N) stretch-INF finish-p -PT-NML-after(N) well(N) our(pe) my

tx neb̪d̪a gana cintā mebesaka ləksi mint̪i,
 mr neb̪ -d̪a gana cintā me -be-saka ləks-si mi -nū
 gl house-LOC you seance(N) NEG-do-CONV go -INF:NPT NEG-be_well

tx be̪m̪d̪jima thunem̪d̪i rəcha.
 mr be-mi-t[i]-ma thune -mi-t[i] rəcha.
 gl do-p -PT-SEQ hold_back(N)-p -PT PART(N)

tr *When they (Baginanda's people) had finished the drum, they (the Bangdiles) said: "You mustn't leave without having made a seance in my house," and they held him back.*

ref TH 4.12

tx thunem̪d̪jima thama gumika mat be̪m̪d̪jima,
 mr thune -mi-t[i]-ma thama gumi-ka mat be-mi-t[i]-ma
 gl hold_back(N)-p -PT-SEQ later they -ERG plan do-p -PT-SEQ

tr *They held him back and made a plan, then*

ref TH 4.13

tx mōram nokchomim mō ləkpa mūctimimlāi // puwaŋku sō
 mr mōram nokcho-mim mō ləks-pa mūcū-mim-lāi . puwaŋ-ku sō
 gl that shaman-p that go -AP man -p -DAT(N) . (bird) -GEN meat

tx re[mirima, banthōm se[mirima re[mirima sallāh
 mr ret -mi-t[i]-ma ban -thō -m set-mi-t[i]-ma ret -mi-t[i]-ma sallāh
 gl bring-p -PT-SEQ where-DIR-ABL kill-p -PT-SEQ bring-p -PT-SEQ advice (N)

tx bemđi.
 mr bet -mi-t[i]
 gl make-p -PT

tr *for the shaman people who came they brought the meat of a Puwang bird, from somewhere they killed it and brought it and made a plan.*

ref TH 4.14

tx mōkotima thama mō puwaŋku sō khomđima, puwaŋku sōnuŋ
 mr mōkotima thama mō puwaŋ-ku sō khok-mi-t[i]-ma puwaŋ-ku sō -nuŋ
 gl then later that (bird) -GEN meat cook-p -PT-SEQ (bird) -GEN meat-COM

tx jamnuŋ goamđj;
 mr jam-nuŋ goak-mi-t[i]
 gl rice-COM give -p -PT

tr *They cooked the bird meat and gave them the bird meat with rice.*

ref TH 4.15

tx goamđjilo baginandaka roakta e - basiyā u
 mr goak-mi-t[i]-lo baginanda-ka roak-ta e basiyā u
 gl give -p -PT-TEMP Baginanda-ERG say -PT REP already 3sPOSS

tx -yūŋka loasleđđima, baginandaka roakta e
 mr -yūm -ka loas-let -t -ū -ma baginanda-ka roak-ta e
 gl -magical_power-INST see -V2:COMPL-PT-3s>3-SEQ Baginanda-ERG say -PT REP

tr *When they gave it, Baginda said - with the help of his magical power he had already seen through them - Baginda said:*

ref TH 4.16

tx 'oram guy puwaŋku sō goaksadđami, mipimim sō
 mr oram guy puwaŋ-ku sō goak-sađ -ta - mi mi -pe-mim sō
 gl this we(pi) (bird) -GEN meat give -V2:BEN-PT p NEG-eat-NML meat

tx goaksadđami
 mr goak-sađ -ta - mi
 gl give -V2:BEN-PT p

tr *'They gave us Puwang meat, meat that is not eaten they gave us.*

ref TH 4.17

tx **pepa** linsiṭnima ama a -bhāgḍa o puwaṅku sō
 mr pe-pa li -ni -siṭ -ni -ma ama a -bhāg -ḍa o puwaṅ-ku sō
 gl eat-AP lie-2p-V2:REFL-2p-SEQ my 1sPOSS-portion (N)-LOC this (bird) -GEN meat

tx **cāhī** phiini **hai!** roaktam bayra e.
 mr cāhī phik-ni hai roak-ta -m bay-ta e
 gl FOC(N) pour-1>2 INTJ(N) say -PT-NML be -PT REP

tr *Pretend to be eating and pour the puwang meat into my portion, o.k.?" he had said.*

ref TH 4.18

tx **ma, thama pepa** limsimḍima, uma bhāgḍa jammā
 mr ma thama pe-pa li -mi-siṭ -mi-t[i]-ma uma bhāg -ḍa jammā
 gl and later eat-AP lie-p -V2:REFL-p -PT-SEQ his portion (N)-LOC all(N)

tx **bemsamḍi** khole uma bhāgḍa bemsamḍi
 mr bet -mi-saṭ -mi-t[i] khole uma bhāg -ḍa bet -mi-saṭ -mi-t[i]
 gl make-p -V2:BEN-p -PT all his portion (N)-LOC make-p -V2:BEN-p -PT

tr *So they pretended to be eating and put (the meat) onto his portion, they put all onto his portion.*

ref TH 4.19

tx **ma thama, pepa** limsimḍi, (u -miksi) kholekam miksi
 mr ma thama pe-pa li -mi-siṭ -mi-t[i] u -miksi khole-kam miksi
 gl and later eat-AP lie-p -V2:REFL-p -PT 3sPOSS-eye all -GEN eye

tx **chalūthadḍi,** baginandaka, pepa limsimḍi waṅka.
 mr chale -that -t -ū baginanda-ka pe-pa li -mi-siṭ -mi-t[i] waṅ -ka
 gl direct(N)-V2:take-PT-3s>3 Baginanda-ERG eat-AP lie-p -V2:REFL-p -PT other-ERG

tr *So, they pretended to eat; he distracted everyone's eyes, Baginda, the others pretended to eat.*

ref TH 4.20

tx **mōkotima** // mō puwaṅku sō jāgūūrūma, jiūdo
 mr mōkotima . mō puwaṅ-ku sō jāge -t -ū -ma jiūdo
 gl then . that (bird) -GEN meat awaken(N)-PT-3s>3-SEQ alive(N)

tx **banūūrūma** thoktū rōcha e.
 mr bane -t -ū -ma thok-t -ū rōcha e
 gl make(N)-PT-3s>3-SEQ join -PT-3s>3 PART(N) REP

tr *Then he awakened the bird and made it alive and joined it together.*

ref TH 4.21

tx **thoktū** rōcha e, thama 'oram go oram ṅoosi beṭpu;
 mr thok-t -ū rōcha e thama oram go oram ṅom-si beṭ -pu
 gl join -PT-3s>3 PART(N) REP later this I this arise-INF:NPT make-1s>3:NPT

tr *"I'll make that the puwang arises and they will beat us.*

ref TH 4.22

tx o puwaŋ go ŋoosi beɓpuma ani guy yalsami
mr o puwaŋ go ŋom-si bet -pu -ma ani guy yal-sa -mi
gl this (bird) I arise-INF:NPT make-1s>3:NPT-SEQ then (N) we(pi) hit -1nsiP-p

tx rəcha.
mr rəcha.
gl PART(N)

tr *I shall awaken the puwang and they will beat us.*

ref TH 4.23

tx o puwaŋ go ŋoosi beɓpuma thama 'puwaŋ' roama
mr o puwaŋ go ŋom-si bet -pu -ma thama puwaŋ roak-ma
gl this (bird) I arise-INF:NPT make-1s>3:NPT-SEQ later (bird) say -and

tx hunmim belāka go 'haha' roakto, oram khatto ləkpu;
mr hut-mim belā -ka go haha roak-to oram khat -to lək -pu
gl fly-NML time(N)-INST I haha say -SIM this pursue-SIM go_after-1s>3:NPT

tr *I shall make the puwang alive and it will cry 'puwang' and when it flies up I will follow it, shouting 'haha' and pursuing it.*

ref TH 4.24

tx gani duipaŋtim dɗholla censiŋni wo,' roakta e.
mr gani dui -paŋti -m dɗhol -ɗa cet -ni -siŋ -ni wo roak-ta e
gl you(p) two(N)-side(N)-ABL drum (N)-LOC hang-2p-V2:REFL-2p also say -PT REP

tr *Hang yourself on to the drum from either side," he said.*

ref TH 4.25

tx hamane thamane pomu dūmmirimpachi cintā bayra (rep).
mr hama -ne thama-ne po-mu dūm -mi-t[i]-m -pachi cintā bay-ta (rep)
gl and_so-TOP later -TOP eat-INF finish-p -PT-NML-after(N) seance(N) be -PT [rep]

tr *Then later after they finished eating the seance took place.*

ref TH 4.26

tx cintā bayrampachine thamane hanulam athōlam
mr cintā bay-ta -m -pachi -ne thama-ne hanu -lam a -thō -lam
gl seance(N) be -PT-NML-after(N)-TOP later -TOP across-ABL this-DIR-ABL

tx mōgoram mūcū khomsimɗima, kokole laurā
mr mō-go -ɗa -m mūcū khop -mi-siŋ -mi-t[i]-ma ko -ko -le laurā
gl that-inside-LOC-NML man collect-p -V2:REFL-p -PT-SEQ one-one-CL stick (N)

tx je[mirima, yalmukam lägi tayär bamsimðilone,
 mr jet -mi-t[i]-ma yal-mu -kam lägi tayär ba[mi-sit -mi-t[i]-lo -ne
 gl hold-p -PT-SEQ hit -INF-GEN for(N) ready (N) be -p -V2:REFL-p -PT-TEMP-TOP

tx basi puwaŋku sö goamðima puwaŋ jägütürüma,
 mr basi puwaŋ-ku sö goak-mi-t[i]-ma puwaŋ jäge -t -ü -ma
 gl previously (bird) -GEN meat give -p -PT-SEQ (bird) awaken(N)-PT-3s>3-SEQ

tx 'puwaŋ' roaktalone, baginandaka 'haha' roaktama khatto
 mr puwaŋ roak-ta -lo -ne baginanda-ka haha roak-ta -ma khat -to
 gl (bird) say -PT-TEMP-TOP Baginanda-ERG haha say -PT-SEQ pursue-SIM

