ASAS

Arbeiten des Seminars für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

Nr. 13

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The Structure of Kiranti Languages

Comparative Grammar and Texts

Universität Zürich 1994
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Acknowledgements

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### Abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>actor; agent</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADDR</td>
<td>address term/particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>active participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>attributive</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPAR</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTV</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONV</td>
<td>converb (adverbial participle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative, animate patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECHO</td>
<td>echo word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVI</td>
<td>evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphasizing marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
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<td>i</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
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<td>IDEO</td>
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<td>IMPER</td>
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<td>pollIMPER</td>
<td>polite imperative</td>
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<td>infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
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<td>inverse</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiLOC</td>
<td>at higher location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levLOC</td>
<td>at same level location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loLOC</td>
<td>at lower location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modal particle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MOT motion progressive
N.AG agentic 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/relation 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 (aspectivizer, 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).
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 teleizing 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 cannot 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 (lab 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Athp.</th>
<th>dhagnā</th>
<th>stuck (in throat)</th>
<th>dagā</th>
<th>standing straight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jhōm</td>
<td>swelling</td>
<td>jom</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>dhat</td>
<td>beats</td>
<td>dat</td>
<td>it sees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhuk</td>
<td>covers</td>
<td>buk</td>
<td>stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caml.</td>
<td>dhama</td>
<td>fell</td>
<td>dama</td>
<td>be visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>jham</td>
<td>is possible</td>
<td>jam</td>
<td>cooked rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhalū</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>dala</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>'ghwannā</td>
<td>block</td>
<td>'gwannā</td>
<td>go across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'bhunā</td>
<td>burst, explode</td>
<td>'bunā</td>
<td>give birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jhenā</td>
<td>last, endure</td>
<td>jenā</td>
<td>speak, make sound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant.</th>
<th>jhutta</th>
<th>bunch</th>
<th>jutta (Nep.)</th>
<th>shoe</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ghasa (Nep.)</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>gasa</td>
<td>mouthful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspiration is sometimes optional:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caml.</th>
<th>bhusi/busi</th>
<th>first</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>jhoomu/joomu</td>
<td>plough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caml.</th>
<th>nham-</th>
<th>smell</th>
<th>nam</th>
<th>sun</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lhome</td>
<td>boil</td>
<td>loma</td>
<td>tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rhama</td>
<td>cook millet</td>
<td>rama</td>
<td>divide, separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>retroflex/ apico-alv.</td>
<td>pal.-alveol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Limbu</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c[t][s]</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops, -voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Athpare</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops, -voiced</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bantawa</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops, -voiced</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Camling</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops, -voiced</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thulung</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops, -voiced</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khaling</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops, -voiced</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 khai"ma / khap"ma / kha2ma "go"; Limbu kot?yo' (437) / ko?yo' (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. thikmenda? r-o-k
    thik phak l-o-k
    lɔt-ch-u
    lɔʔ-sî

Only one goat
only one pig
they (d) swallowed it
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. | khli | feces |
| Thul., Khal. | " | " |
| NW-Cam. | prapd- | scratch |
| Thul. | phrap- | " |
| Khal. | präm | " |
|   |   |   |
| SE-Cam., Bant. | khi | feces |
| Lim., Athp. | hi | " |
| SE-Cam. | papd- | scratch |
| Athp. | papt- | " |
| Bant. | phamt- | 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, e, ə [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 stems\(^2\), but on the basis of pairs like the following they have to be regarded as phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>soomu</th>
<th>pay</th>
<th>sõömu</th>
<th>be defeated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suumu</td>
<td>push through</td>
<td>sümü</td>
<td>itch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Vowel phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i / iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e / eː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə / əː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bantawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thulung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i / iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e / eː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khaling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

\(^2\) 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 ø has phonemic status in Limbu, Thulung, and marginally in Bantawa, where it is considered a 'borrowed phoneme' (N.K. Rai 1985:41).

| Lim. | en  | horse | ando: | later | en  | today |
| Thul. | lo  | go!   | la    | if    | le  | ancient ornament |
| Bant. | mōna | 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-nā | write | re-nā | build |
| Thul. | 'swañ | tiger | saw   | blacksmith |
|       | 'cūmd̪-ū | he caught it | cūmd̪-ū | he catches it |
|       | 'laa-na | you saw it | loa-a-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 ç [ts] as j[dz] (van Driem: dz), as is done for the other languages. To mark long or lengthened vowels I use i 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 a. The back unrounded vowel [u] is written ŋ in Rai (1985), ņ in the lexicon (Winter & Rai, ms.), i in Hansson (1991b) and in the texts by Winter & Rai (ms.); I use i.
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: i̯u, e̯o), which are only occasionally heard as diphthongs (Allen 1975:24), are written ë, ö here. I use aa etc. instead of Allen's ã 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 å. 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. Inspite of a great reluctance 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 ñ (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. \(-akl/-an\) → \(-\delta; -ik → yu\) in Camling). There are a few verbs with three stems, which I will ignore here. Some typical examples of two-stem verbs are:\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>I (before V)</th>
<th>II (before C/#)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hipt-</td>
<td>hip-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tharsps-</td>
<td>tham-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nis-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
<td>lems-</td>
<td>lem-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lis-</td>
<td>li-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mett-</td>
<td>met-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>dhatt-</td>
<td>dhat-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pen-</td>
<td>pey-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>pus-</td>
<td>pu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khat-</td>
<td>khai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tyok-</td>
<td>tō-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITR</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>Cry</th>
<th>TR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ha:b-</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>ha:pt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caks-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>get dressed</td>
<td>ha:ps-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khog-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>get hit (with stick)</td>
<td>cakt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khoks-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td></td>
<td>par-</td>
<td>shout</td>
<td>pays-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>patt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>is-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>itt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>em-</td>
<td>stand up</td>
<td>ems-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ban-</td>
<td>come</td>
<td>bays-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chor-</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>chott-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khik-</td>
<td>be bitter</td>
<td>khikt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ruk-</td>
<td>be angry</td>
<td>rukt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td></td>
<td>si</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>set-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seid-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(&lt;sett)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cause to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Causatives and applicatives/benefactives are sometimes formed from transitive verbs in the same way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TR</th>
<th>CAUS/APPLIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim. nis-</td>
<td>see ni:r-, niti- read, study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thag-</td>
<td>forge, weld thok-t- make so. work metal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-</td>
<td>shut (tr/tri) sup-t- shut off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam. hors-</td>
<td>throw hord- throw at so.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITR (stem I)</th>
<th>TR (stem I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim. ka:nd-</td>
<td>be wounded kha:nd- wound so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa:ks-</td>
<td>become undone pha:ks- undo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po:nd-</td>
<td>be abundant pho:nd- generate, produce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te:ks-</td>
<td>be torn the:ks- tear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul. bək-</td>
<td>stand up phək- raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blam-</td>
<td>be spoiled phlam- spoil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get-</td>
<td>come up khet- carry up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhar-</td>
<td>fall car- fell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-ŋ(a)</td>
<td>-ŋ(a)</td>
<td>-ŋ(a)</td>
<td>-uŋ(a)</td>
<td>-ŋi, -ŋu</td>
<td>-ŋa (S/P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1→2</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-ni (1s→2)</td>
<td>-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>2p(1→2)</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-(n)in</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pA/P</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>-(n)in</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pA/P</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-i(m)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2pA</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1nsi</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a- (P)</td>
<td>a- (P)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-i (S/A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ns</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa, -ya</td>
<td>-ka, -a</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ku (S/A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u, -yu</td>
<td>-ū (3s→3)</td>
<td>-ū (2/3s→3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3nsP</td>
<td>-/s1/</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ci, -i, -su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>3pA/S</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>im- (ns)</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INV/3A</td>
<td></td>
<td>m- (3→2)</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P(e)</td>
<td>narpmi-</td>
<td>yan-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kha-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 me-, 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 -nd);
- 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":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1pe→3s</th>
<th>3s→2s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s→3s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-nis-u</td>
<td>ke-nis-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-nis-u-e</td>
<td>m-a-nis-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-khan-u</td>
<td>ti-khan-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-tyok-u</td>
<td>ta-tyoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-see-3P(-PT)</td>
<td>2-see(-PT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'loaa-na</td>
<td>'loaa-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see-2</td>
<td>see-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1pe→3s</th>
<th>3s→1pe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s→2s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nis-u-m-be</td>
<td>nis-i-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we saw him</td>
<td>he saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see-1pP/S-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khany-u-m-ka</td>
<td>i-khan-in-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyok-u-m-ka</td>
<td>pa-tyok-im-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see-3P-1pA-e</td>
<td>INV-see-1P/S-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loaa-ki-mi</td>
<td>loaa-ki-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see-1nseA</td>
<td>see-1nseP-p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴ According to Toba (1989) Khaling 2→3 has no prefix, but cf. the following text forms: mang i-jä mang i-tüng-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 \textit{loaa-na} "you saw him; he saw you".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s→2s</th>
<th>2s→1s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
<td>ni-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
<td>ni-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>khan-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>tō-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>see-1→2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>loaa-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>see-1→2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The exclusive marker is always the last suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1pe→3ns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The dual agent and the 3rd person nonsingular patient marker -\textit{ci} (Limbu -\textit{si}; -\textit{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/is/are) copied after it. As identical markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3pS</th>
<th>3pA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
<td>mē-de:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
<td>u-ta-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>ëm-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>mi-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pS/A-come(-PT)</td>
<td>3pS/A-see-3P(-PT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^5\) In Limbu several plural forms have been collapsed; thus \textit{mē-} is used for both dual and plural 3rd agent.

\(^6\) The 1/2pA marker -\textit{m} and the 1/2pS/P markers -\textit{ln}, -\textit{lm} count as identical; -\textit{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.

\[1\text{di} \rightarrow 3\text{s}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{Lim.} & : \quad \text{a-hip-s-u} \quad \text{we (di) beat him} \\
\text{1i-beat-d-3P} & : \\
\text{Athp.} & : \quad \text{lem-c-u-e} \quad \text{we (di) beat him/them} \\
& : \quad \text{beat-d-3P-PT} \\
\text{Bant.} & : \quad \text{dhatt-a-c-u} \\
& : \quad \text{beat-PT-d-3P} \\
\text{Cam.} & : \quad \text{caidha-ci} \quad \text{beat-d} \\
\end{align*}

\[1\text{di} \rightarrow 3\text{s}\]

\[1\text{di} \rightarrow 3\text{ns}\]

\[1\text{pi} \rightarrow 3\text{ns}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{Lim.} & : \quad \text{a-hip-t-u-m-si-m} \quad \text{we (pi) beat them (d,p)} \\
& : \quad \text{1i-beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy} \\
\text{Athp.} & : \quad \text{lems-u-m-ci-m-e} \quad \text{beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy-PT} \\
\text{Bant.} & : \quad \text{dhatt-u-m-cim} (<-\text{ci} + \text{-um}) \\
& : \quad \text{beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP:copy} \\
\text{Cam.} & : \quad \text{caidh-u-m-c-um} \\
& : \quad \text{beat-3P-1/2pA-3nsP-copy} \\
\end{align*}

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. \(3 \rightarrow 1/2\) configurations mostly have vertical arrows, \(1/2 \rightarrow 3\) configurations horizontal ones (see esp. Kahling). The exceptions are the impersonal forms used for 1st patient configurations, which are constructed like intransitives (Athpare \(ya^\nu\), Limbu-Pânthare \(ya^\mu mi\), SE-Camling \(kha\)- forms; cf. below). It follows that number marking in configurations involving two nonsingular SAPs must be problematic. In \(1 \rightarrow 2\) configurations marking of 2nd person is usually preferred, but for \(2 \rightarrow 1\) 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:

\begin{align*}
\text{NW-Cam.} \\
2\text{p} & \rightarrow 1\text{de} \quad \text{ta-tyok-i} \quad \text{or: ta-tyoka-c-ka} \quad \text{you (p) saw us two} \\
& \quad \text{2-see-2p} \quad \text{2-see-d-e} \\
2\text{d} & \rightarrow 1\text{pe} \quad \text{ta-tyoka-ci} \quad \text{ta-tyok-im-ka} \quad \text{you (d) saw us (pe)} \\
& \quad \text{2-see-d} \quad \text{2-sec-1pS/P-e}
\end{align*}
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-caku, 1p → 2-tku. 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.

Cam. tyok-u he saw him pa-tyoka they saw him
Bant. khan-u i-khan-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 *BANTS5-8, 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 in-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

aʔwaʔa 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. ló-w-a-yakt-a-c-u  
etell-(w)-PT-V2:ITER-PT-d-3P/DIR  
they (d) kept telling him (BANT 2.9)
b. i-khaq-a  
INV-see-PT  
they (d) saw it (BANT 2.132)
c. i-thil-a-c-u  
INV-chase-PT-d-3P/DIR  
they (d) chased it (BANT 2.121)

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:-

(2) a. moko haŋ-chaʔa i-dhir-in bhône 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. mina-ciʔa i-mʔen-in bhône-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. papaʔa ... 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-wò 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 mři- (Gvozdanovic 1985:121); e.g.
3s→1s i-dhatt-a-ŋ  
he beat me  
3p→1s mři-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 -ụŋa 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-pīda (*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 inconsequntely - 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 (Phedāppe-Limbu). The restructuring of the system towards subject agreement can be seen in the following partial paradigms from two dialects of Camling. 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 (ni- and -i mark 3p and 2p S or P, but not A).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NW-Cam.</th>
<th>SE-Cam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3→1s pa-tyok-uŋa s/he,they see/s me</td>
<td>3s→1 kha-tyoka-Ø s/he sees me/us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→1di pa-tyoka-ci &quot; &quot; us</td>
<td>3d→1 kha-tyoka-ci they see me/us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→1de pa-tyoka-c-ka &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>3p→1 kha-mi-tyoka &quot; &quot; 1P-see + 3rd pers. number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→1pi pa-tyok-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→1pe pa-tyok-im-ka INV-see + 1st pers. marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2→1s ta-tyok-uŋa you see me | 2s→1 kha-ta-tyoka-Ø you see me/us |
| 2→1de ta-tyoka-c-ka you see us | 2d→1 kha-ta-tyoka-ci " " |
| 2→1pe ta-tyok-im-ka " 2-see- + 1st pers. marker | 2p→1 kha-ta-tyok-i " " 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-polIMPER (*Bal 6.8) "give me!"
- id-uŋ-na give-1s-polIMPER (*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 Phedâppe 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-te you will beat me or: 2→1 napmi ke-hip you will beat  
2-beat-1sP:NPT 1P 2-beat me/us  
2→1ns a-ge-hip you will beat us  
1nsP-2-beat

In the Pânthare dialect yapmi has been grammaticized to a considerable degree, entering the paradigm from the 1ns 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 lead to the introduction of new tense markers, as in Athpare. Cf. the PT and NPT paradigms in appendix A2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NPT after stem</th>
<th>after pers.</th>
<th>PT after stem</th>
<th>after pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim., Bant.</td>
<td>-a, -e</td>
<td></td>
<td>-a, -e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>-e /-yo</td>
<td></td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
<td>-yuk ll -t + copy</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul., Khal.</td>
<td>-ta ll -t+ copy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ll 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 (Phedâppe Limbu -e before -si > -tchi and Ø)\(^{10}\) following the stem (cf. appendix A2 for full paradigms).

\(^{10}\) The past marker a appears only before -η in Phedâppe Limbu (cf. table A3), and van Driem postulates a portmanteau suffix -ag for 1sP/S:PT. This is motivated by his attempt to associate suffix
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>NPT</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>hiŋ</td>
<td>he lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>nuŋ-ʔe</td>
<td>I return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s→1pi</td>
<td>a-ni</td>
<td>he sees us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d→3s</td>
<td>ni-s-u</td>
<td>they see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ns→1s</td>
<td>me-huʔ-ʔe</td>
<td>they beat me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s→3d</td>
<td>ti-dhat-c-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s→1s</td>
<td>i-dhat-ŋa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>PT/NPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s→2s</td>
<td>ni-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s→3s</td>
<td>nis-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→2p</td>
<td>ke-nis-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>khat-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s→3s</td>
<td>dhatt-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi→3s</td>
<td>dhatt-u-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPT</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s→3s</td>
<td>pid-u-t-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s→3ns</td>
<td>pid-u-ci-t-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d→3s</td>
<td>pi-c-u-t-cu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1→2s</th>
<th>pi-naʔa</th>
<th>I give you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(&lt; na-t-na)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s→1s</td>
<td>yan-pi-yuk</td>
<td>he gives me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Panthare 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPT</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s khat-e</td>
<td>he goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d khata-c-e</td>
<td>they go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s dha-e</td>
<td>he falls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi khat-i-(n) e</td>
<td>we go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s→2s i-n-e</td>
<td>I give you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (p)ak-yyo | he gives him | id-yu | he gave him |
| 3s→3s c-yo-yyo | 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPT</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s roa</td>
<td>he says</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s hun</td>
<td>he flies up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s→3 cüm-ü</td>
<td>he catches it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/-miḍi | they beat him |
| 3d→1s yal-qi-ci | they beat me | yal-qi-r-i-ci/-n̥iḍi-ci | they beat me |
| 3s→1pi yal-sa | he beat us | yal-sa-d̥-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 ləa-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 d̥r 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 -$qa$, /$t$/ follows and takes a copy vowel.

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

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) cäyuŋ raŋ-u-nā wahui khata-nā am-sa sapa-ni.
Cam. net take_in_hand-3P-SEQ river go-SEQ throw_net-SIM come_up-PART
demno cäyuŋ ap-yo tinno ito kuny-e-ko lūŋto how_often net throw-3P:NPT that_often one be_beautiful-NPT-NML stone
cäyuŋ-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 -ag, 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 -ag (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. me-jo-ro me-yark
Lim. 3pA/S-eat-SIM 3pA/S-be

b. tok?-in lakt-u-ro potch-e
  rice-DEF boil-3P-SIM be(hang)-PT

the rice was boiling

c. him cok-u-η-ag yark?e
  house make-3P-1sA-SEQ be-1sS:NPT

I am building a house (v.D. 161)

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 -uns/-ōs-.
Athp. lems-ũ-gett-u / lems-ũettu he is beating him
beat-3P-V2:PROG-3P

Bant. im-yan sleep-V2:CONT s/he is sleeping / always sleeps
sen-in-ya-n-ka we (pe) were asking / always asked
ask-1pP/S-V2:CONT-1pP/S-e
ṭi-chapt-a-ŋ-a-nin you (p) were writing / always wrote
2-write-PT-V2:CONT-PT-2p

Cam-NW de ta-ŋal-e-ŋas-e what are you doing / have you done?
what 2-do-NPT-V2:keep-NPT

Cam-SE de ta-ŋal-ũns-e what are you doing?
what 2-do-PROG-NPT

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-tong muŋa. I am carrying stones.
stone carry-SIM do-1s

Thul. jam pe-saŋa buŋu. I am eating rice.
rice eat-SIM be-1sS

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

Thul. kam bi-yĩ-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-ludaŋasa-ci they kept telling him
INV-tell-V2:keep-d

Thul. pe-ŋi-m ba-ŋi go on eating! (Allen 85)
eat-2p-NML be-2P
The Bantawa construction with *yan*- "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 -əs- 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ongoing at reference point</th>
<th>temporary states</th>
<th>habitual</th>
<th>generic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>yan-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
<td>gett-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE-Cam.</td>
<td>-əs-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW-Cam.</td>
<td>ənas-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Ambulative

Van Driem lists a third progressive construction for Limbu, the 'spacially defocused continuous'. It is constructed with the simultaneous subordinator -lə and the auxiliary *war*. 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 *War*, translated as "be" by van Driem, is a common Tibeto-Burman motion verb root. Cf. Belhäre *wa- "walk"*; also Newari *wo-ya "came", 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-ziile nim-ha? co-si-ro wa:.
Lim. pig-ERG termite-p eat:3P-3nsP-SIM be
The pig is (wandering around) eating termites. (v.D.159)

b. takon-te-ro wa:-te.
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':

(7) mund-e-ro way-e-i mem-mun-te way-e-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-. 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. ghäs heg-u-ŋ-pid-u-ŋ-gett-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ-na-?m
Athp. grass cut-3P-1s-V2:BEN-3P-1s-V2:PROG-3P-1s-3nsP-1s-NML-EMPH

yamba-lamma sipaqi yapmi soariqba 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 soariqba 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 kond- "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 takond- "wander about, stroll", which corresponds to Camling yö-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 h<sub>ød</sub>- 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-h<sub>ød</sub>-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 found<sup>17</sup>, but this may be due to the scarcity of the material analysed.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. however the Dumi compound verb construction with V2 līd-/līts- (van Driem's 'frolicsome aspectivizer'): ham-tsum-līg-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 waʔ (existential "be") and it has the 3rd person singular form.

