Cambridge Grammatical Descriptions

A Grammar of Kham

David E. Watters

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This is a comprehensive grammatical documentation of Kham, a previously undescribed language from west-central Nepal, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The language contains a number of grammatical systems that are of immediate relevance to current work on linguistic theory, including a functionally transparent split ergative system, a well developed system of mirativity, restrictive and non-restrictive noun phrases based on word order, a rich class of derived adjectivals, and extensive transitivity alternations in the verb. Its verb morphology has implications for the understanding of the history of the entire Tibeto-Burman family. The book, based on extensive fieldwork, deals with all major aspects of the language including segmental phonology, tone, word classes, noun phrases, nominalizations, transitivity alterations, tense–aspect–modality, non-declarative speech acts, and complex sentence structure. It provides copious examples throughout the exposition and includes three short native texts and a vocabulary of more than 400 words, many of them reconstructed for Proto-Kham and Proto-Tibeto-Burman. This book will be a valuable resource for typologists and general linguists alike.

DAVID WATTERS has been Director of the Oregon SIL linguistic training program in Eugene for the past four years and is currently collaborating with Nepalese scholars on an *Encyclopedia of Nepal's Languages.* He teaches periodically at the University of Oregon as adjunct faculty, and at Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, as a visiting scholar. Whilst working in Nepal as a field linguist in 1969, Dr. Watters discovered the group of Tibeto-Burman languages known as Kham, and continued numerous successive expeditions into the territory until the early 1990s. He provided the people with written forms of their own language, along with modest amounts of literature, both from their own oral traditions and other outside works.

CAMBRIDGE GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Editors: R. M. W. Dixon, Keren Rice

This series is devoted to the publication of comprehensive descriptive grammars of languages that have not previously been documented, and that have interesting and unusual characteristics which will expand our understanding of human language in all its diversity and challenge the limits of current linguistic theory. Some of these languages are spoken by only a small number of people and can be considered endangered.

Each grammar briefly introduces the society in which the language is spoken, and covers the key areas of phonology, morphology and syntax, together with typological and historical considerations. In each case, a sample text or texts in the language are provided, with full gloss and translation. A glossary of basic vocabulary is also included. The series aims to provide theoretical linguists in the various subdisciplines with reliable data and analysis which will provide a permanent and invaluable set of source materials.

A GRAMMAR OF KHAM

David E. Watters

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To Hasta Ram Budha Kham
my teacher
and lifelong friend
and
to the memory of his son
Sukh Kham
man of faith and vision
whose light was extinguished
in his most promising hour

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Preface

The discovery of the Kham group of languages in Nepal in 1969 is one of the remarkable finds in Tibeto-Burman linguistics this century – it happened against the backdrop of nearly two centuries of fairly intense linguistic activity in the whole of the Indian subcontinent. It was in this setting, for example, that Sir William Jones, in 1786, made his now-famous pronouncement before the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta that Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit had all 'sprung from some common source'; a source, which, 'perhaps, no longer exists.' His pronouncement profoundly changed the face of linguistics; language origins and language evolution became the new challenge of linguistic inquiry in the nineteenth century.

Sparked by the imagination of a new-found science, the British in India expanded their range of inquiry and began amassing a wealth of linguistic materials from numerous Himalayan languages and dialects – some, like Kusunda, with as few as a dozen speakers. Because the British had no direct access to Nepal, most of the early samples were collected by British military officers from Nepalese tribesmen serving as mercenaries in the British Gurkha army. Colonel Kirkpatrick, for example, collected a short vocabulary of the Magar language, spoken by one of the 'military tribes' of Nepal, as early as 1793, and Francis Hamilton, a British historian and philologist, deposited a more complete specimen of the same language in the Company's library sometime before 1814.

A few years later, Brian Hodgson, the British Minister at the Court of Nepal, beginning as early as 1828, published notes, observations, and essays on the languages and customs of several tribes of Nepal. Grierson's monumental 'Linguistic Survey of India,' published between 1903 and 1909, contains in one of its volumes (contributed by Sten Konow) a broad sampling of Himalayan languages with comprehensive notes on their vocabularies and grammars. Shafer, in an unpublished work of fifteen volumes on Sino-Tibetan linguistics between 1937 and 1941, and later in an edited version of the same work, published between 1966 and 1973, includes works on all the major Himalayan languages from every recognized branch of Tibeto-Burman.

Against this backdrop of linguistic activity, the failure to document Kham in any of its varieties is indeed a curious oversight. Kham, after all, is no small language – it is mother tongue to no less than forty or fifty thousand people living in the remote, upper valleys of mid-western Nepal. I first became aware of the possible existence of such a language from an American anthropologist, John Hitchcock, who had approached the edges of their tribal territory on a month's trek sometime in 1960-1962. He cordially apprised me of their general whereabouts in 1969. It was upon his advice and the

encouragement of Dr. Dor Bahadur Bista and University Vice-Chancellor Dr. T. N. Upraity that I began work on the language the same year under the auspices of The Summer Institute of Linguistics and Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu. It was not until 1971, when I produced my first paper on a mimeograph machine, that the language finally emerged from its long years of obscurity.

A sad fact of our times is the loss of the world's languages at an unprecedented rate. Michael Krauss, in an address at a symposium on language loss (1992), made the startling prediction that 90 percent of the world's languages will be extinct by the end of the twenty-first century. Even if his estimates are off by half, the loss to humankind is staggering. For millennia, the study of language has been viewed as an integral part of scientific inquiry into an adequate understanding of the human mind. The personal loss of the unique cultural nourishment afforded by a particular language to members of a community is even greater. Many have noted that a language, in many respects, is akin to a biological species. It is a uniquely human evolutionary achievement – 'as divine and endless a mystery as a living organism' (Kenneth Hale 1992). The loss of a single language, then, diminishes our world as surely as the loss of a biological species. Language loss is quite naturally a legitimate and critical concern to linguists. But it should be more; it is surely a human concern, one that should be shared by all people.

Reasons for language loss and extinction are not, in most cases, the result of deliberate attempts at 'glottocide,' the destruction of a people's language. The reasons are more subtle and nameless. In fact, there seems to be precious little that most of us can do to stop it. It is no longer economically viable for members of most small linguistic communities to remain isolated from the larger and more powerful majority cultures that surround them. To give them false enticements to continue in their native languages at the expense of economic well-being, however, would be justifiably looked upon as an act of linguistic imperialism and paternalism. Where a minority language does continue to survive in the face of economic and political pressure, it is because its speakers have learned to participate in the majority culture while at the same time receiving benefit, often more communal or spiritual than economic, from the minority culture.

One thing linguists can do, then, to help preserve minority languages at the local level is to help promote community pride in the minority language. Where the subtle pressure of an economically dominate culture encourages people to believe that their future depends on giving up their native language, steps need to be taken to level the playing field. They must be able to view their own language as a valuable heritage worth maintaining. Providing written forms of the language in practical orthographies, along with modest amounts of literature, both from the tribe's oral traditions and other works of high moral value, has proven in many cases to be a good, first step.

A generation ago, Kham began to lose some of its former efficacy. For generations they had lived efficiently in a kind of cultural backwater. In the 1960s, trade links to the north were severed and Kham speakers began to grow more dependent on their Nepali neighbors to the south. It became increasingly impracticable for them to live in isolation

from the mainstream of society. Nowadays, the language is at a crossroads. On the one hand, speakers of Kham have gained a great deal of linguistic and ethnic pride through country-wide nationalistic movements in the wake of a democratic revolution in 1990. On the other hand, some of the nationalistic movements, notably the Maoist movement with its beginnings among Kham speaking peoples, have political ambitions well beyond their traditional tribal territories, and Nepali is the only suitable vehicle. How the situation will play out remains to be seen. It is no longer possible for foreigners to gain safe access to Kham speaking areas, and it is only hoped that Kham speakers, in the midst of their new socio-political situation, will recognize the value of maintaining their language.

It has been a matter of great importance to document Kham in its entirety while it is still a healthy and vigorous language. Language death, where an issue, only makes the need more urgent; its absence does not obviate the still fundamental need for grammatical descriptions of little known languages. Languages need to be documented because they are 'supreme achievements of a uniquely human collective genius' (Kenneth Hale 1992). Language reveals the human mind. Sadly, few grammars, global in coverage, exist for Tibeto-Burman languages; most are short sketches of varying detail. A pressing need for further descriptions is obvious. Bernard Comrie (1991), in an appeal to field linguists everywhere, urged – 'Provide good descriptive grammars and dictionaries: theories come and go; the best descriptive grammars and dictionaries remain as lasting testimonials.'

Clearly, Takale Kham and its relationship to the Kham group of languages is a linguistic phenomenon of important status and deserving of extensive documentation. Because it provides historical links and new insights into a number of intriguing questions relating to the whole of Tibeto-Burman, it is of special interest to Tibeto-Burmanists. But it is more. Since the great diversity of languages in the Tibeto-Burman area is a commentary on the creative genius and diversity of the human mind, the description of another major language with a particular view to its diachronic pathways of creation is of interest to anyone interested in language and mind. Finally, we owe a debt of gratitude to a community of speakers whose language embodies a tradition of intellectual wealth found nowhere else.

Acknowledgments

Studying the grammar of an undescribed language cannot be carried out in the comforts of a study or a library. It must be done in the field, living with the 'keepers' of the language – the people who speak it and pass it on to successive generations. For an outsider to succeed, however dismally, to learn such a language is a testament to the patience and hospitality of the people themselves. The best days of my life have been spent around the fires of the Takales, the Nishels, the Gamales, and the Sheshis – in their villages, in their tents, and in their sheep camps at the foot of the glaciers. It was there that we shared food, swapped stories, laughed, wept, and dreamed. I will always be indebted to them for cheerfully sharing their language and giving me a glimpse of a way of life that is fast disappearing from the face of the earth.

I have many Nepalis to thank too, both in and out of government, without whose help I could never have reached the Kham territories. They provided permits, letters, and study visas. Many became personal friends. They are too numerous to mention. It would be impossible, however, not to mention the special friendship of many at the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University: C. M. Bandhu, T. R. Kansakar, B. M. Dahal, Y. P. Yadav, N. M. Tuladhar, K. P. Malla, and M. P. Pokharel.

Numerous foreign scholars in Nepal, too, from many nations and a wide variety of institutions, have through the years provided invaluable insights into complex linguistic issues: Austin Hale, Ross Caughley, Warren Glover, Maria Hari, Sueyoshi Toba, Olavi Vesalainen, Marlene Schultze, Dora Bieri, Esther Strahm, Anita Maibaum, Boyd Michailovsky, Martine Mazaudon, Carol Genetti, George van Driem, Stephen Watters, Erik Andvik, and Balthasar Bickel, just to name a few. The Sino-Tibetan conferences, too, have always been a breeding ground of stimulation and encouragement. Much of my early interest in Tibeto-Burman issues came through Jim Matisoff, Paul Benedict, Graham Thurgood, and Jim Bauman.

My work would have gone nowhere had it not been for the instruction and encouragement of my professors at the University of Oregon. While still travelling to and from Nepal, Scott DeLancey encouraged me to 'Come study with us; write a grammar!' It was a privilege to have him as my advisor. And where would I be without Talmy Givón? He gave me the broad vision of language I needed, the sensible and sane framework around which my thoughts have been organized. More than that, he has been a friend, always available to discuss linguistics, philosophy, or whatever. And there is Doris Payne, who was unafraid to critique my writing where it was not clear. If what I have written is readable, it is in part due to her gentle prodding.

This book is a revision of my 1998 Ph.D. dissertation done at the University of Oregon. I am very grateful to my editors, Bob Dixon and Keren Rice, for taking it on. They were the best. Their list of suggested improvements were genuine improvements. In no way did they stifle me; they provided broad guidelines and gave me the freedom to express myself as I wished. Any errors in this book are truly my own. I am grateful, too, to the outside referee provided by Cambridge University Press, whose comments were both encouraging and constructive.

My deepest debt of gratitude is to my wife, Nancy. She always encouraged me to follow my dreams. In the early days she accompanied me, deprived of the amenities most modern women have come to expect. She did it with cheerfulness. In later years, she experienced days of loneliness, staying at home to raise our sons, while I tramped the remote corners of the earth. Thank you. I am forever in your debt!

Abbreviations

1ST	first (person)
1S	first singular (subject, object, or possessive)
1D	first dual (subject, object, or possessive)
1P	first plural (subject, object, or possessive)
2ND	second (person)
2S	second singular (subject, object, or possessive)
2D	second dual (subject, object, or possessive)
2P	second plural (subject, object, or possessive)
3RD	third (person)
3S	third singular (subject, object, or possessive)
3D	third dual (subject, object, or possessive)
3P	third plural (subject, object, or possessive)
A	the 'A' argument of a transitive clause
ABLE	abilitive
ABLT	ablative
ABS	absolutive
Adj	adjective
ADS	adessive
Adv	adverb
AFT	since, after
ALLT	allative
APPRX	approximative
ASC	associative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CEP	counter-expectation particle
CIF	contrary information flow
CIS	cisative
CLSF	classifier
CMPR	comparative
COM	comitative
COME	come purposive
COMP	complement
CON	concessive
CONFIRM	confirmative
CONT	continuous aspect
COORD	coordinator
DAT	dative

DECL	declarative
DEL	delative
Dem	demonstrative
DEON	deontic
DETRANS	detransitivizer
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct
DIS	distal
DL/dl	dual
DS	different subject
DT	detransitive
DUM	dummy (morphological place holder)
ELAT	elative
EMP	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EXPR	expressive adverb
FEM	feminine
FOC	contrastive focus
FUT	potential mode (future)
GEN	genitive
GO	go purposive
H-D	high followed by downstep pitch
H-H	high followed by high pitch
H-L	high followed by low pitch
H-M	high followed by mid pitch
HO	the ‘ho’ part of a discontinuous ‘probability’ morpheme
HOR	hortative
IA	Indo-Aryan
IF	conditional
IMP	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective
IN	inessive
INCPT	inceptive
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
intr	intransitive
INTRG	interrogative
Kh	Kham
LAT	lative
L-M	low followed by mid pitch

LOC/Loc	locative
MASC	masculine
m/f	male/female
MEL	main event line
MIR	mirative
M-L	mid followed by low pitch
MM	middle marking
M-M	mid followed by mid pitch
Mod	modifier
N	noun
NEG	negative
Nep.	Nepali
NF	non-final marker
NML/Nml	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NUM/Num	number
O	the 'O' argument of a transitive clause
OBJ	object(ive)
ON	superessive
OPT	optative
ORIENT	orientative
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL/pl	plural
POSS	possessive
PRED	predictive
PRIOR	prior past
PROB	probability
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROS	prospective aspect
PROV	provisional
PROX	proximate
PSB	possibility modal
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
PURP	purposive
QP	question particle
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
Rel	relative clause

REM	remote
RSP	reported speech particle
S	the ‘S’ argument of an intransitive clause
SA	SA (confirmation particle)
SER	serial/concantenated verb
SG/sg	singular
SIM	similative
SUB	subjunctive
SUBJ	subject
T-1	Tone-1
T-2	Tone-2
TAG	tag question
TAM	tense, aspect, modality
UNTIL	until
VBL	verbalizer
V-T	(placement of) verb root and tense–aspect marking in paradigms
WELL	confirmative
WHEN	subjunctive/when

1 *The people and their language*

Kham, in all its varieties, is spoken primarily in the upper valleys of Rukum and Rolpa Districts of the Rapti Zone in Mid-Western Nepal (see map 1). A few thousand of the easternmost speakers spill over into the Nishi and Bhuji Khola regions in the western part of Baglung District, Dhaulagiri Zone. Only Sheshi, the southernmost dialect, is separated from the other dialects by populations of Nepali speakers. All other dialects are contiguous to one another, separated by uninhabited mountain barriers between eleven and thirteen thousand feet in altitude. (For more on geography, see §1.2.)

1.1 Language typology

Kham is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language of the Bodic branch exhibiting many of the areal features defined for the 'Indospheric' side of the family – a gross generalization for the westernmost TB languages. Such languages have been variously influenced in phonology and grammatical structure by prolonged contact with Indic languages (in contrast to the 'Sinospheric' TB languages of Southeast Asia).

1.1.1 Tonal patterns

Tone in Kham can be described as belonging to a 'four-box' system. Two binary oppositions, 'voice register' (modal and lax) and 'melody' (Tone-1 and Tone-2), intersect to form four contrastive tone patterns. The melody opposition clearly predates the register split and may correlate with Benedict's (1972) tones *A and *B for Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB). Voice register was superimposed later and now divides the pitch range of Tones 1 and 2 into an upper and lower range.

In many Bodish languages, register is related (sometimes even synchronically) to the phonation type of onset consonants, and melody is tied to coda consonants and rhyme type. In Kham, the phenomenon is much older, and though the same historic transparency no longer exists, it can be assumed that the same tonogenetic apparatus was at work. Register, the more recent development, can be shown in some reconstructed forms to have derived from a lost *s-* prefix.

1.1.2 Word classes

Of the three major word classes, noun, verb, and adjective, only the first two can be fully supported in Kham on internal structural criteria. Adjective, as an inherent gram-

matical class, is almost non-existent. The entire class is composed of three native words – 'big,' 'small,' and 'short' (plus 'low' in some dialects) – and a handful of loan words from Nepali. All other words that serve in a modifying/adjectival function are derived by nominalization from some other word class, usually verbs or verbalized nouns.

The class of words generally known as adverbs belongs to several heterogeneous word classes – adverbs of time, manner, intensity, and a few others. A class more specific to the region is that of 'expressive adverb.' Expressives modify verbs by designating a specific manner in which the action takes place. A generic verb like 'go,' for example, can be modified to mean 'saunter,' 'amble,' 'stride defiantly,' and so on. Most expressive adverbs are derived from old verbs and occur in reduplicative structures to form rhyming couplets, like *kyasya kisi.*

A special class of 'deictic primitives' occurs in Kham, expressing notions like 'proximate,' 'distal,' 'remote,' 'up,' 'down,' 'front,' 'back,' 'left,' and 'right.' All primitives are bound roots followed obligatorily by locative suffixes or by a special class of landmark locations – 'up-country,' 'down-country,' 'one side of a mountain,' or 'one side of a valley.' Combinations are generative with their own syntax, capable of forming hundreds of complex locative expressions. The demonstratives 'this' and 'that,' in fact, are complex expressions, derived from deictic primitives by nominalization.

i. Morphology

Kham is highly agglutinative with a rich morphology. Nouns are inflected for a single prefixal position (possession or, with a few nouns, a classifier numeral), and several suffix positions, most of which are instantiated by local case markers – locative, adessive, inessive, superessive, cisative, allative, ablative, elative, delative, comparative, lative, orientative, and comitative. In addition, nouns are marked for three numbers, as well as for certain grammatical cases – ergative, instrumental, genitive, primary object, and associative.

Verbs are inflected for five prefix positions and seven suffix ones. Kham exhibits what has been referred to in the literature as 'pronominalizing' morphology. That is, in addition to marking the expected categories of tense, aspect, and modality, verbs also cross-reference the person and number of clause level referents – for Kham, both subject and objects. As far as is known, Kham is the only TB language that consistently marks both. The modern patterns can be shown to have arisen out of simpler material more consistent with the rest of TB, and Kiranti in particular.

Also part of verbal morphology are fairly elaborate derivations related to transitivity and voice – those of causativization and detransitivization.

ii. Case marking alignment

The general alignment of grammatical case markers in Kham is 'split ergative,' based on a person split in which first (1ST) and second (2ND) person rank high on a nominal hierarchy, and third (3RD) person ranks low. The case marking split has radical repercussions in verb morphology as well. Object marking is tied, ultimately, to pragmatic

notions of identifiability.

1.1.3 Constituent order

Kham has a basic constituent order of AOV, SV in both main and dependent clauses. The attendant 'harmonic orders' in phrase level syntax also occur: DemN, NumN, GN, AN, and RelN (where for Kham, A is a type of RelCl). A non-restrictive order for modification in NPs, a kind of appositive, also occurs in which the order of all constituents but DemN and GN are reversed to NNum, NA, and NRel.

1.1.4 Grammatical roles

Unlike what is reported for some TB languages, the grammatical roles 'subject' and 'object' are well motivated in Kham. In unmarked declarative clauses, S and A (usually agents, but not always) are grouped together and form the pivot for syntactic operations like clause chaining and subordination.

Though in normal, running discourse, the NP associated with S and A is usually missing, it is obligatorily indexed in the verb for person and number (as is the O argument). In detransitivizing operations, the clausal agent is deleted and the subject index in the detransitivized verb agrees with the patient.

1.1.5 Nominalization

Nominalization is a major syntactic device in Kham, and operates at all levels of the grammar. Almost all phrasal modifiers are nominalizations (including relative clauses), and all clauses embedded as sentential complements are nominalizations. Even main, independent clauses can be nominalized, and, as such, have special discourse functions.

Nominalizations cut across all speech acts – declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. The nominalized versions are 'more discontinuous' and 'less direct' than the regular forms in a specifically defined way. Nominalized imperatives, for example, have the softened force of an optative, and nominalized interrogatives are less intrusive than their regular counterparts.

1.1.6 Clause chains

Clause chains are 'co-subordinate' structures in Kham and differ significantly from the subordinate structure of complements (which are always nominalized). In clause chains, all tense/aspect and person/number information is marked on the chain-final verb, and chain-medial verbs are marked with varying degrees of person inflection depending on whether the subject participant of the following clause has referential continuity with the current clause.

Most chains mark sequential events, but a few specify different aspects of the same

event. The two types are not morphologically distinct. The differences lie, in part, on the level of 'juncture' between the two clauses, and various tests can be devised for teasing them apart.

1.1.7 Evidentials

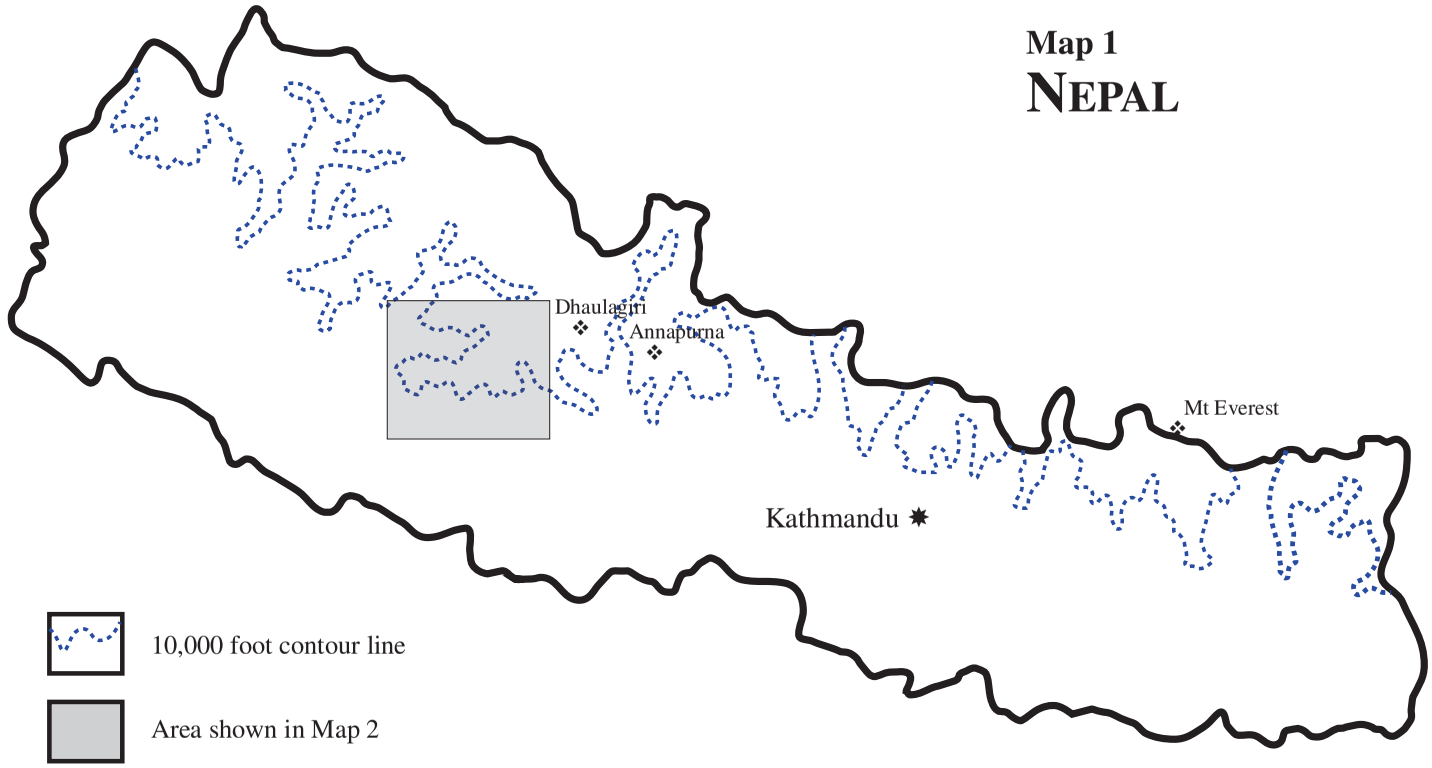
Kham lacks most evidential categories found in many Bodic-type languages. There is, however, a 'mirative' category and a 'reportative' category that covers at least some of the semantic space often associated with the evidential categories of hearsay and inference.

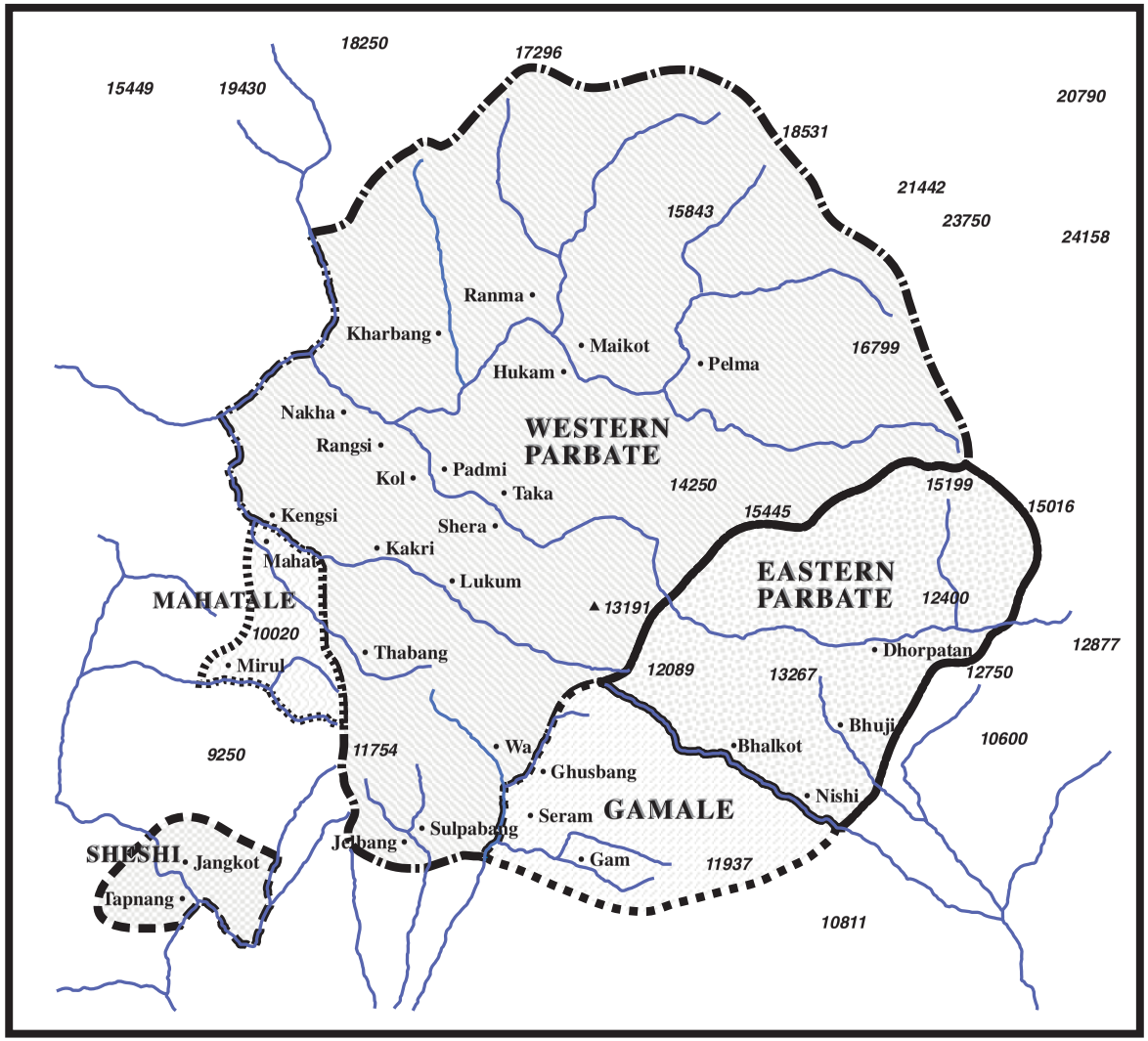
1.2 Villages and grazing lands

Most Kham speakers follow a transhumant pattern of life, maintaining both permanent and summer villages, but travelling extensively throughout much of the year with flocks of sheep and goats. Permanent villages are situated mostly on valley floors between altitudes of six and eight thousand feet, surrounded by fields suited to the cultivation of corn, barley, and millet. Summer settlements are situated at altitudes between nine and ten thousand feet where potatoes can be grown and the people have easy access to timber and subalpine pasture for cattle grazing.

Immediately above the summer settlements at altitudes beginning at about twelve thousand feet, all but the Sheshis have direct access to a large tract of rugged, alpine country running some 50 miles in length off the western end of Mt. Dhaulagiri (see map 2). The northern extreme is blocked by permanent glaciers and high, impassable mountains, except at a few points where passes cross over to the northern side of the Himalaya as low as fifteen or sixteen thousand feet. The area is prime habitat for Blue Sheep and the endangered Snow Leopard. It is in these high regions that the men spend their summers with large flocks of sheep and goats, living in *goths* and goat hair tents. The women and children remain in the summer settlements tending gardens and herding cattle. The large tract of alpine land is carved up into communally owned grazing lands, each controlled by a different village. A village's wealth is determined, in large part, by the size and location of its alpine holdings. Tolls are levied on herds passing through another's communal land, and longer stays are taxed on a per-diem, per-animal basis. Taka, with its cluster of four villages, is relatively wealthy in land holdings, and its occupants own more than 20,000 sheep.

The permanently inhabited villages in the north, especially those of the Maikot, Taka, Lukum, and Thabang valleys, are built in the fortress-like style of northwest Nepal. The villages are complex structures with as many as 300 houses built into a large, interconnecting unit on steep mountain walls. Long rows of flat-roofed houses are built like giant stair-steps, one row on top of another. Log ladders link one level of the near vertical complex to the next, and in some of the more rugged areas, tunnels link adjoining sections. Each house is made of unplastered stone, and heavy timbers support a flat, earthen roof.


Map 1
NEPAL
Dhaulagiri
Annapurna
Mt Everest
Kathmandu
10,000 foot contour line
Area shown in Map 2



Map 2

KHAM SPEAKING TERRITORIES

showing five major dialect groupings:

- Western Parbate
- Eastern Parbate
- Gamale
- Sheshi
- Mahatale

(Altitudes in feet)

The permanent villages of the Nishi and Bhuji valleys, as well as a few others at intermediate altitudes, are not so densely structured as the northern villages. The houses are built of stone with wooden shingle roofs. Further south, the villages occupied by the Gamales and Sheshis are fashioned more according to the style of traditional middle-hill villages found throughout Nepal. They are more spread out, and each house has an open veranda and a small courtyard, sometimes surrounded by small gardens. Houses are plastered with clay and the roofs are usually made of thatch.

1.3 Shamanism and origins

Kham speaking areas are tiny preserves of classical 'Inner Asian Shamanism' (Eliade 1964), a religious complex that once pervaded all of Siberia and Central Asia. Over the centuries, other religious complexes moved into the region either displacing the old shamanism, as in the case of Islam throughout much of Central Asia, or else reinterpreting and institutionalizing many of the old shamanistic motifs, as in the case of Lamaistic Buddhism throughout Tibet and Mongolia. Elements of the tradition have been preserved throughout the Himalayas in varying degrees, the Trans-Himalayan tribes having been heavily influenced by Buddhism in recent generations, and the Sub-Himalayan ones by Hinduism.

Kham communities, especially those in the more remote northern regions, have been only lightly touched by outside influences. Even the major Hindu holidays, those like *Dasain*, have gone unobserved by most communities until very recent years. Instead, they follow ancient shamanistic traditions in a remarkably pure form. All the major elements of Eliade's classical 'Inner Asian' construct are practiced in many Kham communities, some, down to meticulous details (Hitchcock 1967, Watters 1975a). The shaman's call, his initiation, his mythology, his healing technique, his familiar spirits, his costume – all show a common origin with Siberian patterns. In an earlier study (1975a), I reported that the only major element conspicuously missing from the tradition in Taka village was the shaman's escort of the soul of the deceased to the underworld. I have since discovered that this theme, too, has been preserved intact in other valleys.

Shamanistic mythology has it that the speakers of Kham arrived in their present homeland out of the 'North Country.' Though this is likely true, the myths have more to do with *Puran Tsan*, the first mythological shaman, than with the people themselves. Tradition has it that *Puran Tsan* was born in a tree in the north country. Siberian myths speak of the first shaman in the same terms, and the myth is reenacted throughout Siberia as well as in Kham country every time a new shaman is initiated and presented to the community. A pine pole, trimmed of all its branches except the crown, is erected outside the village for the public initiation ceremony. About 12 to 15 feet above ground a small platform is constructed, and it is on this 'nest' that the new shaman is 'born' and accepted into the community of shamans.

Kham myths, as well as Siberian, state that the first shaman was also a blacksmith. He learned his craft from the 'Lord of the Underworld.' Hinduism, of course, puts

blacksmiths into the lower service castes. Siberian shamanism puts a high premium on the technical skills and healing powers of the shaman–blacksmiths. Indeed, the first speakers of Kham may have been metalworkers even in their present homeland[1] – and the name 'Magar,' the tribal name by which Kham speakers identify themselves, may derive from the same etyma as Old Tibetan *mgar-ba* 'smith.'[2] Nowadays, because of modern Hindu influence, other castes, low-caste *Kami* immigrants, do the metal work in Kham villages, and the shamans are smiths only in mythology.

Shamans also have special burial rites not given to laymen. They are buried sitting up and facing north 'to the land of the first shaman.' The upper portion of their bodies are above ground and a stone cairn is erected over them, plastered, and whitewashed. The crown of a pine tree is thrust into the top, giving the shaman access to heaven. This simple burial cairn is the prototype of the Tibetan *stupa* in which the remains of great lamas are said to be housed. The prototype of the Dalai Lama's succession is also found in the shamanistic practices of the Siberian tradition. In Kham villages, after a shaman is chosen by the spirit of his deceased predecessor, he must demonstrate clairvoyant capabilities by finding parts of his predecessor's costume hidden in or around the village. If he fails, his reckless claims to the shamanistic succession are dismissed, and he is declared a charlatan.

Though the shamanism practiced in Kham speaking communities gives no clear indication as to the origin of the people themselves, it does speak to their isolation from the mainstream of commerce and the influx of the major religious philosophies that have been in the region for generations. It is improbable that Siberian shamanism could have reached these southern regions any more successfully than Buddhism has in recent generations. Most probably, the present-day speakers of Kham were practicing Siberian shamanism before they ever entered Nepal, and since their arrival in the Himalayas their language has splintered into three major stocks and arrived at its current state in relative isolation from other TB speaking peoples.

1.4 Language name

Most languages in the Himalayan region are named, at least by outsiders, after the ethnic designation of the people who speak them – i.e. *Sherpa*, for example, is the name of a people, and outsiders refer to their language also as *Sherpa*. Likewise, the Chepang people speak *Chepang*, and Gurungs speak *Gurung*. This is not true for Kham. *Kham*

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[1] There have long been copper mines in the Char Hajar Parbat and Ath Hajar Parbat regions of Mid-Western Nepal. Casual excavations for new houses and fields in and around most northern Kham villages often reveal beds of copper slag as deep as 10 or 15 feet.

[2] Other words with an original bilabial prefix have been known to survive in some Kham dialects, among them: *pəsi*: < *m-si(y) 'broom,' *psil* < *m-syil 'scrub,' etc. Prefixed *m-* in PTB, however, is usually preserved as a prefixed *p-* in Kham, and one would expect *m-gar > *bəgər*, not *məgər*. The two words may not be related after all.

is the name of a language, or group of languages, spoken by the four northern clans of the Magar tribe: the Budhas, Puns, Ghartis, and Rokhas. The long recognized Magar language is spoken by the southern clans: the Ranas, Thapas, and Ales, i.e. the 'Magars proper.' Several days' walking separates the two groups, and it has been suggested by some that the Northern Magars, the speakers of Kham, are not really Magars at all, but 'originally came of a different stock' (Northey and Morris 1928:189). How both groups came to be called by the same tribal name may never be known. To avoid ambiguity with the Magars who speak Magar, however, I began in 1973 (Watters and Watters) to refer to the people as 'Kham Magars.' Anthropologists have sometimes referred to the same people as 'Northern Magars' (Hitchcock 1967, Fisher 1986, Oppitz 1991).

Kham is known to Nepalis of the region as 'Khamkura,' which, roughly translated, means *Kham-talk* or *Kham-speech.* The word *Kham* itself is of unsure origins and means simply *language* in its broad sense, and *The Language* in its strict sense. In Mid-Western Nepal, where the Kham dialects are spoken, the Nepali use of the word *Kham* or *Khamkura* has the more generalized meaning of a local, non-Nepali dialect. Consequently, at least two other languages in the region, Chantel and Kaike, have received the Nepali appellation *Khamkura*, though neither of them is directly related to the Kham described here. Kham speakers refer to the two languages as Chantel Kham and Tarali Kham, the latter being the same as Kaike, the language spoken in the village of Tarakot.

1.4.1 Early records of Kham as a language name

The earliest direct mention of *Khamkura ('Kamkura')* in the literature is probably that of Professor R. L. Turner (author of the Nepali dictionary) in a book by Northey and Morris entitled *The Gurkhas, their manners, customs and country*, published in 1928. Turner is credited with writing chapter four, *'The people and their languages*,' and makes the following comment in a discussion on the various language families represented in Nepal: 'In addition to the languages which have been provisionally classified as Munda or Tibeto-Burman, there are also many others, of which practically nothing is known but the names, e.g. *Kamkura*, and Rai, with its, at least, ten different dialects' (p. 68, italics added).

Further in the same book, Northey and Morris make the following observation with regard to the division of the Magar tribe into six castes or clans; the Rana, Thapa, Ale, Pun, Burathoki, and Gharti:

> It is probably no exaggeration to state that only the first three named castes are pure Magars, for the latter three do not speak the Magar language and are somewhat different in appearance. The Puns and Burathokis, who live in the high isolated parts of the Magar country, have languages of their own, which differ slightly from valley to valley. These languages have no affinity with Magarkura, and this fact alone is sufficient evidence to prove that they originally came of different stock. (p. 189)

Several years later the same Morris in his book *Handbooks for the Indian Army: Gorkhas* published in 1933, changed his mind on his earlier statement that 'they have languages of their own' and arrived at a new conclusion (based either on hearsay or a whimsical notion of his own) that Kham was only a dialect of Nepali. In a discussion of the major military tribes of western Nepal, the Gurungs and Magars, he writes the following in reference to the three northern clans of the Magar tribe:

> The Burathoki, Gharti, and Pun clans do not speak Magar; nor is it known by any of the Magars living about Argha, Baglung, Dhurkot, Gulmi, Kanchi, Musikot, and Piuthan. Many Puns and Burathokis speak only Nepali, but in some parts they employ a language known as Kamkura. This appears to differ in its pronunciation from valley to valley, and it is said not to be Tibeto-Burman, but a dialect of Nepali. (p. 76)

Unfortunately, it appears that neither Morris nor any of the writers before him managed to record any specimens of Kham, a curious oversight, especially in view of the British interest in the indigenous languages of Nepal. Perhaps more unfortunate was Morris' statement that *Kamkura* is a dialect of Nepali. The error was repeated in numerous later editions of military handbooks, and apparently the matter was never questioned again.

1.4.2 Early reference to Kham speaking peoples

The existence of Kham, at least by negative inference, was apparently known as early as 1819, but owing, perhaps, to the fact that tribes employing Kham were not generally accepted into the British Gurkha regiments in those early years, their language was apparently given little consideration. Hamilton, writing in 1819 in reference to the Bhujel Ghartis, now known to be a Kham speaking clan, states that 'the Ghartis are of two kinds, Khas and Bhujial. The former are admitted to the military dignity; but the latter wallow in all the abominations of the impure Gurungs, and do not speak the [Nepali] language.' He failed, however, to mention what language they did speak.

Three quarters of a century later, records show that the latter class of Gharti was also accepted into the Gurkha regiments after careful screening. Vansittart, writing in 1890, states that:

> by careful selection, excellent Ghartis can be obtained. The Bhujial Gharti lives in the valleys and high mountains to the north of Gulmi, above the Puns. Their tract of country runs along both sides of the Bhuji Khola (river), from which they probably derive their name. The Bhujial Gharti is generally a shepherd. He lives principally on the milk of sheep, and is almost invariably a man of very good physique and heavy limbs. He is remarkably dirty when first enlisted. (pp. 57-58)

In the same publication, Vansittart lists other Magar clans from which recruits had been drawn. Some names are clearly recognizable as Kham village names, while others are the names of village kindreds and lineages. The Gharti clans of *Gamal* and *Walia*, for example, are undoubtedly the Gamales referred to in this volume, along with their

close neighbors, the *Wales* of Wa village. Likewise, the Pun clan of *Takalia* is undoubtedly the Takale of Taka village, the major dialect of this description. Although among present day Takales, only a few belong to the Pun clan, it is generally conceded that Takale Budhas, too, when enlisting in the army, often enlist under the more prestigious name of Pun.

At any rate, no mention was made of Kham in any of the early publications until Turner's observation in 1928 that there existed in Nepal languages like *Kamkura* 'of which practically nothing is known but the names.' Not until John Hitchcock, an American anthropologist, approached the edges of Kham territory on a month's trek sometime in 1960-1962 did it become known that Kham was a TB language. Writing in 1966, he states that the 'Northern Magars … speak a Tibeto-Burman dialect called Khamkura. It resembles Magarkura but the two languages are not mutually intelligible' (Hitchcock 1966:4). If he managed to collect specimens of the language, he apparently never published them.

1.5 Population

In the 1971 census of Nepal, the inhabitants of Rukum, Rolpa, and Baglung Districts speaking 'Magar' as their mother tongue were listed as 27,008. Those speaking 'local district languages' were listed as 13,958. Apart, however, from a small pocket of perhaps 2,000–3,000 Magar speakers in the eastern part of the Baglung District five days removed from Kham speaking territories, Kham is the only non-Nepali language spoken in those districts. It can be assumed, therefore, that apart from about two or three thousand Magar speakers in eastern Baglung District, the total of the two figures 27,008 and 13,958 (40,966) was a fairly accurate representation in 1971 of the number of people whose mother tongue was Kham. Today, their numbers may be closer to 50,000.

1.6 Kham and its dialects

The three major dialects of Kham are Parbate, Gamale, and Sheshi. All three names are exonyms (applied by outsiders), and the speakers themselves, regardless of their dialect, refer to their local language simply as *Kham.* Both Gamale and Sheshi take their names from Gam Khola and Shes Khola (*khola* is a Nepali word for 'river'), though rivers by those names do not actually exist. Rather, the word *khola* in both instances is taken to refer to a region.[3] In fact, both regions are fairly circumscribed with little variation in terms of dialect chains. The name *Parbate*, on the other hand, comes from a Nepali word meaning 'mountain,' or 'belonging to mountainous regions,' and takes in a vast, poorly defined area. Parbate Kham, in other words, is everything that is not Gamale or

[3] In similar manner, *Thak Khola* is an appellation for a particular region along the Kali Gandaki river, the homeland of the Thakhali language.

Sheshi. Because the term is so inclusive and takes in a large dialect continuum, it is useful only as the name of a high level node on a genetic tree. Though all the dialects within Parbate are at least partially intelligible to one another, there are some fairly homogenous groupings corresponding to major population centers in different river valleys. Takale Kham is the prestige dialect of the Parbate group and a *lingua franca* for the whole region. There are other tiny dialects, spoken in single villages, that do not obviously relate to any of the major groups.[4] Figure 1 shows the three major branches of Kham (plus the lower level split in Parbate), along with the names of eleven dialects at the terminal nodes.

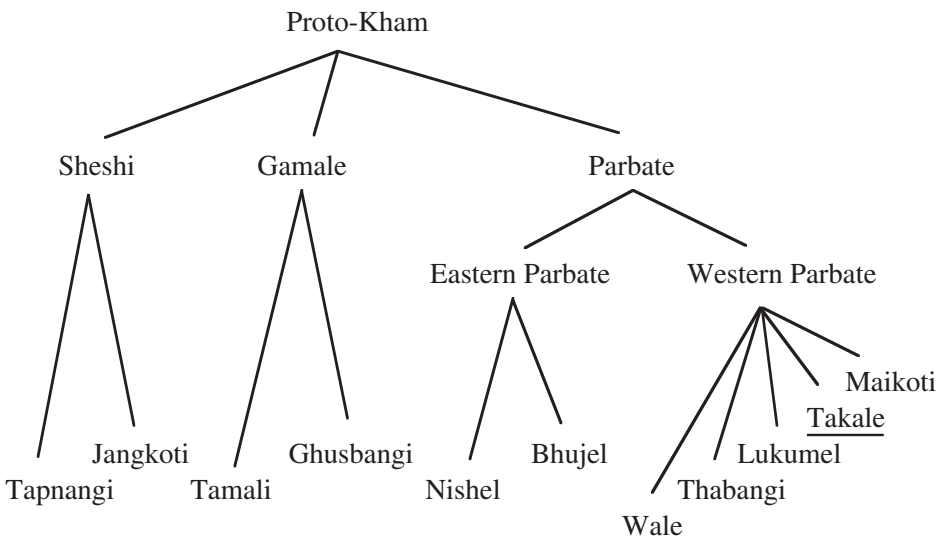

Figure 1. The dialects of Kham

The dialect names at the terminal nodes in figure 1 are, broadly speaking, the names of regional dialects composed of several, more specific, village dialects. In a narrower sense, they are the names of specific village dialects themselves, representative of the larger regional clusters. Thus, for example, Takale is both a village dialect, spoken in Taka village, and a regional dialect composed of several village dialects spoken in the same river valley (see figure 2). Regional dialects dominated by the same mother node are all mutually intelligible, though when situated at opposite ends of a continuum, as are Maikoti and Wale (figure 1), intelligibility may be considerably reduced.

[4] One is Ghusbangi that I have tentatively classified with Gamale, and another Miruli that I have tentatively classified with Mahatale (see map 1).

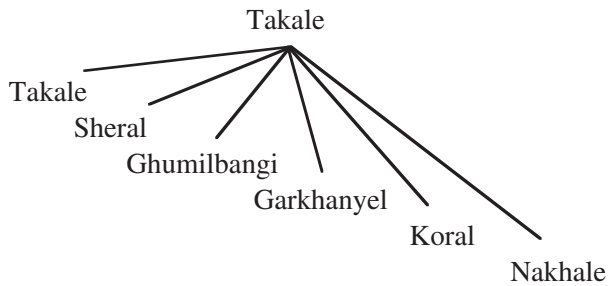

Figure 2. A partial listing of Takale village dialects

1.6.1 Intelligibility levels

At a purely lexical level, based on cognate counts from the Swadesh 100 word list, the similarity between the major branches of Kham is about 85 to 90 percent; enough, it would seem, to insure high levels of intelligibility between them. The count between Takale and Gamale, for example, is 92 percent. Remove loan words and the count goes even higher – up to 96 percent. The striking fact in light of these figures is that the inherent intelligibility levels between the Takale and Gamale dialects should be so low – somewhere in the mid 30 percent range. Intelligibility between Takale and Sheshi is even lower.[5]

High numbers of cognate words between dialects does not always ensure high intelligibility levels. The reasons can be varied and complex. For one, cognate words are not necessarily 'lexically similar.' Any two words in related languages are established as cognate on the basis of diachronic rules of phonological change, not on subjective notions of whether they sound alike or not. Words like Takale *khyo* and Gamale *hlu*, for example, can be established as perfect cognates, both derived from the same proto-form **slo*, but they would not be readily recognized by native speakers as similar. Lexical similarity has to do with recognizability, and so-called 'similarity counts' attempt to make objective the kinds of things a native speaker would resort to unconsciously in deciding if a word were 'similar' or 'different.' Based on lexical similarity, Takale Kham and Gamale Kham have a lexical similarity of just 71 percent, down 21–25 percentage points from pure cognate counts.

1.6.2 Incompatibility of surface morphemes

Other factors contribute even more significantly to reduced intelligibility, the greatest being in the area of morphology. Each of the dialects exhibits a complex morphology with multiple affixes attached to stems of every class. Though the categories marked are much the same from one dialect to another, their surface representations and syntactic

[5] Levels of intelligibility have been measured using the so-called 'Recorded Text Tests.' The technique is described in Casad (1974) and also in Blair (1990).

arrangements are often different. What may be suffixing in one dialect may be prefixing in another, and the morphemes themselves may have derived from entirely different etyma. Worse yet, the morphemes may have derived from etyma once participating in an entirely different system, later reinterpreted to fit the new system. The end result is that the root, which (between Takale and Gamale) has no more than a 71 percent chance of being 'lexically similar,' is surrounded and camouflaged by an array of unfamiliar affixes in unfamiliar syntactic arrangements.

1.7 The place of Kham in Tibeto-Burman

Most major classifications of TB languages in the Himalayan region agree, for the most part, on two major clusters of languages – (1) a Tibetan or Bodish unit that, in addition to Tibetan itself,[6] includes Tamang-Gurung-Thakhali (TGT), and (2) an East Himalayish or Kiranti unit that takes in the so-called 'Rai-Limbu' languages. Everything else gets lumped rather differently. Shafer (1966), for example, sets up a 'West Himalayish' and a 'West-Central Himalayish' between Bodish and East Himalayish, essentially placing all four groups on a par with one another. Nishida's classification (1970), apart from the placement of Tibetan, follows closely. Most other classifications – Benedict (1972), Egerod (1974), and DeLancey (1987), for example – put the languages of Shafer's West Himalayish unit closer to Bodish, and his West-Central Himalayish languages closer to Kiranti.

Kham, unclassified in any of the major classifications until DeLancey (1987), falls into a western division of the Kiranti group along with Vayu, Chepang, and Magar. Benedict was unsure of Magar, and regarded it as a Bodish-Bahing link. With the addition of Kham to Western Kiranti, the whole picture becomes much more clear. As I will show in chapter 17, there is little doubt that Kham and the Eastern Himalayan languages share a common, high level node. At the same time, Kham shares a considerable amount of innovative vocabulary with Magar – the kinds of items that do not show up on basic vocabulary lists. As such, Kham turns out to be an important link between the East Himalayish/Kiranti languages and the loose grouping of languages in West-Central Nepal.[7]

Using two different comparative lists – the Swadesh 100 word list and Matisoff's CALMSEA list[8] – both of which utilize basic vocabulary fairly resistant to change, I arrive at comparable results for Kham's relationship to other languages. Table 1 compares

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[6] Nishida (1970) is an exception, who has a Tibetan group in opposition to everything else that he calls 'Himalayan.'

[7] Shafer (1966:142) lumped these languages together into West-Central Himalayish because, he says, 'they have more in common with each other than with any other language or group of languages.'

[8] An acronym for 'Culturally Appropriate Lexicostatistical Model for SouthEast Asia' (Matisoff 1978). See Vocabulary, chapter 19.

the two lists (both are slightly expanded to include, in some cases, synonymous Kham terms for a single original item).

Table 1. Cognate percentages between Kham and other TB languages

	Swadesh list 116 items (%)	Matisoff list 230 items (%)
Modern Kham to:		
PTB	59	56
Chepang	44	33
Magar	38	33
Kaike	26	17
Thakhali	25	16
Tamang	18	10
Tibetan	12	15
Khaling	9	5
Sunwar	5	3

The two columns in table 1 yield similar results: 59 percent of the Kham words on the Swadesh list are relatable to PTB, and 56 percent on Matisoff's list are. Chepang and Magar show a considerably higher number of cognates with Kham than any other languages in Nepal, about 40 percent on the Swadesh list. The Tamang-Gurung-Thakhali (TGT) group, which includes Kaike, also has a fairly high number of cognates, from 18 to 26 percent. The Kiranti languages, represented by Khaling and Sunwar, are the lowest at less than 10 percent. (See Vocabulary in chapter 19.)

Although Kham exhibits low lexical similarity with the East Himalayish/Kiranti languages, it does show remarkable correspondences in the morphology and organization of verbal paradigms, including the retention of an archaic set of person agreement forms (see chapter 17). This suggests that Kham, along with Magar and Chepang, can be regarded as distant cousins of Kiranti belonging to a western branch.[9] Slightly revising some of the earlier TB classifications, then, I would add Kham, along with Magar, to Benedict's Vayu-Chepang division (as DeLancey's Kham-Magar has already done). In addition, Kham likely forms a link to Bodish (Tibetan-Kanauri) along the lines suggested by Benedict for Magar. My revision is in figure 3.

[9] Basing genetic relationships on reconstructed morphological patterns is a debatable issue. My proposal is strengthened considerably by the presence of archaic cognate forms within those patterns.

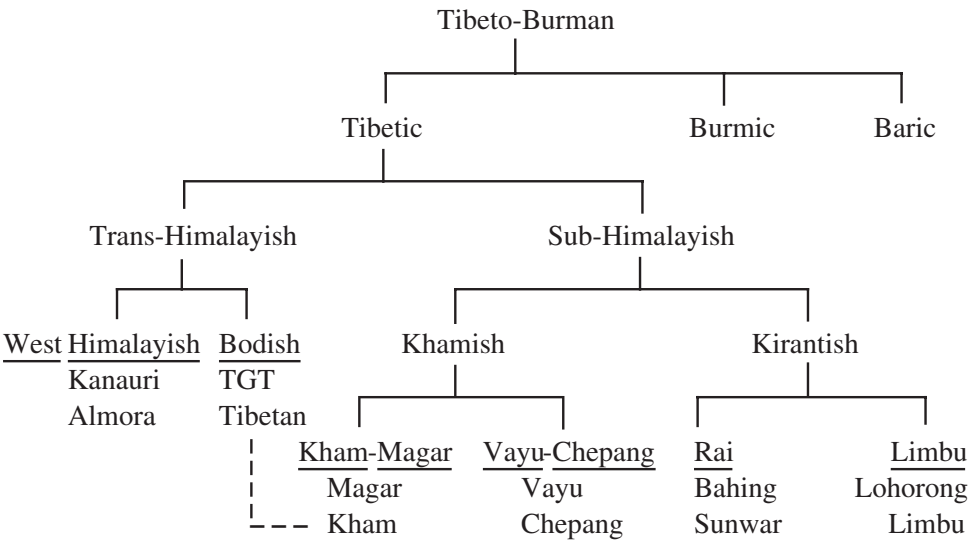

Figure 3. The relationship of the Tibetic languages within TB

Kham, then, lends cohesiveness to the loosely knit Magar-Chepang-Vayu group (which I will call Khamish because of Kham's key position) and binds it to Kiranti (Rai-Limbu). At the same time it forms a link between the new Khamish group and Bodish through Tibetan. In essence, then, Kham links the two major branches of Tibetic – what I will call Trans-Himalayish (Egerod's Bodish-Himalayish and DeLancey's Bodish) and Sub-Himalayish (Egerod's Kirantish and DeLancey's East Himalayish).

2 *Segmental phonology*

In chapters 2 and 3, I will address two major topics in Kham phonology: (1) the inventory of segmental phonemes with their major allophonic variants, and (2) tonal phenomena. In the first case I will address segmental phonology with only enough detail to settle on a reliable and working orthography for the remainder of the chapters. This will necessarily include some discussion of syllable structure as it relates to allophony and morphophonemics. In chapter 3, I will discuss Kham tonal phenomena within the larger framework of Himalayan and Southeast Asian tone systems. Kham tones appear to be unique in a number of areas, which, I suspect, will turn out to be more common than our current knowledge of Himalayan tone systems permits us to recognize. It is hoped that a fairly detailed treatment of Kham tone will be another step in helping define the features of a Himalayan tone typology.

2.1 Consonants

The consonantal inventory in Kham is simple, with twenty-two consonants occurring at only three points of articulation – bilabial, alveolar, and velar (ignoring the consonant /h/). Palatal consonants, including the affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ], occur only as allophonic variants of the alveolar series. All consonants occur in the onset of a syllable, while a more restricted inventory occurs in the coda – little more than half the total, twelve consonants. Table 2 gives the full inventory of consonant phonemes in Takale Kham, using orthographic symbols that will be used throughout the rest of the book.

In terms of distribution, none of the voiced obstruents and none of the aspirate series occur in syllable-final position. Furthermore, of the approximants, only /l/ and /r/ occur syllable finally.[1] The affricate /c/ in final position is rare, being limited to a few loan words from Nepali.

Syllable-initial consonant clusters, apart from clusters with /y/ or /w/, are disallowed. All but /ŋ/ cluster with /y/, and all but /p/ cluster with /w/. Some of the clusters are limited to onomatopoeic words, in keeping with a general cross-linguistic observation that onomatopoeic words often overstep the norms.

[1] Orthographically, *h* occurs syllable finally, but in all cases it indicates a preceding vowel with lax phonation. Phonation types will be discussed in detail in chapter 3 on Tone.

Table 2. Consonant phonemes in Takale Kham

	labial		alveolar		velar		glottal
	–voice	+voice	–voice	+voice	–voice	+voice	
stops	p	b	t	d	k	g	
+ aspirated	ph		th		kh		
fricatives			s	z			
affricates			c	j			
+ aspirated			ch				
nasals		m		n		ŋ	
approximants:							h
liquids				l r			
glides				y		w	

2.1.1 *Stop consonants*

Voiceless stop consonants occur in syllable onset and coda positions with virtually any vowel combination. Syllable-final /t/ and /k/, however, are rare in Takale Kham. Where they do occur, they occur primarily in new Nepali loans[2] or onomatopoeic words. Final /t/ and /k/ occur extensively in Proto-Kham, and they are preserved in varying degrees in dialects other than Takale. Nishel is a good source for reconstructing final /t/ and Lukumel is a good source for final /k/. Also, both are preserved in Sheshi verbs, given the right morphological contexts.

In Takale, the loss of either one results in compensatory lengthening (plus other vocalic reflexes which will be discussed in §2.2.5 and §2.2.6):

(1)

Sheshi	Nishel	Takale	gloss
-sit-	sit-	si:-	'to sweep'
-sik-	si:-	'sí:-	'to step on'

The voiced stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ are restricted to syllable onsets.[3]

[2] What are presumably older loans have adjusted to Kham phonology by adding a vocalic release, as in *cetə* < *cet* 'memory,' and *buhtə* < *bhut* 'ghost.'

[3] I am aware of one case of /b/ occurring in coda position – *nehblo* 'two.' Evidence suggests that *blo* was an early classifier (see §9.4.1). Occurring between voiced elements with lax phonation on the first, the voicing on /b/ has remained. Also, in some Nepali loans with geminate consonants a voiced coda is possible, as in *giddə* 'vulture.'

2.1.2 Stop variants

Allophonic variation in stops is relatively minor. An allophone of /k/, for example, that occurs preceding the front vowels /i/ and /e/ is more fronted than one that occurs preceding back vowels. The differences, however, present no problems for interpretation and I will discuss it no further.[4] Also, stop consonants in the coda of a syllable are unreleased.

Voiceless stops occurring in the coda of VC and CVC syllables become voiced when followed by the nominalizing suffix *-o*. In such cases, the resulting sequence of CVC-V is resyllabified as CV-CV, as in:

(2)

a.	təp-	'to drum'	/tə.bo/	'drummer'
b.	cep-	'to ride'	/ce.bo/	'rider'
c.	dup-	'to gather'	/du.bo/	'gatherer'

2.1.3 Fricatives and affricates (sibilants)

There are two fricatives – /s/ and /z/ – and three affricates – /c/, /j/, and an aspirate counterpart for /c/, namely /ch/. Only /s/ and /c/ occur syllable finally. Takale is one of the few dialects that has preserved final /s/.

With fricatives and affricates there is a distinct allophonic variation anywhere that a front vowel follows – the consonant becomes palatalized, as in the following contrastive sets.

(3) INITIAL /s/:

a. (followed by front vowels)

/si-/	[ʃi]	'to die'
/sül-/	[ʃyl]	'to be slippery'
/syul/	[ʃjul]	'footprint'
/sya:/	[ʃjæ]	'meat'

b. (followed by non-front vowels)

/sa:/	[sa:]	'strength'
/sɨ:/	[sɯ:]	'breath'
/su:/	[su:]	'who?'
/so-/	[so]	'to rise'

The consonant /s/ is unaffected by a preceding front vowel:

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[4] In Gamale, on the other hand, allophones of /t/, /th/, and /d/ following front vowels are pronounced with the flat of the tongue, and some are beginning to collapse with /k/, /kh/, and /g/ in the same environment, as in: *ge:* 'we (pl)' and *ge:* 'you (pl)' < **dʒe:*.

(4) FINAL /s/:

/pis-/	[pis]	'to be firm fitting'
/pos/	[pos]	'beer malt'

Recall that syllable codas with voiceless stops become resyllabified and voiced when followed by the nominalizer *-o*, as in *təp-* 'to drum' > *təb-o* /tə.bo/ 'drummer.' The generalization, however, does not hold for voiceless sibilants, as in *kəs-* 'to be tight' > /kə.so/ 'tight' – but not */kə.zo/.

Like the palatal variants of /s/ to [ʃ] shown in (3a), so also /z/, /c/, /ch/, and /j/ have palatalized variants [ʒ], [tʃ], [tʃʰ], and [dʒ], respectively, in identical environments.

2.1.4 Nasals

There are three nasal consonants – /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. Though all three occur in syllable-initial and syllable-final positions, there is a general tendency in Takale Kham for final **-n* and **-ŋ* to erode, being replaced by nasalization on the preceding vowel, and in some cases, modification of the vowel itself. This is shown in table 3.

Table 3. Final **-ŋ* and **-n* in three Kham dialects

	Takale	Mahatale	Sheshi	gloss
a. proto **-ŋ*	sĩ:	siŋ	siŋ	'tree, wood'
	cõ:-	cuŋ-	cuŋ-	'alight, perch'
	hã:	haŋ	haŋ	'cliff'
b. proto **-n*	chĩ:-	chen-	chen-	'to lift'
	jẽ:h-	jehn-	jehn-	'high'
	phĩ:-	pin-	pin-	'boil food'

2.1.5 Approximants

The approximant class is comprised of what have sometimes been called 'frictionless continuants.' It includes the liquids /l/ and /r/, and the glides /y/ and /w/, as well as /h/. The consonant /h/ has no particular vocalic shape. It is the voiceless equivalent of the vowel that follows. I classify it as a consonant because it never occurs in the nucleus of a syllable. Following are examples:

(5) INITIAL /h/:

/he:/	'parched grain'	/ha:/	'tooth'
/ho:/	'that'		

Final orthographic *h* does not occur as a consonant, but only as a marker of lax vowels, as in *ka:h* 'dog' (see footnote 1).

i. Liquids

The liquids /r/ and /l/ both occur in Kham. The rhotic liquid /r/ is a flapped consonant [ɾ] word initially, and trilled [r] word finally. The lateral /l/ approximates an alveolar laterally released affricate [dl] ~ [dɮ] word finally. There are no consonant clusters with /r/ or /l/ as the second member. Where clusters in /r/ are borrowed from Nepali, they are resyllabified in Kham with an epenthetic /ə/, as in /jã:hkə̲ri/ < Nepali *jhākri* 'shaman.'

ii. Glides

The glides /y/ and /w/ occur both syllable initially and as the second member in complex onsets like /py/, /kw/, etc. The glide /y/ is phonetically equivalent to [i] or [e], and /w/ is equivalent to [u] or [o]. Here I present the two glides /y/ and /w/ as consonantal onsets. I will treat them as clusters in §2.4 on the syllable.

(6) INITIAL /y/:

/yem/	'trail, road'
/ya-/	'to give'
/yo:-/	'to sell'

(7) INITIAL /w/:

/wi: phwi:/	'worry'
/wa/	'about'
/wohr/	'right hand'

2.1.6 Aspiration

Aspiration occurs with stops and affricates, but only with the voiceless series /ph/, /th/, /kh/, and /ch/. Aspiration is further restricted to syllable onsets. The absence of a voiced aspirate series /bh/, /dh/, /gh/, and /jh/ is partly a matter of interpretation. This will become more clear in chapter 3 on Tone. For now, it is enough to know that 'lax phonation,' a breathy laryngeal quality of the vowel, occurs with voiceless onsets as well as voiced ones. In syllables with *voiceless* onsets, the difference between aspiration and lax phonation on the vowel is qualitative and easy to perceive, as in the following three-way contrast:

(8) a. NORMAL (modal) PHONATION:
/pi:-/ 'to milk'

b. LAX PHONATION:
/pe:h/ 'bamboo box'

c. ASPIRATION:
/phe:/ 'ball of string'

In syllables with *voiced* onsets, on the other hand, only a two-way contrast exists – a

contrast between normal phonation, as in /be:/ 'skirt,' and *something else* that could, without further insights, be interpreted either as lax phonation *or* aspiration:

(9) a. ASPIRATION?:
/bhe:/ 'basket'

b. LAX PHONATION?:
/be:h/ 'basket'

To the uninitiated ear, the syllable represented in (9) sounds very much like the voiced aspirates prevalent in Nepali and other Indic languages.[5] Given the fact, however, that lax phonation occurs in syllables with almost any onset (voiced, voiceless, or no consonantal onset at all), and that all such syllables display identical tonal properties (as opposed to aspirated syllables which have different tonal properties), it becomes clear that such syllables should be interpreted as lax phonation types. Phonologically, then, voiced aspirates like /bhe:/ or /jha:/ do not occur in Kham.

Aspiration on voiceless obstruents is heavy in Kham, with a considerably stronger burst of air than that which occurs in English.

2.2 Vowels

There are nine vowels in Kham, six of which are basic, and three of which can be traced to secondary developments resulting from the loss of consonants. The six basic vowels are two front, /i/ and /e/, two central, /ə/ and /a/, and two back, /u/ and /o/. The vowels /ü/, /ö/, and /ɨ/ are recent innovations and do not occur in all dialects (see §2.2.4 and §2.2.5).

Table 4. Vowel phonemes in Takale Kham

	front		central	back	
	–round	+round		–round	+round
high	i	ü		ɨ	u
mid	e	ö	ə		o
low			a		

The six basic vowels are close to the cardinal values associated with those symbols and require no further explanation apart from allophonic variants which I will present shortly. The two front vowels that I write as /ü/ and /ö/ are both rounded and close to the IPA representation [y] and [ø], respectively. The back vowel that I represent as /ɨ/ is phonetically a high-back unrounded vowel and close to the IPA representation [ɯ].

[5] Indeed, in the Devanagri spelling system I devised for Kham, I found strong reader support in writing these three stops as भ 'bh,' ध 'dh,' and घ 'gh.'

Table 4 gives the full inventory in the Takale dialect using orthographic symbols that will be used throughout the book.

2.2.1 *Contrastive length*

All vowels are contrastive for length. Orthographically, long vowels are marked by a colon immediately following the vowel symbol – /i:/, /e:/, /ə:/, /a:/, /u:/, /o:/, /ü:/, /ö:/, and /ɨ:/. Following are contrastive sets:

(10)		SHORT:		LONG:	
	a.	pi-	'to suck'	pi:-	'to milk'
		pa-	'to fall'	pa:-	'to break'
	b.	te-	'to drop'	te:-	'to press down'
		tu-	'to be poisoned'	tu:-	'to be spicy'
	c.	ki-	'to pluck'	ki:-	'to plow'
		ko-	'to crow'	ko:-	'to peel, skin'

The short/long contrast is found primarily on the five vowels i, e, a, u, and o. The vowel /ə/ is almost always short, though there are a few examples of long /ə:/, as in:

(11)			
	a.	kə:	'a lid'
	b.	mələ:	'weevil'
	c.	thə:rəi-	'to determine'

Likewise, the vowel /ɨ/ occurs almost exclusively as a long vowel. Recall that the vowel comes from the loss of final *-k*, and that the loss of a final consonant normally results in compensatory lengthening.

The secondary vowels /ü/ and /ö/ are primarily short since they occur in closed syllables like *sür-* 'sour,' *sül-* 'slippery,' and *süs* 'disciple,' etc.

i. Length and stress in polysyllabic morphemes

In polysyllabic morphemes, all syllables can be short, but not all can be long. If there is a long syllable somewhere in the string it will usually be the final syllable, though there are some exceptions. Furthermore, stress will fall on that final, long syllable (though this is not to be equated with high pitch). In a bisyllabic morpheme in which both syllables are open and short there is no discernible stress placement, as in:

(12)			
	a.	kata	'what?'
	b.	baza	'bird'
	c.	gohga	'corn'

In trisyllabic morphemes, on the other hand, in which all syllables are open and short, there is discernible stress on the final syllable (in spite of its shortness),[6] as in:

(13) a. buchulá ‘adze’
b. bokolá ‘tree bark’
c. dohkorá ‘grain bin’
d. gulyalí ‘sling, bow’

Where the final syllable is also long, then, there is no conflict between stress and length, as in the following:

(14) a. phətú: ‘wool coat’
b. kəsərí: ‘flat rope, band’
c. buhturá: ‘jerky’

Where the first syllable is long (which is somewhat rare), the stress falls on the long syllable, not the final one, as in:

(15) a. ká:sa ‘lightly’
b. phó:sa ‘lung’
c. bé:pari ‘trader’

Many bisyllabic morphemes which display both length and stress on the final syllable appear to be syllabifications of old C(r) or C(l) clusters. In such cases, the first vowel is a schwa, as in the following:

(16) a. bəle:- ‘to ruin’ < *ble
b. kəri:- ‘to slice’ < *kri

Where the second, main vowel is rounded, the first vowel, instead of being a schwa, will harmonize with it, as in:

(17) a. kuru: ‘a bur’ < *kru
b. pholo:- ‘to split bamboo’ < *phlo

ii. Length in monosyllabic words

The minimal word in Kham is bimoraic. Short syllables are monomoraic. Hence, no word can consist of a single short syllable. This is not a problem in most cases; most words, because of obligatory affixation, are polysyllabic and therefore necessarily polymoraic, as in the following:

(18) a. si-ke ‘he died’
b. ge-ba-ke ‘we went’

A potential problem arises with the class of monomoraic morphemes that can occur without affixation – noun roots and particles. Particles, however, are phonologically

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[6] This rule does not apply to polysyllabic words in which all the morphemes are one syllable, one mora long. In such cases, there is no discernible stress in the entire string, as in: *ge-ma-ra-sə-te-si-na-ke* ‘We didn’t go lower ourselves.’

parasitic and attach to a word or phrase. As such, they behave like affixes and retain their monomoraic status, as with *zə* and *ro* in the following:

(19) a. ŋa:-zə
I-EMP ‘It’s me.’

b. nə-kə-ro
dist-LOC-TAG ‘There?’

Nouns, unlike particles, can form an independent phonological phrase without affixation. Monosyllabic CV noun roots, then, are only CV: – i.e. long. Monosyllabic CV verb roots, on the other hand, because they require affixation, can occur as CV (as in (18)).[7] This is a major phonological distinction between verb and noun roots. The long/short distinction on monosyllabic morphemes occurs only with verbs.

CV noun roots are always long in the absence of affixation. They are also long in the presence of affixation just in case intonational stress also falls on the word. In the absence of intonational stress, the noun root with affixation will be short, as in (22) which contrasts with (21):

(20) WITHOUT AFFIXATION:
a. ŋa: (*ŋa) ‘I’
b. mi: (*mi) ‘person’

(21) AFFIXATION WITH INTONATIONAL STRESS:
a. ŋa:-sə ‘with me’
b. mi:-lai ‘to the person’

(22) AFFIXATION WITHOUT INTONATIONAL STRESS:
a. ŋa-sə ‘with me’
b. mi-lai ‘to the person’

The situation is entirely different with CV verb roots: stress does not affect syllable length. Short roots are always short regardless of intonation, and long roots are always long regardless of intonation. Stress does, however, play a role in syllabification patterns on CV verb roots, as we shall see in §2.4 on syllabification.

2.2.2 *Nasalization*

All vowels except /ü/ and /ö/ have nasalized variants. Furthermore, all nasalized vowels are long, having been derived from a lost /*-n/ or /*-ŋ/ in the coda. Nasalization is marked orthographically by a tilde above the vowel symbol, as in /ĩ:/, /ẽ:/, and /õ:/ (see table 5).

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[7] There are some minor cases in which verb roots can occur without affixation, as in the hortative *ba* ‘Let’s go.’ In such cases, the syllable is closed by a glottal stop – *ba?*.

Table 5. Nasalized vowels

	front		central	back	
	–round	+round		–round	+round
high	ĩː			ɨ̃ː	ũː
mid	ẽː		ə̃ː		õː
low			ã:		

Following are contrastive sets, one oral and one nasal:

(23)

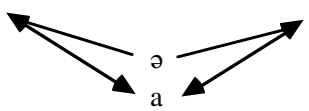
	ORAL:		NASAL:	
a.	piː-	‘to milk’	pĩː-	‘to be green’
	pɨː-	‘bad tasting’	pɨ̃ː	‘plugged’
	poː	‘place’	põː-	‘shoulder’
b.	tɨː	‘Taka village’	tɨ̃ː	‘to one side’
	tuː-	‘spicy’	tũː-	‘to drive a stake’
c.	kiː-	‘to plow’	kĩː-	‘to wait’
	ka:	‘a crow’	kã:	‘meal’
	ku-	‘to smoke’	kũ:	‘hole’

2.2.3 Diphthongs

Diphthongs are similar to long vowels in that two vowels occur in sequence in the same syllable. With long vowels, two identical vowels are geminated; with diphthongs the two vowels are from different parts of the oral cavity. The mid central vowel /ə/ has a one-way relationship with front and back high vowels /i/ and /u/, forming only the diphthongs /əi/ and /əu/. The low central vowel /a/, on the other hand, is both the beginning and ending point for the diphthongs /ai/ – /ia/ and /au/ – /ua/, as shown in table 6.

Table 6. Diphthongs

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	



2.2.4 The vowels ü and ö

The front rounded vowels /ü/ and /ö/ are the reflex of a lost /p-/ prefix preceding syllables which contain the front unrounded vowels /i/ and /e/. The prefix /p-/ in Proto-Kham (whose original function is unknown) is restricted to syllables with sibilant onsets, a complex onset that is preserved only in modern Maikoti. In all dialects, then, /ü/ and /ö/ occur only following sibilants.[8] Rounding of some form on a succeeding front vowel is a reflex in most dialects attesting to the presence of the prefix in the proto-language, though some unexpected inconsistencies appear in my data.[9]

Though Maikoti has preserved most words with a proto prefixed **p-*, Nishel offers insights into the dynamics of the phonetic reflex manifested in other dialects. Anywhere Maikoti has a prefixed *p-* Nishel preserves the prefix as an *o-*, but only where other prefixed CV material precedes. That is, the complex onset in *pCVC is retained only where **p* can be reinterpreted as the coda of a preceding syllable – CV*pCVC. Later, following a general rule in Nishel, final **p* is realized as *-o*. Where **p* (> *o*) is not preceded by other prefixal material, its rounding colors the following vowel. This is shown in table 7.

Table 7. Reflexes of the lost prefix **p-*

	Proto-Kham	Maikoti	Nishel with prefix	Nishel without prefix
'scrub'	*p-sil	p-sil	ŋa-o-sil	süil
'tear'	*p-cit	p-ci:	ŋa-o-cit	cüit
'grind'	*p-set	p-se:	ŋa-o-set	söet
'sell'	*p-yet	öe	ŋa-o-yet	öet

A series of developmental steps appears as follows. The rounding reflex on front vowels following **p-* began in Proto-Kham. Following the first split into different dialects, the rounding reflex continued in one branch (represented by modern Nishel) until it affected all prefixed forms. The rounding disappeared in the other branch (represented by modern Takale and Maikoti) so that only those rounded forms inherited from the proto-language manifest the feature. Following a Takale/Maikoti split, Takale lost the prefix altogether, and Maikoti retained the prefix (without further modifications). The tree in figure 4 represents the developments.

[8] In Takale I have one case of a syllable beginning with /ü/ – *ü-si-nya* 'to argue.'

[9] Part of the problem is undoubtedly due to some of my early transcriptions when I tended to write a sequence like *süs*, for example, as *syus*. In a number of cases I have not had opportunity to revisit some of the relevant dialect areas for verification of the questionable forms.

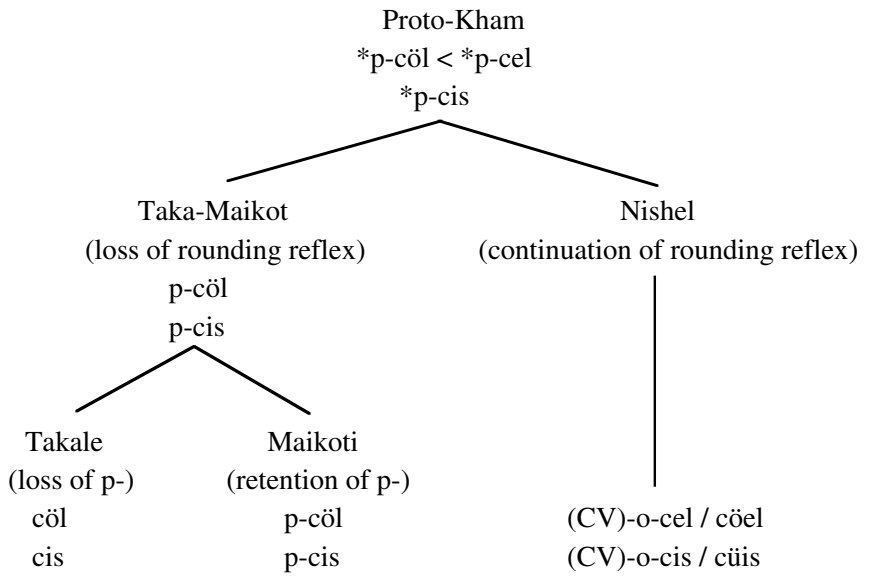


Figure 4. The phonetic reflex of proto *p-

Walking through figure 4, the words *p-cöl 'swim' and *p-cis 'tear' at the top of the figure represent two classes of words inherited in the modern dialects from Proto-Kham. In the *p-cel series, the vowel in *cel was already modified to *cöl before the first split, while in the *p-cis series the vowel was unmodified. (The prefixation of *p- to contexts like *cis was presumably a later development by analogy after the *p-cel > *p-cöl change had already occurred.) After Nishel broke off from Proto-Kham, the rounding reflex continued (or was reinitiated) in Nishel, such that *p-cis has become cüis in the modern language (and still o-cis following a CV- prefix, as in ŋa-o-cis).

In the Taka-Maikot branch of the family both p-cöl with its rounded front vowel and *p-cis without a rounded vowel were inherited from Proto-Kham. Later, after the Takale and Maikoti split, Maikoti retained the prefix in both classes (*p-cöl remained p-cöl, and *p-cis remained p-cis), while Takale lost the prefix altogether (ending with cöl and cis as the modern forms). The vowels ü and ö in Takale Kham, then, are retentions from Proto-Kham. There are no more than a dozen or so such vowels in Takale. Table 8 gives some interesting correspondences both from Proto-Kham and from the rest of the TB family.

Table 8. Bilabial prefixes in Proto-Kham and Proto-Tibeto-Burman

		PTB	Proto-Kham	Maikoti	Takale	Nishel	other	
a.	scrub	*m-syil	*p-sil	p-sil	sil	süil	b-sil	(Tibetan)
b.	sour		*p-sür		sür		byur	(Magar)
c.	tear	*tsat	*p-tsit	p-ci:	ci:	cüit	cyat	(Magar)
d.	sneeze		*p-tshis	p-chis	chis	chüis	chis	(Magar)
e.	slack	*dzwal	*p-dzöhl		jöhl			
f.	spittle	*m-tsil	*p-s-til	s-til	thil	thüil		
g.	monkey	*m-yuk	*p-s-yu(k)	b-yuh	yu:h	üi:	yuk	(Chepang)

2.2.5 *The vowel /ɨ/*

The vowel /ɨ/, which is phonetically a high-back unrounded vowel [ɯ], is also of secondary development since proto-times, but of all the daughter dialects it occurs only in Takale. The vowel occurs as a reflex of a lost velar coda in the rhyme /ək/ or /əŋ/. The reflex of a lost final velar consonant in any other environment is only compensatory lengthening (see §2.1.1). Table 9 shows some correspondences.

Table 9. Loss of final velar consonants in Kham

/-ək/ > /ɨ:/	PTB	Proto-Kham	Lukum	Takale	Maikoti	other	
breath	*sak	*sək	sək	sɨ:	sə:		
waste	*r-kyak	*r-kək	kək	kɨ:	r-kə:		
unripe taste		*pək	pək	pɨ:		pak	(Magar)
weave	*trak	*rəhk	rəhk	rɨ:h	ru:h	dak	(Magar)
/-əŋ/ > /ɨ̃:/							
foot	*r-kaŋ	*kəŋ	kəŋ	khɨ̃:	khə̃:		
cattle byre		*r-bəŋ	bəŋ	bɨ̃:	r-bə̃:	bəŋ	(Kaike)
horn	*rwaŋ	*b-s-rəŋ		rɨ̃:h	bərã̃:h	rhaŋ	(Magar)
dream	*r-məŋ	*r-məŋ	məŋ	mɨ̃:	r-mə̃:		

2.2.6 *Diphthongs ending in /-i/*

In Takale (and its closest siblings), Proto-Kham coronal codas (except **-l*) have been lost with a resulting diphthong ending in /-i/. Table 10 gives the correspondences.

Table 10. Offglides from loss of coronal codas in Kham

/-ət/ > /-əi/	PTB	Proto-Kham	Bhuji	Sheshi	Takale	other	
make		*jat	jat	-jət-	jəi	jat	(Magar)
clothe	*kway	*s-kwa-t	kwat	-kwat-	kwaih		
blow	*s-mut	*s-mut	muht	mut	mwi:h	mhut	(Magar)
hear	*ta-s	*that	that	thəiʔ	thəi	thas	(Chantel)
/-ut/ > /wi/							
hand		*kut	kut	kwi:	kwi:	gud	(Tibetan)
compress		*r-tshut	chut		chwi:	chui	(Thakali)
lay egg		*r-zut	juht	hrut	zuhri:	rhu-	(Magar)
leech	*r-wat	*b-s-rut	brut	luiʔ	rwi:h	lawat	(Magar)
/-ən/ > /-əĩ/							
know		*sən	sən	sən	səĩ	syan	(Chepang)
milk	*nəw	*nun	nun		nwĩ:	nunu	(Chantel)
prevent		*won	wiʔ		woĩ	õy	(Sunwar)

This is a widespread Bodish phenomenon, which has been discussed in general by Michailovsky (1975a), and in more detail for Sunwar by Genetti (1992). The original rhyme in Kham is preserved best in Bhuji and Nishi, though in certain morphological combinations it is preserved also in Sheshi. In Gamale, the difference between /əiʔ/ and /əi/ hearkens back to a difference of *-*at* versus *-*as*, respectively, in the proto-language.

2.2.7 *Vowel variants*

The height of front vowels is affected slightly when they occur in closed syllables. The closed variants are slightly lower than their open syllable counterparts, as in:

(24)	open syllable:			closed syllable:		
	si:	[si:]	'smell'	sip	[ʃɪp]	'sheath'
	-ke	[ke]	'perfective'	kep	[kɛp]	'clamp'

The two central vowels /ə/ and /a/ also have conditioned variants. The central vowel /ə/ when lengthened has a slight rounded quality phonetically close to [ɔ], as in the following contrastive pair:

(25)				
a.	thərəi-	[tʰərəi]	'to shake out'
b.	thə:rəi-	[tʰɔ:rəi]	'to determine'

The low central vowel /a/ is modified to [æ] anywhere it follows the palatal glide /y/, as in:

(26) ya:h [jæ̟:] ‘mouth’
syah- [ʃjæ̟:] ‘to dance’
kyah- [kjæ̟] ‘to break’ (intransitive)

2.2.8 *Vowel height harmony*

In general, a sequence of front and back vowels, whether they are adjacent or in adjacent syllables, tend to have the same height. Thus, /i/ clusters with /u/, and /e/ with /o/. The direction of influence, however, is neither anticipatory nor progressive. Rather, it has to do with the dominance/recessiveness of certain vowels – the syllable with the highest vowel is the dominant one, and the adjacent vowel, whether preceding or following, adjusts to it.

The following examples illustrate the principle of assimilation to the height of the dominant vowel, regardless of direction:

(27) DOMINANT VOWEL FIRST:

	underlying morphemes:		resulting sequence:	
a.	si-o	>	si-u	o > u / i__
b.	ku-o	>	ku-u	o > u / u__
c.	si-e	>	si-i	e > i / i__
d.	su-e	>	su-i	e > i / u__
e.	no-e	>	no-e	(equal height)
f.	ke-o	>	ke-o	(equal height)

(28) DOMINANT VOWEL SECOND:

	underlying morphemes:		resulting sequence:	
a.	o-li	>	u-li	o > u / __i
b.	o-sɨ:	>	u-sɨ:	o > u / __ɨ
c.	ke-ni	>	ki-ni	e > i / __i
d.	o-se:	>	o-se:	(equal height)

The central vowels /ə/ and /a/ follow different rules. The vowel /a/ is unaffected and /ə/ is affected only by following rounded vowels. In the following examples, *sə-* and *tə-* are prefixes. Both assimilate to the height and rounding of following rounded vowels, as in the following examples:

(29) ANTICIPATORY ASSIMILATION WITH /ə/:

	underlying morphemes:		resulting sequence:	
a.	sə-kwi	>	su-kwi	ə > u / __w
b.	sə-ko	>	so-ko	ə > o / __o
c.	sə-ke:	>	sə-ke:	no rounding/no assimilation
d.	tə-si:	>	tə-si:	no rounding/no assimilation

2.3 Voice register

Though voice register (or 'phonation type') is properly a feature of the tonal system (and will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter 3), it is manifested on the vowel. I introduce it here simply to acquaint the reader with an orthographic convention that will occur throughout the book. There are two contrastive registers – modal register, which is the default, unmarked register corresponding to tables 4 and 5, and lax register (a 'breathy' laryngeal quality) which is indicated by an orthographic *h* following the vowel, as in *ah*, *a:h*, *ã:h*, *əih*, etc. Following are some contrastive pairs between normal ('modal') phonation and lax phonation:

(30)

	MODAL:		LAX:	
a.	pi:-	'to milk'	pi:h-	'to scrape'
	po:-	'to tie'	poh-	'to beat'
b.	be:	'skirt'	be:h	'basket'
	ba:-	'to multiply	ba:h-	'to distribute'
c.	ki-	'to pluck'	kih-	'to cry out'
	ka:	'a crow'	ka:h	'a dog'
d.	ge:	'we (pl)'	ge:h-	'drop milk in udder'
	ga:	'voice'	gah-	'to scorch'
	gu:-	'tremble'	guh-	'to guard'

As the examples show, the distinction has nothing to do with the voicing of the initial, as is the case in the Bodish languages. Lax phonation, especially in syllables with voiceless consonants, comes primarily from a lost proto-prefix **s-* (as shown in table 11).

Table 11. Loss of prefixed **s-* in Proto-Kham and Proto-Tibeto-Burman

		PTB	Proto-Kham	Takale	other	
a.	bone	*rus	*s-rus	ruhs	hrus	(Chepang)
b.	boil		*s-lom	lohm-	hlum	(Burmese)
c.	ripen	*s-min	*s-min	mĩ:h-	mihn	(Bhujel)
d.	before	*s-ŋa	*s-ŋa	ŋah-	s-ŋa	(Maikoti)
e.	snot	*s-nap	*r-s-nap	nahp	r-nahp	(Maikoti)
f.	fly	*pur	*s-bur	buhr	z-bur	(Maikoti)
g.	fur	*s-mul	*s-mul	muhl	muhl	(Maikoti)
h.	blow	*s-mut	*s-mut	mwi:h	mhut	(Magar)

2.4 Syllables and syllabification

The maximum syllable in Kham is (C)(G)V(X), where 'G' is a glide and 'X' is a consonant or a vowel. Only the nucleus is obligatory. The Kham syllable is illustrated in figure 5.

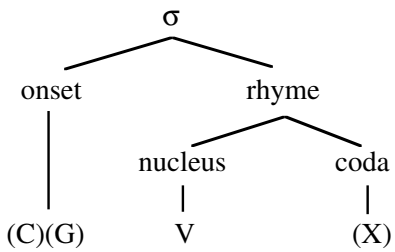


Figure 5. The syllable in Kham

2.4.1 Syllable weight

A syllable's onset, C or CG, does not contribute to the weight of the syllable. Weight is determined solely by the rhyme. Where X is a vowel of the same quality as V, the result is V:, a long vowel as in [a:]. Where X is a vowel of a different quality, the result is VV, a diphthong as in [ai] or [au]. Where X is a consonant, V is necessarily short; V:C and VVC are disallowed. In terms of syllable weight and rhythm groups, then, V:, VV, and VC have the same weight – all are bimoraic. This is shown in figure 6.

Light:	Heavy:
V	VV or V:
CV	VC
	CVV or CV:
	CVC

Figure 6. Light and heavy syllables

2.4.2 Complex onsets

As illustrated in figure 5, the syllable onset can, in addition to being comprised of a simple consonant, also include a glide – a complex onset. Following are examples of CG onsets:

(31) CLUSTERS WITH /W/:

a.	phwak	'immediately in place'
b.	phwi:-	'to pump bellows'
c.	thwak	'with a sounding blow'
d.	twĩ:za	'short'
e.	kwa:	'clothing'

(32) CLUSTERS WITH /Y/:

a.	phya:-	'to snap in two'
b.	tyapo	'pointed'
c.	thyu:	'(spit) in disgust'
d.	kya:	'a shepherd's crook'
e.	kyo:-	'to ladle'

The bilabial, alveolar, and velar examples above are only representative. Initial clusters with /y/ or /w/ occur with other consonants in these places of articulation as well – *bw*, *dw*, *gw*, *ty*, *thy*, *khy*, *khw*.

2.4.3 Resyllabification

Recall an earlier observation that the minimal word in Kham is bimoraic. The minimal syllable, on the other hand, is monomoraic. Thus, two monomoraic syllables can make a well-formed word, as in *ba-ke* 'he went.' We run into potential problems when one or both of the monomoraic syllables is only a vowel, as in *-e* or *-o*, both of which occur frequently:

-e	ergative; instrumental; genitive; imperfective
-o	3S; nominalizer; complementizer

There are restrictions on vocalic syllables occurring in juxtaposition to other vowel sequences. In general, the simple syllables /e/ or /o/ cannot occur following long vowels or diphthongs. Where the morphology creates such a string, a process of resyllabification occurs. Thus, for example, (C)V:-V is resyllabified, via epenthesis, to (C)V:-CV, as shown in table 12.

Table 12. Resyllabification of short vowels following long vowels

created by morphology		resyllabified to
ka:-e	>	ka:-ye
ke:-e	>	ke:-ye
ka:-o	>	ka:-wo
ko:-o	>	ko:-wo
kəi-o	>	kəi-wo

An epenthetic glide consonant (an approximant), based on the value of the 'stranded' vowel, is created as an onset for the new syllable. Thus, *-e* becomes *-ye* and *-o* becomes *-wo*. Morphologically, then, *-ye* and *-wo* are allomorphs of *-e* and *-o*, respectively.

Also, two short vowels belonging to different morphemes cannot occur in succession without coalescing into a single syllable or separating into two syllables through the intervention of an epenthetic glide consonant. The problem becomes more acute when

the two vowels belong to monomoraic morphemes, as in (C)V-V. In such cases, two solutions are available. One is identical to what we saw in table 12. The other involves resyllabification to (C)GV or (C)VV (where VV = a long vowel or a diphthong). Thus, in the sequences in table 13, we can get either modification.

Table 13. Resyllabification of short vowels following short vowels

created by morphology		resyllabified to		
e-o	>	e-wo	or	yo:
ke-o	>	ke-wo	or	kyo:
si-o	>	si-wo	or	syu:
si-e	>	si-ye	or	si:
no-e	>	no-ye	or	noe (noy)
su-e	>	su-ye	or	swi:
ge-o-o	>	ge-wo-wo*	or	gyo:-wo

* The actual realization of *ge-wo-wo* is *gyo-wo-wo.* As a result of anticipatory assimilation, the *ge-* becomes *gyo-*.

It appears that in part, at least, the choice of one form over the other has to do with phonological prominence. A sequence /ke-o/ under intonational stress, for example, would surface as the bisyllabic (but still bimoraic) /ke-wo/, while the same sequence as a final, unstressed suffix would surface as a single (bimoraic) syllable /kyo:/. Another factor is the relative weight of the syllables involved. All syllables in table 13 are light syllables. If the second syllable is heavy, as in *ge-ap-ke* 'We shot it,' the two syllables *ge-* and *ap* do not coalesce (therefore not manifesting the concomitant modification of the vowel /a/ to [æ]), as in the following contrastive pair:

(33) a. ge-ap-ke [ge ap]
1P-shoot-PFV
'We shot it.'

b. gyahp-ke-o [gyæhp]
bite-PFV-3S
'He bit off a chunk.'

Where the second syllable is light, on the other hand, coalescence can optionally occur, as in the following:

(34) ge-ama [gy-æma] or [ge-ama]
1P-mother
'our mother'

Orthographically, because sequences like those in table 13 can, in principle, syllabify either way, I write them as they are shown in the left-hand column – in their underlying representation. Where there is no such ambivalence, as in the examples of table 12, I write them precisely as they are syllabified – *ka:-ye*, *kəi-wo*, etc.

3 *Tonology*

Kham offers new insights into the nature of Himalayan tonal systems. For most languages of the region, the domain of tone has been described as the word ('word-template tone'); a word being a root with its full array of affixes (Hale and Pike 1970, Hari 1980). Usually only the root is contrastive for tone, and affixes, being atonal, get their tonal character from the root. Kham, on the other hand, though morphologically more complex than other Himalayan tone languages with adequate descriptions, still retains much of its monosyllabic tonal character. All roots and most affixes still have their own inherent tonal status, and though in specific contexts the tonal character of some morphemes is suppressed or deleted, the underlying tones are still recoverable.

It is precisely in the area where affix syllables are beginning to lose their individual tonal character that Kham may provide insights into the nature of a tension that appears to be implicit in tone systems of the region. Though other Himalayan languages with relatively 'old' tonal systems[1] have undergone considerable tonal levelling, Kham, with perhaps more detail than we have seen elsewhere, attempts to maintain the underlying tonal character of individual morphemes wherever possible, but is forced to give up some of its distinctiveness where tones collide and come into conflict. The principles underlying the Kham system for resolving such conflicts may prove to be not all that different from other Himalayan systems, and properly understood, take us a long way in defining a basic typology for the region.

3.1 The basic system

Tone in Kham is set within an East Asian and Southeast Asian areal typology in which tone is best described as a composite of complex tonal features. Within certain East Asian languages, for example, a feature known as 'tonal register' divides the pitch range into two halves: an upper and lower register. Thus, for example, a H-L tonal contour in the upper register may be manifested as 53 (where 5 = high, 3 = mid, and 1 = low), while in the lower register the same contour will be manifested as 31, as shown in figure 7.

[1] This excludes many Tibetan-like languages which clearly have incipient or very new tonal systems, much of which can be related to the phonation type of onset consonants and the nature of syllable codas (see S. Watters, 2001 for a summary).

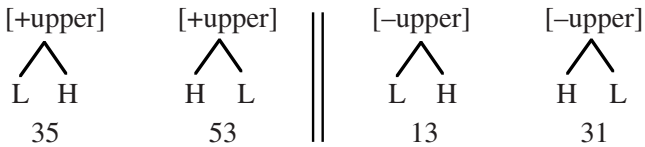


Figure 7. The modifying effects of tonal register on contours (from Yip 1993)

Within the Himalayan region (and throughout much of Southeast Asia) a closely related, but different, kind of register prevails – referred to as 'voice register' (Pike 1970, Bradley 1982) or 'pitch register' (Jones 1986). Voice register accounts for differences in phonation type: differences described as 'modal/lax,' 'tense/lax,' 'clear/breathy,' 'plain/murmured,' among others. (I will in most cases use the terms MODAL and LAX throughout this description.) Like tonal register, voice register has a modifying effect on the relative pitch of tone bearing units and divides the pitch range into two halves; modal voice (register/phonation type) corresponds to the upper register, and lax voice (register/phonation type) corresponds to the lower. In both language types there is evidence that 'register' and 'melody,' though linked in the majority of cases, are, in fact, independent of one another.

Typically, within the Himalayan region, two binary oppositions, 'voice register' and 'melody' (the latter sometimes referred to as 'pitch pattern' or 'contour') intersect to form a contrastive four-tone system. The contrastive system in Kham is shown in figure 8 (the melodies are Tone-1 and Tone-2; the voice registers are MODAL and LAX).

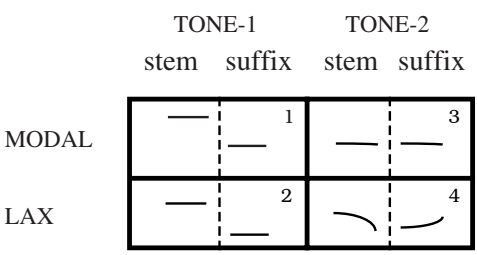


Figure 8. The contrastive 'four-tone' system in Kham

In the Bodish group of languages (Tibetan, along with Gurung, Tamang, and Thakali), register is largely derived from the phonation type of onset consonants. In general, voiceless onsets associate with modal/high register, and voiced onsets associate with lax/low register. The degree to which the association is synchronic or historic determines a language's 'degree of tonality,' i.e. whether the register opposition is phonetic or phonemic, respectively. Melody, in a sub-set of those same languages (specifically the 'Tibetan-like' languages) is tied to coda consonants and rhyme type. The contrast is still largely predictable, with short syllables being generally higher pitched than long syllables. In Gurung, Tamang, and Thakali, the melody distinctions are less predictable

and appear, at least in terms of their antiquity, to correlate with Benedict's (1972) tones *A and *B for PTB.[2]

In Kham, register cannot be related (either synchronically or historically) to onset consonants,[3] and melody, too, as in Gurung-Tamang-Thakali, is wholly unpredictable. Tones 1 and 2 (hereafter T-1 and T-2) clearly predate the register split, with T-1 being associated with intensity or stress, and T-2 being associated with a lack of laryngeal stress (see §3.1.2).

3.1.1 An overview of stem pitches

The broken vertical line in figure 8 separating between stem and suffix represents the boundary between 'stem pitch' and 'suffix pitch' (which in the majority of cases correspond to the morphological categories of stem and suffix). T-1 can be best described as a HIGH-LEVEL pitch on the stem followed by a LOW-LEVEL pitch on the suffix – that is, all T-1 stems have an obligatory DOWNSTEP pitch following them. T-2 can be characterized as the absence of a following downstep. This is not, however, equivalent to saying that T-2 is atonal. T-2 has a specific pitch assignment; something lacking in atonal morphemes. A T-2 stem is followed by a MID-LEVEL or LOW-RISING pitch on the suffix (boxes 3 and 4, respectively, of figure 8).

The pitch range of the two tones T-1 and T-2 is divided into two halves by voice register – MODAL and LAX. LAX phonation has a depressing modification on absolute pitch levels – the HIGH-LEVEL stem pitch of T-1 under LAX phonation is relatively lower than the T-1 HIGH-LEVEL under MODAL phonation. Similarly, the T-2 MID-LEVEL stem pitch of MODAL phonation is modified to a MID-FALLING pitch under the influence of LAX phonation.

i. Monosyllabic root morphemes

Stem pitches in Kham (represented by the left half of boxes 1-4 in figure 8) can occur over the duration of one, two, or three syllables, depending on the length of the root morpheme. Following are examples of monosyllabic roots:[4]

---

[2] Mazaudon (1977) points out that many scholars believe that the origin of the PTB tones *A and *B is similar to that of Chinese proto-tones *A and *B, but more recent. The origin of the two tones… 'is to be found in syllable final features. The phonetic nature of the original syllable final segments is mysterious, but there is agreement on the fact that these segments must have been opposed to each other by laryngeal features by the time they determined tonal variants on the preceding vowel' (p. 58).

[3] Lax register can in some cases be related to a lost prefix **s-*. See §2.3, table 11.

[4] A note on orthographic conventions is in order here. T-1 is designated by a single quote preceding the syllable on which it occurs, as in *'mi*. T-2 is the default and goes unmarked. LAX phonation is marked by an /h/ following the vowel on which it occurs, as in *'me:h*. MODAL voice is the default and goes unmarked. Because tone sandhi and allophonic variation are rife in Kham, accent marks are written over the vowels on which the tones occur. The transcription *'mé:h*, for example, indicates that the inherent tone of the morpheme is T-1 ('), and that its actual phonetic realization is high (´). The transcriptions *'mē:h* or *'mè:h*, on the other hand, indicate that although the inherent tone of the morpheme

(1)	T-1 MODAL	'mí:	high level	‘person’
(2)	T-1 LAX	'mé:h	high level	‘fire’
(3)	T-2 MODAL	sē:	mid level	‘tongue’
(4)	T-2 LAX	kā`:h	mid falling	‘dog’

ii. Bisyllabic root morphemes

In bisyllabic root morphemes, the tone associated with the first syllable of the root morpheme (i.e. its melody and register) spreads to include the second syllable of the same morpheme. The phenomenon is best illustrated from box 4 of figure 8 – a T-2 LAX combination. What occurs as a MID-FALLING (contour) tone on a monosyllabic stem, is redistributed as a sequence of two level tones – MID followed by a LOW – on a bisyllabic stem, as in:

(5)	T-2 LAX (mono)	kā`:h	mid-falling	‘dog’
(6)	T-2 LAX (bi)	nēhblò	mid + low	‘two’

Because the tone of the second syllable is predictable from the first, only the first syllable needs to be specified for tone (both formally and orthographically), as in the following:

(7)	T-1 MODAL	'rówá	H-H	‘axe’
	orthographic	'rowa		
(8)	T-1 LAX	'báhtáh	H-H	‘torch’
	orthographic	'bahta		
(9)	T-2 MODAL	bāzā	M-M	‘chicken’
	orthographic	baza		
(10)	T-2 LAX	nēhblòh	M-L	‘two’
	orthographic	nehblo		

iii. Trisyllabic root morphemes

Trisyllabic root morphemes, though not common, occur occasionally. Their tonal specification is similar to that of bisyllabic roots – i.e. the tone associated with the first syllable of the root morpheme spreads to include the second and third syllables of the same morpheme. Thus, the MID-FALLING tone that occurs on a monosyllabic root is redistributed as a MID-LOWER-LOW tone-sequence on a trisyllabic root.[5] Following are contrastive examples for T-2 LAX tone occurring over the duration of mono-, bi-, and

is T-1, its actual realizations are mid and low respectively. Likewise with the unmarked T-2 tones.

[5] This description is significantly different from what I presented in my dissertation (1998). There, I made the claim (based on auditory perception) that LAX register spreads only across the first two syllables of the root morpheme, the third syllable reverting back to MODAL register (with a concomitant rise in pitch – mid-low-mid). In 1999, I had the opportunity to do a spectographic analysis of the same material, and it turns out that the second and third syllables are both lower in pitch than the syllables preceding them. The manifested pitches are ‘mid-lower-low.’

trisyllabic root morphemes:

T-2 LAX:

(11)	monosyllabic	kā`:h	mid-falling	'dog'
(12)	bisyllabic	nēhblò	mid + low	'two'
(13)	trisyllabic	nāhŋə̀lì	mid + lower + low	'winnowing tray'

Following are illustrations of trisyllabic root morphemes from each of the four boxes in figure 8:

(14)	T-1 MODAL	'búchúlá	H-H-H	'chisel'
	orthographic	'buchula		
(15)	T-1 LAX	'dóhkóhráh	H-H-H	'grain bin'
	orthographic	'dohkora		
(16)	T-2 MODAL	sōŋōrā	M-M-M	'rhododendron'
	orthographic	soŋora		
(17)	T-2 LAX	dāhŋòhrìh	M-L-L	'shaman's drum'
	orthographic	dahŋori		

Having looked briefly at root morphemes in Kham, we can make the tentative claim that the tonal melody, whether level or contour, spreads over the length of a morpheme regardless of its length in syllables. When we get to tonal compounds (§3.2), we will reexamine the claim to see if it needs modification – polymorphemic stems behave in the same way as monomorphemic ones.

In the meantime, it is important to note that the tonal character of polysyllabic roots in Kham appears to be well motivated in the Himalayan context. According to the tonal descriptions of other Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages, an overriding feature in all of them is their penchant for 'word-tone.' In general, the tone of the stem and its suffixes is determined by the tone of the first syllable (Hari 1970, 1971, Bieri and Schultze 1971, H. Schoettlndreyer 1971). This is the Kham situation taken to an extreme. In Kham, the domain of tone is the stem morpheme, not the whole word.

3.1.2 Suffix pitches

The tonal patterns for Kham given thus far are patterns for bare stems; i.e., for root morphemes in isolation. By examining the same stems followed by suffixes, or bare stems followed by other stems, we can conclude that tone in Kham is complex. The T-1 stem melody shown in figure 8 as a HIGH-LEVEL pitch (the left half of Boxes 1 and 2) is followed by a DOWNSTEP pitch on the suffix. HIGH-LEVEL is only part of the description for the T-1 melody; a full description must also include the obligatory downstep which follows. T-2 is described in part as a pattern in which a following downstep pitch is absent.

i. T-1 downstep pitch

The DOWNSTEP pitch following a T-1 HIGH-LEVEL stem becomes apparent only if some other morpheme (a suffix or another word) occurs immediately following the stem. The effects of the downstep occur as tonal perturbations as the floating downstep 'docks' onto the following morpheme.[6] In the following examples, two words we have already looked at – *'mí:* 'man' and *'mé:h* 'fire' – will be put into a frame with a following word (*'cyú:-'kèo* 'he looked at …') whose underlying tonal character is HIGH on the first morpheme and LOW on the second (H-L on the whole word). In both cases, the H-L *'cyú:-'kèo* will be preceded by H(D), where (D) is the DOWNSTEP pitch following the T-1 stem. The H stem of the H-L word will be modified to a mid-level pitch under the influence of DOWNSTEP (D). That is, underlying *'cyú:-'kèo* is modified to actual *'cyū:-'kèo*. (It would be instructive at this point to write the underlying tone of *'mí:* as *'mí* ` and the tone of *'mé:h* as *'mé:h* ` with its 'floating' downstep suspended at the end of the root morpheme.)

(18) 'He looked at the man'

a.	'mí: `	'cyú:-'kèo	UNDERLYING TONES
b.	'mí:	'cyū:-'kèo	ACTUAL REALIZATION

(19) 'He looked at the fire'

a.	'mé:h `	'cyú:-kèo	UNDERLYING TONES
b.	'mé:h	'cyū:-kèo	ACTUAL REALIZATION

In both cases H(D) + H-L yields H M-L (rather than *H H-L). The HIGH of the second stem is a blend of its own inherent T-1 HIGH pitch and the colliding LOW of the preceding DOWNSTEP. (See §3.1.3 for the domain of DOWNSTEP.)

Not surprisingly, voice register plays a role in the pitch of floating downsteps. Recall that the absolute pitches of words with LAX phonation are slightly lower than their MODAL counterparts. It is also true that the floating downstep following a LAX stem is lower than the floating downstep of its MODAL counterpart. By manipulating the tonal frames correctly this can be demonstrated. In the following examples the frame *rə̄i-kē* 'bring!' will be used, in which case the underlying tonal character for the word is T-2 (MID-LEVEL) on both morphemes. Where the MM is preceded by H(D) with MODAL phonation, the result is H # M-M (no perturbation). Where the MM is preceded by H(D) with LAX phonation, however, the lax downstep is somewhat lower (ꜜ) than modal downstep (`) and causes the first M of the underlying sequence H # M-M to be depressed to H # L-M, as in the following:

---

[6] There is an alternative to viewing DOWNSTEP as a floating tone. In Kham, HIGH is not an absolute value, but only a relative one. In terms of a target output, HIGH is contrastive only by virtue of being higher than what follows. DOWNSTEP, then, is a dissimilation rule that requires a HIGH stem to be followed by a lower pitch on the following morpheme.

(20) 'Bring the man!' (no perturbation)
a. 'mí: ` rə̀i-kē UNDERLYING TONES
b. 'mí: rə̀i-kē ACTUAL REALIZATION – H # M-M

(21) 'Bring fire!' (rə̀i- lowered by lax phonation of D)
a. 'mé:h ≈ rə̀i-kē UNDERLYING TONES
b. 'mé:h rə̀i-kē ACTUAL REALIZATION – H # L-M

The deepened DOWNSTEP pitch following LAX T-1 stems (as illustrated in 20-21) is not restricted to monosyllabic morphemes. We get identical DOWNSTEP perturbations for stems following bisyllabic and trisyllabic root morphemes:

(22) a. 'báhta rə̀i-kē 'Bring the torch!' H-H # L-M
b. 'dóhkora rə̀i-kē 'Bring the grain bin!' H-H-H # L-M

The simple conclusion is that LAX phonation spreads not only across all the syllables of the root morpheme, but includes the following downstep as well.

ii. T-2 and lack of downstep

The T-2 melody is characterized by its lack of downstep – it is neutral in terms of transitions to following pitches. The transition to the following word will be a 'step-up' (see (23-24)) or 'level-across' (see (25)), depending on the inherent tone of the word that follows:

(23) kā: 'cyú:-'kèo 'He looked at the crow.'
(24) kā`:h 'cyú:-'kèo 'He looked at the dog.'
(25) kā: rə̄i-kē 'Bring the crow!'
(26) kā`:h rə̄i-kē 'Bring the dog!'

With T-2 tones, then, there is no pitch perturbation on following morphemes.

3.1.3 Stems with morphological suffixes

Stems followed by morphological suffixes behave in much the same way as stems followed by other stems. That is, a T-1 stem morpheme will always be followed by DOWNSTEP regardless of whether the following morpheme is a stem or a suffix. A T-2 stem, on the other hand, will always be neutral with respect to what follows. There is, however, an important and fundamental difference between a sequence of *stem + stem* versus *stem + suffix*. Up to now, we have been observing DOWNSTEP as it collides with the melody of a following word, (as in 'mí: 'cyū:-'kèo, where the underlying sequence H(D) # H-L is realized as H # M-L).

i. Inherent T-1 suffixes

With stem–suffix combinations, all downstepping terminates on the final suffix – even if the final suffix has an inherent T-1 tone. The suffix in a stem–suffix combination has a 'boundary function' in a string of phonetic pitches that does not occur in stem + stem

combinations. Thus, in the following examples, all morphemes are inherently T-1 monosyllables, but they differ in overall pitch according to where the tonal phrase boundaries occur:

(27) 'mí: 'cyū:-'kèo — ‘He looked at the person.’
H-D-D

(28) 'mí: 'cyū:-'nà-'kèo — ‘He went to look at the person.’
H-D-D-D

(29) 'mí:-'dà 'cyú:-'kèo — ‘He looked toward the person.’
H-D H-D

(30) 'mí:-'rà-'dà 'cyú:-'nà-'kèo — ‘He went to look toward the people.’
H-D-D H-D-D

(31) 'rówa-'dà 'cyú:-kèo — ‘He looked toward the axe.’
H(H)-D H-D

Sentence (27) is a familiar pattern. The DOWNSTEP following the bare stem *'mí:`* collides with the HIGH stem-pitch of *'cyú:-*, causing a tone perturbation to MID. The perturbed stem *'cyū:*, however, being inherently T-1, must also implement a following DOWNSTEP. The result is a sequence of two downsteps – one on *'cyū:* and another on *'kèo* – H-D-D. Sentence (28) is similar, with the exception that *'cyū:-* is followed by two T-1 suffixes; downstepping terminates on the final one. The result is H-D-D-D. In sentence (29), downstepping is terminated on the suffix immediately following the stem *'mí:*, and the following stem *'cyú:* goes unperturbed – H-D # H-D. In sentence (30), there are two T-1 suffixes following the T-1 stem *'mi:*, and two T-1 suffixes following the T-1 stem *'cyú:* – the result being H-D-D # H-D-D. Only in (31) do we get a sequence of two HIGH syllables without a downstep. The reason, of course, is that *'rówa* is a bisyllabic root morpheme; the HIGH T-1 tonal character spreads across the entire stem.

The point to be made is that following a terminal suffix, pitch is restored to its inherent level. A suffix, regardless of its inherent tonal status, exerts no influence on a following stem. The dissimilation rule we called DOWNSTEP does not apply across the boundary from suffix to a following stem – it terminates on the last suffix of a word. Tone in Kham, then, moves along in a recurring cycle of bounded tone phrases. In general, each tonal phrase begins with a stem pitch and terminates with a suffix pitch. Sequences of downsteps can occur within each tonal phrase, but never across the boundary from one tonal phrase to another.

Our earlier rule for DOWNSTEP needs to be modified with a specification for its domain of application. (The specification will be refined further as we proceed.) All we need to know for now is that DOWNSTEP occurs across stem-stem and stem–suffix boundaries, but not across suffix # stem boundaries.

ii. T-1 suffixes on T-2 stems, and T-2 suffixes on T-1 stems

It turns out that DOWNSTEP occurs in any stem–suffix combination that has a T-1 morpheme somewhere in the string. Again, this is in keeping with an earlier observation that a T-1 HIGH remains contrastive only by being higher than its neighbors (see footnote 6). Of course, where a T-1 HIGH stem is followed by a T-2 MID suffix, the transition from stem to suffix is still a DOWNSTEP, though partial. As far as I can tell, however, there is no discernible difference between an H-M and an H-D – both are DOWNSTEPs. It appears, then, that marking a HIGH by a following DOWNSTEP is all that matters to speakers, and there is no real difference in the following pair:

(32) 'mí:-'dà 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked toward the man.’ H-L = H-D
(33) 'mí:-làì 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the man (OBJ).’ H-M ≡ H-D

It is in the reverse situation that we begin to see the reality of what we have only been assuming so far: that the tonal complex we have been calling T-1 is indeed manifested as HIGH on a stem, and LOW on a suffix. Were that not so, we might expect a T-2 stem followed by a T-1 suffix to be manifested as an ‘upstep’ (M-H, as in **kā:-'dá* and **kā`:h-'dá* which are both unattested). In fact, the T-1 suffix is manifested as a DOWNSTEP, just as it was when preceded by a T-1 stem. Under such conditions, the T-2 stem followed by a DOWNSTEP is no different than the DOWNSTEP pitches in (32) and (33), as in the following:

(34) MODAL (T-2 + T-1):
a. ka:-'dà 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked toward the crow.’ M-D ≡ H-D
b. *kā:-'dá 'cyú:-'kèo

(35) LAX (T-2 + T-1):
a. kā:h-'dà 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked toward the dog.’ M-D ≡ H-D
b. *kā`:h-'dá 'cyú:-'kèo

Again, in the same way that H-M does not contrast with H-D (both manifest DOWNSTEP), so also, M-D (34a) does not contrast with H-D (both manifest DOWNSTEP). In (35a), the only way to articulate a DOWNSTEP following the inherently MID-FALLING stem *kā`:h* is to delay the FALL so that it co-occurs with the DOWNSTEP.

iii. T-2 stems with T-2 suffixes

Recall that tone assignment for T-1 is neatly divided into one kind of pitch for the stem morpheme and another kind for suffixes. The HIGH-LEVEL pitch of the stem extends one, two, or three syllables, followed by a DOWNSTEP on whatever follows. Once downstepping is encountered, any sequence of DOWNSTEPs following the stem is terminated on the final suffix of a word. DOWNSTEP, the dissimilation of two highs, is the salient feature of T-1 – the T-1 tonal phrase begins on a HIGH stem and terminates on a LOW suffix.

The domain of T-2, because of its lack of a clear, defining feature like DOWNSTEP,

cannot be neatly divided in the same way. It turns out that there is not as clear a distinction between stem and suffix in T-2 as there is in T-1. T-2 LAX, for example, extends over any sequence of syllables indiscriminately without regard to morphological category until certain conditions are met. Specifically, the MID-FALLING contour requires a minimum of two moras before it is complete. To illustrate, I begin with the following three examples:

(36) jā`:h-də̄ 'hú-'kè ‘Having put it (down) he came.’
(37) nēhblò-lāi 'cyú:kèo ‘He looked at the two.’
(38) pōh-də̀ 'hú-'kè ‘Having beat it he came.’

Example (36) illustrates what we have seen elsewhere – a monosyllabic T-2 LAX morpheme exhibiting a MID-FALLING contour over the duration of the stem morpheme. Something we have only alluded to before, however, is that the morpheme *ja:h-*, with its long vowel, consists of two moras, and LOW pitch is achieved on the second mora. The suffix, then, is repitched to MID-LEVEL (as illustrated in figure 8). Example (37) is similar, except that the two moras are distributed across two syllables.

Example (38) contrasts in a significant way. In (38), the root morpheme *poh*, with its short vowel, comprises a single mora. As such, the MID-FALLING contour of T-2 LAX extends to the following mora, in this case beyond the stem–suffix boundary, and ‘takes-in’ the suffix *-də̀*. The stem–suffix sequence *poh-də̀* manifests the same MID + LOW sequence we saw earlier with bisyllabic T-2 LAX stems.

T-2, then, ignores stem–suffix boundaries and plays out its pitch assignment on whatever material is available. This will become more important when we look at the next section on tonal compounds.

3.2 Tonal compounding

Stems can be tonally complex. In compounds, for example, more than one underlying tone can occur on a single stem, each being added by the various contributing morphemes. Derived stems, too, like causatives, nominalizations and the like, are composed of complex tonal material. In compounds, however, the tonal character of all but the initial morpheme is suppressed. In much the same way as the pitch assignment of root morphemes spreads to include one, two, and three syllables, so also the pitch assignment of the first morpheme in a compound spreads to include all other morphemes in the compound.

To achieve a single pitch assignment on a string of juxtaposed morphemes (where any one of them is T-1), requires a suspension of the DOWNSTEP principle. Recall that anywhere a HIGH occurs (a T-1), all that follows must be lower – this is the basis for DOWNSTEP. The same dissimilation rule applies to any two HIGHs occurring in juxtaposition; the second T-1 is realized as a DOWNSTEP or a LOW. With compound stems, on the other hand, DOWNSTEP is suspended in favor of maintaining a single tone assignment over the duration of the newly formed, complex stem.

3.2.1 Nominal compounds

To illustrate the rules of assimilation (equivalent to the suspension of DOWNSTEP), a few examples of compound stems would be helpful here. I will begin with bisyllabic nominal compounds.

(39) sya'lō 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the leather.’ (lit. ‘animal-mat’)
(40) 'dáh'pá 'cyū:-'kèo ‘He looked at the young man.’

In example (39), the inherent tone of *sya* ‘animal’ is T-2, and the inherent tone of *ló* ‘mat’ is T-1. Where the two morphemes are compounded in *sya'lo* ‘leather’ (lit. ‘animal-mat’) the T-1 of *'ló* is preempted by the T-2 of *sya*, making the entire compound a bisyllabic T-2. The tone of the entire stem is determined by the tone of the first syllable *sya.*

Likewise, in (40), the tone of the entire stem is determined by the tone of the first syllable *'dáh*, making the entire compound a bisyllabic T-1 stem. It is important to note in this example that the juxtaposition of two T-1 syllables does not trigger DOWNSTEP on the second morpheme. Rather, the second tone assimilates to the value of the first.

Set within the context of Himalayan ‘word-tone’ systems, tonal assimilation is a typological tendency and a probable first step in the leveling of tonal distinctions across polymorphemic words.

i. Compounds without a suffix

For both compounds illustrated in (39) and (40), the tonal relationship of the bare compound to a following word (*'cyú:-'kèo*) is identical to what we find for monomorphemic bisyllabic stems. The transition across word boundaries is an UPSTEP from a T-2 stem (compound or otherwise) to a following T-1 stem (as in 39), and a DOWNSTEP from a T-1 stem (compound or otherwise) to a following T-1 stem (as in 40). Compounds and non-compounds behave identically in this environment, as illustrated in the following:

(41) UPSTEP TRANSITION:

a.	sya'lō 'cyú:-'kèo	‘He looked at the leather.’	(compound)
b.	baza 'cyú:-'kèo	‘He looked at the chicken.’	(non-compound)

(42) DOWNSTEP TRANSITION:

a.	'dáh'pa 'cyū:-'kèo	‘He looked at the young man.’	(compound)
b.	'báhta 'cyū:-'kèo	‘He looked at the torch.’	(non-compound)

The same rules apply to trisyllabic compounds, with one caveat. Trisyllabic compounds that begin with a T-2 LAX morpheme behave differently than their monomorphemic counterparts (i.e. trisyllabic non-compound roots). In §3.2.1.3 we saw that the MID-FALLING contour of T-2 LAX is redistributed as MID-LOW on bisyllabic roots and MID-LOWER-LOW on trisyllabic roots. With trisyllabic compounds, the MID-FALLING contour ‘bottoms out’ (achieves a LOW pitch) on the second mora and repitches to MID on the third mora.

From this, we can deduce that the T-2 melody has spread across all three syllables, while LAX register spreads only as far as is needed to achieve a LOW – to the second mora. This is our first indication that voice register and melody are independent parameters. Thus, given a sequence in which the inherent melody of the three morphemes is T-2, T-2, T-1 and the inherent voice register is LAX-MODAL-MODAL, we get the remapping shown in figure 9 as the result of spread:

	Underlying tones		Result of spread
Melody:	T-2 T-2 T-1	→	T-2 T-2 T-2
Register:	LAX-MODAL-MODAL	→	LAX-LAX-MODAL
Resulting phonetic pitches:			MID-LOW-MID

Figure 9. Spread of tonal features

The following examples illustrate the phenomena:

(43) buhmlù'gā 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the owl.’
(44) rihsìl'tī: 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the Brown Dipper.’

The melody of the trisyllabic compound in (43) is determined by the first morpheme *buhm* – here T-2. The T-2 melody spreads to the following two syllables *lu* and *'ga.* Lax phonation, however, spreads only to the following syllable *lu.* The two syllables *buhm-lu*, then, manifest the MID-LOW pitch of bisyllabic T-2 LAX morphemes. The final syllable *'ga* inherits no lax phonation from *buhm*, but only its T-2 melody, in which case it becomes *'gā* (an underlying T-1 morpheme with a T-2 melody). Similar observations are true for the example in (44).

ii. Compounds with a suffix

Though the underlying melody of a ‘suppressed’ syllable (as in the second syllable of *sya'lō*) has no effect on the following word, the melody is not entirely deleted. The melody manifests itself in the correct environment – the environment of a suffix. That is, the inherent status of the T-1 morpheme *'lo* in *sya'lō* triggers DOWNSTEP on a suffix, but not on a following stem. From this we can make a generalization: on compounds, the melodic assignment of the *first* morpheme determines the melody of the entire stem (including its relationship to a following word), while the inherent melodic assignment of the *final* morpheme determines the stem’s relationship to a following suffix. With a compound like *sya'lō*, this means that the bare stem behaves like a T-2 stem, but with a suffix it behaves like a T-1 stem, as in the following:

(45) sya'lō 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the leather.’
(46) sya'lo-làì 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the leather (OBJ).’

The resurfacing of the suppressed tone on *'lo* in the environment of a suffix seems problematic by any account. A general statement that accounts for the data, however, is that suffixes are affected by the tone of whatever precedes, while stems are affected

only by the tone of a preceding stem. From this we can deduce the following principle:

(47) THE DOMAIN OF TONE ON COMPOUND STEMS:
Suffixes are more affected by the tone of a preceding morpheme than following stems are.

What this means in effect is that the suffix *-làai* following the compound *sya'lo* in (46) is affected by the inherent tone of *'lo*, while the separate word *'cyú:-'kèo* in (45) is not.

3.2.2 Verbal compounds

Compound stems occur not only with nominals but also with verbs. The rules are virtually the same, though with verbs the combinations are somewhat more restricted. Most verbal prefixes, especially those marking the person and number of clause-level participants (except dual markers and 3P *ya-*) are atonal and therefore incapable of forming tonal compounds. A few prefixes, however, are tonal, and when prefixed to verb roots, form the first morpheme in a bimorphemic compound. A transitivizing prefix *sə-*, for example, which combines with a large class of intransitive verbs, is inherently T-2 with modal register. Wherever it occurs, a compound is formed, as in the following:

(48) 'ché: 'hū-'kè ‘He came frightened.’
(49) sə'chē: 'hú-'kèo ‘He came to frighten him.’
(50) sə'chē:-dà 'hú-'kè ‘He came having frightened him.’

From example (48) we see that the inherent tonal status of *'ché:* ‘frighten’ is T-1. Where it is followed by another T-1 stem *'hú* ‘come’, the *'hú* is modified to *'hū* by the rules of DOWNSTEP. Preceded by the T-2 prefix *sə-*, however, as in (49), *'ché:* also manifests T-2 by virtue of the rules of tonal compounding (see §3.2.1). As we have already seen with nominals, T-2 compounds do not affect the pitch of a following stem (in this case *'hú*) – it goes unperturbed. Only when the compound is followed by a suffix, as in (50), does the inherent T-1 status of *'ché:* trigger a DOWNSTEP on the suffix immediately following.