tx pakhanu phlö lukta.
 mr pakha -nu phlö luk -ta.
 gl outside(N)-levLOC suddenly come_out-PT

tr *After the seance, the local people came together from this and that side, each holding a stick and ready for beating, and when he brought to life the puwaŋ meat he had been given earlier and it cried "puwaŋ", Baginanda said 'haha' and suddenly he came out of the house pursuing it.*

ref TH 4.27

tx mömlo de mö baginanda yalmukam lägi mögonum
 mr mömlo de mö baginanda yal-mu -kam lägi mö-go -no -m
 gl then PART that Baginanda hit -INF-GEN for(N) that-inside-levLOC-NML

tx mücüka laurä je[mirima baginanda kha[mirilone
 mr mücü-ka laurä jet -mi-t[i]-ma baginanda khat -mi-t[i]-lo -ne
 gl man -ERG stick (N) hold-p -PT-SEQ Baginanda pursue-p -PT-TEMP-TOP

tx huçqama // huçqama, ala geçqa.
 mr hut-ta -ma . hut-ta -ma ala get -ta
 gl fly-PT-SEQ . fly-PT-SEQ up come_up-PT

tr *At that time, when those men over there held their sticks ready for beating and pursued Baginanda, he flew off, he flew off and came up here.*

ref TH 4.28

tx geçqama mö beläka u -ðholeminka hanulam
 mr get -ta -ma mö belä -ka u -ðhole -mim-ka hanu -lam
 gl come_up-PT-SEQ that time(N)-INST 3sPOSS-drummer-p -ERG across-ABL

tx athölam (delara cem) mö ðholla (cemsimðima)
 mr a -thö -lam . . . mö ðhol -ða .
 gl this-side-ABL . . . that drum (N)-LOC .

tx cemsimðilo, mö ðholka huçqima, hala mina
 mr cet -mi-sit -mi-t[i]-lo mö ðhol -ka hut-t -ü -ma hala mina
 gl hang-p -V2:REFL-p -PT-TEMP that drum (N)-ERG fly-PT-3s>3-SEQ up what's_it

tx **gemđi e.**
 mr get -mi-t[i]e
 gl come_up-p -PT REP

tr *While he came up his assistants hung themselves onto either side of the drum, which flew them up to - what's it? -*

ref TH 4.29

tx **o ...go plawto, o rawa kholā athōhumbu mōram cāhī**
 mr o go ploas-u -to o rawa kholā a -thō -humbu mōram cāhī
 gl this I forget-1s>3-SIM this Rawa river (N) this-DIR-bank that FOC(N)

tx **plawto go, hamsūma roaama jaggāra gemđi rēcha**
 mr ploas-u -to go ham-sō -ma roak-ma jaggā -đa get -mi-t[i]rēcha
 gl forget-1s>3-1e:PT I what-tell-PP say -PP place (N)-LOC come_up-p -PT PART(N)

tx **e.**
 mr e
 gl REP

tr *I forgot - this side of the river Rawa khola, I forgot what's it called, there they came up.*

ref TH 4.30

tx **ma mela đe đhyāgrā jesta e.**
 mr ma mō-la đe đhyāgrā jes -ta e
 gl and that-hiLOC PART drum (N) break-PT REP

tr *and up there the drum broke.*

ref TH 4.31

tx **mela khatto gemđilone, pheri o birajurara**
 mr mō-la khat -to get -mi-t[i]-lo -ne pheri o birajura-đa
 gl that-hiLOC pursue-SIM come_up-p -PT-TEMP-TOP again (N) this Birajura-LOC

tx **gemđi, huťmirima birajura gemđi e.**
 mr get -mi-t[i]hut-mi-t[i]-ma birajura get -mi-t[i]e
 gl come_up-p -PT fly-p -PT-SEQ Birajura come_up-p -PT REP

tr *When they came up there in pursuit, they (Baginanda's people) came up to Birajura, they came flying up to Birajura.*

ref TH 4.32

tx **biraju gemđimpachine gumika // mōno mina**
 mr biraju get -mi-t[i]-m -pachi -ne gumi-ka . mō-no mina
 gl Biraju come_up-p -PT-NML-after(N)-TOP they -ERG . that-levLOC what's_it

tx pharkedümmiri, gumi o ləmdjima birajunum
 mr pharke -düm -mi-t[i]gumi o ləks-mi-t[i]-ma biraju-nu -m
 gl burst(N)-finish-p -PT they this go -p -PT-SEQ Biraju-levLOC-ABL

tx huđđjima u -đholnuŋ, u -minanuŋ, u
 mr hut-t -ü -ma u -đhol -nuŋ u -mina -nuŋ u
 gl fly-PT-3s>3-SEQ 3sPOSS-drum (N)-COM 3sPOSS-what's_it-COM 3sPOSS

tx -ŋopçönuŋ asında nebça phidđjima, asında
 mr -ŋopçö -nuŋ a -si -(n)-ça neb -ça phit -t -ü -ma a -si -(n)-ça
 gl -assistant-COM this-place-[] -LOC house-LOC bring-PT-3s>3-SEQ this-place-[] -LOC

tx cintă bürü e.
 mr cintă be-t -ü e
 gl seance(N) do-PT-3s>3 REP

tr *After they came up to Biraju they ... when it broke, he flew from Biraju and brought his drum and his people and his assistants here to the house and held a seance here.*

ref TH 4.33

tx ma möramka, mö baginandaka yubđüm, ottha,
 mr ma möram-ka mö baginanda-ka yup -t -ü -m o -tha
 gl and that -ERG that Baginanda-ERG fabricate-PT-3s>3-NML this-DIR

tx baginandaka kāsā yubđü, tābāmi yubđü,
 mr baginanda-ka kāsā yup -t -ü tābā -mi yup -t -ü
 gl Baginanda-ERG bell_metal(N) fabricate-PT-3s>3 copper(N)-p fabricate-PT-3s>3

tx khole kāsā yubđüm.
 mr khole kāsā yup -t -ü -m.
 gl all bell_metal(N) fabricate-PT-3s>3-NML

tr *Now, Baginda worked copper and bell-metal.*

ref TH 4.34

tx mö sakhleyu kole jhyāli bu, baginandaka yubđüm.
 mr mö sakhle-yu ko -le jhyāli bu baginanda-ka yup -t -ü -m.
 gl that (place)-loLOC one-CL cymbals (N) be Baginanda-ERG fabricate-PT-3s>3-NML

tr *Down at Sakhle there is a pair of cymbals, Baginda fabricated it.*

ref TH 4.35

tx səŋkaŋŋa mina bürü -- đhol səŋkaŋŋa
 mr səŋ -kam -ŋa mina be-t -ü đhol səŋ -kam -ŋa
 gl wood-GEN-EMPH what's_it do-PT-3s>3 drum (N) wood-GEN-EMPH

tx yubq̄im bu, (a) minamim lip o, baginandaka u
 mr yup -t -ü -m bu . mina -mim lip o baginanda-ka u
 gl fabricate-PT-3s>3-NML be . what's_it-p pot this Baginanda-ERG 3sPOSS

tx -yũka yubq̄im bu, kole söləwap bom wo
 mr -yum -ka yup -t -ü -m bu ko -le söləwap bom wo
 gl -magical_power-INST fabricate-PT-3s>3-NML be one-CL long+straight gourd also

tx yubq̄im bu.
 mr yup -t -ü -m bu
 gl fabricate-PT-3s>3-NML be

tr ... He has fabricated a drum from wood and then - what's it - a pot Baginda has fabricated with his magical power, and also a long, straight gourd he has fabricated.

ref TH 4.36

tx ma, guku aba cöcö-mancöka - gumika makem purkhämika
 mr ma guku aba cöcö -mancö -ka gumi-ka makem purkhä -mi-ka
 gl and we(pe) now(N) little -children-ERG they -ERG of_old ancestor(N)-p -ERG

tx u -cömika cüsimiŋka roamd̄im go
 mr u -cö -mi-ka cüsi -mim-ka roak-mi-t[i]-m go
 gl 3sPOSS-child-p -ERG grandchild-p -ERG say -p -PT-NML I

tx thöwtom ne.
 mr thös-u -to -m ne
 gl hear-1s>3-1e:PT-NML PART

tr We children... I heard the old men, their children and grandchildren telling it.

ref TH 4.37

tx thöwtom, ani lipnuŋ, bom, jhyāline go atäku
 mr thös-u -to -m ani lip-nuŋ bom jhyāli -ne go a -täku
 gl hear-1s>3-1e:PT-NML then (N) pot-COM gourd cymbals (N)-TOP I 1sPOSS-own

tx miksika lawtom, athambili o bu.
 mr miksi-ka loa(s)-u -to -m athambili o bu
 gl eye -INST see -1s>3-1e:PT-NML nowadays this be

tr and the pot and gourd and cymbals I have seen with my own eyes, they are still in existence today.

ref TH 4.38

tx go akotiŋa thöwtom cāhī, akotiŋa cəktoŋa.
 mr go akotiŋa thös-u -to -m cāhī akotiŋa cək -to -ŋa.
 gl I this_much hear-1s>3-1e:PT-NML FOC(N) this_much learn-1e:PT-EMPH

tr This much I have heard, this much I have learned.

