

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF CHHATTHARE LIMBU

A Dissertation Report

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ABSTRACT

The Limbus living in the Chhatthar area are called *Chhatthare Limbu* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba* and their language is called *Chhatthare Yakthungba Pan* or *Chhatthare Pan* in the mother tongue and simply as *Chhatthare Limbu* in non-native language. It differs from other Limbu varieties in phonology, morphology and lexical words. Genetically, Chhatthare Limbu belongs to Proto-Limbu (following David Watters personal communication), Kiranti, Mahakiranti, Himalayan, and Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan group of languages. On the basis of the index of synthesis Limbu falls among the synthetic group of languages and on the basis of index of fusion, it falls among the fusional group of languages with single lexical item plus other affixes or more than one lexical item and multiple affixes.

In Chhatthare Limbu, there are twenty consonant phonemes and seven vowels with no vowel length contrast. The syllable has basically CVC pattern and it extends from one syllable to five syllables with multiple patterns. Morphophonological changes are conditioned by syllable structure and surrounding segments. Nouns inflect for number and case. Derivative adjectives also function as nouns inflecting for number and case. It has human classifier suffixes <-pa> and <-pHu>. The first one is used for a single person and the second one is used for more than one person following the first syllable of the numerals. Pronouns are divided into personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns have eleven categories. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns have only three categories. Adjectives are derived from verbs, bound adjectives, nouns and adverbs by suffixation. Only a few adverbs are lexical adverbs and rests of them are derivative adverbs formed by suffixation, reduplication and compounding.

The verb has twenty types of verb stems and they have two stem classes-variable and invariable. On the basis of conjugation patterns there are three types of verbs – intransitive, reflexive and transitive – in the language. Intransitive and reflexive verbs exhibit eleven different forms and transitive verb marks 44 different forms out of 75 theoretically possible forms. Voice is differentiated as active and middle.

Chhatthare Limbu finite verbs mark person, number, case, reflexivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity by affixes. Each of these affixes occupies a certain slot. Sometimes, more than one affix can also occur in the same slot. Animacy hierarchy plays significant role in setting the order of affixes. There are altogether three slots for prefixes and ten for suffixes. Majority of affixes are portmanteau morphemes.

Tense is marked by the suffix <-a> or <-O> after the main verb stem and after the auxiliary. Progressive aspect is marked by the suffix <-ro~ -lo> and perfect aspect by the suffix <-aN>. Indicative mood is the finite verb form. Other moods are marked by particles and suffixes. However, adhortive mood is expressed by dropping the first person suffix <-a> from the finite verb form.

Infinitives, purposives, converbs and participles are non-finite verbs. Verbal complex includes serial verbs, compound verbs, analytic verbs, sequential verbs, infinitival verbs, purposive verbs and possessive verbs. They show different shades of meaning in the language. Sentences follow certain constituent order and have simple, compound and complex forms. Simple and compound sentences can be included in basic sentence patterns which are formed without any verbal or adverbial conjunctions. Complex sentences, on the other hand, consist of finite and non-finite

clauses. Morphologically, Chhatthare Limbu is an ergative language and syntactically, it is almost a head right language because except in a few cases, all the modifiers precede the head.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Letter of recommendation by the supervisor

Acknowledgements

Abstract

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Abbreviation

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.	Statement of the Problem	1
2.	Objective of the Study	1
3.	Justification of the study	2
4.	Limitation of the study	2
5.	Literature review	2
6.	Hypothesis	8
7.	Research Methodology	8
8.	Outline of the Study	9

CHAPTER 2. SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE CHHATTHARE LANGUAGE

1.	Introduction	10
2.	Limbu people in general	10
3.	Limbu Area	14
4.	Limbu language	18
5.	Dialects	18
6.	Typology	19
7.	Area of Chhathar	23
8.	About the name Chhatthar	23
9.	Chhatthare Limbu	24
9.1.	Population	24
9.2.	Major clans	25
10.	Chhatthare Limbu language	27
11.	A workshop seminar on comparative study of Limbu dialects	29

11.1. Comparative phonology	29
11.2. Comparison of words	30
11.3. Comparison of verb paradigms	32
11.4. Findings	36
11.5. Genetic affiliation of Chhatthare Limbu	39
12. Bilingualism in Nepali	52
13. Language use and attitude	53
14. Language vitality	53
15. Summary	54

CHAPTER 3. PHONOLOGY

1. Introduction	55
2. Consonants	55
3. Minimal pair contrasts	55
4. Distribution of phonemes	59
5. Complementary distributions or allophones	65
6. Consonant phonemes	66
7. Orthographic representation of consonants	66
8. Constraints of consonants	67
9. Vowels	68
10. Minimal pair contrasts	68
11. Distribution of vowel phonemes	70
12. Phonemic inventory of vowels	72
13. Phonemic representation	73

14 Syllable

75

15. Syllable sequences	76
16. Geminates	78
17. Syllable patterns	79
18. Hiatus	80
19. Diphthong	80
20. Loan words	81
21. Summary	81

CHAPTER 4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

1. Introduction	82
2. Phonological process conditioned by syllable structure	82
2.1. Deletion	82
2.2. Epenthesis	88
3. Phonological process conditioned by surrounding segments	91
3.1. Assimilation	92
3.2. Distant assimilation	97
3.3. Intervocalic voicing	98

3.4. Voicing assimilation	98
3.5. Labialization	99
4. Summary	99

CHAPTER 5. MORPHOLOGY OF NOUN

1. Introduction.	100
2. Gender	100
3. Numerals and classifiers	102
4. Number	105
5. Diminutive	107
6. Compounding	107
7. Pronominalization in nouns	108
8. Derivative adjectives as nouns	110
9. Case	110
9.1. Absolutive	110
9.2. Ergative	112
9.3. Instrumental	114
9.4. Genitive	115
9.5. Vocative	119
9.6. Locative	120
9.7. Comitative	120
9.8. Mediative	121
9.9. Ablative	122
9.10. Allative	122
9.11. Directive	123
9.12. Comparative	123
10. Summary	125

CHAPTER 6. MORPHOLOGY OF PRONOUNS

1. Introduction	126
2. Personal pronouns	126
2.1. Case system in pronouns	129
2.2. Possessive pronouns	130
3. Demonstrative pronouns	133
3.1. Proximate demonstrative	134
3.2. Remote demonstrative	134
4. Interrogative pronouns	134
4.1. Interrogative human pronoun	134
4.2. Interrogative general pronouns	135
5. Summary	136

CHAPTER 7. MORPHOLOGY OF ADJECTIVES	
1. Introduction	137
2. Derivation of adjectives	137
2.1. From verbs	137
2.2. From bound adjectives	142
2.3. From adverb roots	145
2.4. From noun roots	149
3. Case	150
4. Summary	151

CHAPTER 8. MORPHOLOGY OF ADVERBS

1.	Introduction	152
2.	Kinds of adverbs	152
2.1.	Lexical adverb	152
2.1.1.	Temporal Adverbs	152
2.1.2.	Locational adverbs	154
2.1.3.	Manner adverbs	154
2.1.4.	Posture adverbs	155
2.1.5.	Truth value adverbs	155
2.2.	Derived adverbs	156
2.2.1.	Derivation of adverbs by affixation	156
2.2.2.	Derivation of adverbs by compounding	160
2.2.3.	Derivation of adverbs by compounding and Suffixation	163
2.2.4.	Derivation of adverbs by compounding and reduplication	163
2.2.5.	Derivation of adverbs by compounding, reduplication and suffixation	166
2.2.6.	Derivation of adverbs by reduplication	169
2.2.7.	Derivation of adverbs by reduplication and suffixation	170
2.2.8.	Derivation of adverbs by reduplication and prefixation	171
2.2.9.	Derivation of adverbs by reduplication with the prefixed root	172
3.	Summary	172

CHAPTER 9. VERB INFLECTIONS

1.	Introduction	174
2.	Verb stems	174
3.	Stem classes	174
3.1.	Variable stem class	174
3.1.1.	Deletion	175
3.1.2.	Assimilation	176
3.2.	Invariable stem class	176
4.	Kinds of verbs	177
4.1.	Intransitive verb	177
4.1.1.	Conjugation of monosyllabic intransitive verb	177
4.1.2.	Conjugation of polysyllabic intransitive verb	180
4.1.3.	Schematic form of intransitive verb	182
4.2.	Reflexive verb	183
4.2.1.	Conjugation of monosyllabic reflexive verb	184
4.2.2.	Conjugation of polysyllabic reflexive verb	186
4.2.3.	Schematic form of reflexive verb	188
4.3.	Transitive verb	189
4.3.1.	Conjugation of monosyllabic transitive verb	193
4.3.2.	Conjugation of polysyllabic transitive verb	199
4.3.3.	Schematic forms of transitive verb	207
5.	Voice	211
6.	Summary	214

CHAPTER 10. IDENTIFICATION OF MORPHEMES

1.	Introduction	215
2.	Marking of covert affixes in intransitive conjugation	215
3.	Marking of covert affixes in reflexive conjugation	217
4.	Marking of covert affixes in transitive conjugation	219
5.	Animacy hierarchy	225
6.	The order of affixes	228
7.	Person markers	230
7.1.	The first person morpheme	230
7.2.	The second person morpheme	232
7.3.	The third person morpheme	233
7.4.	The third person plural morpheme	235
7.5.	The second person morpheme	236
7.6.	The third person object morpheme	237
7.7.	The first person exclusive portmanteaux	238
7.8.	The first person plural exclusive subject or agent morpheme in the past form	241
7.9.	The first person non-dual negative morpheme	242
8.	Number markers	244
8.1.	Singularity of subject or object	244
8.1.1.	Singularity of first person subject or object	244
8.1.2.	Singularity of second person subject or object	244
8.1.3.	Singularity of third person subject or object	245
8.2.	Duality of subject or object or agent	245
8.2.1.	Duality of the first person subject or object	246
8.2.2.	Duality of the second person subject or object	246
8.2.3.	Duality of the third person subject	246
8.3.	The morpheme of third person object non-singularity	247
8.4.	Plurality of subject or object	247
8.4.1.	Plurality of the first person subject or object	247
8.4.2.	Plurality of the second person subject or object	248
8.4.3.	Plurality of the third person subject	248
8.5.	Singularity of agent	248
8.5.1.	Singularity of the first person agent	248
8.5.2.	Singularity of the second person agent	249
8.5.3.	Singularity of the third person agent	249
8.6.	Duality of agent	249
8.6.1.	Duality of the first person agent	250
8.6.2.	Duality of the second person agent	250
8.6.3.	Duality of the third person agent	250
8.7.	Third person non-singular agent	250
8.8.	Plurality of the speech act participant agent	251
8.9.	Plurality of the third person agent	252
9.	Copied morphemes	252
10.	The morpheme of reflexivity/reciprocity	253
11.	The inclusive and exclusive morphemes	256

12.	Negative marker	258
12.1.	Negative morpheme <man- -ban>	259
12.2.	Negative morpheme <ma-~-nEn~-n>	259
12.3.	Negative morpheme <m-~n-~N- -nEn~ -n>	261
13.	Tense morphemes	263
14.	Summary	264

CHAPTER 11. TENSE-ASPECT AND MOOD

1.	Introduction	266
2.	Tense	266
3.	Aspect	266
3.1.	Progressive	266
3.2.	Perfect	271
4.	MOOD	
	281	
4.1.	Declarative mood	281
4.2.	Imperative	281
4.2.1.	Intransitive imperative	281
4.2.2.	Reflexive imperative	282
4.2.3.	Transitive imperative	282
4.3.	Hortative	283
4.4.	Irrealis	284
4.5.	Optative mood	286
4.6.	Interrogative mood	287
5.	Summary	288

CHAPTER 12. NON-FINITE VERBS

1.	Introduction	289
2.	Non-finite verbs	289
2.1.	Infinitive	289
2.2.	Purposive	290
2.3.	Converb	290
2.4.	Participle	291
2.4.1.	Active participle	291
2.4.2.	Passive participle	291
3.	Verbal complex	292
3.1.	Serial verbs	292
3.2.	Compound verbs	297
3.3.	Analytic verbs	298
4.	Summary	307

CHAPTER 13. SENTENCE PATTERNS

1.	Introduction	308
2.	Constituent order	308

2.1.	Complement – head	308
2.1.1.	Subordinate clause-main clause	308
2.1.2.	NP-VP	308
2.1.3.	Noun-postposition	309
2.1.4.	Main verb-vector	309
2.1.5.	Main verb-auxiliary	309
2.1.6.	Root/stem-suffix	310
2.1.7.	Indirect object-direct object	310
2.2.	Modifier-head	310
2.2.1.	Adjective- noun	310
2.2.2.	Adverb- adjective	311
2.2.3.	Number-noun	311
2.2.4.	Genitive-noun	311
2.2.5.	Adverb-verb	311
2.2.6.	Kinship nouns- proper nouns	312
2.3.	Head – modifier	312
2.4.	Chronological order	312
2.5.	Alpha-movement and constituent order in Limbu	313
2.6.	Marker right language	314
2.6.1.	Sentence- markers	314
2.6.2.	XP-marker	314
2.6.3.	Focus marking particles	314
3.	Basic sentence patterns	315
3.1.	Copular sentences	315
3.2.	Interrogative sentence	
	320	
3.3.	Participant coding	322
3.3.1.	Pronominal verb affixes	322
3.3.2.	Case markers	323
3.3.3.	Split ergativity	327
3.4.	Nominalized sentences	329
3.5.	Coordination of constituents	330
3.6.	Transitivity and demotion	331
3.7.	Particle sentences	332
4.	Clause combining	341
4.1.	Non-finite clauses	341
4.1.1.	Infinitive clauses	341
4.1.2.	Purposive clauses	341
4.1.3.	Converb	342
4.1.4.	Participial clauses	343
4.2.	Finite clauses	343
4.2.1.	Nominalized clauses	343
4.2.2.	Temporal clauses	344
4.2.3.	Sequential clauses	344
4.2.4.	Manner clauses	345
4.2.5.	Conditional clauses	345
4.2.6.	Concessive clauses	346

4.2.7. Quote clauses	346
5. Summary	347
CHAPTER 14. CONCLUSION	348
APPENDIX	351
REFERENCES	364

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
1. Population of Chhatthare Limbu	25
2. Consonant phonemes of Chatthare Limbu	30
3. Vowel phonemes of Chhatthare Limbu	30
4. Demonstrative pronouns of Limbu variants	31
5. Limbu variants of Swadesh words	32
6. Comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to beat’ in non-past form	33
7. Comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to beat’ in past form	34
8. Comparative negative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to not beat’ in non-past form	36
9. Phonetic inventory of consonants	55
10. Phonemic inventory of consonants	66
11. Orthographic representation of consonants	66
12. Phonetic inventory of vowels	68
13. Phonemic inventory of vowels	73
14. Case markers	124
15. Personal pronouns	129
16. Case markers of first person pronouns	129
17. Case markers of second person pronouns	130
18. Case markers of third person pronouns	130
19. Case markers of proximate demonstrative pronouns	134
20. Case markers of remote demonstrative pronouns	134
21. Case markers of interrogative human pronouns	135
22. Case markers of interrogative general pronoun hwiN ‘which’	135
23. Case markers of interrogative general pronoun hE ‘what’	135
24. Case markers of a derivative adjective kagHuppa	150
25. Stem final alterations	174
26. Deletion of the post-syllabic consonants	175
27. Deletion of stem final consonants	175
28. Voicing assimilation of stem final consonants	176
29. Stem final alternation due to its assimilation for place and manner of articulation	176
30. Invariable verb stems	176
31. Conjugation of intransitive verb	179
32. Conjugation of poly-syllabic intransitive verb	182
33. Schematic form of intransitive verb	183
34. Conjugation of monosyllabic reflexive verb	186
35. Conjugation of polysyllabic reflexive verb	188
36. Schematic form of reflexive verbs	189
37. Conjugation of aspirated and unaspirated stop initial verbs in past and non-past forms	190
38. Conjugation of monosyllabic transitive verb l□mma ‘to beat’	198
39. Conjugation of polysyllabic transitive verb <i>silapma</i> ‘to ask’	206
40. The schematic form of the transitive verb in non-past	207

41.	The schematic form of the transitive verb in past	208
42.	The schematic form of the transitive verb in negative non-past	209
43.	The schematic form of the transitive verb in negative past	210
44.	Comparative paradigms of active and middle verbs	211
45.	Comparative schematic forms of active and middle verbs	212
46.	Comparative paradigms of transitive verbs in middle voice and intransitive verb.	212
47.	Schematic forms of transitive verbs in middle voice and intransitive verbs	213
48.	Marking of covert affixes in the conjugation of intransitive verb <i>lok-ma</i> ‘to run’	217
49.	Marking of covert affixes in the conjugation of reflexive verb <i>l□m-cHimma</i> ‘to beat oneself’	219
50.	Marking of covert affixes in transitive verb <i>l□mma</i> ‘to beat’	225
51.	Slots of prefixes	229
52.	Slots of suffixes	230
53.	Comparative paradigms of transitive and reflexive verbs <i>l□mma</i> ‘to beat’ and <i>l□m-cHim-ma</i> ‘to beat oneself’	254
54.	Conjugation of transitive and reflexive verbs	255
55.	Conjugation of intransitive verb <i>yuNma</i> ‘to sit’	255
56.	Inclusive and exclusive paradigms of intransitive verb <i>lokma</i> ‘to run’	257
57.	Inclusive and exclusive paradigm of the transitive verb <i>l□mma</i> ‘to beat’ in 3s→1 forms.	257
58.	Inclusive and exclusive paradigm of the transitive verb <i>l□mma</i> ‘to beat’ in 1→3s forms.	258
59.	Paradigm of intransitive verb <i>te</i> in progressive aspect	267
60.	Paradigm of the transitive verb <i>l□m</i> in progressive aspect	271
61.	Paradigm of the intransitive verb <i>te</i> in perfect aspect	273
62.	Paradigm of transitive verb <i>l□m</i> in perfect aspect	281
63.	Paradigm of experiencer possessive verb <i>ya?lEma</i> ‘to be angry’	307
64.	Conjugation of identity operator	316
65.	Negative conjugation of identity operator	316

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Family tree of Limbu	18
2.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Grierson	40
3.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Shafer 1966.	41
4.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Benedict 1972	42
5.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Egerod 1974	43
6.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu according to Hansson 1991	44
7.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Matisoff 1991	45
8.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Bradley 1997	46
9.	Family Affiliation of Chhatthare Limbu according to Ebert 2003	47
10.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following LaPPola 2003	48
11.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Thurgood 2003	49
12.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Gordon, Raymond, G. 2005	50
13.	Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Watters	51
14.	Classification of verbs	213
15.	The division of <i>aNga</i> into inclusive and exclusive pronouns	256
16.	Tense morphemes	264

MAPS

1.	Map of the Limbuwan Area	16
3.	Map of village development committees of the Limbuwan area	17
3.	Map of the Chhatthar Area	23

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person
1e	First person exclusive
1de	First person dual exclusive
1pe	First person plural exclusive
1i	First person inclusive
2	Second person
3	Third person
3O	Third person object
3nsA	Third person non-singular agent
3nsO	Third person non-singular object
3pA	Third person plural agent
3pS	Third person plural subject
A	Agent
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ADH	Adhortative
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
ALLT	Allative
AP	Active participle
C	Consonant
CLSF	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COMPR	Comparative case
CONC	Concessive
CONV	converb
dA	Dual agent
DEF	Definite
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Directive case
dO	Dual object
dS	Dual subject
ERG	Ergative
FEM	Feminine gender
GEN	Genitive case
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
INST	Instrumental case
LAT	Lative
LOC	Locative case
MASC	Masculine
MED	Meditative case
NEG	Negative
NML	Nominalizer
NPT	Non-past
NUM	Numeral
O	Object
OPT	Optative
P	Patient
pA	Plural agent

PART	Particle
PP	Passive participle
pO	Plural object
POSS	Possessive
Prg	Progressive aspect
PrV	Prefix vowel
pS	Plural subject
PT	Past
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
PURP	Purposive
R	Root
RECIP	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
Rel	Relativizer
RV	Round vowel
S	Subject
s	Singular
SEQ	Sequential
StV	Stem vowel
TB	Tibeto-Burman
U	Undergoer
V	Vowel
-V	Voiceless
+V	Voiced
VDC	Village development committee
VOC	Vocative case

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Chhatthar area is a part of *Limbuwan* 'the land of the Limbus' and is located between the east of the Arun River, west of the Nuwakhola in the Terhathum district, north of the Koshi River and south of the Sangkhuwasabha district. It comprises ten villages of the Dhankuta district and nine villages of the Terhathum district. The people of Limbu origin in this area are named Chhatthare Limbu and the language spoken as a mother tongue by them is also called 'Chhatthare Limbu'. (See chapter 2).

So far Limbu is said to have four dialects- Panthare, Phedappe, Taplejungge and Chhatthare. However, Chhatthare Limbu is very different from other dialects of Limbu. (See chapter 2)

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM. Chhatthare Limbu is classified as a dialect by Wiedert and Subba (1985), Driem (1987) and Kainla (2059 B.S.) and as a separate language by Hansson (1991), Bradley (1997) and Ebert (2003). Chhatthare speakers also feel that it is different from other dialects. As no work has been done on Chhatthare Limbu, it has many problems which can be listed in the following way:

- a. What is the status of Chhatthare Limbu?
- b. Why is it called Chhatthare Limbu? Where is it spoken? What is the size of population of its speakers?
- c. What is its phonological system?
- d. How do morphophonological changes occur in the language?
- e. How do verbs inflect in the language?
- f. How are morphemes identified in the language?
- g. How are non-finite verbs marked? How do verbal complexes function in the language?
- h. How are nouns formed?
- i. How are pronouns formed?
- j. How are adjectives formed?
- k. How are adverbs formed?
- l. What are the patterns of basic sentences? How are clauses combined?

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY. The general objective of the study is to prepare a descriptive grammar of Chhatthare Limbu. More specifically, it aims:

- a. to determine the status of Chhatthare whether it is a dialect or a language,
- b. to introduce the language in terms of its nomenclature, area and population,
- c. to present its phonological system,
- d. to present its morphological changes,
- e. to analyze verbal inflections,
- f. to identify morphemes in finite verb forms,
- g. to analyze non-finite verb forms and verbal complexes,
- h. to analyze the morphology of noun,
- i. analyze the morphology of pronoun,
- j. to analyze the morphology of adjective,
- k. to analyze the morphology of adverb and
- l. to present basic sentence patterns and clause combining methods.

3. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY. No substantial work has been done on the Chhatthare Limbu so far. Therefore, this work will be the first comprehensive

description in the language. It may benefit the speech community in a number of ways. First, it would help document a hitherto undescribed language and preserve it before it has been lost. Secondly, it would help design teaching materials for mother tongue education. Finally, its finding would be used in the fields of language typology and theoretical linguistics.

4. LIMITATION OF THE STUDY. This study is merely a sketch grammar of Chhatthare Limbu. It only presents phonology, morphophonology, morphology and syntax. It leaves semantics and discourse analysis for future inquiry. Chhatthare Limbu has dialectal variations but this work deals with only the dialect spoken in Banchare of the Tangkhuwa village development committee.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW. Chhatthare Limbu is used only in the Chhatthar area among the local people on informal occasions. Until now, it has not drawn the interest of linguists and literature people. On formal occasions like wedding ceremony, religious rituals and cultural programmes etc., Panthare dialect is used. So, written literature in Chhatthare is not available. In this study, the literatures of other varieties of Limbu are reviewed as they are related to it.

King Sirijangga, the grandson of the most powerful Limbu King, is regarded as the prime originator of the Kiranti script, which is named after his name as *Srijangga script*. As he was the most powerful Kiranti king during the ninth century B.C., he united many independent Kiranti states and made a huge nation. He had strong desire to educate his countrymen and made hard endeavor for its realization.¹ Sirijangga script contained 20 phonemes, which still exist in the language community. Later, many more phonemes were added.

After the death of Sirijangga, no activity to spread education was carried out until the emergence of a Limbu scholar of Yangrak province, who called himself Sirijangga Deongsi ‘incarnation of Sirijangga’ in about 1740. He visited all the Limbu communities in and across the country disseminating the Sirijangga script. During his time, Lapche Bhote and Limbu were united in Sikkim and they believed that they belonged to the same dynasty. When they were learning Tibetan script as common script, he dissuaded the Limbus from learning it and taught them the Sirijangga script to spread its influence. The Lamas could not tolerate it and they arrested him, bound him to the tree-trunk and shot him to death with a poisonous arrow. Then, they put him into the leather bag and threw him into the flowing water of the Rangit river.

In fact, the execution of Sirijangga Dewangsi by Lamas is instrumental in the formation of ‘*Yakthunghang Chumlung*’ in 1925 in Kalempong. Very soon its

¹ Chemjong (2018 BS) notes that Sirijanga made ardent and continuous devotions to the Goddess Saraswati in order to invent Kiranti script with a view to teaching his people how to read and write. After his many days’ rigorous worship, Goddess Saraswati, who is called *Ningwaphumang* in the native language, was pleased and she granted audience to him. Then, she took him to the bottom of the mountain, Kumbhakarna, which is called *Phaktaklungma* in the native par lance. After the midnight, a sound like that of strong wind was heard and a huge door suddenly banged open revealing inscriptions on the wall in the bright light. The goddess took him in and showed him the inscription. Then another door opened revealing another inscription. Thus, she showed him five or six inscriptions taking him in one after another room. She gave him the last inscription and taught him how to read and write the script. Due to her benediction, he learned them quickly and copied them on a slate. Then she escorted him up to the vicinity of his palace and disappeared. Sirijangga disseminated the script all over the country and lit the lamp of education. The prime object of his education was cultivation of disciplinary trait among the people, without which, in his opinion, no work carried out would be successful.

branches were opened in Burma, India and Nepal. The present *Yakthung Chumlung* is in a way its developed form which has been contributing to the development of Limbu language, culture and literature. After his death, no activity was done at home for the promotion and development of Limbu language and literature for a long time.

Some foreigners seem to have shown interest in it during that period. Kirkpatrick (1811:250-52) lists altogether 63 Limbu words, which contain numerals up to ten and a single numeral 'twenty'. Almost all words are nouns.

Campbell (1840) records the Kiranti script consisting of nineteen consonants and vowels. This script is considered to be the oldest Kiranti script available so far. It also represents script documented by Hodgson. Campbell (1855) also lists 326 Limbu words with their Nepali meanings in the Roman script. Though there are some shortcomings like inappropriate translation, incorrect representation of Limbu phonemes etc., the contribution he has made to the building of Limbu lexicography is commendable.

Hodgson's manuscript (1864) is the collection of old documents written in the Limbu script. Among the documents, there is a manuscript *Mundhum* which is believed to have been written by Sirijangga Thebe, the incarnation of the first Sirijangga, the king. Hodgson has collected 713 words in the manuscript.

Senior (1908) lists 3200 words of English and their Limbu equivalents in the Roman script. In addition to lexical entries, he also lists some useful English sentences with their meanings in Limbu in the Roman script. He gives two forms for each verb; verbal noun form <-ma> as in *yep-ma* 'to stand' *cep-ma* 'to cut' and *sep-ma* 'to kill' and imperative form <-e> as in *yebe*, *cepte* and *sere*.

Konow (1909:283-304) presents a short grammar of Limbu with the list of 241 Limbu words in a traditional model. The transcription of words is defective and it hardly resembles the actual forms. He groups together the Tibeto-Burman languages under the name "Himalayan". He also accepts the term 'pronominalization' used by Hodgson thinking that verbal suffixes in the agreement systems were derived from pronominals, among others, those from the reconstructable PTB first and second singular person pronouns: *ɲa* and *na* (*ng*). He suggests the Munda substratum on the development of pronominalization, together with other features, peculiar to Himalayan languages.

Kandangwa (2010 B.S) lists 200-300 words in his dictionary. Henderson (1957) presents the eight features of pronominalization set by Hodgson, shows reasonably close parallels for six and proves that Chin is a pronominalized language. He rejects the idea of Hodgson and says 'In this event linguists may be obliged to conclude that, contrary to what has often been supposed, pronominalization is after all a genuine Tibeto-Burman trait.'

Sprigg (1959) shows the importance of prosodic analysis to analyze the phonetic diversity from one context to another in Limbu. This is the first meticulous attempt at classifying the Limbu verbs on the basis of morphological properties (Wiedert and Subba 1985:12).

Chemjong (2018 B.S.) lists 5500 words with their meanings in Nepali and English. He gives the grammatical classes of words within the brackets. The proverbs and the hymns are not translated into the English language. Similarly, His grammar (Chemjong:1970) is a traditional grammar divided into three parts. Shafer (1966) made the comparative study of all Tibeto-Burman languages. He was the initiator of the typological study of different languages. His contribution to typological study of Tibeto-Burman languages after the establishment of Linguistic survey of India acquainted students of these languages with their common features.

Benedict (1972) studied comparative phonological features of the Tibeto-Burman languages and made a phonological reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman. Shafer and Benedict excluded the Tai languages from TB family on the basis of syntactic structure in spite of its geographical closeness. Similarly, they excluded Chinese from it because of its SVO syntactic structure. Limbu belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages for its syntactic, pronominalization and many other features.

Bauman (1975) collected enough data to make genetic, geographical and typological comparisons, and settled the controversy on the side of the nativeness. He presented substantial argument for its PT provenance on the basis of an extensive examination of pronominalized TB languages known at the time. He rejected the influence of both the Munda and Indo-Aryan substratum and postulated a hypothesis that 'pronominal categories and morphology are traceable to very early stages of the family approximating if not identical to the stages of PTB.' He claimed that as 'a significant membership of the [TB] family does exhibit such [pronominal agreement] patterns, the phenomenon is almost reconstructable to Proto-Tibeto-Burman.' His finding that complex morphological structures in the verbs of Tibeto-Burman family of languages are native to or inherent feature of the family proves true to Limbu also.

Weidert (1984) deals with internal reconstruction of Limbu verb class morphology with systematic grouping of Limbu verb stems, verb paradigm sample list for verb classes, internal reconstruction of verb classes and reconstructed proto-Limbu verb morphology in the first part and reconstructability aspects of Limbu verb class suffixes in the second part.

Weidert and Subba (1985) write a grammar of Limbu in Panthare dialect which is divided in to four parts. The first part comprises phonology, morphology and syntax, the second part comprises nominal paradigms and verbal paradigms, the third part comprises concise Limbu-English Dictionary and the fourth part comprises English-Limbu word-list.

Michaelovsky (1985) discovers proto-Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes <-t> and <-s> in Limbu verb roots. He collected materials from the village of Libang in the Mewa Khola valley and in the village of Tembe in the neighbouring Maiwa Khola valley and compiled a dictionary (Mikailovsky:2002) following the rules of modern linguistics. This dictionary covers the colloquial, spoken language and has two aspects. First, it provides data on the peculiarities of the Maiwa-Mewa dialect of Limbu. Second, it illustrates a relatively strong or restrictive approach to Limbu phonology, which seeks to define precisely the contexts in which various traits such as voicing, gemination, vowel length, and glottalization need to be taken into account.

Tumbahang (1986) describes the noun phrases in the Chhatthare Limbu on the basis of the field work and native speaker's intuition. This is the first work ever done on Chhatthare Limbu. This thesis has three main chapters: noun phrase structure, heads of the noun phrase, and modifiers in Chhatthare Limbu.

Driem (1987) presents phonology, morphology and syntax of Phedappe Limbu with its division into three main parts: introduction, text and appendices. He (Driem: 1990) explores the flexional morphology of Proto-Kiranti on the basis of a morphemic analysis of verbal affixes of five Kiranti languages such as Limbu, Dumi, Hayu, Kulung and Thulung. He contends that the order of affixes in Kiranti verbs is not random but reflects an earlier element order in Proto-Kiranti. Therefore, the concept of affixal slot, the functional position of a morpheme in an affixal string of an inflected verb forms, will play a central role in the synchronic analysis of Kiranti verb forms as well as in the subsequent diachronic comparison of these forms. The

historical element order reflected in modern day forms may be the order of adverbial clitic pronouns in Proto-Kiranti or the order of flectional morphemes in the Kiranti Proto-language. Pre-Kiranti agglutinating stage later gave rise to intricate flectional character of Proto-Kiranti verbal morphology. Such an agglutinating stage may have evolved from a situation in which pronominal clitics preceded and followed the verb in a fixed order.

Driem (1992) encompasses Kiranti and Newar under Mahakiranti group of the Tibeto-Burman subgroup on the assumption that Newar shares two specific morphological traits with the Kiranti languages. They are: the conjugation of the Dolakha Newar verbs reflects the Tibeto-Burman proto-morpheme <-u> as a suffix and this suffix indexes third person patient involvement. However, he (Driem1992) drops his Mahakiranti hypothesis because his study of Black Mountains, Gongduk and Lhokpu in Bhutan revealed the fact that the two specific morphological traits shared between Newar and Kiranti are not unique to them. They are, rather, the older traits of the proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system.

Driem (1993) investigates the conjugations of Tibeto-Burman languages beyond the Kiranti and assesses the historical status of conjugations observed in Kiranti languages in the broader Tibeto-Burman context. He analyzes morphemically and compares the conjugation of the Xifan languages such as rGya-ron, Tangut, Rawang, Nusu, Trung, Quiang and Primi and the conjugation of Jinghpaw, Nocte, Lakher and Kham with the reconstructed Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement system. He assumes that the order of the affixal string of inflected Tibeto-Burman verb forms reflects an ancient element order in the Proto-language and proposes a model of Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system on the basis of systematic comparison of the agreement morphemes and their relative positions in the verb and establishes a framework, different from Bauman's for the further study of the evolution of conjugational process in Tibeto-Burman.

Driem (1999) reconsiders the morphological analysis of the simplex of the Phedappe dialect of the Limbu which he did in 1987. He reconfirms 11 pronominal categories, viz. first, second and third person, singular, dual and plural and inclusive versus exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural. The transitive verb shows agreement with agent and patient and its paradigm shows 44 different forms. The intransitive and reflexive verb agrees with the subject and their paradigms exhibit 11 different forms. Moreover, he proposes new analysis by introducing new slots and abolishing the old slots of his 1987 grammar. He also makes certain morpheme labels more precise, discusses a problem of negation and reassesses zero morphemes. The new analysis posits a first person slot (pf1), a second person slot (pf2) and a third person slot (pf3) replacing older slots (pf1) and (pf2) of his 1987 grammar. He posits the negative morpheme in (pf4) slot and adopts the concept of a single 'discontinuous morpheme', a single negative simulfix with one to three affixal manifestations, <me-n- n> in the new analysis of this article. However, he retains the labels (NEG1), (NEG2) and (NEG3) to indicate the elements of Limbu negative simulfix. He refines the model of the Limbu conjugational morphology by reducing the number of suffixes and the number of suffixal slots and by increasing the number of prefixal slots. He also eliminates a zero morpheme and makes the distributions of zero morphs to reflect satisfactorily the psychological reality of Limbu conjugational morphology. Although this article deals with the morphology of verbs in the Phedappe dialect of Limbu, it helps quite a lot in carrying out research works in other dialects of Limbu. Of course, Chhatthare Limbu differs from the Phedappe dialect. However, it has more or less

same process of the verb conjugations. Therefore, this article is very important for the study of the verb morphology of the Chhathare dialect.

DeLancey (1989) presents the outline of a preliminary reconstruction scheme for the agreement morphology of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) verb. He points out the provenance of the widespread suffixal agreement paradigm and that of a less widely attested set of prefixes. The suffixal paradigm has been recognized by some Tibeto-Burmanists as being reconstructible for PTB. The prefixes have, on the other hand, been viewed of as of secondary origin. In this paper he proves that the prefixes are also of PTB provenance and they are probably older than the suffixes. Thus, he refutes the argument for verb agreement as a secondary development in PTB. He assumes that the agreement pattern was of a split-ergative type.

LaPolla (1992a) argues against the reconstruction of verb agreement system for Proto-Tibeto-Burman initiated by Bauman and DeLancey and against the claim of DeLancey that a system of verb agreement must be attributed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman. He suggests a classification of TB with six major (middle-level) sub-groups as against ten and insists that three out of six do not show agreement system. He further suggests the possibilities of language contact, shared innovation within a sub-group or a combination of the two among pronominalized languages, as the languages are located in a geographically contiguous area of large-scale language contact, multilingualism, and mutual influence and the possibility of independent innovation of agreement systems in some sub-groups or some languages in TB with their eventual spread in the area, against Bauman's denial of the possibility of independent innovation. He contends that agreement system shared by most of the TB languages is a relatively recent grammaticalization of discourse prominence.

LaPolla (1992b) rejects the idea of Bauman that there is a PTB *ka* ergative form. He surveyed the data on morphological forms and typological patterns collected from different languages for nominal ergative or agentive case marking in an attempt to determine if it is possible to reconstruct ergative case marker to Proto-Tibeto-Burman. From this study, it was found that the forms used for agentive marking in the different languages within the Tibeto-Burman languages vary greatly. Forms for some lower level languages can be reconstructed but they can not be reconstructable to the higher level grouping such as Bodic, Baric, Rung, Lolo-Burmese, or even Kuki-Naga. So, he concludes that it is not possible to reconstruct any agentive form to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman level.

Hasta Lal Limbu (2049 B.S.) records only eight vowels including two diphthongs and 35 consonant sounds. He presents numerals up to one hundred. He makes word entry in Devanagari script with their meanings in Limbu in the Devanagari script and then in English in the Roman script. The order of the entry follows the order of the Nepali vowels and consonants. A retired inspector of Singapore police with no formal education, Limbu deserves appreciation for his contribution to the preservation and promotion of Limbu language. Sambanphe (1992) lists 544 Limbu words in his dictionary and Yonghang (2052 B.S.) makes the entry of 7432 words in Sirijangga script with their pronunciation and meanings in Nepali. Lexical entries are made according to parts of speech. Kainla (2050a and 2050b) makes the entry of 713 words and 1272 words in his dictionaries respectively.

Angdembe (1994) raises the problems of the preterit and perfect in Limbu. Ebert (1994) makes comparative study of five Kiranti languages. Though she relies on Van Driem (1987) for her study, she has no cent percent agreement with him. She also has her strong reservations on certain points. For example, she does not agree with him on his describing <a-ŋ> the two separate morphemes past and first person singular

morphemes as a portmanteau morpheme <-aŋ> first person, singular past. She is very much right in her observation. Similarly, she is not convinced that the nominalizer suffix <-pa> should be an imperfective suffix. By and large, this book provides the reader with a clear vision to study a new dialect of the Kiranti languages.

Nishi (1995) makes a brief survey of the century-long controversy in the provenance of pronominalization or verb agreement in Tibeto-Burman and some related phenomena and says that the distribution of the features to support TB origin hypothesis is not wide enough to corroborate its reconstruction as PTB feature. The occurrence of pronominalization in a few languages of a sub-group doesn't prevent us from considering it as a language or dialect specific development. Therefore, the reconstruction of the Proto-language of each lower level sub-group is desirable for the reconstruction of PTB morphology. He appreciates Driem and his colleagues for their endeavor in reconstruction of Proto-Kiranti group of languages.

Begendra Subba (2055 B.S.) shows, in Limbu language, agreements between subject and verb according to number, person, gender, tense, case, inclusivity, exclusivity and pronominalization. The indexes include conjugations of intransitive verb forms and their corresponding negative forms, the conjugation of objectless transitive verb forms and their corresponding negative forms, conjugation of transitive verb with complex pronominalization forms and conjugations of imperative forms, optative forms and probability forms.

Webster (1999) appreciates the significant progress the Limbu community has made in the language development through the production of dictionaries and writer's guides, and through elaboration of the language for use in radio and other media. Similarly, he reckons that the community has progressed language promotion activities on different fronts by starting numerous Limbu –medium schools in different village areas, preparing instructional books to teach Limbu to both school children and adults, starting a Limbu news program on Radio Nepal, and publishing numerous books, journals and newspapers in Limbu.

Pokharel (1999a) introduces Limbu as an agglutinative, suffix prominent, complex pronominalized language with distinct active and middle contrast unlike Nepali language, which has active passive contrast. He states that in Limbu all intransitive verbs are middle and most of the transitive verbs are active. <-a> is a third person singular intransitive suffix and <-u> is a third person singular transitive suffix. The first one is identified as middle and the second one as active. Limbu has a reflexive morpheme <-siŋ> which sometimes coincides with the reciprocal meaning. It has deliberate reading and exhibits intransitive behavior. It has a cognate relation with the Chinese root *shin* which means 'heart' or 'soul' and the same meaning may have been grammaticalized as a reflexive morpheme in Limbu. Pokharel (2005) shows how the possessive structures are constructed by prefixing and suffixing to the nouns and even by the affixation to the extended phrases in Chhatthare Limbu.

Khawang (2000) asserts that Chhatthare Limbu is a separate dialect of Limbu. He rejects the idea that Chhatthare Limbu is unintelligible to the speakers of other dialects of Limbu and strongly defends that Chhatthare dialect shares many of the lexical items, verb roots, morphemes and syntactic arrangement with other dialects of Limbu.

Idingo (2001) analyzes Limbu oral literature or texts from text-linguistics standpoint in terms of referential system within pragmatic framework and describes how oral tradition of Limbu literature has been textualized. He also describes the specific features of Limbu pragmatics, firstly as a language characterized with pronominalization, secondly as a context-oriented language and thirdly as a language with specific politeness principle.

Kainla (2059 B.S.) lists forty thousand words in total with twelve thousand headwords and other derivatives. The entries of headwords follow the alphabetical order of the Sirijangga script and are written in the *Devanagari* script. Their pronunciations are transcribed in International Phonetic Alphabet. Their word-classes and meanings are given in Nepali. Then again their word-classes and their meanings are given in English. This dictionary is, claimed to be an improved and revised form of the Iman Sing Chemjong's *Limbu-English-Dictionary (2018B.S)*. It points out the reasons why Sirijangga script, Devanagari script and International Phonetic Alphabet have to be used in the dictionary and presents the historical development of consonant and vowel phonemes/graphemes.

Watters (2003:371-416) compares the verbal paradigms of various Tibeto-Burman languages focusing on person and number agreement affixes. He contends that person and agreement patterns are old, that some form of agreement was present in the PTB verb and those modern languages which still show agreement patterns do so out of conservatism. Basically, all the pronominalizing languages have common features and that the variability exhibited by some researchers is attributable to secondary developments. He makes macro comparisons across all the Kiranti languages, and extends the comparison to languages outside the immediate geographical and genetic confines of East Himalayish and West Himalayish. He discovers the secondary developments and sets the principles of grammaticalization that account for the considerable range of variability found in the modern languages. He considers Limbu prefix <-ke> unique to the Kiranti languages because it occurs in 2→1, 2→3 and 3→2 configurations.

Givon (2003) ended century old dispute about the origin of the pronominal affixes by arguing that independent pronouns are first affixed to the verbs and grammaticalized as person marking affixes. They function as agreement markers in the morpho-syntax. So pronominalization is the earlier stage of verb agreement markers in any language. Thus, he contributed in establishing the pronominalization or agreement marking as the inherent feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages to which Limbu belongs.

In fact, the above contributions of the writers are not directly related to the Chhatthare Limbu. No work has been done on Chhatthare Limbu except by Tumbahang (1985), Pokharel (2005) and Khawahang (2000). However, those works give insights into analyzing and describing the Chhatthare Limbu.

6. HYPOTHESIS. Chhatthare Limbu is very different from other Limbu dialects.

7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY. First of all, I visited Chhatthar area to make socio-linguistic study. I collected folktales and stories popular there, which I have placed in the appendix section. The interaction with people in Chhatthar area made me aware of dialectical variations within Chhatthare Limbu. Since my mother tongue is Chhatthare Limbu, I made myself the major informant. When I found difficulty in making exact meaning of a certain word, there I contacted with other Chhatthare speakers from Banchara. They helped me in extracting the conjugation patterns of finite verbs and periphrastic tense aspect forms. In course of my research I found that Chhatthare is very different from other dialects of Limbu. So, I collected the data of verb paradigms and Swadesh's one hundred word list from Panthare, Taplejungge and Phedappe dialects. In order to test these data, a workshop seminar on 'Comparative Study of word and Verb Paradigms of Limbu Dialects' was conducted and talk programmes were also arranged to discuss and disseminate the findings .

In this study phonemes have been determined and morphophonological changes have been analyzed according to the theories applied by Pike (1947) and Burquest and Payne (1993). I adopted the theories and methodologies of Nida (1946), Katamba (1993) and Whaley (1997) and followed the practice of Wiedert and Subba (1985) and Driem (1987) in morphemic analysis. I followed Driem (1987) and Ebert (1994 and 1996) in syntactic analysis. I also consulted Wiedert and Subba (1985) and Mikhailovsky (2002) when I needed them. I made Swadesh's one hundred word list and verb paradigms as research tools to test how far Chhatthare is different from other dialects on the basis of comparative method. I followed the style sheet format of *Language*, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America in my entire write up.

8. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The outline of the study is as follows:

- a. Introduction
- b. Sociolinguistic Study of Chhatthare Limbu
- c. Phonology
- d. Morphophonology
- e. Morphology of nouns
- f. Morphology of pronouns
- g. Morphology of adjectives
- h. Morphology of adverbs
- i. Verbal inflections
- j. Identification of morphemes
- k. Tense, aspect and mood
- l. Nonfinite verbs and Verbal complex
- m. Sentence
- n. Conclusion

References

Appendices

CHAPTER 2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE CHHATTHARE LANGUAGE

1. INTRODUCTION. This chapter introduces Limbu people, their habitat, language and dialects in general and Chhatthare Limbu's habitat, distribution of population, their language, bilingualism and language loyalty in particular and show how Chhatthare Limbu differs from other Limbu dialects.

2. LIMBU PEOPLE IN GENERAL. Mongoloid people of Kiranti origin characterised by flat nose, oblique eyes, wiry body and medium height with unique culture, language and script living in *Limbuwan* 'the land of the Limbus' are called *Limbu*. There is a controversy about the origin of the term *Limbu*. Chemjong (2031: 4) says that *Limbu* is derived from the combination of *li* 'bow', *a-bu* 'he shoots' and *ban* 'country' Thus, *Limbulan* means 'the country won by bow and arrow' and *Limbu* means 'archer'. Mabuhang (2006:1) says that Mujikna Khewana conceived a baby after her contact with air and gave birth to Susuwalilim Yakthunghang. Lilim was modified as *Limbu* when Prithivi Narayan Shah gave *Lal Mohar*² to the Limbus in 1832 B.S.

The term *Limbu* is not found in *Mundhum*³ nor is it available in any literature before the royal decree promulgated by King Prithivi Narayan Shah, which uses the term *Limbu* in addressing the Limbus. After it, outsiders use this term for the Limbus. Campbell (1840:31) says that the term *Limbu* is a Gorkha corruption of the autonym *Ekthoomba*. Vansittart (1906: 100) quotes Sarat Chundra Das as saying,

'The country between the Arun and Tambar is called 'Limbuana' by the Nepali natives, and the aboriginal people, who have resided there from time immemorial, are designated by the name of Limbu, though they call themselves by the name of Yakthumba.'

It suggests that *Limbu* is not a native term but an exonym used to designate them. Driem (1987:xix) says that the term *Limbu* is a Nepali ethnonym and therefore, the Limbu homeland in eastern Nepal is known in Nepali as *Limbuwan*. The Rais living in the east of the Arun river were called *Limbu* by Gorkha rulers after the annexation of their land *Pallo Kirant* or 'far Kirant'. From a linguistic point of view, it sounds like a native word because in Limbu there are lots of words which contain such phoneme sequences as *limba* 'sweet', *limde* 'it tasted sweet', *libu* 'he curled it', *labu* 'he burnt it' etc. Moreover, it does not sound a Nepali word as it does not mean anything in it. Despite such evidences, contemporary Limbus still believe that it is an exonym used by outsiders for them.

The Limbus call themselves as *Yakthung* to refer to both male and female. They call *Yakthungba* to refer to the male and *Yakthungma* to the female. When it is used as an attribute to non-human nouns, *Yakthungba* is generally used. Thus, words such as *Yakthungba pangbhe* 'Limbu village', *Yakthungba pan* 'Limbu language' etc exist in the language. The term *Yakthung* has been in use in *Mundhum* from time immemorial. Prithivi Narayan Shah addressed the Limbus as *Yakthung Hang* when conferring commission on them. Campbell (1840:495) says that the Limbus call themselves as *Ekthoomba*, Das (1896:31) uses the term *Yakthumba* for Limbus, Chemjong (2003:54) calls Limbus as *Yakthumba*, Driem (1987:xx) uses the term *Yakthungba* for

² Conferment of power sealed with the red seal upon the Limbus to rule certain area.

³ A holy Kiranti scripture based on oral tradition

Limbus. The *Kirant Yakthung Chumlung*, the ethnic organization of the Limbus also uses the term *Yakthung* to refer to the Limbus.

The above facts show that two words- *Yakthungba* and *Yakthumba*- are used for the Limbus in the mother tongue. However, *Yakthumba* has been worn out in the contemporary use and *Yakthungba* has become an established word now. There is, still, conflicting opinion about the etymology of the term *Yakthumba* and *Yakthungba*. Das (1896:31) claims that the autonym *Yakthumba* means 'yakherd'. By this interpretation *Yakthumba* means 'people who herd yak'. This interpretation does not sound reasonable because the Limbus living in the hills do not tame yaks as a profession. Only in English, *Yak* means 'animal' but in Limbu it means 'hill'. *Thumba* sounds perfectly like a Limbu word in its phonological form. The attempt to extract English meaning from a Limbu word simply because it has accidentally happened to sound like English word 'yak' which refers to a kind of animal available in the hillside and make a forceful interpretation of *Yakthumba* as 'yakherd' sounds implausible. Moreover, *Yakthumba* itself is not a correct autonym. According to Chemjong (2003:54), *Yakthungba* is derived from *Yakkhathumba*, which is the combination of *Yakkha* and *thumba*. *Yakkha* is the name of an ethnic community belonging to the Kiranti group and *thumba* means 'one who is brave'. Thus, the one who is braver than *Yakkha* is called *Yakkhathumba*, which became *Yakthungba* with the passage of time. Chemjong argues that in the war the Limbus showed greater valour than the *Yakkhas* and thus they were called braver than the *Yakkhas-Yakkhathumba*. This etymological interpretation is very far from the truth because we have reference of *Yakthung Hang* in *Mundhum* for the Limbus many centuries earlier than the war mentioned by Chemjong. Moreover, *Yakkhathumba* in itself does not carry the meaning 'braver than'. In Panthare dialect, it is said as *Yakkha nule KEdhumba*. The deletion of comparative marker *nule* and the personal prefix <ke-> and forceful formation of *Yakkhathumba* to extract the desired meaning is very difficult to accept. Vansittart (1906:108) says that the Limbus are the descendants of the ten chiefs who made *Y□k* 'fort' in each district and ruled over 'the land of Limbus'. If *Yakthungba* is from the word *Y□ktumba*, the eldest of the fort, it implies that only the descendants of the eldest of the fort are *Yakthungbas* or *Limbus*. It is also not clear whether the eldest one is among the people of one fort or of ten forts and whether the descendants of other members of the fort or other people of the ten forts are *Yakthungbas* or not. In addition, *Y□k* and *Yak* are phonemically contrastive. The first one means 'fort' and the second one means 'hill'. Similarly, *tumba* and *thungba* are also contrastive for the first one means 'eldest' whereas the second one means 'he drinks'. Driem (1987:x) says that the first component *yak* of the word *Yakthungba* is derived from the first part *Yak* of the word *Yakkha*, Kiranti people living on the north of the Kiranti land and the second component *thungba* is derived for the word *thung* by adding a suffix <-ba>. The word *thung* is prefixed by <ke-> and suffixed by <-ba> and made adjective *kedhungba* which is wrongly said to mean 'brave or bold'. Thus, this interpretation means that the Limbus belong to the *Yak* group and are characterized by the quality of boldness and courage. Driem's linguistic interpretation of the term *Yakthungba* is not convincing as *kedhungba* means 'drinker' and only *kedhumba* means 'bold' or 'brave' and *Yakthumba* for the autonym is not attested. Tanka Subba, (1999:32) supports Das by saying that a section of the Limbus belonging to the *Lhasa gotra* have legends about their migration from the north, which is a high altitude, a yak-populated area. These people might have tamed yak though they are now middle hill dwellers where yak is not available. However, he gives different opinion about its etymology. According to him, *Yakthungba* is most

likely a combination of three Limbu syllables- *yak*, *thum* and *ba/pa* which mean 'hill', 'place/district' and 'inhabitant' respectively. These syllables together may be translated as 'hill men'. Subba's interpretation is also not convincing from the linguistic point of view as *Yakthungba* has three syllables *yak-*, *thung-* and *-ba*. The middle syllable is *thung-* not *thum*. In Limbu, as mentioned earlier, *thum* and *thung* are semantically different. The first word means 'he is brave' whereas the second one means 'he drinks'. Subba substitutes *thum* for *thung* and gives it the Nepali meaning 'area' or 'district' as if it were a Nepali word. The Limbus call themselves as *Yakthungba* and not *Yakthumba* in their native language and their language *Yakthung pan* or *Yakthungba Pan*. From Campbell, Das, Driem and Subba, it is apparently clear that *Yakthungba* is a native name for Limbu though it might be interpreted differently. The fact that they call themselves as *Yakthung* in their mother tongue and their organization as *Yakthung Chumlung* reveals the fact that only *Yakthung* is the native name. Though there is no unanimity among the scholars about the etymology of *Yakthungba*, all of them agree that it is an autonym for the word Limbu.

As stated earlier, the Limbus consider the term *limbu* as an alien word, particularly a Nepali one. But in Nepali it does not mean anything. *Nepali-Brihat Sabdakosh* shows that it means a racial group. So far, no convincing etymological interpretation has been made for this word nor for the word *Yakthungba*. Experience has taught us that a tribal or ethnic name is not in all cases followed by etymological semantics. Therefore, only this much can be said that the Limbus are called *Limbu* in general but within the community they call themselves *Yakthungba* or *Yakthungma*. They are indigenous people of Kiranti race living in Eastern Nepal from time immemorial.

MacDonell et al (1920:VI. 1:157-158) say that the Kirantas were located in eastern Nepal in Vedic time. Similarly, the reference of Kiranta race is there in the *Atharvaveda* vol.11, book X, Hymn 1V, verse 14 (Griffith 1968:16). The verse describes a young maid of Kiranta race performing her task of digging on the hill ridge. The verse runs:

The young maid of Kira#t race, a little damsel, digs
the drug,
Digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high
ridges of the hills

Chatterji (1951:26) writes that in *Yajurveda*, *Kiranti* or *Kirant* is used to refer to an alpine cave dwelling people of the Mongoloid race living in the northeast. Other references to Kirants in *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Visnu Purana* and *Kiratarjuniya* portray the Kirants as fierce, warlike and handsome savage hunters living in densely forested eastern Himalaya. Their golden complexions gave them appearance very different from the Indo-Aryan inhabitants of the Gangetic plain. Chatterji (1951: 37-38) suggests that the term *Kirant* is a common term for all the Mongoloid people living along the northeastern fringe of the subcontinent. These things prove that the Kirants are the ancient settlers of the land. The reference of Kirant is available in *Mahabharata*. According to Dange (1969:59):

the Kira)ts, the Sabaras and the Nisa#das thus form a sort of a group whom the Aryans, probably overran and subjugated, the distinct reason being that there were non-Aryan tribes not having the way of sacrifice etc as the Aryans had. To this group later added the Mlecchas and the Yavanas, the symbolic success being always suggested by their being eaten by Garuda.

Thus, the references of Kiranta in *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Mahabharata*, *Visnupruna* portray them as a race distinct from the Aryan race living in hills, forests and caves by hunting. Apte (1963:149-50) defines *Kiranta* as 'a mountaineer'. Lal (1980:382) points out the reference of Kiranta in Mahabharat in a sense of 'a tribe of forest-dwellers and hunters'. Monnier (1899:283) defines Kira#ta as 'a degraded mountain tribe (inhabiting woods and mountains and living by hunting, having become Sudras by their neglect of all prescribed religious rites; also regarded as Mlecchas,)'. MacDonell (1965:68), defines Kiranta as 'of a barbarous mountain tribe of hunters'.

That the Limbus' original habitat was a hill can be justified linguistically. They have different words to mean 'to come from above, below and across' such as *uNma*, *kEpma*, *phEmma* respectively whereas in Nepali a single word *aunu* 'to come' is enough for all these differences. The reason could be that the Nepali speakers particularly the Bahuns and Chhetris are originally from the plains. So, they do not perceive the locational differences as the hill people do. Similarly, we can say that these people's occupation in the beginning was hunting linguistically and culturally. Limbu has different words for cutting meat into different ways. For example, *sa cEpma* means 'to cut meat with a dagger lifting it up', *sa kH□kma* means to cut meat into pieces with a dagger lifting it up', *sa hEkma* means to cut meat with sword or dagger or any cutting instrument by catching the piece of meat on both ends. These concepts are expressed in Nepali only by ' *masu katnu*. Similarly, the Limbus sacrifice animals to gods and goddesses to propitiate them. They make mud- idols of god and goddess together with weapons such as arch and bow. Now, the Limbus of Satyahangma sect do not sacrifice any animal in their religious rituals following the Josmanipath but it is a recent practice under the influence of the Hindu religion and culture. The construction of arch and arrow in the holy place of god and goddess is reminiscent of their original culture. Vansittart (1906:99) says:

By right the term Kiranti' should apply to the Khambus (Rais) only. The Yakka claim to be a separate nation and so do the Yakthumbas (Limbus). But as Khambus, Yakkas, and Yakthumbas can and have intermarried for many generations, the three nations, although at one time quite separate, have for all practical purposes, been fused into one and the same nationality, hence we find their manners, customs, religious ceremonies, and appearances almost the same. To the Khambus, Yakkas, and Yakthumbas, therefore, might for all practical purposes be applied the term Kirantis.'

Vansittart considers only the Rais as Kiranti in contrast to the concept of entire Mongoloid race under the Kiranti umbrella. Chemjong (2003:3) includes Khambos (Rais), Mangols and Chinese under the Kiranti group on the basis of *Mundhum*. Northey and Morris (1928:215) divide Khambu and Yakkha into separate tribes and classify Kirant into Limbu, Khambu and Yakkha tribes. McDougal (1979:1) identifies Khambu and Yakkha as Rai and says that Rais and Limbus are descended from the ancient Kiranti, and even today, they refer to themselves, or are referred by others, as *Kiranti*. The commission sealed with the read seal conferred upon influential Limbus in 1831 B. S. also recognise Limbu as *Kiranti*.

Kandangwa (1990) says that 'Raya' was a title conferred by the rulers upon the Kiranti leaders and this title 'Raya' later became 'Rai'. The Kirants of Nepal were called 'Rais' during the rule of Sen Kings of Makawanpur and the Rais living in the east of the Arun river were called *Limbus* by Gorkha rulers after the annexation of *Pallo Kirant* 'far Kirant'.

Limbus were called *Rai* before Prithivi Narayan Shah conferred commissions upon Sri Jang Raya and others in 1831 B.S Yogi Narahari Nath (2022 B.S. 185-86) says that Indu Raj Rajeshwari addressed her administrator as *Chemjeng Raya* . Present Chemjong Limbus are his progenies. Moreover, the fact that only during the period of Sen and Shah regimes, the title *Rai* was used but before their reign, it did not exist prove that *Rai* is a title conferred upon the Kirantis by Sen and Shah rulers.

Now, the Limbus are also called *Subba* but it is a title rather than a tribe's name. Vansittart (1906:100) says that the Gurkha king in order to conciliate his vanquished enemies, Khambus and Limbus conferred upon the most influential men amongst Khambus the title of *Rai* and Limbus the title of *Subah* with commissions sealed with the red seal conferring upon them power to rule certain districts but now most Limbus call themselves *Subbahs* and Khambus and Yakkhas call themselves *Rais*. In fact, he is right in his statement.

Similarly, McDougal (1979:8) says that the Limbus were stronger than the Rais in their opposition to the attack of Prithvi Narayan Shah. So, he was more conciliatory in negotiating with the former than while he negotiated with the latter. The Limbus were allowed to exercise their rights in their ancestral lands and amidst them some influential persons of the community were conferred the title *Subba* with royal commissions to govern respective areas. Now, Kipat system is over and the power of the hereditary *Subba* is non-existent. However, the use of *Subba* as a tribe name instead of *Limbu* or *Yakthungba* is growing as it is used by all types of Limbus indiscriminately and even by those who, if the system had survived, would not have been qualified for it. In the beginning, it was a term to please the Limbus but now it has become a common practice. All the same, all Limbus are aware of the fact that *Subba* is a title, not a tribe name.

Vansittart (1906:104) quotes Sarat Chandra Dass as saying that the Tibetans and Bhotiyas of Nepal and Sikkim call the Limbus by the name of *Tsong* probably due to their emigration to Limbuwan from Tsang in Tibet. However, the practice of calling Limbus by this name is not there in Nepal. It is only in Sikkim and Darjeeling that they are called so (Subba 1999:32).

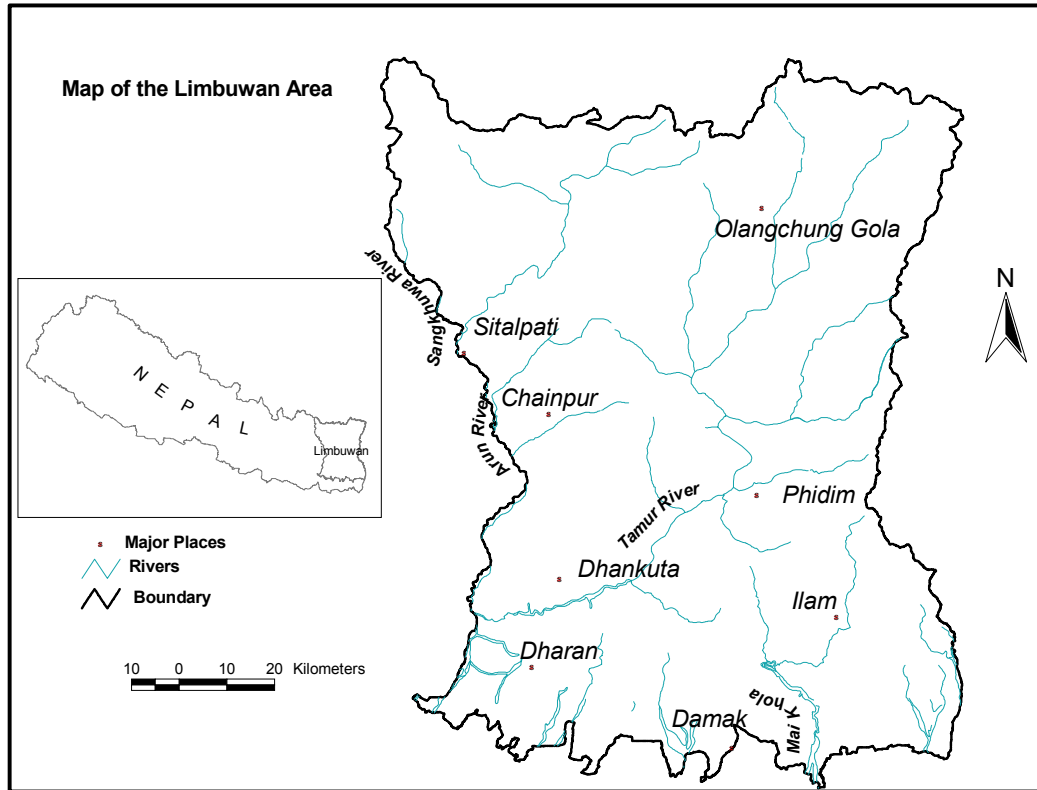
In the beginning, the Limbus were known only as *Kiranti* and they dwelt on the hills, forests and caves by hunting. Later, they became agriculturalist and grew millet, rice, corn and vegetables. They were known as *Rais* during the period of Sen Kings and after the annexation of their land to Gurkha, they were called *Limbu*. *Subba* is a title conferred by Prithivi Narayan Shah only upon the most influential among the Limbus but now, there is a growing tendency among the youths in Nepal to write either *Subba* as their ethnic name or their clan name. They are called *Limbu* by outsiders but *Yakthung* by themselves. They are the indigenous people of Kiranti origin living in the eastern hills of Nepal with their distinct language, culture and religion from time immemorial.

3. LIMBU AREA. The area where the Limbus inhabit are traditionally known as *Limbuwan* 'land of the Limbus' which is also called *Pallo Kirant* 'far Kirant'. It is one of the three Kirant lands. Konow (1903:316) calls *Wollo Kirant* 'hither Kirant' which includes the hills between the Sunkoshi and the Likhu, *Majh Kirant* 'Middle Kirant' which extends the area from the Likhu river to the Arun river and *Pallo Kirant* 'far Kirant' which spreads from the Arun to the Mechi and Singilela ridges. Vansittart (1906:6) says that the district lying on the right bank of the Arun on the west and extending between it and the Dudh Koshi is the country of the Kirantis (Rais) and the district lying on the left or eastern bank of the Arun and extending from it to Sikkim is

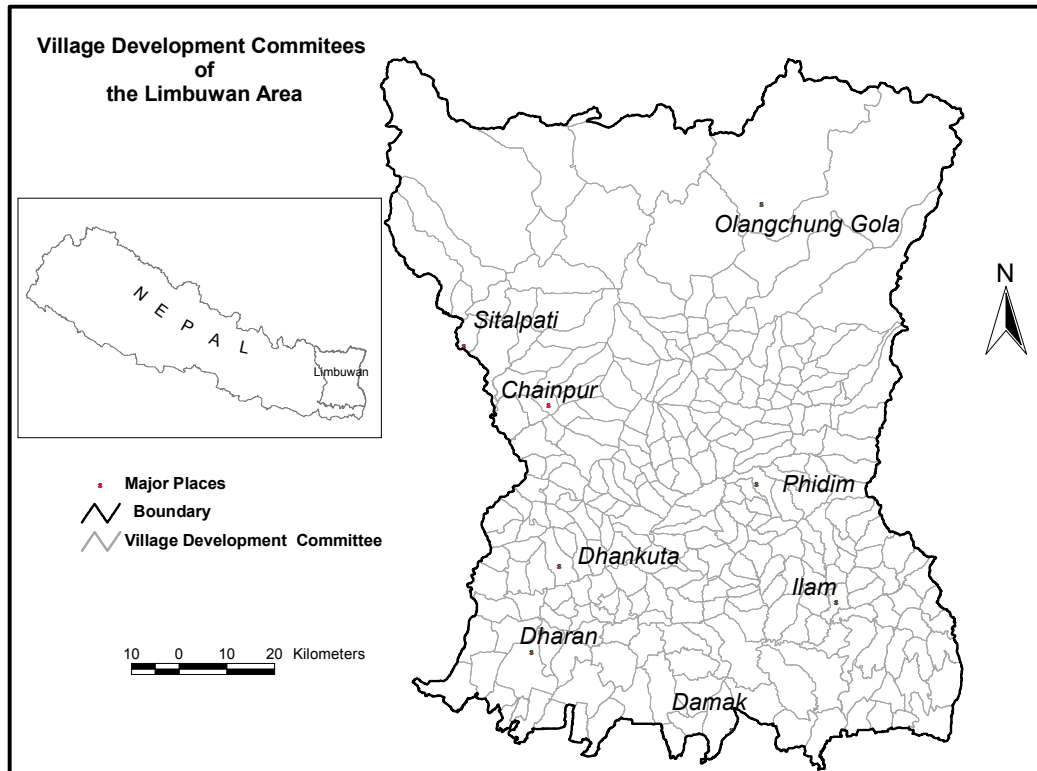
Limbuana, or the country of the Limbus. He divides Limbu country into ten original homes such as Panchthar, Chethar, Athrai, Yangrok or Yangrup, Chaubisia, Mewakhola, Charkhola, Miawakhola, Phedap and Tamarkhola. These places were ruled over by ten Limbu chieftains and consequently, the Limbu area is collectively called 'ten lands of the Limbus'. Chemjong (2003:47) says that before the arrival of the Limbus in Kirant area, it was ruled by eight kings. The ten leaders of Limbu drove them out in the battle and divided it into ten districts which included Tambar district, Mewa and Maiwa district, Athrai district, Yangawarok district, Panchthar district, Phedap district, Charkhola district, Chaubis district, Terhathum district and Chhatthar district. The two writers' division of ten Limbu lands is more or less the same. The only difference is that Vansittart does not include Terhathum but separates Mewakhola and Maiakhola whereas Chemjong unites Mewa and Maiwa into one area and separates Phedap and Terhathum. These areas are now under Koshi and Mechi zones.

According to Kainla (2059 B.S.:9), the hill area between the Arun in Nepal and Tista in India is the habitat of the Limbus. It includes the hill area of Koshi and Mechi zones of Nepal which spreads from the Arun river in the west to the Mechi river in the east and across the border to the hilly region of Darjeeling and Sikkim of India. They have, at different times, migrated from their original abodes to different places. Now, they are available in a considerable number in the Terai areas of Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa districts of eastern Nepal as well as in Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts of mid-Nepal. They have made up a good number of population in Dubars, Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Manipur of India. Their population is remarkable in Myanmar and Bhutan. In Nepal alone, their population totals 3,59,379 (Nepal population report 2060 B.S.).

Exact location of Limbuwan in terms of geographical area is difficult to draw. I have studied the map drawn by Hari Man Tumbahangphe as recorded by Mabuhang (2006) and modified its area a bit. Mabuhang seems to have accepted the present Mahendra Highway as the southern boarder of the Limbuwan. I included the nearest plains spread from the Siwaliks and developed the map of the Limbuwan almost following Mabuhang in considering the Mahendra Highway as the southern border. By doing so, the picture gets zigzag as some village development committees spread southward across the highway and some remain above the highway. This map includes the area north of the Sangkhuwa river in Limbuwan and excludes the present two village development committees, Bala and Sisuwa from it. Thus, the Limbuwan area spreads between 26.58 and 27.96 north latitude and 87.04 and 88.20 east longitude and runs in 13137.8 square kilometers. It has altogether 277 village development committees. The first map draws the map of the Limbuwan area with major places with rivers and boundary and the second one draws it with the location of village development committees.



MAP 1.



MAP 2.

4. LIMBU LANGUAGE . Limbu language is called *Yakthung pan* or *Yakthungba pan* in the mother-tongue and *Limbu bhasa* in the Nepali language. In Nepal five families of languages- Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Kusunda are spoken. Among them, Limbu belongs to Kiranti subgroup of Bodic group of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan family of languages. It can be presented in a tree diagram following Shafer (1966) in the following way:

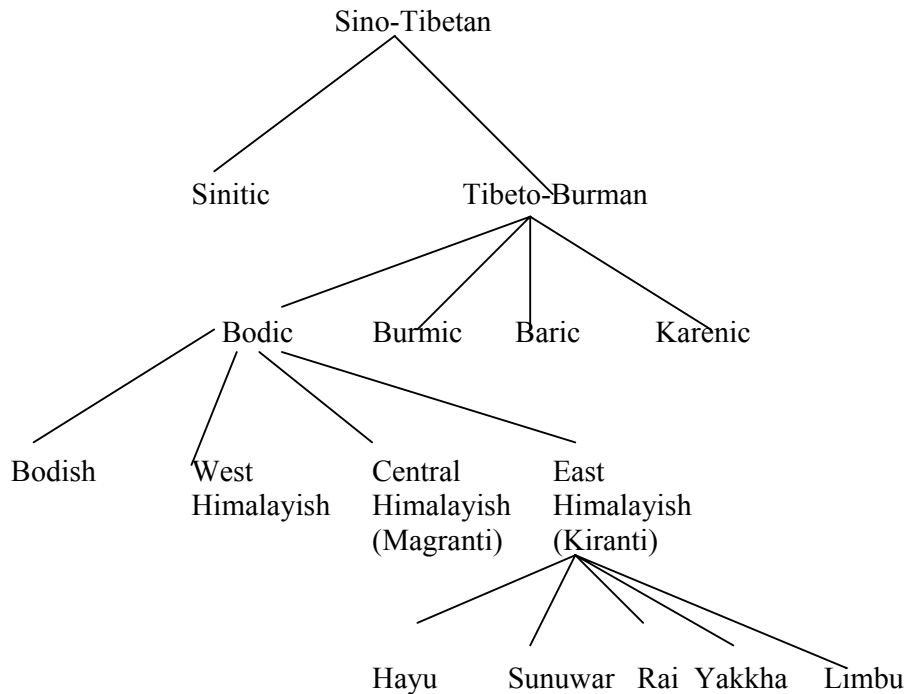


FIGURE1. Family tree of Limbu

5. DIALECTS. Traditionally, Limbu was divided into different varieties: Panthare, Phedappe, Chaubise, Charkhole, Tamarkhole, Mewakhole, Yangrokke and Chhatthare. This division was based on geographical considerations. Wiedert and Subba (1985:7) have, for the first time, divided it into four major dialects on the basis of linguistic analysis. The dialects are Panthare Limbu (comprising Yangrokke Limbu), Phedappe Limbu, Taplejungge and Mewakhole Limbu and Chhatthare Limbu

Driem (1987: XXLL) also accepts this division of Limbu language into four dialects. However, he calls the third dialect just 'Taplejungge' or 'Tamarkhole' and not 'Taplejung and Mewakhola Limbu' as referred to by Wiedert and Subba (1985). Kainla (2059 B.S.:10) also divides Limbu into four major dialects on the basis of its varieties spoken in Nepal. They are Panthare, Chhatthare, Phedappe and Tamarkhole. Webster (2001) divides it into five different varieties. They are Panthare, Phedappe, Taplejungge, Chhatthare and Chaubise.

5.1. PANTHARE DIALECT. Panthare dialect is the main dialectal variant of Limbu and has been recognized as the standard dialect of the Limbu language. It is spoken in Yangrok of the Taplejung district, Chaubis area of the Dhankuta district and across Ilam and Panchthar districts of eastern Nepal and in the settlements of India, Bhutan and Myanmar. It is used in reading, writing, teaching and communicating purposes. As Chaubise is very close to Panthare, it is treated under the Panthare dialect in the present study.

5.2. PHEDAPPE DIALECT. It is another dialectal division of Limbu spoken mainly in the Terhathum district. Its speaking area is confined to the Tamarkhola river in the east and the Nuwakhola river in the west. This dialect has the largest number of speakers of all the dialects given the numbers of population in one area.

5.3. TAMARKHOLE OR TAPLEJUNGGE DIALECT. It is the dialect of Limbu spoken by a considerable number of people in the vicinity of the Tamarkhola and in the valley beside Mewakhola, the branch river of the Tamarkhola situated in the present Taplejung district.

5.4. CHHATTHARE VARIANT: Chhatthare Limbu is different from other dialects of Limbu. It is spoken in the Chhatthar area.

6. TYPOLOGY. Morphologically, languages are divided into different types. According to Croft (1990:39), Friedrich von Schlegel made the first morphological typological classification of languages into two types: affixal and inflectional. His brother August added a third type: language with no structure. Wilhelm von Humbolt added a fourth type: incorporating. Sapir (1921:136) divides three language types in terms of the number of morphemes: analytic, synthetic and polysynthetic and into four types in terms of the degree of alterations of morphemes: isolating (no affixation), agglutinative (simple affixation), fusional (considerable morphophonemic alternation) and symbolic (suppletive) types Comrie (1981) classifies languages into isolating, agglutinative and polysynthetic or incorporating types. Katamba (1993:561) divides them into analytic (isolating), agglutinative, inflecting and infixing types. Whaley (1997:128-129) classifies languages according to the parameters of the index of synthesis and index of fusion. On the basis of their classifications, we can reclassify the languages into isolating or analytic, infixing, polysynthetic or incorporating, fusional and agglutinative types.

6.1. ISOLATING OR ANALYTIC. Bernard Comrie (1981:43) presents Vietnamese language, Katamba (1993:57) the Chinese and Whaley (1997:129) Madraine Chinese as examples of isolating or analytic types. These languages exhibit one to one correspondence between morphemes and words.

In Chhatthare Limbu, we find such isolating or analytic character in a subset of the data.

- (1) a. hEnja calik hap
child very weeps
'Child weeps much.'
- b. ba paN y□mba cuk
this house big be
'This house is big.'

- c. kHune sapla nit
 he book reads
 ‘He reads a book.’

In 1a-c, each morpheme occurs as a word in isolation. Therefore, this language is morphologically isolating or analytic in type.

In Chhatthare Limbu, we do not find such monomorphemic words. Though words occur in a bare form in a sentence, they still carry a grammatical meaning and hence it is supposed to be zero marked for case roles.

- (2) a t□k tHok-u-N
 I rice cook-3O-1e
 I cooked rice.

In this sentence, though <a> is unmarked for its case role but still it carries case role of agentivity. Similarly, <t□k> is unmarked for its object role but still it conveys meaning. Limbu does not use separate word for these case roles. Moreover, in the word *tHokuN*, there are three morphemes which are segmentable as <tHok-u-N>. <tHok> is a verb stem, <-u> is a morpheme which has several functions or meanings: third person, singular number and object. We can not segment this morpheme and say that this part of the morpheme indicates person, this number and this object. The morpheme as a whole indicates these three different meanings and it is the character of an inflectional language. Therefore, Chhatthare Limbu does not fall in the category of isolating language.

6.2. SYNTHETIC, POLYSYNTHETIC OR INCORPORATING. Sapir (1921:136) designates the language synthetic which has a small number of morphemes per word and typologises those languages as polysynthetic which have multiple roots per word. Comrie (1981:45) distinguishes between polysynthetic and incorporating languages. According to him, incorporation refers to the possibility of taking a number of lexical morphemes and combining them together into a single word whereas polysynthetic languages includes the languages which have one lexical morpheme with other affixes in a single word. What Sapir calls synthetic and polysynthetic, he calls them polysynthetic and incorporating respectively. Katamba (1993:56) calls them inflecting or synthetic and incorporating or polysynthetic. Whaley (1997:131) also calls them synthetic and polysynthetic.

Limbu has morphological features of both synthetic and polysynthetic types in the Whaley’s sense or polysynthetic and incorporating in Comrie’s sense. For example,

- (3) a. h□ps-u-si
 disturb-3O-nsO
 ‘He disturbs them.’
 b. cepp-u-si
 beat-3O-nsO
 ‘He kills them.’
 c. sap-u-si
 write-3O-nsO
 ‘He writes them.’

In the examples above there are lexical morphemes like <h□ps>, <cEp> and <sap> which contain other grammatical morphemes like third person object morpheme <-u> and non-singular object morphemes <-si>. Though there are no overt subjects in the words, their implied presence is there. Thus, a single word carries the meaning of a whole sentence. This is the example of polysynthetic according to Comrie and of synthetic according to Whaley.

Chhatthare Limbu also contains words, which have two or more lexical morphemes plus other grammatical morphemes. For example,

- (4) a. ku-sira-dHaN-a
3sPOSS-happiness-come up-PT
'He became happy.'
- b. ka-niN-ler-a
2sPOSS-aversion-turn-PT
'You felt aversion.'
- c. a-sik-leks-a
1sPOSS-conscience-turn up-PT
'I felt disgusted'

In the examples 4a-c, the nouns <sira>, <niN> and <sik> are incorporated with the verbs <tHaN>, <ler> and <leks> respectively and transmit a meaning in combination. Hence, we find the combination of two lexical items plus several affixes in a single word. It shows that Chhatthare Limbu is an incorporating language in Comrie's sense and polysynthetic in Whaley's sense.

6.3. AGGLUTINATIVE LANGUAGES. Comrie (1981:44), Katamba (1993:57) and Whaley (1997:133) define those languages as agglutinative languages in which there is one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and meanings (or functions) in a word and the morphemes therein are easily segmentable.

Chhatthare Limbu shares such characteristics of agglutinative languages in the nominal morphology. For example,

- (5) a. a-napmi
my-man
'My man'.
- b. a-napmi-g^ha
my-man-p
'My men'
- c. a-napmi-g^ha-Naŋ
my-man-p-GEN
'My men's'

The example 5a-d makes it clear that in this language there is one to one correspondence between morphemes and meanings (or functions) . The morphemes in the word are easily segmentable. In 5a-c, <a> is segmented as 'first person, singular, possessive morpheme', <napmi> as a 'free' or 'lexical morpheme' meaning 'man' and <gHa or /kha/> is glossed as 'plural morpheme'. Similarly, in 5c <-NaN> is a 'genitive morpheme'. The boundary between morphemes and meanings in the word is clear cut. Similarly, verb morphology shows easily segmentable morphemes. They have clear cut boundary as to where one morpheme ends and another morpheme begins.

- (6) a. ka-nat-u
2-chase-3O
'You chased him.'
- b. ka-nat-cH-u
2- chase-dA-3O
'You chased him.'
- c. ka-nat-cHi
2- chase-dO
'He chases you.'

In 6a, <ka> is a prefix that indexes second person, <nat> is a verb root and <u> is a suffix that indexes third person. On the basis of this example, Chhatthare Limbu is an agglutinative type of language. Pokharel (1999a) classifies it as an agglutinative type of language.

6.4. FUSIONAL LANGUAGES. Sapir (1921:136), Comrie (1981:44), Katamba (1993:58) and Whaley (1997:134) define those languages as fusional languages in which the morphemes in a word are not segmentable because the boundary between morphemes in the word is not sharp like agglutinative languages. There is no one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and their corresponding meanings. Rather the morphemes are blended or fused together. Consequently, one morpheme carries multiple meanings. We find such characters in the Chhatthare Limbu.

- (7) a. ka-p□ks-u
2- hold-3O
You hold it.
- b. cEpp-u-ŋ
cut-3O-1e
'I cut him.'
- c. mu-ser-u
3pA -kill-3O
They kill her.

In the examples above the morpheme <-u> comprises three grammatical categories: third person, singular number and object. The morpheme <-N> encodes three meanings- first person, singular number and agentivity. Likewise, the morpheme <mu-> indicates three meanings- third person, plural number and agentivity. These morphemes can not be segmented off according to their grammatical categories. They form portmanteau morphemes in which a signal morpheme indexes different meanings. On the basis of these examples, we can say that Chhatthare language is a fusional language.

The above examples show that Chhatthare Limbu shares characteristics of isolating or analytic and synthetic (polysynthetic) or incorporating and agglutinative and fusional language types. It can not be assigned to a specific morphological type. In fact, Sapir (1921:123) says the same thing. According to him,

In any case it is very difficult to assign all known languages to one or other of these groups, the more so as they are mutually exclusive. A language may be agglutinative and inflective, or inflective and polysynthetic or even polysynthetic and and isolating ...

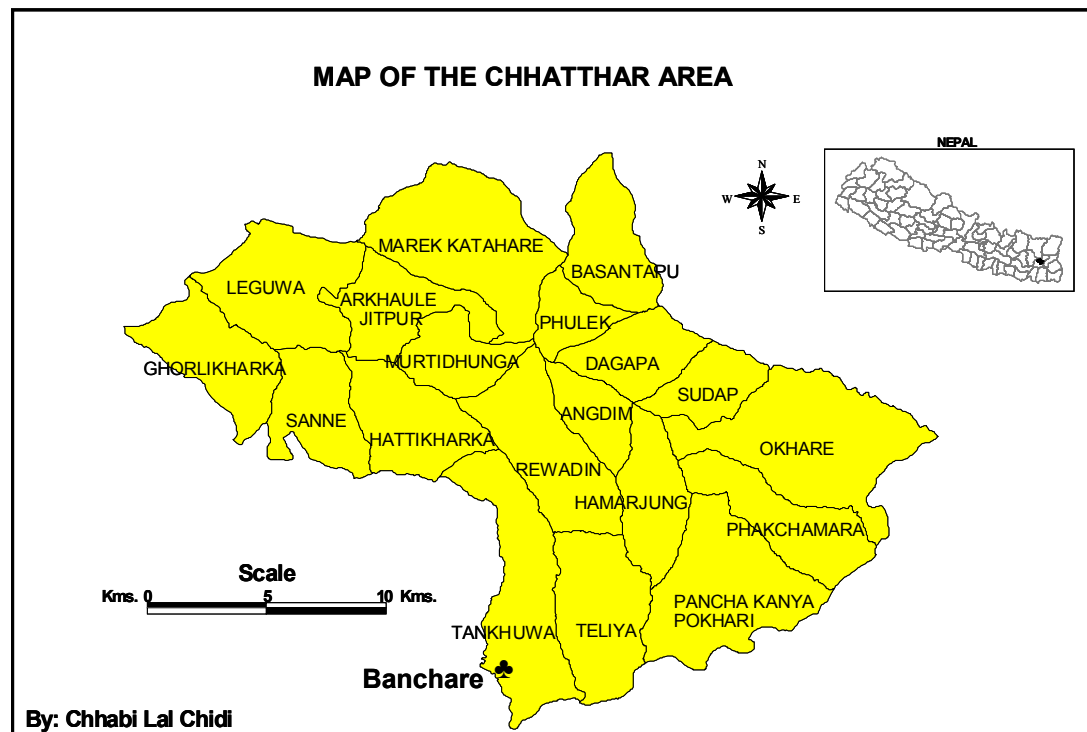
Katamba (1993:60) says,

It is important to realize that probably no language has an unalloyed analytic, agglutinating, inflecting or incorporating morphological system. All that the classification attempts to do is reflect the dominant tendencies found in a particular language.

Whaley (1997:133-134) says that no language is perfectly isolating and perfectly synthetic. Similarly, no language is completely agglutinative and completely fusional. On the basis of the index of synthesis (Whaley:1997:128), Chhatthare Limbu falls among the synthetic group of languages and on the basis of index of fusion

(Whaley:1997:134), it falls among the fusional group of languages with single lexical item plus other affixes or more than one lexical items and multiple affixes.

7. AREA OF CHHATTHAR. Chhatthar area spreads from the Arun river in the west to the Nuwa Khola in the east, where it borders Phedap. On the south, it borders Panchthar and Chaubish at the Tamar River. The northern boundary extends from the Tamar river along the Tangkhuwa river, which is the border of the Chhatthar area on the southwest. The river flows from the hill ridge of Sindhuwa, from where its area widens and again extends westward along the ridges. Thus, it includes Marekkatahare, Leguwa, Arkhaule Jitpur, Ghorlikharka, Sanne, Hattikharka, Murtidhungga, Tangkhuwa, Teliya and Parewadin VDCs in the Dhankuta district and Panchakanya Pokhari, Phakchamara, Hamarjung, Okhre, Sudap, Angdim, Dangappa, Phulek and Basantapur in the Terhathum district. The following map makes it clear:



MAP 3.

8. ABOUT THE NAME CHHATTHAR. Regarding the denomination of 'Chhatthar', there are conflicting opinions. Kamal Tigela (personal communication) says that 'Chhatthar' is the corrupted form of *thNthru* which means 'the war stopped' in the native parlance. According to him, Chhatthar was one of the 17 areas (*satra thum* in Nepali) before its annexation to the Gorkha kingdom. Gorkha king Prithivi Narayan Shah made several attempts to annex it into the Gorkha Kingdom but brave warriors like Kangsore frustrated his attempt by strong retaliation. The Limbus

of other areas called it *thāN thāru*. Later, it turned into 'Chhatthar'. He also notes that Chhatthar is said to have been named after six influential kings Sumeruhang, Chachalachaidohang, Hamrakehang, Haberuhang, Khadihang and Haberuhang but he also opines that it has not been proved so far.

I do not see any linguistic reason behind this denomination as there is no phonological relation between Chhatthar and *thāN thāru*. Bharat Subba (personal communication) says that Chhatthar means 'six clans' and is named after six clans of Khewa, a group of Limbu- Tumba, Maden, Mangyak, Tigela, Anglabang and Changbang. The Khewas are densely populated in Hattikharka, Murtidhungga, Sudap and Okhre. Once, the Khewa kings ruled over this area and after its annexation to Gurkha kingdom, through treaty Sunu Rai was authorized to rule over it with a royal seal and he was provided with swords, flag and drum set as symbols of authority (*nagara nisan* in Nepali). The gazatte and the symbols of authority are still there with the descendants of the Khewa. Moreover, they still say that their original homeland is Taklung, a place situated in Sudap village development committee of Terhathum district.

However, the Limbus belonging to the Khajum group do not agree to it. Mr. Jhaptaman Limbu, chairman of the Chhathare society and a member of Khajum group of Limbu told me in personal communication that Chhatthar is named after the six clans of Limbu and these clans are the clans of Khajum such as Parghari, Lekwa, Kurumbhang, Changbang, Imsang and Wayang. However, it is hard to believe this proposition as Lekwa is an adopted brother of Parghari and the original homeland of Parghari, Lekwa, Kurumbhang and Changbang is Yo Muik Chamkhasing (Panchakanya Pokhari), a village in the Chhatthar area. The original homeland of the Wayangs, on the other hand, is Sokrakpa, a village situated in the Chaubise area. No member of this community lives in the Chhatthar area now. Similarly, the homeland of Imsang is Angdang Yak situated in Ilam which is the homeland of the Lepchas. The Imsangs are said to have been originally the Lepchas converted into Limbu later. On these grounds, it can be said that 'Chhatthar' is not named after the six clans of Khajum because they are not the original inhabitants of this area.

Chhatthar is a Nepali word which means 'six clans'. In the area where the Chhatthare Limbu lived, six clans of the Khewa Limbus are dominant. Therefore, the place might have been named *Chhatthar* after them.

9. CHHATTHARE LIMBU. The Limbus living in the Chhatthar area are called *Chhatthare Limbu*.

9.1.POPULATION. The Limbus are populated in ten VDCs in Dhankuta district and in nine VDCs in the Terhathum district. In Leguwa, Arkhaule Jitpur, Ghorlikharka and Sanne VDCs of the Dhankuta district, Limbu population is very low. Similar is the case of Limbu population in Phulek VDC of the Terhathum district. According to CBSC (2002), the distribution of Chhatthare Limbu population is as follows:

DISTRICT	VDC_NAME	Population of Limbu
Dhankuta	Marek Katahare	220
Dhankuta	Leguwa	18
Dhankuta	Arkhaule Jitpur	92
Dhankuta	Ghorlikharka	45
Dhankuta	Sanne	23
Dhankuta	Hattikharka	1636
Dhankuta	Murtidhungnga	509
Dhankuta	Tangkhuwa	1748
Dhankuta	Teliya	1004
Dhankuta	Parewadin	2175
Terhathum	Hamarjung	1594
Terhathum	Panchakanya Pokhari	1134
Terhathum	Phakchamara	1575
Terhathum	Okhre	1144
Terhatum	Sudap	1648
Terhathum	Angdim	391
Terhathum	Dangapa	1749
Terhathum	Phulek	16
Terhathum	Basantapur	1061
Total		17782

TABLE 1. Population of Chhatthare Limbu

9.2. MAJOR CLANS. The major clans of Chhatthare Limbus are Khewa, Khajum, Sangwa, Khadi, Haberuhang, Tilling, Kebuk, Mabuhang and Tumbahang. Their distribution is as follows:

9.2.1. KHEWA. Khewa consists of six sub-clans. They are Tigela, Mangyak, Maden, Changbang, Anglabang and Tumba. They are available in the following villages of the Chhatthar area:

9.2.1.1. TIGELA. The Tigelas are densely populated in Hattikhark which lies in the west of the Chhatthar area.

9.2.1.2. MANGYAK. The Mangyaks, another sub-clan of Khewa, reside in a sizeable number in lower part of Hattikharka village development committee.

9.2.1.3. MADEN. The Madens, members of the sub-clans of Khewa, dwell in Murtidhungga.

9.2.1.4. CHANGBANG. The Changbangs, members of another sub-clan of Khewa, live in Teliya constituting a sizeable number of populations.

9.2.1.5. TUMBA. The Tumbas, another sub-clan of Khewa, inhabit the Okhre village development committee with a remarkably large number of population.

9.2.1.6. ANGLABANG. The Anglabangs, members of another sub-clan of Khewa, live in Okhre village development committee which lies in the easternmost region of the Chhatthar area.

9.2.2. KHAJUM. Khajum includes Parghari, Lekwa, Imsang, Changbang, Kurumbhang and Wayang. They inhabit the following villages:

9.2.2.1. PARGHARI. The Pargharis are populous in the central part of the Tangkhuwa village committee covering 4,5,6 and 7 number-wards.

9.2.2.2. CHANGBANG. The Changbangs, members of a sub-clan of Khajum, live in Teliya.

9.2.2.3. KURUMBHANG. The Kurumbhangs, members of another sub-clan of Khajum, dwell in Pancha Kanya Pokhari village .

9.2.2.4. LEKWA. The Lekwas are the dwellers of Phakchamara and Pokhari.

9.2.2.5. IMSANG. The Imsangs live in Panchakany Pokhari and Phakchamara VDCs.

9.2.2.6. WAYANG. The Wayangs are not the inhabitants of Chhatthar area. They inhabit the Basantatar VDC.

9.2.3. SANGWA. Sangwa has two clans- Tum Sangwa (elder Sangwa) and Pak Sangwa (younger Sangwa). Their homeland is Sukrabare (*Changsing* in native parlance) in the Terhathum district. The hearsay is that the Sangwas were originally from Sisneri, a village of the Bhojpur district and they are called ‘Sangwa’ because they came to the Chhatthar area crossing the Arun river riding on a buffalo, which is called *sangwet* in Limbu. Now, they are populous in Hamurjang and Angdim villages in the Chhatthar area of the Terhathum district.

9.2.4. KHADI. The Khadis have a few population residing in a village of Tangkhuwa village development committee. They are in minority with only two households comprising less than twenty members. Their original abode is Tingnabung of the Tanghuwa VDC. In the past, they were numerous and they are said to have enjoyed high status such as the justice who could pass judgment on cases and their verdict was binding upon the people.

9.2.5. HABERUHANG. Haberuhang includes Thaklen, Angla and Tumbangbhe but the major member is Angla and the other two Thaklen and Tumbangbhe are the adopted brothers of Angla. These Anglas were originally Phokkim, who are now considered as Athpare Rai and are living scattered over different wards of the Dhankuta municipality. They perform the ritual of *Mangsewa*, a ritual performed to pay homage to dead ancestors quite alien to the typical Limbu whereas their adopted brothers do not perform it. They live in the Teliya VDC whereas the other two live in the Parewadin VDC.

9.2.6. TILLING. Tilling comprises Tilling Changbang and Maden Changbang. They reside in Dangappa village of the Chhatthar area of the Terhathum district. Their homeland is Piple, a village of the Chhatthar area.

9.2.7. KEBUK. The Kebuks reside in Singdhapa, a village of Terhathum.

9.2.8. MABUHANG. Mangbu (now known as Mabuhang) are populous in Musangkhel village.

9.2.9. TUMBAHANG. The Tambahangs, known as Tungghang or Tunggahang, reside in Banchara, lower part of the Tangkhuwa village development committee. The Hamraks living in Dhankuta municipality known as Athpare Rai and the Khangwahangs living in Lasune village of the Terhathum district are said to be brothers.

10. CHHATTHARE LIMBU LANGUAGE. The language spoken by the Limbus of the Chhatthare area is called *Chhatthare pan* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba pan* 'Chhatthare Limbu language' in the mother tongue. Though differences exist among the speakers of the Chhatthare Limbu from one clan to another, the range of intelligibility among them is very close. In Nepal four major variants of Limbu - Tamarkhole, Panthare, Phedappe and Chhatthare - are spoken in their respective areas. Among them, Chhatthare Limbu is very different from the other three variants in that it is unintelligible to those speakers who are not related to it by marriage, social contact or cultural touch. Similarly, the other non-Chhatthare variants are also unintelligible to those children who have been brought up purely in the Chhatthare Limbu socio-linguistic milieu. Minor differences in lexical and grammatical forms exist even within the non-Chhatthare variants but they are not as wide as those which exist between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare variants. Likewise, the differences among the Chhatthare variants are also minor ones. The non-Chhatthare variants spoken in Nepal are close to those variants spoken in West Bengal, Sikkim, Assam and Meghalaya of Indian states and in Myanmar and Bhutan among the third countries and they are mutually intelligible to their speakers. The standard Limbu dialect of Nepal which is very similar to Panthare dialect is intelligible to them. So, in Nepal there is nothing wrong in calling Tamarkhole, Phedappe and Panthare as the dialects of Limbu but it creates a problem in calling Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu from the viewpoint of acquiring primary education in the mother tongue. The difference between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu is ignored because their speakers can make matrimonial alliance and share the same culture, custom, religion, literature and script and in addition, recognize each other as *Yakthungba* and their language as *Yakthungba pan*. Chhatthare adults can understand the non-Chhatthare variants because they are used as a lingua franca for communication between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbus. Besides, on the occasions of religious rituals, cultural programmes, marriage ceremony and death rituals, non-Chhatthare Limbu is used. Therefore, this intelligibility can not be called 'inherent intelligibility' but a 'learned one' developed out of social and cultural contacts. Chhatthare people feel that their language variant is different from other variants but do not want to speak out this truth because they are emotionally and culturally one with other Limbus and, therefore, do not want to weaken the unity among the Limbus by raising the language difference issue. Speakers of other Limbu dialects, on the other hand, have not realized the need to see the difference as they have not ever felt the need to speak Chhatthare Limbu. If the speakers of the Chhatthare language are happy with the status of their language as 'dialect', the speakers of other Limbu dialects will hardly feel the need of classifying it as a different language.

After the establishment of East India Company, British government raised Gurkha regiments and recruited Limbu youths in army. The British diplomat like B. H.

Hodgeson and army official like Major Senior took notes of Limbu words from them and listed in their books. Major Senior even compiled a dictionary of Limbu. Konow wrote a grammar of Limbu on the basis of the parable of Limbu and other materials obtained from Major Senior who had collected data from Limbus belonging to different clans or places and assigned the status of dialect either according to the clan name or area name and then classified Limbu into Phedopia dialect, Fagu Rai dialect and Tamarkhola dialect (see Grierson 1909:297-304) without any linguistic analysis. In fact, the dialects of Limbu were designated on geographical basis such as Mewakhole, Maiyakhole, Tamarkhole, Yangrokke, Phedappe, Panthare, Chaubise and Chhatthare.

The first linguistic survey was carried out in the three zones -Mechi, Koshi and Sagarmatha of eastern Nepal between the years 1981-1984 by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal funded by the German Research Council with the support of CNAS, Tribhuvan University under the directorship of Werner Winter. A. Wiedert was the field supervisor and Bikram Subba was his assistant. Though they might have visited Chhatthar area during the survey, they did not pay attention to the distinctive features of the Chhatthare Limbu. Without the study of field work report, they wrote *Concise Limbu Grammar and Dictionary* based on Panthare dialect and got it published in 1985. However, this is the first work which classified Limbu into four dialects - Mewakhola and Taplejung dialect, Panthare dialect, Phedappe dialect and Chhatthare dialect on the basis of modern linguistic theories. The classification of Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu seems to be predominantly based on socio-linguistic consideration rather than on pure linguistic criteria. Driem (1987:xxii-xxiii) also classifies it as a dialect of Limbu following Wiedert and Subba (1985:6) without field work verification. Hansson (1991:110) classifies it as a separate language on the basis of the field work carried out by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. Then, other linguists such as Bradley (1997) and Ebert (2003) support it. Webster (2001) classifies it as a dialect of Limbu on the basis of mutual intelligibility. Kainla (2003:11) follows Wiedert and Subba, Driem and Webster in his classification of Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu and again Gordon (2005:474) follows them classifying Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu. The interesting thing about those who assign Chhatthare the status of dialect of Limbu is that they simply assign the status but they do not include any Chhatthare word as a dialectal variant in their dictionaries.

As a native speaker of Chhatthare Limbu, I feel that it is very different from other dialects such as Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungge and that Hansson is right in his classification of Chhatthare as a separate language on the basis of linguistic consideration. However, Chhatthare people are so strongly tied to this community culturally and emotionally that they do not want to call it a separate language because they fear that it might disrupt their unity, which they can not even imagine. The fact that Chhatthare is very different from Phedappe is accepted by Driem (1987:xxii). He says, 'Limbu of Chhatthare speakers is virtually wholly unintelligible to Phedappe speakers of the village Tamphula...' Similarly, Kainla (2003 B.S.:11) says that Chhatthare is quite distinct from other dialects. In spite of such realization, they still classify it as a dialect because the Chhatthare Limbus call their language as Limbu language and they do not want to go against their spirit.

Webster (2001) says that he recorded 3 minute story in Chhatthare Limbu, played it to the Chhatthare speakers for home test. After the test, he played it to other non-Chhatthare speakers. When he asked them questions related to the text, he found almost all answers correct. Then, he classified it as 'dialect'. In the report, he writes, 'Though with clear Chhatthare distinctiveness in its grammar and lexicon, this text

was well understood in the Panthare test site. It does not seem warranted to classify Chhatthare, then, as a separate speech variety from Limbu.' However, in the same report, he has not missed to report that ' For those who have mentioned Chhatthare, 14/17 said they did not understand it or understood little of it. This is very confusing. As a matter of fact, intelligibility as a criterion for the classification of dialect leads to an unexpected result in the classification of Limbu dialects. The Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu speakers can make relation by marriage. In a single family, mother-in-law might be a Tamarkhole Limbu speaker, her eldest daughter-in-law might be a Phedappe speaker, her elder daughter-in-law might be a Chhatthare speaker and the rest of the family members might be Panthare speakers. In such a family, due to social contact, non-Chhatthare Limbu speakers might understand Chhatthare Limbu.

Chhatthare Limbu and Athpare Rai are two different languages in the vicinity. However, the speakers of each language can understand the language of other speakers. If three minute story recorded in one language is played to the speakers of other language and if they are asked questions related to the text, they will answer 100% correct. Can Webster call them the dialects of the same language on the basis of intelligibility? Of course, not. The intelligibility here is because of socio-linguistic milieu as is the case in Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare mixed family. So, his informants' backgrounds need cross-checking and his reports re-analyzing.

11. A WORKSHOP SEMINAR ON COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LIMBU DIALECTS. I have not conducted socio-linguistic survey like Webster. But as a native speaker of the Chhatthare Limbu and as my mother is the speaker of Chaubise Limbu which is very similar to Panthare dialect, I am more or less aware of the difference between the Chhatthare Limbu and other Limbu dialects. In order to find out whether or not Chhatthare is different from other variants, a three-day workshop seminar on 'Comparative study of words and verb paradigms of Limbu dialects' was conducted in Dharan. It was participated by speakers from Chhatthare, Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungge variants. The workshop seminar which was supervised by Prof. Dr. Madhav P. Pokhrel, focussed on how Chhatthare Limbu is different from other Limbu dialects in terms of phonemes, words and verb paradigms.

11.1. COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

11.1.1. CONSONANT PHONEMES. Based on the workshop seminar, Phonemes of all variants of Limbu can be classified into stop, fricative, affricate, nasal, liquid, trill and semi-vowel on the basis of manner of articulation and into bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal phonemes on the basis of place of articulation. Aspiration is a contrastive feature in all of them.