Lim. ty-aŋ-aŋ waʔ-ʔe I have gone
come-PT-1s-SEQ be-1sP/S:NPT

cog-e-aŋ way-e 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-aŋ-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. sop-a 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-d-û-m bu
Thul.  pot this (name)-ERG 3POSS-magical_power-INST fabricate-PT-3s→3-NML be
ko-le sôlewap bom wo yub-d-û-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-ciʔa ikta kuna-da es-a-da-ci ikta kuna-da
Bant. 3sPOSS-e.sister-d-ERG one comer-LOC shit-PT-V2:RELIN:PT-d one corner-LOC
cheys-a-da-ci ikta kuna-da thukt-a-da-c-u ikta
urinate-PT-V2:RELIN:PT-d one corner-LOC spit-PT-V2:RELIN:PT-d-3P one
kuna-da nabu chint-a-da-c-u-wо 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. mò yaŋ-mi-ka pe-mği-m uni-ser dĩ-û-r-û-ma u-sidimo
Thul. that other-p-ERG eat-3p:PT-NML 3pPOSS pick_up-3P-PT-3P-SEQ 3sPOSS-bag
goо-nu phik-t-û-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 yaʔan bhone
Bant. 3sPOSS-eye-ns 3sPOSS-mouth-ns open-PT-NML be if
i-khop-pi; i-laŋ-chuk-ci kunɔt-a-wɔ yaʔaŋ bhɔne
INV-close-V2:BEN 3sPOSS-leg-arm-nɔs 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 bɔn-thoak-ma bayra there was a dog tied up (*TH5.16)
dog tie-V2:COMPL-PP was

Khal. mûn-pa go-tä it was prepared (KH2.27)
make-PCPL be-PT

cāŋrû-po u-mer hag-pa ɡu.
bird sp.-GEN 3sPOSS-tail be_forked-PCPL be
The cûlpû 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 convers in 2.3.2; for negative imperative cf. 2.2.5.1).
### Table 6: Negation markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbal:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPT</td>
<td>/men-/ /-nen/</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>/-min/</td>
<td>pa- /-mna/</td>
<td>me- /mi.(^{18})</td>
<td>/mu-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>-n-gett -n</td>
<td>man- d-</td>
<td>pa- /-N/</td>
<td>me- (+IRR)</td>
<td>/mu-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+IRR)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nominal:</td>
<td>men-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>man-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>/mu-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Limbu**

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

1pe/itr  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1pe/itr</th>
<th>hīn-i-ge</th>
<th>we(pe) live</th>
<th><strong>NEG</strong></th>
<th>me-hīn-i-ge-n</th>
<th>NEG-live-1pS-e-NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>live-1pS-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2s→3s   

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2s→3s</th>
<th>ke-hūr-u</th>
<th>you taught him</th>
<th>ke-n-hūr-u-n</th>
<th>2-NEG-teach-3P-NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-teach-3P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ns→2s   

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ns→2s</th>
<th>ke-m-hūr-e</th>
<th>they taught you</th>
<th>ke-me-n-hūr-e-n</th>
<th>2-3nsA-NEG-teach-PT-NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3nsA-teach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An infix -n- is optional before the 3rd nonsingular patient marker -si except in 1s→3ns, where it is obligatory.\(^{19}\)

2s→3ns   

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2s→3ns</th>
<th>ke-hūr-u-si</th>
<th>you teach them</th>
<th>ke-n-hūr-u-(n-)si-n</th>
<th>2-NEG-teach-3P-(NEG-)3nsP-NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-teach-3P-3nsP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1s→3ns   

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s→3ns</th>
<th>hūr-u-ŋ-si-ŋ</th>
<th>I teach them</th>
<th>me-hū?-ʔe-n-chi-n</th>
<th>NEG-teach-1sS-NEG-3nsP-copy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teach-3P-1sS-3nsP-copy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) 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. *me-hīn-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 men- 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   hu?-m?na   we (pe) taught him   NEG   men-hu?-m?na
          teach-1peA   (= he is taught)   NEG-teach-1peA

cf.     ca-m?na-ba20  eatable, thing to eat   men- ca-m?na-ba  uneatable
        eat-PP-NML    NEG-eat-PP-NML

1s→3s   hu?-r-u-ŋ   I taught him   men-hu?-baŋ
        teach-3P-1s   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   | a-nis-u-t-u   | you will see him |
|         | 2-see-3P-NPT-3P | a-nis-u-n-na |
| 3s→2s   | ma-ni-yuk   | he will see you |
|         | 3→2-see-NPT | ma-ni-ni-na |

**PT**

| 1s   | khad-a-ŋ-e   | I went   |
|      | go-PT-1s-PT | khat-ni-ŋ-get-ni-ŋ-na |

**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 ti-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.
Camling

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

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

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
PT & 1s & khat-uŋa & I went & pa-khai-n-uŋa \\
& & go-1s & & NEG-go-NEG-1s \\
2s→3s & ta-tyok-u & you saw it & ta-tyok-ainə & 2-see-NEG \\
& 2-see-3P & & & \\
3s→3s & tyok-u & he saw it & pa-tyok-ainə & NEG-see-NEG \\
& see-3P & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

CA mi-ta they came NEG: pa-t-un-c-ai they did not come
3pS-come NEG-come-NEG-ns-NEG
pa-dhitə they found it pa-dhitə-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)
i-3P-tease-NEG:1s
i-sin-niŋ I do not know her (BANT2.42)
i-3P-know-NEG:1s
3p→3s  pa-tyoka  they saw it  pa-tyok-aina  INV-see-NEG
1s→3s  c-äi  I'll eat it  pa-ca-n-äi  NEG-eat-NEG-1sNPT
      eat-1sNPT  =pa-ca-nô  NEG-eat-NEG:1sNPT
2p→3s  ta-ca-m-e  you (p) will eat it  ta-ca-m-n-e  2-eat-1/2pA-NPT
      2-eat-1/2pA-NPT  =ta-ca-m-mi  2-eat-1/2pA-NEG

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

Thulung and Khaling have prefix negation only.

Thul.  NPT  NEG
1s→3s  cäk-pu  I know  me-cäk-pu  know-1s→3
    know-1s→3  NEG-know-1s→3
2s→3s  thoo-na  you listen  me-thoo-na  listen-2s
      listen-2s  NEG-listen-2s
Khal.  NPT  NEG
1s→3  cäkt-u  I know  mu-cäkt-u  know-1s→3
    know-1s→3  NEG-know-1s→3
3s→3  m-u  he does  mä-m-u  do-3s→3
    do-3s→3  NEG-do-3s→3
3s  nü  it is good  mû-nü  be_good
    be_good  NEG-be_good

Past negated forms have the irrealis marker /-wal/ instead of the PT-marker. In Thulung /-wal/ 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
3s→3s loaas-t-ü she found it
find-PT-3s→3 NEG me-loaas-ti-ya
NEG-see-3s→3-IRR (TH2.9)

3s→3s theq-q-ü he knew
know-PT-3s→3 me-theq-ba
NEG-know-IRR (TH2.70)
=me-ther-ü-ya "
NEG-know-3s→3-IRR (Allen 55)

2s laə-na you went
go-2s me-laə-na-wa
NEG-go-2s-IRR

3s bay-ra was
be-PT mi-baya-wa
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 verb with a suffix -thìŋa used only in the negative perfect.

Lim. men-ni-ʔet ke-wa-i?
NEG-see-CONV 2-be-Q
Have you not seen it?

meg-ghar-ʔet wayɛ
NEG-satiate-CONV was
He was not satiated.

Thul. mi-pe-thìŋa bu-ŋa
NEG-eat-CONV be-1s
I have not eaten. (Allen 88)

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

²³ The Khaling negative past forms seem to be intransitive. The positive form corresponding to mu-wöc-i-wi-yi has the ending -i-d-su. The dual marker -yi is copied after-wä (which assimilated to -wi).
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-hin-e? Have you seen it?
Cam. NEG-see 2-be-NPT

Khal. u-hāri mā-piŋ go-tā 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-thīga buqa 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-ciya-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 Kočava (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!", 2. "he carried it".

The Limbu imperative is marked by -e?, the dual imperative carries the dual marker (attached to a past form in the positive!). For the plural -anm- 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-e?    bring it!  mem-bhe3l-e?  don't bring it!
2d  phett-e-ch-e?  mem-bhet-ch-e?
2p  phett-anm-e?  mem-bhet-anm-e?

2s→1s pir-aŋ-e?  give it to me!  mem-bir-aŋ-e?  don't give it to me!

The imperative in -e? is according to van Driem (1987:192) used when the person has already started doing something: men-ye:3l-e? "don't laugh! stop laughing!"; otherwise the suffix is -o: men-ye:3l-o: "don't dare to laugh".

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

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

or:  na:pmi pîr-e?
    "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-aŋ    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!  polite  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  chaptyu  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  loks-a  go!  me-loks-a  don't go!
2p  loks-a-mi

2s-3s  goak-a  give it to her (*TH5.30)
2s-1s  goak-qi  give me!
2d-1s  goak-qi-ci  "
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-uña  NEG:  mi-lham-d-uj / mi-lham-n-uj "don't catch me!"
Hortative

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

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

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

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

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-men
1pi nisum let's not see it!
nisum-men

Athp.
1di yug-aci let's sit down!
yug-nen-ci-na let's not sit down!
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.  patt-u-ro  may he speak!  me-batt-u-n-lo  may he not speak!
speak-3P-OPT  NEG-speak-3P-NEG-OPT
a-dum-lo  may we meet
1i-meet-OPT

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

Cam.  caidh-i-nyo  let him beat him  pa-caidh-i-nyo  let him not beat him
beat-3P-OPT

Thul.  yal-nil  "  mi-yal-nil26  
beat-OPT

(18)  tyudaka tyuko wasep-kuya dudh id-yi-cyi-nyo-na pa-diq-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  may you go (BANT2.36) (cf. khar-e please go!)
go-IMPER-OPT

khat-ci-ne  let's go! (BANT 2.34)
go-d-OPT

khaq-mett-a-q-ne  please show me! (BANT 2.43)
see-CAUS-IMPER-1s-OPT

26 Cf. yal-si mi-nil 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, ixmap-lo doli-dagka-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-e-tie go: ke-jø-men-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
    1pl-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. ke-beg-e-go:ni:-ba.
    2-go:PT-IRR-NML
    If only you had gone! (v.D. 140)

b. yak kott-u-g-gani iq-u-g-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 \(-si\), 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lim.} & \quad \text{warum-si}g-a\text{g} & \quad \text{I washed myself} \\
& \quad \text{wash-REFL-1s:PT} \\
& \quad \text{ms-bi-si}g-e & \quad \text{they (p) gave to each other} \\
& \quad 3\text{pA-give-REFL-PT} \\
& \quad \text{warum-ne-tchi} & \quad \text{they (d) washed themselves / each other} \\
& \quad \text{wash-REFL-d}
\end{align*}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bant.} & \quad \text{NPT} & \quad \text{PT} \\
& \quad \text{nop-na-\text{-}ci-\text{\text{-}g}} & \quad \text{nopt-a-\text{-}ci-\text{\text{-}g}} & \quad \text{I touch / touched myself} \\
& \quad \text{touch-REFL-1s-REFL-1s} & \quad \text{touch-PT-1s-REFL-1s} \\
& \quad \text{ti-nop-nancin} & \quad \text{ti-nopt-a-nacin} & \quad \text{you touch / touched yourself} \\
& \quad 2\text{-touch-REFL} & \quad 2\text{-touch-PT-REFL} \\
& \quad \text{nop-nancin} & \quad \text{nopt-a-nacin} & \quad \text{he touches/ touched himself} \\
& \quad \text{touch-REFL} & \quad \text{touch-PT-REFL}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(-\text{\text{-}ic}\), the plural forms have \(-umc\). In the SE Camling dialects the reflexive marker is \(-\text{\text{-}ic}/-\text{\text{-}it}\) for all persons.\(^{27}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cam.} & \quad \text{NW-dialect} & \quad \text{SE-dialect} \\
& \quad \text{hupd-\text{-}\text{-}c-\text{-}upa} & \quad \text{hupd-\text{-}\text{-}ic-\text{-}upa} & \quad \text{I washed myself} \\
& \quad \text{wash-1s-REFL-1s} & \quad \text{wash-REFL-1s}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{27}\) It was not possible to elicit a consistent paradigm in any of the dialects.
Cam.  NW-dialect  SE-dialect
  dhas-āic-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-āica-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-sīt-ni  pretend\(^{28}\) to be eating! (*TH4.17)
  eat-AP  lie-2p-REFL-2p

(23)  mūcū kho-m-sī-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-sī-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-sī-nā  wash os.  sar-tā-sī  he washed himself
  wash-REFL-INF  wash-PT-REFL
  sar-tā-nu  they washed themselves
  wash-PT-3p

nām-sī-nā  dive  nām-tā-sī  he dived (*KH5.16)
  dive-REFL-INF  dive-PT-REFL

\(^{28}\) Reflexive forms can be lexicalized, and Allen list lit-sit- "pretend" in his glossary. Sometimes the first part alone can be assigned no meaning, e.g. hill-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 Vi.

**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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant. Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhat-pa mi-c-a</td>
<td>we two (de) beat each other (NPT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat-AP do-d-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhat-pa ti-mi-a-nin</td>
<td>you (p) beat each other (PT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat-AP 2-do-PT-2p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ti-dhat-pa-mi-a-nin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-beat-AP-do-PT-2p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Athp.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Athp. Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lem-ga-lém ca-ci-t-ci-qa</td>
<td>we two (de) beat each other (NPT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat-AP-beat perform-d-NPT-copy-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lem-ga-lém a-ca-yi</td>
<td>you (p) beat each other (PT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat-AP-beat 2-perform(:PT)-2p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3. Nonfinite verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INFIN</td>
<td>-maʔ</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>-nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>-(si)-ŋa</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-tə</td>
<td>-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONV:SIM</td>
<td>[-ni]</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.CONV</td>
<td>men- ?e</td>
<td>mi- ?e</td>
<td>man- -paŋ [mi- -Ø]</td>
<td>me- -sa</td>
<td>ma- -sa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP/N.AG</td>
<td>(ke-)-pa/-ma</td>
<td>ka- (-ba)</td>
<td>ka-, -kaba</td>
<td>SE: ka-</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-pā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| NW: -pa
cy    |      |       |       |      |       |       |
| PP/N.PAT       | -mʔna(-ba) | -balak* | -kha* | -kha* | -ma  | -pā   |

♥ 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    
3sPOSS-sleep-INF-LOC  
in his sleep

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

- to express "shall" in questions:

Lim. pat-maʔ-iʔ? mem-bat-maʔ-iʔ?  
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-maʔ?      
what say-INF(-NML)
Cam. de mu-ma? What to do?
Thul. he bo-mu? what do-INF

Khal. rem-nā o? Shall I stand? (Toba 1984:26)
stand-INF Q

- as complement of modal and attitudinal verbs (cf. 6.1.1). Here Thulung and Khaling distinguish two infinitival forms; -mu, -nā are generally applicable, -si is used only for nonpast situations.

Cam. ca-ma tir-e you must eat; one has to eat
eat-INF become-NPT

Khal. jō-si / jō-nā mō-nū it is not good to eat (Toba 1984:26)
eat-INF:NPT eat-INF NEG-be good

The purposive occurs as a complement of motion verbs. It is characterized by the suffix -si/-se in the SE Kiranti languages. In Khaling and Thulung (where -si has become an irrealsis infinitive) the purposive markers are locative case suffixes. See 6.1.1. for further examples.

Lim. tok ca-se phel-r-e? Come to eat! (v.D. 214)
Cam. rō ca-si bana!
rice eat-PURP come(-IMPER)

Thul. dhol phel-la lo-māi. They went to cut (a tree for) a drum.
drum cut-PURP go-3pPT

The suffix -sa marks a simultaneous verb. In Thulung and Khaling it has been largely replaced by -to. The simultaneous verb occurs mainly, though not exclusively, as an adjunct to motion verbs, expressing an accompanying action. (cf. 6.1.2. for further examples). Only the Pānthere dialect of Limbu has a verb in -ni, which seems to have a restricted use.29

29 Weidert & Subba state that the 'conjunctive particle' -ni appears "in all compositional structures denoting permanency of actions and states" (1985: 94). The examples given are all periphrastic progressives, e.g.

angāf ni't-ni-yeb-a-ŋ. I was reading (in a standing position).

I read-CONV-stand-PT-1s

Hayu has a simultaneous verb of the form stem+ni+stem, e.g. to?-ni-tot to?-ni-tot "chasing".
Athp. soariqba lo-sa ab-e he came whistling
   whistle say-SIM come-PT
Cam. lam-sa khata he went searching
   search-SIM go
Thul. pet-to leq-pu I am busy eating
   eat-SIM be_busy-1sNPT

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

Lim. men-ni-te: without seeing, without having seen
   mel-te-te: without knowing; without having learned
Athp. mi-ni-te: without seeing, without having seen
Bant. man-cep-pag 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-hu?-ba teacher
   AP-teach-AP
Bant. cin-kaba teacher
   teach-AP

30 Cf. kha- in the Camling impersonal forms (2.2.1.1).
kha-en-kaba
kha-man-en-kaba
sth.-NEG-hear-AP

Bant./Cam. ka-dip
AP-beat
NW-Cam. dip-pa

lam khō-mai-pa
road see-make-AP

Khal. mu-kho-pā
NEG-know-PCPL

Thul. cek-pa
know-AP

Lim. sammyaŋ ke-wa$p-ma-ha?
gold AP-wear-AP:f-p

Bant. cha ka-ca-ma
child AP-eat-AP:f

- as attribute:

Lim. cuk-pa pi$l
cuk-ma pitma
torn clothes (< itr. de$q-ba te$q
AP-tear-AP clothes

Bant. si-kaba mina
die-AP person

Thul. ser-pa mū$tā
be_numerous-AP man

Khal. cărey mā-si-pā soroli
graze do-REFL-PCPL camel

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\(^{31}\)
    eat-PP-NML

Khal. kham-pä
    work-PCPL

Thul. hamsūma roaa-ma-la
    what’s_it tell-PP-hiLOC

  up there at what’s-it-called (Allen 60)

- as attribute:

Lim. khog-gna-ba sa
    dry-PP-NML meat

  warag-gna-ba te?l
    wet-PP-NML clothes

Athp. kho-balak cece
    fry-PP meat

Thul. kho-r-ma maaakai
    parch-PP maize

  parched maize (Allen 59)

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

Lim. men-dhug-gna-ba
    NEG-drink-PCPL-NML

  yum men-ʔak-gna-ba
    salt NEG-add-PCPL-NML

  unsalted (to which salt has not been added)

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 -m?na / -mna and (assimilated to a preceding velar) -y?na / -yna. 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 forms\textsuperscript{32}, cf.

\begin{verbatim}
Lim.  me-may-e  me-gher-e   they got lost
       3pS-get_lost-PT 3pS-V2:go-PT

Cam.  mi-ma-khata  "
       3pS-get_lost-V2:go
\end{verbatim}

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.

\begin{verbatim}
Thul.  be-m-sa-m-d\textsuperscript{-j}i  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-\textsuperscript{-i}-tha\textsuperscript{-i}q-d\textsuperscript{-ji}  he distracted them (*TH4.19)
       direct-3s-\rightarrow3-V2:TEL-PT-3s-\rightarrow3
\end{verbatim}

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 ateleic 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.

\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{verbatim}
noks-an  pir-an-e?  Give me a shave!
shave-1sP V2:give-1sP-IMPER
\end{verbatim}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>as full V</th>
<th>as V2</th>
<th>Limbu</th>
<th>Athpare</th>
<th>Bantawa</th>
<th>Camling</th>
<th>Thulung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. go</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL+DIR</td>
<td>khet-</td>
<td>-har</td>
<td>khat-</td>
<td>khat-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. send</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL+DIR</td>
<td>phench-</td>
<td></td>
<td>khais-</td>
<td>khaid-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. spend</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL</td>
<td>tes-</td>
<td>tes-</td>
<td>ban,-ta-</td>
<td>khatt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. come</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL,DIR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. take</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL, self-BEN</td>
<td>lett-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (remove??)</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. put</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL, COMPL</td>
<td>yuks,-poch-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. -</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL, RELIN</td>
<td>tha-</td>
<td>tha-</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>da-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. (make) fall</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL, down</td>
<td>that(s)-</td>
<td>dhi(s)-</td>
<td>dha(s)-</td>
<td>la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ø/ reach</td>
<td></td>
<td>TEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. come / take out</td>
<td></td>
<td>INCH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. finish</td>
<td></td>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>cur-</td>
<td></td>
<td>lont-, lott-</td>
<td>cint-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. die, kill</td>
<td></td>
<td>die, kill</td>
<td>si-/ser-</td>
<td>si-/set-</td>
<td>si-/set-</td>
<td>pi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. give</td>
<td></td>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>pir-</td>
<td></td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. sit</td>
<td></td>
<td>DUR, PROG</td>
<td>yuñ-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#yag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. lie</td>
<td></td>
<td>CONTV</td>
<td>neis-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. (walk)</td>
<td></td>
<td>MOT</td>
<td>wat-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#gond-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. stay, keep</td>
<td></td>
<td>PROG, PERF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yakt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. perform// eat</td>
<td></td>
<td>CONTV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. want</td>
<td></td>
<td>be about to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 (< khaqe/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. in ghe2l 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 here.34

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

Thu. 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. pi'li natt-u-g de:s-u-g
cow drive_off-3P-1s V2:TEL-3P-1s
   I drove the cow away

Athp. hitna goru rikt-u-g-des-u-ge
   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 Khocilpa myth after "throw" as V1, meaning "throw at some goal":

Bant. wett-u-chokt-u
   throw-3P-V2:GOAL-3P
   threw it at him (BANT2.62)

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-thaq-d-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-g-lett-u-g-e I forgot
       forget-3P-1s-V2:TEL-3P-1s-PT
   Cam. muid-ug-kas-uqa "
       forget-1s-V2:TEL-1s
   Thul. pü-leaq-d-ü he ate it up
       eat:3P-V2:TEL-PT-3P
   Thul. si-leaq-dä 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 jōl- also fulfills the function of a relinquentive aspectivizer (cf. no.8).