It is in this context that we can see that though T-2 is characterized by the lack of DOWNSTEP, T-2 must still be considered tonal – it differs significantly from atonal material. In place of the T-2 causative prefix *sə-* illustrated in (49) and (50), I will use an atonal 1ST person subject prefix *ŋa-*. The prefix *ŋa-*, being atonal, assimilates to the tone of the stem to which it is affixed, as in the following examples:

(51) ŋa'ché: 'hū-'kè ‘I came frightened.’
(52) sə'chē: 'hú-'kèo ‘He came to frighten him.’
(53) ŋapòh 'hū-'kè ‘I came to hit it.’

The first morpheme of the sequence *ŋa-'ché:* in (51) is atonal, and does not preempt the tone of the following root as does the morpheme *sə-* in (52). Where an atonal prefix

occurs with a following monomoraic T-2 LAX root like *poh-*, as in (53), the MID-FALLING contour associated with T-2 LAX begins on *ŋa-* (MID) and terminates on *poh* (LOW).[7]

We still need, however, to put to rest the possibility that *ŋa-* is T-1, in which case *'ŋa-* and *'che:* (from 51) would form a bisyllabic T-1 unit. To show that *ŋa-* is not T-1 we need simply to prefix it to a T-2 stem, as in:

(54) yo: 'hú-'kè ‘He came to be completed.’
(55) ŋayo: 'hú-'kè ‘I came to be completed.’
(56) səyo: 'hú-'kèo ‘He came to complete it.’

If *ŋa-* were a T-1 prefix, both syllables of the sequence *ŋayo:* would be T-1 by the rules of tonal compounding. They are not, and to my knowledge, there are no T-1 prefixes in Kham.

Verbal compounds can also begin with a LAX register T-2 prefix. The only such prefix is *gəh-*, a hortative marker. The compounds formed are consistent with the generalizations we have seen already:

(57) gəh'cyù:-yō ‘Please look at it.’
(58) gəh'cyù: 'ná-rə-kə̀ ‘Let them go ahead and look at it.’
(59) gəhrà 'cyú:'nà-rə-kə̀ ‘Let them go ahead and look at them.’ (GO)
(60) gəhrà'cyū: 'ná-rə-kə̀ ‘Let them go and look at them.’ (lit. ‘go’)

In example (57), the T-2 melody of *gəh-* spreads to the following two syllables *'cyu:* and *yo*. The lax phonation of *gəh-* spreads only as far as is needed to achieve a LOW – here to the syllable *'cyu:*. The first two syllables, then, manifest the characteristic MID plus LOW sequence of T-2 lax bisyllabic morphemes, and the syllable following manifests the MID-LEVEL pitch of modal voice T-2.

Examples (58) and (59) show an interesting new twist. Following the MID-LOW sequence of the first two syllables, the morpheme *'na* might be expected to manifest the MID-LEVEL pitch of modal voice T-2 (as did *-yo* in 57). But because *'na* is followed by a suffix, the inherent T-1 status of *'na* triggers a DOWNSTEP on the following syllable *-rə* (see §3.2.1) The result is that the whole sequence *'ná-rə-kə̀* behaves exactly like a new tonal phrase composed of H-D-D. The same scenario holds for (59). The difference between (59) and (60) is that in (59) *-'na* is treated as a suffix, while in (60) it is treated as a stem with the literal meaning ‘go.’ We will see this ambivalence in *'na* ‘go’ and *'hu* ‘come’ in later chapters (see §5.7). Though the two morphemes have become grammat-

[7] This strengthens our earlier claim that T-2 ignores stem-affix boundaries and plays out its pitch assignment on whatever material is available. Here, I contrast *pōh-də̀* from example (38) with *ŋā-pòh* of example (53):

	MID	LOW	
(38)	root	suffix	*pōh-də̀*
(53)	prefix	root	*ŋā-pòh*

In (38) MID-FALLING (= MID+LOW) occurs across the morphological sequence of a root and suffix, while in (53) it occurs across a prefix and root.

icalized as deictic/purposive suffixes, they also still occur as separate verb stems.

3.2.3 Nominalizations

The nominalization of verbs in Kham is a highly productive grammatical process. The subordinate clauses in complement sentences are nominalizations, and so too are the two basic types of relative clause – the subject relative clause and the object relative clause. Most nominalizations in Kham fall under the rules of tonal compounding. What makes nominalizations more interesting than the polynominal and polyverbal compounds discussed above, however, is that in nominalizations grammatical material that would normally be categorized as suffixal gets treated as part of the stem.

i. T-1 nominalizations

I will begin with some simple examples to illustrate the point. The morpheme *-'o* (T-1), an agreement marker for 3RD singular subject, occurs as a verbal suffix with the expected DOWNSTEP pitch. Where it occurs immediately following the verb stem without aspectual morphemes, the default aspect is imperfective, as in the following:

(61) 'gúhr-'ò ‘He carries it.’

The morpheme *-zya* is a marker of continuous aspect. Following a verb stem, where the verb is also marked for agreement with a 3S agent, *-zya* combines with *-'o* to form a single tonal syllable *-'zyao*. The syllable *-'zyao*, then, with its agentive morpheme *-'o* is a verbal suffix, and occurs with a DOWNSTEP pitch as in the following:

(62) 'gúhr-'zyào ‘He is carrying it.’

The situation in (62) is exactly analogous to what we saw in (61) – a T-1 stem followed by a downstepping T-1 suffix.

Now we are ready to contrast what we have just seen with what we find in nominalizations. The most common marker of nominalization in Kham is another suffix *-'o*, (with allomorphs *-'wo* and *-'u*) homophonous with 3S agent, but functionally distinct. It too combines with *-zya* in forming a ‘continuous/progressive’ nominalization, as in:

(63) 'gúhr-'ó 'cyū:-'kèo ‘He looked at the one who carried it.’
(64) 'gúhr-'zyáo 'cyū:-'kèo ‘He looked at the one carrying it.’

In (63), the nominalizing morpheme *-'o* is tonally a part of the stem, forming a compound with it. That is, the entire stem occurs as a T-1 tonal compound, determined by the inherent tone of *'guhr*. Only the transition to the following word is a DOWNSTEP, analogous to what we have seen in non-compounds. It contrasts significantly with example (61), in which *-'o* was a suffix. Here *-'o* (albeit a different *-'o*) is part of the stem. Likewise, *-'zyao* in (62) occurs as a suffix, while in (64) it functions as part of the stem, compounding with it.

ii. T-2 nominalizations

Because of the rules of tonal compounding, any T-1 compound can be changed to T-2 by adding an inherently T-2 prefix. The T-1 compound we saw in (64), for example, can occur with a T-2 prefix *ya-* (3P subject), in which case the entire compound becomes a T-2 trisyllabic compound, as in:

(65) ya'gūhr'zyāo 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at what they were carrying.’
(66) ya'gūhr'zyāo-lài 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at what they were carrying (OBJ).’

Something we have not seen before is the deletion of LAX register following a modal register prefix. This is the situation in (65) and (66). Not only does the T-2 melody of *ya-* spread rightward to the following morphemes, but so does its inherent MODAL register. That is, *'guhr* loses both its inherent T-1 melody and its LAX register, manifesting instead a T-2 modal register. Were that not so, *'guhr* would manifest a MID-FALLING tone, not the MID-LEVEL tone we see in (65) and (66).

We now turn to T-2 nominalizations in which the root morpheme is T-2 LAX. Recall that in compounds beginning with T-2 LAX, lax register spreads to the following mora and then reverts to the default modal register (§3.2.1). This makes for a potential disharmony between tonal words and morphological words, as in:

(67) pōh'zyào 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the one hitting it.’
(68) pōh'nà'zyāo 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the one going to hit it.’
(69) pōhrìh'zyāò 'cyú:-'kèo ‘He looked at the one about to hit it.’
(70) pōh'nà rīh'zyào 'cyú:-kèo ‘He looked at the one about to go hit it.’

In (67), we have a bisyllabic compound whose first morpheme is T-2 LAX. The resulting tone is MID-FALLING, redistributed as two level pitches – MID followed by LOW. Notice, in fact, that the sequence is indistinguishable from a T-2 stem followed by a T-1 DOWNSTEP suffix. Only when a third syllable is added to the sequence, as in (68), is it possible to show that all syllables in the compound are part of a T-2 sequence. That is, the first two syllables of *poh'nà* are MID followed by LOW, after which LAX register terminates. The T-2 melody continues on to the next syllable and manifests the expected MID-LEVEL pitch of modal T-2 on the morpheme *-'zyāo*.

In (69), we have a similar sequence, except that the second syllable *-rih* is also LAX. As a result, the laxness of *-rih* carries across to the next (bimoraic) syllable *-'zyao*, in which case *-'zyao* now manifests the MID-FALLING pitch of T-2 LAX. In (70), the inherent laxness of both the first and third syllables makes for a sequence of MID-LOW MID-LOW, perceptually indistinguishable from a sequence of HIGH-DOWNSTEP HIGH-DOWNSTEP.

In (65) and (66) we saw the LAX register of a root overridden by the MODAL register of a preceding prefix; in this case the following syllable was also MODAL. In (70), we see *rih* unaffected by the preceding *-'nà.* It appears, then, that if the voice register of any syllable following the MID-LOW sequence of a T-2 LAX is itself inherently LAX, a new register sequence begins. We can test this possibility with the following:

(71) yapōh rīh'zyāò 'cyú:'kèo ‘He looked at what they were about to hit.’
(72) yapōh'nā rīh'zyāò 'cyú:'kèo ‘He looked at what they were about to go hit.’

The outcome is what we would expect. In both (71) and (72), the MODAL voice of the prefix *ya-* spreads rightward to include the following root morpheme *poh*. Once LAX register is modified to MODAL, the underlying LAX does not resurface on what follows, as the MID-LEVEL pitch on *-'nā* in (72) shows. Only when a new, inherently LAX, register morpheme is reintroduced into the mixture (as with *rih* in 71 and 72) does the sequence once again become T-2 LAX.

3.3 Orthography

In devising a practical reading orthography for Kham in the 1980s, the marking of tonal melodies (T-1 and T-2) had to be abandoned altogether. As we have seen throughout this chapter, the inherent tonal melodies of morphemes are frequently overridden by the complex rules of assimilation and dissimilation. Voice register, on the other hand, is one of the most salient parameters in interpreting pitch assignments.

The marking of tone throughout the remainder of this book will follow the guidelines of the practical reading orthography for Kham. Melodies will not be indicated (except in a few rare cases where the distinction is necessary to the point being made), but voice register will. Modal register is the default, unmarked register, as in /pa/, /kəi/, etc., while lax register is marked by an /h/ immediately following the vowel nucleus, as in /ka:h/, /sohm/, /səih/, etc.

4 *Nouns and noun morphology*

Beginning in this chapter and continuing on through chapter 9, I will discuss various word classes in Kham – nouns, verbs, adjectives, locatives, and adverbs – together with their notional and grammatical characteristics. Nouns will be treated first, and I will show that they display all the prototypical characteristics expected cross-linguistically of that class. Not only is the old semantic schoolbook definition that 'nouns denote persons, places, or things' valid for Kham, but so is the structuralist's grammatical definition based on distribution, their ability to inflect for nominal categories, and their basic syntactic functions. The same kinds of prototypical semantic and syntactic criteria can be appealed to for a definition of 'verb' in chapter 5.

As I will show in chapter 6, a definition of adjective for Kham is not so simple. Apart from a very small class of true adjectives, there is no clear-cut grammatical status for a separate adjective class. Nevertheless, I will argue in that chapter for an 'adjectival' class based on typological criteria and covert behavioral properties.

In chapter 7, the chapter on locatives, I include what is, in fact, a special class of nouns, the so-called 'relator nouns' (Starosta 1985). I treat them with locatives not only because they are semantically related to the locative class, but also because they are quite clearly the source for the special class of grammaticalized locative/deictic roots in Kham. Several stages of the grammaticalization process can be identified for Kham, with relator nouns at the source end of the process and locative roots at the other end.

In chapter 8, I treat several kinds of adverb, and in the final chapter of the set, chapter 9, I discuss a number of minor word classes – pronouns, demonstratives, question words, quantifiers, etc. – some of which are traditionally lumped together with nouns, but which I treat separately, mostly because they have distinct syntactic behavior and are characterized by relatively small, closed memberships.

4.1 Noun classes

The determination of noun classes in any language is based, in large part, on syntactic criteria. Gender distinctions, for example, commonly affect syntactic behavior within the noun phrase (NP), as well as broader, clause based agreement properties with the verb. More common in the Himalayan region are classifier systems whereby nouns are grouped together into syntactic count classes, based, at least historically, on the semantic properties of shape, texture, etc.

In Kham, gender and classifier systems are marginal, not sufficiently paradigmatic to warrant a sub-categorization of nouns into separate classes.

4.1.1 Gender

Gender marking on nouns in Kham applies to a small, closed class of lexical items. A very old masculine *-pa* and feminine *-ma* suffix is lexicalized on a few roots, as in *khepa* 'male human,' *dahpa* 'young man,' *mẽ:ma* 'female human,' *bama* 'hen.' A diminutive *-za* < *child also occurs occasionally – *riza* 'younger brother,' *biza* 'rat,' *baza* 'chicken,' etc. None of these affixes make for behavioral distinctions elsewhere in the grammar.

The Indic *-a/-i* alternation (male/female) is partially productive on what I call the 'similative' class of nouns (see §6.6.2). With similative nouns, some concrete object is conceptualized as representative of an attribute, and the noun with a male/female suffix is used, in part, to identify livestock and, usually pejoratively, to nickname people, as in:

(1)	*korop*	'stitch'	>	*koropcya / kurupci*	'm/f scar-face'
	buchula	'adze'	>	*buchulya / buchuli*	'm/f adze-tooth'
	nakira	'wooden pin'	>	*nakirya / nakiri*	'm/f skinny'

4.1.2 Classifiers

There are no true classifiers in Kham – that is, none of the kind that would impose a sub-categorization on nouns into various classes. What I refer to as 'numeral classifiers' are used primarily to count volume/weight, distance/time, or to impose a kind of structure on things that lack structured wholeness, as in the following (for more detail see §9.4.2):

(2)	tə-kəri: sya:	'a chunk of meat'
	to-cop mənəm	'a pinch of flour'

4.2 Grammatical number

Nouns in Kham are inflected for singular, dual, and plural number. Typical of such systems, dual and plural are the marked categories, indicated by morphological suffixes, while singular is the default, unmarked category, as in the following examples:

(3) a. luhza
child:SG 'a child'

b. ka:h-ni
dog-DL '(two) dogs'

c. lũ:-rə
stone-PL '(three or more) stones'

The plural marker *-rə* is probably cognate with *-re* of certain West Himalayish languages like Pattani and Tinan. In some Kham dialects plural is marked by the more widespread TB suffix *-m*. Dual marking, on the other hand, is apparently recent and related to the PTB root **nis* for 'two.'

Plural *-rə* has an allomorph *-ra* wherever it is followed by another suffix, as in: *mi:-ra-sə* 'with the people.'

4.2.1 Plurals and sets

A 'set of related items' is treated differently in Kham than what I will call 'a simple plurality of items.' The difference is a conceptual one, but has grammatical consequences. Plurality of items, like stones or trees or pencils, is marked for number on the nominal (as in the examples in 3) with concomitant number agreement in the verb. 'A set of related items,' on the other hand, is marked for number on the nominal *without* number agreement in the verb – the verb is marked for singular. This is a case of synesis, in which grammatical concord follows the sense of the word and not its grammatical form.

Body parts commonly fall into the 'sets of related items' class, as the following examples illustrate:

(4) a. u-mi:-rə rəĩh-na-ke
3S-eye-PL see-GO-PFV:3S
'He began to gain his eyesight.' (lit. 'his eyes went toward seeing')

b. har-nwĩ: o-də nə-ha:-rə pal pal-o ta-nya le
cow-milk drink-NF your-tooth-PL white white-NML be-INF be:3S
'You will drink cow's milk and your teeth will become (sg) bright white.'

Both 'teeth' and 'eyes' (in spite of the fact that the grammatical machinery exists to mark 'eyes' as dual in Kham) are marked for plural on the nominal itself, but without concomitant plural marking on the verb.[1]

The notion of 'sets of related items' extends to other semantic domains as well, especially those conceptually related as complementary units in a whole – like 'children.' Thus, in the following example, though the noun is pluralized, the verb occurs with singular object agreement:

(5) za:-rə ma-Ø-dəi-wo
child-PL NEG-3S-bear-3S 'She has borne no children.'

More unexpected is the extension of the notion of 'set' to items that occur naturally as singles in the real world. The 'other members' of the set are contrived in the speaker's

[1] The same nouns can occur as singulars and still have plural reference semantically (though still with singular agreement in the verb). The difference is that the singular marked version can have singular reference if required, as in: *u-mi: rəĩh-ke* 3S-eye see-PFV 'He gained his eyesight' (lit. 'his eye became seeing'). In fact, such an expression would normally be understood to refer to both eyes.

mind, and the predication has something of an emphatic sense, as in the following:

(6) a. ŋa-ŋəih-rə bənəi hur-ke
my-head-PL much hurt-PFV.3S
'My head(-s) really hurts.' (my head and all)

b. nakhar ji:-da o-pal-rə Ø-təŋgəi-na-ke-o
village area-ALLT his-tent-PL 3S-pitch-GO-PFV-3S
'He went and pitched his tent(-s) towards the village.' (tent and all)

The shades of meaning in such expressions are as numerous and varied as language itself, and the interpretation is based primarily on the implicature of the situation, as in: *nəm-rə bənəi wa-də bəhl-rə hu-ke* 'It rained violently and flooded everywhere' (lit. 'the skies rained and the floods came'), and *zihm-ni sehl-də yahm-rə bə Ø-ruhp-ke-o* 'Dragging him from the house he shut the door(-s)' (closing off all possibility of re-entry). In the first example, an interpretation of intensity or iteration is intended, while in the second one a notion of finality is conveyed.

4.2.2 Plurals and mass nouns

Given what we know about the plural occurring as a marker of emphatic or iterative situations, we need to know how to distinguish, in a given situation, how the plural is used – as a true plural or as an emphatic. A simple test presents itself. Plural marked nouns with true plural meaning have plural concord with the verb, as in:

(7) yahm-rə ya-ruhp-ke-o
door-PL 3P-shut-PFV-3S 'He shut the doors.'

The capacity to make this distinction has immediate relevance in deciding the character of nouns that occur in languages like English as 'mass nouns' – those like 'barley,' or 'seed.' Such nouns in Kham occur most commonly in the plural. Furthermore, plural concord on the verb shows that we are dealing with true plurals and that these nouns are no different from ordinary count nouns like 'houses' or 'dogs,' as in: *duhr-rə səi guna ja:h-ke-rə* 'The seed(-s) yielded a hundred fold.'

4.3 Possession

Possession in Kham is marked by possessive prefixes. Though in many TB languages possessive affixes are distinct from free pronouns, this is not so for Kham. In Kham there is a transparent relationship between the two sets, giving evidence of the fairly recent innovation of the prefixes.[2] Possessive prefixes are inflected for three person

[2] Based on tonal evidence it would appear that 3RD person possessive prefixes as well as the 1ST and 2ND person duals are more recent than 1ST and 2ND person non-duals. The non-dual 1ST and 2ND person prefixes are atonal, taking their tonal character from whatever they are attached to, whereas all

categories – first, second, and third – as well as for three number categories – singular, dual, and plural. The paradigm is given in table 14.

Table 14. Possessive prefixes

	SG	DL	PL
1ST	ŋa-	gi-n-	ge-
2ND	nə-	ji-n-	je-
3RD	o-/u-	ni-	ya-

The corresponding free pronouns are 1ST person *ŋa:*, *gin*, *ge:*, 2ND person *nɨ̃:*, *jin-*, *je:*, and 3RD person *no:*, *no:-ni*, *no:-rə*. The primary difference between free and bound forms (which applies only to the 1ST and 2ND person sets) is in the length of the vowel. Open vowels in free forms are long, whereas in the bound set they are short. This is a common prosodic feature of compounds (see §2.2.1). The distinction between free and bound pronominal forms can be seen in the following contrastive pair:

(8) a. ŋa: 'I' b. ŋa-zihm 'my house'

The dual forms *gi-n-* and *ji-n-* are undoubtedly reductions of an earlier **ge-nis* and **je-nis*, where **nis* is the PTB form for the numeral 'two.' This accounts for the height of the vowel in *gi-n-* and *ji-n-*, the trigger for vowel harmony having been lost in the modern forms.[3]

4.3.1 *Inalienable possession and basic level categories*

There is, strictly speaking, no class of nouns in Kham which are inalienably possessed. The closest to it are the 'parts-of-a-whole' class. Body parts, a closely related class, are for the most part inalienably possessed. There are, however, exceptions. Body parts can be spoken of generically, in which case they occur without possessive marking, as in the following:

(9) a. POSSESSED:
u-kwi:-ye jəi-ke-o
3S-hand-INSTR make-PFV-3S
'He made it with his hands.'

b. GENERIC:
ao kwi:-ye jəi-si-u
this hand-INSTR make-DETRANS-NML
'This is made by hand.' (no specific person)

---

the rest still maintain their own inherent tonal character. See §3.2 on compound tones.

[3] Vowel harmony in identical environments can be demonstrated for Kham in a number of modern forms. The perfective *-ke* followed by 3RD dual subject *-ni*, for example, yields *-ki-ni* (see §2.2.8).

(10) a. POSSESSED:
ao u-yũ:h hub-o mi:
this 3S-heart trust-NML person
'This is a person who trusts.'

b. GENERIC:
ao yũ:h hub-o mi:
this heart trust-NML person
'This is a trustworthy person.' (a person to be trusted)

Parts of a whole cannot be referred to generically as easily as body parts. The reason is a pragmatic one – many part–whole relationships are based on the names of human/animal body parts, or on the names of parts belonging to several host systems. Divorced of the host name, the part name assumes the generic sense of its most basic level category (Rosch 1978), as in (11c):

(11) a. la:-ye o-rna
leopard-GEN 3S-ear 'a leopard's ear'

b. ja:-ye o-rna
pot-GEN 3S-ear 'a pot handle'

c. na: kũ:
ear hole 'the hole of the ear'

In (11a) and (b), 'ear' participates in two different host systems. Without possession (as in 11c), 'ear' by itself reverts to its default meaning and makes reference to the generic hearing organ. In principle, then, parts of a whole can occur without possession for a generic reading so long as a basic level category exists in which the part has independent meaning.

In contrast, some nouns have no independent meaning as a basic level category apart from possession. Following is an example:

(12) a. ŋa:h-ye o-kã:
fish-GEN 3S-bone 'fish bones' (lit. 'fish *kã:*')

b. cika:-ye o-kã:
barley-GEN 3S-beard 'barley beards' (lit. 'barley *kã:*')

The noun *kã:* is apparently based on abstract shape and, as far as I know, cannot occur without possession. Only as part of a greater whole does it have any kind of 'real-world' existence; there is no level in which *kã:* has a generic sense.

4.3.2 Possession and kinship

Kinship nouns are inalienably possessed except where they are used as vocatives or proper nouns. Thus, a kin term plus a possessive pronoun is used for defining a kin

relationship, as in: *ŋa-bəhrca* 'my nephew,' or *o-kaka* 'his uncle,' while the kin term without possession is used as a term of address (vocative) or as a term of reference (proper noun), as in: *bobo* 'Father-in-Law,' or *phubu* 'Aunt.'

4.4 Locative suffixes

Kham employs numerous locative suffixes having to do with static location or directional movement. None of the morphemes have independent status, nor is there any obvious connection to older, more full forms from which the modern forms must have derived.[4]

Where grammatical number also occurs on a nominal, number occurs first with the locative suffix following. Assuming the principle of iconicity in grammar, we can infer from this that there is a looser semantic bond between the noun and locative notions than between the noun and number categories (Bybee 1985). Following is a list of locative suffixes in Takale Kham:

Static location:

-kə	general locative (at)
-ŋə	adessive (around the area)
-lə	inessive (in/inside)
-tə	superessive (on)

Dynamic motion:

-da	allative (to/toward)
-ni	ablative (from)
-kin	elative (away from, comparative)
-tin	delative (down from)

Complex locatives:

-phə-tə	cisative (on the side of)
-kə-pəi	lative (up to)
-kə-səi	orientative (in the direction of)

4.4.1 The locative and adessive

The general locative *-kə* is used primarily to mark static location at a place, as in the following:

(13) kapcya em-kə zə ŋa-ra-rɨ̃:h-ke
fork road-LOC EMP 1S-3P-see-PFV
'I saw them at the fork in the road.'

[4] One possible exception is the allative and accusative marker *-na* in the Nishel dialect, meaning 'to' or 'toward.' The morpheme **na* is also a very old verb root in Kham meaning 'go.'

Used in the context of motion/direction verbs like *go* or *come*, *-kə* emphasizes the final state of the motion, as in:

(14) gotho-kə rəi-də o-lkota:-rə ge-ko:-ke
shelter-LOC bring-NF 3S-skin-PL 1P-skin-PFV
'Bringing it (to a place) *at the shelter* we skinned it.'

The adessive *-ŋə* expresses more general location than the locative *-kə*, being used primarily to refer to a general region, and more specifically, to a village region, as in:

(15) je-zihm kata-ŋə
2P-house what-ADS
'Where do you live?' (lit. 'in what region is your house?')

4.4.2 The inessive

The inessive traditionally expresses location in or within something. In Kham, the same morpheme also includes the 'illative' notion of direction into. Both are marked by the suffix *-lə* (which I will label as 'IN'), as in the following examples:

(16) a. gorakpur bahrət-lə li-zya
Gorakhpur India-IN be-CONT
'Gorakhpur is in India.'

b. kũ:-lə lwi:h-si-ke
hole-IN burrow-DETRANS-PFV
'It burrowed into the hole.'

The suffix *-lə* may be etymologically related to the general locative marker *-la* found in Tibetan and elsewhere in TB.

4.4.3 The superessive

The superessive expresses location on or upon, and is marked by the suffix *-tə* (which I will label as 'ON'), as in the following example:

(17) khagər-tə pulus-ke
mountain-ON emerge-PFV
'He climbed to the top of the mountain.' (lit. 'emerged onto the mountain')

The superessive also occurs with fairly abstract locations, as in: *dəhrəmsala o-babu-e u-min-tə jəi-ke-o* 'He made a roadside shelter in his father's memory' (lit. 'on his name').

In the Gamale and Sheshi dialects, the superessive cannot attach directly to nouns, but requires the addition of a relator noun *tər-* 'on' in *tər-tə* 'on top of' (see §7.2 on Relator Nouns).

4.4.4 The allative

The allative expresses motion 'to' or 'towards' a place, and is marked by the suffix *-da*, as in the following:

(18) nəm-da khya-ke-o
sky-ALLT throw-PFV-3S
'He tossed it into the sky.' (lit. 'to the sky')

With stative verbs, the allative implies comparative closeness with respect to some other location or referent, as in:

(19) a-da li-zya
here-ALLT be-CONT
'It's over here/this direction (from where you are).' (lit. 'toward here')

4.4.5 The ablative

The ablative, marked by the suffix *-ni*, expresses motion 'out of' or 'away from,' and is the inverse counterpart of the allative:

(20) kuwa-ni hai-ke-o
well-ABLT pull.out-PFV-3S
'He pulled him out of the well.'

With non-directional verbs, the ablative expresses a sense of 'on the side of,' as in: *a-ni hu-ni ki-si-u li-zya* 'It's bound on/from both sides,' and *o-yahm a-ni zə jəi-ke* 'Make the door on/from this side!'

The ablative can also have the mediative sense of 'means.' The mediative sense is metaphorically compatible with the notion of motion away from, and both senses occur in many languages, including Latin, the source of the term 'ablative': *khɨ̃:-ni ba-ke* 'He went by foot,' and *ca-o nə-ehn-ni o-səres-ni-rə-kə* 'May they recognize you by your good work.'

4.4.6 The elative and delative

Both the elative *-kin* and the delative *-tin* are, in all probability, reductions of earlier concatenations of the adessive *-kə* and superessive *-tə*, respectively, followed by the ablative *-ni*. The sequences *-kini* < **-kə-ni* and *-tini* < **-tə-ni* still occur in the idiolect of some Takale speakers.

The elative does not have the secondary interpretation of 'means' found in the ablative. Rather, it carries with it a sense of direction outward from a given source. Following is an example:

(21) ŋa-pata sĩ:-kin zə ŋa-bahl-si-ke
my-step wood-ELAT EMP 1S-watch-MM-PFV
'I watched from my doorstep.'

- The elative is also used with a comparative sense, as in the following:

(22) ŋa:-kin jucas-o li-zya
I-CMPR old:woman-NML be-CONT
'She is an older woman than I am.' (lit. 'more than me she is an old woman')

- The delative denotes motion down from a source, as in:

(23) thala-tin zo:-ke
roof-DEL jump-PFV 'He jumped down from the rooftop.'

4.4.7 Complex locatives – the lative, orientative, and cisative

The three locatives – the lative, orientative, and cisative – are complex expressions normally requiring the concatenation of either the locative *-kə* or the superessive *-tə*.

- The lative, marked by the suffix *-pəi*, expresses the notion of 'up to' or 'as far as' some location. Apart from its occurrence on adverbial roots (as in 24a) it rarely occurs on nouns without the co-occurrence of the locative morpheme *-kə*, in *-kə-pəi*. Following are examples:

(24) a. a:h-pəi
this.much-LAT
'up to this amount'

b. u-zihm-kə-pəi hu-ke
3S-house-LOC-LAT come-PFV
'He came as far as his house.'

- The orientative denotes 'in the direction of,' and invokes some other location as its point of reference. It is a concatenation of two morphemes – the locative *-kə* which marks location at the point of reference, and a morpheme *-səi* which indicates an orientation toward that point of reference. To my knowledge, the orientative does not occur with common nouns, but only with animate locations and locative roots, as in:

(25) a. *u-zihm-kə-səi
*his-house-LOC-ORIENT

b. ŋah-kə-səi
before-LOC-ORIENT 'towards the front/a bit forward'

c. ŋa-le-o-kə-səi hu-ci-ke
1S-be-NML-LOC-ORIENT come-2P-IMP
'Come towards me!' (lit. 'in the direction of where I am')

• The cisative expresses a notion of 'on one side of two.' It is marked by the suffix *-phə* plus the superessive *-tə*, in *-phə-tə*. The cisative, like the orientative, occurs only with animate locations and locative roots, as in:

(26) a. *u-zihm-phə-tə
*his-house-CIS-ON

b. wor-phə-tə
right-CIS-ON 'on the right side'

Many of the locative suffixes we have seen in this section concatenate in strings to form complex locative expressions. Such concatenations, however, are restricted primarily to affixation on a special class of 'locative roots' and will be treated in §7.1.

4.4.8 Locative suffixes and animate nouns

Most of the locative suffixes examined in this section will not collocate with animate nouns, and the restriction is especially true for pronouns. In the few cases where a locative suffix does occur with an animate noun it takes on a specialized meaning:

(27) u:-da ba-ke
pig-ALLT go-PFV 'He went to get a pig.' (lit. 'went toward the pig')

The interpretation comes from the construction itself. The allative used on 'fetchable' items (not just animates), together with the verb 'to go,' is interpreted as 'He went to get X,' as in: [5]

(28) sĩ:-da ba-ke
tree/wood-ALLT go-PFV
'He went to get firewood.' / *'He went toward the tree.'

To specify location at or direction to an animate being requires the intervention of a specialized nominalization (a relativization) of the verb 'to be,' indicating the 'place of being.' That is, most concrete nouns can be locations, but animate beings cannot. Objects, rather than being directed 'to' animate beings, can only be directed to 'where they are.'[6]

(29) ŋa-le-o-da hu-n-ke
1S-be-NML-ALLT come-2S-IMP
'Come to me!' (lit. 'to where I am')

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[5] This interpretation does not exist with other locative suffixes, as in:
sĩ:-kə li-zya
tree-LOC be-CONT 'It's at the tree.'

[6] This restriction may turn out to be fairly common cross-linguistically. Starosta (1985) reports a similar restriction in Hungarian, and Doris Payne (personal communication) reports the restriction in Masaai (with some main verbs).

The nominalized form of the verb 'to be,' then, has developed into a special 'relator noun' construction (see §7.2). Not only is it used in expressions involving animate beings, but it also serves to disambiguate between the 'fetch' interpretation and the 'destination' interpretation for fetchable items, as in the following contrastive pair:

(30) a. sĩ:-da ba-ke
tree/wood-ALLT go-PFV
'He went to get firewood.'

b. sĩ:-ye le-o-da ba-ke
tree/wood-GEN be-NML-ALLT go-PFV
'He went to the firewood.' (lit. 'to where the firewood was')

4.5 Grammatical case marking

In this section I treat those inflections on nouns that are imposed by the syntax. That is, case role inflections, rather than marking the kinds of local semantic distinctions we have just seen, signal a syntactic relationship between the words or structures in a sentence. The syntactic relationship can exist at the phrasal level, as in the case of the genitive, or at the sentence level, as in the case of the ergative or object marker.

4.5.1 The genitive

The genitive signals some kind of dependent relationship between the head noun and some other word in the NP. It is marked by the suffix *-e*/*-ye*, the same as the ergative and instrumental, and occurs only on nouns or 3RD person pronouns.

i. Modification

One of the most basic functions of the genitive is to mark modification of one noun by another. (This will be discussed further in §10.1.1.) For now, I offer the following example:

(31) sən-e kwa:
wool-GEN cloth 'woolen clothing'

ii. Iteration

The coordination of two identical nouns with a genitive marker on the first one indicates a kind of iteration or continuation, as in the following:

(32) a. em-e em zə ba-ke
road-GEN road EMP go-PFV 'He went right along the road.'

b. zihm-e zihm zə ta-ke
house-GEN house EMP be-PFV 'There was nothing but houses.'

iii. Possession

Third person possession, in addition to the possessive prefix on the possessed item (see §4.4), includes genitive marking on the possessor, as in the following:

(33) ŋa-nəĩ-ye o-re:
my-friend-GEN 3S-husband 'my friend's husband'

The genitive never occurs with 1ST or 2ND possession. Instead, the free pronoun occurs in the unmarked nominative case, as shown in the following contrastive set:

(34) a. *ŋa:-ye ŋa-zihm
*I-GEN 1S-house 'my house'

b. ŋa: ŋa-zihm
I:NOM 1S-house 'my house'

Notice, now, the difference between the simple modification function of the genitive and its possessive function:

(35) a. MODIFICATION:
baza-e kər
bird-GEN wing 'a bird wing'

b. POSSESSION:
baza-e o-kər
bird-GEN 3S-wing 'the bird's wing'

4.5.2 The instrumental

The instrumental marks a tool, inanimate or not, by which an agent accomplishes an action. As in many languages, the instrumental is marked by the same affix as the ergative – the suffix *-e*/*-ye*. Following are examples:

(36) a. rowa-e pəl-də dəhləi-ke-o
axe-INSTR chop-NF fell-PFV-3S
'Chopping it with an axe he felled it.'

b. ao mi:-ye jəi-si-u
this person-INSTR make-DETRANS-NML
'This is man-made.' (lit. 'made by a person')

By most accounts, an instrument is a semantic notion and required to be non-human (Fillmore 1968, Givón 1984). In my treatment, however, an instrument is partially decided on syntactic grounds. Thus, 'person' in example (36b) is an instrument primarily because the suffix *-ye*, if not an instrument, would have to be interpreted as an ergative – an impossible situation for a detransitivized verb. Furthermore, unequivocal instrumental constructions exactly parallel it, as in:

(37) ao məsin-e jəi-si-u
this machine-INSTR make-DETRANS-NML
'This is machine-made.' (lit. 'made by a machine')

4.5.3 The comitative and associative

• The comitative, marked by the suffix *-sə*, denotes accompaniment and can be translated simply as 'with.' The comitative can also mark inanimate things, like the goods that someone carries on his or her person, just as it can in English:

(38) a. o-nə̃ĩ-ra-sə hu-ke
3S-friend-PL-COM come-PFV
'He came with his friends.'

b. o-pal-ra-sə bukhi-da pulus-na-ke
3S-tent-PL-COM alpine-ALLT emerge-GO-PFV
'He climbed to the alpine country with his tents and all.'

• The associative, also marked by *-sə*, may be regarded a grammatical case marker, occurring obligatorily in the case frame of certain verbs, as in: *ŋa:-sə tə-rupiya nih-ke-o* 'He begged a rupee from me' (lit. 'with me'), and *nakhar-la-o mi:-ra-sə ü-si-ke* 'He argued with the people of the village.'

4.5.4 The ergative

The classical ergative configuration is one in which the subject of an intransitive clause (the 'S' argument) and the object of a transitive clause (the 'O' argument) receive the same case marking, while the subject of a transitive clause (the 'A' argument) is marked differently. The S and O arguments, usually marked by zero, are known as the 'absolutive' case, and the A argument is known as the 'ergative' case. In many languages, including Kham, ergative marking applies only to a sub-set of all transitive subjects. This is the so-called 'split ergative' pattern. Splits can occur over any number of parameters, the most common ones being the 'aspectual split,' whereby ergative marking typically occurs only in perfective situations, and the 'person split,' whereby ergative marking occurs only with certain persons (Dixon 1994). Kham has a person based split. Only 3RD person subjects of transitive clauses are marked with the ergative case marker, *-e*/*-ye*, as in the following examples:

(39) a. la:-Ø si-ke
leopard-ABS die-PFV
'The leopard died.'

b. tipəlkya-e la:-Ø səih-ke-o
Tipalkya-ERG leopard-ABS kill-PFV-3S
'Tipalkya killed a leopard.'

c. no:-ye la:-Ø səih-ke-o
he-ERG leopard-ABS kill-PFV-3S
'He killed a leopard.'

(40) a. ŋa: la:-Ø ŋa-səih-ke
I leopard-ABS 1S-kill-PFV
'I killed a leopard.'

b. *ŋa:-ye la:-Ø ŋa-səih-ke
*I-ERG leopard-ABS 1S-kill-PFV

From the examples above, we can readily see that *la:* 'leopard' is zero marked whether it occurs as the subject of an intransitive (39a), or as the object of a transitive (39b, 39c and 40a). The subject of a transitive clause receives ergative marking if it is 3RD person, whether a pronoun or a full NP (39b and c), but not if it is 1ST or 2ND person (40b).

4.5.5 *The nominative*

A nominative marking strategy is one in which the S and A arguments, that is the subject of both transitive and intransitive clauses, receive the same marking, while the O argument is marked differently. The S and A arguments are usually marked by zero, known as the 'nominative' case, and the O argument typically receives a morphological marker, known as the 'accusative' case. When a language has a split, those transitive subjects that do not qualify for ergative marking (1ST and 2ND person in the case of Kham) are marked instead by the nominative. Thus, example (40a), glossed more precisely, would be:

(41) ŋa:-Ø la:-Ø ŋa-səih-ke
I-NOM leopard-ABS 1S-kill-PFV
'I killed a leopard.'

4.5.6 *The objective case*

In a nominative–accusative case marking strategy, the object is the marked noun of the clause. In Kham, the object is marked by the nominal suffix *-lai*, patterned after the Nepali suffix meaning roughly the same thing.[7]

(42) a. ŋa:-Ø no:-lai ŋa-rɨ̃:h-ke
I-NOM he-OBJ 1S-see-PFV 'I saw him.'

---

[7] Though the form may be partially patterned after the Nepali *-lai*, an accusative function has likely existed in Kham all along. Furthermore, *-lai* is similar to the *-la* of Bodish languages. Gurung, a Bodish language, has also adjusted *-la* to *-lai* (Glover 1974).

b. nɨ̃:-Ø ŋa-lai nə-rɨ̃:h-na-ke
you-NOM I-OBJ 2S-see-1S-PFV ‘You saw me.’

In ditransitive clauses, object marking occurs with the recipient (or source, with some verbs – see §11.6.1), and in transitive clauses with the patient argument. Following Dryer (1986), such languages are generally referred to as ‘primary object’ languages. Following are examples:

(43) a. TRANSITIVE–PATIENT:
ŋa-lai cyu:-na-ke-o
I-OBJ look-1S-PFV-3S ‘He looked at me.’

b. DITRANSITIVE–RECIPIENT:
ŋa-lai bəhtanji y-ã:-ke-o
I-OBJ potato give-1S-PFV-3S ‘He gave me a potato.’

In example (43a), the object marker occurs on the direct object, while in (43b) it occurs on the ‘notional’ indirect object. Under no circumstances can the object marking *-lai* in (43b) occur on ‘potato’ instead of on the 1ST person pronoun ‘I.’

4.5.7 Tripartite marking

In a language like Kham it is not enough to say that ergative–absolutive case marking occurs with 3RD person participants and nominative–accusative (nominative–objective) marking occurs with 1ST and 2ND person participants. The two systems overlap in such a way that, under the right conditions, nominative–absolutive (two zero marked categories), and ergative–objective (two morphologically marked categories) are also possible. Such systems are generally known as ‘tripartite’ systems (though in the paragraphs below I will present a simpler and more insightful way of viewing the patterns). Following are examples of overlapping alignments from the two systems:

(44) NOMINATIVE–ABSOLUTIVE:
ge:-Ø em-tə mi:-rə-Ø ge-ma-ra-dəi-ye
we-NOM road-ON person-PL-ABS 1P-NEG-3P-find-IMPFV
‘We met no people on the way.’

(45) ERGATIVE–OBJECTIVE:
gẽ:h-ye ŋa-lai duhp-na-ke-o
ox-ERG I-OBJ butt-1S-PFV-3S
‘The ox butted me.’

The choice between ergative and nominative case marking on the A argument, or absolutive and objective marking on the O argument, is determined by the argument’s position on a nominal hierarchy. Thus, on the continuum in figure 10 the person types most likely to be agents are to the left (high on the hierarchy), and the ones most likely

to be patients are to the right (low on the hierarchy).

1ST —> 2ND —> [3RD definite] —> 3RD indefinite
unmarked agents | <————————————>| (< ERG marking >)
| <————————————>| unmarked patients (< OBJ marking >)

Figure 10. Person hierarchy relevant to Kham case marking

When the 'real world' flow of action is in the normal, expected direction from left to right (i.e. from the deictic center of the speech act outward), no special morphological marking is needed to distinguish the A and O arguments (DeLancey 1981a). This is a striking case of linguistic iconism. The morphologically unmarked case is also the pragmatically unmarked one. However, when the A argument is a person type from low on the hierarchy (the marked situation), it requires ERG marking to distinguish it from an O, and when the O argument is a person type from high on the hierarchy (the marked situation), it requires OBJ marking to distinguish it from an A. Thus, we get the following four marking possibilities:

(46)	A argument	O argument		
	a. Ø	Ø	unmarked values	(high agent, low patient)
	b. ERG	Ø	marked value = agent	(low agent, low patient)
	c. Ø	OBJ	marked value = patient	(high agent, high patient)
	d. ERG	OBJ	marked values	(low agent, high patient)

In (46a), both participants are 'unmarked' values – the A argument is necessarily 1ST or 2ND person, while the O argument is necessarily 3RD person indefinite. In (46b) the 'marked' value is an agent – 3RD person. In (46c) the 'marked' value is a patient – 1ST/2ND person or 3RD person definite. In (46d), both participants are 'marked' values.

LaPolla proposes for Tibeto-Burman that such marking systems 'follow from a single motivation: the disambiguation of semantic role' (1992b:6). The ergative marks agents that do not, for whatever reason, qualify for agenthood; and the 'anti-ergative' (my object marker) marks its opposite – patient NPs that might be misconstrued as agents. All else is simply zero. In Kham, the marking has become fully grammaticalized in that the choice is no longer based on semantic or pragmatic considerations, but on an NPs inherent position on the person hierarchy. One caveat is that the distinction between definite and indefinite 3RD persons is primarily a matter of speaker construal and presupposition. Speakers code a 3RD person nominal as definite if they assume the hearer can uniquely identify it. 1ST and 2ND persons, of course, are always uniquely identifiable.

4.6 Position classes

Table 15 gives a summary of noun morphology in terms of the relative position of various morphemes in Takale Kham.

Table 15. Position classes of nominal suffixes

-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
POSS -	root -	NUM -	CIS -	ALLT -	ELAT -	(LOC) -	NML
				ABLT -	DEL -	(ADS)	
				LOC -	LAT		
				ADS -	ORIENT		
				IN/ON			
				ASC			

The ergative/instrumental/genitive and the objective do not co-occur with the locatives shown in table 15 (except when the locatives have been nominalized) and will therefore be viewed from the perspective of a different paradigm (shown in table 16) reflecting those co-occurrence constraints.

Table 16. Position classes of nominal case markers

-1	0	+1	+2
POSS -	root -	NUM -	ERG/INSTR/GEN
			OBJ

It should be noted that the locative suffixes from table 15 and the case suffixes from table 16 can all occur following the nominalizer in Slot 6, but not at the same time. That is, the whole complex including the nominalizer becomes a new noun stem to which further affixation is appropriate. If tables 15 and 16 were combined, then, Slot 2 from table 16 would constitute an additional slot, Slot 7, in table 16. The result is recursive affixation, as shown in table 17.

Table 17. Recursive affixation on nouns

Stem	First Level	Second Level	Third Level
u-zihm	-ni-ka-o	-ra-sə	
3S-house	-ABL-LOC-NML	-NUM-ASC	
‘with those from his house’			
ya-po:	-kə-pəi-ka-o	-ra-lai	
3P-place	-LOC-LAT-LOC-NML	-NUM-OBJ	
‘to those up to their place’			
ŋa-kyã:	-da-ŋa-o	-ra-sə-ka-o	-ye
1S-body	-ALLT-ADS-NML	-NUM-ASC-LOC-NML	-ERG
‘he who is associated with my relatives (agent)’			

4.7 Nominal suffixes in other Kham dialects

Most of the nominal morphology illustrated in §4.5 and §4.6 is of Proto-Kham provenience. The forms are essentially the same in all dialects, and do not have the kind of variation found in verbal morphology. Table 18 compares the nominal morphemes in those dialects considered to be representative of the family.

The greatest similarity can be found in the ergative *-e*, the locative *-kə*, the adessive *-ŋə*, the superessive *-tə*, the inessive *-lə*, and the associative *-sə*. The greatest variation is in the object marker – *-lai*, *-na*, *-tuŋ*, and *-jəhn*. Sheshi has a plural marker *-ŋ* seen nowhere else, and an ergative/instrumental marker *-le* probably borrowed from Nepali. Both Gamale and Sheshi have a genitive marker *-lə* seen nowhere else. The object marker in Nishi, *-na*, is the same as the allative, a common diachronic development cross-linguistically, as well as in TB.

It turns out that several of the suffixes may predate Proto-Kham. DeLancey (1984) shows a widespread occurrence for three of the etyma – **e*, **na*, and **ka* throughout TB, and adduces evidence that at least **e* and **nV* are of PTB provenience. An ergative/instrumental *e* can be found in Lolo-Burmese, Kachin, Bodo-Garo-Konyak, and Tibetan-Himalayan. An allative/dative *na* can be found in Lolo-Burmese, Kachin, and Bodo-Garo-Konyak, while locative *ko*/*ka* can be found in all sub-groups of the family.

Table 18. Nominal suffixes in five Kham dialects

	Taka	Maikot	Nishi	Gam	Sheshi
PL	-rə	-rə	-rə	-rə	-yaŋ/-ŋ
ALLT	-da	-di	-na	-de	-de
ABLT	-ni	-ŋi	-in	-ŋi	-ən/-lən/-ŋən
LOC	-kə	-kə	-kə	-kə/-thəl	–
ADS	-ŋə	-ŋə	–	-ŋə	-ŋə
ON	-tə	-tə	-tə	(-tə/-tawe)	(-tə)
IN	-lə	-lə	-lə	-l/-lə	-lə
ELAT	-kin	-kĩ:	-kən	-khẽ	-kən/-tən
DEL	-tin	-tĩ:	-tən	-ta-ŋi	-tən
LAT	-pəi	-kə-spəi	-kə səmə	?	?
ORIENT	-kə-səi	-khəi	?	-khe	?
CIS	-phə-tə	-phə-tə	-phə-tə	-phə-tə	?
ASC	-sə	-sə	-sə	-sə	-sə
INSTR	-e	-e	-e	-e	-le
ERG	-e	-e	-e	-e	-le
GEN	-e	-e	-Ø	-lə	-lə
OBJ	-lai	-lai	-na	-tuŋ	-jəhn

4.8 Derivational processes on nouns

There are several derivational processes by which other word classes can be made nouns, but few by which nouns can be converted to other words classes. Most derivational processes for nouns simply create new nouns. Such processes include compounding and the formation of generics.

4.8.1 Compound nouns

There are numerous compound nouns in Kham, but no regular, productive derivational process by which they are formed spontaneously. The existing compounds appear to have a protracted diachronic history. Juxtaposed nouns that have not yet achieved compound status are separated by the genitive marker *-e*, as we saw in (31). Presumably, frequency of use is a major factor in promoting the loss of the genitive and the subsequent merging of the two nouns (if, in fact, that is how they are formed). The following examples show varying degrees in 'tightness of bond' between the two nouns:

(47) a. baza-e o-kər
bird-GEN 3S-wing 'the bird's wing'

b. baza-e kər
bird-GEN wing 'a bird wing'

c. ba-kər
bird-wing 'a wing/a wing feather/a shaman's feather headdress'

Not only does phonological attrition of earlier elements form a tighter bond in (47c) than in (47a) and (47b), but semantic specificity has also eroded in (47c), such that a whole range of objects associated with a bird's wing are called *ba-kər*. The compound *ba-kər* is old – it uses the TB proto-form **ba* for 'bird.' The modern Kham word for bird is itself a diminutive compound, *baza*, which comes from **ba* 'bird' + **za* 'child.'

Certain nominal elements in Kham are more productive in the formation of compounds than others. Ones that show up repeatedly are: *ba* 'bird,' *sya* 'animal,' *meh* 'fire,' and *rih* 'water.' All have solid TB pedigrees and are close to the proto-forms for PTB. In (48-51) are examples with two instances of each:

(48) BIRD:

a. ba-ma
bird-female
'hen'

b. ba-zuhri:
bird-egg
'egg'

Though *ba-zuhri:* looks like it may have derived from *baza-e u-ri:h* 'bird water' (which, in fact, is a common etymological source for egg in TB) it did not. Its source is **ba* + **rzut* 'lay an egg' (Bhuji *barzut*, Sheshi *bahrui*, Magar *-rhu*).

(49) ANIMAL:

a.	sya-rsa	b.	sya-kəl
	animal-strength		animal-kidney
	'sinew/leather thong'		'a leather coin purse'

The TB elements emerging from these compounds are: *sya 'animal, meat,' *r-sa 'strength, sinew,' *kal 'kidney' (Benedict 1972).

(50) FIRE:

a.	mih-kwi	b.	mih-swĩ:
	fire-smoke		fire-hot
	'smoke'		'a firebrand'

The TB elements emerging from these compounds relate to some PTB sources and some more recent than PTB: TB *mi 'fire,' but Proto-Kham *s-mi, Rawang səmi; TB *ku 'smoke,' Kiranti *ku-t 'to smoke'; Proto-Kham *s-mun 'hot.'

(51) WATER:

a.	rih-gaõ	b.	rih-sərəm
	water-circle		water-otter
	'rainbow'		'otter'

The etyma for 'water' may be more recent than PTB, and is found primarily on the Burmese side of the family, but also in Himalayish: Kham *ri:h*, Magar *di*. The etyma *gaõ* is a metathesis of **gwahŋ* found in Maikot *gwã:h*. Otter is of PTB provenience: **s-ram*.

The formation of compound nouns is a recurring process in TB with a long and prolific history (Matisoff 1978). Indeed, many monosyllabic morphemes now participating in modern Kham compounds are phonologically reduced versions of earlier compounds themselves. The morphemes are entering the compounding cycle for a second time, still carrying the remnants of an earlier cycle. In (52) and (53) are selected examples:

(52) sya-ruhs
animal-bone 'bone'

The PTB form for bone is **rus*. The modern Kham form *ruhs* comes from an earlier **s-rus*, a form with the 'animal' prefix **s-*. (Notice that Chepang also has *hrus*, and Kaike, a nearby language, has *suru*; both from **s-rus*.) Once the prefix is absorbed into the root in *ruhs*, Kham begins the cycle again by adding the animal prefix *sya-* a second time. In some forms, like *rih-sərəm* in (51b), the *s-* prefix resisted absorption, presumably because *rih-* was added early and protected the *s-* from phonological erosion.

(53) rwi:h-za
bug-child 'bug/insect'

In (58), there is a competition across dialects between the 'animal' prefix *s-* and a

'bug' prefix *b-* (Benedict 1972). The original TB form for leech is **r-wat*, from whence comes Kham **rut* > **rui*. Laxity on the vowel comes from an earlier **s-* prefix, yielding Takale *rwi:h* and Nishi *ruht*. Maikoti and Bhujel both have the *b-* prefix instead of *s-*, yielding Maikoti *bri-za* and Bhujel *brut* (without vocalic laxity).

The addition of *za*, a diminutive suffix coming from the etymon for 'child,' is a later development.

4.8.2 The formation of supergenerics

Generic or superordinate nouns are a special class of noun, and are, in fact, comparatively rare (though a common Sino-Tibetan pattern). Structurally, they have much in common with compound nouns – they are formed by the concatenation of two simpler nouns. But they have additional requirements. Each of the two members of the compound is representative of a different sub-set of the generic class – one a bird and the other a mammal, for instance. Furthermore, the two members of the compound typically form a rhyme. Where the rhyme is not natural, an extra, rhyming syllable is sometimes added paragogically. The following examples illustrate the process:

(54) a. sya: ba:
animal bird 'game animals/game birds'

b. la: ga:
leopard eagle 'predators'

c. baza biza
chicken rat 'small birds and critters'

d. sela bala
left.over.grain head.of.grain 'odds and ends of little value'

All but the final generic class consists of birds and mammals. Of the eight specific nouns, all but two occur independently – *sya:* 'meat/animal,' *la:* 'leopard,' *baza* 'chicken,' *biza* 'rat,' *sela* 'grain left in the field,' and *bala* 'head of grain.' The other two, *ba:* for 'bird' and *ga:* for 'eagle,' are old etyma, and occur in the modern language only in compounds. *Ba* forms compounds with numerous species of bird, and *ga* forms compounds with both eagles and owls (*kapcya-ga* 'eagle,' and *buhmlu-ga* 'owl').

The members of some generic compounds form compounds with more than one set. In the following examples *kosyo:* participates in two sets but has no individual meaning in the modern language: *təri: kosyo:* 'locusts, grasshoppers and crickets,' *kosyo: kolapih* 'flying, non-biting insects.'

As mentioned earlier, in some generic compounds, the second member is a nonsense syllable or 'paragoge,' added to make a rhyming couplet, as in: *lanza məhrza* 'the occupational castes,' *luhza bã:za* 'boys and girls / children,' *mẽ:ma wanza* 'women and children,' *rwi:hza wanza* 'bugs and worms / creepy-crawlies.'

The morpheme *lan* is the modern form for 'musician, tailor' in the Maikoti dialect and *məhr* is the modern form for 'blacksmith' in the Takale dialect. The morpheme *za* is certainly the etymon **za* 'child' from PTB. The morphemes *bã:* and *wan* of *bã:za* and *wanza* appear to be related and, in fact, were probably meaningful elements at some earlier stage in the language.

In other cases the probability of the rhyming syllable coming from an earlier meaningful element is less likely. Rather, it is probable that they were never more than paragoges, as in:

(55) a. jəi jəntu
(??) animal (Nepali) 'all living beings'

b. ləi ləchimi
(??) Laksmi (Hindu goddess of wealth in the form of a cow)
'domestic livestock (except swine)'

c. əgəi bəgəi
(??) (??) 'domestic livestock (including swine)'

In (55c), since neither element is known to be related to a recognizable etymon, it is difficult to know which member is original and which is a rhyming addition.

i. Supergenerics and plurality

There are two patterns of plural agreement in supergenerics. In the first pattern, only the second member of the pair is pluralized, giving evidence that they have been joined syntactically into a single entity, as in: *baza biza-rə* (chicken-rats) 'critters,' and *nəĩ mẽ:-rə* 'friends.'

In the second pattern, both members are pluralized, giving evidence that we are dealing with two separate, but conjoined, NPs: *zu:-rə rəhm-rə* 'thorns and weeds,' and *jɨ̃:h-rə tamba-rə* 'iron and copper.'

ii. Supergenerics and possession

In the more tightly bound supergenerics (see the first pattern above), plural marking occurs just once, while possession is marked on both items: *ŋa-nəĩ ŋa-mẽ:-rə* 'my friends and comrades' (male and female).

4.8.3 Verbalizing derivations

Except in a few rare cases, Kham does not have the 'zero-derivation' category common in Tibetan and many other TB languages whereby nouns and verbs are related to one another without derivational morphology.[8]

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[8] One of a few exceptions is the pair: mɨ̃: 'dream,' and mɨ̃:- 'to dream.' It is difficult to know which is the source for the other.

i. Descriptive verbs from nouns

What I call 'descriptive verbs' have something of an adjectival sense and will be treated more fully in chapter 6. The derivation from nouns to descriptive verbs is restricted to a small sub-set of all nouns – those that can in some way be conceptualized as representative of an attribute. A verbalizing suffix *-s* can be applied to such noun roots, yielding a new intransitive–patientive verb stem, as in: *bohrla* 'tuft of grass, fur,' > *bohrla-s-nya* 'to become furry, fluffy,' and *ju:ca* 'old woman,' > *ju:ca-s-nya* 'to grow old (of a woman).'

Most nouns participating in this derivation must first go through a 'similative' derivation with the suffix *-ya*, as in the following example which is representative of a whole class: *buchula* 'adze,' > *buchul-ya* 'adze like,' > *buchul-ya-s-nya* 'to have a tooth protruding from the gums' (see chapter 6).

ii. Light verb constructions

A second verbalizing derivation is one that has sometimes been referred to as a 'light verb' construction. The construction is much more common in languages like Tibetan and Newari, but does have limited occurrence in Kham as well. The construction is a periphrastic one in which a noun occurs with the semantically empty verb *da-nya* 'to do'.[9] The construction is highly selective in the nouns that it can apply to. It should be noted too that constructions with *da-nya* 'to do' are very different from constructions with *jəi-nya* 'to make.' With *jəi-nya*, the noun is a patient argument of the verb, while with *da-nya* it is not. Following, the two are contrasted:

(56) a. zihm jəi-nya
house make-INF
'to make a house'

b. *zihm da-nya
*house do-INF

(57) a. ehn da-nya
work do-INF
'to do work'

b. ehn jəi-nya
work make-INF
'to make work' – as in:

c. su: su: ge-ehn jəi-d-ya-si-ke-o
who who 1P-work make-NF-BEN-1P-PFV-3S
'He made tasks for each of us.'

Syntactically and morphologically, N + V predications with *da-nya* are indistinguishable from transitive predications in which the noun is an absolutive argument of the verb. Semantically, however, they behave more like intransitive verbs, and the noun is part of the predication, as in:

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[9] The verb root *da-* in *da-nya* has numerous morphophonemic variants depending on the person of the object. Among the variants are: *do-*, *dã:-* and *dĩ:-*.

(58) a. me:h do-ke-o
fire do-PFV-3S
'He burned a fire.' (i.e. kept a fire burning in the hearth, which is different from 'making' a fire)

b. ŋa: khõ:ta ŋa-do-ke
I club 1S-do-PFV
'I armed myself with a club.'

In (58a), fire cannot be regarded as a patient, but as part of the predicate. Likewise, in (58b) the agent does nothing to affect the club. Rather, the club is part of a prototypical action involving such an instrument.

In a few cases, a third argument answering semantically to a transitive patient is marked by associative marking, as in: *o-ama-sə̲ ya:h do-ke-o* 'He sassed his mother' (lit. 'did mouth with her'), and *o-sali-sə̲ jya: do-ke-o* 'He married his maternal cousin' (lit. 'did wife with her').

Abstract nouns, especially those that refer to processes, are rare in Kham. A number have been borrowed from Nepali, but here too the language maintains its overriding tendency of matching processes with verbs, and the nouns are verbalized with *da-nya*. Many, in fact, have no existence apart from *da-nya*, as in: *udim da-nya* 'to try,' *əlsəĩ da-nya* 'to act lazily,' and *khor da-nya* 'to care for,' where *udim*, *əlsəĩ*, and *khor* do not occur as stand-alone nouns.

5 *Verbs and verb morphology*

In terms of morphology, two verb classes can be distinguished for Kham, the transitive and the intransitive. Other sub-classes also exist, like the ditransitive, and two intransitive types – the agentive and patientive – but for which the evidence is mostly syntactic. As such, I will reserve my discussion of syntactically defined classes for chapter 11. Here I will be concerned primarily with the morphology of verbs and any matters of grammar that are directly coded in verbal morphology. This will include person–number agreement, tense–aspect–modality markers, valency increasing–decreasing operators, verb serialization, and dependency markers.

Also included in this chapter will be a discussion of two mutually exclusive arrangements of inflection markers for every verb in Kham. This division of finite verbs into two paradigmatic configurations is a major feature of the language and cuts across every speech act – declarative, imperative, and interrogative. Historically, one of the paradigms is a continuation of the regular, finite paradigm, and the other can be linked to a nominalization. Though the latter form is still used as a nominalization, it also functions as a fully finite, main verb of a clause. The speaker's choice of one paradigmatic form over the other has to do with the pragmatic notions of foregrounding/backgrounding, relative involvement in the speech act, and manipulative strength. Such issues will be discussed in their appropriate chapters, some in chapter 14, and others in chapter 16.

5.1 The basic transitive–intransitive distinction

There are significant morphological differences in Kham between transitive and intransitive verb types. The primary difference is in the number of arguments marked in the verb. Transitive verbs are obligatorily marked for person and number agreement with two arguments, A and O, while intransitive verbs are obligatorily marked for agreement with S only. In Takale Kham, the dialect of this grammar, agreement morphology follows a basic nominative–accusative pattern.[1] That is, the subject agreement morphemes of the transitive paradigm are identical to the subject agreement morphemes of the intransitive paradigm (except for some minor exceptions which I will deal with shortly).

[1] Comparative evidence from other Kham dialects suggests that this was not so for Proto-Kham. There was an identity between the transitive object agreement morphemes and the intransitive subject agreement morphemes — an ergative–absolutive pattern. I will deal with this issue more fully in chapter 17.

Object agreement morphemes are distinct. Following are examples of subject agreement morphemes:

(1) INTRANSITIVE SUBJECTS:

a. ŋa: zihm-da ŋa-ba-ke
I house-ALLT 1S-go-PFV ‘I went to the house.’

b. nɨ̃: zihm-da nə-ba-ke
you house-ALLT 2S-go-PFV ‘You went to the house.’

c. no-rə zihm-da ba-ke-rə
he-PL house-ALLT go-PFV-3P ‘They went to the house.’

(2) TRANSITIVE SUBJECTS:

a. ŋa: zihm ŋa-jəi-ke
I house 1S-make-PFV ‘I made a house.’

b. nɨ̃: zihm nə-jəi-ke
you house 2S-make-PFV ‘You made a house.’

c. no-ra-e zihm jəi-ke-rə
he-PL-ERG house make-PFV-3P ‘They made a house.’

It is clear from the examples that subjects, regardless of whether they are A or S, have the same agreement morphology – *ŋa-* for 1ST singular, *nə-* for 2ND singular, and *-rə* for 3RD plural.

Maintaining the same persons for illustrative purposes, transitive objects show different forms:

(3) a. FIRST PERSON OBJECT:
no-e ŋa-lai səres-na-ke-o
he-ERG I-OBJ recognize-1S-PFV-3S ‘He recognized me.’

b. SECOND PERSON OBJECT:
no-e nɨ̃:-lai səres-ni-ke-o
he-ERG you-OBJ recognize-2S-PFV-3S ‘He recognized you.’

c. THIRD PERSON OBJECT:
no-e no-ra-lai ya-səres-ke-o
he-ERG he-PL-OBJ 3P-recognize-PFV-3S ‘He recognized them.’

The O agreement forms differ from A and S agreement forms not only in phonological shape, but also in position in the verbal morphology. 1ST and 2ND person subjects are prefixed while their object counterparts are suffixed, and 3RD person subjects are suffixed while their object counterparts are prefixed. This is a topic I will address later. For now, it is enough to notice that agreement morphology follows a basic nominative–accusative pattern.

5.1.1 Unmarked persons

Differences between transitive and intransitive verbs surface in other areas besides the number of arguments obligatorily marked in the verb. The default or 'unmarked' category is also different for the two verb types. In a nine feature series in which 1ST, 2ND, and 3RD persons intersect with singular, dual, and plural, only eight of the nine features have a morphemic representation in the verb, the ninth being an unmarked form.

i. Third singular in declaratives

For intransitive verbs, the unmarked argument is 3RD singular *subject*, while for transitive verbs all subjects are marked (including 3RD singular) and the unmarked argument is 3RD singular *object* (represented in the following by zeros):

(4) INTRANSITIVE:

a. ba-ke-Ø
go-PFV-3S
'He went'

b. ba-ke-rə
go-PFV-3P
'They went'

(5) TRANSITIVE:

a. Ø-jəi-ke-o
3S-make-PFV-3S
'He made it'

b. ya-jəi-ke-o
3P-make-PFV-3S
'He made them'

The presence or absence of 3RD singular agreement marking sometimes affects the shape of other morphemes in the sequence. Thus, for example, 'potential' mode (future) with a 3RD person subject is marked by *-ya* in the intransitive paradigm and by *-wa* in the transitive paradigm. Such differences strengthen the overall impression that transitive and intransitive verbs have different morphologies. In fact, however, both are marked by an underlying *-ya*. In the intransitive paradigm *-ya* is preceded by a lack of person marking yielding *-ya*; in the transitive paradigm *-ya* is preceded by *-o*, yielding *-w-a*, as in: *ba-ya* 'He will go,' vs. *jəi-wa* 'He will make it' (see table 19).

Table 19. Future *-ya* versus *-wa*

	intransitive	transitive
1S	ŋa-V-ya	ŋa-V-ya
2S	nə-V-ya	nə-V-ya
	etc.	
3S	V-Ø-ya	V-w-a < *-o-ya
3D	V-n-ya	V-n-ya
3P	V-r-ya	V-r-ya

ii. Second singular in imperatives

The imperative has a reduced set of person–number agreement morphemes – for subjects, only 2ND person is available, while for objects, the full range is available. Transitive and intransitive verbs differ, however, in terms of which 2ND person subjects can be marked. With transitive verbs 2ND singular is unmarked, while with intransitives the same category is marked by *-ni*:

(6) INTRANSITIVE:
syã:-ni-ke
sleep-2S-IMP 'Go to sleep!'

(7) TRANSITIVE:
a. ya-poh-Ø-ke
3P-hit-2S-IMP 'Hit them!'

b. Ø-poh-Ø-ke
3S-hit-2S-IMP 'Hit him!'

For imperatives, then, there are no unmarked categories in the intransitive. In the transitive there are two – 2ND singular subject and 3RD singular object.

5.1.2 Other unmarked categories

Tense–aspect, too, is marked for all categories but one. Language is economical in this sense. Where a multi-featured series exists, all but one, the default member, needs to be marked for the system to be fully contrastive. A problem arises, however, where the unmarked members of various intersecting systems converge on one word form. The problem, of course, is one for the morphologist, and not for users of the language.

i. The imperfective

Imperfective in Kham is the least marked of all tense–aspects; it goes unmarked in certain persons and numbers. In general the imperfective marker is the suffix *-e*/*-ye*, but it occurs only where it is not displaced by subject marking. Anywhere there is a 3RD person subject morpheme there is competition for the imperfective slot. In the intransitive paradigm, then, displacement occurs only with 3RD person dual and plural subjects, but not with 3RD singular, which is unmarked (see §6.2.1). In the transitive paradigm, displacement of the imperfective occurs with all 3RD person subjects (see table 20).

Again, only in the environment of 3RD singular subject, which in actual speech is the most common form, does the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs surface. Third singular intransitive has an unmarked subject, and *-e* marks the imperfective, while 3RD singular transitive has an unmarked imperfective and *-o* marks the subject. This makes for an *-e*/*-o* distinction in the most frequently used part of the transitive–intransitive paradigm.

Table 20. Displacement of imperfective *-e*

	intransitive	transitive
1S	ŋa-V-*e*	ŋa-V-*e*
2S	nə-V-*e*	nə-V-*e*
3S	V-*e*	V-o
3D	V-ni	V-ni
3P	V-rə	V-rə

ii. Non-immediate imperative

Non-immediate imperative is the least marked member of the imperative family, and for that reason can be considered the default. In general, non-immediate imperative goes unmarked wherever it occurs next to a non-zero person. Where it occurs next to a zero person it is marked by *-yo*.

(8) a. INTRANSITIVE:
syã:-ni-Ø
sleep-2S-IMP
'Sleep!' (sometime)

b. TRANSITIVE:
ya-poh-Ø-yo
3P-hit-2S-IMP
'Hit them!' (sometime)

The clean distinction between transitive and intransitive paradigms illustrated in (8) needs qualification. Non-immediate imperative with plural subjects is marked by *-c-yo* (-2P-IMP) in both paradigms, an exception to the earlier generalization that imperative goes unmarked wherever it occurs next to a non-zero person. Perhaps we can make a broader generalization based on the simple expediency of limits on human processing ability – where person marking and the imperative occur in adjacent slots, at least one of them must be marked.

(9) INTRANSITIVE PARADIGM:

category	person + imperative
2S	-ni-Ø
2D	-cin-Ø
2P	-c-yo

(10) TRANSITIVE PARADIGM:

category	person + imperative
2S	-Ø-yo
2D	-cin-Ø
2P	-c-yo

More exactly, then, the unmarked imperative occurs in two of three categories in the intransitive, *-ni-Ø* and *-cin-Ø*, and in one of three categories in the transitive, *-cin-Ø*.

5.1.3 Summary of unmarked categories

Table 21 gives a summary of marking distinctions for 3RD singular subject in transitive and intransitive verbs. I use *ba* 'go' as a representative intransitive verb, and *jəi* 'make' as a representative transitive. In (a) the unmarked category is a 3RD singular subject in *ba-ke*, in (b) it is a 2ND singular subject in *jəi-ke*, in (c) it is an imperative in *ba-ni* and a 2ND singular subject in *jəi-yo*, in (d) a 3RD singular subject in *ba-e* and an imperfective in *jəi-wo*, and in (e) a 3RD singular subject in *ba-ya*.

Table 21. The unmarked category in five contexts

		intransitive	transitive
a.	perfective	ba-ke-Ø	jəi-ke-o
b.	immediate-imperative	ba-ni-ke	jəi-Ø-ke
c.	non-immediate	ba-ni-Ø	jəi-Ø-yo
d.	imperfective	ba-e-Ø	jəi-Ø-wo
e.	future	ba-Ø-ya	jəi-w-a

5.2 Person and number categories

Up to now, we have seen numerous allusions to person and number categories. Here I will treat the full system. Verbs in Kham are obligatorily marked for 1ST, 2ND, and 3RD persons, with singular, dual, and plural numbers for all core participants. That is, intransitive verbs have person and number indices for all S arguments, and transitive verbs for all A and O arguments. Most TB languages exhibiting a pronominal agreement system like Kham also distinguish between inclusive and exclusive categories for 1ST person dual and plural, yielding a system with eleven categories. Kham is limited to nine categories.

Most person and number morphemes in Kham are portmanteau morphemes – both categories are marked by a single, unanalyzable morpheme. 1ST and 2ND person duals are an exception, and number can be distinguished from person, as in *gi-n* '1ST non-singular + dual number,' and *ji-n* '2ND non-singular + dual number.'

Subject and object morphemes are distinct from one another, both in shape and position. 1ST and 2ND person subject prefixes are identical to the possessive prefixes we saw on nouns in §4.4. The identity is significant and suggests that the subject prefixes come from an old nominalizing strategy. This is a topic I will deal with in chapter 17 on historical developments.

5.2.1 Person and number in declaratives

Tables 22 and 23 give the person–number agreement paradigms for intransitive and transitive verbs ('V' marks the placement of the verb root, and 'T' the placement of tense/aspect). I will deal with reflexive forms in §5.6.2.

Table 22. The intransitive paradigm

	SG	DL	PL
1ST	ŋa-V-T	gi-n-V-T	ge-V-T
2ND	nə-V-T	ji-n-V-T	je-V-T
3RD	V-T	V-T-ni	V-T-rə

In table 23, the transitive paradigm, the configuration of 1ST and 2ND person indices as opposed to 3RD person indices is significant. With 1ST and 2ND persons, subjects are prefixed and objects suffixed, while for 3RD persons subjects are suffixed and objects prefixed – a kind of 'direct' for 1ST and 2ND person subjects, and an 'inverse' for 3RD person subjects.

The arrangement mirrors a configurational pattern we saw earlier for ergative marking on nouns. Recall that 3RD person participants in transitive clauses are marked with the ergative marker *-e*, while 1ST and 2ND persons are not. In DeLancey's account of split ergativity (1981a), ergative marking occurs where there is a mismatch between a real world event and 'natural viewpoint.' Natural viewpoint takes the participants in a speech act, 1ST and 2ND persons, as its deictic center. The unmarked situation is one in which the event being reported coincides with natural viewpoint – the action moves from the deictic center outward. Its opposite, where the action originates with 3RD person, is the marked situation – formally marked in Kham not only by ergative marking on the subject NP, but also by a reverse configuration of person marking in the verb morphology.

Table 23. The transitive paradigm

		1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
	SG		ŋa-V-ni-T	ŋa-Ø-V-T
1ST	DL	REFLEXIVE	gi-n-V-ni-T	gi-n-Ø-V-T
	PL		ge-V-ni-T	ge-Ø-V-T
	SG	nə-V-na-T		nə-Ø-V-T
2ND	DL	ji-n-V-na-T	REFLEXIVE	ji-n-Ø-V-T
	PL	je-V-na-T		je-Ø-V-T
	SG	V-na-T-o	V-ni-T-o	Ø-V-T-o
3RD	DL	V-na-T-ni	V-ni-T-ni	Ø-V-T-ni
	PL	V-na-T-rə	V-ni-T-rə	Ø-V-T-rə

		1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
	SG		ŋa-V-ci-n-T	ŋa-ni-V-T
1ST	DL	REFLEXIVE	gi-n-V-ci-n-T	gi-n-ra-V-T
	PL		ge-V-ci-T	ge-ra-V-T
	SG	nə-V-si-n-T		nə-ni-V-T
2ND	DL	ji-n-V-si-T	REFLEXIVE	ji-n-ra-V-T
	PL	je-V-si-T		je-ra-V-T
	SG	V-si-n-T-o	V-ci-n-T-o	ni-V-T-o
3RD	DL	V-si-n-T-rə	V-ci-n-T-rə	yara-V-T-ni
	PL	V-si-n-T-rə	V-ci-n-T-rə	yara-V-T-rə

		1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
	SG		ŋa-V-ci-T	ŋa-ra-V-T
1ST	DL	REFLEXIVE	gi-n-V-ci-T	gi-n-ra-V-T
	PL		ge-V-ci-T	ge-ra-V-T
	SG	nə-V-si-T		nə-ra-V-T
2ND	DL	je-V-si-T	REFLEXIVE	ji-n-ra-V-T
	PL	je-V-si-T		je-ra-V-T
	SG	V-si-T-o	V-ci-T-o	ya-V-T-o
3RD	DL	V-si-T-rə	V-ci-T-rə	yara-V-T-ni
	PL	V-si-T-rə	V-ci-T-rə	yara-V-T-rə

5.2.2 *Person and number in the imperative*

The arrangement of person and number forms in the imperative is different from what we find in the declarative. For one thing, only 2ND person subjects are possible in the imperative. Furthermore, the imperative subject indices have the same surface form as declarative object indices, a good argument, perhaps, for a performative interpretation of the Kham data. That is, the 'you' of the second clause in 'I order you + you will leave' is an object of the higher performative predicate 'I order you.' Kham has in some sense grammaticalized the implied subordination. Table 24 gives the paradigm for the 'immediate imperative,' which serves also as a base form for the exigent imperative which will follow (the morpheme *-kē* is the imperative marker).[2]

The zero occurring in the right two columns of table 24 indicates 2ND singular, the unmarked subject of a transitive imperative. In the intransitive paradigm, 2ND singular is marked by *-ni*, identical to the 2ND singular object form in a declarative paradigm.

Table 24. The immediate imperative

		NO OBJ	1S OBJ	3S OBJ
	SG	-ni-ke	-na-Ø-ke	-Ø-ke
2ND	DL	-ci-n-ke	-na-ci-n-ke	-ci-n-ke
	PL	-ci-ke	-na-ci-ke	-ci-ke
			1D OBJ	3D OBJ
	SG		-si-n-Ø-ke	ni-V-Ø-ke
2ND	DL		-si-ci-n-ke	ya-V-ci-n-ke
	PL		-si-ci-ke	ya-V-ci-ke
			1P OBJ	3P OBJ
	SG		-si-Ø-ke	ya-V-Ø-ke
2ND	DL		-si-ci-ke	ya-V-ci-n-ke
	PL		-si-ci-ke	ya-V-ci-ke

As already alluded to, the exigent imperative is based on the immediate imperative (for a semantic treatment see chapter 14). It is formed by the addition of a morpheme *-sã:* to the paradigm in table 24, immediately preceding the imperative marker *-ke*, as in *-sã:-ke*. It can also occur alone. In terms of person/number configurations, the immediate and exigent paradigms are the same. Following are examples:

2P	ba-ci-n-sã:-ke	'(You dl) get going!'
2S-1S	cyu:-na-ci-sã:-ke	'(You pl) Watch me!'
3S-3S	phəi-sã:	'Open up!'

[2] This is one place where tone is relevant. The perfective -kè has a 'low' (T-1) tone, while the imperative -kē has a 'mid' (T-2) tone.

Another imperative, the 'non-immediate imperative,' is formed by *-yo* and shown in table 25. (For a semantic treatment of these forms see chapter 14.)

Table 25. The non-immediate imperative

		NO OBJ	1S OBJ	3S OBJ
	SG	-ni	-na-Ø-yo	-Ø-yo
2ND	DL	-ci-n	-na-ci-n-Ø	-ci-n-Ø
	PL	-c-yo	-na-c-yo	-c-yo
			1D OBJ	3D OBJ
	SG		-si-n-Ø-o	ni-V-Ø-yo
2ND	DL		-si-ci-n-Ø	ya-V-ci-n-Ø
	PL		-si-c-yo	ya-V-c-yo
			1P OBJ	3P OBJ
	SG		-si-Ø-yo	ya-V-Ø-yo
2ND	DL		-si-c-yo	ya-V-ci-n-Ø
	PL		-si-c-yo	ya-V-c-yo

For an explanation of the zeros in tables 24 and 25 (which stand for unmarked categories), see §5.1.1 and §5.1.2.

The non-immediate imperative serves also as a template form for the hortative. The hortative is formed by the addition of a prefix *gəh-* to the same basic paradigm. Where *gəh-* precedes the 3RD plural object marker *ya-*, the 3RD plural allomorph *ra-* occurs. Following are examples:

2S	gəh-ba-ni	'Please do go!'
2S-3P	gəh-ra-cyu:-yo	'Do look at them!'
2P-1P	gəh-cyu:-si-c-yo	'Do look at us!'

5.3 The nominalized paradigm

A second paradigm for person–number agreement patterns exists in all Kham dialects. The paradigm is basically a nominalization and still functions as such in complement and relative clauses. But the nominalized verb forms also function as main verbs in independent clauses under certain discourse conditions (which I will deal with in chapter 16). In this capacity they are full, main verbs just like their regular, finite counterparts.

In the Sheshi dialect of Kham the nominalized verb form and the regular, finite verb form belong to mutually exclusive paradigms – the pattern is fully suffixing in the finite paradigm, and prefixing (for subjects) in the nominalized paradigm. In the Gamale dialect some of the prefixed pronominal forms of the nominalized paradigm have been translated across into the regular, finite paradigm, replacing an older series. In Takale,

Table 26. The nominalized transitive paradigm

		1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
	SG		ŋa-V-ni-(T)-o	ŋa-Ø-V-(T)-o
1ST	DL	REFLEXIVE	gi-n-V-ni-(T)-o	gi-n-Ø-V-(T)-o
	PL		ge-V-ni-(T)-o	ge-Ø-V-(T)-o
	SG	nə-V-na-(T)-o		nə-Ø-V-(T)-o
2ND	DL	ji-n-V-na-(T)-o	REFLEXIVE	ji-n-Ø-V-(T)-o
	PL	je-V-na-(T)-o		je-Ø-V-(T)-o
	SG	o-V-na-(T)-o	o-V-ni-(T)-o	o-V-(T)-o
3RD	DL	ni-V-na-(T)-o	ni-V-ni-(T)-o	ni-V-(T)-o
	PL	ya-V-na-(T)-o	ya-V-ni-(T)-o	ya-V-(T)-o
		1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
	SG		ŋa-V-ci-n-(T)-o	ŋa-ni-V-(T)-o
1ST	DL	REFLEXIVE	gi-n-V-ci-n-(T)-o	gi-n-ra-V-(T)-o
	PL		ge-V-ci-(T)-o	ge-ra-V-(T)-o
	SG	nə-V-si-n-(T)-o		nə-ni-V-(T)-o
2ND	DL	ji-n-V-si-(T)-o	REFLEXIVE	ji-n-ra-V-(T)-o
	PL	je-V-si-(T)-o		je-ra-V-(T)-o
	SG	o-V-si-n-(T)-o	o-V-ci-n-(T)-o	u-ni-V-(T)-o
3RD	DL	ya-V-si-n-(T)-o	ya-V-ci-n-(T)-o	ni-ra-V-(T)-o
	PL	ya-V-si-n-(T)-o	ya-V-ci-n-(T)-o	ya-ra-V-(T)-o
		1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
	SG		ŋa-V-ci-(T)-o	ŋa-ra-V-(T)-o
1ST	DL	REFLEXIVE	gi-n-V-ci-(T)-o	gi-n-ra-V-(T)-o
	PL		ge-V-ci-(T)-o	ge-ra-V-(T)-o
	SG	nə-V-si-(T)-o		nə-ra-V-(T)-o
2ND	DL	je-V-si-(T)-o	REFLEXIVE	ji-n-ra-V-(T)-o
	PL	je-V-si-(T)-o		je-ra-V-(T)-o
	SG	o-V-si-(T)-o	o-V-ci-(T)-o	o-ra-V-(T)-o
3RD	DL	ya-V-si-(T)-o	ya-V-ci-(T)-o	ni-ra-V-(T)-o
	PL	ya-V-si-(T)-o	ya-V-ci-(T)-o	ya-ra-V-(T)-o

the dialect of this grammar, the two paradigms are almost identical, especially for 1ST and 2ND person subjects. This suggests either that the replacement of older forms in the finite paradigm by analogy with the nominalized paradigm (as with Gamale) is total, or

that the regular, finite paradigm is itself (historically) a kind of nominalization (see chapter 17 for a treatment).

5.3.1 The nominalized declarative

In table 26, I give the transitive version of the nominalized paradigm. (Ignoring zeros, the intransitive version would have the same surface representation as the transitive with 3RD singular objects.) First, however, I need to dispense with a few details necessary to understand the paradigm. The default aspect for this paradigm is the perfective, which is unmarked. The only other tense/aspect possible is the continuous aspect *-zya*, which would occur in the slot marked by optional '(T)'. Also, the suffix *-o* in this paradigm is a nominalizer; in the regular, finite paradigm it was a marker of 3RD singular subject. The sequence *ya-ra-* at the intersection of 3P to 3P is analyzable in this paradigm as 3pSUB-3pOBJ. In the regular, finite paradigm *yara-* functions as a single morpheme; a reanalysis of the bimorphemic form in this paradigm.

One of the striking things about the nominalized paradigm is its symmetry. Recall that a major feature of the regular, non-nominalized paradigm is the asymmetry between 1ST/2ND persons and 3RD persons (see tables 22 and 23). There, 1ST and 2ND person subjects are prefixed, while 3RD person subjects are suffixed. Here all subjects are prefixed, including 3RD person. Furthermore, there is an identity between the 3RD person prefixed forms and the possessive forms on nouns (just as there is for 1ST and 2ND person prefixed forms), as in the following:

1S	ŋa ŋa-zihm	'my house'
	ŋa ŋa-jəi-wo zihm	'the house I made' (the house of my making)
2S	nɨ̃: nə-zihm	'your house'
	nɨ̃: nə-jəi-wo zihm	'the house you made' (the house of your making)
3S	no-e u-zihm	'his house'
	no-e o-jəi-wo zihm	'the house he made' (the house of his making)

Another significant feature of the nominalized paradigm is its near identity with the regular, non-nominalized paradigm. In fact, in those parts of the paradigm with 1ST and 2ND person subjects, the two paradigms are identical (apart from the nominalizer), and the only differences between them lie with 3RD person subjects. This is not the case for some of the other dialects, notably Sheshi and Gamale. In Sheshi, the two paradigms are fully distinct. These points will become important to the discussion of historical developments in chapter 17. In table 27 is an excerpt from the Sheshi paradigms.

Table 27. Contrast between nominalized and non-nominalized forms in Sheshi

	nominalized	regular, non-nominalized
1S-2S	ŋa-V-n-u	-na
1S-2P	ŋa-V-ci-u	-cya
2S-1S	nə-V-əŋ-n-u	-ŋ-na
2S-1P	nə-V-si-n-u	-si-na
1S-3S	ŋa-V-ŋ-u	-ŋa
1S-3P	ŋa-V-əŋ-waŋ	-ŋ-ra

5.3.2 The nominalized interrogative

As already alluded to, the division of verbs into two paradigmatic configurations cuts across every speech act – declarative, imperative, and interrogative. We have seen the nominalized declarative paradigm. The nominalized interrogative paradigm is identical except for an interrogative marker *ro* which occurs immediately after the nominalizer. As such, I will not give the full paradigm, but only the following excerpts using the verb root *poh* 'hit':

2S-3P	nə-ra-poh-wo ro	'You hit them?'
2P-1S	je-poh-na-o ro	'You all hit me?'
3P-2P	ya-poh-ci-u ro	'They hit you all?'
3S-3S	o-poh-wo ro	'He hit him?'

In the regular, non-nominalized form, the same questions would be formed as the following:

2S-3P	nə-ma-ra-poh-ya	'Did you hit them?'
2P-1S	je-ma-poh-na-ya	'Did you all hit me?'
3P-2P	ma-poh-ci-r-ya	'Did they hit you all?'
3S-3S	ma-poh-wa	'Did he hit him?'

For a full discussion of these forms and their differences in pragmatic function see chapter 14.

5.3.3 The nominalized imperative

The nominalized paradigm also intersects with the imperative, in which case the command is 'softened' or made less direct. The semantic consequence of the softened performative is an 'optative' or 'jussive' interpretation. Nominalized imperatives are not as obviously related to the general nominalized paradigm as the nominalized interrogative is. For one thing, the nominalizer *-o* is replaced by an optative suffix *-kə*, so it is hard to say for sure that the form has, in fact, been nominalized.

The feature most different about the nominalized paradigm, however, is the possibility of 3RD person subjects, as in *May he go well*. Where such subjects occur, a prefix *o-/u-* occurs as a kind of dummy 3RD person place holder, as in: *u-rɨ̃ːh-na-o-kə* 'May he see me.' It is the dummy prefix that gives symmetry to the paradigm, and it is 3RD person symmetry with 1ST and 2ND person forms that gives the general impression that we are dealing here with a nominalized paradigm. Without an actual nominalizing morpheme present, all we can say, then, is that the construction 'has the feel' of a nominalization – the general structure of the paradigm parallels that of other nominalizations. Also, in chapter 14 we will see further functional evidence that this construction should be treated as a nominalization.

The nominalized imperative (optative) has many points of similarity with the nominalized declarative we saw in table 26, but with the following differences: with 1ST and 2ND person subjects, the optative morpheme *-kə* replaces the nominalizer *-o*, while with 3RD person subjects, a dummy prefix *o-* occurs at the beginning of the sequence and *-kə* follows 3RD person subjects at the end of the sequence. The differences are summarized with representative examples in table 28.

Table 28. Contrast between nominalized declarative and optative

	INTRANSITIVE:	
	declarative	optative
1P	ge-V-o	ge-V-kə
2P	je-V-o	je-V-kə
3P	ya-V-o	o-V-rə-kə
	TRANSITIVE:	
	declarative	optative
1S-3S	ŋa-V-o	ŋa-V-kə
2S-1S	nə-V-na-o	nə-V-na-kə
3S-1S	o-V-na-o	o-V-na-o-kə

Clearly, the major difference between the two paradigms is anywhere a 3RD person subject occurs. The last line of table 28, 3S-1S, has the following morphological breakdown:

(11) a. DECLARATIVE:
u-cyu:-na-o
3S-look-1S-NML 'S/he looked at me.'

b. OPTATIVE:
u-cyu:-na-o-kə
DUM-look-1S-3S-OPT 'May s/he look at me.'

Based on the 3RD person optative is a jussive construction. The jussive, in fact, is limited to 3RD person subjects. The dummy prefix *o-* is replaced by the hortative prefix

gəh-. In addition, a marker of continuous aspect, *-zya*, can be added optionally preceding the 3RD person subject morphemes *-o*, *-ni*, and *-rə*. This is another feature in which these forms resemble nominalizations. Nominalizations have a default perfective reading, which goes unmarked, plus an optional continuous *-zya*. In tables 29 and 30 are the intransitive and transitive jussive paradigms. (Third person optatives are identical – with the exception that the hortative prefix *gəh-* is replaced by *o-*.)

Table 29. The intransitive jussive

3S	gəh-V-(T)-kə
3D	gəh-V-(T)-ni-kə
3P	gəh-V-(T)-rə-kə

Table 30. The transitive jussive

		1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
	SG	gəh-V-na-(T)-o-kə	gəh-V-ni-(T)-o-kə	gəh-V-(T)-o-kə
3RD	DL	gəh-V-na-(T)-ni-kə	gəh-V-ni-(T)-ni-kə	gəh-V-(T)-ni-kə
	PL	gəh-V-na-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-V-ni-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-V-(T)-rə-kə
		1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
	SG	gəh-V-si-n-(T)-o-kə	gəh-V-ci-n-(T)-o-kə	gəh-ni-V-(T)-o-kə
3RD	DL	gəh-V-si-n-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-V-ci-n-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-ra-V-(T)-ni-kə
	PL	gəh-V-si-n-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-V-ci-n-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-ra-V-(T)-rə-kə
		1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
	SG	gəh-V-si-(T)-o-kə	gəh-V-ci-(T)-o-kə	gəh-ra-V-(T)-o-kə
3RD	DL	gəh-V-si-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-V-ci-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-ra-V-(T)-ni-kə
	PL	gəh-V-si-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-V-ci-(T)-rə-kə	gəh-ra-V-(T)-rə-kə

5.4 Tense, aspect, modality marking

Tense, aspect, and modality markers in Takale Kham are all suffixal forms. Some prefixal forms occur in Nishel, Gamale, and Sheshi but will not be treated here. For some discussion, see chapter 17. For a semantic treatment of tense, aspect, and modality in Kham see chapter 12.

5.4.1 TAM in the regular declarative paradigm

Apart from a few periphrastic forms for some TAM categories in Kham, there are six morphological TAM categories that occur in the regular, non-nominalized paradigm and

only one (plus the default, unmarked category) that occurs in the nominalized paradigm. Half of the six TAM morphemes in the regular paradigm occur between the 1ST or 2ND person object index and the 3RD person subject index, as in 1/2obj-TAM-3subj. The rest occur either following the 3RD person subject index or as split morphemes with the 3RD person subject index falling in the middle. Those that occur between 1ST/2ND persons and 3RD person are the following:

perfective	-ke
continuous	-zya

For declarative verbs in the regular, finite paradigm, then, we get the arrangement shown in table 31.

Table 31. Position classes in the simple declarative

1/2subj-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-	3subj	
		ba		-zya		‘He is going’
ŋa-	ra-	poh		-zya		‘I am hitting them’
		poh	-na	-ke	-rə	‘They hit me’

Recall from an earlier discussion (§5.1.2) that the imperfective marker *-e/-ye* is unmarked in the environment of a 3RD person subject index. Imperfective, then, does not occur in the regular TAM slot, but competes for the 3RD person subject slot. The 3RD person index is dominant and displaces imperfective anywhere it occurs (see table 32).

Table 32. Displacement of imperfective by 3RD subjects

1/2subj-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-IMPFV/	3subj	
		ba	-zya			‘He is going’
		ba		-e	-Ø	‘He goes’
ŋa-	ra-	poh		-ye		‘I am hitting them’
	ya-	poh		(—)	-wo	‘He hit them’
		poh	-na	(—)	-rə	‘They hit me’

Potential mode (a kind of future) is the only TAM marker that follows the 3RD person subject index. (With the ‘probability’ and ‘possibility’ modals only the second half of the morphemes follow the 3RD person index as we shall presently see.) In table 33 are the potential (future) forms.

Table 33. Position classes in the potential paradigm

1/2subj-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-	3subj-	FUT	
		ba			-Ø	-ya	‘He will go’
ŋa-	ra-	poh				-ya	‘I will hit them’
	ya-	poh			-w	-a	‘He will hit them’
		poh	-na		-r	-ya	‘They will hit me’

The other two TAM markers with morphological representations are the probability modal and the possibility modal. Both are bisyllabic, acting as circumfixes to the 3RD person subject forms. Furthermore, both modals can co-occur with continuous aspect. To accommodate this co-occurrence we will have to expand our original position classes (see tables 34 and 35).

Table 34. Position classes with the probability modal

1/2subj-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-	MOD-	3subj-	FUT/MOD	
		ba		-zya	-khi	-ni	-ho	‘They (2) are probably going’
ŋa-	ra-	poh		-zya	-khe		-ho	‘I am probably hitting them’
	ya-	poh		-zya	-khe	-Ø	-ho	‘He is probably hitting them’
		poh	-na	-zya	-khe	-rə	-ho	‘They are probably hitting me’

Table 35. Position classes with the possibility modal

1/2subj-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-	MOD-	3subj-	FUT/MOD	
		ba		-zya	-k	-Ø	-ya	‘He might be going’
		ba		-zya	-ki	-n	-ya	‘They (2) might be going’
ŋa-	ra-	poh		-zya	-k		-ya	‘I might be hitting them’
		poh	-na	-zya	-ke	-r	-ya	‘They might be hitting me’

Notice that with these two paradigms 3RD person singular subject in transitive verbs is unmarked, just as it is in intransitive verbs. Otherwise, we would expect *-khe-o-ho* and *-ke-w-a*, which we do not get.

5.4.2 TAM in the nominalized paradigm

Recall that apart from the default, unmarked TAM category for nominalized verbs it is also possible for continuous aspect *-zya* to occur with those verbs (§5.3.1). The ‘potential’ and other modals do not occur in the nominalized paradigm. In the regular, non-nominalized paradigm *-zya* occurs between the 1ST/2ND person object index and the

3RD person subject index. But in the nominalized paradigm 3RD person subjects are prefixed. Continuous aspect for nominalized verbs, then, occurs immediately preceding the nominalizer *-o*, forming a bimorphemic combination *-zya-o*, as in shown in table 36.

Table 36. Position classes in the simple nominalized paradigm

subj-	3obj-	root	-1/2obj	-TAM	-NML	
o-	Ø-	ba		-zya	-o	'He was going'
ŋa-	ra-	poh		-zya	-o	'I was hitting them'
u-	ni-	poh		-zya	-o	'He was hitting them (2)'
ya-		poh	-na	-zya	-o	'They were hitting me'

Notice that whereas *ya-* occurred as a 3RD plural object in the regular paradigm, it occurs as a 3RD plural subject in the nominalized paradigm. The same is true for *ni-*, the dual form. This polysemy results in a number of word level ambiguities, such as the following:

(12) a. REGULAR PARADIGM:
ya-poh-zya-o
3pOBJ-hit-CONT-3S 'He is hitting them.'

b. NOMINALIZED PARADIGM:
ya-poh-zya-o
3pSUB-hit-CONT-NML 'They were hitting him.'

5.4.3 *TAM in the optative and jussive*

We have already seen the optative and jussive paradigms (tables 29-30). In tables 29 and 30, '(T)' marked the placement of the optional continuous aspect morpheme *-zya*. In table 37 I give the position classes for the two paradigms:

Table 37. Position classes in the optative and jussive

optative:						
DUM-	3obj-	root	-1/2obj	-3subj	-OPT	
o-		ba		-Ø	-kə	'May he go'
o-	Ø-	poh		-wo	-kə	'May he hit him'
o-	ra-	poh		-ni	-kə	'May they (2) hit them'
o-		poh	-na	-rə	-kə	'May they hit me'

jussive:						
HOR-3obj-root-1/2obj-TAM-3subj-OPT						
gəh-		ba	-zya	-Ø	-kə	‘Let him be going’
gəh-	Ø-	poh	-zya	-o	-kə	‘Let him go on hitting him’
gəh-	ra-	poh	-zya	-ni	-kə	‘Let them (2) go on hitting them’
gəh-		poh -na	-zya	-rə	-kə	‘Let them go on hitting me’

5.5 Negative and interrogative marking

The Kham negative and what I will call the ‘direct interrogative’ have homophonous forms – the prefix *ma-*. There is good evidence to suggest that they both derive from the same etymon **ma*, the PTB negative marker. Yes-no questions are a specific kind of alternative question; one in which the scope of possible answers is limited in choice to one of two alternatives, either positive or negative. The form of the full yes-no question, then, is along the order of *Did he do X or did he not do X?* with a negative marker occurring on the second alternative. It is also telling that both negative *ma-* and interrogative *ma-* occur in the same prefixal slot, between 1ST/2ND subjects and 3RD objects.

The direct yes-no question in Kham is apparently an ellipted form of the full alternative question, selecting only the half marked by negation.[3] This, in the modern language, has developed into the ‘direct’ yes-no question and occurs only in the regular, non-nominalized paradigm. Questions with presuppositional bias, the so-called ‘tag questions,’ occur only in the nominalized paradigm, with or without a negative marker according to whether the presupposition is negative or positive. This means, then, that *ma-* has only a negative interpretation in the nominalized paradigm, but either a negative or interrogative interpretation in the regular paradigm depending on other factors. We will explore those factors next.

5.5.1 Ma- *in the regular paradigm*

Where *ma-* co-occurs in the regular, non-nominalized paradigm with certain tense/aspect markers, it can have only an interrogative interpretation. In still other environments *ma-* can have only a negative interpretation, and in all other environments it can have either.

Two environments in which *ma-* has only an interrogative interpretation is with the continuous *-zya* and the future *-ya*, both in the regular, non-nominalized paradigm (see table 38).

[3] In hundreds of pages of text I have only one occurrence of a yes-no question in direct form. The speaker, musing to himself, says: *həi ŋa-do-ke səĩ: həi ŋa-ma-do-ke* ‘Shall I tell him or shall I not tell him?’

Table 38. The interrogative paradigm with *ma-*

With continuous *-zya*:								
1/2subj-INTRG-3obj-root-1/2obj-TAM-3subj-FUT								
	ma-		hu		-zya			‘Is he coming or not?’
	ma-	ra-	rɨ̃:h		-zya	-o		‘Does he see them or not?’
nə-	ma-		rɨ̃:h	-na	-zya			‘Do you see me or not?’
With *-ya*:								
1/2subj-INTRG-3obj-root-1/2obj-TAM-3subj-FUT								
	ma-		hu				-ya	‘Did he come or not?’
	ma-	ra-	rɨ̃:h			-w	-a	‘Did he see them or not?’
nə-	ma-		rɨ̃:h	-na			-ya	‘Did you see me or not?’

i. Ma- *and aspectual flip-flops*

A curious thing about the forms in table 38 is the perfective interpretation of *-ya*, the usual future marker. I have a partial explanation for this reversal, but first I need to present what appears to be another tense switch, but which turns out in the end not to be. The second apparent reversal is between the perfective *-ke* and a future *-ke*, also in co-occurrence with the interrogative *ma-* (see table 39).

Table 39. The interrogative paradigm with *ma-* and *-ke*

With future -ke:								
1/2subj-INTRG-3obj-root-1/2obj-TAM-3subj-FUT								
	ma-		hu				-ke	‘Will he come or not?’
	ma-	ra-	dəi			-wo	-ke	‘Will he find them or not?’
nə-	ma-		dəi	-na			-ke	‘Will you find me or not?’
	ma-		dəi	-ni		-rə	-ke	‘Will they find you or not?’

Here, the marker *-ke*, the usual perfective marker, has a future interpretation with interrogative *ma-*. In the environment of negative *ma-*, on the other hand, *-ke* has its usual perfective interpretation. The syntactic arrangement in table 40, then, partially contrasts with that in table 39.

Comparing the paradigms in tables 39 and 40, future *-ke* occurs in a different slot than perfective *-ke*. We’re dealing with homophonous but distinct morphemes. That they occur in different slots is apparent only in the context of a 3RD person subject. With 1ST and 2ND person subject forms like *nə-ma-dəi-na-ke* or intransitive forms with 3RD person subject like *ma-hu-ke* the interpretation remains indeterminate until we know which slot to assign the *-ke* to, or, alternatively, which interpretation *ma-* has. In the

context of a normal speech situation, of course, there are pragmatic factors which help disambiguate between the possible senses.

Table 40. The negative paradigm with *ma-*

With perfective -ke:							
1/2subj-NEG-3obj-root-1/2obj-TAM-3subj-FUT							
	ma-		hu		-ke		'He didn't come'
	ma-	ra-	dəi		-ke	-o	'He didn't find them'
nə-	ma-		dəi	-na	-ke		'You didn't find me'

Not only do the two *-ke* morphemes occur in different slots, but there is comparative evidence to suggest that they also derive from different etyma. In several of Takale's closest siblings, *-ke* and *-ya* operate in a three term system, *-te* being the other member. The *-te* morpheme occurs as the interrogative counterpart of *-ke*, making clear the distinction between declarative perfective (*-ke*), and interrogative future (*-te*). The forms are in table 41.

Table 41. Distribution of the *-te* morpheme in five dialects

	DECL PFV	NEG PFV	INTRG FUT
Takale	V-ke-3	ma-V-ke-3	ma-V-3-ke
Maikoti	V-ke-3	ma-V-ke-3	ma-V-3-te
Ranmali	V-ke-3	ma-V-ke-3	ma-V-3-te
Hukam	V-ke-3	ma-V-ke-3	ma-V-3-te
Balkoti	V-3-ke	ma-V-3-ke	ma-V-3-te

Looking at the third column of table 41, Takale is the odd man out with its morpheme *-ke* in place of *-te*. Not only does the future *-ke* have a function identical to the *-te* of other dialects, it also occurs in the same morphemic slot – following 3RD person marking. It is highly probable, then, that the future *-ke* of Takale derives from an original **-te*. This, of course, strengthens the argument that the two *-ke*'s are indeed different morphemes, and it is only in certain contexts in the modern language where we get what appears to be a tense reversal.

The morpheme *-ya* does not present the same kind of ambiguity that *-ke* does. The interpretation of *-ya* in combination with *ma-* is only perfective, and the interpretation of *ma-* in combination with *-ya* is only interrogative.

It must still be assumed, however, that the two values for *-ya* come from different etyma. Both *-ke* and *-ya*, in fact, appear to be part of the store of morphological material for tense/aspect in Kham dialects, but with varying interpretations. In Gamale, for instance, the suffix *-ke* marks future, and *ya-*, a prefix, marks perfective – the opposite

of Takale. Furthermore, among Takale's closest siblings, *-ya* is restricted to the interrogative future, and declarative future has its own distinct morpheme *-te*, as in table 42.

Table 42. Distribution of *-te* and *-ya* in five dialects

	DECL FUT	NEG FUT	INTRG PFV
Takale	V-3-ya	ma-V-3-Ø	ma-V-3-ya
Ranmali	V-3-ya	?	ma-V-3-ya
Balkoti	V-3-te	?	ma-V-3-ya
Maikoti	V-3-te	?	ma-V-ya-3
Hukam	V-3-te	?	ma-V-ya-3

The stable parts of the system are the declarative perfective, *-ke* in all dialects, and the interrogative perfective, *ma-* plus *-ya* in all dialects. In between lies the declarative and interrogative future, *-te* or some combination of it, in all dialects except Takale and Ranmali, as in the following:

DECL PFV	DECL FUT	INTRG FUT	INTRG PFV
-ke	-te	-te	-ya

Takale, reduced to two terms for a four-way contrast, has compensated by maximizing on combinations with *ma-*:

DECL PFV	DECL FUT	INTRG FUT	INTRG PFV
-ke	-ya	ma- -ke	ma- -ya

Though only Takale utilizes the same surface forms for perfective and future, all dialects of Kham utilize *ma-* for both negative and interrogative. Most, however, have some morphological means for distinguishing between the two where they would otherwise become ambiguous. In parts of the Gamale paradigm, for example, *ma-* marks negative and *mə-* marks interrogative. In Sheshi the negative and interrogative paradigms can be distinguished by their mutually exclusive morpheme combinations.

ii. Ma- *without aspectual flip-flops*

Ma- occurs also with all other tense/aspects in the regular, non-nominalized paradigm, but with more predictable results than any we have seen up to now. With the imperfective *-e/-ye*, *ma-* can have either a negative or interrogative interpretation, depending on the context, but the imperfective itself remains stable (see table 43).

Table 43. *Ma-* in the imperfective paradigm

1/2subj-NEG-3obj-root-1/2obj-TAM-3subj						
nə-	ma-	ra-	dəi	-ye		'You didn't find them'/ 'Did you find them?'
	ma-		dəi	-ni	-Ø -rə	'They didn't find you'/ 'Did they find you?'
	ma-	ni-	dəi	-Ø	-wo	'He didn't find them'/ 'Did he find them?'

Ma- with the two modals, 'probability' and 'possibility,' has only a negative interpretation, even with the continuous *-zya*, as in:

(13) ma-jəi-zya-khe-rə-ho
NEG-make-CONT-PROB-3P-HO 'They probably aren't making it.'

(14) ma-jəi-ke-r-ya
NEG-make-PSB-3P-FUT 'They might not make it.'

iii. Summary of ma-

Table 44 gives a summary of the prefix *ma-* as it co-occurs with various tense/aspect markers in the non-nominalized paradigm.

Table 44. Interpretation of *ma-* in various contexts

	negative	interrogative	tense reversal
ma- plus *-ya*		√	yes
ma- plus *-zya*		√	no
ma- plus *-ke*	√	√	yes
ma- plus *-e*	√	√	no
ma- plus *-kheho*	√		no
ma- plus *-kya*	√		no

5.5.2 Ma- *in the nominalized paradigm*

Ma- in the nominalized paradigm has only a negative interpretation. Recall that only two aspects are possible in the nominalized paradigm – the default unmarked category corresponding to past tense, and the continuous marked by *-zya*. The continuous together with the default past time of the nominalization yields a past continuous interpretation for *-zya* in this context (except in interrogatives). As we saw earlier, in the non-nominalized paradigm the co-occurrence of *ma-* with the continuous *-zya* yields only an interrogative

interpretation. Here, *ma-* has only a negative interpretation, even in the context of *-zya*, as in:

(15) u-zihm-da o-ma-ba-zya-o
his-house-ALLT 3S-NEG-go-CONT-NML
'He wasn't going home.'

The fact that *ma-* has only a negative interpretation in the nominalized paradigm has consequences for the indirect (nominalized) interrogative. Presupposition becomes part of the mix. Such questions are generally referred to as 'tag questions.' The speaker makes a positive or negative presupposition about a particular state of affairs and then, in effect, asks for a confirmation of whether the presupposition is correct or not. Moravcsik (1971) suggests that the underlying structure of this kind of yes-no question contains a 'copy of the suggested answer.' Tag questions utilize a different interrogative marker, the particle *ro* which occurs after the verb, as in: *nə-re: o-ba-o ro* 'Your husband left?' (It appears he did; am I right?), and *nə-re: o-ma-ba-o ro* 'Didn't your husband leave?' (It appears he didn't; am I right?).

The morphological slot for the negative in nominalized forms is between the subject prefix and the 3RD person object slot, as shown in table 45.

Table 45. *Ma-* in the nominalized paradigm

subj-NEG-3obj-root-1/2obj-				TAM-NML		TAG	
o-		ra-	poh	-zya	-o	ro	'He's hitting them?'
nə-	ma-	ra-	poh		-wo	ro	'You didn't hit them?'

For a full discussion of direct and indirect questions (which includes tag questions) see §14.1.

5.5.3 Prohibitives

Most negative imperatives, i.e. prohibitives, utilize a prefix *ta-* (< PTB *ta) in place of the regular negative *ma-*. In the non-nominalized imperative, *ta-* occurs only with zero or with *-yo*, the marker of the non-immediate. In this negative context zero marks the immediate imperative and *-yo* the non-immediate. In the nominalized paradigm, *ta-* occurs only with the optative, in which case it replaces the dummy prefix *o-*. *Ta-* occurs preceding all other prefixes, as shown in tables 46 and 47.

Table 46. Position classes in the negative imperative paradigm

PROH-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	subj-IMP	
ta-		ba		-ni	‘Don’t go!’
ta-	Ø-	poh		-Ø -yo	‘Don’t hit him!’
ta-	ra-	poh		-ci-n	‘(You dl) Don’t hit them!’
ta-		poh	-si	-c -yo	‘(You pl) Don’t hit us!’

Table 47. Position classes in the negative optative paradigm

DUM-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	3subj-OPT	
ta-		ba		-Ø -kə	‘May he not go’
ta-	Ø-	poh		-wo -kə	‘May he not hit him’
ta-	ra-	poh		-ni -kə	‘May they (2) not hit them’
ta-		poh	-na	-rə -kə	‘May they not hit me’

5.5.4 Negative jussives

Recall that the jussive utilizes a prefix *gəh-* in place of the optative dummy prefix *o-* (table 37). In the negative optative, *ta-* simply replaces the *o-*. Here, the replacement of *gəh-* by *ta-* would render the construction indistinguishable from the optative. Instead, *gəh-* is followed by *ma-* for the negative version, as in table 48:

Table 48. Position classes in the negative jussive paradigm

HOR-NEG-	3obj-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-	3subj-OPT	
gəh-	ma-	ba			-Ø -kə	‘Let him not go’
gəh-	ma- Ø-	poh		-zya	-o -kə	‘Let him not go on hitting him’
gəh-	ma- ra-	poh		-zya	-rə -kə	‘Let them not go on hitting them’

5.6 Derivational affixes

There are two morphological verb derivations in Kham – the transitivizing/causative derivation that increases the valence of the verb, and the detransitivizing/reflexive derivation that decreases the valence of the verb.[4] The benefactive is a periphrastic construction employing a second verb and will be treated in §11.6.2. Both the causative and the detransitive occur immediately next to the verb root with no intervening morphology.[5]

[4] The semantic nature of these derivations will be treated in §11.4 and §11.5. Here I deal primarily with morphology.

[5] It has been frequently observed in cross-linguistic studies that derivational morphemes typically

The causative is a prefix and the detransitivizer a suffix.

5.6.1 Causative morphology

The causative in Kham is formed by the addition of a prefix *sə-* (allomorphs *so-* and *su-*, dependent on vowel harmony), a prefix of solid TB pedigree, immediately preceding the verb root. The derivation is highly productive, and one that applies to virtually all intransitive verbs belonging to the 'patientive' class, as well as to a few in the 'agentive' class. The resulting derivation has immediate consequences in the rest of the morphology. Before derivation the verbs are intransitive with all the characteristics of intransitive verbs discussed earlier in this chapter. After derivation the verbs become fully transitive with accompanying transitive morphology, as in the following:

(16) a. INTRANSITIVE:
ri:h boh-ke
water spill-PFV
'The water spilled.'

b. CAUSATIVIZED:
ri:h so-boh-ke-o
water CAUS-spill-PFV-3S
'He spilled the water.'

(17) a. INTRANSITIVE:
lu:-rə ba:-ke-rə
sheep-PL multiply-PFV-3P
'The sheep multiplied.'

b. CAUSATIVIZED:
u-lu:-rə ya-sə-ba:-ke-o
his-sheep-PL 3P-CAUS-multiply-PFV-3S
'He multiplied his sheep.'

Causativized stems also participate in the nominalized conjugation. As illustration, the two causative forms shown in (16b) and (17b) appear as follows in the nominalized paradigm:

(18) a. ri:h o-so-boh-wo
water 3S-CAUS-spill-NML
'He spilled the water.'

b. u-lu:-rə o-ra-sə-ba:-wo
his-sheep-PL 3S-3P-CAUS-multiply-NML
'He multiplied his sheep.'

Adding the causative to the position classes we have already seen, we get the following two sets, one for the regular paradigm, and the other for the nominalized paradigm (see tables 49 and 50).

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occur closer to the root than inflectional morphemes. Greenberg's (1966) Universal 28 is an example: 'If both the derivation and inflection follow the root, or they both precede the root, the derivation is always between the root and the inflection.' Bybee (1985) invokes a principle of semantic relevance to explain varying degrees of closeness between a stem and its affixes. The more relevant the meaning of an affix to a word, the closer it will occur to the stem.

Table 49. Position of causative morphology in the regular paradigm

1/2subj-NEG-	3obj-CAUS-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-	3subj	
ya-	sə-	thəi		-ke	-o	‘He proclaimed it to them’
	sə-	thəi	-ni	-ke	-rə	‘They proclaimed it to you’
ma- ra-	sə-	thəi			-wo	‘He didn’t proclaim it to them’
ŋa- ma- ni-	sə-	thəi		-e		‘I didn’t proclaim it to them (dl)’

Table 50. Position of causative morphology in the nominalized paradigm

subj-NEG-	3obj-CAUS-	root-	1/2obj-	TAM-NML	
o- ra-	sə-	thəi		-Ø	-wo	‘He proclaimed it to them’
ya-	sə-	thəi	-ni	-Ø	-u	‘They proclaimed it to you’
o- ma- ra-	sə-	thəi		-Ø	-wo	‘He didn’t proclaim it to them’
ŋa- ma- ni-	sə-	thəi		-zya	-o	‘I’m not proclaiming it to them (dl)’

5.6.2 Reflexive/middle morphology

The reflexive/reciprocal/middle derivation applies to a sub-set of all transitive verbs and is marked by the suffix *-si* (< PTB *-s/*si, Benedict 1972) immediately following the verb root. Non-derivational middle marking also occurs on a handful of intransitive verbs having to do mostly with posture and grooming. There is no transitive counterpart to such verbs and there is no indication that they were ever anything other than intransitive.[6] A passive participial construction also employs the suffix.

Reflexives, reciprocals, middles, and passives are all detransitivizing (DT) derivations, and it is this feature that unites them both structurally and conceptually. In the passive participial construction the agent participant is deleted altogether, leaving only a patient subject. In the other three constructions the agent and patient participants are co-referent, and the patient is treated as a ‘non-distinct’ argument (Langacker 1976, Givón 1984) – in effect, as a missing argument. The result is a derived intransitive.

In Kham, all detransitivizing derivations are marked identically, and reciprocal events are distinguished from reflexive ones by the semantics of the verb and by the grammatical number of the subject. That is, a detransitivized event with a singular subject is interpreted as reflexive, while the same detransitivized event with a non-singular subject can be interpreted as reciprocal, reflexive, or either, depending on the semantics of the verb or the pragmatics of the situation. Following are examples of detransitivizing derivations

[6] For a full discussion of semantic issues and constraints in reflexives, reciprocals, and middles, see §11.4.1-ii and §11.4.2-v .

with various interpretations based on the number of the subject and the semantics of the verb:

(a) reflexive interpretation: *səih-si-ke* 'He killed himself'; *mõ:h-si-ke-rə* 'They hid themselves.'
(b) reciprocal interpretation: *dəi-si-ke-rə* 'They met one another'; *guhr-si-ki-ni* 'They carried one other (in turns).'
(c) reflexive OR reciprocal interpretation: *poh-si-ke-rə* 'They hit one another.'/ 'They hit themselves.'
(d) passive/middle interpretation: *cika: chil-si-ke* 'The barley got trampled.'

Detransitivizing derivations also occur regularly on verbs that have been causativized, as in: *sə-gyo:h-si-zya* 'He acts arrogantly' (lit. 'makes himself big'), and *so-soi-si-ke* 'He fattened himself' (as with fine living).

Adding detransitivizing morphology to the position classes we have already seen, we get an additional slot immediately following the root (see tables 51 and 52).

Table 51. Position of detransitivizing morphology in the regular paradigm

1/2subj-	NEG-	CAUS-	root-	DT-	TAM-	3subj	
			poh	-si	-ke	-Ø	'He hit himself'
		so-	soi	-si	-ke	-rə	'They fattened one another'
ge	ma-		dəi	-si	-ke		'We didn't meet each other'

Table 52. Position of detransitivizing morphology in the nominalized paradigm

subj-	NEG-	CAUS-	root-	DT-	TAM-	NML	
ya-			poh	-si	-zya	-o	'They were hitting each other'
ya-		so-	soi	-si	-Ø	-u	'They fattened one another'
ge	ma-		dəi	-si	-Ø	-u	'We didn't meet each other'

5.6.3 *Old lexicalized verb derivations*

Kham has a handful of intransitive/transitive pairs based on an old morphological alternation between stem-final *-s* and stem-final *-t*, respectively. The same alternation can be found in some of the East Himalayish languages where, too, it appears to be mostly a historical relic. The stem finals have been reconstructed for PTB as 'reflexive/middle' and 'directive/causative,' respectively (Wolfendon 1929, Benedict 1972:97-103).[7]

[7] It seems very likely that the intransitive *-s* is ultimately related to the reflexive/detransitive *-si* discussed earlier.

Michailovsky (1985) describes the final *-t* for Limbu as covering a range of related meanings from a 'directive' sense to 'causative,' 'applied,' and 'benefactive.' Unlike Kham, the final *-s* in Limbu almost always associates with transitive or causative, not intransitive.

In modern Kham very few of the verb pairs with stem-final *-s* ~ *-t* alternation remain free of contamination by the causative *sə-* prefix on the transitive member of the pair. Following is a pristine pair illustrating the alternation:

(19) a. INTRANSITIVE:
u-min thas-ke [< * tha-s]
his-name heard-PFV 'His name was heard' (He became famous)

b. TRANSITIVE:
no-e ŋa-pã: thəi-ke-o [< *tha-t]
he-ERG my-word hear-PFV-3S 'He heard my words'

Other pairs include:

Intransitive	Transitive		
bəles-	bəle:-	[< *bəlet-]	'ruin'
pəles-	pəle:-	[< *pəlet-]	'split (of a tree branch)'
cis-	ci:-	[< *cit-]	'tear'

Several variants of the *-s* versus *-t* alternation also occur. In some pairs only one of the members is marked by a stem-final consonant, some by *-s* and some by *-t*, as in the following pairs:

Final *-s* on the intransitive member:

Intransitive	Transitive	
bohs-	bo:h-	'uproot'
kos-	ko:-	'peel'
syuhs-	syu:h-	'strip'

Final *-t* on the transitive member:

Intransitive	Transitive		
kyah-	ke:h-	[< *keh-t]	'break'
tah-	təih-	[< *tah-t]	'collapse/dismantle'

Another variant is one in which the *s-* versus *-t* alternation remains intact, but the transitive member of the pair is also marked with the causativizing prefix *sə-*:

Intransitive	Transitive		
wohs-	so-woih-	[< *woh-t]	'spurt out/squeeze out'

Yet another variant leaves the intransitive member unmarked and marks the transitive member with **-t* together with the causative prefix *sə-*, as in:

Intransitive	Transitive		
co-	so-coi-	[< *co-t]	‘boil’
ku-	su-kui-	[< *ku-t]	‘smoke/make smoke’
mah-	sə-məih-	[< *mah-t]	‘lose’
go-	so-goi-	[< *go-t]	‘swell up’

Verbs whose final consonant is a velar nasal *-ŋ* participate in the transitive–intransitive alternation by marking the transitive member of the pair with the dental nasal *-n*, corresponding to the dental *-t*, as in the following:

Intransitive	Transitive		
coŋ-	so-coĩ-	[< *co-n]	‘sit/seat’

5.7 Serial verbs: concatenation

Verb concatenation is rare in Kham. The usual way of stringing verbs is in clause chains. In such cases the chained verbs are separated by a non-final verb marker, as we shall see in §5.8. Only five verbs participate in concatenative constructions, the fifth of which no longer occurs as an independent verb. The four that still functioning as independent verbs are the following:

-na	‘go’
-hu	‘come’
-ta	‘become’
-duh	‘can, to be able’

The fifth appears to be an old desiderative:

-rih	‘want to/ be about to’

All but *-ta* (and to a lesser extent *-rih*) still maintain their primary sense in at least some constructions. For example, both *-na* and *-hu* still function as independent deictic verbs with the sense of ‘go’ and ‘come,’ respectively, but with an additional ‘purposive’ sense in concatenated structures, as in the following:

(20) a. ba-ke[8]
go-PFV ‘S/he went.’

b. hu-ke
come-PFV ‘S/he came.’

c. har-rə ya-cho-na-ke-o
cow-PL 3P-herd-GO-PFV-3S ‘S/he went to herd cows.’

[8] The verb *ba-*, meaning formerly ‘to walk,’ has taken over the function of *na-* in the Takale dialect. In some other dialects *na-* is still used as the verb ‘go.’

d. ŋa-ẽ:h ŋa-cyu:-hu-ke
my-field 1S-look-COME-PFV 'I came to look at my field.'

In two verbs, at least, *-na* and *-hu* have become lexicalized and no longer separable from the host verb:

cah-na-nya / (*cah-nya) 'to go fetch'
cih-hu-nya / (*cih-nya) 'to come fetch'

Likewise, with non-perfective aspect, the concatenated verb *-duh* still has the sense of 'to be able to,' and in very limited contexts *-rih* has a sense of 'want to,' as in the following:

(21) a. ma-duh-wo
NEG-able-3S:IMPFV
'S/he wasn't able.'

b. la:-kə ŋa-səres-duh-zya
day-AT 1S-recognize-ABLE-CONT
'I can recognize him in the daytime.'

c. yahm ta-ruhp-yo, ge-bahl-si-rih-zya
door PROH-close-IMP, 1P-watch-MM-PROS-CONT
'Don't close the door, we want to watch.'

All of these verbs have taken on secondary functions in the tense/aspect system and are treated in detail in chapter 12. In table 53, I give a summary of their primary and secondary senses.

Table 53. Contrastive interpretation of free and concantenated verbs

	primary sense	secondary sense
-na	'go'	'progressive'
-hu	'come'	'progressive'
-ta	'become'	'inceptive'
-duh	'can, to be able'	'prior past'
-rih	'want to'	'be about to'

5.8 Dependent marking

Also part of the overall morphology of verbs are morphemes that indicate certain dependent relationships. These will be treated in detail in chapter 15. Here I merely list them:

clause chaining morphemes:

-də non-final verb in a clause chain (non-finite), same subject

-kə non-final verb in a clause chain (finite), different subject

complement structures:

-o dependent clause of a complement taking verb

-nya infinitive/dependent clause of some complement verbs

5.9 Summary of position classes

In tables 54-56 is a summary of position classes in verb constructions, both from the nominalized and non-nominalized paradigms. Listed in the columns are members of the closed sets that belong with each slot.

Table 54. Position classes in the regular, non-nominalized paradigm

Declarative:

–5	–4	–3	–2	–1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
1/2SUBJ-DL-		(NEG/INTRG)-	3rdOBJ-	(CAUS)-	root-		(DT)-	(SER)-		1/2OBJ-DL-TAM-		3rdSUBJ-FUT
ŋa-		ma-	Ø-	sə-		-si	-na	-na		-ke	-Ø	-ya
nə-			ni-				-hu	-ni		-zya	-o	-ke
ge-	n-		ya-/ra-				-ta	-si	-n	-e	-ni	
je-			yara-				-duh	-ci			-rə	
							-rih					

Imperative:

–3	–2	–1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
(HOR/PROH)-	3rdOBJ-	(CAUS)-	root-	(DT)-	(SER)-		1/2OBJ-DL-	SUBJ-DL-IMP		
ta-	Ø-	sə-		-si	-na	-na		-ni		-ke
gəh-	ni-				-hu	-si	-n	-ci	-n	-yo
	ya-/ra-				-ta					
	yara-				-duh					
					-rih					

Table 55. Position classes in the full, nominalized paradigm

Declarative, interrogative:												
–5	–4	–3	–2	–1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	(+7)
SUBJ-DL-(NEG)-3rdOBJ-(CAUS)-root-(DT)-(SER)-1/2OBJ-DL-TAM-NML												TAG
ŋa-		ma-	Ø-	sə-		-si	-na	-na		-Ø	-o	ro
nə-			ni-				-hu	-ni		-zya		
ge-	n-		ra-				-ta	-si	-n			
je-							-duh	-ci				
o-/ni-/ya-								-rih				

Table 56. Position classes in the full, optative and jussive paradigms

Optative, jussive:												
–5	–4	–3	–2	–1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
HOR/SUB-DL-(NEG)-3rdOBJ-(CAUS)-root-(DT)-(SER)-1/2OBJ-DL-TAM-3rdSUBJ-OPT												
o-		ma-	Ø-	sə-		-si	-na			-Ø	-o	-kə
gəh-			ni-				-hu			-zya	-ni	
ŋa-			ra-				-ta	-na			-rə	
nə-							-duh	-ni				
ge-	n-						-rih	-si	-n			
je-								-ci				

6 *Modifiers and adjectivals*

'Adjective,' as a natural word class, is almost non-existent in Kham. The entire class is comprised of three native words – 'big,' 'small,' and 'short' (plus 'low' and 'narrow' in some dialects) – and a handful of loan words from Nepali. All other words that serve in a modifying function are derived from some other word class through a nominalizing derivation. I will refer to members of the derived class as 'adjectivals.' All adjectives/adjectivals, whether derived or underived, share certain universal characteristics with a cross-linguistically valid adjective class with functional–typological definitions (Dixon 1977, Croft 1991). Their major function is description/modification rather than categorization/reference (as with nouns), or predication (as with verbs).