sp TH 5 (Thulung)
sp Ramli

ref TH 5.1

tx ra aghi unadinka ramli rājā bayra, ramli rājā wayecapcū
mr ra aghi unadinka ramli rājā bay-ta ramli rājā wayecapcū
gl and(N) earlier(N) in_older_times Ramli king(N) be -PT Ramli king(N) (name)

tx -lunara lalera lōsta rōcha.
mr -luna -ra lale -ra lōks-ta rōcha.
gl -(name)-LOC courting-PURP go -PT PART(N)

tr *Long time ago King Ramli lived, king Ramli went courting to Wayecapcū-Luna.*

ref TH 5.2

tx wayecapcūkam kole u -cō, dherai serpa keṭā bibḍa
mr wayecapcū-kam ko -le u -cō dherai ser -pa keṭā bib-ḍa
gl (name) -GEN one-CL 3sPOSS-child very(N) be_numerous-AP boy(N) ask-PURP

tx romḍi.
mr rok -mi-t[i]
gl come-p -PT

tr *Wayecapcū (the Bahing) had a daughter, and many young men came to ask for her.*

ref TH 5.3

tx romḍilo mōsi pināka klōsta lōsta, ramli, yaṅmi keṭā
mr rok -mi-t[i]-lo mō-si pinā -ka klōs -ta lōks-ta ramli yaṅ -mi keṭā
gl come-p -PT-TEMP that-place oil_dreg-INST smear-PT go -PT Ramli other-p boy(N)

tx romḍi kindari dūmmirima akheri u -yuṅka
mr rok -mi-t[i] kindari dūm -mi-t[i]-ma akheri u -yum -ka
gl come-p -PT decorated? finish-p -PT-SEQ finally(N) 3sPOSS-magical_power-INST

tx ḍhākūrtūlo, khāli ramli caḥi makai -ḍōma
mr ḍhāke -t -ū -lo khāli ramli caḥi makai -ḍōma
gl succeed(N)-PT-3s>3-TEMP only(N) Ramli FOC(N) maize(N)-pap

tx gundrukke goamḍi, yaṅmi keṭā sō -jam goamḍi
mr gundrukke goak-mi-t[i] yaṅ -mi keṭā sō -jam goak-mi-t[i]
gl fermented_vegetable(N) give -p -PT other-p boy(N) meat -rice give -p -PT

tr *Ramli smeared himself with oil dregs and went; the others were all dressed up, and when finally he won with the help of his magical power, they gave maize pap with gundruk to Ramli only, to the other boys they gave meat and rice.*

ref TH 5.4

tx ani yaŋmi keʔaka pemdim sökam u -ser ramlika
 mr ani yaŋ -mi keʔa -ka pe-mi-t[i]-m sö -kam u -ser ramli-ka
 gl then (N) other-p boy(N)-ERG eat-p -PT-NML meat-GEN 3sPOSS-bone Ramli-ERG

tx dötto sidimo goonu phikto büürü.
 mr döt -to sidimo go -nu phik-to be-t -ü
 gl pick_up-SIM bag inside-levLOC pour-SIM do-PT-3s>3

tr *Then Ramli, picking up the bones from the meat that the others had eaten, put them inside his bag.*

ref TH 5.5

tx mösindamma keʔiku mam -pakka, 'lu halane, süka
 mr mösindamma keʔi -ku mam -pap -ka lu hala-ne sü -ka
 gl thereafter girl(N)-GEN mother-father-ERG well(N) if_so-TOP who-ERG

tx dherai bhäsme hini, mööŋa goaanini, roaktama bācā
 mr dherai bhäsme hi(p)-ni mö-ŋa goak-nini roak-ta -ma bācā
 gl very(N) forest(N?) cut -2p that-EMPH give -1>2(ns) say -PT-SEQ promise(N)

tx büürü.
 mr be-t -ü
 gl do-PT-3s>3

tr *Thereafter the girl's parents promised: "The one of you who cuts down most trees, to you we will give her," they said.*

ref TH 5.6

tx büürümpachi yaŋmi keʔa honpa kho goaktümi,
 mr büü-t -ü -m -pachi yaŋ -mi keʔa hon -pa kho goak-t -ü -mi
 gl do -PT-3s>3-NML-after(N) other-p boy(N) be_sharp-AP axe give -PT-3s>3-p

tx yaŋmi keʔa cahi, ramli cahi khokam u -ya seđdüma
 mr yaŋ -mi keʔa cahi ramli cahi kho-kam u -ya set-t -ü -ma
 gl other-p boy(N) FOC(N) Ramli FOC(N) axe -GEN 3sPOSS-edge kill-PT-3s>3-NML

tx goaktü.
 mr goak-t -ü.
 gl give -PT-3s>3

tr *They gave a sharp axe to the other boys, to Ramli however they gave one with a blunted edge.*

ref TH 5.7

tx goaktümpachi bhäsme hibda lömđi.
 mr goak-t -ü -m -pachi bhäsme hip-đa löks-mi-t[i]
 gl give -PT-3s>3-NML-after(N) forest(N?) cut-PURP go -p -PT

tr *They went to cut trees.*

ref TH 5.8
 tx ləmdjima ramlika rokomaluŋɔa kho sebdju.
 mr ləks-mi-t[i]-ma ramli-ka rokomaluŋ-ɔa kho sep -t -ü.
 gl go -p -PT-SEQ Ramli-ERG rock -LOC axe sharpen-PT-3s>3

tr *As they went, Ramli sharpened his axe on a rock.*

ref TH 5.9
 tx mösindamma ləstama ramlika cahi jati jangaldam
 mr mösindamma ləks-ta -ma ramli-ka cahi jati jangal -ɔa -m
 gl thereafter go -PT-SEQ Ramli-ERG FOC(N) so_much(N) jungle(N)-LOC-NML

tx kubidəksa rukhpät ədhā -ədhā phəlla phəto phəto phəto
 mr kubi-dəksa rukhpät ədhā -ədhā phəl-ɔa phəl-to phəl-to phəl-to
 gl large-tree trees(N) half(N)-half(N) cut -PURP cut -SIM cut -SIM cut -SIM

tx ləsta.
 mr ləks-ta
 gl go -PT

tr *Then Ramli went to cut many large jungle trees just half way through, cutting, cutting, cutting.*

ref TH 5.10
 tx ləsta, mösindamma dāɔa ləstama u -yunka sayla
 mr ləks-ta mösindamma dāɔa ləks-ta -ma u -yum -ka sayla
 gl go -PT thereafter ridge(N) go -PT-SEQ 3sPOSS-magical_power-INST whistle

tx bütürüm belāka bloojü rokta.
 mr bütürü-m belā -ka bloojü rok -ta
 gl said -NML time(N)-INST storm come-PT

tr *Then, when he came to the ridge and when he whistled with his magical power, a storm came up.*

ref TH 5.11
 tx bloojü roktam belāka mö ədhā -ədhā phəllüm
 mr bloojü rok -ta -m belā -ka mö ədhā -ədhā phəl-t -ü -m
 gl storm come-PT-NML time(N)-INST that half(N)-half(N) cut -PT-3s>3-NML

tx rukhpät jammā swāhā phiktü, ekräje hibdju.
 mr rukhpät jammā swāhā phik-t -ü ekräje hip-t -ü.
 gl trees(N) all(N) destruction(N) pour-PT-3s>3 terrific cut-PT-3s>3

tr *When the storm came, he blew down all the half cut trees, it was a terrific spectacle.*

ref TH 5.12
 tx kindari keɔämika dinbharika kole rukh micarmiwa.
 mr kindari keɔä -mi-ka dinbhari -ka ko -le rukh mi -car-mi-wa.
 gl decorated? boy(N)-p -ERG all_day(N)-INST one-CL tree(N) NEG-fell-p -IRR

tr *The well-dressed boys had not cut a single tree all day.*

ref TH 5.13

tx mōsinḍamma akheri bācāra ghloasta ramli, ramli ghloasta.
 mr mōsinḍamma akheri bācā -ḍa ghloas -ta ramli ramli ghloas -ta.
 gl thereafter finally(N) promise(N)-LOC conquer-PT Ramli Ramli conquer-PT

tr *So finally Ramli won in the contest, he won.*

ref TH 5.14

tx ghloastalone pheri he bomu.
 mr ghloas -ta -lo -ne pheri he bo-mu
 gl conquer-PT-TEMP-TOP again (N) what do-INF

tr *What to do now?*

ref TH 5.15

tx mōsinḍamma aba mō keṭiku mam -pakka, 'lu, u
 mr mōsinḍamma aba mō keṭi -ku mam -pap -ka lu u
 gl thereafter now(N) that girl(N)-GEN mother-father-ERG well(N) 3sPOSS

tx -heṅka o le mālaku u -mim bhāle -pothi
 mr -hem-ka o le mālā -ku u -mim bhāle -pothi
 gl -what-ERG this 'le' necklace(N)-GEN 3sPOSS-grandmother male(N)-female(N)

tx cūmni mōḡa goanini, roaktam bācā būürü.
 mr cūm -ni mō -ḡa goak-nini roak-ta -m bācā būürü
 gl catch-2p that-EMPH give -1>2(ns) say -PT-NML promise(N) said

tr *The girl's parents announced: "That one of you, who captures the male and female of the 'le', to you we will give her." (le: an ancient type of necklace and the fruits from which it is made)*

ref TH 5.16

tx lone mō le mālākam u -bhāle -pothi bakhop u
 mr lone mō le mālā -kam u -bhāle -pothi ba -khop u
 gl then that 'le' necklace(N)-GEN 3sPOSS-male(N)-female(N) stay-locNML 3sPOSS

tx -nebdane khlewa bēnthoakma bayra.
 mr -nebdā-ne khlewa bēn-thoak -ma bay-ta
 gl -house-TOP dog tie -V2:COMPL-PP be -PT

tr *At the 'le' couple's living place a dog was tied up.*

ref TH 5.17

tx lo mō yaṅmika pemḍim uni -ser
 mr lo mō yaṅ -mi-ka pe-mi-t[i]-m uni -ser
 gl INTJ(N) that other-p -ERG eat-p -PT-NML 3pPOSS-bone

tx **dōūrtma** **u** **-sidimo goonu** **phiktīm**
 mr dō -i -t -i -ma u -sidimo go -nu phik-t -i -m
 gl pick_up-3s>3-PT-3s>3-SEQ 3sPOSS -bag inside-levLOC pour-PT-3s>3-NML

tx **bayra.**
 mr bay-ta
 gl be -PT

tr *Now he had picked up the bones of the others' meal and put them in his bag.*

ref TH 5.18
 tx **mōthama mōram ramli lōstama khlewa ser**
 mr mōthama mōram ramli lōks-ta -ma khlewa ser
 gl then that Ramli go -PT-SEQ dog bone

tx **buksađūma serra bhuledūstalo sājā**
 mr buk -sađ -ta -i -ma ser -đa bhule -dūs -ta -lo sājā
 gl pile_up-V2:BEN-PT-3s>3-SEQ bone-LOC be_distracted(N)-become-PT-TEMP chain(N)