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stop	p b pH	t tH			k g kH	ʔ
Fricative			s			h
Affricate			c cH			
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Liquid			l			
Trill				r		
Semi-vowel	w			y		

TABLE 2. Consonant phonemes of Chhatthare Limbu

Phedappe Limbu has 18 consonant phonemes and it does not have the phonemes /g/ and /cH/ that the Chhatthare have. Panthare and Taplejungge have only 17 consonants. They do not have the consonants /b/, /g/ and /cH/ which exist in the Chhatthare Limbu.

11.1.2. VOWEL PHONEMES Chhatthare Limbu has 7 vowels. They are divided into close, half-close, half open and open vowels. The front vowels are unrounded and the back vowels are rounded. They have no vowel length contrast.

Close	i	u
Half-close	e	o
Half-open	E	□
Open	a	

TABLE 3. Vowel phonemes of Chhatthare Limbu

In other dialects, all vowels except /e/ and /o/ have length contrast. So, there are twelve vowels in Panthare and Taplejungge Limbu. Phedappe Limbu has one more vowel /↔/ in addition to them.

11.2. COMPARISON OF WORDS. Chhatthare Limbu differs from other dialects in demonstrative pronouns. It also differs from other dialects in many of the words provided in one- hundred word list of Swadesh. Demonstrative pronouns included in Swadesh's list will be excluded as they are compared separately in table 3.

No.	Demonstratives	Chhatthare	Panthare	Phedappe	Taplejungnge
1.	this	kumba	k□n	k□ŋ	en
2.	these (two)	kumbagHacHi	k□nhasi	k□ŋha?	en-ha
3.	these (many)	kumbagHa	k□nha	k□nha?	en-ha
4.	that	hamba	hen	kHen	
5.	those (two)	hambagHacHi	henhasi	kHenha	
6.	those (many)	hambagHa	henha	kHenha	

TABLE 4. Demonstrative pronouns of Limbu variants

No.	Words	Chhathare	Panthare	Phedappe	Taplejungnge
1.	I	a	aŋga	aŋga	aŋga
2.	who	sa	ha?	en	hat
3.	what	hE	tHe	hen	tHe
4.	not	Ekhan	men	men	men
5.	all	kErEk	kak	kerek	kerek
6.	man	napmi	yapmi/m□na	m□na	yapmi
7.	hair	tHaik	tHegek	tHegek	tHegek
8.	head	tHaik	tHegek	tHegek	tHegek
9.	nose	nabo	nebo?	nebo	nebo
10.	tongue	lEkpHa	lesot	lesot	lesot
11.	foot	laŋ	laŋbHo	laŋbHo	laŋbHo
12.	neck	p□kla	niŋma	niŋma	niŋma
13.	drink	tHuŋ-u?	tHuŋ-e?	tHuŋ-e?	tHuŋ-e?
14.	eat	c□?	ce?	ce?	ce?
15.	bite	har-u?	ha?r-e?	ha?r-e?	ha?r-e?
16.	see	mEtt-u?	omett-e?	□mett-e?	omett-e?
17.	hear	kHEps-u?	kHEps-e?	kHEps-e?	kHEps-e?
18.	know	lEh-u?	less-e?	less-e?	less-e?
19.	sleep	ips-a?	ips-e?	ips-e?	ips-e?
20.	die	siy-a?	se?	se?	se?
21.	kill	sEr-u?	ser-e?	ser-e?	ser-e?
22.	swim	wajakk-a?	wa-jakt-e?	wa-jakt-e?	wa-jakt-e?
23.	fly	pey-a?	per-e?	per-e?	per-e?
24.	walk	laŋgHEg-a?	laŋgHeg-e?	laŋgHeg-e?	laŋgHeg-e?
25.	come	phEr-a?	pher-e?	pher-e?	pher-e?
26.	lie	nEh-a	ness-e?	ness-e?	ness-e?
27.	sit	yuŋ-a?	yuŋ-e?	yuŋ-e?	yuŋ-e?
28.	stand	Eb-a?	yeb-e?	yeb-e?	yeb-e?
29.	give	piy-u?	pir-e?	pir-e?	pir-e?
30.	say	pat-u?	pat-e?	pat-e?	pat-e?
31.	star	kHEsemikpa	kHese?	kHese?	kHesek
32.	rain	wahit	wahit	w□hit	□hit

33.	burn	tHind-u?	tHnd-e?	tHind-e?	tHind-e?
34.	green	kubHiŋla	s□rekkyappa	s□rekkyappa	s□rekkyappa
35.	night	yunchik	sendik	sendik	sendik
36.	cold	kajiba	kesemba	kesemba	kesemba
37.	full	ku-dim	ku-lem	ku-lem	ku-lem
38.	hot	kagoba	kegoba	kegoba	kegoba
39.	dry	kahEba	keheba	keheba	keheba

TABLE 5. Limbu variants of Swadesh words

11.3. COMPARISON OF VERB PARADIGMS. Chhatthare Limbu has a word *l□mma* for 'to beat' whereas other three dialects have a word <hipma> for it. The following tables show the comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for 'to beat' in past and non past forms.

N.	Person	Chhathare	Panthare	Phedappe	Taplejungge
1.	1s-2s	l□m-na	hip-nE?	hip-nE	hip-nE
2.	1s-2d	l□m-na-cHi-ŋ	hip-nE-cHi-ŋ?	hip-nE-cHi-ŋ	hip-nE-si-ŋ
3.	1s-2p	l□m-na-ni-ŋ	hip-ni-ŋ	hip-ni-ŋ	hip-ni-ŋ
4.	1nse-2	l□m-nE-cHi-ŋa	hip-ne-tcHi-gya	hip-ne-cHi-gE	hip-ne-si-gE
5.	1s-3s	l□ps-u-ŋ	hipt-u-ŋ?	hipt-u-ŋ	hipt-u-ŋ
6.	1s-3ns	l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ	hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ?	hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ	hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ
7.	1di-3s	a-l□m-cH-u	a-hip-s-u?	a-hip-s-u	a-hip-s-u
8.	1di-3ns	a-l□m-cH-u-si	a-hip-s-u-si?	a-hip-s-u-si	a-hip-s-u-si
9.	1de-3s	l□m-cH-u-ŋ-a	hipsugya?	hip-s-u-gE	hip-s-u-gE
10.	1de-3ns	l□m-cH-u-si-ŋ-a	hip-s-u-si-gya	hip-s-u-si-gE	hip-s-u-si-gE
11.	1pi-3s	a-l□ps-u-m	a-hipt-u-m?	a-hipt-u-m	a-hipt-u-m
12.	1pi-3ns	a-l□ps-u-m-si-m	a-hipt-u-m-si-m?	a-hipt-u-m-si-m	a-hipt-u-m-si-m
13.	1pe-3s	l□ps-u-m-ma	hipt-u-m-ba?	hipt-u-m-be	hipt-u-m-be
14.	1pe-3ns	l□ms-u-m-si-m-ma	hipt-u-m-si-m-ba?	hipt-u-m-si-m-be	hipt-u-m-si-m-be
15.	2s-1s	ka-l□m-ma	kE-hip-a?	kE-hip-?E	kE-hip-ma
16.	2-1	ka-l□m	yapmi kE-hip	a-gE-hip	a-gE-hip
17.	2s-3s	ka-l□ps-u	kE-hipt-u?	kE-hipt-u	kE-hipt-u
18.	2s-3ns	ka-l□ps-u-si	kE-hipt-u-si?	kE-hipt-u-si	kE-hipt-u-si
19.	2d-3s	ka-l□m-cH-u	kE-hip-s-u?	kE-hip-s-u	kE-hip-s-u
20.	2d-3ns	ka-l□m-cH-u-si	kE-hip-s-u-si?	kE-hip-s-u-si	kE-hip-s-u-si
21.	2p-3s	ka-l□ps-u-m	kE-hipt-u-m?	kE-hipt-u-m	kE-hipt-u-m
22.	2p-3ns	ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m	kE-hipt-u-m-si-m?	kE-hipt-u-m-si-m	kE-hipt-u-m-si-m
23.	3s-1s	a-l□m-ma	hip-a?	hip-?E	hip-ma
24.	3s-1di	a-l□m-cHi	a-hip-si?	a-hip-si	a-hip-si
25.	3s-1de	a-l□m-cHi-ŋ-a	yapmi hip?	hip-si-gE	hip-si-gE

26	3S-1pi	a-l□ps-i/a-l□m	a-hip?	a-hip	a-hip
27	3s-1pe	a-l□ps-i-η-a	yapmi hip?	hipti-gE	hipt-i-gE
28	3ns-1s	a-n-l□m-ma	yapmi hip-si?	mE-hu-?E	mE-hip-ma
29	3ns-1di	a-n-l□m-cHi	a-m-hip-si?	a-m-hip-si	a-m-hips-i
30	3ns-1de	a-n-l□m-cHi-η-a	yapmi hip?	me-hip-si-gE	me-hip-si-gE
31	3ns-1pi	a-n-l□ps-i	a-m-hip?	a-m-hip	a-m-hip
32	3ns-1pe	a-n-l□ps-i-η-a	yapmi hip?	mE-hipt-i-gE	mE-hipt-i-
33	3s-2s	ka-l□m	kE-hip?	kE-hip	kE-hip
34	3s-2d	ka-l□m-cHi	kE-hip-si	kE-hip-si	kE-hip-si
35	3s-2p	ka-l□ps-i	kE-hipp-i	kE-hipt-i	kE-hipt-i
36	3ns-2s	ka-n-l□m	kE-m-hip?	kE-m-hip	kE-m-hip
37	3ns-2d	ka-n-l□m-cHi	kE-m-hip-si?	kE-m-hip-si	kE-m-hip-si
38	3ns-2p	ka-n-l□ps-i	kE-m-hipp-i	kE-m-hipt-i	kE-m-hipt-i
39	3s-3s	l□ps-u	hipt-u?	hipt-u	hipt-u
40	3s-3ns	l□ps-u-si	hipt-u-si?	hipt-u-si	hipt-u-si
41	3d-3s	l□m-cH-u	hip-s-u?	hip-s-u	hips-u
42	3d-3ns	l□m-cH-u-si	hip-s-u-si?	hip-s-u-si	hips-u-si
43	3p-3s	mu-l□ps-u	me-hipt-u	me-hipt-u	me-hipt-u
44	3p-3ns	mu-l□ps-u-si	me-hipt-u-si	me-hipt-u-si	me-hipt-u-si

TABLE 6. Comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to beat’ in non-past form

N.	Person	Chhathare	Panthare	Phedappe	Taplejungge
1.	1s-2s	l□m-na	hip-nE	hip-nE	hip-nE
2.	1s-2d	l□m-na-cHi-η	hip-nE-cHi-η	hip-nE-cHi-η	hip-nE-si-η
3.	1s-2p	l□m-na-ni-η	hip-ni-η	hip-ni-η	hip-ni-η
4.	1nse-2	l□m-ne-cHi-ηa	hip-ne-tcHi-gya	hip-ne-cHi-gE	hip-ne-si-gE
5.	1s-3s	l□ps-u-η	hipt-u-η	hipt-u-η	hipt-u-η
6.	1s-3ns	l□ps-u-η-si-η	hipt-u-η-si-η	hipt-u-η-si-η	hipt-u-η-si-η
7.	1di-3s	a-l□m-cH-u	a-hip-s-u	a-hip-s-u	a-hip-s-u
8.	1di-3ns	a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si	a-hipt-e-ccH-u-si?	a-hipt-e-tcH-u-si	a-hipt-e-s-u-si
9.	1de-3s	l□ps-a-cH-u-η-a	hipt-e-ccHugya?	hipt-e-tcH-u-gE	hipt-e-s-u-gE
10	1de-3ns	l□ps-a-cH-u-si-η-a	hipt-e-ccH-u-si-gya	hip-s-u-si-gE	hip-s-u-si-gE
11	1pi-3s	a-l□ps-u-m	a-hipt-u-m	a-hipt-u-m	a-hipt-u-m
12	1pi-3ns	a-l□ps-u-m-si-m	a-hipt-u-m-si-m	a-hipt-u-m-si-m	a-hipt-u-m-si-m
13	1pe-3s	l□ps-u-m-ma	hipt-u-m-ba	hipt-u-m-be	hipt-u-m-be
14	1pe-3ns	l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma	hipt-u-m-si-m-ba	hipt-u-m-si-m-be	hipt-u-m-si-m-be
15	2s-1s	ka-l□ps-a-η	kE-hipt-a-η	kE-hipt-a-η	kE-hipt-a-η
16	2-1	ka-l□ps-a-η	yapmi kE-hipt-a	a-gE-hipt-E	a-gE-hipt-E

17	2s-3s	ka-l□ps-u	kE-hipt-u	kE-hipt-u	kE-hipt-u
18	2s-3ns	ka-l□ps-u-si	kE-hipt-u-si	kE-hipt-u-si	kE-hipt-u-si
19	2d-3s	ka-l□ps-a-cH-u	kE-hipt-e-ccHu- u	kE-hipt-e-tcH- u	kE-hipt-e-s-u
20	2d-3ns	ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-si	kE-hipt-e-ccH-u- si	kE-hipt-e-tcH- u-si	kE-hipt-e-cH- u-si
21	2p-3s	ka-l□ps-u-m	kE-hipt-u-m	kE-hipt-u-m	kE-hipt-u-m
22	2p-3ns	ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m	kE-hipt-u-m-si-m	kE-hipt-u-m- si-m	kE-hipt-u-m-si- m
23	3s-1s	a-l□ps-a-η	hipt-a-η	hipt-a-η	hipt-a-η
24	3s-1di	a-l□ps-a-cHi	a-hipt-e-ccHi	a-hipt-e-tcHi	a-hipt-e-si
25	3s-1de	a-l□ps-a-cHi-η-a	yapmi hipt-a	hipt-e-tcHi-gE	hipt-e-si-gE
26	3S-1pi	a-l□ps-i/a-l□ps-a	a-hipt-a	a-hipt-E	a-hipt-E
27	3s-1pe	a-l□ps-i-η-a	yapmi hipt-a	hipti-gE	hipt-i-gE
28	3ns-1s	a-n-l□ps-a-η	yapmi hipt-a	mE-hipt-a-η	mE-hipt-a-η
29	3ns-1di	a-n-l□ps-a-cHi	a-m-hipt-e-cchi	a-m-hipt-e-tchi	a-m-hipt-e-si
30	3ns-1de	a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-η-a	yapmi hipt-a	me-hipt-e- tcHi-gE	me-hipt-e-si-gE
31	3ns-1pi	a-n-l□ps-i	a-m-hipt-a	a-m-hipt-E	a-m-hipt-E
32	3ns-1pe	a-n-l□ps-i-η-a	yapmi hipt-a	mE-hipt-i-gE	mE-hipt-i-gE
33	3s-2s	ka-l□ps-a	kE-hipt-a	kE-hipt-E	kE-hipt-E
34	3s-2d	ka-l□ps-a-cHi	kE-hipt-cchi	kE-hipt-e-tchi	kE-hipt-e-si
35	3s-2p	ka-l□ps-i	kE-hipp-i	kE-hipt-i	kE-hipt-i
36	3ns-2s	ka-n-l□ps-a	kE-m-hipp-a	kE-m-hipt-i	kE-m-hipt-i
37	3ns-2d	ka-n-l□ps-a-cHi	kE-m-hipt-e-ccHi	kE-m-hipt-e- tcHi	kE- m-hipt-e-si
38	3ns-2p	ka-n-l□ps-i	kE-m-hipp-i	kE-m-hipt-i	kE-m-hipt-i
39	3s-3s	l□ps-u	hipt-u	hipt-u	hipt-u
40	3s-3ns	l□ps-u-si	hipt-u-si	hipt-u-si	hipt-u-si
41	3d-3s	l□ps-a-cH-u	hipt-e-ccH-u	hipt-e-tcH-u	hipt-e-s-u
42	3d-3ns	l□ps-a-cH-u-si	hipt-e-ccH-u-si?	hipt-e-tcH-u-si	hipt-e-s-u-si
43	3p-3s	mu-l□ps-u	me-hipt-u	me-hipt-u	me-hipt-u
44	3p-3ns	mu-l□ps-u-si	me-hipt-u-si	me-hipt-u-si	me-hipt-u-si

TABLE 7. . Comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to beat’ in past form

N.	Person	Chhathare	Panthare	Phedappe	Taplejungge
1.	1s-2s	ma-l□m-na-n	me-hip-nE-n	me-hip-nE-n	me-hip-nE-n
2.	1s-2d	ma-l□m-na-cHi-η- nEn	me-hip-nE-cHi-η- ηin	me-hip-nE- cHi-η-nen	me-hip-nE-si- η-nen
3.	1s-2p	ma-l□m-na-ni-η- nEn	me-hip-ni-η-ηin	me-hip-ni-η- nen	me-hip-ni-η- nen
4.	1nse-2	ma-l□m-ne-cHi-η-a- n	me-hip-ne-tcHi- gya-in	me-hip-ne- cHi-gE-n	me-hip-ne-si- gE-n
5.	1s-3s	ma-l□m-m-a-n	me-hip-ma-n	me-hip-?E-n	me-hip-ma-n

6.	1s-3ns	ma-l□m-ma-n-cHIn	me-hip-ma-n-cHIn	me-hipt-u-η-si-η-nen	me-hipt-u-η-si-η-nen
7.	1di-3s	a-n-l□m-cH-u-n	a-n-hip-s-u-n	a-n-hip-s-u-n	a-n-hip-s-u-n
8.	1di-3ns	a-n-l□m-cH-u-si-n	a-n-hip-s-u-si-n	a-n-hip-s-u-si-n	a-n-hip-s-u-si-n
9.	1de-3s	ma-l□m-cH-u-η-a-n	me-hipsugya-in?	me-hip-s-u-gE-n	me-hip-s-u-gE-n
10	1de-3ns	ma-l□m-cH-u-si-η-a-n	me-hip-s-u-si-gya-in	me-hip-s-u-si-gE-n	me-hip-s-u-si-gE-n
11	1pi-3s	a-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn	a-n-hipt-u-m-min?	a-n-hipt-u-m-nen	a-n-hipt-u-m-nen
12	1pi-3ns	a-n-l□ps-u-m-si-m-nen	a-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-min?	a-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen	a-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen
13	1pe-3s	ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n	me-hipt-u-m-ba-in?	me-hipt-u-m-be-n	me-hipt-u-m-be-n
14	1pe-3ns	ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n	me-hipt-u-m-si-m-ba-in?	me-hipt-u-m-si-m-be-n	me-hipt-u-m-si-m-be-n
15	2s-1s	ka-n-l□m-ma-n	kE-n-hip-a-in?	kE-n-hip-?E-n	kE-n-hip-ma-n
16	2-1	ka-n-l□m-ma-n	yapmi kE-n-hip-pin	a-gE-n-hip-nen	a-gE-n-hip-nen
17	2s-3s	ka-n-l□ps-u-n	kE-n-hipt-u-n?	kE-n-hipt-u-n	kE-n-hipt-u-n
18	2s-3ns	ka-n-l□ps-u-si-n	kE-n-hipt-u-si-n?	kE-n-hipt-u-si-n	kE-n-hipt-u-si-n
19	2d-3s	ka-n-l□m-cH-u-n	kE-n-hip-s-u-n?	kE-n-hip-s-u-n	kE-n-hip-s-u-n
20	2d-3ns	ka-n-l□m-cH-u-si-n	kE-n-hip-s-u-si-n?	kE-n-hip-s-u-si-n	kE-n-hip-s-u-si-n
21	2p-3s	ka-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn	kE-n-hipt-u-m-min?	kE-n-hipt-u-m-nen	kE-hipt-u-m-nen
22	2p-3ns	ka-n-l□ps-u-m-si-m-nEn	kE-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-min?	kE-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen	kE-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen
23	3s-1s	a-n-l□m-ma-n	me-hip-a-n?	me-hip-?E-n	me-hip-ma-n
24	3s-1di	a-n-l□m-cHi-n	a-n-hip-si-n?	a-n-hip-si-n	a-n-hip-si-n
25	3s-1de	a-n-l□m-cHi-η-a-n	yapmi me-hip-pin	me-hip-si-gE-n	me-hip-si-gE-n
26	3S-1pi	a-n-n-l□ps-i-n/a-n-l□m-nEn	a-m-men-hip-pin	a-m-men-hip-nen	a-m-men-hip-nen
27	3s-1pe	a-n-n-l□ps-i-η-a-n	yapmi me-hip-pin	me-hipti-gE-n	me-hipt-i-gE-n
28	3ns-1s	a-n-n-l□m-ma-n	yapmi me-hip-si-n?	mE-n-hip-?E-n	mE-n-hip-ma-n
29	3ns-1di	a-n-n-l□m-cHi-n	a-m-men-hip-si-n?	a-m-men-hip-si-n	a-m-men-hips-i-n
30	3ns-1de	a-n-n-l□m-cHi-η-a-n	yapmi me-hip-pin?	me-n-hip-si-gE-n	me-n-hip-si-gE-n
31	3ns-1pi	a-n-n-l□ps-i-n	a-m-men-hip-pin?	a-m-men-hip-nen	a-m-men-hip-nen
32	3ns-1pe	a-n-n-l□ps-i-η-a-n	yapmi men-hip-pin?	mE-n-hipt-i-gE-n	mE-n-hipt-i-gE-n

33	3s-2s	ka-n-l□m-nEn	kE-n-hip-pin?	kE-n-hip-nen	kE-n-hip-nen
34	3s-2d	ka-n-l□m-cHi-n	kE-n-hip-si-n	kE-n-hip-si-n	kE-n-hip-si-n
35	3s-2p	ka-n-l□ps-i-n	kE-n-hipp-i-n	kE-n-hipt-i-n	kE-n-hipt-i-n
36	3ns-2s	ka-n-n-l□m-nEn	kE-m-men-hip-pin	kE-m-men-hip-nen	kE-m-men-hip-nen
37	3ns-2d	ka-n-n-l□m-cHi-n	kE-m-men-hip-si-n?	kE-m-men-hip-si-n	kE-m-men-hip-si-n
38	3ns-2p	ka-n-n-l□ps-i-n	kE-m-men-hipp-i-n	kE-m-men-hipt-i-n	kE-m-men-hipt-i-n
39	3s-3s	ma-l□ps-u-n	me-hipt-u-n?	me-hipt-u-n	me-hipt-u-n
40	3s-3ns	ma-l□ps-u-si-n	me-hipt-u-si-n?	me-hipt-u-si-n	me-hipt-u-si-n
41	3d-3s	ma-l□m-cH-u-n	me-hip-s-u-n?	me-hip-s-u-n	me-hips-u-n
42	3d-3ns	ma-l□m-cH-u-si-n	me-hip-s-u-si-n?	me-hip-s-u-si-n	me-hips-u-si-n
43	3p-3s	man-l□ps-u-n	me-n-hipt-u-n	me-n-hipt-u-n	me-n-hipt-u-n
44	3p-3ns	man-l□ps-u-si-n	me-n-hipt-u-si-n	me-n-hipt-u-si-n	me-n-hipt-u-si-n

TABLE 8. Comparative negative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to not beat’ in non-past form

11. 4. FINDINGS. The comparative study of phonemes, words and verb paradigms show differences and similarities among Limbu variants.

11.4.1. DIFFERENCES. The above points prove that Chhatthare Limbu differs from other Limbu variants in the following points:

- Chhatthare Limbu has voiced bilabial and velar stops /b/ and /g/, voiceless alveolar affricates /c/ and /cH/ and palatal liquid /l/ and alveolar trill /r/ that show phonemic contrasts whereas they are absent in Panthare Limbu (Wiedert and Subba:1985) and Taplejungge Limbu (Mikhailovsky:2003). Phedappe (Driem:1987) has voiced, bilabial stop /b/ but it does not have voiced, velar stop /g/, voiceless, alveolar affricate /cH/ and palatal trill /r/. Although /b/ occurs in Panthare or Taplejungge dialect as a distinct phoneme in a situation like [ba] ‘so’ or ‘for nothing’ as against [pa] ‘father’, they dismiss the difference viewing that the contrast is not between major word classes for the first word being an adverb and the second a noun.
- All three dialects treat /cH/ as the allophone [cH] of the voiceless, alveolar, fricative /s/ and /r/ as the allophone [r] of the phoneme /l/.
- Chhatthare Limbu has no vowel length contrast whereas the other dialects have.
- Chhatthare Limbu has entirely different set of demonstrative pronouns.
- Out of 44 forms of a verb for ‘to beat’ in the non-past form, Chhatthare Limbu differs from other dialects in 37 forms and in the past form it differs in 36 forms. In negative past form it differs from other dialects in 42 forms.
- The second person object suffix is <-na> in 1→2 configuration in Chhatthare whereas in other dialects it is <-ne>. The Chhatthare form <-na> matches with the Proto Tibeto-Burman. The second person agent, subject and object prefix in 3→2 configuration is <ka-> in Chhatthare Limbu whereas it is <ke-> in other dialects. The third person plural agent morpheme is <-mu> in 3→3 configurations in Chhatthare Limbu whereas it is <me-> in other dialects.

- g. Negative prefix is <me~men> in other dialects but in Chhatthare it is <ma~man>.
- h. The first person exclusive marker is <-ge> or <gya-> in other dialects but it is <-Na> in Chhatthare Limbu.
- i. In 3s→1s configuration in Chhatthare Limbu, the first person singular object is double marked in both past and non-past forms as well as both affirmative and negative forms whereas in other dialects, the object is not double marked.
- j. In 3s→1de and 3s→1pe configurations, the object is double marked in the Chhatthare Limbu unlike in other dialects
- k. Chhatthare differs from other dialects in its forms of person, number and case markers.

Now, I am in an embarrassing situation. As a student of linguistics, these points persuade me to call Chhatthare Limbu as a different language, not a dialect of Limbu. However, the spirit of Limbu in me prevents me from calling it a different language for fear that it might break the unity of the Limbus and the member of the Limbu community might curse me for this unpardonable sin. Therefore, I try to find out the common features of all Limbu variants which are shared by the Chhatthare Limbu.

11.4.2. SIMILARITIES. On the basis of above paradigms, we can trace out the following common features of Limbu:

- a. All Limbu dialects have a three number system-singular, dual and plural which are indicated by the suffixes affixed to verbs.
- b. All Limbu dialects have third person non-singular object number marked on the verb.
- c. The first person nonsingular has exclusive and inclusive systems marked by the suffixes that indicate presence or absence of the listener.
- d. In all Limbu dialects, in 2→1, 2→3 and 1→3 configurations, both agent and the patient are marked on the verb form.
- e. Third person singular subject or agent is unmarked.
- f. Second person is unchanged in all types of configurations such as 3→2, 2→3 and 2→1 except in 1→2 configuration in which a portmanteau is used for both agent and patient. <-na> is used in Chhatthare and <-ne> is used in other dialects.
- g. <-a> is a past morpheme in all dialects.
- h. A discontinuous negative morpheme is used in all dialects.

Chhatthare Limbu shares all the above morphosyntactic features. These grammatical features are shared by other Rai-Kiranti languages as well. After collecting the common features of Limbu, I search for reliable base to classify it as a dialect.

11.4.3. ANALYSIS. To ascertain whether Chhatthare is a dialect or a separate language it is necessary to know how these two are defined and differentiated in other languages. Let's study the following definitions:

- a. Crystal (2003) defines dialect as 'regionally or socially distinct variety of language' and it is 'identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures. Any language with a reasonably large number of speakers will develop dialects if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from each other, or if there are divisions of social class.' If we follow this definition of 'dialect', then we reach the conclusion that Chhatthare is a dialect because it is spoken in a certain region

called 'Chhatthar' separated by geographical barriers like Nuwakhola on the east from where the Phedappe dialect diverges and by the Tamarkhola river on the south from where Panthare dialect starts and by the Arun river on the west from where Rai languages spread. Limbu language as mentioned in the preceding paragraph is spoken in a large area by a great number of population and it has, subsequently, developed dialects like Phedappe, Panthare, Taplejungge and Chhatthare.

b. There is no really good way to distinguish between a 'language' and a 'dialect' because they are not objective scientific terms. By 'language' we mean generally accepted 'standard' or radio-talk languages of a country, while by 'dialects' we mean homely versions of it that vary from region to region and may not be pronounced the way the so-called 'language' is. If we accept this definition, again we are bound to classify it as a dialect as it is only a local version of Chhatthar. Radio Nepal does not air programmes in this variety of Limbu because it has no recognition as accepted 'standard'.

c. According to Crystal (2003), if variations in pronunciation and lexical items are 'mutually intelligible', they are, generally, considered 'dialects' but if they are 'mutually unintelligible' to the native speakers, they are different 'languages' from a linguistic perspective. It further states that in practice, this criterion, however, is non-functional because Swedes, Norwegians and Danes are 'mutually intelligible' but they are referred to as different 'languages' because of different culture and nationality. Conversely, Mandarine, Cantonese, Hakka etc. are 'mutually unintelligible' but they are referred to as different 'dialects' of the Chinese 'language'. It means that 'dialects' are socially determined. If the speakers of the 'mutually unintelligible variants' are tied emotionally or culturally to each other, they can say that their linguistic variants are 'dialects' of the same 'language' but if they are emotionally unattached and culturally different, they can refer even 'mutually intelligible' variants as different 'languages'. The Chhatthare Limbus are emotionally and culturally so tied to other Limbus that they do not want to designate the Chhatthare variant as a separate 'language'.

d. Max Weinreich is often quoted as saying "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy". It means that politics often decides what dialect will be a 'language'. Powerful or historically significant groups have a 'language' whereas smaller or weaker ones have 'dialects'. This expression is also contextual in determining the status of Chhatthare variant as a 'dialect' since it is weaker than other dialects in terms of the number of speakers and of the magnitude of the area. Moreover, government has set the 'standard dialect of Limbu' based on Panthare dialect and airs programs through radio in it. Apart from the use as a lingua franca among the Limbus, religious rituals are also performed in Panthare dialect. It naturally follows that all variants including Chhatthare are separate 'dialects' of Limbu.

11.4.4. CONCLUSION. In spite of such strong arguments in favour of a dialect, the fact is that Chhatthare is very different from other dialects of Limbu or let's say from 'the standard dialect of Limbu'. These days, it is believed that children can learn better in their mother tongue than in Nepali because non-Nepali mother tongue speakers can not understand it. The research carried out by Webster (2001:67) reports that only educated people in the community are proficient in Nepali. Though uneducated people can speak Nepali to meet routine needs, they would have great difficulty understanding or discussing complicated concepts such as religion, politics, emotional and technical issues in Nepali. In addition, their Nepali level is not enough for understanding necessary information about health, nutrition, etc and gaining

employment. Lee (2005:118) reports that almost children and elderly people of Bayung community can not speak Nepali well. It is estimated that a Bayung child needs at least 1-4 years' time to acquire enough Nepali to understand the speech of Nepali speaking teacher. These children need primary education in their mother tongue to acquire functional literacy and math skills after which they are able to gain competence and confidence to tackle other challenges of learning in Nepali. Otherwise, only highly genius, persevering and resourceful child can complete the primary education in Nepali medium and proceed to acquire higher education. Almost all the children can not complete the primary education because of the language problem. This case is applicable even to the Limbu children. They need primary education in their mother tongue. As Chhatthare Limbu is very different from other dialects, its speakers need primary education in their mother tongue. If it is classified as a dialect of Limbu, then, primary education is not delivered in this medium as the present syllabi show. It is delivered only in the standard dialect. To the Chhatthare children, there is no difference from the viewpoint of difficulty in receiving education in Nepali and the standard Limbu dialect. In such a situation Varenkamp (1996:102) suggests that primary education should be delivered in the mother tongue dialect if it is very different from the language. It dispels the suspicion that primary education is delivered only in one dialect of a language.

Similarly Prof. Dr. David E. Watters (personal communication) has suggested a solution to the problem of classification. According to him, Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu are different languages but they are descended from the same root, the proto-Limbu. This Proto-Limbu first diversified into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups. The non-Chhatthare group slowly diversified into Phedappe, Panthare and Tamarkhole dialects. The chronological relation between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare dialects is distant whereas the relation among the other dialects of the non-Chhatthare is close. Therefore, Chhatthare is hardly intelligible to the speakers of other dialects. Chhatthare Limbu is thus a dialect of Proto-Limbu. Pokhrel (2005) rightly says that whether Chhatthare Limbu is a dialect or a language, its nearest genetic affiliation is with the Limbu.

11.5. GENETIC AFFILIATION OF CHHATTHARE LIMBU. Grierson (1903) first made the classification of languages spoken in China and India by Mongoloid people. He divided Indo-Chinese into Chinese-Tai and Tibeto-Burman groups. Then, he divided Tibeto-Burman family into Tibetan, Himalayan, North Assam, Bodo, Naga, Kachin and Kuki-Chin. Although he does not use the term 'Kiranti', he includes Dhimal, Thami, Limbu, Yakkha, Khambu, Bahing, Rai, Vayu, and other Nepal dialects such as Chepang, Kusunda, Bhramu and Thaksya within pronominalized eastern sub-group of Himalayan languages. On the basis of the presence or absence of pronominal affixes on the verbs or verb agreement, he divides the Himalayan language into pronominalized and non-pronominalized languages. He divides the pronominalized languages also into east Himalayan and west Himalayan on the basis of area and places Limbu in the pronominalized eastern sub-group of Himalayan language group. In his classification, I have divided Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu and included Phedappe, Panthare and

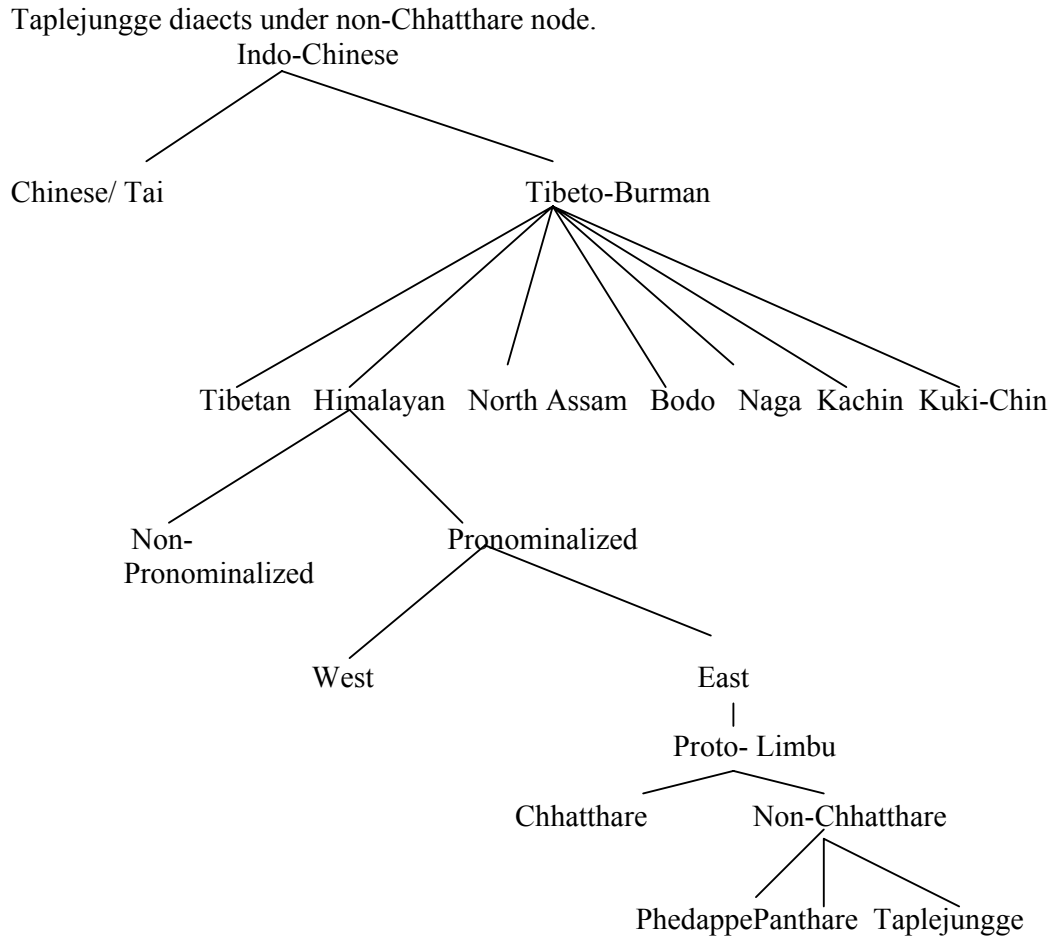


FIGURE 2. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Grierson

The division of language family into pronominalized and non-pronominalized languages is not convincing because languages spoken beyond the Himalayan range also exhibit features of pronominalization. Moreover, under the East Himalayish group are included Thami, Dhimal, Bhramu and Thaksya which show different characters from the proto-Kiranti. Assigning them to the east Himalayish family presents confusing picture of classification of languages into different family groups.

Shafer (1966-73) named languages spoken in China and Tibet as Sino-Tibetan and classified it into Sinitic, Bodic, Burmic, Baric and Karenic divisions. He further made the division into Section, branch and unit. Under Sinitic, he classified Chinese and Daic and under Tibeto-Burman, he included Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic. He divided Bodic division into Bodish section, West Himalayish section, West Central Himalayish section and East Himalayish section. East Himalayish section is divided into Western and Eastern branches and Limbu is placed along with Khambu and Bantawa units. I have added to his classification by further dividing Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups as presented in Tree diagramme 2.

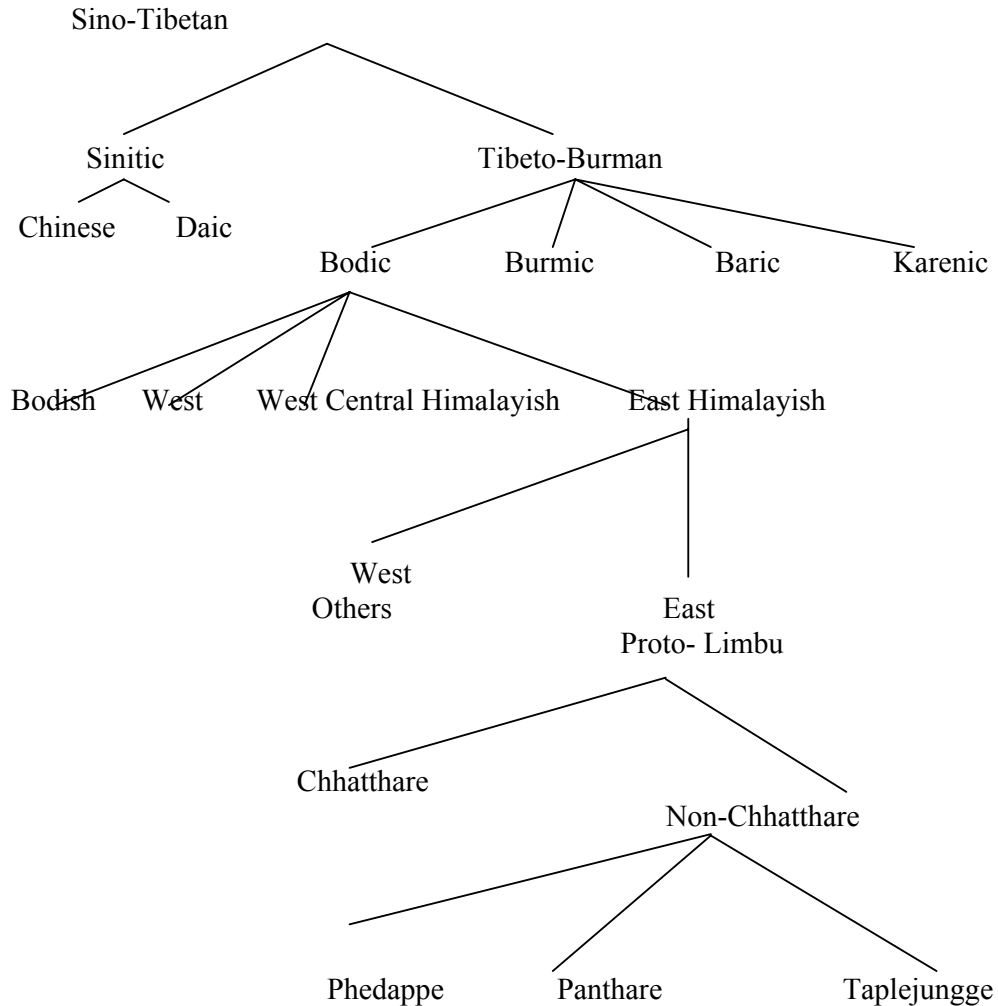


FIGURE 3. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Shafer 1966.

Grierson's and Shafer's classification seem similar in the case of Limbu language because both of them place it under the East Himalayish group. However, Shafer (1966-73:) uses Rai under Western branch and Kiranti under eastern branch of East Himalayish Section as the names of different languages. The use of 'Rai' and 'Kiranti' to denote different languages confuses the modern readers because they take 'Kiranti' as a broader umbrella term for 'Rai', which includes several clans and languages under its cover.

Benedict (1972) also divides Sino-Tibetan into Tibeto-Karen and Sinitic groups. Then, he divided Tibeto-Karen into Proto-Karen and Tibeto-Burman sub-groups. Tibeto-Burman family is classified into Tibetan Kanauri, Bahing-Vayu, Abor-Miri-Dafla, Kachin, Burmese-Lolo, Kuki-Chin and Limbu is placed under the Bahing group. I have further developed the classification by classifying Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu and listing Taplejungge, Panthare and Phedappe under the latter group as shown in tree diagramme 4.

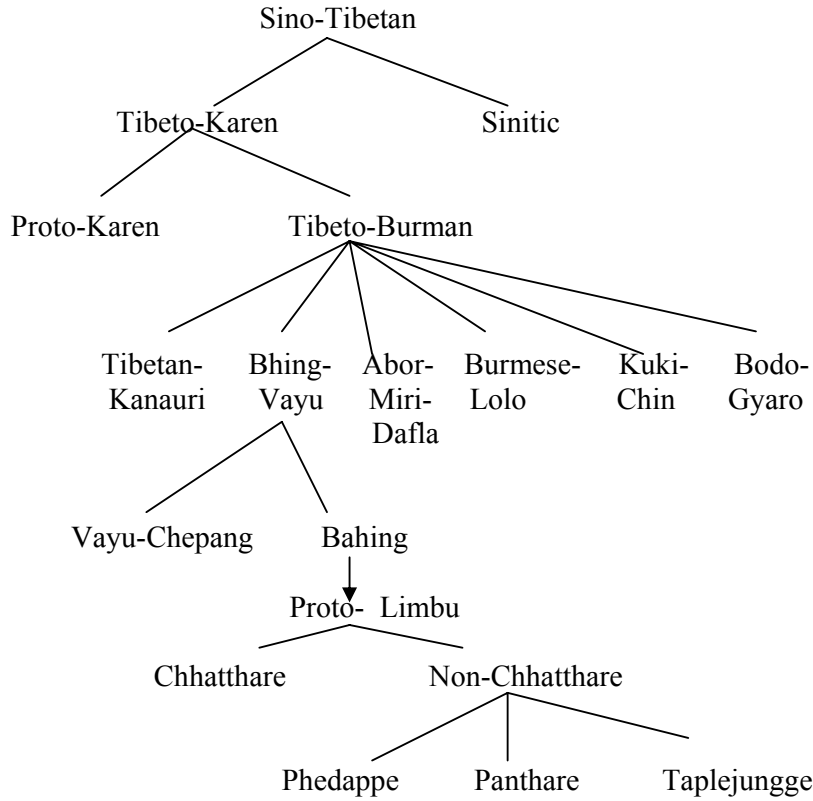


FIGURE 4. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Benedict 1972

Egerod (1974), like Benedict, calls Tibetic to the language group which is called 'Bodic' by Shafer and Bradley. Then he divides Tibetic into Bodish-Himalayish and Kirantish. Kirantish is classified into Western Kirantish and Eastern Kirantish. He lists Limbu under the Easter Kiranti group. I have developed further his classification by dividing Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu groups as shown in tree diagramme 4.

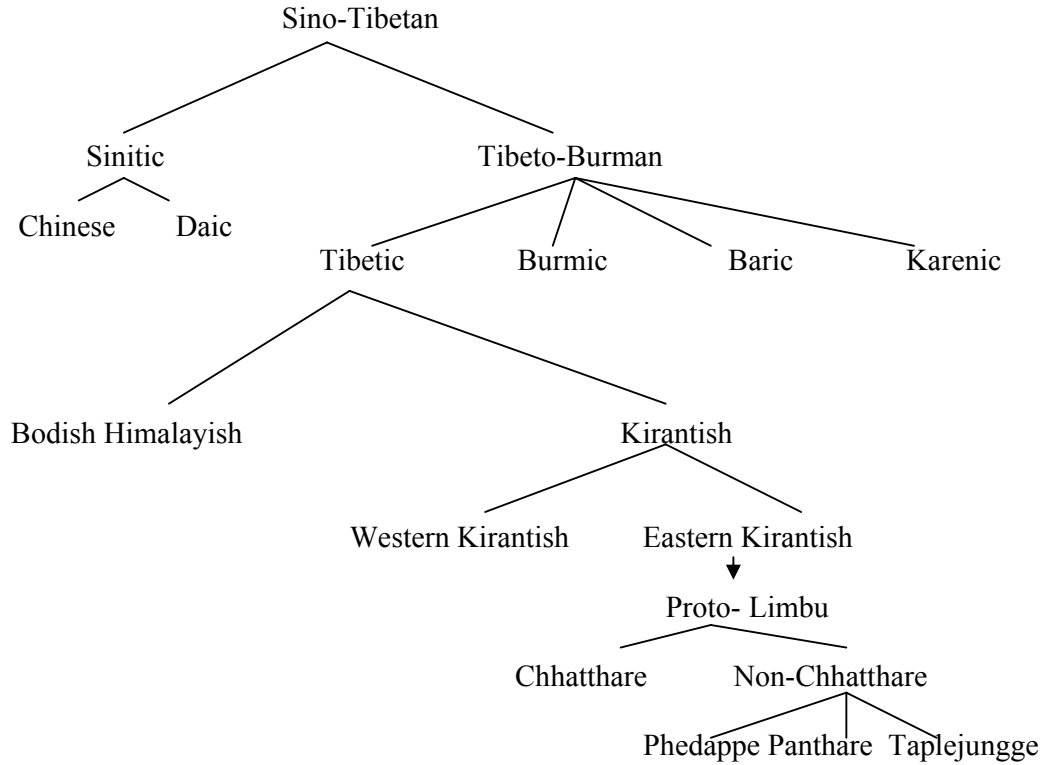


FIGURE 5. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Egerod 1974

Wiedert and Subba (1985:1) are right in their statement that Bahing-Vayu is a misnomer for Kiranti because Bahing is the name of a sub-group of Rai people and also the name of their language spoken within the western extension of the Kiranti languages. Further more, Vayu or Hayu has not yet established its position within the Kiranti languages. The use of the term ‘Rai’ as the name of a separate language (Benedict 1972:5) under Bahing-Vayu nucleus confuses a modern reader, who is set to perceive it as a cover term for the ethnic groups settling intermediate between Limbu and Sunuwar.

Hansson (1991:110) makes classification of Kiranti languages in the following way:

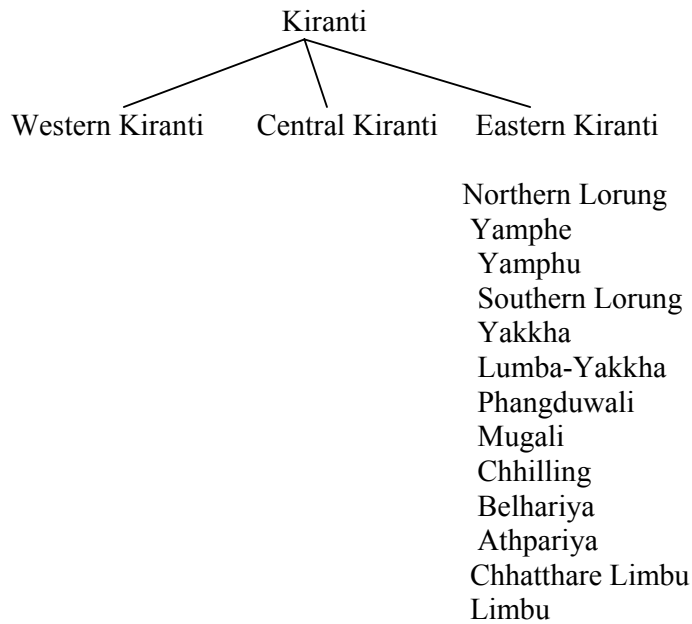


FIGURE 6. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu according to Hansson 1991

Hansson is the first linguist to give the status of language to Chhatthare Limbu.

Matisoff (1991:470) classifies Sino-Tibetan into Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman groups. Then, he divides Sinitic into Chinese, Tai-Kadai and Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao). On the other hand, he divides Tibeto-Burman into Kamarupan, Karenic, Himalayish, Baic, Qiangic, Kachinic and Lolo-Burmese. Limbu is placed among the Kiranti languages under the Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan family. I have developed his classification by dividing Kiranti into Limbu and non-Limbus and Limbus into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu as shown in tree diagramme.

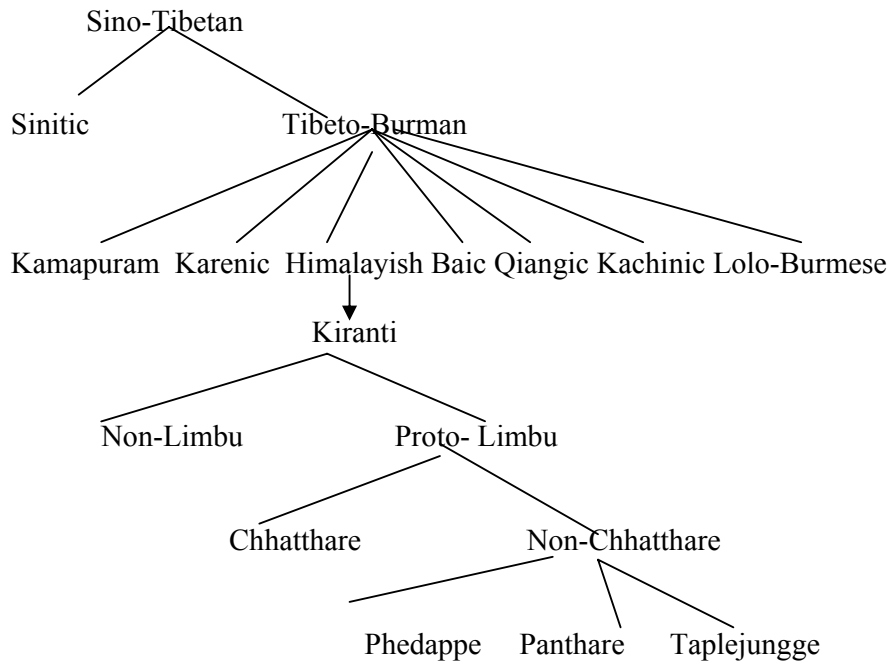


FIGURE 7. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Matisoff 1991

Bradley (1997) also follows the classification of Shafer in the major classification.

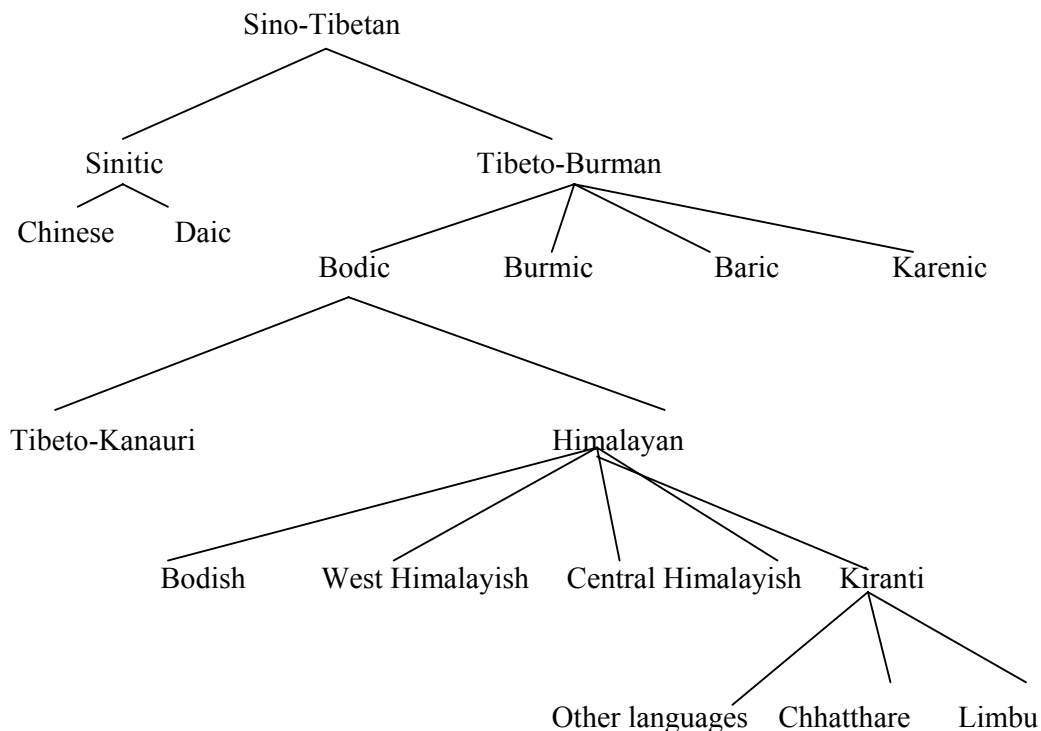


FIGURE 8. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Bradley

He divides Kiranti family of languages into thirty-five languages. In Bradley's classification, Chhatthare is placed as a separate language under the Kiranti group of languages. In Grierson's or Konow's classification, Chhatthare is not mentioned. Only Limbu is mentioned as a language group under the eastern sub-group of the Himalayish languages.

Ebert (2003) lists only 32 languages under the Kiranti family of languages. She places Chhatthare as a separate language in this classification. They can be shown in the following way:



FIGURE 9. Family Affiliation of Chhatthare Limbu according to Ebert 2003

LaPPolla (2003) divides Sino-Tibetan into Chinese and Tibeto-Burman. Under Tibeto-Burman, he includes Bodic, Qiangic, Rung, Karenic, Kuki-Chin, Tani and Bodo-Konyak-Jingphaw and Lolo-Burmese. He describes Limbu as a Kiranti sub-group of Rung group of languages. According to him, Limbu belongs to Kiranti sub-group of the Rung group of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan family of languages. I have extended his classification further by dividing Kiranti into Limbu and non-Limbu and Limbus into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu as shown in diagramme.

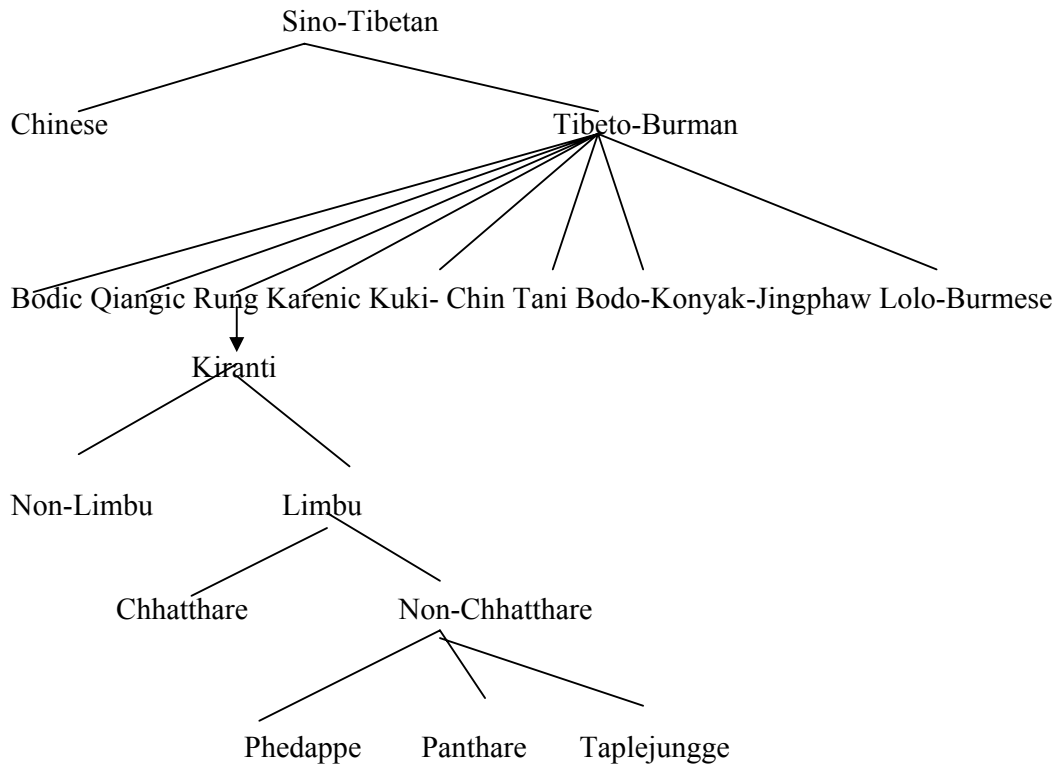


FIGURE 10. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following LaPPola 2003

Thurgood (2003:1) says that Sino-Tibetan language was spoken by the people living in Yellow river valley in the central plains of northern China. Later, this language split into Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman. Sinitic includes many Chinese dialects whereas Tibeto-Burman includes Lolo-Burmese, Bodic, Kuki-Chin-Naga, Rung, Karenic branches, other small sub-groups and ungrouped languages. Limbu falls under Kiranti sub-branch of the Rung Branch of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Sino-Tibetan family. I have extended his classification further by dividing Kiranti into Limbu and non-Limbu groups and further dividing Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu groups as shown in diagramme.

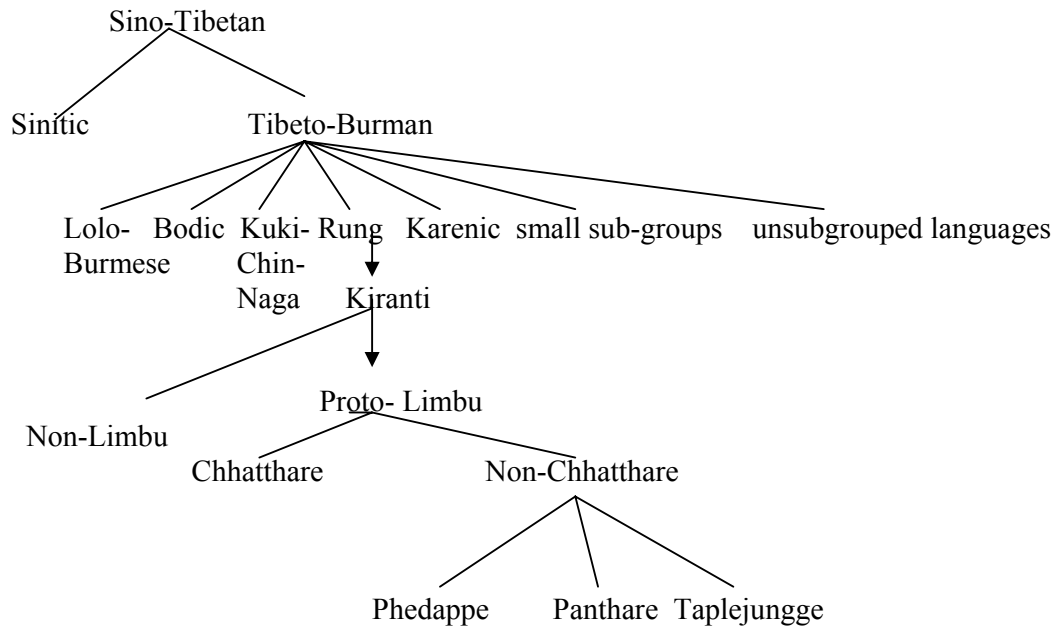


FIGURE 11. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Thurgood 2003

Rung branch, on the other hand, includes rGyarlung sub-group, Dulong and related languages, Kiranti, West Himalayan group, Kinauri, Almora, Kham-magar and Chepang and Qiangic languages. Limbu is placed under the Kiranti languages.

Gordon (2005) also calls Himalayish to the language group which are called 'Tibetic' by Benedict and Egerod and 'Bodic' by Shafer and Bradley. He divides it into Tibeto-Kanuari and Mahakiranti. He further divides it into Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwari and Kiranti groups. Limbu falls under the Kiranti sub-group of Mahakiranti group of languages. Chhatthare in turn is located under the Limbu family of languages. However, as it is different from other dialects, I have classified Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups as presented in the figure.

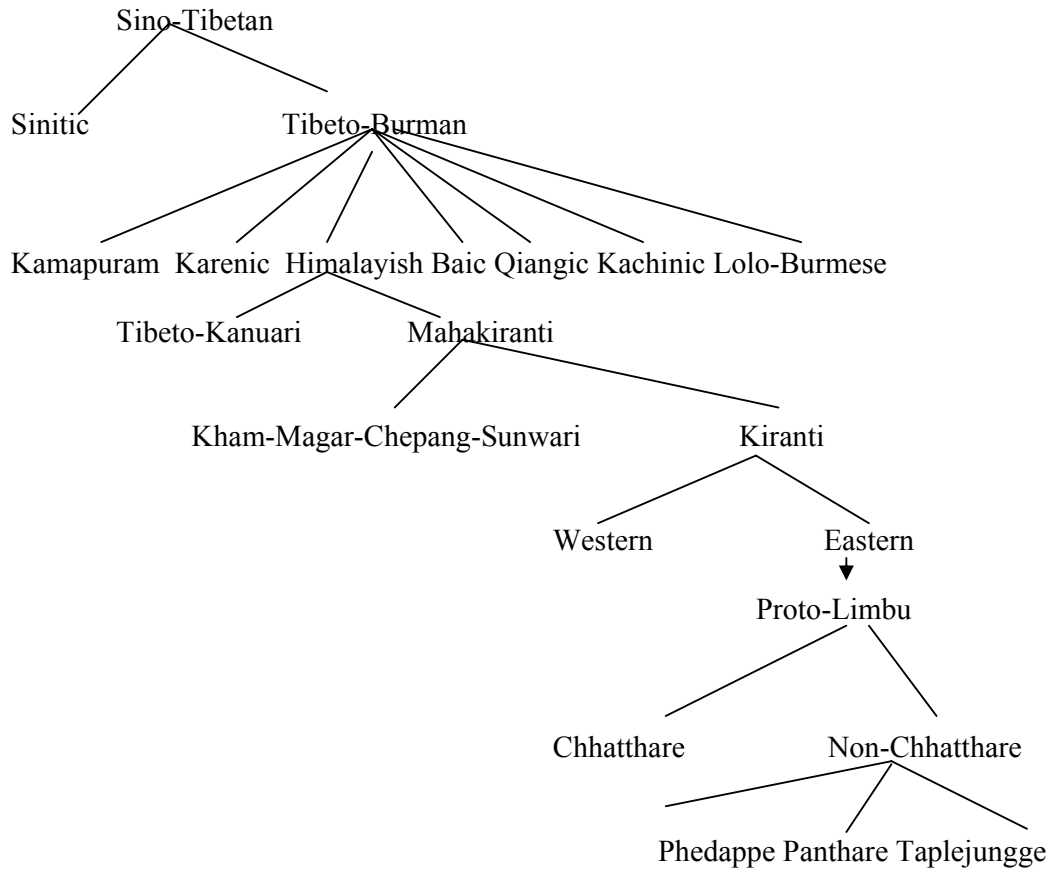


FIGURE 12. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Gordon. 2005

Watters (personal communication) calls Gordon's division of Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari as Central Himalayish (Magaranti) and Kiranti as East Himalayish (Kiranti). According to him, I have drawn the family tree of Chhatthare as follows:

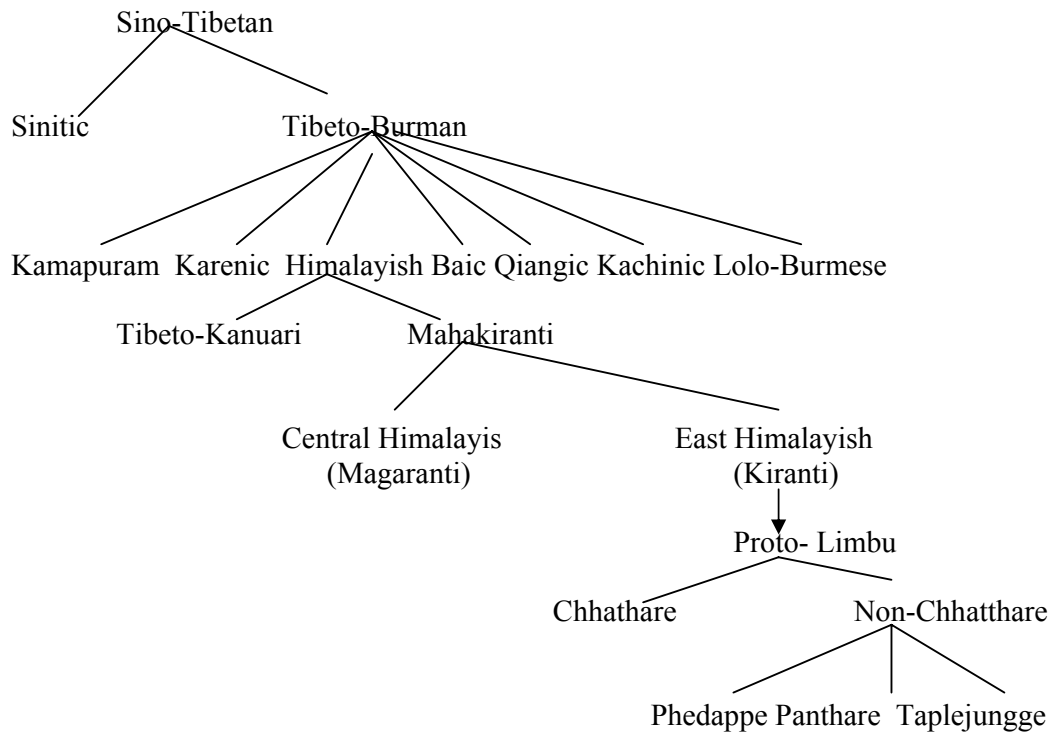


Figure 13. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Watters.

The three day workshop seminar gave me the impression that Chhatthare Limbu is really a distinct variant. Limbu, as a member of the Proto-Kiranti, shares its feature on the one hand, but it assumes unique features as a distinct language. In the remote past, Limbu diverged from the Proto-Kiranti group and established itself as a distinct language with unique character. This Proto-Limbu first diversified into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups. The non-Chhatthare group slowly diversified into Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungge dialects. The chronological relation between Chhatthare and other non-Chhatthare dialects is distant whereas that among non-Chhatthare dialects is close. Therefore, Chhatthare is not intelligible to the speakers of non-Chhatthare dialects.

12. BILINGUALISM IN NEPALI. Before the annexation of Limbuwan 'the land of the Limbus' to the Gurkha Kingdom by Prithivi Narayan Shah, it was independent and unique with its indigenous language and culture ruled by the Limbu Chieftains according to the tradition contained in the *Mundhum*, an oral tradition handed down from generation to generation by words of mouth. As it was inhabited by scanty population of other linguistic communities, the Limbus did not require being bilingual and hence they were monolingual. Other linguistic communities needed to be bilingual in Limbu in order to adjust with the ruling communities and fulfill routine needs. After the annexation, the Limbus fell to the gradual subjugation of the Gorkha kings and subsequently to their language and culture. During the reign of king Rana Bahadur Shah, a royal order was issued forbidding the use of Limbu language in any official letter to be addressed to the king. The area of its use further shrank when Chandra Shumser Rana declared that any document recorded in Limbu would have no authentic recognition. It meant that in daily affairs, if money was lent by a creditor to a debtor preparing a document in Limbu, the complaint resulting from the failure of paying the amount would not be heard in any court. It necessitated the use of Nepali language even in daily dealings. The use of Nepali as an official language, a medium of pedagogy and information, as a pre-requisite for gaining government services and other work opportunities from the Rana regime to the present day has provided congenial environment for the development of Nepali language. Moreover, the establishment of schools in almost every village and the delivery of education in Nepali medium has extended the access of Nepali to the grass root level of ethnic communities.

Nowadays, the general assumption is that every Limbu can understand it and speak it. The research carried out by Webster (2001) reports that the assumption that every Limbu knows Nepali is a myth. Only educated people in the community are proficient in Nepali and uneducated people though can speak Nepali to meet routine needs, they can not discuss complicated concepts such as religion, politics, and emotional issues in Nepali nor is their Nepali level enough for understanding necessary information about health, nutrition, etc. and gaining employment. Lee (2005:118) reports that most of the children and elderly people of Bayung community can not speak Nepali well. It is estimated that a Bayung child needs at least 1-4 years' time to acquire enough Nepali to understand the speech of Nepali speaking teacher. These children need primary education in their mother tongue to acquire functional literacy and math skills after which they are able to gain competence and confidence to tackle other challenges of learning in Nepali. Otherwise, only highly genius, persevering and resourceful child alone can complete the primary education in Nepali medium and proceed to acquire higher education. Almost all children can not complete the primary education because of the language problem. This case is

applicable even to the Limbu children. They need primary education in their mother tongue. As Chhatthare is entirely different from other dialects, its speakers need primary education in their mother tongue.

13. LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE. Limbu is used as a dominant language in the villages of hilly regions of Limbu abode. They use it at their homes, in the field, in the leisure time while playing or talking with friends and in the religious rituals and cultural programmes. Its use is relatively more in illiterate families than in the literate ones. Illiterate people are from poor family background and have to work for others to earn wages for their livelihood. They engage their children as cowboys when they are able to walk and do not send them to schools. These children are hardly familiar with Nepali language due to the lack of interaction with Nepali speaking people.

The literate people who are comparatively well off are shifting to Nepali language because of its necessity in gaining job opportunities and its growing importance in every sector. They expose their children to Nepali environment at their home speaking to them only in Nepali. So, there is a growing trend among the Limbus, particularly among young people toward more use of Nepali. All the same, those who use Nepali at their home and have no ability to speak their language also talk about the promotion and development of Limbu language. It indicates that the overall people's attitude towards the use of Limbu language is strong and positive. Webster (2001:67) says,

All indications are that Limbu will remain in use as a mother tongue for foreseeable future. In fact, some of the trend toward more use of Nepali may slow down, stop, or even reverse, given the strongly favourable attitude toward the use of Limbu and the efforts being made to promote its development.

However, while conducting his socio-linguistic survey of Limbu, Webster seems to have been quite pre-occupied with the notion that Panthare is a popular and superior dialect and it should be made the common language of all Limbus while compiling dictionaries, writing text-books and running mother tongue education. It is evident from his contradictory statement that Chhatthare is very different from other dialects of Limbu but he does not think it necessary to run mother tongue education in Chhatthare Limbu to facilitate the Chhatthare mother tongue children to acquire basic literacy and math skills nor does he see any need to compile dictionary, develop literature and preserve and promote Chhatthare dialect and benefit the world with its unique features. If his suggestions are implemented, then this language will some day die and it will die just because of the educational policy of the government. Moreover, even in the case of dialect, too, running mother tongue education in one dialect does not mean depriving other dialect speakers of the facility to learn in their mother dialect. Varankamp (1996:102) says, 'There is nothing wrong with developing and promoting more than one dialect.'

14. LANGUAGE VITALITY. The Limbus have deep love for their language and wish that it may flourish and develop into a medium of easy expression for the rich Limbu literature contained in *Mundhum*, oral tradition handed down by a word of mouth from one generation to another. Young generations switch over to Nepali for work opportunity and prestige they enjoy for being proficient in Nepali. Webster (2001:66) says,

that the knowledge of many Limbu words is being lost, may be upto 10% of the basic lexicon by the younger generation, is not a sign of imminent language death but a practical result of living in more ethnically mixed communities and using Nepali more commonly in more domains.

The awakening caused by the multi-party democracy after 1990 among the Limbus has inspired them to learn their language. No member of the Limbu community thinks that Limbu language may ever cease to exist but strongly believe that it will ever exist as a rich language adequate for literacy development.

15. SUMMARY. The Limbus consider *Limbu* as an exonym and *Yakthungba* as an endonym. However, plausible semantic interpretations of the terms are not available. Similarly, the term *Chhatthar* is a Nepali one which means ‘six clans’ but who the people of these six clans were is not yet clear. Both Khewa and Khajum have six clans and they each claim that since their clans have resided this area, it is called Chhatthar ‘the area of six clans’. The Limbus living in the Chhatthar area are called *Chhatthare Limbu* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba* and their language is called *Chhatthare Yakthungba Pan* or *Chhatthare Pan* in the mother tongue and simply as *Chhatthare Limbu* in non-native language. It is different from other dialects of Limbu. Until now, it is classified as a dialect of Limbu only on the ground of socio-linguistic consideration or because the Limbus in general recognize it as a dialect of Limbu and the Chhatthare Limbus also take it that way. On the basis of pure linguistic analysis, it is a separate language because it differs from other Limbu dialects in phonology, morphology and lexical words. But like the classification of Hanson (1991), Bradley (1997), Ebert (2003), it has not been directly descended from the Kiranti family. From the Kiranti family, it was descended as Proto-Limbu and from the Proto-Limbu, it separated into the Chhatthare Limbu and non-Chhatthare Limbu. So, Chhatthare Limbu is a dialect of Proto-Limbu. As it is linguistically different from the non-Chhatthare Limbu dialects, Chhatthare children should be delivered primary education in this language. The use of Nepali as an official language, a medium of pedagogy and information, as a pre-requisite for gaining government services and other work opportunities have compelled the Limbus to be bilingual. A few of them have switched their language code over to Nepali. However, every Limbu wishes that this language may flourish and prosper and they have been contributing to its development. The awareness of people for the promotion and development of their mother tongue indicates the bright future of Limbu language in general. On the basis of the index of synthesis, Limbu falls among the synthetic group of languages and on the basis of index of fusion, it falls among the fusional group of languages with single lexical item plus other affixes or more than one lexical item and multiple affixes.

CHAPTER 3
PHONOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION. This chapter deals with the phonological analysis of the Chhatthare Limbu according to the analytical procedures of phonology applied by Pike (1947) and Burquest and Payne (1993). In addition, it presents syllable structure, hiatus and diphthongization.

2. CONSONANTS. Chhatthare Limbu phonology has the sounds as recorded in table 9.

Place of Articulation



Manner of Articulation	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stop	p b pH bH	t d tH dH			k g kH gH	ʔ
Affricate			c j cH jH			
Fricative			s			h
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Liquid			l			
Trill				r		
Retroflex				ɻ ɻH H		
Glide	w			y		

Table 9 PHONETIC INVENTORY OF CONSONANTS

In the language in question, phonetically distinct sound which can be assigned phonemic status without minimal pair contrast is non-existent. Each sound is related with another one either by the place of articulation or by the manner of articulation. Therefore, a minimal pair of phonetically similar sounds must be constituted for contrast. Therefore, there is no possibility to select non-suspicious segments.

3. MINIMAL PAIR CONTRASTS OF CONSONANTS. Minimal pairs formed on the basis of aspiration, voicing, place of articulation, and manner of articulation exhibit semantic contrast. They are presented below for the identification of phonemes.

3.1. UNASPIRATED VERSUS ASPIRATED. As in other dialects of Limbu, in Chhatthare Limbu phonology, too, phonetic feature such as aspiration plays a functional role and is, therefore, semantically significant. The voiceless affricate and voiceless stops demonstrate such kind of tendency. Their voiced counterparts are, however, not contrastive in terms of aspiration.

The unaspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop /p/ contrasts with the aspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop /pH/.

(1)

(8)

- | | | |
|----|--------------|----------------------|
| a. | [sim] 'sari' | [siN] 'firewood' |
| b. | [lam] 'path' | [laN] 'leg' |
| c. | [nam] 'sun' | [naŋ] 'he gets mad.' |

The dental nasal /n/ contrasts with the velar nasal /N/.

(9)

- | | | |
|----|------------------|----------------|
| a. | [yan] 'weed.' | [yaŋ] 'money.' |
| b. | [pan] 'speech' | [paŋ] 'house' |
| c. | [tin] 'it burns' | [tiŋ] 'thorn' |

The bilabial semi-vowel /w/ contrasts with the palatal semi-vowel /y/.

(10)

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | [wEpma:] 'to spill' | [yEpma:] 'to stand' |
| b. | [wapma:] 'to put on' | [yapma:] 'to whine' |
| c. | [wa:ma:] 'to be somewhere' | [ya:ma:] 'female priest' |

The alveolar fricative /s/ contrasts with the glottal fricative /h/.

(11)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | [si:] 'louse' | [hi:] 'excreta' |
| b. | [sa:] 'meat' | [ha:] 'tooth' |
| c. | [sEmma:] 'to pluck out' | [hEmma:] 'to estimate' |

The bilabial stop /p/ contrasts with the glottal stop /ʔ/.

(12)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|-------------------|
| a. | [hEp] 'he embraces' | [hEʔ] 'it breaks' |
| b. | [lEp] 'he throws' | [lEʔ] 'he frees' |
| c. | [hap] 'he weeps' | [haʔ] 'he bites' |

The dental stop /t/ contrasts with the glottal stop /ʔ/.

(13)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | [lat] 'he enters' | [laʔ] 'he buys' |
| b. | [lEt] 'time over' | [lEʔ] 'he sets free' |
| c. | [hat] 'he distributes' | [haʔ] 'he bites' |

The velar stop /k/ contrasts with the glottal stop /ʔ/.

(14)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------------|
| a. | [hEk] 'he cuts' | [hEʔ] 'it breaks' |
| b. | [lEk] 'he changes' | [lEʔ] 'he sets free' |
| c. | [lak] 'it boils' | [laʔ] 'he buys' |

3.4. MANNER OF ARTICULATION. In the language, /b/ and /m/ and /g/ and /N/ are different only by one feature. The first sounds in the pair are oral whereas the last ones are nasal. When the speaker suffers from cold, he is likely to pronounce the nasal stops /m/ and /N/ like the oral stops /b/ and /g/ due to the blocking of the nasal passage for the air-stream. These two sounds are, however, distinct. The bilabial stop /b/ contrasts with the bilabial nasal /m/.

(15)

- | | | |
|----|----------------|--------------------|
| a. | [bo:] 'here' | [mo:] 'down there' |
| b. | [ba:] 'this' | [ma:] 'it loses' |
| d. | [bi:] 'is it?' | [mi:] 'fire' |

The velar stop /g/ contrasts with velar nasal /N/.

(16)

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | [ha:gu:] 'he husked it' | [ha:ŋu:] 'he cut it down' |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|

- b. [su:gu:] 'he awaited to attack' [su:ɲu:] 'he wrapped it'
 c. [yɔ:gu:] 'he searches it' [yɔ:Nu:] 'he takes it off'

The alveolar affricate /c/ contrasts with the alveolar fricative /s/. In other dialects of Limbu [cH] is treated as an allophone of the phoneme /s/. However, in the language in question, these two are separate phonemes.

(17)

- a. [cHi:ma:] 'to meet' [si:ma:] 'to die'
 b. [cHomma:] 'to fell' [somma:] 'to husk'
 c. [cHa:] 'child' [sa:] 'meat'

The palatal trill /r/ contrasts with the alveolar lateral /l/ in an identical environment in the initial position only in a limited pairs of utterances.

(18)

- a. [rɔk] 'only' [lɔk] 'share'
 b. [ri:] affirmative particle [li:] 'bow'
 c. [makra:] 'a kind of tree' [makla:] *khoya* in Nepali
 bharla in Nepali

4. DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANT PHONEMES. The phonemes of Limbu occur in the initial, medial and final positions. In the following section, each phoneme is distributed.

4.1. DISTRIBUTION OF /p/. /p/ is an unaspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(19)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [pi?] 'cow'	[sa:pu:] 'he wrote it.'	[sap] 'he writes.'
b. [pat] 'he speaks'	[si:pu:] 'he distilled it.'	[sip] 'he distills.'
c. [pe:] 'It flies'	[ha:pu:] 'he weeps for him.'	[hap] 'he weeps.'
d. [paN] 'house'	[ku:baN] 'his house'	[ku:lap] 'its wing'
e. [pima] 'to give'	[ka:bi:yu:] 'you gave him'	[ka:nup] 'you will drawn'
f. [paNbHE:] 'village'	[tHaNbEn] 'young man'	[kanlEp] 'they will throw at you'
g. [pɔNma] 'to lift something'	[mambɔksun] 'they did not lift it'	

In the medial position, the phoneme /p/ has two variants, [p] and [b]. It has the variant [p] in the medial position if the word is formed of a suffix. It has, however, a variant [b] if it is preceded by a vocalic or nasal prefix as in *ka-bat-u* 'you said it' or a nasal prefix as in *ka-m-biy-u-n* 'you did not give him' or after a nasal consonant as in *tHaNbEn*. Thus, /p/ has two allophonic variations: [p] and [b].

4.2. DISTRIBUTION OF /b/. /b/ is an unaspirated, voiced, bilabial stop. It occurs in all positions.

(20)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [ba:] 'this pierces'	[tHu:bu:] 'he pierced it'	[tHup] 'he pierces'
b. [bo:] 'here'	[la:bu:] 'he burned it'	[lap] 'he burns'
c. [bi:] 'is it? serves out'	[tHa:bu:] 'he served out it'	[tHap] 'he serves out'

The phoneme /b/ has two allophones: [b] and [p]. [b] never occurs in the word-final position.

4.3. DISTRIBUTION OF /pH/. /pH/ is an aspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop. It occurs in the initial and medial positions. It can not occur in the final position.

(21)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a. [pHendi:]	'ax'	[ku:bHendi:]	'his axe'	
b. [pHondak]	'cradle'	[cambHEN]	'beaten rice'	
c. [pH□:si:]	'pot'	[tambHuŋ]	'forest'	
d. [pHon]	'he hangs'	[kambHondun]	'you do not hang it'	

It has two allophones: [pH] and [bH]. [pH] is realized in the initial position and [bH] after the prefix or after a nasal consonant.

4.4. DISTRIBUTION OF /t/. /t/ is an unaspirated, voiceless, dental stop. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(22)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a. [tak]	'friend'	[kand□sun]	'you did not settle it'	[kEt] 'he brings up'
b. [toŋ]	'arrow'	[mEndak]	'goat'	[phEt] 'he brings from across'
c. [tiŋ]	'thorn'	[ka:det]	'cloth'	[hut] 'he rubs it'
d. [tok]	'it sells'	[pi:tu:]	'he sucks'	[pit] 'he sucks'

/t/ has two variants: [t] in the initial and final positions and [t] and [d] in the medial position. [t] occurs intervocalically before a vocalic suffix. [d] occurs after the prefix or after the nasal consonant.

4.5. DISTRIBUTION OF /t^h/. /t^h/ is, an aspirated, voiceless dental stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions. It does not occur in the syllable final position.

(23)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a. [tHak]	'loom'	[ku:dHak]	'his loom'	
b. [tHi:]	'local bear'	[ca:dHi:]	'food grain'	
c. [tHe:]	'bamboo thread'	[mu:dHo:]	'moustache'	
		[mandHu:Nun]	'they do not drink it'	

/t^h/ has two phonetic variants: [tH] in the initial position and [dH] in the medial position after a prefix or a nasal consonant.

4.6. DISTRIBUTION OF /k/. /k/ is an unaspirated, voiceless, velar stop. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(24)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a. [kakwa:]	'crow'	[na:ku:]	'he begged it'	[pHak] 'pig'
b. [ke:ba:]	'lion'	[a:ge:ba:]	'my lion'	[ka:huk] 'your hand'
c. [k□:da:ba:]	'snake'	[kaNg□:nEn]	'you do not fall'	[k□k] 'load'

/k/ has three allophonic variants: [k] in the initial and final positions and [g] in the medial position after a prefix or a nasal consonant. [k] in the medial position before the vocalic suffix remains voiceless even in intervocalic position.

4.7. DISTRIBUTION OF /g/. /g/ is a voiced, velar stop. It occurs in the medial and final positions.

(25)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
	[ha:gu:] 'he husked it'	[hak 'he husks'
	[la:gu:] 'he licks it'	[lak] 'he licks'
	[hE:gu:] 'he cuts'	[hEk] 'he cuts'
	[maNgE:na:] 'goddess'	[y□k] 'original place'
	[tHa:gekpa:] 'head'	[tH□k] 'body'

/g/ has two allophones: [g] in the medial position before a vocalic suffix as in *hagu*, intervocalically and after a nasal consonant in polysyllabic words and [k] in the final position.

4.8. DISTRIBUTION OF /k^h/. /kH/ is an aspirated, voiceless, velar stop. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(26)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [kHAm] 'soil'	[ku:gHAm] 'his land'	
b. [kHo:rEt] 'plate'	[ka:gHo:rEt] 'your plate'	
c. [kHe:suN] 'yeast'	[ka:gHo:wu:] 'you find it'	
d. [kHappu:] 'ash'	[maNgHa] 'far'	
e. [kHombrEk] 'peach'	[maNgHuksun] 'they did not use something over head'	

/kH/ has two phonetic variants: [kH] occurs in the initial position and [gH] occurs in the medial position after a prefix or a nasal consonant. It does not occur in the final position.

4.9. DISTRIBUTION OF /ʔ/. /ʔ/ is a glottal stop. It occurs in the medial and final positions.

(27)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a	[saʔwama] 'femine'	[piʔ] 'cow'
b.	[kEʔna:] 'I come up'	[kEʔ] 'he comes up'
c.	[hEʔna:] 'I break'	[hEʔ] 'he breaks'

In the middle position before the bilabial semi-vowel /w/ as in 27a, it is alternatively used with the voiceless velar stop /k/. So, *saʔwama* can be alternatively pronounced as *sakwama*. In a vowel initial word such as *ʔkma* 'to twist', it optionally occurs in the initial position.

4.10. DISTRIBUTION OF /c/. /c/ is an unaspirated voiceless, alveolar affricate. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(28)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [ca:] 'paddy'	[a:ja:] 'my paddy'	
b. [cit] 'he is greedy'	[kanjitnEn] 'you are not greedy'	
c. [cuk] 'he does.'	[ka:juk] 'you do.'	
d. [cEp] 'bamboo-basket'	[la:jE:] 'land'	

- e. [cEttHE:] ‘dish’ [mu:jokluN] Sagarmatha
 f. [cEmBE:] ‘soyabin’ [hEnja:] ‘child’

/c/ has two phonetic variants: [c] and [j]. The first one occurs in the initial position and the second one in the medial position after a prefix or a nasal consonant. It can not occur in the final position.

4.11. DISTRIBUTION OF /cH/. /cH/ is an aspirated, voiceless, alveolar affricate. It occurs only in the initial and medial positions.

(29)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [cHu:ma:] 'to touch'	[kacHuba]	'one who touches'
b. [cHi:ma:]	'to meet' [ka:cHi:ru:]	
c. [cHe:ma:]	'to urinate' [ka:cHe:wu:]	'you urinated it.'
d. [cHa:] 'child'	[kanjHa:]	'your sibling'
	[kunjHa:]	'his sibling'
	[anjHa:]	'my sibling'
e. [cHu:ma:] 'to touch'	[kancHu:nEn]	'he doesn't touch you'

/cH/ has two phonetic variants: [cH] and [jH]. However, [jH] occurs only after the augmented nasal consonant of a prefixal kinship term. Elsewhere [cH] occurs consistently.

4.12. DISTRIBUTION OF /s/. /s/ is a voiceless, alveolar fricative. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(30)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [sEpmaŋ]	'dream' [a:sEpmaŋ]	'my dream'
b. [sipma:]	'to distill' [ka:si:pu:]	'you distilled.'
c. [so:gHa:]	'ghost' [ku:so:gHa:]	'his spirit'

/s/ has no phonetic variant and is realized as [s] in its occurrences in initial and medial positions.

4.13. DISTRIBUTION OF /h/. /h/ is a voiceless, glottal fricative. It occurs only in the initial and medial positions.

(31)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [haŋ]	'king' [ka:haŋ]	'your king'
b. [ho:rik]	'skin' [ka:horik]	'your skin'
c. [hapma:]	'to weep' [ka:hap]	'you weep'

/h/ has no phonetic variant and is realized as [h] in its occurrences in initial and medial positions.

4.14. DISTRIBUTION OF /m/. /m/ is a bilabial nasal. It occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

(32)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [maŋ]	'goddess' [pHEmba:]	'blacksmith' [lam]
b. [mEndak]	'goat' [lumba:]	'plate' [sam]
c. [makkHo:]	'garlik' [sumba:]	'trouser' [yum]
		'salt.'

/m/ has no phonetic variant and is realized as [m] in its occurrences in all positions.

4.15. DISTRIBUTION OF /n/. /n/ is a dental nasal. It occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

(33)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a. [nEnnE:]	'elder sister'	[kHE:nE:]	'you'	[□n] 'horse'
b. [nEnd□re]	'sister-in law'	[a:ni:]	'we'	[wa:dHin] 'hen-egg'
c. [nunjHa:]	'sibling'	[pHa:n□k]	'bamboo-suit'	[pH□n] 'hail'

/n/ has no phonetic variant and is realized as [n] in its occurrences in all positions.

4.16. DISTRIBUTION OF /ŋ/. /ŋ/ is a velar nasal. It occurs only in medial and final positions.

(34)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a.		[lu:ŋa:]	'brother'	[luŋ] 'stone'
b.		[s□:ŋa:]	'brother'	[tiŋ] 'thorn'
c.		[hu:ŋu:]	'he paid it'	[siŋ] 'wood'

/N/ has no any phonetic variant and is realized as [N] in medial and final positions. In Panthare (Wiedert and Subba 1985, Kainla (2003), Phedappe (Driem 1987) and Taplejungge (Mikhailovsky 2003) dialects, it occurs even in the initial position such as in *Na* 'fish', which is called *na* in Chhatthare Limbu.

4.17. DISTRIBUTION OF /l/. /l/ is an alveolar lateral. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(35)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a. [lam]	'path'	[ku:lam]	'his path'	
b. [laŋ]	'leg'	[pHa:laŋ]	'pig- leg'	
c. [luŋ]	'stone'	[ha?luN]	'fireplace'	

/l/ is realized as [l] in all of its occurrences. In native words, it does not occur in word final position. It, however, occurs in Nepali loan words with syllable- final [l] such as *sural* 'trouser', *tHal* 'dish' etc.

4.18. DISTRIBUTION OF /r/. /r/ is a palatal trill. It occurs in initial and medial positions.

(36)

Initial position		Medial position		Final position
a. /r□k/	'only'	[a:r□k]	'only me'	
b. /ri:/	assertive particle	[pHa:ru:]	'he helps him.'	
c. /ro:/	assertive particle	[ha:ru:]	'he bit him.'	

/r/ occurs rarely in the initial position and does not occur syllable finally or word-finally in the native tongue and is pronounced as [r] in all occurrences. But when it occurs in its assertive particle *ro* after the consonant, it may change to [l] as an idiolectal variant as in *tegaNlo* ' I went', which is, normally, pronounced as *tegaNro*. In Nepali loan words, /r/ occurs in the final position such as in *kHir*

‘pudding’, *pir* ‘worry’, *tir* ‘arrow’ etc. Similarly, it occurs word-initially in numerous loan words such as in *rumal* ‘handkerchief’ *r□ksi* ‘local wine’, *r□N* ‘colour’ etc.

4.19. DISTRIBUTION OF /w/. /w/ is a semi-vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(37)

Initial position	medial position	Final position
a. [wa:] ‘hen’	[kakwa:] ‘crow’	
b. [wan] ‘it shakes’	[sakwa:ma:] ‘starvation’	
c. [wet] ‘it spills’	[saNwe?] ‘buffalo’	

/wa/ has no phonetic variation. It is pronounced as [w] in all occurrences. It does not occur in the final position.

4.20. DISTRIBUTION OF /y/. /y/ is a palatal semi-vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(38)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [yan] ‘weed’	[po:ya:] ‘it increased’	
b. [yan] ‘money’	[ka:yan] ‘your money’	
c. [y□k] ‘origin’	[ka:y□k] ‘your origin’	

/y/ does not occur in the final position and is pronounced as [y] in all occurrences.

5. COMPLEMENTARY DISTRIBUTIONS OR ALLOPHONES. The suspicious pairs listed above have also such pairs which contain non-contrastive sounds. Their distribution exhibit that they are phonetically similar and mutually exclusive or they are complementary to each other. They are allophones. The pairs are as follows:

(39)

- a. [pH] ~ [bH]
- b. [tH] ~ [dH]
- c. [kH] ~ [gH]
- d. [p] ~ [b]
- e. [t] ~ [d]
- f. [k] ~ [g]
- g. [c] ~ [j]

/pH/, /tH/ and /kH/ change to their voiced counterparts when they occur in intervocalic position after a prefix or a nasal consonant.

(40)

a. [pHa:k] ‘pig’	[ka: bHak]	‘your pig’
b. [pHaksu:] ‘he untied it’	[kambHaksun]	‘you do not untie it’
c. [tHi:] ‘local beer’	[ka:dHi:]	‘your local beer’
d. [tHoksu:] ‘he ploughed it’	[kan:dHoksun]	‘you did not plough it’
e. [kH□NbE:] ‘boat’	[ka:gH□NbE:]	‘your boat’
f. [kHEpsu:] ‘he heard it’	[kaNgHEpsun]	‘you did not hear it’

Similarly, /p/, /t/ /k/ and /c/ change to their voiced counterparts when they occur in intervocalic position after a prefix or a nasal consonant.

(41)

a. [paN] ‘house’	[ka: baN]	‘your house’
b. [paksu:] ‘he sent him’	[kambaksun]	‘you did not send him/her.’
c. [toN] ‘arrow’	[kadoN]	‘your arrow’

- d. [ta:ru:] 'he brought it' [kanda:run] 'you did not bring it'
 e. [kaN] 'he searched for it' [ka:gaN] 'your spade'
 f. [k□ttu:] 'he had it' [ka:N g□ttun] 'you do not have it'
 g. [ca:] 'paddy' [ka: ja:] 'your paddy'
 h. [cEppu:] 'he cut it' [ka:jEppu:] 'you cut it'

6. CONSONANT PHONEMES. On the basis of the above analysis, Chhatthare Limbu contains consonant phonemes as listed in table (10).

Manner of Articulation	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stop	p b pH	t tH			k g kH	?
Affricate			c cH			
Fricative			s			h
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Liquid			l			
Trill				r		
Glide	w			y		

TABLE 10. PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF CONSONANTS

Positions along the horizontal parameter are points of articulation from front to back in the mouth and positions along the vertical parameter are manner of articulation. From top to bottom, the consonants go from those with the greatest degree of closure to those with the least degree of closure.

7. ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF CONSONANTS. Phonemic representation is abstract and rule-bound. It requires its speakers to remember allophonic rules every time he or she pronounces a word. Therefore, for the sake of relieving him or her of the problem to memorize the rule, its orthography should follow the phonetic transcription. However, for the sake of economy and acquiring the knowledge of its abstract form, phonemic transcription is very helpful. Therefore, it is advisable to use both phonetic and phonemic transcriptions while teaching this language.

Manner of Articulation	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stop	p b pH bH	t d tH dH			k g kH gH	?
Affricate			c j cH jH			
Fricative			s			h
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Liquid			l			
Trill				r		
Retroflex				□ □H	 H	
Glide	w			y		

TABLE 11. ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF CONSONANTS

As [bH],[dH],[gH], [b], [d], [g] and [j] as shown in 39, 40 and 41 are allophones of /pH/ , /tH/, /kH/, /p/, /t/, /k/ and /c/ respectively and they are, as a rule, to be represented by their phonemes as in 42. In phonemic transcription, vowel length is not shown as it is not contrastive in the language. In addition, in phonetic transcription too, it is advisable not to use vowel length once it has been established that it is not phonemic because the vowel allophones are not complicated ones like consonant allophones.

(42)

Word	Phonetic	Phonemic	Glossing
a. /pHak/ 'pig'	[ka: bHak]	/kapHak/	'your pig'
b. /pHaksu/ 'he untied it'	[kambHaksun]	/kanpHaksun/	'you do not untie it'
c. /tHi/ 'local beer'	[ka:dHi:]	/katHi/	'your local beer'
d. /tHoksu/ 'he ploughed it'	[kandHoksun]	/kantHoksun/	'you did not plough it'
e. /kH□NbE/ 'boat'	[ka: gH□NbE:]	/kakH□NbE/	'your boat'
f. kHEps-u 'he heard it'	[kaNgHEpsun]	/kankHEpsun/	'you did not hear it'
g. /paN/ 'house'	[ka:baN]	/kapaN/	'your house'
h. /paksu/ 'he sent him'	[kambaksun]	/kanpaksun/	'you did not send him/her.'
i. /toN/ 'arrow'	[ka: doN]	/katoN/	'your arrow'
j. /taru/ 'he brought it'	[kanda:run]	/kantarun/	'you did not bring it'
k. /kaN/ 'he searched for it'	[ka:gaN]	/kakaN/	'your spade'
l. /k□ttu/ 'he had it'	[kaNg□ttun]	/kank□ttun/	'you do not have it'
g. /ca/ 'paddy'	[ka:ja:]	/kaca/	'your paddy'
h. /cEppu/ 'he cut it'	[ka-jEpp-u]	/kacEppu/	'you cut it'

8. CONSTRAINTS OF CONSONANTS. The Chhatthare Limbu phonological system does not allow all consonants to occur in all positions. They have positional constraints as enumerated below.

- The aspirated plosives /pH/, /t^h/ and /k^h/ can not occur in the final position.
- Glides such as /w/ and /y/ can not occur in the final position.
- Fricatives like /s/ and /h/ can not occur in the final position.
- Affricates can not occur in the final position.
- velar nasal /ŋ/ can not occur in the word initial position.
- Alveolar liquid /l/ and palatal trill /r/ can not occur in the final position.
- Voiced, velar stop /g/ can not occur in the initial and final position.
- Voiced, bilabial stop /b/ can not occur in the final position.

9. VOWELS. Chhathare Limbu consists of the following vowels:

	Front Unround	Centre	Back Round
Close	i i:		u: u
Half close	e e:		o: o
Half open	ɛ ɛ:		ɔ: ɔ
Open		a a:	

TABLE 12. PHONETIC INVENTORY OF VOWELS

10. MINIMAL PAIR CONTRAST OF VOWEL. Vowels contrast with each other in the initial, medial and final positions. The examples in 43 show contrast in the initial position.

(43)

- a. [ikma:] 'to twist'
- b. [ekma:] 'to be broken'
- c. [Ekma:] 'to winnow'
- d. [akma:] 'to be uprooted'
- e. [ɔkma:] 'to be detached' 'to cry loudly'
- f. [okma:] 'to scratch'
- g. [ukma:] 'to bring'

The examples in 44 show contrast in the medial position

(44)

- a. [si:ma:] 'to die'
- b. [se:ma:] 'to urinate'
- c. [sE:ma:] 'to scatter'
- d. [sa:ma:] 'to make available'
- e. [sɔ:ma:] 'to mix and mould'
- f. [so:ma:] 'to itch'
- g. [su:ma:] 'to touch'

The examples in 45 show contrast in the final position.

(45)

- a. [si:] 'he dies'
- b. [se:] 'he urinates'
- c. [sE:] 'he scatters'
- d. [sa:] 'to drops somebody'
- e. [sɔ:] 'he kneads'
- f. [so:] 'it itches'
- g. [su:] 'he is lazy'

Similarly, vowels contrast with each other on the basis of tongue height- close, half close, half open and open.

The unrounded, close vowel /i/ contrasts with the unrounded, half close vowel /e/.

(46)

- a. [ip] 'he makes sleep' [ep] 'he treads'
- b. [it] 'he remembers' [et] 'he laughs'
- c. [ik] 'he twists' [ek] 'backbone'

The rounded, close vowel /u/ contrasts with the rounded, half close vowel /o/.

(47)

- a. [ut] 'he calls' [ot] 'it shines'
- b. [uk] 'he brings down' [ok] 'he scratches'
- c. [sum] 'he collects' [som] 'he touches'

The rounded, half close vowel /o/ contrast with rounded, half open vowel /ɔ/.

(48)

- a. [kot] 'he searches' [kɔt] 'he has it'
- b. [ok] 'he scratches' [ɔk] 'he cries'
- c. [con] 'it falls' [cɔn] 'he pushes'

The unrounded, half close vowel /e/ contrasts with the unrounded, half open vowel.

(49)

- a. [pHen] 'loincloth' [pHEN] 'he comes'
- b. [tHEk] 'he blocks' [tHEK] 'he inserts something by force'
- c. [pHEt] 'he farts at' [pHEt] 'he brings from across'

The unrounded, front, half open vowel /E/ contrasts with the unrounded, centre, open vowel /a/.

(50)

- a. [Ep] 'he airs' [ap] 'he shoots'
- b. [lEm] 'it is slippery' [lam] 'way'
- c. [lEN] 'he slips' [laN] 'leg'

The rounded, back, half open, vowel /ɔ/ contrasts with unrounded, centre, open vowel /a/.

(51)

- a. [tɔk] 'rice' [tak] 'friend'
- b. [lɔm] 'he beats' [lam] 'way'
- c. [yɔn] 'it is big' [yan] 'weed'

Vowels contrast with each other on the basis of tongue position and lip position. The unrounded, front, close vowel /i/ contrasts with the rounded, back, close vowel /u/.

(52)

- a. [lip] 'it is heavy' [lup] 'he buries'
- b. [pit] 'he sucks' [put] 'it boils'
- c. [ik] 'he twists' [uk] 'he brings down'

The unrounded, front, half close vowel /e/ contrasts with the rounded, back, half-close vowel /o/.

(53)

- a. [et] 'he laughs' [ot] 'it shines'
- b. [se] 'he urinates' [so] 'it itches'
- e. [ken] 'he is tall' [kon] 'he searches'

The unrounded, front, half open vowel contrasts with the rounded, back, half-open vowel /ɔ/.
(54)

- | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|--------|----------------|
| a. [Et] | 'he locks.' | [ɔt] | 'he occupies.' |
| b. [Ek] | 'it breaks' | [ɔk] | 'it wears out' |
| c. [pHEn] | 'he comes.' | [pHɔn] | 'snow-flake' |

11. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWEL PHONEMES. The long vowels occur in CV, VCV and CVCV structure. They, however, do not contrast with their corresponding short vowels as they occur in mutually exclusive environments.

11.1. DISTRIBUTION OF /i/ . /i:/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.
(55)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position			
a. [im]	'he sleeps'	[tim]	'it is filled.'	[te:gi:]	'let's go
b. [ikma:]	'to twist.'	[tHim]	'he fills'	[yu:ɲi:]	'let's sit.'
c. [ipma:]	'to think.'	[sim]	'sari'	[i:hi:]	'let's move around.'

/i/ has two allophonic variants –[i] and [i:]. The short vowel occurs in a close syllable whereas the long vowel occurs in an open syllable.