6.1 Kham adjective typology

Most modifiers/adjectivals in Kham are derived from verbs. As such, in terms of Dixon's (1977) adjective typology, Kham is a 'strongly verbal' language. In Dixon's classification, however, even strongly verbal languages typically mark at least some members of the 'dimension, age, value, and color' classes as true adjectives. Kham is extreme on this point; no inherent adjectives belong to the value and color classes, while only five belong to the dimension and age classes – *gehppa* 'big,' *zimza* 'small,' *twĩ:za* 'short,' *saŋoro* 'narrow,' and *purã:do* 'old,' the latter two Nepali loans. The physical property class, as predicted, is comprised entirely of 'deep' verbs[1] (except for a handful of adjectives borrowed from Nepali – 'damp,' 'empty,' 'straight,' 'raw,' and 'fine textured').

Another source for modifiers/adjectivals in Kham is a particular kind of noun. Some object is conceptualized as representative of an attribute, and the noun with a 'similative' suffix becomes the derived adjectival. This is much like the process in English whereby words like 'kingly' < 'king-like' have been derived from 'king.' A third source for adjectivals is the locative in its various forms, and a fourth is the 'expressive adverb.' We will look at each of these sources in turn.

6.2 A typology of adjectival sources

Croft (1991) expands on Dixon's typology and proposes at least a partial functional explanation for why adjectives do not have the same clear-cut grammatical status cross-

[1] Dixon's term for the inherent class to which the words belong before derivation.

linguistically as nouns and verbs have. For all three classes, he paints a typological landscape based on the intersection of 'semantic class' and 'pragmatic function,' as shown in table 57.

Table 57. Prototypical correlations of syntactic categories (adapted from Croft 1991:53)

	reference	modification	predication
objects	NOUN		
properties		ADJECTIVE	
actions			VERB

Reading from table 57, if a language has a natural lexical class that makes reference to objects, i.e. the correlation <object, reference>, that class will belong to the syntactic category NOUN with all the prototypical properties associated with that class. Likewise, the lexical class that predicates actions, i.e. the correlation <action, predication>, will comprise the syntactic category VERB, and the lexical class that correlates properties to modification will comprise the natural class of ADJECTIVES.

The reason, Croft suggests, that the category 'adjective' is cross-linguistically less stable than the categories 'noun' or 'verb' is that modification is 'largely an accessory function to reference and predication' (p. 52). That is, restrictive modification has to do with narrowing the identity of the referent, an accessory function to reference; and non-restrictive modification predicates something of the referent, an accessory function to predication. Both kinds of modification occur in Kham and the distinction will become important to our discussion.[2]

It is not surprising, then, that a language like Kham with its very small adjective class, will form modifiers/adjectivals from both verbal and nominal sources. The verbal source is a specific sub-set of all verbs that I will call 'descriptive verbs' – verbs that predicate properties, not actions. Likewise, the nominal source is a special class of noun that can be conceptualized as representative of an attribute/property, and the noun with a 'similative' suffix is a derived noun that names/refers to a property, not an object. The similative noun with further derivation becomes the modifier.

Revising table 57, then, most derived adjectivals in Kham have as their starting point a correlation (in terms of semantic class and pragmatic function) in which one of the parameters is a 'property.' In other words, we are talking about 'descriptive verbs,' a correlation of <property, predication> and 'similative nouns,' a correlation of <property, reference> (see table 58).

[2] For restrictive and non-restrictive ordering of elements in NPs, see §10.1.1 and §10.1.2, and for ordering of relative clauses, see §10.3.

Table 58. Sources for adjectivals in Kham

	reference	modification	predication
objects	PROTOTYPICAL NOUN ⇓		
properties	SIMILATIVE NOUN ⇒ ⇒ ⇒ ⇒ ⇒ ⇒ ⇒ ⇒ ⇒	(adjectivals) ⇐	DESCRIPTIVE VERB
actions			PROTOTYPICAL VERB

Interpreting table 58, adjectivals derived from the natural class of descriptive verbs go through a single derivational step (descriptive verb ⇒ adjectival), while those derived from nouns go through three derivational steps (noun ⇒ similative noun ⇒ descriptive verb ⇒ adjectival). All adjectivals, then, are derived from descriptive verbs at some stage in the derivation.

We will look at each of these sources and their associated derivations in the following sections. First, however, we will begin with a generic class of adjectival pro-forms.

6.3 Pro-forms

There are three adjectival pro-forms in Kham, each with a different initial depending on the modified object's relative distance from the speaker or its 'distance' with respect to the linguistic context – *Ø/a-* 'proximate,' *n-* 'distal,' and *h-* 'remote.' We will see the same three initials occurring repeatedly in other chapters as well: in §7.1.1, §8.1.1, and §9.2. Following are the forms:

(1) a. itao 'like this/this kind'
b. n-itao 'like that/that kind'
c. h-itao 'like that/that kind'

The forms make reference to a quality established by the preceding context and occur in the following kinds of constructions:

(2) a. itao mi:
PROX.kind person 'this kind of a person'

b. n-itao pã: ma-zyas-e
DIST-kind word NEG-suitable-IMPFV 'That kind of talk is unsuitable.'

c. h-itao ci ta-kin da
REM-kind CEP be-IF PROV 'if it's like that, then …'

A fourth form with an *m-* initial results in a form that follows nouns in a kind of 'modifier formation' similar to English 'like' in 'cat-like,' 'tree-like,' etc. Following is an example:

(3) baluwa m-itao kã:
sand SIM-kind food 'sand-like food'

6.4 The verbal source

Nominalized verbs in Kham can function as restrictive modifiers (in which case they precede the head noun), but also in predicate–adjective and predicate–nominative constructions (in which case they follow the head and are non-restrictive) (see §10.1.1 and §10.1.2). Though virtually all verbs can be nominalized and function as restrictive modifiers, only the so-called 'descriptive verbs' display prototypical adjective-like behavior. Thus, taking *gyo:h-nya* 'to be big' as representative of a descriptive verb and *ba-nya* 'to go' as representative of an action verb, we can see fairly deep-seated differences between the two classes.

6.4.1 Nominalized forms as restrictive modifiers

Functioning as restrictive modifiers, action verbs and descriptive verbs are indistinguishable, as in the following:

(4) a. BASE FORM (action verb):
ba-nya
go-INF
'to go'

b. NOMINALIZED FORM:
ba-o mi:
go-NML person
'the person who went'

(5) a. BASE FORM (descriptive verb):
gyo:h-nya
long-INF
'to be big'

b. NOMINALIZED FORM:
gyo:h-wo mi:
big-NML person
'the big person'

Likewise, any of the aspectual morphology appropriate to process/action verbs, i.e. affixes like the continuous *-zya*, the serial progressive markers *-na* 'go' and *-hu* 'come' can also be applied to descriptive verbs (as long as they occur in a function of restrictive modification), yielding a dynamic or progressive interpretation. Consider the following:

(6) a. ACTION VERB WITH DYNAMIC MORPHOLOGY:
ba-zya-o mi:
go-CONT-NML person 'the person who goes'

b. DESCRIPTIVE VERB WITH DYNAMIC MORPHOLOGY:
gyo:h-zya-o mi:
big-CONT-NML person 'the person who grows big'

In (6b), then, we are dealing with a derivation – the descriptive verb is functioning as a process/action verb.

6.4.2 *Nominalized forms as non-restrictive modifiers*

It is in the domain of non-restrictive modification that we begin to see the difference between action/process verbs and descriptive verbs. Only nominalized descriptive verbs can occur in predicate–adjective constructions; nominalized action verbs cannot. The restriction extends to all nominalized actions/processes – even to nominalized descriptive verbs with 'dynamic' morphology (which function as process verbs, as the form in 6b). Thus, not only is *ba-zya-o* (from 6a) disallowed in a predicate–adjective construction, but so is *gyo:h-zya-o*, as in the following:

(7) a. *ao ba-zya-o li-zya
*this go-CONT-NML be-CONT
*'This is one who went.'

b. *ao gyo:h-zya-o li-zya
*this big-CONT-NML be-CONT
*'This is big.'

Nominalized descriptive verbs without 'dynamic' morphology, on the other hand, readily occur in predicate–adjective constructions, while inherent process/action verbs are still disallowed, as in the following contrastive pair illustrates:

(8) a. *ao ba-o li-zya
*this go-NML be-CONT *'This is one who went.'

b. ao gyo:h-wo li-zya
this big-NML be-CONT 'This is big.'

Significantly, nouns, too, are disallowed in constructions like (8a). The verb *li-* is an existential verb that can be used for copula support in predicate–adjective constructions (like 8b), but not in predicate–nominative constructions:

(9) *ao mi: li-zya
*this person be-CONT *'This is a person.'

Predicate nominative constructions occur as equative clauses in Kham – a construction without a verb (see §11.2), as in:

(10) ao mi: zə
this person EMP 'This is a person.'

The nominalized action verb *ba-o* 'one who went,' which was disallowed in a predicate–adjective construction in (8a), is fully grammatical in a predicate–nominative construction, as in *ao ba-o zə* 'This is one who went.'

The deduction to be made is that there is a fairly deep-seated difference between verbs that predicate properties and those that predicate actions/processes. Those that predicate properties, the so-called 'descriptive verbs,' when nominalized, denote a quality/property – an adjectival trait. Those that predicate actions/processes, when nominalized, denote the object that possesses the quality – a nominal trait. As such, only nominalized descriptive verbs qualify for the predicate–adjective construction.[3]

i. The adjectival versus nominal distinction in other constructions

The 'adjectival' versus 'nominal' distinction in nominalized verb roots extends to other constructions as well, namely, the inchoative and causative constructions. Thus, the inchoative verb *ta-ke* 'became' maintains its literal interpretation with nominalized descriptive verbs, but has a deontic sense 'must' with action verbs, as in: *gyo:h-wo ta-ke* 'It became big,' versus *ba-o ta-ke* '(We/they) must go.' Likewise, the causative for nominalized descriptive verbs is *jəi-nya* 'make,' while for action verbs it is *pərɪ̃:-nya* 'send,' as in: *gyo:h-wo jəi-ke-o* 'He made it big,' versus *ba-o pərɪ̃:-ke-o* 'He made him go.' The sequence *ba-o jəi-ke-o* is impossible as a causative.

A possibility we need to eliminate is that the behavioral differences between *gyo:h-* 'big' and *ba-* 'go' may be attributable to the fact that one (*gyo:h-*) is 'patientive' while the other (*ba-*) is 'agentive' (see §11.4.1 and §11.4.2 for details). Verbs like *si-* 'die,' in fact, show that this is not the case. The verb *si-*, like *gyo:h-*, is patientive, but like *ba-* it is a process/action verb. Significantly, with the matrix verbs *ta-* 'become,' and *jəi-* 'make,' *si-* patterns with *ba-*, the action verb, not with *gyo:h-*, the patientive verb, as in: *si-u ta-ke* 'It turned out to be a dead one,' and *si-u jəi-ke-o* 'He made/arranged that it would be a dead one.'

Here again, as with *ba-o*, the nominalized event/process verb *si-u* does not refer to a quality/property, but to an entity, the object that has undergone the eventuality named by the verb root – 'a dead one'/'one that has died.'

ii. The adjectival versus nominal distinction with intensifiers

A test commonly cited as a diagnostic for determining adjective versus noun in other languages is applicable in Kham to the distinction between nominalized descriptive verbs and nominalized action/process verbs. Intensifying adverbs like 'very' can be applied only to those that denote a quality/property, but not to those denoting an entity, as in: *bənəi gyo:h-wo* 'very big,' or *bənəi ca-o* 'very good,' versus **bənəi ba-o* 'very gone,' or **bənəi si-u* 'very dead.'

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[3] Nominalized descriptive verbs can also occur in predicate–nominative constructions, in which case the nominalization is forced to make reference to an entity. That is, it is gains a noun-like interpretation as in *ao gyo:h-wo zə* 'This is a big one.' It is the converse – a nominalized action verb occurring in a predicate–adjective construction – that is not possible.

6.4.3 Sub-sets of descriptive verbs

Now that we have established a difference between 'descriptive verbs' and 'action/process verbs,' we need to look more closely at the descriptive set. At first sight, it appears that at least two types of descriptive verb can be distinguished, with the possibility that the two types represent opposite ends of a continuum. One end of the continuum, what I will call the 'stative' end, is represented by the descriptive verb *ca-nya* 'to be good,' and the other end, the more 'dynamic' end, is represented by a verb we have already seen – *gyo:h-nya* 'to be big.'

i. Derivational and syntactic properties

Verbs that lie at the 'stative' end of the continuum are more restricted in terms of inflectional and derivational possibilities than verbs that lie at the 'dynamic' end. Furthermore, those at the stative end occur most commonly in their nominalized form, not their verbal form. The correlations are illustrated in figure 11.

Figure 11. Correlation between stativity, finiteness, and function

Verbs at the stative end, are, in a sense, more 'adjective-like' than verbs at the dynamic end. That is, they form a fairly coherent, almost separate lexical class, and though they are ultimately derived from verbs, they rarely function as such and display very limited verb morphology. As such, they may represent the beginnings of a new specialization – a class of 'true' adjectives. The infusion of a sizeable number of loan adjectives from Nepali has helped to bolster this small class.

Upon closer inspection, it turns out that descriptive verbs at the 'dynamic' end of the stative/dynamic continuum are simply those capable of predicating processes as well as properties – they function in two different classes and display dynamic qualities only when they function as process verbs. (In fact, it can be demonstrated that most descriptive verbs have this capacity.) As process verbs they can occur with 'eventive' aspects like the perfective, and they can undergo morphological causativization and other derivational processes unavailable to purely stative verbs. In the following examples I contrast the two ends of the continuum with the verbs *ca-nya* 'to be good,' and *gyo:h-nya* 'to be big.'

(11) NOMINALIZED FORM:

a.	ca-o	'good'
b.	gyo:h-wo	'big'

(12) CONTINUOUS ASPECT (the default 'stative' aspect):
a. ca-zya 'It is (generally) good.'
b. gyo:h-zya 'It is (generally) big.'

(13) PERFECTIVE (the default 'eventive' aspect):
a. *ca-ke *
b. gyo:h-ke 'It became big.'/'It grew.'

(14) CAUSATIVE:
a. *sə-ca-ke-o *
b. sə-gyo:h-ke-o 'He enlarged it.'

(15) CAUSATIVE-REFLEXIVE:
a. *sə-ca-si-ke *
b. sə-gyo:h-si-ke 'He made himself big.' (acted arrogantly

The verb root 'big,' in (11b) and (12b) predicates a property (a stative quality), while in examples (13b) through (14b), it predicates a process/action – 'to grow,' 'to enlarge,' etc. (a dynamic quality). The verbs represented in the examples by 'good,' on the other hand, are incapable of predicating processes/events – they function purely as descriptive/stative verbs.

ii. Descriptive verbs with nominal morphology

There is at least one other test that illustrates the distinction between descriptive verbs at the stative end of the continuum in figure 11 and those at the dynamic end. As we saw earlier, descriptive verbs from the stative end, when nominalized, denote properties, while those from the dynamic end are more prone to denote entities. Thus, applying nominal morphology to the two nominalized word forms 'good' and 'big,' we get different interpretations reflecting the distinction between 'properties' and 'entities,' as in:

(16) VERBS FROM THE STATIVE END (denoting properties):
a. ca-o-sə ba-ke
good-NML-ASC go-PFV 'He went well.'

b. tubu ca-o-da ba-ke, tubu ma-ca-o-da ba-ke
one good-NML-ALLT go-PFV, one NEG-good-NML-ALLT go-PFV
'One went toward the good, and one went toward the evil.'

(17) VERBS FROM THE DYNAMIC END (denoting entities):
a. gyo:h-wo-sə ba-ke
big-NML-ASC go-PFV 'He went with the big one.'

b. gyo:h-wo-da ba-ke
big-NML-ALLT go-PFV 'He went toward the big one.'

iii. Distribution of descriptive verbs in text.

Distribution counts in natural text, though only artifacts of the 'descriptive' versus 'process' distinction we have already established, tend to corroborate the notion that most descriptive verbs belong to the same class as 'big.' Such verbs are largely unpredictable – they are just as likely to be used as process verbs (hence, main clause predicates) as they are as descriptive verbs (hence, modifiers). Only verbs at the 'stative' end of the continuum (i.e. in the purely descriptive class) can be said to occur most often as nominalized modifiers.

Though I have not done a full statistical analysis to determine the exact correlations of nominalized forms to verbal forms, I did conduct a simple computer search on a few select items in several hundred pages of text corresponding to each of Dixon's semantic classes ('dimension,' 'age,' 'value,' and 'color'). Table 59 gives the results.

Indeed, the descriptive verb roots 'small,' 'new,' 'good,' and 'red' occur in the corpus only in their nominalized word forms. Counterexamples, however, are easy to find. In the same corpus, for example, 'long' and 'short,' also descriptive verbs of dimension, occur in their verbal and nominalized word forms with almost equal frequency. 'Big,' in fact, occurs more frequently in its verbal form than it does in its nominalized form – 127 occurrences nominalized and 185 did not. The reason is one that I have already suggested – the root for 'big' occurs also as a formative in 'process/action' predications like 'to grow,' 'to enlarge,' 'to exalt,' and 'to act proudly.' Roots at the stative end, like 'good' and 'new,' are only descriptive.

Table 59. Statistical correspondence of nominalized forms to verbal forms

Class	Gloss	Nominalized form	Verbal form	% Nominalized
dimension	'small'	64 occurrences	0 occurrences	100
	'big'	127	185	41
	'long'	7	4	64
	'short'	3	3	50
age	'new'	144	0	100
value	'good'	502	0	100
color	'red'	23	0	100
(control)	'fall'	7	22	24

The occurrence of 'red' in the corpus, a descriptive verb that can also occur as a process verb (as in 'to redden'), shows that we cannot rely on purely statistical criteria to determine word class – it occurs in the corpus only in its nominalized word form, though we might expect ambivalent distributions more in keeping with what we find for 'long' or 'short.'

Similar distributions can be found for 'physical property' verbs. Though most such verbs, I suspect, occur more frequently in their nominalized word form than they do in

their verbal form (especially those that indicate inherent properties typically associated with objects – things like texture, taste, weight, and shape), here too we can find unpredictable distributions. The verb root for 'heavy,' for example, occurs in the corpus only as a modifier (i.e. in its nominalized form), while its antonym, the verb for 'light,' occurs just as frequently as a predicate. In the corpus, this is due to a specific story with reference to 'lightening a load.'

6.4.4 Participials

Any transitive verb can serve in a modifying function through what I call 'participial derivation.' Participials are formed by detransitivizing the verb and then nominalizing it. In such a construction all traces of the agent are deleted and the patient is promoted to subject status. (See §11.7.2 for further discussion.) Following are examples:

(18) a. phəi-si-u yahm
open-DETRANS-NML door
'an open door'

b. ri:h-ye sə-chəĩ-si-u ja:-ɾə
water-INSTR CAUS-pure-DETRANS-NML vessel-PL
'vessels purified by water'

6.5 The native class of pure adjectives

Having looked at descriptive verbs and the ability most of them have to function as both modifiers and predicators, we are now in a position to look at the very small, closed class of pure adjectives with native origins. There are only three in the Takale dialect – *gehppa* 'big,' *zimza* 'small,' and *twĩ:za* 'short' – with a few more occurring in other dialects – *dehmza* 'low,' and *cu:za* 'narrow.' All are lexically frozen variants of the nominalized verbs *gyo:h-wo*, *zim-o*, *twĩ:-wo*, *dehm-o*, and *cu:-wo*. What distinguishes them is the old augmentative/diminutive marker occurring in place of the nominalizer. The suffix *-pa* derives from the PTB morpheme **pa* for the male of a species, and the suffix *-za* from the PTB morpheme **za* for the offspring of a species (Benedict 1972). The former is augmentative and the latter diminutive. In these forms, the adjectives have no derivational possibilities and function purely as adjectives:

(19)

nominalized verb		adjective	
gyo:h-wo	~	gehppa	'big'
zim-o	~	zimza	'small'
twĩ:-wo	~	twĩ:za	'short'
dehm-o	~	dehmza	'low'
cu:wo	~	cu:za	'narrow'

6.6 The nominal source

Only certain kinds of nouns can be turned into modifiers. The major requisite is that the noun be conceptualized as representative of an attribute. Semantically, then, these modifiers fall into the same conceptual domain as those derived from verbs – they predicate attributes of size, shape, texture, color, quality, and the like. More specifically, however, they usually predicate human and other animate attributes. In Dixon's sample of languages (1977), this part of the semantic landscape, what he calls 'human propensity,' is dominated even in strongly verbal languages by nouns. I have extended the class to include 'human characteristics.' In Kham, too, the underived sources are nominal – sufficient, it seems, to fit the typology.

The adjectival suffix occurring on nouns includes the nominalizing suffix *-o* we saw on verbs, but includes a string of other affixes as well – footprints of the three-step derivational process shown in table 58. I refer to the suffixal string as the 'similative' suffix,[4] translated roughly as 'like,' in the sense of 'having characteristics like X.' One form of the suffix string is *-syaso* which is transparently relatable to the independent word *syaso* 'like,' as in the following examples:

(20) a. zihm syaso
house like
'like a house'

b. kətər-syaso
ceiling.plank-SIM
'small, diminutive (esp. of a person)'

Elsewhere the similative suffix can occur in other forms, with initial consonants other than *s-* followed by the same sequence *-yaso*, as in:

(21) a. gohldõ:-gyaso < gohldõ:
'bell shaped body' 'large bell'

b. tipəl-kyaso < tipəl
'small bodied' 'small bladed knife'

c. khəga-lyaso < khagə
'white necked' 'silver neck band'

d. gyahmə-ryaso < gyahmo
'reddish' 'red'

I suspect, however, that the independent word *syaso* itself is a neologism based on a reanalysis of the frequently occurring sequence *-syaso* in the semantic context of 'having X-like characteristics.' As a word, *syaso* occurs in no other Kham dialect and appears to have come from a combination of what I will tentatively posit as a series of four suffixal morphemes: **-s-ya-s-o*. It is very likely that the source of the first *-s* is the reflexive/detransitive suffix **-s* from PTB. The same **-s* is also the source of the suffix

[4] Later, I will take a narrower interpretation and refer only to the *-ya* in *-s-ya-s-o* as the similative.

-si in (22b) and (23b):

(22) a. gyã:h-s-ya
'a paralytic, invalid'
b. gyã:h-si-nya
lie-DETRANS-INF 'to lie down'

(23) a. ki-s-ya
'a cripple'
b. ki-si-nya
bind-DETRANS-INF 'to be bound'

The morpheme *-ya* following *-s*/*-si* is a kind of formative for descriptive names (it occurs on nouns too as we shall soon see). Another piece of evidence that *-s-ya* is a sequence of two morphemes, the first of which is a detransitivizer, comes from intransitive verbs not requiring detransitivization in the formation of descriptive names. Significantly, only *-ya* occurs:

(24) a. pul-ya
'an epileptic'
b. pul-nya
epilepsy-INF 'to have a seizure'

We have yet to identify the *-s-o* part of *-s-ya-s-o*. Recall that the major requisite for a noun to be converted to a modifier is that the noun be conceptualized as representative of an attribute. Thus, the 'descriptive nouns' in (22a–24a) ending in the similative suffix *-ya* now qualify as bases for further derivation. An additional *-s* qualifies the resulting sequence as a verb root, and an *-s* plus *-o* as a modifier/adjectival, as in:

(25) a. gyã:h-s-ya-s-nya
level-DETRANS-SIM-VBL-INF
'to become paralyzed'
b. gyã:h-s-ya-s-o
level-DETRANS-SIM-VBL-NML
'paralyzed'

(26) a. pul-ya-s-nya
epilepsy-SIM-VBL-INF
'to become epileptic'
b. pul-ya-s-o
epilepsy-SIM-VBL-NML
'epileptic'

It is likely that the final *-s*, which serves here as a kind of verbalizer, has the same ultimate source as the first *-s* in *-s-ya-s-o* (in a recursive derivational cycle). In §5.6.3 we saw vestiges in Kham of an old system dating to Proto-Kiranti, in which **-s* occurs on the intransitive member of certain verb pairs, while **-t* occurs on the transitive member. The final *-s* we see in the similative derivation is likely the old intransitive formative. It occurs as a verbalizer on a few other nouns, too, which are not part of the similative derivation, as in:

(27) a. bohrla
'tuft, fur'
b. bohrla-s-nya
tuft-VBL-INF
'to become furry'
c. bohrla-s-o
tuft-VBL-NML
'furry, fluffy'

(28) a. ju:ca
'old woman'
b. ju:ca-s-nya
old.wom-VBL-INF
'to grow old (women)'
c. ju:ca-s-o
old.woman-VBL-NML
'old (of a woman)'

The final step in similative derivation, then, is the same as for adjectival derivation from verbs – the derivation from noun to modifier goes through verbs. But though the derivation goes through verbs it rarely stops there; similatives occur overwhelmingly in their modifying function, not their predicative function.

In (21) we saw that the full similative suffix is not always *-syaso*, but also *-ryaso*, *-gyaso*, and several others. We have identified a probable source for *-s* in *-syaso* as the PTP detransitivizing suffix **-s*. The source of the other consonants, however, is much more obscure. In some cases, the extra consonant has its source in the underlying noun, and in other cases not. The following, for example, is a hint at the kinds of things that might be involved in an initial *-c* in *-cyaso*:

(29) a. kap-nya
'to pick up with chopsticks, tongs; to carry in the beak'

b. kap-ci
pinch-INSTR?
'pincers'

c. kap-c-ya
pinch-INSTR?-SIM
'anything forked, V-shaped' (as a crossroads)

The form in (29b) seems a probable source for the descriptive noun in (29c). Alternatively, (29c) could conceivably be a source for (29b) in a process of back formation. The descriptive/attributive noun in (29c), in turn, becomes the base for a verbal derivation:

(30) kap-c-ya-s-nya
fork-INSTR?-SIM-VBL-INF
'to fork' (as the branches of a tree)

which in turn forms the base for the adjective nominalization:

(31) kap-c-ya-s-o
fork-INSTR?-SIM-VBL-NML
'forked'

6.6.1 Nominal source in Nepali descriptive nouns

Descriptive words borrowed from Nepali are perhaps the most common source for similative derivations. They are particularly amenable because of their *-e* ending (which may, in fact, turn out to be the source of the Kham similative *-ya*). Here I present a few of many possible examples (with Nepali definitions from Turner 1931):

Nepali *bhirale* 'steep hillside' > Kham *behral-ya* 'hill-like,' *behral-ya-s-nya* 'to become hill-like,' *behral-ya-s-o* 'sloping.'

Nepali *ThuTe* 'hornless' > Kham *thut-ya* 'anything with cut off extremities (as a short sleeved shirt),' *thut-ya-s-nya* 'to get extremities cut off,' *thut-ya-s-o* 'having cut off extremities, stump legged.'

Nepali *həledo* 'tumeric powder' > Kham *həlid-ya* 'tumeric-like,' *həlid-ya-s-nya* 'to turn yellow,' *həlid-ya-s-o* 'yellow.'

Nepali *dhusro* 'ash-colored' > Kham *dwi:hr-ya* 'dust-like,' *dwi:hr-ya-s-nya* 'to get dirty/dusty' (of a fighting bull casting up dirt with its horns), *dwi:hr-ya-s-o* 'dirty' (but also 'belligerent' from association with a fighting bull).

6.6.2 Gender distinction

There is some gender distinction in similative modifiers, especially when the modifier makes reference to livestock – *-ya* marks masculine, and *-i* marks feminine. The source of the distinction is undoubtedly Nepali:[5]

(32) a. dəohl-ya-s-o < Sanskrit dhəula 'white'
white-MASC.SIM-VBL-NML 'white footed' (of an ox or bull)

b. du:hl-i-s-o
white-FEM.SIM-VBL-NML 'white footed' (of a cow)

(33) a. gyahm-ər-ya-s-o < Kham gyahmo 'red'
red-??-MASC.SIM-VBL-NML 'reddish' (of an ox or bull)

b. gyahm-ər-i-s-o
red-??-FEM.SIM-VBL-NML 'reddish' (of a cow)

6.6.3 Sources for similative nouns/modifiers

The words in table 60 have been chosen to give an idea of the kinds of nouns that can serve as a base for similative modifiers. As can be seen in the table, the nouns must first be capable of being conceptualized as representative of an attribute. The resulting modifier, then, is like the original noun only through the attributive feature that is common to both.

[5] Classical Tibetan, for example, has a gender distinction *-po*/*-mo*. In Nepali the gender distinction comes from the height of the vowel, *-i* being feminine.

Table 60. Typical nominal sources for similative modifiers

buchula	'adze'	>	*buchulyaso*	'tooth protruding from the gums'
korop	'stitch'	>	*koropcyaso*	'scarred' (on the face)
nakira	'wooden pin'	>	*nakiryaso*	'skinny, spindly'
ral	'egg white'	>	*ralyaso*	'slimy'
juhpurya	'overhang'	>	*juhpuryaso*	'surly, having a protruding brow'
jusulya	'caterpillar'	>	*jusulyaso*	'excessively hairy'
pitəlya	'brass-like'	>	*pitəlyaso*	'having reddened eyes'
kucurya	'hard to extract'	>	*kucuryaso*	'stingy, miserly'

6.7 The locative source

I will discuss modifiers with a locative source more fully in §10.3.1-iii. Here I give a few representative examples to illustrate how locatives can be used to modify nouns. Locatives and locative combinations ending in the locative *-kə*, the adessive *-ŋə*, the inessive *-lə*, and the superessive *-tə* can modify nouns after the addition of the nominalizing suffix *-o*, as in the following (which is representative of the whole class): *zihm-lə* 'in the house' > *zihm-la-o* baza 'a chicken (bird of-in the house).'

Locatives and locative combinations ending in the ablative *-ni*, the elative *-kin*, the delative *-tin*, the lative *-pəi*, the orientative *-səi*, and the associative *-sə* can modify nouns with the addition of the nominalizing suffix *-ka-o*, as in: *ŋa-sə* 'with me' > *ŋa-sə-ka-o* mi: 'the person with me.'

Locatives and locative combinations ending in the allative *-da* can modify nouns with the addition of the nominalizing suffix *-ŋa-o*, as in: *a-da* 'to here' > *a-da-ŋa-o lũ:* 'the stone (closer) to here.'

There are a number of Nepali loan words, originally nouns, that are used primarily as modifiers in Kham. They have been converted to a modifying function by the addition of the nominalized locative suffix *-ka-o* (-LOC-NML):

(34) a. dəhnya-ka-o < Nepali dhənya 'blessed'
'praiseworthy'

b. sohjo-ka-o < Nepali sojho 'straight'
'healthy, whole'

c. əcəmbə-la-o < Nepali əcəmmə 'amazement'
'amazing'

d. ləchin-la-o < Nepali ləkshən 'good luck'
'well behaved' (of children)

6.8 The expressive source

Most, though not all, expressive adverbs can be derived to function as modifiers by the addition of a nominalizing suffix *-o*. (See §8.5 for a full discussion of the root class.) Following are a few representative examples of nominalized expressives:

(35) a. cəkə cəkə si:-nya > cəkə cəkə-o
(expressive) sweep (expressive)-NML
'to sweep clean' 'swept clean'

b. curup curup thɪ̃:-nya > curup curub-o
(expressive) dry (expressive)-NML
'to dry with curled edges' 'shriveled, curled'

c. dɨ: dɨ: wã:h-nya > dɨ: dɨ:-wo
(expressive) full (expressive)-NML
'to be full to satiation' 'satiated'

The derived adjectivals (those occurring in the right-hand column above) function most commonly in predicate–adjective constructions like *cəkə cəkə-o li-zya* 'It's swept clean.'

Many of the expressive adverbs can themselves be traced to a verbal origin (see §8.6.2.) A fairly transparent case involves the PTB root *pur 'to fly.' As a verb root it occurs in Kham as *buhr-nya* 'to fly.' As an expressive it occurs as *buhr buhr* with the verb *kil-si-nya* 'to twist' meaning 'to whirl about' (of snow), and also as *phur phur* with the verb *buhr-nya* 'to fly' meaning 'to fly high into the air.' As a modifier, *phur phur-o* carries over the meaning it has when occurring as an adverb of fly – 'high, lofty.'

6.9 The loan source

A considerable number of adjectives in Kham have been borrowed from Nepali virtually unchanged. These adjectives, apart from the very small class of three native adjectives, are the only lexical items that can be said to form a true adjective class – they are underived from other parts of speech. Following is a partial list:

(36) a. basi 'stale'
b. cəlak 'clever'
c. dəhni 'rich'
d. gərip 'poor'
e. khali 'empty'
f. mamuli 'ordinary'
g. murkhə 'foolish'
h. nəkəli 'counterfeit'
i. phuri 'filthy'
j. sidah 'straight'

6.10 Oppositions: antonyms and complements

A universal feature of nominal modifiers is the occurrence of many of them in opposing pairs; pairs like long/short, hot/cold, and so on. When dimension and physical property

adjectives occur in antonym pairs, the positive member of each pair is the unmarked member (the one without presupposition in questions – Dixon 1977:33). Often, a noun based on the unmarked member occurs to describe the parameter in question. In Kham, too, the unmarked member of some pairs has a corresponding noun, as in the following:

(37)		unmarked	marked	nominal
	a.	khyo:-wo	twĩ:-wo	o-r-khyo:
		long	short	its-length
	b.	gis-o	bom-o	u-r-gis
		heavy	light	its-heaviness
	c.	jẽ:h-wo	dehm-o	o-r-jẽ:h
		high	low	its-height
	d.	rã:-wo	saŋoro	o-rã:
		wide	narrow	its-width
	e.	nəb-o	khəsəras-o	o-r-nəp
		fine	coarse	its-fineness
	f.	the:-wo	zəhra:-wo	o-r-thes
		tight weave	loose weave	its-tightness of weave

In a few cases the noun is primary and the modifiers are formed from the nominal, as in the following:

(38)	a.	u-r-jĩ:	b.	u-r-jĩ:	le-o
		3S-(r)-depth		3S-(r)-depth	be-NML
		'its depth'		'deep' (lit. 'having depth')	

There are also numerous antonymic pairs without a corresponding noun to describe the quality of the unmarked member. They include: *kha-o/jyahs-o* 'hard/soft,' *ta:h-wo/sür-o* 'sweet/sour,' *rũ:h-wo/bəhra:-wo* 'thick/thin,' *soi-wo/phyab-o* 'fat/skinny,' and many more.

In many antonymic pairs the marked member of the opposition has the negative prefix *ma-*. The most obvious of these is the pair 'good' versus 'bad,' where 'bad' is negative-good. Following are a few such modifiers: *ca-o* 'good' versus *ma-ca-o* 'bad' (no-good), *kəs-o* 'tight' versus *ma-kəs-o* 'not-tight,' and *sül-o* 'slippery' versus *ma-sül-o* 'not-slippery.'

In at least a few cases, similative modifiers (see §6.6) have moved in to fill part of the semantic space occupied by the negative pole. I say 'part of the space' because the negative is still the preferred form for the negative pole in these examples. The similative is highly marked and specific:

(39)

	unmarked	negative	marked
a.	cha-o	ma-cha-o	buhtyas-o
	sharp (edged)	not sharp	dull
b.	tyab-o	ma-tyab-o	buhtənyas-o
	sharp (pointed)	not pointed	dull (lit. 'like a stirring stick')
c.	dã:-wo	ma-dã:-wo	baŋgyas-o
	straight	not straight	crooked
d.	mwi:li-u	ma-mwi:li-u	kogoryas-o
	pliable	not pliable	stiff, brittle

In still others, Nepali loan words have moved into the space occupied by the marked pair, as in:

(40)

	unmarked	marked (Nepali loan)
a.	mĩ:h-wo	kaco
	cooked, ripe	raw, unripe
b.	sahr-o	purã:do
	new	old

Many nominal modifiers are not paired at all, not even with the negative prefix. Color terms are a case in point. That is, something can only be 'red'; it cannot be 'not-red.' The same can be said for shapes. In some ways, modifiers that resist the negative behave like the marked member of an antonym pair. The marked member of such a pair already has an implicit negative built in, and presumably for that reason cannot receive further negation:

(41)

	unmarked	marked	negative
a.	ŋəm-o	chem-o	*ma-chem-o
	tasty, delicious	tasteless, insipid	
b.	sahr-o	purã:do	*ma-sahr-o
	new	old	
c.	gis-o	bom-o	?ma-bom-o
	heavy	light	

7 *Locatives, dimensionals, and temporal adverbs*

In this chapter we will examine three related classes of words – locatives, dimensionals and temporal adverbs. In some cases, a single root can function in all three classes, distinguished, in part, by the syntactic arrangement of affixes, and in other cases only by pragmatics.

7.1 Locatives

Locative expressions can be separated into two classes, the first of which is tied historically to the second. The first class – a class of bound roots that deals entirely with deixis and location – is used to express primitive notions like 'proximate/distal,' 'up/down,' 'front/back,' and so on. Such roots never occur without the intervention of locative suffixes (see §4.4 for a treatment of these suffixes).

The second class is really a special class of nouns that have been referred to by some as 'relator nouns' (Starosta 1985). I deal with them here because of their close semantic and evolutionary ties to the locative class. There are important similarities in syntactic behavior too. Like the special class of locative roots and unlike regular nouns, locative suffixes are an obligatory part of the morphological structure of relator nouns.

7.1.1 Deictic primitives

There are nineteen bound locative roots, ten of which I will refer to as 'deictic primitives.' The ten primitives[1] serve as bases in simple expressions like 'this/that,' 'here/there,' etc. They also serve as bases for more complex locations utilizing locative root strings like 'this/that side of the river.' All of them are anchored by default to the speaker or to the discourse location as their deictic center. That is, 'down,' with no other specification, is 'down from here' or 'down from where we are in the story.' We will contrast these later with notions like 'beside' which always require an explicit anchor before they make sense. The deictic primitives are:

(1) a. a- 'proximate'
b. nə-/n- 'distal (within view)'

[1] Four of the primitives, namely *nə-* 'distal,' *hu-* 'remote,' *ŋah-* 'front,' and *chĩ:-* 'back,' occur also as temporal roots and will be discussed further in §7.2. The crossover from space to time is, of course, a well established universal and has been documented in numerous languages.

c.	ho-/hu-/h-	'remote'
d.	ro-/ru-	'up'
e.	me-	'down'
f.	ŋah-	'front'
g.	chĩ:-	'back'
h.	wor-	'right'
i.	dabərya-	'left'
j.	kan-	'where?'

The roots 'front,' 'back,' 'right,' and 'left' differ slightly from the rest in that they can occur also with optional possession. Where they do, they resemble 'relator nouns,' a group that we will look at in §7.2. What interests us here is their occurrence without possession.

Another two roots, both free, occur with similar suffixal possibilities.[2] Both come originally from Nepali, and are:

(2)	a.	pahar	'sunny side, south facing slope'
	b.	jimər	'shady side, north facing slope'

With obligatory suffixing, the deictic primitives occur in simple combinations like the following (I show all possible combinations in table 62):

(3)	a.	a-o	'this'
		a-ŋə	'around here'
	b.	n-o	'that'
		nə-kə	'there'
	c.	ho-da	'to there'
		hu-ni	'from there'
	d.	ro-tə	'up above'
		ru-tin	'down from above'
	e.	me-lə	'in the area below'
		me-da	'downward'
	f.	ŋah-kə	'out in front'
		ŋah-da	'earlier'
	g.	chĩ:-tə	'in the rear'
		chĩ:-ni	'later'

[2] It is presumably from free roots like these that the process of grammaticalization toward case marking begins. Starosta (1985) shows that such locational nouns constitute what he refers to as Stage I (out of V) – the stage before grammatical distinction from other nouns. (Stage II in Kham can be seen beginning in §7.2.)

h. wor-da ‘to the right’
i. dabərya-ni ‘from the left’

j. kan-da / kan-a ‘where to?’
kan-kə ‘where at?’

7.1.2 *Second position landmark locations*

The ten primitives illustrated in (3) can combine with a special set of four ‘landmark’ locations, forming compounds with them – ‘general area,’ ‘up-country area,’ ‘side of a mountain,’ and ‘side of a valley.’ The landmark locatives differ from the deictic primitives in that they require an explicit deictic anchor. They have no default discourse or speaker–oriented deixis of their own. Where they combine with the primitives, the primitives provide the deictic anchor. Where they occur immediately following nouns, the nouns are the anchor. Following are the four roots:

(4) a. ji:- ‘area’
b. ya:- ‘area’ [3]
c. tɨ:- ‘one side of a mountain (default) / one side of two’
d. phə- ‘one side of a valley (default) / one side of two’

Complex stems, like the primitive ones, occur with obligatory locative suffixes. These locatives, like the primitives, commonly occur in semantic pairs forming oppositions like: ‘here’ versus ‘there,’ ‘right’ versus ‘left,’ ‘this side of the river’ versus ‘that side of the river,’ ‘the upper side of the mountain’ versus ‘the lower side of the mountain,’ ‘the area in front’ versus ‘the area in back,’ etc. Following are examples, some anchored to deictic primitives and some to nouns:

(5) a. a-ya:-lə
prox-area-IN
‘in this area/around here’

zihm ya:-lə
house area-IN
‘in the area around the house’

b. ŋah-ji:-da
front-area-ALLT
‘in the area out front’

zihm ji:-da
house area-ALLT
‘in the area of the house’

c. hu-tɨ:-da
rem-mountain.side-ALLT
‘to the far side of mountain’

zihm tɨ:-da
house toward-ALLT
‘toward the house’

d. wor-phə-tə
right-side-ON
‘on the right side’

pahar phə-tə
sunny.side side-ON
‘on the sunny/south facing slope’

[3] Only as an independent root does this root mean ‘upriver, upcountry.’

Following is the only exception I am aware of regarding obligatory suffixation. The expression is a couplet, requiring both *aphi* and *huphi*:

e. a-phi hu-phi
prox-side rem-side
'both sides of the river, both sides of the street'

7.1.3 Other locative roots with unmarked deixis

Another five locative roots resemble the deictic primitives in that they occur with unmarked deixis. Like the primitives, these have a kind of 'discourse deixis' and cannot be anchored directly to nouns (in opposition to what we saw with the landmark locatives). Furthermore, none of these serve as primitives for other locative combinations. The five roots are:

(6) a. ya:- 'upriver, upcountry' [4]
b. tɨ̃:- 'aside, on a tangent'
c. əchətə- 'apart, separate'
d. lã:h- 'outside'
e. gyã:h- 'level'

Following are examples in simple sentences: *ya:-da ba-ke* 'He went upcountry/upriver,' *paĩh tɨ̃:-da jəi-si-ke-rə* 'They all aligned themselves to one side' (as in political affiliation), *əchətə-ŋə li-ke* 'S/he remained separate,' *lã:h-da pulus-ke* 'S/he went outside,' *gyã:h-ni hu-ke* 'S/he came on the level.'

The final root, *gyã:h-*, can also have the sense of 'via,' 'by way of' in certain complex combinations. In such cases the root occurs without suffixes:

(7) ru-ni-ka-o gyã:h ba-ke
up-ABLT-ADS-NML level go-PFV
'He went by the upper (route).'

7.1.4 Position classes and combinations

What we have seen so far are two stem slots, the first occupied by deictic primitives and the second by landmark locatives.[5] The two stem slots are followed by two suffix slots, occupied by the same locative and directional postpositions as on nouns (see §4.4). This gives us the configuration shown in table 61.

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[4] The root *ya:-* serves also in the landmark class, but with a bleached meaning, 'area,' which is synonymous with *ji:-*. Here we very likely see its original meaning.

[5] In the Sheshi dialect, the second position locative, in at least some cases, is nominalized before the addition of further suffixation, as in: *a-ni-u-lə* 'PROX-under-NML-IN' 'under this,' or even *a-la ji-u-lə* 'PROX-IN (nml) area-NML-IN' 'in this area.'

Table 61. Position classes for complex locatives

stem		suffixes	
0	0/+1	+1	+2
primitive –	landmark	ALLT	ELAT
		ABLT	DEL
		LOC	LAT
		ADS	ORIENT
		IN	
		ON	

With ten primitives and four landmark locations, we can have ten simple locative stems and forty complex ones, making a total of fifty.[6] In fact, all fifty occur. Some combinations have become standardized, and others are somewhat marginally acceptable. Combinations with *ya:-* and *ji:-* in second position are basically synonymous, though some speakers have a sense that *ya:-* is related to 'upriver,' which, in fact, it is historically. Indeed, the combinatorial possibilities with other suffixes are slightly different for the two morphemes, probably reflecting their different histories.

With six suffixes in suffix Slot 1 and four in Slot 2, we have a potential for ten simple suffixes and twenty-four suffix combinations. In fact, only thirteen occur. Furthermore, not all thirteen occur with all fifty stems. Thirty of the fifty stems have restricted suffix combinations. Still, stems and suffixes belong to a highly productive system and 449 locatives out of a potential 650 combinations actually occur. Tables 62 and 63 show all the possible combinations. Table 62 accounts for 410 of the 449 locative combinations and table 63 accounts for the remainder.

In table 62, any of the ten primitives in the leftmost column can combine directly with any of the thirteen suffixes in the rightmost column – 130 simple combinations. In addition, any of the ten primitives can combine with any landmark locative (as indicated in the table header by '*prim* + *ya:-*, *prim* + *ji:-*, *prim* + *phə-*, and *prim* + *tɨ:-*). Landmark locatives are restricted, however, in the way they combine with suffixes, and only the combinations marked in the table by 'x' are allowed. Thus, for example, *a-da*, *a-ya:-da*, *a-ji:-da* and *a-tɨ:-da* are all possible, but **a-phə-da* is not.

[6] If we add the two free roots *pahar* 'sunny side' and *jimər* 'shady side' to the list of primitives, we have twelve primitives and a potential for sixty combinations with landmark locatives. To my knowledge, however, *pahar* and *jimər* collocate only with the landmark locative *-phə* 'side,' adding two simple roots and two complex ones to the original fifty. Furthermore, because morphologically they fall into the same class as any other noun (as in examples 5a–5d), I will exclude them from further discussion. See also footnote 2.

Table 62. Combinations of primitive roots, landmark locatives, and suffixes

primitive	prim + ya:-	prim + ji:-	prim + phə-	prim + ti:-	+ suffix
a-	x	x		x	-da
nə-	x	x		x	-ni
ho-	x	x			-kə
ro-	x	x			-ŋə
me-	x	x			-lə
ŋah-	x		x		-tə
chɨ̃:-	x	x			-kin
wor-	x		x		-tin
dabərya	x	x			-kə-pəi
kan-	x	x			-ŋə-pəi
	x	x			-lə-pəi
	x		x		-tə-pəi
	x	x			-kə-səi

Reading down the four inner columns, the following examples illustrate just one primitive, *a-* 'proximate' in combination with landmark locatives, and thirteen suffix combinations:

(8) PROXIMATE 'a-' PLUS ya:-

a-ya:-da	'to this area'
a-ya:-ni	'from this area'
a-ya:-kə	'at this area'
a-ya:-ŋə	'around this area'
a-ya:-lə	'inside this area'
a-ya:-tə	'on this area'
a-ya:-kin [7]	'away from this area'
a-ya:-tin	'down away from this area'
a-ya:-kə-pəi	'as far up as this area'
a-ya:-ŋə-pəi	'as far up as this general area'

[7] Both *-kin* and *-tin* have bimorphemic origins. In some dialects like Gamale the two morphemes are still separate, as in:

a-ka-ŋi	prox-LOC-ABLT	'away from here'
a-ta-ŋi	prox-ON-ABLT	'away from on here'

In a similar vein, Gamale has other combinations lost to Takale, such as:

a-ŋa-ŋi	prox-ADS-ABLT	'away from around here'
a-l-ŋi	prox-IN-ABLT	'away from inside here'

a-ya:-lə-pəi	‘as far up as in this area’
a-ya:-tə-pəi	‘as far up as on this area’
a-ya:-kə-səi	‘a bit towards the area up here’

(9) PROXIMATE PLUS ji:-

a-ji:-da	‘to this area’
a-ji:-ni	‘from this area’
a-ji:-kə	‘at this area’
a-ji:-ŋə	‘around this area’
a-ji:-lə	‘inside this area’
a-ji:-kin	‘away from this area’
a-ji:-kə-pəi	‘as far as this area’
a-ji:-ŋə-pəi	‘as far as this general area’
a-ji:-lə-pəi	‘as far as in this area’
a-ji:-kə-səi	‘a bit towards this area’

(10) PROXIMATE PLUS phə-

a-phə-tə	‘on this side (of the river)’
a-phə-tin	‘away from this side’
a-phə-tə-pəi	‘as far as this side’

(11) PROXIMATE PLUS tɨ:-

a-tɨ:-da	‘toward this side (of the mountain)’
a-tɨ:-ni	‘on this side (of the mountain)’

In many cases the semantic difference between one form and the next appears to be very minute, and one might wonder why and when such subtle distinctions are required. In fact, it is probably the case that selection has less to do with speaker choice and more to do with verb semantics. Certain verbs loosely specify specific locative case frames. Thus, for example, ‘hide’ typically chooses IN, ‘to be found’ typically chooses AT, and ‘emerge’ typically chooses TO, as in: *a-ya:-lə mõ:h-si-ke* ‘He hid somewhere (in) this area,’ *a-ya:-kə dəi-si-zya* ‘It can be found somewhere (at) this area,’ and *a-ya:-da pulus-hu-ke* ‘It emerged somewhere (to) this area.’

Notice too that *phə-* ‘one side of a river’ collocates only with superessive *-tə*. Thus, where *-kin* is the usual way to express ‘away from,’ only *-tin* ‘down from’ is possible in expressing ‘away from one side of the river.’ Likewise, the lative *-pəi* usually collocates with *-kə* in *-kə-pəi*, but with ‘on the side of a river’ the required combination is *-tə-pəi*, as in *a-phə-tə-pəi* ‘as far as this side of the river.’

Now I will account for the thirty-nine locative combinations not covered in table 62. These are combinations with the five locative roots occurring only as simple stems (see (6) above). Table 63 shows each of the five in possible combination with the thirteen simple and complex suffix combinations.

Table 63. Combinations of secondary locative roots and suffixes

ya:-	lã:h-	əchətə-	gyã:h-	tɨ̃:-	
x	x	x	x	x	-da
x	x	x	x	x	-ni
x	x	x			-kə
x	x	x		x	-ŋə
x	x	x	x		-lə
x	x	x			-tə
x	x	x			-kin
x	x				-tin
x	x				-kə-pəi
x	x				-ŋə-pəi
x	x				-lə-pəi
x	x				-tə-pəi
x	x				-kə-səi

Though the same basic inventory of stems and suffixes is available in all dialects of Kham, the default, standardized combinations have become fixed somewhat differently in each dialect. The following examples show Gamale and Sheshi translation equivalents of Takale combinations. Though violating morpheme by morpheme equivalence, they are the best word level or 'usage' equivalents (Gamale has more productive combinations than Takale):

(12)	TAKALE:	GAMALE:	SHESHI:	GLOSS:
a.	a-kə	a-thə-l	a-kə	'here'
b.	a-kin	a-l-khẽ	a-kən-ta	'away from here'
c.	a-kə-səi	a-khe-ja-kə	tə-ci a-de	'a bit this direction'
d.	a-ya:-lə	a-phə-l-ya-l	a-la ji-u-lə	'up in this area' [8]

It should also be noted that all locative combinations can be nominalized, a process which for any combination ending in *-da*, *-ni*, *-kin*, *-tin*, *-pəi*, or *-səi* requires an additional locative suffix (see §10.3.1-iii).

7.2 Relator nouns

Relator nouns specify further locational relations.[9] They differ from the locatives discussed

[8] See footnote 5 for a breakdown of the Sheshi morphemes.

[9] In other dialects, some of these nouns belong to the 'landmark locative' inventory discussed in §7.1.2. An example is Sheshi *a-ni-u-lə* 'prox-under-NML-IN' 'under here.' Very likely most, if not all, second position landmark locatives come originally from a relator noun source.

in §7.1 in that they are obligatorily marked for possession, as in: 'at the cliff's edge / at the edge of the cliff,' where edge is possessed by cliff.[10] Most relator nouns are weakly specified for a default locative suffix. 'Top,' for instance, specifies the superessive 'on,' and 'beneath' specifies 'in.' Though other suffixes are also sometimes possible, they are more marked than the default. Following are thirteen relator nouns with their default locative specifications.

(13) INESSIVE:

a.	u-jĩ:-lə	its-inside-in	'inside of it'
b.	u-dũ:h-lə	its-beneath-in	'underneath it'
c.	gin-khar-lə	our(dl)-center-in	'between us'
d.	o-bã:-lə	its-bottom-in	'at the bottom of it'

LOCATIVE:

e.	ŋa-ŋah-kə	my-front-at	'in front of me'
f.	nə-chĩ:-kə	your-behind-at	'behind you'
g.	o-lap-kə	its-side-at	'beside it'
h.	u-khɨ̃:-kə	its-foot-at	'at the foot of it'

ADESSIVE:

i.	o-chyo:-ŋə	its-edge-at	'at the edge of it'
j.	ya-leo-ŋə	their-whereabouts-at	'at their place'

SUPERESSIVE:

k.	o-tər-tə	its-top-on	'on top of it'
l.	o-sora:-tə	its-line-on	'above it, in line with it'

ABLATIVE:

m.	je-jũ:-ni	your(pl)-portion-from	'for your sakes'

Some of these relator nouns have other postpositional possibilities, in which cases we get slightly different interpretations, as in: *o-ŋah-tə* 'ahead of it' (as in a line), *u-chĩ:-ni* 'behind it' (as in a line), *o-chyo:-ni* 'along the edge,' *o-sora:-lə* [11] 'directly above it' (on a line above it).

Most relator nouns can occur without possessive marking when directly following the noun they specify,[12] as in:

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[10] Starosta (1985), in a study on the evolution of case inflections from relator nouns, refers to this as Stage II (out of V) – the stage at which nouns specifying location acquire the inflection of 'definiteness.' In the languages he looked at he also found that if the language has a class of inalienably possessed nouns, the relator nouns will enter this class.

[11] The relator nouns *chyo:-* and *sora:-* also combine with the numeral prefix *tə-/to-*, in which case we get:

to-chyo:-ni	one-edge-ABLT	'in a single row'
to-sora:-lə	one-line-IN	'directly in line with'

[12] In Starosta's scenario (1985), this is Stage III (out of V) in the evolution from relator nouns to case

(14) a. hã: khɨ̃:-kə
cliff foot-LOC ‘at the foot of the cliff’

b. zihm lap-kə
house beside-LOC ‘beside the house’

c. juhr dũ:h-lə
boulder beneath-IN ‘under the boulder’

7.3 Dimensional and temporal roots

Lexical roots specifying dimension/time behave in much the same way as the locative roots we saw in §7.1. Most of the suffixes appropriate for location are also appropriate here. A further set of suffixes, however, that do not occur with locatives occur with dimension and time and have to do with notions like approximation and augmentation.

For the most part, there is no distinction between lexical roots that specify dimension and those that specify time. Often only the context distinguishes them. Two locative roots, *ŋah-* ‘front’ and *chɨ̃:-* ‘back,’ occur here as bound roots as well. It should be noted, however, that some root–suffix combinations are used primarily in the specification of time and others in the specification of dimension or location, and, as such, have begun to develop default interpretations in those directions.

7.3.1 Primary roots

There are seven primary time/dimension roots. None of them are bound, and in their free forms they quantify ‘material amount’ and ‘dimension,’ as in:

(15) a. a:h ‘this much, this many, this size’
b. na:h ‘that much, that many, that size (within view)’
c. ha:h ‘that much, that many, that size’
d. wa:h ‘as much as’
e. chya: ‘a little bit, a few’
f. jã: ‘a little bit’
g. kha: ‘how much?, how many?

The seven primary roots in (15) can be modified with the approximative suffix *-wa*, in which case they come to mean ‘about this much, about this size,’ etc.

Of the thirteen suffix combinations we saw occurring with locative stems, only those related to the locative *-kə* (*-kə*, *-kin*, and *-kə-pəi* or *-pəi*) occur with the seven dimensional

inflections – the stage at which relator nouns become compounded to the nouns they relate to. In Stage IV there is even less grammatical freedom and the roots are interpreted as affixes attached to the main noun. In the final stage, Stage V, there is a levelling and regularization of the forms such that they enter into paradigmatic relationships with other locative suffixes.

roots listed above. The suffixes can occur immediately following the bare roots or following the root modified by the approximative suffix *-wa*. With suffixation, the seven primary roots come also to designate spatial and temporal amounts, interpreted, for the most part, by the context. Shown in table 64 are the position classes for the morphology of dimensional roots.

Table 64. Position classes for dimensional roots

0	+1	+2	+3
root	-wa	-kə	-pəi
		-kin	

Combining roots with suffixes from table 64 yields the results shown in table 65. The two roots *a:h* and *chya:* are representative of the whole class.

Table 65. Representative combinations of dimensional roots and suffixes

	matter	space	time
a:h-wa	about this much	about this far	–
a:h-kə	–	here, this far	now, at this time
a:h-kin	from this much	from here over	from now on
a:h-pəi	up to this much	up to here	till now
a:h-kə-pəi	–	up to here	till now
a:h-wa-kə	–	about here	about now
a:h-wa-kin	from about this much	from about here	from about now
a:h-wa-pəi	up to about this much	up to about here	up to about now
a:h-wa-kə-pəi	–	up to about here	up to about now
chya:-wa	a little bit	some short distance	–
chya:-kə	–	in a short distance	in a short while
chya:-kin	–	after a little distance	after a short while
chya:-pəi	–	up to a short distance	up to a short time
chya:-kə-pəi	–	up to a short distance	up to a short time

	matter	space	time
chya:-wa-kə	–	in some short distance	in some short while
chya:-wa-kin	–	after some short distance	after some short time
chya:-wa-pəi	–	up to some short distance	up to some short time
chya:-wa-kə-pəi	–	up to some short distance/time	

It can be seen that *chya:-* (also *jã:*) has closer associations with space and time than it does with material amounts. The forms in table 65 occur in sentences like the following:

a:h-wa rəi-ke 'Bring about this much!' *chya:-wa-kin hu-n-ke* 'Come after a short while!' and *tə-rupiya wa:h-wa-pəi* 'up to as much as one rupee.'

The superessive *-tə* occurs with *na:h* and *ha:h* to form purely temporal expressions. The two combinations occur frequently in narrative discourse to signal the next event – 'and then,' 'and then at that time,' etc., as in: *na:h-tə zə u-zihm-da ba-ke* 'At that point he went home.'

7.3.2 Dimensional suffixes

Four additional suffixes having to do with augmentation and size specification occur with dimensional roots that do not occur with locative roots. The four occur in two pairs, one singular and the other plural (shown in table 66).

Table 66. Size and augmentative suffixes

number	size	augmentation
singular	-lyu	-ldyu
plural	-lyalu	-ldyalu

Combining the suffixes of table 66 with the same two roots, *a:h* and *chya:*, we get:

(16)

ah-lyu	'this size'
ah-lyalu	'all this size'
ah-ldyu	'this large'
ah-ldyalu	'all this large'
ah-wa-lyu	'about this size'
ah-wa-lyalu	'all about this size'
chya-lyu	'rather small'
chya-lyalu	'all rather small'
chya-ldyu	'enormous' (only with negative verbs)
chya-ldyalu	'all enormous' (only with negative verbs)
chya:-wa-lyu	'rather smallish'
chya:-wa-lyalu	'all rather smallish'

Following are examples in sentences: *ah-wa-lyu rəi-ke-o* 'He brought one about this size,' *nah-ldyu lũ: kəi jəi-də u-chĩ:-wo* 'How did he lift a stone so large as that?' and *chya-ldyalu-rə bə ma-ta-rə bə* 'They will certainly become huge' (lit. 'not be small').

7.3.3 Additional bound roots

Four additional roots specify time relations. Two of the four, *ŋah-* 'front' and *chĩ:-*

'back,' we have seen elsewhere participating in spatial location. In specific root–suffix combinations, however, they primarily specify time, which is what concerns us here. Following are the roots, all of which occur only in combination with suffixes:

(17) a. ba:h- 'long ago'
b. dõ:h- 'long ago' (folktale form)
c. ŋah- 'earlier'
d. chĩ:- 'later'

These four temporal roots occur with the suffixation patterns shown in table 67.

Table 67. Suffix combinations for temporal roots

0	+1	+2
root	-da	-kin
	-ni	
	-kə/-ŋə	

Some co-occurrence restrictions exist with certain roots, yielding the following:

(18) ba:h-kə 'long ago'
ba:h-ŋə 'sometime long ago'
ba:h-kin 'since ages past'

dõ:h-kə 'at one time'
dõ:h-ŋə 'once upon a time'
dõ:h-kin 'since days of yore'

ŋah-kə 'before'
ŋah-ŋə 'sometime before'
ŋah-da 'earlier'
ŋah-da-kin 'since an earlier time'

chĩ:-kə 'at a later time'
chĩ:-kə 'at some later time'
chĩ:-da 'to a later time'
chĩ:-ni 'afterwards, later on'
chĩ:-ni-kin 'after a later time'

Nowhere have we seen the allative *-da* and the ablative *-ni* followed by *-kin*, as in *ŋah-da-kin* and *chĩ:-ni-kin*. Here, the combinations *ŋah-da* and *chĩ:-ni* have become lexicalized to form new temporal stems indicating 'earlier' and 'later,' respectively. As such, the suffix *-kin*, indicating 'since,' is acceptable following *-da* and *-ni* with these temporal roots, but nowhere else.

8 *Adverbs and adverbials*

In this chapter I will deal with several heterogeneous 'adverb' classes that have in common the fact that they modify events or states (i.e. verbs or adjectivals). The more traditional class of words called adverbs are relatable to question words like 'how,' 'where,' and 'when,' as adverbs of 'manner,' 'place,' and 'time,' respectively. Such words will be dealt with in the early parts of the chapter. Because some of the more paradigmatic temporal adverbs function also as locatives, they were treated in the section on locatives, §7.3. Adverbial phrases like *at the place where the road forks* will be treated in §10.3. Also in the current chapter I will treat the small class of words sometimes called intensifiers, words like 'very,' and a few others. Such words most commonly modify nominal modifiers.

In the greater part of this chapter I will deal with a special class of verbal modifiers that occur throughout the linguistic area in different forms and have been variously referred to in the South and Southeast Asian context as 'expressives' (Diffloth 1976), 'intense action adverbials' (Schultze 1987), and 'reduplicative structures' (Abbi 1985), just to name a few. I will adopt the term 'expressive.' Many expressives in Kham can be related to an original verbal source. Many can also serve as adjuncts in 'light verb' constructions, or as adjectives after derivation.

8.1 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner typically modify the meaning of the verb alone, and as such are narrower in scope than other adverb types. (By contrast, time adverbs characterize the entire event.) Manner adverbs are not numerous in Kham, the bulk of their functional load being carried by expressives, a topic that will be dealt with in §8.5. Those that occur here have a fairly general cross-verb applicability. By contrast, expressives are verb specific, and many apply to no more than one verb.

8.1.1 Pro-forms

In the discussion of 'pro-forms' in §6.3 and 'deictic primitives' in §7.1.1, we saw three grades of relative distance from the speaker (or the linguistic context): *a-* 'proximate,' *n-* 'distal,' and *h-* 'remote.' We will see them again in §9.2 on demonstratives. Here, on adverbial pro-forms, proximate is signalled by zero, while distal and remote are signalled by *n-* and *h-*, respectively. Following are the forms:

(1) a. əi ‘in this manner/thus’
b. n-əi ‘in that manner/thus’
c. h-əi ‘in that manner/thus’

The three pro-forms in (1) collocate with only four verbs,[1] the verbs themselves also functioning as pro-verbs within the grammar (and also as the main verb in ‘light verb’ constructions): INTRANSITIVE *li-nya* ‘to be,’ *ta-nya* ‘to become,’ and TRANSITIVE *da-nya* ‘to do,’ *jəi-nya* ‘to make’ (see also §9.3.2-i).

Where *əi*, *nəi*, or *həi* co-occur with *li-nya* ‘to be’ or *da-nya* ‘to do,’ the resulting construction indicates directly quoted speech, one intransitive and the other transitive. This is something we will explore in detail in §15.3.5. In the meantime I present the following examples:

(2) a. əi li-zya
thus be-CONT ‘He is saying thus …’

b. h-əi o-ra-do-zya-o
REM-thus 3S-3P-say-CONT-NML ‘He was telling them thus …’

Continuing with the same four verbs, where the adverbial pro-forms co-occur with *ta-nya* ‘to become’ or *jəi-nya* ‘to make,’ the resulting construction indicates a non-speech event, one intransitive and the other transitive:

(3) a. əi ta-ke
what become-PFV ‘It happened like this.’

b. h-əi zə ŋa-jəi-ke
REM-thus EMP 1S-make-PFV ‘I did it exactly that way.’

8.1.2 General forms

The other more general manner adverbials collocate with almost any verb. Following are examples:

(4) a. cã:do ba-ke
quickly go-PFV ‘He went quickly.’

b. sip zyu-ki-ni
together eat-PFV-3D ‘They ate together.’

c. koba:h pã:-zya
indiscriminate speak-CONT ‘He speaks indiscriminately.’

Adverbs of manner are often derived from nouns by the addition of either associative

[1] This may appear to contradict my earlier observation that manner adverbials apply universally. Here the application is to all pro-verbs, the set of verbs that represent all events.

or ablative marking. Recall from §4.4.5 that one of several interpretations for the ablative was 'manner,' or 'by means of.' Only nouns with a manner-like semantic content can serve as sources for these derivations. Many of them, in fact, rarely occur in their pure nominal forms; they occur most frequently as stems for derived adverbs:

(5) a. ASSOCIATIVE MARKING:
ya-gəhə-ra-sə pã:-ke-rə
3P-emotion-PL-ASC speak-PFV-3P
'They spoke (choked up) with emotion.'

b. ABLATIVE MARKING:
o-hõ:na-ni do-ke-o
3S-volition-ABLT do-PFV-3S
'He did it of his own volition.' (lit. 'by his own will')

8.2 Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time are broader in scope that manner adverbs, and characterize entire events, as in: *Yesterday, Sally passed the exam with flying colors*. Adverbs of time can be categorized roughly into two major sets – those of specific time and those of relative time. Concepts like 'yesterday' and 'today' are examples of specific time and ones like 'recently' or 'finally' are examples of relative time. Neither set has a large membership, about twenty in each for a total of about forty.

8.2.1 Specific time

Following are examples of specific time:

(6) SPECIFIC TIME:
a. DAYS:

tala	'the day before yesterday, the other day'
ahjyo	'yesterday'
achim	'today'
pəhra:ti	'tomorrow'
nihmchyã:	'day after tomorrow'
tipchyã:	'two days after tomorrow, three days hence'
kolchyã:	'three days after tomorrow, four days hence'
dohlchyã:	'four days after tomorrow, five days hence'

A recurring morpheme in these examples is *-chim*/*-chyã:* undoubtedly related to *chyam* 'day,' as in: *ho: chyam* 'that day.' In the word *a-chim* 'today,' then, we can see the proximate morpheme '*a-*,' discussed in §7.1.1, plus the word for *day.* The first part of the morpheme *nihm-* in 'day after tomorrow,' probably derives from *neh-* 'two.' It is difficult to speculate on *tip-*, *kol-*, and *dohl-*.

(6) b. YEARS:

ahrtani	'last year'
aĩhsi	'this year'
phərni	'next year'
nihmni	'year after next'

A recurring morpheme here is *-ni*, derived from PTB **s-niŋ* 'year.' The full protoform occurs in the word *aĩhsi* 'this year,' which is a metathesis of **asniŋ* (occurring as *asni* in Maikot and *ahiŋ* in Gamale). Again, we see the proximate morpheme *a-*. Also, we see a recurrence of *nihm-* in *nihm-ni* 'year after next.'

Other adverbs in this category are:

(6) c.

achya	'earlier today'
pəte	'later today'
rihm-kə	'at dusk'
ahjya	'earlier this year'

which occur in the following: *achya chəkalnya* 'this morning,' *ahjya uhbyali* 'last summer,' *pəte ri:-lə* 'tonight,' and *pəte rihm-kə* 'this evening.'

Some temporal adverbs make reference to specific time but add the numeral classifier *tə-* 'one,'[2] thereby reducing the inherent specificity, as in: *tə-cha* 'one day, some day,' *tə-rim-kə* 'a few years ago,' *tə-gəhri:* 'quickly' (lit. 'one watch'), and *tə-dehs-a* 'in a short while.'

8.2.2 *Relative time*

Relative time is primarily related to 'now,' the time of speaking, not to 'weeks' or 'years,' which are constructs of human categorization. Some time adverbials have a locative basis and were discussed in chapter 7. Others have a more 'timeless' or general interpretation, as in 'always' or 'sometimes.' Following are examples of both types:

(7) a. RELATED TO NOW:

ahkhə	'now'
chĩ:ni	'later'
ba:hza	'recently'
behar	'right away'
gəhgə	'early'
bəllə	'finally'
sogəri:kə	'soon'

[2] In §9.4.2, I show that *tə-* cannot be added to nouns or NPs *per se*, but only to those that occur in the special function of 'classifiers.'

b. NO SPECIFIC ANCHOR:

ekətar	'always'
kəitakə	'sometimes'
umɨ̃:zani	'suddenly'
təkheptə	'once'

Some relative temporal adverbs require sentential complements, as in:

(8) a.

o-ba-o	paĩna	
3S-go-NML	as.soon.as	'as soon as he had gone'

b.

o-ba-o	pəti	
3S-go-NML	as.soon.as	'as soon as he had gone'

As far as I can tell, the two forms in (8) are very nearly synonymous. The latter form, *pəti*, may come from Nepali, while *paĩna* is probably Kham.

8.3 Epistemic adverbs

Some adverbs deal with the epistemic reality of events. They answer questions about an event's level of certainty or necessity, and if the event did not occur, they answer questions about the margin of possibility by which it failed to occur. Following is a listing:

(9) a. REALIS:

phəri	'again'
pəltakə	'on the other hand'
jururi	'urgently'
əizə	'for no apparent reason'
jã:kosəi	'mostly'

b. IRREALIS:

kozai	'almost'
khas	'most likely'
thokoi	'nearly'
pətək	'not at all'

These adverbs occur in sentences like the following: *əizə ba-ke* 'He just left' (for no apparent reason), *kozai səih-na-ke-rə* 'They almost killed me,' and *pətək zə ma-jəi-wo* 'He didn't make it at all.'

8.4 Adverbs of intensity

We will now look at a small class of adverbs whose members indicate levels of intensity for events or for attributes. Such adverbs have a universal application to nearly all

events or attributes:

(10) bənəi 'very'
sərba 'quite'
jəhn 'even more so'

Examples of usage are: *bənəi gyahm-o* 'very red,' *bənəi dõ:h-ke-rə* 'they really ran,' *sərba gyahm-o* 'quite red,' *sərba dõ:h-ke-rə* 'they ran quite a distance,' *jəhn gyahm-o* 'even more red,' and *jəhn dõ:h-ke-rə* 'they ran even more.'

8.5 Expressive adverbs and onomatopoeia

Expressive adverbs are verb modifiers, most having been derived from a verbal source themselves. Of those not derived from verbs, some have an onomatopoeic source and others a nominal source. What most of them have in common is that they very often occur in rhyming couplets (i.e. reduplicative structures) and occur syntactically immediately preceding the verb. Since I will soon digress into the phonological structure of expressives, I need here to give the reader some idea of what an expressive adverb is. Following is an example, where the string *gyahp gehp* is the expressive, followed immediately by the verb:

(11) gohra-lai gyahp gehp cep-ke-o
horse-OBJ EXPR EXPR mount-PFV-3S
'He mounted the horse *in a single, swift jump*.'

In a dictionary (Watters, unpublished) of a little over 6,000 roots, about 1,500 are verbs and another 750 roots are expressive adverbs. That is, there are half as many adverbs modifying verbs as there are verbs to be modified. None of the expressives can modify all verbs universally (as with most of the adverbs we saw earlier). A number of expressives are limited to a single verb and many are limited to a single semantic domain. Those with the widest distribution can occur with no more than five or six different verbs.

8.5.1 Phonological structure

Most expressive adverbs occur in reduplicative structures, as in *gyahp gehp* (see 11). Some reduplications are exact, but in most the consonants remain the same and the vowels change in a principled way. In a few, the consonants also change, but this is considerably more rare. The consonant changes are probably due to a diffusion of Indian areal features. In the following discussion we will look at the basic rules of reduplication for the various types.

i. Exact reduplication

The simplest form of reduplication is an exact reduplication of the base morpheme (we will deal later with which is the base and which is the copy). Exact reduplication copies all consonants and vowels along with suprasegmental material,[3] and can occur over one, two, or three syllables. In the bi- and trisyllabic morphemes all vowels can be identical for each of the syllables, or different. I will first illustrate monosyllabic reduplication with several simple and complex vowels in open and closed syllables:

(12) a. kik kik ‘choking’
b. ɪ̃:h rẽ:h ‘strung tightly’
c. phur phur ‘high into the air’
d. chõ: chõ: ‘squirting’
e. gahp gahp ‘stepping with long strides’
f. khəs khəs ‘swarming’
g. dɨ: dɨ: ‘full, satiated’
h. sür sür ‘sour-like’
i. cöl cöl ‘burping, spitting’
j. cya: cya: ‘haggard, gaunt’
k. bwi:h bwi:h ‘shredded’

The situation is similar with bi- and trisyllabic base morphemes. In the following, some have identical vowels across all syllables and some do not:

(13) a. BISYLLABIC:
kutu kutu ‘in small pieces’
pərəp pərəp ‘dripping’
cherla cherla ‘ragged’
zəhrã: zəhrã: ‘streaked’

b. TRISYLLABIC:
kuturu kuturu ‘crispy, crunchy’
phiriri phiriri ‘spinning’
zigəra zigəra ‘with drooping eyelids’
khopəlyak khopəlyak ‘tossing one at a time’

ii. Consonant reduplication

Most reduplications are not exact, but copy only the consonants while modifying the vowels in a principled way. In most cases, I have been unable to deduce any phonological or semantic principles for determining which pattern a sequence might follow – exact, or with modified vowels. At least in the modern language, the choice appears to be purely lexical.

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[3] There is some indication that laxity of vowels in the first occurrence does not always carry over to the second occurrence.

In reduplicating the consonants and modifying the vowels, the following vowel changes are invariant, regardless of how many different vowels occur in the input string. Thus, if three different vowels occur in a trisyllabic base, the copy will also reflect three different modified vowels. The principle is simple – back and central vowels in the input string produce '*a*' in the output, and front vowels produce '*ya*' (see table 68).

It is important to note that the first sequence in the reduplicative structure contains the copy (output string), and the second sequence contains the base form (input string). We will see the evidence for this in §8.6.2 when we discuss the verb roots from which many of these forms are derived.

Table 68. Reduplicative output strings

vowel in copy		vowel in base
a	<	u
a	<	o
a/ə	<	ə
ya	<	i
ya	<	e
a + ya	<	u + i
ya + a	<	i + u
a + ə + ya	<	u + ə + i
etc.		

Following are examples of vowel changes in mono- and bisyllabic roots:

(14)	reduplicated structure		output		input	gloss
	u	lam lum	lam	<	lum	'completely covered'
	u	karap kurup	karap	<	kurup	'shriveled, crinkled'
	o	gar gor	gar	<	gor	'gathering up remains'
	o	zarap zorop	zarap	<	zorop	'completely penetrating'
	ə	tap təp	tap	<	təp	'with tenacity'
	ə	parap pərəp	parap	<	pərəp	'intermittent rain'
	i	pya:h pi:h	pya:h	<	pi:h	'stripping everything'
	i	zyahrlya zihrli	zyahrlya	<	zihrli	'indistinctly'
	e	gyahp gehp	gyahp	<	gehp	'astride in one leap'
	e	khyaŋgyã: kheŋgẽ:	khyaŋgyã:	<	kheŋgẽ:	'rigid, inflexible'

The changes are specific to each vowel, something which becomes obvious when the vowel in each syllable is different, as in the following:

(15)	reduplicated structure		output		input	gloss
	u-i	gahpya guhpi	gahpya	<	guhpi	‘toddling’
	i-u	syardap sirdup	syardap	<	sirdup	‘spastic’
	ə-i	katyam kətim	katyam	<	kətim	‘in rapid succession’
	ə-e	balya bəle	balya	<	bəle	‘wiry’
	o-e	khalya khole	khalya	<	khole	‘sloshing’
	u-ə-i	gadəryas gudəris	gadəryas	<	gudəris	‘falling flat’
	i-ə-i	phyasəlya phisəli	phyasəlya	<	phisəli	‘non-penetrating’
	o-o-e	kalambya kolombe	kalambya	<	kolombe	‘rolling over’

We are now in a position to reexamine those reduplications which show no change from the input string to the copy. All input syllables that contain either the vowel ‘*a*’ or the diphthong ‘*ya*’ (with ‘*ə*’ in some three syllable words) exhibit no change in the output string, as in: gahp > *gahp gahp* ‘striding,’ khagap > *khagap khagap* ‘with extended elbows,’ kapəla > *kapəla kapəla* ‘in large chunks,’ cyap > *cyap cyap* ‘picking,’ and gyal > *gyal gyal* ‘tilting the head.’

It appears, in fact, that if ‘*a*’ or ‘*ya*’ occurs anywhere in the input string, the copy will be identical with no attempt to adjust the other vowels, as in:

(16)			
	cherla cherla	*chyarla cherla	‘ragged’
	zigəra zigəra	*zyagəra zigəra	‘with drooping eyelids’
	khopəlyak khopəlyak	*khapəlyak khopəlyak	‘tossing one at a time’

Thus, a refinement of our earlier principle is the following: back vowels in the input string produce ‘*a*’ in the output; front vowels in the input produce ‘*ya*’; while ‘*a*’ or ‘*ya*’ anywhere in the input string insures that all vowels in the output string will be exact copies of the original.

We are still left with a residue of exact reduplications that can be attributed only to the lexical class of the word. That is, words such as those in (13) with nothing but pure high vowels (*kutu kutu*, *phiriri phiriri*) still remain unchanged in the copy. Later, in §8.6.5, I will suggest an onomatopoeic source for some of these forms.

iii. Pseudo bases

There is evidence to suggest that at least in a few cases (rarely) the base form is the first one in the reduplicated sequence. In such cases, a pseudo–base assuming the character of an appropriate input string is constructed for the second form in a process of back formation. This can be illustrated with a couple of examples:

(17)		
	gyal gil	‘tilting the head’
	kalya kəle	‘blackening’ (of the sky)

There is no independent morpheme *gil*, but there is a *gyal* in *gyal li-nya* ‘to duck the head.’ Also, *gyal gyal* occurs as a variant of *gyal gil*. This suggests that *gil* is no more than an improvisation. Likewise *kalya* comes from Nepali *kale* ‘blackish,’ and is certainly

the base form. The string *kəle*, then, is a pseudo-base, an improvisation.

iv. Consonant change

Reduplication characterized by consonant change in the output string is relatively rare, and probably due to an areal influence from Indic languages. Where it does occur, only the first consonant in the string changes. The most common change is some kind of a bilabial at the beginning of the second string (there is no evidence to suggest which string is basic and which is derived).[4] Typically, vowel modifications, some unique to these forms, occur at the same time. Following are examples:

(18) a. velar + bilabial:

karjã: mərjɪ̃:	'rugged, jagged'
kala mulu	'crowded'
khənjə mənjə	'recurring illness'
gənthən mənthən	'tangled and knotted'
gər bər	'jumbled, confused' (< Nep. gaʀbaʀ 'confusion')

b. dental/palatal + bilabial:

citərã: putərã:	'scattered'
cere mere	'piled and bulging'
jili mili	'bright, colorful' (< Nep. jhilmili 'glitter')
zəgəi məgəi	'majestic, glorious' (< IA *jag-mag 'shining')
sɪ̃:sɪ̃: bɪ̃:bɪ̃:	'proud, haughty'

c. other combinations:

kawã: ziwã:	'sobbing'
zehrnəi gəhrnəi	'whining'
narya gorya	'twisted'
chap rap	'sifting'
dəhra phəra	'shredded'

8.5.2 *Derived from a verbal source*

Now that we have seen something of the phonological structure of expressive adverbs we will attempt to determine something of their historical/derivational source. We will begin by looking at a few that are transparently derived from the verbs they modify. In such cases, both the verb and its expressive modifier come ultimately from the same etymological source, though it is assumed that the expressive was derived later with the verb as its source.

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[4] Emeneau (1969) deduces a number of 'Pan-Indian' reduplicative patterns based on a comparison of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages. One is an initial velar or dental consonant (plus *l*, *s*, or *h*) replaced in the following sequence by a labial consonant (including *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, *v*, or *m*).

i. Modern verb sources

The following examples are illustrative of the process:

(19) a. kurup-nya ‘to fold, collapse’ (as an umbrella)
b. karap kurup kurup-si-nya ‘to fold up, crinkled and shriveled’

(20) a. khole:-nya ‘to rinse’
b. khalya khole khole:-nya ‘to rinse by sloshing water’

(21) a. sip-nya ‘to nest, tuck up into’ (as a plane nesting its wheels)
b. syap sip sip-si-nya ‘to nest, pull up inside, disappear’

(22) a. buhr-nya [5] ‘to fly’
b. phur phur buhr-nya ‘to fly high in the air’

ii. Expressives in light verb constructions

An intermediate stage, in which the expressive functions in a ‘light verb’ construction,[6] also occurs for most forms like the ones above. Following are light verb forms of the constructions illustrated immediately above (*ta-nya* ‘to become’ and *jəi-nya* ‘to make’ are suppletive intransitive–transitive variants of one another)[7] – *karap kurup ta-nya* ‘to become folded up, crinkled,’ *khalya khole jəi-nya* ‘to slosh water in a vessel and toss it,’ and *syap sip ta-nya* ‘to become tucked up inside.’

A considerable number of verbs have developed expressives occurring only in light verb constructions – they do not occur as yet with any verbs other than ‘become’ and ‘make.’ The light verb derivation is always semantically more general than the original verb, and somewhat conative in interpretation, like ‘to hit at’ rather than ‘to hit.’ It is this process, I am assuming, that allows the light verb ‘nominals’ to be used as modifiers on semantically related verbs. In the following examples, we will look at verbs that have gone a step further – modification of a verb other than the source verb, but from a related semantic domain:

(23) a. ORIGINAL VERB:
khore:-nya
‘to eliminate weeds by scratching the surface with a hand tool’

b. IN LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION:
khore khore jəi-nya
‘to lightly scratch the surface, to scratch at’

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[5] The root *buhr* may have onomatopoeic origins and is found all over South and Southeast Asia. Benedict (1972) reconstructs TB ‘fly’ as **pur*, and Emeneau reconstructs Dravidian and IA ‘suddenly’ as **bur-bur* and **bhur-bhur*, respectively, with comments like ‘noise of a bird flying up suddenly.’

[6] See §4.8.3 on ‘Verbalizing Derivations.’

[7] In some dialects like Nishel and Gamale, a non-suppletive pair occurs based on **ja-s* ‘become’ versus **ja-t* ‘make.’

c. ASSOCIATION WITH RELATED VERB:
khore khore pur-si-nya (‘scratch’)
‘to scratch oneself lightly on the surface of the skin’

(24) a. ORIGINAL VERB:
gahp-nya
‘to step over something’

b. IN LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION:
gahp gahp jəi-nya
‘to make long strides, to make steps toward a goal’

c. ASSOCIATION WITH RELATED VERB:
gahp gahp si:-nya (‘step on’)
‘to trample on carelessly’

(25) a. ORIGINAL VERB:
tərəp-nya
‘to pin, clip together’

b. IN LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION:
tarap tərəp jəi-nya
‘to pin up, lightly attach’

c. ASSOCIATION WITH RELATED VERB:
tarap tərəp ruhp-nya (‘close’)
‘to baste, quickly stitch together as a temporary measure’

iii. Other examples with known verbal sources

There are numerous other examples of expressives with known verbal sources. All of them have in common the fact that the expressive construction is less specific than the original verb, often denoting action toward, but not necessarily completion. As a modifier on a related verb, then, the expressive denotes the type or manner of action and functions much like a manner adverb. Following are further examples:

(26) a. zəhrã:-nya ‘to be loosely woven’
zəhrã: zəhrã: ‘streaked’
z. z. sɨ̃:-nya ‘to dawn with streaks in the sky’

b. pərəp-nya ‘to drizzle, sprinkle’
pərəp pərəp ‘sprinkling’
p. p. gəhr-nya ‘to weep with light tears’

c. cil-nya ‘to pinch’
cyacyal cicil ‘welted’
c. c. so-nya ‘to itch with welts’

8.5.3 The nominal source

Not all expressives can be related to a verbal source. Indeed, some have been derived from nouns, both native and borrowed, as in the following:

(27) a. cherla ‘small animal skins dangling from a shaman’s belt’
cherla cherla ‘ragged, shabby’
ch. ch. cis-nya ‘to tear into tatters’

b. zəhr ‘sieve’
zəhr zəhr ‘evenly through spread fingers’
z. z. was-nya ‘to sow seed spreading it evenly’

c. johmpa ‘cluster of fruit’
johmpa jompa ‘in clusters’
j. j. səi-nya ‘to bear fruit prolifically’

d. bohrla ‘a sheaf of grain’
bohrla bohrla ‘in tufts, in sheaves’
b. b. səi-nya ‘to bear seed prolifically’

The source for some expressives can be resolved only by looking at other dialects. The following is an interesting example:

(28) a. bəhle:te cuh-si-nya < b. ble te
pouting sit-MM-INF lower lip (Gamale) fall (Takale)
‘to sit pouting’ ‘fallen lower lip’

8.5.4 Tibeto-Burman sources

A number of expressive adverbs are not easily relatable to modern verb sources. Some, however, have clear connections either to PTB or to words in related languages (including other Kham dialects). Among them are:

(29) a. bohp bop go-nya < PTB *bop ‘swelling’
EXPR EXPR swell-INF ‘to swell profusely’

b. wuhr wuhr cã:h-nya < PTB *bwar ‘burn’
EXPR EXPR burn-INF ‘to burn with a blaze’

c. sarap surup hum-nya < PTB *s-rup ‘to sip’
EXPR EXPR sip-INF ‘to sip noisily’

d. tam tum ke:h-nya < Nishel tom-nya ‘to break corn’
EXPR EXPR break-INF ‘to completely break’

e. ga: ga: sas-nya < Chepang ga- ‘hold mouth open’
EXPR EXPR laugh PTB *m-ka ‘mouth’
‘to laugh with open mouth, gasping for air’

f. kalambya kolombe golõ:-nya Magar kulum- ‘to wind up string’
EXPR EXPR roll-INF ‘to roll over and over’

g. bur phərle:-nya < Tibetan bwar ‘to cast, toss’
EXPR twist/turn-INF ‘to toss to the ground with a twist’ (as when tossing a sheep for castration)

8.5.5 *Onomatopoeic sources*

Onomatopoeia, or sound symbolism, is common in South and Southeast Asian languages. Some expressives are clearly from such sources. Rather than expressing the manner of an action *per se*, these expressives attempt to imitate its sound (or feeling or smell). It is easy, of course, for sound imitation to eventually develop a secondary manner interpretation, especially if the sound is produced by a regular and repetitive action, as in the following two examples:

(30) a. sehte: sehte:
‘the sound of a saw’

b. sehte: sehte: kyal-nya
saw saw cut-INF
‘to cut with a sawing sound/to cut with a sawing motion’

31) a. syahr syahr
‘the sound of seed being broadcast on the ground’

b. syahr syahr was-nya
swish swish sow-INF
‘to sow seed with a swishing sound/to sow seed methodically’

Onomatopoeia is not as common a source for expressives in Kham as the verbal and nominal sources. It is, nevertheless, a common feature, and some fifty or sixty of the 750 expressives in Kham are onomatopoeic. These, like the other expressive adverbs, collocate only with single verbs, or verbs in the same semantic domain:

(32) a. bahrlap bohrlop te-nya ‘to fall crashing and banging’
b. bulup bulup co-nya ‘to boil with slow bubbling’
c. bəhk bəhkya pã:-nya ‘to speak stutteringly’
d. catyaŋ cətiŋ gərji-nya ‘to thunder with sharp reports’
e. gahrla gohrlo ruhp-nya ‘to lock a door (rattling wooden crosspieces)’
f. goryeĩ goryeĩ he:-nya ‘to grind by turning a grindstone’
g. hik hik gəhr-nya ‘to weep with short gasping’

h. keka keka cha:-nya ‘to gulp water (with head tilted back)’
i. khotõ: khotõ: chip-nya ‘to ripen resonantly (of a pumpkin)’
j. pecyak tihl-nya ‘to spit with a neat squirt’
k. swak swak cĩ:-nya ‘to puff on a pipe’
l. wahŋ wahŋ pas-nya ‘to echo with hollowness’
m. wuhp wuhp zo:-nya ‘to jump off a ledge one after another’

8.5.6 Magnitude symbolism

In some of the Kiranti languages (see Schulze 1987 for example), there is a fairly elaborate system of sound symbolism in expressive adverbs whereby voiceless consonants and high front vowels symbolize small objects, while voiced consonants and low back vowels symbolize large objects. There are hints of such a system in Kham, but not with the kind of elaboration found elsewhere. It occurs in a few sets, the following being about half of them:

(33) a. təhr təhr cis-nya ‘to tear with a ripping sound’
b. dəhr dəhr cis-nya ‘to tear with a heavy ripping sound’

(34) a. cyap cyap goh-nya ‘to dig with picking action’
b. jyahp jyahp goh-nya ‘to dig with a large pick’

(35) a. chyarlyaŋ chirliŋ ‘clanging sound’ (as a small cymbal)
b. zyahrlyaŋ zihrliŋ ‘heavy clanging’ (as a medium bell)

(36) a. kur kur pi:-nya ‘to milk in small squirts’
b. khwar khwar pi:-nya ‘to milk in large squirts’

(37) a. kakəra: kəkərɨ: gã:-nya ‘to become stiff from cold’
b. khagəra: khəgərɨ: si-nya ‘to die with rigor mortis’

(38) a. caryap cərip ke:h-nya ‘to break with a light crackling sound’
b. karyap kərip ke:h-nya ‘to break small sticks with cracking’
c. gahryap gəhrip ke:h-nya ‘to break large sticks with cracking’

From this small sample we can deduce the magnitude scale for Kham shown in figure 12, with the left end signifying smaller entities/notions and the right end larger ones.

voiceless affricate < voiceless stop < voiceless aspirate < voiced stop < voiced aspirate

Figure 12. Magnitude symbolism in Kham

8.5.7 The semantics of expressives

Up to now we have looked primarily at the phonological and grammatical form of expressives without giving careful attention to their semantic content. I have already alluded to them as 'manner adverbials,' but I would like to explore what other kinds of semantic modification these adverbs might contribute to the predication.

i. Manner of action

We will begin by looking at expressives that modify the meaning of the main verb in terms of the manner in which the action was carried out. Typically, in a language like Kham, a generic verb like 'go' can be modified in numerous ways to yield different manners of going – like 'to saunter,' 'to amble,' 'to stride defiantly,' and so on. In a language like English, such nuances of meaning are typically handled by families of synonyms in which manner is incorporated into the verb (Talmy 1985). I will illustrate the point with *ba-nya*, the verb 'to go,' which is by far the most prolific of all verbs in terms of expressive adverbs. Some associated expressives have to do with bodily motion, some with mental attitude, some with ability, some in relation to a group, and some with respect to sound. Following is a partial list:

39) a. BODILY MOTION (verb 'to go'):

chõ:jəi chõ:jəi	'(to go) on tiptoes'
gahp gahp	'in long strides'
kyasya kisi	'knock-kneed'
sidəru sidəru	'sliding the feet'
pehsyal pehsyal	'with a slight limp'
koge koge	'feet spread (as from soreness)'
khagap khagap	'with extended elbows (of a drunk)'
syardap sirdup	'without control, like a spastic'
ŋəhtyaõ ŋəhtyaõ	'with bobbing head'

b. MENTAL ATTITUDE:

ləryaŋ ləryaŋ	'to saunter in a desultory manner'
johm johm	'stomp away, defiantly'
peme peme	'with stealth'
sehbe: sehbe:	'slowly, forlornly'
mənca mənca	'without looking back'
suhm ki suhm	'carelessly, recklessly'
lala lulu	'unprepared, in a moment's notice'
suru suru	'steadily, without being sidetracked'

c. ABILITY:

chumo chumo	'walk hesitatingly (of an infant)'
chəm chəm	'walk well (of a small child)'
gahpya gupi	'toddling one or two steps'

d. IN RELATION TO A GROUP:

le:le: gorõ:gorõ:	'single file'
gargar gurgur	'pushing into a crowd'
sər sap	'scattering (as on a search)'

e. SOUND:

gahrap gohrop	'trudging through deep snow'
lakərya ləkəre	'in an ill-fitting way, as with loose fitting shoes'
ləpəryap ləpəryap	'with sandals (slapping the heel)'

Many other verbs have similar kinds of manner modification, though in most cases, only one or two expressives occur per verb.

ii. Degree or intensity of action

Many expressive adverbs indicate the degree or intensity of action achieved in the process of 'verbing.' In a number of cases, especially where the expressive focuses on the final outcome of the verb, we get something of a resultative interpretation. At the other end of the spectrum the interpretation might be partitive. In still others, the interpretation can be collective or iterative action.

(40) RESULTATIVE/COMPLETIVE READING:

cata: cəṭi: phya:-nya	'to annihilate completely'
cita pata cis-nya	'to tear to shreds'
gwa: gwa: khoĩ-nya	'to card wool into fluff'
cyakap cikup pa:-nya	'to shatter to pieces'
gola gola ci-nya	'to rot soft'
gəjə gəjə mĩ:h-nya	'to cook thoroughly'
kacya: kuci: kurci-nya	'to be dented completely'
kakəra: kəkəṛi: gã:-nya	'freeze stiff'
kalya kəle gərã:-nya	'to heal completely'
karap kurup kurup-si-nya	'to shrivel completely'
khərle khərle rwi:h-nya	'to be bug eaten, full of holes'
kutu kutu kəi-nya	'to chew to bits'
tər tər pəra:-nya	'to slit open from one end to the other'
zarap zorop pəsi-nya	'to penetrate completely'

Other expressives denote that the action is only partial or occurring in a lesser degree than with the unmodified verb:

(41) PARTITIVE/LESSER DEGREE READING:

expressive + verb	verb meaning	resulting interpretation
cara: cəṛi: bohs-	uproot	'to become loose, about to uproot'
col col khyo:-	stab	'to prick slightly'
cöl cöl woih-	vomit	'to spit up, burp up'

curup curup thɨ̃:-	dry	'to shrivel at the edges'
khesẽ: khesẽ: ghər-	cry	'to be almost in tears'
kur kur pi:-	milk	'to milk in small squirts'
cyacya: cici: jyah-	grow dark	'to begin to darken'
khap khop dup-si-	meet	'to meet in small numbers'
khore khore pur-	scratch	'to scratch lightly'
tarap tərəp ruhp-	close	'to stitch up partially'

From the final four examples in 41 (for which the verbal source is known), it becomes obvious why we get a 'lesser degree' interpretation – the source verbs are either less intense synonyms of the main verbs, or they imply inception or tentative action, as in: *cici-* 'to spoil along the edges,' *khop-* 'to plant sparingly,' *khore-* 'to weed by scratching the surface,' *tərəp-* 'to clip together.'

Some expressives, in their reduplicated forms, imply iteration or collective action, as in: *chənə chənə phwɨ̃:-nya* 'to hack brush methodically,' *gahda: guhdu: dəhli-nya* 'to topple one after another,' *guhr guhr ro:h-nya* 'to churn and churn,' *kahryap kəhrip ke:h-nya* 'to break several at a time,' and *khələ khələ gal-nya* 'to swallow one after another.'

8.5.8 *Derivation from expressives to nominal modifiers*

Any of the expressive adverbs that can be appropriately cast in 'light verb' constructions (as in examples (23-25)) can also be nominalized and used as nominal modifiers. What is at issue in both cases is whether or not the expressive is independent enough in its semantics to stand as an independent predicator. As a modifier/predicate–adjective, the erstwhile expressive brings into the equation some of the semantics of the verb (or verb domain) with which it is associated:

(42) a. EXPRESSIVE FUNCTION:
kakəra: kəkərɨ: gã:-nya 'to freeze stiff'

b. ADJECTIVAL FUNCTION:
kakəra: kəkərɨ:-wo 'stiff' (esp. from the cold)

(43) a. EXPRESSIVE FUNCTION:
khəle khəle rwi:h-nya 'to be worm-eaten full of holes'

b. ADJECTIVAL FUNCTION:
khəle khəle:-wo 'full of holes' (esp. from worms)

9 *Minor word classes*

In this chapter I will deal with a number of minor word classes that have little in common apart from the fact that all of them are small classes with closed memberships – memberships ranging from six or seven to a few dozen. Traditionally, some of the topics I treat here, like pronouns, demonstratives, and a few others, are treated with nouns. Their inclusion in this chapter makes no theoretical claims; I have lumped them together simply as a matter of organizational convenience.

9.1 Pronouns

True personal pronouns in Kham are limited to 1ST and 2ND persons in singular, dual, and plural numbers. The so-called 'third person pronouns' are easily relatable to demonstratives and will be dealt with in more detail in §9.2. Table 69 gives the full paradigm. The 1ST and 2ND person singular pronouns, *ŋa:* and *nɨ̃:* < **nəŋ*, are clearly related to the TB proto forms **ŋa* and **nəŋ*.[1] A different TB first person form, proposed by Bauman (1975) as a bisyllabic root *#gyaŋa* and found in forms like Lushei *kei-ni* 'we,' etc., is apparently the source of the non-singular forms *gi-n* and *ge:*. The source of the palatal *'j'* in the 2ND person non-singular forms is not clear.

The dual forms *gi-n-* and *ji-n-* are reductions of an earlier **ge-nis* and **je-nis*, where **nis* is the PTB form for the numeral 'two.' This accounts for the height of the vowel in *gi-n-* and *ji-n-*, the trigger for vowel harmony having been lost in the modern forms.[2]

Table 69. Personal pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1st person	ŋa:	gi-n	ge:
2nd person	nɨ̃:	ji-n	je:
3rd person	no:	no:-ni	no:-rə

[1] The high central vowel *ɨ:* is the reflex of a lost velar following mid central schwa (see §2.2.5). This is a regular sound correspondence in Kham, as in:

rɨ:h- < *rəhk- 'weave'
rɨ̃:h- < *rəhŋ- 'see'

[2] Vowel harmony in identical environments can be demonstrated in a number of modern forms. The perfective *-ke* followed by 3D subject *-ni*, for example, yields *-ki-ni*.

Free pronouns in Kham have a function very different from free pronouns in a language like English. The difference has to do primarily with the nature of anaphoric reference in the two language types. In Kham, free pronouns have little to do with the tracking of referents in a discourse. Anaphoric reference is marked instead by bound pronominal forms on the verb, an obligatory part of every finite verb. Free forms are used only where participant continuity breaks down – either to reintroduce participants of low referential standing or as a means to place special emphasis on the participant at hand:

(1) a. PARTICIPANT CONTINUITY (Ø):
ha:h-tə zə Ø ŋa-ba-ke
then-ON EMP (I) 1S-go-PFV
'At that point I left.'

b. REINTRODUCTION OF DISCONTINUOUS PARTICIPANT:
ha:h-tə zə ŋa: məni ŋa-ba-ke
then-ON EMP I also 1S-go-PFV
'At that point I also went.'

(2) a. PARTICIPANT CONTINUITY (Ø):
nə-kin Ø zihm ŋa-jəi-ke
dist-ELAT (I) house 1S-make-PFV
'Then I built a house.'

b. PARTICIPANT EMPHASIS:
ao zihm ŋa: ŋa-jəi-ke
this house I 1S-make-PFV
'This house I (myself) built.' / 'I am the one who built this house.'

Personal pronouns show a great deal of correspondence from one dialect to another, amply demonstrating that their modern morphological make-up goes back to proto-Kham times. In table 70 are the forms in several representative dialects.

The 1ST and 2ND person singular pronouns are **ŋa* and **nəŋ*, respectively in Proto-Kham. Their non-singular counterparts are **ge* for 1ST person and **je* for 2ND person. (Oddly, the distinction between 1ST and 2ND person non-singular free pronouns has collapsed in Gamale – *ge:* for both. The forms are disambiguated only by the co-occurring bound pronominal forms on the verb.) In all dialects, the dual is a secondary development based on the numeral **nis* 'two.' In Nishel, a later morpheme, *jor* < Nepali 'pair,' occurs with dual forms in much the same way that the original **nis* must have occurred.

Table 70. Pronominal forms in five Kham dialects

	Takale	Nishel	Maikoti	Gamale	Sheshi
1S	ŋa:	ŋa:	ŋa:	ŋa:	ŋa:
1D	gi-n	gi-n jor	gĩ:	gi-ŋ	gi-ni
1P	ge:	ge:	ge:	ge:	ge:
2S	nɨ̃:	nə̃:	nã:	nəŋ	nəŋ
2D	ji-n	ji-n jor	jĩ:	gi-ŋ	ji-ni
2P	je:	je:	je:	ge:	je:
3S	no:	no:	no:	nəka	nəka
3D	no:-ni	no:-ni jor	no:-ni	nəka-ŋi	nəka-ni
3P	no:-rə	no:-rə	no:-rə	nəka-rə	nəka-ŋ

9.1.1 *Possessive pronouns*

In many Himalayish languages, possessive pronouns are distinct from free pronouns. Bauman (1975) and others have used this as an argument in support of the 'native origin hypothesis' for TB pronominal verb morphology. This is not generally true for Kham. In general, free pronouns, possessive pronouns, and pronominal affixes on verbs show common origins. It turns out, however, that some of the pronominal affixes on verbs in the more conservative dialects show an affinity, not with Kham possessives, but with possessive pronouns in far away, conservative TB languages like Gyarong. In chapter 17, I will show that Kham had an original system much like the other Himalayish languages, and that the modern patterns are the result of massive reanalysis.

Following are the possessive pronominal affixes in two Kham dialects. The material from Nishel supports the view that the dual forms are a later development. Only singular and non-singular forms occur in Nishel as 1ST and 2ND person prefixes (see table 71).

Table 71. Possessive prefixes in Takale and Nishel

Takale:	SG	DL	PL
1ST	ŋa-	gin-	ge-
2ND	nə-	jin-	je-
3RD	o-/u-	ni-	ya-

Nishel:	SG	DL		PL
1ST	ŋa-	ge-	=	ge-
2ND	nə-	je-	=	je-
3RD	o-/u-	ni-		ya-

In much the same way that participants in a clause can be doubly indexed (once as a free pronoun and once as a bound pronominal form on the verb), so also, possession can be doubly marked – once with a free pronoun and once with a possessive prefix (see §10.1.1). Similar constructions are found elsewhere in TB, and in at least some languages, the 'short' form is used for inalienably possessed items (see, for example, Bauman 1975 on Meithei). Following are the full forms (doubly indexed) from three Kham dialects:

TAKALE: *ŋa: ŋa-zihm* 'my house,' *gi-n gi-n-zihm* 'our (dl) house,' *ge: ge-zihm* 'our house,' *nɨ̃: nə-zihm* 'your house,' *ji-n ji-n-zihm* 'your (dl) house,' *je: je-zihm* 'your (pl) house,' *no-e u-zihm* 'his house,' *no-ni ni-zihm* 'their (dl) house,' *no-ra-e ya-zihm* 'their house.'

NISHEL: *ŋa: ŋa-zihm* 'my house,' *gi-n jor ge-zihm* 'our (dl) house,' *ge: ge-zihm* 'our house,' *nɑ̃: nə-zihm* 'your house,' *ji-n jor je-zihm* 'your (dl) house,' *je: je-zihm* 'your (pl) house,' *no u-zihm* 'his house,' *no-ni jor ni-zihm* 'their (dl) house,' *no:-rə ya-zihm* 'their house.'

GAMALE: *ŋa: a-zyuhŋ* 'my house,' *gi-ŋ ye-zyuhŋ* 'our (dl) house,' *ge: ye-zyuhŋ* 'our house,' *nəŋ nə-zyuhŋ* 'your house,' *gi-ŋ ye-zyuhŋ* 'your (dl) house,' *ge: ye-zyuhŋ* 'your (pl) house,' *nəka-lə ə-zyuhŋ* 'his house,' *nəka-ŋi-lə ye-zyuhŋ* 'their (dl) house,' *nəka-ra ya-zyuhŋ* 'their house.'

There are some interesting differences between the paradigms. In both the Takale and Gamale paradigms, 3RD person possession includes a genitive on the free pronoun: *-e* in Takale and *-lə* in Gamale. In Nishel, 3RD person possession occurs without the genitive. Also in Nishel, as mentioned earlier, the dual distinction occurs only on the free pronoun, not on the bound one. In Gamale, there is no distinction between 1ST and 2ND persons in the non-singular.

Though I will not discuss it here, the possessive paradigm in each of the dialects has close similarity to verbal paradigms in the same dialect, including most of its idiosyncratic features. This is a point which will have considerable importance when we discuss historical developments in chapter 17.

9.1.2 Reflexive, reciprocal and emphatic pronouns

For 3RD person referents there exists a special set of reflexive or emphatic pronouns – *ol* singular, *ni:* dual, and *ya:* plural. The dual and plural forms are clearly related to the 3RD dual and plural prefixes used for possession and pronominal reference on verbs, *ni-* and *ya-* respectively.

In the following examples, reflexive/emphatic pronouns have a reflexive interpretation:

(3) a. ol səih-si-ke
himself kill-DETRANS-PFV 'He killed himself.'

b. ni: səih-si-ki-ni
themselves kill-DETRANS-PFV-3D ‘They (dl) killed themselves.’

c. ya: səih-si-ke-rə
themselves kill-DETRANS-PFV-3P ‘They killed themselves.’

It should be noted, however, that reflexive pronouns are not required by the reflexive syntax on the verb. Non-reflexive pronouns can also occur in this context, as in:

(4) no: məni səih-si-ke
he also kill-DETRANS-PFV ‘He too killed himself.’

The difference between (3a) and (4) is more a difference of participant focus than it is of reflexivity – a difference that can be made more obvious in a non-reflexive context. Occurring with non-reflexive verb forms, the same pronouns function as emphatic pronouns with an interpretation akin to the English ‘he himself,’ or ‘they themselves.’ That is, they make reference to the participants in current discourse focus, as in the following examples: *ol ba-ke* ‘He (our hero) went,’ and *ni: ba-ki-ni* ‘They (dl) themselves went’ (those very two).

As emphatic pronouns, these forms can occur in grammatical roles other than subject. Under the right conditions they can occur with any case markings, as in: *ol-ni zə jəi-ke-o* ‘He made it on his own,’ *ol-lai zə e-ke-o* ‘He gave it to that very one,’ and *ol-kin gyo:h-wo* ‘bigger than himself.’

1ST and 2ND person pronouns have no separate reflexive or emphatic forms. They receive reflexive or emphatic interpretation from the constructions in which they occur. Sentence (2b), *‘This house I made myself’* is a case in point. The double occurrence of the 1ST person pronoun is what gives it its emphatic interpretation. Such constructions often occur with an additional emphatic marker *zə*, as in: *ŋa: zə ŋa-jəi-ke* ‘I myself made it.’ / ‘I am the one who made it,’ and *je: zə səĩ-c-yo* ‘Figure it out yourselves!’

The dual and plural forms of 1ST, 2ND, and 3RD person pronouns also function within reciprocal constructions. Reciprocals, like reflexives, are marked in the verb by the suffix *-si*. Since, then, there is no formal marking distinction in the verb, the difference between a reflexive and reciprocal interpretation is often a matter of verb semantics; some verbs are not amenable to reflexive interpretation, as in the following:

(5) a. ü-si-ki-ni
argue-DETRANS-PFV-3D ‘They (dl) argued with each other.’

b. dup-si-ke-rə
meet-DETRANS-PFV-3P ‘They (pl) met together.’

Other verbs, like *hit* or *kill*, are amenable to both reflexive and reciprocal interpretations. Such verbs with reflexive/reciprocal morphology are disambiguated only by the form of the pronoun – reciprocal interpretation is marked by the reduplication of the pronoun, as in the following:

(6) a. REFLEXIVE:
ya: səih-si-ki-rə
themselves.pl kill-DETRANS-PFV-3P
'They (pl) killed themselves.'

b. RECIPROCAL:
ya: ya: səih-si-ke-rə
themselves.pl themselves.pl kill-DETRANS-PFV-3P
'They killed each other.' (as in war)

Reduplication for reciprocals extends to 1ST and 2ND persons as well:

(7) a. REFLEXIVE OR RECIPROCAL (ambiguous):
gin bənəi zə gin-poh-si-ke
we.dl intense EMP 1D-hit-DETRANS-PFV
'We really beat ourselves.' / 'We really beat each other.'

b. UNAMBIGUOUSLY RECIPROCAL:
gin gin bənəi zə gin-poh-si-ke
we.dl we.dl intense EMP 1D-hit-DETRANS-PFV
'We really beat each other.'

9.1.3 Relative and corelative pronouns

As a typical AOV, SV language, Kham has a relativizing strategy that does not make use of relative pronouns. For the Kham equivalent of English relative clauses like *the woman who went …* or *the book which I read …* see §10.3. Here, I will deal with another kind of relative pronoun, also called a 'corelative' (Keenan 1985b). As Keenan shows, corelatives are the functional equivalent of relative clauses in many languages. Syntactically, the subordinated 'relative' clause is paratactic with a second clause, and typically has fully finite structure. It is subordinated to the second clause by means of the corelative marker.

Corelative structures are common in the Indic languages of the larger linguistic area, and at least one corelative in Kham appears to be a borrowing from Nepali. Corelatives in Kham occur obligatorily in pairs, the second member of the pair being an anaphoric pronoun referring back specifically to the corelative. Only three basic pairs occur:

(8) a. jo … ho 'whoever … that one' / 'whichever … that one'
b. kitao … hitao 'however (in whatever way) … that way'
c. kha: … ha:h 'however much … that much'

Following are examples of corelative pronouns in use:

(9) JO … HO PAIRS:
jo nə-pəĩ-zya, ho zə ŋa-yã:
whatever 2S-want-CONT, that EMP 1S-give.2S
'Whatever you desire, that I will give you.'

(10) KITAO … HITAO PAIRS:
kitao ya-le-o, hitao zə u-li-rə-kə
however 3P-be-NML, like.that EMP DUM-be-3P-OPT
'How ever they were (in whatever state), let them remain like that.'

(11) KHA: … HA:H PAIRS:
a. kha: nə-zyu-rih-zya, ha:h zə gəh-zyu-yo
how.much 2S-eat-PROS-CONT, that.much EMP HOR-eat-IMP
'However much you want to eat, eat that much.'

9.1.4 Generic pronouns

While on the topic of pronouns, I need to point the reader to the Kham functional equivalent of generic pronouns like those in *One shouldn't drink while driving*, or *You can find good deals at the Saturday market*, etc. In Kham, such generic expressions are handled not by pronouns, but by detransitivizing and imperfective morphology on the verb. I treat this more fully elsewhere (see §11.7.1). Here I illustrate with a couple of examples:

(12) a. no hã:-tə ma-ba-si-i
that cliff-ON NEG-go-DETRANS-IMPFV
'One doesn't go on that cliff.' / 'That cliff is not climbable.'

b. kwa: a-lə dəi-si-i
cloth prox-IN find-DETRANS-IMPFV
'One finds cloth here.' / 'Cloth is available here.'

9.2 Demonstratives

Earlier, I alluded to the fact that so-called 'third person pronouns' are related to demonstratives in a direct way. This, of course, is common in languages around the world, and the motivating factors are fairly straightforward and well understood. Demonstratives have to do with spatial orientation, specifically the location of some object with respect to the speaker and hearer in a speech act. 'This,' in some languages is not only semantically related to 1ST person, but also lexically related. In the same way, 'that,' the distal demonstrative, is often related to 3RD person. The latter association is true for Kham as well. Because 'that' is highly specific, the distal demonstrative also functions in limited contexts as something like a 'definite article' (though very different from English).

Demonstratives in Kham show evidence of being historically polymorphemic. At minimum two morphemes are involved, and in some dialects three. In the following I show something of their internal composition:

(13) a. a-o
proximate-NML 'this'

b. n-o
distal-NML 'that' (within view)

c. h-o
remote-NML 'that' (remote)

Recall from §7.1 that the same three primitives, *a-* 'proximate,' *n-* 'distal,' and *h-* 'remote,' are fully operational in a paradigmatic way with certain locative expressions. The morpheme *-o* is likely the same nominalizer we have seen elsewhere. In the Gamale and Sheshi dialects, demonstratives have even more internal complexity, but with the same three-way distal opposition, as can be seen in the following forms from Gamale:

(14) a. a-k-a
proximate-LOC-NML 'this'

b. nə-k-a
distal-LOC-NML 'that' (within view)

c. ho-k-a
remote-LOC-NML 'that' (remote)

The choice between the distal and remote forms of 'that' depends on more than just relative distance or visibility (as the glosses would seem to indicate). Discourse pragmatics plays an important role too. In general, the remote forms with *h-* indicate referents that cannot be pointed to in the real world; they have to do primarily with anaphoric reference within the linguistic context.[3] It is for this reason that the corelatives discussed earlier (see §9.1.3) make use of *h-* in expressions like 'whoever … that one,' where *h-* marks the second form. Forms in *n-* would be ill-formed in such a context.

I should mention two additional demonstratives, the first of which allows suffixation, and the other of which is an independent, stand-alone word. The first is an extension of the remote demonstrative *ho*, and means 'that particular one,' as in:

(15) a. hono:h 'that particular one'
b. hono:h-kə 'at that particular place'
c. hono:h-lə 'in that particular thing'

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[3] This is only a general observation. In many cases the line between distal and remote is obscured, and distal forms in *n-* are also used for some cases of anaphora. This is a topic that needs more study.

The other demonstrative, *nəgyaoh*, is very specialized and points to something as proof of an earlier statement, as in: *nəgyaoh nəi o-jəi-wo kata* 'There, what was that he just did?' (It's like I told you).

9.3 Question words and indefinite pronouns

Most question words in Kham, with the notable exception of *su:* 'who' (< TB **su*), begin with the consonant *k*. Though the same series in Nepali also begins with *k*, the correlation is probably coincidental – the Nepali forms are cognate with PIE *k^w, and the form *kh-* is a widespread TB element (as in Tibetan *kha-*).

Question words in Kham operate within a paradigm intersecting with the same locative suffixes discussed in §4.4 and §7.1. Before we look at the paradigms, however, we need to look at the basic root morphemes:

(16)

su:	who?
karao	why?
kəi	what? (what event, speech act)
kata	what? (what object)
kitao	how? what type?
kha:	how much?
kan-	where?
khər-	when?

9.3.1 Bound roots

Two of the root morphemes, *kan-* and *khər-*, are bound morphemes and obligatorily occur with locative/temporal suffixes. Another three of the roots, *su:*, *karao*, and *kəi*, disallow locative suffixes altogether. With the rest, *kata*, *kitao*, and *kha:*, affixation is optional. Following are the paradigms for *kan-* and *khər-*:

(17) a.

kan-da / kana	'where to?
kan-ni	'where from?,' 'out from where?'
kaŋ-kə	'where at?'
kaŋ-ŋə	'where at? (general location)'
kan-lə	'where in?'
kan-tə	'where on?'
kaŋ-kin	'where from?', 'away from where?'
kan-tin	'down from where?'
kaŋ-kə-pəi	'up to where?'
kan-phə-tə	'on which side (of a valley)?'
kan-ti:-ni	'on which side (of a barrier)?'
kan-ti:-da	'in which direction?'

b.	khər-kə	'when?'
	khər-ŋə	'when? (generally)'
	khər-kin	'since when?'

9.3.2 *Free roots*

I will now treat all other interrogative roots that co-occur with locative suffixation. None are obligatorily bound; they can occur with suffixation or as free roots:

(18)	kata	'what?'
	kata-e	'why?,' 'by what?'
	kata-da	'towards what object?'
	kata-ni	'from what source?'
	kata-kə	'at what thing?'
	kata-ŋə	'at what general location?'
	kata-lə	'inside what thing?'
	kata-tə	'on what thing?,' 'for what reason?'
	?kata-kin	
	?kata-tin	

Comparing the combinations in (18) with those in (17a) it becomes clear that *kan-* is a locative root, while *kata* makes reference to an object. The interpretation 'from what source' for *kata-ni* (rather than 'from what object') is apparently a new lexicalization and occurs in such contexts as: *kata-ni o-səĩ-wo* 'How does he know it?' / 'From what source did he learn it?'

i. The two 'whats'

Two distinct question words in Kham, *kata* and *kəi*, are both translated 'what' in English. As we have seen above, *kata* is used primarily when the speaker presupposes some physical object. The root *kəi*, on the other hand, presupposes either an event or something spoken.[4] The division extends even to certain nouns, as in the following equative clauses:

(19)	a.	ao	kata	b. nə-min	kəi
		this	what	2S-name	what
		'What is this?'		'What is your name?'	

It turns out that *kata* can be used as a question word for almost any verb, while the question word *kəi* collocates with only four verbs, two from the intransitive class and two from the transitive class.[5] All function elsewhere in the grammar as pro-verbs (see

[4] On its own, *kəi* is the interrogative form of the adverbials *əi* 'thus, like this,' *nəi* 'like that,' and *həi* 'like that' (remote).

[5] I have one example of *kəi* collocating with 'die' in:

§8.1.1), and also as the main verb in 'light verb' constructions (§8.5.2). The four verbs are:

(20) a. INTRANSITIVE:
li-nya 'to be'
ta-nya 'to become'

b. TRANSITIVE:
da-nya 'to do'
jəi-nya 'to make'

Where *kəi* co-occurs with either *li-nya* 'to be' or *da-nya* 'to do,' the result is a question which presupposes something spoken, one intransitive and the other transitive, as in:

(21) a. kəi u-li-zya-o
what 3S-be-CONT-NML
'What is he saying?'

b. kəi o-ra-do-zya-o
what 3S-3P-do-CONT-NML
'What is he telling them?'

The word *kəi* in this combination is simply the question form for the complex predicates *həi li-nya* 'to say' (intransitive) and *həi da-nya* 'to say/tell' (transitive). 'Do' and 'be,' in fact, in combination with the adverbial *həi* 'thus,' are the only verbs of speech in Kham. (For a complete treatment of these verbs with their complement structures, see §15.3.5.)

Continuing with the four verbs that collocate with *kəi*, where *kəi* co-occurs with either *ta-nya* 'to become' or *jəi-nya* 'to make,' the result is a question that presupposes an event, one intransitive and the other transitive:

(22) a. kəi o-ta-o
what 3S-become-NML
'What happened?'

b. kəi ya-jəi-wo-ke
what 3P-make-3S-FUT
'What will he do to them?'

It should be noted that the question word *kata* can also collocate with the verbs in (22), but with very different results. In such cases, the questions presuppose an object, as in: *kata kata u-li-zya-o* 'What all is there?,' *kata o-ta-o* 'What did it become?,' and *kata o-jəi-wo* 'What did he make?'

The combination shown in (22b), *kəi* + *jəi-nya*, also occurs frequently as a non-final verb in clause chains with a meaning of 'how?, by what method?' Its literal translation is something like 'doing what?', as in: *kəi jəi-də o-do-wo* 'How did he do it?' (lit. 'he did it doing what?')

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kəi nə-ma-si-u
what 2S-NEG-die-NML
'How did you not die?' / 'How did you keep from getting killed?'

ii. Other free roots

Two other roots, *kitao* and *kha:*, also form partial paradigms with locative postpositions. The root *kitao* questions 'type' or 'quality' and extends to concepts like color, taste, or health. *Kitao* is the interrogative form of the adjectivals *itao* 'like this,' *nitao* 'like that,' *hitao* 'like that,' and *mitao* 'like':

(23) a. itao li-zya
like.this be-CONT 'It's like this.'

b. kitao nə-li-zya-o
what.like 2S-be-CONT-NML 'How are you?'

Where *kitao* includes a locative suffix, the result is a question about the location of something with respect to 'some sort of thing,' as in:

(24) kitao-da 'toward what sort of thing?'
kitao-kə 'located at what sort of thing?'
kitao-lə 'in what sort of thing?'
kitao-tə 'on top of what sort of thing?'

The ablative in this context evokes an abstract kind of meaning, much as it did with 'what' in *kata-ni o-sə̃-wo* 'How does he know it?' as in: *kitao-ni pəlas-də ŋa-ya-ci-ke* 'How/According to what shall I explain it to you?'

The final question word, *kha:*, inquires about amount, both physical and temporal. As I show in §7.3.1, *kha:* is the interrogative form of the roots *a:h* 'this much,' *na:h* 'that much,' and *ha:h* 'that much' (remote). As with those roots, a commonly occurring suffix with *kha:* is the approximative *-wa*. Together with the locative postpositions, we get the combinations and glosses shown in table 72. In addition we also get: *kha-lyu* 'what size?,' *kha-lyalu* 'all what size?,' *kha-ldyu* 'how big?,' and *kha-ldyalu* 'all how big?' (see §7.3.2).

Table 72. Material, spatial, and temporal interpretations of *kha:*

	matter	space	time
kha:-wa	about how much	about how far	–
kha:-kə	–	where, how far	when, at what time
kha:-kin	from how much	starting where	starting when
kha:-pəi	up to how much	up to where	till when
kha:-kə-pəi	–	up to where	till when
kha:-wa-kə	–	about where	about when
kha:-wa-kin	from about how much	starting about where	starting about when
kha:-wa-pəi	up to about how much	up to about where	up to about when
kha:-wa-kə-pəi	–	up to about where	up to about when

9.3.3 Reduplication of question words

Question words are frequently reduplicated, in which case they indicate a selective plurality, as in the following examples:

(25) a. kata kata je-ra-dəi-wo
what what 2P-3P-find-NML 'What all did you find?'

b. kəi kəi o-ra-do-wo
what what 3S-3P-do-NML 'What all did he say to them?'

c. nə-za:-rə su: su:
2S-child-PL who who 'Which ones are your children?'

In the first two cases, the speaker asks for the identity of all members within a selected set – in (25a) the identity of each item found, and in (25b) the identity of everything said. It (25c) it is assumed that only some of the children in a group belong to the addressee, and the speaker asks for the identity of all in the selected set.

Reduplication does not replace normal plurality. The normal plural suffix *-rə* also occurs on question words, but with a different sense, as in: *nə-ka-o dup-si-u-rə su:-rə* 'Who are those that are meeting there?'

9.3.4 Indefinite pronouns

Cross-linguistically, it is common for indefinite pronouns, those like *someone*, *somewhere*, etc., to take the same basic form as question words (see Haspelmath 1997). Furthermore, where one is morphologically more complex than the other, the indefinite pronoun will be derived from the more basic question word. Kham follows the cross-linguistic norms. Indefinite pronouns are either identical to interrogatives or clearly derived from them.

i. The 'no' series

It will be easiest to illustrate first from the 'no'-series (*nobody*, *nothing*, etc.). With this series, the indefinite pronoun is identical to the interrogative. An emphatic *zə* (or *bə* 'also') occurs almost always after the pronoun (plus any case marking). The verb occurs obligatorily in the negative:

(26) a. REGULAR NEGATIVE:

su: zə ma-le	'no one'
kata zə ma-le	'nothing'
kəi zə ma-le	'nothing said'
kəi zə ma-ta-e	'nothing happened'
kan-kə zə ma-le	'nowhere'
kan-da zə ma-le	'to nowhere'
khər-kə zə ma-le	'never'

b. PROHIBITIVE:
kata-e bə ta-woĩ-si-u-kə
what-ERG also PROH-stop-1P-3S-OPT
'May nothing hinder us.'

c. WITH 'ALSO':
ge-lai kata-e o-chyas bə ma-le
us-OBJ what-GEN 3S-danger also NEG-be
'There is no danger whatsoever to us.'

The interrogatives *karao* 'why,' *kitao* 'how,' and *kha:* 'how much' do not participate in the *no*-series.

It is also possible for both the agent and patient participants of a verb to be indefinite, both marked as such by a single occurrence of the negative on the verb:

(27) no-lai su-e zə kata zə ya-ma-e-zya-o
he-OBJ who-ERG EMP what EMP 3P-NEG-give-CONT-NML
'No one was giving him anything.'

• *Skewed agreement patterns.* Although the 'no'-series indicates the non-occurrence of an item, and hence, is less than singular in number, one member of the series – *no one* – commonly has plural marking on the verb (as in 33 also). Where such occurs, the implication is that plural participants were involved, but none of them, in fact, qualified as operative agents or patients:

(28) a. su-e zə ma-phəi-duh-rə
who-ERG EMP NEG-open-ABLE-3P
'No one was able to open it.' (many tried)

b. su-lai zə khusi ma-ra-jəi-wo
who-OBJ EMP happy NEG-3P-make-3S
'He made no one happy.' (out of a group of several prospects)

One might expect a parallel occurrence with *nothing*, but, in fact, in a text collection of several hundred pages, plural concord does not occur. My suspicion is that elicitation would produce it. It is also possible, of course, that because 'things' have a lower salience than humans in natural linguistic systems, *nothing* has no concord with the verb, not even out of a plural field.

The other three indefinites, *kəi* 'what,' *kan-* 'where,' and *khər-* 'when,' cannot make reference to the core participants of a verb, and thus the possibility of plural concord on the verb is vacuous. Even *kəi*, which is translated 'what,' marks the secondary object in ditransitive constructions, where only the primary object has the possibility of triggering verb agreement:

(29) a. kəi zə ma-ra-do-ke-o
what EMP NEG-3P-do-PFV-3S
'He said nothing to them.' *'He said nothings.'

b. je: kəi je-ta-o
you.pl what 2P-become-NML
'What happened to you (pl)?'