Cam. cyo-pak-u
    eat:3P-V2:TEL-3P
he ate it up

Thul. chim-jūl-ma bayra
    sweep-V2:TEL-PP was
par-jōl-1-ū
    leave-V2:TEL-PT-3s-s
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 'relinquentive' aspectivizer).

Lim. yuks-u dха
    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-g dха:s-u-g
    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-mpha-mu arrive
come-INF-V2:reach-INF

ret-phaq-d-ũ 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. hukt-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)

butu-lott-u-ci he started calling them (BANT 2.55)
call-3P-V2:INCH-3P-3nsP

Cam. khrupsa-londa he woke up
wake_up-V2:come out

(not: started to get up)

citi-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 tötschlagen (dead-beat), tot-schiessen (dead-shoot), with loi- in the position of telicizing prefixes.
Cam. ap-u-set-yu shoot-3P-V2.kill-3P
shot him to death

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

Lim. khus-t-a-q pix-a-q rob-1s V2:BEN-1s
he robbed me

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

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

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

Lim. that radio-DEF very:EMPH shout-PT V2:CONTV-PT
The radio kept on screaming. (v.D.132)

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-yag-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-.
b. ančet-ba mana-ha? sikar-rok me-jog-u me-jet.
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
mīl 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 ne?l he is about to die (v.D. 125)
die V2:IMM

se?r-an nett-an. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Athp.</th>
<th>co-lelt-ue</th>
<th>eat up</th>
<th>no.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>co-khatt-u</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>no.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>cyo-pak-u</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>no.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>pū-leaq-d-ti</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>no.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>sya-khata</td>
<td>he died</td>
<td>no.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>si-leaq-qa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>no.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Khlyama split up; in (27) the two sisters kill the flea sent by their brother).

(26) hud-da-ma ḻes-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-nub-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) me-yups-e-yaq me-de: they came crowding (v.D. 342)
    Lim. 3pS-crowd-PT-SEQ 3pS-come:PT

    ug-u-waq ser-u he scratched him to death (v.D. 342)
    claw-3P-SEQ kill-3P

    ha2r-u-waq se2r-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.

    Lim. then road-LOC-unti 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. ruqš- be about
puis- start
Thul. khap- be about

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>pa:p-m? he:kt-u-ŋ</th>
<th>I started to talk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>talk-INF start-3P-1s</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Athp.</th>
<th>leg-ma hid-u-es-u-e</th>
<th>she has finished cleaning</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clean-INF finish-3P-V2:PERF-3P-PT</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant.</th>
<th>dhit-ma hakt-u-ŋ-u</th>
<th>she was about to reach him (BANT 2.90)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reach-INF be_about-3P-V2:CONT-3P</td>
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</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cam.</th>
<th>si-ma ruqša</th>
<th>he was about to die</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>die-INF be_about</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cam.</th>
<th>prai-ma puis-yu</th>
<th>he began to shout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shout-INF begin-3P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few auxiliaries follow the stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant.</th>
<th>lapt- try</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>hod- ambulative (see 2.2.3.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>ther- habitual, iterative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khâ- finish; compleetive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 cox- "do, make", which follows the fully inflected main verb with the suffix -Io, or by infinitive + pags- "send". Van Driem (1987: 268) regards the I-o-form as optative (cf. 2.2.5.2), but I think it is the homonymous simultaneous /manner subordinator.38

Lim. cib-s-r o cox-u-i I made him keep quiet.
      keep_quiet-PT-SIM  make-3P-1s
      pim-ma  pags-u-i. I made him jump. (v.D. 270)
      jump-INF  send-3P-1sA

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. khag met-t-u he showed it
Cam. kho make-3P

Khal. uq-a in sey-ma-q a I show you
      I-ERG you see-make-1s

      acha 'kwab-mu-t-a I covered the baby
      child be_covered-make-PT-1s

Thul. je-m ber-i let's make him perform (*TH4.10)
      perform-INF  make-1pi

      go ora-m goo-si beq-pu. I will make him arise (*TH4.21)
      I here-NML rise-INF:NPT  make-1s→3

38 Camling and Athpare have a similar, though extremely rare, construction, which seems restricted to non-agentive verbs. Cf.
Cam. beli ... phuidh-e-lo  mu "he made the oil boil" (Ha 2.54)
      beli ... lodh-e-lo  mu " " (Jh 2.49)
      oil  boil-NPT-MAN  make:3P

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

Lim. cama2pong \( \rightarrow \) one has to eat; I/you/he ... must eat
Athp. cama lise "
Bant. cama li "
Cam. cama tire "
Thul. pemu basi "
Khal. jōnā mātū "

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. tona ca-ma li-ni-na \( \rightarrow \) that eat-INF become-NEG-NML
Bant. moko ca-ma li-nin " "
    that eat-INF become-NEG
Cam. tyuko ca-ma is-e " "
    that eat-INF be_bad-NPT
Thul. mōram pe-mu mi-nū " "
Khal. mām jō-nā mō-nū " "
    that eat-INF NEG-be_good

2.4.6. Loans form 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, -əi, -ey in the various sources) and add the verb for "do, make" or "become"; e.g.

Bant. bən-əy mima \( \rightarrow \) make, prepare
    ped-əy i-mi \( \rightarrow \) they read, study (*BANT7.1)
    chutt-əy mima \( \rightarrow \) separate (*BANT8.4)
    coh-kəy mima \( \rightarrow \) bless (*BANT8.14)

39 That this is a compound verb becomes evident with nasal suffixes, e.g. he ba-m-si-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 mānu  they add (*KH 12.27)
      bāc-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-mdj  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)
      ḍhaakürü  /dhaake-t-ü/  he won (*TH5.3)
      bobop khibrü  /khij-e-t-ü/  she mocked the owl (TH2.7)
      bhule-düs-ta  became distracted (*TH5.18)
      chülg 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>a-bulma la-e</td>
<td>I am angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>ic-bulma la-e</td>
<td>we are angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>i-bulma la-e</td>
<td>we are angry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{40}\) In e-stems the stem vowel changes to marshal, see the note to be-mdʒ they did, būrū they did it, he said; pei-mdʒ they ate, pūrū they 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-gaima 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-ε they became angry (v.D. 455)
- 3nsPOSS-anger AUX-PT
- a-niŋ leʔr-ε I am fed up (v.D. 455)
- 1sPOSS-mind AUX-PT

**Thul.**
- a-njim 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 dhan-ŋi? Do you like it?
- 2sPOSS-pleasure come_up-Q
- a-lem yus-ε I don't have the spunk (v.D. 549)
- 1sPOSS-kidney come_down-PT
ku-ye:p-myäŋ 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.  in-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  bök-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>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>arga</td>
<td>aña</td>
<td>ḫaŋkə</td>
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<td>go</td>
<td>uŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>1de</td>
<td>anchige</td>
<td>anciŋa</td>
<td>ḫaŋkəca</td>
<td>kća</td>
<td>gću-ku</td>
<td>ocu</td>
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<td>anige</td>
<td>anįna</td>
<td>ḫaŋkanka(cli)</td>
<td>kaika</td>
<td>gku</td>
<td>ok</td>
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<td>anči</td>
<td>anći</td>
<td>ḫaŋći</td>
<td>kći</td>
<td>gući</td>
<td>ąci</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>anį</td>
<td>anį</td>
<td>ḫaŋkani(cli)</td>
<td>kći(m)</td>
<td>guy</td>
<td>ik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2s | khene? | khana | khana | khana | gana | in |
| 2d | khenči | khani | khani | khaici | gaci | ęci |
| 2p | kheni | khani | khani | khani | gani | ęn |

| 3s | khune? | un | kho(ko) | khu | gu | ąm |
| 3d | khunči | unci | khoci | khuci | gući | ąmsu |
| 3p | " | " | " | " | gumi | ąnhám |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>demonstratives</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>o(ko)</th>
<th>oko, uko</th>
<th>o¹</th>
<th>tā(m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>koŋha?</td>
<td>nagaci</td>
<td>okoci</td>
<td>okoci</td>
<td>ćorcip</td>
<td>tāsu</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>naga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>ćormii</td>
<td>tāhām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| that | khẹŋ | hitma | mo(ko), mosa | tyuk(o)pa | mō | mā(m) |
| d | kheŋha? | hitmagaci | moci | tyukoci | möci, mōrcip | māsu |
| p | " | hitmaga | " | " | mōmi, mōrmim | māhām |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>possessive prefixes</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1de</th>
<th>1pe</th>
<th>1di</th>
<th>1pi</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3s</th>
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<td>a-</td>
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<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Also oram < o-ŋa-m this-LOC-NML "the one here" and mōram "the one there. Thulung has a whole range of terms for "here", "there", e.g. a-si-n-ŋa this-place-(n)-LOC "here", mōsinęs "there".
Tibeto-Burman scholars will recognize the TB roots *ŋa for 1st sg. and *nə for 2nd
person as well as 1st pl. (n)i 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 "that; s/he" mo-sa-wo, mo-so-wo "his/her"
    ik-ta "someone" ik-ta-saʔa one-CL-PRONML-ERG

Thul. he "what" he-sa-ka, he-ka "why"
    hom "what" hom-sa-ka "from what"

Cam. tyuko "that, s/he" tyu-ko-pa-wa (*tyuko-wa) "s/he" (ERG)
    so "who" so-pa-wa (*so-wa) "who" (ERG)
        who-NML-ERG
        so-pa-mo / so-mo "whose"
        who-NML-GEN

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 my friend
    ke-m-boŋaʔ your uncle

Athp. a-n-jha, a-i-jha my younger sibling
    u-m-cha, u-i-cha 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)

Bantawa\(^2\) 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 / 1-NML house

**Khal.** i-bermā-hām / inpo ibermāhām 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 kappoiba cock.
  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 \textit{khosowo} and \textit{khocewo} as 3s and 3ns possessive pronouns respectively, but does not mention the much more frequent forms \textit{i-} (3s) and \textit{moci-wo} (3ns).
This suggests that the Limbu possessive prefixes represent persons without respect to number: a- (1e), i- (1i), ke- (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. aja "my", amka "our (pe)". Bant. anmo "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; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Athp.</th>
<th>khan-na-na</th>
<th>you-OBL-NML</th>
<th>your (s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ani-ya(-ga)</td>
<td>we-OBL-NML:p</td>
<td>our (pi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>khana-wo</td>
<td>you-GEN</td>
<td>your (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>i-mo</td>
<td>liPOSS-GEN</td>
<td>our (pi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khu-mo</td>
<td>s/be-GEN</td>
<td>his, her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>a-po</td>
<td>1sPOSS-GEN</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>a-ma</td>
<td>1sPOSS-NML</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>d</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
<td>-si/-chi</td>
<td>-ha?⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-mim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>-§i</td>
<td>-häm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athp.,Bant.,Cam.</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. thaal-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 -cô 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 subordinator -ma.

⁴ Note that in Limbu demonstratives -ha? indicates also dual (cf. table 12).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>pitli</th>
<th>pitma</th>
<th>bull; cow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cam.</td>
<td>kok-ma</td>
<td>kok-pa</td>
<td>grandmother; grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wa-ma</td>
<td>wa-pa</td>
<td>hen; rooster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raichaku-pa</td>
<td>raichaku-ma</td>
<td>orphan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>soala-ma</td>
<td>soala-cō</td>
<td>young girl; young boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prōo-me</td>
<td>prōo-cū</td>
<td>Kiranti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bat-me</td>
<td>bac-cō</td>
<td>daughter-in-law; son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naa-mi</td>
<td>na-w</td>
<td>old woman; old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>hel-me</td>
<td>hel-pō</td>
<td>mother-in-law; father-in-law of own child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sala-me</td>
<td>sala-cō</td>
<td>young girl; young boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>del-me</td>
<td>del-cō</td>
<td>daughter-in-law; son-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>thik</td>
<td>thik</td>
<td>ik-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>ip-</td>
<td>hiwa-</td>
<td>haka-</td>
<td>nā(k)-</td>
<td>sah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sum-</td>
<td>sum-</td>
<td>sim-</td>
<td></td>
<td>sūm-su-</td>
<td>suk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ble-</td>
<td>bhāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṇo-</td>
<td>bhōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tuk/thuk-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ru-</td>
<td>rā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yat-</td>
<td>tār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ye(n)-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>let-</td>
<td>ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>phaŋ-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>ghu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>thi-boŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ta-dām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

Atp.  thi-baŋ briten  a British  
ip-paŋ yapmi-ci  two people
sum-bok paŋ / suntala  three houses / oranges

Bant.  ik-pok / ik-bop mina  a man  
hía-tat / hía-tak mina  two people

Cam.  haka-po mina-ci  two people  
i-ra khim  one house  
sim-li suntala  three oranges

Thul.  ko-ŋ mürčül (also ko, ko-le)  a man  
ko-le nö-le opcö-mim  one or two assistants

Khal.  tu hás-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 nöö-lem  one-day two-day

Cam.  i-rung  once  
one-time
Thul.  nök-khep su-khep  2 or 3 times (khep <Nep.)  
two-times three-times
Cam.  i-homa rö / i-mana rö  one 'mana' rice (mana <Nep.)  
one-mana rice

The numeral "one" serves as an indefinite article. In this function Limbu thik can be postponed in analogy with the definite marker -in.
(1) a. anche; anche: mu yakkha-ʔo; lokthikə syaʔi-dhik mu way-e.
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. ... mọnam ku-səbənba-dhik me-bir-u. .... mọna-lle ku-sikwa-ʔo-
Lim. ... man:DEF 3sPOSS-thigh-one 3nsA-give-3P man-DEF:ERG 3sPOSS-bag-LOC-
lam khen pu-lle ku-səbənbe-n lott-u-wan ... 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Markers and Direction Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG/INST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC (general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiLOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loLOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levLOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 lok-thik, lit. "only-one", is often used instead of thik.
are largely identical. 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. 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.

\[(2) \quad \text{mi-khya-c-e, ninama ra haikhama-lai sena-c-e} \]
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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lim.} & \quad \text{sammya\-n}u\,yu?pa & \quad \text{gold and silver (v.D. 332)} \\
\text{Athp.} & \quad \text{sosa-lok yusana} & \quad \text{rat and jackal (*Pa1.0)} \\
\text{Bant.} & \quad i-ma-nin i-cha & \quad \text{the mother and her child (*BANT 8.8)} \\
\text{Thul.} & \quad go-nun Gane & \quad \text{I and Gane} \\
\text{Khal.} & \quad Grom-kolo Las & \quad \text{Grom and Las (KH2)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(3) \ a. \ \text{cakape-kolo ser-kolo bappo phig-ta-su ...} \]
Khal. flea-COM house-COM negotiator send-PT-3\(-3d\)
He sent the flea and the house as negotiators (KH2.44)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad u-\text{qhol-nun} \quad u-mina-nun \quad u-\text{nopco-nun} \quad \text{asinca neb-da} \\
\text{Thul.} & \quad 3\text{sPOSS-drum-COM} \quad 3\text{sPOSS-man-COM} \quad 3\text{sPOSS-assistant-COM} \quad \text{here house-LOC} \\
& \quad \text{phiq-d-\dagger ...} \\
& \quad \text{bring-PT-3s-3} \\
& \quad \text{He brought his drum, his men and his assistants here to the house... (*TH4.32)}
\end{align*}
\]

The comitative can be combined with the ergative. In the Thulung sentence (4a) -nun ... -nun 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. - Inspite 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 -ay "also, and" (identical with the sequential subordinator) can also coordinate nouns.
Thul. I.-COM k.-COM-ERG 1dPOSS-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 -ot for "mother" and "father" (besides the regular form in -er, 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!", hiya-neu "sit down (pl)!" Thulung -o and Camling -ou are therefore address particles rather than a vocatives.

Lim. yuma-er
    amma-er, amm-ot
    grandmother!
    mother!

Thul. mim-a, mim-a-o
    a-loak-nio
    grandmother!
    my younger siblings!

Cam. ama, am-ou9
    nana, nan-ou
    hōch-eu
    mother!
    elder sister!
    chieftson!

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 ablative originating in -lam "road" (Athp. -lamma, Thul. -lam/-larka, Khal. -la/-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. -ṭa 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\textsuperscript{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)  
chörći-ra-m  basket-LOC-ABL  from the basket (TH 2.40)  
chörći-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 -\textit{lam} with a preceding locative marker:

Lim. ku-sukwa-\textit{tor-lam}  lɔtt-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. cumluŋ-\textit{tor-lam}, cumluŋ-\textit{lam}  market-LOC-ABL

Thul. cautaara-\textit{da}, cautaara  resting_place-LOC  
(*TH5.41, 5.45)

Thul. ku-t-\textit{lam}  water-(\textit{t})-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. pem-i-bam-\textit{lam}\textsuperscript{12}  in Nepali (v.D. 51)  
Nepali-language-ABL

Cam. suwalim-da-ka waŋa  ladder-LOC-ABL climb  

\textsuperscript{11} Synchronically -\textit{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 -\textit{daka} as ABL (not as LOC-ABL).

\textsuperscript{12} Also with a comitative: yaktiuŋ-bam-nu "in the Kiranti language" (van Driem 1987: 49).
i-la-da-ka
1piPOSS-language-LOC-ABL

in our language

Thul. thuluŋ loa-laŋka
Th. language-ABL

in Thulung

jiw-del-laŋka
Jubu-village-ABL

via/from Jubu village (Allen 109)

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

(6) Camliŋ kai hui Sapsu-la khosi-laka Sapsu-laka saŋ-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
water-ABL outside-LOC come-PT

he came outside from the water (*KH 5.17)

hoŋkoŋ-laka japan-tha
H.-PATH J.-ALL

to Japan via Hongkong (Toba 10)

u-kwam-laka
3sPOSS-language-PATH

in his language (*KH12.49)

'ghār pāyco' khās bra-la āh-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 mā-tha
PROX-ALL DIST-ALL

this way and that way

Lim. cumluŋ-(ʔor-)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 -thō, which
Allen translates as "towards" and which could be cognate with -tha. The combination kor-thô "in one direction" suggests that it is a classifier noun. I have tentatively glossed both -tha and -thô as DIR for 'direction'.

Thul. ot-tha rok-a
here-DIR come-IMPER

ku-tha laksa!
water-DIR go:IMPER

ham du-tha-m ë bur-na?
why cause-DIR-ABL PART be_angry-2

Why are you angry? (Allen 203)

ha-nu-lam a-thô-lam
DIST-levLOC-ABL PROX-DIR-ABL

from this side and that side

(*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. -pa
Bant. -ko
Cam. -ko, (-pa)

s ns

Athp. -na -ga

PT, general NPT locNML

Thul. -m -mim -khop, -khom
Khal. -m -mim -de

---

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.

Atp. PCPL: lem-balak yapmi a beaten man
          beat-PP man

         NML:  khana-ŋa a-nis-u-na yapmi  the man you see/saw
                you-ERG 2-see-3P-NML man
         khana-ŋa a-nis-u-ga yapmi-ci the men you see/saw
                you-ERG 2-see-3P-NML man-ns

Thul. PCPL: khɔr-ma maakai parched maize
          parch-PP maize

         NML:  go khɔr-tɔ-m maakai the maize I parched
                 I parch-PT:1s-NML maize

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

(7) a. ancẖ  a-batt-e-tch-u-ba  kusiŋ-me-nitt-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. inkan-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. mɔram go thɔ-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 ıŋghoŋ yesterday-NML news

Athr. nahi-ga yapmi-ci the people here (*Ja1.19)
here-NML man-ns

Cam. tuŋma-da-ko-ci the villagers
village-LOC-NML-ns

Bant. ten-da-wo-ci "
village-LOC-NML-ns

Khal. u-haga-kolo-m [bird] with a forked tail (*KH12.62)
3sPOSS-fork-COM-NML

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 when it will fly up (*TH4.23)
fly-NML(NPT) time-INST

ŋo ob-qa lɔɔ-na-mim belaa-ka when you go fishing (TH2.51)
fish hit-PURP go-2-NML(NPT) time-INST

ŋo ob-qa ɔɔ-na-m belaa-ka when you went fishing (TH2.58)
fish hit-PURP go:PT-2-NML time-INST
düm-miri-m-pachi after they finished (*TH4.25)
finish-3p:PT-NML-after

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. kām ner-mim pâchi after the house is finished (*KH12.36)
house finish-NML(NPT) after
kwap-ki-m pāchi after we cover [the roof] (*KH12.38)
cover-1pi-NML after

won-ki-m nōl 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) ūŋ-kolo biha i-mā-kho ūŋ-a mūl-kō-nā, biha mā-mā-
Khal. I-with marriage 2-do-COND I-ERG NEG-eat-1s→2s marriage NEG-do-
kho-mim āyṇa kō-nā.
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 tēbil write-locNML table (Allen 61)
dēraa-khom accomodation-locNML lodgings (< Nep. ḍerā)
Khal. woŋa-de other-locNML somewhere else (KH 2.24)

What makes those derivations different from Cam./Bant. im-kha "place to sleep", yuŋ-kha "living place" (cf. p. 59), Cam. tō-khup "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 -den14 and Camling -khup combine only with nominals.