11.2. DISTRIBUTION OF /e/ . /e:/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.
(56)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position			
a. [epma:]	'to tread'	se:gu:	'he chose it'	[te:]	'he goes.'
b. [e:tu:]	'he laughed at him.'	[ne:tu:]	'he pressed it.'	[ke:]	'drum'
c. [ek]	'backbone'	[se:tu:]	'he urinated it.'	[se:]	'he urinates'

/e/ has short and long variants. Short [e] occurs in a close syllable whereas long [e:] occurs in an open syllable.

11.3. DISTRIBUTION OF /E/ . /E:/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.
(57)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position			
a. [Ettu:]	'he locked it'	[sEttu:]	'he piled it up'	[sE:]	'he scatters'
b. [Ep]	'he stands'	[hE:gu:]	'he cut it'	[phE:]	'he flies'
c. [Ek]	'he winnows'	[E:gu:]	'it pained it'	[nE:]	'he lies'

[E] and [E:] are allophonic variants. Short vowel occurs in a close syllable whereas long vowel occurs in an open syllable.

11.4. DISTRIBUTION OF /a/ . /a:/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.
(58)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position			
a. [ap]	'he shoots'	[happu:]	'it was entangled.'	[te:ga:]	'he went.'
b. [a:jam]	'we eat.'	[ha:pu:]	'he wept for him.'	[ha:ba:]	'he wept.'
d. [a:serum]	'we killed him.'	[kHappu:]	'he roofed it.'	[la:ha:]	'he entered'

/a/ has two phonetic variants. [a] occurs in a close syllable and [a:] occurs in an open syllable.

11.5. DISTRIBUTION OF /ɑ/. /ɑ/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(59)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [ɑk] 'he digs'	[tɑk] 'rice'	[cɑ:] 'he ate'.
b. [ɑt] 'he occupies'	[sɑ:ru:] 'he kneaded it'	[kɑ:] 'he falls down'
c. [ɑksu:] 'he detached it.'	[sɑksu:] 'he sold it'	[sɑ:] 'he kneads'

/ɑ/ has [ɑ] and [ɑ:] variants. [ɑ] occurs in a close syllable whereas [ɑ:] occurs in an open syllable.

11.6. DISTRIBUTION OF /o/. /o/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(60)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [ot] 'it shines'	[ko:tu:] 'he searched for it'	[ko:] 'it is hot.'
b. [opma:] 'to shine'	[kopma:] 'to search'	[to:] 'up'
c. [ok] 'he scratches'	[so:ku:] 'he pointed it'	[so:] 'it itches.'

[o] and [o:] are phonetic variants. [o] occurs in a close syllable and [o:] occurs in an open syllable.

11.7. DISTRIBUTION OF /u/

/u/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(61)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. [ukma:] 'to bring.'	[pu:tu:] 'it boiled.'	[pu:] 'bird'
b. [ukku:] 'he brought it'	[tHubu:] 'he stabbed it'	[cHu:] 'he touches'
c. [upma:] 'to call'	[cu:gu:] 'he did it'	[su:] 'he is lazy.'

[u] and [u:] are phonetic variants. [u] occurs in a close syllable but [u:] occurs in an open syllable.

12. PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF VOWELS. Vowels can be classified according to the position of the tongue and the shape of the lips. The highest position of the tongue has two axes: the horizontal axis and vertical axis. The horizontal axis has three points: front, centre and back and the vertical axis has four points: close, half close, half open and open. These two axes give us two variables of classifications of vowels: tongue height and tongue position. The rounding of lips is the third variable for the classification of vowels. On the basis of the above study, the vowel phonemes of Chhatthare Limbu can be schematized in the following way:

	Front	Centre	Back
	Unround	Unround	Round
Close	i		u

Half-close	e	o
Half-open	E	□
Open	a	

TABLE 13 PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF VOWELS

13. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF VOWELS. Chhatthare Limbu does not show vowel length contrast. Vowel length occurs only if syllable final position is empty. It has no complication like the consonants. Therefore, its orthography system does not require to introduce vowel length.

13.1. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /i/. [i] and [i:] are the allophones of the phoneme /i/. They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(62)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. /im/ 'he sleeps'	/tim/ 'it is filled.'	/tegi/'let's go
b. /ikma/ 'he twisted it.'	/tHim/ 'he fills'	/yuŋi/'let's sit.'
c. /ipma/ 'I move around.'	/sim/ 'sari'	[i:hi:]'let's move around.'

13.2. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /e/. [e] and [e:] are the allophones of the phoneme /e/. They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way:

(63)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. /epma/ 'to tread'	/segu/ 'he chose it'	/te/ 'He goes.'
b. /e:tu/ 'he laughed at him.'	/netu/ 'he pressed it.'	/ke/'drum'
c. /ek/ 'backbone'	/se:tu:/ 'he urinated it.'	/se/ 'he urinates'

13.3. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /E/. [E] and [E:] are the allophones of the phoneme /E/. They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(64)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. /Ettu/ 'he locked it'	/sEttu/ 'he piled it up'	/sE/ 'he scatters'
b. /Ep/ 'he stands'	/hEgu/ 'he cut it'	/phE/ 'he flies'
c. /Ek/ 'he winnows'	/Egu/ 'it pained it'	/nE/ 'he lies'

13.4. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /a/. [a and [a:] are the allophones of the phoneme /a/. They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(65)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. /ap/ 'he shoots'	/happu/ 'it was entangled.'	/tega/ 'he went.'
b. /ajam/ 'we eat.'	/ha:pu/ 'he wept for him.'	/haba/ 'he wept.'

c. /asErum/ 'we killed him.' /kHappu/ 'he roofed it.' /laha/ 'he entered'

13.5. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /ɔ/. [ɔ] and [ɔ:] are the allophones of the phoneme /ɔ/. They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(66)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. /ɔk/ 'he digs'	/tɔk/ 'rice'	/cɔ/ 'he ate'.
b /ɔt/ 'he occupies'	/sɔru/ 'he kneaded it'	/kɔ/ 'he falls down'
c./ɔksu/ 'he detached it.'	/sɔksu/ 'he sold it'	/sɔ/ 'he kneads'

13.6. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /o/. [o] and [o:] are the allophones of the phoneme /o/. They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(67)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. /ot/ 'it shines'	/kotu/ 'he searched for it'	/ko/ 'it is hot.'
b. /opma/ 'to shine'	/kopma/ 'to search'	/to/ 'up'
c. /ok/ 'he scratches'	/soku/ 'he pointed it'	/so/ 'it itches.'

13.7. PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /u/. [u] and [u:] are the allophones of the phoneme /u/. They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(68)

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
a. /ukma/ 'to bring.'	/putu/ 'it was boiled.'	/pu/ 'bird'
b. /ukku/ 'he brought it'	/tHubu/ 'he stabbed it'	/cHu/ 'he touches'
c. /upma/ 'to call'	/cu:gu/ 'he did it'	/su/ 'he is lazy.'

14. SYLLABLE. In Chhatthare Limbu, a syllable may contain only a vowel, consonant and vowel and consonant, vowel and consonant sequences. The canonical shape of the syllable is as follows:

(69)

Onset	Rhyme	Coda	
C	V	C	
	i		'he visits.'
s	i		'he dies.'
s	e	n	'he departs.'

There are two types of syllables in Chhatthare Limbu. They are close syllable and open syllable.

14.1. OPEN SYLLABLE. All vowels can occur in the final position of an open syllable.

(70)

Onset	Rhyme	
C	V	
s	i	'he dies'

s	e	'he urinates.'
s	E	'he scatters'
s	□	'he kneads.'
s	o	'it itches'
s	u	'he is lazy.'

Similarly, except the voiced velar stop /g/, all consonant phonemes can occur in the onset position of the open syllable.

(71)

p	a	'father'
p ^h	a	'he helps'
b	a	'this'
t	a	'he comes'
t ^h	a	'he descends'
k	e	'drum'
k ^h	e	'yam'
?	i	'he wanders'
s	a	'meat'
h	a	'tooth'
c	a	'paddy'
c ^h	a	'child'
m	a	'mother'
n	a	'fish'
N	a	'agentive case marker'
l	e	'penis'
r	o	'assertive particle'
w	a	'hen'
y	a	'it tickles'

However, glottal stop is optional in ?i 'he wanders'. It is pronounced without the glottal stop also.

14.2. CLOSE SYLLABLE. All voiceless, unaspirated stops, glottal stop and nasal consonants can occur in the syllable final position.

(72)

Onset	Rhyme	Coda	
s	i	p	'he distills.'
p	i	t	'he sucks.'
s	e	k	'he chooses.'
p	i	?	'cow'
s	i	m	'sari'
t	i	n	'it burns.'
t	i	ŋ	'thorn'

Except voiced bilabial stop /b/, voiced velar stop /g/ and velar nasal /N/, all the consonant phonemes occur in the syllable initial position of close syllable.

(73)

Onset	Rhyme	Coda	
p	a	t	'he speaks.'
p ^h	a	t	'he fills.'

t	□	k	'rice'
t ^h	a	ŋ	'cow-shed'
k	a	ŋ	'spade'
k ^h	o	m	'he picks up.'
s	i	m	'sari'
c	i	t	'he is greedy'
c ^h	o	n	'he fells'
m	a	ŋ	'goddess'
n	i	ŋ	'thatch'
h	i	ŋ	'he lives.'
l	a	ŋ	'leg'
r	□	k	'only'
w	e	t	'it spills.'
y	o	k	'mark'
?	i	N	'he buys'

However, the velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs in word internal syllable initial position in words such as /t^huŋŋa/, 'I drink', /huŋŋa/ 'I pay' etc.. Exceptionally, /b/ occurs in a close syllable as in *buN* 'tree' but it occurs only with a noun such as *siN* as in *siNbuN* 'tree trunk' or *ku-buN* 'its tree'

15. SYLLABLE SEQUENCES. In Chhatthare Limbu consonant sequences occur in the onset position and inter-syllabic position. They are called initial sequences and inter-syllabic sequences.

15.1. INITIAL SEQUENCES. Initial sequence occurs in the syllable- onset before the nucleus or vowel. Only /w/ and /y/ occurs as a second consonant of the initial sequence.

(74)

Onset	Rhyme	Coda	
CC	V	C	
cw	a	?	'water'
sw	a	?	'keep quite'
py	a	ŋ	'give me.'
hy	a	ŋ	'why?'

15.2. INTER-SYLLABIC SEQUENCES. Inter-syllabic sequences are the consonant sequences that occur between the coda and the syllable-onset positions. These sequences are formed by the combination of either distinct or identical phonemes. The first type of consonant combination is called sequence and that of the second type is called geminate. They show inter-syllabic relationship of a word. The sequence contains the combination of two consonants as presented in 75.

(75)

Syllable	Examples	Gloss
Coda P	Onset p ^h	nEpp ^h u
		'two people'

p	s	tEpsu	'he caught.'
⁴ p	m	pipma	'to suck'
p	n	pipna	'we sucked.'
⁵ p	l	sapla	'paper'
t	cH	piccHu	'they (dl) suck.'
t	n	pitna	'I will suck.'
⁶ t	l	tHEtla	'on account'
k	p	ka-bakpa	'younger one'
k	ph	lEkpHa	'tongue'
k	t	miktok	'memento'
k	k ^h	pikk ^h a	'cows'
k	s	paksu	'he sent.'
k	c	sakca	'pulse'
k	m	pakma	'to unearth'
k	n	pokna	'we got up.'
k	ŋ	lEknja	'I change.'
k	l	ku makla	'black'
k	r	c□kr□kma	'glottis'
⁷ k	w	sakwama	'starvation'
m	b	ambE	'mango'
m	bH	lombHet	'bamboo mat'
m	d	kHEmdu	'it suited him.'
m	n	pimna	'we give him.'
m	l	samloma	'to sing'
m	y	myaba	'vulture'
n	d	panda	'he jumped'
n	dH	andHa	'they leave for us'
n	j	anja	'they eat us'
n	cH	mEncHa	'grand child'
⁸ n	jH	anjHa	'my younger sibling'
n	l	panloma	'to scold'
ŋ	b	t□NbE	'year'
ŋ	g	maŋgEna	'head'
ŋ	gHa	maŋgHa	'far away'
ŋ	d	tH□ŋdu	'it got swollen.'

⁴ In fact, the root-final of these verbs are not /p/. It is /t/ realized as [p] due to its assimilation to the place of articulation of the following labial nasal /m/.

⁵ <-lo> is a progressive suffix whereas -la is a part of the noun sapla.

⁶ Glottal stop simultaneously occurs with the voiceless, alveolar stop in the medial and final position. When it occurs before the lateral phoneme, glottal stop might replace it in the speech of some native speakers as an idiolectal variant. As a result, we may have the glottal stop and lateral sequence such as the?la, kuhe?la, i?la, pa?lo, ta?lo, pha?lo and ha?lo.

⁷ /k/ occurs simultaneously with the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the medial and final position. But when it occurs before the labial continuant /w/, it might be replaced by the glottal stop /ʔ/ as an idiolectal variant.

⁸ Between personal possessive prefix and kinship word the alveolar nasal /n/ is epenthesized and after it the voiced alveolar affricate [jh] occurs. Apart from this environment, nowhere does this sound occur in the dialect.

ŋ	m	piŋma	'to come out'
ŋ	n	iŋna	'we bouht.'
ŋ	l	paŋli	'son's wife'
N	w	saNwe?	'buffalo'
s	w	swa?	'be quiet'
c	c	pH□cca	'marriage by bride's own will'
c	cH	iccHaba	'son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's father or son's or daughter's father-in law'
c	w	cwa?	'water'

There is an exceptional sequence of three phonemes such as –mbr- as given in 76.

(76)

- hambrikwa 'sweat'
- kH□mbrek 'peach'
- tumbrik 'flea'

Limbu syllables have following sequential constraints:

(77)

- pt-, –pk-, –tp-, –sp-, –hp-, –lp-, –lt-, –lk-, –lm-, –ln-, –lŋ-, –nm-, –nk-, –mk-, , –sk-, –sp-, –st-, –tm-, –tŋ-, –sl-.

16. GEMINATES. The combinations of identical phonemes called geminates occur in the phonology to show inter-syllabic relationship.

(78)

Syllable		Syllable	
Coda	onset	Examples	Gloss
p	p	tEppu	'he covered it.'
t	t	puttu	'he squeezed it.'
k	k	pHikka	'he screamed.'
s	s	hEssaN	'nothing'
m	m	pimma	'to jump'
n	n	pinna	'I jump.'
ŋ	ŋ	puŋŋa	'I will become.'
l	l	allo	'now'

In Chhatthare Limbu only the unaspirated voiceless stops, nasals, fricative and lateral are geminated.

17. SYLLABLE PATTERNS. The language in question has from one syllable to five syllable patterns. A five syllable word may consist of fifteen phoneme sequences.

17.1. MONOSYLLABIC. A single vowel, sequences of consonant and vowel, consonant, vowel and consonant and consonant, consonant and vowel form a mono-syllabic pattern. Here C stands for consonant and V for vowel.

(79)

- V [i] 'he wanders'
- CV [mi] 'fire'
- CVC [pan] 'speech'
- CCVC [cwat] 'water'

17.2. DISYLLABIC. The sequence of CVCV, CVCCV, CVCVC and CVCCVC constitutes disyllabic pattern. Thus, disyllabic pattern contains sequences of four, five and six phonemes.

(80)

- a. CVCV [nEhu] 'he laid it'
- b. CVCCV [p^haksu] 'he untied it'
- c. CVCVC [casuN] 'gift'
- d. CVCCVC [haksuN] 'I waited for him.'

17.3. THREE-SYLLABIC PATTERN. Three-syllabic pattern includes CVCVCV, CVCCVCV, CVCVCCVC and CVCCVCCVC pattern.

(81)

- a. CVCVCV [n□yusi] 'he fried them'
- b. CVCVCCVC [haruNsiN] 'I bit them'
- c. CVCCVCV [tEpsusi] 'he caught them'
- d. CVCCVCCV [l□mb^hEkkha] 'bamboo carpet'
- e. CVCCVCCVC [tEpsuNsiN] 'I caught them'

17.4. FOUR-SYLLABIC PATTERN. Four syllable word may contain CVCVCVCV, CVCVCCVCV, CVCVCCVCCVC, CVCVCVCCVC, CVCCVCVCCVC and CVCCVCCVCCVC sequences. It may contain from eight to twelve phonemes.

(82)

- a. CVCVCVCV [kahErusi] 'you broke them'
- b. CVCVCCVCV [kajandusi] 'you beat them'
- c. CVCVCCVCCVC [majandunsin] 'he didn't beat them'
- d. CVCVCVCCVC [mahurunc^hin] 'he doesn't teach them'
- e. CVCCVCVCCVC [kanhurunc^hin] 'you didn't teach them'
- f. CVCCVCCVCCVC [kandEpsunsin] 'you didn't catch them'

17.5. FIVE-SYLLABIC PATTERN. Five syllable word is formed of CVCVCVCCVCCVC, CVCVCCVCCVCCVC and CVCCVCCVCCVCCVC sequences. The sequence contains from thirteen to fifteen phonemes.

(83)

- a. CVCVCVCCVCCVC [mahurumsimnEn] 'let's not teach them'
- b. CVCVCCVCCVCCVC [mal□psumsimman] 'we do not beat them'
- c. CVCCVCCVCCVCCVC [kanl□psumsimnEn] 'you did not beat them'

18. HIATUS. Hiatus in the form of a glottal stop occurs intervocalically in a word and prevents diphthongisation as shown in 84.

(84)

- a. [ka?i] 'relation'
- b. [kHe?ya] 'frying pan'
- c. [ka?Ek] 'he cheats you'
- d. [mu?aN] 'they root out'
- e. [a?□k] 'he scolds us'
- f. [ka?ok] 'he scratches you'
- g. [ka?uN] 'he pulls you'

19. DIPHTHONG. Diphthong occurs with the affixed interrogative particle <i> where hiatus does not occur.

(85)

- a. [kadEi] 'do you go?'
- b. [kadai] 'do you come?'
- c. [kaj□i] 'do you eat?'
- d. [kajugui] 'do you do it?'
- e. [ahai:] 'does it bite?'

Diphthong occurs with vocative suffix <-e> or <-o> where hiatus does not occur.

(86)

- a. [appao] 'o my father!'
- b. [ammao] 'o my mother!'
- c. [annae] 'o my sister!'
- d. [sebae] 'o friend!'

20. LOAN WORDS. Chhatthare Limbu has borrowed many words from the Nepali language.

(87)

- a. [koru] 'ox'
- b. [pari] 'land'
- c. [kagri] 'waterpot'
- d. [kot^ha] 'room'
- e. [d^heki] 'husking mill'
- f. [ko□] 'coat'
- g. [□ika] *tika* in Nepali
- h. [□^hEka] 'milk keeping pot'
- i. [| a | u] 'ladle'
- j. [tHala] 'dish' from Nepali *thal*

Only illiterate, old people are mono-lingual in Chhatthare Limbu community. They give the Nepali loan words native treatment. [goru] is, for example, a Nepali word for 'ox' but they give it native phonological treatment and pronounce it as [koru]. Similarly, they pronounce as [pari] for [bari], [kagri] for [gagri], [kot^ha] for [ko□^ha], [t^heki] for [| ^heki]. The bilingual Limbu speakers however pronounce them as they are pronounced in Nepali. Therefore, the retroflex series /□, □H, |, |^h/ are used as phonemes in the orthography.

21. SUMMARY. In Chhatthare Limbu, there are twenty consonant phonemes such as /p/, /pH/, /b/, /t/, /tH/, /k/, /kH/, /g/, /?/, /s/, /h/, /c/, /cH/, /m/, /n/, /N/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/. [p] and [k] are the allophones of the phonemes /b/ and /g/ but conversely [b] and [g] are also the allophones of the phonemes /p/ and /k/. When they occur in the medial position intervocally or after the nasal consonant in a lexical noun, their status as a phoneme or an allophone is neutralized. Altogether there are nine allophones such as [p], [b], [d], [k], [g], [bH], [dH], [gH] and [j]. Voiced stops, strident, liquid, trill and semi-vowels have syllable final constraints. Velar nasal and voiced, velar stop can not occur in the syllable onset position. There are seven vowels such as /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, E/, /□/ and /a/ in the language with no vowel length contrast. The syllable has basically CVC pattern and it extends from one syllable to five syllables with multiple patterns. Unaspirated voiceless stops, nasals, dental fricative and lateral have geminate forms and other consonant

sequences have as many as 44 varieties. The consonant sequence has the combination of two consonants except –mbr-sequence. Hiatus is used to prevent diphthongisation. The diphthongs appear only when the interrogative suffix <-i> is added to the stem ending in vowel. The Nepali loan words contain retroflex phones such as /ɳ/,/ɳH/, /ʎ/, and /ʎH/ which are to be used in orthography.

CHAPTER 4
MORPHOPHONOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION. Morphophonological changes occur in a language due to two phonological processes: processes conditioned by syllable structure and surrounding segments. This chapter attempts to explore how syllable structure and surrounding segments condition morphophonological changes in the language.

2. PROCESSES CONDITIONED BY SYLLABLE STRUCTURE. In Chhatthare Limbu, the syllable structure permits V, VC, CV, CVC. Some phonemes are not permitted in certain positions in the syllables. Likewise, some sound sequences are restricted to certain positions of the syllables and certain sound sequences are not permitted in the language. The syllable structure controls them by deletion and epenthesis.

2.1. DELETION. The syllable final verb stem consonants /w/, /r/, /y/ and /h/ are deleted before a consonant. It can be shown by the following rule:

- (1) [w]
 [r]
 [y] → ∅ / -V
 [h]

The syllable final verb stem consonant /w/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 2a, 2c and 2e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 2b, 2d and 2f.

- (2) a. haw-u
 divide-3O
 'He divided it.'
- b. ha-ma
 divide-INF
 'To divided'
- c. tHaw-u
 drop-3O
 'He dropped it.'
- d. tHa-ma
 drop-INF
 'To drop'
- e. kHow-u
 find-3O
 'He found it.'
- f. kHo-ma
 find-INF
 'To find'

The syllable final verb stem consonant /r/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 3a, 3c and 3e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 3b, 3d and 3f.

- (3) a. har-u
 bite-3O
 'He beat it.'
- b. ha-ma
 bite-INF
 'To bite'
- c. nar-u

- leave-3O
'He left it over.'
- d. na-ma
leave-INF
'To leave over'
- e. pHar-u
help-3O
'He helped him.'
- f. pHa-ma
help-INF
'To help'

The syllable final verb stem continuant /y/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 4a, 4c and 4e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 4b, 4d and 4f.

- (4)
- a. pEy-a
fly-PT
'It flew.'
 - b. pE-ma
fly-INF
'To fly'
 - c. soy-a
itch-PT
'It itched.'
 - d. so-ma
itch-INF
'To itch'
 - e. poy-a
increase-PT
It increased.'
 - f. po-ma
increase
'To increase'

The syllable final verb stem glottal fricative /h/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 5a, 5c and 5e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 5b, 5d and 5f.

- (5)
- a. nEh-u
keep-3O
He keeps it.'
 - b. nE-ma
keep-INF
'To keep'
 - c. lEH-u
know-3O
'He knows it.'
 - d. lE-ma
know-INF
'To know'
 - e. pEH-u
vomit-3O
'He vomited it.'
 - f. pE-ma

vomit-INF

'To vomit'

Verb stems have post-syllabic consonants in the language. They are augmented before a vocalic suffix but deleted before a consonantal suffix as consonant cluster is not licensed in the syllable final position in the language. So, the last consonant in the cluster is deleted. The post-syllabic consonants such as /p/, /t/, /k/ and /s/ are deleted before the consonantal suffix.

The post-syllabic bilabial stop /p/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 6a, 6c and 6e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 6b, 6d and 6f.

- (6) a. cE**pp**-u
cut-3O
'He cut it.'
- b. cep-ma
cut-INF
'To cut'
- c. lE**pp**-u
throw-3O
'He threw it.'
- d. lEp-ma
throw-INF
'To throw'
- e. kHE**pp**-u
yoke-3O
'He yoked it.'
- f. kHEp-ma
yoke-INF
'To yoke'

The post-syllabic dental stop /t/ or /d/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 7a, 7c and 7e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 7b, 7d and 7f.

- (7) a. kHam**d**-u
chew -3O
He chewed it.'
- b. kHam-ma
chew-INF
'To chew'
- c. kHE**md**-u
suit -3O
'It suited him.'
- d. kHEm-ma
suit-INF
'To suit'
- e. s□**ηd**-u
cook-3O
'He cooked it ready for eating.'
- f. s□**η**-ma
cook-INF
'To cook ready for eating'

The post-syllabic voiceless velar consonant /k/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 8a, 8c and 8e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 8b, 8d and 8f.

- (8) a. IEkk-u
change-3O
'He changed it.'
- b. IEk-ma
change-INF
'To change'
- c. hEkk-u
catch-3O
'It caught him.'
- d. hEk-ma
catch-INF
'To catch it'
- e. tHEkk-u
push-3O
'He pushed it down.'
- f. tHEk-ma
push-INF
'To push it down'

The post-syllabic voiceless, alveolar fricative /s/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 9a, 9c and 9e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 9b, 9d and 9f.

- (9) a. □ks-a
disjoin-PT
'It disjoined.'
- b. □k-ma
disjoin-INF
'To disjoin'
- c. aks-a
uproot-PT
'It was uprooted.'
- d. ak-ma
uproot-INF
'To uproot'
- e. tHups-u
to slide-3O
'He made it slid.'
- f. tHup-ma
slide-INF
'To slide'

When demonstrative adjectives and locative suffix occur together, the final vowel of the demonstrative is deleted.

- (10) a. ba-o
this-LOC
'in this'
- b. bo
'here'

- c. kumba-o
this-LOC
'in this'
- d. kumbo
'here'
- e. hamba-o
that -LOC
'in that'
- f. hambo
'there'

The final vowel /a/ in demonstrative adjectives in 10a, 10c, and 10e is deleted and the locative suffix <-o> is directly added to them as in 10b, 10d and 10f. Similarly, the vowel /a/ in the final position of first person exclusive suffix <-ma ~na -Na> as in 11a, 11c and 11e is deleted when it occurs before the sequential suffix <-aN> as shown in 11b, 11d and 11f.

- (11) a. tEps-u-m-ma-aN wa
hold-3O-pA-1e-SEQ be
'We have held him/her/it.'
- b. tEps-u-m-ma- N wa
hold-3O-pA-1e-SEQ be
'We have held him/her.'
- c. ka-jan-na-aN ka-lok
2-beat-1e-SEQ 2-run
'You beat me and run,'
- d. ka-jan-na-N ka-lok
2-beat-1e-SEQ 2-run
'You beat me and run,'
- e. tEk-Na -aN tum-u-N
go-1e-SEQ meet-3O-1e
'I will go and meet him/her.'
- f. tEk-Na - N tum-u-N
go-1e-SEQ meet-3O-1e
'I will go and meet him/her.'

If a verb stem has a sequence of a voiceless velar stop /k/ and dental fricative /s/, or bilabial stop /p/ and alveolar fricative /s/, they both appear before a vocalic suffix as in 12a and 12c but when they appear before a consonantal suffix, the post-syllabic consonant is deleted to respect syllable structure and the syllable final /k/ changes to /N/ as in 12b and the syllable final /p/ changes to /m / as in 12d.

- (12) a. pHaks-u
untie-3O
'He untied it.'
- b. pHaj-ma
untie-INF
'To untie'
- c. aps-u
winnow-3O
'He winnowed it.'
- d. am-ma
winnow-INF

'To winnow'

In third person non-singular agent and speech act participant object configurations in negative verb paradigm, the third person non-singular agent and negative prefix occur in contiguous situation as in 13a, 13c and 13e. At that time, the third person, non-singular agent is deleted as in 13b, 13d and 13f as the syllable structure does not permit germination in the syllable final position. However, it still carries the meaning.

- (13) a. a-m-m-baks-a-N-nEn
1-3nsA-NEG-send-PT-NEG
'They did not send me.'
- b. a-m-baks-a-N-nEn
1-3nsA/NEG-send-PT-NEG
'They did not send me.'
- c. ka-n-n-dEps-a-n
2-3nsA-NEG-catch-PT-NEG
'They did not catch you.'
- d. ka-n-dEps-a-n
2-3nsA/NEG-catch-PT-NEG
'They did not catch you.'
- e. ka-N-N-got-nEn
2-3nsA-NEG-search-NEG
'They do not search you.'
- f. ka-N-got-nEn
2-3nsA/NEG-search-NEG
'They do not search you.'

2.2. EPENTHESIS. In the first person singular agent and second person plural object configuration, there is an insertion of /n/ to avoid hiatus between the object marker <-na> and number marker <-i> as shown in 14a-c.

- (14) a. cHu-na-**ni**-ŋ
touch-1→2-pO-1e
'I beat you.'
- b. set-na-**ni**-ŋ
kill-1→2-pO-1e
'I kill you.'
- c. tem-na-**ni**-ŋ
catch-1→2-pO-1e
'I catch you.'

The dental nasal consonant /n/ is inserted between an imperative suffix <-a> and the third person object suffix <-u> as shown in 15.a-c.

- (15) a. hat-a-**nu**-m-si-m
distribute-IMP-3O-pA-nsO-pA
'Distribute among them.'
- b. nat-a-**nu**-m
chase-IMP-3O-pA
'You, chase them.'
- c. kHEks-a-**nu**-m
bind-PT-3O-pA
'You, bind him.'

The velar nasal consonant /N/ is inserted between the first person exclusive suffix <-N> and the sequential suffix <-aN> as shown in 16a-c.

- (16) a. nih-u-N-NaN wa
see-3O-1e-SEQ be
'I have seen it.'
- b. hEr-u-N-NaN wa
break-3O-1e-SEQ be
'I have broken it'
- c. sub-u-N-NaN wa
close-3O-1e-SEQ be
'I have closed it.'

Homorganic nasals are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the interrogative suffix <-i>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 17a-f.

- (17) a. ba sim-**mi**
this saree-Q
'Is this a saree?'
- b. kHEnE ka-hap-**mi** ?
you 2-weep-Q
'Do you weep?'
- c. kHunE pin-**ni**
he jump-Q
'Does he jump?'
- d. kHEnE batto ka-get-**ni**
you up here 2-come up-Q
'Do you come up here?'
- e. ba ka-baN-**Ni** ?
this 2sPOSS-house-Q
'Is this your house?'
- f. ba Ek-**Ni**
this break-Q
'Does this break?'

In 17a-b, the bilabial nasal /m/ is inserted due to the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal consonant and bilabial stop consonant. In 17c-d, the dental nasal /n/ is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental nasal consonant and dental stop consonant. Similarly, in 17e-f, the velar nasal /N/ is inserted due to the influence of the preceding velar nasal consonant and velar stop consonant.

Homorganic nasal consonants are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the locative suffix <-o>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 18a-f.

- (18) a. nam-**mo**
sun -LOC
'in the son'
- b. hap-**mo**
nest-LOC
'in the nest'
- c. □n-**no**
horse-LOC

- ‘on the horse’
- d. **cwat-no**
water-LOC
‘in water’
- e. **paN-No**
house-LOC
‘in the house’
- f. **huk-No**
hand-LOC
‘in a hand’

In 18 a-b, bilabial nasal /m/ is inserted before the locative suffix <-o> due to the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal and bilabial stop. In 18c-d, dental nasal is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental nasal and dental stop. In 18e-f, the velar nasal is inserted due to the influence of preceding velar nasal and velar stop.

Homorganic nasals are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the vocative suffix <-E>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 19a-c.

- (19) a. **nam-mE**
sun-VOC
‘oh! Sun’
- b. **pit-nE**
cow-VOC
‘oh! Cow’
- c. **maN-NE**
goddess-VOC
‘oh! Goddess’

In 19a, bilabial nasal /m/ is inserted before the vocative suffix <-E> due to the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal. In 19b, dental nasal is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental stop. In 19c, the velar nasal is inserted due to the influence of preceding velar nasal.

Homorganic nasals are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the absolutive suffix <-iN>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 20.a-f.

- (20) a. **lam-miN**
path-ABS
‘the path’
- b. **ku-lap-miN**
3sPOSS-wiN-ABS
‘its wing’
- c. **ku-bHEn-niN**
3sPOSS-underwear-ABS
‘his/her underwear’
- d. **ka-met-niN**
2sPOSS-wife-ABS
‘your wife’
- e. **ka-laN-NiN**
2sPOSS-leg-ABS
‘your leg’
- f. **a-huk-NiN**

1sPOSS-hand-ABS
'my hand'

In 20a-b, bilabial nasal /m/ is inserted before the absolutive suffix <-iN> due to the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal /m/ and bilabial stop /p/. In 20c-d, dental nasal is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental nasal /n/ and dental stop /t/. In 20e-f, the velar nasal is inserted due to the influence of preceding velar nasal /N/ and velar stop /k/.

Gemination occurs between the kinship term and the prefix as shown in 21a-e.

- (21) a. **kun**-ni
3sPOSS-aunt
'his/her aunt'
- b. **kum**-ma
3sPOSS- mother
'his/her mother'
- c. **kup**-pa
3sPOSS-father
'his/her father'
- d. **kut**-tuba
3sPOSS-grandfather
'his/her grandfather'
- e. **kuk**-ku
3sPOSS-maternal uncle
'his maternal uncle'

Unaspirated consonant is geminated before the kinship terms.

- (22) a. **kuc**-cHa
3sPOSS- child
'his/her child'
- b. **ap**-pHaN
1sPOSS- uncle
'my uncle'
- c. **at**-tHE
1sPOSS-grand mother
'my grandmother'

In 22a, the unaspirated alveolar affricate /c/ is inserted due to its assimilation to the following aspirated alveolar affricate /cH/ for place of articulation. In 22b, the bilabial stop /p/ is inserted due to its assimilation to the following aspirated bilabial stop /pH/ for place of articulation. In 22c, the dental stop /t/ is inserted due to its assimilation to the following aspirated dental stop /t/ or /tH/ for place of articulation.

Homorganic stops are inserted between demonstrative adjectives and locational adverbs.

- (23) a. **bap**mo 'down here'
b. **bat**to 'up here'

/p/ is inserted between the demonstrative adjective *ba* 'this' and locational adverb *mo* 'down below' as in 23a and /t/ is inserted between the demonstrative adjective *ba* and locational adverb *to* as in 23b when they are compounded.

/ʔ/ is inserted between the demonstrative adjective *ba* and locational adverb *yo* as in 24 when they are compounded.

- (24) **baʔ**yo 'this side'

3. PROCESS CONDITIONED BY SURROUNDING SEGMENTS. This section deals with the phonological process conditioned by surrounding segments.

3.1. ASSIMILATION. If a verb stem has a voiceless, dental stop /t/ in a syllable final position, it stays unchanged before the vocalic suffix /-u/ as in 30a, 30c and 30e but it undergoes homorganic assimilation before a consonantal suffix as in 30b, 30d and 30f and is realized as /p/.

- (25) a. set-u
urinated-3O
'He urinated it.'
- b. **sep**-ma
urinate-INF
'To urinate it.'
- c. pHet-u
fart-3O
'He farted him.'
- d. p**He**p-ma
fart-INF
'To fart at something or somebody'
- e. ket-u
insert-3O
'He inserted it.'
- f. **kep**-ma
insert-INF
'He inserted it.'

The syllable final consonant /t/ of a verb stem undergoes affrication if it is followed by a voiceless, aspirated alveolar affricate /cH/. However, in a slow speech it remains unchanged before /cH/.

- (26) a. kEt
brings
'He brings.'
- b. kEc-cH-u
bring- dA-3O
'They bring him.'
- c. mEt
looks
'He looks.'
- d. mEc-cH-u
leave-dS-3O
'They look at him.'
- e. Et
locks
'He locks'
- f. Ec-cH-u
lock-dA-3O
'They lock it.'

This situation can be exhibited in the following way:

- (27)
1. Underlying representation Et-cH-u

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| 2. Lexical representation | Et-cH-u |
| 3. Assimilation | c |
| 4. Phonetic representation | Ec-cH-u |

It can be shown by the following rule:

(28)

t > c/ - cH

Nasal consonants undergo either regressive or progressive assimilation. The first person exclusive marker <-ŋ> undergoes progressive assimilation retaining or changing its phonetic shape according to the consonant just preceding it.

- (29) a. y□N-**Na**
shiver-1e
'I shiver.'
- b. lok-**ŋa**
run-1e
'I run.'
- c. phEn-**na**
come-1e
'I come.'
- d. et-**na**
laugh-1e
'I laugh.'
- e. im-**ma**
sleep-1e
'I sleep'
- f. hap-**ma**
weep-1e
'I weep.'

In 29a-b, the nasal /ŋ/ retains its phonetic shape because it is preceded by the velar consonants /N/ and /k/ which influence the following consonant to assimilate for place of articulation. In 29c-d, the velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ changes to dental nasal /n/ because it is influenced by the preceding dental, nasal /n/ and dental stop /t/ and in 29e, the nasal /ŋ/ changes to bilabial nasal /m/ under the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal /m/. Similarly, in 29f, it changes to bilabial nasal /m/ under the phonetic motivation of the preceding bilabial stop /p/. The process of the phonological change of *et-na* is shown for example in the following way:

(30)

1. Underlying representation /et/ /ŋa/
2. Lexical representation /et-ŋa/
3. Assimilation n
4. Phonetic representation [et-na]

This situation can be presented by the following rule:

(31)

/ŋ/ > [ŋ]	/ velar -
[n]	/ dental -
[m]	/labial -

The negative prefix <n-> undergoes regressive assimilation with phonological changes according to the phonetic environment of its immediately following consonant of the verb stem when it occurs between personal prefixes and a verb stem.

- (32) a. ma-**m**-mEtt-u-n
3pA-NEG-look at-3O-NEG
'They did not look at it.'
- b. ma-**m**-bat-u-n
3pS-NEG-tell-3O-NEG
'They don't tell it.'
- c. ka-**n**-nuh-u-n
2-NEG-cure-3O-NEG
'You do not cure him/her.'
- d. ka-**n**-de-nEn
2- NEG-go-NEG
'you don't go.'
- e. a-**ŋ**-got-u-m-nEn
1i-NEG-search-3O-pA-NEG
'We don't search it.'

In 32a-b, the negative prefix <n-> changes to a bilabial nasal /m/ due to the influence of the following bilabial nasal /m/ and bilabial stop /b/. It stays unchanged in 32c-d because of its assimilation to the following dental nasal /n/ and dental stop /t/ for the place of articulation. In 32e, it changes to /ŋ/ under the phonetic environment of the following velar stop [g].

Syllable final nasal /n/ changes to lateral in a fast speech if it is followed by lateral consonant /l/.

- (33) a. ma-**l**-lok-nEn
3pS-NEG-run-NEG
'They do not run.'
- b. ka-**l**-IEh-u-n
2pS-NEG-know-3O-NEG
'You do not know it.'
- c. a-**l**-IEh-u-m-nEn
1-NEG-know-3O-pA-NEG
'We do not know it.'

The phonological process of the morphophonological changes of the negative verb *ma-m-bat-u-n* is presented in 34 for example.

- (34)
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Underlying representation | ma-n-pat-u-n |
| 2. Assimilation | m |
| 3. Lexical representation | /ma-m-pat-u-n/ |
| 4. voicing | b |
| 5. Phonetic representation | [ma-m-bat-u-n] |

This situation can be indicated by the following rule:

- (35)
- /n/ > [n] / - dental
[m] / - labial
[ŋ] / - velar

Similarly, the negative suffix <-nEn> retains only <-n> as a negative suffix when it occurs after the vowel.

- (36) a. ka-n-naps-u-**n**
2-NEG-smell-3O-NEG
'You do not smell it.'

- b. ka-m-bat-u-n
2-NEG-say-3O-NEG
'You do not say it.'
- c. a-m-bac-cH-u-n
1-NEG-say-dS-3O-NEG
'We do not say it.'

It can be represented by the following rule:

(37)
<nEn> > <n>/ V-

The negative prefix <n~m~N-> are derived from the negative prefix <man-> which occurs only in first person singular subject or agent and first person plural exclusive subject or agent past verb forms. In first person singular subject or agent in non-past and third person singular or dual subject or agent in non-past or past form of the verbs, the negative prefix is <ma->. These three types of negative prefixes <man->, <ma-> and <n~m~N-> are morphologically determined.

The third person plural subject or agent prefix is <mu-> which is evident from the following examples:

- (38)
- a. **mu**-sEr-u
3pA-kill-3O
'They kill him.'
 - b. **mu**-deps-u
3pA-catch-3O
'They catch him.'
 - c. **mu**-iŋ-u
3pA-buy-3O
'They buy it.'

When <mu-> occurs with the negative prefix <n~m~N->, the high, round, back vowel /u/ changes to low, unrounded back vowel /a/ and the negative prefix is realized as <ma->.

- (39)
- a. **ma**-m-bHEtt-u-n
3pS-NEG-bring-3O-NEG
'They did not bring it.'
 - b. **ma**-n-nok-u-n
3pS-NEG-return-3O-NEG
'They did not return it.'
 - c. **ma**-N-goh-u-n
3pA-NEG-attend-3O-NEG
'They did not attend it.'

This situation can be explained by the following rule:

(40)
<mu-> > <ma-> /{-<m~n~N>}

The phonetic form of third person plural prefix is morphologically determined. However, the prefix <mu-> loses its vowel when it occurs after the first person and second person object morphemes, <a-> and <ka-> respectively and retains only <m>. The morpheme <m> also undergoes place assimilation homorganic to the following stop.

- (41)
- a. a-**m**-baks-a-ŋ
1-3nsA-send-PT-1sO
'They sent me.'

- b. ka-**m**-baks-a
2-3nsA-send-PT
'Thy sent you.'
- c. a-**n**-sat-na
1-3nsA-tease-1sO
'They tease me.'
- d. ka-**n**-sat
2-3nsA-tease
'They tease you.'
- e. a-**ŋ**-gHEŋ-ŋa
1-3nsA-bind-1sO
'They bind me.'
- f. ka-**ŋ**-gHEŋ
2-3nsA-bind
'They bind you.'

This situation can be presented by the following rule:

- (42)
- $$\langle \text{mu-} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{m-} \sim \text{n-} \sim \text{N} \rangle / \{ \langle \text{ka-} \rangle - \{ \langle \text{a-} \rangle - \}$$

A trill /r/ is not permitted in the syllable final position in the language. So, its underlying form is represented either by a glottal stop /ʔ/ or by a dental nasal /n/ in the syllable final position. Its underlying form /r/ is manifested when it is followed by a vocalic suffix <-u> or <-a>.

- (43)
- a. sE?
kill-3sS
'He kills.'
 - b. sEr-u
kill-3O
'He kills it.'
 - c. lE?
leave-3sS
'He leaves.'
 - d. lEr-u
leaves-3O
'He leaves it.'
 - e. hE?
break-3sS
'He breaks'
 - f. hEr-u
break-3O
'He breaks it.'
 - g. phEn
come-3sS/NPT
'He comes.'
 - h. phEr-a
come-PT
'He came.'

The transition of /r/ to /ʔ/ or /n/ can be explained according to a morphological rule. In the language, a liquid cannot occur in the coda position. If any sound ever

occurs, it is devoiced. In 43a, 43c and 43e, the phoneme /r/ as a voiced sound is not permitted in the coda position. So, it is devoiced and occurs as /ʔ/. This situation can be shown in the following way:

(44)

1. Underlying representation /sEr/
2. Lexical representation /sEr/
3. Devoicing /ʔ/
4. Phonetic representation [sEʔ]

In 35g, /r/ occurs as /n/. This situation can be explained by the following rule:

(45)

/r/ > /ʔ/ or /n/ /- #

It indicates that the flap /r/ changes to /ʔ/ or /n/ in a syllable final position.

3.2. DISTANT ASSIMILATION. The negative prefix <n> assimilates to the final consonant of the verb stem for the place of articulation.

- (46)
- a. ka-**n**-ut-u-n
2-NEG-call-3O-NEG
'You do not call him.'
 - b. ka-**m**-ep-u-n
2-NEG-tread-3O-NEG
'You do not tread him.'
 - c. ka-**N**-og-u-n
2-NEG-scratch-3O-NEG
'You do not scratch it.'

In 46a, the negative marker is <n> because the following consonant in coda position is /t/, which is a dental stop. The dental nasal <n> assimilates to it for the place of articulation. Similarly, in 46b and 46c, the negative markers are <m> and <-N> respectively because they are followed by bilabial stop [p] and velar stop [g] in contiguous positions. Distant assimilation occurs only in fast speech.

3.3. INTERVOCALIC VOICING. Voiceless stops /p/, /pH/, /t/, /tH/, /k/ and /kH/ and voiceless alveolar affricate /c/ are realized as voiced allophones between the vowels of the prefix and the verb root.

- (47)
- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| a. | ka+pat > | kab a t | 'you speak' |
| b. | ka+p H at > | kab H at | 'you fill' |
| c. | ka + te > | kad e | 'you go' |
| d. | mu +t H ok > | mud H ok | 'they cook.' |
| e. | mu + kot > | mug o t | 'they search' |
| f. | mu + k H E > | mug H E | 'they quarrel' |
| g. | ma + cEppun > | maj E ppun | 'he did not cut' |

This situation can be accounted for by the following rules:

(48)

Voiceless obstruents > Voiced/ V+-+V

The voiceless obstruents become voiced between prefix vowel and stem vowel. The phonological process of [kabat] is given below for example.

(49)

1. Underlying representation /kapat/
2. Lexical representation /kapat/
3. Voicing [b]

4. Phonetic representation [kabat]

3.4. VOICING ASSIMILATION. The morphemes beginning with voiceless stops are realized as voiced allophones after the nasal consonants. The voiceless dental stops change to their voiced counterparts being assimilated to the voicing of adjacent nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/.

- (50)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | kHamt + u > kHam <u>du</u> | 'he chewed it' |
| b. | lEnt + u > lEnd <u>du</u> | 'he tore it' |
| c. | s□ŋt + u > s□ŋ <u>du</u> | 'he made it ripe.' |
| d. | paN+ kHa > paN <u>g</u> Ha | 'houses' |
| e. | kaN+ kotun > kaN <u>g</u> otun | 'you do not search it' |
| f. | kam+ patun > kam <u>b</u> atun | 'you did not say it' |

This situation can be shown by the following rule:

(51)

-V > +V/-nasal

It implies that the voiceless stops changes to their corresponding voiced stops if they are preceded by nasal consonants.

3.5. LABIALIZATION. A consonant becomes labialized in the anticipation of a round vowel such as /u/ or /o/.

(52)

- a. kut + u > k^wut^wu 'he made him carry'
b. ko + t > k^wot 'he searches'

It is shown by the following rule:

(53)

C > labialized/ - RV

It formulates that a consonant is labialized if it precedes a round vowel.

4. SUMMARY. In Limbu morphophonological changes are conditioned by syllable structure and surrounding segments. Limbu has syllable structure patterns which are maintained through phonological processes such as deletion and epenthesis. These phonological processes condition morphophonological changes in the language. Similarly, morphophonological changes are effected by various processes of assimilation such as progressive assimilation, regressive assimilation, distant assimilation, intervocalic voicing assimilation, voicing assimilation and labialization.

CHAPTER 5
NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION. Nouns in Limbu can inflect for number, person, case and gender. In rare cases they also inflect for diminutive forms and human classifiers. Compound nouns are formed by the combination of more than one noun. This chapter is devoted to the morphological analysis of nouns.

5.2. GENDER. A few kinship nouns inflect for masculine and feminine gender. They are marked by <-pa > or <- ba> for male and <-ma> for female.

(1)

	Masculine	Feminine
a.	nakpa nephew-MASC 'nephew (brother's son)'	nakma nephew-FEM 'niece (brother's daughter)'
b.	mEnc^ha-ba grandchild-MASC 'grandson'	mEnc^ha-ma grand-child –FEM 'grand-daughter'
c.	lamsa-ba nephew-MASC 'nephew (sister's son)'	lamsa-ma nephew-FEM 'niece (sister's daughter)'

Kinship nouns are followed by modifiers. They show agreement with adjectives in noun phrases.

(2)

a.	nak-pa cuk-pa nephew-MASC small-MASC 'younger nephew'
b.	nak-ma cuk-ma nephew-FEM small-FEM 'younger niece'
c.	mEncHa-ba tumbHo-ba grand-child-MASC the eldest MASC 'the eldest grandson'
d.	mEncHa-ma cH□rum-ma grand-child-FEM elder-FEM 'elder grand-daughter'
e.	lamsa-ba pHo?wa-ba nephew-MASC youngest-MASC 'youngest nephew'
f.	lamsa-ma pHo?wama nephew-FEM youngest 'youngest niece.'

Gender inflections are limited to a very few kinship terms and are not productive. There are many kinship words, which do not inflect for gender. They are as follows:

(3)

a.	p^hubu 'elder brother'	nEndre 'sister-in-law (elder brother's wife)'
b.	p^happ^haj 'uncle'	c^hicc^himma 'aunt'
c.	kukku	'ninni'

- e. **nuba** siNsE**ba**
handsome male Rai
'a handsome male Rai'
- f. **numa** siNsE**ma**
beautiful female Rai
'a beautiful female Rai'

The suffix <-pa> and <-ma> are derived from relational nouns *pa* 'father' and *ma* 'mother' which do not occur independently. They occur only with possessive prefixes such as *pappa* 'our father', *appa* 'my father', *kappa* 'your father', *kuppa* 'his father', *mamma* 'our mother', *amma* 'my mother', *kamma* 'your mother' and *kumma* 'his mother'. /p/ changes to [b] when it occurs intervocally. As a result, the suffix <-pa> becomes <-ba>.

There are some words which indicate sex. They are as follows:

(8)

a. yEmbic ^h a	mEnc ^h uma
male	female
b. thaŋbEn	mEnc ^h e
a young man	a young woman
c. yEmba	me?
husband	wife

These pairs of words indicating sex-distinctions are different lexical items. As they are not morphologically related, they are not grammatical features of gender.

3. NUMERALS AND CLASSIFIER. Chhatthare Limbu has numerals up to one hundred but in normal speech people use numerals only up to *sumsi* 'three'. The numerals are as follows:

(9)

lɔt ^h ik	one
nEcc ^h i	two
sumsi	three
lisi	four
nasi	five
tuksi	six
nusi	seven
yEtc ^h i	eight
phaŋsi	nine
thiboŋ	ten
t ^h itt ^h ik	eleven
t ^h iknet	twelve
t ^h iksum	thirteen
t ^h ikli	fourteen
t ^h ikna	fifteen
t ^h iktuk	sixteen
t ^h iknu	seventeen
t ^h ikyEt	eighteen
t ^h ikp ^h aŋ	nineteen
niboŋ	twenty
nEtthik	twenty-one
nEtnet	twenty-two

nEtsum	twenty three
sumboŋ	thirty
sumdhik	thirty-one
sumnEt	thirty-two
ligip	forty
lit ^h ik	forty-one
li-nEt	forty-two
nakip	fifty
nat ^h ik	fifty-one
nanEt	fifty-two
t ^h ukkip	sixty
t ^h ukthik	sixty-one
t ^h uknEt	sixty-two
nukip	seventy
nut ^h ik	seventy-one
nunEt	seventy-two
yEkip	eighty
yEt ^h ik	eighty-one
yEnEt	eighty-two
p ^h angip	ninety
p ^h anEt	ninety-two
kipt ^h ik	hundred

The numeral *lɔ̃thik* 'one' seems to be a synthetic form of *lɔ̃k* 'only' and *t^hik* 'one'. *lɔ̃k* is a postpositive adverb, and *t^hik* is both a pre-positive quantifier and postpositive adverb.

As a pre-positive quantifier, it means 'one' and as a postpositive adverb it means 'a' or 'a certain'.

(10)

- a. t^hik sapla phEtt-u
one book bring-3O
'Bring one book'
- b. sapla d^hik phEtt-u
book a certain bring-3O
'Bring a certain book'

t^hik 'one' as a modifier as in 10a is not common. In 10a *t^hik* 'one' refers to only one object whereas *t^hik* 'a certain' in 10b may refer to one or more than one referents. It is exhibited by the following verb.

(11)

- a. sapla-d^hik mu-dar-u
book- a 3pA-bring-3O
'They brought a book.'
- b. sapla-d^hik mu-dar-u-si
book- a certain 3pA-bring-3O-pO
'They brought certain books.'

lɔ̃k or *rɔ̃k* occurs as postpositive adverb and *lɔ̃thik* is used as a modifier in counting for 'one' as shown in 9a-b.

(12)

- a. hambo hEnja-si rɔ̃k mu-wa
there child-pl only 3plA-benonPRET

- 'There are children only.'
- b. a paN lɔk iN-u-N
I house only buy-3O-1sA
'I bought a house only.'
- c. lɔthik pu nih-u-ŋ
one bird see-3O-1sA
'I saw a bird.'

/l/ occurs after the consonant and /r/ occurs after the vowel. Hence, postpositional adverb is rɔk in 12a but lɔk in 12b.

The numeral *nEcc^{hi}* 'two' contains the suffix <-cHi> and the other numerals from *sumsi* 'three' to *phaŋsi* 'nine' contain a suffix <-si>. They are non-singular markers. The suffix <si> sometimes marks non-singularity in nouns and verbs which may be the grammatical extension of this suffix. The number morpheme compounding forms indicate the numerals from *t^{hi}iboŋ* 'ten' to *kipt^{hi}ik* 'hundred'. The decimal morpheme <-boŋ> is used as a suffix in the numerals *tHiiboŋ* 'ten', *niboŋ* 'twenty' and *sumboŋ* 'thirty', and the suffix <-kip> is used in the numerals *likip* 'forty', *nakip* 'fifty', *t^{hi}ukkip* 'sixty', *nukip* 'seventy', *yetkip* 'eighty' and *p^{hi}aŋkip* 'ninety'. Interestingly, *kip* is used as a root in the numeral *kipt^{hi}ik* 'hundred'. *t^{hi}* occurs for *t^{hi}ik* 'one' in the numeral *t^{hi}iboŋ* 'ten', *ni* for *net* 'two' in the numeral *niboŋ* 'twenty' and *yE* for *yEt* 'eight' in the numeral *yEboŋ* 'eighty'. The numerals are used as pre-modifiers as well as nominals. When they function as nominals, they inflect for case.

In counting human and non-human entities, the cardinal numbers *lɔt^{hi}ik* 'one', *nEcc^{hi}* 'two' and *sumsi* 'three' are used. But *tHippa*, *nEppHu* and *sumbHu* are preferred to *lɔttHik*, *nEtcHi* and *sumsi* when counting the human beings. *lɔttHik*, *nEtcHi* and *sumsi* function as numerals whereas <-pa> and <-pHu> function as classifiers.

(13)

- a. NUM
lɔt^{hi}ik one
nEcc^{hi} two
sumsi three
- b. CLSF
-pa t^{hi}ippa human
-p^{hi}u nEpp^{hi}u human

<tHip-> in 13b is derived from the second syllable of the numeral *lɔttHik*. When *tHik* is added to <-pa>, the syllable final velar stop /k/ assimilates to the following bilabial stop /p/ for place of articulation. Consequently, it is pronounced as *tHippa* contrary to the expected form *tHikpa*. Moreover, the element *-pa* formally resembles a nominalizer suffix <-pa> but it is the case of homophony only. It is merely a classifier suffix used for singular human being without any indication of gender. Similarly, *nEppHu* is the combination of the elements- *nEt* from the numeral *nEtcHi* 'two' and the non-singular classifier <-pHu>. In combination, the syllable final dental stop /t/ changes to /p/ due to its assimilation to the following bilabial stop for place of consonant. As a result, the expected form **nEtpHu* is realized as *nEppHu* 'two people'. *tHippa* 'one person', *nEppHu* 'two persons' and *sumbHu* 'three persons' can be used as pre-modifiers as well as nominals. When they function as nominals, they inflect for case.

When the numeral 'one' is used in a determiner sense, as in 'a man' or 'a certain man' the cardinal form *lɔt^{hi}ik* is used.

(14)

- a. lɔttʰik pu
'a bird'
- b. lɔttʰik napmi
'a man'
- c. nEccHi ambE
two mango
'two mangoes'

4. NUMBER. Number is a three-way distinction in Chhatthar Limbu- singular, dual and plural-all marked by nominal suffixes. The primary distinction is between singular and plural and the dual is a special case of non-singular which can be seen in the following:

(15)

	singular	plural	dual
a.	pu bird "a bird"	pu-g ^h a birds (many) "Many birds"	pu-g ^h a-c ^h i bird-two 'Two birds'
b.	napmi man "A man"	napmi-g ^h a men (many) "Many men"	napmi-g ^h a-c ^h i man-two 'Two men'
c.	wa chicken(one) "A chicken"	wa-g ^h a chickens (many) "Many chickens"	wa-g ^h a-c ^h i chickens-two 'Two chickens'

This accords with universal markedness expectations: singular<plural<dual (see for example, Croft 1990:66).

The example in 15a-c show that singularity is unmarked, plurality is marked by <-g^ha> and duality is marked by <-g^ha-c^hi>. The process of formation is first from singular to plural and from plural to dual. The derivational history of such words clearly shows that singular noun first changes to plural noun and only then it can change to dual noun. These data clearly show that the dual number was developed in Kiranti later. The basic morphs and labels of numbers are discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.1.Singular

basic morph: <O>

label : s

Singularity of noun is unmarked. It is indicated by the <-O> morph in the paradigm.

(16)

- a. hEnja-O haba
child-s wept
'A child wept.'
- b. mEndak-O lokka
goat-s ran
'A goat ran.'
- c. hambo luN-O nE
there stone- s lay
'There is a stone.'

In 16a-c the nouns such as *hEnja*, *mEndak* and *luN* are singular and their corresponding verbs agree with the singularity of their numbers.

4.2. Plural

basic morph <kHa~ -g^ha>
label p

Plural is marked by the suffix <gHa-> in an intervocalic position or after a nasal consonant but it is marked by <-kHa> after the voiceless consonants.

(17)

- a. hEnja-g^ha mu-haba
child-p they-wept
'Children wept.'
- b. mEndak-k^ha mu-lokka
goat-p they-ran
'Goats ran.'
- c. hambo luN-g^ha mu-nEha
there stone-p they-lay
'There were stones.'

4.3. Dual

basic morph <kHacHi~ gHacHi>
label d

Chhatthare Limbu expresses dual meaning by suffixing dual marker <-gHac^{hi}> to the noun in intervocalic position or after a nasal consonant but it is marked by <-kHacHi> when it occurs after the voiceless consonant.

(18)

- a. hEnja-g^hac^{hi} haba-c^{hi}
child-d wept-d
'Two children wept.'
- b. mEndak-k^hacHi lokka-c^{hi}
goat-d ran-d
'Two goats ran.'
- c. hambo luN-g^hac^{hi} nEha-c^{hi}
there stone-d lay-d
'There were two stones.'

The suffix <-si> imparts non-singular meaning when it functions as a number marker of an identity operator. It becomes clear from the following conversation between A and B.

(19)

- A: kuNg^ha sa-si r□
These (plural) who-p PART
'Who are these (plural)?'
- B. appHaN-si
My uncle-p
'They (plural) are my uncles.'

(20)

- A: hambagHacHi cai) sasi r□
They (dual) PART who-d PART
'Then, who are those (dual)?'

- B: anni-si
 my aunt-d
 'They (dual) are my aunts.'

In 19, *sa* takes the suffix <-si> as a plural marker which is evidenced by its reference to the plural demonstrative *kuNgHa* and the relational noun *appHaN* also takes it as a plural marker because it is uttered in response to the plural marking identity question. In 20, <-si> indexes dual number of the interrogative pronoun *sa* which is clear from its reference to the dual demonstrative pronoun *hambagHaccHi*. Similarly, <-si> shows dual number of relational noun *anni*. These examples show that when <-si> occurs without any number reference, it indexes non-singular meaning.

When nouns are preceded by numeral modifiers, they are not marked for number.

(21)

- a. nEccHi pi?
 'two cows'
 b. sumsi pHak
 'three pigs'

5. DIMINUTIVE. Chhathare Limbu employs operators in nouns to indicate the small size, but the operation is not regular, productive derivational. It uses the diminutive suffix <-lEccHa> and <-cyak> as in the following examples:

(22)

- a. pu-lEccHa
 bird-DM
 'A small bird'
 b. pHak-lEccHa
 pig-DM
 'A small pig'
 c. wa-jyak
 hen-DM
 'A chicken'

6. COMPOUNDING. One of the common processes in word formation is compounding through juxtaposition of nouns by deleting inflectional endings.

(23)

- a. pHak-sa
 pig-meat
 'pork'
 b. pit?-nu
 cow-milk
 'cow's milk'
 c. wa-dHin
 hen-egg
 'A hen's egg'

In 23a-c, pairs of nouns such as *phak* and *sa*, *pit?* and *nu* and *wa* and *tHin* are juxtaposed because they have, now, achieved compound status. The genitive marker <-ŋaŋ> and possessive marker <-ku> separate the juxtaposed nouns. The following examples illustrate it.

(24)

- a. pHak-ŋaŋ ku-sa
pig-GEN- 3sPOSS-meat
'Pork'
- b. pit-naŋ ku-nu
cow-GEN 3sPOSS-milk
'Cow's milk'
- c. wa-ŋaŋ ku-dHin
hen-GEN 3s POSS-egg
'Hen's egg'

The third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> is derived from the third person singular pronoun *kHunE* 'he/she'.

Similarly, compounding is made by the juxtaposition of nouns by deleting the coordinator particle *nuN* 'and'.

(25)

- a. t□ksumbak
'meal'
- b. pHununcHa
'brothers'
- c. pama
'parents'

The coordinator particle *nuN* separates the juxtaposed nouns.

(26)

- a. t□k nuN sumbak
'cooked rice and curry soup'
- b. pHu nuN nuncHa
'elder brother and younger brother'
- c. pa nuN ma
'father and mother'

7. PRONOMINALIZATION IN NOUNS. Personal pronouns are prefixed to the nominal roots and possessive noun phrases are formed.

(27)

- a. ku-miN
3sPOSS-name
'his name'
- b. ka-mik
2sPOSS-eye
'your eye'
- c. a-huk
1sPOSS-hand
'my hand'

In addition, pronouns are affixed to the nouns and verbless sentences are formed.

(28)

- a. napmi-O
man
'She/he is a man.'
- b. napmi-si
man-ns
'They are people'

- c. napmi-na
man-2O
'You are a man'
- d. napmi-na-cHiN
man-2O-dO
'You are men'
- e. napmi-na-niN
man-2O-pO
'you are people'
- f. napmi-Na
man-1e
'I am a man.'
- g. napmi-si-Na
man-ns-1e
'We are people'

Third person is unmarked in a singular form but its non-singularity is marked by the suffix <-si>. In the second person, duality is marked by the suffix <-cHiN> and plurality is marked by the suffix <-niN>. First person inclusive should be preceded by independent inclusive pronouns and form phrases like *ancHi napmisi* 'we (dual) are people' and *ani napmisi* 'we (plural) are people'

The noun *napmi* can also be used as a first person exclusive pronominal object suffix in imperative sentences in which the agent is plural.

(29)

- a. kHEni sapla napmi-py-a
your book 1O-give-IMP
'Give me your book.'
- b. napmi-tEps-a
1O-hold-IMP
'Hold me.'

8. DERIVATIVE ADJECTIVES AS NOUNS. The derivative adjectives also function as nouns and they take all the case endings, number and person markers.

(30)

- a. ka-gHup-pa -gHa-Na yaN mu-gHutt-u
one who steals -ERG money 3pA-steal-3O
'Thieves stole money.'
- b. kanakpa-gHa mu-i-ro mu-wa
one who begs-p-ABS 3pS-wander-Prg 3pS-be
'Beggars are wandering.'
- c. kadukpa-iN hab-a
one who is ill -ABS weep-PT
'The sick man wept.'

kagHuppa, *kanakpa* and *kadukpa* in 30 are derived from the verbs, *kHut* 'he steals', *nak* 'he begs' and *tuk* 'he is sick'. They are adjectives used as nouns.

9. CASE. Nouns mark cases in the language.

9.1.ABSOLUTIVE

basic morph: <-O>

label ABS

The absolutive case has a zero-marking. Transitive object and intransitive and reflexive subjects take absolutive case.

(31)

- a. kEba-ŋa napmi-O sEr-u
tiger-ERG man-ABS kill-3O
"A tiger killed a man."
- b. □ppu-ŋa koko-O □g-u
snake-ERG dog-ABS stiŋ-3O
"A snake stung a dog."
- c. kap-pa-ŋa wa-O cEpp-u
your father –ERG chicken-ABS cut –3O
"Your father cut a hen."

In 31a-c, *se-ru*, *□g-u* and *cepp-u* are all transitive verbs and *napmi*, *koko* and *wa* are nominal objects which are unmarked. These unmarked objects are in absolutive case and can occur in the subject position without any change.

(32)

- a. napmi-O lanḡ^hEk
man-ABS walks
"A man walks."
- b. hEnja-O hab-a
the child-ABS weep-PT
"A child wept."
- c. pi?-O calaps-a
cow-ABS graze- PT
"A cow grazed."

The sentences in 32a- c contain *lanḡ^hEk*, *hab-a* and *calaps-a* which are intransitive verbs and *napmi*, *hEnja* and *pi* are their subjects. They are unmarked.

The subject of reflexive verb is absolutely case-marked.

(33)

- a. kHunE-O nEn-c^hin
he lie-Rfl
'He lay himself.'
- b. p□numa-O tet wat-c^hin
pauma cloth put on-Rfl
'Panuma put on cloth herself.'

However, the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb are marked by <-iŋ> when they have definite referents.

(34)

- a. napmi-iŋ lanḡ^hEk
man-DEF walks
"The man walks."
- b. hEnja-iŋ hab-a
child-DEF weep-PT
" The child wept."
- c. pi?-niŋ calaps-a
cow-DEF graze- PT
"The cow grazed."

The sentences in 32a-c contain the unmarked *napmi*, *hEnja* and *pi?* as subjects to the transitive verbs *lanj^hEk haba* and *calaps-a* respectively. They are indefinite subjects but the sentences in 34a-c have definite subjects marked by the suffix <-ij>. Similarly, the objects of the transitive verbs are unmarked when indefinite and marked when definite.

(35)

- a. kEba-ŋa napmi sEr-u
tiger-ERG man kill-3O
"A tiger killed a man."
- b. kap-pa-ŋa siŋ cEpp-u
your father-ERG tree cut-3O
"Your father cut a tree."
- c. pit-na hEnja thoks-u
cow-ERG child horn-3O
"Cow horned a child."
- d. kEba-ŋa napmi-ij sEr-u
tiger-ERG man-DEF kill-3O
"Tiger killed the man."
- e. kap-pa-ŋa siŋ-ij cEpp-u
your father-ERG tree-DEF cut-3O
"Your father cut the tree."
- f. pit-na hEnja-ij thoks-u
cow-ERG child-DEF horn-3O
"Cow horned the child."

In 35a-c, *napmi*, *siŋ* and *hEnja* are unmarked objects to the verbs *seru*, *cEppu* and *thoks-u* respectively and they are indefinite. However, in 35d-f, they are definite objects marked by the suffix <-ij>. The absolutive definite marker never occurs on personal pronouns, including third persons.

(36)

- a. kHunE a a-l□ps-a-ŋ
he me 1-beat-PT-1e
'He beat me.'
- b. a khEnE l□m-na
I you beat-1→2
'I beat you.'
- c. lahaŋ-ŋa k^hunE l□ps-u
lahang-ERG him beat-3O
'Lahang beat him.'

In the sentences 36a-c the object pronouns *a* 'me', *khEnE* 'you' and *kHunE* 'him' or 'her' can not take a definite absolutive marker. However, on demonstrative pronouns it can occur to signal definite or identifiable referents.

(37)

- a. a hamba-ij l□ps-u-ŋ
I that-DEF beat-3O-1e
'I beat that one.'
- b. kHunE kumba-ij tEps-u
he this one-DEF catch-3O
'He caught this one.'

hamba 'that one' in 37a and *kumba* 'this one' in 37b are demonstrative pronouns and they take definite absolutive marker <-iŋ>. The definite marker suffix <-iŋ> undergoes some morphophonological changes. After the bilabial consonants /p/ and /m/, the case ending is realized as <-miŋ> as in *ba cep-miŋ cuk-pa cuk* "This basket is small" and *ba lam-miNken* 'This way is long.'. After the dental consonants /t/ and /n/, it is realized as <-niŋ> as in *ba sawet-niŋ y□m-ba cuk* "This buffalo is big", and *ani dEn-niNnuba cuk* 'Our place is good'. After the velar consonants /k/ and /N/, it is realized as <-ŋiŋ> as in *pHak-ŋiŋ pHEra* 'The pig came' and *ku-daN-NiNken* 'Its horn is long'. These variations are only in deference to homorganic assimilation of the stem-final consonant with the definite marker on the basis of the place of articulation in the fast speech made without any pause to the syllable break. The normal speech with a natural syllable break contains the clear definite marker <-iŋ> as in *ba cep-iŋ cuk-pa cuk* 'This basket is small'. After the vowels, basic form of the ending does not change, e.g. *wa-iŋ phera* 'The chicken came,' *my□ŋba-iŋ pind-a* "The cat jumped", *koco-iŋ yat-a* "The dog whined" etc.

5.9.2 ERGATIVE

Basic morph: <-Na ~-na ~ma>

Label ERG

The suffix <-Na~na~ma> marks an ergative case which refers to the agent of a transitive verb.

(38)

- a. maN-**Na** kHunE nih-u
goddess-ERG him/her see-3O
'Goddess saw him/her.'
- b. mEndak-**ŋa** ca c□
goat-ERG paddy eat
"A goat ate paddy."
- c. yan-**na** kHam tEpp-u
weed-ERG soil cover-3O
'Weed covered the soil.'
- d. pit-**na** ca c□
cow-ERG paddy eat
"A cow ate paddy."
- e. nam-**ma** a a-or-a-N
sun-ERG me1-scorch-PT-1e
'The sun scorched me.'
- f. ku-lap-**ma** kHEne ka-h□ps-a
3sPOSS-wing-ERG you 2-disturb-PT
'Its wing disturbed you.'

In 38a-b, the agents are marked by the suffix <-Na> because it is preceded by velar consonants, in 38c-d, they are marked by the suffix <-na> because it is preceded by dental consonants and in 38e-f, they are marked by <-ma> because it is preceded by bilabial consonants.

The ergative suffix is also divided into definite and indefinite. The indefinite ergative is unmarked in 38a-c but the definite ergative is marked by <-i> in 39.

(39)

- a. koco-ŋa-i napmi har-u
dog- ERG-DEF man bite-3O

- ‘ The dog bit the man.’
- b. kap-pa-ŋa-i ba napmi lɔps-u
 your father-ERG-DEF this man beat-3O
 ‘Your father beat this man.’
- c. ku-p^han-ŋa-i ba laje seg-u
 his uncle –ERG –DEF this land choose-3O
 ‘His uncle chose this land.’
- d. koko-i-ŋa napmi har-u
 dog-DEF ERG man bite-3O
 ‘The dog bit the man.’
- e. kap-pa-i-ŋa ba laje seg-u
 your father –DEF ERG this land choose-3O
 ‘Your father chose this land.’
- f. kup-p^han-ŋa-i ba napmi lɔps-u
 his uncle-DEF ERG this man beat-3O
 ‘His uncle bit this man.’

In 39a-c, the ergative suffix <-ŋa> is followed by the definite suffix <-i> and in 39d-e, it is preceded by the definite marker <-i>. The ergative marker never occurs on personal pronouns.

(40)

- (a) a kHunE p^har-u-ŋ
 I him/her help-3O-1e
 ‘I help him/her.’
- (b). k^hEnE a ka-b^har-a-ŋ
 you me 2-help-PT-1eO
 ‘You helped me.’
- (c). kHunE khEnE ka-b^har-a
 he you 2-help-PT
 ‘He helped you.’

In 40a-c, the agent pronouns *a* ‘I’, *kHhEnE* ‘you’ and *k^hunE* ‘he’ do not take the ergative case marker. However, it occurs on demonstratives and other third person referents.

(41)

- (a) hamba-ŋa a-nih-a-ŋ
 that-ERG 1O-see-PT-1e
 ‘That one saw me.’
- (b) kumba-ŋa ka-nih-a
 this-ERG 2-see-PT
 ‘This one saw you.’
- c to-ba-ŋa k^hunE nih-u
 up-NML-ERG him see-3O
 ‘The one up saw him.’
- d. mo-ba-ŋa pu sEr-u
 down-NML-ERG bird kill-3O
 ‘The one below killed a bird.’

The distal demonstrative *hamba* in 41a proximate demonstrative *kumba* in 41b and third person referents *toba-ŋa* and *moba-ŋa* in 41c-d inflect for ergative case marking.

9.3. INSTRUMENTAL

basic morph: <-Na >
label INST

The instrumental case marks an instrument distinct from the expressed or unexpressed ergative agent of the sentence.

(42)

- a. k^hunE yaŋ-ŋa ambE iŋ-u
he money-INST mango buy-3O
'He bought a mango with money.'
- b. a k^hEb□k-ŋa lamdHet h□nd-u-ŋ
I key-INST door open-3O-1e
'I opened the door with a key.'
- c. kHEŋE p^hEja-ŋa ka-jEpp-u
you dagger-INST 2 -cut-3O
'You cut with a dagger.'

In the sentences given in 42a-c instruments *yaŋ*, *kHEb□k* and *pHEja* are marked by <-ŋa>. Though the instrument marker is identical to the ergative marker in form, the two are quite distinct in function. The instrumental suffix expresses reason for an action or a condition in a sentence as in 43a.c.

(43)

- a. cuŋwama-ŋa siy-a-ŋ
cold- INST die-PT-1e
'I suffered because of cold.'
- b. sakwama-ŋa napmi mu-siy-a
Famine -INST man 3pS-die- PT
'People died because of famine.'
- c. mikyuma-ŋa a yamb□k cok-ma man-c^huk-pan
sleeplessness-INST I work do-INF NEG-can-1eA/ PT/NEG
'I could not work because of sleeplessness.'

Like ergative suffix, instrumental suffix <Na-> also changes to <-na> if preceded by a dental consonant and to <-ma> if preceded by bilabial consonants.

9.4. GENITIVE

basic morph: <-NaN>
label GEN

The genitive case expresses possessive relationship by means of inflections. Limbu genitive case is marked by the suffix <-ŋaŋ> if the possessor is a noun.

(44)

- a. napmi-NaN
man-GEN
'a man's'
- b. pit-naN
cow-GEN
'a cow's'
- c. lam-maN
path-GEN
'a path's'

The genitive suffix <-Na> changes to <-na> when it is preceded by dental stop and to <-maN> when it is preceded by bilabial consonant. The genitive case is marked by <-N> if it is a pronoun.

(45)

Person	Number	Genitive	Glossing
First person	singular	aŋ	‘mine’
	dual (Incl)	anc ^h iŋ	‘ours’
	dual (Excl)	anc ^h iŋaŋ	‘ours’
	plural (Incl)	aniŋ	‘ours’
	plural (Excl)	aniŋaŋ	‘ours’
Second person	singular	k ^h EnEŋ	‘yours’
	dual	k ^h Enc ^h iŋ	‘yours’
	plural	k ^h Eniŋ	‘yours’
Third person	singular	k ^h unEŋ	‘his/hers’
	dual	k ^h unc ^h iŋ	‘theirs’
	plural	k ^h unchiŋ	‘theirs’

Possessive case is indexed by the pronominal prefixes.

(46)

		Possessive	Glossing
First person	singular	a-	‘my’
	dual (Incl)	anc ^h i-	‘our’
	dual (Excl)	anc ^h iŋa-	‘our’
	plural (Incl)	ani-	‘our’
	plural (Excl)	aniŋa-	‘our’
Second person	singular	ka-	‘your’
	dual	k ^h Enc ^h i-	‘your’

	plural	k ^h Eni	‘your’
Third person	singular	ku-	‘his/her’
	dual	khunchi-	‘their’
	plural	k ^h unc ^h i-	‘their’

Genitive case and possessive case are to be studied together as they simultaneously index the meaning of possession or ownership. A possessor noun is marked for a genitive case by a suffix <-NaN> and the possessed noun is marked by its corresponding possessive prefix.

(47)

- a. a-ppa-ŋaŋ ku-baŋ
1sPOSS-father-GEN 3sPOSS-house
‘My father's house’
- b. napmi-ŋaŋ ku-sapla
man-GEN 3sPOSS-book
‘Man's book’
- c. pu-ŋaŋ ku-hap
bird-GEN 3sPOSS-nest
‘Bird's nest’

The phrases in 47a-c contain noun phrase like *ap-pa* or simply nouns such as *napmi* and *pu*. They are marked by genitive suffix <-ŋaŋ> which, in turn is followed by the third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> in the singular. However, in the case of the dual and plural nouns, the third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> takes corresponding non-singular possessive forms such as <k^hunc^hi->.

(48)

- a. pu-g^hac^hi-ŋaŋ k^hunc^hi-hap
bird-d -GEN-3nsPOSS-nest
‘Birds' nest.’
- b. pu-g^ha-ŋaŋ k^hunc^hi-hap
bird-pl -GEN 3nsPOSS-nest
‘Birds' nest’

In the phrases in 44a, the dual number marker <-g^hac^hi> agrees with the third person dual possessive prefix <k^hunc^hi-> and in 44b the plural number marker <-g^ha> also takes the third person dual possessive prefix <k^hunc^hi->. <k^hunc^hi> is, in fact, a third person non-singular possessive prefix which marks both dual and plural possessives. The genitive and possessive case markers can be observed even in pronoun phrases.

(49)

- a. a-ŋ a-baŋ
1s-GEN 1sPOSS-house
‘My house’
- b. anc^hi-ŋ anc^hi-paŋ
1di-GEN 1diPOSS-house
‘Our house’
- c. anc^hiŋa-ŋ anc^hiŋa-paŋ
1de-GEN 1dePOSS-house

- d. 'Our house'
 ani-ŋ ani-paŋ
 1pi-GEN 1piPOSS-house
 'Our house'
- e. aniŋa-ŋ aniŋa-paŋ
 1pe-GEN 1pePOSS-house
 'Our house'
- f. k^hEnE-ŋ ka-baŋ
 2s-GEN 2sPOSS-house
 'Your house'
- g. k^hEnc^hi-ŋ k^hEnc^hi-paŋ
 2d-GEN 2dPOSS-house
 'Your house'
- h. k^hEni-ŋ k^hEni-paŋ
 2p-GEN 2pPOSS-house
 'Your house'
- i. k^hunE-ŋ ku-baŋ
 3s-GEN 3sPOSS-house
 'His/her house'
- j. k^hunc^hi-ŋ k^hunc^hi-paŋ
 3ns-GEN 3nsPOSS-house
 'Their house'

The phrases 49a-j show that the distinct possessive markers are only second person singular possessive marker <ka-> and third person singular possessive marker <ku->. The possessive markers of other personal pronouns are merely reduplication of the nominative case form. Now, the genitive markers are gradually collapsing to nominative case form.

(50)

- a. a-baŋ
 1sPOSS-house
 'My house'
- b. ancHi-paŋ
 1diPOSS-house
 'Our house'
- c. ancHiŋa-paŋ
 1dePOSS-house
 'Our house'
- d. ani-paŋ
 1piPOSS -house
 'Our house'
- e. aniŋa-paŋ
 1pePOSS-house
 'Our house'
- f. ka-baŋ
 1sPOSS-house
 'Your house'
- g. k^hEnc^hi-paŋ
 2dPOSS -house
 'Your house'
- h. k^hEni-paŋ

- 2pPOSS-house
'Your house'
- i. ku-baŋ
3sPOSS-house
'His house'
- j. k^hunc^hi-paŋ
3nsPOSS- house
'Their house'
- k. k^hunc^hi-paŋ
3nsPOSS-house
'Their house'

The phenomenon of genitive case's collapse into a nominative case can be observed in nouns also. The phrases in 51 contain a genitive marker.

(51)

- a. lahaN-NaN ku-baN
lahang-GEN 3sPOSS-house
'Lahang's house'
- b. napmi-NaN ku-bi?
man-GEN 3sPOSS-cow
'A man's cow'
- c. pit-naN ku-daN
cow-GEN 3sPOSS-horn
'A cow's horn'

The noun phrases in 51 are continuously losing genitive marker and assuming nominative case as exemplified in 52.

(52)

- a. lahaN ku-baN
lahang 3sPOSS-house
'Lahang's house'
- b. napmi ku-bi?
man 3sPOSS-cow
'A man's cow'
- c. pit ku-daN
cow 3sPOSS-horn
'A cow's horn'

But when the possessive pronoun is used in the objective case as in English pronoun 'mine', genitive is clearly marked.

(53)

- a. ba paŋ-Niŋ a-ŋ
this house-ABS 1s-GEN
'This house is mine.'
- b. hamba sapla-O kHEŋE-ŋ
that book-ABS 2s-GEN
'That book is yours.'
- c. to-hamba pi?-O k^hunE-ŋ
up-that cow-ABS 3s-GEN
'That cow up there is his/hers.'

The dual and plural inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns and dual and plural forms of second and third person pronouns also exhibit the genitive case marker like the pronouns shown in 53a-c.

9.5. VOCATIVE

basic morph: <-E¹⁰ -o>

label:VOC

Vocative is a case form taken by a noun when it is used in the form of address. This case is marked by <-o> or <-E> as in *a-ppa-o* or *a-ppa-E* but they are not interchangeable in all contexts.

(54)

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| a. | a-mma-E
my-mother-VOC
'O my mother' | a-mma-o
my-mother-VOC
'O my mother' |
| b. | at-tuba-E
my-grandfather-VOC
'O my grandfather' | a-ttuba-o
my-grandfather-VOC
'O my grandfather' |
| c. | sEba-E
friend-VOC
'O friend' | sEba-o
friend-VOC
'O friend' |
| d. | napmi-E
man-VOC
'O man' | *napmi-o |
| e. | pu-E
bird-VOC
'O bird' | *pu-o |

The examples cited in 50a- c show that <-o> can substitute <-E> only in the context of the open, unrounded, central vowel /a/ immediately preceding it but when the close, unrounded, front vowel /i/ or close, rounded, back vowel /u/ precedes the vocative case ending, <-o> can not substitute it.

9.6. LOCATIVE

basic morph: <-o>

label LOC

The suffix <-o> marks locative case by means of which the noun expresses the idea of location and destination. The semantics of the verb determines whether the locative is to be interpreted as 'in', 'on', 'to', 'at', etc.

(55)

- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | sa a-ha-o k ^h ipp-u
meat my-tooth-LOC stick-3O
'The meat is stuck to my tooth.' |
| b. | t ^h re-ba yukna-o yuŋ
guest-male bed-LOC sit
'The guest sits on the bed.' |
| c. | k ^h unE kuk-ku-si-o teg-a
he his-maternal uncles-LOC go-PT
'He went to his maternal uncles' house.' |
| d. | k ^h EnE kap-pa-o ka-de-i
you your-father-LOC 2S-go-Q |

‘Do you go to your father's house?’

The locative suffix <-o> in 55a-b indicates location whereas the locative suffix in 55c-d indicates direction. It undergoes morphophonological changes with the insertion of homo-organic consonant after the nominal stem preceding it. As a result, after the bilabial consonants /p/ and /m/, it becomes <-mo> as in *ku-hap-mo* ‘in its nest’ and *lam-mo* ‘on the way’, after the dental consonants /t/ and /n/, it becomes <-no> as in *ku-sot-no* ‘in its fat’ and *ku-b^hEn-no* ‘in his loin’ and after the velar consonants /k/ and /ŋ/, it becomes <No> as in *a-d^h□k-No* ‘on my body’ and *a-d^haN-No* ‘in my shade’. (See..)

9.7. COMITATIVE

basic morph: <-nuN>

label COM

The comitative meaning is expressed by the suffix <-nuŋ > which means ‘with’, ‘along with’ or ‘accompanied by’.

(56)

- a. k^hunE ap-pa-nuŋ te
he my-father-COM go
‘He goes with my father.’
- b. a a-dak-nuŋ im-ma
I my-friend-COM sleep-1e
‘I sleep with my friend.’
- c. ac-c^ha ku-dak-nuŋ paŋwa
my-son his-friend-COM play
‘My child plays with his friend.’

The marker <-nuŋ> in 56a-c is the comitative case marker because it carries the meaning ‘accompanied by’ in 56a and “with” in 56b-c. The comitative marker <-nuŋ> ‘with’ has its negative counterpart <-ma?E> ‘without’ which is used in the negative associative sense.

(57)

- a. k^hunE tak-ma?E te
he friend-without go
‘He goes without a friend.’
- b. a te?-ma?E pak^ha ma-l□n-na-n
I cloth-without outside NEG-come out-1eS-NEG
‘I won't come out without cloth.’

The suffix <-ma?E> in 57a-b marks deprivation- deprivation of friend and of cloth.

9.8. MEDITATIVE

basic morph: <-lam> or <-nuN>

label MED

The mediative meaning is expressed by the suffixes <-lam> and <-nuN> in the sense of abstract medium or simple medium.

(58)

- a. p□niba pan-lam
nepali lanuage-MED
‘Through the Nepali language’
- b. yakthuŋba pan-lam

- limbu language-MED
‘Through the Limbu language’
- c. pɔ̃niba pan-nuŋ
nepali language-MED
‘Through the Nepali language’
- d. yakthuŋba pan-nuŋ
limbu language-MED
‘Through the Limbu language’

The phrases in 58a-b contain a case marker <- lam > and those in 58c-d contain a case marker <-nuŋ >. They express abstract media. They can be used in the sense of a simple medium. *lam* also means 'road' or 'path' and is undoubtedly the source for this case marker. <-nuŋ> and <-lam> are interchangeable in these contexts.

(59)

- a. k^hɔ̃ŋbE-lam
boat-MED
‘Through the boat’
- b. paŋb^hE-lam
village-MED
‘Through the village’
- c. khɔ̃ŋbe-nuŋ
boat-MED
‘Through the boat’
- d. paŋb^hE-nuŋ
village-MED
‘Through the village’

The examples in 55a-d indicate the use of <-lam > and <-nuŋ> as expressions of simple media.

9.9. ABLATIVE

basic morph: <-lam> or <-nuN>
label ABL

Ablative case is marked by <-nuŋ> and <-lam>. They indicate source and path.

(60)

- a. kathmandu-lam
kathmandu-ABL
"From Kathmandu"
- b. pyaŋsi-lam
paddy-field-ABL
‘From the paddy-field’
- c. kathmandu-nuŋ
kathmandu-ABL
‘From Kathmandu’
- d. pyaŋsi-nuŋ
paddy-field-ABL
‘From the paddy-field’

The ablative case markers <-lam > and <-nuŋ > in 60a-d indicate the original space.

The ablative can occur alone as in 60a-d or in combination with the locative <-o> as in 61a-c.

(61)

- a. k^hunE paŋb^hE-o- lam/nuŋ tah-a
 he village-LOC-MED come-PT
 'He came from the village.'
- b. a sya paŋ-o-lam/nuŋ tar-u-ŋ
 I rice house-LOC-ABL briŋ-3O-1sA
 'I brought rice from the house.'
- c. lahaŋ-ŋa siŋ tambHuŋ-o-lam/nuŋ tar-u
 lahang-ERG firewood forest-LOC-ABL bring-3O
 'Lahang brought firewood from the forest.'

The sentences 61a-c contain the case marker <-o-lam/nuŋ> which is the combination of the locative case marker <-o> and ablative case marker <-lam/nuŋ>.

9.10. ALLATIVE

basic morph: <-d^harik>
 label ALLT

The suffix <-dHarik> 'as far as' marks the allative case. It may occur alone or in combination with the locative suffix <-o>. Therefore, it can be either <-dHarik> or <-o-dHarik>.

(62)

- a. a paŋb^hE-d^harik tek-ŋ-a
 I village-ALLT go-1e-NPT
 'I will go as far as the village.'
- b. k^hunE a a-baŋ-dHarik a-sadH-a-ŋ
 he me my-house-ALLT 1-accompany-PT-1eO
 'He accompanied me as far as my house.'
- c. kHunE pyaŋsi-o-dHarik teg-a
 he paddy-field-LOC-ALLT go-PT
 'He went as far as the field.'
- d. k^hunE a-baŋ-o-dHarik pHER-a
 he my-house-LOC-ALLT come-PT
 'He came as far as my house.'

The nouns in 62a-b contain a single allative marker <-dHarik >and those in 60c-d contain locative and allative markers <-o-dHarik > in a combined form.

9. 11. DIRECTIVE

basic morph: <-naN>
 label DIR

Direction is marked by the suffixes <-naŋ > and <-lEkHaŋ>.They are interchangeable in all contexts as indicated in 59a-c.

(63)

- a. k^hunE paŋ-naŋ/lEk^haŋ teg-a
 he house-DIR go-PT
 'He went towards house.'
- b. kHENe mo-naN ka-lokk-a
 you down-DIR 2-run-PT
 'You ran downwards.'
- c. a pyaNsi-naŋ/lEkhaŋ tek-ŋ-a
 I paddy-field-DIR go-1eS-NPT
 'I will go to paddy-field.'

9.12. COMPARATIVE

basic morph: <-aN> or <-nuNNE>

Label COMPR

The comparative degree is indicated by a suffix <-aŋ> affixed to the nominal head to be compared.

(64)

- a. k^hunE-aŋ kamba k^hEnE ka-juk
 he- COMPR tall you you-be
 'You are taller than him.' (literally, more than him, I'm tall.)
- b. k^hEnE-aŋ nuba a cuk-ŋa
 you-COMPR handsome I be-1sS
 'I am more handsome than you.' (literally, more than you, I'm handsome.)
- c. a-aŋ tumba k^hunE cuk
 I-COMPR old he be
 'He is older than me' (literally, 'more than me, he is tall.)

In the sentences 64a-c, the suffix <-aŋ> affixed to the pronominal heads is a comparative suffix. Comparative meaning is also expressed by the combination of comitative suffix <-nuN> and subordinator suffix <-E>. When they occur together, the velar nasal is inserted between them and the resulting suffix is realized as <nuNNE>

(65)

- a. kHEnE-nuŋNE) a ken-na
 you - COMPR I be tall-1e
 'I'm taller than you.'
- b. kHunE-nuŋNE) kHEnE ka-y□n
 he/she -COMPR you 2- be big
 'You are bigger than him/her.'
- c. a- nuŋNE) kHunE cuk
 I -COMPR he/she be small
 'He is smaller than me.'

In the synchronic use of the Chhathare Limbu comparative is expressed by the use of Nepali *bHanda* 'than'.

(66)

- a. a bH□nda kHunE y□n
 I than he big
 'He is bigger than me.'
- b. kHunE bh□nda kHEnE ka-un
 he than you 2-short
 'You are shorter than him.'
- c. haŋgHa bH□nda a cuk-ŋa
 those than I small-1e
 'I'm smaller than them.'

The case forms of a noun, *napmi* 'man' in table 14 presents the summary of the case forms of the Chhathare Limbu.

	Case	siŋular	dual	plural
1	Ergative	napmi-ŋa	napmi-g ^h ac ^h i-ŋa	napmi-g ^h a-ŋa
2	Absolutive	napmi	napmi-g ^h ac ^h i	napmi-g ^h a

3	Instrumental	napmi-ŋa	napmi-g ^h ac ^h i-ŋa	napmi-g ^h a-ŋa
4	Genitive	napmi-ŋaŋ	napmi-g ^h ac ^h i-ŋa-ŋ	napmi-g ^h a-ŋa-ŋ
5	Comitative	napmi-nuŋ	napmi-g ^h achi-nuŋ	napmi-g ^h a-/nuŋ
6	Locative	napmi-o	napmi-g ^h a-c ^h i-o	napmi-g ^h a-o
7	Vocative	napmi-E	napmi-g ^h ac ^h i-E	napmi-g ^h a-E
8	Mediative	napmi-lam	napmi-g ^h a-c ^h i-lam	napmi-g ^h a-lam
9	Ablative	napmi-lam/nuŋ	napmi-g ^h a-c ^h i-lam/nuŋ	napmi-g ^h a-lam/nuŋ
10	Directive	napmi-naŋ/IEkk ^h aŋ	napmi-g ^h ac ^h i-naŋ/IEkk ^h aŋ	napmi-g ^h a-naŋ/IEkk ^h aŋ
11	Allative	napmi-o-d ^h arik	napmi-g ^h a-c ^h i-o-d ^h arik	napmi-g ^h a-o-dharik
12	Comparative	napmi-aŋ napmi-nuNNE) napmi-bH□nda	napmig ^h a-cHi-aŋ napmigHacHi-nuNNE) napmigHacHi-bH□nda	napmi-g ^h a-aŋ napmigHa-nuNNE napmigHa-bH□nda

TABLE. 14. Case markers

All the nominals decline in the way the noun *napmi* 'man' declines.

10. SUMMARY. Nouns inflect for number and case. Singularity is unmarked, duality is marked by <kHacHi~gHacHi> and plurality is marked by <-gHa>. The process of number marking is from singular to plural and from plural to dual. The derivational history of number shows that dual number in the language is a later developed phenomenon. Non-singularity of identity marking noun is marked by <-si>. When nouns are preceded by numerals, their number is unmarked. Twelve kinds of cases are marked on nouns. Masculine gender is marked by <-pa~ba> and feminine gender is marked by <-ma> but they are not productive and occur only in a few kinship nouns and ethnic names. Similarly, diminutive form is also marked by the suffixes <-IEccHa> and <-cyak> but they are limited to *pHakIEccHa*, *pulIEccHa* and *wajyak* only. However, they show that at one time in the history, the language had diminutive suffixes. Nouns are formed through compounding by juxtaposing two nouns side by side. Derivative adjectives also function as nouns inflecting for number and case. It has human classifier suffixes <-pa> and <-pHu>. The first one is used for a single person and the second one is used for more than one person following the first syllable of the numerals. Though numerals are there up to one hundred in written form, in actual speech people use only up to three. Pronominal affixes are added to the nouns and form either possessive noun phrases or verb-less sentences.

CHAPTER 6
MORPHOLOGY OF PRONOUNS

1. INTRODUCTION. Pronouns differ from nouns as they do not take ergative case marker. There are mainly three kinds of pronouns in the language. They are personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. In this chapter, morphological structure of each type of pronoun is analyzed.

2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. The personal pronouns differentiate three persons-first person, second person and third person. First person pronoun and second person pronoun distinguish three numbers-singular, dual and plural but the third person pronoun distinguishes only singular and nonsingular number. First person distinguishes inclusive and exclusive speech act participant in dual and plural forms.

(1)

a.	a	I	1s
b.	anc ^h i	we	1di
c.	anc ^h iŋa	we	1de
d.	ani	we	1pi
e.	aniŋa	we	1pe
f.	k ^h EnE	you	2s
g.	k ^h Enc ^h i	you	2d
h.	k ^h Eni	you	2p
i.	k ^h unE	he	3s
j.	k ^h unc ^h i	they	3ns

The morphemic analysis of the first person pronoun is as follows:

(2)

a.	a	(n)		
	I			
b.	a	n	c ^h i	
	l		d	
c.	a	n	i	
	I		p	
d.	a	n	c ^h i	ŋa
	I		d	e
e.	a	n	i	ŋa
	I		p	e

The morphemic analysis in 2 shows that the first person singular pronoun is *an* in its underlying form. It appears as *a* in a word final position but as *an* within a word. The dual marker suffix is <-c^hi> and plural marker suffix is <-i>. The exclusive marker suffix is <-ŋa> and it appears in the final position. Its inclusive counterpart is unmarked. When first person inclusive and exclusive dual and plural pronominal words are formed, /n/ appears within them.

When dual marking suffix <-c^hi> is added to the second person singular pronoun *khEnE*, the vowel /E/ is deleted and the second person dual pronoun *khEnc^hi* is formed. In the third person the dual marker <-c^hi> marks both dual and plural. Therefore, it is termed as nonsingular marker here. When the non-singular marker is added to the third person singular pronoun *k^hune*, the vowel /E/ is deleted and the

nonsingular pronoun *k^hunc^hi* is constituted. In fact, the morpheme <-c^hi> is a dual marker but its marking is extended to plural level also.

Demonstratives are synchronously used as personal pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns *hamba* 'that' and *kumba* 'this', have been now an integral part of the pronominal system. However, they are actually demonstratives. *hamba* 'that' is a singular demonstrative, *hambag^hacHi* is its synthetic dual and *hambag^ha* its synthetic plural. The demonstrative *kumba* 'this' and its synthetic dual *kumbag^hac^hi* and plural *kumbagHa* are likewise used as third person pronouns. Basically, they constitute a more marked member of the proximal/distal distinction in the demonstrative. In fact, demonstrative pronouns behave differently than the personal pronouns in the following respects:

(i). Personal pronouns do not take absolutive and ergative case markers and occur unchanged as subject, agent or object in a syntagm whereas the demonstratives take both absolutive and ergative case markers.

(3)

- a. khunE et
he laughs
'He laughs.'
- b. kHunE napmi-iŋ ser-u
he man -ABS kill-3O
'He killed a man.'
- c. lahaŋ-ŋa k^hunE ser-u
Lahang-ERG him kill-3O
'Lahang killed him.'
- d. k^hEnE ka-et
you 2-laugh
'You laugh.'
- e. k^hEnE napmi-iŋ ka-sEr-u
you man-ABS 2-kill-3O
'You killed a man.'
- f. lahaŋ-ŋa k^hEnE ka-sEr-a
Lahang-ERG you 2-kill-PT
'Lahang killed you.'
- g. a et-na
I laugh-1e
'I laugh.'
- h. a napmi-iŋ ser-u-ŋ
I man-ABS kill-3O-1e
'I killed a man.'
- i. lahaŋ-ŋa a a-ser-a-ŋ
Lahang-ERG me 1-kill-PT-1e
'Lahang killed me.'
- j. kumba-iŋ et
this-ABS laugh
'He laughs.'
- k. kumba-ŋa napmi-iŋ sEr-u
this-ERG man-ABS kill-3O
'He killed a man.'
- l. lahaŋ-ŋa kumba-iŋ ser-u

- Lahang-ERG this-ABS kill-3O
'Lahang killed him.'
- m. hamba-iŋ et
that-ABS laugh
'He laughs.'
- n. hamba-ŋa napmi-iŋ ser-u
he-ERG man-ABS kill-3O
'He killed him.'
- o. lahaŋ-ŋa hamba-iŋ ser-u
lahang-ERG that-ABS kill-3O
'Lahang killed him.'

(ii). Personal pronouns can occur as possessive prefixes but demonstrative pronouns can not. They have possessive prefixes in <ku->, 'his', <ka-> 'your' and <a-> 'my' but demonstrative pronouns can take possessive prefixes in third person possessive pronouns.

(iii). Singular demonstrative can be used adnominally as in *ba napmi* 'this man', *hamba napmi* 'that man' whereas personal pronouns can not be used adnominally.

In spite of such differences, they have the following similarities:

(i). The independently used demonstratives behave like personal pronouns and occur more frequently than *kHunE* 'he' and *k^hunc^hi* 'they'.

(ii). They have a separate independent genitive form such as *hambaŋ* 'his' (that one's) or *kumbaŋ* 'his' (this one's) like the genitive of personal pronouns such as *k^hunEŋ* 'his', *k^hEnEŋ* 'yours' and *aŋ* 'mine'.

(iii). Singular demonstrative replaces *kHunE* 'he' in referring to non-human referent.

These points indicate that demonstratives and personal pronouns have some common features despite their distinct features in some respects. So, Driem (1987:25) suspects that the demonstratives in Phedappe Limbu have come to be used as third person pronouns only in recent times. This suspicion has strong ground and this case applies to the demonstratives of Chhatthare Limbu, too. Therefore, in the present study, demonstrative pronouns will be dealt with separately. The personal pronouns synchronically used in the language are presented in the paradigm in the following way:

Person	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
First	a	anc ^h i	anc ^h iNa	ani	aniNa-o
Second kHEni	kHEnE	kHEncHi			
Third	k ^h unE	k ^h unc ^h i		k ^h unc ^h i	

TABLE. 15. Personal pronouns

2.1. CASE SYSTEM IN PRONOUNS. The case system in pronoun is the same as in nouns. However, there are less numbers of cases in it but the case markers for each pronoun are the same. The occasional variation in the case form of the pronouns is due to historical and/or morphological factors. The following are representative cases of pronouns in the three persons.

Case	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
Locative case	a-o	anc ^h i-o	anc ^h iNa-o	ani-o	aniNa-o
Comitative case	a-nuN	anc ^h i-nuN	anc ^h iNa-nuN	ani-nuN	aniNa-nuN
Mediative case	a-lam	anc ^h i-lam	anc ^h iNa-lam	ani-lam	ani-lam
Ablative case	a-lam	anc ^h i-lam	anc ^h iNa-lam	ani-lam	aniNa-lam
Elicative case	a-o-nuN/lam	anc ^h i-o-nuN/lam	anc ^h iNa-o-nuN/lam	ani-o-nuN/lam	aniNa-o-nuN/lam
Allative	a-o-d ^h arik	anc ^h i-o-d ^h arik	anc ^h iNa-o-d ^h arik	ani-o-d ^h arik	aniNa-o-d ^h arik
Comparative	a-aN	anc ^h i-aN	anc ^h iNa-aN	ani-aN	aniNa-aN

TABLE 16. Case markers of first person pronouns

N.	Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	Locative	kHEnE-o	kHEn-cHi-o	kHEni-o
2.	Commutative	kHEnE-nuŋ	kHEn-cHi-nuŋ	kHEni-nuŋ
3.	Mediative	kHEnE- lam	kHEncHi-lam	kHEni- lam
4.	Ablative	kHEnE- lam	kHEn-cHi- lam	kHEni-lam
5.	Elative	kHEnE-o- nuŋ/lam	kHEn-cHi-o- nuŋ/lam	kHE-ni-o- nuŋ/lam
6.	Allative	kHEnE-dHarik	kHEn-cHi- dHarik	kHE-ni-dHarik
7.	Comparative	kHE-nE-aŋ	kHEn-cHi-aN	kHE-ni-aŋ

Table 17 Case markers of second person pronouns

N.	Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	Locative	kHunE-o	kHun-cHi-o	kHuncHi-o
2.	Commutative	kHunE-nuŋ	kHun-cHi-nuŋ	kHuncHi-nuŋ
3.	Mediative	kHunE- lam	kHuncHi-lam	kHuncHi- lam
4.	Ablative	kHunE- lam	kHun-cHi- lam	kHuncHi-lam
5.	Elative	kHunE-o- nuŋ/lam	kHun-cHi-o- nuŋ/lam	kHu-ncHi-o- nuŋ/lam
6.	Allative	kHunE-dHarik	kHun-cHi- dHarik	kHu-ncHi- dHarik
7.	Comparative	kHu-nE-aŋ	kHun-cHi-aN	kHu-ncHi-aŋ

Table 18 Case markers of third person pronouns

2.2 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS. The singular personal pronouns *a* ‘I’, *k^hEnE* ‘you’ and *k^hunE* ‘he’ or ‘she’ have possessive prefixes in *a-*, *ka-* and *ku-*.