The pronoun *su:* 'who' has one other peculiarity not found with the indefinite pronouns. It can occur with verbs having 1ST or 2ND person pronominal agreement, as in the following:

(30) a. ge: su: zə ge-ma-ba-e
we who EMP 1P-NEG-go-IMPFV
'None of us went.'

b. je: su-lai zə həi ŋa-ma-da-ci-i
you.pl who-OBJ EMP say 1S-NEG-do-2P-IMPFV
'I said it to none of you.'

ii. The 'something/anything' series

We have just seen the 'no'-series, which, apart from an emphatic plus negative marking on the verb, is virtually the same as the interrogative. The positive counterpart to the 'no'-series, of course, is the 'something' series. If, however, the positive series were distinguished from the negative by a mere removal of the negative marking on the verb, there would be nothing to distinguish it from the interrogative. The language has contrived various means for making the distinction. The simplest is with the pronoun *something*, patterned after the interrogative *kata* 'what.' A plural marker *-rə* added to *kata* without accompanying plural verb agreement marks the indefinite pronoun, as in:

(31) kata-rə nə-ma-Ø-rɨ̃:h-zya
what-PL 2S-NEG-3S-see-CONT (singular object agreement)
'Do you see anything?'

Recall from the forms in example (18) that *kata* with locative postpositions can function much like a locative interrogative. In the same way, the indefinite use of *kata* with locative suffixation functions much like an indefinite location:

(32) ha:h-tə zə tubu mɛ̃:ma kata-ra-ni kes-hu-ke
that.much-ON EMP one woman what-PL-ABLT arrive-COME-PFV
'At that point a woman arrived from somewhere.'

This indefinite locative function of *kata* has pretty well replaced the other form for *somewhere*, also technically possible but rarely used. It too is fashioned by the plural marker – this time on the root *kan-*, as in *kan-ra-ni* 'from somewhere,' *kan-ra-da* 'to somewhere.'

• *Indefinite* -wa. The indefinite of *who*, yielding *someone*, also makes use of the plural marker, but with an additional 'indefinitizing' morpheme *-wa* (which may, in fact, be the same as the approximative *-wa*), as in:

(33) su-wa-ra-e le-o-ni ta-juhki-c-yo
who-INDEF-PL-GEN be-NML-ABLT PROH-trick-2P-IMP
'Don't be fooled by anyone!'

The interrogative *kha:* 'how much?' is also made indefinite, 'some,' by the incorporation of the *-wa* morpheme (*khwa:* < **kha:* + *wa*) with an optional plural morpheme *-rə*:

(34) a. khwa: khwa: ma-bəĩh-rə
some some NEG-agree-3P 'Some disagreed.'

b. khwa:-rə ba-ke-rə, khwa:-rə rəhi-ke-rə
some-PL go-PFV-3P, some-PL stay-PFV-3P
'Some went and some stayed.'

• *Indefinite k- … m- …* Another two interrogative pronouns, *kəi* 'what (event)' and *khər-kə* 'when,' are made indefinite by the addition of a rhyming paragoge with an *m-* initial. The rhyming member can also have a plural marker as in the other indefinite pronouns:

(35) a. je: kəi məi-rə je-ta-kin, ta-rəi-c-yo
you.pl what what-PL 2P-become-IF PROH-bring-2P-IMP
'If anything happens to you, don't bring it!'

b. khər-ŋə mər-ŋa-o kata kata-ra-e ya-min-rə …
when-ADS when-ADS-NML what what-PL-GEN 3P-name-PL …
'the names of whatever from some (unknown) time …'

A new member has been added to the 'some'-series that does not appear in its entirety in the interrogative series. It is based on the interrogative *kəi* with several additional morphemes. The full word is *kəitakə* and means 'sometimes' in the sense of 'on some occasions.' It is very likely that the word derives from *kəi* 'what' + *ta* 'become' + *-kə* 'when' – 'when such and such happens.' Evidence of its reanalysis comes from the fact that a plural *-rə*/*-ra* can occur following *ta*, an impossibility if *ta* were still conceptualized as a verb. Following are examples:

(36) a. kəita-kə kəita-kə ta-zya-o nə-betha
sometimes-LOC sometimes-LOC be-CONT-NML 2S-ailment
'your occasional ailments …'

b. kəita-ra-kə gəhgə zə ba-zya
sometimes-PL-LOC early EMP go-CONT
'Sometimes he goes early.'

The latter form, the one with the plural, is always used in the context of 'at some unforeseeable time, possibly.' (41b), then, is spoken in the context of 'Be aware, you might not find him at home. Sometimes he goes early.'

iii. The 'whoever/whatever' series

Two of the interrogatives, *kitao* 'how' and *kha:* 'how much,' plus another member which occurs only as an indefinite, *jo* 'whoever,' function in a whoever/whatever series. I discussed them earlier (see §9.1.3) in the context of relative pronouns. They are the so-called 'corelatives' and function in pairs. Here I simply list them:

(37) a. jo … ho 'whoever … that one' / 'whichever … that one'
b. kitao … hitao 'however (in whatever way) … that way'
c. kha: … ha:h 'however much … that much'

Another word belonging to the 'whatever' series is a loan from Nepali – *jəti* 'as much as, as many as,' as in: *jəti nə-rəi-di bə ta-e* 'However much you bring is okay.'

9.3.5 Rhetorical and exclamatory use of question words

Question words in some contexts are not real questions. Rather they are used in a kind of exclamatory sense. Following are examples:

(38) a. kata gəhri nə-hũ:-wo
what clock 2S-come-NML
'How quickly/With what quickness you came!'

b. kitao dukhə-rə ŋa-dəi-ke
how difficulty-PL 1S-find-PFV
'What difficulties I encountered!'

To my knowledge, only *kata* 'what,' *kitao* 'how,' and *kana* 'where' are used in this sense.

9.4 Quantifiers, numerals, and classifiers

Quantifiers make reference to sets of items and the relative number of items in that set relevant to the predication – notions like *all*, *some*, and *a few*. Quantifiers are not numerous in Kham, and cover only basic concepts. Following is the basic list:

(39) a. paĩ:h all, everyone, everything
b. bəhri all, the whole of (< Nepali)
c. opo:səzə all, every single one
d. jəmma entirely (< Nepali)
e. khwa: some
f. kudu:h many, much

g. jotoro many, innumerable (< Nepali)
h. kosəi many, more than enough
i. jã:kosəi most, mostly
j. əjəih even more (?< Nepali)
k. tubu nehblo a few

The first two forms, translated 'all,' differ in several respects. First of all, *paĩh*, the first form, precedes the noun it quantifies, while *bəhri* follows the noun. Also, the noun following *paĩh* requires a plural marker, and the NP with *bəhri* does not. In addition, *paĩh* can stand alone as the noun itself; *bəhri* cannot:

(40) a. paĩh mi:-rə hu-ke-rə
all person-PL come-PFV-3P 'All the people came.'

b. paĩh hu-ke-rə
all come-PFV-3P 'Everyone came.'

(41) a. mi: bəhri hu-ke-rə
person all come-PFV-3P 'All the people came.'

b. *bəhri hu-ke-rə
*all come-PFV-3P

In this respect, *bəhri* is nearly equivalent to a plural marker – it replaces the plural *-rə*, it occurs syntactically in an identical position, and it does not occur freely. Etymologically, it comes from the Nepali word meaning 'full, filled up.' Though the English translations of the two pairs in (40) and (41) are identical, there are contexts in which the two words are distinguishable:

(42) a. paĩh-ye ya-kyã:
all-GEN 3P-body
'everyone's body'

b. o-kyã: bəhri
3S-body all
'his whole body'

The third item in (39), *opo:səzə*, is something of an emphatic and probably derives from an idiomatic expression *o-po:-sə zə* 3S-place-ASC EMP 'along with its very place (of existence).' Its modern meaning is something like 'entirely, every single one; nothing left behind.' It is not uncommon to find all three words for 'all' in a single sentence without sounding strained:

(43) mi: bəhri, paĩh opo:səzə hu-ke-rə
person whole, all entirely come-PFV-3P
'Of the whole group of people, entirely all of them came.'

It appears, then, that it is primarily the historical source of the three quantifiers that determines their current syntactic position in the sentence.

The items in (39f-h) all have the general meaning 'many,' with slightly different nuances of meaning and contexts in which they occur. The first, *kudu:h*, is the unmarked

term, and means simply a large quantity of mass or countable items. A number of classifier-type words are also used synonymously to mean 'a lot' or 'much' with literal meanings like 'a stockpile,' 'a load,' 'a meadow-full,' etc. I will not treat such words here, but reserve them for section §9.4.3. The other two quantifiers with a sense of 'many' are *jotoro* and *kosəi*. The first carries a sense of 'innumerable,' and the latter of 'more than enough,' or 'in excess':

(44) a. pəisa jotoro zə dəi-ke-o
money much EMP find-PFV-3S
'He received an enormous amount of money.'

b. kosəi zə rəi-ke-o
much EMP bring-PFV-3S
'He brought more than enough/too much/the most.'

The latter form, *kosəi*, used with a negative verb does not mean 'not enough,' as one might suppose from the meaning of *kosəi*, but simply 'not many,' as in: *nə-kə mi:-rə kosəi ma-le-rə* 'Not many people are there.'

The form in (39i), *jã:kosəi*, is really a compound derived from *jã:* 'a bit' + *kosəi* 'much' with a resulting meaning of 'the majority, most, mostly,' as in: *mi:-rə jã:kosəi rəhi-ke-rə* 'Most of the people remained.'

The final expression, *tubu nehblo*, is a combination of two numerals, 'one' and 'two.' Together the words mean 'a few,' much like the English *one or two*. The verb in such cases, however, has plural agreement marking (not singular or dual), as in: *tubu nehblo wazə hu-ke-rə* 'Only a few came.'

9.4.1 Numerals

Most numerals in Kham are borrowed from Nepali, the only native ones being 'one,' 'two,' and 'three' in the Takale dialect, and one through five in the Maikoti and Ranmali dialects. The cardinal numbers in seven dialects are given in table 73.

Table 73. Cardinal numbers in seven Kham dialects

	Takale	Sheshi	Gamale	Mahat	Maikoti	Nishel	Bhujel
one	tubu	tolo	tolo	tolo	təbu	tubu	tubu
two	nehblo	nyelo	ŋyebhrẽ	nehbo	jor	jor	nes
three	sohmlo	?	sombhrẽ	?	sombolo	sohm	som
four	–	–	–	–	bzi:	jüih	?
five	–	–	–	–	rŋa:	–	?

Extracting the elements that are constant across the dialects and accounting for regular sound changes we arrive at some very basic Tibeto-Burman material:

(45)

	PTB	Proto-Kham	
a.	*t(y)ik	*tə	'one'
b.	*g-ni-s	*nehs	'two'
c.	*g-sum	*sohm	'three'
d.	*b-liy	*bzi	'four'
e.	*l-ŋa	*rŋa	'five'

The two elements **-bo-lo* and **-brẽ:h* are probably old classifier roots. The latter occurs also in Takale in *nehbərẽ:* 'two,' and *sõ:hbərẽ:* 'three,' and seems to be synonymous with *nehblo* and *sohmlo.* The element **-bo-lo* occurs in the various dialects as *-bo*/*-bu*, *-lo*, *-blo*, and *-bolo.* I have not been able to determine the etymology of these roots (though *-bo* may be cognate with Tibetan *-po*).

The number 'one,' *tubu*, also enters into special collocations with the following meanings:

(46)

a.	tubu tubu-za-ni	'one at a time'
b.	tubu ka tubu	'one and only'

All other numerals in Kham have been borrowed from Nepali with minor phonological changes. I will not list them here. Kham speakers sometimes find a need for secrecy when discussing numbers in the presence of Nepali speakers. They have devised a system based on fingers and toes, along with the addition or subtraction of ones, twos, and threes:

(47)

a.	tɨ̃:-phə-ta-o kwi:	the hand of one side	=	five
	aphi huphi kwi:	hands on both sides	=	ten
	sohmlo kwi:	three hands	=	fifteen
	khɨ̃: kwi:	foot-hand	=	twenty
b.	tɨ̃:-phə-ta-o kwi: tubu	the hand of one side + one	=	six
	tubu-sə aphi huphi kwi:	with one, hands on both sides	=	nine
	nehblo-sə khɨ̃: kwi:	with two, foot-hand	=	eighteen

Larger cardinal numerals are usually expressed in scores, also from Nepali. Either *bis* 'twenty' or *kuri* 'score' is used as a base. Where such occurs, Kham terms mix with Nepali terms in counting the first three score, and Nepali units are used thereafter. One combination, six score, is homophonous with twenty-six, (which is also true for Nepali):

(48)

a.	tə-bis	(Kh-Nep)	one score
	ekais		twenty-one
b.	neh-bis	(Kh-Nep)	two score
	bais		twenty-two
c.	chə bis	(Nep-Nep)	six score
	chəbis		twenty-six

9.4.2 Numeral classifiers

What I refer to as 'numeral classifiers' in the following discussion are not true classifiers in the classical sense defined by Greenberg (1972) and others (see Hale and Shresthacharya 1973). The units I treat here differ from true classifiers in at least two major respects: 1) most of these make reference to 'real world' entities outside of the numeral expressions in which they occur, and 2) they do not impose a semantic classification on head nouns. They do, however, share in a number of other classifying features.

i. Syntactic features

The so-called 'numeral classifiers' in Kham occur with an obligatory numeral prefix (as in *tə-ba:h* 'one-portion'), thus contrasting with the 'cardinal numeral + noun' syntax found in NPs (which I discuss in §10.1.1), but show here for contrastive purposes):

(49) a. tu-bu mi: 'one person, a certain person'
b. tu-bu zihm 'one house'

Historically, at least, it appears that cardinal numerals too include a classifier element *-bu* < **-bo-lo* (the first part of which is probably cognate with Tibetan *-po*). If we follow this interpretation in the synchronic grammar, then, the vast majority of nouns, i.e. all count nouns, belong to the class illustrated in example (54) – the class marked by the numeral classifier *-bu*.

The remainder of nouns are subdivided into minute classes according to the kind of units by which they are counted. Morphologically, *-bu* is replaced by the relevant unit of measure, and preceded by the numeral prefix *tə-* 'one,' *neh-* 'two,' or *sõ:h-* 'three,' as in the following:

(50) a. tə-ba:h 'one portion'
b. neh-ba:h 'two portions'
c. sõ:h-ba:h 'three portions'

The classifier unit *ba:h* preceded by the cardinal numbers *tubu* 'one,' or *nehblo* 'two,' etc. is ungrammatical:

(51) *tubu ba:h

ii. Semantic features

About half of all classifier/count units are used to count volume/weight, distance, and time. Here again (as in 50), the unit of measure is bound to a numeral prefix. The names of some units, however, also occur as free nouns, but with a less restricted sense. (This is likely the first developmental step from noun to classifier.) The word *khuri:*, for example, is a kind of brass drinking bowl, and a *dihm* is a five pound stone. As classifiers, however, they are volume and weight measures. Following is a partial listing of volume and weight units:

(52) a. SET VOLUME/WEIGHT (translated into rough equivalents):

tə-rya:	'one pint'
tə-manu	'one quart'
to-opora:	'one gallon'
tə-seme:	'a two gallon measure'
to-khoi	'a five gallon measure'
tə-dihm	'a five pound weight'

b. VARIABLE VOLUME:

to-cör	'a cupped handful'
tə-rjyam	'an open claw full'
tə-kər	'an arm-load'
tə-rbe:h	'a basketful'
tu-gur	'a load full'
to-ro:h	'a churn full'
tu-khuri:	'a bowlful'

Some of the units in (52b) come from verbs, not nouns. For instance, *cör-* is the verb 'to cup the hands,' *jyam-* is 'to clutch or grasp,' and *kər-* is 'to embrace.'

Those units that measure length or distance differ significantly from those that measure volume in that the volume units collocate with substances like water or flour. Length units do not collocate with nouns but with adjectivals in combinations like *tə-rjya:h khyo-wo* 'one hand span long,' or *tu-gũ: rã:-wo* 'one cubit wide.' Following are several such units:

(53) LENGTH/DISTANCE:

tə-gəp	'one finger width'
tə-rjya:h	'one hand-span'
tu-gũ:	'one cubit' (elbow to fingertip)
tu-gũ:thũ:	'one short cubit' (elbow to closed fist)
tə-gahtərã:	'one leg spread'
tə-lam	'one arm spread'
tə-rnəi	'one rest-stand' (distance on the trail)

Time classifiers are different again in that they quantify neither nouns (as we saw in *tu-khuri: ri:h* 'one bowlful of water') or adjectivals (as we saw in *tə-rjya:h khyo:-wo* 'one hand span long'). They stand alone, as in: *tə-la: ge-li-ke* 'We stayed one day.' Following are a few such units:

(54) TIME:

tə-la:	'one day'
tə-ri:	'one night'
tə-sata	'one week'
tə-syah	'one month'

tə-rim ‘one year’

Such units are converted to modifiers by a process of adding a nominalized locative (see §10.3.1-iii) as in:

(55) a. tə-la:-ka-o em
one-day-LOC-NML trail ‘a one day’s journey’

b. tə-ri:-la-o bas
one-night-IN-NML lodge ‘a one night’s stay’

Outside the realm of units of measure, a major function of classifier units is to impose a kind of structure on things that lack structured wholeness. These are typically mass nouns that cannot be counted in ones. Though they occur with the numeral prefix *tə-* ‘one,’ they are not, in fact, being used to count in any normal sense of the word; the numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ do not occur. Thus, for example, *neh-kəri: sya:* ‘two chunks of meat’ is impossible except as a joke (somewhat like the English ‘I want two smidgens of cream in my coffee’). Their function is to construe an unstructured mass as a single countable unit:

(56)
tə-kəri: sya:	‘a chunk of meat’
tə-ke: jɨ:h	‘a piece of iron’
to-korlo kã:	‘a lump of meal’
tə-gẽ:da sĩ:	‘a length of wood’
to-cop mənəm	‘a pinch of flour’
to-poka zusəi	‘a cluster of blackberries’
to-bohrla chi:	‘a tuft of grass’
tu-puru: ri:h	‘a small amount of water’
tə-pəri: chigum	‘a braid of rhubarb’

Here too, several of the units are based on verbs: *kəri:-* ‘to cut meat,’ *ke:h-* ‘to break,’ *gẽ:dəi-* ‘to split wood,’ *cop-* ‘to take a pinch,’ and *pəri:-* ‘to braid.’

iii. Novel counting units

Because of the predominate use of classifier units as units of measure, ordinary count nouns with prefixed numerals take on a derived status as new units of measure. The process is selective, and only nouns that can be conceived of as units in a particular context can be used. Following are a couple of non-established units constructed on the fly:

(57) a. tə-zihm rã:-wo ‘one house wide’
b. tə-kyã: gis-o ‘one body heavy’

iv. Classifiers in light verb constructions

Classifier/count units are also used as predications in 'light verb' constructions. A unit with a numeral prefix occurs with one of the pro-verbs 'be,' 'become,' 'make,' or 'do,' as in the following:

(58) a. neh-pəra: jəi-ke-o
two-slice make-PFV-3S 'She (cut) it into two slices.'

b. neh-jya: do-ke-o
two-wife do-PFV-3S 'He engaged in bigamy.' (lit. 'did two wives')

v. Classifier units with numerals past three

Recall that Kham numerals (in the Takale dialect) go only as far as three. Numerals four and upward are borrowed from Nepali. Interestingly, where Nepali equivalents occur for Kham classifier units, unit counts from four upward make use of the Nepali unit, as in the following:

(59) a. sõ:h-gur
three-load
'three loads'

b. car bahri
four load (Nep)
'four loads'

(60) a. sõ:h-la:
three-day
'three days'

b. car din
four day (Nep)
'four days'

9.5 Particles and clitics

Particles and clitics have considerable freedom of movement and many co-occur with diverse syntactic units. All are enclitics; they are postposed to the syntactic unit they modify. They perform a range of functions from contrast to quantification to requests for confirmation.

9.5.1 Contrastive focus

Contrastive focus is marked by the particle *te.* The same particle occurs in all dialects of Kham.[6] The particle occurs following the syntactic unit it modifies, including any case or subordination markers. Following are examples:

(61) a. WITH NOUN PHRASES:
ao po:-lə te tam ja:h-si-u li-zya
this place-IN FOC wheat put-DETRANS-NML be-CONT
'In this place (as opposed to others) wheat has been sown.'

[6] In Gamale Kham the particle takes the form *ke*. There are many similar cases in Gamale in which */t/ followed by /i/ or /e/ becomes /k/.

b. WITH TIME ADVERBIALS:
a:h-pəi te ma-səĩ-wo
this.much-LAT FOC NEG-know-3S:IMPFV
'Up to now, he doesn't know it.' (but given more time he's liable to figure it out)

The syntactic level at which contrastive focus operates is a phrasal one. That is, *te* does not occur on individual constituents within a phrase, but only over the full syntactic unit, as in the following:

(62) a. tubu mi: te …
one person FOC 'a certain person …'

b. *tubu te mi:
*one FOC person

(63) a. mol-o ka:h-ye te …
black-NML dog-ERG FOC 'the black dog …'

b. *mol-o te ka:h-ye
*black-NML FOC dog-ERG

The contrastive focus particle occurs primarily on NPs, as the examples above show. In certain cases the particle also occurs with verbs, but only after the verbs have been nominalized (in which case we are dealing with NPs again), or if they occur with a subjunctive subordinator (recall that subjunctives too have basic nominalizing morphology):

(64) a. WITH NOMINALIZATIONS:
risi-də həi ŋa-li-zya-o te ma:hkə
angry-NF thus 1S-say-CONT-NML FOC not
'(That) I'm saying it in anger, certainly, is not so.'

b. WITH SUBJUNCTIVES:
ehn bəhri ge-do-kin te tələp dəi-nya ge-le
work all 1P-do-IF FOC wage find-INF 1P-be
'If we do all the work we will receive a wage.' (but not if we don't)

In negated clauses, the focus marker 'attracts' the locus of negation, as illustrated by the following contrastive pair: *u-zihm-lə ma-dəi-wo* 'He didn't find it in his house.' (with the possibility that he didn't find it at all), vs. *u-zihm-lə te ma-dəi-wo* 'He didn't find it in his house.' / 'It wasn't in his house that he found it' (with the likelihood that he did find it *somewhere*).

9.5.2 Emphasis

A simple emphatic marker *zə* occurs following syntactic units of all kinds. This particle has fewer co-occurrence restrictions than the particle *te*. Furthermore, rather than contrasting the selected item with other entities of the same sort (as with *te*), *zə* simply emphasizes the selected item as the salient participant in the predication:

(65) a. WITH NOUN PHRASES:
ŋa-mi:-ye zə ŋa-rɨ̃:h-ke
1S-eye-INSTR EMP 1S-see-PFV
'I saw it with my own eyes.'

b. WITH LOCATIVE AND TEMPORAL ROOTS:
ro-ta-o gyã:h zə hu-ke-rə
up-ON-NML across EMP come-PFV-3P
'They came (directly) across the upper (route).'

c. WITH VERB PHRASES:
ma-che:-də zə ge-li-ke
NEG-fear-NF EMP 1P-be-PFV
'We remained (totally) unafraid.'

i. The emphatic particle in equative clauses

In §11.2, we will see that the emphatic *zə* is beginning to function like a copula in equative clauses. The equative in Kham is formed by the juxtaposition of two NPs, and *zə* marks the NP that functions as the predicate, as in:

(66) ao sĩ: zə
this tree EMP 'This is a tree.'

Furthermore, where the first NP is given information, and only the second NP occurs, the string is easily identifiable as an equative clause only where the emphatic *zə* is present:

(67) Ø ŋa: zə
(it) I EMP 'It's me!'

ii. The emphatic particle in indefinite pronouns

Recall from §9.3.4 that the emphatic particle *zə* is a necessary ingredient of indefinite pronoun constructions in the 'no' series, as in: *su: zə ma-le* 'no one,' and *kata zə ma-le* 'nothing.'

9.5.3 Counter–expectation

A statement is marked as contrary to expectation when the speaker has reason to believe that it runs counter to the hearer's assumptions. The speaker's statement is an attempt to

correct those assumptions. Counter-expectancy (CEP) is marked by the particle *ci*, as in:

(68) a. ŋa: zə ci
I EMP CEP
'It's just me!' (as in: 'Don't worry, it's just me – contrary to what you might be thinking')

b. hu-kin te ge-lai ci poh-si-ke-rə
that-ABLT FOC we-OBJ CEP beat-1P-PFV-3P
'Then (believe it or not), they turned and beat us!'

The counter-expectancy particle can also indicate that the speaker's assumptions were incorrect, and the current statement is an admission of error. The mirative (see §13.4), a construction which records the speaker's surprise, is a natural context for erroneous speaker assumptions, as in:

(69) o-ba-o ci o-le-o
3S-go-NML CEP MIR
'He already left.' (I expected him to still be here!)

Tag questions, which record the speaker's presuppositions, and first person reports of the speaker's own speech are also contexts for speaker-related counter-expectancy:

(70) a. həi ci ro
thus CEP TAG
'Really?' (I would never have guessed it!)

b. ŋa: te lũ: ci ŋa-le-o
I FOC stone CEP 1S-say-NML
'Oh, I thought it was a stone!' (but I see it's not)

9.5.4 Inclusion

The 'inclusion' particle *bə* has several interpretations depending on the context – ranging from 'also' to 'even' to 'anyway.' The particle also occurs as a lexicalized part of expressions like 'nevertheless' and 'regardless.' Following are examples from selected contexts:

(71) ALSO/AND:
a. ŋa: bə ŋa-ba-rih-zya
I also 1S-go-PROS-CONT
'I too am going.'

b. rah-wo bə̲ li-zya, ŋəm-o bə̲ li-zya
hot-NML also be-CONT, tasty-NML also be-CONT
'It's (also) hot, and it's (also) tasty.'

In concessive and negative contexts, the particle *bə* has a sense of 'even,' as in: *bənəi poh-də bə̲ ma-ta-ke* 'Even beating him didn't work.' The particle *bə* is one of the few particles that can occur following the main finite verb of a sentence:

(72) a. ba-ke bə̲
go-PFV also 'He went anyway.'

b. nə-kə chəm li-zya bə̲
dist-LOC bridge be-CONT also 'There's a bridge there, okay?'

The particle *bə* is also a lexicalized part of the following standardized expressions: *hitao-tə bə̲* 'even so,' *həi di bə̲* 'nevertheless,' *jo ta-di bə̲* 'regardless of whatever,' and *ju-ni bə̲* 'no matter what.'

9.5.5 *Provisional*

The particle *da* (also *dasərə*) indicates that in a sequence of two events, the second is contingent upon the first. It is different from the usual conditional in which a dependency relationship holds between two events and the conditional clause is syntactically dependent upon the other one. Here, the two clauses support fully finite main verbs, and the relationship between the two is one of parataxis:

(73) a. ŋah-da ŋa-zyu da̲, ŋa-ba-rih-zya
before-ALLT 1S-eat PROV, 1S-go-PROS-CONT
'Provided I eat first, I'll go.'

b. ŋa-zihm-kə u-hu-kə da̲, pəti-nya ŋa-le
1S-house-LOC 3S-come-OPT PROV, believe 1S-be:IMPFV
'(First) let him come to my house, (then) I'll believe him.'

The particle *da* has also become a part of certain standardized expressions which include the conditional *-kin*, as in: *ho: ci ta-kin da̲* … 'If that should happen, then …

9.5.6 *Confirmation*

Confirmation particles appeal to the hearer for some kind of affirmation – a grunt, a nod, or some kind of indication that the speaker's words have registered in the hearer's mind. The first particle, *sa*, indicates that the speaker thinks of his/her own statement as a possible characterization of the situation at hand, but requests some kind of response from the hearer:

(74) o-ama-lai ci u-khul-zya-o sa
3S-mother-OBJ CEP 3S-call-CONT-NML SA
'It must be that he's calling his mother!' (what do you think?)

Another particle, *ni*, occurs both alone and in conjunction with *sa*. Alone, it occur only in direct questions, as in the following:

(75) no-lai je-ma-səres-zya ni
he-OBJ 2P-INTRG-recognize-CONT WELL
'Well, do you recognize her or not?' (huh?)

The particle *ni* combined with *sa* (*sani*) means roughly 'Isn't that so?' *Sani* indicates a situation that the speaker is more convinced about than with the simple use of *sa*:

(76) ri:h nə-ra-so-woi-na-zya-khe-ho sani
water 2S-3P-CAUS-drink-GO-CONT-PROB-HO CONFIRM
'You probably go give them water, don't you?'

9.6 Interjections and expletives

Interjections are primarily single word, emotive outbursts that do not enter into syntactic relations with other parts of the grammar. Very often, in fact, they occur in isolation and stand alone as full utterances. Following is a partial listing:

(77) a. AFFIRMATION:

ɨ:	'yes'
ɨ:hɨ̃ʔ	'no'

b. ATTRACTING ATTENTION:

oi	'hey!'
de	'behold, harken!'
theʔ	'give it here!'
hãʔ	'here, take it!'

c. SURPRISE:

i babəi	'good grief, yikes!'
di:h	'whoa, wow!'

d. EXASPERATION:

həttəri	'damn!'
bya	'(associated with impatience)'
thare	'wait, hold it!'

e. APOLOGY:

those	'oops, sorry!'

f. COMMISERATION:

bəra:si	'the poor dear!'
thəi thəi	'alas!'
thəiye mã:tə kənə	'woe!'
hai hai	'my oh my!'

g. PAIN:

aco	'ouch!' (associated with burning or stinging)
achu	'ouch!' (associated with the shock of cold)
achyo	'ouch!' (associated with other sudden pains)

9.7 Coordination markers

Most coordination in Kham is a syntactic phenomenon, and as such, there is no particular word class involved in the process. In a few cases, however, there are independent words used in coordination, some at the phrasal level and others at sentential and discourse levels. Here, I do little more than list the words. Their function and syntax is dealt with in other chapters as indicated by the categories in which they are listed below.

9.7.1 NP coordination

The following coordinators are used in NP syntax (see §10.1.3 for syntactic details):

(78) a. AND – *sono:h* :

syar	sono:h	pusum-ni	
louse	and	flea-DL	'the louse and the flea'

b. OR – *səĩ* :

khepa	səĩ	mẽ:ma	o-ta-o	
man	or	woman	3S-be-NML	'Was it a man or a woman?'

The same two coordinators are also used to conjoin larger chunks of material – clauses and even sentences.

9.7.2 Verbal coordination

Most verbal coordination belongs to clause chains and will be dealt with in chapter 15. Here I deal with a simple kind of verb coordination in which the same verb is repeated twice and separated by the coordinator *ka.* The result is a repetitive action occurring over a protracted period of time, as in:

(79) wa-o ka wa-o zə li-zya
rain-NML COORD rain-NML EMP be-CONT
'It rains and rains.'

9.7.3 Adverbial coordination

What I have referred to elsewhere as 'expressive adverbs' (see §8.5) are often conjoined by one of two adverbial coordinators – *ka* or *ni*, as in:

(80) a. johm ka johm ba-ke
stomp COORD stomp go-PFV
'He stomped (defiantly) away.'

b. tərã: ni phulup jəi-si-ke
on.back COORD on.stomach make-DETRANS-PFV
'He tossed and turned.'

The same coordinators extend to the nominalized forms as well:

(81) ta:h-ta:h ni sühr-sühr-o
sweet COORD sour-NML
'sweet and sour'

9.7.4 Sentence and discourse coordinators

The following coordinators function both within and across sentences, and require a context greater than a single sentence: *khali* 'however, but,' *buru* 'rather, instead,' *dekha* 'rather than,' *həi di bə* 'nevertheless,' *həi jəidə* 'therefore, that being the case,' *bəhnya* 'in any case, notwithstanding,' *huki* 'if that be the case,' *hədae* 'for that reason,' *mani* 'otherwise,' *ki tərə* 'else, otherwise,' *taki tərə* 'alternatively,' *na: … na:* 'neither … nor,' and *ochadi* 'as proof.' These will be treated more fully in chapter 15.

10 *Noun phrases, nominalizations, and relative clauses*

The classes of elements that co-occur with nouns syntactically to form NPs – demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, etc. – have been dealt with elsewhere as individual word classes. Here, my primary concern will be with NP syntax; how the various elements combine to form phrases both simple and complex. Also of interest are the kinds of derived units that can function either as full NPs or as parts of NPs. Since derived nominals come from virtually every other word class in Kham, this will necessarily be an examination of nominalizing derivations of all kinds.

10.1 Noun phrases

Only one element, the demonstrative pronoun (itself an optional element), has an absolute fixed position in simple NP syntax – it always precedes the noun.[1]

(1) a. ao mi:
this person ‘this person’

b. no: mi:-ni
that person-DL ‘those people (dl)’

c. *no-ni mi:-ni
*that-DL person-DL *‘those people (dl)’
(Can have only an equative interpretation: ‘Those two are people.’)

Comparing (1b) with (1c), we see that the demonstrative and noun within the same NP do not agree in number. In (1b), the noun is marked for dual, but the demonstrative is neutral with respect to number. The dual/plural suffix on nouns is an attribute of the entire NP, not individual elements within it, as in:

(2) [NP]-num

Other postpositions, too – grammatical case markers, locatives, and directionals – occur as relators to the entire phrase. This shows, of course, that NPs are hierarchical and figure as single, configurational units in the grammar.

[1] More precisely, the demonstrative cannot follow the noun on its own. As part of a fuller appositive construction, it can follow, and will be treated in the next section.

10.1.1 Restrictive ordering of elements

Recall that in NPs only the demonstrative has a fixed position with respect to the noun. All other elements can occur either before or after the noun, depending on whether such modifying elements are restrictive or non-restrictive (as also in relative clause syntax). I will treat the restrictive ordering as the unmarked norm. Taken as such, we can say that the unmarked ordering of elements in the NP is identical to what we have seen in examples (1a) and (1b): all elements in the NP precede the noun. The order of all elements including the demonstrative, then, is as follows:

(3) NP —> (Dem) (Num) (Mod) N

The modifier element (Mod) is itself a complex unit with the following structure (where 'Adv' stands for an adverbial intensifier and 'Adj' is a relativized nominalization/adjectival):

(4) Mod —> (Adv) Adj

And, as we have seen already in chapter 4 on noun morphology, the noun stem itself can include a possessive prefix (a structure of the word, not of the larger NP unit):

(5) N —> (poss)-N

Following are examples to illustrate all possibilities of the formula in (3):

(6) a. mi: N
person 'a person'

b. no mi: Dem N
that person 'that person'

c. tubu mi: Num N
one person 'one person/a certain person'

d. gyo:h-wo mi: Mod N
big-NML person 'a big person'

e. tubu gyo:h-wo mi: Num Mod N
one big-NML person 'one big person'

f. no tubu mi: Dem Num N
that one person 'that one person'

g. no gyo:h-wo mi: Dem Mod N
that big-NML person 'that big person'

h. no tubu gyo:h-wo mi: Dem Num Mod N
that one big-NML person 'that one big person'

Again, to show that grammatical number occurs on the NP unit as a whole, the following example gives the plural counterpart to example (6h):

(7) no sohmlo gyo:h-wo mi:-rə
that three big-NML person-PL 'those three big people'

As shown in (4), the modifier too allows for some internal expansion – namely, an adverbial/intensifier can occur preceding the adjectival, as in:

(8) a. bənəi gyo:h-wo Adv Adj
very big-NML 'very big'

b. a:h ca-o Adv Adj
this.much good-NML 'this good/so good as this'

A fully expanded NP, then, containing a fully expanded modifier plus NP suffixes on the noun head, has the following structure:

(9) [no sohmlo bənəi gyo:h-wo zihm]-ra-lə
[that three very big-NML house]-PL-IN
'inside those three very big houses'

i. Inflection and NP syntax

We still have not seen how possessive prefixal morphology on the NP head (as shown in 5) interacts with the rest of the syntax. We will begin with a simple case:

(10) no nehblo bənəi gyo:h-wo ŋa-zihm-ni
that two very big-NML 1S-house-DL
'those two very big houses of mine'

A full possessive phrase, however, also includes a free pronoun (in addition to the possessive prefix, see §9.1.1). For 1ST and 2ND persons the pronoun and the possessive prefix are echoes of one another. For 3RD persons, the possessor (noun or pronoun) is followed by a genitive suffix, as in:

(11) a. ŋa: ŋa-zihm
I 1S-house 'my house'

b. nɨ̃: nə-zihm
you 2S-house 'your house'

c. no-e u-zihm
he-GEN 3S-house 'his house'

The head noun of sentence (10) contains only the possessive prefix *ŋa-* with no manifestation of the free pronoun *ŋa:* at all. In fact, the full forms shown in (11) are relatively rare; the free pronoun occurs under the same kinds of conditions that we find free pronouns occurring as fully specified arguments of the verb – where participant

continuity has broken down and the participant needs to be restored. Another context is one of contrast, as in: *ao ŋa: ŋa-zihm* 'This is my house' (as opposed to that one which is his). Where the free form does occur in a sentence like (10), we would get the following:

(12) a. ŋa: no nehblo bənəi gyo:h-wo ŋa-zihm-ni
I that two very big-NML 1S-house-DL
'those two very big houses of mine' (as opposed to someone else's)

b. no-e no nehblo bənəi gyo:h-wo u-zihm-ni
he-GEN that two very big-NML 3S-house-DL
'those two very big houses of his' (as opposed to someone else's)

Owing to the strong possibility that the hearer will first interpret the *ŋa:* of (12a) or the *no-e* of (12b) as agents (genitive marking is identical to ergative marking), an alternate form that unambiguously marks the first element as a possessor is often used in such cases. The device is based on the element *mi*, used as a pro-form for unnamed possession, as in:

(13) a. ao ŋa: ŋa-mi
this I 1S-item 'This is mine.'

b. ao no-e u-mi
this he-GEN 3S-item 'This is his.'

Using such a device, (12b) would be rendered alternatively as the following in which everything following *no-e u-mi* is something of an appositive phrase:

(14) no-e u-mi no nehblo bənəi gyo:h-wo u-zihm-ni
he-GEN 3S-item that two very big-NML 3S-house-DL
'belonging to him, those two very big houses of his'

ii. Multiple modifiers

There are occasions when more than one restrictive modifier may occur in an NP. Color, for instance, is sometimes combined with other qualities in the description of an item. Where this does occur, color typically follows the more general modifier, and hence, is closer to the noun. Apparently, color is conceived of as more inherently a property of the object being described than are other qualities: [2]

(15) a. sahr-o pal-o kwa:
new-NML white-NML cloth
'new white cloth'

[2] I have very few examples of color plus other modifiers in text, and other alternative orderings may be possible under the right semantic conditions.

b. gyo:h-wo gyahm-o guhl
big-NML red-NML snake
'a big red snake'

Other restrictive modifiers that commonly occur in NPs are relative clauses and other nominalizations. Though I will not talk about the syntax of such constructions in detail until §10.3, I need to show here where they fall syntactically in relation to the modifiers already discussed. In general, 'nominalized locatives' are closely associated with the demonstrative class and occur immediately following the demonstrative, but preceding the numeral. The formula given in (3), then (which is given again in 16a), can be expanded to the formula in (16b):

(16) a. NP —> (Dem) (Num) (Mod) N
b. NP —> (Dem) (Loc-Nml) (Num) (Mod) N

This can be illustrated by the following examples:

(17) a. a-ka-o zihm-rə
prox-LOC-NML house-PL
'these houses' (lit. 'the at-here houses')

b. no ŋah-da-ŋao mi:
that before-ALLT-NML person
'that earlier person' (lit. 'the to-before person')

Where a nominalized locative (as shown in 17a-b) occurs with a relative clause, the nominalized locative associates with the demonstrative (as in 17b) and the relative clause follows. The relative clause, however, tends to precede numerals (unlike the modifier/adjectival class)[3] and unequivocally precedes the adjectival class. We thus have:

(18) a. NP —> (Dem) (Loc-Nml) (Rel) (Num) (Mod) N

b. no ŋah-da-ŋao ŋa-zihm-kə hũ:-wo gyo:h-wo mi:-ni
that before-ALLT-NML 1S-house-LOC come-NML big-NML man-DL
'those earlier two big people who came to my house'

What I refer to as the 'modifier/adjectival' class is itself a relative clause (as we will see in §10.3.1). Though it might be tempting to try to account for the occurrence of the expanded relative preceding the shorter relative by a general 'heaviness principle,' other considerations show this not to be true. Even where the expanded relative clause of (18b) is reduced to a single word, only the ordering 'Rel + Adj' is acceptable. The motivating factor is apparently pragmatic. Though there is little more than a semantic/functional basis for an adjectival class (see chapter 6), the basis is apparently reflected here

[3] The only exception I know is where the relative occurs non-restrictively.

by syntactic ordering:

(19) a. no ŋah-da-ŋao hũ:-wo gyo:h-wo mi:
that before-ALLT-NML come-NML big-NML person
'that earlier big person who came'

b. *no ŋah-da-ŋao gyo:h-wo hũ:-wo mi:
*Dem Loc-Nml Adj Rel N

10.1.2 Non-Restrictive ordering of elements

i. Apposition

Non-restrictive orderings for NPs are common, in which case the non-restrictive elements are in apposition to the noun. In non-restrictive ordering, the noun (with its restrictive elements) occurs first, and everything else follows – a reversal of what we have already seen. The demonstrative is always restrictive, and hence, normally precedes the noun. If it follows the noun at all, it does so as part of a larger appositive (see 23). Thus taking the formula in (3) and reversing all but the demonstrative we get the following:

(3) Restrictive:
NP —> (Dem) (Num) (Mod) N

(20) Non-restrictive:
NP —> (Dem) N (Num) (Mod)-agreement

Another key element of non-restrictive ordering is obligatory number agreement on the final element of the appositive (except on numerals), showing, in fact, that we are no longer dealing with one unit, but two juxtaposed units:

(21) a. mi:-ni nehblo
person-DL two
N (Num)
'people, two of them'

b. no mi:-ni, ŋah-da-ŋao nehblo bənəi gyo:h-wo-ni
that person-DL, before-ALLT-NML two very big-NML-DL
(Dem) N (Loc-Nml) (Num) (Adv) (Mod)
'those people, the two really big ones from before'

Non-restrictive ordering can also occur over a part of the structure (with restrictive ordering occurring over the rest). In such cases, the noun with its restrictive elements occurs first, followed by the non-restrictive material. A partially restrictive alternative of (21b) is the following:

(22) no ŋah-da-ŋao mi:-ni, nehblo bənəi gyo:h-wo-ni
[that before-ALLT-NML person-DL, two very big-NML-DL
'those earlier people, the two very big ones'

As already alluded to, the demonstrative can also occur as part of the appositive phrase:

(23) nehblo mi:-ni, no ŋah-da-ŋao bənəi gyo:h-wo-ni
two person-DL, that before-ALLT-NML very big-NML-DL
'two people, those earlier very big ones'

Non-restrictive ordering extends to relative clauses as well, but I will treat that topic in §10.3.

ii. Compounding

Although there is not much occasion for it, the non-restrictive ordering for NPs is also used when the modifier modifies a proper noun. The result is a kind of compound. The construction, of course, very likely begins as an appositive – because proper nouns are already highly specific they cannot be further restricted. The adjective which follows the head noun, however, especially if it is frequent enough in that environment, is conceptualized eventually as part of the proper noun. The following are frequently occurring types:

(24) a. həldar ser-o
halvidar old-NML 'Old man Sergeant'

vs.

b. ser-o həldar
old-NML halvidar 'the old sergeant'

(25) a. dələ si-u
Dala die-NML 'Deceased Dala' / 'Dala the Deceased'

b. *si-u dələ
(*Dala* is only a specific proper noun)

10.1.3 Noun phrase coordination

The coordination of two NPs to create a larger, complex NP is accomplished by various means. The first I deal with is the simplest and is a device that works only on two conjoined items. The two items are strung one after the other, and both are marked with dual number, as in:

(26) no səmpurna-ni jəi-ni ati-u zə ni-li-zya-o
that Sampurna-DL Jai-DL worry-NML EMP 3D-be-CONT-NML
'Those two, Sampurna (and) Jai, were very worried.'

i. Simple coordination

Where more than two items are conjoined a similar device is used except that in addition to a list-like string of items, all of them are counted more-or-less cumulatively, as the

speaker goes on, as in:

(27) a. ho-tə ka kirsən, kaka bisnu, mama jəsbir,
dist-ON uncle Krishna, uncle Visnnu, f.in.law Jasbir,

sohmlo rəhi-ke-rə
three remain-PFV-3P
'There, Uncle Krishna, Uncle Vishnu, Father-in-Law Jasbir, three remained.'

b. gi-n jəi-sə jya:ri, gin-za səmpurna sõ:hbərẽ: …
we-DL Jai-ASC husband.wife, 1D-child Sampurna three …
'(I) with Jai, the two of us, husband and wife, with our child Sampurna, three …'

A variant uses the word *məni* 'also' instead of the numerals shown above. In both types, a string-final summation of participants is the important feature that concludes the coordinated string:

(28) ho-ta-o adəlat-tin-kao mi:-rə, po: po:-ni-ka-o
dist-ON-NML bureau-DEL-NML person-PL, place place-ABLT-NML

aphis-la-o mi:-rə, bidyarti-rə məni, paĩh-ni-ka-o mi:-rə
office-IN-NML person-PL, student-PL also, all-ABLT-NML person-PL

hu-ke-rə
come-PFV-3P

'People of that bureau up there, people from all the offices, (and) students too – people from everywhere came.'

ii. Coordination using a conjunction word

The basic conjunction word in Kham, operating at all levels of the grammar, is *sono:h*, roughly translated 'and' or 'along with.' It is probable that the associative postposition *-sə* 'with' (see 27b) is ultimately related to *sono:h*.

At the lowest level *sono:h* conjoins two NPs and creates a larger, complex NP. Grammatical number on the complex phrase is a composite of the combined number on the two conjoined NPs, as in:

(29) $[\ [\ NP_{SG}\ ] + [\ NP_{SG}\ ]\ ]_{DL}$

where the grammatical number of the two individual NPs is singular and the number of the conjoined NP is dual. Following are examples:

(30) a. syar sono:h pusum-ni
louse and flea-DL
'the louse and the flea'

b. tubu mẽ:ma sono:h o-za:-ni-ra-e …
one woman and 3S-child-DL-PL-ERG
'a certain woman and her two children …'

In (30b), the noun 'child' is followed by two number suffixes – the dual marks the immediate NP (the two children), and the plural marks the combined NPs (the mother with her two children). We need, then, to make the following adaptation to (29):

(31) $[\ [\ NP_{SG}\ ] + [\ NP_{DL}\ ]\ ]_{PL}$

One or both NPs joined by *sono:h* can also be relative clauses or other kinds of nominalizations, as in: *raja-rə sono:h gehppa hək dəi-wo-rə* 'kings and those having great authority,' and *gohra-rə sono:h no-ra-e tər-tə ba-nya-rə ŋa-ra-r̃ɨ:h-ke* 'I saw horses and those riding upon them.'

The conjunction *sono:h* conjoins other units as well – clauses, sentences, and phrases. We will see these and their functional equivalents in chapter 15.

10.2 Nominalization

Nominalization is a process by which various grammatical units (words, phrases, clauses, etc.) are turned into nouns or NPs. Usually, nominalizations are derived from word classes other than nouns, but this is not necessarily so. Nouns, too, can be nominalized in the sense that they are converted from one noun class to another, as in the English *child —> childhood*.

By far, the vast majority of nominalizations in Kham function as relative clauses. Their basic internal structure is: Rel + Head. Everything preceding the head is a modifier and, in its simplest form, the modifier is no more than a simple adjectival notion like *big* or *red*. Relative clauses can also be headless, in which case the relative clause itself is the noun, as in *ca-o* 'the good (one).'

The so-called 'action nominalizations' (Comrie and Thompson 1985) of the sort *destroy —> destruction* are extremely rare in Kham, their closest equivalent being the gerundive or infinitive: *destroying*, *to destroy*. It is with those classes that I will begin my discussion before launching into the more detailed relativizing strategies.

10.2.1 Non-finite nominalizations

There is but one non-finite nominalization in Kham – the verb root followed by the suffix *-nya*. It is this form that is regularly given as a citation form and greatly simplifies dictionary entries. There is a possibility that *-nya* is based on the Nepali 'infinitival participle' *-ne*. Only rarely is the non-finite root form any different from the conjugated forms. Following are examples of citation forms:

(32) a. ba-nya 'to go' (intransitive)
b. poh-nya 'to beat' (transitive)

c. rəih-si-nya ‘to play’ (reflexive)
d. so-boh-nya ‘to spill’ (causative)
e. sə-mwĩ:-si-nya ‘to warm oneself’ (causative and reflexive)

The non-finite citation form is used both as a participle (verbal adjective) and as a gerund (verbal noun), as in:

(33) a. PARTICIPLE:
ba-nya mi: cahi-zya
go-INF person need-CONT
‘(We) need someone to go.’ (lit. ‘a going person is needed’)

b. GERUND:
nə-da ba-nya ma-ta-e
dist-ALLT go-INF NEG-be-IMPFV
‘(One) shouldn’t go there.’ (lit. ‘going there is not okay’)

As a nominal, the non-finite form can be inflected with the usual array of nominal case markings, as in: *tha: sə-thəi-nya-tə khətəi-si-u li-zya* ‘He is appointed to announce the news’ (lit. ‘on announcing’), and *ge: bətəha dəi-nya-ka-o-rə ge-li-zya* ‘We’re in line for receiving the inheritance’ (‘ones at the receiving’).

In addition to the postpositions shown above, the non-finite form can also be inflected with possessive prefixes, as in: *u-si-nya bela hu-ke* ‘The time of his dying has come.’

10.2.2 Non-finite forms and complement structures

Non-finite forms do not usually participate in complement structures. I will deal with complements in §15.3, but here, for the sake of comparison, I contrast the non-finite form with a complementizing nominalization in what would otherwise be almost identical constructions:

(34) a. NON-FINITE:
no: ba-nya ta-ke
he go-INF become-PFV
‘It turned out that he should be the one to go.’ (‘he became a goer’)

b. COMPLEMENT:
no: ba-o ta-ke
he go-NML become-PFV
‘He must go.’

10.3 Relative clause nominalizations

Relative clauses in Kham are of two types – ones that make unique reference to the subject of the underlying clause, and others that make reference to any participant other

than the subject. The first has been referred to as an 'agentive nominalization' (Comrie and Thompson 1985) or a 'subject relative clause' (Givón 1990a). In parallel fashion, the second has been called an 'objective nominalization' or an 'object relative clause' (later I will show for Kham that it would be better referred to as a 'non-subject relative clause'). Both are external relatives in the sense that the head noun occurs syntactically outside the relativized clause (Keenan 1985b).

10.3.1 Subject relative clauses

Apart from minimal tense/aspect distinctions, the subject relative clause is non-finite – it includes no marking for person or number agreement. The reason is simple enough: the referent of the subject relative clause is always 3RD person, and if non-singular number is indicated, it is marked externally (or on the head noun if one occurs), as in:

(35) a. ba-o mi:-rə
go-NML person-PL 'the people who went'

b. ba-o-rə
go-NML-PL 'those who went'

The difference between (35a) and (35b) is that the former has an external head and the latter is headless. In headed relative clauses (35a) the relative functions as a modifier to the head noun in precisely the same way that an adjective modifies a noun (see chapter 6). In the headless construction, on the other hand, the relative clause itself functions as the head. As such, any postpositions appropriate to nouns (like the plural of 35b) are likewise appropriate to the headless relative. Following is an example of a postposition following a headless relative:

(36) ERGATIVE:
ma-khim-o-ye ma-dəi-wo
NEG-search-NML-ERG NEG-find-3S:IMPFV
'One who doesn't search doesn't find.'

Recall that subject relative clauses make reference to 3RD persons only. Used non-restrictively, however, the subject relative clause can refer also to 1ST or 2ND persons. In such cases, the relative is used appositively (I will readdress the topic of non-restrictive relatives later on):

(37) a. ge: ma-ba-o-ra-e ge-ma-dəi-ye
we NEG-go-NML-PL-ERG 1P-NEG-receive-IMPFV
'Those of us who didn't go didn't get any.'

b. ge: ma-ba-o-ra-e *ma-dəi-rə
we NEG-go-NML-PL-ERG NEG-receive-3P:IMPFV

The nominalized verb *ma-ba-o* is inflected as a 3RD person argument, including the

ergative marking *-e* which never occurs on 1ST or 2ND person pronouns. The verb, on the other hand, agrees with the 1ST person plural pronoun *ge:*.

i. Tense/aspect in subject relative clauses

Some tense/aspect marking is possible in subject relative clauses so long as it does not interfere with the nominalizer *-o*. The most common aspectual marker is the continuous *-zya*, in which case the relative clause has a habitual or progressive interpretation. Dependent on the continuous is an additional aspectual marker, the prospective *-rih*, as in the following:

(38) a. zihm jəi-zya-o mi:
house make-CONT-NML person 'the person building the house'

b. ba-rih-zya-o mi:-rə
go-PROS-CONT-NML person-PL 'the people about to go'

The prior-past/abilitative, as well as the non-inceptive and purposive are also common with subject relative clauses, as in: *ba-duh-wo-rə* 'those who already went,' *ba-duh-zya-o-rə* 'those capable of going,' *ma-hu-ta-o-rə* 'those who have not yet come,' and *dəi-na-o-rə* 'those who have gone to find it.'

ii. Ascription of quality

Relativized possessive constructions based on the verb *le* 'to be' are used in ascribing particular features or qualities to the possessor. The result is similar to the derivation in English from *tooth* to *toothed*. In describing the derivation for Kham I need first to establish the base-line construction from which it is derived – the possessive clause:

(39) a. ŋa: ŋa-pəisa li-zya
I 1S-money be-CONT 'I have money.' (lit. 'my money is')

b. biza-e o-rmẽ:h li-zya
rat-GEN 3S-tail be-CONT 'The rat has a tail.' (lit. 'the rat's tail is')

Cast as subject relative clauses, the same constructions yield an attributive interpretation, as in:

(40) o-ha: le-o guhl
3S-tooth be-NML serpent
'a toothed/fanged serpent' (lit. 'a serpent whose teeth are').

iii. Relativized locatives

Nouns followed by locative postpositions are regularly nominalized in Kham, yielding a class of words in many ways analogous to demonstratives (see 17a and 17b). Rather than modifying the noun with attributive type features, it modifies the noun with deictic type features, as in (41b) (which contrasts with the base form in 41a):

(41) a. nə-kə mi:-rə li-zya-rə
dist-LOC person-PL be-CONT-3P
'There are people there.'

b. nə-ka-o mi:-rə
dist-LOC-NML person-PL
'the people of that place'

It seems reasonable to assume that implicit to the nominalized locative in (41b) is an unspecified existential verb 'to be' (made explicit in the underlying clause 41a). It is in this sense that these constructions are, at heart, subject relative clauses. In fact, the existential verb can occur as part of the construction with very little difference in meaning:

(42) nə-kə li-zya-o mi:-rə
dist-LOC be-CONT-NML person-PL
'the people of that place'/'the people who are living at that place'

Example (42) is the relativized version of (41a) and includes the existential verb 'to be.' In (41b) the existential verb is missing (though still implicit) and the nominalizer *-o* follows the locative *-kə* instead – *-ka-o*. It is not uncommon, in fact, for the locative *-kə* and the existential verb both to be nominalized, suggesting that *-kə* (as well as some of the other postpositions) may be derived from erstwhile verbs:

(43) nə-ka-o li-zya-o mi:-rə
dist-LOC-NML be-CONT-NML person-PL
'the people of that place'/'the people who are living at that place'

Though all postpositions can be nominalized, as I will show next, it is also the case that *-kə* and *-ŋə* have a special property that the rest do not have – *-kə* and *-ŋə* (together with *-o* as *-ka-o* and *-ŋa-o*) are used as nominalizers for several other postpositions. The allative *-da*, for instance, cannot be nominalized directly with *-o* (as in **-da-o*), but only with *-ŋa-o*, as in *-da-ŋa-o*. Again, this suggests a possible verbal source for these two postpositions.

• *Postpositions nominalized by* -o. The basic nominalizer is the suffix *-o*/*-wo*, possibly related to Tibetan *-po*. Of all the postpositions, only the locative *-kə*, the adessive *-ŋə*, the inessive *-lə*, and the superessive *-tə* (including the cisative *-phə-tə*) are nominalized by *-o*. In all of them, the mid-central schwa becomes *-a* when followed by *-o*, as in: *zihm-ka-o baza* 'chicken' (lit. 'at-the-house bird'), *je: kata-ŋa-o-rə* 'Where are you from?' (lit. 'at-what-region ones'), *ja:-la-o ri:h* 'jug water' (lit. 'in-the-jug water'), *o-kyã:-ta-o kwa:* 'the clothes he's wearing' (lit. 'on-his-body cloth'), and *wor-phə-ta-o u-kwi:* 'his right hand' (lit. 'on-the-rightside' his hand).

• *Postpositions nominalized by* -ka-o *and* -ŋa-o. As alluded to already, *-ka-o* and

-ŋa-o serve as complex nominalizers for certain other postpositions, rather than the more basic nominalizer *-o*. The allative *-da* is nominalized by *-ŋa-o*, and all the rest are nominalized by *-ka-o*, as in the following examples:

(44) THE NOMINALIZER -ŋa-o:
WITH THE ALLATIVE:
a. o-ama-e o-le-o-da-ŋa-o-rə
'his mother's side of the family' (lit. 'toward-his-mother's-place ones')

(45) THE NOMINALIZER -ka-o:
a. WITH THE ABLATIVE:
ris-ni-ka-o o-za:
'the child from his elder wife' (lit. 'the from-elder.wife his child')

b. WITH THE ELATIVE:
ao po:-kin-ka-o mi:-rə
'the people from this place onward'

c. WITH THE LATIVE:
u-zihm-kə-pəi-ka-o ẽ:h
'the field (that goes) up to his house'

d. WITH THE ORIENTATIVE:
ŋa-le-o-kə-səi-ka-o mi:
'the person oriented towards me'

e. WITH THE ASSOCIATIVE:
raja-sə-ka-o-rə
'those associated with the king'

Once a noun with its postposition is nominalized, it becomes subject to recursive rules for further suffixing and further nominalizations. The possibilities, of course, are numerous, and I will illustrate with just two examples:

(46) a. ŋa-kyã:-da-ŋa-o-ra-sə-ka-o mi:
1S-body-ALLT-ADS-NML-PL-ASC-LOC-NML person
'a person associated with my relatives' (lit. 'the with-those-toward-my-body person')

b. ŋah-da-kin-ka-o-ra-ni
before-ALLT-ELAT-LOC-NML-PL-ABLT
'by those who existed from beforehand'

iv. Non-restrictive subject relative clauses

The relative clauses illustrated thus far (with the exception of 37) have been restrictive-relative clauses. They narrow the potential set of referents by restricting the set to those

which possess the quality defined in the relative clause. With non-restrictive relative clauses no such restriction or narrowing occurs. Rather, the quality defined by the relative clause is an added quality, given in apposition. Non-restrictive relative clauses are postnominal and occur most typically with 1ST or 2ND person referents, which because of their referential specificity cannot be further restricted. Following are examples:

(47) a. ŋa:, ao tha: pərĩ:-zya-o-ye …
I this news send-IMPFV-NML-ERG …
'I, the sender of this news …'

b. je: mitao, ma-yo:-wo-ra-lai, ao geda ŋa-ya-ci-zya
you.pl like NEG-suffice-NML-PL-OBJ, this grain 1S-give-2P-IMPFV
'To ones like you, insufficient (poor) ones, I give this grain.'

10.3.2 Non-subject relative clauses

What was briefly alluded to in the introduction to §10.3 as an 'objective nominalization' or 'object relative clause' would be better referred to as a 'non-subject relative clause' in Kham; the construction applies even to underlying intransitive clauses (which I will take up in the next section). The default referent of the non-subject relative clause follows a familiar hierarchy:

(48) primary object > secondary object > location/time

With both ditransitive and transitive verbs the relative construction makes unique reference to the primary object (Dryer 1986) – or, in more traditional terms, the 'indirect object' for ditransitives and the 'direct object' for transitives:

(49) a. DITRANSITIVE (goal):
o-ra-e-o-rə
3S-3P-give-NML-PL 'those to whom he gave it'

b. DITRANSITIVE (source):
o-ra-nəĩ-wo-rə
3S-3P-seize-NML-PL 'those from whom he seized it'

c. TRANSITIVE:
o-ra-səih-wo-rə
3S-3P-kill-NML-PL 'those whom he killed'

The referenced arguments in (49) are the default referents for those particular verb types. That is, these are the arguments that surface in headless relative constructions. In relative constructions with an external head, on the other hand, any argument except the subject (whether a core argument or not) can be made the referent. The strategy is simple – the so-called 'gapping' strategy. The argument which is chosen as the relative clause head is removed from its original position (leaving a 'gap' behind) and placed at

the head of the NP, as shown in figure 13.

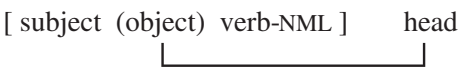

Figure 13. Extraction of head noun.

As we have seen in (49a–c), in the absence of any arguments at all, the non-subject relative clause makes unique reference to the primary object. Where either object is part of the relative clause, on the other hand, the next lower argument on the hierarchy (the gapped referent/the head) becomes the referent of the relative construction, as can be seen in the following:

(50) a. GAPPED PRIMARY OBJECT (ditransitive):
[no-e Ø mədə o-ra-e-o] sehr-rə
[he-ERG [gap] wine 3S-3P-give-NML] elder-PL
'the elders [to whom he gave wine]'

b. GAPPED SECONDARY OBJECT (ditransitive):
[sehr-ra-lai Ø o-ra-e-o] mədə
[elder-PL-OBJ [gap] 3S-3P-give-NML] wine
'the wine [which he gave the elders]'

c. NO GAPS (ditransitive):
[sehr-ra-lai mədə o-ra-e-u] chyam
[elder-PL-OBJ wine 3S-3P-give-NML] day
'the day [he gave wine to the elders]'

In (50c), both primary and secondary objects of the ditransitive clause are included as arguments inside the relative clause, leaving no gaps. The implied gap is therefore with some other argument lower on the hierarchy of possible referents. The only referent remaining as a possibility is some non-nuclear argument such as location or time (see the hierarchy in 48). In (50c), the temporal argument *chyam* 'day' is used, but it would also be possible to use a locational argument such as *po:* 'place' – *the place where he gave wine to the elders.*

The same strategies apply to transitive and intransitive clauses. As I have shown in (49c), the default reference for a transitive clause in the absence of any NP arguments at all is the direct object. Where the direct object is excluded from reference by inclusion in the relative clause arguments, reference is forced to some argument lower on the hierarchy – a locative or temporal argument – analogous to the situation in (50c), as in:

(51) a. GAPPED DIRECT-OBJECT (transitive):
[apa-e o-jəi-wo] zihm
[father-ERG 3S-make-NML] house
'the house [that father built]'

b. NO GAPS (transitive):
[apa-e zihm o-jəi-wo] po:
[father-ERG house 3S-make-NML] place
'the place [where father built a house]'

i. Non-subject relatives with 1ST or 2ND person objects

It should be noted that non-subject relative clauses are fully inflected for person and number, a feature missing from subject relative clauses. That is, in transitive and ditransitive relativized verbs, the verb is marked for agreement with both the subject and object (and sometimes with both objects). A few examples will give the idea:

(52) a. ŋa-ra-səih-wo basma-rə
1S-3P-kill-NML mt.goat-PL 'the mountain goats I killed'

b. ya-dəi-ni-u po:
3P-find-2S-NML place 'the place they found you'

c. ge-səres-ci-u chyam
1P-recognize-2P-NML day 'the day we recognized you (pl)'

Because 1ST and 2ND person participants cannot be restrictively modified, they cannot be extracted from the underlying clause and made the head of a relative clause. It is for this reason that the heads of (52b) and (52c) can only be peripheral arguments; 2S 'you' and 2P 'you.pl' are non-extractable objects.

• *Shadow pronouns.* It is nevertheless true that a 3RD person head of a relative clause can be co-referential with a 1ST or 2ND pronoun elsewhere in the clause. Thus, in a sentence like *You are the people I saw*, the relativized verb is marked for agreement with 2ND plural object, not 3RD plural object, as in:

(53) a. *je: ŋa-ra-rɨ̃:h-wo mi:-rə
*you.pl 1S-3P-see-NML person-PL
*'You are the people I saw.'

b. je: ŋa-rɨ̃:h-ci-u mi:-rə
you.pl 1S-see-2P-NML person-PL
'You are the people I saw.' (lit. 'you are the I-saw-you people')

The verb does not agree with *mi:-rə* 'people,' even though *mi:-rə* is the head of the relative clause. Rather, it agrees with *je:* 'you.pl,' the equivalent of *mi:-rə*. Following is a further example with a similar story: *ge: nə-sə-thəi-si-zya-o nakhar-la-o-rə zə* 'We are the villagers to whom you made the announcement' (lit. 'we are the you-announced-to-us villagers').

The object index in the verb is something of a 'shadow' pronoun, and in fact, occurs also with 3RD person objects. It is because the 3RD singular index is unmarked that it is less obvious than 1ST or 2ND persons. In the following, the unmarked categories are

marked with Ø, showing that, in a sense, shadow pronouns occur here as well:

(54) TRANSITIVE:

a. ya-Ø-jəi-wo zihm
3P-3S-make-NML house
'the house which they-made-it'

DITRANSITIVE:

b. ŋa-ra-Ø-nəĩ-wo mi:-rə
1S-3P-3S-seize-NML person-PL
'the people from whom I-seized-it-from-them'

• *Three participant indexing.* The nominalizations used in relative clauses with 1ST and 2ND person primary objects are more explicitly marked for person and number than their matrix clause counterparts. Specifically, where all participants in a ditransitive relative clause are human (or divine), all three participants are indexed for cross-reference in the verb, as in the following:

(55) a. MAIN VERB (two arguments cross-referenced):
ŋa-za:-rə ŋa-lai nəĩ-na-ke-o
1S-child-PL I-OBJ snatch-1S-PFV-3S
'He snatched my children from me'

b. RELATIVE (three arguments cross-referenced):
ŋa-lai o-ra-nəĩ-na-o ŋa-za:-rə
I-OBJ 3S-3P-snatch-1S-NML 1S-child-PL
'the children he snatched (them) from me'

ii. Benefactive advancement

In chapter 11, I show that transitive verbs cannot have 'recipient' agreement on the verb unless they first go through a benefactive derivation. This is true even of transitive verbs like 'send,' which in some Himalayan languages can be transitive or ditransitive depending on whether a human recipient is present or not. Not so for Kham; 'send' is only transitive. The non-subject relative clause cannot make reference to a recipient except through the benefactive:

(56) a. INHERENTLY TRANSITIVE:
u-pərĩ:-wo tha:
3S-send-NML news 'the news he sent'

b. RELATIVE WITHOUT BENEFACTIVE DERIVATION:
*tha: u-pərĩ:-wo mi:
*news 3S-send-NML person

c. RELATIVE WITH BENEFACTIVE DERIVATION:
tha: pərĩ:-də o-ra-e-o mi:-rə
news send-NF 3S-3P-BEN-NML person-PL
'the people to whom he sent the news'

Where the object of a verb is a possessed item, it too requires benefactive support. To do something to someone's possessed item is equivalent to doing it benefactively or malefactively to the person himself. Consider the relative clause in (57c) which makes reference to the possessor:

57) a. INHERENTLY TRANSITIVE:
*o-khorcyo ku-ke-o
*3S-knife steal-PFV-3S
*'He stole his knife.'

b. BENEFACTIVE ADVANCEMENT:
o-khorcyo ku-d-i:-ke-o
3S-knife steal-NF-BEN.3S-PFV-3S
'He stole his knife from him.'

c. POSSESSOR RELATIVE:
o-khorcyo ku-də o-e-o mi:
3S-knife steal-NF 3S-BEN-NML person
'the man whose knife he stole'/'the man from whom he stole the knife'

iii. Non-subject relative clauses in non-restrictive configuration

Recall (from example 47) that subject relative clauses that follow their head are non-restrictive. The same configuration holds for non-subject relative clauses as well. Though they are rare in text collections, I give the following example which is a spin-off of (57c) (where the head follows the relative): *jã:hkəri-ye o-celme, bahadur-e ŋah-da o-khorcyo ku-də o-e-o, nə-kə u-li-zya-o* 'The shaman's helper, whose knife Bahadur had stolen earlier, was there.'

10.3.3 Non-subject intransitive relative clauses

Non-subject relative clauses apply to intransitive verbs as well as transitive and ditransitive ones. Since the subject is automatically excluded from consideration in this kind of a relative, the construction makes reference to some locative or temporal argument. Though location is not a nuclear role for verbs in the same sense that objects are nuclear to transitive verbs, there is a sense in which location is expected with certain verbs – what have sometimes been referred to as 'inner locatives' (Fillmore 1968).

Thus, in the same way that primary objects are the default reference in transitive and ditransitive relative clauses, so too, location is the default reference in non-subject relative clauses with inner locative arguments:

(58) a. IMPLIED INESSIVE:
adil u-pəsi-u pup
Adil 3S-enter-NML cave
'the cave (into which) Adil entered'

b. IMPLIED SUPERESSIVE:
ŋa-nəĩ u-guhm-o sĩ:
1S-friend 3S-climb-NML tree
'the tree (onto which) my friend climbed'

c. IMPLIED ALLATIVE:
ge-nana o-res-o nakhar
1P-sister 3S-marry-NML village
'the village (to which) our sister married'

Though the arguments 'cave,' 'tree,' and 'village' in the clauses above are nouns and behave in some sense like objects, they are underlyingly nouns which function within locative phrases. The underlying clauses in these examples are: *adil pup-lə pəsi-ke* 'Adil entered into the cave,' *ŋa-nəĩ sĩ:-tə guhm-ke* 'My friend climbed onto the tree,' and *ge-nana chutə nakhar-da res-ke* 'Our sister married to another village.' The head nouns are locations, not direct objects. Their case markings are deleted because they have been extracted from their original position internal to the clause.

Intransitive clauses which have an inner locative can, of course, be made to refer to a non-core temporal argument in the same way that non-core arguments were referenced in transitive clauses – by making that argument the head. Interestingly, the relative clause in such cases still implies a default locative argument (even where it is missing from the surface representation as in 58a). Only with verbs without an inner locative is no such implication made, as the following contrastive examples show:

(59) a. WITH IMPLICIT LOCATIVE:
ya-kes-o chyam
3P-arrive-NML day
'the day they arrived' (here/there)

b. WITHOUT IMPLICIT LOCATIVE:
apa u-si-u chyam
father 3S-die-NML day
'the day father died' (no place implied)

i. A reinterpretation of the relativized verb 'to be'

In (40) we saw a subject nominalization of the verb 'to be' (*le-o*) used in ascribing possession, as in 'having a tail,' etc. The same verb in a non-subject nominalization (*o-le-o*) is used with a special locative function. It falls in with the pattern we saw in (59a) – it carries an implicit locative:

(60) o-le-o
3S-be-NML
'(where) he was'

In the modern language, the form *(o)-le-o* has been exploited as a special locative marker to such an extent that *leo* has been grammaticalized as a new nominal meaning 'the place of.' The evidence is as follows: the subject argument in non-subject nominalizations of intransitive verbs occurs in the nominative case everywhere in the grammar. Thus, in its base form or in its relativized form, the intransitive verb has the following case marking characteristics: *apa-Ø si-ke* 'Father died,' or *apa-Ø u-si-u chyam* 'the day father died.'

The verb 'to be' can likewise be relativized in a construction like:

(61) no mi:-Ø ŋa-zihm-kə o-le-o chyam
that person-NOM 1S-house-LOC 3sSUBJ-be-NML day
'the day that person was at my house'

Where *leo* functions as a locative noun, the erstwhile subject is cast in the genitive case as a possessor of the new nominal *leo*, as in (62a). (Recall that the genitive case has the same surface marking as the ergative.) The parse *o-le-o* in (62b), then, must be rejected (though, of course, it is correct for 61):

(62) a. ŋa-za:-ye o-leo-da ŋa-ba-ke
1S-child-GEN 3sPOSS-place-ALLT 1S-go-PFV
'I went to the place of my child.'

b. ŋa-za:-ye *o-le-o-da ŋa-ba-ke
1S-child-GEN *3sSUBJ-be-NML-ALLT 1S-go-PFV

As we have seen in §4.4.8, the grammaticalized nominal *leo* is the regular location marker for animate subjects, as in: *ŋa-leo-da hu-n-ke* 'Come to me!'

10.4 Relativized time adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses having to do with time (*when*, *while*) are often relativized in Kham, drawing a closer bond between the adverbial and the main relativized event. In the following examples I contrast adverbial clauses that are not relativized with those that are:

(63) a. ADVERBIAL:
bən-lə je-li-zya-kə je-ra-səih-wo bɨ̃:-rə
wilderness-IN 2P-be-IMPFV-SUB 2P-3P-kill-NML goat-PL
'while staying in the wilderness, the mountain goats you killed …'

b. WITH RELATIVIZED ADVERBIAL:
bən-lə je-li-zya-ka-o je-ra-səih-wo bɨ̃ː-rə
wilderness-IN 2P-be-CONT-SUB-NML 2P-3P-kill-NML goat-PL
'the mountain goats you killed while you were in the wilderness'
(lit. 'the while-you-were-in-the-wilderness you-killed-them goats')

In (63a), the adverbial clause remains independent of the main relativized clause – the two are in parataxis. In (63b), on the other hand, the adverbial clause is part of the greater relative, embedded to it.

10.5 Relativized clause chains

Clause chains are treated more fully in §15.2. My interest in this chapter is in the nominalization of such chains. In order to talk about them, of course, I will need first to introduce some clause chaining basics. In clause chains a whole sequence of events are strung together in a 'chain,' and only the final verb is inflected for tense/aspect or person and number. All medial verbs in the chain are non-finite (with some exceptions that I will talk about later) and marked by a simple 'non-final' (NF) suffix. Also typical of such structures are markers on the verb indicating whether the subject of the next clause is the same or different. Following is an example of a 'same subject' chain:

(64) zya-də ŋa-hu-ke
eat-NF 1S-come-PFV
'Having eaten, I came.' (I ate and came)

Medial verbs with a different subject following are of two types – one based on the form above and the other based on a subjunctive. The one based on the form above occurs only in the negative and adds a prefixed subject marker. It always signals a 'different subject' following. The one based on the subjunctive is fully finite for person and number (and does not necessarily signal different subject). Following are examples:

(65) a. MINIMALLY FINITE:
o-ma-hu-də zə ŋa-zyu-ke
3S-NEG-come-NF EMP 1S-eat-PFV
'I ate before he came.' (lit. 'He having not come, I ate')

b. SUBJUNCTIVE, FULLY FINITE:
o-ra-rəi-kə ŋa-ba-ke
3S-3P-bring-SUB 1S-go-PFV
'He having brought them, I left.' (lit. 'When he brought them I left')

The subjunctive form shown in (65b) is illustrated in its relativized form in example (63b), and I will not treat it further here. The important thing to note is that in clause chains in which the final verb is nominalized/relativized, the medial verbs can also be nominalized, thereby uniting both events into a single syntactic unit. Both forms ending

in *-də* are nominalized with the suffix *-kao* (see §10.3.1-iii), as in the following pair.

Same Subject Relatives:

(66) a. UNDERLYING CHAIN:
ma-səĩ-də zə do-ke-o
NEG-know-NF EMP do-PFV-3S
'He did it in ignorance' (lit. 'he did it not-knowing')

b. RELATIVIZED:
ma-səĩ-də-kao o-do-wo
NEG-know-NF-NML 3S-do-NML
'that which he did in ignorance'

Different Subject Relatives:

(67) a. UNDERLYING CHAIN:
ŋa-nəĩ o-ma-hu-də ŋa-zyu-ke
1S-friend 3S-NEG-come-NF 1S-eat-PFV
'Before my friend came, I ate' (lit. 'he-not-having-come')

b. RELATIVIZED:
ŋa-nəĩ o-ma-hu-də-kao ŋa-zyu-wo
1S-friend 3S-NEG-come-NF-NML 1S-eat-NML
'that which I ate before my friend came'

11 *Simple clauses, transitivity, and voice*

In chapter 5 on verbs and verb morphology we saw that Kham has two basic verb types with respect to person/number agreement morphology – the transitive and the intransitive. In this chapter I will take the argumentation a step further and show that there are syntactic reasons for making finer distinctions in inherent transitivity levels[1] and for positing various subtypes of the two basic verb categories. The discussion will be guided ultimately by 'behavior and control' properties – distributional peculiarities, inflectional combinations, and derivational possibilities. At times, the decision about whether to split or combine a category can be based on rather complex issues. It is not uncommon to find syntactic quirks based on the semantic nature of the verb in question. As Givón points out, 'In some fundamental way, every lexical verb is potentially in a class of its own, and could presumably display unique syntactic properties' (1984:86).

Because we are dealing with verbs and their arguments, not just verbal morphology, we will be dealing necessarily with simple clauses. As such, I will establish a basic constituent order for Kham and show how other syntactic notions are linked to this constituent order. We will examine also, among other things, the propositional semantics of all the basic verb types and determine how the propositions are affected by valence increasing and decreasing voice operations like the causative and passive.

11.1 Basic constituent order in simple clauses

Kham, like all other languages of the area, both Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan, is an AOV, SV language. Most implicational universals (Greenberg 1966) tied to this constituent order are valid for Kham. Where they appear to be contradictory, historical explanations are usually evident. AOV languages, for example, have been shown to be overwhelmingly suffixing. As we have seen already, however, Kham verbs are just as much prefixing as they are suffixing – 1ST and 2ND person subject agreement markers, for example, are prefixed to the verb in modern Takale. A proper understanding of historical developments shows that the modern prefixing patterns come from an old nominalization. The subject prefixes are erstwhile possessive markers, in which case Kham is a well behaved AOV

[1] Transitivity, as I use the term here, is not equivalent to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) notion of a 'transitivity hierarchy' in which there is a ranking not only of event types, but also of agent and modality types – some being more prototypically transitive than others. Rather, transitivity is an inherent property of the verb specifying the number of obligatory arguments associated with the verb (and, as such, is more akin to Payne's notion (1985) of 'inherent transitivity').

language. Synchronic patterns, including disharmonic orders, are mediated by specific diachronic processes (Givón 1971).

11.2 Equative clauses

There is no equative copula *per se* in Kham. Equative clauses are formed by the simple juxtaposition of two NPs. In keeping with basic AOV, SV constituent order, the second NP acts as the predicate of the predication. Though the two NPs are in some sense equivalent, it is the second NP that predicates something of the first (all other things being equal). Following are examples:

(1) ao-rə ŋa-za:-rə
this-PL 1S-child-PL ‘These are my children.’

(2) gyahm-o syao ao
red-NML apple this ‘The red apple is this one.’

The two NPs in each of the examples agree in number – plural in (1) and singular in (2). Without agreement, a clause like that in (1) would be a simple NP followed by an appositive – *ao ŋa-za:-rə* ‘these, my children.’ Very often then, especially when it is difficult to distinguish NP boundaries, an emphatic marker *zə* is added to one of the NPs, as in:

(3) no: mi: zə
that person EMP ‘That is a person.’

Without the emphatic marker in (3) it would be difficult to distinguish whether the utterance consists of one NP ‘that person,’ or two (i.e. an equative clause) ‘that is a person.’ In such environments, *zə* functions very much like an equative copula – *zə* marks the predicator NP. Thus, permuting some of the NPs in (1-3) we can have the following sequences:

(4) ao zə gyahm-o syao
this EMP red-NML apple ‘This one is the red apple.’

(5) no: zə mi:
that EMP person ‘That one is the person.’

Sentence (4) is very nearly equivalent to sentence (2) – both predicate something of the red apple. Sentence (5) would be similar to (6), which follows:

(6) mi: no: zə
person that EMP ‘The person is that one.’

Sentences (2) and (4), as well as (5) and (6) differ from one another primarily in the identity of the topical element, not in the identity of the predicator.

Where there is no ambiguity over NP boundaries and the predicator NP is in its

default position (i.e. clause final), the emphatic *zə* is used primarily in an emphatic sense:

(7) ao-rə ŋa-za:-rə zə
this-PL 1S-child-PL EMP 'These are indeed my children.'

11.2.1 The negative equative

Because the equative construction occurs without a verb, the negative verb prefix *ma-* does not apply. Rather, to effect negation, a negative copula *ma:hkə* occurs at the end of the equative clause. The *ma* of *ma:hkə* is certainly cognate with the *ma-* prefix we have seen elsewhere, but the rest of the word remains something of a mystery. Table 74 shows the negative equative in four other dialects.

Table 74. Negative equatives in four Kham dialects

Nishel	maṃ̥ (voiceless m)
Gamale	maŋci
Sheshi	maŋdi
Garkhani	maŋkə

It is probably safe to assume that the original negative particle was only the first syllable, something on the order of **maŋ*. The second syllable is very likely an old copula. The Gamale form, on the other hand, is quite certainly a combination of **maŋ* plus **ci*, a contra-expectancy particle in all dialects (see §9.5.3). Following are examples of the negative equative:

(8) a. ao-rə ŋa-za:-rə ma:hkə
this-PL 1S-child-PL not 'These are not my children.'

b. Ø sĩ: ma:hkə
(it) tree not 'It's not a tree.'

11.2.2 The equative interrogative

Recall from the discussion on verb morphology (chapter 5) that there are two interrogative markers. One is *ma-* (homophonous with the negative *ma-*), and the other is a tag question marker *ro* that occurs on questions with positive or negative presupposition (see §5.3.2 and §14.1.2). The latter occurs with equatives, in clause-final position, as in:

(9) a. POSITIVE PRESUPPOSITION:
ao sĩ: ro
this wood TAG
'Is this wood?'

b. NEGATIVE PRESUPPOSITION:
ao sĩ: ma:hkə ro
this wood not TAG
'This isn't wood?'

11.2.3 Equatives with embedded clauses

Any NP, including relative clauses and other nominalizations, can legitimately fill either NP slot of an equative clause, as in:

(10) a. [ahjyo o-rəi-wo sĩ:] [ao zə] Rel + NP
[yesterday 3S-bring-NML wood] [this EMP]
'This is the firewood he brought yesterday.'

b. [ao deota] [kwi:-ye jəi-si-u zə] NP + Rel
[this god] [hand-INSTR make-DETRANS-NML EMP]
'This god was made by hand.' (lit. 'that which was made by hand')

Recall that nominalizations also extend to independent, main verbs of a clause in specialized discourse settings (see §5.3 and §16). In such cases, it is in some sense true that the nominalization is functioning within a greater equative clause, the other NP of which is unstated, as in:

(11) ahjya uhbyali-kə ge: nahm-ni ge-hu-zya-o
last spring-AT we low.country-ABLT 1P-come-CONT-NML
'Last spring we were coming up from the low country.'
OR '(It's that) last spring we were coming up from the low country.'

Perhaps the strongest support for such an interpretation comes from the negative version of such a clause, in which all the hallmarks of an equative clause are present, namely an NP and the equational negative:[2]

(12) zihm ge-jəi-zya-o ma:hkə
house 1P-make-CONT-NML not
'It's not the case that we were building a house.'

This is not to say that the nominalized verb itself cannot be negativized. To do so, however, yields an entirely different interpretation, as in: *ho chyam zihm ge-ma-jəi-zya-o* 'On that day we were not building a house.' And, of course, even the negativized nominal can be negated inside the equative clause, as in: *zihm ge-ma-jəi-duh-zya-o ma:hkə* 'It's not that we were incapable of building a house.'

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[2] Elsewhere (chapter 16), I argue that nominalizations like the one in example 11 are unembedded, stand-alone, independent clauses. Example 12, on the other hand, with the equative negative, is clearly part of an equative clause.

11.3 Copular constructions

Kham is not rich in copular constructions, like Tibetan and its close relatives are. There, two equative copulas and two existential copulas function both independently and as auxiliaries in a complicated evidential system (DeLancey 1986, 1990, 1992b). We have already seen for Kham that the equative occurs without a copula. Elsewhere, two copulas occur, both existential, but with slightly different senses.

11.3.1 The copula li-/le

The one copula, *li-/le*, is related to Magar *le* and has a variety of functions. In imperfective aspects, its usual form, *li-/le* has a sense of 'current existence,' and denotes the way things are now. In the perfective, the same verb means 'to live/stay at a place.' The metaphoric extension from 'live' to 'be' is a common one and can be seen transparently in many creoles (Bickerton 1981). Purely existential clauses are rather rare in Kham, most occurring with locative or adjectival expressions. Following is an example of a pure existential, (13a) being the question and (13b) its response:

(13) a. nə-babu nə-ama ma-li-zya
2S-father 2S-mother INTRG-be-CONT
'Are your father and mother still alive?' (lit. 'do they exist?')

b. li-zya-ni
be-CONT-3D
'They are alive.' (lit. 'they exist')

The next closest thing to pure existence is existence in a location, which, in fact, is very common. Location utilizes the same copula, as in the following:

(14) ja:-lə ri:h li-zya
jug-IN water be-CONT 'There is water in the jug.'

Related to existence in a location is existence 'with' or 'on' someone, the Kham equivalent of the possessive, as in:

(15) a. ŋa-sə tə-rupiya li-zya
I-COM one-rupee be-CONT
'I have one rupee.'

b. o-kyã:-tə ma-le
3S-body-ON NEG-be:IMPFV
'He doesn't have it with him.' (lit. 'it's not on his body')

Perhaps the most common usage of the *li-/le* copula is in 'predicate–adjective' constructions (see §6.4.2). The combination 'copula + adjectival' performs the function of predication, as in: *no: mi: bənəi khyo:-wo li-zya* 'That person is very tall,' and *u-yũ:h*

gərã:-wo le 'S/he is kind.'

In the perfective *li-/le* has an interpretation of 'to live at a place.' Perfective imposes an 'eventive' interpretation. To create a notion of past existence (a stative), requires that the verb be cast in the nominalized paradigm (see §12.6.1). A single example will suffice for our purposes here (the past tense equivalent of 15a):

(16) ŋa-sə tə-rupiya o-le-o
I-COM one-rupee 3S-be-NML
'I had one rupee.'

11.3.2 The copula ta-

The other copula in Kham, *ta-*, is probably related to Thakhali-Gurung-Tamang *ta.* In the perfective, the verb has the interpretation of 'become, happen.' In other aspects it has numerous other senses, including 'to be generally true,' 'to be acceptable,' and 'to be enough.' As with *li-/le*, the copular sense of *ta-* occurs only in non-perfective aspects. There, *li-/le* has a sense of 'to be currently true,' while *ta-* has a sense of 'to be generally true,' as in:

(17) a. gukhi ka:h gyo:h-wo ta-zya
sheep.dog dog big-NML be-CONT
'Sheep dogs are/get big.'

b. geda: dəhnsar-lə ta-e
grain grain.bin-IN be-IMPFV
'Grain is (can generally be found) in the grain bin.'

Contrasting the two copulas *ta-* and *li-/le*, sentence (17a) with *li-/le* would occur in a context, for instance, in which the speaker comments about a particular sheep dog, that it is big. Likewise, (17b) with *li-/le* would occur in a context in which the speaker is instructing someone where the grain is now – it is in the grain bin. With *ta-* there is no such implication. It is nearly equivalent to *Grain is generally kept in a grain bin.*

11.4 Intransitive clauses

As we have seen in chapter 5, the morphological structure for intransitive verbs is different than that for transitive verbs. Here we will be concerned with further subdivisions. Applying the appropriate syntactic and semantic tests, two major types of intransitive emerge based on the semantic role of the grammatical subject – an 'agentive' class for those verbs whose subject is an agent, and a 'patientive' class for those verbs whose subject is a patient. A third type, 'meteorological' verbs, employ a 'dummy' subject as their only argument.

11.4.1 Intransitives with a patient role

In some fundamental sense, the 'patientive' verb class in Kham is the most basic of all predications, consisting of a verb and its affected argument. Whatever external force is responsible for such events is pragmatically unimportant and unspecified; these are spontaneous events whose cause is inherently indirect, as in *wear out, dry up*, or *increase.* Contrasting rather neatly with the patientive class in Kham is the class of inherently transitive verbs – events that are under the direct, hands-on manipulation of an agent, as in *open, kick*, or *bite*, or separated from direct manipulation only by an instrument, as in *sweep, plow*, or *cut.* The distinction is primarily a matter of culture-specific construal; 'direct causation' is lexicalized as transitive, and anything less is lexicalized as patientive. The distinction will become more obvious as we proceed. Following are examples of prototypical patientive verbs:

(18) a. ri:h boh-ke
water spill-PFV 'Water spilled.'
b. syakəri thɨ̃:-ke 'The meat dried.'
c. o-gohr khyu:-ke 'His plow wore out.'
d. u-lu:-rə ba:-ke-rə 'His sheep increased.'

i. Causative derivations for patientive verbs

All patientive verbs in Kham can be transitivized by the derivational process of causativization. The semantic status of the single argument of the underlying verb remains unchanged under causativization – the affected patient of the underlying verb remains the patient of the new transitive verb. The inclusion of an agent, as an outside, somehow intruding, participant to the whole notion named by the patientive verb is made grammatically possible in Kham by the addition of a causativizing prefix *sə-* (see §5.6.1 and §5.6.3 for morphological and historical details) and an added subject agreement marker on the verb. Following are the causativized variants of (18):

(19) a. ri:h so-boh-ke-o
water CAUS-spill-PFV-3S '(S/he) spilled the water.'
b. syakəri sə-thɨ̃:-ke-o '(S/he) dried the meat.'
c. o-gohr sə-khyu:-ke-o '(He) wore his plow out.'
d. u-lu:-rə ya-sə-ba:-ke-o '(He) increased his sheep.'

In keeping with the notion of indirect causation, the events in (19), even under causativization, occur without direct cause or hands-on manipulation. The event in (19b), for example, is commonly caused by another event (see Talmy 1976:53), as *by hanging the meat on a rack above the fire*, and for (19c) *by plowing in his field.*

This is neither unusual nor surprising. Comrie (1985a:333) notes a universal tendency in language for caused events to imply a mediated chain of events, as in *John caused the stick to break* (where John may have pushed a lever that released a weight that fell on the stick).

Where a simpler substring comes to stand in the place of a more complex one, Wilkins and Van Valin (1993:9) refer to the process as 'metonymic clipping.' In *Wilbur's banging shattered the window*, for example, the external argument (i.e. *Wilbur's banging*) of the verb *shatter* corresponds to an entire event sequence. Where Wilbur is named as the agent in such an event (i.e. *Wilbur shattered the window*), 'Wilbur' represents the entire subevent in a process of metonymy.

Because the causing subevents in causativized constructions like those in (19) are fairly predictable, nominal agents can occur in place of an entire subevent. Where such occurs, the agent is understood as representing some fairly typical or predictable subevent in a metonymic relationship.

• *Negligence or inadvertence as indirect cause*. Many patient–subject verbs in Kham, when causativized, carry with them an implication of neglect, inadvertence, or lack of prevention. Though these events, too, imply some subevent as their indirect cause, they name a person as ultimately responsible:[3]

(20) a. PATIENTIVE:
syakəri ci-ke
meat spoil-PFV
'The meat spoiled.'

b. CAUSATIVIZED:
sapi ma-ja:h-də, syakəri sə-ci-ke-o
salt NEG-put-NF meat CAUS-rot-PFV-3S
'Not adding salt, (s/he) spoiled the meat.'

(21) a. PATIENTIVE:
o-nəĩ gã:-ke
3S-friend freeze-PFV
'His/her friend froze.'

b. CAUSATIVIZED:
kwa: ma-ya-də, o-nəĩ-lai sə-gã:-ke-o
cloth NEG-give-NF, 3S-friend-OBJ CAUS-stiff-PFV-3S
'Not giving him clothing, (he) froze his friend.' (i.e. He was responsible for his friend getting hypothermia)

It is not required, in most cases, for the causing subevents in indirect causation to be fully expressed as they are in (20b) and (21b). 'Metonymically clipped' versions of the two sentences would be ones such as: *adil-e syakəri sə-ci-ke-o* 'Adil spoiled the meat,'

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[3] Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973:11) refer to such causation as 'distant causation' as opposed to 'contact causation.' They give as an example the Gilyak verb *pold* 'to fall,' which when causativized has the meaning 'to do something so that someone will fall (as *by pushing*, *tripping*, *not saying anything about the slippery spot, not giving support*, or *because of ignorance*).'

and *adil-e o-nəĩ-lai sə-gã:-ke-o* 'Adil froze his friend,' where the ergative marked agent represents the subevent. The point is that where the causative occurs, whether clipped or not, it implies indirect or mediated causation.

• *Causation beyond human control.* Other verbs belonging to the patientive subtype are those which imply the effects of weather conditions. The relevant semantic parameter is similar to those in (20-21), except that with these verbs human agents can normally do nothing to cause or prevent the process. As such, the only possible indirect cause is weather or some natural phenomenon, as in the following:

(22) a. gogha pu-ke
corn rot-PFV
'The corn rotted.'

b. nəm bənəi sə-zyũ:h-də gohga su-pu-ke-o
'The weather turned cold and rotted the corn.'

(23) a. bahrna re:-si-ke
wall crack-MM-PFV
'The wall cracked.'

b. bəĩhcalu hu-də bahrna sə-re:-ke-o
'An earthquake came and cracked the wall.'

In examples like (22b) or (23b), it is virtually impossible to get metonymically clipped versions of these events – it would be inadmissible for *nəm* 'sky' or *bəĩhcalu* 'earthquake' to occur as ergative marked agents in the main event. If they occur at all, they occur as participants in subevents.

• *Human involvement as indirect cause*. Where a human agent can be construed as participating, however indirectly, in the eventuality named by the verb, that agent can be construed as the indirect cause in a metonymic process. Verbs of 'growing' and 'sprouting,' for example, may seem to be related only to natural conditions, but where human involvement or intervention contributes to any of these natural processes, the human agent can be construed as an indirect cause:

(24) gohga khar-lə sosta sə-pəri:-ke-o
'He sprouted beans in the midst of the corn.' (said of nurse crops)

Sentence (24) is causative by virtue of the farmer having made a place for the beans to sprout – that is, an active (though indirect) participation in the outcome. The following has similar characteristics: *kəbuli ma-ki-də ẽ:h-lə sə-chip-ke-o* 'Not picking the pumpkins, he ripened them in the field.'

ii. Inherently patientive verbs with middle morphology

A number of verbs which I classify as belonging inherently to the patientive verb class

are marked with the suffix *-si* – the normal way of creating a middle or reflexive voice from inherently transitive verbs. As such, these middle marked verbs appear on the surface to be derived types. They differ, however, from synchronically productive, derived types in that they do not participate in normal transitivity alternations. For these verbs, there is no corresponding unmarked verb with inherent membership in the transitive verb class. The middle marker is obligatory with these verbs – the verb root plus the middle marker *-si* form a morphologically frozen, lexicalized complex.

Kemmer (1993:22) refers to middle marked verbs lacking unmarked transitive counterparts as 'deponents.' She further shows from cross-linguistic evidence that deponents most regularly occur within particular semantic domains – verbs of body care, body posture, spontaneous events, and several others – suggesting that middle marking is semantically motivated. Following are examples of deponent verbs in Kham. The (a) sentences illustrate spontaneous event verbs with obligatory middle marking morphology, the (b) sentences are the ungrammatical, 'would-be' morphologically unmarked counterparts, and the (c) sentences are the actual causativized counterparts of the deponent verbs. In all cases, there is no inherently transitive verb from which the deponent and causative variants can be derived:

(25) a. DEPONENT:
pətar kil-kə kəitakə gur-si-zya
'When twisting rope (one strand) sometimes pops out of place.'

b. *WOULD-BE UNMARKED COUNTERPART:
pətar cao-sə ma-kil-də *gur-ke-o

c. CAUSATIVE:
pətar cao-sə ma-kil-də su-gur-ke-o
'Not twisting the rope carefully, he popped (one strand) out of place.'

(26) a. DEPONENT:
ri:h u-thu-kə dəp-si-ke
'While pouring water, it ran back (over the lip of the jug).'

b. *WOULD-BE UNMARKED COUNTERPART:
ri:h u-thu-kə *dəp-ke-o

c. CAUSATIVE:
ri:h u-thu-kə sə-dəp-ke-o
'While pouring water, he made it run back (over the lip of the jug).'

Other examples of deponent verbs in Kham include the following: *re:-si-nya* '(of a wall) to crack,' '(of a mountain side) to slide away,' *lep-si-nya* '(of a stone in a wall) to be indented or out of line with the rest of the surface,' *hel-si-nya* '(of a wound) to grow worse, to turn septic,' *bop-si-nya* 'to emerge on top (as in a wrestling match),' *min-si-nya* 'to be incarnated in another life form,' *dũ:-si-nya* '(of a trail) to come to an end.'

iii. Simplex–causative borrowings from Nepali

There are a number of simplex–causative pairings in Kham which have been borrowed from Nepali (indicated by an *i ~ əi* alternation, respectively) and adapted to Kham phonological patterns. Some have similar semantic parameters to the Kham patientive–causative pairings:

(27) a. sirji-ke 'It came into being.'
b. sirjəi-ke-o 'He created it.'

(28) a. mili-ke-rə 'They matched.'
b. ya-miləi-ke-o 'He matched them.'

In other pairings from Nepali, the subject of the intransitive variant is an agent; patterned after the prototypical 'agentive' configuration, as in:

(29) a. səri-ke 'He moved.'
b. sarəi-ke-o 'He escorted him.'

(30) a. səmji-ke 'He remembered it.'
b. səmjəi-ke-o 'He reminded him.'

iv. Dative-experiencer subjects

In all the verbs examined so far, the subject of the intransitive is a semantic patient. Some intransitives, however, also admit dative-experiencers into the grammatical role of subject. Despite an areal case marking typology in which dative-subject marking takes precedence over grammatical subject marking, Kham treats grammatical role as primary. In Nepali and some of the Bodish languages of Nepal, for example, 'I am hungry,' 'I am cold,' 'I am happy,' etc. would be expressed as the following:

(31) a. NEPALI (from Bandhu 1973):
mə-lai bhok lag-io
me-DAT hunger attach-PFV 'I am hungry.' (lit. 'it attached to me')

b. SHERPA (from Schöttelndreyer 1975):
ŋa-laa Teŋge phok-suŋ
me-DAT cold feel-TAM 'I felt cold.' (lit. 'cold felt to me')

c. TAMANG (from Taylor 1973):
ŋa-ta ki phii-ci
me-DAT water thirst-TAM 'I am thirsty.' (lit. 'water thirsted to me')

Kham renders such sentences as belonging to the same grammatical type as the examples we saw earlier in (18), as can be seen in the following:

(32) a. ŋa: ŋa-kəre:-ke
I 1S-hungry-PFV 'I got hungry.'

b. no:-rə zyũ:h-ke-rə
they-PL cold-PFV-3PS ‘They got cold.’

c. ge: ge-rẽ:-ke
we 1P-happy-PFV ‘We became happy.’

v. Dative constructions borrowed from Nepali

Certain dative-experiencer type verbs borrowed from Nepali give evidence that, in the early stages at least, the entire construction was borrowed, together with DATIVE marking on the associated subject. Over time, however, Kham has reverted back to the nominative-subject marking prototype. In (33), the grammar has already ‘corrected’ itself by disallowing DATIVE marking on the subject.[4] In (34), both constructions are still regarded as grammatical, though there is considerable ambivalence over which is the preferred construction.

(33) a. ŋa-joro hu-ke
1S-fever come-PFV ‘I became ill.’

b. *ŋa-lai joro hu-ke
*me-DAT fever come-PFV *‘To me illness came.’

(34) a. ŋa-lai nə-məya lagi-zya
me-DAT 2S-love feels-CONT
‘I feel love for you’ (grammatically more similar to the borrowed form)

b. nɨ̃: nə-məya ŋa-lagi-zya
you 2S-love 1S-feel-CONT
‘I feel love for you.’ (the ‘corrected’ form)

11.4.2 Intransitives with an agent role

In terms of surface structure and grammatical agreement patterns there is no difference between the simple patientive verbs we have just seen and the agentive verbs we will look at next. The difference between the two types lies in the semantic role of the verb’s single argument – a patient for patientive verbs and an agent for agentive verbs. The distinction makes for fairly deep-seated differences in the syntactic behavior and derivational possibilities for the resultant verb types, as I will show in the following discussion.

i. The imperative test

Patientive verbs resist normal imperative constructions, while for agentive verbs the

[4] The Nepali source construction for (33a) is analagous to (33b): *mə-lai jəro a-io* = me-DAT fever come-PST = ‘I became ill’ (lit. ‘fever came to me’) (Bandhu 1973).

imperative is a well formed, grammatical construction. The simple reason for this is that the single argument of the agentive verb has the ability to act in a volitional way. Patientive verbs lack such an argument, and the only normally acceptable imperative construction for such verbs is the negative-imperative (prohibitive). Cast in the negative, the imperative command is interpreted not as a command to action, but only as a caution – *Try your best not to let event X happen to you*. Following are contrastive examples, in which the (a) sentences are agentive, allowing a positive-imperative, while the (b) and (c) sentences are patientive, allowing only the negative-imperative:

(35) a. AGENTIVE:
syã:-ni-ke 'Go to sleep!'

b. PATIENTIVE:
*ŋəhl-ni-ke *'Fall to sleep!'

c. PATIENTIVE:
ta-ŋəhl-ni 'Don't fall asleep!'

(36) a. AGENTIVE:
khasi-n-ke 'Cough!'

b. PATIENTIVE:
*kha:-ni-ke *'Choke!'

c. PATIENTIVE:
ta-kha:-ni 'Don't choke!'

ii. The desiderative test

Both patientive and agentive verb types, after nominalization, can function as sentential complements to the verbal auxiliary 'want.' The nominalized verb with an agent argument yields an interpretation of 'want to,' whereas the nominalized verb with a patient argument yields an interpretation equivalent to 'is about to.' The differences in interpretation can be attributed to the inherent agentivity or volitionality in the agent subject argument and its lack of such in the patient subject argument. Consider the following examples:

(37) a. AGENTIVE:
ba-o pəĩ-zya-o
go-NML want-CONT-3S 'He *wants to* go.'

b. PATIENTIVE:
si-u pəĩ-zya-o
die-NML want-CONT-3S 'He's *about to* die.'

(38) a. AGENTIVE:
cuh-si-u pəĩ-zya-o
sit-MM-NML want-CONT-3S 'He *wants to* sit.'

b. PATIENTIVE:
khyu:-wo pəĩ-zya-o
wear.out-NML want-CONT-3S 'It's *about to* wear out.'

iii. Amenability to causativization

It is significant that agentive verbs are not, on the whole, as amenable to causativization as are patientive verbs. The reason is fairly straightforward. The semantic status of the patient argument remains unchanged under causativization. For agentive verbs, the semantic status of the single argument is an agent and the addition of a new, intruding agent under causativization makes for a potential conflict (Comrie 1985a). This conflict can be resolved only if the original agent argument is recast as a patient – a phenomenon which does, in fact, occur in special cases as we shall see. The fact remains, however, that agentive verbs are not as amenable to causativization as their patientive counterparts. This fact can best be illustrated by a 'synonymous' pair in which a particular patient–subject verb has an agentive counterpart. In this case, as might be expected, the patientive verb can be causativized while the agentive one cannot:

(39) a. PATIENTIVE:
o-za:-lai sə-ŋəhl-ke-o 'She made her child fall asleep.' (as by rocking him)

b. AGENTIVE:
*o-za:-lai sə-syã:-ke-o *'She made her child sleep.'

The verb 'sleep' in (39b) is a volitional act where the subject goes off and lies down to sleep, whereas in (39a) sleep simply 'happens.' The addition of an outside agent, then, is incompatible with the agentive event, but not with the non-volitional event. The only causative construction which collocates with the agentive *syã:-* is a periphrastic causative *pərĩ:-* whose primary sense is 'to send.' This is a point I will return to immediately, but for now, consider the following example of a periphrastic causative:

(40) o-za:-lai syã:-wo pərĩ:-ke-o
3S-child-OBJ sleep-NML send-PFV-3S
'She made her child go off to sleep.'

iv. Morphological causatives versus periphrastic causatives

Kham has two basic causative types – the morphological causative and the periphrastic causative. The periphrastic causative, as we have seen, is based on an extended sense of the verb *pərĩ:-* 'to send,' as in example (40). Cross-linguistically, it has been shown that a greater closeness between cause and effect is implied by morphological causatives than by periphrastic (or 'analytic') causatives (Comrie 1985a). The morphological causative in Kham maintains a basic monotransitive configuration. Causativization adds an agent, and the patient of the base verb remains a patient of the new construction. The periphrastic causative, on the other hand, is a complement structure in which the original predication is an embedded structure under the new causative verb, as in *I made*

John climb the tree, where John remains the agent of the embedded event.

• *Morphological causatives.* There are a few special agentive verbs which can be causativized using the same morphological device we saw with patientive verbs – the addition of the causativizing prefix *sə-*. With these verbs, however, what was the agent-subject of the original verb becomes the patient-object of the new causativized verb, now controlled by a new agent-subject. With this kind of radical argument restructuring, it should not be surprising to find other concomitant semantic adjustments as well (Givón 1975). In precisely these kinds of verbs, it is not uncommon for a minor or secondary semantic component of the base verb to be lexicalized under causativization to the exclusion of other components. Dowty (1979) discusses this with the causativization of English 'deadjectival' verbs. He notes, for example, that although the adjective *tough* can mean either 'difficult' or 'resistant to tearing,' the causative verb *toughen* means only 'make resistant to tearing,' and not 'make difficult.' In the following verbs in Kham, the causativized variant lexicalizes a secondary semantic component of the base verbs – a component of 'fear' or 'being frightened away,' as in the following:

Verbs of flight.

(41) a. baza buhr-ke
'The bird flew.'

b. baza-rə ya-sə-buhr-ke-o
'He flushed the birds.' (lit. 'made them fly')

(42) a. bɨ̃: dõ:h-ke
'The mountain goat ran/fled.'

b. bɨ̃: so-dõ:h-ke-o
'He frightened the mountain-goat away.' (lit. 'made him run')

Verbs of playing, dancing, and skipping. Verbs of playing, dancing and skipping are also agentive verbs. When causativized, the agent argument is recast in the role of a patient, with a result much like what we saw in (41-42) – the lexicalization of some secondary semantic component of the base verb, as can be seen in the following example:

(43) a. o-za:-rə rəih-si-zya-rə
3S-child-PL play-MM-CONT-3P
'Her children are playing.'

b. o-za:-ra-lai ya-sə-re:h-ke-o
'She entertained her children (by playing with them).'

Other examples with similar characteristics are: *zya:h-rə syah-ke-rə* 'The witches danced,' *jã:hkəri-ye zya:h-ra-lai rẽ:h-gor-tə ya-sə-syah-ke-o* 'The shaman danced/bounced the witches on the hoop of the drum,' and the pair *o-za: yehp-ke* 'His child skipped along,' *u-kwi:-ni sehl-də o-za:-lai sə-yehp-ke-o* 'Pulling him by the hand,

he skipped/dragged his child along.'

• *Periphrastic causatives.* For the agents of agent-subject verbs to remain volitional agents in a causativized construction requires the periphrastic causative construction *pərĩ:-* (lit. 'to send'). In the few, rare cases that the morphological causative *sə-* is applicable to such verbs, the agent argument of the base verb is recast as a patient argument of the new causative construction. This is what we saw in examples (41-43). With the periphrastic causative there is less realignment of semantic roles – the agent of the base verb remains the agent of the caused predication. The following example is illustrative of the whole class:

(44) no-lai dõ:h-wo ŋa-pərĩ:-ke
him-OBJ run-NML 1S-send-PFV 'I made him run.'
(The argument of the embedded verb 'run' is still a volitional agent.)

The periphrastic causative, in fact, becomes a diagnostic for agentive verbs. Only where the argument of the intransitive verb is a volitional agent is the periphrastic causative a well formed construction. With a patient argument, the construction is ill-formed,[5] as in the following examples which contrast the two intransitive types:

(45) a. PATIENTIVE:
o-za: ŋəhl-ke
3S-child fall.asleep-PFV
'Her child fell asleep.'

b. PATIENTIVE WITH MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVE:
o-za:-lai sə-ŋəhl-ke-o
'She put her child to sleep (as by patting him on the back).'

c. PATIENTIVE WITH PERIPHRASTIC CAUSATIVE (ill-formed):
*o-za:-lai ŋəhl-o pərĩ:-ke-o
*'She made her child fall asleep.'

(46) a. AGENTIVE:
o-za: syã:-ke
3S-child sleep-PFV
'Her child slept/went to sleep.'

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[5] It has often been noted that periphrastic constructions are generally more flexible than morphological ones. The inability of the Kham periphrastic causative to co-occur with patient–subject verbs is due, apparently, to the fact that the sentential complements of complement taking verbs in Kham are 'non-implicative' (see chapter 15). That is, there is no implication that the embedded event actually occurred – the agent of the embedded event is never fully 'manipulated.' Where full manipulation does occur, the morphological causative is required.

b. AGENTIVE WITH MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVE (ill-formed):
*o-za:-lai sə-syã:-ke-o
*'She put her child to sleep (as by patting him on the back).'

c. AGENTIVE WITH PERIPHRASTIC CAUSATIVE:
o-za:-lai syã:-wo pərĩ:-ke-o
'She made her child sleep/go to sleep.'

• *A three-way contrast.* For some agentive verbs – in particular those in which the agent argument of the base verb is recast as a patient argument under causativization (as in 41-43) – both morphological and periphrastic causativizations yield well-formed constructions. This can be observed in the following two sets where *kih-nya* and *pã:-nya* are representative of the whole class. The (a) verbs are inherently agentive, the (b) verbs are the morphological causativized counterparts in which there has been a realignment of the original semantic roles (i.e. the original agent argument is recast as a patient), and the (c) constructions are periphrastic causatives coming from the underlying agentive verbs (i.e. the sole argument of the embedded verbs 'cry' and 'speak' remains an agent):

(47) a. kətwalya kih-ke
herald cry-PFV
'The herald cried (made an announcement).'

b. kətwalya-lai ŋa-sə-kih-ke
herald-OBJ 1S-CAUS-cry-PFV
'I made an announcement through the herald.' (lit. 'I cried the herald')

c. kətwalya-lai kih-u ŋa-pərĩ:-ke
herald-OBJ cry-NML 1S-send-PFV
'I had the herald cry (make an announcement).'

(48) a. pã:-ke
speak-PFV
'He spoke.'

b. o-rediyo sə-pã:-ke-o
3S-radio CAUS-speak-PFV-3S
'He played his radio.'

c. nyã:dis-e pərti-lai pã:-wo pərĩ:-ke-o
judge-ERG defendant-OBJ speak-NML send-PFV-3S
'The judge made the defendant speak.'

• *Involuntary human activity verbs.* We are now in a position to examine a class of intransitive verbs which, cross-linguistically, appear to be somewhat unpredictable in terms of the semantic role of their single argument. Depending on the language, they

may occur as patient–subject types or as agent-subject types. DeLancey (1985), addressing this problem, shows that a particular class of predicates, the so-called 'sneeze-type' predicates, unpredictably mark their arguments as agent in some languages and as patient in others. The cross-linguistic difference, DeLancey argues, is in the language-specific conceptualization and grammaticalization of the event.

A closer examination of these single argument verbs in Kham reveals them to be patientive. Thus although, as DeLancey argues, volitionality is not a necessary condition in the true agentive prototype, its lack in single argument verbs in Kham, at least, is a sufficient criterial feature in assigning non-agentive status to such verbs. For Kham, then, because the action named by these single argument verbs is involuntary, the semantic role of its argument is that of a patient, not an agent. As such, they regularly undergo morphological causativization, as do other patient–subject types, but reject the periphrastic causative *pərĩ:-*. Recall that the presence of the former and absence of the latter strongly implies a subject argument in the semantic role of a patient, as in the following examples:

(49) a. sas-ke 'He laughed.'
b. li:h-də ya-sə-sas-ke-o 'Joking, he made them laugh.'
c. *sas-o pərĩ:-ke-o *'He made him laugh.'

(50) a. gəhr-ke 'He wept.'
b. bənəi thəl-də sə-gəhr-ke-o 'Scolding him severely, he made him weep.'
c. *gəhr-o pərĩ:-ke-o *'He made him weep.'

v. Inherently agentive verbs with middle morphology

Much as we saw with patient–subject type verbs (see 11.4.1-ii), so also certain verbs of the agentive class are obligatorily marked with middle morphology – the verbal suffix *-si*. With these particular verbs, there is no unmarked transitive counterpart from which the middle verbs are derived. The situation is not unlike that found in English sentences like '*He sat himself down*,' with the exception that the reflexive *himself* is optional for English, but not so for Kham. In Kham, the verb root plus the middle marker forms a lexicalized complex.

As noted earlier, such verbs have been referred to in the literature as 'deponents' and typically come from specific semantic domains like grooming, body posture, spontaneous events, and several others. Kemmer (1993) argues that middle marking is at least partially semantically motivated, and as one piece of evidence she shows that where a corresponding unmarked form does occur on verbs of this class, the root form is typically not transitive, but intransitive.

• *Change in body posture verbs.* Deponent verbs in Kham also fall within one of the semantically defined verb classes normally associated with middle marked verbs in other languages – here, the 'change in body posture' verbs. As in Kemmer's study, there is evidence that these verbs in Kham derive historically from an unmarked intransitive

source. In the following examples, then, the (a) sentences employ middle marked (MM) verbs belonging inherently to the agentive verb class in question (change in body posture), the (b) sentences show etymologically related intransitive root verbs representing probable historical sources for the marked forms, and the (c) sentences are the ungrammatical, 'would-be' transitive root sources for the middle marked verbs:

(51) a. cuh-si-ke
sit-MM-PFV 'He sat down.'

b. baza cõ:-ke[6]
bird perch-PFV 'The bird perched.' (This verb has only this sense)

c. *cuh-ke-o
*sit-PFV-3S 'He sat him down.'

(52) a. cyã:h-si-ke
stand-MM-PFV 'He stood (to his feet).'

b. o-rkal cyã:h-ke
3S-penis stand-PFV 'His penis became erect.' (This verb has only this sense)

c. *cyã:h-ke-o
*stand-PFV-3S 'He made him stand.'

53) a. gyã:h-si-ke
lie-MM-PFV 'He laid down.'

b. yem gyã:h-ke
trail level-PFV 'The trail leveled out.'

c. *gyã:h-ke-o
*lay-PFV-3S 'He laid him down.'

The point of the examples above is to show that the middle marked forms are not derived from more basic transitive root forms. Rather, the roots are inherently intransitive with lexicalized middle morphology. For the three verbs listed above there are corresponding transitive derivations whose semantic meaning is that of the glosses in (c), but whose morphology is that of the causativized intransitives we have seen elsewhere: a prefixed *sə-* on the unmarked intransitive verb root. The phonological source for the derived transitive, then, is the intransitive verb root without middle morphology – one that shows evidence of a semantic shift. The result is a skewed transitivity alternation, such that the causativized variant is related to (a) semantically, but to (b) derivationally. The causativized variants of the three verbs in (51–53) are: *o-pahuna-lai so-coĩ-ke-o*

[6] Though the verb *cõ:-nya* may appear etymologically unrelated to cuh-si-nya, its relationship is more transparent in other Kham dialects, e.g. Gamale: *cuŋ-nya* 'to perch (as a bird),' and *cuŋ-si-nya* 'to sit down.'

'He seated his guest,' *sehr-ra-e ya-ŋah-kə sə-cyã:h-ke-rə* 'They stood him before the elders,' and *o-za:-lai sə-gyã:h-ke-o* 'She laid her child down.'

• *Other agentive deponents.* A number of other agentive deponent verbs occur in Kham. All occur with obligatory middle morphology, and none are derived from inherently unmarked root forms. A few can be morphologically causativized with the prefix *sə-*, so long as the middle marker *-si* is removed, as in (43) which I reproduce here: *o-za:-rə rəih-si-zya-rə* 'Her children are playing,' vs. *o-za:-ra-lai ya-sə-re:h-ke-o* 'She entertained her children (by playing with them).'

• *Idiosyncratic distribution of middle marking within lexical classes.* The distribution of middle marking and deponents within particular lexical classes is often uneven and idiosyncratic. With verbs of bodily discharge, for example, some are middle marked while others are not, and some are deponents while others are not. Consider the following examples and their uneven derivational possibilities: *ji:h-si-ke* 'He urinated,' and *baohza-e o-kwa:-tə ji:h-ke-o* 'The baby urinated on his clothing,' vs. *eh-ke* 'He defecated,' and **eh-ke-o*.

vi. Cognate object intransitives

The cognate object intransitives appear on the surface to have an additional argument, but are, in fact, intransitive in structure and morphology. Austin (1982) in a survey of Australian languages refers to such arguments as 'complements,' and argues that such clauses are neither fully transitive nor fully intransitive. For Kham, they are much rarer than their counterparts in English which include such verbs as *sleep* in *Louise slept a restful sleep*, and *smile* in *She smiled her most adorable smile*. In Kham, most cognate object intransitive verbs are related to their cognate nouns by zero derivation. However, unless the cognate noun is, in some way, made more specific than its generic sense, as by adjectival modification, the construction is rather odd, as in *pã: pã:-ke* '?He talked talk.' It is for this reason that (54c) is acceptable; a *dəkəri* is a specific kind of dance. This suggests that if Kham had a zero-derived noun *syah* 'dance,' it could not occur unmodified with *syah-nya* 'to dance.' Conversely, if Kham had a specific noun for 'nightmare' it could likely occur unmodified with the verb *mɨ̃:-nya* 'to dream' in 'He dreamed a nightmare.' In fact, there is only a separate verb *cem-nya* 'to have a nightmare.' Following are cognate object intransitives in Kham:

(54) a. ŋa: əcəmbə-la-o mɨ̃: ŋa-mɨ̃:-ke
I amazing-IN-NML dream 1S-dream-PFV
'I dreamed an amazing dream.'

b. sahr-o pã: pã:-ke
new-NML talk talk-PFV
'He spoke a new message.' (lit. 'talked a new talk')

c. dəkəri syah-ke-rə
dakari dance-PFV-3P
'The danced the *dakari* dance.'

11.4.1 Meteorological verbs

Meteorological verbs denote things like weather and natural phenomena. The sole argument of most meteorological verbs is a 'dummy' argument, the noun *nəm* 'sky.' In one case the argument is *gahm* 'sun,' as in: *gahm pəle:ke* 'the sun rose.' Syntactically, *nəm* is a less than prototypical argument – for one thing, it lacks agreement marking with the verb, as in:

(55) a. nəm wa-ke
sky rain-PFV 'It rained.' (lit. 'the sky rained')

b. nəm-rə wa-ke
sky-PL rain-PFV 'It really rained.' (*not* 'the skies rained)

c. *nəm-rə wa-ke-rə
*sky-PL rain-PFV-3P

Sentence (55b) is an intensified version of (55a) – the argument *nəm* is pluralized, but without concomitant plural marking on the verb (as would be required if *nəm* were a full-fledged argument). As we shall see, other tests further corroborate the non-argument status of *nəm*, but before I present them, I give here a partial listing of meteorological verbs in a parallel construction to (55a): *nəm bel-ke* 'It cleared,' *nəm sem-ke* 'It stopped raining,' *nəm sɛ̃:-ke* 'It dawned,' *nəm nup-ke* 'The sun set,' *nəm suh-ke* 'It turned hazy,' *nəm zyũ:h-ke* 'It turned cold,' *nəm jyah-ke* 'It grew dark,' *nəm twĩ:-ke* 'It turned winter' (lit. 'the sky shortened'), and *nəm khyo:-ke* 'It turned summer' (lit. 'the sky lengthened').

The final three verbs, *jyah-* 'dark,' *twĩ:-* 'short,' and *khyo:-* 'long,' are not restricted to meteorological events, and can occur with nouns other than *nəm*, in which case we are dealing with full syntactic arguments.

i. Argument advancement

Some meteorological verbs, taking on a specialized, extended meaning, are capable of including animate subjects as part of their role structure. Thus, in addition to the obligatory verbal complement *nəm*, an animate subject with verbal agreement also occurs. Where such occurs, the verb is no longer functioning as a simple meteorological verb, but has 'moved up' the scale of transitivity types to become a full-fledged patientive verb – a verb with the syntactic features of a predication having a 'true' subject argument. Significantly, the 'real' subject – the argument with which the verb agrees – now occurs *in addition* to the dummy subject; not in place of it. The old dummy remains, giving further evidence of its nature, not as a verbal argument, but as a complement of the meteorological verb. Consider the following:

(56) a. ha:h-tə zə nəm ge-jyah-na-ke
that-much-ON EMP sky 1P-dark-GO-PVF
'At that point it began to grow dark on us.' (lit. 'we started becoming sky-dark')

b. ŋa-ba-kə ŋa-ba-kə nəm ŋa-nup-ke
1S-go-when 1S-go-WHEN sky 1S-set-PFV
'As I went and went, the sun set on me.' (lit. 'I became sky-set')

ii. The agentivity test

Meteorological verbs can go through a causativizing derivation in much the same way that patient–subject verbs do, yielding expressions which imply indirect causation. Here too, the non-participant status of *nəm* becomes apparent. Sentence (57a) is the causativized counterpart of *nəm zyũ:h-ke* 'It turned cold.' The argument *nəm*, however, is ungrammatical as an agent, as can be seen in (57b). *Nəm* is tied to the verb as a kind of complement.

(57) a. nəm sə-zyũ:h-ke-o
sky CAUS-cold-PFV-3S 'It turned it cold.'

b. *nəm-e sə-zyũ:h-ke-o
*sky-ERG CAUS-cold-PFV-3S *'The sky turned it cold.'

c. bətase-e sə-zyũ:h-ke-o
wind-ERG CAUS-cold-PFV-3S 'The wind turned it cold.'

Expressions like those in (57a) are common. They imply that the speaker has some kind of meteorological conditions in mind (wind, clouds, snow) as the 'ultimate cause' of the weather change (cf. DeLancey 1984b). If the speaker has an 'immediate cause' in mind, it is expressed as in (57c).

iii. The relativizing test

As we saw in §10.3, Kham has two relative clause constructions. One, the subject relative clause, makes unique reference to the subject of the clause, and the other makes reference to any argument other than the subject. The first type is the one that concerns us here.

The dummy argument, *nəm*, of meteorological verbs cannot be extracted and modified by a relative clause as can the patient argument of patientive verbs. This can be seen in the following:

(58) a. PATIENTIVE VERB:
sa:-zya-o pom ŋa-rɨ̃:h-ke
melt-CONT-NML snow 1S-see-PFV 'I saw the melting snow.'

b. METEOROLOGICAL VERB:
*wa-zya-o nəm ŋa-rɨ̃:h-ke
*rain-CONT-NML sky 1S-see-PFV *'I saw the raining sky.'

Only in a complement structure can it be said *I saw that it was raining*, as in the following:

(59) nəm o-wa-zya-o ŋa-rɤ̃:h-ke
sky 3S-rain-CONT-COMP 1S-see-PFV
'I saw that it was raining' (lit. 'that it was sky-raining')

11.5 Transitive clauses

The prototypical transitive event (Hopper and Thompson 1980) involves an agent performing a deliberate action which brings about a direct change of state in a patient, as in *The gardener trimmed the hedge.* In Kham, as in many languages, other more marginal exemplars assimilate to the transitive prototype in terms of morphosyntax as long as the event being lexicalized is in some way construable as being initiated by one participant and directed to another. Most notable, perhaps, are verbs describing mental states or verbs of perception, as in *I saw a flash of lightning*. Though the 'agent' in such events performs no deliberate action, and though the 'patient' is totally unaffected, the fact that there is an asymmetrical relation between the initiator of the mental activity and a second entity, the endpoint, allows such events to grammaticalize as transitive configurations. Certain stimulus/response-type verbs in Kham also assimilate to the transitive prototype by direct association with verbs of perception, as in: *ka:h rɤ̃:h-də ŋa-che:-zya* 'I am afraid of dogs' (lit. 'seeing dogs I am afraid').

11.5.1 Morphological characteristics

Transitive verbs differ grammatically and morphologically from all the verb classes discussed so far. Transitive verbs are marked obligatorily, by means of person and number indices in the verb, for two participants – the subject and the direct object, regardless of whether those arguments occur as free NPs in the clause or not (see §5.2 for details).

11.5.2 Semantic characteristics

Transitive verbs further contrast with the patient–subject intransitive class on semantic principles. Verbs in Kham are broadly divided along the semantic parameters of direct and indirect causation. Directly caused events are those in which there is either:

(a) direct bodily contact in performing the action, as in 'bite,' 'kick,' 'open,' and 'carry,' in which the body parts used are the teeth, feet, hands, and back, respectively (cognition-type verbs also fall in here), or,

(b) separation from direct bodily contact only by an instrument, as in 'sweep,' 'plow,' and 'cut,' in which the instruments used are a broom, plow, and knife, respectively.

For patient–subject intransitive verbs, as we have already seen, causation is less direct – usually a subevent in which the agent of the causing event represents the entire event in a metonymic relationship. This explains the difference between predications in Kham like *He cooked the meat* and *He cut the meat*. The former has an inherent patient–subject root, with the agent (when brought in by a causative derivation) in a relationship of indirect or mediated causation – *setting the pot on the fire and adding wood from time to time*. Its most basic, inherent sense occurs without the specification of a causing agent. The latter predication (*He cut the meat*), by contrast, is inherently transitive with the agent in a relationship of direct or immediate causation through the use of an instrument – a knife. The agent of an inherently transitive verb cannot go unspecified without special semantic consequences.

i. Direct and indirect causation

We now return to the discussion on direct and indirect causation. (See the beginning of the discussion in §11.4.1.) A very small class of verbs in Kham have transitive/intransitive variants without morphological derivations to distinguish them – the 'conversive' verbs in Nedyalkov and Silnitsky's (1973) classification. 'Break/shatter' is one such verb. In Kham, the intransitive variant implies spontaneity or indirect causation, while the transitive variant implies direct causation (hands-on or by instrument), as in:

(60) INTRANSITIVE:
gəm gahgəri 'pa:-kè [7]
clay vessel break-PFV
'The clay pot broke.' (spontaneously or as a matter of fact)

(61) TRANSITIVE:
gəm gahgəri 'pa:-kè-o
clay vessel break-PFV-3S
'He broke the clay pot.' (directly or with an instrument)

The verb 'to snap in two' (by pulling, as of a rope) has an interesting three way alternation. An intransitive variant occurs, which like 'break/shatter,' implies spontaneity or matter-of-factness. The transitive variant implies a hands-on, direct cause. A third variant, a causativized intransitive, has a secondary sense – causing a breed to go extinct – a metaphorical extension of one of the patient–subject senses. That latter variant implies mediated causation, as in:

(62) PATIENTIVE (spontaneous):
pətar 'phya:-kè
rope snap-PFV
'The rope snapped.'