tx **đisoktū.**
 mr đisok-t -i.
 gl undo-PT-3s>3

tr *Ramli piled up the bones for the dog, and when he distracted his attention to the bones, he undid the chain.*

ref TH 5.19
 tx **mōsindamma bācābāā mō le mālākam u -bhāle**
 mr mōsindamma bācā -bāā mō le mālā -kam u -bhāle
 gl thereafter promise(N)-from(N) that 'le' necklace(N)-GEN 3sPOSS-male(N)

tx **-pothi cūmtū.**
 mr -pothi cūm -t -i.
 gl -female(N) catch-PT-3s>3

tr *Then he captured the male and female, according to the promise.*

ref TH 5.20
 tx **cūmđūmpachi akheri bācāra ghloastalo**
 mr cūm -t -i -m -pachi akheri bācā -đa ghloas -ta -lo
 gl catch-PT-3s>3-NML-after(N) finally(N) promise(N)-LOC conquer-PT-TEMP

tx **wayecapcū-lunakam u -rii ghloastama**
 mr wayecapcū -luna -kam u -rii ghloas -ta -ma
 gl (name) -(name)-GEN 3sPOSS -woman's_relative conquer-PT-SEQ

tx **kheḍḍū**.
 mr khet -t -ü
 gl bring_up-PT-3s>3

tr *After he captured them he finally won the contest, and he won Wayecapcū-Luna's girl and brought her up.*

ref TH 5.21
 tx **kheḍḍūmpachine asindane ...ḡaḍḍone mö**
 mr khet -t -ü -m -pachi -ne a -si -(n)-ḍa -ne ...ḡaḍḍo-ne mö
 gl bring_up-PT-3s>3-NML-after(N)-TOP this-place-[] -LOC-TOP earlier -TOP that

tx **ramline pināka klōstama bepleakpa bayra.**
 mr ramli-ne pinā -ka klōs -ta -ma bepleakpa bay-ta
 gl Ramli-TOP oil_dreg-INST smear-PT-SEQ ugly be -PT

tr *Before Ramli was smeared with oil dregs and ugly.*

ref TH 5.22
 tx **a -si geccilone u -darbāramma päderosamma**
 mr a -si get -t -ci-lo -ne u -darbār -samma pädero -samma
 gl this-place come_up-PT-d -TEMP-TOP 3sPOSS-palace(N)-until(N) spring(N)-until(N)

tx **paisa ochemma, sōlsibḍa lōekhom lamdü.**
 mr paisa oche -ma sōl -si -(b)-ḍa lōks-khom lamdü.
 gl money(N) spread(N)-PP wash-place-[] -LOC go -locNML path

tr *When they came up here, the path on which you go to the washing place was covered with money all the way up to his palace, up to the spring.*

ref TH 5.23
 tx **ani asi geccima sōlstone pūri**
 mr ani a -si get -t -ci-ma sōl -siḡ -ta -lo -ne pūri
 gl then (N) this-place come_up-PT-d -SEQ wash-V2:REFL-PT-TEMP-TOP wool_ball(N)

tx **hop bepa rācha.**
 mr hop be-pa rācha.
 gl like do-AP PART(N)

tr *When they came up here and he washed, he looked like a wool ball.*

ref TH 5.24
 tx **mōḍḍamane akheri mö ramlika kheḍḍūm u**
 mr mōḍḍamane akheri mö ramli-ka khet -t -ü -m u
 gl thereafter finally(N) that Ramli-ERG bring_up-PT-3s>3-NML 3sPOSS

tx -naymene saḡḡama tāsā dūsta.
 mr -nayme-ne saḡ -ta -ma tāsā dūs -ta.
 gl -wife -TOP give-PT-NML weak(N) become-PT

tr *After some time the wife that Ramli had brought up grew thin and became weak.*

ref TH 5.25
 tx dūstalo pheri u -naymeka ramline he būürü.
 mr dūs -ta -lo pheri u -nayme-ka ramli-ne he būürü
 gl become-PT-TEMP again (N) 3sPOSS-wife -ERG Ramli-TOP what said

tr *When she became thus, what did his wife say to him?*

ref TH 5.26
 tx 'lu, lōksa, ayu a -riipakkayu ama
 mr lu lōks-a ayu a -rii -pap -ka -yu ama
 gl well(N) go -IMPER down 1sPOSS-woman's_relative-father-GEN-loLOC my

tx a -pomukurā bu, khera,' būürüma thürstü ...'
 mr a -po-mu -kurā bu khet -a būürü-ma thürs-t -ü ...
 gl 1sPOSS -eat-INF-stuff(N) be bring_up-IMPER said -NML send -PT-3s>3 ...

tr *"Go, down at my relatives' place there is my food, bring it," she said and sent him off.*

ref TH 5.27
 tx lone lōsta ramlio pheri u -sāsusasurākayu lōsta.
 mr lone lōks-ta ramli-o pheri u -sāsusasurā-ka -yu lōks-ta
 gl then go -PT Ramli-also again (N) 3sPOSS-in-laws(N) -GEN-loLOC go -PT

tr *So Ramli went down to his in-laws.*

ref TH 5.28
 tx lōstama, 'lu, ini riine cōne
 mr lōks-ta -ma lu ini rii -ne cō -ne
 gl go -PT-SEQ well(N) your(p) woman's_relative-TOP child-TOP

tx saḡleaḡḡama "a -pomukurā möyu bu,"
 mr saḡ -leat -ta -ma a -po-mu -kurā mö-yu bu
 gl grow_thin-V2:COMPL-PT-SEQ 1sPOSS-eat-INF-stuff(N) that-loLOC be

tx thürḡirim,' roaktama u sāsusasurāmim būürü.
 mr thürs-ḡi -t[i]-m roak-ta -ma u sāsusasurā-mim būürü
 gl send -1sP-PT-NML say -PT-SEQ 3sPOSS in-laws(N) -p said

tr *"Your relative, your daughter has grown thin and sends me, saying that good food for her is down here," he said to his in-laws.*

ref TH 5.29

tx lone 'lau taba,' roamdjima pheri mōyulaŋka o bem, ko
 mr lone lau taba roak-mi-t[i]-ma pheri mō-yu -laŋka o bem ko
 gl then INTJ(N) INTJ(N) say -p -PT-SEQ again (N) that-loLOC-ABL this slug one

tx dhuro bem māthemma, ko dhuro bem cakhli mōyulaŋka
 mr dhuro bem māthe -ma ko dhuro bem cakhli mō-yu -laŋka
 gl basket(N) slug season(N)-PP one basket(N) slug raw that-loLOC-ABL

tx bemsamdjima;
 mr be-mi-saŋ -mi-t[i]-ma
 gl do-p -V2:BEN-p -PT-SEQ

tr "Well then," they said, and from down there they prepared one basket of seasoned slugs and one basket of raw slugs.

ref TH5.30

tx 'lu, oram lamdira oram lamdira mirepsaka lōrama
 mr lu oram lamdi-ŋa oram lamdi-ŋa mi -rep -saka lōks-a -ma
 gl well(N) this path -LOC this path -LOC NEG-look-CONV go -IMPER-SEQ

tx goaka hai,' bemsomdji u -sāsusasurāka ramline.
 mr goak-a hai be -mi-sot -mi-t[i]u -sāsusasurā-ka ramli-ne.
 gl give -IMPER INTJ(N) say-p -V2:send-p -PT 3sPOSS-in-laws(N) -ERG Ramli-TOP

tr "O.k., go without looking at it on this way and give it to her," his in-laws said and sent him off, Ramli.

ref TH 5.31

tx mōdđama gedđama, 'e bābā, lamdira ma hepman go
 mr mōdđama get -ta -ma e bābā lamdi-ŋa ma hepman go
 gl then come_up-PT-SEQ INTJ(N) INTJ(N) path -LOC and what_sort I

tx repsi minūpa,' roaktama lamdira hoaktūma
 mr rep -si mi -nū -pa roak-ta -ma lamdi-ŋa hoak-t -ū -ma
 gl look-INF:NPT NEG-be_good-AP say -PT-SEQ path -LOC open-PT-3s>3-SEQ

tx rebđūlone, bem đe.
 mr rep -t -ū -lo -ne bem đe
 gl look-PT-3s>3-TEMP-TOP slug EVI

tr On his way up he thought: "What sort of thing is this that I should not look at on my way?" and he opened it while on his way and looked at it, and it was slugs!

ref TH 5.32

tx 'e wayecapcū-luna hopma đe,' roakta.
 mr e wayecapcū -luna hopma đe roak-ta
 gl INTJ(N) (name) -(name) sort EVI say -PT

tr "So that's what the Wayecapcū-Luna people are like," he thought.

ref TH 5.33
 tx mōsinda geḍḍama darbār koḥā goonu jūllū.
 mr mō-si -(n)-ḍa get -ta -ma darbār koḥā go -nu jūl -t -ū
 gl that-place-[] -LOC come_up-PT-SEQ palace(N) room(N) inside-levLOC put-PT-3s>3

tr *He came up to that place and put them in one of his palace rooms.*

ref TH 5.34
 tx mōthama 'lahai, i -mam -pakka riipakka
 mr mōthama lahai i -mam -pap -ka rii -pap -ka
 gl then INTJ(N) 2sPOSS-mother-father-ERG woman's_relative-father-ERG

tx thūrsafnamim i -pomu meno bu, pe hai, būrū.
 mr thūrs-saf -na-mimi -po-mu me-no bu pe hai būrū
 gl send -V2:BEN-2s-p 2sPOSS-eat-INF that-levLOC be eat INTJ(N) said

tr *The he said: "Come on, the food your parents and relatives send you is over there, eat it now."*

ref TH 5.35
 tx mōthane huḍḍamane u -naymekane mō banemma
 mr mōthane huḍ -ta -mane u -nayme-ka -ne mō bane -ma
 gl then enter-PT-TEMP 3sPOSS-wife -ERG-TOP that make(N)-PP