(4)

- a. a-dak
1sPOSS-friend
‘My friend’
- b. ka-b^hu
2sPOSS-elder brother
‘Your elder brother’
- c. ku-□n
3sPOSS-horse
‘His/her horse’

The dual and plural pronouns *an-c^hi*, ‘we (you+I)’, *an-c^hi-ŋa* ‘we (he or she+I)’, *a-ni* ‘we (you all+ I) and *a-ni-ŋa* ‘we (they+I)’ and *k^hun-c^hi* ‘they (two)’ or ‘they (many)’ are prefixed integrally to the nouns they modify.

(5)

- a. k^hun-c^hi-paŋ
3nsPOSS-house
‘Their house’
- b. an-c^hi-paŋ
IdiPOSS-house
‘Our house’

- c. anc^hiŋa- paŋ
 1dePOSS-house
 ‘Our house’
- d. ani-paŋ
 1piPOSS-house
 ‘Our house’
- e. aniŋa paŋ
 1pePOSS-house
 ‘Our house’

Nouns in the genitive are generally followed by a noun with the third person possessive prefix <ku-> or non-singular *k^hunc^hi-*.

(6)

- a. napmi-ŋaŋ ku-baŋ
 man-GEN 3sPOSS-house
 ‘A man’s house’
- b. napmi-g^ha-c^hi-ŋaŋ k^hunc^hi-paŋ
 man-pl-d-GEN 3nsPOSS- house
 ‘Men’s house’
- c. napmi-g^ha-ŋaŋ k^hunc^hi-paŋ
 man-p-GEN 3nsPOSS house
 ‘Men’s house’

These personal possessive prefixes, however, are bound morphemes and as such can not occur independently. There are independent personal possessive pronouns but they can occur only in the object form like the English possessive objective pronouns, 'mine', 'yours' etc..

(7)

- a. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ k^hunEŋ
 this house-ABS his/hers
 ‘This house is hers.’
- b. ba paŋ-iŋ k^hunc^hiŋ
 this house-ABS they two's
 ‘This house is theirs.’
- c. ba paŋ-Niŋ k^hEnEŋ
 this house-ABS yours
 ‘This house is yours.’
- d. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ k^hEnc^hiŋ
 this house-ABS you two's
 ‘This house is yours.’
- e. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ k^hEniŋ
 this house-ABS you many's
 ‘This house is yours.’
- f. ba paŋ-Niŋ aŋ
 this house-ABS mine
 ‘This house is mine.’
- g. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ anc^hiŋ
 this house-ABS ours
 ‘This house is ours.’
- h. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ anc^hi-ŋaŋ
 this house-ABS we two's
 ‘This house is ours.’

- i. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ aniŋ
this house-ABS ours
'This house is ours.'
- j. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ ani-ŋaŋ
this house-ABS we many's
'This house is ours.'

Occasionally, singular possessive prefix is prefixed to the kinship nouns after the first person dual and plural genitive forms.

(8)

- a. anc^hiŋa ap-pa
our my-father
'Our father'
- b. anc^hiŋa am-ma
our my-mother
'Our mother'
- c. aniŋa ap-pa
our 1sPOSS-father
'Our father'
- d. aniŋa am-ma
our my-mother
'Our mother'

However, such prefixation of first person singular possessive pronoun for its dual and plural exclusive counterparts is limited to kinship terms. It can not occur with other non-kinship terms.

(9)

- a. aniŋa a-paŋ
our my-house
*'Our house'
- b. anc^hiŋa a-baŋ
our my-house
* 'Our house' (The asterisked sentences are unacceptable in Limbu.)

There are some kinship terms which are duplicated and the duplicated form is used as the first person dual and plural inclusive prefix after the prothetic consonant.

(10)

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|
| a. | ku | 'uncle' | kukku | 'our uncle' |
| b. | nE | 'elder sister' | nEnnE | 'our sister' |
| c. | c ^h im | 'uncle's wife' | c ^h icc ^h im | 'our aunt' |
| d. | p ^h aŋ | 'uncle' | p ^h app ^h aŋ | 'our uncle' |
| e. | ni | 'father's sister' | ninni | 'our aunt' |

The duplicated morpheme <ku-> and third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> are homophonous and ambiguity arises in an utterance like *kukku* which can mean either 'our uncle' or 'his uncle'. Only the context can disambiguate the semantic ambiguity.

In fact, third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> is ambiguous because it is not specifically co-referential with the nominal in the same sentence.

(11)

- a. lahaŋ ku-baŋ-No wa
Lahang 3sPOSS-house-LOC be
'Lahang is in his/her house.'
- b. p□numa-ŋa ku-sapla p□ks-u

panuma-ERG 3sPOSS-book hold-3O

'Panuma held her/his book.'

The first sentence means either Lahang is in his house or somebody else's house because the prefix <ku-> 'his' is not specifically co-referential with Lahang in the sentence. Moreover, <ku-> does not make any sex distinction. Similarly, the second sentence means either Panuma held 'her book' or 'some other's book' because <ku-> does not co-refer Panuma. This semantic ambiguity is disambiguated only by the context.

Some compound nouns take possessive prefixes on both parts when they are attached to them.

(12)

a.	tEpp ^h uŋ	'clothes'	ku-det ku-b ^h uŋ	'his clothes'
b.	takluŋ	'friends'	a-dak a-luŋ	'my friends'
c.	cat ^h i	'food stuff'	ka-ja ka-d ^h i	'your foodstuff'
d.	yaŋsa	'wealth'	ku-yaŋ ku-sa	'his wealth'

Some kinship terms have prothetic consonants which occur before them after the singular possessive prefixes such as <ku->, <ka-> and <a->.

(13)

a.	c ^h a	'child'	a-cc ^h a	'my child (son or daughter).'
b.	c ^h a	'child'	a-nj ^h a	'my younger sibling'
c.	ma	'mother'	ka-mma	'your mother'
d.	pa	'father'	ka-ppa	'your father'
e.	the	'grand mother'	ka-tt ^h E	'your grand mother'
f.	ku	'uncle'	ku-kku	'his uncle'
g.	nE	'elder sister'	ku-nnE	'his sister'

The prothetic nasal /n/ changes the meaning c^ha 'child' to 'sibling' as in anj^ha 'my younger sibling'. Its meaning stays 'child' when it has prothetic affricate /c/ as in acc^ha 'my child'.

3. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS. There are two types of demonstrative pronouns: proximate *ba* 'this' and remote *hamba* 'that'. The proximate and remote distinction is based on spatial and psychological distance of the referent of the pronoun from the speaker, not from the hearer. For example, if the referent is close to the speaker, it is referred to with the proximate form even if it is far away from the hearer. If two referents are at equal distance from the speaker, and one of the two is relatively further from the hearer, the speaker will refer to one with the proximate form and the other with the remote form. If the referents are closer to the hearer than to the speaker, the speaker will use the remote forms of the pronouns. A remote referent in time or space can be referred to with a proximate form of a pronoun if it is psychologically close to the speaker. Now, the demonstratives in the remote form are used as third person pronouns. However, they are different from the personal pronouns because they can take ergative or absolutive suffixes, can be, in the singular form, used adnominally as opposed to the personal pronouns and can not occur as possessive prefixes like personal pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns inflect for case in the following way:

3.1. PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE. *ba* 'this' or *kumba* 'this' is a proximate demonstrative pronoun. It inflects for different cases.

N.	Case	Singular	Plural	Dual
1.	Absolutive	ba	ba-g ^h a	ba-g ^h a-c ^h i
2.	Ergative	ba-ŋa	ba-g ^h a-ŋa	ba-g ^h a-c ^h i-ŋa
3.	Locative	ba-o	ba-g ^h a-o	ba-g ^h a-c ^h i-o
4.	Commitative	ba-nuŋ	ba-g ^h a-nuŋ	ba-g ^h a-c ^h i-nuŋ
5.	Mediative	ba-lam	ba-g ^h a-lam	ba-g ^h a-c ^h i-lam
6.	Ablative	ba-lam	bagHa-lam	ba-g ^h a-cHi-lam
7.	Allative	ba-dHarik	ba-g ^h a-d ^h arik	ba-g ^h a-c ^h i-d ^h arik
8.	Comparative	ba-aN ba-bH□nda	ba-g ^h a-aN ba-gHa-bH□nda	ba-g ^h a-c ^h i-aN ba-gHa-cHi- bH□nda

TABLE 19 Case markers of proximate demonstrative pronouns

3.2. REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE. *hamba* ‘that’ is a remote or distal demonstrative pronoun. It inflects for different cases.

N.	Case	Singular	Plural	Dual
1.	Absolutive	hamba	hamba-g ^h a	hamba-g ^h a-c ^h i
2.	Ergative	hamba-ŋa	hamba-gHa-ŋa	hamba-g ^h a-c ^h i-ŋa
3.	Locative	hamba-o	hamba-g ^h a-o	hamba-g ^h a-c ^h i-o
4.	Commitative	hamba-nuŋ	hamba-g ^h a-nuŋ	hamba-g ^h a-c ^h i-nuŋ
5.	Mediative	hamba-lam	hamba-g ^h a-lam	hamba-g ^h a-c ^h i-lam
6.	Ablative	hamba-lam	hambagHa-lam	hamba-g ^h a-cHi-lam
7.	Allative	hamba-dHarik	hamba-g ^h a-d ^h arik	hamba-g ^h a-c ^h i-d ^h arik
8.	Comparative	hamba-aN hamba-bH□nda	hamba-g ^h a-aN hamba-gHa- bH□nda	hamba-g ^h a-c ^h i-aN hamba-gHa-cHi- bH□nda

TABLE 20. Case markers of remote demonstrative pronouns

4. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS. There are two types of interrogative pronouns- human and general.

4.1. INTERROGATIVE HUMAN PRONOUN. *sa* ‘who’ is an interrogative pronoun that can be used only for human beings. Unlike personal pronouns, it can inflect for all cases like all other nominals in the following way.

N.	Case	Singular	Plural	Dual
1.	Absolutive	sa	sa-g ^h a	sa-g ^h ac ^h i
2.	Ergative	sa-ŋa	sa-gHa-ŋa	sa-g ^h a-c ^h i-ŋa
3.	Locative	sa-o	sa-g ^h a-o	sa-g ^h ac ^h i-o
4.	Commitative	sa-nuŋ	sa-g ^h a-nuŋ	sa-g ^h a-c ^h i-nuŋ
5.	Mediative	sa-lam	sa-g ^h a-lam	sa-g ^h ac ^h i-lam
6.	Ablative	sa-lam	sa-gHa-lam	sa-g ^h acHi-lam
7.	Allative	sa-dHarik	sa-g ^h a-d ^h arik	sa-g ^h ac ^h i-d ^h arik
8.	Comparative	sa-aN sa-bH□nda	sa-g ^h a-aN sa-gHa-bH□nda	sa-g ^h ac ^h i-aN sa-gHa-cHi-bH□nda

TABLE 21. Case markers of interrogative human pronouns

4.2 INTERROGATIVE GENERAL PRONOUNS. Interrogative non-human pronouns refer to non-human referents like animals, birds, etc and other inanimate things. They are *he* 'what' and *whiŋ* 'which' which decline like any other nominals in the following way:

N.	Case	Singular	Plural	Dual
1.	Absolutive	hwiN	hwiN-g ^h a	hwiN-g ^h ac ^h i
2.	Ergative	hwiN-ŋa	hwiN-gHa-ŋa	hwiN-g ^h ac ^h i-ŋa
3.	Locative	hwiN-No	hwiN-g ^h a-o	hwiN-g ^h ac ^h i-o
4.	Commitative	hwiN-nuŋ	hwiN-g ^h a-nuŋ	hwiN-g ^h ac ^h i-nuŋ
5.	Mediative	hwiN-lam	hwiN-g ^h a-lam	hwiN-g ^h ac ^h i-lam
6.	Ablative	hwiN-lam	hwiN-gHa-lam	hwiN-g ^h acHi-lam
7.	Allative	hwiN-dHarik	hwiN-g ^h a-d ^h arik	hwiN-g ^h ac ^h i-d ^h arik
8.	Comparative	hwiN-aN hwiN-bH□nda	hwiN-g ^h a-aN hwiN-gHa- bH□nda	hwiN-g ^h a-c ^h i-aN hwiN-gHa-cHi- bH□nda

TABLE 22. Case markers of interrogative general pronoun hwiN 'which'

N.	Case	Singular	Plural	Dual
1.	Absolutive	hE	hE-g ^h a	hE-g ^h a-c ^h i
2.	Ergative	hE-ŋa	hE-gHa-ŋa	hE-g ^h ac ^h i-ŋa
3.	Locative	hE-o	hE-g ^h a-o	hE-g ^h a-c ^h i-o
4.	Commitative	hE-nuŋ	hE-g ^h a-nuŋ	hE-g ^h ac ^h i-nuŋ
5.	Mediative	hE-lam	hE-g ^h a-lam	hE-g ^h ac ^h i-lam
6.	Ablative	hE-lam	hE-gHa-lam	hE-g ^h a-cHi-lam
7.	Allative	hE-dHarik	hE-g ^h a-d ^h arik	hE-g ^h ac ^h i-d ^h arik
8.	Comparative	hE-aN hE-bH□nda	hE-g ^h a-aN hE-gHa-bH□nda	hE-g ^h a-c ^h i-aN hE-gHa-cHi-bH□nda

TABLE 23 Case markers of interrogative general pronoun hE 'what'

tHippa 'one person', *nEpphu* 'two persons' and *sumbHhu* 'three persons' are also used as pronouns.

(14)

a. nEp-pHu pHEracHi

two- CL- come-PT-dS

‘Two people came.’

b. sumbHu tEg-a-cHi

three-CL go-PT-dS

‘Three people went.’

The noun *napmi* can also be used as a first person exclusive pronominal object suffix in imperative sentences in which the agent must be in plural form.

(15)

a. kHEni sapla a napmi-py-a

your book me 1O-give-PT

‘Give me your book.’

b. a. kHEni sapla a napmi-py-a

your book me 1O-give-PT

‘Give us your book.’

The noun *napmi* can also be used as a pronoun for marking indefinite third person human in imperative sentence.

(16)

a. ba sukwa napmi ma-by-u-n

this bag- man NEG-give-3O-NEG

‘Do not give this bag to others’

b. ba sukwa napmi ma-by-u-n-si-n

this bag- man NEG-give-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG

‘Do not give these bags to others’

5. SUMMARY. There are three kinds of pronouns in the language. They are personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns are divided into three categories- first person, second person and third person. First and second person have singular, dual and plural form whereas third person pronoun has only singular and non-singular forms. Singularity is unmarked. In the first person non-singular pronouns, exclusivity is marked. Thus, there are eleven categories of personal pronouns. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns have only three categories. They are singular, dual and plural. Singularity is unmarked in them. They inflect for absolutive, ergative, ablative, mediative, locative, comitative, allative and comparative. Personal pronouns do not mark ergativity whereas interrogative and demonstrative mark it.

CHAPTER 7 MORPHOLOGY OF ADJECTIVES

1. INTRODUCTION. There are a limited number of words which may be called adjectives in the language. They are *yɔrik* ‘many’ *culik* ‘a few’ *myak* ‘a little’ etc. They can be used before a noun as in *yɔrik napmi* ‘many people’, *culik mEndak* ‘a few goats’ *miyak cwat* ‘a little water’. They, however, can modify the adjectives as in *yɔrik cukpa* ‘very small’, *culik kEmba* ‘a bit long’ and *culik umba* ‘a bit short’. Thus, they are quantifiers, too. Numerals such as *lɔttHik* ‘one’, *nEccHi* ‘two’, *sumsi* ‘three’ etc, are adjectives which occur before nouns and form noun phrases like *lɔttHik mEndak* ‘one goat’, *nEccHi siNbuN* ‘two trees’ and *sumsi ambE* ‘three mangoes’. Morphology of these numerals has been discussed in nominal morphology (See Chap 5). All other adjectives are derived ones. This chapter is devoted to the morphemic analysis of adjectives.

2. DERIVATION OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives are derived from verbs, bound adjectives, adverbs and nouns through affixation processes.

2.1. FROM VERBS. Adjectives are derived from the verbs by adding the suffix <-pa~-ba> or <-ma> to the verb stem.

- (1)
- a. un + ba = umba
be short + NML/MASC = short (male)
 - b. un+ma = umma
be short + NML/FEM = short (female)
 - c. ken+ba = kemba
be tall + NML/FEM = tall (male)
 - d. ken + ma = kemma
be tall + NML/FEM = tall (female)

In 1a-b and 1c-d, the verbs *un* and *ken* change to adjectives when the suffixes <-pa> and <-ma> are added to them. Other adjectives such as *yɔmba* or *yɔmma* ‘big’ *cukpa* or *cukma* are also derived by this process. The suffix <-pa> is a portmanteau morpheme which indexes adjective class of a word and masculine gender. In fact, <pa> basically denotes non-feminine and its use in adjectives or relative clauses is just its extension. It takes on voicing character when it is preceded by nasal consonant or when it occurs intervocally. Similarly, the dental nasal in the coda position assimilates to the following consonant for place of articulation and changes to corresponding bilabial nasal /m/. The suffix <-ma> marks both adjective class and feminine gender.

These adjectives are used both adnominally as in 2a-c and predicatively as in 2d-e in sentences.

- (2)
- a. umba napmi pHEn-lo wa
short man come-Prg be
‘A short man is coming’
 - b. umba cHikki hambo nEn
short rope there be
‘A short rope is there.’
 - c. kEmma mEncHuma bo hop

- long-FEM woman here be not
 ‘A tall woman is not here.’
- d. hamba cHikki umba cuk
 that rope short be
 ‘That rope is short.’
- e. kHunE ku-mE? cukma cuk
 he 3sPOSS-wife small-FEM be
 ‘His wife is small.’

Adjectives are derived from verbs by suffixing <-na> and <-ba> to the stem.

- (3)
- a. cEp-na-ba
 chop-PP-NML
 ‘one that has been chopped’
- b. sap-na-ba
 write-PP-NML
 ‘one that has been written’
- c. haN-na-ba
 send-PP-NML
 ‘one that has been sent’

<-na> in 3a-c resembles in phonetic shape <-na> which indexes second person object in 1s→2s configuration. The verb is in active conjugation in this type of configuration. The first person agent subject is formally absent. <-na>, in these examples, present first person, plural, exclusive, past, middle and subject meaning. It is derived from the full form of first person, plural, exclusive, past, active verb.

- (4)
- a. cEpp-u-m-ma
 chop-3O-pA-1e
 ‘we chopped him’
- b. sap-u-m-ma
 write-3O-pA-1e
 ‘we wrote it’
- c. haN-u-m-ma
 send-3O-pA-1e
 ‘we sent it’

When these verbs are transformed to middle voice, the object markers are dropped. Consequently, we have forms like *cEpp-m-ma*, *sap-m-ma* and *haN-m-ma*. Since Limbu phonology does not permit consonant cluster in the coda and even in the onset position excepting /y/ and /w/, they are pronounced as *cEpma*, *sapma* and *haNma*. But as the suffix <-ma> indicates infinitive meaning and the verbs carry the meanings ‘to chop’, ‘to write’ and ‘to send’ which are entirely different from the intended meaning, the language has to look to other distinct forms. Moreover, it has to carry past meaning also. Therefore, the object marker <-u> is deleted for middle conjugation, the plural agent suffix <-m> and past suffix <-a> are coalesced to first person exclusive subject marker. As a result, first person, plural, exclusive, middle, past meanings are conveyed by the morpheme <-na>. Later, middle voice was extended to passive voice semantically. In *cEpp-u-m-ma* also there is no overt past marker because past marker <-a> and third person object marker <-u> can not occur together. However, the ambiguity of <-na> is disambiguated when they occur at the

sentence level. For example, a *kHEnE cEp-na-ba* means ‘I have chopped you’ whereas a *cEpnaba sing maiNNan* ‘I do not buy the chopped firewood’.

Adjectives formed by suffixation of <-na> and <-pa> or <-ma> are adonominally used as in 5a-b and predicatively used as in 5c-d.

(5)

- a. s□N-na-ba tHi ka-g□tt-u-i?
sell-PP-NML local beer 2- have got-3O-Q
‘Do you have beer to be sold?’
- b. haN-na-ba yaN kuN-lo puN
send-PP-NML money reach-Prg must
‘The money which is to be sent must reach.’
- c. hamba tHi s□N-na-ba
that beer sell-PP-NML
‘That beer is to be sold.’
- d. ba yaN haN-na-ba
this money send-PP-NML
‘This money is to be sent.’

Adjectives are derived from verbs through affixation of discontinuous morphemes <ka- -pa>.

(6)

- a. ka-lok-pa
AP-run-AP
‘one who runs’
- b. ka-gHup-pa
AP-steal-AP
‘one who steals’
- c. ka-nak-pa
AP-beg-AP
‘one who begs’

The prefix <ka-> and the suffix <-pa> or <-ma> simultaneously derive adjective from a verb. They surround the verb stem. In that sense, it is a circumfix. On the other hand, these two affixes occur in discontinuous chain. So, it can be called a discontinuous morpheme.

The prefix <ka-> is originally a second person marker and <ka... -pa/ma> still means ‘something you did’ or ‘somebody you deal with’ in fully inflected transitive verb.

(7)

- a. ka-sap-u-ba
2-write-3O-NML
‘one which you wrote’
- b. ka-ut-u-ma
2- call-3O-NML
‘the female whom you called’
- c. ka-bat-u-ba
2-tell-3O-NML
‘something you told’

If object marker <-u> is dropped from the above verb forms, they become identical with intransitive verbs. However, if past marker suffix <-a> is added to the stem, the prefix <ka-> indicates second person subject or object meaning.

(8)

- a. ka-sap-a-ba
2-write-PT-NML
'You wrote.'
- b. ka-ut- a-ba
2- call-PT-NML
' You called.'
- c. ka-bat-a-ba
2-tell-PT-NML
'You spoke'

In the above words, the prefix <ka-> indicates second person subject meaning. Let's see the following forms:

- (9)
- a. ka-sap-a-ba
2-write-PT-NML
'He wrote to you'
 - b. ka-ut- a-ba
2- call-PT-NML
'He called you'
 - c. ka-bat-a-ba
2-tell-PT-Adju
'He talked about you'

In these words <ka-> indicates second person object meaning. Despite the difference in case role, it indicates the same person, second person. But when the discontinuous morpheme <ka-... -pa> occurs with a bare root, the identity of the prefix <ka-> is blurred and it becomes difficult to say whether it is a second person prefix or just an nominalizer prefix.

- (10)
- a. ka-sap-pa
2-write-NML
'that you write '
 - b. ka-up- pa
2- call-NML
'that you call'
 - c. ka-bap- pa
2-tell-NML
'that you spoke'

This example shows that <ka-> is a second person prefix. But the above words can also mean the following:

- (11)
- a. ka-sap-pa
AP-write-AP
'one who writes'
 - b. ka-up- pa
AP-call-AP
'one who calls'
 - c. ka-bap- pa
AP-tell-AP
'one who tells'

The prefix <ka-> in the above example does not indicate second person. It indicates only 'doer'. The gender of the doer is indicated by the suffix <-pa> or <-

ma> which is used as a nominalizer. If the prefix <ka-> carries the meaning of second person, this indication is not necessary and the suffix <-pa> is used only as an nominalizer suffix. Moreover, the nominalizer suffix <-pa> or <-ma> can also be dropped and still independent word can be made. But where the prefix <ka-> has lost its lexical meaning and developed grammatical meaning ‘nominalizer’, it can not be separated from the suffix <-pa> or <-ma>. They should occur simultaneously surrounding the verb stem. These adjectives are adnominally used as in 12a-b and predicatively used as in 12c.

(12)

- a. sapla ka-sap-pa napmi hambo wa
book AP-write-AP man there be
‘One who writes a book is there.’
- b. ka-up-pa napmi allo teg-a
I AP-call-AP man just now go-PT
‘The man who called me has just gone.’
- c. hamba napmi ka-bap-pa cuk
that man AP- talk-AP be
‘He is talkative.’

Adjective are derived from the fully inflected verb by suffixation of <-pa>. The suffix <-pa> or <-ma> is added to the fully inflected verb form to yield adjective.

(13)

- a. nih-u-ba
see-3O-NML
‘one whom he saw’
- b. ka-nih-u-ba
2-see-3O-NML
‘one whom you saw’
- c. nih-u-N-ba
see-3O-1e-NML
‘one whom I saw’

Innumerable adjectives such as *sappuba*, *tumuNba*, *pHEtuNba* etc. are formed by this rule. These adjectives are adnominally used as in 14a-b and predicatively used as in 14c-d.

(14)

- a. a nih-u-N-ba pu pey-a deg-a
I see-3O-1e-NML bird fly-PT go-PT
‘The bird which I had seen flew away.’
- b. kHunE sap-u-ba sapla a ma-nit-na-n
he write-3O-NML book I NEG-read-1e-NEG
‘I do not read the book which he has written.’
- c. ba napmi-miN a nih-u-N-ba
this man-ABS I see-3O-1e-NML
‘This is the man I saw.’
- d. hamba sapla kHunE sap-u-ba
that book he write-3O-NML
‘That book is written by him.’

2.2. FROM BOUND ADJECTIVES. Colour words are derived from bound adjectives through affixation process. The prefix <ku-> and suffix <-la or -ra> occur simultaneously in a discontinuous chain and surround the root.

(15)

a.	adjective	prefix	adjective	suffix	adjective
	mak	ku -	mak	-la	ku-mak-la
	black				'black'
b.	hEt	ku -	hEt-	la	ku-hEt-la
	red	one who/which	-steals		'red'
c.	pH□	ku -	bH□	- ra	ku-bH□-ra
	white	white			'white'
d.	hik	ku -	hik	-la	ku-hik-la
	'yellow'				'Yellow'
e.	pHiN	ku -	bHiN	- la	ku-bHiN-la
	blue	blue			'blue'

The prefix <ku> is derived from the third person pronoun *kHunE* 'he' or 'she'. It indexes third person possessive meaning. *mak* is an adjective which only co-occurs with *loma* 'to appear'. *la* is the past form of *loma*. Thus, the colour words are reinterpreted as follows:

(16)

a.	adjective	prefix	adjective	suffix	adjective
	mak	ku -	mak	-la	ku-mak-la
	black	3	black	looked	'black'
b.	hEt	ku-	hEt-	la	ku-hEt-la
	red	3	red	looked	'red'
c.	pH□	ku-	bH□	- ra	ku-bH□-ra
	white	3	white	looked	'white'
d.	hik	ku -	hik	-la	ku-hik-la
	'yellow'	3	yellow	looked	'Yellow'
e.	pHiN	ku -	bHiN	- la	ku-bHiN-la
	blue	3	blue	looked	'blue'

However, in synchronic interpretation, the prefix <ku-> and suffix <-la> have lost their original meaning and they together form colour adjectives.

The colour morpheme such as *mak* occurs with the verb *loma* 'to appear' and forms composite verb *makloma* 'to look black'. In such a verb, the second or last verbal part receives, in its adjective formation, the discontinuous morpheme sequence <ka- ... -ba>, <ka-...-ma>.

(17)

	Verb composite	Adjective
a.	makloma 'to look black'	makkaloba, makkaloma 'black'
b.	he?loma 'to look red'	hE?kaloba, hE?kaloma 'red'
c.	pH□-loma 'to look white'	pH□kaloba, pH□kaloma 'white'
d.	pHiNloma 'to look blue'	pHiNkaloba, pHiNkaloma 'blue'
e.	hikloma 'to look yellow'	hikkaloba, hikkaloma 'yellow'

makkaloba can be reinterpreted in the following way:

(18)

- a. mak-ka-lo-ba
black-2-look-NML
'You look black'
- b. he?ka-lo-ba
red-2-look-NML
'You look red'
- c. pH□-ka-lo-ba
white-2-look-NML
'You look white'
- d. pHiN-ka-lo-ba
'blue-2-look-NML
'You look blue'
- e. hik-ka-lo-ba
yellow-2-look-NML
'You look yellow'

If the nominalizer suffix is dropped, independent word is still formed and in this form, the prefix <ka-> clearly marks second person. When the prefix clearly indexes second person meaning, its nominalizer suffix <-pa> does not indicate gender. But when <ka-> loses its original meaning and functions as a nominalizer prefix, its subsequent suffix distinguishes gender which should be either <-pa> or <-ma.>. In synchronic use, words like *kumakla*, *kuhetla* etc are taken as single lexical adjectives to mean 'black' 'red' etc. These colour adjectives are adnominally used as in 19a-b and predicatively used as in 19c-d.

(19)

- a. kumakla pi? calam-lo wa
black cow graze-Prg be
'A black cow is grazing.'
- b. kHunE kuhEtla sim war-u
she red sari wear-3O
'She wears a red saree.'
- c. hamba pi? kumakla cuk
that cow black be
'That cow is black.'
- d. ba sim kuhEtla cuk
this sari red be
this sari is red.'

The adjectives in 19 can be alternatively used as in 20.

(20)

- a. makkaloba pi? calam-lo wa
black cow graze-Prg be
'A black cow is grazing.'
- b. kHunE hE?kaloba sim war-u
she red sari wear-3O
'She wears a red saree.'
- c. hamba pi? mak lo
that cow black be
'That cow is black.'

- d. ba sim hEt lo
 this sari red be
 this sari is red.'

Some bound adjective morphemes such as *susu* 'airy', *yaNyaN* 'light', *tamdā* 'wide', *siNsiN* 'sincere' *tktk* 'straight' and *cHmcHm* become free morphemes by the addition of the suffix <ba-> to the stem. For example, *susu-ba* 'airy', *yaNyaN-ba* 'light', *tamdā-ba* 'wide', *siNsiN-ba* 'sincere' *tktkpa* 'straight', *cHmcHmba* 'pointed'. These adjectives are adnominally used as in 21a-b and predicatively used as in 21c-d.

(21)

- a. a susuba koHa ko?l-u-N-lo wa-Na
 I airy room search-3O-1e-Prg be-1e
 'I am searching for an airy room.'
- b. a siNsiNba napmi bo ma-ni-Na-n
 I sincere man here NEG-see-1e-NEG
 'I do not see a sincere man here.'
- c. ba koHa susuba cuk
 this room airy be
 'This room is airy.'
- d. kHunE siNsiNba cuk
 he sincere be
 'He is sincere.'

These bound adjective morphemes occur together with the verb *loma* and form a composite verbal expression. They derive free adjective morphemes by prefixing <ka-> and suffixing <ba-> to the last part of the verb. For example *susu-ka-lo-ba*, *siNsiNkaloba*, *yaNyaNkaloba*, *tamdā kaloba* etc.. These adjectives occur adnominally as in 22a-b and predicatively as in 22c-d.

(22)

- a. a susukaloba koHa ko?l-u-N-lo wa-Na
 I airy room search-3O-1e-Prg be-1e
 'I am searching for an airy room.'
- b. a siNsiNkaloba napmi bo ma-ni-Na-n
 I sincere man here NEG-see-1e-NEG
 'I do not see a sincere man here.'
- c. ba koHa susu lo
 this room airy be
 'This room is airy.'
- d. kHunE siNsiN lo
 he sincere be
 'He is sincere.'

2.3. FROM ADVERB ROOTS. Some adjectives *toba* 'somebody up there', *moba* 'somebody down there' and *yoba* somebody over there can be formed by the addition of the suffix <-pa or -ba or -ma> to the adverb root. The derivation process of *toba* is as follows:

(23)

a.	Root	to	‘up there’
b.	Suffixation	*topa	
c.	Voicing	toba	‘somebody up there’

The derivation process of *moba* is as follows:

(24)

a.	Root	mo	‘down there’
b.	Suffixation	*mopa	
c.	Voicing	moba	‘somebody down there’

The derivation process of *yoba* is as follows:

(25)

a.	Root	yo	‘over there’
b.	Suffixation	*yopa	
c.	Voicing	yoba	‘somebody down over there’

/p/ becomes /b/ when it occurs intervocalically. Therefore, in the examples above, the suffix <-ba> is used. In addition, gender is distinguished only in the case of human being. <-ma> is used as a feminine marker but <-ba> as a non-feminine marker.

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 26a-b and predicatively as in 26c-d.

(26)

- a. toba pHEja ukk-u?
something up there dagger bring-3O-IMP
‘Bring the dagger up there.’
- b. moba sakpHa taN-u?
something down there bamboo cut down-3O-IMP
‘Cut down the bamboo down there.’
- c. yoba napmi ut-u?
somebody over there man call-3O-IMP
‘Call the man over there.’
- d. ba pHEja toba
this dagger something up there
‘This dagger is from up there.’
- e. ba sakpHa moba
this bamboo something down there
‘This bamboo is from down there.’
- f. hamba napmi yoba
that man somebody over there
‘This man is from over there.’

Adjectives such as *tona* ‘something up there’, *mona* ‘something down there’ and *yona* ‘something over there’ are derived from adverbs by adding the suffix <- na> to stem.

The derivation process of *tona* is as follows:

(27)

a.	Root	to	‘up there’
b.	Suffixation	tona	‘something up there ’

The derivation process of *mona* is as follows:

(28)

a.	Root	mo	‘down there’
b.	Suffixation	mona	‘something down there ’

The derivation process of *yona* is as follows:

(29)

a.	Root	yo	‘over there’
b.	Suffixation	yona	‘something over there ’

However, these adjectives do not appear adnominally with nouns indicating living beings. Hence, phrases like *tona napmi* for ‘the man up there’, *mona pi?* ‘the cow down there’ etc are not attested in the language. They occur adnominally with inanimate nouns as in 30a-c.

(30)

- a. tona paN y□mba cuk
something up there house big be
‘The house up there is big.’
- b. mona paNbHE cukpa cuk
something down there village small be
‘The village down there is small.’
- c. a yona pyaNsi s□ks-u-N
I something over there paddy-field sell-3O-1e
‘I will sell the paddy-field over there.’

Adjectives such as *toiN* ‘something or somebody up there’, *moiN* ‘something or somebody down there’ and *yoiN* ‘something or somebody over there’ are derived from adverbs by the addition of suffix <-iN>.The derivation process of *toiN* is as follows:

(31)

a.	Root	to	‘up there’
b.	Suffixation	toiN	‘something or somebody up there ’

The derivation process of *moiN* is as follows:

(32)

a.	Root	mo	‘up there’
b.	Suffixation	moiN	‘something or somebody down there ’

The derivation process of *yoiN* is as follows:

(33)

a.	Root	yo	‘up there’
b.	Suffixation	yoiN	‘something or somebody over there’

These adjectives are only adnominally used as in 34a-c.

(34)

- a. toiN paN y□mba cuk
something up there house big be
‘The house up there is big.’
- b. moiN paNbHE cukpa cuk
something down there village small be
‘The village down there is small.’
- c. a yoiN pyaNsi s□ks-u-N
I something over there paddy-field sell-3O-1e
‘I will sell the paddy-field over there.’

Adjectives such as *tonaNba* ‘somebody who is on the upward side’, *monaNba* ‘somebody who is on the downward side’ and *yonaNba* ‘somebody who is on the other side’ are derived from adverbs by adding directional suffixes such as <-naN> or <-IEkkHaN> and the nominalizing suffix <-pa> or <-ba>.

The derivation process of *tonaNba* is as follows:

(35)

a.	Root	to	‘up there’
b.	Suffixation	tonaN	‘upward’
c.	Suffixation	tonaNba	‘somebody who is upward’

The derivation process of *monaNba* is as follows:

(36)

a.	Root	mo	‘down there’
b.	Suffixation	monaN	‘downward’
c.	Suffixation	monaNba	‘somebody who is on the downward side’

The derivation process of *yonaNba* is as follows:

(37)

a.	Root	yo	‘over there’
b.	Suffixation	yonaN	‘towards over there’
c.	Suffixation	yonaNba	‘somebody who is towards over there’

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 38a-c and predicatively as in 38d-e.

(38)

- a. tonaNba siNbuN y□mba cuk
something on the upward side tree big be

- ‘The tree on the upward side is big’
- b. a monaNba lajE iN-u-N
I something on the downward side land buy-3O-1e
‘I will purchase the land downward.’
- c. yonaNba paN ci cuk
something on the other side house a bit small
‘The house on the other side is a bit small.’
- d. ba siNbuN tonaNba
this tree on the upward side
‘This tree lies on the upward side.’
- e. ba lajE monaNba
this land something on the downward side
‘This land lies on the downward side.’

Adjectives such as *todokpa* ‘somebody who is a bit up’, *momokpa* ‘somebody who is a bit down’ and *yoyokpa* ‘somebody who is a bit away’ are derived from adverbs by reduplication of the adverb, additions of the velar stop to the new syllable and the suffix <-pa> or <-ma>. The derivation process of *todokpa* is as follows:

(39)

a.	Root	to	‘up there’
b.	Reduplication	*toto	
c.	Suffixation	*totok	
d.	Voicing	todok	‘a bit up’
e.	Suffixation	todokpa	‘somebody who is a bit up there’

The derivation process of *momokpa* ‘somebody who is a bit down’ is as follows:

(40)

a.	Root	mo	‘up there’
b.	Reduplication	momo	‘down below’
c.	Suffixation	momok	‘a bit down’
d.	Suffixation	momokpa	‘somebody who is a bit down’

The derivation process of *yoyokpa* ‘somebody who is a bit away’ is as follows:

(41)

a.	Root	yo	‘over there’
b.	Reduplication	yoyo	‘far away’
c.	Suffixation	yoyok	‘a bit away on the other side’
d.	Suffixation	yoyokpa	‘something or somebody a bit far away’

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 42a-c and predicatively used as in 42d-e.

(42)

- a. kHunE todokpa sukwa ukk-u
he something lying a bit up bag bring-3O
‘He brought the bag lying a bit up.’
- b. kHEnE momokpa ambEka- gHob-u
you something lying a bit downward mango pick up-3O
‘You picked up a mango lying a bit on downward side.’
- c. yoyokpa napmi-Na a-n-ni-nEn

- somebody a bit far away man-ERG 1-NEG-see-NEG
 ‘The man who is a bit away on the other side does not see us.’
- d. ba napmi a-bH□nda todokpa
 this man 1-COMP a bit up
 ‘This man is a bit upper than me.’
- e. ba napmi momokpa
 this man somebody a bit below
 ‘This man is of a bit low level.’
- f. kHunE yoyokpa
 he somebody a bit far away (in relation)
 ‘He is of a bit distant relation.’

2.4. FROM NOUN ROOTS. Adjectives are derived from nouns by suffixing locative case marker <-o> and the suffix <-pa> or <-ma>.

(43)

- a. paNbHE-wo-ba
 village-LOC-NML
 ‘One which/who is in the village’
- b. kHam-mo-ba
 earth-LOC-NML
 ‘One which/who is on the land’
- c. tH□k-No-ba
 body-LOC-NML
 ‘One which is on the body’

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 44a-c and predicatively used as in 44d-f.

(44)

- a. paNbHE-wo-ba hEnjagHa tondomba mu-boN
 village-LOC-NML children straight 3pS-be
 ‘The children of a village are honest.’
- b. hamba-Na kHam-mo-ba yaN kHob-u
 that-ERG earth-LOC-NML money pick up-3O
 ‘That man picked up the money on the earth.’
- c. tH□k-No-ba yaN sa saN mam-bi-ma-n-si-n
 bodo-LOC-NML money who else NEG-give-INF-NEG-3nsO-NEG
 ‘Money which is on a person should not be given to anybody else.’
- d. ba hEnja paNbHE-wo-ba
 this child village-LOC-NML
 ‘This child is from a village.’
- e. ba luN kHam-mo-ba
 this stone earth-LOC-NML
 ‘This stone is from the earth.’

3. CASE. When adjectives are used as the noun phrase heads, they take all the case and number affixes that nouns take.

	case	singular	dual	plural
1	Ergative	ka-gHup-pa-ŋa	ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-ŋa	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-ŋa
2	Absolutive	ka-gHup-pa-iŋ	ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-iŋ	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-iŋ
3	Instrumental	ka-gHup-pa-ŋa	ka-gHup-pa-ghacHi-ŋa	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-ŋa
4	Genitive	ka-gHup-pa-ŋaŋ	ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-ŋaŋ	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-ŋaŋ
5	Comitative	ka-gHup-pa-lam/nuŋ	ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-o	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-o
6	Locative	ka-gHup-pa-o	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-cHi-o	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-o
7	Vocative	ka-gHup-pa-E	ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-E	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-E
8	Mediative	ka-gHup-pa-lam	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-cHi-lam	ka-gHup-pa-lam
9	Ablative	ka-gHup-pa-lam/nuŋ	ka-gHup-pa-gha-cHi-lam/nuŋ	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-lam/nuŋ
10	Directive	ka-gHup-pa-naN/IEkkHaN	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-cHi-naN/IEkkHaN	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-naN/IEkkHaN
11	Allative	ka-gHup-pa-o-dHarik	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-cHi-o-dHarik	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-o-dHarik
12	Comparative	ka-gHup-pa-aŋ ka-gHup-pa-nuŋNE ka-gHup-pa-bH□nda	ka-gHup-pa-gha-cHi-aŋ ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-nuŋNE ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-bH□nda	ka-gHup-pa-gHa-aŋ ka-gHup-pa-gHa-nuŋŋE ka-gHup-pa-gHa-bH□nda

TABLE 24 Case markers of a derivative adjective kagHuppa ‘one who steals’

4. SUMMARY. There are very few lexical adjectives in Chhatthare Limbu. They are numerals and quantifiers or intensifiers. All the other adjectives are derived from verbs, bound adjectives, nouns and adverbs by the help of suffixes such as <-ba~ pa> or <-ma>, <ku- la>, <ka- pa>, <ma- na>. These adjectives can function both as an adjective and as a noun. When it functions as a noun, it takes all the case markers and number markers that a noun takes. Therefore, except when it is to be specified as an adjective, the suffixes <-ba~ pa> and <-ma> are glossed as ‘nominalizer’.

CHAPTER 8

MORPHOLOGY OF ADVERBS

1. INTRODUCTION. Morphologically, there are two types of adverbs in the language. They are lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. However, lexical adverbs are very few in the language. Most of the adverbs are derived from adjectives, adverbs and nouns. This chapter deals with the morphology of adverbs.

2. KINDS OF ADVERBS. There are two kinds of adverbs. They are lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. They are discussed under the following subheadings.

2.1. LEXICAL ADVERBS. Lexical adverbs are classified into temporal, locational, manner, truth value and posture adverbs

2.1.1. TEMPORAL ADVERBS. Temporal adverbs indicate year, day, part of the day, time duration within a day, time duration and temporal question. Adverbs indicating year are as follows:

- (1)
- | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------------|
| a. | tH□mlinda | ‘two years before the last’ |
| b. | cHumlinda | ‘one year before the last’ |
| c. | mi?Linda | ‘last year’ |
| d. | ailamba | ‘this year’ |
| e. | a?nEmaN | ‘next year’ |
| f. | accHimmaN | ‘a year after the next’ |
| g. | akkHEmmaN | ‘two years after the next’ |

The examples in 1a-g shows that <-linda> is a common element to indicate the previous years and <-maN> is the common element to indicate the following years. However, *ailamba* ‘this year’ is a separate morpheme.

A few adverbs indicating day are as follows:

- (2)
- | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------------|
| a. | kHEmmEnda | ‘two days before yesterday’ |
| b. | cHiyEnda | ‘the day before yesterday’ |
| c. | acHEnda | ‘yesterday’ |
| d. | anda | ‘today’ |
| e. | tEnda | ‘tomorrow’ |
| f. | accHindaN | ‘the day after tomorrow’ |
| g. | akkHEndaN | ‘two days after tomorrow’ |

Among the above adverbs, the element <-nda> is a common suffix to mark time. From the adverb *kHEmmEnda* ‘two days before yesterday’ to *tEnda* ‘tomorrow’, <-nda> is used in the final position. But in *acHindaN* ‘the day after tomorrow’ and *akkHEndaN* ‘two days after tomorrow’ <-nda> is followed by <-N>. It is hard to say why it is added here because if it is added to mark the days after “today”, it should have also marked *tEnda*. In fact, these temporal adverbs indicating days have been lexicalized and any attempt to seek meaning in their parts is in vain. However, it can at least be said that temporal adverbs indicating days contain <-nda> element either in ultimate or in penultimate position.

There are only three adverbs which indicate the part of the day. They are

- (3)
- bihahandik ‘morning’
 - lEndik ‘afternoon’
 - sEndik ‘night’.

bihandik shows the early part of the day, *lEndik* shows middle part of the day and *sEndik* shows the last part of the day. The adverb *bihandik* is made of three syllables. The first two syllables *bihan* is a Nepali loan word which is *bihan* ‘morning’ in Nepali. The element *-dik* is added to them and temporal adverbs *bihandik*, *lEndik* and *sEndik* are formed. The first parts of the two adverbs, *lEn* and *sEn* do not index any meaning in relation to time in synchronic use though they make a sense in other semantic domain such as *lEn* ‘he tears out something such as a small branch of a tree or a flower’ and *sEn* ‘he departs from somebody’. *yuncHik* is also used for ‘night’. It challenges the assumption that all adverbs indicating part of the day have the element *-dik* on their end as *-cHik* occurs in the same environment preceded by the dental nasal /n/. In fact, these words have been lexicalized now and extracting individual meaning of separate syllables is not possible.

There are some time adverbs which indicate time and control the tense of a verb in sentences. They are as follows:

- (4)
- attE ‘sometimes before’
 - all□ ‘now’
 - allo ‘at this moment’
 - cH□ppaN ‘a little later’
 - andok ‘later’
 - acHEN ‘earlier or in the past’

Among the six adverbs in 4a-f, five of them contain /a/ in the beginning and only one adverb *cH□ppaN* ‘a little later’ begins with /cH/. It is derived from *cH□ppa* ‘for sometimes’ by adding the suffix <-aN>. The final /a / of *cH□ppa* deletes and the suffix <-aN> is added. These adverbs show time within a day. *cH□ppaN* is a derivative temporal adverb.

There are two temporal adverbs indicating duration of time in the language. They are:

- (5)
- cH□ppa ‘for sometimes’
 - idik ‘for a long time’

cH□ppa ‘for sometimes’ *idik* ‘for a long time’ are also temporal adverbs used in sentences like *kHunE cH□ppa yuNa* ‘he sat for sometimes’ and *kHunE idik yuNa* ‘he sat for a long time.’ However, they are not bound by the time-limitation of ‘today’. For example, *cH□ppa* and *idik* can be used in sentences as in *kHunE accHEnda lEndik cH□ppa ipsa* ‘he slept for sometimes during the midday yesterday’ and *kHunE acHEnda idik ipsa* ‘he slept for a long time yesterday.’

Limbu has a temporal lexical question adverb like *adHabi* ‘when’ which is used in a sentence as in 6.

- (6) kHENe adHabi ka-dah-a?
 You when 2-arrive-PT-Q
 ‘When did you arrive?’

2.1.2. LOCATIONAL ADVERBS. Three locational adverbs are used in the language. They are:

- (7)
- a. to 'up there'
 - b. mo 'down there'
 - c. yo 'over there'

to indicates higher location and *mo* refers to lower location than the speaker's locational situation. *yo*, on the other hand, refers to the same level location .

2.1.3. MANNER ADVERBS. Manner adverbs are formed by syllable duplication. They are as follows:

- (8)
- a. yaNyaN 'light'
 - b. pamban 'thin'
 - c. y□ky□k 'slow'
 - d. t□kt□k 'straight'
 - e. pekpek to lay down something carelessly'

When these words are used in a sentence, they answer how the action in question has been performed.

- (9)
- a. kHunE ba k□k yaNyaN p□ks-u
he this load lightly carry-3O
'He carried this load lightly.'
 - b. kHunE ambE pamban tHikk-u
he mango thinly peel-3O
'He peeled a mango thinly.'
 - c. a y□ky□k pok-Na
1 slowly get-1e
'I get up slowly.'
 - d. kHEnE yakyak ka-dEg-a
you cautiously 2-go-PT
'You went cautiously.'
 - e. kHunE t□kla t□kt□k yEps-u
he pillar there make stand-3O
'He planted a pillar straight up.'
 - f. a sukwa pEkpEk nEh-u-N
I bag carelessly keep-3O-1e
'I laid down a beg carelessly.'

The adverb *yaNyaN* 'lightly' in 9a answers the question 'how did he carry this load?', the adverb *pamban* in 9b answers the question 'how did he peel a mango?' and the adverb in 9c *y□ky□k* answers the question 'how do I get up?'. Similarly, the adverbs in 9d-f answer the question 'how?'

2.1.4. POSTURE ADVERBS. There are some adverbs which describe the position of the agent while performing action or the position of object resulting from the performance of the action. They are:

- (10)
- a. lElaN 'lying with face upward'

- b. EklaN ‘backward movement’ or ‘opposite’
- c. cENya ‘lying with face downward’

In sentences they answer the question how some act has been or is performed.

(11)

- a. kHunE lElaN nEh-a
he lying with face upward lie-PT
‘He lay down with the face upward.’
- b. kHEnE EklaN laN-ka-gHEg-a
you opposite walk- 2-walk-PT
‘You walked the opposite way.’
(with the face eastward and movement westward)
- c. hamba hEnja cENNya r□k im
that child lying with the face down ward only sleep
‘That child sleeps with the face downward.’

The adverb *lElaN* ‘lying position with the face downward’ in 11a answers how he lay. The adverb *EklaN* ‘opposite’ in 11b answers the question how he walked and the adverb *cENNya* ‘lying with the face down’ in 11c answer the question how the child sleeps.

The element <-laN> is common between *EklaN* and *lElaN*. As an independent word, it gives the meaning ‘leg’ but this meaning does not match here. For example, *ek* ‘backbone’ and *laN* ‘leg’ together does not mean anything. Similarly, *le* means ‘penis’ as an independent word. It does not mean anything if *le* and *laN* are combined and given separate meanings. Therefore, *EklaN* and *lElaN* are lexical adverbs. Given the distribution of phonemes in the coda position, it can be assumed that *lElaN* might be at one time in the past *lEklaN* and from *lEklaN* it became *lEʔaN* and now it is realized as *lElaN*.

2.1.5. TRUTH VALUE ADVERBS. Lexical adverbs are used in the language to express truth value such as ‘really’ or ‘for nothing’. They are:

(12)

- a. kuccaik ‘really’
 - b. h□nE ‘for nothing’
- They also answer the questions how as in 13a-b.

(13)

- a. kHunE kuccaik pat-u
he really say-3O
‘He said it really.’
- b. kHEnE h□nE ka-bat-u
he false 2-say-3O
‘You said it falsely.’

2.2. DERIVED ADVERBS

2.2.1. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY AFFIXATION. Frequency adverbs are formed by suffixation of <lEn> to the numeral root.

(14)

- a. tHi?lEn ‘once’
- b. nilEn ‘twice’
- c. sumlEn ‘thrice’

<-lEn> is common in these three adverbs. They indicate frequency. *tHi?* is derived from the numeral *lɔttHik* ‘one’. The /k/ in the coda position of *lɔttHik* is replaced by the glottal stop /ʔ/ in *tHiʔEn*. *ni* in *niEn* is derived from the numeral *nEccHi* ‘two’ with the raising of tongue height and *sum* in *sumEn* is derived from the numeral *sumsi* ‘three’.

Directional adverbs are formed by addition of the suffix <-aN> to the root.

(15)

- a. cupsaN ‘on the right’
- b. pHEncHaN ‘on the left’
- c. tɔgaN ‘in the front’
- d. EgaN ‘at the back’

The element <-aN> is common among these adverbs given in the table. It means ‘towards’ and the suffix <-naN> also means ‘towards’. Both suffixes index directional meaning. A strong hypothesis can be made that the suffix <-aN> has been derived from the suffix <-naN>. It is realized as <-aN> due to the deletion of the initial consonant /n/. This hypothesis can be justified by the morphological evidences that *ek-naN* ‘towards backbone’ becomes *EgaN* ‘towards back’ with the lowering of the front vowel and intervocalic voicing of the voiceless velar stop /k/ and *tHɔknaN* ‘towards body’ becomes *tɔgaN* ‘in the front’ with the deletion of the initial aspiration and intervocalic voicing of voiceless velar stop /k/. *ek* and *tHɔk* can occur independently but *cups* and *pHEncH* can not. When they occur with the direction marker <-naN>, the nasal consonant is deleted. Consequently, *cupsaN* and *pHEncHaN* are realized.

Adverbs denoting the direction of location are formed by adverbs *to* ‘up there’, *mo* ‘down there’ and *yo* ‘over there’ by suffixing <-naN> or *lEkkHaN*. These suffixes are interchangeable.

(16)

	Root	Suffix	Adverb	Glossing
a	to	-aN/lEkkHEaN	tonaN tolEkkHaN	‘towards up there’
b	mo	-naN/lEkkHaN	monaN molEkkHaN	‘towards down there’
c	yo	-naN/lEkkHaN	yonaN yolEkkHaN	‘towards over there.’

Locational adverbs such as *bo* ‘here’ *kumbo* ‘here only’ and *hambo* ‘there’ are derived from the demonstrative adjective *ba* ‘this’, *kumba* ‘this only’ and *hamba* ‘that’. The derivation process of the locational adverb *bo* is as follows:

(17)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Vowel deletion	*b	
c.	Suffixation	bo	‘here’

The derivation process of *kumbo* is as follows:

(18)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Final vowel deletion	*kumb	
d.	Suffixation	kumbo	‘here only’

The derivation process of *hambo* is as follows:

(19)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Final vowel deletion	*hamb	
d.	Coda insertion	hambo	‘there’

Locational adverb such as *ho* ‘where’ is derived from adjective *hE* ‘what’ by adding locative suffix <-o> and is realized *ho* due to final vowel deletion. This process can be shown in the following way:

(20)

a.	Root	hE	‘what’
b.	Deletion	*h	
c.	Suffixation	ho	‘where’

There are adverbs *netaN* ‘near’ and *maNgHa* ‘far’ in the language. They show distance of the location. *netaN* is derived from the verb *net* ‘it is near’ by addition of the suffix <-aN> to it. This suffix is the suffix <-aN> used to index perfect aspect as in *cug-u-aNwa* ‘he has done it’ and sequence of action as in *lɔpsu-aNsEru* ‘he beat it and killed it’. *maNgHa* ‘far’ is derived from the verb *maN* ‘it is far’ by adding the suffix <-gHa> to it. This suffix is formally identical to plural nominal suffix <-gHa> but semantically it is different. The suffix <-gHa> here changes the class of word from verb to adverb: i.e. from the verb *maN* to the adverb *maN-gHa* but it does not show plurality. These adverbs answer the questions ‘how far?’ in the sentences in 21a-c.

(21)

- a. kHunE ku-baN netaN wa
his/her 3sPOSS-house near be
‘His/her house is near.’
- b. KHEnE ka-baNbHE maNghHa wa
your 2sPOSS-village far be
‘Your village is far.’

Reason adverb such as *hyaN* ‘why’ is derived from the adjective *hE* ‘what’ with the addition of the suffix <-aN>. The process is as follows:

(22)

a.	Root	hE	‘what?’
b.	Suffixation	*hEaN	
c.	Gliding	*hEyaN	
d.	Deletion	hyaN	‘why?’

Manner adverbs are derived from demonstrative adjectives *ba* ‘this’ *kumba* ‘this only’ and *hamba* ‘that’ by suffixing <-kHE>. Derivation process of *bakkHE* is as follows:

(23)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Suffixation	*bakHE	
c.	Coda insertion	bakkHE	‘in this way’

Derivation process of *kumbakkHE* is follows:

(24)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	
c.	Suffixation	*kumbakHE	
d.	Coda insertion	kumbakkHE	‘in this way’

Derivation process of *hambakkHE* is as follows:

(25)

a.	Root	ba	‘that’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	
c.	Suffixation	*hambakHE	
d.	Coda insertion	hambakkHE	‘in that way’

Manner adverb such *hikkHE* ‘how’ is derived from the adjective *hE* ‘what’ and addition of the suffix <-kHE> with raising of the first vowel and the onset germination. This process can be shown in the following way:

(26)

a.	Root	hE	‘what?’
b.	Suffixation	*hEkHE	
c.	Gemination	*hEkkHE	
d.	Vowel raising	hikkHE	‘how?’

Manner Adverbs like *bakkHEaN*, *kumbakkHEaN* and *hambakkHEaN* are derived from the demonstrative adjectives *ba*, *kumba* and *hamba* by suffixation of <- kHE> and <-aN>.

Derivation process of *bakkHyaN* is as follows:

(27)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Suffixation	*bakHE	
c.	Coda insertion	bakkHE	
d.	Suffixation	*bakkHEaN	
e.	Gliding	bakkHyaN	‘in this way’

Derivation process of *kumbakkHyaN* is as follows:

(28)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	
c.	Suffixation	*kumbakHE	
d.	Coda insertion	kumbakkHE	
e.	Suffixation	*kumbakkHEaN	
f.	Gliding	kumbakkHyaN	‘in this way’

Derivation process of *hambakkHyaN* is as follows:

(29)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Suffixation	*hambakHE	
d.	Coda insertion	hambakkHE	
e.	Suffixation	*hambakkHEaN	
f.	Gliding	hambakkHyaN	‘in this way’

Manner adverbs derived from interrogative pronoun by suffixing <-kHE> and <-aN> is as follows:

(30)

a.	Root	hE	‘what?’
b.	Suffixation	*hEkHE	
c.	Coda insertion	*hEkkHE	
d.	Vowel raising	hikkHE	‘how?’
e.	Suffixation	*hikkHEaN	
f.	Gliding	hikkHyaN	‘how?’

2.2.2. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING. There are derived adverbs such as *batto* ‘up here’, *bapmo* ‘down here’, *ba?yo* ‘over here’, *kumbatto* ‘up here’, *kumbapmo* ‘down here’ *kumba?yo* ‘over here’, *hambatto* ‘up there’, *hambapmo* ‘down there’ and *hamba?yo* ‘over there’ in the language. The derivation process of each of the compound adverb is given in the following examples.

The derivation process of *batto* is as follows:

(31)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*ba-to	
c.	Onset gemination	batto	‘here’

The derivation process of *bapmo* is as follows:

(32)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*ba-mo	
c.	Coda Insertion	bopmo	‘down here’

The derivation of *ba?yo* is as follows:

(33)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*ba-yo	
c.	Coda Insertion	ba?yo	‘over here’

The derivation process of *kumbatto* is as follows:

(34)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘that only’
c.	Suffixation	*kumba-to	
d.	Onset gemination	kumbatto	‘ up here ‘

The derivation process of *kumbapmo* is as follows:

(35)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Suffixation	*kumba-mo	
d.	Coda Insertion	kumbapmo	‘down here’

The derivation process of *kumba?yo* is as follows:

(36)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Suffixation	*kumba-yo	
d.	Coda Insertion	kumba?yo	‘over here’

The derivation process of *hambatto* is as follows:

(37)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that only’
c.	Suffixation	*hamba-to	
d.	Gemination	hambatto	‘up there’

The derivation process of *hambapmo* is as follows:

(38)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that only’
c.	Suffixation	*hamba-mo	
d.	Coda Insertion	hambapmo	‘down there’

The derivation process of *hamba?yo* is as follows:

(39)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that only’
c.	Suffixation	*hamba-yo	
d.	Coda Insertion	hamba?yo	‘over there’

Adverbs such as *b□ktH□mba* ‘like this’, *kumb□ktH□mba* ‘like this’ and *hamb□ktH□mba* ‘like that’ are formed by compounding two adjectives and deleting the first syllable of the second adjective of the compound. The derivation process of each adverb is presented in the following tables.

The derivation process of *b□ktH□mba* is as follows:

(40)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bahiktH□mba	
c.	Deletion	*baktH□mba	
d.	Vowel harmony	b□ktH□mba	‘such as this’

The derivation process of *kumb□ktH□mba* is as follows:

(41)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	
c.	Compounding	kumbahiktH□mba	
d.	Deletion	*kumbaktH□mba	
e.	Vowel harmony	kumb□ktH□mba	‘such as this’

The derivation process of *hamb□ktH□mba* is as follows:

(42)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	
c.	Compounding	hambahiktH□mba	
d.	Deletion	*hambaktH□mba	
e.	Vowel harmony	hamb□ktH□mba	‘such as this’

2.2.3. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING AND SUFFIXATION. Two directional adverbs *yo-dHambi* ‘across the river’ and *ba?yo-dHami* ‘this side of the river’ are formed by the adverbs *yo* ‘across’ and *ba?yo* ‘this side’ by adding the suffix <-tHambi>. These adverbs are derived ones. The derivation processes of *ba?yo-dHambi* are as follows:

(43)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bayo	
c.	Insertion of glottal stop	ba?yo	‘this side’
d.	Suffixation	*ba?yo-tHhambi	
e.	Assimilation (voicing)	ba?yodHambi	‘this side of the river’

ba?yodHambi is derived from the proximate demonstrative *ba* with the combination of same level locational adverb *yo* ‘over there’ with the insertion of glottal stop in between and addition of the suffix <-tHambi> yielding <-dHambi> due to its intervocalic occurrence. This adverb is used only in the sense of ‘this side of the river’. These two adverbs remind us of the location divided by the river into two parts and the people living in one part calls the location of another part as *yodHambi* and his or her own part as *ba?yodHambi*.

2.2.4. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING AND REDUPLICATION. Proximate adverbs such as *battodo* ‘up here’, *bapmomo* ‘down here’, *ba?yoyo* ‘over here’, *kumbattodo* ‘up here’, *kumbapmomo* ‘down here’, *kumba?yoyo* ‘over here’ and distal adverbs such as *hambattodo* ‘up there’, *hambapmomo* ‘down there’, *hamba?yoyo* ‘over there’ are formed by combining adjectives with high level, low level and same level adverbs along with their duplicated forms. The derivation process of each adverb is given in the following examples.

The derivation process of *battodo* is as follows:

(44)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bato	
c.	Gemination	batto	‘up here’
d.	Reduplication	*battoto	
e.	Assimilation	battodo	‘up here’

The derivation process of *bapmomo* is as follows:

(45)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bamo	
c.	Coda Insertion	bapmo	‘up here’
d.	Reduplication	bapmomo	‘down here’

The derivation process of *baʔyo* is as follows:

(46)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bayo	
c.	Coda Insertion	baʔyo	‘up here’
d.	Reduplication	baʔyoyo	‘over here’

The derivation process of *kumbatto* is as follows:

(47)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Compounding	*kumbato	
d.	Onset gemination	kumbatto	‘up here’
e.	Reduplication	*kumbatoto	
f.	Assimilation	kumbatodo	‘up here’

The derivation of *kumbpmo* is as follows:

(48)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Compounding	*kumbamo	
d.	Coda Insertion	kumbapmo	‘down here’
e.	Reduplication	kumbapmomo	‘down here’

The derivation of *kumbaʔyo* is as follows:

(49)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Compounding	*kumbayo	
d.	Coda insertion	kumbaʔyo	‘over here’
e.	Reduplication	kumbaʔyoyo	‘over here’

The derivation of *hambattodo* is as follows:

(50)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Compounding	*hambato	
d.	Coda Insertion	hambatto	‘up there’
e.	Reduplication	*hambatoto	‘down here’
f.	Assimilation	hambatodo	‘up there’

The derivation of *hambapmomo* is as follows:

(51)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Compounding	*hambamo	
d.	Coda Insertion	hambapmo	‘down there’
e.	Reduplication	hambapmomo	‘down there’

The derivation of *hamba?yoyo* is as follows:

(52)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Compounding	*hambayo	
d.	Coda insertion	hamba?yoyo	‘over there’
e.	Reduplication	hamba?yoyo	‘over there’

2.2.5. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING, REDUPLICATION AND SUFFIXATION. Proximate adverbs such as *battodok* ‘up here’, *bapmomok* ‘down here’, *ba?yoyok* ‘over here’, *kumbattodok* ‘up here’, *kumbapmomok* ‘down here’, *kumba?yoyok* ‘over here’ and distal adverbs such as *hambattodok* ‘up there’, *hambapmomok* ‘down there’, *hamba?yoyok* ‘over there’ are formed by combining adjectives with high level, low level and same level adverbs along with their duplicated forms and by suffixing <-k> to them. The derivation process of each adverb is given in the following examples. The derivation process of *battodo* is as follows:

(53)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bato	
c.	Gemination	batto	‘up here’
d.	Reduplication	*battoto	
e.	Assimilation	battodo	‘up here’
f.	Suffixation	battodok	‘a little bit up here’

The derivation process of *bapmomok* is as follows:

(54)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bamo	
c.	Insertion	bapmo	‘up here’
d.	Reduplication	bapmomo	‘down here’
e.	Suffixation	bapmomok	‘a bit down here’

The derivation process of *baʔoyok* is as follows:

(55)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Compounding	*bayo	
c.	Insertion	baʔyo	‘up here’
d.	Reduplication	baʔyoyo	‘over here’
e.	Suffixation	baʔyoyok	‘a bit over here’

The derivation process of *kumbatodok* is as follows:

(56)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Compounding	*kumbato	
d.	Onset gemination	kumbatto	‘up here’
e.	Reduplication	*kumbatoto	
f.	Assimilation	kumbatodo	‘up here’
g.	Suffixation	kumbatodok	‘a bit up here’

The derivation process of *kumbamomok* is as follows:

(57)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Compounding	*kumbamo	
d.	Insertion	kumbapmo	‘down here’
e.	Reduplication	kumbapmomo	‘down here’
f.	Suffixation	kumbapmomok	‘a bit down here’

The derivation process of *kumbʔoyok* is as follows:

(58)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	kumba	‘this only’
c.	Compounding	*kumbayo	
d.	Insertion	kumbaʔyo	‘over here’
e.	Reduplication	kumbaʔyoyo	‘over here’
f.	Suffixation	kumbaʔyoyok	‘a bit over here’

The derivation process of *hambatodok* is as follows:

(59)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Compounding	*hambato	
d.	Insertion	hambatto	‘up there’
e.	Reduplication	*hambatoto	‘down here’
f.	Assimilation	hambatodo	‘up there’
g.	Suffixation	hambatodok	‘a bit up there’

The derivation process of *hambapmomok* is as follows:

(60)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Compounding	*hambamo	
d.	Insertion	hambapmo	‘down there’
e.	Reduplication	hambapmomo	‘down there’
f.	Suffixation	hambapmomok	‘a bit down there’

The derivation process of *hamba ?yoyok* is as follows:

(61)

a.	Root	ba	‘this’
b.	Prefixation	hamba	‘that’
c.	Compounding	*hambayo	
d.	Insertion	hamba?yoyo	‘over there’
e.	Reduplication	hamba?yoyo	‘over there’
f.	Suffixation	hamba?yoyok	‘a bit over there’

2.2.6. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION. Adverbs are derived from adverbs by reduplication. Quantifier adverbs such as *ciji* ‘a little’ and *myakmyak* ‘a little’ are formed by reduplication.

Derivation process of *ciji* is as follows:

(62)

a.	Root	ci	‘a little’
b.	Reduplication	*cici	
c.	Assimilation	ciji	‘ a little’

Derivation process of *myakmyak* is as follows:

(63)

a.	Root	myak	‘a little’
b.	Reduplication	myakmyak	‘a little’

Locational adverbs such as *todo* ‘high up’, *momo* ‘down below’ and *yoyo* ‘over there’ are formed by reduplication. The derivation process of *todo* is as follows:

(64)

a.	Root	to	‘up there’
b.	Reduplication	*toto	
c.	Assimilation	todo	‘high up there’

The derivation process of *momo* is as follows:

(65)

a.	Root	mo	‘down there’
b.	Reduplication	momo	‘down below’

The derivation process of *yoyo* is follows:

(66)

a.	Root	yo	‘over there’
b.	Reduplication	yoyo	‘far across’

2.2.7. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION AND SUFFIXATION. Diminutive spatial adverbs such as *todok* ‘a bit up’, *momok* ‘a bit down; and *yoyok* ‘a bit across’ are formed by reduplicating the adverb and adding the velar stop to the new syllable.

Derivative process of *todok* is as follows:

(67)

a.	Root	to	‘up there’
b.	Reduplication	*toto	
c.	Assimilation	todo	‘high up’
d.	Suffixation	todok	‘a bit up’

Derivative process of *momok* is as follows:

(68)

a.	Root	mo	‘down there’
b.	Reduplication	momo	‘down below’
c.	Suffixation	momok	‘a bit down’

Derivative process of *yoyok* is as follows:

(69)

a.	Root	yo	‘over there’
b.	Reduplication	yoyo	‘far across’
c.	Suffixation	yoyok	‘a bit across’

Manner adverbs such as *yuNyuNcHE* ‘by sitting’, *epepcHE* ‘by standing’ and *nEnnEncHE* ‘by sleeping’ are formed by reduplication and suffixation of <-cHE>. The derivative process of of *yuNyuNcHE* is as follows:

(70)

a.	Root	yuN	‘he sits’
b.	Reduplication	*yuNyuN	
c.	Suffixation	yuNyuNcHE	‘by sitting’

Derivative process of *epepcHE* is as follows:

(71)

a.	Root	ep	‘he stands’
b.	Reduplication	*epep	
c.	Suffixation	epepcHE	‘by standing’

Derivative process of *nEnnEncHE* is as follows:

(72)

a.	Root	nEn	‘he lies’
b.	Reduplication	*nEnnEn	
c.	Suffixation	nEnnEncHE	‘by standing’

2.2.8. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION AND PREFIXATION. Adverbs are derived from the verbs by reduplication and prefixation process. These prefixes are <p□->, <ci->, <si->. The prefix <p□-> attaches to the reduplicated form of the verb root and intensifies the quality of taste. The prefixed reduplication forms adverb but it can not occur independently. Only in its occurrence with the root verb, it can function as an adverb. For example, *lim* is a verb root and it indexes the meaning ‘it tastes sweet’. In order to increase the intensity of its sweetness, it is reduplicated and prefixed with <p□->. Consequently, verb phrase like *p□lim lim* ‘it tastes very sweet’ is formed. The reduplicated part *lim* in *p□lim lim* loses its original meaning and takes on the meaning ‘very’ only. But as is said earlier, this *p□lim* can not be used with other verbs to mean ‘very’. The derivation process of *p□lim lim* ‘it tastes very sweet’ is as follows:

(73)

a.	Root	lim	‘it tastes sweet’
b.	Reduplication	*lim lim	
c.	Prefixation	p□lim lim	‘it tastes very sweet’

Following this derivation process, verb phrases such as *p□gHik kHik* ‘it tastes very bitter’, *p□su?su?* ‘it tastes very sour’, *p□haN haN* ‘it tastes very hot’, *p□lak lak* ‘it tastes very salty’ etc, are formed.

<p□-> is prefixed to the reduplicated form of the verb root to describe the quality of objects. For example, *p□jak cak* ‘it is very hard’, *p□ji ji* ‘it is very cold’, *p□go go* ‘it is very hot’, *p□lEm lEm* ‘it is very slippery’. The derivation process of *p□jak cak* as an example is given below.

(74)

a.	Root	cak	‘it is very hard’
b.	Reduplication	*cak cak	
c.	Prefixation	*p□cak cak	
d.	Assimilation	p□jak cak	‘it is very hard’

<p□-> is prefixed to the reduplicated form of the verb root to describe the quality of a person. For example, *p□jit cit* ‘he is very greedy’, *p□nu nu* ‘he is very generous’. The derivation process of *p□jit cit* is given below as an example:

(75)

a.	Root	cit	‘he is very greedy’
b.	Reduplication	*cit cit	
c.	Prefixation	*pꞑcit cit	
d.	Assimilation	pꞑjit cit	‘he is very greedy’

The prefix <ci-> forms expressive adverbs together with the reduplication of a verb. They indicate the manner in which the action has taken place. For example, *cihap happu* ‘it got entangled comfortably’, *cigak kakku* ‘he jumped over it without touching the object’ and *cilꞑk lꞑkku* ‘he pierced it once lightly’. The derivation process of *cihap happu* is given as an example:

(76)

a.	Root	hap	‘it gets entangled’
b.	Reduplication	*hap hap	
c.	Prefixation	cihap hap	‘it gets entangled’
d.	Suffixation	cihap happu	‘it gets/got entangled comfortably.’

The prefix <si-> forms adverb with the reduplication of a verb to mean ‘completely’ or ‘entirely’. For example, *sidak taku* ‘he received it completely’, *sidꞑk tꞑkku* ‘he supported it fully’, *sidok toka* ‘it sold completely’. In some contexts, it also means ‘quikly’ as in *sinap nappu* ‘he snatched it quickly’. The derivation process of *sidak taku* is given below as an example.

(77)

a.	Root	tak	‘he recieves’
b.	Reduplication	*tak tak	
c.	Prefixation	*sitak tak	
d.	Assimilation	sidak tak	‘it gets/got entangled comfortably.’
e.	Suffixation	sidak taku	‘he received it completely.’

2.2.9. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION OF THE PREFIXED ROOT. The root of the prefixed verb is reduplicated to form temporal adverbs such as *ka-si si* ‘until you die’, *a-hiN hiN* ‘until I live’, *ku-im im* ‘until he sleeps’. The derivation process of *kuhiN hiN* is given below for an example.

(78)

a.	Root	hiN	‘he lives’
b.	Prefixation	*kuhiN	
c.	Reduplication	ku-hiN hiN	‘until he lives’

However, the adverbs formed by reduplication of prefixed transitive verb indexes the meaning of ‘whatever’. *ka-jukcuk* and *kabap pap* index the meaning ‘whatever you like’ as in *ka-juk cuk cug-u* ‘Do whatever you like’ and *kabap pap patu* ‘say whatever you like.’ The derivation process of *kajuk cuk* is given for an example:

(79)

a.	Root	cuk	‘he does’
b.	Reduplication	*cuk cuk	
c.	Triplication	*cuk cuk cuk	
d.	Prefixation	*kucukcuk cuk	‘whatever he likes to do’
e.	Assimilation	kujukcuk cuk	‘he does whatever he likes’

Such adverbs are controlled by the verb root and occur only with the verbs from the root of which they have been reduplicated.

3. SUMMARY. Adverbs are divided into lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. Only a few lexical adverbs exist in the language. Even in the lexical adverbs we find common elements which make us guess that they were once suffixes. In day-indicating adverbs we find common element *-nda*, in part of the day-indicating adverbs we find the common element *-dik* and in moment of time-indicating adverbs we find a common element *a-*. But we can not trace out their meaning now as they have been fully lexicalized. The lexical verbs include temporal adverbs, locational adverbs, manner adverbs, posture adverbs and truth value adverbs. Adverbs are derived through suffixation, reduplication and compounding processes.

CHAPTER 9
VERB INFLECTIONS

1. INTRODUCTION. Limbu verbs are mainly divided into finite and non-finite verbs on the basis of morphology. Finite verbs consist of verb stems and agreement markers for person, number, case, tense, reflexivity, exclusivity and negation. Non-finite verbs, on the other hand, do not consist of these agreement markers except the non-singular suffix after the infinitive suffix <-ma> as in *temasi* 'to take them'. These verbs will be dealt with in the next chapter. This chapter is devoted to the morphology of finite verbs. It deals with stem alternations before vocalic and consonantal suffixes, stem classes, conjugation classes and voice.

2. VERB STEMS. Most of the verb stems alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. A few of them remain invariable throughout the paradigm.

Stem 1	Stem2	Stem 1	Gloss	Stem2	Gloss
Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-consonantal stem	Ante-vocalic stem		Ante-consonantal stem	
1. -pp- ~ -p		cEpp-u	'he cut him.'	cEp-ma	'to cut'
2. -tt- ~ -t		p ^h Ett-u	'he brought it'	p ^h Ep-ma	'to bring'
3. -kk- ~ -k		lEkk-u	'he changed it'	lEk-ma	'to change'
4. -ps- ~ -m		tEps-u	'he caught him'	tEm-ma	'to catch'
5. -ks- ~ -ŋ		lEks-u	'he turned it'	lEŋ-ma	'to turn'
6. -md- ~ -m		k ^h amd-u	'he chewed it'	kham-ma	'to chew'
7. -nd- ~ -n		k ^h and-u	'he bruised it'	k ^h amma	'to bruise'
8. -ŋd- ~ -ŋ		sŋd-u	'he cooked it'	sŋ-ma	'to cook'
9. -h- ~ -∅		nuh-u	'he cured him'	nu-ma	'to cure'
10. -w- ~ -∅		haw-u	'he divided it'	ha-ma	'to divide'
11. -y- ~ -∅		siy-a	'he died'	si-ma	'to die'
12. -b- ~ -p		sub-u	'he closed it'	sup-ma	'to close'
13. -t- ~ -p		ket-u	'he inserted it'	kep-ma	'to insert'
14. -g- ~ -k		hEg-u	'he cut it'	hEk-ma	'to cut'
15. -cch- ~ -n		nijwa mucchu	'he forgot it'	nijwa mumma	'to forget'
16. -r- ~ -?		lEr-u	'he released it'	lEp-ma	'to release'
17. -p ~ -p		sap-u	'he wrote it'	sap-ma	'to write'
18. -k ~ -k		lek-u	'he poured on it'	lek-ma	'to pour'
19. -m ~ -m		tum-u	'he met him'	tum-ma	'to meet'
20. -ŋ ~ -ŋ		haŋ-u	'he sent it'	haŋ-ma	'to send'

TABLE 25. Stem-final alternations

3. STEM CLASSES. Table 25 shows two types of stems. They are divided into variable and invariable stem classes.

3.1. VARIABLE STEM CLASS. Verb stem variation is one of the common characters of Kiranti languages. Bantawa (Rai:1985), Panthare Limbu (Wiedert and Subba 1985:23-28), Phedappe Limbu (Driem 1987:71-72), Athpare (Ebert 1997:20-22), Chamling (Ebert 1994:19), Yamphu (Rutger 1998:103-105), Taplejungge Limbu

(Mikhailovsky 2003:xii-ix) show stem variations between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. Chhatthare Limbu also exhibits this feature of stem variation which is caused by deletion and assimilation.

3.1.1. DELETION. Post-syllabic consonant and some syllable final consonants are deleted before a consonantal suffix.

Post-syllabic consonants of the verb stems are augmented before a vocalic suffix but they are deleted before a consonantal suffix and cause stem variation. More than one consonant can not occur in the syllable final position in the language. Therefore, when the post-syllabic verb stem occurs as an independent word (a bare stem) or before a consonantal suffix, the post-syllabic consonant is deleted. (See Chap 4)

Stem 1	Stem2	Stem 1	Gloss	Stem2	Gloss
Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-vocalic stem		Ante-consonantal stem	
1. -pp- ~ -p		cEpp-u	'he cut him.'	cEp-ma	'to cut'
2. -tt- ~ -t		p ^h Ett- u	'he brought it'	p ^h Ep-ma	'to bring'
3. -kk- ~ -k		lEkk-u	'he changed it'	lEk-ma	'to change'
4. -md- ~ -m		k ^h amd-u	'he chewed it'	kham-ma	'to chew'
5. -nd- ~ -n		k ^h and-u	'he bruised it'	k ^h amma	'to bruise'
6. -ŋd- ~ -ŋ		sŋd-u	'he cooked it'	sŋ-ma	'to cook'
7. -ps- ~ -m		tEps-u	'he caught him'	tEm-ma	'to catch'
8. -ks- ~ -ŋ		lEks-u	'he turned it'	lEŋ-ma	'to turn'
9. -ccH- ~ -m		niNwa mucch-u	'he forgot'	niNwa mum-ma	'to forget'

TABLE 26. Deletion of the post-syllabic consonants

Syllable final consonants such as /w/, /r/, /y/ and /h/ are augmented before the vocalic suffix but deleted before the consonantal suffix. (See Chap 4)

Stem 1	Stem2	Stem 1	Gloss	Stem2	Gloss
Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-vocalic stem		Ante-consonantal stem	
1. -r- ~ Ø		har-u	'he bit it'	ha-ma	'to bite'
2. -y- ~ Ø		siy-a	'he died'	si-ma	'to die'
3. -h- ~ -Ø		nih-u	'he saw it'	ni-ma	'to see'
4. -w- ~ -Ø		haw-u	'he distributed it'	ha-ma	'to distribute'

TABLE 27. Deletion of stem final consonants

3.1.2. ASSIMILATION. Voiceless stop consonants /p/ and /k/ change to their voiced allophonic counterparts before a vocalic suffix but they stay voiceless before a consonantal suffix. (See Chap 4)

Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 1	Gloss	Stem2	Gloss
--------	--------	--------	-------	-------	-------

Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-consonantal stem	Ante-vocalic stem		Ante-consonantal stem	
1. -b- ~	-p	sub-u	'he closed it'	sup-ma	'to close'
2. -g- ~	-k	hEg-u	'he cut it'	hEk-ma	'to cut'
3. -r- ~	t (?)	lEr-u	'he released it'	lEp-ma	'to release'

TABLE 28. Voicing assimilation of stem final consonants

Voiceless stop consonant /t/ which appears before a vocalic suffix <-u> changes to the bilabial stop /p/ before the consonantal suffix <-ma> due to its assimilation to the following consonant for place of articulation. Likewise, the glottal fricative /h/ which appears before a vocalic suffix <-u> changes to voiceless bilabial stop /p/ before the consonantal suffix <-ma>. Here /h/ assimilates to the following consonant for both place and manner of articulation and is realized as /p/.

(See Chapter 4)

Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 1	Gloss	Stem2	Gloss
Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-consonantal stem	Ante-vocalic stem		Ante-consonantal stem	
1. -t- ~	-p	pit-u	'he sucked it'	pip-ma	'to suck'
2. -h- ~	-t	lah-a	'he entered'	lap-ma	'to enter'

TABLE 29. Stem final alternation due to its assimilation for place and manner of articulation

3.2. INVARIABLE STEM Verb-stems ending in /p/, /k/, /m/ and /ŋ/ remain unchanged before vocalic and consonantal suffixes throughout the paradigm. They are as follows:

Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 1	Gloss	Stem2	Gloss
Ante-vocalic stem	Ante-consonantal stem	Ante-vocalic stem		Ante-consonantal stem	
1. -p	-p	sap-u	'he wrote it'	sap-ma	'to write'
2. -k	-k	lek-u	'he poured on it'	lek-ma	'to pour'
3. -m	-m	tum-u	'he met him'	tum-ma	'to meet'
4. -ŋ	-ŋ	haŋ-u	'he sent it'	haŋ-ma	'to send'

TABLE 30. Invariable verb stems

4. KINDS OF VERBS. On the basis of presence or absence of the object morpheme, verbs can be divided into intransitive, reflexive and transitive verbs. Each kind of verbs follows the same type of conjugation patterns and forms a conjugation class. According to Watters (2006: Verb Stem Alternations in Kiranti Languages), 'Any verb, together with other verbs that are governed by the same paradigmatic settings are said to form a 'conjugation class.'

4.1. INTRANSITIVE VERB Intransitive verb has no overt third person singular subject marker. It has only subject markers in first person and second person forms.

- (1) a. lok 'he runs'
 b. kalok 'you run'
 c. lokNa 'I run'

The examples in 1a-c show that third person singular is unmarked, second person singular is marked by the prefix <ka-> and first person singular subject is marked by the suffix <-Na>.

The intransitive verb needs only one noun or nominal to complete its meaning at a sentence level as evidenced by examples in 2a-c.

- (2) a. kHunE lok 'he runs.'
 b. kHEnE kalok 'you run'
 c. lokNa 'I run'

Intransitive verb stems are mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic. There is a small difference in conjugation patterns between monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems.

4.1.1. CONJUGATION OF MONO-SYLLABIC INTRANSITIVE VERB. The intransitive verbs which consist of only one syllabic stems are called mono-syllabic intransitive verbs.

- (3) a. pok 'he gets up'
 b. p^hEn 'he comes'
 c. lok 'he runs'

The intransitive verb forms exhibit seven different categories- person, number, case, tense, inclusivity, exclusivity, and negation. The third person singular subject is an unmarked argument. In the third person dual subject, the person marker is unmarked but the number marker is marked. The dual subject is marked by <-cHi>. The third person, plural, subject is <mu->, a portmanteau morpheme which can not be analyzed. The first person singular subject is encoded by the morpheme <-ŋ~~ŋa ~ ma ~na>, a suffix attached to the stem. The first person non-singular inclusive subject is marked by <a->. The exclusivity is marked by the suffix <-ŋa>. The second person is marked by <ka->. Its singularity of subject is unmarked. It is prefixed to the verb whereas its number markers are suffixed. The past is marked by the morpheme <-a> and the non-past is unmarked. The past morpheme <-a> is deleted when it occurs before the plural subject suffix <-i> and semantic difference between the past and non-past is neutralized. The negative is marked by a discontinuous morpheme <ma (n)- nEn (-n)>. The first part of the morpheme <ma-> or <man-> appears as a prefix and the second part of the morpheme <-nEn ~ -n> as a suffix on the last of the affixal string. The first morpheme will be <man-> if it occurs with the second negative morpheme <-ban> which in combination encodes first person singular subject in the past form or first person plural exclusive subject in the past form. In fact, the discontinuous negative morpheme <man- -ban> is an irregular form. When the first part of the negative prefix <ma-> occurs before the stem and after the second and first person non-singular inclusive marking prefixes, it is realized as <n->. The first person inclusive non-singular subject <a->, second person subject <ka->, third person plural subject <mu-> and the first part of the negative morpheme <man- ma-> occur as prefixes but the rest of the markers appear as suffixes. The conjugation of an intransitive verb in affirmative and negative in both past and non-past forms is given in table 31 as an example.

-----		NPT	PT
1.	3s	lok runs 'He runs.'	lokk-a run-PT 'He ran.'
NEG		ma-lok-nEn NEG-run-NEG 'He does not run.'	ma-lokk-a-n NEG-run-PT-NEG 'He did not run.'
2.	3d	lok- c ^{hi} 3-run- dS 'They run.'	lokk-a-c ^{hi} run-PT-dS 'They ran.'
NEG		ma-lok-c ^{hi} -n NEG-run-dS-NEG 'They do not run.'	ma-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -n NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG 'They did not run.'
3.	3p	mu-lok 3pS-run 'They run.'	mu-lokk-a 3pS-run-PT 'They ran.'
NEG		ma-n-lok-nEn 3pS- NEG-run-NEG 'They do not run.'	ma-n-lokk-a-n 3pS-NEG-go-PT-NEG 'They did not run.'
4.	2s	ka-lok 2-run 'You run.'	ka-lokk-a 2-run-PT 'You ran.'
NEG		ka-n-lok-nEn 2-NEG-run-NEG 'You do not run.'	ka-n-lokk-a- n 2-NEG-run-PT-NEG 'You did not run.'
5.	2d	ka-lok- c ^{hi} 2-run-dS 'You run.'	ka-lokk-a-c ^{hi} 2-run-PT-dS 'You ran.'
NEG		ka-n-lok-c ^{hi} -n 2-NEG-run-dS-NEG 'You do not run.'	ka-n-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -n 2-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG 'You did not run.'
6.	2p	ka-lokk-i 2-run-pS 'You run.'	ka-lokk-i 2-run-pS 'You ran.'
NEG		ka-n-lokk-i-n 2-NEG-run-pS-NEG 'You do not run.'	ka-n-lokk-i-n 2-NEG-run-pS-NEG 'You did not run.'
7.	1s	lok-ŋa go-1e 'I run.'	lokk-a-ŋ go-PT-1e 'I ran.'
NEG		ma-lok- ŋa-n NEG-run-1e-NEG 'I do not run.'	man-lok-pan NEG-run-1eS/NPT/NEG 'I did not run.'
8.	1d	a-lok-c ^{hi} 1i-run-NPT-dS	a-lokk-a-c ^{hi} 1i -run-PT-dS

	'We run.'		'We ran.'
NEG	a-n-lok-c ^{hi} -n		a-n-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -n
	1i-NEG-run-dS-NEG		1i-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG
	'We do not run.'		'We did not run.'
9. 1de			
	lok-c ^{hi} -ŋa		lokk-a-c ^{hi} -ŋa
	run-NPT-dS-1e		1-run-PT-dS-1e
	'We run.'		'We ran.'
NEG.	ma-lok-c ^{hi} -ŋa-n		ma-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -ŋa-n
	NEG-run-dS-1e-NEG		NEG-run-PT-dS-1e-NEG
	'We do not run.'		'We did not run.'
10. 1pi			
	a-lokk- i		a-lokk-i
	1i -run-pS		1i-run- pS
	'We run.'		'We ran.'
or			
	a-lok		a-lokk-a
	1i-run		1i -run-PT
	'We run.'		'We ran.'
NEG.	a-n-lok-nEn		a-n-lokk-a-n
	1i -NEG-go-NEG		1i-NEG-go-PT-NEG
	'We do not go.'		'We did not go.'
11. 1pe			
	lokk-i- ŋa		lokk-i-Na
	run- pS-1e		run-pS-1e
	'We ran.'		We ran.'
NEG	ma-lokk-i-ŋa-n		ma-lokk-O-i-Na-n
	NEG-run- pS-1e-NEG		NEG-run-PT-pS-1e-NEG
	'We do not run.'		'We did not run.'
			or
			lok-kna
			run-1peS/PT
			'We run.'
			NEG
			man-lok-pan
			NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG
			'I did not run.'

TABLE 31. Conjugation of monosyllabic intransitive verb

4.1.2. CONJUGATION OF POLY-SYLLABIC INTRANSITIVE VERB.

Intransitive verbs which are constituted by more than one syllabic stems are polysyllabic intransitive verbs.

- (4)
- | | | |
|----|-------|-------------|
| a. | samlo | 'he sings' |
| b. | calak | 'he dances' |
| c. | wajak | 'he swims' |

Like monosyllabic intransitive verbs, polysyllabic intransitive verbs also inflect for person, number, case, inclusivity, exclusivity, tense and negation with the affixes attached to the last syllable of the verb stem. The last syllable part is equivalent to the intransitive verb stem in conjugation pattern because it alone undergoes conjugation processes. In fact, Limbu verb stems are basically monosyllabic. The poly-syllabic stems in synchronic use are historically the combination of a noun and verb. Now,

these compound stems have lost their individual meaning and they have been semantically lexicalized. However, they are, morphologically, not still lexicalized. Therefore, in such compound stems, only the verb stem, i.e., the last part is affixed.

The polysyllabic stem *samlo* in 4a consists of two stems- *sam* and *lo*. *sam* means ‘inner life’ and *lo* means ‘s/he says’. These two together make a sense ‘s/he tells inner things’. Thus, *samloma* means ‘to tell the inner thing of life’. Now, *samloma* has been lexicalized and used to mean ‘to sing’.

Similarly, the verb stem *calak* in 4b is the combination of *ca* ‘paddy’ and *lak* ‘he tramples’. Thus, *calakma* means ‘to trample paddy.’ In the beginning *calakma* carried this meaning. The Limbus were agriculturists by profession. They used to plant paddy in the field. When it was ripe, they would harvest it and collect the paddy straw in piles on the wide floor. Then, group of people holding hands would make a circle and trample the paddy straw with their feet to separate the paddy from its straw. They would sing songs as they did their work to overcome their weariness. Gradually, *calakma* lost its original practice. It began to be practiced by men and women specially the youths who could make matrimonial alliance as a dance accompanied by a song. It diverted from its original goal ‘to trample the paddy straw for the separation of paddy’ to dancing for developing love affairs. Now, the dancers do not trample the paddy as they dance in a home-yard or market place on certain occasions such as wedding ceremony, death anniversary, market day and fair or on casual meetings without any occasion at places where there is no paddy. They nevertheless say that they are making a paddy dance. Moreover, *lakma* means ‘to trample’ but it has lost its original meaning and taken on the meaning ‘to dance’ when it occurs with *ca* ‘paddy’. Similarly, *ca* ‘paddy’ has lost its functional significance. Now, *calakma* means only ‘to dance’, a dance participated by males and females (particularly by young boys and girls who can marry each other) in a circle or in a straight line with love songs. Similarly, the stem *wajak* in 4c is the combination of a noun *wa* and the verb *cak* ‘s/he swims’. *wa* must have been derived from *cwa?* which means ‘water’. Thus, *wajakma* means ‘to swim in water’. Now, it is only used to mean ‘to swim’.

The paradigm of the intransitive verb *calak-ma* ‘to dance’ is presented in table 33 as an example of the polysyllabic intransitive verb conjugation.

NPT	PT
1. 3s ca-lak paddy-tread ‘He dances.’ NEG ca-ma-lak-nEn paddy-NEG-tread-NEG ‘He does not dance.’	ca-lakk-a paddy-tread-PT ‘He danced.’ ca-ma-lakk-a-n paddy-NEG-tread-PT-NEG ‘He did not dance.’
2. 3d ca-lak-c ^{hi} paddy-tread-dS ‘They dance.’ NEG ca-ma-lak-c ^{hi} -n paddy-tread-dS ‘They do not dance.’	ca-lakk-a-c ^{hi} paddy-tread-PT-dS ‘They danced.’ ca-ma-lakk-a-c ^{hi} -n paddy-NEG-tread-PT-dS-NEG ‘They did not dance.’
3. 3p ca-mu-lak paddy-3pS-tread	ca-mu-lakk-a paddy-3pS-tread-PT

‘They dance.’ NEG ca-ma-n-lak-nen paddy-3pS-NEG-tread-NEG ‘They do not dance.’	‘They danced.’ ca-ma-n-lakk-a-n paddy-3pS-NEG-tread-PT-NEG ‘They did not dance.’
4. 2s ca-ka-lak paddy-2-tread ‘You dance.’ NEG ca-ka-n-lak-nEn paddy-2-NEG-tread-NEG ‘You do not dance.’	ca-ka-lakk-a- paddy-2-tread-PT ‘You danced.’ ca-ka-n-lakk-a-n paddy-2-NEG-tread-PT-NEG ‘You did not dance.’
5. 2d ca-ka-lak-c ^{hi} paddy-2-tread-dS ‘You dance.’ NEG ca-ka-n-lak-c ^{hi} -n paddy-2-NEG-tread-dS-NEG ‘You do not dance.’	ca-ka-lakk-a-c ^{hi} paddy-2-tread-PT-dS ‘You danced.’ ca-ka-n-lakk-a-c ^{hi} -n paddy-2-NEG-tread-PT-dS-NEG ‘You did not dance.’
6. 2p ca-ka-lakk-i paddy-2-tread-pS ‘You dance.’ NEG ca-ka-n-lakk-i-n paddy-2-NEG-tread-pS-NEG ‘You do not dance.’	ca-ka-lakk- i paddy-2-tread- dS ‘You danced.’ ca-ka-n-lakk- i-n paddy-2-NEG-tread-dS-NEG ‘You did not dance.’
7. 1s ca-lak-Na paddy-tread-1e ‘I dance.’ NEG ca-ma-lak-Na-n paddy-NEG-tread-1e-NEG ‘I do not dance.’	ca-lakk-a-N paddy-tread-PT-1e ‘I danced.’ ca-man-lak-pan paddy-NEG-tread-1eS/PT/NEG ‘I did not dance.’
8. 1d ca-a-lak-c ^{hi} paddy-1i-tread-dS ‘We dance.’ NEG ca-a-n-lak-c ^{hi} -n paddy-1i-NEG-tread-dS-NEG ‘We do not dance.’	ca-a-lakk-a-c ^{hi} paddy-1i-tread-PT-dS ‘We danced.’ ca-a-n-lakk-a-c ^{hi} -n paddy-1i-NEG-tread-PT-dS-NEG ‘We did not dance.’
9. 1de ca-lak-c ^{hi} -Na paddy-tread-dS-1e ‘We dance.’ NEG ca-ma-lak-c ^{hi} -Na-n paddy-NEG-tread-1e-NEG ‘We do not dance.’	ca-lakk-a-c ^{hi} -Na paddy-tread-PT-dS-1e ‘We danced.’ ca-ma-lak-c ^{hi} -Na-n paddy-NEG-tread-dS-1e-NEG ‘We did not dance.’
10. 1pi	

ca-a-lakk-i paddy-1i-tread-pS 'We dance.' NEG ca-a-n-lakk-i-n paddy-1i-NEG-tread-pS-NEG 'We do not dance.'	ca-a-lakk-i paddy-1i-tread-pS 'We danced.'
ca-a-n-lakk-i-n paddy-1i-NEG-tread-pS-NEG 'We did not dance.'	ca-a-n-lakk-i-n paddy-1i-NEG-tread-pS-NEG 'We did not dance.'
Or ca-a-lak paddy-1i-tread 'We dance.'	ca-a-lakk-a paddy-1i-tread-PT 'We danced.'
ca-a-n-lak-nEn paddy-1i-NEG-tread-NEG 'We do not dance.'	ca-a-n-lakk-a-n paddy-1i-NEG-tread-PT-NEG 'We did not dance.'
11. 1pe ca-lakk-i-Na paddy-tread-pS-1e 'We dance.'	ca-lakk- i-Na paddy-tread- pS-1e 'We danced.'
ca-ma-lakk-i-Na-n paddy-NEG-tread-pS-1e-NEG 'We do not dance.'	ca-ma-lakk-i-Na-n paddy-NEG-tread-pS-1e-NEG 'We did not dance.'
	Or calak-na paddytread-1peS/PT 'We danced.'
	NEG ca-man-lak-pan paddy-NEG-tread-1peS/PT/NEG 'We did not dance.'

TABLE 32. Conjugation of polysyllabic intransitive verb

4.1.3. SCHEMATIC FORM OF INTRANSITIVE VERB. All the intransitive verbs in the language follow the same conjugation pattern. In a polysyllabic intransitive verb, the affixes are added to the last syllable of the stem as only this syllable is morphologically treated as an intransitive verb stem. So, conjugations of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic intransitive verbs can be represented by a single schematic form. The schematic form for the intransitive conjugation is given below.

	NPT	PT	
1. 3s	R		R-a
NEG	ma-R-nEn		ma-R-a-n
2. 3d	R-cHi		R-a-cHi
NEG	ma-R-cHi-n		ma-R-a-cHi-n
3. 3p	mu-R		mu-R-a
NEG	ma-n-R-nEn		ma-n-R-a-n
4. 2s	ka-R		ka-R-a
NEG	ka-n-R-nEn		ka-n-R-a-n
5. 2d	ka-R-cHi		ka-R-a-cHi
NEG	ka-n-R-cHin		ka-n-R-a-cHi-n

6. 2p	ka-R-i	ka-R-i
NEG	ka-n-R-i-n	ka-n-R-i-n
7. 1s	R-ŋa	R-a-ŋ
NEG	ma-R-ŋa-n	ma-n-R-ban
8. 1d	a-R-cHi	a-R-a-cHi
NEG	a-n-R-cHi-n	a-n-R-a-cHi-n
9. 1de	R-cHi-ŋa	R-a-cHi-ŋa
NEG	ma-R-cHi-ŋ-a-n	ma-R-a-cHi-ŋa-n
11. 1pi	a-R-i	a-R-a or a-R-i
NEG	a-n-R-i-n	a-n-R-a-n or a-n-R-i-n
(1pe	R-i-ŋa	R-i-ŋa or R-mna
NEG	ma-R-i-ŋa-n	ma-R-i-ŋa-n or man-R-ban)

TABLE 33. Schematic form

4.2. REFLEXIVE VERB Reflexive verb stem requires one agreement marker in second and first person verb forms as shown in 5d and 5e respectively but it does not require any overt marker on the verb form for the third person singular and dual as shown in 5a and 5b. Third person plural is marked by a portmanteau <mu-> as given in 5c. Formally, it is identical to intransitive verb and is formed by suffixing <-c^hin> and <-nE> to the verb stem.

- (5) a. uN-cHin
pull-REFL
'He pulled himself (he crawls).'
b. uN-nE-cHi
pull-Rec-dS
'They pull each other.'
c. mu-uN-cHin
3pS-pull-Rec
'They pull themselves (they crawl).'
d. ka-uN-cHin
2-pull-REFL
'You pull yourself.'
e. uN-cHin-na
pull-REFL-1sS
'I pull myself (I crawl).'

4.2.1. CONJUGATION OF MONOSYLLABIC REFLEXIVE VERB. Monosyllabic reflexive verbs are formed by adding the suffix <-cHin> or <-nE> to the end of a monosyllabic stem. Though they conjugate intransitively, they encode transitive meaning.

- (6) a. pHon-cHin
hang-REFL
'He hangs himself'
b. hu-cHin
'teach-REFL
'He taught himself (he learned)'
c. wac-cHin
dress-REFL
'He dresses himself.'

Reflexive verb does not distinguish between past and non-past forms. It is marked by the reflexive suffix <-c^hin> but in dual forms, it has allomorph <-nE> which indicates reciprocity. 3p, 2p, 1pi and 1pe verb stems can take <-nE>. However, it indexes the involvement of two actants or parties in action. As a result, there is no difference between 2d and 2p, 1di and 1pi and 1de and 1pe in conjugation patterns. In 3d and 3p, there is only a difference in person marking. The conjugation of monosyllabic reflexive verb is given below.