---

14 Cf. the following examples, where the verb is nominalized before the suffix -den:

kum-ma-re tok thokt-e-ba-den-fo in the place where his mother used to cook
his-mother-GEN rice cook-PT-NML-PLACE-LOC (v.D. 228)
niŋwa mutch-u-ba-tēn-fo 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Case Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
<td>kɔʔ-or</td>
<td>PROX-LOC</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>o-da</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>tā-bi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
<td>khet-tho:</td>
<td>DIST-hiLOC</td>
<td>up there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
<td>mo-du</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
<td>mā-tū</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thulung has the variants asi, asinqa "here", mōsi, mōsinqa "there" (a-/mō- + si(n) "place" + LOC) besides oďa, mōďa and othha, mōthha (a-/mō + 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 sonbhensa hitt-a-si-a kiya mo lenta-da-ŋka mo

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

b. mana mā khabo mā-yu lāsū-su-lo mā u-cō

Khal. and that beam that-loLOC withdraw-d-TEMP that 3sPOSS-child
mā-yu-ŋ kholē-tā-na mis-tā.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+PROX</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o / u</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>të</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-PROX</td>
<td>khet</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>tyo / tyu</td>
<td>mő</td>
<td>mā</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**vertical case**

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hiLOC</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>-dhi / -di</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-tū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loLOC</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-yu, -ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levLOC</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-no</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Composite:**

**ADV: deictic + LOC**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>ko? -or</td>
<td>na -nū</td>
<td>o-da</td>
<td>o-da</td>
<td>o -dq'a, a -si</td>
<td>tā -bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>khe? -or</td>
<td>mo -da</td>
<td>tyo -da</td>
<td></td>
<td>mō -dq'a, mō -si</td>
<td>mā -bi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADV: vertical + x**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>above, up</td>
<td>th -or</td>
<td>thoo</td>
<td>dha(-ni), dani dha-lo</td>
<td>(h) -a -la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below, down</td>
<td>y -or</td>
<td>yoo</td>
<td>yu(-ni)</td>
<td>hu -i(-lo)</td>
<td>(h) -a -yu, huyu dha -yu, ayū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>across</td>
<td>(nai)</td>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>yu(-ni)</td>
<td>h-ya(-lo)</td>
<td>(h) -a -no, hunu (yaka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADV: deictic + vertical**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up here</td>
<td>kot -thor</td>
<td>o-du</td>
<td>u -dhi</td>
<td>(? -a -la)</td>
<td>tā -tū,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down here</td>
<td>kot -yor</td>
<td>o -yu</td>
<td>u -kh -i</td>
<td></td>
<td>tā -yū</td>
<td>tā -yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over here</td>
<td>kot -na</td>
<td>o -ya</td>
<td>u -kh -ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up there</td>
<td>khet -thor</td>
<td>mo -du</td>
<td>tyo -dhi</td>
<td>mō -la</td>
<td>mā -tū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down there</td>
<td>khet -na</td>
<td>mo -yu</td>
<td>tyu -kh -i</td>
<td>mō -yu</td>
<td>mā -yū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over there</td>
<td>khet -na</td>
<td>mo -ya</td>
<td>tyu -kh -ya</td>
<td>mō -no</td>
<td>mā -yo</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**PRON: deictic + NML/ (x)**

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<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>ko -n̄</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>o -ko</td>
<td>o -ko, u -ko</td>
<td>o -ra -m</td>
<td>tā -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>khe -n̄</td>
<td>hit -na</td>
<td>mo -ko, mosa tyu -ko (pa)</td>
<td>mō -ra -m</td>
<td>mā -m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PRON: vertical (+ x) + NML**

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the one up</td>
<td>thoma, thora</td>
<td>tho -na</td>
<td>da -ko</td>
<td>dha -ko, dha -pa</td>
<td>(h) -a -la -m</td>
<td>tu -kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the one down</td>
<td>yona, yo:ba</td>
<td>yo -na</td>
<td>yu -ko</td>
<td>hui -ko, huipa</td>
<td></td>
<td>yu -kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the one across</td>
<td>ya -na</td>
<td>ya -ko</td>
<td>hya -ko, hyapa</td>
<td>ha -no -m</td>
<td>ya -kam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**vertical verbs**

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>come from below</td>
<td>than -</td>
<td>tha -</td>
<td>than -</td>
<td>sañ -</td>
<td>get -</td>
<td>kho -/ khoñ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>thak -</td>
<td>thend -</td>
<td>thakt -</td>
<td>said -</td>
<td>khet -</td>
<td>khon -d -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come from above</td>
<td>yu -</td>
<td>urš -</td>
<td>yl -</td>
<td>i -</td>
<td>yok -/ yus -</td>
<td>ye -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>yu? -</td>
<td>ukt -</td>
<td>yitt -</td>
<td>it -</td>
<td>sōt -</td>
<td>yed -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come from across</td>
<td>phe?r -</td>
<td>ap -</td>
<td>ban -</td>
<td>ban -</td>
<td>bi(k) -</td>
<td>pi -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>phett -</td>
<td>apt -</td>
<td>batt -</td>
<td>baid -</td>
<td>phit -</td>
<td>pid -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In pronominal and often also in attributive use a nominalizing or pronominalizing suffix is added, e.g. Lim. khe-ŋ, Bant. mo-kolmo-sa, Cam. tyu-ko, Khal. mä-
"that (one)". Thulung demonstrative pronouns are based on a locative form: o-ra-m
"this", mõ-ra-m "that" (PROX/DIST-LOC-NML), o-r-cip (PROX-LOC-d) "these
two", mõ-r-cip "those two, they" (also: mõ-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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>Thul.</th>
<th>Deict.</th>
<th>Vertical</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thøt-ghen</td>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>mõ-la-m</td>
<td>DIST-hiLOC-NML</td>
<td>that one up there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up-that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yot-ghen</td>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>mõ-yu-m</td>
<td>DIST-loLOC-NML</td>
<td>that one down there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down-that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nat-ghen</td>
<td>Thul.</td>
<td>mõ-no-m</td>
<td>DIST-levLOC-NML</td>
<td>that one over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there-that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other terms derived from deictic roots are for example:15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant.</th>
<th>Cam.</th>
<th>Thul.</th>
<th>Khal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>utna / mutna</td>
<td>onno(no) / tyonno</td>
<td>hepna / mepma</td>
<td>thebe(ŋ) / mebe(ŋ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isari / misari</td>
<td>oso(no) / tyoso(no)</td>
<td>this / that much</td>
<td>this much / that much (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>osoko / tyosoko</td>
<td>in this / that manner</td>
<td>in this / that manner (Toba 1984:35, *)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one like this / that</td>
<td>like this / that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>now / then</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-loṭik in that way.

16 The spelling of ce/i is somewhat inconsistent between the various publications of Toba and Toba & Toba.
Asth. hitnun-na(-m)(-bo) then, thereafter
Bant. mun-kiya(-lo), mo-daŋka(-lo)
   mun-hida(-lo)
Cam. tyu-daka(-na), tyu-daka-lyo
Thul. mō-ko-ti-ma, mō-sin-da-ma, mō-sim-ma
   mō-m-sa-ka, mō-m-lo(-ne)
   mōda-mane, mōtha-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-tho-lam from both sides (TH*4.28)
   across-ABL PROX-DIR-ABL
   a-tho-hombu hunu-hombu to this side and that side of the river

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., Asth., 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 deictics, e.g.

Cam. khim-dhi in the house higher up
     u-dhi up here\textsuperscript{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 bhompalun ŋa sapai
Bant. below (rit.place)-loLOC earth(rit.-loLOC elephant EMPH all

bhɔnda toppan yaʔan. COMPAR big is
Down on the earth the elephant is the biggest. (*BANT 5.5)

Cam. I today mountain-hiLOC go-1sNPT say-3P-NML REP

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

hyaŋsa-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 mó chōrcū-la lọs-ta-ma mō-laŋa bay-ra.
Thul. again that basket-hiLOC go-PT-SEQ that-hiLOC-EMPH be-PT

\textsuperscript{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 yung-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-
\textit{sin-də} 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 laks-a toďka-no reb-da**
   Thul. across go-IMPER hole-levLOC look-IMPER
   Go over there and look in the hole! (TH2.12)

e. **mä-yo saro cânũ-pâ ghas gô.**
   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-tû 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. "**iŋka papa-du-t-nin khat-ŋa-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," yijma yin-a nimaŋ.**
   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 waŋa-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 ṇaddo luwale-ra lös-ta-m bayra; möräm pheri mö u-**
   Thul. e.sister first L.-LOC go-PT-NML be_PT then again that 3sPOSS-
   **loak khliw ayu pheri wayecapt-yu lös-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.
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 lujaā dhoŋ-ma-ŋa.
Khal. fireplace-hiLOC millet be_dry-make-1s
I dry the millet above the fireplace.

b. kam-yu lujaā 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 -or,
Bant.: vertical root + -ni,18
Cam.: h- + vertical root + -lo,
Thul.: (h)ə-, hu- + vertical root.19

For Khaling no consistent paradigm could be inferred from the texts.20 The Athpape terms for "up" and "down" are the same as for Limbu, but Athp. yaa "across" seems to correspond to nar 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)ə-, 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 dhaýu, dhaýi, dali, dhōara for "below, down", gele for "above, up".

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

- tukum hengam haga-kolo-m hōtā (across sort fork-COM-NML bring)
- Bring a forked one like that one over there (*KH12.61)
Van Driem gives "there" as the meaning of nat, but judging from its use, it fits into the level slot. 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

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

21 Limbu has a relational noun ya; which occurs in ku-yar-ʁot "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 t after nouns ending in a vowel: ku-t-lam from the water, mu-t-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 gedqi ... hala gemqi*).

(7a) ayu-lam u-loak-ka Khliw-ka khawa-buŋ masi-buŋ khole-buŋ
Thul. below-ABL her-y.sibling-ERG Kh.-ERG (sp. flowers) kheq-d-ii-ma hanu Jawaji-no ghrom-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 möcü-ka laura jeṭ-miri-ma Baginanda khat-miri-
Thul. that-inside-levLOC-NML man-ERG stick hold-3p:PT-SEQ B. follow-3p:PT löné huq-qa-ma ala ged-qa. ... u-dhole-mim-ka hanu-lam
TEMP fly-PT-SEQ up come_up-PT 3sPOSS-drummer-p-ERG across-ABL

a-thö-lam mö dhol-la ce-m-si-mdi-lo mö dhol-ka
this-DIR-ABL DEF drum-LOC hang-3p-V2:REFL-3p-PT-TEMP DEF drum-ERG
huq-d-ii-ma hala mina ge-mdi 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-ber-ille ku-sik-ʔo: beneath my nose
my-nose-GEN 3sPOSS-space_beneath-LOC

sibonj-ille ku-bomj-ʔo: under the tree
tree-GEN 3sPOSS-base-LOC
ku-yar-lo: beside him
3sPOSS-side-LOC

Asthp. kanla u-chik-ni beneath the terrace
terrace 3sPOSS-space_beneath-LOC

Cam. sugpa-mo m-bhor-da under the tree
tree-GEN 3sPOSS-root-LOC

pyupa-mo m-dosi behind the cow
cow-GEN 3sPOSS-back

Khal. u-lüpphi-bi in the middle
3sPOSS-middle-LOC

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-dhuŋ-da his-grave-top-LOC on his grave (Ha2.31)
this-grave-top-LOC

Thul. diridin-go-yu lake-inside-loLOC down in the primeval lake

a-sin-da this-place-LOC in this place, here

mō-go-da that-inside-LOC inside that

Khal. mā-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. -lagka, Khal. -laka (< lam "road" + -ka; cf. supra).

Cam. wa-kōya inside the water" (< kō + -ya?)
khim-kōya-ka from inside the house
khu-tōda near him (< tō "head" + da LOC?)

hya-pala ukhya-pala to and fro (< over/this-levLOC-side/slope?)
hya-pala-ka from the other side

Thul. hanu-lam a-thō-lam across-ABL PROX-DIR-ABL

Postpositions are often borrowed from Nepali, e.g. samma until, dekhi from, baṭa from, neri near; e.g. Cam. khu-neri (= khu-tōda) "near him", Asthp. handeg-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

\[
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{DEM} + \text{GEN} \\
\text{NUM} + \text{ADJ/ATTR} + \text{POSS(prefix)} + \text{N} \\
\text{POSS(pron)} \\
\end{array} \right. 
\]

(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
Cam. Kh.-GEN 3sPOSS-e.sisters-ns
Khocilipa's elder sisters

c. anja a-pa
Cam. my 1sPOSS-father
my father

d. oram műcũ-kam u-nem
Thul. this man-GEN 3sPOSS-house
this man's house

e. tám '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-ō.
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-lai
Cam. 2nd daughter FOC 3sPOSS-e.sister find-PURP go-NML REP 3sPOSS-y.sibling

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

d. khole-kam miksi chal-ū-thaq-č-ū Baginanda-ka, pe-pa
Thul. all-GEN eye distract-(it)-V2:take-PT-3P B.-ERG eat-AP

li-m-si-m-dĩ waŋ-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. kaŋa khat-āi [wa ła-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
QUOTE
Then the orphan also went, looking looking, where she arrived. (Jh2.83)

(4) uko pucho-wa [khana ta-khat-āi-nakho] kā-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 -išt-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.
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-
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).

existential wa:- NEG
locational ya:k- ho:p-
men-ya:k-nen

Lim. you 2sPOSS-(r)-y.sibling exist-Q NEG:exist-Q
Do you have younger siblings or don't you? (v.D. 61)

Lim. he below be
He is below. (v.D. 61)

c. yum me-ya:k-nen
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
locational *wa-
existential *yuŋ-, *yuŋga

(8) a. khoni *sy-e-n-i *wa-yuk-gon-n-i? - wayet, Kathmandu wayet.
Athr. 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 *yuŋga-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-et-t -
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-hiŋ-a-ina NEG-be-NEG?).

Bant. NPT yaʔan̂ NPT matniŋ PT matniŋa
Cam. hiŋ- paina

(9) a. kic-khim-da *hiŋ-ci. They stayed/ lived in their house.
Cam. 3pPOSS-house-LOC be-d

c. mo beļa 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
chant matniŋa. 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-yanaŋ-
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:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thul.</th>
<th>NPT</th>
<th>bu</th>
<th>(*TH4.34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>bayra (TH4.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) odqqa bu račha it is round here anyway
odqqa miw račha 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-ta there was a clever jackal (*KH5.1)
Khal. clever jackal be:anim-PT

sāmundra go-ta 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 yaŋaŋ I have a book
Cam. aŋa kitap hına my book be:NPT

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

(12) inpo i-benmā-hām mu-mon-wā, ici thebem hōŋ babcō chūk-iti.
Khal. your 2sPOSS-sister-p NEG-be-IRR our(di) thus king orpan 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 mazoŋ 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 matriai kic-cha.  
Cam.  3nsPOSS-child boy not-NML girl only 3nsPOSS-child  
They had no boy, their children were all girls.

b.  karja 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-?e**  I am a woman
    **khene? menchuma-ne**  you are a woman
    **khune? menchuma(-Ø)**  she is a woman
    **ani menchuma-si**  we (pi) are women

    **anga menchuma mein-?e / mei?duk**  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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bant.</th>
<th>Big</th>
<th>Undercooked</th>
<th>Green (Not Dried)</th>
<th>Dull</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhiwaŋ</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>undercooked</td>
<td>green (not dried)</td>
<td>dull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciwaŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bethem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Camling I have not come upon a single basic adjective. For Khaling, Toba mentions only *yakki* "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 *bhaipa* "big", *cicikpa* "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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thul.</th>
<th>vs. Cam.</th>
<th>Thul.</th>
<th>vs. Cam.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>li-pa (=&lt; lis-)</td>
<td>lis-e-ko heavy (be_heavy-NPT-NML)</td>
<td>khe-pa (&lt; khep-)</td>
<td>khik-e-ko bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jö-pa (&lt; jöp-)</td>
<td>khain-e-ko beautiful</td>
<td></td>
<td>nyo-ko good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

```
comparandum + comparatum + ABL/bhandha + ADJ
```

**Athp.**  
*anga bhanda* theena bigger than me (*Pa1.4)

**Bant.**  
*birosi bhanda* boddhe suwo hotter than chili (Rai 1985:177)

chili COMPAR more hot
the elephant is the biggest

the tiger is bigger than the cat

the tiger is the biggest

bigger than mine

you are bigger than me (Toba 1983:17)

Rho<font><i>dendron</i> is the most beautiful flower. (Toba 1984:32)

Limbu has a comparative marked by -<i>nulle</i> (-nu COM + -lle oblique case marker):

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Split ergative marking</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 &gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lim.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Athp.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bant.</td>
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<td>Cam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thul.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khal.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Limbu excludes 3rd person pronouns, but not demonstratives from ergative marking.