tx māthemmane pūūrū.
 mr māthe -ma-ne pe-t -ū
 gl season(N)-PP-TOP eat-PT-3s>3

tr *His wife went in and ate those that were prepared and seasoned.*

ref TH 5.36
 tx pūūrū pūūrūhoḅḅa lamcakara dahilora ghroaḍḍa.
 mr pe-t -ū pe-t -ū -hoḅḅa lamcaka-ḍa dahilo -ḍa ghroat -ta
 gl eat-PT-3s>3 eat-PT-3s>3-while door -LOC door(N)-LOC be_stuck-PT

tr *As she was eating and eating, she got stuck in the door*

ref TH 5.37
 tx ba ḍokpu dūsleaḍḍa, ghroaḍḍa.
 mr ba ḍokpu dūs -leat -ta ghroat -ta
 gl INTJ big become-V2:COMPL-PT be_stuck-PT

tr *She became so fat that she got stuck.*

ref TH 5.38
 tx mōpachi cəḅḍa ramlīka, 'e gana luna -wayenuḅḅe lale
 mr mō-pachi cəḅḍa ramli-ka e gana luna -waye -nuḅ -ne lale
 gl that-after(N) later Ramli-ERG INTJ(N) you (name)-(name)-COM-TOP courting

tx me -bom basiṭpa rəcha,' roakta.
 mr me -bo-mu basiṭpa rəcha roak-ta
 gl NEG-do-INF must PART(N) say -PT

tr *After that Ramli thought: "It is not right to court with the Luna-Waye people."*

ref TH 5.39
 tx mōsindamma ləkci, 'lu hala, ninkukkayu
 mr mōsindamma ləks-t -ci lu hala nin -kukka -yu
 gl thereafter go -PT-d well(N) if_so father's_sister-mother's_brother-loLOC

tx ləəci,' bütürümane ləkci.
 mr ləks-ci bütürü-mane ləks-t -ci.
 gl go -d said -TEMP go -PT-d

tr *So they went, "Let's go down to your relatives," he said and they went.*

ref TH 5.40
 tx ləkcihoṅṅa solu pār kharbār roamano kole cautārā
 mr ləks-t -ci-hoṅṅa solu pār kharbār roak-ma-no ko -le cautārā
 gl go -PT-d -while (name) across(N) (name) say -PP-levLOC one-CL resting_place(N)

tx bayra.
 mr bay-ta
 gl be -PT

tr *While they were on their way, there was a resting place on the other side of the Solu river, at a place named Kharbar.*

ref TH 5.41
 tx mōram cautārārane 'ḡesinci,' roakta.
 mr mōram cautārā -ḡa -ne ḡe -siṭ -(n)-ci roak-ta
 gl that resting_place(N)-LOC-TOP rest-V2:REFL-[]-d say -PT

tr *At that resting place he said: "let's rest!"*

ref TH 5.42
 tx ḡesiccimane u -naymene ramlikane, 'ba i
 mr ḡe -siṭ -t -ci-mane u -nayme-ne ramli-ka -ne ba i
 gl rest-V2:REFL-PT-d-TEMP 3sPOSS-wife -TOP Ramli-ERG-TOP INTJ 2sPOSS

tx -ser remsani,' bütürü 'naymé, i -ser remsani,' bütürü.
 mr -ser rem-saṭ -ni bütürü naymé i -ser rem-saṭ -ni bütürü
 gl -louse look-V2:BEN-1>2 said wife:VOC 2sPOSS-louse look-V2:BEN-1>2 said

tr *When they rested, Ramli said to his wife: "I will search lice for you, wife," he said, "I will search lice for you."*

ref TH 5.43
 tx mane u -philāra u -naymekam u -buy jüllüma
 mr mane u -philā -ḡa u -nayme-kam u -buy jül-t -ü -ma
 gl then 3sPOSS-leg(N)-LOC 3sPOSS-wife -GEN 3sPOSS-head put-PT-3s>3-SEQ

tx ser keaksadḡu.
 mr ser keak-saḡ -t -ü
 gl louse crack-V2:BEN-PT-3s>3

tr *He put his wife's head on his leg and cracked lice for her.*

ref TH 5.44
 tx ser keaktllone masakka əmsleadḡa u -nayme.
 mr ser keak-t -ü -lo -ne masakka əms-leat -ta u -nayme
 gl louse crack-PT-3s>3-TEMP-TOP fast(N) sleep-V2:COMPL-PT 3sPOSS-wife

tr *While he was cracking lice, his wife fell asleep fast.*

ref TH 5.45
 tx wakha wakha ayu koayu jüllüma u -nayme mö
 mr wakha wakha ayu koa-yu jül-t -ü -ma u -naymé mö
 gl gently gently down earth-loLOC put-PT-3s>3-SEQ 3sPOSS-wife:VOC that

tx cautārā parjeollü.
 mr cautārā par -jeol -t -ü
 gl resting_place(N) leave-V2:put-PT-3s>3

tr *Gently gently he put her down on the earth, he abandoned his wife at the resting place.*

ref TH 5.46
 tx ani ramli biktama cürkuyu sāgo lukta, cürku
 mr ani ramli bik -ta -ma cürku -yu sāgo luk -ta cürku
 gl then (N) Ramli come_over-PT-SEQ (name)-loLOC bridge(N) come_out-PT (name)

tx dobhānyu sāgo siḡḡa.
 mr dobhān -yu sāgo si -ḡa
 gl confluence(N)-loLOC bridge(N) mouth-LOC

tr *Then Ramli came over, he crossed the Cürku bridge, at the Cürku confluence he swore:*

ref TH 5.47
 tx 'gana wayenuḡ lunanuḡ a -santānka lale
 mr gana waye -nuḡ luna -nuḡ a -santān -ka lale
 gl you (name)-COM (name)-COM 1sPOSS-descendant(N)-ERG courting

tx medümmü hai,' roaktama luḡ khliirüma athö bu.
 mr me -düs -mi-nü hai roak-ta -ma luḡ khli-t -ü -ma a -thö bu
 gl NEG-become-p -OPT INTJ(N) say -PT-SEQ stone plant-PT-3s>3-SEQ this-side be

tr *"You, Waye and Luna, may my descendents not intermarry with you," he said and planted a stone and remained on this side.*

ref TH 5.48

tx mōmma guku lunaluṅ thulunuṅ akima sör mibu,
 mr mōmma guku luna -luṅ thulu -nuṅ akima sör mi -bu
 gl therefore we(pe) (name)-COM Thulung-COM our(pe) line_of_continuity NEG-be

tx akima sör mi -baṭpa, roa.
 mr akima sör mi -baṭ-pa roak
 gl our(pe) line_of_continuity NEG-be -AP say

tr *Between us, the Thulung and the Luna (Bahing), there is no direct line of descendance, there is no community, it [the stone] says.*

sp KH 5 (Khaling)
sp soroli-kolo ut-kolo - jackal and camel

ref KH 5.1
tx tu -ba bhaya-bi saro chalah soroli mo-tā e.
gl one-CL place -LOC very(N) clever(N) jackal be -PT REP

tr *There was a very clever jackal at a certain place, the story goes.*

ref KH 5.2
tx mana âm ghōlä nōl-ka sō ma -kō-sa so -ā khepkhāpā mo-tā
gl and he many day-ABL flesh NEG-eat-CONV hunger-INST almost die-PT

tx e.
gl REP

tr *And having not eaten meat for many days, he nearly died from hunger.*

ref KH 5.3
tx mana mām bhaya-bi khole-de -tha sāmundra go-tā e.
gl and that place -LOC every -locNML-ALL ocean(N) be -PT REP

tr *And in that place, there was an ocean in every direction.*

ref KH 5.4
tx u -lūppi-bi bhaya go-tā, khe-pā hās -hām tōk -de bhaya
gl 3sPOSS-center -LOC place be -PT steal-AP person-p put_away-locNML place

tx go-tā.
gl be -PT

tr *In the middle there was an island, a place to put thieves away.*

ref KH 5.5
tx mā bhaya-bi khway-de lām khābi-laka yo mu -go-wā.
gl that place -LOC go -locNML road where -PATH also NEG-be -IRR

tr *There was no road anywhere at all to get to that place.*

ref KH 5.6
tx mana būrā ut sāmundra-po phār-bi cārey mā-si -pā
gl and old man (N) camel(N) ocean(N) -GEN near -LOC graze(N) do -REFL-AP

tx soroli-ā dūm-tā e.
gl jackal -ERG meet -PT REP

tr *And the jackal met old camel grazing by the lake.*

ref KH 5.7
tx mana soroli-ā ut lū-tā e: "sathi u -keti böy khō-ci
gl and jackal -ERG camel(N) tell-PT REP friend(N) 3sPOSS-side(N) ? go -1di

tx mang bhane mā-yo saro cānū -pā ghas gō.
gl what QUOTE(N) that-levLOC very(N) be_tasty-AP gras(N) be

tr *And Jackal said to Camel: "Friend, let's go over there, because there is very tasty grass over there.*

ref KH 5.8

tx mana apo lagi yo sikar gō," lu-tā-na ut -ā soroli kür -tā
gl and my for(N) also game(N) be tell-PT-SEQ camel(N)-ERG jackal carry-PT

tx -na u -keti del -bi lās -t -i,
gl -SEQ 3sPOSS-side(N) village-LOC come_out-PT-d

tr *And there is also game for me", he said, and Camel carried Fox and they arrived at the village on the other shore.*

ref KH 5.9

tx mana soroli-ā bageyca -bi ut phing-sū -tā-na u -tap
gl and jackal -ERG garden(N)-LOC camel(N) send -BEN-PT-SEQ 3sPOSS-self

tx cāy sikar kōk-bi wong -tā.
gl FOC(N) game(N) eat -PURP enter -PT

tr *And Jackal sent Camel into a garden while he himself went to eat game.*

ref KH 5.10

tx mana swap -tā-na tu -ba reppā dhām-bi soroli lās -tā-na bhrōs
gl and be_satiated-PT-SEQ one-CL high ridge -LOC jackal come_out-PT-SEQ shout

tx -tā.
gl -PT

tr *And when he was full, Jackal came to a high hill and shouted.*

ref KH 5.11

tx mana bāgeyca -po hās lās -tā-nu ut mari rāp-to kwal-tā
gl and garden(N)-GEN person come_out-PT-3p camel(N) hard(N) hit -SIM chase-PT