	NPT	PT
1. 3s-	l□m-c ^h in beat-REFL 'He beats himself.'	l□m-c ^h in 3sA-beat-REFL 'He beat himself.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-c ^h in-nEn NEG-beat-REFL- NEG 'He does not beat himself.'	ma-l□m-c ^h in-nEn NEG-beat-REFL-NEG 'He did not beat himself.'
2.3d	l□m-nE-c ^h i beat-RECIP-dS 'They beat each other.'	l□m-nE- c ^h i beat-RECIP-dS 'They beat each other.'
NEG	ma-l□m-nE- c ^h i-n NEG-beat-RECIP- dS-NEG 'They do not beat each other.'	ma-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG 'They did not beat each other.'
3. 3p	mu-l□m- c ^h in 3pS-beat- REFL 'They beat themselves.'	mu-l□m -c ^h in 3pS-beat-REFL 'They beat themselves.'
NEG	ma-n-l□m-c ^h in- nEn 3pS-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG 'They do not beat themselves.'	ma-n-l□m- c ^h in- nEn 3pS-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG 'They did not beat themselves.'
Or	mu-l□m-nE- c ^h i 3pS-beat-RECIP-pS 'They beat each other.'	mu-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 3pS-beat-RECIP-PT-pS 'They beat each other.'
NEG	ma-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n 3pS-NEG-beat-RECIP- pS-NEG 'They do not beat each other.'	ma-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n 3pS-NEG-beat-RECIP-pS-NEG 'They did not beat each other.'
4. 2s	ka-l□m-c ^h in 2-beat-REFL 'You beat yourself.'	ka-l□m-c ^h in 2-beat-REFL 'You beat yourself.'
NEG	ka-n-l□m-c ^h in-nEn 2-NEG-beat-REFL- NEG 'You do not beat yourself.'	ka-n-l□m-c ^h in- nEn 2-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG 'You do not beat yourself.'
5. 2d-	ka- l□m-nE-c ^h i 2-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS	ka- l□m-nE-c ^h i 2-beat-RECIP-dS

	'You beat each other.'	'You beat each other.'
NEG	ka-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n	ka-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n
	2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG	2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG
	'You do not beat each other.'	'You do not beat each other.'
6.2p.	ka- l□m-nE-c ^h i	ka- l□m-nE-c ^h i
	2-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS	2-beat-RECIP-dS
	'You beat each other.'	'You beat each other.'
NEG	ka-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n	ka-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n
	2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG	2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG
	'You do not beat each other.'	'You do not beat each other.'
7. 2p	ka- l□m-nE-c ^h i	ka- l□m-nE-c ^h i
	2-beat-RECIP-pS	2-beat-RECIP-pS
	'You beat each other.'	'You beat each other.'
NEG	ka-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n	ka-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i-n
	2-NEG-beat-RECIP-pS-NEG	2-NEG-beat-RECIP-pS-NEG
	'You do not beat each other.'	'You do not beat each other.'
8. 1s	l□m-c ^h in-na	l□m-c ^h in-na
	beat- REFL -1e	beat- REFL -1e
	'I beat myself.'	'I beat myself.'
NEG	ma-l□m-c ^h in-na-n	ma-l□m-c ^h im-ban
	NEG-beat-REFL-1sA-NEG	NEG-beat-REFL- 1sA/PT/NEG
	'I do not beat myself.'	'I did not beat myself.'
9. 1di	a-l□m-nE-c ^h i	a-l□m-nE-c ^h i
	1i-beat-RECIP- nsS	1i-beat-RECIP- nsS
	'We beat each other.'	'We beat each other.'
NEG.	a-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i- n	a-n-l□m-nE- c ^h i-n
	1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG	1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG
	'We do not beat each other.'	'We do not beat each other.'
10. 1de	l□m-nE-c ^h i-ŋa	l□m-nE-c ^h i-ŋa
	beat-RECIP--nsS-1e	beat-RECIP-nsS-1e
	'We beat each other.'	'We beat each other.'
NEG	ma-l□m-nE-c ^h i-ŋa-n	ma-l□m-nE-c ^h i-ŋa-n
	NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-1e-NEG	NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-e-NEG
	'We do not beat each other.'	'We did not beat each other.'
11. 1pi	a-l□m-c ^h in	a-l□m-c ^h in
	1-beat-REFL-	1-beat-REFL
	'We beat ourselves.'	'We beat ourselves.'
NEG	a-n-l□m-c ^h in-nEn	a-n-l□m-c ^h in-nEn
	1-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG	1-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG
	'We do not beat ourselves.'	'We did not beat ourselves.'
Or		

a-l□m-nE-c ^h i 1i-beat-RECIP- nsS 'We beat each other.'	a-l□m-nE-c ^h i 1i-beat-RECIP- nsS 'We beat each other.'
NEG.	
a-n-l□m-nE-c ^h i- n 1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG 'We do not beat each other.'	a-n-l□m-nE- c ^h i-n 1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG 'We do not beat each other.'

TABLE 34. Conjugation of monosyllabic reflexive verb

4.2.2. CONJUGATION OF POLYSYLLABIC REFLEXIVE VERB Polysyllabic reflexive verbs are formed by adding the suffix <-cHin> or <-nE> to the end of polysyllabic verb stem. They are

- (7) a. igHENcHin 'he binds himself'
b. omEccHin 'he looks at himself'
c. walumcHin 'he washes himself'

The conjugation patterns of the monosyllabic and polysyllabic reflexive verbs are the same. In fact, reflexive verbs are derived from transitive stems by adding the suffix <-cHin> or <-nE> to their end. In polysyllabic transitive stem, the affixes are added to the last syllable.

NPT	PT
1. 3s- i-ghEN-cHin bind-REFL 'He binds himself.' NEG i-ma-g ^h EN-cHin-nEn bind-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG 'He doesn't bind himself.'	i-ghEN-cHin bind-REFL 'He bound himself.' i-ma-g ^h EN-cHin-nEn bind-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG 'He did not bind himself.'
2. 3d i-ghEN-nE-c ^h i bind-RECIP-dS 'They bind each other.' NEG i-ma-g ^h EN-nE-c ^h i-n around-NEG-bind-RECIP-dA-3O-NEG 'They do not bind him.'	i-ghEN-nE-c ^h i bind-RECIP-dS 'They bound each other.' i-ma-g ^h EN-nE-c ^h i-n bind-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG 'They did not bind him.'
3. 3p i-mu-ghEN-cHin bind-3pS-bind-REFL 'They bind themselves.' NEG i-maN-g ^h EN-cHin-nEn around-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG 'They do not bind themselves.'	i-mu-ghEN-cHin bind-3pA-bind-REFL 'They bound themselves.' i-maN-g ^h EN-cHin-nEn bind-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG 'They did not bind themselves.'
4. 2s i-ka-ghEN-cHin bind-2-bind-REFL 'You bind yourself.' NEG i-ka-N-g ^h EN-cHin-nEn	i-ka-ghEN-cHin bind-2-bind-REFL 'You bound yourself.' i-ka-N-g ^h EN-cHin-nEn

bind-2-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
'You do not bind yourself.'

5. 2d

i-ka-ghEN-nE-c^{hi}
bind-2-bind-RECIP-dS
'You bind each other.'

NEG

i-ka-N-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-n
around-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-3O-NEG
'You do not bind each other.'

6. 2p-

i-ka-ghEN-nE-c^{hi}
bind-2-bind-RECIP-pS
'You bind each other.'

NEG

i-ka-N-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-n
around-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-pS-3O-NEG
'You do not bind each other.'

7. 1s

i-ghEN-cHin-na
bind-REFL-1e
'I bind myself.'

NEG

i-ma-g^hEN-cHin-na-n
bind-NEG-bind-1e-NEG
'I do not bind myself.'

8. 1d

i-a-ghEN-nE-c^{hi}
bind-1i-bind-RECIP-dS
'We bind each other.'

NEG

i-a-N-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-n
bind-1i-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG
'We do not bind each other.'

9. 1de-

i-ghEN-nE-c^{hi}i-Na
bind-RECIP-dS-1e
'We bind each other.'

NEG

i-ma-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-Na-n
bind-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-1e-NEG
'We do not bind each other.'

10. 1pi-3s

i-a-ghEN-cHin
bind-1i-bind-REFL
'We bind ourselves.'

NEG

i-a-N-g^hEN-cHin-nEn
bind-1i-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
'We do not bind ourselves.'

bind-2-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
'You did not bind yourself.'

i-ka-ghEN-nE-cHi
bind-2-bind-RECIP-dS
'You bound each other.'

i-ka-N-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-n
bind-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG
'You did not bind each other.'

i-ka-ghEN-nE-cHi
bind-2-bind-RECIP-pS
'You bound each other.'

i-ka-N-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-n
bind-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-pS-NEG
'You did not bind each other.'

i-ghEN-cHin-na
bind-REFL-1e
'I bound myself.'

i-maN-g^hEN-cHim-ban
bind-NEG-bind-REFL-1eS/PT/NEG
'I did not bind myself.'

i-a-ghEN-nE-c^{hi}
bind-1i-bind-RECIP-dS
'We bound each other.'

i-a-N-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-n
bind-1i-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG
'We did not bind each other.'

i-ghEN-nE-c^{hi}i-Na
around-bind-PT-RECCIP-dS-3O-1e
'We bound each other.'

i-ma-g^hEN-nE-c^{hi}i-Na-n
bind-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-1e-NEG
'We did not bind each other.'

i-a-ghEN-cHin
bind-1i-bind-REFL
'We bound ourselves.'

i-a-N-g^hEN-cHin-nEn
bind-1i-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
'You did not bind ourselves.'

TABLE 35. Conjugation of polysyllabic reflexive verb

4.2.3. SCHEMATIC FORM OF REFLEXIVE VERB. The conjugation patterns of the monosyllabic and polysyllabic reflexive verbs are the same. So, the single schematic form in table 36 can represent the conjugation pattern of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic reflexive verbs.

	NPT	PT
1.3s NEG.	R-cHin ma-R-cHin-nEn	R-cHin ma-R-cHin-nEn
2.3d NEG.	R-nE-cHi ma-R-nE-cHi-n	R-nE-cHi ma-R-nE-cHi-n
3.3p NEG.	mu-R-cHin ma-n-R-cHin-nEn	mu-R-cHin ma-n-R-cHin-nEn
Or 3p NEG.	R-nE-cHi ma-n-R-nE-cHi-n	R-nE-cHi ma-n-R-nE-cHi-n
4. 2s NEG	ka-R-cHin ka-n-R-cHin-nEn	ka-R-cHin ka-n-R-cHin-nEn
5. 2d NEG.	ka-R-nE-cHi ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n	ka-R-nE-cHi ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n
6. 2p NEG.	ka-R-nE-cHi ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n	ka-R-nE-cHi ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n
7. 1s NEG.	R-cHin-na ma-R-cHin-na-n	R-cHin-na man-R-cHim-ban
8. 1di NEG.	a-R-nE-cHi a-n-R-nE-cHi-n	a-R-nE-cHi a-n-R-nE-cHi-n
9. 1de NEG.	R-nE-cHi-ŋa ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n	R-nE-cHi-ŋa ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n
10. 1pi NEG-	a-R- cHin a-n-R-cHin-nEn	a-R-cHin a-n-R-cHin-nEn
Or 1di NEG.	a-R-nE-cHi a-n-R-nE-cHi-n	a-R-nE-cHi a-n-R-nE-cHi-n
11. 1pe NEG.	R- nE-cHi-ŋa ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n	R-cHim-mna man-R-cHim-ban

TABLE 36. Schematic form of reflexive verbs

4.3. TRANSITIVE VERBS. Transitive verb requires at least two arguments in a sentence- subject argument and object argument. Third person subject argument is unmarked in the verb form and the first person singular subject is also unmarked in the verb form if its object is the second person singular. In other cases, both subject and object are marked by affixes in the verb form. Some linguists believe that transitive stems in Limbu can be derived from intransitive stems by adding Proto-Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes <-s> and <-t>. Others believe that they can be derived from the intransitive stems by adding aspiration to the initial voiceless plosive sounds of the verb stem. However, the common thinking is that transitive verbs are formed by inherent transitive stems that can take the object suffix.

Mikhailovsky (1985) says that a few Limbu verbs of Mewakhola dialect retain Proto-Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes <-s> and <-t> and the aspirate alteration of the initial voiceless stop and affricate as the transitive suffixes. He presents 30 pairs of verbs showing initial alternations to prove that an intransitive verb with an unaspirated stop initial has a transitive allomorph with an aspirated stop initial. Wiedert (1985:56) lists 4 pairs of verbs with initial alternations to show the function of aspiration as a causativizer or transitive morpheme. Van Driem (1987:246-248) notes 23 pairs of verbs indicating aspiration alternations in /c, p, t, k/. In Chhatthare Limbu, too, such phenomena can be observed in pairs of verbs listed in 16.

(8)	Intransitive		Transitive	
	pe-ma	'to fly oneself'	p ^h e-ma	'to fly something'
	teŋ-ma	'to tear out itself'	t ^h eŋ-ma	'to tear out something'
	cup-ma	'to be finished'	c ^h up-ma	'to finish something'

The conjugation patterns of a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs *poma* 'to be increased' and *pHoma* 'to increase something' are presented for example in table 38.

	Intransitive	Intransitive	Transitive	Transitive
	NPT	PT	NPT	PT
3s	po 'he grows'	poy-a 'he grew.'	pHow-u 'he increases it.'	pHow-u 'he increased it.'
3d	po-cHi	poy-a-cHi	pHo-cH-u	pHow-a-
cH-u	'they grow'	'they grew.'	'they increased it.'	'They increased it.'
3p	mu-bo 'they grow.'	mu-boy-a 'they grew.'	mu-bHow-u they increase it.'	mu-bHow-u 'they increased it.'
2s	ka-bo 'you grow.'	ka-boy-a 'you grew.'	ka-bHow-u 'you increase it.'	ka-bHow-u 'you increased it.'
2d	ka-bo-cHi	ka-boy-a-cHi	ka-bHo-cH-u	ka-bHow-a-
ch-u	'you grow.'	'you grew.'	'you increase it.'	'you increased it.'
2p	ka-boh-i 'you grow.'	ka-boh-i 'you grew.'	ka-bHow-u-m 'you increase it.'	ka-bHow-u-m 'you increased it.'
1s	po-ŋa 'I grow.'	poy-a-ŋ 'I grew.'	pHow-u ŋ 'I increase it.'	pHow-u-ŋ 'I increased it.'
1di	a-bo-cHi	a-poy-a-cHi	a-pHo-cH-u	a-bHoh-a-cH-u

	'we grow.'	'we grew.'	'we increase it.'	'we increased it.'
lde	po-cHi-ŋa	poy-a-cHi-ŋa	pHo-cH-u-ŋa	pHow-a-cH-u-ŋa
	'we grow.'	'we grew.'	'we increase it.'	'we increased it.'
lpi	a-poh-i	a-boh-i	a-pHow-u-m	a-bHow-u-m
	'we grow.'	'we grew.'	'we increase it.'	'we increased it.'
lpe	poy-i-ŋa	poy-i-ŋa	pHow-u-m-ma	pHow-u-m-ma
	'we grow.'	'we grew.'	'we increase it.'	'we increased it.'

TABLE 37. Conjugation of aspirated and unaspirated stop initial verbs in past and non-past forms

However, the number of initial consonant alternating verbs is very limited and the rule for transitivity of the unaspirated plosive initial verbs with their aspirated counterparts is not productive. Let us consider the following data:

- (9) a. p^hik-ma 'to cry sharply'
 b. k^ha-ma 'to be satisfied with food.'
 c. t^ha-ma 'to come down'

The initial consonants of the verbs in 9 are aspirated but they do not signal transitive meaning as the conclusion is drawn from the data in table 37. Similarly, the unaspirated, plosive initial verbs in 10 do not carry intransitive meaning.

- (10) a. p□ŋ-ma 'to hold something'
 b. pak-ma 'to dig out something'
 c. pep-ma 'to dig something on the surface'

These data justify that aspiration is not a common feature of transitive verbs. Widert and Subba (1985:56) are right in their statement that the changes in syllable-initial stop consonants reflect transitivity contrast but it is fossilized in the synchronically observable morphological state of Limbu. Similarly, Driem (1987:245) considers it as an unproductive type of causative formation, which is now defunct.

Mikhailovsky (1985) presents the list of 21 triplets of verb roots, which consist of <-s> and <-t> elements and those, which do not consist of them. In 20 of the triplets, the roots without these elements are intransitive and all of the roots with them are transitive. Then he makes a proposition that Limbu verbs still retain Proto-Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes <-s> and <-t> as causative or transitive suffixes in a limited number of verb forms. In Chhatthare Limbu, the dental /t/ does not occur in a sequence with other consonants like /p/ and /k/ and form sequence like /-pt/ and /-kt/ as observed in other dialects. The stop consonants occur in geminate forms such as /-pp/, /-kk/ and /-tt/. The dental fricative /s/, however, occurs in a sequence with the stop consonants /p/ and /k/. In Chhatthare Limbu, the dental fricative /s/ forms a causative stem in a limited set of verbs. The pairs of the verbs with <-s> element and without it presented in 11 and 12 make it clear:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (11) | Intransitive | | Transitive |
| a. | lok | 'he runs' | loks-u 'he made him run' |
| b. | t ^h □k | 'he fights' | th□ks-u 'he made him fight' |
| c. | Ek | 'it breaks' | Eks-u 'he breaks it.' |

The intransitives which end in nasal consonants are made causative by turning the nasal consonant into voiceless, velar stop consonant /k/ and adding the element -s to the root.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| (12) | Intransitive | | Transitive |
| a. | yuj | 'he sits' | yuks-u 'he made him sit' |
| b. | y□ŋ | 'he shivers' | y□ks-u 'something made him shiver' |
| c. | huŋ | 'be spilled' | huks-u 'he spilled it.' |

The data exhibit that verb roots with the -s element are transitive verbs and those without -s element are intransitive ones. Thus, <-s> serves as a transitivizing or causative suffix as indicated by Mikhailovsky.

Similarly, the proto-Tibeto-Burman transitivizing suffix <-t> occurs in a limited set of Chhthare Limbu verbs, which can be tested by putting a pair of verbs with the suffix <-t> and without it.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| (13) | Intransitive | | Transitive |
| a. | ta | 'he comes' | tat 'he brings' |
| b. | kHe | 'he quarrels | kHet 'he quarrels over something' |
| c. | pHe | 'he farts' | pHet 'he farts at somebody' |

Similarly, a limited set of intransitive verbs ending in the voiceless, dental stop /t/ takes the Proto-Tibeto Burman transitivizing suffix <-t> for transitivity.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|
| (14) | Intransitive | | Transitive |
| a. | kEt | 'he comes' | kEttu 'he brings' |
| b. | Et | 'it is locked' | Ettu 'he locked it' |

Intransitive non-causatives are made causatives by adding /t/ to the stem but it is realized as /d/ after the nasal consonant.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| (15) | Non-causatives | | Causatives |
| a. | man | 'be finished' | mand-u 'he finished it'. |
| b. | han | 'be ighted' | hand-u 'he lighted it' |
| c. | h□n | 'be opened' | h□nd-u 'he opened it' |

Some verb roots ending in the voiceless dental stop /t/ index beneficiary role.

- | | | |
|------|----|---------------------------|
| (16) | a | wat-u-N |
| | | put on-3O-1e |
| | | 'I put something on him.' |
| | b. | cat-u-N |
| | | feed-3O-1e |
| | | 'I feed him.' |
| | c. | kat-u-ŋ |
| | | take to -3O-1e |
| | | I take something to him.' |

Driem (1987:249-267) also lists pairs or trios of verbs consisting of <-t> and <-s> elements as directive and causative suffixes. They both indicate transitivity. Therefore, Mikhailovsky (1985) deserves appreciation for his finding that transitivizing dental suffixes <-s> and <-t> occur in Limbu in a limited set of verbs and they are enough evidence to justify the proposition that the dental suffixes <-t> and <-s> are Proto-Tibeto-Burman transitivizing suffixes.

All the above data notwithstanding, the occurrence of -t and -s in the verb stem do not always form transitivity. There are a good number of evidences to prove it. The following examples of the pair of past and non-past intransitive verbs prove that -s is not a productive transitivizing element.

- | | | | |
|------|-----|----------------|-------------------------|
| (17) | NPT | | PT |
| a. | im | 'he sleeps.' | ips-a 'he slept.' |
| b. | tim | 'it is filled' | tips-a 'it was filled.' |
| c. | noŋ | 'he returns' | noks-a 'he returned.' |

Similarly, the -t final verbs do not indicate transitivity.

- | | | | |
|------|----|-----|-------------------|
| (18) | a. | et | 'he laughs.' |
| | b. | pot | 'he is confused.' |

c. sot 'he makes fun.'

The data in 11 and 12 show that a limited number of verbs have <-s> as a transitivizing suffix though there are also a good number of verb stems with -s element, which show intransitivity. Similarly, there are many intransitive verb stems ending in the consonant /t/. Driem (1987:245) also considers <-t> and <-s> as unproductive directive and causative suffixes respectively.

Transitive stems are those stems which require two agreement markers in overt or covert forms to complete the sense of the verb. In 3→-3, 3→2 and 3→1 forms, the third person marker is not overt whereas 2→3, 2→1 and 1→3 configurations, agents and objects are marked on the verbs. Morphologically, there is no difference between causative and transitive verbs. Similarly, there is no difference between transitive and ditransitive verbs because their conjugation patterns are the same. However, at the syntax level, there is a difference as ditransitive verbs like *pima* 'to give' requires three arguments- agent, direct object and indirect object but the verb morphology marks only the agent and indirect object. Here, the verbs which can take object marking suffixes are termed as transitive verbs and the third person object suffix <-u> is chosen as a representative suffix. Transitive stems are monosyllabic and poly-syllabic.

4.3.1. CONJUGATION OF MONOSYLLABIC TRANSITIVE VERBS.

Transitive verbs which consist of only one syllabic root are called mono-syllabic transitive verbs. They are as follows:

- (19) a. l□ps-u
beat-3O
'He beats him'
- b. ka-haps-u
2-make weep-3O
'You made him weep'
- c. sEr-u-N
kill-3O-1sA
'I killed him.'

Most of the verb stems in the language are monosyllabic. The verb stems inflect for person, number, case, tense, inclusivity, exclusivity and negation like intransitive verbs.

Transitive verb forms mark both agent and object in the affixal string. They are termed as 'cross-referenced'. The conjugation of transitive verbs theoretically distinguishes 75 forms. However, Chhatthare Limbu distinguishes only 44 forms. It can not distinguish between dual and plural forms of the third person object. In both cases, the suffix <-si> is used. Similarly, it does not distinguish between dual and plural forms of third person agent. It uses <-m> in both cases as in 3d/p→1 and 3d/p→2 configurations. In 2→1 and 1→2 configurations, number is indistinguishable. It uses the same form *ka-l□m* for 2d→1s, 2d→1d, 2d→1p, 2p→1s, 2p→1d and 2p→1p. Likewise, it uses the same form *l□m-ne-cHi-ŋa* in 1d→2s, 1d→2d, 1d→2p, 1p→2s, 1p→2d and 1p→2p configurations. The paradigm of monosyllabic transitive verb *l□mma* 'to beat' is given in

	NPT	PT
1. 3s-3s	l□ps- u 3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO 'He beats him.'	l□ps- u 3sA-beat-PT-3O-sO 'He beat you.'
NEG.	ma-l□ps- u- n	ma-l□ps- u- n

	3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O- NEG	3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O- NEG
	'He does not beat him.'	'He did not beat him.'
2. 3s-3ns	l□ps- u-si	l□ps- u-si
	3sA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO	3sA-beat-PT-3O-nsO
	'He beats them.'	He beat them.'
NEG	ma-l□ps- u-n-si-n	ma-l□ps-u-n-si-n
	3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG	3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
	'He does not beat them.'	'He did not beat them.'
3. 3s-2s	ka- l□m	ka- l□ps-a
	2- beat	2-beat-PT
	'He beats you.'	'He beat you.'
Neg.	ka- n-l□m- nEn	ka- n-l□ps-a- n
	2-NEG-beat- NEG	2- NEG-beat-PT- NEG
	'He does not beat you.'	He did not beat you.'
4. 3s-2d	ka- l□m- c ^h i	ka- l□ps-a-c ^h i
	2-beat-NPT-dO	2-beat-PT-dO
	'He beats you.'	'He beat you.'
NEG	ka- n-l□m- c ^h i-n	ka- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-n
	2-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG	2-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG
	'He does not beat you.'	'He did not beat you.'
5. 3s-2p	ka- l□ps- i	ka- l□ps- i
	2-beat- pO	2-beat- pO
	'He beats you.'	'He beat you.'
NEG.	ka- n-l□ps- i-n	ka- n-l□ps- i-n
	2-NEG-beat- pO-NEG	2-NEG-beat- pO-NEG
	'He does not beat you.'	'He did not beat you.'
6. 3s-1s	a- l□m- ma	a- l□ps-a-ŋ
	1i-beat-1e	1i-beat-PT-1e
	'He beats me.'	'He beat me.'
NEG	a- n-l□m- ma-n	a- n-l□ps-a-ŋ-nEn
	1i-NEG-beat- 1e-NEG	1i- NEG-beat-PT-1e-NEG
	'He does not beat me.'	'He did not beat me.'
7. 3s-1d	a- l□m- c ^h i	a- l□ps-a-c ^h i
	1i-beat-NPT-dO	1i-beat-PT-dO
	'He beats us.'	'He beat us.'
NEG	a- n-l□m- c ^h i- n	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i- n
	1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dO- NEG	1i- NEG-beat-PT-dO- NEG
	'He does not beat us.'	'He did not beat us.'
8. 3s-1de	a- l□m- c ^h i-ŋa	a- l□ps-a-c ^h i-ŋa
	1-beat-NPT-dO-1e	1-beat-PT-dO-1e
	'He beats us.'	'He beat us.'
NEG	a- n-l□m- c ^h i-ŋa-n	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-ŋa-n
	1-NEG-beat- dO-1e-NEG	1-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG
	'He does not beat us.'	'He did not beat us.'
9. 3s-1pi	a- l□ps- i	a- l□ps-i
	1i-beat-NPT-pO-i	1i-beat- pO
	'He beats us.'	'He beat us.'
NEG	a- n-l□ps- i- n	a- n-l□ps-a- n
	1i-NEG-beat-NPT-pO- NEG	1i-NEG-beat-PT- NEG
	'He does not beat us.'	'He did not beat us.'
or		
	a- l□m-	a- l□ps- i
	1i-beat-NPT-pO	1i-beat- pO
	'He beats us.'	'He beat us.'

NEG	a- n-l□m -nEn 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG 'He does not beat us.'	a- n-l□ps- i- n 1i-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG 'He did not beat us.'
10. 3s-1pe	a-l□ps-i-ηa 1-beat-NPT-pO-1e 'He beats us.'	a- l□ps-i-ηa 1-beat- pO-1e 'He beat us.'
NEG.	a- n-l□ps- i-ηa-n 1-NEG-beat- pO-1e-NEG 'He does not beat us.'	a- n-l□ps- i-ηa-n 1-NEG-beat- pO-1e-NEG 'He did not beat us.'
11. 3d-3s	l□m-cH-u beat-dA-3O 'They beat him.'	l□ps-a-cH-u beat-PT-dA-3O 'They beat him.'
NEG.	ma-l□m- c ^h -u- n NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG 'They do not beat him.'	ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O- NEG 'They did not beat him.'
12. 3d-3ns	l□m- c ^h -u-si 3-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO 'They beat them.'	∅-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si 3-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO 'They beat them.'
NEG	ma-l□m-c ^h -u-n-si-n NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'They do not beat them.'	∅-ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-si-n NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG They did not beat them.'
13.. 3ns -2s	ka- n-l□m 2-3nsA-beat 'They beat you.'	ka- n-l□ps-a 2-3nsA-beat-PT 'They beat you.'
NEG	ka- n-l□m-nEn 2-NEG-beat- NEG 'They do not beat you.'	ka- n-l□ps-a- n 2-NEG-beat-PT- NEG 'They did not beat you.'
14. 3ns-2d	ka- n-l□m- c ^h i 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO 'They beat you.'	ka- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i 2- 3 nsA-beat-PT-dO 'They beat you.'
NEG.	ka- n-l□m- c ^h i-n 2-NEG-beat-dO-NEG 'They do not beat you.'	ka- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-n 2-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG 'They did not beat you.'
15. 3ns-2p	ka- n-l□ps- i 2-3nsA-beat- pO 'They beat you.'	ka- n-l□ps- i 2-3 nsA-beat- pO 'They beat you.'
NEG.	ka-n-l□ps-i-n 2-NEG-beat-pO-NEG 'They do not beat you.'	ka- n-l□ps- i-n 2-NEG-beat- pO-NEG 'They did not beat you.'
16. 3ns-1s	a- n-l□m-ma 1-3nsA-beat-NPT-1e 'They beat me.'	a- n-l□ps-a-η 1-3nsA-beat-PT-1e 'They beat me.'
NEG	a- n-l□m- ma-n 1-NEG-beat-1e-NEG 'They do not beat me.'	a- n-l□ps-a-η-nEn 1-NEG-beat-PT-1e-NEG 'They did not beat me.'
17. 3ns-1d	a- n-l□m- c ^h i 1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO 'They beat us.'	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i 1i-3nsA-beat-PT-dO 'They beat us.'
NEG.	a- n-l□m- c ^h i- n 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dO- NEG 'They do not beat us.'	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i- n 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dO- NEG 'They did not beat us.'
18. 3ns-1de	a- n-l□m- c ^h i-ηa 1-3nsA-beat- dO-1e	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-ηa 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e

	‘They beat us.’	‘They beat us.’
NEG	a- n-l□m-c ^h i-ŋa-n 1-NEG-beat-dO-1e-NEG ‘They do not beat us.’	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-ŋa-n 1-3 nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG ‘They did not beat us.’
19. 3ns-1p	a- n-l□ps-i 1i-3nsA-beat- pO ‘They beat us.’	a- n-l□ps-a 1i-3nsA-beat- PT ‘They beat us.’
NEG	a-n-l□ps- i- n 1i-NEG-beat- pO-NEG ‘They do not beat us.’	a-n-l□ps-a- n 1i-NEG-beat-PT-NEG ‘They did not beat us.’
20. 3ns-pe	a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa 1-3nsA-beat-pO-1e ‘They beat us.’	a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa 1-3nsA-beat- pO-1e ‘They beat us.’
NEG	a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa-n 1-NEG-beat-pO-1e-NEG ‘They do not beat us.’	a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa-n 1-NEG-beat- pO-1e-NEG ‘They did not beat us.’
21. 3p-3s	mu-l□ps- u 3pA-beat-NPT-3O ‘They beat him.’	mu-l□ps- u 3pA-beat-PT-3O ‘They beat him.’
NEG.	man-l□ps-u-Ø-n 3pA/NEG-beat-NPT-3O-sO-NEG ‘They do not beat him.’	ma-n-l□ps-u- n 3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG ‘They did not beat him.’
22. 3p-3ns	mu-l□ps- u-si 3pA-beat-3-nsO ‘They beat them.’	mu-l□ps-u-si 3pA-beat-3O-nsO ‘They beat them.’
NEG	ma-n-l□ps- u-n-si-n 3pA-NEG-beat- 3O-NEG-nsO-NEG ‘They do not beat them.’	ma-n-l□ps- u-n-si-n 3pA-NEG-beat-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG ‘They did not beat them.’
23. 2s-3s	ka-l□ps- u 2-beat- 3O ‘You beat him.’	ka-l□ps- u 2-beat- 3O ‘You beat him.’
NEG	ka-n-l□ps- u- n 2-NEG-beat-3O- NEG ‘You do not beat him.’	ka-n-l□ps-u- n 2-NEG-beat-3O- NEG ‘You do not beat him.’
24. 2s-3ns	ka-l□ps-u- si 2-beat-3O-nsO ‘You beat them.’	ka-l□ps-u-si 2-beat-3O-nsO ‘You beat them.’
NEG.	ka-n-l□ps- u-si-n 2-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG ‘You do not beat them.’	ka-n-l□ps-u- si-n 2-NEG-beat-3O- nsO-NEG ‘You did not beat them.’
25. 2s-1s	ka-l□m-ma 2-beat-1e ‘You beat me.’	ka-l□ps-a-ŋ 2-beat-PT-1e ‘You beat me.’
NEG.	ka-n-l□m-ma-n 2-NEG-beat-1e-NEG ‘You do not beat me.’	ka-n-l□ps-a-ŋ- nEn 2-NEG-beat-PT-1e-NEG ‘You did not beat me.’
26. 2-1	ka-l□m 2-beat ‘You beat me/us.’	ka-l□ps-a 2-beat-PT ‘You beat me/us.’
NEG	ka-n-l□m-nEn 2-NEG-beat-NPT-NEG ‘You do not beat me/us.’	ka-n-l□ps-a - n 2-NEG-beat-PT- NEG ‘You did not beat me/us.’
27. 2d-3s	ka-l□m-c ^h -u	ka-l□ps-a-c ^h -u

	2-beat- dA-3O 'You beat him.'	2-beat-PT-dA-3O 'You beat him.'
NEG.	ka-n-l□m-c ^h -u-n 2-NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG 'You do not beat him.'	ka-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u- n 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG 'You did not beat him.'
28. 2d-3ns	ka-l□m-c ^h -u-si 2-beat-dA-3O-nsO 'You beat them.'	ka-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO 'You did not beat them.'
NEG.	ka-n-l□m-c ^h -u-n-si-n 2-NEG-beat- dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'You do not beat them.'	ka-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-si-n 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'You did not beat them.'
29. 2p-3s	ka-l□ps- u-m 2-beat-NPT-3O-pA 'You beat him.'	ka-l□ps-u-m 2-beat-PT-3O-pA 'You beat him.'
NEG.	ka-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-NEG 'You do not beat him.'	ka-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-NEG 'You did not beat him.'
30. 2p-3ns	ka-l□ps- u-m-si-m 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'You beat them.'	ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'You beat them.'
NEG	ka-n-l□ps- u-m-si-m-nEn 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG 'You do not beat them.'	ka-n-l□ps- u-m-si-m-nEn 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG 'You did not beat them.'
31. 1s-3s	l□ps-u-η beat-3O-1e 'I beat him.'	l□ps- u-η beat- 3O-1e 'I beat him.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-ma-n NEG-beat-1eS-NEG 'I do not beat.'	man-l□m-ban NEG-beat-1eS/PT/NEG 'I did not beat.'
32. 1s-3ns	l□ps-u-η-si-η beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e 'I beat them.'	l□ps-u-η-si-η beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e 'I beat them.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-ma-n-si-n NEG- beat-1e-NEG-nsO-NEG 'I do not beat them.'	man-l□m-ban-si-n NEG-beat-1e/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG 'I did not beat them.'
33. 1s-2s	l□m-na beat-1→2 'I beat you.'	l□m-na beat-1→2 'I beat you.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-na-n NEG-beat-1→2- NEG 'I do not beat you.'	ma- l□m-na-n NEG-beat-1→2-NEG 'I did not beat you.'
34. 1s-2d	l□m-na-c ^h i-η beat-1→2-dO-1e 'I beat you.'	l□m-na-c ^h i-η beat-1→2-dO-1e 'I beat you.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-na-c ^h i-η-nEn NEG-beat-1→2- dO-1e-NEG 'I do not beat you.'	ma-l□m-na-c ^h i-η-nEn NEG-beat-1→2-dO-1e-NEG 'I did not beat you.'
35. 1s-2p	l□m-na-ni-η beat-1→2-pO-1e 'I beat you.'	l□m-na-ni-η beat-1→2-pO-1e 'I beat you.'
NEG	ma-l□m-na-ni-η-nEn NEG-beat-1→2- pO-1e-NEG 'I do not beat you.'	ma-l□m-na- ni-η-nEn NEG-beat-1→2-pO-1e-NEG 'I did not beat you.'

36. 1d-3s	a-l□m-c ^h -u 1i-beat-dA-3O 'We beat him.'	a-l□ps-a-c ^h -u 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O 'We beat him.'
NEG.	a-n-l□m-c ^h -u-n 1i-NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG 'We do not beat him.'	a-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG 'We did not beat him.'
37. 1d-3ns	a-l□m-c ^h -u- si 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO 'We beat them.'	a-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO 'We beat them.'
NEG	a-n-l□m-c ^h -u-n-si-n 1i-NEG-beat- dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'We do not beat them.'	a-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-si-n 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO- NEG 'We did not beat them.'
38. 1de-3s	□m- cH-u-ηa beat-NPT-dA-3O-1e 'We beat him.'	□ps-a-c ^h -u-ηa beat-PT-dA-3O-1e 'We beat him.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-c ^h -u-ηa-n NEG-beat-dA-3O-1e-NEG 'We do not beat him.'	ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-ηa-n NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-1e-NEG 'We did not beat him.'
39. 1de-3ns	□m-c ^h -u-si-ηa beat-dA-3O-nsO-1e 'We do not beat them.'	□ps-a-c ^h -u-si-ηa beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e 'We did not beat them.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-c ^h -u-si-ηa-n NEG-beat- dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG 'We do not beat them.'	ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si-ηa-n NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG 'We did not beat them.'
40. 1-2	□m-nE- c ^h i-ηa beat-1→2- nsA-1e 'We beat you.'	□m-nE-c ^h i-ηa beat-1→2- nsA-1e 'We beat you.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-nE-c ^h i-ηa-n NEG-beat-1→2- nsA-1e-NEG 'We do not beat you (s).'	ma-l□m-nE-c ^h i-ηa-n NEG-beat-1→2-nsA-1e-NEG 'We did not beat you.'
41. 1p 3s	a-l□ps-u- m 1i-beat-3O-pA 'We beat him.'	a-l□ps-u- m 1i-beat-3O -pA 'We beat him.'
NEG	a-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn 1i-NEG- beat- 3O-pA-NEG 'We do not beat him.'	a-n-l□ps- u-m- nEn 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-NEG 'We did not beat him.'
42. 1pi-3ns	a-l□ps-u-m-si-m 1i-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'We beat them .'	a-l□ps-u -m-si-m 1i-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'We beat them .'
NEG	a-n-l□ps- u-m-si-m-nEn 1i-NEG-beat- 3O-pA-nsO-pA- NEG 'We do not beat them.'	a-n-l□ps-u-m-si-m-nEn 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-i-NEG 'We did not beat them.'
43. 1pe 3s	□ps- u-m-ma beat-NPT-3O-pA-1e 'We beat him.'	□m-na beat-1eS/PT 'We beat him.'
Or	□ps- u-m-ma beat-NPT-3O-pA-1e 'We beat him.'	□ps-u-m-ma beat-3O-pA-1e 'We beat him.'
NEG.	ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO- e-NEG 'We do not beat him .'	man-l□m-ban NEG-beat-1eS-NEG 'We did not beat.'
Or		

	ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO- e-NEG 'We do not beat him.'	ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n NEG-beat-3O-pA-1e-NEG 'We did not beat him.'
44. 1pe 3ns	l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We beat them.'	l□m-na-si beat-1epA-3sO 'We beat them.'
Or		
	l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We beat them.'	l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We beat them.'
NEG.	ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We do not beat them.'	man-l□m-ban-si-n NEG-beat-1peA/NEG-nsO-NEG 'We did not beat them.'
Or		
	ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We do not beat them.'	ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG 'We did not beat them.'

TABLE 38. Conjugation of monosyllabic transitive verb l□mma 'to beat'

In a causative verb the agent does not perform the action himself but makes someone to perform it. Morphologically, there is no difference between causative verbs and simple transitive verbs in Chhatthare Limu. They have the same conjugational pattern. The causativity is only in semantics. *haps-u* 'he makes him weep' is a causative verb whereas *l□ps-u* 'he beats him' is simple transitive verb. They have same stem final consonant sequences and their conjugation pattern is also the same. Similarly, the ditransitive verbs which take three arguments at the sentence level have the same conjugation patterns like transitive verbs which take two arguments in sentences. They mark for agent and indirect object.

4.3.2. CONJUGATION OF POLY-SYLLABIC TRANSITIVE VERB. The verb roots which have two syllables are called poly-syllabic transitive verbs. They are as follows:

- (20)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|
| a. | silapp-u | 'he asked him' |
| b. | ig ^b Eks-u | 'he bounded him' |
| c. | □mEtt-u | 'he looked at him' |

The verbs *silap-ma* 'to ask', *igHEη-ma* 'to bind', *□mep-ma* 'to look' in the language have two syllables in the root. Originally, they must have been noun and verb and adverb and verb compounds because they still show two different morphological behaviours. The first syllable element *si-* behaves like a noun and the second syllable element *lap-* as a verb in 20a. *si* may have meant 'question' and *lap-ma* 'to ask'. Thus, *silap-ma* may have meant 'to ask a question'. Similarly, the first syllable elements *i-* and *□-* in 20b and 20c must have been adverbs and the second syllable elements *kHEη* and *mEp* are still verbs. *i-ma* means 'to move around' and *kHEη-ma* means 'to bind' in synchronic use, too. Hence, *i-gHEη-ma* meant 'to bind around'. Similarly, *□* may have meant 'well' and *mEp-ma* 'to look'. Thus, *□mEp-ma* meant 'to look minutely'. Now, *□* has lost its original meaning and *□mEpma* simply means 'to look'. In synchronic use *□* is optionally deleted and only *mEp-ma* is used for 'to look'. These polysyllabic verbs do not signal morphological meanings; the combined

elements do not index separate meanings. They have been lexicalized and exhibit a single meaning as done by the monosyllabic verbs.

The conjugation of *silapma* 'to ask' is given below as an example of the conjugations of polysyllabic transitive verbs.

NPT	PT
1. 3s → 3s silapp-u ask-3O 'He asks him.'	silapp-u ask-3O 'He asked him.'
NEG si-ma-lapp-u-n ask-NEG-ask-3O-NEG 'He does not ask him.'	si-ma-lapp-u-n ask-NEG-ask-3O-NEG 'He did not ask him.'
2. 3s → 3ns silapp-u-si ask-3O-nsO 'He asks them.'	silapp-u-si ask-3O-nsO 'He asked them.'
NEG si-ma-lap-u- n-si-n ask-NEG-ask- 3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'He does not ask them.'	si-ma-lapp-u- n-si-n ask-NEG-ask-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'He did not ask them.'
3. 3s → 2s si-ka-lap ask-2-ask 'He asks you.'	si-ka- lapp-a ask-2-ask-PT 'He asked you.'
NEG si-ka-n-lap-nEn ask-2-NEG-ask-NEG 'He does not ask you.'	si-ka-n-lapp-a- n ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-NEG 'He did not ask you.'
4. 3s → 2d si-ka- lap-cHi ask-2-ask-dO 'He asks you.'	si-ka-lapp-a- cHi ask-2-ask-PT-dO 'He asked you.'
NEG si-ka- n-lap-cHi-n ask-2-NEG-ask-dO-NEG 'He does not ask you.'	si-ka-n-lapp-a- cHi-n ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-dO-NEG 'He did not ask you.'
5. 3s → 2p si-ka-lapp-i ask-2-ask- pO 'He asks you.'	si-ka-lapp-i ask-2-ask-pO 'He asked you.'
NEG si-ka-n-lap-i-n ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG 'He does not ask you.'	si-ka-n-lapp-i- n ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG 'He did not ask you.'
6. 3s → 1s si-a- lap-ma ask-1-ask-1e 'He asks me.'	si-a-lapp-a-ŋ ask-I-ask-PT-1e 'He asked me.'
NEG	

- si-a-n-lap-ma-n
ask-1-NEG-ask-1e-NEG
'He does not ask me.'
7. 3s→1di
si-a-lap-cHi
ask-1i-ask-dO
'He asks us.'
- NEG
si-a- n-lap-cHi-n
ask-1i-NEG-ask-dO-NEG
'He does not ask us.'
8. 3s→1de
si-a-lap-cHi-ŋa
ask-1-ask-dO-1e
'He asks us.'
- NEG
si-a-n-lap-cHi-ŋa-n
ask-1-NEG-ask-dO-1e-NEG
'He does not ask us.'
9. 3s→1pi
si-a-lapp-i
ask-1i-ask-pO
'He asks us.'
- NEG
si-a-n-lapp-i-n
ask-1i-NEG-ask- pO-NEG
'He does not ask us.'
10. 3s→1pe
si-a-lapp-i-ŋa
ask-1-ask-pO-1e
'He asks us.'
- NEG
si-a-n-lap-i-ŋa-n
ask-1-NEG-ask-pO-1e-NEG
'He does not ask us.'
11. 3d- 3s
si-lap-cH-u
ask-dA-3O
'They ask him.'
- NEG
si- ma-lap-cH-u-n
ask-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG
'They do not ask him.'
12. 3d→3ns
si-lap-Ø-cH-u-si
ask-dA-3O-nsO
'They ask them.'
- NEG
si-ma-lap-cH-u-n-si-n
ask-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'They do not ask them.'
- 13 3ns→2s
si-ka-n-lap
- si-a-n-lapp-a-ŋ-nEn
ask-I-NEG-ask-PT-1e-NEG
'He did not ask me.'
- si-a-lapp-a-cHi
ask-li-ask-PT-dO
'He asked us.'
- si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi-n
ask-li-NEG-ask-PT-dO-NEG
'He did not ask us.'
- si-a-lapp-a-cHi-ŋa
ask-I-ask-PT-dO-1e
'He asked us.'
- si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi-ŋa-n
ask-I-NEG-ask-PT-dO-1e-NEG
'He did not ask us.'
- si-a-lapp-a
ask-li-ask-PT
'He asked us.'
- si-a-n-lapp-a-n
ask-li-NEG- ask- PT-NEG
'He did not ask us.'
- si-a-lapp-i-ŋa
ask-1-ask-pO-1e
'He asked us.'
- si-a-n-lapp-i-ŋa-n
ask-I-NEG-ask-pO-1e-NEG
'He did not ask us.'
- si-lapp-a-cH-u
ask-PT-dA-3O
'They asked him.'
- si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-n
ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG
'They did not ask him.'
- si-lapp-a-cH-u-si
ask-3-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO
'They asked them.'
- si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-n-si-n
ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'They did not ask them.'
- si-ka-n-lapp-a

	ask-2-3nsA-ask 'They ask you.'		ask-2-3nsA-ask-PT 'They asked you.'
	NEG		
	si-ka- n-lap-nEn ask-2-NEG-ask- NEG 'They do not ask you.'		si-ka- n-lapp-a- n ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-NEG 'They did not ask you.'
14	3ns→2d si-ka- n-lap-cHi ask-2-3nsA- ask-dO 'They ask you.'		si-ka- n-lapp-a-cHi ask-2-3 nsA-ask-PT-dO 'They asked you.'
	NEG		
	si-ka- n-lap-cHi-n ask-2-NEG-ask-dO-NEG 'They do not ask you.'		si-ka- n-lapp-a-cHi-n ask-2-3sA-NEG-ask-PT-dO-NEG 'They did not ask you.'
15	3ns→ 2p si-ka-n-lapp-i ask-2-3nsA-ask-pO 'They ask you.'		si-ka-n-lapp-i ask-2-3 nsA-ask-pO 'They asked you.'
	NEG		
	si-ka- n-lapp-i-n ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG 'They do not ask you.'		si-ka- n-lap-i-n ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG 'They did not ask you.'
16	3ns→1s si-a-n-lap-ma ask-1-3nsA-ask-1e 'They ask me.'		si-a-n-lapp-a-η ask-1-3nsA-ask-PT-1e 'They asked me.'
	NEG		
	si-a- n-lap-ma-n ask-1-NEG-ask-1e-NEG 'They do not ask me.'		si-a- n-lapp-a-η-nEn ask-1-NEG-ask-PT-1e-NEG 'They did not ask me.'
17	3ns→1di si-a-n-lap-cHi ask-1i-3nsA-ask-NPT-dO 'They ask us.'		si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi ask-1i-3nsA-ask-PT-dO 'They asked us.'
	NEG		
	si-a- n-lap-cHi-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-NPT-dO-NEG 'They do not ask us.'		si-a-n-lapp-a-n-cHi-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-NEG-dO-NEG 'They did not ask us.'
18	3ns→1de si-a-n-lap-cHi- ηa ask-1-3nsA-ask-dO-1e 'They ask us.'		si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi- ηa ask-1-3nsA-ask-PT-dO-1e 'They asked us.'
	NEG		
	si-a- n-lap-cHi-ηa-n ask-1-NEG-ask-dO-1e-NEG 'They do not ask us.'		si-a- n-lapp-a-cHi-ηa-n ask-1-NEG-ask-PT-dO-1e-NEG 'They did not ask us.'
19	3ns→1pi si-a-n-lapp-i ask-1i-3nsA-ask-pO 'They ask us.'		si-a-n-lapp-a ask-1i-3nsA-ask-PT 'They asked us.'
	NEG		
	si-a- n-lapp-i-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-pO-NEG 'They do not ask us.'		si-a- n-lapp-a-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-NEG 'They did not ask us.'

20	3ns→1pe si-a-n-lapp-i-ŋa ask-1-3nsA-ask-NPT-pO-1e 'They ask us.'	si-a-n-lapp-i-ŋa ask-1-3nsA-ask-PT-pO-1e 'They asked us.'
	NEG si-a- n-lapp-i-ŋa-n ask-1-NEG-ask- pO-1e-NEG 'They do not ask us.'	si-a- n-lapp-i-ŋa-n ask-1-NEG-ask-PT-pO-1e-NEG 'They did not ask us.'
21.	3p→3s si-mu-lapp-u ask-3pA-ask-3O 'They ask him.'	si-mu-lapp-u ask-3pA-ask-3O 'They asked him.'
	NEG si-ma-n-lapp-u-n ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG 'They do not ask him.'	si-ma-n-lapp-u-n ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG 'They did not ask him.'
22.	3p→3ns si-mu-lapp-u-si ask-3pA-ask-3O-nsO 'They ask them. '	si-mu-lapp-u-si ask-3pA-ask-3O-nsO 'They asked them.'
	NEG si-ma-n-lapp-u-n-si-n ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'They do not ask them.'	si-ma-n-lapp-u-n-si-n ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'They did not ask them.'
23.	2s→3s si-ka-lapp- u ask-2-ask-3O 'You ask him. '	si-ka-lapp-u- ask-2-ask-3O 'You asked him.'
	NEG si-ka-n-lapp- u- n ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-NEG 'You do not ask him.'	si-ka-n-lapp-u-n ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-NEG 'You did not ask him.'
24.	2s→3ns si-ka-lapp-u-si ask-2-ask-3O-nsO 'You ask them.'	si-ka-lapp-u-si ask-2-ask-3O- nsO 'You asked them.'
	NEG si-ka-n-lapp-u-n-si-n ask-2-NEG-ask- 3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'You do not ask them.'	si-ka-n-lapp-u-n-si-n ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'You did not ask them.'
25.	2s→1s si-ka- lap-ma ask-2-ask-1e 'You ask me.'	si-ka-lapp-a-ŋ ask-2-ask-PT-1e 'You asked me.'
	NEG si-ka-n-lap-ma-n ask-2-NEG-ask-1e-NEG 'You do not ask me.'	si-ka-n-lapp-a-ŋ-nEn ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-1e-NEG 'You did not ask me.'
26.	2→1 si-ka- lap ask-2- ask 'You ask me/us.'	si-ka- lapp-a ask-2-1-ask-PT 'You asked me/us.'
	NEG si-ka-n-lap-nEn ask-2-NEG-ask-NEG	si-ka-n-lapp-a- n ask-2-NEG-ask-PT- NEG

- 'You do not ask me/ us.'
27. 2d→3s
 si-ka-lap-cH-u
 ask-2-ask-dA-3O
 'You ask him.'
- NEG
 si-ka-n-lap-cH-u-n
 ask-2-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG
 'You do not ask him.'
28. 2d→3ns
 si-ka-lap-cH-u-si
 ask-2-ask-dA-3O-nsO
 'You ask them.'
- NEG
 si-ka-n-lap-cH-u- n-si-n
 ask-2-NEG-ask- dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'You do not ask them. '
29. 2p→3s
 si-ka-lapp-u-m
 ask-2-ask-3O -pA
 'You ask him.'
- NEG
 si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-nEn
 ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-pA-NEG
 'You do not ask him.'
30. 2p→3ns
 si-ka-lapp-u-m-si-m
 ask-2-ask-3O -pA-nsO-pA
 'You ask them. '
- NEG
 si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn
 ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG
 'You do not ask them. '
31. 1s→3s
 silapp-u-ŋ
 ask -3O-1e
 'I ask him.'
- NEG
 si-ma-lap-ma-n
 ask-NEG-ask-1e-NEG
 'I do not ask.'
32. 1s→3ns
 silapp-u-ŋ-si-ŋ
 ask -3O -1e-nsO-1e
 'I ask them.'
- NEG
 si-ma-lap-ma-n-si-n
 ask-NEG-ask-1e-NEG-nsO-NEG
- NEG
 'I do not ask them.'
33. 1s→2s
 silap-na
 ask-1→2
 'I ask you.'
- 'You did not ask me/us.'
- si-ka-lapp-a-cH-u
 ask-2-ask-PT-dA-3O
 'You asked him.'
- si-ka-n-lapp-a-cH-u-n
 ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG
 'You did not ask him.'
- si-ka-lapp-a-cH-u-si
 ask-2-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO
 'You asked them. '
- si-ka-n-lapp-a-cH-u- n-si-n
 ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'You did not ask them. '
- si-ka-lapp-u-m
 ask-2-ask-3O -pA
 'You asked him.'
- si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-nEn
 ask-2-NEG-ask-3O -pA- NEG
 'You did not ask him.'
- si-ka-lapp-u-m-si-m
 ask-2-ask-3O -pA-nsO-pA
 'You asked them. '
- si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn
 ask-2-NEG-ask- 3O -pA--nsO-pA- NEG
 'You did not ask them. '
- silapp-u-ŋ
 ask-3O -1e
 'I asked him.'
- si-man-lap-pan
 ask-NEG-ask-1eS/NEG/PT
 'I did not ask.'
- silapp-u-ŋ-si-ŋ
 ask-3O -1e-nsO-1e
 'I asked them.'
- si-man-lap-pan-si-n
 ask-NEG-ask-1eA/NEG/PT-nsO-
- 'I did not ask them. '
- silap-na
 ask-1→2
 'I asked you.'

NEG	si-ma-lap-na-n ask-NEG-ask-1→2-NEG 'I do not ask you.'	si-ma-lap-na-n ask-NEG-ask-1→2-NEG 'I did not ask you.'
34. 1s→2d	silap-na-cHi-ŋ ask-1→2-dO-1e 'I ask you.'	silap-na-cHi-ŋ ask-1→2-dO-1e 'I asked you.'
NEG	si-ma-lap-na-cHi-ŋ-nEn ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dO-1e-NEG 'I do not ask you.'	si-ma-lap-na-cHi-ŋ-nEn ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dO-1e-NEG 'I did not ask you.'
35. 1s→2p	silap-na-ni-ŋ ask-1→2-pO-1e 'I ask you.'	silap-na-ni-ŋ ask-1→2-pO-1e 'I asked you.'
NEG	si-ma-lap-na-ni-ŋ-nEn ask-NEG-ask-1→2-pO-1e-NEG 'I do not ask you.'	si-man-lap-na-ni-ŋ-nEn ask-NEG-ask-1→2-pO-1e-NEG 'I did not ask you.'
36. 1di→3s	si-a-lap-cH-u ask-1i-ask-dA-3O 'We ask him.'	si-a-lapp-a-cH-u ask-1i-ask-PT-dA-3O 'We asked him.'
NEG	si-a-n-lap-cH-u-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG 'We do not ask him.'	si-a-n-lapp-a-cH-u-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG 'We did not ask him.'
37. 1di→3ns	si-a-lap-cH-u-si ask-1i-ask-dA-3O-nsO 'We ask them.'	si-a-lapp-a-cH-u-si ask-1i-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO 'We asked them.'
NEG	si-a-n-lap-cH-u-n-si-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'We do not ask them.'	si-a-n-lapp-a-cH-u-n-si-n ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'We did not ask them.'
38. 1de→3s	si-lap-cH-u-ŋa ask-1-ask-dA-3O-1e 'We ask him.'	si-lapp-a-cH-u-ŋa ask-1-ask-PT-dA-3O-1e 'We asked him.'
NEG	si-ma-lap-cH-u-ŋa-n ask-1-NEG-ask-NPT-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG 'We do not ask him.'	si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-ŋa-n ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG 'We did not ask him.'
39. 1de→3ns	silap-cH-u-si-ŋa ask-dA-3O-nsO-1e 'We ask them.'	silapp-a-cH-u-si-ŋa ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e 'We asked them.'
NEG	si-ma-lap-cH-u-si-ŋa-n ask-NEG-ask-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG 'We do not ask them.'	si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-si-ŋa-n ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG 'We did not ask them.'

40	1de→2s silap-nE-cHi-ŋa ask-1→2-dA-1e 'We ask you.'		silap-nE-cHi-ŋa ask-1→2-PT-sO-dA-1e 'We asked you.'
	NEG si-ma-lap-nE-cHi-ŋa-n ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dA-1e-NEG 'We do not ask you.'		si-ma-lap-nE-cHi-ŋa-n ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dA-1e-NEG 'We did not ask you.'
41.	1pi→3s si-a-lapp-u-m ask-1i-ask-3O-pA 'We ask him.'		si-a-lapp-u-m ask-1i-ask-3O-pA 'We asked him.'
	NEG si-a-n-lapp-u-m-nEn ask-1i-NEG-ask-3O-pA-NEG 'We do not ask him.'		si-a-n-lapp-u-m-nEn ask-1i-NEG-ask-3O-pA-NEG 'We did not ask him.'
42.	1pi→3ns si-a-lapp-u-m-si-m ask-1i-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'We ask them.'		si-a-lapp-u-m-si-m ask-1i-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'We asked them.'
	NEG si-a-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn ask-1i-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG 'We do not ask them.'		si-a-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn ask-1i-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG 'We did not ask them.'
43.	1pe→3s silapp-u-m-ma ask-ask-3O-pA-1e 'We ask him.'		silapp-na ask-1peS/PT 'We asked him.'
	Or silapp-u-m-ma ask-3O-pA-1e 'We ask him.'		silapp-u-m-ma ask-3O-pA-1e 'We asked him.'
	NEG si-ma-lapp-u-m- ma-n ask-NEG-ask-3O-pA-1e-NEG 'We do not ask him.'		si-man-lap-pan ask-NEG-ask-1peS/PT/NEG 'We did not ask him.'
	Or si-ma-lapp-u-m- ma-n ask-NEG-ask-3O-pA-1e-NEG 'We do not ask him.'		si-ma-lapp-u-m-ma-n ask-NEG-ask-3O-pA-1e-NEG 'We did not ask him.'
44.	1pe→3ns silapp-u-m-si-m-ma ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We ask them.'		si- lap-na-si ask-1peA/PT/-3nsO 'We asked them.'
	Or silapp-u-m-si-m-ma ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We ask them.'		silapp-u-m-si-m-ma ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We asked them.'
	NEG si-ma-lapp-u-m-si-m-ma-n ask-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG		si- man-lap-pan-si-n ask-NEG-ask-1peA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG

	'We do not ask them.'		'We did not ask them.'
Or	si-ma-lapp-u-m-si-m-ma-n		si- ma-lapp-u-m-si-m-ma-n
	ask-NEG-ask- 3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG		ask-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG
	'We do not ask them.'		'We did not ask them.'

TABLE 39. Conjugation of polysyllabic transitive verb *silapma* 'to ask'

4.3.3. SCHEMATIC FORMS OF TRANSITIVE PARADIGMS.The affixes are added to the last syllable of the polysyllabic stem. They are same as the monosyllabic stems. Therefore, a single schematic form can accommodate conjugation patterns of both monosyllabic and polysyllabic transitive verbs. The forms in table 41-44 include the conjugation patterns of a transitive verb in affirmative and negative past and non-past.

	3s	3d	3p	2s	2d	2p	1s	1di	1de	1pi	pe
3s	R-u	R-u-si	R-u-si	ka-R-	ka-R-cHi	ka-R-si	a-R-ma	a-R-cHi	a-R-cHi-ŋa	a-R-si	a-R-si-ŋa
3d	R-cH-u	R-cH-u-si	R-cH-u-si	ka-n-R	ka-n-R-cHi	ka-n-R-si	a-n-R-ma	a-n-R-cHi	a-n-R-cHi-ŋa	a-n-R-i	a-n-R-i-ŋa
3p	mu-R-u	mu-R-u-si	mu-R-u-si	ka-n-R-	ka-n-R-cHi	ka-n-R-i	a-n-R-ma	a-n-R-cHi	a-n-R-cHi-ŋa	a-n-R-i-	a-n-R-i-ŋa
2s	ka-R-u	ka-R-u-si	ka-R-u-si				ka-R-ma		ka-R		ka-R
2d	ka-R-cH-u	ka-R-cH-u-si	ka-R-cH-u-si				ka-R		ka-R-		ka-R-
2p	ka-R-u-m	ka-R-u-m-si-m	ka-R-u-m-si-m				ka-R		ka-R-		ka-R-
1s	R-u-ŋ	R-u-ŋ-si-ŋ	R-u-ŋ-si-ŋ	R-na	R-cHi-ŋ	R-na-ni-ŋ					
1di	a-R-cH-u	a-R-cH-u-si	a-R-cH-u-si								
1de	R-cH-u-ŋa	R-cH-u-si-ŋa	R-cH-u-si-ŋa	R-nE-cHi-ŋa	R-nE-cHi-ŋa	R-nE-cHi-ŋa					
1pi	a-R-m	a-R-u-m-si-m	a-R-u-m-si-m								
1pe	R-u-m-ma	R-u-si-m-ma	R-u-m-si-m-ma	R-nE-cHi-ŋa	R-nE-cHi-ŋa	R-nE-cHi-ŋa					

TABLE 40. The schematic form of the transitive verb in non-past

	3s	3d	3p	2s	2d	2p	1s	1di	1de	1pi	1pe
3s	R-u	R-u-si	R-u-si	ka-R-a	ka-R-a-cHi	ka-R-si	a-R-a-η	a-R-a-cHi	a-R-a-cHi-ηa	a-R-si	a-R-si-ηa
3d	R-a-cH-u	R-a-cH-u-si	R-a-cH-u-si	ka-n-R-a	ka-n-R-a-cHi	ka-n-R-si	a-n-R-a-η	a-n-R-a-cHi	a-n-R-a-cHi-ηa	a-n-R-i	a-n-R-i-ηa
3p	mu-R-u	mu-R-u-si	mu-R-u-si	ka-n-R-a	kan-R-a-cHi	ka-n-R-i	a-n-R-a-η	a-n-R-a-cHi	a-n-R-a-cHi-ηa	a-n-R-i-	a-n-R-i-ηa
2s	ka-R-u	ka-R-u-si	ka-R-u-si				ka-R-a-η		ka-R-a-		ka-R-a
2d	ka-R-a-cH-u	ka-R-a-cH-u-si	ka-R-a-cH-u-si				ka-R-a		ka-R-a		ka-R-a
2p	ka-R-u-m	ka-R-u-m-si-m	ka-R-u-m-si-m				ka-R-a		ka-R-a		ka-R-a
1s	R-u-η	R-u-η-si-η	R-u-η-si-η	R-na	R-na-cHi-η	R-na-ni-η					
1di	a-R-a-cH-u	a-R-a-cH-u-si	a-R-a-cH-u-si								
1de	R-a-cH-u-Na	R-a-cHu-si-ηa	R-a-cH-u-si-ηa	R-nE-cHi-ηa	R-nE-cHi-ηa	R-nE-cHi-ηa					
1pi	a-R-u-m	a-R-u-m-si-m	a-R-u-m-si-m								
1pe	R-u-ma	R-u-m-si-ma	R-u-m-si-ma	R-nE-cHi-ηa	R-nE-cHi-ηa	R-nE-cHi-ηa					

TABLE 41. The schematic form of the transitive verb in past

	3s	3d	3p	2s	2d	2p	1s	1di	1de	1pi	1pe
3s	ma-R-u-n	ma-R-u-n-si-n	ma-R-u-n-si-n	ka-n-R-nEn	ka-n-R-cHi-n	ka-n-R-i-n	a-n-R-ma-n	a-n-R-cHi-n	a-n-R-cHi-ŋa-n	a-n-R-i-n	a-n-R-i-ŋa-n
3d	ma-R-cH-u-n	ma-R-cH-u-n-si-n	ma-R-cH-u-n-si-n	ka-n-R-nEn	ka-n-R-cHi-n	ka-n-R-i-n	a-n-R-ma-n	a-n-R-cHi-n	a-n-R-cHi-n-ŋa-n	a-n-R-i-n	a-n-R-i-ŋa-n
3p	ma-n-R-u-n	ma-n-R-u-n-si-n	ma-n-R-u-n-si-n	ka--n-R-nEn	ka-n-R-cHi-n	ka-n-R-i-n	a-n-R-ma-n	a-n-R-cHi-n	a-n-R-cHi-ŋa-n	a-n-R-i-n	a-n-R-i-ŋa-n
2s	ka-n-R-u-n	ka-n-R-u-n-si-n	ka-n-R-u-n-si-n				ka-n-R-ma-n		ka-n-R-nEn		ka-n-R-nEn
2d	ka-n-R-cH-u-n	ka-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n	ka-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n				ka-n-R-nEn		ka-n-R-nEn		ka-n-R-nEn
2p	ka-n-R-u-m-nEn	ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn	ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn				ka-n-R-nEn		ka-n-R-nEn		ka-n-R-nEn
1s	ma-R-ma-n	ma-R-ma-n-si-n	ma-R-ma-n-si-n	ma-R-na-n	ma-R-na-cHi-ŋ-nEn	ma-R-na-ni-ŋ-nEn					
1di	a-n-R-cH-u-n	a-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n	a-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n								
1de	ma-R-cH-u-Na-n	ma-R-cH-u-si-Na-n	ma-R-cH-u-si-Na-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n					
1pi	a-n-R-u-m-nEn	a-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn	a-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn								
1pe	ma-R-u-m-ma-n	ma-R-u-m-si-m-ma-n	ma-R-u-m-si-m-ma-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n					

TABLE 42. The schematic form of the transitive verb in negative non-past

	3s	3d	3p	2s	2d	2p	1s	1di	1de	1pi	1pe
--	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----

3s	ma-R-u-n	ma-R-u-n-si-n	ma-R-u-n-si-n	ka-n-R-a-n	ka-n-R-a-cHi-n	ka-n-R-si-n	a-n-R-a-η-nEn	a-n-R-a-cHi-n	a-n-R-a-cHi-ηa-n	a-n-R-si-n	a-n-R-si-ηa-n
3d	ma-R-a-cH-u-n	ma-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n	ma-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n	ka-n-n-R-a-n	ka-n-n-R-a-cHi-n	ka-n-n-R-si-n	a-n-n-R-a-η-nEn	a-n-n-R-a-cHi-n	a-n-n-R-a-cHi-ηa-n	a-n-n-R-i-n	a-n-n-R-i-ηa-n
3p	ma-n-R-u-n	ma-n-R-u-n-si-n	ma-n-R-u-n-si-n	ka-n-n-R-a-n	ka-n-n-R-a-cHi-n	ka-n-n-R-i-n	a-n-n-R-a-η-nEn	a-n-n-R-a-cHi-n	a-n-n-R-a-cHi-ηa-n	a-n-n-R-i-n	a-n-n-R-i-ηa-n
2s	ka-n-R-u-n	ka-n-R-u-n-si-n	ka-n-R-u-n-si-n				ka-n-R-a-η-nEn		ka-n-R-a-cHi-ηa-n		ka-n-R-i-ηa-n
2d	ka-n-R-a-cH-u-n	ka-n-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n	ka-n-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n				ka-n-R-a-n		ka-n-R-a-n		ka-n-R-a-n
2p	ka-n-R-u-m-nEn	ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn	ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn				ka-n-R-a-n		ka-n-R-a-n		ka-n-R-a-n
1s	man-R-ban	man-R-ban-si-n	ma-R-ban-si-n	ma-R-na-n	ma-R-na-cHi-η-nEn	ma-R-na-ni-η-nEn					
1di	a-n-R-a-cH-u-n	a-n-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n	a-n-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n								
1de	ma-R-a-cH-u-ηa-n	ma-R-a-cH-u-si-ηa-n	ma-R-a-cH-u-si-ηa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ηa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ηa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ηa-n					
1pi	a-n-R-u-m-nEn	a-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn	a-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn								
1pe	ma-R-u-m-ma-n Or man-R-ban	ma-R-u-m-si-m-ma-n Or man-R-ban-si-n	ma-R-u-m-si-m-ma-n Or man-R-ban-si-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ηa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ηa-n	ma-R-nE-cHi-ηa-n					

TABLE 43. The schematic form of the transitive verb in negative past

5. VOICE. In Limbu voice is distinguished as active and middle on the basis of presence or absence of object in the verb form. The verb in active voice agrees with both agent and object in its conjugation whereas the verb in the middle voice agrees only with the subject. Therefore, the verbs in active conjugation are marked by the object suffixes but the verbs in the middle conjugation are unmarked for objects. The following pairs of verb paradigms in active and middle conjugation in past and non-past exhibit these features:

Active		Middle	
NPT	PT	NPT	PT
3s lɔps-u lɔps-a 'he beats him.'	lɔps-u 'he beat him.'	lɔm 'he beats.'	'he beat'
3d lɔm-cH-u 'they beat him.'	lɔps-a-cHh-u 'they beat him.'	lɔm-cHi 'they beat.'	lɔps-a-cHi 'they beat'
3p mu-lɔps-u 'they beat him.'	mu-lɔps-u 'they beat him.'	mu-lɔm 'they beat.'	mu-lɔps-a 'they beat'
2s ka-lɔps-u 'you beat him.'	ka-lɔps-u 'you beat him.'	ka-lɔm 'you beat'	ka-lɔps-a 'you beat'
2d ka-lɔm-cH-u lɔps-a-cHi 'you beat him.'	ka-lɔps-a-cH-u 'you beat him.'	ka-lɔm-cHi 'you beat.'	ka-lɔps-a-cHi 'you beat'
2p ka-lɔps-u-m 'you beat him.'	ka-lɔps-u-m 'you beat him.'	ka-lɔps-i 'you beat.'	ka-lɔps-i 'you beat'
1s lɔps-u-ŋ 'I beat him.'	lɔps-u-ŋ 'I beat him.'	lɔm-ma 'I beat.'	lɔps-a-ŋ 'I beat'
1di a-lɔm-cH-u cHi 'we beat him'	a-lɔps-a-cH-u 'we beat him'	a-lɔm-cHi- 'we beat'	a-lɔps-a-cHi 'we beat'
1de lɔm-cH-u-ŋa 'we beat him'	lɔps-a-cH-u-ŋa 'we beat him'	lɔm-cHi-ŋa 'we beat'	lɔps-a-cHi-ŋa 'we beat .'
1pi a-lɔps-u-m 'we beat him'	a-lɔps-u-m 'we beat him'	a-lɔps-i 'we beat '	a-lɔps-i 'we beat'
1pe lɔps-u-m-ma 'we beat him'	lɔps-u-m-ma 'we beat him'	lɔps-i-ŋa 'we beat'	lɔps-i-ŋa 'we beat'

TABLE 44. Comparative paradigms of active and middle verbs

However, middle verb in table 44 has implied third person singular object. So, it is logically transitive though morphologically it is middle. In fact, all the transitive verbs are active verbs and they can be made middle by dropping the object suffix. The conjugation patterns of the active and middle verbs in past and non-past are schematized in the following way:

	Active NPT	Active PT	Middle NPT	Middle PT
3s	R-u	R-u	R	R-a
3d	R-cH-u	R-a-cH-u	R-cHi	R-a-cHi
3p	mu- R -u	mu R-u	mu-R	mu-R-a
2s	ka-R-u	ka-R-u	ka-R	ka-R-a
2d	ka-R-cH-u	ka-R-a-cH-u	ka-R-cHi	ka-R-a-cHi
2p	ka-R-u-m	ka-R-u-m	ka-R-i	ka-R-i
1s	R-u- η	R-u- η	R-ma	R-a- η
1di	a-R-cH-u	a-R-a-cH-u	a-R-cHi-	a-R-a-cHi
1de	R-cH-u- ηa	R-a-cH-u- ηa	R-cHi- ηa	R-a-cHi-ηa
1pi	a-R-u-m	a-R-u-m	a-R-i- ηa	a-R-i- ηa
1pe	R-u-m-ma	R-u-m-ma	R-i- ηa	R-i- ηa

TABLE 45. Comparative schematic forms of active and middle verbs

The transitive verbs in middle conjugation and intransitive verbs have the same conjugation paradigm as both of them discard object affixes. The following pairs of transitive verbs in middle conjugation and intransitive verb conjugation prove it:

Transitive verb in middle conjugation		Intransitive verb	
NPT	PT	NPT	PT
3s l□m 'he beats.'	l□ps-a 'he beat.'	im 'he sleeps.'	ips-a 'he slept.'
3d l□m-cHi 'they beat.'	l□ps-a-cHi 'they beat.'	'im-cHi 'they sleep.'	'ips-a-cHi 'they slept.'
3p mu-l□m 'they beat'	mu-l□ps-a 'they beat.'	mu-im 'they sleep.'	mu-ips-a 'they slept.'
2s ka-l□m 'you beat'	ka-l□ps-a 'you beat.'	ka-im 'you sleep.'	ka-ips-a 'you slept.'
2d ka-l□m-cHi 'you beat.'	ka-l□ps-a-cHi 'you beat.'	ka-im-cHi 'you sleep.'	ka-ips-a-cHi 'you slept.'
2p ka-l□ps-i 'you beat.'	ka-l□ps-i 'you beat.'	ka-ips-i 'you sleep.'	ka-ips-i 'you slept.'
1s l□m-ma 'I beat'	l□ps-a-η 'I beat.'	im-ma 'I sleep.'	ips-a-η 'I slept.'
1di a-l□m-cHi 'we beat.'	a-l□ps-a-cHi 'we make weep.'	a-im-cHi 'we sleep.'	a-ips-a-cHi 'we slept.'
1de l□m-cHi- ηa 'we beat.'	l□ps-a-cHi- ηa 'we beat.'	i-m-cHi- ηa 'we sleep.'	ips-a-cHi- ηa 'we sleep.'
1pi a-l□ps-i 'we beat.'	a-l□ps-i 'we beat.'	a-ips-i 'we sleep.'	a-ips-i 'we slept.'
1pe l□ps-i- ηa 'we beat.'	l□ps-i- ηa 'we beat.'	ips-i- ηa 'we sleep.'	ips-i- ηa 'we slept.'

TABLE 46. Comparative paradigms of transitive verbs in middle voice and intransitive verb.

These two types of verb conjugate in the same pattern and, therefore, a single schematic paradigm for their conjugation pattern can be drawn.

NPT			PT	
1.	3s	R ma-R-nEn	R-a	ma-R-a-n
2.	3d	R-chi ma-R-cHi-n	R-a-cHi	ma-R-a-cHi-n
3.	3p	mu-R ma-n-R-nEn	mu-R-a	ma-n-R-a-n
4.	2s	ka-R ka-n-R-nEn	ka-R-a	ka-n-R-a-n
5.	2d	ka-R-cHi ka-n-R-cHin	ka-R-a-cHi	ka-n-R-a-cHi-n
6.	2p	ka-R-i ka-n-R-i-n	ka-R-i	ka-n-R-i-n
7.	1s	R-ŋa ma-R-ŋa-n	R-a-ŋ	ma-n-R-ban
8.	1d	a-R-cHi a-n-R-cHi-n	a-R-a-cHi	a-n-R-a-cHi-n
9.	1de	R-cHi-ŋa ma-R-cHi-ŋa-n	R-a-cHi-ŋa	ma-R-cHi-ŋa-n
10.	1pi	a-R-i a-n-R-i-n	a-R-a	a-n-R-a-n
11.	1pe	R-i-ŋa ma-R-i-ŋa-n	R-i-ŋa or R-mna	ma-R-i-ŋa-n or man-R-ban

TABLE 47. Schematic forms of transitive verbs in middle voice and intransitive verbs.

In conjugation pattern, intransitive and middle verbs look identical. However, there is a difference between the two in that intransitive verbs can not undergo active conjugation but middle verbs can. Middle verbs are logically transitive verbs because they have implied objects though they do not contain the overt object affix. On the basis of voice, verbs are divided into active and middle. Active verb contains transitive verbs and middle verb contains intransitive and reflexive verbs. They are presented in figure 14.

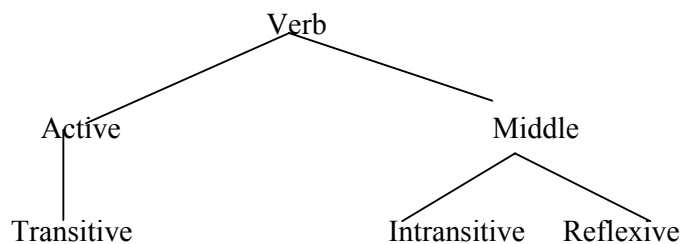


Figure 14. Classification of verbs

6. SUMMARY. Chhatthare Limbu does not fit into any morphological typology. Its verb has twenty types of verb stems and they can be classified into two stem classes. Fifteen types of verb stems alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. The alternation is caused by stem final deletion and assimilation. Five types of verb stems remain stable throughout the paradigm. On the basis of conjugation patterns, there are three types of verbs –intransitive, reflexive and transitive – in the language. They have monosyllabic and polysyllabic roots. Limbu verb roots are basically monosyllabic and the polysyllabic roots are merely grammaticalizations of multiple root stems. Monosyllabic and polysyllabic verbs have the same conjugation pattern in that the last syllable of the polysyllabic verb identifies the monosyllabic verb as all the affixes are added to it. Intransitive and reflexive verbs exhibit eleven different forms and transitive verb marks 44 different forms out of 75 theoretically possible forms. Simple transitive, ditransitive and causative verbs have the same conjugation patterns. Voice is differentiated as active and middle on the basis of the presence or absence of object morpheme in the verb form. All transitive verbs are in active voice and they are shifted to middle voice by dropping the object morphemes. So, the transitive verbs in middle conjugation are morphologically intransitive verbs though semantically they are still transitive. Similarly, reflexive verbs exhibit middle voice and intransitive conjugation pattern morphologically but they index active voice and transitive verb meaning semantically.

CHAPTER 10
IDENTIFICATION OF MORPHEMES

1. INTRODUCTION. In a verb form, all the grammatical categories are not overtly marked. Some of them exist in covert forms. These affixes have certain places in a word where they occur. They can occur before the root or after the root. They may occur in a certain position in the prefixal string or suffixal string. Animacy hierarchy also plays a significant role in the occupation of a certain slot by a person marking affix. In this chapter, occurrences of different affixes in slots are shown in the verb form. The slots for covert affixes are exhibited in their respective orders. The role of animacy hierarchy is also shown. Finally, all the affixes are identified and they are explained in the chapter.

2. MARKING OF COVERT AFFIXES IN INTRANSITIVE CONJUGATION. Intransitive verbs conjugate for 11 categories of person- first person, second person and third person, their singular, dual and plural forms and exclusive and inclusive forms of first person non-singular verbs. 11 forms for past and 11 forms for non-past of the finite verb forms and their corresponding negative forms numbering 22 forms constitute the total of 44 theoretically possible verb forms. However, in practice, all the affixes are not overtly marked.

The third person singular subject is unmarked in the verb form and it is represented in the verb paradigm by a zero morpheme <Ø> in its supposed place of occurrence. The subject singularity of second person is unmarked. It is shown in the paradigm by a zero morpheme <O>. Unmarked singularity of the first person subject is indexed by a zero morpheme in its slot. The non-past is formally unmarked but the past is marked by the suffix <-a>. The unmarked non-past is exhibited in its slot by a zero morpheme in the paradigm. The past morpheme <-a> is deleted when it occurs before the plural suffix <-i> and morphemic difference between the past and non-past is neutralized at the surface level. However, the unmarked form of the past is semantically very significant and therefore is marked by a zero morpheme <O> in the paradigm. The plural suffix <-i> can be unmarked if it is preceded by the past suffix <-a>.

The paradigm in table 48 shows the occurrence of morphemes, marked and unmarked, in regular order form in the paradigm.

NPT	PT
1. 3s	
Ø- lok-Ø	Ø-lokk-a
3sS-runs-NPT	3sS-run-PT
'He runs.'	'He ran.'
NEG	
Ø- ma-lok-Ø-nEn	Ø- ma-lokk-a-n
3sS-NEG-run-NPT-NEG	3sS-NEG-run-PT-NEG
'He does not run.'	'He did not run.'
2. 3d	
Ø-lok-Ø-c ^{hi}	Ø-lokk-a-c ^{hi}
3-run-NPT-dS	3-run-PT-dS
'They run.'	'They ran.'
NEG.	
Ø-ma-lok-Ø-c ^{hi} -n	Ø-ma-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -n
3-NEG-run-NPT-dS-NEG	3-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG

	'They do not run.'		'They did not run.'
3.	3p		
	mu-lok-Ø		mu-lokk-a
	3pS-run-NPT		3pS-run-PT
	'They run.'		'They ran.'
NEG	ma-n-lok-Ø-nEn		ma-n-lokk-a-n
	3pS- NEG-run-NPT-NEG		3pS-NEG-go-PT-NEG
	'They do not run.'		'They did not run.'
4.	2s.		
	ka-lok-Ø-Ø		ka-lokk-a-Ø
	2-run-NPT-sS		2-run-PT-sS
	'You run.'		'You ran.'
NEG	ka-n-lok-Ø-Ø-nEn		ka-n-lokk-a-Ø-n
	2-NEG-run-NPT-sS-NEG		2-NEG-run-PT-sS-NEG
	'You do not run.'		'You did not run.'
5.	2d		
	ka-lok-Ø-c ^{hi}		ka-lokk-a-c ^{hi}
	2-run-NPT-dS		2-run-PT-dS
	'You run.'		'You ran.'
NEG.	ka-n-lok-Ø-c ^{hi} -n		ka-n-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -n
	2-NEG-run-NPT-dS-NEG		2-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG
	'You do not run.'		'You did not run.'
6.	2p		
	ka-lokk-Ø-i		ka-lokk-Ø-i
	2-run-NPT-pS		2-run-PT-pS
	'You run.'		'You ran.'
NEG.	ka-n-lokk-Ø-i-n		ka-n-lokk-Ø-i-n
	2-NEG-run-NPT-pS-NEG		2-NEG-run-PT-pS-NEG
	'You do not run.'		'You did not run.'
7.	1s		
	lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa		lokk-a- Ø- ŋ
	go-NPT-sS-1e		go-PT-sS-1e
	'I run.'		'I ran.'
NEG	ma-lokk-Ø- Ø -ŋa-n		man-lok-pan
	NEG-run-NPT-sS-1e-NEG		NEG-run-1sS/NPT/NEG
	'I do not run.'		'I did not run.'
8.	1d		
	a-lok-Ø-c ^{hi}		a-lokk-a-c ^{hi}
	1i-run-NPT-dS		1i -run-PT-dS
	'We run.'		'We ran.'
NEG	a-n-lok-Ø-c ^{hi} -n		a-n-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -n
	1i-NEG-run-NPT-dS-NEG		1i-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG
	'We do not run.'		'We did not run.'
9.	1de		
	lok-Ø- c ^{hi} -ŋa		lokk-a-c ^{hi} -ŋa
	run-NPT-dS-1e		run-PT-dS-1e
	'We run.'		'We ran.'
NEG.	ma-lok-Ø-c ^{hi} -ŋa-n		ma-lokk-a-c ^{hi} -ŋa-n
	NEG-run-NPT-dS-1e-NEG		NEG-run-PT-dS-1e-NEG
	'We do not run.'		'We did not run.'
10.	1pi		
	a-lokk-Ø-i		a-lokk-Ø- i
	1i -run-NPT-pS		1i-run-PT-pS

	'We run.'	'We ran.'
or	a-lok-Ø-Ø	a-lokk-a-Ø
	1i-run-NPT-pS	1i -run-PT-pS
	'We run.'	'We ran.'
NEG.	a-n-lokk-Ø-i- n	a-n-lokk-a-Ø-n
	1i -NEG-go-NPT-pS-NEG	1i-NEG-go-PT-pS-NEG
	'We do not go.'	'We did not go.'
11. 1pe		
	lokk- Ø- i- -ŋa	lokk-O-i-Na
	run-NPT-pS-1e	run-PT-pS-1e
	'We ran.'	We ran.'
NEG	ma-lokk-Ø-i-ŋa-n	ma-lokk-O-i-Na-n
	NEG-run-NPT-pS-1e-NEG	NEG-run-PT-pS-1e-NEG
	'We do not run.'	'We did not run.'
		or
		lok-kna
		run-1peS/PT
		'We run.'
		NEG
		man-lok-pan
		NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG
		'We did not run.'

TABLE 48. Marking of covert affixes in the conjugation of intransitive verb lok-ma 'to run'

3. MARKING OF COVERT AFFIXES IN REFLEXIVE VERB CONJUGATION

The reflexive verb theoretically conjugates for past, non-past, affirmative and negative forms in eleven categories of person. It doesn't distinguish between past and non-past forms in overt form. However, they are indicated in their place of occurrence by a zero morpheme <-O> in the paradigm. Singularity of the third person subject is formally unmarked but it is indicated in its place of occurrence in the paradigm by a zero morpheme <-O>. Formally, unmarked subject singularity of the second person and the first person is also marked in its place of occurrence by a zero morpheme <-O> in the paradigm.

	NPT	PT
1. 3s	Ø-l□m-c ^h i-n-Ø 3sS-beat-REFL-NPT 'He beats himself.'	Ø-l□m-c ^h i-n-Ø 3sS-beat-REFL-PT 'He beat himself.'
NEG.	Ø -ma-l□m-c ^h i-n-Ø-nEn 3sS-NEG-beat-REFL-NPT-NEG 'He does not beat himself.'	Ø -ma-l□m-c ^h i-n-Ø-nEn 3sS-NEG-beat-REFL-PT-NEG 'He did not beat himself.'
2.3d	Ø-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 3-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS 'They beat each other.'	Ø-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 3-beat-RECIP-PT-dS 'They beat each other.'
NEG	Ø-ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n 3-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS-NEG 'They do not beat each other.'	Ø-ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n 3-NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-dS-NEG 'They did not beat each other.'

3. 3p	mu-l□m- Ø-c ^h in 3pS-beat-NPT-REFL 'They beat themselves.'	mu-l□m -Ø-c ^h in 3pS-beat-PT-REFL 'They beat themselves.'
NEG	ma-n-l□m- c ^h in-Ø-nEn 3pS-NEG-beat-REFL- NPT-NEG 'They do not beat themselves.'	ma-n-l□m- c ^h in-Ø-nEn 3pS- NEG-beat-REFL-PT-NEG 'They did not beat themselves.'
Or	mu-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 3pS-beat-RECIP-NPT-pS 'They beat each other.'	mu-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 3pS-beat-RECIP-PT-pS 'They beat each other.'
NEG	ma-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n 3pS-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-pS-NEG 'They do not beat each other.'	ma-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n 3pS- NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-pS-NEG 'They did not beat each other.'
4. 2s	ka-l□m-c ^h in-Ø-Ø 2-beat-REFL-NPT-sS 'You beat yourself.'	ka-l□m-c ^h in-Ø-Ø 2-beat-REFL-PT-sS 'You beat yourself.'
NEG	ka-n-l□m-c ^h in-Ø-Ø-nEn 2-NEG-beat-REFL-NPT-sS-NEG 'You do not beat yourself.'	ka-n-l□m-c ^h in-Ø-Ø-nEn 2-NEG-beat-REFL-PT-sS-NEG 'You do not beat yourself.'
5. 2ns-	ka- l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 2-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS 'You beat each other.'	ka- l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 2-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS 'You beat each other.'
NEG	ka-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n 2-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-NEG 'You do not beat each other.'	ka-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n 2-NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS-NEG 'You do not beat each other.'
6. 1s	l□m-c ^h in-Ø- Ø na beat- REFL -NPT-sS-1e 'I beat myself.'	l□m-c ^h in-Ø- Ø na beat- REFL -PT-sS-1e 'I beat myself.'
NEG	ma-l□m-c ^h in-Ø- Ø-na-n NEG-beat-REFL-NPT-sS-1e-NEG 'I do not beat myself.'	man-l□m-c ^h im-ban NEG-beat-REFL- 1sS/PT/NEG 'I did not beat myself.'
7. 1i	a-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 1i-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS 'We beat each other.'	a-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i 1i-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS 'We beat each other.'
NEG.	a-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i- n 1i-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-NEG 'We do not beat each other.'	a-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n 1i-NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS-NEG 'We do not beat each other.'
8. 1nse	l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-1e 'We beat each other.'	l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa beat-RECIP-PT-nsS-1e 'We beat each other.'

NEG	ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa-n	ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa-n
NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS-1e-NEG	NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-dS-1e-NEG	
	'We do not beat each other.'	'We did not beat each other.'
9. 1pi		
	a-l□m-c ^h in-Ø Ø	a-l□m-c ^h in-Ø-Ø
	1i-beat-REFL-NPT-pS	1i-beat-REFL-PT-pS
	'We beat ourselves.'	'We beat ourselves.'
NEG		
	a-n-l□m-c ^h in-Ø-Ø- nEn	a-n-l□m-c ^h in-Ø-Ø- nEn
1i-NEG-beat-RefI-NPT-pS-NEG	1i-NEG-beat-Ref-PT-pS-NEG	
	'We do not beat ourselves.'	'We did not beat ourselves.'
Or		
	a-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i	a-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i
	1i-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS	1i-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS
	'We beat each other.'	'We beat each other.'
NEG.		
	a-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i- n	a-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c ^h i-n
1i-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-NEG	1i-NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS-NEG	
	'We do not beat each other.'	'We do not beat each other.'

 TABLE 49. Marking of covert affixes in the conjugation of reflexive verb *l□m-c^himma* 'to beat oneself'

4. MARKING OF COVERT AFFIXES IN TRANSITIVE VERB FORMS

The transitive conjugation of verbs theoretically have 75 forms. However, Chhatthare Limbu distinguishes only 44 forms. It can't distinguish between dual and plural forms of the third person object. In both cases the suffix <-si> is used. Similarly, it doesn't distinguish between dual and plural forms of third person agent. It uses <-m -n -N> in both cases and is labeled as third person non-singular agent 3nsA . In 2→1 paradigms, only 2s→1s is distinguishable as *ka-l□m-ma* but the rest of the forms are all identical. It uses the same form *ka-l□m* for 2d→1s, 2d→1d, 2d→1p, 2p→1s, 2p→1d and 2p→1p. Likewise, it uses the same form *l□m-nE-c^hi-ŋa* in 1d→2s, 1d→2d, 1d→2p, 1p→2s, 1p→2d and 1p→2p configurations. A good number of affixes are unmarked in verb forms. Third person singular agent, singularities of third person, second person and first person objects, agent and subject singularities of second person and first person, third person nonsingular agent before the negative marker and singularity of second person object in 1→2 configuration are formally unmarked in the verb forms but they are marked in the paradigm by zero marking <O>. The 44 conjugation forms are given below:

	NPT	PT
1. 3s-3s	Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø 3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO 'He beats him.'	Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø 3sA-beat-PT-3O-sO 'He beat him.'
NEG.	Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u- n-Ø 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-sO 'He does not beat him.'	Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n- Ø 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-sO 'He did not beat him.'
2. 3s-3ns	Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-si 3sA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO 'He beats them.'	Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-si 3sA-beat-PT-3O-nsO He beat them.'

NEG	Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG	Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO-
NEG		
	‘He does not beat them.’	‘He did not beat them.’
3. 3s-2s	ka- Ø- l□m Ø Ø 2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO ‘He beats you.’	ka- Ø- l□ps-a-Ø 2-3sA-beat-PT-sO ‘He beat you.’
NEG.	ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-Ø-nEn 2-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-NEG ‘He does not beat you.’	ka- Ø- n-l□ps-a-Ø-n 2- 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-sO-NEG He did notbeat you.’
4. 3s-2d	ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-c ^{hi} 2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO ‘He beats you.’	ka-Ø-l□ps-a-c ^{hi} 2-3sA-beat-PT-dO ‘He beat you.’
NEG	ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c ^{hi} -n 2-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG ‘He does not beat you.’	ka- Ø- n-l□ps-a-c ^{hi} -n 2-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG ‘He did not beat you.’
5. 3s-2p	ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i 2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO ‘He beats you.’	ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i 2-3sA-beat-PT-pO ‘He beat you.’
NEG.	ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 2-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG ‘He does not beat you.’	ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 2-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG ‘He did not beat you.’
6. 3s-1s	a-Ø-l□m-Ø-Ø-ma 1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e ‘He beats me.’	a-Ø-l□ps-a-Ø- Ø- η 1-3sA-beat-PT-sO-1e ‘He beat me.’
NEG	a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n 1-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG ‘He does not beat me.’	a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-Ø- η-nEn 1-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-sO-1e-NEG ‘He did notbeat me.’
7. 3s-1d	a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c ^{hi} 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO ‘He beats us.’	a-Ø -l□ps-a-c ^{hi} 1i-3sA-beat-PT-dO ‘He beat us.’
NEG	a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø-c ^{hi} -Ø-n 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG ‘He does not beat us.’	a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c ^{hi} -n 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG ‘He did not beat us.’
8. 3s-1de	a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c ^{hi} -ηa 1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e ‘He beats us.’	a-Ø-l□ps-a-c ^{hi} -ηa 1-3sA-beat-PT-dO-1e ‘He beat us.’
NEG	a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c ^{hi} -ηa-n 1-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-1e-NEG ‘He does not beat us.’	a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c ^{hi} -ηa-n 1-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG ‘He did not beat us.’
9. 3s-1pi	a-Ø-l□ps- Ø- i 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO ‘He beats us.’	a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i 1i-3sA-beat-PT-pO ‘He beat us.’
NEG	a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG ‘He does not beat us.’	a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG ‘He did not beat us.’
or		
	a-Ø-l□m-Ø-Ø 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO ‘He beats us.’	a-Ø-l□ps-a-Ø 1-3sA-beat-PT-pO ‘He beat us.’
NEG		
	a-Ø-n-l□m Ø- Ø- nEn 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG ‘He does not beat us.’	a-Ø-n-l□ps-a- Ø-n 1i-3sA- NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG ‘He did not beat us.’

10. 3s-1pe	a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa 1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e 'He beats us.'	a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa 1-3sA-beat-PT-pO-1e 'He beat us.'
NEG.	a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n 1-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-1e-NEG 'He does not beat us.'	a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n 1-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-1e-NEG 'He did not beat us.'
11. 3d-3s	Ø-l□m-c ^h -u-Ø 3- beat-dA-3O-sO 'They beat him.'	Ø-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-Ø 3-beat-PT-dA-3O-sO 'They beat him.'
NEG.	Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-n-Ø 3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-sO 'They do not beat him.'	Ø-ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-Ø 3-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-sO 'They did not beat him.'
12. 3d-3ns	Ø-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-si 3-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO 'They beat them.'	Ø-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si 3-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO 'They beat them.'
NEG	Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-n-si-n 3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'They do not beat them.'	Ø-ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-si-n 3-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG They did not beat them.'
13.. 3ns -2s	ka-n-l□m-Ø-Ø 2-3nsA-beat NPT-sO 'They beat you.'	ka-n-l□ps-a-Ø 2-3nsA-beat-PT-sO 'They beat you.'
NEG	ka-Ø- n-l□m-Ø-Ø-nEn 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO- NEG 'They do not beat you.'	ka-Ø-n-l□ps-a- Ø- n 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-sO- NEG 'They did not beat you.'
14. 3ns-2d	ka- n-l□m-Ø-c ^h i 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO 'They beat you.'	ka- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i 2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO 'They beat you.'
NEG.	ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c ^h i-n 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG 'They do not beat you.'	ka-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-n 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG 'They did not beat you.'
15. 3ns-2p	ka-n-l□ps-Ø-i 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO 'They beat you.'	ka-n-l□ps-Ø-i 2-3nsA-beat-PT-pO 'They beat you.'
NEG.	ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG 'They do not beat you.'	ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG 'They did not beat you.'
16. 3ns-1s	a-n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma 1-3nsA-beat-NPT-sO-1e 'They beat me.'	a- n-l□ps-a- Ø-ŋ 1-3nsA-beat-PT-sO-1e 'They beat me.'
NEG	a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG 'They do not beat me.'	a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-Ø-ŋ-nEn 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-sO-1e-NEG 'They did not beat me.'
17. 3ns-1d	a- n-l□m-Ø-c ^h i 1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO 'They beat us.'	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i 1i-3nsA-beat-PT-dO 'They beat us.'
NEG.	a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c ^h i-n 1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG 'They do not beat us.'	a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-n 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG 'They did not beat us.'
18. 3ns-1de	a- n-l□m-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa 1-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO-1e 'They beat us.'	a- n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-ŋa 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e 'They beat us.'
NEG	a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa-n 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-1e-NEG	a-Ø -n-l□ps-a-c ^h i-ŋa-n 1-3 nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG

	'They do not beat us.'		'They did not beat us.'
19. 3ns-1pi	a- n-l□ps-Ø-i 1i-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO 'They beat us.'		a- n-l□ps-a-Ø 1i-3nsA-beat-PT-pO 'They beat us.'
			Or
			a-n-l□ps-Ø-i 1i-3nsA-beat-PT-pO 'They beat us.'
NEG	a-Ø -n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG 'They do not beat us.'		a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-Ø- n 1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG 'They did not beat us.'
			Or
			a- Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n 1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG 'They do not beat us.'
20. 3ns-pe	a- n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa 1-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO-1e 'They beat us.'		a- n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa 1-3nsA-beat-PT-pO-1e 'They beat us.'
NEG	a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-1e-NEG 'They do not beat us.'		a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-1e-NEG 'They did not beat us.'
21. 3p-3s	mu-l□ps-Ø-u- Ø 3pA-beat-NPT-3O-sO 'They beat him.'		mu-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø 3pA-beat-PT-3O-sO 'They beat him.'
NEG.	ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-Ø 3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-sO 'They do not beat him.'		ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-Ø 3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-sO 'They did not beat him.'
22. 3p-3ns	mu-l□ps- Ø-u-si 3pA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO 'They beat them.'		mu-l□ps-Ø-u-si 3pA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO 'They beat them.'
NEG	ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n 3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'They do not beat them.'		ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n 3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'They did not beat them.'
23. 2s-3s	ka-l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-Ø 2-beat-NPT-sA-3O-sO 'You beat him.'		ka-l□ps-Ø-Ø- u-Ø 2-beat-PT-sA-3O-sO 'You beat him.'
NEG	ka-n-l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-n-Ø 2-NEG-beat-NPT-sA-3O-NEG-sO 'You do not beat him.'		ka-n-l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-n-Ø 2-NEG-beat-PT-sA-3O-NEG-sO 'You did not beat him.'
24. 2s-3ns	ka-l□ps-Ø- Ø -u-si 2-beat-NPT-sA-3O-nsO 'You beat them.'		ka-l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-si 2-beat-PT-sA-3O-nsO 'You beat them.'
NEG.	ka-n-l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-Ø-n-si-n 2-NEG-beat-NPT-sA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG		ka-n-l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-n-si-n 2-NEG-beat-PT-sA-3O-NEG-nsO-
NEG	'You do not beat them.'		'You did not beat them.'
25. 2s-1s	ka-l□m-Ø- Ø- Ø- ma 2-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e 'You beat me.'		ka-l□ps-a- Ø- Ø- ŋ 2-beat-PT-sA-sO-1e 'You beat me.'
NEG	ka-n-l□m-Ø-Ø- Ø- ma-n 2-NEG-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e-NEG 'You do not beat me.'		ka-n-l□ps-a-Ø- Ø-ŋ-Ø-nEn 2-NEG-beat-PT-sA-sO-1e-NEG 'You did not beat me.'
26. 2-1	ka-l□m Ø 2-beat-NPT		ka-l□ps-a 2-beat-PT

	‘You beat me/us.’	‘You beat me/us.’
NEG	ka-n-l□m-Ø-nEn 2-NEG-beat-NPT-NEG	ka-n-l□ps-a-n 2-NEG-beat-PT-NEG
27. 2d-3s	‘You do not beat me/us.’ ka-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-Ø 2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO	‘You did not beat me/us.’ ka-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-Ø 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-sO
NEG.	‘You beat him.’ ka-n-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-n-Ø 2-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-sO	‘You beat him.’ ka-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-Ø 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-sO
28. 2d-3ns	‘You do not beat him.’ ka-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-si 2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO	‘You did not beat him.’ ka-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO
NEG.	‘You beat them.’ ka-n-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-n-si-n 2-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG	‘You did not beat them.’ ka-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-si-n 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
NEG	‘You do not beat them.’	‘You did notbeat them.’
29. 2p-3s	ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø 2-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO	ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø 2-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO
NEG.	‘You beat him.’ ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø-nEn 2-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-NEG	‘You beat him.’ ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø-nEn 2-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-NEG
30. 2p-3ns	‘You do not beat him.’ ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m 2-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA	‘You did not beat him.’ ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m 2-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA
NEG	‘You beat them.’ ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn 2-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG	‘You beat them.’ ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn 2-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG
31. 1s-3s	‘You do not beat them.’ l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-η-Ø beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO	‘You did not beat them.’ l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-η-Ø beat-PT-sA-3O-1e-sO
NEG.	‘I beat him.’ ma-l□m-Ø-Ø- ma-n NEG-beat-NPT-sS-1e-NEG	‘I beat him.’ man-l□m-ban NEG-beat-1sS/PT/NEG
32. 1s-3ns	‘I do not beat.’ l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-η-si-η beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e	‘I did not beat.’ l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-η-si-η beat-PT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e
NEG.	‘I beat them.’ ma-l□m-Ø-Ø-ma-n-si-n NEG-beat-NPT-sA-1e-NEG-nsO-NEG	‘I beat them.’ man-l□m-ban-si-n NEG-beat-1eA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG
33. 1s-2s	‘I do not beat them.’ l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø beat-1→2O-NPT-sO-sA	‘I did not beat them.’ l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø beat-1→2O-PT-sO-sA
NEG.	‘I beat you.’ ma-l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø-n NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-sO-sA-NEG	‘I beat you.’ ma-l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø-n NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-sO-sA-NEG
34. 1s-2d	‘I do not beat you.’ l□m-na-Ø-c ^h i-Ø-η beat-1→2O-NPT-dO-sA-1e	‘I did not beat you.’ l□m-na-Ø-c ^h i-Ø-η beat-1→2O-PT-dO-sA-1e
NEG.	‘I beat you.’ ma-l□m-na-Ø-c ^h i-Ø-η NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-dO-sA-1e	‘I beat you.’ ma-l□m-na-Ø-c ^h i-Ø-η NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-dO-sA-1e
	‘I do not beat you.’	‘I did not beat you.’

35. 1s-2p	l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ beat-1→2O-NPT-pO-1e 'I beat you.'	l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ beat-1→2O-PT-pO-sA-1e 'I beat you.'
NEG	ma-l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ-nEn NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-pO-sA-1e-NEG 'I do not beat you.'	ma-l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ-nEn NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-pO-sA-1e-NEG 'I did not beat you.'
36. 1d-3s	a-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-Ø 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO 'We beat him.'	a-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-Ø 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-sO 'We beat him.'
NEG.	a-n-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-n-Ø 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG -sO 'We do not beat him.'	a-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-Ø 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-sO 'We did not beat him.'
37. 1di-3ns	a-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u- si 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO 'We beat them.'	a-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO 'We beat them.'
NEG	a-n-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-n-si-n 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO- NEG 'We do not beat them.'	a-n-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-n-si-n 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG 'We did not beat them.'
38. 1de-3s	l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-Ø-ŋa beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO-1e 'We beat him.'	l□ps-a-c ^h -u-Ø-ŋa beat-PT-dA-3O-sO-1e 'We beat him.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-c ^h -u-Ø-ŋa-n NEG-beat-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG 'We do not beat him.'	ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-Ø-ŋa-n NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG 'We did not beat him.'
39. 1de-3nsl	l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-si-ŋa beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO-1e 'We do not beat them.'	l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si-ŋa beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e 'We did notbeat them.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-Ø-c ^h -u-si-ŋa-n NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG 'We do not beat them.'	ma-l□ps-a-c ^h -u-si-ŋa-n NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG 'We did not beat them.'
40. 1nse-2	l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa beat-1→2O-NPT-sO/nsO- nsA-1e 'We beat you.'	l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa beat-1→2-PT-sO/nsO-nsA-1e 'We beat you.'
NEG.	ma-l□m-nE-Ø- Ø-c ^h i-ŋa-n NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-sO/nsO-nsA-1e-NEG NEG	ma-l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c ^h i-ŋa-n NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-sO/nsO-nsA-1e-NEG NEG
41. 1pi 3s	a-l□ps-Ø-u- m -Ø 1i-beat-NPT-3O -pA-sO 'We beat him.'	a-l□ps-Ø-u- m-Ø 1i-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO 'We beat him.'
NEG	a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø-nEn 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-NEG 'We do not beat him.'	a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø- nEn 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO- NEG 'We did not beat him.'
42. 1pi-3ns	a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m 1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'We beat them.'	a-l□ps-Ø-u -m-si-m 1i-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA 'We beat them.'
NEG	a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG 'We do not beat them.'	a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG 'We did not beat them.'
43. 1pe 3s	l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e 'We beat him.'	l□ps-Ø- u-m- Ø-ma beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e 'We beat him.'
NEG.	ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma-n	ma-l□ps- Ø-u-m- Ø -ma-n

	NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e-NEG 'We do not beat him.'	NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e-NEG 'We did not beat him.'
Or		man-l□m-ban NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG 'We did not beat.'
1pe 3s	l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e 'We beat him.'	Ø-l□m-mna 1-beat-1peS/PT 'We beat.'
NEG.	ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma-n NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e-NEG 'We do not beat.'	man-l□m-ban NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG 'We did not beat.'
44. 1pe 3ns	l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We beat them.'	l□ps- Ø -u-m-si-m-ma beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We beat them.'
NEG.	ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma-n NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG 'We do not beat them.'	ma-l□ps- Ø -u-m-si-m-ma-n NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG 'We did not beat them.'
Or		
	l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e 'We beat them.'	l□m-mna-si beat-1peA/PT-nsO 'We beat them.'
NEG.	ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma-n NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG 'We do not beat them.'	man-l□m-ban-si-n NEG-beat-1peA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG 'We did not beat them.'