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[7] I include tone marks here to show that the transitive and intransitive variants have the same inherent tones (see chapter 3).

(63) TRANSITIVE (direct causation):
pətar 'phya:-kè-o
rope snap-PFV-3S
'He snapped the rope in two.'

(64) CAUSATIVIZED PATIENTIVE (indirect causation):
purã:do duhr sə-'phya:-kè-o
old seed CAUS-snap-PFV-3S
'He terminated the old breed.' (by letting it die out)

ii. Rigidity of participant types

Transitive verb types in Kham are rigidly fixed with regard to the semantic role of the participants marked for morphological agreement in the verb. Animacy and specificity play no part in the system. The verb 'to send,' for example, is ambivalent in many of the Himalayan languages, depending on whether a human recipient is specified or not. Such specification makes for a difference between monotransitive and ditransitive clause types. Take, for example, the verb 'to send' in Tamang (taken from Taylor 1973:106-7), as in the following:

(65) a. TRANSITIVE INTERPRETATION (animate object):
apa-ce the-ta buh-ri pit-ci
father-ERG he-DAT field-to send-TAM
'Father sent him to the field.'

b. DITRANSITIVE INTERPRETATION (animate indirect object):
the-ce apa-ta chiTi pit-ci
he-ERG father-DAT letter send-TAM
'He sent a letter to Father.'

If the same were true for Kham, both (a) and (b) sentences for (67) below would be grammatical. In fact, however, only single object (patient) versions for the monotransitive verb 'send' (66) are possible as simple clauses. Monotransitive verbs are specified for an agent and a patient, never for a goal or recipient. To specify a human recipient for these verbs requires a special benefactive derivation involving the ditransitive verb 'to give' as in (67b). Such constructions will be discussed more fully in §11.6.

(66) ONE OBJECT (with 'send'):
a. INANIMATE:
no-e chiti-ni nehblo ni-pərĩ:-ke-o
he-ERG letter-DL two 3D-send-PFV-3S
'He sent two letters.'

b. ANIMATE:
no-e ŋa-lai pərĩ:-na-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ send-1S-PFV-3S
'He sent me.'

(67) TWO OBJECTS (with 'send'):
a. INHERENT TRANSITIVE:
*no-e ŋa-lai chiti tubu pərĩ:-na-ke-o
*he-ERG me-OBJ letter one send-1S-PFV-3S
*'He sent me a letter.'

b. DERIVED BENEFACTIVE:
no-e ŋa-lai chiti tubu pərĩ:-d-y-ã:-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ letter one send-NF-BEN-1S-PFV-3S
'He sent me a letter.'

The point to be made from example (67) is that version (a), though *attempting* to specify a human recipient, is rigidly fixed as a transitive (agent–patient) verb and resists ditransitive case marking. With the verb 'to send' the subject agreement is with the agent, and the object agreement is with the patient – a letter. To include a human recipient (as in 'He sent a letter *to me*') requires an applicative derivation of the inherently transitive verb to the status of ditransitive (through a form of the verb 'to give,' in which case the object agreement is with the recipient.

11.5.3 Detransitivizing derivations

In much the same way that patient–subject intransitive verbs participated in a causativizing derivation by means of the transitivizing prefix *sə-*, so also inherently transitive verbs participate in a detransitivizing derivation involving the suffix *-si* – a derivation which yields a verb consistent with intransitive morphology. Recall, for the following discussion, some of the hallmarks of the distinction between transitive and intransitive morphology:

(a) transitive verbs are obligatorily marked for agreement with two participants, while intransitive verbs (derived ones included) are marked for agreement with a single participant,

(b) the default, zero-marked categories for transitive verbs are 3RD singular object in declarative constructions and 2ND singular subject in imperative constructions, while for intransitive verbs 3RD singular subject in the declarative is the only zero-marked category.

Following is an inherently transitive verb *hai-nya* 'to take/pull out.' With detransitivizing morphology the verb becomes a derived intransitive *hai-si-nya* 'to get out of a place.' In the following contrastive examples, the transitive morphology of the inherent root, and the intransitive morphology of the derived root are clear:

(68) a. TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE (two participants; zero 3S OBJ):
o-nəĩ-lai kuwa-ni Ø-hai-kè-o
3S-friend-OBJ well-ABLT 3S-pull.out-PFV-3S
'He pulled his friend out of the well.'

b. DERIVED INTRANSITIVE (one participant; zero 3S SUBJ):
u-zihm-ni hai-si-kè-Ø
3S-house-ABLT get.out-DETRANS-PFV-3S
'He got out of/escaped his house.'

(69) a. TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE (two participants; zero 2S SUBJ):
kuwa-ni ya-hai-Ø-kē [8]
well-ABLT 3P-pull.out-2S-IMP
'Pull them out of the well!'

b. DERIVED INTRANSITIVE (one participant; no zero):
nə-zihm-ni hai-si-n-kē
2S-house-ABLT get.out-DETRANS-2S-IMP
'Get out of your house!'

In certain transformational and generative accounts, the derivations by which transitive verbs become intransitive have been viewed as 'NP-deletion' (Babby 1975) or 'reductions in syntactic valence' (Aissen 1982). In such accounts, the major concern has been with relating middle marked verbs to their corresponding transitive counterparts. We have already seen from Kham, however, that not all middle marked verbs are derived from inherently transitive roots (see §11.4.1-ii) and §11.4.2-v). As Kemmer (1993) observes, middle marked verbs fall on a cline between canonical two- and one-participant events. The reflexive lies closer to the two-participant event, while the middle lies closer to the one-participant event. With prototypical middle verbs, the two semantic roles 'Initiator' and 'Endpoint' are in some way conflated into a single referential entity.

For Kham, too, a single morphological process, which I refer to as a 'detransitivization' or 'middle' derivation, yields different results for different verbs. The detransitivizing derivation, then, becomes a diagnostic for distinguishing several transitive verb classes. The semantic properties of the root verb in question determine the type of initiator–endpoint conflation that will occur. Some detransitivized verbs, for example, imply simply that the initiator of the event is the speaker (a 1ST person agent). The result is a kind of 'first person passive' in which the speaker is demoted and the event impersonalized. Other transitive verbs are semantically amenable to a reflexive or reciprocal interpretation. Still others, after derivation, are made semantically equivalent to inherently patient–subject type verbs; that is, having a middle interpretation.

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[8] The tone of imperative *-kē* is T-2, while perfective *-kè* is T-1.

i. Demotion of 1ST person subject

The suffix *-si*, when occurring with inherently transitive verbs, effects detransitivization, resulting in an intransitive verb. Certain transitive verbs, because of their semantic make-up, resist a reflexive or middle interpretation under detransitivization and indicate, instead, that the demoted agent is none other than the speaker – a 1ST person agent. The relevant semantic parameter for these verbs seems to be that the agent and patient cannot be co-referential. In the majority of cases, in fact, such verbs resist any kind of animate patients. Furthermore, for most, the patient referent is highly constrained, as in:

(70) a. ri:h o-si-ke
water drink-DETRANS-PFV
'(I) drank water.'/'Water was drunk (by me).'

b. ẽ:h ki:-si-ke
field plow-DETRANS-PFV
'(I) plowed the field.'/'The field was plowed (by me).'

c. ri:h gəp-si-ke
water draw-DETRANS-PFV
'(I) drew water.'/'Water was drawn (by me).'

The function of the 'first person passive' illustrated in (70) is a pragmatic one. The speaker wishes to de-emphasize him-/herself or his/her own involvement in the eventuality named by the verb.[9] Another possible (though not likely) interpretation of sentences like (70a) would be reflected in the English translations: *I drank myself some water*, implying a more reflexive or middle sense. Such an interpretation, however, is unattractive because the forms in (70) cannot occur with the 1ST person pronoun *ŋa:* 'I' – either as a free pronoun or as an agreement marker. With true middles (as in 72), 1ST person involvement requires 1ST person marking. Where it is lacking (as in 72a), it signals 3RD person involvement. Following is the contrast between a verb with first person passive interpretation and one with middle interpretation:

(71) FIRST PERSON PASSIVE:
a. ri:h o-si-ke
water drink-DETRANS-PFV
'Water was drunk (by me).'

b. *ŋa: ri:h ŋa-o-si-ke
*I water 1S-drink-DETRANS-PFV
*'I drank myself some water.'

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[9] Bandhu (1973:25) reports a similar 'impersonal passive' construction in Nepali (Indo-Aryan) in which the detransitivized verb is inflected for 3RD person, but the unspecified agent is understood to be 1ST person, as in: *həri-lai kuT-i-io* = Hari-DAT hit-PASS-PFV = 'Hari was hit (by me)'; or *ghər-ə gə-i-io* = house-DIR go-PASS-PFV = '(I) went home.'

(72) MIDDLE:

a. ram bahl-si-ke
show watch-MM-PFV 'He watched the show (for entertainment).'

b. ŋa: ram ŋa-bahl-si-ke
I show 1S-watch-MM-PFV 'I watched the show (for entertainment).'

ii. Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexives and reciprocals fall within the same general functional domain, united by a common constraint of co-reference across the arguments of a transitive clause. With reflexives, the co-reference is between the agent and patient of a single event, such that the agent of the event acts directly upon him-/herself. In reciprocals, two similar events occur, and the co-reference between agents and patients is skewed, such that the agent of one event is co-referential with the patient of the second, and vice versa. The inherent similarity between the multiple events in a reciprocal situation is sufficiently close conceptually that they are construed as a single event.

Given the constraint of co-reference between agent and patient, reflexives can occur only with verbs whose agent and patient are both animate, or at least capable of action. This means, of course, that prototypical transitive verbs – those whose agent is animate, but whose patient is inanimate – do not undergo reflexivization except by metaphorical extension. Excluded, then, are verbs like 'chop,' 'dig,' 'weave,' 'destroy,' break,' and 'build' (the kinds of verb found in 70). Included are transitive verbs which *require* animate patients – verbs like 'kill,' 'bathe,' and 'feed' – but such verbs are numerically rare in any language. More usual are those verbs which do not naturally *exclude* human/animate patients. These are the prototypical reflexives; verbs like 'see,' 'recognize,' 'beat,' 'hide,' 'cut,' 'shave,' and 'pinch.'

Verbs which are naturally amenable to reflexivization are also amenable to reciprocal derivation. That is, if one can feed him-/herself, two or more can feed each other. The converse is not necessarily true. Some reciprocal events can only be reciprocal – many can meet together, but one cannot meet him-/herself in the ordinary sense. As such, for many potentially reflexive verbs, the difference between a reflexive and reciprocal interpretation is dependent more on the grammatical number of the arguments than it is on the semantics of the verb. For such verbs, a singular argument has a reflexive interpretation, while a dual or plural argument can also have a reciprocal interpretation, as in the following:

(73) a. səih-si-ke
kill-DETRANS-PFV 'He killed himself.'

b. səih-si-ke-rə
kill-DETRANS-PFV-3P 'They killed/slaughtered each other.'
OR: 'They all killed themselves.'

- *Reflexives.* Reflexives occur as derivations on inherently transitive verbs in which

animate patients are either required (as in 73), or at least semantically possible (as in 68 and 69). This is in contrast to (70) where an animate patient is semantically disallowed.

• *Direct reflexives.* Reflexives differ from middles in that with certain transitive verbs there is an expectation that the initiator and endpoints will be different entities – and it is precisely with these verbs that the *-si* construction begs for a reflexive interpretation. Thus, with verbs like 'kill,' the agent normally performs the action on some entity other than him- or herself. This is borne out by cross-linguistic evidence – there is no language in which killing oneself or beating oneself is expressed by an inherently intransitive verb. Even as derived types, then, the two semantic roles of agent and patient are still conceptually distinct. These characteristics are generally lacking in the 'middles,' as we shall later see. With 'direct reflexives' the two semantic roles conflated into one are the agent and the patient, as in the following:

(74) a. dərpən-lə cyu:-si-ke
mirror-in look-DETRANS-PFV
'She looked at herself in the mirror.'

b. nih-də ŋa-si-ke-rə
beg-NF raise-DETRANS-PFV-3P
'They lived by begging.' (lit. 'raised themselves')

c. dəhnsar-lə mõ:h-si-ke-rə
grainbin-IN hide-DETRANS-PFV-3P
'They hid in the grain bin.'

• *Direct reflexives with causatives as source.* Many causativized verbs also participate in the direct reflexive derivation. Once causativized, the expected endpoint for these verbs is someone other than the causing agent, as in: *thã:tə-sə li-də so-soi-si-ke* 'Living luxuriously he fattened himself,' and *me:h mwĩ:-si-də sə-ŋəhl-si-ke* 'Warming himself by the fire, he made himself fall asleep.'

A certain amount of volitionality on the part of the agent can usually be attributed to verbs of this construction. The difference between rolling down the hill as a natural, unintended consequence of a fall, for example, and rolling down the hill intentionally can be captured by this construction, as in:

(75) PATIENTIVE:

a. me-da e:h-lə golõ:-ke
down-ALLT field-IN roll-PFV
'He rolled into the field below (unintentionally).'

CAUSATIVE-REFLEXIVE:

b. me-da ẽ:h-lə so-golõ:-si-ke
down-ALLT field-IN CAUS-roll-DETRANS-PFV
'He rolled (himself) into the field below (intentionally).'

• *Direct reflexives with body parts.* Where the affected patient of the predication is the agent's own body part, the verb will have transitive-like semantics, but intransitive morphology. To do something to one's own body is conceptually and morphologically equivalent to doing it to oneself. Syntactically, however, the body part appears in the predication as a patient-like entity. This gives further support to an earlier observation that with direct reflexives the agent and patient roles, even where conflated, are conceptually distinct. Consider the following (notice that 'reflections' and 'names' are equivalent to body parts):

(76) a. u-kwi kyal-si-ke
3S-hand cut-DETRANS-PFV
'He cut his (own) hand.'

b. o-sã: ri:h-lə rɨ̃:h-si-ke
3S-reflection water-IN see-DETRANS-PFV
'She saw her (own) reflection in the water.'

c. jilla-lə u-min səhr-si-na-ke
district-IN 3S-name write-DETRANS-GO-PFV
'He went to write/record his name in the District headquarters.'

Some transitive verbs resist middle morphology even where the patient is a body part of the agent. The reason is not altogether clear, though perhaps in such predications the agent is not conceptualized as doing the action to him-/herself. Rather, the body part is construed as any other (conceptually distinct) patient:

(77) a. u-kwi lwi:-ke-o
3S-hand insert-PFV-3S
'He thrust in his hand.'

b. o-ha: kəi-ke-o
3S-tooth bite-PFV-3S
'He gritted his teeth.'

• *Indirect reflexives*. Kemmer (1993) distinguishes a class of 'indirect reflexives' for many languages, though, strictly speaking, in her treatment of English, these are events in which the agent and the beneficiary are co-referential, as in *I bought myself a coat*. In Kham, I am not aware of a reflexively marked situation in which the agent and beneficiary are co-referential. Rather, what I am calling the indirect reflexive for Kham is a situation type in which the agent gets some third party to perform an action for his/her benefit. Typically, but not always, such events are ceremonial – these are events which one cannot perform on oneself:

(78) a. ŋa: jã:hkəri ŋa-kɨ:h-si-ke
I shaman 1S-seance-DETRANS-PFV
'I had myself shamanized.' (lit. 'shaman-seanced myself')

b. gorõ:-si-ke
ceremony-DETRANS-PFV
'He had the *wild-boar* ceremony performed (for himself).'

c. jilla-lə u-min səhr-si-na-ke
district-IN 3S-name write-DETRANS-GO-PFV
'He went to have his name recorded in the District headquarters.'

The sentence in (78c) is an alternative interpretation for the sentence in (76c); for example, in a situation in which the referent is known to be illiterate.

The following is a type of indirect reflexive in which the action of the verb, though not intentionally caused, is nevertheless performed for/on the agent by a third party – in this case malefactively. This is the inadvertent indirect reflexive; the agent either makes no attempt to avoid the situation, or puts him-/herself in a position to have it happen:

(79) la:-kə ku-də kyo:h-si-ke
day-LOC steal-NF catch-DETRANS-PFV
'Stealing in the daytime, he got himself caught.'

• *Reciprocals.* A reciprocal interpretation of the detransitivizing marker *-si* occurs with verbs that normally require two or more animate arguments to participate. One does not normally perform such actions on him- or herself, though, in fact, given the appropriate context, this too is possible for some of the verbs. Following are verbs for which a singular is not normally possible: *no-ni kər-si-ki-ni* 'They put their arms around each other' (lit. 'winged each other'), *jya:ri ü-si-ki-ni* 'The husband and wife argued with each other,' *tubu-lə ge-chwi:-si-ke* 'We pressed/crowded into one (place).'

iii. Middles

With middles, there is less expectation that the initiator and endpoints will be different entities than with the reflexive verb type. Kemmer (1993) gives cross-linguistic evidence that middle events, because of their 'low participant distinguishability' are typologically closer to prototypical one-participant events. For many verbs of this type there is nothing to distinguish them morphologically or grammatically from one-participant events. Witness the English sentences *He shaved and left for work* or *She washed before cutting the vegetables*. In 'middle marking' languages like Kham, both these sentences would be marked by *-si*, still reflecting their internal complexity of discrete conceptual subparts.

• *Grooming and body care verbs.* Grooming and body care verbs have the body or some body part as their endpoint. Though the action named by the verb can be performed on another person, it is usually performed on oneself:

(80) a. kərem-si-ke
'He deloused himself.'

b. bənəi pur-si-zya
'He is vigorously scratching himself.'

With many of these verbs, a specific body part can also be named in the predication. In this respect they have similarities to the cognate object verbs types. Recall, too, that we have seen a similar situation type in example (76) above, and this is something we will see recurring throughout the middle-type verbs. Following are grooming verbs with specific body parts named:

(81) a. o-ŋəih za-si-ke
'He washed his hair.' (lit. head)

b. ŋa-cem ŋa-səi-si-ke
'I combed my hair.'

A few verbs of the grooming class, like other middle verbs, are idiosyncratic in their behavior. Particularly with body part nouns, some of these verbs occur transitively, as in: *dahri cop-nya* 'to pluck the beard,' and *cem pəri:-nya* 'to braid the hair.'

• *Clothing verbs.* Clothing verbs, like other middles, have the body as their endpoint. They differ, however, in that some item of clothing is often part of the predication, as in the following:

(82) a. kã:hbul kwaih-si-ke-rə
'They wore their blankets.' (lit. 'clothed themselves in blankets')

b. pola ja-si-də ŋa-ba-ke
shoe dress-MM-NF 1S-go-PFV
'Putting on shoes, I left.'

• *Cognition–middle verbs.* There are a number of cognition verbs with middle morphology. Though all of them are derived from transitive counterparts, the derived sense is something of an extended or figurative sense; a variation of the transitive sense, as in the following:

(83) a. jyaõh ta-li-c-yo, səĩ-si-ya
noise PROH-be-2P-IMPER, know-DETRANS-FUT
'Don't make noise, she'll waken.' (lit. 'know-herself')

b. o-do-wo mitao ŋa-ŋəm-si-zya
3S-do-NML like 1S-sense-DETRANS-CONT
'I feel/sense/think that he did it.'

iv. Derived patient–subject types with passive-like interpretation

Some inherently transitive verb roots, when detransitivized, are semantically equivalent to inherently intransitive verbs. That is, they imply some kind of causation, albeit indirect. Recall that these verb roots, by virtue of their inherent transitive status, are

verbs of direct causation. Only through detransitivizing derivation do they become more generalized and incur implications of indirect causation. The verb *kədem-si-nya* 'to get pinned,' for example, is, in its transitive sense *kədem-nya* 'to pin down in a wrestling match' where the agent is, in fact, directly linked to the action. Likewise, *pi:h-si-nya* 'to get skinned up,' in its inherently transitive application is *pi:h-nya* 'to scrape (as a hide) with an instrument.' The verb *tərəp-si-nya* 'to cling (as to clothing)' comes from *tərəp-nya* 'to pin two pieces together,' and *kurup-si-nya* 'to shrivel up,' comes from *kurup-nya* 'to fold a fan or umbrella.'

These verbs contrast with the first person passives, reflexives, reciprocals, and middles we have seen earlier. All of those derived types have been agentive in orientation. The following, by contrast, have patient subjects:

(84) a. o-kwa:-tə kuru: tərəp-si-ke
'A bur attached to his clothing.'

b. khya:-rə kurup-si-ke-rə
'The leaves shriveled up.'

c. cika: chil-si-ke
'The barley got trampled.'

11.5.4 Diathesis alternations with an instrumental

A few transitive verbs in Kham occur with diathesis alternations in which the final destination of the action expressed by the verb can be expressed either as a patient or a locative, while the entity being moved can be a patient or instrument, the so-called 'locative alternation' (cf. Fillmore 1977), as in:

(85) a. ri:h nam-kə chərəi-ke-o
water ground-AT sprinkle-PFV-3S
'He sprinkled water on the ground.'

b. ri:h-ye nam chərəi-ke-o
water-INSTR ground sprinkle-PFV-3S
'He sprinkled the ground with water.'

(86) a. gahgəri-lə ri:h sə-byal-ke-o
jug-IN water CAUS-fill-PFV-3S
'She filled water in the jug.'

b. ri:h-ye gahgəri sə-byal-ke-o
water-INSTR jug CAUS-fill-PFV-3S
'She filled the jug with water.'

11.6 Ditransitive clauses

Morphologically, the verb of a ditransitive clause is no different from the verb of a transitive clause. Both are marked for agreement with a subject and object participant. The difference, however, lies in the semantic identity of the object participant. Ditransitive verbs are three-argument verbs, but only two of the three arguments are marked in the verb. Recall that for transitive verbs the second argument marked in the verb was the patient-object. For ditransitive verbs the patient-object remains unmarked and it is the dative-object that is marked for agreement in the verb. The dative is always an animate argument and corresponds in Kham either to the final goal or initial source of the predication. Languages with this marking strategy are what Dryer (1986) has referred to as 'primary object languages.'

11.6.1 Contrastive agreement systems

It would be helpful here if I first establish the difference in agreement marking between transitive and ditransitive verbs. Following are examples:

(87) a. TRANSITIVE (patient agreement):
no-e ŋa-lai sətəĩ-na-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ show-me-PFV-3S
'He showed me.' (i.e. 'put me on display')

b. TRANSITIVE: (goal agreement not possible with a simple transitive)
*no-e ŋa-lai o-bənduk sətəĩ-na-ke-o
*'He showed me his gun.'

(88) a. INHERENT DITRANSITIVE (goal agreement):
no-e ŋa-lai o-bənduk loi-na-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ 3S-gun loan-me-PFV-3S
'He loaned me his gun.'

b. DERIVED DITRANSITIVE (goal agreement):
no-e ŋa-lai o-bənduk sətəĩ-d-y-ã:-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ 3S-gun show-NF-BEN-me-PFV-3S
'He showed me his gun.'

The point to be made from (87) and (88) is that goal agreement is not possible with a simple transitive verb (87b). Goal agreement is possible only with a ditransitive construction, either inherent or derived. Sentence (88b), then, is the corrected version of (87b).

Following are examples of inherent ditransitive verbs. Those in (89) have a human GOAL, and those in (90) have a human SOURCE:

(89) GOAL:

a. gaola-e ge-lai gukhi tubu tubu ya-si-ke-o
shepherd-ERG us-OBJ guard-dog one one give-1P-PFV-3S
'The shepherd gave us each a watch dog.'

b. no-e ŋa-lai o-bənduk loi-na-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ 3S-gun loan-1S-PFV-3S
'He loaned me his gun.'

(90) SOURCE:

a. no-e ŋa-lai ŋa-sulpa nəĩ-na-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ 1S-pipe snatch-1S-PFV-3S
'He snatched my pipe away from me.'

b. no-e ŋa-lai ŋa-bənduk los-na-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ 1S-gun borrow-1S-PFV-3S
'He borrowed my gun from me.'

11.6.2 The benefactive construction

Any inherently transitive verb can be made ditransitive by means of the benefactive construction. The sentence in example (67b) is such a construction, which I reproduce here with a second example:

(91) a. no-e ŋa-lai chiti tubu pərĩ:-d-y-ã:-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ letter one send-NF-BEN-1S-PFV-3S
'He sent me a letter.' (lit. 'sending gave')

b. no-e ŋa-lai o-bənduk sətəĩ-d-y-ã:-ke-o
he-ERG me-OBJ 3S-gun show-NF-BEN-1S-PFV-3S
'He showed me his gun.' (lit. 'showing gave')

In the benefactive construction, the base verb occurs in a non-finite, clause chaining construction followed by the fully inflected verb *ya-* 'to give.'[10] Note, however, that the verb *give* is not used in its literal sense. In (91b) for example, no physical transfer of ownership has taken place with the gun.

The benefactive can also be used as a malefactive if the event described is considered detrimental. In many cases, only the context can ultimately distinguish between benefactive and malefactive acts, as in the following (the first of which is malefactive and the second of which is benefactive): *no-e ŋa-lai ŋa-ka:h səih-d-y-ã:-ke-o* 'He killed my dog (to my detriment),' and *ŋa: no-lai gohr jəi-də ŋa-e-ke* 'I made a plow for him.'

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[10] This verb has several allomorphs depending on the person and number of the object referent – *yã:* with 1S, *ĩ:* with 2S, and *i:* with 3S following the non-final marker *-də* in clause chaining constructions.

i. Obligatory benefactive with possessed items

In the same way that a simple transitive verb cannot support dative agreement apart from the benefactive construction, so also a simple transitive verb cannot support the inclusion of a possessed item as one of its arguments. To do something to someone's possessed item is equivalent to doing it benefactively or malefactively to the person him-/herself. The possessor of the possessed item must have dative agreement with the verb, and this can be accomplished only by means of the benefactive construction. Consider the following:

(92) no-e nə-ẽ:h ki:-d-ĩ:-ke-o
he-ERG 2S-field plow-NF-BEN.2S-PFV-3S
'He plowed your field for you.'

Other examples would be: *ŋa: nə-səni:-tə poh-də ŋa-ĩ:-Ø* 'I'll punch you on the nose' (lit. 'on your nose for you'), and *ŋa-jũ: bəhri zyu-d-y-ã:-ke-rə* 'They ate up all my portion.'

Without the benefactive construction, the sentence in (92) would be ungrammatical. An act in which someone 'plows my field,' can be conceptualized in Kham only as benefactive or malefactive.

ii. Ditransitives derived by means of causativized transitives

There are a handful of transitive verbs which can undergo morphological causativization by means of the same causative prefix *sə-* we saw earlier. In most cases, the result is a derived ditransitive verb with primary object agreement. The following example is a template for the examples which follow:

(93) no-e o-tathi: ka:h-lai sə̲-lep-ke-o
he-ERG 3S-plate dog-OBJ CAUS-lick-PFV-3S
'He had the dog lick his plate.'

Also: *no-e o-babu-lai syakəri sə̲-kəi-ke-o* 'He fed his father meat' (lit. 'had him eat'), *o-za:-ni-lai nwĩ: ni-sə̲-woi-ke-o* 'She gave her children (dl) milk to drink' (lit. 'had them drink'), *o-za:-ra-lai sĩ: ya-sə̲-guhr-ke-o* 'He had his children carry the firewood,' *gi-n-lai pã: bəhri sə̲-thəi-si-n-ke-o* 'He told us all the news' (lit. 'had us hear').

11.7 Passives

There are several construction types in Kham that yield some kind of functional equivalent to the prototypical passive – constructions that somehow 'demote' (usually by deletion) the agent and 'promote' the patient to a subject or topical position (Givón 1990a). Most involve the process of detransitivization plus at least one other component. Only one achieves a prototypical passive reading through detransitivization alone.

Recall that the process of detransitivization yields different semantic results with different verbs (see §11.5.3). With verbs capable of selecting an animate patient the

resulting derivation yields a reflexive or reciprocal sense depending on the number of the participants. With the majority of transitive verbs, the patient is obligatorily inanimate, in which case detransitivization yields what I have called the 'first person passive.' Only in a few (lexically determined) alternating pairs do we get a derivation in which all traces of the agent are deleted and the patient is promoted to subjecthood – the prototypical passive. Some of the pairs are as follows:

(94) a. kədem-nya 'to pin down'
kədem-si-nya 'to get pinned'

b. chil-nya 'to trample'
chil-si-nya 'to get trampled'

c. pi:h-nya 'to scrape'
pi:h-si-nya 'to get scraped up'

Apart from a few such alternating pairs, most verbs require that the detransitivizing derivation combine with at least one other grammatical feature before a passive reading can be achieved. We will look at each of these in turn.

11.7.1 Impersonal passive

For the most part, the wide range of interpretation we have seen for detransitivized verbs occurs in the perfective, with its implication of a single, specific instance of an event. The same detransitivized verbs, under a more timeless imperfective environment, yield an 'impersonal passive' sense with a facilitative-type interpretation, as in:

(95) a. giddə syakəri ma-kəi-si-i
vulture meat NEG-eat-DETRANS-IMPFV
'Vulture meat is inedible.' / 'One doesn't eat vulture meat.'

b. a-lə cini dəi-si-i
here-IN sugar find-DETRANS-IMPFV
'Sugar is available here.' / 'One finds sugar here.'

c. nə-tə ma-ba-si-i
there-ON NEG-go-DETRANS-IMPFV
'Up there is not go-able.' / 'One doesn't go up there.'

11.7.2 Agentless relative clauses

It has been observed that a primary function of passives in some languages is to serve as a 'feeder' construction for relative clauses (Keenan 1985b and Givón 1990a, for example). This is especially true of languages which have only subject relative clauses. To relativize on the transitive patient in such languages is a two-step process. First the

underlying patient must be made a subject, the passive operation, and then the resulting construction can be relativized. In other languages like Kham, in which there is also an object relative clause, the passive still serves as a feeder for relative clauses. Though the patient in an object relative clause is the extracted/gapped element, the agent remains part of the predication (as evidenced by the verbal agreement marker), even where not explicitly mentioned by a noun or pronoun, as in:

(96) o-jəi-wo zihm
3S-make-NML house 'the house (he) made'

To focus on the patient exclusively, without reference to an agent at all, requires detransitivization before the subject relativizing strategy applies. In such cases, detransitivization is available to all transitives, and regardless of the verb, there is no reflexive, reciprocal, or first person passive interpretation.[11] All traces of the agent are deleted and the patient is promoted to subject status, as in:

(97) ao səih-si-u zə
this kill-DETRANS-NML EMP
'This has been killed.' ('a killed one' = it didn't die on its own)

Further examples are: *mahs-sə bəre:-si-u ri:h* 'water mixed with oil,' and *me:h-lə ujahləi-si-u pitəl mitao zə rəĩh-ke* 'It looked like bronze that had been burnished in a fire.'

Agent-like entities can sometimes be supplied for these constructions, but on grammatical grounds I am calling them instruments. In such cases, the postposition *-e/-ye*, if not an instrument, would have to be interpreted as an ergative – an impossible situation for detransitivized verbs. Following are examples of detransitivized verbs with instrumental arguments: *ri:h-ye sə-chəĩ-si-u* 'purified by water,' *kwi:-ye jəi-si-u deota* 'a god made by hand,' and *mi:-ye səih-si-u* 'killed by a man.' Thus, even in the latter sentence, where the instrument is human, we are still dealing with instruments, not with ergative marked intransitive subjects.

These kinds of detransitivized constructions functioning within subject relative clauses are what I am calling 'participles' and, like adjectivals, can occur in predicate–adjective constructions. It is here that the resulting construction picks up another feature of Givón's (1990a) passive prototype – stativization. Following are examples:

(98) a. diu balnya-tə me:h təĩh-si-u u-li-zya-o
pitch lamp-ON fire light-DETRANS-NML 3S-be-CONT-NML
'The lamp had been lit with fire.' (lit. 'the lamp is fire lighted')

[11] Reflexives and reciprocals still obtain in relative clauses, but only if the relative clause is an object relative clause, as in: *ge-dup-si-u zihm* 'the house we met in.'

b. nakhar-la-o kətwalya khətəi-si-u ŋa-li-zya
village-IN-NML crier appoint-DETRANS-NML 1S-be-CONT
'I have been appointed the village herald.'

11.7.3 Passivization of reflexives and middles

In certain contexts, verbs that are already marked by the detransitivizer *-si* (with a middle sense) can undergo further detransitivization with the suffix *-si*. In such cases, *-si* occurs twice. The first *-si* indicates reflexivization or obligatory middle marking (as in the case of deponent verbs). The second *-si* has a passive function, but is restricted to the 'first person passive' or 'impersonal passive' environments. Following are examples:

(99) a. DEPONENT + IMPERSONAL PASSIVE:
ao ma-ja-si-si-i
this NEG-wear-MM-DETRANS-IMPFV
'This is not wearable.'

b. REFLEXIVE + IMPERSONAL PASSIVE:
a-lə hur-si-si-i
prox-IN bathe-DETRANS-DETRANS-IMPFV
'It's batheable in here.' (as in it's not too cold)

c. REFLEXIVE + FIRST PERSON PASSIVE:
gaola jəi-si-si-ke
shepherd make-DETRANS-DETRANS-PFV
'(I) employed myself as a shepherd.'

Verbs doubly marked with *-si* also participate in relative clauses. A common occurrence, for instance, is the following kind of expression:

(100) kã:hbul kwaih-si-si-u mi:
blanket wear-DETRANS-DETRANS-NML person
'the person wearing a blanket' (lit. who covered himself with a blanket)

Clearly, since *kwaih-si* is already intransitive, the second *-si* is not required to detransitivize the verb. Rather, it serves to indicate that the head noun (subject argument) is not a patient, which is precisely what we would get with a single *-si*, as in:

(101) kwaih-si-u mi:
cover-DETRANS-NML person
'the covered person'

With *kwaih-si-u* (101), the transitive verb *kwaih-* is the stem. With *kwaih-si-si-u* (100), the reflexive verb *kwaih-si-* is the stem. In this respect, the second *-si* plus the nominalizer *-u* serves as a single nominalizing morpheme, *-siu*, for reflexive verbs. Thus, (100) with modified morpheme glosses becomes:

(102) kã:hbul kwaih-si-siu mi:
blanket wear-DETRANS-NML person
'the person wearing a blanket'

Where *-si* occurs on deponent verbs, that is on verbs without transitive counterparts, the possibility of interpreting the head noun of the nominalized relative clause as a patient does not exist. As such, *-siu* is not required as a nominalizer, but only *-u*, as in:

(103) cuh-si-u mi:
sit-MM-NML person
'the sitting person'/'the person who is sitting'
BUT NOT:
'the person who was sat on'

The latter interpretation, 'the man who was sat on,' is not a possibility because there is no transitive verb *cuh-*. Figure 14 gives a summary of the interpretation of *-si* in participles.

Root	-si	-si	-u
transitive:	agent deletion	*–	nominalizer
deponent:	semantic middle	*–	nominalizer
reflexive:	reflexive	|<—— -siu nominalizer ——>|	

Figure 14. The distribution of double *-si* in participles

11.7.4 An agentive passive

The functional equivalent of an agentive passive occurs with a headless non-subject relative clause as part of the construction. The other part of the construction is the extracted head serving opposite the relative clause in an equative construction. Before saying more, however, I need to elaborate on the base form on which the construction is structured. In (96) we saw a non-subject relative clause in which the clause level agent NP had been deleted. Following is the full structure, complete with its agent:

(104) tẽ:kya-e o-jəi-wo zihm
shorty-ERG 3S-make-NML house
'the house built by Shorty'

'House,' in this case, is the relative clause head (i.e. the noun modified by the object nominalization). The same relative clause can function as one of two NPs in an equative clause, as in:

(105) a. ao tẽ:kya-e o-jəi-wo zihm
this shorty-ERG 3S-make-NML house
'This is the house built by Shorty.'
OR:

b. ao zihm tẽ:kya-e o-jəi-wo zihm
this house shorty-ERG 3S-make-NML house
'This house is the house built by Shorty.'

OR:

c. ao zihm tẽ:kya-e o-jəi-wo Ø
this house shorty-ERG 3S-make-NML (house)
'This house was built by Shorty/was Shorty built.'

It is the third clause, (105c), that has a passive-like interpretation and would occur, for instance, in the context of a question like *ao zihm su-e o-jəi-wo* 'Who built this house?' (Watters 1973). The object argument is fronted, not because it has been promoted to subjecthood, but because it cannot occur in the position of the relative clause gap between 'Shorty' and 'build,' which, of course, would be its base position in an unmodified, independent base clause: 'Shorty built a house.' The 'passive' clause is, in fact, an equative clause.

11.8 Conclusions

Transitivity, as I have defined it for Kham, is a function of various parameters, grammatical and semantic, all influencing the inherent syntactic and morphological behavior of its verbal system. Though equivalent parameters may be found, presumably, in all human languages, their conceptualization and ultimate lexicalizations in Kham are language specific. The transitive/intransitive distinction, for example, a basic distinction of verbal valency, has clear-cut, easily observable manifestations in both the morphology and syntax of the language. What is not readily apparent, however, is that in Kham the distinction has semantic underpinnings. The grammatical distinction is based, at least in part, on a conceptualization of direct versus mediated causation. Transitive verbs lexicalize a concept of direct causation, while their intransitive counterparts, the patientives, lexicalize spontaneous events which imply indirect or mediated causation when causativized.

Intransitive verbs, too, lexicalize a basic two-way semantic distinction based on whether the single argument of the verb is an agent or a patient. The agentive/patientive distinction, is reported to have probable universal relevance, but the particulars of Kham are language specific. It has been suggested, for example, that the distinction in English is one of internal versus external causation. The inference to be drawn, then, is that most, if not all, of the categorial distinctions invoked in accounts of transitivity systems are best described as prototypes rather than criterial feature representations. Notions like direct versus mediated cause, as well as agent-subjects versus patient–subjects, then, are generally sufficient, but not necessary, parts of the various verbal prototypes.

Other features, too, play into the inherent transitivity status of verbs in Kham. The animacy of the patient argument, for example, has much to do with the middle versus reflexive interpretation of detransitivized verbs, but little to do with the determination of monotransitive versus ditransitive verbs. 'Send,' for example, is rigidly fixed as a

monotransitive verb in Kham, incapable of supporting a second object (regardless of its animacy), while 'snatch away,' a verb whose patient argument is typically inanimate, is rigidly fixed as a ditransitive verb, *requiring* an animate object as well (the 'primary object'). By carefully observing verbal morphology, certain derivational rules, and other behavior and control properties of the grammar, it is possible to determine the contrastive transitivity patterns of the Kham verbal system as set by the language itself.

12 *Tense, aspect, and modality*

Tense and aspect are categories of the verb specifying various temporal relationships that characterize the event or state being described. Though there is considerable overlap between the categories, such that the presence of a certain value in one category often necessitates the presence of a certain feature in another category, the categories themselves have, for reasons of logic, traditionally been kept separate. I will do the same here, but with some discussion on the Kham-specific points of overlap.

12.1 Perfective aspect

The perfective in Kham, marked by the inflectional suffix *-ke*, is the most common tense/aspect marking in a narrative discourse – it is the 'event marker' *par excellence*. It characterizes the event as complete, and without discrete subparts. Take, for example, the following:

(1) kã:hbul ri:h-ke-o
blanket weave-PFV-3S 'She wove a blanket.'

(2) o-ẽ:h ki:-ke-o
3S-field plow-PFV-3S 'He plowed his field.'

The events in (1) and (2) are characterized as non-iterative, complete events. Though both weaving and plowing are inherently durative processes generally occurring over a protracted period of time, the perfective ignores any internal complexity and construes them as single, unitary events. In terms of construal, they are no different from events which are inherently punctual and without subcomponents, as in:

(3) bɪ̃: hã:-da pa-ke
'The mountain goat fell off the cliff.'

12.1.1 Perfectivity, telicity and inception

Telic events, as defined by Comrie (1976), are event types in which not only is there a well defined terminal point for the event, but also a process leading up to the terminal point. Verb types that specify telic events, typically, are ones like 'plowing a field' or 'weaving a blanket.' Perfective aspect is said to be appropriate in such situations only after the specified terminal point has been reached. Thus, for example, the utterance *He*

plowed the field is appropriate in the perfective only after completion of the plowing, not before.

Some verbs, like 'plow a field' (in English) have a built-in terminal point, while others, like 'run' can be made telic only after adding an explicit terminal point to the utterance – like *run a mile*. The latter class of verbs, those without a built-in terminal point, are said to be atelic, and the perfective is appropriate in such cases any time after the activity can be said to have occurred – as in *she ran.*

Based on these criteria, most activity verbs in Kham (including 'weave' and 'plow') are inherently atelic, without a built-in terminal point. Thus, the perfective is appropriate for such verbs not only at the point of completion, but also at the point of inception. This may be due, in part, to the language internal construal of 'perfectivity' in Kham – it is primarily an 'event marker' and becomes appropriate any time a situation qualifies as an event, not just after its completion. Following are some examples to begin our discussion:

(4) a. ba-ke
go-PFV 'He went.'/'He left.'

b. har-rə ya-pi:-ke-o
cow-PL 3P-milk-PFV-3S 'She milked the cows.'

Taking the situation in (4b), it is possible to find a context in which the perfective means *She started milking the cows.* Thus, given a situation in which someone is stationed at the edge of a farmyard to report when the milking begins, that person would report the first tug on the teat in the perfective – 'She milked it.' There is a sense, then, in which the perfective reports inception in Kham. The inceptive sense is appropriate as soon as inactivity turns to activity. Comrie (1976) refers to this inceptive sense as the 'ingressive' meaning of the perfective. He further notes that in most languages where this occurs, it obtains primarily in change-of-state verbs – e.g. 'he became tall/has become tall.'

In Kham, the ingressive interpretation can, in addition to depending on the larger linguistic and pragmatic context for its interpretation (as in 4a and 4b), also be made explicit by the use of temporal adverbs, as in the following:

(5) ba:hza ri:h-ke-o
recently weave-PFV-3S
'She just (started) weaving it.'

The perfective in Kham, then, is suitable over a broader range of event types than is generally true of the English perfective – both at its completion and at its inception. It is in this sense that the perfective in Kham is primarily an 'event' tense, and occurs even in situations where only the 'present' would be appropriate in English. This helps to explain the use of the perfective in situations like the following:

(6) a. ŋa-rɜ̃ː-ke
1S-see-PFV ‘I see it.’/‘I saw it.’ (I *became* visually aware of it)

b. nəm wa-ke
sky rain-PFV ‘It’s raining.’/‘It started raining.’

Activity verbs in Kham can, of course, have a telic reading so long as the context in which the situation occurs makes implicit reference to a terminal point. Thus, for example, the verb in (5), without the constraining adverb *ba:hza* ‘just,’ can also mean ‘She wove (and completed) a blanket.’ In the following examples, the terminal point is made explicit by adverbial phrases, in which case an inceptive reading is no longer possible:

(7) a. u-zihm-kə-pəi ba-ke
3S-house-LOC-LAT go-PFV
‘She went as far as her house.’

b. dahŋori: bənəi zə təp-ke-o
drum really EMP beat-PFV-3S
‘He really beat the drum.’

In the two examples of (7), there is a specified terminal point that must be reached before the perfective can be used felicitously. The perfective in (7a) can be uttered only after the house has been reached, and in (7b), the drum can be said to have been ‘really’ beaten only after a certain terminal point, however subjective, has been reached in the mind of the speaker. Without the intensifier *bənəi* ‘really,’ the drum could be proclaimed as ‘beaten’ any time after the first drumbeat.

12.1.2 Perfectivity and change of state

The inceptive (or ‘ingressive’) reading of the perfective occurs in many languages only with change-of-state verbs. In Kham, it obtains also with activity verbs, and it is not surprising to find it in change-of-state verbs as well – i.e. the more universally ‘expected’ domain. As I have shown in chapter 6, many such verbs belong to the ‘descriptive’ class and occur most often in a nominalized form functioning as modifiers – verbs like ‘to become red,’ ‘to become large,’ etc. The perfective on such verbs indicates an event, and becomes appropriate at precisely the moment the new state named by the verb is entered into, as the following example illustrates:

(8) sɜ̃ː-rə gyahm-ke-rə
tree-PL red-PFV-3P ‘The trees have turned red.’

With change-of-state verbs in Kham, the perfective does not necessarily indicate a change in the state of the referent, but rather that the state named by the verb is only just integrated into the mind of the speaker. Thus, for example, a speaker attempting to

retrieve something out of reach with a stick, might say *twĩ:-ke* – 'It became short.' What s/he attempts to communicate is not that the stick has *grown short*, but rather that it is *too short* to make the retrieval. An English translation that captures something of the meaning is: *It turned out to be too short.* The inherent quality of the stick has not changed; rather, the situation in which the stick has its meaning has become such that the stick is shorter than what is needed. Thus, regardless of whether the figure or the ground changes, it is the figure that is construed as dynamic. We get a similar phenomenon in expressions like:

(9) o-za mẽ:ma ta-ke
her-child female be-PFV
'She had a baby girl.' (lit. 'her child became female')

The child, upon birth, has turned out to be, or has been revealed to be a girl – not that it has just 'become a girl.'

12.1.3 Perfectivity and achievement verbs

Following Vendler (1967), achievements resemble telicity (what he calls 'accomplishment verbs') in that they involve a terminal point, but differ in that there is no process leading up to the terminal point. *He reached the summit* is an oft cited example in English. Achievement verbs in Kham, then, differ from activity and change-of-state verbs in that they defy any kind of inceptive interpretation with the perfective – there is no point at which the activity can be said to have 'just begun.' Following are examples:

(10) a. u-zihm-kə kes-ke
'He arrived at his house.'

b. em-tə khurja dəi-ke-o
'He found a knife on the trail.'

c. gəl ras-ke-o
'He released the wild boar.'

In the examples of (10), there is no point preceding the achievements at which time it could be said that the achievement was in the process of occurring. Thus, only at the point of arrival can it be said that 'He arrived,' and only at the point of finding something can it be said that 'He found it.' 'To release' is a bit more problematic. It is possible to report an event in which someone is pulling the locks off a cage as 'He is releasing it.' There is, however, no way of reporting the event in the perfective until after the release is complete. That is, there is no point of inception that is different from the point of termination; the two points occur virtually at the same moment.

12.1.4 Progressive derivation for achievement and change-of-state verbs

Achievement and change-of-state verbs can be converted to processes by the addition of the serial verb roots *-hu* or *-na*, literally 'come' and 'go,' respectively. In effect, *-hu* and *-na* add durativity to whatever verbs they are affixed to. With transitive verbs, the morphemes can also have a 'purposive' interpretation, as in *He came/went to cut a tree*, which does not concern us here. Following are examples of the durative or process interpretation of the morphemes:

(11) a. u-zihm-kə kes-hu-ke
3S-house-LOC arrive-COME-PFV
'He progressed toward home.' (lit. 'came-arriving')

b. po: po:-kə ri:h dəi-na-ke-rə
place place-LOC water find-GO-PFV-3P
'They found w. in various places along the way.' (lit. 'went-finding')

In (11a), 'arriving' is protracted over the duration of the entire journey such that at any point the referent can be said to be in the process of arriving. In (11b), 'finding' is an iterative process such that there are several findings. It is not incompatible, even, to add *-na* 'GO' to the verb root 'come,' as in: *hu-na-ke* 'He is on his way./He is progressively coming.'

12.1.5 Perfectivity and stative verbs

Perfective aspect, because of its implication of punctuality along with beginning and terminal points, collocates naturally with events. Perfectivity in Kham implies change. States, by definition, are without change and hence should be incompatible with the perfective. Nevertheless, perfective marking is not excluded from inherently stative verbs. Where it does occur it effects a derivation – the inherent state is converted to a change of state (i.e. an event), as can be seen in the following examples:

(12) a. INHERENT STATE:
ge-pã: bəhri səĩ-zya-o
our-word all know-CONT-3S
'He knows everything we say.' (lit. 'all our words')

b. DERIVED EVENT:
ge-pã: bəhri səĩ-ke-o
'He *came to know* everything we said.'

(13) a. INHERENT STATE:
ŋa-ama nakhar-lə li-zya
1S-mother village-IN be-CONT
'My mother is in the village.'

b. DERIVED EVENT:
ŋa-ama nakhar-lə li-ke
'My mother *stayed* in the village' (not, 'was' in the village)

Both 'be' and 'know' are inherently stative verbs in Kham. They occur in their 'unmarked' forms in (12a) and (13a). In (12b) and (13b), the states are converted to events by use of the perfective. 'To know' acquires the dynamic sense of 'to come to know/learn' and 'to be' becomes 'to stay in a place.'[1]

12.1.6 Perfective aspect and specificity

Referents under the scope of a verb in perfective aspect are fully referential. The speaker asserts that the event actually occurred, and that it occurred involving specific referents that s/he has in mind. This is what Givón (1984) calls the 'modality of fact,' the unmarked, neutral propositional modality in human language. This point will become more important when, in the following section, we compare and contrast the salient features of imperfective aspect.

12.2 Imperfective aspect

Imperfective is the least morphologically marked of all tense/aspects in Kham, being unmarked in certain persons and numbers. In general the imperfective marker is the suffix *-e*/*-ye*, but it occurs only where it is not displaced by subject marking. Anywhere there is a 3RD person subject morpheme there is competition for the imperfective slot, as in table 75. (See §5.1.2 for morphological details.)

Table 75. Displacement of imperfective *-e*

	intransitive	transitive
1S	ŋa-V-e	ŋa-V-e
2S	nə-V-e	nə-V-e
	etc.	
3S	V-e	V-o
3D	V-ni	V-ni
3P	V-rə	V-rə

Only in the environment of 3RD singular subject, which in actual speech is the most common form, does the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs surface. Third singular intransitive has an unmarked subject, and *-e* marks the imperfective,

[1] The imperative effects the same kind of conversion: 'know' becomes 'Learn it!' and 'to be' becomes 'Stay there!'

while third singular transitive has an unmarked imperfective and *-o* marks the subject. This makes for an *-e*/*-o* distinction in the most frequently used part of the transitive/intransitive paradigm. In the unmarked environment, both *-e* and *-o* are effectively portmanteau morphemes:

(14) a. INTRANSITIVE:
ta-e
become-IMPFV:3S ‘He/she/it becomes.’

b. TRANSITIVE:
jəi-wo
make-3S:IMPFV ‘He/she makes it.’

12.2.1 Imperfective and habitual reading

One of the most common readings for the imperfective in Kham is the habitual one. This reading occurs where the eventuality named by the verb occurs frequently or with enough regularity that it can be said to occur habitually, as in the following:

(15) kã:-rə ekəmnya hotəl-da bəi-si-u
meal-PL always hotel-ALLT take-1P-3S:IMPFV
‘For meals he *always took* us to the inn.’

12.2.2 The imperfective and non-specificity

The frequency or regularity of an event, however, is not what is primarily at issue with the imperfective. The imperfective can be used also for events that occurred only once. The distinguishing feature that characterizes both interpretations is the non-specificity imposed by the imperfective on the verb and its arguments. Recall that in the perfective, the event and its referents were typically highly specific. Here, the event is generic and non-specific. It is this feature that gives an event its habitual reading. In (15), for example, the speaker makes no reference to one specific instance of ‘taking us to the inn’; all instances blur into a non-specific, generic act.

Where the imperfective is used for events that occurred only once, it is for the same reason – the eventuality named by the verb is non-specific and generic. Thus, for instance, in answer to a question *What was he arrested for?* the answer might be:

(16) zihm pa:-wo di
house break-3S:IMPFV RSP ‘He robbed/broke into a house (it is said).’

In (16), the event is generic and hence, the house too is non-specific. The speaker has no specific house in mind. He has only learned by hearsay (marked by the reported speech particle ‘di’) that *some house* has been broken into on *some occasion.* Likewise, in answer to a question like *Have you gone/been to Kathmandu?* the affirmative reply

would be:

(17) ŋa-ba-e
1S-go-IMPFV 'I have gone.'

The best English translation makes use of the present perfect, though it is not an exact match. The point of the imperfective in (17) is to avoid reference to any specific trip. The speaker says in effect, I have gone at least once, but I don't have a specific trip in mind. (The stativity of the English perfect is what makes it the best translation choice.)

12.2.3 The imperfective and negatives

The non-specificity of the imperfective is sometimes more obvious in the negative. Thus, for example, in answer to a simple question *Did he go or not?* the negative response could occur either in the perfective or imperfective form. The imperfective is the least marked, making the simple assertion that the event never occurred. The negative perfective, on the other hand, asserts that some specific act (the one the speaker has in mind) did not occur, as in the following:

(18) a. IMPERFECTIVE:
ma-ba-e
NEG-go-IMPFV:3S 'He hasn't gone.' / 'He never went.'

b. PERFECTIVE:
ma-ba-ke
NEG-go-PFV:3S 'He didn't go.' (on that occasion)

The negative perfective in (18b) is more semantically marked than the imperfective in (18a), and carries with it certain implications that the failure to happen was deliberate, possibly a refusal. This reading is apparently a consequence of the specificity of the perfective. The imperfective, of course, has just the opposite reading – that no specific occurrence is being scrutinized, as in (18a) *He never went*. A similar reading can be obtained from the following example taken from text:

(19) na:h bəhri-lə o-nəĩ-ra-lai ma-ra-mẽ:h-wo
that.much all-IN 3S-friend-PL-OBJ NEG-3P-forget-3S:IMPFV
'In all that he (never) forgot his friends.'

In part, example (19) gains its generic reading from the implied repetitiveness (or habituality) of the event – it implies a series of occasions 'in all that.'

12.2.4 The imperfective and generic pronouns

Natural to the imperfective in Kham are the kinds of non-specific events marked by generic pronouns and adverbs like 'no one,' 'nothing,' 'nowhere,' 'never,' etc. All make emphatic use of an interrogative pronoun followed by the negative. Following are

examples (the perfective in these cases would be awkward, if not outright ungrammatical):

(20) a. upur kata kər zə ma-le
other what obligation EMP NEG-be:IMPFV
'There is no other obligation.' (lit. 'whatever obligation is not')

b. ya-gehppa-e kəi zə ma-ra-jəi-wo
3P-big-ERG what EMP NEG-3P-make-3S
'Their leader did nothing to them.' (lit. 'did not do whatever')

Here again, the non-specificity or genericity of the event is in focus. If 'nothing was done,' or 'nothing ever happened,' or 'none of us did anything,' not only are we dealing with non-events, but with non-events for which the speaker has no specific instance of non-occurrence in mind.

12.3 Continuous aspect

The continuous in Kham is marked by the suffix *-zya* occurring in the same position slot as the perfective suffix *-ke*, and is in many respects the mirror image of the perfective. Recall that the perfective construes an event as having reached a point at which it can be said that it actually occurred. Furthermore, we saw that inherently stative verbs are converted to events by the perfective – 'to know' becomes 'learn.' By contrast, the continuous aspect construes an event or activity as incomplete, ongoing, and without a terminal boundary, that is with a 'progressive' interpretation. Thus, inherent activity verbs like 'hit,' 'work,' or 'build,' which can have a 'completive' reading in the perfective, are converted to ongoing processes by the continuous aspect, as in *He was working when I arrived.*

12.3.1 The habitual reading

The continuous in Kham is commonly extended by inference to a habitual interpretation, and as such overlaps regularly with the imperfective. The extension is apparently a relatively recent development in the Takale dialect; it occurs with much less frequency in Gamale. The habitual in Gamale is signalled almost exclusively by the imperfective. (The strong tendency in Gamale would be to mark (21b) below as imperfective.) In Takale we get the following range:

(21) a. həldar sero gəti:-lə lagi-zya
sergeant old.man mill-IN engage-CONT
'Old Man Sergeant is working in the mill.'

b. dinə-kao zə həldar sero gəti:-lə lagi-zya
day-NML EMP sergeant old.man mill-IN engage-CONT
'Daily, Old Man Sergeant works in the mill.'

c. həldar sero gəti:-lə lagi-i
sergeant old.man mill-IN engage-IMPFV
'Old Man Sergeant works in the mill.'

12.3.2 The progressive reading

Outside a pragmatic context which imposes habituality on the verb, the default reading of a sentence like (21a) is progressive – 'the old man is *right now working* in the mill.' Only with the appropriate context or an explicit adverbial expression like 'daily' as in (21b), is a reading of habituality imposed on the verb. Thus, in constrained cases where the continuous and imperfective aspects are forced to overlap (as in 21b–c), there is little or no difference between them. Following is an example of the continuous aspect with a progressive reading (imposed upon it by the inherent active/eventive nature of the verb):

(22) bənəi nəm-tə nəm-tə zo:-zya, ho-kə zə
much sky-ON sky-ON jump-CONT, rem-LOC EMP
'He's right there, jumping high into the sky.'

12.3.3 Continuous aspect with inherently stative verbs

The progressive reading for *-zya* (as in 22) is a consequence of the non-stative nature of event/activity verbs. 'Progressiveness is the combination of continuousness and non-stativity' (Comrie 1976:12). The same reading does not obtain in stative verbs. Rather, we get a reading of 'duration,' or a 'continuing state of affairs.' Continuous aspect is the unmarked aspect for stative verbs; no derivation is involved (as opposed to the 'eventive' derivation imposed by the perfective *-ke* on stative verbs; see §12.1.5).

In cross-linguistic studies it is uncharacteristic of the progressive aspect to collocate naturally with stative verbs, as in the ill-formed **She is knowing the answer* or **He is seeing the horse*. Dahl (1985:93), in his cross-linguistic study of aspectual categories, shows that the progressive is normally used only of non-stative situations. In fact, there is not a single occurrence in his sample of languages of progressive marking being used with the verb 'to know.'

The aspectual marker *-zya*, then, when occurring with stative verbs, exhibits its inherent value – a durative, continuing state of affairs, as in the following:

(23) a. khepa bəhri mẽ:ma-e u-phu:-ni zə ta-zya-rə
male all female-GEN 3S-stomach-ABLT EMP be-CONT-3P
'All males *are/happen* from a woman's stomach.'

b. su-e həi ya-ma-da-ci-di bə je:-ni zə je-səĩ-zya
who-ERG thus 3P-NEG-say-2P-CS also you-from EMP 2P-know-CONT
'You *know* it on your own without anyone telling you.'

12.3.4 The continuous in relative clauses and background information

The continuous aspect, because of its close associations with present tense, is restricted for the most part to live conversations and on-line narratives. In past narratives (which comprise the greater part of my text collections) the form is largely missing except within direct speech quotations and the so-called 'historical present.' The following sentence, for example, occurs as part of a past tense narrative:

(24) me-lə ẽ:h-lə ŋa-batə-ŋə zə ŋa-li-zya
down-IN field-IN 1S-alone-ADS EMP 1S-be-CONT
'Down in the field below I am all alone.' (historical present)

More commonly, the continuous aspect in past narratives occurs within the domain of relative clauses and backgrounded material. Since I will devote a later subsection to background forms (see §12.6), I will restrict my discussion here to the continuous aspect in relative clauses. Relative clauses in Kham are non-finite for most tense/aspect distinctions, the major exception being the distinction between continuous and non-continuous aspects. Non-continuous is the unmarked form, while continuous is the marked form.

Recall that in independent clauses the continuous has an interpretation ranging from simple present to present progressive to habitual, depending on the time of the speech situation and the verb being used. In relative clauses, time is further constrained by the time axis set by the matrix verb. Thus, where the matrix verb is active and has past time, the continuous aspect will have a past progressive interpretation, and where the same matrix verb has present time, the continuous will have a present progressive interpretation. In either setting (past or present time), a habitual interpretation is also a possibility. Consider the following:

(25) a. PRESENT TIME MATRIX:
səĩ-nya jəi-si-zya-o mi: te si:-zya
know-INF make-REFL-CONT-NML man FOC arrogant-CONT
'The person *who pretends* to know it all is arrogant.'

b. PAST TIME MATRIX:
jwi:h-si-də ŋa-ba-zya-o jwi:h tərwali ta-ke
hobble-DETRANS-NF 1S-go-CONT-NML stick sword be-PFV
'The stick I was *hobbling along with* turned into a sword.'

In both matrices – past and present – the events and states marked by the continuous are construed as incomplete, still in the process of occurring at the time set by the main verb. Relative to the matrix event, they are all in present time.

Where the relative clause has a habitual interpretation, its time is unconstrained by the main verb. This is only because the pragmatics of the event occurring in the relative clause is one whose relevance is known to transcend the narrow time frame specified by the main verb, as in the following:

(26) HABITUAL TIME:
bəl-kɨ:-ta-o sĩ:-rə ya-ra-tũ:-zya-o tupa-tə
Bal-festival-ON-NML stick-PL 3P-3P-jab-CONT-NML peak-ON

zə ŋa-kes-ke
EMP 1S-reach-PFV

'I reached the peak where at the Bal festival *they jab* sticks (into the ground).'

The 'jabbing of sticks' in (26) is not a specific occurrence, but one that happens at every Bal festival. As such, its interpretation is generic and habitual. Without the specification of 'at the Bal festival,' of course, the relative clause would most likely be interpreted with past progressive time – *I reached the peak where they were jabbing sticks*.

12.4 Future modes and aspects

Kham has three 'futures,' none of which make primary reference to actual time. Rather, their primary reference is to modal notions like probability and potential in alternative worlds. The first of the three, which I call 'potential mode,' is concerned with potential reality as it relates to intention and resolve. It is future in the sense that its realization is predicted to occur on a time line extending directly out of the present. The second future, 'prospective aspect,' is concerned with imminence, and has as much to do with the present as it does with the future – i.e. whether the current state of affairs is such that some event is 'about to happen' or not. The third, 'predictive mode,' has to do with declarations or proclamations about what will or will not be in a future, alternative world, a world in some senses controlled by the speaker.

12.4.1 Potential mode

What I call 'potential mode' (FUT) in Kham is concerned more with potential reality than it is with time reference. There is nothing unusual, of course, about the relationship between potential reality and future time. Potential events are irrealis, and if they are to occur at all, they can occur only at some later time. Furthermore, whether something *will be* or *might be* is not a difference in reality, but only a difference in the relative certainty with which the speaker construes the possibility. In Kham, there is no formalized difference between different levels of certainty – all have potential existence at some future time and are marked by the same suffix *-ya* in the same position slot as *-ke* and *-zya*. There is some morphophonemic variation depending on transitivity and person, as in table 76 ('V' = verb stem).

Table 76. Partial potential mode paradigm

	intransitive	transitive
1S	ŋa-V-ya	ŋa-V-ya
2S	nə-V-ya	nə-V-ya
3S	V-ya	V-w-a < *-o-ya
3D	V-n-ya	V-n-ya
3P	V-r-ya	V-r-ya

As in the imperfective paradigm, the slight differences between the intransitive and transitive paradigms are most obvious in 3RD singular – here a difference between *-ya* and *-wa*. The simple reason, here again, is that 3RD singular subject is unmarked in the intransitive and *-o* in the transitive. The *-o* followed by *-ya* yields *-wa*, a new portmanteau morpheme.

i. Potential reality

As noted above, comments marked by potential mode are statements of potential reality. The speaker, knowing what he does about the situation he assesses, and knowing about the nature of the world, makes a statement about 'potential worlds.' Where the subject of the potential world is someone other than the speaker, the comment has a lower level of certainty than with first person and is equivalent to a prediction, as in the following:

(27) ta-chu-yo, kəi-ni-wa
NEG-touch-IMP, bite-2S-3S:FUT
'Don't touch (the dog), he *will/might bite* you.'

ii. Intention

With 1ST person agents, statements about potential events at some yet-to-be time are under a greater level of personal control and hence more certain from the speaker's point of view. As such they take on more of a flavor of resolve or intention, as in the following:

(28) ŋa: te jəti ta-di məni ŋa-ra-phwĩ:-ya
I FOC as.many be-CON also 1S-3P-mow-FUT
'As for me, *I will mow down* as many of these as I can.'

12.4.2 Negative potential

The morpheme *-ya* with a potential reading does not co-occur with the negative prefix *ma-*. Where *ma-* and *-ya* do co-occur, *-ya* gains a perfective reading (a phenomenon which will be dealt with in §12.5). To compensate for this co-occurrence constraint the *-ya* morpheme is deleted, which is tantamount to marking the potential mode with a

zero, as in the following:

(29) hitao te ma-ta-Ø, nɨ̃:-lai ma-səih-ni-rə-Ø
like.that EMP NEG-be-FUT, you-OBJ NEG-kill-2S-3P-FUT
'That won't happen, they won't kill you.'

In transitive configurations with 3RD person subjects, the unmarked future results in a paradigm having total overlap with the negative imperfective paradigm. Formally, the two paradigms differ in the identity of the unmarked value. In the negative imperfective, the imperfective is unmarked, and in the negative potential, the modal is unmarked (see table 77).

Table 77. Unmarked values in imperfective and future paradigms

imperfective:		
	positive	negative
3S	V-wo-Ø	ma-V-wo-Ø
3D	V-ni-Ø	ma-V-ni-Ø
3P	V-rə-Ø	ma-V-rə-Ø
potential mode:		
	positive	negative
3S	V-wa < jəi-o-ya	ma-V-wo-Ø
3D	V-n-ya	ma-V-ni-Ø
3P	V-r-ya	ma-V-rə-Ø

12.4.3 Prospective aspect

A second kind of 'future' involves the suffix *-rih* occurring in combination with either the perfective *-ke* or the continuous *-zya*, as in *-rih-ke* and *-rih-zya*. Judging both from its position in the verbal complex[2] and from its lingering semantic flavor in certain contexts, *-rih* is very likely an erstwhile desiderative. There is nothing unusual about the semantic shift from desiderative to future tense, the same shift having been documented in numerous other languages, including English (e.g. modal *will*). In Kham, a periphrastic desiderative, *pəɨ̃-nya*, has a prospective interpretation with patientive verbs, but a desiderative interpretation with agentive verbs, as in: *siu pəɨ̃zyao* 'He is about to die,' and *bao pəɨ̃zyao* 'He wants to go.'

In the modern language, only in very specific contexts, especially those with 1ST

[2] Besides *-rih*, only three other suffixes occur in the same position with the same basic co-occurrence constraints – these are the concatenative verbs. Two still occur elsewhere in the grammar as independent verbs (*-hu* 'come' and *-duh* 'able'), and the third is still transparently related to an old verb with cognates in other dialects (*-na* 'go').

person entailment in the declarative, or 2ND person entailment in the interrogative, does *-rih* still have something of a desiderative sense. Presumably, this is because of its close ties to intentionality/volitionality. The reading is further abetted by the pragmatic implicature of certain contexts, as in:

(30) je: su:-sə je-ba-rih-zya-o
you.pl who-ASC 2P-go-PROS-CONT-NML
'With whom do you (pl) want to go?'

The desiderative reading is also conventionalized in a few unusual nominalizations with a slightly altered sense, as in: *duli-rih-zya-o* 'a wanderer, one who is prone to wander,' *gəhr-rih-zya-o* 'ugly, unattractive, one who is prone to pucker the face,' *mɛ̃:h-ye mɛ̃:h-ye ba-rih-zya-o* 'a drunk, one who is prone to walk about drunk.'

By far the most common reading of the *-rih* construction is that of imminence, and can be translated as 'to be going to,' 'to be about to,' etc. Following Comrie (1976), I refer to this as the 'prospective aspect.' In combination with continuous *-zya*, the imminence of the prospective is weakened and is, in fact, barely distinguishable from a simple predictive future:

(31) COMBINED WITH THE CONTINUOUS:
pəte rihm-kə bənəi zyũ:h-rih-zya
later evening-LOC very cold-PROS-CONT
'This evening it will be very cold.'

In combination with the perfective aspect *-ke*, the imminence reading of the prospective is clear. This is apparently a consequence of the 'inceptive' reading for the perfective we saw earlier – the count-down to inception has already begun, as in: *bəllə ci nə-dəi-rih-ke* 'Finally you're about to get it' (your just dues).

12.4.4 Predictive mode

There is in Kham a third kind of future that occurs in strong assertions about future situations – what I refer to here as the 'predictive mode.' Predictive mode comes the closest of all three futures to pure time reference. But because there is also a past tense version of the same form having to do with the modal notion of what 'would have been' in an alternative world, I am treating both versions of the form as a modals.

The morphological form of predictive mode is that of an infinitive on the main verb followed by a form of the auxiliary verb 'to be.' For future interpretation the auxiliary is in the imperfective, and for past interpretation the auxiliary is in backgrounded past, as in the following. (There is no difference between transitive and intransitive paradigms.)

(32) a. FUTURE TIME REFERENCE:
ba-nya ŋa-le 'I will go.'
ba-nya nə-le 'You will go.'

ba-nya le ‘He/she/it will go.’
etc.

b. PAST TIME REFERENCE:
ba-nya ŋa-le-o ‘I would have gone.’
ba-nya nə-le-o ‘You would have gone.’
ba-nya o-le-o ‘He/she/it would have gone.’

i. Proclamation of what ‘will be’

The predictive mode is not so much a statement of potential or intention as we saw in §12.4.1, but rather a declaration or proclamation about how things ‘are’ or ‘will be’ in a hypothetical, alternative world. As such, it has an assumed air of certainty. Something of the semantic difference between potential mode and predictive mode can be seen in the following:

(33) a. POTENTIAL MODE:
no-ra-e ya-jũ:ni ŋa-nəi-ya
he-PL-GEN 3P-sake 1S-keep-FUT
‘For their sakes I will (try to) spare it.’

b. PREDICTIVE MODE:
no-ra-e ya-jũ:ni nəi-nya ŋa-le
he-PL-GEN 3P-sake keep-INF 1S-be
‘For their sakes I will spare it.’ (a declaration)

A typical (though not exclusive) environment for the predictive is in proclamations like blessings or curses, as in the following examples from text:

(34) a. nə-jijyu nə-bajyu-ra-sə thom-si-nya nə-le
2S-g.g.father 2S-g.father-PL-ASC merge-DETRANS-INF 2S-be
‘(When you die) you will merge with your forefathers.’

b. kata zə bã:ci-nya ma-le-rə
what EMP survive-INF NEG-be-3P:IMPFV
‘Nothing will survive.’

ii. Counter-factive

The past form of the predictive is, in fact, not a prediction at all, but a declaration about what ‘would have been’ in an alternative past world – a ‘counter-factive.’ I treat it here because it is derived out of the predictive, much like the difference between the modals *will* and *would* in English. Following are examples contrasting the counter-factive with the predictive modal:

(35) a. PREDICTIVE FUTURE:
ao nə-o-kin si-nya nə-le
this 2S-drink-IF die-INF 2S-be:IMPFV
'If you drink this you will die.'

b. COUNTER-FACTIVE:
nə-o-wo ta-kin si-nya nə-le-o
2S-drink-NML be-IF die-INF 2S-be-NML
'If you had drunk it you would have died.'

iii. Generic predictions

Semantically similar to the predictive modal is a generic future that disallows specific pronouns. Significantly, the auxiliary verb used is the generic verb 'to be' *ta-nya*, and not *li-nya* as in the predictive. The result is a generic reading as in: *If you (generic) eat this you (generic) can die*. Following are examples contrasting it with the predictive modal:

(36) a. GENERIC FUTURE:
ao zyu-kin si-nya ta-e
this eat-IF die-INF be-IMPFV
'If this is eaten one can die.'

b. *GENERIC FUTURE WITH PRONOUNS:
*ao nə-zyu-kin si-nya nə-ta-e
*this 2S-eat-IF die-INF 2S-be-IMPFV

c. PREDICTIVE MODE WITH PRONOUNS:
ao nə-zyu-kin si-nya nə-le
this 2S-eat-IF die-INF 2S-be:IMPFV
'If you eat this you will die.'

The form in (36a) that I call the 'generic future' is, in actual fact, part of another system having to do with nominalizations, and is treated also in §10.2. The literal sense of (36a) is something like 'dying can happen.' In the context of the conditional IF, the construction acquires a future reading. Elsewhere, it specifies acceptability, as in: *ba-nya ta-e* 'It's okay to go there' (lit. 'going there is okay'). The form is used also in procedural discourse, as in *ha:h-kin mənəm ja:h-nya ta-e* 'Then flour is put in.'

12.5 Tense switching

As alluded to already, two of the tense/aspect morphemes we have dealt with above, *-ke* and *-ya*, participate in an unusual 'tense switching' phenomenon (see §5.5.1). In certain environments – namely those of content questions and yes-no questions marked by the prefix *ma-* – perfective *-ke* takes on a future reading, and future *-ya* takes on a perfective

reading. Following are examples, first from content questions:

(37) a. PERFECTIVE -ke:
u-zihm-da ba-ke
3S-house-ALLT go-PFV ‘He went home.’

b. FUTURE -ke:
kana ba-ke
where go-FUT ‘Where will he go?’

38) a. FUTURE -ya:
u-zihm-da ba-ya
3S-house-ALLT go-FUT ‘He might go home.’

b. PERFECTIVE -ya:
kana ba-ya
where go-PFV ‘Where did he go?’

Yes-no questions marked by *ma-*, what I term ‘direct interrogatives’ in §14.1.1, also participate in the alternation. With *ma-*, however, a potential for ambiguity arises. *Ma-* is also a negative marker and occurs in the same morphological position. However, interrogative *ma-* and negative *ma-* rarely occur in the same morphological contexts, and where they do, the utterance can be disambiguated by pragmatics (intonation, for all intents and purposes, is identical in the two environments). Co-occurrence with the continuous morpheme *-zya* is a case in point. In nominalizations *ma-* is only negative, while in regular, non-nominalized constructions *ma-* co-occurring with *-zya* is only interrogative:

(39) a. NOMINALIZED – NEGATIVE:
o-ma-jəi-zya-o chyam
3S-NEG-make-CONT-NML day
‘the day he wasn’t making it’

b. NON-NOMINALIZED – INTERROGATIVE:
ma-jəi-zya-o
INTRG-go-CONT-3S
‘Is he making it or not?’

Likewise *ma-*, wherever it co-occurs with the morpheme *-ya* (3RD person transitive allomorph *-wa*) is only interrogative (*-ya* does not occur in nominalizations) and *-ya* is only perfective:

(40) a. FUTURE -ya:
zihm jəi-r-ya
house make-3P-FUT ‘They might build a house.’

b. INTERROGATIVE ma-, PERFECTIVE -ya:
zihm ma-jəi-r-ya
house INTRG-make-3P-PFV 'Did they build a house?'

The only potentially ambiguous environment for *ma-* is in combination with the perfective morpheme *-ke* – *-ke* is not a mutually exclusive environment for either the negative or interrogative interpretation. Where *ma-* has a negative reading, *-ke* is perfective; where it has an interrogative reading, *-ke* is future:

(41) a. NEGATIVE ma-, PERFECTIVE -ke:
ŋa:-sə nə-ma-ba-ke
I-ASC 2S-NEG-go-PFV 'You didn't go with me.'

b. INTERROGATIVE ma-, FUTURE -ke:
ŋa:-sə nə-ma-ba-ke
I-ASC 2S-INTRG-go-FUT 'Will you go with me?'

The ambiguity with *-ke* in *ma-* environments is also restricted to certain morphological contexts. Where a 3RD person subject affix occurs in the verbal string, it occurs following *-ke* in negative configurations and preceding *-ke* in interrogative configurations. As such, perfective *-ke* occurs in a different slot than future *-ke*, and the position of either is obvious only in the presence of 3RD person suffixes, as in:

(42) a. NEGATIVE ma-, PERFECTIVE -ke:
ma-jəi-ke-o
NEG-make-PFV-3S 'He didn't make it.'

b. INTERROGATIVE ma-, FUTURE -ke:
ma-jəi-wo-ke
INTRG-make-3S-FUT 'Will he make it?'

Third person singular subject in intransitive verbs is, of course, unmarked, and it is not possible from the morphemes alone to disambiguate between perfective and future *-ke*. This is also true with 1ST and 2ND person subjects (which occur as prefixes, as in 42). In all other 3RD person subject environments, whether transitive or intransitive, the position of *-ke* is clear (as in 44):

(43) a. NEGATIVE ma-, PERFECTIVE -ke:
ma-ba-ke-Ø
NEG-go-PFV-3S
'He didn't go.'

b. INTERROGATIVE ma-, FUTURE -ke:
ma-ba-Ø-ke
INTRG-go-3S-FUT
'Will he go?'

(44) a. NEGATIVE ma-, PERFECTIVE -ke:
ma-ba-ke-rə
NEG-go-PFV-3P 'They didn't go.'

b. INTERROGATIVE ma-, FUTURE -ke:
ma-ba-rə-ke
INTRG-go-3P-FUT 'Will they go?'

It is tempting to cast about for some mysterious or psychological significance to 'tense switching.' A question that comes to mind, for instance, is 'Are there underlying evidentials involved in *-ke* and *-ya*, such that the negation of some evidential feature like certainty/uncertainty yields its opposite?' The answer, it appears, is 'No.' The phenomenon is something of a historical accident. For details, see §5.5.1, where I treat the comparative evidence in some detail and give a possible explanation for the phenomenon.

12.6 Past tense and background material

As we have seen, the perfective *-ke* is primarily an event marker, most commonly associated with the main event line of a narrative discourse, and coincidentally associated with the past. This, of course, is a common association cross-linguistically. If an event's terminal boundary is focussed upon, it is very likely to be 'a matter of record' (Givón 1984). There are times, however, when past time needs to be dissociated from perfectivity or from the narrative backbone. Kham has such a construction.

12.6.1 Simple (background) past

Events or situations occurring in the past, but which are not part of the main event line, are marked in Kham by special nominalized forms of the verb (see chapter 16). Such nominalizations are not embedded structures, but function as full, main verbs. They are fully inflected for person and number, but are deficient in several tense/aspect distinctions. The default reading for the construction is a simple past, as in:

(45) ba:h-kə tubu dənə ya-do-zya-o-e o-za:
long.ago-LOC one Dana 3P-call-CONT-NML-GEN 3S-son

mənə o-le-o di
Mana 3S-be-NML RSP

'Long ago there *was* a man called Dana whose son was Mana.'

The verb *o-le-o* is a nominalized form of *li-nya* 'to be,' and functions as the main verb of the sentence. As such, it is marked as a simple past situation which is not perfective – something collateral to the main event line. (The perfective reading of the same verb would yield 'he lived at.')

With punctual verbs it is difficult to appreciate the semantic difference implied between

the perfective form and the simple past form, because many of the secondary collocations associated with the backgrounded form are lacking in English. Following is an example from text:

(46) tubu jyã:h-lə te tubu la:-sə ni-dəi-si-u di
one forest-IN FOC one leopard-ASC 3D-meet-DETRANS-NML RSP
'In a certain forest he met up with a leopard (it is said).'

In (46), the event of meeting is construed as a past event. Its lack of perfective aspectual marking, however, is probably a consequence not so much of its lack of inherent perfectivity, as it is its lack of continuity with the events preceding it. Any discontinuous event, whether one of temporal discontinuity (as in 45), or one of thematic discontinuity (like the surprising event in 46), is construed as 'off' the main event line. For a full discussion of this phenomenon see chapter 16.

12.6.2 Simple past with continuous aspect

The simple past can also collocate with the continuous aspect marker *-zya*. The result is a past progressive reading, as in:

(47) bəre:-rə ro-tə chi: ya-en-zya-o
southerner-PL up-ON grass 3P-shave-CONT-NML
'The Southerners were up above cutting hay.'

Here again is an event discontinuous with the main event line of a narrative. The main event line is concerned with bludgeoning a leopard to death with a club. Parenthetically, in the midst of the story, the narrator inserts the line *The Southerners were up above cutting hay.* Later in the same story he appeals to the Southerners as witnesses to his death-defying act.

Following are further examples of discontinuous or 'off-line' events:

(48) a. ŋa-pata sĩ:-kin me-da bahlsi-də ŋa-rɨ̃:h-zya-o
1S-doorstep wood-ELAT down-ALLT watch-NF 1S-see-CONT-NML
'I saw it (was seeing it) looking down from my doorstep.'

b. ge: no: məndir-da ba-o zə ge-ma-bəĩh-zya-o
we that temple-ALLT go-NML EMP 1P-NEG-agree-CONT-NML
'We were refusing to go to the temple.'

The events in (48a) and (48b) qualify as background for the simple reason that they occur concurrently with the preceding event. Rather than advancing the time line, they further elaborate an afore-mentioned event. Immediately prior to the statement in (48a) the narrator has just described certain things he saw, and then adds the elaboration, *I saw it all from my doorstep.* Likewise in (48b) the narrator has just described a beating he and his friends endured on the steps of a temple, and then adds the supporting

(background) event leading up to the beating, *We were refusing to go to the temple.*

Recall that one of the traditional domains of the imperfective is precisely what we have seen here as the domain of the past progressive. Indeed, translations of imperfective passages from European languages are often given as *was verbing* or *used to be verbing.* Clearly, the two domains overlap in many ways, even in Kham, as the following sentence shows:

(49) ŋa-ryã: te sĩ:-rə da-də pã:ji-də suru suru hu-i
1S-friend FOC wood-PL do-NF arrange-NF straightaway come-IMPFV
'My friend *would* get firewood, arrange it, and come straightaway (home)'

Notice the close similarity of this example with other passages construed in the past progressive, as in the following:

(50) sya-soi-ye kã: o-jəi-kə bənəi ŋəm-o o-jəi-zya-o
meat-fat-ERG food 3S-make-SUB very tasty-NML 3S-make-CONT-NML
'When Lard made the food he *would/used to* make it very tasty.'

A question arises about how the event in (50) is different from the one in (49). To be sure, the English translations resort to the same kinds of aspectual machinery, but there is an important difference in Kham. The difference is not so much a consequence of aspect, but rather a consequence of discourse structure. All the events in (49) and (50) occur in the past, and all have an iterative internal structure. The event in (49), however, is construed as participating directly in the main event line of the narrative, while the event in (50) is construed as collateral to the main event line. Tense/aspect in Kham, then, is closely tied to notions like backgrounding and foregrounding in discourse. The background imperfective is to be distinguished from the foreground imperfective, as are background and foreground perfective events.

12.7 The perfect

The perfect is neither a pure tense nor a pure aspect but combines features of both. In semantic terms, the perfect describes a 'past occurrence with current relevance' (Givón 1984:280). Or, as Comrie observes, it 'relates some state to a preceding situation' (1976:52). In some languages, such as English, the time axis can be variable. That is, with the so-called 'present-perfect' the time axis is the present, as in: *She has already finished it.* The future and past perfects move the time axis forward and back, respectively, as in: *She will have finished it*, and *She had already finished it*. In all three, the relevance of the earlier event (or situation) extends to the time axis. Thus, with the present perfect, for example, the event that already occurred has relevance in the present – *I have lost my knife* implies that it is still lost.

12.7.1 Syntactic properties

The perfect in Kham is, syntactically speaking, a conventionalized verb chaining construction (see §15.2). The completed event occurs as a non-final verb in the chain followed by the imperfective form of the final verb 'to be' or 'to put/keep,' depending on the transitivity of the verb. Thus, the two major features of the perfect are neatly accounted for – the event, by virtue of its first mention in the string, is construed as complete before the situation named by the second (final) verb begins. And the situation named by the final verb, by virtue of its imperfectivity, is construed as open ended and on-going at the time of the time axis.

Table 78 gives a partial paradigm of the Kham perfect, showing only singular subjects and singular objects for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Table 78. The intransitive and transitive perfect

intransitive:			
1ST	V-də ŋa-le		
2ND	V-də nə-le		
3RD	V-də le		
transitive:			
	1ST OBJ	2ND OBJ	3RD OBJ
1ST	–	V-də ŋa-nəi-ni-i	V-də ŋa-nəi-i
2ND	V-də nə-nəi-na-e	–	V-də nə-nəi-i
3RD	V-də nəi-na-o	V-də nəi-ni-u	V-də nəi-wo

Using the verbs 'go' and 'make' as exemplars of intransitive and transitive, respectively, a literal translation of the forms yields *'Having gone, is'* for the intransitive set and *'Having made, put'* for the transitive set. The following examples, along with some description of the context in which they occur, will give a sense of how the perfect is used in Kham:

(51) a. INTRANSITIVE:
ŋa-joro-ni gərã:-də ŋa-le
1S-illness-ABL recover-NF 1S-be:IMPFV
'I *have recovered* from my illness (and I'm still well).'

a. TRANSITIVE:
ʻhũ:-wo dəi-nya je-ma-le' həi da-də nəi-si-u
'come-NML allow-INF 2P-NEG-be' thus say-NF put-1P-3S:IMPFV
'He *has told us*, "You won't be able to come."'

The examples in (51a) and (51b) are quotations embedded in direct speech situations. The time axis, then, is *present* from the perspective of the original speaker. As such, the

perfect constructions, which are part of the quoted material, occur in a present time setting, and the constructions have a 'present perfect' interpretation. The same sentences as 'on-line' speech would have the same interpretation.

By contrast, where the perfect is couched in a past time setting, the interpretation is past perfect. There is nothing in the construction itself to establish the time axis of the perfect; the time axis is dependent on the context. Perfect in Kham, then, can be defined as being essentially 'tenseless' (Comrie 1985b). The following example illustrates the point. The time axis for the chain-final verb is set by the preceding dependent clause *'when we stepped outside*':

(52) lã:h-da ge-pulus-kə te, nəm te nup-na-də le
out-ALLT 1P-emerge-SUB FOC, sky FOC set-GO-NF be:3S:IMPFV
'When we stepped outside, the sun *had begun* to set.'

12.7.2 Backgrounded perfect forms

The perfect forms illustrated above can also occur in the nominalized paradigm:

(53) həldar sero te katəmandu-ŋə zə ba-də u-li-zya-o
sergeant old.man EMP Kathmandu-ADS EMP go-NF 3S-be-CONT-NML
'Old Man Sergeant *had gone* to Kathmandu.'

Recall from §12.6.2 that the backgrounded form of the continuous aspect has a certain amount of semantic overlap with the imperfective. Both make reference to unbounded events occurring in the past. Here too the backgrounded perfect has considerable overlap with the regular perfect. The primary difference has to do with the organization of discourse and is difficult to appreciate in English. In general, the regular perfect forms report out-of-sequence events that are part of the immediate, local context. That is, though they are out of sequence, they are very much a part of the immediate context, as in sentence (54a). Events or situations marked by backgrounded perfect forms, on the other hand, are construed as collateral (discontinuous) information and operate at a higher discourse level. Consider the following two examples:

(54) a. PERFECT:
lã:h-da ge-pulus-kə te, nəm te nup-na-də le
out-ALLT 1P-emerge-SUB FOC, sky FOC set-GO-NF be:3S:IMPFV
'When we stepped outside, the sun had begun to set.'

b. BACKGROUNDED PERFECT:
nəm nup-na-də u-li-zya-o
sky set-GO-NF 3S-be:CONT-NML
'The sun had begun to set.'

Sentence (54a) is appropriate to a local time setting – *'when we stepped outside'* – while (54b) is somewhat questionable in such a specific context and is more appropriate as a

setting for an entire discourse, as in: 'We were coming off the ridge and *the sun had begun to set.* A strange light appeared in the sky …' where the second sentence is the first main-line event of the discourse. (See chapter 16 for more discussion on background forms and discourse settings.)

12.7.3 The perfect with stative verbs

Recall from §12.1.2 that with certain verbs the perfective has an ingressive meaning – with change-of-state verbs it specifies entrance into a state, as in the following:

(55) bahadur syã:-ke
Bahadur sleep-PFV 'Bahadur slept/is sleeping.'

Bahadur at some time in the past entered into a state of sleep. It is not known from the perfective, however, whether the state still persists or not. If the state still persists, it is best translated into English with the progressive form *Bahadur is sleeping.* The two languages differ in their conceptualization/lexicalization of sleep – in English it is a durative process, and in Kham it is a state of being. An English translation that would better preserve the Kham notion of entrance into a state, then, would be *Bahadur went to sleep.*

The same verb cast in the perfect makes it clear that Bahadur is still asleep. The first verb in the chain specifies entrance into a state, and the auxiliary, cast in the imperfective, specifies that the state is unbounded and still persists:

(56) nə-kə zə syã:-də le
dist-LOC EMP sleep-NF be:3S:IMPFV
'There he is sleeping.'/'He has fallen asleep there.'

12.8 Non-inceptive and prior past

The non-inceptive and prior past are mirror images of one another. Both grammaticalize the opposite of what might have been – situations contrary to the speaker's or hearer's expectations. In the case of the non-inceptive, some event expected in the past has not yet occurred, and in the prior past, some event expected in the future has already occurred.

12.8.1 Non-inceptive aspect

Non-inceptive aspect specifies a situation in which the action or state named by the verb has not yet begun. More precisely, non-inceptive indicates that the point at which perfective *-ke* would be appropriate has not yet been reached. For change-of-state verbs, then, for which *-ke* specifies the beginning or entrance into a state (see §12.1), non-inceptive is precisely what its name implies – non-inception. For telic verbs (or more specifically, telic situations) non-inceptive can also indicate incompletion.

Non-inceptive is marked by the suffix *-ta* occurring in the same slot as prospective *-rih* and prior past *-duh* (see §5.7). Accompanying *-ta* is an obligatory negative prefix *ma-* (which provides the 'non' part of 'non-inceptive'), and the verb occurs in imperfective aspect, as in the following (NEG + INCPT = 'non-inceptive'):

(57) ma-jəi-ta-o
NEG-make-INCPT-3S:IMPFV 'He didn't make it yet.'

i. Non-inceptive with change-of-state verbs

As we have seen, perfective *-ke* with change-of-state verbs indicates the beginning of a new state. Thus, with 'big,' for example, the perfective indicates that the referent has *become* big, not that it *was* big. Non-inceptive indicates the opposite, that entrance into the state named by the verb has not yet occurred:

(58) sĩ:-rə a:h-pəi ma-gyahm-ta-rə
tree-PL this.much-LAT NEG-red-INCPT-3P
'The trees so far have not turned red yet.'

In (58), the point has not yet been reached at which time it could be said that the trees have become red.

ii. Non-inceptive with telic situations

With telic situations in Kham, non-inceptive can also signal incompletion. Recall that the perfective is appropriate any time after the inception of an event. Unlike English, the perfective 'he made a chair' can mean either that he completed making the chair or that he only began making the chair. Likewise, the non-inceptive can indicate the negative of either – the non-beginning or non-terminus of some event (which is true also of English). Following are examples:

(59) a. sero-da ma-ba-ta-e
'He hasn't gone to/hasn't left for Shera yet.'

b. khorcyo ma-zəp-ta-o
'He hasn't forged the knife yet.' (= hasn't completed it yet, or hasn't begun making it yet)

iii. Non-inceptive with punctual verbs

With punctual verbs the distinction between inception and completion is lost; both phases of the event are perceived as simultaneous. As such, non-inceptive indicates simply that the event has not yet occurred, as in the following:

(60) o-bənduk ma-ap-ta-o
'He hasn't shot his gun yet.'

iv. Non-inceptive with stative-type verbs

It becomes clear from inherently stative verbs that non-inceptive aspect negates an event and not a state. Non-inceptive imposes an eventive status on states in the same way that the perfective does. Inherently stative verbs become non-occurring 'events' with the non-inceptive:

(61) sahr-o u-zihm-kə a:h-pəi ma-li-ta-e
new-NML 3S-house-LOC this.much-LAT NEG-be-INCPT-IMPFV:3S
'He hasn't yet lived at his new house.'

Here again, 'be' becomes 'live at a place.' The event is derived from an inherent state under the scope of non-inception.

12.8.2 Abilitative and prior past

The prior past morpheme *-duh* occurs in combination with the perfective *-ke*, as in *-duh-ke*. The same morpheme has an abilitative interpretation with imperfective, future, and continuous aspects. *Duh* as an independent root morpheme still has an abilitative reading and is undoubtedly the source of the suffix *-duh*. The semantic relationship between abilitative *-duh* and prior past *-duh*, however, seems unusual and the derivational pathway is uncertain. Following are examples showing the two interpretations: ABILITATIVE INTERPRETATION *purji-sə wazə pəle:-duh-zya-o* 'He is able to remove it only with permission,' and PRIOR PAST INTERPRETATION *pəle:-duh-ke-o* 'He already removed it.'

Prior past brings an added component to the perfective situation. Recall that in general, events marked in the perfective are construed as being complete at the time of reference. With prior past, the event occurs sometime in the past, but with an important addition – the event is complete *before* the time axis, not at the time axis. Following are examples:

(62) a. ba-ke
go-PFV
'He left.'

b. ba-duh-ke
go-PRIOR-PFV
'He already left.'

(63) a. achya zə ba-ke
earlier EMP go-PFV
'He left some time ago.'

b. achya zə ba-duh-ke
earlier EMP go-PRIOR-PFV
'He already left some time ago.'

Prior past is a 'relative tense' (Comrie 1985b). In (62), the time axis is now, the time of speaking, and in (62a) the perfective indicates that the referent's departure occurred sometime in the past and is complete 'now.' In (62b), on the other hand, the referent's departure was complete sometime before now. In (63) we have a similar situation with the exception that the time axis is in the past. That is, in (63a) the referent's departure was complete at an earlier time, 'some time ago,' while in (63b) his departure was

complete sometime before that earlier time axis.

Prior past carries with it certain implications of unexpectedness. This is probably a consequence of the fact that prior past often occurs in contexts in which the event was not yet expected to occur. The timing of the event, and not the event itself, is being communicated. It is informative to be highly precise about time only where the time of the event is in question. Sentence (63b), for example, carries with it certain implications that the referent was expected to still be around, and that the time of his departure 'some time before now' is the whole point of the utterance.

13 *The modality of certainty, obligation, and unexpected information*

Modality is partially concerned with the epistemic categories of realis/irrealis, necessity, possibility, obligation, permission, certainty, etc., and includes the kinds of notions translated by words like 'can,' 'must,' or 'should.' More often than not, the same categories overlap with the 'deontic' modals translated by the same terms.

In many Himalayan languages, notably Tibetan and its close siblings, level of certainty is marked by elaborate evidential categories – categories that express a speaker's relative certainty of the veracity of his/her statement. Relative certainty is based on the speaker's source of information; events witnessed directly, for instance, are accorded more certainty than those based on hearsay.

In Kham, classical evidential categories do not exist – i.e. 'level of certainty' is unrelated, for the most part, to the speaker's source of information. Where source is marked in Kham, as in the reportative, the notion of uncertainty appears to be largely coincidental, and not the primary category being marked.

13.1 Probability

Probability in Kham is marked by the discontinuous morpheme *-khe-* … *-ho*, in which the number of a 3RD person subject occurs between *-khe* and *-ho*.

(1) -khe-Ø-ho 3S subject
-khi-ni-ho 3D subject
-khe-rə-ho 3P subject

The probability modal can occur with either a perfective or a progressive reading. With a perfective reading, *-khe* replaces the perfective morpheme *-ke* (which may, in fact, be an aspirated allomorph of *-ke* conditioned by the following *-ho*). In the continuous/progressive, *-khe-* … *-ho* follows *-zya* in the sequence *-zya-khe-* … *-ho*, as in the following examples:

(2) a. ba-khe-rə-ho
go-PROB-3P-HO
'They probably went.'

b. ba-zya-khe-rə-ho
go-CONT-PROB-3P-HO
'They are probably going.'

Semantically, probability overlaps with the counter-factive in certain cases (see 12.4.4-ii), but with an important and underlying difference. Recall that counter-factive is used to express what 'might have been' in an alternative world. Probability expresses what 'must be' or is 'probably true' in the actual world. Thus, the situation lacks certainty not because it belongs to an alternative world, but because the speaker has less than perfect knowledge of his/her own world. The modal, then, marks utterances about which the speaker has no source of knowledge other than his/her own (incomplete) knowledge of the world. Based on such knowledge s/he makes a statement about the most probable truth. Consider the following:

(3) a. ya-nəĩ-ra-sə hu-zya-khe-rə-ho
3P-friend-PL-ASC come-CONT-PROB-3P-HO
'They must be/are probably coming with their friends.'

b. ao bəhl-e te ge-gətə:-lai bəgəi-d-ya-si-khe-ho
this flood-ERG FOC 1P-mill-OBJ sweep-NF-BEN-1P-PFV-PROB-HO
'The flood has probably swept our mill away.'

Where probability is conjoined to a subjunctive clause the result is irrealis. The eventuality 'might have been true' had the alternative world expressed by the conditional IF clause also been true. It is here that we get a semantic overlap with the counter-factive we saw earlier. Following are examples of probability in irrealis mode:

(4) a. FUTURE-PROBABILITY (IRREALIS):
ho dekha cã:do ŋa-si-kin ta-khe-ho
that instead quickly 1S-die-IF be-PROB-HO
'Instead of that it *would be* better if I were to die quickly.'

b. PAST-PROBABILITY (IRREALIS):
nɨ̃:-lai ma-ca-o jəi-nya ta-kin tə-gəhri zə
you-OBJ bad make-INF be-IF one-moment EMP

ŋa-jəi-ni-duh-khe-ho
1S-make-2S-PRIOR-PROB-HO

'If it were a matter of doing bad, I *would have* done you (harm) in an instant.'

Thus, in a past setting, the two modes, counter-factive and probability, arrive at roughly the same semantic ground by different routes, as in:

(5) a. COUNTER-FACTIVE:
nəm o-ma-wa-o ta-kin ba-nya ŋa-le-o
sky 3S-NEG-rain-NML be-IF go-INF 1S-be-NML
'If it had not rained I would have gone.'

b. PAST-PROBABILITY:
nəm o-ma-wa-o ta-kin ŋa-ba-khe-ho
sky 3S-NEG-rain-NML be-IF 1S-go-PROB-HO
'If it had not rained I might have gone.'

The English translations are similar – 'going' did not occur in either case. In the case of the counter-factive, however, it is asserted that the second event would have occurred if the first had (recall that the relationship between the two is a *'will'* relationship, here cast in past time – see §12.4.4-ii). In the case of probability the second event is only a strong likelihood given the speaker's knowledge of the world.

13.2 Possibility

Possibility is marked by the suffix *-kya.* Where probability expresses the strong likelihood of a particular situation, possibility expresses just one of many possible options. In the following example, two clauses are conjoined, each of which expresses a different possibility. The second clause occurs in an ellipted form:

(6) u-hu-rih-zya-o achim ta-kya, pəhra:ti ta-kya
3S-come-PROS-NML today be-PBL, tomorrow be-PBL
'His coming might be today, […] it might be tomorrow.'

Where only one possibility is given, the implication still exists that there are other valid possibilities as well. The speaker does not make a commitment to one possibility as he does with probability, as in the following:

(7) no: ya-nakhar-la-o gheppa kata-ka-o ta-kya
that 3P-village-IN-NML great what-AT-NML be-PBL
'He might be one of their village great-men (or someone else).'

In (7), the speaker, by use of the possibility modal, expresses that s/he is uncertain about the truth of the statement and is only making a speculative guess.

13.3 Deontic mood

Deontic mood has to do with obligation and permission. In many languages, including English, deontic moods are often marked morphosyntactically in the same way as their epistemic counterparts (Chung and Timberlake 1985). Both necessity and obligation are marked by the same modal ('must'), and possibility and permission are marked by the same modal ('can'). In Kham, the epistemic and deontic moods are unrelated. In this chapter, we have already treated epistemic necessity in the 'probability modal,' whose meanings include 'must.' Likewise, epistemic possibility was treated in the 'abilitative' and 'possibility' modals.

Obligation is marked by one of two auxiliary verbs – *ta-ke*, the perfective form of

'become,' or *pəri-:/pəri-ke*, the imperfective/perfective form of a Nepali loan signifying obligation. There appears to be no semantic difference between the two, apart from the fact that *pəri-* has greater inflectional possibilities. In either case, the verb is uninflected for person and number. The same 3RD person singular form is used as the default for all persons and numbers. Where the clause is without a free pronoun, then, the referents are pragmatically determined. Following are examples:

(8) a. ge: a-ŋə basi-də khim-na-o ta-ke
we prox-ADS stay-NF search-GO-NML be-PFV
'We should spend the night here and search for it.'

b. ŋa-lai o-nya ri:h tu-puru ya-o ta-ke
me-OBJ drink-INF water one-amount give-NML be-PFV
'(You) should give me a little drinking water.'

The obligative auxiliary *pəri-* has several inflectional possibilities including habitual time and negation, as well as numerous derivational possibilities. None of these are possible with the *ta-ke* auxiliary. Following are examples:

(9) a. PERFECTIVE:
itao-ni zə da-o pəri-ke
'It should be done like this.'

b. IMPERFECTIVE:
ŋa: no-ra-sə pã:-wo ma-pəri-i
'I don't have to talk with them.'

c. CONTINUOUS:
hisap da-zya-o-e su-dum-d-ya-o pəri-zya
'A person who does accounting must make it all add up.'

13.4 The mirative

The mirative category, as suggested in the title of DeLancey's (1997:33) seminal article on the subject, is 'the grammatical marking of unexpected information.' In earlier literature, where the category was recognized, it was sometimes confused with the evidential categories of hearsay or inference. As DeLancey notes, however, the common typological thread that runs through all such systems is the marking of information that is new or surprising to the speaker, not yet integrated into his or her overall knowledge structure. In certain contexts, of course, especially where the newly apprehended knowledge is indirect or second-hand, the mirative overlaps with inferential statements and can be easily confused. The occurrence of the same forms where there is direct, first-hand evidence, however, makes it clear that inference or source of knowledge is not the underlying motivation for the marking.

13.4.1 Grammatical structure

The mirative construction in Kham is marked by the auxiliary use of the existential copular verb 'to be' in 3RD person singular. Both the auxiliary and the main verb occur in a nominalized form, and all inflectional categories occur on the main verb. The following examples illustrate the contrast between unmarked and mirative forms:

(10) a. ba-duh-ke-rə
go-PRIOR-PFV-3P
'They already went/left.'

b. ya-ba-duh-wo o-le-o
3P-go-PRIOR-PFV.NML 3S-be-NML (MIR)
'They already left!'

(11) a. ma-hu-ke
NEG-come-PFV
'He didn't come.'

b. o-ma-hũ-wo o-le-o
3S-NEG-go-PFV.NML 3S-be-NML (MIR)
'He didn't come!'

13.4.2 Semantic structure and pragmatic contexts

The mirative constructions in both (10b) and (11b) occur in the default (unmarked) perfective aspect and imply either hearsay or inferential knowledge. The context for (10b), *yabaduhwo oleo*, might be that the speaker, travelling with friends and planning on joining another party, arrives at the other party's house, and seeing a padlock on the door, turns to his friends and says *yabaduhwo oleo* 'They already left!' The speaker's statement is based not on direct observation of their departure, but on physical evidence from which their departure could be inferred. The mirative form would also be appropriate if the speaker learns from a neighbor or bystander that the party has left, and he reports his finding immediately to his friends.[1]

Given these forms and contexts with no further data, one might conclude that we are dealing with an evidential category that marks hearsay or inference, both indirect sources of knowledge. Indeed, DeLancey makes the observation that mirativity is 'susceptible to evidential interpretation when used with past time reference' (1997:47). In Kham, however, the inferential reading is just as likely to occur with the imperfective. Thus, upon entering an unoccupied room in Maya's house and finding a partially made blanket still attached to the loom, the speaker can say (using the imperfective continuous aspect):

[1] There is another 'reportative' particle which could occur here, but for which I will reserve discussion until §13.5.

(12) kãhbul u-ɾɨ:h-zya-o oleo
blanket 3S-weave-CONT-NML MIR
'She's weaving a blanket!'

Here, as in (10b), the speaker bases his/her declaration on the physical evidence available, and not on the fact that s/he actually saw Maya weaving a blanket. So far, it appears that we are dealing with an inferential marker. It becomes clear that we are dealing with a mirative when we discover that exactly the same form is used when the speaker enters the room and finds Maya sitting at the loom weaving. In this case, the speaker's report is based on first-hand evidence, not on inference. What is relevant, then, is not the source of the speaker's knowledge, but rather that the information is newly discovered – not yet integrated into the speaker's store of knowledge (Aksu-Koç and Slobin 1986, DeLancey 1997).

The non-integration of information into the speaker's store of knowledge is a necessary ingredient of the mirative in Kham. It implies that the new information is somewhat unexpected or surprising to the speaker. There are numerous contexts, then, in which newly acquired knowledge is inappropriate for mirative marking. Recall the context for (10b) – the speaker discovers that the party he and his friends were to travel with have already departed, and he reports his discovery with the mirative. If, on the other hand, the speaker and his friends arrive at the party's house at eight o'clock, knowing all along that the agreed upon departure time was seven o'clock, and upon discovering that they had already left, he would report the fact with the unmarked form – *baduhkerə* 'They already left.' The newly acquired knowledge is only a confirmation of what has already been anticipated. There is nothing surprising or unexpected about it. To report this event in the mirative would imply that the speaker harbored some hope that they had not left yet.

Apparently what is at issue here is that for the mirative to be used felicitously, the newly discovered event must not have been anticipated. In the situation described immediately above, the event, though not fully anticipated, was at least understood to be a possibility. The same would hold in a situation in which the speaker had invited guests to his house. One of the invited guests, Jhupurya, shows up at the door, and the speaker announces his arrival: *juhpurya hu-ke* 'Jhupurya has arrived.'

The event has been anticipated from its inception; there is nothing new in its discovery or apprehension. If, on the other hand, Jhupurya shows up at the gathering uninvited or unanticipated, the host would announce his arrival quite differently:

(13) juhpurya u-hũ:-wo oleo
Jhupurya 3S-come-NML MIR 'Jhupurya has arrived!'

Another context in which mirative marking is inappropriate for marking newly acquired knowledge is in answer to a question. Continuing with the situation described for (10b) – if the speaker sees the padlock on the door, and his companions, unable to see, call out: *ya-ba-o ro* 'Did they go?' he would reply in the unmarked (non-mirative) form:

(14) ba-duh-ke-rə
go-PRIOR-PFV-3P ‘They already left’

To answer a question, then, implies that the information contained in the answer has already been integrated into the speaker’s knowledge. (This is especially true of a tag question with positive presupposition – see §5.5.2.) Thus, the mirative is reserved for contexts in which, after the discovery of a new fact, the report of the discovery is as important to the overall message as the fact itself. It is the speaker’s discovery of the fact, and not the fact itself that is conveyed by the use of the mirative (DeLancey 1997).

The report of the discovery must also be relevant to the addressee. That is, if the speaker knows that his addressee is unaware of the context surrounding his report, he would be less likely to use the mirative form – even if the information is newly discovered. Of course, even then the mirative could be used if the speaker wishes to engage the addressee, or if the speaker naively assumes (as a child does) that everyone is aware of his interests.

Following is a text-based example illustrating the mirative contexts we have discussed so far (including the importance of relevance):

(15) e babəi, a-kə zə o-kəi-wo oleo
hey man, prox-LOC EMP 3S-eat-NML MIR
‘Hey man, he ate him right here!’

The context for (15) is as follows: the speaker’s dog is missing one morning from the sheep camp, and he suspects that a leopard has taken him. Taking a friend, Manlal, he goes in search of the dog. Coming across its carcass, he exclaims to Manlal, ‘Hey man, he ate him right here!’ The speaker infers from the evidence at hand that indeed a leopard has eaten the dog. He reports his discovery using the mirative, indicating that the information is newly discovered and still surprising.

Later in the same narrative the two men decide to hunt for the leopard. Eventually, Tipalkya, the speaker, spots the leopard lying beneath a boulder sunning itself. Following is his report to Manlal, his companion:

(16) mənlal-lai te ‘e babəi mənlal,
manlal-OBJ FOC hey man Manlal

nə-kə zə ci syã:-də u-li-zya-o oleo sani.’
DIST-at EMP CEP sleep-NF 3S-be-CONT-NML MIRATIVE CONFIRM
(I said) to Manlal, “Hey man, Manlal, he’s right there sleeping, see!”

The speaker sees the leopard with his own eyes. Nothing is inferred. Yet the speaker uses the mirative to convey his discovery. The report of the discovery is also relevant to his companion, Manlal, who is fully aware of the speaker’s activities.

The mirative also commonly occurs in contexts in which there was no addressee at the time of the discovery and the speaker wishes to report his thoughts as they were at

the time of occurrence. In this context it becomes obvious that the mirative is used as much to report discovery as it is to convey facts. The following is from the narration of a dream in which the speaker, Jaman Sing, is captured by a group of women and stuffed into a burlap bag. Later, he makes a startling discovery:

(17) 'ao-rə te zya:h-rə ci oleo,' həi li-də te, ŋa: te bənəi zə ŋa-che:-ke
'"These are witches!" saying to myself, I was greatly frightened.'

Jaman Sing's words/thoughts, though reported to no-one at the time, are marked by the mirative. He conveys to his audience now, perhaps weeks after the event, that his discovery of his captors' identity was new, unassimilated knowledge at the time.

The mirative, because it marks information that is new to the speaker at the time of utterance, is just as likely to occur in second person statements. As DeLancey notes, 'a statement about the addressee is generally conversationally relevant only if it is new knowledge to the speaker' (1997:40). An example from Kham comes from a first person narrative about the same Jaman Sing's prison experiences. He and his companions have just been beaten and thrown back into their cell. As they sit there they hear the voice of a prison guard who had befriended them months before in another prison. Jaman Sing narrates the following:

(18) ho homya-e o-rga ge-thəi-ke. 'de homya jiu, nɨ̃: nə-le-o oleo, nə-diuti. de ge-lai disa pisa-da ba-o ge-pəĩ-zya'

'We heard that one, Homya's voice. "Hey Homya sir, it's you on duty! We need to go to the toilet."'

Clearly, the men are not informing Homya that he is on duty, but only that they have just discovered the fact and are surprised by it. In Aksu-Koç and Slobin's (1986) terminology, these are events for which the speaker had no 'premonitory consciousness.'

13.4.3 First person mirative

First person miratives are reportedly rare, and for good reason. For the speaker to be unaware of events that he or she participated in requires inattention or lack of consciousness. Some verbs, on the other hand, are predisposed to the use of first person miratives. Following are two examples from Kham:

(19) ŋa-khurja ŋa-sə-məi-wo oleo
my-knife 1S-CAUS-lose-NML MIR
'I lost my knife!' (I just discovered it)

(20) ho: chyam ge-birəi-wo oleo
that day 1P-err-NML MIR
'We made a mistake that day!' (though we didn't know it then)

13.4.4 Other uses of the mirative

The mirative in Kham occurs in another whole context, a context which appears at first glance to be incompatible with the first. This second context occurs in most other languages in which the mirative is reported, too. The context is that of reporting events the speaker was unaware of at the time of occurrence, but which later came to light. In such cases, the mirative conveys something of an evidential interpretation, based on hearsay or inference.

Recall that for Kham, a mirative in perfective aspect is not sufficient in itself to trigger an evidential reading, especially if the event is embedded in direct speech. Such is the case, for instance, in example (15) – the event, though occurring in the past, was new knowledge at the time of the reported speech, also in the past. The context for the evidential reading, then, is one in which the mirative marked event occurred in the past, but its discovery occurred at some later, undisclosed time. Both its occurrence and its discovery are reported only now. Take the following:

(21) ri-lə te ge-ka:h la:-ye bəi-də o-ya-si-u oleo
night-IN FOC 1P-dog leopard-ERG take-NF 3S-give-2P-NML MIR
'In the night a leopard took our dog away on us!'

This sentence occurs in the same first person narrative as sentences (15) and (16). The narrator tells of his hunt for a leopard that killed one of his sheep dogs. After a short introduction, he says in the mirative 'In the night a leopard took our dog away on us!' From the rest of the context it is clear that the statement occurs at a time in the story before anyone knew what was responsible for the missing dog. Only later, after discovering the dog's carcass and seeing the leopard sunning itself beneath a boulder, did the speaker know for sure that a leopard had taken it.

DeLancey's (1986) use of cause–effect vectors in describing evidential systems in Tibetan is useful here. Non-mirative marking occurs on those events of which the speaker apprehends both beginning and end of the cause–effect vector, while evidential marking occurs where the speaker has direct knowledge only of the effect end of the vector. Thus, both the mirative and evidential interpretations of the Kham form have one thing in common – no knowledge of the event at the time of its occurrence (see figure 15). Knowledge of the event is based on evidence gained later, regardless of whether its source is direct or inferred. The mirative interpretation occurs where the speaker reports the event at the time of its discovery, and the evidential interpretation occurs where the speaker reports the event some time after its discovery.

EVENT ———> DISCOVERY (mirative interpretation)
REPORT

EVENT ———> DISCOVERY ———> REPORT (evidential interpretation)

Figure 15. A chronology of mirative versus evidential interpretation

i. Hindsight

Events like those in example (17), in which the speaker reports the event sometime after its discovery, have the flavor of hindsight and produce a reading of 'unbeknownst to us' as in:

(22) 'In the night (unbeknownst to us) a leopard took our dog away on us!'

This interpretation becomes even more obvious in other narrative texts. Turning again to a text in which Jaman recounts his prison experiences, he tells of a visit from a Kathmandu lawyer, G. P. Adhikhari:

(23) kathmanduni ji pi adikhari sahibe məni gelai ciu:na huke.
hoe ciu:na uhukə, həldar serosə nidəisiu oleo. (MIR)
ge: te ho: gemasəĩye.

'From Kathmandu, G. P. Adhikhari Sahib also came to visit us.
When he came to visit, he had (already) met with Old Man Sergeant.
But we didn't know that.'

The event 'he had (already) met with Old Man Sergeant' was unknown to the speaker at the time of its occurrence. Jaman's knowledge of the event is based on later evidence, but he reports the event not at the time of its discovery, but at the time of this narration. In either case we would get the mirative marking, but only in this case do we get the 'unbeknownst' interpretation. Interestingly, after the mirative-marked event he adds the editorial comment, 'But we didn't know that.' The comment is in some respects superfluous.

ii. Unexpectedness

An interesting manipulation of mirative forms comes from a first person retelling of a folk tale, The Louse and the Flea. In the original version all perfective forms are marked with the usual folk tale 'reported speech particle.' In the retelling, I asked the story teller to take the perspective of the flea (a first person narrative). As such, he reports events hidden from his knowledge at the time of occurrence in the mirative – but only those events which would be completely unexpected. These, of course, are the unknown events which contribute significantly to the outcome of the story. I translate them in English with 'it turns out that …'

(24) ho-kin te tə-cha te ŋa-ryã: ŋah-da zə hu-ke.
o-kəre:-wo-ye kã: u-zyu-wo oleo. (MIR)

'Then one day my friend (the louse) arrived home ahead of me.
(It turns out that) out of hunger he ate the food.'

The first event 'arrived home,' though hidden from the speaker's knowledge at the time of occurrence is unmarked. The second event, marked in the mirative, is one which the speaker would not have anticipated – one without 'premonitory consciousness.'

The whole point of the text leading up to that sentence is that the louse, though always arriving home ahead of the flea, would wait for the flea so they could eat together. His eating without waiting is unexpected.

Not only did the louse eat ahead of time, he also ate most of the flea's portion. To cover up his deed he filled the lower portion of the flea's bowl with excrement and covered it over with cornmeal mush. The flea sat down to eat:

(25) lala lulu zə tə-mutha hai-də, sehpəryap ŋa-jəi-kə te, o-tər-ta-o bəhri ŋa-hai-wo oleo (MIR). ho-kə te o-ŋəm-zya-o.

'Immediately I scooped up a handful, and when I slurped it, (it turns out that) I had scooped up everything on top. Up to there it was good.'

The flea, of course, who is reporting the events, is fully aware that he is scooping up food. What he is unaware of is that in his first scoop he has finished off all the good stuff – something totally unanticipated – hence, the mirative marking. Now, the real action is about to begin!

iii. Third person narratives

In most third person narratives, those narratives in which the narrator is not an eyewitness, events are marked with the post-verbal REPORTED SPEECH PARTICLE (RSP) *di* (which will be dealt with in more detail in §13.5). This is true for fictional as well as true accounts (since, of course, the boundary between the two is obscured over time).

An exception to RSP marking in third person narratives occurs with recent events. Interestingly, the report of such events is marked with the mirative *oleo*. This occurrence accords with Aksu-Koç and Slobin's account of a similar phenomenon in Turkish – there, over time, as the once-new information becomes a part of general world knowledge the mirative is dropped. Following is a short narration in Kham which was reported to me not long after its occurrence. The events were not newly discovered by the speaker, but recent events of which he was unaware at their time of occurrence: *rophətao seral siŋgə jã:hkəri yadozyao, no pəirakə uzihm le. nolai obakəra la:ye bəidə oeo oleo. bakəra la:ye bəidə oekə te, 'khimnanya' lidə 'jɨ̃:jar ja:hdyanya, khimnao take' lidə, onəĩ tubu jəidə nikhimnakə te, bakəralai nidəiwo oleo. jɨ̃:jar ja:hdyanya jã: kuthik oleo di, mathumo. 'ta, əizə sĩ:tə guhmdə woĩsinya take bə' həi lidə, sĩ:tə cao po: nikhimzyakə te jəhn, hã: khɨ̃:kə ci la: ci ŋəs tər tər cuhsidə le di. tadada omabao. hokin te seral siŋgə urɨ̃:hwo paĩna zə bənduku haidə, 'ŋaapya' linya, la:ye məni həp zə uchupihuo oleo. siŋgəe oapkə te ubənduku omapətkiu oleo. ha:hkə te nikyo:hsiu. la:ye uchupihukə te la:lai ornani ornani okyo:hwo. hokin te onəĩlai te 'de de de khorcyo rəike, pəlnya' həi lidə həi odokə, onəĩye te kata khorcyo rəidi:woke? ochyaceye te jəhn sĩ:tə ci uguhmo, oamae kutu kutu okəiwo. ha:hkə te jã:wa nikhəpsiu oleo. chĩ:ni te macaolə kata meda ci nipəltinao oleo. melə ẽ:hlə nibakə te kata siŋgəe obagə oke:hwo. la:lai məni oraso oleo. la: məni ochyaceye obao. ha:h zə take bə.* 'From Upper Shera is a shaman called Singh, his house is on the gorge. A leopard took his goat on him (MIR). When the

leopard took his goat on him, "I've gotta look for him, set a trap and look for him," saying, when he conscripted his friend and looked for it, they found the goat (MIR). It was a poor place for setting a trap (it is said), not enclosed. "Fine, we'll just sit in a tree and wait," saying, when they looked for a good place in a tree, there at the foot of the cliff the leopard was sitting menacingly (it is said). He hadn't gone far. Then as soon as Singh the Sheraite saw him he pulled his gun, thinking he'd shoot him, and the leopard came to attack him (MIR). When Singh shot, his gun didn't go off (MIR). At that point they grabbed each other. When the leopard attacked him he grabbed him by the ears. Then calling out to his friend he said "Bring a kukri, chop him." But what kukri would his friend bring him? Out of fear he had climbed a tree, may his mother eat him to shreds! At that point they wrestled for a while (MIR). Later they fell below into a bad place (MIR). When they fell into the field below Singh broke his collar bone. He released the leopard (MIR). The leopard too left in fear. That's all.'

iv. The counter-expectancy particle

Not surprisingly, the 'counter-expectancy particle' (CEP) occurs very naturally with the mirative. It indicates that the newly discovered state of affairs is contrary to what the speaker naturally assumed to be true. The form occurs in example (17), part of which I reproduce here:

(26) aw-rə te zya:h-rə ci oleo
this-PL FOC witch-PL CEP MIR
'These are witches!' (I had assumed they were little old ladies)

Thus, the mirative by itself indicates that the information reported is new and unexpected to the speaker. With *ci*, the information is more than unexpected; it is contrary to expectation.

13.5 Reported speech

I will treat the particle *di* here because of its semantic ties to the mirative. The mirative, as we have seen, makes no claims about the source of information – it occurs with first-hand observation, inference, or hearsay. The speaker does, however, claim personal responsibility for the veracity of the statement. Even if the speaker's report is based on inference, for instance, the inference was made by the speaker him-/herself. Likewise with hearsay; the speaker takes responsibility for the claim. This contrasts with statements marked by the reportative particle *di*.[2] The reportative also reports hearsay, but makes no claims about the truth of the statement. It functions in many respects like a disclaimer. The two forms are contrasted in the following:

[2] There is some possibility that *di* is related to the Magar verb *de-* 'to say.'

(27) a. o-ba-zya-o oleo
3S-go-CONT-NML MIR
'He's going!' (based on first-hand evidence, inference, or hearsay)

b. ba-zya di
go-CONT RSP
'He's going.' (or so it's said)

(28) a. kã: o-ma-zyu-wo oleo
food 3S-NEG-eat-NML MIR
'He didn't eat!' (based on inference or hearsay)

b. kã: ma-zyu-ke-o di
food NEG-eat-PFV-3S RSP
'He didn't eat' (or so it's said)

Though all four statements in (27) and (28) could be based on hearsay, the assertions in (27a) and (28a) are based directly on the speaker's assessment of the situation, while (27b) and (28b) are based on someone else's assessment. Clearly, the strength of assertion based on one's own judgement is stronger than that based on another's. This is not to say, however, that *di* expresses doubt in the assertion; it only disavows first-hand responsibility for it.

13.5.1 The reportative and indirect speech

Most speech in Kham is reported as a direct quotation, embedded in either of the two 'utterance' verbs – *həi li-nya* 'to say, think' (intransitive), and *həi da-nya* 'to say, tell' (transitive) (see §15.3.5). Thus, for example, *She asked him where he was going* would be rendered:

(29) 'kana nə-ba-zya-o' həi do-ke-o
where 2S-go-CONT-NML thus say-PFV-3S
'She said to him, "Where are you going?"'

Likewise, *He was wondering what to eat* would be rendered:

(30) 'kata ŋa-zyu-ke' həi u-li-zya-o
what 1S-eat-FUT thus 3S-say-CONT-NML
'"What shall I eat?," he was saying (to himself).'

Speech marked by 'di,' on the other hand, is not embedded in a complement taking verb and has all the characteristics of an assertion, command, or question directed by the speaker directly to his interlocutor, second person. The difference is that the ultimate source of the speech act is someone other than the speaker. The distinction is illustrated in the following:

(31) a. ‘ba-n-ke’ həi do-ke-o
go-2S-IMP thus say-PFV-3S
‘He told her to go.’ (lit. ‘“Go,” he told her’)

b. ba-n-ke di
go-2S-IMP RSP
‘(You’re told to) go!’

13.5.2 The reportative and imperatives

In (31a), the imperative is embedded to a higher performative verb indicating that the recipient of the command is some third person. In (31b), on the other hand, the imperative is directed to the addressee him-/herself, with the caveat that the speaker is not the ultimate source of the command.

From (31b) it is not clear whether the imperative is a direct quote from the original source or if the imperative originated with the speaker. In the following examples, where the imperative includes a benefactive, it will become clear that speech bounded by the reportative cannot be a form of direct quotation:

(32) a. ‘ŋa-za rəi-d-y-ã-ke’ həi d-ĩ:-zya-o
my-child bring-NF-BEN-1S-IMP thus say-2S-IMPFV-3S
‘She tells you to bring her child to her.’ (lit. ‘She says to you, “Bring my child to me”’)

b. o-za rəi-d-i:-ke di
her-child bring-NF-BEN:3S-IMP RSP
‘Bring her child to her!’ (you’re told)

In (32a), with the utterance verb ‘say/tell,’ the complement of the verb is a direct quotation of the original speaker’s exact words – the command is construed as it originally occurred. In (32b), on the other hand, there is no quotation *per se*. That is, though the source of the command originates with a third party, the imperative form itself originates with the current speaker. As such, both the possessive and benefactive pronouns inherent in the command point away from the current speaker to the original source.

There is at least one other rendition of (32) making use of the reportative particle:

(33) o-za rəi-d-ya-o take di həi d-ĩ:-zya-o
her-child bring-NF-BEN-NML DEON RSP thus say-2S-IMPFV-3S
‘She tells you that you should bring her child to her.’

Sentence (33) appears unusual – the reportative occurs together with the utterance verb ‘say/tell.’ This is common, however, with deontic constructions. Such constructions have the force of a direct command, but with the paraphrase of an indirect command.

With *di* marking indirect quotations, it is not surprising that quotations so marked are commonly paraphrased versions of the original. Take, for example, a situation in which

a child is told by her mother 'Go get your brother!' She would likely run outside and say:

(34) hu-n-ke di
come-2S-IMP RSP 'Come in!' (you're told)

The imperative originates with the child, though the authority for the command comes from the mother.

13.5.3 The reportative and other speech acts

Now that we have established the indirect force of *di* in imperatives, we are in a better position to explore its use in assertions, questions, and other speech acts. Here again, first person statements are inappropriate with the reportative. The reason, of course, is that first person cannot make indirect statements about him-/herself. Consider the following set of examples:

(35) a. 'ŋa: məni ŋa-ba-rih-zya' həi do-ke-o
I too 1S-go-PROS-IMPFV thus say-PFV-3S
'"I'm going too," she said.'

b. no: məni ba-rih-zya di
he too go-PROS-IMPFV RSP
'She's going too.' (it is said)

c. *ŋa: məni ŋa-ba-rih-zya di
*I too 1S-go-PROS-IMPFV RSP

A very common occurrence of indirect speech bounded by the reportative is in reports of hearsay embedded within a narrative discourse. Take, for example, the following:

(36) u-zihm-kə hu-ke di li-nya thəi-də no-sə dəi-si-na-ke-rə
'Hearing that he had arrived home, they went to meet him.'

The verb 'to hear,' when used with speech, requires the presence of *li-nya* 'to say.' The literal force of (36), then, is something like: 'Hearing the saying (*li-nya*) that "It's said (*di*) that he came home," they went to meet him' (see §15.3.5-iii).