(16) "et-lle ku-menda?-in? akdaŋba coe-e' 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 paut-t-e-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
ku-va " set-yu. He "
he/she-ERG kill-3P

(18) a. ɨŋka-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 Ɂeraa-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:
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. Ḗŋka kiwa ser-a-ṇ. I killed a tiger. /I did some tiger-killing.
    Bant. I tiger kill-PT-1s

b. mo soŋbhensa ... ōmpiyaṛma khis-a-ca-ṇ-a niman. The wild man ... used to steal curd .... (*BANT 6.2)
   that wild-man curd steal-PT-V2:eat-V2:CONT-PT REP

   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 niman
    Bant. that-NML which-TOP loom do-AP QUOTE T.-ERG PART REP

    talo kiyama-ʔa: "iŋka-wo ney nana!" yiŋmalo-kiya yiŋ-a niman. "Which weaver is that?" Tangwama asked, and Kiyama said: "It's me, sister!"
    then K.-ERG I-FOC EMPH e.sister QUOTE say-PT REP

    (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. Particples 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 identity of S with a preceding patient (P):\textsuperscript{24}

(21) a. hekyaŋ nepmadzaŋ him-lepsaŋ thai-net-chi korə ke:b-en hara him-Lim. then both house-towards drop-REFL-d but tiger-DEF quickly house-

ʔo keʔr-e-yaŋ ku-ndzum syaʔl-en idik haŋs-u-waŋ\textsuperscript{25} lok LOC arrive-PT-SEQ his-friend jackal-DEF long_time wait-3P-SEQ only

andor andor tet.
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-na 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 ke:-bek-pa\textsuperscript{26} Where are you (s) going?
where:ALL 2-go-NML

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

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

\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{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 -yuŋ-ko? Where do you live?
you(s) where 2-live-NML

(22) "hawma phol-ni-mim?" roa-mdį-lo "ora-m a-guru-ka goa-
Thul. why cut-2p-NML say-3p:PT-TEMP here-NML 1sPOSS-guru-ERG give-
mdį-m dhol phol-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 lōk-pa? Where are you (p) going?
where go:AP


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

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-ma? 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 sō pe-si mi-nū.
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 mättil.
Khal. 3sPOSS-mind be_ful-GEN do-INF must.
We must act to his satisfaction. (*KH12.31)

e. ku-bi nām-si-nā 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. sammyan ke-warp-ma-ha? ya?-ge-rak-pa-ha? cimm-op-ma?-si ponē.
Lim. 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 āy-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 mendaʔ-in carlom-se yet-aŋ wa-yə.  
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. aŋci khalanga 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 liŋa yuŋ-e.  
Athp. A. language learn become-PURP stay-PT  
He stayed here in order to learn Athpare.

e. yonkhi khāk-bi kōs-ti 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. ke-dum-se ty-aŋ-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-ʧã biŋ-dō-m.  
2pPOSS-meet-PURP come-1sS-PT:1sS-NML  
(Allen 102)

6.1.2. Converb clauses

The simultaneous convers 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 sipanji yapmi soarinba lo-sa ab-e.  
Athr. 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" runj-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  
she went, but did not find her younger brother. (Jh7.8-9)

b. ãmsu-ã sān̂ sun̂-to sun̂-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-md̃i-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 verb 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 ṇa.  
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. kāyle lo nampikci-da mi tup-yaŋ-sa laltina on-yaŋ-sa  
sometimes PART sunset-LOC fire blow-V2:CONT-SIM lantern light-V2:CONT

koy bela lo ladipduŋ-ci-da chaŋ podœy mi-n-ya-ŋ-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 aqmawa pi-yaŋ-sa kent-a-they-ERG their-brother H. pine_resin give-V2:CONT-SIM raise-PT

ŋ-a-c-u nimaŋ. 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' -saga. The forms can probably be split up into converbal -sa + ergative/instrumental -ka or simultaneous -ŋa, 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 leora "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. uŋ-a 'yu khāp-sa ja-ŋa.
Khal. I-ERG rice cook-CONV eat-1s
Having cooked the rice I eat it.

b. jam pe-saka laks-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-nul.
Thul. broth sip-CONV do-INF must drink-CONV do-1pli-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 gali- "do" and mu- "do, make".
Cam. rokgung-daska pam-sim pam-sim pam-sim ngala-na laida-ki pheri
rock-ABL crawl-CONV crawl-CONV crawl-CONV 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. ... sō-kam u-ser ramli-ka dōt-to sidimo goo-nu phik-to
Thul. meat-GEN 3sPOSS-bone R.-ERG pick_up-SIM bag inside-LOC pour-SIM

būũrũ.
dor: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. dārt$a$ men-dzok-ʔe$̪i$ 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. heky$a$ njũ-ille wabak-ʔo$̪$ syaʔi-en men-hun-ʔe$̪i$ namdhan$̪$]
Lim. then camel-ERG pond-LOC jackal-DEF NEG-sink-CONV far_side
loʔt-t-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-gon$̪$ba-ci-ŋa taha
Ath. ... one rooster 3pA-take-3P-NML-TOP our our-uncle-ns-OBL knowledge

mi-tok-ʔe$̪$-ba aniya ko-gon$̪$ba-ci paŋ-i hitna bhale
NEG-join-CONV-? our our-uncle-ns house-LOC that rooster

o-rin$̪$s-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-yàŋ-sa khun-ma-kiya
Bant. that die-AP man tum-tum 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 lok-si mi-nū.  
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 ghölā nōl-ka só ma-kö-sa so-ā khepkhpā mo-tā 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. kristyen dharma prasar prasar 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 thuŋ-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 sâmundra-po phār-bi cârey mâ-si-pā soroli-ā dīm-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-gheks-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-ña 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 ṇaami-ne ima i-pep³-sat-pa  koṇṇa; ima
    Thul. your-TOP this old woman-TOP your 2sPOSS-eat-V2:BEN-AP only your
    i-cape-ḍupe be-pa, ima i-krūm-kora re-pa,
    2sPOSS-food-drink do-AP your 2sPOSS-hunger-thirst look-AP
    i-baya-niya i-plan-komsi 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 pilišii) and one might be tempted to analyse the participle of a compound verb as pe-pa-sat-pa. However, the verb has an irregular stem variant pep-; cf. the purposive pēb-ḍa “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-?uŋ "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-ŋap 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:

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 hığa-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-sat-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 sōlsib-da lō- khom lamdū.  
   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 mām bhaya-bi khole-de-tha sāmundra go-tā e. u-  
Khal. and that place-LOC all-locNML-ALL ocean be-PT REP 3sPOSS-  
lūppi-bi bhaya go-tā, khe-pā hās-hām tōk-de bhaya go-tā.  
center-LOC place be-PT steal-AP person-p stow-locNML place be-PT  
mā bhaya-bi khway-de lām khā-bi-laka yo mu-go-wā.  
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 hopās-tā soroli-ā khlus jō-toŋ muk-de phār-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-par-ŋi taya-ci-ga pak a-pid-u-ci-ga?  
Athr. 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 bhompaluŋ ims-aŋ-a-wo-yu ta-la..  
Bant. that elephant sleep-PT-V2:CONT-PT-locNML-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-hingga-ko-ci-lai rairewa-kukuwa  
Cam. then there house-LOC 3pA-live-NPT-locNML-p-DAT (ritual)  

pa-maid-e nochuŋ-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. peŋ-e-ba ke-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-e-ba me-nis-u.
Lim. tremble-PT-NML 3pA-see-3P
They saw that it was trembling. (v.D. 341)

c. kaŋa a-woini-ci-wa sun ŋ 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-cō-mi-ka čūsi-miŋ-ka
Thul. they(p)-ERG earlier-NML ancestor-p-ERG 3POSS-child-p-ERG grandchild-p-ERG
roa-mdi-m go thō-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)).

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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 puyaŋ-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-tō-dī chud-ya-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-kōya waŋa, pheri bwa!
Cam. I say-1s-NML my-stomach-inside enter again
ruŋ-āi-pa buyā laidā."
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. mā mū-ki-m kām ho-p-po u-nu bhar-po mū-nā
Khal. that do-1p-NML house own-AP-GEN 3sPOSS-mind be_full-GEN do-INF
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 dūm-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-nâ mâtüü.
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-a menchema sati khat-ga; menchema si-na-a
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-jópa 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. mō ceya-ka yo goa-mći-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
sun NEG-appear-NML time when the sun did not appear
(*BANT7.12)

Cam. chu-na riŋ-e-ko bela
reach-INF be_about-NPT-NML time when he almost reached (*Bal6.81)

Ath. khad-a-ŋ-na bela-ŋa
go-PT-1s-NML time-OBL when I was going (*Pa2.1)

Thul. hun-mim belaa-ka
fly-NML time-INST at the time it will fly up (*T5.23)
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) ke-ips-e-lle lokthik mọna-lle ke-gaiks-e.
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-7a "i-
Bant. 3dPOSS-grandfather s. ask-3P REP-TEMP-TOP that-ERG 3P(NEG)-
sin-niŋ" yin-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 mesan khos-ta-na ho-ta-lone u-kam-bi-ne
Khal. and again thus go-PT-SEQ come-PT-TEMP his-house-LOC-TOP

yu kway min-pa go-ta 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)

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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 mōmlo(ne) "after that, then"; in Camling we find the ablative suffix daka (< iyudaka) 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-dü. ser keak-t-ü-lo-ne masakka òms-crack-V2:BEN-PT-3s→3 louse crack-PT-3s→3-TEMP-TOP fast sleep-

    leaq-də 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 convers (see 6.1.2). Limbu has no
simultaneous verb 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 -hoŋga (see also *TH5.36, 5.40).

    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 cau-ra yu-waŋ poʔl.
    Lim. whistle perform-SIM come_down-SEQ be
    He is coming down, whistling. (v.D.148)

c. piy-hoŋga 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-daŋka m-tö-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-daŋka 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. 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 Khoresugma Kaharsing-mo
K. INV-close_up-SEQ grandmother Kh. K.-GEN
celi pus-a-na jifbaji mu-na hya Torke-daka paisa chara
rit.sister go-SEQ victory make:3P-SEQ across T.-ABL money throw(Nep)
mai-sa ro-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 Kherungma, 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 las-a-ma todkaa-no rebda," buuri-ma mal-to mal-to
Thu. across go-IMP-SEQ hole-levLOC look:IMP said-SEQ search-SIM
las-ta-lo-ne bobok-ka kək-t-ū-ma sec-q-ū-ma u-so
go-PT-TEMP-TOP owl-ERG peck-PT-3s->3-SEQ kill-PT-3s->3-SEQ 3sPOSS-flesh

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7 It therefore seems justified if van Driem describes the Limbu inflected verb + -ag as a 'gerund', especially as it shares certain other functions with converbs, e.g. in periphrastic tense formation. However, Limbu -ag can also connect nouns! Moreover, I found one example where the Bant. sequential kiyā coordinates noun phrases: ik yang hiwa yang kiyā ik mana hiwa mana casīg "one or two rupees and one mana or two mana husked rice" (*BANT 7.9). Camling na, Bantawa kiyā, and Thulung ma occur also sentence initially. (*BANT 2.25, *Lai 3.10, 3.17, 3.18, TH 2.15, 2.21). It seems that the subordinator developed from an independent particle, which still exists as such in some of the languages.
jati pü-lead-ê-ül, u-ser korña bayra.
all eat: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 nimaq.
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-kám 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 dhäm-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).

    Lim. be_easy-PT-SIM work-p finish-PP
    We finished the work with ease/easily. (v.D.150)

b. a lingetwa unna-na o-tokwari eg-lok lept-u-ŋ-t-ŋ.
    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. kara m-dhar wot-e-lo dhaid-ai.
    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 songhensa 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 yug-a-ŋ-a nimaŋ.
cowherd be_well-MAN live-PT-V2:CONT-PT REP
Like that the songhensa 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. me-bi-ʔe goro 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. me-lei-s-u-lle got me-dzog-u-men.
    3pA-know-3P-OBL TOP 3pA-do-3P-IRR
    They would do it, if they knew how. (v.D. 136)

c. hem bom bhelle keŋ ke-daʔr-u-ba menchuma-m napmi-re
    what be QUOTE that 2-bring-3P-NML girl-DEF someone-ERG
me-n-del-r-un-nil-
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-na 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 pujey mū-ka-nakho ...
Khal. that worship do-1pe-negCOND

If we do not do that worship ... (KH13.32)

b. un-kolo biha i-mā-kho un-a mū-kō-nā, biha mā-mā-
Khal. I-with marriage 2-do-COND I-ERG NEG-eat-1s→2s marriage NEG-do-
kho-mim āȳa kō-nā.
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 műcü 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-saq QUOTE-even).

(27) alše jhara i-la-daka mi-pis-e-kho pani lijla
Cam. nowadays all 1piPOSS-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 pike
Bant. yiŋma(-kiya) yiŋa
Cam. ruŋa-na ruŋa
    ruŋma(-na) ruŋa also: ruŋma-pa ...
Khal. āstā-na āstā
Thul. roakta-ma roakta / bűktör⁸ also roak-saka ...
    said/say-SEQ said
(cf. Nep. bhan-era bhanyo)

The Limbu quote particle phaʔaq (< Nepali bhan- + Limbu SEQ -afi), is seldom used with a speech act verb following it.

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⁸ bűtör /be-t-ū/ (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-kurunțpa ruŋma pa-chait-aina, Saphopte-wa pani a-cyodum-ci
Cam. 1sPOSS-mat.uncle QUOTE NEG-know-NEG S.-ERG also 1sPOSS-niece-ns
ruŋma 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 -phaʔan̩ can mark causal and conditional clauses. A second Limbu quote particle phele, which seems to be a combination of the same root with the case marker/subordinator -le, has largely the same functions.9

(29) a. anige saʔ-dhik-nu cum coκ-ŋe-tchi-ge phaʔan̩ ikt-ʔ-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; phaʔan̩ is written as a separate word here)

b. maŋdok me-bir-aŋ-bhaʔan̩ ke-haːb-e-i?10
Lim. maŋdok 3nsS/A-give-PT-1s-QUOTE 2-cry-PT-Q
Are you crying because they gave you maŋdok (to eat)? (v.D. 225)
(= saying "they gave me maŋdok")

c. mi-n seŋ-bhaʔan̩ yammu mup-maː 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. ruŋmeko, Thul. roaa-ma.
Lim. myaŋlun bhellie hem bhellie myaŋ bhellie pēn-baːn-nu biraːlo; luŋ bhellie dhurugā 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 dhurugā (stone). v.D.230

10 The past form is explained by the actional character of the verb, which is initio-transformative:
haiːb- "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) baraŋ 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 1plP-support-PT big-ADV 1plP-make-PT

As they do not fast, they cannot 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) - khenе? ačkyaŋ ke-lei-s-u?
Lim. you how 2-know-3P

- aŋga ačkhyeŋ leis-u-ŋ phelle netchi məna-re andre: syəli-ille
I how know-3P-1s QUOTE two man-ERG earlier jackal-ERG

haʔ-r-æŋ yaq-e-ille nis-e-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 handeq-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 kristyen lis-e, hitna yapmi-ci aniya
why QUOTE which person-nb Christian become-PT that person-nb our

samaj-ni unci cimma u-phut-u-ci-ga.
society-LOC they despisition 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 ʔa 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)

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 kehp-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

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 -qa and -bi.

Table 14: The origin of subordinators

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<td>-kiya</td>
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<td>-m</td>
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<td>-na,-ga</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-m,-mim,-de</td>
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<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>-ile</td>
<td>-na(-golo)</td>
<td>-hida(lo)</td>
<td>-ko/-pa(-na)</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-lo(ne)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

case/particle -> subordinator  
LOC -> PURP Thul. -qa, Khal. -bi  
COM -> MAN Athp. -lok  
ERG/INST -> TEMP, CAUS Lim. -ile  
-> ANTER, CAUS Thul. -ka  
ABL -> ANTER, CAUS Cam. -daka  
?PATH -> COND Thul. -la
TOP/FOC → COND Lim. gô, gôc
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" and in the obsolete Camling manner suffix -*sim, which was found only in mythological texts (cf. fn. 2 of this chapter).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>local noun</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>case</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>subordinator</th>
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<td>→</td>
<td>ABL, PATH</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>COND (Thul. -la)</td>
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<td>hiLOC</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>CONV (-sa)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*si</td>
<td>PURP → INF</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>COND (Cam., Khal. -kho, -kha)</td>
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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:

<table>
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<th>social</th>
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<tr>
<td>SOURCE Bant., Cam, Khal. -ka</td>
<td>ERG,INST Thul. -ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC Athp. -ni</td>
<td>?COM Lim., Thul. -nu(ŋ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL Cam., Bant. -ni(ŋ)</td>
<td>COM Bant. -nin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -loki-*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-qa (this-PLACE-(n)-LOC) "here".
comitative *-kolo*, and as part of the Limbu and Athpare focus (?) markers *goro* and *-kolo*. *-ko* is a focus marker and nominalizer in Camling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lim.</th>
<th>Athp. COM</th>
<th>Bant. TOP</th>
<th>Cam. TOP</th>
<th>Thul. TEMP</th>
<th>Khal. TEMP</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>MAN</td>
<td>MAN</td>
<td>MAN</td>
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<td>(temp. ADV)</td>
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</table>

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.
Appendices

Appendix A: Verbal paradigms

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<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<td>Person and number affixes</td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>A2</td>
<td>Basic tense</td>
<td>144</td>
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<td>A3</td>
<td>Negative paradigms (Athpare and Bantawa)</td>
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Appendix B: Texts

Sources of the texts

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<td><em>cunau</em> - Elections</td>
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<td>Ja1</td>
<td><em>dharma</em> - Religion</td>
<td>165</td>
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2. BANTAWA

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<tr>
<td>BANT5</td>
<td><em>kutiwa-nin mina</em> - Dog and man</td>
<td>170</td>
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<tr>
<td>BANT6</td>
<td><em>gothale-nin songbhensa</em> - Cowherd and Songbhensa</td>
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<tr>
<td>BANT7</td>
<td><em>ankawo iskula</em> - Our school</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BANT8</td>
<td><em>cha jānñay</em> - Childbirth</td>
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3. CAMLING

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<td>Bal5</td>
<td><em>wama tippasā</em> - Hen and jackal</td>
<td>191</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bal6</td>
<td><em>sunkesari rani</em> - The gold-haired queen</td>
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<td>Jh5</td>
<td><em>khusya pucho</em> - Youngest daughter and snake</td>
<td>215</td>
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<td>La13</td>
<td><em>Wachappa Busiri</em> - The Camling and Thulung ancestors</td>
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4. THULUNG

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<td>TH4</td>
<td><em>Baginanda</em> - The flying shaman</td>
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<td>TH5</td>
<td><em>Ramli</em> - Ramli and his slug eating wife</td>
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5. KHALING

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<td>KH5</td>
<td><em>soroli-kolo ut-kolo</em> - Jackal and camel</td>
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Appendix A1: Person and number affixes

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| LIMBU (Pānthare)

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143
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**Bantawa (Rabi)**

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| -3ns      | ke- -u-si | =       | ti- -u-ci| =       |
| 2d-3s     | ke- -s-u  | ke- -e-tch-u| =       | ti- -c-u | ti- -a-c-u |
| -3ns      | ke- -s-u-si | ke- -e-tch-u-si| =       | ti- -um  | ti- -a-n  |
| 2p-3s     | ke- -u-m  | =       | ti- -um  | ti- -a-n-um[-c-im] | =       |
| -3ns      | ke- -u-m-si-m| =       | ti- -um-c-im| =       |
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| 3ns-2d | ke-me- | -si | ke-me- | -e-tchi | im- | -c | im- | -a-ci |
| 3s-2p | ke- | -i | = | ti- | -in | ti- | -a-nin |
| 3ns-2p | ke-me- | -i | = | im- | -in | im- | -a-nin |

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| 3ns-3s | -s-u-si | -e-tchi-u-si | = |

| 3p-3s | me- | -u | = | i- | i- | -a |
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**Intransitive**

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- a Athpare PT stem suffix
- a Camling extended stem suffix
| 3-1e=2-1 | 3-1di | -sa-ci | -sa-d-a-ci | 3-1di | i- | i- | -i-4-i |
| 3s/d-1pi | sa | -sa-ča | -1pi | i- | -ki | i- | -i-ki |
| 3p-1nsi | sa-mi | -sa-č-a-mi |
| 3s/d-2s | -na | 3-2s | i- | i- | -tā |
| -2d | -na-ci | -2d | i- | i- | -i-4-i |
| -2p | -ni-mi | -2p | i- | -ni | i- | -tā-nu |
| 3p-2s | -na-mi | 3p-2s | -na-ci-mi |
| -2d | -ni-mi |
| 3s-3s | -ü | -T-ü | -ü | -tā |
| -3d | -i-(ci) | -T-ű-(ci) | -su | -tā-su |
| -3p | -ű-(mi) | -T-ű-(mi) | -nu | -tā-nu |
| 3d-3s/d | -ci | -ci-(mi) | -nu | -tā-nu |
| 3d-3p | -mi | -mi-d-i |
| 3p-3s/p | -mi | -mi-d-i-(ci) |
| 3p-3d | -mi-(ci) |

| Intransitive |
| l1s | -ŋu | -ŋu-čo | -ŋa | ? |
| l1de | -ku-ku | -ko-ko | -ču | ? |
| lpe | -ku | -ko-ko | -ka | -ta-ka |
| l1di | -ci | -ci | -i-4-i |
| 1pi | -i | -i- | -i-4-i |
| 2s | -na | -na | i- | i- | -tā |
| 2d | -ci | -ci | i- | i- | -i-4-i |
| 2p | -ni | -ni | i- | i- | -tā-ni |
| 3s | - | -ta | - | -tā |
| 3d | -ci | -ci | -i-4-i |
| 3p | -mi | -mi-d-i | -ni | -tā-nu |
## A3: negative paradigms

| ATHPARE | negNPT | negPT / neg PROG |
|---------|--------|-----------------
<p>| 1       | -2s    | -ne-n-na        |
|         | -2d    | -ne-n-ci-n-ga   |
|         | -2p    | -ne-n-min-ga    |
| or:     | -2s    | -ni-n-na        |
|         | -2d    | -ni-n-ci-n-ga   |
|         | -2p    | -ni-n-min-ga    |
| 1s      | -3s    | -ni-ŋ-na        |
|         | -3ns   | -ni-ŋ-ci-n-ga   |
| 1de-3   | -3ns   | -c-u-n-na-na    |
|         | -3ns   | -c-u-n-na-ga    |
| 1di-3   | -3ns   | -c-u-n-na       |
|         | -3ns   | -c-u-n-ga       |
| 1pe-3s  | -3ns   | -ni-m-na-na     |
|         | -3ns   | -ni-m-ci-m-ma-ga|
| 1pi-3s  | -3ns   | -ni-m-na        |
|         | -3ns   | -ni-m-ci-m-ga   |
| 2s-1    | a-     | -ni-ŋ-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   | -u-n-ci-n-ga    |
| 2d-3s   | a-     | -u-n-ci-un-na   |
|         | -3ns   | -u-n-ci-un-ga   |
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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 Baldehar 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 fonds or character types in one line. Loans from Nepali are therefore indicated by (N) in the glosses.
Pal (Athpare)
sosa-lok yusana
rabbit and tiger

1. achoo bo thik sosa bo thik jangal-da-ŋi yuŋa-na, yuŋa-ŋa
can 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-laŋ bo yuŋa-ŋa "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. hitnuŋnam bo sosa-m bo pig-e: 'aŋa-na tyuŋa-na, ca-ni-
then REP rabbit-TOP REP say-PT I-FOC be_small-NML eat-NEG-
ŋi, aŋa-na tyuŋa-na.
1s [rep.]

Thereupon the rabbit said: "I am so small; don't eat me, I am so small.

4. aŋa bhanda the-na khan gadde niŋ-na ka-tak
I COMPAR be_big-NML you like be_similar-NML your-friend

yaa cuwadam-i yuŋwa.
over_there well-LOC exists

There is one bigger than me over there in the well, your friend similar to you.