TABLE 50. Marking of covert affixes in transitive verb l□mma 'to beat'

5. ANIMACY HIERARCHY. Agreement patterns in Limbu pose a complex problem in exploring verb agreement. Grammatical or semantic roles of actants alone are not enough to detect it. Animacy hierarchy plays a significant role in the agreement pattern. Whaley (1997: 173) presents universal animacy hierarchy as 1&2 person > 3 person pronoun > proper name/ kinship terms > human NP > animate NP > inanimate NP. According to this hierarchy, the more animate nominal is placed before the less animate nominal and the verb agrees with the nominal of the higher animacy.

Watters (2003:372) says that agreement patterns in all the Kiranti languages are based on the person of participants rather than on their semantic or grammatical roles. In Chhatthare Limbu, the finding of Watters works to a great extent. According to the theory of animacy hierarchy, the first person and the second person have the highest rank of animacy hierarchy and they precede the third person in an affixal string. In the language in 3s→2, 3s→1di and 3s→1pi configurations, third person agent is unmarked. In animacy hierarchy, the third person is lower than first person and second person. Therefore, as an agent, the lower pronominal affix can not occupy the prefixal position and leaves it empty. This empty prefixal position is, then, occupied by the higher pronominal object suffixes as evidenced by the examples 1a-e.

- (1) a. ka- Ø- l□m-Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'
- b. ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-c^{hi}
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'

- c. ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats you.'
- d. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c^{hi}
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats us.'
- e. a-Ø-l□ps Ø- i
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats us.'

Due to lower animacy hierarchy, the third person singular agent can not occur in the prefixal position in 3s→1s, 3s→1de and 3s→3pe configurations and first person objects occupy its position. Then objects are double marked as can be seen in 2a-c.

- (2) a. a-Ø-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'He beats me.'
- b. a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c^{hi}-ηa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
'He beats us.'
- c. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ηa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'He beats us.'

Similarly, when the third person non-singular agent occurs in 3ns→2 or 3ns→1 situations, it follows the higher pronominal object prefixes <a-> and <ka-> as shown in 3a-c.

- (3) a. ka- n-l□m-Ø-Ø
2- 3nsA-beat NPT-sO
'They beat you.'
- b. a- n-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma
1-3 nsA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'They beat me.'
- c. a- n-l□m-Ø-c^{hi}
1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO
'They beat us.'

Ditransitive verbs exhibit animate object agreement. They show agreement with the recipient or beneficiary.

- (4) a. piy-Ø- Ø- u-η- Ø
give-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I give him a book.'
- b. wat-Ø- Ø -u-η- Ø
give-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I wear him (something).'
- c. hakk-Ø- Ø -u-η- Ø
send-NPT-sA-3O-1sA-sO
'I send him (something).'

The verbs in 4a-c require three arguments- the agent, theme and the beneficiary or subject, direct object and indirect object in a sentence but they mark only the subject and the indirect object. These examples prove that in animacy hierarchy, third person animate object is higher than the inanimate object. Therefore, when two objects,

animate and inanimate objects come together with the agent, the agent agrees with the indirect object, which is animate.

Animacy hierarchy has a significant role in the formation of number affixes in the language. The speech act participants form one kind of number affixes for dual and plural agents and objects whereas the non-speech act participant forms another kind of number affixes. The following situations clearly exhibit it.

(i). The speech act participants have the suffixes <-c^hi> in 5a and 5b and <-i> in 5c and 5d as dual and plural object markers respectively whereas the non-speech act participant has the suffix <-si> as a non-singular object marker in 5e.

- (5) a. ka-Ø-l□m-Ø-c^hi
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'
- b. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c^hi
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats us.'
- c. ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats you.'
- d. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-Ø
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats us.'
- e. ka-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-si
2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'You beat them.'

(ii). When the speech act participant is the agent and non-speech act participant is the object, the dual agent marker is <-c^h> as in 6a and 6b. If the agent is the first person and object is the second person, the non-singular agent will be marked as <-c^hi> as in 6c but number for both agent and object will be unmarked if the agent is the second person as in 6d.

- (6) a. ka-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-Ø-Ø
2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sA-sO
'You beat him.'
- b. a-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-Ø
1-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
'We beat him.'
- c. l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c^hi-rja
beat-1→2-NPT-sO-nsA-1e
'We beat you.'
- d. ka-l□m
2-beat
'You beat me/us.'

iii. In 3→3 configuration, the plural agent morpheme is <mu-> as in 7a and dual agent morpheme is <-c^h> as in 7b whereas in 3→2 and 3→1 configurations, both dual and plural agents are marked by <n-> as in 7c-h.

- (7) a. mu-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø
3pA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'They beat him.'
- b. Ø-l□m-c^h-u-Ø
3-beat-dA-3O-sO

- ‘They beat him.’
 c- ka-Ø n-l□m-Ø-c^hi
 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO
 ‘They beat you.’
 d. a- n-l□m-Ø-c^hi
 1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO
 ‘They beat us.’
 e. a- n-l□m-Ø-c^hi-Na
 1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO-1e
 ‘They beat us.’
 f. ka-Ø- n-l□ps-Ø-i
 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO
 ‘They beat you.’
 g. a-Ø- n-l□ps-Ø-i
 1i-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO
 ‘They beat us.’
 h. a-Ø- n-l□ps-Ø-i-Na
 1i-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
 ‘They beat us.’

6. THE ORDER OF AFFIXES. The affixes occupy different slots in a conjugated verb according to their functions. More than one affix can also share the same slot. In Chhatthare Limbu, the speech act participants have the same status and have the highest animacy hierarchy. The third person has lower animacy hierarchy than them and occurs after them. Therefore, the first prefixal slot is occupied by the first and second person, and the second prefixal slot by the third person. In other dialects such as Panthare (Wiedert and Subba:1985), Phedappe (Driem 1987) and Mewakhole (Mikhailovsky: 2003) in 2→1 configurations, the first person prefix <a-> precedes the second person prefix <ka-> and yields a verb like *a-gehip* 'you (many) beat me'. Therefore, Driem (1999: 214) posits a first prefixal slot to the first person morpheme <a-> and a second prefixal slot to the second person morpheme <ka->. But in Chhatthare Limbu, in its corresponding form *a* occurs as an independent first person singular pronoun in a sentence like *kheni a ka-l□m* 'You beat me' but as a first person marking prefix, it can not occur in an overt form in a word e.g. *ka-l□m* 'You beat me/us'. The first person and second person are speech act participants which have equal animacy hierarchy. Therefore, they share the same first prefixal slot.

In 3→1 and 3→2 forms, the third person non-singular agent allomorph <m-n-N> occurs between the personal prefix and the root of the verb. Its full form <mu-> occurs as a plural subject or agent in 3→3 forms such as *mu-b^hEn* 'They come' or *mu-ser-u* 'They kill him'. The third person singular subject or agent is unmarked whereas dual subject or agent is marked by the suffix <-c^hi> and <-c^h>. The third person singular subject or agent morpheme is marked by Ø and labeled as 3sS/A and third person non-singular agent morpheme is marked by <m~n~ N-> and is labeled as 3nsA. Third person morpheme occurs in the second prefixal slot. In 3→1 and 3→2 negative forms, the first and second persons are followed by third person morpheme and it, in turn, is followed by a negative morpheme <m-> as in *ka-n-n-l□ps-a-n* 'he did not beat you' or *a-n-n-l□ps-a-η-nEn* 'he did not beat me'. The third person non-singular agent allomorph <m~n~ N-> is homophonous with the negative prefix <m~n~ N-> and when the two occur together, the second one is elided and only the third person non-singular agent morpheme is realized. So, the negative prefix is posited the

third slot. On the basis of this analysis, the prefixal slots are posited in the following way:

Pf1	Pf2	Pf3
<a->	<mu-~n-~N>	<man-~ma-~n-~N >
1	3nsA/S	NEG
<ka->	Ø	
2	3sA/S	

TABLE 51. Slots of prefixes

The negative paradigms of the verb exhibit that the negative prefix <man-> occurs in negative past forms with a first person singular or first person plural exclusive agent or subject with one fused negative suffix as in a portmanteau morpheme <-pan> which encodes first person, singular or first person plural exclusive agent or subject in a past form. In other conjugation forms, the prefix <ma-> occurs with at least one negative suffix or no more than two negative suffixes. The negative prefix <ma-> occurs in the third prefixal slot and second negative suffix in the sixth and the third one occurs in the last slot.

Reflexive or reciprocal suffix <-c^hin-~ nE > occupies the first suffixal slot. It directly attaches to the verb root. The past suffix <-a> and non-past suffix <-O> occupy the second suffixal slot as it occurs after the reflexive morpheme as in *Ep-c^hin* 'he stands himself' and third suffixal slot is occupied by dual suffix <-c^hi-~c^h>. The dual suffix is <-c^hi> when it functions as dual subject or object of the first or second person as in *a-ni-c^hi* 'he sees us' or *ka-ni-c^hi* 'he sees you'. It is <-c^h> when it occurs before a third person object suffix <-u> as in *a-ni-c^h-u* 'we see it' or *ka-ni-c^h-u* 'you see it'. The fourth slot is occupied by the third object <-u> which occurs either after dual agent <-c^h> or after post- syllabic augment as in *ka-haks-u* 'you waited for him'. The fifth slot is occupied by the first person exclusive subject, object or agent <-ŋ> after the past morpheme <-a> or third person object morpheme <-u>, the speech act participant plural agent morpheme <-m> and the first person plural exclusive agent or subject morpheme <-mna> in past form. The first person plural exclusive agent or subject morpheme in a past form <-mna> is posited in this slot because this portmanteau morpheme contains plural agent morpheme <-m>. The negative suffix <-n> occurs in the sixth slot and the first person exclusive or first person plural exclusive subject or agent in the past form <-pan> also occurs here as this portmanteau contains the negative suffix <-n>. These morphemes occur just before the nonsingular object suffix <-si> which occurs in the seventh slot and the copy morphemes of the first person exclusive actant <-ŋ> and speech act participant plural agent morpheme <-m> occur in the eighth slot. The ninth slot is occupied by the exclusive suffix <-Na> and tenth is occupied by the negative suffix <-nEn ~ -n>. Agent, subject or object singularity of speech act participants occupy the third slot and object singularity of the third person occurs in the seventh slot where its non-singular form occurs. The order of suffixes is shown in table 52.

Sf1	Sf 2	Sf3	Sf4	Sf5	Sf6	Sf7	Sf 8	Sf 9	Sf 10
<-c ^h in~nE> <-na>	<-a - Ø> <- Ø>	<- Ø> <c ^h i-~c ^h > <-i>	<-u>	<-N> <-m> <-mna>	<-n> <-pan>	<-si> <-O>	<-N> <-m>	<-Na>	<-nEn- -n>

TABLE 52. Slots of suffixes

7. THE PERSON MARKERS. The conjugation of a verb for a single tense indicates 11 categories of person. The broad division of person is made into first, second and third and the number into singular, dual and plural number. Inclusive versus exclusive distinction is there in the first person dual and plural. There are some problems to separate person markers from number and case markers. For example, the third person plural <mu-> refers both to person and number and its agentivity or subjectivity is determined by the type of the verb it occurs with. It functions as a subject if it occurs with an intransitive verb and as an agent if it occurs with a transitive verb.

7.1. THE FIRST PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph :<a->
label :li

The prefix <a-> occurs in the first prefixal slot. It marks the first person inclusive but it does not denote whether it is a subject, agent or object. The suffixes, which follow it in the affixal string, determine its agency, subjecthood or objecthood. When <a-> co-occurs with the dual marker suffix <-c^{hi}> and plural marker suffix <-i >, it serves as an intransitive subject as in 8a-b or transitive object as in 8c-f.

- (8) a. a-lok-Ø-c^{hi}
li-run-NPT-dS
'We run.'
- b. a-lokk-Ø-i
1-run-NPT-pS
'We run.'
- c. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c^{hi}
li-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats us.'
- d. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c^{hi}-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
'He beats us.'
- e. a-Ø-l□ps Ø-i
li-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats us.'
- f. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'He beats us.'

In 8a, the prefix <a-> is the first person inclusive marker and the suffix <-c^{hi}> is a dual number marker. These two affixes together constitute a first person dual inclusive subject of an intransitive verb *lok* 'he runs' where as in 8c-d they mark first person dual inclusive object. Similarly, the prefix <a-> in combination with the plural number suffix <-i> forms the first person plural inclusive subject in 8b whereas it functions as the first person plural inclusive object in 8d-e. In 8f, it, in combination with plural and exclusive markers, forms first person plural exclusive object.

When <a-> co-occurs with the third person object <-u>, it functions as an agent.

- (9) a. a-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-Ø-Ø
li-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
'We beat him.'
- b. a-l□m-Ø-c^h-u- si

- 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'We beat them.'
- c. a-l□ps-Ø-u- m-Ø
1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO
'We beat him.'
- d. a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m
1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA
'We beat them.'

In 9a-b, the first person prefix <a-> in combination with the dual number suffix <c^h> and in 9c-d, the first person prefix <a-> together with plural number suffix <-m> constitute first person dual and plural inclusive agents respectively.

In 3→1 configuration <a-> occurs as a prefix because the third person is lower than the first person in animacy hierarchy and it can not fill the prefixal slot. When it occurs as a subject with a higher pronominal object, the vacant prefixal slot is filled by the higher object prefix <a->. As a result, the first person is double marked as in 10a-c.

- (10) a. a-Ø-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'He beats me.'
- c. a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c^hi-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
'He beats us.'
- e. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'He beats us.'

The first person prefix <a-> does not occur with first person exclusive subject or agent as in 11.

- (11) a. lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa
run-NPT-sS-1e
'I run.'
- b. l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-ŋ-Ø
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I beat him.'

In the above examples, <a-> occurs in partially similar forms and it signals corresponding semantic likeness. It has identical phonemic form in all its occurrences and it has a common semantic distinctiveness. It meets the requirement of the first principle employed by Nida (1970: 7) in the identification of morphemes. Thus, we assign it the status of the first person inclusive morpheme. It contrasts with other forms in identical environments as exhibited in 12.

- (12) a. a-noN-Ø-c^hi
1i-return-NPT-dS
'We return.'
- b. ka-noN-Ø-c^hi
2-return-NPT-dS
'We return.'
- c. O-noN-Ø-c^hi
3-return-NPT-dS
'They return.'

The first person prefix <a-> is derived from the independent first person singular pronoun *a* which has been derived from the first person singular pronoun *aNga* which is still used as a first person singular independent pronoun in Panthare and Phedappe dialects. In fact, <a-> as a first person prefix is reflected in Dumi and Khaling in addition to Limbu and in Rawang and Lakhar beyond Kiranti (Driem 1993:329). Driem (1987:78), cites the example of the occurrence of the morpheme <a-> before the second person prefix <ke-> as in the word *agedabai* 'are you insulting me?' and proves that if two person markers cooccur in the same verbal string, first person marker precedes the second person marker and the second person marker in turn precedes the third person marker and traces the role of animacy hierarchy in the determination of the prefixal slots. However, in Chhatthare Limbu, first person is never followed by the second person in a verbal string. They share the same prefixal slot as speech act participants.

7.2. THE SECOND PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph : <ka->
label : 2

The prefix <ka-> occurs in the first prefixal slot. It marks the second person but it does not denote whether it is a subject, agent or object. The suffixes, which follow it in the affixal string, determine its agency, subjecthood or objecthood. When <ka-> co-occurs with the first person singular object morpheme <-ŋa> or the third person object suffix <-u>, it functions as an agent. Its singularity is unmarked.

- (13) a. ka-l□ps-Ø-u -Ø-Ø
2-beat-NPT-3-sA-sO
'You beat him.'
- b. ka-l□m- Ø – Ø- Ø -ma
2-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e
'You beat me.'

In intransitive verb conjugation the prefix <ka-> indexes second person subject in the affixal string. Its singularity is unmarked but duality and plurality are marked by <-c^{hi}> and <-i.> respectively.

- (14) a. ka-lok-Ø-Ø
2-run-NPT-sS
'You run.'
- b. ka-lok-Ø-c^{hi}
2-go-NPT-dS
'You go.'
- c. ka-lokk-Ø-i
2-run-NPT-pS
'You run.'

In 3→2 configurations second person marker <ka-> appears as in 15. Its object role is determined by the following number affixes. Its singularity is unmarked as in 15a but duality and plurality are marked by <-c^{hi}> and <-i.> respectively as in 15 b-c.

- (15) a. ka- Ø- l□m Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'
- b. ka-Ø- l□m-Ø-c^{hi}
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'

- c. ka-Ø-l^hps-Ø-i
 2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
 'He beats you.'

The morpheme <ka-> occurs in reflexive or reciprocal conjugations.

- (16) a. ka-l^hm-c^hin-Ø-Ø
 2-beat-REFL-NPT-sS
 'You beat yourself.'
- b. ka-l^hm-nE-Ø-c^hi
 2-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
 'You beat each other.'

In 16a-b, <ka-> occurs in partially similar forms and it signals corresponding semantic likeness. It has identical phonemic form in all its occurrences and it has a common semantic distinctiveness. It meets the requirement of the first principle employed by Nida (1970: 7) in the identification of morphemes. Thus, we assign it the status of the second person morpheme. There is one-to-one correspondence between morph and morpheme. It has no allomorph. It contrasts with other forms in identical environment as in 17a-b.

- (17) a. ka-laN-Ø-c^hi
 2-dance-NPT-dS
 'We dance.'
- b. Ø-laN-Ø-c^hi
 3-dance-NPT-dS
 'They dance.'
- c. a-laN-Ø-c^hi
 1i-dance-NPT-dS
 'We dance.'

The independent pronoun for second person singular pronoun is *kHEnE* or *kHanE*. The second person prefix <ka-> has been derived from *kHanE*. The data above exhibit that second person prefix <ka-> occurs in intransitive conjugation and the 2→1, 2→3, and 3→2 configurations. Watters (2003:384) considers it as a new feature not seen in any of the Kiranti languages so far.

7.3. THIRD PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph: Ø
 label: 3sS/A

The third person singular subject or agent is unmarked. It is shown in the paradigm by a <Ø> prefix. It fills the second prefixal slot of a verb form. Its case role is determined by the following suffixes with which it occurs in the affixal string. In a third person, singular intransitive verb form, there is no overt person marker. The absence of an overt person marker in such a verb form as in 18a indicates third person singular subject and the occurrence of the dual marker <-c^hi> as in 18b in the intransitive verb forms determines its subject role.

- (18) a. Ø--lok-Ø
 3sS-run-NPT
 'He runs.'
- b. Ø-lok-Ø-c^hi
 3-go-NPT-dS
 'They run.'

The agent role of the third person singular is implied by the presence of only one overt person affix in the transitive conjugation as in 19a-c but the agent role of the third person dual is indicated by the dual agent morpheme <-cH> in the transitive verb form as in 19 d.

- (19) a. Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'He beats him.'
- b. ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-Ø
2-3sA-beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'
- c. a-Ø-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'He beats me.'

In structural series of third person intransitive verb forms, there is a significant absence of third person singular subject in the initial position of the structure as in 18a. In third person singular agent and first person or second person object structural series, the agent is significantly absent in the second prefixal slot right after the object prefixes as in 19b-c. We can describe such significant absence as 'zero' according to the third principle of Nida (1970:46) in the identification of morphemes. Hence, it is treated as a third person singular subject or agent morpheme. Its absence is readily contrasted with other forms occurring in identical forms as in 20bc.

- (20) a. O-uN-Ø-c^{hi}
3-come-NPT-dS
'They come down.'
- b. ka-uN-Ø-c^{hi}
2-come-NPT-dS
'We come down.'
- c. a-uN-Ø-c^{hi}
1i-come-NPT-dS
'We come down.'

The zero marking for third person singular subject or agent is a widespread phenomenon in the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is there in Thulung, Hayu, Bahing, Bantawa, Athpariya, Chamling, and Dumi of Kiranti languages and beyond Kiranti in other languages of Tibeto-Burman languages (Watters 2003: 376-396).

7. 4. THE THIRD PERSON PLURAL MORPHEME

basic morph : <mu->
label : 3pS/A

<mu-> is a prefix which denotes third person, plural subject or plural agent. It occurs in the second prefixal slot.

- (21) a. mu-lok-Ø
3pS-go-NPT
'They run.'
- b. 3p-3s
mu-l□ps-Ø-u- Ø
3pA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'They beat him.'

In 21a <mu-> occurs as a subject and in 21b it occurs as an agent. In these occurrences, it has an identical phonemic shape and triggers the same meaning i.e.,

third person plural. Its case role as subject or agent is determined by the type of verb it occurs with. If it is prefixed to the intransitive verb stem, it will index third person, plural subject which is labeled as 3pS and if it is prefixed to the transitive verb stem, it will index third person, plural agent meaning which is labeled as 3pA. However, as an agent, it occurs only in 3→3 configurations. When the negative prefix <-n> is added to the third person plural <mu->, its vowel /u/ changes to /a/. As a result, <mu-> changes to <ma->. It is exemplified in 22a-c.

- (22) a. ma-n-lok-Ø-nEn
3pS- NEG-run-NPT-NEG
'They don't run.'
- b. ma-m-bin-O-nEn
3pS-NEG-jump-NPT-NEG
'They don't jump.'
- c. ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u- n- Ø
3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
'They don't beat him.'

In 3→2 and 3→1 configurations, the third person agent morpheme <mu-> has allomorphs in <m-~n-~N> between the preceding personal prefix and the verb root. In 23a-b the allomorph <n> occurs between them. But this allomorph signals both dual and plural meanings. Therefore, it is glossed as non-singular agent morpheme in the morphemic analysis.

- (23) a. ka- n-l□m-Ø-Ø
2-3nsA-beat NPT-sO
'They beat you.'
- b. a- n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3nsA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'They beat me.'

When third person nonsingular agent morpheme occurs before the negative prefix, it is deleted. Its covert form is marked by a zero morpheme <Ø> as shown in 24a-b.

- (24) a. ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-nEn
2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT- NEG
'They do not beat you.'
- b. a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n
1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG
'They do not beat me.'

The third person non-singular allomorph undergoes changes according to the phonological environments. The phonological conditions in which the nasal undergoes phonemic changes can be enumerated in the following way:

- a. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-m> if it is followed by the bilabial consonant as in 25a.
- b. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-N> if it is followed by velar consonants as in 25b.
- c. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-n> if it is followed by dental consonant as in 25c.

- (25) a. ka- m-bi-Ø- Ø
2-3nsA-give-NPT-sO
'They give you.'
- b. a-ŋ-gut-a- Ø -ŋ
1-3nsA- make carry -PT- sO-1e

- c . 'They made me carry something.'
 a-n-dEps-i- Ø
 1i-3nsA-catch-pO-NPT
 'They catch us.'

The non-singular variant <m-> of the third person plural morpheme <mu-> is deleted before the following negative morpheme in 3ns→2 and 3ns→1 forms because the syllable final can not accommodate two phonemes. As a result, the difference between 3ns→2 and 3s→2- and 3ns→1 and 3s→1 in negative forms is neutralized. It justifies that the third person non-singular allomorph has another allomorph in its negative forms. It is marked by the allomorph <Ø->.

The third person plural morpheme <mu-> functions both as a subject and agent against its object morpheme <-u> and non-singular marker <-si>. This is the common feature of nominative-accusative pattern as against the ergative-absolutive pattern which is shown by the first and second person agreement markers. It also shows the role of person hierarchy in its word formation process. It can occur only in 3→3 configuration in a transitive form but in 3→2 and 3→1 configurations, only <m~n~N> occurs as a third person non-singular agent morpheme. Moreover, in 3→3 configuration, it marks only plurality but in 3→2 and 3→1 configurations, it marks both duality and plurality. The occurrence of the plural agent morpheme <mu~ma> in 3→3 configurations and its non-singular allomorph <m~n~N> in 3→2 and 3→1 forms can be attributed to the role of animacy hierarchy.

7.5. THE SECOND PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph : <-na>
 label : 1→2

The morpheme <-na> is sfl filler. It indicates second person object in a 1→2 configuration. In 1s→2s form, the agent and its number are unmarked. Similarly, the object number is also unmarked. They are indicated by <-Ø> morpheme. However, in 1s→2d and 1s→2p forms, the person of agent is marked but its singularity of agency is unmarked. On the other hand, the object and its number are marked.

- (26) a. I□m-na- Ø-Ø
 beat-1→2O- sO-sA
 'I beat you.'
 b. I□m-na- c^{hi}i- Ø- η
 beat-1→2O- dO-sA-1e
 'I beat you.'
 c. I□m-na-ni-Ø-η
 beat-1→2O-pO-sA-1e
 'I beat you.'

In 1→2 sequences as in 26a, the singularity of the first person agent and second person object are unmarked. In 1s→2d configuration as in 26b, <-c^{hi}i> makes reference to the dual number of the object participant, whereas <-O> makes reference to the singularity of the first person agent participant. <-ni> in 26c, on the other hand, marks plurality of object.

In 1nse-2 configurations, <-na> changes to <-nE> as shown in 27.

- (27) a. I□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c^{hi}i-ηja
 beat-1→2O-NPT-sO- nsA-1e
 'We beat you.'

- b. tumnE-nE-Ø-Ø-c^hi-ŋa
meet-1→2O-NPT-dO- nsA-1e
'We meet you.'
- c. pHanE-nE-Ø-Ø-c^hi-ŋa
help-1→2O-NPT-pO- nsA-1e
'We help you.'

The allomorph <-nE> is unmarked for number. The suffix <-c^hi> marks agent non-singularity. The second person dual object <-c^hi> and the first person non-singular agent marker <-c^hi> are homophonous morphemes occurring in different suffixal slots. They are, however, indicated in the paradigm by the suffix <-O> in 27.

Bauman (1975) reconstructed <-na> as the second person morpheme of Tibeto-Burman languages. Tangut, Thulung, Bahing, Sunuwar etc. also have <-ŋa> for second person suffix (Watters 2003:374-78). Athpare, chamling and Bantawa consider <-na> as 1→2 morpheme (Ebert 1994: 22). Van Driem (1987:88) treats <-ne> as a 1→2 portmanteau because this morpheme occurs only in 1→2 configuration.

7.6. THE THIRD PERSON OBJECT MORPHEME

basic morph :<-u>
label :3O

A third person object is marked by <-u>. It occurs in 3→3, 2→3 and 1→3 forms as indicated in 28 and fills the fourth suffixal slot. Its singularity is unmarked but its covert presence is marked in the paradigm by a zero morpheme <-O> in 28.

- (28) a. Ø-l□ps-u-Ø
3sA-beat-3O-sO
'He beats him.'
- b. ka-l□ps-Ø-u - Ø
2-beat-sA-3O-sO
'You beat him.'
- c. l□ps-Ø- Ø-u-ŋ-Ø
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I beat him.'

It is unmarked in negated 1s→3 forms as in 29a-c and 1pe→3 forms in the past as exhibited in 29d.

- (29) a. ma-l□m-Ø-ma-n
NEG-beat-NPT-1sS-NEG
'I do not beat.'
- b. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1sS /PT/NEG
'I did not beat.'
- c. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1Ss/peS/PT/NEG
'We did not beat.'
- d. l□m- mna
beat-1peS/PT

'We beat.'

In the ditransitive verb forms, the third person object <-u> marks only the indirect object as shown in 30.

- (30) a. Ø -piy-Ø-u-Ø
 3sA-give-NPT-3O-sO
 'He gives him (something).'
 b. Ø -hakk-Ø-u-Ø
 3sA-send-NPT-3O-sO
 'He sends him (something).'
 c. Ø -cat-Ø-u-Ø
 3sA-feed-NPT-3O-sO
 'He feeds him something.'

The verbs in 30 are ditransitive verbs because they take three arguments in the sentence level. In 3→3, 2→3 and 1→3 structural series, <-u> occurs in the fourth suffixal slot with an identical phonemic form and a common semantic distinctiveness. Therefore, it is a third person object morpheme. It is used as a third person object morpheme in Kiranti languages like Athpare, Bantawa, Chamling (Ebert 1994: 22). The fact that it can be observed in Rawang and Jingpaw reveals its Tibeto-Burman provenance. The third person object suffix <-u> is the reflex of the third person singular pronoun *kHune* 'he'.

7.7. THE FIRST PERSON EXCLUSIVE PORTMANTEAUX

basic morph :<-ŋa >
 label :1e

<-ŋa> is a suffix, which signals first person, exclusive meaning. Its singularity of subjectivity and agentivity is formally unmarked but as its absence is significant, it is marked by <-Ø> in 31. It has allomorphs in <-N>, <-ma> and <-na>. It occurs as subject and object in verb forms.

- (31) a. lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa
 run-NPT-sS-1e
 'I run.'
 b. a-ni- Ø-Ø -Na
 1-see-NPT-sO-1e
 'He sees me.'
 c. a-n-ni-Ø-Ø-Na
 1-3nsA-see-NPT-sO-1e
 'They see me.'

In 31a <-Na> occurs as a subject and in 31b-c it occurs as an object. Its singularity of subject or object is unmarked. In the paradigm, it is shown by < Ø > morpheme. In all these occurrences, it has the identical phonological form and a common semantic distinctiveness and is, therefore, a first person, exclusive morpheme. It is readily identifiable if it occurs with other morphemes in an identical form as given in 32.

- (32) a. uN-Ø- Ø -Na
 come-NPT-sS-1e
 'I come down.'
 b. ka-uN-Ø
 2-come-NPT
 'We come down.'
 c. Ø-uN-Ø

3-come-NPT
 'They come down.'

When <-Na> occurs in the syllable final position after the past tense morpheme <-a> as in 33a-b or after the third person object suffix <-u> as in 33c, it loses its final vowel and retains only the nasal consonant as an allomorph <-N>. It occurs in the fifth suffixal slot.

- (33) a. lokk-a-Ø-ŋ
 go-PT-sS-1e
 'I run.'
- b. a- Ø- lɔps-a-Ø-ŋ
 1-3sA-beat-PT-sO-1e
 'They beat me.'
- c. lɔps-Ø-u- Ø-ŋ-Ø
 beat-NPT-3O-sA-1e-sO
 'I beat him.'

In fact, in <-Na> /N/ occurs in the onset position of an affixal string followed by a vowel which fills the nucleus position. When it has to occur in the syllable final position preceded by either past morpheme <-a> or third person object morpheme <-u>, it loses its final vowel and only <-N> remains as a first person singular subject, agent or object allomorph.

This morpheme <-ŋa> changes to <-ma> or <-Na> according to the preceding phonological environment as shown in 33.

- (34) a. a- Ø- lɔm-Ø-Ø-ma
 1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
 'They beat me.'
- b. p^hEn- Ø- Ø -na
 come-NPT-sS-1e
 'I come.'

<-Na> has different phonemic forms such as <-ma>, <-na> and <-N > but they have a common semantic distinctiveness and the distribution of the formal differences is phonologically definable in the following way:

- a. The phonemic shape of the morpheme is <-Na> if it is preceded by a velar consonant as in 31a and 32a.
- b. It is <-ma> if it is preceded by bilabial consonant as in 34a.
- c. It is <-na> if it is preceded by dental consonant as in 34.
- d. It is <-N> if it is preceded by vocalic suffix <-u> as in 33c or by <-a> as in 33a-b.

They constitute a single morpheme according to the second principle employed in the identification of morphemes by Nida (1970:14). <-Na> is, according to this principle, a first person, exclusive morpheme and <-ma>, <-na> and <-N> are its allomorphs. Katamba (1993:33) views that the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the consonant that follows it. From a phonetic point of view, vowels do not have definite place of articulation, only consonants do. So a consonant cannot assimilate to the place of articulation of a vowel. Therefore, the underlying form is revealed when the nasal is put before the vowel. In Chhatthare Limbu, the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the consonant that precedes it. If we place the nasal after the vowel, we will find the revelation of the underlying form <-Na>.

- (35) a. nE- Ø-Ø-Na
 lie-NPT-sS-1e

- ‘I lie.’
- b. pe- Ø-Ø-Na
fly-NPT-sS-1e
‘I fly.’
- c. si- Ø Ø -Na
die-NPT-sS-1e
‘I die.’

The noun *napmi* ‘man’ is also used as a first person exclusive prefix in imperative form of verb in 2p→1s configuration as in *napmi-tEpsa* ‘hold me’. The first person morpheme <-ŋa> is derived from the old first person pronoun *aŋga*. Driem (1987:99) treats <-aŋ> as a portmanteau, which means first person, singular number, past tense. In fact, he does so to treat it like the portmanteaux <-?e>, which signals first person, singular number and non-past tense in the Phedappe dialect. Ebert (1994:29-30) is of the opinion to treat <-a> as a past morpheme. In Chhatthare Limbu, <-a> is a past marker and <-N> is the allomorph of the first person, exclusive morpheme.

The morpheme <-ŋa> for a first person singular suffix is widespread in many Kiratnti languages such as Bantawa <-ŋ>, Sunuwar <-ŋa>, Bahing <-ŋa>, Thuluŋ <-ŋu>, Athpare <-ŋ> and also in languages outside Kiranti languages such as Tangut <-Na>. Bauman (1975) reconstructs <-ŋa> to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman first person morpheme.

The first person morpheme <-Na> takes dual and plural suffixes to impart number and case roles. It takes dual marker <-c^hi> to index duality of subject as in 36a and duality of object as in 36c but it takes the dual marker <-c^h> to show duality of agent as in 36e. Likewise, it takes a plural suffix <-i> for the plurality of subject as in 36b and plurality of object as in 36d. It takes a plural marker <-m> for plurality of agent as in 36f.

- (36) a. lok-Ø- c^hi-ŋa
run-NPT-dS-1e
‘We run.’
- b. lokk-Ø-i-ŋa
run-NPT-pS-1e
‘We run.’
- c. a- Ø -l□m-Ø-c^hi-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
‘They beat us.’
- d. a- Ø -l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
‘He beats us.’
- e. l□m-Ø-c^h-u-ŋa
beat-NPT-dA-3O-1e
‘We beat them.’
- f. l□ps-Ø-u-m-m-ma
beat-PT-3O-pA- 1e
‘We beat them.’

The suffix <-Na> is a first person singular subject or object or agent. First person dual exclusive includes two people and excludes the listener or the listener and his group whereas first person plural exclusive includes three or more than three people but excludes the listener or listener and his group. In fact, first person singular is first person exclusive because first person singular always excludes himself or herself

from the second person or the listener and his or her group. If the number of excluded is one, it is first person singular, if two, it is first person dual exclusive if three or more than three, it is first person plural exclusive. <-Na> in this analysis is taken as a first person exclusive suffix. It is first person singular and dual and plural exclusives are its dual and plural forms.

7.8. THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE SUBJECT OR AGENT MORPHEME IN PAST

basic morph : <-mna >
label : 1pe/S/PT

<-mna> is a portmanteaux which indexes a first person plural exclusive subject in the past in intransitive form as in 37a-c while in transitive forms, it denotes a 1pe→ relations as indicated in 37d-f

- (37) a. tam-na
arrive-1peS/PT
'We arrived.'
- b. sim-na
die-1peS/PT
'We died.'
- c. i-mna
move round-1peS/PT
'We move round.'
- d. nim-na
cover-1peA/PT
'We covered them.'
- e. kum-na
carry-1peA/PT
'We carried (something or somebody)'
- f. ham-na
bite-1peA/PT
'We beat (something)'

In 37, phonologically the phoneme /m/ of the morpheme <-mna> occurs in the coda position and keeps itself away from its morphemic group. As a result, -na stands isolated phonologically but morphologically they form a single morpheme <-mna>. The reason for /m/ occurring in coda position is that consonant sequence or geminates can not occur in the syllable onset position.

In all occurrences, the suffix <-mna> shows an identical phonemic shape and has a common semantic distinctiveness and it constitutes a first person plural exclusive subject or agent in the past form. It occurs in the fifth suffixal slot. It has allomorph in <-na>. When it occurs after the syllable final consonant, its initial consonant /m/ is deleted and only <-na> remains as an allomorph because consonant sequence can not occur in the onset position. The examples in 38 make it clear.

- (38) a. lok-na
run-1pe/PT
'We ran.'
- b. l□m-na
beat-1peS/PT
'We beat.'

- c. tEp-na
cover-1peS/PT
'We caught.'

In fact, the full conjugated forms of the verbs in 38 are as presented in 39.

- (39) a. lokk-Ø- i-ŋa
run-PT-pS-1e
'We run.'
- b. lɔps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma
beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e
'We beat him.'
- c. tEps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma
catch-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e
'We beat him.'

While *lokkiŋa* and *lɔpsumma* can be both past and non-past, *lok-na* and *lɔm-na* can be only past. In the first word, the plural subject suffix <-i> is replaced by plural agent morpheme <-m> and the following first person suffix <-ŋ> changes to <-n>. Thus, the word form is *lok-Nna*. But as the consonant sequence can not occur in the onset position *lok-Nna* is realized as *lok-na*. Similarly, in the second word, the third person singular object suffix <-u> is deleted. Then, the plural agent morpheme <-m> is retained and first person marker <-Na> changes to <-na> producing a word form *lɔm-mna*. Again due to syllable onset constraint, the phoneme /m/ is deleted and it is realized as *lɔm-na*. The invariable form of the morpheme <-na> yields past meaning. The verb form *tEp-na* which is pronounced as *tEpsumma* in the full form also shares the features of *lɔmna*. In the speech community, these both forms are optionally used.

7. 9. THE FIRST PERSON NON-DUAL NEGATIVE MORPHEME

basic morph <-ban ~-pan >
label: IsS/A/ PT/NEG

The suffix <-ban> occurs in the negated past of intransitive and transitive forms with the first person exclusive or first person plural exclusive subject or agent. It occurs in the sixth suffixal slot.

- (40) a. man-laN-ban
NEG-dance-1eS/PT/NEG
'I did not dance.'
- Or
- man-laN-ban
NEG-dance-1peS/PT/NEG
'We did not dance.'
- b. man-yuN-ban
NEG-sit-1eS/NPT/NEG
'I did not sit.'
- Or
- man-yuN-ban
NEG-sit-1peS/NPT/NEG
'We did not sit.'
- c. man-lɔm-ban
NEG-go-1eS/PT/NEG
'I did not beat.'

Or

man-l□m-ban
NEG-go-1peS/PT/NEG
'We did not beat.'

d. man-l□m-ban-si-n
NEG-beat -1eA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG
'I did not beat them.'

Or

f. man-l□m-ban-si-n
NEG-beat -1peA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG
'We did not beat them.'

In all these occurrences the suffix <-ban> assumes the same phonemic shape and indexes similar meanings. Therefore, it is assigned the status of a portmanteaux morpheme. It has an allomorph in <-pan> as indicated in 41.

- (41) a. man-lok-pan
NEG-run-1sS/PT/NEG
'I did not run.'
- b. man-lok-pan
NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG
'We did not run.'
- c. man-sip-pan
NEG-milk-1sS/PT/NEG
'I did not milk.'
- d. maN-gip-pan-si-n
NEG-fear-1sA/PT/NEG
'I did not fear them.'

The phonemic shapes of the morpheme <-ban~-pan> are conditioned by the phonological environments which can be stated in the following way:

- a. The morph is <-ban> if it is preceded by nasal consonants /m/ and /N/ as in 40.
- b. The morph is <-pan> if it is preceded by voiceless stop consonants /p/ and /k/as in 41.

After the vowel, the morpheme is <-ban> and it is, therefore, assumed as the underlying form according to the theory of Katamba and assigned the status of a morpheme.

Originally, <-ban> is derived from the morphemes <-a-ŋ> in an affixal string. <-a> stands for past tense and <-ŋ> for first person, exclusive. When they occur in a syllable, they require a consonant in the initial position. They choose [p] after a voiceless consonant but [b] after a vowel or a nasal consonant. The first person exclusive morpheme and the negative suffix <-n> coalesced into a single segment /n/. As a result, it becomes a portmanteaux morpheme <-ban~-pan>, which signals a first person, exclusive or first person plural exclusive number, past tense and negative meaning in the intransitive context and adds third person object in the transitive context.

In the 1sA→3s or 1pe→3s structures, the verb is intransitively conjugated in the negative form constituted by the negative morpheme <man- -ban>. It does not mark the object but its non-singularity is marked by third person nons-ingular object <-si.>.

8. NUMBER MARKERS. Chhatthare Limbu has number markers such as dual, non-singular and plural markers. The singularity is formally unmarked on the verb

form. However, these number markers carry case meaning such as subject, object and agent along with them and they can not be separated. Therefore, here, they are dealt with in the same sub-headings.

8. 1. SINGULARITY OF SUBJECT OR OBJECT. Singularity of first person and second person subject and objects are not formally marked on the verb form. Both person and singularity of the third person are formally unmarked. They are, therefore, marked by the morph, <Ø>. They are discussed below.

8.1.1. SINGULARITY OF FIRST PERSON, SUBJECT OR OBJECT

basic morph <-Ø>
label sS/O

The morpheme <-ŋa~ŋ ~-ma~na> signals first person exclusive. Its singularity of subject or object is formally unmarked. It is indicated by a zero morph <- Ø> in 42.

- (42) a. lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa
run-NPT-sS-1e
'I run.'
- b. a-ni- Ø-Ø -Na
1-see-NPT-sO-1e
'He sees me.'
- c. ka-ni-Ø-Ø-Na
2-see-NPT-sO-1e
'You see me.'

8.1.2. SINGULARITY OF SECOND PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT

basic morph: <Ø>
label: sS/O

Singularity of second person subject or object is not overtly marked in the verb form. It is indicated by a <Ø> morph in 43. The singularity of the second person subject is indicated by a zero morph <Ø> in 45a and singularity of object in 45b.

- (43) a. ka-lok-Ø-Ø
2-run-NPT-sS
'You run.'
- b. ka- Ø- l□m Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'
- c. ka- n- l□m Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'

8.1.3. SINGULARITY OF THIRD PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT

basic morph: <Ø>
label: 3sS

Marker for the singularity of the third person subject does not appear on the verb form. However, it is marked by the morph, <Ø> which signals both third person singular subject as in 44a in the morphemic analysis. When it is followed by the dual marker, it indexes duality of subject as in 44b. It occurs in the third prefixal slot.

- (44) a. Ø--suN-Ø
3sS-cough-NPT
'He coughs.'
- b. Ø--suN-Ø- cHi
3sS-cough-NPT -dS
'They cough.'

The third person object <-u> occurs in the fourth suffixal slot and its singularity is formally unmarked. It is indexed by zero morph < Ø > as in 45 in the morphemic analysis.

- (45) a. Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'He beats him.'
- b. Ø-k^hEks-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-bind-NPT-3O-sO
'He binds it.'
- c. Ø-Eks-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-break-NPT-3O-sO
'He breaks it.'

8.2. DUALITY OF SUBJECT OR OBJECT OR AGENT

basic morph :<-c^hi>
label :dS/O/A

The suffix <-c^hi> indicates duality of subject in all three persons and of objects in the first and second person verb forms in an identical phonemic shape. It constitutes a dual morpheme on the basis of a common semantic distinctiveness and an identical phonemic shape principle. It is a sf3 filler.

8.2.1. DUALITY OF THE FIRST PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT Duality of the first person subject is marked by <-c^hi> as in table 46a-b and duality of its object is marked by the same suffix as in 46c-d.

- (46) a. a-lok-Ø-c^hi
1i-run-NPT-dS
'We run.'
- b. lok-Ø- c^hi-ŋa
run-NPT-dS-1e
'We run.'
- c. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c^hi
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats us.'
- d. a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c^hi-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
'He beats us.'

When it occurs after the second person object morpheme <-nE> in 1→2 configurations, it functions as the first person nonsingular agent suffix as in 47.

- (47) a. l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c^hi-ŋa
beat-1→2-NPT-sO- nsA-1e
'We beat you.'

8.2.2. DUALITY OF SECOND PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT. The morpheme <-c^hi> marks duality of second person subject as in 48a and duality of object as in 48b.

- (48) a. ka-lok-Ø-c^hi
2-run-NPT-dS
'You run.'
- b. ka-Ø-l□m-Ø-c^hi
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'

8.2.3. DUALITY OF THIRD PERSON SUBJECT. Duality of the third person subject is marked by the suffix <-c^hi> as in 49 but it does not mark its third person dual object. In third person, subject and agent show one type of behaviour and object shows another type of behaviour as opposed to the case in the first and second person where we see subject and object occurring as one group and agent as another group. To be precise, the verb form in the third person shows nominative-accusative pattern whereas the verb forms in the first and second person show ergative-absolutive pattern.

- (49) a. Ø-lok-Ø-c^hi
3-run-NPT-dS
'They run.'
- b. Ø-pok-Ø-c^hi
3-get up-NPT-dS
'They get up'
- c. Ø-yuN-Ø-c^hi
3-run-NPT-dS
'They sit.'

8.3. THE MORPHEME OF THIRD PERSON OBJECT NON-SINGULARITY

basic morph : <-si>
label : nsO

The non-singularity of third person object is marked by the suffix <-si> which occurs either after the third person object morpheme <-u> as in 50a or after nasals /m/ /n/ and /ŋ/ as in 50b-d.

- (50) a. Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-si
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO
'He beats them.'
- b. a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m
1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA
'We beat them.'
- c. a-n-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-n-si-n
1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'We don't beat them.'
- d. l□ps-Ø- Ø-u- ŋ-si-ŋ
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e
'I beat them.'

8. 4. PLURALITY OF SUBJECT OR OBJECT

basic morph : <-i>
label : pS/O

The suffix <-i> indicates plurality of subject and object in the first and second person verb forms without any change in its phonemic shape.

8.4.1. PLURALITY OF THE FIRST PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT. The morpheme <-i> marks the plurality of the first person subject as in 51 a-b and plurality of object as in 51 c-e.

- (51) a. a-lokk-Ø-i
1 -run-NPT-pS
'We run.'
- b. lokk- Ø- i- -ŋa
run-NPT-pS-1e
'We run.'
- c. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
1-3 sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats us.'
- d. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'He beats us .'
- e. a-n-l□ps-Ø-i
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'They beats us .'

8. 4.2. PLURALITY OF THE SECOND PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT.

The morpheme <-i> marks the plurality of the second person subject as in 52a and plurality of the object as in 52b-c.

- (52) a. ka-lokk-Ø-i
2-run-NPT-pS
'You run.'
- b. ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats you.'
- c. ka- n-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO
'They beat you.'

It has a regular allomorph <-ni> in the second person plural object in 1→2 forms as presented in 53.

- (53) a. l□m-na-Ø- ni- Ø-ŋ
beat-1→2-NPT-pO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'
- b. cEp-na-Ø- ni- Ø-ŋ
chop-1→2-NPT-pO-sA-1e
'I chop you.'
- c. u?-na-Ø- ni- Ø-ŋ
call-1→2-NPT-pO-sA-1e

'I call you.'

The plural morpheme <-i> is derived from the numeral word *sumsi* 'three'.

8.4.3. PLURALITY OF THE THIRD PERSON SUBJECT

basic morph: <mu->

label: 3pS

Plurality of the third person subject is marked by the third person portmanteau <mu-> as mentioned in 54.

- (54) a. mu-lok-<∅>
3pS-run-NPT
'They run.'
- b. mu-da-<∅>
3pS-come-NPT
'They come.'
- c. mu-im-<∅>
3pS-sleep-NPT
'They sleep.'

8.5. SINGULARITY OF AGENT . Singularity of the first person, second person and third person agents is marked by the morph <∅>.

8.5.1. SINGULARITY OF THE FIRST PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <- ∅ >

label: sA

Singularity of the first person agent is formally unmarked. It is indicated by the morph <∅> in the paradigm.

- (55) a. l□ps-∅-∅-u-η-∅
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I beat him.'
- b. l□m-na-∅-∅-∅
beat-1→2O-NPT-sO-sA
'I beat you.'
- c. l□m-na-∅-^hi-∅-η
beat-1→2O-NPT-dO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'
- d. l□m-na-∅-ni-∅-η
beat-1→2O-NPT-pO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'

8.5.2. SINGULARITY OF SECOND PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <∅>

label: sA

Singularity of second person agent is marked by the morpheme <∅> as in 56.

- (56) a. ka-l□ps-∅-u-∅-∅
2-beat-NPT-3O-sA-sO
'You beat him.'

- b. ka-l□m-Ø-Ø-Ø-ma
2-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e
'You beat me.'
- c. ka-l□m-Ø- Ø c^hi-Na
2-beat-NPT-sA-dO-1e
'You beat us.'

8. 5.3. SINGULARITY OF THE THIRD PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <Ø>
label: 3sA

Singularity of the third person agent is marked by the morpheme <Ø> as given in 57.

- (57)
- a. Ø-l□ps-Ø-u -Ø
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'He beats him.'
 - b. ka- Ø -l□m-Ø- Ø
2-3sA-beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'
 - c. a- Ø -l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'He beats me.'

8. 6. DUALITY OF THE AGENT

basic morph: <-c^h>
label: dA

The suffix <-c^h> marks agent duality of first person, second person and third person. It occurs before the third person morpheme <-u> in a verb form. It fills the third suffixal slot.

8.6.1. DUALITY OF THE FIRST PERSON AGENT. Duality of the first person agent in 1→3 configuration is marked by <-c^h> as in 58a-d but duality of agent in 1→2 configuration is marked by <-c^hi> as in 27a-c.

- (58)
- a. a-l□m -Ø-c^h-u-Ø
1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
'We beat him.'
 - b. a-l□m-Ø-c^h-u- si
1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'We beat them (d).'
 - c. l□m-Ø-c^h-u-Ø-ηa
beat-dA-3O-sO-1e
'We beat him.'
 - d. l□m-Ø-c^h-u-si-ηa
beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO-1e
'We don't beat them.'

8.6.2. DUALITY OF THE SECOND PERSON AGENT. The morpheme <-c^h> marks duality of second person agent as in 59.

- (59) a. ka-l□m -Ø-c^h-u-Ø
 2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
 'You beat him.'
 b. ka-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-si
 2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
 'You beat them.'

8.6.3. DUALITY OF THE THIRD PERSON AGENT Duality of the third person agent is marked by the suffix <-c^h> as in 60.

- (60) a. Ø-l□m-c^h-u-Ø
 3- beat-dA-3O-sO
 'They beat him.'
 b. Ø-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-si
 3-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
 'They beat them.'

In fact, the dual number morpheme <-c^hi> is derived from the numeral lexical item *necchi* 'two'. In intransitive verb form, it is overt but in the transitive verb form the vowel /i/ is deleted when it occurs before the third person object morpheme <-u> because the sequence of /i/ and /u/ is not permitted in the language. Driem (1987: 31) also says the same thing about the dual number morpheme in Phedappe Limbu.

8.7. THIRD PERSON, NON-SINGULAR AGENT

morphs: < -m~ -n~ -N- Ø >
 label: 3nsA

Third person, plural morpheme <mu-> has allomorphs in <-m~ -n ~ -N> which occur in 3→2 configuration as in 61a and 3→1 configuration as in 61b and 61c configurations. These allomorphs are phonologically conditioned and they index only third person, non-singular, agent meaning as given in 61.

- (61) a. ka- m-bi-Ø- Ø
 2-3nsA-give-NPT-sO
 'They give you.'
 b. a-n-dEps-i- Ø
 1-3nsA-catch-pO-NPT
 'They catch us.'
 c. a-ŋ-gut-a-ŋ
 1-3nsA- make carry -PT-1sO
 'They made me carry something.'

From the examples in 61, the phonological conditions in which the third person non-singular agent allomorph undergoes phonemic changes can be enumerated in the following way:

- a. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-m> if it is followed by a bilabial consonant like /p/.
- b. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-N> if it is followed by a velar consonants like /k/.
- c. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-n> if it is followed by a dental consonants like /n/.

In negative forms, third person non-singular agent is formally unmarked. In the paradigm it is marked by the allomorph <-Ø> as in 62.

- (62) a. ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-nEn
2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT- NEG
'They don't beat you.'
- b. a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n
1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG
'They don't beat me.'
- c. a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø-c^hi- n
1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO- NEG
'They don't beat us.'

8.8. PLURALITY OF SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANT AGENT

basic morph :<-m>
label :pA

The suffix <-m> indexes the plurality of the second person agent as in 63a and of first person agent as in 63b-c. It occurs in the fifth suffixal slot.

- (63) a. ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m- Ø
2-beat-NPT-3O-pA -sO
'You beat him.'
- b. a-l□ps-Ø-u- m -Ø
1i-beat-NPT-3O -pA-sO
'We beat him.'
- c. l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma
beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e
'We beat him.'

The first person plural agent morpheme does not occur where the portmanteau morphemes <-mna> and <-pan> occur because they themselves encode plural agentive meaning though formally they do not take object. The examples in 64a and 64b illustrate it.

- (64) a. l□m-mna
beat-1peS/PT
'We beat him.'
- b. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG
'We didn't beat him.'

The morpheme <-m> as a 1/2 plural agent suffix is ubiquitous in Athpare, Bantawa and Chamling (Ebert 1994: 22).

8.9. PLURALITY OF THIRD PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <mu->
label: 3pA

Plurality of the third person agent is marked by the portmanteau morph <mu-> as discussed in 65. It can occur only in 3→3 configuration.

- (65) a. mu-l□ps- Ø-u -Ø

- 3pA- beat-NPT-3O-sO
 ‘They beat him.’
- b. mu-uks-Ø-u
 3pA-pull-NPT-3O
 ‘They pull it.’
- c. mu-bat-Ø-u
 3pA-say-NPT-3O
 ‘They say it.’

In negative form, its syllable final vowel /u/ changes to /a/ and is realized as <ma-> as indicated in 66.

- (66) a. ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n
 3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 ‘They do not beat them.’
- b. ma-N-uks-Ø-u-n
 3pA-NEG-pull-NPT-3O-NEG
 ‘They do not pull it.’
- c. ma-m-bat-Ø-u-n
 3pA-NEG-say-NPT-3O-NEG
 ‘They do not say it.’

9. COPIED MORPHEMES. When the first person exclusive morpheme <-ŋ> occurs with the third person non-singular morpheme <-si>, it occurs again as its own copy as in 67a. The second person and first person plural agent morpheme <-m> occur as their own copy after the third person non-singular object suffix <-si> as in 67b and 67c respectively.

- (67) a. l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-ŋ-si-ŋ
 beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e
 ‘I beat them.’
- b. ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m
 2-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA
 ‘You beat them.’
- c. a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m
 1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-i
 ‘We beat them.’

The plural suffix <-m> of first person exclusive agent can be optionally unmarked in the past form. Its meaning is expressed by the portmanteau suffix <-ban> as indicated in 68.

- (68) a. man-l□m-ban
 NEG-beat-1peA/PT/NEG
 ‘We do not beat them.’
- b. man-ni-ban
 NEG-see-1peA/PT/NEG
 ‘We do not see them.’
- c. man-s□N-ban
 NEG-sell-1peA/PT/NEG
 ‘We do not beat them.’

The negative suffix <-n> also occurs again as a copy of its own after the third person non-singular object suffix <-si> as shown in 69.

- (69) a. Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n
 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG

- ‘He does not beat them.’
- b. Ø-ma-nih-Ø-u-n-si-n
3sA-NEG-see-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘He does not beat them.’
- c. Ø-ma-s□ks-Ø-u-n-si-n
3sA-NEG-sell-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘He does not sell them.’

10. THE MORPHEME OF REFLEXIVITY/RECIPROCITY

basic morph : <-c^hin -nE>
label : REFL

The suffix <-c^hin> is a sfl filler and it encodes reflexivity or reciprocity. It occurs in singular forms in all persons as in 70a-c but it also occurs in third person and first person plural forms as in 70d and 70e respectively..

- (70) a. Ø-l□m-c^hin-Ø
3sS-beat-REFL-NPT
‘He beats himself.’
- b. ka-l□m-c^hin-Ø-Ø
2-beat-REFL-NPT-sS
‘You beat yourself.’
- c. l□m-c^hin-Ø-na
beat- REFL -NPT-1eS
‘I beat myself.’
- d. mu-l□m- c^hin- Ø
3pS-beat- Refl -NPT
‘They beat themselves.’
- e. a-l□m-c^hin-Ø Ø
1i-beat-REFL-NPT-pS
‘We beat ourselves.’

While <-c^hin> encodes reflexive sense in third person plural and first person plural inclusive, each of the participants acts upon himself or on herself but when it encodes reciprocal sense, participants within the group mutually perform act upon each other, one performs the act and the other reciprocates it. Throughout these occurrences, <-c^hin> maintains its identical phonemic shape and common semantic distinctiveness. Therefore, it assumes the status of a morpheme.

In dual forms, it has allomorph in <-nE>.It encodes reciprocal meanings as in 71.

- (71). a. Ø-l□m-nE-Ø-c^hi
3-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
‘They beat each other.’
- b. ka- l□m-nE-Ø-c^hi
2-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
‘You beat each other.’
- c. a-l□m-nE-Ø-c^hi-Ø
1i-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
‘We beat each other.’
- d. l□m-nE-Ø-c^hi-ŋa
beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-1e
‘We beat each other.’

Reflexive verb is basically derived from a transitive verb as demonstrated by the examples in table 53.

	Transitive		Reflexive	
3s-3s	□s-u	'he beat him.'	□m-c ^h in '	'he beat himself.'
3d-3s	□m-cH-u	'They beat him.'	□m-nE-c ^h i	'they beat each other.'
3p-3s	mu- □ps-u	'they put it.'	mu-□m-c ^h in	'they beat themselves.'
2s-3s	ka-□p-u	'you put it.'	ka-□m-c ^h in	'you beat yourself.'
2d-3s	ka-□m-cH-u	'you put it.'	ka-□m-nE-c ^h i	'you beat each other.'
2p-3s	ka-□ps-u-m	'you put it.'	ka-□m-nE-chi	'you put yourselves.'
1s-3s	□ps-u-η	'I put it.'	□m-c ^h in-na	'I beat myself.'
1d-3s	a-□m-cH-u	'we put it.'	a-□m-nE-c ^h i	'we beat each other.'
1de-3s	□m-cH-u-ηa	'we put it.'	□m-nE-c ^h i-ηa	'we beat each other.'
1pi-3s	a-□ps-u-m	'we put it.'	a- □m-c ^h in	'we beat ourselves.'
1pe-3s	□ps-u-m-ma	'we put it.'	□m-c ^h im-mna	'we beat ourselves.'

TABLE 53. Comparative paradigms of transitive and reflexive verbs □mma 'to beat' and □m-cHim-ma 'to beat oneself'

In the plural forms of the first and third person subjects, the reflexive form <-nE> occurs optionally but the second person plural subject takes it obligatorily and its verb form is identical with that of second person dual subject. The reason for this to happen is that <ka-> indicates second person singular subject or object. The dropping of <c^hin> yields *ka-□m-c^hin* 'you beat yourself' which signals purely a singular subject meaning. Thus, the second person plural reflexive subject chooses the dual reflexive suffix.

Reflexive verbs can not be derived from the intransitive verbs without transitive potentiality. Therefore, reflexive verbs can not be derived from intransitive verbs like *te-ma* 'to go', *laη-ma* 'to dance', *pHem-ma* 'to come' because such derivations as *te-cHin*, *laη-cHin* and *pHen-cHin* are not attested in the language.

Most of the reflexive verbs are now felt to be transparent in spite of their reflexive derivatives. A number of reflexive or reciprocal forms are lexicalized and their meaning can not be readily adduced in terms of merely a reflexive or reciprocal sense. The reflexive verb *yuη-cHin* 'he sits' is reflexive derivative of the transitive verb root <yuks> as mentioned in the table 54. It is, however, not felt to be transparent. It is now lexicalized and yields intransitive meaning 'to sit' only.

	Transitive		Reflexive	
3s-3s	yuks-u	'he put it.'	yuη-c ^h in '	'he sits.'
3d-3s	yuη-cH-u	'They put it.'	yuη-nE-c ^h i	'they sit.'
3p-3s	mu- yuks-u	'they put it.'	mu-yuη-c ^h in	'they sit.'
2s-3s	ka-yuks-u	'you put it.'	ka-yuη-c ^h in	'you sit.'
2d-3s	ka-yuη-ch-u	'you put it.'	ka-yuη-nE-c ^h i	'you sit.'
2p-3s	ka-yuks-u-m	'you put it.'	ka-yuη-nE-chi	'you sit.'
1s-3s	yuks-u-η	'I put it.'	yuη-c ^h in-na	'I sit.'
1d-3s	a-yuη-cH-u	'we put it.'	a-yuη-ne-c ^h i	'we sit.'
1de-3s	yuη-cH-u-ηa	'we put it.'	yuη-nE-c ^h i-ηa	'we sit.'

1pi-3s	a-yuks-u-m	'we put it.'	a-yuŋ-c ^{hi} in	'we sit.'
1pe-3s	yuks-u-m-ma	'we put it.'	yuŋ-c ^{hi} im-mna	'we sit.'

TABLE 54. Conjugation of transitive and reflexive verbs

Morphologically, reflexive verbs follow the conjugation pattern of middle or intransitive verbs. If the reflexive suffix <-c^{hi}in> is dropped, the verb form becomes like the form of intransitive verb as shown in table 55.

Intransitive		
3s	yuŋ	'he sits.'
3d	yuŋ-cHi	'they sit'
3p	mu-yuŋ	'they sit.'
2s	ka-yuŋ	'you sit.'
2d.	ka-yuŋ-cHi	'you sit.'
2p	ka-yuŋ-i	'yu sit.'
1s	yuŋ-ŋa	'I sit.'
1d	a-yuŋ-cHi	'we sit.'
1de	yuŋ-cHi-ŋa	'we sit.'
1pi	a-yuŋ-i	'we sit.'
1pe	yuŋ-i-ŋa	'we sit.'

TABLE 55. Conjugation of intransitive verb yuNma 'to sit'

The suffix <-nE> can signal either reciprocal meaning or reflexive meaning. The choice of reciprocity or reflexivity is entirely semantic. If the doer of the actor acts upon himself, it is reflexive and if the actor acts upon other in return to his action that is reciprocal. If we judge it from this stance, the following verbs can be categorized both as reflexive and reciprocal.

(72)

	Reflexive	Reciprocal
a.	hu-nE-c ^{hi} i 'they teach themselves.'	hu-nE-c ^{hi} i 'they teach each other.'
b.	l□m-nE-c ^{hi} i 'they beat themselves.'	l□m-nE-c ^{hi} i 'they beat each other.'
c.	uŋ-nE-c ^{hi} i 'they drag themselves'	uŋ-nE-c ^{hi} i 'they drag each other.'

In fact, the reflexive meaning has a deliberative reading as long as the reflexive verb is felt to be transparent but when it is lexicalized, it loses deliberative reading and shades only intransitive meaning. However, cases of lexicalization are very limited and they can not challenge the productivity of reflexive or reciprocal verbs. So, now, we can say that the suffix <-c^{hi}in> indicates reflexivity or reciprocity. It has a regular allomorph in <-nE> in non-singular forms.

11. THE INCLUSIVE MORPHEME

basic morph a

label : 1i

THE EXCLUSIVE MORPHEME

basic morph <- ŋa >

In Chhatthare, there are mainly two kinds of first person pronouns. They are inclusive and exclusive. First person singular is exclusive as a speech act participant and is marked as first person exclusive <-Na> without any overt number marker. The addition of dual and plural suffixes to it indexes first person dual and plural exclusives. The first person inclusive is on the other hand marked by <a->.

Originally, the independent first person pronoun was *anga*. In the verb form, it was divided into two affixes <a- > and <-Na>. Its first part <a-> indexes first person inclusive meaning and its second part <-Nga> (later changed into <-Na>) indexes first person exclusive meaning. It can be shown in the tree diagram.

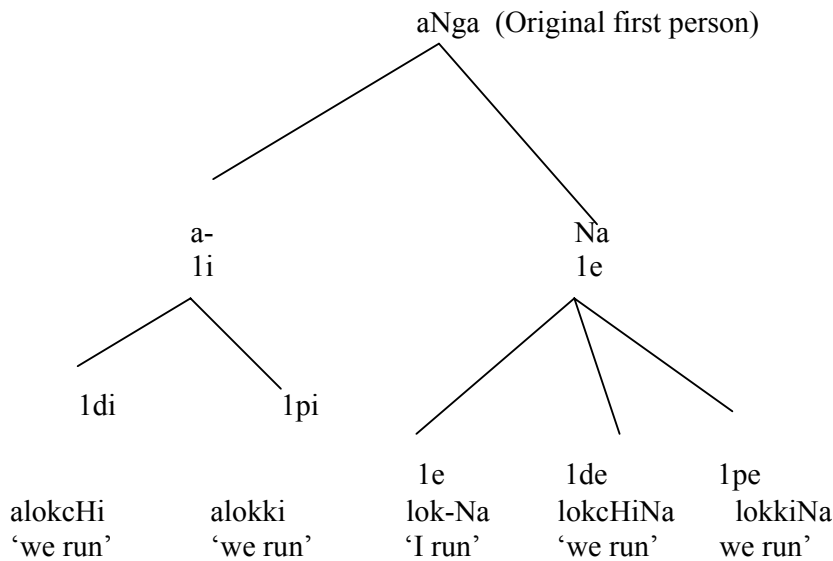


FIGURE 14. The division of aNga into inclusive and exclusive pronouns

Later, the inclusive <a-> began to be used as an independent morpheme in Chhatthare Limbu. The inclusivity of the first person subject, object or agent is marked by the morpheme <- a > whereas their exclusivity is marked by the morpheme <-ŋa>. On the left columns of the tables, inclusive forms and on the right, exclusive ones in non past affirmative and negative forms are given .

	Inclusive	Exclusive
a.		lok-Ø- Ø- Na Run-NPT-sS-1e 'I run.'
b.	a-lok- Ø-c ^h i 1i-run-NPT-dS 'We run.'	lok- Ø-c ^h i-Na run-NPT-dS-1e 'We run.'
c.	a-lokk- Ø-i 1i-run-NPT-pS 'We run.'	lokk- Ø-i-Na run-NPT-pS-1e 'We run.'

TABLE 56. Inclusive and exclusive paradigms of intransitive verb *lokma* 'to run'

a.		a- Ø- l□m- Ø- Ø-ma 1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e 'He beats me.'
b.	a- Ø- l□m- Ø-c ^h i 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dS 'He beats us.'	a- Ø- l□m- Ø-c ^h i-Na 1-3sA-beat-NPT-dS-1e 'He beats us.'
c.	a- Ø -l□ps- Ø-i 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pS 'He beats us.'	a- Ø -l□ps- Ø-i-Na 1-3sA-beat-NPT-pS-1e 'He beats us.'

TABLE 57. Inclusive and exclusive paradigm of the transitive verb *l□mma* 'to beat' in 3s→1 forms.

a.		l□ps- Ø- Ø -u-N- Ø Beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO 'I beat him.'
b.	a-l□m- Ø-c ^h -u- Ø 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO 'We beat him.'	l□m- Ø-c ^h -u-Ø-Na beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO-1e 'We beat him.'
c.	a-l□ps- Ø-u-m-Ø 1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO 'We beat him.'	l□ps- Ø-u-m-Ø-ma beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e 'We beat him.'

TABLE 58. Inclusive and exclusive paradigm of the transitive verb *l□mma* 'to beat' in 1→3 forms.

The first person exclusive morpheme <-ŋa> has a regular allomorph in <-ma~ ~ -N> as revealed in tables 57, 58 and 59. It has also allomorph <-na> as in 34b. In both transitive and intransitive verb forms, the morpheme <-ŋa> occurs. It signals exclusion of the second person in the involvement of activity. The first person inclusive indexes the first person involvement in the action with the second person. The first person singular form indexes exclusion of the first person actant from the second person in carrying out joint action. It means the first person performs action alone without involving the second person. The first person dual and plural exclusives, on the other hand, indicate the exclusion of two and more than two people from the second person in the performance of act. For these reasons, first person exclusive includes first person, singular, dual and plural but inclusive includes only non-singular because inclusion is not possible in a singular situation.

12. NEGATIVE MARKER

basic morph <ma (n) - -nEn (n)>
label: NEG

Negation is marked by a negative morpheme in Chhatthare Limbu. The morpheme contains mainly two parts to indicate negation. The second part may contain another

part as its copy. The first part and the second part surround the verb stem and express negation only in combination. They can not give negative meaning in isolation. The first part may occur as <man~ma~ m~n~N-> and the second part may take phonemic shapes such as <nEn~n>. As the morpheme has mainly two and occasionally three parts, there is a break between each part in their occurrence. The intransitive paradigm in table 48 shows an intransitive verb stem with <-n> as a discontinuous suffix in 17 forms out of 22 forms. It has discontinuous negative suffix <-nEn> in three forms and in two forms, the portmanteau shows negation. On the other hand, <n-> as a discontinuous prefix occurs in 12 forms, <ma-> in eight forms and <man-> occurs in two forms with the portmanteau suffix <-ban>. These two affixes occurring at the beginning and at the end of the stem together form a negative morpheme which is called circumfix by Whaley (1997) and discontinuous morpheme by Driem (1987).

In transitive verb stem in table 50, the negative suffix <-n> occurs in 66 forms in altogether 88 forms of past and non-past. The negative suffix <-nEn> occurs in 18 forms and the portmanteau suffix <-ban> indexes negative meaning in 4 forms. The negative prefix <man-> occurs in four forms-first person, singular agent and third person singular object in past form. In this configuration, the negative form does not mark object. The negative prefix <man-> and the portmanteau suffix <-pan~ban> indexes first person, singular, subject, past and negative meaning. This portmanteau suffix also indexes first person, plural, subject, exclusive, past and negative meaning. In 1eA→3ns and 1peA→3ns configuration, the third person object number is marked but third person object is not marked. The negative prefix <ma-> occurs in 24 forms and the negative prefix <n-> occurs in 60 forms. The prefix <n-> assimilates to the following consonant for place of articulation and is realized as <n~m~N->.

The two parts of a negative morpheme can take on different phonological shapes which are morpho-phonemically represented as <man- -ban>, <ma- -nEn>, <ma- -n>, <n- -nEn>, <n- -n>, <m- -nEn>, <m- -n>, <N- -nEn>, <N- -n>. The negative morpheme <man- -ban> occurs in four forms out of 88 forms. Out of four occurrences, too, the first person plural exclusive negative past in third person singular and non-singular configurations can also be conjugated as *ma-l[ps-u-m-ma-n* and *ma-l[ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n*. Thus, it can occur, obligatorily, only in two forms. It raises the number of the occurrences of the negative morpheme <ma- -n> from 23 to 25 forms. The negative morpheme <ma- -nEn> occurs in four forms, <n- -nEn> in 12 and <n- -n> in 49 forms. In an intransitive form, the negative morpheme <man- ban> occurs in 2 forms. In that too, the first person plural exclusive past negative form is optional. It can be either conjugated as *ma-lokki-Na-n* or *man-lok-pan*. It shows that <man- -ban> occurs only in one form obligatorily. <ma- -nEn> occurs in 1 form, <ma- -n> in 7 forms, <n- -n> in ten forms and <n- -nEn> occurs in 2 forms. The negative morphemes are discussed below:

12.1. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <man- -ban>.The first part <man-> forms a discontinuous morpheme with the portmanteau suffix <-ban> which occurs after the verb root signaling first person, exclusive or first person plural exclusive agent or subject in negated past.

- (73) a. man-lok-pan
 NEG-run-1eS/NPT-NEG
 'I did not run.'
 b. man-lok-pan

- NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG
We did not go.'
- c. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat -1peS/PT/NEG
'I did not beat him.'
- d. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG
'We did not beat him.'

12.2. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma-~nEn~n>. The first part of the negative morpheme <ma-> occurs with either the second part <-nEn> or <-n> to form a discontinuous negative morpheme.

12.2.1. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma- -nEn>. The first part of the negative morpheme <ma-> co-occurs with the second part <-nEn> and constitutes a discontinuous negative morpheme <ma- -nEn> if the second part occurs right after the verb root as in 74a-b or after the coda consonant as in 74c.

- (74) a. Ø-ma-dE-Ø-nEn
3sS-NEG-go-NPT-NEG
'He does not go.'
- b. Ø-ma-lok-Ø-nEn
3sS-NEG-run-NPT-NEG
'He does not run.'
- b. ma-l□m-na-Ø-chi-η-nEn
NEG-beat-1→2-NPT-dO-1sA-NEG
'I did not beat you (dO).'
- c. ma-l□m-na-Ø-ni-η-nEn
NEG-beat-1→2-NPT-pO-1sA-NEG
'I do not beat you (p).'

12.2.2. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma- -n>. The second part <-n> occurs with the first part <ma-> to form a negative morpheme <ma- -n> after the vowel in the affixal string as in 75.

- (75) a. ma-si-Ø- Ø- ηa-n
NEG-die-NPT-sS-1e-NEG
'I do not die.'
- b. Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-Ø-n
3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO-NEG
'They do not beat him.'
- c. ma-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma-n
NEG-beat-NPT-sS-1-NEG
'I do not beat him.'
- d. ma-l□m-c^h-u-Ø-ηa-n
NEG-beat-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG
'We do not beat him.'
- e. ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma-n
NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO- 1e-NEG
'We do not beat him .'
- f. ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma-n

1-NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG
 'We do not beat them.'

12.2.3. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma- -n -n >. The second part <-n> occurs with the first part <ma-> after the third person object <-u> and reappears in the affixal string after the third person nonsingular morpheme <-si> as in 76.

- (76) a. ma-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma-n-si-n
 NEG- beat-NPT-sA-1-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'I do not beat them.'
- b. Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n
 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'He does not beat them.'
- c. Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-c^h-u-n-si-n
 3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'They do not beat them.'
- d. ma-l□m-Ø-ma-n-si-n
 NEG- beat-NPT-1sA-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'I do not beat them.'

12.3. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <m~n~N- -nEn~ -n>. The initial consonant /m/ of the negative prefix <ma-> is affixed to the end of third person plural morpheme <-mu>, second person morpheme <ka-> and first person morpheme <a->. The negative prefix is phonologically conditioned and it changes its phonological shape to /m/, /n/ and /N/ according to the place of articulation of the following consonant. As they occur in a single syllable with the personal prefixes, they appear like single portmanteau morphemes but they are morphologically separate. They form discontinuous negative morphemes together with the negative suffixes <-nEn> and <-n>. When the negative prefix occurs after the third person plural morpheme <mu->, the vowel changes from /u/ to /a/. Consequently, it is realized as <ma>. When it is followed by the negative prefix, it forms a single phonological unit with the negative prefix and sounds homophonous with the negative prefix <man-> which occurs with the portmanteau morpheme <-pan~ban>.

12.3.1. NEGATIVE MORPHS <m- -nEn>, <n- nEn> <N- -nEn>. The negative prefix <m->, <-n> and <-N> appear after the third person plural morpheme <mu->, second person morpheme <ka-> and first person morpheme <a-> and take the second part <-nEn> to constitute discontinuous negative morphs <m- -nEn>, <n- -nEn> and <N-nEn>.

- (77) a. ma-m-bok-Ø-nEn
 3pS- NEG-rise-NPT-NEG
 'They do not rise.'
- b. ka-m-bo-Ø-Ø-nEn
 2-NEG-grow-NPT-sS-NEG
 'You do not grow.'
- c. a-m-bo-Ø-Ø-nEn
 1i-NEG-grow-NPT-sS-NEG
 'We do not grow.'

The negative prefix assumes phonological shapes according to the consonant which follows it.

- (78) a. ma-m-bo-Ø-nEn

- 3pS- NEG-grow-NPT-NEG
 'They do not grow.'
- b. ma-n-ni- Ø-nEn
 3pS-NEG-NPT-weep-NEG
 'They do not see.'
- c. ma-N-guN- Ø-nEn
 3pS- NEG-reach-NEG
 'They do not reach.'

12.3.2. NEGATIVE MORPHS < m- -n> or < n -n> or <N- -n>. After the third person plural morph <ma- >, second person morpheme <ka> and first person nonsingular morpheme <a> the prefix <m~-n~-N-> co-occurs with the suffix <-n> to form discontinuous negative morphs <m- -n>, <n- -n>, and <N- -n>.

- (79) a. ma-m-baks-Ø-u-n-Ø
 3pA-NEG-send-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
 'They do not send him.'
- b. ka-m-baks-Ø-u-Ø-Ø-n
 2-NEG-send-NPT-3O-sA-sO-NEG
 'You do not send him.'
- c. a- Ø- m-baN-Ø- Ø -Ø- Na-n
 1-3sA-NEG-send-NPT-sA-sO-1e-NEG
 'He does not send me.'

The negative prefix assumes phonological shapes according to the consonant which follows it.

- (80) a. ma-m-bat-Ø-u-n-Ø
 3pA-NEG-say-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
 'They do not say it.'
- b. ma-n-dEps-Ø-u- n-Ø
 3pA-NEG-catch-NPT-3O-NEG -sO
 'They do not catch him.'
- c. ma-N-gEtt-Ø-u- n Ø
 3pA-NEG-bring-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
 'They do not bring it.'

In 80a the negative prefix is realized as <m-> because it assimilates to the following bilabial stop /b/ for place of articulation. In 80b it is realized as <n-> due to its assimilation to the following dental stop /d/ and in 80c it is realized as <N-> due to its assimilation to the following velar stop /g/ for place of articulation.

12.3.3. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <m~-n~-N- -n -n>. After the third person plural morph <ma->, second person morpheme <ka-> and first person non-singular morpheme <a->, the negative prefix <m~-n~-N> co-occurs with the suffix <-n> after the third person object morpheme <-u> and it re-appears after the third person nonsingular object morpheme <-si> to constitute negative morphs <m- -n -n>, <n- -n -n> and <N- -n -n>.

- (81) a. ma-m-baks-Ø-u-n-si-n
 3pA-NEG-send-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'They do not send them.'
- b. ka-m-baN-Ø-cH-u-n-si-n
 2-NEG-send-NPT-3O-dA-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'They do not send them.'

- c. a-m-baN-Ø-cH-u-n-si-n
 1i-NEG-send-NPT-3O-dA-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'We do not send them.'

The negative prefix assumes phonological shapes according to the consonant which follows it as in (82).

- (82) a. ma-m-b□ks-Ø-u-n-si-n
 3pA-NEG-lift-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'They do not lift them.'
- b. ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u- n-si-n
 3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'They do not beat them.'
- c. ma-N-gEtt-Ø-u- n si-n
 3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'They do not bring them.'

In transitive verb paradigm, negativization passes through the process as listed in (83)

- (83) a. Underlying representation: ka-l□ps-u
 2-beat-3O
 'You beat him.'
- b. Pluralization: ka-l□ps-u-si
 2- beat-3O-nsO
 'You beat -them.'
- c. Negativization: ka-n-l□ps-u-n-si-n
 2-NEG-beat-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
 'You do not beat them.'
- d. Spreading: The spreading of <-n> is observed after the third person, non-singular object.

On the basis of the number of occurrence, the negative morph <n- -n> is abundant as it occurs in ten forms in intransitive stems and 49 forms in transitive stems as opposed to the negative morph <ma- -nEn> that obligatory occurs in four forms only out of 88 forms. <-nEn> is a full form of the negative suffix and <ma-> is the proto-negative prefix of TB languages. Therefore, <ma- -nEn> is chosen here as the basic negative morph from which other morphs are derived.

The negative morph <ma- -nEn> has two parts. The first part has various phonological shapes such as <man->, <ma->, <m->, <n-> and <N-> and the second part has two shapes <-nEn> and <-n>. The first part <man-> occurs only with the portmanteau morph <-ban> in first person exclusive subject of past verb form and first person plural exclusive agent in third person object configuration. The phonological shapes of the first part of the negative morphs <m->, <n-> and <N-> occur after the personal prefixes <mu->, <ka-> and <a-> in the coda position. Therefore, morphologically, they are separate though phonologically they are a one syllable unit. The second part is <-nEn> if it occurs after the verb root or after the coda consonant whereas it is <-n> after the third person object morpheme <-u> or past morpheme <-a>. The second part <-n> reoccurs after the third person non-singular object morpheme <-si>.

13. TENSE MORPHEMES

THE NON-PAST MORPHEME

basic morph: \emptyset
 label :NPT

THE PAST MORPHEME

basic morph: <-a>
 label : PT

Chhatthare Limbu distinguishes tense as non-past and past. Non-past is formally unmarked and is represented by a <- \emptyset > morph in the paradigm. Past is usually marked by a morpheme <-a>. The tense morpheme occurs in the second suffixal slot.

The intransitive paradigm in table 48 shows that out of 11 affirmative intransitive verb forms, past is marked by <-a> in eight verb forms. They are: 3s,3d, 3p, 2s, 2d,1s,1di and 1de. In first person plural inclusive and exclusive, the past marking is optional. The past marker <-a> and plural subject morpheme <-i> do not occur in succession and are, therefore, mutually exclusive. If one is chosen, the other one is to be formally abandoned. In second person plural form, the past is formally unmarked and it is marked by zero morph <- \emptyset >. In negative, it is marked by the morpheme <-a> in seven forms- 3s, 3d, 3p, 2s, 2d, 1di, and 1de. The second person negative verb form does not overtly mark the past, which, however, is indicated by a zero morph <- \emptyset >. In the first person, singular negative verb form, the past is marked by the portmanteau morph <-pan>. The first person plural inclusive marks the past either by a zero morph <- \emptyset > or by the past marker <-a>, which are, as stated earlier, mutually exclusive. Similarly, the first person plural exclusive is marked either by a zero morph, <- \emptyset > or by a portmanteau morpheme <-mna>. In majority of the verb forms, the past is marked by the morpheme <-a> and the non-past is unmarked in all forms.

The transitive conjugations in table 50 shows that out of 44 verb forms, 23verb forms with their negative counterparts distinguish past tense. The negative counterpart of the first person, singular agent verb form distinguishes the past form. Twenty verb forms including the negative forms do not make tense distinction. Both past and non-past have the same form. The verb forms with the first person, singular agent affix do not mark the past though its negative counterpart does it.

The above phenomena can be summarized in a tree diagramme.

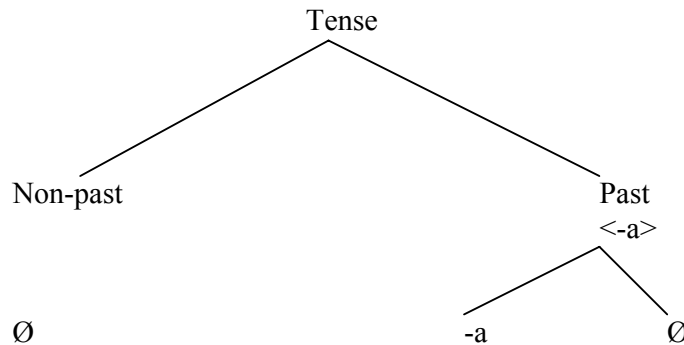


FIGURE 15. Tense morphemes

The morpheme <-a> occurs in almost all of the verb forms in the same phonetic shape with the same meaning 'past'and it contrasts with non-past forms in meaning. Therefore, it is a morpheme. The past meaning is conveyed by the two portmanteau

morphemes <-ban> and <-mna>. The element /a/ occurring there can be assumed to impart past meaning but it can not be stated with certainty. Moreover, as a past morpheme, it can not be isolated. The morpheme <-a> has an allomorph [-Ø] when it occurs before the vocalic suffixes <-i > or <-u> or after the vowel as in /*mna* 'I beat you' in 1→2 configuration. Consequently, there is no formal distinction between past and non-past verbs. Rai (1985:98) shows such phenomenon in Bantawa Rai.

Wiedert and Subba (1985:31) distinguish non-past from the past by the glottal stop in the final position. Such case may occur when the speaker stresses on the thing said. The glottal stop as a morpheme for past does not occur in Chhatthare Limbu. Driem (1987), too, does not assign morphemic status to the glottal stop occurring sometimes in the final position.

14. SUMMARY. Chhatthare Limbu finite verbs mark person, number, case, reflexivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity by affixes. Some affixes are, however, unmarked. Third person singular subject and agent are unmarked. Third person object is marked by <-u> but its singularity is unmarked. The singularities of second person and first person are unmarked. Likewise, their subject, agent and object singularities are also unmarked. First person exclusive agent is unmarked in 1→2 configuration. Past is unmarked before the vocalic suffix <-u> or after the vowel. These unmarked affixes are exhibited in the paradigms by a zero morph <Ø>. Each of these affixes occupies a certain slot. Sometimes, more than one affix can also occur in the same slot. Animacy hierarchy plays significant role in setting the order of affixes. There are altogether three slots for prefixes and ten for suffixes. The affixes mark person, number, case, reflexivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity. The negative morpheme is a discontinuous morpheme, part of which occurs before the stem and part of which occurs after it. The suffix part reappears as a copy of its own after the third person non-singular object <-si> like the speech act participant plural agent morpheme <-m> and first person exclusive suffix <-N>. Majority of affixes are portmanteau morphemes that indicate more than one meaning.

CHAPTER 11
TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD

1. INTRODUCTION. In Chhatthare Limbu tense is marked in the verb form itself but aspect is not marked there. For aspect, main verb should be combined with auxiliary verb by the help of a suffix. Similarly, mood is marked by different particles and suffixes to give different shades of meanings. In this chapter tense, aspect and mood are discussed.

2. TENSE. There are two kinds of tense- past and non-past in Limbu. They are morphologically marked in a finite verb. The past is marked by the suffix <-a> and non-past is unmarked. When the past tense morpheme occurs before the vocalic suffix such as third person object <-u> or plural non-third person object morpheme or plural subject morpheme <-i>, it is neutralized and past and non-past of the verb forms become identical in their phonetic shape. See table 48, 49 and 50.

3. ASPECT. Limbu expresses progressive and perfect aspects.

3.1. PROGRESSIVE. Progressive aspect in Limbu is expressed by the affixation of the suffix <-ro ~ -lo> to the stem and its simultaneous occurrence with the auxiliary which denotes simultaneity with the point of orientation in a given time. Progressive is also divided into past progressive and present progressive. The present progressive denotes continuous activity in the present time whereas the past progressive denotes continuous activity in a given time.

The paradigms of progressive aspect of the intransitive verb *tema* 'to go' and transitive verb *lɔmma* 'to beat' in both non-past and past forms are presented in the table 59 and 60.

NPT	PT
<p>1. 3s te-ro wa go-Prg be 'He is going.'</p>	<p>teg-a-ro wah-a go- PT-Prg be-PT 'He was going.'</p>
<p>2. 3d te-c^hi-ro wa-c^hi go-dS-Prg be-dS 'They are going.'</p>	<p>teg-a-c^hi-ro wah-a-c^hi go-PT-dS-Prg be-PT-dS 'They were going.'</p>
<p>3. 3p mu-de-ro mu-wa 3pS-go-Prg 3pS-be 'They are going.'</p>	<p>mu-deg-a-ro mu-wah-a 3pS-go-PT-Prg 3pS-be-PT 'They were going.'</p>
<p>4. 2s ka-de-ro ka-wa 2-go-Prg 2-be 'You are going.'</p>	<p>ka-deg-a-ro ka-wah-a 2-go-PT-Prg 2-be-PT 'You were going.'</p>
<p>5. 2d ka-de-c^hi-ro ka-wa-c^hi 2-go-dS-Prg 2-be-dS 'You are going.'</p>	<p>ka-deg-a-c^hi-ro ka-wah-a-c^hi 2-go-PT-dS-Prg 2-be-PT-dS 'You were going.'</p>

6. 2p	ka-deg-i-ro ka-wah-i 2-go-pS-Prg 2-be-pS 'You are going.'	ka-deg-i-ro ka-wah-i 2-go -pS-Prg 2-be-pS 'You were going.'
7. 1s	tek-ŋa-ro wa-ŋa go-1sS-Prg be-1e 'I am going.'	teg-a-ŋ-ro wa-ha-ŋ go-PT-1e-Prg be-PT-1e 'I was going.'
8. 1di	a-de-c ^{hi} -ro a-wa-c ^{hi} 1i-go-dS-Prg 1i-be-dS 'We are going.'	a-deg-a-c ^{hi} -ro a-wah-a-c ^{hi} 1i-go-PT-dS-Prg 1i-be-PT-PT-dS 'We were going.'
9. 1de	te-c ^{hi} -ŋa-ro wa-c ^{hi} -ŋa go-dS-1e-Prg be-dS-1e 'We are going.'	teg-a-c ^{hi} -ŋa-ro wah-a-c ^{hi} -ŋa go-PT-dS-1e-Prg be-PT-dS-1e 'We were going.'
10. 1p	a-deg-i-ro a-wah-i 1i-go-pS-Prg 1i-be-pS 'We are going.'	a-deg-i-ro a-wah-a go-pS-Prg-1i-be-PT 'We were going.'
11. 1ple	teg-i-ŋa-ro wah-i-ŋa go-pS-1e-Prg be-pS-1e 'We are going.'	tem-na-ro wa-mna go-1peS/PT-Prg be-1peS/PT 'We were going.'

TABLE 59. Paradigm of intransitive verb *te* in progressive aspect

NPT	PT
1. 3s→3s l□ps-u-ro wa beat-3O-Prg be 'He is beating him.'	l□ps-u-ro wah-a beat-3O-Prg be-PT 'He was beating him.'
2. 3s→3ns l□ps-u-si-ro wa beat-3O-3ns-Prg be 'He is beating them.'	l□ps-u-si-ro wah-a beat-3O-nsO-Prg be-PT 'He was beating them.'
3. 3s→2s ka-l□m-ro ka-wa 2-beat-Prg 2-be 'He is beating you.'	ka-l□ps-a-ro ka-wah-a 2-beat-PT-Prg 2-be-PT 'He was beating you.'
4. 3s→2d ka-l□m-cHi-ro ka-wa-cHi 2-beat-dO-Prg 2-be-dO 'He is beating you.'	ka-l□ps-a-cHi-ro ka-wah-a-cHi 2-beat-PT-dO-Prg 2-be-PT-dO 'He was beating you.'
5. 3s→2p ka-l□ps-i-ro ka-wah-i 2-beat-pO-Prg 2-be-pO 'He is beating you.'	ka-l□ps-i-ro ka-wah-i 2-beat-pO-Prg 2-be-pO 'He was beating you.'

6. 3s→1s

a-l□m-ma-ro a-wa-ŋa
1-beat-1e-Prg 1-be-1e
'He is beating me.'

7. 3s→1d

a-l□m-cHi-ro a-wa-cHi
1i-beat-dO-Prg 1i-be-dO
'He is beating us.'

8. 3s→1de

a-l□m-cHi-ŋa-ro a-wa-cHi-ŋa
1-beat-dO-1e-Prg 1i-be-dO-1e
'He is beating us.'

9. 3s→1pi

a-l□ps-i-ro a-wah-i
1i-beat-pO-Prg 1i-be-pO
'He is beating us.'

10. 3s→1pe

a-l□ps-i-ŋa-ro a-wah-i-ŋa
1-beat-pO-1e-Prg 1-be-pO-1e
'He is beating us.'

11. 3d→3s

l□m-cH-u-ro wa-cHi
beat-dA-3O-Prg be-dS
'They were beating him.'

12. 3d→3ns

l□m-cH-u-si-ro wa-cHi
beat-dA-3O-nsO-Prg be-dS
'They are beating them.'

13. 3ns→2s

ka-n-l□m-ro ka-N-wa
2-3nsA-beat-Prg 2-3nsA-be
'They are beating you.'

14. 3ns→2d

ka-n-l□m-cHi-ro ka-N-wa-cHi
2-3nsA-beat-dO-Prg 2-3nsA-be-dO
'They are beating you.'

15. 3ns→2p

ka-n-l□ps-i-ro ka-N-wah-i
2-3nsA-beat-pO-Prg 2-3nsA-be-PO
'They are beating you.'

16. 3ns→1s

a-n-l□m-ma-ro a-N-wa-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-1e-Prg 1-3nsA-be-1e
'They are beating me.'

17. 3ns→1d

a-n-l□m-cHi-ro a-N-wa-cHi
1i-3nsA-beat-dO-Prg 1i-3nsA-be-dO
'They are beating us.'

18. 3ns→1de

a-l□ps-a-ŋ-ro a-wah-a-ŋ
1-beat-PT-1e-Prg 1-be-PT-1e
'He was beating me.'

a-l□ps-a-cHi-ro a-wah-a-cHi
1i-beat-PT-dO-Prg 1i-be-PT-dO
'He was beating us.'

a-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋa-ro a-wah-a-cHi-ŋa
1-beat-PT-dO-1e-Prg 1-be-PT-dO-1e
'He was beating us.'

a-l□ps-a-ro a-wah-a
1i-beat-PT-Prg 1i-be-PT
'He was beating us.'

a-l□ps-i-ŋa-ro a-wah-i-ŋa
1-beat-pO-1e-Prg 1-be-pO-1e
'He was beating us.'

l□ps-a-cH-u-ro wah-a-cHi
beat-PT-dA-3O Prg-be-PT-dS
'They were beating him.'

l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ro wah-a-cHi
beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-Prg be-PT-dS
'They were beating them.'

ka-n-l□ps-a-ro ka-N-wah-a
2-3nsA-beat-PT-Prg 2-3nsA-be-PT
'They were beating you.'

ka-n-l□ps-a-cHi-ro ka-N-wah-a-cHi
2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-Prg 2-3nsA-be-PT-dO
'They were beating you.'

ka-n-l□ps-i-ro ka-N-wah-i
2-3nsA-beat-pO-Prg 2-3nsA-be-pO
'They were beating you.'

a-n-l□ps-a-ŋ-ro a-N-wah-a-ŋ
1-3nsA-beat-PT-1e-Prg 1-3nsA-be-PT-1e
'They were beating me.'

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-ro a-N-wah-a-cHi
1i-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-Prg 1i-3nsA-be-PT-dO
'They were beating us.'

a-n-l□m-cHi-ŋa-ro a-N-wa-cHi-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-dO-1e-Prg 1-3nsA-be-dO-1e
'They are beating us.'

19. 3ns→1pi

a-n-l□ps-i-ro a-N-wah-i
1i-3nsA-beat-pO-Prg 1i-3nsA-be-pO
'They are beating us.'

20. 3ns→1pe

a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-ro a-N-wah-i-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-pO-1e-Prg 1-3nsA-be-pO-1e
'They are beating us.'

21. 3p→3s

mu-l□ps-u-ro mu-wa
3pA-beat-3O-Prg 3pA-be
'They are beating him.'

22. 3p→3ns

mu-l□ps-u-si-ro mu-wa
3pA-beat-3O-nsO-Prg 3pS-be
'They are beating them.'

23. 2s→3s

ka-l□ps-u-ro ka-wa
2-beat-3O-Prg 2-be
'You are beating him.'

24. 2s→3ns

ka-l□ps-u-si-ro ka-wa
2-beat-3O-nsO-Prg 2-be
'You are beating them.'

25. 2s→1s

ka-l□m-ma-ro ka-wa-ŋa
2-beat-1e-Prg 2-be-1e
'You are beating me.'

26.2→1

ka-l□m-ro ka-wa
2-beat-Prg 2-be
'You are beating me/ us.'

27. 2d→3s

ka-l□m-cH-u-ro ka-wa-cHi
2-beat-dA-3O-Prg 2-be-dS
'You are beating him.'

28. 2d→3ns

ka-l□m-cH-u-si-ro ka-wa-cHi
2-beat-dA-3O-nsO-Prg 2-be-dS
'You are beating them.'

29. 2p→3s

ka-l□ps-u-m-ro ka-wah-i
2-beat-3O-pA-Prg 2-be-pS
'You are beating him.'

30.2p→3ns

ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ro ka-wah-i

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋa-ro a-N-wah-a-cHi-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e-Prg-1-3nsA-be-PT-dO-1e
'They were beating us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-ro a-N-wah-a
1-3pA-beat-PT-Prg 1i-3nsA-be-PT
'They were beating us.'

a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-ro a-N-wah-i-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-pO-1e-Prg 1-3nsA-be-pO-1e
'They were beating us.'

mu-l□ps-u-ro mu-wah-a
3pA-beat-3O-Prg 3pA-be-PT
'They were beating him.'

mu-l□ps-u-si-ro mu-wah-a
3pA-beat-3O-nsO-Prg 3pS-be-PT
'They were beating them.'

ka-l□ps-u-ro ka-wa-ha
2-beat-3O-Prg 2-be-PT
'You were beating him.'

ka-l□ps-u-si-ro ka-wah-a
2-beat-3O-nsO-Prg 2-be-PT
'You were beating them.'

ka-l□ps-a-ŋ-ro ka-wah-a-ŋ
2-beat-PT-1e-Prg-2-be-PT-1e
'You were beating me.'

ka-l□ps-a-ro ka-wah-a
2-beat-PT-Prg 2-be-PT
'You were beating me/ us.'

ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-ro ka-wah-a-cHi
2-beat-PT-dA-3O-Prg 2-be-PT-dS
'You were beating him.'

ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ro ka-wah-a-cHi
2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-Prg 2-be-PT-dS
'You are beating them.'

ka-l□ps-u-m-ro ka-wah-i
2-beat-3O-pA-Prg 2-be-pS
'You were beating him.'

ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ro ka-wah-i

2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg 2-be-pS 'You are beating them.'	2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg 2-be-pS 'You were beating them.'
31. 1s→3s l□ps-u-η-ro wa-ηa beat-3O-1e-Prg be-1e 'I'm beating him.'	l□ps-u-η-ro wah-a-η beat-3O-1e-Prg-be-PT-1e 'I was beating him.'
32. 1s→3ns l□ps-u-η-si-η-ro wa-ηa beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-Prg be-1e 'I am beating them.'	l□ps-u-η-si-η-ro wah-a-η beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-Prg be-PT-1e 'I was beating them.'
33. 1s→2s l□m-na-ro wa-na beat-1→2-Prg be-1→2 'I am beating you.'	l□m-na-ro wa-na beat-1→2-Prg be-1→2 'I was beating you.'
34. 1s→2d l□m-na-cHi-η-ro wa-na-cHi-η beat-1→2-dO-1e-Prg be-1→2-dO-1e 'I am beating you.'	l□m-na-cHi-η-ro wa-na-cHi-η beat-1→2-dO-1e-Prg be-1→2-dO-1e 'I was beating you.'
35. 1s→2p l□m-na-ni-η-ro wa-na-ni-η beat-1→2-pO-1e-Prg be-1→2-pO-1e 'I am beating you.'	l□m-na-ni-η-ro wa-na-ni-η beat-1→2-pO-1e-Prg be-1→2-pO-1e 'I was beating you.'
36. 1d→3s a-l□m-cH-u-ro a-wa-cHi 1i-beat-dA-3O-Prg 1i-be-dS 'We are beating him.'	a-l□ps-a-cH-u-ro a-wah-a-cHi 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-Prg 1i-be-PT-dS 'We were beating him.'
37. 1d→3ns a-l□m-cH-u-si-ro a-wa-cHi 1i-beat-dA-3O-nsO-Prg 1i-be-dS 'We are beating them.'	a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ro a-wah-a-cHi 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-Prg 1i-be-PT-dS 'We were beating them.'
38. 1de→3s l□m-cH-u-ηa-ro wa-cHi-ηa beat-dA-3O-1e-Prg be-dS-1e 'We are beating him.'	l□ps-a-cH-u-ηa-ro wah-a-cHi-ηa beat-PT-dA-3O-1e-Prg be-PT-dS-1e 'We were beating him.'
39. 1de→3ns l□m-cH-u-si-ηa-ro wa-cHi-ηa beat-dA-3O-nsO-1e-Prg be-dS-1e 'We are beating them.'	l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ηa-ro wah-a-cHi-ηa beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-Prg-be-PT-dS-1e 'We were beating them.'
40. 1→2 l□m→nE-cHi-ηa-ro wa-nE-cHi-ηa beat-1→2-dA-1e-Prg be-1→2-dA-1e 'We are beating you.'	l□m→nE-cHi-ηa-ro wa-nE-cHi-ηa beat-1→2-dA-1e-Prg be-1→2-dA-1e 'We were beating you.'
41. 1pi→3s a-l□ps-u-m-ro a-wah-i 1i-beat-3O-pA-Prg 1i-be-pS 'We are beating him.'	a-l□ps-u-m-ro a-wah-a 1i-beat-3O-pA-Prg 1i-be-PT 'We were beating him.'
42. 1pi→3ns a-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ro a-wah-i beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-Prg be-1→2-dA-1e	a-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ro a-wah-a beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-Prg-be-PT-dS-1e

1i-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg	1i-be-pS	1i-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg	1i-be-PT
'We are beating them.'		'We were beating them.'	
43. 1pe-3s			
l□ps-u-m-ma-ro	wah-i-ŋa	l□m-mna-ro	wa-mna
beat-3O-pA-1e-Prg	be-pS-1e	beat-1peA/PT-Prg	be-1peS/PT
'We are beating him.'		'We were beating him.'	
44. 1pe-3ns			
l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-ro	wah-i-ŋa	l□m-mna-si-ro	wa-mna-si
beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-Prg	be-pS-1e	beat-1peA/PT-nsO-Prg	be-1peA-nsO
'We are beating them.'		'We were beating them.'	

 TABLE 60. Paradigm of the transitive verb l□m in progressive aspect

The auxiliary verb *wa-ma* 'to be' occurs concurrently with the main verb in the coordination of the progressive suffix <-ro> both in transitive and intransitive verbs. It inflects intransitively or transitively in accordance with the nature of the verb with which it occurs. Though it is semantically intransitive, it functions as a transitive verb because it agrees with both agent and object. In progressive form, negative is not permitted. Therefore, it uses negative forms in perfective aspect.