tx -nu.
gl -3p

tr *And the owners of the garden came out and chased Camel, hitting him all the while.*

ref KH 5.12

tx mana ut -po sānāwā yo cām -tā-nu.
gl and camel(N)-GEN consciousness(N) also make_lose-PT-3p

tr *And they made him lose consciousness.*

ref KH 5.13

tx mana ut -kolo soroli-kolo sah-pu-nga bagar -bi düm-iti.
gl and camel(N)-COM jackal -COM two-CL-EMPH shore(N)-LOC meet -d:PT

tr *And Camel and Jackal both met at the shore.*

ref KH 5.14

tx mana "heke i-bhrös-tä hola?" ut -ä soroli lü-tä.
gl and why 2-shout -PT maybe(N) camel(N)-ERG jackal tell-PT

tr *And Camel told Fox: "Why did you shout, then?" he asked.*

ref KH 5.15

tx pheri us -tam-po del -tha ajom hengsa-nga wos-ti.
gl again(N) 3dPOSS-own-GEN village-ALL formerly like_what-EMPH enter-d:PT

tr *Again the two went back to their own village as before.*

ref KH 5.16

tx mana ut sâmundra-po lüppi-bi hopäs-tä-na soroli lü-tä e:
gl and camel(N) ocean(N) -GEN center -LOC arrive -PT-SEQ jackal tell-PT REP

tx "in yo i-sâp -na bhrân-nä bani râycha ung yo ku -bi nâm
gl you also 2-be_satiated-SEQ shout -INF habit EVI(N) I also water-LOC dive

tx -si -nä a -bani gö," äs-tä-na ut ku -bi nâm-tä -si,
gl -REFL-INF 1sPOSS-habit be say-PT-SEQ camel(N) water-LOC dive -PT -REFL

tx soroli ku -ä khwat-tä.
gl jackal water-INST take -PT

tr *And when Camel came to the middle of the lake, he said to Jackal: "Just as you have the habit of shouting when you are full, so I have my habit of diving in the water", and having said this, Camel dived into the water, Jackal was swept away.*

ref KH 5.17

tx mana ut ku -ka pakha-bi läs -tä-na, "i-dap-khá -tä o" äh
gl and camel(N) water-ABL outside-LOC come_out-PT-SEQ 2-taste-COMPL-PT Q say

tx -to thunâm wong-tä.
gl -SIM forest enter -PT

tr *And when Camel came out of the water he said: "Did you get a taste?" and he went into the forest.*

sp KH 12 (Khaling)
sp kâmpo brahâm - housebuilding

ref KH 12.1

tx hâs -ã kâm mü-ki-lo läl ghâneri sey-nâ.
gl person-ERG house do -1pi-TEMP at_first site(N) see -INF

tr *When a man builds a house, he first sees the site.*

ref KH 12.2

tx ghâneri sey-ki-lo lâmbây câurây thâm -nâ mâttü.
gl site(N) see -1pi-TEMP length(N) width(N) measure-INF must

tr *When we choose the site, we have to measure the length and the width.*

ref KH 12.3

tx mebena kok -pä hâs ya pândit -ä ghâneri mü-nâ mäm lâmbây
gl then know-AP person or pândit(N)-ERG site(N) do -INF that length(N)

tx câurây -po lät-t -ü hisap phap mang mâttü mä blät-t -ü.
gl width(N)-GEN tell-PT-3s>3s calculation(N<Arab.) what must that say -PT-3s>3s

tr *After that, a knowledgeable man or a wise man calculates the length and width and says which is the right proportion.*

ref KH 12.4

tx mebena mäm mâttü-m pâchi kâm bâneý mü-nâ -po sâmu sârâdâm
gl then that must -NML after(N) house ready(N) do -INF-GEN materials (N)

tx ma -mang jureý mü-nâ mâttü bhane.
gl what-what provide(N) do -INF must QUOTE(N)

tr *After that is done, what has to be brought together for building a house?*

ref KH 12.5

tx sâng lwam-nâ mâttü, ara krâm-nâ mâttü, phâlek bro -nâ mâttü.
gl wood catch -INF must beam saw -INF must plank(N) break-INF must

tr *You need to fetch wood, cut beams, break shingles.*

ref KH 12.6

tx mã câý jillâ -bi khwan-nâ -na dârkâstâ bi -nâ mâttü.
gl that FOC(N) district(N)-LOC go -INF-SEQ application(N) give-INF must

tr *For that, we have to go to the district office and hand in an application.*

ref KH 12.7

tx mena jillâ -ä sukirti mã -nu.
gl so district(N)-ERG report(N) make-3p

tr *Then they make out a report at the district office.*

ref KH 12.8

tx **mena khâtey mā -nu-m pâchi sâng rây-nâ mâttü.**

gl so appoint(N) make-3p -NML after(N) wood cut -INF must

tr *After this is settled, the wood must be cut.*

ref KH 12.9

tx **rây-ki-na arawal -ã krâp-t -ü.**

gl cut -1pi-SEQ sawyer(N)-ERG saw -PT-3s>3s

tr *After we cut it, the sawyer saws it.*

ref KH 12.10

tx **arawal -ã krâm-nâ -na pheri del -ã khwal-nâ mâttü, khôle**

gl sawyer(N)-ERG saw -INF-SEQ again(N) village-ERG move -INF must all

tx **-ã phulu mü-nâ mâttü.**

gl -ERG communal_help do -INF must

tr *After the sawyer has done his work, the village must carry it, and all must do communal work.*

ref KH 12.11

tx **mâ phulu -ã mu -phu-mim roskâri be -nâ mâttü.**

gl that communal_help-ERG NEG-send-NML hired_worker put_in-INF must

tr *When the community does not send help, workers must be hired.*

ref KH 12.12

tx **roskâri -ã khôl-nu.**

gl hired_worker-ERG carry -3p

tr *The hired workers will carry it.*

ref KH 12.13

tx **mebena ghâreri phu-nâ -bi yo del -ã phulu nga gü.**

gl then site(N) raise-INF-PURP also village-ERG communal_help EMPH be

tr *There is also communal help from the village to raise the site.*

ref KH 12.14

tx **phâk -si -ki-lo süpo-khoyo kâm bâney mü-ki-lo câ -câp-si**

gl separate-REFL-1pi-TEMP who -even house ready(N) do -1pi-TEMP can-can -REFL

tx **phlô-lü -nâ mâttü.**

gl help -V2:feel_like-INF must

tr *For this, whoever it is that builds the house, anybody must help as much as he is able to.*

ref KH 12.15

tx "thebe mebe mebe" än-nä -ne mü -nū.

gl this_much that_much that_much say-INF-TOP NEG-be_good

tr *To say: "Only that much", is not allowed.*

ref KH 12.16

tx cāp-ki -kho-mim ghōlā din phlō-ki -kho yo nū.

gl can -1pi-if -NML many day(N) help -1pi-if also be_good

tr *It is good if we help for many days, if we can.*

ref KH 12.17

tx mana ghārerī lāl phu-nā mātṭū.

gl and site(N) at_first raise-INF must

tr *Then first the site has to be staked out.*

ref KH 12.18

tx ghārerī phuk -ki -m pāchi ghara be -nā mātṭū.

gl site(N) raise:PT-1pi-NML after(N) house(N) put_in-INF must

tr *After we have marked the site, the house must be built.*

ref KH 12.19

tx mā lāl bāhun -ā hebe lāt-tā āndāsā karmi -ā be

gl that at_first Brahman(N)-ERG how_many tell-PT approximately carpenter(N)-ERG put_in

tx -nā mātṭū.

gl -INF must

tr *When the Brahmin said how many approximately the workmen must put in the base.*

ref KH 12.20

tx khatēy mü-nā mātṭū.

gl detail(N) do -INF must

tr *One has to keep book.*

ref KH 12.21

tx karmi -hām cāy u -thang bi -nā mātṭū, arawal u

gl carpenter(N)-p FOC(N) 3sPOSS-wage give-INF must sawyer(N) 3sPOSS

tx -thang bi -nā mātṭū, lung-brok -pā u -thang bi -nā mātṭū.

gl -wage give-INF must stone-break -AP 3sPOSS-wage give-INF must

tr *The carpenters must be given their wages, the sawyer must be given his wage, the stone breaker must be given his wage.*

ref KH 12.22
 tx **roskâri** **âh-ki-m jâti u** **-thang bi -nâ, wonga-m cây**
 gl hired_worker say-1pi-NML all(N) 3sPOSS-wage give-INF other -NML FOC(N)

tx **mu -mâttü.**
 gl NEG-must

tr *To all those we call 'roskari' one must give wages, to the others not.*

ref KH 12.23
 tx **yu - kway bi -nâ mâttü, khaja bi -nâ mâttü, ci bân -nâ**
 gl rice vegetables give-INF must snack(N) give-INF must beer offer_drink-INF

tx **mâttü.**
 gl must

tr *One has to give a main meal, a snack, and one has to offer beer.*

ref KH 12.24
 tx **mebena kâm câr -to khwah-ki.**
 gl then house pile_up-PURP go -1pi

tr *We now go to build the house.*

ref KH 12.25
 tx **kârmi-â cir -nu.**
 gl mason-ERG split(N)-3p

tr *The masons do the stone work.*

ref KH 12.26
 tx **dhway -nâ khöle mü-nâ âm-hâm mã -nu.**
 gl straighten-INF all do -INF he -p make-3p

tr *They see to it that everything is straight.*

ref KH 12.27
 tx **sâng yo âm-hâm-â mã -nu, jorey mã -nu.**
 gl wood also he -p -ERG make-3p add(N) make-3p

tr *They also do the wood work.*

ref KH 12.28
 tx **tham laska jhâl khöleng mã -nu.**
 gl pillar door window all make-3p

tr *Pillars, doors, windows, they make everything.*

ref KH 12.29
 tx **nîdhâl bek -nu, sara bek -nu, pâtey bek -nu.**
 gl crossbeam put_in-3p beam put_in-3p flooring(N) put_in-3p

tr *They put in the crossbeam and other beams as well as the floor boards.*

ref KH 12.30

tx **mebena mā ner -na mā kām hek tal -po maka tāk tal**
gl then that finish-SEQ that house how_many storey(N)-GEN INTJ one storey(N)