5. cuwadam-i kha-t-ci hitna cuwadam puy-u hitna go-lo khan-ŋa
well-LOC go-d that well look-3P that FOC you-ERG

co,′ lod-u-e bo hitna sosa-ŋa yuŋa-laŋ.
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. hitnuŋnam bo khada-c-e bo khadace bo, hitnuŋnam bo pu-
then REP go:PT-d-PT REP [rep. then REP look-
met-t-u-e cuwadam the-na cuwadam bo cuwadam-i bo
CAUS-3P-PT pond big-NML pond REP pond-LOC REP
yusana-q a spe 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-qa 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 niq-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-ak!"
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-na?a, hatlem de khan ca-na?a, hatlem de
now what you eat-1>2-NPT [rep.]

khan ca- na?a,' lod-u-na-m bo garo-lamma cuwadam o-tunj-
tell-3P-NML-TOP REP mud_wall-ABL well its-top-

lamma phood amsa-na-m bo yusana-m bo cubluk! cuwa-ni
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, 'cubluk!' the tiger sank into the water.

11. cuwa-ni liga-qit hitnuqnam 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 acayane, 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. hitnuŋnam bo hitna kharan-na ani bhanda the-na-lai then REP that reason-INST we COMPAR be_big-NML-DAT
u-caphen-lok lod-ni-m-na, ani bhanda cicik-na-lai its-badness-COM speak-NEG-1pA-NML we COMPAR small-NML-DAT
hela mett-ni-m-na, ani bhanda 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-na 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-na 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. hitnaŋ na sosanŋ yusana sed-u-e. that-INSTR rabbit-ERG tiger kill-3P-PT

Thus the rabbit killed the tiger.
Pa2 (Athpare)
cunau - elections

1. aŋa  sob-bhanda  paile,  sanango  ath  number  wari-ni
   I  all-COMPAR  first  S.  eight  number  ward-LOC

   khada-ŋ-na  bela-ŋa  sobbe  gaũ-ŋi  dula  lisa-ŋ-e.
   go:PT-1s-NML  time-OBL  all  village-LOC  walk  become:PT-1s-PT

   First, when I went to Sangang ward number eight, I visited (in) all the village.

2. dula  lisa-ŋ-na  bela-ŋa  klab-mi-ga  picha-ci-ŋa  aŋa-lai
   (rep.)  -NML  time-OBL  club-LOC-NML  youngster-ns-ERG  I-DAT

   rok  bhot  pi-naʔa',  yaŋ-lod-e.
   PART  vote  give-1gt2: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-ŋi-na  dhumke  budha-ŋa
   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  pabhitri-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 Pabhitri, 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-ŋa  menchema  sati  khat-ŋa;  menchema  si-
    NML-OBL  man  'sati'  go-NML  woman  die-

    na-ŋa  yembecha  sati  khat-ni-ŋa.
    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 yuŋ-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,’
    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. hitnunŋam a-m khodde lod-u-ŋ-e bhane, pheri handeq
    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 gaŋ-i-ŋa hitna burha-ŋa jamma
    (rep.):NML that village-LOC-NML that old_man-ERG all

    nas coq-u-es-u-e,’ 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. yan-o-lodaŋ á-m khadde lod-u-ŋ-e bhane: 'a-ruba,
   (rep.) -SEQ I-TOP what tell-3P-1s-PT QUOTE my-grandfather
   á-m khan kon-sa ta-ŋ-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.

   (rep.) -NML why PART my-granddaughter 2-come-PT-NML 1eP-tell-PT

   "Why did you come, my granddaughter?" he asked me.

15. á-m nadde kolor '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-un
   I PART PART you-p-ERG one all-ERG vote 2-put-2pA-1s-SEQ

   jita yan-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 amtepma
   I PART my-wish come-PT this turn that reason-INST how_many

   yembecha o-gob-yuk-ŋa 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 yugwa,
   woman-NS-obl FOC man-NS-obl like-NML right is

   hitna karan-na menchema yembecha ekk'e-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
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/ff 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 yungwa-na rahecha,' u-mit-yuk,
    we like-NML woman PART is-NML turned_out 3pA/S-think-NPT
    hitna karan-na sobbe-lai sofilo 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 yap-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. â-m lo-ma hi-ni-n-e, a-yamnem.
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-e khat-yuk," yaq-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 ga-liq 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. hitnunga paisa a-hott-u-e bhane bhot pi-na?a,
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,ʼ 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. hitnungam 'paisa-m makhak, a-ruba, nadde-ga ina
then money-TOP NEG:exist my-grandfather, like-NML beer

raksi pi-na?a,ʼ lod-u-ţ-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-e-ni.
INTJ agree-NEG-AUX-NEG

"M'm," he was not content.
32. iŋa 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 iŋa raksi -m u-thuŋ-o-coq-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. handeq pheri cunaŋ 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 iŋa 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 bhōt klab-mi-ga picha-ci-lamma tay-e, yembecha-ci-
60 vote club-LOC-NML child-ns-ABL come-PT man-ns-

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 one vote here, one vote there.

37. pheri handeq lemba dui baje yusana kada-ŋ un-lai
again next_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. pa isa piduŋe hitna budhalai, pa isa piduŋ-ŋ, 'lo, mamō, [rep.]

SEQ okay child(ADDR)

handeq-na ka-bhōt sobbe khana-lai rok pi-ne, 'lo, khana-lai
next_day-NML your-vote all you-DAT PART give-1>2 okay you-DAT
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.

Then the next day he did not disturb the voters.

I really won the elections.
Jal (Athpare)
dharma - religion

1. J: kristyen dharma anə a-nilwa ta-sa-na, poŋ bhane
   Christian religion my my-liking come:PT-PERF:PT-NML why QUOTE
   hitna dharma-i samman çok-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; samman ca çok-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. poŋs-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-qə kristyen dharma-loc 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: poŋ kristyen dharma manä a-coğ-u-n-na?
   why Chr. religion meditation 2-make-3P-NEG-NML

   K: Why do you not follow the Christian religion?

5. J: poŋ bhane kristyen dharma-na aru sobbe kam ocetnu-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
   çok-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-co-g-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, pon bhane unci-ya a-tog-e the-lok
   3pA/S-can-3P-NML why QUOTE they-ERG 1piP-support-PT be_big-MAN
   a-co-g-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.

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-chā-ci-ya pap katā cok-ma hi-ni-m-na.
   QUOTE/af 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.

   Dh.-LOC much Christian religion-ATTR AP-do person-ns 3pP/S-be

   K: Are there many followers of the Christian religion in Dhankutta?

   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-bang britēn 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.

    J.-ERG house buy-3P-PERF-3P-PT

    Jilko has bought a house.

12. un-na tahura pica-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.
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.

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-na ca na dharma manam o-cog-u-ett-u,
our(e) Rai-ns-ERG also this religion meditation 3pA/S-make-3P-PROG-3P

poq bhane anga-na bicar-ni aniya Rai-ci-na ritiriwaŋ
why QUOTE my-ATTR opinion-LOC our(e) Rai-ns-GEN custom

bo kharca lahap li-na janai piche sammanə
much expense need become-NML everybody ancestor_worship

e sammanə 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/ff divination AP-make-ns

yapmi-ci u-tad-u-ce bhane, thik-thik sammanə na dos
man-ns 3pA/S-bring-3P-3nsP-PT QUOTE/ff 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-yans-e, kohi
some spirit-ERG 3>2-bite-PT some river-LOC-NML/ERG 3>2-hit-PT some

khaniya sammanə nás lis-e, kohi aru-ŋa ban lahap
your(p) ancestor damage become-PT some other-ERG arrow afflict

ma-cog-e," pik-sa sammanə cok-munə-sa bo phak-ci-let
3>2-make-PT speak-SIM ancestor_worship make-3pR-SIM much pig-ns-DIM

waji-let, yumalinaŋ, ipa thuk-ma-cok-ma-ŋ
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] speakingand 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: kristyen 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-qa u-pans-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 handeg-samma kristyen-lok li-ma u-hi-
    but they tomorrow-until Christian-COM become-INF 3pA/S-can-

    ni-ga poq bhane jun yapmi-ci kristyen lis-e
    NEG-NML why QUOTE which man-ns Christian become-PT

    hitna yapmi-ci aniya samaj-ni unci cinma u-phut-u-ci-ga.
    that man-ns our(e) society -LOC they despiration 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 paq-bhitra hutluq-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 choq 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.

    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. paq-bhitra u-lig-e bhane aniya rai-ci-ga sammaq
    house-inside 3pA/S-enter-PT QUOTE our(e) Rai-ns-ATTR deity
If they enter into the house, our Rai deity will be insulted, we will have great expenses.

"You do not worship [like us], so what damage could you have," they tell them.

The mind of those who practice the Christian religion will be in trouble; whether they worship or not, they are in a dilemma.
Once a dog was born by a wild dog in the Sibathali forest.

"Who is the biggest in this world, I shall do his service," he thought.

So the dog, asking the birds, came down with them.

"Who is the biggest in this world?" he asked them.

"Down on the earth the elephant is the biggest," the birds told him.
"When I go to look for him, will I find him or will I not find him?" he asked.

"If you go down searching for him you will find him," the birds said and sent him away.

The dog went and went and went and finally he reached the place where the elephant was sleeping.

"Hi, you animal which I have never seen, where do you come from and why have you come," asked the elephant.

The dog replied: "I am Makong."
"I have come from afar to serve you," he said.

The elephant said: "Oh, if that's so, you may stay," and he went back to sleep.

The dog stayed without having eaten.

After a few hours, at midnight, the dog barked "honghong, honghong, honghong".
The dog asked: "Why, my king?"

ref BANT 5.18

The lion asked: "If the lion hears us, he will surely eat us," he said.

ref BANT 5.19

The dog thought: "Oh, the lion must be bigger than this one."

ref BANT 5.20

Next morning: "I have to ask for leave," he thought and he asked for leave.

ref BANT 5.21

The elephant said: "O.K., if you go, all right, then go," and he let him go.

ref BANT 5.22

So he went for the lion, seeking, seeking.
He went and went and he discovered the lion in a cave.

"Oh you, you look like my food, where do you live?" the lion asked.

"My king, I am here to serve you, I thought to remain under your protection, and so I have come," the dog said.

"Oh, well done, you ask for shelter, nevertheless you look like my food stuff," the lion told the dog.
The lion went back to sleep, the dog stayed in his vicinity from then on.

The dog thought: "Is there someone even bigger than the lion or not," and at midnight he started barking again: honghong! honghong!

"Oh, don't bark, don't bark! Men will kill us if they hear us!" the lion told the dog.

"If we find that man, what does he look like?" the dog asked.

"To find that man called 'king's child' is difficult.
He looks like a god.

He does not live here and there like us (he is sedentary).

He walks on two legs," said the lion.

"If he finds us, he will kill us," he [the lion] said.

So the dog thought: "Oh that king's child is big".

The next morning the dog asked for dismissal, and he went to seek man.
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-?a '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-?a '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 tohela 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 'ia ia yung-e moloko' yingma kiya mo mina-?a 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 majoli yung
gl also give:3P REP and his-belly be_sated-PT and that dog nicely stay

tx -a nimang.
gl -PT REP
"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 toro oko bhonda
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 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 -?a lo 'lo?oy 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 sebasi 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 -?a 'e oko hang-cha nga s?o?oy bhonda toppang
gl that dog -ERG INTJ this king -child EMPH all(N) COMPAR big

tx rocho' 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.
Once there lived one Songbhensa, who used to come to a cowherd's shed.

This Songbhensa used to steal curd, thus making trouble.

He made trouble by imitating the cowherd, acting like the cowherd acted, imitating him.

Whenever the cowherd warmed himself, then he also warmed himself.

Whenever the cowherd rubbed himself with ghee, he also rubbed himself, taking out ghee.
ref BANT 6.6

**As he continued to make trouble like this by imitating the cowherd, the cowherd became embittered and angry at him.**

ref BANT 6.7

**The cowherd reflected.**

ref BANT 6.8

**and he made a plan how to chase Songbhensa.**

ref BANT 6.9

**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

**Songbhensa also came and, taking pine resin, he rubbed himself.**
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.

The cowherd kept pinewood for himself and, lightening it, he pretended to warm himself.

Songbhensa also did the same.

The fire of the pinewood caught his hair, when Songbhensa jumped up, shouting “attoo attoo”.

ref BANT 6.11
gl cowherd(N) his-foot -arm -ns his-body -ns his-head -ns-LOC-(t)-ALL oil -INST

gl apply-PT-REFL -TEMP S. also like_that EMPH pine_resin -INST his

gl -foot -arm his-body -ns-LOC -NML his-body_hair catch-3P-V2:COMPL-3P PART

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
gl cowherd(N) pine -wood keep_for-PT-REFL and light-V2:CONT-SIM be_hot-INF

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
gl PART S. also like_that EMPH act-PT-V2:CONT-PT REP

tr Songbhensa also did the same.

ref BANT 6.14
gl pine -wood-GEN his-fire-ERG that-EXP-GEN his-body_hair pick_up-3P-V2:INCH

gl -3P-TEMP IDEO and IDEO say -V2:CONT-SIM that S. jump -PT

gl -V2:INCH-PT REP

tr The fire of the pinewood caught his hair, when Songbhensa jumped up, shouting “attoo attoo”.

ref BANT 6.15
gl fire-ERG burn-3P-V2:INCH-3P and run -PT-V2:INCH-PT REP

gl fire-ERG burn-3P-V2:INCH-3P and run -PT-V2:INCH-PT REP
The fire caught him and he ran away.

And he crossed the hill, he was running away.

Thus Songbhensa burned to death, and from that day the cowherd lived in peace.
In former times in our village, there was neither a school nor a man, who knew how to read.

There were only one or two men in a village, who knew a little how to read and to write.

At home my father used to teach me a little how to read and write.

In the village, sometimes one or two soldiers or one or two policemen taught us for one or two days.
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-comet: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  koyle  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  podsay  mi
        -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?-a  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
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.

There was no watch and we went to school watching the sun; later we had to leave also watching the sun.

When the the sun did not appear, we where sent home sometimes at dark, sometimes at daytime.

The teacher taught us by bringing one or two books from somewhere.
Sometimes there was not even a book, and he would teach us just like that.
BANT 8 (Bantawa)
cha jānmây - childbirth

ref BANT 8.1
tx cha jānmây li -ma bhonda poyle i -ma betha -7a
  child birth(N) become-INF than(N) first(N) 3sPOSS-mother pain(N)-INST

lott -u -lott -u pøchi ten -da søbøy le -wo sin -ko
  take_out-3P-V2:INCH-3P after(N) village -LOC all(N) know-NML know-NML

mechacha nga yak khoko i -but-tat.
  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
ibuhttat pøchi moså-7a di mi-ma -wo, khosa-7a nga i
  [rep.] after(N) that -ERG what do -INF-NML she -ERG EMPH 3sPOSS

-yangkha-ci tongs-u -pi -ci.
  -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
mosa-7a misa mutna mi-ment-u nga -hida nani chang
  that -ERG like that so_much do -V2:? -3P EMPH-TEMP baby(N) also

jonmøy li -dha ma?ang bhone chuk chang pakt-u.
  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
mo nani jōnmøy li -cin kiya mo i -yawa -nin
  that baby(N) birth(N) must-V2:finish and that 3sPOSS-umbilical_cord-COM

chuttøy mi-ma li.
  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
mo cha chuttøy i -mi kiya wa i -cang.
  that child separate(N) INV-do:3P and water INV-bathe
tr They separate the child and bathe it.

ref BANT 8.6

tx 3sPOSS-mother also water INV-bathe and be_good-ADJ cloth-ns INV

gl -ma chang wa i -cang kiya nu -wak tit -ci i

They bathe the mother, too, and they make her wear good clothes.

ref BANT 8.7

tx that child-GEN 3sPOSS-umbilical_cord-ns vessel(N)-LOC INV-put_inside

that 3sPOSS-umbilical_cord-ns vessel(N)-LOC INV-put_inside

kiya sing -tang-da -ni chang buktang-da -ni chang i -pak

and wood-stem -LOC-ALL also cave -LOC-ALL also INV-put_inside

gl -yawa -ci dhungro-da i -pak

d-a.

-put_on-CAUS

They put the umbilical cord in a vessel and put it in a tree or a cave.

ref BANT 8.8

wa i -cangs-u -ci kiya moko i -ma -nin i -cha

that 3sPOSS-mother-LOC 3sPOSS-child

wa i -cangs-u -ci kiya moko i -ma -nin i -cha

3sPOSS-child

a?wa-7a im -sopt-u -ci kiya wa i -set kiya ummak i

oil -INST 3pA/S-rub -3P-3nsP and chicken INV-kill and beer INV

a?wa-7a im -sopt-u -ci kiya wa i -set kiya ummak i

a?wa-7a im -sopt-u -ci kiya wa i -set kiya ummak i

gl chicken 3sPOSS-umbilical_cord-ns vessel(N)-LOC INV-put_inside

-ku kiya kok -nin tato i -pi.

and heat and boiled_rice-COM hot(N) INV-give:3P

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

mo cha -wo i -ma betha mi-nin -ko bhone muntika

that child-GEN 3sPOSS-mother pain(N) do -NEG-NML QUOTE/ff(N) so much

mo cha -wo i -ma betha mi-nin -ko bhone muntika

mo cha -wo i -ma betha mi-nin -ko bhone muntika

gl child-GEN 3sPOSS-mother pain(N) do -NEG-NML QUOTE/ff(N) that-LOC treatment also make

ng a i -chit -da.

EMPH INV-leave-V2:leave:PT

If the child's mother feels no pain, that's it, they leave her.

ref BANT 8.10

mo-da dici chang met

3sPOSS-mother pain(N) do -NML QUOTE/ff(N) that-LOC treatment also make

mo-da dici chang met
If the mother feels pain, she has to undergo a treatment.

The fifth or the sixth day after the child’s birth they must perform the naming ceremony.

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.

They bring the girl out in the sun and they pierce her ears with a needle.

At that time they sprinkle holy water and bless mother and child.
The old women of the village come and then the child's name is worn.

If it is a boy, they bless it on the sixth day and his name is given and his ears are pierced.

Water is put in a vessel, and they sprinkle the house water with leaves from the tangka-tree and they bless it.
Bal 5 (SE-Camling)
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 yôhoda-ci, dakana tippasa m -khim-i khata,
gl then so(N) wander -d then jackal 3sPOSS-house-loLOC go

tx wama m -dâi 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
id yuko-lyona, 'ohou uko m -dai ta ono canyo, m -sa
gl [rep.] -TOP INTJ this 3sPOSS-egg PART thisMuch 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
Having given it, "oh, this egg is delicious, how delicious would her flesh be!" he thought.

"I should eat her also," he thought.

Then he asked: "Where will you go today to pick food?"

"Today I'll go up into the mountains," she said.

"I'll go up into the mountains," she said and went down to the river.

He went up there and stayed there waiting, but he did not hear her.
ref Bal 5.13
tx 'ale wahui-ni khat-áí,' 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
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 -áí -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-un-ga 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 rhós -áica -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 laidá -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.
Bal 6 (Camling)
Sunkesari Rani - the gold-haired queen

A gold-haired queen went to take a bath and one of her golden hairs fell out.

When it fell out she came home and said: "Father, one of my golden hairs was lost."

Well then, whoever finds it, to him I will give my daughter," he said.

It was his eldest son who found it.
As they had said so earlier, they had to give her to him.

Then they pounded paddy, prepared rice and baked cyura (round pastry).

When they baked the chyore a crow came along saying 'kokō'.

Please give me a chyore," he said, "I am going to tell you something."

"I won't; what is made for my elder brother's marriage I won't give you," she said.

After a while again he said: "Give me a little! I will tell you something."
"I won’t," she said, but he came again and spoke like this.

"You are really insisting," she said, and broke off a little and threw it at him.

So he ate.

After he had eaten he said: "This is prepared for your and your brother’s marriage, it seems."

"Who are you then?" she asked and threw everything to him.
After throwing everything she went away.

She took a rope, tied grains up in a bundle and climbed a big tree and sat there.

Her father came and said, "Come down child, we must celebrate your brother's marriage."

She said "You whom I called my father have become my father-in-law; thukka! may you die," and he died.

Then the mother went and said, "Come down my child."
ref Bal 6.21
<ref Bal 6.22
<ref Bal 6.23
<ref Bal 6.24
<ref Bal 6.25

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
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
	r "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 wa'ima 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-nā lod-ty -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
"I won't suffer," he said, and so she let down the rope and it became a ladder.

He climbed up that ladder.

He climbed up and then the two stayed there together.

Later he became hungry, he became thirsty.

"Sister, I am thirsty, I am thirsty!" he said.

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.
"Sister I am thirsty, Sister, I am thirsty!"

"Well, stay here now. Don't untie this bundle, stay quiet," she said.

The elder sister went to search water.