3.2. PERFECT. Perfect refers to the past situation where the event is seen as having some present relevance. It is combined with past and non-past tense forms with the sequential subordinator <-aŋ> followed by the auxiliary *wa* 'be'. The main verb stem is followed by past tense marker <-a>. The tense of the auxiliary verb *wa* indicates the tense of the periphrastic verb phrase. The nonpast *wama* yields perfect aspect in non-past tense and indicates the present relevance of the past action whereas the past *wama* yields perfect aspect in past tense form and indicates the relevance at some point of reference of the past action. The paradigms of perfect aspect of the intransitive verb *tema* 'to go' and transitive verb *l□mma* 'to beat' in both non-past and past forms are presented in the table 67 and 68.

1. 3s			
	teg-a-aŋ wa	teg-a-aŋ wah-a	
	go-PT-SEQ be	go-PT-SEQ- be-PT	
	'He has gone.'	'He had gone.'	
NEG			
	man-de-?E wa	man-de-?E wah-a	
	NEG-go-CONV be	NEG-go-CONV be-PT	
	'He has not gone.'	'He had not gone.'	
2. 3d			
	teg-a-cHi-aŋ wa	teg-a-cHi-aŋ wah-a	
	go-PT-dS-SEQ be	go-PT-dS-SEQ be-PT	
	'They have gone.'	'They had gone.'	
NEG			
	man-de-?E wa-cHi	man-de-?E wah-a-cHi	
	NEG-go-CONV be-dS	NEG-go-CONV be-PT-dS	
	'They have not gone.'	'They had not gone.'	
3. 3p			
	mu-deg-a-aŋ wa	mu-deg-a-aŋ wah-a	
	3pS-go-PT-SEQ be	3pS-go-PT-SEQ be-PT	

	'They have gone.'	'They had gone.'
NEG	man-de-?E mu-wa NEG-go-CONV 3pS-be	man-de-?E mu-wah-a NEG-go-CONV 3pS-be-PT
	'They have not gone.'	'They had not gone.'
4. 2s	ka-deg-a-aŋ wa 2-go-PT-SEQ be	ka-deg-a-aŋ wah-a 2-go-PT-SEQ be-PT
	'You have gone.'	'You had gone.'
NEG	man-de-?E ka-wa NEG-go-CONV 2-be	man-de-?E ka-wah-a NEG-go-CONV 2-be-PT
	'You have not gone.'	'You had not gone.'
5. 2d	ka-deg-a-cHi-aŋ wa 2-go-PT-dS-SEQ be	ka-deg-a-cHi-aŋ wah-a 2-go-PT-dO-SEQ be-PT
	'You have gone.'	'You had gone.'
NEG	man-de-?E ka-wa-cHi NEG-go-CONV 2-be-dS	man-de-?E ka-wah-a-cHi NEG-go-CONV 2-be-PT-dS
	'You have not gone.'	'You had not gone.'
6. 2p	ka-deg-i-aŋ wa 2-go-pS-SEQ- be	ka-deg-i-aŋ ka-wah-i 2-go-pS-SEQ 2-be-pS
	'You have gone.'	'You had gone.'
NEG	man-de-?E ka-wah-i NEG-go-CONV 2-be-pS	man-de-?E ka-wah-i NEG-go-CONV 2-be-pS
	'You have not gone.'	'You had not gone.'
7. 1s	teg-a-ŋ-aŋ wa go-PT-1e-SEQ be	teg-a-ŋ-aŋ wah-a go-PT-1e-SEQ be-PT
	'I've gone there.'	'I'd gone there.'
NEG	man-de-?E wa-ŋa NEG-go-CONV be-1e	man-de-?E wa-ha-ŋ NEG-go-CONV be-PT-1e
	'I have not gone.'	'I had not gone.'
8. 1d	a-deg-a-cHi-aŋ wa 1i-go-PT-dS-SEQ be	a-deg-a-cHi-aŋ wah-a 1i-go-PT-dS-SEQ be-PT
	'We have gone.'	'We had gone.'
NEG	man-de-?E a-wa-cHi NEG-go-CONV 1i-be-dS	man-de-?E a-wah-a-cHi NEG-go-CONV 1i-be-PT-dS
	'We have not gone.'	'We had not gone.'
9. 1de	teg-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wa go-PT-dS-1e-SEQ be	teg-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wah-a go-PT-dS-1e-SEQ be-PT
	'We have gone.'	'We had gone.'

NEG	man-de-?E wa-cHi-ŋa NEG-go-CONV be-dS-1e 'We have not gone.'	man-de-?E wah-a-cHi-ŋa NEG-go-CONV be-PT-dS-1e 'We had not gone.'
10. 1p	a-deg-a-aŋ wa 1i-go-PT-SEQ be 'We have gone.'	a-deg-a-aŋ wah-a 1i-go-PT-SEQ be-PT 'We had gone.'
NEG	man-de-?E a-wah-i NEG-go-CONV 1i-be-pS 'We have not gone.'	man-de-?E a-wah-a NEG-go-CONV 1i-be-PT 'We had not gone.'
11. 1pe	tem-na-aŋ wa go-1peS/PT-SEQ be 'We have gone.'	tem-na-aN wam-na go-1peS/PT-SEQ 1peS/PT 'We had gone.'
NEG.	man-de-?E wah-i-ŋa NEG- go-CONV be-pS-1e 'We have not gone.'	man-de-?E wa-mna NEG-go-CONV be-1peS/PT 'We had not gone.'

TABLE 61. Paradigm of the intransitive verb *te* in perfect aspect

NPT	PT
1. 3s-3s l□ps-u-aŋ-wa beat-3O-SEQ-be 'He has beaten him.'	l□ps-u-aŋ-wah-a beat-3O-SEQ-be-PT 'He had beaten him.'
NEG man-l□m-mE wa NEG-beat-CONV be 'He has not beaten.'	man-l□m-mE wah-a NEG-beat-CONV-be-PT 'He had not beaten.'
2. 3s-3ns l□ps-u-si-aŋ-wa beat-3O-nsO-SEQ-be 'He has beaten them.'	l□ps-u-si-aŋ wah-a beat-3O-nsO-SEQ be-PT 'He had beaten them.'
NEG man-l□m-si-n-nE wa NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be 'He has not beaten them.'	man-l□m-si-n-nE wah-a NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be-PT 'He had not beaten them.'
3. 3s-2s ka-l□ps-a-aŋ wa 2-beat-PT-SEQ be 'He has beaten you.'	ka-l□ps-a-aŋ wah-a 2-beat-PT-SEQ be-PT 'He had not beaten you.'
NEG man-l□m-mE ka-wa NEG-beat-CONV 2-be 'He has not beaten you.'	man-l□m-mE ka-wah-a NEG-beat-CONV 2-be-PT 'He had not beaten you.'

4. 3s-2d

ka-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wa
2-beat-PT-dO-SEQ-be
'He has beaten you.'

NEG

man-l□m- mE- ka-wa- cHi
NEG-beat- CONV-2-be-dO
'He has not beaten you.'

ka-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wah-a
2-beat-PT-dO-SEQ-be-PT
'He had beaten you.'

man-l□m-mE- ka-wah-a-cHi
NEG-beat- CONV-2-be-PT-dO
'He had not beaten you.'

5. 3s-2p

ka-l□ps-i-aŋ- wa
2-beat-pO-SEQ-be
'He has beaten you.'

NEG

man-l□m-mE-ka-wah-i
NEG-beat-CONV-2-be-pO
'He has not beaten you.'

ka-l□ps-i-aŋ- wah-a
2-beat-pO-SEQ-be-PT
'He had beaten you.'

man-l□m-mE-ka-wah-i
NEG-beat-CONV-2-be-pO
'He had not beaten you.'

6. 3s-1s

a-l□ps-a-ŋ-ŋaŋ wa
1-beat-PT-1e-SEQ-be
'He has beaten me.'

NEG

man-l□m-mE a-wa-ŋa
NEG-beat-CONV 1-be-1e
'He has not beaten me.'

a-l□ps-a-ŋ-ŋaŋ wah-a
1-beat-PT-1e-SEQ-be-PT
'He had beaten me.'

man-l□m-mE a-wah-a-ŋ
NEG-beat-CONV 1-be-PT-1e
'He had not beaten me.'

7. 3s-1di

a-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ wa
1i-beat-PT-dO-SEQ be
'He has beaten us.'

NEG

man-l□m- mE-a-wa-cHi
NEG-beat- CONV-1i-be-dO
'He has not beaten us.'

a-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ wah-a
1i-beat-PT-dO-SEQ be-PT
'He had beaten us.'

man-l□m-mE-a-wah-a-cHi
NEG-beat- CONV-1i-be-PT-dO
'He had not beaten us.'

8. 3s-1de

a-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wa
1-beat-PT-dO-1e-SEQ be
'He has beaten us.'

NEG

man-l□m- mE a-wa-cHi-ŋa
NEG-beat-CONV 1-be-dO-1e
'He has not beaten us.'

a-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wah-a
1-beat-PT-dO-1e-SEQ be-PT
'He had beaten us.'

man-l□m-mE a-wah-a-cHi-ŋa
NEG-beat-CONV-1-be-PT-dO-1e
'He had not beaten us.'

9. 3s-1p

a-l□ps-a-aŋ wa
1-beat-PT-SEQ-be
'He has beaten us.'

NEG

man-l□m-mE a-wah-i
NEG-beat-CONV-1i-be-pO

a-l□ps-a-aŋ wah-a
1-beat-PT-SEQ-be-PT
'He had beaten us.'

man-l□m-mE a-wah-a
NEG-beat-CONV-1i-be-PT

	'He has not beaten us.'		'He had not beaten us.'
10. 3s-1pe	a-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ wa 1-beat-pO-1e-SEQ be 'He has beaten us.'	a-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ wah-a 1-beat-pO-1e-SEQ be-PT 'He had beaten us.'	
NEG	man-l□m-mE a-wah-i-ŋa NEG-beat-CONV 1-be-pO-1e 'He has not beaten us.'	man-l□m-mE a-wah-i-ŋa NEG-beat-CONV 1-be-pO-1e 'He had not beaten us.'	
11. 3d-3s	l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ wa beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ be 'They have beaten him.'	l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ wah-a beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ be-PT 'They had not beaten him.'	
NEG	man-l□m-mE wa-cHi NEG-beat-CONV-be-dS 'They have not beaten him.'	man-l□m-mE wah-a-cHi NEG-beat-CONV-be-PT-dS 'They had not beaten him.'	
12. 3d-3ns	l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ wa beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-be 'They have beaten them.'	l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ wah-a beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-be-PT 'They had beaten them.'	
NEG	man-l□m-si-n-nE wa-cHi NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be-dS 'They have not beaten them.'	man-l□m-si-n-nE wah-a-cHi NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be-PT-dS 'They had not beaten them.'	
13. 3ns-2s	ka-n-l□ps-a aŋ wa 2-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ-be 'They have beaten you.'	ka-n-l□ps-a -aŋ wah-a 2-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ be-PT 'They had beaten you.'	
NEG	man-l□m-mE ka-ŋ-wa NEG-beat-CONV-2-3nsA-be 'They are beating you.'	man-l□m-mE ka-ŋ-wah-a NEG-beat-CONV 2-3nsA-be-PT 'They were beating you.'	
14. 3ns-2d	ka-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ wa 2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ be 'They have beaten you.'	ka-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ wah-a 2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ be-PT 'They had beaten you.'	
NEG	man-l□m-mE ka-ŋ-wa-cHi NEG-beat-CONV 2-3nsA-be-dO 'They are beating you.'	man-l□m-mE ka-ŋ-wah-a-cHi NEG-beat-CONV 2-3nsA-be-PT-dO 'They were beating you.'	
15. 3ns-2p	ka-n-l□ps-i-aŋ wa 2-3nsA-beat-pO-SEQ be 'They have beaten you.'	ka-n-l□ps-i-aŋ wah-a 2-3nsA-beat-pO-SEQ be-PT 'They had beaten you.'	
NEG	man-l□m- mE ka-ŋ-wah-i NEG-beat-CONV-2-3nsA-be-pO 'They have not beaten you.'	man-l□m-mE ka-ŋ-wah-i NEG-beat- CONV 2-3nsA--be-pO 'They had not beaten you.'	

16. 3ns-1s

a-n-l□ps-a-η-ηaη wa
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-1e- SEQ be
 'They have beaten me.'

a-n-l□ps-a-η-ηaη wah-a
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-1e- SEQ-be-PT
 'They had beaten me.'

NEG

man-l□m-mE a-η-wa- ηa
 NEG-beat-CONV 1-3nsA-be-1e
 'They have not beaten.'

man-l□m-mE a-η-wah-a-η
 NEG-beat-CONV-1-3nsA-be-PT-1e
 'They had not beaten.'

17. 3ns-1d

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aη wa
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ be
 'They have beaten us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aη wah-a
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ be-PT
 'They had beaten us.'

NEG

man-l□m-mE a-η- wa-cHi
 NEG- beat-CONV-1-3nsA-be-dO
 'They have not beaten.'

man-l□m- mE a-η-wah-a-cHi
 NEG-beat-CONV 1-3nsA-be-PT-dO
 'They had not beaten.'

18. 3ns-1de

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-Na-aη wa
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e-SEQ be
 'They have beaten us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-Na -aN wah-a
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e-SEQ be-PT
 'They had beaten us'.

NEG

man-l□m-mE a-η-wa-cHi-ηa
 NEG-beat-CONV 1-3nsA-be-dO-1e
 'They have not beaten.'

man-l□m-mE a-η-wah-a-cHi-ηa
 NEG-beat-CONV-1-3nsA-be-PT-dO-1e
 'They had not beaten.'

19. 3ns-1p

a-n-l□ps-a-aη wa
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ be
 'They have beaten us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-aη wah-a
 1-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ be-PT
 'They had beaten us.'

NEG	man-l□m-mE	a-ŋ-wah-i	man-l□m-mE	a-ŋ wah-a
	NEG-beat-CONV	1-3nsA-be-pO	NEG-beat-CONV-1-3nsA-be-PT-	
		'They have not beaten us.'		'They had not beaten us.'
20. 3ns-1pe	a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ	wa	a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ	wah-a
	1-3nsA-beat-pO-1e-SEQ	be	1-3nsA-beat-pO-1e-SEQ	be-PT
		'They have beaten us.'		'They had beaten us.'
NEG	man-l□mmE	a-N-wah-i-Na	man-l□m-mE	a-N-wah-i-Na
	NEG-beat-CONV	1-3nsA-be-pS-1e	NEG-beat-CONV	1-3nsA-be-pS-1e
		'They have not beaten us.'		'They had not beaten us.'
21. 3p-3s	mu-l□ps-u-aŋ	wa	mu-l□ps-u-aŋ	wah-a
	3pA-beat-3O-SEQ	be	3pA-beat-3O-SEQ	be-PT
		'They have beaten him.'		'They had beaten him.'
NEG	man-l□m-mE	mu-wa	man-l□m-mE	mu-wah-a
	NEG-beat-CONV	3pS-be	NEG-beat-CONV	3pS-be-PT
		'They have not beaten.'		'They had not beaten.'
22. 3p-3ns	mu-l□ps-u-si-aŋ	wa	mu-l□ps-u-si-aŋ	wah-a
	3pA-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ	be	3pA-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ	be-PT
		'They have beaten them.'		'They have beaten them.'
NEG	man-l□m-si-n-nE	mu-wa	man-l□m-si-n-nE	mu-wah-a
	NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV	3pS-be	NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV	3pS-be-PT
		'They have not beaten.'		'They had not beaten.'
23. 2s-3s	ka-l□ps-u-aŋ	wa	ka-l□ps-u-aŋ	wah-a
	2-beat-3O-SEQ	be	2-beat-3O-SEQ	be-PT
		'You have beaten him.'		'You had beaten him.'
NEG	man-l□m-mE	ka-wa	man-l□m-mE	ka-wah-a
	NEG-beat-CONV	2-be	NEG-beat-CONV	2-be-PT
		'You have not beaten.'		'You had not beaten.'
24. 2s-3ns	ka-l□ps-u-si-aŋ	wa	ka-l□ps-u-si-aŋ	wa-ha
	2-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ	be	2-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ	be-PT
		'You have beaten them.'		'You had beaten them.'
NEG	man-l□m-si-n-nE	ka-wa	man-l□m-si-n-nE	ka-wah-a
	NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV-2-be		NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV	2-be-PT
		'You have not beaten them.'		'You have not beaten them.'
25. 2s-1s	ka-l□ps-a-ŋ-aŋ	wa	ka-l□ps-a-ŋ-aŋ	wah-a
	2-beat-PT-1e-SEQ	be	2-beat-PT-1e-SEQ	be-PT
		'You have beaten me.'		'You had beaten me.'
NEG	man-l□m-mE	ka-wa-ŋa	man-l□m-mE	ka-wah-a-ŋ

	NEG-beat-CONV 2-be-1e 'You have not beaten me.'		NEG-beat-CONV 2-be-PT-1e 'You had not beaten me.'
26. 2- 1	ka-l□ps-a- aŋ- wa 2-beat-PT-SEQ--2-be 'You have beaten me/us.'		ka-l□ps-a- aŋ wah-a 2-beat-PT- SEQ be-PT 'You had beaten me/us.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE ka-wa NEG-beat-CONV 2-be 'You have not beaten us.'		man-l□m-mE ka-wah-a NEG-beat-CONV 2-beat-PT 'You had not beaten us.'
27. 2d-3s	ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ wa 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ be 'You have beaten him.'		ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ wah-a 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ be-PT 'You had beaten him.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE ka-wa-cHi NEG-beat-CONV 2-be-dS 'You have beaten him.'		man-l□m-mE ka-wah-a-cHi NEG-beat-CONV 2-be-PT-dS 'You had beaten him.'
28. 2d-3ns	ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ wa 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ be 'You have beaten them.'		ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ wah-a 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO- SEQ be-PT 'You had beaten them.'
	NEG man-l□m-si-n-nE ka-wa-cHi NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV 2-be-dS 'You have not beaten them.'		man-l□m-si-n-nE ka-wah-a- cHi NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV 2-be-PT-dS 'You had not beaten them.'
29. 2p-3s	ka-l□ps-u-m-maŋ wa 2-beat-3O-pA-SEQ be 'You have beaten him.'		ka-l□ps-u-m-maŋ wah-a 2-beat-3O-pA-SEQ be-PT 'You had beaten him.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE ka-wah-i NEG-beat-CONV 2-be-pS 'You have not beaten.'		man-l□m-mE ka-wah-i NEG-beat-CONV 2-be-pS 'You had not beaten.'
30. 2p-3ns	ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-maŋ wa 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ be 'You have beaten them.'		ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-aŋ wah-a 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ be-PT 'You had beaten them.'
	NEG man-l□m-si-n-nE ka-wah-i NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV-2-be-pS 'You have not beaten them.'		man-l□m-si-n-nE ka-wah-i NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV 2-be-pS 'You had not beaten them.'
31. 1s-3s	l□ps-u-ŋ -aŋ wa beat-3O-1e-SEQ be 'I've beaten him.'		l□ps-u-ŋ-aŋ wah-a beat-3O-1e-SEQ be-PT 'I'd beaten him.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE wa-ŋa		man-l□m-mE wah-a-ŋ

	NEG-beat-CONV be-1e 'I have not beaten.'		NEG-beat-CONV be-PT-1e 'I had not beaten.'
32. 1s-3ns	l□ps-u-η-si-η -aη wa beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-SEQ be 'I have beaten them.'		l□ps-u-η-si-η-aη wah-a beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-SEQ be-PT 'I had beaten them.'
	NEG man-l□m- si-n-nE wa-ηa NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be-1e 'I have not beaten them.'		man-l□m- si-n-nE wah-a-η NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be-PT-1e 'I had not beaten them.'
33. 1s→2s	l□m-na-aη wa beat-1→2-SEQ be 'I have beaten you.'		l□m-na-aη wa beat-1→2-SEQ be 'I had beaten you.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE wa-na NEG-beat-CONV be-1→2 'I have not beaten you.'		man-l□m-mE-wa-na NEG- beat-CONV-be- 1→2 'I had not beaten you.'
34. 1s→2d	l□m-na-cHi-η-aη wa beat-1→2-dO-1e-SEQ be 'I have beaten you.'		l□m-na-cHi-η-aη wa beat-1→2-dO-1e-SEQ be 'I had not beaten you.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE wa-na-cHi-η NEG-beat- CONV be-1→2-dO-1e 'I have not beaten you.'		man-l□m-mE wa-na-cHi-η NEG-beat- CONV be-1→2-dO-1e 'I had not beaten you.'
35. 1s-2p	l□m-na-ni-η-aη wa beat-1→2-pO-1e-SEQ be 'I have beaten you.'		l□m-na-ni-η-aη wa beat-1→2-pO-1e-SEQ be 'I had beaten you.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE wa-na-ni-η NEG-beat-CONV be-1→2-pO-1e 'I have not beaten you.'		man-l□m-mE wa-na-ni-η NEG-beat-CONV be-1→2-pO-1e 'I had not beaten you.'
36. 1d-3s	a-l□ps-a-cH-u-aη wa li-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ be 'We have beaten him.'		a-l□ps-a-cH-u-aη wah-a li-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ be-PT 'We had beaten him.'
	NEG man-l□m-mE a-wa-cHi NEG-beat-CONV li-be-dS 'We have not beaten.'		man-l□m-mE-a-wah-a-cHi NEG-beat-CONV-li-be-PT-dS 'We had not beaten.'
37. 1d-3ns	a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aη wa li-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-be 'We have beaten them.'		a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aη wah-a li-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ be-PT 'We had beaten them.'
	NEG man-l□m-si-n-nE a-wa-cHi NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV 1-be-dS 'We have not beaten them.'		man-l□m-si-n-nE a-wah-a-cHi NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV-1-be-PT-dS 'We had not beaten them.'

38. 1de-3s

l̥ps-a-cH-u-Na- aŋ wa
 beat-PT-dA-3O-1e- SEQ be
 'We have beaten them.'

l̥ps-a-cH-u-Na- aŋ wah-a
 beat-PT-dA-3O- 1e-SEQ be-PT
 'We had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l̥m-mE wa-cHi- ŋa
 NEG-beat-CONV be-dS-1e
 'We have not beaten them.'

man-l̥m-mE wah-a-cHi- ŋa
 NEG-beat- CONV be-PT-dS-1e
 'We had not beaten them.'

39. 1de-3ns

l̥ps-a-cH-u-si-Na-aŋ wa
 beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-SEQ be
 'We have beaten them.'

l̥ps-a-cH-u-si-Na-aŋ wah-a
 beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-SEQ be-PT
 'We had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l̥m-si-n-nE wa-cHi- ŋa man-l̥m-si-n-nE wah-a-cHi- ŋa
 NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be-dS-1e NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-CONV be-PT-dS-1e
 'We have not beaten them.' 'We had not beaten them.'

40. 1ns-2

l̥m-nE-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wa
 beat-1→2-nsA-1e-SEQ be
 'We have beaten you.'

l̥m-nE-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wah-a
 beat-1→2-nsA-1e-SEQ be-PT
 'We had beaten you.'

NEG

1de-2
 man-l̥m-mE wa-cHi-Na
 NEG-beat-CONV be-dA-1e
 'We have not beaten you.'

man-l̥m-mE wah-a-cHi-Na
 NEG-beat-CONV be-PT-dA-1e
 'We had not beaten you.'

1pe-2
 man-l̥m-mE wa-hi-Na
 NEG-beat-CONV be-pA-1e
 'We have not beaten you.'

man-l̥m-mE wah-i-Na
 NEG-beat-CONV be- pA-1e
 'We had not beaten you.'

41. 1pi-3s

a-l̥ps-u-m- maŋ wa
 1i-beat-3O-pA-SEQ be
 'We have beaten him.'

a-l̥ps-u-m-maŋ wah-a
 1i-beat-3O-pA-SEQ be-PT
 'We had beaten him.'

NEG

man-l̥m-mE a-wah-i
 NEG-beat-CONV 1i-be-pS
 'We have not beaten.'

man-l̥m-mE a-wah-a
 NEG-beat-CONV 1i-be-PT
 'We had not beaten.'

42. 1pi-3ns

a-l̥ps-u-m-si-m-maŋ wa
 1i-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ be
 'We have beaten them.'

a-l̥ps-u-m-si-m-maŋ wah-a
 1i-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ be-PT
 'We had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l̥m-si-m-mE a-wah-i
 NEG-beat-nsO-pA-CONV 1i-be-pS
 'We have not beaten them.'

man-l̥m-si-m-mE a-wah-a
 NEG-beat-nsO-pA-CONV 1i-be-PT
 'We had not beaten them.'

43. 1pe-3s

l̥ps-u-m- ma-aŋ wa
 beat-3O-pA-1e-SEQ be

l̥m-mna-aŋ wah-a
 beat-1peA/PT-SEQ be-PT

	'We have beaten them.'		'We had beaten them.'
NEG	man-l□m- mE wah-i -ŋa		man-l□m-mE wa-mna
	NEG-beat-CONV be-pS-1e		NEG-beat-CONV be-1peS/PT
	'We have not beaten.'		'We had not beaten them.'
44. 1pe-3ns			
	l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-aŋ wa		l□m-mna-si-aŋ wah-a
	beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-SEQ be		beat-1peA/PT-SEQ be-PT
	'We have beaten them.'		'We had beaten them.'
NEG			
	man-l□m-si-m-mE wah-i -ŋa		man-l□m-si-m-mE wa-mna
	NEG-beat-nsO-pA-CONV 1-be-pS-1e		NEG-beat-nsO-pA-CONV be-1peS/PT
	'We have not beaten them.'		'We had not beaten them.'

TABLE 62. Paradigm of transitive verb l□m in perfect aspect

The auxiliary verb inflects for past tense but it does not inflect for person, number and case in the affirmative form. They are marked by its main verb. In the negative form, the main verb does not mark person, number, case and tense. They are marked by the auxiliary verb. The discontinuous negative morpheme loses its suffix <-nEn~ -n> and only the negative prefix <man-> occurs with the converb suffix <-?E>. The glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs only intervocally and it assimilates to the preceding consonant for place of articulation and is realized as <mE-~ nE- NE>. In negative form both progressive and perfect aspects have the same form.

4. MOOD. Limbu has declarative, imperative, hortative, optative, irrealis and interrogative mood. they are discussed in the following subheadings.

4. 1. DECLARATIVE MOOD. The sentences in indicative mood directly assert the truth of some propositions. These sentences are of two kinds: affirmative or negative.

- (1) a. kHunE paŋ-No teg-a
 he house-LOC go-PT
 'He went to house.'
- b. kHunE paŋ-No ma-deg-a-n
 he house-LOC NEG-go-PT-NEG
 'He did not go to house.'

The sentence in 1a asserts the truth positively whereas the sentence in 1b does it negatively. However, they are both assertions about the truth-value of the proposition they describe.

4.2. IMPERATIVE. Imperative is a form of verb addressed to the second person. It has intransitive, reflexive and transitive forms. Imperatives are negated by the prefix <ma-> with simultaneous affixation of the suffix <-n~nEn> to the verb stem They are discussed in the following subheadings.

4.2.1. INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE. Intransitive imperative is marked by the suffix <-a?>, which is added to the verb stem. It has also corresponding negative forms.

- (2) a. teg-a?
go-IMP
'Go!'
- b. ma-deg-a?-n
NEG-go-IMP-NEG
'Do not go!'
- c. teg-a?-cHi
go-IMP-d
'Go! (dual).'
- d. ma-deg-a?-cHi-n
NEG-go-IMP-dS-NEG
'Do not go!'
- e. teg-a-niŋ
go-IMP-p
'Go!.'
- f. ma-deg-a-niŋ-nEn
NEG-go-IMP-pS-NEG
'Do not go!'

4.2.2. REFLEXIVE IMPERATIVE. Reflexive imperative is marked by a glottal stop <-?> in the final position.

- (3) a. walum-cHin-?
bathe-REFL-IMP
'Bathe yourself!'
- b. wa-ma-lum- cHin-nEn-?
bathe-NEG-bathe-REFL-NEG-IMP
'Do not bathe yourself!'
- c. walum-nEc-cHi-?
bathe-RECIP-dS-IMP
'Bathe each other!'
- d. wa-ma-lum-nE-cHi-n-?
bathe-NEG-bathe-RECIP-dS-NEG-IMP
'Do not bathe each other!'

4.2.3. TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE. Transitive imperative is marked in the final position by the suffix <- ?> in the singular form. In the dual and plural forms in affirmative and in their corresponding negative forms, it is marked by <-a> after the stem and <-?> in the final position.

- (4) a. lɔps-u-?
beat-3O-IMP
'Beat him!'
- b. ma-lɔps-u-?-n
NEG-beat-3O-IMP-NEG
'Do not beat!'
- c. lɔps-a-cH-u-?
beat-IMP-dA-3O-IMP
'Beat him!'
- d. ma-lɔps-a-cH-u-?-n
NEG-beat-IMP-dA-3O-IMP-NEG

- 'Do not beat them!'
- e. l̥ps-a-nu-m
beat-IMP-3O-pA
'Beat him!.'
- f. ma-l̥ps-a-nu-m-nEn
NEG-beat-IMP-pO-pA-NEG
'Do not beat him!'

4. 3. HORTATIVE. The hortative is formed by dropping the first person prefix <a-> from the finite verb form. The following paradigm shows it.

(5)

	First person	Hortative
a.	a-de-cHi 1-go-dS 'We go.'	te-cHi go-d/ADH 'Let's go.'
b.	a-deg-i 1-go-pS 'We go.'	teg-i go-p/ADH 'Let's go.'
c.	a-l̥m-cH-u 1-beat-dA-3O 'We beat him.'	l̥m-cH-u beat-dA-3O/ADH 'Let's beat him.'
d.	a-l̥m-cH-u-si 1-beat-dA-3O-nsO 'We beat them.'	l̥m-cH-u-si beat-dA-3O-nsO/ADH 'Let's beat them.'
e.	a-l̥ps-u-m 1-beat-3O-pA 'We beat him.'	l̥ps-u-m beat-3O-pS/ADH 'Let's beat him.'
f.	a-l̥ps-u-m-si-m 1-beat-3O-nsO-pA 'We beat them.'	l̥ps-u-m-si-m beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA/ADH 'Let's beat them.'

/t/ in *te* changes to [d] in intervocalic position. Hortatives are negated by the prefix <ma-> with simultaneous affixation of the suffix <-n ~ -nEn>.

- (6)
- a. ma-de-cHi-n
NEG-go-dS-NEG-ADH
'Let's not go.'
- b. ma-deg-i-n
NEG-go-pS- NEG -ADH
'Let's not go.'
- c. ma-l̥m-cH-u-n
NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG-ADH
'Let's not beat him.'
- d. ma-l̥m-cH-u-n-si-n
NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG-ADH
'Let's not beat it.'
- e. ma-l̥ps-u-m-nEn
NEG-beat-3O-pA-NEG-ADH
'Let's not beat him.'
- f. ma-l̥ps-u-m-si-m-nEn

beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG-ADH

'Let's not beat them.'

The examples in 6 indicate that the number markers of the intransitive subjects and the dual markers of the transitive agents in hortative form are affixed to the verb roots and the first person marker is covert and only the number markers for the person are overt. The dual and plural markers of intransitive subjects <-cHi> and <-i> respectively and dual marker of the transitive subject <-cH> are affixed to the verb roots as indicated in 6a-c whereas the transitive plural agent marker <-m> is affixed to the verb stem as indicated in 6d. Moreover, the intransitive dual subject marker <-cHi>, the corresponding transitive dual agent marker <-cH>, the intransitive plural subject marker <-i> and the corresponding transitive plural agent marker <-m> prove that the number markers for persons are overt.

The first person dual adhortative is homophonous to the third person subject and third person agent simplex forms. Let's see the following comparison:

(7)

Third person simplex

Adhortative

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. te-cHi
go-dS
'They go.' | te-cHi
go-d/ADH
'Let's go.' |
| b. lok-cHi
run-dlS
'They run.' | lok-cHi
run-d/ADH
'Let's run.' |
| c. □k-cHi
cry-dS
'They cry.' | □k-cHi
cry-d/ADH
'Let's cry.' |
| d. nit-cH-u
read-dA-3O
'They read it.' | nit-cH-u
read-dA-3O/ADH
'Let's read it.' |
| e. sap-cH-u
write-dA-3O
'They write.' | sap-cH-u
write-dA-3O/ADH
'Let's write it.' |
| f. te-cH-u
take-dA-3O
'They take it.' | te-cH-u
take-dA-3O/ADH
'Let's take it.' |

The clauses in 7a-c are intransitive forms whereas those in 7d-f are transitive ones. Though the third person dual subject and agent forms are homophonous to the adhortative form, their semantic difference is distinguished and determined by the context in which they occur.

4 4. IRREALIS. Irrealis mood is marked by a particle *mEn* after the verb stem to express hypothetical situation.

- (8)
- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | tum-u mEn
meet-3O IRR
'He would have met him.' |
| b. | ka-nak-a-ŋ mEn
2-beg-PT-1e IRR
'You would have begged me.' |
| c. | ser-u-ŋ mEn |

kill-3O-1e IRR
 'I would have killed him.'

It is also marked by a particle g□ri.

- (9) a. ka-yuks-u g□ri
 2-keep-3O IRR
 'If only you had kept it!'
- b. a-ut-a-η g□ri
 1-invite-PT-1e IRR
 'Only if he had invited me!'
- c. nak-u-η g□ri
 beg-3O-1e IRR
 'Only if I had begged him!'

Irrealis mood cooccurs with a conditional clause marked by a subordinator suffix <E®> equivalent to an English if- clause.

- (10) a. teg-a-η - E® g□ tum-Ø-u-η mEn
 go-PT-1e SUB PART meet-PT-3O-1e IRR
 'If I had gone , I would have met him.'
- b. k□tt-Ø-u-η - E® g□ piy-Ø-u-η mEn
 possess-PT-3O-1e -SUB PART give-PT-3O-1e IRR
 'If I had got it, I would have given him.'
- c. ka-ut-Ø-u-E® g□ tah-a mEn
 2-invite-PT-3O-SUB PART come-PT IRR
 'If you had invited him, he would have come.'

The sentences in 10a-fshow that the hypothetical possibility expressing sentences are marked by past tense marker <-a> or <-Ø>. The conditional clause in 10a is marked by the past tense marker <-a> whereas its corresponding main clause is marked by zero past tense morpheme <-Ø>. In 10b both dependent conditional clause and its corresponding independent clause are marked by zero past tense suffix. In 10c- the dependent clause is zero marked for past tense but their independent counterpart is marked for past tense. Hypothetical possibility is expressed by the affixation of the nominalizer suffix <-ba> to the past simplex.

- (11) a. ka-nih-a-E® g□ ka-ser-a-ba
 2-see-PT-SUB PART 2-kill-PT-NML
 'If he had seen you, he would have killed you.'
- b. ka-nih-Ø-u-E® g□ ka-ser-Ø-u-ba
 2- see-PT-3O-SUB PART 2-kill-PT-3O-NML
 'If you had seen him, you would have killed him.'
- c. nih-Ø-u-η-E® g□ ser-Ø-u-η-ba
 see-PT-3O-1e-SUB PART kill-PT-3O-1e-NML
 'If I had seen him, I would have killed him.'

The conditional sentence expresses certainty by dropping the irrealis suffix <-nEn> from the simplex and marking it by the non-past suffix.

- (12) a. kHunE a-baη-ηo ta-E® a-dum-ma
 he 1sPOSS-house-LOC come-SUB 1- meet-1e
 'If he comes to my house, he will meet me.'

- b. kHEnE kHunE yaŋ ka-nak-u-E[®] ka-bi
 you him money 2-beg-3O-SUB 2-give
 'If you ask him money, he will give you.'
- c. paŋcHat-u-ŋ-E[®] pat
 speak -3O-1e-SUB speak
 'If I speak to him, he will speak.'

The hypothetical possibility is negated by the negative morpheme.

(13)

- a. man-de-ban-E[®] a-ser-a-ŋ mEn
 NEG-go-1eS/PT/NEG-SUB 1-kill-PT-1e IRR
 'If I had not gone, he would have killed (scolded) me.'
- b. yaŋb[□]k maŋ-jug-u-n-E[®] yaŋ maŋ-dH[□]g-u-n mEn
 work NEG-do-3O-NEG-SUB money NEG-earn-3O-NEG-IRR
 'If they had not done work, they would not have earned money.'
- c. ma-nak-u- n-si-n-E[®] maŋ-miy-u-m mEn
 NEG-beg-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG-SUB NEG-give-3O-NEG IRR
 'If he had not begged them, they would not have given him.'

The conditional certainty is also negated by the negative discontinuous morpheme

<ma- -n (nEn)>, <maŋ- -n (nEn)>, <kaŋ- -n (nEn)> and <aŋ- n(nEn)>.

(14)

- a. yaŋb[□]k ma-juk-nEn-E[®] yaŋ ma-gHow-u-n
 work NEG-do-NEG-SUB money NEG-get-3O-NEG
 'If he does not do work, he will not get money.'
- b. sapla maŋ-nir-u-n-E[®] y[□]mba napmi maŋ-buŋ-nEn
 book NEG-read-3O-NEG-SUB great man NEG-become-NEG
 'If they do not read a book, they will not be a great man.'
- c. yaŋ ka-n-dH[□]g-u-n-E[®] tEndi tukHE ka-ja
 money 2-NEG- earn-3O-NEG-SUB later trouble 2-eat
 'If you do not earn money, you will face trouble later.'

4.5. OPTATIVE MOOD. The optative indicates a wish or a desired situation. It exists in all persons and numbers. It is formed by adding the particle *ni* to the stem of the verb.

(15)

- a. kHunE y[□]mba kema puŋ ni
 he big tall become OPT
 'May he become a great man!'
- b. kHuncHi y[□]mba kema puŋ-cHi ni
 c they big tall become-dS-OPT
 'May they become great men!'
- d. kHuncHi y[□]mba kema mu- buŋ ni
 they big tall 3pS-become OPT
 'May they become great men!'
- e. kHEnE y[□]rik ka-hiŋ ni
 you many 2-live-OPT
 'May you live long!'
- f. kHEncHi y[□]rik ka-hiŋ-cHi ni
 you many 2-live-dS- OPT
 'May you live long!'

- .g. kHEni y□rik ka-hiŋ-I ni
 you many 2-live-pS OPT
 'May you live long!'
- h. a ka-g□p-pa ka-jaba puŋ-ŋa ni
 I AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP become-1e OPT
 'May I be prosperous!'
- i. anHi ka-gap-pa ka-ja-ba a- buŋ-cHi ni
 Iwe AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP 1i-become-dS- OPT
 'May we be prosperous!'
- j. anHi-ŋa ka-g□p-pa ka-ja-ba puŋ-cHi-ŋa ni
 we AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP become-dS-1e OPT
 'May we be prosperous!'
- k. ani ka-g□p-pa ka-jab-a a- buk-si ni
 we AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP 1i-become-pS OPT
 'May we be prosperous!'

Optative sentences also expresses curse on somebody, something etc.

(16)

- a. kHEnE ka-si ni
 you 2-die OPT
 'May you die!'
- b. ba wa-iŋ tumbE-ŋa c□ ni
 this hen-ABS wild cat-ERG eat OPT
 'May the wild cat eat this hen !'
- c. kHEnE ka-nak-pa- ka-ja-ba ka-buŋ ni
 you AP-beg-AP AP-eat-AP 2-become OPT
 'May you be a beggar!'

Wish can also be expressed negatively by using negative discontinuous morpheme

<n- -nEn~n>.

(17)

- a. ka-n-si-nEn ni
 2-NEG-die-NEG OPT
 'May you not die!'
- b. ka-n-duk-nEn ka-n-sak-nEn ni
 2-NEG-sick-NEG 2-NEG- hunger-NEG OPT
 'May you not be sick!'
- c. ma-ma-nEn ma-si-nEn ni
 NEG-lose-NEG NEG-die-NEG OPT
 'May he not get lost!'

4.6. INTERROGATIVE MOOD. In the language, the mood of questions is indicated by the use of interrogative suffix <-i> .

(18)

- a. kHunE paŋ-ŋo wa- i
 he house-LOC be- -Q
 'Is he at home?'
- b. kHunE paŋ-ŋo wah-a- i
 he house-LOC be-PT-Q
 'Was he at home?'
- c. kHEnE sa ka-j□-i

you meat 2-eat-Q
'Do you eat meat?'

The sentences in 18 show that interrogative mood can be expressed in both past and non-past tense forms. The sentences in 18a and 18c are in non-past tense whereas the sentence in 18b is in past tense.

Likewise, interrogative mood can be expressed negatively.

(19)

- a. kHEnE cumluŋ-ŋo ka-n-yuŋ-a-n-ni
you meeting-LOC 2-NEG-sit-PT-NEG-Q
'Did you not attend the meeting?'
- b. kHunE tHi ma-dHuŋ-nEn-ni
he beer NEG-drink-NEG-Q
'Does he not drink beer?'
- c. kHun-cHi sam-ma-n-lo-nEn-ni
3-d song-NEG-sing-NEG-Q
'Do they not sing?'

In negative questions, the interrogative suffix <-?> is realized as <-ni> as the dental nasal /n/ is inserted before it to respect the syllable structure as shown in 19a-c.

5. SUMMARY. Tense is marked by the suffix <-a> or <-O> after the main verb stem and after the auxiliary. Chhatthare Limbu marks progressive aspect by the suffix <-ro~ -lo> and perfect aspects by the suffix <-aN>. Progressive aspect has no negative form. The present perfect is expressed by main verb in the past and auxiliary verb in the present whereas past perfect is expressed by the main verb in the past and corresponding auxiliary verb in the past. Declarative mood is the finite verb form. Imperative mood is marked by the suffix <-?> if the addressee is singular but it is marked by the suffix <-a> after the verb stem and by the suffix <-?> in the final position if the number of addressee is dual or plural. Adhortive mood is expressed by dropping the first person suffix <-a> from the finite verb form. Irrealis mood is marked by the particle *mEn*. Optative mood is marked by the particle *ni* and interrogative mood is marked by the suffix <-i>.

CHAPTER 12
NON-FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL COMPLEX

1. INTRODUCTION. This chapter deals with non-finite verbs and verbal complex in the language. Non-finite verbs occur in dependent clauses and do not show person, number, case, exclusivity, reciprocity and tense markers. Only the infinitive form exhibits person, number and case in third person. The verbal complex consists of all kinds of main verb sequences in the language.

2. NON-FINITE VERBS. The non-finite verbs include infinitives, purposives, converbs and participles. They are discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.1. INFINITIVE. The infinitive is characterized by the suffix <-ma >. It is used to express 'shall' in questions.

- (1) a. lok-**ma**-i ?
run-INF-Q
'Shall we run?'
- b. sap-**ma**-i ?
write-INF-Q
'Shall we write?'
- c. pi-**ma**-i ?
give-INF-Q
'Shall we give him?'

It is also used in Wh questions.

- (2) a. hE cuk-**ma** ?
what do-INF
'What to do?'
- b. ho te-**ma** ?
where go-INF
'Where to go?'
- c. hyaN pHEm-**ma** ?
why come-INF
'Why to come?'
- d. hikkHE pap-**ma** ?
how speak-INF
'How to speak?'

It is used as a complement of a modal verb.

- (3) a. cuk-**ma** puŋ
make-INF- must
'It must be made.'
- b. p□N-**ma** sukk-u
lift-INF can-3O
'He can carry it.'
- c. pim-**ma** hE
jump-INF can
'He can jump.'

It is also used as the complement of an attitudinal verb *nu* 'it is okay'

- (4) a. ca-**ma** nu

- kill-INF okay
'It is okay to eat.'
- b. im-**ma** nu
sleep-INF okay
'It is okay to sleep.'
- c. paNwa-**ma** nu
play-INF okay
'It is okay to play.'

The infinitive form takes non-singular object marker <-si>.

- (5) a. tum-**ma-si** puN
p meet-INF-nsO must
'We must meet friends.'
- b. sak-**ma-si** puN
arrest-INF-nsO must
'They must be imprisoned.'
- c. cEp-**ma-si** puN
chop-INF-nsO must
'They must be chopped.'

2.2 PURPOSIVE. The purposive is marked by <-na --ma--ŋa> according to the type of the consonants it follows. It occurs as a complement of motion verbs.

- (6) a. set-**na** te.
kill-PURP go
'He goes to kill something.'
- b. ap-**ma** ka-bHER-a
shoot-PURP 2-come-PT
'You came to fire.'
- c. tHuŋ-**ŋa** tah-a-N
drink-PURP come-PT-1e
'I came to drink.'

In 6a, the participle is <-na> because it occurs after the dental stop /t/. In 6b, it becomes <-ma> because it is preceded by the bilabial stop. In 6c, it becomes <-ŋa> because it follows the velar nasal. Infinitive marking suffix <-ma> is invariable and the purposive marking suffix becomes homophonous when it occurs after the bilabial consonant.

2.3. CONVERBS. Converbs are used only in negative expressions in Chhatthare Limbu.

- (7) a. man-cHi-?E
NEG-die-CONV
'Without dying'
- b. mam-bat-nE
NEG-speak-CONV
'without speaking'
- c. man-dum-mE
NEG-meet-CONV
'without meeting.'
- d. maŋ-haŋ-ŋE
NEG-send-CONV

‘without sending.’

The converb suffix <-?E> changes its form according to the consonant it follows. After the vowel, it is <-?E> as exemplified in 7a. After the dental consonant, it becomes <-nE> as shown in 6b and after the bilabial consonant it becomes <-mE> as shown in 7c and after the velar consonant, it becomes <-ŋE> as shown in 7d. (See Table 61-62)

2.4. PARTICIPLE. Participle is of two kinds: active participle and passive participle.

2.4.1. ACTIVE PARTICIPLE. Active participle is formed by two active participle formatives <ka-> and <-pa>. The active participle is also divided into active participle of transitive verb and active participle of intransitive verb. Active participle of transitive verb codes the agent of a transitive verb.

- (8) a. **ka-hu-ba**
AP-teach-AP
‘One who teaches’
- b. **ka-sep-pa**
AP-kill-AP
‘One who kills’
- c. **ka-iŋ-ba**
AP- buy-AP
‘One who buys’

The active participle suffix <-pa> becomes <-ba> after a vowel or a nasal consonant.

Active participle of intransitive verb codes the subject of an intransitive verb.

- (9) a. **ka-bim-ba**
AP-jump-AP
‘One who jumps’
- b. **ka-hap-pa**
AP-weep-AP
‘One who weeps’
- c. **ka-ep-pa**
AP-laugh-AP
‘One who laughs’

The active participles of the transitive verbs and intransitive verbs listed in 8 and 9 can be used both as a noun and as an attribute.

2.4.2. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE. The passive participle refers to the object of a transitive verb.

- (10) a. **tap-na-ba**
bring-PP-NML
‘One that has been brought’
- b. **kom-na-ba**
search-PP-NML
‘One that has been searched’
- c. **sŋ-na-ba**
sell-PP- NML
‘One which has been sold.’

The participle <-pa> is also used as a general nominalizer to refer to the male attribute and the participle <-ma> is used to attribute female quality.

- (11) a. nu-**ba** napmi
good-M/ NML man
'A good man'
- b. nu-**ma** mEncHu-ma
good-M/ NML woman-F/ NML
'A good woman'

3. VERBAL COMPLEX. Combination of verbs in a phrase is the normal character of the Kiranti languages such as Limbu, Athpare, Bantawa, Thulung, Ombule etc. Chhatthare Limbu combines verbs in a phrase in order to indicate different shades of meanings. This phenomenon can be observed particularly in serial, compound, periphrastic, sequential, infinitive, purposive and possessive verb forms. These verbs are given an umbrella term 'verbal complex' in this grammar.

3.1. SERIAL VERBS. Combination of verbs in a phrase is one of the significant features of south Asian languages. In Nepali, non-finite verbs or converbs and finite verbs are combined. Pokhrel (1999) shows the sequences of as many as ten main verbs in a phrase in which the first nine verbs are converbs, and only the last verb, vector, inflects for person, number and tense and calls such verbs 'compound verbs'. Limbu language is a bit different from Nepali in the combination of verbs. In Limbu, when two main verbs occur in a phrase, they both mark person, number and tense. However, like Nepali, its first verb functions as a main verb, and second verb as an auxiliary. When the second verb occurs independently, it carries its own lexical meaning but when it occurs with a main verb, it loses its lexical meaning through semantic bleaching and amalgamates a new grammatical meaning as is the case in Nepali.

Ebert (1994:60) calls such combination of verbs as 'compound verbs' and says that Limbu is unique to other Kiranti languages in that it marks both verbs in the combination for person, number and tense whereas other Kiranti languages contract longer verb forms taking prefixes and outer suffixes only once. Such verbs are very limited in Limbu. I have called them 'serial verbs' and included two types of verb combination in them. The first type of verbs includes main verbs which are combined in a verbal complex and show independent inflectional patterns. In the combination, the second verb loses its lexical meaning and functions only as an auxiliary to the main verb. They together index a single semantic content in a combined form. The second type of verbs includes the combination of an independent lexical verb and a bound lexical verb. They inflect independently in the verbal complex and exhibit a single semantic content. They are discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.1.1. *tema* 'to go' or 'to take'. *tema* is intransitively conjugated as in 12a-b and transitively conjugated as in 12c-d.

- (12) a. k^hunE paŋ-No te?
he home-LOC go
'He goes home.'
- b. k^hEnE kat^hmandu ka-deg-a
You kathmandu 2- go-PT
'You go to Kathmandu.'

- c. a sapla tew-u-N
I paper take-3O-1e
'I took away a paper.'
- d. hEnja-Na khorE? tew-u
child-ERG plate take-3O
'The child took away a plate.'

However, when *tema* is used as an auxiliary whether in intransitive or transitive form, it loses its lexical meaning and only adds the meaning of 'instantly' to the main verb. The sentences in 13a-b show its intransitive form and 13c-d show its transitive form.

(13)

- a. ba pan d^hik low-u-ŋ-ba k^hunE pind-a deg-a
this matter only tell-3O-1e-NML he jump-PT go-PT
'When I told him only this thing, he jumped instantly (he immediately reacted).'
- b. k^hunE a a-nih-a-ŋ nuŋ manuŋ p^hEr-a deg-a
he me 1-see-PT-1e as soon as come-PT go-PT
'As soon as he saw me, he came over.'
- c. a k^hunE a-sapla piy-u-ŋ dey-u-ŋ
I him my-book give-3O-1e take-3O-1e
'I gave him a book immediately.'
- d. k^hunE a a-nih-a-ŋ nuŋ manuŋ a-□k-a-ŋ a-dey-a-ŋ
he I 3-1- see-PT-1e as soon as I-scold-PT-1e 3-1-take-PT-1e
'As soon as he saw me, he scolded me.'
- c. hEnja-iŋ paŋ-ŋo paks-u-dey-u
child-ABS house-LOC send-3O-take-3O
'Send the child home immediately!'

3.1.2. *cama* 'to eat'. As a main verb *cama* means 'to eat' as in 14 a-b but when it comes together with the auxiliary *wama* 'to be', it indicates sustained or prolonged immobility as in 14c-d.

(14)

- a. kHunE t□k c□
he rice eats
'he eats rice.'
- b. kHENE sa ka-j□
you meat 2-eat
'You eat meat.'
- c. a bo akkHE wa-ŋa ja-ŋa-ba
I here for nothing be-1e eat-1e-NML
'I am here for nothing.'
- d. k^hunE paŋ-ŋo-i yuŋ ja
he house-LOC-DEF sit- eat
'He stays just at home.'

3.1.3. *pima* 'to give'. *pima* as a main verb means 'to give' as in 15a-b but when it occurs with other main verbs, it functions as an auxiliary as in 15c-d.

(15)

- a. a kHunE sapla piy-u-N
I him book give-3O-1e

- 'I gave him a book.'
- b. kHEnE a lajE ka-biy-a-N
you me land 2-give-PT-1e
'You gave me land.'
- c. a k^hunc^hi lajE haw-u-ŋ biy-u-ŋ-si-ŋ
1 their land divide-3O-1e- give-3O-1e-3nsO-1e
'I divided their land among them.'
- d. a ku-yamb□k cug-u-ŋ biy-u-ŋ
I his-work do-3O-1e give-3O-1e
'I did his work for him.'

3.1.4. *yuyŋma* 'to place' or 'to put down'. As a main verb, *yuyŋma* means 'to place' or 'to put down' as shown in 16a-b but as an auxiliary, it means retaining the position of action as in 16c-d.

(16)

- a. kHunE ku-g□k hambo yuks-u
he 3POSS-load ther put-3O
'He put his loaded bag there.'
- b. kHEnE kunda kumbo ka-yuks-u
you pot here 2-put-3O
'You put a pot here.'
- c. a sapla-o a-miŋ-ŋiŋ sap-u-ŋ yuks-u-ŋ
I copy-LOC my-name-ABS write-3O-1e put-3O-1e
'I wrote my name in the copy and kept it.'
- d. cwat-niŋ kunda-o pHat-u yuks-u
water-ABS jar-LOC fill-3O put-3O
'Fill the jar with water and keep it.'

3.1.5. *sima* 'to die' or *sepma* 'to kill'. *sima* as a main verb occurs intransitively signaling the meaning 'to die'.

(17)

- a. k^hunE siy-a
he die-PT
'He died.'
- b. a si-ŋa nEt-na
I die-1e about-1e
'I'm about to die.'
- c. k^hEnE ka-si
you 2- die
'You will die.'

It occurs with other main verbs with a meaning 'very much'.

(18)

- a. k^hunE calik kiy-a siy-a
he very fear-PT die-PT
'He was afraid very much.'
- b. a nah-a-ŋ siy-a-ŋ
I tire-PT-1e die-PT-1e
'I was tired very much.'
- c. thEgu-nuŋ mo ka-mEtt-u-E) ka-ya ka-si

hill-ABL down below 2-look-3O-CONJ 2-be tickled 2- die
 'If you look down below from the hill, you will feel tickled.'

sEpma is also used transitively as a main verb .

(19)

- a. a k^hunE sEr-u-ŋ
 I him kill-3O-1e
 'I killed him.'
- b. k^hunE p^hak sEr-u
 he pig kill-3O
 'He killed a pig.'
- c. k^hEnE wa ka-sEr-u
 you hen 2- kill-3O
 'You killed him.'

As an auxiliary, *sepma* means 'very much'. When it occurs as an auxiliary with other main verbs like *kip-ma* 'to fear', the subject is patient and the object is somebody or something to be afraid of or feared with.

(20)

- a. a k^hunE kir-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ
 I him afraid of-3O-1e kill-3O-1e
 'I'm afraid of him very much.'
- b. kHunE a a-gir-a-N a-sEr-a-N
 he me 1-fear-PT-1e 1-kill-PT-1e
 'He is afraid of me very much.'
- c. kHENE a ka-git-na ka-sEt-na
 you me 2-fear-2O 2-kill-1e
 'You are afraid of me very much.'

When it occurs with main verbs like *nopma* 'to love' and *cipma* 'to hate', they function their own grammatical roles.

(21)

- a. a k^hunE not-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ
 I him love-3O-1e kill-3O-1e
 'I love him very much.'
- b. a k^hunE cit-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ
 I him hate-3O-1e kill-3O-1e
 'I hate him very much.'

sEpma occurs with other main verbs as an auxiliary of a clause subordinated to negative independent clause.

(22)

- a. a k^hunE mEtt-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ saN man-ni-ban
 I him look-3O-1e kill-3O-1e CONC NEG-see-1eS/PT/NEG
 'Though I watched him very much, I did not see him.'
- b. a k^hunE □k-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ saN ma-gHEps-u-n
 I him cry-3O-1e kill-3O-1e CONC NEG-hear-3O-NEG
 'Though I cried at him very much, he did not hear.'
- c. a k^hunE ut-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ saN ma-bHER-a-n
 I him invite-3O-1e kill-3O-1e CONC NEG-come-PT-NEG
 'Though I invited him very much, he did not come.'

3.1.6. *nema* means 'to lie'. It occurs on its own in clauses.

(23)

- a. k^hunE yukna-o nEh-a
he bed-LOC lie-PT
'He lay on the bed.'
- b. a k^ham-mo nEh-a-ŋ
I floor-LOC lie-PT-1e
'I lay on the floor.'
- c. k^hEnE atte yunc^hik a-baŋ-ŋo ka-nEh-a
you last night my-house-LOC 2-lie-PT
'Last night, you stayed at my house.'

When it occurs with other verbs as an auxiliary, it carries the meaning 'to persist' or 'to keep on doing something'.

(24)

- a. k^hunE yunc^hik pyahandik □k nEn
he night morning cry persist-3S
'He keeps on crying in the morning and evening.'
- b. k^hunE akk^hE pin nEn
he for nothing jump persist
'He keeps on jumping for nothing or he keeps on getting angry for nothing.'
- c. hamba koko namd^had^ha yat-a nEh-a
that dog all day long whine-PT persist-PT
'That dog kept on whining all day long.'

There is another type of verb combination which contains one independent lexical verb and one bound lexical verb. Such verbs are *nEp-ma* 'to be about to', *sama* 'to try', *tHama* 'to leave behind. They show same morphological behaviour as other serial verbs and reflect the single semantic content. Therefore, I have enlisted them in this group.

3.1.7. *nEpma*. *nEpma* means 'be about to' or 'on the verge of doing something'. *nepma* can occur intransitively as in 25a-b and transitively as in 25c-d . It, however, can not occur as a main verb independently.

(25)

- a. hamba wa si nEt
that hen die-about
'That man is about to die.'
- b. k^hEnE ka-de ka-nEt
you 2-go 2-be about
'You are about to go.'
- c. hamba-Na wa sEr-u nEtt-u
that hen kill-3O die-about
'He is about to kill a hen.'
- c. a koko p^hEtt-u-N nEtt-u-N
I dog bring-3O-1e be about-3O-1e
'I am about to bring a dog.'

3.1.8. *sama*. *sama* is used as an auxiliary verb to mean 'to try'. It can not occur alone independently on its own. It usually occurs with main verbs.

(26)

- a. tEps-u saw-u t□

- catch-3O try-3O PART
'Try to catch it.'
- b. tEps-u-ŋ saw-u-ŋ
catch-3O-1e try-3O-1e
'Let me catch it.'
- c. ka-mEtt-u ka-saw-u i
2 - see-3O 2 -try-3O Q
'Will you try to see it?'

3.1.9. *tHama* . *tHama* means 'to leave'. This verb has irregular conjugation form as *tH□* in the third person singular form. It can not occur as a main verb independently in a sentence. It occurs only as an auxiliary of a transitive verb.

(27)

- a. k^hunE sapla wet-u dH□
he book leave-3O leave-3:S
'He left the book behind.'
- b. a d^hankuta-o l□t^hik paŋ cug-u-ŋ d^ha-ŋ
I Dhankuta-LOC one house make-3O-1e leave-1e
'I made a house in Dhankuta and left it behind.'
- c. k^hEnE lat^hik paŋ bo iŋ-u d^h□-?
You one house here buy-3O leave-IMP
'Buy one house here and leave it behind!'

3.2. COMPOUND VERBS. Causative verbs are formed by the combination of the verb *paNma* 'to send' with other main verbs.' In this combination, it loses its lexical meaning through semantic bleaching, amalgamates a new grammatical meaning and functions only as an auxiliary to the first verb. These two verbs share common affixes and are called compound verbs. They differ from the serial verbs in sharing common affixes in the combination. The examples in 28 show the lexical meaning of *paNma* .

(28)

- a. a kHunE paN-No paks-u-N
I him home-LOC send-3O-1e
'I sent him home.'
- b. kHunE kHEnE yamb□k-No ka-baks-a
he you work-LOC 2-sed-PT
'He sent you to work.'
- c. a kHEnE hambo paN-na
I you there send-2O
'I sent you there.'

However, in the examples 29, they exhibit grammatical meanings.

(29)

- a. a k^hunE ba sapla sap- paks-u-ŋ
I him this letter write send-3O-1e
'I made him write this letter.'
- b. k^hEnE k^hunE ba k□k ku- ka-baks-u
you him this load carry 2-send-3O
'You made him carry this load.'
- c. k^hunE k^hEnE ku-g□k ku- ka-baks-a
he you his-load carry- 2-send-PT

‘He made you carry his load.’

Compound verbs show the morphological behaviour of the polysyllabic verb in that the affixes are added to the last syllable in both types of verbs. The examples 29 show this feature.

3.3. ANALYTIC VERBS. There are expressions in the language which are made periphrastically by the combination of multiple words with the coordination of suffixes. I have called such verbs ‘analytic verbs’ and they include analytic causative and analytic desiderative.

3.3.1. ANALYTIC CAUSATIVES. Analytic causatives are periphrastic causatives formed by the combination of the verbs like *yam-ma* as in 30 a-c and *cu-kma* as in 30d-f with other main verbs. In this combination, both verbs are fully conjugated and they are coordinated by <ro> to yield causative meaning.

(30)

- a. a k^hunE yaŋ tar-u-ro yand-u-ŋ
I him money bring-3O-Prg can-3O-1e
‘I made him bring money.’
- b. k^hEnE k^hunE t^hi t^huŋ-u-ro ka-yand-u
you him beer drink-3O-Prg 2 can-3O
‘You made him drink beer.’
- c. a k^hunE ku-yamb□k-ŋo teg-a-ro yand-u-ŋ
I him his-work -LOC go-PT-Prog can-3O-1e
‘I made him go to do his work.’
- d. a k^hunE tay-a-ro cug-u-ŋ
I him come-PT-Prog do-3O-1e
‘I made him come.’
- e. k^hEnE a noks-a-ŋ-ro ka-cug-a-ŋ
you me return-PT-1e-PT-Prog 2-make-PT-1e
‘You made me return.’
- f. k^hunE k^hEnE ka-bok-ro ka-juk
he you 2-rise-Prg 2-make
‘He made you rise.’

3.3.2. ANALYTIC DESIRATIVE. Analytic desideratives are formed by the combination of the verb *loma* ‘to say’ with other main verbs. In this combination, both verbs are fully conjugated and they are coordinated by <go> to yield desiderative meaning.

(31)

- a. a tHi tHuN-u-N-go lo-Na
I local beer drink-3O-1e-DSR say-1e
‘I feel like drinking local beer.’
- b. hamba napmi ku-baN-No tek-Na-go lo b□
that man 3sPOSS-house-LOC go-1e-DSR say PART
‘That man says that he feels like going home.’
- c. kHEnE kac-cHa nih-u-N-go ka-lo-i
you 2sPOSS-child see-3O-1e-DSR 2-say-Q
‘Do you feel like seeing your child?’

3.4. SEQUENTIAL VERBS. Sequential construction is formed by the suffix <-aŋ>. In fact, the suffix <-aŋ> gives the meaning 'and'. It coordinates two verbs occurring one after another to express sequential meaning.

(32)

- a. tEps-u-aŋ t^haps-u
catch-3O-SEQ-drop-3O
'He caught him and knocked him down.'
- b. yuŋ-a-aŋ-nir-u
sit-PT-SEQ-read-3O
'He sat down and read it.'
- c. ka-sEb-u-aŋ-ka-j□
2-pluck-3O-SEQ-2-eat
'You plucked it and ate it.'

The sentences in 32 express sequential events, which occur one after another. In 32a, the agent first caught the object and then knocked him down. In 32b, the agent first sat down and then performed the function 'reading'. In 32c, the agent first plucked something like mango, orange, guava etc. from the tree branch and then he ate it. The sequential suffix <-aŋ>, when followed by auxiliary *wa* 'be', shows perfect aspect with the meaning that an action has taken place sometimes in the past but its effect is still there.

3.5. INFINITIVAL CONSTRUCTION. Verbs such as *puNma*, *hekma*, *sukma*, *hema*, *yamma*, *komma* occur with infinitival verbs to express obligation, ability, desire, permission, prohibition and inception of event.

3.5.1. OBLIGATION. Obligation is expressed by the invariable impersonal form of the verb *puN* 'must'. It can be preceded by infinitive verb as in 33a-b or by fully inflected verb followed by the suffix <-ro> as in 33c-d.

(33)

- a. sa cEp-ma puŋ
meat chop-INF must
'He/you/I must chop meat.'
- b. yaN huŋ-ma puŋ
money pay-INF must
'One/he/you/I must pay.'
- c. kHunE sa cEpp-u-ro puŋ
he meat chop-Prg- must
'He must chop meat.'
- b. kHEnE yaN ka-huŋ-u-ro puŋ
you money pay-Prg must
'You must pay money.'

The obligation verb *puN* does not inflect for negation. However, negative obligation is expressed with the negation of *nu* 'It will be good'. The sentences in 33 can be negated in the following way:

(34)

- a. sa cEp-ma ma-nu-nEn
meat chop-INF-NEG-be good-NEG
'It is not good to chop meat.'

- b. yaN huŋ-ma ma-nu-nEn
 money pay-INF-NEG-be good-NEG
 'It is not good to pay money.'
- c. yuŋ-ma ma-nu-nEn
 sit-INF-NEG-be good-NEG
 'It is not good to sit.'

However, the negative sentences in 34 have been derived from the sentences in 35.

(35)

- a. sa cEp-ma nu
 meat chop-INF be good-NEG
 'It is good to chop meat.'
- b. yaN huŋ-ma nu
 money pay-INF be good
 'It is good to pay money.'
- c. yuŋ-ma nu
 sit-INF be good
 'It is good to sit.'

In negative, there is no difference between declarative and obligatory forms as exemplified by sentences in 34. The obligatory verb *puN* inflects for past tense with the suffix <-a>.

(36)

- a. kHunE sa cEpp-u-ro puks-a
 he meat chop-Prg- must-PT
 'He had to chop meat.'
- b. kHEnE yaN ka-huŋ-u-ro puks-a
 you money pay-Prg must-PT
 'You had to pay money.'
- c. a yuŋ-a-N-ro puks-a
 I sit-PT-1e-Prg must-PT
 'I had to sit.'

The past form of the obligatory verb *puksa* preceded by infinitival verb expresses want of the first person exclusive subject.

(37)

- a. sa cEp-ma puks-a
 meat chop-INF must-PT
 'I want to chop meat.'
- b. yaN huŋ-ma puks-a
 money pay-INF must-PT
 'I want to pay.'
- c. yuŋ-ma puks-a
 sit-INF must-PT
 'I want to sit.'

3.5.2. ABILITY. Ability is expressed by the verb *sukma* 'to be able to' or 'can', *hema* and *yamma* in combination with the infinitival verb. These verbs conjugate both intransitively and transitively. The examples in 38 exhibit intransitive conjugations.

(38)

- a. kHunE lok-ma suk
he run-INF can
'He can run.'
- b. kHEnE wajakma ka-suk
you swim-INF 2-can
'You can swim.'
- c. a pim-ma suk-Na
I jump-INF can-1e
'I can jump.'
- d. kHunE lok-ma he
he run-INF can
'He can run.'
- e. kHEnE wajakma ka-he
you swim-INF 2-can
'You can swim.'
- f. a pim-ma he-Na
I jump-INF can-1e
'I can jump.'
- g. kHunE lok-ma yan
he run-INF can
'He can run.'
- h. kHEnE wajakma ka-yan
you swim-INF 2-can
'You can swim.'
- i. a pim-ma yan-na
I jump-INF can-1e
'I can jump.'

The expressions in 38 can be negatively expressed.

(39)

- a. kHunE lok-ma ma-suk-nEn
he run-INF NEG-can-NEG
'He can not run.'
- b. kHEnE wajakma ka-n-suk-nEn
you swim-INF 2-NEG-can-NEG
'You can not swim.'
- c. a pim-ma ma-suk-Na-n
I jump-INF NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not jump.'
- d. kHunE lok-ma ma-he-nEn
he run-INF NEG-can-NEG
'He can not run.'
- e. kHEnE wajakma ka-n-he-nEn
you swim-INF 2-NEG-can-NEG
'You can not swim.'
- f. a pim-ma ma-he-Na-n
I jump-INF NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not jump.'
- g. kHunE lok-ma ma-yan-nEn
he run-INF NEG-can-NEG

- 'He can not run.'
- h. kHEnE wajakma ka-n-yan-nEn
 you swim-INF 2-NEG-can-NEG
 'You can not swim.'
- i. a pim-ma ma-yan-na-n
 I jump-INF NEG-can-1e-NEG
 'I can not jump.'

The ability verbs in 38 show transitive conjugations.

(40)

- a. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma sukk-u
 he work do-INF can-3O
 'He can do work.'
- b. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-sukk-u
 you fish catch-INF 2-can-3O
 'You can catch fish.'
- c. a ba sapla p□ηma sukk-u-η
 I this book hold can-3O-1e
 'I can hold this book.'
- d. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma hew-u
 he work do-INF can-3O
 'He can do work.'
- e. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-hew-u
 you fish catch-INF 2-can-3O
 'You can catch fish.'
- f. a ba sapla p□ηma hew-u-η
 I this book hold can-3O-1e
 'I can hold this book.'
- g. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma yand-u
 he work do-INF can-3O
 'He can do work.'
- h. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-yand-u
 you fish catch-INF 2-can-3O
 'You can catch fish.'
- i. a ba sapla p□ηma yand-u-η
 I this book hold can-3O-1e
 'I can hold this book.'

The above modes can be expressed negatively in the following way:

(41)

- a. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma ma-sukk-u-n
 he work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG
 'He can not do work.'
- b. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-n-sukk-u-n
 you fish catch-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
 'You can not catch fish.'
- c. a ba sapla p□ηma ma-suk- ηa-n
 I this book hold NEG-can-1e-NEG
 'I can not hold this book.'
- d. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma ma-hew-u-n
 he work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG

- 'He can not do work.'
- e. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-n-hew-u-n
you fish catch-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
'You can not catch fish.'
- f. a ba sapla p□ηma ma-he- ηa-n
I this book hold NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not hold this book.'
- g. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma ma-yand-u-n
he work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG
'He can not do work.'
- h. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-n-yand-u-n
you fish catch-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
'You can not catch fish.'
- i. a ba sapla p□ηma ma-yan- na-n
I this book hold NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not hold this book.'

3.5.3. DESIRE. Desire is expressed by the verb *komma* 'to search' in combination with the infinitival verb.

(42)

- a. kHunE yamb□k cukma kon
he work do-INF wants
'He wants to do work.'
- b. kHEnE wajak-ma ka-gon
you swim-INF 2-want
'You want to swim.'
- c. a ba sapla p□ηma kon-na
I this book hold want-1e
'I want to hold this book.'

3.5.4. PERMISSION AND PROHIBITION. Permissions are expressed by combining the verb *kHoma* 'to find' in combination with the passive suffix <-tet> preceded by the infinitival verb. Its negative transformation expresses prohibition to do certain works.

(43)

- a. bo yuN-ma kHodet- ni, an-na-E?
here sit-INF find-PASS-Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
'Oh sister! Can I /we sit here?.'
- b. bakHya) paniba paN-No saN lap-ma kHodet
these days Brahman home-LOC also enter-INF find-PASS
'These days, we can enter even Brahmin's house.'
- c. hambo cwat pHap-ma kHo-det
there water fill-INF find-PASS
'One/ we can fill water there.'

These permissions are negatively expressed in the following way:

(44)

- a. bo yuN-ma kHo ma-det- nEn-ni, an-na-E?
here sit-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG-Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
'Oh sister! Can I /we not sit here?.'

- b. bakHya) paniba paN-No lap-ma kHo-ma-det-nEn
these days Brahman home-LOC enter-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'These days, we can not enter Brahmin's house.'
- c. hambo cwat pHap-ma kHo-ma-det-nEn
there water fill-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'One/ we can not fill water there.'

In a straight form, the verb *kHoma* also expresses permission.

(45)

- a. a bo yuN-ma kHo-Na-i, an-na-E
here sit-INF find-1e-Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
'Oh sister! can I sit here?. Or am I permitted to sit here?'
- b. bakHya) paniba paN-No saN lap-ma a-gHow-i
these days Brahman home-LOC also enter-INF 1-find-pS
'These days, we can enter even Brahmin's house or these days we are permitted to enter even Brahmins house.'
- c. hambo cwat pHap-ma kHow-i-Na
there water fill-INF find-pS-1e
'we can fill water there or we are permitted to fill the water there.'

Prohibition is negatively expressed in the following way:

(46)

- a. a bo yuN-ma ma-gHo-Na-n-ni, an-na-E?
I here sit-INF NEG- find-1e-NEG -Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
'Oh sister! Can I sit here?. Or am I permitted to sit here?'
- b. bakHya) paniba paN-No lap-ma a-N-gHow-i-n
these days Brahman home-LOC enter-INF 1i-NEG-find-pS- NEG
'These days, we can not enter even Brahmin's house or these days we are not permitted to enter even Brahmins house.'
- c. hambo cwat pHap-ma ma-gHow-i-Na-n
there water fill-INF NEG-find-pS-1e-NEG
'we can not fill water there or we are not permitted to fill the water there.'
- d. paniba kHuncHi- ha?luN-No te-ma kHo-ma-det-nEn
brahmis 3nsPOSS- fireplace-LOC go-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'We can not go to the fire-place of the Brahmins. We are not permitted to go to the fireplace of Brahmins.'
- e. yamb□k-lam kHEccHim-ma ka-n-gHo-nEn
work- ABL run away-INF 2-NEG-find-NEG
'You can not run away from work.'

3.5.5. INCEPTION OF EVENT. Inception of event and near inception of event are expressed by the verbs *hek-ma* 'to begin' and *ipma* 'about to do' in combination with infinitival verbs.

A verb *hek-ma* is combined with the verb in infinitive form and indicates the beginning of the action denoted by the main verb. It conjugates intransitively as in 47a and transitively as in 47b-c.

(47)

- a. kHunE pap-ma hek-a
he speak-INF begin-PT
'he began to speak'
- b. kHENE yaN tH□k-ma ka-hek-u

- you money earn-INF 2-begin-3O
 ‘You began to earn money’
- c. a yamb□k hek-u-N
 I work begin-3O-1e
 ‘I began my work.’

In the same way the verb *ipma* ‘about to’ is combined with infinitival verbs and express the meaning of near inception of event. It conjugates intransitively as in 48a-b and transitively as in 48c.

(48)

- a. kHunE pok-ma itt-a
 he rise-INF about- PT
 ‘He is about to rise.’
- b. kHEnE lok-ma ka-itt-a
 you run-INF 2-about-PT
 ‘You are about to run.’
- c. a yamb□k sup-ma it-u-N
 I work finish-INF about-3O-1e
 ‘I am about to finish the work.’

3.6. PURPOSIVE VERBS. Purposive verbs occur with other motion verbs in a sentence. It is marked by the suffix <-na> which undergoes changes as <-ma> and <-Na>. The purposive verb indicates the purpose and the second verb indicates action.

(49)

- a. p□numa cwat pHat-na te
 panuma water fill-PURP go
 ‘Panuma goes to fill water.’
- b. kap-pa ca sak-Na uks-a
 2sPOSS-father paddy weed-PURP come down-PT
 ‘Your father came down to weed paddy plant.’
- c. a ka-dum-ma kEt-na
 I 2-meet-PURP come up-1e
 ‘I will come up to meet you.’

tema ‘to go’, *pHEmma* ‘to come from the surface level’, *tama* ‘to come from anywhere’, *uNma* ‘to come down from superior location’ and *kEpma* ‘to come up from below’ are direction verbs. Only with these verbs, purposive verbs can combine.

3.7. EXPERIENCER POSSESSIVE VERBS. Emotive feeling such as happiness, love, fear, anger, or hatred is expressed by the verbs in combination with possessive nouns. These nouns take special verbs for the expression of emotion.

(50)

- a. yak-IE-ma ‘to be angry’
 b. niN-IE-ma ‘to be fed up’
 c. niwa-da-ma ‘to be satisfied’
 d. yam-da-ma ‘to be comfortable’
 e. niNwa-ma-ma ‘to feel frustrated’
 f. sam-ma-ma ‘to lose consciousness’
 g. sira-dhaN-ma ‘to be happy’
 h. si-ghEN-ma ‘to feel irritated’

- i. sik-cHim-ma 'to feel content'
- j. na-hEm-ma 'to feel jealous'
- k. sik-IEN-ma 'to feel hatred'
- l. sikcigE-lo-ma 'to feel irritated'
- j. niNwa-p□N-ma 'to feel sad'
- k. luNma-him-ma 'to feel nostalgic'
- l. lEmma-yu-ma 'to feel lazy'
- m. na-d^hama 'to feel ashamed of'
- n. p^hok-luma 'to feel hungry'
- o. wa-mi-ma 'to feel thirsty'
- p. mik-yu-ma 'to feel sleepy'
- q. sapok-tuk-ma 'to feel pain in stomach'
- r. sik-pok-ma 'to feel irritated'

The full paradigm of emotive predicate *yaklEma* 'to become angry' in non-past and past is presented below as an example because all the emotive predicates conjugates in the same pattern:

1.3s.

ku-yak-IE
his-anger release
'He becomes angry.'

ku-yak lEr-a
his-anger release-PT
'He became angry.'

2.3ns.

k^hunc^hi yak IE
their-anger release
'They become angry.'

k^hunc^hi yak lEr-a
their-anger release-PT
'They became angry.'

3.2s

ka-yak IE
your-anger release
'You become angry.'

ka-yak lEr-a
your-anger release-PT
'You became angry.'

4.2d.

k^hEnc^hi-yak IE
your-anger release
'You become angry.'

k^hEnc^hi-yak lEr-a
your-anger release-PT
'You became angry.'

5. 2p

k^hEni-yak IE
your-anger release
'You become angry.'

k^hEni-yak lEr-a
your-anger release-PT
'You became angry.'

6. 1s

a-yak IE
my-anger release
'I become angry.'

a-yak lEr-a
my-anger release-PT
'I became angry.'

7.1di

anc^hi-yak IE
our-anger release
'We become angry.'

anc^hi-yak lEr-a
our-anger release-PT
'We became angry.'

8.1de.	anc ^h iŋa- yak IE our-anger release 'We become angry.'	anc ^h iŋa- yak IEr-a our-anger release-PT 'We became angry.'
9.1pi.	ani-yak IE our-anger release 'We become angry.'	ani-yak IEr-a our-anger release-PT 'We became angry.'
10. 1pe.	aniŋa- yak IE our-anger release 'We become angry.'	aniŋa- yak IEr-a our-anger release-PT 'We became angry.'

TABLE 63. Paradigm of experiencer possessive verb ya?lEma 'to be angry'

4. SUMMARY. Infinitive, purposive, converbs and participles are non-finite verbs. The first three non-finite verbs are marked by <-ma~ -na~ -Na>, <-na~ -ma~ -Na> and <-?E> respectively. Converb is marked only in negation. The active participle is marked by <ka- -pa> and passive participle is marked by <-na-ba>. Verbal complex includes serial verbs, compound verbs, analytic verbs, sequential verbs, infinitival verbs, purposive verbs and experiencer possessive verbs. They show different shades of meaning in the language.

CHAPTER 13
SENTENCE PATTERNS

1. INTRODUCTION. Limbu is a verb final language. It follows certain order in a phrase or a sentence. On the basis of patterns, Limbu sentences are divided into simple, compound and complex sentences but as compound sentence occurs only in sequential construction, both simple and compound sentences are subsumed under 'basic sentence patterns' and complex sentence are subsumed under 'clause combining'. On the basis of finite and non-finite verb forms, clauses are divided into finite clause and non-finite clause. Finite clause is an independent clause and hence it is used as a simple sentence in isolation and non-finite clause is a dependent or subordinate clause and it can not function without an independent clause. Dependent clause is formed by non-finite verb forms or by addition of subordinator marker to a finite verb form. Limbu forms complex sentences by the combination of non-finite and finite clauses. This chapter deals with constituent order, basic sentence patterns and clause combining of Chhatthare Limbu.

2. CONSTITUENT ORDER. Pokharel (1989) makes an analysis of constituent order of the Nepali clauses using the X-Bar theory. The constituent orders of Chhatthare Limbu clauses are analyzed in this subchapter following him.

2.1. COMPLEMENT-HEAD. Complement always precedes the head in Chhatthare Limbu.

2.1.1. SUBORDINATE CLAUSE-MAIN CLAUSE. In a complex sentence, main clause is the head and subordinate clause is complement. The main clause occurs in the right position and the complement occurs in the left position.

(1)

- a. kHEnE ka-da g□r□ ka-dum-ma
 you 2-come if 2-meet-1e
 'If you come, you will meet me.'
- b. t□k s□η-a mahaj kHunE a-loh-i-ηa
 rice cook-PT saying he 1-tell-pO-1e
 'He told us that rice was cooked.'
- c. hyan ma-day-a-n ni, a ma-ni-ηa-n
 why NEG-come-PT-NEG PART, I NEG-see-1e-NEG
 'I do not know why he did not come.'
- d. kHEnE ka-da-E) a a-sira-dHaη
 you 2-come-SUB I 1sPOSS-happiness-comes up
 'I will be happy if you come.'
- e. ho ka-de-i teg-a
 where 2-go-PART go-IMP
 'Go wherever you like!'

2.1.2. NP-VP. In a sentence NP is the complement and VP is the head. The NP comes before the VP.

(2)

- a. kHunE t□k c□
 he rice ate
 'He ate rice.'

- b. ku-bHu-ŋa ku-njHa-iŋ kuy-u
 3sPOSS-brother-ERG 3sPOSS- younger brother-DEF-carry-3O
 'The elder brother carried the younger brother.'

Under this generalization, VP is the head and subject NP is the complement of VP. The subject precedes the predicate phrase and object precedes the verb.

2.1.3. NOUN-POSTPOSITION. In a combination of noun and postposition, postposition is the head and noun is the complement. The head occurs on the right and noun on the left.

(3)

- a. paŋ-No
 house-in
 'in the house'
- b. tambHuŋ-IEkkHaŋ
 forest-toward
 'toward the forest'
- c. a-bE-so
 my-near
 'near me'
- d. paŋ-dHarik
 house-upto
 'up to the house'
- e. pHEja-ŋa
 dagger-with
 'with a dagger'

2.1.4. MAIN VERB-VECTOR. In serial verbs, the vector is the head and main verb is the complement. The head occurs on the right and the complement occurs on the left.

(4)

- a. pat-u biy-u
 speak-3O give-3O
 'He spoke for him.'
- b. pat-u de-u
 speak-3O take-3O
 'He spoke it without thinking.'
- c. nat-u de-u
 chase-3O take-3O
 'He chased it away.'

2.1.5. MAIN VERB-AUXILIARY. In a main verb and auxiliary combination, auxiliary is the head and main verb is the complement. The head occurs after the main verb.

(5)

- a. a kHEnE pat-u-ŋ pi-na-aŋ wa
 I you speak-3O-1sA give-1→2-PERF be
 'I have spoken for you.'
- b. kHunEpHEn-ro wa
 he come-Prog be
 'He is coming.'

- c. kHEnE yaŋ ka-dH□k-lo ka-wa
 you money 2-earn-Prog 2-be
 'You are earning money.'

2.1.6. ROOT/STEM-SUFFIX. In root or stem suffix combination, suffix is the head and root is the complement. The root precedes the suffix.

(6)

- a. um-ba
 short-NML
 'short'
- b. kem-ba
 long-NML
 'long'
- c. y□m-ba
 big-NML
 'big'

2.1.7. INDIRECT OBJECT-DIRECT OBJECT. In a sentence which has both indirect and direct objects, direct object is the head and indirect object is the complement. Indirect object occurs before the direct object.

(7)

- a. lahaŋ-ŋa p□numa-iŋ yaŋ piy-u
 lahaŋ-ERG-panuma-DEF money give-3O
 'Lahang gave Panuma money.'
- b. kHunE a te? a-gHur-a-ŋ
 he I cloth 1-bring-PT-1e
 'He brought cloth for me.'
- c. a kHunE casak kat-u-ŋ
 I he food item carry-3O-1e
 'I carried him food items.'

2.2. MODIFIER-HEAD. Modifiers normally precede the head in Limbu.

2.2.1. ADJECTIVE- NOUN. In a noun phrase adjective precedes the noun.

(8)

- a. ba paŋ
 this house
 'this house'
- b. kemba napmi
 tall man
 'a tall man'
- c. cukpa hEnja
 small child
 a small child'
- d. umba cHikki
 short rope
 'a short rope'

2.2.2. ADVERB- ADJECTIVE. In an adjectival phrase, adverb precedes adjective.

(9)

- a. calik nuba
very good
'very good'
- b. ci cukpa
little small
'a little small'
- c. myak y□mba
little big
'a little big'
- d. y□rik kamba
very long
'very long'

2.2.3. NUMBER-NOUN. In a noun phrase of numeral and head, the numeral precedes the head.

(10)

- a. nEccHi yaŋ
two rupee
'two rupees'
- b. sumsi mendak
three goat
'three goats'
- c. lattHik pan
one thing
'one thing'

2.2.4. GENITIVE-NOUN. If a noun phrase is made of genitive plus noun, the genitive precedes the head. The genitive in such a case occurs with a noun marked with a possessive prefix.

(11)

- a. kHunE-ŋ ku-baŋ
he-GEN 3sPOSS-house
'his house'
- b. a-ŋ a-bi?
1s-GEN 1sPOSS- cow
'my cow'
- c. kHEŋE-ŋ ka-me?
2-GEN 2sPOSS-wife
'your wife'

2.2.5. ADVERB-VERB. If adverb and verb occur together in a phrase, the adverb precedes the verb.

(12)

- a. y□ky□k pap-ma
slowly speak-INF
'to speak slowly'
- b. nurik sap-ma

- well write-INF
'to write well'
- c. y□k y□k laŋgHek-ma
slowly walk-INF
'to walk slowly'

2.2.6. KINSHIP NOUNS- PROPER NOUNS. When kinship nouns and proper nouns come together, the kinship nouns precede the proper nouns.

(13)

annE parbati
my sister parbati
'my elder sister Parbati'

2.3. HEAD – MODIFIER. Unlike Nepali modifiers as listed by Pokhrel (1989), some modifiers follow the head. If kinship nouns and adjectives occur together, adjectives follow the head.

(14)

- a. a-bHu cukpa
my- elder brother the youngest
'my youngest brother'
- b. an-jHa pHo?waba
my-younger sibling the youngest
'The youngest younger sibling'
- c. pHap-pHaN cH□rumba
our-uncle second eldest
'Our second eldest uncle'

If the head is a pronoun, it is followed by a modifier.

(15)

- a. a yaŋgasaba-ŋa y□rik yaŋ huŋ-ma ma-suk-ŋa-n
I poor-ERG much money pay-INF NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I, the poor, can not pay much money.'
- b. kHEnE kapoba-ŋa hE cuk-ma ka-sukk-u?
you old-ERG what do-INF 2-can-3O
'What can you, old man do?'
- c. kHEnE kagHuppa-iŋ sa-ŋa saN ku-baŋ-No ka-n-de-nEn
you thief -DEF who-ERG also his-home-LOC 2-NEG-take-NEG
'Nobody takes you, thief, to his home.'

2.4. CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER. If more than one event happens in a sentence, the earlier event precedes the later event.

(16)

- a. kHunE t□k ca-aŋ pHEn
he rice eats-and comes
'He eats rice and comes.'
- b. a yamb□k cHur-u-ŋ-aŋ r□k paŋ-No tek-ŋa
I work finish-3O-1sA-and only home-LOC go-1e
'I go home after finishing the work'

2. 5. ALPHA-MOVEMENT AND CONSTITUENT ORDER IN LIMBU. In Limbu due to case marking, constituent order is relatively free. However, intrusion or insertion within a particular phrase or construction is almost impossible. Only the intra categorical movement is possible.

(17)

anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
 today I home-LOC NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
 'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

We can move *appa-ŋa* to the initial position and construct the above sentence in the following way:

(18)

appa-ŋa anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ pat-u
 my-father-ERG today I home-LOC NEG-come-NEG saying say-3O
 'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

We can move the clause *appa-ŋa pat-u* to the initial position and form a sentence as follows:

(19)

appa-ŋa pat-u anda a paŋ-No ma-da-ŋa-n
 my-father-ERG say-3O today I home-LOC NEG-come-1e-NEG
 'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

If the main clause is moved to the initial position, the complementizer *mahaŋ* is dropped. The movement of the above elements are only intra-categorical. The extra-categorical movement, however, is not possible. For example, in the above sentence, *anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u* there are two clauses. They are:

(20)

- a. anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n
- b. appa-ŋa pat-u

These two sentences are joined by the complementizer *mahaŋ*. The first clause is dependent clause and the second clause is the principal clause or main clause. We can change the word order within the clause.

(21)

- a. a anda paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
 I today home-LOC NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
 'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'
- b. paŋ-No anda a ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
 home-LOC today I NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
 'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'
- c. a paŋ-No anda ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
 I home-LOC today NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
 'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

However, the movement of the item of one clause to another clause is not permitted. If the item is moved, meaning changes.

(22)

- a. anda a ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa paŋ-No pat-u
 today I -come-NEG saying my-father-ERG home-LOC NEG say-3O
 'My father said in a house, 'I will not come today.'
- b. a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa anda pat-u
 I - home-LOC NEG come- NEG saying my-father-ERG today say-3O

'My father said today, 'I will not come home.'

2.6. MARKER RIGHT LANGUAGE. Limbu is a marker-right language.

2.6.1. SENTENCE- MARKERS. The markers of sentences occur on the right.

(23)

- a. kHunE pHEn
he comes
'He comes.'
- b. kHunE pHEn laye
he comes perhaps
'Perhaps, he comes.'
- c. kHunE pHEm-bi?
he comes-doubtful question
'Does he come?'

In the sentences above, the elements *phen*, *laye* and *bi*, are markers of the sentences and they occur in the final position.

2.6.2.. XP-MARKER. The marker comes after any phrase in Limbu.

(24)

- a. pHubHu r□k
elder brother only
'elder brother only'
- b. pHubHu saŋ
elder brother also
'elder brother also'
- c. pHubHu-nuŋ
elder brother -with
'With the elder brother'

2.6.3. FOCUS MARKING PARTICLES. Focus marking particles always follow the head in sentences.

(25)

- a. a g□ paŋ-No tek-ŋa
I PART home-LOC go-1e
'I go home.'
- b. a paŋ-No g□ tek-ŋa
I home-LOC PART go-1e
'I go home.'
- c. a paŋ-No tek-ŋa g□
I home-LOC go-1e PART
'I go home.'

3. BASIC SENTENCE PATTERNS. Basic sentence patterns deal with the sentences formed without verbal or adverbial conjunction. They include simple and compound sentences.

3.1. COPULAR SENTENCES. Copular sentences consist of the following verbs which cover various senses of English 'to be':

(26)

a.	the identity operator	suffixal	'to be'
b.	wa-ma	existential	'to be'
c.	hop-ma	negative existential	'to be'
d.	yuŋ-ma	locational	'to be'
e.	keŋ-ma	adhesive	'to be'
f.	cuk-ma	attributive	'to be'
g.	puŋ-ma	inchoative	'to be'
h.	lo-ma	descriptive	'to be'
i.	Ep-ma	vertical locational	'to be'
j.	nEm-ma	horizontal locational	'to be'

3.1.1. THE IDENTITY OPERATOR. The identity operator occurs in a two-nominal argument syntagm and indicates the second argument as identical to the first. For example, in the sentence, *a yakthuŋba-ŋa* 'I am a Limbu' the second nominal *yakthuŋba* is identical to the first nominal *a*. The suffix <-ŋa> operates the identity of the speaker. It constitutes a unique conjugation consisting of a set of adnominal suffixes. Its full conjugation is presented in table 64.

1.	kHunE yaktHuŋba	He is a Limbu
2.	kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si	They are Limbus.
3.	kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si	They are Limbus.
4.	kHEnE yaktHuŋba-na	You are a Limbu.
5.	kHEncHi yaktHuŋba-na-cHiŋ	You are Limbus.
6.	kHEni yaktHuŋba-na-niŋ	You are Limbus.
7.	a yaktHuŋba-ŋa	I am a Limbu.
8.	ancHi yaktHuŋba-si	We are Limbus.
9.	ancHi-ŋa yaktHuŋba-si-ŋa	We are Limbus.
10.	ani yaktHuŋba-si	We are Limbus.
11.	aniŋa yaktHuŋba-si-ŋa	We are Limbus.

TABLE 64 Conjugation of identity operators.

The third person singular form of the identity operator is zero. However, its dual and plural forms are marked by <-si>. The second person singular form of the identity operator is <-na>, its dual marker is <-cHiŋ> and plural marker is <-niŋ>. The first person exclusive form of the identity operator is <-ŋa> and its dual and plural numbers are marked by <-si>. The first person inclusive is unmarked but its dual and plural numbers are marked by <-si>. In fact, identity operating sentence is a verbless one.

3.1.2. NEGATIVE SUFFIXAL 'to be'. The suffixal 'to be' is negated by *ekhan* which conjugates as an identity operator as in 69.

1.	kHunE yaktHuŋba ekHan	'He is not a Limbu.'
----	-----------------------	----------------------

2.	kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-cHin	'They are not Limbus.'
3.	kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-cHin	'They are not Limbus.'
4.	kHEne yaktHuŋba ekHan-na	'You are not a Limbu.'
5.	kHEncHi yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-na-cHin	'You are not Limbus.'
6.	kHEni yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-na-niŋ	'You are not Limbus.'
7.	a yaktHuŋba-Na ekHan	'I am not a Limbu.'
8.	ancHi yaktHuŋbasi ekHan	'We are not Limbus.'
9.	ancHi-ŋa yaktHuŋba-si -Na ekHan	'We are not Limbus.'
10.	ani yaktHuŋbasi ekHan	'We are not Limbus.'
11.	aniŋa yaktHuŋbasiNa ekHan	'We are not Limbus.'

TABLE 65 Negative conjugation of identity operators

The singular form of the third person negative identity operator is unmarked but its dual and plural forms are marked by <-cHin> respectively. The singular form of the second person negative identity operator is *ekHan-na* its dual and plural forms are *ekHan -na-cHiN* and *ekHan -na-niŋ*> respectively. The identity operator *ekHan* functions only as negative particle in first person identity operation

3.1.3. EXISTENTIAL 'to be' and 'not to be'. The verb *wa-ma* 'to be' indicates the availability or existence of a thing.

(27)

- | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|------------------|
| a. | hamba paŋbHE-o | a-dak wa | |
| | that | village-LOC | 1sPOSS-friend be |
| | 'My friend is there in that village.' | | |
| b. | kuwa-o | cwat wa | |
| | well -LOC | water | be |
| | 'There is water in the well.' | | |
| c. | pyaNsi-NaN | ku-beso-o | tHaN wa |
| | paddyfield-GEN | 3sPOSS-near-LOC | cowshed be |
| | 'There is a cow-shed beside the paddy-field.' | | |

It uses a negative counterpart *hopma* to index negative meaning.

(28)

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|----------------------|
| a. | hamba paŋbHE-o | a-dak hop | |
| | that | village-LOC | 1sPOSS-friend be not |
| | 'My friend is not there in that village.' | | |
| b. | kuwa-o | cwat hop | |
| | well -LOC | water | not be |
| | 'There is no water in the well.' | | |
| c. | pyaNsi | ku-beso-o | tHaN hop |
| | paddyfield | 3sPOSS-near-LOC | cowshed not be |
| | 'There is no cow-shed beside the paddy-field.' | | |

Negative affixes for negation are used if it functions as a main verb.

(29)

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|----------------------------|
| a. | hamba paŋbHE-o | a-dak ma-wa-nEn | |
| | that | village-LOC | 1sPOSS-friend NEG-stay-NEG |
| | 'My friend does not stay in that village.' | | |
| b. | hamba paŋbHE-o | a-dak-kHacHi | ma-wa-cHin |

- that village-LOC my-friend-d NEG-be-NEG
'My friends do not stay in that village.'
- c. hamba paŋbHE-o a-dak-kHa ma-N-wa-nEn
that village-LOC 1sPOSS-friend-p 3pS- NEG-be-NEG
'My friends do not stay in that village.'

3.1.4. LOCATIONAL 'to be'. Locational 'to be' *yuy-ma* situates the subject in a place.

(30)

- a. kunda-o cwa? yuy
jar-LOC water be
'There is water in the jar.'
- b. harpE-o kHyu yuy
bottle-LOC ghee be
'There is ghee inside the bottle.'
- c. lungHuri-o na yuy
stone-hole-LOC fish be
'The fish is inside the stone-hole.'
- d. sumbak-ŋo yum yuy
dal-LOC salt be
'There is salt in dal.'

wama can also replace *yuy-ma*.

(31)

- a. kunda-o cwa? wa
jar-LOC water be
'There is water in the jar.'
- b. harpE-o kHyu wa
bottle-LOC ghee be
'There is ghee inside the bottle.'
- c. lungHuri-o na wa
stone-hole-LOC fish be
'The fish is inside the stone-hole.'
- d. sumbak-ŋo yum wa
dal-LOC salt be
'There is salt in dal.'

3.1.5. ADHESIVE 'to be'. The verb *keŋ-ma* 'to be' indicates the object in the hanging position in the superior location such as fruits in a tree or cloud, stars, moon and the sun in the sky.

(32)

- a. siŋbuŋ-No ambE keŋ
tree-LOC mango be
'A mango is there on the tree.'
- b. taŋsappa-o kHapmippa keŋ
sky-LOC cloud be
'There is cloud in the sky.'
- c. taŋsappa-o laba keŋ
sky-LOC moon be
'There is the moon in the sky.'

- d. taŋsappa-o nam keŋ
 sky-LOC sun be
 'There is the sun in the sky.'

It conveys both locational and existential sense when referring to body parts.

(33)

- a. □n-naŋ ku-milak keŋ
 horse-GEN 3s POSS-tail be
 'The horse has a tail.'
- b. kHunE-ŋ ku-mik keŋ
 he-GEN 3sPOSS-eye be
 'He has an eye.'
- c. pi?-naŋ ku-milak keŋ
 cow-GEN 3sPOSS -tail be
 'A cow has a tail.'

keN can be replaced by *wa*.

(34)

- a. □n-naŋ ku-milak wa
 horse-GEN 3sPOSS-tail be
 'The horse has a tail.'
- b. kHune-ŋ ku-mik wa
 he-GEN 3s POSS-eye be
 'He has an eye.'
- c. pi?-naŋ ku-milak wa
 cow-GEN 3sPOSS -tail be
 'A cow has a tail.'

However, the locational 'to be' *yuN* can not replace *keN*.

3.1.6. ATTRIBUTIVE 'to be'. The verb *cuk-ma* 'to be' is used in the intransitive form to describe an attribute or trait to a subject. The predicate may contain an adjective with a descriptive meaning.

(35)

- a. kHunE kamba cuk
 he tall be
 'He is tall.'
- b. kHENe nuba ka-juk
 you good 2-be
 'You are good.'
- c. a siŋsiŋba cuk-ŋa
 I sincere be-1e
 'I am sincere.'

3.1.7. INCHOATIVE 'to be'. The verb *puŋ-ma* 'to be' describes the transition from one state to another in the past or non-past.

(36)

- a. hamba hEnja kumakla puks-a
 that child black become-PT
 'That child became black.'
- b. ba □ghe? taphEmba puks-a
 this cloth bad be

- 'This cloth became bad.'
- c. kHunE kapoba puks-a
 he old become-PT
 'He became old.'

It also indicates an inherent quality.

(37)

- a. napmi-ŋaŋ nEccHi ku-huk puŋ
 man-GEN two 3sPOSS-hand be
 'Man has two hands.'
- b. samyaŋ kuhikla puŋ
 gold yellow be
 'Gold is yellow.'
- c. □n-naŋ ku-daŋ ma-buŋ-nEn
 horse-GEN 3sPOSS-horn NEG-be-NEG
 'A horse has no horn.'

3.1.8. DESCRIPTIVE 'to be'. The verb *loma* 'to be' describes the manifestation of an attribute.

(38)

- a. kHunE-N ku-na mak lo
 he-GEN 3sPOSS -face black be
 'His face is black.'
- b. ba sukwa he? lo
 this bag red be
 'This bag is red.'
- c. pitnu pH□ lo
 milk white be
 'Milk is white.'

3.1.9. VERTICAL LOCATIONAL 'to be'. The verb *yep-ma* 'to be' indicates person or object in vertical position.

(39)

- a. hamba paŋbHE-o □tHik numa mEncHE yEp
 that village-LOC one beautiful young lady be
 'There is a beautiful young lady in that village.'
- b. lam-beso pi? yEp
 road-side cow be
 'There is a cow beside the road.'
- c. tambhuŋ-o siŋbuŋ-gHa mu-yEp
 forest-LOC tree-p 3S-be
 'There are trees in the forest.'

3.1.10. HORIZONTAL LOCATIONAL 'to be'. The verb *nEn* 'to be' indicates the object in horizontal position.

(40)

- a. sapla kHam-mo nEn
 paper floor-LOC be
 'Paper is on the floor.'
- b. a-byaNsi paŋbHE-o nEn

- my-house village-LOC be
'My paddy field is in the village.'
- c. yodHambi nuba lajE nEn
across the river good paddy-field be
'There is a good paddy-field across the river.'

3.2. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE. Yes/no questions are marked by the interrogative suffix <-i> without any change in the word order of the sentence. It has the following allomorphs:

- <-i> -> <-mi> after bilabial
<-ni> after dental
<-Ni> after velar
<-i> elsewhere

The interrogative suffix <-i> takes bilabial, dental or velar nasal consonant before it following bilabial, dental or velar stops or nasal consonants.

(41)

- a. kHEnE t□k ka-j□-i
you rice 2-eat-Q
'Do you eat rice?'
- b. kumba hEnja hap-**mi**
this child weep-Q
'Does this child weep?'
- d. kHEnE hEnja ka-ham-**mi**
you child 2-weep-Q
'Do you make a child weep?'
- b. kHunE batto ket-**ni**
he up here come-Q
'Does he come up here?'
- e. hambo mi tin-**ni**
there fire burn-Q
'Does the fire burn there?'
- c. hamba sawet lok-**ŋi**
that buffalo run-Q
'Does that buffalo run?'
- f. kHunE bap-mo uŋ-**ŋi**
he down here come down-Q
'Does he come down here?'

The examples above prove that the nasal consonant is augmented before the interrogative suffix <-i> following the place of articulation of the preceding consonant.

Yes/no questions are marked by the interrogative particle *bi* which occur in the final position of the suffixal string of the verb. This type of question expresses doubt regarding the performance of the act by the actor as indicated by the verb.

(42)

- a. kHEnE sapla ka-nir-u **bi**
you book 2-read-3O-Q
'I doubt if you read a book?'
- b. kHunE paŋ-No teg-a **bi**

- he house-LOC go-PT-Q
'Do you think that he went to house?'
- c. kHEnE tambHuŋ-No ka-de **bi**
you forest-LOC 2-go-Q
'I doubt if you go to forest.'