As might be expected from what we have seen so far, where the speech embedded to *li-nya* involves first person (the speaker), we are dealing with direct speech and *di* is inappropriate, as in the following:

(37) a. bahadur-e, ŋa-lai səih-wo pəĩ-zya-rə li-nya thəi-də dõ:h-ke
Bahadur-ERG I-OBJ kill-NML want-CONT-3P say-INF hear-NF flee-PFV
'Bahadur, hearing that they wanted to kill him, fled.' (lit. 'hearing it said "they want to kill me" …')

b. *bahadur-e, ŋa-lai səih-wo pəĩ-zya-rə di li-nya thəi-də dõ:h-ke
*Bahadur-ERG I-OBJ kill-NML want-IMPFV-3P RSP say-INF hear-NF flee-PFV

• *Questions*. In questions, the force of *di* is much like what we have seen for imperatives. The question bounded by *di* is directed by the speaker to second person, but has its origin in a party outside the speech act situation:

(38) karao di
why RSP '(S/he wants to know) why.'

13.5.4 The reportative and hearsay

I have alluded to the fact that the reportative is used in hearsay and folk tales. This, in fact, is one of its major functions. Following are examples of this commonly found genre type:

(39) a. rəma purəncən syargwa sĩ:tə bohke di.
'Shaman Purancan was born in the Syargwa Tree.' (it is said)

b. namlə jəmma sĩ: chi: kata zə omaleo di.
jəmma lũ: sono:h gəm wazə oleo di.

'On the earth there were no trees or grass.' (it is said)
'There was only rock and soil.' (it is said)

c. ba:hkə syar sono pusumni ryã: niləisiu di.
'Long ago the louse and the flea became bond-friends.' (it is said)

In the examples above, the reportative particle is associated with the entire genre, and not just with individual statements. As such, every final verb in the narrative (i.e. excluding medial chained verbs) is marked by 'di.'

13.6 Summary of the mirative and reported speech

The mirative is connected with newly discovered information; information not yet integrated into the speaker's store of knowledge. It makes no claims about the source of information, but only about its newness and the speaker's apprehension of it. As such, it can occur with first-hand observation, inference, or hearsay. Whatever its source, the speaker takes personal responsibility for the claims – if it is based on inference or hearsay, the conclusions are the speaker's.

The reportative, by contrast, is based on hearsay. It can be newly apprehended knowledge, but the speaker chooses not to convey it as such, but rather according to its source. The speaker makes no claims about the truth of the statement. The apprehension of truths leading up to the conclusion are made by someone else, and the speaker disclaims responsibility for them.

14 *Non-declarative speech acts*

Until now, and especially in the preceding two chapters, our primary concern has been with declarative speech acts – those in which the communicative goal of the speaker is to impart information. Non-declarative speech acts, on the other hand, are manipulative in intent, and fall into one of two broad domains – the interrogative and the imperative. In Searle's terms (1969, 1979), both types are 'directives,' and have in common the illocutionary point of eliciting a physical response from the hearer. The 'communicative goal' of the imperative is to elicit action and the goal of the interrogative is to elicit information (Givón 1990a). In Kham, the two speech acts are well represented by an abundance of forms.

Recall from the discussion in §5.3 that Kham has two mutually exclusive arrangements of inflectional markers for every verb. This division of verbal inflection into two paradigmatic configurations is a major feature of all Kham dialects and cuts across not only the declarative, but across the interrogative and imperative moods as well. For declarative speech acts the difference between one configuration and the other has to do primarily with the organization of a narrative discourse into foreground and background, and will be dealt with more fully in chapter 16.[1]

14.1 Direct and indirect questions

The difference between so-called 'direct' and 'indirect' questions is signalled entirely by the choice of paradigmatic form – direct questions employ the regular, non-nominalized form of the verb, while indirect questions employ a special nominalized form of the verb. The choice between one form or the other depends, in part, on the level (or kind) of response the speaker wishes to elicit from the hearer. The direct form demands an answer and implies that the speaker has a right to the information. The indirect form is perceived as more polite, often implying little more than curiosity. The correlation between a nominalized form and indirectness is not surprising – nominalizations are generally associated with discontinuity in Kham discourse (see chapter 16).

[1] In declarative speech acts the regular, finite form is the so-called 'narrative' form associated with the backbone of the narrative, and the nominalized form is the 'parenthetic' form associated with background information. Here, the regular form is referred to as 'direct,' and the nominalized form as 'indirect.' The terminology is based primarily on the communicative function of the forms. The nominalized form, in spite of its historically accurate name, also functions as a fully finite main verb of a clause.

Lyons (1977:755) observes that it is not essential to the nature of questions to always require an answer. That they normally obtain an answer, he says, is due to conventional expectations. He goes on to make a distinction between 'asking' a question and 'posing' a question. Asking is more complex in that it includes an indication that the posed question requires a response, and also necessarily assumes that the addressee knows the answer. The distinction works well for Kham. The difference between direct and indirect questions is essentially the same as the one between Lyon's 'asked' and 'posed' questions – a difference that rests on the requirement of an answer.

14.1.1 Direct questions

Direct questions imply that the speaker has some kind of personal investment in the situation being questioned, and, as a result, has a right to the information. The direct question makes its demand by virtue of the interlocutor's relationship to the action, or by his/her position of authority to ask such a question. Used incorrectly the question sounds rude and presumptuous.[2]

i. Direct content questions (see §9.3)

Content questions provide us with a good example of the speaker involvement implicit in direct questions. It is not the question word itself that makes for a direct question, but the paradigmatic form of the verb. (Content questions occur also in indirect form, as we shall later see.) Consider the following:

(1) kana nə-ba-zya
where 2S-go-CONT (DIRECT) 'Where are you going?'

(2) kata jəi-wa
what make-3S:PFV (DIRECT) 'What did s/he make?'

Both questions imply more than idle curiosity. A possible context for (1), for example, might be that a mother has given orders to her son to go fetch firewood, and now when she sees him, his actions seem counter to what was ordered. The question, then, asks the son to give an account of his actions. Utterance (2) implies that the speaker wants specific details; details like 'Name the object! (I had a contract for such and such).' The same questions in indirect form do not have the same force (see the contrastive examples in 8 and 9).

It should be noted that direct forms are not inherently impolite; spoken in the right context – a context in which the speaker is known to be involved, or one in which speaker involvement is expected or desirable – the forms express legitimate questions

[2] Hargreaves (1986:9) notes a similar phenomenon for Newari. Questions cast in the simple finite form have the effect of 'extreme disrespect, almost like that of an accusation.' The same question nominalized is used for greetings or polite enquiry.

and concerns. Thus, for example, it would be considered good form if a speaker were to ask the following of a group of friends about to embark on a journey across desolate country:

(3) kata je-zyu-ke[3]
what 2P-eat-FUT (DIRECT) 'What will you eat?'

By using the direct form of the question in (3), the speaker implies a kind of complicity with the subjects in their proposed action – here his friends.

Informants will claim that the direct form of a question sometimes sounds 'sharp' or even 'rude,' and especially so where the subject of the verb is 2ND person. The reason, of course, is that the speaker claims involvement or even familiarity with the addressee – a presumptuous state of affairs where the context or social relations between speaker and hearer do not warrant it.

In addition to 'what' and 'where' illustrated above, other content question words are the following:

(4) su: 'who?'
karao 'why?'
khərkə 'when?'
kitao 'how? (in what condition)'
kəi jəidə 'how? (by what method)'
kha: 'how much?'

All of these question words combine with numerous locative and temporal suffixes to form a host of complex question words. A full, paradigmatic treatment of these was given in §9.3, and will not be repeated here.

ii. Direct yes-no questions

Yes-no questions, like content questions, can be cast as direct or indirect. As with content questions, direct yes-no questions imply a higher level of speaker involvement in the situation than do indirect ones. Also, typical of yes-no questions is their focus on the entire event rather than on a particular referent specified by a question word like 'what,' 'who,' or 'where':

(5) DIRECT:
a. ŋa-gohr ma-bənəi-wa
my-plow INTRG-fix-3S:PFV 'Did he fix my plow?'

b. ŋa-sə nə-ma-ba-ke
I-ASC 2S-INTRG-go-FUT 'Will you go with me?'

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[3] Recall from §5.5.1 that with the interrogative *ma-* and with question words, the interpretation of tense reverses in a kind of flip-flop; *-ya* (the usual future) indicates perfective and *-ke* (the usual perfective) indicates future.

In (5a), where the subject of the verb is 3RD person, it is implied that the speaker is personally involved in the situation with 3RD person. Thus, for example, the speaker may have taken his plow to a third party for repairs, and now he asks the hearer (whom he assumes has been where the plow was being fixed) if the plow has been fixed or not. In (5b), the subject of the verb is 2ND person, and hence, the speaker's implied involvement in the situation is with the addressee. Because of the associative construction in sentence (5b), which makes speaker involvement explicit, the direct form is the preferred form.

Direct interrogatives with 1ST person are, not surprisingly, rare. Where they do occur, they imply that the speaker questions his/her own ability to perform some action, as in the following:

(6) nɨ̃:-lai ŋa-ma-səres-ni-ke
you-OBJ 1S-INTRG-recognize-2S-FUT
'Will I recognize you?'

An alternative to 1ST person interrogatives will be discussed in §14.2.2-iii.

iii. Direct questions with negative presupposition

There are a few question forms belonging to the regular paradigm that can take a negative presupposition. Such questions are marked by a different interrogative marker *ro* (which we will see more of in §14.1.2-iii). Recall from §5.5.1 and §12.5 that the prefix *ma-* can have only an interrogative interpretation in the context of certain tense/aspects. Negative *ma-* is excluded from such contexts. In the context of other tense/aspects, *ma-* can be interpreted as either, depending on the pragmatics of the situation. Thus, anywhere *ma-* has a negative interpretation, the interrogative can be marked only by *ro*, a 'tag question' marker, as in the following:

(7) je-ama-e ma-kwaih-ci-u ro
2P-mother-ERG NEG-clothe-2P-3S:IMPFV TAG
'Doesn't your mother clothe you?'

14.1.2 Indirect questions

As mentioned earlier, indirect questions occur in a nominalized form of the verb. Though nominalized, such verbs are fully inflected for person and number. In terms of communicative value, they carry no implication of speaker involvement as direct questions do. In some sense, the speaker 'distances' himself from the situation, often leaving the impression that the question is asked out of mere curiosity.

i. Indirect content questions

The following examples are the indirect counterparts of the content questions given earlier in (1-2):

(8) kana nə-ba-zya-o
where 2S-go-CONT-NML (INDIRECT) 'Where are you going?'

(9) kata o-jəi-wo
what 3S-make-NML (INDIRECT) 'What did he make?'

The questions in (8) and (9) imply that the interlocutor lacks personal involvement in the question s/he is asking. Sentence (8), for example, is a common form of greeting when meeting someone on the trail, regardless of whether the person is known or not. It signals non-involvement in the other person's affairs, and can serve simply as a social nicety. Likewise, sentence (9) is uttered out of curiosity and implies that the speaker is not related to the outcome.

Lack of involvement, of course, is not the only possible motivation for the indirect form of a question. It is generally agreed that one of the primary motivations for indirectness is politeness (see Lakoff 1973, Brown and Levinson 1978, Searle 1979). Brown and Levinson talk about 'negative-politeness' as a strategy for softening the effects of certain 'face threatening acts' of illocution. A tension exists between wanting to go on record on the one hand, and to avoid imposing on the other. A compromise is reached in language by what they call 'conventionalized indirectness.' Indirectness is achieved by apologies, with hedges on the illocutionary force of the act, with impersonalizing mechanisms, and with other softening mechanisms that give the addressee an 'out,' a face-saving line of escape. Thus, the questions in (8-9) may still be real requests for information, but with softened intrusiveness or feigned non-involvement in the affairs of the addressee.

ii. Indirect yes-no questions

In indirect form, yes-no questions can occur with positive or negative presuppositions (which is not generally true of direct yes-no questions, though an exception can be found in 7). The speaker himself makes a positive or negative assumption about a particular state of affairs and then, in effect, asks for a confirmation of whether his assumption is correct or not. Moravcsik (1971:46) suggests that the underlying structure of this kind of a yes-no question contains a 'copy of the suggested answer.' The following yes-no questions illustrate the principle. Notice the new interrogative marker *ro* associated with indirect yes-no questions:

(10) nə-re: o-ba-o ro
your-husband 3S-go-NML TAG
'Your husband left?' (It appears he did; am I right?)

(11) nə-re: o-ma-ba-o ro
your-husband 3S-NEG-go-NML TAG
'Didn't your husband leave?' (It appears he didn't; am I right?)

These two sentences contrast with the direct form (which is without presupposition): *nə-re: ma-ba-ya* 'Did your husband go or not?' (I need to know.)

A potential problem exists for indirect questions set in future time. The future *-ya* does not occur in the indirect paradigm. To compensate for its lack, future time can be marked in the indirect paradigm by the prospective aspect *-rih*, as in (12). Repeated use in a specialized niche like this allows new forms to gain in currency.

(12) paĩh zə nə-ra-khem-rih-zya-o ro
all EMP 2S-3P-finish-PROS-CONT-NML TAG
'Are you going to finish them all off?'

Future yes-no questions can also be cast in the infinitive, especially when the aspectual notions of time and intent are generic, as in:

(13) kata tə-ke:-wa bə ma-ya-nya ro
what one-bit-APPRX even NEG-give-INF TAG
'What? (You) won't even give (me) a small piece?'

In natural speech, the interrogative marker *ro* can be missing from indirect questions. Intonation is of little help here, since the interrogative and declarative both occur with sentence-final falling intonation. What does disambiguate the two are the extra-linguistic dynamics of the situation – the interrogative will invariably be spoken with a slightly different body gesture, like a questioning turn of the eyes toward the addressee. Where such signals are not possible, of course, the speaker will mark the question with *ro*, as in the following:

(14) u-zihm-da o-ba-zya-o (with 'ro' OR a questioning gesture)
his-house-ALLT 3S-go-CONT-NML TAG
'He's going home, is he?'

iii. Equative yes-no questions

Recall from the discussion in §11.2 that there is no equative verb in Kham – the equative is composed of two juxtaposed NPs. There is, however, a negative equative marker (copula) *ma:hkə* which occurs at the end of the clause in negative equatives. Where an equative clause is part of a yes-no question, the interrogative marker *ro* occurs after the final NP, or after the negative copula in a negative equative, as in the following:

(15) saco nɨ̃: nepali ro
true you Nepali TAG
'Are you really a Nepali?

(16) ao ŋa: ŋa-jəi-wo ma:hkə ro
this I 1S-make-NML not TAG
'Didn't I make this?'/'Am I not the maker of this?'

In (15), the two juxtaposed NPs are 'you' and 'Nepali,' while in (16) they are 'this' and 'that which was made by me.' A literal rendition of (16) would be: 'Is not this that which was made by me?'

iv. Indirect alternative questions

Indirect alternative questions differ from yes-no questions only in their degree of explication. In direct yes-no questions the alternative 'or not' is not expressed.[4] In what I call an 'alternative question,' on the other hand, the alternative is expressed. The two halves are joined by the alternative marker *səĩ* meaning 'or,' as in the following:

(17) kwa o-rəi-zya-o səĩ o-ma-rəi-zya-o
clothing 3S-bring-CONT-NML or 3S-NEG-bring-CONT-NML
'Is s/he bringing clothing or is s/he not bringing clothing?'

The construction is obviously cumbersome and rarely used, especially since it can be expressed more expeditiously in the following:

(18) kwa ma-rəi-zya-o
clothing INTRG-bring-CONT-3S (DIRECT)
'Is s/he bringing clothing or not?'

Alternative questions do, however, occur rather frequently in an infinitive form, as in:

(19) zya-nya səĩ ma-zya-nya
eat-INF or NEG-eat-INF
'(Are you going to) eat or not?' / '(Should I) eat or not?

Furthermore, the alternation can be between NP arguments, and not in the eventuality named by the verb. Example (20) illustrates this:

(20) ao səĩ ho: o-cahi-zya-o
this or that 3S-need-CONT-NML 'Does he need this or that?'

14.1.3 Rhetorical questions

The form of a rhetorical question is the same as that of a real question. The two question types differ in their communicative intent. Rhetorical questions are not requests for information, *per se*, but have an additional intent of imparting information – often some kind of negative value judgement. Most rhetorical questions are in the indirect form, though not exclusively. Following is a direct form:

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[4] In hundreds of pages of text I have only one occurrence of an alternative question in direct form. The speaker, musing to himself, says: *həi ŋa-do-ke səï: həi ɴa-ma-do-ke* 'Shall I tell him or shall I not tell him?' Significantly *-ke* is interpreted as a future tense. This is undoubtedly the full form behind direct yes-no questions.

(21) nə-ma-ba-rih-zya
2S-INTRG-go-PROS-CONT (DIRECT)
'Are you going or not?' (Get out of here!)

The next example is in the indirect form, and entails some kind of rebuke or negative judgement:

(22) je-zihm-kə zya-nya po: o-ma-li-zya-o ro
2P-house-LOC eat-INF place 3S-NEG-be-CONT-NML TAG
'Don't you have a place to eat in your own home?'

The sentence can be made unequivocally rhetorical by the addition of *kata* 'what' at the beginning of the sentence, as in: *kata je-zihm-kə zya-nya po: o-ma-li-zya-o ro* 'What? Don't you have a place to eat in your own home?'

14.2 Imperatives

Imperatives, much like declaratives and interrogatives, participate in the same basic dichotomy between direct and indirect forms. Of the two forms, direct is more basic, the syntactically 'unmarked' form based on the regular finite paradigm. Indirect forms pattern after the nominalized paradigm. There are but minor differences between declarative and imperative forms – in the direct paradigm the tense/aspect marker of the declarative is replaced by the *-ke* or *-yo* of the imperative, and in the indirect paradigm the nominalizing suffix *-o*/*-wo* is replaced by a different imperative suffix *-kə* . A partial comparison of morphosyntactic configurations for the declarative and imperative is given below:

(23) DIRECT:

a. DECLARATIVE:
ŋa-dəi-ci-'kè
1S-find-2P-PFV
'I found you (pl).'

b. IMPERATIVE:
ya-dəi-ci-kē
3P-find-2P-IMP
'(You pl) Find them!'

(24) INDIRECT:

a. DECLARATIVE:
je-ra-dəi-wo
2P-3P-find-NML
'You (pl) found them.'

b. IMPERATIVE (optative):
je-ra-dəi-kə
2P-3P-find-OPT
'May you (pl) find them!'

14.2.1 Syntactic distinction between direct and indirect forms

There is a significant distinction to be made between the direct and indirect forms of the imperative – the difference illustrated by (23b) and (24b). First of all, notice that the same morpheme, *-ci*, marks the object in declarative clauses (23a) and the subject in

imperative clauses (23b). There is an identity (in direct forms) between imperative subjects and declarative objects – a crisscross. In indirect forms (24) the identity exists between the two subjects.

In a performative account of imperatives it is argued that an imperative like 'Leave!' is an abbreviated form of 'I order you to leave' < 'I order you + you will leave.' Thus, the 'you' which is implied in the imperative is, in fact, an object of the higher performative predicate 'I order you.' Kham apparently grammaticalizes the implied subordination by casting the subject of the direct imperative (the verbal affix) in the form of an object. In the indirect imperative, any implications of subordination (and hence, speaker control) are purposely severed by casting the agent of the imperative as a syntactic subject. As Searle observes, by being indirect 'compliance can be made to appear a free act rather than obeying a command' (1979:48). This is apparently the difference between the direct and indirect imperatives in Kham.

14.2.2 Direct imperatives

The imperative in Kham is marked for the person and number of both subjects and objects. In table 79 are excerpts for the direct imperative paradigm. (The more complete paradigm is given in §5.2.2, table 24.) In the intransitive paradigm the singular subject referent is marked by *-ni* (which is also the 2ND singular object marker in transitive declaratives), while in the transitive paradigm singular subject is unmarked (Ø).

Table 79. Excerpts from the direct imperative

intransitive paradigm:		
	SG	-ni
2ND	DL	-ci-n
	PL	-ci
transitive paradigm (with 3S object)		
	SG	-Ø
2ND	DL	-ci-n
	PL	-ci

In Kham, as in many languages, there are several imperatives, each of them gradations on the time and urgency of the command. All, except those occurring in the indirect form, imply some level of speaker control over the hearer. Following are the major types.

i. The immediate imperative

What I refer to as the 'immediate imperative' is the default imperative and the least marked semantically. It addresses a current problem and elicits an immediate response:

(25) ba-n-ke
go-2S-IMP
'(You sg) Go!' (Get out of here)

(26) ji-n-jaya-rə lã:-də ge-nakhar-ni pulus-ci-n-ke
2-DL-belonging-PL take-NF 1P-village-ABLT emerge-2-DL-IMP
'(You dl) Take your belongings and get out of our village!'

Aspectual notions in the immediate imperative are analogous to those found in the perfective – the event is looked upon as a single whole. Whether the situation has inherent duration or not is irrelevant. Durative events and punctual events are reduced to the same lack of internal time structure.

ii. The non-immediate imperative

The point of the non-immediate imperative is to give on-going applicability to the command. It is without a terminal boundary and is in some ways analogous to the imperfective. The morphological form of this imperative is a morpheme *-yo/-o* in the place of *-ke* for the transitive paradigm, and a *-Ø* (unmarked form) in the intransitive paradigm with a singular subject (see table 80). (See §5.2.2, table 25 for the full paradigm.)

Table 80. Excerpts from the non-immediate imperative

intransitive paradigm:		
	SG	-ni-Ø
2ND	DL	-cin-o/-cin
	PL	-c-yo
transitive paradigm (with 3S object)		
	SG	-Ø-yo
2ND	DL	-cin-o/-cin
	PL	-c-yo

As we have seen in numerous other paradigms, transitive and intransitive paradigms differ in the identity of the unmarked category. Here, in the intransitive paradigm, the imperative (where it intersects with 2S) is the unmarked category, and in the transitive paradigm, 2S is the unmarked category. Following are examples of the non-immediate imperative: *jogoi-si-də li-c-yo* '(You pl) Be on your guard!' (At all times), and *o-cahit le-o pã:-rə wazə pã:-ci-n* '(You dl) Speak only what's necessary!' (Make it a habit).

iii. The hortative

The so-called hortative employs the same suffixes as the non-immediate imperative, but adds a prefix *gəh-*. In other dialects of Kham, notably Maikoti and Nishel, *gəh-* is the

default imperative. The hortative urges the hearer to 'go ahead and do X,' casting off any inhibitions that might prevent him/her. The speaker's intention is to remove what s/he perceives as a restraint on the part of the hearer:

(27) gəh-zyu-yo
HOR-eat-IMP '(You sg) Go ahead and eat!' (Don't be bashful)

An entirely different kind of hortative, the 'first person hortative,' occurs only with 1ST person subjects, and does not utilize the hortative prefix *gəh-*. Rather, its form is a verb inflected for person and number, but without tense/aspect markers. Following are examples:

(28) a. gi-n-ba
1-DL-go 'Let's go!' (dl)

b. ge-ra-dəi-na
1P-3P-find-GO 'Let's go find them!'

The first person hortative requires a minimum of two speech act participants. The hearer is included in the action by being named a participant (in the 1ST person dual or plural). Where 1ST person is singular, the hearer participates in the action only by being the recipient of a request – the predication is cast in the interrogative, as in:

(29) ŋa-ba ro
I-go TAG 'Shall I go?'

iv. The exigent imperative

A fourth imperative, what I call the 'exigent imperative,' builds on the immediate imperative by adding the morpheme *-sã:* to a position immediately preceding the subject marker. This imperative expresses impatience, or sometimes anger: *cã:do zə phəi-sã:-ci-ke* '(You pl) Open up immediately!'

v. Negative imperatives – prohibitives

The prohibitive prefix in Kham is *ta-*, directly related to the PTB prohibitive **ta-*. Recall that the regular negative prefix is *ma-*. The prohibitive in Kham always co-occurs with the non-immediate imperative marker, as in:

(30) əna:hkə-la-o pã: ta-thəi-c-yo
idle-IN-NML word PROH-hear-2P-IMP
'(You pl) Don't listen to idle words!'

• *Prohibitives and patientive verbs.* Imperatives presuppose volitional agents. Recall from §11.4.2 that the imperative is a test for the semantic status of the single argument in intransitive verbs. The imperative is well formed with agentive intransitives, but ill-formed with patient–subject intransitives. The generalization breaks down with negative imperatives. With negative imperatives (prohibitives) the speaker enjoins the hearer to

exercise caution that the eventuality named by the verb does not happen. As such, the prohibitive is well formed with patientive type verbs, as in the following: *ta-ŋəhl-ni* 'Don't fall asleep!' and *em-tə ta-pa-c-yo* 'Don't fall on the road!'

14.2.3 Indirect imperatives

Recall that the agent of the indirect imperative is marked syntactically as a subject, and not as an object (as it is in the direct imperative). As such, the implied performative in a sentence like *I order you to leave* is not 'I order you + you will leave,' but 'I have a wish + you will leave.' The 'you' of the subordinate structure is not a manipulee of the higher structure, but still a volitional agent. The result is a weakened expression, similar in force to an optative or jussive.

i. The optative

The morphological form of the first indirect imperative, which I refer to as the 'optative,' is similar to that of the nominalized verb forms discussed in various chapters. A person prefix precedes the rest of the verbal string and an optative suffix *-kə* occurs at the end. With 3RD person subjects, a dummy prefix *o-* (analogous to 3RD person nominalizations) occurs in place of the 1ST and 2ND person subject prefixes, and the person/number of the 3RD person occurs immediately preceding the optative *-kə*. In table 81 is an excerpt from the optative paradigm (a fuller version of which can be found in tables 29 and 30 of §5.3.3).

Table 81. Excerpts from the intransitive optative paradigm

1ST	SG	ŋa-V-kə
	DL	gin-V-kə
	PL	ge-V-kə
3RD	SG	o-V-kə
	DL	o-V-ni-kə
	PL	o-V-rə-kə

In the paired set following I contrast the optative with the direct imperative to give some sense of the difference in force: IMPERATIVE *ca-o wazə lɨ̃ː-də rəi-yo* 'Buy and bring back a good one!' (I'm holding you responsible), vs. OPTATIVE *ca-o wazə lɨ̃ː-də nə-rəi-kə* 'May you buy and bring back a good one!' (I hope they don't cheat you).

Of course, a major difference between the imperative and the optative is that the optative can be predicated also of 3RD persons. The imperative, because it elicits a direct response, is by definition limited to 2ND person subjects. Following are examples of 3RD person optatives:

(31) a. POSITIVE:
ŋa-lai ca-o u-cyu:-na-o-kə
I-OBJ good-NML DUM-look-1S-3S-OPT
'May he look favorably upon me!'

b. NEGATIVE:
nɨ̃:-lai nəi ta-jəi-ni-u-kə
you-OBJ thus PROH-make-2S-3S-OPT
'May he not do such a thing to you!'

ii. The jussive

The second indirect imperative I will discuss is the 'jussive.' More control is implied by this form than by the optative. Though the form is always directed toward a 3RD person, it urges the hearers to be involved, albeit indirectly, in bringing about the speaker's desires for the other party.

The morphological form of the jussive is similar to the optative. The prefixed 1ST and 2ND person markers are replaced by the hortative prefix *gəh-*. (As such, the jussive is well formed only with 3RD person subjects.) In addition, a marker of continuous aspect, *-zya*, can be included immediately preceding the 3RD person subject morphemes *-o*, *-ni*, and *-rə*. In table 82, I give the paradigm with singular objects (for the full paradigm see tables 29 and 30 in §5.3.3).

Table 82. The jussive paradigm with singular objects

		Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
	SG	gəh-V-kə	gəh-V-na-o-kə	gəh-V-ni-u-kə	gəh-V-o-kə
3RD	DL	gəh-V-ni-kə	gəh-V-na-ni-kə	gəh-V-ni-ni-kə	gəh-V-ni-kə
	PL	gəh-V-rə-kə	gəh-V-na-rə-kə	gəh-V-ni-rə-kə	gəh-V-rə-kə

The jussive carries a sense of future time in an expression like 'Let them go ahead and do it' (in the non-continuous), or 'Let them go ahead and continue doing it' (in the continuous). As in English, the construction can imply either 'Who cares?' or 'Don't hinder them.' Following is an example:

(32) kəi o-ta-rih-zya-o, gəh-cyu:-na-zya-rə-kə
what 3S-be-PROS-CONT-NML, HOR-look-1S-CONT-3P-OPT
'What could happen? Let them go ahead and keep looking at me!'

The negative form of the jussive is decidedly different than the optative. Rather than replace the hortative *gəh-* with the prohibitive *ta-* (as we saw in the optative), the negative prefix *ma-* occurs immediately following *gəh-*, as in: *həi ŋa-d-ɨ̃:-zya-o pã: gəh-ma-səɨ̃-wo-kə* 'Don't let him know what I'm telling you!'

14.2.4 The indirect imperatives in context

One of the major contexts for indirect imperatives in Kham is in the grammar of subordination. It is here, in fact, that they fill a large grammatical void. As we shall see in §15.3.2-vi, the combination of persons in complement verbs like 'want' is greatly diminished in that it works only for those structures where equi-NP deletion is possible. Thus, with the verb 'to want' in Kham, one cannot say 'I want him to go.' Rather, one would say, 'Oh that he would go, I say.' This, of course, is where the indirect imperatives plug in (as well as other subjunctive moods). Following are examples:

(33) 'cao-sə o-ba-kə' li-də cahi-zya-o bəhri ŋa-e-ke
good-ASC DUM-go-OPT say-NF need-CONT-NML all 1S-give-PFV
'Wishing him to travel well, I gave him all he needed.'
(lit. 'Saying, "May he travel well" …')

(34) 'su-lai zə gəhcə ta-ta-kə' li-də ŋa-ma-hu-ke
who-OBJ EMP inconvenience PROH-be-OPT say-NF 1S-NEG-come-PFV
'Not wanting to inconvenience anyone, I didn't come.'
(lit. 'Saying, "May no one be inconvenienced" …')

35) 'nitao pã: gəh-pəti-zya-o-kə' li-də kəi zə ma-do-wo
such word HOR-believe-CONT-3S-OPT say-NF what EMP NEG-say-3S
'Not caring that he believed such things, he said nothing to him.'
(lit. 'Saying, "Let him go ahead and believe it" …')

Thus, the kinds of notions expressed by verbs like 'want,' 'care for,' 'hope that,' etc. in English, are expressed in Kham by the generic performative verb 'to say' together with the subordinate structure cast in an indirect verb form.

15 *Interclausal relations and sentence structure*

In chapter 11, I dealt with, among other things, the structure of simple clauses. My primary diagnostic for defining a 'simple clause' was that it contained but a single verb. Included were constructions like morphological causatives, structures which in some linguistic models require the recognition of two underlying verbs. Indeed, certain morphological causatives in Kham too (namely causativized agentive-type verbs) are suggestive of embedded structures; causative morphology requires a syntactic reorganization of some of the verb's arguments. Also included in that chapter were benefactive constructions, not so obviously single verb constructions. Where multiple predicates are involved, the difference between simple clauses and more complex structures lies somewhere on a continuum, and we find ourselves dealing with what Givón has referred to as an isomorphism between 'semantic bond' and 'syntactic integration' (1990a:516).

In this chapter, then, I will deal with those structures in which the tightness of bond (both semantic and syntactic) is loose enough to require two separate verbs. This will include paratactic structures like coordination (especially where the coordination is morphologically marked), as well as all manner of dependent structures like adverbial clauses, sentential complements, clause chains, conditionals, counterfactuals, concessives, and so on.

15.1 Adverbial clauses

I dealt with single word (or phrasal) adverbials in chapter 8 – adverbs of manner, time, intensity, etc. Here I will deal with adverbial expressions structured around dependent verbs. We will be looking at adverbial clauses of the sort *While Suzie was walking down the street …* The morphemes that mark these adverbials are, for the most part, the same morphemes we saw marking location/direction/dimension on nouns (see §4.4). Here, they occur as verbal subordinators. Genetti (1986a) shows that this is a widespread phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages. She shows, further (1991), that the morphosyntactic mechanism by which such developments take place is a cyclic one of nominalization followed by a reanalysis of the nominal morphology as verbal morphology. This is precisely the case in Kham as the following discussion will show.

15.1.1 Structural types

Dependent adverbial clause constructions fall into one of two basic structural types –

one in which a locative/temporal suffix occurs following a nominalized verb (see §10.3), and another in which the locative-type suffix actually replaces the nominalizing suffix *-o*. The two structural types can be summarized as follows:

(1) a. VERB STEM - PP
b. VERB STEM - NOMINALIZER - PP

Type (1a) includes time adverbials, conditionals, and concessives. Type (1b) includes the same semantic types, but with the addition of location adverbials. Since there is no clear-cut correlation between semantic type and structural type, I have chosen to organize my discussion of adverbial clauses around structural type.

15.1.2 Verb stem plus postposition – Type 1

Adverbial clauses marked by suffixes that occur directly following the verb stem (without an intervening nominalizer) are of five types. The verb stem in such cases can be a bare verb root, a verb root with causative/reflexive derivational affixes added, or either of the above with certain tense/aspect markers included. Apart from the absence of a nominalizing suffix the verb otherwise looks like a nominalization – all subject person markers are prefixed (including 3RD persons).

Four of the five suffixes are identical to suffixes we have seen elsewhere – nominal (and dimensional) postpositions. The fifth, a concessive marker *-di*, occurs only following verbs. The four suffixes are given in table 83.[1]

The question arises as to whether the verbal suffixes are really just the same nominal suffixes we have seen elsewhere. As we shall see in the discussion of structural Type 2, where the suffixes follow a nominalizer, there is no doubt that they are the same. Here too, though there is little doubt that the suffixes have the same historical source as the ones occurring on nouns, the verb stems themselves must be viewed as true verbs, albeit reinterpretations of erstwhile nominalizations.

It requires no stretch of the imagination to see the relationship between the two *-kə*'s – suffixed to a nominal, *-kə* specifies location in space, and suffixed to a more verbal notion it specifies location in time. Similar extensions occur with the other postpositions. An approximation of physical amount equates to an approximation or duration of time, and distance 'up to' a particular location equates to an extension to a point in time. The relationship which holds between a spatial/temporal elative and a conditional reading is perhaps more rare cross-linguistically, but still follows from a reasonable semantic inference – 'if' is related to a following (unrealized) state (see Genetti 1986a). The relationships are given in table 83.

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[1] A fifth 'suffix' *da* also occurs following verb stems, but may or may not be related to the allative *-da*. I treated *da* elsewhere as a particle (see §9.5.5).

Table 83. Postpositions in nominal and verbal contexts

suffix	case name	as a noun suffix	as a verb suffix
-kə	LOCATIVE	at	when/while
-kin	ELATIVE	away from	if
-wa	APPROX	about	as long as/as much as
-pəi	LATIVE	up to	until

Throughout my analysis, then, the suffixes shown in table 83, where they occur in verbal environments, will be treated as verbal suffixes, and labelled differently than the corresponding nominal suffixes regardless of their historical connection or surface resemblance to one another.

i. Adverbial clauses of time

The adverbial clause of time is marked by *-kə* (which I label as 'WHEN'), and has a meaning of 'when, while, as.' As alluded to earlier, some adverbial clauses belonging to structural Type 1 are inflected not only for person and number but also for a certain amount of tense/aspect information. The adverbial clause of time is one such type. As such, the tense/aspect possibility in these adverbial clauses is identical to that of the nominalized verb paradigm. This is not surprising given the fact that apart from the absence of a nominalizing suffix on these adverbials the verb looks otherwise like a nominalization.

I give here just a few of the combinatorial possibilities for the time adverbial. Rather than reiterate all of them, I refer the reader to discussions of the nominalized paradigm in §5.3. The general rule is that the adverbial suffix *-kə* is capable of replacing the nominalizing suffix *-o* wherever it occurs, as in: *ŋa-ba-kə* 'as I went,' *ŋa-ba-zya-kə* 'as I was going,' and *ŋa-ba-rih-zya-kə* 'when I was about to go.'

ii. The conditional -kin

The suffix *-kin* as a verbal suffix is a conditional marker (which I label 'IF'). It marks the eventuality named by the verb as belonging to an alternative, unrealized world. In terms of tense/aspect possibilities, the conditional is more restricted than *-kə*. In general, it rejects tense/aspect combinations that would impose realis on the situation. Thus, for example, the continuous *-zya* does not occur with the conditional suffix *-kin*, as in:

(2) a. nə-ba-kin
2S-go-IF
'if you go'

b. *nə-ba-zya-kin
*2S-go-CONT-IF

Furthermore, because conditionals are irrealis in nature they have a future reading, unless they occur with additional syntax. To acquire the reading of a past alternative world requires the addition of an auxiliary verb *ta-* with the conditional suffix *-kin*, as in

the following:

(3) nə-ba-o ta-kin
2S-go-NML be-IF 'if you had gone'

In §12.4.4, I showed that conditionals occur with either the 'predictive mode' or the 'counterfactive,' depending on whether the alternative world is past or future, as in the following (which I reproduce from that chapter):

(4) a. PREDICTIVE MODE:
ao nə-o-kin si-nya nə-le
this 2S-drink-IF die-INF 2S-be:IMPFV
'If you drink this you will die.'

b. COUNTER-FACTIVE:
nə-o-wo ta-kin si-nya nə-le-o
2S-drink-COMP be-IF die-INF 2S-be-NML
'If you had drunk it you would have died.'

iii. The approximative -wa *and durative* -pəi

The approximative APPRX and durative UNTIL (< lative) are related in a way that the other verbal suffixes are not; the durative never occurs alone, but only in combination with the approximative: *-wa-pəi*. The approximative does, however, occur alone. Recall from §7.3.1 that the approximative occurs with dimensional type adverbs, as in: *a:h-wa* 'about this much.' In the following verbal construction too, *-wa* has a quantitative sense:

(5) je-guhr-duh-wa rəi-c-yo
2P-carry-ABLE-APPRX bring-2P-IMP 'Bring as much as you can carry!'

The combination of approximative plus durative, *-wa-pəi*, carries the temporal sense 'until' or 'up till about,' as the following example illustrates:

(6) ədəhmər la:-kin nəm o-dəhlki-na-wa-pəi
mid day-ELAT sky 3S-lean-GO-APPRX-UNTIL
'from midday until mid-afternoon' (lit. 'until the leaning of the sky')

In the vast majority of cases, however, *-wa-pəi* occurs with a negative, in which case also its meaning is best captured by English 'until,' but now from a different perspective. My point will be more clear after an illustration:

(7) o-ma-dəi-wa-pəi khim-o zə nəi-ke-o
3S-NEG-find-APPRX-UNTIL search-NML EMP keep-PFV-3S
'He kept searching until he found it.' (lit. 'as long as he didn't find it')

The two events in the adverbial clauses of (7) are telic events – there is a point at which it can be said that 'I arrived,' or 'he found it.' Until such time, the events have not yet

occurred and are cast in the negative. The timing of the main clause verbs, 'go' and 'search,' then, are linked to the telic point of reference in the dependent verb. They begin or end when telicity has been achieved. In (6), by contrast, there is no clear point at which it can be said that 'the sky has gone leaning.' It becomes more plausible with the omission of the morpheme GO, in which case it, too, can be construed as a telic event: *ədəhmər la:-kin nəm o-ma-dəhlki-wa-pəi* 'from midday until (exactly) mid-afternoon' (lit. 'as long as the sky didn't lean').

iv. The concessive -di

The concessive (CON) is formed by the suffix *-di* following the verb stem. Unlike the other adverbial suffixes we have seen so far, the suffix *-di* does not occur in the nominal system. The verb with the concessive suffix can include person/number affixes, but not aspectual markers like the continuous *-zya*. Immediately following *-di* is an obligatory particle *bə/məni* meaning 'also.' Following is an example:

(8) həi ya-ma-ra-do-di bə ol-ni zə rəĩh-zya
thus 3P-NEG-3P-tell-CON also self-ABLT EMP visible-CONT
'Even though they don't tell it to them it's self evident.' (lit. 'visible by itself')

Where two concessive clauses are joined by coordination the result is a reading of 'whether or not,' as in: *nə-yo:-di bə nə-ma-yo:-di bə nə-mahã: zə li-zya* 'Whether you sell it or whether you don't sell it, it's your choice.'

15.1.3 Type 1 adverbial structures with a generic sense

All of the adverbial clauses we have seen thus far have been inflected for the person and number of all core arguments of the verb – a subject argument for intransitives, and a subject and object argument for transitive verbs. When any of the suffixes illustrated in table 83 follow verb roots directly in pared down constructions (without person marking), the interpretation is generic for person, as in: [2]

(9) a. TIME ADVERBIAL:
rɨ̃:h-kə bə ca-o, zya-kə bə ŋəm-o
see-WHEN also good-NML, eat-WHEN also tasty-NML
'attractive and tasty' ('good when one looks at it, and tasty when one eats it')

b. APPROXIMATIVE:
bukhi-tə le-wa bəhri mwĩ:-wo kwa: cahi-i
alpine-ON stay-APPRX all warm-NML clothing need-IMPFV
'As long as one stays in alpine (regions), one needs warm clothing.'

---

[2] For main clause independent verbs, of course, the omission of person markers is never possible. Generics there are created by detransitivizing processes. See §11.7.1.

15.1.4 Nominalized verb stem plus postposition – Type 2

Recall from (1b) that the other structural type for adverbial clauses is one in which a postposition follows a fully nominalized verb. All else being equal, the expectation for such constructions would be a locative one. As we saw in §10.3.2, an object nominalization without a following head can function as a headless relative clause. A locative postposition following such a construction is semantically equivalent to the postposition occurring on the inferred (but deleted) head, as in the following.

i. Locative interpretation

(10) a. o-ba-o
3S-go-NML
'where s/he went'

b. o-ba-o po:-kə
3S-go-NML place-LOC
'at the place where s/he went'

c. o-ba-o-kə
3S-go-NML-LOC
'at (the place) where s/he went'

The construction in (10c), then, is a locative adverbial clause. Indeed, most nominalization plus postposition combinations yield this reading. Recall from §10.3.3 the reinterpretation of the relativized verb 'to be' to a new relator noun meaning 'place of,' specifying the location of animate beings:

(11) ŋa-za:-ye o-leo-da ŋa-ba-ke
1S-child-GEN 3sPOSS-place-ALLT 1S-go-PFV
'I went to the place of my child.'

< o-le-o-da 'where he was'

The reinterpretation is possible because of the implied locative in such constructions. As I show above, it comes from an earlier 'I went to where my child was.' I refer the reader to §4.4 for further details.

ii. Temporal interpretation

I turn now to an unexpected interpretation of locative suffixes following nominalizations. In two special cases, quite arbitrarily, the suffixes have a temporal interpretation. They are the superessive *-tə* and the elative *-kin.* Recall that the suffix *-kin* also performed in Type 1 adverbials with a conditional meaning 'if.' Here its meaning is 'since, after' (AFT). For the two suffixes currently under consideration the extension from locative to temporal is as shown in table 84.

Table 84. Locative to temporal interpretation of suffixes

	case name	following nouns	following nominalized verbs
-tə	SUPERESSIVE	on	upon/as soon as
-kin	ELATIVE	away from	since/after

Following is an examples of the superessive following a nominalization:

(12) həi ya-li-zya-o-tə zə nuhl ta-ke
thus 3P-say-CONT-NML-ON EMP destruction be-PFV
'While they were yet speaking, destruction happened.'

The temporal interpretation of the superessive in such contexts may be specific to Takale Kham. In Gamale Kham, at least, the same constructions yield only a locative interpretation. Thus, the equivalent of (12) would yield 'Destruction occurred on the very place where they were speaking.'

A similar temporal construction uses the particle *paĩna* following the nominalization instead of the superessive suffix *-tə*. In such cases the construction carries the sense 'as soon as,' as in: nəm u-sɨ̃:-wo paĩna 'as soon as it dawned.'

Where the nominalization is followed by the elative *-kin*, it yields the temporal sense of 'since,' as in:

(13) ahjyo ŋa-ra-dəi-wo-kin ma-syã:-ta-rə
yesterday 1S-3P-find-NML-AFT NEG-sleep-INCPT-3P
'They haven't slept yet since I found them yesterday.'

iii. Comparative interpretation of -kin

As with nouns, *-kin* also has a comparative interpretation. In fact, where the nominalized verb includes the continuous aspect *-zya*, only the comparative reading is available. The 'since/after' interpretation is incompatible:

(14) nitao-ni o-jəi-zya-o-kin itao-ni səjilo ta-e
that-ABLT 3S-make-CONT-NML-CMPR this-ABLT easy be-IMPFV
'(Doing) like this is easier than making it that way.'

iv. A second concessive

A second concessive based on Type 2 syntax employs the superessive *-tə*. Like the other concessive, this too obligatorily includes the particle *bə/məni* 'also.' Following is an example:

(15) ba-o o-pəĩ-zya-o-tə bə ba-o ma-dəi-wo
go-NML 3S-want-CONT-NML-ON also go-NML NEG-find-3S:IMPFV
'Though he wanted to go, he was not permitted.'

In (15), the dependent verb 'want' marks person and number for two participants (3RD singular object is unmarked). The concessive occurs also in a non-inflected form, though unlike the conditionals and time adverbials we saw earlier, the result is not a generic reading for participants, but a generic reading for the event, as in:

(16) səĩ-zya-o-tə̲ bə̲ do-ke-rə
know-CONT-NML-ON also do-PFV-3P
'They did it even though knowing (better).' ('even upon knowing it')

v. Cause

Where the nominalized verb is followed by the ergative/instrumental case marker *-e* or the ablative marker *-ni*, the proposition is presented as the cause for the main verb event, as in the following:

(17) a. WITH INSTRUMENTAL:
nəm o-ma-wa-o-ye̲ duhr ge-ma-ja:h-ye
sky 3S-NEG-rain-NML-INSTR seed 1P-NEG-put-IMPFV
'Because it didn't rain, we didn't plant seed.'

b. WITH ABLATIVE:
u-yũ: u-su-hub-o-ni̲ o-do-wo bəhri phabi-ke
3S-heart 3S-CAUS-trust-NML-ABLT 3S-do-NML all prosper-PFV
'Because of/through his confidence, all that he did prospered.'

15.2 Clause chaining and switch reference

Clause chaining has long been recognized as a clause combining strategy syntactically distinct from English type 'co-ranking' structures like *Wilma went to the store and bought a pound of butter* (Longacre 1985). Though the classical definition of clause chains applies primarily to verb-final languages (Haiman and Thompson 1988, Haspelmath and König 1995), 'emergent' chaining devices have been shown to occur in other language types as well, including English (Givón 1990a). Perhaps the most basic underlying feature common to all classical clause chaining languages is the distinction between chain-medial and chain-final verbs. Chain-medial verbs are commonly referred to in the more recent literature as 'converbs.' Some linguists (see Haspelmath 1995) make a distinction between the two types based on a syntactic distinction – converbs are subordinate while chain-medial verbs are co-subordinate.[3] Based on this criterion, Kham qualifies more clearly as a clause chaining language. I will return to this topic later.

Typically, the verb belonging to the chain-final clause is the most finite, being marked

[3] Co-subordination lies on a continuum midway between subordination and coordination. A chain-medial verb is subordinate in that it depends on the final verb for certain finite specifications like tense/aspect or person/number, but coordinate in that it lacks many features of true subordinates (Haspelmath 1995).

for things like person/number agreement and tense/aspect distinctions. The verbs belonging to the chain-medial clauses, on the other hand, are less finite, sometimes being pared down to a simple verb root plus some kind of non-final marker. Medial verbs, then, because they are often neutral with respect to tense/aspect and mood, receive their finite feature designations from the final verb.

Another feature commonly found in clause chaining languages is some kind of cataphoric 'switch-reference' device on medial verbs (Haiman and Munro 1983, Givón 1990a). If the medial verb contains no other information, it will include at least some indication of whether the subject of the following clause is the same or different from the subject of the present clause. In some languages, the switch-reference system extends not only to chains, but also to relative clauses and complements of modality verbs (see Munro 1983). For Kham, switch-reference applies only to clause chains.

15.2.1 Same subject chain-medial verbs

The verb of a same-subject medial clause in Kham is morphologically simple – it is composed of the basic verb root (which can contain causative or reflexive affixes) and a non-final (NF) suffix *-də* (cf. Classical Tibetan *(s)-te*).[4] The verbal suffix *-də* occurs nowhere else in the grammar. The verb stem can also include a negative prefix *ma-* as well as the concatenative roots *-na* 'go,' *-hu* 'come,' and *-duh* 'able' (see §5.7). All else is disallowed – tense/aspect and person/number. The verb's tense/aspect assignment comes from the chain-final, 'controlling' verb, and same-subject medial verbs contain no person designations for the simple pragmatic reason that the following clause has referential continuity. Cross-linguistically, this is the most common pattern:

(18) a. kã: zya-də ba-ke
food eat-NF go-PFV
'He ate food and left.'

b. sohm-də sə-thɨ̃:-də cip ge-jəi-ye
scald-NF CAUS-dry-NF side-dish 1P-make-IMPFV
'Scalding and drying it we make a side-dish (of it).'

In principle there is no limit to the number of clauses that can be chained in this way, though four or five is generally a practical ceiling. Following is a typical sequence of four clauses, the last of which specifies both the person and tense of the full sequence:

(19) ŋa-zihm-kin so-də jwi:h jwi:h-si-də ri:h ge-gəp-zya-o
1S-house-ELAT rise-NF stick totter-DT-NF water 1P-draw-CONT-NML

---

[4] 'NF' signifies 'non-final.' Non-final verbs marked by *-də* are automatically 'same-subject.' In my analysis 'non-final' is the primary function of the *-də* suffix and 'same-subject' is an incidental outcome. The reasons for this analysis will become clear only after I treat 'different-subject' medial verbs.

khola-da ba-də nə-kə tubu lũ:-tə ŋa-dəi-ke
stream-ALLT go-NF dist-LOC one stone-ON 1S-find-PFV

'Getting up from my house, and tottering with a walking stick, going down to the stream where we draw water, there on a certain stone I found it.'

i. Sequential events

In many clause chaining languages, including Tibeto-Burman ones, there is some provision (usually morphological marking on the verb) for distinguishing sequential versus simultaneous events. Such is not the case for Kham. The interpretation of temporal relationships between events in Kham is based on semantics and pragmatics. The chained events in (18a) and (18b), for instance, are sequential, the interpretation based on the heterogeneity of the event types – eating is not a part of ambulation, and scalding and drying are different, highly demarcated steps in a more complex process.

Though the events in (19) are clearly sequential, it is no longer the heterogeneity of the events that informs us. After all, 'tottering' and 'going' can be the same event, as indeed it is in the simple predication: *jwi:h-si-də ba-ke* 'He went tottering.' In (19), it is primarily iconicity that informs us that they are separate events; 'tottering' and 'going' are separated by the complex adverbial clause 'to the stream where we draw water.' A different, more closely bonded version of the same string would be the following, in which case both verbs are postposed to an adjacent position at the end of the clause:

(20) ri:h ge-gəp-zya-o khola-da jwi:h jwi:h-si-də ba-də …
'tottering along to the stream where we draw water …'

ii. Simultaneous events

Where the eventuality named by a medial verb is simultaneous with the final verb the medial verb typically specifies an 'adverbial' relationship like manner. Again, as noted above, simultaneity is not marked formally, but is a matter of pragmatic inference, as in the following:

(21) a. o-rsa:-rə nəi-də nah-si-ke
3S-strength-PL keep-NF rest-DETRANS-PFV
'Restraining his strength he rested.'

b. ya-zihm-da ol-də ba-ke-rə
3P-house-ALLT return-NF go-PFV-3P
'They returned home.' (lit. 'returning went')

In the following chain, the temporal relationship between some of the medial verbs is clearly sequential, but the entire chain of medial clauses is simultaneous with the main/final verb in a function reminiscent of a manner adverbial: *no-ra-lai so-coĩ-də, wã:pho-rə po:-də, ca-o ca-o zyao-rə ya-də, mədə chokora:-rə so-woi-d-ya-də man-sə ge-ra-nəi-zya* 'We seat them, tie turbans (on their heads), give them good food, give them wine and

beer to drink, and treat them with much honor.'

iii. Periphrastic aspectual and applicative markers

Recall from §5.7 that five verb roots, *-na* 'go,' *-hu* 'come,' *-duh* 'able,' *-rih* 'want,' and *-ta* 'inceptive,' occur as a final root in concatenated structures with other verbs, as in *cah-na* 'go fetch,' *dəi-hu* 'come find,' etc. It is assumed that the concatenating verbs are a further grammaticalization of clause chains, having derived from them. Two of the verbs, 'go' and 'come,' can still occur either as concatenations or as final verbs in a chain. DeLancey (1991b) notes a similar principle at work in the grammaticalization of verbs in Lhasa Tibetan. The motion verbs 'go,' 'come,' and 'sit/stay' can occur immediately following the preceding verb in a concatenative construction or with an intervening 'non-final' suffix between them (analogous to Kham *-də*). DeLancey interprets the former construction as a 'single event' and the latter form as a construal of events still conceptually separate. Following are Kham examples:

(22) a. ol-də ŋa-hu-ke
return-NF 1S-come-PFV
'Returning, I came.'

b. ŋa-ol-hu-ke
1S-return-COME-PFV
'I returned-came.'

Three other verbs, namely 'be/stay,' 'keep/put,' and 'give,' have partially grammaticalized in the same way to the extent that in a rigidly juxtaposed position they have a specialized meaning. The 'be/stay' verb functions as a periphrastic perfect auxiliary for intransitive verbs, and the 'keep/put' verb functions in the same capacity with transitive verbs (see §12.7). Outside their fixed, grammaticalized position they retain their original meaning,[5] as the following contrastive pairs show:

- *The periphrastic perfect* (see §12.7).

(23) a. NON-FIXED ORDER (intervening noun):
a-ŋə hu-də *u-zihm-kə* le
prox-ADS come-NF 3S-house-LOC be:IMPFV
'Having come here, he is in his house.'

b. GRAMMATICALIZED POSITION (perfect):
a-ŋə u-zihm-kə hu-də le
prox-ADS 3S-house-LOC come-NF be:IMPFV
'He has come here to his house.'

(24) a. NON-FIXED ORDER (intervening noun):
o-za: rəi-də *u-zihm-kə* nəi-wo
3S-child bring-NF 3S-house-LOC keep-3S:IMPFV
'She brought her child and keeps him in the house.'

[5] A non-perfect reading could be obtained from the word order in (30b) and (31b) only if a *very deliberate* pause were inserted after the medial verb, as in: *a-ŋə u-zihm-kə hu-də // le.*

b. GRAMMATICALIZED POSITION (perfect):
o-za: u-zihm-kə rəi-də nəi-wo
3S-child 3S-house-LOC bring-NF keep-3S:IMPFV
'She has brought her child to the house.'

Genetti (1986b) shows an almost identical situation in Newari, another TB language. Haspelmath (1995:44) cites Japanese and Avar, too, as having almost identical developments, both with the verb 'be' as the perfect auxiliary in a converbal construction.

• *The benefactive applicative.* The benefactive construction is syntactically parallel to the two perfect constructions, with the exception that the benefactive is not restricted to imperfective aspect. The verb 'give' occurs as the final verb of the chain with its companion verb occurring in a rigidly fixed position immediately preceding it:

(25) a. NON-FIXED ORDER (intervening noun):
kwa: lɨ̃:h-də *ya-za-lai* e-ke-rə
clothing buy-NF 3P-child-OBJ give-PFV-3P
'Buying clothing, they gave it to their child.'

b. GRAMMATICALIZED POSITION (benefactive):
ya-za-lai kwa: lɨ̃:h-d-i:-ke-rə
3P-child-OBJ clothing buy-NF-BEN-PFV-3P
'They bought clothing for their child.'

As can be seen in (25b), phonological contraction has occurred with the benefactive in some persons. Where a pronominal prefix occurs on the benefactive (as with 1ST or 2ND person subjects) the original clause chain is more clearly visible, as in:

(26) ŋa-za-lai kwa: lɨ̃:h-də ŋa-e-ke
1S-child-OBJ clothing buy-NF 1S-give-PFV
'I bought clothing for my child.'

For more details on the benefactive construction see §11.6.2.

iv. Negativity and same-subject chains

Determining the scope of negativity on some same-subject clause chains can be problematic. Where the medial verb is marked negative and the final one not, there is no problem:

(27) kã: ma-zya-də ŋa-ba-ke
food NEG-eat-NF 1S-go-PFV 'Not having eaten, I left.'

Such constructions, in fact (especially with an emphatic *zə* following the NF marker), often have a strong implication of anteriority for the main verb – 'I left before eating.' Likewise with chains where both verbs are marked negatively:

(28) no: sya-lai ma-səih-də ma-ras-o
that animal-OBJ NEG-kill-NF NEG-release-3S:IMPFV
'He won't release the animal before killing it.' (said of a good hunting dog)

With the negative only on the final verb, however, there is a potential problem regarding the scope of the negative. The problem is parallel to the problem of interpreting whether a chain is temporally sequential or non-sequential. For the grammaticalized chains we have just seen – the perfect and benefactive constructions – the negative unambiguously covers the whole:

(29) a. PERFECT:
ŋa-zihm-kə ja:h-də ŋa-ma-nəi-i
1S-house-LOC put-NF 1S-NEG-keep-IMPFV
'I haven't put it in my house.'

b. BENEFACTIVE:
rəi-də ma-e-ke-rə
bring-NF NEG-give-PFV-3P
'They didn't bring it for him.'

Likewise, where there is semantic correlation between the medial and final verbs, there is a strong likelihood that the scope of the negative will extend back over the whole chain:

(30) mədə chokora: o-də ta-sə-mɨ̃:h-si-c-yo
wine beer drink-NF PROH-CAUS-drunk-DETRANS-2P-IMP
'Don't get yourselves drunk drinking beer and wine!'

If the scope of the negative were restricted to the final verb alone, (30), for instance, would be interpreted as 'Drink beer and wine, but don't get drunk.' Such an interpretation is so unnatural to the construction that it took considerable effort for me to get my consultants to see this as a possible (though unlikely) reading. To obtain such a reading with verbs having a semantic correlation (i.e. to force disjunction) requires the addition of the particle *bə* 'also' between them, as in:

(31) thəi-də bə ma-ti:-duh-rə
hear-NF also NEG-understand-ABLE-3P:IMPFV
'Though hearing, they aren't able to understand.'

Unrealized efforts are also expressed using this disjunctive construction, but here with a reduplicated verb: *sə-bəĩh-də bə ma-sə-bəĩh-duh-rə* 'Comforting, they were unable to comfort him.'

Again, where there is lack of semantic correlation between the two verbs the likelihood is greater that the scope of the negative will *not* include both verbs:

(32) no-lai sap-də ma-dəi-ke-rə
he-OBJ search-NF NEG-find-PFV-3P ‘Searching, they didn’t find him.’

In (32), the adversative is a natural reading, while in (31) the adversative/concessive *bə* is required to obtain such a reading.

v. Ergativity and same-subject chains

Though the specification of tense/aspect and person/number on same-subject clause chains is controlled by the final verb in the chain, the final verb does not necessarily control case marking on the subject argument. Recall that 3RD person subjects of simple transitive clauses require ergative case marking, while 3RD person subjects of simple intransitive clauses require nominative marking. In same-subject clause chains of mixed transitivity, however (i.e. some transitive and some intransitive), the case marking on 3RD person subjects is determined, not necessarily by the final verb in the chain, but by the verb immediately following the subject argument.

Genetti (1988a) shows a similar situation for Newari. After conducting statistical tests on a number of Newari texts, she comes to the conclusion that ‘the clause with the most topical participant controls case marking’ (p.44).[6] Because I have not done statistical tests on Kham, I am not sure that this is the case here. Nor can I concur, for sure, with her consultant’s intuitive notion that the clause that asserts new information is the one that controls case marking, while the one that is presupposed does not. Following are examples from Kham texts:

(33) a. raja-e no pã: thəi-də bənəi risi-ke
king-ERG that word hear-NF very angry-PFV
‘The king hearing that became very angry.’

b. o-babu-Ø səĩ-si-də u-mɨ̃:-wo mitao do-ke-o
3S-father-NOM know-DETRAN-NF 3S-dream-NML like do-PFV-3S
‘His father awoke and did according to what he dreamed.’

In this sample it is the verb closest to the lexical subject that controls case marking. Thus, in (33a) the transitive verb ‘hear’ controls marking, and not the final intransitive verb. Likewise, in (33b) the final verb is transitive, but the verb closest to the subject argument is intransitive – ‘awaken’ – and nominative case marking occurs. The following sentence further confirms the suspicion:

(34) nitao pã: thəi-də o-nəĩ-Ø dõ:h-də ba-ke
such word hear-NF 3S-friend-NOM flee-NF go-PFV
‘Hearing such words, his friend fled.’

It is not the first verb in the sequence that controls case marking (as 33a–b might

[6] Genetti’s definition of topicality follows Givón 1983, in which ‘frequency of reference’ is the primary measure of relative topicality.

seem to indicate), but the first verb following the subject argument.

15.2.2 Different-subject chain-medial verbs

It is here, in the discussion of 'different-subject' medial verbs, that it will become clear why I consider the suffix *-də* to be a 'non-final' marker with only an incidental function in some contexts as a same-subject marker. What we really have is a bifurcated system of medial verbs in which one branch is non-finite for person/number and the other branch is finite. Medial verbs ending in *-də* occur in both branches. As we have seen, those which have cataphoric referential continuity with the subject argument of the following verb are uninflected for person. Not surprisingly, those with referential discontinuity *are* inflected for the person and number of the subject argument. Switch reference in Kham, then, is dependent not on a switch reference marker *per se*, but on referential continuity versus discontinuity – and in keeping with universal expectations, continuity is unmarked while discontinuity is marked (see, for example, Givón 1983).

There are two kinds of chain-medial verbs finite for person and number. One is marked by the non-final marker *-də* and is inflected only for the person/number of the subject; objects are excluded. The other is marked by the suffix *-kə* and is inflected for the person/number of both subject and objects. The suffix is historically related to the 'Type 1' *-kə* adverbial we saw earlier. As a subordinate structure it is to be interpreted as a time adverbial, and as a co-subordinate member of a clause chain it is to be interpreted as a different-subject marker (still with lurking overtones of 'when'). I show this in figure 16.

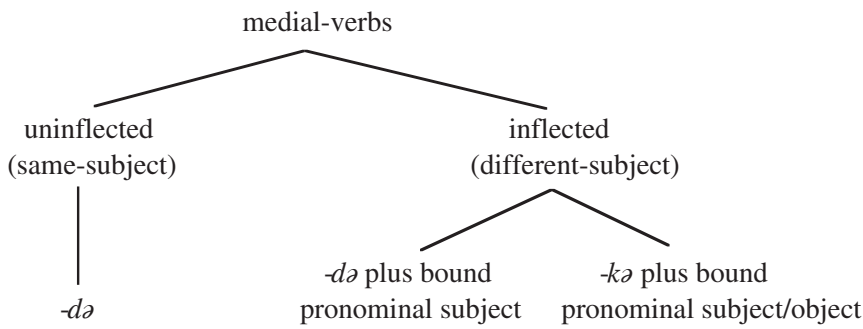

Figure 16. Medial verbs and switch reference in Kham

i. Different-subject verbs with the suffix -də

As mentioned earlier, medial verbs ending in *-də* can be marked only for the person/number of the subject argument; objects remain unmarked. In addition, the verb is obligatorily marked for the negative. All tense/aspect marking is disallowed. We have, then, the following structure:

(35) SUBJ-NEG-(CAUS)-root-(DETRANS)-də

As with other clause chains in which the first verb is negative (see 27), many of these constructions have a sense of anteriority:

(36) a. o-ma-hu-də zə kã: ŋa-zyu-ke
3S-NEG-come-NF EMP food 1S-eat-PFV
'I ate before he came.' (lit. 'he not having come, I ate')

ii. Different-subject verbs with the suffix -kə

Chain-medial verbs marked by *-kə* are inflected for the person and number of two participants (in two-participant clauses). Furthermore, these verbs rarely occur in the negative. Because *-kə* marked verbs, then, typically occur with positive polarity, they are primary players in long clause chains where subject participants switch between same-subject and different-subject from one clause to the next.

Recall an earlier observation that different-subject clauses marked by *-kə* are historically related to the 'time adverbial.' Others have observed (see, for example Nichols 1983) that different-subject markers originating as subordinating particles often mark 'open reference' rather than different-subject. That is, they are 'indifferent' as to the co-reference of the subject. My general observation for Kham is that interpreted as a time adverbial, subject co-reference is indifferent; as part of a clause chain, subject discontinuity is expected. As yet, however, there may be no absolute demarcation between the two categories; there are only some strong tendencies:

i. *-kə* verbs with the continuous *-zya* tend to be time adverbials signalling both temporal simultaneity and subject continuity, as in: 'While she was sweeping she found a ring.'

ii. *-kə* verbs that signal different-subject are almost always followed by the contrastive focus particle *te* (see §9.5 for details).

Following are examples:

(37) a. ADVERBIAL INTERPRETATION:
zihm u-si:-zya-kə kwici tubu dəi-ke-o
house 3S-sweep-CONT-WHEN ring one find-PFV-3S
'While she was sweeping the house she found a ring.'

b. DS INTERPRETATION:
'ao zə' həi li-də həi o-ra-do-kə te lã:-ke-rə
this EMP thus say-NF thus 3S-3P-say-WHEN FOC take-PFV-3P
'"This is it," saying, when he told them, they took it.'

We come away, then, in essence, with Haiman's (1983) general formulation for switch-reference in coordinate structures:

(38) DS : SS = agreement marker : Ø

15.3 Complement structures

In this section we will look at sentential complements, those propositions that function as either the subject or object argument of certain verbs. The discussion will include the so-called 'complement' verbs (those that require sentential complements), as well as other non-specific verbs that allow, but do not absolutely require sentential complements. All complements in Kham are nominalizations of some kind (see §10.2 for details). This is in keeping with Givón's (1990a:515) broad generalization that since prototypical subjects and objects are nominal, sentential complements, too, will often display nominalizing characteristics. Here I will treat only periphrastic structures, i.e. complements which include a matrix verb separate from the complement verb. As such, structures like morphological causatives will be excluded. (For a treatment of causatives and applicatives see chapter 11 on Transitivity.)

Though Givón's general three-way classification of complements – manipulative verbs, modal verbs, and cognition-utterance verbs – will be my constant companion throughout this discussion, I will organize my material more around syntactic structures. Though Givón's classification is primarily a semantic one, there are, as he points out, syntactic ramifications. Manipulative and modal verbs generally have the greatest 'strength of bond' between the two propositions specified in the main and complement clauses, while cognition-utterance verbs have a weaker bond. This is borne out in Kham as well. The structural form for complements of cognition-utterance verbs is generally different from that of the other two classes; a form that bespeaks less syntactic integration.

Many of the matrix verbs I treat have feet in two camps. They are capable of supporting either nominal arguments or (nominalized) sentential complements. As complement-taking verbs, some of them undergo a slight semantic shift, evidence that they are becoming grammaticalized into that special function. I should also point out that many English complement taking verbs can be subsumed under a single verb in Kham with various modifications: the verb 'to say.' These will be treated last.

15.3.1 The syntactic form of the complement

As alluded to earlier, complements in Kham are nominalized structures. Recall from §10.3 that three basic verb nominalizations exist for Kham – the 'agentive' nominalization, the 'objective' nominalization, and the infinitive/gerundive. All three figure regularly in complement structures.

15.3.2 Complements with an 'agentive nominalization' structure

Most manipulative and modal verbs have complements with the same structural form as 'agentive nominalizations.' Recall that an agentive nominalization is a relative clause structure which makes unique reference to the agent of the relativized clause, as in the following:

(39) a. ba-zya-o mi:
go-CONT-NML person
'the person who is going'

b. zihm jəi-wo mi:
house make-NML person
'the person who built the house'

The example in (39a) includes a continuous morpheme *-zya*; (39b) does not. Where the nominalization functions as a complement, continuous and other aspectual markers are disallowed – complements are less finite than relative clauses. The complement takes its tense/aspect, person/number specification from the main verb, a mark of close syntactic integration between the two verbs. Though the same surface structure is used with these complements as with relative clauses, they are clearly not relative clauses. I will gloss the nominalizing morpheme *-o*, then, as 'COMP' (for complementizer).

Following are examples of the periphrastic causative:

(40) a. dõ:h-wo pərĩ:-ke-o
run-COMP send-PFV-3S
'He caused him to run.'

b. *dõ:h-zya-o pərĩ:-ke-o
*run-CONT-COMP send-PFV-3S

The construction in (40b) is not possible as a complement structure. Its only possible interpretation would be *He sent the one who runs*; i.e. it can be interpreted only as a headless relative clause.

i. Implicative versus non-implicative matrix verbs

In chapter 11, I show that in contrast to the morphological causative, the periphrastic causative is used primarily with agentive type verbs. Because the morphological causative imposes 'patienthood' on the subject of the underlying verb, it is most compatible with verbs in which the underlying subject is already a patient. In a similar (but converse) vein, the periphrastic causative requires that the subject of the underlying verb be an agent, and in (40a), the subject of 'run' is still an agent.

The periphrastic causative in Kham is 'non-implicative.'[7] This is further shown by the following:

(41) dõ:h-wo u-pərĩ:-di bə ma-bəĩh-ye
run-COMP 3S-send-CON also NEG-mind-IMPFV
'Though he sent him to run, he refused (to go).'

The periphrastic causative verb *pərĩ:-*, then, has not shifted far semantically from its original meaning 'to send.' Nevertheless, the causative 'send' is different from the ordinary 'send' in ways suggested by the two sentences in (40) – the causative sense allows complements, the regular sense 'send' does not. Sentence (40b) can only mean: *He sent the one who runs.*

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[7] Givón (1990a:520) defines an implicative verbs as having the following truth value: 'If the main clause is true, then the complement clause must also be true.'

ii. Variants of causation

Other manipulative verbs of causation cited for English (Givón 1990a) are verbs like 'force,' 'order,' 'urge,' 'persuade,' etc. In Kham, some such verbs are separate lexical items, and others are adverbial modifications of the same basic 'send' verb we have just seen. I will treat the latter class 'persuade' first, using two different modification processes as illustration.

• *Using an adverbial word.* The first process involves the addition of an adverbial word to the 'send' construction. Though the resulting construction implies stronger force than the simple 'send' construction, the result is still non-implicative:

(42) kacabul da-o pərĩ:-ke-rə
obligingly do-COMP send-PFV-3S
'They obliged/strongly urged him to do it.'

• *Using an adverbial clause chain.* The second process involves the addition of an adverbial clause chain, again a non-implicative meaning based on 'send':

(43) gəhləi-də da-o pərĩ:-ke-o
urge-NF do-COMP send-PFV-3S
'He urged him to do it.' (lit. 'urging him, sent him to do it')

• *Using separate lexical items.* Other manipulative verbs of causation in Kham are loan words from Nepali, one meaning 'to force' (or more exactly 'to exert force' – much like *kacabul* in 42) and the other 'to order.' Both require a different kind of complement structure, and will be taken up again in a later section.

iii. Verbs of permission and agreement

Verbs of permission and agreement follow the same syntactic structure that we have seen for verbs of causation. Verbs of permission are primarily manipulative verbs – the manipulator is the subject of the main clause and the manipulee (here a 'permitee') is its object. The verbs of agreement, on the other hand, are modal verbs with equi-subject restrictions.

• *Permission.* There are two complement verbs of permission in Kham, one with an emphasis on granting permission, and the other on receiving permission. The former requires different subjects and the latter requires equi-subjects, one of which is deleted. Following are examples:

(44) GRANTING OF PERMISSION (ya-nya 'give'):
je-lai wazə geda: lã:-wo ŋa-ya-ci-zya
you.pl-OBJ only grain take-COMP 1S-give-2P-CONT
'I am permitting only you (pl) to take grain.'

(45) RECEIVING PERMISSION (dəi-nya 'receive'):

a. ŋa: ba-o ŋa-dəi-ke
I go-COMP 1S-find-PFV
'I am/was allowed to go.'

b. ao-lai lã:-wo ma-dəi-si-i
this-OBJ take-COMP NEG-find-DETRANS-IMPFV
'It's not permitted to take this.'

Notice that in (44), the object marker *-lai* codes the agent of the embedded clause; in (45b) it codes the patient of the embedded clause. Thus, **ŋa-lai ba-o ŋa-dəi-ke* would be ungrammatical for (45a).

• *Agreement.* It should be pointed out that in many of pages of text only the negative of 'agree,' i.e. 'to refuse,' is capable of taking complements. The positive occurs in 'different-subject' clause chains, as in the following:

(46) 'ba-ci-ke' həi o-ra-do-kə te bəĩh-ke-rə
go-2P-IMP thus 3S-3P-tell-WHEN FOC mind-PFV-3P
'When he told them "Go!" they minded/obeyed.'

The verb 'to mind, obey' also occurs as a regular verb without complement structure, as in obeying another person (which, in fact, is what is happening in 46 – the object referent of 'agree' is the speaker of *ba-ci-ke* 'Go!'). 'Agree' is one of two funny verbs in Kham that invoke ergative marking on the subject, but have intransitive morphology on the verb,[8] as in:

(47) no-e bəĩh-ke-Ø
he-ERG agree-PFV-3S 'He agreed.'

As already alluded to, the negative of the verb 'agree,' the verb 'to refuse,' occurs readily with complements. It too follows the same syntactic structure we have seen up to this point:

(48) ya-ehn-rə a:h-pəi ras-o ma-bəĩh-ke-rə
3P-work-PL this.much-LAT release-COMP NEG-agree-PFV-3P
'They have refused so far to give up their deeds/habits.'

iv. Verbs of ability and know-how

The verb *səĩ-nya* 'to know' is both a perception verb and a know-how verb. The difference in interpretation depends solely on the type of complement structure used. The complement with the highest degree of syntactic integration, the 'agentive nominalization' structure referred to throughout this section, is the one used for know-how.

[8] The other one is the intransitive version of the verb 'to say.' This is a verb we will see later in this section.

And, not surprisingly, as predicted by Givón's principle of iconism between syntax and semantics,[9] the know-how interpretation has a closer semantic bond. (I will present the same verb as a verb of perception in §15.3.5-iii.) Following are examples:

(49) be:h jəi-wo nə-ma-səĩ-zya
basket make-COMP 2S-INTRG-know-CONT
'Do you know how to make baskets?'

The verb of ability, *duh-nya*, rarely occurs as a separate verb. Its most usual occurrence is as a concatenated verb suffixed directly to the main verb, as in *ba-duh-nya* 'to be able to go.' As a separate verb it occurs commonly in the following kind of construction:

(50) ta-o bə duh-wo
be-COMP also able-3S:IMPFV 'It can happen.'

v. Verbs of persistence

Verbs of persistence are aspectual verbs; they make reference to repeated action. There are several in Kham, and they are related to the independent verbs 'stay,' 'keep,' 'put,' and 'do.' Most require the continuous *-zya* or some other indication of imperfectivity on the main verb. The complement verb is a restricted nominalization of the sort we have seen so far:

(51) WITH STAY/BE:
no: mi: ma-upasi-də zya-o zə li-zya
that person NEG-fast-NF eat-COMP EMP be-CONT
'That person never fasts, but keeps eating.'

(52) WITH KEEP:
ma-ras-də da-o zə nəi-c-yo
NEG-release-NF do-COMP EMP keep-2P-IMP
'Just keep on doing (it) without stopping.' (lit. 'not quitting, keep doing')

Recall that with the perfect aspect, 'be' collocates with intransitive verbs and 'keep' with transitive verbs (see §12.7). Here the restriction appears to hold for transitive verbs, but *li* 'be' occurs with transitive and intransitive alike. So far as I can tell, there is no difference between the two.

• *Generic, axiomatic persistence.* There is one other persistence construction, also with the verb *da-nya* 'do,' that specifies habitual action or liability. This one has an obligatorily unspecified generic object, and as such is the functional equivalent of an anti-passive. Following are examples:

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[9] 'The stronger the *semantic bond* is between the two events, the more intimately [sic] is the *syntactic integration* of the two propositions into a single clause' (1990a:516, italics original).

(53) a. o-pã:-ye bənəi sə-che:-wo do-zya-o
3S-word-ERG much CAUS-fear-COMP do-CONT-3S
'His words strike fear in one.' (lit. 'does much making afraid')

b. ao wasə:-ye mi:-lai sə-rəĩh-d-ya-o do-zya-o
this medicine-ERG eye-OBJ CAUS-see-NF-BEN-COMP do-CONT-3S
'This medicine improves eyesight.' (lit. 'makes one's eyes see')

Though (53b) with its object-marked 'eye' appears to be a counter-example to the anti-passive claim, it is, in fact, a telling example. Recall that like benefactees, possessed items which are objects require the support of a benefactive construction (see §11.6.2). To do something to someone's possessed item is equivalent to doing it benefactively to the person himself, as in:

(54) (ŋa-lai) ŋa-mi: sə-rəĩh-d-y-ã-ke-o
(I-OBJ) 1S-eye CAUS-see-NF-BEN-1S-PFV-3S
'He made my eyes to see (for me).'

Thus, in (53b), because the benefactee is generic and hence unnameable, the object marker *-lai* shifts to the possessed item. Though the benefactive verb *sə-rəĩh-d-ya-o* has agreement with a 3RD person benefactee, it refers, probably, to the (unnameable) generic possessor 'one,' and not the case marked item, 'eye.' This qualifies the construction as a case of possessor raising.

vi. The modal verb 'want'

Compared to the English desiderative modal 'want,' the Kham modal is severely restricted in its argument structure. The only complement taking verbs we have seen so far that permit different subjects in the main and complement verbs are 'send' and 'give.' The former is used as a causative and the latter as a permissive. Both, as independent verbs, have the semantic property of being 'directed outwards.' The flip side of those two verbs is the pair 'want' and 'receive.' The latter we have seen as an 'inwardly directed' permissive with equi-subject deletion in the complement clause. The modal 'want,' also inwardly directed, has the same restrictions and requirements. Thus, using this complement verb, one cannot 'want someone else to do something.' Following are examples of how it is used:

(55) a. ŋa: a-tə cuh-si-u ŋa-pəĩ-zya
I prox-ON sit-MM-COMP 1S-want-CONT
'I want to sit here/on this.'

b. nɨ̃: su-lai sə-təĩ-d-ya-o nə-pəĩ-zya-o
you who-OBJ CAUS-show-NF-BEN-COMP 2S-want-CONT-NML
'Who do you want to show it to?'

Excluded, then, are sentences like 'I want him to give it to me,' or 'They wanted me

to go.' One might have suspected that the benefactive applicative of 'want' would offer a solution – 'to want for someone else to do something.' In fact, 'want' rejects the benefactive. Expressions like 'I want him to give it to me,' then, are handled by verbs of utterance, a class of complement verbs that I will introduce in §15.3.5.

15.3.3 Complements with 'non-agentive nominalization' structure

The structure that I refer to as a 'non-agentive nominalization' is, in fact, more than an embedded relative clause. The same structure functions also in backgrounded, independent, finite clauses (as I have shown elsewhere and will deal with in more detail in chapter 16). The verb in such clauses is fully inflected for the person and number of both subject and object arguments. It differs, then, from 'agentive nominalization' complements in that it is not dependent on the main verb for its person specification or its tense/aspect specification; it stands as a separate predication. Furthermore, it is presupposed with respect to the main verb. These characteristics indicate both a 'looser semantic bond' and 'less syntactic integration' between the events in the main and complement verbs. I will illustrate first with a cognition verb, 'to see,' that, in addition to supporting prototypical nominal arguments, supports sentential complement arguments:

(56) a. ŋa-nəĩ-lai ŋa-rɨ̃ː h-ke
1S-friend-OBJ 1S-see-PFV
'I saw my friend.'

b. ŋa-nəĩ zihm-da o-ba-zya-o ŋa-rɨ̃ː h-ke
1S-friend house-ALLT 3S-go-CONT-COMP 1S-see-PFV
'I saw that my friend was going to the house.'

c. ŋa-nəĩ-lai zihm-da o-ba-zya-o ŋa-rɨ̃ː h-ke
'I saw my friend, that he was going to the house.'

d. ŋaː zihm-da ŋa-ba-zya-o rɨ̃ː h-na-ke-o
I house-ALLT 1S-go-CONT-COMP see-1S-PFV-3S
'He saw that I was going to the house.'

e. ŋa-lai zihm-da ŋa-ba-zya-o rɨ̃ː h-na-ke-o
'He saw me, that I was going to the house.'

Notice, first of all, that in (56b–d) the person and number agreement marking on the matrix verb corresponds to the subject of the embedded clause. This is true even in (56d) where the clause 'that I was going to the house' might be thought of as a third person argument. Notice too that there is a lack of tense/aspect concord between the embedded and main verbs. Clearly, the embedded clause is an autonomous event, separate from the event named by the main clause. In (56e), for example, the main clause event is 'He saw me,' while the embedded event is 'I was going to the house.' (The object marked arguments in the (c) and (e) sentences are examples of 'raising.')

Before I continue with other cognition-type verbs like *hear*, *know*, etc., I need first to introduce two other complementation types – one the 'action nominal'/'gerundive complement,' and the other the 'utterance complement.' Both interact regularly with the 'non-agentive nominalization' illustrated in (56) and the contrast and interplay between the three types sheds considerable light on the nature of all three.

15.3.4 Complements with an infinitive/gerundive structure

The infinitive/gerundive in Kham is a kind of 'action nominal.' That is, it abstracts an action away from real time and real participants and presents the action as a kind of generic non-event, as in:

(57) a. ba-nya
go-INF 'going'

b. zihm-da ba-nya
house-ALLT go-INF 'going home'

c. ŋa: zihm-da ba-nya
I house-ALLT go-INF 'me going home/for me to go home'

As (57b) and (57c) show, once an action has been made generic, it remains abstract and timeless in spite of the addition of certain agent, patient, or locative arguments. Thus, though 'going' in (57c) has *home* as its goal and *me* as its agent, it is still fully generic and non-eventive. Contrast this with the real event in (56d) 'I was going home.' It is this generic quality of the gerundive/action-nominal that allows it to occur as the subject argument for many verbs, as in the following:

(58) ba-nya ta-ke
go-INF become-PFV
'It is time to go.' / 'It is appropriate to go.' / 'It has happened that a thing called "going" should occur.' (lit. 'going happened')

Continuing in the same vein, the same action can occur as a generic object complement for certain transitive verbs, as in:

(59) a. ba-nya jəi-ke-o
go-INF make-PFV-3S
'He made it necessary to go.' / 'He made it such that going should occur.'
(lit. 'He made going happen.')

b. ŋa-lai ba-nya jəi-na-ke-o
I-OBJ go-INF make-1S-PFV-3S
'He made me the one to go.' (lit. 'He made me going.')

The construction in (59b) bears some resemblance to adjectival complement construc-

tions like 'He made me red,' where the nominalization *red* is part of the predicate. In a variant of (59b), the argument *ŋa-lai* 'me' can also occur outside the core case frame for the main verb *make*, in which case the argument is no longer marked for agreement in the verb, as in:[10]

(60) ŋa-lai ba-nya jəi-ke-o
I-OBJ go-INF make-PFV-3S
'He made it necessary for me to go.' (lit. 'He made going happen to me.')

Infinitival/gerundive complements occur regularly in constructions with other verbs that are parallel to the construction in (59b), as in:

(61) ŋa-lai ya-ehn da-nya khətəi-na-ke-rə
I-OBJ 3P-work do-INF appoint-1S-PFV-3P
'They appointed me to work for them.' (lit. 'to do their work')

However, it is more common for verbs like *appoint* to case mark the complement verb with a locative postposition, as in: *kətwalya tha: sə-ki-nya-tə̲ khətəi-də nəi-si-u li-zya* 'A herald is appointed to crying the news' (lit. 'on crying').

Since this alternative is not available to verbs like *make* (as in 60), it is assumed that its availability to verbs like *appoint* is due to that verb's expanded case frame. Even without complements the verb commonly expresses a locative:

(62) ŋa-lai o-ehn-tə khətəi-na-ke-o
I-OBJ 3S-work-ON appoint-1S-PFV-3S
'He appointed me to (on) his work.'

Several intransitive verbs, too, take gerundive complements. Here, the subject of both clauses is the same and equi-subject deletion applies to the subject of the lower clause. Following is an example:

(63) u-zihm jəi-nya ge-thu:-si-ke
3S-house make-INF 1P-begin-DETRANS-PFV
'We began to build his house.'

The verb 'to begin' in (63) also has a locative counterpart parallel to the construction we saw in (62). Here too, the gerundive complement can occur in a locative phrase based on a regular case frame for that verb, as in: *bõ:hkər təp-nya-tə̲ thu:-si-ke-rə* 'They began (on) blowing trumpets.'

15.3.5 Complements of 'utterance' verbs

There are two basic utterance verbs in Kham – one based on the verb 'to be' with intransitive morphology, and the other based on the verb 'to do' with transitive morphology.

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[10] This would also be true for the construction in (58) – *ŋa-lai ba-nya ta-ke* 'It's time for me to go.'

For both, an obligatory particle *həi* 'thus' is part of the structure, as in:

(64) a. həi li-ke
thus be-PFV
's/he said'

b. həi do-ke-o
thus do-PFV-3S
's/he said to him/her'

The intransitive version of 'say' (64a) is addressed to no one in particular – in fact, as we shall soon see, it is a 'reflexive' event – and thus becomes the basis for many cognitive events like 'think,' 'wish,' 'wonder,' 'hope,' and so on.

i. Argument structure

In either verb, the complement (that which is spoken) adds an argument to the verb's syntactic structure. The morphologically intransitive verb *li-*, then, behaves in many respects like a transitive verb – 'He said such and such,' and the morphologically transitive verb behaves like a ditransitive verb – 'He said such and such to him.' In keeping with the rule for other ditransitive verbs (see §11.6) the verb agrees with the goal, not the patient object, as in:

(65) ŋa-lai 'ba-n-ke' həi d-ã:-ke-rə
I-OBJ go-2S-IMP thus say-1S-PFV-3P
'They said to me, "Go!"'

Also, the so-called intransitive version of the verb 'say' (*li-*), though marked for subject agreement only (an intransitive trait), can support ergative marking in certain discourse contexts. Ergative marking, in fact, often spells the difference between internal (intransitive) thoughts and outward, audible (ergative) speech. Audible speech, though not particularly directed to a specific individual, is usually made audible for the intention of being heard; thoughts are not. Thus, for example, a group of leopards in a folk tale are gathered together one night talking about what they had eaten that day. The first part of the account is as follows:

(66) a. tə-ba:h-ra-e 'nahwor-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke' həi li-ke-rə di.
'Some-ERG of them said, "We ate mountain sheep" (it is said).'

b. tə-ba:h-ra-e 'bĩ:-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke' həi li-ke-rə di.
'Some-ERG of them said "We ate mountain goats" (it is said).'

Both speech events are marked with an ergative *-e* on the subject participant. By contrast, in the same episode, another leopard who had been frightened by a human was too embarrassed to speak and his (lack of) action is reported in the nominative:

(67) no mənə-e kyo:h-də o-pəĩ-zya-o la:-Ø te gaih gwi:h zə ma-li-ke
'The leopard-NOM Mana had tried to catch said nothing.'

As far as I know, this one verb provides the only instance of pragmatically driven ergative case marking in Kham.[11] Everywhere else it is syntactic.

ii. Complement structure

The complements of utterance verbs are verbatim reports of the actual speech event.[12] Thus, for example, the complement of the 'say' verb in (65) is the imperative *ba-n-ke* 'Go!' and the complement in (66a) is the autonomous and fully finite sentence 'We ate mountain sheep.' There is no separate complementizer, unless, of course, one wishes to say that the particle *həi* 'thus' is the direct speech complementizer (and, indeed, such a function may have given rise to it historically).

Because we are dealing here with direct speech, the event being reported is entirely separate from the speech event. Furthermore, there is no deliberate concord between the participants of the reported event and the speech act participants of the greater discourse (you and I). 'You' in the embedded sentence does not mean 'you, my hearer,' and 'I' does not necessarily mean 'I, the speaker of this discourse,' as the following examples illustrate:

(68) a. FIRST PERSON ≠ SPEAKER:
'ge-dəi-duh-ke' həi da-si-ke-rə
1P-find-PRIOR-PFV thus say-1P-PFV-3P
'"We already found it," they told us.'
*'They told us (that) we already found it.'

b. SECOND PERSON ≠ HEARER:
'kana je-ba-o' həi da-si-ke-rə
where 2P-go-NML thus say-1P-PFV-3P
'"Where did you (pl) go?" they asked us.'
*'They asked us where you went.'

The only place where a participant of the embedded event can match a participant of the greater discourse is where the narrator reports a first person event that s/he was involved in. In such cases, the subject argument of both clauses is first person, as in:

(69) 'ge-dəi-duh-ke' həi ge-ra-do-ke
1P-find-PRIOR-PFV thus 1P-3P-say-PFV
'"We already found it," we told them.'

Sentence (69), then, is only incidentally equivalent with the indirect statement, 'We told them (that) we already found it' (in which 'we' includes the discourse speaker).

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[11] I will be surprised if my characterization of the distribution of ergative marking with the verb *li-* 'say' does not turn out to be an oversimplification. Further study needs to be conducted on this interesting problem.

[12] Kham also has a form of indirect quotation, a topic which was dealt with in §13.5.

iii. Semantic structure

Earlier, I characterized the difference between the two verbs *həi li-nya* and *həi da-nya* as a difference between transitive and ditransitive events, respectively. The characterization is basically correct, but needs further refinement. In this case, an intransitive speech event (i.e. morphologically intransitive) is one in which an utterance is uttered/spoken but not directed towards a specific hearer. It can be uttered in contemplation as a 'thought,' in which case it is directed reflexively toward self. In another pattern, the utterance, though ultimately directed toward an addressee, occurs in the intransitive construction (i.e. morphologically intransitive) as a kind of 'quotative' construction. We will explore these patterns one at a time.

• *Intransitive speech acts as 'thought.'* In Kham there is no verb 'to think' *per se*. Thoughts are expressed as intransitive speech events. The semantic content of the utterance determines whether the thought is one of hope, despair, wonder, wishing, etc. (see §14.2.4). Following are examples:

(70) a. 'abə te ma-nəi-na-ke-rə bə' həi ŋa-li-ke
now FOC NEG-keep-1S-PFV-3P also thus 1S-say-PFV
'"They certainly won't spare me now," I thought.'

b. 'gəh-ba-zya-rə-kə bə' həi ge-li-zya-o
HOR-go-CONT-3P-OPT also thus 1P-say-CONT-NML
'"May they just go away," we were hoping.'

c. 'kana o-ba-o o-ta-o' həi li-ke-rə
where 3S-go-NML 3S-be-NML thus say-PFV-3P
'"Where did he go, anyway?" they wondered.'

The events are 'reflexive' in the sense that the speaker 'talks to himself.' The list of examples could go on, spelling out virtually every emotion imaginable. The verb 'to say' as a thinking verb also occurs in clause chains, the final verb of which names the emotion involved. Thus, the example in (70a) is part of a larger sentence taken from text: *'abə te ma-nəi-na-ke-rə bə' həi li-də ŋa-che:-ke* 'I was very afraid, saying/thinking, "They certainly won't spare me now!"'

• *Intransitive speech acts as quotations.* A good example of an intransitive speech act presented as a quotation can be seen in the two sentences in (66) – 'Some of them said, "We ate mountain sheep," (and) some of them said, "We ate mountain goats."' The sentences belong to a larger exchange in which a leopard king had asked his subjects to give an account of what they had eaten that day. In response, eight different groups respond, each reporting a different delicacy. Though the entire response is directed toward the king, the individual pieces are reported as intransitive events – a quotation of the individual statements with no mention or concern for the addressee. Following are other examples:

(71) a. ho-e həi li-ke, ‘pəcətər din-tə’
he-ERG thus say-PFV 75 day-ON
‘“In seventy-five days,” he said.’

b. jo-kə ta-di məni ‘en-nya ci’ həi ni-li-zya-o
rel-LOC be-CON also ‘cut-INF CEP’ thus 3D-say-CONT-NML
‘No matter where (we went), they kept saying, “Cut more (grass).”’

In (71a), the words ‘seventy-five days’ were addressed to the narrator in the context of ‘You’ll get out of jail in seventy-five days.’ Here the words are abstracted away as a quotation, meaning something like, ‘He claimed it would only be seventy-five days.’ Likewise in (71b) – the original words were directed to the narrator; in the narration they are quoted as only so much nagging.

Very often, the quoted speech act occurs in the larger context of a clause chain, the final verb of which is *da-nya*, the transitive (i.e. morphologically transitive) version of ‘say,’ as in the following:

(72) ‘kana nə-ba-zya-o’ həi li-də həi d-ã:-ke-o
where 2S-go-CONT-NML thus say-NF thus say-1S-PFV-3S
‘He addressed me asking, “Where are you going?”’

As the translation of (72) shows, the Kham rendition is not dissimilar to the English ‘He addressed me asking …’ which also uses two verbs; the ‘address’ verb in English being the one that carries the ditransitive goal argument. In Kham, the final verb *d-* ‘say’ carries the goal argument. Parallel to this construction are utterances in which the final verb is more semantically loaded than the very weak utterance verb *da-nya*, as in:

(73) a. həi li-də sə̲-thə̲i-ke-o ‘He announced to him saying …’
b. həi li-də kh̲ərle:-si-ki-ni ‘They debated with each other saying …’
c. həi li-də ü̲-si-ki-ni ‘They quarreled saying …’
d. həi li-də si̲ŋar-ke-o ‘He scolded him saying …’

Falling into the same pattern are a number of utterance words borrowed from Nepali:

(74) a. həi li-də sudih-ke-o ‘He asked him saying …’
b. həi li-də binti do-ke-o ‘He appealed to him saying …’
c. həi li-də ərthəi-ke-o ‘He ordered him saying …’
d. həi li-də həpkəi-ke-o ‘He rebuked him saying …’

Where the medial verb in a clause chain is *li-*, the intransitive version of ‘say,’ and the final verb is a transitive verb of utterance, the entire utterance is understood as being directed outward to an addressee. An extension of this pattern is where the final verb in the clause chain is a non-utterance transitive verb, but still outwardly directed. In such cases, the medial verb of utterance, though intransitive, is by inference also directed outward:

(75) a. ‘ba-ci-ke’ həi li-də ya-pəle:-ke-o
go-2P-IMP thus say-NF 3P-expel-PFV-3S
‘He expelled them saying, “Get out!”’

b. chutə pulis-ra-e te, ‘su-e u-jiməwar?’ həi li-də
other police-PL-ERG FOC, who-GEN 3S-responsibility thus say-NF

siŋar-ke-rə
scold-PFV-3P
‘Other police scolded him saying, “Whose responsibility (is he)?”’

In both examples, the only reasonable assumption is that the quoted words ‘Get out’ and ‘Who’s responsibility is he?’ were directed ‘outwardly’ at an addressee, the same participant as the patient argument of the final verb.

A further refinement of our original delineation for the intransitive verb of utterance, then, is that it occurs with:

a. internal cognitive events like thinking,
b. non-directed audible speech, or
c. directed audible speech part of a larger transitive act.

• *The interplay between ‘non-agentive nominalizations’ and other complement types.* We are now in a position to continue with the discussion of cognition-type verbs like ‘see’ introduced in §15.3.3. Recall from example (56) that sentential complements of ‘see’ follow the ‘non-agentive nominalization’ structure. Other cognition verbs like ‘hear’ and ‘know’ also take non-agentive nominalization complements, but in addition, they further admit ‘gerundive’ type complements utilizing the intransitive/quotative verb ‘to say.’ Before I discuss the difference I will present illustrations:

(76) a. u-zihm-kə u-hu-zya-o ŋa-thəi-ke
3S-house-LOC 3S-come-CONT-COMP 1S-hear-PFV
‘I heard him coming home.’

b. u-zihm-kə hu-ke di li-nya ŋa-thəi-ke
3S-house-LOC come-PFV RSP say-INF 1S-hear-PFV
‘I heard that he came home.’ (‘I heard it said that he came home’)

(77) a. u-zihm-kə u-hu-zya-o ŋa-səĩ-ke
3S-house-LOC 3S-come-CONT-COMP 1S-know-PFV
‘I knew that he was coming home.’ (first-hand apprehension)

b. u-zihm-kə u-hũ:-wo li-nya ŋa-səĩ-ke
3S-house-LOC 3S-come-NML say-INF 1S-know-PFV
‘I knew that he had come home.’ (learned by hearsay)

First of all, notice that the verb ‘say’ in (76b) and (77b) is in an abbreviated form, *li-nya* instead of *həi li-nya*. This is common for speech embedded to other cognition

verbs. The construction in (76a) and (77a), without 'say,' reports direct perception of the participant's arrival home. This is parallel to the verb 'see' in example (56) – 'I saw him coming home.' Unlike seeing however, hearing and knowing can come either by direct apprehension of the facts or by spoken mediation. Thus in (76b) and (77b) the speaker hears and knows by hearsay.

The verb 'know,' then has a three-way contrast depending on the type of complement that occurs. The most tightly integrated syntactic form is the least finite, the 'agentive nominalization,' and indicates know-how. Of the other two, the one with an 'object nominalization' expresses knowledge by direct perception, and the one embedded to *li-nya* 'to say' expresses knowledge by hearsay:

(78) a. rɨ:h-wo səĩ-zya-o 'She knows how to weave (it).'
b. u-rɨ:h-zya-o səĩ-ke-o 'He knew that she was weaving it.'
c. u-rɨ:h-wo li-nya səĩ-ke-o 'He knew (by hearsay) that she wove it.'

15.4 Coordinate structures

So far in this chapter we have been looking at clauses in hypotactic constructions – clauses either subordinated or 'co-subordinated' to other clauses to form complex sentence structures. We will now turn our attention to the parataxis of two or more clauses. That is, where each of the clauses are capable of standing on their own independently, but their coordination or juxtaposition forms a larger, more complex structure (Haiman and Thompson 1988).

15.4.1 Co-ranking structures

I will treat first what Longacre (1985) refers to as 'co-ranking structures,' with combinations like conjunction, comparison, alternation, and so on. There are clearly numerous semantic relationships that can hold between coordinate clauses (see Mann and Thompson 1986), but I will limit my discussion here to those that are explicitly marked in some way. Some of the same 'predicates' we have seen elsewhere in complex phrases.

i. Conjunction

Recall from §10.1.3 that NP conjunction is marked by the morpheme *sono:h*. The same morpheme sometimes occurs between equally ranked clauses as well, though simple juxtaposition is more common. The two structural types are contrasted in the following:

(79) SIMPLE JUXTAPOSITION:
har-nu-rə məni lɨ̃:h-d-ya-si-ke-o, syakəri:-rə məni lɨ̃:h-d-ya-si-ke-o
milk also bought-for-us, meat also bought-for-us
'He bought milk for us, (and) he bought meat for us.'

(80) MARKED CONJUNCTION:
no mi: o-gəkək le-o bə o-ta-kə sono:h,
that person intelligence having also may-it-be and

o-təhə-sə le-o bə o-ta-kə
talent-with having also may-it-be

'May that person be intelligent, and may he be talented.'

The same 'conjunctive' predicate that holds between the propositions in (80) also holds in (79), the exception being that in (79) the predicate is left implicit.

The same predicate can also occur at the beginning of a sentence, so long as it is the continuation of a series of similar predications. For example, following a sentence which instructs the hearer to arrive at the speaker's house in the afternoon, the following is appropriate:

(81) sono:h kwaih-si-nya nə-kwa: bə rəi-wo ta-ke
and covering your-cloth also bring must-PFV
'And, you should also bring your blankets.' (lit. 'covering clothes')

ii. Alternation

Alternation, like conjunction, occurs at the phrase level as well as at the clausal level. The alternation morpheme *səĩ* 'or' links two equally ranked clauses and presents them as interrogative alternatives, as in:

(82) u-hu-zya-o səĩ o-ba-zya-o
he-is-coming or he-is-going 'Is he coming or is he going?'

The alternation morpheme can also occur at the end of a sentence without the alternative being stated, in which case a negative alternative is implied:

(83) o-ra-dəi-wo səĩ
he-found-them or 'Did he find them, or (not)?'

The alternation just presented is primarily an interrogative alternation. A related one, using the particle *kitərə* simply presents alternative possibilities without interrogation, as in the following:

(84) khwa:-ra-e ya-ehn ŋah-da zə rəĩh-zya,
some their-work before EMP is-visible,

kitərə achim o-mõ:h-si-di bə tə-cha rəĩh-nya le
or today though-it-hide also one-day visible be
'The work of some is visible from the start. Or, even if it is hidden today it will become visible someday.'

In a third and fourth type of alternation two separate events occur. The events can be

in sequence or in alternation, as in the following:

(85) a. SEQUENCE (səki):
səki ho: zə pa-na-zya, səki ho: zə zo:-zya
alter he EMP fall-GO-CONT, alter he EMP jump-CONT
'First he falls, and then he jumps.'

b. ALTERNATION (ehn):
ba-o ehn hũ:-wo ehn zə do-ke-o
go-COMP work come-COMP work EMP do-PFV-3S
'He alternated between coming and going.'

iii. Contrast and opposition

In Kham there is no contrastive particle, *per se*, equivalent to English 'but.' Many Himalayan languages have borrowed the Nepali word *tərə* 'but' into their vocabulary. Kham has not. The notion is simply implicit in paired oppositions like the following. Though both are contrastive, the latter is made more explicit with the addition of the contrastive focus morpheme *te* that we have seen elsewhere:

(86) a. ŋa: zihm-da ŋa-ba-ke, ol ma-ba-e
I house-ALLT 1S-go-PFV, he NEG-go-IMPFV
'I went to the house, (but) he didn't go.'

b. ŋa: zihm-da ŋa-ba-ke, ol te ma-ba-e
I house-ALLT 1S-go-PFV, he FOC NEG-go-IMPFV
'I went to the house, but he didn't go.'

Another contrastive morpheme *taki-tərə*, adds the notion of incongruity to the contrast, roughly translated as 'on the one hand and on the other,' as in: *ol taki-tərə zyu-zya-o, ge-lai taki-tərə ma-le* 'He, on the one hand, eats, but for us, there is nothing.'

15.4.2 Sentence relators

What I call 'sentence relators' are more like the relational predicates of Mann and Thompson (1986). They relate the current notional clause to some adjoining chunk of text which potentially, though not necessarily, consists of more than one clause. As Mann and Thompson suggest, the semantic relations that hold between different parts of a text are probably universal. Very often the relations are implicit and occur without formal marking, but languages typically develop at least some explicit marking as well.

In my treatment here, rather than explore all the possible relations that can hold between different parts of a text, I will restrict my discussion to some of the most common relations, and those that are explicitly marked by sentence relators. Following is a partial listing with examples.

i. Therefore

This is the most frequently used of all sentence relators in Kham discourse. It links the current clause to all that went before in a kind of cause-and-effect relationship. It can be roughly translated as 'therefore,' 'so then,' 'that being the case,' or even 'that's why.' The relator itself includes a same-subject medial verb, *həi jəi-də*, literally translated as 'thus having made.' This can be seen in the following: *həi jəi-də je-ma-khyanəi-duh-kin ba-o dəi-nya je-ma-le* 'So then, if you're not able to leave it behind you won't be able to go'; and *no-e u-juhkəi-na-o ci. həi jəi-də zə ŋa-zyu-wo* 'He tricked me. That's why I ate (it).'

ii. Nevertheless

There are two sentence relators which can be roughly translated as 'nevertheless,' 'still,' or 'anyway.' Both are pro-forms of what I referred to in §15.1.2 as 'concessives.' In the original constructions, which I give here as base forms, the concessive is part of the morphology on the subordinated verb, as shown in the following two examples:

(87) a. BASE FOR CONCESSIVE 1:
u-si-di bə u-min khər-kə zə ma-mah-e
3S-die-CON also 3S-name when-LOC EMP NEG-lose-IMPFV
'Though he dies, his name will never be lost.'

b. BASE FOR CONCESSIVE 2:
dukhə-sə ya-kyo:h-wo-tə bə ho pəra:hti ras-ke-rə
difficult-ASC 3P-catch-NML-ON also that tomorrow release-PFV-3P
'Even though they caught it with difficulty, they released it the next day.'

The sentence relators *həi-di bə* and *hitao-tə bə*, which I will give next, are related to the clausal subordinators in (87) in the following way. In both, the particle *həi* 'thus' plays an important part – *həi* is a pro-form for a full proposition. With the form *həi-di bə*, then, *həi* relates the current clause to a preceding proposition or series of propositions and means something like 'though the preceding proposition be true …' The current proposition focuses on the flip-side of the 'though' proposition, namely 'nevertheless' or 'still this is true,' as in:

(88) həi-di bə u-min khər-kə zə ma-mah-e
thus-CON also 3S-name when-LOC EMP NEG-lose-IMPFV
'Still, his name will never be lost.'

The sentence relator based on the second concessive makes use of the word *hitao*. Very likely, the word derives from *həi ta-o* 'thus being so,' in which case, this sentence relator, too, employs a pro-form representing the preceding proposition, as in:

(89) hitao-tə bə ho pəra:hti ras-ke-rə < həi ta-o-tə bə
that-ON also that tomorrow release-PFV-3P thus be-NML-ON also
'Nevertheless, they released it the next day.'

iii. Result

For the event named in a result clause to be possible, certain conditions must be met. Those conditions belong to the previous discourse. The current clause, then, is related to the previous discourse by the sentence relator *huki*, translated roughly as 'following that,' as in: *huki ŋa-lai ya-nya ta-kin no-lai zə y-ã:-ci-ke* 'That being the case, if you're going to give (something), give me that one.'

iv. Otherwise

The 'otherwise' relator relates the current sentence to the preceding discourse as a possibility if certain conditions are not met. The current sentence is a warning or motivation to action, as in: *gõ: ji:-da pulus-na-ci-ke, mani je-si-ya* 'Flee up to the mountains, otherwise you might die.'

v. Rather

In the section on subordinate clauses we saw a 'rather' construction related to the comparative with a morpheme *dekha*, as in: 'I'll give it to you rather than give it to him.' Here, a morpheme *buru* relates the proposition in the current sentence as preferable to the proposition that precedes it, as in: *ya-dəhn-ni ta-səres-si-rə-kə, buru ya-ehn-ni o-səres-si-rə-kə* 'May they not be known for their wealth. Rather, may they be known for their work.'

vi. Exception

The 'exception' relator presents an exception, limitation, or qualification to the preceding discourse, as in: *khali ao wazə zya-nya ma-ta-e* 'However, only this should not be eaten.'

vii. Evidence

This relator challenges the hearer to accept what has been said as true. 'If you don't believe me,' the challenge goes, 'the evidence is forthcoming,' as in: *a-lə ma-le. ochadi cyu:-ci-ke* 'He's not here. If you don't believe me, look!'

16 *Nominalized verb forms in discourse*

Beginning in chapter 5, I have shown that co-existing alongside the regular verb paradigm is a second, parallel one. The second paradigm is a nominalization, and though partially restricted for tense/aspect distinctions, it is fully inflected for the person and number of subject and object arguments. In §10.3 we saw the nominalized paradigm functioning in relative clauses as NP arguments, and in §15.3 as clausal arguments in complement clauses. What we have not seen yet are the same nominalized forms functioning as independent verbs in main clause constructions. They do so under certain discourse conditions, and the elaboration of those conditions will be the topic of the current chapter.

As a starting point I will present two sentences which, on the surface, appear to have the same meaning:

(1) la:-ye sohmlo basma-rə ya-səih-ke-o
leopard-ERG three mountain.goat-PL 3P-kill-PFV-3S
'The leopard killed three mountain-goats.'

(2) la:-ye sohmlo basma-rə o-ra-səih-wo
leopard-ERG three mountain.goat-PL 3S-3P-kill-PFV
'The leopard killed three mountain-goats.'

Elicited in isolation, speakers have no clear intuitions about the difference in meaning between sentences (1) and (2).[1] Indeed, both verb forms mark person and number for the same participants in the same semantic roles – a 3RD singular agent acting on a 3RD plural patient. Furthermore, both are perfective in aspect.

The difference between the two sentences cannot be accounted for except in terms of 'communicative strategies.' These strategies make sense only within the context of a discourse – a domain large enough to require the manipulation of both working memory and long-term memory, and, furthermore, to include special instructions for the storage and retrieval of relevant chunks of information. That is, the speaker, at the time of production, has specific intentions concerning how the hearer should build a mental representation of what is being narrated. This includes instructions on how to integrate new, incoming information with what is already held in memory store – among other

[1] Givón (1995:306) refers to this as 'the limits of conscious reflection.' From this point of departure he makes his appeal to 'empirical foundations' – the necessity of defining communicative function independent of both structure and intuition.

things, whether it is part of the narrative event line or something subsidiary to it.

It will be necessary, then, to observe how the two forms distribute within the context of a narrative discourse. If the forms correlate with sufficient frequency to certain contexts, we will be in a much better position to make a hypothesis about their communicative function.

16.1 The nominalized form in context

Formally, the verb in sentence (2) is a nominalization. In fact, as we have seen repeatedly in other chapters, this is the form the verb takes when functioning in non-subject relative clauses as well as in certain sentential complement structures (see §15.3), as in the following, now familiar, construction:

(3) la:-ye o-ra-səih-wo basma-rə
leopard-ERG 3S-3P-kill-NML:PFV mountain.goat-PL
'the mountain goats which the leopard killed'

With the nominalized verb *o-ra-səih-wo* in the clause-final (verbal) position of a stand-alone predication (as in example 2), however, we are dealing with an unembedded structure. There is some justification for assuming that the full nominalized clause with AOV word order functioned, at least historically in certain contexts, as one of the NPs in a larger equative clause. Recall that Kham has no equative verb (§11.2); an equative clause is formed by the simple juxtaposition of two NPs, the second NP of which predicates something of the first NP, as in:

(4) ao-rə = ŋa-za:-rə
this-PL my-child-PL

[NP] = [NP]
'These are my children.'

To say that sentence (2) is currently an equative clause equivalent in structure to (4), however, is untenable. To make such a claim, one would also have to say that one of the NPs in the construction of sentence (2) is an 'abstract concept' with no surface manifestation, as in:

(5) la:-ye sohmlo basma-rə o-ra-səih-wo Ø
leopard-ERG three mountain.goat-PL 3S-3P-kill-NML [ABSTRACT]
'(It's that) the leopard killed three mountain-goats.'

There are other possible interpretations of the data. Matisoff (1972:246), for example, in describing an analogous situation for Lahu in which clauses nominalized by *ve* can function as stand-alone, unembedded clauses, argues that the nominalization, in such cases, 'is not a constituent of any sentence higher than the one to which it belongs itself.' Hargreaves (1986), following Matisoff, reports a similar phenomenon for Newari,

calling such clauses 'non-embedded *-gu* clauses' (*-gu* being the Newari nominalizer).

The point I wish to make for Kham, too, is that stand-alone nominalizations of the kind shown in example (2) have come full circle, beginning as embedded nominalizations and now functioning in certain contexts as independent, non-embedded clauses – fully inflected for person and number with much the same distributional potential as any finite verb. I will attempt, further, to establish the kinds of discourse contexts in which such predications naturally occur in Kham.

16.2 Marked versus unmarked structures

In text studies, the two verb forms illustrated by the examples in (1) and (2) have fairly clear differences in distributional properties. In the context of a narrative discourse, one form is much less frequent than its corresponding counterpart. The more frequent form I will regard as the unmarked norm for a narrative discourse; the ground against which the marked form or figure finds its contrast. The unmarked form corresponds to the structure in sentence (1): a regular, finite verb inflected for perfective aspect (i.e. the simple narrative past). As I will show in the following discussion, a major function of the unmarked form is that of predicating the natural time sequence in a simple progression of events – what has sometimes been referred to as 'advancing the time line' (Labov and Waletzky 1967, Grimes 1975). I will define a predication as reporting an event only if the narrator reports it as occurring in real time (i.e. *not* irrealis), and also if the predication advances the action of the narrative along a chronological time line (Grimes 1975).

16.2.1 The correlates of markedness

Givón (1990b), following Jakobson, establishes three major criteria in distinguishing a marked form from an unmarked one: (1) structural complexity (in which the marked form tends to be more complex), (2) an asymmetrical frequency distribution, and (3) cognitive complexity. He shows, furthermore, that there is a general tendency for the three to correlate with one another. This correlation will become important later in the discussion when I argue, based on pause groups and special intonation patterns, that the marked, structurally more complex material does indeed correspond to its cognitively more complex correlate of longer processing time.

16.2.2 The implication of increased cognitive complexity

Though, as I have shown, there may be justification, historically, for an equative interpretation of sentence (2), it is clear that the nominalized verb in clause-final position functions synchronically as an independent, stand-alone verb. Contrasting the nominalized form with the more frequent 'narrative' form, then, my claim will be that the nominalized form is the marked form. If the expected correlates of markedness hold true, then, the nominalized form stands out as contrastively salient against the ground in which it is set.

16.3 Unembedded nominalized forms

In attempting to establish the function of the unembedded nominalized forms in discourse, I will begin from what appears to be a fairly obvious and unimpeachable generalization on one of its functions, and proceed from there to a second function which appears, at first blush, to be incompatible with the first. The determination of the second function constitutes one of the major problems I will address (but first I will establish the more obvious ones).

16.3.1 Nominalizations and 'background' material

The nominalized forms mark a fairly coherent class of functions in a narrative discourse – those of setting the stage at episodic boundaries, and marking certain background information ancillary to the eventive backbone of a narrative discourse.[2] I will argue that the nominalized form in these contexts is a marker of discontinuity. That is, the material is discontinuous in the sense that it is temporally separate from the continuous chain of events. At a later stage I will show that the level of correspondence between the nominalized form and the discontinuous function is significantly high. Right now, the assumed association between the marked form and its discontinuous function will provide the starting point of my discussion.

16.3.2 Nominalizations 'on the time line'

As already mentioned, a major problem lies in the unexpected occurrence of the marked nominalized form in contexts where it would not be predicted by the notions of backgrounding or stage setting. Specifically, the nominalized form occurs also (under certain conditions) with events which are clearly 'on the time line' – not backgrounded material, but part of the narrative backbone. What then is the communicative function of the form in these contexts; and can that function be shown to have coherence with the other functions marked by the same form? My working hypothesis will be that the condition under which the nominalized form is triggered when it is on the time line is one of unpredictability, and that, indeed, unpredictability does have coherence with the notion of discontinuity. What is continuous is predictable, and what is not predictable has that characteristic only because it is in some way discontinuous with the preceding context.

Nominalized background material and nominalized events occurring on the time line are related in that both mark discontinuity. The discontinuous relationship of stage settings and backgrounded material to the surrounding discourse is one of temporal

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[2] Grimes (1975:35) notes that event information and other kinds of information (like backgrounding) 'tend to be communicated by grammatically distinctive forms in surface structure.' Similarly, Hopper (1979:213) observes that 'it is evidently a universal of narrative discourse that in any extended text an overt distinction is made between the language of the actual story line and the language of supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events.'

discontinuity, while the relationship of unpredictable or surprising events (which occur on the time line) is one of thematic or participant discontinuity. Both are discontinuous, albeit in slightly different ways, and fall within the domain of a unitary cognitive process – that of 'heightened attention' and 'increased mental effort' (Givón 1991, 1995).

16.3.3 Procedure

I will begin by investigating in areas where I expect to obtain the cleanest results – those nominalizations which are used for marking stage settings and backgrounded material. As already alluded to, these marked structures tend to be less frequent than the unmarked ground in which they are set. This, however, needs to be empirically tested. What is the frequency distribution of the two forms? Furthermore, do the unmarked structures which form the backbone of a narrative discourse occur in relatively long unbroken chains compared to the relatively infrequent use of the marked forms?

Perhaps more important than measuring the frequency distribution of the different forms will be the attempt to identify other marked features which cluster around the nominalized forms – features suggestive of temporal/thematic discontinuity – like pause groups, special intonation patterns, or thematic shifts. If we obtain significant correlations of such features for stage settings and backgrounded material, we will look for the same clusters of features with nominalizations that mark unpredictability – those points in a discourse less obvious to casual observation – the markers of surprise, unexpectedness, and other thematically discontinuous material.

There is, of course, a danger of circularity in approaching the problem of matching form and function. It must not be assumed, for example, that the marked, nominalized form is to be automatically equated with background material. As pointed out by Payne in a similar study (1992:381): 'There must be an objective means of identifying the [main event line], independently of whatever devices might express [main event line] material.' She goes on to develop a set of objective criteria for determining whether an event is part of the semantic chain of events or not. (See also Tomlin 1985.) I follow similar guidelines. If there is a significant correlation between the nominalized forms and non-events, then those cases where 'real' main-line events are also marked by the nominalized form may be attributable to deliberate attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to construe them either as part of the setting for what follows, or discontinuous with what preceded – a manipulation of the hearer's mental representation.

16.4 The correspondence between nominalizations, states, and discontinuity

There has been ample discussion in the linguistic literature on the more-than-chance correspondence between nominalized forms and stativized material. The foundation for the discussion comes from Givón's observation that nominal elements are more 'time

stable' than verbal events which are prototypically telic and short in duration (1984:51-56). This observation has direct relevance to the Kham data; in Kham, the clausal elements in a narrative discourse are organized, in part, around their relative time-stability and state-like qualities.[3] Events that advance the time line (the 'narrative backbone') are generally indicated by verbs marked in the perfective aspect *-ke* (the simple narrative past). More permanent concepts, those states or global contexts which persist over the duration of an entire episode of thematic coherence, are marked by the more time-stable nominalized verb form.

16.4.1 'Stage-settings' or episode topics

In Kham, a conventional narrative discourse begins with a stage setting device – a nominalized verb marked with the continuous *-zya*. The clause so marked describes the 'global topic' of the following discourse episode (as opposed to the 'local topic' of a sentence), and as such, constrains the range of possible topics that can be discussed until a new global topic is introduced (Garrod and Sanford 1983:274). In Kham, several such topics can occur within a single narrative, and each of them is introduced by the same stage setting device – an 'episode topic clause' occurring in the marked, nominalized form. The topic clause is construed by the speaker as expressing either a time-stable state-of-affairs that exists at the time the story begins, or one that persists over the duration of the following episode.[4] One of the chief characteristics of an episode, then, is that all its subsidiary paragraphs remain within the thematic bounds specified by the topic clause. An example from Kham discourse will be instructive here:

(6) ahjya uhbyali-kə ge: nahm-ni ge-hu-zya-o
earlier spring-LOC we low.country-ABLT 1P-come-CONT-NML
'Last spring we were coming up from the low-country.'

In the stage setting device (or topic clause) of sentence (6), several things are established by the narrator (whose name is Tipalkya). First of all, he evokes a specific frame[5] which is familiar to any Kham speaker – the life of a nomadic shepherd in the springtime, returning from the low country to the mountains. In the following episode Tipalkya remains within those thematic bounds. He tells how he and his friends made camp at a

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[3] Matisoff too (1972:246), in his discussion of the non-embedded nominalizations in Lahu, refers to such events as 'objectified, reified, viewed as an independent fact, endowed with a reality like that inhering in physical objects.'

[4] Payne (1992) follows Grimes in defining a setting as a 'type of non-event that specifies where, when, and under what circumstances actions take place.' She observes further, however, that events too can be construed by the speaker as part of a setting if the event describes the circumstances under which other events occur. That is, the event construed as a setting forms the situation within which other events of the text are interpreted.

[5] Fillmore (1982) uses the term 'frame' as a general cover term for *schema*, *script*, *scenario*, *cognitive model*, and various other concepts common to discourse literature.

place called Pillar Mountain. The next morning they discovered that one of their sheep dogs had been killed in the night by a leopard and they decided to spend the day hunting the leopard down. After setting a booby trap and scouting around a bit, Tipalkya glanced across the hillside. At this point in the story, there is a break in the action and time is taken to reset the stage. The new episode topic, though still within the broad scope of the original topic – coming up from the low country – is narrowed to something more local and restrictive:

(7) ho-kə ci syã:-də u-li-zya-o
rem-LOC CEP sleep-NF 3S-be-CONT-NML
'There it (the leopard) was sleeping.'

In developing this new episode, Tipalkya tells how he crept up on the leopard with only a club in his hand. While the leopard was sleeping he was able to leap from behind a boulder and strike the leopard with a heavy blow across the bridge of its nose. The leopard, tumbling off a ledge, began leaping into the air and rolling on the ground. Tipalkya, after pummeling him repeatedly, was eventually able to kill him. After killing him, he put the dead leopard on his herder's back and had him carried back to camp.

16.4.2 Further examples of stage settings

Following are further examples of stage setting devices from a variety of narrators. In each case, the opening sentences are time-stable nominalizations – states that either persist over the duration of an entire episode, or else describe the state-of-affairs out of which the events of the episode are initiated. The following is of the second type:

(8) tubu mi:-ye bəĩhsa səih-də syasoi khə:rəi-də sə-gi:-də
one man-ERG buffalo kill-NF fat boil-NF CAUS-harden-NF

o-nəi-zya-o
3S-keep-CONT-NML
'A certain man killed a buffalo, boiled its fat, and set it out to harden.'

Sentence (8) is the opening line in a story which tells 'How the crow came to be black.' In the next line, a crow comes along, snatches up a chunk of the lard and carries it off into a tree-top to devour it. The lard protests. 'Don't eat me!' he cries. 'Let's become bond-brothers and we'll live together and share our work.' The crow agrees and the two begin to take turns at cooking meals. Every time the lard cooks, the food is tasty, and every time the crow cooks, the food is bad. 'Teach me your trick,' the crow insists. The lard put a pot on the fire, heated it up, jumped in and skated around a bit. He hopped back out, added food, and the food was tasty. When the crow tried the same trick, his feathers were scorched and he has been black from that day onward.

Following are the opening two lines of a story called 'Mana and the Leopard.' The first sentence introduces the beginning participants – Dana and his son Mana – both in

the marked, nominalized form of stage settings. The second sentence introduces the beginning state-of-affairs around which the first episode is woven: Mana's father makes a trip to the bazaar (RSP = 'reported speech particle,' see §13.5).

(9) ba:h-kə tubu dənə ya-do-zya-o-ye o-za: mənə o-le-o di
long ago one Dana they call-GEN his child Mana was RSP

hu-kin te o-babu bəjar-da o-ba-zya-o di
then FOC his father bazaar-to was going RSP

'Long ago a certain (person) called Dana had a son who was Mana, it is said.
After that his father went to the bazaar, it is said.'

It is after the introduction of the participants and the setting of the first episode topic that the story gets underway – a chain of events marked in the simple narrative past. That continuous chain goes unbroken until the first unpredictable or surprising event: Mana unexpectedly meets up with a leopard. (The discontinuity of unpredictability will be dealt with in a later section.)

In the end, it is the narrator who decides how detailed the stage setting needs to be before launching into the story proper. I have one discourse in which the narrator uses nine sentences (example 10) to elaborate on the state-of-affairs prevailing at the time before the 'real' action begins. All occur in the nominalized form. Semantically, however, not all those sentences used for stage setting express non-events. Sentence (10g), at least, appears to be reporting a 'real-world' event – not only is it reported as actually occurring, but it also advances the time line. Sentences (10h) and (10i) are further elaborations of the same event. The narrator, however, is in the process of building a mental representation of the conditions under which the rest of the events occur, and within which those events are to be interpreted. As such, some events are construed, for the benefit of the hearer, as part of the setting. (Nominalized verbs are underlined.)

(10) a. ba:h-kə tubu rã:di o-le-o di.
'Long ago there was a certain widow woman.'

b. o-za:-rə məni ya-ma-le-o.
'She had no children.'

c. o-re: məni u-si-u di.
'Her husband also was dead.'

d. bənəi dukhə o-dəi-zya-o di.
'She was experiencing great difficulty.'

e. dəhrmə jat-zə o-ma-ras-zya-o di.
'But her religious duties she in no way abandoned.'

f. ho-kin te rihjani rihjani dinə-ka-o zə …
bəih chyo:-kə ba-o ehn təpəs da-o ehn o-do-zya-o di.

'Every morning day after day …
she would go to the river bank and practice her devotions.'

g. tə-cha te bəl-e la: tubu, dã: tubu, yu:h tubu, mi: tubu
o-ra-bəgəi-hu-zya-o di.

'One day the current came sweeping a leopard, a serpent, a monkey,
and a man.'

h. o-ra-bəgəi-hu-zya-kə te no la:-rə dã:-rə yu:h-rə
ho:-rə sohmlo ŋah-da o-ra-bəgəi-hu-zya-o di.

'As it came sweeping the leopard, the serpent, and the monkey,
it came sweeping those three along first.'

i. chĩ:-ni mi:-lai o-bəgəi-hu-zya-o di.
'Later it came sweeping the man along.'

Only after this long elaboration on the prevailing state-of-affairs does the narrator launch into the events which he construes as the main event line (MEL); and he instructs the hearer to integrate them as such into his or her mental model. The first pragmatic event (i.e. an event construed as an event) is the following, which occurs in the 'narrative' (non-nominalized) form:

(11) ho-kin te no dã:-rə yu:h-rə la:-ra-e te,
'de dəhrmi, ge-lai hai-si-ke,' həi li-də kih-ke-rə (NARRATIVE FORM)

'Then the serpent, the monkey, and the leopard …
cried out saying, "Dear Benevolent One, pull us out."'

16.5 Nominalizations and background material

Another function of the marked nominalized verb form is the parenthetic insertion into the narrative of relevant background information.[6] Sometimes, the backgrounded material occurs as an interruption in the middle of the MEL. After the backgrounded material is presented, the MEL continues on from where it left off. Such an insertion occurs at the end of one of the episodes in the story of 'Tipalkya and the Leopard' (see examples 6 and 7 above). It occurs immediately after Tipalkya bludgeons the leopard to death with a club. The entire sequence (including the two sentences immediately preceding and following the parenthetic insertion) is as follows:

[6] Grimes (1975) defines background information as information that stands outside the narrative and clarifies it. Background material has an 'explanatory' function.

(12) a. PRECEDING EVENT:
ha:h-kə te gin-səih-ke
'Finally we killed him.'

b. PARENTHETIC INSERTION:
gin-poh-zya-kə te, bəre:-rə ro-tə chi: ya-en-zya-o. chi: ya-en-zya-kə te, ho-ra-e ya-kwi kərip kərip ke:h-zya-rə, kəda-e no la:-lai zə poh-də səih-nya le-də.