When she had gone, he was dying from hunger, so what, he untied the bundle.

Having untied it, there were seeds.

Two-three seeds fell down and below they turned into cows and buffaloes.
The elder sister came carrying water and he drank.

When she looked at her bundle she saw that it was untied.

"As I told you not to look into this, how could you untie it," she said.

"Sister, but when I untied it, it became cows and buffaloes down there," he said.

Well, everything that was spilled turned into cows and buffaloes.
Therefore they descended from up there and looked after those cows and buffaloes.

They built a house.

The sister stayed in the house and he went to herd.

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.
One day two men came along.

Looking at the cows in the place they said. "This cow of yours, how beautiful she is."

"What is beautiful about my cow?" he said,

"My sister is really beautiful!"

"Where is your sister then?"

"Up there in the house," he said, and the two went up to the elder sister.

The sister refused.
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tx chaid-yi -nα museppa marmacа m -ngalung-da map-u -ngas -yi

She had rubbed her face with black ashes.

ref Bal 6.59
tx 'ee nani, ee nani, wa dung-mа kha-ida -nna,,' lod-yi -ko.
gl ee child ee child water drink -INF 1P -give-IMPER tell -3P-NML

"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

The sister kept refusing: "There is no water," she said.

ref Bal 6.61
tx 'hing-e, kha-ida -nna! sarо wa'ma tira -nα bo thalа,' ringa

gl be -NPT 1P -give-IMPER hard(N) thirst become-SEQ PART PART(N) say

There is, give me! I am so thirsty," he said.

ref Bal 6.62
tx dakana khim-kōya-ka ŋо oso id -yi-c -yi -ko raicha.

Finally she gave them from inside the house.

ref Bal 6.63
tx 'khim-kōya-ka -nα ise,,' lod-yi -ko raicha.

It is not good to give from inside the house," he said.
"I don't come out."

They caught her, and when they poured that water in her face, it was golden.

They carried her away and brought her to their house.

Then when her brother came, saying "make the tethers ready, serve the milkpudding," his sister was not there.
laida -ko raicha.

"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
'tan -ou hyani?' lod-yo -ko raicha tyoko m -khi bo
over_there tell -3P:NPT-NML REP that 3sPOSS-excrement PART

'hai!' ring -e -ko raicha.
hai say -NPT-NML REP

Whenever he shouted "are you there sister?" that excrement would say "hai!"

ref Bal 6.70
'ukhyani nan -ou?' lod-yo tyiko m -khi bo 'hai!' lod-yo
over_here e.sister-ADDR tell -3P that 3sPOSS-excrement PART hai tell -3P:NPT

ko raicha.
-NML REP

When he shouted "are you there sister?" that excrement would say "hai!"

ref Bal 6.71
dakana khumo m -gai -wa bo chaid-yi -nA 'dono saro ta-pat
then his 3sPOSS-cow(N)-ERG PART know -3P-SEQ why hard(N) 2 -shout

-e? kanga -mna-tōda chung-syi,' lod-yi -nA daka khata-ko
-FOC-near(person) bring -3P tell -3P-SEQ then go -NML

raicha gai -tōda.
cow(N)-near(person)

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
'lou aso kanga 'bwa!' rung-āl -pa a -khorī -kōya wanga,
INTJ(N) now I bwa say -1sNPT-TEMP 1sPOSS-stomach-inside enter

pherī 'bwa!' rung-āl -pa buyā laidāl' lod-yi -ko raicha-nA
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
egl  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 rungmako ta -ko raichat
egl  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
egl  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.
"You are hiding someone," he said.

"O.k.", the cow said, "count [the hair] from my tail up to my head.

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.

Whenever he reached the upper part, whenever he almost reached her head she shook her body.

"You are hiding someone," the cow said, "count [the hair] from my tail up to my head.

"O.k.", the cow said, "count [the hair] from my tail up to my head.

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.

Whenever he reached the upper part, whenever he almost reached her head she shook her body.
"You missed it, you missed it, take up again from below," she said, and again from below he counted upwards.

When again he reached the head she shook herself.

"You missed it, count up again from below," she said.

When again he almost reached from below it became light and that Dangtye went away.

Then the two went on, and the cow brought him to his sister's place.
ref Bal 6.88

"My brother came! My brother came!" she said.

ref Bal 6.89

"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

Then, when she spit, he licked it up.

ref Bal 6.91

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

He picked it up and gave it to her.

ref Bal 6.93
"Well, he really turned out to be your brother, he really is."

"(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."

"Let's go up to hunt," he said, and the two went and he killed his wife's younger brother.

He brought his liver and heart and said "prepare it!" and gave it to the sister.
When she cut it, it said "Akka, sister, akka, sister!"

Then when she put the oil and fried it, it said "atto!"

When she put the broth he stood up, it was her brother!

After he stood up, her brother hid himself, and then they killed the sister's man.

Then they went to their house.
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.
Jh 5 (SE-Camling)

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 bhai ni.

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 'kä-na pa -khai-n -äi,’ ringa-ko raicha thuli.

GL I -TOP NEG-go -NEG-1sNPT say -NML REP e.daughter(N)
"I don't go," the eldest daughter said.

He asked the second daughter the same, she also said: "I don't go."

The third daughter, all the others spoke like this, they all refused, down to the youngest daughter they refused.

"Well, if you don't go, I will go," the father said and went to cut firewood.

When he went to cut firewood, when he went up into the jungle and cut firewood here and there, what happened?
As he looked around, he discovered a flower.

I will take this flower and my children will wear it," he thought,

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.

"No, don't eat me, I will give my child to you, snake," he said.

then firewood cut where-ALL where-ALL walk-NPL
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 raichai
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) 1P -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

tr -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 nakhō kā-lai kha-ca-e, kanga 6 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-āi hoi thala,’ khusya cahi
gl no 1sPOS-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 ’kā kho -ni kho -ni khat-āi 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 -nā kanga mina tir -āi -nā 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
"O.k." she said and remained standing there, the snake entered the water.

He entered the big water and became a man and came up: "Come on, let's go!" he said.

"I am the snake's wife, I don't go," she said.

"But it's me! I became a man and came out," he said, and they went.

Then he said: "Here we must live," and they went up to the earth and lived there.
They stayed there, that snake became a human being, turned out to be a man.

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.

Then they lived together and they built a beautiful house.

They lived there.
After some time the second daughter, the elder sister went to find her younger sibling, the youngest daughter.

As the looked around and saw how she lived, she said: "Come on, youngest, let's go to bathe," and they set off.

When they went along the bank, there was a ferris wheel, which had been put up.

"Let's swing here, I'll go first," she said, and second daughter climbed up, and she swung.
ref Jh 5.43
\text{tx} ani 'lu kanga dhas -aic -ki,' lod-yi ra dhas -aica.
\text{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
\text{tx} 'aso khana ta-wang-e, uko khamo woi-kha -ci jhara lais -yi ra
\text{gl} now you 2 -enter -NPT this your wear-N.PAT-ns all take_off-3P and(N)

\text{tx} wanga.
\text{gl} enter

tr "Now you will go up, take off all your clothes and get up.

ref Jh 5.45
\text{tx} ping -da wang-in-e -pa dha -ni bo hapt -e,‘
\text{gl} ferris_wheel(N)-LOC enter -2p-NPT-TEMP above-ALL PART get_stuck-NPT

\text{tx} rungmana lod-yi -ko.
\text{gl} QUOTE tell -3P -NML

tr When you get into the wheel they might get stuck up there," she said.

ref Jh 5.46
\text{tx} oso m -na -wa lod-yi -ko, // lais -yi -ki bhungs-yi -dyo
\text{gl} as 3sPOSS-e.sister-ERG tell -3P-NML // take_off-3P-SEQ dump -3P-V2:RELIN:3P

\text{tx} -ko raicha.
\text{gl} -NML REP

tr As the elder said this, she took off [her clothes] and dumped them.

ref Jh 5.47
\text{tx} wanga-kina m -na -wa hallyai mai -ma puis -yi -ko raicha
\text{gl} enter -SEQ 3sPOSS-e.sister-ERG swing(N) make-INF begin-3P-NML REP

\text{tx} -pana m -kurma la -ko raicha.
\text{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.
"Enough, enough, sister, I have enough."

She pushed her very hard, she pushed her to the very end.

She fell into the river, she died and the other one took everything.

After she took everything - what to do now?

She put on all her sister's ornaments and clothes and came back.

A child had been born also.
ref Jh 5.54
\( \text{tx} \) // yaya -\text{mo} m -nun bhoptale pa -woida-ngasa -\text{ko} raicha.
\( \text{gl} \) child(N)-GEN 3sPOSS-name Bh. INV-put_on -V2:PERF-NML REP

\( \text{tr} \) The child was named Bhoptale.

ref Jh 5.55
\( \text{tx} \) ta -\text{ko} raicha dakana yaya khap-e -\text{ko} raicha.
\( \text{gl} \) come-NML REP then child(N) weep -NPT-NML REP

\( \text{tr} \) After she came back the child always cried.

ref Jh 5.56
\( \text{tx} \) 'aina a -n -eu, khai thala kai -nicho,' lomanA lod-yi
\( \text{gl} \) INTJ 1sPOSS-e.sister-ADDR where PART(N) 2pPOSS-y.sibling QUOTE tell -3P

\( \text{tx} \) -\text{ko} raicha tyiko pucho-wa.
\( \text{gl} \) -NML REP that snake -BRG

\( \text{tr} \) "Now, elder sister, where is your younger sister?" the snake asked.

ref Jh 5.57
\( \text{tx} \) 'aina uko de tir -\text{e}, kanga-mna -\text{ko},' ringa-ko raicha.
\( \text{gl} \) INTJ this what become-NPT I -EMPH-FOC say -NML REP

\( \text{tr} \) "What's the matter, it's me!" she said.

ref Jh 5.58
\( \text{tx} \) 'aina-ko, khaini-na anga a -na po thala'.
\( \text{gl} \) no -FOC you (p)-TOP my 1sPOSS-e.sister PART PART(N)

\( \text{tr} \) "No, you are my elder sister, for sure."

ref Jh 5.59
\( \text{tx} \) 'aina uko de tir -\text{e} uko mina, kanga-mna -\text{ko},' rungmana lod-yi
\( \text{gl} \) no this what become-NPT this man I -EMPH-FOC QUOTE tell -3P

\( \text{tx} \) -\text{ko} raicha.
\( \text{gl} \) -NML REP

\( \text{tr} \) "No, what's the matter with this man, it's me!" she said.
ref Jh 5.60
\[ \text{tx} \; \text{tylko yaya -lai dudh id -yo, depamo ding -yo dudh.} \]
\[ \text{gl} \; \text{that child(N)-DAT(N) milk(N) give-3P:NPT never drink-3P:NPT milk(N)} \]
\[ \text{tr} \; \text{She used to give milk to the baby, but it never drank the milk.} \]

ref Jh 5.61
\[ \text{tx} \; \text{m -ma cahi huilo ngos-yi -pak -u wa -da -na sya-ngas} \]
\[ \text{gl} \; \text{3sPOSS-mother FOC(N) below push -3P-V2:COMPL-3P water-LOC-TOP die -V2:stay} \]
\[ \text{tx} \; -e. \]
\[ \text{gl} \; -\text{NPT} \]
\[ \text{tr} \; \text{Its mother, pushed down into the water, was dying.} \]

ref Jh 5.62
\[ \text{tx} \; \text{yaya si -ma rungs -e -ko raicha.} \]
\[ \text{gl} \; \text{child(N) die-INF be-about-NPT-NML REP} \]
\[ \text{tr} \; \text{The baby was almost starving.} \]

ref Jh 5.63
\[ \text{tx} \; \text{m -yaya khapa-ko isa isa ta -e -ko raicha.} \]
\[ \text{gl} \; \text{3sPOSS-child(N) weep -NML quietly quietly come-NPT-NML REP} \]
\[ \text{tr} \; \text{When the baby cried [the mother] used to come secretly.} \]

ref Jh 5.64
\[ \text{tx} \; \text{-uile -na mi -leta -ko pani tyoso -ram mi -ta -ko} \]
\[ \text{gl} \; \text{earlier(N)-TOP 3pS-become_alife-NML also(N) like_that-PART 3pS-come-NML} \]
\[ \text{tx} \; \text{are. } - \]
\[ \text{gl} \; \text{REP(N)} \]
\[ \text{tr} \; \text{- They say that in former times people became alive again and came back.} \]

ref Jh 5.65
\[ \text{tx} \; \text{dudh ding maid-yo -ko raicha, ding -u -ko raicha yaya pani.} \]
\[ \text{gl} \; \text{milk(N) drink make -3P:NPT-NML REP drink-3P-NML REP child(N) also(N)} \]
\[ \text{tr} \; \text{She made him drink milk, and it drank, the child.} \]
One day the husband said [to his dead wife]: "I will send her to fetch rice.

Stay on the loft, take an axe and stay there.

When she comes up here, hew her down," he said.

Okay," she said and remained sitting on the loft.

He sent [the other one] up to fetch rice, and she hew her down with the axe.
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 -áì'.
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 'loukhana-śkhata-na\l\ -yo,' lod-yi\-ki\ pa\ -chuida-ko
gl INTJ(N) you\ -EMPH go\ -SEQ pluck-3P\ tell\ -3P-SEQ INV-send\ -NML

tax -na, khata-kinā 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

tax -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

tax 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

tax -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-motyonno.
gl that\ -ns-GEN that_much

tr This much for them.
Lal 3 (NW-Camling)
sp Wachapa Busiri - the Camling and Thulung ancestor

ref Lal 3.1
\text{tx} - ase khaini camling khopala muni -ko? -
\text{gl} earlier you (p) camling which\_side originate-NML

\text{tr} - From where did you Camling originate in earlier times? -

ref Lal 3.2
\text{tx} ase kai hō -cha khopala muni niko rungmapana, m -bhusi
\text{gl} earlier we(pi) king-child which\_side originate PART QUOTE 3sPOSS\_front

\text{tx} -na salapa ra naima hinga-ci niko.
\text{gl} -TOP S. and(N) N. be -d PART

\text{tr} From where we Camling originated - in the beginnig there where Salapa and Naima.

ref Lal 3.3
\text{tx} oko haikhama salapa ra naima-wa pa -laida -ci niko.
\text{gl} this earth S. and(N) N. -ERG INV\_bring\_out\_d PART

\text{tr} Salapa and Naima created the earth.

ref Lal 3.4
\text{tx} naima-mo m -cha phromo hinga niko.
\text{gl} N. -GEN 3sPOSS\_child Ph. be PART

\text{tr} Naima's child was Phromoma.

ref Lal 3.5
\text{tx} phromo-mo m -cha kaini.
\text{gl} Ph. -GEN 3sPOSS\_child we(pi)

\text{tr} We are Phromo's children.

ref Lal 3.6
\text{tx} ase phromo-mo m -cha so rungmapa, sungpana ni.
\text{gl} yesterday Ph. -GEN 3sPOSS\_child who QUOTE S. PART

\text{tr} Who then was Phromo's child? Sungpana.
ref Lal 3.7

tr Sungpana's children were Wachapa and Busiri.

ref Lal 3.8

tr Where they were born? in the Terai (the land of the Tharu and Baju kings).

ref Lal 3.9

tr They all separated from the Tharu and Baju land.

ref Lal 3.10

tr Now, how Salapa and Naima created us chief-sons, that is,

ref Lal 3.11

tr First they created the earth.

ref Lal 3.12

tr In the earth the white ant originated.

ref Lal 3.13

tr Rodung hō -cha muni niko. /.../

S. 3sPOSS-child W. B. 3pS-be PART

where 3pS-become PART Th. -king B. -king-LOC PART

all Th. -king-B. -king-from(N) 3pS-divide-REFL PART 3pS-separate PART

and S. N. -ERG how -do -SIM we(pi) king-child originate PART QUOTE

this earth first(N) originate

earth -LOC white ant PART originate-NML REP PART

then(N) white ant -ERG anthill originate anthill -from(N) we(pi)

Kiranti king-child originate PART
The white ant created the anthill; from the anthill we Rodung people (=chief-sons) originated.

Thus there where altogether 4 brothers: Tharu, Khambu, Limbu, and we, the Chamling, Wachapa's heirs, his descendents.

We came up in former times from Tharu and Baju land.

We came up from Tharu and Bahu land, clearing away the obstacles.

We came to the Diktel Yapsungma.

Here our grandfather Wachapa settled, claiming the ancestral territory (cari).
He settled here and performed the rituals and we all separated.

When they (Wachapa and Busiri) came to the Diktel Yapsungma, Busiri arrived first.

Busiri chose this place (…) 

He cleared the ancestral land and settled down.

Wachapa is said to have arrived after him, Busiri came first.
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-ṣi' runga-na cari syol
  gl he also(N) now ancestral_territory claim-1sNPT say -SEQ ancestral_territory claim

tx -yi boto 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

\textbf{tx} pus-a-na 'hō -b -ou, dosoko khana oda ta-hinga-ko thala.
gl go -SEQ king-brother-ADDR how you here 2 -be -NML PART(N)

\textit{tr} He said: "Brother, how come you are here?"

ref Lal 3.32

\textbf{tx} kā-lyona huilo khim pani m-ung-ko hing-e, rōho pani kot -ung
\textit{gl} I -TOP below house also(N) do-1s -NML be -NPT boar also(N) tame-1s

\textbf{tx} -ko hing-e.
\textit{gl} -NML be -NPT

\textit{tr} I myself have built a house down there, I have domesticated the wild boar.

ref Lal 3.33

\textbf{tx} lou, oda-na is -e, oko-na anga bo.
\textit{gl} INTJ(N) here-TOP be_bad-NPT this -TOP my PART

\textit{tr} Well, you can't stay here, this is mine.

ref Lal 3.34

\textbf{tx} khana-na khoda ta-pus-e pusa,' lud-yi -ko raicha.
\textit{gl} you -TOP where 2 -go -NPT go tell -3P-NML REP

\textit{tr} You go where you'll go!"

ref Lal 3.35

\textbf{tx} lud-yi -pana busiri lud-yi -ko raicha: 'delo, kanga bo m -bhusi
\textit{gl} tell -3P-TEMP B. tell -3P-NML REP INTJ I PART 3sPOSS-before

\textbf{tx} t -ung-ko.
\textit{gl} come-1s -NML

\textit{tr} When he said this Busiri answered: "No, I have come first.

ref Lal 3.36

\textbf{tx} anga a -khim khang-u -n -eu, cari syol -ung-ko hing
\textit{gl} my 1sPOSS-house look -3P-2p-ADDR ancestral_territory claim-1s -NML be

\textbf{tx} -e, cari lhap -ung-ko hing-e' runga-ko raicha.
\textit{gl} -NPT ancestral_territory catch -1s -NML be -NPT say -NML REP

\textit{tr} Please, look at my house! I have claimed my cari, I have conquered the place."
ref Lal 3.37
\(\text{tx } '\text{aina}' \text{ wachapa, 'kanga bo m -bhusi t -ung-ko.}\)
gl no W. I PART 3sPOSS-before come-1s -NML

tr "No" Wachapa said, "I came earlier."

ref Lal 3.38
\(\text{tx lou,anga khō-si pusa, a -khim khang-u lou thala.'}\)
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
\(\text{tx busiri-lai dhas -yi-ko raicha.}\)
gl B. -DAT(N) take_down-3P-NML REP

tr He took Busiri down,

ref Lal 3.40
\(\text{tx dhas -yi-na khang-u -ko raicha.}\)
gl take_down-3P-SEQ look -3P-NML REP

tr He looked around.

ref Lal 3.41
\(\text{tx rōho-mo m -khli pani khō-maid-yi -ko raicha.}\)
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
\(\text{tx busiri-mo m -kung pa -lyok -aina-ko raicha.}\)
gl B. -GEN 3sPOSS-heart NEG-arrange-NEG-NML REP

tr Busiri's heart did not agree.

ref Lal 3.43
\(\text{tx 'aina kanga-6 m -bhusi t -ung-ko', runga-pa}\)
gl no I -EMPH 3sPOSS-before come-1s -NML say -TEMP

tr "No, I came earlier," he said.
Wachapa said: "Well, if it is so, why do we quarrel.

Let's not quarrel, let's ask the sky and the earth, who arrived earlier. Let's ask the sky and the earth."

"Alright then," Busiri agreed.

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.
He made a pillar from a gope bamboo, and there he put water.

After that he said to Busiri: "Princely brother, you go on and speak your prayer to the sky and to the earth."

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.

Then Wachapa said: "No, brother, now this much was your’s. Now I’ll speak," he said to Busiri.

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 "cyal cyal."