The distinction marked by the interrogative suffix <-i> and particle *bi* is that the first one forms the straightforward question whereas the second one forms a question with the intention tilted to negativity. In the first type of question, the questioner does not have any idea about the thing he is asking. He asks the question simply to know the fact. But in the second type of question, he has and he thinks that the actor is reluctant to perform the act indicated by the verb. The interrogative suffix <-i> occurs only in the final position. It is not the conflation of the nominalizer suffix <-pa> and the interrogative suffix <-i> as Driem (1987:142) suggests for Phedappe Limbu.

3.3. PARTICIPANT CODING

3.3.1. PRONONMINAL VERB AFFIXES. Pronominal affixes mark participants on the verb. Pronouns are optional and used only if the speaker wants to specify the reference. The following verbs are full sentences.

(43)

- a. ka-gHEps-u-i?
2-hear-3O-Q
'Did you hear it?'
- b. sap-u-N
write-3O-1e
'I wrote it.'
- c. mu-iy-a
3pS-travel-PT
'They traveled.'

The difference between dual and plural is marked on first and second person pronouns, nouns and verbs.

(44)

- a. anc**Hi** hambo a-guN-**cHi**
we (d) there 1i-reach-dS
'We will reach there.'
- b. ani hambo a-guks-**i**
we there 1i-reach-pS
'We will reach there.'
- c. kHEnc**Hi** paN-No ka-noN-**cHi**
you (d) house-LOC 2-return-dS
'You will return home.'
- d. kHE**ni** paN-No ka-noks-**i**
you (p) house-LOC 2-return-pS
'You will return home.'
- e. koko-g**HacHi** hukk-a-**cHi**
dog-d bark-PT-dS
'Dogs (d) barked.'
- f. koko-g**Ha** mu-hukk-a
dog-p 3pS- bark-PT

‘Dogs (p) barked.’

However, the difference between dual and plural is not marked on the third person pronoun. In it is only understood from the verb whether the actor is plural or dual.

(45)

- a. kHun-cHi pok-c**Hi**
 they (ns) rise-dS
 ‘They rise.’
- b. kHuncHi **mu**-bok
 they (ns) 3pS-rise
 ‘They rise.’

3.3.2. CASE MARKERS. Case markers give some indications as to the role of participants in the event if they are designated by a noun phrase. Nouns referring to the core participants are either unmarked or have the multifunctional suffix. The following postpositions serve as case markers:

- <-Na> oblique: ergative, instrumental, causative
<-NaN> genitive
<-o> locative
<-naN> directive
<-nuN> comitative
<-ma?e> deprivative (‘without’)
<-lam> ablative
<-dHarik> allatative
<-aN> <-nuN-E> comparative
<-E> vocative

(See Chap 5)

3.3.2.1. OBLIQUE MARKER <-Na>. The suffix <-Na> serves as an ergative, instrumental and causative marker. It has the following allomorphs:

- <-Na> -> <-ma > after bilabial
 <-na> after dental
 <-Na> else where

(46)

- a. hEnja-**Na** ku-huk-**Na** t□k c□
 child- OBL(ERG) 3sPOSS- hand-(OBL)INST rice ate
 ‘A child ate rice with his/her hand.’
- b. ram-**ma** pHEja-**Na** sa cEpp-u
 ram-OBL(ERG) dagger-OBL (INST) meat- cut-3O
 ‘Ram cut meat with a dagger.’
- c. □n-**na** napmi ep-u
 horse-OBL (ERG) man tread-3O
 ‘A horse trod on a man.’
- d. pi? cuNwapma-**Na** siy-a
 cow cold-OBL (CAUS) die-PT
 ‘A cow died of cold.’

3.3.2.2. GENITIVE MARKER <-NaN>. The genitive marker <-NaN> has following allomorphs:

- <-NaN> -> <-N> with pronouns

- > <-maN> after bilabial
- > <-naN> after dental
- > <-NaN> elsewhere

The genitive in the noun phrase occurs with prefixed noun. The genitive case marks the possessor and the possessive prefix marks the possessed noun.

(47)

- a. pHak-**NaN** kumik cuk
pig-GEN 3sPOSS-ey be small
'A pig's eye is small.'
- b. ram-**maN** ku-baN hop
ram-GEN 3sPOSS-house be not
'Ram has no house.'
- c. **it-naN** ku-huk und-a
statue-GEN 3sPOSS-hand be short-PT
'The statue's hand was short.'
- d. kHunE-**N** ku-mE? hop
he-GEN 3sPOSS-wife be not
'He has no wife.'

In synchronic use, genitive case marker is optionally deleted and the noun or pronoun directly precedes the nominal head. Consequently, the sentences in 47 may be constructed as in 48.

(48)

- a. pHak kumik cuk
pig 3sPOSS-ey be small
'A pig's eye is small.'
- b. ram ku-baN hop
ram 3sPOSS-house be not
'Ram has no house.'
- c. it ku-huk und-a
statue 3sPOSS-hand be short-PT
'The statue's hand was short.'
- d. kHunE ku-mE? hop
he- 3sPOSS-wife be not
'He has no wife.'

3.3.2.3. LOCATIVE MARKER <-o>. The suffix <-o> serves as a location marker. It also functions as a direction marker. It has the following allomorphs:

- <-o> -> <-mo> after bilabial
- <-no> after dental
- <-No> after nasal
- <-o> elsewhere

(49)

- a. a kHunE lam-**mo** tum-u-N
I him way-LOC meet-3O-1e
'I met him on the way.'
- b. ped□kna cwat-**no** yuN
frog water-LOC live
'A frog lives in water.'
- c. kHunE paN-**No** teg-a

- he house-DIR go-PT
 'He went home.'
- d. hamba-Na sapla mi-o ket-u
 that-ERG paper fire-LOC put-3O
 'He put a paper in the fire.'

Different locations are expressed by adding locational suffix <-o> to possessive construction.

(50)

- a. paŋ ku-beso-o siŋbuŋ yep
 house 3sPOSS-in front-LOC tree be
 'A tree stands in front of a house.'
- b. pyaNsi ku-cHuk-No kHola nEn
 paddy field 3sPOSS-corner-LOC stream be
 'There is a stream in the corner of a stream.'
- c. pyaNsi ku-lum-mo siNbuN yEp
 paddy field 3sPOSS-middle-LOC tree be
 'There is a tree in the middle of the paddy field.'
- d. paŋ ku-j□ŋ-No pu yuŋ-a
 house 3sPOSS-on-LOC bird sit-PT
 'A bird sat on a house.'
- e. paŋ ku-dEk-No tHaŋ nEn
 house 3sPOSS- below-LO shade be
 'A shade is there below a house.'
- f. siŋ ku-buŋ-No napmi wa
 tree 3sPOSS-bottom-LOC man be
 'A man is there at the bottom of a tree.'
- g. pH□ktakluŋma ku-cH□m-mo kuks-a-ŋ
 kumbhakarna mountain 3sPOSS- top-LOC reach-PT-1e
 'I reached the top of Kumbhakarna mountain.'
- h. kHunE a-ek-ŋo yuŋ
 he my-back-LOC sit
 'He sits behind me.'

3.3.2.4. DIRECTION MARKER <-naN> or <IEkkHaN>. The suffix <-naN> marks direction.

(51)

- a. tumbE mo-**naN/IEkkHaN** lokk-a
 wild cat down-DIR run-PT
 'A wild cat ran downwards.'
- b. kHunE tambHuN-**naN/IEkkHaN** teg-a
 he forest-DIR go-PT
 'He went to forest.'
- c. a pyaNsi-**naN/IEkkHaN** tek-Na
 I paddyfield-DIR go-1e
 'I will go to paddy-field.'

13.3.3.2.5. COMITATIVE MARKER <-nuN>. The comitative marker <-nuN> marks a person accompanying the actor, or an object that is associated with the action.
(52)

- a. a ap-pa-**nuN** pHEn-na
I 1sPOSS-father-COM come-1e
'I will come with my father.'
- b. kHunE hari-**nuN** yuN
he hari-COM stays
'He stays with Hari.'
- c. kHEnE ka-dak-**nuN** ka-wa
you 2sPOSS-friend-COM 2-be
'You are with your friend.'

The deprivative marker <-ma?E> 'without' is used only in the negative associative sense.
(53)

- a. a ap-pa-**ma?E** pHEn-na
I 1sPOSS-father-without come-1e
'I will come without my father.'
- b. kHunE hari-**ma?E** yuN
he hari-without stays
'He stays without Hari.'
- c. kHEnE ka-dak-**ma?E** ka-wa
you 2sPOSS-friend-without 2-be
'You are without your friend.'

3.3.2.6. ABLATIVE MARKER <-lam>. The suffix <-lam> serves as an ablative marker. It also functions as a meditative marker.
(54)

- a. a paN-**lam** pHEr-a-N
I home-ABL come-PT-1e
'I came from home.'
- b. kHunE paniba pan-**lam** pat-a
he nepali language-MED speak-PT
'He spoke in a Nepali language.'

3.3.2.7. ALLATIVE MARKER <-dHarik>. The suffix <-dHarik> 'as far as' marks the allative case. It may occur alone or in combination with the locative suffix <-o>. Therefore, it can be either <-dHarik> or <-o-dHarik>.
(55)

- a. kHunE bo-dHarik tay-a
he here-ALL come-PT
'He came as far as here.'
- b. a ku-baN-No-dHarik teg-a-N
I 3sPOSS-house-LOC-ALL go-PT-1e
'I went as far as his house.'

3.3.2.8. COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE. The comparative degree is indicated by a suffix <-aŋ> affixed to the nominal head to be compared as in 56a. It is

also expressed periphrastically by comitative plus subordinator suffix, nuŋ+E) as in 56b. In the synchronic use, it is expressed by the use of Nepali *bHanda* 'than' as in 56c. Superlative is expressed by placing *kErEk* before the comparative marker *bH□nda* as in 56d or *nuN-E* as in 56e.

(56)

- a. k^hunE-aŋ kemba k^hEnE ka-juk
 he- COMPR tall you you-be
 'You are taller than him.' (literally, more than him, you are tall.)
- b. kHEnE- nuŋ -E) a ken-na
 you COMPR I be tall-1e
 'I am taller than you.'
- c. a bH□nda kHunE y□n
 I than he big
 'He is bigger than me.'
- d. kHunE kErEk bH□nda ken
 he all than tall
 'He is the tallest of all.'
- e. kErEk- nuŋ -E) a ken-na
 all COMPR I be tall-1e
 'I am the tallest of all.'

3.3.2.9. VOCATIVE CASE. Vocative case is marked by <-E> or <-o> alternatively and is used in the form of an address. It can occur in the sentence initial or final position.

(57)

- a. attumbay-E, ho ka-de-ba r□?
 uncle-VOC, where 2-go-NML PART
 'Oh uncle! Where are you going?'
- b. ho ka-de-ba r□ attumbay-E?
 Where 2-go-NML PART uncle-VOC
 'Where are you going, uncle?'

Vocative cases are used only with kinship nouns.

3.3.3. SPLIT ERGATIVITY. If a noun occurs as the subject of a transitive verb, it is marked by ergative marker <-Na> but if a pronoun occurs as the subject of an intransitive verb, it is not marked.

(58)

- a. lahaN-ŋa napmi sEr-u
 lahang-ERG man kill-3O
 'Lahang killed a man.'
- b. koco-ŋa hEnja har-u
 dog-ERG child bite-3O
 'A dog bit a child.'
- c. mendak-ŋa cwat thuN-u
 goat-ERG water drink-3O
 'A goat drank water.'

In 58, the transitive subjects are marked by ergative suffix <-ŋa>. In 59, however, the ergative suffix does not mark the transitive subjects.

(59)

- a. kHunE napmi sEr-u
he man kill-3O
'He kills a man.'
- b. kHEnE napmi ka-sEr-u
you man 2-kill-3O
'You kill a man.'
- c. a napmi sEr-u-ŋ
I man kill-3O-1e
'I kill a man.'

However, demonstrative pronouns *kumba* 'this' and *hamba* 'that' and their dual and plural forms take the ergative markers in the transitive subject form.

(60)

- a. hamba-ŋa a-baŋ iŋ-u
that-ERG 1sPOSS-house purchase-3O
'He purchased my house.'
- b. kumba-ŋa napmi sEr-u
this-ERG man kill-3O
'This killed a man.'
- c. hamba-gHa-ŋa paŋ mu-jug-u
that-ERG house 3pA-make-3O
'Those made a house.'
- d. kumba-gHa-ŋa lajE mu-s□ks-u
this-p-ERG land 3pA-sell-3O
'These sold land.'

The transitive object in 59 can occur as intransitive subjects.

(61)

- a. napmi pHEn
man comes
'A man comes.'
- b. napmi siy-a
man die-PT
'A man died.'
- c. napmi lokk-a
man run-PT
'A man ran.'

The data in 61 show that the transitive objects in 59 and the intransitive subjects in 61 have the same form. It is the characteristic of an ergative-absolutive system. But it is not maintained all through the language. As shown above, ergativity marks the transitive subject in 58 and 60 but it does not mark in 59. Similarly, first and second person intransitive subjects and transitive objects are marked on the verbs alike as shown by 62 and 63 but third person intransitive subject and transitive object are not marked alike on the verb as exhibited by 64 and 65. They are marked differently.

(62)

- a. kHEnE ka-yuN
you 2-sit
'You sit.'
- b. a yuN-Na
I sit-1e

- 'I sit.'
- (63)
- a. napmi-Na kHEnE ka-dum
man-ERG you 2-meet
'A man meets you.'
- d. napmi-Na a a-dum-ma
man-ERG me 1-meet-1e
'A man meets me.'

- (64)
- a. kHunE yuN
he sits
'He sits.'

- (65)
- a. napmi-Na kHunE tum-u
man-ERG him meet-3O
'A man meets him.'

Ergative marker does not occur in pronominal subjects except in demonstrative pronouns.

3.4. NOMINALIZED SENTENCES. Constituent questions, polar questions and statements are formed by nominalizer suffix <-pa>. It has following allomorphs:
<-pa> -> <-ba> after vowel or nasal consonant
<-pa> after stop consonants

The constituent questions are formed by the nominalizer suffix.

- (66)
- a. kHEnE ho ka-dE-**ba**?
you where 2-go-NML
'Where are you going?' ('where will you go?')
- b. kHunE hE cuk-**pa**?
he what do-NML
'What is he doing?' ('what will he do?')
- c. a ka-baŋ-No hyaŋ pHEn-na-**ba** r□?
I 2sPOSS-house-LOC why come-1e-NML Q
'Why should I come to your house?'

Similarly, polar questions are also formed by the nominalizer suffix <-ba> in association with the interrogative suffix <-i>.

- (67)
- a. kHEnE paN-No ka-dE-**ba-i**?
you where 2-go-NML-Q
'Are you going home?' ('Will you go home?')
- b. kHunE yamb□k cuk-**pa-i**?
he what do-NML-Q
'Is he doing work?' ('Will he do work?')
- c. a ka-baŋ-o pHEn-na-**ba-i**
I 2sPOSS-house-LOC come-1e-NML-Q
'Shall I come to your house?'

Statements are formed by nominalizer suffix.

- (68)
- a. a iNgH□N tEnda haN-u-N-**ba**

- I message tomorrow send-3O-1e-NML
 'I will send message tomorrow.'
- b. kHunE sapla nip-**pa**
 he book read-NML
 'He is reading a book.' ('He will read a book').
- c. hamba napmi yapm□-**ba**
 that man dig-NML
 'That man is digging' (That man will dig land.)

3.5.COORDINATION OF CONSTITUENTS. The particle *nuN* 'and' occurs between two nominals and coordinates them. It is identical with comitative suffix <-nuN> in phonemic shape but it differs in meaning. The dual marker of the verb in 68a shows that the two participants *appa* and *amma* are coordinated by the particle *nuN* and they together form plural subject whereas in 68b <-nuN> functions as a comitative suffix and the mother is an associated participant. So, the noun *appa* functions only as a singular subject.

(69)

- a. ap-pa **nuN** am-ma teg-a-cHi
 1sPOSS-father and 1sPOSS-mother go-PT-dS
 'My father and mother went (together).'
- b. appa amma-nuN teg-a
 1sPOSS-father 1sPOSS-mother-COM go-PT
 'My father went with my mother.'

The pair *appa nuNamma* are coordinated by simple juxtaposition, e.g. *appa amma*. The particle *nuN* coordinates two nominals which are also coordinated by juxtaposition.

(70)

	Coordination	Juxtaposition	Meaning
a.	sa nuN t□k	sad□k	'meat and rice'
b.	pit nuN mEndak	pi?mEndak	'cow and goat'
c.	tHala nuN kHorE?	tHalakHorE?	'dish and plate'

Sequential suffix <-aN> co-ordinates two independent clauses and forms a compound sentence.

(71)

- a. kHunE bo tah-a- **aN** teg-a
 he here came-PT – SEQ go-PT
 'He came here and went.'
- b. kHEnE t□k ka-dHok-u-aN ka-ips-a
 you rice 2-cook-3O-SEQ 2-sleep-PT
 'You cooked rice and slept.'
- c. a kHunE tEps-u-N-aN pHEtt-u-N
 I him catch-3O-1e- SEQ bring-3O-1e
 'I caught him and brought him.'

The same sequential suffix is used as perfect aspect marker in the language.

(72)

- a. kHunE tah-a- **aN** wa
 he came-PT – SEQ be
 'He has come.'
- b. kHEnE t□k ka-dHok-u-aN ka-wa

you rice 2-cook-3O-SEQ 2- be
 'You have cooked rice.'

- c. a kHunE tEps-u-N-aN wah-a-N
 I him catch-3O-1e- SEQ be-PT-1e
 'I had caught him.'

Compound sentence and simple sentence in perfect aspect follow the same negativization process. Only the first verb is negated. The negations of compound sentences are given below:

(73)

- a. kHunE bo man-da-?E teg-a
 he NEG-came-CONV go-PT
 'He went without coming.'
- b. kHEnE t□k man-dHok-NE ka-ips-a
 you rice NEG-cook-CONV 2-sleep-PT
 'You slept without cooking rice.'
- c. a kHunE man-dEm-mE pHEtt-u-N
 I him NEG-catch-CONV bring-3O-1e
 'I brought him without catching.'

The negations of simple sentences are given below:

(74)

- a. kHunE man-da-?E wa
 he NEG-came-CONV be
 'He has not come.'
- b. kHEnE t□k man-dHok-NE ka-wa
 you rice NEG-cook-CONV- 2-be
 'You have not cooked rice.'
- c. a kHunE man-dEm-mE wa-Na
 I him NEG-catch-CONV bring-3O-1e
 'I have not caught him.'

Coordinators such as 'but' and 'or' do not exist in the language.

3.6. TRANSITIVITY AND DEMOTION. If an object does not denote a specific entity, it is demoted. The verb then is detransitivized and the noun is quasi-incorporated. In 75a the mango is understood to be the object of selling, whereas in 75b the only participant is described as a mango-seller.

(75)

- a. hambagHa-Na ambE mu-s□ks-u
 they-ERG mango 3pA-sell-3O
 'They sell mangoes.'
- b. hambagHa ambE mu-s□N
 they mango 3p-sell
 'They sell mangoes.'

3.3.7. PARTICLE SENTENCE. The speaker can express different shades of meaning by the use of particles. There are only a limited number of particles in the language. They are as follows:

3.7.1. *mEn*. *mEn* is a particle used to express hypothetical possibility or irrealis mood in a sentence.

(76)

- a. kHunE sap-u mEn
he write-3O IRR
'He would have written it.'
- b. kHEnE ka-iN-u mEn
you- 2-buy-3O IRR
'You would have bought it.'
- c. a cug-u-N mEn
I do-3O-1e IRR
'I would have done it.'

3.7.2. *laye*. *laye* expresses the possibility in combination with a verb stem. It can be used in both past and non-past tenses.

(77)

- a. kHunE acHEnda kuc-cHa paks-u laye
he yesterday his-son send-3O perhaps
'He might have sent his son yesterday.'
- b. kHEnE hambo ka-deg-a laye
you there 2-go-PT perhaps
'You might have gone there.'
- c. a tEnda katHmandu tek-ŋa laye
I tomorrow Kathmandu go-1e perhaps
'I may go to Kathmandu, tomorrow.'
- d. kHEnE tEnda paŋ-ŋo ka-noŋ laye
you tomorrow house-LOC 2-return perhaps
'You may return home tomorrow.'

The sentences 77a expresses the speaker's supposition about the possibility of the person's sending his son and 77b about the person's going there in the past tense form. The sentences in 77c-d, on the other hand, express the possibility of the action in the non-past tense form.

3.7.3. *g□*. *g□* is a topic marker particle corresponding to Nepali *cahi*. It focuses subject noun, object noun, verb and adverb occurring just after them. When it focuses the subject noun, it occurs just after it.

(78)

- a. kHunE g□ teg-a
he PART go-PT
'He went.'
- b. hEnja g□ ips-a
child PART sleep-PT
'The child slept.'
- c. kHEnE g□ ka-yambak ka-jug-u
you PART your-work 2-work-3O
'You did your work.'

When it has to focus the object noun, it occurs after it.

(79)

- a. a kHEnE g□ lo-na
a you PART tell-1→2
'I told you.'

- b. a kHunE g□ tum-u-N
a you PART meet-3O-1e
'I met him.'
- c. kHunE a g□ a-dum-a-N
he me PART 1-meet-PT-1e
'He met me.'

When it has to focus the verb, it occurs after it.

(80)

- a. kHunE lokk-a g□
he run -PT PART
'He ran.'
- b. hEnja hab-a g□
child weep-PT PART
'The child wept.'
- c. kHEnE ka-bHER-a g□
you 2-come-PT PART
'You came.'

When it has to focus the adverb, it appears after it.

(81)

- a. a tEnda g□ ba yamb□k cug-u-ŋ
I tomorrow PART this work do-3O-1e
'I will do this work tomorrow.'
- b. kHunE tEnda g□ pHEn
he tomorrow PART come
'He will come tomorrow.'
- c. kHEnE andok g□ ka-nir-u laye
you later PART 2-read-3O perhaps
'Perhaps, you read it later.'

The particle *g□* can be used in negative sentences as well.

(82)

- a. kHunE g□ ma-deg-a-n
he PART NEG- go-PT-NEG
'He did not go.'
- b. hEnja g□ ma-ips-a-n
child PART NEG- sleep-PT-NEG
'The child did not sleep.'
- c. kHEnE g□ ka-yamb□k ka-n-jug-u-n
you PART 2sPOSS-work 2-NEG-work-3O-NEG
'You did not do your work.'

3.7.4. ri. The particle *ri* is used to express the event which happens contrary to the speaker's assumption.

(83)

- a. ka-duk-pa-ŋa g□ t□k caŋ ri pat-u
AP-sick-AP-ERG PART rice eat-1e PART say-3O
'The sick man said that he would eat rice.'
- b. kHunE g□ yaŋ ri nak-a
he PART money PART beg-PT
'He begged money.'

- c. a g□ ku-baŋ-No ri kuks-a-ŋ
I PART 3sPOSS-house-LOC PART reach-PT-1e
'I reached his house.'

The speaker in 83a did not think earlier that the speaker would eat rice. So, the sick man's willingness to eat rice comes to him as a surprise because it is contrary to his assumption. Similarly, the speaker in 83b did not think that the person in question would beg money and the speaker in 83c did not think that he would ever reach his home but reached by mistake of choosing the way. The particle *ri* is used in negative form.

(84)

- a. ka-duk-pa-ŋa g□ t□k ma-ja-Na-n ri pat-u
AP-sick-AP-ERG PART rice NEG-eat:1e-NEG PART say-3O
'The sick man said that he would not eat rice.'
- b. kHunE g□ yaŋ ma-nak-a-n ri
he PART money NEG-beg-PT -NEG PART
'He did not beg money.'
- c. a g□ ku-baŋ-ŋo maŋ-guŋ-ban ri
I PART 3sPOSS-house-LOC NEG- reach-1eS/PT/NEG PART
'I did not reach his house.'

In 84a, the sick man is expected to eat rice but contrary to the expectation, he said that he would not. In 84b the person in question was expected to ask for money but contrary to the expectation, he did not ask for it. Similarly, in 84c the person in question was expected to reach somebody's house but he did not reach there contrary to it. The particle *ri* in combination with an interrogative suffix <-i> marks the colour of emphasis upon the speaker's statement.

(85)

- a. a-nuN yaN wa-i ri
I-with money be-Q PART
'Yes, I have money.'
- b. kHunE yamb□k cuk-Ni ri
he work do-Q PART
'Yes, he does work.'
- c. hamba napmi-Na yaN huN-u-i ri
that man-ERG money pay-3O-Q PART
'Yes, that man pays money.'

3.7.5 b□. The speaker uses the particle *b□* to report the message which he has received from the second hand source.

(86)

- a. kHunE maŋhim-mo te b□
he temple-LOC go PART
'People say that he will go to temple.'
- b. kHENE paŋ-ŋo ka-de b□
you house-LOC 2-go PART
'They say that you go home.'
- c. kHunE a cumluŋ-ŋo a-ut-na b□
he I meeting-LOC 1-invite-1e PART
'It is said that he will invite me to the meeting.'

The particle used in non-past tense in 86 can be used in past tense.

(87)

- a. kHunE maŋhim-mo teg-a b□
he temple-LOC go-PT PART
'People say that he went to temple.'
- b. kHEnE paŋ-No ka-deg-a b□
you house-LOC 2-go-PT- PART
'They say that you went home.'
- c. a cumluŋ-No a-ŋ-ut-a-ŋ b□
I meeting-LOC 1-3nsA-invite-PT-1e PART
'It is said that they invited me to the meeting.'

This particle can be used in negative in the following way:

(88)

- a. kHunE maŋhim-mo ma-de-nEn b□
he temple-LOC NEG-go-NEG PART
'He says that he will not go to temple.'
- b. kHEnE paŋ-No ka-n-de-nEn b□
you house-LOC 2-NEG-go-NEG PART
'They say that you are not asked to go home.'
- c. a cumluŋ-No a-n-ut-na-n b□
I meeting-LOC 1-NEG-invite-1e-NEG PART
'They say that they will not invite me to the meeting.'
- d. kHunE maŋhim-mo ma-deg-a-n b□
he temple-LOC NEG- go-PT-NEG PART
'People say that he did not go to temple.'
- e. kHEnE paŋ-No ka-n-de-nEn b□
you house-LOC 2-NEG-go-NEG PART
'They say that you do not go home.'
- f. a cumluŋ-ŋo a-n-ut-a-ŋ-nEn b□
I meeting-LOC 1-NEG-invite-PT-1e-NEG PART
'They say that they didn't invite me to the meeting.'

3.7.6. *bi*. The particle *bi* expresses doubt or question of the speaker about the activity raised by the verb.

(89)

- a. kHunE ba yamb□k cuk-ma sukk-u bi
he this work do-INF can-3O PART
'Can he do this work?'
- b. ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ huŋ-u bi
this man-ERG money pay-3O PART
'Does this man pay money?'
- c. kHunE paŋbHE-o noŋ da bi
you village-LOC return come PART
'Will he return to the village?'

The particles used in the non-past tense in 89 can be used in past tense.

(90)

- a. kHunE mi?linda ba yamb□k cuk-ma sukk-u bi
he last year this work do-INF can-3O PART
'Could he do this work last year?'

- b. acHenda ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ hung-u bi
yesterday this man-ERG money pay-3O PART
'Did this man pay money yesterday?'
- c. kHunEpaŋbHE-o noks-a tah-a bi
he village-LOC return-PT come-PT PART
'Did he return to the village?'

The particle *bi* used in 89 and 90 cannot be used in negative form. It takes the suffix <-ni>, an allomorph of the interrogative suffix <-i> (See Page 283).

(91)

- a. kHunE ba yamb□k cuk-ma ma-sukk-u-n- ni
he this work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG- Q
'Can he not do this work?'
- b. ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ ma-huŋ-u-n-ni
this man-ERG money NEG-pay-3O-NEG-Q
'Does this man not pay money?'
- c. kHunE paŋbHE-o ma-noŋ-nEn ma-da-nEn- ni
you village-LOC NEG- return-NEG-NEG-come-NEG-Q
'Does he not return to the village?'
- d. kHunE mi?linda ba yamb□k cuk-ma ma-sukk-u-n- ni
he last year this work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG-Q
'Could he not do this work last year?'
- e. acHenda ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ ma- huŋ-u-n-ni
yesterday this man-ERG money NEG- pay-3O-NEG-Q
'Did this man not pay money yesterday?'
- f. kHunE paŋbHE-o ma-noks-a-n ma-dah-a-n-ni
he village-LOC NEG-return-PT-NEG NEG-come-PT-NEG -Q
'Did he not return to the village?'

3.7.7. *ro*. The particle *ro* makes announcement of some events indicated by the verb. It occurs in the sentence final position.

(92)

- a. lahaŋ tah-a ro
lahang-come-PT PART
'Lahang arrived.'
- b. pit-na maki c□ ro
cow-ERG maize-plant eat PART
'Cow ate a maize plant.'
- c. ap-pHaŋ ma-cHin ro
1sPOSS-uncle lose-REFL PART
'My uncle died.'

In 92a, the speaker announces the arrival of Lahang in order to inform people. In 92b, the speaker warns people that the cow is eating maize plant. Though formally, the sentence is in past form, it communicates non-past progressive meaning. Similarly, in 92c the speaker makes announcement of the death of his uncle with a view to informing them of death and asking them to attend the funeral ceremony.

The particle *ro* is also used to pass second hand information.

(93)

- a. kHunE maŋhim-mo te b□ ro
he temple-LOC go PART PART

- ‘He said that he would go to temple.’
- b. kHunE ba sapla nir-u b□ ro
 he this book read-3O PART PART
 ‘He said that he would read this book.’
- c. pHEdaŋma-Na kadukpa nuh-u b□ ro
 priest-ERG sick cure-3O PART PART
 ‘It is said that the priest would cure the sick man.’

The particle *ro* can be used in negative form.

(94)

- a. lahaŋ ma-dah-a-n ro
 lahang NEG-come-PT-NEG PART
 ‘Lahang did not arrive.’
- b. pit-na maki ma-j□-n ro
 cow-ERG maize-plant NEG-eat-NEG PART
 ‘Cow did not eat a maze-plant.’
- c. ap-pHaŋ ma-ma-cHin-nEn ro
 1sPOSS-uncle NEG-lose-REFL PART
 ‘My uncle did not die’
- d. kHunE maŋhim-mo ma-de-nEn b□ ro
 he temple-LOC NEG-go-NEG PART PART
 ‘He said that he would not go to temple.’
- e. kHunE ba sapla ma-nir-u-n b□ ro
 he this book NEG-read-3O-NEG PART PART
 ‘He said that he would not read this book.’
- f. pHEdaŋma-ŋa kadukpa ma-nuh-u-n b□ ro
 priest-ERG sick NEG-cure-3O-NEG PART PART
 ‘It is said that the priest did not cure the sick man.’

ro corresponds to Nepali particle *hai*. It seeks listener’s agreement or approval usually with rising intonation.

(95)

- a. yamb□k-No teg-i ro
 work-LOC go-pS PART
 ‘Let us go to work, O.K.?’
- b. appa-o ! a tEnda yamb□k-No ma-de-Na-n ro
 Dad-VOC I tomorrow work-LOC NEG-go-1e-NEG PART
 ‘Dad! I will not go to work tomorrow. O.K.?’

3.7.8. *ni*. The particle *ni* is used to express the speaker’s wish or desire. It occurs in the sentence final position.

(96)

- a. kHEne y□mba kema ka-buŋ ni
 you big tall 2-become OPT
 ‘May you be great!’
- b. kHunE nuba taba puŋ ni
 he good become OPT
 ‘May he be good !’
- c. kHuncHi mu-g□t mu-ja ni

They 3pS-possess 3pS-eat OPT
'May they be rich and prosperous!'

The optative sentence can have all persons and all numbers as its subject. The speaker can also express his displeasure in the form of curse by using the particle *ni*.

(97)

- a. tHukwaŋa tey-u-si ni
landslide take-3O-nsO OPT
'May landslide hit them!'
- b. sisam-ŋa ka-de ni
devil-ERG 2-take OPT
'May the devil take you!'
- c. ka-si ka-de ni
2-die 2-go OPT
'May you die instantly?'

3.7.9. *r*□. The particle *r*□ is alternatively used with the particle *ni* in the sentence final position.

(98)

- a. kHunE-i pat-u r□
he-EMP speak-3O PART
'Let him speak it himself.'
- b. hamba napmi si r□
that man die PART
'May that man die!'

This particle occurs in Wh questions.

(99)

- a. kHEnE sa-na r□
you who-2O PART
'Who are you?'
- b. ka-baN ho r□
2sPOSS-house where PART
'Where is your house?'
- c. ka-miN hE r□
2sPOSS-name what PART
'What is your name?'
- d. ku-baN hwiN l□
3sPOSS-house which PART
'Which is his house?'
- e. kHEnE a hyaN l□ ka-ut-a-N
you me why PART 2-call-PT-1e
'Why did you call me?'

r□ and *l*□ are used alternatively. *r*□ occurs before the vowel but *l*□ occurs before the consonant.

3.7.10. *ricH*□. This particle is derived from Nepali *rahecha*. Like Nepali, it also means that the speaker has just discovered or just come to know the thing which he is reporting.

(100)

kHunE kathmandu tEg-a ricH□
 he kathmandu go-PT PART
 'It seems that he went to Kathmandu.'

Here, the speaker in the beginning did not know that the person in question went to Kathmandu but he knew it only after someone reported to him or he discovered some evidence for his departure. Driem (1987:241) calls it 'deprehensative particle'. It also indicates the speaker's strong conviction in the truth of the statement on the basis of evidence.

(101)

- a. napmi siy-a ricH□
 man die-PT PART
 'Certainly! The man is dead.'
- b. bo cwa? yuN ricH□
 here water be PART
 'Here exists water.'
- c. siNbuN-No ambE tHok-a ricH□
 tree-LOC mango yield-PT PART
 'Certainly, the tree yielded a mango.'

In 101 the speaker knows that the person in question is dead or there is water or the tree yielded a mango only when he sees them or he receives reliable information about them. The sentence in 100 can also mean 'it is now known to me that he has gone to Kathmandu.'

3.7.11. saN. saN is a sentence particle which means 'also', 'even', 'too'

(102)

- a. lahaN saN k□y-a
 lahaN also fall -PT
 'Lahang also fell down.'
- b. kHunE lajE saN iN-u
 he land also buy-3O
 'He bought land also.'
- c. a saN paN cug-u-N
 I also house build-3O-1e
 'I also build a house.'

3.7.12. o. This particle is used in imperative sentences. It seeks listener's approval corresponding to Nepali *hai*.

(103)

- a. pHEr-a o
 come-IMP PART
 'Come, O.K.?'
- b. yuN-a o
 sit-IMP PART
 'Sit down! O.K.?'
- c. tar-u o
 bring-3O PART
 'Bring it! O.K.?'

3.7.13. be. This particle gives a little emphasis to already existing truth.

(104)

- a. kHunE ba yamb□k cug-u bE
he this work do-3O PART
'He will do this work, I believe.'
- b. kHEnE paNbHE-o ka-guN be
you village-LOC 2-reach PART
'You will reach the village, I believe.'
- c. kHunE accHEnda bo tah-a be
he yesterday here arrive-PT PART
'He arrived here yesterday, it is sure.'

3.7.14. na. The particle *na* is used to insist on the listener for the performance of work assigned to him.

(105)

- a. cug-u na
do-3O PART
'Do it! O. K.?'
- b. pHar-u na
help-3O PART
'Help him! O.K.?'

3.7.15. nuN. The particle *nuN* coordinates two noun phrases and makes them function as a subject or object of a sentence.

(106)

- a. sita nuN gita pHEr-a-cHi
Sita and Gita come-PT-dS
'Sita and Gita came.'
- b. kHunE tHala nuN kHorE pHEtt-u-si
he dish and plate bring-3O-nsO
'He brought dish and plate.'
- c. a wa nuN pHak s□ks-u-N-si-N
I chicken and pig sell-3O-1e-nsO-1e
'I sold chicken and pig.'

4. CLAUSE COMBINING. Chhatthare Limbu clauses are divided into finite and non-finite clauses in terms of the deletion or retention of person, number, case and tense markers on the verb.

4.1. NON-FINITE CLAUSES. Non-finite clauses are defined in terms of deletion of person, number, tense, case markers on the verb. They are as follows:

4.1.1. INFINITIVE CLAUSES. Infinitive clauses form complements to a verb.

(107)

- a. a ba p□η-ma sukk-u-η
I it hold-INF can-3O-1e
'I can hold it.'
- b. yamb□k cuk-ma puη
work do-INF must
'Work must be done.'

- c. kHunE sapla **nip-ma** wEt-u
 he book read-INF leave-3O
 'He stopped reading a book.'
- d. kHEnE sapla **nip-ma** ka-hek-u
 you book read-INF 2-start-3O
 'You started reading a book.'

Infinitive clauses form complements to light verbs or emotative predicates.

(108)

- a. samlo-**ma** a-sira dHaN
 sing-INF 1sPOSS-like come up
 'I like to sing.'
- b. calak-**ma** ku-sira dHaN
 dance-INF 3sPOSS-like come up
 'He likes to dance.'
- c. im-**ma** ka-sira dHaN
 travel about-INF 2sPOSS-like come up
 'You like to travel.'

The infinitive verb, however, marks non-singular object.

(109)

- a. mEndak-kHa calam-ma-**si** puŋ
 goat-p graze-INF-3nsO must
 'Goats must be grazed.'
- b. hEnja-gHa hu-ma-**si** puN
 child-p teach-INF-3nsO must
 'Children have to be taught.'
- c. kagHuppa-gHa sakma-**si** puN
 thief-p imprisonment-3nsO must
 'Thieves must be imprisoned.'

4.1.2. PURPOSIVE CLAUSES. Purposive verbs constitute complements to verbs of motion and are marked by the purposive suffix <-ŋa>. It has following allomorphs:

- <-Na> -> <-ma> after bilabial
 <-na> after dental
 <-Na> elsewhere

(110)

- a. kHEnE sapla sap-**ma** ka-de
 you paper write-PURP 2-go
 'You go to write a paper.'
- b. a cwat pHEt-**na** tek-ŋa
 I water bring-PURP go-1e
 'I go to fetch water.'
- c. kHunE ambE sŋ-**ŋa** teg-a
 he mango sell-PURP go-PT
 'He went to sell a mango.'
- d. kHEnE i-**Na** ka-de
 you travel-PURP 2-go
 'You go to travel.'

Purposive clauses can have a possessive prefix to indicate the object.

(111)

- a. **ka-dem-ma** napmi tah-a
2sPOSS-catch-PURP man come-PT
'A man came to catch you.'
- b. aniŋa **ku-mEt-na** pHER-i-ŋa
we 3sPOSS-see-PURP come-pS-1e
'We came to see him.'
- c. hambagHa **a-sak-ŋa** mu-dah-a
They 1sPOSS-imprison-1e-PURP 3pS-come-PT
'They came to imprison me.'

4.1.3. CONVERB. Chhatthare Limbu has no simultaneous converb expressing an accompanying action of the same subject. Only negative converbs marked by the <-?E> abound in the language. It has the following allomorphs:

- <-?E> -> <-mE> after bilabial
<-nE> after dental
<-NE> after velar
<-?E> elsewhere

(112)

- a. kHunE sa ma-gHam-**mE** c□
he meat NEG-chew-CONV ate
'He ate meat without chewing.'
- b. kHENE hEs-saŋ mam-bat-**nE** ka-deg-a
you what-also NEG-do-CONV 2-go-PT
'You went without saying anything.'
- c. hambagHa t□k man-dHok-**NE** mu-deg-a
they rice NEG-cook-CONV 3pS-go-PT
'They went without cooking rice.'
- d. a amerika man-ni-**?E** si-ŋa laye
I America NEG-see-CONV die-1e perhaps
'I will, probably, die without seeing America.'

4.1.4. PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES. Participial clauses are adnominal clauses or relative clauses. They are of two kinds. They are active participle and passive participle.

4.1.4.1. ACTIVE PARTICIPLE. The active participle of the transitive verb refers to its agent and requires the object before it as in 112a-c whereas object is not required for the active participle of the intransitive verb as in 112d.

(113)

- a. pu ka-sEp-pa napmi pHER-a
bird AP-kill-AP man come-PT
'The man who kills a man came.'
- b. a paŋ ka-iŋ-ba napmi ko?l-u-ŋ-ro wa-ŋa
I house AP-buy-AP man search-3O-1sA-Prog -be-1sS
'I'm searching for the man who buys a house.'
- c. mundHum ka-sap-pa napmi bo kHo-ma-det-nEn
story AP-write-AP man here find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'The man who writes a story can't be found here.'
- d. a ka-lok-pa □n ko? l-u N-lo wa-Na

I AP-run-AP horse search-1e-Prog be-1e
 'I am searching for a horse which runs.'

4.1.4.2. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE. Passive participle is formed by the suffixation of <-na> to the verb stem. It is nominalized by adding the suffix <-pa> or <-ma> depending upon the gender. It occurs adnominally.

(114)

- a. kHunE om-na-ba sa c□
 he roast-PP-NML meat ate
 'He ate roasted meat.'
- b. a m□k-na-ba cwa? r□k tHuŋ-u-ŋ
 I boil-PP-NML water only drink-3O-1e
 'I drink only boiled water.'
- c. kHEnE tHEm-na-ba sa ka-n-j□-nEn
 you boil-PP-NML meat 2-NEG-eat-NEG
 'You do not eat boiled meat.'

4.2. FINITE CLAUSES. Under finite clauses, verbs carrying person, number, case, tense and aspect markers are subsumed.

4.2.1. NOMINALIZED CLAUSES. Nominalized clauses contain adnominal or relative clauses and compliment clauses. The adnominal clauses can be reduced to participle clauses or fully marked verb forms with the nominalizer <-pa> or <-ma>.

4.2.1.1. ADNOMINAL CLAUSES (RELATIVE CLAUSES). Adnominal clauses with fully marked verb forms followed by the nominalizer suffix <-pa> or <-ma> are as follows.

(115)

- a. nak-u-ŋ-**ba** sapla a-m-biy-a-ŋ-nEn
 beg-3O-1e-NML book 1O-NEG-PT-1e-NEG
 'He did not give me the book which I begged.'
- b. ka-sok-u-**ba** yamb□k cuk-ma ka-n-sukk-u-n
 2-point-3O-NML work do-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
 'You could not do the work which you wanted to do.'
- c. kHunE iŋ-u-**ba** paŋ s□ks-u de-u
 he buy-3O-NML house sell-3O-take-3O
 'He sold the house which he had purchased.'

4.2.1.2. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES. Nominalized clauses constitute complement to the verb of cognition or sensation.

(116)

- a. kHunE a sap-u-ŋ-**ba** nih-u
 he I write-3O-1e-NML see-3O
 'He saw me write it.'
- b. kHunE a sap-u-ŋ-**ba** mEtt-u
 he me write-3O-1e-NML watch-PT
 'He watched me write it.'

- c. a kHEnE ka-si-ya-**ba** makk-u-ŋ
 I you 2-die-PT-NML dream-3O-1e
 'I dreamed that you have died.'

4.2.2. TEMPORAL CLAUSES. Temporal clause is marked by the subordinator <E>, which is suffixed to the fully marked verb forms.

(117)

- a. a yamb□k cug-u-ŋ-ro wah-a-ŋ-E) kHunE tay-a
 I work do-3O-1e-Prog be-PT-1e-SUB he come-PT
 'When I was doing a work, he came.'
- b. kHunE tah-a-E) kHEnE paŋ-No ka-hopt-a
 he come-PT-SUB you house-LOC 2-be not-PT
 'When he came, you were not at home.'
- c. kHEnE ka-ips-a-E) kagHuppa mu-day-a
 you 2-sleep-PT-SUB thief 3pS-come-PT
 'When you slept, thieves came.'

4.2.3. SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES. Sequential clauses are formed by the suffixation of <-aŋ> to the fully marked verb forms. In that case, <-aŋ> encodes the meaning 'and' or 'then'.

(118)

- a. kHunE hamba napmi-iŋ tEps-u-aŋ uks-u
 he that man-DEF hold-3O-SEQ drag-3O
 'He held that man and dragged him.'
- b. kHunE kumba sukwa-iŋ p□ks-u-aŋ tew-u
 he this bag-DEF hold-3O-SEQ take-3O
 'He holds this bag and takes it away.'
- c. kHEnE t□k ka-ja-aŋ ka-im
 you rice 2-eat-SEQ 2-sleep
 'You eat rice and sleep.'

Lengthy chains with more than two clauses are not normally attested in the language.

4.2.4. MANNER CLAUSES. Adverbial manner clause specifies the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is carried out. In Chhatthare Limbu, manner clauses are full sentences subordinated to and inserted before the verb. The manner clause is marked by the addition of the progressive aspect suffix <-ro> to the fully inflected verb form.

(119)

- a. a kHunE ku-b□kla eg-a-ro tHaps-u-ŋ
 I him 3sPOSS-neck break-PT-MANN knock-3O-1e
 'I knocked him down in such way that his neck broke.'
- b. kHunE t□k kujanu-ro c□
 he rice taste good-MANN eat-PT
 'He ate rice greedily.'
- c. kHEnE a hab-a-ŋ-lo ka-sek-a-ŋ
 you I weep-PT-1e-MANN 2-pinch-PT-1e
 'You pinched me in such a way that I wept.'

4.2.5. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES. Conditional clauses are formed by the addition of the topic marker particle *g□r□* and the subordinator <-E> to the finite verb form.

(120)

- a. kHEnE kumba paŋ ka-iŋ-u-ba g□r□ culik yaŋ kudaŋba piy-u yuks-u
 you this house 2-buy-3O-NML PART little money owner give-3O keep-3O
 'If you are going to buy this house, give a little money to its owner.'
- b. kHEnE nak-u-ba yaŋ kHunE ka-biy-u-E) ku-baŋ ka-bi
 you beg-3O-NML money he 2-give-3O-SUB 3sPOSS-house 2-give
 'If you give him the money he has demanded, he will give you his house.'
- c. kHEnE kumba k□k ka-guy-u g□r□ r□k yaŋ pi-na
 you this load 2-carry-3O PART only money give-2O
 'I will give you money only if you carry this load.'

The irrealis particle *mEn* is appended generally to the finite verb in the past form to indicate hypothetical possibility. It optionally takes the topic marker *g□*.

(121)

- a. nih-u-ŋ-E) g□ paŋcHat-u-ŋ mEn
 see-3O-1e-SUB PART call-3O-1e IRR
 'If I saw him, I would call him.'
- b. k□tt-u-ŋ-E) g□ piy-u-ŋ mEn
 have-3O-1e-CON PART give-3O-1e IRR
 'If I had, I would give him.'
- c. ka-nak-u-E) g□ ka-biy-a mEn
 2-ask-3O-SUB TOP 2-give-PT IRR
 'If you asked him, he would give you.'

The verb affixes in the past in combination with the nominalizer suffix <-ba> expresses hypothetical possibility.

(122)

- a. hambo-lam ka-g□y-a-E) g□ ka-siy-a-ba
 there-LOC 2-fall-PT-SUB PART 2-die-PT-NML
 'If you fell from there, you would die.'
- b. ko?l-u-E) kHo-u-ba
 search-3O-SUB find-3O-NML
 'If he searched for it, he would find it.'
- c. nir-u-ŋ-E) g□ IEh-u-ŋ-ba
 read-3O-SUB PART know-3O-1e-NML
 'If I read it, I would know it.'

Hypothetical possibility is also expressed by replacing topic marker particle *g□* of the conditional clause with *mEn*.

(123)

- a. hambo-lam ka-g□y-a-E) mEn ka-siy-a-ba
 there-LOC 2-fall-PT-SUB PART 2-die-PT-NML
 'If you fell from there, you would die.'
- b. ko?l-u-E) mEn kHo-u-ba
 search-3O-SUB PART find-3O-NML
 'If he searched for it, he would find it.'
- c. nir-u-ŋ-E) mEn IEh-u-ŋ-ba
 read-3O-1e-SUB PART know-3O-1e-NML

'If I read it, I would know it.'

4.2.6. CONCESSIVE CLAUSES. Concessive clauses are formed with help of the particle *saN*.

(124)

- a. kHEnEa yaŋ ka-bi-ŋa saŋ ma-bHa-na-n
you I money 2-give-1e-CONC NEG-help-1→2-NEG
'I will not help you though you give me money.'
- b. a kHunE ut-u-ŋ saŋ a-baŋ-No ma-dah-a-n
I him invite-3O-1e CONC 1sPOSS-house-LOC NEG-come-PT-NEG
'He did not come to my house though I invited him.'
- c. a lokk-a-ŋ saŋ kHunE man-cHi-ban
I run-PT-1e CONC him NEG-catch up to-1eS/PT/NEG
'I could not catch up to him though I ran.'

4.2.7. QUOTE CLAUSES. Direct quotes are generally made without the aid of any subordinator. They are presented as direct speech without shifting pronouns and deictic elements.

(125)

- a. kHunE 'a saŋ tek-ŋa' a-loy-a-N
he I also go-1e 1O-tell-PT-1e
'He said to me, 'I also go.'
- b. kHEnE 'a yamb□k ma-juk-ŋa-n' ka-bat-u
you I work NEG-do-1e-NEG 2-say-3O
'You said it, 'I do not do work.'
- c. 'a yaŋ ma-bi-na-n' ka-low-u
I money NEG-give-NEG 2-tell-3O
You said to him, 'I do not give you money.'

The subordinator *mahaN* marks a direct quote.

(126)

- a. kHunE a yaN ma-g□t-na-n mahaN pat-u
he I money NEG-have-1e-NEG QUOTE say-3O
'He said, 'I have no money.'
- b. yaN a-m-biy-a-N-nEn mahaN ka-□k-pa-i
money 1-NEG-give-PT-1e-NEG QUOTE 2-cry- NML-Q
'Are you crying because they did not give you money?'
Or are you crying saying, 'they did not give me money.'

The verb *loma* 'to say' and *papma* 'to say' in progressive aspect also mark the quote.

(127)

- a. a kHEnE man-cHEt-nE ma-lEt- na-n la-ro pind-a
I you NEG-kill-CONV NEG-leave-1e-NEG say/PT-Prg jump-PT
'He burst out saying, 'I do not let you without killing.'
- b. a ma-bHEn-na-n la-ro teg-a
I NEG-come-1e-NEG -say/PT Prg go-PT
'He went saying, 'I do not come.'
- c. a kHEnE kucH□Na tet kHu-na pat-u-r□ pHEr-a
I you new cloth bring-2O say-3O-Prg come-PT
'He came saying, 'I will bring you a new cloth.'

5. SUMMARY. Sentences follow certain constituent order and are divided into simple, compound and complex sentences. As compound sentences are formed only by sequential suffix, they are included with simple sentences into basic sentence patterns which are formed without any verbal or adverbial conjunctions. Complex sentences, on the other hand, consist of finite clauses and non-finite clauses in addition to independent clauses. Non-finite clauses comprise verbs which are unmarked for person, number and tense whereas finite clauses comprise finite verbs with fully conjugated forms. In infinitival verb form, the third person non-singularity is marked by <-si>.

CHAPTER 14 CONCLUSION

The Limbus living in the Chhatthar area are called *Chhatthare Limbu* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba* and their language is called *Chhatthare Yakthungba Pan* or *Chhatthare Pan* in the mother tongue and simply as *Chhatthare Limbu* in a non-native language. It is different from other dialects of Limbu. On the basis of pure linguistic analysis, it is a separate language because it differs from other Limbu dialects in phonology, morphology and lexical words. But like the classification of Hansson (1991), Bradley (1997) and Ebert (2003), it has not been directly descended from the Kiranti family. From the Kiranti family, it was descended as Limbu or proto-Limbu and from the proto-Limbu, it separated into Chhatthare Limbu and non-Chhatthare Limbu. Genetically, Chhatthare Limbu belongs to Proto-Limbu, Kiranti, Mahakiranti, Himalayan, Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan family of languages. It can not be classified into a fixed typology as it has mixed characteristics of all types of languages. On the basis of the index of synthesis, Limbu falls among the synthetic group of languages and on the basis of index of fusion, it falls among the fusional group of languages with a single lexical item plus other affixes or more than one lexical item and multiple affixes.

The Chhatthare Limbus have common culture, religion, and traditions with other Limbus and they think one with them. They use Panthare dialect as ‘a medium language’ of conversation, information and education. It has adverse effect on the development of Chhatthare Limbu. On the other hand, the use of Nepali as an official language, a medium of pedagogy and information, as a pre-requisite for gaining government services and other work opportunities have compelled the entire Limbus to be bilingual. A few of them have switched their language code over to Nepali. However, every Limbu wishes that their language may flourish and prosper and they have been contributing to its development. The awareness of people for the promotion and development of their mother tongue indicates the bright future of Limbu language in general. It has awakened Chhatthare people into doing work on their language variety.

In Chhatthare Limbu, there are twenty consonant phonemes such as /p/, /pH/, /b/, /t/, /tH/, /k/, /kH/, /g/, /ʔ/, /s/, /h/, /c/, /cH/, /m/, /n/, /N/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/. [p] and [k] are the allophones of the phonemes /b/ and /g/ but conversely [b] and [g] are also the allophones of the phonemes /p/ and /k/. Altogether there are nine allophones such as [p], [b], [d], [k], [g], [bH], [dH], [gH] and [j]. Voiced stops, strident, liquid, trill and semi-vowels have syllable final constraints. Voiced, velar stop and velar nasal can not occur in the syllable onset position. There are seven vowels such as /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /a/ in the language with no vowel length contrast. The syllable has basically CVC pattern and it extends from one syllable to five syllables with multiple patterns. Unaspirated, voiceless stop consonants, alveolar fricative, lateral and nasal consonants have geminate forms and other consonant sequences have as many as 44 varieties. The consonant sequence has the combination of two consonants except –mbr-sequence. Hiatus is used to prevent diphthongisation. The diphthongs appear only when the interrogative suffix <-i> is added to the verb ending in a vowel. The Nepali loan words contain retroflex phones such as /ɳ/, /ɳH/, /ʎ/, and /ʎH/ which are to be used in orthography.

In Chhatthare Limbu, morphophonological changes are conditioned by syllable structure and surrounding segments. Limbu has syllable structure patterns which are maintained through phonological processes such as deletion and epenthesis. These

phonological processes condition morphophonological changes in the language. Similarly, morphophonological changes are effected by various processes of assimilation such as progressive assimilation, regressive assimilation, distant assimilation, intervocalic voicing assimilation, voicing assimilation and labialization.

Nouns inflect for number and case. Singularity is unmarked, duality is marked by <kHacHi~gHacHi> and plurality is marked by <-gHa>. Non-singularity for identity operator noun is marked by <-si>. The process of number marking is from singular to plural and from plural to dual. This derivational history shows that dual marker is a later development. When nouns are preceded by numerals, their number is unmarked. Twelve kinds of cases are marked on nouns. Masculine gender is marked by <-pa~ba> and feminine gender is marked by <-ma> but they are not productive and occur only in a few kinship nouns and ethnic names. Similarly, diminutive form is also marked by the suffixes <-IEccHa> and <-cyak> but they are limited to *pHaklEccHa*, *pulEccHa* and *wajyak* only. However, they show that at one time in the history, the language had diminutive suffixes. Nouns are formed through compounding by juxtaposing two nouns side by side. Derivative adjectives also function as nouns inflecting for number and case. It has human classifier suffixes <-pa> and <-pHu>. The first one is used for a single person and the second one is used for more than one person following the first syllable of the numerals. Though numerals are there up to one hundred in written form, in actual speech people use only up to three. Pronominal affixes are added to the nouns and they form either possessive noun phrases or verbless sentences.

Pronouns are divided into personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns have eleven categories. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns have only three categories. Personal pronouns do not mark ergativity whereas interrogative and demonstrative pronouns mark it.

All the adjectives are derived from verbs, bound adjectives, nouns and adverbs by affixation. These adjectives can function both as an adjective and as a noun. Adverbs are divided into lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. Only a few lexical adverbs exist in the language. They include temporal adverbs, locational adverbs, manner adverbs, posture adverbs and truth value adverbs. Derivative adverbs are formed by affixation, reduplication and compounding.

The verb has twenty types of verb stems and they can be classified into two stem classes. Fifteen types of verb stems alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. The alternation is caused by stem final deletion and assimilation. Five types of verb stems remain stable throughout the paradigm. On the basis of conjugation patterns, there are three types of verbs –intransitive, reflexive and transitive – in the language. They have monosyllabic and polysyllabic roots. Limbu verb roots are basically monosyllabic and the polysyllabic roots are merely grammaticalizations of multiple root stems. They have the same conjugation patterns. Intransitive and reflexive verbs exhibit eleven different forms and transitive verb marks 44 different forms out of 75 theoretically possible forms. Voice is differentiated as active and middle on the basis of the presence or absence of object morpheme in the verb form. All transitive verbs are in active voice and they are shifted to middle voice by dropping the object morphemes. So, the transitive verbs in middle conjugation are morphologically intransitive verbs though semantically they are still transitive. Similarly, reflexive verbs exhibit middle voice and intransitive conjugation pattern morphologically but they index active voice and transitive meaning semantically.

Chhatthare Limbu finite verbs mark person, number, case, reflexivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity by affixes. Some affixes are, however, unmarked. Each of

these affixes occupies a certain slot. Sometimes, more than one affix can also occur in the same slot. Animacy hierarchy plays significant role in setting the order of affixes. There are altogether three slots for prefixes and ten for suffixes. The negative morpheme is a discontinuous morpheme, part of which occurs before the stem and part of which occurs after it. The suffix part reappears as a copy of its own after the third person non-singular object <-si> like the speech act participant plural agent morpheme <-m> and first person exclusive suffix <-N>. Majority of affixes are portmanteau morphemes that indicate more than one meaning.

Tense is marked by the suffix <-a> or <-O> after the main verb stem and after the auxiliary. Chhatthare Limbu marks progressive aspect by the suffix <-ro~ -lo> and perfect aspects by the suffix <-aN>. The present perfect is expressed by main verb in the past and auxiliary verb in the present whereas past perfect is expressed by the main verb in the past and corresponding verb in the past. Declarative mood is the finite verb form. Imperative mood is marked by the suffix <-?> if the addressee is singular but it is marked by the suffix <-a> after the verb stem and by the suffix <-?> in the final position if the number of addressee is dual or plural. Adhortive mood is expressed by dropping the first person suffix <-a> from the finite verb form. Irrealis mood is marked by the particle *mEn*. Optative mood is marked by the particle *ni* or *r□* and interrogative mood is marked by the suffix <-i>.

Infinitives, purposives, converbs and participles are non-finite verbs. The first three non-finite verbs are marked by <-ma~ -na~ -Na>, <-na~ -ma~ -Na> and <-?E> respectively. Converb is marked only in negation. The active participle is marked by <ka- -pa> and passive participle is marked by <-na-ba>. Verbal complex includes serial verbs, compound verbs, analytic verbs, sequential verbs, infinitival verbs, purposive verbs and experiencer possessive verbs. They show different shades of meaning in the language.

Sentences follow certain constituent order and have simple, compound and complex forms. However, compound sentences are almost non-existent as they are formed only by a sequential suffix. They can be included with simple sentences into basic sentence patterns which are formed without any verbal or adverbial conjunctions. Complex sentences, on the other hand, consist of finite clauses and non-finite clauses in addition to independent clauses. Non-finite clauses comprise verbs which are unmarked for person, number and tense whereas finite clauses comprise finite verbs with fully conjugated forms.

Morphologically, Chhatthare Limbu is a complex pronominalized, ergative language and syntactically, it is almost a head right language because except for a few cases, all the modifiers precede the head.

APPENDICES

1. CREATION AND THE ORIGIN OF MAN

accHEN accHEN hEssaŋ hEssaŋ hop-ta hakkHya-E) sammet l̩k p̩
 before before nothing nothing not be-PT that- time-SUB air only REP
 wah-a cwat l̩k p̩ neh-a hambaŋ tageraniŋwabHu-maŋ-iN
 be-PT water only REP be-PT then omniscient goddess-DEF
 ic-cHiN hakkHyaŋ laba-berik ku-be phEnchaŋ-naŋ nam-bErik ku-be
 think-REFL then moon-churn 3sPOSS-*hold* left-*DIR* sun-churn 3sPOSS-*hold*
 cupsaŋ-naŋ cug-u-si-aŋ cwat-no uks-u-si pHEnchaŋ-ba cwat-lam
 right- *DIR* do-3O-nsO-SEQ water-LOC pull-3O-nsO left-NML water-ABL
 laba-dHEt cupsaŋ-ba cwat-lam nam-dHEt l̩nd-a y̩rik thEt l̩nd-a
 moon-foam right-NML water-LOC sun-foam emerge-PT much foam emerge-PT-
 E⊗ g̩ tHEt-niŋ kHam puks-a ku-be uks-u-E)
 SUB PART foam-ABS land become-PT 3sPOSS-*hold* pull-3O-SUB

ka-bim-ba tHEt-niŋ tHEgo puks-a tHEgo saŋ puks-a kHambEk
 AP-jump-AP foam-DEF mountain become-PT mountain also become-PT land
 saŋ puks-a hambo ka-yuŋ-ba napmi ma-?E kHambE saŋ ma-gHEmd-u-n
 also become-PT there AP-sit-AP man without land also NEG-suit-3O-NEG
 tHEgo saŋ ma-gHEmd-u-n hambakkHya-E) p̩r̩kmi-yambHami
 maŋ-
 mountain also NEG-suit-3O-NEG then-SUB Parakmi-yambhami goddess
 Niŋ tageraniŋwa bHu-maŋ-No teg-a-aŋ silapp-u tageraniŋwabHu
 DEF omniscient goddess-LOC go-PT-SEQ ask-3O- omniscient
 maŋ-ŋa niŋwaic-cHin ic-cHin-naŋ p̩r̩kmiyambHa-mi-iŋ samyaŋ
 goddess-ERG think-REFL REFL-SEQ goddess -DEF gold
 nuŋ yuppa pHot-paks-u-aŋ napmi cukpaks-u p̩r̩kmi-
 and silver make mix -3O-SEQ man make do-3O-
 yambHami-ŋa yuppa nuŋ samyaŋ-iŋ pHot-u-si-aŋ napmi cug-u
 goddess-ERG silver and gold-DEF mix-3O-nsO- SEQ man make-3O
 hambo s̩kma saŋ ket-u hambaŋ pan-cHat-u- E) g̩ ma-bat-a-n
 there breath also install-3O then address-3O-SUB PART NEG-speak-PT-NEG
 hakkHyaŋ kHunE tageraniŋwabHu maŋ-ŋiŋ silap-ma teg-a ta-ger-a
 then he omniscient goddess-DEF ask-INF go-PT
 niŋwabHu maŋ-ŋa lo-u to g̩r̩ to lasa-lEkhaŋ teg-a -
 omniscient goddess-ERG tell-3O way up if up lasa - *DIR* go-IMP
 aŋ sEmikla kHappu ukk-u mo g̩r̩ mo talgEnnamge piba teg-a-aŋ
 SEQ reed -ash bring-IMP way down if down to the north east go-IMP-SEQ
 wa-hi- kEtt-u kHappu nuŋ wa-hi-iŋ pHot-u-aŋ
 chicken shit bring up-3O/IMP ash and chicken-shit-DEF mix- 3O-SEQ
 s̩r̩-u-si hambaŋ napmi cug-u-aŋ s̩kma ket-
 mould-3O-nsO then man make-3O-SEQ breath instill-
 u sam ket-u hambaŋ pan- ka-sat-u- -E) pat
 3O sense instill-3O then speech-you-ask-3O-SUB speak

p□r□kmiyambHami-ŋa wa-hi nuŋ kHappu s□r-u-si-aŋ
 napmi
 long-tailed, big-tailed god-ERG chicken-shit and ash mould-3O-nsO-SEQ man
 cug-u hakkHyaŋ s□kma ket-u-aŋ pan-sat-u- -E) pat-
 make-3O then breath instill-3O-SEQ address-3O-SUB speak-
 a hamba nih-u-aŋ p□r□kmi-yambHami-iŋ ku-yak-ler-a -ro
 PT that see-3O-SEQ goddess-DEF 3sPOSS-anger-raise-PT-Prg
 pat-u a hambaktH□mba nuba samyaŋ nuŋ yuppa-aŋ
 say-3O I that like good gold and silver-GEN
 cuk-na-E) ka-m-bat-a-n wa-hi nuŋ kHappu-ŋaŋ
 make-1→2- SUB 2-NEG-speak-PT-NEG chicken-shit and ash-GEN
 cuk-na-E) ka-bat-a hakHE pat-u-sur-u-aŋ tHait-tHukk-
 u
 make-1→2-SUB 2 speak-PT that way speak-3O-finish-3O-SEQ spite-3O
 napmi g□ puks-a t□r□ mEncHuma ma?E hEnja ma-m-buŋ-na
 man PART become-PT but woman without baby 3pS-NEG-become-NML
 mu-buks-a hakkHE puks-a-E) p□r□kmiyambami-ŋa
 3ps-become-PT that way become-PT-SUB goddess-ERG
 kHappu nuŋ wa-hi s□r-u-si-aŋ mEncHuma cug-u hambaŋ
 ash and chicken-shit mould-3O-3nsO- SEQ woman make-3O then
 s□kma-nuŋ sam ket-u. hambaŋ kHunE ka-hiŋ-ma
 breath-and life force instill-3O then she AP-live-AP
 mEncHuma puks-a p□r□kmiyambami-ŋa ku-buŋ-ba napmi-iŋ
 woman become-PT goddess-ERG 3sPOSS-root-NML man-DEF
 mEncHamgEn miŋ watt-u ku-buŋ-ma mEncHuma-iŋ maliŋEn
 mEncHamgEn name name-3O 3sPOSS-root-NML woman-DEF maliŋEn
 ku-mEt miŋ wat-u ku-buŋ-ba yEmbiccha cuk-na-ba
 3sPOSS-wife name name-3O 3sPOSS -root-NML man make-PP-NML
 laje-iŋ munatEmbe mu-bat-u
 land-DEF munatEmbe 3pA-speak-3O

Translation

Long, long ago, there was nothing, nothing at all. There was only air, only water. Omniscient god, Tageraningwabhūmang pondered long. Then, he made a churn with the string of the moon on the left and the string of the sun on the right. As he began to churn the water pulling the strings right and left alternately, lunar foam originated from the left and solar foam from the right. The large amount of foam-origination formed land and the foam splashed during the churning became the mountains. Thus, land and mountains came into existence. However, without the inhabitants, they looked unseemly. Then, a hanging tailed, large tailed god, Parakmiyambami approached the omniscient goddess, Tageraniŋwaphu and inquired. The omniscient goddess told him, 'Mix gold and silver and make the image of man'. Parakmiyambami did so and installed life force and breath into it. When he called to it, it did not speak. So, he went to the omniscient god and told everything. The god told him, 'Go way up high towards Lhasa and bring down reeds of ash and go way down below eastward and fetch the chicken-shit. Mix it with the ash and mould it in to the image of a sentient man. Then call to him.' Parakmiyambami made the image of the sentient man in the way he had been directed and called the man. The man incarnate responded

ŋa hambakkHya-E) a- met-na tah-a-niŋ bakkHE hakkHE
 1e then 1- see-PURP come-IMP-2p like this like that
 puks-a-ro cErEmnaŋ saŋ tah-a wasok-ŋaŋ ku-niŋwa-o
 become-PT-Prog cait month also come-PT ulnanep lensis-GEN 3sPOSS-mind-LOC
 tHokphElla-ŋa pat-u-ba pan-iŋ tah-a ba mEp-ma ri puks-a
 rhododrendon-ERG say-3O-NML matter-DEF come-PT this see-INF PART-become-PT
 hiktH□mba puks-a-i mahaŋ t□ks□ŋ-naŋ teg-a
 of what kind become-PT-Q QOTE high altitude land-DIR go-PT
 t□ks□ŋ-No kuks-a-E) g□ tHEgo kErEk kHEmd-u-ro m□rak-
 yarik
 high altitude land reach-PT-SUB PART mountain all suit-3O- Adv red-EMP
 tHokpHElla-iŋ pHEkk-a-ba nih-u ku-gHEmsiŋ ka-wa-ba nuba-
 sukpa rhododrendon-DEF flower-PT-NML see-3O 3sPOSS-suiting AP-be-AP
 handsome
 tHaŋbEn-niŋ nih-u-aŋ ku-niŋwa p□ŋ-cHin ap-pa
 youŋ boy-DEF see-3O- SEQ 3sPOSS-mind wander-REFL 1sPOSS-father
 a-mma-ŋa baktH□mba nuba tHaŋbEn nak-ŋa tah-a- E)
 1sPOSS-mother-ERG of this kind handsome youŋ boy beg-PURP come-PT-SUB
 a-m-biy-a-ŋ-nEn all□ g□ hiŋ-ma-nu-E) si-ma-i
 1-NEG-give-PT-1e-NEG now PART live-INF-COMPR die-INF-EMP
 nu mahaŋ kema tHEgo- lam tHukwa-o h□cuml□kk-u-aŋ siy-a
 be good Quote long mountain-ABL slide-LOC jump- 3O-SEQ die-PT

Translation

Why does Unanep lensis grow only in landslide?

This is a matter of long, long ago. Ulnanep lensis grew up in a certain forest. Later, she became a beautiful girl with balanced body and height. This news spread everywhere. A rhododendron also heard about it. At that time, he had also grown young. He thought to himself, 'Now, I have to bring wife.' The thought of watching ulnanep lensis once occurred to his mind. Then, he went to see her in the month of winter. The rhododendron found ulnanep lensis beautiful and liked her very much. He approached her parents with a marriage proposal. But her parents reacted, 'We do not wed our daughter with an ugly dwarf like you.' Having heard it, he said to them, 'I will flower later in the month of April. Come to see me, then.' The time passed slowly and April also came. Then she remembered the thing that had been told by the rhododendron. She thought to herself, 'Let me see what he has he become like' and went towards the high altitude land. When she reached there, she saw the rhododendron flower all over the mountains with red color. Having seen the attractive, handsome youth, her mind wandered. She thought, 'My parents rejected the marriage proposal by such a handsome youth. Now, it is better for me to die than live on.' Then, she jumped from the high mountain down to the landslide and she died.

3. TWO SISTERS

nEppHu kun-nE nuŋ ku-njHa
Two elder and younger sisters

□ttHik paŋbHE- o kun-nE nuŋ kun-jHa-dHik
one village-LOC 3sPOSS-elder sister and 3sPOSS-younger sister-only
wah-a-cHi
be-PT-d
kun-nE g□r□ ka-g□p-ma ka-ja-ma cug-a
3sPOSS-elder sister PART AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP be-PT
ku-njha g□r□ yaŋ- ka sama kasima cug-a
3sPOSS- younger sister PART poor be-PT
ku-baŋ-No cadHi hEssaŋ hEssaŋ hopt-a
3sPOSS-house-LOC food-drink nothing nothing be not-PT
hakkHE-E) ku-hEnja-biccHa sa?wama-ŋa t□r-u-si
Then, 3sPOSS-children femine-ERG hit-3O-nsO
c□kkHE tHok-ma-aŋ capma-si puks-a mahaŋ tHik yEn c□kkHE
nettle cook-INF-SEQ feed-INF-3nsO have to-PT Quote one day nettle
kon-na ku-baŋ-lam □nd-a hambaŋ kun-nE-ŋaŋ
search-PURP 3sPOSS-house-ABL come out-PT then 3sPOSS-elder sister-GEN
ku-baŋ -IEkkaŋ-lam teg- a -ro wah-a-E) kun-nE-ŋa
3sPOSS-house -DIR-ABL go-PT-Prg be-PT- SUB 3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG
nih-u-aŋ ho ka-de-ba r□ mahaŋ silapp-u kun-jHa-ŋa
see-3O-SEQ where 2-go-NML PART QUOTE ask-3O 3sPOSS- younger sister-ERG
c□kkHE kon-na tek-ŋa-ba mahaŋ lo-u ba kHEps-u-aŋ
nettle search-INF go-1e-NML QUOTE tell-3O this hear-3O-SEQ
kun-nE-ŋa nam dHa- dHa a-si
3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG sunset-untill 1sPOSS-louse
mEtt-u biy-a-ŋ a ka-jEn pi-na mahaŋ lo-u
look-3O give-IMP-1e I 2sPOSS-wage give-1→2 QUOTE tell-3O
kun-jHa saŋ tEnd-a hakkHyaŋ namdHa dHa si
3sPOSS-younger sister also agree-PT then sunset until louse
mEtt-u piy-u hakkHE saŋ kun nE-ŋa namdHatEsaŋ
look-3O give-3O even then 3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG tiffin also
mam-bi-?E ku-jEn saŋ mam-bi-?E paks-u-de-u
NEG-give-CONV 3sPOSS-wage also NEG-give-CONV send-3O take-3O
hambaŋ kun-jHa-iŋ calik ku-niŋwa tug-a-aN
then, 3sPOSS-younger sister-DEF very 3sPOSS-heart ache-PT-SEQ
haba-ro c□kkHE kon-na kHola-naŋ teg-a c□kkHE seb- u-
weep-Prg nettle search-PURP stream-DIR go-PT nettle collect-3O
ro wah-a-E) □ttHik my□Nba tum-u my□Nba-iŋ
Prog be-PT-SUB one cat encounter-3O cat-DEF
tumu -E) kHalloba ku-sam may-a my□Nba-ŋa
encounter-SUB nearly 3sO-consciousness lose-PT cat-ERG
ma-giy-a-n ma-siy-a-n lo-u-aŋ r□k ku-s□kma tay-a
NEG-fear-IMP-NEG NEG-die-IMP-NEG tell-3O-SEQ only 3sPOSS-breath come-PT
hambaŋ my□Nba-ŋa mEncHuma cHa-E hyaŋ ka-happ-a r□ mahaŋ silapp-u
then cat ERG woman child-VOC why 2-weep-PT PART Quote ask-3O

hambaŋ hamba mEncHuma cHa-ŋa attE-ba kEreEk pan lo- u
 then that woman child-ERG previous-NML all matter relate-3O
 pan-gHa kHEps-u-si-aŋ my□Nba-ŋa hamba mEncHuma cHa- iŋ
 matter-p hear-3O-nsO-SEQ wild cat-ERG that woman child-DEF
 siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horikpa-iŋ □ks-u-aŋ kHEtnam cug-u hambaN a
 tree-GEN 3sPOSS-skin-DEF - pull out-IMP-SEQ strap make-IMP then I
 kuy-a-ŋ-aŋ ka-baŋ-No tey-a-ŋ hakkHyaŋ
 carry-IMP-1e-SEQ 2sPOSS-house-LOC take-IMP-1e then
 lambHET-no kitt-a-ŋ-aŋ talaŋdo yuks-a-ŋ
 bamboo carpet-LOC wrap-IMP-1e-SEQ upstairs keep-IMP-1e
 mahaŋ lo-u hamba mEncHuma cHa-ŋa ku-gima-ŋa
 Quote relate-3O that woman child-ERG 3sPOSS-fear-ERG
 y□ks-u-ro siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horik-pa □ks-u-aŋ kHEtnam cug- u
 tremble-3O-Prg tree-GEN 3sPOSS-bark -NML flay-3O-SEQ head strap make-3O
 hambaŋ my□Nba-iŋ kuy-u-aŋ paŋ-No tey-u kHunE pat-u-ba
 then cat-ABS carry-3O-SEQ house-LOC take-3O she tell-3O-NML
 hikkHE-i □mbHET-na kitt-u-aŋ talaŋdo nEh-u
 like-EMP bamboo carpet-ERG wrap-3O-SEQ upstairs lay-3O
 ca saŋ man-ja-?E my□Nba-iŋ kuy-ma puks-a-E)
 food also NEG-eat-CONF wild cat-EMP carry-INF have to-PT-SUB
 kHunE calik nah-a siy-a hamba yuncHik sakmEnja ips-a tEnda
 she very tire-PTdie-PT that night without food sleep-PT toorow
 kHaotta-E) pog-a-aŋ talaŋdo teg-a-aŋ mEtt-u-E) g□
 dawn-SUB rise-PT-SEQ upstairs go-PT-SEQ look-3sApst-SUB PART
 my□Nba-iŋ hopt-a tala ku-dHim yaŋsa-i yaŋ-sa ca-dHi-i ca-dHi r□k
 cat-DEF be not-PT upstairs its full money and wealth food and drink only
 nih-u-si hakkHyaŋ kHunE ba g□ my□Nba ekHan
 see-3O-3nsO then she this PART cat not
 tageraniŋwaphu maŋ ricH□ mahaŋ nih-u-aŋ sEwamEtt-u hambaŋdo
 omniscient god PART QUOTE see-3O-SEQ pay obscience -3O then onward
 kHunE tagEraniŋwa pHu maŋ-Niŋ yuncHik pihandik sEwacuk-ma hek- u
 she omniscient god-DEF evening morning pay obsience -INF begin-3O
 hambakHyaŋ kHunE ka-g□p-pa ka-ja-ba puks-a-ro teg-a-ba
 then she AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP become-PT-Prg go-PT-NML
 kErEk pan-gHa kun-nE-ŋa nih-u-si-ro kHEps-u-
 all matter-p 3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG see-3O-nsO-SEQ hear-3O-
 si-ro wah-a tHik yEn kHunE kun-jHa-ŋaŋ ku-baŋ-No
 nsO-Prg be-PT one day she 3sPOSS-youŋer sister-GEN 3sPOSS -house-LOC
 teg-a-aŋ kHEnE hikHE r□ baktH□mba ka-gap-ma ka-buks-a mahaŋ
 go-PT-SEQ you how PART of this kind AP-possess-AP 2-become-PT Quote
 silap- u kudondomma ku-njHa-ŋa ku-niŋwa-o hEssaŋ
 ask-3O straight 3sPOSS-youŋer sister-ERG 3sPOSS-mind-LOC anything
 man-yuŋ- E) kErEk pan lo-u kun-nE-iŋ calik
 NEG-keep-CONV all thing tell-3O 3sPOSS-elder sister-DEF very
 ku-nakahEmma kujatHi-kajip-ma cug-a kHunE saŋ kun-jHa- ŋa
 jealous greedy be-1PT she also 3sPOSS-youŋer sister-ERG
 cug-u-ba hikkHE-i cuk-ma itt-u my□Nba-iŋ iŋleK lo-ma niŋwa cug-u
 do-3O-NML like-EMP do-INF think-3O cat-DEF lie tell-INF mind make-3O

tHik yEn ka-hap-pa lEncHiŋ ro c□kkHE kon-na kHola-naŋ teg-a
 one day AP-weep-AP pretend-Prg nettle search-PURP stream-DIR go-PT
 hakkHE-E) hamba my□Nba-iŋ hambo-i yuŋ-a-aŋ wah-a my□Nba-ŋa
 that time that cat-DEF there-EMP sit-PT-SEQ be-PT cat-ERG
 hamba mEncHuma-iŋ pan saŋ ma-sat-u-n mEncHuma-ŋa
 that woman-ERG talk also NEG-hold-3O-NEG woman-ERG
 my□Nba-iŋ siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horik □ks-u-ŋ-Ni mahaŋ silapp-u-E®
 cat-DEF tree-GEN 3sPOSS-bark flay-3O-1e -Q Quote ask-3O-SUB
 ka-□ks-u-i ka-n-□ks-u-n-ni a ma-ni-ŋa-n mahaŋ
 2-flay-3O-Q 2-NEG-flay-3O-NEG-Q I NEG-see-1e-NEG Quote
 lo-u hamba mEncHuma-ŋa yaŋNo my□Nba-iŋ kHEnE paŋ-No
 tell-3O that woman-ERG later-time cat-DEF you house-LOC
 te-na-aŋ l□mb□et-no kit-na-aŋ nEn-na- i
 take-1→2-SEQ bamboo carpet-LOC wrap-1→2-SEQ lay-1→2- Q
 mahaŋ silapp-u-E) ka-de-ŋa-ni ka-n-deg-ŋa-n-ni a hEssaŋ
 Quote ask-3O-SUB 2-take-1e-Q 2-NEG take-1e-NEG-Q I anythiŋ
 ma-ni-ŋa-n low-u hambaŋ hamba mEncHuma-ŋa
 NEG-see-1e-NEG tell-3O then that woman-ERG
 siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horik-pa-ŋaŋ kHEtnam cug-u-aŋ my□Nba-iŋ
 tree-GEN 3sPOSS-bark-NML- GEN head strap make-3O-SEQ cat-DEF
 kuy- u-ro ku-baŋ-No tey-u hambaŋ
 carry -carry-3O-Prg 3sPOSS-house-LOC take-3O then
 l□mbHet-na kitt-u- aŋ talaŋdo nEh-u hamba yuncHik
 bamboo carpet-ERG wrap-3O-SEQ upstairs lay-3O that night
 kHunE calik nurik kumikyuya ca-dHi yaŋsa EkkHEn
 she very well she felt sleepy food-drink money-wealth how much
 mu-lum-cHin-ni mahaŋ kHa-ma-ot-nE talaŋ-do teg-a-aŋ
 3pS-pile-REFL-Q Quote light-NEG-shine-SUB upstairs go-3sApst-SEQ
 mett-u-E) g□ my□Nba-ŋaŋ nam kasuba ku-hi-i
 look-3O-SUB PART cat-GEN bad smelliŋ 3sPOSS-shit-EMP
 ku-hi r□k nEh-a
 3sPOSS-shit only lie-PT

Translation

Two sisters

In a certain village there were two sisters. The elder sister was rich and prosperous but the younger one was poor. She had no grain and granaries, nothing, nothing at all in her house. So her children suffered from hunger. One day, she came out of the house thinking of collecting nettle, cooking it and feeding her children and herself and passed through her elder sister's house. Then, her elder sister saw her and asked, 'Where are you going?' She said, 'I am going in search of nettle.' Having heard it, the elder sister said, 'Search my hair for lice all day. I will give you your wage.' Her younger sister also agreed to it and performed the task all day long. However, she sent her without wage and tiffin. The younger sister, then, felt deeply hurt and weeping with tears dropping down she went to the river in search of nettle. While

collecting nettle, she encountered a cat. She nearly lost her sense to see him. She breathed a long breath only when the cat said to her, 'Do not fear.' Then, he asked her, 'Why are you weeping, you woman?' She told everything that had happened in the past. The cat heard everything and told her, 'Flay the bark of a tree, make a head strap out of it, then carry me to your house, then wrap me with a bamboo carpet and lie me down on the upstairs.' The woman, trembling with fear, flayed the bark of a tree, made its head-strap and carried the cat to her house. She wrapped him, as she was told, with a bamboo carpet and laid down on the floor upstairs. Since she had to carry without food the heavy wild cat, she was much exhausted and slept with empty stomach that night. At dawn next day, when she went upstairs and looked around, she saw all wealth, property and granaries all over the floor. Then, she realized that it was not a cat but an omniscient goddess. She greeted the goddess folding her hands. From that day on, she worshipped her every morning and evening. Then, she grew richer and richer each day. Her elder sister saw it and heard everything about her. One day, she went to her younger sister's house and asked her, 'How did you become such a rich person?' Her younger sister was simple and straight and told her everything without reservation. The elder sister was selfish and jealous. She thought of doing like her sister. She made her mind to tell a lie to the cat. One day, she pretended weeping and went to the river in search of nettle. At that time, the cat was sitting there. The cat did not care her even a whit. She asked him, 'Shall I flay tree-bark?' He replied, 'I do not care whether you flay or not.' Then, she asked her, 'Shall I wrap you with the bamboo-carpet and lay you on the floor upstairs?' He replied, 'I do not know whether you wrap me or not.' Then the woman flayed the bark of a tree, made its head-strap, carried him home, wrapped him with a bamboo-carpet and laid him on the floor upstairs. That night, she had a sound sleep. Before dawn, he went upstairs to see how much wealth and granaries have been piled up there. He saw only the bad-smelling shit of the cat left there.

4. AKWAMA DEITY

Akwama sammang

acHEN acHEN nEppHu EccHa-ba yaŋkasaba kasiba ku-bHu nuŋ
 before before two orphan poor 3sPOSS-elder brother and
 ku-njHa wah-a-cHi ku-bHu-ŋaŋ ku-miŋ
 3sPOSS-younger brother be-PT-dS 3sPOSS-elder brother-GEN his name
 pHuŋdEŋhaŋ wah-a ku-njha-ŋaŋ ku-miŋ lodenhan
 Phungdenghang be-PT 3sPOSS-younger brother-GEN 3sPOSS- name Lodenhang
 wah-a kHu-ncHi nuŋ tHik maŋEna wah-a kHunE-ŋ ku-miŋ
 be-PT they-d have one sister be PT she-GEN 3sPOSS-name
 lupliso wadaŋma wah-a kHunch-iŋ kHunchi- paŋ hopt-a
 Lupliso wadangma be-PT they-GEN 3nsPOSS- house be not-PT
 hakkhya-E) kHu-ncHi ho ho mu-iy-a mu-wah-a sEndik luŋ-gHuri-o
 then-SUB they-ns where where 3pS-roam-PT 3pS-be-PT night stone-hole-LOC
 siŋ-buŋ-ku-dEk-No mu-dHok-a wahi?ma-o hambo-gHa-i
 tree-trunk-3sPOSS-under-LOC 3pS-halt-PT rain-LOC there- p – EMP
 mu-yuŋ-a –aŋ wahi?ma-lam mu-dHEk-cHin tHik yEn
 3pS-stay-PT- SEQ rain-ABL 3pS-protect-REFL one day

kHu-ncHi tambHuŋ-No mu -iy-a- ro mu-wah-a-E) l̥ttHik pu-ŋa
 they-ns forest-LOC 3pS-wander-PT-Prg 3pS-be-PT-SUB one bird-ERG tree-
 pHipma-o ku-hap cug-u-aŋ yuŋ-a-ba mu-nih-u kHuncHi-
 hole-LOC 3sPOSS-nest make-3O-SEQ stay-PT-NML 3pA-see-3O 3nsPOSS-
 maŋEna-ŋa hamba l̥siŋdakk-u-si-aŋ lo-u-si mEtt-a-cH-u
 sister-ERG that show- 3O-nsO-SEQ tell-3O-nsO look-IMP-dA-3O
 pu-ŋaŋ saŋ ku-baŋ wa -E) ani-ŋ hop-ma g̥
 bird-GEN also 3sPOSS- house be-SUB we-GEN not be-INF PART
 calik cit l̥ttʔik cukpa paŋ cug-u-m-maŋ yuŋ-i ba
 very be -bad one small house make-3O-pA-SEQ stay-pS this
 pan-niŋ kHu-ncHi- niNwa- lam-o teg-a all l̥ kHuncHi paŋ ka-juk-pa
 matter-DEF 3nsPOSS-mind-way-LOC go-PT now they-d home AP-make-AP
 puks-a-cHi ku-buŋ- No paŋ cuk-ma ka-nu-ba ka-d̥ŋ-ba
 become-PT-dS 3sPOSS-bottom-LOC house make-INF AP-suit-AP AP-plain-AP
 lajE seg-a-cH-u hambaŋ paŋ cuk-ma siŋ luŋ kErEk kar-a-cH-u
 land choose-PT-dA-3O then house make-INF wood stone all take-PT-3dA-3O
 paŋ -yok t̥y-a-cH-u ku-lumm-o-ba t̥kla lepma dEn
 house-foundation dig-PT-dA-3O 3sPOSS-middle-LOC-NML pillar plant-INF place
 t̥y-a-cH-u-E[Ⓢ] kHuncHi-maŋEna-ŋa t̥mna-ba kHam-miŋ l̥t-u
 dig-PT-3dA-3O-SUB 3nsPOSS- sister-ERG dig-PP-NML soil-EMP take out-3O
 ku-lum t̥kla lep-ma nEtt -a-cH-u-E) kHuncHi-maŋEna-
 ŋaN
 3sPOSS-middle pillar plant-INF about to-PT-dA-3O-SUB 3nsPOSS-sister-GEN
 ku-dHakummE-iŋ t̥kla lep-ma den-no m̥ktHaw-u tHakummE kHom-
 ma
 3sPOSS-shawl-DEF pillar plant-INF place-LOC drop-3O shawl pick-INF
 ku-dHaikpa monaŋ hiy-u-E) haŋgHacHi-ŋa t̥kla tH̥m-ma
 3sPOSS-head downward tilt-3O-SUB they -ERG pillar hold-INF
 ma-sukk-a-cH-u-n t̥kla lEr-a-cH-u-E) hamba-ŋa nEt-u -aŋ
 NEG-can-PT-dA-3O-NEG pillar drop-PT-dA-3O-SUB that -ERG press-3O-SEQ
 kHuncHi- maŋEna-iŋ siy-a ku-s̥ŋaba-gHacHi calik kHuncHi- niŋwa
 3nsPOSS sister -DEF die-PT her-brother-d very 3nsPOSS- mind
 may-a kHuncHi- maŋEna-iŋ bakkHEyaŋ siy-a-ba-o hambaŋ
 lose-PT 3nsPOSS sister-DEF thus die-PT-NML-LOC then
 paŋbHEsaba-gHa- ŋa ba mu-gHEps-u-aŋ a-n-cHE? mahaŋ
 villager-p ERG this 3pA- hear-3O-SEQ 1piO-3nsA-kill QUOTE
 kiy-a- siy- a-cHi hakkHyŋ hamba-i kHuncHi maŋEna-ŋaŋ ka-si-ba
 fear-PT- die- PT-dS then that-EMP their -sister's AP-die-AP
 ku-dH̥k- c̥ŋ-No kulum t̥kla-iŋ let-a-cH-u- aŋ paŋ cug-a cH-u
 3sPOSS- body- on-LOC middle pillar-DEF plant-PT-dA-3O-SEQ house make-PT-dA-3O
 tHik yEn ni yEn- ŋa-i paŋ-ŋaŋ t̥klagHa kumma-ŋa c̥-si- aŋ
 one day two day TEM-EMP house's pillars moth-ERG eat-nsO-SEQ
 mu-y̥b-a hambaŋ paŋ tHub-a-teg-a pHeri saŋ paŋ
 3pS-collapse-PT then house collapse-PT-go-PT again also house
 cug-a-cH-u t̥r̥ pHeri saŋ y̥y-a tey-a hambaŋ kHuncHi ba
 make- PT-dA-3O but again also collapse-PT go-PT then they-d this
 hE puks-a- aŋ bakHE puks-a-ba mahaŋ mEppaŋ-ŋa

what happen-PT- SEQ this way happen-PT-NML QUOTE forecast-PURP
 kainba yaba-o teg-a-cHi yaba-ŋa idik jokHana
 famous limbu priest-LOC go-PT-3dS limbu priest-ERG longtime contemplation
 mEtt-u-aŋ pat-u kHEncHi maŋgEna-iŋ t̩kla-ŋa ka-gEpp-a-cH-u-aŋ
 look-3O-SEQ say-3O 2dPOSS- sister-DEF pillar-ERG 2-press down-PT-3O- SEQ
 ka-sEr-a-cH-u hambaŋ hambo-i paŋ ka-jug-a-cH-u -ba ricH̩ allo
 2-kill-PT-dA-3O then there-EMP house 2-make-PT-dA-3O-NML PART now
 g̩ kHunE simebHumE ̩kjiri ̩kwama maŋ puks-a-aŋ wa. t̩kla-
 PART she simEbHumE akjiri akwama goddess become-PT-SEQ be pillar-
 ŋa ka-gEpp-a-cH-u-aŋ siy-a-ba-ŋa cug-u-E) ku-sira
 ERG 2-press down-PT-dA-3O-SEQ die-PT-NML-ERG do-3O-SUB 3sPOSS-mind
 man-dHaŋ-?E wa ku-niŋwa tuk-ma-ŋa cug-u-E) kHunE-i
 NEG -come up-CONV be 3sPOSS-mind ache-INF-ERG do-3O-SUB she-EMP
 paŋ y̩h-u ka-biy-a-cHi-ba all̩ paŋ ka-juk-cH-u-E)
 house demolish-3O 2-give-PT-dO-NML now house 2-make-dA-3O-SUB
 paŋ cutnuŋmanuŋ yaba tar-a-cH-u-aŋ ̩kwama sammaŋ
 house as soon as if completes yaba bring-IMP-dA-3O-SEQ awkwama worship
 cukpaks-a-cH-u ku-lum t̩kla-o pHak-Niŋ cEp-ma puŋ
 make do-IMP-dA-3O 3sPOSS middle pillar-LOC pig-DEF cut-INF must
 ku-ma?i t̩kla-o se-ma puŋ hambaŋ kHaot-ot ke-laŋ-ma
 3sPOSS blood pillar-LOC sprinkle-INF must then dawn-until drum-dance-INF
 puŋ bakHE-ro ̩kwama-ŋaN ku-sammaŋ cuk-ma-E) kHunE-ŋ
 must this way-MAN akwama-GEN 3sPOSS -worsip do-INF-SUB she-GEN
 ku-niwa ta hambaŋ cuk-na-ba paŋ-Niŋ ma-y̩-nEn
 3sPOSS-mind comes then make-PP-NML house-DEF NEG-collapse-NEG
 idik dHarik ka-dak-pa puŋ yaba-ŋaŋ ku-ban-niŋ kHuncHi-
 niŋwa
 long until AP-last-AP become priest -GEN 3sPOSS-advice-DEF 3nsPOSS-mind
 lam-mo teg-a t̩Hik yEn kHuncHi paŋ cug-a-cH-u-sur-a-cH-u-aŋ
 yaba
 way-LOC go-PT one day their house make-PT-dA-3O finish-PT-dA-3O-SEQ priest
 tar-a-cH-u yaba-ŋa mundHum tey-u-ro ̩kwama sammaŋ cug-u
 bring-PT- dA-3O priest-ERG scripture recite-3O-Prg akwama-worship do-3O
 ku-lum t̩kla-o pHak mu-jEpp-u ku-ma?i t̩kla-o mu-seh-
 middle pillar-LOC pig 3pA-cut-3O 3sPOSS-blood pillar-LOC 3pA- sprinkle-
 u kHaot-ot t̩kla kHiri ke-mu-laks-a hakHyaN ̩kwama
 3O light-shine-shine pillar around drum-3pS-dance-PT then akwama
 maŋ-Niŋ calik ku-sira dHaŋ-a hambaŋdHo paŋ y̩-ma
 goddess-DEF very 3sPOSS-mind come up-PT then onward house give way-INF
 nar-a
 stop-PT

Translation

Akwama

Long, long ago, there were two poor, orphan brothers. The elder brother's name was Phungdanghang and the younger brother's name was Ludenhang. They had one sister. Her name was Lupliso Wadangma. They had no house. Therefore, they wandered here and there. At night, they halted in a cave or under a tree. During the rain, they stayed there and protected themselves from it. One day, as they were walking through the forest, they saw a bird sitting in its nest having made it in the hole of a tree. Their sister showed it to them and said, 'Look, the bird has a house. It is very bad for us not to have a house. Let's make a small house and live there.'

They were convinced by this proposition. Then, they became ready to build a house. At first, they chose a proportionately appropriate house and good land to build a house. Then, they collected wood and stone essential for its construction. They dug its foundation. When they were digging the hole to plant the central pillar of the house, their sister was taking the soil out of the hole. When they were about to plant the central pillar, she dropped her shawl down in to the hole. When she bent down to retrieve it, they could not hold the pillar, and when they dropped it, it pressed her hard and she died. Her brothers were worried much to see the death of their sister. They were also afraid by the thought that villagers might notice it and take action against them. Then, they planted the central pillar on her dead body and built a house. But one or two days later, mites damaged the pillars and the house gave way. Again, they built a house but again, it gave way. Then, they went to see a famous priest who could reveal why such things happened. The priest contemplated long and said, 'It seems, you killed your sister by dropping the central pillar of your house down against her and you made a house there. Now, the dead has become a goddess called Simebhume Akjiri Akwama . She is not happy because she died by your dropping of the central pillar down against her. Due to her dissatisfaction, she has demolished your house. As soon as you finish the house, bring a priest and engage him to worship goddess Akwama. Pig must be killed at the bottom of the central pillar and its blood must be sprinkled all over it. Then, drum-dance must be performed around the pillar until dawn. If goddess Akwama is worshipped this way, she will be pleased and then, the house built will not fall down. It will last long.' They were convinced by the advice of the priest. One day, after finishing the house, they brought a priest. He recited the scripture and worshipped goddess Akwama. They killed a pig at the bottom of the central pillar of the house, sprinkled its blood over it and performed drum-dance around it until dawn. Then goddess Akwama became very happy. From then on, their house stopped giving way.

5. SISTER'S WORSHIP

majena-cokma

Doing sister's worship

kubuŋo napmi sawet pi? mEndak pu sikkokpa sinbuŋ sori mu-yuŋ-a
 in the begining man buffalo cow goat bird ant tree together 3pS-live-PT
 mu-bat-a mu-et-a kHuncHi tukHE-ba pan-gHa mu-jEk-cHi n
 3pS –speak-PT 3pS-laugh-PT they difficulty-NML matter-p 3pS-tell-REFL
 tHik yEn cwat-dHara-o mEncHuma -gHa mu-jups-a-aŋ ta-mu-jEks-a-
 one day water-tap –LOC woman –p 3pS-gather-PT-SEQ converse-3pS-converse-PT
 ro mu-wah-a kHuncHi -tajEŋ-Niŋ l □ttHik pu-ŋa kHEps-u kHuncHi-
 Prg 3pS-be-PT 3nsPOSS conversation-DEF one bird-ERG hear-3O 3nsPOSS-
 tH□k wElleK yangHek-Ni yangHek r□k wah-a kHuncHi -paŋ-No-ba kErEk
 body all over infection-EMP infection only be-PT 3nsPOSS-house-LOC-NML all
 hEnjabiccHa kapoba kapmoma tHaŋbEn mEncHE kErEk yangHek-ŋa
 children old man old woman youŋ man youŋ woman all infection-ERG
 tukkHE cat-u-si-ba r□k mu-wah-a haŋgHa-ŋa tambHuŋ-lamba siŋ –
 trouble feed-3O-3nS-NML only 3pS-be-PT they-ERG forest-ABL tree
 sap mu-dar-u-aŋ mu-j□ yaba samba maŋba kErEk mu-yuks-
 root 3pA-brin-3O-SEQ 3pA-ate priest priest priest all 3pA-engage
 u-si hakkHE saŋ man-nuy-a-n yangHek-ŋa tukHe cat-u
 3O-nsO even then NEG-recover-PT-NEG infection-ERG trouble feed-3O-
 si-aŋ mu-□k-a mu-bind-a-ro mu-wah-a cwat-no ka-da-
 3nsO-SEQ 3pS-cry-PT 3pS-jump-PT- Prg 3pS-be-PT water-LOC AP-come-
 ma hamba mEncHuma-gHa saŋ yangHek-N i yanghek r□k mu-g□tt-a
 AP that woman-p also infection-EMP infection only 3pS-possess-PT
 haŋgHa-ŋa kHuncHi -yangHek mu-sob-u-ro mu-bHind-u-ro mu-
 they-ERG 3nsPOSS- infection 3pA-touch-3O-Prg 3pA pinch-3O-Prg 3pS-
 hab-a-ro mu-wah-a
 weep-PT-Prg 3pS-be-PT
 kHuncHi- pan kHEps-u-aŋ hamba pu-iŋ calik ku-luŋma syak
 3nsPOSS-conversation hear-3O-SEQ that bird-DEF very 3sPOSS-heart ache
 la ba napmi-gHa tukma-lam l□p-ma-si puks-a mahaŋ tagera
 PT this man-p sickness-ABL takeout-INF-nsO have to-PT QUOTE tagera
 niŋwabHu maŋ-No teg-a-aŋ kErEk pan-gHa tajekk- u
 omniscient goddess-LOC go-PT-SEQ all information-p communicate-3O-
 tageraniNwabHu maŋ-ŋa ba kErEk pan-gHa kHEps-u-si-aŋ
 omniscient goddess –ERG this all matter-p hear-3O-nsO-SEQ
 pat-u ba napmi-gHa-ŋa s□ŋa maŋEna iŋwa mu-bHek-cHin
 say-3O this man-pl –ERG brother sister vulgar 3pS-tell-REFL
 pHe? mu-lan-cHin hamba-ŋa cug-u-E) yangHek-ŋa t□r- u
 seduce 3pS-do-REFL that-ERG do-3O-3sPpst-SUB blister-ERG affect-3O-
 si-ba allan-do maŋEna s□ŋa iŋwa pHEk-ma mu-lEc-cHin
 nsO-NML now onwards sister brother vulgar tell-INF 3pS-leave-REFL
 pHE?-lama mu-lEt-cHin-naŋ maŋEna sammaŋ mu-jug-u-
 seduce-INF 3pS-leave-RFFL-SEQ sister worship 3pA-do-3O-
 E) mu-nu ba pan-niŋ kHEps-u-aŋ pu-iŋ napmi-lum-o
 SUB 3pS-be well this matter-DEF hear-3O-SEQ bird-DEF man-middl-LOC

teg-a-aŋ lo-u-si napmi-gHa-ŋa maŋgEna-nuŋ iŋwa pHEkma
 go-PT-SEQ tell-3O-nsO man-p-ERG sister-with vulgar thing tell-INF
 pHE?lan -cHim-ma mu-wEt-u -aŋ maŋgEna sammaŋ cuk-ma mu-
 seduce-3pIS-RFL-INF 3pA-stop-3O-SEQ sister worship do-INF 3pA-
 hek-u hamban kHuncHi yaŋgHek saŋ nuy-a kErEk nuba
 begin-3O then their blister also become well-PT all hale and
 danba mu-buks-a
 hearty 3pS-become-PT

Translation

maNgEna sammaN
 sister's worship

In the beginning, man, buffalo, cow, goat, bird, tree etc. lived together, talked to each other and laughed with each other. They shared their sufferings among themselves. One day, village women gathered around a water-tap and were talking. A bird heard their talks. All their bodies were covered by blisters. All children, old and young people suffered from this disease. They brought herbal medicine from the forest and had it, engaged shamans but they did not get well. They were crying and jumping with pain. These women around the water-tap had also blisters all over their body. They were touching the blisters, pinching them and were weeping. The bird heard their words and his heart ached. With a view to rescuing them from the present suffering, he approached omniscient goddess and told her everything. The omniscient goddess heard everything and said, 'These people shared vulgar talks with their sisters and performed sexual acts. Therefore, they are suffering from such disease. Now onwards, if they stop sharing vulgar talks and performing sexual act with them, they will get well. Having heard these all things, the bird went down among the people and told them all the things. Then, they stopped vulgar talks and sexual performance with their sisters. They began to worship their sister as goddess. This worship is called *maŋgEna sammaŋ* 'worship of sister'. Then, all of them got well and grew hale and hearty.

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