'(When we were beating him, the Southerners were above cutting hay. As they cut the hay, they were worriedly popping their knuckles to think that someone would kill a leopard by bludgeoning it.)'

c. FOLLOWING EVENT:
ho-kini səih-də, mənlal-lai o-kã:bul kumla:-lə ja:h-də ŋa-e-kə, gur-də rəi-ke-o.

'Then having killed him, I put him into Manlal's woolen blanket, and he carried it away.'

The sentence following the insertion is linked to the last sentence preceding the insertion by a repetition of its main verb (in this case 'kill') in the non-final, medial verb form: *səihdə* 'having killed it.' If we were to remove the parenthetic insertion from the narration, the incident in which parenthetic insertion occurs would read almost as smoothly as though it had never been interrupted: *'Finally we killed him. // Then having killed him, I put him into Manlal's woolen blanket, and he carried it away.'* Obviously, the insertion adds a bit of glory to Tipalkya's personal account of killing a leopard with nothing more than a club; extra witnesses help.

16.6 Nominalizations 'on the time line'

In §16.3, I mentioned that one of the problems I wish to resolve is the unexpected occurrence of the marked, nominalized form in contexts where it would not be predicted by the notions of backgrounding or stage setting. Specifically, the nominalized form occurs (under certain conditions) with events which are clearly 'on the time line' – not backgrounded material. I believe, however, that a strong case can be made for viewing such events as unpredictable or surprising – events standing in a relationship of thematic discontinuity with the preceding text. For example, in the folk-tale 'Mana and the Leopard,' a boy named Mana takes a rope and mirror and heads off into the forest. As he was walking along minding his own business, he met up with a leopard. The sentence, *He met up with a leopard* is clearly part of the narrative backbone of the story, but it is marked in the nominalized form. Not only is the event unpredictable and surprising, but it initiates a change in the trend of the story – a kind of 'pivotal event.'[7]

[7] Tomlin (1985:90) divides the foreground–background continuum into three discrete levels: pivotal information, foreground information, and background information. Pivotal information occurs in

With some pivotal events the tables of fortune are turned so that a disadvantaged participant suddenly gains mastery over his tormentor. There are numerous examples in text to illustrate this kind of event. Once again in the story of 'Mana and the Leopard,' immediately after Mana meets up with the leopard, the leopard says, *I am coming to eat you.* In the string of events which follows, it is obvious that the leopard has the upper hand. This, however, does not keep Mana from scheming to gain mastery himself. He says to the leopard, 'Wow, how lucky can I get? Two leopards are needed. One I have caught already, and you make the other!' Hearing this, the leopard says, 'Have you really caught one?' and Mana replies, 'Yes I have.' The leopard says, 'Show him to me,' and when Mana holds a mirror to the leopard's face, the leopard sees his own reflection.

The clause, 'He saw his own reflection,' is cast in the nominalized form. This is the pivotal event which the narrator marks as unpredictable or surprising. In effect, he invites the hearer to integrate this event into his or her mental representation as the one most directly responsible for a change in the trend of the story. After this event it is obviously Mana who has the upper hand. The leopard says, 'Please, please, good man, don't catch me. Rather, let me give you lots of gold and silver.' And so on to a happy ending.

Another pivotal event marked in the nominalized form occurs in a later episode of the same story. After Mana gets all of the leopard's gold and silver, he parts company with him. When it gets dark, he climbs into a tree and securely ties himself to one of the upper branches to spend the night. Later in the night, another man, unaware that Mana is in the tree, settles down on one of the lower branches. It so happens that the tree they have chosen is right in the middle of the leopards' meeting grounds. At midnight all the leopards of the forest come to a meeting called by the leopard king to give an account of the things they had eaten that day. The leopard who had had the encounter with Mana is also there. When the king learns that one of his subjects was actually frightened by a mere man, he explodes with anger. He shouts and yells saying, 'If that had been me, I would have done this, and I would have done that.' Just at that moment, the man sitting below Mana was trembling so violently that he fell out of the tree right into the midst of the leopards.

The main-line event, 'He fell out of the tree,' is cast in the nominalized form: *bahrlap ni bohrlop nam-kə ci o-teh-wo*, 'with a crash and a bang he fell to the ground.' It is the pivotal event that brings about another change in the trend of the story. This is what follows: "Just at that moment Mana screamed out, 'Hey brother, grab the king. He's just the one I need.' Seeing a man jump out of a tree and hearing Mana's words panicked the king so badly that when all the leopards fled, it was the king who was in the lead.'

'propositions which describe the most important events in the narrative.'

16.7 Quantification

So far in this chapter it has been assumed that the nominalized verb form is the marked form in a narrative discourse, occurring less frequently than its unmarked narrative counterpart. As such, the nominalized form stands out as more salient than the ground in which it is set. The claim needs empirical justification – before we proceed further, the frequency distribution of the two forms needs to be established.

16.7.1 Frequency distribution of nominalized forms in discourse

Before comparing the actual distribution of the two types, we must first remove from consideration those clause types in which it is not structurally possible for one or the other of the two forms to occur. In particular, Kham is a clause-chaining language (see §15.2), and the majority of verbs are non-finite, chain-medial verbs. Only the final verb in the clause chain occurs as a fully inflected verb, and as such is the only verb in the entire chain eligible for the marked/unmarked distinction. This can be seen in the following example from 'Mana and the Leopard' – non-finite chain-medial verbs are marked in italics, and the chain-final, fully inflected verb is underlined:

(13) lae te nɨ̃:lai ŋakəini *lidə, uhuzyakə* te e babəi ŋalai kəina nəhuzyao ro həi *odokə* te, lae ə: nɨ̃:lai kəinya lidə ŋahuzya həi *lidə* həi dokeo.

'The leopard *said*, "I'm going to eat you," and as he (the leopard) *came*, he (Mana) *replied*, "Yikes, you're coming to eat me?" and the leopard *answering* said, "Yes, I'm coming in order to eat you."'

All chain-medial verbs, because they are structurally incapable of the marked/unmarked distinction, are excluded from eligibility. Out of a total sample of 617 clauses from 6 different stories, a full 70 percent of the verbs are chain-medial or embedded within direct speech, leaving only 30 percent of them (188 chain-final verbs) eligible for consideration. This can be seen in table 85.

Table 85. Frequency of verbs eligible for the marked/unmarked distinction

	TKL	MAL	FAL	CBB	WID	JAW	Total
Total clauses	93	168	50	76	145	85	617
Chain-medial and embedded clauses	55	125	28	59	115	47	429
Chain-final clauses	38	43	22	17	30	38	188
% eligible	41	26	44	22	21	45	30

TKL = Tipalkya Kills a Leopard; MAL = Mana and the Leopard; FAL = The Flea and the Louse; CBB = The Crow Becomes Black; WID = The Widow Woman; JAW = Jaman and the Witches

Table 86 goes a step further and shows that of the 188 chain-final verbs eligible for

nominalization, only 51 are actually nominalized. Thus, in the sample I have chosen as representative of Kham narrative discourse, the 'marked' verb form occurs only 27 percent of the time, while the normal 'unmarked' verbal form occurs 73 percent of the time. These counts, then, verify that of the two verb forms under consideration, the nominalized form is indeed the 'marked' form, less frequent and therefore more salient than the 'unmarked' ground in which it occurs.

Table 86. Frequency distribution of nominalized verb forms in discourse

	TKL	MAL	FAL	CBB	WID	JAW	Total
Total eligible clauses	38	43	22	17	30	38	188
Normal form	28	34	12	9	18	36	137
Nominalized form	10	9	10	8	12	2	51
% nominalized	26	21	45	47	40	5	27

TKL = Tipalkya Kills a Leopard; MAL = Mana and the Leopard; FAL = The Flea and the Louse; CBB = The Crow Becomes Black; WID = The Widow Woman; JAW = Jaman and the Witches

16.7.2 Relationship between verb forms and the MEL

There is a possibility, or course, that there is a direct correlation between the two verb forms and 'true' semantic events, though the possibility is unlikely for human language. Language is as much about construal as it is about the 'real-world.' Still, if the regular verb form corresponds ideally with foregrounded events occurring on the MEL, while the marked, nominalized form corresponds ideally with background or supportive material which is in some way off the MEL, these idealizations should show up as absolute distributions. Recall, in fact, that our prediction has been that there would be a significantly high level of correspondence between the nominalized form and stage setting or backgrounding functions. It was suspected that the marked, nominalized form would correlate with non-MEL material. The question to be asked then is, 'Is there, in fact, a correlation between regular, finite verb forms and the MEL?' and, if so, 'What is the level of that correlation?'

Before attempting to answer these questions we need first to establish guidelines for determining objectively whether an event is part of the semantic chain of events or not. The MEL needs to be identified independently of whatever linguistic devices are used to express the material. The assumption is that the speaker, in attempting to build a coherent mental representation of what is being narrated, has the option of construing 'real-world' semantic events as linguistic 'non-events.' Recall the story of 'The Widow Woman' in example (10), in which some of the early events in the story are construed as part of the setting.

For the purposes of this study, a true semantic event will be identified by two criteria – it must be reported as actually occurring (e.g. not hypothetical or negated), and it must

also advance the chronological time line. Based on these criteria, the examples in (14b) and (15b) are sentences which do not qualify as semantic events. Both (14) and (15) are taken from a story called 'Jaman and the Witches.'

(14) SEMANTIC EVENT:
a. melao kanchi binkoie oẽ:hlao rã:wo patalə te səcyã:hnakerə.
'They made me stand in the broad terrace of Kanchi Binkoy's field.'

NON-EVENT:
b. yasəcyã:hnakə te ə: ada hoda ẽ:h pata bəhri zə mi:rə chəpək lizyarə.
'When they made me stand there, the whole flat of the field is full of motionless people.'

Sentence (14a) is an event that advances the story line, while (14b) is an elaboration of what the narrator encountered when he was made to stand in Kanchi Binkoy's field. It is reported as a current state, not as an event, and does nothing to advance the chronological time line of the story. Later in the same story, Jaman's walking stick turns into a sword:

(15) a. SEMANTIC EVENT:
ŋahdaŋao jwi:hsidə ŋabazyao jwi:h zə ŋakwi:tə te khyo:wo tərwali take
'What had earlier been my walking stick became a long sword in my hand.'

b. NON-EVENT:
no tərwali dadə ŋanəizyakə te, ŋayũ:lə kata ŋasəmjike?
'Holding onto that sword, what do you suppose I was thinking?'

Again, (15a) is an event that advances the story's time line, while the rhetorical question of (15b) is not a semantic event at all. It is a rhetorical device for introducing the events that follow.

Events that occur concurrently with a preceding event are also non-MEL. Though they may qualify as real-world events, they fail to advance the chronological time line any further than the preceding event, as in:

(16) a. SEMANTIC EVENTS:
təba:hrae 'bɨ̃:rə gerakəike' həi likerə. təba:hrae 'basmarə gerakəike' həi likerə. təba:hrae 'mi:rə gerakəike' həi likerə.
'Some said, "We ate wild billy goats." Some said, "We ate wild nanny goats." Some said, "We ate people."'

b. CONCURRENT EVENT:
no mənəe kyo:hwo opəĩzyao la te gəih gwih zə malidə cuhsidə le.
'The leopard that tried to catch Mana said nothing and sat in silence.'

i. Frequency of MEL and non-MEL clauses in narrative discourse

A careful examination of the six texts alluded to in the tables reveals that, on average, about two-thirds (65 percent) of all narrative material belongs to the semantic main

event line, while one-third (35 percent) is non-eventive. The non-eventive material specifies, among other things, where, when, and under what circumstances the actions of the narrative take place. It includes not only background and setting, but also concurrent events, irrealis, and special devices like rhetorical questions. The statistics are laid out in table 87.

The question that concerns us here is not so much the overall frequency of MEL material in a narrative discourse – in 'Tipalkya Kills a Leopard,' for example, non-MEL clauses outnumber MEL clauses.[8] The reason for the high incidence of non-MEL material in this particular narration is that Tipalkya, the narrator, adds more editorial comments than usual. The more important question here, then, is 'How well do the two verb forms correlate with MEL material?'

Table 87. Frequency distribution of MEL versus non-MEL clauses in discourse

	TKL	MAL	FAL	CBB	WID	JAW	Total
Total eligible clauses	38	43	22	17	30	38	188
MEL clauses	16	37	16	12	20	21	122
Non-MEL clauses	22	6	6	5	10	17	66
% MEL	42	86	73	71	67	55	65
% Non-MEL	58	14	27	29	33	45	35

TKL = Tipalkya Kills a Leopard; MAL = Mana and the Leopard; FAL = The Flea and the Louse; CBB = The Crow Becomes Black; WID = The Widow Woman; JAW = Jaman and the Witches

ii. Correlation of nominalized forms with non-MEL material

Now that we have objectively identified the MEL clauses in our corpus independently of introspection and syntactic form, we are in a position to ask how well the two verb forms correspond to MEL material. The first question we need to ask, then, is how well the marked, nominalized verb form corresponds to non-MEL clauses; that is, material which is off the main event line. A related question, but one which may, in fact, yield different results is: How much non-MEL material is marked by the nominalized form? The reason, of course, is that all of *x* may be contained in *y*, but not all of *y* is composed of *x*. Table 88 shows the statistical correlation between nominalized forms and MEL/non-MEL material.

Table 88 reveals, at least in part, something of what we expected. The nominalized form occurs more often (63 percent) with non-MEL material than it does with plus-MEL material. There is a surprisingly high coincidence, however, of the nominalized form

[8] Table 87 is in some ways misleading – it shows only the number of chain-final clauses that are MEL. Chain-medial clauses, which, in fact, are mostly MEL, have already been excluded from consideration because they cannot participate in the marked/unmarked distinction. Adding chain-medial clauses to the distribution, the frequencies for the TKL story become 59 percent MEL, 41 percent non-MEL, which is closer to the total average shown in the same table.

with plus-MEL material – a full 37 percent. It is this 37 percent that constitutes the 'problem' data presented earlier – the unexpected occurrence of the marked form in contexts where it would not be predicted by the notions of background or setting. The 63 percent – the coincidence of nominalizations and non-MEL – is that part of the corpus which is clearly background or setting. Later on, we will explore the problem data to see if, in fact, it has a coherent function with the other nominalized material.

Table 88. Correlation of nominalized forms with MEL/non-MEL clauses

	TKL	MAL	FAL	CBB	WID	JAW	Total
Nominalized clauses	10	9	10	8	12	2	51
non-MEL	9	4	4	5	10	1	32
% non-MEL	90	44	40	63	83	50	63
plus-MEL	1	5	6	3	2	1	19
% MEL	10	56	60	38	17	50	37

TKL = Tipalkya Kills a Leopard; MAL = Mana and the Leopard; FAL = The Flea and the Louse; CBB = The Crow Becomes Black; WID = The Widow Woman; JAW = Jaman and the Witches

We will look now at the same material from a different perspective – we will take the MEL, not the marked, nominalized form, as our starting point, and determine the level of correspondence between non-MEL material and the marked, nominalized form. We will ask the question, 'Are there other forms besides nominalizations which are associated with material off the MEL?' As can be seen from table 89, the answer is yes – it turns out that there is only about a 50–50 chance for non-MEL material to be nominalized. In fact, standard deviation is so high that no significance can be attached to the figures; as much as 94 percent of non-MEL material in some narratives (e.g. 'Jaman and the Witches') correlates with the regular, unmarked verb form, while as much as 100 percent of non-MEL material in other narratives (e.g. 'The Crow becomes Black' and 'The Widow Woman') correlates with the marked, nominalized form (see table 89).

Table 89. Correlation of non-MEL with nominalized and regular forms

	TKL	MAL	FAL	CBB	WID	JAW	Total
Non-MEL clauses	22	6	6	5	10	17	66
Regular unmarked form	13	2	3	0	0	16	34
% unmarked	59	67	50	0	0	94	52
Nominalized form	9	4	3	5	10	1	32
% nominalized	41	33	50	100	100	6	48

16.8 Interpretation

Upon closer investigation, it turns out that there are clear explanations for both unexpected correlations in the data: the correlation of marked, nominalized forms with MEL material (table 88), and the correlation of regular, unmarked verbal forms with non-MEL material (table 89).

16.8.1 Non-MEL material and unmarked verb forms

It can be shown that non-MEL material occurring without the marked, nominalized verb form is of a specific type. Of the thirty-four clauses belonging to this type, a full twenty-seven are imperfective – fifteen continuous imperfective, and twelve present imperfective. The rest of the clauses are rhetorical questions and irrealis. The two narrations 'Tipalkya Kills a Leopard' and 'Jaman's Dream about Witches' contain a full 85 percent of all material belonging to this type. It is significant that both are first person narratives; the former is a first person narration of a hunting adventure, and the latter is a first person narration of a frightening dream. Both make ample use of the so-called historical present to make the story more vivid. Following are examples:

FROM 'TIPALKYA KILLS A LEOPARD':

(17) PERFECTIVE PAST (-ke):

a. bənəi kə:sidə, ututhunatə zə pohdə ŋaekə te, meda ləndina-ke, kalambya kolombi.
'Bracing myself, I hit him across the nose, and he tumbled below, down in a heap.'

Next clause:
HISTORICAL PRESENT (-zya):

b. ho zə pana-zya, ho zə sodə zo:-zya.
'There he is falling, and there he is getting up and jumping.'

(18) PERFECTIVE PAST (-ke):

a. gurdə rəi-ke-o.
'Carrying it (the leopard) he brought it back (to camp).'

Next clause:
HISTORICAL PRESENT (-zya):

b. gurdə orəi-zya-o te, a: bəre:rae te, 'jɨ̃:jar thã:də jeeo ci holə upəriu ci' həi ledə həi li-zya-rə. 'ogaih cyu:cike' ledə, sətəĩdə ginraekə te, ogaih bənəi khim-zya-rə.

'As he was bringing it, the Southerners are saying, "Wow, he fell into the (musket) booby trap you set for him." "Check for his (bullet) wound," we say, and when we show it to them, they're really looking for his wound.'

FROM 'JAMAN AND THE WITCHES':

(19) PERFECTIVE PAST (MEL) (-ke):

a. horae te ŋalai te lam lum dərləidə te, ŋaŋa:hrə lumbəidyadə te, ŋami: kəpdyadə ekdəm jehloŋgalə ja:hdə bəizyao syaso jəina-ke-rə.

'They wrapped me all up, covered my face, blindfolded my eyes, put me in a sling and made like they were going to take me away.'

Next clause:

HISTORICAL PRESENT (Non-MEL) (-zya):

b. hokin te ho məni cawsə yabəinakin takheho ni. jotə jotə zə johpora:, jotə jotə zu:rə li-zya-rə, hotə hotə zə khərkəinana-zya-rə. bənəi zə ŋaturi:si-zya. 'e jero jero, nəi tajəinacyo. caosə eme em bəinacike. joda jelã:nadi bə buru eme em bəinacike' həi ŋarado-zya-o məni hitaw dõhwəĩrae tərtao gyã:h zə sehlnana-zya-rə.

'It would have been okay if they had taken me nicely. But wherever there is brush, wherever there are thorns, there they are herding me. I'm getting all scraped up. And even though I'm pleading, "Please, please, don't do this to me. Take me nicely along the trail. Wherever you take me, rather take me on the trail," they're still dragging me over wild rose bushes.'

Non-MEL material in Kham, then, is of two basic types and is coded in one of two ways. Either it is setting or background material, temporally separated from the main event line and coded by the nominalized verb form, or it is an elaboration of an earlier event purposely construed for the hearer as a current, on-line narration coded in the historical present. Thus, (19b) is an on-line elaboration of the event already reported in (19a) – 'they made like they were going to take me away,' (or 'they took me away'). Also, evaluative material may be coded by the present imperfective or by rhetorical questions.

16.8.2 The nominalized verb form and MEL material

We have seen that a full 37 percent of all nominalized verb forms in the sample are associated with the MEL. These are the cases where the marked form does not code the more expected setting or background material. An examination of these occurrences reveals that all of them mark either a surprising or unpredictable event, or an event which is in some way pivotal to the outcome of the story. I suggested earlier that these events stand in a relationship of thematic discontinuity with the preceding text.

16.8.3 Correlates of discontinuity

Sufficient examples have been given on the thematic discontinuity of MEL material marked by the nominalized verb form, and I will not reiterate the examples here. Rather,

here I will examine other correlates of discontinuity – things like intonation and pause groups. First, I will examine the correlation of pause groups with background and setting material, both of which are in temporal discontinuity with the surrounding text. If I obtain significant results, I will test to see if similar results can be obtained for nominalized MEL material in thematic discontinuity. My sample for the study will have to be limited to the two stories for which I have access to tape recordings – 'Tipalkya Kills a Leopard,' and 'Jaman and the Witches.' [9]

Before we begin, we need to reinclude all chain-medial clauses that were excluded from consideration in table 85. Though chain-medial clauses are not eligible for the marked/unmarked distinction we have been examining thus far, they are almost always a part of the MEL and highly relevant to the study of continuity. Chain-medial clauses occur in long, unbroken chains precisely because they are the most continuous material in a discourse. At the conclusion of the story 'Mana and the Leopard,' for example, comes the following clause chain consisting of three non-final verbs (in italics) and one final verb (underlined):

(20) uzihmkə *uhukə* te obabue te, 'nɨ̃: kana nəbao ki? təri nehla nəulpiu,' həi *odokə* te, 'babu, nɨ̃: nəjindəki bəhrilə gur nəgurke, ehn nədoke. itao pəisa nəmakəməie. ŋa təri nehlatə itao a:h a:h sun cã:dirə, a:h a:h rupiyarə ŋakəməike. tərikəe ci kəməisi, buhdie ci kəməisi. əizə murkhəe bəle makəməisi, babu' həi *lidə* obabulai həi dokeo.

FREE TRANSLATION: 'When he *arrived* home his father *said*, "Where did you go, anyway? You've been missing for a night and two days," and he (Mana) *replied* to his father and said, "Father, all your life you've carried loads and worked hard. But you've never made this kind of money. I, on the other hand, amassed all this money and all this gold and silver in a single night. Planning makes money, wisdom makes money; brute strength doesn't make money, Father."'

The prediction is that chain-medial clauses, especially when they occur as a part of the MEL, will be the most continuous material in a discourse. Likewise, it is also predicted that the marked, nominalized verb forms at the ends of clause chains, whether they are part of the MEL or not, will be the most discontinuous material in a discourse. The question I will examine here is whether or not the prediction is borne out in the distribution of intonation patterns and pause groups.

Notice that by adding all clauses to our statistical count gives us a different number of chain-final clauses than shown in table 85. Table 85 shows thirty-eight chain-final clauses for 'Tipalkya Kills a Leopard,' whereas the inclusion of all material gives us forty-seven chain-final clauses for the same story. The reason is that embedded within reports of direct speech are mini-discourses which are capable of containing their own

[9] 'Mana and the Leopard,' and 'The Flea and the Louse' would have been better samples since they contain the largest number of nominalized MEL clauses.

structures. Example (20), for example, has seven chain-final clauses embedded under a single verb 'he said' – 'you've carried loads,' 'you've done work,' 'you didn't make money,' 'I made money,' 'planning makes money,' 'wisdom makes money,' and 'strength doesn't make money.' Furthermore, table 85 shows fifty-five chain-medial and embedded clauses, whereas in our new count there are only forty-six chain-medial clauses. Again, the reason is that some of the clauses embedded within direct speech acts are chain-final clauses within their own mini-discourse settings.

Of the forty-six chain-medial clauses in the story 'Tipalkya Kills a Leopard,' only a minority of them (28 percent) occur with any kind of pause following them. A full 72 percent have no pause at all associated with them. In the same story, on the other hand, a majority of chain-final clauses (57 percent) occur with a following pause. Of that 57 percent, 70 percent have either nominal or imperfective structure, while only 30 percent are marked with the narrative past. Though these statistics fail to show a robust correlation between the marked, nominalized forms and the kinds of pauses one might expect to be associated with discontinuity and its cognitive correlate – increased mental effort – the tendency is still fairly clear.

A stronger correlation exists between discontinuity and falling intonation. Of all forty-six chain-medial clauses in 'Tipalkya Kills a Leopard,' not a single one occurs with falling intonation. Even where pauses do occur in chain-medial contexts, it is clear that the intonation anticipates following connected material. All instances of falling intonation (14 cases) occur on chain-final clauses. Of the fourteen, twelve of them (86 percent) occur with either nominal or imperfective verb structure, while only two cases occur with the narrative past. Recall from the an earlier discussion that nominalized verb forms and the imperfective tend to fall into the same cognitive environment; both tend not to be part of the MEL.

16.9 Conclusion

The hypothesis that formed the starting point for this chapter has indeed held up under empirical investigation. The marked, nominalized verb form, being less frequent and structurally more complex than its unmarked counterpart, stands out as contrastively salient against the ground in which it is set. In the majority of cases it marks material that is in temporal discontinuity with the surrounding context; a marker of background and setting occurring as special commentary off the MEL.

It turns out, however, that in a minority of cases the nominalized form occurs also with MEL material – an unexpected occurrence that seemed at first blush to be incompatible with the backgrounding function. Upon closer investigation, we have discovered that a skillful story teller, in an attempt to build a mental representation in the mind of the hearer, can construe certain events as surprising or pivotal to the outcome of the story. Such events, by virtue of their unpredictability, are in a relationship of thematic discontinuity with the surrounding context. The nominalized verb form, then, does not simply correspond with the notion of being on or off the semantic MEL. Rather it corresponds

with a pragmatic construct of the speaker's internal world; a mental representation whose basic constructs are shaped around the notions of continuity and discontinuity. The discontinuous material is marked, set apart, and deserving of heightened attention and increased mental effort.

17 *The Kham verb in historical perspective*

My goal in this chapter is, first of all, to compare the verbal paradigms of various Tibeto-Burman languages, focusing on person and number agreement affixes. Some researchers, looking at the same materials I look at here, have come away with the conclusion that the patterns are sufficiently different that they must have arisen independently, albeit out of a linguistic milieu that favors the incorporation of pronominal elements in the verb. On this view, agreement marking in the verb is relatively new and any similarities are due to areal tendencies or 'drift' (Caughley 1982, LaPolla 1992a, 1994). In this chapter, I will favor the opposing view, that person and number agreement patterns are old (Bauman 1975, DeLancey 1980, 1989, van Driem 1991) – indeed, that some form of agreement was present in the PTB verb, and that those modern languages which still show agreement patterns do so out of conservatism. If this is true, it will have to be shown that at the heart of the modern systems is an unimpeachable core of features common to all the pronominalizing languages, and that the variability pointed to by some researchers is attributable to secondary developments.

The former challenge – finding a core of common features – is easier to do than the latter – tracing secondary developments. I will begin by making macro comparisons across all the Kiranti languages, and then extend the comparison to languages outside the immediate geographical and genetic confines of East Himalayish – namely, to Qiangic, Nungish, Kuki-Chin, Konyak-Naga, and West Central Himalayish. Much of my work in this section is not original; many of the basic similarities at this level have already been established by others, notably Bauman (1975) and DeLancey (1980, 1988a, 1991a, etc.). I will attempt to push some comparisons to a finer level, limited by the data and, more severely, by my own imagination. This is where the second, more difficult challenge comes in – discovering the secondary developments and principles of grammaticalization that account for the considerable range of variability found in the modern languages.

Finally, in §17.5, I will turn my attention to the Kham group of languages, possibly the furthest typologically from any common ground shared by the rest, and ask the question, 'Are the agreement patterns in these languages relatable to those of other Tibeto-Burman languages, or do we have to concede that here, finally, we have a true case of independent innovation?' To answer that question I will first look at the agreement patterns of several Kham dialects to determine, if possible, an original pattern for Kham. It is assumed that if the modern dialects have roots in the more general

pattern shared elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman, they will be more visible from a deeper time depth.

17.1 Macro features in Kiranti agreement systems

I will begin with a comparison of verbal agreement patterns in the Kiranti (or East Himalayish) languages of eastern Nepal. I will not be the first to point out that patterns of pronominal cross-reference in the Kiranti verb are of a different type from the subject agreement patterns more generally known in other language families.

17.1.1 Hierarchical agreement patterns

Agreement patterns in all the Kiranti languages I have looked at so far are based on the person of the participants rather than on their semantic or grammatical roles. What this yields in a transitive configuration is the following basic pattern, sometimes referred to in the literature as a 'split ergative' pattern (Bauman 1975, DeLancey 1981a, 1983):[1]

(A) agreement is with *first* or *second* person in preference to third, and
(B) with the *object* where both participants are first or second person.

Within this language type, a transitive configuration[2] of 1–3 or 3–1 yields 1ST person agreement (the highest ranking participant), and a configuration of 2–3 or 3–2 yields 2ND person agreement (also the highest ranking participant). Where both participants are equally ranked, i.e. 1ST or 2ND person, 1–2 yields 2ND person (the object participant), and 2–1 yields 1ST person (also the object participant). Thus, 'I hit him,' 'He hit me,' and 'You hit me' all have 1ST person agreement, while 'You hit him,' 'He hit you,' and 'I hit you' all have 2ND person agreement.

All of the languages investigated exhibit the same basic pattern with some modification, usually an indication of grammatical role. Only if a language has some means to distinguish grammatical role (or the direction of the transitive relationship) will two otherwise identically marked predications like 'I hit him' and 'He hit me' be disambiguated. Several Kiranti languages have developed this means, but before we look at them, we need first to look at a language that lacks it in order to illustrate the basic pattern. Tangut will provide us with the example and a solid basis for further discussion (§17.2).

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[1] LaPolla (1992a) points out that ergative morphology is defined in most major works as a semantically based contrast between *agent* and *non-agent* roles. Here ergative alignment in verb morphology is an artifact of the person hierarchy 1/2 > 3.

[2] The configuration in 1–3 and 3–1 indicates a transitive relationship of 1ST acting on 3RD and 3RD acting on 1ST, respectively.

17.1.2 Split number patterns

Number marking in Kiranti languages is entirely separate from, even disassociated with person marking. Superimposed onto the hierarchical agreement pattern for person is a different kind of pattern for number marking – also producing a role split. In general, only the participant with the highest number is marked for number agreement. In the singular object series, this is equivalent to saying that the non-singular subject is marked for number. In the dual or plural object series, on the other hand, number marking corresponds with the object (especially where the subject is singular). Elsewhere, languages take one of the two following strategies:

Where both participants are non-singular:
(A) number marking corresponds with the *object*, or
(B) number marking corresponds with the *subject*.

In both language types, a disjunction between person and number occurs in parts of the paradigm. In the singular object series in the 1–2, 2–1, 3–1 and 3–2 configurations, for example, person marking agrees with the *object* in a so-called 'split ergative' pattern, and number agrees with the number of the *subject*. In languages of the first type, which I will refer to as TYPE A, non-singular–non-singular configurations pattern after the singular–non-singular pattern – i.e. agreement with a non-singular object. Thulung will provide a good example of this pattern (see §17.2.1) and a basis for further discussion.

In languages of the second type, which I will refer to as TYPE B languages, non-singular–non-singular configurations pattern after the non-singular–singular pattern – i.e. agreement with a non-singular subject. Languages of this type tend furthermore to mark only the subject in such configurations, eliminating any reference to the object participant in the transitive relationship. Sunwar will provide a good example of this pattern and a basis for further discussion (see §17.2.2).

17.1.3 Composite number

Number in Kiranti-type languages, especially in non-singular–non-singular configurations, very often marks the composite number of all participants. Bauman (1975) refers to this as 'propositional number.' Thus, for example, where dual acts on dual, number marking might be plural – a composite number for all participants in the proposition. In general, a morpheme *-m*, which is normally associated with plural 3RD persons, is also the form of choice for composite plural. Thulung provides a good example – *-mi* is the plural for 3RD person, and *-ni* for 2ND person. In the 1P–2S configuration, however, where one might expect *-ni* for 2ND person, the 3RD plural *-mi* occurs instead.

17.1.4 Prefixal patterns

In a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, both inside and outside of Kiranti, person marking patterns involve a prefixal series as well as a suffixal one. In a majority of cases, the prefixal series has some kind of 2ND person entailment (DeLancey 1981b). In addition, an old inverse marker often occurs, usually with synchronic 3RD person entailments. It appears that as some of the languages began investing more and more in suffixal morphology, what were at one time distinct categories have now collapsed into one or two general prefixes with arbitrary distribution. In most languages, the series has disappeared altogether, and if it did survive, it did so in co-existence with an enriched system of suffixes.

In at least two language groups, namely Kuki-Chin and Kham, the old prefixal series was replaced by a new set of prefixes, more regular, and based on a possessive analogy. Thus, though the prefixes are transparently new, their presence is to be accounted for by secondary developments in which the old, defunct series of probable PTB provenience has been replaced by a new series with iconic transparency. We will look at the prefixes by individual language as we get to them.

17.2 The basic agreement pattern: Tangut

The hierarchical agreement pattern discussed above is found in its basic, unmodified form in Tangut (also known as Hsi Hsia), an extinct Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Inner Mongolia until the thirteenth century (Kwanten 1979). This pristine agreement pattern will form the basis for our ongoing discussion. In table 90 is the Tangut paradigm with singular objects.

Table 90. Person marking in Tangut (intransitive and transitive) (Kepping 1975, 1981, 1982)

			Ø	1S	2S	3S
s	1ST	SG	-ŋa		-na	-ŋa
u		PL	-ni		-na	-ni
b						
j	2ND	SG	-na	-ŋa		-na
e		PL	-ni	-ŋa		-ni
c						
t	3RD	SG	-Ø	-ŋa	-na	-Ø
		PL	-Ø	-ŋa	-na	-Ø

Notice from the Tangut paradigm that the index used for 1ST singular intransitive subject is *-ŋa*. The same index marks the 1ST singular object in a 2–1 or 3–1 configuration. Likewise *-na*, the index for 2ND singular intransitive subject, is also the index used in

1–2 and 3–2 configurations, marking 2ND singular object. In other words, 1/2 person object indices in the transitive paradigm are marked the same as 1/2 person subject indices in the intransitive paradigm – an ergative alignment. Only where 1ST or 2ND acts on 3RD, as in 1–3 and 2–3, is the subject marked – a nominative alignment – hence the term 'split-ergative' (see footnote 1).

Number marking in Tangut appears to be simple and relatively straightforward. The only example of number in the data is an inflected form *-ni*, a portmanteau morpheme for both 1ST plural and 2ND plural. An apparently related form, *-ni*, occurs as a 2ND person plural marker in many of the Kiranti languages.

17.2.1 The modified person–number agreement pattern

The simple pattern of agreement found in Tangut has gone through certain embellishments in many Tibeto-Burman languages. One common one, which gives some indication of the grammatical role of the participant indexed in the verb, is ubiquitous enough that some researchers have suggested that the marking of direction should be given a place in the proto system (DeLancey 1981b). Following are partial paradigms from several Kiranti languages that include, in addition to the basic agreement pattern shown in Tangut, some indication of the grammatical role of the marked participants. All the languages also manifest fairly elaborate number marking systems, some TYPE A and some TYPE B.

i. The Thulung pattern

Thulung provides a good example of a language with both hierarchical person marking and hierarchical number marking, and the conflict which arises where they intersect. Given in table 91 is the Thulung transitive with singular objects only.

• *The person split.* The first thing to notice from the Thulung paradigm is that the basic hierarchical person pattern prevails. Thus, *-na* occurs not only as a 2ND person subject index in both intransitive and transitive 2–3 configurations, but also as a 2ND person object index in 1–2 and 3–2. Similarly, 1ST person forms with a velar nasal *-ŋ* occur as a subject index in the intransitive, and as an object index in 2–1 and 3–1.

Though considerable ambiguity remains in this paradigm, the distinction between subject and object forms for certain persons helps clarify the direction of otherwise ambiguous transitive relationships. First person singular, for example, is marked by *-ŋu* as a subject, but by *-ŋi* as an object. Note, too, that a special form *-ni* occurs in the 1S–2S combination that occurs nowhere else in the paradigm (except as a 2P marker where it indicates number). Throughout the rest of the paradigm, anywhere number marking (*-ci*, *-ni*, or *-mi*) occurs alone without conjoined person marking, agreement is with the subject.

Table 91. Agreement patterns in Thulung (Allen 1975) (person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	-ŋu		-ni	-u
	1ST	DL	-cu-ku		-na-*ci*	-cu-ku
		PL	-ku		-na-*mi*	-ku
s						
u	1ST &	DL	*-ci*			*-ci*
b	2ND	PL	-i			*-i*
j						
e		SG	-na	-ŋi		-na
c	2ND	DL	*-ci*	-ŋi-*ci*		*-ci*
t		PL	*-ni*	-ŋi-*ni*		*-ni*
		SG	-Ø	-ŋi	-na	-iu
	3RD	DL	*-ci*	-ŋi-*ci*	-na-*ci*	*-ci*
		PL	*-mi*	-ŋi-*mi*	-na-*mi*	*-mi*

The beginnings of 3RD person marking also show up in the Thulung paradigm. In 3S–3S, for example, *-iu* shows up in place of the Tangut *-Ø*. DeLancey adduces comparative evidence that *-u*/*-o* occurs as a reanalyzed 'direct' marker in numerous Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1981b). Here, in 1–3 the *-u* occurs in place of an expected *-ŋ*, suggesting that the two morphemes may have been in slot competition at one time (van Driem 1991). In some related languages, as we shall see, *-ŋ* occurs in this position, and in others, some combination of *-ŋ* and *-u*. The synchronic value of *-u* for Thulung is a portmanteau 1–3.

• *The number split.* Thulung is a classic example of a language with a TYPE A number split. In the singular object series illustrated above, in 1–2, 2–1, 3–1 and 3–2 configurations, the number markers *-ci*, *-ni*, and *-mi* agree with the highest numbered participant – the subject. In the dual and plural object series (which I give in tables 92 and 93 below), the same number forms correspond to the number of the object – number marking agrees with the object when both participants are non-singular. The end result is that in a person–number sequence, the number may or may not correspond to the same entity as the person marker. Thus, for example, in *-na-ci* from 1D–2S (table 91), *-na* refers to 2S and *-ci* to 1D, while in the same form from 3S–2D (table 92), *-na* and *-ci* both refer to 2D.

Table 92. The dual object series in Thulung

subject			Ø	1D OBJ	1&2D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	-ŋu			-ni-*ci*	-u-*ci*
	1ST	DL	-cuku			-na-*ci*	-cuku
		PL	-ku			-na-*ci*-*mi*	-ku
	1ST & 2ND	DL	-*ci*				-*ci*
		PL	-i				-i-(*ci*)
		SG	-na	-*ci*-ki			-na-(*ci*)
	2ND	DL	-*ci*	-*ci*-ki			-*ci*
		PL	-*ni*	-*ci*-ki			-ni-(*ci*)
		SG	-Ø	-*ci*-ki	-sa-*ci*	-na-*ci*	-iu-(*ci*)
	3RD	DL	-*ci*	-*ci*-ki	-sa-*ci*	-na-*ci*	-*ci*
		PL	-*mi*	-*ci*-ki	-sa-*mi*	-na-*ci*-*mi*	-*mi*-(*ci*)

Table 93. The plural object series in Thulung

subject			Ø	1P OBJ	1&2P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
		SG	-ŋu			-ni	-u-*mi*
	1ST	DL	-cuku			-ni-*ci*-*mi*	-cuku
		PL	-ku			-ni-*mi*	-ku
	1ST & 2ND	DL	-*ci*				-ci
		PL	-i				-i-(*mi*)
		SG	-na	-ki-*mi*			-na-(*mi*)
	2ND	DL	-*ci*	-ki-*mi*			-*ci*
		PL	-*ni*	-ki-*mi*			-ni-(*mi*)
		SG	-Ø	-ki-*mi*	-sa	-ni-*mi*	-iu-(*mi*)
	3RD	DL	-*ci*	-ki-*mi*	-sa-*ci*	-ni-*mi*	-*ci*-(*mi*)
		PL	-*mi*	-ki-*mi*	-sa-*mi*	-ni-*mi*	-*mi*

The morpheme *-ki* occurs as a 1ST person object index in both the dual and plural object series. Contrasting this morpheme with both 1ST singular object and the inclusive forms, we can conclude that *-ki* is a 1ST person *exclusive* object. Variants of the same morpheme show up in other Kiranti paradigms either as an exclusive marker, or as the

1ST person plural.[3]

The morpheme *-ni*, which occurs as a 2ND person plural object index, occurred also in Tangut as a 2ND plural. The same morpheme occurs in many Kiranti paradigms simply as a plural marker for 2ND person (and appears to be so in the intransitive form). In the transitive paradigm, however, the morpheme occurs with a separate plural marker *-mi*. As such, its synchronic value is 2ND person in a plural context, and is a good example of the kind of reanalysis that is rampant in paradigmatic contexts.

Notice also from the two paradigms above that in some cases where both participants are non-singular both are marked for number, as in *-na-ci-mi* and *-ni-ci-mi*, where *-ci* is dual and *-mi* plural.

ii. The Bahing pattern

Bahing provides another, slightly modified version of what we saw in Thulung – a TYPE A split number system existing alongside a split person system. In table 94 I give the Bahing transitive paradigm with singular objects.

Table 94. Person marking in Bahing (Michailovsky 1975b, and Van Driem 1991) (person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	-ŋa		-na	-V-ŋa / -C-u
	1ST	DL	-su-ku		-e-*si*	-su-ku
		PL	-ka		-e-*mi*	-ka
s						
u	1ST &	DL	-sa			-sa
b	2ND	PL	-ya			-ya
j						
e		SG	-e	-i		-i
c	2ND	DL	-*si*	-i-*si*		-*si*
t		PL	-*ni*	-i-*ni*		-*ni*
		SG	-Ø	-i	-e	-w-a
	3RD	DL	-*se*	-i-*si*	-e-*si*	-*se*
		PL	-*me*	-i-*mi*	-e-*mi*	-*me*

• *Hierarchical person marking.* The Bahing paradigm is not very different from Thulung. Here again person agreement is in the now familiar hierarchical pattern. In Bahing, however, 1ST person object agreement is marked by *-i* in place of the Thulung *-ŋi*, and 2ND person object is marked by *-e* in place of *-na*. (It is possible that an

[3] Van Driem (1991) postulates a fused morpheme here, with **-k* as the first plural, and **-ya* as an exclusive.

original *-ŋa* and *-na* were both palatalized in Bahing as object indicators, with the original consonant finally lost in that environment.) In Bahing, *-na* occurs only in the 1S–2S configuration, a unique category occurring throughout Kiranti, and functionally analogous to the Thulung *-ni*. Notice also that in 1–3, both forms *-ŋa* and *-u* occur, depending in part on the vocalism of the preceding segment. As we noted in Thulung, this suggests a 'direct' marker *-u* in competition with the 1ST singular *-ŋ*.

• *Hierarchical number marking.* Recall that a language's number marking strategy is clear only in the non-singular–non-singular paradigms – i.e. where both participants are non-singular, number in TYPE A languages aligns with the object, and in TYPE B languages with the subject. In table 95 I give the dual object series from Bahing (representing both non-singular series).

Table 95. The dual object series in Bahing (Michailovsky 1975b)
(person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1D OBJ	1&2D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	-ŋa			-na-*si*	-V-ŋa-*si*/-C-u-*si*
	1ST	DL	-su-ku			-*si*-*si*	-su-ku-*si*
		PL	-ka			-*si*-*mi*	-ka-*si*
s							
u	1ST &	DL	-sa				-sa-*si*
b	2ND	PL	-ya				-ya-*si*
j							
e		SG	-e	-*si*-ki			-i-*si*
c	2ND	DL	-*si*	-*si*-ki-*si*			-*si*-*si*
t		PL	-*ni*	-*si*-ki-*ni*			-*ni*-*si*
		SG	-Ø	-*si*-ki	-so	-*si*	-w-a-*si*
	3RD	DL	-*se*	-*si*-ki-*si*	-so-*si*	-*si*-*si*	-*se*-*si*
		PL	-*me*	-*si*-k-*mi*	-so-*mi*	-*si*-*mi*	-e-*me*-*si*

Clearly, Bahing has TYPE A number marking, but with an interesting twist. In non-singular–non-singular configurations, number marking corresponds with the object, as expected. A second number, however, is introduced to the string, corresponding to the number of the other participant. In 2P–1D *-si-ki-ni*, for example, *-si* corresponds to the dual status of the object, *-ki* the person of the object, and *-ni* the number of the subject. Where the object is 2ND person, person marking is eliminated altogether, and the first number marker corresponds to the number of the object (functionally standing in for it), and the second number to the number of the subject. There is no person marker *per se*.

iii. The Kulung pattern

Kulung represents another slight modification of the Thulung–Bahing pattern. We have just seen that in the Bahing non-singular–non-singular configurations, two number markers occur, one corresponding to the number of the object and the other to the number of the subject. In the Kulung 2ND person object series, only the number of the object is indicated, with no marking at all to indicate the person or number of the other participant. This can be seen in the dual object series from Kulung (shown in table 96).

Table 96. The dual object series in Kulung (Holzhausen 1973)
(person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1D OBJ	1&2D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	-o			-an-*ci*	-o
	1ST	DL	-*ci*-ka			-*ci*	-*cu*-ka
		PL	-*ya*-ka			-*ci*	-*am*-ka
s							
u	1ST &	DL	-*ci*				-*cu*
b	2ND	PL	-*yə*				-*am*-ka
j							
e		SG	-ə	-*ci*-ka			-Ø
c	2ND	DL	-*ci*	-*ci*-ka			-*cu*
t		PL	-*ni*	-*ci*-ka			-n*um*
		SG	-ə	-*ci*-ka	-*ci*	-*ci*	-ə
	3RD	DL	-	-*ci*-ka		-*ci*	-
		PL	-ə-*ci*	-*ci*-ka	-*ci*	-*ci*	-ə

17.2.2 Hierarchical person marking with TYPE B number patterns

Sunwar follows the same hierarchical person pattern we have seen in Thulung and Bahing. The person marking pattern, however, is obvious only in the singular object series. In the dual and plural object series, the underlying person marking pattern is largely obscured by TYPE B number marking patterns. Before looking at this, however, we need to look at the singular object series (table 97), in which the Sunwar pattern is almost identical to the Bahing pattern (probably its closest relative).

Sunwar differs from Thulung and Bahing in one major respect, and represents an interesting departure from those systems. The difference lies in its approach to number marking, a difference that becomes obvious only in the dual and plural object series (tables 98 and 99). Sunwar follows the TYPE B number marking strategy introduced earlier. Recall that in this language type, non-singular–non-singular configurations pattern after the non-singular–singular pattern. In this pattern, anywhere both participants

are non-singular, number marking corresponds with the subject. Furthermore, such languages tend to mark only the subject in such configurations, eliminating any reference to the object.

Table 97. Person marking in Sunwar (Genetti 1988b)
(person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	-ŋa		-n	-ŋ
	1ST	DL	-s-ku		-s-ku	-s-ku
		PL	-ka		-k(a)	-k(a)
s						
u	1ST &	DL	-sa			
b	2ND	PL	-ya			
j						
e		SG	-ye	-yi		-yi
c	2ND	DL	-si	-yi-*si*		-*si*
t		PL	-ni	-yi-*ni*		-*ni*
		SG	-me	-yi	-ye	-u
	3RD	DL	-se	-(yi)-*si*	-ye-*si*	-*s*(e)
		PL	-ma	-(yi)-*mi*	-ye-*mi*	-*m*(e)

In tables 98 and 99 I give the dual and plural object paradigms for Sunwar. (It is in this part of the paradigm that the difference between TYPE A and TYPE B emerges.)

Table 98. The dual object series in Sunwar
(person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	-ŋa		-n-*si*	-ŋ-*si*
	1ST	DL	-s-ku		-s-ku	-s-ku
s		PL	-ka		-k(a)	-k(a)
u						
b		SG	-ye	-(yi)-s-ki		-m-*si*
j	2ND	DL	-*si*	-*si*		-*si*
e		PL	-*ni*	-*ni*		-*ni*
c						
t		SG	-me	-*s*-ki	-ye-*si*	-m-*si*
	3RD	DL	-se	-*s*(e)	-*s*(e)	-*s*(e)
		PL	-ma	-*m*(e)	-*m*(e)	-*m*(e)

Table 99. The plural object series in Sunwar
(person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
		SG	-ŋa		-n-*ni*	-ŋ-*mi*
	1ST	DL	-s-ku		-s-ku	-s-ku
s		PL	-ka		-k(a)	-k(a)
u						
b		SG	-ye	-(yi)-ki		-*mi*
j	2ND	DL	-*si*	-*si*		-*si*
e		PL	-*ni*	-*ni*		-*ni*
c						
t		SG	-*me*	-ki	-ye-*ni*	-*mi*
	3RD	DL	-*se*	-*s*(e)	-*s*(e)	-*s*(e)
		PL	-ma	-*m*(e)	-*m*(e)	-*m*(e)

At first glance, because of the predominance of subject agreement forms in these paradigms, one gets the impression that Sunwar is a subject agreement language. The pattern, however, is only superficial. Underlying the system is a hierarchical person marking pattern which gets displaced in non-singular–non-singular configurations by a dominant TYPE B number marking system – a system with subject affinities. In all other configurations, namely in singular-singular and singular–non-singular configurations, the familiar hierarchical pattern surfaces unscathed.

17.2.3 A hybrid pattern: Hayu

Agreement patterns in Hayu represent a strange kind of hybrid number marking system with features from both TYPE A and TYPE B agreement patterns. Only in 1–2 configurations, where both participants are non-singular, number agreement is with the subject participant – a Sunwar (TYPE B) trait. Elsewhere in the non-singular–non-singular configurations, number agreement is with the object – a Thulung (TYPE A) trait.

In the singular object series shown in table 100, the hierarchical pattern dominates. Only in the 1ST non-singular acting on 2ND (tables 101–102), where number dominates, is the pattern obscured.

In the dual and plural object series, the underlying hierarchical person marking pattern is again obscured by the subject marking pattern (built on number) only in the 1–2 configurations. Recall that in Sunwar, the underlying pattern was obscured in *all* non-singular–non-singular configurations. I cannot offer an explanation as to why the pattern is only partial in Hayu.

Table 100. The singular object series in Hayu (Michailovsky 1974) (person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1S OBJ	[1&2]	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	-suŋ			-N-no	-kuŋ
	1ST	DL	-ch-oŋ			-ch-oŋ	-ch-oŋ
		PL	-(ki)-k-oŋ			-ki-k-oŋ	-ki-k-oŋ
s							
u	1ST &	DL	-ch-iŋ				-ch-iŋ
b	2ND	PL	-(ki)-k-eŋ				-ki-k-eŋ
j							
e		SG	-N	-suŋ			-ko
c	2ND	DL	-N-che	-suŋ-che			-che
t		PL	-N-ne	-suŋ-ne/-me			-ne
		SG	-Ø	-suŋ		-N	-ko
	3RD	DL	-N-che	-suŋ-che		-N	-ko-che
		PL	-N-me	-suŋ-ne/-me		-N-me	-ko-me

Table 101. The dual object series in Hayu

			Ø	1D OBJ	1&2D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ	
		SG	-suŋ				-N-no-*che*	-kuŋ-*che*
	1ST	DL	-ch-oŋ				-ch-oŋ	-ch-oŋ
		PL	-(ki)-k-oŋ				-ki-k-oŋ	-ki-k-oŋ
s								
u	1ST &	DL	-ch-iŋ					-ch-iŋ
b	2ND	PL	-(ki)-k-eŋ					-ki-k-eŋ
j								
e		SG	-N	-*ch*-oŋ				-ko-*che*
c	2ND	DL	-N-che	-*ch*-oŋ				-*che*
t		PL	-N-ne	-*ch*-oŋ				-*ne*
		SG	-Ø	-*ch*-oŋ		-*ch*-iŋ	-N-*che*	-ko-*che*
	3RD	DL	-N-che	-*ch*-oŋ		-*ch*-iŋ		-ko-*che*
		PL	-N-me	-*ch*-oŋ		-*ch*-iŋ	-N-*che*	-ko-*me*

Table 102. The plural object series in Hayu

subject			Ø	1P OBJ	1&2P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
	1ST	SG	-s-uŋ			-N-no-*ne*	-kuŋ-*me*
		DL	-ch-oŋ			-ch-oŋ	-ch-oŋ
		PL	-(ki)-k-oŋ			-ki-k-oŋ	-ki-k-oŋ
	1ST & 2ND	DL	-ch-iŋ				-ch-iŋ
		PL	-(ki)-k-eŋ				-ki-k-eŋ
	2ND	SG	-N	-*k*-oŋ			-ko-*me*
		DL	-N-che	-*k*-oŋ			-*che*
		PL	-N-ne	-*k*-oŋ			-*ne*
	3RD	SG	-N	-ki-*k*-oŋ	-*ki*-k-eŋ	-N-*ne*	-ko-*me*
		DL	-N-che	-ki-*k*-oŋ	-*ki*-k-eŋ		-ko-*me*
		PL	-N-me	-ki-*k*-oŋ	-*ki*-k-eŋ	-N-*ne*	-ko-*me*

17.2.4 An expanded pattern: Limbu

Limbu is the first language in our sample that includes some reference to the person of a second participant. Recall that in the TYPE A languages we have seen so far, both person and number morphemes in the dual and plural object series refer to the same entity. In Bahing a third morpheme was added to the string which made reference to the number of the other (non-ergative) participant, as in *-si-ki-ni* where *-si* corresponds to the dual status of the object, *-ki* the person of the object, and *-ni* the number of the subject participant. In Limbu, a third morpheme in such combinations makes reference to the *person* of the non-ergative participant, as can be seen in the paradigm for dual objects (see table 103).

In the 1S–2D sequence *-nɛ-ci-ŋ*, the combination of *-nɛ* plus *-ci* makes reference to the person and number of the object participant, while *-ŋ* makes reference to the person of the subject participant. Likewise, in *-nɛ-ci-ge*, *-ge* makes reference to the (non-ergative) subject participant.

Apart from this innovative introduction of a person marker for a second participant, the Limbu paradigm is solidly hierarchical in its agreement patterns. Number marking belongs to the pattern we have identified as TYPE A.

Limbu has one other feature we have not seen in any of the Kiranti languages so far – a prefix *kɛ-*/*gɛ-* in the 2–1, 2–3, and 3–2 configurations. It turns out that traces of the same prefixal series with a similar distribution occur in agreement patterns both inside

and outside Kiranti. The patterns and their function will be discussed more fully within the larger context of Tibeto-Burman prefixal systems in §17.4.

Table 103. The dual object series in Limbu
(Van Driem 1987) (person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

subject			Ø	1D OBJ	1&2D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	-aŋ / -ʔɛ			-nɛ-*ci*-ŋ	-t-uŋ-*si*-ŋ
	1ST	DL	-si-ge			-nɛ-*ci*-ge	-s-u-*si*-ge
		PL	-i-ge			-nɛ-*ci*-ge	-t-um-*si*-mbe
	1ST & 2ND	DL	a-V-si-i				a-V-s-u-*si*
		PL	a-V				a-Vt-um-*si*-m
		SG	kɛ-	a-gɛ-V			kɛ-Vt-u-*si*
	2ND	DL	kɛ-V-si	a-gɛ-V			kɛ-V-s-u-*si*
		PL	kɛ-V-i	a-gɛ-V			kɛ-Vt-u-m-*si*-m
		SG	V-Ø	V-*si*-ge	a- -si	kɛ-V-*si*	Vt-u-*si*
	3RD	DL	V-si	mɛ-V-*si*-ge	a-m- -si	kɛ-m-V-*si*	V-s-u-*si*
		PL	me-V	mɛ-V-*si*-ge	a-m- -si	kɛ-m-V-*si*	me-Vt-u-*si*

17.2.5 Summary of Kiranti

The most obvious generalization coming out of a comparison of the Kiranti languages is the hierarchical person marking pattern lying at its core. Number appears to be a secondary development, sometimes adding to and sometimes conflicting with the underlying person marking patterns. Clearly, the most stable part of the Kiranti paradigm is where both participants in a transitive configuration are singular. The next most stable part, with the simple introduction of number, is where only one participant is non-singular. The greatest differences lie where both participants are non-singular.

17.3 Agreement patterns elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman

The evidence is indisputable that agreement patterns in all Kiranti languages come from a common source. First of all, the actual form of the markers, both for person and number, points to a common etymological source. Furthermore, the way in which the agreement markers pattern also divulges a common ancestry. The patterns are based on hierarchies – for person, 1ST and 2ND ranks over 3RD, and for number, non-singular ranks over singular. The way in which conflicting patterns are resolved within and

across hierarchies is also of a specific kind.

The question which naturally arises is, 'Do similar forms and patterns occur outside Kiranti, or are they restricted to this single branch of Tibeto-Burman?' If they do occur elsewhere, it needs to be determined to what extent they occur. Further, it needs to be determined if the hierarchical agreement pattern occurs elsewhere, and if so, whether number interacts with person in the same way. The answers to these questions will help determine what part, if any, of the Kiranti agreement patterns are relatable to greater Tibeto-Burman.

17.3.1 Person and number agreement in Chepang

Chepang, a language that lies just outside the Kiranti nucleus both linguistically and geographically, has one of the most elaborate agreement systems in all of Tibeto-Burman. At the heart of the Chepang agreement system is a hierarchical agreement pattern and a TYPE A number marking strategy. Like we saw in Limbu, the basic agreement pattern has been expanded to include at least some reference to the second participant, as can be seen in the paradigm for singular objects (see table 104).

Table 104. Agreement patterns in Chepang (Caughley 1982)
(person marking underlined, number marking in italics)

			Ø	1S OBJ	[1&2]	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	T-ŋʔ			T-na-ŋ	T-ŋʔ
	1ST	DL	T-ŋ-*cə*			T-na-ŋ-*jə*	T-ŋʔ-*c*-u
		PL	T-ŋ-*i*			T-na-ŋ-*sə*	T-ŋʔ-*s*-u
s							
u	1ST &	DL	T-təyh-*cə*				T-təyh-*c*-u
b	2ND	PL	T-təyh-*i*				T-təyh-*c*-u
j							
e		SG	-təʔ-T	-teʔ-T-ci			-teʔ-T-wʔ
c	2ND	DL	-teʔ-T-*jə*	-teʔ-T-na-ŋ-*jə*			-teʔ-T-j-u
t		PL	-teʔ-T-*y*ʔ	-teʔ-T-na-ŋ-*sə*			-teʔ-T-*s*-u
		SG	-T-Ø	-T-ta-ŋʔ		-teʔ-T	-T-wʔ
	3RD	DL	-T-*cə*	-T-ta-ŋʔ		-teʔ-T	-T-*c*-u
		PL	-T-*y*ʔ	-T-ta-ŋʔ		-teʔ-T	-T-*s*-u/-T-ni

In Chepang, both 1–2 and 2–1 configurations are marked for two persons plus number – in 1P–2S *-na-ŋ-sə*, for example, *-na* marks 2ND person, *-ŋ* 1ST person, and *-sə* the plural number of the highest participant, here a 1ST person subject. The 2P–1S configuration is identical apart from the morpheme *-teʔ*, which precedes the string and marks some kind of 2ND person entailment. We will look more at this morpheme in §17.4.3.

Chepang utilizes the same number morphemes we have seen in Kiranti, but with some reinterpretation. Dual is marked by *-cə*, and (apart from subject forms) plural is marked by *-i*/*-y*. Though *-i* is not common in Kiranti, it does occur commonly outside Kiranti – notably, in Gyarong, Rawang, and Nocte (Das Gupta 1971, 1980). In the transitive paradigms, where plural marks the number of the nominative argument, plural is marked by *-s*/*-sə*. This morpheme also occurs in Kiranti, but usually as a dual marker whose range has extended to include the plural as well.

Chepang also has an inverse system, marked by the morpheme *-ta* (allomorphs *-ta* and *-tha*) to distinguish the direction of a transitive relationship. Recall that the inverse marks a transitive relationship in which the object has higher status than the subject – a higher ranking object is acted upon by a lower ranking subject. The inverse in Chepang is marked primarily in the 2–1 and 3–1 configurations. Chepang has expanded upon the notion by also marking as inverse 3–3 configurations in which the object is more topical than the subject (Thompson 1994), as shown in table 105.

Table 105. Third person direct and inverse forms in Chepang

	3S	3D	3P
3S	-wʔ	-wʔ	-wʔ
inverse	-tha	-tha-cə	-tha-cə
3D	-c-u	-c-u	-c-u
inverse	-tha	-tha-cə	-tha-cə
3P	-s-u	-s-u	-s-u
inverse	-tha	-tha-cə	-tha-sə

17.3.2 Person and number agreement in Gyarong

Gyarong is one of the northernmost of all Tibeto-Burman languages, spoken in western Szechwan province of China, far outside the Kiranti homeland. A cursory glance at the Gyarong agreement patterns, however, reveals a number of features shared with Kiranti. In table 106 I give the paradigm for the singular object series.

i. Person forms

The first thing to notice from the Gyarong paradigm is the similarity of person forms – *-ŋ* for 1ST person, *-n* for 2ND person, and *-w*/*-wu* for 3RD person. Another similarity is in number forms – *-ch* for dual and *-i*/*-y* for plural.[4] Another pattern that we have seen repeatedly in the Kiranti paradigms is the marking of 1ST person dual and plural with

[4] Though *-i* for plural does not appear commonly in Kiranti, it does occur in forms like the Thulung 2P forms. It occurs commonly outside Kiranti, as in Gyarong *-i* for 1ST person plural, in Tangsa from Kuki-Chin, and in some Kham dialects.

number forms (to the exclusion of person) – here 1D *-ch*, and 1P *-i*.

Table 106. Person marking in Gyarong (Nagano 1984)
(objects underlined)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	V-ŋ		ta-V-n	V-ŋ
	1ST	DL	V-ch		ta-V-n	V-ch
s		PL	V-i		ta-V-n	V-i
u						
b		SG	tə-V-n	kə-w-V-ŋ		tə-V-n
j	2ND	DL	tə-V-n-ch	kə-w-V-ŋ		tə-V-n-ch
e		PL	tə-V-n-y	kə-w-V-ŋ		tə-V-n-y
c						
t		SG	V-Ø	w-u-V-ŋ	tə-w-V-n	V-w
	3RD	DL	kə-V	w-u-V-ŋ	tə-w-V-n	wu-V
		PL	kə-V	w-u-V-ŋ	tə-w-V-n	wu-V

ii. Hierarchical person marking patterns

The pattern of person marking presented in the Gyarong paradigm is also familiar – the hierarchical pattern in which person agreement is with 1ST or 2ND person in preference to 3RD person, and with the object where both participants are 1ST or 2ND person. Thus, in the 1–3, 3–1, and 2–1 configurations, agreement is with 1ST person. Likewise, in the 2–3, 3–2, and 1–2 configurations, agreement is with 2ND person.

iii. Direction marking

Another pattern we have seen elsewhere, the category of direction, shows up in the Gyarong paradigm. We have seen the pattern most clearly in Chepang, and to a lesser extent in those languages with a distinction between subject and object forms. Gyarong introduces an inverse marker, *w-*, to mark those configurations in which a higher ranking patient is acted upon by a lower ranking agent. Notice, for example, the difference between the 1–2 and 3–2 configurations. In the 3–2 configuration, a lower ranking 3RD person acts upon a higher ranking 2ND person, and the inverse marker flags the relationship – *tə-w-V-n*. In the 1–2 configuration there is no inverse, and the form is simply *ta-V-n*. The inverse marker occurs also in 2–1 and in 3–1.

The prefixes *kə-* and *tə-*/*ta-*, which figure so prominently in the Gyarong paradigm, are in all probability related to the *kɛ-* prefix we saw in Limbu and will be discussed together in the larger context of Tibeto-Burman prefixal systems in §17.4.

iv. Number marking

Number marking in the singular object series above is not very different from what we

have seen in Kiranti. The major difference appears to be that in the Gyarong patterns, number marking does not separate from person marking as it did in Kiranti. In Kiranti it is common to have a form like *-na-ci* in which *-na* marks the person of the object, and *-ci* the number of the subject. In Gyarong, number forms occur in the same sequence with person forms only if they refer to the same participant. In effect, this eliminates number marking from the singular object series. Thus, there is nowhere a singular/dual/plural distinction in transitive subjects except with 3RD person objects, where the agreement pattern is nominative (see table 107).

Table 107. The dual and plural object series in Gyarong

Dual objects:

subject			Ø	1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	V-ŋ		ta-V-n-*ch*	V-ŋ
	1ST	DL	V-ch		ta-V-n-*ch*	V-ch
		PL	V-y		ta-V-n-*ch*	V-y
		SG	tə-V-n	kə-w-V-*ch*		tə-V-n
	2ND	DL	tə-V-n-ch	kə-w-V-*ch*		tə-V-n-ch
		PL	tə-V-n-y	kə-w-V-*ch*		tə-V-n-y
		SG	V-Ø	w-u-V-*ch*	tə-w-V-n-*ch*	V-w
	3RD	DL	kə-V	w-u-V-*ch*	tə-w-V-n-*ch*	wu-V
		PL	kə-V	w-u-V-*ch*	tə-w-V-n-*ch*	wu-V

Plural objects:

subject			Ø	1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
		SG	V-ŋ		ta-V-n-*y*	V-ŋ
	1ST	DL	V-ch		ta-V-n-*y*	V-ch
		PL	V-y		ta-V-n-*y*	V-y
		SG	tə-V-n	kə-w-V-*y*		tə-V-n
	2ND	DL	tə-V-n-ch	kə-w-V-*y*		tə-V-n-ch
		PL	tə-V-n-y	kə-w-V-*y*		tə-V-ny
		SG	V-Ø	w-u-V-*y*	tə-w-V-n-*y*	V-w
	3RD	DL	kə-V	w-u-V-*y*	tə-w-V-n-*y*	wu-V
		PL	kə-V	w-u-V-*y*	tə-w-V-n-*y*	wu-V

In order to determine whether Gyarong has a pattern of number ranking similar to what we have seen in Kiranti, we need to look at the dual and plural object paradigms,

given in table 107.

From the plural paradigm, it becomes clear that Gyarong falls in with the TYPE A languages. That is, where both participants are non-singular, number marking corresponds to the number of the object. In view of the fact that number marking does not separate from person marking, this is not surprising. All person markers in 3–1, 3–2, 1–2, and 2–1 correspond to the object, and the associated number marking corresponds to the same entity. (This observation for non-Kiranti languages will become more important to our discussion later on for Kham.)

Worth noting, too, is the replacement of 1ST person dual and 1ST person plural objects by the number markers *-ch* and *-y*. This is analogous to their replacement also in the subject series. As such, *-ch* and *-y* stand in for person and become quasi 1ST person pronominal markers in a contrastive paradigm, something we have seen in Kiranti.

17.3.3 Person and number agreement in Nocte

Nocte is spoken in northeastern India along the Myanmar border. Data are sketchy from this language, and from the data at hand, dual forms do not exist. First person forms are *-ŋ* and *-i* for singular and plural, respectively – both familiar forms. The forms follow a hierarchical agreement pattern.

A major contribution Nocte makes to our study is the inclusion of an inverse system not unlike the one we have seen in Chepang and Gyarong. The categories of 2–1, 3–1, and 3–2 are all marked by the inverse marker *-h* immediately preceding the person markers. The distribution is identical to the Gyarong distribution. In table 108 is the singular object paradigm from Nocte.

Table 108. Agreement patterns in Nocte (Taken from Weidert field notes)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
s		SG	-əŋ		-è	-èŋ
u	1ST	PL	-e		-è	-è
b						
j		SG	-ɔʔ	-h-əŋ		-ɔʔ
e	2ND	PL	-ən	-h-ɛʔ		-ən
c						
t		SG	-a	-h-əŋ	-h-ɔʔ	-a
	3RD	PL	-a	-h-əŋ	-h-ɔʔ	-a

17.3.4 Person and number in intransitive verbs

There are several Tibeto-Burman languages with pronominal agreement systems which either lack transitive agreement or for which transitive data is not available. Among

these are Magar (West Central Himalayish), Bunan (West Himalayish), and Tiddim Chin (Kuki-Chin). All of them have person forms in *-ŋ/-k* for 1ST person, *-n* for 2ND person, and usually *-u* for 3RD. Number forms are commonly *-c/-s* for dual, and *-i* for plural. These, of course, are the forms we have seen elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. Some intransitive systems also manifest a prefixal series for person agreement, a pattern of significance that I will address next.

17.4 Prefixal patterns

So far, apart from the brief glimpses we have had of Gyarong and Limbu, all the verbal affixes we have seen relating to person and number have been suffixes. In a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, however, both inside and outside Kiranti, pronominal prefixes also occur. To get a sense of how these prefixes function, we will begin by looking at their distribution in Bantawa, and then expand our sample to include other languages.

17.4.2 Prefixes in Kiranti

The paradigm in table 109 is taken from the dual object series in Bantawa, the most regular part of the full paradigm.

i. Bantawa

Table 109. The dual object series in Bantawa (taken from Rai 1985)

			Ø	1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	-ŋ		-na-ci	-uŋ-cə-ŋ
	1ST	DL	-ca		-ni-ci-a	-cu-cu-n-ka
s		PL	-in-ka		-ni-ci-a	-um-cə-m-ka
u						
b		SG	tə-	tə- -ni-ci-a		tə- /-u-ci
j	2ND	DL	tə-V-ci	tə- -ni-ci-a		tə- -cu-cu-n
e		PL	tə-V-in	tə- -ni-ci-a		tə- /-um-cə-m
c						
t		SG	-Ø	ə- -ci-a	tə- -ci	-u-ci
	3RD	DL	-ci	ə- -ci-a	tə- -ci	ə- -cu-cu-n
		PL	əm-	mə- -ci-a	mə- -ci	mə- /-u-ci

Three prefixal elements occur in the above paradigm – *tə-*, *ə-*, and *mə-*. The prefixes *ə-* and *mə-* are clearly associated with 3RD person, *mə-* being a plural, and *ə-* a singular. The *tə-* prefix appears to have some kind of 2ND person entailment – it occurs in all 2ND person intransitive configurations and in the 2–1, 2–3, and 3–2 transitive configurations. The form is conspicuously missing in the 1–2 configuration where we get only

-na or *-ni*. As we will see later, this hole in the pattern occurs in too many of the prefixing languages to be an accident. I will offer an explanation for it in a later section, an explanation that lends strong support to the argument that the prefixing patterns come from a common source.

ii. Limbu

We looked at Limbu once before. Here we turn to the prefixal forms. In table 110 is the paradigm from the same dual object series we saw earlier. The *kɛ-*/*gɛ-* prefix in Limbu has precisely the same distribution as the *tə-* prefix in Bantawa, namely in all 2ND person intransitive configurations and in the 2–1, 2–3, and 3–2 transitive configurations. Again, the form is missing in the 1–2 configuration where we get only *-nɛ* (analogous to the Bantawa *-na*/*-ni*).

Table 110. The dual object series in Limbu (van Driem 1987)

			Ø	1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
		SG	-aŋ / -ʔɛ		-nɛ-ci-ŋ	-t-uŋ-si-ŋ
	1ST	DL	-si-ge		-nɛ-ci-ge	-s-u-si-ge
s		PL	-i-ge		-nɛ-ci-ge	-t-um-si-mbe
u						
b		SG	kɛ-	a-gɛ-V		kɛ-Vt-u-si
j	2ND	DL	kɛ-V-si	a-gɛ-V		kɛ-V-s-u-si
e		PL	kɛ-V-i	a-gɛ-V		kɛ-Vt-u-m-si-m
c						
t		SG	V-Ø	V-si-ge	kɛ-V-si	Vt-u-si
	3RD	DL	V-si	mɛ-V-si-ge	kɛ-m-V-si	V-s-u-si
		PL	me-V	mɛ-V-si-ge	kɛ-m-V-si	me-Vt-u-si

iii. Chamling

Chamling, another eastern Kiranti language, has a prefixal series, the forms and distribution of which are similar to Bantawa and Limbu. In table 111 is the paradigm for singular objects.

The prefix *ta-* in Chamling has identical distribution to the *tə-* of Bantawa and the *kɛ-* of Limbu – all with 2ND person entailment. Once again, the prefix is missing from the 1–2 configuration. The *pa-* prefix appears to correspond to the *mə-* of Bantawa and the *mɛ-* of Limbu – all having a 3RD, or 3RD plural entailment. (Ebert 1990 links *pa-*, at least historically, to an inverse.)

Table 111. Prefixes in Chamling (Ebert n.d.)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG			-na	-u-ŋa
	1ST	DL			-a-c-ka	-a-c-ka
s		PL			-um-ka	-um-ka
u						
b		SG		ta- -u-ŋa		ta- -u
j	2ND	DL		ta- -a-ci		ta- -a-ci
e		PL		ta- -um		ta- -um
c						
t		SG		pa- -u-ŋa	ta- -a	-u
	3RD	DL		pa- -uŋ-ci-ŋa	ta- -a	pa- -a-ci
		PL		pa- -uŋ-ci-ŋa	ta- -a	pa- -a

iv. Dumi Rai

Dumi Rai has a number of phonologically reduced forms, among them being an *a-* prefix which corresponds in many ways to the *tə-/ta-/kɛ-* prefix of the other languages. In table 112 is a partial paradigm of Dumi Rai.

Table 112. Prefixes in Dumi Rai (van Driem 1988)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG			-N-na	-u
	1ST	DL			-ɨ	-ɨ
s		PL			-ka	-ka
u						
b		SG		a- -ə		a- -ɨ
j	2ND	DL		a- -ə-si		a- -i
e		PL		a- -ə-ni		a- -ini
c						
t		SG		a- -ə	a- -a	-ɨ
	3RD	DL		a- -ə-si	a- -a	-si
		PL		a- -ə-ni	a- -a	-ini

The *a-* prefix in Dumi Rai is slightly different from the other prefixes we have seen in terms of distribution. Here, the *a-* takes in the 3–1 part of the paradigm as well, a configuration clearly outside 2ND person entailment. A possible explanation is that due to phonological reduction, two formerly contrastive forms have collapsed into one (the other being a 3RD person prefix). Notice that here, too, we still have the 1–2 hole in the pattern.

17.4.3 *The* -te? *morpheme in Chepang*

The *tə-/ta-/ke-/a-* prefixes of the Kiranti languages we looked at in the preceding section have an analog in Chepang. In Chepang, a suffix *-te?* has a distribution surprisingly similar to the Kiranti prefix.[5] This occurrence has been noted before by at least Bauman, DeLancey, and Caughley. According to Caughley (1982:85), *-te?* indicates speech act situations in which the speaker informs the hearer about situations in which he/she, the addressee, was involved, but the speaker was not. The expectation, of course, is for just the opposite – for new information to be about situations in which the speaker was involved, but not the hearer. Thus, Caughley refers to *-te?* as a 'CIF' marker (contrary information flow), indicating a flow of information contrary to the expected.

Significantly, the one 2ND person configuration which does not fit a CIF function is the 1–2 configuration, and it is precisely here that we find the pronominal *-na* in place of *-te?*. The difficulty in Caughley's theory, however, is that a natural class which includes 2–1, 2–3, and 3–2 but excludes 1–2 hardly seems plausible. Nevertheless, whether the source has pragmatic justification or not, the arbitrariness of the pattern, both in Chepang and the other languages we are dealing with, is what provides the clinching piece of evidence that we must be dealing with the same proto-system. And though, in the paradigms of most of the languages we have considered, the **te* prefixes are synchronically no more than 2ND person variants, they surely arose out of the same proto-environment. That is, the quasi-pronominal function of the original particle has led to its reinterpretation as a 2ND person pronominal element in the modern languages in all but the 1–2 configuration.

So far, Bantawa, Limbu, Chamling, Dumi Rai, and Chepang have the same distribution for the occurrence of the 2ND person affixes **te-* and **-na* (in Chepang the **te-* series is a suffix). Following is the distributional pattern:

	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST		-na	
2ND	te-		te-
3RD	[ ]	te-	

17.4.4 *Non-second person prefixes*

In all the prefixing languages we have looked at so far, 2ND person is not the only person index that occurs in prefixed position. Of interest here is that once a prefixed form (or any other secondary form) occurs opposite a suffixing object form, the possibilities of its being interpreted as a subject index are greater than chance. This is precisely what we see in several of the paradigms. Take the Chamling 2–1 form *ta-V-u-ŋa*, for instance.

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[5] The morpheme is not restricted to the verbal complex and can occur also as an enclitic to nouns under special discourse conditions, but only if the clause of which it is part has 2ND person entailment.

With *-ŋa* as the 1ST person object form, *ta-* with its 2ND person entailment naturally falls into a subject interpretation. Thus we get two role marked indices – an occurrence, in general, far more common in the prefixing languages than it is in the exclusively suffixing ones.

Presumably, languages with a reinterpreted **te* prefix now have a new slot associated with grammatical role. For other prefixed person forms to gravitate to the new position is a fairly simple matter so long as the implementation is supported by general grammatical principles. We would not expect a possessive prefix, for example, to wind up on verbs unless the verb were in some nominalized form. How do we account, then, for the common occurrence of 3RD person prefixes in the paradigms we have seen? For Kiranti, it's hard to say without further reconstruction. For Gyarong (which follows), the so-called 3RD person prefix is very likely an inverse marker. For the Kham dialects, which we will deal with in §17.5, the non-second person prefixes arose out of a possessive analogy, but only after the position had been secured by the 2ND person **te* prefix. Thus, in all the prefixing languages, 2ND person appears to be the entering wedge for reanalysis and paradigmatic change.

17.4.5 Prefixal patterns elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman

Several of the languages with verbal agreement affixes outside Kiranti also have partially prefixing patterns. Some are clearly relatable to the pattern for **te* we have seen above, but others have innovated so far from original patterns as to render them almost unrecognizable.

i. The prefixal series in Gyarong

The Gyarong pattern of prefixation is similar to the Kiranti pattern in both its morphology and distribution. Recall that in Bantawa we encountered a *tə-* prefix, and in Limbu a *kɛ-* prefix, both with 2ND person entailment. Gyarong has both prefixes occupying the same space, suggesting that the forms in Kiranti may represent mergers. Originally *kə-* may have marked a special category in 2–1. The other obvious difference in Gyarong is the *ta-* form in 1–2, suggesting a general 2ND person interpretation of the **te* form in Gyarong, and not just 2ND person restricted to unexpected or 'contrary' configurations.

Following is the prefixal series from Gyarong (Nagano 1984).

	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST		ta- -n	-ŋ
2ND	kə-w- -ŋ		tə-
3RD	u- -ŋ	tə-w- -n	

ii. Trung

Trung has a prefixal series with the same distribution we saw in Dumi Rai. In addition to its obvious 2ND person entailment (it occurs as a 2ND person operator in intransitive verbs), it has also spread to the 3–1 configuration in transitive verbs. There can be little doubt that we are looking at the same prefixal series. The different morphological form may be a later replacement based on the 2ND person free form *na*.

(Sun, via DeLancey 1988a):

	Ø	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST	-ŋ	–	-ŋ	-ŋ
2ND	nə-	nə- -ŋ	–	nə-
3RD	-Ø	nə- -ŋ	nə-	

iii. Rawang

The prefix *è-* in Rawang has an identical distribution to the *nə-* prefix in Trung and the *a-* prefix in Dumi Rai, and as such may have historical connections to 2ND person. Synchronically, because of its occurrence in 3–1, the prefix appears to be bleached of its original grammatical or semantic content. Following is the prefixal series from Rawang.

(Barnard 1934):

	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST		-ŋ	-ŋ-u
2ND	è- -ŋ-a		è- -u
3RD	è- -ŋ	è-	

iv. Lakher

Following is the prefixal series from Lakher.

(Weidert field notes):

	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST		ei-tsə-	ei-
2ND	ei-nə-		nə-
3RD	ei-nə-	ə-tsə-	ə-

Lakher employs a combination of the same morphological forms we have seen in Rawang and Trung, *è-* and *nə-* respectively, suggesting a possible collapse of the two forms in Rawang and Trung. In Lakher, *ei-* occurs also in the 1–3 configuration, clearly outside the range of 2ND person. In fact, it occurs anywhere there is 1ST person involvement, either as subject or object. We may, or may not, be looking at the same series. Later on, we will see evidence from Kham of a prefix *ye-* which is likewise semantically bleached and occurs in a number of configurations both with and without 2ND person entailment.

17.4.6 Intransitive prefixal patterns

In a few Tibeto-Burman languages, verbal agreement patterns are restricted to transitive and intransitive subjects. Of those languages, a few have agreement patterns that include some prefixing.

i. Literary Tiddim Chin

Tiddim Chin manifests two agreement patterns – one for colloquial speech and the other a narrative or formal style (Henderson 1957, 1965). The differences between the two are instructive. The presumably older (suffixed) colloquial forms are clearly related to what we have seen elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman – *-ŋ* for 1ST person, and *-tɛʔ*, a form related to the quasi-pronominal 2ND person form we have seen in Chepang and several Kiranti languages. The prefixed narrative forms are more closely related to what occur as free pronouns in the modern language – *kéi* for 1ST person, and *naŋ* for 2ND person. Interestingly, the prefixed forms occur either with nouns or verbs in literary style, but only with nouns in colloquial style. The inference to be drawn, of course, is that the literary style is (or was) a kind of nominalization, and that the prefixes developed out of a possessive analogy. DeLancey (1988b) finds evidence for this in the obligatory indicative particle *hi* occurring in the narrative style, stating that 'such indicative particles are common in Tibeto-Burman, and derive from old nominalizers or copulas.'

Table 113. Tiddim Chin prefixes (Henderson 1957)

	colloquial	literary
1S	-iŋ	kə-
1P	-uŋ	kə-V-uʔ
2S	-tɛʔ	nə-
2P	-uʔ-tɛʔ	nə-V-uʔ
3S	-Ø	ə-
3P	-uʔ	ə-V-uʔ

Rather than conclude, however, that the Tiddim prefixes are a recent innovation, it is more likely that they, too, have grown out of the old prefixal series. Since prefixes of arbitrary distribution occur in other Kuki-Chin languages similar to what we have seen above, a strong case can be made that the possessive prefixes in Tiddim Chin are simply modern replacements for the old, defunct series (see table 113). This is precisely what happened in Kham, as we shall see in §17.5.

ii. Magar

One western dialect of Magar has a limited verbal agreement system with different forms for past, non-past, and subjunctive patterns. The past tense forms employ prefixes that show remarkable similarity to the literary forms of Tiddim Chin – a prefixed *ka-* in one of the 1ST person forms, and a prefixed *na-* in the 2ND person forms. A likely source for these forms is the possessive analogy, but there is insufficient data to determine whether this is an independent innovation, or whether here too we are looking at another reanalysis of the same old prefixal series. The latter is most probable, especially in view of an archaic prefixal series in Gamale within the same West Central Himalayish branch (see table 114).

Table 114. Magar agreement patterns
(Subba, via Caughley 1982)

	past	non-past	subjunctive
1S	ŋa- -aŋ	-l-aŋ	a- -naŋ
1P	ka- -as	-l-iŋ	a- -niŋ
2S	na- -a	-da-l	-ni
2P	na- -a	-da-nis	-nis
3S	-a	le-	?
3P	-a	le-	-i

17.5 Kham agreement patterns

The Kham dialects of Mid-Western Nepal are sufficiently different in their verbal agreement patterns as to raise serious questions about their relationship to the rest of Tibeto-Burman. The first descriptions of Kham came out of the Takale dialect (Watters 1973), now known to be among the most innovative of all Kham dialects in terms of verbal agreement patterns. Apart from *ŋa-* for 1ST person, *nə-* for 2ND, and *-o* for 3RD, not much else looks familiar. The paradigms lack an inclusive/exclusive distinction for 1ST person, as well as some of the expected patterns for number agreement. Perhaps the most striking difference is in the Takale lack of an obvious hierarchical agreement pattern, a pattern we have identified as the distinctive core of Tibeto-Burman agreement patterns. Instead, Takale marks person and number for both participants of a transitive verb, a pattern consistent and regular enough to suggest recent innovation.[6] For 1ST and

[6] An argument in favor of the newness of some of the pronominal agreement forms comes from their distinct tonal character (see chapter 3 on Tone). This does not mean, however, that agreement is new in Kham. It will become clear as I proceed that the *patterns* are old; it is just that some of the *forms*

2ND persons, subjects are prefixed and objects suffixed, while for 3RD persons the opposite arrangement holds – subjects are suffixed and objects prefixed.

In no other Tibeto-Burman language is such a complete pattern of double role marked indices (both subject and object) known to exist. The only part of the pattern suggestive of links to an earlier Tibeto-Burman pattern is the clearly different treatment of 3RD persons in opposition to 1ST and 2ND persons (suffixing versus prefixing); a variation on a theme of hierarchical person marking patterns. In table 115 is the Takale paradigm for singular and plural objects (see §5.2.1, table 23, for the dual paradigm).

Table 115. Takale agreement patterns with singular objects

		Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
1ST	SG	ŋa-V-T		ŋa-V-ni-T	ŋa-Ø-V-T
	DL	gi-n-V-T		gi-n-V-ni-T	gi-n-Ø-V-T
	PL	ge-V-T		ge-V-ni-T	ge-Ø-V-T
2ND	SG	nə-V-T	nə-V-na-T		nə-Ø-V-T
	DL	ji-n-V-T	ji-n-V-na-T		ji-n-Ø-V-T
	PL	je-V-T	je-V-na-T		je-Ø-V-T
3RD	SG	V-T	V-na-T-o	V-ni-T-o	Ø-V-T-o
	DL	V-T-ni	V-na-T-ni	V-ni-T-ni	Ø-V-T-ni
	PL	V-T-rə	V-na-T-rə	V-ni-T-rə	Ø-V-T-rə

		Ø	1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
1ST	SG	ŋa-V-T		ŋa-V-ci-T	ŋa-ra-V-T
	DL	gi-n-V-T		gi-n-V-ci-T	gi-n-ra-V-T
	PL	ge-V-T		ge-V-ci-T	ge-ra-V-T
2ND	SG	nə-V-T	nə-V-si-T		nə-ra-V-T
	DL	ji-n-V-T	je-V-si-T		ji-n-ra-V-T
	PL	je-V-T	je-V-si-T		je-ra-V-T
3RD	SG	V-T	V-si-T-o	V-ci-T-o	ya-V-T-o
	DL	V-T-ni	V-si-T-rə	V-ci-T-rə	yara-V-T-ni
	PL	V-T-rə	V-si-T-rə	V-ci-T-rə	yara-V-T-rə

The majority of Kham dialects share in all the core features of the Takale agreement paradigm (except for minor variations in order). Among them are Maikoti and Ranmali

that fill the patterns are recent grammaticalizations.

to the north, Nishel and Bhujel[7] to the southeast, Wale to the south, and Thabangi to the southwest. In table 116 are excerpts from their singular object paradigms.

Table 116. Excerpted patterns from four Kham dialects

	Takale	Maikoti	Nishel	Thabangi
1–2	ŋa- -ni -T	ŋa- -ni -T	ŋa- -n-T	ŋa- -sə-n-T
1–3	ŋa- -T	ŋa- -T	ŋa- -o-T	ŋa- -T
2–1	nə- -na -T	nə- -ŋa -T	nə- -ŋa-T	nə- -sə-ŋ-T
3–1	-na -T-o	-ŋa -T-o	-ŋa-o-T/ (-o-~-T)	-sə-ŋ-T-u
3–3	-T-o	-T-o	-o-T	-T-u

Fortunately for comparative purposes, not all Kham dialects share in the anomalous character of the Takale agreement patterns. From new dialect materials gathered in the field over the past decade, I now have what I consider conclusive evidence that early Kham had agreement patterns very much in line with the core patterns we have identified for the rest of Tibeto-Burman, and that the innovative patterns found in Takale and its close siblings are the result of a major reanalysis. The evidence comes mostly from three dialect clusters – Gamale, Sheshi, and Mahatale – each of which is substantially different not only from Takale, but also from the others. Sheshi is exclusively suffixing in its agreement patterns but shows evidence of considerable innovation in arriving at the modern patterns. Gamale and Mahatale are both mixed types having a combination of suffixing and prefixing in their agreement patterns.

Certain features of the Gamale pattern, in particular suffixal person markers and a largely defunct prefixal series, are suggestive of an original pattern for Proto-Kham. Both features are necessary to account for the very diverse patterns found in the modern Kham dialects; this is especially true in accounting for the Takale dialect. External evidence from the rest of Tibeto-Burman, on the other hand, especially the shape of the affixal forms, points more to Sheshi and Mahatale as containing original material. A reconstruction for Proto-Kham, then, which incorporates both forms and patterns, turns out to share important features with some of the most conservative Tibeto-Burman agreement patterns. In the following sections I will highlight some of those features.

17.5.1 Kham links to the rest of Tibeto-Burman

The Kham agreement patterns have roots sufficiently deep in Tibeto-Burman agreement typology that they are difficult to interpret apart from a Tibeto-Burman perspective. I

[7] Not the same as the Bujheli dialect of Chepang.

will begin by looking at specific patterns in Gamale, and then move on to Sheshi, Takale, and Mahatale.

i. Hierarchical agreement patterns in Gamale

Gamale manifests a fairly obvious hierarchical agreement pattern, albeit it with a few innovations that alter it slightly. Furthermore, the morphological forms occurring in the patterns have solid Tibeto-Burman pedigrees – suffixed *-ŋ* for 1ST person, *-ɛ̃* (< **-n*) for 2ND person,[8] and *-o* for 3RD. Recall that in a hierarchical agreement pattern, person agreement is with 1ST or 2ND person in preference to 3RD, and with the object where both participants are 1ST or 2ND. In Gamale, the pattern is clearest with 2ND person objects, due to the exclusion of all subject marking in this part of the pattern. Although the pattern is clearly present with 1ST person objects as well, there is some admixture of subject indices, marring the pure pattern to some extent. In table 117 is the Gamale paradigm with singular objects.[9]

Table 117. Gamale agreement patterns (perfective):
(person marking underlined)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	ye-V-(kə)-ŋ		ye-V-kə-ɛ̲̃	ye-V-ŋ
	1ST	DL	ye-V-Ø-khẽ		ye-V-Ø-khẽ	ye-V-Ø-khẽ
s		PL	ye-V-(kə)-ɛ̃-khẽ		ye-V-kə-ɛ̲̃-khẽ	ye-V-kə-ɛ̃-khẽ
u						
b		SG	nə-V-(kə)-ɛ̃-khẽ	nə-V-kə-ŋ̲-khẽ		nə-V-Ø-khẽ
j	2ND	DL	ye-V-sĩ-khẽ	ye-V-si-ŋ̲-khẽ		ye-V-sĩ-khẽ
e		PL	ye-V-sə-khẽ	ye-V-sə-ŋ̲-khẽ		ye-V-sə-khẽ
c						
t		SG	ya-V	ya-V-kə-ŋ̲-o	ya-V-kə-ɛ̲̃-o	ya-V-o
	3RD	DL	ya-V-ŋi	ya-V-kə-ŋ̲-ŋi	ya-V-kə-ɛ̲̃-ŋi	ya-V-ŋi
		PL	ya-V-rə	ya-V-kə-ŋ̲-rə	ya-V-kə-ɛ̲̃-rə	ya-V-rə

Forming a column under 2ND person objects is the suffix *-ɛ̃* (which derives from **-n*), an obvious Tibeto-Burman 2ND person affix. Likewise, marking 1ST person intransitive subject and also forming a column under 1ST person objects is the suffix *-ŋ*. The conflicting part of the pattern is resolved in precisely the same way that we have

[8] I have shown in chapter 2 on Segmental Phonology that the reflex of a lost dental coda is a rhyme ending in *-i*. Where the dental is *-n*, the reflex is a nasalized *-ĩ*. The same observation hold for Gamale with the exception that the rhyme ends in *-ɛ̃*.

[9] Because of some strange patterns in Gamale I give the pattern complete with TAM markings. With 1ST and 2ND person subjects *-khẽ* marks perfective aspect, and with 3RD person subjects *ya-* marks perfective. The *-kə* morpheme, which is optional in the intransitive, I will comment on later.

seen elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman – i.e. where both participants are 1ST or 2ND person, agreement is with the object.

In the 1–2 part of the paradigm, only the 1S–2S form, technically speaking, has object agreement. The other two forms, 1D–2S *ye-V-Ø-khẽ* and 1P–2S *ye-V-kə-ɛ̃-khẽ*,[10] are identical to the intransitive subject agreement forms. We have seen subject agreement for these two forms in other languages as well, specifically in Sunwar and Hayu. Subject marking in those languages arises as a result of marking agreement with the highest numbered participant instead of the highest ranking participant.

ii. TYPE A number agreement patterns in Gamale

As noted earlier, in the 1ST person object column of the Gamale paradigm, there is some additional agreement with a second participant. The 2D–1S form, for example, includes *-si* for 2ND dual, and the 2P–1S form includes *-sə* for 2ND plural. The forms, however, (regardless of their synchronic value) are clearly derivable from number marking,[11] not person, and their appearance here only supports the argument that the Gamale forms are mainstream Tibeto-Burman. Recall that for Kiranti, in addition to the person hierarchy, a number hierarchy also occurs. In the singular object series then, we would expect person marking to agree with the object, and number marking to agree with the higher numbered subject – which is precisely what we get. The Gamale pattern is distinctly Kiranti in this respect. (The pattern never occurs in Takale, obscuring its relationship to the rest of Tibeto-Burman.)

Turning now to the dual and plural object series, we will examine the interplay between person and number where both participants have the possibility of being non-singular (see table 118). Recall that it was primarily in this context that we were able to determine if a language followed TYPE A or TYPE B number marking patterns.

The plural object series differs little from the dual object series. In the 1ST person object column, only at the intersection with a 3D subject is there any kind of difference – *ya-V-si-rə* in the plural versus *ya-V-si-ŋi* in the dual. The invariant part of the column, the morpheme *-si*, marks both dual and plural 1ST person object. The morpheme is clearly related to the Tibeto-Burman *-ci*/*-si* for dual number we have seen elsewhere. In several Kiranti languages, most notably in Lohorong, the dual has been extended to include the plural, with the old dual becoming a general marker of non-singular number. The result in both Lohorong and Gamale is near identity of the dual and plural paradigms.

In the 2ND person object column a few tantalizing differences show up between the dual and plural paradigms that reveal something of the underlying character of the Gamale paradigm. In the 1S–2P form *ye-V-sĩ*, the morpheme *-si* must be considered a marker of non-singular number, with nasalization on the vowel a reflex of 2ND person **-n*. Thus, in the non-singular object series both person and number correspond to the

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[10] The 1P form is partially homophonous with 2ND person, and probably derives from an **-n* plural.

[11] Recall the Kiranti dual form *-ci*/*-si*, and the Chepang plural form for 2ND persons, *-sə*.

object, a TYPE A number marking pattern. Further down the same column, in 3S–2P and 3P–2P, we get reflexes of the more specific 2ND person plural *-sə* (recall Chepang 2ND plural *-sə*) in place of the more general non-singular *-si*.

Table 118. The dual and plural object series in Gamale

		Ø	1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
	SG	ye-V-(kə)-ŋ		ye-V-kə-ɛ̃	ye-V
1ST	DL	ye-V-Ø-khɛ̃		ye-V-Ø-khɛ̃	ye-V-Ø-khɛ̃
	PL	ye-V-(kə)-ɛ̃-khɛ̃		ye-V-kə-ɛ̃-khɛ̃	ye-V-kə-ɛ̃-khɛ̃
	SG	nə-V-(kə)-ɛ̃-khɛ̃	nə-V-si-khɛ̃		nə-V-Ø-khɛ̃
2ND	DL	ye-V-sĩ-khɛ̃	ye-V-sĩ-khɛ̃		ye-V-sĩ-khɛ̃
	PL	ye-V-sə-khɛ̃	ye-V-si-khɛ̃		ye-V-sə-khɛ̃
	SG	ya-V	ya-V-si-u	ya-V-si-ũ	ya-V-wo-ŋi
3RD	DL	ya-V-ŋi	ya-V-si-ŋi	ya-V-si-ŋi	ya-V-ŋi
	PL	ya-V-rə	ya-V-si-rə	ya-V-sĩ-rə	ya-V-rə

		Ø	1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3D OBJ
	SG	ye-V-(kə)-ŋ		ye-V-sĩ	ye-V-ŋ-rə
1ST	DL	ye-V-Ø-khɛ̃		ye-V-Ø-khɛ̃	ye-V-rə-khɛ̃
	PL	ye-V-(kə)-ɛ̃-khɛ̃		ye-V-kə-ɛ̃-khɛ̃	ye-V-kə-ɛ̃-rə-khɛ̃
	SG	nə-V-(kə)-ɛ̃-khɛ̃	nə-V-si-khɛ̃		nə-V-Ø-khɛ̃
2ND	DL	ye-V-sĩ -khɛ̃	ye-V-sĩ-khɛ̃		ye-V-sĩ-khɛ̃
	PL	ye-V-sə-khɛ̃	ye-V-si-khɛ̃		ye-V-sə-rə-khɛ̃
	SG	ya-V	ya-V-si-u	ya-V-s-o	ya-V-o-rə
3RD	DL	ya-V-ŋi	ya-V-si-rə	ya-V-si-ŋi	ya-V-ŋi
	PL	ya-V-rə	ya-V-si-rə	ya-V-sə-rə	ya-V-rə

Throughout the paradigm with non-singular objects, the replacement (or reduction) of person and number by simple number forms is not unusual. We have seen the same in numerous Kiranti languages. The replacement, of course, would be likely only if person and number both agreed with the same entity, the object (a TYPE A pattern). With the deletion of the person form, the number forms come to stand in for a combination of person, number, and grammatical role in a complex portmanteau morpheme.

iii. Composite number in Gamale

There are a few cases in the Gamale paradigm of what I have referred to in §17.1.3 as 'composite number.' The form *ya-V-si-rə* in 3D–2P is an example. The morpheme *-si*

agrees with the plural number of 2ND person object, while *-rə* agrees not so much with the dual number of 3RD person (*-ŋi* would be expected), but with the overall plurality of participants in the proposition. If we consider *-si* to be an original dual form, then the dual object paradigm is full of composite number. In fact, the use of composite number in dual contexts may have been the precursor to the collapse between the dual and plural object series. Composite number patterns are not unheard of in other language families, but its occurrence in Tibeto-Burman is an expected pattern.

iv. Direction marking in Gamale

A suffix *-kə* (alternating with *-ŋə* according to the lexical class of the verb root) shows up in the Gamale paradigm at those parts where ergative alignment occurs, i.e. where person agreement is with a 1ST or 2ND person object. Significantly, the form is missing from 3RD person object contexts, the environment for nominative alignment. We are probably safe in concluding, then, that *-kə*, at least originally, marked 1ST or 2ND person in the grammatical role of object.[12] We have seen that in an unadorned hierarchical agreement pattern the sentences 'I hit him,' 'He hit me,' and 'You hit me' all have the same person marking – 1ST. Only if the participant is marked for grammatical role (or the transitive relation is marked for direction) are such predications disambiguated. Chepang not only has such a system, but a fully elaborated one; a suffix *-ta* (allomorphs *-ta*, and *-tha*) occurs in most places where the participant marked for agreement is the object (DeLancey 1981b). Although the Gamale suffix *-kə* is not apparently cognate to Chepang *-ta*, it does relate to a similar function – a kind of 'direction' marker.

In Gamale, the suffix *-kə* is replaced by number just about anywhere non-singular participants occur. Thus, in the singular object series, *-kə* is replaced twice – in 2D–1S and 2P–1S, both instances of number agreeing with the subject. In the dual and plural object series, where all 1ST and 2ND person object participants are non-singular, the *-kə* morpheme has been replaced altogether.[13] If we were to assume that the number morphemes are in regular alternation with *-kə*, we would be forced to conclude that *-kə* is a singular number marker – not a likely scenario. If, on the other hand, we assume that number replaces *-kə* as it does person markers throughout the paradigm, we arrive at the more probable interpretation that *-kə* is an object/patient indicator.

Apart from Gamale, where the pattern is more or less restricted to the 1ST singular series, the category of direction has all but disappeared from Kham (there are tantalizing hints of it in Thabangi *-sə* (see table 116). Nevertheless, the occurrence of a pattern in Gamale similar to a pattern in Chepang provides us with an important link.

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[12] In intransitive verbs, the form appears to occur most naturally in 'patientive-type' verbs, as in *yecyu-kə-ŋ* 'I got wet,' but not in agentive *yehnaŋ* 'I went.' It occurs variably in verbs like *yesul-ŋə-ŋ* ~ *yesuləŋ* 'I slipped' – hints of a split intransitive.

[13] The obvious exception is with first plural **-n*, which apparently keeps *-kə* by analogy with second singular **-n*.

v. The prefixal series in Gamale

The occurrence of an archaic, now almost defunct, prefixal series in the agreement patterns of Gamale provides yet another link between Kham and some of the most conservative Tibeto-Burman agreement patterns. Recall that prefixal patterns occur in Kiranti, Kuki-Chin and Qiangic. Now with Gamale, the pattern occurs also in Kham.

In all branches of the family, the single most common denominator of the prefixal series is some kind of 2ND person entailment. In Gamale, 2ND person is, in fact, the only part of the series that remains distinctive, as can be seen in the following:

Gamale:	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST	–	ye-V-n	ye-V-ŋ
2ND	nə-V-ŋ	–	nə-V-n
3RD	(ya)-V-ŋ	(ya)-V-n	(ya)-V

In most of the prefixing languages at least one other form occurs in the series, usually a prefix with 3RD person distribution, and possibly entering the paradigm through an old inverse. The *ya-* prefix in Gamale, occurring exclusively in 3RD person contexts and having a different vocalism than the *ye-* found in the rest of the paradigm, is probably one such prefix. The prefix now functions as a special perfective marker with 3RD person subjects, and is, strictly speaking, outside the realm of agreement markers. Its original function is obscured by secondary developments and difficult to determine.

There is a possibility, of course, that tense–aspect markers were always mixed in with the prefixal series, confusing things all along. Classical Tibetan and Qiangic both have prefixal material serving as tense–aspect marking (see Kun 1967). The *ya-* of Gamale functions as tense–aspect, and, as we will see in Sheshi, the whole prefixal series now functions as tense–aspect. In Nishel Kham, one of the prefixes has been replaced by *ba-*, a marker of progressive aspect. The point to be made is that there may have been a confusion of aspectual markers and person agreement forms in several of the prefixal paradigms right from the start.

Whatever the source, a rather untidy and arbitrary arrangement of prefixal morphemes exists in many modern Tibeto-Burman languages. The arbitrariness of the series is one of its distinctive features. It appears that as some of the languages began investing more in suffixal morphology, the once distinctive prefixes began to collapse and merge. The prefixes disappeared altogether in most Tibeto-Burman languages, and if they survived at all, they did so in arbitrary patterns coexisting with an enriched system of suffixes. This appears to be true for Gamale, as it does for Dumi Rai, Rawang, and Trung, and perhaps less so for Lakher, as in the following:

Rawang	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST	–	-ŋ	-ŋ-u
2ND	e- -ŋ-a	–	e-
3RD	e- -ŋ	e-	

Trung	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST	–	-ŋ	-ŋ
2ND	nə- -ŋ	–	nə-
3RD	nə- -ŋ	nə-	

Lakher	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST	–	ei-tsə-	ei-
2ND	ei-nə-	–	nə-
3RD	ei-nə-	ə-tsə-	ə-

Gamale	1ST	2ND	3RD
1ST	–	ye- -n	ye- -ŋ
2ND	nə- -ŋ	–	nə- -n
3RD	ya- -ŋ	ya- -n	ya-

There can be little doubt that the prefixal series in Gamale is archaic. The obvious 2ND person entailment of the *nə-* prefix alongside an arbitrary distribution of *ye-*/*ya-* is almost sufficient in itself to establish the Gamale pattern as cognate to some of the oldest prefixal patterns in Tibeto-Burman. The relationship becomes even more convincing alongside the morphologically similar Trung *nə-*, Rawang *e-* and Lakher *ei-nə-* forms – all forming prefixal patterns of equally arbitrary distribution.

In literary Tiddim Chin (Henderson 1957), new innovative prefixes, more regular, and based on a possessive analogy, have largely replaced what must have occurred there also as an older, arbitrary series. The old prefixal series, present also in Gamale, has become the source for a new, reanalyzed prefixal series in Takale, also based in part on a possessive analogy. We will look in detail at the steps of the reanalysis in a later section.

17.5.2 Sheshi links to the rest of Tibeto-Burman

If I am correct in assuming that a partially prefixing pattern was original for Kham, the Sheshi pattern, which has only suffixing person markers, represents some interesting (but explainable) innovations. The modern patterns are relatable to what I am positing for Proto-Kham, and some of the forms, too, are clearly relatable to the rest of Tibeto-Burman.

i. Person–number forms from outside Kham

One of the most compelling pieces of evidence for linking the Sheshi agreement patterns to Tibeto-Burman is the simple fact that several of the agreement morphemes have no resemblance to Sheshi free pronouns. Rather, they are almost identical to agreement forms as far removed geographically as Gyarong. The situation is quite different in progressive Takale where the agreement morphemes are transparently related to the free pronominal forms (as well as to possessive prefixal forms). Given in table 119 are the

free forms in Takale and Sheshi, along with verbal agreement forms in Takale, Sheshi, Chepang, and Gyarong.

Table 119. Pronominal forms in four Tibeto-Burman languages

	Takale/Sheshi free form	Takale verbal form	Sheshi verbal form	Chepang verbal form	Gyarong verbal form
1S	ŋa:	ŋa-	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ
1D	gin	gin-	-ci	-cə	-ch
1P	ge:	ge-	-i	-i	-i

The dissimilarity between free forms and verbal agreement forms in Sheshi, along with the close similarity between Sheshi and Gyarong agreement forms presents a strong case for an agreement pattern in Sheshi as old as a Qiangic-Himalayan split. It also makes for an obvious link between Kham agreement patterns and the rest of TB.

ii. Hierarchical agreement patterns

The evidence for a hierarchical agreement pattern in Sheshi is not as compelling as it was in Gamale, simply because in most transitive configurations in Sheshi, agreement is with two participants. An exception is in 1D–2S and 1P–2S, where the pattern agrees only with the number of the non-singular subject. The other configuration in 1–2 (1S–2S) is the one place where agreement is with a singular participant – and predictably, the participant is the object. We have seen this elsewhere. In fact, in many of the Kiranti languages, the 1S–2S category is where we are most likely to find single participant agreement.

Another exception to double participant marking is in those configurations with 3RD person objects – the nominative part of the paradigm. Here, as expected in a hierarchical pattern, agreement is with the higher ranking subject argument. This fact alone is probably sufficient to establish the underlying pattern for Sheshi as hierarchically driven. And, of course, there is also the paradigmatic resemblance to Kiranti, even though there has been a typological shift. In table 120 is the paradigm for singular objects in Sheshi (Jangkoti dialect).

The marking of a second participant in the rest of the paradigm appears to be a secondary development. Assuming an original pattern in which only the object was marked in 1–2 and 2–1 configurations, the second participant, the subject, was added later. The source of the new subject appears to be an analogical copy of the intransitive subject, tacked on at the end of the transitive string. Thus, 2P–1S *-də-ŋ* becomes *-də-ŋ-cy-a* with the add-on.

Table 120. The singular object series in Sheshi (Jangkoti dialect)

		Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
1ST	SG	-də-ŋ-a		-də-n-a	-də-ŋ-a
	DL	-də-cy-a		-də-cy-a	-də-cy-a
	PL	-də-y-a		-du-y-a	-də-y-a
2ND	SG	-də-n-a	-də-ŋ-n-a		-də-n-a
	DL	-də-ci-n-a	-də-ŋ-ci-n-a		-də-ci-n-a
	PL	-də-cy-a	-də-ŋ-cy-a		-də-cy-a
3RD	SG	-d-a/-y-a	-də-ŋ-w-a	-də-n-w-a	-d-a
	DL	-də-ny-a	-də-ŋ-ny-a	-də-n-ny-a	-də-ny-a
	PL	-də-r-a	-də-ŋ-r-a	-də-n-r-a	-də-r-a

Notice that this add-on strategy has produced a pattern in the non-singular object series quite different from what we have seen elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. Recall that in the 1–2 and 2–1 configurations the most common pattern in the non-singular object series is to mark both person and number of the object. A variant in a few Kiranti languages has been to mark the person of the subject and the number of the object. Here, Sheshi marks the number of the object and the person of the subject. (This will become important to the discussion of secondary developments in other dialects later.)

In tables 121 and 122 I give the paradigm for the dual and plural object series in the Jangkoti dialect of Sheshi.

Table 121. The dual object series in Sheshi (Jangkoti dialect)

		Ø	1D OBJ	2D OBJ	3D OBJ
1ST	SG	-də-ŋ-a		-də-*ci*-n-a	-də-ŋ-ny-a
	DL	-də-cy-a		-də-cy-a	-də-cy-a
	PL	-də-y-a		-də-y-a	-də-y-a
2ND	SG	-də-n-a	-də-*si*-n-a		-də-n-ny-a
	DL	-də-ci-n-a	-də-*ci*-n-a		-də-ci-n-a
	PL	-də-cy-a	-də-*si*-cy-a		-də-cy-a
3RD	SG	-d-a/-ya	-də-*ci*-w-a	-də-*ci*-n-w-a	-də-ny-a
	DL	-də-ny-a	-də-ny-a	-də-*ci*-n-ny-a	-də-ny-a
	PL	-də-r-a	-də-*i*-r-a	-də-*ci*-n-r-a	-də-r-a

Table 122. The plural object series in Sheshi (Jangkoti dialect)

		Ø	1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
1ST	SG	-də-ŋ-a		-də-cy-a	-də-ŋ-r-a
	DL	-də-cy-a		-də-cy-a	-də-ci-r-a
	PL	-də-y-a		-də-y-a	-də-i-r-a
2ND	SG	-də-n-a	-də-*si*-n-a		-də-n-r-a
	DL	-də-ci-n-a	-də-*si*-ci-n-a		-də-ci-n-r-a
	PL	-də-cy-a	-də-*i*-*si*-cy-a		-də-ci-r-a
3RD	SG	-d-a/-ya	-də-*i*-w-a	-də-*ci*-w-a	-də-o-r-a
	DL	-də-ny-a	-də-*i*-ny-a	-də-*ci*-r-a	-də-ny-a
	PL	-də-r-a	-də-*i*-r-a	-də-*ci*-r-a	-də-r-a

Ignoring for now the add-on subjects in Sheshi, we have an unmistakable hierarchical pattern in the 1–2 and 2–1 configurations – *-si* marks non-singular 1ST person object, and *-ci* non-singular 2ND person object[14] (see §17.1.1 on treatment of objects). The morpheme *-ci* occurs a couple of times unexpectedly in the 1ST person column (as in 2D–1P), producing what appears to be subject agreement in place of the expected hierarchical pattern.

A case can be made, however, for saying that the form had an original object agreement. The problem arises because of competing non-singular forms. Three different forms mark 1ST person non-singular – *-ci*, *-si*, and *-i*. The *-ci* form also marks 2ND person non-singular, creating a certain amount of overlap and confusion. Thus, in the 3S–1D configuration, *-ci* marks 1ST dual (as it does in the intransitive), while in the 3S–2P form it marks 2ND plural (as it does in the entire 2P column). Thus, we can safely assume that *-ci* in 2D–1D, in spite of its apparent subject agreement properties, originally marked the 1D object – a hierarchical person marking trait. After the general replacement of *-ci* by *-si* in the rest of the 1D column, *-ci* presumably remained in the 2D–1D configuration based, perhaps, on an analogy with the 2D subject. (The retention in the 3S–1D configuration cannot be attributed to analogy.)

Notice in the plural object series that 1ST plural object is marked by *-si* where it intersects with 2ND person, and by *-i* where it intersects with 3RD person. In the 2P–1P configuration, two number forms occur, *-i* and *-si*, both marking the number of the same person. It is probably significant that the older morpheme, *-i*, occurs closest to the verb root.

[14] It is generally true for modern Kham that non-singular *-si* has become specific to 1ST person, and *-ci* to 2ND person. A possibly related phenomenon is the Chepang dual *-cə* and plural *-sə*. The same materials occur over and over in Tibeto-Burman, but with different interpretations.

The Sheshi patterns offer a number of insights into the possible origin of certain strange agreement forms in various dialects of Kham. In the Takale paradigm, for example, *-si* and *-ci* consistently mark 1ST plural and 2ND plural, respectively. Likewise, *-si-n* and *-ci-n* are the 1ST and 2ND person dual forms. Synchronically, then, *-n* is the dual marker, an impression strengthened by the free forms *gin* (< **ge-nis*) and *jin* (< **je-nis*). Evidence from Gamale and Sheshi, however, suggests that in early Kham *-ci* and *-si* were dual markers (later becoming general non-singular markers), as in the rest of Tibeto-Burman. With 1ST or 2ND dual objects, then, a form like *-ci-n* was originally dual *-ci* plus *-n* 2ND person (as it is in the modern Sheshi 1S–2D form above). Likewise, *-si-n* would come from a configuration in which the object was 1ST non-singular and the subject 2ND person. The requisite juxtaposition of morphemes would work, of course, only in a Sheshi-like scenario where the verb is indexed for the number of the object and the person of the subject.[15]

iii. The prefixal series in Sheshi

Sheshi is exclusively suffixing in its agreement patterns. There is, however, a future tense prefix *əi-* with superficial resemblance to the Gamale *ye-* (as well as Rawang *e-* and Lakher *ei-*), which I will treat as potentially a member of the same original prefixal series. If I am right, the broadly distributed prefixes, low in semantic content, were seized upon early in Sheshi's history as a tense–aspect marking series. The most compelling argument in favor of this interpretation is not so much its phonological resemblance, as it is the fact that only in Sheshi have none of the old prefixes been replaced by more transparent possessive pronouns in finite verbs. The prefixal template was effectively removed from the possibility of such a replacement once it came to be associated with tense–aspect.

In table 123 is a future-tense paradigm from Sheshi with singular objects. Apart from the 3RD person subject series (bottom row), the paradigm is only subject marking, with no indication of a hierarchical pattern in 1–2 and 2–1.

It is difficult to imagine how a generalized prefix could be replaced by tense–aspect if there were not some tense–aspect affinities in the series in the first place. Recall that one prefix of the prefixal series in Gamale marks tense–aspect. Also, both Classical Tibetan and Qiangic have prefixes serving as tense–aspect markers. The possibility exists that tense–aspect markers were always mixed in with the prefixal series, confusing things all along. One dialect of Kham with Takale-like agreement patterns, the Nishel dialect, has a prefixed *ba-* indicating non-past or progressive aspect.

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[15] There is evidence to suggest that 2ND person subject forms occurred at least in the 2–1 configuration in several dialects. Mahatale has a suffixed *-n* as well as prefixed *nə-* in the 2–1 configuration. Nishel too has suffixed *-n* occurring with prefixed *nx-* in 3–1. Takale has a suffix *-na* in place of the expected *-ŋa* in 2–1, suggesting an original *-ŋ-na* (like we have in Sheshi).

Table 123. Future forms in Sheshi (Jangkoti dialect)

			Ø	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
		SG	əi-V-ŋ-a		əi-V-ŋ-a	əi-V-ŋ-a
	1ST	DL	əi-V-cy-a		əi-V-cy-a	əi-V-cy-a
s		PL	əi-V-y-a		əi-V-y-a	əi-V-a-i
u						
b		SG	əi-V-n-a	əi-V-n-a		əi-V-n-a
j	2ND	DL	əi-V-ci-n-a	əi-V-ci-n-a		əi-V-ci-n-a
e		PL	əi-V-cy-a	əi-V-cy-a		əi-V-cy-a
c						
t		SG	əi-V-ya	əi-V-əŋ-w-a	əi-V-ən-w-a	əi-V-w-a
	3RD	DL	əi-V-ny-a	əi-V-əŋ-ny-a	əi-V-ən-ny-a	əi-V-ny-a
		PL	əi-V-r-a	əi-V-əŋ-r-a	əi-V-ən-r-a	əi-V-r-a

17.5.3 Development of the Takale pattern

The old prefixal series of Proto-Kham, now clearly evident only in Gamale, is the beachhead for a new prefixal series in Takale based on possessive pronouns. Recall that a similar development apparently took place in Tiddim Chin. Two paradigms co-exist side by side; a 'narrative' style with prefixed person forms, and a 'colloquial' style with suffixed person forms. The prefixed forms occur elsewhere in the grammar on nouns. The inference is that verbs in the narrative style (as well as prefixed forms generally throughout Kuki-Chin) were, at least at some time, nominalizations of sorts. DeLancey (1988b) finds evidence for this in the obligatory indicative particle *hi* occurring in the Tiddim Chin narrative style, stating that 'such indicative particles are common in Tibeto-Burman, and derive from old nominalizers or copulas.' Presumably, the old prefixal series was lost in the colloquial style, and now two mutually exclusive paradigms exist side by side. We will see a similar development in the Sheshi dialect in the following section.

i. The two agreement patterns of Kham

As I have shown all along, beginning in chapter 5 on Verbs, there are two distinctive person and number agreement patterns in the verb – one a regular, finite pattern, and the other a nominalized pattern used primarily in complement and relative clauses (but also in main clauses as we saw in chapter 16). These co-existing patterns occur in all Kham dialects. The regular, non-nominalized pattern is the one we have been looking at so far, a pattern that shows considerable variation from one dialect to another. In Gamale the pattern is still close to an original for Proto-Kham in the sense that most person indices are suffixed to the verb and an old prefixal series, now mostly defunct, is still in place. Sheshi and Takale have innovated from the original pattern in different directions.

Sheshi is exclusively suffixing in its agreement patterns. Takale has a system in which grammatical role is at least partially coded by affixation type – 1ST and 2ND person subjects are prefixed, while 1ST and 2ND person objects are suffixed. Clearly, the regular, finite pattern in all dialects has been the locus of much reanalysis and innovation since Proto-Kham.

The other agreement pattern, the nominalized one, is stable and shows a great deal of continuity from one dialect to another. The pattern most probably existed in Proto-Kham, at least in embryonic form, in which case the patterns in Proto-Kham would have been analogous to those found in Tiddim Chin – two mutually exclusive paradigms, one of which incorporates old Tibeto-Burman suffixal material, and the other of which incorporates newly prefixed possessive pronominal prefixes. In modern Kham, only in Sheshi are the paradigms still mutually exclusive; the paradigm is suffixing in the regular, finite construction and prefixing in the nominalized construction. In Takale the paradigms have become almost identical – the prefixed pronominals of the nominalized paradigm have been translated across into the regular paradigm replacing the old, defunct prefixal series.

Following is a comparison of regular and nominalized forms in Takale and Sheshi (for the full nominalized paradigm in Takale see §5.3.1, table 26). Notice that in Sheshi, the paradigms are mutually exclusive, while in Takale they are parallel. The morpheme *-u/-o/-wo* (< Proto-Bodic *-ba ?) is the nominalizer:

Sheshi	nominalized	regular
1S–2S	ŋa-V-n-u	-na
1S–2P	ŋa-V-ci-u	-cya
2S–1S	nə-V-əŋ-n-u	-ŋ-na
2S–1P	nə-V-si-n-u	-si-na
1S–3S	ŋa-V-ŋ-u	-ŋa
1S–3P	ŋa-V-əŋ-waŋ	-ŋ-ra

Takale	nominalized	regular
1S–2S	ŋa-V-ni-u	ŋa-V-ni-T
1S–2P	ŋa-V-ci-u	ŋa-V-ci-T
2S–1S	nə-V-na-o	nə-V-na-T
2S–1P	nə-V-si-u	nə-V-si-T
1S–3S	ŋa-V-wo	ŋa-V-T
1S–3P	ŋa-ra-V-wo	ŋa-ra-V-T

The identical structure of the two paradigms in Takale (where 1ST and 2ND person subjects are involved) suggests two possible explanations. One possibility is that the nominalized paradigm has entirely replaced an older, non-extant finite paradigm. Under this scenario the V-T of the regular paradigm derives from an older *Vnml + V, where an old auxiliary (V) following the nominalization becomes the modern tense–aspect marker (T). This, according to DeLancey (1992a), is what has happened in the Sunwar

non-past endings; the modern forms originated in a syntactic construction involving a nominalized verb stem followed by an equational copula – now the non-past suffix.

Another possibility, suggested by developments in Gamale and Mahatale where replacement is only partial, is that the replacement of prefixed forms in the original, finite paradigm (where, remember, an old, defunct prefixal series existed *ala* Gamale) was driven by analogy with the prefixes in the nominalized paradigm. For the replacement to occur required the presence of a pre-existing prefixal series in the finite paradigm, a template so to speak. Apparently, the template was there for Takale, patterned after the Gamale prefixes, but missing for Sheshi, having been preempted by a tense–aspect marking series. This accounts for the mutually exclusive paradigms in Sheshi. Replacement by analogy is still only partial in Gamale and Mahatale.

ii. Nominalizations in Kham dialects

The nominalization of verbs in Kham is a highly productive grammatical process. Adjectivals are basically agentive nominalizations (see chapter 6). The subordinate clauses in complement sentences are nominalizations, and so too are various kinds of relative clauses. The non-subject relative clause is the one that concerns us here. As its name implies, the head of the relative clause is some participant other than the subject, as in 'The house that Jack built.' Being a nominalization, the subject (agent) is construed as a possessor – the agent is related to the action in a way analogous to the relation of possessor to possessed item. Following are examples of non-subject relative clauses from the major Kham dialects:

Gamale:

1S	ŋa: a-zyuhŋ	'My house'
	ŋa: a-jəɛʔ-wo zyuhŋ	'The house I made (the house of my making)'

Sheshi:

1S	ŋa: ŋa-zihm	'My house'
	ŋa: ŋa-jət-o zihm	'The house I made (the house of my making)'

Takale:

1S	ŋa: ŋa-zihm	'My house'
	ŋa: ŋa-jəi-wo zihm	'The house I made (the house of my making)'

iii. Nominalizations as independent main verbs

In addition to modifying a head noun (as in the examples above), nominalizations have come to take on specialized discourse functions in all dialects of Kham, and as such operate as full, main clause, finite verbs. The context is that of 'setting the stage' in a narrative discourse, and for marking discontinuous, background material.[16] (See chapter

[16] This is the same form I once referred to as a 'passive' (Watters 1973). It commonly occurs in equative clauses of the sort *ao zihm ləjim-e o-jəi-wo* 'This house was built by Lajim' in answer to

16 for details.)

iv. Replacement of old prefixes in the finite paradigm

As nominalized verbs functioning as independent, main clause verbs gained in currency, their prefixed 'possessor-agents' became a familiar configuration. Once the possessor > agent reanalysis has occurred, the stage is all but set for the prefixed possessor-agents to begin replacing the old, defunct prefixes of the regular paradigm. In Kham, there was one more encouragement to begin the transfer – one of the members of the old prefixal series already had phonological and semantic connections to 2ND person, the prefix *nə-*.

• *Replacement in Gamale.* There is good evidence in support of the claim that 2ND person was indeed the starting point for the replacement of the old prefixes. Recall from the Gamale regular verbal paradigm, which I partially reproduce in table 124, that the prefix *nə-* is the only prefix of the series either resembling or behaving like a pronoun. The others are devoid of meaning.

Table 124. Prefixed forms in Gamale (perfective)

	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
1S	–	ye- -ɛ̃	ye- -ŋ
2S	nə- -ŋ	–	nə-
3S	ya- -ŋ-o	ya- -ɛ̃-o	ya- -o

In non-perfective aspect, a second prefixed possessor-agent from the nominalized paradigm has now spread by analogy into the regular paradigm – the prefix *a-* for 1ST singular subject. The form of the 1ST singular free pronoun is *ŋa*, whereas the possessive pronoun as well as the possessor-agent prefix from the nominalized series are both *a-*, giving evidence of its source in the verbal patterns (see table 125).

Table 125. Prefixed forms in Gamale (imperfective)

	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
1S	–	a- -ɛ̃	a- -ŋ
2S	nə- -ŋ	–	nə-
3S	-ŋ-o	-ɛ̃-o	-o

• *Replacement in Takale.* In Takale the replacement of the old prefixed forms by new possessor-agents was complete and regular, making the original, finite paradigm almost identical to the nominalized one. For the replacement to be as regular as it was

questions like 'Who built this house?' Its literal translation would be 'This house = that which was built by Lajim.' I treat passives more fully in §11.7.

in Takale, however, requires an original hierarchical agreement pattern for 1ST and 2ND persons (as defined in §17.1.1). That is, where both participants in a transitive relationship have equal ranking (as in 1–2 or 2–1) the suffix must index an object. With the addition of prefixed possessor-agents, a new iconism is introduced into the paradigm whereby prefixed forms mark subjects and suffixed forms mark objects. Thus, even the subject-object pattern of Takale, which appears unrelated to the patterns of greater Tibeto-Burman, had as its precursor a hierarchical pattern.

• *Replacement in Mahatale.* In Mahatale too, the replacement of the old prefixes by new possessor-agents has been completed, but without the symmetry we find in the Takale paradigm. In table 126 is the Mahatale paradigm for singular objects.

Table 126. The singular object series in Mahatale

	1S OBJ	2S OBJ	3S OBJ
1S	–	ŋa- -n	-ŋ
1D	–	gin- -n	-ci
1P	–	ge- -n	-e
2S	nə- -n	–	nə- -n
2D	jin- -cin	–	jin- -cin
2P	je- -ci	–	je- -ci
3S	-ŋ-u	-n-u	-u
3D	?	?	-ni
3P	?	?	-m

Notice, too, the similarity of the Mahatale 1ST person forms with those of Sheshi and Gyarong:

	Mahatale	Sheshi	Gyarong
1S	-ŋ	-ŋ	-ŋ
1D	-ci	-ci	-ch
1P	-e	-i	-i

In Mahatale, there is also an *-m* plural, a morpheme we have seen in agreement paradigms all across Tibeto-Burman.

Only in the Mahatale 1–2 configurations has the addition of new possessor-agents produced the kind of symmetry we saw in Takale – prefixed subjects and suffixed objects. The symmetry collapses in the 2–1 configuration. It might be tempting to try to explain the forms in 2D and 2P in terms of what we have seen elsewhere – agreement with the highest numbered participant. The explanation, however, is unsatisfactory in view of the *-n* form in the 2S–1S configuration. Clearly *-n* is a 2ND person marker.