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
egl 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.
egl 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 /.../
egl 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.
egl live PART

tr Here our grandfather Wachapa conquered the cari and settled down.
TH4 (Thulung)
Baginanda - the flying shaman

ref TH 4.1

tx baginandakam go thenmune mithetpu kiki thštwa loa
mr baginanda-kam go the -t -mu -ne mi -thet -pu kiki thštwa loa
gl Baginanda-GEN I know-INF-TOP NEG-know-3s>3sPT little hearsay words

tx mãtraí go the tpu, mõram go thwomtom jati go
mr mãtraí go the -t -pu mõram go thôs-u -to -m jati go
gl only(N)I know-3s>3sNPT that I hear-1s>3-1e:PT-NML so_much(N) I

tx sôw.
mr sô -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 mô nokcho bayram belâka phlustalo, u -mina (dela)
mr mõ nokcho bay-ta -m belâ -ka phlus -ta -lo u -mina .
gl that shaman be -PT-NML time(N)-INST initiate-PT-TEMP 3sPOSS-what's_it .

tx dhol pholmukam lägi u -deutâmim yeďjilo, u
mr dhol phol-mu -kam lägi u -deûtâ -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 -deutâka anu bangdel roaamano mõ dholku u -sej
mr -deutâ -ka anu bangdel roa-ma-no mõ dhol -ku u -sej
gl -god(N)-ERG across Bangdel say -PP-levLOC that drum (N)-GEN 3sPOSS-wood

tx goaktîl rôcha e.
mr goak-t -ù rôcha 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.
And so he brought one or two drummers together, his assistants and they went to cut the drum.

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?"

"My tutelary spirit gave me the drum which we have come over to cut," Baginanda said.
After they covered the drum, the Bangdiles over there made a plan.

"How much of a shaman is he, the one who comes to cut wood in our garden? Later (he will come) to our house."

Let's make this shaman perform, let's make him perform, and then we'll give him a thorough beating."

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.

They held him back and made a plan, then
ref TH 4.13
trans: möräm nokhomim mó lókpa múctűmimlái // puwaŋku só
media: möräm nokho-mim mó lóks-pa múctu-mim-lái . puwaŋ-ku só
gloss: that shaman-p that go -AP man -p -DAT(N). (bird) -GEN meat

trans: reılmışrina, banthöm seätzlich reasley reasley sallah
media: ret -mi-t[i]-ma ban -thö -m set-mi-t[i]-ma ret -mi-t[i]-ma sallah
gloss: bring-p -PT-SEQ where-DIR-ABL kill-p -PT-SEQ bring-p -PT-SEQ advice (N)

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
trans: møktotima thama mó puwaŋku só khomdima, puwaŋku sónuŋ
media: mørøtima thama mó puwaŋ-ku só khok-mi-t[i]-ma puwaŋ-ku só -nuŋ
gloss: then later that (bird) -GEN meat cook-p -PT-SEQ (bird) -GEN meat-COM

trans: jamnuŋ goamdj;
media: jam-nuŋ goak-mi-t[i]
gloss: rice-COM give -p -PT

tr They cooked the bird meat and gave them the bird meat with rice.

ref TH 4.15
trans: goamdjlo baginandaka roakta e - basiyā u
media: goak-mi-t[i]-lo baginanda-ka roak-ta e basiyā u
gloss: give -p -PT-TEMP Baginanda-ERG say -PT REP already 3sPOSS

trans: -yunka loaslečt ima, baginandaka roakta e-
media: -yum -ka loas-let -t -il -ma baginanda-ka roak-ta e

gloss: -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
trans: 'oram guy puwaŋku só goaksamámi, mipimim só
media: oram guy puwaŋ-ku só goak-saŋ -ta - mi mi' -pe-mim só
gloss: this we(pl) (bird) -GEN meat give -V2:BEN-PT -p NEG-eat-NML meat

trans: goaksamámi
media: goak-saŋ -ta - mi
gloss: give -V2:BEN-PT -p

tr 'They gave us Puwang meat, meat that is not eaten they gave us.
Pretend to be eating and pour the puwang meat into my portion, o.k.?" he had said.

So they pretended to be eating and put (the meat) onto his portion, they put all onto his portion.

So, they pretended to eat; he distracted everyone’s eyes, Baginda, the others pretended to eat.

Then he awakened the bird and made it alive and joined it together.
"I'll make that the puwang arises and they will beat us.

I shall awaken the puwang and they will beat us.

I shall make the puwang alive and it will cry 'puwang' and when it flies up I will follow it, shouting 'hahaha' and pursuing it.

Hang yourself on to the drum from either side," he said.

Then later after they finished eating the seance took place.
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 puwang meat he had been given earlier and it cried "puwang", Baginanda said 'haha' and suddenly he came out of the house pursuing it.

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.
While he came up his assistants hung themselves onto either side of the drum, which flew them up to - what's it?

I forgot - this side of the river Rawa kholā, I forgot what's it called, there they came up.

and up there the drum broke.

When they came up there in pursuit, they (Baginanda's people) came up to Birajura, they came flying up to Birajura.
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.

Now, Baginda worked copper and bell-metal.

Down at Sakhile there is a pair of cymbals, Baginda fabricated it.
tx yubdüm bu, (a) minamim lip o, baginandaka u
mr yup -t -i -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 -yuŋka yubdüm bu, kole sōlewap bom wo
mr -yum -ka yup -t -i -m bu ko -le sōlewap bom wo
gl -magical_power-INST fabricate-PT-3s>3-NML be one-CL long+straight gourd also

tx yubdüm bu.
mr yup -t -i -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

mx ma, guku aba cöcö-mancö-ka - gumika makem purkhâmika
mr ma guku aba cöcö-mancö-ka gumi-ka makem purkha -mi-ka
gl and we(pe) now(N) little -children-ERG they -ERG of_old ancestor(N)-p -ERG

mx u -cömi-ka cúsimîŋka roamđim go
mr u -cö -mi-ka cúsi -mim-ka roak-mi-[i]-m go
gl 3sPOSS-child-p -ERG grandchild-p -ERG say -p -PT-NML I

mx thōwtom ne.
mr thōs-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

mx thōwtom, ani lipnuŋ, bom, jhyâline go atâku
mr thōs-u -to -m ani lip-ṇun bom jhyâli -ne go a -tâku
gl hear-1s>3-1e:PT-NML then (N) pot-COM gourd cymbals (N)-TOP I 1sPOSS-own

mx mikiška lawtom, athambili o bu.
mx miksi-ka loan(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

mx go akotina thōwtom cahl, akotina coktoga.
mr go akotina thōs-u -to -m cahl akotina cok -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.
Long time ago King Ramli lived, king Ramli went courting to Wayecapcú-Luna.

Wayecapcú (the Bahing) had a daughter, and many young men came to ask for her.

Ramlı 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.
Then Ramli, picking up the bones from the meat that the others had eaten, put them inside his bag.

Thereafter the girl's parents promised: "The one of you who cuts down most trees, to you we will give her," they said.

They gave a sharp axe to the other boys, to Ramli however they gave one with a blunted edge.

They went to cut trees.
As they went, Ramli sharpened his axe on a rock.

Then Ramli went to cut many large jungle trees just half way through, cutting, cutting, cutting.

Then, when he came to the ridge and when he whistled with his magical power, a storm came up.

When the storm came, he blew down all the half cut trees, it was a terrific spectacle.
The well-dressed boys had not cut a single tree all day.

Next they promised Ramli to ram his ghloast alone in the end.

So finally Ramli won in the contest, he won.

What to do now?

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)

At the 'le' couple's living place a dog was tied up.

INTJ(N) that other-p -ERG eat-p -PT-NML 3pPOSS-bone
Now he had picked up the bones of the others' meal and put them in his bag.

Ramli piled up the bones for the dog, and when he distracted his attention to the bones, he undid the chain.

Then he captured the male and female, according to the promise.
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 kheqqū tame  asind̄ane  ...paddone mō
mr khet -t -u -m -pachī -ne a -sī -(n)-da -ne ...pado-ne mō
gl bring_up-PT-3s>3-NML-after(N)-TOP this-place-{ } -LOC-TOP earlier -TOP that

tax ramline pīn̄a  klostama bepleakpa bayra.
mr ramli-ne pīnā -ka klos -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
tax a -si geccilone  u -darbārrammar pādersammā
mr a -si get -t -ci-lo -ne u -darbār -samma pādero -samma
gl this-place come_up-PT-d -TEMP-TOP 3sPOSS-palace(N)-until(N) spring(N)-until(N)

tax paisa ochemma, sōlsibca  lookhom lamdū.
mr paisa oche -ma sōl -si -(b)-da laks-khom lamdu.
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
tax ani asi geccima  sōlstalone  pūri
mr ani a -si get -t -ci-ma sōl -sīt -ta -lo -ne pūri
gl then (N) this-place come_up-PT-d -SEQ wash-V2:REFL-PT-TEMP-TOP wool_ball(N)

tax hop bepa racha.
mr hop be-pa racha.
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
tax mōdjamane akheri mō ramlika  kheqqūm  u
mr mōdjamane akheri mō ramli-ka khet -t -ū -m u
gl thereafter finally(N) that Ramli-ERG bring_up-PT-3s>3-NML 3sPOSS
After some time the wife that Ramli had brought up grew thin and became weak.

When she became thus, what did his wife say to him?

"Go, down at my relatives' place there is my food, bring it," she said and sent him off.

So Ramli went down to his in-laws.

"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

"Well then," they said, and from down there they prepared one basket of seasoned slugs and one basket of raw slugs.

ref TH 5.30

"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

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

"So that's what the Wayecapcú-Luna people are like," he thought.
He came up to that place and put them in one of his palace rooms.

The he said: "Come on, the food your parents and relatives send you is over there, eat it now."

His wife went in and ate those that were prepared and seasoned.

As she was eating and eating, she got stuck in the door.

She became so fat that she got stuck.
tr After that Ramli thought: "It is not right to court with the Luna-Waye people."

ref TH 5.39
tx mösind’amma lökci, ’lu hala, ninkukkayu
mr mösind’amma lôks-t -ci lu hala nin -kukka -yu
gl thereafter go -PT-d well(N) if_so father’s_sister-mother’s_brother-loLOC

tx lôcâi,’ bâlürû’mânê lôcâi.
mr lôks-ci bâlürû-mânê lôks-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 lôcîhôqqa solu pâr khabbâr roamaamo kole cautârâ
mr lôks-t -ci-hôqqa solu pâr khabbâr roak-ma-no ko-le cautârâ
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 möram cautârârane ’gesinci,’ roakta.
mr möram cautârâ -da -ne nê -si -n-(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 ’nesicçimane u -naymene ramlîkane, ’ba i
mr nê -si -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 remsanî,’ bâlûrî ’naymê, i -ser remsanî,’ bâlûrî.
mr -ser rem-sa-t -ni bâlûrû naymê i -ser rem-sa-t -ni bîlûrû
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."
He put his wife's head on his leg and cracked lice for her.

While he was cracking lice, his wife fell asleep fast.

Gently gently he put her down on the earth, he abandoned his wife at the resting place.

Then Ramli came over, he crossed the Čurku bridge, at the Čurku confluence he swore:

NEG-become-p -OPT INTJ(N) say -PT-SEQ stone plant-PT-3s>3-SEQ this-side be
"You, Waye and Luna, may my descendents not intermarrry with you," he said and planted a stone and remained on this side.

Therefore we(pe) (name)-COM Thulung-COM our(pe) line_of_continuity NEG-be

Between us, the Thulung and the Luna (Bahing), there is no direct line of descendance, there is no community, it [the stone] says.
There was a very clever jackal at a certain place, the story goes.

And having not eaten meat for many days, he nearly died from hunger.

And in that place, there was a an ocean in every direction.

In the middle there was an island, a place to put thieves away.

There was no road anywhere at all to get to that place.

And the jackal met old camel grazing by the lake.
And Jackal said to Camel: "Friend, let's go over there, because there is very tasty grass over there."

And there is also game for me", he said, and Camel carried Fox and they arrived at the village on the other shore.

And Jackal sent Camel into a garden while he himself went to eat game.

And when he was full, Jackal came to a high hill and shouted.

And the owners of the garden came out and chased Camel, hitting him all the while.

And they made him lose consciousness.
And Camel and Jackal both met at the shore.

And Camel told Fox: "Why did you shout, then?" he asked.

Again the two went back to their own village as before.

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.

And when Camel came out of the water he said: "Did you get a taste?" and he went into the forest.
ref KH 12.1

tx hâs -ã kâm mú-ki-lo lâl ghârerî 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 ghârerî sey-ki-lo lâmbây câurây thâm -nâ máttû.
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 -pâ hâs ya pândit -ã ghârerî mú-nâ mâm lâmbây
gl then know-AP person or pândit(N)-ERG site(N) do -INF that length(N)

tx câurây -po lát-t -û hisap_phap mang máttû mâ blât-t -û.
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 mâm máttû-m páchi kâm bâney mú-nâ -po sâmû sârâdâm
gl then that must -NML after(N) house ready(N) do -INF-GEN materials (N)

tx ma -mang jurey mú-nâ máttû 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 Iwam-nâ máttû, ara krâm-nâ máttû, phâlek bro -nâ máttû.
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 mâ cây jîllâ -bi khwan-nâ -na dârkâstâ bi -nâ máttû.
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 jîllâ -ã sukirtî mâ -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

tr After this is settled, the wood must be cut.

ref KH 12.9

tr After we cut it, the sawyer saws it.

ref KH 12.10

tr After the sawyer has done his work, the village must carry it, and all must do communal work.

ref KH 12.11

tr When the community does not send help, workers must be hired.

ref KH 12.12

tr The hired workers will carry it.

ref KH 12.13

tr There is also communal help from the village to raise the site.

ref KH 12.14

tr For this, whoever it is that builds the house, anybody must help as much as he is able to.
ref KH 12.15

"thebe mebe mebe" ān-nā -ne mū -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

cāp-ki-kho-mim ghōlā din phlō-ki-kho yō 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

mana ghārerī lāl phu-nā māttū.
gl and site(N) at_first raise-INF must

tr *Then first the site has to be staked out.*

ref KH 12.18

ghārerī phuk -ki-m pāchi ghara be -nā māttū.
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

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

tr -nā māttū.
gl -INF must

tr *When the Brahmin said how many approximately the workmen must put in the base.*

ref KH 12.20

khatey mū-nā māttū.
gl detail(N) do -INF must

tr *One has to keep book.*

ref KH 12.21

karmi -hām cāy u -thang bi -nā māttū, arawal u
gl carpenter(N)-p FOC(N) 3sPOSS-wage give-INF must sawyer(N) 3sPOSS

tr -thang bi -nā māttū, lung-brok -pā u -thang bi -nā māttū.
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.*
To all those we call 'roskari' one must give wages, to the others not.

One has to give a main meal, a snack, and one has to offer beer.

We now go to build the house.

The masons do the stone work.

They see to it that everything is straight.

They also do the wood work.

Pillars, doors, windows, they make everything.
They put in the crossbeam and other beams as well as the floor boards.

When that is done, how many storeys should the house have, shall we make one storey, or shall we make two or three storeys?

When we have done this, everything should be done to the satisfaction of the owner.

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.

After the crossbeam is put in, later the right day for putting in the door has to be observed.

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-nâ.
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 -ā kwam-nā mâtû, lusam-ā kwam-nā mâtû.
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 mā kâm -bi wo -nā sâyt yo mâtû.
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 mâ -ner nga wo -nâ mâtû, ca cày 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 mâ din jujey chu -na tang wo -nâ.
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 nôl yō khôle nga del hô -nâ mâtû, tap -tap
gl then enter -1pi-NML day also all EMPH village bring-INF must each-each
But on the day we move in, the whole village must come, everyone must bring nice liquor.

Some people bring beer.

The drinking is costly for the house owner.

We must give a full meal, we must offer beer to drink, people talk and give a blessing.

In that way people meet.

Then, after the house is finished and we move into that house, an animal has to be killed.

As for the animal, we must kill a rooster, spread beer dregs, and then only we may enter the house.
When the stone and wood is all ready, one has to kill it and cut it lengthwise from the beak.

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.

We have to say: "My Khakalap and Wâyłam, [here is] beer we pour you," [ritual language] and we must kill an animal and sprinkle blood.

If we would not kill the animal - it is told in the sacred story, it tells why to kill the animal.

In the sacred story it says this about killing the animal:
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-řā e.
-PT REP

tr  Wāylām said to Khakcalap: "Orphan, we must build a house."

ref KH 12.55
tx kām mū-tā -lo u -dumbu phing-tā e khabo lwam-bi bha-tā.
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 surī lom tanga hō -tā e.
gl straight beam only bring-PT REP

tr  He brought back only a straight beam.

ref KH 12.57
tx haga-kolo-m mū -hōt -wā e.
gl fork -COM-NML NEG-bring-IRR REP

tr  He did not bring back one with a fork.

ref KH 12.58
tx mebera wālām u -çō -kolo mo-tā.
gl then Wāylām 3sPOSS-child-COM be -PT

tr  Wāylām was there with her child.

ref KH 12.59
tx mana send-ū mā-tū mang-bi khe -nā -na sida tanga hō
gl and see -3s-3s that-hiLOC what -LOC put_on-INF-SEQ straight(N) only bring

tx -ther-tā.
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 nōl cāngrū sālpu bher-tā -na cāngrū-po u -mer hag
gl and one day bird sp. bird fly -PT-SEQ bird sp.-GEN 3sPOSS-tail be_forked

tx -pā gū.
gl -PP be

tr  Then one day a cāngrū bird flew by - and the cāngrū's tail is forked.

ref KH 12.61
tx mā haga sey māt -tā -na "tukum hengam haga-kolo-m hōtā" lū
gl that fork see make-PT-SEQ up_there like_what fork -COM-NML bring:IMPER tell
She showed him that forked tail and said to him: “Bring one with a fork, like that one up there”.

After that, Khakcalap went and brought one, that is, one with a fork.

Then it is o.k. when you put everything on top.

When Khakcalap tried to ram the beam into the ground there, even ramming it many times he could not do it.

When Wäylam, who carried the child, came to help, and when she pushed the beam, the child fell.

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 jūtām āntāsāba yo kām bāney mū-ka -lo sō
    gl that -GEN INTJ ? ? nowadays even house ready(N) do -1pe-TEMP flesh

tx sen-nā māttū.
    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 bhole sen-nā māttū, khelkām phen -nā
    gl that -GEN beginning-LOC rooster(N) kill -INF must dregs_of_beer spread-INF

tx māttū.
    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 Raï’s sacred stories, everybody does this, everywhere.

ref KH 12.70

tx khās bāhun -ā yo mā -nu molo tīb -tībi muddām.
    gl Chetri Brahman(N)-ERG also make-3p but some-some different

tr The Chetris and Brahmans also do thus, but a little bit different.

ref KH 12.71

tx radu-po cāy mābī khāl -ā oka lāyh-ka āh -ka “newo
    gl Rai -GEN FOC(N) there Khaling-ERG we(PE) tell -1pe say-1pe here_it is

tx khakcalāp wāylām mū-tō -tā -m ci to -ther -su tā bāy -nā
    gl khakcalāp Wāylām do -put-PT-NML beer eat_and_drink-HAB-d this wear-INF

tr 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, Waylam, take the beer put here for you, wear this [flower], have that meat killed for you.” (ritual language)

ref KH 12.72

tx mā lān-nā -na sō sen-nā khelkām phen -nā māttū.
    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

Then only one house finish.

Ref KH 12.74

Then this work do -INF-GEN for(N) Chetri mason-p work do -AP

Then, for his work, the Chetri builders and all the other workers each receive their respective share of money.

Ref KH 12.75

The stone cutters as well as the carriers receive money.

Ref KH 12.76

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

But two days of carrying outside are enough.

Ref KH 12.78

The wood must be pulled and carried, the beams pulled, planks pulled.
If shingles need to be carried, one needs two people from each household.

If [you use] thatch, one per house will do.

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.

Shingles on the other hand last twelve to fourteen years, and for that we need two people from each household to help.

This way only a house is completed.

It also takes a lot of payment in grain for the house owner.

One house ready(N) do -1pi-TEMP little EMPH little fifteen(N) sixteen(N)
muri ghōlā bis muri; kharca jā tanga dō.
muri(N) many twenty(N) muri(N) expense(N) grain only be_enough

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.

mābi kām wong-ki-m nōl- “ghār pāyco” khās bra -la āh-ki-
there house enter -lpi-NML day ghār pāyco Chetri language-PATH say-lpi
khāl bra -la cây maka "kām wo -nā,"
house enter-FOC(N) INTJ house enter-INF

Then the day we move into the house - in the language of the Chetri we call it “ghar pāyco” - in Khaling “enter the house.”

jō-nā māttū.
eat-INF must

that day is celebrated only once in the life of the owner, on that day you must eat a special meal.

ghōlā purkha hō -nā māttū.
many elders bring-INF must

We have to bring many elders.

mang-go mü-nā māttū.
what -or do -INF must

What else needs to be done?

hulu kān -nā māttū, nāgi mü-nā māttū.
hearth splash-INF must n. do -INF must

You need to sprinkle the hearth, you must make the Nagi (snake) ceremony.

nāgi khole nga māttū.
n. all EMPH must

The ceremony needs to be complete.
It is to be noted that if we do not have this ceremony after finishing the house, it will do no good.

A week from then you must make the house purba.

After that only you must live in this house.
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