tx **-po mü-nā mättü, sah tal -po o suk tal -po o mü-nā mättü?**
gl -GEN do -INF must two storey(N)-GEN Q three storey(N)-GEN Q do -INF must

tr *When that is done, how many storeys should the house have, shall we make one storey, or shall we make two or three storeys?*

ref KH 12.31

tx **mebena mā mü-ki-m kām ho -p -po u -nu bhar-po mü-nā**
gl then that do -1pi-NML house own-AP-GEN 3sPOSS-mind full -GEN do -INF

tx **mättü.**
gl must

tr *When we have done this, everything should be done to the satisfaction of the owner.*

ref KH 12.32

tx **mā u -nu bhar-po mü-ki-na ner -na pheri mā kām wo -nā**
gl that 3sPOSS-mind full -GEN do -1pi-SEQ finish-SEQ again(N) that house enter-INF

tx **lāl tham be -nā yo dīn sey-nā mättü, sāyt nga mü-nā mättü.**
gl at_first pillar put_in-INF also day(N) see -INF must oracle EMPH do -INF must

tr *After we have finished to his satisfaction, before one can live in the house, when the crossbeam is put in, one must know the auspicious day, the oracle has to be consulted.*

ref KH 12.33

tx **tham ngāy -mim pāchi yatha laska ngāy-nā yo dīn nga sey-nā**
gl pillar put_in-NML after(N) later door put_in-INF also day(N) EMPH see -INF

tx **mättü.**
gl must

tr *After the crossbeam is put in, later the right day for putting in the door has to be observed.*

ref KH 12.34

tx **mebena pheri ala kām ner -na minā dālim be -nā yo dīn nga**
gl then again(N) later house finish-SEQ INTJ rafter put_in-INF also day(N) EMPH

tx **sey-nā mättü.**
gl see -INF must

tr *And then again later, after the house is built, the rafters should be put in on the right day.*

ref KH 12.35

tx **bhâtra bân -hâm sey-nă.**

gl auspicious_calendar(N)-p see -INF

tr *The calendar telling auspicious days must be consulted.*

ref KH 12.36

tx **mebena kâm ner -mim pâchi kwap-nu.**

gl then house finish-NML after(N) cover -3p

tr *The when the house is built, they cover the roof.*

ref KH 12.37

tx **phâlek -ă kwam-nă mâttü, lusam-ă kwam-nă mâttü.**

gl plank(N)-INST cover -INF must thatch -INST cover -INF must

tr *This may be done with either shingles or thatch.*

ref KH 12.38

tx **kwap-ki -m pâchi kâm ner.**

gl cover -1pi-NML after(N) house finish

tr *After the roof is put on, the house is finished.*

ref KH 12.39

tx **kâm ner -mim pâchi mă kâm -bi wo -nă sâyť yo mâttü.**

gl house finish-NML after(N) that house-LOC enter-INF oracle also must

tr *When the house is finished, the oracle must be consulted before moving in.*

ref KH 12.40

tx **ca u -chana mă -ner nga wo -nă mâttü, ca cây u**

gl some 3sPOSS-roof(N) NEG-finish EMPH enter-INF must some FOC(N) 3sPOSS

tx **-chana ner tanga wong-ki.**

gl -roof(N) finish only enter -1pi

tr *For some, moving in may be before the roof is covered, some of us move in only after the roof is covered.*

ref KH 12.41

tx **mă din jujey chu -na tang wo -nă.**

gl that day(N) fitting(N) become-SEQ only enter-INF

tr *We move in only when the day is auspicious.*

ref KH 12.42

tx **melo wong-ki -m nöl yo khöle nga del hö -nă mâttü, tap -tap**

gl then enter -1pi-NML day also all EMPH village bring-INF must each-each

tx -po sobit ráksi hwan-nā máttü, hwayh-pā-ā hwan-nā máttü.
gl -GEN nice(N) raksi bring -INF must bring -AP-ERG bring -INF must

tr *But on the day we move in, the whole village must come, everyone must bring nice liquor.*

ref KH 12.43

tx narmā yo hōt -nu.
gl beer also bring-3p

tr *Some people bring beer.*

ref KH 12.44

tx mā tu -nā kām ho -pā kharca mā.
gl that drink-INF house own-AP expense(N) make

tr *The drinking is costly for the house owner.*

ref KH 12.45

tx yu -kway nga jō-nā máttü, ci tu -nā máttü, bra mü-nā máttü,
gl meal-vegetables EMPH eat-INF must beer drink-INF must talk do -INF must

tx asik mü-nā máttü.
gl blessing(N) do -INF must

tr *We must give a full meal, we must offer beer to drink, people talk and give a blessing.*

ref KH 12.46

tx mesa dām-nā máttü.
gl thus meet-INF must

tr *In that way people meet.*

ref KH 12.47

tx mebena kām ner -mim pāchi mā kām -bi wong-ki-lo sō sen-nā
gl then house finish-NML after(N) that house-LOC enter -1pi-TEMP flesh kill -INF

tx máttü.
gl must

tr *Then, after the house is finished and we move into that house, an animal has to be killed.*

ref KH 12.48

tx sō sen-nā máttü-lo tu bhale sen-nā máttü, khelkām phen-nā
gl flesh kill -INF must -TEMP one rooster(N) kill -INF must dregs_of_beer spread-INF

tx máttü, mebena tanga wo -nā máttü.
gl must then only enter -INF must

tr *As for the animal, we must kill a rooster, spread beer dregs, and then only we may enter the house.*

ref KH 12.49
 tx māmā mā lung sâng khōlenga mūn -pā jātti sen-nā -na u
 gl ? that stone wood all be_ready-AP as_many_as(N) kill -INF-SEQ 3sPOSS

tx -kwam-laka kel -nā mātū.
 gl -mouth -PATH cut_lengthwise -INF must

tr *When the stone and wood is all ready, one has to kill it and cut it lengthwise from the beak.*

ref KH 12.50
 tx bhale kel -nā mana mā u -hi -ä khōleng ru -nā
 gl rooster(N) cut_lengthwise-INF and that 3sPOSS-blood-INST all sprinkle-INF

tx mātū mābi u -tāmra ko -nā mātū, u -tāmra hwan
 gl must there 3sPOSS -sacred_story know-INF must 3sPOSS-sacred_story bring

tx -nā mātū.
 gl -INF must

tr *The rooster must be cut lengthwise and everything sprinkled with the blood, there we must know the sacred story, we must recite the sacred story.*

ref KH 12.51
 tx “a - khakcalap wāylām-ä i-tō-tā-m ci” lân-nā -na sō sen
 gl 1sPOSS Khakcalap Wāylām -ERG 2-put-PT-NML beer tell -INF-SEQ flesh kill

tx -nā mātū khelkām -kolo mā -kolo phen -nā mātū.
 gl -INF must dregs_of_beer-COM that -COM spread-INF must

tr *We have to say: “My Khakcalap and Wāylam, [here is] beer we pour you,” [ritual language] and we must kill an animal and sprinkle blood.*

ref KH 12.52
 tx sō mu -seh-ki-kho-mim mābi anām u -tāmra -bi go-tā sō
 gl flesh NEG-kill -1pi-if -NML there long_ago 3sPOSS-sacred_story-LOC be -PT flesh

tx sen-nā go-tā.
 gl kill -INF be -PT

tr *If we would not kill the animal - it is told in the sacred story, it tells why to kill the animal.*

ref KH 12.53
 tx sō sen-nā mā-po tāmra tā mātū:
 gl flesh kill -INF that-GEN sacred_story this must

tr *In the sacred story it says this about killing the animal:*

ref KH 12.54
 tx wāylām-ä khakcalāp lū -tā: “reskap-ä māmā kām bāney mū-nā” äs
 gl Wāylām -ERG khakcalāp tell-PT orphan -VOC ? house ready(N) do -INF say

tx -tä e.
gl -PT REP

tr *Wäylam said to Khakcalap: "Orphan, we must build a house."*

ref KH 12.55

tx kām mü-tä -lo u -dumbu phing-tä e khabo lwam-bi bha-tä.
gl house do -PT-TEMP 3sPOSS-husband send -PT REP beam catch -PURP go -PT

tr *When building the house, she sent her husband, he went to search for a beam.*

ref KH 12.56

tx suri lom tanga hö -tä e.
gl straight beam only bring-PT REP

tr *He brought back only a straight beam.*

ref KH 12.57

tx haga-kolo-m mü -höt -wä e.
gl fork -COM-NML NEG-bring-IRR REP

tr *He did not bring back one with a fork.*

ref KH 12.58

tx mebena wälâm u -cö -kolo mo-tä.
gl then Wäylâm 3sPOSS-child-COM be -PT

tr *Wäylam was there with her child.*

ref KH 12.59

tx mana send-ü mä-tü mang-bi khe -nä -na sida tanga hö
gl and see -3s>3s that-hiLOC what -LOC put_on-INF-SEQ straight(N) only bring

tx -ther-tä.
gl -HAB-PT

tr *And she looks up where to hang things, and he kept bringing straight beams only.*

ref KH 12.60

tx mana tu nöl cängrü sálpu bher-tä -na cängrü-po u -mer hag
gl and one day bird sp. bird fly -PT-SEQ bird sp.-GEN 3sPOSS-tail be_forked

tx -pä gü.
gl -PP be

tr *Then one day a cängrü bird flew by - and the cängrü's tail is forked.*

ref KH 12.61

tx mā haga sey mât -tä -na "tukum hengam haga-kolo-m hötä" lü
gl that fork see make-PT-SEQ up_there like_what fork -COM-NML bring:IMPER tell

tx -tā e.
gl -PT REP

tr *She showed him that forked tail and said to him: "Bring one with a fork, like that one up there".*

ref KH 12.62

tx mebena wo khakcalāp-ā hō -tā e, mām u -haga-kolo-m.
gl then PART khakcalāp -ERG bring-PT REP that 3sPOSS-fork -COM-NML

tr *After that, Khakcalap went and brought one, that is, one with a fork.*

ref KH 12.63

tx mebena mā-tū khōleng thok lāyh -ki-lo nū -pā.
gl then that-hiLOC all thing put_on-1pi-TEMP be_good-AP