Thus, agreement is with the subject, in spite of the fact that the subject does not have superior number. Recall that we have come to expect object agreement where both participants are 1ST or 2ND person. In Mahatale, agreement is with 2ND person instead, a pattern we see only hints of in other Kham dialects. Thus, suffixed *-n*, *-cin*, and *-ci* already marked subject agreement at the time the new possessor-agents *jin-* and *je-* were added. The result is the redundant subject indexation[17] we see in 2–1 and 2–3.

In the plural object series there is additional agreement with the number of the object in 2–1. The result is redundant indexation for the subject, plus number marking for the object. Notice that the result is no different from what we have seen in Sheshi, number marking for the object and person marking for the subject (see table 127).

Table 127. The plural object series in Mahatale

	1P OBJ	2P OBJ	3P OBJ
1S		ŋa- -ci	ya-ra- -ŋ
1D		ge- -ci	ya-ra- -ci
1P		ge- -ci	ya-ra- -e
2S	nə- -si-T-n		nə-ra- -n
2D	jin- -T-cin		je-ra- -cin
2P	je- -si-T-ci		je- ra- -ci
3S	-si-T-u	-c-u	ya-ra- -u
3D	?	?	ya-ra- -m
3P	-si-T-m	?	ya-ra- -m

17.6 Conclusion

Within the Kham group of dialects are some of the most conservative and some of the most innovative agreement systems in all of Tibeto-Burman. The systems found in the innovative dialects are sufficiently different from those found elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman as to invite serious doubts about their origins – they appear to have arisen independently. If so, the hypothesis that the modern agreement systems derive from a common source is made less tenable. Perhaps then the occurrence of similar systems in numerous (but not all) branches of the family would best be explained as parallel innovations arising

[17] Vestiges of redundant indexation occur also in other Kham dialects, all suggestive of 2ND person agreement in the 2–1 configurations. The forms for Nishel 2–1 and 2–3 are *nə-V-ŋa-ke* and *nə-V-n-ke* respectively, where both the *nə-* and *-n* of the second form refer to 2ND person. There is some evidence for this in the Takale paradigm as well. The 2–1 form is *nə-V-na-ke*, where the suffixed *-na* is unexpected for 1ST person object. In all related dialects, the form is *-ŋa*. Perhaps we are looking at an original **-ŋ-na*, where *-ŋ* was absorbed by *-n*.

out of a linguistic milieu that encourages and nurtures such developments.

If, however, the Kham patterns can be shown to share not only in the core features of other Tibeto-Burman patterns, but also in the quirks not likely to occur more than once, there can be little doubt that the patterns are cognate. New materials from conservative Kham dialects give ample evidence that the patterns are indeed related. The development of novel patterns in the innovative dialects can be adequately explained only against a backdrop of features that Proto-Kham shares with Kiranti, Qiangic, and Kuki-Chin. As such, the argument for assigning agreement features to Proto-Tibeto-Burman is irrefutable – Kham agreement patterns are related to those in other branches of the family only through the highest node.

18 *Texts*

18.1 Text 1: Tipalkya kills a leopard

1. ahjya uhbyali-kə phagun dəs barə gəte wa:h-kə nahm-ni
   earlier spring-LOC phalgun ten twelve date about-LOC lowland-ABLT

   ge-hu-zya-o.
   1P-come-CONT-NML

   'Earlier this spring, on about the 10th or 12th of Phalgun, we were coming from the lowlands.'

2. nahm-ni ge-hu-zya-kə te, khã:bya lekhə
   lowland-ABLT 1P-come-CONT-WHEN FOC pillar mountain

   ya-do-zya-o-kə ge-basi-kə te, ri:-lə te ge-ka:h la:-e
   3P-say-CONT-NML-LOC 1P-stay-WHEN FOC night-IN FOC 1P-dog leopard-ERG

   bəi-də o-ya-si-u oleo.
   take-NF 3S-give-1P-NML MIR

   'As we were coming from the lowlands, at a place called Pillar Mountain, our dog was taken away on us by a leopard!'

3. ge: te chəkalnya te kã:-rə zya-də 'ka:h-rə kã: ya-nya' le-də
   we FOC morning FOC meal-PL eat-NF dog-PL meal give-INF say-NF

   ge-ra-kih-kə te ma-l-e.
   1P-3P-call-WHEN FOC NEG-be-IMPFV

   'We, in the morning, having eaten our food, and thinking to give food to the dogs, when we called them they weren't there.'

4. 'e naran, ao te la:-e ci o-lã:-wo kana' le-də
   oh God, this FOC leopard-ERG CEP 3S-take-NML where say-NF

   ge-khim-na-kə te, la:-e ci o-bəi-wo.
   1P-search-GO-WHEN FOC leopard-ERG CEP 3S-take-NML

   '"Oh God, a leopard has taken it somewhere" thinking, when we went to search for it, a leopard had taken it.'

5. ‘achim a-kə zə li-nya ta-ke bə, ge-khim-ya dasərə.’
today prox-LOC EMP stay-INF be-PFV also, 1P-search-FUT PROV

‘“Today we’ll just have to stay here, we’ll look for it.”’

6. ‘bəre:-rə bənduku nih-də jɨ̃:jər ja:h-də ge-e-ya bə’ le-də
southern-PL gun beg-NF trap put-NF 1P-give-FUT also say-NF

te, ho-kə zə ge-li-ke.
FOC REM-LOC EMP 1P-stay-PFV

‘“We’ll just borrow a gun from the Southerners and set a booby trap,” saying, we stayed right there.’

7. ho-kin te no: phəlnəŋgya mənlal-sə gin-khim-na-kə te
REM-ELAT FOC that Phalnange Manlal-COM 1D-search-GO-WHEN FOC

me-lə zə o-bəi-wo oleo.
down-IN EMP 3S-take-NML MIR

‘Then when I, with that one from Phalnai, Manlal, went to search for it, it had taken him down below!’

8. kəjya ri:h ya-do-zya-o-lə zə o-lã:-wo.
Kaje Water 3P-say-CONT-NML-IN EMP 3S-take-NML

‘He had taken it to a place they call Kaje Water.’

9. ho-kin te ka:h-lai ho-kə zə kutu kutu kəi-də nəi-wo.
REM-ELAT FOC dog-OBJ REM-LOC EMP shreds bite-NF keep-3S

‘Then, right there he had chewed the dog to shreds.’

10. ‘e babəi a-kə zə o-kəi-wo oleo!’
“hey man PROX-LOC EMP 3S-bite-NML MIR

‘“Hey man, he ate him right here!”’

11. ‘kan-da hai-si-ya bə?” ol həi le-də,
where-ALLT remove-REFL-FUT also himself thus say-NF

ho-tɴ:-da-ŋa-o-da ŋa-bahl-si-u te.
REM-mt.side-ALLT-ADS-NML-ALLT 1S-look-MM-NML FOC

‘“Where did he get himself to?” the (other guy) said, and I looked toward the other side of the slope.’

12. gahm ba:h-za tərə wərə hu-də u-li-zya-o; bənəi
sun just-DIM bright come-NF 3S-be-CONT-NML very

o-ma-dar-ta-o, gahm.
3S-NEG-hot-INCPT-NML sun

'The sun had just begun to shine brightly; it wasn't very hot yet, the sun.'

13. ho-kə ci syã:-də u-li-zya-o.
REM-LOC CEP sleep-NF 3S-be-CONT-NML

'There he was, sleeping.'

14. a: si-u ka si-u zə ləmpasər jəi-si-də
ah die-NML COORD die-NML EMP sprawl make-REFL-NF

u-li-zya-kə te, mənlal-lai te 'e babəi mənlal
3S-be-CONT-WHEN FOC Manlal-OBJ FOC hey man Manlal

nəgyaoh ho-ta-o syã:-də u-li-zya-o.'
there REM-ON-NML sleep-NF 3S-be-CONT-NML

'As he was sprawled out as though dead, I said to Manlal, "Hey man, Manlal, right there, he's sleeping over there."'

15. 'nə-kə zə ci u-li-zya-o oleo sani' khus khus-ni
DIST-LOC EMP CEP 3S-be-CONT-NML MIR CONFIRM whisper-ABLT

həi ŋa-do-kə te, 'de dajyu' le-də te, o-se: zə
thus 1S-say-WHEN FOC wow brother say-NF FOC 3S-tongue EMP

le: le: cĩ:-ke-o.
long stretch-PFV-3S

'When I whispered to him saying "He's right over there, okay?" he replied "Wow brother," and stuck out his tongue (in dismay).'

16. hu-kin te 'nɨ̃: a-kə zə li-n-ke, ŋa: ŋa-poh-na.
REM-ELAT FOC you PROX-LOC EMP stay-2S-IMP I 1S-hit-GO

poh-nya səjilo-kə zə li-zya' həi ŋa-do-kə te,
hit-INF easy-LOC EMP be-CONT thus 1S-say-WHEN FOC

bənəi ma-bəĩ:h-ke.
very NEG-agree-PFV

'Then I said to him, "You stay right here, I'll go hit him. He's in an easy place to hit," and he vehemently opposed me.'

17. ‘ma-ta dajyu, la:-lai kata poh-nya ta-ke? nə-kə
NEG-be brother leopard-OBJ what hit-INF be-PFV DIST-LOC

ma-ca-o-kə li-zya’ həi le-də həi li-ke.
NEG-good-NML-LOC be-CONT thus say-NF thus say-PFV

‘“It won’t do, brother. (How) is it okay/possible to beat a leopard? It’s in a bad place there,” saying he said.’

18. ‘a: tə-phe te poh-nya zə’ həi ŋa-do-kə te
aah ONE-time FOC hit-INF EMP thus 1S-say-WHEN FOC

ŋa-kwi:-tə mũ:jyar jwi:h bənəi dərbilo o-le-o.
1S-hand-ON hickory stick very stout 3S-be-NML

‘“Aah, hit him (I will), just once,” I said, and in my hand was a very stout hickory club.’

19. a: ho:-sə ələhgə-za o-tər-ni ba-də, me-lə jəhri-də,
aah REM-COM careful-DIM 3S-above-ABLT go-NF down-IN descend-NF

gohm le-də ŋa-cyu:-wo te, u-bũ:hdi wazə pəyem pəyem
stoop be-NF 1S-look-NML FOC 3S-stomach only movement

jəi-zya-o.
make-CONT-3S

‘Aah, going carefully with him from above and descending downward, I stooped and looked, and only its stomach is breathing/moving.’

20. a: nikələini zə gehppa ŋəhl-tə ba-də le, syã:-də le.
ah very EMP big slumber-ON go-NF be sleep-NF be

‘Aah, he has gone into a very deep slumber, he is sleeping.’

21. bənəi kə:si-də, u-tuthuna-tə zə poh-də ŋa-e-kə te
very brace-REFL-NF 3S-snout-ON EMP hit-NF 1S-give-WHEN FOC

a: me-da ləndi-na-ke, kalambya kolombi.
ah down-ALLT tumble-GO-PFV lumbering

‘Tightly bracing myself, I hit him on the snout, and downward he tumbled in a lumbering heap.’

22. səki ho: zə pa-na-zya, səki ho: zə zo:-zya.
alternate he EMP fall-GO-CONT alternate he EMP jump-CONT

'He goes falling, and then he's jumping.'

23. h-itao zə me-lə ẽ:h-lə ba-ke.
REM-like EMP down-IN field-IN go-PFV

'Like that he went into the field below.'

24. gin-cyu:-zya-kə gin-cyu:-zya-kə zə, me-lə ẽ:h-lə jəhri-ke.
1D-look-CONT-WHEN 1D-look-CONT-WHEN EMP down-IN field-IN descend-PFV

'As we watched and watched, he descended into the field below.'

25. hu-kin te gi-n məni gin-jəhri-na-ke, u-chĩ: u-chĩ: zə.
REM-ELAT FOC we-DL also 1D-descend-GO-PFV 3S-back 3S-back EMP

'Then we too descended, right after him.'

26. me-lə jəhri-na-də, me-lə gin-ba-kə te, a: bənəi
down-IN descend-GO-NF down-IN 1D-go-WHEN FOC ah very

nəm-tə nəm-tə zo:-zya, ho-kə zə.
sky-ON sky-ON jump-CONT, REM-LOC EMP

'Descending below, when we went below, aah he is really jumping into the sky, right there.'

27. a-da ho-da dasərə ma-ba-e.
PROX-ALLT REM-ALLT PROV NEG-go-IMPFV

'He hasn't moved around much, this way or that.'

28. hu-kini gin-ba-kə te, 'ma-ta dajyu ma-ta' həi
REM-ELAT 1D-go-WHEN FOC, NEG-be brother NEG-be thus

o-d-ã:-zya-o-tə məni, johm ka johm ba-də te,
3S-say-1S-CONT-NML-ON also defiantly go-NF FOC

a: wohm wohm zə ŋa-poh-ke.
ah wallop EMP 1S-hit-PFV

'Then we went, and even as he was saying to me, "It won't do, brother, it won't do," I stomped defiantly forward and walloped him.'

29. h-a:h-kə te gin-səih-ke.
REM-amount-LOC FOC 1D-kill-PFV

‘At that point we killed him.’

30. gin-poh-zya-kə te, bəre:-rə ro-tə chi: ya-en-zya-o.
1D-hit-CONT-WHEN FOC southerner-PL up-ON grass 3P-cut-CONT-NML

‘As we were beating him, the Southerners were above cutting hay.’

31. chi: ya-en-zya-kə te, ho:-ra-e te nikələini zə ya-kwi:
grass 3P-cut-CONT-WHEN FOC he-PL-ERG FOC very EMP 3P-hand

kərip kərip ke:h-zya-rə.
snap break-CONT-PL

‘As they are cutting hay, they are really popping their knuckles.’

32. kəda-e no: la:-lai zə poh-də səih-nya həi le-də.
because-INSTR that leopard-OBJ EMP hit-NF kill-INF thus say-NF

‘Because of killing the leopard by beating it (saying/thinking).’

33. hu-kini səih-də, mənlal-lai o-kã:bul kumla-lə ja:h-də ŋa-e-ke.
REM-ELAT kill-NF Manlal-OBJ 3S-blanket fold-IN put-NF 1S-give-PFV.

‘Then killing it, I put it in a fold of Manlal’s blanket.’

34. gur-də rəi-ke-o.
carry-NF bring-PFV-3S

‘He carrying it, brought it back.’

35. gur-də o-rəi-zya-kə te, bəre:-ra-e te ‘jɨ̃:jar thã:-də
carry-NF 3S-bring-CONT-WHEN FOC southerner-PL-ERG FOC trap set-NF

je-e-o ci ho-lə u-pəri-u ci’ həi le-də həi li-zya-rə.
2P-give-NML CEP REM-IN 3S-fall-NML CEP thus say-NF thus say-CONT-3P

‘As he is carrying it, the Southerners are saying, “Wow, he happened into the booby trap you set for him!”’

36. ‘o-gaih cyu:-ci-ke’ le-də, sətəð:-də gin-ra-e-kə te,
3S-wound look-2P-IMP say-NF show-NF 1D-3P-give-WHEN FOC

o-gaih bənəi khim-zya-rə.
3S-wound very search-CONT-3P

‘We said, “Look for its wound,” and when we showed it to them, they are really searching for its wound.’

37. poh-si-u zə kata o-gaih li-ke dasərə.
hit-DETRANS-NML EMP what 3S-wound be-FUT PROV

‘It was bludgeoned, what wound will there be?’

38. u-səni:-ni wazə ji:h-rə hu-də le, ho: poh-də ŋa-e-o.
3S-nose-ABLT only blood-PL come-NF be that hit-NF 1S-give-NML

‘Only from its nose blood has come, that’s where I hit it.’

39. hu-kini ro-tə gotho-kə rəi-də te, o-lkota:-rə ko:-də gin-təŋgəi-ke.
rem-ELAT up-ON shed-LOC bring-NF FOC 3S-skin-PL skin-NF 1D-stretch-PFV

‘Then bringing it up to the shelter, we skinned it and stretched it.’

40. tala:-kə cəitə-lə terə bis-lə ci gin-yo:-e ni.
other.day-LOC Chaitra-IN thirteen score-IN CEP 1D-sell-IMPFV WELL

‘The other day in Chaitra, we sold it for thirteen score, okay?’

18.2 Text 2: Jaman and the witches

1. phəri ho: bənəi ŋa-joro u-hu-zya-o sal-lə taki tərə, ŋa-nəĩ
   again that very 1S-illness 3S-come-CONT-NML year-IN moreover 1S-friend(m)

   ŋa-mẽ-rə, ŋa: te ŋa-joro-e te ekdəm si-wa si-wa ta-də
   1S-friend(f) I FOC 1S-ill-AGT FOC complete die-APPRX die-APPRX be-NF

   ŋa-le.
   1S-be:IMPFV

   'Again, in that year when I kept getting ill, moreover, my friends and comrades, I was about to die from my illness.'

2. ŋa: gõ:-ŋə ŋa-joro bənəi zə hu-də, ho-ŋə ekdəm əizə
   I highland-ADS 1S-illness very EMP come-NF that-ADS complete simply

   bicitə bicitə ta-də ŋa-le.
   incoherent be-NF 1S-be

   'I became ill in the highlands, and (while) there I had grown completely incoherent.'

3. me-ŋə gəti:-ŋə abə həldar sero, yũ: na-o-za
   down-ADS mill-ADS now sergeant old.man, heart sick-NML-DIM

   a:h sero mi: gəti:-lə zə lagi-zya.
   this.much old.man person mill-IN EMP work-CONT

   'Now, down below at the mill, Old Man Sergeant, poor guy, such an old man, is working in the mill.'

4. bobo sonar ho-ŋə o-ehn-e ma-da:h-nya ta-ke.
   uncle Sonar that-ADS 3S-work-AGT NEG-free-INF be-PFV

   'It happened that Uncle Sonar wasn't free (to help out) there because of his work.'

5. ŋa: ŋa-joro-e ho-lə ekdəm khətəm ta-də ŋa-le.
   I 1S-illness-AGT that-IN complete finished be-NF 1S-be.

   'I, by my illness, had become completely finished off (useless).'

6. hu-kin ŋa-joro bənəi zə u-hu-zya-o mowka-ka-o
   that-ELAT 1S-illness very EMP 3S-come-CONT-NML timing-LOC-NML

   ŋa-mĩ:-lə tə-cha: ri:-la-o ŋa-mĩ:-lə te ŋa-zihm-kin
   1S-dream-IN ONE-day night-IN-NML 1S-dream-IN FOC 1S-house-ELAT

so-də, jwi:h jwi:h-si-də, no: ri:h ge-gəp-zya-o khola-da
rise-NF stick brace-REFL-NF that water 1P-draw-CONT-NML stream-ALLT

gyã:h gyã:h jwi:h teki-si-də ŋa-ba-zya-kə te, ho-ka-o
level level stick hobble-REFL-NF 1S-go-CONT-WHEN FOC that-LOC-NML

nahm-da jəhri-nya yem sono:h ruji-bã: tɴ:-da ba-nya
lowland-ALLT descend-INF trail and Ruji-meadow toward-ALLT go-INF

yem (ge: ho-da ri:h ge-gəp-na-zya-o yem te cəbənəi
trail we that-ALLT water 1P-draw-GO-CONT-NML trail FOC completely

zə car-ta juri-u li-zya), no: kapcya yem-kə te kata-rə
EMP four-ITEM join-NML be-CONT that forked trail-LOC FOC what-PL

o-ta-o mẽ:ma-rə sõ:h-bərẽ: syaso-wa ŋa-ra-rɨ̃:h.
3S-be-NML woman-PL three-ITEM like-APPRX 1S-3P-see

'Then in a dream whose timing was just when I was very ill, one day in a night-time dream I got up from my house and bracing myself with a stick, as I went hobbling along on the level toward that stream where we draw water, at the trail that descends to the lowlands and the trail that goes toward Ruji Meadow (the trail that we go on to draw water (forms) an exact four-way junction there), at that fork of the trail, I saw whatever, what looked like three women.'

7. ho-ra-e te ŋa-lai te lam lum dərləi-də te, ŋa-ŋa:h-rə
that-PL-ERG FOC I-OBJ FOC blanket roll-NF FOC 1S-face-PL

lumbəi-d-ya-də te, ŋa-mi: kəp-d-ya-də, ekdəm jehloŋga-lə
wrap-NF-BEN-NF FOC 1S-eye cover-NF-BEN-NF, completely sling-IN

ja:h-də, bəi-zya-o syaso jəi-na-ke-rə.
put-NF take-CONT-NML like make-1S-PFV-3P

'They blanketed me up into a ball, wrapped up my face and all, covered over my eyes, and put me into a sling, like they were taking me away.'

8. ho-kin te ho: məni ca-o-sə ya-bəi-na-kin ta-khe-ho ni.
that-ELAT FOC that even good-NML-COM 3P-take-1S-IF be-PROB-HO CONFIRM

'Then, even that would have been okay if they had taken me nicely.'

jo-tə jo-tə zə johpora:, jo-tə jo-tə zu:-rə
where-ON where-ON EMP brush, where-ON where-ON thorn-PL

li-zya-rə, ho-tə ho-tə zə khərkəi-na-na-zya-rə.
be-CONT-PL there-ON there-ON EMP herd-GO-1S-CONT-PL

‘Wherever there is brush, wherever there are thorns, there they go on herding me.’

9. bənəi zə ŋa-turi:-si-zya.
very EMP 1S-scrape-REFL-CONT

‘I’m getting all scraped up.’

10. ‘e jero jero, nəi ta-jəi-na-c-yo. ca-o-sə yem-e
hey please please thus PROH-make-1S-2P-IMP good-NML-COM trail-GEN

yem bəi-na-ci-ke. jo-da je-lã:-na-di bə buru yem-e
trail take-1S-2P-IMP where-ALLT 2P-take-1S-CON even rather trail-GEN

yem bəi-na-ci-ke,’ həi ŋa-ra-do-zya-o məni, h-itao dõ:hwəĩ-ra-e
trail take-1S-2P-IMP thus 1S-3P-say-CONT-NML even REM-like rose-PL-GEN

tər-ta-o gyã:h zə sehl-na-na-zya-rə.
upon-ON-NML level EMP pull-1S-CONT-3P

‘“Hey, please, please, don’t do me like this. Take me nicely along the trail. Regardless of where you take me, rather take me along the trail,” though I am telling them, straight over such rose bushes they are dragging me.’

11. chĩ:-ni te me-la-o kanchi binkoi-ye o-ẽ:h-la-o
after-ABLT FOC down-IN-NML Aunt Binkoy-GEN 3S-field-IN-NML

rã:-wo pata-lə te sə-cyã:h-na-ke-rə, ho-lə.
wide-NML terrace-IN FOC CAUS-stand-1S-PFV-3P rem-IN

‘Later, down on the wide terrace in Auntie Binkoy’s field they made me stand, right there.’

12. ya-sə-cyã:h-na-kə te, ə: a-da ho-da te ẽ:h
3P-CAUS-stand-1S-WHEN FOC aah prox-ALLT rem-ALLT FOC field

pata bəhri zə mi:-rə chəpək li-zya-rə.
terrace all EMP person-PL motionless be-CONT-3P

‘When they made me stand, aah, here and there over the whole terrace people are (standing) motionless.’

13. ho-kin te ho: mi:-rə ŋa-ra-rɨ̃:h-kə te, jəmma ŋa-lai
rem-ELAT FOC that person-PL 1S-3P-see-WHEN FOC completely I-OBJ

ya-ris co-wo-rə wazə ŋa-ra-rɨ̃:h-ke.
3P-anger boil-NML-PL only 1S-3P-see-PFV

‘Then, when I looked at those people, I saw only (people) who were boiling with anger at me.’

14. ‘a-o-rə te zya:h-rə ci oleo,’ həi li-də te ŋa: te
prox-NML-PL FOC witch-PL CEP MIR thus say-NF FOC I FOC

bənəi zə ŋa-che:-ke.
very EMP 1S-frighten-PFV

‘Realizing “these are witches!” I became very afraid.’

15. chĩ:-ni te bənəi che:-də, ‘kəi li-nya o-ta-o,’ həi
after-ABLT FOC very frighten-NF what say-NF 3S-be-NML thus

li-də bənəi həi ŋa-li-zya-kə te, ŋah-da-ŋa-o
say-NF very thus 1S-say-WHEN FOC before-ALLT-ADS-NML

jwi:h-si-də ŋa-ba-zya-o jwi:h zə ŋa-kwi:-tə te bənəi
hobble-REFL-NF 1S-go-CONT-NML stick EMP 1S-hand-ON FOC very

khyo:-wo tərwali ta-ke.
long-NML sword be-PFV

‘Later, being very frightened and thinking much about “What is to be done,” that earlier stick I had been hobbling with turned into a long sword in my hand.’

16. no: tərwali da-də ŋa-nəi-zya-kə te, ŋa-yũ:-lə kata ŋa-səmji-ke?
that sword do-NF 1S-keep-CONT-WHEN FOC 1S-heart-IN what 1S-think-PFV

‘When I was holding onto that sword, what did I think in my heart?’

17. ‘ŋa: ki-tərə ŋa: məni si-nya. ao-ra-lai te jəti gota
I alternate I also die-INF this-PL-OBJ FOC however.much item

ta-di məni ŋa-ra-phwĩ-ya’ li-də te, ŋa-məcəi-ke, no: tərwali te.
be-CON also 1S-3P-hack-FUT say-NF FOC 1S-stir.up-PFV that sword FOC

‘“I, on the one hand, I too will die. But regardless of how many they are, I will hack them down,” saying, I stirred it up, the sword, that is.’

18. paĩh-da zə bənəi zə ya-khar-lə zə bənəi phəndəi-də
all-ALLT EMP very EMP 3P-middle-IN EMP very wave-NF

ŋa-ra-e-kə te syã: syã: zə ŋa-ra-khya-ke.
1S-3P-give-WHEN FOC scatter/clean EMP 1S-3P-cast-PFV

‘Everywhere, right in their midst, when I waved it against them, I cleaned them out.’

19. ho-kin te syã: syã: bə ba-ke-rə.
that-AFT FOC scatter/flee also go-PFV-3P

‘After that they fled.’

20. tə-ba:h-rə te ho: khasəi-tə ro-tə ya-guhm-o oleo!
ONE-portion-PL FOC that walnut-ON up-ON 3P-climb-NML MIR

‘One part of them climbed up into the top of that walnut tree!’

21. ho-kin te ŋa: te me-lə ẽ:h-lə te ŋa-batəŋə zə ŋa-li-zya.
that-AFT FOC I FOC down-IN field-IN FOC 1S-alone EMP 1S-be-CONT

‘After that I am alone down in the field below.’

22. ŋa-batəŋə ŋa-ta-o-tə te phəri ŋa-zihm-da ba-nya upai ŋa-khim-ke.
1S-alone 1S-be-NML-ON FOC again 1S-house-ALLT go-INF route 1S-search-PFV

‘Upon becoming alone, I began to search for an (escape) route home.’

23. ŋa-zihm-da ba-nya yem ŋa-chəmchəməi-zya-kə te,
1S-house-ALLT go-INF road 1S-feel.out-CONT-WHEN FOC

phəri khasəi-ta-o-rə te, ə: bahlap bulup jəhri-ke-rə.
again walnut-ON-NML-PL FOC aah plop plop descend-PFV-3P

‘As I was beginning to feel out a way home, those in the walnut tree descended, plopping.’

24. ŋa-tər-tə thu-si-hu-ke-rə.
1S-top-ON dump-REFL-COME-PFV-3P

‘They dumped themselves on top of me.’

25. ho-rə məni ya-tərwali-ra-sə hu-də te, ŋa-ŋəih ya:-lə te, e:
that-PL also 3P-sword-PL-COM come-NF FOC, 1S-head area-IN FOC, hey

kachyaŋ ni kəchiŋ jəmma bənəi zə juhji-ke-rə ya-tərwali-rə.
clang COORD clang complete very EMP collide-PFV-3P, 3P-sword-PL

‘They too came with swords, and all around my head they collided with clanging and clashing, their swords.’

26. ‘abə te ma-nəi-na-ke-rə bə’ həi li-də bənəi-də bənəi zə ŋa-che:-ke.
now FOC NEG-keep-1S-PFV-3P also thus say-NF make-NF very EMP 1S-fear-PFV

‘“Now they certainly won’t spare me,” thinking, saying, I was greatly afraid.’

27. ‘abə te ma-nəi-na-ke-rə bə’ li-də-ka-o bənəi har zə
now FOC NEG-keep-1S-PFV-3P also say-NF-LOC-NML very dismay EMP

mani-də-ka-o ŋa-chĩ:-da ŋa-bahlsi-u-tə te, həldar
observe-NF-LOC-NML 1S-back-ALLT 1S-look-NML-ON FOC sergeant

bajyu te ŋa-chĩ:-kə te ekdəm khəbərdar cyã:h-si-də le.
grandfather FOC 1S-back-LOC FOC much stalwart stand-MM-NF be.IMPFV

‘In my dismay and thinking “they won’t spare me now,” upon looking behind me, Grandfather Sergeant was standing there very stalwartly.’

28. ho-lai rɨ̃:h-də te phəri ŋa-yũ:-rə bənəi zə holã: ta-ke.
that-OBJ see-NF FOC again 1S-heart-PL very EMP comfort be-PFV

‘Seeing him, my heart was greatly comforted.’

29. ha:h-kə te ho-ka-o ŋa-ra-rɨ̃:h-zya-o həi
that.much-LOC FOC that-LOC-NML 1S-3P-see-CONT-NML thus

li-zya-o-rə məni kana ya-ba-o? ma-le-rə.
be-CONT-NML-PL also where 3P-go-NML NEG-be-3P

‘At that point, where had they gone, those that I had seen, those acting like that? They were no longer.’

30. ho-kin te ha:h-tə te, oho, bajyu-lai ŋa-rɨ̃:h-wo-kin
that-ELAT FOC that.much-ON FOC oho grandfather-OBJ 1S-see-NML-AFT

ŋa-yũ: bə holã: ta-ke.
1S-heart also comfort be-PFV

‘Then at that point, oho, after I had seen Grandfather my heart was comforted.’

31. ha:h-kə te ho: li-zya-o mi:-rə məni kan-da ya-ba-o?
that.much-LOC FOC that be-CONT-NML people-PL also where-ALLT 3P-go-NML

‘At that point, those people who were there too, where had they gone?’

32. gin-batəŋə zə gin-ta-ke.
1D-alone EMP 1D-be-PFV

‘We two were (became) alone.’

33. gin-batəŋə gin-ta-o-tə te phəri ŋa-səĩ-si-kə te,
1D-alone 1D-be-NML-ON FOC again 1S-know-REFL-WHEN FOC

ŋa-po:-lə zə ŋa-li-zya.
1S-place-IN EMP 1S-be-CONT

'After we two were alone, when I awoke again, I am in my place.'

34. ao no məni ŋa-mɨ̃: n-itao zə ŋa-mɨ̃:-ke.
this that also 1S-dream DIST-like EMP 1S-dream-PFV

'This, such a dream as that too I dreamed.'

35. na:h-kin te phəri, 'ao te pərmesor-e o-cakərya ŋa:-sə zə
that.much-AFT FOC again this FOC God-GEN 3S-devotee I-COM EMP

u-li-zya-o oleo' həi li-də bənəi-də həi bə ŋa-li-ke.
3S-be-CONT-NML MIR thus say-NF make-NF thus also 1S-say-PFV

'And again after that, "This is God's angel that is with me!" realizing, I began to say.'

36. ha:h-kini ŋa-joro-e ŋa-lai te ratə-e dinə-e zə
that.much-AFT 1S-illness-ERG I-OBJ FOC night-GEN day-GEN EMP

ras-na-na-ke-o.
release-GO-1S-PFV-3S

'From that time on, my illness, night and day, began to leave me.'

37. həi ŋa-nəĩ-rə itao gəhtəna:-rə məni o-ta-zya-o oleo!
hey 1S-friend-PL such event-PL also 3S-be-CONT-NML MIR

'Hey my friends, even events such as these take place!'

18.3 Text 3 : Mana and the leopard

1. ba:h-kə tubu dənə ya-do-zya-o-e o-za: mənə o-le-o di.
long.ago-LOC one Dana 3P-say-CONT-NML-GEN 3S-child Mana 3S-be-NML RSP

‘Long ago, there was one called Dana whose son was Mana (it is said).’

2. hu-kin te bəjar-da o-ba-zya-o di.
rem-ELAT FOC bazaar-ALLT 3S-go-CONT-NML RSP

‘Then he (Dana) was going to the bazaar (it is said).’

3. bəjar-da o-ba-zya-kə te, ‘e mənə, bəjar-ni nɨ̃:-lai kata
bazaar-ALLT 3S-go-CONT-WHEN FOC hey Mana bazaar-ABLT you-OBJ what

rəi-d-ya-nya?’ həi o-do-kə te, ‘babu, ŋa-lai upur kata zə
bring-NF-BEN-INF thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC Father I-OBJ other what EMP

ma-cahi-e, dərpən tubu pətar tubu rəi-d-yã:’ həi li-də həi
NEG-need-IMPFV mirror one rope one bring-NF-BEN:1S thus say-NF thus

do-ke-o di.
say-PFV-3S RSP

‘When he was (ready to) go to the bazaar, he asked “Hey Mana, what shall I bring you from the bazaar?” and he (Mana) replied, “Father, I need nothing else, just bring me a mirror and a rope” (it is said).’

4. hu-kini o-babu bəjar-ŋə ba-də bəjar-ni dərpən tubu pətar tubu
rem-ELAT 3S-father bazaar-ADS go-NF bazaar-ABLT mirror one rope one

rəi-d-i-ke-o di.
bring-NF-BEN-PFV-3S RSP

‘Then his father went to the bazaar and brought back for him a mirror and a rope (it is said).’

5. zihm-kə hu-ke di.
house-LOC come-PFV RSP

‘He came home (it is said).’

6. zihm-kə u-hu-kə te, ‘babu, ŋa-lai rəi-də nə-ma-yã:,’
house-LOC 3S-come-WHEN FOC Father I-OBJ bring-NF 2S-INTRG-give:1S

həi li-də həi o-do-kə te, ‘rəi-də ŋa-nəi-e,’ həi li-də
thus say-NF thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC, bring-NF 1S-put-IMPFV thus say-NF

pətar-rə dərpən-rə e-ke-o di.
rope-PL mirror-PL give-PFV-3S RSP

'When he got home (Mana) said, "Father, did you bring me (what I asked)?" and he replied, "I brought it," and (then) he gave him the rope and the mirror (it is said).'

7. ho-kin te, ʻbabu, həi ŋa-le-o rəi-də nə-yã:-ke. ŋa: te
REM-ELAT FOC Father thus 1S-say-NML bring-NF 2S-give:1S-PFV. I FOC

əi ci jyã:h-da duli-na ŋa-ba-rih-zya,' həi li-də te ol te
just CEP forest-ALLT wander-GO 1S-go-PROS-CONT thus say-NF FOC self FOC

jyã:h-da ba-ke di.
forest-ALLT go-PFV RSP

'Then he said, "Father, you brought me what I asked for. I'm just going for a walk in the forest," saying, he went to the forest (it is said).'

8. ho-ŋə te o-ba-zya-kə o-ba-zya-kə te tubu jyã:h-lə te tubu
rem-ADS FOC 3S-go-CONT-WHEN 3S-go-CONT-WHEN FOC one forest-IN FOC one

la:-sə ni-dəi-si-u di.
leopard-ASC 3D-meet-REFL-NML RSP

'There, as he was going along and going along, in a certain forest he met up with a certain leopard (it is said).'

9. la:-e te, ʻnɨ̃:-lai ŋa-kəi-ni,' li-də u-hu-zya-kə te, ʻe babəi
leopard-ERG FOC you-OBJ 1S-eat-2S say-NF 3S-come-WHEN FOC hey wow

ŋa-lai kəi-na nə-hu-zya-o ro,' həi o-do-kə te, la:-e, ʻə:
I-OBJ eat-1S 2S-come-CONT-NML QP thus 3S-say-WHEN FO, leopard-ERG yes

nɨ̃:-lai kəi-nya li-də ŋa-hu-zya' həi li-də həi o-do-o di.
you-OBJ eat-INF say-NF 1S-come-CONT thus say-NF thus 3S-say-NML RSP

'When the leopard came toward him saying "I am going to eat you up," he answered, "Are you really coming to eat me up?" and the leopard said, "I am coming with the intention of eating you up" (it is said).'

10. hu-kini mənə-e te, ʻe babəi ŋa-lai kata buhgan daino o-ta-o?
rem-ELAT Mana-ERG FOC hey wow I-OBJ what god blessing 3S-be-NML

neh-blo la: o-cahi-zya-o. tubu kyo:h-də ŋa-nəi. tubu nɨ̃:
two-CLSF leopard 3S-need-CONT-NML one catch-NF 1S-keep one you

nə-ta-ke,' həi li-də həi o-do-kə te, ʻe babəi nɨ̃: saco kyo:h-də
2S-be-PFV thus say-NF thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC hey wow you truly catch-NF

nə-nəi-zya-o ro ki?' həi o-do-kə te, 'saco zə kyo:h-də
2S-catch-CONT-NML QP or thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC truly EMP catch-NF

ŋa-nəi,' həi do-ke-o di.
1S-keep thus say-PFV-3S RSP

'Then Mana said, "Hey, wow, how can I be so lucky? I was needing two leopards. One I have already caught. You are the other," [and the leopard] replied, "Hey, wow, have you truly caught one?" and he [Mana] said, "I have truly caught one" (it is said).'

11. 'sətəĩ:-ke,' həi o-do-kə te, dərpən o-ŋa:h-tə sətəĩ:-də o-e-kə
show-IMP thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC mirror 3S-face-ON show-NF 3S-give-WHEN

te ho-lə la:-ye o-sã: ci u-rɨ̃:h-wo di.
FOC rem-IN leopard-GEN 3S-reflection CEP 3S-see-NML RSP

'"Show it," he said, and when he showed it to him putting the mirror in his face, the leopard saw his reflection in it (it is said).'

12. ha:h-kə te la:-ye te, 'jero jero dəhrmi, ŋa-lai ta-kyo:h-na-yo.
that-LOC FOC leopard-ERG FOC please please savior I-OBJ PROH-catch-1S-IMP

burutu nɨ̃:-lai sun-rə cã:di-rə bənəi kudu:h ŋa-yã:,' həi li-də həi
rather you-OBJ gold-PL silver-PL very much 1S-give:2S thus say-NF thus

do-ke-o di.
say-PFV-3S RSP

'At that, the leopard began to plead, "Please, please Dear Benefactor, don't catch me. Rather, I'll give you lots of gold and silver," he said (it is said).'

13. 'nɨ̃: kata-e u-sun-rə, kata-e o-cã:di-rə ya-nya? nɨ̃:-lai
you what-GEN 3S-gold-PL what-GEN 3S-silver-PL give-INF you-OBJ

ŋa-ma-ras-ni,' həi li-də həi o-do-kə te, 'jero dəhrmi,
1S-NEG-release-2S thus say-NF thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC please savior

burutu ŋa-chĩ: ŋa-chĩ: hu-n-ke. ŋa: ŋa-pəi-n-ya,' həi li-də
rather 1S-back 1S-back come-2S-IMP I 1S-teach-2S-FUT thus say-NF

həi do-ke-o di.
thus say-PFV-3S RSP

'"What gold and what silver do you have to give? I won't let you go," he said, and [the leopard] replied, "Please, Dear Benefactor, follow behind me and I'll teach/show you" (it is said).'

14. hu-kini la:-ye u-chĩ: u-chĩ: o-ba-kə te, tubu hã: khɨ̃:-kə
rem-ELAT leopard-ERG 3S-back 3S-back 3S-go-WHEN FOC one cliff foot-LOC

bəi-ke-o di, la:-ye.
take-PFV-3S RSP leopard-ERG

'Then, when he followed behind the leopard, he took him to the foot of a certain cliff (it is said), the leopard did.'

15. ho-kə te no: la:-ye o-ra-kəi-wo mi:-ra-e ya-sun-rə
REM-LOC FOC that leopard-ERG 3S-3P-eat-NML person-PL-GEN 3P-gold-PL

ya-cã:di-rə te a: bənəi tə-dəhm zə li-zya di.
3P-silver-PL FOC ah very ONE-pile EMP be-CONT RSP

'There, aah, there is a great pile of all the gold and all the silver of all the people that the leopard has eaten (it is said).'

16. ha:h-kə te, 'de nɨ̃: ao-rə bəi-də nə-zihm-da ba-ni. ŋa: əi ci
that-LOC FOC there you this-PL take-NF 2S-house-ALLT go-2S I just CEP

ŋa-ba-rih-zya,' li-də te, la: te o-chyace-ye te sundə mundə
1S-go-PROS-CONT say-NF FOC leopard FOC 3S-fright-INSTR FOC hastily

patəl-da dõ:h-ke di.
thicket-ALLT run-PFV RSP

'At that point, "Here, you take all of this and go to your house. I'll just be going," the leopard said, and then out of terror, he hastily ran off into a thicket (it is said).'

17. hu-kini nəm chəpək jyah-ke di.
REM-ELAT sky cover dark-PFV RSP

'Then, it became completely dark (it is said).'

18. 'a: "akhə ŋa-zihm-da ŋa-ba," ŋa-li-kə kubila ta-ke. la:-ra-e
aah now 1S-house-ALLT 1S-go 1S-stay-WHEN late be-PFV leopard-PL-ERG

kəi-na-wa. "a-kə zə ŋa-l-ya ŋa-syã:" ŋa-li-kə, la:-ra-e
eat-1S-FUT prox-LOC EMP 1S-stay-FUT 1S-sleep 1S-say-when leopard-PL-ERG

kəi-na-wa. ho: dekha ao sĩ:-tə guhm-də nə-tə ŋa-basi-ya bə,' li-də
eat-1S-FUT that rather this tree-ON climb-NF dist-ON 1S-stay-FUT also say-NF

te sĩ:-tə guhm-ke di.
FOC tree-ON climb-PFV RSP

'[Mana] said, "Aah, thinking that I would go home, it turned late, and now the leopards will eat me. When I think about staying here and sleeping, too, the leopards will eat me. Better than that, I'll just climb this tree and stay there," he said and he climbed a tree (it is said).'

19. hu-kini sĩ:-tə guhm-də pətar-e bənəi kəskəi-si-də u-li-zya-kə
rem-ELAT tree-ON climb-NF rope-INSTR very tighten-REFL-NF 3S-be-CONT-WHEN

te, phəri tubu mi: te ri:-lə te hu-də te u-dũ:h-la-o khar-lə
FOC again one man FOC night-IN FOC come-NF FOC 3S-under-IN-NML branch-IN

hu-də cuh-si-ke di.
come-NF sit-MM-PFV RSP

'Then, climbing the tree and tying himself tightly with rope, as he was sitting there, another man came along and sat down on a branch below him (it is said).'

20. o-tər-ta-o mənə-lai te o-ma-rĩ:h-zya-o di.
3S-above-ON-NML Mana-OBJ FOC 3S-NEG-see-CONT-NML RSP

'He hadn't seen Mana who was above him (it is said).'

21. hu-kini la:-ra-e kəcəri po: o-le-o di, ho-kə.
REM-ELAT leopard-PL-GEN meeting place 3S-be-NML RSP, rem-LOC

'Now, there was a leopards' meeting place (it is said), it was there.'

22. la:-rə te a-ni tubu hu-ni tubu hu-də te a: jotoro zə
leopard-PL FOC PROX-ABLT one rem-ABLT one come-NF FOC aah many EMP

tə-dəhm zə le-o ma-le-o tə-bã: zə tə-si: zə
ONE-pile EMP be-NML NEG-be-NML ONE-meadow EMP ONE-full EMP

ta-hu-ke-rə di.
be-COME-PFV-3P RSP

'Leopards came, one from here and one from there, until uncountable (being, not being) heaps of them arrived and filled the meadow full (it is said).'

23. hu-kini te tubu la:-ra-e ya-raja ya-do-zya-o-ye te tubu
rem-ELAT FOC one leopard-PL-GEN 3P-king 3P-say-CONT-NML-ERG FOC one

la:-lai cep-də o-rəi-zya-o di.
leopard-OBJ ride-NF 3S-bring-CONT-NML RSP

'Then, one leopard they called their king came riding in on another leopard.'

24. ho-kə hu-də te no: ya-raja-e te, ‘je: achim kata kata bohrjən
rem-LOC come-NF FOC that 3P-king-ERG FOC you today what what feast

je-d-e? kata kata je-ra-kəi-ya? no: pã:-ci-ke,’
2P-do-IMPFV what what 2P-3P-eat-PFV? that speak-2P-IMP

həi o-ra-do-kə te,
thus 3S-3P-say-WHEN FOC

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘nahwor-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di,
ONE-part-PL-ERG mountain.sheep-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘bɨ̃:-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di,
ONE-part-PL-ERG mountain.billy-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘basma-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di,
ONE-part-PL-ERG mountain.nanny-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘səhr-rə rətuwa-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di,
ONE-part-PL-ERG antelope-PL deer-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘kəsturi-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di,
ONE-part-PL-ERG musk.deer-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘har-rə bəĩhsa-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di,
ONE-part-PL-ERG cow-PL buffalo-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘behda:-rə bakəra:-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di,
ONE-part-PL-ERG sheep-PL goat-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

tə-ba:h-ra-e, ‘mi:-rə ge-ra-kəi-ke,’ həi li-ke-rə di.
ONE-part-PL-ERG person-PL 1P-3P-eat-PFV thus say-PFV-3P RSP

‘Arriving there, the king said to them, “What feasts did you have today? What all did you eat? Speak up!” And some said (it is said), “We ate mountain sheep.” Some said (it is said), “We ate mountain billies.” Some said (it is said), “We ate mountain nannies.” Some said (it is said), “We ate antelope and deer.” Some said (it is said), “We ate musk deer.” Some said (it is said), “We ate cows and buffalo.” Some said (it is said), “We ate sheep and goats.” Some said (it is said), “We ate people.”’

25. no: mənə-e kyo:h-wo o-pəĩ-zya-o la: te gəih gwi:h zə
that Mana-ERG catch-COMP 3S-want-CONT-NML leopard FOC nothing EMP

ma-li-də cuh-si-də le: di.
NEG-say-NF sit-MM-NF be:IMPFV RSP

‘The leopard that Mana almost caught just sat there saying absolutely nothing (it is said).’

26. no: ya-raja ta-zya-o-ye te, ‘əi nɨ̃: karao-ye kata zə
that 3P-king be-CONT-NML-ERG FOC hey you why-INSTR what EMP

nə-ma-pã:-zya-o?’ o-do-kə te,
2S-NEG-speak-CONT-NML 3S-say-WHEN FOC

‘e: sərkar, ŋa: te achim te bohrjən da-nya te ho-kə zə o-le-kə
oh king I FOC today FOC feast do-INF FOC rem-LOC EMP 3S-place-LOC

tubu mi:-ye thokoi bəi-na-ke-o. dəhnnə ŋa-bahgi-ye abə ŋa-bã:ci-u,’
man-ERG almost take-1S-PFV-3S much 1S-luck-INSTR now 1S-survive-NML

həi li-də həi o-do-kə te, ‘nɨ̃:-lai kəi jəi-də thokoi kyo:h-də
thus say-NF thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC you-OBJ what make-NF almost catch-NF

o-bəi-ni-zya-o ki?’ həi li-də ya-raja-e həi do-ke-o di.
3S-take-2S-CONT-NML QP thus say-NF 3P-king-ERG thus say-PFV-3S RSP

‘That one who was their king said, “Hey you, why is it that you’re not speaking?” and he replied, “Oh King, today when I was about to have my feast, a man (showed up) there and almost took me away. By my great luck I survived.” “What? How did you almost get taken away?” their king said to him (it is said).’

27. həi o-do-kə te, ya-raja-e, ‘a: ŋa: ta-kini hitao munukhya pəikya-lai
thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC 3P-king-ERG aah I be-IF such human puny-OBJ

əi ŋa-jəi-khe-ho, həi ŋa-jəi-khe-ho,’ li-də te, u-kwi:-ra-sə
thus 1S-make-PROB-HO thus 1S-make-PROB-HO say-NF FOC 3S-hand-PL-ASC

bənəi o-pã:-zya-kə te, u-dũ:h-la-o khar-la-o basi-u
very 3S-speak-CONT-WHEN FOC 3S-under-IN-NML branch-IN-NML stay-NML

te bahrlap ni bohrlop nam-kə ci o-teh-wo di.
FOC crash AND crash earth-LOC CEP 3S-fall-NML RSP

‘When he said this, the king [further] said, “Aah, if it had been me, to such a puny human being I would have done this and I would have done that,” and as he spoke much [waving] his hands, the one sitting beneath [Mana] on the branch fell crashing and banging to the ground (it is said).’

28. bohrlop nəm-kə o-teh-kə te, ru-tini no: mənə-e te, ‘de
crash earth-LOC 3S-fall-WHEN FOC above-DEL that Mana-ERG FOC quick

dajyu no: ya-raja-lai zə gəh-kyo:h-yo. ŋa-kam-tə cahi-də le.’
brother that 3P-king-OBJ EMP HOR-catch-IMP. 1S-work-ON need-NF be:IMPFV

‘When he crashed to the ground, Mana from above [cried], “Quick brother, grab that one, their king. I need him in my work.”’

29. no: ‘ya-raja-lai zə gəh-kyo:h’ li-də te bənəi cir cir u-kih-kə te,
that 3P-king-OBJ EMP HOR-catch say-NF FOC very scream 3S-cry-WHEN FOC

a: ya-raja ta-zya-o te jəhn ya-ŋah-da ya-ŋah-da
aah 3P-king be-CONT-NML FOC exceeding 3P-before-ALLT 3P-before-ALLT

o-satu patu ma-le-o bənəi dõ:h-ke di.
3S-soul soul NEG-be-NML very run-PFV RSP

‘When he heard all that screaming (about) “Grab the king,” the one who was their king lost his soul (was terrified) and fled before them all (it is said).’

30. ha:h-kə te ho-ka-o la: bəhri məni bənəi syam syam
that-LOC FOC that-LOC-NML leopard all also very stampede

ya-chyace-ye dõ:h-ke-rə di, pəĩh zə.
3P-fear-INSTR run-PFV-3P RSP all EMP

‘At that point all the [other] leopards too of that place stampeded away in terror (it is said), all of them.’

31. ho-kin te teh-wo-ye te ro-ta-o-lai te, ‘jero jero dəhrmi,
that-ELAT FOC fall-NML-ERG FOC up-ON-NML-OBJ FOC cherished savior

achim ŋa-dəhrmi nɨ̃: nə-ta-ke, mani ŋa-lai no: la:-ra-e kəi-nya
today 1S-savior you 2S-be-PFV otherwise I-OBJ that leopard-PL-ERG eat-INF

ya-le-o. tərə ŋa-bahgya-tə nɨ̃: nə-tə nə-le-o oleo! nə-bã:cəi-na-ke.
3P-be-NML but 1S-luck-ON you DIST-ON 2S-be-NML MIR 2S-save-1S-PFV

de jəhri-n-ke,’ həi li-də həi do-ke-o di.
now descend-2S-IMP thus say-NF thus say-PFV-3S RSP

‘Then the one who fell [called] to the one up [in the tree], “Cherished Benefactor, today you have become my savior, otherwise those leopards would have eaten me. But by my luck you were up there [in the tree]! You have saved me. Now come down,” he said to him (it is said).’

32. həi o-do-kə te, ru-tini jəhri-ke di.
thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC up-DEL descend-PFV RSP

‘When he said thus to him he came down from above (it is said).’

33. jəhri-də te, ‘de ŋa: achim ŋa-buhgan-səri pərme-səri mitao nə-ta-ke.
descend-NF FOC so I today 1S-god-noble God-noble like 2S-be-PFV

ŋa-zihm-da gin-ba,’ həi li-də həi do-ke-o di.
1S-house-ALLT 1D-go thus say-NF thus say-PFV-3S RSP

‘Having come down, “So, today you have become like a god and a savior to me. Let’s go to my house,” he said to him (it is said).’

34. ho-kin te u-zihm-ŋə bəi-də te, le-o ma-le-o rupiya e-ke-o
that-ELAT FOC 3S-house-ADS take-NF FOC be-NML NEG-be-NML rupee give-PFV-3S

di, nə-zihm-da ba-n-ke li-də.
RSP 2S-house-ALLT go-2S-IMP say-NF

‘Then, taking him to his house, he gave him uncountable [being, not-being] rupees (it is said), having told him to go home.’

35. hu-kini no: rupiya-rə rəi-də ŋah-da-ŋa-o la:-ye o-e-o
that-ELAT that rupee-PL bring-NF before-ALLT-ADS-NML leopard-ERG 3S-give-NML

sun-rə cã:di-rə rəi-də te a: tu-gur sisi mama jəi-də u-zihm-kə
gold-PL silver-PL bring-NF FOC aah ONE-load bulging make-NF 3S-house-LOC

hu-ke di.
come-PFV RSP

‘Then, bringing all that money along with all the gold and silver the leopard had given him earlier, he made a huge, bulging load and came home (it is said).’

36. u-zihm-kə u-hu-kə te, o-babu-e te, ‘nɨ̃: kana nə-ba-o ki?
3S-house-LOC 3S-come-WHEN FOC 3S-father-ERG FOC you where 2S-go-NML QP

tə-ri: neh-la: nə-ulpi-u,’ həi o-do-kə te, ‘babu, nɨ̃:
ONE-night TWO-day 2S-disappear-NML thus 3S-say-WHEN FOC, “father, you

nə-jindəki bəhri-lə gur nə-gur-ke, ehn nə-do-ke. itao pəisa
2S-life full-IN load 2S-carry-PFV, work 2S-do-PFV such money

nə-ma-kəməi-e. ŋa: tə-ri: neh-la:-tə itao a:h a:h
2S-NEG-amass-IMPFV. I ONE-night TWO-day-ON such this.much this.much

sun cã:di-rə, a:h a:h rupiya-rə ŋa-kəməi-ke. tərikə-e ci
gold silver-PL this.much this.much rupee-PL 1S-amass-PFV. plan-INSTR CEP

kəməi-si, buhdi-ye ci kəməi-si. əizə murkhə-e
amass-PASS intelligence-INST CEP amass-PASS. simply brute-INSTR

bəl-e ma-kəməi-si babu,’ həi li-də o-babu-lai həi
strength-INSTR NEG-amass-PASS father thus say-NF 3S-father-OBJ thus

do-ke-o di.
say-PFV-3S RSP

‘When he came home, his father said to him, “Where did you go, anyway? You disappeared for a night and two days,” and he answered, “Father, your whole life long you have carried loads and you have done work. But money like this you have never made. I, in one night and two days made this much gold and silver and this much money. [Wealth] is amassed with a plan, it is amassed by intelligence. It is not amassed just by brute strength, Father,” he said to him (it is said).’

37. ho-kin te ao pã: ha:h zə, khem-ke.
that-ELAT FOC this talk that.much EMP, finish-PFV

‘Then, this talk is just that much, it’s finished.’

19 *Vocabulary*

The following basic vocabulary of 400+ words includes all items on the Swadesh 100 Word List, and all on Matisoff's 200 Word List. I have added another 200 of my own. (Numbers following entries correspond with item numbers on Matisoff's list.) Main entries (in bold) are for the Takale dialect of Kham. Where possible, reconstructions are provided for Proto-Kham, with supporting evidence from major Kham dialects. Tibeto-Burman reconstructions are, for the most part, from Benedict's Conspectus. The intermediate reconstructions, which I have called Himalayish, are from my own notes, and still very tentative. (I am no longer aware of the sources for many of the individual items; they have been gleaned from published and unpublished sources over the course of many years.) Nevertheless, I list the following, which were used often:

Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan, a conspectus.* Contributing editor, James A. Matisoff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caughley, Ross. n.d. Chepang word lists. Unpublished manuscript. (Superseded by): 2000. *Dictionary of Chepang.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

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Jäschke, H. A. 1881, reprinted 1975. *A Tibetan–English dictionary.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Matisoff, James A. 1978. *Variational semantics in Tibeto-Burman: the 'organic' approach to linguistic comparison.* Philadelphia: ISHI.

Shepherd, Gary. n.d. Magar word lists. Unpublished manuscript.

Turner, Ralph L. 1931. *A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali language.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Language abbreviations: **Kham dialects**: Bhj = Bhuji, Nis = Nisi, Luk = Lukum, Mk = Maikoti, Ran = Ranmali, Gam = Gamale, Shes = Sheshi, Kot = Kotgaon, Jang = Jangkot, Ram = Ramkoti, Mht = Mahatale; **Regional languages**: Mag = Magar, Ch = Chepang, Buj = Bujel, Rt = Raute, Kai = Kaike; **TGT languages**: Tam = Tamang, Gur = Gurung, Thak = Thakhali, Chan = Chantel; **Kiranti languages**: Sun = Sunwar, Khal = Khaling, Lim = Limbu; **Bodic languages**: Sh = Sherpa, Jir = Jirel, Tib = Tibetan, Dol = Dolpo Tibetan, Nw = Newari; **Other TB languages**: Rwŋ = Rawang, Lus = Lusei, Bur = Burmese; **Proto languages**: Him = Himalayish, TB = Tibeto-Burman; **Non-TB languages**: Nep = Nepali, Sk = Sanskrit.

A. Body parts

back **(u)-r'jĩ:** [Kh *r-dzəŋ ~ *b-dzəŋ (Mk bjã, Nis jəõ, -ojə̃, Gam biŋjə); Him (Mag mi-jaŋ, Nw jã)] central back (where loads are carried).

back (upper) **'yep** [Kh *yep; Him *gyap (Jir gyap, Sh gyæp, Tib rgyab)].

belly **phu:** [Kh *phu:; TB *pu:k]. 1

blood **'ji:h** [Kh *dzi:h; Mag hyu; TB *s-hywəy] blood. **'jihtup** blood vessel. 2

body **'kyã:** [Kh *klaŋ (Mk kəlã, Nis klã, Gam klyaŋ, Mht kyaŋ); Him (Tib keŋ-rus 'skeleton')] body.

bone **ruhs** [Kh *s-rus (Mk syaruhs, Gam ruih, Shes rui); Him *s-rus (Mag mi-rhus, Ch hrus, Kai suru); TB *rus] bone. **syaruhs** [< *sya: 'animal' + *ruhs 'bone'] bone, hard plastic, china. 3

brain **'gudi** [Nep 'kernel']. 31

breast **'nwĩ:** [Kh *nun (Mk nwĩ, Gam nwẽ, Bhj nun, Nis nɔn); Him (Chan nunu); TB *nəw] breast, milk. **har'nwĩ:** [< *har 'cow' + *nun 'milk'] drinking milk. 30

breath **'si:** [Kh *sək (Luk sək); TB *sak] breath, life, spirit. 39

buttocks **'pəgil** [Kh (Gam pəkil, Nis pəgil 'hip joint,' Kot pəkil 'twist'); Him (Ch kil 'hip joint')] buttocks, hindquarter. **(o)-rmẽ:hsĩ:** [Kh *r-mehsiŋ (Mk rmẽhsĩ, Nis rmesĩ, Gam misiŋ 'buttocks')] cleft of buttocks.

cheek **(o)-rco:** [Kh *r-tso (Mk rco, Gam co)] upper cheek, cheek bone.

chicken's crop **bõ:hcya** [Kh (Mk bəce, Nis põ:cya, Gam puncya)].

claw **'nəŋəra** [Nep nə̃gro 'claw'] claw of an animal, talon of a bird. 26

ear **(o)-r'na:** [Kh *r-na; TB *r-na] ear. **'na: 'chyo:** ear lobe. **'na: 'syo:** upper ear, pinna. **'na: kũ:** ear hole. **nahgu** earwax. 4

egg **bazuhri:** [Kh *(ba)r-zut (Bhj barzut, Nis barju, Kot bahrui) Him *r-zu (Mag mi-rhu)]. (see '*know*' for a similar metathesis of r-s). **zuhri:-nya** [Kh *r-zut (Bhj juht, Shes *hrut < hruiʔ, hrut- 'layed'); Mag rhu-ke] (of a chicken) to lay eggs. 5

eye **'mi:** [Kh *mik (Shes miuʔ); Him (Mag mi-mik, Ch mik); TB *mik]. **'mi:kũ:** eye socket. **'mi:guhm** eyebrow. **'mi: 'phərləp** the eyelid. **'mi:rə** sleepiness, drowsiness. **'mi: 'ləŋ** eyeball. **'mi:syà** eyelash. 6

face **'ŋa:h** [Kh *s-ŋa (Mk sŋa, Gam hãh, Bhj skã, Nis skã); Him (Mag ŋhas 'in front of,' Tib ŋo)].

fat **soi** [Kh *sot (Gam sweʔ); Him (Mag me-sos, Ch chəwʔ); TB *tsow ~ *sa:w] fat. **syasoi** [< *sya: 'animal' + *soi 'fat'] animal fat. 7

finger **aŋula** [Nep] finger. **'kwisəi** [< *kut 'hand' + *sat 'fruit'] finger. **khĩ:səi** [< *kəŋ 'foot' + *sat 'fruit'] toe. **gəipa** [Kh < *kwi 'hand' + *pa 'male' (Mk kwipa, Gam gəipa)] thumb, big toe. 27

fingernail **sin** [Kh *r-sin (Mk rsĩ, Nis rsin, Gam səriŋ, Shes hrin); Him (Mag mi-arkin, Ch sanʔ); TB *m-tsyen] fingernail, toenail.

foot **khĩ:** [Kh *kəŋ (Mht kəŋ, Kot kəŋ); TB *r-kaŋ]. **khĩ:bã:** sole of the foot. **khĩ:səi** toe (lit. 'foot-fruit'). 8

gums **'nihl** [Kh *r-nihl (Mk rŋihl); Him (Ch nəl); TB *s-nil].

guts **(o)-rta:** [Kh *r-ta; Him *r-tsa (Tib rtsa, Jir tsa, Thak tsa, Kai tsha)] intestines, guts. **syarta:** [< *sya: 'animal' + *rta 'intestine'] the innards of an animal, intestines, guts. **dã: 'jĩ:** entrails, internal organs. 9

hair (body) **'muhl** [Kh *muhl; TB *(s-)mul] human body hair; animal fur; bird down. **'muhs** [Kh (Mk muhs, Gam musyaŋ; Him *muhs (Mag mhus)] pubic hair. 11

hair (head) **'cem** [Kh *p-tsem (Mk p-cem, Gam cem); Mag mi-cham; TB *tsam] human hair (of the head). **'ceme:** tuft of hair grown by men on the crown of the head; topknot. 10

hand **'kwi:** [Kh *kut (Bhj kut, Nis ku:); Him

*(r-)gut (Mag mi-hut, Ch krut, Sun guy, Tib gud)] hand, arm. **(o)-rla:** [Kh *r-la (Mk rla); Mag gharlap 'armpit;' TB *g-lak arm] the under-arm area; side of the body. **'la:kũ:** armpit. **'kər** outstretched arm of a man; wing of a bird; limb of a tree. **'lam** [TB *la:m 'arm-spread'] outstretched arms. 12

head **'ŋəih** [Kh *s-r-ŋat (Mk rŋəih, Gam ŋəɛh?, Bhj rŋət, Nis rŋəh); Him *s-ŋa (E.Tib mgo, ŋo); TB *s-kra]. **syar'ŋəih** the head of an animal. 13

heart **'yũ:** [Kh *s-yiŋ (Mk yũ, Bhj yĩ, Nis yĩ, Mht yuŋ, Shes yihŋ); Him *s-ŋying (Mag gin, Ch hluŋ, Tib snyiŋ, Sh ŋyiŋ); TB *s-niŋ]. 14

horn **'rɨ̃:h** [Kh *b-rəhŋ (Mk bərãh, Bhj brəh, Nis rəõh, -orãh, Mht rəhŋ); Him *s-rwaŋ (Mag -rhaŋ, Ch roŋ?, Khal groŋ); TB *rwaŋ]. **sya'rɨ̃:h** [< Kh *sya 'animal' + *rəhŋ 'horn'] horn, antler. 15

jawbone **'khap** [Kh *r-khap (Nis rkhap)].

kidney **'kəl** [Kh *kəl (Gam kol); Him (Mag mi-rgula, Ch gəl); TB *m-kal].

knee **'gũ:da** [Nep ghũRo].

liver **sẽ:h** [Kh *p-sin (Mk psĩ, Gam sihŋ, Kot sin); TB *m-sin (Rwŋ bəsin)]. 16

marrow **(u)-su:**. 38

mouth **'ya:h** [Kh *ya:h]. 17

mustache **'mɨ̃:h** [Kh *s-məŋ (Mk smə̃, Gam hməŋ, Kot məhŋ); Him (Mag mi-mhaŋ 'feather,' Tam maŋre)].

navel **'pũ:htəli:**. 32

neck **dẽ:h** [Kh *r-dehŋ (Bhj rdẽh, Mk dẽh, Mht dheŋ)]. 18

nose **səni:** [Kh *s-nat (Bhj snat, Nis sna, Mk snẽ, Gam hnĩ, Mht nhe, Shes hnẽ?); Him (Mag mi-nha, Ch neh); TB *s-na:r]. 19

palm **'kwi:bã:** [< *kut 'hand' + *baŋ 'plain'] palm of the hand. **'ləpta** [Kh (Nis lapta)] palm of the hand. 28

penis **(o)-r'kal** [Kh (Mk rkal, Bhj rkalum 'testicle')]. **katu** penis (esp. of a child). 29

piss **'jihs** [Kh *r-dzihs (Mk rjihs, Gam jih); Him (Ch tshyus, Tib gtsis); TB tsi]. 34

pus **sənis** [Kh *s-nis (Mk sinĩ, Gam hnĩ, Bhj sni); Him *s-nyis (Mag ŋes, Nw nhi); TB *(s-)nik 'filth'].

rib **rəhm** [Kh *b-rəhm (Mk brəm, Nis rwəhm); Him *s-ram (Mag mi-rham, Rt harəm, Khal jherem)].

saliva **'tihl** [Kh *p-s-til (Mk stil, Bhj thül, Nis thüil < -othil, Shes thil, Gam khil); TB *m-ts(y)il] saliva, spittle. 21

shit **'ki:** [Kh *kli (Mk kəli, Nis kli, Gam kli); Him (Ch klĩ?); TB *kləy]. **'kɨ:** [Kh *r-kək (Mk rkə, Luk kək); TB *(r-)kyak 'excrement'] excrement in the intestine of a slaughtered animal. 33

shoulder **'põ:** [Kh *s-pum (Mk spũ, Mht pum, Gam puŋ, Kot puŋ); TB (DEW) *pum (Tib dpuŋ-pa, Thak pohm, Sh pumu)].

sinew **(o)-r-sa** [Kh *r-sa; TB *r-sa].

skin **(o)-lkota:h** [Kh *l-kota (Mk syalokta, Bhj kolta, Gam kərta)] the skin of an animal; the peel of fruit. **sya'lo** [< *sya: 'animal' + *'lo: 'mat'] an animal skin; leather. **li:h** the shed skin of a reptile. 20

snot **nahp** [Kh *r-nahp (Mk rnahp); Mag nap; TB *s-nap]. 36

sweat **pəsina** [Nep]. **'pəsyõ:** sweat, condensed steam. 35

tail **(o)-r-me:h** [Kh *r-meh; Him (Mag me-mek, Ch me?); TB *r-may]. **(o)-r'bɨ̃:h** tassel of a tail (horse, cow, buffalo). 22

tears **'pihl** [Kh *r-pihl (Mk rpil, Bhj rpi:, Nis rpi)].

thigh (upper side) **'rya:h** [Kh *r-b-yah (Mk byah, Nis wyah < -oyah, Bhj wya, Gam rwyah)] upper side of thigh.

tongue **se:** [Kh *p-s-le (Nis swyo < -ose, Bhj syo, Shes hle, Ram lhe); Him *s-le-t (Mag let, Ch le, Chan khele); TB *s-lay]. **le: le:** [TB *s-lay 'tongue'] hanging tongue. 23

tooth **'ha:** [Kh *ha-p-sya (Nis swya < -osya, Mk psya, Gam hwa); Him (Mag mi-syak, Ch sayk); TB *s-wa]. 24

vomit **woih** [Kh *wohs (Nis wohs)]. 37

waist **'wã:h** [Kh *hwaŋ; Him (Kai haŋ); TB *hwaŋ 'encircle'] waist, lower back.

wind pipe **(u)-r'mil** [Kh *r-mil ~ *s-mil (Nis smil, Mk ɱil 'wind pipe,' simil 'velum')].

wing **'kər** [Kh *kər; Him *kar (Mag khar, Kai korpa)]. **ba'kər** [< *bwa 'bird' + *kər 'wing'] a: quill, feather (esp. wing feather). b: shaman's feather headdress. 25

B. Pronouns/kinship terms/nouns referring to humans

bachelor **'dahpa** [Kh *dahpa] bachelor, young man of marriageable age.

brother **'zyu:** elder or younger brother (archaic). **parza** younger brother (Maikot only).

child **za:** [Kh *za; Mag ja; TB *za] child, offspring. 43

friend **nəĩ:** [Kh *nan (Gam hnɛʔ); Him (Tib gnyen); TB *naŋ].

grandchild **nati** [Nep] grandchild (male). **natini** [Nep] grandchild (female). 44

husband **'re:** [Kh *b-re (Bhj bre, Nis rwye < -ore, Gam rwye)].

I **'ŋa:** [TB *ŋa]. 42

maiden **'dahmẽ:** [Kh *dahme (Bhj dahmit)] maiden, young woman of marriageable age.

name **'min** [Kh *r-min (Mk rmĩ); Him (Mag mi-armi, Ch mayŋ); TB *r-miŋ]. 46

person **mí:** [Kh *r-mi (Mk rmi); Mag murmi; TB *r-mi(y)] person, human being. [Alt. root ***ru:** (Gam, Kot)]. **khe'pa** [Kh *s-lepa (Mk səlepa, Gam hlepa, Kot lhepa) kh<sl] man, male human. **'mẽ:ma** [Kh *mi:ma < *mi 'person' + *ma 'female' (Mk, Bhj mĩma)] woman, female human. **'munukhya** a human being (as referred to by the gods, or by talking beasts in stories). 40

sister (older) **nana** [Kh *nana; Him (Ch naʔ, Tam ana, Tib ane 'aunt'); TB *(m-)na 'older sister'].

sister (younger) **namẽ:** [Kh *nam (Mk namza); TB *s-nam].

son-in-law **'bahnjə** [Nep bhanjo]. 45

thou **'nɜ̃:** [Kh *nəŋ; Him (Mag naŋ, Ch naŋ); TB *naŋ]. 41

wife **'jya:** [Kh *dzya; Him (Mag mahaja, Ch maca, Tib bza); Sk jaya].

C. Foodstuff

banana **kera** [Nep]. 51

barley **cika:** [Him (Thak cika)]. **rəi** a cereal crop similar to barley.

beans **sosta** peas, beans. 47

beer **chokorah** [? < Nep chokro 'solid part of fruit']. [Alt. root (Mk, Nis lis, Shes lih)]. 50

bread **bəhres** [Kh *bəhres (Nis bhres 'buckwheat', Mk bəhres, Kot bhəreʔ, Gam bhrẽʔ)] bread, meal-cakes.

curry **'cip** [Kh *tsip (Mk cip, Gam cu)] side dish of meat or vegetables.

food **zəm** [Kh *r-zəm (Mk rzəm, Nis rjəm); Him *zam (Tib zama, Jir sama, Sh səma)] food provisions.

herbs **'ŋəĩ:h** [Kh *s-ŋən (Nis ŋən, Shes ŋəhn, Mht gən); Him (Mag gan, Tib sŋon); TB *(s-)ŋow 'green'] herbs, edible greens.

maize **'gohga** [Nep ghogo 'ear of corn,' Mag ghoga] maize, corn.

medicine **wahsə:** [Nep əushədhi] medicine; additives or spices for food. 51a

millet **rã:dəi** [Kh *raŋrəi (Nis rãra, Gam raŋrəi); Him (Thak raŋre)].

mushroom **'mõ:** [Kh *r-mo (Mk rmoʔ, Nis rmũ); Him (Tib mog-sa Mag mu-gan, Ch -muh) TB *g-məw]. 49

nettles **ŋəĩ:hti** [< *s-ŋən 'herb' + *ti 'to pick' (Nis ŋəhnti)] nettles (used as a staple green).

oats **kohle:**.

parched grain **'he:** [Kh *hek (Nis heh, Gam hwyo, Shes hyoʔ)].

poison **bikhə** [Nep bikh] poison. **'tu:** [Kh *tuk; TB *tuk] fish poison. **'nĩ:h** a high-altitude poisonous weed. 48

rice (cooked) **'kã:** [Kh *(ya)kaŋ (Bhj yakã, Nis yakã, Shes yah?, Mht kaŋ); Him *kã (Thak kan, Ch ?amh, Sun khame)] a meal of cooked grain; cooked rice. **zyas'kã:** [< zyas 'feast' + *kaŋ 'meal'] a rice meal. 51c

rice (in fields) **dahn** [Nep] rice (in fields). rice (uncooked) **'chal** uncooked rice. **məla:** uncooked rice (southern dialects). 51b

rye **simã:**.

wheat **tam** [Thak tam]. **'pima:** [Kh *plima (Shes pəlima)] (southern dialects only).

wine **mədə** [Sk] distilled barley or rice wine.

D. Animal names or animal products

ant **'purjumti**. 67

antelope **'səhr** [Kh *səhr; Him *sar (Mag sar, Ch syar, Kan sar, Kai syarip)] Goral Antelope.

bear **'nim** [Kh *nim]. 68

bedbug **'pen** [Kh *r-pen (Mk rpẽ, Nis rpen); Him (Ch pən)].

bee **zẽ:** [Kh *b-zin (Mk bzi, Mht zẽ, Gam zi, Kot zĩ)] honey bee. **'gohs** [Kh (Mk gohs, Gam gwyah)] a cliff-dwelling bee. 60

bird **baza** [Kh *bwa (Kot ba, Gam bwa); Him (Ch wa?); TB *(b)wa] bird, fowl, domestic chicken. **ba-** bird (used only in compounds, such as in: ba'cẽ:h 'bird snare,' ba'ma 'hen,' etc.) **'phõ:** [Kh *s-puŋ (Mk baphũza, Nis baphũ 'chick,' Gam bwaphũ 'wild duck,' Shes bapuŋ); Him (Tam pyohn 'young')] chick. 53

boar (wild) **'gəl** [Kh *gəl (Mk gəl, Gam gəl); Him (Mag gəl)].

bug **rwi:h** [Kh *b-s-rut (Mk bri-za, Bhj brut, Nis ruht, Kot lui); Mag du 'bug,' lawat 'leech'; TB *r-wat 'leech'] bug, insect. 59

cat **rã:hkhya** [Kh *s-raŋ < TB *roŋ 'cat, tiger' + *s-la TB 'tiger' (Kot ba-kila, Jang hela, Mk rãsəla, Gam syala) 'jackal'; Him (Mag rãsila, Nep syal) 'jackal'] Common Jungle Cat.

cow **har** [Kh *har (Mk har, Gam har, Mht hai)].

dog **ka:h** [Kh *ka:h]. **kah'za** pup. **kah'ma** bitch. 54

dove **'kwi:təm** [Kh (Mk kwitəm)]. 61

fish **'ŋa:h** [Kh *ŋah (Mk ŋah, Gamŋah); Him (Ch ŋa?); TB *ŋya]. **ŋahjũ:** minnow. 55

fowl **ba-** (see bird) 64

frog **'te:** [Kh *tek (Mk te:, Shes tyo?, Gam kyo); Him *tek (Ch tik)]. 58

goat **'bakəra** [Nep]. [Alt. root Kh ***ra** (Mk ra:h); Him *ra (Mag rha, Kai ra, Tib ra-ma)].

goat (wild) **'bə̃:** Himalayan Tahr (generic). **'bə̃: bas'ma** male and female of the Himalayan Tahr.

horse **'gohra** [Nep]. [Alt. root Kh ***r-ta** (Mk rta); Him *r-ta (Tib rta, Kai Ta, Thak ta)]. 66

leech **pəti:** [Kh *r-pəti (Mk rpəti, Gam pəki, Kot pətiu); Him (Mag lawat, Ch pyat, Kai pərtipa, Tam tipit); TB *r-pat]. 68a

leopard **'la:** [Kh *la (Nis kira; Kot ba-kila, Shes hela 'wild cat') TB *(k-)la].

louse **syar** [Kh *syar (Mk syar, Gam sir); TB *sar]. **syarlam** newly hatched louse. **syan-jərih** [*syar 'louse' + *zuhri: 'egg'] louse egg. [Alt. root (Mk bamayap, Gam bamya 'chicken louse')]. 56

meat **(o)-sya:** [TB *sya] a: meat of an animal. b: chewable part of tobacco. c: warp threads of a loom. d: outer part of bamboo. e: furrow of a plow. **sya'kəri:** [< *sya 'meat' + *kəri 'cut'] meat, butchered animal. 52

monkey **yu:h** [Kh *s-p-yu (Mk byuh, Nis wyih); Him (Ch yuk, Tib spre'u, C.Tib pe'u); TB *m-yuk]. [Alt. root ***s-p-ya** (Gam hwyæ, Shes hya 'langur monkey')]. 62

otter **'rihsərəm** [Kh *srəm (Nis rihslim); TB *sram]. 65

pheasant **'rĩ:h** [Kh *b-rəhŋ (Mk brãh, Nis rwə̃h); Him (Tib byas-ldan-bya)] Danphe Pheasant.

pig **'u:** [Kh *wə (Nis uwə, Gam wo, Kot wo);

Mag wak; TB *pwak]. 63

rat **biza** [Kh *bi (Mk biza, Bhj, Gam bi); Him *byu (Mag byu, Kai yu); TB *b-yəw]. 69

sheep **'behda:** [Nep bheRo]. [Alt. root Kh ***luk** (Mk lu:, Luk luk); Him *luk (Tib lug, Sh luk); TB *luk].

sheep (wild) **nahwor** [Kh (Mk nahwor)] Bharal Sheep.

snake **'guhl** [Kh *guhl (Mk guhl, Bhj huhl); TB *b-ru:l (Tib sbrul, Bal gbul, Mag bul)] snake, serpent. **dã:** [Kh *daŋ (Gam daŋgul)] python, constricting snake. 57

squirrel (flying) **yahp** [Kh *p-s-yap (Mk byahp, Gam yah, Kot hyap)].

woodpecker **kyar** [Kh *s-kyar (Mk skyar, Gam kyar); Him (Tib skyar-po 'snipe')].

wool **'sən** [Kh *p-sən (Mk psəĩ, Nis swɔn < -osən, Gam sən)].

worm **'pərgil** [Kh (Mk pərgil, Gam pərgyal, Kot bə-yel); < TB *buw 'bug' + *ki:l 'twist'].

E. Natural objects or phenomena; the inanimate landscape; vegetable and mineral kingdoms

ashes **duhli:**. **pəhla:** [Kh *r-plah (Mk rpəla:); TB *pla 'ashes'] a paste made of ashes and butter, used in appeasement offerings. 70

bamboo **cəhl** bamboo (the material). **'gũ:dya** lowland bamboo. **zẽ:h** midland bamboo (8-10 thousand feet). **'zir** highland bamboo (above 10 thousand feet). 96

branch **'kər** [Kh *kər; Him *kar (Mag khar, Kai korpa)] limb of a tree; wing of a bird; outstretched arm of a man. 94

cave **'pup** [Kh *r-pup (Mk rpup, Kot pu?); Him *pup (Kai pu, Tib sbubs); TB pop] overhang, natural cave.

cloud **badəl** [Nep]. 71

day **'la:** [Kh *la] day (as opposed to night). **chyam** [Kh *tshyam] a certain day. 90

dirt **ri:h** [Kh *b-rih (Mk bri:h, Nis rwyih); Him (Tib dri-ma, Mag ris-ke 'get dirty'); TB *ri(y)] dirt, filth.

earth **'gəm** [Kh *r-gəm (Mk rgəm, Nis rgəm, Kot əm)] earth, soil. 72

evening **'rihmkə** [Kh *rihm; Him *rihm (Sh rhimrhim); TB *rim] dusk.

field **ẽ:h** [Kh *ehŋ (Mk yãh, Gam yehŋ); TB *gling 'ground'] a field under cultivation. **'bã:** [Kh *baŋ; Him *s-baŋ (Tib spaŋ, Ch banh, Tam wahŋ)] a field, meadow, bowl shaped valley. **'ihjər** [Nep ujar] a new field dug from the hillside. **'khorya** [Nep khoriyo] a new field cut from the forest. 102

fire **'mé:h** [Kh *meh (Mk mi:h, Gam mi:h); Him (Mag mhe, Ch hmeʔ < *s-mi Rwŋ səmi); TB *mey]. 73

flower **was** flower. **(o)-woi** [< Kh *wot (Bhj wot, Nis wɔt); Him (Mag wat-ke); TB *bwat] flower bud, blossom. 74

fruit **'səi** [Kh *p-set (Mk se:, Nis syo); Him (Ch sayʔ); TB *sey] fruit, berry, seed. 75

grass **'chi:** [Kh *tshi; Him (Thak chi)]. 76

hole **kũ:** [Kh *kuŋ; Him *kuŋ (Tam khuŋ, Tib khuŋ, C.Tib koŋ 'concave')] a hole, cave.

iron **jĩ:h** [Kh *dzəhŋ; Him (Kai jəŋ)]. 101

joint **'akhəla** [Nep ãkhlo]. 98

leaf **'khya:** [Kh *s-la (Mk səla, Nis sla, Bhj sla, Gam hla, Kot lha) kh<sl; Him *s-la (Mag lha, Ch -hla 'sheet of something,' Chan khala 'leaf'); TB *(s-)la]. 77

low country **nahm** [Kh *r-nahm (Mk rnahm); Him (Mag nham 'level'); TB *nam 'low'] low altitude country.

moon **syahwoi** [Kh *p-s-ya + *hwot (Gam hwya hwe, Nis syahwo, Kot hya hwoi, Mht hoi 'dawn'); Him *s-gla hwot (Mag gyahot, Ch lah, Buj lahou, Rwŋ sala); TB *s-gla 'moon' + *hwa-t 'light']. 78

mountain **'gõ:** [Kh *goŋ Him (Thak kahŋ, Nw gũ)] mountains, highlands. **'khagər** a mountain or rocky peak above grass line. 79

night **'ri:** [Kh *rik (Kot riuʔ)]. [Alt. root ***mun**

(Jaŋ mun); Him (Chan muhn 'night,' Tam muna, Tib mun-pa 'darkness'); TB *mu:ŋ 'dark']. 100

rain **'wa-nya** [Kh *r-wa (Mk rwo); Him (Ch wa-); TB *r-wa] to rain (verb). 80

river **bəih** [Kh *bəih] large river. 81

road **'yem** [Kh *yem; TB *glam (Mag lam, Ch lyam, Thak kyahm)] road, trail. 82

root **jəra:** [Nep jəro]. [Alt. root ***s-rin** (Mk rẽ:h, Shes rhin)]. 83

salt **sapi:** [Kh *sa + *pik (Bhj sa, Nis sa, Shes sapiu?); Him (Mag cha, Balti pa-yu); TB *tsa] salt. 84

set (sun) **nup-nya** [Kh *nup; TB *nu:p] (of the sun) to set.

shadow **(o)-sã:** [Kh *saŋ]. 97

silver **'cã:di** [Nep]. 95

sky **'nəm** [Kh *nəm; Him (Mag nam- 'atmosphere,' Ch nyam 'sun, weather'); TB *nam]. 85

smoke **mihkwi:** [Kh *mihkut < *me:h 'fire' + *ku 'smoke'; Him (Ch hme?ku?); TB *kəw]. 86

snow **'pom** [Kh *r-pom (Mk rpom, Nis rpom); Him *pom 'frost' (Kai pamu, Gur poma:, Sh pomok); TB (DEW) *pom (Tsang pom)].

star **soro:** [Kh *səro; Him (Ch kar); TB *s-kər]. 87

stick **jwi:h** [Kh *r-dzuht (Mk rjwi:h)] walking stick, staff. **'kya:** a shepherd's crook. **'sər** divining stick. **'jẽ:hja** [Nep jhĩjo] small twigs (used for firewood). 88

stone **'lũ:** [Kh *luŋ; Him (Mag lhum, Ch luŋ 'round'); TB *r-luŋ]. 89

sun **'nimi:** [Kh *nəmi(y) (Ghus nəmi, Kot nəmiu); Him (Ch nyam 'sun, weather,' Tib nyi-ma); TB *nəy]. 90

thorn **zu:** [Kh *b-zu (Mk bzu); Him *b-tsu (Thak putsu, Dimasa busu, Mag dzu, Ch tsyu); TB *tsow]. 99

tree **sĩ:** [Kh *siŋ; Him (Mag siŋ, Ch siŋ?); TB *siŋ] tree, wood. **'ruhmbu** [Him *duŋ (Sh doŋbu, Thak Tuhŋ, Kai Taŋpu] any great tree. 91

water **rí:h** [Kh *ri:h; Him *di (Mag Di, Ch ti?, Rwŋ ti); TB *ti(y)]. **rihməi** [Kh *rihmun < *ri:h 'water' + *mun 'warm' (Mk rihmwĩ)] cooking water. 92

weed **rəhm** [Kh *rəhm].

wind **bətas** [Nep] wind. **mur-nya** to blow (of the wind). 93

F. Artifacts and social organization

arrow **la: li:** [Kh (Nis lwa); Him (Ch la?); TB *bla arrow] bow and arrow. **la:** a barbed arrowhead. **mwi:h** [Mag mehya] the shaft of an arrow. **'rəĩ:** [Kh *r-wan (Mk lirwəĩ); TB (Tib doŋ-po, Bur toŋ)] a quiver (for arrows). 103

axe **'rowa** [Kh *r-wa (Mk rwa, Nis rwa, Gam wa?); Mag arua; TB *r-pwa].

basket **be:h** [Kh *r-beh(k) (Mk rbe:h, Nis rbe:h, Kot byo?); Mag phe 'small basket'] carrying basket.

boat **kisti** [Nep]. 107

bow **li:** [Kh *li (Nis skuli, lwi); Him (Mag khurli, Ch luy?, Kai lhi, Tam kuhrli); TB *d-ləy] shooting bow. 106

bowl **khuri:** [Him (Chan khore, Tib kore)] brass drinking bowl.

bridge **'chəm** [Kh *tshəm; TB (Thak tsam, Jir sampa, Kan tsum, Tib zam-pa)].

broom **pəsi:** [Kh *pəsi(-s) (Mk psis, Nis pəcis, Bhj pəset); TB *m-si(y)].

cloth **'kwa:** [Kh *kwa; Him (Chan kwən); TB *kwa] cloth, clothing.

door **yahm** [Kh *yahm; Him *glam (Mag galam)].

drum **'rẽ:h** [Kh *b-rihŋ (Mk brẽh, Nis rwẽh < -orẽh, Gam rihŋ, Ghus ərihŋ); Him (Ch riŋh)] shaman's drum. **'rẽ:hgor** [Kh *b-rihŋ 'drum' + *'gor 'circle' (Mk brẽh zgor, Gam rihŋ, Ghus ərihŋ); Him (Ch riŋh)] drum hoop.

hearth **muhtha:** [Kh *muhthap < *muh 'burn' + *thap 'hearth' < TB *tap (Ch hmeʔ-tap, Tib me-thab)] fire pit, hearth.

house **'zihm** [Kh *zihm (Mk jihm, Gam zyuhŋ); Him (Mag im ~ yum, Ch kim, Tib gzim 'house-honorific'); TB *kyim]. **bĩ:** [Kh *r-bəŋ (Mk rbə̃, Nis rbə̃, Bhj bə̃); Him (Kai bəŋ] lower storey of house; cattle byre. 105

knife **khorcyo** [Kh *khor (Mk khorcyo, Gam khur, Kot khurcyaŋ); Him *khor (Mag khur 'sickle,' Kai khorca)] kukri, the curved knife used by Nepali hill tribes.

load **gur** [Kh *gur (Bhj hur, Ghus hur); Him (Sh khur, Tib khur)] load, burden.

mat **'təĩ:** [Kh *tən (Nis tan, Mht tən)] sleeping mat. **'lo:** [Kh *b-lo (Mk bolo); Him *lo (Ch ləwʔ)] large bamboo mat.

mortar **'chum** [Kh *tshum; TB *tsum]. **'pilũ:** pestle. 108

needle **'gəp** [Kh *r-gəp (Mk rgəp, Nis rgəp, Bhj birgəp, Gam gə, Kot əp); Him (Ch gyap); TB *kəp] a small needle. **khap** [Kh *r-khap (Nis rkhap); Him (Tib khap)] a large needle. 104

net (carrying) **'zəĩ:h** [Kh *b-zəhn (Mk bzəĩ, Bhj zohn, Nis jwɔhn < -ojəhn)] carrying net.

pillow **'gum** [Kh *r-gum (Mk rgum, Nis rgum); Him (Ch kumʔ- 'pillow oneself'); TB *kum].

plow **'gohr** [Kh *gohr (Mht gohr, Gam wohr, Bhj hwor); Him (Thak kohr)].

pot **'ja:** [Kh *b-dza (Mk bja); Him (Ch jyabha 'tool,' Tib cha, rdza 'implement, jar')] tool, implement, pot, vessel.

sheath **(u)-'sip** [Kh *p-sip (Mk psip); Him *sip (Mag sisip, Thak sip, Kai -syu, Jir -syup)] nest; sheath.

snare **'cẽ:h** [Kh *tsihŋ (Mk chĩ, Gam chiŋ, Mht ciŋ); Him (Tib btsiŋs-pa)] string; snare.

spirit **gel** [Kh *gel; Him (Tib rgyal 'saint')] tutelary spirit.

village **na:khar** [Kh *naŋkhar (Mk nãkha, Gam naŋkhar); Him (Tib mkhar)]. **'nam** [Kh *nam; Him (nam, Tam namsa)] village (archaic, except in compounds, as in 'rĩ: 'nam 'village area around Maikot and Ranma,' 'ti: 'nam 'village area around Taka and Shera'). 109

work **'yehn** [Kh *ehn (Mk ehn, Bhj hen, Gam yẽ:h); Him (Ch wanʔ)].

yoke **kum** [Kh *kum; Him *kum (Thak kum)] oxen yoke.

G. Spatial/directional

across **gyã:h** [Kh *glahŋ (Mk gəhlã, Gam ghlyaŋ, Kot gəlaŋ); Him (Ch klamh-, Khal lan)] beside, across, diagonally.

area **'ji:**- in the area of.

behind **chĩ:**- [Kh *chin (Mht chin, Kol chin)].

center **khar**- [Kh *khar; TB (DEW) *kar (Kar kar, Lus kar-a].

down **me**- [Kh *me; Him (E.Tib. me 'low')].

far **'tada** [Nep TaRa]. 112

front **ŋah-'da** [Kh *s-ŋa (Mk sŋa); Him (Mag ŋhas, Ch hŋa); TB *s-ŋa] before, in front of.

left **'dabərya** [Nep dabre] left side. 110

near **'nəjikə** [Nep nəjik]. 113

right **'wohr** [Mag dor] right side. 111

up **ro**-.

upcountry **'ya:**-.

upright **'thi:** [Kh *thək (Luk thək)] vertical, upright.

year **rim** year, as in tərim 'one year,' nehrim 'two years,' etc. **aĩ:hsi** [Kh *a-sniŋ (Mk asni, Gam ahiŋ); TB *s-niŋ 'year'] this year. **ahrtani** [Kh *rta-sniŋ (Gam rhətayiŋ 'year before last'); Him (Kai thariŋ); TB *s-niŋ 'year'] last year. **phərni** [Kh *pərniŋ (Kot pəniŋ, Gam phərniŋ); TB *niŋ 'year'] next year. 114

H. Numerals and quantifiers

one **tə-** [Kh *tə; Him *ti ~ *tu (Kai Ti, Thak Tih, Khal tu); TB *(g-)tyik] one (numeral prefix). **tubu** the numeral one. 116

two **neh-** [Kh *nehs (Bhj nehs); Him (Mag nis, Ch nis); TB *g-ni-s] two (numeral prefix). **nehblo** the numeral two. **nehbərẽ:** two. 120

three **sõ:h-** [Kh *sohm; Him (Mag som, Ch sum); TB *g-sum] three (numeral prefix). **sohmlo** the numeral three. **'sõ:hbərẽ:** three. 121

four **bzi** [Kh *b-zi (Mk bzi, Nis jwyi); Him (Mag buli, Ch play); TB *b-ləy (Tib bzi)]. 122

five **rŋa:** [Kh *r-ŋa; Mag baŋa; TB *l-ŋa]. 123

six **'chə** [Nep]. 124

seven **'sat** [Nep]. 117

eight **athə** [Nep aTh]. 125

nine **nəo** [Nep]. 126

ten **'dəs** [Nep]. **aphi huphi 'kwi:** extenuative of the number ten ('hand of both sides'). 118

twenty **bis** [Nep] twenty, score. **khĩ:kwi:** [< khĩ: 'foot' + 'kwi: 'hand'] extenuative of the number 20. **-'kuri** [Nep kori] a score. 115

hundred **səi** [Nep]. 119

many **'kuhdu:** (be) many. **bya:h** much, many. **'jotoro** [Nep] many, innumerable. 127

I. Verbs of utterance, body position or function

awaken **səĩ:si-nya** [Kh *sən; Him *syen (Ch syan, Sun syẽ, Nw sena) TB *(m-)kyen 'know'] to awaken (lit. 'to become aware'). **'so-nya** [Kh *so (Mk so); Mag so-ke 'awake'; TB *m-sow] to rise from sleep. 133

born **'jərmi-nya** [Nep jənmənu] to be born. **boh-nya** [? Sk bhu] (shamanistic) to be born, come into being. 128

cough **'khasi-nya** [Nep khas]. 134

cry out **kih-nya** [Kh *klik (Mk kəli, Nis kli, Gam kli, Kot kəlyu?); Him (Khal ki 'argue')].

defecate **eh-nya** [Kh *eh (Shes *e < eo 'defecated'); TB (Khal e, K-N *e:k)].

die **'si-nya** [Kh *si; TB *siy]. 132

fart **yu:'si-nya** [Kh *b-yi (Mk ywih, Nis wyisi, Gam wyisi)].

laugh **'sas-nya** [Kh *sas (Shes *sas < sai, sah- 'laughed')]. **rəihsi-nya** [Kh *p-s-rat (Nis rwyi); Him (Mag ret-ke, Sun rit) 'laugh'; TB *rya-t 'laugh'] to play. **zəhre:** [Kh *b-s-res (Nis rwyes < -ores, Mk zəbxre, Gam zəhre?; *s-rat 'play'; Him (Mag reT, Sun rit) 'laugh'; TB *rya-t 'laugh'] toy, plaything. 131

rest **nah'si-nya** [Kh *nah; Him (Mag nat-ke, Ch nyas, nyah- 'rest load,' Thak nah, Sun nayk); TB *na].

sit **cuh'si-nya** to sit. **'cõ:-nya** [Kh *tsuŋ (Mk cũ, Gam cuŋ, Bhj cu); Him (Ch tsyuŋ?); TBtu:ŋ] to perch, alight. 136

sleep **ŋəhl-nya** [Kh *r-ŋəhl (Mk rŋəl, Kot ŋwai) Him (Tib nyal-ba, Jir nyal, Sh ŋyilok)] to fall asleep, slumber. **syã:-nya** [Him (Rau syã, Ch ?en?)] to go off to sleep. **'sep-nya** [Kh *s-ip; TB *ip 'sleep'] to put to sleep. [Alt. root ***em** (Mk em, Ghs im, Gam iŋ); Him *em (Ch ?en?, Buj ?em?, Khal am); TB *yip] sleep. [Alt. root ***ruk** ~ ***ru-t** (Nis surut 'put to sleep', Shes *ruk < ru?, ruk- 'sleeps')] sleep. 129

sneeze **chis-nya** [Kh *p-tshis (Mk pchis, Nis chwyis); Him (Mag chis)].

speak **pã:-nya** [Kh *s-paŋ (Mk spã, Gam paŋ); Him (Thak pahŋ 'argue'); TB *(s-)br(w)aŋ 'speak'].

stand **cyã:h-'si-nya** [Kh *tsyahŋ; Him (Ch tsiŋ, Kai tsyan)]. 135

tickle **'kəhle:-nya** [Kh *kəlet (Nis kulit); Him (Mag kilik-ke); TB *k(a)li].

urinate **ji:h'si-nya** [Kh *r-dzihs (Mk rjihs, Gam jih); Him (Ch tshyus, Tib gtsis); TB tsi].

vomit **woih-nya** [Kh *woh-t < CAUS. of wohs 'to spurt out' (Nis wɔht, Gam wəɛ?); Him (Ch ?ok 'vomit')].

weep **gəhr-nya** [Kh *gəhr (Bhj hər, Kot, əhr); Him (Mag rap, Chan kara-, Tam kra:); TB krap]. 130

J. Verbs of motion

arrive **kes-nya** [Kh *kles (Mk kəles, Gem kle, Ghus ke)].

bring **rəi-nya** [Kh *rə-t (Nis rət, Shes *rət < rəɛ, -rət- 'brought'); Him (Mag rak-ke, Ch rot- 'take to oneself')].

climb **guhm-nya** climb, ascend. **pulus-nya** [Kh *plu-s (Shes *pəles < pəle, pəlih- 'emerged')] to climb a mountain. 138

come **'hu-nya** [Kh *huŋ < hũ:- 'come'; Him (Ch waŋ Dol hũ); TB *hwaŋ 'come out'].

descend **'jəhri-nya** [Nep jhərnu]. [Alt. root (Mk **las-nya**)]. 139

emerge **pulus-nya** [Kh *plu-s (Shes *pəles < pəle, pəlih- 'emerged'); Him (Ch plus- 'open of buds')]. **'pəle:-nya** [Kh *s-plu-t (Mk spului, Nis splut, Gam pli, Shes *plet < pəleʔ, -pəlet- 'emerged')] cause to emerge, expel. 143

fall **te-nya** [Kh *te-s (Shes *tes < te:, teh- 'fallen'); Him *tek (Tib btig-pa, Thak te, Tam tai)] to drop, fall. **bap te-nya** [Tib bab 'to fall'] to drop deadweight. 137

fly **buhr-nya** [Kh *s-bur (Mk zbur); Him (Mag bhur, Ch phur 'flying away,' Thak pyuhr); TB *pur]. 140

go **'ba-nya** [Kh *z-ba (Mk zba, Nis zba, Gam bwa 'walk'); Him (Mag hwa-, Ch wah-); TB *s-wa] to go; to walk.

graze **'la-nya** [Kh *b-la (Mk bəla, Nis lwa, Gam la)].

hide **mõ:h-nya** [Kh *mohŋ; Him (Tib rmoŋ-ba 'obscured')] to hide something. 141

run **'dõ:h-nya** to run, flee. [Alt. root ***zok** (Nis johk); Him (Ch jyok, Khal jhu)] **'zo:-nya**. 142

K. Verbs of emotion, cognition, perception

ashamed **lajə 'hu-nya** [Nep laj] to be ashamed, embarrassed. 146

dream **mĩ:-nya** [Kh *r-məŋ (Mk rmə̃, Gam məŋ); Him (Ch maŋʔ-); TB *r-məŋ]. 148

fear **'che:-nya** [Kh *p-tshet (Bhj chet, Nis chwyet, Kot chyaʔ); Him (Tib zed-pa)] to fear, be afraid. 144

forget **mẽ:h-nya** [Kh *s-meŋ (Mk myõ, Shes *meŋ < myõŋ); Him (Mag mhyak, Ch hmeʔ); TB (Lusei hmai, Bur me)]. 147

hear **thəi-nya** [Kh *that (Bhj that, Shes thəiʔ); Him (Chan thasa-); TB *ta-s]. **thas-nya** [Kh *thas; Him (Mag artos- 'make loud sound,' Chan thasa- 'hear'); TB *ta-s] to be heard, audible.

know **səĩ:-nya** [Kh *sən; Him *syen (Ch syan, Sun syẽ, Nw sena) TB *(m-)kyen] to know something, to know how. **səres-nya** [Kh *r-ses (Bhj ses, Ram rhis); Him *ses (Tib ses); TB *syey] to know a person, recognize (see *'egg'* for a similar metathesis of r-s). 145

proud **'si:-nya** [Kh *r-sək (Mk rsi:); Mag sosak 'proud'] to be proud, haughty, arrogant.

see **'rĩ:h-nya** [Kh *rəhŋ; Him *daŋ (Mag Daŋ-khe, Kai raŋ); TB *mraŋ]. **'cyu:-nya** [Kh *p-tsyu (Nis cwya); Him (Ch cyəwʔ- 'see,' Tam cya:)] to look. 149

smell **'ŋər-nya** [Kh *s-ŋər (Nis skər); Him (Tib ŋad 'scent')] to smell, give off odor. **səŋər-nya** to smell, sniff at. [Alt. root Kh ***s-nəm** (Gam hnəŋ, Shes hnəm); Him (Mag nam-khe 'stink,' Ch nam- 'scented,' namh- 'sniff'); TB *m-nam]. 150

tingle **rih-nya** [Kh *b-ris (Mk rwi, Nis rwyis, Gam wyi); Mag arhin- 'numbness'].

L. Stative verbs with human patients

alive **jĩ:do** [Nep jiũdo]. **u-'si: 'leo** alive (lit. 'having breath'). 153

drunk **mĩ:h-nya** [Kh *məhŋ].

fat **soi-nya** [Kh *sot (Gam sweʔ); Him (Mag me-sos, Ch chəwʔ); TB *tsow ~ *sa:w] to be fat, healthy. 155

hunger **'kəre:-nya** [Kh *kre; Him (Ch kray- 'hunger,' Gur kre, Tib bkres-pa)].

ill **'joro 'hu-nya** [Nep jəro] to become ill. **'na-nya** [Kh *na; TB *na ill] (of livestock)

to become ill and lose appetite. **'khi-nya** weighed down by illness. 154

itchy **'so-nya** [Kh *so; Mag oso-ke 'itch,' wosotke 'itch,' co-khe 'scratchy'; Him (Ch sos-); TB *m-sak] to itch. 156

old **'ju:cas-nya** to grow old (of a woman). **sehrjas-nya** to grow old (of a man). 152

pure **'chã:'wo** [Kh *tshaŋ (Mk chɔ̃, Kot cəŋu); Him (Thak saŋ, Tib gtsaŋ-pa, Bur tsaŋ); TB *syaŋ] pure, undefiled.

stiff **'gã:-nya** [Kh (Mk zgã, Gam gaŋ); Him (Tib gaŋs 'ice')] become stiff from cold.

thin **'phyap-nya** to become thin, weak, poor. **khyũ:nyas-nya** thin, weak, worn out. 151

thirst **chos-nya** [Kh *tsos (Mht cho, Bhj sos)].

wet **cyu:-nya** [Kh (Shes *cik < ciuʔ, cik- 'soaked')].

M. Stative verbs with non-human patients

bad tasting **'pɨ:-nya** [Kh *pək (Luk pək); Mag pak-ke 'unripe tasting'].

be **'li-nya** [Kh *li; Mag le-ke 'exist'; TB *s-ri (Amdo li- 'to remain')] to be, exist.

bear fruit **səi-nya** [Kh *p-se (Mk pse:, Bhj sywö); Mag sya-ke; TB *sey].

become **'ta-nya** [Kh *s-ta-s (Mk sta, Kot ta, Jaŋ *tas < tai, tah- 'became'); Him (Tam ta-, Gur ta-, Chan ta-)].

bitter **'ka-nya** [Kh *ka; TB *ka]. 161

black **'molo**. 170

broken **pa:-nya** [Kh *pak (Shes *pak < paʔ, pak- 'broken'); Him (Ch pək- 'break')] to break, shatter.

bud **'mom-nya** [Kh *mom; TB *mu:m] to bud, germinate.

bud **se:-nya** [Kh *p-set (Mk pse:, Bhj sywöt, Nis syet 'corn tassel')] (of grain) to bud.

burst **'phu-nya** [Kh *r-pu-s (Mk rpho, Nis rphu, Kot pui); Him Tam pho, Khal bhu 'open'); Mag pho-ke 'open'; TB *pu 'open'] to burst open.

cold **'zyũ:h-nya** [Kh *zihm (Mk jyũh, Gam zyuhŋ, Kot zihmu); Him (Mag juŋ-khe, Ch jhyuŋ- 'cold,' Thak sim, Rau dzuŋ, Khal dzhuŋ 'wind')] to be cold (of weather). [Alt. root Kh ***gim** (Shes *gim < ihmo 'cold body'); TB *kyam 'snow']. 160

collapsed **tah-nya** [Kh *s-ta (Nis sta)] to collapse, cave in.

detach **'kyũ:-nya** [Kh *s-kluŋ (Mk skyũ)] to detach, come off (as the head of a tool).

dried **thɨ̃:-nya** [Kh *thəŋ; TB *tan 'dry'] to dry, wither.

full **'byal-nya** to become full, filled up. **yo:-nya** [Kh *yək (Nis yeko, Shes yəoko)] fulfilled, sufficient, be enough. **təsi:** full. 157

good **ca-nya** [Kh *p-tsa (Mk pcao); Him (Ch syaw 'right,' Thak sah, Tam cyah-pa)].

greasy **khen-nya** [Kh *s-len (Nis sleno, Gam kemo)] kh<sl.

green **'pɨ̃:-nya** [Kh *piŋ (Mk pyũ, Mht piŋo); Him *piŋ (Ch pli-, Kai piŋma, Thak pin)].

heavy **gis-nya** [Kh *gis < *s-lis (Bhj iso, Nis yis, Gam gi, Shes *gis < yih); Him *s-lis (Mag lis, Ch liʔ-, Kai lhi); TB *(s-)ləy]. 164

holes **'gwã:h-nya** [Kh *s-gwaŋ 'hole' (Mk zgwã, Kot gwaŋ); Him (Mag kwã-ke 'creviced,' Ch ghaŋ- 'have holes,' Tib khuŋ, Rwŋ -kwaŋ)] to be full of holes.

hot **rah-nya** [Kh *b-rah (Mk brah, Bhj bəra, Nis rwao); Him (Ch rəwʔ- 'be hot')] hot (to the touch).

leak **'yu:-nya** [Kh *wyi (Mk wyi, Bhj wyiu, Nis wyi, Gam wyi, Shes *yi < yiu 'leaky'); Him (Gur yu); TB *yəw].

light **bom-nya** [Kh *bom (Mk bomza, Nis bom, Bhj bɔ̃, Gam bwoŋ); Him (Kai boŋ)] to be light (in weight). 174

long **'khyo:-nya** [Kh *s-lo (Mk solo, Gam hlu, Kot lho-) kh<sl; Mag lhot-co; TB *low] long, tall. **'re: 're:** [Kh *b-re (Nis rwyo 'long')] long, strung out. 158

loose **jöhl-nya** [Kh *dzöhl (Mk jöhl, Mht johl,

Bhj hol); TB *dzwal] to become loose; to sag.

lost **'mah-nya** [Kh *mah; Him (Mag mhat-ke, Ch hmat- 'disappear,' Tam mah); TB *ma-t].

low **dehm-nya** [Kh *s-dem ~ *them (Mk zdem, Kot dem, Ghus them); Him *tem (Mag tem; TB *nem].

matched **khəi-nya** [Kh *khɔt; Him *khat (Mag khat-ke, Ch khat- 'match')] to match.

new **sahro** [Kh *sahr (Shes char); Him (Tib gsar-ba, Kai sar-ba, Tam tshar, Chan tshar) TB *sar]. 172

red **'gyahm-nya** [Kh *gyahm (Mk gyaõh); Him (Mag gya)] to be red. 163

ripe **'mĩ:h-nya** [Kh *mihn (Bhj mihn); Him (Mag mhin-ke, Ch min-); TB *s-min] to be ripe, well cooked. 167

rotten **ci-nya** [Kh *tsik (Shes *cik < ciuʔ, cik- 'rotten'); Him (Tib bzig); TB *tswəy] to spoil, become rotten.

round **lum lum'o** [Kh *lum; Him (Ch luŋ 'round'); TB *zlum] round, spherical. **khwargilo** [Him (Ch gwərʔ 'circular,' Tib khor 'circle') + gil (Tib skyil 'circle'); TB kil 'twist'] round, circular. 166

sharp **cha-nya** [Kh *p-tsha (Nis chwao); Him (Ch chaʔ-, Kai tsha)]. 173

short **twĩ:-nya** [Kh *tun (Mht tun, Shes tun-); Him *tun (Mag Tun, Ch tyunʔ, Tam tun, Tib rtuŋ 'shorten'); TB *twan 'shrink'].

small **zim-nya** [Kh *zim; TB (DEW) *zim (Tib zim-bu 'fine,' Rwŋ dziŋ, Chinese sim-)].

soft **jyahso** soft, tender, pliable. 168

sour **'sühr-nya** [Kh *b-sir; Mag byur-ke; TB *s-kywa:r]. 162

spicy **'tu:-nya** [Kh *tuk (Bhj tuk, Shes tuk); Mag thuk-ke 'spicy'; TB *tuk 'poison'].

stale **khes-nya** [Kh *sli-s (Mht siləi, Kot sili) kh<sl < IA *sil] to cool (of food).

sweet **ta:h-ta:h-wo** sweet. [Alt. root ***b-rehk** (Mk rhe rhewo, Nis rhwyeko, Gam wyəoh, Shes yohnya)]. 159

thick **rũ:h-nya** [Kh *ruhŋ; Him *duŋ (Ch dun, Kai Tuŋ, Thak Ruŋ)] to be thick (of dimension). **'the:-nya** to be thick in consistency. 171

thin **'pəle:-nya** [Kh *plek (Nis pleko 'flat'); Him *ple (Thak ple); TB *pleŋ] to be flat, thin. **wa:-nya** [Kh *wa; TB *ba] to be thin (esp. of boards).

warm **mwĩ:-nya** [Kh *mun (Mht mun); Him (Kai mhum)]. 165

white **palo** [Kh *pal; Him *pal (Kai pal-ma); TB *plu]. **'pəlã:** [Kh *plaŋ (Mk pəlaõ, Gam plaŋ 'white'); TB *praŋ 'dawn'] bright, illuminated. 169

N. Action verbs with human agent

beat **poh-nya** [Kh *s-po (Mk spo); Him (Tib phog)].

beg **nih-nya** [Kh *ŋih (Mk ŋih); Him *ŋi (Mag ŋi-khe].

bite **kəi-nya** [Kh *kəi (Shes *kəi < -kəi- 'eaten'); TB (DEW) *k-wat (Rwŋ kai, Kar kəwa, Dim wat, Bodo wat)]. [Alt. root (Mk toi)]. 181

blow **mwi:h-nya** [Kh *s-mut (Bhj muht, Shes *mut < mwi:ʔ, -mut- 'blown'); Him (Mag mhut-ke, Ch mut- 'blow on embers'); TB *s-mut] to blow on fire. **'phwi:-nya** [Kh *phut (Nis phut); Him *phut (Thak phuy); TB *s-mut 'blow'] to blow with bellows. 189

bore **'ləp-nya** [Kh *r-lap (Mk ləp, Nis rləp, Gam lə); Him *r-lup (Mag carlap-ke 'drill,' Tib rlubs, Bur lup 'hole')] to bore a hole.

break **ke:h-nya** [Kh *s-kle(t) (Mk skəle, Gam kle, Kot kəlaiʔ); Him *gla (Mag gya, Ch kləyh- 'break, snap')] to break, snap in two.

burn **ehr-nya** to burn firewood. **'hip-nya** [Kh *hip (Mk hip, Gam hwyi)] to burn on a fire, roast. **muh-nya** [Him (Tib smug-po 'fog, vapor'); TB *mu:k 'rubbish'] to burn refuse. **gah-nya** to burn, scorch. **cã:h-nya** [Kh*tsahŋ (Kot tsyaŋ)] to burn, blaze, emit flames. 200a

butt **duhp-nya** [Kh *r-duhp (Nis rduhp); Him (Mag dap-ke, Ch duh- 'butt')] to butt, strike with the head.

buy **lĩ:h-nya** [Kh *ləhŋ; Mag lo-ke 'buy'; TB [(Theb raŋ, Bun laŋ 'sell')]. **loi-nya** [Kh *b-lot (Mk səboloi); Mag lo-ke 'buy'] to lend to someone. **los-nya** [Kh *b-los (Mk bolos, Kot loiʔ, Mht lo) Him *lo (Mag lo 'buy,' Khal lok 'lend'); Mag lo-ke 'buy'] to borrow. 190

carry **'guhr-nya** [Kh *guhr (Bhj hur, Gam uhr); Him (Sh kur, Tib bkur)].

catch **kyo:h-nya** [Kh *kloh (Mk kolo, Gam klyoʔ, Bhj ko); Him (Mag gho-ke)] to catch, seize.

clothe **kwaih-nya** [Kh *kwa-t (Mk kwas, Nis kwat, Bhj kwat, Shes *kwat < kwaiʔ, -kwat- 'covered'); TB *kway] to clothe, cover with a blanket.

comb **'səi-nya** [Kh *r-sat (Mk rsəi, Nis rsat, Bhj sat); Him *sat (Mag saT, Tib sad-pa)].

cook **phĩ:-nya** [Kh *phin (Bhj phin, Nis phin, Mht pin) TB *s-min 'cooked'] to cook by boiling. **sə'mĩ:h-nya** [Kh *mihn (Bhj mihn); Him (Mag mhin-ke, Ch min-); TB *s-min] to cook until done. **co-nya** [Kh *tso (Mk co, Gam co); TB *tsyow (Tib btsos, Bur tshu, Lusei so)] to boil. 183

cover **'kəp-nya** [Kh *kəp; Him (Ch kap- 'overlay'); TB *kap].

cut **'pəl-nya** [Kh *pəl; Him *pal (Ch pal-)] to cut wood; to butcher an animal. **'kyal-nya** to cut, slice. **'kəri:-nya** [Kh *kri; Him (Ch kret- 'tear, shred')] to cut meat. **pəra:-nya** [TB *bra 'divide'] to cut open. **'kətəre:-nya** to cut with scissors. 200b

dance **syah-nya** [Kh *p-syah (Mk psya, Nis swyah, Bhj sywö); Him *syah (Mag sya-khe, Ch syah, Tam sya)].

dig **goh-nya** [Kh *goh (Kot woh); Him (Mag ko-khe, Chan kho-, Tib rko-ba); TB *r-go-t]. 186

draw water **gəp-nya** [Kh *gəp; Mag gap-ke; TB *ka:p].

drink **o-nya** to drink. 176

eat **zya-nya** [Kh *zya; Him (Ch jeʔ-, Chan ca-); TB *dza] to eat (only bread or cooked meal). **kəi-nya** [Kh *kəi (Shes *kəi < -kəi- 'eaten'); TB (DEW) *k-wat (Rwŋ kai, Kar kəwa, Dim wat, Bodo wat)] to eat things which require chewing. 175

extract **hai-nya** [Kh *hat (Bhj hat, Nis hat, Shes *hat < haiʔ, -hat- 'drawn out'); Mag hut-ke 'pull up'].

find **dəi-nya** [Kh *z-dət (Mk zdəi, Shes *dot < doɛʔ, -dot- 'found'); TB *du-t 'join'] to find, meet.

gather **'dup-nya** [Kh *z-dup (Mk zdu, Nis zdu:, Gam duʔ, Mht dup, Shes *dup < du:ʔ, -dup- 'gathered'); Him (Mag Dup 'meet')] to gather, collect.

give **ya-nya** [Kh *ya; Him (Mag ya-khe)]. 177

grind **he:-nya** [Kh *p-set (Mk pse:, Nis swyet, Bhj swyet, Gam sye, Shes *het < he:ʔ, -het- 'ground')]. 184

guard **guh-nya** [Kh *r-guh (Mk rguh, Nis rgu); Him (Tib sgo-pa 'door-keeper,' sgo-khyi 'watch-dog')] to guard, watch.

hammer **'tup-nya** [Kh *tup; Him (Mag dathup-ke, Ch tup- 'beat'); TB *tup] to hammer, beat out metal.

herd **cho-nya** [Kh *tsho; Him (Tib tsho-ba)] to herd livestock.

hunt **'təm-nya** (of a predator) to hunt; lie in wait. **'ehera rəih'si-nya** [Nep əheri, Ch əhilya] to hunt for game (lit. 'play hunt'). 200

husk corn **pho:-nya** [Kh *phok (Shes *phok < pho:ʔ, -phok- 'husked', Nis phot < ? phot 'open'); TB *pwa:y 'husks'].

insert **lwi:-nya** [Kh *lut; Him (Ch lu- 'reach into hole,' lut- 'poke,' luy- 'go in and out'); TB (DEW) *lut (Kuki lut 'enter') to insert into a hole.

install **ta:-nya** [Kh *tak (Nis tak); TB *ta] to install, fit into place.

kick **thẽ:-nya** [Kh *r-then (Nis rthen)]. 197

kill **səih-nya** [Kh *saht (Bhj səht, Nis səht); Him (Mag sat-ke, Ch sat-, Chan sar-); TB *g-sat]. 192

ladle **'kyo:-nya** [Kh *kek (Nis kyo:, -kek-; Him (Thak kyo, Tib skyogs ladle)].

lay wall **rihm-nya** [Kh *b-rihm (Mk brihm)].

lick **lep-nya** [Kh *lep; Him *s-lem (ch lemh, Thak lehm); TB * (s-)lyam 'tongue']. 180

lift **chĩ:-nya** [Kh*tshen (Mk chẽ, Nis chen, Bhj chen, Kot chen)].

make **'jəi-nya** [Kh *dzət (Bhj jat, Shes *jət < jaɛ, -jət- 'made'); Him (Mag jat 'to do')].

milk **pi:-nya** [Kh *pek (Mk pe:, Nis pe:, -pek-, Shes *pek < pyoʔ, -pek- 'milked')].

mix **bəre:-nya** [Kh *z-bra-t (Mk zbəra, Gam brəɛʔ, Kot bərai)] to mix, combine.

open **phəi-nya** [Kh *pho-t (Bhj phət, Nis phot); Him (Mag phos-ke, Jir phet); TB (Tib phyed, Chinese phet)].

pay **'pho:-nya** [Kh *phok (Nis pho:, -phok-, Shes *phok < phoʔ, -phok- 'paid'); Him (Gur pho)].

pick up **ti:-nya** [Kh *tik (Nis ti:, -tik-, Kot tyoʔ); Him (Ch tyo- 'pick out')].

pin closed **kərəp-nya** [Kh *s-krəp (Nis skorop)].

pinch **cil-nya** [Kh *p-tsil (Mk pcil, Nis cwyil, Gam pəcil, Bhj cül)].

plug **swi:-nya** [Kh *p-sut (Mk pswi, Nis sut, Bhj sut, Shes *sut < suiʔ, -sut- 'plugged'); Mag sut-ke 'put between'; TB *tsuw] to plug a hole.

press **'te:-nya** [Kh *tek (Nis te:, -tek-, Shes *tek < tyoʔ, -tek- 'pressed')] to press down.

put **ja:h-nya** [Kh *dzəhk (Nis -jəhk-, Shes *jok < jo:ʔ, -jok- 'put'); Him (Tib gzag 'establish, found')] to put, put into. **'nəi-nya** [Kh *nat (Bhj nat, Nis nat); Him (Tib rnyed-pa); TB *(r-)ney] to set down, place. 199

release **'ras-nya** [Kh *ra-s (Gam raɛ, Shes *ras < rai, -rah- 'released') Him (Mag das-ke)] to let go; set free; loosen. 187

remove from fire **'phi:-nya** [Kh *phit (Shes *phit < phi:ʔ, -phit- 'removed from fire')] to remove food from fire.

ride **'cep-nya** [Kh *tsep; Him (Tib chib(s)-pa)].

roast **ŋoh-nya** [Kh *s-ŋo; Him (Thak ŋoh, Tib rŋod-pa); TB *r-ŋaw] to roast, parch grain.

rub **zu-nya** [Kh *b-zu (Mk bzu)] to rub in the palm of the hand. **tuhri:-nya** to rub against something. **'thi:-nya** to rub with oil. **sil-nya** [Kh *p-sil (Mk psil, Nis swyil, Bhj syül); TB *(m-)syil (Tib bsil-ba)] to scrub. 194

scald **lohm-nya** [Kh *s-lom (Nis slom); TB (DEW) *s-lum (Kar səlum, Bur hlum)] to scald meat for later drying.

scoop **sim-nya** [Kh *sim; TB *sim 'sweep towards self'] to scoop up, gather into a basket.

scrape **pi:h-nya** [Kh *s-pik (Mk spi:, Nis -spik-, Bhj sipi] to scrape, remove by scraping. **pur-nya** [Kh *pur; TB *pruk (Tib spar-ba)] to scratch. 182

seize **nəĩ:-nya** [Kh *s-nan (Bhj tan, Kot nahn) ~ *p-nan (Mk pnwĩ, Nis nwan, Mht nan); TB *(s-)nen] to seize, capture, take away.

sell **'yo:-nya** [Kh *p-yet (Mk wye, Nis wyet, Gam wye, Bhj ywet, Ghs hye); Mag yos-ke 'trade'; TB *ywar 'buy, sell']. 198

send **'pərĩ:-nya** [Kh *s-priŋ (Mk spərĩ, Nis spərẽ, Gam prĩ); Him (Tib spriŋ-ba 'send a message')].

sew **ruhp-nya** [Kh *ruhp; Him (Mag rup, Ch rup-ke, Thak Tuhp, Tib drub-pa); TB *drup]. 191

shave **'yen-nya** [Kh *p-yen (Mk wyẽ, Nis wyen, Gam wyẽ)] to shave, shear.

shoot **'ap-nya** [Kh *gap (Bhj hap); Him (Mag ŋap, Ch ʔap, Sun ap); TB *ga:p]. 196

show **sətəĩ:-nya** [Kh *s-tən (Mk stəĩ, Nis stən, Kot tən); Him (Tib ston-pa)].

skin, peel **ko:-nya** [Kh *kok (Nis ko:, -kok-); TB *ku:k].

snap **phya:-nya** [Kh *phyak (Mk phya, Nis phya, -phyak-, Gam phyaʔ)] to snap by pulling.

soak **chim-nya** [Kh *tshim; TB *tsim (DEW) (Mag tshim 'wet,' Bur tsim, Chinese tsim)].

sow seed **was-nya** [Kh *was (Kot wai); Mag was-ke 'spread out'].

spin wool **'khəl-nya** [Kh *khəl; Him (Tib khal-ba)].

split firewood **seh-nya** [Kh *p-si (Mk psi, Nis swyi, Bhj syü); Him *tsek (Mag ce-ke, Sun cet, Tib 'cheg-pa)].

squeeze **cyar-nya** [Kh *tser (Bhj cyer, Kot cer); Him (Ch cyarʔ 'crush,' Thak cyohr, Tib bcer-ba); TB *tsur] to wring, squeeze out. **'pəci-nya** to squeeze or work with the hands. 195

steal **'ku-nya** [Kh *ku; Mag khus-ke; TB *r-kəw]. **ro:h'si-nya** [Kh *rok (Shes *rok < ro:ʔ, -rok- 'searched'); TB *m-ru:k 'steal'] to ransack, rummage. 179

step on **si:-nya** [Kh (Shes *sik < siuʔ, -sik- 'stepped on')].

stir **wal-nya** [Kh *r-wal (Mk rwal); Him (Ch walh- 'stir'); TB *wal 'circular'] to stir meat.

stop **woĩ:-nya** [Kh *on (Mk ũ, Gam woŋ, Mht waŋ); Him *on (Mag waŋ-ke 'ambush,' Sun õy 'pen up')] to prevent, hold up, stop.

sweep **'si:-nya** [Kh *sit (Bhj sit, Nis sit, Shes *sit < siʔ, -sit- 'wiped'); Him *sit (Mag sit-ke, Khal chi); TB *s(y)wiy] to sweep, wipe off.

teach **syu:-nya** [Kh *p-sik ~ *p-sis (Mk syu:, Nis sis, Gam hwyi, Shes *hik < hiuʔ, -hik- 'taught')] to teach a skill.

tear **ci:-nya** [Kh *p-tsit (Mk pci:, Nis cwyit, Bhj cit); Him (Mag cyat- 'torn'); TB *tsat].

throw **khya-nya** [Kh *khya; Him *kla (Thak khya, Tam khla); TB *kla 'fall'] to throw, cast away.

tie **ki-nya** [Kh *s-ki (Mk ski, Nis ski:); Him (Ch kik- 'bind,' Chan khi- 'tie'); TB *kik]. **po:-nya** [Kh (Shes *pok < po:ʔ, -pok- 'bound')] to tie cloth (as a turban or waistband). **sur-nya** to tie an animal. 178

trade **toh-nya** [Kh *s-to (Mk sto, Nis sto); Him *s-to (Thak toh)] to exchange, trade.

twist **'kil-nya** [Kh *kil; TB *ki:l].

unfold **'kurup-nya** [Kh *s-krup (Mk skurup); Him *krup (Sun krup)] to unfold, collapse.

uproot **bo:h-nya** [Kh *bohk (Nis bo:h, -bohk-); Him (Tib bog(s)-pa)] to pull up, uproot.

wash **che-nya** [Kh *tse (Mk che, Gam che, Mht ce, Kot ce)] to wash clothing. **hur'si-nya** to wash, bathe. **za'si-nya** [Kh *r-za (Mk rjasi, Nis rja, Kot za)] to wash hair. 185

weave **rɨ:h-nya** [Kh *rəhk (Nis rə:h, -rəhk-, Luk rəhk); Him *dak (Tib 'thag-pa, Mag dak-ke); TB *trak]. **rẽ:h-nya** [Kh *rihn (Nis rehn, Mht rihn); Mag rhen-ke] to set up a loom. 193

whet **hul-nya** [Kh *hul; Him (Mag hul, Ch huʔ)] to whet, hone, sharpen.

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