tr *Then it is o.k. when you put everything on top.*

ref KH 12.64

tx mā-bi khabo khān-tā-lo khakcalāp-ā anek khān-tā yo moo mu
gl that-LOC beam ram -PT-TEMP khakcalāp -ERG many ram -PT even no NEG

tx -cāp-wā e.
gl -can -IRR REP

tr *When Khakcalap tried to ram the beam into the ground there, even ramming it many times he could not do it.*

ref KH 12.65

tx mā-lo wāylām-ā u -cō kūr-de -tā-na phlōk-bi bha-tā
gl that-TEMP Wāylām -ERG 3sPOSS-child carry-V2:?-PT-SEQ help -PURP go -PT

tx -lo mā khabo then-tā-lo mā gob -ū u -cō solo ōng khōs
gl -TEMP that beam push-PT-TEMP that inside-loLOC 3sPOSS-child bone ? go

tx -tā.
gl -PT

tr *When Wāylam, who carried the child, came to help, and when she pushed the beam, the child fell.*

ref KH 12.66

tx mana mā khabo mā-yu lāsū -su-lo mā u -cō mā-yu
gl and that beam that-loLOC withdraw-d -TEMP that 3sPOSS-child that-loLOC

tx -ng khlō-tā-na mis-tā.
gl -EMPH crush-PT-SEQ die -PT

tr *And when the two of them let go of the beam, it crushed the child down there and it died.*

ref KH 12.67

tx **mām-po minā bhok jütām āntāsāba yo kām bāney mū-ka-lo sō**
 gl that -GEN INTJ ? ? nowadays even house ready(N) do -1pe-TEMP flesh

tx **sen-nā mättü.**
 gl kill -INF must

tr *And because of all this, even today, when we build a house, we have to kill an animal.*

ref KH 12.68

tx **mām-po du -bi bhale sen-nā mättü, khelkām phen-nā**
 gl that -GEN beginning-LOC rooster(N) kill -INF must dregs_of_beer spread-INF

tx **mättü.**
 gl must

tr *Because of these events in the beginning, we have to kill a rooster and sprinkle beer.*

ref KH 12.69

tx **radu-po tāmra tā -ne khole-de khōleng mā -nu.**
 gl Rai -GEN sacred_story this-TOP every -locNML all make-INF

tr *According to the Rais' sacred stories, everybody does this, everywhere.*

ref KH 12.70

tx **khās bāhun -ā yo mā -nu molo tib -tibi mudhām.**
 gl Chetri Brahman(N)-ERG also make-3p but some-some different

tr *The Chetris and Brahmins also do thus, but a little bit different.*

ref KH 12.71

tx **radu-po cây mābi khāl -ā oka lâyh-ka āh-ka “newo**
 gl Rai -GEN FOC(N) there Khaling-ERG we(pe) tell -1pe say-1pe here_it_is

tx **khakcalâp wäylâm mü-tō-tā-m ci to -ther-su tā bāy-nā**
 gl khakcalâp Wäylâm do -put-PT-NML beer eat_and_drink-HAB-d this wear-INF

tx **gōni tō tābi sō sen-tā-ni sō.”**
 gl be keep here flesh kill -PT-2p PART

tr *But we Rai, Khaling, as we call ourselves, say: “Here, Khakcalap, Wäylam, take the beer put here for you, wear this [flower], have that meat killed for you.” (ritual language)*

ref KH 12.72

tx **mā lân-nā -na sō sen-nā khelkām phen-nā mättü.**
 gl that say-INF-SEQ flesh kill -INF dregs_of_beer spread-INF must

tr *Saying thus, you must kill the animal and sprinkle the beer.*

ref KH 12.73

tx **mebena tanga tu kâm ner.**
gl then only one house finish

tr *Then only is a house completed.*

ref KH 12.74

tx **mebena tâ kâm mü-nä -po lagi khâs kârmi-hâm kâm mü-pä**
gl then this work do -INF-GEN for(N) Chetri mason-p work do -AP

tx **jâtti -hâm maka un tap -po daya ansas -pâysa lân -nu.**
gl as_many_as(N)-p INTJ their(p) each -GEN? share(N)-money(N) take_out-3p

tr *Then, for his work, the Chetri builders and all the other workers each receive their respective share of money.*

ref KH 12.75

tx **lung brok-pä lân -nu khwal-pä yo lân -nu.**
gl stone break-AP take_out-3p move -AP also take_out-3p

tr *The stone cutters as well as the carriers receive money.*

ref KH 12.76

tx **pheri del -ä cây minä phulu gü hek nôl-kho-yo**
gl again(N) village-ERG FOC(N) man communal_work be how_many day-if -even

tx **lung khwal-nä -kho-yo hilo mü-nä -kho-yo sâng khwal-nä -kho-yo**
gl stone move -INF-if -even mud(N) do -INF-if -even wood move -INF-if -even

tx **hwan-nä -kho-yo bha-nä mâttü.**
gl bring -INF-if -even go -INF must

tr *Again, if there is any work for so and so many days, if there are any stones to move, mud to tread, wood to carry, water to fetch, whatever, for however many days must they go.*

ref KH 12.77

tx **mâbi sa -sak nôl cây -ne pâkha nga kâr nga lagey chu.**
gl there two-two day FOC(N)-TOP outside EMPH carry EMPH be_applicable(N) become

tr *But two days of carrying outside are enough.*

ref KH 12.78

tx **mâ sâng thân-nä kâr -nä -bi dalim -hâm thân-nä mâttü, pây**
gl that wood pull -INF carry-INF-PURP beam(N)-p pull -INF must flooring(N)

tx **thân-nä mâttü.**
gl pull -INF must

tr *The wood must be pulled and carried, the beams pulled, planks pulled.*

ref KH 12.79

tx **phálek -bi chana -po lagi kâr -nâ máttü-kho-mim du -duy jana**
 gl plank(N)-? roof(N)-GEN for(N) carry-INF must -if -NML two-two(N) person(N)

tx **kâm -ka lagey chu.**
 gl house-ABL be_applicable(N) become

tr *If shingles need to be carried, one needs two people from each household.*

ref KH 12.80

tx **lusâm-kho-mim tu -tu -ba lagey chu.**
 gl grass -if -NML one-one-CL be_applicable(N) become

tr *If [you use] thatch, one per house will do.*

ref KH 12.81

tx **molo lusâm kâm máttü-kho bhane baro sal -bi suk -le kwap**
 gl but grass house must -if QUOTE(N) twelve(N) year(N)-LOC three-CL cover

tx **-ka -na suk -le kharca chu kâm -ka.**
 gl -1pe-SEQ three-CL expense(N) become house-ABL

tr *If it is to be a thatch roof, we cover it three times in twelve years and thus it costs three times for the household.*

ref KH 12.82

tx **phálek -po cây bara câwda barsa jheng-na mã-po lagi duy**
 gl plank(N)-GEN FOC(N) twelve fourteen year(N) last -SEQ that-GEN for(N) two(N)

tx **jana kâm -kwâ khwan-nâ máttü.**
 gl person(N) house-ABL take -INF must

tr *Shingles on the other hand last twelve to fourteen years, and for that we need two people from each household to help.*

ref KH 12.83

tx **the-sa tang kâm baney chu.**
 gl this-manner only house ready(N) become

tr *This way only a house is completed.*

ref KH 12.84

tx **mâbi yo jä ghôlä kharca chu kâm hop-pâ.**
 gl there also grain many expense(N) become house own-AP

tr *It also takes a lot of payment in grain for the houseowner.*

ref KH 12.85

tx **tu kâm baney mü-ki-lo dokhway nga dokhway pânro soro**
 gl one house ready(N) do -1pi-TEMP little EMPH little fifteen(N) sixteen(N)

tx muri ghölä bis muri; kharca jä tanga do.
gl muri(N) many twenty(N) muri(N) expense(N) grain only be_enough

tr *To complete one house, if it is very small, it takes fifteen, sixteen muri; if it is much, twenty muri of grain will just be enough.*

ref KH 12.86

tx mäbi kâm wong-ki-m nöi- "ghâr pâyco" khâs bra -la äh-ki-
gl there house enter -1pi-NML day ghâr pâyco Chetri language-PATH say-1pi

tx khäl bra -la cây maka "kâm wo -nä,"
gl Khaling language-PATH FOC(N) INTJ house enter-INF

tr *Then the day we move into the house - in the language of the Chetri we call it "ghar payco" - in Khaling "enter the house."*

ref KH 12.87

tx mä nöi tu jiwän nga mä -nu kâm ho -pä, mä-kolo yu kway nga
gl that day one life(N) EMPH make-3p house own-AP that-COM rice vegetables EMPH

tx jö-nä mättü.
gl eat-INF must

tr *that day is celebrated only once in the life of the owner, on that day you must eat a special meal.*

ref KH 12.88

tx ghölä purkha hō -nä mättü.
gl many elders bring-INF must

tr *We have to bring many elders.*

ref KH 12.89

tx mang-go mü-nä mättü.
gl what -or do -INF must

tr *What else needs to be done?*

ref KH 12.90

tx hulu kân -nä mättü, nägi mü-nä mättü.
gl hearth splash-INF must n. do -INF must

tr *You need to sprinkle the hearth, you must make the Nagi (snake) ceremony.*

ref KH 12.91

tx nägi khole nga mättü.
gl n. all EMPH must

tr *The ceremony needs to be complete.*

ref KH 12.92

tx **mābi jābā kām baney chu -mim pāchi nāgi mā -mū nū -nā**
 gl there when(N) house ready(N) become-NML after(N) n. NEG-do be_good-INF

tx **mū -nū.**

gl NEG-be_good

tr *It is to be noted that if we do not have this ceremony after finishing the house, it will do no good.*

ref KH 12.93

tx **mā-po sat -bi kām mosi purbe mū-nā mātū.**
 gl that-GEN seven(N)-LOC house ceremony (ritual) do -INF must

tr *A week from then you must make the house purba.*

ref KH 12.94

tx **mebena tanga tā kām -bi mū-nā mātū.**
 gl then only this house-LOC do -INF must

tr *After that only you must live in this house.*

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